capture of Troy Diomedes returned to Argos, accused his wife of infidelities and left for Calydon in Aetolia. There he slew Agrius and his children and handed the throne to Oeneus, his grandfather. He then set out to return to Argos, but was carried by a storm into the Ionian Sea. When Daunius, king of the Daunians, heard of his arrival, he requested him to help him in his war against the Messapians, promising him in return a share in his land and his daughter's hand in marriage. Diomedes accepted, drew up his troops, routed the Messapians, and received the grant of land which he distributed among his companions the Dorians. He had two sons, Diomedes and Amphinomus by Daunius' daughter. He died of old age in the country of the Daunians and the Dorians celebrated the last rites in his honour in the island which they called the island of Diomedes. As for them they cultivated the land they had received alongside that of the king and, through their great experience in agricultural matters, produced rich crops. When Daunius died they succumbed to the plots of the Illyrian barbarians, who after casting covetous eyes on their land surprised and slew all the Dorians in their island while they were engaged in offering funeral sacrifices. At Zeus' command the bodies of the Greeks disappeared and their souls were changed into birds. Even today whenever a Greek ship puts into harbour the birds come and greet it, but fly from an Illyrian ship and all disappear from the island.'

Aelian[14] describes the same phenomenon: 'There is an island called Diomedeia, which is inhabited by many "herons". These, they say, neither harm the barbarians nor approach them. But if a Greek ship puts in they approach in accordance with some divine privilege, joining wings like hands to welcome and embrace the newcomers. And if the Greeks touch them they do not withdraw, but display no fear and suffer it and when they sit down fly into their lap, as though invited to dine. They are said to be the companions of Diomedes and to have taken part with him in the war against Troy and though they changed their original appearance to that of birds, yet retain their Greek nature and love of Greece.'

Tereus, Procne and Philomela

One of the strangest of all Greek myths concerns Tereus. Many versions were current in ancient times, but the basic story is given by the mythographer Apollodorus:[15] 'Pandion (who succeeded Erichthonius as king of Athens) married Zeuxippe, daughter of his mother's sister and begat Procne and Philomela and the twins Erechtheus and Butes.

When war broke out against Labdacus, through a border dispute, he summoned the aid of Tereus, son of Ares, from Thrace. The outcome being successful he gave Tereus his daughter Procne to wife. Tereus had by her a son Itys, but fell in love with Philomela, raped her and pretending that Procne had died hid her in the country. He then married Philomela and cut out her tongue. But she wove letters on a robe and by this means apprised Procne of her own misfortunes. Procne sought out her sister and after murdering Itys, boiled him and served him up for Tereus to eat. She then decamped with her sister. When Tereus learned what had happened he snatched up an axe and pursued them. The pair were overtaken at Daulia in Phocis and prayed to the gods to change them into birds. Whereupon Procne became a nightingale and Philomela a swallow. Tereus too was changed into a bird and became a hoopoe.'

The peculiar savagery of the myth is intriguing, though cannibal feasts occur elsewhere in Greek myth.[16] That there was some historical foundation for the story seems possible since Thucydides[17] took it seriously, making the point that Daulis was formerly inhabited by Thracians. He also appears to have known about the myth of the bird transformations since he observes that the poets 'called the nightingale the Daulian bird'.

The story was clearly very old since it was known to Homer,[18] Hesiod[19] and Sappho,[20] while Sophocles[21] wrote a play called *Tereus*, of which a fragment is preserved by Aristotle (who attributes it in error to Aeschylus).

'This bird the hoopoe, as witness to his crimes, he has given dappled plumage and has revealed the proud bird of the rocks in all his panoply; who when spring comes displays the wing of a hawk with white plumage. For he will present two forms in youth and maturity, though the issue of one womb. When autumn returns at the time when the corn turns yellow a dappled wing will clothe him anew. But ever moved by hate he will depart for another home, and will go away towards forests and lonely peaks.'

The reference to Tereus' twy-form as a hawk in youth and later a hoopoe is obscure, but the hoopoe's preference for remote places is attributed, in true Greek fashion, to Tereus' consciousness of crime (and hatred of women) and desire to hide from men's eyes. Aeschylus[22] also, in the *Suppliant Maidens*, suggests that the hoopoe (like the cuckoo) became a hawk, a version followed by the Roman mythographer Hyginus.[23]

At some stage and by someone unknown the inane twittering of the swallow as if it had lost its tongue, the nightingale's song – 'Itu, itu!' and the cry of the hoopoe – 'pou-pou' – where, where? were explained by this fable. Such at least was Pausanias'[24] view, according to whom Tereus committed suicide at Megara, where the hoopoe first appeared, while Procne and Philomela died of grief at Athens. For some reason the Roman poets[25] reversed the roles of Procne and Philomela, so that the former became the swallow and the latter the nightingale, instead of vice versa.

Antoninus'[26] curious account of the Tereus myth will be discussed in the next chapter. His versions are of special interest since many of them derive from the *Ornithogonia* – Generation of Birds – by a certain Boios, known to the antiquarian Philochorus (fourth–third century BC) who apparently adopted this sobriquet from a traditional Delphic prophetess of uncertain date called Boio.[27]

Hawk

Hierax[28] was a pious Thracian, who, when the Teucrians were visited by a famine and ravaged by a sea-monster sent by Poseidon, supplied them with food. This further angered the god, who had punished the Teucrians for forgetting to sacrifice to him, and he changed Hierax into a hawk. So henceforth he became as hateful to other birds as he had formerly been popular with men. The myth is plainly aetiological, explaining the enmity between birds and the hawk.

Lammergeyer

Similarly Aigypios[29] was renowned for piety and fell in love with a widow called Timandra. Timandra's son Neophron objected to the liaison and made Aigypios' mother Boulis his mistress in revenge. When Aigypios came to visit Timandra he succeeded by a stratagem in substituting Boulis and so caused Aigypios to commit incest. When Boulis discovered the deception she seized a sword to blind her son before committing suicide. Zeus in pity transformed all the victims into birds. Aigypios became a lammergeyer, Neophron an Egyptian vulture and Boulis a sea-bird, destined to live on the eyes of fish, birds or snakes, while Timandra became a nightjar. From that time forth these birds were never seen together. The myth is also aetiological and borrows from the tragedy of Oedipus.

Eagle

The myth of the pious man recurs in that of Periphas,[30] who was so highly revered that men raised temples in his honour. Zeus destroyed the temples with a thunder-bolt, but Apollo interceded on Periphas' behalf. Zeus surprised Periphas making love to his wife and changed him into an eagle. His wife begged to suffer a similar fate and was duly changed into a lammergeyer (*phene*). In return for his piety Periphas was made king of all the birds and granted the privilege of approaching Zeus' throne. The eagle was naturally associated with kings and, according to Plato,[31] Agamemnon chose to be reincarnated as an eagle, while the philosopher's own tombstone was crowned with an eagle[32] (see chap. XXII).

Heron, Wagtail, Linnet, Bittern, Lark, Goldfinch, Spoonbill[33]

Autonous, son of Melaneus, married Hippodamia and their children were called Erodios, Anthos, Schoineus, Akanthos and Akanthis (the first two were names for herons, while Schoineus meant Rushman, Akanthos and Akanthis Thorn and Thornette). He kept horses but his land was barren and covered with rushes, bogs and thorns, hence the curious names which he chose for his children. Erodios, the eldest, was fond of horses, but when Anthos drove them out of their favourite pasture they attacked and ate him, while his mother struggled ineffectually to save him and his father, accompanied by a slave, came to the rescue too late. In pity Zeus transformed them all into birds. Autonous became a bittern, because he hesitated (a play on the word *oknos* which means sloth), his wife became a lark, because she struggled to save her son (a play on *korydos* and *koryssomai* to equip oneself for battle) Anthos and Erodios became different kinds of herons, while Rushman became a wagtail, Thorn a linnet and Thornette a goldfinch. Anthos' slave, who had arrived too late with his master, became a spoonbill (?) described as 'smaller than the heron'.

Dabchick, Wryneck, Kestrel, Greenfinch, Goldfinch, Ortolan, Duck, Spotted Woodpecker, Dracontis[34]

The origin of other birds (in this instance derived not from Boios but from a work on *Metamorphoses* by the learned Hellenistic poet Nicander) were explained by similar myths, e.g. when Zeus married Mnemosyne and became the father of the nine Muses the nine daughters of King Pieros of Emathia (the Muses' home was in Pieria) became their rivals

Jebb, Sophocles *Trachiniae*, Appendix, 200 ff.
59 Hdt II, 55. The leaders of the chorus in Alcman, I, 60, were apparently dressed as doves.
60 *Od.* XII, 62. There is no mention of Zeus' infancy in Homer as in Athenaeus, 491 B.
61 I, 9.
62 391 F.
63 For references see *GGB*, 184.
64 565.
65 655 A.
66 See Imhoof-Blumer and O. Keller, *Tier und Pflanzen bilder*.
67 Eur., *Hel.*, 1096; *Ov., Met.* XV, 385; Paus. II, 17, 6. See Frazer *ad loc.*
68 *The Dream* or *the Cock*, II, 175 (Loeb).
69 IV, 29. Also to Demeter, according to Porph. (*Abst.* IV, 16).
70 *Abst.* IV, 16.
71 Phd., 118.
72 V, 9.
73 Paus. V, 25, 9. See Frazer *ad loc.*
74 XVII, 46.
75 Paus. V, 25, 9. See Frazer *ad loc.*
76 Ath., 655 C. But was never attacked by hawks (Ael. V, 27).
77 *Abst.* IV, 16.
78 Ael. X, 35.
79 Ath., 392 D, i.e. Heracles, son of Asterie and Zeus who was killed in Libya by Typhon and brought to life again when Iolaos brought a quail in lieu of smelling salts.
80 *Av.*, 567; Ath., 411 C.
81 *Av.*, 566.
82 Cornutus, *Theol. Graec.*, 30, 61, 22 f. (Lang). See Cook, *Zeus* II, 524.
83 Plato, *Phdr.*, 274; Ael. X, 29, Gwyn Griffiths, *IO*, 558 f.
84 *Av.*, 870.

CHAPTER XVII

1 *JHS, Arch.* for 1968–69. Fig. 33, 28.
2 ibid. 1970–71. Cover picture and 22.
3 ibid. 1968–69. Fig. 46, 34.
4 ibid. 1963–64. Fig. 11, 11.
5 Frontispiece to Evans, *PM* II.
6 Charbonneaux in Quillet, *HGR* I, 3.
7 See Pendlebury, *Archaeology of Crete*, 248; Cook, *Zeus* II, pl. XXVII, 516 f.
8 *JHS* XXI, 121.
9 *AfRw.* XII, 167, n. 2. It has recently been suggested by the ornithologist George H. Watson that the birds, being painted yellow and black, are golden orioles. See Long, *ATS*, n. 13, p. 41.
10 *Zeus* II, 518 f.
11 *Themis*, 179.
12 *MMR*, 337.
13 *PM* I, 632 f.
14 *Zeus* II, 927 f.
15 *PM*, II, fig. 193. Compare Bossert, *Art of Ancient Crete*, 169, fig. 295.
16 *Av.*, 514.
17 Karo. *Schachtgräber*, pl. XXVII, figs 27, 28.
18 Marinatos. *Arch. Eph.*, 9 (1937), 278 f., figs 1, 8, 9, 2.
19 Armstrong, *FB*, frontispiece and references.
20 Evans, *PM* IV, 393, fig. 329 A, 460.
21 ibid., III, 70
22 *Religion of Greece in Prehistoric Times*, 35 f.
23 *PM* IV, 26.
24 See Nilsson, *Eranos* XV, 189 f.
25 *PM* III, fig. 41
26 *PM* I, 146, fig. 107.
27 *PM* II, 766, fig. 497.
28 *Delt. Arch.* VI, 1921, Appendix, 158, fig. 5.
29 *BSA*, 1938, XXXI.
30 *Kyrene*, 153 f.
31 *BCH* XV, 1891, 1 f. and pl. VII.
32 Nilsson, *MMB*, 506 f.
33 H. Payne, *JHS* (1933), 166 f.
34 *BSA* XXXV, pl. 25, 1.
35 *JHS*, 1933, fig. 18, 292, 295.
36 *BSA* XXXV, pl. 21, 4, 5, 82.
37 *BSA* XXXV, 101.
38 *Berlin Vases*, 2452.
39 Fairbanks, *Athenian white lekythoi* II, pl. 18, 1, 230.
40 *FD* V, 120–21.
41 Hogarth, *Ephesus*, 337 f.
42 Plut. *Thes.*, 21.
43 Marinatos, *BCH* LX, 1936, 241, fig. 17, 18.
44 Melaart, *Çatal Hüyük* (*Proc. Brit. Ac.* 51, 1965, 201 f.).
45 *Uber den Baumkultus der Hellenen und Römer*, esp. Chap. III.
46 *Wald- und Feldkulte*.
47 See Chap. XVI n. 58.

CHAPTER XVIII

1 58 f.
2 *The Iliad.* Note *ad loc.*
3 Paus. IV, 16, 5. See Frazer *ad loc.*
4 *Od.* III, 371 f.
5 See Festugière in Quillet, *HGR* I, 41.
6 105.
7 22.
8 *Il.* II, 795.
9 *Od.* XXII, 239 f.
10 Nilsson, *GGR*², 345 f.
11 *Od.* I, 319 f. The meaning of this passage has been disputed. See Merry, *The Odyssey ad loc.*
12 *Od.* V, 337 f.
13 51 f.
14 349 f.
15 The meaning of 'harpe' was disputed. Both Aristotle (*HA* IX, 609 A 24) and Aelian (II, 47) regarded it as a sea-bird, but Dionysius' description (I, 4) is decisive.
16 616 f.
17 *Il.* XV, 236 f.
18 531 f.
19 77 f.
20 *Il.* XII, 187.
21 *Il.* V, 778.
22 *Fr.*, 149, 1503 B 1.
23 *CR* XVII, 185 f.
24 *GGR* I², 349, n. 4.
25 62 f.
26 70 f.
27 See Leaf *ad loc.*
28 Aen. I, 405.
29 *Il.* XIV, 289 f.
30 *Av.*, 1180.
31 *HA* IX, 615 B.
32 *Ilios*, 113.
33 Apollod. III, 126.
34 Hyg., 77.
35 *Hel.*, 17 f.
36 See n. 33.
37 *Fr.*, 79 (Loeb).
38 *PV*, 975.
39 Armstrong, *FB*, Ch. 3.
40 See Guthrie, *Orpheus*, 80 and 95.
41 *Av.*, 691; Pollard, *AJ Phil.* LXIX, 4, October 1948, 373 f.
42 XV, 64.
43 Lucian, *Dial. D.* Zeus and Ganymedes.
44 Ath., 395 A; Apollod. I, 4, I with Frazer's note; A. B. Cook, *CR* XVII, 1903, 186.
45 According to a fragment of Philodemus quoted by A. B. Cook, *Zeus* II, ii, 1130 f., who suspects confusion with the god's cult title Epopsios (Overseer) with Tereus (Watcher).
46 Apollod. I, 4, I.
47 *Dion.* I, 28; Schol. Ar. in *Av.*, 102; Moschus, *Idylls* II, 55.
48 XXVIII.

CHAPTER XIX

1 II.
2 *Il.* IX, 524 f.
3 See *GGB*, 197.
4 Ath., 655 C – ; Ael.V, 27.
5 See under *Meleagrides*.
6 Paus. X, 32, 9.
7 IV, 42.
8 X, 38.
9 See under *Meleagrides*.
10 III, 12, 4.
11 On Verg. *Aen.* VI, 57.
12 X, 31, 6. See Frazer *ad loc.*
13 XXXVII.
14 I, 1.
15 III, 193 f. The *Bibliotheca* is not by Apollodorus himself.
16 Notably the serving up of his son Pelops to the gods by Tantalus (Pind. *Ol* I, 46 f.) of Thyestes' children by Pelops' son Atreus (Apollod. *Epit.* II, 12). and of Hippasos (Ant. Lib. X).
17 II, 29. For Epops as Attic hero see Daux, *BCH* LXXXVII (1963).
18 *Od.* XIX, 518.
19 *Op.*, 568
20 *Fr.*, 122 (Edmonds, Loeb).
21 *HA* IX, 633 A 19.
22 60.
23 XLV.
24 I, 41, 9. cf. Aesch. *Ag.* 1142 f.
25 With the notable exception of Verg. *Ecl.* VI, 78.
26 XIX.
27 See Pollard, *AJPhil* LXIX, 4, October 1948, 358.
28 III.
29 V.
30 VI.
31 *Resp.* X, 620 B.
32 *A.P.* VII, 62
33 VII.
34 IX.
35 Ant. Lib. X. cf. Ov. *Met.* V, 539 f.
36 ibid. XII.
37 ibid. XIV.
38 ibid. XV.
39 ibid. XVIII.
40 ibid. XX.
41 ibid. XXI.
42 ibid. XIX.
43 *Fr.*, 323 (Pearson).
44 See Rose, *JHS* XLVIII, 1928, 9 f.
45 Hyg., 274.
46 Lindsay, *CQ* XIX, 103; but Thompson regarded it as mythical (*CQ* XIX, 1925, 155–58).
47 Callim. *On Birds*, Pfeiffer *fr.*, 685; *Suda, Iynx*.
48 *Il.* IX, 563.
49 Apollod., 1, 7, 3. According to the *Suda* she was one of the daughters of the giant Alcyoneus. When he died they committed suicide by diving into the sea from a cliff and were changed into halcyons. For the myth of Alcyone see G. K. Gresseth, *TAPA*, 1964, 88 f. who interprets it as a sun myth.
50 Ov. *Met.* XI, 783 f. The poet's description suggests a stilt or avocet. See Arnott, *CQ* 1964, 261.

CHAPTER XX

1 *Av.*, 471 f.
2 *CR* XVIII, 1904, 81.
3 XI.
4 *CR* XVIII, 1904, 81.
5 *Od.* XIX, 58 f.
6 *Supp. Maidens*, 62.

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THAMES AND HUDSON