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## Mesopotamia in Greek and Biblical Perceptions

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## Appendix – Texts

Editions and translations of most texts that have been cited such as Herodotos, Apollodoros and Diodoros are easy to find. A few that are more difficult to find or that need a few words of commentary are printed below. The first text (Schol. Eur. Hec. 886) is anonymous, the others are arranged by author.

### **Schol. Eur. Hec. 886<sup>1</sup>**

This *scholion* comments on two lines from Euripides's Hecuba: 'Yet was it not women who killed Aigyptos' sons, and did women not completely rid Lemnos of men?' (Eur. Hec. 886-887).<sup>2</sup> Of course, the killing of Aigyptos' sons by Danaos' daughters is a well known story, but this *scholion* has an unusual version, in which Aigyptos and Danaos are sons of Io, while they are sons of Belos in most sources, and Danaos is a villain who seals his own fate by his evil designs. It is not known in which source this version was found by the scholiast, nor how old it is.

### **Translation<sup>3</sup>**

τί δ' οὐ γυναῖκες εἶλον Αἰγύπτου τέκνα: Aigyptos and Danaos were brothers, sons of Io,<sup>a</sup> daughter of Inachos. Aigyptos had fifty sons, while Danaos had fifty daughters. Danaos envied his brother Aigyptos because of his sons and was afraid that through them he would deprive him of his kingship. Therefore he expelled Aigyptos together with his sons to Egypt, and as a result, this country is called Egypt, after him. When some time had passed and his sons had become men, Aigyptos returned to Argos, having faith in their power. Because Danaos was afraid of him and had a premonition about what would happen to him and his kingship, he thought of the following plan against the sons of Aigyptos. He proposed that Aigyptos join his own daughters to his sons in matrimony. When Aigyptos willingly agreed to this, Danaos instructed his daughters to kill their husbands at night before they had slept with them and threatened to kill them if they did not do so. All of them obeyed their

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<sup>1</sup> Edition: *Scholia in Euripidem*, ed. Eduard Schwartz, 1887. Berlin.

<sup>2</sup> Translation: Kovacs 1994-2002.

<sup>3</sup> *Schol. Eur.* ed. Schwartz p69-70; the translation is my own.

father's orders and killed their husbands, except for Hypermnestra – and she was the only one of them to do so – who spared Lynkeus, because she had taken a liking to him because of their love-making. He was saved and took revenge on account of his brothers. He killed the daughters of Danaos, and at the same time Danaos himself, and took possession of his kingship over Argos, together with Hypermnestra. To them Abas was born; to Abas Proitos and Akrisios, to Akrisios Danae; to Danae Perseus; to Perseus Alkaios, Elektryon, and Sthenelos; of them Alkaios had a child called Amphitryon, and Elektryon got Alkmene. To Alkmene were born Herakles and Iphikles, the father of Iolaos.

## Hesiodic corpus

### **Strab. 1.2.34 (*Ehoiai* frg 137)<sup>4</sup>**

Strab. 1.2.34 contains a discussion of the Ἐρεμβοί, a nation mentioned in the *Odyssey*. The identity of the Ἐρεμβοί was contested in Strabo's days. According to Strabo, who follows earlier authors, such as Hellanikos and Posidonios, Homer's Ἐρεμβοί are the Ἀραβίοι or Ἀραβες (Arabs) of his own time.<sup>5</sup> Strabo cites two lines from the *Ehoiai* to prove that the Arabs were already known in Hesiod's days, which shows that Strabo interpreted Arabos as the eponymous hero of the Arabs.

### **Translation<sup>6</sup>**

Hesiod in his Catalogue speaks of 'the daughter<sup>a</sup> of Arabos, child of guileless Hermaon<sup>b</sup> and of Thronie, daughter of lord<sup>c</sup> Belos'. And Stesichoros<sup>d</sup> says the same thing. Therefore, we may conjecture that at the time of Hesiod and Stesichoros the country was already called Arabia from this Arabos, although it may be that it was not yet so called in the times of the heroes.

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<sup>4</sup> Fragment 137 in: *Fragmenta Hesiodica*, ed. R. Merkelbach and M.L. West, 1967. Oxford. In Most's translation, it is fragment 88.

<sup>5</sup> Retsö 2003: 352-353.

<sup>6</sup> Translation: *The Geography*, trans. Horace Leonard Jones, 1917-1927. London and Cambridge.

## Notes

<sup>a</sup> From the text, it is not entirely clear who the child of Hermaon and Thronie was. The received text reads καὶ κούρην Ἀράβοιο τὴν Ἑρμάων κτλ, which means that Arabos' daughter was the child of Hermaon and Thronie.<sup>7</sup> This is puzzling. A possible explanation is that Arabos was only in name father of the unnamed girl, while the god Hermaon was the real father. The same is told of Atymnos, who was in name a son of Phoinix, in reality of Zeus. The more popular solution to this problem is to emendate τὴν to τὸν, which makes Arabos a son of Hermaon and Thronie.<sup>8</sup> However, this emendation creates another problem. If one reads τὸν, Agenor's son Phoinix marries the great-grand-daughter of Belos. According to other sources, Belos is Agenor's twin-brother. A man marrying the great-grand-daughter of his other brother creates a chronological problem which is not easily solved.<sup>9</sup> Of course, it is possible that Agenor and Belos were not brothers in the *Ehoiai*, or that the poet was not troubled with chronological inconsistencies in a story from the heroic age. Not enough is known of the *Ehoiai* to solve this riddle.

<sup>b</sup> Hermaon: probably Hermes.

<sup>c</sup> Jones translates 'king', but perhaps 'lord' is a better translation of ἄναξ.

<sup>d</sup> Stesichoros: a poet from the late seventh and early sixth century.

### **Apollod. 3.14.4 (*Ehoiai* frg 139)**

#### **Translation<sup>10</sup>**

Adonis, while still a boy, was wounded and killed in hunting by a boar through the anger of Artemis. Hesiod affirms that he was the son of Phoinix and Alpheisiboia;

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<sup>7</sup> Hirschberger 2004: 115, 307.

<sup>8</sup> Merkelbach and West 1967: 67; Jones 1917-1927.

<sup>9</sup> Pace West 1985: 77 n 105.

<sup>10</sup> Translation: Frazer 1921.

and Panyassis<sup>a</sup> says that he was a son of Thias, king of Assyria,<sup>b</sup> who had a daughter called Smyrna.

### Notes

<sup>a</sup> Panyassis: poet from the early fifth century, an older relative of Herodotos.

<sup>b</sup> Thias is not mentioned in Eusebios' list of Assyrian kings.

### Schol. AB Hom. M 292 (*Ehoiai* frg 140)

Fragment 140 is from a *scholion* on Homer. It comments on the line 'And even then the Trojans and glorious Hector would not yet have broken through the gate of the wall and its long cross-bar, if Zeus the counsellor had not set his own son Sarpedon at the Argives, like a lion on twist-horned cattle.'<sup>11</sup> This fragment does not make clear who, according to Hesiod, Europe's mother was: perhaps Kassiepeia, who was also Phineus's mother.

### Translation<sup>12</sup>

When Zeus saw Europe, daughter of Phoinix, gathering flowers in a meadow with her maids, he fell in love with her, and he came to her in the shape of a bull whose breath was saffron-scented. In this way he enticed Europe and carried her away, and after he had taken her to Crete, he made love to her. Afterwards he gave her to Asterion, king of Crete, to be his wife. She became pregnant and gave birth to three children: Minos, Sarpedon, and Rhadamanthys. This story is told by Hesiod and Bacchylides.<sup>a</sup>

### Notes

<sup>a</sup> Bacchylides: a poet from the late sixth and early fifth century.

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<sup>11</sup> Translation: *The Iliad*, trans. Martin Hammond, 1987. London.

<sup>12</sup> The translation is my own.

## Pherekydes of Athens<sup>13</sup>

### Schol. Apoll. Rhod. 3.1186<sup>14</sup>

Pherekydes of Athens is cited a number of times in the *scholia* on the *Argonautica*, an epic describing the voyage of the Argo, written by Apollonios Rhodios in the third century BC. Fragment 21 (frg 86 Dolcetti) comments on the line ‘And Agenor's son, Kadmos, sowed them (sc. the dragon’s teeth) on the Aonian plains and founded an earthborn people of all who were left from the spear when Ares did the reaping.’<sup>15</sup>

### Translation<sup>16</sup>

Κάδμος Ἀγηνορίδης: Some say Kadmos was a son of Agenor, others of Phoinix. Pherekydes says in his fourth book: ‘Agenor, son of Poseidon, married Damno, daughter of Belos. Their children<sup>a</sup> were Phoinix, and Isaie, whom Aigyptos took as his wife, and Melie, whom Danaos took as his wife. Later Agenor took Argiope, daughter of the river Nile, as his wife. Their son was Kadmos.’

### Notes

<sup>a</sup> Wendel has γίνονται (Ionian and Koine), while Jacoby gives γίγνονται (Attic).

### Schol. Apoll. Rhod. 2.178

Fragment 86 (frg 87 Dolcetti) is also from the *scholia in Apollonium Rhodium*. It comments on the line ‘There Phineus, son of Agenor, had his home by the sea, Phineus who above all men endured most bitter woes because of the gift of prophecy which Leto's son had granted him aforetime.’<sup>17</sup>

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<sup>13</sup> *FGrH* 3; Fowler 2000: 272-364; Dolcetti 2004.

<sup>14</sup> Edition: *Scholia in Apollonium Rhodium vetera*, ed. Karl Wendel, <sup>2</sup>1958 (<sup>1</sup>1935). Berlin.

<sup>15</sup> Translation: *Argonautica*, trans. R.C. Seaton, 1912. Cambridge.

<sup>16</sup> Schol. Apoll. Rhod. ed. Wendel p252; the translation is my own.

<sup>17</sup> Translation: Seaton 1912.

## Translation<sup>18</sup>

Ἄγηνορίδης ἔχε: He was a son of Agenor, according to Hellanikos; or, as Hesiod says, of Phoinix, son of Agenor and Kassiepeia. Something similar say<sup>a</sup> Asklepiades,<sup>b</sup> and Antimachos,<sup>c</sup> and Pherekydes. The children of Kassiepeia, daughter of Arabos, and Phoinix were Kilix, and Phineus, and Doryklos, and Atymnos only in name;<sup>d</sup> in reality Atymnos was a son of Zeus.

## Notes

<sup>a</sup> Wendel gives a slightly different text and interpunction than Jacoby.<sup>19</sup> In the second sentence, Wendel has φασίν, where Jacoby has φησίν. In Jacoby's version Φερεκύδης is the sole subject of φησίν, which makes the following sentence a *verbatim* quotation from Pherekydes, while in Wendel's version Asklepiades, Antimachos and Pherekydes are all three subject of φασίν, and what follows represents the opinion of all three authors. I have translated Wendel's version.

<sup>b</sup> Asklepiades of Samos: a poet who lived around 300 BC.

<sup>c</sup> Antimachos of Kolophon: a poet who lived around 400 BC.

<sup>d</sup> Uhl seems to regard Doryklos and Atymnos as one and the same. Apparently, he translates ἐπίκλησιν as 'also called'.

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<sup>18</sup> Schol. Apoll. Rhod. ed. Wendel p.140; the translation is my own.

<sup>19</sup> Wendel 1958: 140. Fowler follows Jacoby.