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## THE POEMS OF THE EPIC CYCLE.

IN an article published in the last volume of this Journal I endeavoured to show (1) that the extant fragments of the 'chrestomathy' of Proclus represent the Trojan part of the 'Epic Cycle' more completely than has been maintained by eminent scholars; and (2) that, on the other hand, they are less trustworthy than they appear to be as a source of knowledge of the so-called 'Cyclic' poems. That is to say, the notion of a considerable *lacuna* in Proclus' abstract is not borne out by a more thorough examination of the only extant manuscript. But that abstract does not always give a full or accurate account of the several poems from which the Epic Cycle was made up. And this incompleteness is found (1) when two of the poems dealt with the same part of the story—in which case the abstract leaves out one of the two versions altogether;—and also (2) when the incidents of a poem are not in harmony with the accepted mythological narrative. In the latter case the abstract gives the version which was recognised as historically true. We have, in short, an account, not of the original poems, but of so much of their contents as served for a continuous and complete history of the world.

It is difficult to determine whether these omissions and alterations were made in the poems themselves—so that the 'Epic Cycle' consisted (to some extent at least) of *extracts*—or only in the account of them given by Proclus. On the latter view—which is supported by the high authority of Welcker—the Epic Cycle would be little more than a *canon* or accredited list of the most important ancient epics.

I have indicated a preference for the opinion that the 'poems of the Epic Cycle' had themselves undergone some process of mutilation to fit them for their place in the poetical chronicle. But for the purpose of the inquiry now before us it is immaterial how this question is decided. It will be enough if we bear in mind that the portion of narrative assigned to each poem in the abstract of Proclus does not always represent the plan and argument of the original work; consequently that the continuous and consistent narrative of the abstract is not due to the ancient 'Cyclic' poets themselves. And with this notion of a strict chronological sequence in the matter of the original poems, we must dismiss from our minds the unfavourable view which it implies of their merit as works of art. It cannot be too clearly understood that the *scriptor cyclicus* of Horace has nothing to do with the ancient epic poets now in question.

#### THE CYPRIA.

The first of the poems which composed the Trojan part of the Epic Cycle was the *Cypria*. It was in eleven books, and was generally attributed to Stasinus of Cyprus, sometimes to Hegesias, or Hegesinus, of Salamis in Cyprus. The argument as given by Proclus is as follows:—

Zeus having consulted with Themis as to the lightening of the earth from the burden of its increasing multitudes, and being advised to bring about a great war, sends Discord to the marriage of Peleus and Thetis, and by means of the golden apple causes a quarrel between the three goddesses, Here, Athene, and Aphrodite. The victory of Aphrodite by the 'Judgment of Paris' leads to the voyage of Paris to Sparta, in which he is accompanied by Aeneas, the son of Aphrodite. The voyage is undertaken in spite of prophetic warnings from Helenus and Cassandra. On the return journey, according to Proclus' abstract, a storm was sent by Here, and Paris was driven out of his course as far as Sidon, which he took; but in the original poem, as we know from Herodotus (2. 117), he reached Troy in three days, with a fair wind and smooth sea. The story then returned to Sparta, and related the war of the Dioscuri with the Messenian twins, Idas and Lynceus, the death of Castor, and the alternate immortality granted by Zeus

to Castor and Pollux. Then come the preparations for the war. Menelaus goes for advice to Agamemnon, and then to Nestor, who relates the stories of Epopeus and the daughter of Lycus, of Oedipus, of the madness of Hercules, and of Theseus and Ariadne. They then make a circuit of Greece, and assemble the chiefs for the expedition against Troy. Ulysses, feigning madness to avoid serving, is detected by Palamedes. The fleet is mustered at Aulis in Boeotia, where the incident of the sparrows takes place, with the prophecy of Calchas founded upon it (*Il.* 2. 300 ff.). The Greeks then set sail, but land by mistake in Teuthrania, where they encounter the Mysians under Telephus. In this combat Telephus is wounded by Achilles. On leaving Teuthrania the fleet is scattered by a storm, and Achilles is cast on the island of Scyros, where he marries the daughter of Lycomedes. Telephus, on the advice of an oracle, comes to Argos, is cured of his wound by Achilles, and undertakes to serve as guide to the Greeks. The fleet is again assembled at Aulis, and this time we have the story of Iphigenia—ending, however, not with her death, but as in the version of the *Iphigenia in Tauris*. On the way to Troy Philoctetes is wounded by the serpent, and left behind on the island of Lemnos. Achilles quarrels with Agamemnon on a question of precedence at the banquet. On the Greeks landing in the Troad there is a battle in which Protesilaus is killed by Hector: then Achilles puts the Trojans to flight and slays Cynus, son of Poseidon. Then follows the embassy mentioned in *Il.* 3. 205 ff.: then an attack on the walls of Troy (*τειχομαχία*): after which the Greeks ravage the Troad and take the smaller towns. Achilles desires to see Helen, and the meeting is brought about by Aphrodite and Thetis. He restrains the Greeks from returning home, and performs various exploits mentioned or implied in the *Iliad*, ending with the taking of Thebe and the division of spoil in which he obtains Briseis as his prize. Next comes the death of Palamedes, and the resolve of Zeus to aid the Trojans by withdrawing Achilles from the Greek side. Finally there is a catalogue of the Trojan allies.

The number of fragments given in Kinkel's edition is twenty-two (besides three doubtful references). About half of them are quotations, amounting in all to more than forty lines. The

fragments add something to our knowledge of the details of the poem, and they serve (with the important exception of the passage of Herodotus mentioned above) to confirm the outline given by Proclus. Thus the opening lines (fr. 1 Kinkel) describe the 'counsel of Zeus' for the relief of the too populous earth (*ἦν ὅτε μυρία φύλα κ.τ.λ.*). Two fragments (3 and 4) in Athenaeus probably describe Helen arraying herself for the judgment of Paris. Another in the same author (fr. 6) relates how Nemesis, the mother of Helen, was pursued by Zeus, and changed herself into many and various shapes to avoid him.

Several fragments (5, 7, 9, 14) belong to the episode of the Dioscuri: from one of them we learn that Lynceus was endowed with superhuman powers of sight, so that he could see from Taygetus over the whole Peloponnesus, and through the trunk of the oak in which the Dioscuri were hiding. Fr. 11 refers to the son born to Achilles in Scyros, and tells us that the name 'Pyrrhus,' which does not occur in Homer, was given by Lycomedes, the name 'Neoptolemus' by Phoenix. In fr. 16 we have the account given by the *Cypria* to explain how it happened that Chryseis, being a native of Chryse, was taken by Achilles in the sack of Thebe (*Il.* 1. 369). Regarding the death of Palamedes fr. 18 related that he was drowned while fishing, by Diomedes and Ulysses. There are also references in the fragments to the spear given by the gods to Peleus (fr. 2), the quarrel of Achilles and Agamemnon (fr. 13), the slaying of Protesilaus (fr. 14). There is also a notice (fr. 17) of a curious piece of mythology which does not appear at all in the argument of Proclus, viz. the story of Anius of Delos and his three daughters, called *Οἰνώ*, *Σπερμώ*, and *Ἐλαΐς*. These names were given to them on account of their magical power of producing an infinite quantity of wine, seed (*i.e.* corn), and oil; so that once when the Greek army was threatened with famine, Agamemnon (on the advice of Palamedes) sent for them, and they came accordingly to Rhoeteum and fed the Greek army.

The 'purpose of Zeus to relieve the Trojans,' with which Proclus ends his abstract of the *Cypria*, was obviously intended to lead up to the opening lines of the *Iliad*, and in particular to the famous words in the fifth line—*Διὸς δ' ἔτελέετο βουλή*. If so, the whole poem must have been composed as an introduc-

tion to the *Iliad*, like the *Ante-homerica* of the later epic poets. It may be doubted, however, whether this extreme subservience to Homer can be attributed to the original poet. He begins his work, as we have seen, with a 'purpose of Zeus' to bring about the war—

ὄφρα κενώσειεν θανάτῳ βάρως, οἳ δ' ἐνὶ Τροίῃ  
ἥρωες κτείνουτο, Διὸς δ' ἐτελείετο βουλή.

Here there is a no less evident echo of the words of the *Iliad*, but with the effect of putting a different meaning upon them. The question therefore arises—is it likely that the author of the *Cypria* would *twice* make use of the notion of a purpose of Zeus, in both cases clearly pointing to the βουλή Διὸς of the *Iliad*, but involving two entirely different interpretations of that phrase? If not, we must suppose that the βουλή Διὸς placed at the end of the *Cypria* by Proclus does not belong to the original poem, but was introduced (like the expedition to Sidon) for the sake of agreement with Homer.

Of the plan and structure of the *Cypria* we learn something from the *Poetics* of Aristotle, where it is given as an example of the poems that have 'one hero, one time, and one action, consisting of many parts' (περὶ ἓνα καὶ περὶ ἓνα χρόνου καὶ μίαν πρᾶξιν πολυμερῆ). The hero is evidently Paris; the main action is the carrying away of Helen (Ἐλένης ἀρπαγή). The 'one time' is more difficult to understand, in a poem which begins with the marriage of Peleus and Thetis, and comes down to a late period in the Trojan war. Possibly the time was shortened by the device of introducing the earlier part of the story in the form of an episode (as in the *Odyssey*), but of this there is no trace in our authorities. A further element of unity, however is furnished by the agency of Aphrodite, which has very much the same prevailing influence over the course of events in the *Cypria* that the agency of Athene has in the *Odyssey*. This may be seen even in minor incidents, such as the visit of Achilles to Helen, and in the prominence given to Aeneas. The hero, accordingly, is the favourite of Aphrodite, just as the hero of the *Odyssey* is the favourite of Athene. We may gather, therefore, that the poem was characterised by a distinct *ethos*, or vein of moral feeling. On the other hand, it

is proved by the testimony of Aristotle that the *Cypria* had much less unity of plan than the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*. It was not indeed one of the poems in which all the adventures of a hero are strung together, as in the later *Theseids* and *Heracleids* of which Aristotle speaks in another place (*Poet.* c. 8). But the several parts of the action had an independent interest and artistic value, such as we do not find in the Homeric poems: they were not so completely subordinated to the main action as to be lost in it. In support of this criticism Aristotle points to the fact (noticed in the previous article, see vol. iv. p. 317) that the story of the *Cypria* yielded a great many subjects for tragedies, whereas the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* did not lend themselves readily to this mode of treatment. Other reasons may have contributed to this result; it may be urged, for instance, that the battles and debates of Homer were beyond the resources of Greek stage machinery, and that most of the adventures of Ulysses are without interest of a tragic kind. But this need not affect the conclusion which Aristotle wishes to enforce, viz. the difference, in respect of unity of structure, between the *Cypria* and the Homeric poems. On such a matter his judgment can hardly be disputed. Moreover, it is confirmed by the argument of Proclus, and the fragments. The events which we there find in outline cover a space of several years, and are enacted in many places—the scene changing from Thessaly to Mt. Ida and Troy, then to Sparta, and back to Troy; then to Messenia, then over Greece and so to the meeting-place at Aulis; then to Mysia, Scyros, Argos, Aulis again, and so once more to the Troad. As regards the external unities of space and time, it is clear that the *Cypria* was formed on a different model from either of the Homeric poems.

Turning from the plan and structure of the *Cypria* to consider the details, we find in the first place, that there is clear evidence that the poem was composed with direct reference to the *Iliad*, to which it was to serve as an introduction. Thus the account of the *βουλή Διός* at the outset (fr. 1), as has been observed, is evidently founded upon the Homeric *Διὸς δ' ἔτελείετο βουλή* (*Il.* 1. 5), to which it gives a meaning which was certainly not intended by the poet. The story that when Thebe was taken by the Greeks Chryseis had come thither for a sacrifice to

Artemis (fr. 16) is clearly a device to reconcile an apparent contradiction in the first book of the *Iliad*. So the taking of Lyrnessus and Pedasus (fr. 15) is suggested by *Il.* 2. 690., 20. 92; the giving of a spear to Peleus at his marriage (fr. 2) by *Il.* 16. 140; the embassy to Troy by *Il.* 3. 205; the portents seen at Aulis by *Il.* 2. 301 ff. We might add the slaying of Protesilaus (fr. 14), the landing of Achilles in Scyros, and birth of Neoptolemus (fr. 11), and the incident of Philoctetes; but in these cases it is possible that the story was part of a legend which survived independently of Homer. The catalogue of the Trojan allies, however, must have been intended to supplement the list given in *Il.* 2. 816 ff., which is so much briefer than the catalogue of the Greek army. Such an enlarged roll would be the natural fruit of increased acquaintancé with the non-Hellenic races of Asia Minor.

On the other hand, it is no less apparent that a large proportion of the incidents of the *Cypria* belong to groups of legend unknown to Homer.

1. The train of events with which the poem opens—the purpose of depopulating the earth, the Apple of Discord, &c.—seems to be a post-Homeric creation. The only incident in the series to which there is an allusion in Homer is the Judgment of Paris, of whom it is said in *Il.* 24. 29, 30—

ὃς νείκεσσε θεὰς ὅτε οἱ μέσσαυλον ἔκοντο,  
τῆν δ' ἦνυσ' ἢ οἱ πόρε μαχλοσύνην ἀλεγεινῆν.

Aristarchus obelised the passage on the ground (among others) that *νείκεσσε* is inappropriate, since it does not mean 'decided against,' but 'scolded,' 'flouted.' This however would rather show that the lines belong to a different version of the incident; and the same thing is suggested by *ὅτε οἱ μέσσαυλον ἔκοντο*, and the ambiguous phrase *πόρε μαχλοσύνην*. We must imagine Paris visited in his shepherd's hut by the three goddesses, spurning the two first and welcoming Aphrodite. This, we may reasonably conjecture, was the local form of the legend. It is parallel in some respects to the legend of Anchises (given in the Homeric hymn to Aphrodite), and to other stories, told especially in Asia Minor, of 'gods coming down in the likeness of men.' It is evident that the ordinary



version of the Judgment of Paris is less simple, and might be created by the wish to fit it into the main narrative of the Trojan War. It should be added that the 24th book of the *Iliad* is probably later than the rest, and that in any case there is no hint in Homer that the action of Paris towards the goddesses had any connection with his expedition to Sparta. Everything, in short, tends to show that the story was recast in post-Homeric times, with the view of enhancing the importance of Aphrodite in the Trojan story.

2. The episode of the Dioscuri appears to be a piece of local Spartan or perhaps Messenian legend. The Messenian Twin Brethren, Idas and Lynceus, are unknown to Homer. The apotheosis of the Dioscuri is inconsistent with the language of the *Iliad* (3. 243 *τοὺς δ' ἤδη κάτεχεν φυσίζοος αἶα*), and moreover belongs to a distinctly post-Homeric order of ideas.

3. The landing in Mysia, with the story of Telephus, has all the appearance of a graft upon the original story, probably derived from local Mysian tradition. The awkward expedient of a second muster of the fleet at Aulis was evidently made necessary by this interpolation. The miraculous healing of Telephus by Achilles is not in the manner of Homer, and the representation of him as guiding the fleet to the Troad is at variance with the *Iliad*, which assigns this service to Calchas.

4. The story of Iphigenia is non-Homeric. The daughters of Agamemnon, according to Homer (*Il.* 9. 145), are—

*Χρυσόθεμις καὶ Λαοδίκη καὶ Ἰφιάνασσα.*

Some later authorities supposed Iphigenia to be another name for Iphianassa, but the author of the *Cypria*, as we learn from the scholiast on Sophocles (*El.* 157), distinguished them, thus making four in all.<sup>1</sup> This may be regarded as an attempt to reconcile the account of Homer with the legend of the sacrifice of Iphigenia.

The version given in the *Cypria* (if we may trust the argument of Proclus) was that of the *Iphigenia in Tauris* of Euripides, according to which Iphigenia was not put to death,

<sup>1</sup> This is the meaning of the words *ἢ ὡς ὁ τὰ Κύπρια ποιήσας τέσσαράς φησιν, Ἰφιγένειαν καὶ Ἰφιανασσαν, i.e.* 'counting Iphigenia and Iphianassa.'

With this punctuation it is unnecessary to emend as Elmsley proposed (reading *δ'* as *διαφόρου*, instead of the numeral *τέσσαρας*).

but was carried off by Artemis to be the priestess of her Taurian altar, and as such to be immortal. This form of the story is necessarily later than the Greek settlements on the northern coasts of the Euxine; possibly, however, it was not in the original text of the poem.

5. Cycnus, the 'Swan-hero,' son of Poseidon, is a non-Homeric figure. In later accounts he is invulnerable, and can only be despatched by being forced to leap into the sea. According to another version he is changed into a swan, like the *Schwann-ritter* of German legend. As the argument of Proclus merely says that he was killed by Achilles, we cannot tell how much of this marvellous character belongs to him in the *Cypria*. In any case he is a being of a fantastic kind, such as we might meet with in the adventures of Ulysses, but certainly not among the warriors who fought in the battles of the *Iliad*.

6. Palamedes is an important addition to the Homeric group of *dramatis personae*. In the *Cypria* he detects the feigned madness of Ulysses (Procl.), and is drowned while fishing by Ulysses and Diomedes (fr. 18). In later writers he appears as a hero of a new type, one of those who have benefited mankind by their inventions; and his fate thus acquires something of the interest of a martyrdom. As the enemy of Ulysses he represents the higher kind of intelligence, in contrast to mere selfish cunning; he is *sollertior isto, sed sibi inutilior*, in the words which Ovid puts into the mouth of Ajax (*Metam.* 13. 37). It is impossible to say how far this view of the character of Palamedes was brought out in the ancient epic poem. The story of his death certainly assumed a much more highly-wrought and pathetic form, familiar to us from the reference to him in Virgil (*Æn.* 2. 81 ff.)—

quem falsa sub proditione Pelasgi  
Insontem, infando indicio, quia bella vetabat,  
Demisere neci; nunc cassum lumine lugent.

But the germ of all this, the contrast between the wisdom of Palamedes and the wisdom of Ulysses, with the consequent lowering of the character of Ulysses, is fairly to be traced to the *Cypria*. We must feel at least that the murder of Palamedes by Ulysses and Diomedes would be as impossible in Homer as it is in harmony with some later representations.

7. The prophecies in the *Cypria* deserve some notice. When Paris builds ships for his expedition, the consequences are foretold by Helenus. Again, before he sails he is warned by Cassandra, whose gift of prophecy is unknown to Homer. Telephus comes to Argos to be cured *κατὰ μαντεῖαν*. Finally, as Welcker pointed out, the prophecy of Nereus in Horace (*Od.* 1. 15) probably comes from the *Cypria*. The words—

Ingrato celeres obruit otio  
Ventos

agree with the 'fair wind and smooth sea' of the quotation in Herodotus (2. 117). The passage from which this quotation came is omitted (as we have seen) in the argument of Proclus; hence we need not be surprised if the prophecy of Nereus is also unnoticed.

8. The statement that Helen was the daughter of Nemesis is peculiar to the *Cypria*. It may be connected, as Welcker thought, with the local worship of Nemesis in Attica. It is to be observed, however, that the author of the *Cypria* is fond of treating personifications of this kind as agents: compare the consultation of Themis, and the sending of Discord with the apple. Such figures occur in Homer, but are much more shadowy and impalpable. The notion of a 'purpose of Zeus' as the ground-work of the whole action shows the same tendency to put moral abstractions in the place of the simpler Homeric agencies.

The Protean changes of Nemesis when pursued by Zeus belong to a category already noticed as characteristic of the *Cypria*. Other examples are, the Apple of Discord, the healing of Telephus, the marvellous sight of Lynceus, the supernatural powers of the daughters of Anius. 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*.

The attempt which has now been made to ascertain the relation between the *Cypria* and the Homeric poems has turned almost entirely upon points of agreement and difference between the *Cypria* and the *Iliad*. This however is only what was to be expected, since the *Cypria* and the *Odyssey* lie too far apart in respect of matter to furnish many points of comparison. Subject to this reservation the result seems to be to show, with cumulative and irresistible force, that between the

time of Homer and the time of the *Cypria* great additions had been made to the body of legends and traditions available for the purposes of epic poetry ; that that increase was due, in a large measure at least, to the opening up of new local sources of legend ; that concurrently with it a marked change had come over the tone and spirit of the stories ; and finally, that all this change and development had taken place in spite of the fact that the author of the *Cypria* wrote under the direct influence of Homer, and with the view of furnishing an introduction to the events of the *Iliad*.

#### THE *ÆTHIOPIS* OF ARCTINUS.

As the *Iliad* was introduced by the *Cypria*, so it was continued in the *Æthiopsis* of Arctinus of Miletus, a poem in five books, of which Proclus gives the following argument :—

The Amazon queen Penthesilea, daughter of Ares, comes as an ally of Troy. After performing great deeds she is killed by Achilles, and duly buried by the Trojans. There was a rumour that Achilles in the moment of victory had been seized by a passion for the fallen Amazon, and on this ground he is assailed in the Greek assembly by Thersites. He kills Thersites, and the deed provokes a quarrel in the army ; thereupon Achilles sails to Lesbos, and having duly sacrificed to Apollo, Artemis, and Leto, is purified from the homicide by Ulysses. Then Memnon, son of Eos, arrives to aid the Trojans, with a panoply made by Hephaestus, and Thetis reveals to her son what the fortune of this new ally will be. Memnon slays Antilochus, and is slain by Achilles ; thereupon Eos obtains for him the gift of immortality. In the rout of the Trojans which ensues, Achilles enters the city after them, and is killed in the Scaean gate by Paris and Apollo. His body is brought back after a stubborn fight by Ajax, who carries it to the ships, whilst Ulysses keeps off the Trojans. Then follows the burial of Antilochus, and Thetis, with the Muses and the Nereids, performs a lamentation for her son. When he has been placed on the funeral pyre she carries him off to the island Leuce. The Greeks having raised the sepulchral mound hold funeral games, and a quarrel arises between Ajax and Ulysses for the succession to the arms of Achilles.

The tablet known as the *Tabula Veronensis*<sup>1</sup> (now in the Louvre) gives the following brief summary of the *Aethiopis*:—  
 Πενθεσίλην Ἀμαζῶν παραγίνεται. Ἀχιλλεὺς Πενθεσίλην ἀποκτείνει. Μέμνων Ἀντίλοχον ἀποκτείνει. Ἀχιλλεὺς Μέμνονα ἀποκτείνει. ἐν ταῖς Σκαιαῖς πύλαις Ἀχιλλεὺς ὑπὸ Πάριδος ἀναιρείται. It seems very probable that these five sentences answer to the five books into which we know that the poem was divided. If so, the argument may be distributed somewhat as follows:—

I. Arrival of Penthesilea—her ἀριστεία.

II. Slaying of Penthesilea—interval of truce, occupied on the Trojan side by her burial, on the Greek side by the Thersites-scene and the withdrawal of Achilles.

III. Arrival and ἀριστεία of Memnon—he slays Antilochus.

IV. Achilles returns to the field, slays Memnon, and puts the Trojans to flight.

V. Death of Achilles in the gate—battle for the recovery of his body—θρῆνος and apotheosis of Achilles—funeral games and contest for his arms.

From the statement of the scholiast on Pindar (*Isth.* 3. 53), that according to the *Aethiopis* Ajax killed himself about dawn, it would appear that the story was brought down a little further than Proclus gives it. The reason for the omission would be that the contest for the arms and death of Ajax fell within the story of the *Little Iliad*.<sup>2</sup>

The Townley scholia on the *Iliad* contain the statement, that in the place of the line which ends the poem in all MSS.,

ὄς οἱ γ' ἀμφίεπον τάφον Ἐκτορος ἵπποδάμοιο

some copies had the two lines,

ὄς οἱ γ' ἀμφίεπον τάφον Ἐκτορος, ἦλθε δ' Ἀμαζῶν  
 Ἄρηος θυγάτηρ μεγαλήτορος ἀνδροφόνοιο.

These lines are evidently meant to introduce the story of the *Aethiopis*, and were believed by Welcker to be the opening words of the poem itself (*Er. Cycl.* 1<sup>2</sup>. p. 199). Others, as

<sup>1</sup> Welcker, *Er. Cycl.* ii. p. 524 ; Jahn, *Bilderchroniken*, Tab. iii. D'.

<sup>2</sup> The quotation of eight lines as-

signed by Kinkel to the *Aethiopis* (fr. 3 in his edition), seems to me to belong to the Ἰλίου πέρσις ; see p. 28.

Bernhardy, have thought that they were framed for the purpose of connecting the two poems in a collection or compilation, such as the Epic Cycle. The latter view is probably nearer the truth. There is a very similar passage of four lines at the end of the *Theogony* of Hesiod :—

αὐται μὲν θνητοῖσι παρ' ἀνδράσιν εὐνηθείσαι  
 ἀθάνατοι γείναντο θεοῖς ἐπιείκελα τέκνα·  
 νῦν δὲ γυναικῶν φύλον ἀείσατε, ἠδυπέπαι  
 Μοῦσαι Ὀλυμπιάδες κοῦραι Διὸς αἰγιόχοιο.

These lines are in the form of a transition to the lost Hesiodic *Κατάλογος Γυναικῶν*, and accordingly they have been thought by some commentators to be in fact the first four lines of that poem. Two MSS., however, omit them altogether, and several others omit the last two of the four, thus leaving the clause *αὐται μὲν κ.τ.λ.* without an apodosis. Comparing these facts with the case of the two lines at the end of the *Iliad*, we see that the circumstances are almost exactly parallel. The single line which stands in our copies is incomplete. Like all the sentences in Homer that begin with *ὡς οἷ γε*, and the like, it is the first half of a formula of transition. The Townley scholia have preserved the original form of the couplet. The difference between the two cases is that no MSS. of the *Iliad* (so far as our *apparatus criticus* extends) omit the formula altogether. It only remains, then, to consider the probable source and date of transitions of this kind between two different poems. The opinion that the lines in the *Theogony* were the beginning of another Hesiodic poem is rejected by Marckscheffel (*Hesiodi &c. fragmenta*, p. 100). He is doubtless right, and in any case the two lines of the Townley scholia cannot have been the original opening of the *Aethiopsis*. Apart from the silence of the scholia, and the difficulty of understanding why the lines should ever have appeared in manuscripts of the *Iliad*, it is impossible to suppose that the *Aethiopsis* began with words which would be meaningless unless the hearer remembered the end of the *Iliad*. This would be something quite different from the *general* knowledge of and subordination to Homer which we trace in the 'Cyclic' poets. Both in the *Iliad* and in the *Theogony* the lines in dispute have the appearance of a sort of *catchword* added to prepare the reader for the next poem, as

in printed books the heading of a chapter used to be placed at the foot of the preceding page. Such catchwords imply of course that the poems were read in a recognised order. The habit of inserting them may have begun in the Alexandrine age, when the chief works in each branch of literature were collected and arranged in a 'canon' or accepted list. After the formula had been confused with the text of the author, it was an easy further step to leave out the latter part of it, as being wholly irrelevant to the subject of the poem.

In passing from the *Cypria* to the *Aethiopsis* we are struck at once with the greater simplicity and unity of the poem. The action falls within nearly the same limits of space and time as that of the *Iliad*. There are two days of battle, separated by an interval which need not be supposed to be a long one. The second battle is quickly followed by the funeral games, with which the concluding events are immediately connected. The hero of the poem is Achilles; the main event is his death, and to this the rest of the action, as far as we can judge, is kept in due subordination.

While the plan of the *Aethiopsis* may claim to be of the Homeric type, the proportion of incidents founded upon references in Homer is comparatively small. The death of Achilles takes place as foreshadowed in the prophecy of Hector (*Il.* 22. 359, 360):—

ἤματι τῷ ὅτε κέν σε Πάρις καὶ Φοῖβος Ἀπόλλων  
ἔσθλὸν ἐόντ' ὀλέσωσιν ἐνὶ Σκαίῃσι πύλῃσι.

This, however, is a circumstance which may well have been part of the ancient myth, anterior to the *Iliad* itself. Antilochus is said in the *Odyssey* (4. 187), to have been slain by the 'son of Eos,' but there is nothing in Homer to connect Memnon with the Ethiopians. The Amazons, again, are mentioned in the *Iliad*, but (like the Ethiopians of the *Odyssey*) they belong to a distant and fanciful region. The funeral games held in honour of Achilles, and the lament for him performed by Thetis and the attendant Muses and Nereids, are described in the last book

of the *Odyssey* (24. 36-97). The burning of the body, mentioned in the same passage of the *Odyssey* (24. 71-79), was replaced in the *Aethiopsis* by a species of apotheosis in harmony, with later religious and national feeling.<sup>1</sup>

These are perhaps the only cases in which Arctinus can be thought to have directly borrowed the matter of the *Aethiopsis* from Homer. Nevertheless the whole course of the events on which the poem is founded is closely parallel to the story of the *Iliad*. The hero is the same, and he again quarrels with the Greeks and leaves them for a time. Thetis has the same part as in the *Iliad*—that of consoling her son and warning him of the future. Antilochus apparently takes the place of Patroclus as the friend of Achilles. Like Patroclus, he is the warrior whose fate comes next to that of Achilles in tragic interest, whose death at the hands of the Trojan champion is immediately avenged by Achilles himself. Achilles, again, when he has pursued the Trojans into the city, is killed by Apollo and Paris; as Patroclus, drawn too far in a like victorious course, was killed by Apollo and Hector. The contest which follows for the recovery of the body of Achilles is a repetition of the contest in the seventeenth book over Patroclus. Compare especially the passage (*Il.* 17. 715 ff.) where Menelaus and Meriones raise the body aloft, while the two Ajaxes keep the Trojans at bay, with the similar parts taken in the *Aethiopsis* by Ajax and Ulysses respectively. The armour of Achilles has its counterpart in the armour of Memnon, which is equally the work of Hephaestus. Achilles gives up the body of Penthesilea, as he gave up Hector to Priam. There is once more a scene with Thersites, and the battles of the poem are wound up by a *θρῆνος*, a funeral, and funeral games.

In these points we have to recognise not so much borrowing as *imitation*, that is to say, a close adherence to the *motifs* and artistic forms of the *Iliad*. It has been already pointed out that the plan of the *Aethiopsis* is essentially Homeric in type, and this observation may now be extended to the characters and incidents. The ancient tradition that Arctinus was a

<sup>1</sup> It will be remembered here that the twenty-fourth book of the *Odyssey* is very commonly thought to be later than the bulk of the poem. But the

discrepancy noticed in the text (with regard to the body of Achilles) seems to show that it is at least older than the *Aethiopsis*.



disciple of Homer (Ὁμήρου μαθητής, Suid.), is fully borne out by what we know thus far of his work.

It may be objected here that the correspondences now insisted upon between the *Aethiopsis* and the *Iliad* go to show that the two works belong to the same age or school, but not that the *Iliad* is the original of which the other is an imitation. This defect may be supplied by an examination of the various post-Homeric elements in the *Aethiopsis*:—

1. As has been already noticed, the episode of the Amazons is unknown to Homer.<sup>1</sup>

2. The episode of Memnon and the Ethiopians is also substantially post-Homeric, though the *Odyssey* speaks of Nestor as weeping for his son Antilochus (*Od.* 4. 187)—

ὄν ῥ' Ἡοῦς ἔκτεινε φαιεινῆς ἀργαλὸς υἱός.

But the Ethiopians of the *Odyssey* are far too remote from the known world of Homer to have taken part in the Trojan War. Both the Amazons and the Ethiopians are nations of a fabulous type that we do not meet with in the *Iliad* at all. Their appearance in the *Aethiopsis* is evidently due to an inclination towards the romantic and marvellous, of which several examples have been already noticed in the *Cypria*.

3. The carrying away of Achilles to the island of Leuce is an incident which reminds us of the death of Sarpedon in the *Iliad* (16. 450, 667), but the gift of immortality is new. It is connected with the custom of hero-worship, the absence of which is so distinctive a mark of the Homeric age. The choice of Leuce as the abode of Achilles is also significant. It was an island in the Euxine opposite the mouth of the Danube, and in historical times we find the worship of Achilles widely spread on the neighbouring coasts. Thus Alcaeus addresses him as presiding hero of Scythia,<sup>2</sup> and Herodotus (4. 55) describes the strip of land called Ἀχιλλῆϊος δρόμος near the mouth of the Borysthenes. This diffusion of Greek traditions and Greek religious ideas must have been mainly brought about by the numerous colonies of Miletus, which

<sup>1</sup> Strabo (xii. 24, p. 552) speaks as if it were an established fact that the Amazons took no part in the Trojan war. He was probably unacquainted

with the poems of Arctinus: see the remarks on p. 36.

<sup>2</sup> Ἀχιλλεῦ δ τὰς Σκυθικὰς νέμεις (Alc. fr. 49).

occupied the coasts of the Euxine in the early prosperous times of Ionia; it is therefore no accidental coincidence that a poet of Miletus should be the earliest witness of the fact. It has been doubted, indeed, whether the Leuce of the poet is the real island afterwards so called. According to the received chronology the period of Milesian colonisation is rather later than Arctinus. The original Leuce may have been purely mythical, the 'island of Light,' like the Elysian plain in the *Odyssey*. The name would naturally be attached in course of time to a real place, especially a place in the centre of a region over which the worship of the new hero extended. If we accept this view, which however is only necessary on the assumption that Arctinus is of the eighth century B.C., and therefore anterior to the Milesian settlements, the evidence of the *Aethiopsis* is transferred to Miletus itself. The mention of Leuce will then serve at least to connect the *Aethiopsis* with the time when the Ionian trading cities, of which Miletus was chief, had begun to adopt the new religious practices that grew up, after the Homeric age, in honour of the national heroes.

4. The immortality granted to Memnon is a further exemplification of the new ideas. It is true that two similar instances are found in our text of the *Odyssey*, viz., the immortality of Menelaus in the Elysian plain (*Od.* 4. 563), and the apotheosis of Heracles (*Od.* 11. 601). The latter however is almost certainly spurious, since it is inconsistent with all that is said of Heracles elsewhere in Homer. The passage about Menelaus may also be an interpolation; in any case it stands alone, and the *Iliad* (as we see especially from the case of Sarpedon) shows no trace of the notion.

5. Another incident of a post-Homeric kind is the purification of Achilles from the guilt of homicide, after sacrifice to Apollo, Artemis, and Leto. There are references in Homer to compensation paid to the relatives of the slain man, but never to any purification by means of ritual, nor is Apollo ever represented as deliverer from guilt (*καθάρσιος*), which afterwards became one of his most prominent characters. The whole idea of *pollution* as a consequence of wrong-doing is foreign to Homer.

It seems to follow from these considerations that the *Aethiopsis* of Arctinus, like the *Cypria*, was a work of considerably later

date than the *Iliad*. As to its relation to the *Odyssey* the evidence is (in the nature of the case) too scanty to justify a definite conclusion; and while it is apparent that the *Aethiopsis* was materially different from the *Cypria* in point of artistic structure, and probably in style and spirit, we cannot but see on the one hand that it was influenced in the same degree by the example and authority of Homer, on the other hand that it showed equally decisive traces of change and progress, both in external circumstances and in moral and religious ideas.

#### THE LITTLE ILIAD.

The abstract of the *Little Iliad* given by Proclus represents it as a poem in four books, which related the events of the Trojan War from the award of the arms of Achilles to the bringing of the Wooden Horse into the city. The original poem, as was shown in the former article (vol. iv. p. 318), brought the story down to the departure of the Greeks, and thus came into competition with the Ἰλίου πέρσις (*Sack of Troy*) of Arctinus. Proclus accordingly passes over the latter part of the *Little Iliad*—either because it was not taken into the Epic Cycle, or (on Welcker's view) because his object was to give the series of events rather than the contents of the different poems. The want is supplied in great measure by the statement of Aristotle (already quoted) about the tragedies taken from the *Little Iliad*, and still more by the passage in Pausanias (x. 25—27) describing the celebrated paintings by Polygnotus in the *lesche* at Delphi. These paintings represented scenes from the capture of Troy, and we are expressly told by Pausanias that in them Polygnotus followed the account of the *Little Iliad*. From this source we learn more of the details of the poem than is known of any other part of the Epic Cycle.

The *Little Iliad* was generally ascribed to Lesches of Mitylene (or Pyrrha), but by some to Thestorides of Phocaea, by others (among whom was the historian Hellanicus of Lesbos) to Cinaethon of Sparta, by others to Diodorus of Erythrae.<sup>1</sup> There was

<sup>1</sup> C. Robert (*Bild und Lied*, p. 226) points out that the authority of Hellanicus tells strongly against Lesches. Had there been an old tradition of the

also a story (like the one told of Stasinus and the *Cypria*) that Homer was himself the author, and gave it to Thestorides of Phocaea in return for lodging and maintenance (*Ps. Hdt. Vit. Hom.*, § 15 ff.).

Of the ten tragedies said by Aristotle to be founded upon episodes of the *Little Iliad*, the first six cover the same ground as Proclus' abstract of the poem. The order of the titles, too, as they stand in the Aristotelian list agrees exactly with the order of events as given by Proclus. The account of Proclus therefore is verified by the high authority of Aristotle, down to the point at which Proclus—or the compiler of the Epic Cycle—deserted the *Little Iliad* for the *Iliupersis* of Arctinus. In the earlier part of the poem, accordingly, the incidents were as follows:—

(1) The *Judgment of the Arms* (*κρίσις ὄπλων*). The arms, by the influence of Athene, are adjudged to Ulysses; the madness and suicide of Ajax follow.

(2) The *Philoctetes*. Ulysses having taken Helenus prisoner, and obtained from him an oracle about the capture of Troy, Philoctetes is brought from Lemnos by Diomedes, is healed by Machaon, and kills Paris. The dead body of Paris is treated with indignity by Menelaus, then given up to the Trojans and buried. Deiphobus becomes the husband of Helen.

(3) The *Neoptolemus*. Ulysses brings Neoptolemus from Scyros and gives him the arms of Achilles. The shade of Achilles appears to him.

(4) The *Eurypylus*. Eurypylus, the son of Telephus, now comes as a fresh ally of the Trojans. After doing great deeds he is slain by Neoptolemus. The Trojans are now closely besieged, and the Wooden Horse is made by Epeius, under the guidance of Athene.

(5) The *πτωχεία*. Ulysses maltreats himself, and enters Troy in beggar's disguise. He is recognised by Helen, with whom he confers regarding the capture of the city, and fights his way back to the camp.

(6) The *Δάκρυαι*. The Palladium of Troy is carried off by Ulysses and Diomedes.<sup>1</sup> The Greeks then man the Wooden

Lesbian origin of the *Little Iliad*, Helianicus as a Lesbian would probably have given it his support. It is worth notice that the poem is ascribed to

authors belonging to all the great divisions of the Hellenic race.

<sup>1</sup> We have no express statement as to the subject of the *Δάκρυαι*, but there

Horse with the chief warriors and make their feigned retreat; the Wooden Horse is taken into the city, and great rejoicings are held by the Trojans over their fancied deliverance.

The remaining plays mentioned by Aristotle are :—

(7) The *Sack of Troy* (Ἰλίου πέρσις).

(8) The *Departure of the Greeks* (ἀπόπλους), which is also the last incident in the *Iliupersis* of Arctinus.

(9) The *Simon*—doubtless founded on the same story as is given in the argument of the *Iliupersis*, and with full detail in the *Æneid*.

(10) The *Troades*, in all probability the extant play of the name, which turns upon events that immediately followed the capture.

It is worthy of notice that the two last plays are out of their chronological order, since they turn upon subordinate incidents belonging to the subject of the seventh, the *Sack of Troy*. This is not the only indication that they stand on a different footing from the rest—that they are of the nature of an after-thought. Aristotle begins by saying that there were ‘more than eight’ plays taken from the *Little Iliad*. We may gather that he had eight in his mind that were clearly taken from the poem, besides others that had been more or less altered in the process of fitting them for the stage.

About twenty lines of the *Little Iliad* survive, besides numerous references. The opening lines were—

Ἰλιον αἰεῖδω καὶ Δαρδανίην ἐϋπωλον,  
ἧς πέρι πολλὰ πάθον Δαναοὶ θεράποντες Ἄρης.

It was therefore an *Iliad* in the proper sense of the term. The subject was the fall of Troy, and the various episodes were necessary steps towards that end.

The next in the series of quotations (fr. 2) has the interest of being referred to by the poet Aristophanes, in a passage of the *Knights* (1056). It comes from the first part of the poem, the *Judgment of the Arms*. According to the *Little Iliad* the Greeks, on the advice of Nestor, sent spies to listen under the walls of Troy for some saying that would enable them to decide

is no room for doubt. The play is evidently named from the chorus, which consisted of the Spartan maidens in the service of Helen.

the quarrel. The spies heard the Trojan maidens disputing on the question at issue. One said that Ajax was by far the bravest—

*Αἴας μὲν γὰρ ἄειρε καὶ ἔκφερε δῆϊότητος  
ἦρω Πηλεΐδην, οὐδ' ἤθελε δῖος Ὀδυσσεύς.*

To which another answered, by the inspiration of Athene—

*πῶς ἐπεφωνήσω ; πῶς οὐ κατὰ κόσμον ἔειπες ;  
καὶ κε γυνὴ φέροι ἄχθος, ἐπεὶ κεν ἀνὴρ ἐπιθείη  
ἀλλ' οὐκ ἂν μαχέσαιο.*

These words were reported to the Greek assembly, and the decision given accordingly in favour of Ulysses. The last line and a half are actually quoted in the text of Aristophanes; the rest comes from the scholiast on the passage. The *Little Iliad* is also quoted (fr. 3) for the statement that owing to the anger of Agamemnon the body of Ajax was placed in the coffin without being duly burned.

Two lines (fr. 4) relate how Achilles was driven by a storm to the island of Scyros. This is evidently to introduce the bringing of Neoptolemus. The words describing the spear of Achilles (fr. 5) may belong to the same part of the story.

Four lines (fr. 6) are quoted from the history of a famous golden vine, which the author of the *Little Iliad*—differing somewhat from Homer—represented as having been given by Zeus to Laomedon by way of compensation for the loss of his son Ganymede :

*ἄμπελον, ἣν Κρονίδης ἔπορέν οἱ παιδὸς ἄποινα,  
χρυσείην φύλλοισιν ἀγανοῖσι κομώωσαν  
βότρυσί θ' οὖς Ἡφαιστος ἐπασκήσας Διὶ πατρὶ  
δῶχ', ὃ δὲ Λαομέδοντι πόρεν Γανυμήδεος ἀντλ.*

These four lines, probably come from the episode of Eurypylos. The vine appears to be referred to in the *Odyssey* (II. 521 ff.), where Ulysses relates how Eurypylos son of Telephus fell, 'and many Ceteians were slain around him, all because of a woman's gift' (*γυναίων εἴνεκα δῶρων*). The scholiasts on this passage tell us, on the authority of the ancient historian Acusilaus, that Priam sent a golden vine to Astyoche the mother of Eurypylos, and thus persuaded her to send her

son to the aid of the Trojans. This explanation is borne out by *Od.* 15. 247, where the same thing is said of Amphiaraus,—

ἀλλ' ὄλετ' ἐν Θήβησι γυναίων εἴνεκα δῶρων,

that is to say, he was forced to take part in the war of Thebes, in which he fell, because of the necklace given to his wife Eriphyle. If then the golden vine given to Astyoche was the same as that which Laomedon received from Zeus, it becomes easy to understand how the four lines in question came into the episode of Eurypylus. The poet of the *Little Iliad* had to relate the story of Priam sending the ornament as a bribe to Astyoche, and was naturally led to give its history in a short digression (after the manner of the *σκήπτρου παράδοσις* of *Il.* 2. 101–108). On this view we can almost complete the fragment. The next line would be something like—

αὐτὰρ Λαομέδων Πριάμφω λίπε . . .

and the apodosis (which is required by the grammatical form of the passage) must have said, 'this vine, then, Priam now gave to Astyoche, mother of Eurypylus.' The poetical value of a parenthesis of this kind is evident. It must have heightened the pathetic effect of the story to represent Priam, in the extremity of his need, giving away one of the great heirlooms of the royal house to buy the alliance of the Mysian king.

Among the deeds of Eurypylus was the slaying of Machaon (fr. 7). Other details to be added to this part of the narrative are, the wounding of Ulysses by Thoas (fr. 8), and the name Anticlus in the list of the warriors who were in the Wooden Horse (fr. 10). The scholars who sought to determine the exact date of the capture were aided by the mention of a full moon (fr. 11)—

νῦξ μὲν ἔην μέσση, λαμπρὴ δ' ἐπέτελλε σελήνη.

The line comes from the description of Sinon giving the preconcerted signal to the Greek army.

The remaining fragments (12–19) relate to the final battle and the division of the spoil. The picturesque incident of Menelaus letting fall his sword at the sight of Helen, referred to by Aristophanes (*Lysistr.* 155), came from this part of the *Little Iliad* (fr. 16). A quotation of five lines (fr. 18) relates

that Neoptolemus obtained Andromache as his prize, and threw the young Astyanax from the wall of Troy. Pausanias adds that Aeneas also was given to Neoptolemus, and that the death of Astyanax was the act of Neoptolemus alone, not authorised by the decree of the army. Other incidents of more or less interest are derived from the chapters of Pausanias already mentioned (x. 25–27). From this source we learn that according to the *Little Iliad* (fr. 15), King Priam was not killed by Neoptolemus as he clung to the altar of his palace (as in Virgil), but at the door. Helicaon, son of Antenor, when wounded in the night battle was recognised by Ulysses, and his life saved (fr. 13). Aethra, the mother of Theseus, who was one of the attendants of Helen, made her way to the Greek camp, and was recognised by her grandsons Demophon and Acamas; into whose hands Agamemnon, having first obtained the consent of Helen, delivered her free from her long bondage (fr. 17). Ajax, son of Oileus, was represented as taking an oath to purge himself of the sacrilege which he had committed in tearing Cassandra from the altar of Athene so that the image of the goddess was dragged after her (Paus. x. 26, 1). Besides these there are various details, such as form the staple of the minor Homeric battles. Meges is wounded by Admetus, Lycomedes by Agenor (fr. 12); Admetus is slain by Philoctetes, Coroebus by Diomedes, Axion by Eurypylus (fr. 15); Astynous is struck down by Neoptolemus (fr. 14), and Eioneus and Agenor also fall to him (fr. 15). In the *Little Iliad* the wife of Aeneas is named Eurydice (as also in the *Cypria*)—not Creusa.

Such, then, were the multifarious events and personages of which the story of the *Little Iliad* was composed. For the plan of the poem and the degree of artistic unity which it possessed we must recur to the piece of Aristotelian criticism already quoted in reference to the *Cypria*. The *Little Iliad*, like the *Cypria*, is said by Aristotle to be about one person (περὶ ἓνα), one time, and one action consisting of many parts (περὶ μίαν πρᾶξιν πολυμερῆ). The ‘one action’ is evidently the taking of Troy. The ‘parts’ of which it consists are the subordinate events, such as the arrival of Neoptolemus, the healing and return of Philoctetes, the theft of the Palladium. Each of these parts is necessary to the main action, but is also a story with an



interest of its own, capable of furnishing the subject of an independent work; whereas in Homer the different episodes have not this independent character; their interest lies in their relation to the whole, and is lost when they are detached from it. The 'one hero' of the *Little Iliad* is somewhat less obvious; but a review of the chief incidents leaves no doubt that Ulysses holds that place. The poem begins with his victory over Ajax, which means that he is now acknowledged by the Greeks as their greatest warrior; and he is the chief actor, or at least the chief adviser, in most of the other affairs. His character (as in Homer) is that of the champion of stratagem and adventure; and as such he is contrasted with warriors of the type of Achilles and Ajax. With a hero of this stamp we should naturally assume that the poem was of a comparatively light and cheerful cast; and this impression is amply confirmed by the details, so far as they are known. Such scenes as the debate of the Trojan maidens on the wall (in the *ἄπλων κρίσις*), or Menelaus letting fall his sword at the sight of Helen, have an unmistakable air of comedy. This will be brought out still further when we come to compare the *Little Iliad* with the treatment of the same narrative by Arctinus.

The *Little Iliad* is distinguished among the Cyclic poems by the large proportion of matter which may be regarded as directly derived from Homer. Thus, to take the first five episodes in Aristotle's list—

(1) The *Judgment of the Arms* is described in *Od.* 11. 543–562. It has been noticed above (in speaking of the *Aethiopsis*, p. 15) that the representation of Ajax carrying the body of Achilles, while Ulysses covered the retreat, is apparently taken from the battle over Patroclus in the 17th book of the *Iliad*: compare especially vv. 717–719, where Ajax says, addressing Menelaus—

ἀλλὰ σὺ μὲν καὶ Μηριόνης ὑποδύντε μάλ' ὄκα  
νεκρὸν ἀείραντες φέρετ' ἐκ πόνου· αὐτὰρ ὄπισθεν  
νῶϊ μαχησόμεθα Τρῳσίν τε καὶ Ἑκτορι δίφ.

The rescue of Achilles is also referred to in the *Odyssey* (5. 310). The fanciful story of the spies overhearing the words of the

Trojan maidens seems to be contrived to give a meaning to *Od.* 11. 547—

παῖδες δὲ Τρώων δίκασαν καὶ Παλλὰς Ἀθήνη,

a line of which other explanations were current (see p. 35).

(2) The bringing of *Philoctetes* from Lemnos is alluded to in *Il.* 2. 718, and his presence with the army is implied in *Od.* 8. 219.

(3) *Neoptolemus* is mentioned in *Il.* 19. 326, as in Scyros: his coming to Troy in *Od.* 11. 506 ff.

(4) His victory over *Eurypylus* in *Od.* 11. 506 ff.

(5) The *πρωχρεία*, with the meeting between Ulysses and Helen, is sketched in *Od.* 4. 240–264.

Again, the capture of Troy by means of the Wooden Horse was told in the song of Demodocus, *Od.* 8. 492 ff. Anticlus as the name of one of the heroes in the Wooden Horse (fr. 10) occurs in the story told in *Od.* 4. 285. That Deiphobus became the husband of Helen seems to be implied in *Od.* 4. 276., 8. 517. The recognition of Helicaon son of Antenor by Ulysses (fr. 13) is suggested by *Il.* 3. 207 ff., where Antenor is said to have entertained Ulysses and Menelaus. It is an example of *ξενία*, like the meeting of Diomedes and Glaucus. Coroebus coming as a suitor for the hand of Cassandra (fr. 16) seems to be a repetition of Othryoneus (*Il.* 13. 364)—

ὅς ῥα νέον πολέμοιο μετὰ κλέος εἰλήλουθεν,  
ἦτεε δὲ Πριάμοιο θυγατρῶν εἶδος ἀρίστην  
Κασσάνδρην.

The death of Astyanax, as it is related in fr. 18—

παῖδα δ' ἔλῶν ἐκ κόλπου εὐπλοκάμοιο τιθήνης  
ῥίψει ποδὸς τεταγῶν ἀπὸ πύργου,

is suggested by the words of Andromache in *Il.* 24. 734—

ἢ τις Ἀχαιῶν  
ῥίψει χειρὸς ἔλῶν ἀπὸ πύργου, λυγρὸν ὄλεθρον.

The sacrilege of Ajax son of Oileus may have been suggested by *Od.* 4. 502, where his death is connected with the hatred of Athene: cp. the reference to the anger of Athene as the cause of the disasters of the return, *Od.* 3. 135.

Of the additions made by the *Little Iliad* to the Homeric narrative the following are of interest:—

(1) The Palladium of Troy is unknown to Homer. It has been already observed more than once that objects endowed with magical virtue are not Homeric. It would be especially unlike Homer to make the fate of a city depend upon anything of the kind.

(2) Sinon is not one of the Homeric *dramatis personae*, if we may argue from the silence of the *Odyssey*.

(3) Aethra, the mother of Theseus, was said to have been carried off by the Dioscuri in their invasion of Attica. Accordingly in the *Little Iliad* she is in bondage to Helen, and is set free by her grandsons Demophon and Acamas, as is related in the passage of Pausanias quoted above (fr. 17). The only apparent trace of this in Homer is in *Il.* 3. 144, where the two attendants of Helen are—

*Αἶθρη Πιπθῆος θυγάτηρ, Κλυμένη τε βοῶπις.*

It is impossible however to suppose that the poet of the *Iliad* knew the story of Aethra. There is no trace in Homer of acquaintance with the group of legend to which the story belongs. The two sons of Theseus are not among the warriors of the *Iliad*, and the few references to Theseus himself are probably interpolations. Even supposing Theseus to be known to Homer, he belongs to an earlier generation than the heroes of the *Iliad*, and the chronological difficulty of bringing his mother into the story of Troy is manifest. Hence, as Aristarchus pointed out, we have to choose between two suppositions. Either the line is an interpolation, inserted to suit the story of Aethra; or it is genuine, and the coincidence of name is accidental. Considering the freedom with which Homer introduces unimportant proper names into his descriptions, the latter seems the more probable alternative. It might seem, indeed, that the whole story of Aethra was based on the line of Homer: but Aethra, as the name of the mother of Theseus, more probably belongs to the local tradition. Naturally the later poets who found the name in Homer took advantage of it in order to find a place for the Attic heroes in the main body of epic narrative. Thus the story, as told in the *Little Iliad* (and also, as we shall see, in the *Iliupersis* of

Arctinus), is an attempt to connect the Trojan war with the local Attic mythology,—a mythology which was singularly late in finding its way into literature.<sup>1</sup>

Besides these we find only a few such matters as the slaying of Machaon by Eurypylos (fr. 7), the slaying of Priam (fr. 15), the division of the spoil in which Andromache and Aeneas fall to Neoptolemus (fr. 18), the name Eurydice for the wife of Aeneas (fr. 19), the incident of Menelaus and Helen (fr. 16), with the minor incidents of the night-battle.

In style and character the *Little Iliad* followed the *Odyssey* rather than the *Iliad*. The spirit of adventure which runs through it, especially in the earlier part, is clearly inspired by the picture of Ulysses in the *Odyssey*. In the *Iliad*, indeed (with the marked exception of the Doloneia), this side of his character is not brought out. He is wise and eloquent, but hardly adventurous. On the other hand it is the most prominent feature in the Doloneia (which is almost certainly later than the rest of the *Iliad*): and so doubtless in the *πρωχία*, the theft of the Palladium, and other parts of the *Little Iliad*. On the whole it would seem that if we imagine the *Little Iliad* as a poem of no great length,—there were only four books according to Proclus,—consisting of episodes in the manner of the Doloneia, we shall not be far from the truth.

#### THE *ILIUPERSIS* OF ARCTINUS.

According to Proclus the *Iliupersis* or 'Sack of Ilium' in the Epic Cycle was a poem in two books, the work of Arctinus of Miletus. The contents were as follows:—

The Trojans surround the Wooden Horse, and hold anxious debate. Some are for throwing it from the height of the city-wall, or burning it up: others say that it must be consecrated as an offering to Athene, and this opinion at length prevails. They then give themselves up to rejoicing over their deliverance.

<sup>1</sup> In the bronze figure of the Trojan Horse on the Acropolis of Athens, the heroes represented as peeping out of it were Menestheus, Teucer (who ex-

presses the Athenian claim to Salamis), and the two sons of Theseus (Paus. i. 23, 10).

At this point two serpents appear, and kill Laocoon and one of his two sons. Alarmed by this portent, Aeneas and his followers withdraw to Mount Ida. Then Sinon lights the signal-fires, as agreed with the Greeks. They return from Tenedos, the warriors sally from the Wooden Horse, and the city is taken. Neoptolemus kills Priam in his house, on the altar of *Ζεὺς ἔρκειος*. Menelaus takes Helen to the camp, killing her husband Deiphobus. Ajax son of Oileus, in attempting to drag Cassandra from the altar of Athene, drags away the image of the goddess; upon which the Greeks are ready to stone him, and he escapes by taking refuge himself at the altar. The Greeks burn the city, and determine the fate of the prisoners: Polyxena is sacrificed at the tomb of Achilles: Ulysses kills Astyanax, and Neoptolemus obtains Andromache as his prize: Demophon and Acamas find Aethra and take her with them. The fleet sets sail, and Athene prepares disaster for them on their return.

This argument represents the *Iliupersis* as taking up the story of the siege nearly at the point where the argument of the *Little Iliad* left it, viz. the bringing of the Wooden Horse into the city. But as the *Little Iliad* is known to have included the later events, down to the departure of the Greeks, so it is possible that the poem of Arctinus began at an earlier point than the account of Proclus would lead us to suppose. Unfortunately the references to the *Iliupersis* are extremely few; but they go far to show that it gave some account of the events between the death of Ajax and the making of the Wooden Horse.

The scholia on the *Iliad* (11. 515) tell us that according to some critics the two Homeric *ιατροί*, Machaon and Podaleirius, followed the two branches of the healing art,—Machaon dealing with wounds, Podaleirius with disease. In support of this they quote a remarkable fragment from Arctinus' *Sack of Ilium* (*ἐν Ἰλίου πορθήσει*), which runs as follows:

αὐτὸς γὰρ σφιν ἔδωκε πατὴρ . . Ἐννοσίγαιος  
 ἀμφοτέροις, ἕτερον δ' ἑτέρου κυδίων' ἔθηκε·  
 τῷ μὲν κουφοτέρας χεῖρας πόρην, ἕκ τε βέλεμνα  
 σαρκὸς ἐλείν, τμηξάι τε καὶ ἔλκεα πάντ' ἀκέσασθαι·  
 τῷ δ' ἄρ' ἀκριβέα πάντα ἐνὶ στήθεσσιν ἔθηκεν

ἄσκοπά τε γνῶναι καὶ ἀναλθέα λήσασθαι  
 ὅς ῥα καὶ Αἴαντος πρῶτος μάθε χωρόμενοι  
 ὄμματά τ' ἀστράπτοντα βαρυνόμενόν τε νόημα.

It has been generally supposed, from the reference to Ajax, that these lines come from the *Aethiopsis*, the scholiast having confused the two poems of Arctinus. This however is not necessary. The two lines about Ajax have rather the appearance of a parenthesis, brought in to illustrate a later point of the story. If so, it is highly probable that the context of the passage is the healing of Philoctetes. The poet takes occasion to contrast the surgical skill of Machaon with the art of Podaleirius, and adds by way of example that it was Podaleirius who first perceived the symptoms of madness in the former case of Ajax (ὅς ῥα καὶ Αἴαντος . . .). This view perhaps derives some further support from the fact that in Quintus Smyrnaeus (who doubtless follows earlier accounts) Philoctetes is healed by Podaleirius; so that the drift of the passage of Arctinus may be to explain why he, rather than Machaon, should deal with so obscure a case. Quintus Smyrnaeus, again, ascribes the oracle about the bringing back of Philoctetes to the seer Calchas,—not Helenus, as in the *Little Iliad*. Further, the *Philoctetes* of Sophocles does not agree with the *Little Iliad*, in which Philoctetes is brought back by Diomedes, before Neoptolemus has come to Troy. We may reasonably suppose that Sophocles took his version of the story from the *Iliupersis* of Arctinus. All this points to the conclusion that the story of Philoctetes was given in the *Iliupersis*, and with details which differed materially from those of the *Little Iliad*. Again, if the recovery of Philoctetes, according to the *Iliupersis*, was an exploit of Neoptolemus, it is difficult to resist the further inference that the poem began with the coming of Neoptolemus from Scyros. On this view it would embrace his whole career as the real captor of Troy.

Dionysius of Halicarnassus says that according to Arctinus the Palladium which was carried off by the Greeks was only a copy of the real one. Hence it is inferred that the theft of the Palladium was related in the *Iliupersis* (see the note on p. 34). A few details may be added, more or less conjecturally, from other sources. Virgil is said to have followed Arctinus in the

description of the sack of Troy which fills the second book of the *Aeneid*. We may assume that the part played by Aphrodite in the *Aeneid* was based upon the *Iliupersis*.

It appears, then, that the story of the *Iliupersis* is to be reconstructed somewhat as follows. Neoptolemus, who is the destined conqueror in the Trojan war, is brought from Scyros (perhaps accompanied by a contingent of the islanders, the *Scyria pubes* of Virgil, *Aen.* 2. 477). He succeeds to the arms of Achilles—takes the leading part in bringing Philoctetes from Lemnos—and kills the new Trojan champion, Eurypylos. Thus all the important steps towards the capture of Troy are due to him—the Palladium having been a deception. In the division of the spoil he receives the chief γέρας, the possession of Andromache. He is evidently, therefore, the hero of the poem. His character, as we should expect from the poet of the *Aethiopsis*, is in many points a repetition of the character of Achilles. He is a triumphant Achilles—πατρός εὐτυχέστερος, τὰ δ' ἄλλ' ὁμοίος. He stands to his father, poetically speaking, as the Epigoni to the heroes of the *Thebaid*.

With the fortunes of Neoptolemus for the main interest of the *Iliupersis*, we find, as a kind of underplot, the story of the flight of Aeneas. The death of Laocoon is not, as in Virgil, a warning to those who would destroy the Wooden Horse, but a sign of the approaching fall of Troy. The escape of one of the two sons—a trait peculiar to this version—was doubtless meant to signify that one branch of the Trojan royal house—that represented by Aeneas—might still survive the fall of the city and the extinction of the family of Priam.<sup>1</sup> Thus the prophecy of Poseidon would be fulfilled (*Il.* 20. 397–8),

νῦν δὲ δὴ Αἰνείαιο βίη Τρώεσσιν ἀνάξει,  
καὶ παίδων παῖδες τοί κεν μετόπισθε γένωνται.

—a prophecy which has long been recognised as a piece of local or family legend, connecting the later inhabitants of the Troad with Aeneas. The divine agents in these events were probably Aphrodite (who is also associated with Aeneas in the *Cypria*), and Cybele, the Idaean Mother, to whose sacred mountain the fugitives betook themselves. A trace of this remains in the

<sup>1</sup> C. Robert, *Bild und Lied*, p. 193.

statement of Pausanias (x. 26, 1) that Creusa, the wife of Aeneas, was said to have been delivered from slavery by Aphrodite and the mother of the gods: and the same account is given in the words of Creusa, *Aen.* 2. 785—788:

Non ego Myrmidonum sedes Dolopumve superbas  
 Aspiciam, aut Graiis servitum matribus ibo,  
 Dardanis et divae Veneris nurus;  
 Sed me magna deum genitrix his detinet oris.

As Pausanias adds that according to Lesches (*i.e.* the *Little Iliad*) and the *Cypria* the wife of Aeneas was called Eurydice, we can hardly be wrong in assigning the story of Creusa to the *Iliupersis*.<sup>1</sup> Thus it becomes a link of connexion between the Aeneas-legend and the local worship of Cybele, in which Creusa was doubtless a subordinate figure—taken into her service as Ganymede by Zeus, or Iphigenia by Artemis. Another indication of local influence may be seen in the assertion of Arctinus that the Palladium taken by Ulysses and Diomedes was a copy. The real Palladium was doubtless carried off by Aeneas, and remained in the possession of the royal house that claimed descent from him.

Although the *Iliupersis* ended with the victory of the hero and the success of his cause, it had a distinctly tragic character. The Nemesis of good fortune makes itself felt. When the Greeks set sail Athene has withdrawn her favour, and has resolved to send disaster upon them in the course of their voyage (*φθορὰν αὐτοῖς κατὰ τὸ πέλαγος μηχανᾶται*, Procl.). The misfortunes of the return were therefore indicated at the close of the poem. The thought that 'satiety breeds insolence' evidently coloured the representation of Arctinus, and gave the key-note to the treatment of the subject in later Greek literature.

The comparison of the *Iliupersis* with Homer need not detain

<sup>1</sup> Pausanias never mentions Arctinus, and seems not to have known of either the *Aethiopsis* or the *Iliupersis*. He refers to Arctinus' version of the death of Priam, and of Astyanax (x. 25, 9), simply as the account from which Lesches differed. Similarly, when Pau-

sanias (x. 27, 1) says that Coroebus was killed *ὡς ὁ πλείων λόγος* by Neoptolemus, but according to Lesches by Diomedes, the 'common account' doubtless is that of the *Iliupersis*, of which Neoptolemus was the hero.



us long, as most of the points have been already noticed in connexion with the *Little Iliad*. As to the plan and structure there are no grounds for a positive opinion. If we are right in thinking that the story took in the whole career of Neoptolemus, it can hardly have had the almost Homeric unity which we found in the *Aethiopis*. On the other hand, the fact that the *Little Iliad* was taken by Proclus (or the compilers of the Epic Cycle) as the authority for the events down to the making of the Wooden Horse would indicate that in the *Iliupersis* the interest was more concentrated on the actual capture. Possibly the earlier part of the story was brought in (as in the *Odyssey*) in the form of a narrative put into the mouth of one of the characters.<sup>1</sup> The shortness of the poem points to the use of some such device.

The incidents of the *Iliupersis* which appear to be taken from Homer—the Wooden Horse, the death of Deiphobus, the sacrilege of Ajax, the death of Astyanax, the disasters of the return to Greece—were all to be found also in the *Little Iliad* (see p. 25). Of the new or post-Homeric matter some portions are common to the two poems, viz. the treachery of Sinon, the slaying of Priam by Neoptolemus, and the story of Aethra. On the other hand the most important addition to the Homeric account, the story of the flight of Aeneas and his followers,—of which the story of Laocoon is an integral part,—is peculiar to Arctinus. According to the *Little Iliad* Aeneas fell to the share of Neoptolemus, and was carried into slavery by him. The sacrifice of Polyxena, if we may argue from the silence of our authorities, was related in the *Iliupersis* only. It is one of the indications of the hero-worship of Achilles.

The points now enumerated will furnish data for comparing the *Iliupersis*, not only with Homer, but also with the *Aethiopis*, as a work of the same poet, and with the *Little Iliad*, as a different and (as is generally supposed) later treatment of the same subject.

In the *Iliupersis*, as in the *Aethiopis*, we have recognised the addition to the Trojan story of a considerable amount of legendary matter. Two main sources of new legend may be

<sup>1</sup> The digression about Podaleirius and Machaon (p. 28) would be part of such a narrative. The style of the lines seems to favour this hypothesis.

discerned. It was doubtless in the native traditions of Asia Minor that Arctinus found the figures of Penthesileia and Memnon, as well as the legend of Aeneas and the Trojan settlement on Mount Ida. In these matters we trace the influence upon the Greek colonists of the races with which they were brought into contact. And though this influence is perceptible in other 'cyclic' poems—*e.g.* in the story of Telephus in the *Cypria*, and Eurypylos in the *Little Iliad*—the most striking examples seem to be those which we find in the *Aethiopsis* and the *Iliupersis*. Other post-Homeric elements in Arctinus receive light from the circumstances of the Ionian colonies, and from their religious ideas and practices, especially the practice of hero-worship. Under this head fall such things as the immortality of Memnon, of Achilles, of Creusa,—the purification of Achilles from the guilt of homicide,—his removal after death to Leuce, in the region of the Milesian settlements,—and the sacrifice of Polyxena at his tomb.

The comparison between the poems of Arctinus (especially the *Iliupersis*) and the *Little Iliad* turns chiefly on points already noticed. It may be worth while however to bring together the incidents which appear to have been treated somewhat differently by the two poets.

1. In the *Iliupersis* Neoptolemus kills Priam at the altar of Ζεύς Ἐρκείος : as also in Virgil (*Aen.* 2. 663),—

Natum ante ora patris, patrem qui obruncat ad aras.

In the *Little Iliad* (fr. 15) Priam is dragged from the altar and killed at the door of the palace : the poet probably wishing to diminish the horror of the scene.

2. According to the *Iliupersis* Astyanax was killed by Ulysses (fr. 2) : according to the *Little Iliad* he was thrown from a tower by Neoptolemus, οὐ μὲν ὑπὸ δόγματός γε Ἑλλήνων (Paus. x. 25, 9). In the *Iliupersis*, then, it appears that the Greeks came to a solemn decision, carried out by Ulysses, and doubtless also advised by him, founded on the maxim νήπιος ὄς πατέρα κτείνας παῖδας καταλείπει. The author of the *Little Iliad* altered the story, evidently in order to exonerate his hero.

3. According to the argument of the *Iliupersis* the sons of

Theseus found their grandmother Aethra in the division of the spoil: whereas in the *Little Iliad* (fr. 17) Aethra escaped from the city before or during the capture (*ήνیکا ήλίσκετο Ίλιον*), and found her way to the Greek camp. In this version we may recognise the invention of the later poet.

4. The stealing of the Palladium, which in the *Little Iliad* was an important exploit of Ulysses, was probably not related at length in the *Iliupersis*. All that we are told by Dionysius of Halicarnassus is that according to Arctinus the true Palladium was in Troy to the time of the capture, kept in a secret place, and that there was a copy of it exposed to view, which the 'Achaeans' took.<sup>1</sup>

5. In the *Little Iliad* (and in the *Cypria*) the wife of Aeneas was Eurydice: in the received account, doubtless going back to the *Iliupersis*, she is called Creusa. The name, as we have seen, is part of the local legend connected with Mount Ida and the worship of Aphrodite and Cybele.

6. It has been shown (p. 29) that there is some ground for thinking that the story of Philoctetes, as told in the *Philoctetes* of Sophocles, was derived ultimately from Arctinus. The substitution in the *Little Iliad* of Diomedes for Neoptolemus, of the oracle of Helenus (procured by Ulysses) for the advice of Calchas, and of Machaon for Podaleirius, is in accordance with the desire to exalt Ulysses, as well as the general fondness for changes in detail which we have noticed in the *Little Iliad*.

7. The incidents connected with the 'Judgment of the Arms' were told in two or three different versions, some part of which may be derived from Arctinus.

The representation in the *Little Iliad* of Ajax carrying the body of Achilles, and Ulysses protecting the retreat, seems to be taken from *Il.* 17. 715, ff., where however it is Ajax with his Locrian namesake who keeps Hector and the Trojans at bay. The scholiast adds the remark (probably made by Aristarchus) that if Homer had related the death of Achilles

<sup>1</sup> Arctinus certainly mentioned the true Palladium, probably in connexion with the flight of Aeneas; but the rest of the notice may possibly be due, as in some instances given by C. Robert

(*Bild und Lied*, p. 231), not to the poet himself, but to commentators who sought to harmonise his account with the *Little Iliad*.

he would not have made Ajax carry the body. Another account seems to have exchanged the parts played by the two heroes: for on *Od.* 5. 310, where Ulysses speaks of 'the day when the multitude of Trojans poured their spears on him, over the fallen Achilles,' the scholiast makes the comment, *ὅτι ὑπερμάχησαν τοῦ σώματος Ἀχιλλέως Ὀδυσσεὺς καὶ Αἴας· καὶ ὁ μὲν ἐβάστασεν, ὁ δ' Αἴας ὑπερήσπισεν, ὡς καὶ ἐπὶ Πατρόκλῳ.* In this version Ajax remains true to his Homeric character, and we naturally suspect that it must have been the original account of Arctinus in the *Aethiopsis*, though in the argument of Proclus the *Aethiopsis* is made to agree with the *Little Iliad*.<sup>1</sup>

Regarding the 'judgment' itself, the scholiast on the *Odyssey* tells us that in the line (11. 547),

*παῖδες δὲ Τρώων δίκασαν καὶ Παλλὰς Ἀθήνη,*

the reference is to the Trojan prisoners, who being asked whether Ajax or Ulysses had done them most harm, decided the question in favour of Ulysses. This form of the story does not connect the 'judgment of the arms' in any especial manner with the combat over the body of Achilles, and altogether it is of a simpler and graver stamp than the version which comes to us from the *Little Iliad*. These considerations are perhaps not sufficient to justify us in attributing it to Arctinus, especially as we have no direct statement that the details of the *κρίσις ὄπλων* were given in the *Aethiopsis* (p. 12). In any case the construction which it put upon the words *παῖδες Τρώων δίκασαν* is more natural than that which makes them maidens overheard by Greek spies: and although the passage in the *Odyssey* may be an interpolation, it is probably of considerable antiquity. The version of the *Little Iliad* is very different in character; it is elaborate and fanciful, and at the same time wanting in epic dignity. Indeed it has very much the air of a burlesque of the older story.

The result of our examination is that the poems of Arctinus

<sup>1</sup> It is an objection to this inference that Aristarchus—if we may argue from the silence of the Venetian scholia—does not seem to have known of any post-Homeric account except that of the *Little Iliad*. Possibly the account of

the scholia on *Od.* 5. 310 is a mere misunderstanding of Aristarchus; the remark that Homer *would have* told the story in such and such a way being twisted into a positive statement that that was the true account.

were composed in the tragic style of the *Iliad*, combined with a vein of romance which belonged to the soil of Asia Minor : while the *Little Iliad* treated the same series of events in the lighter epic style, largely tempered by the romantic and adventurous element which is represented by the *Odyssey*, and within the *Iliad* by the 'Doloneia.' Thus the *Little Iliad* carried the Ulysses of the *Odyssey*, so to speak, back into the Trojan war : the *Aethiopis* and *Iliupersis* gave the chief place to Achilles and the heroes who were akin to him, Ajax and Neoptolemus. Finally, while Arctinus admitted much new matter, the growth of Ionian history, the author of the *Little Iliad* confined himself in general to the Homeric circle of myths, and sought rather for novelty in his manner of treatment and in the details of his narrative.

The *Aethiopis* and the *Iliupersis* are almost the only epics never attributed to Homer, and Miletus is almost the only important city which never claimed him. Perhaps the reason is simply that Arctinus was not sufficiently popular to give rise to a legend of the kind. His poems are not mentioned by any writer earlier than Dionysius of Halicarnassus ; apparently they were unknown to Strabo (p. 16) and Pausanias (p. 31). Probably the name of Arctinus would not have survived at all if he had not been the earliest poet who related the escape of Aeneas from the destruction of Troy. Thus he became a witness to the Roman national legend, and the *Iliupersis* gained a species of immortality in the second book of the *Aeneid*.

#### THE *NOSTI*.

The poem called the *Νόστοι*, or 'Returns' of the heroes from Troy, was in five books, and was generally ascribed to Agias of Troezen.<sup>1</sup> The contents as given by Proclus were these :—

Athene having stirred up a quarrel between Agamemnon and

<sup>1</sup> Eustathius (p. 1796, 53) quotes 'the author of the *νόστοι*, a Colophonian,' for the statement that in the end Telemachus married Circe, and Telegonus Penelope. It has been thought that this refers to another poem on the

subject of the 'returns,' by a Colophonian poet. There is so much about Colophon, however, in the cyclic *Nosti* that it seems more natural to suppose that the author was thought by some authorities to be a Colophonian.

Menelaus on the subject of the voyage home, Agamemnon delays his departure in order to propitiate the goddess. Diomedes and Nestor are the first to start, and return safely: Menelaus follows them, but encounters a storm which drives him to Egypt with five only of his ships. Calchas with Leonteus and Polypoetes goes by land to Colophon, where he dies and is buried. As Agamemnon is preparing to start with his followers, the shade of Achilles appears and warns him of the future. The fate of the Locrian Ajax is then described. Neoptolemus, on the advice of Thetis, goes home by land through Thrace, meeting Ulysses in Maroneia; Phoenix dies on the way and is buried: Neoptolemus reaches the Molossian country, and is recognised by Peleus; the death of Agamemnon at the hands of Aegisthus and Clytaemnestra is avenged by Orestes and Pylades, and Menelaus returns to Sparta.

According to Pausanias, (x. 28, 7) the *Nosti* contained a *vékuvia*, or descent into Hades, of which Proclus says nothing. Several of the references to the *Nosti* seem to belong to this part of the poem, especially a version of the story of Tantalus, quoted by Athenaeus (fr. 10), and three lines about Medea restoring Aeson (fr. 6); perhaps also the genealogical notices about Clymene (fr. 4), and Maera (fr. 6). Eustathius (p. 1796, 53), says that the author of the *Nosti* made Telemachus eventually marry Circe, and Telegonus, son of Circe, marry Penelope. This piece of eschatology lies beyond the period covered by the story of the poem, but may have come in incidentally, in the form of a prophecy, just as the final immortality of Menelaus is prophesied in the *Odyssey*.

The death of Calchas at Colophon was the subject of a story told by Hesiod, and also by the logographer Pherecydes (Strabo, xiv. p. 643). It had been foretold that he would die when he should meet with a mightier seer than himself, and such a seer was found in Mopsus, grandson of Tiresias, who presided over the oracle of the Clarian Apollo. It may be gathered that some form of this legend was adopted by the author of the *Nosti*.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The MS. gives *Τειρεσίαν ἐνταῦθα τελευτήσαντα θάπτουσι*, where *Τειρεσίαν* must be a false reading for *Κάλχαντα*. The name *Τειρεσίας* must have occurred

in the poem, and been put for Calchas in this place by mistake—perhaps by the grammarian who made the summary in Proclus.

The subject of the *Nosti*, according to the reference in Athenaeus (vii. p. 281*b*), is the 'return of the Atridae' (ὁ γόων τὴν τῶν Ἀτρειδῶν ποιήσας κάθοδον), and this phrase is evidently a correct description of the main argument. The poem opened with the separation of Agamemnon and Menelaus, and ended with the return of Menelaus, just as his brother's murder had been avenged by Orestes. Thus it contained two chief threads of narrative—the diverse fortunes of the two Atridae—which are brought together at the close. In subordination to these there are two land journeys in opposite directions: Calchas going to Colophon, and Neoptolemus by Thrace to Epirus. Room is found also for the fate of Ajax the Locrian, who accompanies Agamemnon, and the uneventful return of Nestor and Diomedes. The arrangement of these episodes is worth notice; it follows the Homeric rule of filling up pauses or intervals of time by a subordinate piece of narrative, and so avoiding any sensible break in the action of the poem. Thus the pause made by the quarrel of Agamemnon and Menelaus is taken advantage of to introduce the return of Nestor and Diomedes, just as the pause after the quarrel at the beginning of the *Iliad* is filled by the episode of the return of Chryseis. Again, the sailing of Menelaus to Egypt is immediately followed by the journey of Calchas, and the sailing of Agamemnon by the journey of Neoptolemus, because without such a change of scene a long voyage would have the effect of a blank space in the picture. So (*e.g.*) in the third book of the *Iliad*, when heralds are sent from the armies into Troy (l. 116), the scene changes to the walls, and the time during which they are on the way is filled by the *τειχοσκοπία* (ll. 121-244). By these contrivances, then, the *Nosti* doubtless attained a degree of unity not much inferior to that of the Homeric poems. The crisis is evidently the murder of Agamemnon, which is speedily followed by the vengeance of Orestes.

The moving force in the poem seems to have been the anger of Athene; as her favour and the anger of Poseidon are the moving forces in the action of the *Odyssey*. This is indicated, as we have seen, in the closing scenes of the *Ilupersis*; the general tone and character of the *Nosti* was evidently in keeping with this *motif*. The main events were essentially disastrous, and the playful and fanciful elements associated with the figure

of Ulysses were wanting. Thus we may regard the *Nosti* as a tragic *Odyssey*—an *Odyssey* which marks the transition from Homer to the *Agamemnon* of Aeschylus.

Of the incidents of the *Nosti* a large proportion appear to be taken directly from Homer. Such are :—The quarrel caused by the anger of Athene between Agamemnon and Menelaus (*Od.* 3. 135 ff.); the return of Diomedes and Nestor (*Od.* 3. 166, 182); the voyage of Menelaus and his arrival in Egypt with five ships (*Od.* 3. 299, ἀτὰρ τὰς πέντε νέας... Αἰγύπτῳ ἐπέλασσε); the fate of the Locrian Ajax (*Od.* 4. 499 ff.); the story of Agamemnon and Orestes. In one or two cases we can trace the growth of new detail from Homeric suggestions :—

(1) Megapenthes is said in the *Odyssey* (4. 12) to be the son of Menelaus by a slave (ἐκ δούλης); in the *Nosti* (fr. 2) the name of the slave was given.

(2) The meeting of Neoptolemus with Ulysses in Maroneia is suggested by *Od.* 9. 39, 197 ff., where Ulysses is said to have been in that part of Thrace.

The chief additions to the Homeric account are the journeys of Calchas and Neoptolemus ; the former of these is essentially post-Homeric in its character. The city of Colophon, like all the cities founded or occupied by the Ionian colonists, is quite unknown to Homer. The oracle of the Clarian Apollo belongs to the time when the Greek settlers in Asia Minor had adopted to some extent the religious ideas and practices of the native tribes: as a local oracle too, it is an institution of a post-Homeric kind. Its seer, Mopsus, claimed descent from Teiresias,—just as the kings of the Ionian cities are found to claim descent from Homeric heroes, such as Agamemnon and Nestor. In this part of the *Nosti*, therefore, we trace the same relation to the history of Colophon which we found to subsist between the *Aethiopsis* and the history of Miletus, and again between the *Iliupersis* and the later settlements in the Troad.

In the story of Neoptolemus we may recognise a post-Homeric element in the ethnical name of the Μολοσσοί, which implies some extension of geographical knowledge. It is the first indication of the claim of the kings of Epirus to the honour of descent from Achilles.



Of the remaining names the most important is that of Medea, whose magical powers were set forth (fr. 6). The notices in Pausanias (fr. 4, 5) and Apollodorus (fr. 1) refer to genealogical details which it is not easy to connect with the story of the poem. The mention of the mother of Megapenthes (fr. 2) is a fact of the same kind. It may be inferred that the author of the *Nosti* was one of the poets who made it their business to furnish the genealogies connecting the Homeric heroes with each other, and with the leading families of later times.

The prophetic warning given by the shade of Achilles is an incident of a post-Homeric type; we may compare the appearance of Achilles to Neoptolemus in the *Little Iliad*. The immortality of Telemachus and Telegonus follows the precedent of Achilles and Memnon in the *Aethiopis*, the Dioscuri and Iphigenia in the *Cypria*.

#### THE *TELEGONIA* OF EUGAMMON.

The *Telegonia* was a poem in two books only, by Eugammon of Cyrene, the last of the 'cyclic' poets. It was evidently composed as a sequel to the *Odyssey*, and conclusion of the heroic story. The argument in Proclus is as follows:—

After the burial of the suitors Ulysses goes to Elis, where he is entertained by Polyxenus. The stories of Trophonius, Agamede and Augeas are related. After returning to Ithaca to perform certain sacrifices, Ulysses goes to the country of the Thesprotians, marries their queen Callidice, and leads them in a war against the Brygi, in which Ares, Athene, and Apollo take part. On the death of Callidice, Polypoetes, son of Ulysses, becomes king, and Ulysses returns to Ithaca; then Telegonus son of Ulysses by Circe, who has been seeking for his father, makes a descent upon Ithaca. Ulysses comes to repel the attack and is killed by his own son. Telegonus finds too late what he has done, and takes his father's body, with Telemachus and Penelope, to his mother, who makes them immortal. Finally, Telemachus marries Circe, and Telegonus Penelope.

It is evident that this story was framed partly to satisfy curiosity as to the fate of the chief characters of the *Odyssey*, and partly to find a place for the genealogies of various families

that claimed descent from Ulysses. The Thesprotian episode is clearly due to the latter of these motives.

The story of the cave of Trophonius is given by the scholiast on Aristophanes (*Nub.* 500). It is a variant of the Rhampsinitus story. The incident of the death of Ulysses at the hands of his son is equally familiar from the story of Sohrab and Rustum. In these stories we have fresh instances of the kind of attraction by which a dominant group of legend, such as the *Troica*, draws in materials from other circles of popular mythology.

There is some uncertainty as to the manner in which the personages are disposed at the end of the poem. According to Eustathius (p. 1796, 47) the *Telegonia* made Telegonus the son of Calypso,—thus contradicting the *Nosti* (see the note on p. 36). The argument of Proclus only mentions Circe; but this may be in deference to the authority of the *Nosti*. In any case the general character of the closing scene is evident: and we cannot but regret that the curtain should be made to fall in this strange and burlesque fashion on the stage so long filled by Homeric gods and men.

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