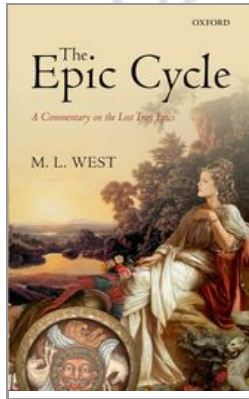


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The Epic Cycle: A Commentary on the Lost Troy Epics

M. L. West

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The Epic Cycle The Epic Cycle

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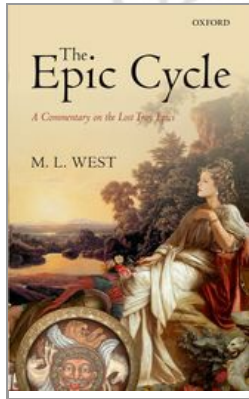
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(p.v) Preface

The importance of the Epic Cycle in relation to the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* on the one hand, and on the other to lyric poetry, tragedy, and mythography, can hardly be overstated. Yet it has never been the object of a thorough commentary, and not often of a comprehensive study. Despite the fact that it is mostly lost, there is plenty to be said.

My aim is not only to provide commentary on individual fragments and testimonia but to reconstruct the connections between them, so far as may be possible, and to build up a picture of the plan and course of each poem, its disposition of material, and its overall character. The Prolegomena (given this grand name to avoid confusion in cross-reference with the introductions to the individual epics) address general issues, including the nature and formation of the Epic Cycle, the status of the summaries of the Troy epics preserved under the name of Proclus, the validity of the ascriptions to particular poets, the reflexes of the Cycle in early art and literature, and its fortunes in and after the Hellenistic period. I hope to bring some clarification into the big picture as well as on matters of detail.

It has become increasingly common in works of classical scholarship to provide translations of passages quoted in the ancient languages. I have done this where it could

be done conveniently, especially in the *Prolegomena*, but it is not practicable in a work such as a commentary to translate every piece of Greek or Latin that may appear. For the actual epic fragments and testimonia the reader who wants translations may turn to my Loeb edition of 2003. But it is a fact of life that in order to follow serious philological discussion, in any field, acquaintance with the relevant language or languages is a *sine qua non*.

In the preface to his *Epicorum Graecorum Fragmenta* of 1988 Malcolm Davies announced his imminent publication of a commentary: 'fragmenta epica iam illustravi commentariis ditissimis quae mox publici iuris facere me posse spero'. I am grateful to Dr Davies for confirming that this work never in fact got very far and that while he is now working on the Theban epics, he would not be **(p.vi)** inconvenienced by my proceeding with my own commentary on the Trojan ones.

I should also like to thank the staff of Oxford University Press for the cheerful efficiency and helpfulness that they have (as usual) shown throughout the book's production process. It is a pleasure to work with them.

M.L.W.

Oxford

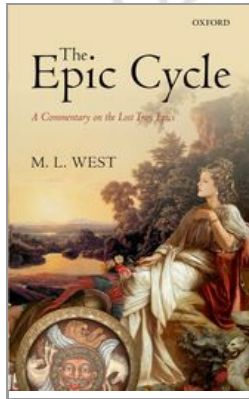
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(p.viii) Abbreviations

- *Ant. Cl.*
L'Antiquité classique
- *BSA*
Annual of the British School at Athens
- *CEG*
P. A. Hansen, *Carmina Epigraphica Graeca*
- *DK*
H. Diels and W. Kranz, *Die Fragmente der Vorsokratiker*
- *FGrHist*
F. Jacoby and others (edd.), *Die Fragmente der griechischen Historiker*
- *GDI*
H. Collitz et al., *Sammlung der griechischen Dialekt-Inschriften*
- *Gött.Nachr.*
Nachrichten der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen, Philologisch-historische Klasse
- *GRBS*
Greek, Roman and Byzantine Studies
- *HE*

- A. S. F. Gow and D. L. Page, *Hellenistic Epigrams*
- *HSCP*
Harvard Studies in Classical Philology
 - *ICS*
O. Masson, *Les inscriptions chypriotes syllabiques*
 - *IEG*
M. L. West, *Iambi et Elegi Graeci* , ed. altera
 - *JDAI*
Jahrbuch des deutschen archäologischen Instituts
 - *KG*
R. Kühner, *Ausführliche Grammatik der griechischen Sprache* , 2. Teil
besorgt von B. Gerth
 - *Kl. Schr.*
Kleine Schriften
 - *LIMC*
Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae
 - *MDAI*
Mitteilungen des deutschen archäologischen Instituts
 - *Mnem.*
Mnemosyne
 - *Njb.*
Neue Jahrbücher für das Klassische Altertum
 - *PCG*
R. Kassel and C. Austin, *Poetae Comici Graeci*
 - *PEG*
A. Bernabé, *Poetae Epici Graeci* , Pars I
 - *Phil.*
Philologus
 - *PMG*
D. L. Page, *Poetae Melici Graeci*
 - *PMGF*
M. Davies, *Poetarum Melicorum Graecorum Fragmenta*
 - *RE*
Realencyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft
 - *Rh. Mus.*
Rheinisches Museum
 - *Riv. Fil.*
Rivista di Filologia e d'Istruzione Classica
 - **(p.ix)** *RPh*
Revue de philologie
 - *Roscher*
Ausführliches Lexikon der griechischen und römischen Mythologie
 - *Schwyz*
E. Schwyzer, *Griechische Grammatik*; Schwyzer–Debrunner = Bd. 2 (Syntax
und syntaktische Stilistik) von A. Debrunner

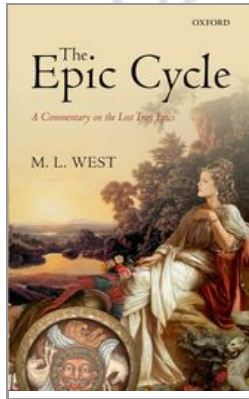
- *SEG*
Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum
- *SH*
H. Lloyd-Jones and P. J. Parsons, *Supplementum Hellenisticum*
- *SIFC*
Studi Italiani di Filologia Classica
- *SLG*
D. L. Page, *Supplementum Lyricis Graecis*
- *TrGF*
B. Snell, R. Kannicht, S. Radt, *Tragicorum Graecorum Fragmenta*
- *VM*
Valenzuela Montenegro, *see Bibliography*
- *ZA*
Zeitschrift für die Altertumswissenschaft
- *ZPE*
Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik



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Prolegomena

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[–] Abstract and Keywords

This chapter discusses the following: the definition of the Epic Cycle; Proclus' *Chrestomatheias Eklogai* and Apollodorus' *Bibliothēke*; the formation of the Cycle; the validity of the attested ascriptions to particular poets; the reflexes of the Cycle in archaic and classical art and literature; and the fortunes of the Cycle in the early Hellenistic and early Roman period.

Keywords: Epic Cycle, Greek epic, epic poetry, epic poems, Proclus, *Chrestomatheias Eklogai*, Apollodorus, *Bibliothēke*

1. What was the Epic Cycle?

The Epic Cycle was a corpus of archaic Greek epics considered as an ensemble that, if read in the due sequence, provided a more or less continuous account of mythical history from the beginning of the world to the end of the Heroic Age.

The term *ἐπικὸς κύκλος* is not attested before the second century CE (nor the adjective *ἐπικός* before the first century BCE). But there are allusions in Aristotle to a Homeric or epic *κύκλος* that may well be identical with the Epic Cycle as understood later (see below, §3), and there are Hellenistic references to ‘cyclic’ poems or poets.¹ An analogous use of the word *κύκλος* is found on a Cretan inscription of the mid second century BCE. It records a visit by one Menekles, a citharode from Teos, who drew from many poets and historians to make up a ‘cycle’ of narrative song on Cretan legend and tradition for Cretan audiences.² Dionysius of Samos, a Hellenistic writer, produced a mythographical work in seven books entitled *Κύκλος ἱστορικός*, which earned him the sobriquet of Dionysius ὁ κυκλογράφος (FGrHist 15); the title was presumably modelled on *Κύκλος ἐπικός*.

The only detailed information about the scope of the Epic Cycle is derived from a lost treatise by one Proclus, who probably wrote in the second century CE (see below, §2). Photius, excerpting Proclus’ work, tells us:

διαλαμβάνει δὲ καὶ περὶ τοῦ λεγομένου ἐπικοῦ κύκλου, ὃς ἄρχεται μὲν ἐκ τῆς Οὐρανοῦ καὶ Γῆς μυθολογουμένης μίξεως, ἐξ ἧς αὐτῶι καὶ τρεῖς παῖδας Ἑκατόγχειρας καὶ τρεῖς γεννῶσι Κύκλωπας.

(p.2) διαπορεύεται δὲ τά τε ἄλλως περὶ θεῶν τοῖς Ἑλλήσι μυθολογούμενα καὶ εἴ ποῦ τι καὶ πρὸς ἱστορίαν ἐξαληθίζεται. καὶ περατοῦται ὁ ἐπικὸς κύκλος ἐκ διαφόρων ποιητῶν συμπληρούμενος μέχρι τῆς ἀποβάσεως Ὀδυσσέως τῆς εἰς Ἰθάκην, ἐν ἧ καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ παιδὸς Τηλεγόνου ἀγνοοῦντος κτείνεται.

(Proclus) also handles the so-called Epic Cycle, which begins from the fabled union of Ouranos and Ge, from which they say he fathered three hundred-handed sons and three Cyclopes; and it goes on through the other pagan myths about the gods, as well as anything in them of a historical nature. The Epic Cycle is made up from various poets, and it concludes with Odysseus’ landing on Ithaca, when he was killed by his son Telegonos who did not recognize him.

Proclus provided fairly detailed plot summaries of all the epics in the Cycle, adding in each case the poet’s name and homeland and the length of the poem. He did not compile this material himself but copied it from an older source. We are so fortunate as to find preserved in certain manuscripts of the *Iliad* his summaries for the six epics which, together with the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, covered the Trojan War and associated events: the *Cypria*, *Aethiopis*, *Little Iliad*, *Iliou Persis*, *Nostoi*, and *Telegony*. This Trojan sequence made up the concluding portion of the whole Cycle, which ended, as Photius has told us, with the Telegonos story.

We cannot say how many other poems were included in the Cycle between the initial theogony and the *Cypria*.³ It can be inferred from Athenaeus 277c–e that the *Titanomachy* ascribed to Eumelos or Arktinos was reckoned as part of the Cycle,⁴ and I have mentioned the citations of ‘the Cyclic *Thebaid*’. A story that Photius says came from the Epic Cycle is conjecturally assigned to the *Epigoni* (fr. 3*). So we may assume that

the Cycle included the series of Theban epics, *Oidipodeia*, *Thebaid*, *Epigonoι*, and perhaps *Alcmeonis*. What else might Proclus' Cycle have had in it? Poems on the Calydonian boar-hunt, the voyage of the Argo, the stories of Io and Perseus? Peisandros' Heracles epic? A *Theseis*?

The other document that may be relevant to the question is the so-called Tabula Borgia (10K).⁵ It is one of a number of miniature (p.3) plaques from the Rome area, dating from the time of Augustus or Tiberius, carrying mythological scenes in relief with various captions and texts and in some cases references to poetic sources such as Cyclic poems or Stesichorus. They are collectively known as the Tabulae Iliacae.⁶ The Borgia plaque, which is incomplete, was mainly devoted to Theban myths, but there is also a section of text relating the birth of Erichthonios, perhaps after the epic *Danaids*. Lower down (verso 9–15) there is a passage containing some kind of list of epics with authors' names and line-tallies and a probable reference to 'the Cycle'. With some conjectural restoration it reads as follows:

τῆς Εὐμήλου Τιτανο]μαχίας, οὐχ ἦν Τέλεσις ὁ Μηθυμναῖος ὑ-

]ἔπεσιν· καὶ Δαναΐδας, Φφ, ἐπῶν, καὶ τὸν

ἐπῶν ὄντα, χχ, καὶ τῇν Οἰδιπόδειαν τὴν ὑπὸ Κιναίθωνος τοῦ

Λακεδαιμονίου πεποιημένην προαναγνόν]τες ἐπῶν οὕσαν, Fχ, ὑποθήσομεν
Θηβαΐδα

ἐπῶν, ζ, καὶ Ναυπάκτια ἃ ποιῆσαι]ν τὸν Μιλήσιον λέγουσιν, ἐπῶν ὄντα,
θφ,

καὶ τὴν]....., ΜΔδν, ταύτη δὲ

ὑποθήσομεν καὶ συμπληρώσομεν οὕτω] τὸν κύκλον.

... of Eumelos(?) *Titano*]macy, not the one that Telesis of Methymna [placed here(?) ... in n] verses; and *Danaides*, of 6,500 verses; and the [..., of n verses; and after first read]ing the *Oidipodeia* [composed] by Kinaithon the [Lacedaemonian], of 6,600 verses, we shall subjoin the *Thebaid*, of 7,000 verses, and the *Naupaktia*(?),⁷ which] they say [X] the Milesian composed, being of 9,500 verses; [and the ... composed by ..., being of] 14,400 [verses];⁸ and to this [we shall subjoin ... And so we shall complete] the Cycle.

It does not seem to be the canonical Epic Cycle that is in question here, as the *Oidipodeia* and *Thebaid* are not followed by the *Epigonoι*, and the Trojan epics are not touched on at all. It is rather a more narrowly drawn, personal cycle offered as supporting bibliography for the particular areas of myth illustrated on the plaque. If all the (p.4) poems named were included in the fuller Cycle, we are able to add the *Danaides* (elsewhere cited as the *Danaids*) to the contents list, and perhaps the *Naupaktia*. But beyond that we remain in the dark.

The six epics for which we have Proclus' summaries may for convenience be referred to as the Trojan cycle, though we do not know that anyone in antiquity used the term.⁹ It is with these poems that the present volume is concerned. The coherence of theme and the relative abundance of evidence (thanks to Proclus) justify treating them together and apart from the rest of the Cycle.

2. Proclus' *Chrestomatheias Eklogai* and Apollodorus' *Bibliothēke*

The set of summaries copied from Proclus is the most important source of our knowledge regarding the poems' contents. They are transmitted in certain manuscripts, together with a Life of Homer, as prolegomena to the *Iliad*. The Life and the *Cypria* summary are found in about a dozen manuscripts, several of which have the headings *Πρόκλου περὶ Ὁμήρου* and then *τοῦ αὐτοῦ περὶ τῶν Κυπρίων ποιημάτων*. The remaining summaries appear only in Venetus A, where the Life is present but the *Cypria* summary has disappeared owing to the loss of a folio. Here the Life is headed *Πρόκλου Χρηστομαθίας γραμματικῆς τῶν εἰς δ' διηρημένων τὸ α'. Ὁμήρου χρόνοι, βίος, χαρακτήρ, ἀναγραφὴ ποιημάτων*, and the *Aethiopis* is headed *Πρόκλου Χρηστομαθίας γραμματικῆς τὸ δεύτερον. Αἰθιοπίδος ἐξ Ἀρκτίνου*.

The work specified in Venetus A, Proclus' *Χρηστομαθία γραμματικὴ*, is one that we know something about from Photius. It was in what must have been a wagon-load of books that he took with him on a diplomatic mission from Byzantium to Baghdad in 855–6 and that he partly read and summarized in his *Bibliothēke*. Proclus' work is Codex 239 in that collection, pp. 318b–22a Bekker. Photius gives its title as *Χρηστομαθείας γραμματικῆς ἐκλογαί*, which might (p.5) be loosely rendered as 'Readings in Literary Scholarship'.¹⁰ It was divided into four books, but Photius' summary, which occupies eleven pages in R. Henry's Budé edition, covers only the first two books. From it we see that it was a systematic anatomy of Greek literature, laid out on a clear plan as follows:

Categories

Opposition of poetry and prose. Their virtues.

The varieties of style and what they are suited for: *ἄδρόν, ἰσχνόν, μέσον. ἀνθηρόν*.

Judging poetry. *ἥθος, πάθος*.

Distinction between *διηγηματικόν* (epic, iambic, elegiac, melic) and *μιμητικόν* (tragedy, satyric drama, comedy).

Epic

Its invention and original use; why called *ἔπος*.

The best practitioners: Homer, Hesiod, Peisandros, Panyassis, Antimachus.

Their lives and achievements.

The Epic Cycle. Its scope and subject matter, with authors' names. Excursus on the title *Cypria*.

Elegy

Definition, original use; why called *ἐλεγεία*.

The best practitioners: Callinus, Mimnermus, Philittas, Callimachus. (Their lives and achievements.)

Iambus

Origins, original use.

The best practitioners: Archilochus, Semonides, Hipponax. Their dates.

Melic poetry

The varieties of melic poetry:

for gods (hymn, prosodion, paean, dithyramb, nome, Adonidia, Iobacchos, hyporchema);

for men (encomia, epinician, skolia, erotica, epithalamia, hymenaea, silloi, threnoi, epikedeia);

for men and gods (parthenia, daphnephorika, tripodephorika, oschophorika, euktika);

(p.6) occasional poems (pragmatika, emporika, apostolika, gnomologika, georgika, epistaltika).

Systematic discussion of each genre in turn: its character and why it is so named, with (at least in some cases) notice of who invented it or how it has changed. In some cases detailed information on cults (Boeotian Daphnephoria and Tripodephoria, Attic Oschophoria).

Books 3–4 must have dealt with drama, and then probably the prose genres.

It is clear that this work was indeed the source of the Life of Homer and the Cyclic summaries found in the Homeric manuscripts. We can see from Photius just where they stood. The statement that prefaces the Life, *ἐπὶ πᾶσι ποιηταῖς γεγονάσι πολλοί, τούτων δ' εἰσὶν κρείττιστοι Ὅμηρος Ἡσίοδος Πείσανδρος Πανύασις Ἀντίμαχος*,¹¹ corresponds exactly to the *Chrestomathy*, *γεγονάσι δὲ τοῦ ἔπους ποιηταῖς κρείττιστοι μὲν Ὅμηρος Ἡσίοδος Πείσανδρος Πανύασις Ἀντίμαχος*. The sentence at the beginning of the *Cypria* summary, *ἐπιβάλλει τούτοις τὰ λεγόμενα Κύπρια ἐν βιβλίοις φερόμενα ἔνδεκα, ὧν περὶ τῆς γραφῆς ὕστερον ἐροῦμεν, ἵνα μὴ τὸν ἐξῆς λόγον νῦν ἐμποδίζωμεν*,¹² finds its explanation in Photius, who reports at the end of the section on the Epic Cycle an

excursus on the authorship and title of the *Cypria*, where Proclus appears to have opined that its heading ought not to be written *Κύπρια* proparoxytone, 'Cyprian epic', but *Κυπρία* paroxytone, 'by (the poet) Kyprias'.¹³ This correspondence not only confirms the provenance of the summaries from the *Chrestomathy* but provides welcome proof that they were transcribed from it quite mechanically, without even eliminating a cross-reference to a discussion that was not going to be included in the excerpt. Similarly, the words *ἐπιβάλλει τούτοις*, 'there follows on this', are a senseless back-reference to a preceding summary, probably of one of the Theban epics, which was not copied because the excerptor was concerned only with the Trojan War. Photius tells us that Proclus' Cycle began from the marriage of Heaven and Earth **(p.7)** and their children, and he must have written summaries similar to the surviving ones for each of the epics that preceded the *Cypria* in the series.

Venetus A is not the exemplar from which the other manuscripts derived the Proclus excerpts, and the adoption of these excerpts as prefatory material to the *Iliad* must go back to an older archetype, perhaps of the ninth century (the time of Photius), or perhaps from late antiquity. Severyns was probably right to assume that originally they were labelled simply 'Proclus on Homer', etc., and that the more elaborate headings in A, with their references to the *Chrestomathy* and its book divisions, were due to someone—he believes it was Arethas—who had found these details in Photius' *Bibliothēke*. The attribution of the Life and the *Cypria* summary to book 1 of the *Chrestomathy* and the *Aethiopis* summary to book 2 is suspect: Photius does not indicate where the division came between the two books that he summarizes, but it seems very unlikely that it fell at such an early point, with so much material on the varieties of non-epic poetry still to be covered. That division, however, does approximately bisect the Life+Cycle excerpts, and it looks as if it has been made with that in view.¹⁴

When we consider the orderly plan of Proclus' work as it appears from Photius, it is difficult to avoid the feeling that the section on the Epic Cycle stands out as something of an erratic block. It was logical, after reviewing the canon of five best epic poets, to take note of the mass of lesser epic in which so much of traditional mythology was embodied. But the series of detailed summaries of all the poems seems out of keeping with the manner of treatment followed in the work as a whole, insofar as we can judge it from Photius' description. It looks very much as if Proclus imported it from a different source from those that supplied the main framework of his discussion. It is after all generally assumed (and with reason, as we shall see) that the epic summaries were not his original work, made from direct study of the poems, but already existed in similar form in an earlier source.

Who was Proclus?

We must now address the question of who this Proclus was. It has often been assumed that he was the famous fifth-century Neoplatonist, **(p.8)** Proclus of Lycia. The identification is already made in the *Suda* entry on this philosopher, π 2473, which goes back to the sixth-century biographer Hesychius of Miletus, for in the list of his works, after his commentaries on Homer and on Hesiod's *Works and Days*, there appears the

item *Περὶ χρηστομαθίας βιβλία γ*, the number of books disagrees with Photius' statement, but presumably the same work is meant. A scholiast on Gregory of Nazianzus writes *φασὶ δὲ καὶ ἰδικῶς ἐγκύκλιον τὴν ποιητικὴν, περὶ ἧς καὶ Πρόκλος ὁ Πλατωνικὸς ἐν μονοβίβλῳ περὶ κύκλου ἐπικοῦ γράψας τῶν ποιητῶν διέξεισι τὴν ἀρετὴν καὶ τὰ ἴδια*.¹⁵ In one fifteenth-century Homer manuscript the Life is headed *Πρόκλου Πλατωνίου [sic] Διαδόχου περὶ Ὀμήρου*. However, Proclus was not an uncommon name in the Roman period, and many scholars, beginning with H. Valesius (Henri de Valois, 1603–76), have suspected that the *Chrestomathy* was the work of some considerably earlier scholar, perhaps of the second century CE.¹⁶ There are good reasons for this view, and I have come to the conclusion that it is right.

Firstly the *Chrestomathy*, so far as we can judge it from the documents available, shows no similarity to the known works of the Neoplatonist.¹⁷ Nothing in them would lead us to expect him to have engaged in pure literary history for its own sake, distinguishing categories, styles, and genres and listing names. His interest in Homer and other poets was essentially philosophical. We see this from his commentary on the *Works and Days*,¹⁸ where he shows little wider knowledge of literature; his range of citation is almost limited to Homer, Orphic poetry, the Chaldaean Oracles, Plato, and Plutarch. Similar observations can be made in regard to his Plato commentaries.¹⁹

(p.9) But at least his work is his own, whereas the *Chrestomathy* appears to have been made up largely of material reproduced from earlier writers. When we come to consider its close relationship with Apollodorus' *Bibliothēke* we shall conclude that neither can be the source of the other but that both must depend on an older source text. Proclus' sections on elegy, hymn, and prosodion, as reported by Photius, correspond practically *ad verbum* to fragments of Didymus' work *περὶ λυρικῶν ποιητῶν* quoted in lexicæ, and it looks as if almost the entire account of lyric genres may have been drawn from that source.²⁰ Other material can be traced back to Peripatetic writers and Atthidographers,²¹ no doubt mediated through later Hellenistic sources. The aptness of *Ἐκλογαί* in the title becomes clear.

In several places Proclus made statements about the actual currency of texts or cult practices that can hardly have been valid in the fifth century CE.²² Of the Epic Cycle he said that 'the poems are preserved and studied by most people not so much on account of their quality as of the continuity of the matter in it'.²³ In fact it is extremely doubtful whether copies of the poems were anywhere to be found after about 200 (cf. below, §6). Of the paean he said that it was 'a type of song that is nowadays written for all gods, whereas anciently it was assigned specially to Apollo and Artemis and sung for the termination of plagues and diseases' (320a21). A little later (320b5) he outlined the history of the nome: Terpander was the first to perfect it, Arion and Phrynis developed it further, and after them 'Timotheos brought it to its present form'. The world in which choruses sang paeans to the pagan gods and citharodes performed nomes in the Timothean manner was long past when the philosopher Proclus was alive. Even a second-century Proclus most likely reproduced these statements mechanically from his older **(p.10)** sources without troubling himself about their validity in his own time. Many of

the melic types that he speaks of as if they were living genres were probably defunct; he has taken them over wholesale from Didymus, and even Didymus may have known many of them from earlier literary references and not from his contemporary world. Some of them are described in the past tense, in a spirit of antiquarianism.

This is all rather reminiscent of the pseudo-Plutarchean dialogue *De musica*, a work of perhaps the late second century. Here too we have lengthy extracts from older writers, in particular Glaucus of Rhegium, Aristoxenus, Heraclides Ponticus, and Alexander Polyhistor, taken over and worked in together to make a new synthesis. Again and again there are references to 'now' or 'the present time' that were clearly copied from the source authors and probably inappropriate to pseudo-Plutarch's epoch.²⁴

Another pseudo-Plutarchean work of the same period, *De Homero* ii, has more specific points of contact with the *Chrestomathy*. It contains a paragraph on the dating of Homer (3) which reappears almost word for word in Proclus' *Life*. A later section on the literary styles (ἁδρόν, ἰσχνόν, μέσον, ἀνθηρόν 72–3) shows a significant relationship with the exposition that Photius reports from Proclus. Michael Hillgruber has argued that it is actually dependent on Proclus, which would be the conclusive proof of Proclus' early date.²⁵ The alternative that they derive from a common model cannot be ruled out. Nevertheless the similarity reinforces our sense that the *Chrestomathy* was a product of the second century, the great age of magpie scholarship, when men with pretensions to erudition ransacked their predecessors' works for material, reproduced their learned references to yet older and obscurer texts, most of which were probably no longer available to anyone, or appropriated whole chapters from them with or without acknowledgment.

Can our Proclus be identified with any known bearer of the name in this period? Valesius lit on the Proclus cited by (pseudo-) Alexander of Aphrodisias on Arist. *Soph. Elench.* p. 9. 1 Wallies as the author of an ἐορτῶν ἀπαρίθμησις. This would suit the interest (p.11) in festivals that manifests itself in the *Chrestomathy* in connection with certain of the lyric genres; but it is not enough to build on.²⁶ Welcker (i. 7) thought that a better candidate was Eutychius Proculus, a teacher of Marcus Aurelius (*Hist. Aug.* Marc. 2. 3, cf. Fronto p. 198 N.), perhaps the same as *Proculus grammaticus, doctissimus sui temporis uir* (*Hist. Aug.* Tyranni 22. 14).²⁷ Eutychius, however, is said to have been one of Marcus' *Latini grammatici*, and he had others for Greek. So even if we can trust the author of the *Historia Augusta*, his information does not much suggest a specialist in Greek literary history and theory.²⁸

Apollodorus²⁹

The fragmentary Vatican and Sabbaitic epitomes of the lost portion of Apollodorus' *Bibliothēke* were both, coincidentally, published in 1891. It was at once observed that the Apollodoran narrative of the extra-Homeric parts of the Trojan War closely resembled Proclus' summaries of the Cyclic epics.³⁰ The similarity is too great to be accidental. The two texts must be intimately related.

There are formal differences. Each section of Proclus' narrative is assigned to a specific

poem, which is named with its author and the number of books into which it was divided. This information is absent in Apollodorus, though he does at one point (epit. 5. 14) name 'the author of the *Little Iliad*' as the authority for one of two **(p.12)** alternative accounts. There are a few other places where he notes variant versions without specifying an author. So even if he is mainly following one account, he is not doing so exclusively. And whereas Proclus regularly (with very few exceptions) uses the present tense, as is normal in relating what happens in a literary work, Apollodorus fluctuates between present and past tenses, as he is not reporting the contents of a book or a series of books but the events supposed to have happened in the mythical age.

Bethe, who believed that Proclus was the Neoplatonist and therefore much later than Apollodorus, argued in a thoroughly wrong-headed article that he was dependent on Apollodorus, or more likely on 'one of his brethren',³¹ and that he supplied the headings with the information about the Cyclic poets on his own initiative, dividing up the text as he thought fit. This is unbelievable. The form of the text in which the contents of the Cyclic poems are given separately and labelled with their provenance must be older than the form in which they are run together into a continuous story with variants noted from other sources. So Proclus cannot derive from Apollodorus or from any mythographic work of similar form.

The ambit of the *Bibliothèque* as a whole exactly matches that of Proclus' Epic Cycle.³² The Cycle, as Photius tells us, began from the mythical union of Ouranos and Ge, from which were born three hundred-armed sons and three Cyclopes, and it continued to Odysseus' landing in Ithaca, where he was killed unwittingly by his son Telegonos. Apollodorus' work begins likewise:

Οὐρανὸς πρῶτος τοῦ παντὸς ἐδυνάστευε κόσμον· γήμας δὲ Γῆν ἐτέκνωσε
πρώτους τοὺς ἑκατόγχειρας προσαγορευθέντας, Βριάρεων Κόττον Γύγην ...
μετὰ τούτους δὲ αὐτῷ τεκνοῖ Γῆ Κύκλωπας, Ἄργην Στερόπην Βρόντην.

Ouranos was the first ruler of the world. He married Ge and fathered firstly the ones called Hundred-armers, Briareos, Kottos, and Gyges ... and after them Ge bore him the Cyclopes, Arges, Steropes, and Brontes.

(p.13) It ends with Odysseus' death at the hands of Telegonos, who then conveys the corpse and Penelope to Circe, who sends them to the Isles of the Blest. This is followed only by three variant versions of what happened to Odysseus and Penelope.

Since Proclus' account of the Epic Cycle cannot have been modelled on Apollodorus, the converse is necessarily true: Apollodorus took the Epic Cycle as his mythological framework. For the story of Troy it is evident that his main source is a series of prose summaries of Cyclic poems very similar to Proclus'.³³ If we had Proclus' summaries for the entire Cycle from the initial theogony on, it would surely appear that Apollodorus made equal use of the other poems too, or rather of prose summaries like those of Proclus. Of course he made extensive use of other sources besides: his human genealogies are principally based, directly or indirectly, on the pseudo-Hesiodic

Catalogue of Women, his account of Heracles' labours owes much to Pherecydes, the section on the Argonauts' voyage to Apollonius Rhodius, and so on.³⁴

Did Apollodorus use Proclus? That would not be a very satisfactory hypothesis, seeing that he often has details in his Trojan narrative that are absent from Proclus. They would have to be explained by saying either that he added them from other sources (and in some cases this may be so), or that they were originally in Proclus but later disappeared through abridgment. In principle, however, the Cycle summaries seem to be as Proclus wrote them, not abridgments.³⁵

But Proclus' *Chrestomathy* cannot have been the only place where this material was to be found. Digests of the Cyclic poems had been made long before the second century ce. Everyone accepts that the makers of the Macedonian relief bowls known as the 'Homeric cups', which date from around 200 BCE, and of the Tabulae Iliacae from around the turn of our era, in representing scenes from the Epic Cycle, were already using such prose digests and not the original poems. The captions that they provided, where they go beyond simply naming the persons depicted, show similar phrasing to that of Proclus and Apollodorus, especially in the series of five scenes from the *Aethiopis* shown on the Tabula Veronensis II (9D): **(p.14)**

Tabula Veronensis	Procl./Apollod.
Πενθεσίλεια Ἀμαζῶν παραγίνεται.	Ἀμαζῶν Πενθεσίλεια παραγίνεται Τρωσὶ συμμαχήσουσα. Procl.
Ἀχιλλεὺς Πενθεσίλειαν ἀποκτείνει	καὶ κτείνει αὐτὴν ἀριστεύουσαν Ἀχιλλεὺς. Procl.
Μέμνων Ἀντίλοχον ἀποκτείνει	Ἀντίλοχος ὑπὸ Μέμνονος ἀναιρεῖται. Procl.
Ἀχιλλεὺς Μέμνονα ἀποκτείνει	Ἀχιλλεὺς Μέμνονα κτείνει. Procl.
ἐν ταῖς Σκαιοῖς πύλαις Ἀχιλλεὺς ὑπο[πρὸς ταῖς Σκαιοῖς πύλαις τοξεύεται ὑπὸ Ἀλεξάνδρου καὶ Ἀπόλλωνος Apollod. ³⁶

A series of Homeric cups (MB 27–9: Sinn 94–6) show the killing of Priam κατὰ ποιητὴν Λέσχην ἐκ τῆς Μικρᾶς Ἰλιάδος. Here we cannot compare Proclus' summary, where the *Little Iliad's* account of the sack of Troy has been omitted in favour of that of the *Iliou Persis*, but we can use Pausanias' testimony instead:

Homeric cups	Paus 10. 27. 2
καταφυγόντος τοῦ Πριάμου ἐπὶ τὸν βωμὸν τοῦ Ἑρκείου Διὸς ἀποσπάσας ὁ Νεοπτόλεμος ἀπὸ τοῦ βωμοῦ πρὸς τῇ οἰκίᾳ κατέσφαξεν.	Πριάμον δὲ οὐκ ἀποθανεῖν ἔφη Λέσχεως ἐπὶ τῇ ἐσχάρᾳ τοῦ Ἑρκείου, ἀλλὰ ἀποσπασθέντα ἀπὸ τοῦ βωμοῦ πάρεργον τῷ Νεοπτολέμῳ πρὸς ταῖς τῆς οἰκίας γενέσθαι θύραις.

The inference is that both Proclus and Apollodorus derive their accounts from a compendium of digests of the Cyclic poems current no later than the Hellenistic period.³⁷ We cannot tell how many intermediate stages there may have been in the transmission, or how much abridgment or variation of wording may have occurred when another author took over the material. Wagner, *NJb.* 145 (1892), (p.15) 256 n. 24, noted that the *Cypria* summary, the first in the series, seems to have suffered less abridgment than the others; but was that imbalance there from the beginning, or did it develop over time?

The fact that Proclus has preserved the original headings with the information about the source poems is encouraging. But there is one important respect in which his *periochai*, as we have them in the *Iliad* manuscripts, represent a degraded stage of the tradition in comparison with those current in the Hellenistic age. Certain of the Cyclic poems overlapped in content. The madness and suicide of the Telamonian Ajax were related in both the *Aethiopis* and the *Little Iliad*, while the sack of Troy was described in both the *Little Iliad* and the *Iliou Persis*. In our Proclus the overlaps have been eliminated in the interests of making a continuous narrative without repetition of events: the *Aethiopis* summary ends with mention of the quarrel between Ajax and Odysseus, without indicating its outcome, and the *Little Iliad* summary ends with the Trojans taking the Wooden Horse into the city and rejoicing in the belief that the war was over.³⁸ But the Homeric cups, as we have seen above, portray the killing of Priam 'according to Lesches in the *Little Iliad*', so that their designer must have been using a *perioche* that was not truncated at the end. On the Tabula Capitolina the series of *Aethiopis* scenes includes a portrayal of Ajax's madness, with a clear presage of his suicide. Its *Little Iliad* sequence, to be sure, stops where our Proclus does, omitting scenes of the sack, but that is fully accounted for by the circumstance that the artist has devoted the whole central portion of the plaque to the sack following a different source, labelling it Ἰλίου πέρσις κατὰ Στησίχορον, 'Sack of Ilion according to Stesichorus'. We cannot infer that his *perioche* for the *Little Iliad* lacked the sack. There were different accounts of the sack to choose from, and like Proclus (or whoever first eliminated the overlaps in the Cycle), he preferred one of the others to that in the *Little Iliad*.

A further argument for the original wholeness of the *periochai* was adduced by Hartmann. It is that the man who made them in the first place, stating the titles of the poems and following them with 'containing the following', surely meant to give a complete summary (p.16) of what was in them.³⁹ Hartmann also explains why the overlaps were dealt with by cropping the ends and not the beginnings of *periochai*. The beginnings were protected by the headings and the formula περιέχοντα τάδε, 'with the following contents', whereas to omit a piece at the end would have seemed a relatively slight matter.⁴⁰

The elimination of the overlaps presupposes a shift of interest from literary history to myth, from the poems as individual documents to the story that they told collectively. Proclus' interest in his *Chrestomathy* was decidedly literary-historical, and he chose to incorporate an account of the Cyclic poems in which their individuality and bibliographical details were preserved. There was no reason for him to streamline them into a non-

repetitive narrative, if this had not yet happened. A more favourable moment for it may seem to be when the Trojan section was excerpted from Proclus' Cyclic summaries to make part of an introduction to the *Iliad* (Davies (1986), 103f.). On the other hand, as we have seen, there are indications that this excerption was done in a very mechanical manner, by someone who did not have the wit to alter references to parts of the text that were not being copied (above, p. 6). Was such a blinkered transcriber capable of intelligent editing of the *periochai*? I am more inclined to suppose that this had happened at an earlier stage.

We have traced the existence of the *periochai* back as far as the third century BCE. In the next section I shall come to further conclusions about their origin.

3. The Formation of the Cycle

The epics that were gathered together in the Cycle were products of a tradition with ancient roots. Poems about a Trojan war perhaps began to be composed in the twelfth century. The legend of the Argo's voyage may have been the subject of song at the same period or not much later.⁴¹ There must have been many other strands of (p.17) heroic poetry embodying and embellishing local memories of past events. After the middle of the eighth century, when Ionian epic evidently enjoyed a great flowering, we begin to have a clearer sense of some of the themes that were then current among epic singers. For example, from a series of allusions in Hesiod's *Theogony* it can be inferred that there were various songs about the deeds of Heracles, though perhaps no comprehensive *Herakleia* covering his whole career.⁴² Each of these *Einzellieder* had an independent existence. They did not have to be recited or heard together or in a particular order. But they could be said to have constituted a Heracles cycle, in the loose sense in which scholars sometimes speak of a Sumerian Bilgames cycle or a Hurrian-Hittite Kumarbi cycle: that is, a set of poems attached to a particular figure, but not (so far as we know) intended to be taken in a particular order or perceived as forming a larger whole.

In the same way there must have been a set of poems relating to Thebes, and another relating to Troy. So long as epic remained purely oral their contents were fluid, but each established theme had an identity that persisted through the changing performances. In the course of the seventh century some poets took to writing their compositions down and in the process, in certain cases, allowed them to grow to a prodigious length. Two have come down to us: the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*. Neither of them is cyclic in conception; that is, neither is designed to form a segment of a vaster narrative continuum. Each is a free-standing poem, complete in itself. But each presupposes familiarity with the larger story of the Trojan War, and each contains numerous allusions to episodes that belong to the time before the action of the *Iliad* or between that of the *Iliad* and Odysseus' return to Ithaca, episodes that we know were treated in their proper places in the poems of the Cycle.⁴³ This does not mean that the Cyclic epics as current in the classical period, the *Cypria*, the *Aethiopis*, and the rest, existed before the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*. But it means that poems existed containing much of the same material, not necessarily in written form and not necessarily corresponding to the later ones in coverage.

As the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* are not cyclic (in the sense defined above) but free-standing,

the same will have been true of other poems existing at the time: each will have told a self-contained story forming **(p.18)** part of the larger tale of the Trojan War and not necessarily leading straight on from or to one of the others. The structure of the material itself, as it appears in the later tradition, betrays its origin in a set of unconnected poems. There had probably been one dealing with the Judgment of Paris and the abduction of Helen, ending with the wedding at Troy, and another telling of the gathering of the Achaeans at Aulis, perhaps continuing to their arrival in the Troad and the initial battle that they fought there. Another poem, or more than one, told how the war was brought to an end after Philoctetes was fetched from Lemnos and Odysseus conceived the stratagem of the Wooden Horse. But there was nothing of any substance to bridge the gap between the first year and the tenth.

The emergence of the cyclic approach

Aristotle, *Poet.* 1459a37, picks out the *Cypria* and the *Little Iliad* as examples of epics that unlike the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* are *πολυμερῆς*, 'formed of many parts', containing material for many tragedies. He has lit upon a feature of the two poems that is plain to us from Proclus' summaries. They lacked structural unity, and the reason is that they were composed to cover particular sections of the whole story of Troy that were not already covered by other epics.

It is sometimes supposed that all the Cyclic epics were constructed on this principle, and that consequently they were all episodic in structure and lacking in organic unity.⁴⁴ But it is a mistake to treat them as a homogeneous group. As we saw in the last section, some of them overlapped in content: this at once refutes the notion that each poem was designed to cover an allotted span of events so as to create one continuous story.

The *Aethiopis* was composed as a continuation of the *Iliad*—not a sequel, but an actual continuation, meant to complete the story of Achilles by telling of his death and the events integrally linked to his death: the funeral games in his honour, the awarding of his arms to Odysseus, and the suicide of Ajax.⁴⁵ Arktinos (if that was the poet's name) drew on an existing, pre-Iliadic account of the death of Achilles (which had followed shortly after his killing of Hector and did not involve Memnon), and he also incorporated an independent *Einzellied* about an encounter between Achilles and the Amazon **(p.19)** Penthesileia. (See the introduction to the *Aethiopis*.) He is an epigone, building on the *Iliad* and other existing poetry. But his aim was only to make an *Ilias aucta*, completing the story of Achilles, not to carry the tale on towards the sack of Troy or to link up with some other epic that did so.

The same poet is credited with the *Iliou Persis*, a shorter epic that covered the end of the war. It did not begin where the *Aethiopis* ended but with the Trojans' discovery of the Wooden Horse. The Horse stratagem was integral to the story of the sack, and a poem about the sack had to begin, if not with the building of the Horse, with the Trojans' finding it. Demodokos' song as summarized in *Od.* 8. 499–520 had a very similar scope to the *Iliou Persis*. Stesichorus' *Iliou Persis* began similarly with praise of Epeios who built the Horse.⁴⁶ The *Iliou Persis*, then, was composed as a free-standing epic with thematic

unity. It could be characterized as an *Einzellied*.

The same could not be said of the *Little Iliad*, which was, as Aristotle saw, a concatenation of at least six potential *Einzellieder*, worked together in a sequence that is only partly determined by organic logic. (See the introduction to the poem.) The poet's aim was simply to tell the rest of the Troy story after the death of Achilles. He must have drawn on a number of antecedent poems, whether oral or written, stitching them together to make a continuous narrative. This was a truly cyclic enterprise in the sense defined earlier. If he did not stop at the point where the *Iliou Persis* started, it was presumably because he did not know the latter poem (which is not to say that it did not yet exist).

The *Cypria*, Aristotle's other prime example of a non-unitary, episodic epic, is an even more blatant product of cyclic endeavour. Its eleven books took in everything from Zeus' first design for the war to the point where the *Iliad* begins. The poet had the *Iliad* in view from the start. Of course he had other sources too, including poetic accounts of the wedding of Peleus and Thetis, the Judgment of Paris and the abduction of Helen, the gathering of the Achaeans at Aulis, the mistaken invasion of Teuthrania and the ensuing debacle, and so on.⁴⁷ It is clear that Stasinus, if that was his name, conceived (p.20) his work not as something forming a complete whole in itself but as the first part of a tale that continued in the *Iliad*, and beyond the *Iliad* to the end of the war. His introduction (F 1) was an introduction to the war as a whole, explaining why Zeus brought it about and what was the point of all the death and devastation that it involved. It was in effect an introduction to the whole Trojan cycle.

The story of the war might have been considered complete with the sack of Troy. But there were legends about the fortunes of certain major heroes in the immediate aftermath of the war: the drowning of the Locrian Ajax in consequence of his sacrilegious conduct at the sack; the tale of Odysseus' homecoming, as related in the *Odyssey*; the murder of Agamemnon and his avenging by Orestes. These provided the basis for a more comprehensive epic on the Achaeans' returns from Troy, the *Nostoi*. It did not include the return of Odysseus (though he was mentioned in passing), evidently because a separate *Odyssey* was already current. So this again was a cyclic undertaking, filling in areas not covered by existing poems. However, the *Nostoi* was not just a loose sequence of separate stories but was artfully structured within a frame formed by the return of the two Atreidai. It began with the dispute that separated them, and it ended with Menelaus' belated arrival home following Orestes' killing of Clytaemestra and Aegisthus.

When Odysseus finally reached home, the last of the heroes to do so, it might again seem that the story of the Trojan War was complete. Yet the *Odyssey* itself, through Teiresias' prophecy in 11. 118–37 (~23. 248–87), presages further episodes in Odysseus' life, including some tale about his death. A later poet, Euegetas of Cyrene, developed these hints, together with elements of local Epirotic saga, folktale, and romantic invention, into a sequel to the *Odyssey*. This was the *Telegony*. It covered the rest of Odysseus' life after his return from Troy, his death, and what became of Penelope and his sons. It was clearly an episodic poem, with only the unity conferred by the person of the protagonist. It belongs unequivocally in the cyclic category.

(p.21) From Trojan cycle to Proclus' Cycle

There are grounds for dating Euegammon to the 560s, and it is a reasonable assumption that by about 550, or at any rate by 520, the complete Trojan cycle was current. This is not to say that anyone at that time thought of these poems as forming a set. But they existed as stable texts, providing collectively a complete account of every stage of the Trojan War, from its first conception in heaven to the final destinies of the heroes.

This Trojan cycle was to form a major part of the universal Epic Cycle that Proclus knew. Yet it did not situate itself within a wider mythological canvas. The introduction to the *Cypria* entirely shuts out earlier events of the Heroic Age. It makes no allusion to the Theban Wars. The narrative begins with a vague ἦν ὅτε, 'once upon a time', a time when the earth was burdened by overpopulation, and everything that follows is directed solely towards instigating the Trojan War. It is as if there were no historical context, no other mythology.

Proclus' Cycle had a more comprehensive scope. As noted earlier, our knowledge of what poems it included is sadly incomplete. We can at least say that it seems to have been confined to archaic epics and did not include Panyassis, Antimachus, or anything later. Nor, so far as we can see, did it contain any of the Hesiodic poems. Otherwise we cannot tell whether anything was excluded or whether it took in the whole available corpus of pre-classical epic, organized in sequence.

This organization did not occur spontaneously. Something of the kind had happened with the Troy epics because the natural coherence of the subject matter invited it: the sequence of poems determined itself, and it was obvious where there were gaps in the story to be filled.⁴⁸ With the Theban epics too the sequence followed necessarily from the subject matter. The first line of the *Epigoni*, *Epigoni*, νῦν αὖθ' ὀπλοτέρων ἀνδρῶν ἀρχώμεθα, Μοῦσαι, 'But now, Muses, let us begin on the younger men', shows that it was conceived from the start as a sequel to a *Thebaid*, to be recited or read after it.⁴⁹ Among the whole mass of epics available to the organizer of the Cycle there may have been other small aggregations or mini-cycles. But for the most part he had to do the arranging and create a single sequence.

(p.22) What was his purpose, and what did he actually have to do to achieve it? Did he make an edition of the entire set of poems? That seems unlikely; there is no good evidence that the Cycle was ever edited as a whole.⁵⁰ It has sometimes been thought that traces of such an edition are to be seen in the alternative incipit of the *Iliad* known to Aristoxenus, which began as if a continuation, ἔσπετε νῦν μοι, Μοῦσαι, 'Tell me now, Muses',⁵¹ or in the alternative ending that led into the *Aethiopis*.⁵² But the alternative opening was more likely designed to follow a prefatory hymn, while the alternative ending is actually the original opening of the *Aethiopis*, which as I have said was composed from the start as a continuation of the *Iliad*.⁵³ The scholia to the *Odyssey* twice cite variant readings from ἡ κυκλική, 'the cyclic edition', but it is not clear whether the copy so designated had anything to do with the Epic Cycle or was just a 'run of the mill' one, this being another possible meaning of the adjective. If the former, it might simply have been

a text found shelved with the other Cyclic poems; it would not be surprising if Hellenistic collectors or librarians sometimes put sets together.

But the original arranger of the Cycle need not have done so. What he needed to do—and it was really all he needed to do—was publish a protocol containing his list of poems and explaining that this was the Epic Cycle, made up of poems which, if read in the prescribed sequence, would provide a comprehensive account of the mythical age as represented by the oldest poets.⁵⁴ Each title was furnished with basic bibliographical details: the author's name and the length of the work. Philoponus records:⁵⁵

(p.23) γεγράφασι γοῦν τινες περὶ τοῦ Κύκλου ἀναγράφοντες πόσοι τε ποιηταὶ γεγόνασι, καὶ τί ἕκαστος ἔγραψε, καὶ πόσοι στίχοι ἐκάστου ποιήματος, καὶ τὴν τούτων τάξιν, τίνα τε πρῶτα δεῖ μανθάνειν καὶ δεύτερα καὶ ἐφεξῆς.

Some have written about the Cycle registering how many poets there have been, and what each one wrote, and how many lines each poem had, and their order, which ones are to be read first and second and so on.

He doubtless has Proclus in view,⁵⁶ but the specifications he says were supplied surely went back to the original organizer of the Cycle. The effect of the enterprise was to bring the disparate mass of early epic poems into order and to provide a guide to help readers find their way among them.

At what period is the codification of the Cycle likely to have been made? Such an operation is hardly conceivable before the fourth century BCE. But it is very well conceivable in the second half of that century, when the systematization of knowledge in many spheres was in full swing, especially in the school of Aristotle. In the field of literature we may think of Lycurgus' ordinance establishing an official archive of the plays of the three great tragedians (Plut. *Oratorum vitae* 841 f), and of Aristotle's own redaction of the dramatic and dithyrambic Didaskaliai. Clearchus collected proverbs and riddles. Demetrius of Phalerum made the first corpus of Aesopic fables (Diog. Laert. 5. 80). The synoptic approach to mythology implicit in the aggregate Cycle may be seen as paralleling the rise of the genre of universal history pioneered by Ephorus.

It is in Aristotle that we find the first probable allusions to an epic cycle, or to *the* Epic Cycle. In two of his logical works he refers to the false syllogism 'a *kyklos* (circle) is a shape; epic poetry is a *kyklos*; therefore epic poetry is a shape'.⁵⁷ In his *Rhetoric* (1417a12), giving examples of how the orator in relating the facts of a case should pass summarily over those parts that have no emotive power, he refers to Odysseus' succinct rehearsal of his adventures to Penelope (*Od.* 23. 310–41) and then adds καὶ ὡς Φάϋλλος τὸν Κύκλον· καὶ ὁ ἐν τῷ Οἶνεϊ πρόλογος, 'and as Phayllos (does with) the *Kyklos*; and (as is) **(p.24)** the prologue in (Euripides') *Oineus*'. We know nothing of who this Phayllos was—it is not a rare name—but he was apparently known at the time for having reduced something called the *Kyklos* to a concise factual summary. In view of the other Aristotelian passages we can hardly doubt that it was an epic *Kyklos*; and if Aristotle uses the definite article with it, the inference is that he knew only one such Cycle. Why should

we doubt that it was the Epic Cycle acknowledged by later writers?⁵⁸ The exact phrase *ἐπικὸς κύκλος* had probably not yet been coined, as noted at the outset, but people might have used some such expression as *ὁ κύκλος τῶν ἐπῶν*. However that may be, the Cycle appears to have been established as a literary quantity by the third quarter of the fourth century, even if it was more a bibliographic construct than an editorial reality.

The educated inquirer could then, if all the epics were available to him, find his epic mythology presented in the poets' words and laid out in a logical order. But most would have had difficulty in assembling all the texts, and even if they were to hand, it was a daunting amount of verse to read through. Since (as we find noted in Proclus) it was the substance rather than the poetry that interested people, it was a natural step to cater for this interest by making a prose epitome of the whole Cycle, a set of *periochai*, retaining the bibliographical details about the individual poets and works but reducing the narrative to the essentials. The dozens of volumes could thus be replaced for most purposes by a single one, easy to acquire and easy to handle and consult. The need for such a compendium would have been apparent from the start, and as we saw in the previous section, there must have been one current at any rate by the Hellenistic period.

Now, it appears from Aristotle that such an epitome already existed in his time, and he names its author: Phayllos. The labour is not likely to have been undertaken twice, and there is no reason why Phayllos' digest of the Cycle should not have been the primary text from which Proclus and Apollodorus ultimately depended.

Indeed, there is some likelihood that the Cycle and the epitome were created together and that Phayllos was responsible for both. Launching the Cycle as an ensemble meant, as I have said, promulgating a document that set out the details of the constituent epics. That would have taken up perhaps a couple of columns of writing, too brief a text to be issued as a book on its own. It must **(p.25)** surely have been embodied in a larger publication: perhaps a treatise on literary history, but more probably, I submit, a work devoted to the Epic Cycle and consisting mainly of the *periochai*, each headed by the information about the poem's author and length.⁵⁹

Perhaps we may go a step further. I cited earlier the remark that Photius reports from Proclus, that 'the poems of the Epic Cycle are preserved and studied by most people not so much for their quality as for the consecution of the matters it contains', *διὰ τὴν ἀκολουθίαν τῶν ἐν αὐτῷ πραγμάτων*, in other words for a continuous account of all that was supposed to have happened. I mentioned that this might not have been an original observation by Proclus but taken over, like the *periochai*, from an older source. In fact it looks like nothing so much as a justification for making the *periochai* in the first place. Phayllos might well have written: 'Since the poems of the Cycle are preserved and studied by most people not so much for their quality as for the consecution of the matters it contains, I have thought it worth while to provide epitomes of each of them, so that the reader may have an overview of the entire corpus and easily see what matters are related in each poem.'

The stages of development postulated on the basis of the foregoing arguments may be

summed up as follows.

750– 600	Emergence/perpetuation of oral poems on multifarious heroic themes, some of them sharing a common focus such as the Trojan War, Heracles, etc
660– 600	Fixing of some large-scale and lesser epics in writing, including the <i>Iliad</i> , <i>Aethiopis</i> , <i>Iliou Persis</i> , <i>Odyssey</i>
620– 560	Creation or remodelling of other poems to bridge gaps in the sequence: <i>Nostoi</i> , <i>Little Iliad</i> , <i>Cypria</i> Or to extend it: <i>Telegony</i> This completed an unofficial Trojan cycle
560– 350	Epics transmitted individually by recitation and increasingly as books
350– 320	Phayllos organizes a substantial number of epics into a formal, comprehensive Cycle, writes a Protocol defining it, and provides a prose digest consisting of <i>periochai</i> for each poem
320– 200 CE	The digest widely used by mythographers and others; the original poems (apart from the <i>Iliad</i> and <i>Odyssey</i>) increasingly neglected, though at least some of them continue to be obtainable in places
200– 550	The poems no longer current; their contents known only from the epitome and derivative texts New epics composed on Posthomerica (Triphiodorus, Quintus) and Antehomerica (Colluthus)

(p.26) 4. Ascriptions

In the Protocol a single author was named for each of the Cyclic epics: Stasinos of Cyprus for the *Cypria*, Homer for the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, Arktinos of Miletus for the *Aethiopis* and *Iliou Persis*, Lesches of Pyrrha (or Mytilene) for the *Little Iliad*, Agias of Troizen for the *Nostoi*, Euegammon of Cyrene for the *Telegony*, and we can probably add Kinaithon of Lacedaemon for the *Oidipodeia* and Antimachus of Teos for the *Epigoni*. These unequivocal attributions are reproduced in derivative sources. Three of the Homeric cups have scenes in relief with captions beginning *κατὰ ποιητὴν Λέσχην ἐκ τῆς Μικρᾶς Ἰλιάδος*, and another has one beginning *[κατὰ τὸν ποιητὴν] Ἀ[γίαν] ἐκ τῶν [Νό]στων*.⁶⁰ The most elaborate of the Roman Tabulae Iliacae, the Tabula Capitolina, has a series of scenes labelled *Αἰθιοπὶς κατὰ Ἀρκτῖνον τὸν Μιλήσιον* and another series labelled *Ἰλιάς ἢ Μικρὰ λεγομένη κατὰ Λέσχην Πυρραῖον*. The same ascriptions appear in Proclus' summaries of the Troy epics, except that he knew from a different source a discussion of alternative attributions for the *Cypria*, and this led him to withhold Stasinos' name from the *Cypria* summary and insert the scholarly discussion in a later passage of his *Chrestomathy*. (See below on the *Cypria*.) Some of them appeared too in Eusebius' *Chronicle*: under Ol. 4 (Jerome) we read *Arctinus qui Aethiopidem composuit et Ilii Persin*; under Ol. 30 (Syncellus) *Λέσχης Λέσβιος ὁ τὴν Μικρὰν Ἰλιάδα ποιήσας*; under Ol. 53 (Syncellus) *Εὐγάμμων Κυρηναῖος ὁ τὴν Τηλεγονίαν ποιήσας*.

(p.27) Older scholars such as Nitzsch and Welcker were content to use these names in referring to the authors of the Cyclic epics. Wilamowitz, however, emphasized in a powerful chapter of his *Homerische Untersuchungen* what an insecure place they had in tradition before the fourth century, and he rejected them as wholly lacking in

credentials.⁶¹ Most of them are unattested before 350 BCE, and up to that time the Cyclic poems were often attributed wholesale to Homer, albeit not without some controversy. After 350, while Arktinos and the others are the authors commonly named when an ascription is made without variant, some scholarly sources mention discussion of rival names, and many writers prefer to use non-committal expressions such as 'the man who composed the *Cypria*'. As Wilamowitz somewhat over-pointedly put it, 'in 500 all the poems are by Homer; in 350 it is essentially only the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* that are by Homer, all the rest are taken from him and attached by hypothesis now to one author, now to another (or in one or two cases still to Homer); by 150 all these hypotheses are cleared away, and the poems are all anonymous'.⁶²

It is clear that the adoption of the names Stasinos, Arktinos, and so on by Phayllos (if he was the man responsible) was not based on any established consensus or firm tradition. Whatever the sources he took them from, they cannot have been unanimous or decisive. Unsophisticated people accepted them as official on his authority. But the bluff assertiveness with which he stated that 'this man did this, and this man did this' recalls the bold constructionism of certain Peripatetic writers on literary history, such as Heraclides Ponticus in his account of early Greek music, or Theophrastus' comrade Phaenias of Eresus, who set his fellow Lesbians Lesches and Terpander in a chronological relationship with each other and with the Milesian Arktinos (fr. 33 Wehrli=*FGrHist* 1012 F 10, quoted below).

(p.28) The evidence for Cyclic poems being associated with Homer is as follows:⁶³

Pausanias (9.9.5), after mentioning the *Thebaid*, writes that Callinus (the name is emended from *Καλαῖνος*) came to speak of this epic and said it was by Homer. Callinus cannot have mentioned the *Thebaid* by name, but he perhaps referred to an episode of the Theban War, or to a famous saying associated with it, and mentioned 'Homer' as the authority.⁶⁴

Simonides, *PMG* 564=fr. 273 Poltera, cites Homer and Stesichorus as authorities for a victory of Meleager at the funeral games for Pelias. We cannot identify the epic for which 'Homer' stands. In his Plataea elegy (fr. eleg. 11 W.²), after referring to the death of Achilles at Apollo's hands and the sack of Troy, Simonides goes on to speak of a man—only Homer can be meant—who conferred undying fame on the Danaoi and on the *ἡμιθέων ὠκύμορος γενεή* in general, having received the truth from the Muses.

Pindar, *Nem.* 7. 20–8 (cf. *Isth.* 4. 35–42), says that it was through Homer's art that Odysseus was made to seem the worthier claimant to the arms of Achilles in the dispute that resulted in the suicide of Ajax. Homer here is the poet of the *Aethiopis* or the *Little Iliad*. Pindar is also cited (fr. 265) as having endorsed the story that Homer, wanting to marry off his daughter, gave the bridegroom the *Cypria* in lieu of a dowry. The point of the tale was that he was the real author of an epic often thought to belong to someone else (identified as Stasinos in later versions of the story).

Aeschylus is said to have characterized his tragedies as 'slices from Homer's big

dinners', *τεμάχη τῶν Ὀμήρου μεγάλων δείπνων* (Ath. 347e, surely derived from Ion of Chios' *Epidemiai*; cf. *BICS* 32 (1985), 75 with n. 25). 'Homer' here must stand for heroic epic as a whole.⁶⁵

Herodotus (2. 117) finds reason to believe that the *Cypria* is not by Homer 'but by someone else', the implication being that Homer is the author commonly assumed. In 4. 32 he cites 'Homer in the *Epigonoí*', but adds the caveat 'if Homer really composed this epic'. It seems that while Cyclic poems still generally went under Homer's name, there was scepticism in the air as regards those other than the **(p.29)** *Iliad* and *Odyssey*. In 5. 67. 1 Herodotus relates that Cleisthenes of Sicyon, from hostility towards Argos, stopped the rhapsodes from performing in Sicyon *τῶν Ὀμηρείων ἐπέων ἔνεκα, ὅτι Ἀργεῖοί τε καὶ Ἄργος τὰ πολλὰ πάντα ὑμνεῖται*. The designation *Ἀργεῖοι* is often used for the Achaeans in the *Iliad*, but in the context Herodotus may well have been thinking of the *Thebaid* and *Epigonoí*, in which the city of Argos was featured. When in 2. 53. 2 he says of Hesiod and Homer that 'these are the ones who created a divine narrative (*θεογονίην*) for the Greeks, gave the gods their titles, allocated their privileges and capabilities, and indicated their forms', he is either making them stand for the whole hexameter tradition or assuming that Homer was the earliest of the epic poets.⁶⁶

The author of the Hippocratic work *περὶ ἄθρων ἐμβολῆς* (8) quotes a verse of 'Homer' that does not occur in the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* and presumably came somewhere in the Cycle (Epic. adesp. 3, = *Nostoi* F 12a* in the present volume). Aristotle too quotes unidentified fragments as 'Homer' (Epic. adesp. 4–5; 6 = *Aethiopsis* F 3a* here). This is not a phenomenon that ceases in the fourth century; see Epic. adesp. 9–11, 13–16, 18–19.

The author of the pseudo-Demosthenic *Epitaphios* (60. 29) writes that the Akamantidai 'recalled the verses in which Homer says that Akamas went to Troy on account of their mother Aithra' (he should have said their grandmother). The passage he had in mind probably belonged either to the *Little Iliad* (F 17n.) or to the *Iliou Persis* (F 6), though Hiller noted that the *Cypria* is also a possibility.⁶⁷

In the earlier of Aristotle's two references to the false *kyklos* syllogism, in *Soph. elench.* 171a10, it takes the form *ὅτι ἡ Ὀμήρου ποίησις σχῆμα*, 'that Homer's poetry is a shape' (because a *κύκλος* is a shape). If by 'Homer's poetry' he means only the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, the premise that it is a *kyklos* is unintelligible. It is to be presumed that he means the whole Cycle as later understood. In his later writings he probably came to distinguish with greater awareness between Homer and the poets of the *Cypria*, the *Little Iliad*, etc.

In the following century Simias of Rhodes composed a dedication in the name of Epeios, the builder of the Wooden Horse, in which he thanks Athena for having enabled him to walk 'on Homer's **(p.30)** pathway', *ἐς Ὀμήρειον κέλευθον* (*Pelekys* 7). Epeios is mentioned in the *Odyssey* (8. 493) as the builder of the Horse, but Simias will be thinking rather of the *Little Iliad*, where the story was told in full.

Antigonus of Carystus, *Mirabilia* 25, quotes part of some advice that Amphiaraios gave to

his son Amphilochos, probably in the *Thebaid* (fr. 8*), introducing it with ὁ ποιητὴς ἔγραψεν; ‘the poet’, used absolutely, usually means Homer, and Antigonos has used it in this sense in the section immediately preceding.

In the later biographical tradition Homer continues to be credited with several of the Cyclic poems. The *Certamen* (15) relates that after his defeat by Hesiod Homer went about reciting his poems, the *Thebaid* and then the *Epigoni*, ‘for some say that this too is Homer’s work’. In the pseudo-Herodotean Life he composes an *Amphiaraos’ Expedition to Thebes* (part of the *Thebaid*?) (9), the *Little Iliad* (16), and a *Phokais* (16), besides the *Batrachomyomachia* and other *παίγνια* (24). Proclus, after saying in his Life (9) that Homer wrote two poems, the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* (the latter denied him by Xenon and Hellanicus), adds, ‘the ancients, however, also ascribe the Cycle to him’.⁶⁸ In the *Suda* Life, which derives from Hesychius of Miletus, there is a longer list of poems said to be attributed to Homer, confusedly compiled from more than one source; it includes the *Amazonia*, *Little Iliad*, *Nostoi*, *Amphiaraos’ Expedition*, *Capture of Oichalia*, *Cycle(!)*, and *Cypria*.

These late texts do not reflect any genuine persistence of the tendency to think of Homer as the author of Cyclic poems. The *Certamen* in the passage cited draws from a Life similar in character to that of pseudo-Herodotus, whose account of Homer’s travels from town to town and his productions of different epics at different places seems to go back to a base narrative composed in the classical period. Proclus’ statement that the ancients ascribed the whole Cycle to Homer perhaps goes back to Phayllos or whoever put out the original Protocol. That first inventor of the Cycle as an ensemble may have written something like, ‘the ancients credited Homer with all these poems; in fact he wrote only the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, and these other epics were the work of various other poets, whom I shall name one by one’.

When poets other than Homer are named as the authors of Cyclic epics, there is often more than one per poem. The *Titanomachy* was (p.31) ascribed to Eumelos or Arktinos, the *Cypria* to Stasinos, Hegesias, or Kyprias, the *Little Iliad* to Lesches, Thestorides of Phocaea, Kinaithon of Lacedaemon, or Diodoros of Erythrae, the *Nostoi* to Agias or Eumelos (unless there were two different poems), the *Telegony* to Eugammon or Kinaithon. It is clear that it was not a simple question of Homer versus the names in Proclus. The authorship of these poems, or most of them, was a matter of considerable uncertainty. In the case of the *Telegony*, which must have been one of the latest of them, there is no particular reason to question, and some reason to accept, the ascription to a Cyrenaean poet Eugammon. (See below.) But in earlier generations the authorship of epic poems (whatever that meant in oral conditions) had evidently been a matter of indifference, with singers generally seeing themselves not as creators but as performers and embellishers of inherited material.⁶⁹

On what basis, then, were ascriptions made? The prevalence of Homer as a default author is the consequence of his origin as the fictitious ancestor of the Homeridai and supposed source of the traditional poetry that they performed. Their efforts to claim for

him poems for which other authors' names were current can be seen not only in the tale about his giving the *Cypria* to Stasinos but in others too: he gave the *Capture of Oichalia* to Kreophylos of Samos in return for hospitality (Call. *Epigr.* 6 Pf., Strabo 14. 1. 18, etc.); he had the *Phokais*, the *Little Iliad*, and other poems stolen from him by Thestorides (ps.-Hdt. 16). The story in most of the Lives that his original name was Melesigenes may have been devised for a similar purpose, to appropriate for Homer a poem or poems—the *Iliad*? The *Odyssey*?—that went under the other name.⁷⁰

Where names other than Homer's appear, there is at least a chance that they are the names of real persons whom there was some reason to associate with particular poems. But some of them might have been rhapsodes known for reciting certain epics rather than the poets who had actually composed them.⁷¹ Certain names may (p.32) have had special potency to attract unattached poems. For example, Eumelos, who was remembered as a member of the dominant Bacchiad family at Corinth and as the author of a Prosodion that the Messenians performed for Apollo on Delos, was credited with several poems that may have been esteemed at Corinth but that cannot be dated as early as his lifetime (West (2002)). The Lacedaemonian Kinaithon is credited with an odd assortment of poems: the *Oidipodeia*, the *Little Iliad*, the *Telegony* (error? see below), *Genealogiai*, and a *Herakleia* (sch. Ap. Rhod. 1. 1355/7c, error for Konon?). It has been suspected that he was a man to whom everything was attributed at Sparta (Nitzsch (1852), 24, cf. 59).

With these grounds for caution in mind, let us review the candidates (other than Homer) for authorship of the Troy epics and assess the possible merits of their claims.

Cypria

The title τὰ Κύπρια (ἔπη), 'the Cyprian epic', implies an anonymous poem, one identified by its currency in a particular area, not by its author. This is, however, how it would have been known outside Cyprus rather than in it; within Cyprus there might have been better knowledge of who it belonged to. Athenaeus (682d) knows of three claimants:

ὁ μὲν τὰ Κύπρια ἔπη πεποιηκὼς Ἡγησίας ἢ Στασῖνος (ἢ καὶ Κυπρίας).
 Δημοδάμας γὰρ ὁ Ἀλικαρνασσεὺς ἢ Μιλήσιος ἐν τῷ περὶ Ἀλικαρνασσοῦ
 (FGrHist 428 F 1) Κυπρία Ἀλικαρνασσέως αὐτὰ εἶναί φησι ποιήματα.

The man who composed the *Cypria*, Hegesias or Stasinos, {or again Kyprias}, since Demodamas of Halicarnassus or Miletus in his *History of Halicarnassus* says it is the work of Kyprias of Halicarnassus.

Proclus drew from the same source in the passage of his *Chrestomathy* where he discussed the title of the poem:

Phot. *Bibl.* 319a34 λέγει δὲ καὶ περὶ τινῶν Κυπρίων ποιημάτων, καὶ ὡς οἱ μὲν ταῦτα εἰς Στασῖνον ἀναφέρουσι Κύπριον, οἱ δὲ Ἡγησίον τὸν Σαλαμίνιον αὐτοῖς ἐπιγράφουσιν, οἱ δὲ Ὅμηρον γράφαι, δοῦναι δὲ ὑπὲρ τῆς θυγατρὸς Στασίνωι, καὶ διὰ τὴν αὐτοῦ πατρίδα Κύπρια τὸν πόνον ἐπικληθῆναι. ἀλλ' οὐ {προσ}τίθεται

ταύτηι τῇ αἰτίαι, μηδὲ γὰρ Κύπρια προπαροξυτόνως ἐπιγράφεσθαι τὰ ποιήματα.

(p.33) (Proclus) also speaks of some poetry called *Cypria*, and of how some attribute it to Stasinos of Cyprus, while some give the author's name as Hegesinos of Salamis, and others say that Homer wrote it and gave it to Stasinos in consideration of his daughter, and that because of where he came from the work was called *Cypria*. But he does not favour this explanation, as he says the poem's title is not *Κύπρια* with proparoxytone accent.

'Hegesinos' corresponds to Athenaeus' Hegesias and is doubtless a corruption caused by assimilation to the preceding Stasinos. Proclus evidently accepted Demodamas' assertion reported by Athenaeus, that the poem was by a Halicarnassian named Kyprias, so that the title should be read as τὰ Κυπρία ἔπη. This impudent claim is also reflected in a Halicarnassian verse inscription of the second century BCE celebrating the city's achievements:

ἔσπειρεν Πανύασσιν ἐπῶν ἀρίσημον ἄνακτα,

Ἰλιακῶν Κυπρίαν τίκτεν ἀοιδοθέτην.⁷²

We can reject this Kyprias as a fiction. Of Hegesias of Salamis we know nothing; we should guess that it was the Cyprian Salamis, though his name does not show Cypriot vocalism (*Hagesias) as that of Stasinos does.

Stasinos is the author commonly named. This is mainly due to the influence of the Cycle Protocol. However, if we assume that he was from the beginning the bridegroom in the dowry story, and accept that this was known to Pindar, his attestation reaches back into the early or mid fifth century. The story also appears in Ael. VH 9. 15, in the *Suda* Life of Homer (Vita 6. 5) (where Stasinos is called ὁ ὑπατος Κυπρίων, the chief magistrate of Cyprus), and in Tz. Hist. 13. 631–4. It is suppressed, however, in most of the biographical tradition about Homer, which mentions no visit to Cyprus by the poet.⁷³

Two historical bearers of the name Stasinos are attested in inscriptions; one is from Cyprus (ICS 371, fifth/fourth century), the other is presupposed by a patronymic Stasinios from Thespiai (SEG 3. 333. 70, c.280–265).⁷⁴ This makes it probable that there was a real Cypriot **(p.34)** poet or rhapsode of this name in the archaic period, and as he was remembered exclusively in connection with the *Cypria*, it is reasonable to accept that he was either its author or a performer associated with it.⁷⁵

Aethiopis, Iliou Persis

The only author named for these two poems is Arktinos of Miletus. He is also credited (alternatively to Eumelos) with the *Titanomachy*. There are scraps of biographical material about him. The chief one is *Suda* α 3960 (from Hesychius of Miletus):

Ἀρκτῖνος Τήλεω τοῦ Ναύτεω ἀπόγονος, Μιλήσιος, Μιλήσιος, ἐποποιός, μαθητὴς Ὀμήρου, ὡς λέγει ὁ Κλαζομένιος Ἀρτέμων ἐν τῷ περὶ Ὀμήρου (FGrHist 443 F 2),

γεγονώς κατὰ τὴν θ', Ὀλυμπιάδα, μετὰ υἱ, ἔτη τῶν Τρωϊκῶν.

Arktinos son of Teles and descendant of Nautes, Milesian, epic poet; a pupil of Homer, as Artemon of Clazomenae says in his work on Homer; born in the ninth Olympiad (744/1), 410 years after the Trojan War.

The statement that Arktinos was a pupil of Homer should warn us against looking for any hard historical information in the testimony of this Artemon, whom Jacoby regards as a pre-Hellenistic writer. He may be the source for the poet's father Teles and ancestor Nautes, who both appear with the Ionian genitive in -εω. Nautes, otherwise unknown, may be supposed to have been an early Milesian king or colonist.

Phaenias or Phantias of Eresos also recognized Arktinos as a significant epic poet, bringing him into a discussion of the achievements and relative chronology of certain Lesbian poets. Clem. *Strom.* 1. 131. 6:

Φανίας δὲ (fr. 33 Wehrli, *FGrHist* 1012 F 10) πρὸ Τερπάνδρου τιθεὶς Λέσχην τὸν Λέσβιον Ἀρχιλόχου νεώτερον φέρει τὸν Τέρπανδρον· διημιλλῆσθαι δὲ τὸν Λέσχην Ἀρκτίνωι καὶ νενικηκέναι.

Phanias, placing Lesches of Lesbos before Terpander, makes Terpander younger than Archilochus; and he says Lesches fought it out with Arktinos in a contest and was victorious.

(p.35) The suggestion is that Lesches was a younger poet than Arktinos (Eusebius in fact dated him a century later) but overlapped with him and defeated him in a competition, so succeeding him as the leading epic poet of the time. In coupling the two, Phaenias presumably thought of Arktinos as the poet of the *Aethiopis* and/or *Iliou Persis* and Lesches as the poet of the *Little Iliad*.

Datings of Arktinos and other Cyclic poets in the chronographic tradition were artificial constructions without historical basis. On those for Arktinos see Mosshammer 198–203.

Arktinos is unlikely to be an invention of fourth-century writers, even if we cannot trace him any earlier. He may have been named in manuscripts of the poems, though that would not account for Artemon's knowledge of his family details (if they had a documentary basis). Wilamowitz (1884), 370, imagined researchers into local chronicles and victor-lists finding names of old poets and rhapsodes to whom poems could be attributed, perhaps even a record of a contest in which a Lesches defeated an Arktinos: 'Wol möglich, daß eine chronik oder irgend sonst eine verlegene notiz zwei rhapsoden Lesches und Arktinos in einem agon aufführte, Lesches als sieger.' But it is not credible that any genuine victor-lists for rhapsodic contests existed for the period before Terpander. The contest involving Arktinos and Lesches may have been a fiction on the model of that between Homer and Hesiod.⁷⁶

The account in the *Aethiopis* of Achilles' posthumous translation to the White Island in the Black Sea has been seen as an indication that the poem did indeed originate in Miletus,

the city that pioneered the exploration of the Pontus in the seventh century.⁷⁷ There is no internal evidence to suggest that the *Aethiopsis* and *Iliou Persis* were by the same poet, but nothing to disprove it.

Little Iliad

This poem is ascribed to no less than four poets other than Homer. The one usually named is Lesches of Mytilene or Pyrrha. The other three are rounded up in sch. Eur. *Tro.* 822,

(p.36) τῷ τὴν Μικρὰν Ἰλιάδα πεποιηκότι, ὃν οἱ μὲν Θεστορίδην Φωκ(αι)έα φασίν, οἱ δὲ Κιναιίθωνα Λακεδαιμόνιον, ὡς Ἑλλάνικος (202c Fowler), οἱ δὲ Διόδωρον Ἐρυθραῖον.

The author of the *Little Iliad*, whom some say was Thestorides of Phocaea, others Kinaithon of Lacedaemon, as Hellanicus has it, and others Diodoros of Erythrae.

Hellanicus' name was restored by Hermann, *Opusc.* v. 185, for the manuscript's *μελάνικοσ*. The reference is certainly to the fifth-century logographer, who is cited in eight other places in the Euripides scholia, and not the obscure Hellenistic grammarian Hellanicus who disputed Homer's authorship of the *Odyssey*. Now, it is odd that the scholium makes no mention of Lesches, the poet most regularly connected with the *Little Iliad*, and we should have expected the Lesbian Hellanicus, if anyone, to have championed Lesches' claim.⁷⁸ So we should perhaps supply {οἱ δὲ Λέσχην Πυρραῖον}, ὡς Ἑλλάνικος.⁷⁹ It might then have been Hellanicus' authority that gave Lesches the lead over rivals among later writers. As he wrote in Ionic, he might have been (via Phayllos) the source for the Ionic genitive *Λέσχεω* used by Proclus, from which Pausanias derived the false nominative *Λέσχεωσ* (see on *Little Iliad* F 15–27).⁸⁰

The next (and first guaranteed) mention of Lesches' name is that by Phaenias discussed above. Pausanias (10. 25. 5=*Little Iliad* F 15) gives Lesches a father, Aischylinos, who must go back to an older source. Lesches was not known for anything other than the authorship of the *Little Iliad*, and he was presumably associated with it on Lesbos from at least as early as the fifth century. On the ancient datings for him see Mosshammer 226–33.

(p.37) The ascription to Thestorides of Phocaea is presupposed in pseudo-Herodotus' Life of Homer (16), where the *Little Iliad* is specified as one of the poems that Thestorides wrote down from Homer's recitations and then appropriated. Another was a *Phokais*, which is otherwise unheard of: its title indicates a thematic connection with, or currency in, Phocaea (not Phocis), so its association with a Phocaean poet is natural. If the tale of Homer's travels in the pseudo-Herodotean Life goes back to a fifth-century original, as it may, the Thestorides story is of similar antiquity to the one about Stasinos, and here too we may suppose that it preserves a memory of a real poet or rhapsode. Wilamowitz (1916), 425, supposes that he must have been somehow involved with the *Little Iliad*. It looks as if it was attributed to him at least as early as it was to Lesches.

Kinaithon, as we saw above, was credited with a strangely heterogeneous assortment of poems, and he seems the weakest of the candidates for authorship of the *Little Iliad*. Nitzsch (1852), 59–61, supposes that he and Diodoros were rhapsodes who became associated in their own localities with an epic that they recited. Diodoros is not mentioned anywhere else, but Wilamowitz (1916), 425, notes that Erythrae is one of the places that Homer passes through in pseudo-Herodotus 17f., and infers that in an earlier version of the story he must have encountered Diodoros there. If so, Diodoros might have been represented as having got the *Little Iliad* from him; pseudo-Herodotus then, in eliminating Diodoros from his narrative, would have transferred the appropriation of the *Little Iliad* to Thestorides, whom he had already named as appropriator of the *Phokais*.

My hypothesis that the *Little Iliad* had its name, like the *Iliad*, from its currency in the region of Ilion (see *Little Iliad*, intro. 1) would favour a poet from nearby, such as the Lesbian Lesches, over one from Sparta such as Kinaithon. The other two claimants are from north Ionian towns, Phocaea and Erythrae. In each case it was probably in his own region that the man was known for the *Little Iliad*. When the matter is put like this, there appears to be some likelihood that these were singers or rhapsodes who made their reputations by performing the poem, or a version of it. The poet who actually composed it may have been one of them, or someone else whose name was not remembered.

(p.38) Nostoi

Proclus names Agias of Troizen, and this must be the name to be supplemented on the Homeric cup MB 36 (Sinn 101; F 10) and to be restored for Clement's Αὔγ[ε]ίας in F 7. The Hegias of Troizen cited by Pausanias 1. 2. 1 may be the same person (see on *Nostoi* F 14). No early attestation of him survives.

A Νόστος τῶν Ἑλλήνων is attributed to Eumelos by sch. Pind. *Ol.* 13. 31a.⁸¹ This is presumably the Cyclic *Nostoi*, and the ascription to Eumelos an isolated error.

Eustathius, in a review of traditions about Odysseus' descendants (*Od.* 1796. 37ff.), cites 'the Cyrenaean author of the *Telegony*' (*Telegony* F 4), and a few lines later 'the Colophonian poet of the *Nostoi*' for information that must also come from the *Telegony* (F 6). There is a confusion here that will have to be addressed elsewhere, but the interesting point for the moment is the ascription of the *Nostoi* to a Colophonian poet. We cannot say who might have been meant, but the account of Teiresias' or Calchas' death and burial at Colophon (*Nostoi* arg. 2) implies an interest in the region.⁸²

Telegony

Proclus' attribution to a Cyrenaean poet named Eugammon is more or less uncontentious, for the following reasons.

- (i) The only alternative ascription seems to be an error. Jerome in his version of Eusebius' *Chronicle* has an entry under Ol. 4. 1, *Cinaethon Lacedaemonius poeta qui Telegoniam scripsit agnoscitur*, as well as a later one under Ol. 53. 2, *Eugammon Cyrenaeus qui Telegoniam fecit agnoscitur* (similarly Syncellus in

Greek). But *qui Telegoniam scripsit* is an unlikely way to identify Kinaithon, who was better known for other works, and Scaliger plausibly conjectured *Genealogias*.

(ii) According to Eustathius in F 4 the second son that Penelope bore to Odysseus in the poem had the name Arkesilaos. Arkesilaos, or in Doric Arkesilas, was the name of three kings of the Battiad (p.39) dynasty at Cyrene in the sixth century and a fourth in the time of Pindar. It is hard to resist the inference (Bergk 53) that the poet of the *Telegony* lived at Cyrene and sought to honour the Battiads by tracing their descent back to a son of Odysseus.

(iii) The Eusebian date for Eugammon, Ol. 53. 2=567/6 BCE, is much more plausible for a Cyclic poet than those offered for Arktinos, Lesches, and Kinaithon. It would fall within the reign of Arkesilas II. This fits so well that it raises a real possibility that the dating had some basis in a documentary record.

(iv) Whether or not the Eusebian date is accurate, a considerable part of the content of the *Telegony* is post-Odyssean invention, and the poem must be one of the latest in the Trojan cycle, composed surely well into the sixth century, at a time when a fair number of epics had been fixed in writing. A poet who then added to the series a new one of such original content had a good chance of attracting attention to himself as a creative spirit, and if a name was remembered in connection with the poem it was more likely to be his, the author's, than that of some rhapsode who merely performed it. How widely was the *Telegony* ever performed anyway?

Conclusions

Despite the common tendency in the classical period to treat all epic poetry as being by Homer, we have seen that several other names were known in connection with Cyclic poems as early as the fifth century: Stasinos, Thestorides, Lesches, perhaps Diodoros. There is no reason to suspect any of the poets we hear of, except Kyprias of Halicarnassus, of being a later invention. If we cannot follow any of them back into the sixth century, it is surely only because of the lack of potential source texts for that period.

To the general public in the sixth century these names may well have been unfamiliar. It was most likely the rhapsodes, the people who took the closest interest in what poems existed or what hexameter texts anyone had a copy of, who knew names of poets associated with them. Some names were preserved in a Homerid tradition that was bent on denying their authorship of certain poems and asserting that they were in fact by Homer. There seem to have been other Homeridai, however, who acknowledged only the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* as the work of Homer. These were 'the poems of Homer' as performed at the Great Panathenaea at (p.40) Athens from c.522,⁸³ and the guild of rhapsodes with whom Hipparchos contracted to mount the performances probably insisted that these were the only true works of Homer and that other poems said to be his were in fact by others. It may have been the same guild that denied the Homeric authorship of the *Hymn to Apollo* and declared that it was the work of Kynaithos of Chios (sch. Pind. *Nem.* 2. 1). In the same way they may have had names for the poets of the *Cypria*, the *Aethiopis*, and the other epics.

We cannot check the accuracy of any given ascription. There is a good case for accepting Eugammon as the author of the *Telegony*. Arktinos is equally unchallenged as author of the *Aethiopis* and *Iliou Persis*. There are no such strong supporting arguments in his case as there are for Eugammon, but no grounds for rejecting the attribution other than generalized scepticism towards any identifications of authors for the Cyclic poems.

The ancient ascriptions of the *Cypria* to Stasinos and of the *Nostoi* to Agias are not quite so unanimous; and once unanimity breaks down we are helpless unless we can find a reason why one or the other claim may be unsound. We are worst off in the case of the *Little Iliad*, for which there are four claimants. At least some of them, I have suggested, may have been rhapsodes associated with the poem in different areas. But that leaves us unable to identify its actual author.

5. Reflexes in Archaic and Classical Art and Literature

The epics enjoyed their greatest currency in the two and a half centuries between about 580 and 330. As we have seen, several authors in this period refer to them directly. Herodotus and Aristotle mention the *Cypria* by name, Pindar apparently alluded to it in recognizable terms, and Plato quotes a couple of lines (F 29). Hellanicus and Aristotle spoke of the *Little Iliad*. Various unidentified fragments quoted as 'Homer' by a Hippocratic writer, two orators, and Aristotle (p.41) may be from Cyclic poems (*Aethiopis* F 3a*, *Little Iliad* F 32*, *Iliou Persis* F 6, *Nostoi* F 12a*).

Scenes related to the Trojan War begin to appear in art from the end of the eighth century and become numerous in the sixth and fifth.⁸⁴ However, they cannot all reflect the Homeric and Cyclic poems. Initially the poems we know about may not yet have been in existence or not authoritative. Early seventh-century representations of the Wooden Horse, for instance, prove that the legend was established, but not that the *Little Iliad* or *Iliou Persis* was already current: the story had no doubt been familiar for some time before those particular epics took shape. When we come to the fifth or fourth century we can take the poems of the Cycle to have been the canonical epic sources, but there were by then many non-epic sources in concurrence with them, such as the cantatas of Stesichorus and the works of the tragedians and logographers, and an artist touching on the events of the Trojan War did not necessarily have the epic in mind. Some images are of things that may not have been related in the Cyclic poems at all, such as Peleus' wrestling with Thetis, Achilles' education by Cheiron, and his concealment among the daughters of Lykomedes.

Similar caveats apply to literary evidence. Where a writer does not refer to a particular epic or quote verses, it is in principle difficult to pin down his source. General references to the abduction of Helen or the sack of Troy need not mean that he has the *Cypria* or the *Little Iliad* or the *Iliou Persis* specifically in mind.

Nevertheless, there are plenty of cases where literary or pictorial treatments can plausibly be related to epic models and might be capable, if used with discretion, of yielding additional information about them. Two criteria may be stated that are applicable here.

Firstly, if we believe a particular person or motif to have been invented for one of the Cyclic poems, then his or its occurrence elsewhere will be inferred to derive from the poem, whether directly or indirectly. For example, I hold Memnon to be an untraditional figure, unknown to the poet of the *Iliad* and created for the *Memnonis* that formed the main part of the *Aethiopis*.⁸⁵ So where he (p.42) appears in the *Odyssey* (4. 188, 11. 522), Alcman (*PMGF* 68), Stesichorus (P. Oxy. 3876 fr. 56. 5?), the additions to Hesiod's *Theogony* (984), Pindar (half a dozen times), and two plays of Aeschylus (*Memnon* and *Psychostasia*), I think it is safe to say that these are all reflexes of the *Memnonis* or *Aethiopis*. Similarly, Telegonos was invented for the *Telegony*, and it may be taken as the sole source for Sophocles' *Odysseus Akanthoplex*, in which he appeared in the same role as in the epic.

Secondly, if we find brought together on one artefact two or more scenes that have no organic connection with one another but were notable features of the same epic, this is a strong indication that the artist had that epic in mind. I adduce three examples for consideration.

(i) A bronze tripod leg from Olympia, dated to the last quarter of the seventh century, shows in successive panels: (a) a man and a woman facing one another, both grasping the same headband or garland; the man holds a lyre; (b) two bearded men, one of them wearing a *pilos*, following a herald; (c) an armed man strides purposefully after a naked boy who is running up the steps of an altar.⁸⁶ These scenes are plausibly interpreted as (a) Paris seducing Helen, (b) the embassy of Menelaos and Odysseus into Troy to demand Helen's return, and (c) Achilles catching and killing Troilos at the altar of Thymbraean Apollo. These would all be episodes connected with the Trojan War, but it may be more pertinent that they all came in the *Cypria*.

(ii) Three black-figure vases show Memnon on one side and Penthesileia on the other.⁸⁷ Memnon and Penthesileia never met; they coexisted only in the *Aethiopis*. It does not follow that each of the three painters was separately inspired by the epic, but this must have been the case with the one who first established the pattern.

(iii) The Kadmos Painter, around 420, painted the Judgment of Paris and above it, in the celestial register, Eris and Themis in conversation (*LIMC* Eris 7=Paridis Iudicium 48). There could not be a clearer pointer to the *Cypria*, in which it was Themis' plan and Eris' intervention at the wedding of Peleus and Thetis that led to the (p.43) contest of the three goddesses. Themis and Eris have nothing to do with one another otherwise.

It is important to keep hold of the provision 'no organic connection'. Depictions of the Wooden Horse may be accompanied by scenes from the sack of Troy, the capture of women, the murder of children, and so on, but the Horse was an integral feature of the sack narrative, and those elements all went together in the popular consciousness with no necessary reference to a particular poem. There are many vases illustrating the sack with a selection of the best-known episodes: Neoptolemos killing Priam, Astyanax being held

up by the foot before being dashed to the ground, the Locrian Ajax seizing Cassandra from Athena's shrine, Aeneas escaping from Troy with Anchises, Menelaos regaining Helen, Theseus' sons recovering Aithra, the sacrifice of Polyxena.⁸⁸ All these were related in the *Iliou Persis*, and most of them in the *Little Iliad* too; no doubt some or all were also touched on in Stesichorus' *Iliou Persis*. Sometimes we can say that the artists agree with the *Iliou Persis* version against the *Little Iliad*. But it is difficult to prove that they had one particular text in mind. Probably they drew upon a general familiarity with the salient events associated with the fall of Troy.

In view of the difficulties indicated I do not propose to list all the works of art that may have been based on the Cyclic poems. I shall refer to particular ones in the commentary where they appear significant or potentially so.

Literary reflexes of the Cycle are sometimes clearer. I have mentioned the allusions to Memnon that begin as early as the *Odyssey* and Alcman. The *Odyssey* also contains an account of events following Achilles' death (24. 37–92) that is based either on the *Aethiopis* or on some closely related poem. The *Little Iliad* and *Nostoi* too stand in near relationships with the *Odyssey*, though not so as to imply their prior currency; see the introductions to those poems.

Stesichorus' use of epic models is plainly documented in *PMGF* 209, where we find Telemachos in the house of Menelaos and Helen in a scene inspired by the *Odyssey*. Stesichorus' *Iliou Persis* no doubt owed much to the homonymous Cyclic epic, and his *Oresteia* to the (p.44) Cyclic *Nostoi*.⁸⁹ In another poem he may have told of the death and funeral of Achilles.⁹⁰ On the other hand his *Helen* palinode is evidence of his propensity for drastic innovation, and it warns us not to argue back to the epics from the fragments of his poems.

With Ibycus too we may assume knowledge of at least some of the Cyclic poems. He did not himself, like Stesichorus, compose poems on epic themes, but he often alluded to the legend of Troy: Deiphobos' love of Helen (*PMGF* 297); the sack of the city (S151); Cassandra (S151. 12; 303); Troilos (S151. 41; 224); the sacrifice of Polyxena (307); Menelaos sparing Helen's life, disarmed by her beauty (296).

It is in Pindar that we find the most striking response to the Cycle. His interest in the Aeacid Achilles prompts him in several poems to take a panoramic sweep across the *Cypria*, *Iliad*, and *Aethiopis*, as in the Eighth Isthmian (26–58) he passes from the marriage of Thetis (where Themis' role derives from the *Cypria*) to Achilles' wounding of Telephos in Mysia, his decisive contribution to the defeat of Troy, his killing of Hector and Memnon, and his funeral at which the Muses sang laments. Parts of the sequence appear in the Second Olympian (79–83: Achilles as slayer of Hector, Kyknos, Memnon); the Third Pythian (86–103: the wedding of Peleus and Thetis attended by the gods, Achilles felled by an arrow and lamented on his pyre); the Third Nemean (56–63: Peleus and Thetis, Achilles and Memnon); and the Fifth Isthmian (39–42: Telephos, Kyknos, Hector, Memnon). Memnon's victory over Antilochos, who sacrificed himself to save his father Nestor, is related in *Pyth.* 6. 29–42, and his defeat by Achilles in *Nem.* 6. 49–54, where

Pindar cites older poets who had found out the highway that he is studiously following.⁹¹ There are further references to the wedding of Peleus and Thetis in *Nem.* 4. 65–8 and 5. 22–39. Achilles' posthumous translation to the shining island in the Black Sea is mentioned at *Nem.* 4. 49–51.

Pindar uses other Cyclic stories too. In the Tenth Nemean he retells, after the *Cypria*, the tale of the battle of the Dioskouroi with the sons of Aphares, which led to their curious condition of **(p.45)** immortality on alternate days (cf. *Pyth.* 11. 61–4). Elsewhere he adverts to the dispute over Achilles' arms that drove Ajax to suicide (*Nem.* 7. 20–30; 8. 23–34; *Isth.* 4. 34–9); the fetching of Philoctetes from Lemnos to win the war (*Pyth.* 1. 50–5); Clytaemestra's murder of Agamemnon and Cassandra (with a look back at the sacrifice of Iphigeneia), and the killing of her and Aegisthus by Orestes with Pylades (*Pyth.* 11. 15–37). In the Sixth Paean (73–120) he skims through the whole saga from the Judgment of Paris to the war, the death of Achilles, the fetching of Neoptolemos from Skyros, his sack of the city and the slaughter of Priam at his house altar, and his *nostos*. As elsewhere (*Nem.* 4. 51–3, 7. 34–47), Pindar uses a more developed version of Neoptolemos' fate than can be ascribed to the Cyclic *Nostoi*, but for the rest he follows the Cycle.

Bacchylides' attitude to the Cycle stands in notable contrast to Pindar's. Although his *Antenoridai* dithyramb (Poem 15) is based on an episode from the *Cypria*, and there are other occasional references to Cyclic material,⁹² in the major celebration of Aeacid Achilles in 13. 100–67 he confines himself to the events of the *Iliad*, where Pindar would have opened up a much wider perspective.

The tragedians found the Cycle a rich fund of material to dramatize. I have mentioned Aeschylus' reported characterization of his tragedies as 'slices from Homer's big dinners'; he used other sources such as Stesichorus too, but the epics were undoubtedly important to him. The themes he treated included, from the *Cypria*, the story of Telephos and the sacrifice of Iphigeneia; from the *Aethiopis*, the story of Memnon, the adjudication of arms, and the suicide of Ajax; from the *Little Iliad*, the fetching of Philoctetes; from the *Nostoi*, the killing of Agamemnon and Orestes' revenge. Sophocles, according to Athenaeus (277e), positively 'delighted in the Epic Cycle, to the extent of composing entire dramas in line with the mythology in it'—meaning perhaps that he sometimes followed the story as the epic source gave it without much modification. The list of Sophoclean plays on Cyclic themes is a long one,⁹³ and it includes the only known drama to be based on the *Telegony*, the *Odysseus Akanthoplex*.

(p.46) It is unnecessary to go into the use of the Cycle by Euripides⁹⁴ and the minor tragedians. It is worth noting that certain subjects such as Telephos and Philoctetes were taken up by several dramatists, who were on the whole reacting to each other rather than all being focused on the *Cypria* or *Little Iliad*.

Sicilian and Attic comedy too could draw on this material. Epicharmus wrote a *Philoktetas*. Cratinus' *Nemesis* was based on the story of Helen's birth as told in the *Cypria*, and his *Dionysalexandros* on the Judgment of Paris. Aristophanes parodied some verses from the

Little Iliad (Eq. 1056f.=F 2. 4f.) and must have counted on their being familiar to a proportion of his audience. He also quotes the first line of the *Epigoni* as something that a boy might learn to recite (Pax 1270).

This raises the question whether and to what extent the Cyclic poems may have been used in education. Certainly they played a much smaller role than the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*. They do not seem to have figured in the education of Xenophon's Niceratos, who says that his father, concerned that he should turn into a good man, made him learn πάντα τὰ Ὀμήρου ἔπη, 'and even now I could recite the whole *Iliad* and *Odyssey* by heart' (Symp. 3. 5). The two opening lines of the *Little Iliad*, however, are found on two late fifth-century sherds from Olbia and Chersonesos.⁹⁵ Another sherd from Olbia (SEG 30. 933) has *Od.* 9. 39, Ἰλιόθεν με φέρων ἄνεμος Κικόνεσσι πέλασσε, the first line of Odysseus' narrative of his wanderings. It looks as if these were school texts, the *Little Iliad* being taken as a standard account of the final phase of the Trojan War.

The sophists turned readily to Cyclic subject matter for their *jeux d'esprit*, though the epics were clearly not the only sources present to their consciousness. Prodicus' myth of Heracles at the crossroads, where the two goddesses Virtue and Vice invited him to choose between them, was based, like Cratinus' play mentioned above, on the Judgment of Paris.⁹⁶ Gorgias in his *Helen* set out to defend the heroine against the unanimously unfavourable opinion held by those who listened to 'the poets' (DK 82 B 11. 2). The focus is on her elopement with Paris, and among the poets in question the author of (p.47) the *Cypria* held prime place. In another essay (B 11 a) Gorgias made Palamedes defend himself against Odysseus' accusations of treachery, while Alcidas wrote a speech for Odysseus against Palamedes; these writers, however, are following the tragedians' version of the Palamedes affair and not that of the *Cypria*. Alcidas' piece contains a wider range of reference to events of the Trojan War, some of it innovative. But his account of the abduction of Helen (18) clearly owes something to the Cyclic account; see on *Cypria* arg. 2b. Antisthenes wrote a pair of speeches for Ajax and Odysseus in their dispute over the arms of Achilles. The adjudication is being made by the Greeks (*Od.* 1), so Antisthenes is apparently thinking of fifth-century versions of the story rather than the Cyclic ones; see on *Little Iliad* F 2.

6. The Cycle in the Hellenistic and Early Roman Periods

The fortunes of the Cycle in the early Hellenistic period are poorly documented. The prose epitomes were by now almost certainly current, and probably coming to be more widely consulted than the original poems.⁹⁷ While the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* continued to enjoy high esteem, interest in other archaic epics was fading and they were less frequently copied. It is striking that not a single papyrus fragment of any of the Cyclic poems has yet been identified. Still, quotations and citations show that they remained available for another half-millennium, at least in places, and that some authors made direct use of them. In the late fourth or early third century Clearchus cited Cyclic sources in his work on proverbs (*Thebaid* F 8*, *Little Iliad* F 11). Later in the third century Chrysippus quoted a fragment thought to come from the *Cypria* (F 21 *). In the early second(?) Lycophron, who generally avoids the standard versions of myths found in the Cyclic

poems, seems in at least one passage to base himself on the *Cypria*: see on F 12*.

Aristarchus paid some attention to the Cyclic poems, if only as post-Homeric compositions to be excluded from consideration in (p.48) interpreting Homer, or adduced only to identify un-Homeric elements. Thus on *Od.* 4. 248 he claimed dismissively that ‘the Cyclic poet’ misunderstood ΔΕΚΘΗ as a proper name; ten lines later he noted that οἱ νεώτεροι—no doubt again meaning a Cyclic poet—interpreted Homer’s φρόνιν as ‘booty’; and a little later he athetized five lines (285-9) on the ground that ‘Antiklos comes from the Cycle’. He does not deign to specify the *Little Iliad*, it is just ‘the Cycle’ or οἱ νεώτεροι, but he has evidently studied the passages in question.

Aristarchus never, so far as we know, quoted verses from the Cycle, but other Alexandrian commentators did: many of our fragments come from non-Aristarchean scholia to Homer or to other poets (Pindar, Sophocles, Euripides, Aristophanes, Lycophron). These reflect scholarly activity of the late Hellenistic and early imperial periods.

In the first century BCE Philodemus has several citations of the *Cypria* and one of the *Nostoi* (besides others from the *Alcmeonis*, *Titanomachy*, and *Naupaktia*), which he probably took over from earlier writers. At Rome a poet Naevius produced a *Cypria Ilias*, which seems to have been a rendering of the Cyclic *Cypria*. Dionysius of Halicarnassus cites Arktinos, i.e. the *Iliou Persis* (F 4), on the question of what became of the true Palladion, but he may have had this from an older source. Strabo quotes from several early epics, though as it happens none of the Trojan ones.

Virgil’s incomparably vivid account of the fall of Troy in *Aeneid* 2 shows a detailed knowledge of Greek sources, and we should certainly expect him to have prepared himself for the task by reading the *Little Iliad* and/or the *Iliou Persis*. He could not have managed with the epitomes alone. The artist or artists of the only slightly later Tabulae Iliacae do seem to have used the epitomes, as we saw in §2, but they knew more of the detail of the stories than those alone could have supplied: for example, that Penthesileia rode a horse, and that Odysseus and Diomedes used the city sewer to smuggle the Palladion out of Troy. There is no reason to deny them some use of the poetic texts. For the central scene on the Tabula Capitolina, where the source is named as Stesichorus, dependence on an epitome must be very doubtful, there being no evidence that such an epitome of the Stesichorean poem ever existed.

Apollodorus’ narrative of the war, as we have seen, runs parallel to that of Proclus and must in the main be based on the *periocchai*. But (p.49) occasionally (at *Little Iliad* F 12, *Nostoi* F 11; cf. *Cypria* F 11) he cites the poems by title for divergent details that are too specific to have been given by the epitomes, even if we assume that they have suffered some abridgment. These must come from direct study of the poems, whether by Apollodorus or an earlier mythographer.

Herodian, working in the reign of Marcus Aurelius, has a verse quotation from the *Cypria* (F 30) that he may well have found for himself. His contemporary Pausanias had a special

antiquarian interest in early epics and often cites them; he had evidently built up a private collection of rare texts of this sort. He has five citations from the *Cypria*, fourteen from the *Little Iliad*, three from the *Nostoi*, and one from the *Telegony*. At *Cypria* F 27 he says he has personally read the poem, and he makes similar declarations in regard to the Hesiodic *Ehoiai*, the *Naupaktia*, and the genealogical poetry of Asios and Kinaithon. Wilamowitz, who always thought ill of Pausanias after trying to use him as a guide-book in Greece, argued that these were mendacious claims and that the poems in question had long ceased to be current.⁹⁸ Actually, of all the authors who quote fragments from the Epic Cyclic and other early epics, Pausanias is the only one who says explicitly that he read them. He cites them for much valuable information that is not attested elsewhere and is in no way suspect. The only ground for denying that he used primary sources is the dogmatic and question-begging premise that they were no longer extant in his time. Certainly they would no longer have been available everywhere, and few of Pausanias' contemporaries ever looked at them; that is no doubt why he makes a point of mentioning that he has. His statements must be treated as valuable evidence for the book situation in his time.

In the next generation Clement of Alexandria and Athenaeus give us a further series of fragments, mostly verbatim ones. Clement's learning is in principle derivative: he owes his quotations of *Epigoni* F 2, *Cypria* F 31, and *Nostoi* F 7, like his statement that Eugammon stole his Thesprotian book from Musaeus, to an older collection of pagan plagiarisms that goes back to the Hellenistic writer Aristobulus, and there is little chance that his other quotations from Cyclic (p.50) poems (*Cypria* F 9, *Little Iliad* F 14) were drawn from personal reading of the epics.

With Athenaeus the question is more open. He read widely in poetry and prose, and from the historical and antiquarian works that he perused he often picked up quotations from older writers of which he had no direct knowledge. On the other hand his extended quotations from the *Cypria* (F 5, 6, 10, 18) have the appearance of passages that he has found for himself. He more than once adverts to the controversy over this poem's authorship, as if the *Cypria* is more to him than a title of a lost work. He cites F 5 as standing ἐν τῷ α', and *Nostoi* F 12 as from the third book of the Ἀτρειδῶν κάθοδος; these are the only instances of Cyclic epics being cited by book number. The fact that he uses the same idiosyncratic title Ἀτρειδῶν κάθοδος in another place (*Nostoi* F 2) makes it unlikely that he took both citations from secondary sources. Nor do I see any reason to assume this for *Little Iliad* F 31—who, pray, had previously collected literary references to cucumbers?—or *Telegony* F 1*.

After 200 ce direct knowledge of the Cyclic poems seems really to fade out, unless we allow for the preservation of Eugammon's *Telegony* in his native Cyrene for a couple of centuries more (see on *Telegony* F 2*). It is natural to assume that authors such as Porphyry (*Little Iliad* F 3) and later Latin grammarians (*Iliou Persis* F 1, *Aethiopis* F 5) are dependent on older sources. Quintus of Smyrna writes a new epic covering the same ground as the *Aethiopis*, *Little Iliad*, and *Iliou Persis*, not to compete with old epics that are still current but to fill a gap that their disappearance has created. I find no indication

that he had direct knowledge of the Cyclic epics, and the same goes for Triphiodorus and the considerably later Colluthus. A more comprehensive epic, embracing the whole of mythology and history probably down to the time of Alexander the Great, was composed c.230 by Pisander of Laranda, his sixty-book *Theogamiai*.⁹⁹ We have practically nothing of it, but his account of the sack of Troy seems to have been based on Virgil's. Again it seems unlikely that the Cyclic poems were still available for him to draw on. Philoponus in the sixth century associates the appearance of Pisander's *permagnum opus* with the obsolescence of the old epics.¹⁰⁰

(p.51) Πεισάνδρου δὲ τὴν αὐτὴν πραγματείαν ποιησαμένου, λέγω δὴ πλείστην ἱστορίαν κατὰ τάξιν συναγαγόντος, ἀντιποιησαμένου δὲ καὶ εὐεπείας, καταφρονηθῆναί φασι τὰ τῶν πρὸ αὐτοῦ ποιητῶν συγγράμματα· διὸ μὴδὲ εὐρίσκεσθαι τὰ ποιήματα τὰ ἐν τοῖς Κύκλοις ἀναγεγραμμένα.

But after Pisander covered the same area, I mean brought together a great abundance of story in ordered sequence, while aspiring to fine diction too, they say that the writings of the poets who preceded him fell into disesteem, which is why the poems listed in the Cycles are not even to be found any more.

This probably overstates the effect produced by Pisander's poem, but the chronology appears to be about right.

7. Reconstructing the Poems

My aims in the commentary go beyond discussion of the individual fragments and testimonia. Proclus' summaries give us at least a partial framework in which to reconstruct each poem's narrative structure and content. I accordingly take the fragments in alternation with small segments from Proclus, asking always what kind of epic action lies behind the very abbreviated prose account and how one thing was made to lead to another. As Wagner wrote, 'In any attempt at reconstruction we must seek above all to attain a lively conception of how the available dry data about the content may have looked in the broad treatment of the poem itself'.¹⁰¹ We must be guided in this by our knowledge of epic compositional technique as we see it in the Homeric poems, while recognizing that the Cyclic epics were less expansive and may have been in some respects less accomplished.

In the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* there is much preparation by means of debates at the divine or human level and much prompting of action by the intervention of individual deities. A prose epitomator eliminates this sort of thing: he is concerned to describe the action itself and how the story moved on from one decisive event to the next. We have to supply the preparatory mechanism where it seems **(p.52)** required, for example in the *Nostoi* to trigger Orestes' return from exile. Occasionally I have sketched out hypothetical dialogues to illustrate how the poet may have managed things.

Where the action extends over many days, the epic poet punctuates his narrative by marking nightfall and the return of dawn at suitable intervals. The epitomator disregards this and produces a continuous account without measurement of time. We should

restore it where we think we can. For the *Aethiopis* and *Little Iliad* I have worked out timetables that, if not certain in every detail, will I think give a not wholly misleading idea of how the narratives were structured.

In the *Nostoi* it is apparent from other sources that a major episode involving a description of the underworld has been completely excluded from Proclus' summary. We are left to guess where it fitted in. It was a diversion from the main storyline, it did not advance the plot, and we can well understand why it was passed over. But we are bound to wonder what other inorganic episodes may have disappeared from the record.

On the other hand it is encouraging to observe that some digressions of no structural importance have maintained their place in Proclus. In the *Cypria* he records that Helenos and Cassandra uttered prophecies before Paris set out for Sparta. When Helen absconds, he tells us that Iris was sent to take the news to Menelaos. When Menelaos goes to consult Nestor, he lists four tales from the past that Nestor related to him 'in a digression', *ἐν παρεκβάσει*. In the *Aethiopis* he mentions that Thetis warned Achilles that his fate was linked with Memnon's, and in the *Little Iliad* he notes that it was through an initiative of Athena's that Epeios built the Wooden Horse. In the *Nostoi* likewise we read that 'Athena set Agamemnon and Menelaos in dispute about the voyage away', and in the *Telegony* we are told about a fine mixing-bowl that Odysseus received as a gift from Polyxenos and even about the decoration on it. None of this has survived in the Apollodorus epitome. Proclus was reproducing summaries of what was in particular poems, while Apollodorus was extracting a quasi-factual narrative from such summaries and other sources.¹⁰²

Apollodorus often gives details that are lacking in Proclus, and many of these extra details may derive from a fuller version of the (p.53) Cyclic epitomes. There is a standing temptation to assume so. But we know he was using other sources besides, and sometimes the fuller information may come from these and not correspond to anything in the epics. So caution is necessary. Davies (1986), 105–7, gives examples of additional details in Apollodorus that suit the epic manner and may reasonably be attributed to the Cyclic poems, and of others that cannot, having been brought in from later and better-known versions of the myths. I shall cite Apollodorus where relevant and consider on its merits each case where he offers something more than Proclus.

Vase paintings are another potential but tricky source for subsidiary details of Cyclic episodes. To begin with, as I have emphasized in §5 above, there is the difficulty of determining whether the artist has a particular literary source in mind. Even when he does, experts on vases are all agreed that the images cannot be treated as illustrations of a text and that it was not a painter's aim to achieve an exact representation of what was in a poem. Where the scene depicted is recognizable and we are inclined to connect it with a particular epic, there is a temptation to attribute features of the picture to the poem without there being independent testimony for them, and in particular to suppose that any named figures must have played a part in the episode. But as Luckenbach warned,

Divergences from poetic sources often occur, especially in the naming of persons;

they are partly due to inexact knowledge of poetry, partly arbitrary. Amplifications of a scene are very common. Above all there is a tendency to put in persons who have some connection with the scene in question. In the archaic period persons of no significance at all are sometimes added.¹⁰³

Robert noted the tendency in the iconographic tradition to add more and more figures to mythological scenes over time, and he warned against putting much weight on them:

Of course these additions, which spread like a lush carpet of moss over an old rocky core, are precisely the ones that may only be used with very great (p.54) circumspection in drawing conclusions about the literary source. Here the artist is even less dependent than otherwise on the poetic text, here much more than usually he is creating out of the popular concept of the saga, determined by the poetry as this itself was.¹⁰⁴

Where we are in a position to control the details, they sometimes turn out to be anything but reliable. Kleitias, the painter of the François Vase, included in its elaborate decoration a depiction of the chariot race at the games for Patroklos. As in the *Iliad*, which must have been the poetic source he had in mind, there are five chariots competing. He labels all the drivers. But only one of the names he supplies, Diomedes, is that of a man who took part in the Homeric race, and he shows him in third place instead of in the lead.¹⁰⁵ So when on the same vase he shows a grand procession of divinities arriving for the wedding of Peleus and Thetis it will hardly be prudent to infer that he is faithfully reproducing the guest-list from the *Cypria* (or some other epic that described the event).¹⁰⁶ Another Athenian painter of the same period, Sophilos, had also represented the chariot race at the games for Patroklos (but the participants' names do not survive), and Peleus' wedding with almost the same set of deities being received. (For the details see on *Cypria* F 2.) The agreement of the two artists adds nothing to the strength of the case, as they were clearly not working independently of each other. The best we can do in the circumstances is note the existence of the paintings, recognize the possibility that they reflect the epic, but leave the question open.

For the rest, *solvitur ambulando* (if at all).

Notes:

(¹) Call. *Epigr.* 28. 1 Pf.=2. 1 Gow–Page (HE 1041) ἐχθαίρω τὸ ποίημα τὸ κυκλικόν (on which see Alan Cameron, *Callimachus and his Critics* (Princeton 1995), 393–402); Hor. *Ars poet.* 136 *nec sic incipies ut scriptor cyclicus olim*; sch. Eur. *Andr.* 10 τὸν τὴν Περσίδα συντεταχότα κυκλικὸν ποιητὴν. The Homeric scholia sometimes refer to οἱ κυκλικοί, while scholiasts on Pindar and Sophocles refer to 'the Cyclic *Thebaid*' (to distinguish it from the *Thebaid* of Antimachus); so too Ath. 465e.

(²) *Inscr. Cret.* i. 280 (Priansos), κύκλον ἱστορημέναν ὑπὲρ Κρήτης καὶ τῶν ἐν Κρήται γεγονότων θεῶν τε καὶ ἡρώων, ποιησάμενος τὰν συναγωγὰν ἐκ πολλῶν ποιητῶν καὶ ἱστοριογράφων.

(³) Cf. Welcker i. 31–8; Davies (1986), 96–8.

(⁴) Cf. also Philo of Byblos, *FGrHist* 790 F 2 ap. Eus. *PE* 1. 10. 40= *Titanomachia* test. 1 Bernabé.

(⁵) Valenzuela Montenegro 264–7, 377–80, and pl. 37–8; *PEG* 1. See W. McLeod, *TAPA* 115 (1985), 153–65.

(⁶) On them see Sadurska; Valenzuela Montenegro; Michael Squire, *The Iliad in a Nutshell: Visualizing Epic on the Tabulae Iliacae* (Oxford 2011).

(⁷) Suggested by Valenzuela Montenegro 379. The participle ὄντα shows that the title was a masculine singular or a neuter plural. Welcker supposed that the Milesian poet was Arktinos, but none of the poems known to have been ascribed to him will fit here. The *Naupaktia* were ascribed by most people to a Milesian, according to Paus. 10. 38. 11, but he does not supply the name.

(⁸) The numeral is so elucidated by D. Petrain, *ZPE* 166 (2008), 83; it had previously been read as 4,400. But it is a mystery what this epic longer than the *Odyssey* could have been. Was 14,400 lines a total for a group of two or three poems taken together?

(⁹) The central title *ΤΡΩΙΚΟΣ* on the Tabula Capitolina (Valenzuela Montenegro 32) has sometimes (as by Heyne 312; Wilamowitz (1884), 333, 360) been taken to stand for *Τρωϊκὸς κύκλος*, but the noun to be supplied is more probably *πίναξ*, ‘tablet’ (as Wüllner 4).

(¹⁰) See the discussion of Severyns (1938–63), ii. 65–9, who renders ‘Manuel abrégé de littérature’.

(¹¹) ‘There have been many epic poets; the best of them are Homer, Hesiod, Peisandros, Panyassis, and Antimachos.’

(¹²) ‘There follows on this the so-called *Cypria*, transmitted in eleven books; we will discuss its [the title’s] spelling later, so as not to obstruct the flow of the present account.’

(¹³) See below, §4.

(¹⁴) On all this cf. Severyns (1938–63), iii. 246–50, 290.

(¹⁵) Sch. Greg. *Laud. Basil. Magn.* 12=Cyclus epicus test. 17 Bernabé, ‘They also speak of “encyclical” poetry in a special sense; Proclus the Platonist writes about it in a monograph on the Epic Cycle and goes through the poets’ virtues and particularities.’

(¹⁶) H. Valesius, *Emendationum libri quinque et de Critica libri duo* (Amsterdam 1740), 168f.; others cited by Welcker ii. 500; Monro 341; R. Beutler, *RE* xxiii. 207 f.; M. Hillgruber, *Rh. Mus.* 133 (1990), 397.

(¹⁷) Cf. Welcker i. 3–7, ii. 499–504.

(¹⁸) Now ably edited by Patrizia Marzillo, *Der Kommentar des Proklos zu Hesiods Ἀἰῶνες, Werken und Tagen* (Tübingen 2010).

(¹⁹) A. J. Friedl, *Die Homer-Interpretation des Neuplatonikers Proklos* (Diss. Würzburg 1936), 55, 'Mag auch die Verschiedenheit der Interessensphären an sich weniger ins Gewicht fallen, so müßten wir doch, die Abfassung der Chrestomathie durch den Neuplatoniker Proklos vorausgesetzt, jedes eingehendere literarhistorische Interesse in den Abschnitten des Politeiakommentars, die oft genug Anreiz und Gelegenheit zur Verwertung desselben boten, vermissen'. On p. 53 Friedl had noted that in that commentary (i. 173ff.) Proclus accepts the story that Homer was blinded because of Helen, whereas in the *Life of Homer* the author of the *Chrestomathy* denies that Homer could have been blind.

(²⁰) M. Schmidt, *Didymi Chalcenteri Fragmenta* (Leipzig 1854), 386–96; Severyns (1938–63), ii. 98–102, 117–25. On the epikedeion Proclus followed Tryphon: Severyns ii. 209f.

(²¹) Severyns (1938–63), ii. 233–43.

(²²) N. G. Wilson, *Scholars of Byzantium* (London 1983), 39f.

(²³) Phot. 319a30 λέγει δὲ ὡς τοῦ ἐπικοῦ κύκλου τὰ ποιήματα διασώζεται καὶ σπουδάζεται τοῖς πολλοῖς οὐχ οὕτω διὰ τὴν ἀρετὴν ὡς διὰ τὴν ἀκολουθίαν τῶν ἐν αὐτῷ πραγμάτων.

(²⁴) *De musica* 1133e (the elder Olympos) τοὺς νόμους τοὺς ἀρμονικοὺς ἐξήνεγκεν εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα οἷς νῦν χρῶνται οἱ Ἕλληνες ἐν ταῖς ἐορταῖς τῶν θεῶν, 1135d, 1136b, 1137e–38b, 1140c–e, 1141b, 1145a.

(²⁵) *Rh. Mus.* 133 (1990), 397–404; cf. id., *Die pseudoplutarchische Schrift De Homero* (Stuttgart–Leipzig 1994), i. 69.

(²⁶) Valesius writes as if ps.-Alexander had specified the *Chrestomathy*: 'Sunt enim hi libri [sc. those of the *Chrestomathy*] alterius Procli longe antiquioris, ut didici ex commentariis Alexandri Aphrodisiensis in Aristotelis Elenchos. Hic enim ... utitur testimonio Athenaei Grammatici & Procli in Chrestomathia.' The text in fact reads ὥσπερ Ἀθήναιος ἐν τοῖς Δειπνοσοφισταῖς καὶ Πρόκλος ἐν τῇ τῶν ἐορτῶν ἀπαριθμήσει εἰρήκασι. It looks as if ps.-Alexander found a passage of the *Deipnosophistai* no longer extant, where Athenaeus had cited this Proclus. A. Tresp, *Die Fragmente der griechischen Kultschriftsteller* (Giessen 1914), 108 f., accepts the identity of the author of the *Chrestomathy* with the Neoplatonist, and is inclined to think that he was also the Heortologist.

(²⁷) Welcker i. 7; cf. A. Kappelmacher, *RE* vi. 1534f.

(²⁸) Cf. M. Schmidt, *Didymi Chalcenteri Fragmenta*, 391.

(²⁹) Or pseudo-Apollodorus if you prefer. He was not of course the celebrated

Apollodorus of Athens, the friend of Aristarchus, but there is no reason why he should not have been called Apollodorus; it is a common name. I follow the usual assumption that he wrote in the first or second century CE.

⁽³⁰⁾ R. Wagner, *Rh. Mus.* 41 (1886), 147f. He had already found and was working on the Vatican epitome.

⁽³¹⁾ E. Bethe, *Hermes* 26 (1891), 612, 625; confuted by Wagner, *NJb.* 145 (1892), 241–56.

⁽³²⁾ Already noted by Salmasius, 594F, ‘Apollodorus ... cujus Bibliotheca nihil aliud fuit quam epicus cyclus pedestri sermone compositus. Inde incepit unde κύκλος ἐπικός; ibi desinebat, ubi ille finem fabulandi fecit. ... (595B) Ex his perspicue cognosci potest Apollodori Bibliothecam nihil aliud fuisse quam σύνοψιν & ἐπιτομήν cycli epici.’ This goes much too far, as Wüllner 3 observed.

⁽³³⁾ Wagner, *Rh. Mus.* 41 (1886), 149; cf. Davies (1986), 104–6.

⁽³⁴⁾ Cf. West (1983), 124f.; (1985), 44–6.

⁽³⁵⁾ Severyns (1938–63), iii. 122, 281f.

⁽³⁶⁾ There is a similar relationship, at least in parts, between the *Iliad* epitome on the Tabula Capitolina and that in Apollodorus: see Mancuso 694 n. 1; Valenzuela Montenegro 370f., 374–6.

⁽³⁷⁾ Wilamowitz (1884), 332–6; Wagner, *Rh. Mus.* 41 (1886), 147–9; Hartmann 9; Wilamowitz, *Kl. Schr.* v(2) (Berlin 1937), 74f.; Bethe 207–10.

⁽³⁸⁾ ‘The compiler did not break off his *Little Iliad* at the exact point where it was taken up by the *Iliupersis* of Arctinus, but (probably) at the first convenient stopping-place after that point’ (D. B. Monro, *JHS* 4 (1883), 320).

⁽³⁹⁾ Hartmann 28, ‘Es ist nicht wahrscheinlich, daß derjenige die Auszüge so verstümmelte, der sie zuvor selbst angefertigt hatte. Wer ausdrücklich die Titel voranstellte und dann mit περιέχοντα τάδε fortfuhr, hat gewiß die ganzen Inhalte bringen wollen.’

⁽⁴⁰⁾ Hartmann, *ibid.*

⁽⁴¹⁾ West (2011*b*), 120–2.

⁽⁴²⁾ West (2011*a*), 30f.

⁽⁴³⁾ Kullmann 5–11; West (2011*a*), 32–5.

⁽⁴⁴⁾ So e.g. Heubeck 93.

(⁴⁵) West (2011a), 428–30.

(⁴⁶) Schade 122f, 151.

(⁴⁷) Most of these are already alluded to in the *Iliad*. The Teuthrania episode is not, but we now know from P. Oxy. 4708 that it was current as early as Archilochus.

(⁴⁸) Cf. Nitzsch (1852), 389.

(⁴⁹) Ibid. 41 f.

(⁵⁰) Cf. Wilamowitz (1884), 368.

(⁵¹) *Appendix Romana* B 1 (West (2003c), 454); Aristoxenus fr. 91a Wehrli; taken by Bethe 384 as a continuation from the *Cypria*.

(⁵²) C. A. Lobeck, *Aglaophamus* (Königsberg 1829), 417n.

(⁵³) See West (2011a), 81 and 428–30.

(⁵⁴) This was clearly seen by Heyne 297: ‘Neque umquam tale corpus plurium poetarum aliter confectum [esse constat], quam ut grammaticus aliquis eorum recensum seu indicem faceret, et singulari forte libello aut in opere grammatico ederet; nec facile omnes, quorum magnus fuit numerus, qui Genealogias deorum, Titanomachias, Gigantomachias, Argonautica, Thebaica, Heracleas, et sic porro, tum in rebus Iliacis, qui *Νόστους* scripserunt, tali indice enumerati fuerunt.’ (So grammarians differed in their views of the Cycle’s compass.)

(⁵⁵) Philoponus on Arist. *Anal. post.* 77b32, p. 157. 11 Wallies=Cyclus epicus, test. 28 Bernabé (PEG 7).

(⁵⁶) A few lines earlier he has written of a poem entitled *Kyklos* that some people ascribed to Homer; he has got this from Proclus’ *Life of Homer*, 9 οἱ μέντοι γε ἀρχαῖοι καὶ τὸν *Κύκλον* ἀναφέρουσιν εἰς αὐτόν.

(⁵⁷) *Soph. elench.* 171a10, where it is ‘the poetry of Homer’; *Anal. post.* 77b32. Cf. Schwartz 154–5; id., *Hermes* 75 (1940), 5–6; R. Pfeiffer, *History of Classical Scholarship from the Beginnings to the End of the Hellenistic Age* (Oxford 1968), 73.

(⁵⁸) So Wüllner 5.

(⁵⁹) On the Borgia plaque the length of the epics mentioned is given in lines, and this corresponds to what Philoponus says in the passage quoted above. Proclus, however, gives the lengths of the Troy epics in books. This may represent a later replacement for the stichometrical data; it is uncertain how early the book divisions were made.

(⁶⁰) Sinn 94, 97, 101.

(⁶¹) Wilamowitz (1884), 328–80. His arguments were criticized by C. Rothe, *Die Ilias als Dichtung* (Paderborn 1910), 117f.; Merkelbach 138–41, who notes that in his later Homer books, *Die Ilias und Homer* and *Die Heimkehr des Odysseus*, Wilamowitz modified his scepticism considerably.

(⁶²) Wilamowitz (1884), 353, ‘um 500 sind alle gedichte von Homer; um 350 sind von Homer im wesentlichen nur noch Ilias und Odyssee, alle andern sind ihm abgesprochen und werden nun durch hypothesen bald dem bald jenem beigelegt, einzeln auch noch dem Homer; um 150 sind alle diese hypothesen wieder beseitigt, die gedichte alle anonym.’

(⁶³) Cf. Wilamowitz (1884), 351–3; E. Hiller, *Rh. Mus.* 42 (1887), 321–61.

(⁶⁴) Welcker i. 186; Hiller, *Rh. Mus.* 42 (1887), 324–6.

(⁶⁵) F. G. Welcker, *Die Aeschylische Trilogie Prometheus* (Darmstadt 1824), 484f.

(⁶⁶) He adds that ‘the poets who are said to be earlier than these men were in my opinion later’; he is thinking here of such figures as Orpheus and Musaeus rather than of any authors of Cyclic poems.

(⁶⁷) *Rh. Mus.* 42 (1887), 338.

(⁶⁸) This is the source of Philoponus’ idea that there was a poem entitled *Kyklos* that some attributed and some denied to Homer; cf. above, n. 56.

(⁶⁹) Cf. F. Jacoby, *Hermes* 68 (1933), 5=Kl. phil. Schr. i. 6; West (1999), 365=(2011b), 410; (2011a), 8, 9. Genealogical poems, by contrast, seem to have agreed authors: Hesiod, Kinaithon, Asius, Hegesinoos, Chersias.

(⁷⁰) West (2011a), 9f.

(⁷¹) O. Müller, *ZA* 1835, 1174; Nitzsch (1852), 59–61; E. Hiller, *Rh. Mus.* 42 (1887), 358; cf. Wilamowitz (1916), 405 n. 1. Hiller 357f. emphasizes that so long as written copies of poems were almost exclusively owned by rhapsodes, people depended for information about authorship on these rhapsodes, many of whom may have had little interest in preserving the correct names.

(⁷²) R. Merkelbach–J. Stauber, *Steinepigramme aus dem griechischen Osten*, i (Stuttgart–Leipzig 1998), 40, no. 01/12/02, lines 45f.

(⁷³) Cf. Wilamowitz (1916), 435. For the Cyprian claim to Homer cf. Alcaeus of Messene, *Epigr.* 22 G.–P. (*HE* 144), Paus. 10. 24. 3, *Certamen* 3, *Vitae* 4. 2, 6. 2, 7. 2 (Callicles *FGrHist* 758 F 13).

(⁷⁴) Names in Στᾶσι are quite common in Cyprus, as noted by Welcker (i. 287) and others.

(⁷⁵) Cf. Wilamowitz (1916), 428 n. 2.

(⁷⁶) I can make nothing of the appearance of Lesches' name in a reference to the contest of Homer and Hesiod in Plut. *Sept. sap. conv.* 153f–4a. See my discussion in *CQ* 17 (1967), 438–40.

(⁷⁷) G. Bernhardt, *Geschichte der griechischen Literatur* (Halle 1836–45), ii. 153, 'Die Apotheose des Helden auf Leuke verräth den Milesischen Dichter'.

(⁷⁸) Even if Wilamowitz (1916), 405, were right in seeing Lesches as a discovery of Phaenias', it would remain strange that he is passed over in a survey of those to whom the poem was attributed. Robert (1881), 227, argued that Hellanicus either did not know the Lesches tradition or had very strong reason to reject it. Bergk 31 guessed that Hellanicus' reference (to Kinaithon) came in his *Karneonikai*.

(⁷⁹) Similarly H. Weil, *RPh* 11 (1887), 2, but with *Λέσβιον*, not *Πυρραῖον*. Cf. Tz. *Exeg. Il.* p. 45. 10 Hermann (*PEG* 115), who includes the sequence *Λέσχης Πυρραῖος Κιναίθων τέ τις Λακεδαιμόνιος καὶ ὁ Ἐρυθραῖος Διόδωρος* in a list of those who have written *Iliads*. This Diodoros is not mentioned anywhere else, so Tzetzes is certainly drawing on the Euripides scholium or a related text.

(⁸⁰) W. Schmid, *Rh. Mus.* 48 (1893), 626–8, thought that Hellanicus must have spoken of Lesches (and established the -εω genitive) but denied his claim to authorship.

(⁸¹) The manuscripts give *εὔμολπον*, but as a Corinthian poet is in question Gyrardus' *Εὔμηλον* must be right.

(⁸²) Cf. Welcker ii. 288.

(⁸³) τὰ Ὀμήρου ἔπη, [Pl.] *Hipparch.* 228b, cf. Lycurg. *In Leocr.* 103; τὰ Ὀμήρου, Diog. Laert. 1. 57. For (πάντα) τὰ Ὀμήρου ἔπη=*Iliad* and *Odyssey*, cf. Xen. *Symp.* 3. 5 (below, p. 46).

(⁸⁴) One may refer to Luckenbach, esp. 575–637; K. Schefold, *Frühgriechische Sagenbilder* (Munich 1966); Fittschen; Ahlberg-Cornell; R. Olmos's Appendix Iconographica in *PEG* 209–19; Anderson 179–277; Burgess 35–44, 181–7.

(⁸⁵) See *Aethiopsis*, intro. 3.

(⁸⁶) Olympia Mus. B 3600; *LIMC* Achilleus 437; Ahlberg-Cornell 306 fig. 80; Burgess 39, 40.

(⁸⁷) For the details see *Aethiopsis*, intro. 2.

(⁸⁸) See the catalogue in Anderson, 274–7, and for the sack of Troy in vase painting also Robert (1881), 59–79.

(⁸⁹) Of Stesichorus' own *Nostoi*, cited by Pausanias 10. 26. 1 (*PMGF* 208), we can say

nothing, but it can hardly have been entirely independent of the Cyclic *Nostoi*.

(⁹⁰) P. Oxy. 3876 fr. 37–77 as interpreted by R. Garner, *ZPE* 96 (1993), 153–65; Schade 40–4.

(⁹¹) 53f. καὶ ταῦτα μὲν παλαιότεροι || ὁδὸν ἀμαξιτὸν εὗρον· ἔπομαι δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς ἔχων μελέταν.

(⁹²) Telephos, 27. 41, fr. 49; Philoctetes, fr. 7; Laocoon, fr. 9.

(⁹³) Cf. F. Jouan, ‘Sophocle et les “Chants Cypriens”’, in J. A. López Férez (ed.), *La épica griega y su influencia en la literatura española* (Madrid 1994), 189–212. Welcker (1839–41), iii. 1485–90, drew up a pioneering (but no longer reliable) list of all tragedies on subjects derived from the Cycle.

(⁹⁴) Cf. Jouan (1966).

(⁹⁵) L. Dubois, *Inscriptions grecques dialectales d’Olbia du Pont* (Geneva 1996), 83–5 no. 42; *Bull. Épigr.* 1974. 376=SEG 40. 612 no. 26; J. G. Vinogradov, *Pontische Studien* (Mainz 1997), 385–96 with pl. 15. 2–3.

(⁹⁶) Xen. *Mem.* 2. 1. 21–34=DK 82 B 2.

(⁹⁷) Plutarch, *De aud. poet.* 14e, speaks of ποιητικαὶ ὑποθέσεις being used in education.

(⁹⁸) Wilamowitz (1884), 338–44. On his attitude towards Pausanias see A. Henrichs in W. M. Calder III *et al.* (edd.), *Wilamowitz nach 50 Jahren* (Darmstadt 1985), 270. For an eloquent rebuttal of Wilamowitz’s position and a list of all the passages where Pausanias says that he has or has not personally read various authors, see T. W. Allen, *CQ* 2 (1908), 69f.

(⁹⁹) Cf. R. Keydell, *RE* xix. 145f.; testimonia and fragments in E. Heitsch, *Die griechischen Dichterfragmente der römischen Kaiserzeit* ii (Göttingen 1964), 44–7.

(¹⁰⁰) Philoponus on Arist. *Anal. post.* 77b32, p. 157. 16 W., following on from the passage about the Epic Cycle quoted on p. 23 above.

(¹⁰¹) R. Wagner, *NJb.* 145 (1892), 252 n. 22, ‘Bei jedem reconstructionsversuche müssen wir vor allem zu einer lebendigen vorstellung zu gelangen suchen, wie sich die etwa vorhandenen trockenen angaben über den inhalt in der breiten ausführung des gedichtes selbst ausgenommen haben mögen’.

(¹⁰²) Cf. R. Wagner, *NJb.* 145 (1892), 254–6.

(¹⁰³) Luckenbach 636, ‘Häufig finden sich Abweichungen von der Poesie, besonders in der Benennung von Personen, die theils aus ungenauer Kenntniss der Dichtung, theils aus Willkür entstanden sind. Erweiterungen der Scene sind sehr häufig. Vor allem werden gern Personen, die im Zusammenhange mit der betreffenden Scene stehen,

beigefügt. In der archaischen Periode werden manchmal Personen ohne jegliche Bedeutung hinzugefügt.'

(¹⁰⁴) Robert (1881), 52f., 'Es versteht sich, daß gerade diese Zuthaten, die sich wie eine üppige Moosschicht über einen alten felsigen Kern ausbreiten, nur mit sehr großer Vorsicht zu Rückschlüssen auf die litterarische Quelle benutzt werden dürfen; noch viel weniger als sonst ist hier der Künstler von dem Wortlaut der Dichtung abhängig, noch viel mehr als gewöhnlich schafft er hierbei aus der im Volke lebendigen Sagenvorstellung heraus, mag dieselbe auch selbst durch die Dichtung bestimmt sein.'

(¹⁰⁵) Snodgrass 119f.

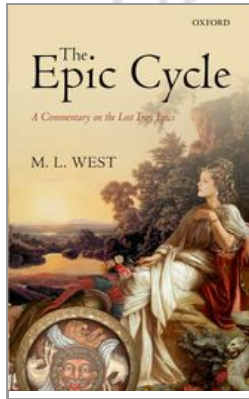
(¹⁰⁶) Luckenbach 591.



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Cypria

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[+] Abstract and Keywords

This chapter presents a commentary on the poem *Cypria*. It first discusses the poem's title; sources of information about the poem; the scope and relation to the *Iliad*; antecedent poems; the economy of the poem; characterization of the poem; and dating of the poem. It then reviews individual fragments and testimonia.

Keywords: Greek epic, epic poetry, epic poems, Iliad, fragments, testimonia

Introduction

1. Title

Herodotus 2. 117 cites the poem as τὰ Κύπρια ἔπεα, following this with ἐν (μὲν γὰρ) τοῖσι Κυπρίοισι. The fuller title also appears in certain later authors: τὰ Κύπρια ἔπη Ath. 334b and 682d, Paus. 10. 26. 4; τὰ ἔπη τὰ Κύπρια Paus. 3. 16. 1, 4. 2. 7, Ael. VH 9. 15;

ἔπη τὰ Κύπρια Paus. 10. 26. 1, 31. 2. More usually we find just τὰ Κύπρια, as in Proclus. In Arist. *Poet.* 1459a38 τὰ Κυπρικὰ is usually emended to τὰ Κύπρια.

Other late variants are τὰ Κυπριακὰ ποιήματα (Clem. *Protr.* 2. 30. 5); τὰ Κύπρια συγγράμματα (Tz. *Hist.* 13. 632); τὰ Κυπριακά (sch. Dion. Thr. i. 472. 1 H., Eust. 1623. 44).¹

The poem had its title not because Cyprus or the Cyprian goddess played any significant role in the narrative but because it was of Cypriot origin, or believed to be; it was after all usually ascribed to a Cypriot poet, either Stasinos or Hegesias (see Prolegomena, §4). Müller 81f. and Welcker i. 283 noted the parallel with the epic titles Φωκαΐς and Ναυπάκτια ἔπη.² The sixth and tenth Homeric Hymns testify to rhapsodic activity in Cyprus (Welcker i. 282).

As observed in the Prolegomena, the poem would have been known as the *Cypria* not in Cyprus but elsewhere, probably in the first instance in Ionia. Those who encountered it there must have known, or heard it said, that someone had brought it from Cyprus, where it had previously been current.

(p.56) 2. Attestation

The earliest evidence for a poem resembling the *Cypria* in scope is the late seventh-century tripod leg from Olympia discussed in the Prolegomena, §5, if the scenes represented on it are rightly interpreted. There are many archaic and fifth-century vase paintings showing scenes such as the wedding of Peleus and Thetis, the Judgment of Paris, the embassy to Troy to demand the restitution of Helen, and Achilles' ambushing of Troilos, that may well reflect the poem. We may be sure of it in the case of the vase by the Kadmos Painter mentioned in the same section of the Prolegomena (pp. 42f.).

The poem was well known to writers of the classical period. It was used by Pindar (who also knew the story that Homer gave it to Stasinos) and by Sophocles, Euripides, and Cratinus. Herodotus and Aristotle cite it by title. Plato quotes from it without attribution.

In Hellenistic times knowledge of it became restricted to the scholarly and those with antiquarian tastes. No papyrus fragments have been identified, for this or for any of the Cyclic poems. A Latin *Cypria Ilias* by one Naevius (not the famous Naevius) attracted little attention. But the Greek epic continued to be available in places until around 200 ce. Pausanias (10. 31. 2) says explicitly that he has read it, and I see no reason to disbelieve him; see Prolegomena, p. 49. Athenaeus too may have consulted it directly. Citations in later authors, however, are almost certainly derivative from earlier ones.

Proclus' summary provides us with an outline of the whole structure. Some of the details can be amplified from the parallel sections in Apollod. epit. 3. 1–35. Citations in various authors supply over fifty of the original verses—as many as for the rest of the Cyclic poems put together—as well as other information that supplements what Proclus gives us.

3. Scope. Relation to the *Iliad*

The *Cypria* was concerned with the origin of the Trojan War and its course up to the tenth year. Like many epics, it began from a critical situation that needed resolving; cf. West (1997), 173f. In this case it was a cosmic crisis, Earth's distress at the excessive weight of humankind. The first part of the narrative moved largely at the divine level, with mortals playing merely supporting roles: Peleus as bridegroom of Thetis, Paris as adjudicator of goddesses. Then, **(p.57)** instructed by Aphrodite, Paris set off on his fateful voyage to Sparta and the events were set in train that were to lead to war.

The *Iliad* was a given for the poet, and he did not want to take the story of the war so far as to overlap with it. In fact he tailored his poem exactly to cover everything that happened up to the point where the *Iliad* begins, and he took pains to fit in as many as he could of the events that were referred back to or presupposed in the *Iliad*.³ The task he set himself, then, was not to compose an organically unified epic on a self-contained story but to complement the *Iliad* by gathering together and setting in order everything that belonged in the preceding span of time. This was a truly Cyclic undertaking.

In several cases he appears to borrow motifs from the *Iliad*.⁴ The two clearest examples are the quarrel between Achilles and Agamemnon at Tenedos (arg. 9c) and an episode in which the Achaeans at Troy were weary of the war and wanted to go home, but were restrained by Achilles (arg. 11b). We may add the occasions where Thetis came to advise her son or carry out his requests (arg. 9a with Apollod. epit. 3. 23; arg. 11b). Nestor's lengthy recital of stories from the past when Menelaos visited him (arg. 4b) may likewise be modelled on the Nestor of the *Iliad*, unless we suppose a wider tradition in which he was typically so presented.⁵ The concept of the *Διὸς βουλή* must certainly have been the common property of epic poets; yet F 1. 7 *Διὸς δ' ἐτελείετο βουλή*, coming as it does in the proem, looks very much like an imitation of *Il.* 1. 5.

Minor discrepancies of detail between the *Cypria* and the *Iliad* were not altogether wanting. It looks as if the later poet gave Hekabe a different father from the one implied in *Il.* 16. 718 (F 29a). He had Paris and Helen make love before taking ship, not waiting till they reached an offshore island as in *Il.* 3. 445. He had Briseis captured at Pedasos instead of Lyrnessos (F 23), though the two towns are so **(p.58)** closely associated in the tale of Achilles' exploits that few modern students of Homer would be able to remember which of them was Briseis' home.

4. Antecedent poems

The *Cypria* aimed to account for the first nine years of the war as well as the events that had led up to it. But the epic tradition provided little material to fill those years. Before the development of the Cyclic approach in which the effort was made to cover the entire story of the Trojan War, leaving no gaps between one poem and another, there existed independent poems about particular phases of the war, with no notion of putting them together to make a continuous narrative. Such was the state of epic poetry when the *Iliad* was composed. It is reflected in the profile of the *Cypria*. The tradition supplied one cluster of stories about the beginning of the war, another about its end. The poems in

which these stories were told each had their own unity, and they were not conceived as constituent parts of a larger unity.

Much of the material in the *Cypria* was current in poetic form by the mid part of the seventh century. The Teuthrania episode was known to Archilochus. Many of the others were known to the *Iliad* poet. He mentions the wedding of Peleus and Thetis, which all the gods attended and at which Peleus was given the great ash spear, the armour, and the horses Xanthos and Balios that Achilles was to use in the *Iliad*; the Judgment of Paris, who chose Aphrodite's gifts in preference to those of Hera and Athena; the building of ships by Phereklos, in which Paris sailed to Sparta and captured Helen's heart. He mentions how the two lovers sailed away, taking much of Menelaos' property with them, not going direct to Troy but first sailing to the eastern Mediterranean and visiting the Phoenician port of Sidon; he mentions that the Dioskouroi departed from earthly life sometime after Helen's elopement; that Nestor and Odysseus went round Greece recruiting heroes for the war on Troy; that they all assembled in their ships at Aulis, where there appeared a portent, a serpent that devoured a sparrow and her chicks, and the seer Calchas interpreted it; that Philoctetes was bitten by a water snake and abandoned on Lemnos; that the first man to leap ashore on Trojan soil, Protesilaos, was the first to be killed, leaving a grief-stricken widow; that the Achaeans sent Menelaos and Odysseus in to **(p.59)** speak to the Trojan assembly and demand the return of Helen and the stolen property; that certain of the Trojans wanted to kill them, but Antenor protected them; that the Trojans thereafter stayed within their walls, while Achilles led raids on surrounding areas, seizing the cattle of Aeneas on Mt Ida, capturing Lykaon, whom Patroklos sold into slavery on Lemnos, and sacking Lyrnessos and Pedasos and Hypoplakian Thebes and many other settlements in the region.

There may at that period have been (as suggested in the Prolegomena, §3) a separate poem dealing with the Judgment of Paris and the abduction of Helen, and ending with the wedding at Troy, and another poem telling of the gathering of the Achaeans at Aulis and how they sailed to Troy and fought an initial battle there. The *Iliad* poet himself evidently had such a poem as the latter in his repertoire; he has adapted his Catalogue of Ships from it.⁶ Those two poems might have been set down in writing, and so given a degree of fixity, sometime before the conception of a longer epic that would cover the whole earlier part of the war. Possibly it was the Cypriot Stasinos who first constructed the more comprehensive poem.

It is quite possible that the poet of the *Cypria* incorporated the older poems in his own work without recomposing them. In this case his epic will have contained sections fixed at different dates. His own contributions will have included the introductory verses about Zeus' plan to relieve the overpopulated earth, which show some linguistic signs of relative lateness; as noted above, they seem conceived as an introduction to the whole war, in other words to a cycle of epics rather than to one alone. To the final redactor we must also assign those details which have been put into the narrative specifically to link up with the *Iliad*, such as the picking out of Chryseis and Briseis from among the captive women taken at Hypoplakian Thebes or Pedasos.

5. Economy of the poem

The action of the poem may be divided into five main sections (Welcker ii. 158):

1. The wedding of Peleus and Thetis following Zeus' consultation with Themis, with the goddesses' quarrel and the Judgment of Paris.
- (p.60) 2. Paris' journey to Sparta and abduction of Helen, to Menelaos' return from Crete.
3. The recruitment of an army, the first gathering at Aulis, and the mistaken invasion of Teuthrania.
4. The second gathering at Aulis and the taking of Tenedos.
5. The landing in the Troad and all that happened there.

Proclus tells us that the work was divided into eleven books. As to how the material was distributed among them, we have little to go on. The Judgment of Paris came in Book 1 (F 5). The two fragments from books 1 and 2 of Naevius' *Cypria Ilias* (F 7 and 13) are consistent with reference to the Judgment of Paris and the seduction of Helen respectively. The division between books 1 and 2 may have been made at Paris' arrival in Sparta. After that it is a matter of complete guesswork where the book-divisions fell. But it looks as if about half of the poem must have been taken up with preparatory action and divagations before the Achaeans reached Troy.

6. Characterization of the poem

Aristotle in his *Poetics* (1459a37) picks out the *Cypria* together with the *Little Iliad* as examples of epics that unlike the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* are *πολυμερῆ*, episodic, containing material for many tragedies. He has lit upon a feature of the poem that is very obvious from Proclus' summary. It lacks structural unity and was bound to, given its aims.

This is the one defect of the poem that we can identify. In other respects there is no reason to think that it was a poor composition. The poetic quality of the surviving verses is high. The poet shows a fluent command of the epic language: the parallels are sometimes with the Hesiodic corpus or the Homeric Hymns rather than with the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, and there are some neologisms, but there is nothing wrong with that. The metaphor by which Zeus is said to have 'fanned' the Trojan War into life (F 1. 5) is original in epic (so far as we know), apt, and striking.

The divine perspective provided an order of grandeur appropriate to such a momentous theme as the Trojan War. First the vista of a crisis affecting the whole world and troubling Earth herself; then the top-level consultation of Zeus and Themis and the formation of a grand design; the gathering of the gods, not on Olympus but on Pelion at the magnificent wedding of Peleus and Thetis; the three (p.61) goddesses' extraordinary beauty contest on Ida, after which Aphrodite mobilized Paris to action, while Hera and Athena established themselves as his enemies and Troy's. The miraculous birth of Helen from divine parents marked her as a woman with a special destiny. Nemesis, installed as her mother in place of Leda, was the third goddess representing an abstract force to appear in the poem, after Themis and Eris.

Iris was deployed to bring the news of Helen's flight to Menelaos in Crete. At Aulis Agamemnon offended Artemis, and she had to be propitiated by the sacrifice of Iphigeneia, whom she elevated to divine status. Apollo gave an oracle to Telephos about how to find healing for his wound, and the same god came into view again at Tenedos and Thymbra, where Achilles slew his sons Tennes and Troilos. At Troy Thetis attended Achilles and arranged with Aphrodite to let him meet Helen. At the end of the poem another great plan of Zeus was in prospect, the one that was to govern the events of the *Iliad*.

That meeting between Achilles and Helen, inessential as it is to the plot, is the most conspicuous outcrop of a vein of romanticism that ran through the epic. The catastrophic passion of Helen and Paris was an intrinsically romantic motif. But Paris does not measure up to the transcendent quality of Helen. It is Achilles who is her true counterpart in glamour (cf. on arg. 11 b). Bringing them together for one brief encounter that could never be repeated was an expression of the same sentiment that in later centuries united them as lovers in the afterlife (Ptol. Heph. p. 27. 10 Chatzis; Paus. 3. 19. 13; Philostr. *Her.* 19. 16). It is possible that Achilles was moved by love at another point in the *Cypria*, on seeing Polyxena at the shrine of Thymbraean Apollo when he ambushed and killed her brother Troilos: see on arg. 11 e / F 25.

The poet has a wide knowledge of myth and sometimes brings in stories not organically connected with his main narrative. After Paris had passed through Sparta, attention was diverted to the Dioskouroi's dispute with the Apharetidai that ended the earthly lives of both pairs of brothers. When Menelaos came to Pylos to consult Nestor, the old man related (*ἐν παρεκβάσει*, as Proclus remarks) a series of unconnected stories. The strange myth of the Oinotropoi, the three Delian maidens who had the power to make grain, vines, and olives grow in unlimited abundance, was grafted on to the story of the Achaeans' sojourn at Troy, though it cannot have (p.62) been a traditional part of it and sits oddly in that context. Like Lynkeus with his extraordinary eyesight, Kyknos with his impenetrable white skin, and Achilles' healing of Telephos, they represent miraculous elements of the kind that the *Iliad* poet avoided (cf. Griffin 1977). 'The notion of *magical* efficacy residing in certain persons or objects is one which in Homer is confined to the "outer geography" of the *Odyssey*' (Monro 354).

The poet made generous use of speeches. Zeus' initial consultation with Themis must have involved them, as must the goddesses' quarrel at the wedding of Peleus and Thetis, the Judgment of Paris, and the organization of Paris' journey to Sparta. Helenos and Cassandra uttered prophecies at that juncture. Then came Paris' stays with the Dioskouroi and with Menelaos, during which there must have been conversations, not to mention the process of seducing Helen. In the next phase we know that Menelaos' visit to Nestor contained extensive dialogue. Calchas interpreted an omen at the first gathering at Aulis and declared Artemis' will at the second. Between the two came the episode where Telephos went to Argos to beg Achilles for healing and promised to show the Achaeans the way to Troy. At Tenedos the decision of what to do about Philoctetes cannot have been reached without debate, and then there was the quarrel between Achilles and

Agamemnon. At Troy Achilles had visits from his mother, who warned him not to be the first ashore and later dealt with his expressed wish to see Helen. His meeting with Helen will not have been a matter of wordless ogling. Meanwhile there had been the embassy of Menelaos and Odysseus and the debate in the city about their demand.

The treatment of chronology in the *Cypria* does not entirely obey the conventions of Homeric epic, which avoids the appearance of ever going backwards in time (Zieliński's Law). It is more like what we find in Hesiodic genealogical poetry, where there is some backward and forward movement in passing from one branch of the narrative to another. Thus the account of Paris' and Helen's travels in the eastern Mediterranean is brought to its completion with their arrival at Troy and marriage there (arg. 2) before Menelaos even learns that Helen has gone (arg. 4a). The story of Helen's birth cannot, I think, have appeared in its chronologically correct place; I suggest in the commentary that it was accommodated after the Judgment of Paris, when she first came into the story. The retrogression might have been palliated, however, by having Aphrodite tell (p.63) the tale to Paris. In telling of the wedding of Peleus and Thetis the poet seems to have told in retrospect the story of Zeus' previous pursuit of Thetis for his own purposes (F 2).

The poet has not in any case worked out a chronology of events that stands up to critical scrutiny. The wedding of Peleus and Thetis appears to lead straight on to the Judgment of Paris; the Judgment to the voyage to Sparta and seduction of Helen; the seduction to the Achaean mobilization for war and a sailing from Aulis that takes the Achaeans to Teuthrania, where their principal hero is Achilles—the son of Peleus and Thetis.

7. Dating

On the hypothesis sketched above about an antecedent written poem or poems, the composition would not be all of one date. I would assign the older, pre-Cyclic poem(s) to the second half of the seventh century in accord with my general perception that that was the time when written epics were starting to be produced in quantity. We have no other means of dating them. But what was the date of the developed Cyclic *Cypria* to which our testimonia relate?

If the Olympia tripod leg is rightly perceived as combining in one series of panels the seduction of Helen, the embassy into Troy seeking her restitution, and the killing of Troilos, it is a pointer to the existence, by the last quarter of the seventh century, of a connected narrative—an epic, we should imagine—that covered more or less as much of the story as the *Cypria* did. It would attest the emergence of the Cyclic approach.

However, the poem in question was not necessarily identical with the *Cypria* as later current. There are some grounds for hesitating to date the *Cypria* quite so early. Wackernagel (1916), 182f., found a number of linguistic features in F 1 that in his judgment indicated Attic origin and a date that could not be long before 500. His observations were for a long time taken as decisive, but more recently it has been questioned whether they impose so late a dating; cf. M. Davies, *Glotta* 67 (1989), 93f.; Schmitt (1990); Parlato (2007). Wackernagel's argument rests on one suffix (-ιακός) and two neuter nouns (πλάτος, βάρος) that are not otherwise attested before the fifth

century, though he admits that other neuters of the same type (εὖρος, τάχος, πάχος) are Homeric. Not much weight can be put on such data considering how little sixth-century literature has **(p.64)** survived. It may be allowed that Ἰλιακός is a post-Homeric form, but we cannot infer that it was coined late rather than early in the sixth century. Cf. Schmitt 18f., Parlato 8–10. As for Atticism, the form κενώσειεν, with short scansion of κεν-ζ * κενF- as against Homeric κεινός or κενε(F)ός, is certainly Attic or Aeolic; yet analogous forms occur here and there in both Hesiod (κἄλόν, ἰσον) and Homer (ἐνάτη, αἶνοίτο, ξενίη, ξενίων, μονωθείς).⁷ There are a couple of examples of ‘Attic correction’, that is, of a syllable remaining short before a plosive + liquid combination in the same word or tonal unit: F 1. 6 ἐνὶ Τροίῃ (in Homer the phrase is always scanned υ – – –); F 9. 1 πεπρωται. This is a departure from what may be called Severe Ionian practice, in which such correction is virtually confined to words such as Ἀφροδίτη and Ἡρακλῆς that could not otherwise be accommodated in the verse. But instances can be found in Hesiod, *Th.* 599 ἄλλοτρινον, 632 Ὀθρυος, *Op.* 655 προπεφραδμένα; Theognis, 1200 αἶγρους; Solon, 4. 14 θέμεθλα, 4c. 3 μετρίοισι; perhaps in Hipponax, 104. 49 ἔγκυθρον (ἔγχυτον codd., ἔγχυτρον M. Schmidt). So the examples in the *Cypria* may be evidence of non-Ionian composition, but they do not necessarily prove extreme lateness.

The stories related by Nestor to Menelaos (arg. 4b) include two that may be relevant to the problem of dating. His first concerns the Sicyonian hero Epopeus, whose other known appearance in early literature was in the *Korinthiaka* attributed to Eumelos, a work that I have argued was no earlier than the mid sixth century.⁸ Sicyonian saga came to prominence only in the time of Kleisthenes, tyrant of Sicyon c.600–570. Nestor’s fourth tale is that of Theseus and Ariadne. It is also mentioned in the *Odyssey* (11. 321–5), but Theseus is again a hero who emerged comparatively late; see *Little Iliad*, intro. 7. His abduction of the juvenile Helen may also have been related in the *Cypria*, but it is not certain: see on F 12*.

These pointers favour a dating of the *Cypria* to the sixth century rather than the seventh. We shall not be inclined to make it any later than the *Telegony*, which there is reason to date in the second quarter of the century and which we naturally see as the last addition to the **(p.65)** Trojan Cycle. If we put the *Cypria* somewhere between 580 and 550 we shall not, I think, be wildly wrong. It belongs with other hexameter compositions of an all-inclusive character such as ps.-Eumelos’ *Korinthiaka* and the Hesiodic *Catalogue of Women*.

The FragmentsThe Incipit. Zeus’ Plan

F 1 (below) must have been the beginning of the narrative. It was presumably preceded by some lines in which the poet asked the Muse(s) to sing, or announced that he was going to sing, of how the Trojan War began, that war in which so many heroes perished (Bethe 155, 228). Welcker i. 282 suggested that the brief tenth Homeric Hymn, addressed to Aphrodite as Κυπρογένεια and as Σαλαμῖνος ἐϋκτιμένης μεδέουσα, was in fact the proem of the *Cypria*, but it is unlikely that an organic hymn-proem (like those of Hes. *Th.* 1–115 and *Op.* 1–10) would have been transmitted separately.

F 1 Sch. (D) ll. 1. 5, “Διὸς δ’ ἐτελείετο βουλή”

ἄλλοι δὲ ἀπὸ ἱστορίας τινὸς εἶπον εἰρηκέναι τὸν Ὅμηρον. φασὶ γὰρ τὴν Γῆν βαρουμένην ὑπὸ ἀνθρώπων πολυπληθείας, μηδεμιᾶς ἀνθρώπων οὔσης εὐσεβείας, αἰτῆσαι τὸν Δία κουφισθῆναι τοῦ ἄχθους· τὸν δὲ Δία πρῶτον μὲν εὐθὺς ποιῆσαι τὸν Θηβαϊκὸν πόλεμον δι' οὗ πολλοὺς πάνυ ἀπώλεσεν, ὕστερον δὲ πάλιν τὸν Ἰλιακόν, συμβούλῳ τῷ Μώμῳ χρησάμενος, ἦν Διὸς βουλὴν Ὅμηρός φησιν, ἐπειδὴ οἶός τε ἦν κεραυνοῖς ἢ κατακλυσμοῖς ἅπαντας διαφθεῖρειν· ὅπερ τοῦ Μώμου κωλύσαντος, ὑποθεμένου δὲ αὐτῷ γνώμας δύο, τὴν Θέτιδος θνητογαμίαν καὶ θυγατρὸς καλῆς γένναν, ἐξ ὧν ἀμφοτέρων πόλεμος Ἑλλησὶ τε καὶ βαρβάροις ἐγένετο, ἀφ' οὗ συνέβη κουφισθῆναι τὴν γῆν πολλῶν ἀναιρεθέντων. ἡ δὲ ἱστορία παρὰ Στασίῳ τῷ τὰ Κύπρια πεποιηκότι, εἰπόντι οὕτως·

5

ἦν ὅτε μυρία φῦλα κατὰ χθόνα πλαζόμενα (αἰεὶ ἀνθρώπων ἐ)βάρυνε
βαθυστέρνου πλάτος Αἴης.

Ζεὺς δὲ ἰδὼν ἐλέησε, καὶ ἐν πυκιναῖς πραπίδεσσιν κουφίσαι ἀνθρώπων
παμβώτορα σύνθετο γαῖαν ῥιπίσσας πολέμου μεγάλην ἔριν Ἰλιακοῖο,

(p.66) ὄφρα κενώσειεν θανάτῳ βάρος. οἱ δ' ἐνὶ Τροίῃ ἥρωες κτείνοντο, Διὸς
δ' ἐτελείετο βουλή.

1 suppl. Ebert, 2 Peppmüller (βαθυστέρνου iam Lascaris) 4 σύνθετο
κουφίσαι παμβώτορα γαῖαν (γαίης) ἀνθρώπων codd.: corr. Ribbeck 5 ῥιπίσσας
Wolf: ῥιπίσαι codd. 6 θανάτῳ Lascaris: -του codd.

The war came about through a plan of Zeus to reduce the world's population, as he saw that Earth was suffering from the excessive weight she was forced to support. No further motive appears in the verses, but the scholiast who quotes them mentions an additional factor, the failure of human *εὐσέβεια*. This is an alien motif from some myth of a more comprehensive destruction of mankind. Other details too of the scholiast's account are foreign to the *Cypria*: Earth's plea to Zeus for relief, the inclusion of the Theban War with the Trojan (cf. sch. Eur. *Or.* 1641), the presence of Momos as counsellor instead of Themis (see below), and the consideration of other options for population reduction such as mass destructions by thunderbolts or deluges (Henrichsen 37f.). The version in the *Cypria* is almost as summary as the echoes of it in Euripides' *Helen* (36–41) and *Orestes* (1639–42; cf. *El.* 1282, fr. 1082); a fuller narrative must have been current.

The myth is paralleled in the *Mahābhārata*: the earth once complained to Brahmā of the ever-increasing weight of mankind, and he created death to alleviate the problem. A similar myth is already attested before 1600 bce in the Babylonian epic *Atrahasis* both the Greek and the Indian versions probably derive from Mesopotamia. See further West (1997), 481f.; (2007), 23.

Hesiod (*Op.* 161–73) already has the concept that the Theban and Trojan Wars marked the end of an era, when the race of heroes was cleared off the earth, some to Hades,

others to the Isles of the Blest, but he does not make Zeus responsible or assign a purpose. In [Hes.] fr. 204. 95–104 the Trojan War appears as an initiative of Zeus', who aimed to visit extensive destruction on the human race (ἤδη δὲ γένος μερόπων ἀνθρώπων | πολλὸν ἀϊστῶσαι σπεῦδε), while apparently separating off the heroes (ἡμίθεοι) to dwell apart. Cf. Apollod. epit. 3. 1 αὐτίς δὲ Ἑλένην Ἀλέξανδρος ἀρπάζει, ὥς τινες λέγουσι κατὰ βούλησιν Διὸς ἵνα Εὐρώπης καὶ Ἀσίας εἰς πόλεμον ἐλθούσης ἡ θυγάτηρ αὐτοῦ ἐνδοξος γέννηται, ἣ καθάπερ εἶπον ἄλλοι ὅπως τὸ τῶν ἡμιθέων γένος ἀρθῇ.

The language of the fragment contains several novelties.

(p.67)

1. ἦν ὅτε: first paralleled in Pind. fr. 83, Cratin. fr. 269; Hdt. 1. 160. 5 has ἦν χρόνος οὕτος ὅτε. It is noteworthy that in the poet's picture there is no Theban War behind the Trojan, no earlier Heroic Age with identifiable persons in it, just a vague 'time' of overpopulation.
κατὰ χθόνα: this phrase not in the *Iliad* or *Odyssey*, but twice in the *Hymns*.
2. ἐβάρυνε βαθυστέρνου is Peppmüller's probable restoration of the transmitted βαρυστέρνου. Cf. Hes. *Th.* 117 Γαῖ' εὐρύστερνος and Pind. *Nem.* 9. 25 βαθύστερνον χθόνα with Bras-well ad loc.
- πλάτος: first here. But the root has an ancient association with the Earth-goddess: Schmitt 17f.; Parlato 10–12; West (2007), 174f., 178.
3. ἐν πυκιναῖς πραπίδεσσιν: an untraditional phrase formed from epic vocables. On the short dative in -αις (also in 5. 5 and 7) cf. Parlato 27–9.
4. Ribbeck's transposition restores good rhythm. The word order was disturbed by bringing σύνθετο forward to make it adjacent to ἐν πυκιναῖς πραπίδεσσιν.
- κουφίσαι: first here in a transitive use.
- παμβώτορα: only here; cf. Soph. *Ph.* 391 παμβῶτι Γᾶ. The idea is ancient, cf. West (2007), 179.
- σύνθετο: the verb is not otherwise found with an infinitive before the fifth century.
5. This makes it look as if Zeus immediately resolved on the Trojan War as his means of lightening the earth. But it will be in discussion with Themis that he decides how to set about achieving his aim. In his hasty proem the poet compresses things.
- ῥιπίσας, 'fanning': first here; cf. Ar. *Ran.* 360 (στάσιν) ἀνεγείρει καὶ ῥιπίζει. πολέμου ... Ἰλιακοῖο: the earliest reference to 'the Trojan War'. Forms in -ιακός are not otherwise attested before Herodotus and Thucydides (Wackernagel (1916), 182), but see intro. 7. The accusative form ἔριν occurs in the *Odyssey*, while the *Iliad* has only ἔριδα.
6. κενώσειεν: first here; on the short first syllable cf. intro. 7. The division κεν ὤσειεν proposed by K. E. Hatzistephanou in T. Papadopoulos (ed.), *Πρακτικά τοῦ Β' διεθνοῦς Κυπρολογικοῦ συνεδρίου, Τόμος Α'* (Nicosia 1985), 490f., cannot entirely be ruled out, but 'push out, banish' gives less good sense than

‘empty out, evacuate’.

(p.68) *θανάτω* (Lascaris; or -τοις, Wassenbergh) seems a necessary correction, as *βάρος* must be the weight of humanity and cannot be connected with *θανάτου*. *βάρος* is another new word (Wackernagel).

6–7. οἱ δ’ ἐνὶ Τροίῃ | ἥρωες κτείνοντο: this is an anticipation, as the origins of the war have yet to be related. On the scansion of ἐνὶ Τροίῃ see again intro. 7.

Διὸς δ’ ἐτελείετο βουλή, borrowed from *Il.* 1. 5, must mark the end of the proem and the transition to systematic narrative. In the *Iliad* the phrase refers to the plan that Zeus is to agree with Thetis in 1. 517–30, though some interpreters took it as an allusion to the story in the *Cypria*. Cf. also Hes. *Th.* [1002], *Hymn. Herm.* 10.

Arg. 1a

Ζεὺς βουλεύεται μετὰ τῆς Θέμιδος περὶ τοῦ Τρωϊκοῦ πολέμου.

Θέμιδος Heyne: θέτιδος codd.

Cf. P. Oxy. 3829 ii 7 τῆς Ὀμήρου Ἰλιάδος ἡ ἐξ ἀρχῆς ὑπόθεσις: ὁ Ζεὺς ἀσέβειαν καταγνοὺς τοῦ ἡρωϊκοῦ γένους βουλεύεται μετὰ Θέμιδος ἄρδην αὐτοὺς ἀπολέσαι.

Having conceived the aim of reducing the earth’s population, Zeus consulted with Themis on how to set about it. This was evidently the opening scene after the proem, of sufficient substance for Proclus to mention it. The papyrus, which is a catechism and hypothesis to *Iliad* 1, dated to the later second century CE, confirms Heyne’s correction to the text of Proclus. The motif of the heroic race’s wickedness, which as I have said is foreign to the *Cypria*, appears here as in the *Iliad* scholium.

Themis is a senior goddess, a Titan and a consort of Zeus (Hes. *Th.* 135, 901; Pind. fr. 30). In *Il.* 20. 4 she acts as his minister to summon the other gods to assembly, and in 15. 87 she presides over their gathering in the absence of Zeus and Hera. Her involvement in the planning of the Trojan War implies that it was a just enterprise or at any rate had a just outcome, in that a wrong was redressed (Bethe 228).

In the account given by sch. *Il.* 1. 5, where Momos is the adviser and Zeus talks of thunderbolts and floods before being persuaded to settle on a war, the plan involves a double initiative: arranging Thetis’ marriage to a mortal, and fathering a beautiful daughter, Helen. Both (p.69) of these were dealt with in the *Cypria* (F 2–4 and 10–11). Helen ought to have been born well before Thetis’ wedding, as it led directly to the Judgment of Paris, at which Helen was the prize offered by Aphrodite. But both Proclus and the papyrus go straight from the deliberation with Themis to the wedding of Peleus and Thetis. So the circumstances of Helen’s birth were probably related at a later point, in retrospect, when she came into the story following the Judgment of Paris; see on F 9. Horace, *Ars poet.* 147 *nec gemino bellum Troianum orditur ab ouo*, cannot be taken as evidence that the birth of Helen came at the beginning of the *Cypria*.

The Wedding of Peleus and Thetis

The wedding of Peleus and Thetis, to which the gods came and brought presents, was an event celebrated in poetry before the *Iliad*: *Il.* 17. 195f., 18. 84f., 24. 62f., *Alc.* 42. 5–11, *Pind. Pyth.* 3. 89–93, *Nem.* 4. 65–8, 5. 22–5, *Aesch. fr.* 350, *Eur. IA* 1036–79. Cf. Jouan 68–87. It has a double importance for the Trojan War. It is the occasion for the outbreak of the quarrel among three goddesses which leads to the Judgment of Paris. And it results in the birth of Achilles, the greatest and most splendid of the Achaeans heroes.⁹

Zeus had himself previously desired and pursued Thetis, and F 2 shows that the episode was related in the *Cypria*. She successfully rebuffed him, and he in a huff declared that if he could not have her, no other god would: she must marry a mortal. In Pindar's version (*Isth.* 8. 27ff.) Zeus and Poseidon both wanted her, until Themis cooled their ardour by announcing that Thetis was destined to bear a son stronger than his father (a motif transferred from Metis, *Hes. Th.* 886–900); let her therefore be given to a mortal husband and bear a supreme hero. Zeus and Poseidon agree, the wedding to Peleus takes place, Achilles is born, and the high points of his warrior career are recalled, the blood he shed at Teuthrania and his breaking Troy's resistance by killing Hector and Memnon. So Pindar has the whole sequence of *Cypria*, *Iliad*, and *Aethiopis* in mind, and the role he assigns to Themis is surely adapted from her role in the *Cypria* as (p.70) conceiver of the war.¹⁰ In the epic it was without her intervention that Zeus abandoned his designs on Thetis. The story of his pursuit of her will have been dealt with in a parenthesis giving the background to her union with Peleus. Following the scene between Zeus and Themis the poet may have continued, 'The gods were at that time about to go to Mt Pelion to attend the wedding of Peleus and Thetis in the house of Cheiron the centaur. It was by Zeus' will that she, a goddess, was marrying a mortal. For...'

F 2 Philod. De pietate B 7241 Obbink

ἐτι δὲ ὁ τ[ι]ὰ Κύπ[ρ]ια γράψας τῇ Ἡ[ρ]αι χαρ[ι]ζομένην φεύγειν αὐ[τὴν τὸ]ν γάμον Δ[ι]ός· τὸν δ' ὁμόσαι χολω[θέντ]α διότι θνη[τῶι συ]ννοικίσει. κα[ὶ] παρ' Ἡ[ρ]σιόδωι δὲ (fr. 210) κε[ῖται τ]ὸ παραπλήσιον.

Cf. Apollod. 3. 13. 5 τινὲς δὲ λέγουσι θέτιν μὴ βουλευθῆναι Διὶ συνελθεῖν ὡς ὑπὸ Ἥρας τραφεῖσαν, Δία δὲ ὀργισθέντα θνητῶι θέλειν αὐτὴν συννοικίσαι.

Ap. Rhod. 4. 790–8 (Hera to Thetis)

ἀλλὰ σὲ γὰρ δὴ

ἐξέτι νηπυτίης αὐτὴ τρέφον ἡδ' ἀγάπησα

ἔξοχον ἀλλάων αἵ τ' εἰν ἀλὶ ναιετάουσιν·

οὐνεκεν¹¹ οὐκ ἔτλης εὐνῇι Διὸς ἱεμένοιο

λέξασθαι...

ἀλλ' ἐμέ τ' αἰδομένη καὶ ἐνὶ φρεσὶ δειμαίνουσα

ἤλεύω· ὃ δ' ἔπειτα πελώριον ὄρκον ὅμοσεν,

μή ποτέ σ' ἀθανάτοιο θεοῦ καλέεσθαι ἄκοιτιν.

In 805–9 Hera says that she provided Thetis with the finest of mortal men for her husband (so already *Il.* 24. 60f.), invited the gods to the wedding feast, and herself held up the bridal torch, in gratitude for the honour Thetis had done her. We cannot assume with Bethe 229 that all these details come from the *Cypria*, but the celebration must have been described in some detail. According to Pindar (*Nem.* 4. 67) it was attended by both celestial and marine deities, (p. 71) οὐρανοῦ βασιλῆες πόντου τε. Apollo played the cithara and the Muses sang (*Il.* 24. 62f., Pind. *Pyth.* 3. 88–93, *Nem.* 5. 22–5, Aesch. fr. 350).

Two Attic vases painted around 570 by Sophilos and Kleitias (*LIMC* Peleus 211, 212=the François Vase) show Peleus before his house receiving the grand procession of divinities, who are carefully labelled. The list is nearly the same for both vases, though the sequence differs: there are Zeus and Hera, Poseidon and Amphitrite, Apollo (212 also Leto), Hermes (211 also Maia), Ares and Aphrodite, Artemis and Athena (all these in chariots); Demeter and Hestia, Hephaestus (on a mule), Dionysus, Oceanus (212 also Tethys), Iris, Themis, on 211 also Eileithyia and Hebe, on 212 Nereus and Doris; three Moirai, three Horai, three Charites, on 211 also three Nymphs; eight (211) or nine (212) Muses; Cheiron and his wife Chariklo. On 212 the individual Muses are named, and the names are as in Hes. *Th.* 77–9 except that Stesichore appears in place of Hesiod's Terpsichore. The names are grouped as in Hesiod's verses, and the painter must have had the verses in mind:

Κλειώ τ' Εὐτέρπη τε Θάλεια τε Μελπομένη τε

Στησιχόρη τ' Ἐρατώ τε Πολύμνιά τ' Οὐρανίη τε

Καλλιόπη τε.

But was he recalling them from Hesiod, with the variant *Στησιχόρη*, or from the *Cypria*, or a separate epic account of the wedding? Did the painters have epic authority for the roster of gods and goddesses who attended the wedding? Luckenbach 589–91 points out that Eris is not included, and that the gifts the gods were supposed to have brought for Peleus (below on F 4) are not shown; and more seriously, that on the François Vase the details of the chariot race at the funeral games for Patroklos diverge markedly from the *Iliad* (cf. Prolegomena, §7). It is clearly unsafe to infer anything from these paintings for the *Cypria*.

(F 3*) Sch. (T) *Il.* 18. 434a, “καὶ ἔτλην ἀνέρος εὐνὴν πολλὰ μάλ' οὐκ ἐθέλουσα”
ἐντεῦθεν οἱ νεώτεροι τὰς μεταμορφώσεις αὐτῆς φασιν.

Cf. Apollod. 3. 13. 5 (continuing from the passage quoted on F 2) Χείρωνος οὖν
ὑποθεμένου Πηλεΐ συλλαβεῖν καὶ κατασχεῖν αὐτὴν μεταμορφουμένην, ἐπιτηρήσας

συναρπάξει γινομένην (p.72) δὲ ὅτε μὲν πῦρ, ὅτε δὲ ὕδωρ, ὅτε δὲ θηρίον, οὐ πρότερον ἀνῆκε πρὶν ἢ τὴν ἀρχαίαν μορφήν εἶδεν ἀπολαβοῦσαν.

The story of Peleus' wrestling with Thetis while she went through a series of metamorphoses is alluded to by Pind. *Nem.* 3. 35f., 4. 62–5, Soph. fr. 618; cf. Ov. *Met.* 11. 235–65; Frazer ii. 67 n. 6. It is depicted in art from the mid seventh century. But there are reasons for hesitating to attribute it to the *Cypria*.¹² The poet uses the motif in connection with Zeus' pursuit of Nemesis in F 10, and two such passages in the same poem would seem excessive.¹³ We have seen that in Apollonius' version, which partly follows the *Iliad* and may correspond to the *Cypria*, Hera provides Thetis with a thoroughly desirable husband and a high society wedding; this does not go very well with the Nereid's reluctance to accept Peleus and the physical struggle that he has to undertake (Bethe 230). In Apollodorus' version it is Cheiron who prompts him to go after her, and a role for Hera seems to be excluded.

F 4 Sch. (D) Il. 16. 140

κατὰ γὰρ τὸν Πηλέως καὶ Θέτιδος γάμον οἱ θεοὶ συναχθέντες εἰς τὸ Πήλιον ἐπ' εὐωχίαι ἐκόμιζον Πηλεῖ δῶρα, Χείρων δὲ μελίαν εὐθαλῆ τεμὼν εἰς δόρυ παρέσχευεν. φασὶ δὲ Ἀθηναῖν μὲν ξέσαι αὐτό, Ἥφαιστον δὲ κατασκευάσαι. τούτῳ δὲ τῷ δόρατι καὶ Πηλεὺς ἐν ταῖς μάχαις ἡρίστευσεν καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα Ἀχιλλεύς. ἡ ἱστορία παρὰ τῷ τὰ Κύπρια ποιήσαντι.

Cf. Apollod. 3. 13. 5 (continuing from the passage quoted on F 3*) γαμεῖ δὲ ἐν τῷ Πηλῳ, κάκει θεοὶ τὸν γάμον εὐωχούμενοι καθύμνησαν. καὶ δίδωσι Χείρων Πηλεῖ δόρυ μείλινον, Ποσειδῶν δὲ ἵππους Βαλίον καὶ Ξάνθον· ἀθάνατοι δὲ ἦσαν οὗτοι.

The gods' gifts of armour and Cheiron's of the ash spear are alluded to in *Il.* 16. 143, 17. 194–6, 18. 82–5, and Poseidon's gift of the (p.73) immortal horses in 16. 867, 23. 277f. (They are named as Xanthos and Balios in 16. 149, 19. 400.)

The Goddesses' Quarrel

Arg. 1b

παραγενομένη δὲ Ἔρις εὐωχουμένων τῶν θεῶν ἐν τοῖς Πηλέως γάμοις νεῖκος περὶ κάλλους ἐνίστησιν Ἀθηναῖ, Ἥραι καὶ Ἀφροδίτῃ· αἱ πρὸς Ἀλέξανδρον ἐν Ἰδῇ κατὰ Διὸς προσταγὴν ὑφ' Ἑρμοῦ πρὸς τὴν κρίσιν ἄγονται.

Apollod. epit. 3. 2 ὅτι τῇ μῆλον περὶ κάλλους Ἔρις ἐμβάλλει Ἥραι καὶ Ἀθηναῖ καὶ Ἀφροδίτῃ· καὶ κελεύει Ζεὺς Ἑρμῆν εἰς Ἰδῇ πρὸς Ἀλέξανδρον ἄγειν ἵνα ὑπ' ἐκείνου διακριθῶσιν.

'An apple about beauty' is an impossible expression, and it has been persuasively argued that *μῆλον* in the Apollodorus epitome has intruded from the familiar version of the myth, displacing *νεῖκος*; cf. Proclus' *νεῖκος περὶ κάλλους ἐνίστησιν*, and for the wording *Il.* 4. 444 (Eris) ἡ σφιν καὶ τότε νεῖκος... ἔμβαλε μέσσωι; Ant. Lib. 11. 3 καὶ Ἥρα μεμψαμένη τὸν λόγον Ἔριν αὐτοῖς ἔπεμψεν, ἡ δὲ νεῖκος ἐνέβαλεν εἰς τὰ ἔργα.¹⁴

A fuller account appears in P. Oxy. 3829 ii 12 (continuing from the passage quoted on arg. 1a),

θύων δὲ ἐν τῷ Πηλίῳ ὄρει παρὰ Χείρωνι τῷ Κενταύρῳ τοὺς Θέτιδος καὶ Πηλέως γάμους τοὺς μὲν ἄλλους θεοὺς ἐπὶ τὴν ἐστίαν[σι]ν παρεκάλει, μόνην δὲ τὴν Ἔριν εἰσιοῦσαν Ἑρμῆς κωλύει Διὸς κελεύσαντος· ἡ δὲ ὀργισθεῖσα χρυσοῦν μῆλον προ[σ]έρριψεν τῷ συμποσίῳ, ὑπὲρ οὗ φιλονικίας γενομένης Ἥρας καὶ Ἀθηνᾶς καὶ Ἀφροδίτης ὁ Ζεὺς ἔπαθλον προῦθηκεν τῇ καλλίστῃ,

and in Hyg. *Fab.* 92. 1–2,

Iouis, cum Thetis Peleo nuberet, ad epulum dicitur omnis deos conuocasse excepta Eride, id est Discordia. quae cum postea superuenisset nec admitteretur ad epulum, ab ianua misit in medium malum, diciturque, quae esset formosissima, attolleret. Iuno Venus Minerua formam sibi uindicare coeperunt; inter quas **(p.74)** magna discordia orta Iouis imperat Mercurio ut deducat eas in Ida monte ad Alexandrum Paridem eumque iubeat iudicare.

Here Zeus deliberately excludes Eris from the feast, which might seem a wise precaution to ensure a happy occasion. On the other hand the goddesses' quarrel has to be part of his great plan. Perhaps in the *Cypria*, so far from excluding Eris, he instructed her to cause mischief, as in *Il.* 11. 3 he sends her forth to the Achaeans' ships to arouse battle-fury. The later version shows the influence of the folktale motif of the uninvited or excluded deity who causes trouble.

The apple with which Eris provokes the quarrel is not attested in literature or art before the imperial period. Luckenbach 592 thought this ruled out attributing it to the *Cypria*, and clearly one should think twice before doing so. Nevertheless, it may be doubted whether the poet had an alternative to this simple and effective mechanism for provoking the quarrel.¹⁵ If Eris threw an apple into the company, she will have done as in Hyginus, calling for the most beautiful goddess to pick it up. The version found in some late sources¹⁶ that it was inscribed 'for the fairest' was probably influenced by Callimachus' story of Acontius and Cydippe. The episode may be imagined as follows:

Eris came to the door, μῆλον μετὰ χερσὶν ἔχουσα | καλὸν χρύσειον, and she threw it in among the gods and said, 'Whoever of the goddesses here claims to be the fairest of form, let her have this prize'. At once the daughter of Zeus, pale-eyed Athena, picked it up; but white-armed Hera upbraided her, saying, 'You shameless bitch, do you reckon you are the fairest among us? I am superior to you, being sister and wife to great Zeus himself.' So she spoke, but golden Aphrodite broke in and said, 'Hera, you are indeed the greatest among us, and we all honour you, but when it comes to beauty, that is my province; everyone knows that. Do you not come and borrow my *κεστός ἰμάς* when you want to make yourself especially attractive? I should have the apple.'

(p.75) So the three goddesses quarrelled, and they would have come to blows, had not

Zeus intervened, saying, 'Stop it, all of you. You are spoiling this happy occasion with your dispute. Come, let us continue our feasting in good cheer for the rest of the day, and tomorrow Hermes will take you to Ida, where you can show yourselves to a young mortal who has never seen a goddess in his life: let him decide which of you is the fairest and which is to get the prize.' So he spoke, and good humour was restored among the gods. They feasted all day till the sun went down; Apollo played his lyre, and the Muses sang.

The Judgment of Paris

F 5 Ath. 682d-f

ἀνθῶν δὲ στεφανωτικῶν μέμνηται ὁ μὲν τὰ Κύπρια ἔπη πεποιηκῶς Ἥγησίας ἢ Στασίνοσ {ἢ καὶ Κυπρίας}· Δημοδάμας γὰρ ὁ Ἀλικαρνασσεὺς ἢ Μιλήσιος ἐν τῷ περὶ Ἀλικαρνασσοῦ (FGrHist 428 F 1) Κυπρία Ἀλικαρνασσέως αὐτὰ εἶναί φησι ποιήματα. λέγει δ' οὖν ὅστις ἐστὶν ὁ ποιήσας αὐτὰ ἐν τῷ α, οὕτωςί·

5

εἵματα μὲν χροῖ ἔστο τά οἱ Χάριτές τε καὶ Ὠραι

ποίησαν καὶ ἔβαψαν ἐν ἄνθεσιν εἰαρινοῖσιν

ὅσσα φέρουσ' ὦραι, ἐν τε κρόκῳ ἐν θ' ὑακίνθῳ

ἐν τε ἴωι θαλέθοντι ῥόδου τ' ἐνὶ ἄνθεϊ καλῶι

ἡδέϊ νεκταρέῳ ἐν τ' ἀμβροσίαις καλύκεσσιν

τ' ἄνθεσι ναρκίσσου καλλιρρόου δ' οἱατ' Ἀφροδίτῃ

ὦραις παντοίαις τεθυμένα εἵματα ἔστο.

1 χροῖ ἔστο τά Meineke: χροῖας τότε cod. 3 ὅσσα φέρουσ' Hecker: οἷα φοροῦσ' cod. 6 καὶ λειρίου Meineke: καλλίχροα Kaibel δι' Casaubon: τοῖ' Meineke

Although line 6 is hopelessly corrupt, it seems that Aphrodite, being the subject of the pluperfect *ἔστο*, must be the subject of the whole fragment. It must describe how she prepared herself for the beauty contest (Welcker ii. 88). As she was to win it, the emphasis was on her appearance, and it need not be supposed that the dressing of Hera and Athena was described in equal detail (Welcker ii. 89). There is a similar account of the Horai dressing Aphrodite in *Hymn. Hom.* 6. 6–13. The Charites bathe and dress her in *Od.* 8. 364 ~ *Hymn. Aphr.* 61–4, and Charites and Horai collaborate in adorning Pandora in *Hes. Op.* 73–5. For the typical theme of a goddess dressing and **(p.76)** adorning herself to meet her lover or seduce or impress someone see West (1997), 203–5.

The diction of the fragment is largely conventional:

1. εἶματα μὲν χροὶ ἔστο: cf. *Il.* 23. 67, *Od.* 17. 203, 23. 115, etc.
2. ἐν ἄνθεσιν εἰαρινοῖσιν: cf. *Hes. Th.* 279, *Op.* 75, *Il.* 2. 89.
3. ὅσσα φέρουσ' ὥραι: the manuscript's *φοροῦσ'* is defended by G. Parlato, *Lexis* 28 (2010), 291f., comparing *Call. Hymn.* 2. 81, where *φορέουσι* refers to Apollo's altars 'wearing' all the flowers that the Horai bring in springtime. She takes this to be an echo of the *Cypria* passage. But *φορέω* is less appropriate to the Horai's relationship to the flowers than *φέρω*, which is regularly used in such phrases. Cf. *Xen. Cyn.* 5. 34 ἀπέχεσθαι ὧν ὥραι φέρουσι; *Lycurg. fr.* xiv 2a ἀπάντων ὧν κατ' ἐκείνους τοὺς χρόνους αἱ ὥραι φέρουσιν; *Plut. Cimon* 10. 7 καρπῶν ἐτοίμων ἀπαρχὰς καὶ ὅσα ὥραι καλὰ φέρουσι; id. *Gracch.* 39. 3, *Def. orac.* 416a; *Longus* 2. 3. 3 ὅσα ὥραι φέρουσι πάντα... ἥρος ῥόδα καὶ κρίνα καὶ ὑάκινθοι καὶ ἴα; *Synes. Ep.* 80 ὅσα φέρουσιν ὥραι τοῖς γεωργοῖς; 106 ὅσα φέρουσιν ὥραι. These parallels also support ὅσσα in place of οἷα.
- 3–4. κρόκωι, ὑακίνθωι, ἴωι, ῥόδου: cf. *Hymn. Dem.* 6f., *Il.* 14. 348, *Hymn. Pan.* 25.
6. Meineke's καὶ λειρίου is attractive; cf. *Hymn. Dem.* 427f. λείρια... νάρκισσόν τε. But the syntax of the line is unclear, and δ' οἷα remains an obstacle to sense and metre. Kaibel's καλλίχροα· with Meineke's τοῖ' is a possible solution.
7. τεθυμένα εἶματα: cf. *Il.* 14. 172, *Hymn. Ap.* 184, *Aphr.* 63.

F 6 Ath. 682f (continuing from F 5)

οὗτος ὁ ποιητὴς καὶ τὴν τῶν στεφάνων χρῆσιν εἰδὼς φαίνεται δι' ὧν λέγει·

5

ἥ δὲ σὺν ἀμφιπόλοισι φιλομμειδῆς Ἀφροδίτῃ
 πλεζάμεναι στεφάνους εὐώδεας, ἄνθεα γαίης,
 ἂν κεφαλῇσιν ἔθεντο θεαὶ λιπαροκρήδεμνοι,
 Νύμφαι καὶ Χάριτες, ἅμα δὲ χρυσῇ Ἀφροδίτῃ,
 καλὸν αἰεΐδουσαι κατ' ὄρος πολυπιδάκου Ἰδης..

2 ἄνθεα ποίης Hecker 3 κεφαλῇσιν Meineke: -αῖσιν cod.

Here again the setting is Ida (*Salmasius* 599b, *Wüllner* 78). *Athenaeus* has quoted two passages that stood not far apart.

(p.77)

1–2. Meineke, who thought that the reading transmitted in 2 was *πλεζαμένη*, posited a lacuna after 2; Kaibel, who had the correct reading, posited one after 1. B. K. Braswell, *Glotta* 60 (1982), 221–5, has shown that no lacuna is necessary, 'Aphrodite with her attendants' being treated as a plural subject. There are good parallels in *Thuc.* 3. 109. 2 and *Xen. Hell.* 1. 1. 10, and perhaps *Diphilus fr.* 42. 39f. K.-A. Cf. *KG* i. 86; *Schwyzler-Debrunner* 608f.

2. στεφάνους εὐώδεας, ἄνθεα γαίης: cf. Hes. *Th.* 576 στεφάνους νεοθηλέας, ἄνθεα ποίης. The parallel favours Hecker's ἄνθεα ποίης, a phrase found also at *Od.* 9. 449 and elsewhere; cf. my note on Hes. l.c. But ἄνθεα γαίης occurs at Dion. Per. 754.

3. Cf. *Il.* 18. 382 Χάρις λιπαροκρήδεμνος. The transmitted -αῖσι in κεφαλαῖσι is paralleled only at *Hymn. Dem.* 368 cod.; Parlato 29f. is willing to give it credence as an Aeolic archaism.

5. καλὸν ἀείδουσαι: cf. *Il.* 1. 473, *Od.* 19. 519.

ὄρος πολυπιδάκου Ἰδης: cf. *Hymn. Aphr.* 54. In *Il.* 14. 157, 307, 20. 59, 218, 23. 117, πολυπιδάκου Ἰδης is a regular and ancient variant for πολυπίδακος Ἰδης, which should perhaps be read everywhere; cf. F. Sommer, *Zur Geschichte der griech. Nominal-komposita* (Munich 1948), 69f.

F 7* Naevius, *Cypria Ilias* fr. 1 Courtney (ex libro I) collum marmoreum torques gemmata coronat.

This is one of two fragments from Naevius' *Cypria Ilias*, which is assumed to have been a version of the Cyclic *Cypria*; cf. Edward Courtney, *The Fragmentary Latin Poets* (Oxford 1993), 108. Its book-divisions may have corresponded to those of the Greek epic.

Welcker ii. 520, following Wüllner 71, saw that this first fragment probably referred to Aphrodite's self-adornment before the beauty contest. So too W. Morel ap. Bethe iii. 191 and in his *Fragmenta Poetarum Latinorum* (Leipzig 1927), 51. For the sense cf. *Hymn. Aphr.* 88 ὄρμοι δ' ἄμφ' ἀπαλῇ δειρῇ περικαλλέες ἦσαν | καλοὶ χρύσειοι παμποίκιλοι.

Arg. 1c

καὶ προκρίνει τὴν Ἀφροδίτην ἐπαρθεὶς τοῖς Ἑλένης γάμοις Ἀλέξανδρος.

(p.78) Apollod. epit. 3. 2 αἱ δὲ ἐπαγγέλλονται δῶρα δώσειν Ἀλεξάνδρῳ. Ἥρα μὲν οὖν ἔφη προκριθεῖσα δώσειν βασιλείαν πάντων, Ἀθηνᾶ δὲ πολέμου νίκην, Ἀφροδίτῃ δὲ γάμον Ἑλένης.

Hyg. *Fab.* 92. 3 cui Iuno, si secundum se iudicasset, pollicita est in omnibus terris eum regnatum, diuitem praeter ceteros praestaturum; Minerua, si inde uictrix discederet, fortissimum inter mortales futurum et omni artificio scium; Venus autem Helenam Tyndarei filiam formosissimam omnium mulierum se in coniugium dare promisit.

Hermes and the three goddesses perhaps found Paris diverting himself with a lyre, as Aphrodite finds Anchises in *Hymn. Aphr.* 80; so he is shown on some vases, and his κίθαρις is mentioned by Hector in *Il.* 3. 54.¹⁷ From c.570 on he is sometimes depicted fleeing or turning away in fright from the divine apparition, and this too may reflect the *Cypria*.¹⁸ Cf. Anchises' alarm on the appearance of Aphrodite in *Hymn. Aphr.* 181–3 and other passages cited by N. J. Richardson on *Hymn. Dem.* 188–90 (to which add [Hes.] fr. 165. 4; Call. *Hymn.* 6. 59; Naev. *Trag.* 43). In *Ov. Her.* 16. 67f. Paris recalls that *obstipui, gelidusque comas erexerat horror*, | *cum mihi 'pone metum' nuntius ales ait*; this could be a direct echo of the *Cypria*, as the god telling the mortal not to be afraid (θάρασει) is typical of early epic, cf. *Il.* 24. 171, *Hymn. Aphr.* 193, *Hymn.* 7. 55. For the hair standing on

end cf. *Il.* 24. 359 (Priam on sighting Hermes) ὀρθαὶ δὲ τρίχες ἔσταν ἐνὶ γναμπτοῖσι μέλεσσιν. In Colluthus 123 Paris just jumps up and turns away: δειμαίνων δ' ἀνόρουσε, θεῶν δ' ἀλέεινεν ὀπωπὴν.

Each of the goddesses made a speech, offering Paris a bribe: Hera, if he chose her, would give him kingship over all, Athena victory in war, and Aphrodite the world's loveliest woman. So what is supposed to be a beauty contest becomes in effect a choice between three alternative life ideals for a man. A genuine hero such as Achilles would have gone for success in battle and the lasting fame that follows from it; he would have awarded the victory to Athena. But Paris was not such a hero. The poet of *Il.* 24. [29–30] brands him as the man

ὃς νείκεσσε θεάς, ὅτε οἱ μέσσαυλον ἵκοντο τὴν δ' ἥνησ', ἥ οἱ πόρε μαχλοσύνην ἀλεγεινήν.

(p.79) In the version known to him, then, Paris not only rejected the claims of Hera and Athena but explicitly disparaged them.

The Judgment was often depicted in art, the earliest representations being a Proto-Corinthian Olpe dated c.630 and an ivory comb from Sparta of c.620 (*LIMC* Paridis Iudicium 26 and 22). Hermes is regularly shown conducting the goddesses. When they are differentiated, they are usually lined up in the order Hera, Athena, Aphrodite: *LIMC* Paridis Iudicium 1, 2, 14, 15, 20, 22, 26, 42. They are named in the same sequence in the epigram that accompanied the scene on the Chest of Cypselus (Paus. 5. 19. 5). It is also the order in which they made their offer speeches in Cratinus' *Dionysalexandros* (Hypothesis, *PCG* iv. 140) and in which they appear in Isocrates (10. 41 f.) and Apollodorus (above). It is very probably the order in which they addressed Paris in the *Cypria*.¹⁹

Proclus, Apollodorus, and Hyginus all suggest that Aphrodite identified the woman on offer as Helen. But it is possible that she spoke initially only of 'the most beautiful woman on earth' and explained who this was after Paris had awarded her the victory. This seems the best place to locate the account of the birth of the Dioskouroi and Helen from which F 10 comes; see just below on F 9.

The Birth Story of the Dioskouroi and Helen

F 9 Clem. Protr. 2. 30. 5

προσίτω δὲ καὶ ὁ τὰ Κυπριακὰ ποιήματα γράψας·

Κάστωρ μὲν θνητός, θανάτου δὲ οἱ αἴσα πέπρωται,

αὐτὰρ ὃ γ' ἀθάνατος Πολυδεύκης, ὄζος Ἄρης.

The lines most likely belonged with the account of the Dioskouroi's birth implied by F 10. 1 τοὺς δὲ μέτα (Henrichsen 38). They may have stood immediately before F 10. Leda was impregnated by Zeus and by her husband Tyndareos at about the same time, and

Castor came from Tyndareos' seed, Polydeukes from Zeus':²⁰ hence only Polydeukes was immortal. But both were known as the Dioskouroi, and there is no serious contradiction with F 10. 1 where Zeus has **(p.80)** evidently been said to father both of them. Pindar is guilty of the same inconsistency in *Nem.* 10. 56 and 80.

The tense of *πέπρωται* (in which we note the Attic correption, cf. intro. 7) implies that the lines come from a speech, presumably by a god or a seer. This suggests that the account of the brothers' birth and Helen's may have been related by Aphrodite to Paris as she explained who the people were that he was to encounter in Sparta.²¹

F 10 Ath. 334b

ὁ τὰ Κύπρια ποιήσας ἔπη, εἴτε Κυπρίας τίς ἐστίν ἢ Σταῖνος ἢ ὅστις δὴ ποτε χαίρει
ὀνομαζόμενος, τὴν Νέμεσιν ποιεῖ διωκομένην ὑπὸ Διὸς καὶ εἰς ἰχθὺν μεταμορφουμένην
διὰ τούτων·

τοὺς δὲ μετὰ τριτάτην Ἑλένην τέκε, θαῦμα βροτοῖσιν·

· · · · ·
τὴν ποτε καλλίκομος Νέμεσις φιλότῃ μιγεῖσα

Ζηνὶ θεῶν βασιλῆϊ τέκε κρατερῆς ὑπ' ἀνάγκης.

φεῦγε γάρ, οὐδ' ἔθελεν μιχθήμεναι ἐν φιλότῃ

5

πατρὶ Διὶ Κρονίωνι· ἐτείρετο γὰρ φρένας αἰδοῖ

καὶ νεμέσει· κατὰ γῆν δὲ καὶ ἀτρύγετον μέλαν ὕδωρ

φεῦγε, Ζεὺς δ' ἐδίωκε, λαβεῖν δ' ἐλιλαίετο θυμῷ,

ἄλλοτε μὲν κατὰ κῦμα πολυφλοίσβοιο θαλάσσης

ἰχθυὶ εἰδομένην, πόντον πολὺν ἐξοροθύνων,

10

ἄλλοτ' ἂν' Ὠκεανὸν ποταμὸν καὶ πείρατα γαίης,

ἄλλοτ' ἂν' ἥπειρον πολυβώλακα· γίνετο δ' αἰεὶ

θηρί', ὅσ' ἥπειρος αἰνὰ τρέφει, ὄφρα φύγοι μιν.

(Ath.) *Κυπρίας* Severyns: *Κύπριος* cod. (fr.) 1 τοὺς Wüllner: τοῖς cod. post h.v. lac.
stat. Welcker 9 ἐξοροθύνων Wakefield: ἐξοροθυνεν cod. 12 δεινὰ Welcker νιν cod.

As third after the Dioskouroi he begot Helen.²² She is not, as usual, the daughter of Leda (who becomes her foster-mother: Apollodorus, below) but of the goddess Nemesis, the personification of public (p.81) disapproval. Helen's elopement was eminently a matter for dis-approval; the man who took her away was turning his back on νέμεσις and αἰδώς ([Hes.] fr. 204. 82). The senior citizens of Troy, however, when they saw her beauty, had to admit that there was no νέμεσις attached to fighting a war over it (*Il.* 3. 156). She is made the daughter of Nemesis in the same spirit as when Euripides makes her the daughter of Alastor, Phthonos, Phonos, and Thanatos (*Tro.* 768f.). This originally had nothing to do with the cult of Nemesis at Rhamnous in Attica. Cratinus brought them together in his *Nemesis* (PCG iv. 179–85), and this is the source of the association found in later writers, as in Call. *H.* 3. 232 Ἐλένηι Παμνουσίδι.

In the attempt to elude Zeus Nemesis transforms herself into a succession of different creatures. The motif is transferred from Thetis (cf. above on F 3) (Lesky, *RE* xix. 298; Davies (1989), 39). But in addition to that she flees before him across land and sea, even to the ends of the earth.

The language of the fragment has a distinctly Hesiodic cast:

1. τοὺς δὲ μέτα: so in genealogical contexts Hes. *Th.* 137, 381, [Hes.] fr. 26. 31, 35. 13, cf. *Carm. Naup.* 1. 1.
- τριτάτην: for the explicit 'as third' cf. *Il.* 14. 117, 15. 188, with West (2007), 118. The whole line has a similar pattern to *Od.* 11. 287 τοῖσι δ' ἔπ' ἰφθίμην Πηρῶ τέκε, θαῦμα βροτοῖσιν. After it there probably came an explanation of θαῦμα βροτοῖσιν in terms of Helen's extra-ordinary beauty; ποτε in 3 then signals the return to the birth story.²³
3. Ζηνὶ θεῶν βασιλῆϊ: cf. Hes. *Th.* 886 Ζεὺς δὲ θεῶν βασιλεύς with my note; Parlato 13f. Zeus is never called βασιλεύς in Homer (nor ἄναξ of the gods). κρατερῆς ὑπ' ἀνάγκης: Hes. *Th.* 517.
4. μιχθήμεναι ἐν φιλότῃ: cf. Hes. *Th.* 306 μιγήμεναι ἐν φιλότῃ.
5. πατρὶ Διὶ Κρονίωνι: cf. Hes. *Op.* 259 Διὶ πατρὶ ... Κρονίῳ.
- 5–6. αἰδοῖ | καὶ νεμέσει: for this pairing cf. *Il.* 13. 122, Hes. *Op.* 200 with my note, [Hes.] fr. 204. 82. For αἰδοῖ so placed (where (p.82) it cannot be read as αἰδοῖ) cf. [Hes.] *Sc.* 354, and Hes. *Op.* 324 αἰδῶ, *Od.* 20. 171 αἰδοῦς; Schmitt 15; Parlato 6f.
- κατὰ γῆν δὲ καὶ ἀτρύγετον μέλαν ὕδωρ: new phrasing, adapted from formulae such as Hes. *Th.* 413 γαίης τε καὶ ἀτρύγετοιο θαλάσσης, cf. 728, *Il.* 14. 204. Cf. Curti 41; Parlato 14–16.
7. φεῦγε, Ζεὺς δ' ἐδίωκε: cf. *Il.* 22. 158 πρόσθε μὲν ἐσθλὸς ἔφευγε, δίωκε δέ μιν μέγ' ἀμείνων.
- λαβεῖν δ' ἐλὶλαίετο θυμῷ: cf. Hes. *Th.* 665 πολέμου δ' ἐλὶλαίετο θυμός.
8. κατὰ κῦμα πολυφλοίσβοιο θαλάσσης: *Hymn. Hom.* 6. 4, Archil. 13. 3.
9. ἰχθυῖ: editors have always printed ἰχθύϊ, but Schmitt 16 points out that dative -υι is regularly contracted in Homer except in monosyllabic roots such as δρυῖ. Cf. *Il.* 16. 526, 22. 458, etc.

πόντον πολὺν: cf. Hes. *Op.* 635 πολὺν ... πόντον.

ἐξοροθύνων: cf. Parlato 17f.

10. Cf. *Od.* 11. 639 κατ' Ὠκεανὸν ποταμόν; *Il.* 14. 200f. πείρατα γαίης, | Ὠκεανόν τε κτλ. The line awkwardly disrupts the antithesis 'in the sea... on land' (Griffin 50).

11. ἡπειρον πολυβόλακα: cf. *Od.* 13. 235 ἐριβόλακος ἡπείροιο.

12. Cf. Hes. *Th.* 582 κνώδαλ' ὅσ' ἡπειρος δεινὰ (v.l. πολλὰ) τρέφει, *Hymn. Aphr.* 4f. θηρία πάντα, | ἡμὲν ὅσ' ἡπειρος πολλὰ τρέφει. The limitation to land creatures is somewhat inept in the present context.

μιν: the transmitted νιν can be defended by citing *Hymn. Aphr.* 280 codd. and *CEG* 455 (Amorgos, c.550–500?) (Schmitt 21, Parlato 34f.), but the usual epic μιν is an easy correction.

F 11 Philod. *De pietate* B 7369 Obbink

Νέμε] σίν τ' ὁ τὰ Κύ[πρια γ]ράψας ὁμοιωθέ[ν]τα χηνὶ καὶ αὐτ[ὸν] διώκειν, καὶ μιγέν[το]ς ὦϊόν τεκεῖν, [ἐξ] οὗ γενέσθαι τὴν [Ἑλ]ένην.

Apollod. 3. 10. 7

λέγουσι δὲ ἔνιοι Νεμέσεως Ἑλένην εἶναι καὶ Διός· ταύτην γὰρ τὴν Διὸς φεύγουσαν συνουσίαν εἰς χῆνα τὴν μορφὴν μεταβαλεῖν, ὁμοιωθέντα δὲ καὶ Δία ἱτῶι κύκνωι† (del. Lupre) συνελθεῖν· τὴν δὲ ὦϊόν ἐκ τῆς συνουσίας ἀποτεκεῖν.

(p.83) τοῦτο δὲ ἐν τοῖς ἄλσεσιν εὐρόντα τινὰ ποιμένα Λήδαι κομίσαντα δοῦναι, τὴν δὲ καταθεμένην εἰς λάρνακα φυλάσσειν· καὶ χρόνῳ γεννηθεῖσαν Ἑλένην ὡς ἐξ αὐτῆς θυγατέρα τρέφειν.

Zeus has apparently been matching Nemesis' metamorphoses. When she turns into a goose, he becomes a gander, and in that form he catches her. The point of this fowl play is that Helen is to be born from a large egg, which a shepherd will find and bring to Leda. Sappho fr. 166 seems to allude to this version (but has Leda herself find the egg).

Cratinus in his *Nemesis* (see above) made Zeus turn into a swan instead of a goose; hence the confusion in some later sources, including the collocation of goose and swan in Apollodorus (where the swan is excised by W. Lupre, *Phil.* 118 (1974), 195). Cf. sch. Call. *H.* 3. 232; sch. Lyc. 88; [Eratosth.] *Catast.* 25; Paus. 1. 33. 7. We have Philodemus' explicit testimony that in the *Cypria* he became a gander.

Preparations for the Voyage to Sparta

Arg. 1d

ἔπειτα δὲ Ἀφροδίτης ὑποθεμένης ναυπηγεῖται. καὶ Ἑλενος περὶ τῶν μελλόντων αὐτοῖς προθεσπίζει. καὶ ἡ Ἀφροδίτη Αἰνείαν συμπλεῖν αὐτῶι κελεύει. καὶ Κασσάνδρα περὶ τῶν μελλόντων προδηλοῖ.

Apollod. epit. 3. 2 ὁ δὲ Ἀφροδίτην προκρίνει, καὶ πηξαμένου Φερέκλου νῆας εἰς Σπάρτην ἐκπλέει.

F 8 Sch. (D) Il. 3. 443

Ἀλέξανδρος υἱὸς Πριάμου Τροίας βασιλέως, ὁ καὶ Πάρις ἐπικαλούμενος, Ἀφροδίτης ἐπιταγῇ ναυπηγήσαντος αὐτῷ ναῦς Ἀρμονίδου ἢ κατὰ τινὰς τῶν νεωτέρων Φερέκλου τοῦ τέκτονος, μετὰ Ἀφροδίτης (Αἰνείου?) ἦλθεν εἰς Λακεδαίμονα τὴν Μενελάου πόλιν.

Phereklos, son of Tekton, son of Harmon—carpentry evidently ran in the family—is already known to the *Iliad* poet as the builder of the fatal ships: 5. 59–64, (p.84)

Μηριόνης δὲ Φέρεκλον ἐνήρατο Τέκτονος υἱόν

Ἀρμονίδεω, ὃς χερσὶν ἐπίστατο δαίδαλα πάντα

τεύχειν· ἔξοχα γάρ μιν ἐφίλατο Παλλὰς Ἀθήνη·

ὃς καὶ Ἀλεξάνδρωι τεκτήνατο νῆας εἵσας

ἀρχεκάκους, αἱ πᾶσι κακὸν Τρώεσσι γέγοντο

οἳ τ' αὐτῷ, ἐπεὶ οὗ τι θεῶν ἔκ θεόφρατα εἶδη.

Aristarchus wilfully misinterpreted the passage so that he could claim that the *Cypria* was derivative from it. He took τέκτονος as the common noun and Harmonides as the antecedent of the relative clause; if Phereklos was identified as the shipwright in the *Cypria*, so Aristarchus maintained, it was through a misconstruction of the *Iliad* passage. Hence the wording in the D scholium, 'Harmonides, or according to some of the later poets Phereklos'.

It is not self-evident why new ships had to be built for the adventure. Were the Trojans supposed not to have had ships before that time? And why was more than one ship needed?²⁴ Was it because Aeneas was to go too? But his role is obscure. He is Aphrodite's son, so she may readily call on him to accompany Paris if he needs to be accompanied, but it is not clear why he does. We hear of nothing that Aeneas said or did at Sparta, and we cannot see what was to be gained by his presence.²⁵ For a hypothesis that may contribute something to the question see below on arg. 2d.

The shipbuilding may have been the occasion for a woodcutting scene on Ida, like that in *Il.* 23. 110–26; cf. on *Little Iliad* arg. 4a. Euripides refers to the felling of the trees for Paris' ship in *Hec.* 631–4 and *Hel.* 229–35, but he does likewise for the Argo in *Med.* 3f., so this does not necessarily reflect the *Cypria*. Cf. also *Lyc.* 24; *Ov. Her.* 16. 105–12; *Colluth.* 195f.; *Jouan* 179.

The preparations for the voyage were punctuated by prophetic warnings from both Helenos and Cassandra. Two prophecies seem excessive, but there were two people in Troy with prophetic powers and the poet saw fit to put them both to work. Helenos'

warnings seem to have been addressed to Paris (who, however, in *Il.* 5. 64 is said to have been ignorant of prophecies) together with his **(p.85)** shipwright. Welcker inferred that Cassandra's warnings were addressed to the Trojans at large.²⁶

The fact that Proclus takes note of these prophecy scenes indicates that they were of some substance. A fragment from one of them may perhaps be recognized in:

F 29 Plat. *Euthyphro* 12a

λέγω γὰρ δὴ τὸ ἐναντίον ἢ ὁ ποιητὴς ἐποίησεν ὁ ποιήσας·

Ζῆνα δὲ τὸν τ' ἔρξαντα καὶ ὃς τάδε πάντ' ἐφύτευσεν

οὐκ ἐθέλει νεικεῖν· ἵνα γὰρ δέος, ἔνθα καὶ αἰδώς.

1 τ' ἔρξαντα Merkelbach: θ' ἔρξ-, στέρξ- codd. Plat.: ῥέξ- Stob.: ἔρξ- Nauck 379 2
ἐθέλει νεικεῖν Burnet, ἐθέλειν εἴκειν fere schol.: ἐθέλειν vel -εις εἶπειν codd.
Plat., Stob., *Mantissa*

The scholiast identifies the source: εἴρηται δὲ ἐκ τῶν Στασίνου Κυπρίων; likewise Stob. 3. 31. 12 Στασίνου ἐκ τῶν Κυπρίων· Ζῆνα – αἰδώς; *Mantissa* proverb. 1. 71. 2 (*Corp. Paroem.* ii. 755. 10, from sch. Plat.).

The lines come from a speech in which it is reported that a certain god or goddess is inhibited by fear from openly railing at Zeus, the agent responsible who planted the seeds of 'all this'. I conjecture that the speaker was Helenos, who in *Il.* 7. 44–53 proves able to listen in on gods' conversations, and that the context was his warning speech before Paris' embarkation. The deity who is not railing at Zeus will be the one who often does, Hera. Although she is not speaking out openly against his scheming (the ulterior purpose of which she does not comprehend), she is going to cause trouble for Paris and for Troy.

The second sentence ἵνα – αἰδώς is quoted on its own by Plutarch, *Agis et Cleom.* 30. 6 and *De cohibenda ira* 459d, and appears in the paroemiographers (Diogenian. 5. 30; Apostol. 9. 6). It is already echoed by Epicharmus fr. 228 K.-A., ἔνθα δέος, ἐνταῦθα καὶ αἰδώς, and the idea is given a political application in Aesch. *Eum.* 517–25, Soph. *Aj.* 1073–6. For the association of δέος and αἰδώς cf. *Il.* 15. 657f. and *Hymn. Dem.* 190 with Richardson.

(p.86) F 29a (new) Anon., P. Oxy. 5094 fr. 1. 4–9

Δη[μήτ]ριος δ' ὁ Σκ[ήψιος] | κ[αὶ] τί[χ]ον φησὶ[μετὰ] | τοῦτ[ο]ν φέρεσθα[ι· “ἰφθί]μη,
μ[οῦ]νη θυγά[τ]ηρ | κλειτοῖο Δύμαν[τος].” | ὥς δ' ὁ τὰ Κύπρια, A[

In *ZPE* 183 (2012) I have presented a new restoration of the fragment and shown that the 'daughter of famed Dymas' is almost certainly to be understood as Hekabe, who in Homer is the daughter of a Phrygian Dymas (*Il.* 16. 718). The citation of Demetrius of Scepsis a few lines before also points to a Trojan context. The verse fragment may come

from one of the other Cyclic poems in which Hekabe appeared (the *Iliou Persis*?). The *Cypria* was then cited for some additional or variant detail, presumably relating to Hekabe's parentage. The scholia on *Il.* 16. 718 cite Euripides and others for her father being Kisseus. In the *Cypria* it was perhaps someone with a name beginning A[. The brachylogical expression ὁ τὰ Κύπρια (without ποιήσας or the like) has many parallels, see Nauck 377f.

Hekabe's father was most likely to be named when she was first introduced. That must have been in an episode set inside Troy. The only such episodes we know of in the *Cypria* were when Paris was preparing for his voyage to Sparta, when he returned to Troy with Helen and celebrated their marriage, and when Menelaos and Odysseus went into the city to demand her return. The first of these, in which Helenos and Cassandra made their prophecies, seems the most favourable for an appearance of Hekabe.

There is no evidence that the *Cypria* contained the story of Hekabe's dream of giving birth to a firebrand and of the resulting exposure of the infant Paris on Ida. So rightly (*pace* Jouan 135–7) Wilamowitz, *Griech. Tragödien* iii (3rd edn, Berlin 1910), 260 n. 1; Bethe 232 n. 7.

The Stay with the Dioskouroi

Arg. 2a

ἐπιβὰς δὲ τῇ Λακεδαιμονίᾳ Ἀλέξανδρος ξενίζεται παρὰ τοῖς Τυνδαρίδαις, καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα ἐν τῇ Σπάρτῃ παρὰ Μενελάῳ.

After docking at Gythion Paris made his way up towards Sparta, naturally passing through Amyklai, the home of the Dioskouroi. His preliminary stay with them, passed over by Apollodorus, was no (p.87) doubt made on Aphrodite's instructions. It cannot have been crucial for Paris' mission, but it provided the opportunity to introduce these important figures and account for their absence from the Trojan War.

F 15 Paus. 3. 16. 1

πλησίον δὲ Ἰλαείρας καὶ Φοίβης ἐστὶν ἱερόν· ὁ δὲ ποιήσας τὰ ἔπη τὰ Κύπρια θυγατέρας αὐτὰς Ἀπόλλωνός φησιν εἶναι.

These are the Leukippides, their mortal father being Leukippos, brother of Aphareus. They are mentioned together with Apollo in a commentary on Alcman, *PMGF* 8. They were perhaps introduced in the *Cypria* as the wives of the Dioskouroi (Welcker ii. 92). On their cult see R. Kannicht on Eur. *Hel.* 1465–7.

In later sources (first in fourth-century art; then Theoc. 22. 137–211) they are the cause of the dispute between the Apharetidai, to whom they had been promised, and the Dioskouroi, who abducted them. In the *Cypria*, however, the dispute was differently motivated (below, arg. 3).

The stay with the Dioskouroi might also have been the occasion for recounting the earlier

abduction of Helen, if the following testimony relates to the *Cypria*:

F 12* Sch. (D) II. 3. 242

Ἑλένη ... πρότερον ὑπὸ Θησέως ἡρπάσθη, καθὼς προεῖρηται (sch. 3. 144, =Hellanicus fr. 168c Fowler). διὰ γὰρ τὴν τότε γενομένην ἄρπαγὴν Ἄφιδνα πόλις Ἀττικῆς πορθεῖται, καὶ τιτρώσκεται Κάστωρ ὑπὸ Ἀφίδνου τοῦ τότε βασιλέως κατὰ τὸν δεξιὸν μηρόν. οἱ δὲ Διόσκουροι Θησέως μὴ τυχόντες λαφυραγωγοῦσιν τὰς Ἀθήνας. ἡ ἱστορία παρὰ τοῖς πολεμωνίοις† (παρὰ Πολέμωνι Fabricius) ἢ τοῖς κυκλικοῖς, καὶ ἀπὸ μέρους παρὰ Ἀλκμᾶνι τῷ λυρικοῦ (PMGF 21).

Apollod. 3. 10. 7 (immediately after the passage quoted under F 11) tells the story of Helen's capture by Theseus and the seizure of Aphidna by the Dioskouroi. They recovered Helen and took Theseus' mother Aithra captive. She became Helen's servant, eventually to be recovered from Troy by her grandsons in the *Little Iliad* and *Iliou Persis*. When the Homeric scholiast cites οἱ κυκλικοί he could be referring to one of those epics. So there is no certainty that the Aphidna episode appeared in the *Cypria*. If it did, the Dioskouroi (p.88) themselves may have related it to Paris and Aeneas during their brief stay (Anderson 98f.). A prudent guest might have taken the hint that any abduction of Helen was liable to have had consequences for the abductor's city.

The poet was later to tell of the fatal dispute between the Dioskouroi and the Apharetidai (arg. 3, F 9, 16, 17). Lycophron 538–49 says that the trouble, instigated by Zeus, began with angry words at a feast at the time when the Dioskouroi were playing the host to Paris. This must somehow be based on the *Cypria*, for it was only there that Paris and the Dioskouroi crossed paths. In Proclus, however, his stay with them is separated from the account of their battle with the Apharetidai by his stay with Menelaos, abduction of Helen, and roundabout return voyage to Troy. But there is some unclarity about the exact sequence of events. We read that Paris was entertained by the Tyndaridai, and *after that* (μετὰ ταῦτα) by Menelaos—here the story of the seduction follows, with the voyage to Sidon and return to Troy—and *meanwhile* (ἐν τούτῳ δέ) Castor and Polydeukes had been caught stealing cattle, which led to the fatal battle. We cannot be certain that this is a faithful reflection of the order of presentation in the poem. There seem to be other instances where Proclus may have taken things out of sequence in order to follow a story through and keep connected events together: see on *Aethiopis* arg. 1d, *Iliou Persis* arg. 2d, 4b, 3, *Nostoi* F 9.

F. Staehlin, *Phil.* 62 (1903), 186f., argued that for Paris to succeed in abducting Helen it was necessary for the Dioskouroi as well as Menelaos to be removed from the scene, and that this was the poet's motive in making the quarrel break out just when Paris was there. It is not clear that the Dioskouroi in Amyklai had to be incapacitated before the abduction from Sparta could be completed, but still, it had to be explained why they failed to go in pursuit of the abductor (cf. Gruppe 667) and why they took no part in the expedition against Troy. The *Iliad* refers to their death, or at least their disappearance from earthly life, sometime after Helen left Sparta (3. 236–44).

Paris' departure from their house must have led directly to his reception at Menelaos'.

The account of the battle with the Apharetidai, if it was not deferred till after Paris completed his return home (where it appears in Proclus), will have been put in at some point where the story of Paris and Helen could conveniently be interrupted: perhaps during the uneventful nine days before **(p.89)** Menelaos left for Crete, or after they had been blown out into eastern waters.

The Stay with Menelaos. the Seduction and Flight

Arg. 2b

καὶ Ἑλένη παρὰ τὴν εὐωχίαν δίδωσι δῶρα ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος. καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα Μενέλαος εἰς Κρήτην ἐκπλεῖ, κελεύσας τὴν Ἑλένην τοῖς ξένοις τὰ ἐπιτήδεια παρέχειν ἕως ἂν ἀπαλλαγῶσιν. ἐν τούτῳ δὲ Ἀφροδίτη συνάγει τὴν Ἑλένην τῷ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ.

Apollod. epit. 3. 3 ἐφ' ἡμέρας δὲ ἐννέα ξενισθεὶς παρὰ Μενελάῳ, τῇ δεκάτῃ, πορευθέντος εἰς Κρήτην ἐκείνου κηδεῦσαι τὸν μητροπάτορα Κατρεά, πείθει τὴν Ἑλένην ἀπαγαγεῖν σὺν ἑαυτῷ.

The nine-day hospitality is an epic motif and must have come in the *Cypria*, perhaps with the same verse as *Il.* 6. 174, ἐννῆμαρ ξείνισσε καὶ ἐννέα βοῦς ἰέρευσεν; cf. also Apollod. 1. 8. 2 (Oineus at Calydon).²⁷ During this time Paris was plying Helen with gifts, perhaps secretly. Normally a guest is a receiver of gifts, not a giver. When the tenth day came a messenger arrived with the news that the Cretan Katreus, the father of Menelaos' mother Aërope, had died; or perhaps Menelaos just announced that he had to go to Crete for his grandfather's funeral, without giving details of how the news had come. Some such special circumstance was necessary to motivate his departure from home while guests were there. (For travelling abroad for a funeral cf. *Il.* 23. 679f.) He left the house in Helen's care, enjoining her to look after the guests well for the remainder of their stay. (Ha.) Once he was out of the way, Aphrodite came to Helen and persuaded her to meet Paris in private.

Alcidamas, *Od.* 18, substitutes a different motive for Menelaos' departure to Crete, but then describes things more or less in line with the *Cypria*: πλεῖν αὐτῷ ἔδοξε, καὶ ἐπιστείλας τῇ γυναικὶ καὶ τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς (αὐτῆς) ἐπιμελεῖσθαι τῶν ξένων, ἵνα μηδενὸς ἔσονται ἐνδεεῖς ἕως ἂν αὐτὸς ἔλθῃ ἐκ Κρήτης, ὃ μὲν ὦιχετο. Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ αὐτοῦ τὴν γυναικὰ ἐξαπατήσας, ἐκ τῶν οἴκων λαβὼν ὅσα πλεῖστα ἐδύνατο, ἀποπλέων ὦιχετο. **(p.90)** The differences are that here the Dioskouroi seem to be part of the household and that Helen is somehow tricked.

F 13* Naevius, *Cypria Ilias* fr. 2 Courtney (ex libro II) penetrat penitus thalamoque potitur.

On this Naevius cf. above on F 7*. Wüllner 73 and Welcker ii. 520 conjectured that the fragment referred to Paris in Menelaos' house; so too W. Morel ap. Bethe iii. 191, and it is hard to think of an alternative. It looks as if Paris has received encouragement from Helen and makes his way to her chamber, probably after nightfall.

Arg. 2c

καὶ μετὰ τὴν μίξιν τὰ πλεῖστα κτήματα ἐνθήμενοι νυκτὸς ἀποπλέουσι.

Apollod. epit. 3. 3 ἡ δὲ ἐνναέτη Ἑρμιόνην καταλιποῦσα, ἐνθεμένη τὰ πλεῖστα τῶν χρημάτων, ἀνάγεται τῆς νυκτὸς σὺν αὐτῷ.

Proclus indicates that the pair made love before embarking. *Il.* 3. 443–5 has a different version, according to which Paris ‘seized’ Helen from Sparta (ἔπλεον ἀρπάξας) and then made love to her on an offshore island. The amount of valuable property that the couple took away with them, however, is a recurrent theme in the *Iliad*: 3. 70–2, 285, 7. 350, 363, 389, 13. 626, 22. 14–16. Helen’s abandonment of her young daughter is also firmly established in the tradition, cf. *Il.* 3. 175, *Od.* 4. 263, Sappho 16. 10.

Diversion to the Eastern Mediterranean

Arg. 2d

χειμῶνα δὲ αὐτοῖς ἐφίστησιν Ἥρα, καὶ προσενεχθεὶς Σιδῶνι ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος αἰρεῖ τὴν πόλιν.

Apollod. epit. 3. 4 Ἥρα δὲ αὐτοῖς ἐπιπέμπει χειμῶνα πολὺν, ὑφ’ οὗ βιασθέντες προσίσχουσι Σιδῶνι. εὐλαβούμενος δὲ Ἀλέξανδρος μὴ διωχθῇ πολὺν διέτριψε χρόνον ἐν Φοινίκῃ καὶ Κύπρῳ.

Sch. (D) *Il.* 6. 291, “ἡγαγε Σιδονίηθεν”: κλέψας γὰρ τὴν Ἑλένην ἀπὸ Λακεδαιμόνος οὐχ ἦν ἡλθεν ὁδὸν οὐδὲ τὸν κατ’ εὐθεΐαν πλοῦν ἐπορεύθη, ἵνα μὴ διωχθεὶς καταληφθῇ, ἀλλ’ ἐπλευσε διὰ τῆς Αἰγύπτου καὶ Φοινίκης. παριὼν οὖν διὰ τῆς Σιδῶνος κάκεῖθεν γυναῖκας ἔξω τοῦ ἄστεως εὐρὼν ἔλαβε τρόπῳ ληιστρικῷ. Cf. sch. A b T.

(p.91) Hera, being the goddess of marriage and at the same time one of the two whom Paris has affronted by preferring Aphrodite, obstructs the lovers’ return to Troy by sending a storm.²⁸ Their ship is blown eastwards towards Cyprus and Phoenicia, where Paris takes Sidon, just as if he were a normal warrior hero. It is mentioned in *Il.* 6. 289–92 that he brought Helen to Troy by way of Sidon and that he acquired some skilled women weavers there. The Homeric scholiast gives an account of how he got the women that does not involve a sack of the city and is more suited to a small company of men. But he does not claim, as Proclus does, to be citing the *Cypria*.

In *Il.* 11. 20 the legendary priest-king Cinyras is mentioned as having been ruler of Cyprus when Agamemnon was assembling forces for the war.²⁹ It seems very likely that the poet of the *Cypria* brought him into the story of Paris’ and Helen’s visit to Cyprus, perhaps as their host. It appears not to have been an eventful stay, as Proclus passes over it without a word.

It is hard to believe that Aeneas, who had accompanied Paris to Sparta, was involved in any of this. We may guess that he sailed in a different ship and that Hera targeted only that of Paris and Helen with her storm. Aeneas then presumably returned straight to Troy and reported what had happened, so that the Trojans could prepare for Paris’

return.

There is a notorious problem raised by a passage in Herodotus. In 2. 113–15 he claims to have heard from the priests at Memphis a story of how Paris and Helen were blown to Egypt. He tries to reconcile this with the *Iliad* passage on the grounds that Sidon is not far from the borders of Egypt:

F 14 Herod. 2. 116. 6–117

ἐν τούτοισι τοῖσι ἔπεσι δηλοῖ (Ὅμηρος) ὅτι ἠπίστατο τὴν ἐς Αἴγυπτον Ἀλεξάνδρου πλάνην· ὁμοῦρεϊ γὰρ ἡ Συρίη Αἰγύπτωι, (p.92) οἱ δὲ Φοίνικες, τῶν ἐστι ἡ Σιδῶν, ἐν τῇ Συρίῃ οἰκέουσι. κατὰ ταῦτα δὲ τὰ ἔπεα καὶ τότε τὸ χωρίον οὐκ ἦκιστα ἀλλὰ μάλιστα δηλοῖ ὅτι οὐκ Ὁμήρου τὰ Κύπρια ἔπεά ἐστι ἀλλ' ἄλλου τινός· ἐν μὲν γὰρ τοῖσι Κυπρίοισι εἴρηται ὡς τριταῖος ἐκ Σπάρτης Ἀλέξανδρος ἀπῖκετο ἐς τὸ Ἴλιον ἄγων Ἑλένην, εὐαεῖ τε πνεύματι χρησάμενος καὶ θαλάσσει λείῃ· ἐν δὲ Ἰλιάδι λέγει ὡς ἐπλάζετο ἄγων αὐτήν.

Two of the verses that Herodotus is paraphrasing may be reconstructed as

ἔπλεον εὐαεῖ τ' ἀνέμωι λείῃ τε θαλάσσει.

ἤματι δὲ τριτάτῳ Τροίην ἐρίβωλον ἵκοντο.

For the first line cf. *Od.* 14. 253, for the second *Il.* 9. 363, 18. 67, 23. 215.

Apparently Herodotus knew a shorter version of the *Cypria* in which the oriental diversion was eliminated. The native Cypriot version, we may assume, did not omit the episode which brought Paris and Helen to Cyprus itself.³⁰ In this version the verses that Herodotus cites might have been used for Aeneas' straightforward voyage back to Troy.

Paris was evidently represented as tarrying longer in eastern waters than the diversion by a storm would warrant; hence the motivation given by Apollodorus and the Homer scholiast, his fear of being followed from Sparta, perhaps by the Dioskouroi, who had pursued their sister's earlier abductor, Theseus. The scholiast adds Egypt to the countries that Paris visited; this would make his wanderings more like those of Menelaos (*Od.* 4. 83 *Κύπρον Φοινίκην τε καὶ Αἰγυπτίους ἐπαληθείς*), and it would have given Herodotus' priests a firmer handle for their fiction. Stesichorus' story of the substitution of a phantom for Helen, who stayed in Egypt with Proteus during the war, may presuppose her arrival there with Paris (Jouan 192); this is what sch. Aristid. *Or.* 1. 212 and Tz. in Lyc. 113 (*PMGF* pp. 178f.) ascribe to Stesichorus, though the verbatim (p.93) fragment *PMGF* 192 suggests that she not only never reached Troy but never even took ship from Sparta.

There is another fragment of legend about Paris' travels with Helen in the eastern Mediterranean that might derive indirectly from the *Cypria*:

St. Byz. s.v. *Σαμυλία· πόλις Καρίας, Μοτύλου κτίσμα τοῦ τὴν Ἑλένην καὶ Πάριν ὑποδεξαμένου.*

Stephanus' immediate source was almost certainly his usual one for Carian toponyms, the *Καρικά* of Apollonius of Aphrodisias (*FGrHist* 740). This author made many connections with mythical history. It looks as if he knew some older tradition of a Motylos who gave hospitality to Paris and Helen, and this might go back to the *Cypria*; ³¹ Motylos would be on a par with Phaidimos, the king of Sidon who entertained Menelaos (*Od.* 4. 617–19), or his Egyptian hosts Polybos (4. 126–9) and Thon (4. 228). ³²

Tzetzes, *Antehom.* 140, says that Paris and Helen returned to Troy after a whole year.

Arg. 2e

καὶ ἀποπλεύσας εἰς Ἴλιον γάμους τῆς Ἑλένης ἐπετέλεσεν.

Apollod. epit. 3. 4 ὥς δὲ ἀπήλπισε τὴν δίωξιν, ἤκεν εἰς Τροίαν μετὰ Ἑλένης.

γάμους ἐπετέλεσεν signifies not the consummation of the union, which had taken place long before, but a public ceremony. If my hypothesis about Aeneas is right, the city was well prepared for Paris' return with Helen.

Stesichorus may have described the wedding in his *Helen* (*PMGF* 187; cf. Ibycus *PMGF* 315?). It is also represented on a Corinthian column krater of c.580 (*LIMC* Alexandros 67). Paris and Helen stand (p.94) in a chariot drawn by horses named Xanthos and Polyphtha. Other named figures are Hector and Daiphon (=Deiphobos?), each accompanied by a woman, and a warrior Hippolytos. It is doubtful whether any of these details are to be attributed to the *Cypria*; cf. Prolegomena §7 on the tendency of vase painters to add subsidiary figures.

What Became of the Dioskouroi

Arg. 3

ἐν τούτῳ δὲ Κάστωρ μετὰ Πολυδεύκους τὰς Ἰδα καὶ Λυγκέως βοῦς ὑφαιρούμενοι ἐφωράθησαν. καὶ Κάστωρ μὲν ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἰδα ἀναιρεῖται, Λυγκεὺς δὲ καὶ Ἰδας ὑπὸ Πολυδεύκους, καὶ Ζεὺς αὐτοῖς ἑτερήμερον νέμει τὴν ἀθανασίαν.

As explained above (on F 12*), I suspect that the Dioskouroi's fate may have been related sometime before the arrival of Paris and Helen at Troy.

Idas and Lynkeus, the sons of the Messenian Aphareus or Aphares, were the traditional rivals of the Dioskouroi. In the older sources their dispute is over cattle. Pindar more or less follows the *Cypria* version in an extended re-telling of the story, *Nem.* 10. 55–91, but he tones down elements unfavourable to the Dioskouroi. ³³ He avoids saying that they stole the cattle; he just says that Idas was ἀμφὶ βουσὶν πῶς χολωθεῖς (60; cf. Paus. 4. 3. 1 μάχη περὶ τῶν βοῶν). In sch. Lyc. 547 the cattle-stealing is combined with the argument over the Leukippides: the Apharetidai criticized the Dioskouroi for having provided no bride-price (cf. Lyc. 549), so they drove off Aphareus' cattle and gave them to Leukippos. Apollodorus 3. 11. 2 has a longer story, perhaps from Pherecydes, in which the cattle-raid is a reprisal after the Apharetidai cheat the Dioskouroi of some cattle that they have

jointly plundered in Arcadia.

The reconstruction of Wilamowitz, *Die Textgeschichte der griechischen Bukoliker* (Berlin 1906), 189f., goes too far beyond the evidence.

(p.95) F 16 Sch. Pind. Nem. 10. 114a, “ἀπὸ Ταῦγέτου πεδαυγάζων ἶδεν Λυγκεὺς δρυὸς ἐν στελέχει ἥμενος”

ὁ μὲν Ἀρίσταρχος ἀξιοῖ γράφειν “ἥμενον”, ἀκολουθῶς τῇ ἐν τοῖς Κυπρίοις λεγομένην ἱστορίαν· ὁ γὰρ τὰ Κύπρια συγγράψας φησὶ τὸν Κάστορα ἐν τῇ δρυὶ κρυφθέντα ὀφθῆναι ὑπὸ Λυγκέως. τῇ δὲ αὐτῇ γραφῇ καὶ Ἀπολλόδωρος κατηκολούθησε (FGrHist 244 F 148). πρὸς οὓς φησι Δίδυμος ... παρατίθεται δὲ καὶ τὸν τὰ Κύπρια γράψαντα οὕτω λέγοντα·

αἶψα δὲ Λυγκεύς

Τηῦγετον προσέβαινε ποσὶν ταχέεσσι πεποιθώς,

ἀκρότατον δ’ ἀναβὰς διεδέρκετο νῆσον ἅπασαν

Τανταλίδεω Πέλοπος· τάχα δ’ εἶσιδε κύδιμος ἥρως

5

δεινοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖσιν ἔσω κοίλης δρυὸς ἄμφω

Κάστορά θ’ ἵπποδαμον καὶ ἀεθλοφόρον Πολυδεύκεα.

.

νύξε δ’ ἄρ’ ἄγχι στὰς μεγάλην δρῶν,

καὶ τὰ ἐξῆς.

1–6 exscripsit Tz. *Hist.* 2. 714–19 et in Lyc. 511

codd. κύδιμος: ὄβριμος Tz. *Hist.*

Gerhardpost 6 lac. stat. Ribbeck

4 Τανταλίδεω Ribbeck-δου

5 δρυὸς ἄμφω κοίλης codd.: corr.

Lynkeus had the keenest sight of anyone in the world (Pindar 62f. κείνου γὰρ ἐπιχθονίων πάντων γένετ’ ὀξύτατον ὄμμα). He ran up to the summit of Taygetos, the highest point in the Peloponnese, from where he was able to survey the whole peninsula and locate the Dioskouroi despite their being concealed in a hollow tree-trunk, where they were waiting in ambush (Apollod.). He told Idas, who went and drove his spear into the trunk. Didymus probably omitted some lines after 6; Pindar 63f. mentions that the Apharetidai hastened to the tree.

2. ποσὶν ταχέεσσι πεποιθώς: cf. *Il.* 6. 505, 8. 339 (v.l.).

3–4. διεδέρκετο: cf. Parlato 18f.

νῆσον ... Τανταλίδεω Πέλοπος: cf. *Tyrt.* 2. 15, 12. 7; *Alc.* 34. 1; *Simon. eleg.* 11.

36; Bacch. 1. 13f., 12. 38f. The phrase *νησος Πέλοπος* may also have occurred in a ps.-Hesiodic poem (fr. 189).

τάχα δ' εἴσιδε: *Il.* 14. 13.

4. *κύδιμος*: otherwise in epic only in the formula *κύδιμος Ἑρμῆς*, Hes. *Th.* 938 and *Hymn. Herm.* ten times. Tzetzes in his *Historiai*, but not in his commentary on Lycophron, gives *ὄβριμος*.

(p.96) This is found ten times in the *Iliad* at this place in the verse, but always followed by a name (*Ἄρης* or *Ἑκτωρ*); cf. on 7.

5. Proper rhythm was restored by E. Gerhard, *Lectiones Apolloniana* (Leipzig 1816), 146.

6. Cf. [Hes.] fr. 198. 8, 199. 1; with *πὺξ ἀγαθὸν Πολυδεύκεα* *Il.* 3. 237=*Od.* 11. 300.

7. *νύξε δ' ἄρ' ἄγχι στάς*: cf. *Il.* 16. 404 *ἔγχει νύξε παραστάς*; 24. 477 *ἄγχι δ' ἄρα στάς. νύξε(ν)* or *νύξ'* often stands at the beginning of the line in the *Iliad*. It was Idas who drove his spear into the tree (F 17). The line may have ended with *ὄβριμος Ἴδας* (Ribbeck). Tzetzes does not quote this verse, but I wonder if his *ὄβριμος* in 4 in one of his two quotations somehow derives from a fuller copy of the Pindaric scholium. T. Mommsen, *Parerga Pindarica* (Progr. Frankfurt 1877), 36, suggested *ἄλκιμος Ἴδας* or *ἔγχεϊ μακρῶι* or *ὀξεῖ δουρί*.

F 17 Philod. De pietate B 4833 Obbink

Κάστο[ρα δ] ἐ ὑπὸ Ἴδα τοῦ [Ἀφα]ρέως κατη[κοντ]ίσθαι γέγραφεν ὁ [τὰ Κύπρια] ποήσα[ς καὶ Φερεκύδης ὁ Ἀθηναῖος (fr. 127A Fowler).

Idas' spear-thrust inflicts a mortal wound on Castor. According to Pindar Polydeukes then chased the Apharetidai to their father's tomb, where they pulled up the gravestone and hurled it at his chest, without effect. He charged at Lynkeus and killed him, while Zeus dispatched Idas by hurling a thunderbolt, *πολόεντα κεραυνόν*; the epic phrase may have stood in the *Cypria*, though Proclus says nothing of a thunderbolt and represents Polydeukes as having killed Idas as well as Lynkeus. Apollodorus (3. 11. 2) has a shocking variant: Idas throws the stone after Lynkeus is killed (so Lyc. 556–9), and it hits Polydeukes on the head and knocks him unconscious. This must be the older version, as it explains why Zeus has to intervene to kill Idas, and the blow that fells Polydeukes is surely more original than the one that does not hurt him and leaves his dignity intact. This then will be the version of the *Cypria*:³⁴ Pindar has modified it out of respect for Polydeukes.

(p.97) Pindar continues with Polydeukes returning to Castor; he finds him breathing his last, *ἄσθματι φρίσσοντα πνοάς*, which may correspond to an epic *ἀσθμαίνοντα* (as *Il.* 21. 182). In his distress he prays to Zeus to let him die too. Zeus appears before him and explains that while Polydeukes was his own son, Castor was fathered by Tyndareos and so mortal. We know that the distinction was made in the *Cypria* (F 9 above). He offers Polydeukes the choice of either going to Olympus and living among the gods as an immortal or sharing Castor's lot and spending half the time in heaven and half below the earth. Polydeukes does not hesitate but takes the latter option. The result is the daily

alternation that Pindar described at the beginning of his story, 55–7 *μεταμειβόμενοι δ' ἐναλλάξ ἀμερᾶν τὰν μὲν παρὰ πατρὶ φίλῳ | Δὶ νέμονται, τὰν δ' ὑπὸ κεύθεσι γαίας ἐν γνάλοις Θεράπνας, | πότμον ἀμπιπλάντες ὁμοῖον*. (Cf. *Pyth.* 11. 63f.) This is the *ἐτερήμερος ἀθανασία* that Proclus attests for the *Cypria*. It is also referred to in *Od.* 11. 301–4:

τοὺς ἄμφω ζῶουσ κατέχει φυσίζοος αἶα·
οἷ καὶ νέρθεν γῆς τιμὴν πρὸς Ζηνὸς ἔχοντες
ἄλλοτε μὲν ζῶουσ' ἐτερήμεροι, ἄλλοτε δ' αὖτε
τεθνᾶσιν· τιμὴν δὲ λελόγχασιν ἴσα θεοῖσιν.

Here they seem to be confined below the earth even on their days of life. But that cannot be seriously intended. The point is that they have a tomb at Therapnai but they are not really dead; they have quasi-divine status. Cf. Alcman (*PMGF* 7 test.) ap. sch. *Eur. Tro.* 210, *ὑπὸ τὴν γῆν τῆς Θεράπνης εἶναι λέγονται ζῶντες, ὡς Ἀλκμάν φησι*.

Menelaos' Reaction to Helen's Defection

Arg. 4a

καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα Ἴρις ἀγγέλλει τῷ Μενελάῳ τὰ γεγονότα κατὰ τὸν οἶκον· ὃ δὲ παραγενόμενος περὶ τῆς ἐπ' Ἴλιον στρατείας βουλευέται μετὰ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ.

Apollod. epit. 3. 6

Μενέλαος δὲ αἰσθόμενος τὴν ἀρπαγὴν ἤκεν εἰς Μυκῆνας πρὸς Ἀγαμέμνονα, καὶ δεῖται στρατείαν ἐπὶ Τροίαν ἀθροίζειν καὶ στρατολογεῖν τὴν Ἑλλάδα.

Iris, no doubt acting on Zeus' instructions, brings the news of Helen's defection to Menelaos in Crete. She may have come to him in **(p.98)** the guise of a mortal, as she does to Priam in *Il.* 2. 791, or in her own form, as in *Il.* 24. 160ff. (Welcker ii. 151). He goes to Mycenae to consult with Agamemnon his brother, who agrees that an army must be raised for a war against Troy.

In *Il.* 5. 715f. Hera refers to a promise that she and Athena made to Menelaos that he would sack Troy and return safe home after-wards. The poet may have known a poem in which these two losers in the Judgment of Paris appeared to Menelaos (possibly in a dream) and gave him this guarantee, and this might have come in the *Cypria*. Cf. Robert (1901), 566; Wilamowitz (1916), 300; Kullmann 240.

In *Od.* 8. 75–82 we find an allusion to a consultation of the Delphic oracle by Agamemnon at the beginning of the war. Apollo had apparently prophesied that when the best of the Achaeans quarrelled, victory over Troy would follow not long after. In Demodokos' song Agamemnon rejoices when at a sacrificial feast a quarrel breaks out between Odysseus and Achilles. But the oracle must have been invented with a view to the quarrel of

Agamemnon and Achilles in the *Iliad*. It is possible that this oracle came in the *Cypria*. The *Odyssey* poet substitutes Odysseus for Agamemnon because Odysseus is in Demodokos' audience.

Arg. 4b

καὶ πρὸς Νέστορα παραγίνεται Μενέλαος· Νέστωρ δὲ ἐν παρεκβάσει διηγεῖται αὐτῷ ὡς Ἐπωπεὺς φθείρας τὴν Λυκούργου (Λύκου Heyne) θυγατέρα ἐξεπορθήθη, καὶ τὰ περὶ Οἰδίπου, καὶ τὴν Ἡρακλέους μανίαν, καὶ τὰ περὶ Θησέα καὶ Ἀριάδνην.

Menelaos also goes to see Nestor in Pylos, no doubt to draw on his wisdom and experience. Nestor, true to his usual character as portrayed in epic, speaks at length, recalling episodes from the past, though in this case they are not events that he himself was involved in. Cf. intro. 3. It is remarkable that something of the content of his speech has survived into Proclus, though there is a parallel in *Telegony* arg. 1b with its reference to the digression on Trophonios and Agamedes.

At least the first of Nestor's stories, that of Epopeus, has a clear relevance to the situation. That encourages us to seek for some similar pertinence in the others. Wilamowitz (1884), 149, made the **(p.99)** striking observation that the heroines of the stories, Antiope, Epikaste/Iokaste, Megara, and Ariadne, all appear, in nearly the same order and the first three more or less together, among the heroines that Odysseus sees in Hades, *Od.* 11. 260, 271, 269, 321. But it is hard to see what is to be made of this. I suspect that the poet put the four stories in Nestor's mouth less because they added up to a coherent and telling argument than because he himself found them interesting and worthy of notice.

1. *Epopeus*. In an account given by Hyg. *Fab.* 8, Apollod. 3. 5. 5, and sch. Ap. Rhod. 4. 1090, drawn apparently from the back history related in the prologue of Euripides' *Antiope*, Antiope, having become pregnant by Zeus, ran away to Sicyon and married Epopeus, or (Hyg.) encountered him somewhere else and was taken to Sicyon by him. Her uncle Lykos mounted an expedition, took Sicyon, killed Epopeus, and brought Antiope back to Boeotia, where she gave birth to Zethos and Amphion. (Cf. Paus. 2. 6. 1–4, where Epopeus abducts her.) The story related by Nestor was evidently an older version of this. Antiope is not elsewhere the daughter of a Lykourgos or a Lykos, but after the death of her father Nykteus his brother Lykos takes over his role. This lends plausibility to Heyne's emendation of *Λυκούργου* in Proclus' text. The lesson that could be drawn from the story was that a woman's abduction might be followed up by a successful attack on her abductor's city and by her recovery.

2. *Oedipus*. Oedipus certainly made an unfortunate marriage, but it is hard to see any relevance to Menelaos in that story. Did Nestor go on to refer to the quarrel between Oedipus' sons? (Cf. Severyns (1928), 211.) Polyneikes' marriage to the daughter of Adrastus was the precondition for the Argive war on Thebes. But again, a connection with Menelaos' case is difficult to find.

3. *Heracles' madness*. The phrase should refer to the insanity that caused

Heracles to kill his children by Megara. According to Apollodorus (2. 6. 1), when the hero won the archery contest for the hand of Iole at Oichalia, her father Eurytos refused to let him have her in case he should kill his future children by her in the same way as he had killed Megara's. In a subsequent episode Heracles killed Eurytos' son Iphitos in a second fit of madness (2. 6. 2, cf. Herodorus fr. 32 Fowler), and later (2. 7. 7) he killed Eurytos, sacked Oichalia, and took Iole. Some version of these events was related in the *Οἰχαλίας ἄλωσις* attributed to Creophylus; cf. [Hes.] fr. 26. 31–3, **(p.100)** and Sophocles' *Trachiniai*. Love and the sack of a city seem to be the elements in the story that offer potential relevance to the Helen affair, but as before it is difficult to see what use Nestor could have made of it.

4. *Theseus and Ariadne*. Ariadne fell in love with Theseus and went off with him. The story is mentioned in *Od.* 11. 321–5, where she dies before reaching Athens. According to the ps.-Hesiodic *Aigimios* (fr. 147/298) Theseus left her for Aigle. The point of Nestor's story may have been that when a woman runs away with a lover it may turn out disastrously for her. And for the lover and his city? Theseus' return from Crete is associated with the death of his father Aigeus, the king of Athens, and a conflict with his cousins the Pallantidai (Gantz 276f.), though no one links these political troubles with Ariadne.

What advice did Nestor give on the basis of these *exempla*? It is hard to see that they point to a particular practical conclusion. But he cannot have discouraged Menelaos from mobilizing for war, as that is what followed.

F 17a* (= Epic. adesp. 7) Clearchus fr. 90 W. (– ὄχλον); Philod. *De pietate* A 1679 Obbink (– σκεδάσεις); Diog. Laert. 2. 117

οὐκ ἀπ' ἐμοῦ σκεδάσεις ὄχλον, ταλαπείριε πρέσβυ;

The sources report various wits and philosophers (Charmus, Socrates, Bion) as having used this verse for their own purposes. Welcker ii. 516 conjectured that Menelaos spoke it to Nestor in the *Cypria*, and Bernabé includes it in his edition as fr. 16. Cf. A. Bernabé, *Emerita* 50 (1982), 81–92; Dirk Obbink, *Philodemus On Piety, Part 1* (Oxford 1996), 544–8. Obbink takes ὄχλον as 'trouble, grief' and the line as a statement, 'you will not dispel my grief', with ἀποσκεδάσαι as in F 18. 2. But ὄχλος in its abstract meaning is rather 'bother, nuisance, tiresomeness'. I prefer to imagine that Menelaos finds Nestor feasting, surrounded by cheerful people who are eager to welcome the visitor, and that he asks Nestor to send them away so that they can talk in private.

ἐμοῦ should in epic dialect be ἐμέο, in the later transmission written ἐμεῦ. But perhaps the original was ἀπό μοι.

(p.101) F 18 Ath. 35c

οἶνόν τοι, Μενέλαε, θεοὶ ποίησαν ἄριστον

θνητοῖς ἀνθρώποισιν ἀποσκεδάσαι μελεδώντας·

ὁ τῶν Κυπρίων τοῦτό φησι ποιητής, ὅστις ἂν εἴη.

The lines are plausibly assigned to Nestor (Heyne; Henrichsen 54; Welcker ii. 99, 516). Menelaos may initially have declined on grounds of misery to join in the drinking that was in progress, until Nestor persuaded him.

Some have supposed that Nestor's great drinking-cup featured in the scene: Kullmann 257 n. 2; P. A. Hansen, *Glotta* 54 (1976), 43; G. Danek, *Wien. St.* 107/8 (1994/5), 32–5. There is no reason to think it did, any more than it does in the Pylian scenes in the *Odyssey*.

1. θεοὶ ποίησαν in this place in the verse: *Od.* 17. 271, 23. 258.
2. Cf. Theogn. (anon.) 883 on wine from Taygetus, τοῦ πίνων ἀπὸ μὲν χαλεπὰς σκεδάσεις μελεδῶνας.

Recruitment for War

Arg. 5a

ἔπειτα τοὺς ἡγεμόνας ἀθροίζουσιν ἐπελθόντες τὴν Ἑλλάδα.

Apollod. epit. 3. 6 ὁ δὲ πέμπων κήρυκα πρὸς ἕκαστον τῶν βασιλέων τῶν ὄρκων ὑπεμίμησεν ὧν ὤμοσαν, καὶ περὶ τῆς ἰδίας γυναικὸς ἕκαστον ἀσφαλίζεσθαι παρήνει, ἴσῃν λέγων γεγενῆσθαι τὴν τῆς Ἑλλάδος καταφρόνησιν καὶ κοινήν. Cf. Eur. *IA* 77–9 ὁ δὲ (Menelaos) καθ' Ἑλλάδ' οἰστρήσας δρόμῳ | ὄρκους παλαιοὺς Τυνδάρεω μαρτύρεται, | ὡς χρὴ βοηθεῖν τοῖσιν ἡδικομένοις.

The oaths that Euripides and Apollodorus refer to are those sworn by the suitors of Helen, which Apollodorus had included in his earlier narrative (3. 10. 8–9) and which are attested in several earlier authors.³⁵ There is no clear allusion to them in the *Iliad* (West (2011a), 109), and it is not certain that they appeared in the *Cypria*, as argued e.g. by Bethe 233–5. If they did, it will have been in passing, in the context of the recruitment, as the epic did not contain a **(p.102)** full-scale account of Helen's wedding: Proclus could not have passed it over. If they did not, the leaders who agreed to join the expedition must have been moved simply by outrage and concern for the security of their own marriages if Helen's behaviour went unpunished.

Arg. 5b

καὶ μαίνεσθαι προσποιησάμενον Ὀδυσσεά ἐπὶ τῷ μὴ θέλειν συστρατεύεσθαι ἐφώρασαν, Παλαμήδους ὑποθεμένου τὸν υἱὸν Τηλέμαχον ἐπὶ κόλασιν ἐξαρπάσαντες.

Apollod. epit. 3. 7 ὄντων δὲ πολλῶν προθύμων στρατεύεσθαι, παραγίνονται καὶ πρὸς Ὀδυσσεά εἰς Ἰθάκην. ὁ δὲ οὐ βουλόμενος στρατεύεσθαι προσποιεῖται μανίαν. Παλαμήδης δὲ ὁ Ναυπλίου ἤλεγξε τὴν μανίαν ψευδῇ, καὶ προσποιησαμένῳ μεμνημένοι παρηκολούθει· ἀρπάσας δὲ Τηλέμαχον ἐκ τοῦ Πηνελόπης κόλπου ὡς κτενῶν ἐξιφούλκει. Ὀδυσσεὺς δὲ περὶ τοῦ παιδὸς εὐλαβηθεὶς ὠμολόγησε τὴν προσποίητον μανίαν καὶ στρατεύεται.

Who are the recruiters in this episode? From Proclus' words we would infer that they were Menelaos and Nestor, and Nestor is plausible in the role, as he appears in it together with Odysseus in *Il.* 11. 767–70. (In 4. 377 similarly it is a pair of heroes who recruit for the Theban war.) But Palamedes is also present. In *Od.* 24. 115–19 Agamemnon and Menelaos recruit together; there is an allusion to Odysseus' reluctance to join up.³⁶

Palamedes, not mentioned in the *Iliad* or *Odyssey*, was a son of Nauplios, noted for his inventiveness (see Gantz 604). Here he outwits the wily Odysseus himself. Odysseus and Diomedes compassed his death near the end of the poem (arg. 12, F 27).

To simulate madness, according to later sources, Odysseus yoked an ox and a horse (or an ass, Lyc. 816f.) together before a cart or a plough. Then in one version Palamedes lays the baby Telemachos down in the path of the plough (Hyg. *Fab.* 95, sch. Lyc. 815), in the other he himself pretends to be mad with rage, seizes the child, and makes as if to kill him with his sword (painting of Euphranor at Ephesus described by Pliny *HN* 35. 129; Luc. *De domo* 30). The latter (**p.103**) corresponds to what seems to have been in the *Cypria* (Wagner 176f.).

In my Loeb edition I included in the recruiting phase two episodes for which there is insufficient warrant:

(i) Apollod. epit. 3. 9 (12 Papathom.) ὅτι Μενέλαος σὺν Ὀδυσσεὶ καὶ Ταλθυβίῳ πρὸς {Κινύραν εἰς} Κύπρον ἐλθόντες συμμαχεῖν ἔπειθον. ὃ δὲ Ἀγαμέμνωνι μὲν οὐ παρόντι θώρακα{ς} ἐδωρήσατο· ὁμόσας δὲ πέμψειν πεντήκοντα ναῦς, μίαν πέμψας ἧς ἦρχεν { } ὁ Πυγμαλίωνος (my conjecture for Μυγδαλίωνος), καὶ τὰς λοιπὰς ἐκ γῆς πλάσας μεθῆκεν εἰς τὸ πέλαγος. Here Odysseus is one of the two recruiters, which does not harmonize well with arg. 5b above. In Apollodorus the episode is added after the gathering at Aulis, as if from a different source, and it is followed by a story about how Odysseus engineered Palamedes' death that differs from the one attested for the *Cypria* in F 27. So the Cinyras episode should probably be excluded from the poem (against Wagner 181f.). It ought to have interested a Cypriot poet, and I have suggested that he brought Cinyras into the narrative of Paris' eastern wanderings; on the other hand his treatment of Agamemnon reflected no credit on Cyprus.

(ii) (F 19) Sch. (D) *Il.* 19. 326 Ἀλεξάνδρου Ἑλένην ἀρπάσαντος Ἀγαμέμνων καὶ Μενέλαος τοὺς Ἕλληνας κατὰ Τρώων ἐστρατολόγησαν. Πηλεὺς δὲ προγινώσκων ὅτι μοιρίδιον ἦν ἐν Τροίᾳ θανεῖν Ἀχιλλέα, παραγενόμενος εἰς Σκῦρον πρὸς Λυκομήδην τὸν βασιλέα παρέθετο τὸν Ἀχιλλέα, καὶ γυναικείαν ἐσθῆτα ἀμφιέσας ὡς κόρην μετὰ τῶν θυγατέρων ἀνέτρεφεν. χρησιμοῦ δὲ δοθέντος μὴ ἀλώσεσθαι τὴν Ἴλιον χωρὶς Ἀχιλλέως, πεμφθέντες ὑφ' Ἑλλήνων Ὀδυσσεύς τε καὶ Φοῖνιξ καὶ Νέστωρ, Πηλέως ἀρνούμενου παρ' αὐτῶι τὸν παῖδα τυγχάνειν, πορευθέντες εἰς Σκῦρον καὶ ὑπονοήσαντες μετὰ τῶν παρθένων τὸν Ἀχιλλέα τρέφεσθαι, ταῖς Ὀδυσσέως ὑποθήκαις ὅπλα καὶ ταλάρους ἔρριψαν σὺν ἱστουργικοῖς ἐργαλείοις ἔμπροσθεν τοῦ παρθενῶνος. αἱ μὲν οὖν κόραι ἐπὶ τοὺς ταλάρους ὥρμησαν καὶ τὰ λοιπά, Ἀχιλλεὺς δὲ

ἀνελόμενος τὰ ὄπλα κατάφωρος ἐγένετο· καὶ συνεστρατεύσατο. πρότερον δὲ ταῖς παρθένοις συνδιατρίβων ἔφθειρε Δηϊδάμειαν τὴν Λυκομήδους, ἥτις ἐξ αὐτοῦ ἐγέννησε Πύρρον τὸν ὕστερον Νεοπτόλεμον κληθέντα· ὅστις τοῖς Ἑλλήσι νέος ὦν συνεστρατεύσατο μετὰ θάνατον τοῦ πατρός. ἡ ἱστορία παρὰ τοῖς κυκλικοῖς. Cf. sch. (T) *Il.* 9. 668b.

(p.104) The story of Peleus' concealment of Achilles on Skyros is not to be attributed to the *Cypria* (Henrichsen 55f.; *contra*, Severyns (1928), 285–91). It comes from Euripides' *Skyrioi* and is incompatible with arg. 7c; cf. on *Little Iliad* F 4. It is first attested in a painting by Polygnotos in a gallery by the Propylaea, Paus. 1. 22. 6. Cf. Gantz 581. The reference to οἱ κυκλικοί is valid only for the last part of the passage, the birth of Pyrrhos-Neoptolemos to Deidameia and his participation in the war after Achilles' death.

In the *Cypria* Achilles was presumably recruited in the regular way, as in *Il.* 9. 252–9, 11. 765–91. This was probably the poet's first opportunity to bring him into his narrative, since he had passed straight on from the wedding of Peleus and Thetis to the Judgment of Paris. He no doubt introduced him with a back-reference to the wedding episode. Here, if anywhere, he might have referred to the boy's education by Cheiron (Severyns (1928), 261). Here too, or later when Thetis came to give Achilles counsel, he might have told a story that we find in later sources, that she left Peleus when the baby was twelve days old (Severyns (1928), 256–9). But there is no evidence that this came in the *Cypria*.

First Gathering at Aulis. The Teuthrania Debacle

Arg. 6

καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα συνελθόντες εἰς Αὐλίδαν θύουσι. καὶ τὰ περὶ τὸν δράκοντα καὶ τοὺς στρουθοὺς γενόμενα δείκνυται, καὶ Κάλχας περὶ τῶν ἀποβησομένων προλέγει αὐτοῖς.

Apollocl. epit. 3. 15 θυσίας δὲ γενομένης ἐν Αὐλίδι τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι ... ὁρμήσας δράκων ἐκ τοῦ βωμοῦ παρὰ τὴν πλησίον πλάτανον, οὔσης ἐν αὐτῇ νεοττιᾷς, τοὺς ἐν αὐτῇ καταναλώσας στρουθοὺς ὁκτῶ σὺν τῇ μητρὶ ἐνάτῃ λίθος ἐγένετο. Κάλχας δὲ εἰπὼν κατὰ Διὸς βούλησιν γεγονέναι αὐτοῖς τὸ σημεῖον τοῦτο, τεκμηράμενος ἐκ τῶν γεγονότων ἔφη δεκαετὴ χρόνῳ δεῖν Τροίαν ἀλῶναι.

The gathering at Aulis would have been an appropriate occasion for a catalogue of forces, but Proclus does not mention one. The *Cypria*, at least in its final form, was designed to lead on to the *Iliad*, and the poet might have had the sense not to anticipate **(p.105)** the Catalogue of Ships, though he did at the end of the poem anticipate the catalogue of the Trojan allies. The *Iliad* poet knew and had sung a poem about the gathering at Aulis that did feature a catalogue: West (2011a), 112.

The omen of the snake and sparrows is the one recalled in *Il.* 2. 308–29, where it is not said that the sacrifice was to Apollo and Zeus is the god who sends the portent. (In *Ov. Met.* 12. 11 the sacrifice is to him.) Calchas interprets the omen as signifying that the Achaeans must fight for nine years on the site (*Il.* 2. 328 πτολεμίζομεν αὐθι) before achieving victory. He very likely used a similar formulation in the *Cypria*. Note that the

extra time that passes in the Cyclic poem before the fleet reaches Troy is not included in the reckoning (wrongly Huxley 136).

In *Il.* 1. 69–72 Calchas is introduced as the best of augurs, who knew past, present, and future, and who by his power of divination led the Achaeans' ships to Ilios. In the *Cypria*, however, he was not up to showing them their way (cf. below on arg. 7d). None of them had an accurate idea of where Troy was; they had no maps and no ships like those of the Phaeacians in the *Odyssey*, which knew all the cities of men and steered themselves to the required destination. Consequently the great Achaean force, after crossing the Aegean, landed in quite the wrong place.

Arg. 7a

ἔπειτα ἀναχθέντες Τευθρανίαι προσίσχουσι, καὶ ταύτην ὡς Ἴλιον ἐπόρθουν. Τήλεφος δὲ ἐκβοηθεῖ, Θέρσανδρόν τε τὸν Πολυνείκους κτείνει καὶ αὐτὸς ὑπὸ Ἀχιλλέως τιτρώσκεται.

Apollod. epit. 3. 17³⁷ ἀγνοοῦντες δὲ τὸν ἐπὶ Τροίαν πλοῦν Μυσίαι προσίσχουσι καὶ ταύτην ἐπόρθουν, Τροίαν νομίζοντες εἶναι. βασιλεύων δὲ Τήλεφος Μυσῶν Ἡρακλέους παῖς καὶ Αὔγης τῆς Ἀλέου, ἰδὼν τὴν χώραν λεηλατουμένην, τοὺς Μυσοὺς καθοπλίσας ἐπὶ τὰς ναῦς συνεδίωκε τοὺς Ἑλλήνας καὶ πολλοὺς ἀπέκτεινεν, ἐν οἷς καὶ Θέρσανδρον τὸν Πολυνείκους ὑποστάντα. ὁρμήσαντος δὲ Ἀχιλλέως ἐπ' αὐτὸν οὐ μείνας ἐδιώκετο· καὶ διωκόμενος ἐμπλακεῖς εἰς ἀμπέλου κλῆμα τὸν μηρὸν τιτρώσκεται δόρατι, νεμεσήσαντος αὐτῷ Διονύσου ὅτι ἄρα ὑπὸ τούτου τιμῶν ἀφήρητο.

(p.106) Paus. 9. 5. 14 ὡς δὲ τοῖς σὺν Ἀγαμέμνονι ἐς Τροίαν στρατεύουσιν ἡ διαμαρτία τοῦ πλοῦ γίνεται καὶ ἡ πληγὴ ἡ περὶ Μυσίαν, ἐνταῦθα καὶ τὸν Θέρσανδρον κατέλαβεν {ἀποθανεῖν} ὑπὸ Τηλέφου, μάλιστα Ἑλλήνων ἀγαθὸν γενόμενον ἐν τῇ μάχῃ.

Teuthrania lay far from Troy, in Mysia, several miles inland up the Caicus valley. This episode, of which Achilles and Telephos are the protagonists, originally had nothing to do with the Trojan War. It was one of a number of exploits of Achilles located in an area extending to Tenedos in the north and Skyros in the west and centred on Lesbos; see West (2011a), 43f. When he became integrated in the Trojan tradition they were attached to it too, being treated as things done on the way to Troy or during the years spent there. The Teuthrania raid could not be treated as part of the Troy campaign, as the place was too far away. It could only be attached by means of the silly story that the Achaeans arrived there by mistake and invaded under the misapprehension that it was Troy.

The episode was alluded to in the *Little Iliad* (F 4), and it was known to Archilochus, who used it as an *exemplum* in an elegy (P. Oxy. 4708). In his version Heracles himself may have helped to rout the Achaeans, calling upon his son Telephos to put them to flight. According to Pindar, who is likely to be following the *Cypria*, Achilles and Patroklos alone made a stand against Telephos when the rest of the Achaeans fled (*Ol.* 9. 70–5; cf. *Isth.* 5. 41, 8. 50). Patroklos may have been given this role to prepare for his status as Achilles' closest friend and ally in the *Iliad* (Welcker ii. 150). The episode may have been the

source for a vase painting that shows him wounded in the upper arm and being bandaged by Achilles.³⁸

Thersandros was one of the Epigoni who had taken Thebes with Diomedes, Sthenelos, and Euryalos, who appear as Argive leaders in *Il.* 2. 563–6. If the *Iliad* poet had known of the Teuthrania raid and Thersandros' part in it, he might have named him in that **(p.107)** passage and explained why he was no longer around, as he does with Philoctetes and Protesilaos (2. 699, 721). He is mentioned by Pindar, *Ol.* 2. 43–5. According to Pausanias (l.c. above) he had a hero cult at Elaia, the harbour town near the mouth of the Caicus.

A fragment of a calyx crater of c.510 (*LIMC* Diomedes (I) 7) shows Patroklos beside Diomedes, who is bending over what was probably a fallen warrior. The presence of Dionysus in the field indicates the Mysian context, and the casualty is conjectured to have been Thersandros. According to Dictys 2. 2 Thersandros fell after slaughtering many of the enemy and it was Diomedes who carried his bloody body out of the battle.

Arg. 7b

ἀποπλέουσι δὲ αὐτοῖς ἐκ τῆς Μυσίας χειμῶν ἐπιπίπτει καὶ διασκεδάννυνται.

Apollod. epit. 3. 18 τῆς δὲ Μυσίας ἐξελθόντες Ἕλληνες ἀνάγονται, καὶ χειμῶνος ἐπιγενομένου σφοδροῦ διαζευχθέντες ἀλλήλων εἰς τὰς πατρίδας καταντῶσιν.

Instead of now taking the Achaeans on to Troy, the poet (or one of his predecessors) decided to abort this first expedition and make a fresh start with a second gathering at Aulis. This created an interval in which Achilles could firstly call at Skyros and impregnate Deidameia with Neoptolemos and secondly complete the Telephos story by healing his wound. The storm was a convenient device for dispersing the armada and bringing Achilles to Skyros. It may have been modelled on the storm that scattered the Achaean ships in the *Nostoi*.

Arg. 7c

Ἀχιλλεὺς δὲ Σκύρῳ πρόσλσχὼν γαμεῖ τὴν Λυκομήδους θυγατέρα Δηϊδάμειαν.

The *Little Iliad*, in introducing Neoptolemos to the narrative, gave the same account of his birth (F 4): withdrawing from the encounter with Telephos, Achilles had been blown to Skyros by a tempest. He seems not to have stayed there long (cf. arg. 7d), and γαμεῖ may mean no more than 'had intercourse with'.

(p.108) F 19 Paus. 10. 26. 4

τὰ δὲ Κύπρια ἔπη φησὶν ὑπὸ Λυκομήδους μὲν Πύρρον, Νεοπτόλεμον δὲ ὄνομα ὑπὸ Φοῖνικος αὐτῷ τεθῆναι, ὅτι Ἀχιλλεὺς ἡλικία ἔτι νέος πολεμεῖν ἤρξατο.

Cf. sch. (D) *Il.* 19. 326 Πύρρον τὸν ὕστερον Νεοπτόλεμον κληθέντα. Archilochus fr. 304 called him Pyrrhos; in epic he is regularly Neoptolemos. Phoenix perhaps gave him this second name at Troy when he was brought there after Achilles' death. In the *Nostoi* (arg. 4c) he and Phoenix travelled homeward together. Phoenix died on the way and

Neoptolemos buried him.

Arg. 7d

ἔπειτα Τήλεφον κατὰ μαντείαν παραγενόμενον εἰς Ἄργος ἰᾶται Ἀχιλλεὺς ὡς ἡγεμόνα γενησόμενον τοῦ ἐπ' Ἴλιον πλοῦ.

Apollod. epit. 3. 20 Τήλεφος δὲ ἐκ τῆς Μυσίας, ἀνίατον τὸ τραῦμα ἔχων, εἰπόντος αὐτῷ τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος τότε τεύξεσθαι θεραπείας ὅταν ὁ τρώσας ἰατρὸς γένηται, τρύχεσιν ἡμφιεσμένος εἰς Ἄργος ἀφίκετο, καὶ δεηθεὶς Ἀχιλλέως καὶ ὑπεσχημένος τὸν εἰς Τροίαν πλοῦν δεῖξαι θεραπεύεται ἀποξύσαντος Ἀχιλλέως τῆς Πηλιάδος μελίας τὸν ἰόν. θεραπευθεὶς οὖν ἔδειξε τὸν πλοῦν, τὸ τῆς δείξεως ἀσφαλὲς πιστουμένου τοῦ Κάλχαντος διὰ τῆς ἑαυτοῦ μαντικῆς.

Apollodorus' account is probably coloured by Euripides' *Telephos*, notorious for the hero's being clothed in rags.³⁹ The play was set in Argos (fr. 697 test., 713), where the Atreidai were disputing over whether to renew the war. Achilles and Odysseus were present. In the *Cypria* too, according to Proclus, it was in Argos that Telephos found Achilles. There must be a suspicion that the Euripidean venue has intruded. But consider the poet's problem. He had to get the Achaeans reassembled at Aulis. He could not, without inconvenience, let them all disperse to their homes after the failure of the first expedition and have Menelaos recruit them all over again.⁴⁰ So perhaps when they withdrew from Mysia Agamemnon instructed them to reconvene in Ἄργος Ἀχαικόν (=the Argolid) to consider how to proceed. The storm scattered them temporarily (taking **(p.109)** Achilles to Skyros), but then they all made their way to Mycenae for the council of war. It was necessary because, as they were now aware, they did not know how to find the way to Troy. Telephos' arrival solved their problem as well as his own.

It was from Apollo, according to Apollodorus and Hyg. *Fab.* 101, that Telephos learned that his wound would be healed by the one who had caused it. Euripides and others (Eur. fr. 700 with Kannicht) make it Apollo Λύκιος, which may point to the oracle at Patara.

Telephos must have given his navigational guidance by sailing with the Achaeans to Troy; Euripides has him sitting by the steersman (fr. 727c. 27). Then presumably he made his way home overland to Mysia, but we hear nothing of it. At the end of the war his son Eurypylos came to fight for the Trojans and was killed by Achilles' son (*Little Iliad* arg. 3, F 6–7).

Calchas, who himself failed to show the Achaeans the way to Troy, is nevertheless able to certify the reliability of Telephos' advice. This reconciles the Telephos story with the version in which Calchas led the way (*Il.* 1. 71f.). In Apollodorus' narrative this is all done before the second gathering at Aulis.

Second Gathering at Aulis. Sacrifice of Iphigeneia

Arg. 8

καὶ τὸ δεύτερον ἡθροισμένου τοῦ στόλου ἐν Αὐλίδι Ἀγαμέμνων ἐπὶ θήρας βαλὼν

ἔλαφον ὑπερβάλλειν ἔφησε καὶ τὴν Ἄρτεμιν· μηνίσασα δὲ ἡ θεὸς ἐπέσχευεν αὐτοὺς τοῦ πλοῦ χειμῶνας ἐπιπέμπουσα. Κάλχαντος δὲ εἰπόντος τὴν τῆς θεοῦ μῆνιν καὶ Ἰφιγένειαν κελεύσαντος θύειν τῇ Ἀρτέμιδι, ὡς ἐπὶ γάμον αὐτὴν Ἀχιλλεῖ μεταπεμψάμενοι θύειν ἐπιχειροῦσιν. Ἄρτεμις δὲ αὐτὴν ἐξαρπάσασα εἰς Ταύρους μετακομίζει καὶ ἀθάνατον ποιεῖ, ἔλαφον δὲ ἀντὶ τῆς κόρης παρίστησι τῷ βωμῷ.

Apollo^d. epit. 3. 21–2 ἀναχθέντων δὲ αὐτῶν ἀπ’ Ἄργους καὶ παραγενομένων τὸ δεύτερον εἰς Αὐλίδα, τὸν στόλον ἄπλοια κατεῖχε. Κάλχας δὲ ἔφη οὐκ ἄλλως δύνασθαι πλεῖν αὐτοὺς εἰ μὴ τῶν Ἀγαμέμνονος θυγατέρων ἢ κρατιστεύουσα κάλλει σφάγιον Ἀρτέμιδος παραστήνῃ. ἔλεγε γὰρ μηνῖσαι Ἀγαμέμνονι τὴν θεόν, κατὰ μὲν τινας ἐπεὶ κατὰ θήραν ἐν καιρίῳ βαλὼν ἔλαφον εἶπεν οὐ δύνασθαι σωτηρίας αὐτὴν τυχεῖν οὐδ’ Ἀρτέμιδος θελούσης, κατὰ δὲ τινας ὅτι τὴν χρυσοῦν ἄρνα οὐκ ἔθυσεν αὐτῇ Ἀτρεΰς. τοῦ δὲ χρησμοῦ τούτου γενομένου, πέμψας Ἀγαμέμνων πρὸς Κλυταιμῆστραν Ὀδυσσεά καὶ Ταλθύβιον Ἰφιγένειαν ἤγειρε, λέγων ὑπεσχῆσθαι δώσειν αὐτὴν Ἀχιλλεῖ γυναικᾶ μισθὸν τῆς στρατείας. πεμψάσης δὲ ἐκείνης Ἀγαμέμνων τῷ βωμῷ παραστήσας ἔμελλε σφάζειν, Ἄρτεμις δὲ αὐτὴν ἀρπάσασα εἰς Ταύρους ἰέρειαν αὐτῆς κατέστησεν, ἔλαφον ἀντ’ αὐτῆς παραστήσασα τῷ βωμῷ, ὡς δὲ ἐνιοὶ λέγουσιν, ἀθάνατον αὐτὴν ἐποίησεν.

(p.110) The events associated with the Aulis gathering in older tradition, the sparrow omen and the sacrifice of Iphigeneia, were in the *Cypria* distributed between the two gatherings. Agamemnon’s sacrifice of his daughter is related in [Hes.] fr. 23a. 17–26, where she is named Iphimede. It is probably alluded to in *Il.* 1. 106–8, where Agamemnon accuses Calchas of always making evil prophecies (Kullmann 198). An Attic vase fragment from the third quarter of the seventh century (*LIMC* Iphigeneia 2) shows a group of men carrying a supine woman, probably towards an altar for sacrifice, but we cannot tell if she was meant to be Iphigeneia, Polyxena, or some other unfortunate.

F 20 Sch. Soph. *El.* 157, “οἷα Χρυσόθεμις ζῶει καὶ Ἰφιάνασσα”

ἢ Ὀμήρῳ ἀκολουθεῖ εἰρηκότι τὰς τρεῖς θυγατέρας τοῦ Ἀγαμέμνονος (*Il.* 9. 144) ἢ, ὡς ὁ τὰ Κύπρια, δὲ φησιν, Ἰφιγένειαν καὶ Ἰφιάνασσαν.

?φιανασσαν.

In the *Iliad* passage Agamemnon says he has three daughters at home, Chrysothemis, Laodike, and Iphianassa. (If one was sacrificed at Aulis he would formerly have had four.) In [Hes.] fr. 23a. 15f. he has only two, Iphimede (the sacrificed one) and Electra. Xanthos *PMG* 700 said that Laodike and Electra were the same, the latter name arising because she remained ἄλεκτρος. Given this equation, Sophocles could be said to have the same three as Homer. Euripides in his *Orestes* (23; cf. *IA* 1164, 1447) adapts Sophocles’ three to Chrysothemis, Electra, and Iphigeneia; but the Homeric-Sophoclean Iphianassa was alive, so not identical with the one sacrificed.⁴¹ In the **(p.111)** Sophocles scholium something is evidently missing (*pace* Xenis). It seems to indicate that Iphigeneia and Iphianassa were both named in the *Cypria*, besides two others, presumably Chrysothemis and either Laodike or Electra.

Tenedos. Philoctetes

Arg. 9a

ἔπειτα καταπλέουσιν εἰς Τένεδον.

Apollod. epit. 3. 23 οἱ δὲ ἀναχθέντες ἐξ Αὐλίδος προσέσχον Τενέδωι. ταύτης ἐβασίλευε Τένης ὁ Κύκνου καὶ Προκλείας, ὡς δέ τινες Απόλλωνος ... 26 προσπλέοντας οὖν Τενέδωι τοὺς Ἕλληνας ὁρῶν Τένης ἀπεῖργε βάλλων πέτρους· καὶ ὑπὸ Ἀχιλλέως ξίφει πληγεὶς κατὰ τὸ στῆθος θνήσκει, καίτοι Θέτιδος προειπούσης Ἀχιλλεῖ μὴ κτείνειν Τένην, τεθνήξασθαι γὰρ ὑπὸ Απόλλωνος αὐτὸν ἐὰν κτείνῃ Τένην.

'The absence of any reference to the killing of Tennes in Proklos' summary could indicate that it was not a part of the *Cypria*, but we really have very little means of controlling how complete that summary is' (Gantz 592). Certainly the story of how Tennes came to the island after being falsely accused by his stepmother and cast out to sea by his father⁴² has no place in the epic; it may have originated in the *Tennes* ascribed to Euripides or Critias (*TrGF* 43 F 20). His killing by Achilles has nothing to do with that. Achilles' sacking of Tenedos is mentioned in *Il.* 11. 625, and it must have involved the killing of a named ruler, *sc.* Tennes. Cf. Diod. 5. 83. 5 Ἀχιλλέως τὸν Τέννην ἀνελόντος καθ' ὃν καιρὸν ἐπόρθησαν οἱ Ἕλληνες τὴν Τένεδον; Paus. 10. 14. 4 Τέννην μὲν ὑπὸ Ἀχιλλέως ἀποθανεῖν ἀμύνοντα τῇ οἰκείᾳ φασὶν οἱ Ἕλληνες. We should expect this to have come in the *Cypria*, but it remains odd that Proclus says nothing of fighting on Tenedos.

Tennes was the eponymous founder-hero of Tenedos and had a shrine there (Diod. 5. 83. 3; Plut. *Qu. Graec.* 297d–f). He had a special relationship with Apollo, whose dominion over Tenedos is mentioned in *Il.* 1. 38. The story of his defeat by Achilles may have originated as a Lesbian colonial legend. Cf. M. L. Napolitano in Mele (p.112) *et al.*, 233–47. His defence of his island by throwing stones is a motif paralleled in the myth of Talos, the bronze giant of Crete (*ibid.* 242).

Thetis' warning to Achilles not to kill Tennes (or according to other sources any son of Apollo) is in the spirit of early epic; cf. below on arg. 10a and on *Aethiopis* arg. 2b. If the Tennes episode was included in the *Cypria*, the warning was probably part of it. Some sources give a more elaborated, less epic-looking version in which Thetis charged a servant to keep reminding her son of the warning, but he forgot to (Lyc. 240–2 with sch., Plut. *Qu. Graec.* 297e–f).

There may once have been a version in which Thetis warned Achilles when he first went to war, 'Avoid killing any son of Apollo, for if you kill one, you will die soon after', and in which the only son of Apollo that he killed was Hector (who was a son of Apollo in Stes. *PMGF* 224 and Ibycus *PMGF* 295, though not in Homer); cf. *Il.* 18. 96 αὐτίκα γάρ τοι ἔπειτα μεθ' Ἑκτορα πότμος ἐτοῖμος.

Arg. 9b

καὶ εὐωχουμένων αὐτῶν Φιλοκτήτης ὑφ' ὕδρου πληγεὶς διὰ τὴν δυσσομίαν ἐν Λήμνῳ κατελείφθη.

Apollod. epit. 3. 27 τελούντων δὲ αὐτῶν Απόλλωνι θυσίαν, ἐκ τοῦ βωμοῦ προσελθὼν

ὑδρος δάκνει Φιλοκτήτην· ἀθεραπεύτου δὲ τοῦ ἔλκους καὶ δυσώδους γενομένου τῆς τε ὁδοῦς οὐκ ἀνεχομένου τοῦ στρατοῦ, Ὀδυσσεὺς αὐτὸν εἰς Λῆμνον μεθ' ὧν εἶχε τόξων Ἡρακλείων ἐκτίθησι, κελεύσαντος Ἀγαμέμνονος.

Apollo, the true father of Tennes, was the god of Tenedos (*Il.* 1. 38), and this is a sufficient reason why the Achaeans sacrificed to him there. For the motif of the snake appearing from below his altar cf. the Aulis omen (above, arg. 6). The serpents who devoured Laokoon's sons disappeared beneath the statue of Athena at Troy (*Virg. Aen.* 2. 226f.).

Philoctetes' abandonment on Lemnos is mentioned in *Il.* 2. 721–5. But in 8. 228–34 Agamemnon recalls Lemnos as the scene of cheer-ful and confident feasting, which would seem to correspond to the feasting on Tenedos in the *Cypria*. The older version was evidently that the feast took place on Lemnos and that Philoctetes was bitten by the snake there, which is why it was on Lemnos that he remained. His sojourn there was too fixed in the tradition to be changed, but the *Cypria* poet transferred the feast and the snake to Tenedos (**p.113**) (Welcker ii. 144; Bethe 242), because in his account that was the first place at which the Achaeans stopped after leaving Aulis. It would be interesting to know how he motivated the sending of Philoctetes from there to Lemnos.

It was an essential part of Philoctetes' story that the Achaeans eventually found that they could not take Troy without him, because he had the bow of Heracles, and they had to go and fetch him to Troy, as was narrated in the *Little Iliad*. It is likely that his possession of the bow was mentioned in the *Cypria*, perhaps in connection with his use of it to shoot game on Lemnos (Wagner 196).

Arg. 9c

καὶ Ἀχιλλεὺς ὕστερος κληθεὶς διαφέρεται πρὸς Ἀγαμέμνονα.

It was Agamemnon's role to invite the chief leaders to sacrificial feasts, cf. *Il.* 2. 402–7. Achilles took offence at his belated invitation and, as may be gathered from Sophocles' treatment in his *Syndeipnoi* (fr. 566), declared that he would not fight the Trojans. Cf. *Arist. Rhet.* 1401b16 ἢ εἴ τις φαίη τὸ ἐπὶ δεῖπνον κληθῆναι τιμώτατον· διὰ γὰρ τὸ μὴ κληθῆναι ὁ Ἀχιλλεὺς ἐμήνισε τοῖς Ἀχαιοῖς ἐν Τενέδωι. It was a μῆνις duplicating the one in the *Iliad* (where there is no allusion to an earlier quarrel) and evidently an innovation (Welcker ii. 145; Bergk 47). See below on arg. 10a.

F 21* Chrysippus, SVF ii. 57. 11

εἰ Ἀγαμέμνων οὕτως ἀπέφασκεν·

οὐκ ἐφάμην Ἀχιλῆϊ χολωσέμεν ἄλκιμον ἦτορ

ᾧδε μάλ' ἐκπάγλως, ἐπεὶ ἦ μάλα μοι φίλος ἦν,

ἀξιώμ' ἐστὶν κτλ.

1 χολωσέμεν Nauck, *Homeri Odyssea* I (Berlin 1874), xiii n. 5: χολωσειν pap.

These unattributed verses must refer to one of Agamemnon's quarrels with Achilles. After the reconciliation of the major one in *Il.* 19 it is unlikely that he had occasion to return to the subject in one of the later epics of the Cycle. More probably the reference is to the first quarrel and the fragment is from the *Cypria* (J. A. Letronne, *Journal des Savants* (1838), 322).

2. ἐπεὶ ἦ μάλα μοι φίλος ἦν: cf. *Il.* 1. 381. Welcker ii. 150 finds a psychological insight here: the greater the previous affection, the sharper the disaffection after a quarrel.

(p.114) The Landing in the Troad. Protesilaos. Kyknos

Arg. 10a

ἐπειτα ἀποβαίνοντας αὐτοὺς εἰς Ἴλιον εἵργουσιν οἱ Τρῶες, καὶ θνήσκει Πρωτεσίλαος ὑφ' Ἑκτορος.

Apollod. epit. 3. 29–30 Ἀχιλλεῖ δὲ ἐπιστέλλει Θέτις, πρώτῳ μὴ ἀποβῆναι τῶν νεῶν· τὸν γὰρ ἀποβάντα πρώτον, πρώτον μέλλειν καὶ τελευτᾶν. πυθόμενοι δὲ οἱ βάρβαροι τὸν στόλον ἐπιπλεῖν, σὺν ὅπλοις ἐπὶ τὴν θάλασσαν ὥρμησαν καὶ βάλλοντες πέτραις ἀποβῆναι ἐκώλυνον. τῶν δὲ Ἑλλήνων πρώτος ἀπέβη τῆς νηὸς Πρωτεσίλαος, καὶ κτείνας οὐκ ὀλίγους ὑφ' Ἑκτορος θνήσκει.

Achilles as the bravest and most furious hero might have been expected to be the first ashore (Wagner 198). The poet may have used Thetis' warning to explain why he held back; cf. above on arg. 9a.⁴³ Alternatively it may have been accounted for by the quarrel with Agamemnon (arg. 9c). In this case it was the fall of Protesilaos, his Thessalian neighbour, that made him abandon his recalcitrance and lead his Myrmidons out to battle; cf. Apollod. epit. 3. 31 quoted below.⁴⁴ According to Lyc. 279 (cf. 246?) he was actually the last ashore.

Protesilaos was established in tradition as the first Achaean to fall on Trojan soil: *Il.* 2. 698–702.⁴⁵ According to that passage he was killed not by Hector but by a Dardanian, whose name is not given; cf. West (2011a), 120. Sophocles (fr. 497) followed the *Cypria* in making it Hector. This is Hector's only detectable appearance in the *Cypria*. It may be that the Trojans were never again represented as coming out of the city to fight. But the existence of a hero so central to the *Iliad* needed to be established.

The detail in Apollodorus that Protesilaos slew many of the enemy before being slain himself corresponds to a typical epic pattern and (p.115) may be assumed for the *Cypria*. According to the *Iliad* passage, however, he was killed as he leapt from his ship.

Apollodorus says the barbarians came down to the shore σὺν ὅπλοις, so it was to be a regular battle. He then has them trying to repel the invaders βάλλοντες πέτραις, which is perhaps an erroneous repetition from the preceding passage about Tennes, epit. 3. 26 βάλλων πέτρους. Achilles' use of a stone against Kyknos (below, arg. 10b) ought to stand out as something new.

F 22 Paus. 4. 2. 7

ὁ δὲ τὰ ἔπη ποιήσας τὰ Κύπρια Πρωτεσιλάου φησὶν, ὃς ὅτε κατὰ τὴν Τρωιάδα ἔσχον Ἕλληνες ἀποβῆναι πρῶτος ἐτόλμησε, Πρωτεσιλάου τούτου τὴν γυναιῖκα Πολυδώραν μὲν τὸ ὄνομα, θυγατέρα δὲ Μελεάγρου φησὶν εἶναι τοῦ Οἰνέως.

Protesilaos' grief-stricken wife is mentioned, but not named, at *Il.* 2. 700, where he is also said to have left a *δόμος ἡμιτελής*. This implies that he was newly married when he left home for Troy, and so it was in Euripides' *Protesilaos*. Cf. Catull. 68. 74–6, *Protesilaëam... domum | inceptam frustra, nondum cum sanguine sacro | hostia caelestis paci ficasset eros*. The *Cypria* poet perhaps told of Polydora's suicide (Severyns (1928), 302).

Arg. 10b

ἔπειτα Ἀχιλλεὺς αὐτοὺς τρέπεται ἀνελὼν Κύκνον τὸν Ποσειδῶνος, καὶ τοὺς νεκροὺς ἀναιροῦνται.

Apollod. epit. 3. 31 Πρωτεσιλάου δὲ τελευτήσαντος ἐκβαίνει μετὰ Μυρμιδόνων Ἀχιλλεὺς καὶ λίθον βαλὼν εἰς τὴν κεφαλὴν Κύκνου κτείνει. ὡς δὲ τοῦτον νεκρὸν εἶδον οἱ βάρβαροι, φεύγουσιν εἰς τὴν πόλιν, οἱ δὲ Ἕλληνες ἐκπηδήσαντες τῶν νεῶν ἐνέπλησαν σωματίων τὸ πεδίον· καὶ κατακλείσαντες τοὺς Τρῶας ἐπολιόρκουν· ἀνέλκουσι δὲ τὰς ναῦς.

Pindar speaks of Kyknos as one of three great heroes that Achilles killed, the other two being Hector and Memnon (*Ol.* 2. 81–3, *Isth.* 5. 39–41). In the *Cypria* he had a divine father and must have been presented as a formidable warrior. But in origin he seems to have been a folktale figure (Welcker ii. 146). His skin was abnormally white ([Hes.] fr. 237; Hellanicus fr. 148; 'singers of ancient battles' (p.116) ap. Theoc. 16. 49f.), but also impenetrable (Soph. fr. 500; Arist. *Rhet.* 1396b18 ὃς ἐκώλυεν ἅπαντας ἀποβαίνειν ἄτρωτος ὦν). This is why Achilles kills him not with spear or sword but by crushing his head in with a rock.⁴⁶

According to later sources⁴⁷ Kyknos was the ruler of Kolonai, which was situated at BeÂ, ik Tepe, 5 km south of the later Alexandria Troas. He was the human father of Tennes (whose real father was Apollo). He was supposed to be named for his whiteness, but it is an intriguing possibility that his name actually preserves a dim memory of Kukunnis, the predecessor of Alaksandus as king of Wilusa around 1300 bce.⁴⁸

At the death of their champion his followers turned to flight, a typical epic motif, for which see on *Aethiopsis* arg. 3a. The rest of the Achaeans were now able to disembark. They chased the Trojans away, killing large numbers of them as they fled into their city. The Achaeans were left free to recover their dead, haul their ships ashore, and establish their camp. Thucydides 1. 11. 1 refers to their having built a defensive enclosure, but this is his commonsense assumption, not evidence that a work of fortification was described in the *Cypria*.⁴⁹

The Embassy to Troy

Arg. 10C

καὶ διαπρεσβεύονται πρὸς τοὺς Τρῶας, τὴν Ἑλένην καὶ τὰ κτήματα ἀπαιτοῦντες· ὥς δὲ οὐχ ὑπήκουσαν ἐκεῖνοι, ἐνταῦθα δὴ τειχομαχοῦσιν.

(p.117) Apollod. epit. 3. 28 καὶ πέμπουσιν Ὀδυσσέα καὶ Μενέλαον τὴν Ἑλένην καὶ τὰ χρήματα αἰτοῦντες. συναθροισθείσης δὲ παρὰ τοῖς Τρωσὶν ἐκκλησίας οὐ μόνον τὴν Ἑλένην οὐκ ἀπεδίδουν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τούτους κτείνειν ἤθελον. τούτους μὲν οὖν ἔσωσεν Ἀντήνωρ.

According to Ovid, *Met.* 12. 146f., the death of Kyknos brought a pause of many days. But the embassy must have followed not too long after the landing.⁵⁰ It is recalled in the *Iliad*, 3. 205–24 and 11. 123–5, 138–41. Antenor had entertained Odysseus and Menelaos in his house before the assembly meeting, at which both envoys spoke. Antimachos, bribed by Paris, spoke against giving Helen up, and moreover called for the envoys to be lynched. Antenor must have repudiated Antimachos' arguments and saved the two men. Because of this the Achaeans took pains to spare Antenor's family when they sacked the city; see on *Little Iliad* F 22, *Iliou Persis* arg. 2c.

The embassy appears to be depicted on a bronze tripod leg at Olympia from the last quarter of the seventh century (see Pro-legomena §5). Odysseus and Menelaos are accompanied by a herald. On a Corinthian column crater of c.560 (*LIMC* Harmatidas 1) he is named as Talthybios, and the envoys are greeted by Antenor's wife Theano, whom we know from the *Iliad* (5. 70, 6. 298–300, 11. 224). She also played a prominent role in the embassy in Bacchylides 15, and we may suppose that this goes back to the *Cypria* (Kullmann 276). Three of the Trojan men have name-labels: Harmatidas (unknown), Olpos (unknown), and E(ϋ)rymachos (a son of Antenor). Theano appears again in this context on an Attic red-figure kantharos of c.425, *LIMC* Theano (I) 2.

(p.118) Achilles' Raids in the Troad. his Meeting with Helen

Arg. 11a

ἔπειτα τὴν χώραν ἐπεξελθόντες πορθοῦσι καὶ τὰς περιόικους πόλεις.

Between the unsuccessful embassy at the outset of the war and the events of the *Iliad* towards its end, the tradition offered nothing that belonged at any particular time, just an unstructured interval of nine years. The events of these years occupy only fifteen out of the ninety lines of Proclus' summary of the *Cypria* in Severyns's edition. So long as the Trojans remained within the protection of their city walls, no battles were possible. All that the Achaeans could do was ravage the countryside and surrounding settlements.⁵¹ Achilles remained the focus, as he had been since Tenedos. In *Il.* 9. 328f. he claims to have taken eleven towns on land in the Troad and twelve from the sea. They included Skyros (9. 668), Lesbos (9. 129/271, 664), Tenedos (11. 625), Lyrnessos (2. 691, 19. 60, 20. 94, 191), Pedasos (20. 92), and Hypoplakian Thebe (1. 366, 2. 691, 6. 415, 16. 153). Ovid, *Met.* 13. 174, adds Chryse and Killa. Nestor in *Od.* 3. 105f. recalls Achilles leading the Achaeans on plundering expeditions by sea.

Such exploits as are assigned to this nine-year period are in fact almost exclusively Achilles'. It is unlikely that the poet distinguished one year from another until it came to the tenth.

A Boeotian relief amphora of c.625 (*LIMC* Achilleus 389; Burgess 26) shows a cattle raid by a warrior argued to be Achilles; cf. Fittschen 171.

Arg. 11b

καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα Ἀχιλλεὺς Ἑλένην ἐπιθυμεῖ θεάσασθαι, καὶ συνήγαγεν αὐτοὺς εἰς τὸ αὐτὸ Ἀφροδίτῃ καὶ Θέτις. εἶτα ἀπονοστεῖν ὠρμημένους τοὺς Ἀχαιοὺς Ἀχιλλεὺς κατέχει.

Helen and Achilles are the two most glamorous figures in the Troy saga. She, the flower of womanhood, provokes the great war; he, the **(p.119)** flower of manhood, invests it with the highest heroic splendour. These are the two that especially fascinate Sappho and Alcaeus. The *Cypria* poet has given accounts of the extraordinary circumstances of their births.⁵² Now he brings them together for a brief, secret meeting. It cannot lead to a romantic attachment, and certainly Proclus' wording does not favour the notion of Davies (1989), 48, that they made love. But it does let Achilles see what the war is all about and why it is worth fighting. In the account of Helen's wedding in the *Catalogue of Women* he was the one hero who was not a suitor (he was still a boy, otherwise he would have had Helen for himself: [Hes.] fr. 204. 87–92) and who accordingly came to Troy without ever having set eyes on her.

Thetis and Aphrodite are needed to bring the meeting about. Presumably Achilles in a conversation with his mother told her that he wanted to see Helen's beauty for himself.⁵³ Thetis then contacted Aphrodite and between them they arranged the rendezvous.⁵⁴ His place or hers? It seems easier to imagine that Aphrodite smuggled Helen through to Achilles' hut, as Hermes does with Priam in *Iliad* 24, than that Achilles was smuggled into Troy. She may have concealed her in mist and carried her through the air, as she does Paris in *Il.* 3. 380–2.⁵⁵

Later there was a scene, no doubt modelled on *Iliad* 2, showing the Achaeans despondent and wanting to go home. (Some time must have elapsed since their initial victory.) Its purpose was to show how Achilles had been affected by his encounter with Helen. He was able to persuade them to continue the war. For the possibility that the *Iliad* poet knew an early version of this episode in which Thersites barracked Achilles (and Odysseus) see on *Aethiopsis* arg. 1d.

(p.120) Arg. 11c

κᾶπειτα ἀπελάυνει τὰς Αἰνείου βοῦς.

Apollod. epit. 3. 32 καὶ παραγίνεται εἰς Ἴδην ἐπὶ τὰς Αἰνείου {τοῦ Πριάμου} βόας. φυγόντος δὲ αὐτοῦ, τοὺς βουκόλους κτείνας καὶ Μήστορα τὸν Πριάμου τὰς βόας ἐλάυνει.

Achilles' forays in the pastures of Ida are mentioned more than once in the *Iliad*. In 11.

104–6 he is said to have caught and ransomed two sons of Priam who were looking after sheep. The raid on Aeneas' cattle is recalled in 20. 90f., 188–94. Aeneas fled, and Achilles chased him all the way to Lyrnessos. Mestor is not mentioned in that context but named in 24. 257 as one of the fine sons that Priam has lost.

Arg. 11d

καὶ Λυρνησσὸν καὶ Πήδασον πορθεῖ καὶ συχνὰς τῶν περιοικίδων πόλεων.

In *Il.* 20. 90–2 the pursuit of Aeneas leads directly to the sack of Lyrnessos and Pedasos, so they may have been similarly linked in the *Cypria*. Elsewhere in the *Iliad* the taking of Lyrnessos is mentioned separately: 2. 691, 16. 57, 19. 60, 296.

F 23 Sch. (T) *Il.* 16. 57b, “πόλιν εὐτείχεα πέρσας”

τὴν Πήδασον οἱ τῶν Κυπρίων ποιηταί, αὐτὸς δὲ Λυρνησσόν.

The question is where Achilles captured Briseis, the girl whom Agamemnon takes from him in the *Iliad*. In that poem (2. 690, 19. 60, 296) it was said to be at Lyrnessos, but in the *Cypria* at Pedasos.

F 24 Sch. (bT) *Il.* 1. 366c

εἰς Θήβας δὲ ἤκουσα ἡ Χρυσηῖς πρὸς Ἴφινόην τὴν Ἡετίωνος ἀδελφήν, Ἄκτορος δὲ θυγατέρα, θύουσαν Ἀρτέμιδι, ἥλω ὑπὸ Ἀχιλλέως.

Eust. *Il.* 119. 4

ἱστοροῦσι δὲ τινες ὅτι ἐκ τῶν Ὑποπλακίων Θηβῶν ἡ Χρυσηῖς ἐλήφθη, οὔτε καταφυγοῦσα ἐκεῖ οὔτ' ἐπὶ θυσίαν Ἀρτέμιδος ἐλθοῦσα, ὥς ὁ τὰ Κύπρια γράψας ἔφη, ἀλλὰ πολῖτις ἦτοι συμπολίτις Ἀνδρομάχης οὔσα.

(p.121) Chryseis, the girl that Agamemnon is forced to surrender at the beginning of the *Iliad*, was taken from Hypoplakian Thebe (1. 366–9) but seems to be a native of Chryse, where she is given back to her father. One of the explanations of her presence in Thebe was given in the *Cypria*: that she had gone there to take part in a sacrifice to Artemis with King Eetion's sister.

The attention paid to Briseis and Chryseis in the *Cypria* shows the poet's sense of the need to prepare for the events of the *Iliad*; cf. below, arg. 12a. In relating the sack of Thebe he may have referred to the slaughter of Eetion and his seven sons and the ransoming of his wife (*Il.* 6. 415–28), and to his daughter Andromache's marriage to Hector.

Troilos. Lykaon

Arg. 11e

καὶ Τρωΐλον φονεύει.

Apollod. epit. 3. 32 Ἀχιλλεὺς ἐνεδρεύσας Τρωΐλον ἐν τῷ τοῦ Θυμβραίου Ἀπόλλωνος ἱερῷ φονεύει.

F 25* Sch. (A) Il. 24. 257b (Aristonicus)

ὅτι ἐκ τοῦ εἰρησθαι ἵπποχάρμην τὸν Τρωΐλον οἱ νεώτεροι ἐφ' ἵππου διωκόμενον αὐτὸν ἐποίησαν. καὶ οἱ μὲν παῖδα αὐτὸν ὑποτίθενται, Ὅμηρος δὲ διὰ τοῦ ἐπιθέτου τέλειον ἄνδρα ἐμφαίνει· οὐ γὰρ ἄλλος ἱππόμαχος λέγεται.

Troilos is a son of Priam, mentioned in the *Iliad* in the same context as Mestor (above, arg. 11c). He is famed for his beauty: Ibyc. *PMGF* S151. 41, S224; Phrynichus *TrGF* 3 F 13. Ibycus too referred to his death in the shrine at Thymbra, S224. 7 παῖδα] θεοῖς ἴκ[ελον, τὸ]ν περγάμων ἔκτοσθεν Ἰλίο[υ κτάνε], with the commentary (P. Oxy. 2637 fr. 12), ἀνεῖλεν τὸν Τρωΐλον ἐκτ[ὸς τῆς πό]λεως ἐν τῷ τοῦ Θυμβραίου ἱ [ερῷ; so too Sophocles (*TrGF* iv. 453), according to whom he was exercising his horses there. A bronze tripod leg and a set of bronze shield bands from the late seventh century, all at Olympia, show the boy seeking refuge on the altar (*LIMC* Achilles 375–6).

The Troilos episode is popular with artists from as early as the middle of that century (Luckenbach 600–13; Fittschen 171f.; (p.122) Ahlberg-Cornell 54–6; Gantz 597–600). Often Troilos flees on horse-back pursued by Achilles on foot. Alexandrian scholars knew a literary source for this, as appears from F 25 (οἱ νεώτεροι), and it was most likely the *Cypria* (Severyns (1928), 306f.). On some vases Troilos is decapitated, as in Lyc. 313. Sometimes Troilos' sister Polyxena is depicted as present at the event; the scene is a fountain-house to which she has come to draw water (e.g. *LIMC* Troilos 3, 10, 11). The *Cypria* perhaps related that Achilles saw her on that occasion and was smitten with desire: see on *Iliou Persis* arg. 4c.

According to Lyc. 313 and Apollod. 3. 12. 5 Troilos was really a son of Apollo. If this goes back to the *Cypria*, it reprises a motif that we met with Kyknos, recalling Thetis' warning against killing sons of Apollo. A connection might in any case have been made between the killing in Apollo's shrine and Apollo's eventual part in the death of Achilles.

Arg. 11f

Λυκάονά τε Πάτροκλος εἰς Λῆμνον ἀγαγὼν ἀπεμπολεῖ.

Apollod. epit. 3. 32 καὶ νυκτὸς ἐλθὼν ἐπὶ τὴν πόλιν Λυκάονα λαμβάνει.

Lykaon was another son of Priam. It is related in *Il.* 21. 34–48, 23. 746f., that Achilles on a night incursion caught him cutting fig branches in his father's vineyard to make a chariot rail and took him captive. Patroklos sold him to Euneos in Lemnos. Euneos sold him on to an Imbrian, who sent him to Arisbe in the Troad. He escaped from there and made his way back to Troy. But within a fortnight Achilles caught him again, on the battlefield, and this time killed him. The background history may be an improvisation by the *Iliad* poet (West (2011a), 375f.). The account in the *Cypria* seems to have been designed to fit what was said in the *Iliad*.

Arg. 12a

καὶ ἐκ τῶν λαφύρων Ἀχιλλεὺς μὲν Βρισηΐδα γέρας λαμβάνει, Χρυσήϊδα δὲ Ἀγαμέμνων.

Further preparation for the *Iliad*. See above on F 24.

(p.123) Palamedes. The Oinotropoi

Arg. 12b

ἔπειτά ἐστι Παλαμήδους θάνατος.

F 27 Paus. 10. 31. 2

Παλαμήδην δὲ ἀποπνιγῆναι προελθόντα ἐπὶ ἰχθύων θήραν, Διομήδην δὲ τὸν ἀποκτείναντα εἶναι καὶ Ὀδυσσέα, ἐπιλεξάμενος ἐν ἔπεσιν οἶδα τοῖς Κυπρίοις.

Odysseus and Diomedes are associated in various exploits, cf. on *Little Iliad* arg. 4e. They murder Palamedes (who made an enemy of Odysseus at the beginning of the war: above, arg. 5b) by drowning him on a fishing expedition, presumably claiming that it had been an accident. He had to be disposed of before the end of the poem as he had no existence in the *Iliad*. Later sources have a quite different account of his downfall, in which he is stoned by the Achaeans after being convicted of treachery on the strength of planted evidence; see Gantz 605.

Fishing is an uncharacteristic activity for epic. The only time that men of the heroic age do any fishing in Homer is when they are starving for lack of provisions (*Od.* 4. 368f., 12. 330–2). So were the Greeks at Troy short of food (Robert 1130)? There is a tradition that they were, as will appear in the discussion of:

F 26 Sch. Lyc. 570, “ὁ Ῥοιοῦς ἱνις”

τοῦτον δὲ (Ἄνιον) Ἀπόλλων ἤνεγκεν εἰς Δῆλον. ὃς γήμας Δωρίππην ἐγέννησε τὰς Οἰνοτρόπους, Οἰνώ, Σπερμώ, Ἑλαΐδα, αἷς ὁ Διόνυσος ἐχαρίσατο, ὁπότε βούλονται σπέρμα λαμβάνειν. Φερεκύδης δὲ φησιν (fr. 140 Fowler) ὅτι Ἄνιος ἔπεισε (v.l. ἔπειθε) τοὺς Ἑλληνας παραγενομένους πρὸς αὐτὸν αὐτοῦ μένειν τὰ θ, ἔτη δεδόσθαι δὲ αὐτοῖς παρὰ τῶν θεῶν τῶι δεκάτῳ ἔτει πορθῆσαι τὴν Ἴλιον· ὑπέσχετο δὲ αὐτοῖς ὑπὸ τῶν θυγατέρων αὐτοῦ τραφήσεσθαι. ἔστι δὲ τοῦτο καὶ παρὰ τῶι τὰ Κύπρια πεποιηκότι.

Lycophron 570–6 encrypts the story that the scholiast cites from Pherecydes. The emphasis is on Anios’ offer and his promise that his daughters will provide for the Greeks if they stay on Delos for the nine years during which it is prophesied that they cannot take Ilios.

(p.124) He does not say, and it is not certain that Pherecydes said, that they took up the offer.

The last sentence of the scholium is unfortunately vague: which elements of Pherecydes’ account were matched in the *Cypria*? Lycophron goes on to say in 581–3 that the girls would one day go to Rhoiteion and relieve the army’s ravenous hunger there. A scholium

on 581 avers that this came to pass: Agamemnon sent for them by means of Palamedes, and they came to Rhoiteion and fed the troops.

A variant version is given by sch. *Od.* 6. 164. Odysseus mentions to Nausicaa that he once went to Delos, and the scholiast suggests that he is referring to an occasion when Menelaos went to Delos with Odysseus for the daughters of Anios, the Oinotropoi; ἡ δὲ ἱστορία καὶ παρὰ Σιμωνίδῃ ἐν ταῖς Κατευχαῖς (PMG 537=fr. 301 Poltera).

So what happened in the *Cypria*? Did the Achaeans (a) stay on Delos for nine years before ever reaching Troy, or (b) call at Delos on their outward journey, decline Anios' offer to stay, but later send back a request for the Oinotropoi to come to the Troad and help them out, or (c) not call at Delos at all but send for the Oinotropoi later when faced with a lack of food?

(a) is an absurdity, surely out of the question. How could Proclus have failed to note a nine-year stay on Delos if it had been in the *Cypria*? In any case it would not have exempted the Achaeans from the nine years of *fighting in the Troad* laid down in Calchas' prophecy (πτολεμίζομεν αὖθι, *Il.* 2. 328). (b) is what we have in Lycophron, but he may be combining two versions from different sources. It is not clear why the Achaeans should have sailed via Delos, even allowing for their initial ignorance of where to find Troy. If (c) is right and the Oinotropoi were fetched to the Troad without the Achaeans' having previously visited Delos, the scholiast has been sloppy in following the Pherecydes story with 'this is also in the *Cypria*', when all that was in the *Cypria* was an incident of the Oinotropoi feeding the Achaeans. But it is the kind of sloppiness that occurs.

I conclude that at some point in the narrative of the years at Troy, desperate for more incident to fill out his story, the poet had the idea of bringing in the myth of the Oinotropoi and invented a famine for the purpose. Quite likely it was attributed to a divine wrath, perhaps Apollo's following the Troilos affair. We saw another hint of an Achaean food shortage at Troy in the story of Palamedes' (p.125) murder, F 27 above. The miraculous maidens were attached to Delos and had to be brought from there. How did the Achaeans know about them if they had not been to Delos earlier? If the poet troubled to explain, he might have made Calchas produce the information.

Who went to fetch them: Menelaos and Odysseus, or Palamedes? Palamedes is ruled out if we are right in inferring famine from fishing: the fishing trip must precede the bringing of the Oinotropoi, who will at once put an end to the famine, and if Palamedes is drowned on the fishing trip he cannot then be sent to Delos. If it was Menelaos and Odysseus who went, the choice of them echoes their pairing in the embassy to Troy at the start of the war.⁵⁶ Menelaos was one of the two leaders of the whole expedition (and in the embassy the claimant of Helen), while Odysseus was an ideal choice to support him with eloquence and general *savoir faire*.

The individual names of the Oinotropoi will certainly have appeared in the epic. They go easily into a hexameter that may conjecturally be reconstructed as Οἰνώ τε Σπερμώ τε καὶ Ἀγλαόκαρπος Ἐλαιίς.

For a recent discussion of the problems, with a review of earlier scholars' views, see T. Marin, 'Le Enotrope, Palamede, e la sosta dei Greci a Delo nei "Cypria"', *Lexis* 27 (2009), 365–80.

Final Preparation for the Iliad

Arg. 12c

καὶ Διὸς βουλὴ ὅπως ἐπικουφίσῃ τοὺς Τρῶας Ἀχιλλέα τῆς συμμαχίας τῆς Ἑλλήνων ἀποστήσας· καὶ κατάλογος τῶν τοῖς Τρωσὶ συμμαχησάντων.

Apollod. epit. 3. 34 ἐνναετοῦς δὲ χρόνου διελθόντος παραγίνονται τοῖς Τρωσὶ σύμμαχοι ἐκ τῶν περιοίκων πόλεων Αἰνείας Ἀγχίσου κτλ.

Zeus' plan to remove Achilles from the Greek alliance and the catalogue of the Trojans' allies may seem to be unwanted anticipations of the *Iliad*. Possibly they have been displaced here from a mythographic narrative of the whole Trojan story that continued **(p.126)** from the events of the *Cypria* to those of the *Iliad*. However, we have seen that the *Cypria* poet was at pains to work in everything that was presupposed in the *Iliad*, and it would not be surprising if he felt obliged to record at some point the arrival of the allies who are present in the *Iliad* supporting the Trojans (Hartmann 22f.). It would have been best to bring them in at the beginning, after the failure of the embassy made it clear that Priam faced a war; he could at once have sent messengers abroad to summon help. During the scrappy middle years of the war there was no obvious occasion to describe the allies' arrival or show them in battle. The remaining option was to have them come at the end of the epic, where their gathering might have seemed to make an effective build-up for the all-out fighting that was to follow in the *Iliad*. This is where Apollodorus puts their arrival. He gives a list of leaders and forces that in its substance, and in its sequence except for one displacement, agrees completely with the one in *Iliad* 2. 819–77 and is probably derived from there rather than from the *Cypria*.⁵⁷ The catalogue in the *Cypria* will also have been based on the *Iliad* one, but it was perhaps more summary in form.⁵⁸

As for Zeus' plan regarding Achilles, the poet had prepared the ground for the fatal quarrel by recording the awards of Chryseis to Agamemnon and Briseis to Achilles. Perhaps before concluding his work he saw fit to signal the approach of the momentous developments of the *Iliad* by mentioning that the war was soon to swing Troy's way. He might have written something on these lines:

So for nine years Achilles and the Achaeans harried the Trojans, killing or capturing sons of Priam and sacking a series of other towns in the region, and so long as Achilles was raging in the field, the Trojans did not dare to come out and fight. But when the tenth year came, their courage grew stronger and they were able to put up resistance and hope for deliverance. For Zeus was going to remove Achilles from the battlefield and so relieve their great burden of war. And new forces arrived to support them from other parts of Asia Minor and from Thrace: (catalogue).

(p.127) Unplaced Fragments

F 28 Paus. 10. 26. 1

Λέσχεως δὲ (*Little Iliad* 19) καὶ ἔπη τὰ Κύπρια διδόασιν Εὐρυδίκη γυναιῖκα Αἰνείαι.

We know of two contexts in the *Cypria* where Aeneas played a role. He accompanied Paris on his journey to Sparta, and he fled from Achilles in a raid on his cattle on Ida. Neither makes an obvious occasion for mentioning his wife, but there may have been others.

F 30 Herodian, περὶ μονήρους λέξεως 9 (ii. 914. 15 L.)

καὶ (Σαρπηδὼν) ἡ νῆσος ἰδίως ἐν Ὠκεανῶι Γοργόνων οἰκητήριον οὔσα, ὥς ὁ τὰ Κύπριά φησι·

τῶι δ' ὑποκυσαμένη τέκε Γοργόνας, αἰνὰ πέλωρα,

αἶ Σαρπηδόνα ναῖον ἐπ' Ὠκεανῶι βαθυδίνῃ

νῆσον πετρήεσαν.

1 αἰνὰ Müller: δεινὰ cod. 2 αἶ Henrichsen: καὶ cod.

The parents will be Phorkys and Keto (*Hes. Th.* 270ff.). In Hesiod (274f.) the Gorgons are said to live *πέρην κλυτοῦ Ὠκεανοῖο, | ἐσχατιῇ πρὸς νυκτός, ἔν' Ἑσπερίδες λιγύφωνοι*. Stesichorus in his *Geryoneis* (PMGF S86) spoke of a *νῆσος Σαρπηδονία* in the western ocean, probably in connection with Chrysaor, whose mother was one of the Gorgons.⁵⁹

I have no idea how the Gorgons' genealogy might have been brought into the *Cypria*. There is no plausibility in the suggestion (Huxley 140; cf. Debiasi 115) that it was in the context of Thetis' flight from Zeus (F 2). Oceanus is mentioned in the passage about his pursuit of Nemesis (F 10. 10), but not so as to make any opening for Gorgons.

1. τῶι δ' ὑποκυσαμένη τέκε: cf. *Il.* 6. 26, 20. 225, *Od.* 11. 254, *Hes. Th.* 308, 411, fr. 26. 27, etc.

αἰνὰ πέλωρα: *Od.* 10. 219.

2. ἐπ' Ὠκεανῶι βαθυδίνῃ: *Od.* 10. 511. ἐπ' is defended against ἐν (Lehrs, Bernabé) by G. Parlato, *Lexis* 28 (2010), 295f.

3. νῆσον πετρήεσαν: cf. *Od.* 1. 51, 4. 844.

(p.128) F 31 Clem. Strom. 6. 19. 1

πάλιν Στασίνου ποιήσαντος

νήπιος, ὃς πατέρα κτείνας παῖδας καταλείπει,

Ξενοφῶν λέγει κτλ.

The line is quoted without ascription by Arist. *Rhet.* 1376a6 (v.l. *υἱοῦς*), 1395a16 (v.l. *κτείνων*); Polyb. 23. 10. 10 (*υἱοῦς*).

Müller 98 thought that the fragment should refer to the killing of Astyanax in the *Iliou Persis* and that Clement's 'Stasinos' was a mistake for Arktinos. Welcker (ii. 187, cf. 223) took a similar view, arguing that the line came from a speech of Odysseus arguing for the killing; see on *Iliou Persis* arg. 4a. We must agree that it belongs in a speech justifying the slaughter of one or more males whose father has already been killed. 'Stasinos', however, is an explicit pointer to the *Cypria* that we have no adequate basis for rejecting, even if we cannot divine a suitable context. Tennes and Kyknos were one father and son pair that Achilles killed in the poem, but the son was killed first and both were killed in battle, not after deliberation. In the story of Heracles at Oichalia (see on arg. 4b) it was again the son, Iphitos, who was killed before the father, Eurytos. At Hypoplakian Thebe Achilles' slaughter of Eetion and his sons may have been related (see on F 24).

Notes:

(¹) In sch. Eur. *Hec.* 41, however, where τὰ Κυπριακά is cited with reference to Polyxena's death after the fall of Troy, the source is probably a prose history of Cyprus, the same one cited on *Andr.* 898 with ὁ τὰς Κυπριακὰς ἱστορίας συντάξας (*FGrHist* 758 F 6). See Welcker ii. 164; Wilamowitz (1884), 181 n. 27; Jacoby on *FGrHist* 382 F 12.

(²) I would add Ἰλιάς: West (1999), 365 = (2011*b*), 407; (2001), 6f. Cf. *Little Iliad*, intro. 1.

(³) Cf. Welcker ii. 149; Nitzsch (1852), 99f.

(⁴) Cf. Monro 351; Schmid 210, 'Nicht bloß in der genauen Anpassung seines Schlusses an den Anfang der Ilias, auch in der Entnahme einzelner Motive und in der gefässentlichen Vorbereitung von Stellen und Motiven der Ilias verrät der Kypriendichter eine fast peinliche Rücksicht auf dieses Gedicht. Noch in dem Auszug sieht man, wie er seine Nestorepisode der Ilias nachgebildet hat.'

(⁵) Cf. Heubeck 89f., 'Nun hat sich aber zweifellos auch der Kypriendichter die homerische Nestor-Rede im Λ zum Vorbild genommen... Die Auswahl der Sagen und vor allem das | Bestreben, durch die Vielzahl der Sagen, also doch wohl durch eine rein quantitative Ausweitung des Vorbildes eben dieses Vorbild zu überbieten, ist das Zeichen erstarrenden Epigonentums.'

(⁶) See West (2011*a*), 32f., 85, 86, 107f., 112.

(⁷) Cf. Chantraine, i. 161–3; P. Wathelet, *Les Traits éoliens dans la langue de l'épopée grecque* (Rome 1970), 154–7 and *Ant. Cl.* 1 (1981), 819–33. At *Od.* 22. 249 the transmitted κενὰ εὔγματα is unlikely to be right (κενέ' Hermann).

(⁸) West (2002), 130f. = (2011*b*), 384–7; (2003*a*), 30f.

(⁹) Cf. Robert (1920–6), 1070, 'Um aber das Schicksal der Helena gleich von Anfang an mit dem des Achilleus zu verknüpfen, läßt man diesen Streit bei der Hochzeit des Peleus und der Thetis entbrennen.'

(¹⁰) Pindar's version underlies that of the ps.-Aeschylean *Prometheus* trilogy, where Prometheus has learned from his mother Themis the secret about Thetis that is so dangerous for Zeus. Cf. Melanippides *PMG* 765, who probably reflects ps.-Aeschylus.

(¹¹) οὐνεκεν here clearly means 'for which reason' (=τούνεκεν, which might be read), not 'because'.

(¹²) Cf. Robert (1881), 125; R. Reitzenstein, *Hermes* 35 (1900), 77f.; Gruppe 663; Bethe 230; A. Lesky, *RE* xix. 287f.; Kullmann 230; *contra*, Severyns (1928), 253; Jouan 72–4.

(¹³) The motif appears also when Menelaos wrestles with Proteus (*Od.* 4. 454–61) and when Heracles wrestles with Nereus (*Stes.* S16a) or Achelous (*Soph. Tr.* 9–21); cf. M. Ninck, *Die Bedeutung des Wassers im Kult und Leben der Alten* (*Phil. Suppl.* 14. 2, Leipzig 1921), 138–41.

(¹⁴) A. Severyns in *Mélanges Joseph Hombert* (Brussels 1950/1), 157; cf. Wagner 173.

(¹⁵) The motif of throwing a golden apple to distract the female mind appears in archaic poetry in the story of Atalante, [*Hes.*] fr. 76. 10ff. On two Attic vases of c.470 depicting the Judgment of Paris Hera is holding what appears to be an apple: *LIMC* Paridis Iudicium 37, 38.

(¹⁶) *Luc. Dial. mar.* 7 and other sources listed by A. Severyns, *Mélanges Hombert*, 164f. H. Erbse, *Rh. Mus.* 138 (1995), 119–28, argued from its presence in the expanded version of the *Cypria* hypothesis in *Vat. Ottob. Gr.* 58 (probably due to Tzetzes) that the inscribed apple went back to the Cyclic epic. But I cannot accept his view that the expanded version is older and more authentic than the vulgate one.

(¹⁷) Gruppe 663; Rzach 2382f.; Jouan 100.

(¹⁸) *LIMC* Paridis Iudicium 5–9, 11–17, etc.; Welcker ii. 90; Stinton 38f.; Jouan 103.

(¹⁹) Jouan 102. *Eur. Tro.* 925–31 alters the order to Athena, Hera, Aphrodite; so too *Colluth.* 137–65.

(²⁰) *Sch. Od.* 11. 299, 300. Cf. Alcmene's conception of Heracles and Iphicles to Zeus and Amphytrion respectively, [*Hes.*] *Sc.* 1–56.

(²¹) So W. Kullmann, *Phil.* 99 (1955), 183=(1992), 26, 'Dieser Vers [F 10. 1] kann in den *Kyprien* nur in dem Teil gestanden haben, in dem Paris auf dem Wege nach Sparta bei den "Tyndariden" in Amyklai einkehrend geschildert war, allenfalls noch im Zusammenhang mit der Weisung der Aphrodite an Paris bei seiner Abfahrt nach Sparta.' Cf. Davies (1989), 38.

(²²) G. Parlato, *Lexis* 28 (2010), 292–5, argues that Nemesis is the subject of τέκε in line 1 and that she was the mother of the Dioskouroi as well as of Helen. This hardly seems compatible with the way she is introduced in line 2.

(²³) W. Kullmann, *Phil.* 99 (1955), 183=(1992), 27.

(²⁴) Pherecydes fr. 138 Fowler, followed by Lyc. 101, said there were nine.

(²⁵) Rzach 2386 notes that he appears together with Paris and Helen on a number of vases: *LIMC* Aineias 19 (Etruscan oinochoe, c.550–525), 11–15 (Attic, fifth century). Cf. Robert (1881), 53–8.

(²⁶) Welcker ii. 91, ‘und Cassandra prophezeit über das Bevorstehende, vermuthlich, da Helenos den Abreisenden wahrsagt, den Troern den Untergang der Stadt’; cf. Bacchyl. 23. Cassandra does not appear as a prophetess in Homer, though cf. West (2011*a*), 426. Lycophron took her prophecy as Paris embarked as the *mise en scène* for his *Alexandra*.

(²⁷) Wagner 174. For other epic instances of nine-day periods cf. N. J. Richardson on *Hymn. Dem.* 47.

(²⁸) On another occasion she sent a storm to blow Heracles astray after he had sacked Troy, and he landed in Cos (*Il.* 14. 253–6, 15. 26–8) (Wagner 175).

(²⁹) Twenty years later, according to *Od.* 17. 443, Cyprus was ruled by one Dmetor, son of Iasos.

(³⁰) Cf. G. L. Huxley, *GRBS* 8 (1967), 26. H. L. Ahrens, *Jahrb. f. Philologie u. Pädagogik* 13 (1830), 193, took the Sidon episode to be a Cypriot interpolation. Others have supposed it to be a post-Herodotean interpolation to fit the *Iliad* reference, either in the actual epic (Welcker ii. 94, Robert (1920–6, 1085) or in the Proclan or pre-Proclan prose tradition (Wüllner 67, 73; Robert (1881), 247; Wilamowitz (1884), 365 n. 44; and others).

(³¹) G. L. Huxley, *GRBS* 8 (1967), 27.

(³²) It has been suggested that Motylos represents a memory of the Hittite king Muwatallis, not just because of the similarity of the names but because in about 1275 bce Muwatallis concluded a treaty with Alaksandus (Alexandros) of Wilusa (Wilios). It would be conceivable that Muwatallis’ name was remembered in Neo-Hittite tradition in southern Asia Minor, and from there found its way into Cypriot epic tradition.

(³³) F. Staehlin, *Phil.* 62 (1903), 188–95.

(³⁴) Wilamowitz, *Pindaros* (Berlin 1922), 429. In Theoc. 22. 207–11 too Lynkeus is killed first, then Idas pulls up his father’s gravestone and prepares to throw it; but here the thunderbolt strikes before he can do so. Aphareus’ tomb was shown at Sparta: Paus. 3. 11. 11.

(³⁵) [Hes.] fr. 204. 78–85; Stes. *PMGF* 190; Soph. *Aj.* 1113, fr. 144, cf. *Phil.* 72; Eur. *IA* 57–65, 78, 391f.; Thuc. 1. 9. 1; Isoc. *Hel.* 39.

(³⁶) For this cf. also Aesch. *Ag.* 841; Soph. *Phil.* 1025 and his Ὀδυσσεὺς μαινόμενος.

(³⁷) The words enclosed in half-brackets are added from the D scholium on *Il.* 1. 59 *παλιμπλαγχθέντας*. Aristarchus asserted that the *Iliad* line was the source of the Mysia story related by *οἱ νεώτεροι (ποιηταί)*. The D scholiast notes this and then supplies the story from a slightly fuller version of Apollodorus than that of the Vatican Excerpts.

(³⁸) *LIMC* Achilleus 468; Welcker ii. 139, Gruppe 668. Luckenbach 597f. thought the incident must have stood somewhere in the *Cypria*, but he did not venture to say where.

(³⁹) Wagner 190, however, argues that the rags go back to the epic.

(⁴⁰) Apollod. epit. 3. 18 *εἰς τὰς πατρίδας καταντῶσιν* is then inaccurate.

(⁴¹) Lucr. 1. 85, however, uses the name Iphianassa for the sacrificed one. In *IT* 374 and 562 Electra is Iphigeneia's only sister, while in *El.* 15 Iphigeneia herself is ignored.

(⁴²) Lyc. 232–9 with sch., Heracl. Lemb. 22, Apollod. epit. 3. 24–5, Conon 26 F 1. 28, Diod. 5. 83. 4, Plut. *Qu. Graec.* 297d, Paus. 10. 14. 1–4.

(⁴³) For the motif cf. the immediate death of Echion, the first warrior to exit from the Wooden Horse: *Iliou Persis* arg. 2b (Bethe iii. 30).

(⁴⁴) O. Benndorf, *Jahrb. d. österr. Kunstsammlungen* 12 (1891), 23–5; Gruppe 671 n. 5, who notes that in this case all three of Achilles' greatest opponents, Kyknos, Hector, and Memnon, were killed when Achilles responded to the fall of a friend (Protesilaos, Patroklos, Antilochos).

(⁴⁵) Was his name coined to express that primacy, or did it suggest it?

(⁴⁶) Similarly Lyc. 233, who makes it his collar-bone, as with Hector's hit on Teukros in *Il.* 8. 324–7. Compare the story of the invulnerable Kaineus (it was again Poseidon who made him so), who had to be overcome by battering him into the ground (Acusilaus fr. 22 Fowler); West (2007), 445. Ovid, *Met.* 12. 72–144, has a different version of Kyknos' end: Achilles strangles him with his helmet-strap.

(⁴⁷) Strab. 13. 1. 19, 46; Diod. 5. 83. 1; Paus. 10. 14. 1.

(⁴⁸) C. Watkins in M. J. Mellink (ed.), *Troy and the Trojan War* (Bryn Mawr 1986), 49=his *Selected Writings* (Innsbruck 1994–2008), 704; J. Latacz, *Troy and Homer* (Oxford 2004), 106, 117f.=*Troia und Homer*, 6th edn. (Leipzig 2010), 162, 173f.

(⁴⁹) Thucydides argues from the assumed fortification that the Greeks must have won a battle on landing, something for which he could have certainly appealed to the *Cypria*. Cf. my discussion in *CR* 19 (1969), 256f.=West (2011b), 240.

(⁵⁰) Cf. Hdt. 2. 118. 2 (the Egyptian priests' story), *ἐκβᾶσαν δὲ ἐς γῆν καὶ ἰδρυθεῖσαν τὴν στρατιὴν πέμπειν ἐς τὸ Ἴλιον ἀγγέλους, σὺν δέ σφι ἰέναι καὶ αὐτὸν Μενέλαον· τοὺς δὲ ἐπεῖτε ἐσελθεῖν ἐς τὸ τεῖχος, ἀπαιτεῖν Ἑλένην τε καὶ τὰ χρήματα τὰ οἱ οἶχετο*

κλέψας Ἀλέξανδρος. In Apollodorus and sch. (bT) *Il.* 3. 206 the embassy is sent from Tenedos before the Achaeans continue to the Troad. This was perhaps a modification by Sophocles in his *Ἑλένης ἀπαίτησις* (Wagner 197), though Bethe 242 argues that it was the more logical and primary version.

(⁵¹) Here Thucydides does draw on the poetic tradition, 1. 11. 1 (after the Greeks had landed and established their camp), φαίνονται δ' οὐδ' ἐνταῦθα πάσῃ τῇ δυνάμει χρησάμενοι, ἀλλὰ πρὸς γεωργίαν τῆς Χερσονήσου τραπόμενοι καὶ ληιστεῖαν τῆς τροφῆς ἀπορίαι. This, Thucydides reasons, is why the Trojans were able to hold out against them for ten years.

(⁵²) Recall their fundamental status in Zeus' plan as related in sch. *Il.* 1. 5: above on arg. 1a.

(⁵³) So C. Tsangális, *Ελληνικά* 54 (2004), 11f.

(⁵⁴) Tsangális, op. cit. 12–17, argues that Thetis more likely appealed to Zeus, whom she could call on for favours (*Il.* 1. 396–406), and that Zeus instructed Aphrodite to convey Helen to a private spot within the Achaean camp.

(⁵⁵) Cf. Welcker (1839–41), i. 159; Tsangális, 17, who then considers the question whether Achilles and Helen made love (17–22). Tzetzes on Lyc. 174 (p. 80. 7–17 Scheer) gives two versions of the story that Achilles made love to Helen in a dream, and in both he also sees her in real life on the city wall, but neither agrees with Proclus.

(⁵⁶) They are also the two who go on an expedition to Cyprus to try to recruit Cinyras in an episode that I have rejected for the *Cypria*.

(⁵⁷) The catalogue of the Greeks in Apollod. epit. 3. 11–14 (=8–11 Papathom.) shows just the same relationship to *Il.* 2. 494–759, though the ship numbers often disagree.

(⁵⁸) It is to be noted that the catalogues in the *Iliad* and Apollodorus begin with the Dardanian contingent led by Aeneas. In the *Cypria* Aeneas has appeared previously, first as Paris' companion on the voyage to Sparta and later as the victim of a raid by Achilles in Dardania. But there is no indication of his having been treated as allied with Priam in the defence of Ilios.

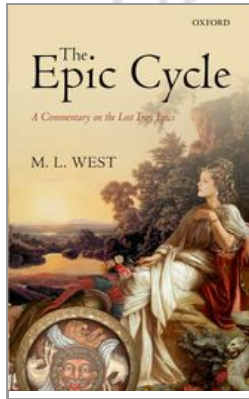
(⁵⁹) L. Antonelli, *Hesperia* 7 (1996), 60; Debiasi 116.



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Aethiopis

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[F] Abstract and Keywords

This chapter presents a commentary on the poem *Aethiopis*. It first discusses the poem's title; sources of information about the poem; the scope; the economy of the poem; characterization of the poem; and dating of the poem. It then reviews individual fragments and testimonia.

Keywords: Greek epic, epic poetry, epic poems, fragments, testimonia

Introduction

1. Title

The title *Αἰθιοπία* is found on the Tabula Capitolina (Tabula Iliaca 1A, early first century ce) and in the Pindar scholia (F 6), Proclus' *Chrestomathia*, and Eusebius' *Chronicle*.

The *Ἀμαζονία* which Hesychius of Miletus includes among the poems attributed to Homer (*Vita* 6. 6) must represent either the *Aethiopis* or the first part of it.

2. Attestation

The principal literary source is the summary of Proclus, with the partly parallel narrative of Apollod. epit. 5. 1–6. We have the two lines that led into the poem from the *Iliad* (F 1). There are also:

one (non-verbal) fragment ascribed explicitly to the *Aethiopis* (F 6); two fragments ascribed to Arktinos without title that belong hererather than to the *Iliou Persis* (F 2 and 5);

one ascribed to Ἀρκτίνος ἐν' Ἰλίου πορθήσει that is probably to be transferred here (F 5a);

a couple of others cited with neither author nor title that areconsidered here on grounds of content (F 3–4 and 7).

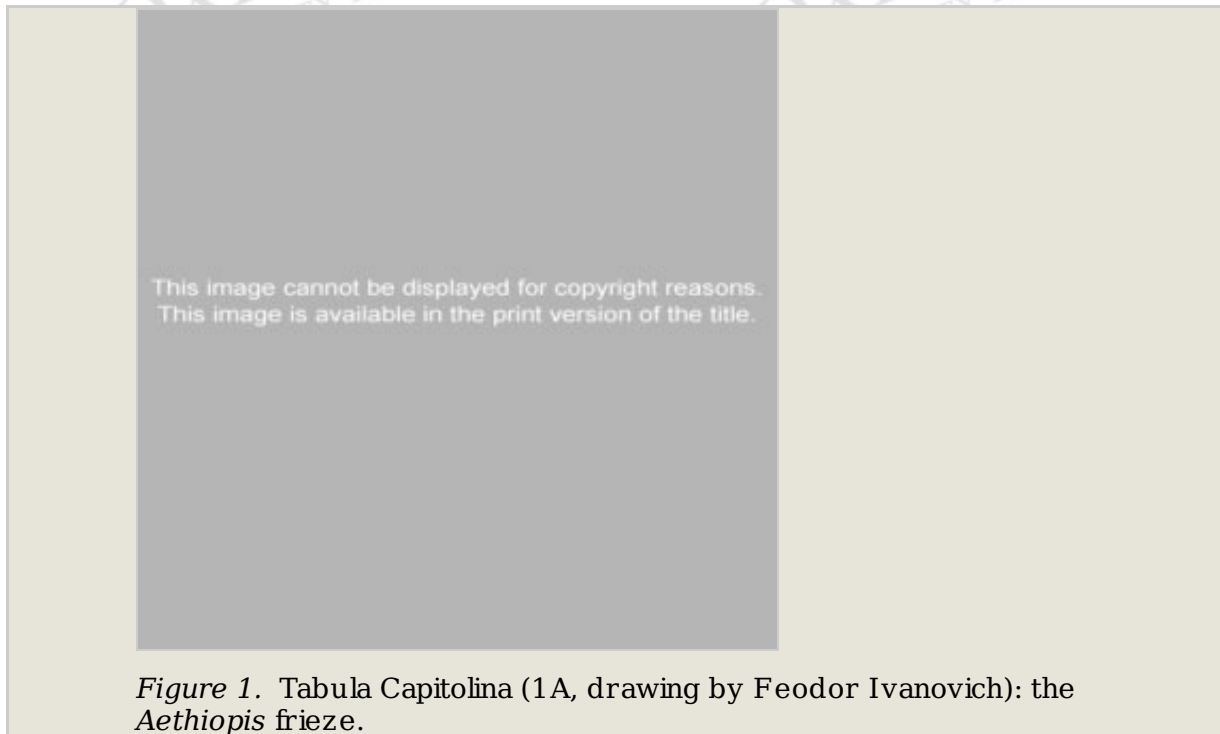
Reflexes of the *Aethiopis* may already be found in the *Odyssey* (3. 111f, 4. 187f, 11. 522, 24. 36–92), and they appear in some later literary treatments of the subject matter, such as the poems of Pindar which refer to Memnon and the Aeschylean *Memnon*, *Psychostasia*, and *Hoplōn Krisis*.¹ (Cf. Prolegomena, §5.) Quintus of Smyrna covered the same matter in the first five books of his *Posthomerica*, but it is doubtful whether the Cyclic epic was still available to him.

(p.130) Penthesileia's combat with Achilles is a favourite subject for vase-painters, at least from the sixth century; possibly already on a late proto-Corinthian fragment from Aegina, dated c.630, where an unnamed Ἀμασζων supplicates a bearded warrior (*LIMC* Amazones 254=Penthesileia 11). Penthesileia's name first appears on shield-band reliefs of the period 600–530 (*LIMC* Amazones 172–4=Penthesileia 10). She may have been invented as an opponent for Achilles, as her name may be seen as a counterpart to his (πένθος : ἄχος).²

Memnon first appears in art c.580,³ and from then on he is a favourite subject for artists. The scenes in which he is shown clearly derive from the *Aethiopis*: his combat with Achilles; the weighing of the two heroes' destinies; his dead body carried away by his mother Eos. The epic provenance is confirmed beyond doubt by three blackfigure vases that have Memnon on one side and Penthesileia on the other:

- (1) an amphora by Exekias (c.540–530), *LIMC* Achilleus 724: side A, Achilles pursues Penthesileia; B, Memnon stands with two Aithiopians;
- (2) a Nicosthenic amphora (c.530), *LIMC* Achilleus 727: A, Achilles and Memnon fight over the body of Antilochos; B, Achilles pursues Penthesileia;
- (3) an amphora by the Theseus Painter (c.490), *LIMC* Penthesileia 23: A, Penthesileia and Achilles between Thetis and Hermes; B, Achilles and Memnon.

Scenes from the *Aethiopsis* are depicted on three or perhaps four of the Tabulae Iliacae. The source is named explicitly on the Tabula Capitolina (1A). In the space in the centre of his composition the artist has put its title, *ΤΡΩΙΚΟΣ* (sc. *πίναξ*?). Above it is the caption *Ἰλίου Πέρσις | κατὰ Στησίχορον*, referring to the synoptic (p.131) scene of the sack above. Below the title, in a separate space, appear the other source references: *Ἰλιάς | κατὰ Ὅμηρον*, *| Αἰθιοπὶς κατὰ Ἀρκτῖνον τὸν Μιλήσιον*, *| Ἰλιάς ἢ Μικρὰ λε | γομένη κατὰ Λέσχην Πυρραῖον*. Two series of scenes from each of the two Cyclic epics appear in friezes underneath (Figure 1).



Those in the upper frieze (*Aethiopsis*) are, from left to right, with their preserved captions:

- (1) Only an indeterminate fragment from the right-hand edge of the first scene remains. (That it was the first is fairly certain; see Valenzuela Montenegro [hereafter VM] 98.) A relic of the caption was formerly read as *κης* and understood to indicate that it showed Penthesileia's defeat of Podarkes during her *aristeia*, cf. on arg. 1b. But Mancuso 697 reads *προς* and, assuming the scene to have been of her arrival at Troy, posits a second line beginning [*Ἰλιον* or [*γίνεται* (but the verb would have been *παράγινεται*, see below). That the scene was of Penthesileia's arrival is highly probable in view of the parallels in other Tabulae (see below).
- (2) *Πενθεσίλεια* is being pulled off a collapsing horse(?) by *Ἀχιλλεύς*. The horse is indistinct but probable, especially in view of Penthesileia's posture. Cf. VM 98.
- (3) *Ἀχιλλεύς* holds up a weapon to kill *Θερσίτης*, who is on his knees. VM 99 says the weapon is a lance, but a sword would be expected in the circumstances.

Behind Thersites is a structure of sepulchral type, taken to be Penthesileia's tomb (Mancuso 698, VM 100, after Michaelis).

(4) Ἀχιλλεύς kills Μέμνων, behind whom lies the fallen Ἀντίλοχος with the city wall behind.

(5) Ἀχιλλεύς, before the open gate of Troy, whose battlements are crowded with onlookers, has sunk to a seated position; he is holding up his shield as if to defend himself from arrows. Behind him stands Αἴας, also holding his shield up as if to protect Achilles.

(6) Behind the protection of Ὀδυσσεύς a warrior (Ajax) hauls Ἀχιλλέως σῶμα away.

(p.132) (7) Achilles lies back in the hollow of his shield. A female figure stands over his head, and then there are two more figures with an altar(?) between them; captions identify Μοῦσα and Θέτις and then perhaps Ἀχιλλέ [ως] τᾶ[φος].

(8) Αἴας μα [νιώ]δης sits in a distraught attitude, his right arm raised to his forehead. In front of him are some vague shapes that could be pretty well anything. For discussion see VM 106.

On the Tabula Thierry (7Ti; the original is lost) parts of five scenes are preserved: (1) Penthesileia arriving on horseback and being received by Priam; (2) Πενθεσίληα Ἀμαζών in battle with Achilles; (3) the death of Μ]έμνων; (4) ?φόνο]ς Ἀχιλλέως; Achilles is shown collapsed before the gates of Troy; (5) Achilles lies on his pyre, attended by Thetis.

On the Tabula Veronensis II (9D) there are again parts of five scenes: (1) Πενθεσίληα Ἀμαζών παραγίνεται; she arrives on horseback and is met by Priam; (2) Ἀχιλλεύς Πενθεσίληαν ἀποκτείνει; Penthesileia is again on her horse (VM 197); (3) Μέμνων Ἀντίλοχον ἀποκτείνει; (4) Ἀχιλλεύς Μέμνονα ἀποκτείνει; (5) ἐν ταῖς Σκαιαῖς πύλαις Ἀχιλλεύς ὑπο [. Achilles has sunk to the ground; behind him another warrior advances with spear and shield raised, probably Ajax coming to protect the body (VM 198).

On the Tabula Froehner I (20Par) there are fragmentary and uninformative remains of two scenes that are now conjectured to relate to the *Aethiopsis*.⁴

These sequences all agree well with Proclus, who however omitted the suicide of Ajax from his summary of the *Aethiopsis* because it was to come in the *Little Iliad*.

Penthesileia's reception by Priam is depicted on other Roman monuments, and earlier on four of the Macedonian Homeric cups, where the two are shown in front of Hector's tomb.⁵

3. Scope

The poem was apparently composed as a continuation of the *Iliad* (see on F 1). It culminated in the death of Achilles, an event of which there were many premonitions in the *Iliad* and which was clearly **(p.133)** destined to occur before long. But first he slew two newly arrived foreign champions after they had enjoyed some brief success on the field: the Amazon Penthesileia and the Aethiopian king Memnon. The poem went on to cover the events that were integrally linked to Achilles' death: the funeral games in his

honour, the awarding of his arms to Odysseus, and the suicide of Ajax.

Considered as an independent composition rather than as an extension of the *Iliad*, the poem has some semblance of organic unity. Achilles' victories over Penthesileia and Memnon served as build-up for the climactic episode in which he fell to Paris' arrow and Apollo, and the narrative did not continue beyond the immediate consequences of his death.

However, the Penthesileia episode looks as if it may originally have been an independent *Einzellied* about an encounter between Achilles and the Amazon, with no particular context.⁶ Her sudden arrival at Troy arises out of nothing that has gone before, and her defeat does nothing to bring Achilles' death any closer; on the contrary, it delays it, because it leads to Thersites' taunting of Achilles and Achilles' killing of Thersites, which necessitates his going away to Lesbos for purification. That was the ending of the Penthesileia story; it led on to nothing else. Achilles simply had to return to Troy and resume his warrior role. The whole episode could have taken place at any time in the war.

We may therefore postulate an *Amazonis* that has been made part of the *Aethiopis* and stitched on to the end of the *Iliad*. There was no reason to stitch it on to the *Iliad* except as part of a narrative that was to lead to Achilles' death. So the stitching presupposes the whole *Aethiopis*. But we cannot tell whether what we may call the *Memnonis* (the remainder of the *Aethiopis* following the *Amazonis*) first existed as an independent poem, and someone linked it up to the *Iliad* by putting the *Amazonis* in between, or whether the *Memnonis* poet did this himself from the beginning. The poet of the *Odyssey* alludes more than once to the Memnon episode, but nowhere to Penthesileia, and it is possible that he knew only a *Memnonis*.

(p.134) 4. Economy of the poem

According to Proclus the poem comprised five books. We have no information on the distribution of material among them. Quintus of Smyrna allots his first book to Penthesileia, his second to Memnon, his third to Achilles' death and funeral, his fourth to the funeral games, and his fifth to the awarding of the arms, Ajax's madness and suicide, and his funeral. But it is doubtful whether he had the *Aethiopis* before him, and even if he did, we cannot assume that he followed its book-divisions. Nevertheless, it seems likely that anyone dividing up the *Aethiopis* would naturally have arrived at much the same partition, provided that the resulting books were not grossly unequal in length.

The action of the poem extended over a span of something like twenty-four days, the greater part being taken up by the extended lamentation for Achilles. The timetable may plausibly be reconstructed as follows:

Day 1	Penthesileia arrives.
Day 2	She goes out to battle and is killed. Achilles kills Thersites.
Day 3	Funeral of Penthesileia. Achilles goes to Lesbos and returns. Memnon arrives.

Day 4	Memnon goes out to battle and is killed. So is Achilles.
Day 5–21	Funeral of Antilochos. Lamentation for Achilles.
Day 22	Achilles' funeral.
Day 23	Tumulus built. Funeral games. Awarding of armour.
Day 24	Suicide of Ajax. His funeral

5. Characterization of the poem

The poem evidently had a certain grandeur of conception, with its succession of great battles and heroic deaths culminating in the fall of Achilles. The gods' attention was fully engaged, at least after Memnon came on the scene, and both he and Achilles received forms of posthumous immortality. The lamentations for Achilles were heightened by the presence of the Muses and Nereids, and after the funeral games came the sombre episode of Ajax's derangement and suicide. Whether the execution measured up to the conception, we cannot well judge. The funeral games seem to have been less elaborated than those in the *Iliad* (see below on arg. 4c), and two Attic artists of c.580–70, Sophilos and Kleitias, both chose to paint (p.135) the games for Patroklos rather than those for Achilles.⁷ In other parallel episodes too the *Aethiopis* may have failed to match the supreme excellence of the *Iliad*. Yet it clearly impressed Pindar and the tragedians, and provided inspiration for many vase-painters.

To the heroic dignity of the *Iliad* it added a novel exotic element in the Amazon queen Penthesileia and the Aethiop king Memnon, both representatives of peoples mentioned in the *Iliad* but lying beyond the areas represented by the Trojans' actual or imaginable allies. Achilles' posthumous translation to a remote island in the Black Sea also marks an excursion into the fabulous outer regions of a wider world.

There was pathos in the death of Penthesileia and Achilles' belated apprehension of her beauty, in Thetis' and Eos' poignant concern for their doomed sons, and in the various laments which we may assume to have been uttered over the fallen, especially over the young heroes Antilochos and Achilles.

We may quote without much discomfort the judgment of Welcker (ii. 235f.): 'Das Unterscheidende seines [Arktinos'] Epos, wenn wir ihn mit Stasinos und Lesches vergleichen, ist in das Erhabene und Tragische zu setzen, während das Gedicht des Lesches [the *Little Iliad*] einen heiteren, an das Komische streifenden Charakter gehabt haben muß, Stasinos, [in the *Cypria*] die Werke der Aphrodite mit denen des Ares mischend, zum Gefälligen und zu heiterm Humor bei ernstesten Dingen gestimmt war.'

6. Dating

I have argued above that the *Aethiopis* was a continuation of the *Iliad* constituted from two independent pieces of composition, an *Amazonis* and a *Memnonis*. The *Memnonis* certainly post-dates the *Iliad*, to which it was conceived as the sequel from the start, and this applies *a fortiori* to the composite *Aethiopis*, whether or not it was the *Memnonis* poet himself who prefixed the *Amazonis*. The original *Amazonis*, set at some earlier stage

of the Trojan War, may have been composed a decade or two before, and there is no definite argument (**p.136**) for its being later than the *Iliad* beyond the absence of any allusion to an encounter of Achilles with an Amazon.

The *Odyssey*, as mentioned above, contains several clear references to the *Memnonis*; it has none to the *Amazonis*, though we cannot safely argue from that silence. The *Memnonis* at least, if not the whole *Aethiopis*, must have been already current when the *Odyssey* was composed, which is not likely to have been later than 600 bce. A similar conclusion is to be drawn from a mention by Alcman of Memnon and Ajax on the same battlefield (below on arg. 2c).

It was also noted above that Memnon first appears in art around 580, but Penthesileia somewhat earlier, perhaps as early as 630, which is about the same time as the first clear representations of scenes from the *Iliad*.

Putting these data together, we may put the *Aethiopis*, or at any rate its component parts, in the second half of the seventh century. The (or an) *Amazonis* may go back to 640–30, while the *Memnonis* more likely dates from 630–610. If it was a later poet who joined up the *Iliad*, *Amazonis*, and *Memnonis* into a continuous narrative sequence, he might have worked a good deal later.

The FragmentsPenthesileia

F 1 Sch. (T) II. 24. 804a

τινὲς γράφουσιν

ὥς οἱ γ' ἀμφίεπον τάφον Ἑκτορος· ἦλθε δ' Ἀμαζών,

Ἄρηος θυγάτηρ μεγαλήτορος ἀνδροφόνοιο.

In the manuscript tradition the *Iliad* ends with the line (804) ὥς οἱ γ' ἀμφίεπον τάφον Ἑκτορος ἵπποδάμοιο. It has usually been thought that someone who wanted to create continuity with the *Aethiopis* altered that into what the scholiast reports. In West (2011a), 428–30, I have argued, following Christ and Fick, that the *Iliad* ended at 803 and that [804] is a relic of the transition to the *Aethiopis*: someone faced with separating the two poems took the backward-looking sentence ὥς οἱ γ' ἀμφίεπον τάφον Ἑκτορος as belonging to the *Iliad*, and filled out the verse with ἵπποδάμοιο. In (**p.137**) reality the line was composed to move on from the funeral of Hector to the new topic.

A first-century papyrus, P. Lit. Lond. 6, contains a large part of *Iliad* 2 and then in columns xxi-xxii a short prose account of the background to the Trojan War. This is abruptly followed, not even on a new line, by the two verses (written as prose)

ὡς οἱ γ' ἀμφίεπον ταφο[ν] Ἑκτορος ἦλθε δ' Ἀμαζω[ν]

στρηρ[η]θυγάτηρ εὐειδης Πενθεσιλ[ε]ϊα

Here appears the indispensable name of Penthesileia. I discussed the relationship between this and the scholiast's version in West (2001), 283–5. As the divergent forms of the second line have nothing in common but the word *θυγάτηρ*, and can hardly be variants of one another, I concluded that a three-line original probably lies behind the two quotations, e.g.

Ἰλθε δὲ Ρῆμαζ7ν

ἦλθε δ' Ἀμαζών

Ὀτρήρης θυγάτηρ μεγαλήτορος ἀνδροφόνιο

Ἄρηός τε θεοῦ, εὐειδὴς Πενθεσίλεια.

It was Crönert who made *οτρηρ[η]* into *Ὀτρήρης*; a genitive is wanted, and Otrere is attested as the name of Penthesileia's mother in Lycophron (997) and mythographers.

The Homeric cups (above, intro. 2) have the scene of Priam supplicating Achilles as well as his reception of Penthesileia and her combat with Achilles. Here again the contiguity of *Iliad* 24 and *Amazonis* is presupposed.

Arg. 1a

Ἀμαζών Πενθεσίλεια παραγίνεται Τρωσὶ συμμαχήσουσα, Ἄρεως μὲν θυγάτηρ,
Θρᾷσση δὲ τὸ γένος.

Apollod. epit. 5. 1 names both of Penthesileia's parents, Otrere and Ares, and adds that she had involuntarily killed Hippolyte and was purified by Priam before going into battle. Hippolyte was famous as the Amazon queen whose girdle Heracles was charged with obtaining; she also alternates with Antiope as the one who was captured by Theseus and became the mother of Hippolytos. She should therefore belong to the generation before Penthesileia. Diodorus 2. 46. 5 says that Penthesileia had killed a kinswoman (clearly not Hippolyte, whom he has dealt with previously) and left her homeland *διὰ τὸ μύσος*, coming to fight for the Trojans. Quintus 1. 18–47 says that **(p.138)** she had killed her sister Hippolyte in a hunting accident,⁸ and that she came to Troy seeking purification as well as kudos in battle; she was accompanied by twelve comrades, whose names are listed. Tzetzes, *Posthom.* 6–21, distinguishes Quintus' version from that of 'Hellanicus, Lysias, and other men of note', who said that Penthesileia came to win distinction in battle as the necessary qualification for marriage (Hellan. fr. 149 Fowler; cf. Hdt. 4. 117); and also from others who said that she came under the inducement of gifts from Hector, and that when she learned that he was dead she wanted to go away again.

Which of these data, if any, go back to the *Aethiopis*? Probably Penthesileia's motive for coming was explained, and the kindred homicide has the strongest claim to have been that motive; Apollodorus is not following Hellanicus, and we do not know what other source he might have had but a summary of the Cyclic poem. The motif is a common one in epic and elsewhere.⁹ We may remain hesitant as to whether the woman killed was

Penthesileia's sister and whether she was named Hippolyte. The purification motif provided a convenient motivation for the arrival of a new character from a foreign land (Wagner 208). As the most powerful king in Asia, Priam would be able to afford protection to a refugee from the interior. It is not certain whether other Amazons came with Penthesileia. Virgil has her leading *Amazonidum... agmina* (*Aen.* 1. 490), whereas Quintus, as noted above, says she had only twelve followers. On her Thracian nationality cf. A. Severyns, *Le Musée belge* 30 (1926), 5–16.

She arrives on the day of Hector's funeral. Clearly there will be no fighting the same day. What will happen on this first evening will be her reception by Priam, something represented on Homeric cups, *Tabulae Iliacae*, and other Roman monuments, as mentioned above.¹⁰ According to the programme agreed with Achilles in *Il.* 24. 664–70, fighting will resume on the day following Hector's funeral. She will be there ready to take part. So it goes in Quintus (1. 85–178): on the first evening Priam gives her a hearty dinner and rich gifts, promising more if she can defend the Trojans, and when **(p.139)** morning comes she dons her armour and rides out to battle on horseback at the head of her Amazon comrades and the Trojans.

F 2 P. Oxy. 1611 fr. 4 ii 145

[“τίς πόθεν εἰς]σύ, γύναι; τίνος ἔκγον[ος]εὔχ[ε]αι εἶναι

καὶ τ[ὰ] ἐξῆς, καὶ ὡς ἐκτίθετ[αι] Ἀρκτῖ[λος] ὅλον αὐτῇ[ς] τὸν θάνατον.

The papyrus contains a scholarly discussion of some sort. The identity of the author and the context of this fragment are unknown. The verse is clearly from the *Aethiopis*, and Penthesileia the addressee. The speaker is surely either Priam, when she first appears before him, or Achilles, when she confronts him in battle. The words following the quotation may suggest the battle context. There is no such dialogue in either context in Quintus.

Arg. 1b

καὶ κτείνει αὐτὴν ἀριστεύουσαν Ἀχιλλεύς

Apollod. epit. 5. 1 μάχης γενομένης πολλοὺς κτείνει, ἐν οἷς καὶ Μαχάονα· εἶθ' ὕστερον θνήσκει ὑπὸ Ἀχιλλέως.

Similarly Diodorus 2. 46. 5, συμμαχήσασαν δὲ τοῖς Τρωσὶ μετὰ τὴν Ἑκτορος τελευτὴν πολλοὺς ἀνελεῖν τῶν Ἑλλήνων (sc. φασὶ τὴν Πενθεσίλειαν), ἀριστεύσασαν δ' αὐτὴν ἐν τῇ παρατάξει καταστρέψαι τὸν βίον ἡρωικῶς ὑπ' Ἀχιλλέως ἀναιρεθεῖσαν.

It is likely that the detail in Apollodorus about the death of Machaon came in the *Aethiopis*. It diverges from the *Little Iliad* (arg. 2, F 7), in which Machaon healed Philoctetes and was killed by Eurypylos, and as Wagner 208f. observes, 'vix veri simile est Apollodorum tantulam rem ex alio fonte accivisse'. Another of Penthesileia's victims would seem to have been Podarkes, the brother of Protesilaos (*Il.* 2. 704). He is chief among those whom the

Greeks honour with funerals at the end of the day in Quintus (1. 811–22).

The Tabula Capitolina may indicate that in the *Aethiopis*, as in Quintus, Penthesileia fought from horseback and was killed on and together with her horse.¹¹ In vase paintings she is usually shown fighting Achilles on foot, for example on a neck amphora by Exekias **(p.140)** (*LIMC* Achilles 723=Penthesileia 17, c.530). But on another neck amphora, slightly later, both of them are on horseback (Ach. 726= Penth. 21), while on another by Polygnotos he is killing her on the ground and her horse is cantering off (Ach. 732=Amazones 179=Penth. 32, c.450/40).

Mounted warriors are not typical of epic narrative, but Amazons are often depicted on horseback in early art, and Magnes of Smyrna in the time of Gyges is said to have composed a poem about a *ἵππομαχία* of Lydians against Amazons: the word is equivocal, but may refer to fighting from horseback.¹²

Arg. 1c

οἱ δὲ Τρῶες αὐτὴν θάπτουσι.

The funeral must have had sufficient prominence in the epic for Proclus to mention it. Cf. on *Little Iliad* arg. 2d. Penthesileia's body was initially in Achaean hands (below on arg. 1d). A black-figure hydria of the Leagros group (*LIMC* Achilles 725=Penthesileia 20, c.520–500) actually shows Achilles carrying it off over his shoulder amid the fighting. Its return to the Trojans for burial presumably involved a truce; that would have provided a convenient lull during which Achilles might absent himself from Troy (below). In Quintus (1. 782–810) the Atreidai, moved by pity and admiration for the fallen heroine, accede to a request from Priam and allow the Trojans to take her body and armour back to Troy. A pyre is built before the city and she receives an honorific funeral; her remains and those of the other twelve Amazons (who have all fallen in the battle) are given a place in the tumulus of Laomedon. The Argeioi meanwhile cremate their own dead, chief among whom is Podarkes (cf. above). Machaon has not been mentioned: Quintus follows the *Little Iliad*'s version of his fate (see above).

Thersites

Arg. 1d

καὶ Ἀχιλλεὺς Θερσίτην ἀναιρεῖ λοιδωρηθεὶς πρὸς αὐτοῦ καὶ ὄνειδισθεὶς τὸν ἐπὶ τῇ Πενθεσιλείᾳ λεγόμενον ἔρωτα.

(p.141) The nuance given by *λεγόμενον* his alleged love', is lost in Apollodorus, who continues the passage quoted above with (ὕπὸ Ἀχιλλέως) ὅστις μετὰ θάνατον ἐρασθεὶς τῆς Ἀμαζόνος κτείνει Θερσίτην λοιδωροῦντα αὐτόν.

When Penthesileia fell, the Trojans will have fled to safety and the Achaeans will have gathered round to admire the body, as they do in *Il.* 22. 369 when Hector falls. So it goes in Quintus (1. 630ff., 657ff.). According to Propertius (3. 11. 15f.) and Quintus it was only when the dead heroine's helmet was removed that her beauty was revealed. This could

go back to the *Aethiopis*, as the Corinthian-type helmet that covers most of the face had come into use by the time of its composition, and Amazons are occasionally shown wearing it in art.¹³ In Quintus it is not only Achilles who is impressed but all the Argeioi: they wish that they had wives like that to sleep with. Achilles is filled with remorse that he has killed her instead of taking her back to Phthia as his bride. In the *Aethiopis* he must have shown some emotional reaction sufficient to provoke Thersites' taunts. It presumably found expression in a speech (Welcker ii. 172).

In *Il.* 2. 220f. Thersites is said to have been a habitual critic of Achilles and Odysseus, though they were not the objects of his raillery in that passage. The *Iliad* poet probably had no knowledge of the Penthesileia story (*pace* Kullmann 303); he will be alluding to some other occasion(s) on which Thersites had barracked Achilles. A plausible occasion (if the episode already existed in poetry known to the *Iliad* poet) would be the assembly at which Achilles, after having seen Helen, persuaded the despondent Achaeans to continue the war (*Cypria* arg. 11b).

It seems likely that, as in Quintus, his taunting and Achilles' violent response to it followed directly on from Penthesileia's death and the viewing of her body. Proclus has probably altered the sequence by putting the funeral first, appending it to the death notice for narrative convenience. The funeral may have taken place on the following day, when it could be conveniently synchronized with Achilles' visit to Lesbos (below, arg. 1e). Similarly in the *Little Iliad*, I shall suggest, Paris' funeral took place on the day after his death and while the Achaeans awaited Odysseus' return from Skyros with Neoptolemos.

(p.142) There are two different versions of how Achilles killed Thersites. In Quintus he simply strikes him dead with a blow of his fist,¹⁴ In Lycophron (999–1001) Thersites has had the gall to stick his spear in the eye of the corpse,¹⁵ and Achilles cleaves him (τέμνειν) with a τράφηξ, whatever that means.¹⁶ One source of divergences may have been Chairemon's tragedy Ἀχιλλεὺς Θερσιτοκτόνος (*TrGF* 71 F 1–3). An Apulian volute crater from c.350–40 which shows Thersites decapitated in a shrine has been taken to reflect that play.¹⁷ But it is far from clear which version is to be assumed for the *Aethiopis*. In the representation on the Tabula Capitolina Achilles is about to strike Thersites with a weapon in front of a tomb(?) conjectured to be Penthesileia's.

Arg. 1e

καὶ ἐκ τούτου στάσις γίνεται τοῖς Ἀχαιοῖς περὶ τοῦ Θερσίτου φόνου. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα Ἀχιλλεὺς εἰς Λέσβον πλεῖ, καὶ θύσας Ἀπόλλωνι καὶ Ἀρτέμιδι καὶ Λητοῖ καθαίρεται τοῦ φόνου ὑπ' Ὀδυσσέως.

In Quintus the Achaeans are nearly all delighted at Thersites' death; only Diomedes, being a kinsman of his, is angry and ready to attack Achilles, but he is restrained by others and that is the end of the matter. Quintus is following the tradition that Thersites was a son of Agrios, who was a brother of Diomedes' grandfather Oineus (1. 769–73). This goes back to Pherecydes fr. 123 Fowler. It represents a probably erroneous identification of the Iliadic Thersites with an older homonym known from Aetolian saga.¹⁸ On the crater mentioned above that may reflect Chairemon's tragedy, Diomedes is

shown storming towards Achilles' quarters, with Menelaos restraining him and Aitolos coming up behind. It remains doubtful, however, whether the identification with the Aetolian Thersites and Diomedes' involvement in the matter are to be assumed for the *Aethiopis*;¹⁹ the quarrel over Thersites' death that Proclus mentions might have been differently motivated.

(p.143) The journey to Lesbos and purification (eliminated in Quintus) were inherited, I have suggested, from an earlier, independent *Amazonis*, of which they formed the conclusion. The focus on Lesbos, with which Achilles has other connections,²⁰ may reflect some local interest; was the *Amazonis* the work of a Lesbian poet? The *Little Iliad* was attributed to one; and when we come to it we shall find a romantic element in it that might be thought similar to what we have in the Penthesileia story. When her face is uncovered, the sight of it melts Achilles and turns his hostile thoughts aside, and when Helen uncovers her bosom in the *Little Iliad* (F 28) the sight of it melts Menelaos and makes him drop his sword.²¹

Apollo is a god of purification, and Artemis and Leto belong with him. But it is a trio more associated with Delos than with Lesbos. This was by no means an obvious place for Achilles to go, and we may guess that he was directed to go there by Calchas. The role of Odysseus also requires explanation. It is perhaps inspired by his mission to Chryse in *Il.* 1. 308–11, 430–74, when he took propitiatory sacrifices to Apollo in the context of purification from a plague (313–16). Cf. Nitzsch (1831), 59.

Purification from homicide is un-Homeric, as observed by sch. (T) *Il.* 11. 690. All the more noteworthy that the motif appeared twice in the *Amazonis*, with Penthesileia and now with Achilles.

Memnon

Arg. 2a

Μέμνων δὲ ὁ Ἡοῦς υἱὸς ἔχων ἡφαιστότευκτον πανοπλίαν παραγίνεται τοῖς Τρωσὶ βοηθήσων.

As with Penthesileia, we must suppose that Memnon arrived the day before he went out to fight, and that on the eve of battle he was entertained by Priam; so in Quintus 2. 111–63. Probably he arrived late on the day of the Amazon's funeral. Similarly in the *Little Iliad*, I shall suggest, Eurypylos and his Mysian force arrived late on the day of Paris' funeral.

(p.144) The phrasing of Μέμνων ... παραγίνεται τοῖς Τρωσὶ βοηθήσων is similar to that at the arrival of Penthesileia, arg. 1a. Apollod. epit. 5. 3 makes it Μέμνων ὁ Τιθωνοῦ καὶ Ἡοῦς, and adds that he brought a large force of Aithiopes with him. The naming of his father is relevant, as Tithonos was Priam's brother and Memnon his nephew, like Eurypylos in the *Little Iliad*. He was coming to help his uncle. Later sources say that Priam had sent an appeal to him.²² This might have been so in the *Aethiopis*; the motif is paralleled in Priam's appeal for Eurypylos to come from Mysia in *Little Iliad* F 6. But

whereas he knew that his sister Astyoche had married Telephos in Teuthrania, his brother Tithonos had been carried off by Eos, and it is less plausible that he should have known what became of him; he may have been unaware of Memnon's existence. In this case Memnon may have explained that his mother had brought him word of the Trojan War and of Priam's difficulties, and that he had come of his own accord to help.²³

Penthesileia's outstanding beauty was matched by Memnon's, as appears from *Od.* 11. 522 *κεῖνον δὲ (Eurypylos) κάλλιστον ἶδον μετὰ Μέμνονα δῖον*. Altogether he cut a splendid figure with his divinely made panoply. Eos had no doubt commissioned it from Hephaestus for her son, as Thetis does for Achilles in the *Iliad*; so Virgil, *Aen.* 8. 383f. (Venus to Vulcan), *arma rogo genetrix nato: te filia Nerei, | te potuit lacrimis Tithonia flectere coniunx*, though I do not think we need go as far as Eduard Fraenkel and postulate for the *Aethiopis* an actual scene in which Eos visited Hephaestus.²⁴ It must however have given some prominence to a description of the armour, the fame of which is reflected perhaps in Hes. *Th.* [984] *Μέμνονα χαλκοκορυστήν* and more clearly in Virg. *Aen.* 1. 489 *Eoasque acies et nigri Memnonis arma*; 751 (Dido's questions to Aeneas), *nunc (rogitans) quibus Aurorae uenisset filius armis*.

(p.145) Arg. 2b

καὶ Θέτις τῷ παιδὶ τὰ κατὰ τὸν Μέμνονα προλέγει.

Thetis' prophecies and warnings to her son are a familiar motif from the *Iliad*. At 18. 96 she told him that his determination to kill Hector meant that he would not live long, *αὐτίκα γάρ τοι ἔπειτα μεθ' Ἑκτορα πότμος ἐτοῖμος*. Her prediction in the *Aethiopis* was no doubt similar, to the effect that he would die shortly after Memnon (Welcker ii. 173).

Some Neoanalysts have taken the prophecy in the *Aethiopis* to be primary and the *Iliad* passage to be a mechanical adaptation of it, with Hector's name substituted for Memnon's.²⁵ This is to be rejected. Memnon was a post-Iliadic import into the saga; and if we were to suppose that the *Iliad* poet knew of the Memnon story, it would make no sense for him to have Thetis prophesying Achilles' death *αὐτίκα μεθ' Ἑκτορα*. He must have composed the line for a version in which Achilles, after killing Hector, did what Patroklos did after killing Sarpedon: forgot the advice he had been given and went on pursuing the enemy to the gates of Troy, there to meet his death. See below on arg. 3a.

Arg. 2c

καὶ συμβολῆς γενομένης Ἀντίλοχος ὑπὸ Μέμνονος ἀναιρεῖται.

Typically (like Penthesileia, and Eurypylos in the *Little Iliad*) the new hero at first enjoys a period of success, killing at least one Achaean of note. This is only possible so long as he does not meet Achilles. Thetis' warning to her son that he was destined to die soon after Memnon would have served to restrain him initially from confronting the Aethiop, against whom he had no special animus. To override his restraint when the time came, the poet imitated the *Iliad*'s powerful mechanism. He had Memnon kill Nestor's son Antilochos, who was a friend of Achilles', so arousing the latter's fury and his need for vengeance at

whatever cost.²⁶ His friendship with Antilochos, however, though mentioned casually in the *Iliad* (23. 556), is never **(p.146)** developed or explained as Patroklos' is, and the use of his death in the *Aethiopis* remains a pale shadow of the Patroklos drama in the *Iliad*.²⁷

Antilochos makes quite frequent appearances in the *Iliad*, without doing anything outstanding. His death at Memnon's hands is mentioned in *Od.* 4. 187f., cf. 3. 111f., 24. 78. The circumstances are related by Pindar, *Pyth.* 6. 28–42, no doubt following the *Aethiopis* (Welcker ii. 174), though the scholia make no reference to it.²⁸ An arrow shot by Paris struck one of Nestor's horses, preventing him from escaping in his chariot from Memnon's onset. He shouted to Antilochos, who came to his aid, held Memnon up long enough for his father to get away, but lost his life in the process.

There is a similar incident in *Il.* 8. 80ff. The Achaeans are fleeing. An arrow from Paris strikes one of Nestor's horses and halts his chariot. Hector is rapidly approaching in his, and Nestor is saved only by the intervention of Diomedes. Many scholars have held that the Antilochos episode was primary and the *Iliad* passage derived from it. But the converse relationship is equally plausible and must be assumed if Memnon is a post-Iliadic figure.²⁹

An encounter between Memnon and Ajax has sometimes been inferred from Alcman *PMGF* 68, *δουρὶ δὲ ξυστῶι μέμανεν Αἴας αἵματῇ τε Μέμνων*, 'Ajax is raging with sharpened spear and Memnon is athirst for blood'. It is a puzzling fragment (and the text is disputed); the perfect and present tenses imply that the verse came in a speech, but whose could it have been? In any case *μέμανεν* (=μαίνεται) signifies raging over the battlefield, killing right and left, not attacking a specific opponent, and *αἵματῇ* should be read similarly. So the two heroes are not engaging with one another, but someone is describing the furious state of the battle at large while Memnon is active.

(p.147) Arg. 2d

ἔπειτα Ἀχιλλεὺς Μέμνονα κτείνει.

As the battle approached its climax, Zeus weighed the destinies (*κῆρε*) of Achilles and Memnon against one another, as in the *Iliad* (22. 208–14) he weighs those of Achilles and Hector. This is a certain inference from the fact that the scene appears on many vases from about 530 bce on, usually with Hermes holding the scales,³⁰ and was dramatized in the prologue of the *Psychostasia* attributed to Aeschylus.³¹

Pindar repeatedly mentions Achilles' killing of Memnon (but never that of Penthesileia) as one of his greatest heroic deeds: *Ol.* 2. 83; *Nem.* 3. 61–3, 6. 49–54; *Isth.* 5. 41f., 8. 54. The passage in *Nem.* 6 gives us a detail of the battle:

(The fame of the Aiakidai) καὶ ἐς Αἰθίοπας

Μέμνονος οὐκ ἀπονοστήσαντος ἔπαλτο· βαρὺ δέ σφιν

νεῖκος Ἀχιλεὺς

ἔμπεσε χαμαὶ καταβαίς ἀφ' ἀρμάτων,
 φαεννᾶς υἷδ' ἐϋτ' ἐνάριξεν Ἀόος ἀκμᾶι
 ἔγχεος ζακότοιο. καὶ ταῦτα μὲν παλαιότεροι
 ὁδὸν ἀμαξιτὸν ἡῦρον, ἔπομαι δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς ἔχων μελέταν.

The *παλαιότεροι* must stand for the poet of the *Aethiopsis*, though the scholiast (91a) seems to have no information on who is meant. For *χαμαὶ καταβαίς ἀφ'* cf. *Il.* 16. 426, where Sarpedon *ἐξ ὀρέων σὺν τεύχεσιν ἄλτο χαμᾶζε· Πάτροκλος δ' ἑτέρωθεν, ἐπεὶ ἴδεν. ἔκθορε δίφρου*, and the two then fall upon each other.

The combat is depicted on the east frieze of the Siphnian Treasury at Delphi, dated c.525 (*LIMC* Memnon 14). Memnon and Achilles fight over the body of Antilochos. Behind Achilles are Nestor (Antilochos' father) and the charioteer Automedon; behind Memnon are Aeneas and a charioteer named Lykos; each charioteer is looking after a team of four horses. The gods are shown in an (p.148) upper register, and it is thought that a destiny-weighting scene may be lost from the centre of it.

Instead of Antilochos as the dead man one vase-painter has Phokos (*LIMC* Achilleus 822, c.570/60) and another has Melanippos (Achilleus 833, c.470). It is possible that these names occurred in the epic narrative (a Melanippos is mentioned at *Il.* 19. 240), but they may well be random ones. They do not occur in Quintus.

Arg. 2e

καὶ τούτῳ μὲν Ἥως παρὰ Διὸς αἰτησαμένη ἀθανασίαν δίδωσι.

In the *Psychostasia* Thetis and Eos appeared in the weighing scene, each pleading for her son's life (Plut. *De aud. poet.* 17a). It is doubtful whether Thetis could have been so portrayed in the epic, as she would have had first to travel up to Olympus; besides, her prophecy to Achilles (above, arg. 2b) implies that she was resigned to his fate: to save his life she ought to have pleaded for Memnon's survival. Eos, on the other hand, is in heaven during the hours of daylight and could without difficulty have been represented as appealing to Zeus. Robert is rightly open-minded about whether she did so before or after the (resolution of the) battle.³² Probably it came after Memnon's fate had been decided by the weighing and before he died. The best parallel is *Il.* 16. 450–61, where Zeus, having resigned himself to the necessity of Sarpedon's death, agrees to Hera's proposal that he should receive special honour afterwards.

Many vases and other artefacts from c.510 onwards depict Eos bearing Memnon's body away, and in the *Psychostasia* the crane was used to show her raising it up from the earth into the sky.³³ She was capable of such operations; she had after all carried off Memnon's father Tithonos, and in other myths Kephalos, Kleitos, and Orion.

But what sort of immortality was Memnon to have? He was never worshipped as a god. He had a tomb in the Troad, near the mouth of the Aisepos, where there was also a

Μέμνωνος κώμη.³⁴ He may have **(p.149)** enjoyed heroic honours in that locality. But perhaps we should regard his immortality as the poetic type, with no reality in cult, that Eos had already conferred on his father Tithonos (*Hymn. Aphr.* 220–2) and Zeus on his great-great-uncle Ganymedes (*ibid.* 214). Calypso wanted to confer it on Odysseus (*Od.* 5. 136, al.), and in the *Telegony* Circe did confer it on Penelope, Telemachos, and Telegonos. Menelaos is not to have an ordinary death but live on in Elysium (*Od.* 4. 561–9). There are others who would have been given immortality if something had not gone wrong: Demophon in *Hymn. Dem.* 242ff., Tydeus in *Thebaid* F 9* (where, however, Athena agreed to make his son Diomedes immortal). Polygnotos depicted Memnon in the underworld together with Sarpedon and Hector (*Paus.* 10. 31. 5).

The Death of Achilles

Arg. 3a

τρεψάμενος δ' Ἀχιλλεὺς τοὺς Τρῶας καὶ εἰς τὴν πόλιν συνεισπεσὼν ὑπὸ Πάριδος ἀναιρεῖται καὶ Ἀπόλλωνος.

Apollocl. epit. 5. 3 τοξεύεται ὑπὸ Ἀλεξάνδρου καὶ Ἀπόλλωνος εἰς τὸ σφυρόν.

It is a typical motif that at the fall of the champion the troops turn to flight.³⁵ But here there is a special connection with two passages of the *Iliad*. In 16. 656ff., after Sarpedon is killed by Patroklos (though not immediately after), the Trojans and Lycians lose heart and flee, and Patroklos pursues them towards Troy; and he would have taken the city, if Apollo had not taken his stand on the wall and repulsed him. The god then encourages Hector to turn back from the Scaean Gate and fight him. In 22. 376ff. Achilles, after killing Hector, is minded to go on and attack the city, where the rest of the Trojans have taken refuge, but then he changes his mind. These passages and the one in the *Aethiopis* are all variants on the *Iliad* poet's original, unwritten account of Achilles' death, in which after killing Hector he pursued the Trojans towards the city and would have taken it if Apollo had not stopped him by guiding Paris' arrow, so that he fell in front of the Scaean Gate. He thus died 'straight after Hector', as **(p.150)** Thetis prophesied in 18. 96. In composing the *Iliad* the poet changed his plan, postponing Achilles' death to a point after the end of the poem. The poet of the *Aethiopis* had to bring in a new hero, Memnon, for Achilles to kill, to trigger again the sequence that brings him to the spot where he is to die, the sequence that the poet knew from older accounts.³⁶ His narrative probably contained some lines similar to *Il.* 16. 698ff., e.g.

ἔνθα κεν ὑψίπυλον Τροίην ἔλον νῆες Ἀχαιῶν

Πηλείδεω ὑπὸ χερσὶ, περίπρὸ γὰρ ἔγχεϊ θυῖεν,

εἰ μὴ Ἀπόλλων Φοῖβος Ἀλέξανδρον προσέειπεν...

Cf. Pind. *Pae.* 6. 89–91 (of Achilles), πρὸ πόνων δέ κε μεγάλων Δαρδανίαν ἔπραθεν, εἰ μὴ φύλασσαν Ἀπό [λ]λ[ω]ν, and Q.S. 3. 26–36.

According to the *Iliad* Paris and Apollo were to bring Achilles down ἐνὶ Σκαιοῖσι πύλῃσιν (22. 359f.), or Τρώων ὑπὸ τείχεϊ (21. 277); Apollodorus says πρὸς ταῖς Σκαιοῖς πύλαις. Proclus' συνεισπεσών would suggest that he actually got in through the gates, but he is normally represented as having fallen just outside, as implied in the second *Iliad* passage and depicted on the Tabula Capitolina. That makes more sense of the battle to recover his body.

What is meant by saying that he was killed by Paris and Apollo (cf. also *Il.* 19. 417) is that Paris shot the arrow and Apollo guided it to its mark (Virg. *Aen.* 6. 56–8; Porphyrio on Hor. *C.* 4. 6. 3). Probably he also directed Paris' attention to the availability of the target (Ov. *Met.* 12. 600–6), as Athena directs Pandaros' in *Il.* 4. 92ff. and Heracles' in [Hes.] fr. 33. 31–3.

Apollodorus says that Achilles was shot in the ankle, εἰς τὸ σφυρόν. Several vase-paintings show him shot in that part, or an archer aiming at it (*LIMC* Achilleus 850, 851 = Alexandros 92; Gantz 626). An arrow in the foot would not normally be fatal, unless it was a poisoned one, so if it was specified that Achilles was shot there, it must have been because he was vulnerable only in the ankle or foot. The tradition that this was the case does not appear in literature before Statius, but it seems necessary to postulate its currency much earlier.³⁷ The poet of the *Aethiopis* probably adverted to it in the context of the fatal shot, whether or not the explanation he gave was (p.151) the one given by the late sources, that Thetis had held him by the foot when she dipped him in the Water of Styx to make his skin impenetrable.

Horace, *C.* 4. 6. 9f., says that Achilles fell *mordaci uelut icta ferro | pinus aut impulsa cupressus Euro*. The simile is typically epic and may reflect the account in the *Aethiopis*, especially as Simonides too almost certainly uses it of Achilles, fr. eleg. 11. 1–3 [σὺ δ' ἥριπες, ὥς ὅτε πεύκη] ἢ πίτυν ἐν βήσ|σαις...] | ὕλοτόμοι τάμ[νωσι.

The Battle Over Achilles' Body

Arg. 3b

καὶ περὶ τοῦ πτώματος γενομένης ἰσχυρᾶς μάχης Αἴας ἀνελόμενος ἐπὶ τὰς ναῦς κομίζει, Ὀδυσσεὺς ἀπομαχομένου τοῖς Τρωσίν.

Apollod. epit. 5. 4 γενομένης δὲ περὶ τοῦ νεκροῦ μάχης Αἴας Γλαῦκον ἀναιρεῖ· καὶ τὰ ὅπλα δίδωσιν ἐπὶ τὰς ναῦς κομίζειν, τὸ δὲ σῶμα βαστάσας Αἴας βαλλόμενος βέλεσι μέσον τῶν πολεμίων διήνεγκεν, Ὀδυσσεὺς πρὸς τοὺς ἐπιφερομένους μαχομένου.

F 3 Sch. (A, Aristonici) *Il.* 17. 719

ὅτι ἐντεῦθεν τοῖς νεωτέροις ὁ βασταζόμενος Ἀχιλλεὺς ὑπ' Αἴαντος, ὑπερασπίζων δὲ Ὀδυσσεὺς παρῆκται. εἰ δὲ Ὅμηρος ἔγραφε τὸν Ἀχιλλεὺς θάνατον, οὐκ ἂν ἐποίησε τὸν νεκρὸν ὑπ' Αἴαντος βασταζόμενον, ὥς οἱ νεώτεροι.

The long and strenuous battle to recover Achilles' body no doubt goes back to an older model upon which the poet of the *Iliad* based battles for the bodies of Sarpedon (16.

563ff.), Kebriones (16. 755ff.), and most notably Patroklos (17. 1ff.). The *Aethiopis* version, or one closely related to it, is reflected in *Od.* 24. 37–42, where Agamemnon's ghost tells Achilles' about it:

ἀμφὶ δέ σ' ἄλλοι

κτείνονται Τρώων καὶ Ἀχαιῶν υἷες ἄριστοι

μαρνάμενοι περὶ σείο· σὺ δ' ἐν στροφάλιγγι κονίης

κεῖσο μέγας μεγαλωστί, λελασμένος ἵπποσυνάων.

ἡμεῖς δὲ πρόπαν ἤμαρ ἐμαρνάμεθ'· οὐδέ κε πάμπαν

πανσάμεθα πτολέμου, εἰ μὴ Ζεὺς λαίλαπι παῦσεν.

(p.152) In *Il.* 16. 775f. the words ὁ δ' ἐν στροφάλιγγι κονίης | κεῖτο μέγας μεγαλωστί, λελασμένος ἵπποσυνάων are used of Kebriones, and the last phrase is more appropriate to the charioteer, even if μέγας μεγαλωστί better suits Achilles (as in 18. 26); see West (2011a), 326. The same lines, however, may have been used for Achilles in the *Aethiopis*. They are echoed again in Horace, *C.* 4. 6. 11f. (of Achilles), *procidit late posuitque collum in puluere Teucro*.

Ajax and Odysseus played the leading roles in the battle, Ajax carrying the great corpse while Odysseus fought the Trojans off (cf. *Od.* 5. 309f.). Depictions of a warrior carrying an enormous corpse draped over his shoulders appear in art from the end of the eighth century on: *LIMC* Achilleus 860–5; Fittschen 179–81; Ahlberg-Cornell 35–8, 287–91 figs. 44–52. Odysseus' defence of the operation was the basis on which Achilles' arms were awarded to him in the *Little Iliad* (F 2).

The additional detail in Apollodorus that Ajax killed Glaukos (before taking up Achilles' body) is confirmed as archaic by a Chalcidian amphora of c.550/40 (*LIMC* Achilleus 850), which depicts the battle over Achilles' body: ΓλυϜος (*sic*) has tied a rope round his foot to drag him away (cf. *Il.* 17. 289f.), but is speared by Ajax. This may reasonably be attributed to the *Aethiopis*. The same painting shows Αἰνεες and ΛεοδοϜος advancing to join the fray, and in Quintus, when Ajax kills Glaukos, Aeneas at once comes forward to rescue his corpse and to take up the fight for Achilles' (3. 278–86). Leodoqos will be the Antenorid Laodokos mentioned in *Il.* 4. 87. He may have played a role in the battle for Achilles' body in the *Aethiopis*.³⁸ Quintus does not mention him in that context, but at 11. 85 a Laodokos is killed by Diomedes. The amphora also shows Διομεδες, wounded in the hand, being tended by Σθενελος. This too is probably based on the *Aethiopis* (Severyns (1928), 322).

Apollodorus' words καὶ τὰ ὄπλα δίδωσιν ἐπὶ τὰς ναῦς κομίζειν appear at first sight to refer to Glaukos' armour. But although this might have been thought of interest as being Diomedes' original armour, which he exchanged for Glaukos' in *Il.* 6. 230–6, its recovery would hardly be important enough to be noticed in such a sketchy summary of the

narrative. It is rather Achilles' armour, contrasted with his body: καὶ τὰ ὅπλα δίδωσιν ἐπὶ τὰς ναῦς κομίζουσιν, τὸ (p.153) δὲ σῶμα βαστάσας.... Securing the armour was essential in preparation for the dispute over it following the funeral games, and Achilles' great body was a big enough burden on its own for Ajax to carry. In Proclus' more compressed version the phrase ἐπὶ τὰς ναῦς κομίζει is transferred to the body (Wagner 211 n. 2). In the original poem there were no doubt verses similar to *Il.* 16. 664f. τὰ μὲν (Sarpedon's armour) κοίλας ἐπὶ νῆας | δῶκε φέρειν ἐτάροισι Μενoitίου ἄλκιμος υἱός.

The Mourning for Achilles

Arg. 4a

ἔπειτα Ἀντίλοχόν τε θάπτουσι καὶ τὸν νεκρὸν τοῦ Ἀχιλλέως προτίθενται. καὶ Θέτις ἀφικομένη σὺν Μούσαις καὶ ταῖς ἀδελφαῖς θρηνεῖ τὸν παῖδα.

In the *Iliad* (18. 239) the sun sets as soon as Patroklos' body has been secured, and *Od.* 24. 41 (quoted above) implies that in the *Aethiopis* too the battle for the body filled out the remainder of the day's action. Antilochos' funeral then was left for the morrow. He will have been lamented especially by his father, whose words, deploring the fact that he had lived long enough to see his son's death, have perhaps left echoes in Prop. 2. 13. 49f.,

non ille Antilochi uidisset corpus humari,
diceret aut 'O mors, cur mihi sera uenis?'

and Juv. 10. 251–5,

quantum de legibus ipse queratur
Fatorum et nimio de stamine, cum uidet acris
Antilochi barbam ardentem, cum quaerit ab omni
quisquis adest socius, cur haec in tempora duret,
quod facinus dignum tam longo admiserit aevo.

At the same time the lamentation for Achilles got under way. The *Odyssey* passage continues (43–6):

αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ σ' ἐπὶ νῆας ἐνείκαμεν ἐκ πολέμοιο
κάτθεμεν ἐν λεχέεσσι, καθήραντες χροά καλόν
ὔδατι τε λιαρῶι καὶ ἀλείφατι· πολλὰ δέ σ' ἀμφί
δάκρυα θερμὰ χέον Δαναοὶ κείραντό τε χαίτας

It goes on to relate that Thetis and the Nereids came up from the sea; the Achaeans

were terrified and would have run for their ships if **(p.154)** Nestor had not calmed them. The Nereids stood round Achilles lamenting, and the nine Muses joined them. This agrees nicely with Proclus, and there is no reason to doubt that the poet is following the account in the *Aethiopis* or one closely related to it. A similar scene is already presupposed in the *Iliad*, where the Nereids come up to lament Patroklos (18. 35–69), though only Thetis then says or does anything; this must be adapted from what the poet had been accustomed to describe in relating the death of Achilles.³⁹ The Muses may have been added by the *Aethiopis* poet. The point of their presence is less obvious, but it may be recalled that according to Pindar (*Pyth.* 3. 89–93, *Nem.* 5. 22) they had sung at Thetis' wedding to Peleus, and it would be their office to perpetuate Achilles' fame in epic song (cf. Q.S. 3. 645–7).

Briseis too laments Patroklos as soon as she is returned to Achilles (19. 282–302). We should expect her to have played a role in the lamentation for Achilles in the *Aethiopis*, and Propertius (2. 9. 9–16) describes her washing his bloody body in the Simoeis, embracing it, wildly beating her head, defiling her hair, and handling his bones. He is presumably following some literary source, and it may have been the epic, though there is no guarantee of it. Quintus has her lamenting and later cutting her hair as an offering to the dead hero (3. 551–81, 687f.).

F 3a* (= Epic. adesp. 6) Sch. (T) II. 24. 420b, “σὺν δ’ ἔλκεα πάντα μέμυκεν”
ἀδύνατον νεκρῶν τραύματα μύειν, ὥς φησιν Ἀριστοτέλης (fr. 167) εἰρηκέναι Ὅμηρον.

μύσεν δὲ πέρι βροτόεσσ’ ὠτειλή.

τοῦτο δὲ τὸ ἡμιστίχιον οὐδὲ φέρεται.

The fragment refers to a fatal wound that closed up, like those of Hector in the passage to which the scholion relates. Aristotle attributed the half-line to Homer, but as it does not occur in the *Iliad* or *Odyssey*, and is unlikely to have done so in a rhapsode's interpolation, he was presumably remembering it from some other epic. The dead hero whose (single) wound preternaturally closed up must have been one who, like Hector, enjoyed special divine favour.

(p.155) The obvious candidate is Achilles, and the fragment may come from the description of his laying-out in the *Aethiopis*.

Achilles' Funeral and Translation

The lamentation by goddesses and mortals continued for seventeen days, and the body was finally committed to the pyre on the eighteenth (*Od.* 24. 63–5).⁴⁰ The *Odyssey* passage continues with details of the funeral ritual (65–70):

πολλὰ δ’ ἐπ’ αὐτῷ

μῆλα κατεκτάνομεν μάλα πίονα καὶ ἔλικας βοῦς.

καίεο δ’ ἔν τ’ ἐσθῆτι θεῶν καὶ ἀλείφατι πολλῷ

καὶ μέλιτι γλυκερῶϊ· πολλοὶ δ' ἥρωες Ἀχαιοί
τεύχεσιν ἐρρώσαντο πυρὴν πέρι καιομένοιο,
πεζοὶ θ' ἱππῆές τε, πολλὸς δ' ὀρυμαγδὸς ὀρώρει.

Arg. 4b

καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα ἐκ τῆς πυρᾶς ἡ Θέτις ἀναρπάσασα τὸν παῖδα εἰς τὴν Λευκὴν νῆσον
διακομίζει.

This is something that the *Odyssey* poet, if he knew it from the *Aethiopis*, had to eliminate, as it was incompatible with his own narrative, where Achilles was in Hades listening to this account of his obsequies. He just says that in the morning (the pyre having burned through the night, as in *Il.* 23. 217–28) the Achaeans gathered the bones and placed them in a golden amphora provided by Thetis,⁴¹ together with those of Patroklos and separately those of Antilochos. Over it they built a great tumulus on the headland by the Hellespont (*sc.* at Sigeion). This follows the lines of the *Iliad* poet's version, though for him it is only Patroklos who is to share Achilles' tomb. In 23. 236–48 Achilles gives instructions to collect Patroklos' bones from the pyre and conserve them in a golden *φιάλη* until his own death; only a small tumulus is to be made, to be enlarged later. It was only in the *Aethiopis*, where Antilochos was promoted to the status **(p.156)** of a second Patroklos, that his remains too were put beside those of Achilles and Patroklos.

Achilles' translation to the White Island was an innovation of the *Aethiopis*. If Memnon got a form of immortality from his mother, Achilles merited no less. The White Island may originally have been a purely mythical place; the Indian epics also know of a White Island in the north where certain men go who die in battle.⁴² In Greek sources, however, it is identified with a real uninhabited island in the Black Sea, 50 km off the mouth of the Danube, now the Ukrainian island of Ostrov Zmeinyy.⁴³ It was associated primarily with Achilles, though some later sources admit other heroes to it too. Sherds with scratched dedications to Achilles are found there, starting from the late sixth century. Ionian mariners in the second half of the seventh had carried his cult into the Black Sea and attached his name to this and certain other sites; they had passed his Sigeian tumulus on their way into the Hellespont. Alcaeus, who fought at Sigeion, said something about *Ἀχίλλευς ὁ τὰς (or γὰς) Σκυθίκας μέδεις* (fr. 354), the Achilles worshipped in the Pontic region, and he no doubt knew the story of the hero's posthumous translation to the White Island. See E. Diehl, *RE* xxii. 1–18; Hommel; G. Hedreen, *Hesperia* 60 (1991), 313–30; J. Hupe (ed.), *Der Achilleus-Kult im nördlichen Schwarzmeerraum* (Rahden 2006).

The poet of the *Aethiopis* imposed the translation on an older account of the funeral that did not have it, leaving an unresolved contradiction: on the one hand the body is burned on the pyre, the remains collected in a vessel, and a tumulus built over them, on the other hand Achilles is snatched from the pyre and transported overseas. Cf. Kullmann 41f.

The Funeral Games

Arg. 4c

οἱ δὲ Ἀχαιοὶ τὸν τάφον χώσαντες ἀγῶνα τιθέασι.

(p.157) Apollod. epit. 5. 5 τιθέασι δὲ ἐπ' αὐτῶι ἀγῶνα, ἐν ᾧ νικᾷ Εὐμηλος ἵπποις, Διομήδης σταδίωι, Αἴας δίσκωι, Τεῦκρος τόξωι.

Od. 24. 85–6

μήτηρ δ' αἰτήσασα θεοὺς περικαλλέ' ἄεθλα

θῆκε μέσσωι ἐν ἀγῶνι ἀριστήεσσιν Ἀχαιῶν.

Agamemnon's ghost goes on to say that these were the most splendid funeral games he ever attended. There were perhaps more than the four events mentioned by Apollodorus, cf. F 4–5. If the victors he names correspond to those in the *Aethiopsis*, it looks as if the bestqualified competitor won in each case: Eumelos was acknowledged to have the best horses after Achilles' (*Il.* 2. 763–7, cf. 23. 289), and Teukros to be the best archer (13. 313f.). This contrasts with the games for Patroklos in *Il.* 23, where various twists make the outcomes less predictable: Eumelos has an accident in the chariot race and comes in last; Teukros forgets to pray to Apollo and misses the prize. The *Iliad* poet was no doubt adapting oral accounts that he had previously given of games for Achilles. Cf. Kullmann 334.

Quintus' account of the games in book 4 of his epic agrees with Apollodorus in respect of Ajax's and Teukros' victories, but not otherwise, and cannot be used to supplement our information about the *Aethiopsis*.

F 4* Sch. (D) *Il.* 23. 660 “ὦι δέ κ' Ἀπόλλων | δῶνι καμμονίην”

Φόρβας ἀνδρειότατος τῶν καθ' ἑαυτὸν γενόμενος, ὑπερήφανος δέ, πυγμὴν ἥσκησεν, καὶ τοὺς μὲν παριόντας ἀναγκάζων ἀγωνίζεσθαι ἀνήρει· ὑπὸ δὲ τῆς πολλῆς ὑπερηφανίας ἠβούλετο καὶ πρὸς τοὺς θεοὺς τὸ τοιοῦτο φρόν. διὸ Ἀπόλλων παραγενόμενος καὶ συστὰς αὐτῶι ἀπέκτεινεν αὐτόν. ὅθεν ἐξ ἐκείνου καὶ τῆς πυκτικῆς ἔφορος ἐνομίσθη ὁ θεός. ἡ ἱστορία παρὰ τοῖς κυκλικοῖς.

This Phorbas was king of the Phlegyai in Boeotia; a fuller version of the story appears in Philostr. *Imag.* 2. 19, cf. Ov. *Met.* 11. 413f. Some reference to it occurred in a Cyclic poem, most likely on the occasion of a boxing match. The games for Achilles provide the only context we know of in which boxing might have been mentioned. The fragment was assigned to this context by T. W. Allen, *CR* 27 (1913), 190.

(p.158) F 5 Diomedes, *Gramm. Lat.* i. 477. 9 Keil

Alii a Marte ortum Iambum strenuum ducem tradunt, qui cum crebriter pugnas iniret et telum cum clamore torqueret, ἀπὸ τοῦ ἰεῖν καὶ βοᾶν Iambus appellatur. Idcirco ex breui et longa pedem hunc esse compositum, quod hi qui iaculentur ex breui accessu in extensum passum proferuntur, ut promptiore nisu telis ictum confirment. Auctor huius librationis Arctinus Graecus his uersibus perhibetur: {ὁ Ἰαμβος}

ἐξ ὀλίγου διαβάς προφύρωι ποδί, γυῖά οἱ ὄφρα

τεινόμενα ῥώοιτο καὶ εὐσθενὲς εἶδος ἔχῃσιν.

1 γυῖά οἱ ὄφρα West: *ofra oi gya vel gria* codd.

The verses are quoted from Arktinos (so from the *Aethiopsis* or *Iliou Persis*) as describing the footwork of one throwing a javelin and taking first a short step forward and then a long stride, to put his weight into the shot and give it greater force. This interpretation is contrived to support the alleged connection of ἵαμβος with a warrior's 'throw+shout'. But what sense were the lines composed to convey?

διαβάς προφύρωι ποδί refers to a man setting one foot in front of the other. It is not clear to me what ἐξ ὀλίγου means, but I do not believe it can signify 'after taking a small(er) step'. Thucydides uses the phrase to mean 'at short notice, suddenly' (see LSJ ὀλίγος IV. 4), and this would be appropriate at Solon 13. 14 if we retain the transmitted text, ἀρχὴ δ' ἐξ ὀλίγου γίγνεται ὥστε πυρός.

ῥώομαι or ἐπιρρώομαι is used in the epic language of vigorous bodily movement, as of dancers or of troops surging forward. By taking up the stance described in the first verse the man stretches his limbs in readiness for vigorous action, or prepares for their energetic working when stretched. He also gives his body εὐσθενὲς εἶδος, the appearance of strength or muscularity.

Altogether the fragment suggests an athlete rather than a warrior, though it is not clear what he is preparing to do. He might be getting set for a foot race, only then several competitors would be lining up together and it is unclear why one would be picked out. The emphasis on strength would better suit boxing, wrestling, or hurling a discus or a javelin. Javelin-throwing is what Diomedes says the verses referred to, though by juxtaposing the quotation with the *ιεῖν καὶ βοᾶν* etymology he gives the impression that we are to think of a **(p.159)** battle context. An athletic setting looks more likely, and as with F 4 the games for Achilles make the obvious one.

The Dispute Over the Arms. Ajax's Suicide

Arg. 4d

καὶ περὶ τῶν Ἀχιλλέως ὀπλῶν Ὀδυσσεὶ καὶ Αἴαντι στάσις ἐμπίπτει.

Apollocl. epit. 5. 6 τὴν δὲ Ἀχιλλέως πανοπλίαν ἵτίθεισι τῷ ἀρίστῳ νικητήριον.

The story of the dispute over the arms and Ajax's suicide was told both in the *Aethiopsis* and in the *Little Iliad*, but Proclus, to avoid duplication, breaks off his summary of the *Aethiopsis* with the bare mention of the quarrel.

Robert (1881), 221, suggested that the *Aethiopsis* was the source for a series of vase paintings where Ajax and Odysseus are shown being restrained from setting upon each other with swords; cf. Gantz 633. This could easily have been accommodated in an epic

narrative; cf. *Il.* 1. 188ff., and especially 7. 273ff., καὶ νύ κε δὴ ξιφέεσσ' αὐτοσχεδὸν οὐτάζοντο, | εἰ μὴ κήρυκες κτλ.

In this poem the adjudication was perhaps entrusted to Trojan prisoners of war; see on *Little Iliad* F 2.

F 5a Sch. (T) *Il.* 11. 515, "ἰοὺς τ' ἐκτάμνειν"

ἔνιοι δέ φασιν ὡς οὐδὲ ἐπὶ πάντας τοὺς ἰατροὺς ὁ ἔπαινος οὗτός ἐστι κοινός, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τὸν Μαχάονα, ὃν μόνον χειρουργεῖν τινες λέγουσι· τὸν γὰρ Ποδαλείριον διαιτᾶσθαι νόσους..., τοῦτο ἔοικε καὶ Ἀρκτίνος ἐν Ἰλίου πορθήσει νομίζειν, ἐν οἷς φησι

αὐτὸς γάρ σφιν ἔδωκε πατὴρ ἱένοσίγαιος πεσεῖν†

ἀμφοτέροις· ἕτερον δ' ἑτέρου κυδίον' ἔθηκεν·

τῷ μὲν κουφοτέρας χεῖρας πόρεν ἔκ τε βέλεμνα

σαρκὸς ἐλεῖν τμηξαί τε καὶ ἔλκεα πάντ' ἀκέσασθαι,

5

τῷ δ' ἄρ' ἀκριβέα πάντα ἐνὶ στήθεσσιν ἔθηκεν

ἄσκοπά τε γνῶναι καὶ ἀναλθέα ἰήσασθαι

ὅς ῥα καὶ Αἴαντος πρῶτος μάθε χωομένοιο

ὄμματά τ' ἀστράπτοντα βαρυνόμενόν τε νόημα.

1 (γέρας) Ἐννοσίγαιος West post Dübner ((γέρα)): νουσήλια παισὶν Welcker (παισὶν iam Heyne).

(p.160) We know nothing of any role played by Machaon or Podaleirios in the *Iliou Persis*. Machaon had been killed before the action of that poem started, according to Apollod. epit. 5. 1 (=Aethiopis? see on arg. 1b) and the *Little Iliad* (F 7). Quintus 12. 321 includes Podaleirios among the heroes who went in the Horse, but his naming in that context in the *Iliou Persis* would hardly have provoked this excursus on the two brothers.

Had the fragment not been attributed to that poem, one would have assumed its context to be the madness of Ajax. I agree with Welcker and others⁴⁴ that it belongs in the *Aethiopis* and that the scholiast, finding it ascribed to 'Arktinos', erroneously added ἐν Ἰλίου πορθήσει. If this is right, it refutes the view of some scholars.⁴⁵ that Ajax's madness (with his slaughter of animals) was an innovation in the *Little Iliad* and that in the *Aethiopis* it was just the slight to his honour from the awarding of the arms to Odysseus that drove him to suicide. An Αἴας μανιώδης is in any case depicted in a scene from the *Aethiopis* on the Tabula Capitolina.

Nitzsch (1831), 50n., argues from ὅς ῥα καί that the reference to Ajax was incidental to the context. But cf. *Il.* 13. 356, 514, 15. 194, where a similar combination is used in returning to the main point.⁴⁶

It is perplexing that Machaon and Podaleirios appear to be sons of Poseidon instead of (as usual) Asklepios. Attempts to explain it are hardly convincing.⁴⁷ But the end of line 1 is anyway corrupt, and if Ἐννοσίγαιος which Eustathius also read, 859. 45) is retained we have both to supply something before it and to excise πεσεῖν (*sc.* παισίν) as a gloss on ἀμφοτέροις (Kinkel). Possibly Welcker (ii. 525f.) was on the right lines with his change of ἐννοσίγαιος πεσεῖν to νουσήλια παισίν.

5–6. Neither ἀκριβής and ἀναλθής is otherwise attested before the fifth century, but they do not look like recent coinages.

8. The eyes are often mentioned as giving signals of mental arousal or disturbance, cf. Fraenkel on Aesch. *Ag.* 1428; Page on Eur. *Med.* 1174–5; Dodds on Eur. *Bacch.* 1122–3. Ocular lightning, however, is normally associated with Cρω, cf. Pearson on Soph. fr. 474. 2; **(p.161)** Gow–Page on Meleager *A.P.* 12. 84. 4 (*HE* 4605); Mosch. *Eur.* 86. J. Mattes, *Der Wahnsinn im griech. Mythos und in der Dichtung bis zum Drama des 5. Jahrhunderts* (Heidelberg 1970), 65, writes ‘Es handelt sich hier aber nicht um reine Depression. Denn dazu passen nicht blitzende Augen als Symptom der Erkrankung. Sie deuten eher darauf, daß sich der Groll bald in einer Tat entladen wird.’

F 6 Sch. Pind. *Isth.* 4. 58b, “ἴστε μὰν Αἴαντος ἀλκάν, φοίνιον τὰν ὀψίαί ἐν νυκτὶ ταμῶν περὶ ᾧ φασι γάνωι μομφὰν ἔχει παίδεσσιν Ἑλλάνων ὅσοι Τροίανδ’ ἔβαν”

τὸ δὲ “ὀψίαί ἐν νυκτὶ” τριχῶς νοεῖται· ἡ γὰρ τὴν ὀψίαν τῆς ἡμέρας...ἡ κατὰ τὸ ὀψὲ τῆς νυκτός, οἷον τὸ μεσονύκτιον...ἡ τὸ πρὸς ἔω, ὅτε ἐστὶ τῆς νυκτός ὀψὲ πρὸ τοῦ ὄρθρου. τοῖς δὲ τὸν ὄρθρον ἀκούουσι καὶ τὰ ἀπὸ τῆς ἱστορίας συνάδει· ὁ γὰρ τὴν Αἰθιοπίδα γράφων περὶ τὸν ὄρθρον φησὶ τὸν Αἴαντα ἑαυτὸν.

The dispute over the arms and the adjudication in favour of Odysseus will have come late in the day, following the raising of the tumulus over Achilles’ remains and the series of games. It must have been that evening, before the Achaeans retired to bed, that Podaleirios noticed the first signs of Ajax’s mental disturbance (F 5a). The poet may have written on these lines:

All the other Achaeans and Trojans slept the night through, but Ajax did not sleep,
but lay awake, now tossing and turning, now pacing about, raging in his heart
because of his defeat in the contest for the armour.

(Cf. *Il.* 24. 1–12; Q.S. 5. 333–4, 346–54.) Then Ajax’s deluded massacre of the army’s flocks and herds must have been described; see on *Little Iliad* arg. 1b. This took place during the night, while no one else was about. It was then convenient to put his suicide towards dawn, as the last event related before the Achaeans rose to discover the carnage.

The narration may have run approximately as follows:

When it was not yet dawn but still twilight, he arose, taking his sword, and went out determined to kill the two Atreidai. And he would have done it, and they would have died before their appointed time, had Athena not turned his wits astray, so that when he came upon the sheep and cattle that the Achaeans were keeping for their food, he thought that they were the Atreidai and their men, and he fell upon them and slaughtered them.

(p.162) Then the goddess restored his sanity, and he realized what he had done in his madness. In total despair, he fixed his sword in the ground with the blade upwards, and after a passionate monologue threw himself upon it, and his soul went to Hades.

There was a tradition that Ajax had an invulnerable skin that could be pierced only under his arm, and that he had to find this weak spot in order to kill himself.⁴⁸ There is no evidence that this goes back to the *Aethiopis*, but it may well do so.

Artistic representations of Ajax's suicide go back to the first quarter of the seventh century: *LIMC* Aias (I) 110, 118, 120, 121, 125; Fittschen 181f.; Ahlberg-Cornell 74f., 322–4 figs. 110–14.

The poem will not have closed without an account of Ajax's funeral. We cannot tell whether this involved a controversy as in the *Little Iliad* (F 3), nor whether, as there, it took the form of inhumation without cremation.

Notes:

⁽¹⁾ It is curious that no Greek tragedian is known to have written a play about Penthesileia; there is a tiny fragment of a Latin one (p. 271 Ribbeck). A chorus of Amazons would have been an attractive spectacle.

⁽²⁾ H. Mühlestein, *Mus. Helv.* 43 (1986), 219=his *Homerische Namenstudien* (Frankfurt 1987), 184.

⁽³⁾ The two warriors fighting a duel on a Melian amphora of the third quarter of the seventh century (*LIMC* Achilles 846; Ahlberg-Cornell 320 fig. 106) have sometimes been identified as Achilles and Memnon on the ground that each has a woman or goddess standing behind him. But the fact that they are fighting over a suit of armour set on the ground between them seems hard to reconcile with the identification. Cf. Fittschen 178f. For Memnon in vase painting and the relationship to the *Aethiopis* cf. also Luckenbach 614–22. On the etymology of Memnon's name cf. M. Janda, *Gymnasium* 113 (2006), 521–4.

⁽⁴⁾ VM 179 n. 1089; M. Squire, *ZPE* 178 (2011), 67–9 with 76 fig. 8.

⁽⁵⁾ MB 23–26 in Sinn 92f. and Taf. 12–14.

⁽⁶⁾ So E. Bethe, *Hermes* 26 (1891), 597, 'Die Penthesileasage ist jung und in sich abgeschlossen. Sie möchte daher wohl in einem einzelnen kleinen Epos besungen worden

sein ... Zur Aithiopsis aber gehört sie eben so wenig oder eben so sehr, wie zur Ilias.'

(⁷) Sophilos: Athens 15499; Kleitias: Florence 4209 (the François Vase); *LIMC* Peleus 211, 212. Cf. Snodgrass 117–20. On the handle of the same vase Kleitias painted Ajax carrying Achilles' corpse, as in the *Aethiopsis* and *Little Iliad*, so he can hardly have been unfamiliar with the poetic account of the games for Achilles.

(⁸) Likewise Serv. *Aen.* 1. 491.

(⁹) Cf. *Il.* 2. 661–6, 13. 696, 15. 431f., 16. 573f., 24. 480–2, *Od.* 15. 224, [Hes.] *Sc.* 11–13~80–5; Robert Parker, *Miasma* (Oxford 1983), 375–92.

(¹⁰) Note that the caption on Tabula 9D (Veronensis II), Πενθεσίληα Ἀμαζῶν παραγίνεται, corresponds almost exactly to the wording of Proclus.

(¹¹) Cf. Prop. 3. 11. 13f. *ausa ferox ab equo quondam oppugnare sagittis | Maeotis Danaum Penthesilea ratis*; Robert (1920–6, 1177 n. 3).

(¹²) Cf. West (2011b), 349.

(¹³) So on one of the sixth-century shield-band reliefs, *LIMC* Amazones 173.

(¹⁴) 1. 742–7, cf. sch. and Tz. in Lyc. 999; sch. Soph. *Phil.* 445.

(¹⁵) This too appears in sch. Soph. *Phil.* 445. Cf. *Il.* 22. 371–5: Hector's body receives blows from the Achaeans who come up to view it.

(¹⁶) The paraphrast, scholiast, and Tzetzes think it is a sword or spear.

(¹⁷) *LIMC* Agamemnon 61 = Achilles 794 = Thersites 3. Cf. *TrGF* 71 F 3.

(¹⁸) Cf. Ø. Andersen, *Symb. Osl.* 57 (1982), 19–29; Gantz 333.

(¹⁹) As assumed by J. Ebert, *Phil.* 113 (1969), 167–70.

(²⁰) Cf. West (2011a), 43f.

(²¹) It may be of no significance that in Vita 6. 6 (Hesychius of Miletus) Ἰλιάς Μικρά stand together at the head of a disorderly list of poems attributed to Homer besides the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*.

(²²) Ctesias *FGrHist* 688 F 1 pp. 441–2 Jac. (Diod. 2. 22. 2), echoed by Pl. *Leg.* 685c, Cephalion 93 F 1 p. 441 Jac.; Q.S. 2. 34–7.

(²³) In Aeschylus too I believe that Memnon was a stranger to Priam and had to explain who he was: see West (2000), 344. In the *Aethiopsis* he, or the poet in introducing him, might have related the story of Tithonos. Cf. D. Meyerhoff, *Traditioneller Stoff und individuelle Gestaltung. Untersuchungen zu Alkaios und Sappho* (Hildesheim 1984), 190f.

(²⁴) E. Fraenkel, *Phil.* 87 (1932), 242=*Kleine Beiträge* (Rome 1964), ii. 173. Virgil might have extrapolated the visit from Memnon's possession of the arms.

(²⁵) Pestalozzi 9; W. Schadewaldt, *Von Homers Welt und Werk* (4th edn., Stuttgart 1966), 167, 192f.; Kullmann 38, 311.

(²⁶) Cf. Q.S. 2. 447f. Ἑκτορα γὰρ Πατρόκλοιο, σὲ δ' Ἀντιλόχοιο χολωθείς|τείσομαι. Pindar, *Nem.* 3. 62, alludes to a specific resolve by Achilles that Memnon should have no homecoming.

(²⁷) Cf. E. Löwy, *Njb.* 33 (1914), 90; Robert (1901), 446f., 'wie die Aithiopis dies Verhältniss [Antilochos' friendship with Achilles] noch weiter ausgebildet hat, so dass er zu einem zweiten Patroklos wird, ist bekannt'; Bethe i. 100, 'dies Verhältniss ist in der Ilias ganz unbekannt bis auf Ψ 556. Die Aithiopis aber hat es ausgestaltet'; Karl Reinhardt, *Die Ilias und ihr Dichter* (Göttingen 1961), 353f., 'wenn derselbe Achill... die Rache für Antilochos, da er auch *sein* Freund ist, übernimmt, so werden Tod und Rache aneinander geknüpft, aber die Verknüpfung ist viel lockerer als im Falle des Patroklos'; West (2003b), 10f.; (2011a), 405.

(²⁸) A. Kelly, *Hermes* 134 (2006), 13–19, argues that Pindar's account is so coloured by the *Iliad* as to be unreliable as a source for the *Aethiopis*. He does not persuade E. Heitsch, *Rh. Mus.* 151 (2008), 2 n. 9, or me.

(²⁹) Cf. West (2003b), 3 and 10; (2011a), 202.

(³⁰) Robert (1881), 143–6, who takes Hermes' role to go back to the *Aethiopis*; L. D. Caskey and J. D. Beazley, *Attic Vase Paintings in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston*, 3 (Boston 1963), 44–6; LIMC s.vv. Ker and Memnon. Gruppe 681 n. 6 explains Hermes as a reflection of the Egyptian Thoth's role in weighing the souls of the dead.

(³¹) *TrGF* iii. 375. I have argued in West (2000), 345f., that the play, or at least this opening scene, was not the work of Aeschylus but probably of his son Euphorion.

(³²) Robert (1881), 145.

(³³) LIMC Memnon 62–88; Poll. 4. 130. Aelian's statement that she carried him to Susa (NA 5. 1) probably also derives from the play; cf. Aesch. fr. 405.

(³⁴) [Hes.] fr. dub. 353, Strab. 13. 1. 12, Dionys. Av. 1. 8, Paus. 10. 31. 6, Q.S.2. 585–91.

(³⁵) Cf. *Il.* 5. 27–9, 37; 11. 744–6; 16. 290–2; 21. 206–8; *Od.* 9. 58–61; *Cypria* arg. 10b with Apollod. epit. 3. 31; Fenik 13.

(³⁶) Cf. West (2003b), 6–9, 12=(2011b), 250–4, 259; (2011a), 346.

(³⁷) Gantz 627. On the motif of the one vulnerable spot cf. West (2007), 444–6.

(³⁸) Pestalozzi 19, cf. Kullmann 179.

(³⁹) Cf. D. Mülder, *Die Ilias und ihre Quellen* (Berlin 1910), 193; Pestalozzi 32; J. Th. Kakridis, *Homeric Researches* (Lund 1949), 66–73; West (2011a), 344, 345.

(⁴⁰) Hector was to be mourned for nine days in *Il.* 24. 664. For such prolonged lamentations and other traditional features of heroic funerals cf. West (2007), 496–9.

(⁴¹) She had been given it by Dionysus, presumably in gratitude for his salvation by her from Lykourgos as related in *Il.* 6. 135–7; so Stes. *PMGF* 234.

(⁴²) West (2007), 349.

(⁴³) Pind. *Nem.* 4. 49 with sch. 79ab; Eur. *Andr.* 1260–2, *IT* 435–8; Lyc. 188f. with sch. 186, 188; Strab. 2. 5. 22, 7. 3. 16; Mela 2. 98; Pliny *HN* 10. 78; ps.-Scymn. 790; Dion. Per. 541–8; Ant. Lib. 27. 4; Arr. *Peripl.* 21–3; Max. Tyr. 9. 7; Paus. 3. 19. 11–13; Philostr. *Her.* 19. 16; Q.S. 3. 775–9; St. Byz. *Ἀχιλλεῖος δρόμος*; Eust. on Dion. Per. 306 and 541.

(⁴⁴) Welcker ii. 178f.; Kinkel 35; R. C. Jebb, *Sophocles. The Ajax* (Cambridge 1896), xiii n. 2; E. Schwartz, *Zur Entstehung der Ilias* (Strassburg 1918), 25 n. 4.

(⁴⁵) Lobeck on Soph. *Aj.* 285; Welcker ii. 179f.; Robert (1920–6, 1200, 1202f.

(⁴⁶) Less relevant examples are *Od.* 8. 225, 226; 11. 313; [Hes.] fr. 23a. 29.

(⁴⁷) Wilamowitz, *Isyllos von Epidauros* (Berlin 1886), 51, referred to Poseidon's title of Ἰατρὸν Tenos (Philochorus 328 F 175), but this is an isolated notice.

(⁴⁸) Aesch. fr. 83, Pind. *Isth.* 6. 44–6, apparently after [Hes.] fr. 250, Lyc. 455–8 withsch. On the motif cf. West (2007), 444–6.

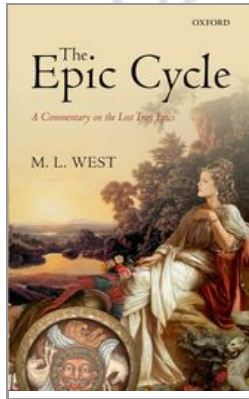


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The Epic Cycle: A Commentary on the Lost Troy Epics

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Little Iliad

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[F] Abstract and Keywords

This chapter presents a commentary on the poem *Little Iliad*. It first discusses the poem's title; sources of information about the poem; the scope; the economy of the poem; its relation to the *Odyssey*; characterization of the poem; and dating of the poem. It then reviews individual fragments and testimonia.

Keywords: Greek epic, epic poetry, epic poems, *Odyssey*, fragments, testimonia

Introduction

1. Title

The poem is normally cited as 6 ἡ Μικρά Ἰλιάς. Variants are Ἰλιάς Μικρά (Proclus, Hesychius Milesius); Ἰλιάς ἡ Μικρά λεγομένη (Tabula Capitolina); Ἰλιάς ἡ ἐλάσσων (F 1); Ἰλιάς καλουμένη Μικρά (F 20). The earliest definite attestation of the title is in

Aristotle (below), but Hellanicus is said to have ascribed the poem to a specific author (F 6), so he presumably referred to it under a recognizable form of its usual title. The pseudo-Herodotean *Vita Homeri* is thought to be based on a work of the fifth or fourth century BCE, so the reference to the poem in F 1 may also go back to the classical period.

The qualification *μικρά* or *ἐλάσσων* served to distinguish this epic from the more famous *Iliad* (= *Ἰλιάδα τὴν μεγάλην*, ps.-Hdt. *Vit. Hom.* 28).¹ Yet its subject matter did not overlap with that of the *Iliad* and it was in no way a shorter form of the *Iliad*. The inference is that it acquired the title *Iliad* independently of the major epic, the addition of *μικρά* being secondary. I have for some years advocated the view that both poems were originally so called because of their currency in the region of Ilion.² However, the fact that the *Little Iliad* began *Ἰλιον αἰίδω* might have been a factor in its case.

2. Attestation

Besides the summary of Proclus (with the partly parallel narrative of Apollod. epit. 5. 6–16) and the fragments supplied by various authors and scholiasts, we have three significant supplementary sources of information: Aristotle's remarks about the poem in his *Poetics*, the Homeric cups MB 31–32 (third to second century BCE), and the Tabula Capitolina (Tabula Iliaca 1A, first century CE).

(p.164) Arist. *Poet.* 1459a37

οἱ δ' ἄλλοι περὶ ἓνα ποιῶσι καὶ περὶ ἓνα χρόνον καὶ μίαν πράξιν πολυμερῆ, οἷον ὁ τὰ Κύπρια ποιήσας καὶ τὴν Μικρὰν Ἰλιάδα. τοιγαροῦν ἐκ μὲν Ἰλιάδος καὶ Ὀδυσσεΐας μία τραγωιδία ποιεῖται ἑκατέρας, ἢ δύο μόναι, ἐκ δὲ Κυπρίων πολλὰ καὶ τῆς Μικρᾶς Ἰλιάδος [[πλέον] ὀκτώ, οἷον Ὀπλων κρίσις, Φιλοκτήτης, Νεοπτόλεμος, Εὐρύπυλος, Πτωχεία, Λάκαιναι, Ἰλίου πέρσις, [καὶ Ἀπόλλους καὶ Σίνων] καὶ Τρωιάδες].

It is generally agreed that the list of titles of potential tragedies is not part of the original text.³ A first list was added with the number 'eight', and then as an afterthought a couple more titles were added and *πλέον* inserted before *ὀκτώ*; no one who had nine or ten items in mind from the start would have said 'more than eight' rather than 'nine', 'ten', or 'nine or ten'. It has been supposed that the list initially went as far as *Ἀπόλλους*, with *καὶ Σίνων καὶ Τρωιάδες* being added afterwards. The *Ἀπόλλους* was then the Achaeans' sailing away after the sack of the city; but in that case how would it be distinct from the *Τρωιάδες*? Rather *Ἀπόλλους καὶ Σίνων* go together, referring to the pretended departure of the ships before the sack and the associated commission of Sinon to signal to them.⁴ The insertion would have gone better before *Ἰλίου πέρσις*.

Most of the titles, perhaps all, are those of dramas actually written by Aeschylus, Sophocles, or others. The list must have been added early, by someone with a good knowledge both of the epic and of Tragedy. They are most likely annotations made by Aristotle himself as he revisited and revised his text. In any case the interpolated text is valuable independent evidence for the contents of the *Little Iliad*, providing welcome corroboration of the general accuracy of Proclus' summary. It is inconceivable that it was

produced by a late meddler working from Proclus (as Else supposed) and imaginatively translating the summarized action into authentic tragedy titles; apart **(p.165)** from anything else, he covers the sack of Troy, which in Proclus is eliminated to avoid overlap with the *Iliou Persis*.

Homeric cups MB 31 and 32 (p. 97 Sinn)

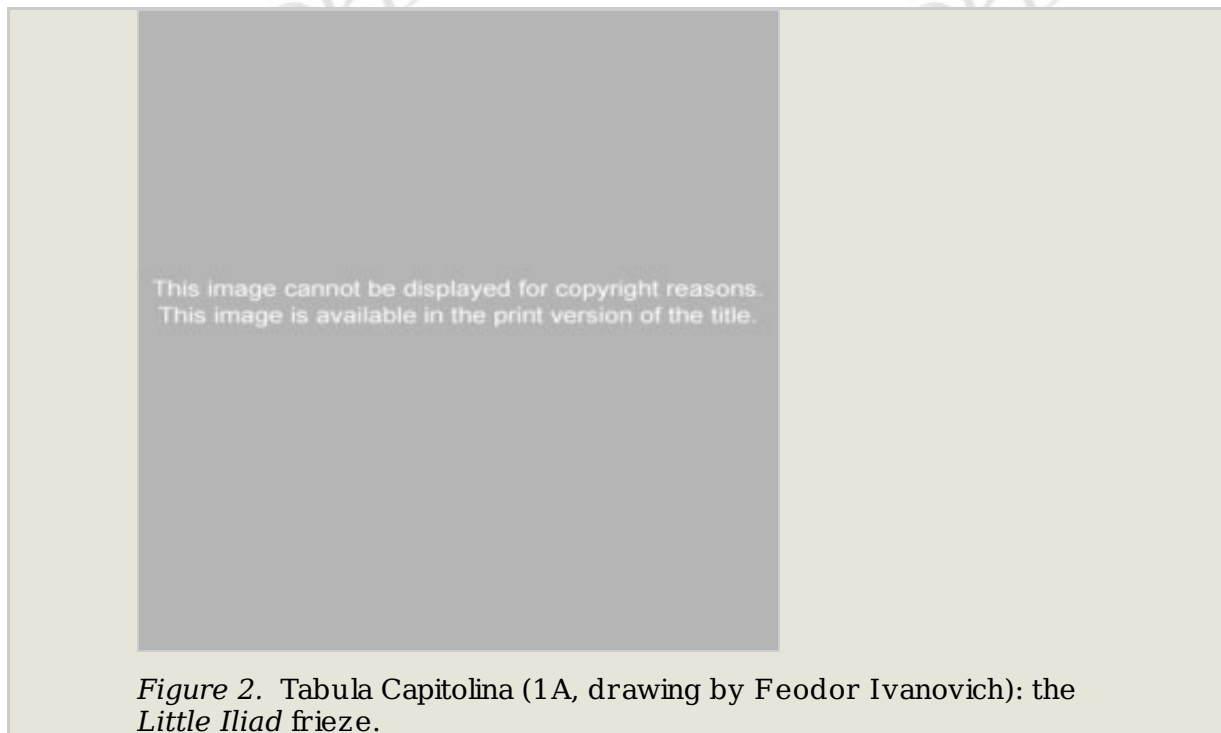
The scene depicted is of pairs of warriors fighting. The captions read:

(31) κατὰ ποιητὴν Λέσχην | ἐκ τῆς Μικρᾶς Ἰλιάδος | ἐν τῷ(ι) Ἰλίῳ (ι) οἱ
σύμμα[χοι] | μείξαντες πρὸς | τοὺς Ἀχαιοὺς | μάχην.

(32) [κατὰ ποιητὴν Λέσχην] | ἐκ τῆς Μικρᾶς Ἰλιάδος | ἐν τῷ (ι) Ἰλίῳ (ι) οἱ
σύμμα [χοι] | μείξαντες πρὸς | τοὺς Ἀχαιοὺς | μάχην.

The Trojan allies mentioned are presumably the Mysians brought by Eurypylos. The battle in which he fought and was killed is the only general engagement of forces mentioned in Proclus' summary.

Tabula Iliaca 1A (Capitolina) [Figure 2]



On the layout of the composition see *Aethiopis*, intro. 2. The source-reference Ἰλιάς ἡ Μικρὰ λεγομένη κατὰ Λέσχην Πυρραῖον refers to the series of seven scenes in the lower of two friezes at the bottom of the tablet. They are, from left to right, with their preserved captions:

(1) The left side is missing, but on the right an archer is seen falling in battle. This must be Paris, defeated by Philoctetes.

(2) A naked warrior clasps the hand of a figure in a long peplos, over an altar. He is taken to be Eurypylos being received by Priam (Mancuso 702; Valenzuela Montenegro [hereafter VM] 109f.).

(3) *Νεοπτόλεμος* slays *Ευρύπυλος*.

(4) *Ὀδυσσεύς* steps up from a low vaulted opening in a stone structure, preceded by *Διομήδης* who holds the stolen image of *Παλ(λ)άς*. The opening is certainly (*pace* VM 111f.) that of the city sewer; cf. on arg. 4e.

(5) The *δούρηος ἵππος* is pulled along by a crowd of *Τρώαδες καὶ Φρύγες* (who) *ἀνάγουσι τὸν ἵππον*; before them go two or **(p.166)** perhaps three figures dancing excitedly. The inscription overlaps with scene 6.

(6) *Πρίαμος* strides in front of the procession with his arm stretched out, pointing the way to the city gate to an underling ahead of him, who is marching *Σίνων* along with his hands tied behind his back.

(7) *Κασσάνδρα*, distraught, is manhandled back into Troy through the *Σκaiά πύλη*.

There is no room for another scene before (1); there will have been a larger image to frame the series, balancing the gate of Troy at the right-hand end, most likely representing the Achaean ships. Cf. VM 98.

Here again we find good agreement with the contents as summarized by Proclus. Ajax's suicide appears in the *Aethiopis* frieze and naturally was not repeated in the *Little Iliad* one. (Proclus included it in the *Little Iliad* and omitted it from the *Aethiopis*.) The sack of the city is left out with equal reason, as it is dealt with in the main panel above, *κατὰ Στησίχορον*. It is just a coincidence that Proclus also eliminated it from his *Little Iliad* because of an overlap with another source.

The Tabula Thierry (7Ti) has a heading *Ἰλιάς Μεικρά καὶ Ἰλίου Πέρσις*,⁵ but the relevant reliefs are missing.

3. Scope

Whereas the *Iliou Persis* is really an *Einzellied*, the *Little Iliad* is, as Aristotle saw, a concatenation of potential *Einzellieder* (six anyway) without organic connection:

The *Ὀπλων κρίσις* and suicide of Ajax.

Philoctetes and the death of Paris.

Neoptolemos and Eurypylos.

The *Πτωχεία*: Odysseus' meeting with Helen.

The theft of the Palladion.

The Wooden Horse and the sack.

The fetching of Philoctetes and Neoptolemos and the Palladion episode are three

concurrent instances of the 'necessary condition' motif. Their lack of organic connection is shown by the variations of (p.167) sequence in other accounts: in P. Rylands 22 (PEG 75) the Palladion episode precedes Neoptolemos' encounter with Eurypylos; in Sophocles, Quintus, and others the bringing of Neoptolemos and his killing of Eurypylos precede the bringing of Philoctetes.

The poet set himself the task of telling the remainder of the Troy story after the death of Achilles, which must have been previously established as a major event ending a phase in the war. He did not necessarily know it from the *Memnonis*, the canonical account for later readers; there must have been other accounts in oral currency, and the *Iliad* poet himself must have given one. The *Little Iliad*, then, is 'cyclic' in the same sense as the *Cypria* and *Nostoi*, designed to cover with a continuous narrative an area of the Troy saga hitherto patchily represented by several detached songs that did not cohere.

The closing phase of the war began with the making of the Horse. The poet also had to work in Philoctetes, Neoptolemos, and the Palladion episode, which could have come in any order. Apparently he made Helenos' revelations the trigger for all three. So first Helenos had to be captured.

Why did he begin with the "Ὀπλων κρίσις and suicide of Ajax, which ought to have been included with the death of Achilles? Perhaps to establish a mood of despair among the Achaeans as a starting-point, with Achilles and Ajax both dead. Cf. Apollod. epit. 5. 7, Q.S. 6. 9–31, and the opening of Triphiodorus' Ἰλίου ἄλωσις, which has a similar scope.

4. Economy of the poem

Epic narrative is divided up into days, the poets using nightfall as a means of rounding off a phase of action. Sometimes evening debate serves to prepare the way for the action of the following day. Proclus' summaries of the Cyclic poems naturally omit the articulation by days. But if we take the information that he and others provide about the action of the *Little Iliad* and apply to it the usual principles of epic narrative technique, we can arrive at a plausible timetable extending over twelve days, as follows:

Day 1	The awarding of Achilles' arms
— Night	Ajax's madness and suicide
Day 2	Debate over what to do. Ajax's funeral
— Night	Odysseus goes out and captures Helenos
Day 3	Diomedes sails to Lemnos, Odysseus to Skyros.
Day 4	Diomedes parleys with Philoctetes on Lemnos and brings him back to Troy. Machaon heals him.

Day 5	Duel of Philoctetes and Paris.
Day 6	Paris' funeral. Odysseus arrives back with Neoptolemos. Eurypylos and his Mysian force arrive to support the Trojans.
Day 7	Eurypylos' <i>aristeia</i> ; Neoptolemos kills him. The Trojans penned into their city.
Day 8	The Wooden Horse is conceived and its construction begun. Odysseus enters Troy in disguise and meets Helen.
Day 9	The building work continues. The Achaeans become aware of the need to obtain the Palladion.
— Night	Odysseus and Diomedes get into Troy and steal the Palladion.
Day 10	The Horse is finished and manned. Sinon is briefed.
— Night	The Achaeans fire their encampment and sail round the headland to Tenedos.
Day 11	The Trojans, after some argument, take the Horse into the city.
— Night	The ships return after a torch signal. The heroes who were in the Horse let the main army into the city. The sack proceeds.
Day 12	Division of the spoils.

(p.168) This is a minimum timetable, which I adopt below for economy of hypothesis. There are certain points where it might have been extended by several days of inaction when an impasse appeared to have been reached. For example, after Day 7 the poet might have said, 'for nine days then the Achaeans waited to see if the Trojans would come out to fight, but they would not, and there seemed no prospect of further progress. Then on the tenth day Odysseus called the leaders to assembly and proposed the Horse stratagem.'

Proclus' summary is headed *ἐξ ἧς δ' ἐστὶν Ἰλιάδος Μικρᾶς βιβλία τέσσαρα Λέσχεω Μυτιληναίου περιέχοντα τάδε*. The material is very abundant for four books, and the narrative must have been rather concise (as it is in F 29–30). It has been conjectured that Proclus' 'four books' refers only to the portion needed for the continuous story, i.e. without the Sack (Welcker i. 203, ii. 279; Monro 342 n. 3; cf. Burgess 28–31). But the figure probably goes back to a **(p.169)** stage in the transmission before the overlaps between certain epics were eliminated.

Any attempt to guess where the book divisions came is hazardous. A possible allocation would be:

Book 1	Days 1–4.
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Book 2	Days 5–7.
Book 3	Days 8–10, including the night of the withdrawal to Tenedos.
Book 4	Days 11–12.

5. Relation to the *Odyssey*

The *Odyssey* poet shows knowledge of many of the events related in the *Little Iliad*. Apart from those covered also in the *Aethiopis* and *Iliou Persis*, he refers to Philoctetes' fighting at Troy (8. 219), Odysseus' bringing of Neoptolemos from Skyros (11. 506–9), Neoptolemos' defeat of Eurypylos, whose presence was connected with gifts to a woman (11. 519–22), Helen's marriage to Deiphobos (4. 276, 8. 517), Epeios' building of the Wooden Horse (8. 492f, 11. 523), and Odysseus' visit to Troy in disguise and his meeting with Helen (4. 242ff.). It would be rash to conclude, however, that the *Little Iliad*, in its classical form, existed before the *Odyssey*. There is nothing to show that those episodes had yet been brought within the compass of a single poem.

What should make us even more wary is that the two passages in *Odyssey* 4 in which Helen and Menelaos respectively recall Odysseus' meeting with her (242ff.) and her teasing of the men inside the Horse (271 ff.) both appear, on close inspection, to have been expanded with verses bringing them into closer accord with the *Little Iliad*; see below on F 9 and F 13. The original text gave slightly different versions of those episodes. That does not prove that the *Odyssey* poet did not know the Cyclic poem, but if the most detailed agreements turn out to result from secondary adjustments, the temptation to assume that he knew it is diminished.

6. Characterization of the poem

Aristotle's criticism of the poem's lack of overall unity must be upheld. It is true that once Ajax is buried, the capture of Helenos triggers a series of initiatives that bring the fall of Troy nearer step by **(p.170)** step and so are linked to the dénouement, but the effect remains episodic. In view of the amount of material covered in four books, the narrative must have been quite brisk, without the leisurely amplitude of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*. The poet was not aiming to create an epic of great length to rival them but to get through the episodes on his agenda.

The greatest heroes on both sides having fallen, there was limited scope for battle narrative of the Iliadic type, though the arrival of Neoptolemos and Eurypylos provided for one day of it. Overall it is Odysseus, the exponent of cleverness and cunning, who plays the leading part, capturing Helenos, fetching Neoptolemos, penetrating Troy in disguise, going again with Diomedes to steal the Palladion, masterminding the Horse stratagem, and commanding the men who go in the Horse.⁶

Critics have often been struck by the presence in the poem of a certain lightness and humour.⁷ An overheard dialogue between two Trojan girls is made the means of settling the dispute between Ajax and Odysseus over the arms of Achilles. The infant Neoptolemos' healthy growth is likened to that of a cucumber. Odysseus and Diomedes

enter the city by the Cloaca Maxima to steal the Palladion, and then have an extraordinary falling-out that leads to Diomedes sword-whipping his companion back to the ships. Helen, knowing that the Horse contains a band of warriors, teases them with imitations of their wives' voices, for no sensible reason that we can see. Menelaos, poised to slay her, drops his sword at the sight of her lovely bosom. One senses that the older conventions of heroic epic are being modified by the admission of more comical and romantic elements. So Severyns (1928), 333f.:

La *Petite Iliade* montre le genre épique en pleine décadence, épuisé d'avoir déjà fourni une trop longue carrière. Il a perdu aussi de sa grandeur. ... Leschès n'est pas un grand poète épique; l'épisode de la dispute des armes témoigne de sa tendance au romanesque, au compliqué.

(p.171) And again, apropos of the story of the quarrel over THE Palladion, 352:

Dans ce récit agréablement présenté, nous reconnaissons la manière habituelle de l'auteur de la *Petite Iliade*; ici encore, nous sentons le poète plus jeune, obligé, pour avoir du succès, de renouveler la vieille matière épique. Mais nous sentons aussi que le genre a fait son temps, que les auditoires ont changé de goûts. Ils ne demandaient plus ces grands coups d'épées, ces prouesses de guerre ou de chasse, qui faisaient la joie des rudes seigneurs, descendants des chefs achéens, du temps que les rhapsodes allaient, de manoir en manoir, chanter la Geste épique. A une société plus molle et plus douce, la *Petite Iliade* apportait de beaux contes.

Welcker had written that Lesches ('wenn so der Verfasser hieß') placed himself in the same relation to Arktinos as the *Odyssey* to the *Iliad*, or as New Comedy to tragedy (i. 270; cf. ii. 236). For Bergk (51), 'Lesches verhält sich der heroischen Welt gegenüber gerade so, wie später unter den Tragikern Euripides'.

7. Dating

The preceding remarks on the character of the epic, subjective as they are, represent a viewpoint that several scholars have separately reached. If they have any implication for dating, they would suggest an era somewhat later than that in which the *Odyssey* was composed: the sixth century rather than the seventh. The 'Cyclic' conception that the *Little Iliad* shares most obviously with the *Cypria*, the endeavour to cover a major stretch of the saga by a concatenation of episodes, may also be a relatively late feature in the development of epic.

The only linguistic indications of lateness are the forms ἡύζωνον and ἐπίηρον in F 30; there is a slight question-mark over this fragment, but the probability is that it does belong to the poem. (See *ad loc.*) The traditional formulaic system uses ἐύζωνος where a short first syllable is required (after feminine caesura), καλλίζωνος where a long one is wanted (after masculine caesura). ἡύ- for εὐ- in compounds normally occurs only where the second syllable is short, as in ἡύκομος, ἡύγένειος, and the like. ἡύζωνος is an understandable but unnecessary and anti-traditional coinage, likely to date from a time when hexameter poets were beginning to use more conscious artifice in their diction.

(p.172) *ἐπίηρος* is an adjective formed from the fossil form *ἐπίηρα* (= *ἐπὶ ἥρα*). It first occurs otherwise in Empedocles 31 B 96. 1 (*χθὼν ἐπίηρος*) and Epicharmus fr. 181 K.-A. (*ἐπιηρεστέρα*), both Sicilian writers of the first half of the fifth century. There is no logical reason why the *Little Iliad* should not be as late as that; nor, on the other hand, why *ἐπίηρος* should not have already been coined by a sixth-century poet.

The curious statement in the same fragment that Neoptolemos took Aeneas back to Greece with him must date from a period when Aeneas' descendants were no longer sought in the Troad, as in the seventh century, but in Europe; see *ad loc.*

The presence at Troy of Theseus' mother Aithra and his sons Demophon and Akamas (F 17; also in the *Iliou Persis*, arg. 4, F 6) is unlikely to go back to the seventh century. There is no sign of the Theseids in the *Iliad*, and the identification of one of Helen's attendants as Aithra in 3. 144 is surely an interpolation. So is the reference to Theseus in 1. 265, which is absent from almost the whole manuscript tradition. In the *Odyssey* Theseus is mentioned at 11. 322 in connection with Ariadne, but the lines about him and Peirithoos at 11. 630f. are suspect. He was still evidently a very marginal figure in heroic tradition. By 580–570 he had joined Peirithoos among the Lapiths ([Hes.] Sc. 182 and the François Vase). The story of his abduction of the child Helen and her brothers' recovery of her from Aphidna, where they seized Aithra, is first attested in Alcman (PMGF 21); it was known to Stesichorus, as were Demophon and Akamas (PMGF 191, 193).

None of this gives us a handle for a narrower dating. The earlier part of the sixth century may seem likelier than the later part on general grounds: the codification of different parts of the Troy saga in sizeable written epics seems to have been well under way by 600, and it is hardly probable that the process would stall and more than a generation pass before the episodes covered by the *Little Iliad* were worked into a continuous narrative.

(p.173) The Fragments The Incipit

F 1. Ps.-Hdt. Vita Homeri 16

διατρίβων δὲ παρὰ τῷ Θεστορίδῃ ποιεῖ Ἰλιάδα τὴν ἐλάχισσιν, ἧς ἡ ἀρχή·

Ἴλιον ἀείδω καὶ Δαρδανίην εὐπωλον,

ἧς πέρι πόλλα πάθον Δαναοὶ θεράποντες Ἄρηος.

The form is typical of epic incipits, with the theme indicated immediately by an initial accusative that is then developed by a relative clause. For *ἀείδω* (rather than a request to the Muse) cf. *Hymn.* 12. 1; 18. 1; 27. 1; the note on the incipit of the *Iliou Persis*; West (1997), 170–3. 'Ilios and Dardania' corresponds to the common Iliadic pairing *Τρῶες καὶ Δάρδανοι*.

The lines are very general in reference, and one can imagine that they might have been

used by more than one poet to introduce epic narratives concerned with Troy. But they arouse the expectation that the sack of the city will be covered.⁸ The subject matter of the *Little Iliad* was too diffuse for a more focused theme to be formulated. Note that the *Odyssey* poet uses *Ιλίου* to stand for 'the story of Troy': 10. 14f. *μῆνα δὲ πάντα φίλει με καὶ ἐξερέεινεν ἕκαστα, | Ἰλίου Ἀργείων τε νέας καὶ νόστον Ἀχαιῶν*.

For the scansion of *αἶδω* cf. *Od.* 17. 519, *Hymn.* 21. 1, 18. 1, 27. 1; Chantraine i. 103. *εὐπωλος* is transferred to Dardania from the Homeric *Ἰλίου εἰς εὐπωλον. Δαναοὶ θεράποντες Ἄρηος* = *Il.* 2. 110, al.

Parts of the lines are found on two sherds of the late fifth century BCE from Olbia and the Tauric Chersonese. At that date it is likely that they were associated specifically with the *Little Iliad*. See Prolegomena, p. 46.

How were the opening lines developed? I have suggested that the poet chose to start from the contest over the arms and the suicide of Ajax in order to set up a situation of extreme despair for the Achaeans, against which a series of beneficial initiatives could be undertaken. The structure might have been:

(p.174) Of Ilios and Dardania I sing, over which the Danaans endured great sufferings. For for nine years they had been fighting around the city of Priam, seeking to sack it, and it was already the tenth, but they could not achieve a conclusion. And now their greatest hero, Achilles the son of Peleus, who had killed many of the Trojans and brought victory close, lay dead, slain by Paris and Zeus' son Apollo; and dead too was the next greatest after Achilles, Telamonian Ajax, by Athena's doing.

For a quarrel had arisen between Odysseus and Ajax over the armour of Achilles: each of them claimed that he should have it as prize for his supreme valour, etc.

Cf. *Triph.* 1–42.⁹

Day One

For the first four days, at least, the action was all on the Achaean side. The Trojans stayed inside the city and did nothing to distract them. From what we know of the *Aethiopis* it appears that after the battle to secure Achilles' corpse there was no further fighting. The mourning period for him, his funeral, and the funeral games occupied many days, eighteen according to *Od.* 24. 63–5. Whether a truce was in force, as during the obsequies of Patroklos and Hector, we are not informed. Priam might well have agreed to one, as the Trojans and their allies had many dead of their own to lament and bury. Or they may just have been unwilling to venture out of the city in the absence of any major champion to lead the attack; Aeneas was hardly adequate. In the early part of the *Little Iliad* hostilities remained suspended.

The Awarding of the Arms

Arg. 1a

ἡ τῶν ὅπλων κρίσις γίνεται καὶ Ὀδυσσεὺς κατὰ βούλησιν Ἀθηναῖς λαμβάνει.

(p.175) F 2. Sch. Ar. Eq. 1056a

διεφέροντο περὶ τῶν ἀριστείων ὃ τε Αἴας καὶ ὁ Ὀδυσσεύς, ὥς φησιν ὁ τὴν Μικρὰν Ἰλιάδα πεποιηκώς· τὸν Νέστορα δὲ συμβουλευσάι τοῖς Ἑλλησι πέμψαι τινὰς ἐξ αὐτῶν ὑπὸ τὰ τεῖχη τῶν Τρώων Τρώων ὠτακουστήσοντας περὶ τῆς ἀνδρείας τῶν προειρημένων ἡρώων. τοὺς δὲ πεμφθέντας ἀκοῦσαι παρθένων διαφερομένων πρὸς ἀλλήλας, ὧν τὴν μὲν λέγειν ὡς ὁ Αἴας πολὺ κρείττων ἐστὶ τοῦ Ὀδυσσέως, διερχομένην οὕτως·

Αἴας μὲν γὰρ ἄειρε καὶ ἔκφερε δηϊοτῆτος

ἥρω Πηλεΐδην, οὐδ' ἤθελε δῖος Ὀδυσσεύς.

τὴν δὲ ἑτέραν ἀντειπεῖν Ἀθηναῖς προνοίαι·

πῶς ἐπεφωνήσω; πῶς οὐ κατὰ κόσμον ἔειπες;

Aristophanes himself had quoted the following fragment, which must have followed the lines reported by the scholiast:

καὶ κε γυνὴ φέροι ἄχθος, ἐπεὶ κεν ἀνὴρ ἀναθείη,

5

ἀλλ' οὐκ ἂν μαχέσαιτο· [χέσαιτο γάρ, εἰ μαχέσαιτο.]

The last half-line can scarcely be authentic as it stands; such a vulgar word as *χέζομαι* is out of place in the linguistic register of epic, so unless our poet was less fastidious than most, this would appear to be Aristophanes' contribution. But it is possible, as A. von Blumenthal conjectured (*Hermes* 74 (1939), 96), that he was humorously distorting an original *χάσαιτο*, 'she would give way'.

ἥρω in line 2 is a later form for Homeric *ἥρωα*, cf. Schwyzler i. 480. Nauck 379 conjectured *ἥρω α*, which is found in a fourth-century inscription from Priene, CEG 854. 4.

According to the *Odyssey* it was Thetis who set up the contest for her son's arms (11. 546), just as she had arranged his funeral games (24. 85–92). In the *Little Iliad* Ajax and Odysseus each claimed the arms for themselves, no doubt in an alternation of testy speeches. Vase-painters show them on the point of coming to blows; cf. on *Aethiopsis* arg. 4d. Nestor mediated (as he does between Agamemnon and Achilles in *Iliad* 1), proposing a procedure to resolve the dispute: eavesdropping under the walls of Troy to discover the Trojans' opinion of which hero was the greater. In this the *Little Iliad* differs from all other versions. It cannot be what the *Odyssey* poet means by *παῖδες δὲ Τρώων δίκασαν καὶ Παλλὰς Ἀθήνη* (11. 547); that implies a formal decision by a jury, with Athena somehow involved.

(p.176) The scholiast says that these *παῖδες Τρώων* were prisoners of war, and that Agamemnon asked them whether Ajax or Odysseus had done them the most harm. This may have been the version of the *Aethiopis* (Severyns (1928), 331). In fifth-century sources the matter is decided by the Greeks themselves.¹⁰

The *Little Iliad*'s version is the silliest and most far-fetched, but it serves to deliver a witty sophism. That Ajax carried Achilles' body out of the battle while Odysseus fought the enemy off corresponds to the *Aethiopis* (F 3) and nearly all other literary and artistic sources.¹¹ The second girl's aphorism, which is decisive for the award of the arms to Odysseus, is inspired by Athena, whose influence in the matter is mentioned even in Proclus' jejune summary.

We may suppose that on hearing the girls' dialogue the men returned to the ships and reported it to the Achaeans, who approved the argument and called for the armour to be awarded to Odysseus. The day's business was perhaps concluded on the following lines:

Ajax made an angry speech of protest, but could not persuade them to overturn the decision. Agamemnon closed the debate, proposing that all should go and have their dinner and then go to their beds, 'and tomorrow we will consider what to do next, whether to resume the fighting or take further counsel'. They all went and made their dinners, and then went to bed at their various ships.

Everyone else slept through the night, but Ajax did not sleep, etc. (cf. on *Aethiopis* F 6).

Ajax's Suicide

Arg. 1b

Αἴας δ' ἐμμανὴς γενόμενος τὴν τε λείαν τῶν Ἀχαιῶν λυμαίνεται καὶ ἑαυτὸν ἀναιρεῖ

(p.177) More fully in Apollod. epit. 5. 6: Αἴας δὲ ὑπὸ λύπης ταραχθεὶς ἐπιβουλεύεται νύκτωρ τῷ στρατεύματι. καὶ αὐτῷ μανίαν ἐμβαλοῦσα Ἀθήνη εἰς τὰ βοσκήματα ἐκτρέπει ξιφῆρη· ὃ δὲ ἐκμανεὶς σὺν τοῖς νέμουσι τὰ βοσκήματα ὡς Ἀχαιοὺς φονεύει. {δύο δὲ μεγίστους κριοὺς κατασχὼν ὡς Ἀγαμέμνονα καὶ Μενέλαον δεσμεύσας ἐμάστιξε, καὶ κατεγέλα τούτων μαινόμενος.}¹² καὶ σωφρονήσας ὕστερον ἑαυτὸν κτείνει. But this may be based on the *Aethiopis* version, as the preceding lines refer to the arms being awarded by a Trojan or Greek jury. Cf. on *Aethiopis* F 6.

G. Grossmann, *Mus. Helv.* 25 (1968), 71, 83, suggests that Ajax was described laughing manically as he slaughtered the animals and that this was the origin of the proverbial phrase Αἰάντειος γέλως (Zenob. vulg. 1. 43). Cf. Soph. Aj. 303, and on the motif of manic laughter Finglass's commentary ad loc.

A cup by the Brygos Painter (*LIMC* Aias (I) 140, dated c.490) shows a woman coming to cover Ajax's body with a cloth. She may reasonably be identified as the Tecmessa of Sophocles' play; cf. B. Shefton, *Revue archéologique* 1973, 203–11. Perhaps she goes back to one of the Cyclic poems.

Day Two

Day Two will have been occupied with the reaction to Ajax's suicide and his funeral. The poet will also have made preparation for the next item on his programme, which was Odysseus' night excursion to capture Helenos.

F 32* Aeschin. 1. 128

εὐρήσετε καὶ τὴν πόλιν ἡμῶν καὶ τοὺς προγόνους Φήμης ὡς θεοῦ μεγίστης βωμὸν ἰδρυμένους, καὶ τὸν Ὅμηρον πολλάκις ἐν τῇ Ἰλιάδι λέγοντα πρὸ τοῦ τι τῶν μελλόντων γενέσθαι.

φήμη δ' εἰς στρατὸν ἦλθε.

(p.178) The half-line does not occur 'often' in the *Iliad*, or even once. Perhaps Aeschines had the *Little Iliad* in mind.¹³ There is another inaccuracy in his reference: a *φήμη* is not a premonition of something that is going to happen but a rumour of something that has happened and will presently be known for certain.

One obvious context for the phrase in the *Little Iliad* would be the suicide of Ajax, the news of which must have spread rapidly through the army, bringing universal dismay. I imagine that the narrative went something like this:

When dawn came, bringing light to gods and men, the Achaeans roused themselves and got up. At once the slaughtered animals were discovered, and Ajax's body. Quickly the rumour of it spread through the whole army, and a mighty groaning rose up to heaven.

Someone quickly brought the news to Agamemnon, who ordered his heralds to call the army to assembly.

For another possible context for the fragment see below on arg. 5b.

Ajax's Funeral

F 3. Porph. Paralip. fr. 4 Schrader ap. Eust. 285. 34

ὁ τὴν Μικρὰν Ἰλιάδα γράψας ἱστορεῖ μηδὲ καυθῆναι συνήθως τὸν Αἴαντα, τεθῆναι δὲ οὕτως ἐν σορῶι διὰ τὴν ὀργὴν τοῦ βασιλέως.

Cf. Apollod. epit. 5. 7 Ἀγαμέμνων δὲ κωλύει τὸ σῶμα αὐτοῦ καῆναι· καὶ μόνος οὗτος τῶν ἐν Ἰλῖωι ἀποθανόντων ἐν σορῶι κεῖται. ὁ δὲ τάφος ἐστὶν ἐν Ροιτείωι.

Agamemnon was angry because Ajax's aggression had been directed against the Achaeans—perhaps especially against him and his brother, as in Soph. *Aj.* 57, 97, etc. The insistence on inhumation instead of the usual heroic cremation may have some cultic significance; perhaps it was an article of belief that the Rhoiteion tomb **(p.179)** contained the hero's whole body.¹⁴ According to Philostratus (*Heroicus* 12. 3 §176), Calchas had decreed that it was not holy for suicides to be cremated, and certainly in many societies it is held that the bodies of suicides must be disposed of in some special way, to prevent their ghosts from returning and causing harm.¹⁵ But this motif does not fit well with the

reference to Agamemnon's anger, a strictly personal factor. P. Holt, in an interesting article in *AJP* 113 (1992), 319–31, shows that the suicide is not a satisfactory explanation of the inhumation, and suggests that as the genuine Mycenaean practice it is an archaism traditionally associated with Ajax, who was evidently a very ancient figure.

The Capture of Helenos

Arg. 2a

μετὰ ταῦτα Ὀδυσσεὺς λοχῆσας Ἑλενον λαμβάνει.

Sophocles, no doubt following the *Little Iliad*, tells us that the ambush took place on a solo excursion that Odysseus made at night (*Phil.* 604–9):

μάντις ἦν τις εὐγενής,

Πριάμου μὲν υἱός, ὄνομα δ' ὠνομάζετο

Ἑλενος· ὃν οὗτος νυκτὸς ἐξελθὼν μόνος ...

δόλοισι Ὀδυσσεὺς εἶλε, δέσμιόν τ' ἄγων

ἔδειξ' Ἀχαιοῖς ἐς μέσον, θήραν καλήν.

He must have made the excursion for the specific purpose of catching Helenos.¹⁶ According to the Hypothesis of Sophocles' play Calchas had advised that the Trojan seer had mantic knowledge (**p.180**) bearing on the capture of the city: Ἑλένου ... ὃς κατὰ μαντείαν Κάλχαντος, ὡς εἰδὼς χρησμούς συντελοῦντας πρὸς τὴν τῆς Τροίας ἄλωσιν, ὑπὸ Ὀδυσσεὺς νύκτωρ ἐνεδρευθεὶς δέσμιος ἤχθη τοῖς Ἑλλήσιν.

The night in question must have been the one following Ajax's funeral; otherwise there would be a hiatus in the action of at least a day. Odysseus must have caught Helenos as he was attending to some business outside the city walls.¹⁷ It would naturally have been conceived as religious business, and it seems very likely that it is the ambush of Helenos that is alluded to in [Eur.] *Rhes.* 507–9 (of Odysseus), αἰεὶ δ' ἐν λόχοις εὐρίσκεται, | Θυμβραῖον ἀμφὶ βωμὸν ἄστεως πέλας | θάσσω. The author may be following an earlier tragedy, but the *Little Iliad* will be the ultimate source. Thymbra is mentioned in *Il.* 10. 430, and it appears also as the site of Achilles' ambush of Troilos (cf. on *Cypria* arg. 11 e/F 25*). According to Hesych. θ 868 it and the shrine of Apollo lay about a mile (ten stades) from the city.¹⁸ On its location see J. M. Cook, *The Troad* (Oxford 1973), 117–23.

The outlines of the debate that had taken place during the day may now be conjecturally reconstructed as follows:

AGAMEMNON. Dear Danaan warriors, Zeus has ensnared me in grievous troubles. For long years we have toiled here at Troy, expecting to take the city of Priam, and yet it stands firm as ever. Now we have lost not only our best hero, Achilles, but also the one we rated second only to him, Ajax. There is no longer any prospect of success. Let us

embark on our ships and go back to Greece.

ODYSSEUS. Son of Atreus, do not be so pessimistic. Do we not remember the omen of the snake and the birds at Aulis, and how Calchas prophesied that we would fight for nine years and take Troy in the tenth? We are in the tenth year now, and we are surely close to our goal, if the seer prophesied truly. But let us ask him if he knows any τέκμωρ for us in our present situation.

(p.181) CALCHAS. All I can tell you is that the tale of years is true: the fall of Troy cannot be far off. How you are to proceed, I cannot advise. But there are secret oracles pertaining to the fate of the city, known only to the Trojan seer, Helenos. If you could capture him, he might reveal what you need to know.

AGAMEMNON. That is as may be. But Helenos is safe in Troy, and I do not see how we can get hold of him.

ODYSSEUS. Son of Atreus and leaders of the Achaeans, I will make that my concern. Tonight I will make my way to Troy, and with Athena's help I think I may be able to find him.

As for Ajax, I bitterly regret that my victory in the matter of the armour came at so high a price; such a mighty ally has been taken by Hades. Now let wood be gathered to build his pyre, and let us honour him with a heroic funeral, as is fitting.

AGAMEMNON. Son of Laertes, what an utterance has escaped the enclosure of your teeth. Does it mean nothing to you that this man tried to kill us all in the night? We thought he was our ally, but he turned out to be a dangerous enemy and a traitor. There will be no pyre for him. His followers must dispose of his body privately.

TEUKROS. Sire, you are the greatest among us, and your word must be obeyed. But we will not deprive Ajax of his due honour. We will put his body in a coffin and bury it near our ships, at Rhoiteion, and over it we will raise a great mound, so that future men will see it and say, 'There lies Ajax, who was the greatest, bar Achilles, of the Achaeans who fought at Troy.'

The assembly broke up and all dispersed to their ships. Ajax's men, lamenting, put the hero's body in a coffin, buried it near their ships, at Rhoiteion, and raised a great mound over it. They completed the task, and night fell.

Then Odysseus prepared himself and went out over the plain ...

Days Three and Four The Bringing of Philoctetes and Neoptolemos

Arg. 2b

καὶ χρήσαντος περὶ τῆς ἀλώσεως τούτου Διομήδης ἐκ Λήμνου Φιλοκτῆτην ἀνάγει.

In the continuation of the passage quoted above, Sophocles says that Helenos after being

captured revealed to the Achaeans *τά τ' ἄλλα πάντα* and that they would never take Troy unless they prevailed upon Philoctetes and brought him back from Lemnos (*Phil.* 610–13). He was essential because he possessed the bow of Heracles, and it was **(p.182)** only with that that Troy could be taken (113; so already in Euripides' *Philoctetes*, *TrGF* v(2). 827).

But there will turn out to be two further essential steps that the Achaeans need to take before they can win the war: fetching Achilles' son from Skyros, and removing the Palladion from Troy. Proclus does not say that it was Helenos who gave the cue for these too, but other sources suggest that he may have done. In Apollodorus, while the prophecy about Heracles' bow is transferred to Calchas, he later advises that Helenos knows further essential sooth: Odysseus captures Helenos, and he reveals that three more measures are required, namely obtaining the bones of Pelops, recruiting Neoptolemos, and capturing the Palladion (epit. 5. 9–10). In P. Rylands 22 too it is Helenos who tells about the Palladion, and this was evidently not his first oracle (*τοῦτο ἔλ[ε]νον πάλιν αὐτοῖς εἶπαν[τος]*). It seems likely that he fulfilled this function with regard to Neoptolemos and the Palladion in the *Little Iliad*.

As a result of Helenos' disclosures, Proclus says, Diomedes went off to Lemnos to fetch Philoctetes.¹⁹ In the next paragraph he relates that Odysseus went to Skyros to fetch Neoptolemos.²⁰ In the epic, as Schneidewin saw, the two expeditions will have been synchronous.²¹ At a meeting of the leaders Odysseus will have set out the situation and proposed, 'Let Diomedes sail to Lemnos and bring Philoctetes, while I go to Skyros and find the son of Achilles'. Skyros was further away than Lemnos, and Odysseus' voyage would take at least a day longer than Diomedes'. The timetable will be: **(p.183)**

Day 3	Diomedes and Odysseus set out for Lemnos and Skyros respectively
Day 4	Diomedes parleys with Philoctetes on Lemnos and brings him back to Troy Machaon heals him
Day 5	Philoctetes fights Paris and kills him. Priam negotiates a day's truce so that he can be buried (see below)
Day 6	Funeral of Paris. Odysseus arrives back with Neoptolemos. Eurypylos and his Mysian troops arrive to support the Trojans
Day 7	Emboldened by these reinforcements, the Trojans go out to fight. Eurypylos enjoys an <i>aristeia</i> before being killed by Neoptolemos

The presupposition for this reconstruction is that Helenos on being first interrogated revealed (at least) the two secrets that led to the fetching of Philoctetes and Neoptolemos. Were they two independent prophecies, or was there some connection between them? And why was the Trojan seer so cooperative with the enemies of his city?

It may be that he did not realize that he was helping them. It is possible to envisage a defiant speech on these lines:

Leaders of the Achaeans, listen to what I have to tell you. You will never take Troy. Its walls were built by Aiakos with Poseidon and Apollo. The section that the mortal Aiakos built is theoretically vulnerable, but only to a hero of his seed.²² His son Telamon did take the city with Heracles.²³ The ancient *θέσφατα* from that time say that it cannot be taken again except with Heracles' bow, which took it before,²⁴ and by another descendant of Aiakos. Now, Heracles' bow is not available to you, and Aiakos' grandsons, Achilles and Ajax, are both dead.²⁵ So your campaign is hopeless, and you may as well all go back to Greece.

On hearing this, Odysseus would have realized that the two conditions that Helenos believed unfulfillable could in fact be met.

(p.184) Heracles' bow was in Philoctetes' possession on Lemnos, and Philoctetes could be fetched. A son of Achilles was said to be growing up on Skyros: he too could be brought into the game.

The Philoctetes story is known to the poet of the *Iliad* (2. 716–25). The vital bow is not mentioned there, but there can be no other reason why the Achaeans 'were soon to bring him to mind'. Neoptolemos, however, has no existence for the *Iliad* poet; the two apparent references to him (19. 326–37, 24. 467) are surely interpolated.²⁶ He did find mention in Archilochus (fr. 304), as well as in the *Odyssey* (4. 5; 11. 492f., 506–40), *Cypria*, and *Iliou Persis*.

F 4. Sch. (T) Il. 19. 326, "ὃς Σκύρωι μοι ἐνιτρέφεται"

ὁ δὲ τὴν Μικρὰν Ἰλιάδα ἀναζευγνύντα αὐτὸν ἀπὸ Τηλέφου προσορμισθῆναι ἐκεῖ·

Πηλείδην δ' Ἀχιλῆα φέρει Σκῦρόνδε θύελλα·

ἔνθ' ὃ γ' ἐς ἀργαλέον λιμέν' ἔκετο νυκτὸς ἐκείνης.

2 ἀρπαλέον Weil

The fragment looks back to events early in the war. It comes from a passage explaining the circumstances of Neoptolemos' birth. It agrees with the account given in the *Cypria*, arg. 7 ἀποπλέουσι δὲ αὐτοῖς ἐκ τῆς Μυσίας χειμῶν ἐπιπίπτει καὶ διασκεδάννυνται· Ἀχιλλεύς δὲ Σκύρωι προσσχὼν γαμεῖ τὴν Λυκομήδους θυγατέρα Δηϊδάμειαν. The alternative account, according to which Peleus or Thetis had hidden Achilles on Skyros to avoid his being recruited for the war, and he was raised there among the girls and impregnated Deidameia at that time (sch.^{DG} and Eust. on Il. 19. 326, Apollod. 3. 13. 8), derives from Euripides' *Skyrioi*; see on *Cypria* F 19.

If Neoptolemos was only conceived after the Teuthranian expedition, then on the usual chronology of the Trojan War he would only be about nine years old by the end. Such youthful warrior heroes are not unknown to other poetic traditions,²⁷ but Greek poets imagined him older and either ignored the arithmetic or did what they could to stretch the chronology. Cf. Welcker ii. 263–6; Severyns (1928), 288f., 338.

It is not clear from the two verses whether the exposition of Neoptolemos' birth in the *Little Iliad* came in someone's speech or **(p.185)** from the poet's mouth, but if the next fragment is rightly placed here, the latter will be likely.

F 31. Ath. (epitome) 73e

σικυός ... καὶ Λέσσης·

ὥς δ' ὅτ' ἀέξεται σικυὸς δροσερῶι ἐνὶ χώρῳι.

Λέσσης (or Διεύσης) Kaibel: λευκής, λάχης codd.

Λέσσης is the easiest emendation of the author's name. (For other possibilities see H. Lloyd-Jones and P. J. Parsons, *Supplementum Hellenisticum*, at no. 379.) Wilamowitz (1916), 405 n. 1, approves it, while noting that 'Athenaeus wird seiner Sitte gemäß über den Verfasser des alten Epos Angaben gemacht haben, aus denen sich die Unsicherheit ergab'; he means that 'Lesches' in the epitome probably corresponds to something like 'the author of the *Little Iliad*, whether it is Lesches or whoever' in Athenaeus' original text. Cf. his manner of citation at *Thebais* fr. 2, *Alcmeonis* fr. 2, *Cypria* fr. 5, 10, 18, *Nostoi* fr. 3, 12, Eumelos fr. 8, 10, 14.

If the unusual simile did appear in the *Little Iliad*, I think it could only have referred to the infant Neoptolemos' growing quickly and strongly in the benign seclusion of Skyros.

After being abandoned on Lemnos for nine years, Philoctetes was presumably not well disposed towards the Achaeans. The three great tragedians all made dramas out of the difficulties the envoy or envoys experienced in trying to persuade him to come to Troy and assist the war effort, and when Aristotle listed *Φιλοκτήτης* as one of the tragedies that could be extracted from the material of the *Little Iliad*, he presumably had the Lemnian episode in mind. So the poet may have devoted a good part of his Day 4 to Diomedes' encounter with Philoctetes on Lemnos.

After they set sail he might have changed the scene to Skyros and described how Odysseus found Neoptolemos, and how the young hero was readily persuaded to accompany him back to Troy.

Philoctetes reached Troy late on the same day. His healing by Machaon (next text) no doubt took place without delay and was swiftly effective, making him ready to fight the next morning.²⁸

(p.186) Day Five The Duel of Philoctetes and Paris. Paris' Death

Arg. 2c

ἰαθεῖς δὲ οὗτος ὑπὸ Μαχάονος καὶ μονομαχήσας Ἀλεξάνδρῳ κτείνει.

μονομαχήσας points to a duel fought in response to a challenge; cf. Apollod. epit. 4. 1 μονομαχεῖ Ἀλέξανδρος πρὸς Μενέλαον, 4. 2 προκαλουμένου Ἑκτορος τὸν ἄριστον εἰς μονομαχίαν, referring to the duels in *Iliad* 3 and 7 respectively. These Iliadic duels take

place on days of general fighting, which has to be halted for their sake. Similarly Dictys (4. 19) and Quintus (10. 207–54) set the encounter of Philoctetes and Alexander in a context of a general engagement. In the *Little Iliad*, however, as we have seen, there have been no battles so far. So it remains unclear whether the challenge that led to the duel was issued on the battlefield or by diplomatic channels.

Quintus' account, in which Philoctetes' mortal wounding of Paris is just an episode in the battle and there is no *μονομαχία*, seems to owe nothing to the *Little Iliad*, which was probably no longer extant when Quintus wrote. In Dictys there is a *μονομαχία*, and although he is a thoroughly unreliable source, his account of it is worth quoting:

tunc Philocteta progressus aduersus Alexandrum lacessit, si auderet, sagittario certamine. ita concessu utriusque partis Vlixes atque Deiphobus spatium certaminis definiunt. igitur primus Alexander incassum sagittam contendit, dein Philocteta insecutus sinistram manum hosti transfigit; reclamanti per dolorem dextrum oculum perforat, ac iam fugientem tertio consecutus uulnere per utrumque pedem traicit, fatigatumque ad postremum interficit.²⁹

There is nothing here that would be out of place in an early epic version.³⁰

Paris was the one warrior on the Trojan side who would have been a danger to Neoptolemos. He had after all killed Achilles. Having him **(p.187)** removed from the scene before Neoptolemos appears on it ensures that the latter will have a clear run. In an earlier form of the saga Paris' death may have signified the conclusion of the war; hence the importance of Philoctetes, as the one who was to bring this about. When the killing of Paris ceased to be pivotal, the prophecy about Heracles' bow was modified to the effect that it was essential for the taking of Troy. But in fact it plays no particular role once Paris is felled.

Arg. 2d

καὶ τὸν νεκρὸν ὑπὸ Μενελάου κατακισθέντα ἀνελόμενοι θάπτουσιν οἱ Τρῶες.

Menelaos is allowed some vindictive maltreatment of the corpse. This is a rare motif in epic narrative; where it occurs, the perpetrator is motivated by personal animus against the victim (*Il.* 11. 146, 13. 202f, 22. 395ff).³¹ Perhaps there was a battle over Paris' body (as in Dictys). At any rate the Trojans are able to recover it for burial.

Day Six

Paris' funeral takes place.

Arg. 2e

μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα Δηϊφობος Ἑλένην γαμεῖ.

It may seem indecently hasty of Helen to take a new husband on the day after the previous one's death. But according to the *Iliou Persis* (arg. 2, cf. *Od.* 4. 276, 8. 517) she was coupled with Deiphobos by the time of the sack, and that was now only a few days

away. Probably he appeared as her husband in the account of the sack in the *Little Iliad* too. If so, the poet had to give notice of the new liaison at some point. In the context of Paris' funeral he might have put a speech in Helen's mouth in which she lamented that she had foolishly abandoned one husband and now lost a second; to which he might have appended the wry comment, 'So she lamented; but she did not remain long without a man, for before much time elapsed she was to give herself to Deiphobos'.

(p.188) Nitzsch (1831), 53, argues that the death of Paris would have raised hopes of an immediate restitution of Helen to Menelaos and an end to the war; 'de qua re inter deos hominesque consilia esse agitata, probabiliter sumimus. Sed vicit sive fatum sive deorum prava iubentium cupido, ut Helena Deiphobo potius uxor concederet.'

The Coming of Neoptolemos and Eurypylos

Arg. 3a

καὶ Νεοπτόλεμον Ὀδυσσεὺς ἐκ Σκύρου ἀγαγὼν τὰ ὄπλα δίδωσι τὰ τοῦ πατρός.

While the Trojans are occupied with the funeral of Paris, Odysseus arrives back at the Achaean camp with Neoptolemos. He gives him the arms of Achilles that he had been awarded five days before. Neoptolemos was no doubt as delighted with them as Achilles had been when he received them from Thetis (*Il.* 19. 15–19). Their possession enhances his identity as a new Achilles, and his sense of it.

F 5. Sch. (T) *Il.* 16. 142, "ἀλλά μιν οἶος ἐπίστατο πῆλαι Ἀχιλλεύς" ἐπίστατο· ἐδύνατο. καὶ Σοφοκλῆς (fr. 903)· "οὐπώποθ' ὕμᾱς συμβαλεῖν ἐπίσταμαι". 4οῖ δὲ πλάττονται λέγοντες ὡς Πηλεὺς μὲν παρὰ Χείρωνος ἔμαθε τὴν χρῆσιν αὐτῆς, Ἀχιλλεὺς δὲ παρὰ Πηλέως, ὃ δὲ οὐδένα ἐδίδαξεν. καὶ ὁ τῆς Μικρᾶς Ἰλιάδος ποιητής.

ἀμφὶ δὲ πόρκης

χρύσεος ἀστράπτει, καὶ ἐπ' αὐτῷ δίκροος αἰχμή.

The fragment, also quoted by sch. Pind. *Nem.* 6. 85b, is from a description of the famous *Πηλιάς μελίη* that Achilles wields in the *Iliad*. It probably came in the context of Odysseus' handing over Achilles' arms to Neoptolemos (cf. E. Fraenkel, *Kleine Beiträge* ii. 177), though Heyne 308 and Welcker ii. 240 noted that it might have come near the beginning of the poem, when the arms were to be awarded as a prize.

The present tense of ἀστράπτει (in both sources) implies a speech (unless the poet thought of the spear as being still available to be seen somewhere, which is scarcely conceivable). But it is hard to see why the weapon should have been described in a speech. Odysseus would not have needed to give Neoptolemos such a minute **(p.189)** account of his father's arms to tempt him to come to Troy, though it is true that he does give an account of them in the corresponding episode in Quintus (7. 194–204). ἄστραπτεν (or ἥστραπτεν) would be an easy emendation.

Severyns (1928), 338–42, points out that there is a logical hiatus in the *Iliad* scholion, which is concerned to argue that ἐπίστατο meant simply ‘was able’ and that there was no special technique that had to be learned, as certain other poets had fancied. The quotation from the *Little Iliad*, as it stands, is irrelevant to the argument. Severyns (342) supposes that the connection in the epic was as follows:

Néoptolème, amené de Scyros, reçoit d’Ulysse les armes de son père, et notamment la lance fameuse que Chiron avait autrefois donnée à Pélée. Cette lance avait une double pointe, et pour arriver à produire avec elle une double blessure, il fallait un certain tour de main, dont Chiron avait livré le secret à Pélée, et celui-ci à Achille. Ce dernier ne l’ayant enseigné à personne, aucun des Achéens ne savait la brandir.

When Neoptolemos arrived at Troy, Achilles’ ghost appeared (see below) and taught him the technique.

It is a brilliant hypothesis, but not really satisfactory. If the sentence about the transmission of expertise from Chiron paraphrases an account in the *Little Iliad*, why could the continuation, the instruction of Neoptolemos by Achilles’ ghost, not have been dealt with in the same way? If verses needed to be quoted, why the particular fragment that the Pindaric scholiast more pertinently quotes in company with other poets’ references to the two-pointed spear? What has happened is rather that the Byzantine scribe, having copied a note concerning Achilles’ famous spear, remembered a scholion on Pindar that contained a quotation with some material details of it, and appended the information.

There is a verbal similarity with the description of Hector’ spear in *Il.* 6. 319f., πάροιθε δὲ λάμπετο δουρός | αἶχμη χαλκείη, περὶ δὲ χρύσεος θέε πόρκης. For the more vivid metaphor in ἀστράπτει cf. *Od.* 4. 72 χαλκοῦ τε στεροπὴν, *Soph.* OC 1067, *Eur. Phoen.* 111, *Hyps.* fr. 752f. 30. On forked spears cf. A. B. Cook, *Zeus* ii(1) (Cambridge 1925), 799–806.

(p.190) Arg. 3b

καὶ Ἀχιλλεὺς αὐτῷ φαντάζεται.

Neoptolemos’ bond with the father he never knew is further strengthened by an encounter with his ghost. Possibly he goes to Achilles’ grave-mound and sees an epiphany of it there;³² or it may have been a dream-visitation, like that of Patroklos’ ghost to Achilles in *Il.* 23. In any case Achilles will have addressed his son with inspiring words. Whether he gave him any special instruction in manipulating his weapons (cf. above) is more doubtful. He might have enjoined upon him the sacrifice of Polyxena.³³ His ghost made another appearance, to Agamemnon, in the *Nostoi* (arg. 3a), and another perhaps in the *Iliou Persis* (arg. 4c n.).

Arg. 3c

Εὐρύπυλος δὲ ὁ Τηλέφου ἐπίκουρος τοῖς Τρωσὶ παραγίνεται.

Apollodorus says that Neoptolemos killed many Trojans before Eurypylos arrived with a large force of Mysians (epit. 5. 11–12). As Neoptolemos would not have gone out to fight until a new day dawned, and Eurypylos would not have arrived and joined the fighting in the middle of a day, that would mean expanding our timetable by a day (if not more) during which Neoptolemos fought with great success but nothing of particular note occurred. Proclus does not mention anything of the kind. It seems preferable to assume that in the epic Neoptolemos and Eurypylos both took the field for the first time on the same day, having arrived at Troy the previous evening, the day of Paris' funeral. It may have been during the obsequies, or directly after them, that Eurypylos and the Mysians made their appearance, to be welcomed gratefully into the city and feasted in an atmosphere of rising confidence for the renewal of hostilities the next day. Compare the receptions of Penthesileia and Memnon in the *Aethiopis* (arg. 1a and 2a nn.).

In this context it must have been explained who Eurypylos was and why he had come. He was the son of Telephos, the hero whom Achilles had wounded at Teuthrania and later healed. He was also, **(p.191)** like Memnon in the *Aethiopis*, a nephew of Priam, his mother Astyoche being Priam's sister. Priam, desperate for a new champion, had sent to Teuthrania with an urgent request for him to come. Astyoche did not want to let him go, but she was won over with an expensive gift (cf. below on F 6).

The story of Eurypylos' presence at Troy with an army of *Κήττειοι* (Hittites) and their rout by Neoptolemos is recalled in *Od.* 11. 519–22, where Odysseus calls him the finest-looking hero he ever saw after Memnon. He and Memnon were no doubt both presented by the Cyclic poets as splendid and glamorous figures. Cf. on *Aethiopis* arg. 2a.

F 6. Sch. Eur. Tro. 822

τὸν Γανυμήδην ... Λαομέδοντος νῦν εἶπεν ἀκολουθήσας τῷ τὴν Μικρὰν Ἰλιάδα πεποιηκότι. ... φησὶ δὲ οὕτως

ἄμπελον, ἣν Κρονίδης ἔπορεν οὗ παιδὸς ἄποινα

χρυσείην, φύλλοισιν ἀγαυοῖσιν κομῶσαν

βότρυσι θ', οὓς Ἥφαιστος ἐπασκήσας Διὶ πατρί

δῶχ', ὃ δὲ Λαομέδοντι πόρεν Γανυμήδεος ἀντί.

2 ἀγαυοῖσιν Jortin: ἀγαυοῖσι(ν) codd.: ἀγα(λλομέ)νοισι Peppmüller, *NJb* 131 (1885), 836 cl. Opp. H. 4. 328: α(εῖ) γανόωσι κομῶσαν T. Gärtner, *QUCC* 88 (2008), 19–20 cl. *Od.* 7. 128

The fragment describes a wonderful heirloom which Priam had in his house and which he gave his sister Astyoche to induce her to let her son Eurypylos come to fight at Troy. This is alluded to in *Od.* 11. 521 *γυναιῶν εἵνεκα δώρων* and explained by the scholiast there, who cites Acusilaus (fr. 40 Fowler) as authority for the tale. The motif appears more famously in the story of Eriphyle, whom Polyneikes bribed with the necklace of Harmonia

to send her husband Amphiaraios to fight at Thebes with the Seven; the *Odyssey* poet uses the same phrase γυναίων εἵνεκα δώρων of that story too, 15. 247, cf. 11. 326f. Sch. Juv. 6. 655 confuses the two, identifying Eriphyle as Eurypylos' wife.

As the Euripidean scholiast notes, Ganymede is here made a son of Laomedon and thus a brother of Priam. In the *Iliad* (5. 266, 20. 232) and the *Hymn to Aphrodite* (202ff.) he is placed two generations earlier, as a son of Tros. There too we find the motif of Zeus giving the boy's father a valuable gift in compensation for his abduction, but there it is a line of horses (5. 265f., *Hymn. Aphr.* 210–17).

(p.192) The fragment may have continued with αὐτὰρ Λαομέδων Πριάμωι λίπε or the like (D. B. Monro, *JHS* 5 (1884), 22).

Day Seven Eurypylos' Aristeia and Death

Arg. 3d

καὶ ἀριστεύοντα αὐτὸν ἀποκτείνει Νεοπτόλεμος.

F 7. Paus. 3. 26. 9

Μαχάονα δὲ ὑπὸ Εὐρυπύλου τοῦ Τηλέφου τελευτῆσαι φησιν ὁ τὰ ἔπη ποιήσας τὴν Μικρὰν Ἰλιάδα.

Cf. sch. Lyc. 1048 ὁ μὲν γὰρ Μαχάων ἀνήρηται ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ ὑπὸ Εὐρυπύλου τοῦ Τηλεφίδου.

Before a major hero is killed he must enjoy an *aristeia* to show how formidable he was; so it was with Patroklos, Hector, Penthesileia (*Aethiopis* arg. 1 b), Memnon, Achilles.

Machaon is the only one of Eurypylos' victims that we can name for certain. In *Il.* 11. 506ff. Machaon and a different Eurypylos, the son of the Thessalian Euhaimon, are successively wounded by Paris' arrows. Wilamowitz, *Isyllos von Epidauros* (Berlin 1886), 51f., brings a third Eurypylos into play, the legendary king of Cos in Heracles' time: he thinks that a Coan saga about this Eurypylos and Machaon lies behind the killing of the latter by the Mysian Eurypylos in the *Little Iliad*. But there was no fixed tradition about Machaon's death. Apollodorus, as mentioned above, has him killed by Penthesileia, which may have been the version of the *Aethiopis* (arg. 1 b n.). If he was to live long enough to heal Philoctetes but not survive the war, Eurypylos' *aristeia* was almost the last opportunity to dispose of him. Virgil, however, has him in the Wooden Horse (*Aen.* 2. 263, whence Hyg. *Fab.* 108; [Hippocr.] *Ep.* 27. 50 p. 318 Hercher).

Later sources include Nireus of Syme and the Boeotian Peneleos among Eurypylos' victims.³⁴ They may have been so represented in the *Little Iliad* (Wilamowitz, *Isyllos* 48; Robert (1920–6, 1223 n. 3).

(p.193) Arg. 3e

καὶ οἱ Τρῶες πολιορκοῦνται.

On the analogy of the successes of Patroklos over Sarpedon (*Il.* 16. 684ff.) and of Achilles over Hector (22. 381–4) and Memnon, we should expect that Neoptolemos, having slain Eurypylos, would pursue the fleeing Trojans and Mysians towards Troy. Unlike Patroklos and Achilles, he was not killed at the Scaean Gate, but neither was he able to storm the city. The enemy shut themselves in and were safe against attack.

And so it continued. With their last champion killed and the Achaeans again dominant, the Trojans dared make no further sorties. There was nothing left for the Achaeans but to breach the defences by guile.

We cannot say what became of Eurypylos' body. There does not appear to have been any opportunity for a funeral.

Days Eight to TenProject Horse

Arg. 4a

καὶ Ἐπειὸς κατ' Ἀθηναῖς προαίρεσιν τὸν δούρειον ἵππον κατασκευάζει.

Epeios is fixed in the tradition as the builder of the Horse (*Od.* 8. 493, 11. 523, etc.). He may well have been the subject, and it the object, of the clause ἐπεὶ σοφὸς ἦραρε τέκτων which is quoted from 'the poet' or 'Homer' (*Epic. adesp.* 15). Despite being famed for this extraordinary accomplishment, Epeios appears otherwise as a lowly and ineffectual figure. He is never mentioned in the battle narratives of the *Iliad*, and although he is a son of Panopeus, the eponym of the Phocian city, he is not mentioned among the leaders of the Phocians in 2. 517f. He first appears in the funeral games, as a big strong boxer who claims to be unbeatable and proves to be so (23. 664–99), and then as a laughably unsuccessful competitor in the weight-throwing contest (838–40). For Stesichorus (*PMGF* 200) he was a menial water-carrier whom Athena out of pity elevated to celebrity.

The emphasis on her assistance to him is noteworthy, and must correspond to something significant in the epic; cf. *Od.* 8. 492f. (**p.194**) ἵππου ... δουρατέου, τὸν Ἐπειὸς ἐποίησεν σὺν Ἀθήνῃ;³⁵ Stes. S89. 6–8 ἀνὴρ [θ]εᾶς ἰ[ό]τατι δαεὶς σεμν[ᾶς] Ἀθάνας] μέτ[ρα] τε καὶ σοφίαν; Eur. *Tro.* 9–12 ὁ γὰρ Παρνάσιος | Φωκεὺς Ἐπειὸς μηχαναῖσι Παλλάδος | ἐγκύμον' ἵππου τευχέων συναρμόσας | πύργων ἔπεμψεν ἐντός.³⁶ Proclus' wording is sometimes taken to imply that Athena actually gave Epeios the idea. But it seems unlikely that such an undistinguished man should have suddenly spoken up among the leaders and made the astonishing proposal. It is enough that he has the technical ability to construct the monster (and this is all that need be meant by Stesichorus' σοφίαν).³⁷ Once it is built, Odysseus appears as the one in charge of carrying the project through (cf. *Od.* 8. 494f., 11. 524), and we expect it to have been his brainwave in the first place. So it is in Apollod. epit. 5. 14: ὕστερον δὲ ἐπινοεῖ δουρείου ἵππου κατασκευήν, καὶ ὑποτίθεται Ἐπειῶι, ὃς ἦν ἀρχιτέκτων. In *Od.* 22. 230 Athena says to Odysseus σῆι δ' ἥλω βουλῇ Πριάμου πόλις. According to an anonymous verse quoted by Strabo and others (*Epic. adesp.* 11) he took Ilion βουλῇ καὶ μύθοισι καὶ ἡπεροπηΐδι τέχνῃ. As Welcker ii. 540 suggested, this might have come from the *Little Iliad*, in which Odysseus appeared throughout as the leading spirit.

Early pictorial representations of the Horse show that the story goes back at least to the late eighth century.³⁸ On its origins and possible Near Eastern roots see West (1997), 487f. In terms of Greek saga it was a strikingly original theme, and even if it was Odysseus who proposed the stratagem we may well think it likely that it was Athena who put it into his head. But it is not easy to imagine how the subject was broached in the epic, or what led to the identification of Epeios as the man to do the carpentry.

A stretch of narrative must have been devoted to the construction work. The passage just quoted from Apollodorus continues: οὗτος (p.195) ἀπὸ τῆς Ἰδης ξύλα τεμὼν ἵππον κατασκευάζει κοῖλον ἔνδοθεν εἰς τὰς πλευρὰς ἀνεωιγμένον. Epeios will hardly have been described going and personally cutting down all the timber he needed. A larger party of men will have been sent for the purpose. *Il.* 23. 110–26 may serve to give an idea of the scene to be posited. Quintus has a corresponding woodcutting scene for the building of the Horse (12. 122–38); here the Achaeans not only bring the timber but saw it up to the required lengths at Epeios' direction. But Quintus probably did not have the *Little Iliad* before him, and he could easily have constructed the scene *suo Marte*.³⁹

The poet can hardly have imagined that the Horse was finished in a single day. According to Quintus it took three days, given Athena's help: 12. 147f. τετέλεστο δ' ἐνὶ τρισὶν ἡμασι πάντα | Παλλάδος ἐννεσίησι. We cannot say whether he had authority for this in his sources, but it is the kind of thing that could have been said in early epic, cf. *Od.* 5. 262 (the building of Odysseus' boat) τέτρατον ἡμαρ ἔην, καὶ τῷ τετέλεστο ἅπαντα. Three days seems a reasonable minimum, not in practical terms but in epic conception, and I provisionally allow this period for the job. We cannot exclude the possibility that other days had intervened between the last battle and the beginning of work on the Horse; cf. intro. 4.

Two major episodes occurred while the Horse was being constructed: the πτωχεία, that is, Odysseus' visit to Troy in disguise, and the nocturnal incursion with Diomedes to steal the Palladion.

Odysseus Enters Troy in Disguise

Arg. 4b

Ὀδυσσεύς τε αἰκισάμενος ἑαυτὸν κατάσκοπος εἰς Ἴλιον παραγίνεται.

F 8. Sch. Lyc. 780 p. 246. 25 Scheer

ὁ Ὀδυσσεὺς βουλόμενος κατάσκοπος εἰσελθεῖν εἰς τὴν Ἴλιον καὶ φοβούμενος μὴ νοηθεὶς ἀποθάνῃ, ἔπεισε Θόαντα πληγῶσαι αὐτὸν πληγαῖς βιαίαις πρὸς τὸ γενέσθαι ἀγνώριστον ... (p. 247. 2) ὁ δὲ τὴν Μικρὰν Ἰλιάδα γράψας φησὶ τρωθῆναι τὸν Ὀδυσσεά ὑπὸ Θόαντος ὅτε εἰς Τροίαν ἀνῆρχοντο.

(p.196) The initiation of the Horse project would hardly have provided enough narrative interest to fill up a day, so Odysseus' first incursion into Troy is probably also to be put on Day 8. The episode is recalled by Helen in *Od.* 4. 242–64. She says that Odysseus subjected himself to disfiguring blows, dressed himself in poor garments like a

servant (σπεῖρα κάκ' ἄμφ' ὥμοισι βαλὼν, οἰκῇ ἔοικώς), and slipped into the city. She alone recognized him under his disguise. She questioned him, but he kept up his pretence. But after she had bathed him and reclothed him and sworn not to betray him before he made his getaway, he told her of the Achaeans' intentions. He then returned to the ships, killing many Trojans on the way.

Two notes of Aristonicus in the scholia (= F 9 and 10 below) show that Aristarchus believed the passage to have been imitated by a Cyclic poet, presumably that of the *Little Iliad*. We cannot be sure that all the details in the *Odyssey* version match what was in the Cyclic poem, but there must have been a close correspondence. *Od.* 4. 244 αὐτόν μιν πληγῇσιν ἀεικελίησι δαμάσσας agrees with Proclus' ἀικισάμενος ἑαυτόν and is equally compatible with the assistance of Thoas attested in F 8. The Aetolian Thoas appears next to Odysseus in the Catalogue of Ships, *Il.* 2. 631–44 (cf. [Hes.] fr. 198), and in 7. 168, *Od.* 14. 499.

F 9. Sch. *Od.* 4. 248, “Δέκτηι”

ὁ κυκλικὸς τὸ ΔΕΚΤΗΙ ὀνομαστικῶς ἀκούει· παρ' οὗ φησι τὸν Ὀδυσσεῖα τὰ ράκη λαβόντα μετῆμφιάσθαι ... Ἀρίσταρχος δὲ δέκτηι μὲν ἐπαίτη

In the Cyclic poem Odysseus changed his clothes for mean garments that he got from a man named Dektes. The *Odyssey* passage reads (244–50):

αὐτόν μιν πληγῇσιν ἀεικελίησι δαμάσσας,
σπεῖρα κάκ' ἄμφ' ὥμοισι βαλὼν, οἰκῇ ἔοικώς
ἀνδρῶν δυσμενέων κατέδυ πόλιν εὐρυάγνιαν.
ἄλλωι δ' αὐτὸν φωτὶ κατακρύπτων ἥϊσκεν,
Δέκτηι, ὃς οὐδὲν τοῖος ἔην ἐπὶ νηυσὶν Ἀχαιῶν.
τῷ ἵκελος κατέδυ Τρώων πόλιν, οἱ δ' ἀβάκησαν
πάντες· ἐγὼ δέ μιν οἷα ἀνέγνω τοῖον ἔοντα.

Aristarchus took ΔΕΚΤΗΙ here as a common noun meaning ‘beggar’, and claimed that the Cyclic poet had misinterpreted it as a (p.197) proper name.⁴⁰ But as Welcker saw (i. 70, ii. 254f.), the interpretation as a name would appear to be correct: it gives specificity to ἄλλωι φωτὶ, besides making sense of ὃς οὐδὲν τοῖος ἔην ἐπὶ νηυσὶν Ἀχαιῶν, ‘a man at the Achaean camp who was by no means of his quality’. Aristarchus’ argument fails. And there is a further point. After 245 οἰκῇ ἔοικώς, the two lines about Dektes seem to give a separate statement of Odysseus’ alias, and 249 κατέδυ Τρώων πόλιν duplicates 246 δυσμενέων κατέδυ πόλιν. L. Friedländer, *Phil.* 4 (1849), 580f., plausibly argued that 246 εὐρυάγνιαν–249 Τρώων πόλιν was an insertion designed to bring the text into agreement with the *Little Iliad*. Cf. Von der Mühll 708.

The 'beggar' interpretation was probably much older than Aristarchus, as several sources state that Odysseus assumed the role of a *πτωχός* or *ἐπαίτης*.⁴¹ This does not really harmonize with the information that he represented himself as an *οἰκεύς*. Some say he claimed to have defected from the Achaeans after being maltreated by the Atreidai, and this accords with his self-inflicted disfigurements.⁴²

But what was the purpose of his journey? Proclus says he went as a *κατάσκοπος*, and most sources are similarly vague.⁴³ What needed to be spied out? According to sch. *Od.* 4. 246 his aim was to measure the city gates for the Horse, or else to persuade Helen to assist the Achaeans. The encounter with Helen may well be the poetic *raison d'être* of the episode, but it cannot have been given as Odysseus' intention, as he clearly did not mean Helen to recognize him. The motive attributed to him was spying. The idea that he measured the gates does not fit the later narrative, according to which the Horse was too big to go through them and the Trojans had to demolish part of the city wall to get it in.

(p.198) Arg. 4c

καὶ ἀναγνωρισθεὶς ὑφ' Ἑλένης περὶ τῆς ἀλώσεως τῆς πόλεως συντίθεται.

What passed between Odysseus and Helen? According to the *Odyssey* passage she bathed him, oiled him, and reclothed him. Evidently she had taken him into her house. After she had sworn not to betray him, he told her *πάντα νόον Ἀχαιῶν* (256). The scholiast infers from the following lines, where she rejoices at the thought of returning to Greece, that he told her about the Horse stratagem, and this seems to be the only thing that the phrase can refer to.

Proclus says that he came to an agreement with her about the capture of the city. She must have agreed to help in some important way with the execution of the Achaeans' plan. One occasion when she might give some assistance was when the Trojans found the Horse and were in two minds about whether to destroy it or keep it for Athena (*Od.* 8. 506–9, *Iliou Persis* arg. 1 a). Helen's arguing in favour of the latter course would have been helpful to the Achaeans' cause. But it is hard to see why her intervention in particular should have been decisive or why Odysseus should have attached such weight to it. No source attests that she played such a role.

According to Virgil (*Aen.* 6. 515–19) Helen did something much more positive to assist the Greeks. She raised the torch signal to give them the go-ahead, under the pretence of leading a celebratory dance:

cum fatalis equus saltu super ardua uenit

Pergama et armatum peditem grauis attulit aluo,

illa chorum simulans euhantis orgia circum

ducebat Phrygias; flammam media ipsa tenebat

ingentem, et summa Danaos ex arce uocabat.

That it was Helen who sent the signal was a tradition known to the first-century Gnostic Simon Magus, who gave an allegorical interpretation of it that is mentioned by Hippolytus and Epiphanius; the latter is under the impression that the story came from ‘Homer’.⁴⁴ Schneidewin drew attention to these texts in 1852 and suggested that, **(p.199)** as the signal was given by Sinon in the *Iliou Persis* (arg. 2a), the Helen version may derive from the *Little Iliad*.⁴⁵ We know that Sinon played a significant role in the *Little Iliad* too, but it may have been confined to giving the Trojans misleading information about the meaning of the Horse.

If Schneidewin was right, then, this is what Odysseus agreed with Helen: that if the Trojans were persuaded to take the Horse into the city, she would wave a torch from the citadel at nightfall—or, if we accept Virgil’s account, lead torchlit dances there—as a signal for the Achaeans waiting at Tenedos. Her agreement to do this was a vital gain from Odysseus’ mission.

Arg. 4d

κτείνας τέ τινας τῶν Τρώων ἐπὶ τὰς ναῦς ἀφικνεῖται.

Similarly in *Od.* 4. 257f., πολλοὺς δὲ Τρώων κτείνας ταναήκεϊ χαλκῶι | ἦλθε μετ’ Ἀργείους, κατὰ δὲ φρόνιν ἤγαγε πολλήν; *Rhes.* 506f. κτανῶν δὲ φρουροὺς καὶ παραστάτας πυλῶν | ἐξῆλθεν. The incidental killing of Trojans was a bonus, perhaps suggested by the *Doloneia* if that already existed.

F 10. *Sch. Od.* 4. 258, “κατὰ δὲ φρόνιν ἤγαγε πολλήν”

οἱ δὲ νεώτεροι φρόνιν τὴν λείαν ἀπεδέξαντο.

This is the other place where Aristarchus, comparing the *Odyssey* passage with the *Little Iliad*, concluded that the poet of the latter had misinterpreted the former. He was surely right that whatever φρόνιν means, it does not mean booty. But if the Cyclic poet said that Odysseus returned from Troy with some booty, it does not follow that he got the idea from misunderstanding the *Odyssey*.

The Theft of the Palladion

Arg. 4e

καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα σὺν Διομήδει τὸ Παλλάδιον ἐκκομίζει ἐκ τῆς Ἰλίου.

(p.200) The Palladion was a portable statuette of Athena kept in her shrine. It was evidently not identical with the statue on whose knees a robe is laid in *Il.* 6. 303; cf. Welcker ii. 255. Nor, if Odysseus and Diomedes had stolen it, can it be the same as the ξόανον that Cassandra clung to when assaulted by the Locrian Ajax (*Iliou Persis* arg. 3a; but in that poem the true Palladion was not stolen, F 4). The Palladion was that embodiment of Athena on which the safety of the city depended. Possession of it was a further condition that needed to be fulfilled before the Achaeans could take Troy.

Odysseus and Diomedes succeeded in getting into Troy during the night and stealing it, killing the temple personnel (Virg. *Aen.* 2. 166 *caesis summae custodibus arcis*). For the motif of carrying off the gods of an enemy city cf. West (1997), 486.

According to Sophocles' *Lakainai* and other sources the heroes gained access to the city by way of its capacious sewer passage.⁴⁶ Servius distinguishes this version from one in which they dug their own tunnel: *Aen.* 2. 166 *tunc Diomedes et Vlixes, ut alii dicunt cuniculis, ut alii cloacis, ascenderunt arcem et occisis custodibus sustulere simulacrum*. Chavannes 50 ascribes the tunnel version to the *Little Iliad*. It is the sewer, however, that is implied by the Tabula Capitolina, where the two heroes are shown emerging with the Palladion from a low vaulted opening (above, intro. 2).

The exploit makes a self-contained story and may often have been related as an *Einzellied*. It was evidently a given for the poet; he felt it necessary to incorporate it in his narrative, although it lacks all connection with the surrounding episodes. There is no logical reason why it has to come where it does, after Odysseus' solo visit to Troy and after the arrivals of Philoctetes and Neoptolemos. The poet may have reckoned that putting it where he did would help to fill the time required for the building of the Horse. On the hypothesis that three days were allocated to the work, there were two nights available for the Palladion expedition. The first, the night between Days 8 and 9, would come immediately after Odysseus returned from his meeting with Helen. The poet might well have judged it more plausible to leave a greater interval between the two episodes; he will then have placed the Palladion expedition in the second night, between Days 9 and 10. Day 9 itself remains a blank, at any rate from our point of (p.201) view. There might have been something about the progress of the building work, and a scene in which the need to capture the Palladion was made known to the Achaeans, leading into one in which it was decided who was to undertake the difficult and dangerous mission. Odysseus and Diomedes are paired also in the *Doloneia* and other contexts,⁴⁷ and the fetching of Philoctetes and Neoptolemos from the islands was divided between them. The Palladion adventure may have been the model for all these if it had been established in the tradition for some time.

It is not certain how, in the *Little Iliad*, the Achaeans were made aware of the need to get the Palladion. They may have learned it from Helenos,⁴⁸ either at the time when he revealed the need for Heracles' bow and an Aiakid or at some later point. According to Dion. Hal. *Ant.* 1. 68. 4 Dardanos had received, with the Palladia, an oracle assuring him that his city would be safe so long as these holy images remained in place, and such an oracle would have been known to Helenos. It is also conceivable that the poet let Odysseus learn the secret from Helen during his visit (Welcker (1839–41), i. 146–8).⁴⁹

In Apollodorus the visit to Helen and the Palladion mission are run together, and precede Odysseus' conception of the Horse project. *Epit.* 5. 13:

Ὀδυσσεὺς δὲ μετὰ Διομήδους παραγενόμενος νύκτωρ εἰς τὴν πόλιν Διομήδην μὲν αὐτοῦ μένειν εἶα, αὐτὸς δὲ ἑαυτὸν ἀικισάμενος καὶ πενιχρὰν στολὴν ἐνδυσάμενος ἀγνώστως εἰς τὴν πόλιν εἰσέρχεται ὥς ἐπαίτης. γνωρισθεὶς δὲ ὑπὸ

Ἑλένης, δι' ἐκείνης τὸ Παλλάδιον ἐκκλέψας καὶ πολλοὺς κτείνας τῶν φυλασσόντων ἐπὶ τὰς ναῦς μετὰ Διομήδους κομίζει.

(p.202) This may reflect Sophocles' *Lakainai*, which was presumably set in Helen's house, as the Laconian women of the chorus must have been her servants. Aristophanes (*Vesp.* 350f.) and Antisthenes (*Ajax* 6) also conflate the two forays, combining Odysseus' rags with his theft of temple property (Antisth.) or escape through a narrow opening (Ar.). The author of the *Rhesus*, however, keeps them separate (501–7). In the Aristotelian list of *Little Iliad* tragedies *Λάκαιναι* clearly stands for the Palladion episode; it is distinct from the *Πτωχεία*.

F 11. Hesych. δ 1881

Διομήδειος ἀνάγκη· παροιμία. Κλέαρχος μέν (fr. 68 Wehrli) ... ὁ δὲ τὴν Μικρὰν Ἰλιάδα φησὶν ἐπὶ τῆς τοῦ Παλλαδίου κλοπῆς γενέσθαι.

Paus. Att. δ 14 (Phot. Lex. δ 637, Suda δ 1164, sch. Ar. *Eccl.* 1029, etc.)

Διομήδειος ἀνάγκη· παροιμία ... οἱ δέ, ὅτι Διομήδης καὶ Ὀδυσσεὺς τὸ Παλλάδιον κλέψαντες νυκτὸς ἐκ Τροίας ἐπανήισαν, ἐπόμενος δὲ ὁ Ὀδυσσεὺς τὸν Διομήδην ἐβουλήθη ἀποκτεῖναι· ἐν τῇ σελήνῃ δὲ ἰδὼν τὴν σκιὰν τοῦ ξίφους ὁ Διομήδης, ἐπιστραφεὶς καὶ βιασάμενος τὸν Ὀδυσσεά ἔδησε καὶ προάγειν ἐποίησε παίων αὐτοῦ τῷ ξίφει τὸ μετάφρενον. τάττεται δὲ ἐπὶ τῶν κατ' ἀνάγκην τι πραττόντων.

Serv. auct. *Aen.* 2. 166

Qui cum reuerterentur ad naues, Vlives, ut sui tantum operis uideretur effector, uoluit sequens occidere Diomedem; cuius ille conatum cum ad umbram lunae notasset, religatum prae se usque ad castra Graecorum egit.

The proverbial expression 'a Diomedean compulsion' is used in Ar. *Eccl.* 1029 and Pl. *Rep.* 439d. Clearchus in his *Paroimiai* explained it as referring to a Diomedes who forced strangers to make love to his ugly daughters until they (or their funds) were exhausted, when he killed them. This suits the context in Aristophanes excellently, it is the explanation given by the scholiast ad loc., and it is no doubt the correct one. Others, however, connected it with an incident that occurred during the Palladion mission. Hesychius' article may be taken as evidence that the incident was described in the *Little Iliad*, but he is clearly wrong to say that the epic poet gave it as an **(p.203)** explanation of the proverb. Presumably the source-reference to the *Little Iliad* belongs together with the account of the incident given elsewhere in the paroemiographical tradition, so that we may take it to have followed the same lines in the epic. Canon, *FGrHist* 26 F 1. 34, tells a divergent version in which it is Diomedes who tries to deceive Odysseus and win all the credit for getting the Palladion, and Odysseus who ends up driving his companion along by slapping him on the back with the flat of his sword.

In view of Odysseus' and Diomedes' harmonious collaboration in other exploits (see above on arg. 4e), it is curious that they were represented as having fallen out so bitterly

over the Palladion.

Day Ten Operation Horse is Put into Action

Arg. 5a

ἔπειτα εἰς τὸν δούρειον ἵππον τοὺς ἀρίστους ἐμβιβάσαντες τὰς τε σκηναὶς
καταφλέξαντες οἱ λοιποὶ τῶν Ἑλλήνων εἰς Τένεδον ἀνάγονται.

F 12. Apollod. epit. 5. 14–15

εἰς τοῦτον Ὀδυσσεὺς εἰσελθεῖν πείθει πεντήκοντα τοὺς ἀρίστους, ὥς δὲ ὁ τὴν Μικρὰν
γράφας Ἰλιάδα φησί, τρισχιλίους. ... (15) αὐτοὶ δὲ ἐμπρήσαντες τὰς σκηναὶς καὶ
καταλιπόντες Σίνωνα, ὃς ἔμελλεν αὐτοῖς πυρσὸν ἀνάπτειν, τῆς νυκτὸς ἀνάγονται καὶ
περὶ Τένεδον ναυλοχοῦσιν.

Epeios completed his work and the Horse was ready. Odysseus, as leader of the operation, must then have selected the heroes who were to hide in it with him, and their names will have been listed. Perhaps he called for volunteers, as in Triph. 122ff. Virgil (*Aen.* 2. 18) suggests that a drawing of lots was involved.

Different sources give widely divergent figures for the number of men involved. Stesichorus (*PMGF* 199) made it a hundred; Apollodorus (see above) fifty, perhaps following the *Iliou Persis*; Virgil (*Aen.* 2. 261–4) names nine; Quintus (12. 314–32) names thirty, but adds ‘and all the other outstanding men that the horse could hold’; Triphiodorus (153–83) enumerates twenty-two besides Odysseus. Eustathius (*Od.* 1698. 2) says some made it twelve, and (p.204) he lists the names but then is perplexed that they do not include Antiklos (*Od.* 4. 285; F 13 below).

Beside all these, the figure of three thousand that Apollodorus attributes to the *Little Iliad* appears fantastic and unimaginable. All that was needed was a force big enough to overpower the guards and open the city gates for the mass of the army. Tzetzes (in Lyc. 930) had the same text of Apollodorus, writing τὸν δούρειον ἵππον, εἰς ὃν ν, ἢ γ ἢ κατ’ ἐμὲ κγ, ἄνδρες εἰσελθόντες Ἑλλήνες ἐκάθηντο. (His last figure derives from Triphiodorus.) Severyns’s conjecture that γ (=3,000) was a corruption of ιγ (=13) is very plausible.⁵⁰ He observes that the poet will not have given the figure but listed thirteen names—perhaps Eustathius’ twelve plus Antiklos. Eustathius’ twelve are: Menelaos, Diomedes, Philoctetes, Meriones, Neoptolemos, Eurypylos, Eurydamas, Pheidippos, Leonteus, Meges, Odysseus, and Eumelos. They include nearly all of those mentioned in the fragments as having played notable parts in the sack (Diomedes, Philoctetes, Neoptolemos, Eurypylos, Meges), only not Lykomedes (F 16); of course they did not all have to have been in the Horse.

With the Horse manned, the rest of the Achaeans burn their huts (cf. *Od.* 8. 501), embark on their ships, and sail out round the Sigeian promontory and down to the island of Tenedos, out of sight of the Trojans. If Apollodorus’ τῆς νυκτὸς is rightly taken with what follows, he says that it was after dark that they sailed away, so that their deserted camp was a surprise for the Trojans in the morning.

Sinon

Apollodorus also says that they left Sinon behind to send them a torch signal when they were to return. That Sinon featured in the *Little Iliad* is guaranteed by *Ἀπόπλους καὶ Σίνων* in Aristotle's list of potential tragedies and by his depiction on the Tabula Capitolina; cf. also Tz. in Lyc. 344 (below, F 14). But as explained above on arg. 4c, it is uncertain whether his role extended to sending the signal: it (**p.205**) may have been confined to deceiving the Trojans about the purpose of the Horse, while the signal was given by Helen.

Sinon's name is from *σίνοος* 'harm': like Dolon and Thersites, he is a figure characterized by his name. Later sources (Triph. 220, 294, Serv. on *Aen.* 2. 79, cf. Lyc. 344 with sch.) say that he was the son of Aisimos, who was a brother of Antikleia, Odysseus' mother. It is possible that Aisimos' name at least, or the patronymic *Αἰσιμίδης*, goes back to one of the two Cyclic epics in which Sinon appeared.

Day Eleven The Trojans' Reception of the Horse

Arg. 5b

οἱ δὲ Τρῶες τῶν κακῶν ὑπολαβόντες ἀπηλλάχθαι τὸν τε δούρειον ἵππον εἰς τὴν πόλιν εἰσδέχονται διελόντες μέρος τι τοῦ τείχους, καὶ εὐωχοῦνται ὡς νενικηκότες τοὺς Ἕλληνας.

The morning when the Trojans first saw the Achaean camp abandoned might have been another occasion for the formula *φήμη δ' εἰς στρατὸν ἦλθε* (F 32*; see above under Day 2). Cf. Virg. *Aen.* 2. 17 *ea fama uagatur* (that the Horse had been left as a votive offering); Triph. 235–7 *ἦδη δὲ Τρώεσσι καὶ Ἰλιάδεσσι γυναιξίν | ὄρθρον ὑπο σκιάοντα πολύθροος ἦλυθε φήμη*, | *δήϊον ἀγγέλλουσα φόβον σημάντορι καπνῶι*.

Proclus' summary of the *Little Iliad* breaks off here. His single sentence probably conceals a more varied sequence of events. In the *Iliou Persis*, as in Demodokos' song in the *Odyssey* (8. 500–10) and in Stesichorus (S88 ii), the Trojans debated what to do with the Horse, whether to destroy it or dedicate it to Athena. According to the *Odyssey*, at least, the debate took place after they had already taken the Horse up to the acropolis, but it looks as if this was not so in Stesichorus. There was not necessarily any such debate in the *Little Iliad*. Cassandra, however, uttered an impassioned warning against accepting the Horse (cf. Virg. *Aen.* 2. 246f., Apollod. epit. 5. 17): this is guaranteed by the Tabula Capitolina, where she appears in the *Little Iliad* frieze, struggling under restraint between the advancing procession bringing the Horse and the Scaean Gate, as if trying to obstruct its entry. There is no evidence that the poem contained the episode of the seer Laokoon and his son killed by serpents (*Iliou* (**p.206**) *Persis* arg. 1 c). Despite the existence of Sophocles' *Laokoon*, there is no such title in Aristotle's list of *Little Iliad* tragedies,⁵¹ and no Laokoon scene on the Tabula Capitolina.⁵²

Sinon probably played the vital role in inducing the Trojans to take the Horse in. In the *Iliou Persis* he gained admission to the city under a pretence (arg. 2a *προσποίητος*), which implies that he engaged in dialogue, and his lies will have been designed to further

the Achaeans' cause. But that epic seems not to have included an account of how the Horse was brought to the city. Virgil does, and his narrative may reflect the *Little Iliad*. There (*Aen.* 2. 57–198) Sinon allows himself to be captured by herdsmen and is brought before Priam just as the dispute about the Horse is raging. He spins the tale that he is an enemy of Ulysses, condemned to death as a sacrifice on behalf of the departing Danaans, but he has escaped. The Horse is their propitiatory offering to Pallas, who has been angered by the sacrilegious removal of the Palladion. Calchas told them to make it so big that it could not be got into Troy, otherwise it would be disastrous for Greece. This leads the Trojans to make a gap in their walls (234) so that they can get the Horse inside.—The breaching of the walls agrees with Proclus, and the detail that Sinon's hands are tied behind his back (57) agrees with the representation of him on the Tabula Capitolina.

Another detail in Virgil's brief account of the transporting of the Horse may also go back to the *Little Iliad*: the crowd pulling the Horse along were accompanied by boys and girls singing hymns (2. 238f. *pueri circum innuptaeque puellae | sacra canunt, funemque manu contingere gaudent*). We may compare the depiction on the Tabula, where the procession is led by a little group of male and female dancers, and Eur. *Tro.* 529, Triph. 308f., 342, 350–7.

Both Euripides (*Tro.* 537–40) and Quintus (12. 428–32) compare the haulage of the Horse to that of a ship, either onto land (Eur.) or down to the sea (Quintus). The simile possibly derives from the *Little Iliad*.

F 13. Sch. Od. 4. 285

ὁ Ἀντικλος ἐκ τοῦ κύκλου.

In *Od.* 4. 271–89 Menelaos recalls how Helen, accompanied by Deiphobos, approached the Horse and called out the names of the **(p.207)** men inside it, imitating their wives' voices. Most of them kept quiet, but Antiklos would have responded and given them away if Odysseus had not stopped him. Aristarchus athetized 285–9 on the ground that Antiklos was an un-Homeric figure who first appeared in the Cycle.⁵³ This need not mean more than that he was named as one of the warriors in the Horse. But it is possible that the Helen incident appeared in the *Little Iliad* or *Iliou Persis*. Lines 285–8 look like an alternative to 282–4 (S. West ad loc.) and do not sit well together with them; as in 246–9 (see above on F 9), we may suspect a secondary insertion to bring in Cyclic material.⁵⁴ The same may apply to 276, the line that mentions Deiphobos. Dektes in 248 came from the *Little Iliad*, and this was also the poem that recorded Helen's marriage to Deiphobos, so we may suppose it, rather than the *Iliou Persis*, to have been the source for the little-known Antiklos too.⁵⁵ In Apollodorus (epit. 5. 19) the episode appears between Sinon's raising of the torch signal and the heroes' emergence from the Horse with the death of Echion. These probably belong to the *Iliou Persis* (cf. there on arg. 2a and b), and for this reason Wagner 235 argued that the Antiklos episode did also. But Apollodorus may have interpolated it from the *Odyssey*.

Whatever the origin of the incident, it is problematic, as Helen's mischievous behaviour seems at odds with her well-established desire for the Achaeans' success, which she has

affirmed in her own speech at 259ff. Menelaos in 274f. ascribes its irrationality to the prompting of the Trojans' favouring *δαίμων*. If she knows that there are warriors in the Horse, and indeed who they are, it is presumably because of what Odysseus told her during his visit. In a version where she approached the Horse alone, without Deiphobos and with no one else within earshot, she would not have been putting the heroes at risk, and she might then have been simply amusing herself by seeing if she could get any of them to respond to her impersonations.

(p.208) The story has a frivolity of the same order as the eavesdropping on the Trojan girls' chatter in F 2.⁵⁶

In the evening the Trojans abandoned themselves to feasting and drinking. Singing and dancing may have continued (as in Eur. *Hec.* 915–18, *Tro.* 544–7, 551–4, Q.S. 13. 1–4), providing a context for the dance with torches that Helen led up to the acropolis, if Virgil's account echoes the *Little Iliad*. At some point, probably soon after nightfall, a torch was raised from an eminence as a signal, whether by Helen or by Sinon. This was vital, as the Achaeans needed confirmation that the Horse had been taken inside the city. If the signal was sent from Troy, it could not in fact have been seen from the ships at Tenedos (just as the ships were not visible to the Trojans), but someone could have been sent up to higher ground to watch for it; the top of the island is visible from the city.⁵⁷ Some sources say that Sinon signalled from Achilles' tomb at Sigeion.⁵⁸ Whether or not a Lesbian Lesches was the author of the poem, the tradition was shaped by someone with a fair knowledge of the local topography.

The Sack of Troy

F 14. Callisthenes (FGrHist 124 F 10a) ap. sch. Eur. *Hec.* 910

ἑάλω μὲν ἡ Τροία Θαρρηλιῶνος μηνός, ὡς μὲν τινες τῶν ἱστορικῶν, ἰβ, ἱσταμένου, ὡς δὲ ὁ τὴν Μικρὰν Ἰλιάδα, η, φθίνοντος· διορίζει γὰρ αὐτὸς τὴν ἄλωσιν, φάσκων συμβῆναι τότε τὴν κατάληψιν, ἡνίκα

νῦξ μὲν ἔην μέσση, λαμπρὰ δ' ἐπέτελλε σελήνη.

μεσονύκτιος δὲ μόνον τῇ ὀγδόῃ φθίνοντος ἀνατέλλει, ἐν ἄλλῃ δὲ οὔ.

(p.209) Clem. *Strom.* 1. 104. 1

κατὰ δὲ τὸ ὀκτωκαιδέκατον ἔτος τῆς Ἀγαμέμνονος βασιλείας Ἰλιον ἑάλω ... Θαρρηλιῶνος μηνός δευτέραι ἐπὶ δέκα, ὡς φησι Διονύσιος ὁ Ἀργεῖος (308 F 1)· Ἀγίας δὲ καὶ Δερκύλος ἐν τῇ τρίτῃ (2 Fowler), μηνός Πανήμου ὀγδόῃ φθίνοντος· Ἑλλάνικος δὲ (152 Fowler) δωδεκάτῃ Θαρρηλιῶνος μηνός· καὶ τινες τῶν τὰ Ἀττικὰ συγγραψάντων (329 F 3) ὀγδόῃ φθίνοντος ... πληθυσίως σελήνης· “νῦξ μὲν ἔην” φησὶν ὁ τὴν Μικρὰν Ἰλιάδα πεποιηκώς “μεσάτα, λαμπρὰ δ' ἐπέτελλε σελάνα”.

Many historians gave calendar dates for the fall of Troy; see F. Jacoby, *Das Marmor Parium* (Berlin 1904), 148f. The earliest are Hellanicus (ap. Clement, above) and

Damastes of Sigeum (fr. 7 Fowler). Both gave the month as Thargelion; Hellanicus gave the day as the 12th, Damastes as the 24th (ἐβδόμη φθίνοντος). Both apparently quoted and argued from the verse in the *Little Iliad*. Hellanicus, focusing on the brightness of the moon, took it to be nearly full; cf. Clement's πληθυσίσης σελήνης. But this is to ignore ἐπέτελλε, 'rising': if the moon is rising around midnight, it is approaching its last quarter, and Damastes' dating to the 24th of the month is the one that makes sense astronomically. The dating that Callisthenes attributes to the *Little Iliad* and Clement to 'some of the Atthidographers', ὀγδόη φθίνοντος = the 23rd, is essentially the same. Cf. A. T. Grafton and N. M. Swerdlow, CQ 36 (1986), 212–18.

Clement's quotation of the line in non-Ionic form (μεσάτα, σελάνα) is unexplained. Even if Lesbian rhapsodes recited it in their own dialect and were so quoted by Hellanicus or Damastes, it would not be satisfactorily accounted for, as we should then expect μέσσα, σελάννα. For λαμπρά (rather than λαμπρή) ... σελήνη cf. my *Hesiod, Theogony* (Oxford 1966), 81.

F 14a* Sch. (D) Il. 18. 486a, "Πληϊάδες"

ἐπὶ ἀστέρες κείμενοι ἐπὶ τῇ οὐρᾷ τοῦ Ταύρου. ... αὗται δὲ εἰσιν Ἄτλαντος καὶ Πληϊόνης θυγατέρες, ὧν τὰ ὀνόματα Μαῖα, Ταῦγέτη, Κελαινὴ, Μερόπη, Ἥλέκτρα, Στερόπη, Ἀλκυόνη. ... φασὶν δὲ Ἥλέκτραν οὐ βουλομένην τὴν Ἰλίου πόρθησιν θεάσασθαι διὰ τὸ κτίσμα (εἶναι) τῶν ἀπογόνων καταλιπεῖν τὸν τόπον οὗ κατηστέριστο, διόπερ οὔσας πρότερον ἐπὶ γενέσθαι ἔξ. ἡ ἱστορία παρὰ τοῖς κυκλικοῖς.

(p.210) Electra was the mother of Dardanos by Zeus ([Hes.] fr. 177. 5–7) and so particularly affected by the fortunes of Troy and Dardania. There was always a discrepancy between the theoretical number of seven Pleiades and the fact that only six are easily distinguished; cf. Arat. 257f. and other texts quoted in D. Kidd's commentary. The story about Electra recurs without attribution in Aratus SH 103, Ov. F. 4. 177f., Hyg. Astr. 2. 21. 3, Fab. 192. 5, Q.S. 13. 551–60; cf. sch. Hes. Op. 383a, sch. Arat. 257 and 259, sch. Germ. p. 149. 10 and 19 Br., Serv. in Georg. 1. 138.

How was it introduced into the narrative of whichever Cyclic epic it was? Presumably the poet referred to the Pleiades being in the sky at the hour when the heroes emerged from the Horse and the carnage began, just as in F 14 above it was noted that the moon was rising. Aeschylus must be alluding to this in Ag. 824–6, πόλιν διημάθουνεν Ἀργεῖον δάκος | ἵππου νεοσσός, ἀσπιδηφόρος λεώς, | πῆδημ' ὀρούσας ἀμφὶ Πλειάδων δύσιν. Fraenkel, without making the connection with Electra's disappearance, argues convincingly in his commentary that ἀμφὶ Πλειάδων δύσιν does not refer to the season of the year, as references to rising or setting Pleiades normally do, but to the time of night, as in PMG 976 δέδυκε μὲν ἄ σελάνα | καὶ Πληϊάδες, μέσαι δὲ | νύκτες, even though in reality it could indicate a time of night only if the date were known. If the Pleiades were approaching their setting at midnight, it should have been about January, but there is no reason to suppose that the poet had a particular time of year in mind.

In my Loeb edition I assigned this fragment to the *Iliou Persis* (F 5*). But on closer consideration it seems more likely that it goes together with F 14 than that the *Little Iliad*

gave one astronomical datum and the *Iliou Persis* another. I envisage something on these lines:

νύξ μὲν ἔην μέσση, λαμπρὰ δ' ἐπέτελλε σελήνη,
 ταὶ δ' ἤδη δύνοντο Πελειάδες, ἑπτὰ φαειναί
 Ἄτλαντος κοῦραι. τῶν δ' ἡ μία θυμὸν ὀρίνθη,
 Ἥλέκτρη κυανῶπις, ἀπ' οὐρανόθεν καθορῶσα
 τὴν δ' ἄτλητον ἄχος πύκασε φρένας, οἶον ἔμελλεν
 ἔσσεσθαι· ἦ γὰρ τέκε Δάρδανον ἐκ Διὸς εὐνῆς,
 τοῦ δ' ἄρα Τρῶς Ἴλός τε περικλυτὸς ἔκγονοι ἦσαν.
 τούνεκ' ὀρίνθη θυμὸν, ὅτ' αἴψ' ἤμελλεν ὀλέσθαι
 Ἴλιος ὀφρυόεσσα θεῶν τ' ἐρικυδέες ἔδραι
 καὶ Πρίαμος καὶ λαὸς εὐμμελίῳ Πριάμοιο.
(p.211) ἡ δ' ἄρ' ἀποστρεφθεῖσα καλύψατο καλὰ πρόσωπα,
 μὴ λεύσσοι Δαναῶν ταχυπώλων ὄβριμα ἔργα·
 ἐκ τοῦ δ' οὐκέτι φαίνεται' ἐν ἀστράσι νυκτὸς ἀμολγῶι
 ἦισι κασιγνήτης ἐναρίθμιος, ἀλλὰ κέκρυπται.

It may be objected that if the verse about the full moon was immediately followed by one about the Pleiades setting, the ancient writers who used the first line to calculate the day of the month in which Troy fell ought to have inferred from the second that the month was Gamelion (or thereabouts), whereas they actually make it Thargelion or Skirophorion, four or five months later, when the Pleiades were rising shortly before the sun and their setting was not visible at all. But this is perhaps asking too much of historians with only a layman's knowledge of astronomy. As we have seen, some of them fell down even on the easier deduction from the line about the moon. I presume that they had some separate reason for thinking that Troy fell in the early summer, and that they disregarded the reference to the Pleiades.

Dion. Hal. *Ant.* 1. 63. 1 says that Ilios was taken on 23 Thargelion (cf. above on F 14) and that this was seventeen days before the summer solstice. Grafton-Swerdlow (as cited on F 14, at p. 215) conjecture that the epic contained a statement that 'for seventeen days (the Achaeans continued to ravage the city), and on the eighteenth they sailed away, at the solstice'.⁵⁹ It is a bold hypothesis, but it would account not only for Dionysius' seventeen days but for the consensus that Troy fell in a midsummer month.

The verses about the moon and the Pleiades referred to the situation as the warriors emerged from the Horse.⁶⁰ It was the middle of the night, so all was quiet. There was a bright moon, so they could see their way. Their plan was to go down to the gates, kill the guards, and let the main army in (cf. Apollod. epit. 5. 20; Virg. *Aen.* 2. 266f.). Opening the gates ought not to have been necessary, given that the Trojans had made a large breach in the wall to get the Horse through; the anomaly suggests that the breaching of the wall may have been an innovation in the *Little Iliad*. The Achaeans must have received the **(p.212)** go-ahead signal (from Sinon or Helen) hours before, as soon as it was dark.

On the warriors' exit from the Horse see on *Iliou Persis* arg. 2b.

F 15–27 Paus. 10. 25. 5–27. 2

Around the middle of the fifth century BCE the Cnidians built a club-room (λέσχη) at Delphi and commissioned the great painter Polygnotos to decorate its internal walls with murals of mythological content. Pausanias saw them and devoted a long section of his *Periegesis*, nineteen Teubner pages, to a close description of them, in which he compares the details of the painting with data he found in poetic sources, mainly the early epics. The mural on the right-hand side of the room was devoted to Ἰλῖός τε ἐάλωκυῖα καὶ ἀπόπλους ὁ Ἑλλήνων (10. 25. 2). A page into his account of it, Pausanias cites 'Lescheos the son of Aischylinos from Pyrrha in his *Iliou Persis*', and thereafter he refers repeatedly to the evidence of 'Lescheos'. This is the poet whom others call Lesches; Pausanias⁶¹ has formed a new nominative from the Ionic genitive Λέσχεω that Proclus uses. (The Pindaric scholiast uses Λέσχου.) But in all other sources Lesches is the author of the *Little Iliad*, not the *Iliou Persis*, which is attributed to Arktinos of Miletus. So is Pausanias referring to the *Iliou Persis* under the wrong author's name, or to the *Little Iliad* under the wrong title?

In favour of the first alternative is the fact that at one point (F 20 below) he cites (without an author's name) 'the *Iliad* known as Little', and in another part of his work too he cites ὁ τὰ ἔπη ποιήσας τὴν Μικρὰν Ἰλιάδα (3. 26. 9 = F 7 above). Is his practice, then, to cite the *Little Iliad* anonymously and the *Iliou Persis* as by 'Lescheos'?

(p.213) Against this there are at least two matters on which Pausanias' 'Lescheos' agreed with what is elsewhere attested for the *Little Iliad* and differed from what is attested for the *Iliou Persis*.⁶² Firstly, in the *Iliou Persis*, according to Proclus (arg. 2c, = Apollod. epit. 5. 21), Priam fled to the altar of Zeus Herkeios and Neoptolemos slew him there. Pausanias, however, states that according to Lescheos Priam was not killed at the altar-hearth of Zeus Herkeios: he was dragged away from it and killed by Neoptolemos at the doorway (F 25). This agrees with what is attested for 'the poet Lesches in the *Little Iliad*' on a group of the Homeric cups. Secondly, in the *Iliou Persis* (arg. 4a) Astyanax was killed by Odysseus, whereas in the *Little Iliad* (F 29) he was killed by Neoptolemos, and so in 'Lescheos' (F 18). For a third possible discrepancy between 'Lescheos' and the *Iliou Persis* see below on F 17.

On the strength of these agreements I assign all Pausanias' 'Lescheos' citations to the

Little Iliad, a poem to which we know he had access, whereas we have no proof that he had the *Iliou Persis* attributed to Arktinos. If in one place he misnames the Lesches poem as the *Iliou Persis*, it may just be a lapsus calami, given that he is focusing on the part of the epic that dealt with the sack of Troy, and that in the same context he has occasion to cite Stesichorus' *Iliou Persis* (10. 26. 1). Another possibility, canvassed by Nitzsch,⁶³ is that Pausanias found the last portion of the *Little Iliad* separately titled as (Lesches') *Ἰλίου πέρσις* (the poet's name distinguishing it from the *Iliou Persis* attributed to Arktinos). Of his two citations of the *Little Iliad* under that name, one at least (F 7) was from the earlier part of the epic; the other (F 20) only says that the Trojan woman Deinome was mentioned in the poem, and she might have appeared in an earlier context than the sack.

Another possible explanation is that Pausanias is putting together notes made from his reading at different times. There is another early epic that he usually cites anonymously but in one place with its reputed author: 9. 5. 8 ποιήσεως Μινυάδος, 10. 28. 2 ποιήσει Μινυάδι, 28. 7 ἡ Μινυὰς καλουμένη, 31. 3 ἡ Μινυὰς, but 4. 33. 7 Πρόδικος Φωκαεύς, εἰ δὲ τούτου τὰ ἐς τὴν Μινυάδα ἔπη, ... φησι.

(p.214) F 15. Paus. 10. 25. 5

πλησίον δὲ τοῦ Ἑλένου Μέγης ἐστί· τέτρωται δὲ τὸν βραχίονα ὁ Μέγης, καθὰ δὴ καὶ Λέσχεως ὁ Αἰσχυλίνου Πυρραῖος ἐν Ἰλίου περσίδι ἐποίησε· τρωθῆναι δὲ ὑπὸ τὴν μάχην τοῦτον ἦν ἐν τῇ νυκτὶ ἐμαχέσαντο οἱ Τρῶες ὑπὸ Ἀδμήτου φησὶ τοῦ Αὐγείου.

The men who had been in the Horse joined up with the main army and invaded the sleeping Trojans' houses: Apollod. epit. 5. 20–1 καὶ τὰς πύλας ἀνοίξαντες ὑπεδέξαντο τοὺς ἀπὸ Τενέδου καταπλεύσαντας, χωρήσαντες δὲ μεθ' ὅπλων εἰς τὴν πόλιν, εἰς τὰς οἰκίας ἐπερχόμενοι κοιμωμένους ἀνήιρουν; Virg. Aen. 2. 266f. The Trojans roused themselves and resisted as best they could. Battle raged through the city, and the poet described many individual encounters, as in a normal daytime battle. Meges is one of the more prominent warriors in the *Iliad*. The Admetos who wounds him is killed by Philoctetes (F 23), probably immediately. He and his father are otherwise unknown. Another Augeias was grandfather of Meges, so the name might have been invented by association.

F 16. Paus. 10. 25. 6

γέγραπται δὲ καὶ Λυκομήδης παρὰ τὸν Μέγητα ὁ Κρέοντος, ἔχων τραῦμα ἐπὶ τῷ καρπῷ· Λέσχεως οὕτω φησὶν αὐτὸν ὑπὸ Ἀγήνορος τρωθῆναι. δῆλα οὖν ὡς ἄλλως γε οὐκ ἂν ὁ Πολύγνωτος ἔγραψεν οὕτω τὰ ἔλκη σφίσιν, εἰ μὴ ἐπελέξατο τὴν ποίησιν τοῦ Λέσχεω.

Lykomedes is a minor figure in the *Iliad* (9. 84, 12. 366, 17. 345–51, 19. 240). Agenor is one of the leading Trojans, notable especially for his stand against Achilles in 21. 544–98. He will be killed by Neoptolemos (F 27), despite being a son of Antenor (cf. on F 22). As in the case of Meges and Admetos (F 15), we may assume the narrative pattern that A is wounded by B, who is straight away killed by C. Cf. Fenik 10 ('chain-reaction' fight).

Pausanias' inference seems valid, that in depicting Meges and Lykomedes with those particular wounds Polygnotos was following Lesches' poem.

(p.215) F 17. Paus. 10. 25. 7–8

ἐφεξῆς δὲ τῇ Ἑλένῃ μήτηρ τε ἡ Θησέως ἐν χρωὶ κεκαρμένη, καὶ παίδων τῶν Θησέως Δημοφῶν ἐστὶ φροντίζων, ὅσα γε ἀπὸ τοῦ σχήματος, εἰ ἀνασώσασθαί οἱ τὴν Αἴθραν ἐνέσται. ... Λέσχεως δὲ ἐς τὴν Αἴθραν ἐποίησεν, ἡνίκα ἡλίσκετο Ἴλιον, ὑπεξελοῦσαν ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον αὐτὴν ἀφικέσθαι τὸ Ἑλλήνων καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν παίδων γνωρισθῆναι τῶν Θησέως, καὶ ὡς παρ' Ἀγαμέμνονος αἰτήσαι Δημοφῶν αὐτὴν· ὃ δὲ ἐκείνῳ μὲν ἐθέλειν χαρίζεσθαι, ποιήσῃν δὲ οὐ πρότερον ἔφη πρὶν Ἑλένην πεῖσαι· ἀποστείλαντι δὲ αὐτῷ κήρυκα ἔδωκεν Ἑλένη τὴν χάριν. ἔοικεν οὖν ὁ Εὐρυβάτης ὁ ἐν τῇ γραφῇ (cf. 25. 4) ἀφίχθαι τε ὡς τὴν Ἑλένην τῆς Αἴθρας ἔνεκα καὶ τὰ ἐντεταλμένα ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἀγαμέμνονος ἀπαγγέλλειν.

Aithra, the aged mother of Theseus, was supposed to have been brought to Troy by Helen as one of her servants; she had been captured from Attica by the Dioskouroi when they retrieved their sister, whom Theseus had kidnapped (Alcm. *PMGF* 21; Hellan. 168c Fowler). She appears in the *Iliad* in what is surely an interpolated line, 3. 144.⁶⁴ Her grandsons Demophon and Akamas, not mentioned in the *Iliad*, were supposed to have gone to Troy to recover her ('Homer' ap. [Demosth.] 60. 29, quoted on *Iliou Persis* F 6; cf. Hellan. 143 F.).

Her recovery was described in the *Iliou Persis*, but apparently not in quite the same way as above. According to Pausanias' 'Lescheos' Aithra made her own way out of Troy and came to the Greeks' *στρατόπεδον*, i.e. the encampment to which they had returned after completing the sack of the city. Theseus' sons recognized her, and Demophon asked Agamemnon for possession of her. Agamemnon agreed subject to Helen's permission and sent a herald to Helen (who was in Menelaos' hands by now) to ask for it.⁶⁵ In the *Iliou Persis*, as I shall argue (on arg. 4b, after arg. 2d), the Theseids found Aithra in Troy during the sack and took her back to the ships.

(p.216) F 18. Paus. 10. 25. 9

γέγραπται μὲν Ἀνδρομάχη, καὶ ὁ παῖς οἱ προσέστηκεν ἐλόμενος τοῦ μαστοῦ. τούτῳ Λέσχεως ῥιφέντι ἀπὸ τοῦ πύργου συμβῆναι λέγει τὴν τελευτήν, οὐ μὴν ὑπὸ δόγματός γε τῶν Ἑλλήνων, ἀλλ' ἰδίαι Νεοπτόλεμον αὐτόχειρα ἐθελῆσαι γενέσθαι.

We have in F 29 (below) the verses relating the event. Pausanias emphasizes that the throwing of the child from the walls was Neoptolemos' personal initiative, not (as in Eur. *Tro.* 721–5, 1122) a measure decided on by the Achaeans in debate. That Astyanax was to suffer such a fate is hinted at in *Il.* 22. 63f., 24. 734f.⁶⁶ In the *Iliou Persis* (arg. 4a) it was Odysseus who killed him, probably by the same means, as he does in Statius, *Silv.* 2. 1. 145, and Triph. 644–6.

Three Attic vases of the first half of the fifth century, *LIMC* Andromache (I) 46–8, show Andromache brandishing a pestle in a furious attempt to protect her young son. The

earliest, a cup by the Brygos Painter, is discussed by Robert (1881), 62–79, who suggests that the motif came from Stesichorus. O. Rossbach, *NJb.* 143 (1891), 81f., argues for an epic source. Andromache's brave resistance may perhaps have been portrayed in this way in the *Little Iliad* or *Iliou Persis*.

F 19. Paus. 10. 26. 1

Λέσχεως δὲ καὶ ἔπη τὰ Κύπρια (F 28) διδόασιν Εὐρυδίκη γυναιῖκα Αἰνεΐαι.

Pausanias contrasts the testimony of these epic poets with the commoner identification of Aeneas' wife as Kreousa. Cf. Robert (1920–6, 1517).

F 20. Paus. 10. 26. 2

γεγραμμένοι δὲ ἐπὶ κρήνης ὑπὲρ ταύτας Δηϊνόμη τε καὶ Μητιόχη καὶ Πεῖσις ἐστὶ καὶ Κλεοδίκη. τούτων ἐν Ἰλιάδι καλουμένη Μικραῖ μόνης ἐστὶ τὸ ὄνομα τῆς Δηϊνόμης.

We know nothing of any of these women.

(p.217) F 21. Paus. 10. 26. 4

Ἀστύνοον δέ, οὗ δὴ ἐποιήσατο καὶ Λέσχεως μνήμην, πεπτωκότα ἐς γόνυ ὁ Νεοπτόλεμος ξίφει παίει.

A Trojan Astynooos appears at *Il.* 15. 455; Diomedes had killed another at 5. 144.

F 22. Paus. 10. 26. 8

Λέσχεως δὲ τετρωμένον τὸν Ἑλικάονα ἐν τῇ νυκτομαχίᾳ γνωρισθῆναί τε ὑπὸ Ὀδυσσεως καὶ ἐξαχθῆναι ζῶντα ἐκ τῆς μάχης φησὶν.

Helikaon was a son of Antenor, married to a daughter of Priam (*Il.* 3. 123). Odysseus saves him because of the favour that Antenor's family enjoys with the Achaeans. Polygnotos showed their house door hung with a leopard skin as a sign to the Achaeans to spare it (Paus. 10. 27. 3, cf. Soph. fr. 11 and *Antenoridai* arg., etc.). Welcker ii. 247 assumes that the story came in the *Little Iliad*. See also on *Iliou Persis* arg. 2c. On the motif cf. West (1997), 488f.

F 23. Paus. 10. 27. 1

νεκροὶ δὲ ὁ μὲν γυμνὸς Πῆλις ὄνομα ἐπὶ τὸν νῶτόν ἐστιν ἐρριμμένος, ὑπὸ δὲ τὸν Πῆλιν Ἱονεύς τε κεῖται καὶ Ἄδμητος, ἐνδεδυνότες ἔτι τοὺς θώρακας. καὶ αὐτῶν Λέσχεως Ἱονέα ὑπὸ Νεοπτολέμου, τὸν δὲ ὑπὸ Φιλοκτήτου φησὶν ἀποθανεῖν τὸν Ἄδμητον.

For Admetos cf. above on F 15. Eioneus is equally unknown to the *Iliad*.

F 24. Paus. 10. 27. 1

ἀφίκετο μὲν δὴ ἐπὶ τὸν Κασσάνδρας ὁ Κόροιβος γάμον· ἀπέθανε δέ, ὡς μὲν ὁ πλείων λόγος, ὑπὸ Νεοπτολέμου, Λέσχεως δὲ ὑπὸ Διομήδους ἐποίησεν.

Koroibos was a son of the Phrygian leader Mygdon mentioned at *Il.* 3. 186. Virgil, *Aen.* 2.

341–6, says that he came to Troy *insano Cassandrae incensus amore*, | *et gener auxilium Priamo Phrygibusque ferebat*; Quintus 13. 176f. says he promised to drive the Achaeans away, and agrees with the *Little Iliad* in having him killed by Diomedes, while in Virgil (2. 424) his slayer is neither Diomedes nor **(p.218)** Neoptolemos but Peneleos. In P. Rylands 22 he is killed by Odysseus and Diomedes on their Palladion expedition. His foolish over-confidence may underlie his reputation as an idiot, for which see Pfeiffer on Call. fr. 587; H. Langerbeck, HSCP 63 (1958), 44f.

F 25. Paus. 10. 27. 2

εἰσὶ δὲ καὶ ἐπάνω τοῦ Κοροΐβου Πρίαμος καὶ Ἀξίων τε καὶ Ἀγήνωρ. Πρίαμον δὲ οὐκ ἀποθανεῖν ἔφη Λέσχεως ἐπὶ τῇ ἐσχάτραι τοῦ Ἑρκείου, ἀλλὰ ἀποσπασθέντα ἀπὸ τοῦ βωμοῦ πάρεργον τῷ Νεοπτόλεμῳ πρὸς ταῖς τῆς οἰκίας γενέσθαι θύραις.

Homeric cups MB 27–29 (~30) (pp. 94–6 Sinn)

κατὰ ποιητὴν Λέσχην ἐκ τῆς Μικρᾶς Ἰλιάδος· καταφυγόντος τοῦ Πριάμου ἐπὶ τὸν βωμόν τοῦ Ἑρκείου Διός, ἀποσπάσας ὁ Νεοπτόλεμος ἀπὸ τοῦ βωμοῦ πρὸς τῇ(ι) οἰκίᾳ κατέσφαξεν.

On Priam's end see above in the general discussion of Pausanias' Lescheos references. His death in the doorway is anticipated in *Il.* 22. 66–71.⁶⁷

F 26. Paus. 10. 27. 2

Ἀξίονα δὲ παῖδα εἶναι Πρίαμον Λέσχεως καὶ ἀποθανεῖν αὐτὸν ὑπὸ Εὐρυπύλου τοῦ Εὐαίμονος φησι.

Axion appears in Hyginus' list of Priam's sons (*Fab.* 90) but is not known from elsewhere. Eurypylos is one of the more significant Achaean heroes in the *Iliad*.

F 27. Paus. 10. 27. 2

τοῦ Ἀγήνορος δὲ κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν ποιητὴν Νεοπτόλεμος αὐτόχειρ ἐστί.

Cf. Tabula Veronensis II (9D) [Νεοπτόλεμος ἀ]π[οκ]τείνει Πρίαμον καὶ Ἀγήνορα, Πολυποίτης Ἑχεῖον, Θρασυμήδης Νι(κ)αίνετον, Φιλοκτήτης Διοπ(ε)ίθην, Διο[μήδης] ...

See above on F 16.

(p.219) F 28. Sch. Ar. Lys. 155, "ὁ γῶν Μενέλαος τὰς Ἑλένας τὰ μᾶλά παι | γυμναῖς παρανιδῶν ἐξέβαλ', οἷῳ, τὸ ξίφος"

ἡ ἱστορία παρὰ Ἰβύκῳ (PMGF 296)· τὰ δὲ αὐτὰ καὶ Λέσχης ὁ Πυρραῖος ἐν τῇ Μικρᾷ Ἰλιάδι.

It was related earlier that Helen had married Deiphobos. He could not have been ignored in the sack, and it may be assumed that his death at Menelaos' hands was narrated, as in the *Iliou Persis* (arg. 2d). Menelaos was minded to kill Helen as well, but at the last moment he was disarmed by her beauty. The story is recalled by Ibycus l.c. and

Eur. *Andr.* 627–31, and apparently already represented on the famous relief pithos from Mykonos (second quarter of the seventh century).⁶⁸ If Helen uncovered her breasts on purpose, the motif recalls Hekabe's exposure of hers for a different purpose in *Il.* 22. 80. For the disarming effect of female beauty cf. on *Aethiopsis* arg. 1d (Penthesileia).

Day Twelve

F 29–30 Tzetz. in Lyc. 1268 (cf. 1232)

Λέσχης δὲ ὁ τὴν Μικρὰν Ἰλιάδα πεποιηκὼς Ἀνδρομάχην καὶ Αἰνείαν αἰχμαλώτους φησὶ
δοθῆναι τῷ Ἀχιλλέως υἱῷ Νεοπτολέμῳ, καὶ ἀπαχθῆναι σὺν αὐτῷ εἰς Φαρσαλίαν τὴν
Ἀχιλλέως πατρίδα. φησὶ δὲ οὕτως·

αὐτὰρ Ἀχιλλῆος μεγαθύμου φαίδιμος υἱός

Ἔκτορέην ἄλοχον κάταγεν κοίλας ἐπὶ νῆας·

παῖδα δ' ἐλὼν ἐκ κόλπου ἐϋπλοκάμοιο τιθήνης

ῥῖψε ποδὸς τεταγὼν ἀπὸ πύργου, τὸν δὲ πεσόντα

5

ἔλλαβε πορφύρεος θάνατος καὶ μοῖρα κραταιή...

(30)

ἐκ δ' ἔλετ' Ἀνδρομάχην, ἡϋζωνον παράκοιτιν

Ἔκτορος, ἣν τέ οἱ αὐτῷ ἀριστῆες Παναχαιῶν

δῶκαν ἔχειν ἐπίηρον ἀμειβόμενοι γέρας ἀνδρί·

αὐτόν τ' Ἀγχίσαιο κλυτὸν γόνον ἵπποδάμοιο

5

Αἰνείαν ἐν νηυσὶν ἐβήσατο ποντοπόροισιν

ἐκ πάντων Δαναῶν ἀγέμεν γέρας ἔξοχον ἄλλων.

2 αὐτοὶ Wilamowitz

(p.220) Tzetzes quotes all eleven lines; the last six (F 30) are also quoted by sch. Eur. *Andr.* 14, and there ascribed to Simias' *Gorgon* (fr. 6 Powell). But the verses are archaic in style, nothing like Simias, and the attribution must be mistaken.⁶⁹ Presumably a quotation from Simias has fallen out. It is clear, though, that the lines do not continue the five that precede them in Tzetzes. There are two excerpts from the *Little Iliad*, the first telling how Neoptolemos took Andromache to the ships, the second how at the

subsequent division of booty both she and Aeneas were awarded to him. The second must have stood in the part of the poem corresponding to *Τρωιάδες* in Aristotle's list of tragedies.

F 29 looks as if it may come from a passage detailing what a series of Achaean leaders did when the fighting was concluded. If this very perfunctory piece of narrative was typical of the *Little Iliad*, it helps us to understand how so much material was covered in four books.

F 30 gives an idiosyncratic account of what happened to Aeneas. The idea of such a hero being taken away as a prisoner of war is very un-epic (Schmidt 47). In the *Iliou Persis* (arg. 1d) he withdrew to Ida before the sack; this connects with the tradition of his Dardanian dynasty enduring in the Troad (*Il.* 20. 302–8, *Hymn. Aphr.* 196f.). But that seems not to have been a fact to be reckoned with from our poet's viewpoint.⁷⁰ From at least the sixth century there were stories that Aeneas migrated westwards into Europe and founded new cities.⁷¹ The regions with which he is associated include Thrace and Macedonia; his name seems related to Thracian toponyms such as Ainos and Aineia, and he was certainly linked with them a posteriori.⁷² According to the *Nostoi* (arg. 4) Neoptolemos, making (p.221) his way home overland, passed through Thrace, meeting Odysseus at Maroneia, and continued to the land of the Molossians, where he became king. There is no sign of his having had Aeneas with him on that journey; in Apollod. epit. 6. 12 he is accompanied by Helenos. But it may be significant that according to Hellanicus (fr. 84 Fowler) Aeneas somehow reached the Molossians (who were presumably under Neoptolemos' dominion) and went from there to Italy with Odysseus. See further D. Canavero, 'Enea e Andromaca in Epiro', *Acme* 55 (2002), 151–64, esp. 156–64.

Notes on the language of the two fragments:

29.

1. Ἀχιλλῆος μεγαθύμου φαίδιμος υἱός = *Od.* 3. 189 (*Nostoi* material). The formula must be of recent creation, since Neoptolemos was a new character, though it is built from traditional elements.
2. κάταγεν κοίλας ἐπὶ νῆας ≈ *Il.* 5. 26, 21. 32.
3. ≈ *Il.* 6. 467 ἄψ δ' ὁ πᾶϊς πρὸς κόλπον ἐϋζώνοιο τιθήνης.
4. ≈ *Il.* 1. 591 ῥῖψε ποδὸς τεταγὼν ἀπὸ βήλου, 24. 735 (of Astyanax) ῥίψει χειρὸς ἐλὼν ἀπὸ πύργου. Artists from the late eighth century onward often show a warrior holding a child up by the leg or ankle, evidently following the epic phrase: LIMC Astyanax (I) 26–7; Fittschen 184; Ahlberg-Cornell 81f., 328 fig. 124.
5. = *Il.* 5. 83, al.

30.

1. ἐκ δ' ἔλετ : cf. *Il.* 9. 272. On the neologism ἡϋζωνον see intro. 7.
2. ἦν τε: an irregular use of τε where the relative has specific reference. Cf. C. J. Ruijgh, *Autour de "te épique"* (Amsterdam 1971), 916, 'l'emploi de ὅς τε n'est pas régulier: il s'agit d'un fait temporaire'.

ἀριστῆες Παναχαιῶν: *Il.* 10. 1, al.

3. ἐπίηρον: on this form see again intro. 7.

4. Ἀγχίσαιο κλυτὸν γόνον ἵπποδάμοιο is untraditional; on the prolixity of the combination, typical for the Cycle, cf. Curti 38. The κλ- of κλυτός fails to make position, as it always does in Homer (though in the *Odyssey* short syllables necessarily stand before κληδόνη, Κλυταιμήστρη). γόνος is restricted in the *Iliad* to sons of deities, though the *Odyssey* is freer in this respect. ἵπποδάμος is not otherwise used of Anchises.

5. ἐν νηυσὶν ... ποντοπόροισιν: *Il.* 13. 628, al.; *Od.* 15. 284 ἄν δὲ ... νηὸς ἐβήσετο ποντοπόροιο. There is no need to consider (p.222) E.

Schwartz's conjecture of ἐμήσατο for ἐβήσατο (*Scholia in Euripidem*, ii. 251).

6. ἐκ πάντων Δαναῶν ≈ *Il.* 1. 90, 16. 85.

ἔξοχον ἄλλων: *Il.* 6. 194, al.

F 31: see above after F 4.

F 32: see above before F 3.

It is likely enough that the *Little Iliad* included other celebrated episodes connected with the sack of Troy, such as the sparing of the Antenorids (cf. F 22) and the Locrian Ajax's assault on Cassandra in Athena's shrine. The sacrifice of Polyxena is perhaps more doubtful in view of the fact that Aristotle does not include a Polyxena in his list of potential *Little Iliad* tragedies, despite Sophocles' having written a tragedy on that theme.

If the poem ended with the Achaeans sailing away, we should expect it to have contained some anticipatory allusion to the troubles that lay ahead for certain of the heroes.

Notes:

(¹) For the use of μέγας and μικρός in titles see further my *Hesiod. Works and Days* (Oxford 1978), 22 n. 4.

(²) West (1999), 365=(2011b), 410, cf. (2001), 6f.

(³) G. F. Else, *Aristotle's Poetics: The Argument* (Cambridge, Mass. 1957), 588–93. F. Ritter in 1839 had condemned everything from τοιγαροῦν on. Hermann in 1802 had diagnosed πλέον and καὶ Σίνων καὶ Τρωιάδες as later additions by Aristotle to his own text; similarly D. de Montmollin, *La Poétique d'Aristote: texte primitif et additions ultérieures* (Neuchâtel 1951), 91–3.

(⁴) So J. Vahlen, *Sitzungsberichte der Kaiserlichen Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien* 56 (1867), 283f.=*Beiträge zu Aristoteles Poetik* (Leipzig 1914), 163.

(⁵) For this restoration, rather than κα[τὰ Λέσχην Πυρραῖον, see VM 199.

(⁶) Cf. Welcker, ii. 270, 'Doch ist auch Neoptolemos ... offenbar nicht der Held der

Kleinen Ilias; sondern es scheint daß, wie von Achilleus in der Ilias Alles, so von ihm nichts abhängt außer dem was er unmittelbar thut. Desto mehr ist durch das Ganze die List und die aufopfernde rastlose Thätigkeit des Odysseus verflochten, er zeigt sich als die Seele des Kriegs, als der Günstling der Dichtung.'

(⁷) Cf. Welcker, ii. 272–6; 272, 'Aber Odysseus ist nicht bloß für die Handlung oder den Zusammenhang des Ganzen die Hauptperson, sondern es verräth sich auch hier und da in der Behandlung der Geschichte ein heitrer, dem komischen verwandter Sinn.'

(⁸) H. Weil. *RPh* 11 (1887), 3, 'un tel début ne se comprendrait guère, si le sort définitif d'Ilion n'eût pas fait partie du plan du poème'.

(⁹) I am to some extent anticipated by Nitzsch (1831), 50: 'Ipsam exordium, si quis conjecturae locus est, illis duobus quos legimus: Ἰλῖον αἰδω-θεράποντες Ἄρηος, subjunctum habuit recensum eorum, qui tum jam ceciderant Graecorum fortissimi, similem fortasse Nestoris sermoni Odys. γ 109. et recentiorum epicorum locis, qui illum imitati esse putantur, Quinti et Tryphiodori (v. 17, et Wernickium p. 60 sq.).... Aut simplicius Lesches omnino ortam inter illos litem in quandam similitudinem exordii Iliadis vertit.'

(¹⁰) Pind. *Nem.* 8. 26; Soph. *Aj.* 445–9, 1135f., 1243; Antisth. *Ajax* 1, *Od.* 1; red-figure vases (Gantz 633). Cf. Apollod. epit. 5. 6 κρινάντων τῶν Τρώων, ὡς δέ τινες, τῶν συμμάχων.

(¹¹) Cf. *Od.* 5. 309f. It is the other way round in sch. *Od.* 5. 310, *Ov. Met.* 13. 282–5, and the epic fragment P. Oxy. 2510=Bernabé's *Il. Parv.* fr. dub. 32, which cannot therefore, as Lobel saw, be from either the *Aethiopis* or the *Little Iliad*; B. Bravo's attempt in *QUCC* 67 (2001), 49–114, to reconcile the text with the standard version of the episode is tendentious. It would in any case be highly unlikely that a fourth-century papyrus should preserve Cyclic epic.

(¹²) The sentence in angle brackets is supplied from Zenob. vulg. 1. 43, who was using the full Apollodorus (Wagner 214). Sophocles (*Aj.* 97–100, 238–44, 302–4) evidently reflects the account in the Cyclic poem.

(¹³) F. A. Wolf, *Prolegomena in Homerum* (Halle 1795), cap. xi n. 7, 'aliquando Iliadem parvam significari putabam'. B. Marzullo, *Maia* 6 (1953), 74, suggested ἐν τῇ (Μικρᾷ) Ἰλιάδι or ἐν τῇ Ἰλιάδι (τῇ Μικρᾷ λεγομένη). There are similar expressions in Sappho 44. 12, φάμα δ' ἦλθε κατὰ στράτον; Hdt. 9. 100. 1 φήμη τε ἐσέπτατο ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον πᾶν ... ἡ δὲ φήμη διῆλθέ σφι ὧδε, ὡς....

(¹⁴) The idea that the denial of cremation was a dishonour for Ajax made less sense at Athens, where inhumation was normal, and so Sophocles modified it into a complete denial of burial (*Aj.* 1047ff.), a sentence which Agamemnon is later persuaded to repeal. I believe that this was the source of the motif of Polyneikes' denied burial in the *Antigone*.

(¹⁵) Cf. E. Rohde, *Psyche* (9th German edn., Tübingen 1925), i. 217 n. 5 (= Eng. (London–

New York 1925), 187 n. 33); Frazer ii. 219–21; J. N. Bremmer, *The Early Greek Concept of the Soul* (Princeton 1983), 96.

(¹⁶) F. W. Schneidewin, *Phil.* 4 (1849), 647: ‘Ich denke, nach Odysseus siege im waffengericht und der traurigen entleibung des Aias entstand niedergeschlagenheit und zwist im heere: man verzweifelte, Troja noch erobern zu können. Wie immer in solchen nöthen wird Kalchas befragt: er enthüllt, Helenos kenne die schick-salssprüche, an denen Trojas fall hänge. Odysseus, jetzt schuld an der noth, erbieht sich, Helenos einzufangen.’

(¹⁷) Cf. Achilles’ ambush of Troilos (*Cypria* arg. 11 e/F 25*) and his nocturnal capture of Lykaon (*Il.* 21. 36f.). According to Apollod. epit. 5. 9 Helenos had left Troy in dudgeon because the Trojans had given Helen to Deiphobos. But that happened only after Philoctetes had come and killed Paris; it had been Calchas who had revealed that Troy could only be taken with the bow of Heracles, which had prompted the fetching of Philoctetes (5. 8). This is incompatible with the sequence of events in the *Little Iliad*, where it was Helenos who made the prophecy (below, arg. 2b).

(¹⁸) Servius on *Aen.* 2. 166 has Helenos caught at Arisbe, but Odysseus can hardly have gone as far as that in a night excursion.

(¹⁹) Apollodorus says that Odysseus and Diomedes both went to Lemnos, and Welcker ii. 238 suggested that ‘with Odysseus’ had fallen out of Proclus’ text. But Apollodorus is probably adapting his narrative to the version of Euripides (*TrGF* v. 829 test. ivc, cf. *Soph. Phil.* 570, 592; *Hyg. Fab.* 102; *Wagner* 217). Pindar (*Pyth.* 1. 52) already speaks of plural heroes going to fetch Philoctetes.

(²⁰) In *Od.* 11. 508–9 too it is Odysseus who brings him. In Apollodorus Phoenix is sent to Skyros with Odysseus: that reflects Sophocles’ version (*Phil.* 344; *Skyrioi* fr. 557?; already on a vase of c.470, Gantz 640). If *Epic. adesp.* 17 W. ἔπλεον εἰς Σκῦρον Δολοπηΐδα comes from the *Little Iliad* and refers to the fetching of Neoptolemos, and if the verb is 3 pl. not 1 sg., the subject could be simply Odysseus and his rowers.

(²¹) F. W. Schneidewin, *Phil.* 4 (1849), 648, ‘Allein das gleichzeitige aussenden beider so oft zu gemeinsamer tat gesellten helden konnte die poesie natürlich nur nach einander erzählen’. Schneidewin did not take into account the greater distance of Skyros, which made it natural that Odysseus would not return from his mission until a day or two after Diomedes had brought Philoctetes.

(²²) Cf. *Pind.* Ol. 8. 31–46 with sch. 41a, 44b–d, 53e, 59, 60a–c; *Philostr. Jun. Imag.* 2 p. 394. 2 Kayser λογίου δὲ ἐς τοὺς Ἑλληνας ἐμπεσόντος ὡς οὐκ ἄλλωι τωι ἀλωτὸς ἔσοιτο ἢ Τροία πλὴν τοῖς Αἰακίδαις, στέλλεται ὁ Φοῖνιξ ἐς τὴν Σκῦρον ἀνάξων τὸν παῖδα; *Serv. Aen.* 2. 13. There may be a hint of an oracle about the vulnerable section of the wall in *Il.* 6. 438.

(²³) According to a few authors Peleus too took part in the enterprise: *Pind.* fr. 172, *Eur. Andr.* 797, *Q.S.* 1. 503–5.

(²⁴) Cf. Soph. *Phil.* 1439f. τὸ δεύτερον γὰρ τοῖς ἐμοῖς αὐτὴν χρεών | τόξοις ἀλῶναι.

(²⁵) If the poet agreed with the author of the Hesiodic *Catalogue* that Patroklos was also a grandson of Aiakos, he might have named him as well.

(²⁶) West (2011*a*), 359.

(²⁷) West (2007), 429.

(²⁸) In Apollodorus' account Machaon has been killed by Penthesileia, and Philoctetes is healed by Podaleirios; the first datum probably comes from the *Aethiopis* (arg. 1*b* n.), and the second is a corollary. In the *Little Iliad* Machaon is to be killed by Eurypylos (F 7).

(²⁹) Tzetzes follows Dictys' account in *Posthomeric* 585–95 and in his commentary on Lyc. 64 and 911. Lycophron himself (914f.) says, no doubt on ancient authority, that Philoctetes' arrow was guided by Athena.

(³⁰) For the motif of marking out the area for the duel cf. *Il.* 3. 315; West (2007), 487.

(³¹) Cf. C. Segal, *The Theme of the Mutilation of the Corpse in the Iliad* (*Mnem.* Suppl. 17, Leiden 1971).

(³²) P. Rylands 22. 9 has been supplemented Ἀ[χιλλεὺς δὲ αὐτῷ φαντάζε]ται παρὰ τῷ [τύμβῳ], but this is very speculative. In Dictys 4. 21 Neoptolemos goes with the Myrmidons to the tomb to lament, makes a hair-offering, and spends the night there.

(³³) Anderson 60 n. 21 wrongly says that this is in Proclus.

(³⁴) Nireus: Hyg. *Fab.* 113, Dictys 4. 17, Q.S. 6. 372. Peneleos: Dictys 4. 17, Paus. 9. 5. 15, Q.S. 7. 104. In Quintus Machaon is killed while trying to avenge Nireus, and Müller 111 conjectured that this was so in the *Little Iliad*.

(³⁵) *δουράτεος*, used of the Horse also by Triphiodoros and Quintus, may have been the word used in the *Little Iliad* and *Iliou Persis*. Outside hexameter verse it is regularly *δούρειος* or (rarely) *δούριος*. Cf. Wackernagel (1916), 171; N. Dunbar on Ar. Av. 1128.

(³⁶) Further passages in Robert (1920–6, 1227 n. 1; M. Campbell, *A Commentary on Quintus Smyrnaeus Posthomeric* XII (Leiden 1981), 37.

(³⁷) In Q.S. 12. 106–16 Athena appears to Epeios in a dream, bids him build the Horse, and promises to assist him in his labour. He wakes 'chortling in his heart' and devotes himself single-mindedly to the task.

(³⁸) *LIMC* Equus Troianus 22–4; Fittschen 182f.; Ahlberg-Cornell 77f., 325f. figs. 116–18.

(³⁹) The felling of timber on Ida is also referred to by Petr. *Sat.* 89. 4, Stat. *Silv.* 1. 1. 10, Triph. 59f.

(⁴⁰) *δέκτης* occurs in the sense of ‘beggar’ in a Christian funerary poem of the fifth century *ce*, *SEG* 39. 449. 36; the author no doubt derived it from the *Odyssey* passage.

(⁴¹) He must have been so portrayed in the lost play *Πτωχεία* implied by the Aristotelian list of *Little Iliad* tragedies. So also [Eur.] *Rhes*. 503, 715; Apollod. epit. 5. 13; sch. Eur. *Hec*. 240.

(⁴²) [Eur.] *Rhes*. 504f., 717–19; Polyæn. 1 proem. 9; sch. Lyc. 785. The further details of Odysseus’ appearance given in Eur. *Hec*. 240f. and [Eur.] *Rhes*. 711 and 716 may be of tragic origin.

(⁴³) Cf. Epicharm. 97. 14–16; Eur. *Hec*. 239; [Eur.] *Rhes*. 505; sch. Lyc. 780; Plaut. *Bacch*. 951.

(⁴⁴) Hipp. *Ref*. 6. 19. 1 καὶ γὰρ τὸν δούρειον ἵππον ἀλληγορεῖ, καὶ τὴν Ἑλένην ἅμα τῇ λαμπάδι; Epiphan. *Panarion* i. 241 Ἡ δὲ αὕτη γὰρ ἐστὶν ἡ Ἑννοία ἡ παρὰ Ὀμήρῳ Ἑλένη καλουμένη. καὶ τούτου ἕνεκεν ἀναγκάζεται αὐτὴν διαγράφειν Ὀμηρος ἐπὶ πύργου ἐστηκέναι καὶ διὰ λαμπάδος ὑποφαίνειν τοῖς Ἑλλησι τὴν κατὰ τῶν Φρυγῶν ἐπιβουλήν. Cf. also Hyg. *Fab*. 249.

(⁴⁵) Schneidewin’s argument, published in an out-of-the-way place, was transcribed by G. Knaack, *Rh. Mus.* 48 (1893), 632–4. Cf. O. Immisch, *Rh. Mus.* 52 (1897), 127–9, who favoured Stesichorus as the source; Gerlaud 33f., who refers also to a Pompeian fresco. Triphiodorus 510–21 combines both versions: he has Sinon signalling from Sigeion, Helen from her chamber in Troy.

(⁴⁶) Soph. fr. 367 στενὴν δ’ ἔδυμεν ψαλίδα κούκ ἀβόρβορον, ‘we entered a narrow vault not free from mire’; sch. Ar. *Vesp*. 351; Robert (1920–6, 1233 n. 2).

(⁴⁷) See Hainsworth’s note on *Il*. 10. 243.

(⁴⁸) So Conon (*FGrHist* 26 F 1. 34. 2), Apollod. epit. 5. 10, P. Rylands 22 (cf. above on arg. 2b), and Serv. *Aen*. 2. 166. In Apollodorus Helenos also tells the Achaeans that they must obtain the bones of Pelops. It is then nonchalantly stated that they did so, although according to other authors the bones were located in Elis (Lyc. 54 with sch., Paus. 5. 13. 4). This makes little sense. However, there was another version according to which the Palladion itself was made from Pelops’ bones (Dionysius of Samos *FGrHist* 15 F 3). The only conceivable point of this is to combine the acquisition of the bones with that of the Palladion. One may surmise that there was some account according to which the Achaeans were told they needed to get the bones of Pelops, and they were in understandable perplexity until it was somehow revealed that this meant, not a journey to Elis, but stealing the Palladion from Troy. It remains obscure why the bones of Pelops should come into the story at all.

(⁴⁹) Antisthenes (*Od*. 3) just says it was *κεχρημένον*. He represents the Palladion as having been originally stolen from Greece by Paris.

⁽⁵⁰⁾ *Revue Belge de philologie et d'histoire* 5 (1926), 312–22; id. (1928), 355f. Wagner 230 (and *NJb.* 145 (1892), 251 n. 19) had decided that the numeral must be corrupt but did not venture an emendation.

⁽⁵¹⁾ Noted by Nitzsch (1831), 56f.

⁽⁵²⁾ Noted by Welcker ii. 267f.

⁽⁵³⁾ Didymus, moreover, says that the lines were absent from most copies. Cf. F. Pontani, *Scholia Graeca in Odysseam* ii (Rome 2010), 265f. with bibliography.

⁽⁵⁴⁾ Cf. Bethe 260 n. 18. Wüllner 90 was tempted to suggest ('paene dixerim') that 285–9 were adapted from the *Iliou Persis*. It would be possible that 285–8, with *δέ μιν* in place of *δέ σέ γ'*, stood in one of the Cyclic epics.

⁽⁵⁵⁾ Welcker ii. 244f. argues that the humorous episode suits the tone of the *Little Iliad* rather than the *Iliou Persis*. Triph. 178 gives Antiklos the patronymic Ortygides, and when he endangers the mission Odysseus' smothering hand stifles him to death (cf. *Ov. Ibis* 567), so that he has to be left entombed in the Horse (178f., 478–86).

⁽⁵⁶⁾ Cf. Severyns (1928), 336, 'A quel auteur cyclique attribuer cette *φωνῶν μίμησις*, sinon à celui qui imagina de montrer des jeunes filles troyennes bavardant, près des murailles de la ville, sur les mérites de deux chefs achéens, de peindre un Ajax tuant, en sa folie, des troupeaux de moutons, de présenter un Ménélas, jaloux, cherchant la maison de Déiphobe? A qui, sinon à Leschès, l'auteur de la *Petite Iliade*?' The story appears also in *Apollod. epit.* 5. 19 and *Triph.* 454–97, but their only source is probably the *Odyssey*.

⁽⁵⁷⁾ Cf. *Virg. Aen.* 2. 21 *est in conspectu Tenedos*.

⁽⁵⁸⁾ *Plaut. Bacch.* 938, *Apollod. epit.* 5. 19, *Triph.* 510. A fire signal there might also have served as a guide to the ships as they landed in the dark (Gantz 650).

⁽⁵⁹⁾ For the seventeen-day period they compare *Od.* 5. 278, 7. 267, 24. 63.

⁽⁶⁰⁾ Tzetzes in *Lyc.* 344 and *Posthom.* 720f. links the verse with Simon's raising his torch signal, but this seems to be his own combination, not based on any ancient authority. If the signal had not been sent till midnight, the Achaeans would not have reached Troy much before dawn.

⁽⁶¹⁾ Or so it is usually assumed, and the assumption is in line with Pausanias' wilful independence in matters of literary history. O. Immisch, *Rh. Mus.* 48 (1893), 290–8, argued unconvincingly that Lescheos was the correct and original form of the name. W. Schmid, *ibid.* 626–8, tacitly refuting Immisch, nevertheless thought that Pausanias was too well educated to misconstrue an Ionic *-εω* genitive and that some earlier writer must have created the nominative in *-εως*. O. Regenbogen, *RE Supp.* viii. 1056, does not believe in a mistake by Pausanias, 'eher schon an eine pseudo-ionische Preziosität, so wie

man das Ionische damals auffaßte, wofür die medizinische Schrift des Aretaios einen Hinweis geben kann'. On this subject see J. L. Lightfoot, *Lucian On the Syrian Goddess* (Oxford 2003), 139–42. Pausanias, however, does not affect Ionic.

(⁶²) Nitzsch (1831), 47f.; Welcker i. 202f.

(⁶³) Nitzsch (1831), 48; (1852), 50. Cf. T. Tyrwhitt, *Aristotelis de Poetica liber* (Oxford 1792), 189; Heyne 313; Welcker i. 201; Rzach 2405. 51, 2421. 20; Kullmann 219 n. 1.

(⁶⁴) See West (2001), 185f.

(⁶⁵) Similarly Dionysios Kyklographos *FGrHist* 15 F 5, where Demophon asks the Atreidai and Menelaos sends Talthybios to ask Helen. In Polygnotos' painting a man labelled as Eurybates was sitting near Helen (10. 25. 4), and Pausanias guessed that this was Eurybates the herald of Odysseus.

(⁶⁶) Aristarchus, typically, took the latter passage to be the origin of the story: sch. 735a ὅτι ἐντεῦθεν κινηθέντες οἱ μεθ' Ὀμηρον ποιηταὶ ῥιπτόμενον κατὰ τοῦ τείχους ὑπὸ τῶν Ἑλλήνων εἰσάγουσι τὸν Ἀστυάνακτα.

(⁶⁷) The motif of dragging an old man to the threshold of his house reappears in a 'folk tale' discussed by Hansen 117–19. But I cannot see its relevance here.

(⁶⁸) *LIMC* Helene 225; Fittschen 185; Ahlberg-Cornell 78–80, 327 fig. 120.

(⁶⁹) H. Fränkel, *De Simia Rhodio* (Diss. Göttingen 1915), 37–40; Debiasi 180–5. Full discussion and bibliography: M. Perale in Ettore Cingano (ed.), *Tra panellenismo e tradizioni locali. Generi poetici e storiografia* (Alessandria 2010), 497–518, who takes a different view.

(⁷⁰) Cf. Welcker ii. 266, 'Vermuthlich war die Herrschaft der Aeneaden in Dardania und selbst in der Sage nicht mehr von Bedeutung'; cf. 147 n. 83, 224. Gabriella Vanotti in Mele *et al.*, 130, suggests that Aeneas' removal from the region was designed to make space for Lesbian claims to it: 'la leggendaria partenza di Enea dalla Troade, unitamente alla morte violenta del figlio di Ettore, Astianatte, che lasciava la regione del tutto sguarnita di regnanti, contribuiva a fornire, nella prassi storica, ulteriori, forti giustificazioni alla successiva occupazione eolica, che poteva quindi proporsi come legittima e pacifica, visto che era destinata a realizzarsi in un'area rimasta deserta.'

(⁷¹) E. Wörner in Roscher i. 166f.; Robert (1920–6, 1516–26; Gantz 713–17.

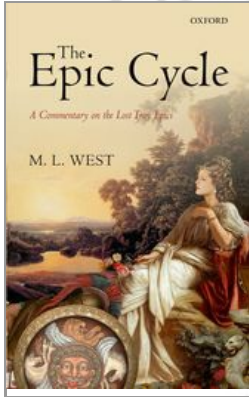
(⁷²) Welcker ii. 266f.



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Iliou Persis

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[F] Abstract and Keywords

This chapter presents a commentary on the poem *Iliou Persis*. It first discusses the poem's title; sources of information about the poem; the scope; the economy of the poem; characterization of the poem; and dating of the poem. It then reviews individual fragments and testimonia.

Keywords: Greek epic, epic poetry, epic poems, fragments, testimonia

Introduction

1. Title

The poem is cited as *Ίλίου πέρσις* (Proclus), *Ίλίου πόρθησις* (sch. Hom., F 2), *ή Πέρσις* (sch. Eur., F 3 and 6). *Ίλίου πέρσις* is also used by Pausanias when he cites from 'Lescheos' the corresponding portion of the *Little Iliad* (see on *Little Iliad* F 15–27), and

by Aristotle for one of the tragedies that he says could be made out of that epic (*Poet.* 1459b6). It was the title of a poem of Stesichorus too, and of a tragedy by Sophocles' son Iophon (*TrGF* 22 T 1a), while *Πέρσις* alone is given as a title of plays by Cleophon (77 T 1) and Nicomachus (127 T 1).

This word *πέρσις* is peculiar. Aristotle, *Poet.* 1456a16, writes of tragedians ὅσοι πέρσιν Ἰλίου ὄλην ἐποίησαν καὶ μὴ κατὰ μέρος ὥσπερ Εὐριπίδης, as if it were a regular *nomen actionis* from *πέρθω*, and the variant title *Ἰλίου πόρθησις* implies the same understanding. But whereas *πόρθησις* is found in use as a common noun, *πέρσις* is not; and what is more remarkable is that the genitive and dative of (Ἰλίου) *πέρσις* are not *πέρσεως*, *πέρσει*, but *περσίδος*, *περσίδι*, and when the Cyclic poem or Stesichorus is being cited the accusative is *περσίδα*.¹ (These forms are often written proparoxytone.) Presumably the word was coined in the first place on the pattern of *nomina actionis* in -σις, but then the analogy of epic titles in -ίς (*Θηβαίς*, *Ἀλκμεωνίς*, *Αἰθιοπίς*, *Φορωνίς*, *Δαναΐς*, etc.) asserted itself; cf. Müller 117.

2. Attestation

For attributed sources we are limited to the summary of Proclus, three fragments where the poem is cited by title, and two where Arktinos is given as the authority. But the *Iliou Persis* appears to be a **(p.224)** main source for Apollod. epit. 5. 16–24, as its close relationship to Proclus indicates.

3. Scope

The theme of the poem was the sack of Troy. The stratagem of the Wooden Horse was integral to the story of the sack, and the poem had to begin, if not with the building of the Horse, with the Trojans' discovery of it. (Cf. *Prolegomena* §3.) Demodokos, whose song in *Od.* 8. 499–520 has a similar scope to the *Iliou Persis*, began

ἔνθεν ἐλὼν, ὥς οἱ μὲν εὖσσέλμων ἐπὶ νηῶν
βάντες ἀπέπλειον, πῦρ ἐν κλισίησι βαλόντες,
Ἀργεῖοι, τοῖ δ' ἦδη ἀγακλυτὸν ἀμφ' Ὀδυσῆα
εἶατ' ἐνὶ Τρώων ἀγορῇ κεκαλυμμένοι ἵππῳι·
αὐτοὶ γάρ μιν Τρῶες ἐς ἀκρόπολιν ἐρύσαντο.

The Horse is already on the citadel, and the Trojans then debate whether to destroy it or leave it as a placatory offering to the gods. Proclus' summary of the *Iliou Persis* begins with this debate. It continues with the story of the sack and ends with the burning of the city, the division of booty, and the sacrifice of Polyxena.

The poet presupposes certain developments that had occurred since the death of Achilles and that were related in the *Little Iliad*: the death of Paris and Helen's marriage to Deiphobos (whom Menelaos kills in her presence, arg. 2d); Neoptolemos' arrival at Troy

(arg. 2c, 4a).

4. Economy of the poem

The action occupied only two days, corresponding to days 11 and 12 of the *Little Iliad* as reconstructed above. They cannot be neatly aligned with the two books into which the poem was divided, as most of the important action took place during the night. The bookdivision probably fell in the night but before the slaughter began, perhaps at the point where the heroes emerged from the Horse, or where the fleet returned from Tenedos.

5. Characterization of the poem

The *Iliou Persis* contained some dramatic scenes of action and also of debate. Besides the Trojans' debate over how to treat the Wooden (p.225) Horse, in which Laokoon perhaps underlined his opinions by driving his spear into its flank, there was a discussion among the Achaeans about the Locrian Ajax's act of sacrilege, resulting in a move to stone him. It is more doubtful whether there was another about whether to spare Astyanax; see below on F 3.

There are no signs of the romantic or light-hearted character that we detected in the *Little Iliad*. But there were elements of the grotesque in the description of the Horse and in the prodigy of the serpents that appeared suddenly and killed Laokoon and one of his sons.

6. Dating

Nineteenth-century scholars were in general agreement that the *Iliou Persis* was an older poem than the *Little Iliad*. They saw it as an austere epic in the traditional manner, not yet affected by the changes of taste that the *Little Iliad* seemed to reflect. They were influenced also by Eusebius' dating of Arktinos a full century before Lesches (Ol. 1 or 5 as against Ol. 30). Phaenias (fr. 33 Wehrli; *FGrHist* 1012 F 10) spoke of Lesches' having successfully competed against Arktinos, but it was possible to interpret the statement as referring to emulation of a dead predecessor. Clearly Phaenias did not think Lesches was earlier than Arktinos, but that is all we can infer.

Timpanaro's discovery of F 1 in 1957 dented the poem's image of Homeric seriousness. However, there remain some considerations that may favour its priority over the *Little Iliad*.

- (i) It is 'pre-Cyclic', in the sense that it is essentially an *Einzellied*, describing a single, integrated piece of action; it is not designed, like the *Little Iliad*, to contribute towards a continuous narrative of the war by taking up the story where an existing epic has left it and by stringing together a series of episodes without organic unity. The Cyclic approach was, we may assume, a new development that appeared some time after the *Iliad*, the preceding period having been characterized by *Einzellieder*. It does not follow, of course, that all *Einzellieder* were older than all Cyclic-type epics.

- (ii) In the *Iliou Persis* the infiltrator Sinon raised the vital firesignal for the Achaeans to return from Tenedos. In the *Little Iliad* his role is reduced to that of the con-man who convinced the Trojans to accept the Horse (also vital, but it does not depend on the presence (p.226) of such an agent), while the signal was raised by Helen. This, although perhaps implicit in the *Odyssey* (see on *Little Iliad* arg. 4c), is less straightforward, as it meant that Helen had to be apprised beforehand of the Achaeans' plan, and it may be judged the secondary version.
- (iii) In the *Iliou Persis* Neoptolemos killed Priam at the very altar of Zeus Herkeios; in the *Little Iliad* (F 25) he dragged him from the altar to the door and killed him there. The latter version, being clearly designed to mitigate the impiety of the former, is logically secondary. The motif of dragging the victim from the altar might have been borrowed from the episode of Ajax and Cassandra: in the *Iliou Persis* he dragged her from the sanctuary of Athena but did not succeed in detaching her from the goddess's protection, as she clung fast to the image.
- (iv) In the *Iliou Persis* Aeneas escaped to the Dardanian uplands, implying the establishment there of the Aenead dynasty whose existence is foretold in the *Iliad* and *Hymn to Aphrodite*. In the *Little Iliad* he was taken to Thessaly by Neoptolemos, which points towards the later legends of his new foundations in the West, while the Dardanian dynasty is now left out of account. Cf. on *Little Iliad* F 30.

Two points might argue in the opposite sense.

- (i) In the *Little Iliad* (F 29) Neoptolemos, finding Andromache together with a nurse who was cradling Astyanax, seized the child, threw him down from the city wall, and took Andromache back to the ships. In the *Iliou Persis* it was Odysseus who killed Astyanax. We do not know the exact circumstances, but Andromache is still assigned to Neoptolemos when the women are allocated. So the blame for the brutal murder of the infant is transferred from the son of Achilles to the coldly calculating Odysseus. In this case it is the *Little Iliad* that had what looks like the prior version.
- (ii) In the *Little Iliad* there was just one Palladion at Troy, which Odysseus and Diomedes stole, whereas in the *Iliou Persis* there were two: the stolen one was a dummy, and the true one remained hidden in the citadel. Again the *Iliou Persis* had the secondary version.

The balance of probability is for the *Iliou Persis*' having been the earlier of the two poems. But its inclusion of the recovery of Aithra by the sons of Theseus argues against its being much earlier than 600; see *Little Iliad*, intro. 7. It appears not to have achieved wide currency (p.227) or canonic status by the time the *Little Iliad* was composed, for if it had, the poet of the latter might have contented himself with bridging the gap between the *Aethiopis* and *Iliou Persis* without composing a new account of the sack.

The Fragments

The Incipit

Hor. *Ars poetica* 136f.

nec sic incipies ut scriptor cyclicus olim:

‘Fortunam Priami cantabo et nobile bellum.’

A scholiast on the passage (ii. 600 Hauthal) identifies the *scriptor cyclicus* as Antimachus (test. 26^C Matthews), a statement rightly rejected by editors. The verse quoted must surely render the first line of an actual Cyclic poem. But it does not correspond to the opening of the *Little Iliad*, F 1 Ἴλιον ἀείδω καὶ Δαρδανίην εὐπωλον, having nothing in common with it except ‘I (will) sing’.² Henrichsen (76) thought it might be quoted from Naevius’ *Cypria Ilias*. Bergk (28 n. 2) more convincingly suggested that Horace had the *Iliou Persis* in view. The Greek may have been something like ἀείδω Πριάμοιο τύχας πόλεμόν τ’ ἀρίσημον, developed as usual by a relative clause, ‘the famous war which ...’.³

The Horse

F 1 Sch. Monac. on Virg. *Aen.* 2. 15, ‘instar montis equum’

Arctinus dicit fuisse in longitudine pedes C et in latitudine pedes L; cuius caudam et genua mobilia fuisse tradidit.

Servius auctus on Virg. *Aen.* 2. 150, ‘immanis equi’ Hunc tamen equum quidam longum centum uiginti {pedes}, latum triginta fuisse tradunt, cuius cauda genua oculi mouerentur.

(p.228) The narrative began with the Trojans finding the Wooden Horse and debating what to do with it.⁴ The poet evidently saw fit to give a description of it at the outset.

The two Virgil commentators give somewhat different measurements but presumably derive them from one source, in which Arctinos was cited as the authority. Whether it was 100×50 feet or 120×30, the size indicated is fantastic, even if the poet wanted the structure to contain fifty or a hundred men (see on *Little Iliad* F 12; Apollodorus’ ‘fifty’ perhaps derives from the *Iliou Persis*). The mobile eyes, knees, and tail can have had no practical purpose. These amusing details served only as additional testimony to Epeios’ wonderful craftsmanship.

Arg. 1a

τὼςτὰ περὶ τὸν ἵππον οἱ Τρῶες ὑπόπτως ἔχοντες περιστάντες βουλευόνται ὃ τι χρὴ ποιεῖν. καὶ τοῖς μὲν δοκεῖ κατακρημνίσαι αὐτόν, τοῖς δὲ καταφλέγειν, οἳ δὲ ἱερὸν αὐτὸν ἔφασαν δεῖν τῇ Ἀθηναίᾳ ἀνατεθῆναι· καὶ τέλος νικᾷ ἡ τοῦτων γνώμη.

It is not clear from the summary whether the debate takes place after the Horse has already been brought into the city, as in Demodokos’ song (above). It would happen more logically out on the plain where the Achaeans left the Horse, and only after making their decision would the Trojans undertake the laborious operation of moving it. That must have been the primary version, followed apparently by Stesichorus (S88 ii), by Virgil, and perhaps in the *Little Iliad* (see on its arg. 5b). Apollodorus, however, agrees

with Demodokos: epit. 5. 16, *ἡμέρας δὲ γενομένης ἔρημον οἱ Τρῶες τὸ τῶν Ἑλλήνων θεασάμενοι στράτευμα καὶ νομίσαντες αὐτοὺς πεφευγέναι, περιχαρέντες εἶλκον τὸν ἵππον καὶ παρὰ τοῖς Πριάμου βασιλείοις στήσαντες ἐβουλεύοντο τί χρὴ ποιεῖν*. This will not have been modelled on the *Odyssey* passage, and the *Iliou Persis* may have been the source. The transfer of the debate from its natural setting would have allowed the poet to omit an account of how the Horse was transported. But it causes a problem for the Laokoon scene, see below on arg. 1c.

(p.229) According to Apollodorus (epit. 5. 17) both Cassandra and the seer Laokoon gave warning that the Horse concealed an armed force. I have assumed on the strength of the Tabula Capitolina that Cassandra's warning came in the *Little Iliad*. It may have come in the *Iliou Persis* too (if it did, it was probably less explicit than Apollodorus implies); but it is very possible that the mythographer has put her in because of her prominence in other sources.

As for Laokoon, I have given reasons for not including him in the *Little Iliad* (at its arg. 5b). But we know that the portent in which he was attacked by sea-serpents appeared in the *Iliou Persis* (below, arg. 1c), so presumably he had been one of the major opponents of the Horse. In Virgil (*Aen.* 2. 40–56) he does not merely speak against its acceptance, he drives a spear into its flank, an act of violence against the sacred object with which his subsequent fate may be thought commensurate. The incident may go back to the *Iliou Persis*, as he must have done something distinctive there (Robert (1920–6), 1246f., 1249).

Proclus and Apollodorus say that the Trojans considered three alternative courses of action: pushing the Horse over a precipice,⁵ setting fire to it, or treating it as a holy offering. Demodokos also lists three choices (506–9), but he speaks of chopping through it instead of burning it:

τρίχᾳ δέ σφισιν ἥνδανε βουλή,
 ἥε διατμήξαι κοῖλον δόρυ νηλεῖ χαλκῶι,
 ἥ κατὰ πετράων βαλέειν ἐρύσαντας ἐπ' ἄκρης,
 ἥ' ἐάν μὲν γ' ἄγαλμα θεῶν θελκτήριον εἶναι.

Robert acutely suggests that this is a modification to take account of Laokoon's spear-thrust.⁶

Arg. 1b

τραπέντες δὲ εἰς εὐφροσύνην εὐωχοῦνται ὡς ἀπηλλαγμένοι τοῦ πολέμου.

Similarly Apollodorus (above), only with *ἐπὶ θυσίαν* in place of *εἰς εὐφροσύνην*; and Proclus uses similar phrasing in the *Little Iliad* **(p.230)** summary, *τῶν κακῶν ὑπολαβόντες ἀπηλλάχθαι ... εὐωχοῦνται ὡς νενικηκότες τοὺς Ἕλληνας*. There the festivity is located in the city after the Horse has been brought in. The presumption must

be the same for the *Iliou Persis*. As in the other poem, it will have involved feasting, music, and dancing; cf. on *Little Iliad* F 13.

Laokoon's Fate. The Flight of Aeneas

Arg. 1c

ἐν αὐτῷ δὲ τούτῳ δύο δράκοντες ἐπιφανέντες τὸν τε Λαοκόωντα καὶ τὸν ἕτερον τῶν παίδων διαφθείρουσιν.

Apollodorus (epit. 5. 18) gives extra details, with a divergence over the serpents' victims: Ἀπόλλων δὲ αὐτοῖς σημεῖον ἐπιπέμπει· δύο γὰρ δράκοντες διανηζάμενοι διὰ τῆς θαλάσσης ἐκ τῶν πλησίον νήσων τοὺς Λαοκόωντος υἱοὺς κατεσθίουσιν. As a protecting god of Troy, Apollo might have been expected to reinforce the seer's warnings, not undermine them. It may have been Sophocles in his *Laokoon* who brought Apollo into the story. According to Euphorion fr. 95 Lightfoot, Laokoon was a priest of Thymbraean Apollo and had offended the god in another matter. That complication can hardly have come into the epic narrative.⁷

The 'nearby islands' in Apollodorus are Tenedos and the islets to the north of it, the *Κάλυδναι νῆσοι*.⁸ Virgil, *Aen.* 2. 199–227, gives Tenedos itself as the source of the two monstrous serpents. He describes them swimming across, emerging onto the land, and making straight for Laokoon. (He is apparently under the illusion that the sea channel between Tenedos and the mainland is visible from the Trojan plain.) They devour his two sons, as in Apollodorus, and disappear into the shrine of Athena, under her statue, as if they belong to her.

Are Virgil and Apollodorus then following the *Iliou Persis*? But they diverge from it in saying that the serpents devoured Laokoon's (p.231) two sons, not him and one son.⁹ There is a further difficulty. In the *Iliou Persis* (and Apollodorus, but not Virgil) the Trojans appear to be inside the city, more than a mile from the shore. The picture of the serpents coming out of the sea and heading for Laokoon is much better suited to a version where they are all down at the Achaeans' burnt-out encampment, where the Horse was left. This must have been the original setting of the Laokoon scene. If the poet of the *Iliou Persis* had the Horse in the city from the start, he had to transfer the Laokoon scene there. Perhaps he eliminated the serpents' journey from the islands. Proclus just says that they 'appeared', he does not say where from. Virgil then is following a different source, and Apollodorus is contaminating.

Sophocles is reported to have given the serpents names (fr. 372), and the names appear in Nicander (*SH* 562. 11) and other sources as Porkis (or Porkes) and Chariboia.¹⁰ They fit nicely into the first half of a hexameter, as in Nicander 1c. Πόρκην καὶ Χαρίβοιαν, and Bernabé has conjectured that they appeared similarly in the *Iliou Persis*.¹¹ But it is hard to imagine how two serpents, never seen before, could have acquired names, or how anyone at Troy could have known what they were, or why names should have been bestowed on them subsequently.¹² The names probably originated in the peculiar version attested for Bacchylides (fr. 9), who *de serpentibus a Calydnis insulis uenientibus*

atque in homines conuersis dicit (into a man and a woman, presumably).¹³ We cannot consider this for the *Iliou Persis*.

What is behind the bizarre story of Laokoon, which gives the cue for Aeneas' departure from Troy? Hyg. *Fab.* 135 makes him a brother of Anchises, so Aeneas' uncle, while for sch. Lyc. 347 he is a son of Antenor. In either case he is linked with a family that survived the fall of Troy (Robert (1920–6), 1251). This may point to his having had some significance at New Ilion. Quintus 12. 480–97 relates that there was a marker (σῆμα) at the temple of Apollo where the serpents disappeared into the earth, and before it a cenotaph of Laokoon's sons. It may have been only a Hellenistic construction, but possibly (p.232) there was an archaic cult at Ilion involving sacred snakes and a tomb of two male children.¹⁴ It need have had no connection with Tenedos or the Kalydnai: the version of the myth in which the snakes swim over from there may be accounted for by the desire to make them symbols or harbingers of the Achaean conquerors who were about to return from that quarter. The version of the *Iliou Persis*, in which the victims are not the two sons but one son and the father, is presumably a modification designed to enable the surviving son to have descendants. It implies Laokoontids in New Ilion, probably a priestly family. Porkis and Chariboia, the human couple into whom the serpents mutated in Bacchylides (if we are right in attributing the names to his version), will also have had some role in the local cult myth, probably as ancestors of a surviving line.

Arg. 1d

ἐπὶ δὲ τῷ τέρατι δυσφορήσαντες οἱ περὶ τὸν Αἰνεΐαν ὑπεξῆλθον εἰς τὴν Ἰδην.

Aeneas and his followers leave before it is too late. The expression οἱ περὶ τὸν Αἰνεΐαν could mean his immediate family, or just Aeneas; but as Anderson (62 n. 1) remarks, 'in this instance, as used by an epitomizer who chooses words with economy and precision, there can be little doubt that the phrase denotes a group of followers'. This is supported by the fragment from Sophocles' *Laokoon* where someone reports that Aeneas is standing at the gates with his father on his back,

κύκλωι δὲ πᾶσαν οἰκετῶν παμπληθίαν·

συμπλάζεται δὲ πλῆθος οὐχ ὅσον δοκεῖς

οἱ τῆσδ' ἐρῶσι τῆς ἀποικίας Φρυγῶν (fr. 373. 3–5).

The lines may reflect an explicit reference in the epic to a sizeable entourage.

Aeneas thus escapes the slaughter and survives to establish his dynasty in the Dardanian uplands, the one anticipated in *Il.* 20. 306–8 and *Hymn. Aphr.* 196f. Demetrius of Scepsis identified his own city, which lay in the upper valley of the Scamander, as Aeneas' seat (Strabo 13. 1. 53). The noble family that claimed descent from Aeneas may still have been flourishing in the poet's time (Welcker ii. 224).

By the fifth century it was widely claimed that Aeneas had travelled much further afield to found a new city, even as far as Italy; see on (p.233) *Little Iliad* F 30. This may have been the presupposition in Sophocles' play, as the word ἀποικία rather suggests. But the arguments of Debiasi 146–50 that the Italian migration went back to the *Iliou Persis* are unconvincing.

F 2 (Machaon and Podaleirios): see *Aethiopis* F 5a.

Sinon. The Sack

Arg. 2a

καὶ Σίνων τοὺς πυρσοὺς ἀνίσχει τοῖς Ἀχαιοῖς, πρότερον εἰσεληλυθὼς προσποιήτορ.

For Sinon cf. on *Little Iliad* F 12 and 13. Proclus' phrasing suggests that Sinon raised his signal from the city, not from Sigeion, and that the manner in which he gained admission to Troy was explained in a digression. If the scene of action was set in the city from the beginning of the poem, it would have been difficult to deal with Sinon's arrival when it happened without interrupting the flow of the narrative. Once night fell and the Trojans settled down to sleep, he could go into action, and it could be explained then how he had got into Troy.

Arg. 2b

οἱ δὲ ἐκ Τενέδου προσπλεύσαντες, καὶ οἱ ἐκ τοῦ δουρείου ἵππου, ἐπιπίπτουσι τοῖς πολεμίοις.

Apollodorus is fuller, epit. 5. 20–1:

ὥς δὲ ἐνόμισαν κοιμᾶσθαι τοὺς πολεμίους, (the heroes in the Horse) ἀνοίξαντες σὺν τοῖς ὅπλοις ἐξήρισαν· καὶ πρῶτος μὲν Ἐχίων Πορθέως ἀφαλλόμενος ἀπέθανεν· οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ σειρᾷ ἐξάψαντες ἑαυτοὺς ἐπὶ τὰ τεῖχη παρεγένοντο, καὶ τὰς πύλας ἀνοίξαντες ὑπεδέξαντο τοὺς ἀπὸ Τενέδου καταπλεύσαντας. χωρήσαντες δὲ μεθ' ὅπλων εἰς τὴν πόλιν, εἰς τὰς οἰκίας ἐπερχόμενοι κοιμωμένους ἀνήρουν.

The death of the over-eager Echion (a man unknown to the *Iliad*) may well come from the *Iliou Persis*.¹⁵ For the rope that the others use to descend cf. Virg. *Aen.* 2. 262; Robert (1920–6), 1254 n. 4.

(p.234) Arg. 2c

καὶ πολλοὺς ἀνελόντες τὴν πόλιν κατὰ κράτος λαμβάνουσι. καὶ Νεοπτόλεμος μὲν ἀποκτείνει Πρίαμον ἐπὶ τὸν τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ ἑρκείου βωμὸν καταφυγόντα.

Apollodorus agrees almost verbatim, epit. 5. 21 καὶ Νεοπτόλεμος μὲν ἐπὶ τοῦ ἑρκείου Διὸς βωμοῦ καταφεύγοντα Πρίαμον ἀνείλεν. Most authors follow this account;¹⁶ the *Little Iliad* gave a slightly different one (F 25).

After this Apollodorus (Vatican epitome only) mentions two who escaped the slaughter:

the Antenorid Glaukos, who fled to his house and was recognized and saved by Odysseus and Menelaos, and Aeneas, who fled with Anchises on his back, and the Greeks let him go because of his piety (*sc.* towards his father). The Aeneas item cannot come either from the *Iliou Persis*, where Aeneas had left the city earlier, or from the *Little Iliad*, where he remained to become Neoptolemos' captive, but it has a close parallel in Xenophon, *Cyn.* 1. 15 Αἰνείας δὲ σώσας μὲν τοὺς πατρώιους καὶ μητρῷους θεούς, σώσας δὲ καὶ αὐτὸν τὸν πατέρα, δόξαν εὐσεβείας ἐξηνέγκατο, ὥστε καὶ οἱ πολέμοι μόνῳ ἐκείνῳ ὧν ἐκράτησαν ἐν Τροίᾳ ἔδοσαν μὴ συληθῆναι. The Glaukos incident might in principle come from the *Iliou Persis*. It resembles what we hear about his brother Helikaon in the *Little Iliad*, F 22. Odysseus and Menelaos were particularly qualified to recognize Antenorids because of their embassy into Troy at the beginning of the war, when Antenor provided them with hospitality and saved them from lynching (*Il.* 3. 207, 11. 123–42; *Cypria* arg. 10c with Apollod. epit. 3. 28–9).

Arg. 2d

Μενέλαος δὲ ἀνευρὼν Ἑλένην ἐπὶ τὰς ναῦς κατάγει, Δηϊφῶβον φονεύσας.

Again Apollodorus is copying the same source as Proclus: epit. 5. 22 Μενέλαος δὲ Δηϊφῶβον κτείνας Ἑλένην ἐπὶ τὰς ναῦς ἄγει. Demodokos in *Od.* 8. 517f. tells how Odysseus and Menelaos made for the house of Deiphobos; Helen was no doubt with him. Odysseus' presence may be a detail added by the *Odyssey* poet to suit his context, though the two are together in the report about Glaukos discussed above; Wagner 238 inferred that they encountered Glaukos as they **(p.235)** were on their way to Deiphobos' house. The killing of Deiphobos was probably related in the *Little Iliad* too, see on its F 28. Alcaeus *SLG* 262. 12 mentions it as one of the salient incidents of the sack.

After this the sequence of events in Apollodorus differs somewhat from that in Proclus:

Proclus	Apollodorus
	Theseids take Aithra
Ajax violates Cassandra	Ajax violates Cassandra
Odysseus kills Astyanax	City fired
Booty and women distributed	Booty distributed
Theseids take Aithra	Greeks kill Astyanax
City fired	Polyxena sacrificed
Polyxena sacrificed	Women distributed

In principle Proclus ought to be the more reliable guide to the sequence. But his sentence about Aithra, as formulated, seems to belong in the earlier context where Apollodorus has her, so I take it here out of order:

Arg. 4b

Δημοφῶν δὲ καὶ Ἀκάμας Αἴθραν εὐρόντες ἄγουσι μεθ' ἑαυτῶν.

Apollodorus continues the sentence quoted above (*Μενέλαος δὲ ... Ἐλένην ἐπὶ τὰς ναῦς ἄγει*·) with ἀπάγουσι δὲ καὶ τὴν Θησέως μητέρα Αἴθραν οἱ Θησέως παῖδες Δημοφῶν καὶ Ἀκάμας· καὶ γὰρ τοὺτους λέγουσιν εἰς Τροίαν ἐλθεῖν ὕστερον. Proclus' phrasing likewise suggests the *Theseids'* finding their grandmother in the city and taking her back to the ships, as Menelaos took Helen. Later, when the booty and captives were distributed, they were given possession of her (F 6). Proclus has confined himself to a single mention of her, apparently transferring a sentence formulated for her finding to the later context. The *Little Iliad* gave a different account of the reunion (F 17).

Arg. 3a

Κασσάνδραν δὲ Αἴας ὁ Ἰλέως πρὸς βίαν ἀποσπῶν συνεφέλκεται τὸ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς ξόανον· ἐφ' ᾧ παροξυνθέντες οἱ Ἕλληνες καταλεῦσαι βουλεύονται τὸν Αἴαντα· ὁ δὲ ἐπὶ τὸν τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς βωμὸν καταφεύγει, καὶ διασώζεται ἐκ τοῦ ἐπικειμένου κινδύνου.

(p.236) This version in which Athena's statue was pulled away from its base was apparently followed by Sophocles (fr. 10c. 8f. with restoration by H. Lloyd-Jones, *ZPE* 22 (1976), 40); cf. Paus. 10. 26. 3. It is probably implied in Apollod. epit. (Vat. only) 5. 22 Αἴας δὲ ὁ Λοκρὸς Κασσάνδραν ὁρῶν περιπεπλεγμένην τῷ ξόανῳ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς βιάζεται, though what he then adds, διὰ (τοῦ) τοῦ ξόανου εἰς οὐρανὸν βλέπειν (λέγουσι *vel sim.*), belongs to the version that the statue stayed in place while Cassandra was raped in front of it (Call. fr. 35 Pf.=42 Massimilla, Lyc. 361; Schmidt 59; Robert (1920–6), 1267f.).

Proclus then again confuses the proper sequence by continuing from Ajax's crime to its aftermath. The Greeks' reaction must have come later, when they were preparing to sail home (Wagner 251f.). So in Apollod. epit. 5. 25: ὥς δὲ ἔμελλον ἀποπλεῖν πορθήσαντες Τροίαν, ὑπὸ Κάλχαντος κατεῖχοντο, μηνίειν Ἀθηνᾶν αὐτοῖς λέγοντος διὰ τὴν Αἴαντος ἀσέβειαν. καὶ τὸν μὲν Αἴαντα κτείνειν ἔμελλον, φεύγοντα δὲ ἐπὶ βωμὸν εἶσαν. This amplifies Proclus but is evidently the same version of what happened.

Calchas' warning must have led to some sort of debate; cf. Proclus' βουλεύονται, and Paus. 1. 15. 2 (Polygnotos' paintings in the Stoa Poikile at Athens), ἐπὶ δὲ ταῖς Ἀμαζόσιν Ἕλληνες εἰσιν ἡρηνόκοτες Ἴλιον, καὶ οἱ βασιλεῖς ἡθροισμένοι διὰ τὸ Αἴαντος ἐς Κασσάνδραν τόλμημα. The same painter in the Cnidian Lesche at Delphi (*Little Iliad* F 15–27 n.) depicted Ajax at an altar ὁμνύμενος ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἐς Κασσάνδραν τολμήματος, and the Atreidai were administering the oath; ἡ δὲ κάθηται τε ἡ Κασσάνδρα χαμαὶ καὶ τὸ ἄγαλμα ἔχει τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς, εἶγε δὲ ἀνέτρεψεν ἐκ βάθρων τὸ ξόανον ὅτε ἀπὸ τῆς ἱκεσίας αὐτὴν ὁ Αἴας ἀφείλκε (Paus. 10. 26. 3). It is not easy to make it clear in a painting that someone is swearing an oath, and Pausanias' interpretation of the picture was no doubt based on his knowledge of the story as told in an authoritative source—surely the *Iliou Persis*, as it also had the statue pulled away from its base. But what was Ajax swearing? He cannot have denied what he had done; but he might have denied that the injury to the goddess had been intentional.¹⁷

(p.237) Whatever the content of his oath, it did not move the Achaeans to leniency, and

the decision was taken to stone him, apparently at Odysseus' urging (Paus. 10. 31. 2). He avoided this fate only by taking refuge at the altar of Athena, presumably the very one from which he had dragged Cassandra and the statue. Alcaeus evidently knew the story, observing that it would have been better for the Achaeans if the execution had been carried out: they might have found calmer seas off Aigai (SLG 262. 4–7). Cf. H. Lloyd-Jones, *GRBS* 9 (1968), 137f. = *Greek Epic, Lyric, and Tragedy* (*Academic Papers* i, Oxford 1990), 49–51.

In writing *Αἶας ὁ Ἰλέως*, Proclus may possibly reflect the occurrence in the epic of that form of Oileus' name (Severyns (1928), 365). Aristarchus noted that it was recognized by *τινὲς τῶν νεωτέρων* (sch. *Il.* 2. 527–31), an expression that sometimes refers to the Cyclic poets, though here it may refer only to the poets cited for *Ἰλέως* in sch.^T 15. 336d, namely 'Hesiod' (fr. 235. 1) and Stesichorus (*PMGF* 229). In Pausanias' account of Polygnotos' rendering of the scene (10. 26. 3) the *paradosis* likewise points to *Αἶας ὁ Ἰλέως*.

F 4 Dion. Hal. Ant. 1. 69. 3

Ἀρκτῖνος δέ φησιν ὑπὸ Διὸς δοθῆναι Δαρδάνω Παλλάδιον ἐν καὶ εἶναι τοῦτο ἐν Ἰλίῳ τέως ἢ πόλις ἡλίσκετο, κεκρυμμένον ἐν ἀβάτῳ· εἰκόνα δ' ἐκείνου κατεσκευασμένην ὡς μηδὲν τῆς ἀρχετύπου διαφέρειν ἀπάτης τῶν ἐπιβουλευόντων ἔνεκεν ἐν φανερώι τεθῆναι, καὶ αὐτὴν Ἀχαιοὺς ἐπιβουλεύσαντας λαβεῖν.

Serv. *Aen.* 2. 166

quamquam alii dicant simulacrum hoc a Troianis absconditum fuisse intra exstructum parietem, postquam agnouerunt Troiam esse perituram; quod postea bello Mithridatico dicitur Fimbria quidam Romanus inuentum indicasse.

The story of the theft of the Palladion by Odysseus and Diomedes was told in the *Little Iliad* (arg. 4e, F 11). There is nothing to suggest that that was not the genuine Palladion, whose removal enabled the city to be taken. What Dionysius attests for Arktinos, i.e. the *Iliou Persis*, is a secondary version, the purpose of which is to claim that the authentic Trojan Palladion did not fall into Greek hands but was kept safe. It has been suspected of reflecting the Roman claim to (p.238) possess it, Aeneas having taken it with him when he left the city.¹⁸ But Dionysius says the image remained in its place during the capture of the city, hidden away in an *abaton*; it had not, therefore, been taken away by Aeneas. The same objection applies to the idea that the Aineiadae claimed to possess it in their Dardanian seat (Welcker ii. 183, Monro 375f.). It is in fact only in the Roman legend that Aeneas is associated with the Palladion (Chavannes 69f., 82). It was surely the priests of Athena in New Ilium itself who claimed that the holy image had remained in place throughout.¹⁹

How did the poet fit this information into his narrative? Perhaps he identified the Palladion with the *ξόανον* that Cassandra clung to (*pace* Bethe 255 n. 13; Debiasi 153); in that case she retreated into the *abaton* and Ajax pursued her there. The poet could then have explained that the Palladion taken by Odysseus and Diomedes had not been the genuine

one.

The motif of the dummy Palladion reappears, clearly in a secondary application, in Conon's version of the raid by Odysseus and Diomedes (*FGrHist* 26 F 1. 34). Diomedes stands on Odysseus' shoulders to climb over the wall into Troy and leaves him there instead of pulling him in after him. He returns with a Palladion. On their way back, afraid that Odysseus plans to cheat him of its possession, he tells him that this is not the Palladion specified by Helenos but a facsimile; whereupon the image jerks, proving to Odysseus that it is the genuine one. Dionysius, in an account based on Domitius Callistratus (*FGrHist* 433 F 10) and Satyrus (20 F 1), says there were two Palladia: one the Achaeans stole, while Aeneas removed the other when the lower city was being taken and carried it to Italy.

Arg. 3b

ἔπειτα ἀποπλέουσιν οἱ Ἕλληνες, καὶ φθορὰν αὐτοῖς ἡ Ἀθηνᾶ κατὰ τὸ πέλαγος μηχανᾶται.

Here is a yet more drastic anticipation of what belongs later: the Greeks appear to sail away before the killing of Astyanax and the other **(p.239)** events related in arg. 4. In Venetus A, our only source, the sentence stands at the end of the folio (6^V) and the remainder of the *Iliou Persis* summary comes at the beginning of what should be the next (4^r; the leaves are out of order). Heyne and others thought that the sailing away must mark the end of the *Iliou Persis* and that what followed on f. 4 must belong to the account of a different poem, an intervening leaf having been lost, but codicological studies have shown that this is impossible.²⁰ Others transposed the sentence to the end of the summary (Westphal, Lehrs), or judged it an interpolation from a marginal note inspired by *Od.* 3. 130–61 (Hiller, Wissowa; Wilamowitz (1884), 331 n. 7), or supposed that the epitomator initially omitted the episodes in arg. 4 and then decided to append them (Wüllner, K. W. Müller, Düntzer). In my Loeb edition I emended to ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀποπλέουσιν οἱ Ἕλληνες, φθορὰν αὐτῶι ἡ Ἀθηνᾶ κατὰ τὸ πέλαγος μηχανᾶται, making it a parenthetic assurance that Ajax did not go unpunished: by taking refuge at the altar he saved himself from the immediate danger of stoning, but subsequently, after the Greeks set sail, Athena devised his destruction. The alteration is hardly necessary,²¹ but the explanation would in any case seem to be that later events are being anticipated in order to round off the story of Ajax.²² The poet of the *Iliou Persis* surely did not continue his narrative as far as the death of Ajax, which was a major episode in the *Nostoi*, but he may well have included some lines anticipating it.

F 3 Sch. Eur. Andr. 10, “ῥιφθέντα πύργων Ἀστυάνακτ’ ἀπ’ ὀρθίων”

Λυσανίας κατηγορεῖ Εὐριπίδου ... Ἐάνθον δὲ τὸν τὰ Λυδιακὰ γράψαντα { ... οἱ δὲ φασιν ὅτι {οὐκ ἔμελλεν} ὁ Εὐριπίδης Ἐάνθωι προσέχειν περὶ τῶν Τρωϊκῶν μύθων, τοῖς δὲ χρησιμωτέροις καὶ ἀξιοπιστοτέροις. Στησίχορον μὲν γὰρ (PMGF 202) ἱστορεῖν ὅτι τεθνήκοι, καὶ τὸν τὴν Πέρσιδα συντεταχότα κυκλικὸν ποιητὴν ὅτι καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ τείχους ῥιφθείη, ὥς ἡκολουθηκέναι Εὐριπίδην.

(p.240) Arg. 4a

καὶ Ὀδυσσεὺς Ἀστυάνακτα ἀνελόντος, Νεοπτόλεμος Ἀνδρομάχην γέρας λαμβάνει, καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ λάφυρα διανέμονται.

The third-century BCE critic Lysanias of Cyrene accused Euripides of having falsely inferred from Andromache's fears expressed in *Il.* 24. 735 that Astyanax was thrown from the walls. He cited Xanthos as attesting that Skamandrios (=Astyanax) had led a Phrygian migration after the war (*FGrHist* 765 F 14, but the substance is lost in a lacuna in the scholion). The scholiast then cites an Alexandrian retort to Lysanias, to the effect that Euripides would not have followed Xanthos for a Trojan myth but rather sources like Stesichorus and the *Iliou Persis*, the latter of which, at least, had indeed related that the child was thrown from the walls. He might have quoted the *Little Iliad* too (F 29), where the deed was done by Neoptolemos. Proclus names Odysseus.²³ In *Eur. Tro.* 721–5 Odysseus persuades the assembled Greeks that it should be done, and it is to 'the Greeks' that the deed is attributed in *ib.* 1122; cf. *Apollod. epit.* 5. 23. Welcker (*ii.* 187, cf. 223) assumed that there was a corresponding debate in the *Iliou Persis* and that Odysseus' speech in it is the source of a verse quoted anonymously by several authors but by Clement attributed to Stasinos (*Cypria* F 31): νήπιος, ὃς πατέρα κτείνας παῖδας καταλείπει. Certainly it would be a very apt line in this context (Odysseus in Euripides urges ἀρίστου παῖδα μὴ τρέφειν πατρός), and we cannot guess how it could have been used in the *Cypria*. But the debate is more likely a Euripidean innovation than a feature of the *Iliou Persis*.

Apollodorus implausibly puts the killing of Astyanax after the burning of the city and the division of booty. Proclus, although his account is extremely compressed, just a series of headlines, seems to preserve the right sequence. After the killing phase was concluded, the captives and other spoils were distributed. Neoptolemos' acquisition of Andromache is singled out as being especially notable. Apollodorus returns to the fates of the Trojan women after a few lines (5. 24–5): Agamemnon, he says, took Cassandra, Neoptolemos Andromache, Odysseus Hekabe (here he is following Euripides' **(p.241) Troades**); Priam's loveliest daughter, Laodike (*Il.* 6. 252), was swallowed up by the earth in full view of everybody.²⁴ It is not clear how much of this came in the *Iliou Persis*.

F 6 *Sch. Eur. Tro.* 31, "τὰς δὲ Θεσσαλὸς λεῶς | εἴληχ' Ἀθηναίων τε Θησεῖδαι πρόμοι" ἔνιοι ταῦτά φασι πρὸς χάριν εἰρῆσθαι, μηδὲν γὰρ εἰληφέναι τοὺς περὶ Ἀκάμαντα καὶ Δημοφῶντα ἐκ τῶν λαφύρων ἀλλὰ μόνην τὴν Αἴθραν, δι' ἣν καὶ ἀφίκοντο εἰς Ἴλιον Μενεσθέως ἡγουμένου. Λυσίμαχος δὲ (*FGrHist* 382 F 14) τὸν τὴν Πέρσιδα πεποιηκότα φησὶ γράφειν οὕτως:

Θησείδαις δ' ἔπορεν δῶρα κρείων Ἀγαμέμνων

ἡδὲ Μενεσθῆϊ μεγαλήτορι ποιμένι λαῶν.

Ps.-Demosth. 60. 29

ἐμέμνηντ' Ἀκαμαντίδαι τῶν ἐπῶν ἐν οἷς Ὅμηρος ἔνεκα τῆς μητρός φησιν Αἴθρας

Ἀκάμαντ' εἰς Τροίαν στεῖλαι· ὁ μὲν οὖν παντὸς ἐπειρᾶτο κινδύνου τοῦ σῶσαι τὴν ἑαυτοῦ μητέρ' ἔνεκα.

The recovery of Aithra was the only point of Akamas' and Demophon's presence at Troy. There is nothing to suggest that they did anything else. The Euripides scholion implies, in *Μενεσθέως ἡγουμένου*, that they were there from the start with the Athenian contingent, of which Menestheus was the leader in the *Iliad*; Apollod. epit. 5. 22, however, to account for their absence from that poem, says that they went at a later stage. Having found Aithra during the sack, they took her straight back to the ships (arg. 4b above). When the captives were divided among the leaders, Menestheus asked for her on the Theseids' behalf and got her. Cf. on *Little Iliad* F 17.

2. *μεγαλήτορι ποιμένι λαῶν*: on the padded-out formular combination cf. Curti 36.

Arg. 4c

ἔπειτα ἐμπρήσαντες τὴν πόλιν Πολυξένην σφαγιάζουσιν ἐπὶ τὸν τοῦ Ἀχιλλέως τάφον.

The last events that Proclus mentions are the firing of the city and the sacrifice of Polyxena at Achilles' tomb. She is another daughter of Priam, not mentioned in the *Iliad*. The idea may originally have been **(p.242)** to provide Achilles with a consort in the other world, and specifically a daughter of the defeated enemy king.²⁵ Wagner 245 notes that the sacrifice of Polyxena at the end of the expedition mirrors that of Iphigeneia at the beginning.

But why the otherwise inconspicuous Polyxena? We might have a better idea if we had the whole of the speech made by Achilles' ghost in the prologue of Sophocles' *Polyxena* (fr. 523); he must have called for the sacrifice, and he presumably specified the victim and gave his reason. In Eur. *Hec.* 94f., which may be interpolated, the ghost is said to have asked for τῶν πολυμόχθων τινὰ Τρωϊάδων, as if it did not matter who it was. In the other Euripidean references to the sacrifice (*Hec.* 40f., 220f., etc.; *Tro.* 39f., 262–71, 622f.) no reason is given for why it should have been Polyxena. In later sources too the sacrifice is carried out in response to a demand made by Achilles' ghost (Ov. *Met.* 13. 439–48; Q.S. 14. 209–22, where the hero appears to Neoptolemos in a dream and threatens to keep the Achaeans pent up at Troy by storms). Wagner 245 argues that as other apparitions of Achilles' ghost are explicitly mentioned by Proclus, he would not have passed over one here, and that the instruction might have come from Calchas. It is possible, however, that Achilles charged Neoptolemos with the sacrifice when he appeared to him straight after his arrival from Skyros (*Little Iliad* arg. 3b with n.). Neoptolemos appears as the sacrificer on a Tyrrhenian amphora of c.570–560 (*LIMC* Polyxena 26) and in Ibycus, *PMGF* 307.

According to a story first alluded to by Lycophron, Achilles had wanted to marry Polyxena, had come to the precinct of Thymbraean Apollo to discuss it with Priam, and had there been sneakily shot dead by Paris.²⁶ No earlier author hints that he died in such a way or that the sacrifice of the girl had anything to do with a love interest; see Gantz 658f. Yet a love interest seems the only premise that makes sense of the sacrifice;

it need not have entailed the unconventional (p.243) version of Achilles' death. Vases from about 575 BCE show Polyxena present at Achilles' ambush of Troilos (Gantz 598–601), and so suggest an occasion when he could have seen her and been smitten by her beauty. The Troilos story came in the *Cypria* (arg. 11e, F 25*), and the romance might have been taken further there. That was before Achilles came into possession of Briseis (*Cypria* arg. 12a), who is his only love in the *Iliad* and may have been a prominent mourner at his death (cf. on *Aethiopis* arg. 4a).

The name Polyxena rather suggests promiscuity, if not prostitution; cf. Pind. fr. 122. 1 πολύξεναι νεάνιδες, of the Corinthian temple prostitutes.

W. Rösler, *ZPE* 69 (1987), 7, suggests that the poem ended with a forward reference to the catastrophe that Athena was soon to bring upon the Achaean ships. Cf. above on arg. 3b. Wagner 252 suspects that following the Achaeans' acquittal of Ajax and preparation for embarkation there was a council of the gods at which Athena spoke of the destruction she was going to visit upon them and asked Zeus and Poseidon for their assistance; he refers to the prologue of Euripides' *Troades*. 'Habes Ilii persidis exitum tamquam ab ipso fabularum conexu oblatum, quo aptiorem nemo excogitare poterat, quoniam poetae occasionem praebebat proficiscentis classis fata futura in fine carminis breviter indicandi.' Nitzsch (1852), 52, had already interpreted Proclus' φθορὰν αὐτοῖς ἡ Ἀθηνᾶ κατὰ τὸ πέλαγος μηχανᾶται as implying a negotiation with Zeus, but he thought that the actual storm must have been related in a conclusion to the poem that was suppressed to avoid overlap with the *Nostoi*.

Notes:

(¹) Note however Euseb. *Chron.* Ol. 5. 1 (Jerome) *Arctinus qui Aethiopidam composuit et Ilii Persin agnoscitur*.

(²) C. O. Brink, *Horace on Poetry* ii (Cambridge 1971), 214.

(³) A similar reconstruction already in Salmasius 601B, αἰίσω Πριάμοιο τύχαν πόλεμόν τε κλευνόν. (He thought it was from Lesches' *Little Iliad* and should be in Lesbian.)

(⁴) It is not necessary to suppose, with Welcker ii. 182, 198, that it first described the building of the Horse and the Achaeans' withdrawal to Tenedos.

(⁵) This favours the city setting for the debate, though it may be noted that the banks of the Scamander are described as κρημνοί in *Il.* 21. 26, 175, etc.

(⁶) Robert (1920–6), 1247: 'Der Demodokos der Odyssee, der diese Episode summarisch wiedergibt, trägt dem Lanzenstoß des Laokoon, den er nicht erwähnt, dadurch Rechnung, daß er an Stelle des Verbrennens den Vorschlag machen läßt, den Leib des Pferdes mit einem ehernen Instrument zu durchbohren.'

(⁷) In Virgil Laokoon is a priest of Poseidon (*Aen.* 2. 201). The story that Servius ad loc. attributes to Euphron reconciles this with his priesthood of Apollo; cf. Hyg. *Fab.* 135.

According to sch. Lyc. 347 it was in the shrine of Thymbraean Apollo that the serpents killed Laokoon's sons; this perhaps comes from Sophocles. The play contained a choral prayer to Poseidon, fr. 371. Cf. Robert (1920–6), 1249f.; Gantz 648f.

(⁸) Bacchyl. fr. 9, sch. Lyc. 347, Q.S. 12. 452. Tzetzes on Lyc. 344 says that it was to these islands that the Greeks had withdrawn.

(⁹) A single son also in Nicander, *SH* 562. 12; Tz. in Lyc. 344, 347, and *Posthom.* 714.

(¹⁰) Sch. Lyc. 347, Tz. in Lyc. 344; Lysimachus *FGrHist* 382 F 16 ap. Serv. auct. *Aen.* 2. 211 († *curifin et Periboeam*).

(¹¹) *Emerita* 50 (1982), 89–92; *PEG* 91 (fr. 3); cf. Debiasi 141.

(¹²) Cf. Robert (1881), 199.

(¹³) Cf. Welcker (1839–41), i. 153, on the naming of names in Sophocles, 'es ist daher wahrscheinlich, daß auch bey ihm durch die Verwandlung das Wunderzeichen noch verstärkt war: denn wozu Namen, wenn nicht in diesem Zusammenhange?'

(¹⁴) One thinks of the cult of Medea's children at Corinth.

(¹⁵) He is in a way, as Wagner 235 noted, an analogue of Protesilaos, the first Achaeon to leap ashore at Troy, who was killed at once.

(¹⁶) Cf. Pind. *Pae.* 6. 113; Eur. *Hec.* 23, *Tro.* 16f., 483; Triph. 400, 635, etc.

(¹⁷) Some suppose that it was a promissory oath, a vow to propitiate Athena by instituting after his return home the annual tribute of Locrian maidens: C. Robert, *Die Iliupersis des Polygnot* (Halle 1893), 63f.; id. (1920–6), 1269; M. Robertson, *BSA* 62 (1967), 10–12; W. Rösler, *ZPE* 69 (1987), 5. According to S. West, *ZPE* 82 (1990), 1–3, he was swearing that Cassandra's virginity was intact: she was to be Agamemnon's prize.

(¹⁸) Cf. Dion. Hal. *Ant.* 1. 69. 4, 2. 66. 5; R. G. Austin, *P. Vergili Maronis Aeneidos Liber Secundus* (Oxford 1964), 83–5; N. Horsfall, *CQ* 29 (1979), 374f.; P. M. Smith, *HSCP* 85 (1981), 25–8. This would imply a Hellenistic interpolation in the *Iliou Persis*.

(¹⁹) Chavannes 60–4; Wilamowitz (1916), 382; cf. Bethe 255. On the *ξόανον* in New Ilion cf. Strab. 13. 1. 41, App. *Mithr.* 53.

(²⁰) Severyns (1938–63), iii. 79f., 93–8.

(²¹) αὐτοῖς. is defensible, as the storm aroused by Athena afflicted the whole fleet; cf. *Od.* 1. 326f., 3. 132f.; Alc. *SLG* 262. 4–7; Aesch. *Ag.* 649, 652; Eur. *Tro.* 66. Gruppe 693 n. 4 emended to *ἐπειτα ἀποπλεύουσιν τοῖς Ἑλλήσι φθορὰν ἢ Ἀθηναῖα κατὰ τὸ πέλαγος μηχανᾶται*.

(²²) Cf. Wagner 252f.; D. Comparetti, *Homeri Ilias cum Scholiis. Codex Venetus A*,

Marcianus, phototypice editus (Leiden 1901), vii f.

(²³) On the seventh-century relief pithos from Myconos showing scenes from the sack of Troy (*LIMC Equus Troianus* 23) it is a bearded warrior who holds a child up by the leg; cf. Fittschen 184.

(²⁴) On the story of Laodike cf. Gerlaud 168 on Triph. 660–3.

(25) Hommel 30. The Slavs are reported by tenth-century Arab observers to have slaughtered girls as companions for young noblemen who died unmarried: Ibn Fadlān in C. H. Meyer, *Fontes Historiae Religionis Slavicae* (Berlin 1931), 88–92; Mas‘u‘dī, *ibid.* 95, ‘wenn ein Mann gestorben ist, so wird mit ihm sein Weib lebendig verbrannt... Und wenn ein Unverheirateter stirbt, so wird er nach seinem Tode verheiratet.’ This practice was adduced in connection with Polyxena by C. Fontinoy, *Ant. Cl.* 19 (1950), 393.

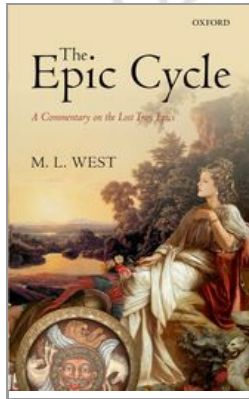
(²⁶) Lyc. 323 with Tz., Hyg. *Fab.* 110, sch. Eur. *Hec.* 41, Lact. in Stat. *Ach.* 1. 134, Serv. *Aen.* 6. 57; Gantz 628.



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Nostoi

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[+] Abstract and Keywords

This chapter presents a commentary on the poem *Nostoi*. It first discusses the poem's title; sources of information about the poem; the scope; the economy of the poem; its relation to the *Odyssey*; characterization of the poem; and dating of the poem. It then reviews individual fragments and testimonia.

Keywords: Greek epic, epic poetry, epic poems, *Odyssey*, fragments, testimonia

Introduction

1. Title

The standard title is (οἱ) *Νόστοι* (Philodemus, Apollodorus, Proclus, Pausanias, etc.). A fuller version, *Νόστοι/Νόστος Ἀχαιῶν* or *Ἑλλήνων*, appears in three places: on the Homeric cup MB 36 (below, F 10); in *Suda* ν 500 νόστος· ἡ οἴκαδε ἐπάνοδος...καὶ οἱ

ποιηταὶ δὲ οἱ τοὺς Νόστους ὑμνήσαντες ἔπονται τῷ Ὀμήρῳ ἐς ὅσον εἰσὶ δυνατοί, where codd. add from the margin φαίνεται ὅτι οὐ μόνος εἷς εὕρισκόμενος ἔγραψε Νόστον Ἀχαιῶν ἀλλὰ καὶ τινες ἕτεροι; and sch. Pind. Ol. 13. 31a, “ἐν δὲ Μοῖσ’ ἀδύπνοος”, τοῦτο δὲ διὰ τὸν Εὐμήλον (so Gyraldus for Εὐμολπον) ὄντα Κορίνθιον καὶ γράψαντα Νόστον τῶν Ἑλλήνων. Νόστος is a poetic word, and the title must have been a traditional one, going back to the time of composition. The poet of the *Odyssey* (1. 326, 10. 15) already knows Ἀχαιῶν νόστος or νόστος Ἀχαιῶν as a theme of epic song. In this singular phrase with the added genitive the *Achaeans’ Return* is considered as a single coherent tale; the plural version *Νόστοι* treats it as a series of individuals’ stories.

Athenaeus twice quotes from a poem in at least three books that he calls ἡ τῶν Ἀτρειδῶν κάθοδος (F 3 and 12), using a more prosaic word for ‘return’ that is first attested in this sense in the fifth century. He cites ‘the poet of the *Return of the Atreidai*’, as if it was one of the archaic epics whose authorship was uncertain, and it usually assumed that it was the same as the *Nostoi*¹. From Proclus’ summary of the *Nostoi* it appears that the return of the two Atreidai formed the framework of the whole epic: it began with the dispute that separated them, and ended with Menelaos’ belated arrival home following Orestes’ killing of Clytaemestra and Aegisthus. The murder and avenging of Agamemnon was the main heroic subject matter of the narrative, and it is understandable that some might **(p.245)** have designated the poem by reference to it. It would seem unlikely that a separate archaic poem covering these events in several books was transmitted concurrently with the *Nostoi* and not included in the canonical Cycle. It may further be noted that one of the passages cited by Athenaeus (F 3) described the posthumous fate of Tantalos: this probably stood in the context of the underworld scene attested for the *Nostoi* (F 1, 2*, and perhaps 4–8, 14). Odysseus too sees Tantalos in Hades (*Od.* 11. 582–92), though with a different version of his torment. See further below, §4.

2. Attestation

Besides Proclus’ summary and the partly parallel narrative of Apollod. epit. 6, we have one verse fragment ascribed to the *Nostoi* (F 6), one to the *Return of the Atreidai* (F 12), and one to Agias (F 7: Αὐγ[ε]ῖας cod.); six non-verbal fragments ascribed to the *Nostoi* (F 1, 4, 5, 9, 11, 13), one to the *Return of the Atreidai* (F 3), and one to Hegias (=Agias? F 14); a Homeric cup with a scene labelled [κατὰ τὸν ποιητὴν] Ἀ[γίαν] ἐκ τῶν [Νό]στων Ἀχα[ι]ῶν (F 10); and two references to the Cycle or to οἱ κυκλικοί that are conjecturally assigned to the *Nostoi*.

3. Scope

The poem covered the stories of heroes’ returns from Troy that were known to the poet, except that Odysseus’ return, if it was dealt with at all, can only have been treated very summarily. (Cf. on arg. 4b.) A separate *Odyssey* was evidently already current and the poet did not want to duplicate it. The other principal return stories were (a) the drowning of the Locrian Ajax as punishment for his sacrilege at Troy (see on *Iliou Persis* arg. 3), and (b) the murder and avenging of Agamemnon.

The uneventful homecomings of Diomedes and Nestor were recorded. There were more

extensive narratives of how Calchas led a party to Colophon and died there and of Neoptolemos' journey to Phthia, the land of his father. Perhaps some other heroes were dealt with too, but it seems certain that many must have been passed over without mention. There is no evidence that any of the returning heroes founded new towns, as in the many of the legends that proliferated later.

(p.246) The poem contained what must have been an extended underworld scene. It was probably here that various mythological data cited from the *Nostoi* and relating to earlier generations had their place. It is not clear whether they were selected in pursuit of any particular agenda.

4. Economy of the poem

The return of the Atreidai, as mentioned above, was made the framework of the *Nostoi* as a whole. The epic began with a divine initiative that led the two brothers to separate. Agamemnon tarried at Troy, while Menelaos and some other leaders set sail. Diomedes and Nestor went first and got home safely, but Menelaos was caught by storm and blown off to the eastern Mediterranean, where he was to remain out of sight until his return at the end of the poem.

The returns of other heroes were accommodated within this frame. It is evident that the *Nostoi* was not just a loose sequence of separate stories but was carefully structured so as to integrate in one design several lines of action that proceeded concurrently in different places.² It had this feature in common with the *Odyssey*, an epic with which, as we shall see, it stood in a close relationship. The narrator would leave one character *in mediis rebus* and turn to another located in a different arena. Thus after the removal of Menelaos from the Aegean area, with Agamemnon still at Troy, he passed to Calchas and his party and told how they went off overland towards the south. We cannot be sure whether he stayed with them until they reached their destination and their story was complete or just set them moving and left the rest of their tale for a later point; see the end of the notes below on arg. 2.

Next came the departure from Troy of Agamemnon, Ajax, and others. Neoptolemos started out with them, but then received advice from Thetis to wait for two days and after that to make his way on foot through Thrace. During those two days came the tempest in which many Achaean ships were sunk and Ajax met his end. Then Neoptolemos was sent on his way. Again it is uncertain whether the whole story of his homecoming was related continuously from that point or the latter part of it was held back till after the murder of Agamemnon; see below, pp. 271 f.

(p.247) Proclus states that the *Nostoi* were divided into five books. We may assume that the story of Agamemnon's homecoming and Orestes' revenge occupied a considerably larger proportion of the whole than do the two or three corresponding lines in Proclus. This is relevant to the question of the *Ἀτρειδῶν κάθοδος* cited by Athenaeus. From its third book he quotes a line and a half (F 12) that come from an account of fighting involving men named Isos and Hermioneus. This is taken to be the fighting in which Agamemnon was killed together with his supporters and those of Aegisthus.³ If that

is right, and if the poem known to Athenaeus as ἡ τῶν Ἀτρειδῶν κάθοδος was the same as the *Nostoi* and had the same book-divisions, the inference will be that Agamemnon's murder came already in Book 3 and that the two remaining books were filled out with Aegisthus' reign at Mycene (and any other events assigned to those years), Orestes' nurture and return, his killing of his mother and her lover, and the homecoming of Menelaos. So Bethe 272, who argues that the underworld scene must have taken up a significant amount of space, perhaps in Book 4, where, he thinks, Agamemnon's soul (like those of the Suitors in *Od.* 24) was described arriving in Hades. I take a different view of the occasion for the scene, but I too put it after Agamemnon's murder.

5. Relation to the *Odyssey*

The poet of the *Odyssey* takes pains to set Odysseus' return against the background of the other heroes' returns: 1. 11-14,

ἐνθ' ἄλλοι μὲν πάντες, ὅσοι φύγον αἰπὸν ὄλεθρον,

οἴκοι ἔσαν, πόλεμόν τε πεφευγότες ἠδὲ θάλασσαν·

τὸν δ' οἶον, νόστου κεχρημένον ἠδὲ γυναικός

νύμφη πότνι' ἔρυκε Καλυψὼ δῖα θεάων.

Phemios sings of the Ἀχαιῶν νόστον | λυγρόν, ὃν ἐκ Τροίης ἐπετείλατο Παλλὰς Ἀθήνη (1. 326f.), and νόστος Ἀχαιῶν is one of the headings under which Odysseus relates to Aiolos the tale of the war (10. 15). There is particular emphasis on the story of Agamemnon, which is repeatedly adverted to, from 1. 29ff. to 24. 199ff. Telemachos learns about it and about some other heroes' returns from Nestor in 3. 130ff., and they are supplemented by (p.248) Menelaos' account of his own adventures in 4. 351ff. There is extensive agreement between what is said in these passages and Proclus' summary of the *Nostoi*. It looks as if the poet knew an account very similar to the *Nostoi*. The poet of the *Nostoi*, on the other hand, leaves Odysseus out of his narrative except for a passing mention, evidently because a large-scale *Odyssey* is already in circulation.⁴

One hypothesis might be that the *Odyssey* known to him was a predecessor of ours, and that the *Nostoi* antedated our *Odyssey* and is reflected in it. However, Menelaos' wanderings seems to me to raise a problem for this model. The *Nostoi*, if we can trust Proclus, gave exactly the same account of them as the *Odyssey*: see below on arg. 1a-c. Now, it is clear that these wanderings were invented to answer the question that Telemachos raises at *Od.* 3. 249-52: where was Menelaos when Agamemnon was killed and during the following years when Aegisthus was lording it at Mycene? Did Aegisthus dispatch him too, or was he away roaming in other lands? This was a problem. The tradition of Agamemnon's murder and Orestes' revenge had established itself, but there was no role in it for Menelaos, Agamemnon's hero brother, who might have been expected to take some action before Orestes did. A poet became aware of the difficulty and invented the story that Menelaos did not get back to Greece for seven years and in fact arrived just after Orestes had killed the murderers, on the very day that he was

holding the funeral feast. That is what Nestor tells Telemachos in answer to his query. It is not something that the *Odyssey* poet only thought of as he put the question in Telemachos' mouth, because it is prepared for by the quarrel and separation of the brothers that Nestor has mentioned in 3. 136ff. But the poet is vividly aware of the problem to which Menelaos' wanderings were the answer, and we have the impression that it is a recently devised solution—perhaps his own—for a recently recognized difficulty.

There is another consideration that might point in the same direction. Several scholars have seen reason to suspect that Odysseus' wanderings were originally located in the eastern Mediterranean, the same part of the world as Menelaos tours in the *Odyssey*.⁵ When the need arose to provide Menelaos with seven years of wanderings in those parts, it became necessary to transfer Odysseus' wanderings elsewhere so that they did not overlap. So after he is blown past (p.249) Cythera (9. 81)—that is, east of it, as he wanted to pass north of it—instead of arriving in Crete as Menelaos does (3. 286ff.), he is diverted further west, and from then on he is travelling in the littleknown expanses of the western Mediterranean.⁶ Yet traces of the earlier version remain (a) in Odysseus' false stories, where he mostly represents himself as a Cretan and speaks of journeys to Egypt, where he stayed for seven years, to Phoenicia, where he spent a year, and to Cyprus; (b) in the opening lines of the poem, where he is described as the man who wandered far and wide after sacking Troy, and saw many men's cities and learned their minds (1. 3 *πολλῶν δ' ἀνθρώπων ἴδεν ἄστεα καὶ νόον ἔγνω*); and (c) in Zenodotus' variants at 1. 93 and 285, according to which Telemachos was to visit Idomeneus in Crete, as the last of the Achaeans to get home, instead of Menelaos in Sparta—evidently a relic of a version partly recorded in writing before the invention of Menelaos' wanderings, a version in which Telemachos might actually have picked up his father's trail in Crete (cf. 14. 382f.).

The implication of all this is that Menelaos' wanderings were developed in the course of the composition of the *Odyssey*, perhaps by the *Odyssey* poet himself, or if not, in another poet's concurrent elaboration of the *Nostoi*. In any case it looks as if the two epics were being developed at the same time and with mutual interaction (if not actually by the same poet).⁷ The *Odyssey* poet is deeply engaged with the *Nostoi* tradition and helping to shape it. It was remarked above that the two epics had a notable technical feature in common, being both structured so as to integrate in one design lines of concurrent action in different arenas. Both, moreover, contained underworld episodes and touching scenes of reunion and recognition with grandfathers of the family (Odysseus with Laertes; Neoptolemos with Peleus, *Nostoi* arg. 4c).

6. Characterization of the poem

The *Nostoi* maintained the traditional picture of a heroic world in which gods could make decisive interventions from personal (p.250) motives, sometimes after consultation. Athena caused the quarrel between Agamemnon and Menelaos and, after making her case with Zeus, raised the storm that hit the fleet. Thetis visited Neoptolemos to advise him how to make a safe homecoming. Poseidon, angered by Ajax's defiance of Athena's thunderbolt, took action to finish him off, while Hera kept Agamemnon safe till he reached

land. I shall suggest (though there is no attestation) that in the eighth year, following a divine council, Athena went to stir Orestes to action while Hermes went to tell Menelaos of his brother's death and then took him to Hades and back.

Agamemnon's fate was heralded long in advance by a warning from Achilles' ghost, and probably at some point by a prophecy of Cassandra. The Hades scene gave further rein to the taste for the uncanny. It also displayed an interest in genealogical lore, with an emphasis on women.

The story of Agamemnon's murder and Orestes' revenge must have been told on quite an ample scale. The relevant passages of the *Odyssey* imply that it contained some moving and dramatic action. The marriage of Menelaos' daughter Hermione to Neoptolemos may have provided the poem with a romantic and happy ending.

7. Dating

I have suggested above that the *Nostoi* was composed in parallel with the *Odyssey*, and if not by the same poet, by one who was in contact with the *Odyssey* poet. The *Odyssey*, which presupposes the *Memnonis* (see *Aethiopis* intro. 3 and 6), probably dates from the last quarter of the seventh century. I assign the *Nostoi* to the same period. It may also be noted that it seems to have made no mention of Demophon and Akamas, the sons of Theseus, who appeared at Troy in both the *Little Iliad* and the *Iliou Persis* to take their grandmother Aithra back to Athens.⁸ Their inclusion in the Troy saga must have come about by the early sixth century at latest, and they were important enough figures for their return home to have been dealt with.

(p.251) The Fragments

The Incipit

The reference to Phemios' song in *Od.* 1. 326f. may suggest the form of the opening lines: Sing, Muse, of the νόστον Ἀχαιῶν | λυγρόν, ὃν ἐκ Τροίης ἐπετείλατο Παλλὰς Ἀθήνη. This would have led to a résumé of Ajax's sacrilege, the cause of Athena's anger. Cf. the beginning of Nestor's account in *Od.* 3. 130–5, αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ Πριάμοιο πόλιν διεπέρσαμεν αἰπὴν, | [131] | καὶ τότε δὴ Ζεὺς λυγρόν ἐνὶ φρεσὶ μήδετο νόστον | Ἀργείοις, ἐπεὶ οὐ τι νοήμονες οὐδὲ δίκαιοι | πάντες ἔσαν· τῷ σφῶν πολέες κακὸν οἶτον ἐπέσπον | μήνιος ἔξ ὅλοῃς γλαυκώπιδος Ὀβριμοπάτρης. The same passage inspired Grotefend to reconstruct the *Nostoi* incipit as μῆνιν ἄειδε θεὰ γλαυκώπιδος Ὀβριμοπάτρης, | ἦ τ' ἔριν Ἀτρεΐδῃσι μετ' ἀμφοτέροισιν ἔθηκεν (=γ 136).

Menelaos Removed from the Scene

Arg. 1a

Ἀθηνᾶ Ἀγαμέμνονα καὶ Μενέλαον εἰς ἔριν καθίστησι περὶ τοῦ ἔκπλου. Ἀγαμέμνων μὲν οὖν τὸν τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς ἐξίλασόμενος χόλον ἐπιμένει.

Apollod. epit. 6. 1 καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα συνελθόντων εἰς ἐκκλησίαν Ἀγαμέμνων καὶ Μενέλαος ἐφιλονείκουν, Μενελάου λέγοντος ἀποπλεῖν, Ἀγαμέμνονος δὲ ἐπιμένειν

κελεύοντος καὶ θύειν Ἀθηνᾶι.

Nestor's account continues: (γλαυκῶπιδος Ὀβριμοπάτρης), ἥ τ' ἔριν Ἀτρείδησι μετ' ἀμφοτέροισιν ἔθηκεν. They held an assembly of all the Achaeans, but it was disorderly, as the victorious troops had drunk deep. Menelaos argued that they should set sail for home, but Agamemnon wanted to stay longer and sacrifice hecatombs to propitiate Athena. The meeting broke up in division and rancour, and a night passed with the two sides full of ill feeling towards each other. In the morning half of them loaded up their ships and put out to sea, while the other half remained with Agamemnon (*Od.* 3. 135–57; cf. *Soph. fr.* 522). All of this no doubt corresponds closely to the account in the *Nostoi*. The knowledge that Athena was behind the quarrel is more appropriate to the omniscient poet of the *Nostoi* than to Nestor.

(p.252) The motif of a quarrel between leaders at the outset of an epic may have been borrowed from the *Iliad*. It is the mechanism for separating Agamemnon from Menelaos. If they had travelled together, it would have been awkward for the story of Agamemnon's murder. Menelaos has to be kept away from Greece for seven years.

Arg. 1b

Διομήδης δὲ καὶ Νέστωρ ἀναχθέντες εἰς τὴν οἰκείαν διασώζονται.

Likewise Apollod. epit. 6. 1. Nestor gives more circumstantial details in *Od.* 3. 157–83: half of the Achaeans set sail on a calm sea, landed on Tenedos, and made sacrifices to the gods. But then Zeus caused another dispute, and some of them, led by Odysseus, returned to Agamemnon at Troy.

What is the point of this to-ing and fro-ing? The dissension of the Achaeans has been made to serve a secondary purpose. Besides dividing Menelaos from Agamemnon, it divides those who, while travelling by sea, are going to escape the great storm sent by Athena from those who are going to be caught in it. The former group includes principally Menelaos, Diomedes, Nestor, and Odysseus. But then Odysseus has to be divided from the others, as he is to sail by a quite different route and more or less disappear from the narrative (cf. on arg. 4b). That must be why he leaves Tenedos at this point. It must have been explained later why he did not remain together with Agamemnon and the others.

Nestor, realizing that there was trouble brewing, made for home, and so did Diomedes (*Od.* 3. 165–7). Menelaos followed them after an interval and caught them up at Lesbos, where they were deliberating whether to take the direct route to the west across the open sea or to continue south between Chios and the mainland with a view to island-hopping. They prayed for a portent, and received one indicating that they should take the former alternative. The god supplied a favouring wind, and they reached Geraistos at the southern end of Euboea the same night; there they sacrificed many bulls' thighs to Poseidon. The wind continued to blow, and on the fourth day after setting out Diomedes arrived home in Argos and Nestor in Pylos. Again we may suppose that the narrative in the *Nostoi* followed much the same lines.

The poet seems (*pace* Severyns (1928), 372–6) to have known **(p.253)** nothing of the later stories about the infidelities of Diomedes' wife Aigialeia, his near escape from death when he came home, and his subsequent migration to Italy; for these see Gantz 699f.

Hor. *AP* 146, *nec reditum Diomedis ab interitu Meleagri* (*sc. orditur* Homerus), has been thought to be a criticism of the *Nostoi*, as line 137 may be of the *Iliou Persis* and line 147 of the *Cypria*.⁹ It would imply that when the poet came to deal with Diomedes he went at length into his ancestry and background, of which we hear something in *Il.* 14. 113–25. Hecker thought that this was because it was the first return to be narrated in the poem: 'Diomedis igitur reditus non fuit quidem initium carminis, sed primus a poeta et quidem uberrime prae reditu reliquorum enarratus est.'

Arg. 1c

μεθ' οὓς ἐκπλεύσας ὁ Μενέλαος μετὰ πέντε νεῶν εἰς Αἴγυπτον παραγίνεται, τῶν λοιπῶν διαφθαρεισῶν νεῶν ἐν τῷι πελάγει.

Apollod. epit. 6. 1 Μενέλαος δὲ μετὰ τούτων [read τούτους] ἀναχθείς, χειμῶνι περιπεσῶν, τῶν λοιπῶν ἀπολομένων σκαφῶν, πέντε ναυσὶν ἐπ' Αἴγυπτον ἀφικνεῖται.

In order for Menelaos to become separated from everyone else he had firstly to be of the group that left Troy when Agamemnon stayed, and then to lag behind Nestor and Diomedes who reached home without incident. In Nestor's account he tarried longer at Tenedos than they did, but then caught up with them at Lesbos (*Od.* 3. 168f., above). Later (3. 276–302, cf. 4. 488) Nestor says that he and Menelaos sailed from Troy together and that the fatal separation occurred at Sounion, where Menelaos' helmsman Phrontis Onetorides died. Menelaos stayed to give him burial and then, when he continued on his way and was attempting to round Cape Malea, Zeus sent a tempest that scattered his fleet, driving some of the ships to Crete, where they were wrecked on the rocks near Gortyn, the men narrowly escaping death, while five ships, including Menelaos' own, were blown to Egypt. There he stayed, roaming among men of foreign speech and accumulating much wealth.

Menelaos originally had sixty ships (*Il.* 2. 587). This needed to be reduced to a much smaller number for the eastern wanderings. There is no indication that the poet of the *Nostoi* thought of the **(p.254)** storm that afflicted Menelaos as being the same one that brought Ajax to grief.

I think it probable that he initially said only that Menelaos was blown to Egypt, and held back the further account of his eastern adventures for a later point. Cf. Nitzsch (1831), 22.

The Death of Calchas

Arg. 2

οἱ δὲ περὶ Κάλχαντα καὶ Λεοντέα καὶ Πολυποίτην πεζῇι πορευθέντες εἰς Κολοφῶνα †Τειρεσίαν ἐνταῦθα τελευτήσαντα θάπτουσι.

This episode is based on Colophonian local tradition relating to the Apolline oracular site at Claros and a tomb of the seer Calchas at the harbour town of Notion or on the nearby mountain of Kerkaphos. It was natural to account for his presence there by saying that he had gone there after the Trojan War. Proclus' jejune report can be supplemented from Apollod. epit. 6. 2, and the Vatican and Sabbaitic recensions of the epitome (ES) can themselves be filled out from Tzetzes on Lycophron 980 (cf. 427), who was using a fuller version of Apollodorus:

ES	TZ
<p>Ἀμφίλοχος δὲ καὶ Κάλχας καὶ Λεοντεύς καὶ Ποδα- λείριος καὶ Πολυποίτης ἐν Ἰλίωνι τὰς ναῦς ἀπολιπόντες ἐπὶ Κολοφῶνα πεζῇ πορεύονται. κάκει θάπτουσι Κάλχαντα τὸν μάντιν.</p>	<p>Κάλχας, Λεοντεύς, Πολυποίτης καὶ Ποδαλείριος ἐν Ἰλίωνι τὰς αὐτῶν ναῦς ἀπολιπόντες πεζῇ πορεύονται εἰς Κολοφῶνα καὶ Κιλικίαν, καὶ καταντῶσι περὶ τούτῳ τῷ Μόψῳ ὅπου καὶ ἡττηθέντα μαντικῇ τὸν Κάλχαντα θάπτουσιν.... Πολυποίτης δὲ καὶ Λεοντεύς μετὰ τὸ θάψαι αὐτὸν μετ' ὀλίγον εἰς Ἑλλάδα ἀνεχώρησαν.</p>

The seer who died and was buried was certainly Calchas, not Teiresias as in the Proclus text¹⁰ Teiresias belongs in the Theban saga (p.255) and has no place in the Trojan. Proclus names Calchas as the leader of the party.¹¹ His journey to Colophon was determined by the tradition of his tomb at Notion. It was probably motivated in the *Nostoi*, as in Quintus 14. 360f., by saying that he foresaw the disaster threatening those who undertook the sea voyage to Greece. Cf. his warning in Apollod. epit. 5. 25, quoted on *Iliou Persis* arg. 3a.

Who accompanied him to Colophon? Certainly Leonteus and Polypoites (Procl.), and probably Podaleirios (Apollod., Tz.). Apollodorus adds Amphilochos (and so Tz. in Lyc. 427); he was another seer, the son of Amphiaraios. But this is probably contamination with a separate tradition in which he was Calchas' only companion: Hdt. 7. 91, Theopompus 115 F 351, Q.S. 14. 365–9; Strabo 14. 1. 27 λέγεται δὲ Κάλχας ὁ μάντις μετ' Ἀμφιλόχου¹² τοῦ Ἀμφιαράου κατὰ τὴν ἐκ Τροίας ἐπάνοδον πεζῇ δεῦρο (to Colophon) ἀφικέσθαι, περιτυχὼν δ' ἑαυτοῦ κρείττονι μάντει κατὰ τὴν Κλάρων, Μόψῳ τῷ Μαντοῦς τῆς Τειρεσίου θυγατρὸς, διὰ λύπην ἀποθανεῖν. Amphilochos was associated with Mopsos, not at Colophon but in Cilicia, where they established the oracle of Mallos but also fell out in bitter rivalry.¹³ The Pamphylians, the Cilicians' western neighbours, claimed to be τῶν ἐκ Τροίας ἀποσκεδασθέντων ἅμα Ἀμφιλόχῳ καὶ Κάλχαντι (Hdt. l.c.), and Sophocles (fr. 180) is credited with having transferred Calchas' and Mopsos' rivalry to 'Pamphylia' (which Strabo takes to mean Cilicia). The two traditions about Calchas' post-war peregrinations are thus:

Calchas+Leonteus, Polypoites, Podaleirios to Colophon (*Nostoi*).

Calchas+Amphilochos to Cilicia ([Hes.] *Melampodia*?).¹⁴

We see contamination of the two traditions not only in the Apollodorus passage but in Strabo, who makes Amphilochos Calchas' companion to Colophon, and in Tzetzes, who

adds καὶ Κιλικίαν after εἰς Κολοφῶνα. That Amphilochos featured in the *Nostoi* narrative is the less likely in that we hear nothing of his (p.256) presence at Troy in the *Iliad* or the other poems of the Trojan Cycle, though ps.-Hesiod included him among the suitors of Helen, and Quintus perhaps among the warriors in the Wooden Horse.¹⁵

Polypoites and Leonteus were Lapiths, leaders of a battle contingent from the Peneios valley (*Il.* 2. 738–47, 12. 128–30). They were supposed to have founded Aspendos in Pamphylia (Eust. 334. 29), and this may be why they are associated with Calchas' southward trek, though new foundations do not seem to have been typical of the *Nostoi*. Perhaps he prophesied their destiny to them. Sch. Dion. Per. 850 says that after Calchas' demise Mopsos led them on to Cilicia. Tzetzes, on the other hand, says that not long after the seer's funeral they returned to Greece, as if they got no further than Colophon. Possibly some Colophonian family claimed Lapith descent.

As for the third Thessalian in the party, the healer Podaleirios, the surviving son of Asklepios (Machaon having been killed by Penthesileia or Eurypylos), he too was held to have found a home in southern Anatolia, in Caria (Apollod. epit. 6. 18~Tz. in Lyc. 1047; Paus. 3. 26. 10; St. Byz. s.v. Σύρνα). This or some similar tradition presumably underlies his accompanying Calchas in the *Nostoi*.¹⁶ It was perhaps in this context that the poet referred to the story of Asklepios' death at the hands of Zeus:

F 9 Philod. *De pietate* B 4901 Obbink

τὸν Ἀσκληπιὸν δ' ὑπὸ Διὸς κα[τακταν]θῆναι γεγρ[άφασιν Ἡ]σίοδος (fr.51 M.-W.)... λ[έγεται] δὲ καὶ ἐν τῷ [Ἰ]νός τοις.

Calchas' death is generally attributed to his defeat by Mopsos in a contest between the two seers. Strabo, following the passage quoted above, gives an account of the contest from a Hesiodic poem, probably the *Melampodia* (fr. 278 M.-W.): Calchas pointed to a wild fig tree and asked how many figs it had on it. Mopsos was able to give (p.257) the exact number, whereupon Calchas died. Then he cites Pherecydes (fr. 142 Fowler) for a version in which Calchas' question is how many piglets there are inside a certain pregnant sow and Mopsos replies correctly that there are ten, one of which is female. Strabo adds that others say that Calchas asked about the sow and Mopsos about the fig tree, and that Calchas died ὑπὸ λύπης καὶ κατὰ τι λόγιον.

Apollodorus tells the story in the continuation of the epitome excerpt given above (6. 2–4), and Tzetzes in the gap in my quotation indicated by '...'. The λόγιον was that Calchas would die when he encountered a seer more skilled than himself,¹⁷ and this happened when the travellers were received by Mopsos, son of Apollo and Manto.¹⁸ Calchas posed the fig-tree riddle and Mopsos answered it, in exactly the same terms as in the Hesiodic fragment. Then Mopsos asked Calchas about the sow: not only how many piglets she had inside her, but also when she was going to give birth. Calchas said eight, but Mopsos declared it was ten, nine female and one male, to be born at noon the following day; and so it proved. Calchas died of chagrin (ἀθυμήσας) and was buried at Notion.

Some version of the seers' contest may have stood in the *Nostoi*. It might have

corresponded to Apollodorus' version, though it is suspicious that this is appended after the notice of Calchas' burial, as if drawn from a different source, and that it combines the two riddles that Strabo cites successively from Hesiod and Pherecydes¹⁹ It does mention 'others' whose version included both riddles, one of them posed by Calchas, and also the λόγιον. Both riddles are there in Lyc. 427–9. Apollodorus' version of the sow riddle differs from Pherecydes' in that it has one male piglet among the ten instead of one female.

Poetic, vatic, and riddle contests were an old institution; cf. Severyns (1928), 72–4, and for the sow riddle *ibid.* 364. The motif that the loser in such a contest dies recurs in the stories of Homer's death when he is defeated by the fisherboys' riddle and of the Sphinx's death when Oedipus answers hers, as well as in Indian and Nordic myth (West, *ibid.* 74).

(p.258) Proclus gives the impression that the story of Calchas was taken to its conclusion before the poet returned to Agamemnon's departure from Troy. But we have seen (on *Iliou Persis* arg. 4b, 3) that Proclus is capable of taking things out of order for the sake of keeping connected events together. It may well be that the poet used the well-established Homeric interlacing technique and described first the departure of Calchas and his party, then Agamemnon's embarkation and perhaps the storm and the death of Ajax, and then Calchas' arrival at Colophon and what happened there.

The Remaining Departures from Troy

Arg. 3a

τῶν δὲ περὶ τὸν Ἀγαμέμνονα ἀποπλεόντων Ἀχιλλέως εἶδωλον ἐπιφανὲν πειρᾶται διακωλύειν προλέγον τὰ συμβησόμενα.

Apollod. epit. 6. 5 Ἀγαμέμνων δὲ θύσας ἀνάγεται, καὶ Τενέδωι προσίσχει.

The phrase οἱ περὶ τὸν Ἀγαμέμνονα will stand for that 'half' of the Achaeans (*Od.* 3. 155) which sided with Agamemnon in the quarrel and postponed their departure. They must include Ajax, but not Odysseus, who, shrewd enough to see the danger of staying with the others—or perhaps warned by Athena, his protectress in the *Odyssey*—chose to sail off in a different direction.

The poet introduced Achilles' ghost to enliven the narrative with a dramatic apparition and a warning figure. The ghost appeared also in the *Little Iliad* (arg. 3b n.), and perhaps in the *Iliou Persis* (arg. 4c n.), but was not, so far as we know, there credited with foreknowledge of future events. The poets of these episodes either did not know of Achilles' translation to Leuke (*Aethiopis* arg. 4b) or did not regard it as precluding his reappearance at Troy.

The warning to Agamemnon presumably concerned not the danger of the storm at sea (Calchas had given warning of Athena's anger against the Achaeans, and Agamemnon had already shown himself aware of it) but the danger that faced him at home. The warning

probably did not go into explicit detail of what was going on at Mycenae and what Aegisthus planned to do, but was couched in vaguer terms. At any rate it was not sufficient to dissuade Agamemnon from setting out. His sacrifices to Athena are those **(p.259)** programmed in arg. 1a~Apollod. epit. 6. 1, the hecatombs of *Od.* 3. 144.

His landing on Tenedos (Apollod.) echoes that of the party that left earlier (see on arg. 1b and c). Perhaps it was mentioned simply as the natural first stopping-place, where the first night was passed. But possibly it served, as previously, to occasion a further division of the fleet, so that Agamemnon would be separated from Ajax and escape the latter's fate.

Apollod. epit. 6. 5

Νεοπτόλεμον δὲ πείθει Θέτις ἀφικομένη ἐπιμεῖναι δύο ἡμέρας καὶ θυσιάσαι, καὶ ἐπιμένει.

It appears from the sequel (see below on arg. 4a) that Neoptolemos went with the others as far as Tenedos. It must have been there that Thetis appeared to him, coming up out of the sea as she did at Troy in the *Iliad* and *Aethiopis*, to advise her grandson on his next moves. Born on Skyros, he had never been to Thessaly. He needed to be told where to go to find Peleus and how to get there. Phoenix might have seemed a sufficient guide, but Phoenix was to die en route. This was a good opportunity for a scene between Neoptolemos and Thetis, whom so far as we know he had not met before. And she was able to give him advice that would keep him clear of the coming storm in the Aegean. That was perhaps the point of his travelling overland.

There was a poetic motive for the two-day wait, which Thetis justified by the need to make sacrifices. In Apollodorus the sentence quoted above is followed by the account of the storm and the death of Ajax (6. 6–7), and then by the story of Nauplios, which is taken from another source (6. 8–11; Bethe 279f.). Then Neoptolemos, after waiting his two days on Tenedos, proceeds on his way. This (without Nauplios) was no doubt the sequence of events in the *Nostoi*. Neoptolemos received his instructions when Agamemnon and the others were still at the start of their voyage, then the storm was related, and then the narrative went back to Neoptolemos and dealt with the continuation of his story. Proclus passes over the Thetis scene and just mentions her advice when he comes to the journey (arg. 4a).

(p.260) The Storm; The Death of Ajax

Arg. 3b

εἴθ' ὁ περὶ τὰς Καφηρίδας πέτρας δηλοῦται χειμῶν καὶ ἡ Αἴαντος φθορὰ τοῦ Λοκροῦ.

Apollod. epit. 6. 5 οἱ δὲ ἀνάγονται, καὶ περὶ Τήνον χειμάζονται· Ἀθηνᾶ γὰρ ἐδεήθη Διὸς τοῖς Ἑλλησι χειμῶνα ἐπιπέμψαι· καὶ πολλαὶ νῆες βυθίζονται. Ἀθηνᾶ δὲ ἐπὶ τὴν Αἴαντος ναῦν κεραυνὸν βάλλει· ὃ δὲ τῆς νεὼς διαλυθείσης ἐπὶ τινὰ πέτραν διασωθεὶς παρὰ τὴν θεοῦ ἔφη πρόνοϊαν σεσῶσθαι. Ποσειδῶν δὲ πλήξας τῇ τριαίνῃ τὴν πέτραν ἔσχισεν, ὃ δὲ πεσὼν εἰς τὴν θάλασσαν τελευτᾷ. καὶ ἐκβρασθέντα θάπτει Θέτις ἐν

Μυκόνωι.

Proclus is again extremely niggardly. Apollodorus' account bears the hallmarks of an epic source and may be taken as reflecting the *Nostoi*. The references to Tenos and Mykonos imply that the voyagers took the second of the alternative routes considered by Nestor and Diomedes in *Od.* 3. 170–2 (see above on arg. 1b), the one that they shrewdly rejected, passing through the channel east of Chios and skirting the northern Cyclades (Bethe 278f.). At Tenos they were at their furthest from both mainlands. Ajax finally came to grief at the *Γυραί πέτραι* (*Od.* 4. 499–511), which, as F. H. Sandbach put beyond doubt in *CR* 56 (1942), 63–5, were on Tenos. Proclus refers instead to the rocks of Kaphereus, the easternmost promontory of Euboea. This is an assimilation to the later vulgate, according to which Nauplios lured the Achaean ships onto the rocks there.²⁰

In an Olympian scene Athena, infuriated by Ajax's sacrilege, complained to Zeus and prevailed upon him to send a storm on the ships at sea. (Cf. Eur. *Tro.* 78–81, quoted below.) There is a parallel (p.261) with Helios' complaint and Zeus' response in *Od.* 12. 376–88.²¹ Alcaeus gives a typically elliptical sketch of the affair (*SLG* 262. 20–7): Ajax dragged Cassandra away from Athena's image; the goddess turned livid, rushed out to sea, and roused unforeseen tempests.

Many ships besides Ajax's were sunk. The poet probably did not list the heroes who perished in them; the postulate of the large-scale disaster dispensed him from accounting for everyone individually.

Apollodorus says that Athena herself hurled the thunderbolt that struck Ajax's ship. That she personally inflicted punishment on the man who had offended her is confirmed by Eur. *Tro.* 78–81, where she tells Poseidon what is to happen when the Greeks set sail from Troy:

καὶ Ζεὺς μὲν ὄμβρον καὶ χάλαζαν ἄσπετον

πέμψει δνοφώδη τ' αἰθέρος φυσήματα,

ἐμοὶ δὲ δώσειν φησὶ πῦρ κεραύνιον,

βάλλειν Ἀχαιοὺς ναῦς τε πιμπράναι πυρί.²²

Likewise Virg. *Aen.* 1. 42f.; Sen. *Ag.* 528–56; Q.S. 14. 530–8.

What follows in Apollodorus agrees closely with *Od.* 4. 500–10:

500

Γυρῆισιν μιν πρῶτα Ποσειδάων ἐπέλασσε

πέτρησιν μεγάλῃσι, καὶ ἐξεσάωσε θαλάσσης·

καὶ νύ κεν ἔκφυγε κῆρα, καὶ ἐχθόμενός περ Ἀθήνηι

εἰ μὴ ὑπερφίαλον ἔπος ἔκβαλε καὶ μέγ' ἀάσθη·
 φῆρ' ἀέκητι θεῶν φυγέειν μέγα λαῖτμα θαλάσσης

505

τοῦ δὲ Ποσειδάων μεγάλ' ἔκλυεν αὐδήσαντος
 αὐτίκ' ἔπειτα τρίαιναν ἐλὼν χερσὶ στιβαρῆσιν
 ἤλασε Γυραίην πέτρην, ἀπὸ δ' ἔσχισεν αὐτήν·
 καὶ τὸ μὲν αὐτόθι μεῖνε, τὸ δὲ τρύφος ἔμπεσε πόντῳ,
 τῷ ρ' Αἴας τὸ πρῶτον ἐφεζόμενος μέγ' ἀάσθη,

510

τὸν δ' ἐφόρει κατὰ πόντον ἀπείρονα κυμαίνοντα

The account in the *Nostoi* may have been very similar or identical. Lycophron 387–95 describes the same sequence of events in his own riddling style. Cf. sch.^D *Il.* 13. 66.

(p.262) The motif of the hero's impious boast that seals his fate recalls that of Kapaneus in the Theban saga (Aesch. *Sept.* 425–31, etc.). We may also compare *Od.* 9. 525, where Odysseus boasts that not even Poseidon will heal Polyphemos' eye, and Polyphemos' prayer to his father then arouses Poseidon's wrath against Odysseus, which nearly brings him to grief. Poseidon's splitting of the *Γυραίη πέτρη* is no doubt an aetiology for a detached rock in the sea close to the cliffs of Tenos (Sandbach, *CR* 56 (1942), 64 col. ii n. 2).

Apollodorus says finally that Ajax's body was washed up and given burial on Mykonos by Thetis: καὶ ἐκβρασθέντα θάπτει Θέτις ἐν Μυκόνῳ. The D scholion on *Il.* 13. 66, however, says ἐκριφέντα δὲ αὐτὸν κατὰ Δῆλον νεκρὸν Θέτις ἐλεήσασα θάπτει. There is no contradiction: the body was washed up on Delos, but could not be buried on the holy island, so Thetis buried it on Myconos.²³ Lycophron 396–402 provides fuller detail: the body is washed up and lies withering and rotting in the sun until Thetis takes pity on it and buries it; the trembling(?) tomb.²⁴ is by the sea, and close (at the closest point?) to Delos. There must have been an actual tomb supposed to be that of Ajax. Thetis had already played a part in the *Nostoi* narrative. She had no reason to feel affection towards Ajax, but there was no one else to bury him, and as a goddess of coasts and islands she took note of the situation and acted.

Neoptolemos' Journey

Arg. 4a

Νεοπτόλεμος δὲ Θέτιδος ὑποθεμένης πεζῇ ποιεῖται τὴν πορείαν.

Apollod. epit. 6. 12 *Νεοπτόλεμος δὲ μείνας ἐν Τενέδωι δύο ἡμέρας ὑποθήκαις τῆς Θέτιδος εἰς Μολοσσοὺς πεζῇ ἀπῆι μετὰ Ἑλένου.*

The narrative now returned to Neoptolemos; cf. above on arg. 3a/Apollod. epit. 6. 5. Like Calchas and his party, he was to avoid the dangers of the sea and travel overland. First, of course, he had to cross from Tenedos to some landing-place north of the Dardanelles.

(p.263) He was leading the Myrmidons (*Od.* 3. 188f.), accompanied by Phoenix and no doubt by other retainers of Achilles.

According to Apollodorus he was also accompanied by Helenos and went to the land of the Molossoi. The two details go together: the seer served to guide him to the land appointed by destiny. The *Little Iliad* (F 30) and *Iliou Persis* (arg. 4a) would lead us to suppose that he was in possession of Andromache. She too belongs with the Molossian journey, because by her Neoptolemos was to father the eponymous hero Molossos, from whom the later Molossian kings claimed descent: Apollod. epit. 6. 12–13 *καὶ νικήσας μάχηι Μολοσσοὺς βασιλεύει. καὶ ἐξ Ἀνδρομάχης γεννᾷ Μολοσσόν. Ἑλένος δὲ κτίσας ἐν τῇ Μολοσσίᾳ πόλιν κατοικεῖ, καὶ δίδωσιν αὐτῷ Νεοπτόλεμος εἰς γυναῖκα τὴν μητέρα Δηιδάμειαν.*²⁵ But I doubt whether any of this stood in the *Nostoi*. (If it did, it was the first appearance of the Molossians in Greek literature.) In the *Odyssey*, which as we have seen agreed extensively with the *Nostoi* in regard to the Return stories, Neoptolemos marries Menelaos' daughter Hermione, who was promised to him at Troy; he is located in the *Μυρμιδόνων ἄστυ*, and there is no hint of a union with Andromache or of a Molossian kingdom (4. 5–9). Cf. Bethe 277.

Arg. 4b

καὶ παραγενόμενος εἰς Θράικην Ὀδυσσέα καταλαμβάνει ἐν τῇ Μαρωνείᾳ.

Maroneia is a harbour site below Mt Ismaros, which appears in the *Odyssey* (9. 39f.) as Odysseus' first landfall after leaving Troy. He had evidently chosen a route different from all the other voyagers, who went southward towards Lesbos.²⁶ There is no mention in the *Odyssey* of his having seen Neoptolemos in Thrace; Odysseus says nothing of it in reporting on him to Achilles' ghost in 11. 533–7, and indeed he implies that he went home by ship. The purpose of the encounter at Maroneia, so far as we can see, was simply to give a sight of Odysseus on his way at the start of his adventures, which were otherwise excluded from the *Nostoi*.²⁷ It was possibly for this **(p.264)** that Neoptolemos was sent by the land route. He could have got to Maroneia by sea just as Odysseus did, but it was necessary for their ways to part after that.

Arg. 4c

καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν ἀνύει τῆς ὁδοῦ, καὶ τελευτήσαντα Φοῖνικα θάπτει· αὐτὸς δὲ εἰς Μολοσσοὺς ἀφικόμενος ἀναγνωρίζεται Πηλεῖ

Apollod. epit. 6. 12 *καὶ παρὰ τὴν ὁδὸν ἀποθανόντα Φοῖνικα θάπτει.* (There follows the passage about the conquest of Molossia quoted above.)

The death of Phoenix, like that of Calchas, may have had to do with the existence of a tomb (Bethe 279). According to Lycophron 417–20 and sch. he was buried at Eion by the mouth of the Strymon.

It was poetically necessary that Neoptolemos should find his aged grandfather Peleus, much as Odysseus must be reunited with Laertes. But Peleus lived in Phthia, far removed from Molossia. We must suspect that Proclus' *εἰς Μολοσσούς ἀφικόμενος* represents an intrusion from the Molossian version.²⁸ In *Il.* 24. 488f. and *Od.* 11. 494–503 there are concerns that Peleus is under threat and in need of a protector. If this was so in the *Nostoi*, Neoptolemos' arrival will have had more dramatic interest than if it was not. Cf. Welcker ii. 289f.

All that Nestor has to say of Neoptolemos' *nostos* is that he and the Myrmidons had a successful one (*Od.* 3. 188f.). He adds that Philoctetes and Idomeneus were equally fortunate. We may guess that they too were briefly dealt with in the Cyclic poem.

Agamemnon Reaches the Argolid

Arg. 5

ἔπειτα Ἀγαμέμνωνος ὑπὸ Αἰγίσθου καὶ Κλυταιμῆστρας ἀναιρεθέντος ὑπ' Ὀρέστου καὶ Πυλάδου τιμωρία, καὶ Μενελάου εἰς τὴν οἰκείαν ἀνακομιδή.

It was natural that the saga of Agamemnon and Orestes, the most elaborate story in the *Nostoi* and the one that extended longest in (p.265) time after the war, should have been held back till other heroes' returns had been dealt with. It may have taken up the whole latter half of the epic; see intro. 4.

Agamemnon's departure from Troy, undeterred by a warning from Achilles' ghost, was related earlier. We have seen him get as far as Tenedos (arg. 3a). It was suggested that his pause there might have had the effect of saving him from the worst of the storm. But we cannot say for sure whether the poet concerned himself with the exact whereabouts of Agamemnon during the storm and the degree of trouble it may have caused him. In Aeschylus (*Ag.* 650–80) the Herald relates how it raged through the night, and how when morning came they saw the sea covered with bodies and wreckage, while their own ship by some divine assistance had come through unscathed. Perhaps this may be connected with what Proteus tells Menelaos at *Od.* 4. 512f.: after relating Ajax's fate, he says, 'but your brother escaped death at sea, saved by lady Hera'. The *Nostoi* poet may have had the goddess of Argos and Mycenae (*Il.* 4. 52) intervene in some way to protect Agamemnon in the storm, even though she was not going to be able to keep him safe for long.

Proteus continues with an account of Agamemnon's movements that is barely intelligible.

ἀλλ' ὅτε δὴ τάχ' ἔμελλε Μαλειάων ὄρος αἰπύ

ἵξεσθαι, τότε δὴ μιν ἀναρπάξασα θύελλα
 πόντον ἔπ' ἰχθυόεντα φέρειν βαρέα στενάχοντα
 ἀγροῦ ἐπ' ἐσχατιήν, ὅθι δώματα ναῖε Θυέστης
 τὸ πρίν, ἀτὰρ τότε ἔναιε Θυεστιάδης Αἴγισθος.
 ἀλλ' ὅτε δὴ καὶ κεῖθεν ἐφαίνετο νόστος ἀπήμων,
 520

ἂψ δὲ θεοὶ οὐρον στρέψαν, καὶ οἴκαδ' ἵκοντο,
 ἦτοι δὲ μὲν χαίρων ἐπεβήσετο πατρίδος αἴης
 καὶ κύνει ἀπτόμενος ἦν πατρίδα, πολλὰ δ' ἀπ' αὐτοῦ
 δάκρυα θερμὰ χέοντ', ἐπεὶ ἀσπασίως ἶδε γαῖαν.
 τὸν δ' ἄρ' ἀπὸ σκοπιῆς εἶδε σκοπός, ὃν ῥα καθεῖσεν
 525

Αἴγισθος δολόμητις ἄγων, ὑπὸ δ' ἔσχετο μισθόν,
 χρυσοῦ δοιὰ τάλαντα· φύλασσε δ' ὁ γ' εἰς ἐνιαυτόν,
 μή ἐλάθοι παριών, μνήσαιο δὲ θούριδος ἀλκῆς.
 βῆ δ' ἴμεν ἀγγελέων πρὸς δώματα ποιμένι λαῶν.

The problems are:

- (i) Why did Agamemnon go anywhere near Cape Malea, the south-eastern tip of the Peloponnese? Menelaos needed to round it to get to Sparta; Odysseus needed to round it to get to Ithaca; but **(p.266)** Agamemnon should have been heading into the Argolic Gulf, fifty miles to the north, as his palace was at Mycenae (3. 305) and Aegisthus lived *μυχῶι Ἄργεος* (263).²⁹ It is sometimes supposed that the present passage reflects a version in which Agamemnon did not rule at Mycenae but jointly with Menelaos at Sparta or Amyklai, as in Stesichorus (*PMGF* 216), Simonides (*PMG* 549=F 276 Poltera), and Pindar (*Pyth.* 11. 16, 32, *Nem.* 11. 34).³⁰ The alternative answer is that the typical association of Malea with sailors being blown off course has led the *Odyssey* poet, if not the *Nostoi* poet, thoughtlessly to take Agamemnon there.³¹
- (ii) But what was the point of the diversion? Agamemnon has survived the great storm; why send him astray again? Nothing comes of it.
- (iii) 517 connects badly with 516; we miss 'but presently he made landfall'. It

would connect better with 513: *σάωσε δὲ πότνια Ἥρη | ἀγροῦ ἐπ' ἐσχατιήν*, etc.

(iv) 519ff. connect badly with 518. The *νόστος ἀπήμων* results from a change in the wind, implying that Agamemnon is still at sea. The lines would follow better after 516.

An altogether more natural and straightforward narrative results if 514–16 and 519–20 are removed.³² Hera saves Agamemnon from the dangers of the sea, and he lands in the part of the Argolid where Aegisthus lives. He rejoices to be back in his own country. Aegisthus' lookout sees him and goes to tell his employer. It is tempting to suppose that this simple narrative corresponded to that of the *Nostoi*. Someone has forcibly conflated it with a five-line passage from an alternative version, inserting three of the lines after 513 and two after 518. This alternative version may have been designed to locate Agamemnon in Laconia.

At some point, either before Agamemnon reached the Greek mainland or soon afterwards, the poet must have given an account of how Aegisthus had seduced Clytaemestra. It probably resembled the account that Nestor gives in *Od.* 3. 262–75. While the Achaeans were fighting at Troy, Aegisthus, sitting untroubled in his corner of the **(p.267)** Argolid, made persistent attempts to win Clytaemestra over with seductive words. At first she rejected his advances, being a sensible woman and moreover being watched over by a singer whom Agamemnon had charged to look after her. But in the end Aegisthus removed the singer and left him to perish on a desert island;³³ Clytaemestra melted, and he brought her to live with him, celebrating his success with liberal sacrifices and dedications.

Elsewhere (*Od.* 1. 37–43) we hear that the gods had sent Hermes to warn Aegisthus not to embark on this course of action: not to court Clytaemestra and not to kill Agamemnon, because there would be vengeance from Orestes once he reached manhood and felt the yearning to return to his own land. But Aegisthus had not taken the good advice. Zeus cites this in illustration of the principle that mortals, despite blaming the gods for their misfortunes, suffer more than they need through their own wicked follies. Athena then raises the contrasting case of Odysseus, who is suffering woes that he does not deserve. It may be that the poet has invented the Hermes episode for this context, wanting to bring the Agamemnon theme into view right at the beginning of his epic. It is difficult to imagine it having a place in the narrative of the *Nostoi*, as supposed by Nitzsch (1831), 37.

The Murder of Agamemnon

I continue to assume that the *Nostoi* gave more or less the same account as the relevant passages of the *Odyssey* (1. 36; 3. 193f., 303–5; 4. 529–37; 11. 409–34; 24. 20–2, 199–202). Cf. below on F 10. After learning of Agamemnon's arrival in his district, Aegisthus assembled a force of twenty men and put them in concealment, while his kitchen staff prepared a feast (4. 530f.). Then he went in his chariot to where his cousin Agamemnon was (perhaps he had already made his way home), invited him to dinner, and led him back to his own place. Agamemnon was accompanied by his Trojan captive Cassandra and by a

company of his retainers. After they had dined, **(p.268)** Aegisthus' men stormed in and a furious battle broke out. Clytaemestra was present,³⁴ and she killed Cassandra. Here is the vivid account given by Agamemnon's ghost (11. 409–26):

ἀλλά μοι Αἴγισθος τεύξας θάνατόν τε μόρον τε

410

ἔκτα σὺν οὐλομένῃ ἀλόχῳ, οἴκόνδε καλέσσας,

δειπνίσσας, ὥς τίς τε κατέκτανε βοῦν ἐπὶ φάτνῃ.

ὥς θάνον οἰκτίστῳ θανάτῳ· περὶ δ' ἄλλοι ἑταῖροι

νωλεμέως κτείνοντο ...

418

ἀλλά κε κεῖνα μάλιστα ἰδὼν ὀλοφύραο θυμῷ,

ὥς ἀμφὶ κρητῆρα τραπέζας τε πληθούσας

420

κείμεθ' ἐνὶ μεγάρῳ, δάπεδον δ' ἅπαν αἵματι θυῖεν.

οἰκτροτάτην δ' ἤκουσα ὅπα Πριάμοιο θυγατρός

Κασσάνδρης, τὴν κτεῖνε Κλυταιμῆστρη δολόμητις

ἀμφ' ἐμοί· αὐτὰρ ἐγὼ ποτὶ γαίῃ χειῖρας ἀείρων

βάλλον ἀποθνήσκων περὶ φασγάνῳ. ἦ δὲ κυνώπις

425

νοσφίσατ', οὐδέ μοι ἔτλη ἰόντί περ εἰς Αἴδαο

χερσὶ κατ' ὀφθαλμοὺς ἐλέειν σὺν τε στόμ' ἐρεῖσαι

I understand 420–4 to mean that as Agamemnon sank forward to the ground, pierced by Aegisthus' sword, vainly throwing up his arms, he could hear Cassandra's cries behind him as she was slain over him.³⁵ Although it is Aegisthus who kills him, Clytaemestra is treated as being equally guilty of it (3. 235; 4. 92; 11. 410, 430; 24. 97, 200). All of Agamemnon's followers and all of Aegisthus' men were slain (4. 532–7; 11. 409–26; 24. 21f.).

It is not unlikely that at some point Cassandra prophesied what was to happen, as she does in Aeschylus. There seems no point otherwise in Agamemnon's bringing a

prophetess all the way from Troy to Argos, only for them both to be killed.

F 10 *Poculum Homericum* MB 36 (Berlin inv. 4996; p. 101 Sinn)

The cup, dating from around 200 BCE, was published by C. Robert, *JDAI* 34 (1919), 72–6 with Tafel 6; an illustration may also be found in Severyns (1928), facing p. 403, and in Sinn. The scenes, crudely executed in relief using a collection of stamps, extend round the (p.269) circumference. They bear the overall caption [κατὰ τὸν ποιητὴν] Ἀ[γίαν] ἐκ τῶν [Νό] στωι Ἀχα [ι]ῶν. θάνατος Ἀγαμέμ[νο]νος. Following the frieze from left to right from this point, we see first Aegisthus (not named), with raised sword, rushing at [Ἀ]γαμέμνων, who reclines on a couch. Cassandra (not named) is tearing her hair and apparently throwing herself between them. Next, behind Agamemnon, three of his retainers, *Ηιίας*, *Ἀλκμέων*, and *Μήστωρ Αἴαντος*, all *en déshabille* and unarmed, start up from their couches as *Ἄντ[ί]οχος* and *Ἀργεῖος*, armed with spears and shields, advance against them. Finally we see *Κλυτα[ι]μήστρα*, trampling over the dead body of *Ἀγαμέμνων*, attacking *Κασσάν[δρα]* with raised sword and with her left hand grabbing her by the hair.

The fighting was evidently described at length in the epic, with naming of individuals on both sides. Perhaps there was a complete catalogue of both parties. We may assume that the names of the retainers on the cup were taken from the epic. They seem to be just stock heroic names. Mestor at least was provided with a famous father, Ajax (the Locrian according to Robert, *JDAI* 34 (1919), 73, on the ground that Telamonian Ajax was an enemy of Agamemnon).

The picture confirms the presumed agreement of the *Nostoi* and *Odyssey* versions in several particulars. Agamemnon and his followers are caught off guard by Aegisthus and his men as they relax unsuspecting at a feast.³⁶ Agamemnon is killed by Aegisthus and Cassandra is killed over him by Clytaemestra.

Lycophron (1114) speaks of Clytaemestra trampling on Cassandra's neck. This might be a detail deriving from the *Nostoi*.

F 12 *Ath.* 399a, “δρα”

ὁ τὴν τῶν Ἀτρειδῶν κάθοδον πεποιηκὼς ἐν τῷ τρίτῳ φησίν·

Ἴσον δ' Ἑρμιονεὺς ποσὶ καρπαλίμοισι μετασπών

ψύας ἔγχεϊ νύξε.

2 ψοίας Kaibel.

(p.270) For the equation of *The Return of the Atreidai* with the *Nostoi* see intro. 1. The fragment comes from a battle scene, no doubt the battle in Aegisthus' house. Again the men named cannot be traced elsewhere. An Isos appears in *Il.* 11. 101 as a bastard son of Priam, killed by Agamemnon. Hermioneus recalls Menelaos' daughter Hermione and the Argive town of the same name. If we accept the indication of the cup (F 10) that only

Aegisthus' men were armed, he would be one of them, like Argeios.³⁷ But as they were all killed in the fighting, we must suppose that Agamemnon's men also had weapons to hand or were able to get hold of some after being attacked.

ποσὶ καρπαλίμοισι μετασπών is not exactly paralleled in Homer, but cf. *Il.* 17. 190 *ποσὶ κραιπνοῖσι μετασπών* and 16. 342 *κιχεῖς ποσὶ καρπαλίμοισιν*. The word *ψῦαι* or *ψοῖαι*, 'groin', is not otherwise found in high poetry. *ἔγχεϊ νύξε* occurs in the same place in the verse at *Il.* 5. 579.

Tragic references to the dishonourable disposal of Agamemnon's and Cassandra's bodies may possibly reflect the epic. Aeschylus (*Ag.* 1554 and *Cho.* 429–44) indicates that Agamemnon was subjected to *μασχαλισμός* and buried in a clandestine operation without mourners. Euripides (*Tro.* 446–50) says he was buried at night, while Cassandra's naked corpse was thrown into a mountain stream.

The poet had now to relate Orestes' removal to another land. Agamemnon's words in *Od.* 11. 452f., *ἦ δ' ἐμὴ οὐδέ περ υἱὸς ἐνιπλησθῆναι ἄκοιτις | ὀφθαλμοῖσιν ἔασε, πάρος δέ με πέφνε καὶ αὐτόν*, imply that when he reached Argos Orestes was still there, though in 458–61 he surmises that he is now in exile. He must have been taken or sent away immediately after the murder. In Pindar (*Pyth.* 11. 17) he is smuggled away by a nurse when it becomes apparent that his life may be in danger, and so perhaps in Stesichorus' *Oresteia*, where a nurse is known to have played a role at some point (*PMGF* 218). In Aeschylus (*Ag.* 877ff., *Cho.* 913ff.) Clytaemestra herself sent him away while she pursued her affair. In Sophocles (*El.* 11–14, 1348–56, cf. *Eur. El.* 16–18) Electra gave him to a trusted old manservant to take away. In a version known to (p.271) vase-painters and to Nicolaus of Damascus *FGrHist* 90 F 25, which Robert (1881), 153–72, argued derived from Stesichorus, this part was played by the herald Talthybios.

In these versions he was taken to Phocis. In the *Nostoi*, however, he went to Athens; at least, according to *Od.* 3. 306f. he returned in the eighth year *ἂψ ἅπ' Ἀθηναίων* or *ἅπ' Ἀθηναίων*, or with Aristarchus' reading *ἅπ' Ἀθηναίης*. (Zenodotus' variant *ἀπὸ Φωκίων* is to be discounted as an assimilation to the version familiar from Pindar and the tragedians.) Aristarchus understood his *Ἀθηναίης* to mean 'Athens', like *Ἀθήνην* in 7. 80; perhaps it should be taken rather as 'Athena's land', i.e. Attica, but in any case it was in Attica or at Athens that Orestes grew to manhood. We have no idea who he was staying with. The sons of Theseus? But there is no evidence that they appeared at all in the *Nostoi*.

The Years Pass

After disposing of Agamemnon, Aegisthus settled down with Clytaemestra to rule over Mycenae, *δέδμητο δὲ λαὸς ὑπ' αὐτῶν· ἑπταετὲς δ' ἦνασσε πολυχρύσοιο Μυκῆνης* (*Od.* 3. 304f.). Did the poet at this point simply jump forward seven years to Orestes' return, or did he mitigate the transition by interposing other matter?

He shows other evidence of artistry in the disposition of his material by interlacing action that was proceeding on different fronts, and it is likely that he did something of the sort

here. Nitzsch suggested that he delayed the latter part of Neoptolemos' story—indeed his actual departure from Troy—till after the death of Agamemnon so as to separate the latter from Orestes' return.³⁸ I think he must have departed before then (see above on arg. 3a/ Apollod. epit. 6. 5), but the poet might have left him trekking through Thrace, postponing the encounter with Odysseus at Maroneia and the rest of his story. That is not how it appears from Proclus, but it deserves serious consideration. The author of the **(p.272)** summary might very reasonably have dealt with Neoptolemos' return as an undivided whole before turning to Agamemnon's. In fact the same thing could have happened with the story of Calchas. The departure of him and his companions from Troy might have been related before Agamemnon sailed, as in arg. 2–3, and their arrival at Colophon and Calchas' death left till after the great storm and Agamemnon's disastrous homecoming.

There were other, still more obvious matters to refer to. The wanderings of Menelaos and of Odysseus were in progress throughout the years of Aegisthus' reign at Mycene, and it was natural to say something of them. We assume that the poet did not aim to compete with the *Odyssey* by offering his own full version of Odysseus' story. But we know he mentioned his stop at Ismaros-Maroneia and Neoptolemos' meeting with him there. After completing the tale of Neoptolemos' homecoming he might have given a summary account of Odysseus' subsequent adventures as far as Calypso. As for Menelaos, this was the most suitable place to describe his travels in Cyprus, the Levant, and north Africa. The account might have included his stays with Polybos and Thon in Egypt and Phaidimos in Sidon (*Od.* 4. 125ff., 228f., 615ff.). In Cyprus he might have stayed with Cinyras, as we have conjectured in the case of Paris (on *Cypria* arg. 2d). In Lyc. 853–5 Menelaos is to dedicate in a Calabrian shrine of Athena a Cypriot crater and a pair of Helen's oriental slippers, and it has been conjectured that these were gifts from Cinyras.³⁹ Presumably these objects were actually to be seen in the temple, and if they were said to be of Cypriot origin it was probably on the basis of literary authority for the couple's visit there.

The Hades Scene

It is in this part of the poem that, for reasons explained below, I place the Hades scene which is explicitly attested by F 1 and to which, as all critics have agreed, a series of other fragments relating to mythological figures of earlier times (Tantalos and various women) are to be assigned. Here are the relevant fragments.

(p.273) F 1 Paus. 10. 28. 7

ἡ δὲ Ὀμήρου ποιήσις ἐς Ὀδυσσέα καὶ ἡ Μινυάς τε καλουμένη καὶ οἱ Νόστοι (μνήμη γὰρ δὴ καὶ ἐν ταύταις Ἄιδου καὶ τῶν ἐκεῖ δειμάτων ἐστίν) ἴσασιν οὐδένα Εὐρύνομον δαίμονα.

F 2* *Et. Gen., Magn., and Gud.* s.v. νεκάδες

Ὅμηρος (*Il.* 5. 886) εἶωθε λέγειν νεκάδας τὰς τῶν νεκρῶν τάξεις ... παρὰ μὲν τοῖς κυκλικοῖς αἱ ψυχὰι νεκάδες λέγονται

The Homeric verse is ἡ τέ κε δηρόν | αὐτοῦ πήματ' ἔπασχον ἐν αἰνῆισιν νεκάδεσσιν, where Aristarchus rightly explained it as 'the ranks of corpses' on the battlefield (see the testimonia in Erbse's edition of the scholia ad loc.), but others no doubt took it as 'down among the dead in Hades'.

Where in the Cycle might souls have been spoken of in the plural? The Hades scene of the *Nostoi* is the most obvious possibility.

F 3 Ath. 281b

φιλήδονον δὲ οἱ ποιηταὶ καὶ τὸν ἀρχαῖόν φασι γενέσθαι Τάνταλον. ὁ γοῦν τὴν τῶν Ἀτρειδῶν ποιήσας κάθοδον ἀφικόμενον αὐτὸν λέγει πρὸς τοὺς θεοὺς καὶ συνδιατρίβοντα ἐξουσίας τυχεῖν παρὰ τοῦ Διὸς αἰτήσασθαι ὅτου ἐπιθυμεῖ· τὸν δέ, πρὸς τὰς ἀπολαύσεις ἀπλήστως διακείμενον, ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν τε τούτων μνείαν ποιήσασθαι καὶ τοῦ ζῆν τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον τοῖς θεοῖς. ἐφ' οἷς ἀγανακτήσαντα τὸν Δία τὴν μὲν εὐχὴν ἀποτελέσαι διὰ τὴν ὑπόσχεσιν, ὅπως δὲ μηδὲν ἀπολαύει τῶν παρακειμένων ἀλλὰ διατελεῖ ταραττόμενος, ὑπὲρ τῆς κεφαλῆς ἐξήρητησεν αὐτῷ πέτρον, δι' ὃν οὐ δύναται τῶν παρακειμένων (ἡδονῆς) τυχεῖν οὐδενός.

Odysseus sees Tantalos undergoing his everlasting torment in *Od.* 11. 582–92, though there it takes a less canonical form. He is one in a series of famous sinners condemned to special punishments (576–600). There may have been a similar group in the *Nostoi*.

For Tantalos' rock cf. Archil. 91. 14f., Alc. *PMGF* 79, Alc. fr. 365. Pausanias 10. 31. 12, finding it represented in Polygnotos' underworld painting in the Cnidian Lesche at Delphi, infers that Polygnotos followed Archilochus' account, and says he does not know whether Archilochus invented it or took it from someone else. It is odd that he overlooks its presence in the Hades scene of the *Nostoi*, which he cites three times in the context (F 1, 4, 5). But it (p. 274) would be unsafe to argue from this that ἡ τῶν Ἀτρειδῶν κάθοδος was a different poem, unknown to Pausanias.

F 4 Paus. 10. 29. 6

ἔστι δὲ πεποιημένα ἐν Νόστοις Μινύου μὲν τὴν Κλυμένην θυγατέρα εἶναι, γήμασθαι δὲ αὐτὴν Κεφάλῳ τῷ Διήιονος, καὶ γενέσθαι σφίσιν Ἰφικλον παῖδα.

F 5 Paus. 10. 30. 5

ὑπὲρ τούτους Μαῖρά ἐστιν ἐπὶ πέτραι καθεζομένη. περὶ δὲ αὐτῆς πεποιημένα ἐστὶν ἐν Νόστοις ἀπελθεῖν μὲν παρθένον ἔτι ἐξ ἀνθρώπων, θυγατέρα δὲ αὐτὴν εἶναι Προίτου τοῦ Θερσάνδρου, τὸν δὲ εἶναι Σισύφου.

F 4 and 5 are from Pausanias' description of Polygnotos' underworld painting. He has already referred in this context to the Hades scene in the *Nostoi* (above, F 1), which makes it all the more probable that he has that portion of the poem in mind here. Klymene and Maira are mentioned together in *Od.* 11. 326 in the long section on famous women of the past whom Odysseus saw and interrogated (225–330). The D scholia there (p. 244 Ernst) give information that matches and amplifies what Pausanias attests for the *Nostoi*:

Μαῖρα ἡ Προίτου τοῦ Θερσάνδρου θυγάτηρ καὶ Ἀντείας τῆς Ἀμφιάνακτος ἐγένετο κάλλει διαπρεπεστάτη. ἡγουμένη δὲ περὶ πλείονος τὴν παρθενίαν εἶπετο τῇ Ἀρτέμιδι ἐπὶ τὰ κυνηγέσια. (Zeus fell in love with her and made her pregnant; she gave birth to Lokros, and was shot by Artemis because she had abandoned hunting. The story is in Pherecydes [fr. 170b Fowler].)... *Κλυμένη* Μινύου τοῦ Ποσειδῶνος καὶ Εὐρυανάσσης τῆς Ὑπέρφαντος γαμηθεῖσα Φυλάκῳ τῷ Δηίονος Ἴφικλον τίκτει ποδώκη παῖδα.

F 6 Arg. Eur. Med. (ii. 136. 12 Schwartz) (cf. sch. Ar. Eq. 1321)

Φερεκύδης δὲ (fr. 113 Fowler) καὶ Σιμωνίδης (PMG 548=F 270 Poltera) φασὶν ὡς ἡ Μήδεια ἀνεψήσασα τὸν Ἰάσονα νέον ποιήσκει. περὶ δὲ τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ Αἴσονος ὁ τοὺς Νόστους ποιήσας φησὶν οὕτως·

αὐτίκα δ' Αἴσονα θῆκε φίλον κόρον ἡβώνοντα,
γῆρας ἀποξύσας· εἰδύνισι πραπίδεσσιν,
φάρμακα πόλλ' ἔψουσ' ἐνὶ χρυσείοισι λέβησιν.

3 ἐνὶ Wolf: ἐπὶ codd.

(p.275) Ovid gives a lurid account of Aison's rejuvenation in *Met.* 7. 159–293. More often we hear of Jason's.

1–2 ≈ Il. 9. 446 γῆρας ἀποξύσας θήσειν νέον ἡβώνοντα; for the spelling of ἡβώνοντα see my critical apparatus *ad loc.* κόρος for epicIonic κοῦρος is un-Homeric; cf. N. J. Richardson on *Hymn. Dem.* 439. Griffin 42 takes φίλον κόρον to be adapted from φίλον τέκος (voc.) two lines before the Iliadic line quoted.

F 7 Clem. Strom. 6. 12. 7

Ἀντιμάχου τε τοῦ Τηΐου εἰπόντος “ἐκ γὰρ δώρων πολλὰ κάκ' ἀνθρώποισι πέλονται”, Ἀγίας ἐποίησεν

δῶρα γὰρ ἀνθρώπων νόον ἥπαφεν ἡδὲ καὶ ἔργα.

Ἀγίας Thiersch: Αὐγ[ε]ῖας cod. νόον Sylburg: νοῦν cod.

The line quoted from Antimachus of Teos is *Epigonoι* F 2; it may have referred to Polyneikes' bribing of Eriphyle in the earlier Theban war. 'Agiās', if the name is rightly restored, should mean the *Nostoi*. Nitzsch (1831, 42 n.***) and Welcker (i. 264 n. 467) conjectured that this line too referred to Eriphyle, and that she was mentioned among the other heroines in the underworld scene, as she is in *Od.* 11. 326 (in the same line as Maira and Klymene). An alternative possibility would be that it stood in the account of Aegisthus' wooing of Clytaemestra and was a comment on her yielding to the persuasion of gifts from him.

F 8* Sch. Od. 2. 120

Μυκῆνη Ἰνάχου θυγάτηρ καὶ Μελίας τῆς Ὠκεανοῦ· ἥς καὶ Ἀρέστορος ἄργος, ὡς ἐν τῷ Κύκλῳ φέρεται.

It is not clear whether ὡς ἐν τῷ Κύκλῳ φέρεται covers Mykene's parentage or refers only to her marriage and son. That she was a daughter of Inachos and the wife of Arestor was stated also in the Hesiodic *Megalai Ehoiai* (fr. 246 M.-W.). Her son Argos was the many-eyed one, the watcher of Io; cf. Severyns (1928), 396f.

Mykene is mentioned together with Tyro and Alkmene at *Od.* 2. 120 as a laudable lady of the past; Tyro and Alkmene then feature among the heroines of the *Nekyia* (11. 235–9, with Aison mentioned as one of Tyro's sons; 266–70).

(p.276) F 14 (new) Paus. 1. 2. 1

ἐσελθόντων δὲ ἐς τὴν πόλιν ἐστὶν Ἀντιόπης μνημα Ἀμαζόνος. ταύτην τὴν Ἀντιόπην Πίνδαρος μὲν (fr. 175) φησιν ὑπὸ Πειρίθου καὶ Θησέως ἀρπασθῆναι, Τροϊζηνίῳ δὲ Ἥγίαι (FGrHist 606) τοιάδε ἐς αὐτὴν πεποιήται· Ἡρακλέα Θεμίσκυραν πολιορκοῦντα τὴν ἐπὶ Θερμῳδοντι ἐλεῖν μὴ δύνασθαι, Θησέως δὲ ἐρασθεῖσαν Ἀντιόπην (στρατεῦσαι γὰρ ἅμα Ἡρακλεῖ καὶ Θησέα) παραδοῦναι τὸ χωρίον. τάδε μὲν Ἥγίας πεποίηκεν.

A contentious fragment. Some in the nineteenth century identified the otherwise unknown 'Hegias of Troizen' with Agias of Troizen, the poet named by Proclus as the author of the *Nostoi*.⁴⁰ After Kirchhoff and Wilamowitz rejected the identification, scholarship has remained generally unfavourable to it.⁴¹ Jacoby accepted that Pausanias' *πεποιήται* and *πεποίηκεν* imply a poem, but he thought the 'novelistic character' of the story pointed to the Hellenistic period. However, the motif of the Amazon who betrayed her country by falling in love with Theseus is pre-Hellenistic (Isoc. *Panath.* 193), and his union with Antiope can be traced back to the late sixth century.⁴² Kirchhoff's argument that Pausanias elsewhere cites the *Nostoi* anonymously can be countered by observing that he twice cites the *Little Iliad* without author's name but in one passage refers to what seems to be that poem as 'Lescheos' (see on *Little Iliad* F 15–27), and that he four times cites the *Minyas* anonymously but in one passage says 'Prodikos of Phocaea, if he is the author of τὰ ἐς τὴν Μινυάδα ἔπη'. Which is the more unlikely: that there were two Troizenian mythographical poets with effectively the same name, one held to be the author of the *Nostoi*, the other known only to Pausanias (who likes to cite Cyclic poems); or that the story of Heracles' expedition with Theseus to Themiscyra existed as early as the *Nostoi*? Theseus' presence in the *Odyssey* (11. 321–5, 631) and *Cypria* and that of his mother and sons in the *Little Iliad* and *Iliou Persis* indicates that his mythology was evolving in several directions. **(p.277)** Given his strong early associations with Troizen, he might well have been of interest to an archaic Troizenian poet.

If the fragment does belong to the *Nostoi*, we shall naturally assign it to the underworld scene. Theseus himself might have appeared there (a possibility acknowledged at *Od.* 11. 631), or Antiope might have been seen among the heroines, like her Theban homonym at *Od.* 11. 260–5.

The above fragments point to a Hades scene that had much in common with the *Nekyia* of

the *Odyssey*. There was at least one famous sinner undergoing his punishment—Tantalos, also seen by Odysseus—and there may have been others. More significantly, a series of past heroines was presented, as in *Od.* 11. 225–329, where several of the same ones appear. It may well be that others who appear in the *Odyssey* passage such as Tyro, Alkmene, Epikaste, etc., also featured in the *Nostoi* (Severyns (1928), 395).

The women in these catalogues may seem a curiously random selection, including some fairly obscure figures. In fact there are signs of underlying genealogical coherences. Odysseus actually says that he questioned the women, and they informed him, about their families (234, cf. 236f., 261, 306). Some of those he names are drawn from Theban and Attic saga, but a whole group belong among the descendants of the sons and daughters of Aiolos. The genealogy was set out in the Hesiodic *Catalogue of Women*, and we know that the story of Tyro, at least, was told there (fr. 30. 31–5, 31, 32) in verses very similar to *Od.* 11. 238–50.⁴³ The women in *Nostoi* F 4, 5, and 8 come with genealogical details attached. Klymene (F 4) is the wife of Kephalos, who is a son of Aiolos' son Deion. Maira (F 5) is descended from Aiolos' son Sisypheos. F 6 concerns Aison, son of another son of Aiolos, Kretheus. It thus appears that the Hades scenes in the *Odyssey* and *Nostoi* are jointly and severally drawing on a body of genealogical poetry similar to (but older than) the Hesiodic *Catalogue*. It is not obvious why poets describing the underworld should do this. The parallelism reinforces the close affinities between the two epics that we have observed throughout.

(p.278) The whole Hades scene must have occupied several hundred lines. If it stood somewhere between the murder of Agamemnon and Orestes' return, it would have helped to mitigate the abruptness of the fast-forward effect. In intro. 4 I have cited Bethe's observation that if Agamemnon was killed in Book 3 of the *Nostoi* there was a good deal of space to be filled in Books 4 and 5, and that the Hades scene might have had its place in Book 4.

Its generic similarity with the Nekyia of *Odyssey* 11 suggests that it may similarly have been the account of things experienced by a living person who in exceptional circumstances visited Hades and returned. Welcker (ii. 298 n. 17) suggested as one possibility that Menelaos learned about Agamemnon's fate and his own Elysian destiny in a visit to Hades instead of from Proteus. His preferred hypothesis, however (i. 262, ii. 300), was that Neoptolemos went from Molossia to consult a Thesprotian oracle of the dead.⁴⁴ But we have taken leave to doubt that Neoptolemos went so far west in the *Nostoi*. Wilamowitz (1884), 176, thought that Odysseus might have visited Hades in the *Nostoi* as in the *Odyssey*. Gruppe 702 conjectured that Orestes descended to Hades (how?) to hear Agamemnon's instructions on avenging him.

Others have preferred to suppose that the occasion for the underworld description was the arrival in Hades of one or more newly dead persons, as in *Od.* 24. 1–204, where it is the souls of the suitors. Nitzsch (1831), 44f., pointed out that in lines 19–97 of that episode Agamemnon, surrounded by his followers killed in Aegisthus' house, approaches Achilles and other heroes and is greeted very much as if they have only just arrived in Hades. He inferred that the passage was adapted from the *Nostoi* and that the occasion

there was Agamemnon's descent to Hades.⁴⁵

The attraction of the latter hypothesis is that it allows us to account for the oddly inapposite dialogue in *Od.* 24. 19–97. In the original Achilles would have met Agamemnon and his men **(p.279)** arriving and questioned him about what had happened to them. Agamemnon would have replied as he does to Odysseus' questions in 11. 396–434, and perhaps gone on to contrast his own inglorious fate with Achilles' glorious death and spectacular funeral (24. 36–97). It is perhaps not a problem that Agamemnon arrived in Hades together with not only a company of his own men but also twenty of Aegisthus'.

Two other difficulties seem more serious. How would all the heroines and sinners fit in? And what would be the point of a scene in which we follow Agamemnon down to Hades only to hear him relate to Achilles the events that the poet has already related? In the *Odyssey* Amphimedon's report of the suitors' fate allows Agamemnon to pass judgment on the whole story, to contrast Penelope's virtue with his own wife's vice, and to acclaim the epic poetry that will celebrate that virtue in parallel to the poetry that will tell of Clytemnestra's wickedness—putting, as it were, the *Odyssey* and the *Nostoi* side by side (192–202).

What of the other theory: a *katabasis* by a living person who returned to the upper world? There are two heroes roaming in strange and remote regions of the world: Menelaos and Odysseus. A *katabasis* by either of them in the course of those peregrinations is conceivable. At first sight Odysseus appears the likelier candidate, seeing that according to the *Odyssey* he did visit Hades in the period between Agamemnon's murder and Orestes' return. He had sailed as far as Circe's island, hard by the sunrise, and from there it was not far to the shore of Ocean and the land of the dead. How could such an excursion have been accommodated in Menelaos' east Mediterranean itinerary?⁴⁶

Yet if we consider the poet's likely motive for inventing an underworld scene, the poetic purpose it was suited to serve, Menelaos does after all appear the most appropriate protagonist.

The purpose of Odysseus' journey to Hades is ostensibly to enable him to consult Teiresias. But the poetic gain lies rather in his meetings with his mother and Agamemnon. His mother is the first soul to approach after the unburied Elpenor. She had still been alive when Odysseus left Ithaca for Troy, and the meeting in Hades takes the place of the reunion that was not possible when he got home.

(p.280) Agamemnon's death too had occurred without Odysseus' knowing of it. The meeting enables him to learn the horrid story so that he can bear it in mind as he makes his own way home.

Menelaos had quarrelled with his brother at the beginning of the *Nostoi*, and they had parted. He was never to see Agamemnon alive again. That he should learn of his murder only seven years later when he reached home, after Orestes had dealt with the whole

matter, was poetically not very satisfactory. Better if, as in the *Odyssey*, he learned of it earlier from a non-human source; better still if, like Odysseus, he could learn it from Agamemnon's ghost itself, and bid farewell to his brother face to face. Agamemnon plays a conspicuous role in both *Nekyiai* of the *Odyssey*, and in both he is still accompanied by the men who were killed with him in Aegisthus' house (11. 388f.=24. 21f.). Nitzsch and Dümmler, as mentioned above, thought that the second passage, where Agamemnon and his followers approach Achilles, reflected an episode in the *Nostoi* describing their first arrival in Hades. But perhaps both *Odyssey* passages reflect one where Agamemnon and his entourage approached Menelaos, who, like Odysseus in 11. 395ff., wept and asked Agamemnon how he had died. This encounter would have been the centrepiece of a visit to Hades in the course of which Menelaos also saw a series of heroines from the past and certain other denizens of the place such as Tantalos. Some of these would have had some family relevance. Tantalos was his great-grandfather. Mycene and her son Argos were local eponyms.

I would suppose that Menelaos was represented as actually going into Hades rather than standing at the edge and summoning ghosts up one by one as Odysseus does. The *Odyssey* poet has undertaken to copy the procedure at a Greek *nekyomanteion*, but he is unable to sustain the scenario consistently, as Odysseus sees and talks to a number of figures who cannot have come up out of Hades but clearly remain deep inside (568–626); they include Tantalos. Rather than attribute the same incoherence to the Hades scene of the *Nostoi*, it would be preferable to assume that it was a genuine *katabasis*, and that the *Odyssey* poet drew on a scene in that form that he was unable fully to reconcile with his necromantic *mise en scène*.

Supposing that Menelaos made such a *katabasis*, how did it come about? He certainly needed a guide to take him in and bring him out again. That could only have been Hermes, who escorted Heracles on his mission to capture Cerberus (*Od.* 11. 626) and who escorts the **(p.281)** souls of the suitors (24. 1–10). Now, Hermes could begin the journey from anywhere. We do not need to bring Menelaos to the shore of Ocean or to some place on earth that boasted an entrance to Hades.

Like Plato who, when his argument will take him no further, resorts to a myth of his own devising, I have to turn to one of my imaginative reconstructions. It will of course be a highly speculative construct, a flight of fancy, but it will serve to illustrate how the thing could have been done, using motifs and narrative strategies familiar from the *Odyssey*.

When the eighth year arrived and the seasons came round, the gods were gathered in Zeus' house, and he spoke to them, for his mind was on Aegisthus, who had killed Agamemnon and was still ruling in Mycene [*Od.* 1. 26–30]. 'This is no longer supportable. Orestes is now of an age to take revenge, but he remains inactive in Athens. Meanwhile Menelaos roams in the east gathering more riches, not knowing that his brother has been killed and that the murderer is lording it at home. Come, let us send Athena to Athens to rouse Orestes to action, and Hermes to Libya to inform Menelaos of the situation and urge him to return home without delay.'

So Athena flew down from Olympus, and came to Marathon and broadwayed Athens, and went in to Erechtheus' firm-built mansion [7. 80f.] ...

Then Hermes tied on his ambrosial sandals that carry him over land and sea, and took up his wand [5. 44–8], and flew to the broad land of Libya, and found Menelaos. He stood before him in the likeness of a young man [10. 278f.], and said, 'Greetings, Menelaos; I am Hermes, and I come as a messenger from Zeus. Tarry no longer in Libya, but hasten home to Greece, for your brother Agamemnon when he got home from Troy was slain by Aegisthus and the faithless Clytaemestra. Ever since then they have ruled at Mycene, and no one has done anything about it.' So he spoke, but Menelaos was overwhelmed with grief, and he wept copiously. 'Then let me die straight away,' he said, 'for I no longer have any desire to live [4. 539f.]. Let me go down to Hades' house, so I may embrace my brother, with whom I quarrelled at Troy, and I never saw him again to bid him farewell.'

Said Hermes, 'Menelaos, it is not your destiny to die, for you are a son-in-law of Zeus, being married to Helen. When your earthly life comes to an end, the gods will send you to Elysium [4. 561–9] ... However, I have the power to escort people to Hades, and to bring them back again, if I care to, as I did with Heracles [11. 626]. If this is your wish, I will take you there to see your brother.'

So he bore him up and carried him away through the air. They passed the stream of Ocean and the White Rock, the gates of the Sun and the land of Dreams, and soon they came to the asphodel meadow where the souls of the dead dwell [24. 11–14]. On they went, and Menelaos saw many of the **(p.282)** famous women of the past ... And then they found Agamemnon, surrounded by all the men slain with him in Aegisthus' house [11. 387–9= 24. 20–2]. Agamemnon wept to see Menelaos, and asked him, 'Has Aegisthus killed you too? [3. 249] Or did Poseidon overwhelm you in your ships with furious tempest, or ... [11. 398–403]?' 'None of those things,' Menelaos answered, 'but Hermes told me of your death, and I prevailed on him to bring me to see you, and presently I must return to the light. But come, let us embrace and have our fill of weeping.'

And they would have gone on indefinitely, had Hermes not said, 'Stop now, we must go back, lest Persephone show you the Gorgon's Head [11. 634f.].' He led Menelaos back through Hades, and he saw mighty men of the past, such as Heracles [11. 601] and Theseus and Peirithoos [11. 631]; and sinners such as Tantalos. Then they left Hades, and swiftly Hermes bore him back to Libya and to his ships. 'Now make ready and sail home with all speed. You may catch Aegisthus still alive, or perhaps Orestes will have killed him first and you will be in time for the funeral [4. 546f.].'

The Return of Orestes

In the version of *Od.* 1. 40f. Aegisthus was warned that Orestes would return to avenge his father *ὁππότ' ἂν ἡβήσῃ τε καὶ ἤς ἰμείρεται αἴης*, as if maturity would automatically bring the desire to go to his homeland. In the *Nostoi* narrative, however, his return was surely not spontaneous but instigated by the gods. In Stesichorus (*PMGF* 217) he received a bow from Apollo, whom he had perhaps consulted at Delphi. Consultation of

the Pythian oracle is not impossible for an epic narrative, cf. *Od.* 8. 79–81. But it would still mean that Orestes took the initiative. It is easier to imagine, as in the Telemachy, a divine council and a visit by Athena to stir the young man to action, as I have suggested in the above reconstruction. Such a scene might well have been the model for the one that launches the Telemachy, and Athena's journey to Athens to find Orestes might have been the model for her unexplained diversion there in *Od.* 7. 80f.

We have no information on how Orestes achieved his aim, whether he returned openly or in disguise, and whether he used guile of any other kind. There is nothing to suggest that Electra played any part in the story.⁴⁷ We only know for sure that Orestes killed Aegisthus.

(p.283) It is likely that he also killed Clytaemestra, as in [Hes.] fr. 23(a). 30 and other sources. He celebrated the funeral feast *μητρός τε στυγερῆς καὶ ἀνάλκιδος Αἰγίσθοιο* (*Od.* 3. 310), which indicates plainly that she died at the same time as her lover; the line is possibly an interpolation, but we know of no alternative version in which Orestes did not kill her. Robert (1881), 163, suggested that she hanged herself:⁴⁸ that is possible, but if so, we might have expected the *Odyssey* poet to mention it. His reticence if Orestes killed her is easier to understand. A. Olivieri, *Riv. Fil.* 25 (1897), 574, suggested that she attempted to win mercy by baring her maternal breast to him, as in Aesch. *Cho.* 896. The motif is not alien to epic, cf. *Il.* 22. 80 (Hekabe to Hector), and it appeared also in Stesichorus' *Geryoneis* (PMGF S13: Kallirhoe to Geryones).

A little more circumstantial detail is perhaps given by:

F 11 Apollod. 2. 1. 5

ἐγήμεν (Ναύπλιος), ὥς μὲν οἱ τραγικοὶ λέγουσι, Κλυμένην τὴν Κατρέως, ὥς δὲ ὁ τοὺς Νόστους γράψας, Φιλύραν, ὥς δὲ Κέρκωψ ([Hes.] fr. 297 M.–W.), Ἑσιόνην· καὶ ἐγέννησε Παλαμήδην Οἶακα Ναυσιμέδοντα.

Pausanias (1. 22. 6) records a painting in the gallery on the Athenian Acropolis that showed Orestes killing Aegisthus while Pylades killed the sons of Nauplios, who had come to Aegisthus' aid.⁴⁹ It is not clear from Apollodorus if the sons were named in the *Nostoi* or only the parents. If the sons were too, the killing of Aegisthus is a likely context for their mention. If Aegisthus had these supporters to defend him, Orestes could hardly have prevailed on his own, and Pylades' presence, as in the painting, would be indispensable. Proclus speaks of 'the avenging by Orestes and Pylades', *ὕπ' Ὀρέστου καὶ Πυλάδου τιμωρία*. However, this raises a problem if it is accepted that Orestes has been staying in Attica and not Phocis. For in that case he has not been in the care of Strophios, and we cannot explain how Strophios' son Pylades comes to be Orestes' companion. So far as Proclus is concerned, it would be possible to suppose that, as at some other points, he has allowed a detail from the vulgate version to slip in, and that Pylades played no part in the **(p.284)** *Nostoi*. But then we are left in uncertainty about the implications of F 11.⁵⁰

Following the deaths of Aegisthus and Clytaemestra Orestes δαίνυ τάφον Ἀργείοισιν

(*Od.* 3. 309). The account of the celebratory feast took the place of an honorific funeral of the sort that heroes such as Achilles and Patroklos enjoy in epic. It is implied in 3. 258–61, however, that Aegisthus did receive a decent burial, with mourners, as Nestor affirms that it would not have been so if Menelaos had found him alive in the palace.

Now at last Menelaos could reappear on the scene. His eastern adventures had kept him away just long enough to leave the field clear for Orestes' act of vengeance. Now it was appropriate for him to complete his homecoming, and he arrived on the very day of the feast. If we accept that he had already been told of the events unfolding at Mycenae, there is no problem about why he appears there when his home is at Sparta. In the *Odyssey* he is told by Proteus. But the Proteus episode was not necessarily a feature of Menelaos' wanderings in the *Nostoi*.⁵¹ It may originally have belonged to Odysseus, and it may have been the *Odyssey* poet who transferred it to Menelaos. I have suggested above that it might have been Hermes who brought him the news.

Menelaos Returns to Sparta

F 12a* (=Epic. adesp. 3) Hippocr. περί ἄρθρων ἐμβολῆς 8

καλῶς γὰρ Ὅμηρος καταμεμαθήκει ὅτι πάντων τῶν προβάτων βόες μάλιστα ἀτονέουσι ταύτην τὴν ὥρην (sc. τοῦ χειμῶνος τελευτῶντος) ... τὰ μὲν γὰρ ἄλλα πρόβατα δύναται βραχεῖαν τὴν ποίην βόσκεισθαι, βοῦς δὲ οὐ μάλα, πρὶν βαθεῖα γένηται διὰ τοῦτο οὖν ἐποίησεν τάδε τὰ ἔπη·

ὥς δ' ὁπότ' ἀσπάσιον ἔαρ ἦλυθε βουσὶν ἔλιξιν,

ὅτι ἀσμενωτάτη αὐτοῖσιν ἡ βαθεῖα ποίη φαίνεται.

Cf. eund. *Vectarius* 5.

The Hippocratic writer quotes from 'Homer' the beginning of a simile that may have referred to someone's glad feelings on reaching his homeland after a prolonged absence. For other similes in similar (p.285) contexts cf. [Hes.] *Sc.* 42f.; *Od.* 23. 233–8. The source was probably a Cyclic poem. One naturally thinks of the *Nostoi*. Of the homecomings described in the poem, Menelaos' was perhaps the most appropriate one for the simile: he had been abroad for seventeen years, and his return signalled the happy ending of the whole story.

F 13 Sch. *Od.* 4. 12, "ἐκ δούλης"

αὕτη, ὥς μὲν Ἀλεξίων, Τειρίς (ὥς δ' ἔνιοι Τηρίς), θυγάτηρ Ζευξίππης· ὥς δὲ ὁ τῶν Νόστων ποιητής, Γέτις.

The reference is to a female slave by whom Menelaos fathered Megapenthes. According to a scholion on the preceding line, he lay with the woman after Helen had left him, and the child's name expressed his grief at the loss of her; this may have been said in the *Nostoi* (Severyns (1928), 379).

In the *Odyssey* it is just ἐκ δούλης. In the *Nostoi* it may have been ἐκ δούλης Γέτιδος, 'from a Getic slave'. This would be the earliest reference to the Getai, who next appear in Herodotus.⁵² The D scholion on the *Odyssey* passage gives her name as Τηριδάη; this looks Thracian and might therefore be combined with the Getic origin, though it does not look from the first scholion as if the name was in the *Nostoi*. Variants of it are attributed to Acusilaus (fr. 41 Fowler ap. Apollod. 3. 11. 1, Τηρηίς) and the first-century commentator Alexion (above).

Megapenthes was evidently a late invention. It was established in the tradition that Helen had left only a daughter when she went with Paris (see on *Cypria* arg. 2c). The younger son Nikostratos of [Hes.] fr. 175 and Cinaethon fr. 3 W. (cf. Soph. *El.* 539) is evidently not known to the *Odyssey* poet.

Megapenthes can hardly have been mentioned in the *Nostoi* in any other context than that of Menelaos' return to Sparta, where he had been growing up. In *Od.* 4. 3–19 Telemachos finds Menelaos celebrating a double wedding, that of Hermione to Neoptolemos and that of Megapenthes to an unnamed local girl. Nitzsch and Welcker supposed, plausibly enough, that in the *Nostoi* these weddings were performed following the father's happy homecoming.⁵³ That the (p.286) *Odyssey* poet puts them three years later for his own purposes is hardly a difficulty.

According to *Od.* 4. 6f. Hermione had been promised to Neoptolemos at Troy, and indeed the betrothal could not have come about in any other way. But we cannot identify a likely occasion for it in the *Little Iliad* or the *Iliou Persis*, and it may be invented for the present context if the marriage itself was a novelty. We can see what inspired it. We noted in connection with the *Cypria* a tendency towards a romantic pairing of Achilles and Helen. Now Achilles' glamorous young son had arrived in Phthia and taken over his grandfather's throne: a prime match for the beautiful daughter of Helen.⁵⁴ Thus two strands in the *Nostoi* narrative could be prettily tied up.

If it had just been the story of the Atreidai, the natural marriage at the end would have been between Hermione and her cousin Orestes. This alternative marriage appears in fifth-century authors, mostly in the version that Tyndareos had promised Hermione to Orestes while Menelaos was away at the war.⁵⁵ It was variously combined with the prior tradition of her marriage to Neoptolemos. The latter union was childless, at least in earlier sources, whereas to Orestes Hermione bore Teisamenos, who was to unite the kingdoms of Argos and Sparta before falling to the Herakleidai.

A. Olivieri, *Riv. Fil.* 25 (1897), 575, conjectured that Pylades married Electra, as in Euripides (*El.* 1249, *IT* 695, *Or.* 1653, cf. 1078f.) and Hellanicus (fr. 155 Fowler). It is an attractive possibility, but we do not know that Electra played any part in the *Nostoi* narrative.

The End of the Story

So far as we can see, the poem ended with Menelaos and Helen happily re-installed at Sparta, as Telemachos finds them in the *Odyssey*. The war precipitated by Helen's ancient

defection had run its course; the story of the heroes' returns was complete except for that of Odysseus. That was the subject of a separate, much longer epic, and the poet might reasonably have been content to leave it (p.287) aside. Or he might have dealt with it summarily, assuming his hearers' familiarity with the *Odyssey*.⁵⁶

Welcker (ii. 282, 292) proposed that the poem concluded with Menelaos' translation to Elysium, as foretold by Proteus in *Od.* 4. 561–9; cf. Wagner 295. But Proclus would surely have mentioned such a significant event. If the marriages of Menelaos' children took place shortly after he reached home, and the *Nostoi* ended with them, there would have been an interval of some three years until the point where the *Odyssey* begins. But if the poem went on to the end of Menelaos' life, its time-frame would have been extended beyond that of the *Odyssey*.

Notes:

(¹) Nitzsch (1830), 117; Welcker i. 261, cf. ii. 291f.; Monro 379; Bethe 270–3; Debiasi 232 n. 26; *contra*, Wilamowitz (1884), 156f.; Huxley 167f. Bernabé, *PEG* 93, writes 'Ἀτρειδῶν καθόδοις potius pars Nostorum mihi esse videtur'.

(²) Cf. Bethe 281–3.

(³) *Od.* 4. 536f., 11. 412f., 24. 21f.; Wilamowitz (1884), 157; Bethe 271f.

(⁴) Bethe 282.

(⁵) See West (2005), 60f.=(2011*b*), 305f.

(⁶) The western geographical frame is disturbed, it is true, by the introduction of a block of adventures borrowed from the Argonauts. See West (2005), 43f.=(2011*b*), 284f.

(⁷) Cf. G. Scafoglio, *RPh* 78 (2004), 294, who speaks of of 'una dipendenza reciproca' between the two poems.

(⁸) Apollodorus' account of Demophon's adventures in Thrace and Cyprus (epit. 6. 16–17, cf. Tz. in Lyc. 495, where it is Akamas) evidently comes from another source.

(⁹) A. Hecker, *Phil.* 5 (1850), 437; R. Stiehle, *Phil.* 8 (1853), 54.

(¹⁰) Müller 50 n. 34; Nitzsch (1831), 35; A. Meineke, *Analecta Alexandrina* (Berlin 1843), 79, citing Tzetzes. (The Apollodorus epitome was not yet known.)

(¹¹) It is certainly illogical to say that οἱ περὶ Κάλχαντα (etc.) buried Calchas (Welcker i. 265). But it is easy to see how the illogicality resulted from compression of consecutive episodes into one sentence.

(¹²) So Xylander for Ἀντιλόχου.

(¹³) [Hes.] fr. 279; Euphorion fr. 103 Lightfoot; Lyc. 439–46 with sch. and Tz.; Apollod.

epit. 6. 19.

(¹⁴) So Ingrid Löffler, *Die Melampodie* (Meisenheim 1963), 51.

(¹⁵) [Hes.] fr. 197. 6, cf. Apollod. 3. 10. 8; Q.S. 12. 325 (ci. Vian). Two Attic black-figure vases of 570–550 show (an) Amphilochos in Trojan contexts: *LIMC* Amphilochos 2 and 3. He appears in Theoklymenos' genealogy at *Od.* 15. 248. Apollod. epit. 6. 19 says that according to some he came late to Troy, and that during the Returns the storm blew him to Mopsos' (Cilician) shore. Like the preceding paragraph about Podaleirios consulting the Delphic oracle and settling in the Carian Chersonese, this clearly came from a different source from the *Nostoi*.

(¹⁶) The two were also associated in Italy: Robert (1920–6), 1476. Podaleirios in aria: *ibid.* 1477f.

(¹⁷) This was alluded to in Sophocles' *Ἑλένης ἀπαίτησις* (fr. 180).

(¹⁸) According to *Epigonoí* fr. 4 Manto, daughter of Teiresias, was sent by the Epigonito Delphi and dedicated as a tithe. Later she went to Colophon and established pollo's oracular shrine at Claros.

(¹⁹) See Wagner 257f., who argues that Apollodorus is following the *Melampodia* for he contest.

(²⁰) Kirchhoff 331; Bethe 279f.; cf. Gruppe 698 n. 5, 700 n. 3; Robert (1920–6), 1292f. Alcaeus refers to a place called Aigai, *SLG* 262. 6f.: if the Achaeans had stoned Ajax, ἴσω_ς κε π[α]ρπλέοντες Αἴγαις | [ληοτέρα] ρ ἔτυχον θαλάσσης. This may be the Kane promontory across the strait from Mytilene (Strabo 13. 1. 68; St. Byz. s.v. Αἴγα); see A. M. van Erp Taalman Kip in J. M. Bremer *et al.*, *Some Recently Found Greek Poems* (*Mnemosyne* Suppl. 99, Leiden 1987), 112f. If so, it stands for the place of transition, familiar to Lesbians, from the sheltered channel to the open sea, and there is no reference to the location of the disaster in the Tenos-Mykonos area. The Aigai of *Il.* 13. 21 and that of *Hymn. Ap.* 32 cannot be identified; the scholia on *Il.* l.c. (cf. on *Od.* 5. 381, Pind. *Nem.* 5. 67a and A.R. 1. 831) speak of an island close to Euboea. Wilamowitz (1916), 445, argues that it was on Euboea, at Karystos/Geraistos.

(²¹) In the corresponding scene in Quintus (14. 419–65) Athena threatens to secede from the gods if Zeus does not allow her to take her revenge on the Achaeans; the motif is borrowed from the Helios scene in the *Odyssey*. Zeus offers her the use of his thunder and lightning and invites her to raise a storm. He puts the weapons before her, and she, exulting, puts on the aegis, takes up the ἔντεα πατρός, ἃ περ θεὸς οὐ τις ἀείρει | νόσφι Διὸς μέγαλοιο (459f.), and goes to work.

(²²) n Aesch. *Eum.* 827f. she claims to have sole access to Zeus' thunderbolt silo. Cf. Ar. Av. 1538.

(²³) Wagner 261. The Mykonos location also in [Arist.] *Peplos* 16. Rheneia was the usual

cemetery for Delos, cf. Holzinger 232.

(²⁴) The scholia say that *Τρέμων* was the name of a place *πρὸς τῇ Δήλῳ*. Tzetzes wrongly took it to be actually on Delos (Wagner 261).

(²⁵) Cf. Eratosthenes, *FGrHist* 241 F 42. On Molossos cf. Robert (1920–6), 1457.

(²⁶) Odysseus had at first gone to Tenedos, but then returned to Troy; see above on arg. 1b.

(²⁷) Welcker, ii. 291, says ‘eine unterhaltende Zwischenscene [war] die Begegnung es Neoptolemos und Odysseus in Maronea’.

(²⁸) Nitzsch (1831), 37.

(²⁹) Cf. S. West on *Od.* 4. 514–20; Danek 117–19. If the *Nostoi* poet was really a Troizenian, as the main tradition alleged, he could have been in no doubt about the geography.

(³⁰) Cf. Hdt. 7. 159, Paus. 3. 19. 6; Schwartz 77; Bethe 274f.; Merkelbach 47f.

(³¹) A. Momigliano, *SIFC* 8 (1930), 317–19.

(³²) Von der Mühl 708.

(³³) Sch. on 270 identifies the island as Karphe, a detail that may well come from the *Nostoi* (Bethe 266 n. 5). A Karphe is otherwise unrecorded, but it may have been some islet known to the poet. There was no need to invent a name. The descriptive name, ‘Dried up’, is typical; in the Argolic Gulf there are islets known today as Rombe, Psili, and Plateia. We may think also of Kranae, ‘Rugged’, the islet where Paris and Helen first made love (*Il.* 3. 445), if that is in fact a proper name.

(³⁴) How was her presence in Aegisthus’ house explained to Agamemnon? Perhaps the allusions to her *δόλος* (*Od.* 3. 235, 4. 92, 11. 439) have to do with this.

(³⁵) Bethe 273f. takes the women to have been in a separate room, but this involves giving *ἀμφ’ ἐμοί* the less natural sense of ‘on account of me’ and supposing that Clytaemestra immediately came into the men’s room, only to turn her back on Agamemnon.

(³⁶) The depiction of them as reclining on couches, however, is perhaps not true to the epic. In the Homeric poems banqueters sit up, they do not recline, though the practice of reclining was beginning to come in by the end of the seventh century; cf. West (1997), 32.

(³⁷) Cf. Wilamowitz (1884), 157, ‘ein kämpfer heißt *Ἑρμιονεύς*, das paßt für einen gefährten des Thyestessohnes Aigisthos, der *μυχῶ Ἄργεος ἵπποβότοιο* am meere seinen sitz hat’ (*Od.* 3. 263).

(³⁸) Nitzsch (1831), 36–8, esp. 37, ‘Quod temporis explendi artificium—interfuerunt enim septem anni (Od. γ, 305.)—quamvis ad rei veritatem parum idoneum, ad poetae licentiam quodammodo supervacaneum sit: negari tamen non potest, auditorem ejusmodi intercapedine adhibitâ facilius se pati ad tempus aliquot annis posterius traduci, quam in narratione continua. Adde, quod Neoptolemi iter sane longum erat’ He goes on to suggest that, as Neoptolemos had been promised at Troy the hand of Menelaos’ daughter Hermione (Od. 4. 6), this afforded a means of transition back from him to Orestes and Menelaos.

(³⁹) Holzinger 296, who wrongly thinks of the *Cypria* instead of the *Nostoi*.

(⁴⁰) Nitzsch (1831), 41; G. J. C. Muetzell, *De emendatione Theogoniae Hesiodae libri tres* (Leipzig 1833), 181; Welcker i. 260; Allen 141. Kinkel, Bethe, Davies, and Bernabé printed the fragment as a dubium or spurium, and I should perhaps have allowed it that status in my edition rather than omitting it.

(⁴¹) Kirchhoff 338n.; Wilamowitz (1884), 342. See Jacoby’s commentary on *FGrHist* 606.

(⁴²) Gantz 282–5; *Theseis* fr. 1. The romantic potential of Amazons was already apparent in the Penthesileia episode of the *Aethiopis*.

(⁴³) Cf. West (1985), 32. F. Dümmler, *Rh. Mus.* 45 (1890), 183f., detected a nexus of links with the Melampous saga (11. 281–97, cf. 15. 225–55): Klymene (326) is in the *Nostoi* the mother of Iphiklos (290, 296); Prokris (321) preceded her as wife of Kephalos; Maira (326) was one of the Proitids cured by Melampous; Eriphyle (326) was the wife of Melampous’ great-grandson Amphiaraios.

(⁴⁴) The Nekyia of the *Odyssey* is, after all, essentially a consultation at such an oracle, transposed from Greece to the shore of Ocean.

(⁴⁵) Similarly F. Dümmler, *Rh. Mus.* 45 (1890), 189–92=*Kl. Schr.* (Leipzig 1901), ii. 390–3, and others. Düntzer (1840), 23, thought that the arrival of Aegisthus’ and Clytaemestra’s ghosts would make a better analogy with that of the justly slain suitors: ‘Die Fragmente beziehen sich fast alle auf eine νεκυία, die ich in das fünfte Buch setze, wo nach meiner Annahme Klytämnestra und Aegisth in die Unterwelt geführt wurden.’ Against Nitzsch and Düntzer: Welcker i. 264, ii. 299; Bethe 281.

(⁴⁶) Cf. Nitzsch (1831), 43, against Welcker.

(⁴⁷) She is not named among Agamemnon’s daughters in *Il.* 9. 145; she first appears in [Hes.] fr. 23(a). 16. Cf. on *Cypria* F 20.

(⁴⁸) Cf. Wernicke, *RE* i. 723f.; Gruppe 702; Bethe 268.

(⁴⁹) On the painting cf. Robert (1881), 182f.

(⁵⁰) On Strophios and Pylades cf. Gruppe 701f.

(⁵¹) So Bethe 268f.

(⁵²) The feminine ethnic Γέτις is attested in St. Byz. γ 67 (so Salmasius for γέτης).

(⁵³) Nitzsch (1831), 38; Welcker ii. 282; cf. Severyns (1928), 377.

(⁵⁴) For her beauty cf. *Od.* 4. 14, Sappho 23. 4f., Prop. 1. 4. 6.

(⁵⁵) Pherec. fr. 135a F.; Soph. *Hermione*; Eur. *Andr.* 966–84, *Or.* 1653–7; Philocles *TrGF* 24 F 2; Theognis *TrGF* 28 F 2.

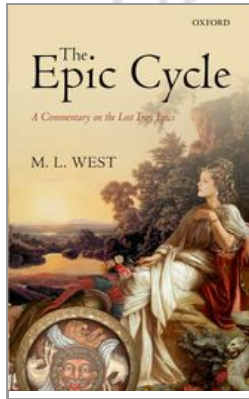
(⁵⁶) Burgess 143 suggests that the *Nostoi* might have taken in the return of Odysseus, rightly noting that it would have been cropped from Proclus' summary to avoid overlap with the *Odyssey*.



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Telegony

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[+] Abstract and Keywords

This chapter presents a commentary on the poem *Telegony*. It first discusses the poem's title; sources of information about the poem; the poet; the scope; the economy of the poem; and characterization of the poem. It then reviews individual fragments and testimonia.

Keywords: Greek epic, epic poetry, epic poems, fragments, testimonia

Introduction

1. Title

Proclus gives the title as *Τηλεγονία*, as does Eusebius, *Chron.* Ol. 53. Choeroboscus(?) *περὶ ποσότητος*, *An. Ox.* ii. 299. 26 (Herodian. i. 249. 9, ii. 451. 20 Lentz), teaches that titles of this sort should end in *-εῖα*, giving as examples *Ὀδύσσεια ἢ κατὰ Ὀδυσσέα* (*sc.*

πραγματεία), Ἡράκλεια ἡ κατὰ Ἡρακλέα, Τηλεγόνεια ἡ κατὰ Τηλέγονον, and Eustathius repeats this rule (*Il.* 785. 21, cf. *Od.* 1796. 48). But the cases are not parallel, as Ὀδύσσεια and Ἡράκλεια are formed from stems containing the ε. With titles formed from other stems we find -ία, though some fluctuation occurs owing to the influence of Ὀδύσσεια etc.:

Ἀμαζονία Hesychus of Miletus, *Vit. Hom.* 6. 6 (-όνεια Nauck 374).

Εὐρωπία (Eumelos) sch. *Hom.*, Clement, but ἡ Εὐρώπεια Philodemus.

Οἰδιποδία sch. *Eur.*, but ἡ Οἰδιπόδεια the Tabula Borgiana (Tabula Iliaca 10K, cf. Proleg. §1). Pausanias refers to this poem as τὰ ἔπη ἃ Οἰδιπόδεια ὀνομάζουσι; the neuter plural is usual with the (ἔπη) Κύπρια, Ἀριμάσπεια (-εα Herodotus, -ια Tatian), and Ναυπακτι(α)κά / Ναυπάκτια.

Τιτανομαχία, Θεογονία, etc.

Pausanias 8. 12. 5 cites a poem entitled *Thesprotis*, by which he may mean the first book of the *Telegony*; see below, §5 and on F 3. Hartmann 59 argued that the title *Thesprotis* might have been applied to the whole work, just as the *Aethiopis* was known by a name that really applied only to part of it.

2. Attestation

The main sources are Proclus and the parallel narrative of Apollod. epit. 7. 34–7. There are no verse fragments explicitly attributed to the poem; two anonymous ones are conjecturally assigned to it, one (p.289) quoted by Athenaeus (F 1*), one by Synesius (F 2*). It is possible that Athenaeus might still have had access to a copy of the epic, unlikely that Synesius did, though he might have taken over a quotation from an earlier writer. Pausanias apparently knew at least the Thesprotian portion (F 3), while material on the story of Telegonos was handed on by the *Odyssey* scholia and Eustathius (F 4–6).

3. The poet

Proclus' ascription to one Eugammon of Cyrene is very credible, and so is Eusebius' dating of his *floruit* to Ol. 53. 2 = 567/6 BCE; see the Prolegomena, §4. In giving Odysseus and Penelope a second son Arkesilaos (F 4) he evidently sought to add prestige to the Battiad royal house by providing it with a mythical ancestor sprung from Odysseus.

If the Eusebian date is accurate, the poet was active during the reign of Arkesilas II. One of this monarch's brothers who founded Barke (Hdt. 4. 160) is named by Stephanus of Byzantium β 45 as Zakynthos, which (if historical) might suggest that their father, Battos II, already had some interest in the area from which Odysseus was the famous hero. The same author S.V. Ζάκυνθος records a Libyan town Zakynthos or Zakynthia, perhaps settled from the Zakynthos near Ithaca.

Eugammon's name, with its double μ, is hard to explain from Greek.¹ In a name formed from γάμος it seems unlikely that the nasal would have been geminated even in a

hypocoristic form. But it might be explained as the Hellenized form of a non-Greek name containing Ammon, who as Zeus Ammon was a principal god of Cyrene. Many names in -άμμων are attested. Cf. Hartmann 47 n. 8.

4. Scope

The poem was conceived as a sequel to the *Odyssey*, covering the rest of Odysseus' life after his return from Troy, his death, and what became of Penelope and his sons. By the time of its composition the epics dealing with the sack of Troy and the various heroes' returns (p.290) were probably becoming widely known. Eugammon may have seen an opportunity to add one final poem to the sequence.

In it he brought together two narrative plots that have no connection with one another and do not harmonize very well.² One was the story of how Odysseus travelled far inland, fought a war, married a queen, and founded a new Thesprotian kingdom. The other was the tale of how, as he ruled over his subjects in Ithaca, a son whom he had fathered overseas and never seen, Telegonos, came in search of him and, before a recognition could be effected, fought and killed him. In order to combine the two stories Eugammon had to bring Odysseus back from Thesprotia to Ithaca instead of leaving him to rule over his new people.

The first was presumably an existing Thesprotian legend reflecting the claims of a local dynasty to Odyssean ancestry. It may have been of recent origin, and it had not necessarily been embodied in a poem before Eugammon. Eugammon identified Odysseus' Thesprotian journey with the inland journey enjoined on him by Teiresias in the *Odyssey*; but that had been of a different nature, see on arg. 1c. The Telegonos story is likely to have been Eugammon's own invention, based on the folktale motif of the son who unwittingly kills his father (see on arg. 3/F 5) and borrowing from another tradition the motif of the poisonous sting-ray (see the Excursus at the end).

5. Economy of the poem

Proclus tells us that the poem was divided into two books. It is natural to assume that the division was made at the end of the Thesprotian part (Wilamowitz (1884), 187), perhaps specifically at the change of scene from Greece to Circe's island for the introduction of Telegonos (Hartmann 73). The *Thesprotis* cited by Pausanias (above, §1) seems to have been the same as the first part of the *Telegony*, suggesting that book 1 may sometimes have enjoyed independent circulation.

A passage of Clement, *Strom.* 6. 25. 1, tends to confirm that the Thesprotian narrative in the *Telegony* occupied the greater part of book 1. Giving examples of plagiarism (following the Hellenistic writer Aristobulus),³ he claims that Eugammon appropriated his (p.291) whole 'book about the Thesprotians' from Musaeus: αὐτοτελῶς γὰρ τὰ ἐτέρων ὑφελόμενοι ὡς ἴδια ἐξήνεγκαν, καθάπερ Εὐγάμμων ὁ Κυρηναῖος ἐκ Μουσαίου τὸ περὶ Θεσπρωτῶν βιβλίον ὀλόκληρον. This is one of four examples that Clement gives of plagiarism from Musaeus by other poets (DK 2 B 4–7). It appears that someone had found the same or a similar narrative in a poem circulating under the name of Musaeus.

It is not clear whether it was in fact an independent poem or just a detached portion of the *Telegony*, as Pausanias' *Thesprotis* appears to have been. It is quite obscure why in either case it should have been put under Musaeus' name.⁴

6. Characterization of the poem

The dearth of verbatim fragments makes it impossible for us to judge the quality of the poetry. But we are well enough informed about the poem's contents, and the critics' contempt is understandable. 'Ein schlechtes, spätes Rhapsodenkonglomerat' was Schwartz's verdict (144). The eloquent denunciation by Severyns (1928, 409f.) may be quoted at length. After giving Proclus' summary he continues:

A travers ce résumé de Proclus, nous entrevoyons ce qu'était ce misérable poème, le dernier des Cycliques. Eugammon de Cyrène a fait tomber l'épopée plus bas encore que Leschès, dont il exagère les défauts jusqu'à l'invraisemblance. Une œuvre comme la *Télégonie* marque la fin du genre épique, annonce un genre nouveau, celui du roman en prose. Les héros d'Homère sont devenus méconnaissables: cet Ulysse qui s'en va, sans raison, au pays des Thesprotes, où il épouse une reine, alors que Pénélope veille dans Ithaque, cette Pénélope elle-même, qui finit par épouser le fils de son mari, ce Télémaque, qui épouse la maîtresse de son père! Que d'invraisemblances! que de mauvais goût! quelle déchéance profonde et définitive de l'épopée qui, durant tant de siècles, avait charmé les oreilles et les cœurs, quelle mort lamentable d'un genre qui avait montré les adieux d'Hector et d'Andromaque, le roi Priam aux pieds d'Achille, la radieuse agonie de Penthésilée, l'apparition virginale et fugitive de Nausicaa, la mort du vieux chien sur son fumier.

There is no point in voicing moral censure of mythical characters except in relation to author's intentions, but apart from that Severyns's appraisal cannot be called unjust.

(p.292) 7. Early currency

There are no signs of the *Telegony*'s having achieved wide currency in the first century of its existence. We find no echo of it in Stesichorus. The suggested connection of the Battiad line with Odysseus failed to take root even in Battiad ideology, for in the fifth century, as we see from Pindar and Herodotus, the official tradition was that Battos was descended from the Minyan Euphemos. Aeschylus had a version of Odysseus' death that had no place for Telegonos (see the Excursus at the end). Sophocles, however, wrote a tragedy about Telegonos' appearance in Ithaca and his father's fatal encounter with him, the *Ὀδυσσεὺς ἀκανθοπλήξ*, which presupposes the *Telegony* as source. We do not know the date of the play, but certain points of contact with the *Philoctetes*—the portrayal of the hero in agonies of pain, and the use of a *deus ex machina*—suggest that it may have been a late one. It may be, then, that the *Telegony* did not become known at Athens before the second half of the fifth century.⁵

The Fragments

The Incipit

Arg. 1a

οἱ μνήστορες ὑπὸ τῶν προσηκόντων θάπτονται.

In *Od.* 24. 417–19 it is stated perfunctorily that the Ithacans fetched the bodies from Odysseus' house and buried them or, in the case of suitors from outside the island, sent them home on fishing boats. But it is unsafe to infer, with Kirchhoff 340 and Wilamowitz (1884), 185, that Eugammon did not know the last portion of our *Odyssey*. He had to define the starting-point of his narrative, and he might well have begun with 'Odysseus had come home from Troy and killed all the suitors of Penelope'. Then before continuing Odysseus' story he might have felt it appropriate to put in a paragraph about the funerals.

(p.293) Voyage to Elis

Arg. 1b

καὶ Ὀδυσσεὺς θύσας Νύμφαις εἰς Ἥλιν ἀποπλεῖ ἐπισκεψόμενος τὰ βουκόλια, καὶ ξενίζεται παρὰ Πολυξένῳ δῶρόν τε λαμβάνει κρατῆρα, καὶ ἐπὶ τούτῳ τὰ περὶ Τροφώνιον καὶ Ἀγαμήδην καὶ Αὐγέα.

The sacrifice to the Nymphs fulfils the vow made in their cave in *Od.* 13. 356–60. As Wilamowitz (1884), 185, observed, the poet of that passage had no thought of the vow's fulfilment. Eugammon, however, needed to take Odysseus back to the cave if he was to recover the treasures he had hidden there, 'und da fand sich das opfer von selbst ein'.

We might expect Ithaca's closest continental ties to be with Acarnania and Aetolia; the Aetolian Thoas is loosely associated with Odysseus in several places, see on *Little Iliad* F 8. But in the *Odyssey* the islanders are more oriented towards Elis and Pylos. Noemon keeps a herd of mares in Elis, 4. 635; Telemachos couples Ithaca with 'the islands towards Elis', 21. 347; in 24. 430f. it is anticipated that Odysseus may flee to Pylos or Elis. Elis may well be the region meant at 14. 100–2, where he is said to possess extensive livestock over the water as well as on Ithaca:

δώδεκ' ἐν ἡπείρῳ ἀγέλαι· τόσα πώεα οἶων,

τόσσα συῶν συβόσια, τόσ' αἰπόλια πλατέ' αἰγῶν

βόσκουσι ξεῖνοί τε καὶ αὐτοῦ βώτορες ἄνδρες.

So he might reasonably make an inspection visit to Elis once he had established control of his estates at home. But what was its poetic point? Nothing appears to happen beyond a hospitable reception by the appropriately named Polyxenos, and it is passed over in Apollodorus' narrative. It may perhaps be seen as a small-scale imitation of Telemachos' Peloponnesian journey in the *Odyssey*; the *κρατῆρ* that Odysseus receives from Polyxenos as a guest-present, no doubt of silver, parallels the one given to Telemachos by Menelaos (4. 613–19, 15. 113–23).⁶ At the same time the episode is a leisurely interlude of similar character to the visit to Laertes in *Od.* 24. One (p.294) function of that excursion was to keep Odysseus out of the way while the suitors' funerals took

place, and it is possible that the trip to Elis served a like purpose in the *Telegony*. Proclus gives the impression that it followed the funerals. But after recording the funerals Eugammon might have continued, 'So they buried their dead; *αὐτὰρ Ὀδυσσεύς* (meanwhile) went to the cave of the Nymphs ... and then he sailed to Elis ...'. The epitomator would naturally treat these as successive activities.

Polyxenos is one of the four Epeian leaders listed in *Il.* 2. 618–24 (two of the others are later killed in battle). The crater was the subject of an ecphrasis. On it was depicted⁷ the story of Augeas (Polyxenos' grandfather), Trophonios, and Agamedes. This is known from Charax *FGrHist* 103 F 5 (cf. Paus. 9. 37. 5–7). It was a version of the same folktale as the story of Rhampsinitus in Herodotus 2. 121.⁸ Augeas commissioned the master builders Trophonios and Agamedes to build him a treasure-house. They made a secret door in it, which they made use of to enter and steal treasure. Augeas set a trap, and Agamedes was caught in it. But Trophonios cut off his accomplice's head to conceal his identity and escaped. A single work of art could not tell the whole story, but the poet in describing the bowl could, and he seems to have told it at some length. It has no perceptible relevance to Odysseus; probably Eugammon, having heard it (not necessarily in versified form), liked it and made himself an opportunity to retell it.⁹

(p.295) The Journey Inland

Arg. 1c

ἔπειτα εἰς Ἰθάκην καταπλεύσας τὰς ὑπὸ Τειρεσίου ῥηθείας τελεῖ θυσίαν. καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα εἰς Θεσπρωτοὺς ἀφικνεῖται.

Apollod. epit. 7. 34 θύσας δὲ Ἄιδῃ καὶ Περσεφόνῃ καὶ Τειρεσίῃ, πεζῇ διὰ τῆς Ἠπείρου βαδίζων εἰς Θεσπρωτοὺς παραγίνεται, καὶ κατὰ τὰς Τειρεσίου μαντείας θυσιάσας ἐξιλάσκειται Ποσειδῶνα.

Teiresias in *Od.* 11. 121–31 (cf. 23. 248–87) instructed Odysseus, after he killed the suitors, to take an oar and travel inland with it over his shoulder until he came to a people so unacquainted with the sea that they took it for a winnowing shovel. There he was to stick it in the earth, sacrifice a ram, a bull, and a boar to Poseidon, return to Ithaca, and offer hecatombs to all the gods in turn. This looks as if it should be the aition for some local Poseidon cult (Hartmann 91–3), but we cannot identify the place that the *Odyssey* poet had in mind. It is unlikely to have been in Thesprotia, which in the *Odyssey* is a coastal kingdom, entirely familiar with ships (14. 315, 16. 65, 19. 287–92). Eugammon made it Thesprotia for the sake of a connection with the Kallidike saga; cf. below on arg. 2.¹⁰

The sacrifices to Hades, Persephone, and Teiresias represent the fulfilment of the vow made in *Od.* 11. 29–33 (following Circe's instructions, 10. 521–5) to sacrifice a cow to the ghosts and a black sheep to Teiresias; Hades and Persephone (cf. 10. 491, 534) take the place of the *νεκύων ἀμνηνὰ κάρηνα*. What follows in Apollodorus is faithful to Teiresias' programme. Proclus has abbreviated severely and confused the order by conflating the sacrifice to Teiresias with the ones ordained by Teiresias.

Before setting out on his new journey Odysseus presumably explained to Penelope why it was necessary, as in *Od.* 23. 248–87. Then he trekked inland, proceeding from town to town (*Od.* 23. 267), **(p.296)** until at last he encountered someone who asked him why he was carrying a winnowing shovel. There he set up his oar and made his sacrifices to Poseidon.¹¹

F 2* Synes. *Epist.* 148

οὐ γὰρ σφᾶς ἐκ νυκτὸς ἐγείρει κῦμ' ἐπιθρῶισκον.

Synesius in 402/3 CE writes to Olympius that he lives to the south of Cyrene, far from the sea, with landlubber neighbours like the people that Odysseus went to seek out in obedience to the prophecy, the men who 'do not know the sea, and do not eat salted food' (*Od.* 11. 122f.=23. 269f.). A page later he says that his neighbours' ignorance of the sea is pardonable, because they do not wake to the sound of waves breaking (οὐ γὰρ σφᾶς ἐκ νυκτὸς ἐγείρει κῦμ' ἐπιθρῶισκον) but only to neighing horses, bleating sheep and goats, lowing cattle, and buzzing bees. E. Livrea, *ZPE* 122 (1998), 1–3, conjectures that the anonymous verse, which from the rhythm looks pre-Hellenistic, came from the *Telegony* and referred to the inland people that Odysseus reached. It is an attractive guess; it would certainly be surprising if any Cyclic epic was still extant in Synesius' time, but as the *Telegony* was believed to be by a Cyrenaean poet, it is conceivable that it continued to be read in Cyrenaica after it had gone out of circulation everywhere else.

When I asked Donald Russell for his opinion he reacted sceptically, suggesting that Synesius might have adapted to his own purpose a verse without the negative (e.g. καὶ γὰρ σφᾶς κτλ.), describing the uncomfortable life of mariners who find waves breaking over them in the night. For the theme he compares the fragment of Aristeas' *Arimaspeia* quoted in 'Longinus' *De subl.* 10. 4. Why, though, should such a *recherché* verse have come into Synesius' head, if its context was one so remote from that of his letter? And if it referred to waves breaking over a ship at sea, its negation would be applicable to everyone who sleeps on land, whether they live near the sea or not.

It is, to be sure, a far from commonplace notion that people who do not live far inland are regularly woken by the noise of the sea **(p.297)** breaking on the beach. If that is what the original verse referred to, it was most likely conceived by someone who did live near a noisy shore and was accustomed to waking up to the sound.

ἐπιθρῶισκω 'leap upon' really requires some specification of what was leapt upon. I conjecture that αἰγιαλῶι followed in the next line and was omitted by Synesius.

Arg. 2

καὶ γὰρ Καλλιδικὴν βασιλίδαν τῶν Θεσπρωτῶν. ἔπειτα πόλεμος συνίσταται τοῖς Θεσπρωτοῖς πρὸς Βρύγους, Ὀδυσσεὺς ἡγουμένους. ἐνταῦθα Ἄρης τοὺς περὶ τὸν Ὀδυσσεᾶ τρέπεται, καὶ αὐτῶι εἰς μάχην Ἀθηνᾶ καθίσταται· τούτους μὲν Ἀπόλλων διαλύει· μετὰ δὲ τὴν Καλλιδικῆς τελευτὴν τὴν μὲν βασιλείαν διαδέχεται Πολυποίτης Ὀδυσσεὺς υἱός, αὐτὸς δὲ εἰς Ἰθάκην ἀφικνεῖται.

Apollod. epit. 7. 34–5 ἡ δὲ βασιλεύουσα τότε Θεσπρωτῶν Καλλιδίκη καταμένειν αὐτὸν ἡξίου, τὴν βασιλείαν αὐτῷ δοῦσα. καὶ συνελθοῦσα αὐτῷ γεννᾷ Πολυποίτην. γήμας δὲ Καλλιδίκην Θεσπρωτῶν ἐβασίλευσε, καὶ μάχη τῶν περιόικων νικᾷ τοὺς ἐπιστρατεύσαντας. Καλλιδίκης δὲ ἀποθανούσης, τῷ παιδὶ τὴν βασιλείαν ἀποδιδούς, εἰς Ἰθάκην παραγίνεται· καὶ εὕρισκει ἐκ Πηνελόπης Πολυπόρθην αὐτῷ γεγεννημένον.

This episode, in which Odysseus takes over an inland kingdom and leaves it in the hands of a son, is a self-contained tale serving to confer Odyssean ancestry on a Thesprotian dynasty. Welcker noted the parallel with the Molossian claim to descent of their kings from Neoptolemos.¹² How the Thesprotian story came to the attention of a Cyrenaean poet, we cannot know. It was clearly not part of the programme laid down by Teiresias: there Odysseus was simply to establish a cult of Poseidon in whatever district the *Odyssey* poet had in mind, and then go home. In the *Telegony* he must have stayed in **(p.298)** Thesprotia for fifteen or twenty years if Polypoites was to be old enough to take over the throne when he left. This is incongruous with the rest of Odysseus' story. The hero who for ten years yearned and strove to get home to Penelope, refusing the offer of marriage to a goddess, now goes away, voluntarily marries another woman in a distant realm, and stays with her for longer than the duration of his previous wanderings.¹³ In the *Odyssey* the Thesprotians are ruled at the time of Odysseus' homecoming by a king Pheidon, who has a healthy son (14. 316–19, 19. 287). So why, a few weeks later, are they under an unattached queen Kallidike? The dynastic legend needed such a figure, for it was by marrying the queen that Odysseus could become king. For this typical pattern in myth cf. M. Finkelberg, *CQ* 41 (1991), 303–15; ead., *Greeks and Pre-Greeks* (Cambridge 2005), 65–89.

How was the story told? After making his sacrifices to Poseidon Odysseus must somehow have been brought to the queen's house. Kallidike will have received and entertained him, and he will have explained his identity and history. On the next morning, perhaps, she, being in want of a noble and heroic husband, offered him herself and her kingdom on terms that he found persuasive. Perhaps he agreed to stay only until there was a son big enough to take over. In a purer form of the legend he should have stayed permanently (Wilamowitz (1884), 189). It was the combination with the Telegonos myth that required his return to Ithaca.

The war against the Brygoi (of whom this is the earliest attestation) was part of the local saga. They were a Thracian people (Hdt. 6. 45). Proclus' wording suggests that Odysseus and the Thesprotians were the aggressors, while Apollodorus' suggests the opposite. Ares supported the Thracian tribe, as in *Il.* 13. 298–303 he is pictured going out from Thrace to invade the Ephyroï or the Phlegyai (Wilamowitz (1884), 187). Athena is Odysseus' regular supporting deity, but her worsting of Ares in battle must have been inspired by the episode in *Il.* 5. 814ff. where she helps Diomedes to defeat him. Apollo had made a brief intervention to check Diomedes' onslaught **(p.299)** (5. 344–6, 432ff.), but the mediating role assigned to him in the Thesprotian battle probably reflects his cultic importance in the region.

Odysseus had left Penelope pregnant and in his absence she had borne another son,

P(t)oliportthes, who must have been nearly grown up (like Polypoites) when his father finally returned and learned of his existence. On him see below on F 3 and arg. 4a. It appears from subsequent events that Penelope was still alive and at home, as was Telemachos, who remained unmarried.

F 3 Paus. 8. 12. 5–6

καὶ ἐν δεξιᾷ τῆς ὁδοῦ γῆς χῶμα ὑψηλόν· Πηνελόπης δὲ εἶναι τάφον φασίν, οὐχ ὁμολογοῦντες τὰ ἐς αὐτὴν ποιήσει (τῇ) Θεσπρωτίδι ὀνομαζομένῃ. ἐν ταύτῃ μὲν γέ ἐστι τῇ ποιήσει ἐπανήκοντι ἐκ Τροίας Ὀδυσσεῖ τεκεῖν τὴν Πηνελόπην Πτολιπόρθην παῖδα.

The tomb in question was located in Arcadia, by one of the roads from Mantinea to Orchomenos. The Mantinean story was that Odysseus, on returning from Troy, convicted Penelope of bringing men into the house and banished her; she went first to Sparta and later to Mantinea, where she died. (Cf. Apollod. epit. 7. 38.) Pausanias says that this contradicts the *Thesprotis*, in which Odysseus did not banish her but resumed conjugal relations and indeed fathered a second son. The *Thesprotis*, mentioned nowhere else, was evidently an authoritative epic account of Odysseus' later life. Apollodorus mentions the birth of P(t)oliportthes in an account that otherwise agrees closely with Proclus' summary of the *Telegony*, and Eustathius (below, F 4) explicitly ascribes to the *Telegony* the birth of a second son to Odysseus and Penelope, though he names him as Arkesilaos, not Ptoliporthes (cf. intro. 3). So it is very probable that Pausanias' *Thesprotis* is the *Telegony*, or the first part of it that dealt with Odysseus' journey to Thesprotia and return to Ithaca. Cf. Clement's reference to Eugammon's *περὶ Θεσπρωτῶν βιβλίον* (intro. 1).

Ptoliporthes' name is derived from Odysseus' Homeric epithet *πτολίπορθος*; cf. Telemachos' son Persepolis in [Hes.] fr. 221. For his *raison d'être* see below on arg. 4a.

(p.300) The End of Odysseus' Life. Telegonos

F 1* Ath. 412d

γέρων τε ὦν (Ὀδυσσεύς)

ἦσθιεν ἀρπαλέως κρέα τ' ἄσπετα καὶ μέθυ ἡδύ.

The verse looks pre-Hellenistic, and the *Telegony* is the obvious candidate for an early hexameter poem containing a description of Odysseus' life in old age. Teiresias prophesied that he would reach a *γῆρας λιπαρόν* with his people prospering about him (*Od.* 11. 136f.). The ascription to the *Telegony* goes back to H. Diels, *Hermes* 23 (1888), 279, who thought of Odysseus' visit to Elis as one possible context. I follow Hartmann 75 n. 71 and Rzach 2432 in putting it after his return from Thesprotia, when he was more properly characterized as an old man.

F 4 Eust. *Od.* 1796. 48

ὁ δὲ τὴν Τηλεγόνειαν γράψας Κυρηναῖος ἐκ μὲν Καλυψοῦς Τηλέγονον υἱὸν Ὀδυσσεῖ

ἀναγράφει ἢ Τηλέδαμον, ἐκ δὲ Πηνελόπης Τηλέμαχον καὶ Ἀρκεσίλαον.

Eustathius confusedly names Calypso instead of Circe as Telegonos' mother. A few lines later (below, F 6) he correctly names Circe but by a further confusion gives the source as the *Nostoi*.¹⁴ He probably found Teledamos in his source as a marginal variant for Telegonos.

Arg. 3

κάν τούτῳ Τηλέγονος, ἐπὶ ζήτησιν τοῦ πατρὸς πλέων, ἀποβὰς εἰς τὴν Ἰθάκην τέμνει τὴν νῆσον· ἐκβοηθήσας δὲ Ὀδυσσεὺς ὑπὸ τοῦ παιδὸς ἀναιρεῖται κατ' ἄγνοιαν.

Apollocl. epit. 7. 36 Τηλέγονος δὲ παρὰ Κίρκης μαθὼν ὅτι παῖς Ὀδυσσέως ἐστίν, ἐπὶ τὴν τούτου ζήτησιν ἐκπλεῖ· παραγενόμενος δὲ εἰς Ἰθάκην τὴν νῆσον ἀπελαύνει τινὰ τῶν βοσκημάτων· καὶ Ὀδυσσεύς βοηθοῦντα τῷ μετὰ χειρὸς δόρατι (τρυγόνος) κέντρον τὴν αἰχμὴν ἔχοντι τιτρώσκει, καὶ Ὀδυσσεὺς θνήσκει.

(p.301) F 5 Sch. Od. 11. 134, "θάνατος δέ τοι ἐξ ἄλός"

ἔξω τῆς ἄλός· οὐ γὰρ οἶδεν ὁ ποιητὴς τὰ κατὰ τὸν Τηλέγονον καὶ τὰ κατὰ τὸ κέντρον τῆς τρυγόνος.

Sch.^D ibid. οἱ νεώτεροι τὰ περὶ Τηλέγονον ἀνέπλασαν τὸν Κίρκης καὶ Ὀδυσσέως, ὃς δοκεῖ κατὰ ζήτησιν τοῦ πατρὸς εἰς Ἰθάκην ἐλθὼν ὑπ' ἀγνοίας τὸν πατέρα διαχρήσασθαι τρυγόνος κέντρῳ.

Lyc. 789–98

λοῖσθον δὲ καύηξ ὥστε ...

σῦφαι θανεῖται πόντιον σκέπας φυγῶν

κόραξ σὺν ὅπλοις Νηρίτων δρυμῶν πέλας·

κτενεῖ δὲ τύπας πλευρὰ λοίγιος στόνυξ

κέντρῳ δυσάλθης ἔλλοπος Σαρδωνικῆς.

κέλωρ δὲ πατρὸς ἄρταμος κληθήσεται,

Ἀχιλλέως δάμαρτος αὐτανέψιος.

Opp. Hal. 2. 497–505

κεῖνό ποτ' αἰγανέη δολιχέρει κωπηέσση

Κίρκη Τηλεγόνῳ πολυφάρμακος ὥπασε μήτηρ,

αἰχμάζειν δηῖοις ἄλιον μόρον· αὐτὰρ ὁ νήσῳ

αἰγιβότῳ προσέκελσε, καὶ οὐ μάθε πῶεα πέρθων

πατρὸς ἐοῦ· γεραρῶι δὲ βοηδρομέοντι τοκῆϊ

αὐτῶι, τὸν μάστευε, κακὴν ἐνεμάξατο κῆρα.

ἔνθα τὸν αἰολόμητιν Ὀδυσσέα, μυρία πόντου

ἄλγεα μετρήσαντα πολυκμήτοισιν ἀέθλοις,

τρυγῶν ἀλγινόεσσα μιῇ κατενήρατο ῥιπῇ.

Sch. ad loc. ἡ ἱστορία Ὀδυσσέως· πρὸ τοῦ πορευθῆναι αὐτὸν εἰς Τροίαν (!) συμμιγεῖς Κίρκῃ ἐποίησε Τηλέγονον, ᾧ ἀνδρωθέντι ἔδωκε κέντρον τρυγόνος εἰποῦσα, “πορεύου πρὸς ἀναζητήσιν τοῦ πατέρος σου εἰς Ἰθάκην, καὶ διὰ τούτου τίτρωσκε τοὺς πολεμοῦντάς σε.” ὁ δὲ παραγενόμενος εἰς Ἰθάκην καὶ εὐρὼν τοὺς ποιμένας τοῦ Ὀδυσσέως ποιμαίνοντας τὰ ποίμνια αὐτοῦ, τούτους ἐδίωκεν, ἀγνοῶν ὅτι τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ εἰσι. μαθὼν δὲ ταῦτα ὁ Ὀδυσσεὺς ἐξήκει ἐπὶ τὸ τοῦτον φονεῦσαι· ὁ δὲ τιτρώσκει τοῦτον τῶι τῆς τρυγόνος κέντρῳ, καὶ παραντίκα θανάτῳ καθυποβάλλει.

In the *Odyssey* Odysseus had sex with Circe on the day they met (10. 347) and apparently continued to share her bed during the **(p.302)** year of his stay (cf. 10. 480). There is no suggestion that she became pregnant, and the poet surely had no thought of it. Telegonos, the ‘Faraway-born’, is a subsequent invention for the sake of attaching to Odysseus a version of the wandering (perhaps Indo-European) tale of the son who unwittingly kills his father, on which see Hartmann 224f.; West (2007), 440–2.¹⁵

After Odysseus’ return from Thesprotia had been related, the scene changed to Circe’s island. This may have been where the book-division was made (Hartmann 73). Telegonos was by this time fully grown; in fact he would have been seven or eight years older than Polyteites and Ptoliporthes.¹⁶ Circe told him about his father and encouraged him to go forth and find him.¹⁷ For self-defence she provided him with a spear tipped with the barb of a sting-ray, a feature that ‘not only lacerates, but ... carries a powerful narcotonic venom’ (Thompson 270). Eugammon might have described how the young man built himself a boat, as Odysseus did in order to leave Calypso’s isle. He arrived on Ithaca, evidently not knowing that this was his father’s island, and started to plunder the flocks. Odysseus came to defend his property. Telegonos struck him with the sting-ray spear, with fatal results. On the significance of the peculiar weapon see the Excursus below.

Details of its making are cited in sch. *Od.* 11. 134 from an unnamed authority: ἔνιοι δὲ ... φασιν ὡς ἐντεύξει τῆς Κίρκης Ἥφαιστος κατεσκεύασε Τηλεγόνῳ δόρυ ἐκ τρυγόνος θαλασσίας, ἣν Φόρκυς ἀνεῖλεν ἐσθίουσαν τοὺς ἐν τῇ Φορκίδι λίμνῃ ἰχθύς· οὗ τὴν μὲν ἐπιδορατίδα ἀδαμαντίνην, τὸν δὲ στύρακα χρυσοῦν εἶναι· ᾧ τὸν Ὀδυσσέα ἀνεῖλεν. This may derive from an **(p.303)** epic source,¹⁸ but if so it was probably a Hellenistic one, as the Φορκὶς λίμνη, located in Circe’s vicinity, is surely the same as the Φόρκη or Φόρκης λίμνη of Lycophron 1275, which is linked with Κίρκαιον (1273) in an Italian setting.¹⁹ The meeting of Circe with Hephaestus is far-fetched, whether he was supposed

to have visited Aiaia (like Hermes in *Od.* 5) or she was supposed to have gone to Olympus (like Thetis in *Il.* 18). Lyc. 796 says the fish was Sardinian, but this may mean no more than 'from the western Mediterranean', where by his time Circe was located.²⁰

According to Dictys Telegonos wounded his father in the side, *κατὰ τοῦ πλευροῦ*.²¹ Dictys of course invented many details of his narrative, and there is no guarantee that this one corresponds to the account in the *Telegony*, though it is plausible enough in itself.

Hyginus, *Fab.* 127. 1–2, gives the following account of these events:

Telegonus Vlyssis et Circes filius, missus a matre ut genitorem quaereret, tempestate in Ithacam est delatus, ibique fame coactus agros depopulari coepit; cum quo Vlysses et Telemachus ignari arma contulerunt. Vlysses a Telegono filio est interfectus, quod ei responsum fuerat ut a filio caueret mortem.

This almost certainly derives from Sophocles' *Ὀδυσσεὺς ἀκανθοπλήξ*.²² Odysseus received a warning from an oracle to beware of being killed by his son. He naturally assumed that it referred to Telemachos. In fr. 460 of the play he referred to something of which no oracle could persuade him, sc. that Telemachos would threaten his life.

(p.304) Two Weddings and a Funeral²³

Arg. 4a

Τηλέγονος δὲ ἐπιγνοὺς τὴν ἀμαρτίαν τό τε τοῦ πατρὸς σῶμα καὶ τὸν Τηλέμαχον καὶ τὴν Πηνελόπην πρὸς τὴν μητέρα μεθίστησιν.

Apollod. epit. 7. 37 *ἀναγνωρισάμενος δὲ αὐτὸν καὶ πολλὰ κατοδυσράμενος, τὸν νεκρὸν {καὶ} τὴν Πηνελόπην πρὸς Κίρκην ἄγει.*

Hyg. *Fab.* 127. 2 quem postquam cognouit qui esset, iussu Mineruae cum Telemacho et Penelope in patriam redierunt: in insulam Aeaeam ad Circen Vlysem mortuum deportarunt ibique sepulturae tradiderunt.

There must have been a dialogue in which Telegonos was made aware of his victim's identity and Odysseus of his slayer's. It might have gone along these lines:

ODYDDEUS. Oh, alas, I am dying; I feel my life ebbing away. Who are you, young man, that have slain me, Odysseus son of Laertes, whom no enemy at Troy, no Polyphemos or Scylla, no tempest at sea was ever able to overcome?

TELEGONOS. In the gods' name, what are you saying? You are Odysseus, my father by immortal Circe, who sent me over the seas to find you? Is this then Ithaca, the land I sought? I thought it was a nameless island, inhabited only by sheep. When you came rushing at me, I was forced to defend myself.

Odysseus died; Telegonos lamented at some length (Apollod.). Events must then have

moved on quite rapidly. A heroic funeral would be expected, but before it could be arranged the decision was made to convey the body to Circe, accompanied by Telegonos, Telemachos, and Penelope. According to Hyginus Athena arrived in the manner of a tragic *deus ex machina* (cf. Hartmann 119f.) to enjoin this course of action. He may have got this, like the earlier part of his account, from a hypothesis to Sophocles' *Ὀδυσσεὺς ἀκανθοπλήξ*. But it seems necessary to postulate an intervention by Athena in the *Telegony* too. Telegonos could hardly have hit on the proper course of action on his own initiative: 'Ye gods, this is a pretty kettle of ... Why don't we all get in my boat, taking the corpse too, (p.305) and I'll sail us back to my mother, who is a resourceful witch and may be able to sort us out.' Surely it was Athena (who had intervened to help Odysseus earlier in the poem, in the Thesprotian episode) who told them what to do. Perhaps she also sped the ship on its way so that the immense distance was traversed swiftly and easily.

There is no indication of what happened to Ptoliporthes. Presumably he remained in Ithaca to rule benignly over his father's people, who were otherwise left leaderless, and to carry on Odysseus' line there.²⁴ We may surmise that it was from this that he received the second name Arkesilaos, *οὐνεκα ... ἤρκεσε λαοῖς*, the point of which was to make him the ancestor of the Cyrenaean Battiads. Eugammon may or may not have given an indication of how the supposed connection worked.²⁵

Hartmann 53 suggests that Odysseus' burial on Aiaia rather than Ithaca points to a grave and cult somewhere in Italy or elsewhere in the west, Circe's island being already given a location in the real world. I do not find this likely. This was not the first funeral to be performed on Aiaia, as there had previously been Elpenor's (*Od.* 12. 8–15). That of Odysseus was perhaps dealt with at not much greater length so far as the ritual was concerned, though a set of laments from each of the four persons present would have been appropriate. It would have been an opportunity to sum up the whole story of Odysseus.

Arg. 4b

ἡ δὲ αὐτοὺς ἀθανάτους ποιεῖ, καὶ συνοικεῖ τῇ μὲν Πηνελόπῃ Τηλέγονος, Κίρκῃ δὲ Τηλέμαχος.

Apollod. epit. 7. 37 κάκει τὴν Πηνελόπην γαμεῖ. Κίρκῃ δὲ ἐκατέρους αὐτοὺς εἰς Μακάρων νήσους ἀποστέλλει.

(p.306) Hyg. *Fab.* 127. 2 eiusdem Mineruae monitu Telegonus Penelopen, Telemachus Circen duxerunt uxores.

Sch. Lyc. 805 μῦθος φέρεται ὅτι μετὰ τὸ ἀνελεῖν αὐτὸν (sc. Ὀδυσσεά) τὸν Τηλέγονον Κίρκῃ φαρμάκοις ἀνέστησε, καὶ ἐγγάματο Τηλεμάχῳ, καὶ Πηνελόπῃ Τηλεγόνῳ, ἐν Μακάρων νήσοις.

F 6 Eust. *Od.* 1796. 52

ὁ δὲ τοὺς Νόστους ποιήσας Κολοφώνιος Τηλέμαχον μὲν φησι τὴν Κίρκην ὕστερον

γῆμαι, Τηλέγονον δὲ τὸν ἐκ Κίρκης ἀντιγῆμαι Πηνελόπην.

Calypso had offered to make Odysseus immortal if he stayed with her (*Od.* 5. 135f., 7. 256f., 23. 335f.). Circe now confers this boon on her new consort Telemachos, as well as on her son and his elderly bride.²⁶ According to the scholiast on Lycophron she also brings Odysseus back to life. It might be argued that there was no point in taking his body to her island except for that to happen; but then Penelope would not have been free to marry Telegonos, and the neat ending by means of the double marriage is spoiled if a resurrected Odysseus is left over.²⁷ The location in the Isles of the Blest also seems to be foreign to the *Telegony*. In the Apollodorus epitome Circe sends Telegonos and Penelope there while remaining on her own island. Telemachos does not appear; Apollodorus perhaps preferred him to marry Nestor's daughter Polykaste, as in [Hes.] fr. 221. In the *Telegony*, then, Circe and Telemachos and Telegonos and Penelope live on in Aiaia. The divergent versions arose from the tendency to locate all immortalized heroes on the Isles of the Blest and from the feeling that Odysseus should have his place among them.

These fantastic marriages and immortalizations brought the Epic Cycle to a tidy fairytale conclusion. They spring from the same outlook as the mythical accounts according to which the Heroic Age ended with the removal of the heroes to a happier place at the ends of the earth (Hes. *Op.* 167–73, [Hes.] fr. 204. 99–103). Some of them, as Hartmann 52 notes, enjoyed posthumous marriages: Heracles with Hebe, Achilles with Medea.

(p.307) Excursus: The Death of Odysseus

Teiresias prophesies to Odysseus in *Od.* 11. 134–7:

θάνατος δέ τοι ἔξ ἀλὸς αὐτῶι
ἀβληχρὸς μάλα τοῖος ἐλεύσεται, ὅς κέ σε πέφνηι
γῆραι ὑπο λιπαρῶι ἀρημένον· ἀμφὶ δὲ λαοί
ὄλβιοι ἔσσονται. τὰ δέ τοι νημερτέα εἴρω.

Death will come to yourself from the sea, a quite mild death that will kill you when you are worn down by a sleek old age, with your people prospering round about. This is the truth I tell you.

What is this 'mild' death that is to come from the sea? The story in the *Telegony*, that Odysseus was killed with a sting-ray spear, was accepted by some as the fulfilment of the prophecy. Nicander, *Th.* 835f. λόγος γε μὲν ὥς ποτ' Ὀδυσσεύς | ἔφθιτο λευγαλέοιο τυπεῖς ἀλίου ὑπὸ κέντρου, surely alludes to the *Odyssey's* ἔξ ἀλός, as does Oppian when he writes that Circe gave Telegonos the weapon αἰχμάζειν δηίοις ἄλιον μόρον (*Hal.* 2. 499).

Aristarchus disagreed, refusing as usual to explain Homer in terms of something known only to later poets, οἱ νεώτεροι. He interpreted ἔξ ἀλός to mean 'far away from the sea'

(sch. *Il.* 11. 163a, *Od.* 11. 134), comparing the use of ἐξ in *Il.* 11. 163f. Ἐκτορα δ' ἐκ βελέων ὑπαγε Ζεὺς ἔκ τε κονίης | ἔκ τ' ἀνδροκτασίης ἔκ θ' αἵματος ἔκ τε κυδοιμοῦ. This approach was developed further by his pupil Ptolemy of Ascalon, who explained the ΕΞ in ἐξ ἀλός as elided ἔξω (which is impossible), and by Herodian, who read ἔξαλος as one word, 'an extramarine death'.²⁸

A surprising number of modern scholars have followed Aristarchus.²⁹ But θάνατος δέ τοι ἐξ ἀλός ... ἐλεύσεται can only mean 'death will come to you from the sea', just as in 4. 401 ἐξ ἀλός εἶσι γέρων ἄλιος means 'the Old Man of the Sea will come out of the sea'. Besides, the context strongly implies that Odysseus will be settled on Ithaca among his subjects, so not at all 'far from the sea'.

Does Teiresias' prophecy then refer to Telegonos' spear, as others before and after Aristarchus thought? This would account for (p.308) ἐξ ἀλός all right, but it can hardly have been what the *Odyssey* poet had in mind. He knew nothing of Telegonos, who was a post-Odyssean invention; Aristarchus was right about that.³⁰ Besides, to be fatally wounded in a fight cannot be called a mild or gentle death, especially if the weapon is such an unpleasant one. Robert (1920–6), 1439 n. 2, thought that ἀβληχρός could refer to the soft structure of the sting-ray and its barb. Dornseiff argued absurdly that the word is apt because for an old man to be suddenly stabbed through the heart is a death free from all suffering.³¹ If so, why not use a normal spear? It would still have come from the sea if Telegonos brought it.

Laceration by a sting-ray is extremely painful. Pacuvius in his *Niptra*, in a scene modelled on Sophocles' Ὀδυσσεὺς ἀκανθοπλήξ, showed Ulysses in agonies from his wound (fr. 199. 8–12 Schierl):

retinete, tenete: opprimit ulcus.

nudate! heu miserum me, excrucior.

operite! abscedite! iam iam <me>

mittite, nam attrectatu et quassu

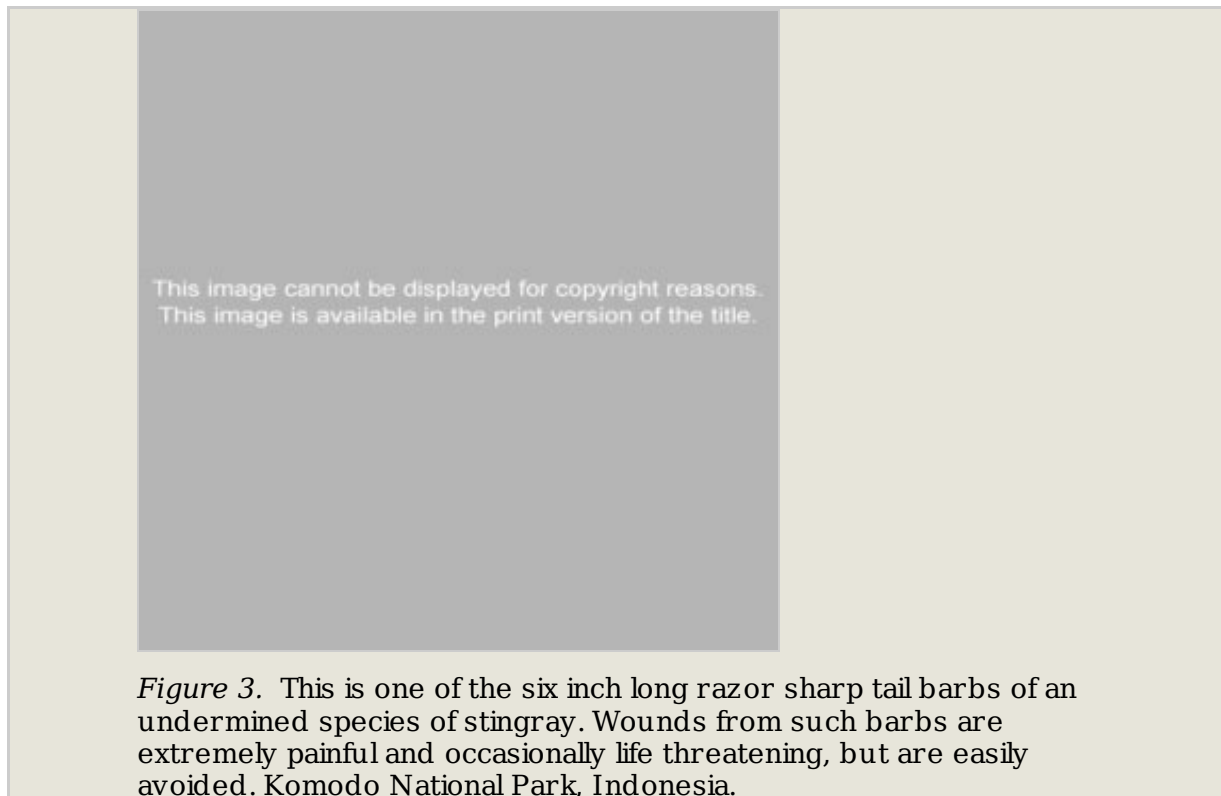
saeuum amplificatis dolorem.

In Sophocles' play, according to Cicero (*Tusc.* 2. 49), the hero lamented in even less restrained terms. Oppian describes the stingray's barb as ἄγριον, ... ὁμοῦ χαλεπὸν τε βίηι καὶ ὀλέθριον ἰῶι (*Hal.* 2. 470f.), and the fish as the τρυγῶν ἀλγινόεσσα (505). Thompson 270f. quotes the following account of the sufferings of a man who was stung by a ray. It comes from John Smith's *Generall Historie of Virginia* (1624), from an account of how the sailors in a certain ship, finding a place where there were abundant fish, amused themselves by spearing them with their swords.

It chanced our Captain, taking a fish from his sword (not knowing her condition) being much of the fashion of a Thornbacke, but having a long tayle like a riding rodde, whereon

the middest is a most poisoned sting of 2 or 3 inches long, bearded like a saw on each side, which she stucked into the wrist of his arme near an inch and a half; no blood nor wound was seene, but a little blew spot, but the torment was instantly so extreeme, that in foure houres had so swollen his hand, arme and shoulder we all with much **(p.309)** sorrow concluded his funerall, and prepared his grave on an island by himself directed; yet it pleased God, by a precious oyle Dr Russell at the first applied to it with a probe, ere night his tormenting paine was so well asswaged that he eate of the fishe to his supper.

I attach an image of the sting of a ray (Figure 3).³²



There is another version of Odysseus' death that involves the sting-ray in a quite different way. It appears in a fragment of Aeschylus' *Psychagogoi* (fr. 275), where again it is a prophecy by Teiresias, only this time not in such riddling terms:

ἔρωιδιὸς γὰρ ὑψόθεν ποτώμενος

ὄνθωι σε πλήξει νηδύος χαλώμασιν·

ἐκ τοῦδ' ἄκανθα ποντίου βοσκήματος

σήψει παλαιὸν δέρμα καὶ τριχορρυές.

A heron in flight will strike you from above with its loose-bowelled dropping. From this the barb of a sea-nurtured creature will rot your old skin that has lost its hair.

(p.310) In other words, a heron flying overhead would one day defecate onto Odysseus, and its droppings would contain the (obviously much reduced and degraded) barb of a fish that would poison his aged, balding scalp.

What are we to make of this? Vürtheim, *Mnem.* n.s. 29 (1901), 58, thought that such a grotesque and unseemly scenario could only have come in a satyr play. Johannes Schmidt considered Aeschylus to have made a travesty of the older Telegonos saga, while according to Eduard Schwartz, because the Telegonos interpretation of the traditional prophecy was so forced, Aeschylus boldly replaced it with a still more artificial one that better fitted the wording.³³

Only Gruppe (715) saw it as representing the probable original version that the *Odyssey* poet was alluding to. I believe he was right. It cannot have been Aeschylus' invention but must have come to him from older tradition. It fits the *Odyssey* prophecy well: the hero's death will come from the sea, in a mild form, ἀβληχρός, and his extreme old age will be a contributory factor, γήραι ὑπο λιπαρῶι ἀρήμενον.

But what would have been the origin of such a bizarre story? Gruppe could only suggest that it came from some cult legend, but it has no possible cultic relevance.

The key is to identify the particular genre of myth that it belongs to. There is a species of myth that hinges on a sort of riddle and its solution. The riddle involves a set of conditions that have to be fulfilled if a certain result is to come about, conditions so framed that they appear impossible to meet. They are however met by contriving an unimagined combination of circumstances.

Here is a Lithuanian example in which the outcome is not a death but a marriage. A traveller comes to a house where there is a girl spinning and asks if she has anything there for him to drink. She answers in a riddling manner. He solves her riddle, and poses one of his own: 'If you come to me neither naked nor clothed, neither on horse or on foot or on a wagon, neither on the road nor on the footpath nor beside the road, in summer and at the same time in **(p.311)** winter, I'll marry you.' She meets the challenge by removing her clothes and draping herself in a net (so she is neither naked nor clothed). She rides up on a billy-goat (so neither on horse or on foot or on a wagon), keeping to the ruts in the track (so neither on the road nor on the footpath nor beside the road), and then goes into a coachhouse and places herself between a sleigh (winter) and a carriage (summer) (so she is in both seasons at once).³⁴ If we had only the ending of the story—the account of the girl's actions without the preceding dialogue—we should wonder what on earth was going on.

Other myths tell of a person who can only be killed if certain apparently impossible conditions are fulfilled. In an episode related in the *Mahābhārata* Indra's great enemy Vṛtra secures an agreement that he cannot be killed 'with matter dry or wet, rock or wood, thunderbolt or weapon, by day or by night'. Indra, frustrated, ponders how he might nevertheless compass Vṛtra's death. One day he observes him on the seashore at twilight, and in the sea he sees a great mound of foam. He reflects, 'Now it is neither day

nor night, and this foam is neither dry nor wet, nor is it a weapon. I shall throw it at Vṛtra, then he will instantly perish.' 'Quickly he threw the foam at him with the thunderbolt, and Vis.n.u entered the foam and destroyed Vṛtra.'³⁵

Welsh saga tells of the hero Lleu Llaw Gyffes, who knows that he is a difficult man to kill. 'I cannot be slain within a house, nor can I outside. I cannot be slain on horseback, nor can I a-foot.' He knows too that there is a way to kill him, though it is not one that a foe would be likely to hit upon. It would have to be in a thatch-roofed bathtub on a river bank, with him standing with one foot on the edge of the tub and the other on the back of a he-goat; and then he would have to be struck with a spear made over the course of a year when people were at Sunday Mass. His faithless wife Blodeuwedd wheedles these details out of him, and so becomes able to bring about his death.³⁶

(p.312) I have previously used these parallels to elucidate the Norse myth of the death of Baldr.³⁷ He was the beautiful god, the darling of all the other gods. They were afraid for his life and resolved to secure immunity for him from all kinds of danger. Solemn promises were obtained from all things that he should not be harmed by fire or water, iron or any other metal, stones, earth, trees, diseases, animals, birds, poison, snakes. This seemingly comprehensive immunity having been conferred on him, the gods took to amusing themselves by striking at him with weapons and missiles as he stood in their midst; nothing they did caused him any harm. But the malign Loki found out that there was a shoot of mistletoe, growing west of Valhall, from which Frigg had not troubled to exact the oath, as it had seemed too young and harmless to bother with. Loki went and got the mistletoe and took it to the place where Baldr was being bombarded. The blind god Hǫðr was standing on the sidelines, not taking part in the game, as he could not see where Baldr was and had no weapon. Loki put the mistletoe in his hand and showed him where to aim. He threw, and Baldr fell dead.³⁸

What is the point of his being killed by a blind god throwing mistletoe? I argued that in an older version of the myth it must have been laid down that Baldr could not be harmed by anything on earth or in heaven, or by any creature that sees the light of day. Mistletoe grows *between* earth and heaven, and so was not covered by the stipulation; nor was the blind god who could not see the light of day. So we make sense of the bizarre circumstances of the death by reconstructing the restrictive conditions that they are designed to circumvent. Instead of being given a riddle and having to guess the solution, we are given the solution and have to guess what the riddle was.

Here is one more example, this time of an actual riddle, an ancient Greek one, attributed to a certain Panarkes (*IEG* ii. 93):

αἶνός τίς ἐστὶν ὡς ἀνὴρ τε κούκ ἀνὴρ

ὄρνιθα κούκ ὄρνιθ' ἰδών τε κούκ ἰδών

ἐπὶ ξύλου τε κού ξύλου καθημένην

λίθωι τε κού λίθωι βάλοι τε κού βάλοι.

(p.313)

There is a tale that a man who was no man,
seeing and not seeing a bird that was no bird
as it sat on a stock that was no stock,
hit it and hit it not with a stone that was no stone.

The solution is: a short-sighted eunuch dimly made out a bat that was clinging to a fennel-stalk, and threw a pumice-stone at it, hitting it but not killing it. So here again we are presented with a thoroughly zany combination of circumstances that would be quite incomprehensible without the riddle that they are devised to solve, a riddle consisting of apparent impossibilities.

Now let us return to Odysseus and his extraordinary demise, poisoned by the droppings of a heron that had digested a sting-ray. Here is a nexus of circumstances with the same bizarre quality as characterizes the above riddle-myths. The story surely belongs in the same category. What we have to do to understand it is to work out the riddle, or the set of conditions, to which the defecating heron was the solution.

The answer must lie, as in the stories of Vŗtra, Lleu, and Baldr, in an apparently comprehensive set of immunities enjoyed by Odysseus. When this account of his death was first produced—no doubt long before Aeschylus—his immunities must have been stated in advance, before the fatal incident occurred. They might have been stated by a seer such as Teiresias, only they must have been much more restrictive than his rather vague prophecy in the *Odyssey* about a mild death from the sea. In any case a mere prophecy will not suffice; we require an explanation of how Odysseus came to acquire such immunity. Most likely it was conferred on him at his birth. We may imagine a story on these lines:

Just after Odysseus was born, a god, or two or three gods, came to Laertes' house, disguised in human form, and he gave them hospitality. They then revealed their identity and rewarded him by declaring 'your son will not be vulnerable to any living creature on land or sea or in the air, or to any of the diseases that roam the earth, or to shipwreck at sea'. And indeed Odysseus grew up to be a great hero; he survived the Trojan War, and escaped all the perils that he faced at sea on his homeward journey. He grew old in peace and tranquillity and perfect health, and seemed to be safe from all mortal dangers. But one day a heron flew over ... and so at last his life came to an end.

The heron story presupposes Odysseus' immunities; Teiresias' prophecy in the *Odyssey* presupposes the heron story. Its details are exact. The hero's death comes from the sea, not just because the **(p.314)** heron comes from that direction but, more importantly, because of the sting-ray. The death comes in a mild form: Odysseus is not subjected to

the agonies of being stung by the fish; the residual toxicity of its digested remains seeps into his balding scalp and he succumbs to it without pain. He has grown vulnerable because of his γῆρας λιπαρόν.³⁹

What is the relationship of the *Telegony* version of Odysseus' death to the one involving the heron? They cannot be completely independent, as they have the sting-ray in common. Gruppe assumed that as the death by sting-ray had become an established feature of the legend, it was retained in 'eine jüngere Gestaltung der Sage' which used the motif of Telegonos, the son who slew his father.⁴⁰ This is probably right. There is no need to suppose that the prophecy about Odysseus' immunities, which made sense of the sting-ray, appeared in the *Telegony*. Eugammon may have taken over the motif of the lethal sting-ray without preserving any trace of its original rationale. The idea of a spear fitted with a sting-ray barb need not be a poetic fiction. Hartmann (50f., cf. 221f.) points out that the use of such weapons is documented from some of the Pacific islands. He considers Telegonos' spear as a relic from a primitive cultural milieu, on a par with the arrow poison that Odysseus gets from Thesprotia (*Od.* 1. 261) and appropriate as a gift from Circe the πολυφάρμακος (10. 276).

It may be felt that death by heron-excrement is not very fitting for a Homeric hero. Can we really suppose that it was solemnly related in some early epic? No, surely not. The original story no doubt had its existence not in epic but at the folktale level. Otto Crusius wrote that Aeschylus with his heron story seems to preserve something old and crude, deriving from 'the pre-epic phase' of the Odysseus saga.⁴¹

(p.315) 'The pre-epic phase of the Odysseus saga': this raises the question, who was Odysseus? Was he a Mycenaean warrior king, renowned from the start as an epic hero? He is called a sacker of cities, πτολίπορθος Ὀδυσσεύς, but we do not hear of any actual cities he sacked, or of any heroic adversaries that he slew in combat. His renown is rather for deeds of guile, cunning tricks and stratagems. He introduces himself to Alcinous (*Od.* 9. 19f.) as 'Odysseus son of Laertes, known everywhere for my tricks':

εἴμ' Ὀδυσσεὺς Λαερτιάδης, ὃς πᾶσι δόλοισιν

ἀνθρώποισι μέλω, καί μεο κλέος οὐρανὸν ἵκει.

To him alone belongs the formula Διὶ μῆτιν ἀτάλαντος, which has every appearance of going back to a Mycenaean prototype;⁴² it suggests that from the beginning his distinguishing quality was μῆτις, resourceful cleverness. He was descended from Hermes through the famous trickster Autolykos, who used to steal horses and change their colour so that they could not be recognized ([Hes.] fr. 67); or according to others he was a bastard son of Sisyphos. It looks likely that Odysseus too was originally a folktale trickster, to whom all kinds of stories became attached, for example of how he found himself in the land of the one-eyed ogres, trapped in the cave of one of them, but outwitted him and escaped. The variant forms of his name, Odysseus, Olytteus, Olixes, and so on, confirm that he must have been widely celebrated outside epic. It was surely this sub-heroic Odysseus of popular storytelling who seemed invincible but was

overcome in the end by an incontinent heron.

But as the generations went by, epic, and the saga of the Trojan War in particular, drew more and more legendary characters into its orbit, and with Odysseus' dignification as an epic hero the mainstream tradition set the heron story aside as unbefitting for such a man. It left its echo in Teiresias' prophecy in the *Odyssey*, which the poet perhaps put in without full awareness of its purport, to presage an eventual happy end to Odysseus' life (cf. Danek 228). The tale survived in some side-channel of tradition to reach Aeschylus. But when an epic poet such as Eugammon came to deal with Odysseus' end, he adapted the tale to a more heroic mode. The sting-ray remains, but the hero dies in battle.

Notes:

⁽¹⁾ In the manuscript of Clement (*Strom.* 6. 25. 1) it is written with a single μ , but in Eusebius, *Praep. Ev.* 10. 2. 7, who was copying Clement, it appears as *Εὐγράμμων*.

⁽²⁾ Cf. Wilamowitz (1884), 187–9; Hartmann 86–8; Merkelbach 151f.

⁽³⁾ Wilamowitz (1884), 240f., 347; Hartmann 55 n. 26.

⁽⁴⁾ See West (1983), 39–44 for the ascription of poetry to Musaeus, and especially 43f. on the Thesprotian book.

⁽⁵⁾ Cf. Hartmann 158.

⁽⁶⁾ J. Vürtheim, *Mnem.* n.s. 29 (1901), 39.

⁽⁷⁾ This seems to be the meaning of *ἐπὶ τούτῳ* (or *ἐπὶ τούτου*, as Bekker accidentally wrote), though Dübner and others have taken it as 'after that (there came)'. See A. Severyns, *Ant. Cl.* 31 (1962), 19–24.

⁽⁸⁾ On the folk tale see Hansen 357–71; on the Rhampsinitus story in particular, S. West in J. Marincola (ed.), *A Companion to Greek and Roman Historiography* (Oxford 2007), 322–7. Hartmann 69 argues that the tale originated in Egypt, where the secret entrance through a removable stone was at home as an architectural feature, and that it passed from there to Cyrene. A Corinthian vase of the early sixth century (so perhaps earlier than Eugammon) has been thought to depict the Trophonios story (*LIMC* Agamedes 2). It shows two men, both with their heads caught in traps, and a woman who approaches bringing them food. But it is hard to interpret this as a version of the Trophonios story.

⁽⁹⁾ Cf. Hartmann 70, 85.

⁽¹⁰⁾ By the fourth century Odysseus had an oracle in the land of the Eurytanes (Arist. fr. 508, Lyc. 799, Nic. fr. 8), which seems to presuppose his death there. There was another at Trampya, near Bounima(i), deep in Epirus, which also claimed to have been Odysseus' final destination: Lyc. 800 with sch., St. Byz. β 147 S.V. *Βούνιμα*, Eust. 1675. 35. N. G. L. Hammond, *Epirus* (Oxford 1967), 708 and 675 map 16, places these obscure towns on the uppermost reaches of the river Arachthos. Bounimai was of sufficient consequence to

serve as the venue for a meeting of the Epirote League shortly before 170 (*GDI* 1339).

⁽¹¹⁾ The motif of an oar planted in the earth appears also at *Od.* 11. 77f.–12. 15 (Elpenor's grave-mound). Hansen 371–8 discusses folk parallels for the ex-sailor who carries an oar inland until it is not recognized and who settles down there. They come from modern Greece, Britain, and America, and there seems a good chance that they derive from the story of Odysseus.

⁽¹²⁾ Welcker ii. 302, 'Dieß hinderte aber nicht daß ein Thesprotisches Fürstengeschlecht, geschmeichelt durch den erdichteten Besuch des Odysseus, seine eigene Abstammung von ihm erdichtete, wie das Molossische Herrschergeschlecht sich von Neoptolemos ableitete, in Zeiten als in allen mit den epischen Sagen bekannten Gegenden unter Griechen und den fremden Geschlechtern, die sie bewunderten und nachahmten, nichts für ehrenvoller galt als Verwandtschaft mit den Helden der altgriechischen Lieder und Sagen.' On the Molossian legend cf. on *Nostoi* arg. 4a. For other stories of sons left by Odysseus in north-west Greece cf. Hartmann 182–207; Merkelbach 224f.

⁽¹³⁾ Merkelbach 146–8 argues that Odysseus had been exiled from Ithaca because of his killing of the suitors, and that this accounted for his prolonged absence. If this had been so in the *Telegony*, it would surely have been mentioned by Proclus and/or Apollodorus. He was due to make a journey anyway because of Teiresias' instructions.

⁽¹⁴⁾ Some, however, take the attribution to the *Nostoi* seriously. See e.g. Hartmann 97f.

⁽¹⁵⁾ Another poet made Odysseus and Circe the parents of Agrios and Latinos, the first kings of the Etruscans ([Hes.] *Th.* 1011–16, where 1014 is a secondary interpolation to bring in Telegonos). He also named two sons born to Calypso by Odysseus, one of them the first king of the Phaeacians (1017f.). Telegonos was later (probably by Varro) made the founder of Praeneste and Tusculum: Livy 1. 49. 8, Dion. Hal. *Ant.* 4. 45. 1, Festus p. 116. 8 L., Hor. *C.* 3. 29. 8, Ov. *F.* 3. 92, etc.; Roscher v. 253; Hartmann 164; Robert (1920–6), 1444 n. 5.

⁽¹⁶⁾ It is not necessary to suppose, with Hartmann 88, that the motive for inserting the Thesprotian saga in the Telegonos story was to give him time to grow up. Odysseus could have spent some peaceful years at home before Telegonos' arrival.

⁽¹⁷⁾ There is a certain parallel with Athena's encouraging Telemachos to go abroad to seek news of his father. This might have influenced Eugammon. Cf. J. N. Svoronos, *Gazette archéologique* 13 (1888), 267; Hartmann 219–21.

⁽¹⁸⁾ *ἐπιδορατίς* corresponds to epic *αἶχμή* (Hesych. α 2201 *αἶχμή· ἐπιδορατίς*, cf. sch. *Il.* 22. 319a), *στυράξ* to epic *πόρκης*. Cf. the gold *πόρκης* of Hector's spear, *Il.* 6. 320=8. 495.

⁽¹⁹⁾ Cf. Holzinger 344, 345 ; Hartmann 109 n. 9.

⁽²⁰⁾ Cf. Gerson Schade, *Lykophrons 'Odyssee'. Alexandra 648–819* (Berlin-New York 1999), 197.

(²¹) Attested indirectly by Malalas ap. *Ἐκλογὴ ἱστοριῶν* in *An. Par.* ii. 215 Cramer (Hartmann 175).

(²²) Hartmann 115–22; Petra Schierl, *Die Tragödien des Pacuvius* (Berlin-New York 2006), 390f.

(²³) I borrow the rubric from Debiasi 261. It plays on the title of a delightful British romantic comedy film from 1994, *Four Weddings and a Funeral*.

(²⁴) Schwartz 143 n. 1. Dictys (who called him Ptoliporthos) had him inherit part of Odysseus' kingdom, as is attested indirectly by Malalas ap. *Ἐκλογὴ ἱστοριῶν* in *An. Par.* ii. 216 Cramer (Hartmann 175); but there he was the son of Telemachos and Nausicaa (Dict. 6. 6). In the fourth century (Arist. fr. 507) there were families on Ithaca claiming descent from Odysseus' trusty herdsmen Eumaios and Philoitios but not, so far as we know, from Odysseus himself.

(²⁵) As a parallel we may think of Nestor's untraditional son Peisistratos in *Od.* 3. 36 etc., whom the homonymous Athenian tyrant could claim as his ancestor (cf. Hdt. 5. 65. 3f.) without there being anything in the text to point forward to Athenian descendants. Cf. S. West ad loc.

(²⁶) They do not become actual gods; for the type of honorary immortality involved see on *Aethiopsis* arg. 2e.

(²⁷) Cf. Hartmann 52f.

(²⁸) Sch. *Od.* 11. 134 (Herodian ii. 150. 19 L.).

(²⁹) Wecklein (1839–41), i. 245; Ameis-Hentze ad loc.; J. Vürtheim, *Mnem.* n.s. 29 (1901), 52; Hartmann 74; Schwartz 141; Schmid 217 n. 7; Heubeck ad loc.; *contra* Merry-Riddell ad loc.; R. D. Dawe, *The Odyssey* (Lewes 1993), 437; Danek 226f.; V. Di Benedetto, *Omero. Odissea* (Milano 2010), 607.

(³⁰) Rightly Hartmann 91, 'λ 134ff. weiß nichts von der Telegonosgeschichte oder will nichts von ihr wissen', cf. 218. There is no hint in the *Odyssey* narrative that Odysseus left Circe pregnant.

(³¹) F. Dornseiff, *Hermes* 72 (1937), 354=*Antike und alter Orient* (Leipzig 1956), 168, 'denn es ist für einen alten Menschen kein leidloserer Tod denkbar als plötzlich einen Stich ins Herz zu bekommen'.

(³²) From David Fleetham/Alamy.

(³³) Schmidt in Roscher V. 249. 62, 'Aischylos ... hat der Überlieferung von Odysseus' Tode eine ganz eigenartige, fast skurrile Wendung gegeben, die wie eine parodistische Widerlegung oder Verdrehung der herkömmlichen Telegonossage aussieht'; Schwartz 143; cf. Wilamowitz, *Aischylos. Interpretationen* (Berlin 1914), 247 n. 0; Hartmann 51.

(³⁴) A. Schleicher, *Litauische Märchen, Sprichworte, Rätsel und Lieder* (Weimar 1857), 3.

(³⁵) *Mahābhārata* 5.10.32–8, trans. J. A. B. van Buitenen. The intrusion of the thunderbolt here is illegitimate, as it has been agreed that Indra cannot use the thunderbolt. But the narrator could not accept that the foam by itself would be effective, so he has put the thunderbolt inside it.

(³⁶) *The Mabinogion*, trans. Gwyn Jones and Thomas Jones (London 1949), 70f.

(³⁷) *Journal of Indo-European Studies* 32 (2004), 1–9; cf. Severyns (1928), 369f.

(³⁸) Snorri Sturluson, *Gylfaginning* 49; cf. Jan de Vries, *Altgermanische Religionsgeschichte* (2nd edn, Berlin 1957), ii. 215–20.

(³⁹) I wonder whether this phrase might originally have alluded to Odysseus' hair loss. *λιπαρός* in Homer is applied *inter alia* to gleaming skin, as in *ποσσὶν ὑπο λιπαροῖσιν ἐδήσατο καλὰ πέδιλα*. We also find the phrase *πολιὸν γῆρας*, 'grey-haired old age', in Pindar and Euripides, and 'gleaming-pated old age' would be analogous.

(⁴⁰) Gruppe 715; cf. Danek 227, who, although he does not think that the heron version can be the original one, allows that the death by sting-ray may originally have had nothing to do with Telegonos.

(⁴¹) O. Crusius, *Rh. Mus.* 37 (1882), 311, 'Vielmehr scheint der Dichter [Aeschylus], wie so oft, einen alterthümlich-rohen, noch aus der vorepischen Phase der Odysseussage stammenden Zug bewahrt zu haben.' Crusius argues plausibly in that paper that the tale of Aeschylus himself being killed when an eagle dropped a tortoise onto his bald head was inspired by the Odysseus story.

(⁴²) Cf. C. J. Ruijgh, *Études sur le grammaire et le vocabulaire du grec mycénien* (Amsterdam 1967), 53; I. K. Promponâs, *Ἡ μυκηναϊκή ἐπική ποίησις μέ βάση τά μυκηναϊκά κείμενα καί τά Ὀμηρικά ἔπη* (Athens 1980), 44f.; West (2011b), 46.

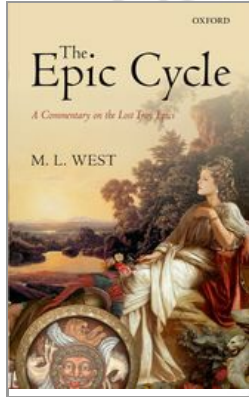


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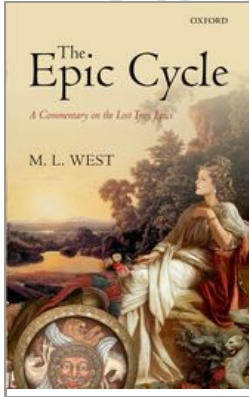
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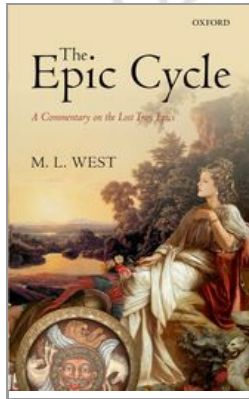
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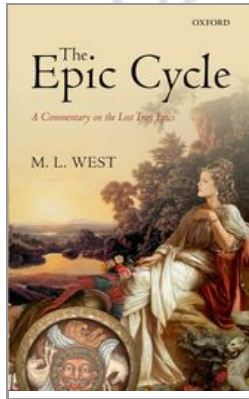
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