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## The Dioscuri between Time and Eternity: A Study in Greek Myth and Genealogy

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# The Dioscuri between Time and Eternity: A Study in Greek Myth and Genealogy

AVI KAPACH

**Abstract:** This paper examines the genealogical doubleness of the Dioscuri, whose existence is divided between two generations: as brothers of Helen and sons of Leda and Tyndareus (or Zeus), the Dioscuri should belong to the generation of the Trojan War; yet their exploits take place during the previous generation, the generation of the Argonauts and the Calydonian Boar Hunt. I argue that the discrepancy between the Dioscuri's two lives constituted a key feature of their mythology from an early period, giving rise to a genealogical problem that was reflected, with increasing subtlety, in ancient Greek literature.

**Keywords:** Dioscuri, genealogy, mythography, chronography, Argonauts, Calydonian Boar Hunt, time

The mythology of the Dioscuri is rent by doubleness. The Dioscuri, as twin brothers, are two; they have two different fathers (Zeus and Tyndareus), two famous sisters (Helen and Clytemnestra), and two afterlives.<sup>1</sup> What is more, their existence is divided between two generations. As brothers of Helen and sons of Leda and Tyndareus (or Leda and Zeus), the Dioscuri ought to belong to the generation of the Trojan War; yet their important heroic exploits take place during the previous generation. The Dioscuri, that is, are well-attested as Argonauts and Calydonian Boar Hunters, but they very conspicuously do not accompany their own generation to Troy: the twins have apparently exhausted their heroism and transformed into gods before they can do so (cf. Hom. *Od.* 11.299–304). The Dioscuri, embraced by and embracing a kind of mythical atemporality, are members of the generation that lived before they were born.

The temporal or genealogical implausibility of this scenario should not concern us unduly. In mythical narratives, temporal frames of reference tend not to be particularly fixed or definite. Consequently, it would be otiose to try to calculate, say, how many years passed between the voyage of the Argonauts and the abduction of Helen, or exactly how old Helen's brothers would have been at either one of those temporal "points." The Dioscuri themselves, as various comparative studies have illustrated, most likely originated in the Indo-European divine twins or twin horse gods (compare especially the Vedic *Ásvins*),<sup>2</sup> and as gods would have been doubly unencumbered by the constraints of time.<sup>3</sup>

And yet, otiose as such calculations may appear to us, they were taken very seriously by the ancient Greeks. One would be hard-pressed to find a major Greek historian or mythographer, for instance, who did not at some point attempt to

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<sup>1</sup> This doubleness, accordingly, became a key element or leitmotif of epiphanies of the Dioscuri in both Greece and Rome (Platt 2018). All translations are my own.

<sup>2</sup> For a recent book-length study, see Walker 2015.

<sup>3</sup> If we wanted to seek a historical or diachronic explanation for the Dioscuri's genealogical doubleness, we might speculate that their genealogical connection with Tyndareus and Leda was simply superimposed upon their mythology at a relatively late period, or else that their mythology was merged or harmonized with some other pair of twins (note for instance the important role the twins Idas and Lynceus in the mythology of Castor and Polydeuces)—a tendency that may perhaps underly other temporally or genealogically implausible Greek mythical figures (e.g., Heracles, who we might reconstruct as an early combination of two major local heroes, one Theban and one Tyrrhenian). See also Ward 1968, who puts forward a similar argument (thanks to the anonymous referee for this reference).

determine the dates of the Trojan War (some even debated the exact day on which the city fell).<sup>4</sup>

In this paper, I seek to shed light on some implications of the Dioscuri's dual existence. Specifically, I am interested in what the ancient Greeks made of the fact that the Dioscuri belonged to two generations. For though temporal frames of reference were fluid and indefinite in the world of Greek myth, genealogical frames of reference were extremely important.<sup>5</sup> I argue that the discrepancy between the Dioscuri's two lives—their mythical life as peers of the Argonauts on the one hand and their genealogical ties to Helen and the generation of the Trojan War on the other—constitutes an important aspect of their mythical and literary identity.

# 1

Our instinct that the Dioscuri could not have belonged to the generation of the Argonauts as well as to the generation of the Trojan War seems to have been echoed in antiquity. In the early fourth century CE, Eusebius observed in his exhaustive *Chronicle* that the Dioscuri could not possibly have been both Argonauts and the brothers of Helen. His comment—preserved in Jerome's Latin translation—runs as follows: "If, however, Castor and Pollux were among the Argonauts, how can it be believed that Helen, who was carried off by Theseus as a maiden many years later, was their sister?" (*Si autem inter Argonautas fuerunt Castor et Pollux, quomodo potest eorum soror Helena credi, quae post multos annos virgo rapitur a Theseo?*, p. 41 Fotheringham).

Though Eusebius' *Chronicle* was, of course, a relatively late work, it would have reflected many centuries of similar research, carried out by writers such as Eratosthenes of Cyrene, Apollodorus of Athens, and Castor of Rhodes. These writers had been perfecting the strange science sometimes known today as "chronography" since the fourth or third century BC, systematizing and synchronizing genealogical data, Olympiads, king lists, and events from both the recent, "historical" past and the remote, "mythical" past.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>4</sup> The year of the fall of Troy was thus variously given as 1135 BCE (Ephorus, *FGrH* 70F223), 1172 BCE (Sosibius, *FGrH* 595F1), 1184/1183 BCE (Eratosthenes, *FGrH* 241F1d), 1193 BCE (Timaeus, *FGrH* 566F125), 1209/1208 BCE (Marmor Parium, *FGrH* 239A24), 1291 (Eretes, *FGrH* 242F1), 1334 BCE (Douris, *FGrH* 76F41), etc. According to Hellanicus of Lesbos, Troy was taken by the Greeks on the twelfth day of the month Thargelion (*FGrH* 4F152a); other contended that this took place on the twenty-third (Damastes of Sigeum, *FGrH* 5F7 = Dion. Hal., *Ant. Rom.* 1.63) or the twenty-fourth (Ephorus, *FGrH* 70F226; Callisthenes, *FGrH* 124F10) of the same month. See further Jacoby's commentary on these passages in *FGrH*, as well as Grafton and Swerdlow 1986; Fowler 2013, 543–45; Battezzato 2014, with references.

<sup>5</sup> See e.g., Fowler 1999.

<sup>6</sup> On Greek chronography in general, see the second part of Jacoby's *FGrH* (239–61) and Mosshammer 1979, esp. 97–100. Ancient chronographers (as they are typically called by modern scholars) established their chronologies primarily using synchronized king lists, sometimes going far back into the "mythical" period (Castor of Rhodes' Assyrian king list, for instance, went as far back as 2123 BCE); other synchronizations, for instance with lists of the Argive priestesses of Hera (going back to around 1000 BCE) or with Olympiads (going back to around 776/5 BCE), were also important. The first serious practitioner of what we might call chronography was Hellanicus of Lesbos, who seems to have lived from ca. 480 to 395 BCE (see *OCD* s.v.) and whose chronographic work, the *Hiereiae*, was founded on the lists of the Argive priestesses of Hera (see further Möller 2001, with references). Eratosthenes of Cyrene (ca. 285–194 BCE: see *OCD* s.v.), whose *Chronographiae* remained for a long time the standard work of scientific chronography or chronology, seems to have established the first Olympiad in the eighth century BCE as the true beginning of history proper, while Apollodorus of Athens (ca. 180–post-120 BCE: see *OCD* s.v.), in his updated *Chronica*, went back further, to the fall of Troy (on Eratosthenes' *Chronographiae*, see Pfeiffer 1968, 163–64; Fraser 1970, 198–200, 1972, 1:456–57; on Apollodorus' *Chronica*, see Jacoby 1902; Pfeiffer 1968, 255–57; Fleischer 2020). Other chronographic works went back much further: these include Castor of Rhodes' *Chronica*, written soon after 61 BCE, was the first work to bring the kingdoms of Asia into the synchronistic Hellenistic framework (and which went back, as we have seen, as far as the third millennium BCE; see Cole 2004, with references); there was also, of course, the remarkable Marmor Parium, from the middle of the third century BCE, would have started with the earliest mythical kings of Athens, with the first preserved section going back to 1581/80 BCE (see further Rotstein 2016, with references).

We may therefore imagine that Eusebius, in calculating a period of seventy years between the voyage of the Argo and the Trojan War, would have largely been reproducing what he found in his much earlier sources.<sup>7</sup> In the *Praeparatio evangelica*, Eusebius himself (10.12, quoting Clement) reports that second-century BC chronographer Apollodorus of Athens (though the attestation is rejected by Felix Jacoby<sup>8</sup>) had established a period of 53 years as the precise interval between the death and apotheosis of Heracles—who is counted as one of the Argonauts—and the apotheosis of the Dioscuri, which, he further reports, occurred around the time that Troy was captured. By Apollodorus’ arithmetic, then, at least 53 years (and probably well over 53 years, unless Apollodorus’ Argonauts sailed in the very last year of Heracles’ life) would have elapsed between the voyage of the Argo and the capture of Troy.

It is thus likely that ancient scholars were familiar with the chronological or genealogical problem underlying the myth of the Dioscuri from a relatively early date, even if we have little way of knowing how they addressed that problem.<sup>9</sup>

## 2

The genealogical doubleness of the Dioscuri was itself a very ancient and even integral part of the *mythos* of the Dioscuri. Let us begin with the parentage of the Dioscuri—hardly a clear-cut issue. According to what eventually became the best-known tradition, first attested in Pindar’s *Nemean* 10 (but possibly as early as the *Cypria*: see e.g., fr. 9 West), Castor and Polydeuces had two fathers: Castor was the son of Leda’s husband Tyndareus, but Polydeuces was the son of Zeus. As Zeus himself explains to Polydeuces (Pind. *Nem.* 10.80–82; cf. 55–59):

Ἑσσί μοι υἱός· τόνδε δ’ ἔπειτα πόσις  
σπέρμα θνατὸν ματρὶ τεῇ πελάσαις  
στάξεν ἥρωος.

You are my son. But this man was conceived afterwards by your mother’s husband, when that hero came to her and sowed his mortal seed...

This version of the twins’ parentage was later followed in the handbooks of Apollodorus (*Bibl.* 3.10.7) and Hyginus (*Fab.* 77). But it was not the only version. In the *Odyssey*, Castor and Polydeuces are both the sons of Tyndareus and Leda (*Od.* 11.298–300).<sup>10</sup>

<sup>7</sup> On Eusebius’ sources, see Mosshammer 1979, 128–68.

<sup>8</sup> On the grounds that Apollodorus’ *Chronica* began its coverage only with the Trojan War. See Jacoby 1902, 402 (the passage—originally from Clem. *Strom.* 1.105—is listed by Jacoby with the dubious fragments of Apollodorus of Athens’ *Chronica* in *FGrH* 244F87).

<sup>9</sup> There is frustratingly little evidence for how ancient mythographers and chronographers dated the voyage of the Argo (in stark contrast with the surfeit of evidence for how they dated the Trojan War). Even the Marmor Parium, probably our most complete example of early “chronography,” curiously omits the voyage of the Argo (cf. Jacoby’s commentary in *FGrH*). The Marmor Parium does place Orpheus, usually one of the Argonauts, 190 years before the Trojan War, however, hinting at a chronology in which it was several generations that separated the voyage of the Argo from the Trojan War (though it is probably more likely that the Marmor Parium was following a tradition in which Orpheus did not sail with the Argonauts, or in which there existed more than one Orpheus). One early and circumstantial conjecture was that Eratosthenes had dated the voyage of the Argonauts to some 42 years before the fall of Troy—that is, to 1225 BCE (Clinton 1834, 1:139; cf. 76, 77); but this conjecture, though once widely echoed, is not supported directly by any of our fragments of Eratosthenes.

<sup>10</sup> Cf. *Il.* 3.236–38, which specifies that Helen and the Dioscuri share a mother, implying that their father was not the same. Since the Homeric Helen’s father is clearly Zeus (*Il.* 3.199, 418, 426; *Od.* 4.184, 219, 23.218), we may surmise that the Homeric Dioscuri’s father, in the *Iliad* as in the *Odyssey*, is Tyndareus.

On the other hand, in the *Homeric Hymns* to the Dioscuri (17 and 33) as well as the Pseudo-Hesiodic *Catalogue of Women* (fr. 24 M-W) they are both sons of Zeus.<sup>11</sup>

So the Dioscuri are firmly connected, through their genealogy, to the generation of Helen and the Trojan War: as much as ancient sources may have oscillated regarding the specifics of their parentage, the Dioscuri were invariably either the children or foster children of Tyndareus and Leda (and therefore the siblings or foster siblings of Helen). Later sources would go even further, producing Castor, Polydeuces, Clytemnestra, and Helen all from a single pregnancy, as quadruplets (Apollod. *Bibl.* 3.10.7; Hyg. *Fab.* 77).

As far as their mythical biographies are concerned, however, the Dioscuri seem most at home in the generation of the Argonauts. It is true that a well-known tradition had the Dioscuri rescue Helen when she was carried off by Theseus (Hdt. 9.73; Diod. Sic. 4.63.1–3; Plut. *Thes.* 31–34; Apollod. *Bibl.* 3.10.7; Hyg. *Fab.* 79, 92), a natural extension of their role as Helen's heroic brothers.<sup>12</sup> But the association of the Dioscuri with the previous generation—the generation of the Argonauts—is also attested from early on. The earliest extant literary source linking the twins to the expedition of the Argonauts is Pindar: in *Pythian* 4, composed in honor of the games held in 462 BC, Castor and Polydeuces are among the first heroes listed in connection with the expedition, immediately following Heracles (171–73). But the earliest evidence connecting the Dioscuri to the voyage of the Argonauts is even older: among the metopes of the Sicyonian Treasury, usually dated to the middle of the sixth century BC, there is a depiction of the Argo that clearly includes Castor and Polydeuces (Polydeuces is inscribed and named, while Castor's presence can be assumed for the lacuna).<sup>13</sup> Castor and Polydeuces' voyage with the Argonauts, and especially Polydeuces' defeat of Amycus, was also well-established in literature as well as the visual arts by the fifth century BC.<sup>14</sup>

The Dioscuri also appear in other myths of the Argonaut generation. They are linked to the Calydonian Boar Hunt from at least the early sixth century BC, appearing on the François Krater. They also appear in various traditions alongside other individuals usually connected with the Argonaut generation. According to Pherecydes, they assist Peleus in his sack of Iolcus (*FGrH* 3F62). And, in a tradition going back as early as Alcman (fr. 29 Powell), they help the prolific Heracles—often though not always counted among the Argonauts—drive Hippocoon from their father (of foster father) Tyndareus' kingdom of Sparta.

This is all at least a little odd. Even if Castor and Polydeuces are imagined as Helen's older brothers, their simultaneous presence in the generation of Troy and the generation of the Argonauts seems strained: usually, these two generations are separate. In fact, it is common to find the sons of Argonauts among the heroes of Troy: Achilles and Ajax, two of the most important heroes at Troy, are the sons of the Argonauts Peleus and Telamon, respectively; Tlepolemus, another Homeric hero who fights at Troy, is the son of Heracles; Euneus, Jason's son by Hypsipyle and the ruler of Lemnos, supplies Agamemnon's army during the Trojan War; and so on.

The genealogical differentiation between the generation of the Argonauts and the generation of the Trojan War appears to have been well-established in antiquity.

<sup>11</sup> Cf. Alcaeus fr. 34a LP.

<sup>12</sup> The story must have been an old one. It is implied in the *Iliad*, where Theseus' mother Aethra is Helen's slave (3.143–44)—a detail that must presuppose the story of Helen's abduction by Theseus and subsequent rescue by her brothers Castor and Polydeuces, who after conquering Athens to retrieve their sister took Aethra as a slave. Artistic representations of the story may go as far back as the seventh century BCE (*LIMC* Dioskouroi 174).

<sup>13</sup> It is possible that we have literary evidence for the inclusion of the Dioscuri among the Argonauts that is even older, going back to Eumelus' *Corinthia* and thus possibly as early as the late seventh century BCE (see fr. 22 West).

<sup>14</sup> The story appears in a comedy by Epicharmus and a satyr play by Sophocles; it is also features on a Lucanian hydria from ca. 420 BCE (*LIMC* Amykos 11) and, of course, on the famous Ficoroni Cista from ca. 320 BCE.

This is reinforced by a comparison of individual heroes who made up the crew of the Argo with the heroes who fought at Troy. There are five extant catalogues of Argonauts, found in Apollonius of Rhodes' *Argonautica* (1.23–225), Apollodorus' *Library* (1.9.16), Hyginus' *Fabulae* (14), Valerius Flaccus' *Argonautica* (1.350–483), and the *Orphic Argonautica* (118–229), as well as a handful of partial or fragmentary catalogues (see *Appendix 1*).<sup>15</sup> If we compare these Argonautic catalogues with the catalogues of the heroes who fought at Troy—the main one is of course the “Catalogue of Ships” from *Iliad* 2.494–759—we find only seven overlapping names: these are Peneleus, Leitus, Euryalus, the twins Ascalaphus and Ialmenus, Nestor, and Philoctetes.<sup>16</sup> These seven individuals are interesting for a few reasons. First, many, if not most, of the names are of relatively “low-profile” heroes (Peneleus, Leitus, etc.), and it is not impossible that in a few cases we are dealing rather with distinct homonymous individuals, one an Argonaut and one a participant in the Trojan War. Second, the catalogues from which these names are drawn are relatively late (Peneleus, Leitus, Euryalus, and Ascalaphus and Ialmenus are named as Argonauts only by Apollodorus; Nestor only by Valerius Flaccus; and Philoctetes by Valerius Flaccus and Hyginus), meaning that the overlaps may not have emerged until a correspondingly late period.<sup>17</sup> The inclusion of Nestor and Philoctetes, who are certainly the most important individuals to have participated in both the voyage of the Argonauts and the Trojan War, were most likely not included as participants of the former until a much later date: they are both Argonauts in Valerius Flaccus, whose *Argonautica* (first century CE) was particularly keen on stressing the connection (thematic as well as temporal) between the voyage of the Argonauts and the Trojan War, as illustrated by W. R. Barnes and as we shall see below;<sup>18</sup> Philoctetes is also named as an Argonaut in Hyginus, who is idiosyncratic in many ways and who may well have been following Valerius Flaccus' lead (though whether this is even possible would depend on the highly uncertain date of the *Fabulae*). Third, some of the names on the list—Nestor being no doubt the easiest example—were known to have been older by the time they came to Troy: Nestor himself, as the Homeric poet tells us, either lived three generations and ruled over a fourth (*Il.* 1.250–52) or ruled over four generations (*Od.* 3.245).

The impression of a generational break is reinforced when we examine the other great exploit of the Argonaut generation, the Calydonian Boar Hunt—for which our main catalogues are those of Scopas of Paros' painting in the Temple of Athena

<sup>15</sup> Of the early catalogues that would have existed in Aeschylus' *Cabeiroi* and Sophocles' *Lemniae* virtually nothing has survived (only two names from Sophocles: fr. 386 R); Hesiod (or Pseudo-Hesiod), Pherecydes, Herodorus, Antimachus, Cleon of Curium, and the poet of the *Naupactia* probably also gave complete catalogues that are no longer extant; partial or fragmentary catalogues are known chiefly from Pind. *Pyth.* 4.171–83; Dionysius Scytobrachion fr. 14 ff. Rusten (= Diod. Sic. 4.41 ff.); Sen. *Med.* 616–69 and passim; Stat. *Theb.* 5.398–444; as well as from a few of the *Oxyrhynchi Papyri* (3698, 3702, 4097). Some overviews of the different lists and variants (alas not all of them free of errors) are given by Gantz 1993, 343–45; Scarpi 1996, 678–80; Dräger 2005, 424; Scherer 2006, 49–56, 2006, 49–56; Fowler 2013, 208–17; on inventories of Argonauts in art see *LIMC* Argonautai.

<sup>16</sup> There is no reason to suppose that the Argonaut Amphion (named in the catalogues of Apollonius of Rhodes, Hyginus, Valerius Flaccus, and the *Orphic Argonautica*) is the same individual as the friend of Epeius killed by Aeneas in Quint. Smyrn. 10.111 or that the Argonaut Amphidamas (named in the catalogues of Apollonius of Rhodes, Hyginus, and Valerius Flaccus) is the same individual as the Amphidamas who was one of the heroes in the Trojan Horse according to Tryphiodorus (182 ff.)

<sup>17</sup> For another interpretation, however, see Kullmann 2012, 20–24.

<sup>18</sup> Barnes 1981; cf. Zissos 2008, xl–xlii. Nestor is relatively untroubling as an Argonaut, given his advanced age at the time of the Trojan War (cf. Quint. Smyrn. 12.266–70); Philoctetes is more surprising, but Valerius was not doubt innovating here (as probably also with Nestor), and our surprise at the presence of Philoctetes may even be tempered when we remember that in Apollod. *Bibl.* 1.9.16 it was Philoctetes' father Poeas rather than Philoctetes who sailed with the Argonauts (a variations that may well represent the more “traditional” account).

Alea (as described in Paus. 8.45.6–7), Ovid’s *Metamorphoses* (8.299 ff.), Apollodorus’ *Library* (1.8.2), and Hyginus’ *Fabulae* (173); we might supplement these with a handful of other of literary and artistic inventories such as that found on the François Krater (*Appendix 2*).<sup>19</sup> In Apollodorus alone, roughly half of the Calydonian Boar Hunters had already occurred in the catalogue of Argonauts. On the other hand, the overlap between all the catalogues of Boar Hunters (not just Apollodorus) with the heroes of Troy is almost non-existent: the only heroes who took part in both expeditions are Nestor and Phoenix, and both were known to have been old men by the time they came to Troy.<sup>20</sup>

The clear generational break between the age of the Argonauts (and the Calydonian Boar Hunt) and the age of the Trojan War when we return to our catalogues and uncover that no fewer than 27 of the Argonauts (admittedly cobbled from various catalogues and incidental references) are parents or grandparents of individuals involved somehow in the Trojan War (fighters as well as others, such as Jason’s son Eueneus, who performed different duties in the war; see *Appendix 3*); for the Calydonian Boar Hunters, the number is 18 (12 of whom are also Argonauts; see *Appendix 4*). The generational break between the voyage of the Argonauts and the Calydonian Boar Hunt on the one hand and the Trojan War on the other was clearly well-established.<sup>21</sup>

This all serves to highlight even more powerfully the genealogical ambiguity of the Dioscuri. It is true, as we have seen, that some catalogues of Argonauts or Calydonian Boar Hunters incorporate the names of figures known to have taken part in the Trojan War as well (Nestor, Philoctetes, etc.); but these names appear in only a few catalogues. There are some 23 heroes (excluding Jason but also Heracles and Hylas, who almost always drop out early in the voyage) whose names feature in all five extant catalogues of Argonauts (see the bolded names in *Appendix 1*), and seven (excluding Meleager) who feature in all four extant catalogues of Calydonian Boar Hunters (I exclude the somewhat idiosyncratic catalogue from the François Krater; see the bolded names in *Appendix 2*); of these, only the Dioscuri can be said—genealogically speaking—to belong also to the generation of the Trojan War. In other words, all of the most “universal” of the Argonauts and Calydonian Boar Hunters are also, unsurprisingly, genealogically connected to the generation *before* the Trojan War—all, that is, except for the Dioscuri.

### 3

How, then, do we reconcile the Dioscuri’s genealogy as brothers of Helen and Clytemnestra with their role as Argonauts, not to mention Calydonian Boar Hunters?

The simplest solution is that the Dioscuri were much older than their sister (or sisters). This they may have been in some accounts and by some potential genealogical reckonings, although, as we shall see, this solution is not without its difficulties.<sup>22</sup> An

<sup>19</sup> For overviews of the different lists, see esp. Bömer 1977, 4:108–9; Scarpi 1996, 681; Dräger 2005, 405; Papaioannou 2017; on inventories in art see *LIMC* Meleagros.

<sup>20</sup> Once again, the sources that allow for this overlap (Ovid and Hyginus) belong to a relatively late period. Pherecydes (*FGrH* 3F36) added that Thersites, another figure of the Trojan War (e.g., *Il.* 2.212 ff.), was commanded to join the Calydonian Boar Hunt but, out of cowardice, did not actually take part. Another Boar Hunter, Hippothous son of Cerycon (named in the catalogues of Scopas of Paros, Ovid, and Hyginus; cf. *POxy* 4097), is connected with the Trojan War only to the extent that, according to Pausanias (8.5.4), he inherited the kingdom of Arcadia when Agapenor did not return from fighting in the war (implying that he himself did not fight—perhaps because he was too old?).

<sup>21</sup> Not to mention that Heracles, a hero of the Argonaut generation if not always an Argonaut himself, sacked the Troy of Laomedon, whose son Priam was the king of Troy at the time of the Trojan War: once again, we find our crucial generational gap.

<sup>22</sup> The question of whether the Dioscuri were older than Helen is a tangled one and cannot be addressed fully here. There



alternative solution would be to exclude the Dioscuri from the roster of Argonauts or Calydonian Boar Hunters. But it seems improbable that any significant ancient authorities would have adopted this solution. Of the few other heroes who are universally included in all extant catalogues of Argonauts and Calydonian Boar Hunters (see above), even fewer are further included in as many fragmentary, partial, or artistic sources or from as early a date as the Dioscuri.<sup>23</sup> The Dioscuri are some of the few Argonauts who play a role in the voyage (Polydeuces' fight with Amycus, as well as some additional roles in artistic representations), thus standing out from the majority of more-or-less ornamental Argonauts. Of course, the Dioscuri are not the only Argonauts who have individual myths embedded into the larger tradition of the voyage of the Argonauts: the misadventure of Heracles and Hylas is also prominent in many sources, for instance. Yet even Heracles is known to have been excluded from the myth of the Argonauts by some authorities, while we hear nothing about the Dioscuri ever suffering such a demotion.<sup>24</sup>

Finally, the very nature of the myth makes it difficult to imagine that the voyage of the Argonaut ever took place without the participation of the Dioscuri. The parallels

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certainly was a tradition in which the Dioscuri were Helen's older brothers, as demonstrated by the iconographic tradition (attested from the fifth century BCE) that showed the youthful but fully-grown Castor and Polydeuces beside Leda as she held or received the egg from which Helen would be born or from which she was already emerging (*LIMC* Dioskouroi 185–86; cf. *Dioskouroi/Tinas Cliniai* 71–76). This tradition seems to have been associated with the tradition that Helen was the daughter of Zeus and Nemesis rather than Zeus and Leda (Nemesis appears and is named on some instances of this scene). The literary tradition does frustratingly little to shed light on the situation. It is true that some traditions explicitly stated that Helen, Clytemnestra, and the Dioscuri were all born at the same time, but these traditions are not attested until late (see above). In the earliest sources, Helen and Dioscuri do not have the same parents, and may well have been born at different times: thus, in Homer, Helen is the daughter of Zeus and Leda while the Dioscuri are the sons of Tyndareus and Leda; in the *Cypria*, as in Pind. *Nem.* 10.80–82, it seems that Castor is the son of Tyndareus and Leda while Polydeuces is the son of Zeus and Leda, but Helen is the daughter of Zeus and Nemesis. The earliest source to make Helen the full sister of the Dioscuri—that is, making Zeus and Leda the parents of all three—may have been the *Catalogue of Women*, though even this is uncertain (with fr. 199, 204.61–62, and 176 M-W, cf. fr. 24 M-W); the earliest source we know of to have unambiguously made Helen and the Dioscuri full-siblings (i.e., all children of Zeus and Leda) is Euripides' *Helen* of 412 BCE (see esp. 1643–45), and it is not unlikely that Euripides, as often, was innovating or merging disparate sources. Thus, in the earliest sources, Helen and the Dioscuri either share a mother (Homer) or they share a father (*Cypria*), and in these sources the Dioscuri may well have been imagined as Helen's older brothers. On the other hand, Helen and the Dioscuri likely did not share both parents until later (Euripides), but in this possibly later variant all three were almost certainly born at the same time (as in Apollodorus and others). Indeed, among Zeus' amorous escapades, it is not typical to find instances of double visitation resulting in multiple pregnancies. The most economical explanation for the shared parentage of Helen and her brothers (in traditions where parentage was indeed shared) was that Zeus slept with Leda (in the form of a swan?) and inseminated her with his divine spawn, who were then all born together as triplets or, if Clytemnestra was included for good measure, as quintuplets (after all, Zeus, as a god and indeed the most powerful and fertile of the gods, did not—to put it crudely—“fire blanks”: each of his sexual encounters with a member of the female sex would have necessarily resulted in pregnancy). Yet regardless of whether the Dioscuri were older than Helen or the same age as her, the prominence of the Dioscuri in the generation of the Argonauts remains odd (the oddity becomes merely a question of degree): it is the genealogical structure, rather than antiquarian matters of chronology, whose violation is surprising and unexpected even within the world of Greek myth, and that violation remains a very real factor regardless of the respective parentage of Helen and her brothers.

<sup>23</sup> In addition to sources cited above (the Sicyonian treasury metopes, Pindar), the Dioscuri also appear as Argonauts in Theoc. 22; Callim. *Actia* fr. 17, 18 Pfeiffer; Dionysius Scytobrachion fr. 14 Rusten (= Diod. Sic. 4.41); Sen. *Med.* 88–89; Stat. *Theb.* 5.407, 437–38; *POxy* 3702 and 4097; they appear as Calydonian Boar Hunters in the François Krater (cf. above), as well as in a mid-sixth century BCE cup signed by Archicles and Glaucytes (*LIMC* Meleagros 19).

<sup>24</sup> Most sources had Heracles leave the voyage early, but Herodorus appears to have excluded him completely, on the grounds that the Argo could not bear his weight (*FGrH* 31F41). Orpheus, another “high profile” Argonaut in many sources, was excluded by Pherecydes, who replaced him with Philammon (*FGrH* 3F26); and we know of a lesser hero, Iphiclus son of Phylacus, who was also explicitly excluded by Pherecydes (*FGrH* 3F110). If any major poetic or mythographic authorities had excluded the Dioscuri from the Argonauts, we would be justified in expecting their exclusion to have been noted by later commentators (such as those that preserve the exclusion, by some authorities, of Heracles, Orpheus, and Iphiclus).



between the crew of the Argo and the “helper” folktale type (*Helfermärchen*) has long been appreciated.<sup>25</sup> The Dioscuri themselves, as gods, are particularly distinguished as divine helpers, protecting sailors and watching over mortals: in their Homeric *Hymn*, for instance, they are invoked specifically as deities who help sailors in trouble, and they make helpful appearances as *dei ex machina* in two of Euripides’ extant tragedies, the *Electra* and the *Helen*.<sup>26</sup> And while the Dioscuri were not conventionally regarded as having been deified during the voyage of the Argonauts, myths do not generally follow a linear temporality, and indeed we do find that the Dioscuri play their (future) role of divine helpers in Diodorus’ account of the voyage of the Argonauts (4.43.2). Moreover, the prominence of twins or sibling pairs among the Argo’s crew is too obvious to miss (besides Castor and Polydeuces, there are the Boreadae Calais and Zetes, the Apharetidae Idas and Lynceus, the Aeacidæ Peleus and Telamon, etc.). Taken cumulatively, this evidence suggests that the Dioscuri were not incidental as Argonauts but an integral part of the tradition.

Also significant, no doubt, is the fact that the Messenian twins Idas and Lynceus, the inevitable rivals of the Spartan twins Castor and Polydeuces, also always belong (seemingly inalienably) to the generation of the Argonauts and the Calydonian Boar Hunt. Of course, Idas and Lynceus were central to the myth of the death of the Dioscuri from as early as the time of the *Cypria*.<sup>27</sup> And so we find that the entire myth of the Dioscuri—their life, their *erga*, and their death—has taken place before the Trojan War, by which time, indeed, the divine twins are an artifact of the past, and the Homeric Helen can survey the battlefield from the walls of Troy and wonder where her brothers are, not knowing that they are dead and buried in some other stratum of time (*Il.* 3.236–44):

“δοιῶ δ’ οὐ δύναμαι ἰδέειν κοσμήτορε λαῶν  
 Κάστορά θ’ ἱππόδαμον καὶ πύξ ἀγαθὸν Πολυδεῦκεα  
 αὐτοκασιγνήτω, τῷ μοι μία γείνατο μήτηρ.  
 ἢ οὐχ ἐσπέσθην Λακεδαιμόνος ἐξ ἐρατεινῆς,  
 ἢ δεύρω μὲν ἔποντο νέεσσ’ ἐνὶ ποντοπόροισι,  
 νῦν αὖτ’ οὐκ ἐθέλουσι μάχην καταδύμεναι ἀνδρῶν  
 αἴσχεα δειδιότες καὶ ὀνείδεα πόλλ’ ἅ μοί ἐστιν.”  
 ὧς φάτο, τοὺς δ’ ἤδη κάτεχεν φνσίζοος αἶα  
 ἐν Λακεδαιμόνι αὖθι φίλῃ ἐν πατρίδι γαίῃ.

“... But I cannot see the two leaders of men, Castor tamer of horses and the great boxer Polydeuces, my brothers who were born to my own mother.

<sup>25</sup> Meuli 1975, 593–610; Fowler 2013, 210–11.

<sup>26</sup> For this helper role as characteristic of the Dioscuri and their divine epiphanies, see further Platt 2018 (who compiles and discusses many more instances).

<sup>27</sup> The above is not an exhaustive survey of the traditions connecting the Dioscuri to the pre-Troy generation; but other traditions tend to be more local, fragmentary, or obscure. A few authors, for example, name an equestrian Castor as the hero who taught the young Heracles the art of war (Theocr. *Id.* 24.103–29; cf. Apollod. *Bibl.* 2.4.9); but this is a disenfranchised Argive Castor who is presumably connected to a rival cult of the Dioscuri based in the Argolid (cf. Plut. *Quaest. Graec.* 23). Also interesting is the tragedy *Rhadamanthys*, by either Critias or Euripides, that apparently linked the death of the Dioscuri with the daughters of the Cretan Rhadamanthys; unfortunately, the fragments from this play are too sparse for us to say anything further about the context of this unusual tradition.

Either they did not follow the army from lovely Lacedaemon, or they came here in their seafaring ships but now enter not the battle of the men in fear of the shame and reproach that have come upon me.” So she spoke; but the life-giving earth already held them fast there in Lacedaemon, in their dear native land.

If anything, we would think that the tradition that made the Dioscuri the brothers of Helen was secondary to their mythical exploits as Argonauts or to their role as twin gods;<sup>28</sup> yet even if this is true, the Dioscuri were genealogically linked to the generation of Helen (and the Trojan War) from an extremely early period (indeed from the time of the Homeric epics). Nor was there any alternative genealogy attested for the twins in antiquity.<sup>29</sup> For all intents and purposes, then, the Dioscuri belonged to two generations at once.

#### 4

It must have been inevitable that the genealogical doubleness of the Dioscuri would have piqued the interest of the increasingly learned and recondite figures of the Greek literary scene. Now, it is true that there are relatively few substantive references to the Dioscuri in surviving early (that is, pre-Hellenistic) Greek literature; but for several reasons (to which I shall return below), this early literature would most likely have had little interest in the genealogical arcana discussed in this essay. Rather, it is in our later evidence for the Dioscuri—especially the *Argonauticae* of Apollonius of Rhodes and Valerius Flaccus and the 22<sup>nd</sup> *Idyll* of Theocritus—that we find the most valuable illustrations of how ancient authors handled the genealogical ambiguity of the divine twins.

We find, first of all, that many ancient authors took some pains to “naturalize” the genealogical ambiguity in question. Indeed, we might be forgiven if, on the basis of our Hellenistic and post-Hellenistic evidence, we were to find ourselves lulled into underrating the strangeness of the Dioscuri’s genealogical ambiguity. From Apollonius on, we in fact find a definite tendency in ancient literature to downdate the entire voyage of the Argonauts. Of the seven names traditionally included among the Argonauts as well as the leaders of the Trojan War (see above), not one is to be found in Apollonius’ *Argonautica*. Another telling chronological marker is the presence of Achilles in Apollonius as well as Valerius. For Apollonius and Valerius, Achilles—only a few years away from becoming the mightiest hero of the Trojan War—has already been born when the Argo sets sail. In Apollonius, Achilles is even present, a child held in the arms of his tutor Chiron’s wife, to see his father Peleus off (1.552–58); and in Valerius’ *Argonautica*, Achilles is already big enough to embrace his departing father and marvel at the impressive heroes bustling about him (1.255–65).<sup>30</sup> As though to make sure we do not miss the connection with the Trojan War, Valerius has his Peleus instruct Chiron on the rearing of his precocious son (267–70):

<sup>28</sup> Hardly a novel notion: cf. Nilsson 1972, 78.

<sup>29</sup> Provided we maintain the identification of the Spartan Castor and Polydeuces with the Dioscuri. It is possible that the deities known collectively as the Dioscuri were in some remote early period distinct from the Spartan “Tyndaridae” Castor and Polydeuces (in the eastern Aegean, for example, the Dioscuri were connected with the Cabiri of Samothrace, possibly suggesting that the Dioscuri, *qua* Indo-European twin horse gods, first reached the Greek world through Ionia: cf. Diod. Sic. 5.49; Paus. 3.15.4); yet the question of the origins of the Dioscuri is not one that I have the leisure to explore in this essay, and at any rate the Dioscuri were evidently identified with Castor and Polydeuces from such an early period that the origin question becomes almost trivial for my purposes.

<sup>30</sup> Ovid in the *Fasti* implies a similar chronology when he has Achilles meet Heracles in his strange account of the death of Chiron (5.379–414).

... te parvus lituos et bella loquentem  
miretur; sub te puerilia tela magistro  
venator ferat et nostrum festinet ad hastam.

... Let my little boy marvel at your tales of trumpets and wars; under your instruction let him wield his boyish weapons in the hunt and hasten to my spear.

This phrase is anything but idle. Peleus expresses his wish that Achilles “hasten” (*festinet*) to his spear—the very spear, of course, that Achilles will famously wield in the Trojan War (Il. 16.141–44 = 19.388–91; cf. Val. Flacc. 1.404 ff.). Like Valerius (who was particularly interested in exploring the connection between the voyage of the Argonauts and the Trojan War), Peleus is abridging the time that is to pass between his own time and the time of Achilles—that is, the time of the Trojan War.<sup>31</sup> Nor is Achilles an idle choice in the chronological agenda of Valerius or Apollonius: for the entire *mythos* of Achilles revolves around his *moira* of an early death, meaning that Achilles must be very young when he fights at Troy; if he is already alive at the time of the voyage of the Argonauts, it means that the span of time separating that voyage from the Trojan War could not have been very long (in Apollonius at least, we will hear more about Achilles later, at 4.847 ff.).

We should not take the chronology of Apollonius or Valerius for granted. As we have seen, the voyage of the Argonauts was sometimes dated to a much earlier time (some 70 years before the Trojan War in Eusebius, for instance). We might also compare Catullus 64, where Achilles (our chronological marker in Apollonius and Valerius) is born well *after* the voyage of the Argonauts (as it is in fact during the voyage that Catullus’ Peleus and Thetis first meet). And then there is the popular trope of the Argo as the first ship—a tradition that would no doubt imply an early date for the voyage. This trope is first attested unambiguously in Eratosthenes’ *Catasterisms* (35), and became particularly popular in Roman poetry. Catullus, in *carmen* 64, leapt to adopt this tradition (11), though of course not without undermining it with his famous ekphrasis of a tapestry representing the myth of Theseus and his abandonment—via a *ship*—of his lover Ariadne.<sup>32</sup> Apollonius, unsurprisingly, is careful to reject this tradition (1.547–52), though this does not necessarily prevent him from alluding to it (cf. 4.316–22).<sup>33</sup> Valerius, perhaps surprisingly, seems to embrace the primacy of the Argo wholeheartedly, introducing the tradition in the very first lines of his poem (*prima deum magnis canimus freta pervia natis / fatidicamque ratem*, “I sing of the straits first crossed by the mighty offspring of gods and the fate-speaking ship,” 1.1–2) and reinforcing it repeatedly throughout his poem.<sup>34</sup> But Valerius, like Catullus before him (not to mention other poets, such as Ovid), does not adopt this tradition without contradiction, and he alludes, on a few occasions, to prior nautical endeavors (2.110–11, 285–302, 655–62, 7.261–62, 8.5, 261).<sup>35</sup>

Even the traditional primacy of the Argo, then, does not pose a serious challenge to the downdating of Apollonius and Valerius. This revised chronology of course has sweeping implications, but I shall focus on the implications for the myth of the Dioscuri specifically. Take Apollonius’ explanation for why Theseus could not sail with the Argonauts (101–3):

<sup>31</sup> Cf. Barnes 1981, 364–65 (who discusses further examples of how Valerius explores the connection between the Argonauts and the Trojan War).

<sup>32</sup> On the general ambience of “anomie” cultivated in this challenging poem, see Feeney 2007, 123.

<sup>33</sup> See e.g., Hunter 1989 ad Ap. Rhod. 3.340–46.

<sup>34</sup> Especially in Book 1 (96–98, 113–14, 196–97, 275–76, 323–24, 498–502, 573, 598–600, 606–7, 627–28, 672–74); see Spaltenstein 2002–2005 ad 1.1 for references to further books.

<sup>35</sup> In addition to Catullus, cf. Ovid’s contradictory treatment of the Argo as the first ship in the *Metamorphoses* (with 6.721 cf. 6.444–46). See also the discussion in Zissos 2008, 72–73.

Θησέα δ', ὃς περὶ πάντας Ἐρεχθεΐδας ἐκέκαστο,  
 Ταιναρίην αἰδηλὸς ὑπὸ χθόνα δεσμὸς ἔρυκεν,  
 Πειρίθῳ ἐσπόμενον κοινήν ὁδόν·

But Theseus, who surpassed all the Erechtheids, unseen bonds detained in  
 the land of Taenarus, since he had followed Pirithous on a common journey.

Theseus, who is included in other catalogues among the Argonauts (A, H: see above), is excluded by Apollonius on the grounds that at the time he was stranded in Hades with his friend Pirithous. Some context is important here. The reason Theseus was in Hades, as Apollonius' readers would have known, was because he and Pirithous had been caught trying to carry off Persephone. And the reason Theseus had accompanied Pirithous in his ill-advised (and ultimately abortive) abduction of Persephone was because Pirithous had already helped Theseus in *his* ill-advised abduction of Helen—Helen, the sister of Castor and Polydeuces. For Apollonius, then, not only has the greatest hero of the Trojan War been born at the time of the voyage of the Argonauts, but so has its instigator.

In fact, by referring—however indirectly—to the abduction of Helen, Apollonius insinuates himself into contemporary chronological debates. We know of several authorities who had attempted to calculate Helen's age at the time of her abduction by Theseus. According to Hellanicus, Helen was seven years old when Theseus kidnapped her (Hellanicus *FGrH* 323aF18); according to Diodorus, she was ten (4.63.1); according to Apollodorus, she was twelve (*Epit.* 1.23).<sup>36</sup> For Stesichorus, on the other hand, Helen was old enough to give Theseus a daughter when he abducted her (fr. 191 *PMG*).

Downdating the voyage of the Argonauts certainly would have made the presence of Castor and Polydeuces among the Argonauts seem less strange. Yet Apollonius and Valerius both still seem to signal their familiarity with the genealogical doubleness of the Dioscuri through their shared emphasis on the twins' age at the time of the expedition. Apollonius stresses that the twins were in the bloom of early youth when they sailed to Colchis. He describes Polydeuces, for example, as “growing his first beard, still soft” (ἔτι χνοάοντας ἰούλους | ἀντέλλων, 2.43–44) when he faces the brutish Amycus. When Valerius sets the same scene, his Pollux is represented, in similar terms, as “hardly having scattered the signs of first youth (*vixdum etiam primae spargentem signa iuventae*, 4.233). Such passages read almost like a mythographic intervention in the Argo myth: the Dioscuri did participate in the expedition, typically associated with the generation before their own, but they were extremely young when they did so.<sup>37</sup>

At last we come to Theocritus, who in *Idyll* 22 turned the entire chronological problem on its head. It should be noted that *Idyll* 22 is an extremely challenging poem. Like the Dioscuri themselves, it is rent by doubleness. It can be divided into two parts which differ in virtually every conceivable way. The first part (27–134) tells the story of Polydeuces' battle with Amycus (an episode that takes place during the voyage of the Argonauts). This first narrative contains a tritely noble message: when Amycus rudely refuses the gifts offered him by Polydeuces and prevents him and his twin brother Castor from even slaking his thirst with a drink of water from the spring he guards, the familiar boxing match between him and Polydeuces ensues. Polydeuces defeats Amycus, but—in what is notably a twist on the more common literary tradition, in which Amycus is killed—he allows Amycus to live, taking the opportunity to offer him

<sup>36</sup> See further the discussion in Jacoby's commentary in *FGrH* 2b (Supplement), with notes, as well as Fowler 2013, 487–89.

<sup>37</sup> Cf. Apollonius' treatment of Meleager at 1.190 ff.

a lesson in hospitality.<sup>38</sup> But in the second part of the poem (137–213), which recounts Castor’s battle with Lynceus, there can be no doubt that the Dioscuri are very much in the wrong. In this narrative, the Dioscuri have unjustly kidnapped the Leucippides, stealing them from the twins Idas and Lynceus, who are their rightful fiancés. To Lynceus’ indignant speech criticizing their actions, the Dioscuri offer no response (their silence leading no less a scholar than Wilamowitz to posit a lacuna after line 170 to allow for a speech for Castor—an emendation that is not justified by anything in the text). Instead, Castor kills Lynceus. When Idas attempts to intervene, Zeus lays him low with a thunderbolt.

Scholars have endlessly debated what to make of the two seemingly conflicting halves of *Idyll* 22, which paints a virtuous portrait of the Dioscuri in its first narrative only to turn them into cruel villains in the narrative that immediately follows it. This is not the place to rehash old scholarly controversies; certainly I am inclined to agree with Hunter that the “twoness” of the poem is uniquely appropriate to the twoness of the Dioscuri.<sup>39</sup> To me, however, what is important about the poem is its flagrant rewriting of mythical tradition: for in this strange poem, both Castor and Polydeuces survive their battle with Idas and Lynceus, which in all other known sources is how they die or become gods. As surprising as Amycus’ survival may have been in the first half of the poem, this second half would have no doubt been downright unprecedented. Moreover, Theocritus’ concluding words even imply that the twins were among the heroes who fought at Troy (214–20):

χαίρετε Λήδας τέκνα, καὶ ἡμετέροις κλέος ὕμνοις  
 ἐσθλὸν αἰεὶ πέμποιτε· φίλοι δέ τε πάντες αἰοῖδοι  
 Τυνδαρίδαις Ἑλένη τε καὶ ἄλλοις ἠρώεσσιν,  
 Ἴλιον οἳ διέπερσαν ἀρήγοντες Μενελάῳ.  
 ὅμῃν κῦδος ἄνακτες ἐμήσατο Χίος αἰοῖδος,  
 ὕμνήσας Πριάμοιο πόλιν καὶ νῆας Ἀχαιῶν  
 Ἰλιάδας τε μάχας Ἀχιλλῆά τε πύργον ἀντῆς·

Farewell, children of Leda, and may you always go with the noble glory of my song! Dear are all bards to the Tyndarids, to Helen, and to the other heroes who aided Menelaus in sacking Ilium. Your glory, my lords, the Chian bard has devised when he sang of the city of Priam, the ships of the Achaeans, the battles of Ilium, and Achilles, the bulwark of the war-cry.

There is much that is alarming in these lines. For one, Theocritus claims that the “Chian bard”—that is, Homer—had celebrated the *kydos*, the “glory,” of the Dioscuri in his song of the Trojan War, when in fact we have seen that the Homeric epics explicitly stated that the Dioscuri had died before the war began. But what is really strange is that Theocritus should have the Dioscuri present at the Trojan War—and indeed at the sack of Troy—in the first place. Not only is this unheard of in other accounts; but, when taken in combination with the first part of the poem, it flaunts the genealogical difficulty underlying

<sup>38</sup> The only other (known) literary source in which Polydeuces spares Amycus’ life is Pisander *FGrH* 16F5; however, many artistic representations of the myth show Polydeuces or the other Argonauts binding Amycus rather than killing him, so it is not unlikely that Amycus survived his combat with Polydeuces in the older version of the myth.

<sup>39</sup> Hunter 1996, 59. For further discussion of Theocritus’ *Idyll* 22 and its “twoness,” see e.g., Griffiths 1980, 129–32; Laursen 1992; Sens 1992, 1997; Cameron 1995, 431–36; Hunter 1996, 46–76; Thomas 1999, 252–60.

the myth of the Dioscuri.<sup>40</sup> For the boxing match between Polydeuces and Amycus took place during the voyage of the Argonauts, the defining exploit of the generation that lived before Troy—the generation to which the Dioscuri belong, seemingly preferring it to their own. But then Theocritus has the Dioscuri survive their own deaths and participate in the Trojan War. He thus restores the twins to their own generation, albeit in a surprising and strained manner. To me, this makes the twoness of *Idyll 22* all the more evocative: how appropriate does Theocritus' stylistic and moral inconsistency suddenly become, when we remember that the two halves of his poem represent two different versions of myth, two different versions of time! In the first half, we have the Dioscuri as Argonauts; in the second, we have them as brothers of Helen and—uniquely—participants in the Trojan War. These two halves of Theocritus' poem are mutually incompatible, and Theocritus knows it. Indeed, I have no doubt that in *Idyll 22* our learned Theocritus was, at least in part, showing off his familiarity with the antiquarian problem of the genealogy of the Dioscuri—a problem that was expressed, as we have seen, in Eusebius' *Chronicle*, and which must have occupied scholarly minds of a much earlier date, including most likely scholars who lived in the time of Theocritus.

We have seen, then, that poets of the Hellenistic and Imperial periods reflected upon and exploited the genealogical problem of the Dioscuri. Sometimes these clever poets flirted with solutions to the problem. But, true to the Alexandrian style, their solutions were not without their (deliberate) gaps. In the final analysis, we find that the Dioscuri were left more or less at peace, to live, as they always had, in two generations at once.

## Conclusions

It is by now a rather well-worn truism that chronological lapses are not uncommon in Greek mythology, or any mythology for that matter. Thinkers as diverse as Kerenyi, Eliade, and Levi-Strauss have all argued, in different ways, that myths unfold in a world that is not necessarily temporal, in a kind of sacred time. But *genealogy* was central to Greek myth from early on: one need only think of the *Theogony* or the *Catalogue of Women*, which has been described as “the most spectacular testimony to the importance of genealogy” in early Greece.<sup>41</sup> But even earlier, in the Homeric epics, we find genealogies being used like “maps” with which characters, poet, and audience can orient themselves in the past and in relation to the past (e.g., *Il.* 7.127–28; cf. 11.769–70). Since the beginning of literacy, genealogy supplied the structure for the Greek myths.<sup>42</sup> So how can the myth of the Dioscuri be so egregiously incompatible with its genealogy?

The answer, I suspect, is that time is incidental not only to myths, but to genealogies as well. In the myth of the Dioscuri for example, what is much more important than time or even genealogy is the familiar story pattern or “mytheme” of the Indo-European “twin horse gods” (to borrow Walker's term<sup>43</sup>), the Vedic Ásvins being perhaps the most obvious parallel. Indeed, these “twin horse gods” of Indo-European lore tend to be notable as helpers, which is just the role played by the Dioscuri, both in general (consider their “role” in the concluding *dei ex machina* of Euripides' *Electra* and *Helen*) but also as Argonauts: in the Greek *Helhmärchen* par excellence, the Dioscuri are, so to speak, the *Helhhelden* par excellence.

Presumably, then, the Dioscuri originated as the equine heroes of a bygone heroic age; given their distinctive qualities, it would have been only natural to number

<sup>40</sup> In one tradition, the possibility that the Dioscuri could have participated in the Trojan War is artfully excluded through a trick of fate: the Dioscuri needed to die before the war because if they had lived to fight in it Troy would not have possibly withstood for ten years, as fate required (Lycoph. *Alex.* 512–49).

<sup>41</sup> Fowler 1999, 1.

<sup>42</sup> Fowler 1999.

<sup>43</sup> Walker 2015.

them among the Argonauts. Their role as brothers of Helen likely only came later. But, even when a genealogical structure was superimposed over the Indo-European mytheme exemplified by the Dioscuri, time and chronological consistency did not necessarily come into the picture. Genealogies—at least at first—seem to have been important not because they established a historical chronology but because they connected the present to the past: the latter was projected from the former. Myth, that is, moves in the opposite direction from history, from the present to the past rather than from the past to the present. This is what Fowler has called “genealogical thinking.”<sup>44</sup>

This key phenomenon must be distinguished from historical thinking, for it presents us with an artificial genealogical structure that takes precedence over and even ignores temporal constraints. Thus—at least at first—the genealogical structures underpinning the Greek myths would have only mattered as units in their own right (“in genealogies, it matters little whether Aeolus’ third son came before or after Labdacus’ second, or whether Theseus killed Procrustes before or after Heracles captured the Erymanthian Boar”<sup>45</sup>). But as mythographers and historians—beginning, it seems, with Hellanicus in the fourth century BC—began to synchronize the traditional genealogical information into coherent chronological data, time was introduced into the Greek myths, and the Dioscuri (among others) became a problem—a problem that must have been known and debated long before Eusebius. This problem would have become increasingly familiar, until every author who dealt with the Dioscuri had also to address it somehow.<sup>46</sup>

So it would not have mattered that the Dioscuri belonged to the generation that lived after the voyage of the *Argo*: this did not bar them from being Argonauts themselves. To be sure, it is eminently appropriate for the fundamentally “double” Dioscuri to belong to two generations. As we have said before, the Dioscuri are rent by doubleness: they have two fathers and two sisters; their rivals (and, in most accounts at least, their killers) are a set of twins (Idas and Lynceus), and their brides are two sisters (the Leucippides); and then here is their double nature as human heroes and Olympian gods, which culminates, finally, in their two afterlives. Amidst all this doubleness, we can hardly be surprised that the Dioscuri (both of them) lived two lives as well.

In the final analysis, however, I think that what is interesting about the Dioscuri is not so much their chronological or genealogical ambiguity in itself so much as the fact that this paradox was so readily tolerated and accepted: in the world of Greek myth, the Dioscuri can easily be Argonauts decades before they were born, just as they can easily alternate between death and immortality for all eternity. The Dioscuri, through their double existence, teach us an important lesson about the fluidity of Greek myth, a fluidity which, in the end, defeats history, genealogy, and even time itself.<sup>47</sup>

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<sup>44</sup> Fowler 1999.

<sup>45</sup> Fowler 1999, 18.

<sup>46</sup> Incidentally, I think it says something about the nature of Greek myth that, for all its fluidity, the most natural way to cope with the genealogical problems of the Argonautic expedition was not to alter the composition of the heroic crew but rather (as we have seen) to shift the entire chronology of the expedition: we are shown, and not in this case only, that time and chronology are in many ways the most fluid entities in the mythical world.

<sup>47</sup> I owe a special thanks to the participants at the March 2021 CANE annual meeting, where this paper was first presented, for patiently bearing with my ideas in their crude form and for helping me to refine them through their incisive comments. Thanks also to the anonymous *NECJ* referee.



Appendix 1: List of Argonauts<sup>48</sup>

	Ap. Rhod.	Apollod.	Hyg.	Val. Flacc	Argon. Orph.	Other
<b>Acastus</b> (son of Pelias)	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	Paus. 1.18.1
Actor (son of Hippasus)		✓	✓			Tzetz. on Lycophr. <i>Alexandra</i> 175
<b>Admetus</b> (son of Pheres)	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	Soph. fr. 386 Radt; Sen. <i>Med.</i> 662–63; Stat. <i>Theb.</i> 5.434–35; <i>POxy.</i> 3702
Aethalides (son of Hermes)	✓		✓	✓	✓	Pherec. <i>FGrH</i> 3F109)
Amphiaraus (son of Oecles)		✓	?			Dei(l)ochus, <i>FGrH</i> 471F2
Amphidamas / Iphidamas (son of Aleus)	✓		✓	✓	✓	
Amphion (son of Hyperasius)	✓		✓	✓	✓	
Amyrus						Steph. Byz. s.v. Ἄμυρος
<b>Ancaeus</b> (son of Lycurgus)	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	Sen. <i>Med.</i> 642–43; Stat. <i>Theb.</i> 5.399; Paus. 8.4.10
Ancaeus (son of Poseidon)	✓		✓	✓	✓	Pherec. <i>FGrH</i> 3F36; Simonides the Genealogist, <i>FGrH</i> 8F2; <i>POxy.</i> 3702
Argus (son of Arestor)	✓		✓	✓	?	Dionysius Scytobrachion fr. 14 Rusten
Argus (son of Phrixus)		✓				Cf. Pherec. <i>FGrH</i> 3F106)
Arius (son of Bias)	✓				✓	
Armenus						Strabo 11.4.8, 11.14.12
Ascalaphus (son of Ares)		✓				
Asclepius (son of Apollo)			✓			Clem. Al. <i>Strom.</i> 1.382
Asterion / Asterius (son of Cometes)	✓	✓		✓	✓	Paus. 5.17.9
Asterion (son of Pyremus / Hyperasius)			✓			

<sup>48</sup> Names that appear on all five extant catalogues are given in bold. This list does not include the names of heroes who joined the Argonauts *en route*. These were the sons of Phrixus (whose names were usually given as Argus, Cytisorus, Melas, and Phrontis: Ap. Rhod. *Argon.* 2.1090 ff., but cf. Hyg. *Fab.* 14, who names the sons of Phrixus as either Argus, Cylindrus, Melas, and Phrontides or as Autolycus, Demoleon, Phlogius, and Phronius); the sons of Deimachus (Autolycus, Deileon, and Phlogius: Ap. Rhod. *Argon.* 2.955 ff.; Val. Flacc. 5.113 ff.); and Dascylus, the son of Lycus (Ap. Rhod. *Argon.* 2.802 ff.).

Asterion / Asterius (son of Hyperasius)	✓		✓		✓	
Atalanta (daughter of Schoenus)		✓				Dionysius Scytobrachion fr. 14 Rusten
Augeas (son of Helios)	✓	✓	✓		✓	
Autolycus (son of Hermes)		✓				
Azorus						Hsch. s.v. Ἀζωρος; Steph. Byz. s.v. Ἀζωρος
Butes (son of Teleon)	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	
Caeneus (son of Coronus)		✓	✓			
Calais (son of Boreas)	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	Hes. fr. 156 M–W; Acusilaus, <i>FGrH</i> 2F31; Pind. <i>Pyth.</i> 4.181–83; Herodorus, <i>FGrH</i> 31F5; Dionysius Scytobrachion fr. 18 Rusten; Sen. <i>Med.</i> 634; Stat. <i>Theb.</i> 5.408–9, 432–33; <i>POxy.</i> 3702; etc.
Canthus (son of Canethus / Abas)	✓			✓	✓	Cleon of Curium, <i>Argonautica</i> (from schol. on Ap. Rhod. <i>Argon.</i> 1.77)
Castor (son of Zeus / Tyndareus)	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	Pind. <i>Pyth.</i> 4.171–72; Theoc. <i>Id.</i> 22; Callim. fr. 17–18 Pfeiffer; Dionysius Scytobrachion fr. 14 Rusten; Sen. <i>Med.</i> 88–89, 230; Stat. <i>Theb.</i> 5.407, 437–38; <i>POxy.</i> 3702, 4097; etc.
Cepheus (son of Aleus)	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	<i>POxy.</i> 4097
Cius						Strabo 12.4.3
Clymenus (son of Thestius)				✓		
Clytius (son of Eurytus)	✓		✓			<i>POxy.</i> 4097
Coronus (son of Caeneus / Actor)	✓		✓		✓	Soph. fr. 386 Radt
Deucalion (son of Hyperasius)				✓		
Deucalion (son of Minos)			✓			
Echion (son of Hermes)	✓		✓	✓	✓	Pind. <i>Pyth.</i> 4.179; <i>POxy.</i> 3702
Eneus (son of Caeneus)					✓	

<b>Erginus</b> (son of Poseidon)	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	Herodorus, <i>FGrH</i> 31F55; cf. Pind. <i>Ol.</i> 4.19–20; <i>POxy.</i> 3702
Eribotes (son of Teleon)	✓		✓	✓		Herodorus, <i>FGrH</i> 31F5
<b>Erytus</b> / <b>Eurytus</b> (son of Hermes)	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	Pind. <i>Pyth.</i> 4.179; <i>POxy.</i> 3702
<b>Euphemus</b> (son of Poseidon)	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	Pind. <i>Pyth.</i> 4.174–75; Paus. 5.17.9
Eurybates (son of Teleon)						Herodorus, <i>FGrH</i> 31F5
Eurydamas (son of Ctimenus)	✓		✓		✓	
Euryalus (son of Mecisteus)		✓				
Eurymedon (son of Dionysus)			✓			
Eurytion (son of Irus)	✓		✓	✓	✓	
Glaucus						Possis of Magnesia, <i>FGrH</i> 480F2
<b>Heracles</b> (son of Zeus)	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	Pind. <i>Pyth.</i> 4.171–72; Acusilaus, <i>FGrH</i> 2F31; Pherec. <i>FGrH</i> 3F111; Hellanicus, <i>FGrH</i> 4F130; Theoc. <i>Id.</i> 13; Dionysius Scytobrachion fr. 14 Rusten; Sen. <i>Med.</i> 637 ff.; Stat. <i>Theb.</i> 5.401, 442; <i>POxy.</i> 3702
Hippalcimus (son of Pelops)			✓			<i>POxy.</i> 3702
Hylas (son of Theiodamas)	✓		✓	✓	✓	Hellanicus, <i>FGrH</i> 4F131; Theoc. <i>Id.</i> 13; Sen. <i>Med.</i> 646 ff.; Stat. <i>Theb.</i> 5.441 ff.
Ialmenus (son of Ares)		✓				
<b>Idas</b> (son of Aphareus)	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	Callim. fr. 17 Pfeiffer; Stat. <i>Theb.</i> 5.405; <i>POxy.</i> 3702
Idmon (son of Apollo)	✓		✓	✓	✓	<i>Naupactia</i> fr. 5 West; Pherec. <i>FGrH</i> 3F108; Herodorus, <i>FGrH</i> 31F44, 50; Sen. <i>Med.</i> 652–53; etc.
Iolaus (son of Iphicles)			✓			<i>POxy.</i> 4097
Iphiclus (son of Phylacus)	✓		✓	✓	✓	
Iphiclus (son of Thestius)	✓	✓	✓	✓		<i>POxy.</i> 4097
Iphis				✓		
Iphitus (son of Eurytus)	✓		✓			<i>POxy.</i> 4097

<b>Iphitus</b> (son of Naubolus)	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	<i>POxy.</i> 4097
Iphitus (son of Sthenelus)						Dionysius Scytobrachion fr. 28 Rusten
Laertes (son of Arcesius)		✓				Dionysius Scytobrachion fr. 28 Rusten
Laocoon (son of Porthaon)	✓		✓			Nonnus, <i>Dion.</i> 13.87 ff.
Leitus (son of Alector)		✓				
Leodocus / Laodocus (son of Bias)	✓			✓	✓	
<b>Lynceus</b> (son of Aphareus)	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	Callim. fr. 17 Pfeiffer; Sen. <i>Med.</i> 232; <i>POxy.</i> 3702
<b>Meleager</b> (son of Oeneus)	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	Dionysius Scytobrachion fr. 28 Rusten; Sen. <i>Med.</i> 644 ff.; Stat. <i>Med.</i> 5.405
<b>Menoetius</b> (son of Actor)	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	
Mopsus (son of Ampyx / Apollo)	✓		✓	✓	✓	Pind. <i>Pyth.</i> 4.191; Sen. <i>Med.</i> 654–55; Stat. <i>Theb.</i> 5.417; <i>POxy.</i> 3698
Nauplius (son of Poseidon)			✓	✓	✓	Sen. <i>Med.</i> 659 ff.; <i>POxy.</i> 3702
Nauplius (son of Clytoneus)	✓					
Neleus (son of Hippocoon)			✓			
Nestor (son of Neleus)				✓		
Oileus (son of Hodoedocus)	✓		✓	✓	✓	Sen. <i>Med.</i> 662; <i>POxy.</i> 4097
<b>Orpheus</b> (son of Oeagrus)	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	Pind. <i>Pyth.</i> 4.176–77; Eur. <i>Hysipyle</i> fr. 1.3.8–12 Bond; Herodorus, <i>FGrH</i> 31F42–43; Dionysius Scytobrachion fr. 14 Rusten; Sen. <i>Med.</i> 348; Stat. <i>Theb.</i> 5.435; <i>POxy.</i> 3698; etc.
Palaemonius / Palaemon (son of Hephaestus / Lernus)	✓	✓	✓		✓	
<b>Peleus</b> (son of Aeacus)	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	Pind. fr. 172.6–7 Snell–Maehler; Catull. 64; Sen. <i>Med.</i> 657; Stat. <i>Theb.</i> 5.436–37
Peneleus (son of Hippalmus)		✓				
Pirithous (son of Ixion)			✓			

<b>Periclymenus</b> (son of Neleus)	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	Pind. <i>Pyth.</i> 4.173–75; Sen. <i>Med.</i> 635–36; <i>POxy.</i> 3702
Phalerus (son of Alcon)	✓		✓	✓	✓	Paus. 1.1.4
Phanus (son of Dionysus)		✓				
Philammon (son of Apollo)						Pherec. <i>FGrH</i> 3F26
Philoctetes (son of Poeas)			✓	✓		
Phlias / Phliasus (son of Dionysus)	✓		✓	✓	✓	
Phocus (son of Caeneus)			✓			<i>POxy.</i> 4097
Poeas (son of Thamacus)		✓				
<b>Polydeuces</b> (son of Zeus / Tyndareus)	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	Pind. <i>Pyth.</i> 4.171–72; Theoc. <i>Id.</i> 22; Callim. fr. 17–18 Pfeiffer; Dionysius Scytobrachion fr. 14 Rusten; Sen. <i>Med.</i> 88–89, 230; Stat. <i>Theb.</i> 5.407, 437–38; <i>POxy.</i> 3702, 4097; etc.
<b>Polyphemus</b> (son of Elatus)	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	
Priapus (son of Caeneus)			✓			<i>POxy.</i> 4097
Staphylus (son of Dionysus)		✓				
Talaus (son of Bias)	✓			✓	✓	Stat. <i>Theb.</i> 5.406
<b>Telamon</b> (son of Aeacus)	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	Dionysius Scytobrachion fr. 14 Rusten; Ov. <i>Met.</i> 13.22; Stat. <i>Theb.</i> 5.379, 398; <i>POxy.</i> 4097
Thersanon (son of Helios)			✓			<i>POxy.</i> 4097
Theseus (son of Aegeus)		✓	✓			Stat. <i>Theb.</i> 5.431–32; <i>POxy.</i> 4097
Thespiadae (sons of Thespius)						Dionysius Scytobrachion fr. 14
<b>Tiphys</b> (son of Hagnias)	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	Aesch. frag. 21 Radt (called Iphis); Pherec. <i>FGrH</i> 3F107; Herodorus, <i>FGrH</i> 31F54–55; Callim. fr. 17 Pfeiffer; Sen. <i>Med.</i> 3; Stat. <i>Theb.</i> 5.412 ff.; Paus. 9.32.4; etc.
Tydeus (son of Oeneus)				✓		

<b>Zetes</b> (son of Boreas)	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	Hes. fr. 156 M–W; Acusilaus, <i>FGrH</i> 2F31; Pind. <i>Pyth.</i> 4.181–83; Herodorus, <i>FGrH</i> 31F5; Dionysius Scytobrachion fr. 18 Rusten; Sen. <i>Med.</i> 634; Stat. <i>Theb.</i> 5.408–9, 432–33; <i>POxy.</i> 3702; etc.
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*Appendix 2: List of Calydonian Boar Hunters*<sup>49</sup>

	Scopas of Paros	Ov.	Apollod.	Hyg.	Other
Acastus (son of Pelias)		✓			François Krater
Admetus (son of Pheres)		✓	✓	✓	François Krater
Agelaus (son of Oeneus)					Bacchyl. 5.117
Alcon (son of Hippocoön)		(✓)		✓	
Alcon (son of Ares)				✓	
Amphiaraus (son of Oicles)	✓	✓	✓		
<b>Ancaeus</b> (son of Lycurgus)	✓	✓	✓	✓	François Krater; Bacchyl. 5.117; Pherec. <i>FGrH</i> 3F36; Eur. <i>Meleager</i> fr. 530 Nauck; Sen. <i>Med.</i> 643–44; etc.
Antandrus					François Krater
Antimachus					François Krater
Aphares (son of Thestius)					Bacchyl. 5.127 ff.
Aristandrus					François Krater
Asclepius (son of Apollo)				✓	
<b>Atalanta</b> (daughter of Schoenus)	✓	✓	✓	✓	François Krater; Eur. <i>Meleager</i> fr. 530 Nauck
Bucolus (son of Cercyon)					<i>POxy.</i> 4097
Caeneus (son of Elatus)		✓		✓	
<b>Castor</b> (son of Zeus/ Tyndareus)	✓	✓	✓	✓	François Krater
Celadon		✓			
Cepheus (son of Lycurgus)			✓		
Cimmerius					François Krater
Cinortes					François Krater
Cometes (son of Thestius)	✓				

<sup>49</sup> Names that appear on all five extant catalogues are given in bold.

Cteatus (son of Actor)		✓			
Deucalion (son of Minos)				✓	<i>POxy. 4097</i>
Dolops					<i>POxy. 4097</i>
Dryas (son of Ares)		✓	✓ (called son of Iapetus)	✓	<i>POxy. 4097</i>
Echion (son of Hermes)		✓		✓	
Enaesimus (son of Hippocoon)		✓		✓	
Epochus (son of Lycurgus)	✓				
Erytus/ Eurytus (son of Hermes)				✓	
Euphemus (son of Poseidon)				✓	
Eurypylus (son of Thestius)			✓		
Eurytion (son of Irus)		✓	✓ (called son of Actor)		
Eurytus (son of Actor)		✓			
Euthymachus					François Krater
Evippus (son of Thestius)			✓		
Harpaleas					François Krater
Hippalmus		✓			
Hippasus (son of Eurytus)		✓		✓	
Hippothous (son of Cercyon)	✓	✓		✓	<i>POxy. 4097</i>
Hyleus	✓	✓			
Idas (son of Aphareus)		✓	✓	✓	
Ideus				✓	
Iolaus (son of Iphicles)	✓	✓		✓	
Iphicles (son of Amphitryon)			✓		
Iphiclus (son of Thestius)			✓		Bacchyl. 5.127 ff.



Ischepolis (son of Alcathous)					Paus. 1.42.6
Ixion (son of Ares)					Stat. <i>Theb.</i> 5.473
Jason (son of Aeson)		✓	✓	✓	François Krater
Laertes (son of Arcesius)		✓		✓	
Lelex		✓			
Leucippus (son of Hippocoon)		(✓)		✓	
Leucippus		✓			
Lynceus (son of Aphareus)		✓	✓	✓	
Melanion					François Krater
Meleager (son of Oeneus)	✓	✓	✓	✓	François Krater; Stat. <i>Theb.</i> 2.474; etc.
Mopsus (son of Ampyx)		✓		✓	
Nestor (son of Neleus)		✓			
Panopeus (son of Phocus)		✓			
Pausileon					François Krater
Pelagon		✓			
<b>Peleus</b> (son of Aeacus)	✓	✓	✓	✓	François Krater
Phoenix (son of Amyntor)		✓		✓	
Phyleus (son of Augeas)		✓			
Pirithous (son of Ixion)	✓	✓	✓		
Plexippus (son of Thestius)		✓	✓	✓	
<b>Polydeuces</b> (son of Zeus/ Tyndareus)	✓	✓	✓	✓	François Krater
Prothous (son of Thestius)	✓				
Simon					François Krater
<b>Telamon</b> (son of Aeacus)	✓	✓	✓	✓	Eur. <i>Meleager</i> fr. 530 Nauck; Stat. <i>Theb.</i> 5.473
Thersites (son of Agrius)					Pherec. <i>FGrH</i> 3F36
<b>Theseus</b> (son of Aegeus)	✓	✓	✓	✓	
Thorax					François Krater

Toxamis					François Krater
Toxeus (son of Thestius)		✓			

### *Appendix 3: Argonauts whose Descendants were Involved in the Trojan War*<sup>50</sup>

<b>Acastus</b> , father of Laodamia (wife of Protesilaus; see <i>Ov. Her.</i> 13.25; <i>Hyg. Fab.</i> 104)
<b>Admetus</b> , father of Eumelus
<b>Ancaeus</b> , father of Agapenor
<b>Asclepius</b> , father of Machaon and Podalirius
<b>Augeas</b> , grandfather of Meges and Polyxenes
<b>Autolycus</b> , grandfather of Odysseus
<b>Coronus</b> , father of Leonteus
<b>Deucalion</b> , father of Idomeneus
<b>Heracles</b> , father of Tlepolemus
<b>Idmon</b> , grandfather of Calchas (see schol. on <i>Hom. Il.</i> 1.69)
<b>Iphiclus</b> , father of Podarces and Protesilaus
<b>Iphitus</b> , father of Epistrophus and Schedius
<b>Jason</b> , father of Euneus
<b>Laertes</b> , father of Odysseus
<b>Menoetius</b> , father of Patroclus
<b>Nauplius (son of Poseidon)</b> , father of Palamedes (see e.g., <i>Apollod. Bibl.</i> 2.1.5; another Nauplius (son of Clytneus), named as an Argonaut by <i>Ap. Rhod.</i> , may have also been an ancestor of Palamedes)
<b>Neleus</b> , father of Nestor, grandfather of Antilochus and Thrasymedes
<b>Nestor</b> , father of Antilochus and Thrasymedes
<b>Oileus</b> , father of Lesser Ajax
<b>Peleus</b> , father of Achilles
<b>Pirithous</b> , father of Polypoetes
<b>Poeas</b> , father of Philoctetes
<b>Staphylus</b> , grandfather of Anius (whose daughters Oeno, Spermo, and Elais supplied the Greek army at Troy; see <i>Apollod. Epit.</i> 3.10)
<b>Talaus</b> , grandfather of Euryalus and great grandfather of Sthenelus (see <i>Hyg. Fab.</i> 70, where Sthenelus' father Capaneus is the son of Talaus' daughter Astynome)
<b>Telamon</b> , father of Greater Ajax and Teucer
<b>Theseus</b> , father of Acamas and Demophon ( <i>Eur. Heracl.</i> 119; <i>Apollod. Epit.</i> 1.18)
<b>Tydeus</b> , father of Diomedes

<sup>50</sup> Though six of the individuals on this list are grandfathers (or great grandfathers) of Trojan War participants (Augeas, Autolycus, Idmon, Neleus, Staphylus, and Talaus), the remainder (22 individuals, as Neleus is the father of Nestor as well as the grandfather of Antilochus and Thrasymedes) are all *fathers* of Trojan War participants. Individuals who participated in the voyage of the Argonauts as well as the Trojan War are also rare, as we have seen. This distribution overwhelmingly supports a mythical chronology in which the voyage of the Argonauts occurred in the generation before the Trojan War.

*Appendix 4: Calydonian Boar Hunters whose Descendants were Involved in the Trojan War*

<b>Acastus</b> , father of Laodamia
<b>Admetus</b> , father of Eumelus
<b>Ancaeus</b> , father of Agapenor
<b>Asclepius</b> , father of Machaon and Podalirius
<b>Caeneus</b> , grandfather of Leonteus
<b>Cteatus</b> , father of Amphimachus
<b>Deucalion</b> , father of Idomeneus
<b>Eurytus</b> , father of Thalpius
<b>Ixion</b> , grandfather of Polypoetes
<b>Jason</b> , father of Euneus
<b>Laertes</b> , father of Odysseus
<b>Neleus</b> , father of Nestor, grandfather of Antilochus and Thrasymedes
<b>Panopeus</b> , father of Epeius
<b>Peleus</b> , father of Achilles
<b>Phyleus</b> , father of Meges, grandfather of Cleitus and Euchenor (cf. Pherec. <i>FGrH</i> 3F115)
<b>Pirithous</b> , father of Polypoetes
<b>Telamon</b> , father of Greater Ajax and Teucer
<b>Theseus</b> , father of Acamas and Demophon

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