

# Characters and characterisation in the Epic Cycle

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## Table of Contents

<b>Abbreviations</b> .....	<b>4</b>
<b>Abstract</b> .....	<b>5</b>
1. Introduction .....	6
<b>Part 1: Characters in the sources</b>	
2. Characters in Apollodorus .....	32
3. Characters in the fragments .....	68
<b>Part 2: Characters and characterisation</b>	
4. Introduction: Epeius and Ajax .....	92
5. Achilles .....	110
6. Neoptolemus and Achilles .....	145
7. Diomedes and Odysseus .....	171
8. The Princes of Troy .....	197
9. Four Cyclic characters in the <i>Iliad</i> .....	230
10. Palamedes .....	252
<b>11. Concluding Remarks</b> .....	<b>277</b>
<b>Bibliography</b> .....	<b>281</b>

## Abbreviations

- Bernabé                      Bernabé, A. (1987). *Poetae epici Graeci. Testimonia et fragmenta.*  
Vol.1. Leipzig.
- BK*                              Bierl, A. and Latacz, J. (eds.) (2000-). *Der Basler Homer-Kommentar.*  
Leipzig.
- LIMC*                          Ackermann, H.C. and Gisler, J.R. (eds.) (1981-1999). *Lexicon  
iconographicum mythologiae classicae.* Zurich.
- TrGF*                          Kannicht, R., Radt, S. and Snell, B. (eds.) (1981-2004). *Tragicorum  
Graecorum fragmenta.* Göttingen.
- W*                                West, M.L. (2003). *Greek epic fragments: from the seventh to the fifth  
centuries BC.* Cambridge, MA.

All quotes from Proclus are taken from Bernabé (1987), except where otherwise stated.

Fragments are taken from West (2003), with additions from Bernabé (1987).

## Abstract

The aim of this thesis is to use the various characters who play a part in the Epic Cycle as a tool with which to understand more about the Cycle and the pre-Homeric oral tradition. In **Part 1**, I use characters as a way to approach the different sources of information we have for the Epic Cycle, namely the *Bibliotheca* of Apollodorus and the various fragments from later writers and scholiasts. I take the view that these sources are, on the whole, less valuable than Proclus' epitomes. By looking at the characters unique to these accounts, I assess the value and utility of Apollodorus and the fragments for our knowledge of the Epic Cycle. Nevertheless, the thesis also raises questions about the status of Proclus' epitomes and the extent to which they give us access to the 'authentic' Epic Cycle.

**Part 2** is dedicated to the individual characters who play a part in the narrative of Proclus' epitomes. Using a mixture of methodological tools from the camps of both Neoanalysis and Oral Theory, I attempt to trace out a full account of how these different characters were depicted in the tradition of the Trojan War. By using the information given by both Proclus, the fragments, and the Homeric poems, the aim is to build as full a picture as possible of the position and characterisation of these characters in the pre-Homeric oral tradition of the Trojan War. The individuals discussed are both major (Achilles, Diomedes, Odysseus, and the Trojan Princes) and minor (Protesilaus, Philoctetes, Polypoites, Leonteus, and Palamedes).

# 1. Introduction to the Epic Cycle

Scholarship on the Epic Cycle can be divided into three schools: the Unitarians of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, and the Neoanalysts and Oralists of today. Although many of their assumptions about how the Epic Cycle was created have fallen out of fashion, the scholars of the 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> centuries discussed and established some of the most important questions regarding the Cycle. Scholars of Neoanalysis and Oral Theory have gone on to attempt to answer these questions. This thesis does not cling faithfully to only Neoanalysis or Oral Theory, instead recognising that both present useful methodological tools for discussing characters in the Epic Cycle. The unknowability and permeable boundaries of the ‘Epic Cycle’ as a concept necessitates that we move away from dogmatism and towards a holistic approach.

In the briefest of terms, this thesis takes the view that there was a rich and long-established oral tradition of poems about the Trojan War, including its lead-up and aftermath. From this oral tradition emerged the Homeric poems. At some point after the composition of the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*, the poems that now come under the aegis of the ‘Epic Cycle’, the *Cypria*, the *Aethiopis*, and so on, were fixed in writing. What form this fixation took, who composed them, and how many different versions there were, remains undecided. Although the Cyclic poems were post-Homeric in composition, they more or less accurately reflected the pre-Homeric oral tradition, albeit with relatively minor changes and Homeric influences.<sup>1</sup>

Gradually, the idea of the ‘Epic Cycle’ came about, and in view of its importance for students of Homer, a writer named Proclus set about epitomising it.

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<sup>1</sup> I am agnostic on the absolute dating of the Homeric poems and the oral Cycle, beyond placing their development in the 8<sup>th</sup> – 6<sup>th</sup> centuries, with the Homeric poems being fixed in writing at some late point in this period. See Burgess (2001) 49-53.

Before I start, a word about terminology. The word ‘Cycle’ will be used a lot in this thesis, but the word itself is a cipher, originally referring to all poetry composed by ‘Homer’.<sup>2</sup> Notopoulos has stated that, ‘We must delete [the term ‘Cycle’] from our future histories of Greek literature and call them early oral epics.’<sup>3</sup> While I am inclined to agree, the term ‘Cycle’ does have the benefit of succinctness over ‘early oral epics’. To my mind, the problem with the term ‘Cycle’ is that it blurs the important distinction between the pre-Homeric oral tradition of the Trojan War and the Epic Cycle as described in the summaries of Proclus. Although I do use these latter terms and their cognates throughout this thesis when differentiation is crucial, to use such unwieldy terms at every instance would be inelegant. Therefore, Epic Cycle, or just the Cycle, remains the most useful term. In his 2001 monograph, Burgess differentiates through the use of quotation marks: Cycle vs. ‘Cycle’.<sup>4</sup> However, I want to avoid a proliferation of quotation marks. Therefore, I have simply tried to make it as clear from the context how any given use of the term ‘Cycle’ should be understood, and where needed and appropriate I have used clearer terminology.

### **Setting the scene**

The scholarship on the Epic Cycle has tended to be more criticising than critical. The first example of scholarship on the issue is found in Herodotus, who argues that the *Cypria* and the *Iliad* must have different authors (2.117).<sup>5</sup> Herodotus therefore stands at the head of a long line of scholars who have sought to understand how, when, and where the Cyclic poems

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<sup>2</sup> For the most thorough discussion of the term *kuklos*, see Nagy (1990) 70-81, (2010) 255-256, and (2015) 60. For other references to a *kuklos* of poetry, see West (2013) 1.

<sup>3</sup> Notopoulos (1964) 37.

<sup>4</sup> Burgess (2001) xiii.

<sup>5</sup> Introducing in the process the first and possibly trickiest crux in the methodology of the Epic Cycle. For a full discussion, see n.81.

originated. More specifically, the quote implies that it was generally believed that Homer was the poet of not only the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*, but also the Cyclic poems.

It was Aristotle who first established an unflattering contrast between the Homeric poems (the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*) and what we now call the Epic Cycle (namely the *Cypria* and the *Ilias parva*).<sup>6</sup> He contrasted the unity of the *Iliad* with the πολυμερῆ nature of the two non-Homeric poems, meaning that, in his view, the *praxis* of the *Iliad* consists of a single part, whereas in the case of the latter, the *praxis* is composed of many parts (*Poetics* 1459a).<sup>7</sup>

Aristotle is not interested in the poetic quality of the poems beyond this issue of unity. Yet the contrast he implied, between the monumental grandeur of Homer and the workmanlike qualities of the Cycle, is one that has sometimes overshadowed critical analysis of the latter. However, as Sammons has astutely pointed out, Aristotle's meditation on the differences between the poems 'reveals inadvertently.... the remarkable versatility of the epic genre in its early period, when poets evidently pursued a wide range of narrative strategies despite a shared language and subject matter.'<sup>8</sup>

The Aristotelian verdict on the inferiority of the Cyclic poems was continued by the (mostly) Unitarian scholars of the 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> century. The disparagement of the Cycle in favour of Homer was crystallised in the prevailing conception of the poems as post-Homeric compositions motivated by a desire to add to Homer. Allen argued that the monumentality of Homer's poems and achievements in the 8<sup>th</sup> century had created an appetite for further poems

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<sup>6</sup> Aristotle is also possibly the *terminus ante quem* for the term *kuklos* (*Soph.elench.* 171a10; *Rhetoric* 1417a12). However, here it is used as a synonym for the poems on the subject of the Trojan War, rather than to differentiate between Homer and other poems; see Burgess (2001) 15; Fantuzzi and Tsagalis (2015) 30. He also never refers to the individual poems as 'cyclic'. Whether Aristotle actually knew of a single 'Epic Cycle' himself is another question. For contrasting views see Davies (1986) 98 and West (2013) 24 for yes, and Notopoulos (1964) 36-7 and Sammons (2017) 5-6 for no.

<sup>7</sup> However, it is important to note that Aristotle also refers to the *Iliad* as πολύμυθος at 56a10-19. See Heath (1989) 53-4.

<sup>8</sup> Sammons (2017) 6.

on similar subjects, and saw the Cyclic epics as the products of a ‘school’ whose sole intention was to fill out Homer.<sup>9</sup> The conception of the poems as post-Homeric creations was the bedrock of many theories as to the original appearance, quality, and tone of the Cyclic poems.<sup>10</sup> Allen suggested a process of gradual decline, with the *Cypria* and the *Aethiopis* close enough in date to Homer as to have some of his splendour and achievement. However, by the 7<sup>th</sup> century, newly popular genres such as elegy meant that the epic genre was a ‘spent wave’, no longer able to support *epē* thousands of lines long, but instead only able to muster the energy to complete the Cycle.<sup>11</sup> Bethe also furthered a view of the Cyclic poems as workmanlike and derivative. He saw the poems as post-Homeric projects, and argued that one could term the poet of the *Cypria* ‘den ersten grossen Historiker’, more interested in giving a linear summary of the Trojan War than creating a poetic work.<sup>12</sup>

Current in this period are two methodological assumptions in the study of the Epic Cycle, one of which would fall out of fashion and one which still exercises great influence to this day. The first is the belief that the Olympiad-based dates given to Cyclic poets in both Eusebius and the *Suda* accurately tell us the date of the poems. By the Roman period, the ascriptions of individual authors to individual poems was entrenched. Not only does Proclus attribute each poem to a different author, but his ascriptions are supported by the evidence of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century BC ‘Homeric’ cups<sup>13</sup> and the Roman *Tabula Capitolina*.<sup>14</sup>

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<sup>9</sup> Thus explaining why the Cyclic poems are not ‘complete’ works, i.e. the *Cypria* has a beginning but no end, the *Aethiopis* has no beginning or end; see Allen (1924) 66-75. Forsdyke (1956) 131, also argued that, in turn, references to these new Cyclic poems had been interpolated into the Homeric texts, particularly the *Odyssey*.

<sup>10</sup> Despite the sage judgement of Monro (1884) 2, that we should not confuse any apparent quality of the summaries and fragments with that of the original poems: ‘The *scriptor cyclicus* of Horace has nothing to do with the ancient epic poets now in question.’

<sup>11</sup> Allen (1924) 69.

<sup>12</sup> Bethe (1929) 294-5.

<sup>13</sup> Which have Lesches as the author of the *Ilias parva* (PEG T 1, T 2) and Agias as the author of the *Nostoi* (PEG T 4).

<sup>14</sup> Which ascribes the *Ilias parva* to Lesches and the *Aethiopis* to Arctinus.

Ancient dates for the Cycle are mostly disregarded in this thesis. For Allen, the ‘central date on which the chronology of the Cycle depends’ is that of Arctinus of Miletus, the apparent author of the *Aethiopis* who is dated by the *Suda* to ‘four hundred years after Troy’, or 744 BC, thus giving a chronological span for the poems from the middle of the 8<sup>th</sup> century to the middle of the 6<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>15</sup> Wilamowitz had already questioned the accuracy of these accounts,<sup>16</sup> and reliance on these later chronographers for the date of the Cycle now seems reckless. This is based on our increased understanding of the wider oral background of the Cycle, together with a growing disinterest in and mistrust of ancient attributions of authors to individual poems.

A very general summary of the majority opinion on the Epic Cycle that characterised the (mostly) Unitarian schools of this period can be formulated as follows. The poems of the Cycle as we find them in Proclus and other fragments were post-Homeric creations designed to capitalise on the monumentality of the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*, expand his stories for a willing public, and provide educational factoids for students of Homer. They could be dated from the 8<sup>th</sup> to the 6<sup>th</sup> century, but a safe bet would be to place them in the 7<sup>th</sup>. They were of mixed quality, but certainly never reached the grandeur of Homer.

### **Neoanalysis: A new way of thinking about the Epic Cycle**

The emergence of Neoanalysis in the mid-20<sup>th</sup> century brought with it a new way of thinking about and using the Epic Cycle, albeit mostly as a tool to understand the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*. Neoanalysis is, after Parry-Lord, one of the most important theories to come into

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<sup>15</sup> Allen (1924) 61-5.

<sup>16</sup> Wilamowitz-Moellendorff (1884) 371.

Homeric studies, and plenty has been written on it and about it.<sup>17</sup> Neoanalysis emerged in the mid-20<sup>th</sup> century, and its two main proponents were Kakridis and Pestalozzi.<sup>18</sup> The essence of their argument was that Homer had based sections of his *Iliad* on earlier epic poetry from other sections of the Trojan War, namely an *Achilleis* which narrated the death of Achilles. Pestalozzi was more bold in this assertion than Kakridis,<sup>19</sup> arguing that the *Iliad* is based on an earlier *Achilleis* poem, whose contents, he seems to imply, are very similar to those of the Cyclic *Aethiopis*.<sup>20</sup> The poet of the *Achilleis* was himself influenced by an earlier Thessalian poem about the marriage of Thetis and Peleus, and his own epic poem recounted the battle with Memnon, the death of Achilles, and his funeral honours.<sup>21</sup> The core of Pestalozzi's theory was embraced by Schadewaldt.<sup>22</sup> He dated the *Memnonis* to the middle of the 8<sup>th</sup> century, a generation before Homer, and singled it out as of greater poetic merit than the rest of the Epic Cycle.<sup>23</sup> Schadewaldt's work also highlights one of the enduring sticking points in scholarship on the Epic Cycle and its relationship to Homer. Although Neoanalysis has changed our view of the chronological relationship between the Cycle and Homer, it has steered us away from studying the Epic Cycle in and of itself, and instead towards studying it for what it can teach us about the inventive genius of Homer. Thus, to a certain extent, the qualitative assumptions of the Unitarian School have been repackaged by the Neoanalysts. Schadewaldt perfectly captures this mode of thinking when he writes:

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<sup>17</sup> For a succinct summary see Willcock (1997)

<sup>18</sup> A Neoanalyst *avant la lettre* was Welcker (1849), who argued that the Homeric poems were not the source of the Cycle, but instead that the Cycle preserved a pre-Homeric poetic tradition. This was evidenced by the very many references to a wider Trojan War story in Homer (19-20). At the same time, he also believed that the Epic Cycle as we have it in Proclus contains a greater number of later elements ('Zutat späterer fremdartiger Erfindungen') than the Homeric poems, a product of the fact that the Homeric poems were written down before the Cycle (53). This image of the Epic Cycle, as both traditionally pre-Homeric and textually post-Homeric, will be recognisable to anyone familiar with the current Neoanalytical and Oralist scholarship on Homer and the Cycle.

<sup>19</sup> Kakridis (1949) 65 n.2, criticised Pestalozzi's 'daring theories'.

<sup>20</sup> With the addition of the Penthesilea episode, Pestalozzi (1945) 5.

<sup>21</sup> Pestalozzi (1945) 7.

<sup>22</sup> However, unlike Pestalozzi, he was unwilling to see pre-Homeric sources beyond the *Memnonis*: 'so fehlen doch vorläufig die Kriterien, um mit Sicherheit ältere Bestandteile in den sonstigen Epen des troischen Zyklus auszumachen': Schadewaldt (1959) 158 n.2.

<sup>23</sup> Schadewaldt (1959) 175-6.

‘Er [Homer] ‘sah’ die Dinge anders, ‘verstand’ ein und dasselbe in neuem Sinn, entwickelte manche in dem Stoff noch schlummernde Motive und schuf so das lebendige Gerüst für eine Handlung, die, aus sonst herbeigezogenen Stoffen stark bereichert, ein neues Wesen, eine neue Welt umfasste.’<sup>24</sup>

However this Homer-centric approach does not necessarily represent a huge problem for the utility of Neoanalysis in this thesis and elsewhere in the study of the Epic Cycle. While its aim has been to highlight the innovation of Homeric poetry, it has also incidentally and definitively asserted the importance of the Epic Cycle (or some version of it) in early epic.

The utility and application of Neoanalysis has been strengthened by a growing disinterest in arguing for written sources and towards a new form of Neoanalysis that embraces oral poetics.<sup>25</sup> Of most relevance to this thesis is the move by Neoanalysts away from strict ideas of ‘motif transference’ (*Motivübertragung*), the assimilation of Cyclic motifs into a new Homeric context, and towards a more inclusive and broad-ranging interest in allusions in Homer to the other events of the Trojan War.<sup>26</sup> A leading proponent of this oralist-influenced version of Neoanalysis is Wolfgang Kullmann. Kullmann’s theory of the early epic *Faktenkanon* is a foundation of this thesis. The *Faktenkanon* was the established canon of facts regarding the events and chronology of the Trojan War, and Homer drew upon this when composing the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*. The *Faktenkanon* was well-established and, importantly, stable, only allowing for minor deviations.<sup>27</sup> Instead of written texts, it was this

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<sup>24</sup> Schadewaldt (1959) 176. See also Pestalozzi (1945) 7.

<sup>25</sup> As Willcock (1983) 485 n.8, points out, confusion over whether Neoanalysis necessitated actual pre-Homeric poems was a reason for its slow uptake in British scholarship.

<sup>26</sup> On the distinction, see Kullmann (2015) 308-9. Burgess (2006) discusses the possibility of ‘motif transference’ in an oral tradition; also Burgess (2009) 65-66, with further bibliography at n.44.

<sup>27</sup> Kullmann (1960); Kullmann (2012) 15.

canon that the Homeric poet ‘had before him... as a whole.’<sup>28</sup> This new version of Neoanalysis allows us to use the Homeric evidence to fill out our knowledge of the oral Epic Cycle without being bogged down by scripsist assumptions. The numerous references to events and characters outside of the scope of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* can be understood as referring to other poems in the tradition in which these events and characters are described in full. This is particularly helpful when dealing with characters such as Paris. For example, in Chapter 8, I will discuss how the reference to the Judgement of Paris in Book 24 of the *Iliad*, combined with Proclus’ description in the *Cypria*, confirms the appearance of this episode in early epic on the Trojan war. This then allows me to discuss the significance of the Judgement to our understanding of the character of Paris in early epic. Furthermore, I agree with the assumption of Neoanalysis that Homer’s audience was familiar with the wider Trojan War story and that therefore something that is minor in Homer may recall something of major significance outside of Homer. This assumption will underlie my discussion of Hector as the killer of Protesilaus in Chapter 8, and of Polypoites and Leonteus, very minor characters in the *Iliad* who, I argue, had a larger role in the Trojan War story.

However, Neoanalysis is not the perfect solution to our study of the Epic Cycle. Criticisms of Neoanalysis are well-rehearsed in Homeric studies, and there is little this thesis can add.<sup>29</sup> In general, Neoanalysis can be criticised for its attempts to codify ‘primary’ and ‘secondary’ contexts in the analysis of Homeric episodes.<sup>30</sup> On the one hand, this interest in the priority of motifs has undoubtedly led to re-evaluation of the significance of the Epic Cycle poems and their relationship to Homer. When Neonalaysts posit that the death and funeral of Patroclus are lifted from the death and funeral of Achilles in the *Aethiopis*, this necessarily leads us to

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<sup>28</sup> Kullmann (2015) 119.

<sup>29</sup> See, for example, West (2003b); Kelly (2012); Davies (2016) 5-24.

<sup>30</sup> For a good evaluation of Neoanalytical ‘motif transference’ vs. oral typology, see Burgess (2009) 61-62.

see the contents of the *Aethiopis* and the rest of the Epic Cycle as important background to the composition of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*. However, Neoanalysis also runs the risk of making the diachronic relationship between the Epic Cycle and the Homeric poems excessively static. Although this thesis takes the view that Homeric poetry did build on this already-established *Faktenkanon* of Trojan War material, it is also reasonable to assume that the Homeric poems in turn influenced the Epic Cycle. The criteria that Neoanalysts have used to diagnose Homeric adoption of Cyclic motifs – namely incongruity and inconsistency in the Homeric setting – are nigh on impossible to apply to the Epic Cycle because of the spartan state of the evidence. Therefore, it is far easier to find incongruity in Homer and diagnose it as an example of Cyclic allusion. I could be accused of making this very mistake in my discussion of Polyipoites and Leonteus in Chapter 9, although I do offer a defence of my method in that particular case.

This is not to deny the usefulness of Neoanalysis as a way of approaching the Epic Cycle, and particularly as a way of using the Homeric poems to learn more about the Cycle. Instead, it is a recognition that the relationship that Neoanalysis tends to establish between Homer and the Cycle – as an active harvester and a passive source – is most likely not the whole truth. However, the uneven nature of the Cyclic evidence makes any attempt to reverse the relationship more difficult. We will see that the expansive concept of Oral Theory offers more opportunities for seeing Homer and the Epic Cycle as mutually informative.

In terms of the insight into characters that Neoanalysis can unlock, there are necessary limitations. Namely, if a character is not mentioned in Homer, but is mentioned in the Epic Cycle, the Neoanalytical approach becomes redundant. We will see this in the case of Palamedes. Kullmann has argued that Homer deliberately suppresses any mention of

Palamedes in his poem, and along with it any negative aspect of Odysseus' character in the *Iliad*. However, as he argues, 'Motive der Palamedesgeschichte schimmern.....durch', most notably in the pairings of Diomedes and Odysseus in the poem, which are motivated by their joint killing of Palamedes.<sup>31</sup> However this Neoanalytical analysis is not necessarily the best way to approach the character of Palamedes. For one, the theory hinges on the fragment reporting that Palamedes was killed in a fishing expedition, which may or may not be pre-Homeric. More generally, I am wary of the common trope of Neoanalysis which argues that absence equals deliberate suppression. In my opinion, this pushes the evidence beyond a reasonable point. Palamedes appears in neither the *Iliad* nor the *Odyssey*, and we are not sufficiently privy to the creative process of the Homeric poet to know why that might be. I do believe that Palamedes was present in early oral epic, however I hope to show that the Neoanalytical impulse to trace a stemmatic relationship between the Cycle and Homer is not the best way to approach the character in this instance.

### **Oral Theory: Another way of thinking about the Epic Cycle**

In the last forty years or so, Oral Theory has become an important methodological approach to early Greek hexameter poetry. Often placed in opposition to Neoanalysis, the two are nevertheless not mutually exclusive. Like Neoanalysis, the scholarship on Oral Theory is vast and well-known. I will focus on scholars who have applied Oral Theory to the Epic Cycle in particular. Some of the most important works on the application of Oral Theory to the Cycle have come from Burgess,<sup>32</sup> Finkelberg,<sup>33</sup> and Foley.<sup>34</sup> Oral Theory offers a new way of understanding the position of the Cycle in early epic and its relationship with Homer. Instead

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<sup>31</sup> Kullmann (1960) 165-6.

<sup>32</sup> Burgess (2001), (2006).

<sup>33</sup> Finkelberg (2011).

<sup>34</sup> Foley (1991).

of a direct line of descent from oral Cyclic poems to Homer, as in Neoanalysis, the Oralist school sees both as products of a shared oral tradition. The story of the Trojan War is conceptualised as a long-standing and dynamic oral tradition, of which the Homeric poems and the Epic Cycle are ‘instances’.<sup>35</sup> Foley’s influential theory of ‘traditional referentiality’ suggests that the evidence that we have, namely the Homeric poems and the summaries and fragments of the Epic Cycle, should be understood as reflections of a much larger oral tradition, which:

‘entails the invoking of a context that is enormously larger and more echoic than the text or work itself, that brings the lifeblood of generations of poems and performances to the individual performance or text. Each element in the phraseology or narrative thematics stands not for that singular instance but for the plurality and multiformity that are beyond the reach of textualization.’<sup>36</sup>

Therefore, an important difference between Neoanalysis and Oral Theory is that the latter is not as interested in questions of primacy in terms of the deployment of motifs.<sup>37</sup> What this means in effect is that instead of only looking at the relationship between Homer and the Cycle, we can ‘flatten the field’ and look at how characters are deployed throughout the range of evidence we have. This includes the summaries and fragments of the Cycle, Homer, other early Greek hexameter, artistic representations, and later literature. In Chapter 7, I discuss how the motifs of ambush and travel are attached to Diomedes and Odysseus and redeployed in a range of different settings. Similarly, in Chapter 8, I posit that certain motifs recognisable from Near Eastern poetry became associated with Trojan princes in the Trojan

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<sup>35</sup> Rather than ‘artefacts’; see Foley and Arft (2015) 83.

<sup>36</sup> Foley (1991) 7.

<sup>37</sup> Burgess (2006) 155-161.

War tradition. Nevertheless, it is important to bear in mind that the more specific application of Foley's traditional referentiality relies on evidence that is not available for the Epic Cycle, namely components of oral diction such as phraseology and epithets.<sup>38</sup> Therefore, while it is useful in a general, overarching sense to see the 'Epic Cycle' as evocative of a larger oral tradition, the distant and fragmentary nature of its remains means that we cannot apply the same level of analysis to the traditionality of the Cycle as we can to Homeric poetry.<sup>39</sup>

Furthermore, the differences between Neoanalysis and Oral Theory should not be overstated. Neoanalysis and Oral Theory are by no means mutually exclusive on all points.<sup>40</sup> This is especially true in terms of their application in this thesis. The oralist idea of 'typology' can sit alongside the Neoanalytical idea of 'stemmatic' relationships. Both agree on the crucial point that the Homeric poet used a pre-existing oral tradition of the Trojan War when composing his poems. The differences are mere appendages to this central, shared idea. One difference might be the focus on Homer, with Neoanalysis traditionally more interested in how and why Homer used motifs from the Cyclic poems in the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*.<sup>41</sup> However, although Homer is a very important source of evidence in this thesis, his own poetic methods are not under discussion.

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<sup>38</sup> See, for example, Kelly (2007).

<sup>39</sup> This question is further complicated by the recent and important article by Čolaković (2019), which uses Bosniac oral epic to argue that Homeric poetry is not traditional, but instead a post-traditional creation that represents a dramatic departure from what came before it. This would consequently make Homeric poetry an unreliable source for understanding the epic tradition, rather than a showcase for 'traditional referentiality'. However, there is only so far that Čolaković's argument can illuminate the Epic Cycle itself. Whereas Čolaković has access to both 'traditional' and 'post-traditional' Bosniac epics, we only have the supposedly 'post-traditional' Homeric poems. The Epic Cycle as we have it is a prose epitome of poems with a very long history, both pre- and post-Homeric. Furthermore, Čolaković's argument is that Homer's compositions were more sophisticated and novel, but this does not mean that his poetry does not still share broad themes and characters with previous poetry on the Trojan War.

<sup>40</sup> Currie (2016) 8-10.

<sup>41</sup> Although Oral Theory also discusses this issue in terms of Homer being 'metacyclic' or 'metaepic'. See Finkelberg (1998) 154-5, (2015); Burgess (2009) 66, (2012) 170.

Another difference is in the question of what form this pre-existing Epic Cycle took. Whereas Neoanalysts tend to think in terms of specific poems which preceded Homer, Oralists think in terms of song-traditions, which were ‘continuously reshaped’ during the archaic period.<sup>42</sup> Oralists tend to argue that poets in this oral tradition did not compose their poems in reference to other oral poems about the Trojan War, that no single poem was dominant,<sup>43</sup> and that it was only later that selected poems were brought together to form a Cycle.<sup>44</sup> Thus, Neoanalysts and Oralists differ in their opinion as to how tightly the ‘Cycle’ was defined and perceived in the archaic period. For example, Kopff, starting from the differences in the presentation of the ‘*Aethiopis*’ between the Homeric Cypria and Proclus, hypothesised that these represent two distinctive traditions, with the former being more authentic to the ‘*Aethiopis*’.<sup>45</sup> However, such an analysis presupposes that the Cyclic poems were *ex novo* static poems with strict boundaries.<sup>46</sup> In my opinion, it seems more likely that the oral nature of the tradition would have led to multiple renditions of the various events of the Trojan War story. The events and outcomes of the war would have been established at a very early point, and therefore any rendition would have had to adhere to the predetermined shape of the story, with minor variations in details as the bard desired. The question of when and if the individual poems became sharply defined in the oral tradition is impossible to answer, and not of great consequence to this thesis.

Both Neoanalysis and Oral Theory work alongside each other in this thesis. In my opinion, their successful application is a question of perspective and the evidence available. If we are looking at a character from the perspective of the Homeric poetry and talking about specific

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<sup>42</sup> Burgess (2001) 5, 13, 147-148; Tsagalis (2008) 68.

<sup>43</sup> Burgess (2001) 5.

<sup>44</sup> Burgess (2001) 21, (2012) 170; Scodel (2012) 512-515.

<sup>45</sup> Kopff (1983).

<sup>46</sup> For criticism of Kopff, see Squire (2016) 510-511 and Sammons (2017) 116 n.43.

actions and events associated with that character, we are casting back into the evidence of Cyclic poetry and finding a corresponding event. Therefore, a reasonable conclusion on this evidence would be that the Homeric poem is using the Cyclic poems to fill out its own narrative. Whereas, when we are talking about typology or themes associated with a character, we might be looking more broadly across the tradition and across multiple events involving that character, in a method more familiar to the Oralist school.

Furthermore, like Neoanalysis, there are problems with Oral Theory and methodological gaps that need to be filled in. As Neoanalysts and Oralists compete for their version of the early epic tradition, neither can give a good account for how the early oral Cycle turned into the Epic Cycle of Proclus. Burgess has stated that:

A 'unitarian' approach to the early mythological tradition of the Trojan War is also advisable. Undoubtedly different elements and motifs entered the tradition at different times, but these were all molded into a coherent whole. Even if we could be sure that some mythological elements are relatively late.....it is very risky to deem them post-Homeric because 'Cyclic' myth is virtually indistinguishable from the tradition of the Trojan War as we know it. 'Cyclic' myth is also part of the weave of the Homeric poems as we know them, and there is no point in trying to root it out.'<sup>47</sup>

What Burgess is, justifiably, opposed to here is the labelling of any apparently 'un-Homeric' material in the Cycle as post-Homeric. However, the total abnegation of post-Homeric influence is unnecessary. We should be open to the idea that the influence of the Homeric poems did lead to changes and modifications of the Cyclic poems in the classical, Hellenistic,

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<sup>47</sup> Burgess (2001) 49; cf. 135, 144-145, 158-171.

and Byzantine periods. Taking such a view does not mean that we also have to adopt the stance that the Epic Cycle is a purely post-Homeric production. Instead, it simply acknowledges two important truths that underlie the Epic Cycle: the first being that, after the archaic period, it was wholly overshadowed by Homer, and the second being that we have only a very faint idea of its evolution over the centuries that followed.

### **From the oral tradition to Proclus**

This section will discuss the advantages and disadvantages of using the Proclus epitomes in our study of the Epic Cycle. The epitomes of Proclus have survived because they were transmitted in certain manuscripts as prefatory material for the *Iliad*. That these epitomes are from Proclus' *Chrestomathia*, a much larger work on ancient poetry, is known from a description of it by the 9<sup>th</sup> century Photius. A brief account of the dating of Proclus is necessary. The early 20<sup>th</sup> century marked the birth of what is now basically the *communis opinio*: Immisch and Allen advocated a reversal of the consensus established by Valois in 1740, who had claimed that Proclus was a 2<sup>nd</sup> century Antonine grammarian, and instead proposed that he was instead the 5<sup>th</sup> century Neoplatonist.<sup>48</sup> For Allen, this identification is supported by both the wider intellectual activity of the Neoplatonists, who were 'well tinctured with philology', and the other known works of this Proclus, which included a commentary on Homer and studies on Hesiod.<sup>49</sup> The identification of Proclus as a 5<sup>th</sup> century Neoplatonist persists to this day, except in the recent work of West, who wishes to return to Valois' dating. This is based on perceived incompatibilities between the epitomes and the other works of the 5<sup>th</sup> century Proclus, as well as claims of anachronism.<sup>50</sup> I am reluctant and

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<sup>48</sup> Immisch (1902) 249-57.

<sup>49</sup> Allen (1924) 51-5.

<sup>50</sup> West (2013) 8-9, followed by Sammons (2017) 226-227.

unable to make a firm decision one way or another. While a 5<sup>th</sup> century dating pushes Proclus' epitomes even further away in time from their oral roots, it is now accepted by many that Proclus was writing in this period.

This thesis uses the summaries of Proclus as the main source of information about the appearance of the Epic Cycle and tends to favour them over the fragments and other sources such as Apollodorus (See Chapter 2). This reliance on Proclus is not a wholehearted endorsement of his epitomes, which are not without their problems. The case is rather that Proclus is a more useful source than our other two main sources for Epic Cycle material, Apollodorus and the fragments. Unlike Apollodorus, Proclus explicitly claims to be summarizing the poems of the Epic Cycle. Of course this claim has its problems, but on face value it does position the Proclean summaries as the closest extant reflection of the Epic Cycle. Secondly, Proclus is also useful because his summaries give a cohesive and relatively comprehensive narrative of the Trojan War from the Judgement of Paris to the death of Odysseus. Therefore, unlike the fragments, Proclus' epitomes provide a broad and unified picture of the Epic Cycle.

However, the question of the 'accuracy' of Proclus cannot be ignored. Burgess is well aware of the problem of Proclus. Although he believes that the summaries of Proclus are representative of the tradition on the Trojan War, he acknowledges that, 'Such an approach might seem to reify a remarkably stable "cyclic" tradition', and that his arguments 'might...be overoptimistic about [this tradition's] stability, especially when [his] oralist approach to epic denies it a textualized centre.' Ultimately, Burgess concludes that Proclus 'provides the functional approximation of a center' in his reconstruction of the Epic Cycle. This is based on the belief that Proclus was summarising a verse narration of the Trojan War

that was based on the Cyclic poems.<sup>51</sup> I agree with Burgess that Proclus is a good source for the Epic Cycle, but freely acknowledge that there are issues.

Several scholars have attempted to reconstruct the evolution of the Epic Cycle from oral poetry to Proclus. West proposes that during the 6<sup>th</sup> to 4<sup>th</sup> centuries, the epics were transmitted by recitation and increasingly as books. Idiosyncratically, West then believes that in the latter half of the 4<sup>th</sup> century, a certain Phyllus organised the poems into a Cycle and provided a prose epitome. It was this prose epitome that remained available, as the poems themselves became increasingly neglected and finally unavailable from the 3<sup>rd</sup> century onwards.<sup>52</sup> Sammons similarly proposes that the Cycle was originally circulated in poems, before being relegated more and more to prose summaries.<sup>53</sup> Pausanias provides a possible *terminus post quem* as he claims to have read the poems.<sup>54</sup> It appears inarguable that the Cyclic poems became increasingly more neglected as the centuries passed, as they synchronously became less and less respected. Thus in the Hellenistic period we have the derisory comments of Callimachus *et al.* on the Cyclic poems. It was also in the Hellenistic period that the vague terms *kuklikoi* and *neoteroi* began to circulate,<sup>55</sup> with Aristarchus in particular creating a clear distinction between Homer and the *neoteroi*, the latter including not only the Epic Cycle, but also Hesiod and the lyric poets.<sup>56</sup> Severyns set out to elucidate the use and meaning of the term *neoteroi* in the Aristarchean Homeric scholia. He demonstrated most importantly that Aristarchus' use of the term was not neutral, but rather that his exegesis was based on the assumption that the *neoteroi* poets were a decadent,

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<sup>51</sup> Burgess (2015) 56-57.

<sup>52</sup> West (2015) 101-107.

<sup>53</sup> Sammons (2017) 227.

<sup>54</sup> Paus.10.31.2.

<sup>55</sup> Fantuzzi and Tsagalis (2015) 26-8.

<sup>56</sup> Schironi (2018) 703-705, has demonstrated that Aristarchus only very rarely uses the term *kuklikoi*. Where it does appear, it seems to mean simply 'repetitive' or 'redundant', rather than as a label to distinguish Cyclic material.

aesthetically inferior poetic movement dependent on the authority of Homer.<sup>57</sup> This was primarily Aristarchus' rebuttal of Zenodotus, who 'expliquait Homère par les Neoteroi'.<sup>58</sup> He showed that the term *neoteroi* was not only used by Aristarchus for the Cyclic poets, but also for almost every other poet after Homer, from Hesiod to Euphorion.<sup>59</sup> It should be noted that Severyns did believe that the poems of the Cycle post-dated the Homeric poems and were created 'pour faire suite' the *Iliad*.<sup>60</sup> He simply demonstrated that the anti-*neoteroi* and anti-Cyclic agenda of Aristarchus was extremely influential and led to 'le discrédit du Cycle épique'.<sup>61</sup>

Most scholars would agree that Proclus more likely had access to prose digests of the Epic Cycle, rather than the verse poems.<sup>62</sup> This would certainly not be out of place in the Hellenistic and Roman periods, when prose hypotheses of literary works were popular. Prose hypotheses were created for authors such as Callimachus, Demosthenes, Euripides, and Homer. Of the last two, many examples have been found on papyrus and in medieval manuscripts. Cameron comments that the proliferation of Euripidean hypotheses can be explained less by a 'widespread enthusiasm for Greek tragedy than to their value as sources for Greek myth'.<sup>63</sup> Similarly, the summaries and hypotheses of the Homeric poems appear to have served a pedagogical purpose. Rossum-Steenbeek has characterised them as 'auxiliary

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<sup>57</sup> Severyns (1928) *passim* but especially 92: 'Les *Neoteroi* doivent beaucoup à Homère, et, dans certains cas, leur imitation n'est pas très heureuse, parce qu'ils n'ont pas toujours bien compris le poète.' See also Kullmann (1960) 18, Notopoulos (1964) 39. However, recently Schironi (2018) 703 has criticised Severyns' view that Aristarchus judged the Cyclic poems specifically as aesthetically inferior to Homer.

<sup>58</sup> Severyns (1928a) 98.

<sup>59</sup> Severyns (1928a) 42.

<sup>60</sup> Severyns (1928a) 297, 313, 314.

<sup>61</sup> Severyns (1928a) 159: 'Les Cycliques ne devaient jamais se relever des coups qu'il leur avait assenés. Mais ses critiques mêmes vont nous permettre de reconstituer des pans entiers de l'édifice écroulé.'

<sup>62</sup> It is more frequently believed that Proclus was using prose digests of the Cycle: Severyns (1928a) 75-80; Bethe (1929) 207-210; West (2015), Currie (2016) 230; Sammons (2017) 226-227. However, some have argued that Proclus was using verse copies of the poems: Allen (1924) 57-60; Burgess (2001) 28; Scafoglio (2004) 42-43. It should be noted that Photius preserves Proclus' claim that the poems were still preserved in his day. Although this merits discussion and is significant for our understanding of how the Epic Cycle evolved, I do not believe that a prose digest would have been significantly different in terms of characters than a verse poem.

<sup>63</sup> Cameron (2004) 58.

texts' whose purpose was to be read alongside the Homeric texts.<sup>64</sup> All this is in line with Photius' paraphrase of Proclus' comment: λέγει δὲ (sc. Proclus) ὡς τοῦ ἐπικοῦ κύκλου τὰ ποιήματα διασώζεται καὶ σπυδάζεται τοῖς πολλοῖς οὐχ οὕτω διὰ τὴν ἀρετὴν ὡς διὰ τὴν ἀκολουθίαν τῶν ἐν αὐτῷ πραγμάτων.<sup>65</sup> Therefore, it would seem likely that Proclus' epitome of the Epic Cycle was not created as a literary work, but rather as a literary guide to both the Cycle and the Homeric poems.

However, there are a few 'eccentric' aspects of the Proclus summaries that cannot be so readily explained through the 'literary guide' interpretation. While for the most part the summaries do go through the events of the Trojan War in an efficient and brisk manner, there are points at which they give an unusual amount of space to details that do not advance the plot. The main examples are to be found in the *Cypria* and the *Telegony*. In the former, Proclus relates a 'digression' (παρέκβασις) in which Nestor tells Menelaus the tales of heroes of old: Epepeus, Oedipus, Heracles, and Theseus:

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 Ἀριάδην.

*Cypria* arg.26-29

Nestor's advice here, obscure as its meaning may be to us,<sup>66</sup> is obviously characteristic of his role in Homeric epic as a man of wisdom and an advisor to the other heroes. In the *Telegony*,

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<sup>64</sup> Rossum-Steenbeek (1998) 83-84.

<sup>65</sup> Phot. 319a30 = test. 22 Bernabé: 'Proclus says that the poems of the Epic Cycle are preserved in his time and are valued by many, not so much because of their excellence as because of the continuity of the actions narrated in it' (trans. Sammons).

<sup>66</sup> On the possible coherent meaning and the links between these heroes, see West (2013) 98-100.

Proclus says that Odysseus went to Elis to inspect his herds and was entertained there by Polyxenus. From this man he received a *krater*, καὶ ἐπὶ τούτῳ τὰ περὶ Τροφόνιον καὶ Ἀγαμήδην καὶ Αὐγέαν ('on which<sup>67</sup> is represented the story of Trophonius, Agamedes, and Augeas', *Telegony* arg.5-6). Like the speech of Nestor, such an *ecphrasis* is familiar from Homeric epic, the most well-known example being the Shield of Achilles in *Iliad* Book 18. However, both examples are unusual within the context of the Proclus summaries, which focus mostly exclusively on the main narrative and shows no interest in 'irrelevant' digressions or descriptive passages. Therefore, it is hard to account for this pair of examples. Perhaps these were particularly memorable and popular set-pieces of Trojan War poetry, and therefore were deemed important enough to be included even in the epitomised versions of the Epic Cycle poems. Heracles, Oedipus, and Theseus were certainly popular figures throughout antiquity; Epopeus, Trophonius, and Agamedes are only minor figures.<sup>68</sup> Whatever the explanation may be, these two passages undercut the image of the Proclean summaries as simply designed to illuminate the Homeric poems. That may well be their main objective, but they also display a degree of creative choice that cannot be explained readily as serving this objective.

Another aspect of the summaries which suggests that their purpose goes beyond illustrating the *Iliad* is found in the *Cypria*. The *Cypria* summary does not sit entirely comfortably alongside the *Iliad*. Most notably, the *dios boule* at the end of the *Cypria* seems to be in conflict with the *dios boule* at *Iliad* 1.5. At the very end of the *Cypria*, after the death of Palamedes, Proclus states that καὶ Διὸς βουλή ὅπως ἐπικουφίσῃ τοὺς Τρῶας Ἀχιλλέα τῆς

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<sup>67</sup> This is the generally accepted translation of ἐπὶ τούτῳ. However, it is sometimes translated as, 'after that (there came)'. See Severyns (1962) 19–21.

<sup>68</sup> For the story of Trophonius and Agamedes, see Charax *FGrH* 103 F 5 and Paus.9.37.5–7; cf. Herodotus 2.121. Epopeus (sometimes Epaphos) is a character in the Antiope myth: see Hyg.*Fab.*8, Apollodorus 3.5.5, and sch.Ap.Rhod.4.1090. Hyginus at least is apparently drawing from Euripides' *Antiope*; see Gantz (1996) 484–486.

συμμαχίας τῆς Ἑλλήνων ἀποστήσας (arg.66-67). This plan has been seen as nothing more than a preparation for the first verses of the *Iliad*.<sup>69</sup> However, it has been pointed out that the *dios boulai* of the *Cypria* and *Iliad* Book 1 are significantly different. In the *Cypria*, Zeus' purpose is to help the Trojans and it prefigures the quarrel between Agamemnon and Achilles. In the *Iliad*, it comes after the quarrel and its purpose is to help Thetis and her son.<sup>70</sup> Similarly, the next line of Proclus, and the final line of the *Cypria* epitome, states that there was narrated a κατάλογος τῶν τοῖς Τρωσὶ συμμαχησάντων (arg.68). If the sole aim of the summaries was to bookend the *Iliad*, why would they include a catalogue of the Trojans which will be repeated at *Iliad* 2.811-875? Although they are relatively minor disagreements, both the *dios boule* and the Trojan catalogue of the *Cypria* suggest that these poems were not completely dependent upon the authority of Homer, even when epitomised and placed into the *Iliad* manuscripts.

It may or may not be significant that Proclus' summary of the Epic Cycle is completely unique. Although other authors such as Apollodorus provide similar accounts of the Trojan War story, it is only in Proclus that we find the explicit claim to be epitomising the poems of the Epic Cycle. Furthermore, although we have a number of writers that show knowledge of the Cycle or the specific poems, it is only Pausanias who mentions 'reading' any of them. This is despite the fact that the subjects of the Epic Cycle and the Trojan War story remained important in literature and art throughout antiquity. It is difficult to know what to make of the relatively faint visibility of the Epic Cycle as a written product in antiquity.

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<sup>69</sup> Severyns (1928a) 313.

<sup>70</sup> Burgess (1996) 84-85. Burgess is following the observation of Kullmann (1960), 225-26, 358-59, but notes that Kullmann (1991) 438 is, 'more cautious and admits that the *Cypria* may introduce the *Iliad*'.

There is some direct evidence of the Epic Cycle prior to Proclus, but it is of limited utility for this thesis. These are the so-called ‘Homeric Bowls’ and the *Tabulae Iliacae*, which date from the 3<sup>rd</sup>-2<sup>nd</sup> century BC and 1<sup>st</sup> century AD, respectively. Both depict scenes that are ascribed to various Epic Cycle poems. In the case of the Homeric Bowls, there are some contradictions with the information given by Proclus. However, these bowls are part of a larger class of ‘Megarian bowls’ of which other examples show scenes from Greek tragedy which are themselves displaced and out of order.<sup>71</sup> It is important to understand the bowls primarily as artistic products designed to be displays of cultural sophistication rather than as works of scholarship; in any case, the boundaries between Epic Cycle poems were unlikely to be proscriptive.<sup>72</sup> Similarly, the Roman *Tabulae Iliacae* are also sometimes at odds with the Proclean epitomes.<sup>73</sup> Once again, the tablets have to be understood primarily as artistic products, and the images do not necessarily accurately reflect the texts, whether they be poems or epitomes,<sup>74</sup> that they claim to represent.<sup>75</sup> The examples of both the bowls and the tablets imply the greater popularity of the subject-matter associated with the *Aethiopsis* and the Fall of Troy (whether in the *Iliou persis* or *Ilias parva*) in comparison to that of the *Cypria*, the *Nostoi*, and the *Telegony*. Of similarly tangential relevance is the 1<sup>st</sup> century papyrus known as P. Rylands 22. It is different from the first two examples because it claims no direct relationship to an Epic Cycle poem. The similarity lies in the fact that it too narrates episodes familiar from the Epic Cycle, but somewhat differently from Proclus. In this case it is the night of the Fall of Troy. Some have connected the papyrus with the Epic Cycle, but the lack of ascription means that it may be quite unconnected from any recognisable Cyclic

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<sup>71</sup> Webster (1964) 147-153.

<sup>72</sup> Squire (2015) 497-498.

<sup>73</sup> The madness of Ajax (Αἴας μᾶ [νιὼ]δης) appears to be included under the *Aethiopsis* in the *Tabula Iliaca Capitolina* (1A).

<sup>74</sup> West (2013) 13-14, 48.

<sup>75</sup> Squire (2015) 510-511.

tradition.<sup>76</sup> Rather than supporting or undermining the ‘accuracy’ of Proclus’ epitomes, these few examples instead emphasise how obscure the lens is through which we can see the status of the Epic Cycle in the centuries between the oral period and Proclus.

It is important when we approach the Epic Cycle that we reckon with the fact that we have a long stretch of *aporia* between the presumed oral tradition of the Cycle in the archaic period and the appearance of the Epic Cycle, fully-formed, in Proclus in either the 2<sup>nd</sup> or 5<sup>th</sup> centuries. This brings us back to the eternal crux of the Epic Cycle question: how accurate a reflection of the oral tradition are the summaries of Proclus? Sammons has commented that the Cyclic poems ‘look much more like ‘oral literature’ than the Homeric poems’,<sup>77</sup> and scholars have commented that the language of the fragments is akin to Homeric poetics.<sup>78</sup> I agree that, on the whole, the summaries of Proclus appear to reflect a genuine and comprehensive Trojan War tradition, the *floruit* of which can most reasonably be dated to the archaic period. Indeed, at points in this thesis I will discuss how the Proclus summary seems to preserve a different version of events than the classical ‘mainstream’ version, suggesting that the epitome is preserving a ‘fossilised’ remnant of the archaic tradition. However, I think it is also important to acknowledge the possibility that a non-negligible degree of modification happened during the classical, Hellenistic, and Roman periods. This was no doubt influenced by the primacy of the Homeric poems. The cultural dominance of Homer grew from the classical age into the Hellenistic and Roman periods, as the Homeric poems became central to literary and intellectual culture.<sup>79</sup> The hegemonic position of Homeric poetry during this period means that we must take seriously the possibility that some details

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<sup>76</sup> Sammons (2017) 112 n.31; *pace* Kelly (2015) 328-329. In this way, it is more akin to the mythography of Apollodorus.

<sup>77</sup> Sammons (2017) 18.

<sup>78</sup> Bernabé (2015) 140-141, 153.

<sup>79</sup> This is a huge topic, but for some brief overviews see Lamberton (1997); Graziosi (2008); Kim (2010) 4-21, (2020).

and themes from the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* may have retroactively fed back into the Epic Cycle. This goes beyond the much-discussed modifications of some of the endings of individual poems.<sup>80</sup> In Chapter 5, I discuss the character of Achilles and his dominance across the Epic Cycle. The question remains open as to whether this is a genuine reflection of this character's dominance in the Trojan War tradition *independent* of the Homeric poems, or instead a post-Homeric shift in focus influenced by Achilles' position in the *Iliad*.

In conclusion, we must be clear-eyed in our approach to the epitomes and admit that Proclus is imperfect. This will always be the case, because at the very best, his summaries are an accurate reflection of the *written* Cycle poems, which are themselves reflections of the *oral* Trojan War tradition. It would be foolhardy to deny that there is some later influence of Homer and later tradition that may have bled into the Epic Cycle as we have it.

However, the question of the reliability of Proclus (and the fragments) changes according to what is being studied. For example, in terms of the use of language, intertextuality, and specific details, post-Homeric modification and divergence may be quite severe.<sup>81</sup> However,

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<sup>80</sup> Huxley (1969) 147; Fantuzzi and Tsagalis (2015) 3; Currie (2016) 229; Sammons (2017) 234-236.

<sup>81</sup> An example of this may be the famous Herodotus crux. The Herodotus passage is often seen as a sticking-point in our trust of Proclus and in the study of the Epic Cycle in general. Sammons (2017) 236-237, condenses the various solutions proposed into two possibilities: 1) The *Cypria* had already been altered to agree with Homer, or 2) The summary in Proclus was altered to agree with Homer; cf. Bernabé *ad Cypria* fr.14. Sammons reflects the general scholarly discomfort when he says, 'Since this is literally the one and only case where the summaries can be checked against another source that is early, reliable, and explicit, one cannot help wondering how much else in the summary may be simply wrong.' However, I would argue that the unique availability of the external Herodotean evidence marks this out as the most likely place for such corruption to have occurred. What would be helpful would be to know who Herodotus' sources are. He is presumably not the first person to notice this discrepancy, and knowing his sources would answer the all-important question of why the historian chose to mention this single and fairly minor contradiction. However, in lieu of this information, I will sketch out my own theory. Herodotus himself makes no mention of there being a storm in either the *Iliad* (6.289-92) or the *Cypria*, but merely that the journey was more protracted in the former. I think it most likely that this comment in Herodotus prompted a scholarly discussion which ultimately overexaggerated the difference between the two poems and it was here that the idea of a storm first came about, because if the journey in the *Cypria* was so calm, it followed that there must be a storm in the *Iliad* (even though Homer merely says that he ἐπιπλῶς εὐρέα πόντον). Either through the corruption in manuscripts from marginal scholia or a concerted effort by ancient scholars to synchronise the *Cypria* with the *Iliad*, we find that we have an account of a storm in Proclus' summary. Whether this evolution is true or not, we should not let two lines in Herodotus condemn for

the realm of characters is more consistent – we might expect that how specific characters act and what they do would remain relatively consistent. This follows from both Kullmann’s *Faktenkanon* and Foley’s ‘traditional referentiality’, both of which suggest that large-scale elements such as character and events are likely to undergo less modification. All in all, this thesis is not interested in questions of subtlety and nuance, but instead in tracing out the consistencies (and inconsistencies) of characters through the history of the Epic Cycle. Therefore, rather than a total faith in Proclus, this thesis assumes a resigned and wary trust in him.

A final point to be made is the challenge in distinguishing what evidence from the Cycle is authentic and what is inauthentic to the oral tradition. Authenticity is a nebulous concept and proves difficult to diagnose with any certainty. This is exacerbated by the long and drawn-out evolution of the Cycle, as discussed above.

One method used in this thesis is the observance of thematic parallels, but there are difficulties inherent in this approach. In some examples, an episode assigned to the Cycle is similar in outline and content to an episode or episodes from Homeric poetry. The main instances of this discussed in this thesis are the ‘Mad Odysseus’ plot in the *Cypria*, the Scyros episode, also in the *Cypria*, and various episodes from Apollodorus. These thematic parallels could be interpreted in two very different ways. The first interpretation would be that a Cyclic episode that mirrors another episode from Homer is likely to be authentic, as its inclusion in Homeric poetry indicates that such a mode of description or narrative was possible within the oral tradition. The second interpretation goes in the opposite direction: in

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us the whole of Proclus. Davies (1989) 40, comes to a similar conclusion regarding how the Proclean storm came about.

this view, the very fact that the given Cyclic episode shares themes with an episode from Homer increases the likelihood that it is a later, unauthentic artifice, an un-epic addition which is using Homeric precedent to spin out the story of the Trojan War. Throughout this thesis, I have tried to use thematic parallels as a starting-point rather than as a diagnosis in and of themselves. Each example has different factors that have determined whether I have concluded that the thematic parallels are more or less likely to be the result of shared oral tradition or later interpolation.

## 2. Characters in Apollodorus

The *Bibliotheca* of Apollodorus has been called ‘the most valuable mythographic compendium that has been passed down from antiquity’.<sup>1</sup> Among the many mythological subjects it deals with is the Trojan War, and in many ways the account mirrors that of Proclus’ epitomes of the Epic Cycle. As a result, scholarship on the Epic Cycle has often used the additional details in Apollodorus to supplement or support readings of Proclus. This is exemplified by the 2003 Loeb edition of the Epic Cycle, edited by West, in which he inserts passages from Apollodorus into the Proclus summaries. His justification for this is that both Proclus and Apollodorus are using Hellenistic sources, and therefore, ‘It is probably legitimate to fill out [Proclus’] spare summary with some details from the parallel narrative of Apollodorus.’<sup>2</sup> However, such a methodology begs a lot of questions, including the assumption that the two are working from the same sources. We should remember that, unlike Proclus, Apollodorus makes no claims to be summarising the Epic Cycle, and in fact uses many different sources for his account, named and unnamed. The method of collating Proclus and Apollodorus introduces many new characters into the common perception of the ‘Epic Cycle’, even though those characters are not mentioned in Proclus. As this thesis is concerned with characters in the Epic Cycle, it is important to distinguish between these two sources.

This chapter will be an interrogation of Apollodorus as a source for the Epic Cycle, by discussing a selection of the characters that are included in West’s Loeb and are unique to

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<sup>1</sup> Kenens (2013) 95.

<sup>2</sup> West (2003a) 12-13. Note that in his 2013 commentary, West adds that, while Apollodorus’ extra details may derive from the Cyclic, ‘caution is necessary’, 52-53. However his views on the Cyclic derivations of the characters discussed below remains largely the same.

Apollodorus. I will attempt to explain why they are not in Proclus and hypothesise whether Proclus would have recognised them as part of the ‘Epic Cycle’. This raises the question of how we should define the boundaries of the ‘Epic Cycle’. If we conclude that a certain character cannot be accounted for earlier than, say, the 5<sup>th</sup> century, does this automatically preclude them from the ‘Epic Cycle’? The answer is yes and no. No, because (as discussed in the Introduction) the Epic Cycle, unlike the Homeric epics, never took a definitively fixed form. This means that new elements may have accreted in the post-Homeric period.

However, we should also be wary of being too indiscriminate in our definition of ‘Cyclic’ elements. This thesis takes the view that there was a well-established canon of material associated with the epic tradition of the Trojan War. While a degree of innovation can be assumed, there must also have been a degree of stability and perceived ‘traditionality’ for the Epic Cycle to remain a coherent category until the time of Proclus. Some of the examples to be discussed seem more likely to be foreign additions from later literary genres, which Apollodorus has inserted into his narrative of the Trojan War.

Therefore, this chapter does not aim to draw a strict dichotomy between pre-Homeric material and post-Homeric material, mapping it precisely onto Proclus and Apollodorus. Instead, it aims to take individual characters and assess all the evidence concerning them. The evidence varies from character to character, although I have also aimed at maintaining consistency in my assessments. Important questions to be asked are: is this character referenced in Homer, and if so, how detailed is this reference? Do the details in Apollodorus seem to belong to traditions about the character for which our only evidence is much later? Do the stories surrounding the character have thematic parallels with Homer, and if so, are these organic and authentic, or simple pastiche? These are the main questions that I have used

to conclude whether it is more likely or not that individual characters are genuine parts of an identifiable Epic Cycle, or instead foreign implants from outside the tradition.

### **Apollodorus' *Bibliotheca*: What, who, when, and why?**

Despite the wealth of knowledge the *Bibliotheca* gives us about ancient myth, the work itself remains mysterious, and in particular questions remain about its authorship, its date, and its purpose. A clear picture of the *Bibliotheca* will help us to understand its relationship with the Epic Cycle.

The textual tradition of the *Bibliotheca* has survived to us in three forms. The first and most extensive is the manuscript tradition, which preserves in full the first three books.<sup>3</sup> Diller (modifying Wagner) laid out the stemmatic relationship of these MSS, showing that they all derive from a single apograph (Paris 2722) of which two direct copies exist in Oxford and Munich.<sup>4</sup> These first three books deal with the birth of the gods, the Heraclids, the Argives and the Seven Against Thebes. Therefore, the main manuscript tradition does not narrate the mythology of the Trojan War. The second form is indirect testimonia. The most notable examples are the interpolations of the *Bibliotheca* into the work of Pseudo-Zenobius in the medieval period, and the quoted extracts in the Homeric D-scholia, as well as in tragic and Platonic scholia.

Finally, the third and, for us, most important source for Apollodorus are the so-called Vatican (E) and Sabbaitic (S) epitomes. They contain abridged material from the latter sections of the

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<sup>3</sup> In fact, however, the division of the work into books was an innovation of the first editor, Benedetto Egio of Spoleto.

<sup>4</sup> Bodleian MS.Summ.Cat.719 = Laud Greek 55 (O) and *Monacensis Graecus* 182 (M). For a fuller description of the MSS tradition, see Diller (1935) 309-313; Diller (1938).

*Bibliotheca*, which in part deals with the events before, during, and after the Trojan War. The first was discovered in the Vatican by Wagner in 1885. The excerpts from the *Bibliotheca* (fol.1-49) are followed by excerpts from John Tzetzes' commentary on Lycophron and his *Chiliades*. The second was discovered in Jerusalem by Papadopulos-Kerameus in 1887. The vast majority of stories related to the Trojan War come in the epitomes. Fowler has pointed out the differences between the epitomes and the *Bibliotheca* proper: whereas the latter has a large number of source citations, the number of named citations in the epitomes is extremely low. This suggests that the Epitomes were made for a less academic audience than the original *Bibliotheca* from which they are drawn.<sup>5</sup>

The date of the *Bibliotheca* is difficult to pin down. The reference to Castor the chronographer (2.3) gives a lower limit of about 50BC, while the possible reliance of a passage of Eusebius on the *Bibliotheca* gives us an upper limit of around 300 AD.<sup>6</sup> But between these two points, there is very little certainty. Arguments on linguistic terms have not proved definitive. Robert argued that the language is late, and dated the work to after the reign of Tiberius, and probably around the reign of Hadrian in the 2<sup>nd</sup> century AD.<sup>7</sup> However, van der Valk revised Robert's judgement, arguing that many of the 'late' features of the Greek were actually already to be found in Hellenistic authors, and he concludes by dating the work to the 1<sup>st</sup> century AD.<sup>8</sup> Current scholarly consensus dates the *Bibliotheca* to the 1<sup>st</sup> century AD, with Carrière and Massonnie opting for a date of around 200 AD.<sup>9</sup> I have nothing

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<sup>5</sup> Although there is no significant difference between the rate of unnamed variant traditions: Fowler (2017) 165, 168-174.

<sup>6</sup> Eusebius, *Praeparatio evangelica* V.20.210c (p.242-243 Dindorf); see Carrière & Massonnie (1991) 10, 210-211 n.171.1.

<sup>7</sup> Robert (1873) 39-44.

<sup>8</sup> van der Valk (1958) 165-167.

<sup>9</sup> Carrière & Massonnie (1991) 10; Higbie (2007) 245; 1<sup>st</sup> or 2<sup>nd</sup> century, West (2013) 11 n.29.

to add to the question of dating, and am inclined to conclude that Apollodorus should be dated to somewhere in the 1<sup>st</sup> or 2<sup>nd</sup> centuries.

The question of who this Apollodorus was remains a mystery. We have not been helped by the quotations of the *Bibliotheca* found in the Homeric D-scholia, which ascribe their authorship to Apollodorus of Athens, a 2<sup>nd</sup> century BC Athenian grammarian. However, the *terminus post quem* of Castor rules him out as the author. Diller reasoned that the confusion arose from an error in the scholia, wherein the quotations were wrongly attributed to Apollodorus of Athens, whose work was concerned with similar subjects.<sup>10</sup> We also cannot say what was the motivation of this ‘pseudo-Apollodorus’ in creating his work. Van der Valk proposed that the work was destined as an educational resource for a young audience, as evidenced by the avoidance of explicitly sexual details.<sup>11</sup> However, Rossum-Steenbeek has criticised this as ‘mere arbitrary speculation,’<sup>12</sup> and I would agree that nowhere is the avoidance of such details so obvious as to allow us to make any conclusions. In sum, the most we can confidently say about the *Bibliotheca* is that it was written at some point in the first two centuries AD, by a mythographer who may have been called Apollodorus, with the aim of creating a comprehensive record of Greek mythology.

### **The relationship between Apollodorus and Proclus**

The discovery of the Vatican and Sabbaitic Epitomes brought the study of the *Bibliotheca* into contact with that of the Epic Cycle, as these epitomes deal with the same events as the Cycle, namely the narrative around the Trojan War. To a certain extent, they map onto the

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<sup>10</sup> Diller (1935) 297-300; Carrière & Massonie (1991) 7.

<sup>11</sup> van der Valk (1958) 101-102.

<sup>12</sup> Rossum-Steenbeek (1998) 169.

summaries of this narrative given by Proclus. They both begin with the contest of the goddesses on Mt. Ida, and carry on through the events of the *Aethiopsis*, the *Ilias parva*, the *Iliou Persis*, the *Nostoi* and end with the death of Odysseus in the *Telegony*. The most obvious difference between Apollodorus and Proclus is that the former does not name the individual poems or authors, but instead creates a seamless narrative from beginning to end. Furthermore, and most importantly, Apollodorus often has additional details not found in the complementary passages of Proclus.

This similarity has been simultaneously underexplored and taken for granted. This is clearest in West's Loeb edition of the Cyclic fragments, wherein he uses Apollodorus to supplement the Proclean epitomes. Caution has been urged in some corners. Most notably, while Davies believes that some additional details may go back to the Cyclic epics, the reliability of Apollodorus should not be presumed, writing:

'But since Apollodorus is not avowedly and solely summarising lost epics, since he is only intermittently specific as to the identity of his sources, and since he can be shown elsewhere in his hand-book to switch from one source to the other without notice, we must be rather cautious in drawing upon the tradition enshrined in his work.'<sup>13</sup>

In recent scholarship on the Epic Cycle, scholars have tended to throw a sideways glance at Davies, while broadly sticking with West's conflation of both works. Good examples are to be found in the recent Cambridge Companion. In his chapter on the *Telegony*, Tsagalis directly quotes and endorses Davies' cautious approach, but also concludes that Ptoliporthes,

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<sup>13</sup> Davies (1989) 7-8.

the second son of Odysseus and Penelope, who is mentioned only in Apollodorus, must go back to the Cycle.<sup>14</sup> Similarly, while Kullmann also doubts that the *Bibliotheca*'s complementary material always goes back to the Cyclic poems, he concludes that the *Iliad* poet purposefully passes over the character of Tenes, who is slain by Achilles before the Greeks reach Troy and is only mentioned in Apollodorus.<sup>15</sup> Furthermore, Danek remarks that, 'With necessary caution, we may take his account as a fuller version of the same source used by Proclus: the text of the *Nostoi*, or rather a handbook prose version of it.'<sup>16</sup>

Danek's quote encapsulates one of the assumptions that underlies the acceptance of Apollodorus' material: that Proclus and Apollodorus are both using the same, or at least similar versions, of the poems. The debate over Proclus' sources for his summaries of the Cyclic poems is essentially the nucleus of the entire problem of the Epic Cycle and does not need to be treated here. Most have concluded that Apollodorus, and incidentally Proclus, used prose digests of the poems. In the case of Apollodorus, the general consensus has been that much of the material is second-hand. Cameron declares that, 'The clearest single illustration of the derivative character of the *Bibliotheca* is in the field of Cyclic Epic', and argues not only that Proclus and Apollodorus drew on the same prose summaries of the Epic Cycle, but also that Apollodorus and other mythographers had a common source, possibly Apollodorus of Athens, whose information and sources they quoted directly and unthinkingly.<sup>17</sup> Similarly, West has concluded that Apollodorus and Proclus draw from Hellenistic prose compendia.<sup>18</sup> Both West and Cameron draw heavily on the work of 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> century scholars, who in general took a poor view of the merits of both Proclus and

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<sup>14</sup> Tsagalis (2015) 380, 388.

<sup>15</sup> Kullmann (2015) 108, 121.

<sup>16</sup> Danek (2015) 355. However, note that Danek, 374, does also single out noticeable additions in Apollodorus which in his opinion cannot go back to the Cyclic poems.

<sup>17</sup> Cameron (2004) 214, 224-5.

<sup>18</sup> West (2013) 14. Without a mention of Proclus, see also Rossum-Steenbeek (1998) 71.

Apollodorus.<sup>19</sup> Of course, if we conclude that Apollodorus and Proclus are drawing from the same source or sources, it is very easy to blend together both their accounts of the Trojan War.

However, the overall view of Apollodorus' scholarly acumen has started to change. The most recent commentators have suggested that Apollodorus was a learned scholar who used the original poems,<sup>20</sup> and he has been situated in the elite intellectual atmosphere of the Second Sophistic.<sup>21</sup> More precisely, some objections can be made to the hypothesis of a common source. The first is that, unlike Proclus, Apollodorus clearly cites a variety of sources, including Pherecydes, Apollonius of Rhodes, Acusilaus and many others. This suggests two very different methods of working and compilation. Of course, Cameron *et al.* would counter that these sources have been adopted indiscriminately from the original work. However, the very fact that Proclus does not cite any such sources while Apollodorus does should urge us to proceed with caution. Most pertinently for this chapter, in both of the Epitomes, we read:

‘εἰς τοῦτον Ὀδυσσεὺς εἰσελθεῖν πείθει πεντήκοντα τοὺς ἀρίστους, ὡς δὲ ὁ τὴν μικρὰν γράψας Ἰλιάδα φησί, τρισχιλίουςα...’

*Ep.5.14*

The fact that the writer differentiates between the report of a Cyclic poet and that of an unnamed majority suggests that he was working to bring together different and not always harmonious sources. At the very least, it shows us that, in this instance of his account of the

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<sup>19</sup> For example, Frazer (1921) xxxiii: 'The *Library* of Apollodorus is the dull compilation of a commonplace man, who relates without one touch of imagination or one spark of enthusiasm the long series of fables and legends which inspired the immortal productions of Greek poetry.'

<sup>20</sup> Carrière & Massonnie (1991) 13; Scarpi (1996) xi-xii.

<sup>21</sup> Fowler (2017) 166, although he points out that a reliance on second-hand knowledge was not uncommon in this circle.

Trojan War, information has been admitted (and privileged) that the writer did not consider to be from the Cyclic poets. I would contend that this is true throughout the narrative.

Ultimately, the similarities between Proclus and Apollodorus' accounts of the Trojan War cannot be denied, but the cause of this resemblance may not be a shared origin. The fact that both are epitomes of more fulsome material does not help the matter. Discussing the similarities between the *Bibliotheca* and tragic hypotheses, Villagra has suggested that the 'grey fog of partial similarities' may be the 'effect of a common cultural ambience' rather than a more direct relationship.<sup>22</sup> In the same way, the relationship between Proclus and Apollodorus and their sources may be more nebulous than admitted by those scholars who attempt to combine them.

### **Characters in Apollodorus**

The incompatibility of Apollodorus with the Proclean summaries is also suggested when we further examine the characters and scenes unique to Apollodorus' account. I use as a starting point West's Loeb and the additions that he makes there from Apollodorus. Therefore, all the Greek in the chapter is from this edition.

But first, it will be illustrative to turn to a passage from Apollodorus' account of the *Iliad*. The events familiar from Homer's *Iliad* are covered almost exclusively by the Sabbaitic epitome. Like the rest of the epitomes, the account is brief, and it is occupied mostly by the conflicts of the major warriors: Diomedes versus Glaucus, Hector versus Ajax, the Trojan assault on the Greek camp, the *aristeia* and death of Patroclus, the *aristeia* of Achilles and his

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<sup>22</sup> Villagra (2017) 63.

killing of Hector, and the Funeral Games. The episodes of Patroclus and Achilles receive the most attention and take up the majority of the account. However, a significant share of the account is given over to the events of *Iliad* 10, the assault of Diomedes and Odysseus on the camp of Rhesus:

νυκτὸς δὲ ἐπιγενομένης κατασκόπους πέμπουσιν Ὀδυσσεΐα καὶ Διομήδην· οἱ δὲ ἀναιροῦσι  
Δόλωνα τὸν Εὐμήλου καὶ Ῥῆσον τὸν Θρᾶκα (ὃς πρὸ μιᾶς ἡμέρας παραγεγόμενος Τρωσὶ  
σύμμαχος οὐ συμβαλὼν ἀπωτέρω τῆς Τρωικῆς δυνάμεως χωρὶς Ἴκτορος ἐστρατοπέδευσε)  
τούς τε περὶ αὐτὸν δώδεκα κοιμωμένους κτείνουσι καὶ τοὺς ἵππους ἐπὶ τὰς ναῦς ἄγουσι.

*Ep.*4.4

In the Theogony of Book 1, we also learn that this Rhesus was the son of Euterpe and the river god Strymon, while noting that some say his mother was Calliope (1.4).

It is remarkable that the one episode from the *Iliad* that is almost universally regarded as a later interpolation should feature so prominently in this brief summary.<sup>23</sup> The most well-known iteration of the story is Euripides' *Rhesus*, and Apollodorus follows the playwright in making Rhesus the son of Strymon (*Rh.* 279, 386, 394, 929) rather than the son of Eioneus, as at *Il.*10.435.<sup>24</sup> In turn, while in Euripides his mother is simply one of the Muses (387, 393, 890-949), Apollodorus 'rivela anche come la tradizione non fosse uniforme nel fare di Euterpe la madre di Reso, ma la alternasse con Calliope'.<sup>25</sup>

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<sup>23</sup> It is also the only Iliadic book for which we have ancient testimony to support the argument that it was inserted into the text at a later point. For more discussion, see Chapter 7.

<sup>24</sup> Fries (2014) 13 and n.10.

<sup>25</sup> Scarpi (1997) 435, *ad* 3, 4 [18].

We can draw out two pertinent themes from this example. The first is that the compiler of the epitomes is not solely interested in using Homer to narrate the story of the Trojan War, and is in fact happy to give significant attention to non-Homeric elements. The second point is that he draws information from a wide variety of sources, particularly the playwrights, but also other, unnamed sources, as evidenced by the alternative possibilities given for Rhesus' mother.

I will now focus on some of the characters who are unique to Apollodorus but appear in West's Loeb edition of the Epic Cycle through his decision to use the *Bibliotheca* to supplement Proclus' epitomes. I hope to make a convincing case for scepticism towards this approach, and for the probability that many, although not all, do not belong to the Epic Cycle.

### Catreus

When Paris first arrived in Sparta, he was entertained by Menelaus. At some point, according to Proclus, Menelaus departed for Crete, ordering his wife to entertain the visitors, Paris and Aeneas. However, this ends in disaster when Paris seduces Helen and takes her back to Troy. To Proclus' account, Apollodorus adds the motivation for why Menelaus had to depart to Crete:

καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα Μενέλαος εἰς Κρήτην ἐκπλεῖ <κηδεῦσαι τὸν μητροπάτορα Κατρέα Ἀρ.>.

*Cypria* arg.2 W<sup>26</sup> with *Ep.*3.3

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<sup>26</sup> = arg.14-15 Bernabé.

The main point in favour of this Apollodorean detail (found in both E and S) as being authentic is simple necessity. Proclus does state that Menelaus left Sparta and Helen, and sailed to Crete, but offers no explanation as to why. We would expect that some reason for this absence would be given. This leaves the possibility open that Proclus simply chose to omit this detail from his account.

Indeed, a funeral would be as good a reason as any, and the importance of funerals in early Greek hexameter poetry is obvious. The clearest parallel to this example is in Hesiod's *Works and Days*. Hesiod recounts that he sailed to Chalcis in order to attend the funeral games of 'wise Amphidamas' (ἐνθα δ' ἐγὼν ἐπ' ἄεθλα δαΐφρονος Ἀμφιδάμαντος/ Χαλκίδα τ' εἰς ἐπέρησα, 654-655). Similarly, Nestor recalls the funeral games for king Amarynceus held at Buprasium at *Il.*23.630-645. The fact that Aetolians were also competing in the games suggests an event to which contestants travelled.<sup>27</sup> In general, funerals are a significant event in early Greek hexameter poetry, as evidenced in particular by the elaborate rituals and games on the deaths of Patroclus in *Iliad* 23 and Achilles (*Od.*24.85-94; *Aethiopsis* arg.19-24).<sup>28</sup> Therefore, the fact that Menelaus had to depart from Sparta to attend the funeral of Catreus would be in-keeping with the social norms and rituals depicted throughout early Greek hexameter poetry.

However, an examination of how the figure of Catreus evolved in ancient literature tempers our acceptance of this character as genuinely Cyclic. Until the end of the classical period, Catreus is merely a peripheral player in the genealogical drama surrounding the ancestry of the Atreides. This may begin in the archaic period - it is possible, but not certain, that Catreus

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<sup>27</sup> Richardson (1993) *ad* 23.632-637

<sup>28</sup> See also the generic dead warrior for whom funeral games are held at *Il.*22.162-164.

appeared in Hesiod.<sup>29</sup> Moving into the classical period, we have the summary of Euripides' *Cretan Women* (Σ Soph. *Ai* 1297 = test iiiia), according to which Catreus condemns his daughter Aerope to death after she is seduced by a slave; however, her would-be executor Nauplius instead gives her to Pleisthenes to marry. Atreus and his brother Thyestes appear to also have been characters, their presence hinting at the later story,<sup>30</sup> well known from myth (A. Ag.1583–1602), that Thyestes seduced Aerope, the wife of his brother Atreus.<sup>31</sup> However, it is not until much later, in Apollodorus and Diodorus Siculus, that we learn of the death of Catreus. According to Apollodorus (3.2.1-2), Catreus banished his daughters Aerope and Clymene, not because of sexual misconduct, but because he received an oracle that he would be killed by one of his children. This eventually comes to pass when his son Althaemenes accidentally kills the elderly Catreus in a case of mistaken identity. It is presumably this event that prompts and explains Menelaus' departure for the funeral of his grandfather. This results in a dilemma: if the story of Catreus' death is much later than the oral tradition of the Trojan War, does this make a reference to his funeral in this period more unlikely? So long as Catreus was known as the grandfather of Menelaus, it is possible that Menelaus' absence from Sparta was explained as a consequence of Catreus' death, without a larger story yet attached to it.

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<sup>29</sup> Both are in relation to the ancestry of the Atreides, and both are uncertain: his name is reconstructed for a lacuna at Hesiod fr.138 Most, while the scholiast to Tzetzes is ambiguous, reading: 'ὁ Ἀγαμέμνων καθ' Ὅμηρον καὶ Μενέλαος υἱοὶ Ἀτρέως τοῦ Πέλοπος καὶ Ἀερόπης Κρήσσης τῆς θυγατρὸς Κατρέως, κατὰ δὲ Ἡσίοδον Πλεισθένης ἔρμαφροδίτου ἢ χωλοῦ ὃς ἱμάτιον γυναικεῖον ἐνεδέδυτο' (Schol.in Tzetz.in Hom.*Il.* 1.122 = Hesiod fr.137 Most). It is uncertain whether Hesiod is also meant to have said that Agamemnon and Menelaus were the grandsons of Catreus.

<sup>30</sup> Collard and Cropp (2008) 516-519.

<sup>31</sup> There is much confusion over the paternity of Menelaus and Agamemnon – are they the sons of Atreus (per myth and Homer) or of Pleisthenes (per the scholiast on Sophocles and Apollodorus)? It is important to note that Apollodorus gives both versions: at Book 3.2.2, Pleisthenes is the father, while in *Ep.*3.12, Atreus is the father of Agamemnon and Menelaus. For more on Pleisthenes, see Gantz (1996) 552-556.

However, we should also pay attention to larger context of Apollodorus to help explain Catreus' presence. It is clear that the inclusion of Catreus in the story of Menelaus fits well with the wider interests of the *Bibliotheca*. The work is organised by family and generations, and takes its influence from Hesiod's *Catalogue of Women*, but also from the *Genealogies* of Hecateus and Acusilaus.<sup>32</sup> Not only is Catreus the ancestor of Agamemnon and Menelaus, but he is also presented as a descendant of Minos (3.1.2). Therefore, Catreus is a lynchpin of an important dynasty in Greek mythology, and as Scarpi has commented, he creates a 'legame 'chronologico' e genealogico' with the previous books of the *Bibliotheca*.<sup>33</sup>

The unique (and un-Proclean) interest in genealogy provides a motivation for Catreus' inclusion in the Apollodorean epitome. Of course, we cannot rule out that Menelaus' fateful absence from Sparta had always been explained as a result of his grandfather's death, and a funeral would be an unsurprising reason for Menelaus to travel abroad in the early Greek tradition. Perhaps such a seemingly small detail is lost in time – Catreus is not an 'active' character, but simply a motivating factor. However, his inclusion in our Epic Cycle would invite further questions as to how much of the later story about Catreus, from tragedy onwards, is also a genuine part of oral epic. Instead, I would suggest that there are two main counterpoints: the first being that the character of Catreus clearly became more prominent in non-epic literature from the 5<sup>th</sup> century onwards, including the story of his death; and the second being that his inclusion can be explained as symptomatic of Apollodorus' interest in systematizing the mass of Greek mythology along chronographic lines. My conclusion therefore would be that the presence of Catreus cannot be assumed to originate in the Cyclic

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<sup>32</sup> Higbie (2007) 244.

<sup>33</sup> Scarpi (1996) *ad Ep.*3.3.

tradition, but instead is better explained as a product of Apollodorus' interest in tracing genealogical connections.

### Cinyras

After the rape of Helen, the Atreides travel around Greece collecting allies for their expedition against Troy. Proclus mentions only the embassy to Odysseus, where he attempts unsuccessfully to feign madness. However, Apollodorus adds that Menelaus, together with Odysseus and Talthibius, travelled to Cyprus where they met with Cinyras:

<Μενέλαος σὺν Ὀδυσσεΐ καὶ Ταλθυβίῳ πρὸς <Κινύραν εἰς> Κύπρον ἐλθόντες συμμαχεῖν ἔπειθον. ὁ δὲ Ἀγαμέμνονι μὲν οὐ παρόντι θώρακα{ς} ἔδωρήσατο· ὁμόσας δὲ πέμψειν πενήκοντα ναῦς, μίαν πέμψας ἧς ἦρχεν <> ὁ Πυγμαλίῳνος καὶ τὰς λοιπὰς ἐκ γῆς πλάσας μεθῆκεν εἰς τὸ πέλαγος. Αρ.>.

*Cypria* arg.5 W<sup>34</sup> with *Ep.*3.9

There is some textual difficulty here. <Κινύραν εἰς> is an addition suggested by Wagner.<sup>35</sup> It is clear from the demonstrative pronoun ὁ and the singular verbs that follow that we must supply the name of an individual, and the identity of this individual is necessarily the Cypriot ruler Cinyras, known from the reference during Agamemnon's arming-scene in the *Iliad*:

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<sup>34</sup> Inserted between lines 33 and 34 of Bernabé.

<sup>35</sup> Wagner (1891) 181.

δεύτερον αὖ θώρηκα περὶ στήθεσσιν ἔδυνε,  
τόν ποτέ οἱ Κινύρης δῶκε ξεινήϊον εἶναι.

*Il.* 11.19-20<sup>36</sup>

Although he incorporates the Apollodorean detail into his Loeb edition of the Cycle, West ultimately rejects the compatibility of the Apollodorus addition with the *Cypria* in his commentary on the Cyclic poems. This is based on the fact that 1) the episode succeeds the gathering at Aulis in Apollodorus, ‘as if from a different source’, and 2) it follows a story about how Odysseus planned the murder of Palamedes which differs from that attested by Pausanias for the *Cypria* (fr.27 W).<sup>37</sup> However, West’s argument here must be seen within the context of his wider hypothesis that the Epic Cycle should be understood as a post-Homeric project, and that the *Cypria* in particular was probably the work of a Cypriot poet, hence its name.<sup>38</sup> This belief in the Cypriot origin of the poem leads him to suggest that Cinyras instead appeared in the poem as a host of Paris and Helen on their journey from Sparta to Troy.<sup>39</sup>

However, we can question the inclusion of Cinyras without submitting to West’s wider thesis. What is striking in this case is the clear dependency of the Apollodorus account on Homer. Despite the necessary brevity of the epitome, the author still makes a pointed reference to Cinyras’ gift of a breastplate to the οὐ παρόντι Agamemnon. This must derive from the detail given in the *Iliad* in the arming-scene of Agamemnon in Book 11, as quoted above.

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<sup>36</sup> Although this is the only reference in the *Iliad* to Cyprus, the island is not unknown to the world of early Greek poetry, playing larger roles in the *Odyssey* and the major *Homeric Hymns*, Hainsworth (1993) 218.

<sup>37</sup> West (2013) 103.

<sup>38</sup> West (2013) 55.

<sup>39</sup> West (2013) 91.

The supplementary Apollodorean detail that Cinyras sent Agamemnon ships made of clay is also dubious. This story is found elsewhere in Eustathius (ad *Il.*11.20), but there is no trace of this negative characterisation in earlier presentations of Cinyras. Homer shows no knowledge of Cinyras' duplicity, and the present participle *χαριζόμενος* suggests in fact that the gesture was one of pure goodwill. Elsewhere, Cinyras was a byword for extreme wealth in Tyrtaeus (fr.12.6) and Pindar (*Nem.*8.18), with neither positive nor negative connotations.

It seems possible that what Apollodorus has done here is to unite the later story of Cinyras' terracotta ships with the Homeric reference to the guest-friendship between the two kings.

There is also a further element of 'literariness' on Apollodorus' part. The Cinyras episode is immediately followed by an account of the Oinotropoi, clearly creating a juxtaposition between Cinyras' refusal to help the Greeks and the generous beneficence of the Oinotropoi.<sup>40</sup>

Finally, the inorganic nature of Apollodorus' interpolation is signalled by the redundant detail that Agamemnon is *οὐ παρόντι*, which can only be a slightly clumsy way of signalling that, despite his absence from the embassy, the breastplate will be the possession of Agamemnon, as in Homer.

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<sup>40</sup> Scarpi (1996) *ad* 3.9. However, note that the reference to the Oinotropoi is somewhat abridged in Apollodorus. For the Oinotropoi, see Chapter 3.

## Tenes

After the sacrifice of Iphigeneia, Proclus records that the Greeks sailed to Tenedos, where Philoctetes was bitten by a snake. Apollodorus adds the story of Tenes, the king of Tenedos and his death at the hands of Achilles:

ἔπειτα καταπλέουσιν εἰς Τένεδον. <ταύτης ἐβασίλευε Τένης ὁ Κύκνου καὶ Προκλείας, ὡς δέ τινες Ἀπόλλωνος . . . προσπλέοντας οὖν Τενέδωι τοὺς Ἕλληνας ὄρων Τένης ἀπειργε βάλλων πέτρους, καὶ ὑπὸ Ἀχιλλέως ξίφει πληγεὶς κατὰ τὸ στήθος θνήσκει, καίτοι Θετίδος προειπούσης Ἀχιλλεῖ μὴ κτεῖναι Τένην· τεθνήξεσθαι γὰρ ὑπὸ Ἀπόλλωνος αὐτόν, ἐὰν κτείνῃ Τένην. Ἀρ.>

*Cypria* arg.9 W<sup>41</sup> with *Ep.* 3.23; 3.26

West's additions from Apollodorus come from *Epitome* 3.23 (the information about Tenes' parentage) and 3.26 (the narrative of Achilles' killing of Tenes). The intervening passage in Apollodorus tells the story of how Tenes' stepmother Philonome, after failing to seduce him, accused Tenes of attempting to rape her. His father Cycnus<sup>42</sup> punished him by placing him and his sister in a chest and sending it out to sea. The chest washed up on an island called Leucophrys, which Tenes named Tenedos after himself.<sup>43</sup> It is possible that Euripides or Critias produced a play telling the story of Tenes and his stepmother, as suggested by a fragmentary hypothesis,<sup>44</sup> but otherwise the accounts are much later. We might immediately

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<sup>41</sup> = *arg.*50 Bernabé

<sup>42</sup> There is no reason to conflate him with the Cycnus whom Achilles kills when the Greeks first land in Troy in the *Cypria* (*arg.*54-55); see Gantz (1996) 594; differently, West (2013) 116.

<sup>43</sup> Cf. Conon 26Fl.28. Also note that in the Loeb West changes the spelling of Τένης, found in Apollodorus, to Τέννης. Plutarch has Τένης.

<sup>44</sup> *TrGF* 1 43, *TrGF* 5.1108-9.

notice the thematic parallels with the *Iliad*, in particular the account of Bellerophon and Anteia (*Il.*6.160-166). Like Tenes and Philonome, this Homeric passage follows the familiar narrative scheme of the son who is accused of rape by his stepmother, the so-called ‘Potiphar’s wife’ narrative.<sup>45</sup> This is one of the ways in which the story of Tenes does look similar to the Homeric poems, following as it does narrative themes already familiar from the *Iliad*.

The closest parallel to the account in Apollodorus is found in Plutarch *Quaestiones* 28. In its basic outline it is the same: after the false accusation of his stepmother, Tenes and his sister are punished and sent to Tenedos, where Achilles eventually kills Tenes despite the warnings of his mother. However, there are many differences. There is no chest and the island is apparently already called Tenedos. Thetis has employed a guard to ensure that Achilles does not kill Tenes, whom Achilles kills after he fails to do so. Furthermore, Tenes is killed when he defends his sister from Achilles’ pursuits. The whole story serves as an answer to the question: ‘Τί δήποτε παρὰ Τενεδίοις εἰς τὸ τοῦ Τένου ἱερὸν οὐκ ἔξεστιν ἀλητὴν εἰσελθεῖν οὐδ’ Ἀχιλλέως ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ μνησθῆναι’? The answer is that Tenes was betrayed by a flute-player in the matter of his stepmother, and because Tenes was killed by Achilles.

Other accounts are also found in Pausanias<sup>46</sup> and the scholia.<sup>47</sup> It is interesting to note that it is only in Apollodorus and Plutarch that the death of Tenes at the hands of Achilles is given

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<sup>45</sup> For further examples and bibliography, see Stoevesandt (2015) *ad* 6.160-166.

<sup>46</sup> Paus.10.14.2-3, in a discussion of votive offerings at Delphi. The story is similar to Apollodorus, except with the additional detail that, on learning of his mistake, Tenes’ father sailed to Tenedos, at which point Tenes used axes to cut his father’s mooring. Very similar is the account in Diodorus Siculus 5.83, but this is preceded by a rationalised version wherein Leucophrys was colonised and renamed by a certain Tenes.

<sup>47</sup> [Τέννης] ἀπελαθεῖς ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς σὺν τῇ ἀδελφῇ Ἡμιθέα διὰ τὴν ἐπιβουλὴν τῆς μητροῦς Καλύκης ὤκησε τὴν Λεύκοφρυον, καὶ ἀφ’ἑαυτοῦ Τένεδον ὠνομασεν, Σ Α *Il.*1.38.b.

in any detail. Although Diodorus and Pausanias do mention it, they are more interested in aetiological questions surrounding Tenedos itself.

Opinion is split as to the age of the various stories about Tenes. Certainly some elements must not be very old. The most egregious example is Achilles' pursuit of Tenes' sister and Tenes' consequent death, clearly derived from a romantic Hellenistic source and modelled on the similar story of Achilles, Polyxena, and Troilus.<sup>48</sup> In terms of the details shared by Apollodorus, Halliday has argued that the story of Tenes' arrival in Tenedos (and in fact his entire existence) was a later etymological invention to explain away the non-Greek name of the island.<sup>49</sup> However, West has correctly pointed out that Tenes' death and his arrival on Tenedos are two different stories which can be seen separately. This leads him to argue that, while the story of how Tenes came to the island is unepic, his killing by Achilles in the *Cypria* is guaranteed by the reference at *Il.*11.625 to Achilles' sacking of Tenedos.<sup>50</sup> Once again, West's claim has to be seen in the context of his belief that the *Cypria* is a post-Homeric prequel. However, we can reconfigure it and come to a similar conclusion: the reference to the sacking of Tenedos in the *Iliad* strongly suggests that its ruler, Tenes, was a long-standing part of the epic tradition.

The story of Tenes may also remind us of the *Iliad* thanks to the connection drawn between his death and that of Achilles. As Apollodorus adds, Thetis had warned Achilles not to kill Tenes, because this would lead to his death at the hands of Apollo (*Ep.*3.26, cf. *Lyc.*240-1, *Plut.Mor.*297d-f). The reason for this is likely that Tenes was not the son of Cycnus, but actually of Apollo (schol. *ad Lyc.*232).<sup>51</sup> Achilles' special knowledge of his destiny is of

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<sup>48</sup> Halliday (1928) 137.

<sup>49</sup> Halliday (1928) 135-136.

<sup>50</sup> West (2013) 111.

<sup>51</sup> Burgess (2009) 17.

course an important theme in the *Iliad*. In Book 9, Achilles tells of the two alternative fates his mother Thetis has revealed to him (9.410-416) and he also knows from his mother that he will not take Troy (17.401-409). Most pertinently, Thetis tells Achilles that he will die after Hector (18.95-96), and that he will be killed by Apollo (21.277-278).<sup>52</sup> Therefore, the story of Tenes fits into a wider narrative pattern of Thetis' foreknowledge of her son's destiny and her attempts to warn him away from an early death.

However, there are some counterpoints which suggest that the character of Tenes cannot be definitively connected with the epic tradition. The first is the evidence of the *Iliad*. In all the other examples given of cities sacked by Achilles, the poet always names the ruler: Euenus of Lyrnessus (2.688-693), Altes of Pedasus (21.86-7), and Eetion of Thebes (6.414-420). In contrast, Tenes is never mentioned; in fact, the only inhabitants named are the captive slave Hecamede and her father, Arsinous (11.627). This appears less like a deliberate omission, and more like a matter of Tenes simply not being known as the ruler of Tenedos. Furthermore, it seems strangely coincidental to have a king of Tenedos named 'Tenes'. We might compare Chryses, the priest of Chryse in *Iliad* 1, who is sometimes considered to be an *ad hoc* invention to serve the needs of the Homeric poet at the beginning of the *Iliad*.<sup>53</sup> This demonstrates that Homer was capable of creating new characters with names based on their topographic origins. Therefore, the fact that this does not occur in the Iliadic references to Tenedos further undermines the idea that Tenes as a character was known to Homer.

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<sup>52</sup> On the extended allusions to the death of Achilles in the *Iliad*, see Burgess (2009) 93-97.

<sup>53</sup> Reinhardt (1961) 50-51; Latacz *et al.* (2009) *ad* 11. However, there is much confusion on the origins of Chryseis-Chryse-Chryses, much of it stemming from the fact that the *Iliad* does not have Chryseis captured on Chryses, but instead in Thebes (*Il.*1.365-369): for possible explanations, see Heitsch (1980) 50; de Jong (1985) 20 n.29; Taplin (1992) 85. Kullmann (1960) 287-288, points to this as evidence that the capture of Chryseis was pre-Homeric. In my opinion, while elements of the story may be of a pre-Homeric heritage, the similarities between the names of the daughter, father, and town do increase the probability that the poet has embellished the story and invented these other details to serve the needs of the poem.

The second point is the evidence of Proclus. In his account, the Greek arrival at Tenedos is followed not by the attack of Tenes, but instead by the wounding of Philoctetes and the mysterious quarrel between Agamemnon and Achilles (*Cypria* arg.50-51). Therefore, in Proclus' account, the 'point' of the Tenedos episode is to narrate these events, rather than the death of Tenes. Elsewhere in the Cycle and in Homer, Tenedos is described similarly, as a location for the Greeks to rest on their way to and from Troy (*Od.*3.159; *Ilias parva* arg.20; *Iliou persis* arg.11). This leads to the question of why Proclus' epitome mentions Tenedos but expressly does not refer to any sacking of it by Achilles.

My conclusion would be that the combination of the two points above, together with the general 'lateness' of the entire Tenes story, suggests that the Iliadic reference is either an *ad hoc inventio* or that the sacking of Tenedos was not yet associated with a character called Tenes. In failing to mention any of this, Proclus reflects the relative insignificance of the sack of Tenedos in the Cyclic and Homeric epics, while Apollodorus' lengthy digression reflects the tale's increasing importance and embellishment in the post-epic age.

### **Antenor**

Proclus records that the Greeks sent an embassy to Troy, which was unsuccessful and thus precipitated the Greek siege of Troy. Apollodorus adds more details to the scene, most pertinently the role of Antenor. Antenor is not mentioned by Proclus. He is a minor but significant character in the *Iliad*, and there are good reasons to assume that his actions at the embassy were an authentic part of the Epic Cycle.

In Proclus we read that the Greeks sent an embassy to Troy to demand the return of Helen and the rest of Menelaus' stolen goods. When the delegation did not achieve their purpose, the Greeks began to besiege the city. The additional detail in Apollodorus records that Odysseus and Menelaus were the men tasked with this mission. Failing to win round the Trojans to their way of thinking, the two Greek commanders face certain death until they are 'saved' by the Trojan prince Antenor:

καὶ διαπρεσβεύονται πρὸς τοὺς Τρῶας, τὴν Ἑλένην καὶ τὰ κτήματα ἀπαιτοῦντες· <καὶ πέμπουσιν Ὀδυσσεῖα καὶ Μενέλαον τὴν Ἑλένην καὶ τὰ χρήματα αἰτοῦντες.<sup>54</sup>

συναθροισθείσης δὲ παρὰ τοῖς Τρωσὶν ἐκκλησίας οὐ μόνον τὴν Ἑλένην οὐκ ἀπεδίδουν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τούτους κτείνειν ἤθελον. τούτους μὲν οὖν<sup>55</sup> ἔσωσεν Ἀντήνωρ. Αρ.> ὡς δὲ οὐχ ὑπήκουσαν ἐκεῖνοι, ἐνταῦθα δὴ τειχομαχοῦσιν.

*Cypria* arg.10 W<sup>56</sup> with *Ep.*3.28-29

There is indisputable reference to this exact embassy in the *Iliad*. During the *teichoskopia* of Book 3, Antenor relates a time when Odysseus and Menelaus came to Troy on an embassy concerning Helen. We learn that he entertained and hosted them (τοὺς δ' ἐγὼ ἐξείνισσα καὶ ἐν μεγάροισι φίλησα, 207) and that the pair addressed the Trojans (ἀλλ' ὅτε δὴ Τρώεσσιν ἐν ἀγρομένοισιν ἔμιχθεν, 209), but we learn nothing of the events or results of the embassy (although we can naturally conclude that it was unsuccessful). The second reference comes in the midst of Agamemnon's *aristeia* in Book 11. He kills Peisander and Hippolochus, whose father Antimachus we learn was a loud voice demanding the death of Menelaus during an

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<sup>54</sup> ἀπαιτοῦντας E.

<sup>55</sup> ἀλλὰ τοὺς μὲν E.

<sup>56</sup> = *arg.*55-57.

embassy of Menelaus and Odysseus for the return of Helen (11.122-147). There are other passages of tangential interest which will be commented on in due course. But here we have the two main and most compelling references to this embassy in the *Iliad*. Nevertheless, they are strangely disjointed, with the first making no mention of Antimachus or the Trojan desire to kill the Greeks, and the second no mention of Antenor or explanation of how the pair escaped death.

Unsurprisingly, these references have been a source of high interest for Neoanalysts, who argue that they give a glimpse of an older, pre-Homeric story.<sup>57</sup> Much of this analysis is bolstered by the character of Theano, the wife of Antenor and a priestess of Athena who unsuccessfully prays to the goddess to rescue the city (*Il.*6.297-311; cf. 5.70, 11.224). Danek has argued that in the older version of the embassy story, Menelaus and Odysseus, under threat of death from the Trojans, fled to the refuge of the altar of Athena, where they are helped by Theano and then escorted from the city by the Antenorids.<sup>58</sup> This is based mainly on two observations: the first that, although Antenor plays a relatively small role in the *Iliad*, his role in the embassy and the embassy itself are ‘als bekannt vorausgesetzt’.<sup>59</sup> The second is that in Bacchylides 15 and the depiction of the embassy on the Astarita Krater (circa 560 BC), Theano appears to play a far more prominent role than her husband, suggesting that all three accounts go back to an older, independent tradition.<sup>60</sup> It is also important to note that at *Il.*7.347-353, Antenor advises the Trojans during an assembly that, in order to save the city, they must return Helen (δεῦτ’ ἄγετ’, Ἀργείην Ἑλένην καὶ κτήμαθ’ ἅμ’ αὐτῆ/ δώομεν Ἀτρεΐδῃσιν ἄγειν, 350-351). Danek argues that this is a ‘Wiederholungs-Situation’ that

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<sup>57</sup> Espermann (1980) 15-34, takes the opposite view, arguing instead that references to Antenor in the *Iliad* are later additions, which reflect an individual singer’s particular interest in him as a character and as a ‘Fürsprecher des Rechts’. However, this reading overstates the differences between Antenor and the rest of the Trojans.

<sup>58</sup> Danek (2006) 5. Bowie (2019) *ad* 204-8 agrees with this interpretation.

<sup>59</sup> Danek (2005) 19.

<sup>60</sup> Danek (2005) 11; Kullmann (1960) 276.

repeats the actions of the earlier embassy in which Antenor gave similar advice.<sup>61</sup> To add to the mix, even the far less Neoanalytically-minded West believes that Antenor's saving of Menelaus and Odysseus was well-known at the time of the *Iliad*'s composition and is recalled at the passages mentioned above.<sup>62</sup>

In contrast, van der Valk argues that Antenor's story given in Book 3 is an *inventio ad hoc* for the *teichoskopia*. As it 'would have been painful [for Helen] to mention [Menelaus], Homer introduces Antenor and invents the scene of the Greek embassy.'<sup>63</sup> However, this ignores the evidence of the Antimachus passage which gives independent evidence that there was some kind of embassy to Troy. Furthermore, it seems unconvincing that this would be a point at which either Helen herself or the poet would consider not hurting her feelings, when we recall that neither are particularly kind to her for the rest of the poem.<sup>64</sup>

It is difficult to say whether Antenor's role in the assembly was or was not original to an earlier Trojan tradition. The case is very different from that of Cinyras, where there was a clear one-to-one relationship between the simple reference in Homer and its embellishment in a full story as reflected in Apollodorus. Instead, we have a collection of 'verstreuten Informationen'<sup>65</sup> which, through its dispersal across different episodes and characters in the *Iliad*, does seem to point to a deeper tradition.

Points in favour of a Danek-esque interpretation are as follows. Most encouraging is the combined evidence of both Antenor's speech in Book 3 and the reference to Antimachus in

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<sup>61</sup> Danek (2006) 13.

<sup>62</sup> West (2013) 59, 117; cf. Wathelet (1989) 90-95.

<sup>63</sup> van der Valk (1963) 236.

<sup>64</sup> See, in particular, the conclusion of the *teichoskopia*, where Helen recounts her pain at the absence of her brothers and the rebukes piled upon her, *Il.*3.239-244.

<sup>65</sup> Danek (2005) 9.

Book 11, which clearly support the pre-existence of an embassy of Menelaus and Odysseus to Troy for the retrieval of Helen. Furthermore, the evidence of Bacchylides 15 suggests that both Theano and Antenor played important roles during the embassy of Menelaus and Odysseus, and Pindar has the Antenorids escaping Troy with Helen for Cyrene (*Pyth.* 5.82-85). However, it should be taken in to consideration that these are later sources, and that the Pindar especially is not beholden to the epic tradition (as evidenced by Helen escaping to Cyrene). Finally, the evidence of Proclus itself seems to have a lacuna of some sort. The leap from the sending of the embassy, to its failure and the subsequent siege of Troy seems elliptical, and it would be surprising if the embassy itself had passed off without incident.

It is also possible that Antenor's act of amity was referred to elsewhere in the Epic Cycle. During his description of the Lesche of the Knidians, Pausanias claims that 'Lescheos' said that Helicaon, a son of Antenor,<sup>66</sup> was wounded during the battle and saved by Odysseus. Although he does not explain this directly, in the same section he mentions the κηδεμονία περὶ οἶκον τὸν Ἀντήνορος felt by both Menelaus and Odysseus (Paus.10.26.8). Gantz has connected this story to another found in later sources. A scholion to *Il.* 3.205-206 reports that in gratitude to Antenor, Agamemnon placed a leopard skin on his door during the sack of Troy, as a sign that his house should be spared. The earliest reference to the leopard skin is Sophocles' *Aias Locris* (*TrGF* 4 F11)<sup>67</sup> and Pausanias also describes it as depicted on the Lesche (Paus.10.27.3). It is difficult to say whether this extra detail was part of the Epic Cycle; it is not mentioned in Proclus, and I am not as confident as Gantz in claiming that it is likely to be older than the fifth century.<sup>68</sup> However, we can be more confident in dismissing

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<sup>66</sup> Cf. *Il.* 3.123.

<sup>67</sup> cf. Strabo *Geography* 13.1.53: Σοφοκλῆς γοῦν ἐν τῇ ἀλώσει τοῦ Ἰλίου παρδαλέαν φησὶ πρὸ τῆς θύρας τοῦ Ἀντήνορος προτεθῆναι σύμβολον τοῦ ἀπόρθητον ἐαθῆναι τὴν οἰκίαν.

<sup>68</sup> Gantz (1996) 595-596. A leopard skin is mentioned twice in the *Iliad*, once worn by Paris (3.17) and once by Menelaus (10.29). In the case of Paris, several meanings have been assigned to the skin, for which see Krieter-Spiro (2009) *ad loc.* Dué and Ebbott (2010) 251-252, have suggested that the leopard skin is a symbol of

later traditions that paint Antenor as an active traitor to the Trojans. Lycophron claims that Antenor opened up the Trojan Horse to release the Greeks (Lyc.340-343), with the scholia adding that he had made a pact with the Greeks that he would rule Troy after their victory.<sup>69</sup> Dares expands on this idea, having Antenor and Aeneas betray Troy to the Greeks (41-44). Antenor the traitor is not a part of the Epic Cycle, but it is obvious how such an idea could be prompted by his moderating voice of cooperation displayed in both Homer and the Epic Cycle.

In conclusion, it is not justified to argue that the actions of Antenor during the Greek embassy to Troy do not belong to the Cycle. This is primarily due to the weight and diversity of evidence in the *Iliad* that would suggest that the episode did predate the composition of that poem, which in turn suggests that it would have been part of a Cyclic tradition. This conclusion is also invited by the lacunose nature of the Proclus evidence, which might reasonably be expected to have omitted a detailed account of the embassy itself in favour of brevity.

### **Mestor**

During Achilles' so-called 'Great Foray' before the war proper, Proclus records that he drove off the cattle of Aeneas. Apollodorus adds the detail that, in the melee, Achilles killed Mestor, a son of Priam:

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ambush, creating a link between Menelaus, who takes part in the plan of the Book 10 ambush, and Paris the archer, having already argued that archery is to be associated with ambush. One might thus be tempted to continue this theme and say that the leopard skin in the Antenor example does go back to the epic tradition, underlining the subterfuge and secrecy of Antenor's support of the Greeks. However, the links between all three examples are not strong enough or well-attested enough to fully justify this line of reasoning.

<sup>69</sup> Gantz (1996) 651.

κάπειτα [Achilles] ἀπελαύνει τὰς Αἰνείου βοῦς. <παραγίνεται εἰς Ἴδην ἐπὶ τὰς Αἰνείου {τοῦ Πριάμου} βόας. φυγόντος δὲ αὐτοῦ τοὺς βουκόλους κτείνας καὶ Μήστορα τὸν Πριάμου τὰς βόας ἐλαύνει. Αρ.>

*Cypria* arg.11 W<sup>70</sup> with *Ep.* 3.32

This passage only occurs in the Sabbaitic epitome. καὶ Μήστορα is Kerameus' correction for the original καμήστορα. If this is the reading, then it would appear to be confirmed by the following τὸν Πριάμου, which can refer neither to the cowherds nor the cows themselves, as these belonged to Aeneas, and which needs a singular accusative antecedent for the τὸν.

Therefore, let us assume that the Apollodorean epitome did originally say that Achilles, during his raid on Aeneas' cattle, killed Mestor, the son of Priam. Where did this information come from? The raid itself is mentioned in Proclus and is well-known from the *Iliad*. In the latter, Aeneas recounts to Priam how Achilles had previously stolen his cows before laying waste to various cities:

οὐ μὲν γὰρ νῦν πρῶτα ποδώκεος ἄντ' Ἀχιλῆος  
στήσομαι, ἀλλ' ἤδη με καὶ ἄλλοτε δουρὶ φόβησεν  
ἐξ Ἴδης, ὅτε βουσὶν ἐπήλυθεν ἡμετέρησι,  
πέρσε δὲ Λυρνησσὸν καὶ Πήδασον·

*Il.*20.89-92

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<sup>70</sup> = arg. 61-62 Bernabé.

But there is no sign here of Mestor. Indeed, he is only found later in Book 24, when Priam laments over the fact that all his good sons are dead and he is only left with useless ones:

ἦ καὶ σκηπανίῳ δῖεπ' ἀνέρας· οἱ δ' ἴσαν ἔξω  
σπερχομένοιο γέροντος· ὃ δ' υἷασιν οἴσιν ὀμόκλα,  
νεικεῖων Ἐλενόν τε Πάριν τ' Ἀγάθωνά τε δῖον  
Πάμμονά τ' Ἀντίφονόν τε βοῆν ἀγαθόν τε Πολίτην  
Δηϊφοβόν τε καὶ Ἰππόθοον καὶ Δῖον ἀγαυόν.<sup>71</sup>  
ἐννέα τοῖς ὃ γεραιὸς ὀμοκλήσας ἐκέλευε·  
σπεύσατέ μοι κακὰ τέκνα κατηφόνες· αἴθ' ἅμα πάντες  
Ἔκτορος ὠφέλετ' ἀντὶ θεῆς ἐπὶ νηυσὶ πεφάσθαι.  
ὦ μοι ἐγὼ πανάποτμος, ἐπεὶ τέκον υἷας ἀρίστους  
Τροίη ἐν εὐρείῃ, τῶν δ' οὐ τίνα φημι λελεῖσθαι,  
Μήστορά τ' ἀντίθεον καὶ Τρωῖλον ἰππιόχάρμην  
Ἔκτορά θ', ὃς θεὸς ἔσκε μετ' ἀνδράσιν, οὐδὲ ἐφκει  
ἀνδρὸς γε θνητοῦ πάϊς ἔμμεναι ἀλλὰ θεοῖο.

*Il.24.247-259*

This list of Priam's sons mixes the familiar and the unfamiliar. While Helenus, Deiphobus, Paris, Polites and Hector are all known from elsewhere in the poem, this is the only reference to the seven other sons mentioned here. It is especially remarkable that in the trio of 'good sons', only Hector is well-known in the *Iliad*, while Troilus is known from elsewhere in the tradition and Mestor is completely unknown. The status of these sons is uncertain, and

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<sup>71</sup> It is not clear which of the two words is the given name, but the prevailing opinion is the one printed here. See Brügger (2009) *ad* 251. See also Pherecydes (*FGrH* 3 F 137). The OCT prints δῖον ἀγαυόν.

summarised well by the *BK*: ‘Ob sie beim Primärpublikum als bekannt vorausgesetzt werden konnten oder aber *ad hoc*-Erfindungen (‘Statisten’) sind, lässt sich nicht sagen.’<sup>72</sup> Richardson suggests that they were ‘invented by the poet for the occasion,’<sup>73</sup> while Macleod more circumspectly compares it to the list of nymphs at *Il.* 18.39-49 and comments that both lists are meant to have ‘the feel of history, and [are] probably believed to be history’.<sup>74</sup> Both express puzzlement at the inclusion of Mestor and Troilus, whilst acknowledging that Troilus is well-known elsewhere in the Trojan tradition. Macleod’s reference to the funeral of Patroclus may prompt a Neoanalytical suggestion that, just as that scene has been transferred from a pre-Homeric to a Homeric context, so too this speech of Priam was originally associated with another context – perhaps the final destruction of Troy and Priam’s own death.<sup>75</sup> However, whether this is true or not adds little to our understanding of who Mestor is or where he comes from.

Mestor reappears in later accounts of the Trojan War. Alongside Apollodorus we find Dio Chrysostom, who reports that in the lead up to the war proper, Achilles killed Troilus and Mestor and nearly killed Aeneas:

καὶ Τρωῖλος τε οὕτως ἀποθνήσκει παῖς ὢν ἔτι καὶ Μήστωρ καὶ ἄλλοι πλείους. ἦν γὰρ ὁ Ἀχιλλεὺς ἐνεδρεῦσαι δεινότατος καὶ νυκτὸς ἐπιθέσθαι. ὅθεν Αἰνεΐαν τε οὕτως ἐπελθὼν ὀλίγου ἀπέκτεινεν ἐν τῇ Ἰδῆ καὶ πολλοὺς ἄλλους κατὰ τὴν χώραν, καὶ τῶν φρουρίων ἦρει τὰ κακῶς φυλαττόμενα.

Dio Chrys.*Or.*11.77

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<sup>72</sup> Brügger (2009) *ad* 249-51.

<sup>73</sup> Richardson (1993) *ad* 248-51.

<sup>74</sup> Macleod (1982) *ad* 249-51.

<sup>75</sup> Cf. Priam imagining his own death at *Il.*22.66-78.

In Dictys Cretensis, he was slain by Ajax along with his brothers Pammon, Antiphus and Polites (2.43; cf. 6.9). If we look at references to the other sons unique in the *Iliad* to Book 24, it is remarkable that we almost always see them grouped together in different variations in later literature.<sup>76</sup>

In Apollodorus, the scene of Aeneas and Mestor follows immediately after Achilles' killing of Troilus. Therefore, both the accounts of Apollodorus and Dio Chrysostom (but not Dictys) closely associate the deaths of Troilus and Mestor, the two dead sons mentioned only once in the *Iliad* at line 24.257. I would suggest that this is a clear example of the *Iliad* and the Cyclic poems being commandeered to embellish later writings about the Trojan War. At some point the well-known story of Troilus' death has been drawn together with the death of the cipher Mestor, perhaps to 'explain' the pairing of the two in the *Iliad*.

This is an interesting contrast to the case of Polypoites and Leonteus, who will be discussed in a later chapter. The main difference is that the evidence of the *Iliad* – their prominence in the Funeral Games and their *aristeia* in Book 12 – suggests that those characters did hold a significant role in the Trojan War tradition, which for whatever reason was not reflected in later literature. In contrast, Mestor plays no role in the *Iliad* and his appearances in later literature clearly portray him as one of a cast who could be employed to depict the sons of Priam. While the almost complete lack of evidence from both Homer and the later tradition prevents any serious conclusion, I believe it is justified to argue that Mestor belongs not to a genuine Trojan War tradition, but that his inclusion in Apollodorus reflects a later tradition.

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<sup>76</sup> See also, Pammon and Polites (Quintus Smyrnaeus 13.214), and Antiphus and Agathon, with Glaucus and Agavus (Dictys Cretensis 4.7).

## Echion

In the *Iliou persis*, Proclus narrates the entry of the Greeks into Troy within the Wooden Horse, a story well known from the accounts given in Homer's *Odyssey* (4.266-289; 8.499-520; 11.523-532). Apollodorus adds more details, in particular adding a new character, Echion, who jumps out of the horse and is killed:

οἱ δὲ ἐκ Τενέδου προσπλεύσαντες, καὶ οἱ ἐκ τοῦ δουρείου ἵππου, ἐπιπίπτουσι τοῖς πολεμίοις. <ὥς δὲ ἐνόμισαν κοιμᾶσθαι τοὺς πολεμίους, 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. Ἀρ.> καὶ πολλοὺς ἀνελόντες τὴν πόλιν κατὰ κράτος λαμβάνουσι.

*Iliou persis* arg.2 W<sup>77</sup> with *Ep*.5.20

The presence of Echion as the over-eager Greek soldier is only found in Apollodorus, despite the strong tradition surrounding the Greek emergence from the Trojan Horse. The *Odyssey* poet has Menelaus recall how Helen attempted to trick the Greeks into prematurely revealing their presence within the device, and how Odysseus was compelled to stop a warrior called Anticlus from falling for the trap and replying to her (*Od*.4.274-289). Anticlus also appears just before the reference to Echion in Apollodorus, where the details of the story are identical to those given in Homer. This story is expanded in Tryphiodorus, who records that Anticlus died under the force of Odysseus' grip and was mourned by his comrades (463-486).

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<sup>77</sup> = arg.11-13 Bernabé.

Since Anticlus appears in three accounts and Echion only one, it may be useful to briefly explore the former, in the hope that knowing his origin may shed some light on the latter's. Anticlus himself has been a subject of small dispute. Aristarchus wanted to athetize lines 4.285-289 on the grounds that Anticlus was 'from the Cycle', and this is reflected by Bernabé, who lists the lines as a possible fragment of the *Ilias parva* (fr.26 Bernabé = 8 Davies). However, plenty has been written on the fallibility of Aristarchus' arguments regarding 'Cyclic' interpolations, as well as his very vague use of the term 'Cyclic' itself.<sup>78</sup> In contrast, Burgess has argued, along the lines of his overall thesis, that Anticlus was from the shared oral tradition of the Trojan War, and 'must have been a figure known to have taken part in the wooden horse episode',<sup>79</sup> while Andersen argued that Anticlus is an *ad hoc* invention on the part of Homer.<sup>80</sup>

Thus, opinion on Anticlus is split, often according to each scholar's overall view of the relationship between Homer and the Cycle. For my part, I would point out that Anticlus' folly is closely tied to the trickery of Helen as narrated by her husband Menelaus. Although Helen as a 'bad woman' is no doubt a fundamental part of the Trojan myth, the poet's handling of it in Book 4 and his focus on the autonomy and bewitching quality of Helen may well be a poetic flourish. Therefore, Anticlus may be an *ad hoc* invention to serve the wider purpose of portraying Helen's trickster nature.

This gets us little nearer to understanding where Echion comes from, apart from suggesting that Homer's version of the Greek exit from the Trojan Horse may well be idiosyncratic. It is

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<sup>78</sup> See especially Severyns (1928a).

<sup>79</sup> Burgess (2001) 153. Contrast Anderson (1997) 84, who sees the passage as an 'Odyssean invention'.

<sup>80</sup> Andersen (1977) 12, who suggests that the Anticlus episode is meant to mirror the later scene between Odysseus and Eurycleia (*Od.*19.479-490).

mysterious that Echion, son of the generically-named Portheus ('sacker'),<sup>81</sup> is otherwise completely absent from ancient literature<sup>82</sup> and iconography.<sup>83</sup> In general, the details of the Trojan Horse stratagem are open to variation, with different figures given for the number of men inside the Horse, as well as many variations on the named heroes inside the Horse.<sup>84</sup> This suggests that this was an episode that attracted a significant amount of 'interference', with different writers embellishing the famous story with different details.

A final, but important point, are the obvious thematic parallels between Echion and Protesilaus. It is notable that Echion closely mirrors the similarly over-eager Protesilaus, as both characters follow the same story pattern of the ill-fated first man on the ground. We could go as far as saying that the deaths of both men mark the beginning and end of the Greek assault on Troy. In his analysis of the compositional techniques of the Epic Cycle, Sammons has discussed the use of anticipatory doublets in the Epic Cycle as a way of structuring within the poems.<sup>85</sup> Similarly, in a later chapter I have drawn out the links and similarities between Achilles and his son Neoptolemus to suggest that, on some level, these two characters purposefully mirrored each other at the beginning and end of the Epic Cycle.

Can we suggest then that Echion was part of a doublet structure with Protesilaus? It is possible, but I think on balance this is unlikely. Firstly, there are no direct comparisons with

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<sup>81</sup> Cf. Diomedes' great-grandfather Portheus, *Il.*14.115, also Porthaon at Hes.fr.10(a).50, 26.5, and 259(a) MW.

<sup>82</sup> Of course there are other, more famous Echions in the Theban and Argonautic sagas: 1) the father of Pentheus (e.g. Eur. *Bacchae* 507) and 2) the son of Hermes and one of the Argonauts (A.R.1.52-56, Hyg. *Fab.* 173).

<sup>83</sup> Caskey (1976) 37, introduced the theory that Echion is portrayed on the Mykonos krater (Metope 2B). However, as Ebbinghaus (2005) 65-68, points out, this warrior is more likely to be Hector, as is in keeping with the other metopes, which deal with Trojan, not Greek, losses during the fall of the city. See also *LIMC*, 'Echion'.

<sup>84</sup> Apollodorus (*Ep.*5.14) reports that there were fifty, but three thousand in the *Ilias parva* (or 13? - see Severyns (1926) 313-322), while Eustathius adds that there were one hundred men in Stesichorus, but elsewhere the number was twelve (*ap. Od.*11.522). There are nine in Virgil (*A.*2.261-264) and Hyginus (*Fab.*108), thirty in Quintus of Smyrna (12.314-316) and twenty-three in Tryphiodorus (153-183) On the various different figures and names given for the Trojan Horse team, see Severyns (1926) 306-312 and Gantz (1996) 649.

<sup>85</sup> Sammons (2017) 102-125.

this pair in the Cycle. Achilles and Neoptolemus are sufficiently prominent enough characters that it is more likely that conscious mirroring took place between them than in the case of the less significant Protesilaus and Echion. Furthermore, if Echion were a character of great antiquity, as Protesilaus evidently was, we might expect him to have attracted a similar level of attention in the ancient world, owing to the tragic and pathetic nature of his death. We might also expect, but not demand, some reference to him in the Homeric poems. None of these points are individually significant, but do gain credence when taken cumulatively. If we also consider that there is strong evidence that Anticlus was original to the *Odyssey* rather than common to the wider oral tradition, we can conclude, on balance, that Apollodorus (and Tryphiodorus) have simply expanded on and embellished their texts of the *Odyssey* in describing this episode.

## **Conclusion**

With the exception of Antenor, there are good reasons to argue that the characters and episodes unique to Apollodorus' account of the Trojan War do not belong to the Epic Cycle. I accept that each individual example is not enough to condemn the Apollodorean additions. I also accept that each example has relied on different types of evidence, and thus my argument is vulnerable to charges of inconsistency. Another criticism of the argument is one that could be applied to the thesis as a whole, which is the assumption that Proclus gives us an especially accurate view of the 'Epic Cycle' as a distinctive tradition.

However, I think that it is clear that each example does show the influence of later, 'un-epic' stories about the Trojan War which often sit uncomfortably with the Homeric evidence.

Therefore, the sum total of evidence leans towards the conclusion that the Vatican and

Sabbaitic epitomes have been contaminated by non-Cyclic traditions. By incorporating them into Proclus, or by blurring the boundaries between the two authors, we make it harder to ascertain the status of Proclus' Epic Cycle and its diachronic relationship to the Homeric poems and the oral Trojan War tradition.

### 3. Characters in the fragments

Apollodorus is not our only source for further information on the Epic Cycle, including the introduction of new characters. The editions of Bernabé, Davies, and West also use material from sources such as the Homeric scholia and Pausanias to bulk out the information given by Proclus' summaries. These extracts are termed 'fragments'<sup>1</sup> and are often given equal weight alongside the Proclean epitomes. However, as in the case of Apollodorus, I believe that there has not been enough interrogation of these fragments and their sources. This is something of an oversight since, much like some of the examples from Apollodorus, the information given by the fragments is often unknown to Proclus' summary, or even contradictory to it. The message of this chapter (and thesis) is not that all non-Proclean sources give inaccurate information about the Epic Cycle. My aim is far more modest. In discussing a few pertinent fragments I hope to draw out some of the issues and contextual information that should inform our reading of each fragment. Of course, a full account of every fragment has not been possible, and readers may well argue that fragments not discussed here point to different conclusions. As in the previous chapter, the primary focus of the source analysis is those fragments which introduce new, non-Proclean characters to the Epic Cycle, including the cast of characters in the Nostoi's *nekuia* and the Lesche of the Knidians.

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<sup>1</sup> Brunt (1980) 477, suggests the term 'reliquiae' instead of 'fragments', for the reason that while the latter suggests verbal quotations, the former more accurately captures the fact that 'every collection of 'fragments' abounds in mere allusions, paraphrases, and condensations, which are often very inadequate mirrors of what the lost historians actually wrote.' This cautious approach to the material is similar to my own, but I use the word 'fragments' to keep in line with other scholarship on the Epic Cycle.

## Where do the fragments come from?

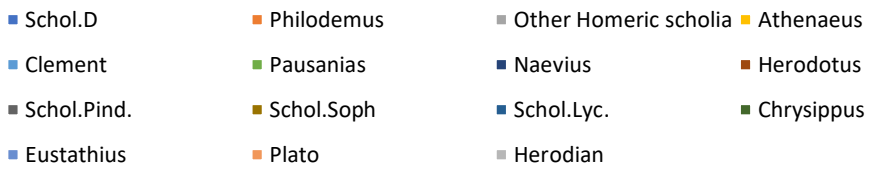
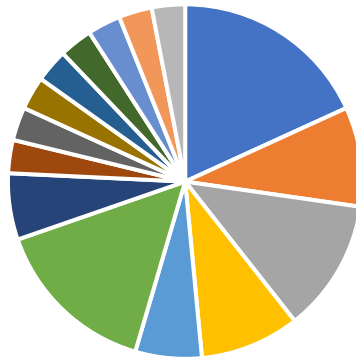
The fragments are not a homogenous mass, but instead come from a wide variety of sources. Two pie charts illustrate the breakdown of origins for the fragments of the *Cypria* (**Chart 1**) and the other poems of the Epic Cycle (**Chart 2**). The reason for this division is simply due to the fact that the number of fragments for the *Cypria* is far greater. However, in terms of the most common derivations, there is a rough parity between the two data sets. We can see that some of the most common origins for the fragments are the 2<sup>nd</sup> century AD travel writer Pausanias, the D-scholium of the *Iliad*, other Homeric scholia, tragic scholia, and philosophical writers dating from the 2<sup>nd</sup> century BC to the 5<sup>th</sup> century AD, in particular Athenaeus, Clement of Alexandria, and Philodemus. Therefore, in terms of the named writers, Proclus holds no particular chronological superiority. Whether we wish to date him to the 2<sup>nd</sup> or the 5<sup>th</sup> century AD,<sup>2</sup> he is contemporaneous to many of the other sources for the Epic Cycle. However, he does remain the only source whose main stated objective is to summarise the Epic Cycle in full. In contrast, the writers who provide the fragments are often using the Cycle for a larger purpose – whether to provide a gloss to Homer or another poet, or to provide support and evidence for their own argument or observation. In this sense, we should approach the fragments of the Cycle with a similar caution to Brunt’s approach to fragments of historians. While he was far from dismissing the importance and utility of fragments, he also warned that, ‘Too little account is commonly taken of the relevant characteristics of the authors who preserve [them], their reliability in quoting or summarizing, and their own interests and purposes.’<sup>3</sup> Therefore, in some of the cases discussed here, consideration will be given to the wider context of the fragments.

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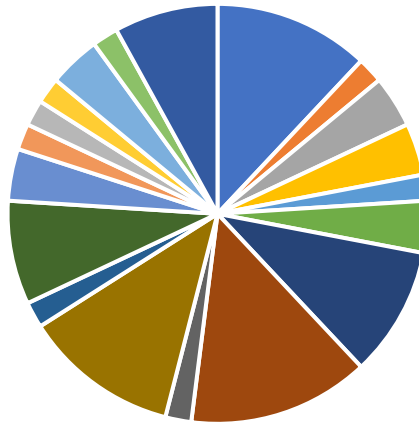
<sup>2</sup> See pp. 20-21.

<sup>3</sup> Brunt (1980) 477-478. However, Brunt emphasises that historical fragments can be corrupted ‘especially when they are made for polemical purposes’, 483, which is less of an issue with the Cyclic fragments. Furthermore, it should be noted that Brunt was equally cautious in his approach to epitomes, 487.

## 1. Fragments of the *Cypria*



## 2. Fragments of other Epic Cycle poems



## How do we deal with direct quotes?

What is notable about the fragments is the number of apparently direct quotes from Epic Cycle poetry.<sup>4</sup> I have already discussed my own view on the textualization of the Epic Cycle and I expressed caution in understanding the poems as primarily textual products and approached them rather as manifestations of the dynamic oral tradition that also gave birth to the Homeric poems. Unlike these, the poems of the Epic Cycle never achieved a definitive and cemented textual form. However, this does not preclude the existence of written versions that told the familiar stories of the Cycle, and it would be absurd to suggest that such written versions were never created. Indeed, the clearest indication that such copies did exist comes from Pausanias, who relates that he ‘read’ about the details of Palamedes’ death in the *Cypria* (ἐπιλεξάμενος ἐν ἔπεσιν .... τοῖς Κυπρίοις, Paus.10.31.2 = fr.27 W). In the case of Pausanias, general scholarly opinion paints him as an extremely well-read intellectual, who would be familiar with the written sources which he quotes.<sup>5</sup>

However, I would maintain that no single written version ever reached the ‘definitive’ status of the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*. Many of the quoted fragments work well alongside the Proclean epitomes, offering little in the way of contradiction. They range from fairly substantial blocks (e.g. the descriptions of Aphrodite’s toilette scene in *Cypria* fr.5 and 6 W) to short, disembodied lines (e.g. *Cypria* fr.31 W; *Ilias parva* fr.31 W). Some of the former have

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<sup>4</sup> These are, according to West’s Loeb: *Cypria* fr.1, 5, 6, 9, 10, 16, 21(?), 29, 30, 31; *Aethiopsis* fr.1, 2, 5; *Ilias parva* fr.1, 2, 4, 5, 6, 14, 29-30, 31; *Iliou persis* fr.2; *Nostoi* fr.6, 7, 12; *Telegony* fr.1(?), 2(?). To be added to these is also *Cypria* 16 Bernabé.

<sup>5</sup> Wilamowitz-Moellendorff (1884) 338-339, is unconvinced that Pausanias could have read the poems. However, West (2013) 49, trusts Pausanias’ claim to have read the poem, arguing that it was precisely because the poems were not widely read or available in his time that he makes explicit mention of having done so. For a list of other authors Pausanias claims to have read, see Allen (1908) 69-70. On the intellectual atmosphere of the Second Sophistic, see Arafat (1996) 67; Chamoux (1996) 57-60; Pretzler (2005) 236. Although note that in the work of the roughly contemporaneous Dio Chrysostom, the Cyclical epics are not mentioned in his list of canonical texts, while Homer is ‘the first, middle, and last’ (Dio.Chr.18.6-17).

shaped the scholarly perception of the pace, style, and quality of the Epic Cycle poems. For example, critical opinion has not been kind to *Cypria* fr.5 W. Griffin describes it as ‘weak’ and ‘feeble’, and a good example of the ‘cyclic’ style denigrated by Alexandrian commentators,<sup>6</sup> while for Davies it is ‘vacuously ornamental’.<sup>7</sup> Furthermore, on *Cypria* fr.16 W, Griffin comments that the narrative of the confrontation between the Dioscuri and Lyncas has been ‘compressed beyond all hope of excitement’.<sup>8</sup> In general for Griffin, the extant fragments of the Cycle confirm for him the judgement of ‘the ancients [who] used the word κυκλικῶς to convey banality, inexactness, and repetition.’<sup>9</sup> However, as unremarkable as Griffin may find the passages he selects for criticism, their significance to our view of the Epic Cycle is diminished when we understand the Epic Cycle as an oral tradition with possibly numerous textual manifestations. Therefore, I would argue that we should be careful in seeing these quotes as the final say on the amorphous and multifaceted tradition of the Trojan War.

### **Fragments in agreement with Proclus**

As already mentioned, many of the fragments in West, Davies, and Bernabé contain information that is either already reflected in Proclus or adds further detail to scenes alluded to in Proclus. Of course, this lack of contradiction does not mean that these fragments do not also merit further investigation. However, such an investigation is beyond the scope of this thesis, and the focus of this chapter is instead the pertinent differences between Proclus and some of the fragments. That being said, it will hopefully be illustrative to first present a few

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<sup>6</sup> Griffin (1977) 50-51.

<sup>7</sup> Davies (1989) 36. However, Dowden (2004) 203, notes that the list of flowers is reminiscent of the Iliadic Catalogue of Ships and the list of nymphs in Book 18.

<sup>8</sup> Griffin (1977) 51.

<sup>9</sup> Griffin (1977) 49; 49-52.

examples of fragments which are in agreement with Proclus. I have picked for this purpose two case-studies that both concern details of character (and are therefore pertinent to the theme of this thesis), while being very different in length and subject.

The first example is fr.22 from the *Cypria*, which comes from Book 4 of Pausanias’

*Periegesis*:

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

*Cypria* fr.22 W = Paus.4.2.7

According to Pausanias, the author of the *Cypria* named Polydora as the wife of Protesilaus. In Proclus’ epitome, the wife of Protesilaus remains unnamed, and so there is no contradiction between Proclus and Pausanias. We could easily posit that the detail of Polydora’s name was lost by Proclus in his process of epitomisation, and that Pausanias’ note can be used to add additional detail. A problem does present itself when we also include the account of Apollodorus, who names Protesilaus’ wife as Laodameia (*Ep.*3.30). This was, of course, the name by which this character was more commonly known in the literary tradition.<sup>10</sup> However, this gives more confidence in Pausanias’ *lectio difficilior*. Furthermore, I have already argued that Apollodorus often conflates epic and non-epic traditions in order to create an all-encompassing narrative of the Trojan War. Therefore, what this particular Pausanias fragment offers is not a completely certain insight into the ‘authentic’ Epic Cycle

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<sup>10</sup> Euripides *Protesilaus TrGF* 5 655 = [Dio Chrysostom] 37.46; Ovid *Her* 13; Hyginus *Fab.*103; Philostr.*Her.* 2.7-9; Luc.*Salt.*53; Nonn.*D.*194.

(if such a thing is even possible), but instead it is an example of an ‘unproblematic’ fragment which can happily exist alongside Proclus and offer extra information which we are free to accept or ignore.

The second example is more detailed. It concerns the brothers of Helen, Castor and Polydeukes, their deaths, and their eventual immortality. This story is included in Proclus:

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

*Cypria* arg.21-24

In addition, there are a number of fragments that belong to this episode and accord with the version told by Proclus:

Κάστωρ μὲν θνητός, θανάτου δὲ οἱ αἴσα πέπρωται,  
αὐτὰρ ὃ γ’ ἀθάνατος Πολυδεύκης, ὄζος Ἄρηος.

*Cypria* fr.9 W = Clem.Alex.*Protr.*2.30.5

The scholiast on Pindar quotes a passage from the *Cypria* which tells of the conflict between the Dioscuri and Lynceus and Idas:

αἴψα δὲ Λυγκεύς  
Τηϋ̄γετον προσέβαινε ποσὶν ταχέεσσι πεπορθός,  
ἀκρότατον δ’ ἀναβὰς διεδέρκετο νῆσον ἅπασαν

Τανταλίδεω Πέλοπος· τάχα δ' εἴσιδε κίδιμος ἦρως  
δεινοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖσιν ἔσω κοίλης δρυὸς ἄμφω,  
Κάστορά θ' ἰππόδαμον καὶ ἀεθλοφόρον Πολυδεύκεα.  
νύξε δ' ἄρ' ἄγχι στὰ<ς> μεγάλην δρυὸν <ὄβριμος Ἴδας >

*Cypria* fr.16 W = Sch.Pind.*Nem.*10.114a

Finally, it is possible that Philodemus also knew of the story from the *Cypria*:

Κάστο[ρα δ] ἐ ὑπὸ Ἴδα τοῦ [Ἀφα]ρέως κατη[κοντ]ίσθαι γέγραφεν ὁ [τὰ Κύπρια] ποήσα[ς καὶ  
Φερεκύ]δης ὁ Ἀ[θηναῖος].

*Cypria* fr.17 W = Philod.*de pietate* B 4833 Obbink

Both the Pindar scholiast and Philodemus corroborate the story told in Proclus of the death of Castor at the hands of Idas,<sup>11</sup> which eventually led to their famous immortality. The style of the fragment has been questioned and used as evidence for the inferiority of the Cycle versus Homer.<sup>12</sup> However, it is important to remember that this should not be seen as the definitive textual manifestation of this Cyclic story. What is important here is that we have another example of accordance between Proclus and several other sources for the events of the Epic Cycle.

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<sup>11</sup> Note there is a significant issue of the lacuna in line 6 of the quote from the Pindar scholion. As it stands, the fragment would have Lynceus as the killer of Castor, in contrast with the tradition preserved elsewhere that his killer was Idas. West solves this issue by supplementing ὄβριμος Ἴδας at the end of the line. See West (2013) 95-96; Currie (2015) 302-303.

<sup>12</sup> Griffin (1977) 51 *versus* Currie (2015) 303.

### Case-Study 1: The characters of the *Nekuia*

However, in some cases the fragments do not marry quite as neatly with Proclus. The first example is the difference between Proclus' account of the *Nostoi* and the account of the *Nostoi* given by the fragments. In West's edition, the majority of the fragments appear to belong to a *nekuia* episode, referencing as they do mythical characters who precede the time of the Trojan heroes.<sup>13</sup> Pausanias most clearly references an Underworld scene in his version of the *Nostoi*, saying:

ἡ δὲ Ὀμήρου ποίησις ἐς Ὀδυσσέα καὶ ἡ Μινυάς τε καλουμένη καὶ οἱ Νόστοι - μνήμη γὰρ δὴ ἐν ταύταις καὶ Ἄιδου καὶ τῶν ἐκεῖ δειμάτων ἐστίν - ἴσασιν οὐδένα Εὐρύνομον δαίμονα.

*Nostoi* fr.1 W = Paus.10.28.7

However, these plentiful references to a journey to Hades in the *Nostoi* must be seen in relation to Proclus' epitome of the poem, which makes no mention of any journey to the Underworld. West has proposed that the Underworld scene took place after the death of Agamemnon and before the return of Orestes, placing it towards the end of the poem. He believes the most likely candidate for the *katabasis* is Menelaus, who would have journeyed to the Underworld and there learnt of his brother's death.<sup>14</sup> In contrast, Severyns argues that the journey to the Underworld was recounted by Odysseus to Neoptolemus on their meeting in Maronea.<sup>15</sup> For both Severyns and West, the Underworld scene of the *Nostoi* was directly

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<sup>13</sup> Tantalus (fr.3), Clymene (fr.4), Maira (fr.5), Aison (fr.6), possibly Eriphyle (fr.7), Mycene (fr.8), and Asclepius (fr.9).

<sup>14</sup> West (2013) 277-282.

<sup>15</sup> Severyns (1928a) 385.

influenced by the corresponding scene in the *Odyssey*.<sup>16</sup> Indeed, there are obvious parallels between the Underworld scenes of the *Odyssey* and the apparent *nekuia* of the *Nostoi*, particularly in the focus on the souls of famous, dead women of myth.<sup>17</sup> However, this does not necessarily imply a direct influence between the *Odyssey* and the *Nostoi* in either direction, but rather suggests that an ‘Underworld’ scene was a traditional component in the epic poetry about the Trojan War, or even more specifically that it was a traditional component of the *nostoi* stories of the Trojan war heroes.

Although, as Danek points out, many characters in Proclus’ *Nostoi* do ‘go to Hades’, inasmuch as they die,<sup>18</sup> the lack of reference to the episode in Proclus’ epitome is surprising. Perhaps Proclus did not find it necessary to the plot and therefore chose not to include it in his summary. Perhaps he regarded it as a later addition to the poem and derivative of the *Odyssey* examples. We cannot know for certain. However, what we can say is that Proclus’ lack of interest in the episode is matched by the overwhelming interest of the authors of the fragments in the Underworld episode. This can be best explained by the different intents of these authors in contrast to Proclus. Where Proclus was attempting to summarise the poems of the Epic Cycle, writers such as Pausanias and the scholiasts were using their knowledge of the Epic Cycle to provide additional information to the works of Homer and Euripides, or the sights and topography of Greece.<sup>19</sup> Therefore, it should not be surprising that the cast of mythological characters in an Underworld scene would provide useful glosses in the work of such writers.

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<sup>16</sup> Severyns (1928a) 399.

<sup>17</sup> Danek (2015) 361.

<sup>18</sup> Danek (2015) 372.

<sup>19</sup> Similarly, Severyns (1928a) 385-399. However, Severyns goes too far in supposing that the knowledge (genealogical and mythological) of Pausanias, Polygnotus, and the scholiasts on the relevant mythological figures must almost always derive from the *nekuia* of the *Nostoi*. Such an assumption ignores the wider oral tradition in which these figures existed.

Therefore, the shadowy *nekuia* of the *Nostoi* is a good example of two essential caveats to bear in mind when dealing with the fragments. The first is that they may be at odds with, or at least not in easy agreement with, the Proclean summary. The second is that the information they contain is influenced by the wider context of each specific fragment.

### **Case-Study Two: Lesche of the Knidians**

I have suggested that the information some sources give regarding the Epic Cycle may be coloured by the larger context from which the fragment comes. A prime example of this phenomenon is to be found in Pausanias' description of the Lesche of the Knidians, in his account of his visit to Delphi. In this passage, Pausanias is describing the murals in the Lesche of the Knidians, which were painted by Polygnotus in the 5<sup>th</sup> century BC (Paus.10.25.5-10.27.2 = *Ilias parva* frs.15-17 W). One mural portrays the *nekuia* of Odysseus, and the other illustrates the Sack of Troy. At multiple points in his description of the mural, Pausanias comments on the relationship between the mural and the Epic Cycle, specifically the *Iliou persis* of 'Lescheos'.<sup>20</sup> At various points Pausanias describes minor characters who are in both the painting and the poem, but not in Proclus (for example, Meges, Lycomedes, Agenor). Such minor characters offer no problem, as it is unsurprising that they are not mentioned in Proclus' epitome. Pausanias is also able to comment on differences between his version of the *Iliou persis* and Polygnotus' mural. He mentions that Creusa is depicted, presumably as the wife of Aeneas, while noting that, Λέσχεως δὲ καὶ ὁ ποιήσας ἔπη

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<sup>20</sup> This is in itself problematic, as tradition dictated that Lesches was the author of the *Ilias parva*. West (2003a) 135 n.44, explains this away as a 'slip', caused by Pausanias' reference nearby to the *Iliou persis* of Stesichorus. However, I think of this more as highlighting the precarious and unfounded nature of the attribution of authors to the Cyclic poems in antiquity. It also necessarily undermines our confidence in quite how accurately Pausanias is remembering his sources and therefore how accurate his information about the Epic Cycle may be.

τὰ Κύπρια διδόασιν Εὐρυδικὴν γυναῖκα Αἰνεΐα (Paus.10.26.2). Furthermore, on two occasions he expresses the opinion that Polygnotus must have invented some of the characters depicted, as he himself does not recognise them from poetry. In some ways then, Pausanias has done a critical source analysis for us, recognising the distinction between the visual product and the poetic product. However, a larger problem is posed by his account of the death of Astyanax:

γυναῖκες δὲ αἱ Τρωάδες αἰχμαλώτοις τε ἤδη καὶ ὀδυρομέναις εἰκόασι. γέγραπται μὲν Ἀνδρομάχη, καὶ ὁ παῖς οἱ προσέστηκεν ἐλόμενος τοῦ μαστοῦ—τούτω Λέσχεως ῥιφθέντι ἀπὸ τοῦ πύργου συμβῆναι λέγει τὴν τελευτήν· οὐ μὲν ὑπὸ δόγματός γε Ἑλλήνων, ἀλλ' ἰδίᾳ Νεοπτόλεμον αὐτόχειρα ἐθελῆσαι γενέσθαι.

Paus.10.25.9

This account is in accordance with *Ilias parva* fr.29 W, where Neoptolemus is again the killer of Astyanax:

αὐτὰρ Ἀχιλλῆος μεγαθύμου φαίδιμος υἱός  
Ἐκτορέην ἄλοχον κάταγεν κοίλας ἐπὶ νῆας,  
παῖδα δ' ἐλὼν ἐκ κόλπου ἐϋπλοκάμοιο τιθήνης  
ῥῖψε ποδὸς τεταγὼν ἀπὸ πύργου, τὸν δὲ πεσόντα  
ἔλλαβε πορφύρεος θάνατος καὶ μοῖρα κραταιή.

fr.29 W = Tzetz.in Lyc.1268

However, the Pausanias and the Tzetzes fragments are both at odds with the account in Proclus' summary of the *Iliou persis*, which has Odysseus as the slayer of Astyanax (*Iliou*

*persis* arg.20). This has led to much discussion of the differences between the *Ilias parva* and the *Iliou persis* and theorizing as to why we have a different killer in the two poems.<sup>21</sup> It is clear that there is a divergence of tradition here. It is possible that this is an example of Proclus' epitome deriving from a tradition influenced by later literature. Greek tragedy regularly portrays Odysseus in a negative light, and in Euripides' *Troades* it is Odysseus who convinces the Greeks to slay Astyanax (719-739). Furthermore, before the 5<sup>th</sup> century, artistic depictions of the scene most frequently depict Neoptolemus as the killer of Astyanax.<sup>22</sup> Furthermore, differences in poetic sensibility or the portrayal of Odysseus may account for the differences between the Tzetzes quote and the Proclean epitome. Unfortunately, we do not have enough context for either of these two examples to give a secure conclusion.<sup>23</sup>

However, this is not the case for the Lesche of the Knidians. I would cautiously suggest that some consideration should be given to the context of the Pausanias passage, which has the benefit of describing a work of art in a well-known Greek sanctuary. Pausanias records that Astyanax was shown clinging to his mother's breast, and this then prompts him to note that, according to 'Lescheos', his killer was Neoptolemus. It is worthy of remark that Neoptolemus plays a very notable role elsewhere on the Lesche of the Knidians, with Pausanias noting that the reason he was the only Greek soldier depicted as φονεύοντα ἔτι τοὺς Τρῶας ('still killing Trojans'), was because Polygnotus intended for the painting to be placed over the grave of Neoptolemus (10.26.4).<sup>24</sup> Indeed, the importance of the young warrior in this painting was further emphasised by its location close to the heroon of

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<sup>21</sup> Severyns (1928a) 367; Bouvier (2000) 46-49; Kelly (2015) 324; Finglass (2015) 353. On possible allusions to the death of Astyanax in the *Iliad*, see Anderson (1997) 53-59.

<sup>22</sup> Castriota (1992) 97-99; Anderson (1997) 192-193; but anonymous on the Mykonos pithos, see Kelly (2015) 321, and bibliography there.

<sup>23</sup> Finglass (2015) 352-353.

<sup>24</sup> He is depicted as having killed Elasmus and in the process of killing Astynous (10.26.4).

Neoptolemus in the Delphi precinct.<sup>25</sup> These facts cannot be completely dismissed when dealing with Pausanias' claim that Neoptolemus was the killer of Astyanax. We know that paintings such as those of Polygnotus were meant to be talking-points and to prompt discussion of the scenes depicted, and Delphic tradition may well have tended to emphasise the importance of Neoptolemus in the Sack of Troy. It is possible that Pausanias' account of the 'Lescheos' poem is designed, consciously or unconsciously, to agree and elegantly supplement his description of the Lesche. If Neoptolemus can be understood as the 'main character' of the Lesche, this would explain why Pausanias gives so much emphasis to the deeds of Neoptolemus in the Trojan War. This would also explain why Pausanias makes no mention of an alternative tradition which had Odysseus as the killer. This is perhaps surprising when we consider that he was able to draw a distinction between the 'popular account' of Neoptolemus as the killer of Coroebus, and Lescheos' account of Diomedes as the killer (10.27.1-2).

Of course, this is pure speculation, but speculation that I do not think is wholly unreasonable when we consider the context. It is at least something to take into consideration when considering the Lesche of the Knidians as a source. Besides, Kebric has commented on the pro-Athenian and pro-Cimonian ideology of the Polygnotus mural, which may explain the presence of other characters such as Laodice, Acamas, and Polypoetes,<sup>26</sup> demonstrating that the epic subject matter could be 'manipulated' to achieve an ideological message or purpose. The '*Iliou persis*' both as a poem of the Cycle and as a more general legendary event did not necessarily have one definitive shape, even at the time of Polygnotus, but was flexible enough to be shaped to the contours of specific contexts.

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<sup>25</sup> Kebric (1983) 3. Castriota (1992) 114-118, has argued that Polygnotus designed the Lesche in such a way as to overturn the established portrayal of the Greeks as a whole as impious in the Fall of Troy, with now Neoptolemus and Oilean Ajax set apart as anomalies in an otherwise noble Greek host.

<sup>26</sup> Kebric (1983) 18-20.

### Case-Study 3: Arcesilaus

The *Telegony* is infamous for its messy generational account of Odysseus' post-*Odyssey* life. According to Proclus, Odysseus had a son by the Thesprotian queen Callidice called Polypoites (arg.13-14), and a son by Circe called Telegonus (arg.14-15). Additionally, Apollodorus records that he had another son by Penelope called Ptoliporthes (Ap.*Ep.*7.35). The name Ptoliporthes is also found in Pausanias, who claims that in the *Thesprotis*, Penelope bore to Odysseus a son called Ptoliporthes (Paus.8.12.6 = fr.3 W). However, contrast this with Eustathius, who in his commentary to the *Odyssey*, gives this second son of Penelope and Odysseus the name Arcesilaus:

ὁ δὲ τὴν Τηλεγόνειαν γράψας Κυρηναῖος ἐκ μὲν Καλυψοῦς Τηλέγονον υἱὸν Ὀδυσσεῖ ἀναγράφει ἢ Τηλέδαμον, ἐκ δὲ Πηνελόπης Τηλέμαχον καὶ Ἀρκεσίλαον.

fr.4 W = Eust.*Od.*1796.48

Not only has Eustathius confused Calypso for Circe as the mother of Telegonus,<sup>27</sup> he also uses the new name of Arcesilaus instead of Ptoliporthes. This is no inconsequential change, but one that has shaped the discussion on the dating of the *Telegony*. A brief summary of the argument is that the *Telegony* should be dated to around the mid-6<sup>th</sup> century. This is because the Cyrenean author of the *Telegony*, Eugammon, wished to tie his poem to the real-life Battiad dynasty which ruled in Cyrene. In power at the time was Battus II, whose real name was Arcesilaus. The poet wished to increase the prestige of the royal house by providing it

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<sup>27</sup> West (2013) 300.

with a ‘mythical ancestor sprung from Odysseus’.<sup>28</sup> There is also a Spartan element at play, as at this time a new wave of Dorian settlers had come to Libya from Thera. Therefore, the descent of Arcesilaus from Spartan Penelope in the *Telegony* was also an attractive colonial myth upon which to expound.<sup>29</sup> This has led to the wide-reaching conclusion that the *Telegony* can be securely dated to the middle of the 6<sup>th</sup> century, and its production centred around the Libyan colony of Cyrene. This conclusion has been further helped by the Eusebian dating of Eugammon to the mid-6<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>30</sup>

However, it should be questioned how secure a conclusion this is. Arcesilaus is not a character in the *Telegony* according to Proclus. Indeed, it is hard to see what role he would play in the narrative of the poem; Telegonus is responsible for the death of Odysseus, and at the end, generational conflict is healed by the double marriages of Telegonus and Penelope and Telemachus and Circe. The introduction of a third son would appear to be superfluous. Furthermore, Eustathius’ knowledge of the poem seems shaky – notice that he offers two options for the name of Odysseus’ son, Telegonus or Teledamus, as well as having his mother be Calypso, rather than Circe (cf. *Th.* 1014; *Ap.Ep.* 7.16; *Hyg.* 125).<sup>31</sup> It seems plausible that the reference to Arcesilaus in the Eustathius fragment is a localised iteration of the *Telegony* story, which is not reflective of the wider and more general tradition of the narrative. By using the reference to Arcesilaus in the Eustathius fragment as a key to pinpointing the origin of the poem, scholarship on the Epic Cycle risks obscuring the wider and deeper oral tradition from which the events of the *Telegony* derive.

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<sup>28</sup> Vürtheim (1901) 49 n.3; Thomson (1914) 21-22; Phillips (1953) 55; Huxley (1960) 24; Griffin (1977) 43; Burgess (2001) 11; Bernabé *ad Telegonia* fr.3.10

<sup>29</sup> Tsagalis (2015) 382-383.

<sup>30</sup> But this thesis takes the now commonly held view that Eusebian dating is not trustworthy.

<sup>31</sup> See Bernabé *ad Telegonia* fr.3.9. This uncertainty is particularly startling when we consider that in the same breath Eustathius names the poem as the *Telegony*.

#### **Case-Study 4: Phorbas**

A fragment from the D-scholia, claiming to recount a Cyclic poem, gives a relatively lengthy description of an otherwise unknown warrior called Phorbas, who excels at boxing:

Φόρβας ἀνδρειότατος τῶν καθ' ἑαυτὸν γενόμενος, ὑπερήφανος δέ, πυγμὴν ἤσκησεν, καὶ τοὺς μὲν παριόντας ἀναγκάζων ἀγωνίζεσθαι ἀνήρει· ὑπὸ δὲ τῆς πολλῆς ὑπερηφανίας ἠβούλετο καὶ πρὸς τοὺς θεοὺς τὸ τοιοῦτο φρόνημα ἔχειν. διὸ Ἀπόλλων παραγενόμενος καὶ συστάς αὐτῷ ἀπέκτεινεν αὐτόν. ὅθεν ἐξ ἐκείνου καὶ τῆς πυκτικῆς ἔφορος ἐνομίσθη ὁ θεός. ἡ ἱστορία παρὰ τοῖς κυκλικοῖς.

*Aethiopsis* fr.4\* W = Sch. (D) Il. 23. 660

This reference highlights some of the perennial issues surrounding the fragments. The first is the question of where an episode, or in this case a character, should be inserted into the Proclus epitomes. The majority opinion dictates that Phorbas is a character from the *Aethiopsis*. West follows Allen in assigning these fragments to the *Aethiopsis*, arguing that the most obvious place for the boxing match would be the funeral games of Achilles.<sup>32</sup> However, this has been rejected by Severyns, who opts instead to place the fragment in the Underworld scene of the *Nostoi*. This is because fr.4 is from the D-scholia on *Il.23.660*. At this line, Homer says that Apollo is the patron of boxing, leading the scholion to then explain that Phorbas was so arrogant that he tried to box against Apollo. Therefore, Severyns believes that Phorbas would be best placed alongside the other impious figures of the Underworld scene, such as Salmeoneus and Sisyphus.<sup>33</sup> I would be inclined to agree with Allen and West in

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<sup>32</sup> Allen (1913) 190; West (2013) 157-158.

<sup>33</sup> Severyns (1928a) 398.

supposing that Phorbas would be most likely to appear in a boxing match, which in turn would be most likely to occur during the Funeral Games for Achilles. Such a set-piece would have provided a fecund spot for digressions on various legendary athletes and entertaining descriptions of matches between the heroes. That being said, the story does seem very detached from any Trojan War context: the description of Phorbas as ἀνδρείοτατος would be strange in the context of Achilles' funeral; when would a Greek warrior have the opportunity to regularly challenge τοὺς μὲν παριόντας?; and would the appearance of Apollo and his fight with Phorbas not rather overshadow Achilles at his own Funeral Games? Therefore, there is no clear point in the *Aethiopsis* at which the character of Phorbas could have been introduced.

The example of Phorbas also raises other issues surrounding the sources, in particular, the validity of the Homeric D-scholia. A large proportion of fragments attributed to the Epic Cycle are extracted from this family of scholia. However, the D-scholia do present some difficulties. Although they represent the largest family of Homeric scholia, and the scholia for which we have the earliest evidence,<sup>34</sup> Erbse has downplayed their overall importance and reliability for our study of Homeric poetry.<sup>35</sup> A large number of the D-scholia are lexicographical glosses, but they also frequently discuss mythological *historiae*.<sup>36</sup> It is these mythological stories that are known as the 'Mythographus Homericus'.<sup>37</sup> Critical opinion is split on the credibility of the subscriptions in the D-scholia and 'Mythographus Homericus' in general. While Montanari has argued that they were derived from learned Alexandrian commentaries,<sup>38</sup> it is more commonly thought that at least some of the subscriptions are unreliable.<sup>39</sup> For example, Cameron has argued that the source references given for

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<sup>34</sup> Dickey (2007) 20.

<sup>35</sup> Erbse (1969) xi.

<sup>36</sup> Dickey (2007) 20. For the definition of *historiae* as mythical stories, see Cameron (2004) 90-91.

<sup>37</sup> Montanari (1995) 137; Nagy (1997) 118.

<sup>38</sup> Montanari (1995) 165-166.

<sup>39</sup> Beginning with Schwartz (1881) 441-445.

mythological *historiae* by the mythographers and the scholia should be treated with caution. He argues that they are open to errors and oversimplification because they are not based on first-hand knowledge of the text in question.<sup>40</sup> This is significant for our study of the Phorbas example and other examples of the *kuklikoi* cited in the D-scholia. In particular, van der Valk has argued that ascription to the *kuklikoi* should not always be treated as accurate, with the scholiast motivated more by a desire to create a ‘learned impression’ than by any first-hand knowledge of the Cycle.<sup>41</sup> Van der Valk suggests that, while the characters who were the subject of a *historia* may have appeared in the Cycle, the content of the *historia* itself does not necessarily go back to the Cycle. This view is summed up in his brief discussion of Phorbas himself, about whom van der Valk comments that he does ‘not think it likely that [the *historia*] goes back to the Kyklos. I rather take the view that Phorbas has been mentioned somewhere in the Kyklos.’<sup>42</sup>

We might also point out the fact that the term *kuklikoi*, while relatively rare in the Aristarchean scholia, appears more frequently in the D-scholia and exegetical scholia.<sup>43</sup> This is particularly the case when the ascription is more general than specific.<sup>44</sup> A cautious approach is further strengthened by looking at the evidence for other Cyclic ascriptions in the D-scholia. Of all the fragments taken from the D-scholia, there are three ways of designating Cyclic origin: ἡ ἱστορία παρὰ τῶι τὰ Κύπρια ποιήσαντι (*Cypria* fr.1, 4 W); κατὰ τινος τῶν νεωτέρων (*Cypria* fr.8 W); ἡ ἱστορία παρὰ τοῖς κυκλικοῖς (*Cypria* fr.12, 19 W, *Aethiopsis* fr.4 W, *Iliou persis* fr.5 W). Granted the small sample size, the most common method just ascribes the story to the ‘Cyclic poets’, and this phrase always comes at the end of the

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<sup>40</sup> Cameron (2004) 105-106, 113-114. Cf. Lightfoot (1999) 251-252; Fowler (2017) 160-161.

<sup>41</sup> van der Valk (1963) 333. See also Pagès (2017) 76-78, who discusses the similarities between the Mythographus Homericus and Apollodorus’ *Bibliotheca* as mythographical handbooks.

<sup>42</sup> van der Valk (1963) 368-369.

<sup>43</sup> Schironi (2018) 705 n.262.

<sup>44</sup> Cameron (2004) 113, gives the examples ἡ ἱστορία παρὰ τῶν δεῖνα and ἱστορεῖ ὁ δεῖνα.

scholion.<sup>45</sup> All four examples are tales that are self-contained and difficult to integrate into the Epic Cycle, or are otherwise unattested for the Cycle: Helen's abduction by Theseus and the retaliation of the Dioscuri (*Cypria* fr.12 W); Achilles' transvestism at Scyros (*Cypria* fr.19 W, see Chapter 5); Phorbas versus Apollo (*Aethiopsis* fr.4 W); and the loss of the metamorphosed Electra from the Pleiades constellation (*Iliou persis* fr.5 W).

Therefore, trust in the Phorbas fragment is weakened by its association with the Homeric D-scholion. Furthermore, Eustathius recounts this same story without a reference to the *kuklikoi*.<sup>46</sup> In my opinion, fragment 4 could just as easily be a mythological *historia* that has been assigned to the vague murk of the 'Cyclic' poets, rather than an intrinsic part of the Epic Cycle and Trojan War tradition. Whether this speculation is convincing or not, the reference to Phorbas in fragment 4 does merit discussion and a degree of scrutiny.

### **Case-Study 5: Oinotropoi**

Something similar could be said of the references to the Oinotropoi. It is a scholiast to Lycophron who mentions that the three daughters of Anius - Oino, Spermo, and Elaiis - played an important role in the *Cypria*:

τοῦτον δὲ (ἼΑνιον) Ἀπόλλων ἤνεγκεν εἰς Δῆλον. ὃς γήμας Δωρίππην ἐγέννησε τὰς Οἰνοτρόπους, Οἰνώ, Σπερμώ, Ἐλαΐδα, αἷς ὁ Διόνυσος ἐχαρίσατο, ὁπότε βούλονται σπέρμα λαμβάνειν. Φερεκύδης δὲ φησιν (fr. 140 Fowler) ὅτι ἼΑνιος ἔπεισε τοὺς Ἕλληνας παραγενομένους πρὸς αὐτὸν αὐτοῦ μένειν τὰ θ' ἔτη· δεδόσθαι δὲ αὐτοῖς παρὰ τῶν θεῶν τῶι

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<sup>45</sup> Cameron (2004) 104, on the problem of citations at the end of sections.

<sup>46</sup> Severyns (1928b) 463.

δεκάτωι ἔτει πορθῆσαι τὴν Ἴλιον· ὑπέσχετο δὲ αὐτοῖς ὑπὸ τῶν θυγατέρων αὐτοῦ  
τραφήσεσθαι. ἔστι δὲ τοῦτο καὶ παρὰ τῶι τὰ Κύπρια πεποιηκότι.

*Cypria* fr.26 W = Schol.Lyc.570

The Oinotropoi are absent from Proclus' summary, and yet appear to play an important role in the Achaean journey to Troy.<sup>47</sup> Another Lycophron scholia attests that the Oinotropoi also (καὶ) went to Troy when the Greeks were suffering from famine, although there is no attribution there to the Cyclic poets:

αὗται καὶ τοὺς Ἑλληνας λιμώττοντας ἐλθοῦσαι εἰς Τροίαν διέσωσαν· μαρτυρεῖ δὲ ταῦτα καὶ  
Καλλίμαχος· Ἀγαμέμνων γὰρ τῶν Ἑλλήνων λιμῶι συνεχομένων μετεπέμψατο αὐτὰς διὰ τοῦ  
Παλαμήδους, καὶ ἐλθοῦσαι εἰς τὸ Ῥοίτειον ἔτρεφον αὐτούς.

Schol.Lyc.580-581

Although there is no mention of the *Cypria* here, attempts have been made to integrate the two stories together or choose between the two. This is particularly motivated by the reference in the latter scholion to Palamedes (‘Ἀγαμέμνων γὰρ ... μετεπέμψατο αὐτὰς διὰ τοῦ Παλαμήδους’). This has often been read in conjunction with fr.27 W (= Paus.10.31.2), which recounts that Palamedes was drowned by Odysseus and Diomedes during a fishing expedition in the *Cypria*, with the reasoning that Palamedes must have been fishing because of the famine. However, this then creates the problem of whether Palamedes was killed before or after fetching the Oinotropoi. Attempts to integrate all these versions together have resulted in needless headaches.<sup>48</sup> Such confusion can be remedied by dismissing the

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<sup>47</sup> They are also known to Ovid (*Met.*13.650-659) and Dictys (1.23).

<sup>48</sup> For example: Marin (2009) 374-375, believes that the *Cypria* had both a visit and a famine; West (2013) 124, that there was only a famine, invented by the poet of the *Cypria* ‘desperate’ to fill out his story; Kullmann (1960) 22, that there were two famines, in order to explain the death of Palamedes; Severyns (1928a) 312, that

importance of the scholion on line 580. There is no claim in the second Lycophron scholion that this story is found in the Cyclic poets, and therefore it does not need to be taken in to consideration.

Instead, we should focus on the fact that neither version attested in the Lycophron scholia is particularly easy to integrate into the Proclus epitome. There is no reference to a nine-year stay on Delos in Proclus' summary of the *Cypria*, an absence which West calls 'an absurdity'.<sup>49</sup> Nor is there any reference to a famine in the Greek camp, with the only possible link being Proclus' allusive mention of 'the death of Palamedes' occurring at the end of the *Cypria*. However, I have already suggested that the involvement of Palamedes in the Oinotropoi episode may be a red-herring. Of course, these absences are not conclusive proof that the Oinotropoi did not play a role in the *Cypria*. Proclus' epitomes are very likely to contain notable absences, and the Oinotropoi could be one of them. However, it should encourage us to look more closely at the original fragment. If we do, we note that the Lycophron scholiast associates the story of the Oinotropoi primarily with Pherecydes: 'Φερεκύδης δέ φησιν ὅτι.....'. The reference to the *Cypria* only comes at the end of the story. It is uncertain how much of the preceding information the τοῦτο refers.<sup>50</sup> It is possible that the *Cypria* known to the scholiast only mentioned the daughters of Anius, rather than recounting the nine-year stay on Delos. Whether this is true or not, it is clear from the fragment that the scholiast understands Pherecydes to be the primary source for this story, rather than the Epic Cycle.<sup>51</sup> This could suggest several conclusions. One is that the scholiast

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the visit of the Greek army to Delos was narrated as an analepsis at the point of Palamedes' death. For more on this issue, see Tsagalis (2008) 53-5. Jouan (1966) 357-8, argues that Palamedes' summoning was not narrated in the *Cypria*, but instead added in a later, perhaps Alexandrian, source; similarly Szarmach (1974) 41-42.

<sup>49</sup> West (2013) 124.

<sup>50</sup> Marin (2009) 371; West (2013) 124.

<sup>51</sup> Pace Severyns (1928a) 310, who argued that 'ces textes montrent assez clairement que Lycophron et Callimaque se sont inspirés des Chants Cypriens, et que Phérécyde...n'a fait que résumer un poème cyclique.' This is typical of Severyns' thesis - in general, he believes that Pherecydes 'a fréquemment utilisé les poèmes cycliques, en changeant l'un ou l'autre détail pour atteindre à l'originalité', 390.

is mistaken in assigning the story of the Oinotropoi to the *Cypria* as well as to Pherecydes. Another is that the account of Pherecydes has influenced the *Cypria*-tradition and led to the inclusion of the Oinotropoi. Another may be that the antiquity of both the oral Cycle tradition and Pherecydes himself relative to the time of the Lycophron scholiast makes any attempt to trace the development of the story redundant. An additional consideration is that a reference to a similar story is found in a scholion to *Od.*6.164, which claims that Odysseus had gone with Menelaus to Delos in order to fetch the Oinotropoi. So here we have another variation on the Oinotropoi story, but now with Odysseus rather than Palamedes as the fetcher.<sup>52</sup> Most importantly however, the scholion cites Simonides' *Kateuchai* as the source for the tale. It is possible that Simonides had reworked a story from the *Cypria*, but also possible that it was in fact Simonides who originated the story of the fetching of the Oinotropoi. In sum, we cannot conclude that the Oinotropoi do not belong in the Epic Cycle, but rather that their absence from Proclus and the problems raised by the sources which do attest their presence should be taken into account.

## **Conclusion**

Both the fragments and the Apollodorean epitomes add new details to the summaries of Proclus, including, *inter alia*, new characters. In some cases, these characters play only very minimal roles, while others are more significant to the narrative. The examples of the *Nostoi's nekuia* and the Lesche of the Knidians introduce a whole crowd of different characters to the world of the Epic Cycle. The embracing of Apollodorus and the fragments

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<sup>52</sup> The suggestion of Tsagalis (2008) 56-60, that the *Odyssey* verse acts as an intertextual reference to another oral tradition in which Odysseus' rival Palamedes went to Delos instead is striking but pushes the evidence of what the *Odyssey* says too far.

in Epic Cycle scholarship necessitates the analysis of these sources.<sup>53</sup> As this thesis is concerned primarily with characters in the Epic Cycle, it seemed pertinent to do so through the lens of the new characters introduced in Apollodorus and the fragments. I have already given my conclusion in the case of Apollodorus, and below give a similar one in the matter of the fragments.

These case-studies have raised more issues than they have solved. However, the aim of this chapter (and thesis) was not to disprove the credibility of the fragments to the aggrandisement of Proclus. Rather, it was to bring out some of the issues surrounding the fragments, which vary from example to example. In some cases, the fragments agree with the summaries of Proclus and present few difficulties. At other times, the fragments preserve information that is either unknown to Proclus or at odds with Proclus. The question remains as to which source of information we should privilege. On the one hand, many of these fragments are from sources that predate or are roughly contemporary with Proclus, such as the Homeric D-scholia. Therefore, in purely chronological terms, there is no reason that Proclus would have any special insight into the authentic Epic Cycle. However, at the same time, I hope to have demonstrated that on a case-by-case basis, the fragments are often problematic. By discussing some of the wider contextual issues of a selection of the fragments, it becomes clear that the information they contain, although it should not necessarily be dismissed, does need to be scrutinised.

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<sup>53</sup> The trustworthiness of Proclus as a source also merits analysis. However, this thesis takes the methodological position that Proclus, as an avowed recorder of the Epic Cycle, is at least more trustworthy than Apollodorus.

## 4. Characters and Characterisation:

### Epeius and Ajax

Having discussed the Epic Cycle in general and the characters in Apollodorus and the fragments, we now come to the discussion of characters and characterisation in the Epic Cycle of Proclus. I will start with a few methodological comments, before moving on to case-studies of Epeius and Ajax.

It is important to first explain my general approach to the topic. Some definitions will be helpful. For ‘character’, I defer to the *OED*’s definition of ‘a person portrayed in a work of fiction etc.’<sup>1</sup> I am not thinking of ‘character’ in the abstract sense of inner quality and personality.<sup>2</sup> This avoids any overlap with the second half of the equation.<sup>3</sup> A definition of ‘characterisation’ is slightly more prickly and is perhaps best reached in a roundabout way by examining how previous scholars have approached characterisation in Homer. The approach to characterisation in Homer is often determined by a scholar’s approach to Homeric poetry in general. Martin sketches a literary review of the topic that demonstrates how at each new phase of Homeric studies, the issue of characterisation has more often than not fallen by the wayside.<sup>4</sup> Consistent characterisation was not of great interest to Analysts, thanks to their image of the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* as conglomerate works created by different poets at different times. The advent of Oral Theory in the 20<sup>th</sup> century had a similarly ‘freezing’ effect

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<sup>1</sup> *OED s.v.* ‘character’, 14.

<sup>2</sup> For example, *OED s.v.* ‘character’, 8-9, 12-13.

<sup>3</sup> Furthermore, as I will consequently argue, the brevity of the Epic Cycle does not allow us to discuss ‘character’ in this psychological, interior sense to a satisfying degree.

<sup>4</sup> Martin (1993) 225-227. Also Porter (2019) 2-4.

on the study of characterisation. With an increased understanding of how the Homeric poet uses traditional formulae and epithets to construct his poem came the doubt that such a method could result in good or complex characterisation. To counter this, the Homeric poet was singled out as a lone genius who had been able to develop a profound depth of character in his poetry. Or as Whitman put it: ‘Homer’s genius is like a shuttle drawing the warp of profound self-consciousness across the woof of old, half primitive material.’<sup>5</sup> For Whitman, Homer took the traditional and undifferentiated heroic norm and crafted highly individual characters.<sup>6</sup> The dichotomy between the traditional, ‘flat’ types of the tradition and the unique characterisation of Homer is also upheld by scholars such as Bowra<sup>7</sup> and Kullmann, who argued that before Homer, characters were little more than ‘relativ einfache “Typen”’.<sup>8</sup>

However, in recent years some scholars have been interested in closing the conceptual gap between characterisation and traditional types. Fundamental to this view is the idea that Homer ‘inherited a bundle of information’ from the song-tradition in which he worked.<sup>9</sup> For example, Minchin has used theories from cognitive science to suggest that the characters of the *Iliad* had long-established ‘packages’ of information associated with them specifically, namely their role, their relationships with other characters, and some specific attributions. These ‘packages’ of knowledge were not *ad hoc* inventions by the Homeric poet, but instead had been transmitted throughout the generations of singers, resulting in convincingly consistent characterisation.<sup>10</sup> In a similar vein, Porter has used Foley’s theory of traditional referentiality to map out how and why characters act as they do in Homeric poetry. He argues

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<sup>5</sup> Whitman (1958) 155.

<sup>6</sup> Whitman (1958) 163.

<sup>7</sup> ‘To these [characters] he had to give new life, while keeping their traditional features.’ Bowra (1930) 192.

<sup>8</sup> ‘Viel weiter wird die Charakterisierungskunst in den Quellen der Ilias nicht gegangen sein.’ Kullmann (1960) 384.

<sup>9</sup> Minchin (2011) 331.

<sup>10</sup> Minchin (2011) 342: ‘Having been transmitted perhaps for generations, each package has been tried and tested for internal consistency (that is, it will generate a believable individual who behaves ‘in character’ unfailingly, in all situations).’

that epic characterisation ‘relies upon deep and extensive traditional resonances adhering to each character from his or her participation in past stories’.<sup>11</sup> Notably, he suggests that the negative and unflattering characterisation of Agamemnon in the *Iliad* is informed by the wider tradition surrounding Agamemnon, namely his sacrifice of Iphigeneia and his death at the hands of Clytemnestra.<sup>12</sup> Finally, Dué focusses on the character of Briseis, arguing, along the lines of Nagy’s theories of multiformity, that the Iliadic Briseis is a product of the process of ‘compression and expansion’. That is to say that the Homeric poet drew on a well of fully-developed characters for his poetry, some of whom, such as Briseis, he made into minor characters in his own poem although they had their own extensive traditions.<sup>13</sup>

However, there are limits to how far I can follow exactly the methodologies of Porter, Dué, *et al.* This is because the Epic Cycle does not exist for us as a poem, but only as prose summaries and fragments. The evidentiary burden of these methodologies is often placed on the use of epithets and other traditional formulae, the *Kunstsprache* of Homeric poetry. For example, in his exploration of how Telemachus functions in the *Odyssey*, Martin comments on the use of epithets as a technique of characterisation, arguing that they not only enable him to be a consistent character, but also that, ‘The repetition in different contexts of the formulaic elements lets us construct a three-dimensional picture of the hero.’<sup>14</sup> The epithets and traditional formulae used for individual characters in Homer will be discussed at various points in this thesis, and they can demonstrate at the very least that the character has been integrated by the Homeric poet into the oral-formulaic tradition. But without corresponding evidence from the Epic Cycle, it is very difficult to build a convincing picture of how

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<sup>11</sup> Porter (2019) 7, cf. 23-33.

<sup>12</sup> Porter (2019) 193-199.

<sup>13</sup> Dué (2002).

<sup>14</sup> Martin (1993) 12, 7-13.

traditional formulae contributed to character and characterisation in the wider Trojan War tradition.

In general, the argument that Homeric characterisation is a product of tradition relies on the richness of the Homeric poems themselves to support this claim. Unlike the paltry evidence of the Cycle, the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* have detailed descriptions of characters' 'deeds and words'<sup>15</sup> which allow the audience to understand them as 'rounded' characters and allow scholars to argue for a tradition of individualised characterisation. Martin's analysis of the characterisation of Telemachus in the *Odyssey* relies on four different techniques: epithets, Telemachus' speeches, his rhetorical strategies, and focalization of the narrative through Telemachus.<sup>16</sup> All four of these modes of characterisation are irrelevant to a study of the Epic Cycle, as the highly abridged nature of the summaries means that we are not able to access any speeches or detailed descriptions of the characters' actions.<sup>17</sup>

We could turn to other extant examples of early Greek hexameter poetry to see how they create and define character. Both the Homeric Hymns and the Hesiodic corpus offer alternative views of what poetry and, more specifically, what characterisation might look like in the archaic period. There is not a wealth of work on characterisation in either the Hymns or Hesiod. However, two chapters in a recent *Mnemosyne* supplement point out that in both examples characterisation is brief, direct, and explicit.<sup>18</sup> The poets rely on quick and clear brushstrokes to convey the attributes of various characters, such as epithets, adjectives, speeches, and physical appearance. For example, Koning sketches out the importance in the

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<sup>15</sup> The definition of character in the ancient mind; see Porter (2019) 34.

<sup>16</sup> Martin (1993) 228, *passim*.

<sup>17</sup> Even more inaccessible is any theory of characterisation that focuses on the inner psychology of Homeric characters. See for example, Halliwell (1990) 38-42 on the 'unity-in-complexity of the mind' of Homeric characters, and de Jong (2001) on 'embedded focalisation'.

<sup>18</sup> Koning (2018) and de Jong (2018).

Hesiodic corpus of characterisation methods such as contrast, especially in the example of Hesiod and Perses, as well as group membership, with the moral qualities assigned to a collective such as the Titans or the Men of Iron in turn automatically characterising any individual member.<sup>19</sup> Similarly, de Jong argues that in the Homeric Hymns, epiphanies are an important mode of characterisation for the god in question.<sup>20</sup>

However, once again there are limitations as to how helpful these examples can be. The main hindrance here is generic differences. The poets of both the Hymns and the Hesiodic corpus are working in different genres of poetry that *per se* determine modes of characterisation. For example, de Jong argues that, ‘The abundant explicit characterisation in the Homeric Hymns, which makes them markedly different from the more covert Homeric epics, is more likely due to their close relationship with cultic hymns and prayers.’<sup>21</sup> In the case of the *Catalogue of Women*, the simplistic and front-loaded characterisation is probably a product of the genre of catalogue-poetry itself, ‘which demands characters to be drawn with both speed and accuracy’.<sup>22</sup>

The question remains therefore as to where we can place the Epic Cycle in relation to other, extant early Greek poetry in terms of characterisation. We need to be careful to bear in mind that the Cycle as we have it is not a literary or poetic work, but an abridgement of poems that have developed over a long span of time. Therefore, some common ways of analysing characterisation in both modern literature and Homer are inaccessible to us. We might conclude that the search for characterisation in the Epic Cycle is a vain one. This will be true for a number of the characters studied in this thesis. However, there is enough evidence in the

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<sup>19</sup> Koning (2018) 53-63.

<sup>20</sup> de Jong (2018) 71-77.

<sup>21</sup> de Jong (2018) 66, 71-77.

<sup>22</sup> Koning (2018) 51.

case of others to allow for discussion of how they were characterised in the Epic Cycle.

Before moving on to these characters, the two examples below showcase both the possibilities and limitations of the study of characters in the Epic Cycle, and introduce some of the areas of interest pursued in later chapters.

### **Case-Study 1: Epeius**

Epeius is only mentioned once in the Epic Cycle as we have it, but he plays a very important role in the story of the Trojan War, as the builder of the Wooden Horse. As Proclus records in the *Ilias parva*:

καὶ Ἐπειὸς κατ' Ἀθηνᾶς προαίρεσιν τὸν δούρειον ἵππον κατασκευάζει.

*Ilias parva* arg.14

Epeius is also clearly referenced as the builder of the Wooden Horse in the *Odyssey*, being referred to in Book 8 (τὸν Ἐπειὸς ἐποίησεν σὺν Ἀθήνῃ, *Od.*8.493) and Book 11 (ἵππον.....ὄν κάμ' Ἐπειός, *Od.*11.523). Both of these references are neutral, in that they give no other information about Epeius apart from that already known from Proclus: that he built the horse with the help of Athena. He is not even granted a descriptive epithet.

However, the *Iliad* presents what seems to be a more fully-realised picture of Epeius. In the *Iliad*, Epeius is introduced in Book 23 as a competitor in the boxing match. Before the match, in which he defeats Euryalus, he makes a witty and philosophical speech on the nature of skill:

ὦς ἔφατ', ὄρνυτο δ' αὐτίκ' ἀνὴρ ἠϋς τε μέγας τε  
εἰδὼς πυγμαχίης, υἱὸς Πανοπῆος Ἐπειός,  
ἄψατο δ' ἠμίονου ταλαεργοῦ φώνησέν τε·  
'ἄσσον ἴτω ὅς τις δέπας οἴσεται ἀμφικύπελλον·  
ἠμίονον δ' οὐ φημί τιν' ἀξέμεν ἄλλον Ἀχαιῶν  
πυγμαῖ νικήσαντ', ἐπεὶ εὐχομαι εἶναι ἄριστος.  
ἦ οὐχ ἄλις ὅττι μάχης ἐπιδεύομαι; οὐδ' ἄρα πως ἦν  
ἐν πάντεσσ' ἔργοισι δαήμονα φῶτα γενέσθαι.  
ὦδε γὰρ ἐξερέω, τὸ δὲ καὶ τετελεσμένον ἔσται·  
ἀντικρὺ χροῖα τε ῥήξω σύν τ' ὅστέ' ἀράξω.  
κηδεμόνες δέ οἱ ἐνθάδ' ἀολλέες αὔθι μενόντων,  
οἷ κέ μιν ἐξοίσουσιν ἐμῆς ὑπὸ χερσὶ δαμέντα.'

*Il.23.664-675*

Later in the Funeral Games, he has a less successful attempt in the discus-throwing contest,

...καὶ δῖος Ἐπειός.  
ἐξείης δ' ἴσταντο, σόλον δ' ἔλε δῖος Ἐπειός,  
ἦκε δὲ δινήσας· γέλασαν δ' ἐπὶ πάντες Ἀχαιοί.

*Il.23.838-840*

Epeius' character in the Funeral Games has commonly been understood as a representation of the 'lower-class' warriors and characters who are rarely the focus of Homeric poetry.<sup>23</sup> Like Thersites and Euryalus, he is a sort of comic scapegoat who provokes the laughter of his

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<sup>23</sup> See Scanlon (2018) *passim*.

fellow Greeks.<sup>24</sup> The characterisation of Epeius as primarily non-elite is also seen in other Greek literature. Stesichorus explains that Athene pitied Epeius because he was forced to carry water to the kings (fr.100.18-19 Finglass). A much later fragment of Plautus refers to *Epeum fumificum, qui legioni nostrae habet coctum cibum* (Plaut.fr.incert.1 Leo, cited by Varro, *Ling.*7.38). Although slight, both of these references develop the Iliadic characterisation of Epeius as a ‘lowly’ member of the Greek host, who is engaged in menial tasks for his superiors.

However, there are limits to how much the evidence can tell us about the character of Epeius in pre-Homeric epic. Kullmann has argued that the characterisation of Epeius in the *Iliad*, ‘die Rolle des tölpelhaften Knechts und Feiglings’, predates the *Iliad* and was known to Homer from the Cyclic poems.<sup>25</sup> However, Kullmann has little evidence for this except the depictions already mentioned and the claim that, ‘Das Bild des Epeios in der Ilias das Sekundäre ist’. But other evidence gives a different view of Epeius. As already mentioned, the characterisation of Epeius in the *Odyssey* is completely neutral; he is simply described as the builder of the Trojan Horse. The Iliadic narrator refers to him as δῖος (*Il.*23.838). The significance of this very common epithet has been debated – one interpretation would be that its use for Epeius implies his noble and heroic qualities.<sup>26</sup> Others would argue that the epithet is not primarily descriptive, but instead is used out of metrical convenience<sup>27</sup> or to be resonant of the wider poetic tradition.<sup>28</sup> In my opinion, the most reasonable conclusion to draw is that in this example the use of δῖος is largely generic, but that it does at least indicate

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<sup>24</sup> Scanlon (2018) 9.

<sup>25</sup> Kullmann (1960) 340.

<sup>26</sup> A similar argument has been proposed for its use in conjunction with the otherwise ‘humble’ figures of Eumaeus and, to a lesser extent, Philoetius in the *Odyssey*. See Bonnafé (1984); Scodel (2002) 158; Skempis (2010) 106-112.

<sup>27</sup> Parry (1971 [1928]) 146-152.

<sup>28</sup> Foley (1999) 214-216.

that Epeius' character is not held in such low regard by the poet that even the mostly generic δῖος is unusable.<sup>29</sup> Furthermore, while it does mention his initial lowly status, the *Iliou persis* of Stesichorus seems to give prominence to Epeius' glorification, referring to him flatteringly as a man taught measurements and σοφία by the goddess, and who will therefore win κλέος (fr.100.10-14 Finglass).<sup>30</sup> Absent from the *Odyssey* and Stesichorus are any indications that Epeius was represented as a comical or lowly figure; instead his characterisation, or perhaps lack thereof, is centred around his role as the builder of the Trojan Horse.

Epeius is a good example of the possibilities but also the limitations of the search for an 'original' or 'pre-Homeric' character using the Epic Cycle, and how our conclusions are necessarily defined by the type and extent of evidence we have for a given character. The evidence of the Epic Cycle establishes that Epeius did play an important role in the story of the Trojan War, and it is tempting to see in Epeius' characterisation a dichotomy between his lowly, comic status and his noble achievement in building the Trojan Horse. However, these two sides of his character are discretely divided between the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*, with no overlap. Later literature does appear to have played on this paradox within the character, but there is no evidence to suggest that this preceded Homer. In this case, the paucity and the contradictions of the Homeric and Proclean evidence offers few definitive answers. Instead, what it does do is underline the fact that the (possibly) idiosyncratic portrayal of Epeius in the *Iliad* may well be an invention of the Homeric poet.

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<sup>29</sup> Bonnafé (1984) 185-186, makes the similar point for the *Odyssey*, in which the swineherd Eumaeus and the cowherd Philoetius are given the epithet, but not the disloyal goatherd Melanthius.

<sup>30</sup> West (1969) 141; Davies & Finglass (2014) *ad loc.*

## Case-Study 2: Ajax

Unlike Epeius, Telamonian Ajax plays a prominent role both in the *Iliad* and in the Epic Cycle. In the latter, Ajax has two major set pieces in which he plays a leading role. In the *Aethiopis*, it is he who rescues Achilles' body from the Trojans with the help of Odysseus:

καὶ περὶ τοῦ πτώματος γενομένης ἰσχυρᾶς μάχης Αἴας ἀνελόμενος ἐπὶ τὰς ναῦς κομίζει,  
Ὀδυσσεὺς ἀπομαχομένου τοῖς Τρωσίν.

*Aethiopis* arg.16-18

In the *Ilias parva*, after Odysseus is awarded Achilles' armour, Ajax goes insane, destroys the livestock, and commits suicide:

ἢ τῶν ὄπλων κρίσις γίνεται καὶ Ὀδυσσεὺς κατὰ βούλησιν Ἀθηναῖς λαμβάνει, Αἴας δ' ἐμμανῆς  
γενόμενος τὴν τε λείαν τῶν Ἀχαιῶν λυμαίνεται καὶ ἑαυτὸν ἀναιρεῖ.

*Ilias parva* arg.3-5

Unlike Epeius, Ajax offers us several avenues to explore if we wish to discuss his character and how he was characterised in the Epic Cycle.

The first is that of Neoanalysis. Ajax finds himself in the centre of the *locus classicus* of Neoanalysis: the death of Achilles in the *Aethiopis* and of Patroclus in the *Iliad*. In *Iliad* Book 17, there is a struggle between the Greeks and the Trojans for the corpse of Patroclus. In a lengthy passage, Ajax prevails in fighting off the Trojans, and together with Oilean Ajax, just

about provides cover for Meriones and Menelaus to carry the corpse safely away from the battlefield. Neoanalysts have argued that this is an example of motif transference from the *Aethiopsis*, in which a battle also rages over the body of Achilles, with Ajax carrying it off and Odysseus holding back the Trojans (*Aethiopsis* arg.16-18).<sup>31</sup> For Schadewaldt, the Iliadic version of the ‘*Memnonis*’ scene shows a clear ‘Weiterbildung’ with the ‘Verdoppelung der Träger’: Menelaus and Meriones instead of Ajax, the two Aiantes instead of Odysseus.<sup>32</sup> Furthermore, Kullmann has argued that the scene in Book 11, in which Ajax and Menelaus rescue Odysseus from a threatening throng of Trojans, corresponds to the ‘Zusammenstehen’ of Odysseus and Ajax in the *Aethiopsis*. In the *Iliad* it is Odysseus who needs assistance, while in the *Aethiopsis* it is Ajax. Kullmann concludes that, since the motif of mutual help is more relevant in the context of the *Aethiopsis* than the *Iliad*, ‘Scheint es in der Anwendung auf den Rückzug mit Achills Leiche primär zu sein und in der Ilias sekundär mit Vertauschung der Rollen.’<sup>33</sup>

How convincing are these Neoanalytical arguments, and what can they tell us about the character of Ajax? Burgess has expressed caution in seeing a direct link between the two scenes. He argues that more pertinent is Ajax’ common role in the *Iliad* as a defensive warrior. Furthermore, he points out the lack of significant details in both the *Iliad* and in artistic depictions of the battle for Patroclus’ corpse that would definitively link it with the *Aethiopsis* scene. Therefore, he prefers to look to oral tradition rather than the Cycle for the source of the Iliadic scene.<sup>34</sup> I would also add that Kullmann’s arguments detailed above beg the question of similarities between the *Aethiopsis* and the *Iliad*. The Book 11 scene really has

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<sup>31</sup> The roles are reversed at *Ov.Met.*13.282-285 and *P.Oxy.*2510 (= *Ilias parva* fr.32 Bernabé). See West (2013) 176 n.11.

<sup>32</sup> Schadewaldt (1959) 170.

<sup>33</sup> Kullmann (1960) 327.

<sup>34</sup> Burgess (2001) 82-83.

very few similarities with the *Aethiopsis*, apart from the fact they both involve Odysseus and Ajax in a close encounter with the Trojans. Kullmann's claims of primary and secondary relevance are equally nebulous. In fact, the proliferation of similar scenes of Ajax playing a defensive role in the *Iliad*, as well as more general references to Greek warriors helping each other in battle,<sup>35</sup> points more towards Burgess' conclusion that we need to look to the tradition, rather than to the *Aethiopsis* specifically.<sup>36</sup>

Nevertheless, there is some compelling evidence which points towards the viability of the Neoanalytical approach. During the events traditionally ascribed to the *Aethiopsis*, there is a fight over the corpse of Achilles. Proclus records that Ajax takes up the body and carries it back to the ships of the Achaeans (*Aethiopsis* arg.16-18). Apollodorus adds the detail that, during this battle, Ajax killed Glaucus (*Ap.Ep.5.4*).<sup>37</sup> In the *Iliad*, Glaucus rebukes Hector for not fighting and facing up against the Greeks, singling out Ajax in particular:

ἀλλὰ σύ γ' Αἴαντος μεγαλήτορος οὐκ ἐτάλασσα  
στήμεναι ἅντα κατ' ὅσσε ἰδὼν δηῖων ἐν ἀϋτῆι,  
οὐδ' ἰθὺς μαχέσασθαι, ἐπεὶ σέο φέρτερός ἐστι.

*Il.*17.166-168

One possibility is that this is a reference to the death of Achilles, in which Glaucus himself will face off against Ajax and be killed (*Ap.Ep.5.4*). An ancient audience may have appreciated the dramatic irony in having Glaucus encourage Hector to face off in battle with

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<sup>35</sup> For example, at *Il.*2.362-368, 3.9, and 13.237-238. On Greek phalanx warfare in the *Iliad*, see van Wees (2000) 143-144

<sup>36</sup> Pace Kullmann (1960) 327, who instead argues that it is the *Aethiopsis* scene specifically that is reflected in other Iliadic scenes of Ajax fighting.

<sup>37</sup> γενομένης δὲ περὶ τοῦ νεκροῦ μάχης Αἴας Γλαῦκον ἀναιρεῖ.

the same hero who will go on to kill him. However, we should note that the additional detail about Ajax killing Glaucus is found in Apollodorus, not Proclus. I have already set out my cautious approach to Apollodorean additions in Chapter 2. Nevertheless, there are two points to recommend the theory that the *Iliad* verses are an allusion to a pre-Homeric tradition of Glaucus' death at the hands of Ajax. The first is the evidence of art, namely a 6<sup>th</sup> century Chalcidian amphora that depicts the battle for Achilles' corpse. Among the figures depicted is Ajax plunging his spear into 'Glykos' (*sic* Glaucus), as he attempts to drag the corpse away with a strap.<sup>38</sup> This would suggest that Ajax' killing of Glaucus was a part of the tradition from at least the 6<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>39</sup> The second is that there is nothing in the Iliadic example that, taken in isolation, would obviously encourage a later writer to have Glaucus killed by Ajax. In the chapter on Apollodorus, some of the examples were explained as instances of Apollodorus (or other later writers) 'filling out' or embellishing a single line in the *Iliad*. In contrast to these direct relationships between Homer and Apollodorus, the example of Glaucus is far more indirect. The *Iliad* scene taken in isolation does not overtly hint at any later fate for Glaucus and would not necessarily lead later writers to fabricate his death at the hands of Ajax. However, if we consider this event to be pre-Homeric, we can understand the allusive potential of this character speaking in this way. Finally, as Kullmann points out, Glaucus in *Iliad* 17 can be seen as part of an allusive network of references to the death of Achilles and the fight over his corpse. A minor Trojan warrior named Hippothoos attempts to drag off the corpse of Patroclus but is killed by Ajax (*Il.* 17.288-303). Thus, Hippothoos could be seen as a replacement for Glaucus in the *Aethiopsis*.<sup>40</sup> The earlier appearance of Glaucus, encouraging Hector to fight for Patroclus' corpse, underpins the significance of Hippothoos and his death. Thus, the case of Ajax provides an example of both the pitfalls and the

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<sup>38</sup> *LIMC* s.v. 'Glaukos V' C.9.

<sup>39</sup> Gantz (1996) 626-627.

<sup>40</sup> Kullmann (1960) 328.

possibilities offered by Neoanalysis in the approach to the characters shared between the Cycle and Homer.

As has been briefly discussed already, another way of approaching the topic is not through the search for references to a specific poem, but instead to the *Faktenkanon* that underpins both the Cycle and Homer. The *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* show a knowledge of what happens to Ajax beyond their own specific timeframes. This knowledge is displayed through both direct and indirect allusions. Of the former, we have in the *Odyssey* the meeting between Odysseus and Ajax in the Underworld. At this point, Odysseus recounts the quarrel over the arms, and his attempts at reconciliation are silently rebuffed by the angry Ajax (*Od.*11.543-565).

Indirect allusions to the unhappy fate of Ajax can also be seen in the Funeral Games of *Iliad* 23. Ajax takes part in a wrestling match with Odysseus that ends not with his defeat, but in a tie between the two warriors (*Il.*23.700-739). This may well be an anticipation of the more meaningful conflict between the two over the arms of Achilles.<sup>41</sup> Ajax also underperforms in his hand-to-hand combat match with Diomedes, which the Achaeans call to a close out of fear for Ajax' safety (*Il.*23.799-825). Finally, Ajax is pipped to the post by Polyboites in the discus contest (*Il.*23.826-849). All in all, Ajax ties or is defeated in all three of the contests in which he participates during the Funeral Games. While one example might not be convincing, the tricolon of underwhelming performances strongly suggests that this is an anticipation of Ajax' besting by Odysseus in the decision over the arms of Achilles.<sup>42</sup>

But we can use tradition as a way of thinking not just about the narrative journey of a character like Ajax, but also perhaps his traditional 'characterisation'. I have already

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<sup>41</sup> Kullmann (1960) 81-2, 335; Richardson (1993) *ad* 23.700-39.

<sup>42</sup> Although note that in his inconclusive duel with Hector in Book 7, Ajax is clearly the better warrior (7.233-312). However, the special position of the Funeral Games as a foreshadowing of the future of the war still means that the cumulative effect of Ajax' defeats in Book 23 points towards his later and greatest humiliation.

discussed the ways in which scholars have applied Foley’s ideas of ‘traditional referentiality’ to well-developed characters such as Agamemnon in the *Iliad*. In the case of Ajax, we might look at a mode of characterisation that is fairly consistent across both the Cycle and the Homeric poems. I give it the blanket term, ‘quarrelsomeness’. Obviously, the clearest example of this tendency is in Ajax’ argument with Odysseus over the arms of Achilles. This episode is well known from Sophocles’ *Ajax*,<sup>43</sup> but also appears twice in the Epic Cycle, both at the end of the *Aethiopis* and at the beginning of the *Ilias parva*.<sup>44</sup> It is the *Aethiopis* version which focuses on the conflict between Ajax and Odysseus, rather than the former’s consequent insanity and suicide. But Ajax’ propensity to be in conflict with his fellow warriors is also illustrated by the ‘girl-talk’ fragment from a scholiast on Aristophanes. According to the scholiast, the author of the *Ilias parva* had a scene where two Trojan girls argued over who was the better warrior, Ajax or Odysseus, with one quoted as saying:

Αἴας μὲν γὰρ ἄειρε καὶ ἔκφερε δηϊοτῆτος  
ἥρω Πηλείδην, οὐδ’ ἤθελε δῖος Ὀδυσσεύς.

*Ilias parva* fr.2 W = Schol.Ar.Eq.1056a

This fragment gives further embellishment to the contest scene and the rescue of Achilles’ body. It frames both in a competitive style that emphasises the contrast between Ajax and Odysseus. It also lends a different context to the rescue of Achilles’ corpse in the *Aethiopis*.

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<sup>43</sup> The quarrel and Ajax’ suicide are also notably referenced in Pindar (*Nem.*7.23-27; *Nem.*8.21-34; *Isth.*4.34-38), and also probably in the Aeschylean *Threissai* (*TrGF* 3 F83-5) and *Hoplōn Krisis* (*TrGF* 3 F174-8). See Finglass (2011) 31-36.

<sup>44</sup> While in Proclus, the quarrel occurs at the beginning of the *Ilias parva* (arg.3-5), according to a scholiast on Pindar, it occurred in the *Aethiopis* (Schol.Pind.*Isth.*4.58b = fr.6 W; also in the inscription on the *Tabula Capitolina*). I agree with Sammons (2017) 235-236, who argues that this is a result of the Proclean epitomes being elided in order to create a more seamless narrative of the Trojan War when inserted into the Homeric manuscript tradition. It seems highly plausible that, prior to this, the famous quarrel between Ajax and Odysseus was told as part of both the *Aethiopis* and the *Ilias parva*, or songs covering those events. On quarrels as a standard epic opening, see Kelly (2015) 322.

Unlike Kullmann's interpretation of the scene as an example of mutual help and dependence between Odysseus and Ajax, the scene is now pitched instead as a subtle battle for dominance and honour.

This leads into a wider feature of Ajax' character that can be brought out from the evidence. This is that he occupies a quasi-antagonistic role in the Trojan War tradition. Of course, this position is centred around the circumstances of his death. As already discussed, Proclus records that Ajax went mad, savaged the flocks, and killed himself after he failed to receive the arms of Achilles. Apollodorus and Porphyry also record a tradition in which Agamemnon, in anger at Ajax' actions, did not allow him to be cremated but instead insisted he was buried.<sup>45</sup> When Odysseus visits the Underworld in the *Odyssey*, his conversation with Ajax reflects this uneasy and unamicable relationship. Odysseus' attempts at reconciliation are rejected by Ajax absolutely; after reasoning that it was the gods' fault that the τευχέων/ ούλομένων ('accursed arms', 11.554-555) caused Ajax' death, he asks Ajax to δάμασον δὲ μένος καὶ ἀγήνορα θυμόν ('subdue [his] wrath and proud spirit', 11.562). However, Ajax is a silent participant in this scene. He has no input, and simply walks away from Odysseus in silence (ὁ δὲ μ' οὐδὲν ἀμείβετο, βῆ δὲ μετ' ἄλλας/ ψυχὰς εἰς Ἑρεβος νεκύων κατατεθνηώτων, 11.563-4). This is a striking portrayal of Ajax' hostile relationship with Odysseus and characterises Ajax as particularly obstinate and unwilling to acquiesce to his fellow warriors.

This thorny relationship is possibly reflected in Ajax' behaviour in the *Iliad*. I am thinking in particular of his role in the Embassy to Achilles in Book 9. It is Ajax who is the most impatient and directly unfriendly towards Achilles, calling him σχέτλιος and expressing his

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<sup>45</sup> Porph.(Paralip.fr.4 Schrader) ap.Eust.285.34 = fr.3 W *Ilias parva*; Ap.Ep.5.7.

irritation at the warrior's obduracy (*Il.*9.624-642). His speech is also the shortest of the trio by far, its length not only displaying the warrior's lack of eloquence but also emphasising his lack of patience with Achilles. The embassy acts as a sort of 'set-piece' for the personalities of each individual warrior to be brought out through their speech. Ajax comes out as the most directly antagonistic towards his fellow warrior. We may in part put this down to a consistency of characterisation throughout the Epic Cycle. Ajax' eventual fate and his posthumous expulsion from the Achaean host could be argued to be reflected in his 'curmudgeonly' demeanour in the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*.

Finally, what can also be drawn out from the Epic Cycle is the characterisation of Ajax as a very important Greek warrior. The *Iliad* operates a strange dichotomy when it comes to Ajax' standing within the Greek host. On the one hand, he is clearly positioned as among the leading Achaeans. In Book 1, Achilles mentions Agamemnon, Odysseus, and Ajax as three warriors whose prize he will take away if deprived of Briseis (*Il.*1.1345-139). His presence in the *teichoskopia* of Book 3 not only implicitly singles him out as one of the most important Greek warriors, but Helen clearly describes him as the main defensive force of the Greeks (οὗτος δ' Αἴας ἐστὶ πελώριος, ἔρκος Ἀχαιῶν, 3.229). However, it is notable that Ajax has no obvious *aristeia* during the course of the poem.<sup>46</sup> Taken in isolation, this might seem strange, but the evidence of the Cycle helps to fill out and confirm the picture of Ajax as a very important and central figure in the span of the Trojan War story. Both his rescue of Achilles' body and his contest with Odysseus confirm and explain his high status in the *Iliad* and his significance for that poem's audience.

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<sup>46</sup> Sammons (2017) 163.

## **Conclusion**

In this brief introduction, I have demonstrated some ways in which we can begin to approach the question of ‘characters’ and ‘characterisation’ in the Epic Cycle. This has taken into account approaches to characters that have already been pursued in Homeric studies, including those influenced by Foley’s theory of ‘traditional referentiality’. But I have also underlined the fact that our approach to characters and characterisation cannot be identical between Homer and the Epic Cycle. This is partly because of the difference between the primary sources, Homer and Proclus, but also because this thesis takes the view that the Epic Cycle was a dynamic tradition, meaning that discussions of characters can take in both possible pre-Homeric and post-Homeric appearances. Our approach to each character is determined by the type of evidence we have, which varies in extent and type between characters. I have used two case-studies, one of a minor character in Homer, and one of a major character in Homer, as examples to illustrate the possibilities and also limitations of this approach to the Epic Cycle. A reader may reasonably point out that there is much more to say about Ajax than Epeius. This is partly true; our evidence for Ajax is far richer, and so it should come as no surprise that his character provides more avenues for exploration. But Epeius and the other minor characters who will be discussed in this thesis are also worthy of discussion. Sometimes, as in the case of Epeius, it will be the differences in their presentation between Homer, the Cycle, and other literature that will be of interest, leading to questions of how a character evolves and changes depending on the context. In the later case of Polypoites and Leonteus (Chapter 9), the Cyclic evidence will be read in conjunction with the Homeric evidence to suggest the wider significance of these characters within the oral epic tradition.

## 5. Achilles

The first character under discussion is Achilles. Achilles is an excellent starting point because he plays a prominent role in the Epic Cycle, and his character opens up several areas of discussion that will be relevant throughout this thesis. The argument of this chapter is that the Cyclic characterisation of Achilles contributes to and furthers the overall picture of the hero as the supreme warrior. The first section is a discussion of the ways in which the Cyclic version of Achilles accords with the Iliadic picture of Achilles as the best Greek warrior, focussing firstly on his guerrilla warfare before the Trojan War proper, and then secondly on Achilles' encounter with Memnon. I will then turn to look at another mode of characterisation that is more visible in the Cycle than in Homer. This is the portrait of Achilles as the Greek hero with the most romantic and sexual encounters. This more 'un-Homeric' characterisation also contributes to the image of Achilles as the supreme warrior in the Trojan War tradition.

Throughout this chapter it will also be appropriate to discuss the depiction of the various satellite characters with whom Achilles interacts in the Epic Cycle. These are primarily, Troilus, Memnon, and Penthesileia. I will consider them in their own right, and also how their character's narrative in the Epic Cycle contributes to the characterisation of Achilles.

The themes and questions raised by this chapter, namely whether the 'specialness' of Achilles' character is a product of post-Homeric influence, will be further discussed in the following chapter, which deals with his son Neoptolemus, the foregrounding of the

relationship between father and son in the Epic Cycle, and the post-mortem influence of Achilles in the Cycle.

### 'Iliadic' Achilles in the Cycle

#### Cyclic Achilles: Before the *Iliad*

The Achilles we meet in the Cycle is the outstanding warrior with whom we are familiar from the *Iliad*. He is responsible for the death of several prominent heroes – Thersander, Cycnus, Troilus, Penthesileia, and Memnon. In this section, I will discuss in more detail some examples of the heroic and 'Iliadic' Achilles in the Cycle. In doing so, I will establish the way in which the characterisation of Achilles in the Epic Cycle is in accord with the picture of his character as presented in the *Iliad*.

This characterisation begins in the period before the events of the *Iliad*. Proclus' summary of the *Cypria* narrates some of the deeds performed by Achilles in the lead up to the war and mentioned in passing in the *Iliad*. This is particularly true of the narrative period in which the Greeks first disembark at Troy and the early days of the siege. It was during this time that Achilles first asserted his martial prowess by devastating the surrounding area and causing general mischief. The *Cypria* and the *Iliad* are roughly in agreement as to the main events of this period. Starting with the *Cypria*, Proclus refers to Achilles' rustling of Aeneas' cattle, the sacking of Lyrnessus and Pedasus, and his murder of Troilus:

ἔπειτα τὴν χώραν ἐπεξελθόντες πορθοῦσι καὶ τὰς περιοίκους πόλεις..... κάπειτα ἀπελαύνει τὰς Αἰνείου βοῦς, καὶ Λυρνησσὸν καὶ Πήδασον πορθεῖ καὶ συχνάς τῶν

περιοικίδων πόλεων, καὶ Τρωΐλον φονεύει. Λυκάονά τε Πάτροκλος εἰς Λῆμνον ἀγαγὼν ἀπεμπολεῖ.

*Cypria* arg.58, 61-64

The sacking of Lyrnessus and Pedasus and the theft of Aeneas' cattle are also referenced in the *Iliad*. In Book 20 Aeneas narrates the events from his own perspective:

οὐ μὲν γὰρ νῦν πρῶτα ποδώκεος ἄντ' Ἀχιλῆος  
στήσομαι, ἀλλ' ἤδη με καὶ ἄλλοτε δουρὶ φόβησεν  
ἔξ Ἴδης, ὅτε βουσὶν ἐπήλυθεν ἡμετέρησι,  
πέρσε δὲ Λυρνησσὸν καὶ Πήδασον· αὐτὰρ ἐμὲ Ζεὺς  
εἰρύσαθ', ὅς μοι ἐπῶρσε μένος λαιψηρά τε γοῦνα.  
ἦ κ' ἐδάμην ὑπὸ χερσὶν Ἀχιλλῆος καὶ Ἀθήνης,

*Il.*20.89-94

In turn Achilles taunts him with his previous blows against Aeneas himself and the Trojans:

ἦ οὐ μέμνη ὅτε πέρ σε βοῶν ἄπο μοῦνον ἐόντα  
σεῦα κατ' Ἰδαίων ὀρέων ταχέεσσι πόδεσσι  
καρπαλίμως; τότε δ' οὐ τι μετατροπαλίξο φεύγων.  
ἔνθεν δ' ἐς Λυρνησσὸν ὑπέκφυγες· αὐτὰρ ἐγὼ τὴν  
πέρσα μεθορμηθεὶς σὺν Ἀθήνῃ καὶ Διὶ πατρί,  
ληϊάδας δὲ γυναϊκας ἐλεύθερον ἦμαρ ἀπούρας  
ἦγον· ἀτὰρ σὲ Ζεὺς ἐρρύσατο καὶ θεοὶ ἄλλοι.

*Il.*20.188-194

Therefore, the *Iliad* and the *Cypria* agree in their accounts of Achilles' actions prior to the war proper, with the exception that the *Iliad* is silent on his murder of Troilus. Troilus does receive a single *Iliadic* reference in Book 24, when Priam counts him as among his deceased sons Τρωΐλον ἰπποχάρμην (24.257).

### i) **The character of Troilus**

Proclus' summary of the *Cypria* centres the character of Troilus in the arc of Achilles' pre-war adventures. Therefore, an account of the character of Troilus and his position in the Epic Cycle may help to illuminate more in turn about the how the character of Achilles functioned and the role he played in the tradition's narration of the beginning of the Trojan War story.

The origin and nature of the connection between Achilles and Troilus has been debated since antiquity, and the connection between the fleeting reference of the *Iliad* and the account from the *Cypria* remains difficult to ascertain. In my view, the contradiction between these two accounts has been overstated. This contradiction is in regard to Troilus' age. Lambrou argues that the *Iliad* portrays Troilus as a fully-grown warrior who dies on the battlefield, in contrast to other depictions, including the *Cypria*, which portray him as a *pais*.<sup>1</sup> However, the *Iliadic* depiction is not specific enough to draw any conclusions (and nor is Proclus' summary of the *Cypria* for that matter). While it is true that Priam says that Ares has killed him and his other sons (*Il.*24.260) and refers to Troilus as an ἄριστος (*Il.*24.255), both of which may point to a warrior dying on the battlefield, they are used in the context of Priam mourning the collective group of his sons killed during the Trojan war. It is reasonable to suggest that Troilus is being

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<sup>1</sup> Lambrou (2018) 76.

grouped together with his brothers for the sake of narrative economy, and that the more important point here is to convey that a number of young men have died during the course of the war. Therefore, the Iliadic reference to Troilus displays no overt contradiction with what we read in Proclus.

The Iliadic line has also been used to argue that the Troilus episode is a post-Homeric invention. The sole reference to this son of Priam in the *Iliad* uses the epithet *ἰππιόχαρμης*. The Alexandrian commentators assumed that the Cyclic story of Achilles' pursuit of Troilus on horseback was an invention by the Cyclic poets on the basis of this epithet. This view would see the story of Achilles killing Troilus as an explicitly post-Homeric innovation, invented to fill out the brief reference in the *Iliad*. However, there are two main problems for this viewpoint. The first is that, as Kullmann has argued, it is unlikely that a whole poetic tradition would be created on the back of a single word.<sup>2</sup> Furthermore, the detail that Troilus was on horseback during the encounter is found in neither Proclus nor Apollodorus. Instead, the link between the epithet and the episode from the *Cypria* comes from a scholion to *Il.*24.257 (= *Cypria* fr.25 W). Therefore, there is little to recommend the theory that the whole story arc of Troilus was an invention stemming from the *Iliad*.

When we abandon the grammarian arguments for the Troilus episode as a post-Homeric invention, we can instead look to the evidence suggesting that, on the contrary, the Troilus episode was a well-known part of the Trojan Cycle. Although unpopular in literature, Achilles and Troilus were 'extraordinary popular' in artistic iconography of the mid-7<sup>th</sup> to the 6<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>3</sup> The preponderance of artistic representations of the Troilus episode throughout

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<sup>2</sup> Kullmann (1960) 292-3; Currie (2015).

<sup>3</sup> Carpenter (2015) 186.

the archaic period suggests that the character and his fatal run-in with Achilles was a well-known part of the Trojan War story. However, we cannot assume a complete overlap of artistic with poetic representations. The artistic iconography around Troilus has a lot of extraneous detail that is missing from the account found in Proclus. Firstly, there is the issue of the location and destination of Troilus' ambush and murder. While art agrees with literary sources in locating his death at a religious precinct,<sup>4</sup> in art the ambush and chase often involve a fountain house.<sup>5</sup> The visual tradition of Troilus' murder also often includes a depiction of his sister Polyxena.<sup>6</sup> These details from elsewhere in the literary and the artistic tradition have led to some speculation that they featured prominently in the Cyclic and epic tradition. For example, while Polyxena is absent from literary accounts of Troilus' murder,<sup>7</sup> Danek has argued that Achilles intended to kill Polyxena, and that when his attempt was hindered by Troilus, he killed the young man out of anger.<sup>8</sup>

However, we should be careful not to erase the boundaries between different mediums and genres. This is best exemplified by one of the most famous depictions of the Troilus episode, the François Vase. In this 6<sup>th</sup> century black-figure vase, Troilus is depicted fleeing from Achilles on horseback from a fountain-house towards Troy, with other figures depicted including Hector, Polites, and Polyxena. However, art is not necessarily a perfect mirror of poetry. The François Vase also depicts the funeral games for Patroclus, an important set-piece from the *Iliad*. The contest in question is the chariot race, but unlike the Homeric version, here we have depicted along with Diomedes two other contestants named as

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<sup>4</sup> See, for example, the reconstruction from Ibycus: ἀεῖεν τὸν τρωῖλον ἐκτ[ ]λεως ἐν τῷ τοῦ Θυμβραίου ἱ[ ]φ : S224.8-10 Wilkinson.

<sup>5</sup> Hedreen (2001) 123-125.

<sup>6</sup> Hedreen (2001) 126-139.

<sup>7</sup> In the Ibycus fragment S224 we read ἀδελφ[ and ἀδελ[ at lines 13 and 18, indicating that a brother or a sister, probably of Troilus, is being discussed. Wilkinson (2012) 200, suggests that Ibycus introduced Polyxena into the story of Troilus' death. However, this is not guaranteed, and it seems equally possible that the sibling words refer instead to Hector, who is named on line 15 (Wilkinson acknowledges this possibility *ad* 13).

<sup>8</sup> Danek (2016) 31-40; cf. Robertson (1970) 13.

‘Damasippos’ and ‘Automedon’, both of whom are not included in the *Iliad*. Obviously this is an isolated example, but it does provide a handy demonstration that artistic depictions cannot always be relied upon to fill out poetic accounts.

Similarly unsubstantiated are the later depictions of Troilus as i) the beloved of Achilles (Lyc.307-313) or ii) essential to the taking of Troy (Plaut.*Bac*.953-955). There is some suggestion of an eroticisation of Troilus as early as Ibycus. He is described as ‘like gold already thrice-refined’ (S151 Wilkinson = P.Oxy.1790 fr.1.41-43), which underlines his beauty. More ambiguous is the description of him as θεοῖς ἴκελον in another fragment (S224 Wilkinson = P.Oxy.2637 fr.12.7).<sup>9</sup> As Jenner points out, while this phrase could have a sexual connotation, it may be more correct to understand it as a standard epic formula often applied to heroic characters.<sup>10</sup> That being said, similar phraseology is also used to imply divine beauty in the case of Cassandra (ἰκέλη χρυσοῦ Ἀφροδίτη, *Il*.24.699 = Hes.fr.27.25 Most).<sup>11</sup> Similarly ambiguous is the iconography of an archaic shield-band depicting Achilles, Troilus, and a cockerel (B 1912).<sup>12</sup> While the cockerel can possibly be interpreted as a love gift, there is a paucity of other evidence from the period which would support this interpretation.<sup>13</sup> If Troilus were presented as a very beautiful love interest from an early period, his case would be similar to that of Helen (see below), in that Achilles is associated with two characters who are distinguished by their extraordinary beauty. Perhaps the best summary of the problem is that of Gantz, who has said, ‘To dismiss it as nothing more than a coincidence here is difficult, to accept such a theme this early perhaps equally so.’<sup>14</sup>

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<sup>9</sup> See reconstruction at Wilkinson (2012) 201-202.

<sup>10</sup> Jenner (1998) 9.

<sup>11</sup> Wilkinson (2012) 202.

<sup>12</sup> *LIMC*, ‘Achilleus’, 377.

<sup>13</sup> Lambrou (2018) 81: ‘There is no evidence, either literary or pictorial, that the love motif dates from the period before the sixth century.’

<sup>14</sup> Gantz (1996) 598.

Therefore, while there are vague early, non-epic, hints at an erotic aspect of Troilus' presentation, there is no evidence linking this to Achilles.

Similarly, Plautus records a tradition in which the death of Troilus was essential for the taking of Troy (*Bacchides* 953-955).<sup>15</sup> There is an argument that this plot device dates back to the 6<sup>th</sup> century, based on the presence of Athena as 'the supporter of Achilles' in some archaic vase depictions of the ambush. However, this argument suffers from the fact that Athena is absent from many of the earliest artistic representations of the ambush.<sup>16</sup>

## ii) Troilus and Achilles' pre-war raids

It seems to me that the most plausible way to approach the question of Troilus and Achilles is not by trying to wrangle disparate elements from other traditions and times, but instead to focus on what Proclus tells us. As already mentioned, the killing of Troilus is not an isolated event, but instead takes place within the wider context of Achilles' actions preceding the Trojan War proper. After the Greeks have besieged Troy, but before the two sides engage in any combat as in the *Iliad*, the Greeks engage in a kind of guerrilla warfare in the area around Troy. This begins with them *χώραν ἐπεξελθόντες* and sacking the *περιοίκους πόλεις*. But it is Achilles himself who is most prominent in these adventures.<sup>17</sup> His secret meeting with Helen will be discussed at a later point in the chapter, but added to this is his theft of Aeneas'

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<sup>15</sup> The Vatican Mythographer also mentions that Troy would not be taken if Troilus reached the age of twenty (1.210).

<sup>16</sup> *LIMC*, 'Troilos', 3-11.

<sup>17</sup> Furthermore, it will be the lack of recognition for his leading role in sacking the surrounding Trojan cities (Τρώων ἐκπέρσως' εὖ ναιόμενον πτολίεθρον, *Il.*1.164) which foments his anger at Agamemnon over the taking of Briseis at the beginning of the *Iliad*.

cattle,<sup>18</sup> the sacking of Lyrnessus and Pedasus, the ambush of Troilus, and the capture and sale of Lycaon.<sup>19</sup>

Together with the capture of Lyrnessus and Pedasus and the killing of Troilus, the *Cypria* also recounts how Patroclus took Lycaon to Lemnos and sold him into slavery:

Λυκάονά τε Πάτροκλος εἰς Λῆμνον ἀγαγὼν ἀπεμπολεῖ.<sup>20</sup>

*Cypria* arg.63-64

The capture of Lycaon is also mentioned in the *Iliad*. Although these episodes are grouped together in Proclus, in Homer the episode is not explicitly linked to the captures of Lyrnessus and Pedasus, nor the rustling of Aeneas' cattle. However, it clearly belongs to the same family of pre-Iliadic raids (ποτ', 21.35, cf. 21.45-46), with Achilles capturing Lycaon in a night raid and selling him in Lemnos. Here, it is explicitly Achilles who was the captor of Lycaon, and the story is narrated when Lycaon and Achilles meet again during the latter's bloody rampage after the death of Patroclus:

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<sup>18</sup> cf. *Il.*20.90-93, 188-194.

<sup>19</sup> cf. *Il.*21.34-44, 23.746-747

<sup>20</sup> This detail is expanded upon by Apollodorus: 'ἐνεδρεύσας Τρωΐλον ἐν τῷ τοῦ Θυμβραίου Ἀπόλλωνος ἱερῷ φονεύει. καὶ νυκτὸς ἐλθὼν ἐπὶ τὴν πόλιν Λυκάονα λαμβάνει.' (*Ap.Ep.*3.32). Therefore, Proclus does not explicitly say that Achilles was involved in the capture of Lycaon. It seems to me that there are two possible reasons for this: 1) Proclus' *Cypria* did not show Achilles as being involved in the capture of Lycaon or 2) Proclus has condensed the story of Lycaon's capture, resulting in the detail of Achilles' involvement being lost. We can only go on speculation, but I believe that 2) is the more plausible assumption, for two reasons. The first is that Proclus' epitome does not mention *who* captured Lycaon, only that it was Patroclus who took him to be sold in Lemnos. Therefore there is an ellipsis of detail here. Secondly, Achilles is clearly the captor of Lycaon in the *Iliad*, and therefore it seems reasonable that this should also be the case in the *Cypria* known to Proclus. However, we should also consider the assumption of West: 'The account in the *Cypria* seems to have been designed to fit what was said in the *Iliad*.' (West 2013: 122). Although this thesis generally takes the stance that the contents of the Epic Cycle are not purely post-Homeric, it is also open to the possibility (see Introduction). West's point is strengthened by the fact that the sale of Lycaon is the only time Patroclus is mentioned in the Epic Cycle. However, on balance, the Lycaon episode, and Achilles' role in it, fits well with the other stories from the *Iliad* and the Cycle regarding Achilles' activities before the war proper, and therefore there is a strong chance it is traditional.

ἔνθ' οὐ Πριάμοιο συνήντετο Δαρδανίδαο  
ἐκ ποταμοῦ φεύγοντι, Λυκάονι, τόν ῥά ποτ' αὐτὸς  
ἦγε λαβῶν ἐκ πατρὸς ἀλωῆς οὐκ ἐθέλοντα,  
ἐννύχιος προμολών· ὃ δ' ἐρινεὸν ὀξείῃ χαλκῷ  
τάμνε νέους ὄρπηκας, ἴν' ἄρματος ἄντυγες εἶεν·  
τῷ δ' ἄρ' ἀνώϊστον κακὸν ἤλυθε δῖος Ἀχιλλεύς.  
καὶ τότε μὲν μιν Λῆμνον εὐκτιμένην ἐπέρασσε  
νηυσὶν ἄγων, ἀτὰρ υἱὸς Ἰήσονος ὦνον ἔδωκε·  
κεῖθεν δὲ ξεῖνός μιν ἐλύσατο πολλὰ δ' ἔδωκεν  
Ἴμβριος Ἡετίων, πέμψεν δ' ἐς δῖαν Ἀρίσβην·  
ἔνθεν ὑπεκπροφυγὼν πατρώϊον ἵκετο δῶμα.  
ἔνδεκα δ' ἡματα θυμὸν ἐτέρπετο οἴσι φίλοισιν  
ἐλθὼν ἐκ Λήμνοιο· δωδεκάτῃ δέ μιν αὖτις  
χερσὶν Ἀχιλλῆος θεὸς ἔμβαλεν, ὅς μιν ἔμελλε  
πέμψειν εἰς Αἴδαο καὶ οὐκ ἐθέλοντα νέεσθαι.

.....

‘ἦ μάλα δὴ Τρῶες μεγαλήτορες, οὓς περ ἔπεφνον,  
αὖτις ἀναστήσονται ὑπὸ ζόφου ἠερόεντος,  
οἶον δὴ καὶ ὄδ' ἦλθε φυγὼν ὑπο νηλεῆς ἡμαρ,  
Λῆμνον ἐς ἠγαθήην πεπερημένος· οὐδέ μιν ἔσχε  
πόντος ἀλὸς πολιῆς, ὃ πολέας ἀέκοντας ἐρύκει.’

*Il.21.34-59*

Additionally, at the Funeral Games of Book 23, one of the prizes is a silver mixing-bowl, which Euneus gave to Patroclus as a payment (ῥῶνος) for Lycaon (*Il.*23.746).

An argument has been advanced that these adventures were part of an earlier, Aeolic archaic tradition about Achilles which Leaf termed the ‘Great Foray’ and which narrated the sacks of various cities around Troy.<sup>21</sup> Whether we want to think of it as a separate, integrated tradition or an ‘original’ part of the Cycle, it is clear that this collection of episodes is centred around Achilles and functions, at least partly, to establish him as the main character of the early part of the Trojan War story. Hence the characters of Troilus, Lycaon, and Aeneas can be understood primarily as tools to achieve this aim. All three episodes demonstrates Achilles going up against and defeating a singular Trojan opponent. An added lustre is lent to the defeats by the fact that both Aeneas and Troilus are sons of Priam and Trojan princes. Out of all the Greeks, it is only Achilles (aided by Patroclus) who achieves this feat during this period. Therefore, the episodes from the ‘Tale of Foray’, including the ambush of Troilus, showcase Achilles as the supreme warrior who can be expected to excel in the larger scale hand-to-hand combat of the Trojan War.

### iii) **Quarrels with Agamemnon**

The second example of the *Cypria* anticipating and establishing the character of ‘Iliadic’ Achilles comes in the obscure reference to a quarrel between Agamemnon and Achilles on Lemnos:

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<sup>21</sup> Lambrou (2018) 77 n.7. For more on the ‘Tale of the Great Foray’, see Leaf (1912) 242-8; Nagy (1979) 140-1, 272-3; Dué (2002) 61-5.

καὶ Ἀχιλλεὺς ὕστερος κληθεὶς διαφέρεται πρὸς Ἀγαμέμνονα.

*Cypria* arg.51-52

The *Iliad* regularly depicts Agamemnon summoning the other Achaean leaders to a feast (e.g. *Il.*2.402-7) and therefore we can assume that a similar ritual is being referred to here, except that this time Achilles has been excluded from the roll call.<sup>22</sup> The incident is referred to by Aristotle in his *Rhetoric*: διὰ γὰρ τὸ μὴ κληθῆναι ὁ Ἀχιλλεὺς ἐμήνισε τοῖς Ἀχαιοῖς ἐν Τενέδῳ (1401b6). West's assertion that this episode is 'evidently an innovation'<sup>23</sup> is unjustified. For one, such a quarrel is not out of place in archaic epic. I am thinking in particular of the equally obscure quarrel between Achilles and Odysseus referred to in the *Odyssey*, which also takes place at a feast (δηρῖσαντο θεῶν ἐν δατι θαλείῃ, *Od.*8.72-82).<sup>24</sup> More obviously, the quarrel in the *Cypria* presages that between the two leaders in the *Iliad*. If we understand the Cycle and the Homeric poems as products of the same dynamic tradition, it is reasonable to suggest that the prominence of that later argument reinforced the position of the Lemnos quarrel in the *Cypria*. In the *Cypria*, the argument establishes the enmity between Agamemnon and Achilles and serves to characterise Achilles as particularly

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<sup>22</sup> A connection has been made between this and the lost Sophocles play, *Syndeipnoi*, which was a dramatisation of a contentious feast held by the Greek leaders, West (2013) 113. However, there is nothing in the remaining fragments that shows a specific quarrel between Achilles and Agamemnon, nor a quarrel about a late invitation.

<sup>23</sup> West (2013) 113.

<sup>24</sup> See further the quarrel of the Atreidae after the Fall of Troy (*Od.*3.134-50), the quarrel over the Arms of Achilles (*Od.*11.543-8), and the Iliadic quarrel between Achilles and Agamemnon. Heubeck (1988) *ad Od.*8.75 calls the Demodocus-episode an 'Augensblickerfindung'. However, some have seen the song of Demodocus, of which this is the first section, as a full-scale allusion or refashioning of the *Iliad*, with the quarrel here a 'quotation' or allusion to the opening of the *Iliad*; Taplin (1990) 111-112. In turn, some Neoanalysts have argued that this quarrel should be identified with the quarrel between Agamemnon and Achilles on Tenedos – see especially Kullmann (1960) 272; Von der Mühl (1976) 148-154. However, I agree with Clay (1983) 98-100, and Danek (1998) 147-150, that this argument is problematic because it conflates Agamemnon and Odysseus and relies on later Sophoclean evidence. A safer 'solution' to the quarrel referenced in Demodocus' song is to see it as part of the oral tradition of the Trojan War, which frequently made use of internecine quarrels to advance and dramatize the narrative. The exact circumstances of the quarrels that Achilles has with Agamemnon and Odysseus are lost to us, but their existence does suggest that, within the oral tradition, Achilles was frequently characterised by his involvement in such conflicts. For the quarrel as part of a traditional enmity between Odysseus, *metis*, and Achilles, *biē*, see Nagy (1979) 42-58; Wilson (2005) 1-20; cf. Grethlein (2017).

quarrelsome (just as in the *Odyssey* example). Therefore, we have here another example of the characterisation of Achilles in the *Cypria*.

### **Final Countdown: Achilles and Memnon**

The final important Cyclic episode to showcase Achilles as a warrior comes after the events of the *Iliad*. It is his encounter with Memnon. Proclus' epitome of the *Aithiopsis* introduces Memnon after the death of Penthesileia. Memnon is an ally of the Trojans who arrives to help the beleaguered city. He undertakes an *aristeia* in which he kills Antilochus, before being killed himself by Achilles:

καὶ συμβολῆς γενομένης Ἀντίλοχος ὑπὸ Μέμνονος ἀναιρεῖται. ἔπειτα Ἀχιλλεὺς Μέμνονα κτείνει·

*Aethiopsis* arg.2

Memnon is absent from the *Iliad* but is mentioned at several points in the *Odyssey*. In Book 4, Antilochus' brother Peisistratus weeps as he remembers the death of his brother at the hands of Memnon, Ἡοῦς ... φαεινῆς ἀγλαὸς υἱός (*Od.*4.186-88; cf.3.108-12). During the *Nekuia*, Odysseus assures the shade of Achilles that Neoptolemus was the most handsome warrior he had ever seen, μετὰ Μέμνονα δῖον (*Od.*11.522). These oblique references appear to correspond with some elements of the story told by Proclus, namely that Memnon was responsible for the death of Antilochus.

## i) The character of Memnon

The Memnon episode and its apparent similarities to the encounter between Hector and Achilles have been one of the central tenets of the Neoanalysis movement in the latter half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. I have already discussed the Neoanalytical approach to Homeric poetry in the Introduction, and so I will not discuss it in depth here. Suffice to say, while the Neoanalytical approach does highlight some important shared themes and set-pieces between Homer and the Cycle, it becomes bogged down in its search for an ‘original’ text and in the struggle to differentiate between what is primary and what is secondary.

Despite these difficulties, it is appropriate to spend some time discussing the character of Memnon himself and his place in the Trojan tradition. The starting point is West’s 2003 *CQ* article, in which he argued that the absence of Memnon from the *Iliad* proves that the character was unknown to ‘Homer’, or rather to the poet of the *Iliad*. Memnon was invented by the poet of the *Aithiopsis* in order that Achilles would have a suitable opponent to fight before his own death. The character of Memnon was then subsequently incorporated into the *Odyssey* by the creator of that poem.<sup>25</sup> While West is right to raise the crucial point that Memnon is not mentioned in the *Iliad*, his analysis that the character is a completely post-Iliadic novelty is difficult to accept.<sup>26</sup> It requires one to accept West’s view of the Homeric poems and the Epic Cycle poems as textual products whose influence on each other can be tightly plotted.<sup>27</sup> This is at odds with the view of the Epic Cycle taken by this thesis, which

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<sup>25</sup> West (2003b) *passim*.

<sup>26</sup> Davies (2016) 23-24, adds another counterpoint, arguing that the *Iliad* poet does not reference Memnon because he had already ‘used up’ the Memnon motif in Book VIII, in which the Diomedes-Nestor-Hector scene borrows from Antilochus-Nestor-Memnon scene in the *Aethiopsis*. However, this argument suffers from the standard objections raised against this touchstone of Neoanalysis. Furthermore, it begs the question that, if the Book VIII scene were a borrowing from the *Aethiopsis*, the Homeric poet would necessarily feel unable to name Memnon elsewhere in the poem.

<sup>27</sup> Although note that West (2003b) 14, does state that, ‘This is not to say that the Cyclic epics are post-Iliadic in substance. Much of their material was certainly the subject of earlier song.’

for the most part sees it as developing in tandem with the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* and from a shared oral tradition.

But can we offer any satisfying counterpoints to West's argument? Janda has criticised West's *argumentum e silentio*, and attempts to show that Memnon was originally a Mycenaean Fire God who evolved into the figure with whom we are now familiar.<sup>28</sup> We do not necessarily need to accept the latter argument to agree with the sentiment of the former – just because the *Iliad* poet does not mention Memnon does not mean that he was completely unknown to the Iliadic poet. Kullmann makes a similar point in his response to West's article, arguing that the absence of Memnon ('die Phantastik des Erscheinens des Athiopen') can instead be understood as an act of deliberate omission on the part of the *Iliad* poet, rather than due to a lack of knowledge. Kullmann's argument here overlaps with his Neoanalytical belief that the presentation of Antilochus in the *Iliad* deliberately presages his role in the 'Aithiopsisstoff'.<sup>29</sup> To my mind, another obvious counterpoint to West's argument is that the events involving Memnon occur after those of the *Iliad*. While the poem does contain moments of prolepsis, it should not be surprising that it does not directly reference an opponent of Achilles who will appear after the events of the *Iliad*. Not only is Memnon's appearance outside of the time-frame of the poem, but it could also be argued that a reference to the *Memnonis* would undermine the emotional tenor of the poem. Whether we see the similarities between Achilles' avenging of Patroclus' death as a product of motif transference or not, the *Iliad* concludes in something like emotional closure: Achilles is reconciled with the father of the man who he killed in his desire for revenge. To also refer to the similar dynamic of the Memnon-Antilochus-Achilles episode would dilute the cathartic effect of the

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<sup>28</sup> Janda (2006) *passim*.

<sup>29</sup> Kullmann (2005) 28.

*Iliad*'s ending. Of course, this is nowhere near conclusive evidence, but it does provide an alternative response to the question of why Memnon is absent from the *Iliad*.

Furthermore, it can always be pointed out that the *Odyssey* does indeed show knowledge of Memnon, whose exploits take place before the events of that poem.<sup>30</sup> Finally, while the *Iliad* does not mention Memnon, it does show knowledge of the Ethiopians, portraying them as the banqueters of the gods (*Il.*1.423, 23.205-206; *Od.*1.22-25).<sup>31</sup> As argued by Burgess, there is no reason to think that any vague knowledge or reference to 'distant lands' such as a mythical Ethiopia must postdate Homer.<sup>32</sup> So while Memnon is absent from the *Iliad*, traces of him are visible in both Homeric poems.

Just as the Ethiopians in general were portrayed as nearer to the gods and blessed by their special relationship with the sun,<sup>33</sup> Memnon has often been pencilled as an 'exotic' addition to the arena of the Trojan War. This can be seen, for example, in the quote from Kullmann above. The trope of Memnon's 'exotic' character has played into views of the Cycle that see a sharp division between the ethos of the *Iliad* and that of the Epic Cycle. Most notably, Griffin has said that, 'Under the heading of the fantastic we may list.....the black Memnon',<sup>34</sup> while West, more subtly, believes that Memnon and Eurypylus were both 'presented by the Cyclic poets as splendid and glamorous'.<sup>35</sup> This view is not confined to those scholars who take such a strict view of the differences between the Cycle and the

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<sup>30</sup> Later, Pindar mentions him several times (*Pyth.*6.32; *Nem.*3.63, 6.50; *Isth.*5.41, 8.55), as do Alcman (fr. 68 *PMGF*) and Simonides (539 P). There is also a reference to him in Hesiod (*Th.*984).

<sup>31</sup> Menelaus also visits the Ethiopians during his *nostos*, *Od.*4.84.

<sup>32</sup> Burgess (2001) 159-160. For the debate as to whether the Ethiopians were understood as being from the East or the South, see Burgess (2001) 159 n.98; MacLachlan (1992) 17-18. For the theory that Memnon's mother Eos was derived from an Indo-European Dawn goddess, see Boedeker (1974) 14-17; Nagy (1979) 200; Slatkin (1991) 28; Bremmer (1994) 98.

<sup>33</sup> MacLachlan (1992) 18.

<sup>34</sup> Griffin (1977) 40.

<sup>35</sup> West (2013) 191.

Homeric poems. For Hedreen, the exotic nature of Memnon comes from his geographical context and his ancestry: ‘Memnon's association with the lands nearest the sun seems to have been part of the earliest conception of the hero, to judge from the nature of his mother, Eos.’<sup>36</sup> Both Hedreen and Sammons draw comparisons between Memnon and Achilles, arguing that a deliberate mirroring is created by bringing together these two heroic sons of goddesses.<sup>37</sup>

Even the highly abridged version of the story offered to us by Proclus hints at some of this glamorous persona. Like Achilles, he has divinely-crafted armour, created for him by Hephaestus, and like Achilles he has a divine mother, in this case Eos. Both these tropes bring Memnon in line with the most Iliadic of all characters, Achilles. Another element of the Memnon episode which contributes to his air of exoticism is his immortality. Proclus states that Eos granted immortality to Memnon after his death. This act serves to elevate Memnon’s status and emphasise his semi-divine nature. There has been much discussion of the theme of immortality in the Epic Cycle, and how it is alien to the sensibility of Homeric epic. For Griffin, ‘in the accommodating world of the Cycle death itself can be evaded.’<sup>38</sup> There are other examples of such gifts of immortality in the Cycle.<sup>39</sup> However, it is not an idea completely alien to the Homeric poems. Notably, in the *Odyssey*, Menelaus is said to be destined to spend the afterlife in the Elysium Fields, because of his marriage to Helen (*Od.*4.561-9). Similarly, although Odysseus meets Heracles in Hades, this is merely his εἶδωλον, while Heracles himself is on Olympus among the ἀθανάτοισι θεοῖσι (*Od.*11.601-604).<sup>40</sup> While it is obviously true that immortality is far more common in the Epic Cycle, the

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<sup>36</sup> Hedreen (1991) 328.

<sup>37</sup> Sammons (2017) 136.

<sup>38</sup> Griffin (1977) 42.

<sup>39</sup> Iphigeneia (*Cypria* arg.48); the characters of the *Telegony* (*Telegony* arg.18-20).

<sup>40</sup> Lines 602-604 have been regarded as an interpolation since antiquity, with critics taking issue at Heracles being in both Hades and Olympus; see Focke (1943) 228-229 and West (1985) 134. It also contradicts the

Menelaus and Heracles episodes do indicate that such happy events are not unknown to the Homeric poet.<sup>41</sup> More importantly for our purposes, it confirms the suspicion that the gift of immortality was an indicator of the ‘specialness’ of the recipient, singling him or her out as particularly worthy of honour and with a special relationship to the divine.<sup>42</sup>

## ii) Memnon in the Epic Cycle

Therefore, Memnon is no workaday opponent. He is glamorous in his own right and also elevated by the similarities between himself and Achilles. The bigger question is why this character and why this place in the action. Sammons has commented on the apparent randomness of Memnon’s entrance into the Trojan War, ‘with no particular role preceding [his] appearance either in the poem itself or in the larger Trojan War myth’.<sup>43</sup> Like Penthesileia before him, Memnon is indeed a ‘one-scene’ character. However, this does not diminish his importance and his necessity in the Trojan War. The first half of the *Aithiopsis*, as

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*Iliad*’s assertion that not even Heracles could escape death (*Il.*18.117-119). However, I agree with those scholars who do not see any incompatibility between the two states. Nagy (1979) 208, argues that Heracles’ body has been immortalised on Olympus, while Burgess (2009) 103, argues that it is the immortal part of him that has received this special treatment. In either case, it is not difficult to overcome the apparent logical contradiction here by understanding that Homer wished to simultaneously emphasise the ‘specialness’ of Heracles, as among the immortals, while also facilitating his presence in Hades and meeting with Odysseus; cf. Gazis (2015) 205.

<sup>41</sup> See also the possibility, unfulfilled, of immortality for Odysseus, mentioned by Calypso at *Od.*5.135-136. Both Griffin (1977) 42, and Davies (1987) 71-72, downplay the significance of these references to immortality in Homer. However, when seen against the backdrop of immortality in the Cycle, they gain importance as reflections of this wider tradition.

<sup>42</sup> Another element of the duel between Memnon and Achilles and the former’s immortality is a scene of *psychostasia* in which Zeus weighed the souls of the two warriors to decide the outcome of the battle. The most well-known iteration of this scene was Aeschylus’ *Psychostasia* (*TrGF* 3 F279-80a). The play is now lost, but Plutarch tells us that Thetis and Eos pleaded for their respective sons’ lives while Zeus weighed out his scales (*Moralia* 16f). The motif of weighing *psychai* appears in vase representations of Memnon and Achilles beginning in 540 BC, which contradicts Plutarch’s assertion that it was Aeschylus who invented this motif. This has led to the assertion of Gantz (1996) 624, that the weighing did therefore probably occur in the *Aethiopsis*. Whether this is true or not is debateable. Earlier vase painting depicts the scene with Memnon, Achilles, and their mothers but without the *psychostasia*, suggesting that it was not always an integral part of the tradition. It seems strange that Proclus chose not to mention it in his epitome of the *Aithiopsis* – instead the reference to Eos αἰτησαμένη Zeus on behalf of her son would seem to preclude the randomness of the souls being weighed. If the *psychostasia* was part of the tradition, Proclus does not appear to be aware of it. If it was not part of the tradition, he has chosen to ignore the Aeschylean tradition in favour of another Cyclic version.

<sup>43</sup> Sammons (2017) 167.

we have it in Proclus, is clearly designed to create the most elaborate lead-up to the death of Achilles. Therefore, the action is embellished by various ‘digressions’ – Achilles’ defeat of Penthesileia, his journey to Lesbos for purification, and finally his duel with Memnon. This encounter should be understood as Achilles’ ‘last hurrah’ before his death at the hands of Apollo and Paris. Therefore, it is fitting that his final opponent is Memnon, who as a semi-divine and foreign antagonist is an unprecedented addition to the action. His killing of Antilochus proves him to be a fearsome warrior, whether or not we want to believe that this death was as emotionally resonant to Achilles as that of Patroclus.<sup>44</sup> Furthermore, Proclus also tells us that Thetis prophesied to her son about his encounter with Memnon. This is reminiscent of her prophecy to him in the *Iliad*, when she warned him that his death would come shortly after that of Hector (*Il.*18.95-96). Rather than wading into the debate on the primacy of these two prophecies,<sup>45</sup> it is enough to say that the element of the prophecy in both scenarios emphasises the importance of the duel in question. In the *Iliad*, Thetis’ prophecy weighs down Achilles’ revenge on Hector with fatalistic significance; in the *Aethiopsis* again, the prophecy emphasises that we are now moving into the last stage of Achilles’ life. For all this, Memnon is a very suitable opponent.

Both the *Cypria* and the *Aethiopsis* use the set-pieces of Achilles’ guerrilla warfare between the war and his encounter with Memnon to single out Achilles as the best warrior of the

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<sup>44</sup> According to the *Odyssey*, Antilochus was Achilles’ favourite warrior after Patroclus (24.78-9). For further bibliography on the relationship between Achilles, Antilochus, and Patroclus, see Currie (2016) 59, n.125, 242. For a discussion of the authenticity of the *Odyssey* verse, see with bibliography Heubeck (1992) *ad* 24.76-9.

<sup>45</sup> West (2013) 145, with bibliography. The Neoanalyst view is that the prophecy in the *Aethiopsis* is primary, while that of the *Iliad* is secondary, e.g. Willcock (1983) 483-484; Kullmann (2015) 118. West (2003b) 7, disputes this, building on his argument that Memnon is a post-Iliadic invention, and pointing to the fact that Thetis prophesies that Achilles will die immediately after Hector, ἀντίκα γάρ τοι ἔπειτα μεθ’ Ἑκτορα πότμος ἐτοῖμος (*Il.*18.96). However, West ignores the possibility that the *Iliad* poet may well be using poetic licence to demonstrate that the fates of Hector and Achilles are closely intertwined, rather than aiming to give a fully-detailed prolepsis.

Greeks. The importance of Achilles as a character in the Epic Cycle is also highlighted by his ‘romantic’ associations, to which I now turn.

### **‘Romantic’ Achilles**

Achilles is the Homeric warrior associated with the largest number of women by far in the Epic Cycle. Many of these encounters have been pegged as ‘romantic’ and ‘unepic’.<sup>46</sup> However, I will argue that this is instead a genuine product of the Cycle’s tendency to characterise Achilles as the most desirable man. Alongside his portrayal in the Cycle as the most successful fighter, as discussed above, this in turn contributes to the characterisation of him as the best and most outstanding warrior in the Trojan War tradition.

### **Achilles and Helen**

After the Greeks finally arrive in Troy, Proclus records that Achilles and Helen met in person:

Ἀχιλλεύς Ἑλένην ἐπιθυμεῖ θεάσασθαι, καὶ συνήγαγεν αὐτοὺς εἰς τὸ αὐτὸ Ἀφροδίτη καὶ Θέτις.

*Cypria* arg.59-60

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<sup>46</sup> The claims that Homeric epic are less concerned with romance (e.g. Griffin (1977) 43-45) are undercut by the example of the *Odyssey*, wherein Odysseus has sex with Calypso, Circe, and Penelope, as well as being positioned as a potential husband for Nausicaa. An acknowledgement that the epic tradition did have space for sex and romance could also contribute to discussions around the potential end of the *Odyssey* at 23.296, which some scholars have dismissed as anachronistic Hellenistic romanticism, e.g. de Jong (2001) *ad loc.*

Although Helen is not the first woman to be associated with Achilles in the Epic Cycle, it is a good starting point for this theme. Their meeting has often been used as an example of the degenerate and inferior themes of the Epic Cycle. For example, West has called it ‘the most conspicuous outcrop of a vein of romanticism that ran through the epic’.<sup>47</sup> Less dramatically, Sammons has noted that the tale is told ‘nowhere else in Greek literature or mythography’ and argues that it is likely that it was an invention of the poet of the *Cypria*.<sup>48</sup>

In contrast, I argue that this episode, although extraordinary, is a perfect encapsulation of how Achilles is portrayed as a character in the Epic Cycle. It combines the two main strands of his characterisation. The first is his status as the foremost warrior in the Greek army, and the second is his status as the most erotic and desirable character in the Cycle.

This episode is clearly an important part of the narrative of the *Cypria*. Sammons has commented that, ‘We are dealing...with an episode pursued for its own sake.’<sup>49</sup> I would disagree with this assessment. The importance of the meeting is underlined by the collaboration of the two goddesses, Aphrodite and Thetis, to bring the occasion to pass. The importance of Achilles is underlined by the presence of his goddess mother elsewhere in epic. In the *Aethiopsis*, the presence of Thetis and the Nereids aggrandizes Achilles’ funeral (*Aethiopsis* arg. 20-21; cf. *Il.*19.282-302), and in the *Iliad*, Thetis’ intervention on behalf of her son determines the course of the war for the span of that poem (*Il.*1.488-530). The meeting achieves two things. The first is to bring together Achilles and Helen. In the *Iliad*, the two have no interaction and Achilles only refers to Helen by name on one

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<sup>47</sup> West (2013) 61.

<sup>48</sup> Sammons (2017) 191.

<sup>49</sup> Sammons (2017) 191.

occasion.<sup>50</sup> However, there are significant parallels between the two characters. As Currie comments, ‘There was a deep affinity between Achilles and Helen as joint causes of the Trojan War; there may have been more to their communion than physical attraction.’<sup>51</sup> In the *Iliad*, they are both distinguished by their poetic self-awareness and status as poetic surrogates.<sup>52</sup> A final connection is their divine descent, with Helen the daughter of Zeus<sup>53</sup> and Achilles the son of Thetis. Furthermore, in ancient literature in general, they are both represented as remarkable physical specimens; Achilles being the best warrior and Helen being the most beautiful of women.<sup>54</sup> By bringing the two together in what was probably a sexual encounter,<sup>55</sup> overseen by two goddesses, the *Cypria* confirms to the audience that Helen and Achilles are the equal of each other, with each one emphasizing the attractiveness of the other.<sup>56</sup> The complementariness of Achilles and Helen is referenced elsewhere in ancient literature. In the *Catalogue of Women*, it is stated that Menelaus would never have stood a chance with Helen if Achilles had been around (fr.204.87-92 MW), and according to Euripides’ *Helen* (98-99), Achilles was one of her suitors. Suffice to say, by having Achilles and Helen come together, in secret, the episode elevates Achilles to the status of the ultimate lover and male ideal, who is able to take with ease the woman over whom both the Trojans and the Greeks are fighting bitterly.

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<sup>50</sup> εἴνεκα ῥιγεδανῆς Ἑλένης Τρωσὶν πολεμίζω (*Il.*19.325). The lack of acknowledgement between Helen and Achilles in the *Iliad* should not come as a surprise, as they never come into contact. Helen would have no reason to mention the meeting, as such an admission would be looked upon unfavourably in the eyes of the Trojans. For an intertextual reading of this line, see Tsagalis (2008) 123. This Book 19 reference is the only example in which Helen is described negatively by an Achaean. Achilles’ ‘deutliche Sprache’ can be understood as a result of his grief for the loss of his friend, Coray (2009) *ad loc.*

<sup>51</sup> Currie (2015) 293.

<sup>52</sup> Seen at *Il.*3.125-8, 6.357-8 and 9.186-89; see Austin (1994) 27-28 and Suzuki (1989) 40-41.

<sup>53</sup> For Helen as the daughter of Zeus, see *Il.*3.199, 418, 426, and *Od.*4.184, 219 and 23.218.

<sup>54</sup> West (2013) 119: ‘She, the flower of womanhood, provokes the great war; he, the flower of manhood, invests it with the highest heroic splendour.’ Cf. Blondell (2013) 27, 46. Later poets would reify this bond by having Helen and Achilles marry in his afterlife on Leuke, see Paus.3.19.11-13.

<sup>55</sup> Συνάγειν is also used by Proclus of Aphrodite bringing Helen and Paris together; see Tsagalis (2008) 102.

<sup>56</sup> It also serves the practical purpose of compensating for Achilles’ absence from the group of Helen’s suitors: Kullmann (1960) 153.

The episode also succeeds in underlining Achilles' supremacy among the Greek warriors.

After Achilles has met with Helen, Proclus records that:

εἶτα ἀπονοστεῖν ὠρμημένους τοὺς Ἀχαιοὺς Ἀχιλλεὺς κατέχει.

*Cypria* arg.61

Sammons dismisses this thus: 'The rendezvous of Achilles and Helen would seem to have no effect on the main narrative except to reinforce Achilles' commitment to the war effort, as revealed in his subsequent halting of the Achaeans' flight for home.'<sup>57</sup> However, this downplays too much the significance of this action. Presumably persuaded by his meeting with Helen to fight for her, Achilles stops the Greek army from dissipating and thus ensures that the Trojan War proper begins. In the same way in the *Iliad*, Odysseus takes control and restrains the Greeks from returning home (*Il.*2.188-210). Both examples work as showcases for Odysseus and Achilles and their authority over the army, at the expense of the nominal leaders, Agamemnon and Menelaus, the latter of whom Achilles has also usurped through his sexual relationship with Helen. Therefore, the Helen episode in the *Cypria* is extremely important for an audience's perception of Achilles, as both the supreme lover and the supreme warrior.

### **Achilles on Scyros**

Another sexual encounter is between Achilles and Deidameia, the mother of his son Neoptolemus. According to Proclus' summary of the *Cypria*, after the Teuthranian campaign, Achilles ends up on the island of Scyros where he marries Deidameia:

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<sup>57</sup> Sammons (2017) 193.

Ἀχιλλεύς δὲ Σκύρωι προσσχὼν γαμειτὴν Λυκομήδους θυγατέρα Δηϊδάμειαν.

*Cypria* arg.39-40

The consequence of this sojourn is then picked up in his summary of the *Ilias parva*, in which Odysseus brings back Achilles' son Neoptolemus from Scyros:

καὶ Νεοπτόλεμον Ὀδυσσεὺς ἐκ Σκύρου ἀγαγὼν τὰ ὄπλα δίδωσι τὰ τοῦ πατρός·

*Ilias parva* arg.3

However, this simple picture is complicated by a lengthy fragment from the Iliadic D-scholia (= *Cypria* fr.19 W). According to the scholion, Achilles was sent to Scyros at the beginning of the Trojan campaign by his father Peleus, in order to avoid conscription in the war. He was dressed as a woman and hidden among the daughters of Lycomedon, one of whom, Deidameia, was seduced by him and gave birth to Neoptolemus. The ruse was ultimately uncovered by Odysseus, and Achilles joined the expedition. This fragment has been assigned to the Cycle due to the concluding sentence (only the last few sentences are quoted here):

.....πρότερον [i.e. prior to Odysseus unmasking of Achilles' disguise] δὲ ταῖς παρθένοις συνδιατρίβων ἔφθειρε Δηϊδάμειαν τὴν Λυκομήδους, ἣτις ἐξ αὐτοῦ ἐγέννησε Πύρρον τὸν ὕστερον Νεοπτόλεμον κληθέντα· ὅστις τοῖς Ἑλλησι νέος ὦν συνεστρατεύσατο μετὰ θάνατον τοῦ πατρός. ἡ ἱστορία παρὰ τοῖς κυκλικοῖς.

Schol. (D) Il. 19.326 = *Cypria* fr.19 W

This fragment therefore presents a problem, as it seems to contradict the testimonium of Proclus by situating Achilles' trip to Scyros and fathering of Neoptolemus at the very beginning of the war, when the army was being gathered, rather than after the Teuthranian campaign. It also adds a very new dimension to the character of Achilles as we know him from the *Iliad*. While Homer's brief reference to Achilles' conquering of Scyros (*Il.*9.666-8) could fit easily with the account of Proclus, it makes no mention of any cross-dressing, subterfuge, or trickery.<sup>58</sup> In fact, the 'unheroic' and feminine nature of the episode as related in the fragment confirms the broad stereotypes many scholars have held about the Epic Cycle and its inferiority to Homer. Indeed, it prompted Griffin to comment that, 'The *Cypria* told the story not as a 'heroic' one of conquest but as a romantic intrigue.'<sup>59</sup> However, other scholars more sympathetically-minded towards the Cycle have been tempted to accept the cross-dressing episode as an authentic part of the Cycle, despite its absence from Proclus.<sup>60</sup> Support for the scholion is also accrued because, if Neoptolemus was conceived at the beginning of the war rather than after the Teuthranian campaign, he would be of a more suitable age to join the war after his father's death.<sup>61</sup>

There is an attempt to make fr.19 and Proclus' summary coalesce by Severyns. He argues that the *Cypria* had Achilles visit Scyros both before and after the Teuthranian campaign, i.e. that Proclus and the D-scholion are both simultaneously accurate reflections of the Cycle.<sup>62</sup> In Severyns' reconstruction of the *Cypria*, Achilles and Deidameia have sex on his first visit to Scyros, leading to the birth of Neoptolemus, and they are married on his second visit; this

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<sup>58</sup> πὰρ δ' ἄρα καὶ τῷ Ἴφιτι ἐϋζωνος, τὴν οἱ πόρε δῖος Ἀχιλλεὺς/Σκυῖρον ἐλὼν αἰπεῖαν Ἐνυῆος πτολίεθρον.

<sup>59</sup> Griffin (1977) 44.

<sup>60</sup> Burgess (2001) 21; Currie (2015) 288; Marin (2008) 216-218.

<sup>61</sup> Currie (2015) 290.

<sup>62</sup> Severyns (1928a) 285-291. Currie (2015) agrees with this interpretation.

explains how Neoptolemus was of the correct age to fight at Troy.<sup>63</sup> Although Severyns is approaching the Epic Cycle as a textual product, we could still choose to believe that the cross-dressing episode was an authentic part of the Epic Cycle and was the first part of a doublet construction in which Achilles visits Scyros twice.

However, there are a few considerations that I believe should lead us to dismiss the cross-dressing episode as a later story which was not part of the Epic Cycle. The first is that Severyns' reconstruction is an artificial product with no reference to any concrete evidence. There is no ancient evidence for a scenario in which Achilles visited Scyros on two occasions. Instead, we have accounts that have him visiting there either before or after the Teuthranian campaign.<sup>64</sup> Rather than artificially combining the two, it would be better to choose between them.<sup>65</sup> For this, we should look at their respective sources. For the pre-Teuthranian version, our source is the D-scholion on *Il.*19.326, and for the post-Teuthranian version, our source is Proclus' summary of the *Cypria* and the *Ilias parva*. As Heslin has remarked, the D-scholion for the *Iliad* is highly suspect.<sup>66</sup> He describes it as a 'bungling and implausible version of the post-Homeric vulgate'. Furthermore, it is possible that the concluding sentence ἡ ἱστορία παρὰ τοῖς κυκλικοῖς may only refer to the last detail regarding

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<sup>63</sup> This point is followed up by Currie (2015) 290, who objects that without a pre-Teuthranian conception Neoptolemus would only be nine years old when he arrives at Troy. However, I think the problems associated with Neoptolemus' age have been overstated. As Kelly (2015) 341, points out, 'Early epic can treat long periods of time in a very imprecise manner', with accompanying examples. More specifically, we see a similarly loose relationship with time elsewhere in the Cycle. In the *Telegony*, Odysseus' sons by Circe and Calladice, Telegonus and Polypoites, both reach an appropriate age to accidentally kill Odysseus and marry Penelope, and rule over the Thesprotians, respectively. However, nothing of the narrative of that poem as given by Proclus would suggest that such a length of time has passed. In any case, the problem of Neoptolemus' birth and age does not warrant Severyns' overt readjustment of the evidence.

<sup>64</sup> Heslin (2005) 203; West (2013) 104.

<sup>65</sup> Marin (2008) 218, argues that the pre-Teuthranian episode is absent from Proclus because the summary is not complete and Proclus was not able to include everything that happened due to the poem's length. However, it seems unlikely that he would pass over a major episode in Achilles' life.

<sup>66</sup> Following from the work of Erbse (1969) xi, who condemns the D-scholion in general. In my opinion, the assertion of van der Valk (1963) 369, that the D-scholion in this instance is reliable is not supported by the evidence.

the naming of Neoptolemus, rather than the whole story.<sup>67</sup> That the pertinent detail from the Cycle is the issue of Neoptolemus' name is supported by the fact that Pausanias also records that in the *Cypria* Neoptolemus was originally called Pyrrhus and then renamed (Paus.10.26.4 = *Cypria* fr.19 W). Therefore, we can regard the *Iliad* scholion with suspicion.

Finally, internal evidence points to the unlikelihood of the two visits co-existing. In Proclus' account, Achilles arrives on Scyros after a storm: ἀποπλέουσι δὲ αὐτοῖς ἐκ τῆς Μυσίας χειμῶν ἐπιπίπτει καὶ διασκεδάννυνται (*Cypria* arg.38-39) This would suggest that his arrival on Scyros was accidental and an 'act of god'. At the least this contradicts Severyns, who argued that Achilles returned to Scyros in order to marry Deidameia.<sup>68</sup> While the apparent randomness of the storm does not preclude Severyns' proposal, it does significantly weaken his argument. Therefore, both the circumstantial external evidence and the internal evidence suggests that a pre-Teuthranian episode in which Achilles was hidden amongst the women in Scyros was not part of the *Cypria* as Proclus knew it. Instead, this episode from Achilles' life is better understood as a later embellishment.<sup>69</sup> As van der Valk points out, the premise of the story, the desire to avoid war-service, is very similar to the story of Odysseus and his faked insanity, which is related by Proclus (*Cypria* arg.30-31).<sup>70</sup> However, the opposing evidence in this instance suggests that these thematic parallels do not necessarily guarantee epic or Cyclic derivation.<sup>71</sup> Instead, they explain how this episode was influenced by the Epic Cycle and eventually accepted as part of the Epic Cycle.

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<sup>67</sup> Heslin (2005) 204-5; Fantuzzi (2012) 26.

<sup>68</sup> Severyns (1928a) 290-291. Cf. Kullmann (1960) 192: 'Leider ist für eine derartige Antizipation moderner Sozialstrukturen in der griechischen Epik keine Parallele aus der griechischen Literatur bekannt.'

<sup>69</sup> It is featured in Pausanias (1.22.6) and Euripides (*TrGF* 5 F681a-686). It was associated with the very open category of *neoteroi* in Alexandrian scholarship; a T-scholion on *Il.*9.668 states that οἱ μὲν νεώτεροι ἐκεῖ τὸν παρθενῶνά φασιν, ἔνθα τὸν Ἀχιλλεῖα ἐν παρθένου σχήματι τῆ Διδαμεία †κατακλίνουσιν† (Erbse II p.538). Pace van der Valk (1963) 369-370, who argues that the *neoteroi* here must refer to the *Cypria*.

For a reconstruction of the origins of the cross-dressing episode, see Heslin (2005) 228. For the view that both the *Cypria* and the *Iliad* did know about the episode but were silent about it, see Fantuzzi (2012) 27.

<sup>70</sup> van der Valk (1963) 370.

<sup>71</sup> Pace Verzina (2014).

Although some of the details of the Deidameia episode cannot be confidently assigned to the Epic Cycle, its core (the sojourn on Scyros, at whatever point of the war it occurred) depicts Achilles in a sexual relationship with a female character. This is underlined in Proclus' use of the verb *γαμῆ*, pointing to a relationship between Achilles and Deidameia.<sup>72</sup> This should be seen as distinct and independent from the cross-dressing episode. In this way, it conforms to a pattern of characterisation that we have seen already with Helen and will see again in the case of Penthesileia.

### **Penthesileia**

Achilles' final paramour is Penthesileia, the Amazon ally of the Trojans who is introduced at the beginning of Proclus' *Aithiopsis*:

Ἀμαζῶν Πενθεσίλεια παραγίνεται Τρωσὶ συμμαχήσουσα, Ἄρεως μὲν θυγάτηρ, Θραῖσσα δὲ τὸ γένος· καὶ κτείνει αὐτὴν ἀριστεύουσαν Ἀχιλλεύς, οἱ δὲ Τρῶες αὐτὴν θάπτουσι.

*Aethiopsis* arg.4-6

Just as Helen was distinguished by her beauty, Penthesileia is distinguished by her martial prowess. Introduced as the daughter of the war god Ares, Proclus records that she was killed by Achilles during her *aristeia*.<sup>73</sup> Furthermore, her importance and esteem as a warrior is demonstrated through the fact that she receives burial from the Trojans. Therefore, it is clear from Proclus' summary at least that Penthesileia was represented as a formidable fighting

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<sup>72</sup> And does not preclude the account in Homer of Achilles' conquering Scyros.

<sup>73</sup> On Penthesileia's and other Cyclic *aristeia*, see Sammons (2017) 163-171.

force.<sup>74</sup> In this way, she was a worthy opponent of Achilles, who comes to the forefront in the narrative space represented by the *Aethiopsis*. After killing Penthesileia, he kills Thersites, is purified, kills Memnon, is finally killed by Paris and Apollo, before his story comes to a close with his grand funeral and the drama thereof. The symbiosis between Achilles and Penthesileia is further developed in Eustathius' scholion to *Iliad* 2.220:

ἐκεῖνος ἀνελὼν οἶκτον ἔσχεν ἐπὶ τῇ κειμένῃ. ὁ μὲν γὰρ ἐθαύμαζε τὸ κάλλος καὶ ὡς καλὴν ἄμα καὶ ἀνδρείαν ἀνδρειότατος καὶ κάλλιστος ἠλέει κειμένην τὸ ὅμοιον οἰκτιζόμενος.

‘After killing her, he conceived compassion for her: he admired her beauty and mourned for her, lying dead, as beautiful and brave at the same time—he the bravest and the most handsome—because he had pity for the analogy [between himself and her].’ (Transl. Fantuzzi)

Eustathius introduces this as a νεωτέρα ἱστορία, and Fantuzzi has suggested that it may indeed go back to an ‘archaic text’.<sup>75</sup> While I am more suspicious of Eustathius’ attribution than Fantuzzi,<sup>76</sup> I do take his further point that the passage brings out nicely the complementariness between Achilles and Penthesileia. Proclus’ summary suggests that Penthesileia was introduced as a supreme fighter, and her one-to-one combat with Achilles would have highlighted the analogies between the two warriors, while also introducing the

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<sup>74</sup> Apollodorus adds the detail that Penthesileia had killed Hippolyta, was purified by Priam, and killed Machaon during her *aristeia* (Ap.Ep.5.1). Davies (2016) 46-49, has argued that these details go back to the *Aithiopsis*. While this is possible, accounts of her exile are only extant in much later works (Diodorus Siculus 2.46.5, Quintus Smyrnaeus 1.24, and Servius ad A.1.491). As for Machaon, Apollodorus’ account is at odds with Proclus’ summary of the *Ilias parva*, where Machaon heals Philoctetes (arg.7-8). It is possible that Machaon was not significant enough a character to have a fixed narrative arc, and therefore his fate varied across the tradition. This may have been exacerbated by his interchangeability with Podalirius, who was the healer of Philoctetes according to Apollodorus (Ap.Ep.5.8).

<sup>75</sup> Fantuzzi (2012) 276 n.33, following Severyns (1928a) 316-7. See also Stahre (1998) 157.

<sup>76</sup> Fantuzzi (2012) 276 n.33, argues that the content of the speech is similar to the themes dealt with in Achilles’ funeral speech for Patroclus in the *Iliad*.

added tension of her female identity. In this way, the Penthesileia episode mixes elements of the martial and of the erotic.

Nevertheless the question remains as to how pronounced this erotic aspect was. This section of the chapter has nominally looked at Achilles' 'romantic' (for want of a better word) entanglements. However, a large question mark hangs over the relationship between Achilles and Penthesileia, namely whether Achilles did actually fall in love with the Amazon in the course of their meeting. This uncertainty is encapsulated by Proclus' wording, as he states that Thersites insulted Achilles over his λεγόμενον ἔρωτα for Penthesileia ('alleged love', transl. West). In a summary of relatively few words, it is notable that Proclus chooses to modify the ἔρωτα as λεγόμενον, and I will return to this phrase towards the end of this section.

The tragic love-moment between Achilles and Penthesileia was a popular motif in later art and literature. Apollodorus records that Achilles fell in love with her after killing her (μετὰ θάνατον ἐρασθεὶς τῆς Ἀμαζόνος, *Ap.Ep.*5.1-2). A similar story is told by Quintus Smyrnaeus (1.669-674) and Propertius (3.11.13-16). Throughout antiquity there are also many artistic depictions that portray an intensity of emotion between Achilles and Penthesileia, although these should probably be treated with caution.<sup>77</sup> In these later literary examples, the beauty and attractiveness of Penthesileia is foregrounded. For example, the trope that Achilles was overcome by her beauty when he lifted her helmet plays up her femininity and her special status as a woman on the battlefield. However, if we look at the portrayal of Amazons

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<sup>77</sup> Fantuzzi (2012) 270: 'These images may well reflect the prevailing archaic version of the myth (and thus that of the *Aethiopsis* as well?) in which Achilles was overcome by love for Penthesileia just at the moment when he had, or was about to, deal the mortal blow in duel with her on the battlefield.' However, the archaic and classical depictions of Achilles and Penthesileia only show this 'intense exchange of looks', which is of course very open to interpretation.

elsewhere in Homer, we see that this take on the Amazons was not necessarily always so emphatic.

We encounter the Amazons twice in the *Iliad*, and in neither encounter is their femininity brought to the fore. In Book 3, Priam recounts his previous exploits in Phrygia and mentions his encounter with the Ἀμαζόνες ἀντιάνειραι (*Il.*3.189), against whom he fought as an ally of Otreus and Mygdon.<sup>78</sup> The epithet ἀντιάνειραι, ‘a match for men’<sup>79</sup> obviously does play on the fact that they are not men, but the emphasis is not so much on their femininity as on their equivalency to the male warriors and their fighting skill. Similarly, in Book 6, the defeat of the Ἀμαζόνας ἀντιανείρας (*Il.*6.186) is the third of Bellerophon’s challenges after slaughtering the Chimaera and defeating the Solymi. As Hardwick has argued, in Homer the Amazons functioned as an ‘index of heroic achievement’, whose ‘femininity (or lack of it) is hardly a factor’.<sup>80</sup> It is beyond the scope of this chapter to chart the evolution of the Amazons in ancient literature and art. However, Hardwick and Stahre have shown how the image of the Amazons changed from what we see in Homer, where their primary status is as fighters, in a ‘development towards the female’ over the course of the classical and the Hellenistic periods, and indeed pinpoints the ‘birth of the feminine Amazon’ in the fifth century.<sup>81</sup> In the specific case of Achilles and Penthesileia, we have already seen how later authors emphasise the surprising femininity of Penthesileia and its overwhelming effect on Achilles.

How can we apply all this to the Epic Cycle? We can begin by nuancing West’s statement that Penthesileia is a ‘novel exotic element’ in the *Aithiopsis*.<sup>82</sup> As we have seen, Homer was familiar with the Amazons as a tribe of female fighters. Thus, while Penthesileia is certainly a

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<sup>78</sup> Or possibly with whom he fought as allies; see Mayor (2014) 290.

<sup>79</sup> The adjective is also used by Pindar at *Ol.*12.16: στάσις ἀντιάνειρα, ‘hostile strife’. This context has nothing to do with the Amazons.

<sup>80</sup> Hardwick (1990) 16-17.

<sup>81</sup> Stahre (1998) 160; Hardwick (1990).

<sup>82</sup> West (2013) 135.

new fighter introduced onto the battlefield, the element of novelty should not be overplayed. Furthermore, I think that judgements like this are influenced by the versions of the encounter in which Achilles is explicitly shown as falling in love with Penthesileia.

In fact, Proclus does not say that Achilles fell in love with Penthesileia. We now come back to that very precise use of λεγόμενον ἔρωτα, ‘alleged love’. As Fantuzzi observes, in Proclus the romantic feelings obvious in other versions are downplayed. There remains an ambiguity as to whether Achilles really did ‘fall in love’ with the Amazon, or whether instead this was a slanderous comment directed at him by Thersites.<sup>83</sup> Thersites’ insulting assertion, whether true or not, is not received well by Achilles and he kills Thersites:

καὶ Ἀχιλλεὺς Θερσίτην ἀναιρεῖ λοιδορηθεὶς πρὸς αὐτοῦ καὶ ὄνειδισθεὶς τὸν ἐπὶ τῆι  
Πενθεσιλείαι λεγόμενον ἔρωτα.

*Aethiopsis arg.6-7*

One of the functions of the Penthesileia episode is to expand on the character of Achilles. It tells us as much, if not more, about him than it does about the Amazon warrior. For one thing, it demonstrates the very familiar Iliadic Achilles’ tendency to be at odds with the Greek army and to react to perceived grievances in an overdramatic manner.<sup>84</sup> The introduction of Penthesileia also adds another layer to Achilles’ characterisation. Without the overtly romantic overtones of later authors, Penthesileia’s status as a woman is still relevant, as we can see from the fact that Thersites uses it to insult Achilles. In a way, the Penthesileia episode is a continuation of the other encounters between Achilles and a female character we have seen already. As a character, Achilles, out of all the Achaeans, most naturally fits in to the role of the ‘lover’. Therefore, it is not surprising that, on the one hand, the narrative

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<sup>83</sup> Fantuzzi (2012) 274-5. As Davies (2016) 52, notes, ‘The incident as thus portrayed would seem to have been more illuminating for the mentality of Thersites than for Achilles.’

<sup>84</sup> A good example being when he considers killing Agamemnon over his taking of Briseis at *Il.*1.188-194.

naturally pairs him in a hand-to-hand combat with Penthesileia, and on the other hand that the characters within that narrative accuse him of erotic feelings towards her. But of course, the other reason that Achilles finds himself face to face with Penthesileia is because he is the best warrior of the Achaeans, whose death must be introduced and led up to by his glory on the battlefield. Therefore, in that way Penthesileia is not only in the same group as Helen, Deidameia, and Briseis, but also with Hector and Memnon. Therefore, we can counter West's assertion that the episode with Penthesileia has 'no particular context' and 'could have taken place at any time in the war'.<sup>85</sup> As Achilles' penultimate battle before his death, it encapsulates two important aspects of his character, that is his distinction as both a superior hero and as the most sexually attractive warrior. The result is an uneasy meeting of both of these character traits.

## **Conclusion**

Two final examples of these twin ways of characterising Achilles are Iphigeneia and Polyxena. According to Proclus, these young maidens were sacrificed at the beginning and end of the war, and in both cases Achilles played an important role. In the case of Iphigeneia, the girl is brought to Aulis under the false pretence of marrying Achilles (ὡς ἐπὶ γάμον αὐτὴν Ἀχιλλεῖ μεταπεμψάμενοι, *Cypria* arg.46-47).<sup>86</sup> Polyxena is sacrificed at the end of the *Iliou persis*, at the tomb of Achilles (Πολυξένην σφαγιάζουσιν ἐπὶ τὸν τοῦ Ἀχιλλέως τάφον, arg.23). This latter example in particular underlines the importance of Achilles in the Epic

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<sup>85</sup> West (2013) 133.

<sup>86</sup> Apollodorus *Ep.*3.22 adds the detail that this was as payment for Achilles' participation in the war.

Cycle, as even in death he is made conspicuous through the honour that is bestowed upon him, embodied here in female sacrifice.<sup>87</sup>

But this conspicuousness underlines the problem with the character of Achilles. The emphasis in the Epic Cycle is on his superiority in both the martial and the erotic spheres. However, how confident can we be that this is a pre-Homeric characterisation and, in contrast, to what extent has this characterisation been influenced by the central role Achilles plays in the *Iliad*? The fact that the most important character of the *Iliad* is also characterised as the supreme hero in the Proclean Epic Cycle should make us reflect on the possibility that the central role of the *Iliad* in the classical period and later has encouraged this characterisation. As we will see in the next chapter, the character of Achilles continues to play an important role in the Cycle even after his death. This too might betray a post-Homeric influence. I think we must acknowledge the possibility that this has happened to a certain degree, particularly the association of Achilles with female characters. We have seen that in the cases of Deidameia, Penthesileia, and Helen, later writers outside of the sphere of the epic tradition embellished the romantic and sexual elements of the tales we find in Proclus. This itself suggests that the characterisation of Achilles as a romantic champion gained increasing traction in the post-Homeric period.<sup>88</sup> For example, the testimonium that Ibycus composed a poem in which Achilles was united in his afterlife with Medea on the Elysian Plain (fr.291) suggests that the romantic association of Achilles was popular, branching out from epic and absorbing a character from another tradition.<sup>89</sup>

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<sup>87</sup> In later authors, the ghost of Achilles explicitly demands the sacrifice; see West (2015) 242.

<sup>88</sup> See, for example, the stories of maidens betraying their cities for love of Achilles, collected in Parthenius 21 and the scholia to *Il.*6.35; Leaf (1912) 247-248; Dué (2002) 61-64.

<sup>89</sup> According to the scholiast, Ibycus was the first to depict Achilles' relationship with Medea and was followed by Simonides.

Nevertheless, post-Homeric influence and pre-Homeric authenticity are not mutually exclusive. The oral tradition of the Trojan War would have contained many different stories, some of which remained popular and were built upon in the post-Homeric period, while some fell out of favour. We will see an example of the latter in the characters of Polypoites and Leonteus in a later chapter. In contrast, the sexual and martial adventures of Achilles only increased in importance through the influence of the Iliadic Achilles.

Finally, evidence that this characterisation was indeed already at play in the oral tradition can be witnessed by its reflections in the Homeric poems. One of the central catalysts of the *Iliad* is Achilles' sexual jealousy regarding Agamemnon and Briseis (*Il.*19.175-176). In a way, the whole plot of that poem could be said to play on the subversion of the theme of Achilles' success with women seen throughout the Cycle. His abstinence over the course of the *Iliad*, highlighted by his mother at *Il.*24.129-131, comes to an end at his reunion with Briseis (*Il.*24.675-676), thus resolving one of the plot points of the poem as well as putting right the character of Achilles. In the *Odyssey*, Odysseus has multiple sexual partners (Calypso, Circe, Penelope) and is seen as an ideal husband for Nausicaa. This suggests that success with women was a method of characterisation in oral poetry that signified a character's importance and primacy. While the *Iliad* poet subverts this tendency, it is clearly at play in the characterisations of both the Cyclic Achilles and the Odyssean Odysseus.

## 6. Neoptolemus and Achilles

My discussion of Neoptolemus is divided into two sections. The first will look at him as a character *per se*, asking whether his character is ‘good’ or ‘bad’ in archaic epic, and how helpful these categories are for our understanding of Neoptolemus. The second section will look at his relationship with his father Achilles, and at the ways in which the Epic Cycle creates links between these two characters throughout the story of the Trojan War. This will then lead on to further discussion of the question raised in the previous chapter, namely how the Epic Cycle extends the importance of Achilles himself through the links with his son and his numerous posthumous appearances.

### Neoptolemus in the Epic Cycle

As way of introduction, we might turn to a quote which is reminiscent of arguments made elsewhere about his father Achilles’ place in the Cycle. Sammons has written, ‘Of all subordinate characters [in the Epic Cycle], Neoptolemus seems to have been the most important’, pointing to his ‘expansive role’ which occupies several episodes across the range of Proclus’ epitomised poems.<sup>1</sup> Many years previously, Monro had expressed a similar sentiment, remarking that Neoptolemus was the chief hero of the *Iliou persis*.<sup>2</sup> Just as his father before him appeared to dominate the first half of the Epic Cycle, Neoptolemus occupies several episodes across the later events of the Cycle. According to Proclus,

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<sup>1</sup> Sammons (2017) 143.

<sup>2</sup> Monro (1884) 29-30.

Neoptolemus comes onto the stage in the *Ilias parva*, when he is fetched from Scyros by Odysseus and kills Eurypylus. On his arrival in Troy he is given his father's armour, an act obviously imbued with symbolic meaning, and the ghost of Achilles himself appears to him:

καὶ Νεοπτόλεμον Ὀδυσσεὺς ἐκ Σκύρου ἀγαγὼν τὰ ὄπλα δίδωσι τὰ τοῦ πατρός· καὶ Ἀχιλλεὺς αὐτῷ φαντάζεται.

*Ilias parva* arg.10-12

In the *Iliou persis*, during the chaos of the Greek sack of Troy, he kills Priam at the altar of Zeus and subsequently receives Andromache as his prize:<sup>3</sup>

καὶ Νεοπτόλεμος μὲν ἀποκτείνει Πρίαμον ἐπὶ τὸν τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Ἐρκείου βωμὸν καταφυγόντα... Νεοπτόλεμος Ἀνδρομάχην γέρας λαμβάνει.

*Iliou persis* arg.13-14, 20-21

Finally, Neoptolemus is the central character in one of the narrative strands of the *Nostoi*.

Unlike his peers, he makes his way by land on the advice of Thetis, meets Odysseus at

Thrace, buries Phoinix, and ends the Cycle among the Molossians, where he is recognised by

Peleus:

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<sup>3</sup> The detail that Neoptolemus took Andromache as his prize is also attested by Tzetzes in his commentary on Lycophron (Tzetz. in Lyc. 1268 = *Ilias parva* fr.29-30 W). On the issues with this source, see Chapter 8.

Νεοπτόλεμος δὲ Θέτιδος ὑποθεμένης πεζῆι ποιεῖται τὴν πορείαν· καὶ παραγενόμενος εἰς Θράκιην Ὀδυσσεὶα καταλαμβάνει ἐν τῇ Μαρωνείᾳ, καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν ἀνύει τῆς ὁδοῦ, καὶ τελευτήσαντα Φοίνικα θάπτει· αὐτὸς δὲ εἰς Μολοσσοὺς ἀφικόμενος ἀναγνωρίζεται Πηλεΐ.

*Nostoi* arg.13-16

Other sources preserve additional, and contradictory, details. Pausanias' description of the Knidian Lesche at Delphi records that Neoptolemus was depicted slaying several minor warriors (Astynous, Eioneus, Agenor, 10.26.4-27.2). More significantly, of the death of Priam, Pausanias writes that 'Lescheos' did not say he was killed at the altar of Zeus *Herkeios*, but instead was pulled away from the altar to the 'doors of the house' (ἀλλὰ ἀποσπασθέντα ἀπὸ τοῦ βωμοῦ πάρεργον τῷ Νεοπτολέμῳ πρὸς ταῖς τῆς οἰκίας γενέσθαι θύραις, 10.27.2). Neoptolemus also drags Priam away from the altar before killing him in the scene of the death as depicted on one group of the Homeric Cups.<sup>4</sup>

A further contradictory detail offered by the Knidian Lesche is the death of Astyanax.

Apparently, Neoptolemus was depicted as the particularly brutal killer of the young child:

γέγραπται μὲν Ἄνδρομάχῃ, καὶ ὁ παῖς οἱ προσέστηκεν ἐλόμενος τοῦ μαστοῦ. τούτῳι Λέσχεως ῥιφθέντι ἀπὸ τοῦ πύργου συμβῆναι λέγει τὴν τελευτήν, οὐ μὴν ὑπὸ δόγματός γε τῶν Ἑλλήνων, ἀλλ' ἰδίᾳ Νεοπτολέμον αὐτόχειρα ἐθελῆσαι γενέσθαι.<sup>5</sup>

Paus.10.25.9

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<sup>4</sup> Authors that do have Priam killed at the altar include Pindar (*Paean* 6.113), Euripides (*Hec.* 23) and Tryphiodorus (400, 634-636).

<sup>5</sup> The scholion to *Il.*24.735a claims that it was this Iliadic verse which inspired οἱ μεθ' Ὀμηρον ποιηταὶ to depict Astyanax being thrown from the wall (τοῦ τείχους) by the Greeks (ὑπὸ τῶν Ἑλλήνων) – note the culpability of the collective, rather than Neoptolemus or Odysseus.

This is in contrast to Proclus' epitome of the *Iliou persis*, which records that it was Odysseus who killed Astyanax (arg.20).

### Neoptolemus in Homer

Before getting further into Neoptolemus' character in the Epic Cycle, we first need to address his presence in the *Iliad*. West has argued that Neoptolemus 'has no existence for the *Iliad* poet' and that the two apparent references to him in the *Iliad* 'are surely interpolated'.<sup>6</sup> The references in question are *Il.*19.326-37 and *Il.*24.467. In the former, Achilles complains that he has been forced to abandon his family to come to Troy and does not even know whether his son on Scyros is alive or dead:

οὐ μὲν γάρ τι κακώτερον ἄλλο πάθοιμι,  
οὐδ' εἴ κεν τοῦ πατρὸς ἀποφθιμένοιο πυθοίμην,  
ὅς που νῦν Φθίῃφι τέρεν κατὰ δάκρυον εἴβει  
χίτηϊ τοιοῦδ' υἱός· ὃ δ' ἄλλοδαπῶ ἐνὶ δήμῳ  
εἵνεκα ῥιγεδανῆς Ἑλένης Τρωσὶν πολεμίζω·  
ἠὲ τὸν ὃς Σκύρω μοι ἐνὶ τρέφεται φίλος υἱός,  
εἴ που ἔτι ζῶει γε Νεοπτόλεμος θεοειδής.

*Il.*19.321-327

In Book 24, Hermes tells Priam to entreat Achilles ὑπὲρ πατρὸς καὶ μητέρος ἠῦκόμοιο/ ...καὶ τέκεος, that he might persuade him to give over the body of Hector to him (*Il.*24.466-467).

West believes these two passages to be 'rhapsodic interpolations designed to take account of

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<sup>6</sup> West (2013) 184; cf. Blöbner (1991) 79-80.

a figure' who featured in the Epic Cycle and the *Odyssey* (ἀλλ' ἄγε μοι τοῦ παιδὸς ἀγαθοῦ μῦθον ἐνίσπες, *Od.*11.492). West claims that the depiction of Achilles as having a son is at odds with his characterisation elsewhere in the *Iliad* as 'a doomed young man whose...mother...and father are his only family.' West also claims that *Il.*24.538-540 confirms that Achilles has no children.<sup>7</sup> However, it is wrong to claim that this passage and those that reference Neoptolemus are mutually exclusive. In these lines, Achilles mourns the unfortunate fate of his father:

ἀλλ' ἐπὶ καὶ τῷ θῆκε θεὸς κακόν, ὅττι οἱ οὔ τι  
παίδων ἐν μεγάροισι γονὴ γένετο κρειόντων,  
ἀλλ' ἓνα παῖδα τέκεν παναώριον·

*Il.*24.538-540

The fact that Achilles does not mention his own son in this instance is hardly surprising, as the rhetorical purpose of the speech is to showcase Peleus' miserable isolation and draw an analogy with Priam, who is also bereaved of his (good) sons (*Il.*24.247-262). As for the direct references to Neoptolemus in the *Iliad*, there is no reason to suggest that these are interpolations. As in the case of Memnon, Neoptolemus is known to the *Odyssey*, which suggests at the very least that he was a part of the oral tradition within which the poet of the *Iliad* was also working. Furthermore, in the Book 24 reference to Neoptolemus, West's proposal to bracket lines 466-7 (καί μιν ὑπὲρ πατρὸς καὶ μητέρος ἠῦκόμοιο/ λίσσεο καὶ τέκεος, ἵνα οἱ σὸν θυμὸν ὀρίνης) results in line 465 (τῦνη δ' εἰσελθὼν λαβὲ γούνατα Πηλεΐωνος) standing alone at the end of Hermes' speech. Not only is this an oddly abrupt ending to the speech, but it is also very rare for a scene of supplication to mention the

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<sup>7</sup> West (2014) 359.

physical act without mention of a verbal act.<sup>8</sup> Similarly, a wholesale removal of the sentence (465-7) would be equally nonsensical – it is here that Hermes reaches the main point of his speech, his command to Priam that he needs to entreat Achilles if he wishes to retrieve his son's body.

We can also refute the objections raised to *Il.* 19.326. Scholars have objected to the fact that the transition from Peleus to Neoptolemus is marked by τὸν, referring back to πυθοίμην in 322, but with a change of construction from genitive to accusative object.<sup>9</sup> However, there are other examples in the *Iliad* of the verb taking an accusative object (*Il.* 5.702, 6.50 = *Il.* 10.381, 11.135). In reality, this grammatical inconcinnity is only a back-up for less sturdy, contextual objections to the line. Aristarchus and Aristophanes athetized the line because Scyros is close to Troy, and therefore reasoned that Achilles would know whether his son was dead or not. However, this ignores the dramatic effect of Achilles' lament, his anxiety for his son no doubt heightened by the distance between them, no matter how small.<sup>10</sup> Therefore, Neoptolemus is not only a significant character in the Epic Cycle, but there is also good reason to believe that he was known and referenced by the *Iliad* poet.

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<sup>8</sup> Whether with direct speech (e.g. *Il.* 18.71, 24.478, 1.500, 6.45) or indirect mention of a speech act (e.g. *Il.* 407, 9.581, 20.463). There are very many supplication scenes in Homer, and to my knowledge, the only other example where a reference to physical supplication is not accompanied by a verbal act is *Od.* 14.276-81, between Odysseus and the Pharaoh. An objection to my objection may be that the Book 24 example is a 'split' supplication – Hermes tells Priam to supplicate Achilles, followed by Priam actually supplicating Achilles. In the actual supplication, the physical act (χερσὶν Ἀχιλλῆος λάβε γούνατα καὶ κύσε χεῖρας, 478) is accompanied by a speech act (τὸν καὶ λισσόμενος Πρίαμος πρὸς μῦθον ἔειπε, 485). However, this does not remove the strangeness of the example in Hermes' speech. For why Priam entreats Achilles only by his father and not also by his mother and child as advised by Hermes, see Brügger (2009) *ad* 24.466-467 and MacLeod (1982) *ad* 406-467.

<sup>9</sup> See Leaf (1900) *ad* 327; West (2011) 359.

<sup>10</sup> For other defences of the Book 19 reference, see Kullmann (1960) 197-198, 339 and Lohmann (1970) 102-105, who argues for the authenticity of the verse through a structural comparison between the lament of Achilles and the earlier lament of Briseis.

## Variations in the portrayal of Neoptolemus

The wider question remains as to how Neoptolemus was characterised in archaic epic, and whether this characterisation was consistent. In the Homeric poems, he is portrayed as either a child (*Iliad*) or as a noble and beautiful warrior (*Odyssey*). Yet when we turn to Proclus and other testimonia, his behaviour elsewhere in the Trojan War tradition appears less exemplary. In fact, he could be said to emerge as the leading villain of the Greek side. This is certainly the view that Virgil later takes in the *Aeneid*, where he portrays him as slaying the young Polites in front of his parents (A.2.526-532). Where do these differing portrayals originate from, and more pertinently, are they mutually exclusive or completely compatible?

According to Proclus, Neoptolemus is the killer of Priam. The murder of Priam by Neoptolemus represents the symbolic end of the Trojan house and the culmination of the young man's career in the war. It is also unquestionably a murder that is meant to reflect badly on Neoptolemus. According to Proclus' epitome of the *Iliou perisis*, Neoptolemus kills the aged patriarch after he has fled to the altar of Zeus *Herkeios* (καὶ Νεοπτόλεμος μὲν ἀποκτείνει Πρίαμον ἐπὶ τὸν τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Ἑρκείου βωμὸν καταφυγόντα, arg.13-14).

Neoptolemus commits twin outrages in his actions here. Firstly, he takes the life not of a fellow warrior, but instead an old man who is not involved in combat. The dynamic of this murder is further suggested by *Iliad* 24 and the meeting between Achilles and Priam.

Although overall this is a scene of reconciliation, at one point danger threatens to break out when Achilles turns in anger to Priam. It may be significant that in this example Achilles explicitly states that Priam should be careful lest he kill him, although being a suppliant this

would transgress the command of Zeus.<sup>11</sup> This is possibly an example of the linking across epic between Neoptolemus and his father, which will be discussed in more detail below.

Secondly and more specifically, the victim has fled to the altar of the god to seek refuge, and therefore in killing him, Neoptolemus is committing sacrilege. The sanctity of the god's altar is a theme throughout Greek literature, but we do not have to look far for parallels to demonstrate the negative portrayal of Neoptolemus' action. In the *Iliou persis* itself, there is another debacle with an altar: Proclus records that Locrian Ajax raped Cassandra, and in doing so also *συνεφέλκεται* the sacred *ξόανον* of Athena. In response to this, the Greeks decide to execute Ajax, but he in turn takes refuge at the altar of Athena. In her response to all this, Athena takes revenge by destroying Ajax on the ocean (arg.15-21). This episode demonstrates (doubly) the esteem with which sacred things and altars were held, and the fatal consequences that could come from disrespecting them.<sup>12</sup> In Pausanias' account of the murder (10.27.2, printed above), there is some ambiguity around the agents of Priam's destruction. *ἀποσπασθέντα* is passive, inviting the question of whether it was Neoptolemus who did the dragging and the killing, or whether Priam was dragged away from the altar by somebody else and then killed by Neoptolemus. If the second, this may go some way to mitigating the sacrilegious nature of the killing.<sup>13</sup> However, despite these questions and the differences between Proclus and Pausanias, it remains a fact that Neoptolemus was known as being responsible for the death of Priam.

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<sup>11</sup> 'τὼ νῦν μὴ μοι μᾶλλον ἐν ἄλγεσι θυμὸν ὀρίνης,/μὴ σε γέρον, οὐδ' αὐτὸν ἐνὶ κλισίῃσιν ἔασω/καὶ ἰκέτην περ ἔόντα, Διὸς δ' ἀλίτωμαι ἐφετμάς.' (*Il.*24.568-570).

<sup>12</sup> More specifically, the altar of Zeus *Herkeios* appears once in Homeric poetry, when the bard Phemius considers seeking refuge there during Odysseus' revenge on the suitors (*Od.*22.330-339).

<sup>13</sup> West (2013) 226, more confidently states that, 'The [version in which Priam is dragged away], being clearly designed to mitigate the impiety of the former, is logically secondary.' However, this begs the question that the 'dragging away version' was purposefully created in order to lessen Neoptolemus' crime; another explanation may be that it simply added more detail and drama to the episode.

Pausanias adds another detail, namely that Neoptolemus was also the killer of Astyanax:

ὁ παῖς οἱ προσέστηκεν ἐλόμενος τοῦ μαστοῦ—τούτω Λέσχεως ριφθέντι ἀπὸ τοῦ πύργου  
συμβῆναι λέγει τὴν τελευτήν· οὐ μὴν ὑπὸ δόγματός γε Ἑλλήνων, ἀλλ' ἰδίᾳ Νεοπτόλεμον  
αὐτόχειρα ἐθελῆσαι γενέσθαι.

Paus.10.25.9

Pausanias' comment implies that there was another version in which Astyanax was killed ὑπὸ δόγματός γε Ἑλλήνων. This could be the same version of the child's death that is reflected in Proclus' summary of the *Iliou persis*, in which he states that it was Odysseus who killed Astyanax (arg.20).<sup>14</sup> It is likely that Neoptolemus is depicted as the killer of Astyanax on a number of Greek vases. Significantly, starting from the 6<sup>th</sup> century, this seems to often be paired with his murder of Priam.<sup>15</sup> Despite the contradictions between Proclus and other sources in the matter of Astyanax, we can say that Neoptolemus was certainly associated with the sacrilegious murder of Priam, and that there was also a tradition which held him responsible for the death of Astyanax. Neither of these actions cover him with glory.

In contrast, this is all blissfully absent from Homer. In the *Odyssey*, Neoptolemus is simply depicted as the eligible son of Achilles (*Od.*4.5-7) and his worthy successor in Troy

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<sup>14</sup> The surrounding context would seem to suggest this. Proclus follows the murder by saying that Neoptolemus received Andromache as his prize and that the rest of the booty was divided up. This would suggest that Odysseus' murder of Astyanax came while the Greeks were working out what to do with the wealth and survivors of the city they had destroyed. Therefore, rather than acting from his own murderous animus (as Neoptolemus is said to be doing in Pausanias), Odysseus would be carrying out the orders of the Greek army to dispatch the young prince.

<sup>15</sup> For examples, see Gantz (1996) 655-657. The problem with these depictions is that the figures are very rarely named, and therefore it is simply assumed that the child and old man are Astyanax and Priam. The old man is often depicted near an altar, which helps with the identification, while the child is being swung over the warrior's head or killed with a sword, which is at odds with 'Lescheos', who has him thrown from the battlements. Although the number of these depictions drops in red-figure vases, it is here that the figures begin to be named.

(*Od.* 11.505-537). In Book 11, Odysseus tells the shade of Achilles that his son proved himself both in the assembly (αἰεὶ πρῶτος ἔβαζε καὶ οὐχ ἡμάρτανε μύθων, 511) and on the battlefield (πολὸν προθέεσκε, τὸ ὄν μένος οὐδενὶ εἴκων·/ πολλοὺς δ' ἄνδρας ἔπεφνεν ἐν αἰνῇ δῆϊότητι, 515-16). He was among the most handsome of the warriors (κεῖνον δὴ κάλλιστον ἴδον μετὰ Μέμνονα δῖον, 522) and distinguished himself by his bravery, fortitude, and enthusiasm while part of the cadre of warriors inside the Trojan Horse (523-33).

How can we account for these apparent differences? How are we meant to understand the character and characterisation of Neoptolemus in early epic? As Bouvier has pointed out, one part of the answer is context. In the *nekuia* of the *Odyssey*, Odysseus is talking to Achilles about his son. Although he promises to tell him the ‘whole truth’ about Neoptolemus, this should actually point us to the fact that Odysseus is not in fact giving the full story, and instead concealing from Achilles some of his son’s less than flattering deeds.<sup>16</sup> Bouvier goes on to make a larger argument about the diachronic development of Neoptolemus’ character. He argues that Homer chose to ignore the bloody deeds of Neoptolemus that were well-represented by the Cycle. Subsequently, in the 5<sup>th</sup> century, a ‘veritable rehabilitation’ of Neoptolemus took place, as demonstrated by the fact that he is never mentioned as the murderer of Astyanax in Greek tragedy and by his depiction as Nestor’s student in Plato (*Greater Hippias* 286a-b).<sup>17</sup> So for Bouvier, in pre-Homeric epic, Neoptolemus was primarily associated with misdeeds that were covered up by Homer and subsequently become less and less prominent in the tradition surrounding his character.

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<sup>16</sup> Bouvier (2000) 46.

<sup>17</sup> Bouvier (2000) 46-57.

Curiously, the tradition surrounding Neoptolemus' death takes an opposite trajectory. The Epic Cycle as we have it does not explicitly mention the warrior's death, instead ending with his arrival among the Molossians (*Nostoi* arg.16). However, elsewhere he is said to have been killed in the sacred sanctuary of Delphi. This coincided with a contemporary cult to Neoptolemus at the site. The most ancient testimony for Neoptolemus' connection to Delphi is Pindar. According to *Nemean* 7.34-7, Neoptolemus had gone to Delphi to consult the god, and was killed in a quarrel over his sacrifice. This myth was combined in conversation at Delphi with the aforementioned Lesche of the Knidians, which, as we have seen, depicted Neoptolemus slaughtering the baby Astyanax. It has been argued that this was a pointed suggestion that, 'the end which the hero met in the sanctuary of the god was a merited punishment.'<sup>18</sup> It is also possible that his death was meant to be interpreted as punishment from Apollo for his sacking of Troy.<sup>19</sup> So while there is no mention of Neoptolemus' death in the Epic Cycle, a tradition emerged of his death at Delphi which was not entirely flattering.

In place of creating a strict progression from one position to the other, from 'bad' to 'good', I think it is better to accept the possibility that these two aspects of Neoptolemus existed side by side throughout the evolution of the Epic Cycle. Yes, Neoptolemus was responsible for the inglorious killing of Priam, an act that was discreetly covered up by Odysseus in the *Odyssey*. But this is not the extent of Neoptolemus' actions in the Epic Cycle, as recorded by Proclus. He is the slayer of Eurypylus, a killing which has none of the negative connotations of the death of Priam. Instead, by defeating a fellow warrior, Neoptolemus graduates to the ranks of the other great Greek heroes. More especially, unlike the Lesser Ajax, whose sacrilege wins him only destruction, in the *Nostoi*, Neoptolemus emerges as one of the most

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<sup>18</sup> Woodbury (1979) 96. On the theory that the story of the hostile Neoptolemus at Delphi emerged in the 7<sup>th</sup> century at a time of Thessalian threat towards Delphi, see Woodbury (1979) 103.

<sup>19</sup> Teffeteller (2005) 83; Slater (1977) 207.

fortunate Greek returnees, his *nostos* guarded over by his divine grandmother Thetis and ending in a reconciliation with his mortal grandfather. This will be discussed in the next section, but suffice to say here that Neoptolemus does not suffer the ignominies of an Ajax or an Agamemnon. Much like his father, his depiction in archaic epic appears to be a multifaceted one, which is unsurprising for a character who occupies much of the latter half of the Cycle. As we will see elsewhere in this thesis, characters in the Cycle do tend to vacillate between both noble and ignoble deeds. This impression may be partly due to the laconic nature of the evidence. But it also attests to a tendency in the Cycle for more ambiguous characterisations and a wider acceptance of ‘heroes behaving badly’.

### **Neoptolemus, Achilles, and other father figures**

The link to Achilles brings us nicely to the second strand of the discussion of Neoptolemus. As Cingano has pointed out, there is a ‘paradosso implicito’ in the fact that Achilles, the youngest of the Greeks, was also the only warrior to have ‘un figlio protagonista’ in the final phase of the war.<sup>20</sup> Although they are never in Troy at the same time, the relationship between Neoptolemus and Achilles is underlined at several points in the Cycle. When he first arrives at the war, Neoptolemus is given his father’s armour by Odysseus, which clearly represents his symbolic accession as Achilles’ son. At the same time, Proclus records that Achilles appears to him (αὐτῷ φαντάζεται, *Ilias parva* arg.11-12).<sup>21</sup> The combination of the armour and the apparition emphasises the importance of Achilles to the character of Neoptolemus and underlines the connection between the two characters. However, what is notable is that this connection is sustained throughout until the end of the *Nostoi*, in what

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<sup>20</sup> Cingano (2010) 86.

<sup>21</sup> This is not the first time Achilles will make his ghostly presence felt; see below.

might be called a ‘father-son superstructure’. There have been efforts in recent scholarship on the Cycle to trace out these superstructures, or *Fernbeziehungen*, which connect motifs and episodes between different Cyclic and Homeric poems.<sup>22</sup> Although I have doubts about some of these efforts, the theme of fathers and sons, centred around Achilles and Neoptolemus, appears to me the strongest candidate of just such a phenomenon at play in the Cycle. After the connection between the two is cemented by the events of the *Ilias parva*, Achilles and Neoptolemus are indirectly linked together numerous times in the latter half of the Cycle. Most significant is the link between Achilles and Neoptolemus, and Telephus and Eurypylos. Achilles wounds Telephus in the *Cypria* (arg.38), and later in the Cycle Neoptolemus kills Telephus’ son Eurypylos when he comes to fight in Troy (*Ilias parva* arg.13). There are other connections between father and son: Neoptolemus kills Priam, after Achilles killed his son Hector and reconciled with Priam in the *Iliad* (*Iliou persis* arg.13-14). Neoptolemus receives a prophecy from Thetis, just like Achilles (*Nostoi* arg.13). Neoptolemus buries Phoinix, the tutor of Achilles (*Nostoi* arg.15-16). Finally, Neoptolemus ends the Cycle by reuniting with Peleus, the father whom Achilles will never see again (*Nostoi* arg.16). As will become evident, the relationship between Achilles and Neoptolemus embraces other father and son pairs, further strengthening this overarching theme.

#### **i) Peleus**

Take the example of Peleus. It is significant that in the Epic Cycle Neoptolemus ends his *nostos* by meeting with Peleus in Molossia. A brief examination of other accounts of

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<sup>22</sup> This term was originated by Reichel (1994) in connection with the *Iliad*. Similar relationships have also been mapped out for the Epic Cycle, in particular by Anderson (1997) and Marks (2010); cf. Rengakos (2015) 159. While Reichel (1994) 369-370, argues that the complex *Fernbeziehungen* of the *Iliad* are not compatible with purely oral poetry, he does suggest that a simpler form of the technique was present in the earlier oral tradition.

Neoptolemus' *nostoi* will highlight that the version in Proclus is clearly associated with the wider theme of fathers and sons.

Not all accounts are in agreement as to where Neoptolemus ended up after his Trojan War adventure. A large number, including the *Nostoi*, have him go to Molossia or Epirus, while a smaller number have him return to his father's Thessalian homeland of Phthia. At *Od.*3.188-89, Nestor simply states that Neoptolemus brought the Myrmidons back home safely, 'one presumes by sea and to their homeland of Phthia.'<sup>23</sup> Similarly, in Euripides' *Troades*, Talthybius tells Hecabe that Neoptolemus has already departed for Phthia (1123-28). However, there are many accounts in which Neoptolemus finds himself in Molossia, as in the *Nostoi*. This tradition is attested at least as far back as Pindar, according to whom Neoptolemus ruled at Ephrya in Molossia (*Nem.*7.36-9; cf. *Paeon* 6.112-117).

Proclus' version of Neoptolemus' *nostos* does not easily map on to any of these other accounts, nor is Proclus' version clearly indebted to any singular account. As we have seen, there is no mention in Proclus of Neoptolemus' visit to Delphi. The death at Delphi (not in the *Nostoi*) and the Molossia episode (in the *Nostoi*) are not mutually exclusive. Pindar is our earliest attested source for both and makes a connection between Neoptolemus' sojourn and reign in Molossia and his death at Delphi. However, the Pindaric version pitches the Molossia episode as an example of divine anger, a detour caused by Apollo's anger over the death of Priam (*Paeon* 6.112-117).<sup>24</sup> Neoptolemus' death at Delphi is thus a fitting

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<sup>23</sup> Gantz (1996) 687.

<sup>24</sup> Apollo's anger over the death of Priam and his subsequent revenge on Neoptolemus is only explicitly mentioned by Pindar in *Paeon* 6, which also implies that Apollo was responsible for his failure to reach Phthia, because he would never allow the slayer of Priam to arrive at home (*Paeon* 6.112-117). Scholars are conflicted over whether *Nemean* 7 is Pindar's apology for his negative portrayal of Neoptolemus in *Paeon* 6, or whether the two accounts are fundamentally alike in their portrayal of Neoptolemus. For the former, see Woodbury (1979) and Lloyd-Jones (1973); for the latter, see Teffeteller (2005) and Burnett (1998). For Pindar's close relationship with Delphi, see Rutherford (2008) 178-182.

conclusion of this wrath.<sup>25</sup> However, a very different impression is left by Proclus' account. Here, the trip to Molossia is overtly implied to be a positive result. Through the advice of Thetis, he avoids the misfortunes of the other returning Greeks, and makes his way by land. It is this land journey that distinguishes him from the rest of the cohort and lands him in Molossia. Furthermore, there is no mention of his later death in Delphi. This may have been lost in the process of epitomisation – after all, the *Telegony* demonstrates that an ignominious death can follow even a successful *nostos*. However, Proclus does not show any knowledge of the Delphi incident, and, more significantly, no knowledge of any divine *animus* against Neoptolemus.

What is more significant is that Proclus' account preserves three unique details about Neoptolemus' *nostos*. The first is that he meets Odysseus at Thrace, the second is that he buries Phoinix, and the third is that he is recognised by Peleus in Molossia. In my view, it is extremely significant that Neoptolemus' *nostos* includes a roll-call of three important authority figures, and in the case of Phoinix and Peleus, men who function as father-figures to Neoptolemus and Achilles. Proclus is silent about the reason for Peleus' presence in Molossia, but it does need an explanation since we would otherwise expect him to be in his kingdom of Phthia. Such an explanation is provided by the tradition that Peleus was expelled from Phthia by the sons of Acastus, as witnessed by Apollodorus (*Ep.*6.12). Although they are not named, the dynastic rivalry between Peleus and the sons of Acastus is alluded to in the *Iliad* (*Il.*24.488-489) and the *Odyssey* (*Od.*11.494-503). Therefore, it is possible that the *Nostoi* is reflecting a tradition in which Neoptolemus helped his grandfather or rescued his grandfather from the violence in his kingdom. Therefore, the father-son structure of the

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<sup>25</sup> It also appears that Neoptolemus was worshipped at Delphi in some capacity, although when this worship began is unclear. See Rutherford (2008) 314 and n.36.

Achilles-Neoptolemus relationship is further embellished by the addition of the grandfather Peleus. Such a development is reflected in the *Odyssey*, which is itself highly interested in the father and son dynamic, and ends with Telemachus, Odysseus, and Laertes defending their kingdom from the threat of usurpation. When it comes to Neoptolemus' *nostoi*, the Epic Cycle is distinguished by a thematic concentration on father and son connections, building up a series of interactions between Neoptolemus and both real and metaphorical father figures. In this way, the *nostos* of Neoptolemus in the Cycle, unlike in other versions, is firmly situated within the wider epic and Homeric world, with its interest in the themes of father and son.

## ii) Telephus and Eurypylus

The Achilles-Neoptolemus superstructure brings another duo into its orbit in the father-son pair of Eurypylus and Telephus. Originating from Mysia, they both have the distinction of being the first significant conquest of Achilles and Neoptolemus. In the *Cypria*, Proclus relates that when the Greeks had landed in Teuthrania, Achilles attacks and wounds Telephus (*Cypria* arg.38).<sup>26</sup> In the *Ilias parva*, his son Eurypylus arrives in Troy, has an *aristeia*, and is killed by Neoptolemus:

Εὐρύπυλος δὲ ὁ Τηλέφου ἐπικούρος τοῖς Τρωσὶ παραγίνεται, καὶ ἀριστεύοντα αὐτὸν ἀποκτείνει Νεοπτόλεμος.

*Ilias parva* arg.11-13

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<sup>26</sup> Further details are given by Apollodorus (*Ep.*3.17), who says that Telephus fled from Achilles, become entangled in a vine branch, and was wounded in the thigh. It is uncertain how much of this is original to the Cycle, and how much is influenced by Greek tragedy. Cf. Σ *Il.*1.59.

Eurypylos remains a shadowy figure throughout Greek literature, but Telephus enjoyed a relatively high level of popularity. His most well-known outings are in the Greek tragedians, all three of whom wrote plays based around his character. Although none survives, it would appear that Aeschylus covered the attack on Mysia and the healing in Argos (*TrGF* 3 F238-40).<sup>27</sup> Euripides' *Telephus* of 438 BC also dramatized Telephus' appeal to the Greeks to cure his wound at Argos, taking the infant Orestes as a hostage; Aristophanes parodies his appearance in rags (*Ach.*429-470; *Th.*689-764; 910).<sup>28</sup> Otherwise, epigraphic evidence suggests that Sophocles wrote a connected trilogy or tetralogy known as the *Telepheaia*, which may have consisted of the *Children of Aleus*, *Mysians*, *Telephus*, and *Eurypylos*.<sup>29</sup>

Therefore, it seems that the story of Telephus, and to a lesser extent Eurypylos, was well-represented by the Greek tragedians. However, the significance of the character to the Trojan War story was already established. Most pertinently, the Homeric poet mentions both Telephus and Eurypylos in the *Odyssey*. We have already seen Odysseus telling Achilles about his son's exploits during the *Nekuia*. One such achievement is his defeat of Eurypylos:

ἀλλ' οἷον τὸν Τηλεφίδην κατενήρατο χαλκῷ,  
ἦρω' Εὐρύπυλον· πολλοὶ δ' ἄμφ' αὐτὸν ἑταῖροι  
Κήτειοι κτείνοντο γυναιῶν εἵνεκα δῶρων.  
κεῖνον δὴ κάλλιστον ἴδον μετὰ Μέμνονα δῖον.

*Od.*11.519-21

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<sup>27</sup> Wright (2019) 56-57.

<sup>28</sup> It is possible that Telephus' seizing of Orestes was anticipated in Aeschylus, but this has been questioned; see Gantz (1996) 579 and Wright (2019) 56-57.

<sup>29</sup> Wright (2019) 119.

Odysseus brings into close company both Eurypylos and Memnon, two ‘Cyclic’ characters who were defeated by Neoptolemus and Achilles respectively. This suggests that Eurypylos was well-known in the pre-Homeric tradition, as does the allusive reference to the bribery and betrayal of Eurypylos’ mother Astyoche.<sup>30</sup> Telephus and Eurypylos are also to be found elsewhere in Greek literature preceding the tragedians. Like Memnon, they are often referenced in Pindar (*O.*9.72-73; *Isth.*5.40-42; 8.49-51)<sup>31</sup> and in the pseudo-Hesiodic *Catalogue of Women* (fr.165 MW).<sup>32</sup> These examples recount Telephus’ initial rout of the Greeks and his wounding by Achilles. Of similar content is the reference to Telephus in an elegy of Archilochus (fr.17a Swift), which also narrates Telephus’ repulse of the Achaeans after they land in Teuthrania,<sup>33</sup> thus coinciding with Proclus’ summary of the *Cypria*.<sup>34</sup> Unlike the *Cypria*, the elegy also features an appearance from Telephus’ father, Heracles, who encourages his son to rout the Greeks and force them back.<sup>35</sup> As West remarks, there ‘can be no serious doubt that Archilochus knew the story from hexameter epic current in his time.’<sup>36</sup> Although the elegy’s significance for our knowledge of pre-Homeric poetry has been debated,<sup>37</sup> the cumulative evidence points towards the fact that Telephus and Eurypylos were significant characters in the early Trojan story.

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<sup>30</sup> This story is given by the scholia to *Od.*11.520, 521. They also cite an alternative account, according to which Priam had promised Eurypylos one of his daughters in marriage. The reference to the golden vine in the ‘quote’ from the *Ilias parva* offered by a Euripides scholiast (fr.6 W = Schol.Eur.*Tro.*822) suggests that this was the version in the poem, Gantz (1996) 640-641.

<sup>31</sup> See Spelman (2018) who argues that Pindar refers to ‘fixed poems’ of the Epic Cycle which were known to his audience. Such an assertion of stability sits uncomfortably with this thesis’ conception of the Cycle as originally oral (Spelman acknowledges the problems posed by Oral Theory at 196). However, it seems possible to me that the Cyclic poems were becoming increasingly ‘fixed’ by the 5<sup>th</sup> century. Whatever the case, Pindar (and his audience) is clearly familiar with a tradition of the Trojan War in which these characters played important roles.

<sup>32</sup> For commentary, see Hirschberger (2004) 338-341.

<sup>33</sup> Probably serving a paradigmatic role: Swift (2019) 228-233, 235

<sup>34</sup> It is also possible that Archilochus told the story of Neoptolemus’ killing of Eurypylos; see Swift (2019) 419 on fr.304.

<sup>35</sup> There is also an uncertain testimonium that Archilochus described Neoptolemus dancing for joy after killing Eurypylos (fr.304).

<sup>36</sup> West (2006) 16.

<sup>37</sup> Most notably, see Kullmann (1960) 191-2, (2015) 123; West (2006).

Do Telephus and Eurypylos function as characters *per se*, or are they merely foils for Achilles and Neoptolemus? If we accept the evidence of Archilochus in particular, Telephus does appear to have enjoyed a degree of character development. In Proclus at least, he kills the Greek Thersandros, defends Teuthrania against the Greeks, is wounded by Achilles, and then has a second appearance when he returns to be healed and guide the Greeks to Troy. In contrast, there is little evidence that Eurypylos functioned as anything more than the opponent of Neoptolemus, although he was clearly a very formidable warrior.<sup>38</sup> At the same time, the significance of the double father-son pairs cannot be overlooked, and Telephus and Eurypylos clearly function as a sort of secondary doublet to Achilles and Neoptolemus. Not only does the confrontation between Neoptolemus and Eurypylos mirror that between Achilles and Telephus,<sup>39</sup> but there is an added dramatic effect in having Neoptolemus kill the son of the man whom Achilles only wounded.<sup>40</sup> Considering that Telephus would go on to help the Greeks reach Troy, it is difficult to say in what light Neoptolemus' slaughter of his son was presented. Furthermore, the strength of this connection supports a vision of the Epic Cycle as a cohesive poetic tradition, which was able to make connections between different 'poems' or episodes.

The father-son connections, which bring together Achilles, Neoptolemus, and Peleus, are a very strong candidate for an overarching superstructure in the Epic Cycle. Similar father-son

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<sup>38</sup> Referred to as a ἥρωας by Odysseus (*Od.*11.520); enjoys an *aristeia* (*Ilias parva* arg.13).

<sup>39</sup> Anderson (1997) 42; Rengakos (2015) 159.

<sup>40</sup> In general, Neoptolemus achieves what his father is denied by fate: participation in the fall of Troy. The *Iliad* illustrates this fact – in Book 24, Achilles has the opportunity to kill Priam but chooses not to, while Neoptolemus will go on to do just that. However, this is an example of where it is difficult to know what is traditional and what is Homeric innovation. While in general the scene between Priam and Achilles follows the pattern of a supplication type-scene (Brügger (2009) *ad* 477-571) it can also be interpreted as a poetically sophisticated dénouement of Achilles' narrative arc throughout the poem, particularly the abatement of his wrath: Macleod (1982) 27-28. If we consider the possibility that the details of the meeting between Achilles and Priam in Book 24 may be a poetic invention, Neoptolemus' killing of Priam could be a) a later detail influenced by the *Iliad*, or b) a traditional detail given extra significance by the Iliadic scene. The link between father and son on this point is made explicit by Virgil at *A.*2.540-3.

dynamics are visible elsewhere in early epic. Most famously, the *Odyssey* is centred around the relationship between Telemachus and his father Odysseus, as well as Odysseus' final reconciliation with his father Laertes.<sup>41</sup> Equally, the *Telegony* also dramatizes the intergenerational conflicts and relationships between Odysseus and his sons. Finally, the far less lucky father-son relationship of Agamemnon and Orestes is a constant background theme of the *Odyssey*, and according to Proclus, the *Nostoi* ends with Orestes taking revenge on Clytemnestra and Aegisthus for the murder of his father (arg.17-19).

### **Achilles' post-mortem influence on the Epic Cycle**

Achilles is one of the most important characters in the *Cypria* and the *Aethiopis*, but unlike every other fallen hero, his presence in the Cycle does not end there. His continuing presence in the Cycle is facilitated through the introduction of Neoptolemus, and the father-son superstructure of the Cycle has been discussed above. But the presence of Achilles is not only felt through the appearance of his son, but also through his actual ghostly appearances after his death. Achilles is unique amongst the characters of the Cycle in having his presence throughout sustained by posthumous appearances. Achilles appears as a ghost when his son arrives in Troy (*Ilias parva* arg.11-12). He also appears in the *Nostoi* as a ghost to Agamemnon and his party to try to warn them not to depart from Troy, by 'foretelling what will happen':

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<sup>41</sup> Similar to the Cyclic Achilles-Telephus-Neoptolemus-Eurypylus network, and in the same general vein of father and son connections, in the *Odyssey* Odysseus kills Antinous (22.1-21), while Laertes kills his father Eupheithes (24.520-525).

τῶν δὲ περὶ τὸν Ἀγαμέμνονα ἀποπλεόντων Ἀχιλλέως εἶδωλον ἐπιφανὲν πειρᾶται διακωλύειν  
προλέγον τὰ συμβησόμενα.

*Nostoi* arg.9-11

Finally, in the *Iliou persis*, the Greeks slaughter Polyxena at Achilles' tomb after taking Troy:

ἔπειτα ἐμπρήσαντες τὴν πόλιν Πολυξένην σφαγιάζουσιν ἐπὶ τὸν τοῦ Ἀχιλλέως τάφον.

*Iliou persis* arg.22-23

Ghosts, or *eidola*, are not unknown to the Homeric poems. In *Iliad* 23, the ghost of Patroclus appears to Achilles and speaks to him (23.65-101). In the Iliadic example, the main purpose of Patroclus' appearance is for him to give Achilles instructions about his burial. Overall, the impression given by the appearance of Patroclus' ghost in the *Iliad* is one of finality, with the episode acting as a coping-stone on the relationship between the two men and Achilles' grief over his death.<sup>42</sup>

However, this sense of finality does not seem to be as active in the ghostly episodes of the Cycle. Instead, the motivation behind these repeat appearances of Achilles after his death appears to be a desire to keep his character in the Cycle. Obviously, each instance is not completely random. Achilles appears to Neoptolemus in the *Ilias parva* as a symbolic gesture that the son is taking over the position of the father. Equally, in the *Nostoi*, Achilles' prophetic warning to the Achaeans portends the various disasters that lie in wait for Agamemnon, Ajax, and the other Greeks.

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<sup>42</sup> As S. West (1988) *ad Od.*4.795ff points out, dreams in Homer are often "literary dreams" with a compositional function'. See also Lévy (1982) 37-38.

However, none of this is essential to moving the plot forward. Instead, it mainly seems to reflect the significance of Achilles' character both to the audience and to the other characters themselves. This brings up some questions. The main one is whether this reflects the inherent centrality of Achilles to the Cycle or whether these posthumous appearances are later contrivances motivated by the canonical status of the *Iliad* in antiquity. This question ties in to that raised at the end of the previous chapter, which asked whether the flattering presentation of Achilles in the Cycle, above and beyond that given to other characters, was itself a product of post-Homeric influence.

The possibility of post-Homeric influence should also be discussed in regards to Achilles' posthumous journey to Leuke, or the 'White Island', in the *Aethiopsis*:

καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα ἐκ τῆς πυρᾶς ἢ Θέτις ἀναρπάσασα τὸν παῖδα εἰς τὴν Λευκὴν νῆσον  
διακομίζει.

*Aethiopsis* arg.21-22

The *Aethiopsis* gives no indication of where the island of Leuke is situated. However, later sources do refer to an island of Leuke in the Black Sea region, in the northern Euxine near to the Danube (Istros) delta.<sup>43</sup> These sources reference the cult of Achilles that was based there. This Leuke has been identified as the modern-day island of Zmeinyj, with archaeological finds pointing to the existence of a cult and a temple dedicated to Achilles on the island from the 6<sup>th</sup> or 5<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>44</sup> It appears that Zmeinyj/Leuke's significance as a cult centre came

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<sup>43</sup> Paus.3.19.11; Arr.*Peripl.*21; Maximus Tyrius 9.7. Or possibly opposite the mouth of the Dnieper (Borysthenes): Dionysius Periegetes 541-3; Plin.*Nat.*4.93, *inter alia*. See Burgess (2009) 126-127 and Lightfoot (2014) 385 for ancient and modern confusions about the exact location of Leuke.

<sup>44</sup> On the temples of Leuke, see Rusyaeva (2003).

from the belief that Achilles dwelt there after his death in Troy, as per the *Aethiopsis*. In general, the northern Black Sea area was a centre for the hero worship of Achilles in the ancient world. The evidence for his hero cult in this area far outweighs that from other areas of Greece, including the Troad.<sup>45</sup> Apart from the *Aethiopsis*, there are glimmers of the association of Achilles with the area starting with the poetry of Alcaeus, who refers to Achilles as *παρὰ Σκύθαις βασιλέα τῶν τόπων* (fr.354). While Achilles is not connected to the area in Homer, the link between Achilles, the ‘White Island’, and the Black Sea is already present in Pindar. In *Nemean* 4, Pindar states that Achilles has the ‘shining island’ in the middle of the Euxine Sea (*ἐν δ’ Εὐξείνῳ πελάγει φαεινὴν Ἀχιλεὺς νᾶσον*, 49),<sup>46</sup> which demonstrates that Achilles was already associated with an island in the area. More explicit references to ‘Leuke’ or ‘White Island’ are found in Greek tragedy (E. *Andr.*1260-1262; E.*IT.*435-438). Later geographers such as Arrian and Philostratus give further details on the actual cult of Achilles on the island.<sup>47</sup>

Greek colonisation of the Black Sea was underway in the 7<sup>th</sup> and 6<sup>th</sup> centuries, and archaeological finds on Zmeinyj/Leuke indicate that an Achilles’ cult was already present in some capacity on the island in the 5<sup>th</sup> century, and possibly earlier.<sup>48</sup> Therefore, it is possible that the cultic presence of Achilles on an island called Leuke is a direct influence on the scene in the *Aethiopsis* in which Achilles is posthumously transported to an island called Leuke.<sup>49</sup> If true, this would be a relatively straightforward example of post-Homeric influence on the Epic Cycle, dating the *Aethiopsis* to around the 5th century and the period of

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<sup>45</sup> Hedreen (1991) 314.

<sup>46</sup> He also states that Neoptolemus is the ruler of Epirus (line 50).

<sup>47</sup> Arr.*Peripl.*21-23; Dionysius Periegetes 541-548; Maximus Tyrius 9.7; Quintus Smyrnaeus 3.770-80. The scholion to Pindar claims that he went there to court Iphigeneia (Σ Pind.*N.*4.79b), while Philostratos reported that Helen and Achilles lived together on the island (Philostr.*Her.*54-56).

<sup>48</sup> Hedreen (1991) 320-322; Rusyaeva (2003) 9-14. For a full overview of archaeological finds on Zmeinyj, see Okhotnikov (2006) 58-86.

<sup>49</sup> Okhotnikov (2006) 49-50; West (2013) 156. This is further encouraged by the attribution of the *Aethiopsis* to Arctinus of Miletus, although the strength of such attributions is questionable.

Greek colonisation in the Euxine.<sup>50</sup> The geographical reality of the Achilles cult would presuppose the detail of Achilles' paradisiacal destination in the *Aethiopsis*.

However, it should also be considered that the Leuke of the Cycle may have prefigured and indeed influenced the historical cult centre of Achilles.<sup>51</sup> Proclus' summary of the *Aithiopsis* does not give any indication of the geographical location of the White Island. There is a strong possibility that this was simply a detail that was squeezed out during the epitomisation process. However, it is also possible that the White Island originally had no specific geographic location, and instead was like the Elysian Fields or the Islands of the Blest, two other posthumous resting places for heroes featured in early epic which lie outside of the mortal sphere.<sup>52</sup> Alternatively, the White Island may always have been conceived as located in the Black Sea area, but this may not have been as a result of Greek colonization. Early epic displays knowledge of this area that predates historical colonization. The catalogue of ships in the *Iliad* features Trojan contingents from the region (*Il.*2.851-7)<sup>53</sup> and *Theogony* 337-345 lists rivers from that area. Furthermore, the Argonautic myth shows knowledge of Black Sea Colchis, and this may date from a pre-Homeric tradition. Therefore, it would not be outside the realms of possibility to date the placing of Achilles on Leuke to the pre-Homeric period, or at least to before Greek colonisation in the Black Sea. However, it would be churlish to deny that the subsequent strength of the association between Achilles and the Black Sea did not, at least, reinforce this tradition and keep the detail alive throughout the period between

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<sup>50</sup> Ferrari (1983) 133-134.

<sup>51</sup> Edwards (1985b) 215 n.1.

<sup>52</sup> Burgess (2009) 126.

<sup>53</sup> Although Kirk (1985) *ad* 2.853-5, sees this as a 'learned interpolation of the post-Homeric era of Black Sea colonization'.

the oral tradition and the time of Proclus' epitomes.<sup>54</sup> In sum, while the reference to Leuke in Proclus does seem to be a later intrusion, it is possible that such a location was already known to the pre-Homeric imagination.

If we move away from reasonable questions about the location of Leuke, we can return to the significance the island plays in the Cyclic presentation of Achilles. The Cycle's predilection for immortality has already been discussed and tempered by the references in Homer to similar stories of immortality. The immortality of Achilles in the Cycle and the repeated posthumous appearances of the hero are another important way in which the Cycle singles out Achilles as special. Other characters do receive immortality as well, but it is only Achilles who continues to play an operative role in the Cycle after death. His supremacy as a hero, already established by the characterisation discussed in the previous chapter, is confirmed by his appearances in the rest of the Cycle as a ghost and the myth that grew around his transferal to the White Island.

## **Conclusion**

In conclusion, Neoptolemus is not only an important character in his own right in the Cycle, but he is also important because he reinforces and extends the supremacy of Achilles' character for the entire length of the Cycle. The centrality of Achilles in the Epic Cycle is further cemented by the high frequency of posthumous appearances he makes in the latter

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<sup>54</sup>Notably Malkin (1998) has argued that from the protocolonial period *nostoi* narratives had been used by Greek settlements to establish and articulate identity. On the links between ancient literature and colonisation narratives, see Cabanes (2008) 155-163 and Dougherty (2001) 128.

half of the Trojan War. The linking together of Achilles and Neoptolemus is the strongest example of *Fernbeziehungen* in the Epic Cycle.

This chapter ended with an extension of the question raised in the previous chapter. Namely, whether Proclus' Epic Cycle foregrounds the character of Achilles because of the canonical status of the *Iliad*, the poem of Achilles, in the classical period and beyond. Once again, an agnostic position is the most reasonable. On the one hand, the linking of Neoptolemus and Achilles, together with the emphasis on Achilles' posthumous appearances, does suggest a degree of construction. At what point in the written appearance of the Epic Cycle this occurred is impossible to pinpoint, but it seems plausible that the importance of Achilles in the *Iliad* is reflected in the favouring and prominence of his character and his son in the Epic Cycle. On the other hand, the ways in which Achilles' centrality are established are in no way alien to epic. The *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* demonstrate that father-son connections and ghostly appearances were possible within archaic epic. In this way, the characterisation of Achilles in the Epic Cycle is not so far removed from the tone of epic as to rule out the possibility that it originated in the pre-Homeric tradition. A similar conclusion was drawn at the end of the last chapter. Nevertheless, the character of Achilles, alongside that of his son Neoptolemus, is the clearest example of the need to remember, when discussing the Epic Cycle, that all the written evidence we have is post-Homeric in date and may be influenced in myriad and subtle ways by the supreme status of the *Iliad* in antiquity.

## 7. Diomedes and Odysseus

Across the Epic Cycle and the Homeric poems, Diomedes and Odysseus are often paired together in *lochos*-type episodes. This chapter will attempt to argue that these two characters are particularly associated with these types of missions, and to sketch an explanation for why this may be. I will begin with the Theft of the Palladium, before moving on to discuss other episodes involving Diomedes and Odysseus as a pair or as individuals elsewhere in the Cycle.<sup>1</sup> Having established the traditional nature of these pairings, I will turn to the controversial Doloneia episode in the *Iliad*. Unsurprisingly, this chapter owes much to the commentary on Book 10 by Dué and Ebbott, in which they argue that the ‘theme of ambush’ narrated in the Doloneia should be understood as a traditional element.<sup>2</sup> Furthermore, Dué and Ebbott have also observed that Diomedes and Odysseus are linked in *lochos* episodes.<sup>3</sup> This chapter aims to expand on this. It argues that Diomedes and Odysseus as a pair were the *lochos*-characters *par excellence*, and that this traditional association can not only be detected in the *Iliad*, but also throughout the Trojan War tradition. This tradition cannot be pinned down exclusively to the pre-Homeric period; this chapter makes no attempt to ‘prove’ that the Doloneia is an authentic part of the *Iliad*, but instead tries to demonstrate that Diomedes and Odysseus as a *lochos* pair was a widespread theme deployed at various points in the history of composition on the Trojan War. The chapter will end more speculatively, by

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<sup>1</sup> Similarly, Marks (2003) has made the case for a traditional association between Odysseus and Thoas. Marks’ thesis is intriguing, and it appears possible that Thoas was traditionally employed as a sort of ancillary character to Odysseus. However, I am less confident of his further claims that Thoas’ depiction in the *Odyssey* functions as a sign of Homeric competition with alternative traditions.

<sup>2</sup> Dué and Ebbott (2010) *passim*.

<sup>3</sup> Dué and Ebbott (2010) 42-43.

proposing that Diomedes and Odysseus' involvement in these covert missions is a product of the traditional association of these two characters as 'travellers'.

### *Lochos and polemos*

Before moving on to the characters of Diomedes and Odysseus, to be established first is the contrast between *lochos* and *polemos* in Homeric poetry. The difference between these two modes of warfare has been set out in detail by both Edwards and Dué and Ebbott.<sup>4</sup> In short, while *polemos* can be defined as the conventional battlefield encounters and close quarters combat, *lochos* refers to other types of 'irregular warfare'. Dué and Ebbott have demonstrated that *lochos* can be broadened from its specific meaning of 'ambush' to embrace these other kinds of guerrilla warfare techniques, which include spying missions, night raids, and cattle rustling.<sup>5</sup>

Examples from the *Iliad* can illustrate the peripheral, yet still significant, role of *lochos* in Homeric epic. There are references to classic ambush scenarios: Xanthus sets an ambush for Bellerophon (εἶσε λόχον, *Il.*6.188-190), Paris ambushes Diomedes (ἐκ λόχου, *Il.*11.368-383), Idomeneus and Meriones discuss *loxoi* (*Il.*13.274-294) and Priam tells the Trojans not to fear Ἀργείων πικινὸν λόχον (*Il.*24.779). The Shield of Achilles shows the people of the besieged city preparing to ambush their enemy (λόχῳ δ' ὑπεθωρήσσοντο, *Il.*18.513). The familiarity of *lochos*-warfare to the world of epic poetry is also illustrated at *Il.*1.154, where Achilles' first example of a possible reason for enmity towards the Trojans is that they had stolen his cattle. This is not to mention the far greater preponderance of *lochos*-warfare in the *Odyssey*, in

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<sup>4</sup> Edwards (1985a) 16-34; Dué and Ebbott (2010) 33-49, 69-87. See also Horn (2014) 96-98.

<sup>5</sup> Dué and Ebbott (2010) 33, 80-84. Edwards (1985a) 35-38, also demonstrated how the *mnesterophonia*, despite not being referred to explicitly as a *lochos*, follows the same narrative pattern and would have been understood as a variation on the *lochos* theme.

which its association with *dolos* explains its heightened presence in that poem.<sup>6</sup> This brief survey of references to *lochoi* and *lochos*-type warfare strongly suggests that *lochos* and *polemos* coexisted in the epic tradition and were both acceptable forms of warfare.

### **The Theft of the Palladium**

We can begin by looking at the prime Cyclic example of Diomedes and Odysseus teaming up in a *lochos*: the theft of the Palladium from Troy. Proclus narrates the episode in the following way:

καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα σὺν Διομήδει τὸ Παλλάδιον [Odysseus] ἐκκομίζει ἐκ τῆς Ἰλίου.

*Ilias parva* arg.17-18

Both Proclus and Apollodorus (*Ep.*5.13) tell us that during the Fall of Troy, Odysseus and Diomedes removed the Palladium from Troy and brought it back to the Greek ships.

Together with the Doloneia, these are the two most famous exploits of Diomedes and Odysseus in the Trojan War.<sup>7</sup> In the wake of both Analysis and Neoanalysis, a fair amount of ink has been spilled discussing which episode influenced the other, with the conclusion often a reflection of the scholar's wider ideas about the emergence of Homeric poetry and the Cycle. For example, for Monro in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century, who viewed the Cycle wholly as a written sequel to the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*, the theft of the Palladium was, *inter alia*, an obvious post-Homeric addition, presumably based on the pairing of Diomedes and Odysseus

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<sup>6</sup> Edwards (1985a) 19.

<sup>7</sup> In terms of artistic representations of Diomedes, it is scenes of the Theft of the Palladium and the Doloneia that dominate, at least in the Classical period and beyond. He appears very rarely and disparately in early archaic art. Cf. *LIMC* 'Diomedes', 396-408.

in Book 10.<sup>8</sup> In contrast, Kullmann applies a Neoanalytical lens to the problem and concludes that the Doloneia in the *Iliad* is a reference to the exploits of Odysseus and Diomedes elsewhere in the Trojan War tradition, including their theft of the Palladium.<sup>9</sup> Add to this problem the fact that the Doloneia itself is often discussed as a later addition to the *Iliad* (see below), and we may begin to feel that the search for chronological precedence is a circular argument, which comes down to recognising that these two episodes share similar elements and then making a subjective decision as to which must have influenced the other.

More helpful is a comparison between Proclus and Apollodorus. Although both accounts are, as usual, light on details, a comparison between the two provides further context for the theft, as well as evidence for the precedence of Proclus' account. The Theft of the Palladium is situated within the context of Odysseus' secret mission into Troy to reconnoitre. Proclus' narration of this episode suggests that his aim is give an accurate account of the Epic Cycle, rather than a cohesive narrative. This is because it displays an 'awkwardness of detail' also seen in Proclus' narrative of Philoctetes' wounding (see Chapter 9). This can be illustrated with a comparison between Proclus and Apollodorus:

[Odysseus] κτείνας τέ τινας τῶν Τρώων ἐπὶ τὰς ναῦς ἀφικνεῖται. καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα σὺν Διομήδει τὸ Παλλάδιον ἐκκομίζει ἐκ τῆς Ἰλίου.

*Ilias parva* arg.17-18

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<sup>8</sup> Monro (1884) 26.

<sup>9</sup> Kullmann (1960) 87.

[Odysseus] γνωρισθεῖς δὲ ὑπὸ Ἑλένης δι' ἐκείνης τὸ παλλάδιον ἔκλεψε καὶ πολλοὺς κτείνας τῶν φυλασσόντων ἐπὶ τὰς ναῦς μετὰ Διομήδους κομίζει.

Ap.Ep.5.13

What is pertinent here is the detail about Odysseus killing the Trojans. In Apollodorus, the sequence of action is clear: Odysseus steals the Palladium, in the course of which he kills the Trojans who are guarding it (τῶν φυλασσόντων) and carries it back to the Greek ships with the aid of Diomedes. Compare Proclus. Here, it appears that Odysseus (who in both accounts has come into the city to spy) kills some Trojans, goes back to the ships, and then (μετὰ ταῦτα) returns with Diomedes to steal the Palladium. This is clearly the more awkward construction, and in the succinct account of Proclus, Odysseus' back and forth to Troy appears to make little sense.

In my opinion, the account given by Apollodorus is a simplification of a more complex run of events in the oral tradition, which have been reflected faintly in Proclus' epitome. This is the most satisfying explanation as to why Proclus' version would include such an otherwise ungainly detail. Nevertheless, we should dismiss the concern of West, who, while he argues that the Palladium theft story may have been 'established in the tradition for some time' and be a model for other pairings of Diomedes and Odysseus, also stipulates that it was an *Einzellied* that was later incorporated into the post-Homeric Cycle, as it 'lacks all connection with surrounding episodes'.<sup>10</sup> This stipulation of separation is unnecessary. In the *Ilias parva* according to Proclus, the inclusion of the Theft of the Palladium fits in well with the surrounding episodes. Odysseus must enter Troy to reconnoitre before the Wooden Horse mission, and it makes sense that it is during this endeavour that he both ensures the return of

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<sup>10</sup> West (2013) 200-201.

Helen and steals the Palladium, both symbolic of the Trojans' increasingly close downfall.

Furthermore, according to later sources the Theft of the Palladium and the return of

Philoctetes were necessary if Troy was to fall.<sup>11</sup>

As we will see in the case of the Doloneia, one of the main objections raised historically has been that the content of the Palladium episode appears at odds with the rest of the *Iliad*.

However, it is instructive to see the episode within its own context, rather than in comparison with the *Iliad*. As Dué and Ebbott have stated, the *Ilias parva* as a 'whole song seems to be a series of ambush themes, connected one to another and culminating in the greatest ambush at

Troy'.<sup>12</sup> The successful taking of the city is precipitated by Odysseus' ambush of Helenus

(μετὰ ταῦτα Ὀδυσσεὺς λογήσας Ἑλενον λαμβάνει, arg.6); Epeius builds the Wooden Horse

with the help of Athena (καὶ Ἐπειὸς κατ' Ἀθηνᾶς προαίρεσιν τὸν δούρειον ἵππον

κατασκευάζει, arg.14); Odysseus disfigures himself and enters Troy, eventually recruiting

Helen to the Greek mission (Ὀδυσσεὺς τε ἀικισάμενος ἑαυτὸν κατάσκοπος εἰς Ἴλιον

παραγίνεται, arg.15)<sup>13</sup> and the Greeks pretend to depart from Troy after burning their huts

(arg.20). All of these episodes share in the same closely-related themes: ambush, solo

missions, deception and the night-time. Although we cannot assume that Proclus' *Ilias parva*

is analogous to any earlier oral poem, we should pay attention to the fact that these episodes

with similar themes converge at a similar point in the narrative tradition of the Trojan War.

Therefore, we should not focus on how different any individual example is from the themes

of the *Iliad*, but instead how similar they are to each other. Here then we can begin to move

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<sup>11</sup> *Ov.Fast.*6.419–60; *D.H.*1.68–9; *Serv.A.*2.162–79; *Sil.Pun.*13.36–70.

<sup>12</sup> Dué & Ebbott (2010) 82.

<sup>13</sup> *Pace* Kelly (2015) 325 nn. 41, 44, 328 and Alden (2017) 159, Proclus' account is not incompatible with the scholiast's claim that Odysseus was wounded by the Greek Thoas before he entered Troy, i.e. Odysseus suborns Thoas in his self-disfigurement: see West (2013) 196; Sammons (2017) 112 n.33.

away from a Homer-centric view of oral poetry and towards one which allows other types of narrative and action to play prominent roles at different stages of the Trojan War tradition.

*Odyssey* 4 supports the suggestion that the episodes surrounding the Fall of Troy are linked by themes of deception and ambush, as well as prominently featuring the pairing of Diomedes and Odysseus. Helen tells the story of how Odysseus entered Troy disguised as a beggar, claiming that it was only she who was able to recognise him (247-250; τῷ ἵκελος κατέδυσ Τρώων πόλιν), while Menelaus adds that it was Odysseus who devised the plan of the Wooden Horse (271-3). Both of these details not only conform to the Odyssean presentation of the hero as cunning and deceitful (see below), but also emphasise the same themes that were preeminent in the Cyclic story of the Fall of Troy. Menelaus claims that Helen attempted to compel the Greeks to leave the Horse, saying:

αὐτὰρ ἐγὼ καὶ Τυδεΐδης καὶ δῖος Ὀδυσσεὺς  
ἦμενοι ἐν μέσσοισιν ἀκούσαμεν ὡς ἐβόησας.  
νῶϊ μὲν ἀμφοτέρω μενεήναμεν ὀρμηθέντε  
ἢ ἐξελθέμεναι, ἢ ἔνδοθεν αἴψ' ὑπακοῦσαι·  
ἀλλ' Ὀδυσσεὺς κατέρυκε καὶ ἔσχεθεν ἰεμένω περ.

*Od.*4.280-284

This is one of only two references to Diomedes in the *Odyssey*, and so it is notable that, although this poem makes no reference to the Theft of the Palladium, the pairing of Diomedes and Odysseus recurs again here in an identical context: the taking of Troy by the Greeks. As Stephanie West has said, in the accounts of Helen and Menelaus, 'The poet appears to assume in his audience some familiarity with the circumstances of Odysseus'

reconnaissance at Troy.’<sup>14</sup> We can perhaps be more specific and suggest that here the *Odyssey* is reflecting a traditional connection, familiar to the audience, between the duo of Odysseus and Diomedes and the themes of trickery and ambush associated with the Fall of Troy.

### **Other pairings of Diomedes and Odysseus**

The pairing of Odysseus and Diomedes in a *lochos* is a theme that is recreated multiple times elsewhere in the Epic Cycle tradition. In particular, the majority of Diomedes’ other exploits conform to a similar model.

According to Pausanias, the *Cypria* included an episode in which Diomedes and Odysseus murdered Palamedes during a fishing expedition:

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

Paus.10.31.2 = *Cypria* fr.27 W

Similarly, fr.34 Bernabé recounts how, according to the author of the *Cypria*, Odysseus and Diomedes killed Polyxena during the capture of Troy:<sup>15</sup>

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<sup>14</sup> S.West (1988) *ad* 242ff; 266ff. Note that West believes that the intervention of Helen in the *Odyssey*’s account is an *ad hoc* invention.

<sup>15</sup> Compare Proclus *Iliou persis* arg.22-23, which merely states ἔπειτα ἐμπρήσαντες τὴν πόλιν Πολυξένην σφαγιάζουσιν ἐπὶ τὸν τοῦ Ἀχιλλέως τάφον. It is not entirely clear who ‘they’ refers to. The previous line in the summary has as its subject Demophon and Acamas, who are rescuing their mother Aethra from Troy. It seems most likely to me that the subject of the Polyxena sentence is the general Achaean host.

ὑπὸ Νεοπτολέμου φασὶν αὐτὴν (sc. Πολυξένην) σφαγιασθῆναι Εὐριπίδης καὶ Ἴβυκος· ὁ δὲ τὰ Κυπριακὰ ποιήσας φησὶν ὑπὸ Ὀδυσσεύος καὶ Διομήδους ἐν τῇ τῆς πόλεως ἀλώσει τραυματισθεῖσαν ἀπολέσθαι. ταφῆναι δὲ ὑπὸ Νεοπτολέμου, ὡς Γλαῦκος γράφει.

Schol. Eur. *Hec.*41

There is also some testimony that the origin of the phrase ‘Diomedian compulsion’ originates from the story of the Theft of the Palladium; however, there are different aetiologies for this phrase. The one that is relevant to the Epic Cycle is connected to the Theft of the Palladium. Hesychius (*Lexicon* δ.1881 = Bernabé fr.25 [I]) claims that the phrase originated with the *Ilias parva*, although he does not go into more detail. Pausanias (Att. δ 14 = *Ilias parva* fr.11 W = Bernabé fr.25 [III]) assigns the origin of the phrase Διομήδειος ἀνάγκη to an incident during the Theft of the Palladium in which Odysseus attempted to kill Diomedes on their return to camp; but Diomedes overpowers him and forces him to go ahead of him by beating his back with his sword. Meanwhile, Conon’s version reverses the roles. Diomedes pretends that the statue is not the true Palladium, but Odysseus’ discovery of his ruse ends up with Odysseus forcing him back to camp by beating his back.<sup>16</sup> Kelly suggests that this latter version is more in keeping with the *Ilias parva*’s positive depiction of Odysseus.<sup>17</sup> However, perhaps more relevant is that both of these versions broadly reflect the themes of deceit and *lochos* leading to death that are paralleled elsewhere in the stories that unite Diomedes and Odysseus during the Trojan War. Faint thematic parallels are even seen in the other aetiology of the phrase. According to Clearchus the phrase derives from a story in which Diomedes forced strangers to make love to his ugly daughters until they ran out of money and he killed them.<sup>18</sup>

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<sup>16</sup> τὸ δόλιον τάνδρὸς εἰδώς, οὐχ ὥσπερ ἔφησεν Ἴελενος παλλάδιον λαβεῖν αὐτόν, ἀλλ’ ἀντ’ ἐκείνου ἕτερον, ἀποκρίνεται, Conon ap. Phot. Bibl. 137 a 8 (III 2 5 Henry) = Bernabé fr.25 (II).

<sup>17</sup> Kelly (2015) 324 n.35.

<sup>18</sup> Bernabé fr.25 [I]. West (2013) 202-203, believes that this is clearly the true origin of the story.

The actions of Odysseus and Diomedes as individuals in the Epic Cycle, rather than as a pair, are also worthy of note. In the *Ilias parva*, Proclus records that Odysseus goes in disguise into Troy in order to reconnoitre:

Ὀδυσσεύς τε ἀικισάμενος ἑαυτὸν κατάσκοπος εἰς Ἴλιον παραγίνεται

*Ilias parva* arg.15

This episode is also recounted by Helen in the *Odyssey*, when she tells Telemachus that his father disguised himself as a beggar in order to slip into Troy unrecognised (*Od.*4.242-59).<sup>19</sup> Odysseus' skills at subterfuge and disguise are also seen earlier in the *Ilias parva*, where Proclus writes that: Ὀδυσσεύς λοχίσας Ἐλενον λαμβάνει (*Ilias parva* arg.6). After his capture by Odysseus, Helenus prophesies that Troy will only be taken by the Greeks if Philoctetes is returned to their side. In both of these episodes, the spying mission and the ambush of Helenus, Odysseus is characterised by his cunning and intelligence.<sup>20</sup> This is of course reminiscent of the Odysseus we know from the *Odyssey*, but as these examples from elsewhere in the tradition attest, they also fit in with the characterisation of Odysseus (alongside Diomedes) throughout the Epic Cycle.

As already mentioned, Diomedes appears most prominently in Proclus' summary of the *Ilias parva*. Along with the Theft of the Palladium episode, he also brings Philoctetes back from

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<sup>19</sup> The Homeric detail of Odysseus' disguise being οἰκῆι ἐοικώς (245) is reflected in the added detail in Apollodorus that he 'put on pauper's clothes' (πενιχρὰν στολὴν ἐνδυσάμενος, *Ap.Ep.*5.13). Similarly, a scholiast on *Od.*4.248 (= fr.9 W) says that, while ὁ κυκλικὸς took 'Dektes' to be the name of the man from whom Odysseus took his disguise, Aristarchus took the word to mean 'a beggar'. West (2013) 196-197, believes that Dektes should be read as a proper name. It is hard to say whether the disguise being specifically that of beggar should be traced back before the *Odyssey*, foreshadowing as it does Odysseus' infiltration of the suitors. Nevertheless, the fact that Odysseus disguised himself in some way may be more traditional.

<sup>20</sup> West (2013) 170.

Lemnos. Other sources give further information. The Lesche of the Knidians, as seen by Pausanias, records an episode from the *Ilias parva* in which Diomedes kills Coroebus:<sup>21</sup>

ἀφίκετο μὲν δὴ ἐπὶ τὸν Κασσάνδρας ὁ Κόροιβος γάμον· ἀπέθανε δέ, ὡς μὲν ὁ πλείων λόγος, ὑπὸ Νεοπτολέμου, Λέσχεως δὲ ὑπὸ Διομήδους ἐποίησεν.<sup>22</sup>

Paus.10.27.1-2

On the one hand, we can draw out interesting similarities between all these Diomedian episodes. Several share an admittedly broad theme of ‘ambush’ and ‘subterfuge’: the Doloneia, the Theft of the Palladium and the ‘Diomedian compulsion’ episode, and the death of Palamedes. The retrieval of Philoctetes also seemingly fits in to the wider model because, while it does not feature themes of ambush or trickery, it does have the now unsurprising pairing of Diomedes and Odysseus.

On the other hand, we should also be cautious in our approach to these episodes, if we are thinking purely in terms of ‘authenticity’. In particular, the cooperation of Diomedes and Odysseus in the fetching of Philoctetes from Lemnos is in fact an artifice conveyed by the Loeb edition of the Cycle. Proclus writes:

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<sup>21</sup> According to Pausanias and later accounts, Coroebus had come as a Trojan ally in the hope of marrying Cassandra (Virg.A.2.341-346; Quintus Smyrnaeus 13.174-177).

<sup>22</sup> Proclus makes no mention of Coreobus. The *Ilias parva* argument variant of P. Rylands 22 also has Coroebus be killed by Diomedes (and Odysseus) during the Theft of the Palladium. Although Pausanias is describing the Lesche’s depiction of the Sack of Troy, it is possible that the artist has included Trojans who died prior to the Sack itself in order to maximise the number of characters included in the picture. Therefore, the Pausanias evidence is not mutually exclusive with the P. Rylands testimonium, *pace* Kelly (2015) 328-329. Nevertheless, the later evidence of Quintus does explicitly have Coroebus killed by Diomedes during the Sack. Ironically, despite Pausanias’ statement that Neoptolemus was the killer in the majority version, the few other references we have to the story either have Diomedes as the killer (Quintus Smyrnaeus 13.168-174) or Peneleus (Virg.A.2.424-426). For more on P. Rylands 22, see pp. 27-8.

Διομήδης ἐκ Λήμνου Φιλοκτήτην ἀνάγει.

*Ilias parva arg.7*

In the Loeb, West has combined this with the account of the story found in Apollodorus:

Ὀδυσσεὺς μετὰ Διομήδους εἰς Λῆμνον ἀφικνεῖται πρὸς Φιλοκτήτην, καὶ...πεῖθει πλεῖν αὐτὸν ἐπὶ Τροίαν.

*Ap.Epit.5.8*

Welcker suggested that ‘with Odysseus’ had fallen out of Proclus’ text but this is based on the fact that Odysseus performs this role in the tragedians.<sup>23</sup> West believes that Apollodorus is adapting his narrative to Euripides’ *Philoctetes* (*TrGF* 5 test.ivc), in which Diomedes and Odysseus do travel to Lemnos together.<sup>24</sup> I have already made clear that I believe this merging of Apollodorus and Proclus to be unhelpful in our study of the Epic Cycle. As such, I do not think we can safely assume, from the evidence, that the story of Diomedes and Odysseus fetching Philoctetes from Lemnos belonged to the oral tradition of the Trojan War.

As for some of the other examples, an examination of the source context may lead to doubts as to their authenticity. The detail that the *Cypria* included the death of Polyxena at the hands of Diomedes and Odysseus is reported by the scholiast to Euripides *Hecuba* (Schol. Eur.*Hec.*41 = *Cypria* fr.34 Bernabé). It contrasts this with Ibycus and Euripides, who have her killed by Neoptolemus. As stated above, Proclus does not specify who was responsible for the death of Polyxena. Similarly, Proclus merely says that Palamedes’ death came at the

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<sup>23</sup> Welcker (1882) 238.

<sup>24</sup> West (2013) 182 n.19.

end of the *Cypria*; it is Pausanias who adds the detail that Odysseus and Diomedes killed him during a fishing expedition. Tracing the epic tradition of Palamedes is difficult (see Chapter 10), and so it is difficult to comment on the authenticity of Pausanias' account with any certainty. However, it is worthy of remark that this detail comes from the only testimonium we have for the Epic Cycle in which the author directly claims to have 'read' a Cyclic poem.

However, what these additional episodes can demonstrate is that the character of Diomedes was and continued to be strongly associated with two story elements: 1) ambushes and covert missions, and 2) working with Odysseus. The Philoctetes episode is illustrative of this tendency. Apollodorus has either adapted his account to fit with Euripides, as per West, or in some other way he is adapting his account to fit in with other stories of Diomedes and Odysseus (i.e. the Doloneia and the Theft of the Palladium). If Apollodorus or one of his sources did 'correct' the Proclean version in this way, this at least illustrates the strong pull of the traditional association between Odysseus and Diomedes. Furthermore, I favour the suggestion floated by Schneidewin and Davies, that a link is in fact created here between Diomedes and Odysseus. After Diomedes journeys to Lemnos to fetch Philoctetes, Proclus relates that Odysseus goes to Scyros to fetch Neoptolemus (arg.10-11). Davies suggests that these two episodes were linked and presented as part of a two-fold operation.<sup>25</sup>

### **The Doloneia**

This interconnectedness of theme and character is further illustrated by the controversial Doloneia episode in *Iliad* Book 10. In this brief discussion, I will not attempt to prove that the

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<sup>25</sup> Davies (2003) 349 n.15; Schneidewin (1849) 648, connects this to the idea that Philoctetes and Neoptolemus were essential to the Fall of Troy.

Doloneia is an authentic part of the *Iliad*. While I will discuss arguments for and against this proposition, what is more important are the thematic parallels between the Doloneia and the other Diomedes and Odysseus episodes described above.

The question of the ‘authenticity’ of Book 10 within the *Iliad* has been a vexed question since the work of the Analysts in the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> centuries. The main arguments rallied against the book are various. The language and style are mannered and un-Homeric; the timing of the episode does not fit with Books 9 and 11; the language is simultaneously late and full of pseudo-archaisms; the content is anathema to the epic genre.<sup>26</sup> The *communis opinio* that the book should be athetized from the *Iliad* is codified by Martin West’s Teubner edition of the poem, which brackets the entire book as a *rhapsodiam...spuriam* (*app.crit* K 1-579). As reflected by West in his *apparatus criticus*, the various objections to Book 10 are bolstered and underpinned by a scholion at the beginning of Book 10 in the Townley (T) MS: φασὶ τὴν ῥαψωδίαν ὑφ’Ομήρου ἰδία τετάχθαι καὶ μὴ εἶναι μέρος τῆς Ἰλιάδος, ὑπὸ δὲ Πεισιστράτου τετάχθαι εἰς τὴν ποίησιν.

We can be wary of the evidential quality of the T-scholion which underpins many of the suspicions that Book 10 is not genuine and a later addition. The scholion itself says that the book was indeed composed by Homer, merely adding that the poet did not intend for it to be a part of the *Iliad* (but instead presumably a stand-alone song) and that it was Peisistratus who was responsible for its incorporation into the epic. Instead of solving the problem of Book 10, the scholion in fact raises more questions than it answers. The assignation of Book 10 to Homer may be a product of the common belief in antiquity that ‘Homer’ was

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<sup>26</sup> See especially Leaf (1900). For a good overview of the criticism levelled at Book 10, see Dué and Ebbott (2010) 3-13.

responsible for all works of archaic epic poetry, including the poems of the Cycle.<sup>27</sup> It implies that the apparent differences noted by modern scholars between Book 10 and the rest of the *Iliad* were not viewed in antiquity as negating Homeric authorship. It is unfortunate that we are not able to ascertain what evidence the author of the scholion had to suggest that the book was only incorporated into the poem in the late 6<sup>th</sup> century. However, we can conclude with Dué and Ebbott's cautious remark that, 'The comment is evidence neither that *Iliad* 10 is 'un-Homeric' nor that it is by a later author who fit his composition to the *Iliad*.'<sup>28</sup>

Efforts have been made to rehabilitate Book 10 into the *Iliad*, particularly under the aegis of the Harvard School and the work of Lord and Parry. This is exemplified in Dué and Ebbott's recent commentary on the book. Approaching Book 10 from the view of oral traditional poetics, Dué and Ebbott claim that the 'question of authorship is a futile one' and instead attempt to show that Book 10 is 'Homeric' in that it is part of the oral tradition to which the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* also belong.<sup>29</sup> These similarities extend from shared themes to shared 'traditional language' such as formulaic phrases. As I will argue, the Doloneia does appear to be integrated into the wider oral tradition.

However, that the Doloneia reflects an authentic part of the oral tradition does not make it an authentic part of the *Iliad*. Although Dué and Ebbott's focus on the 'traditionality' of the Doloneia ties in with the wider thesis of this chapter, it can only go so far in rescuing Book 10 itself. While a recourse to tradition can let us forgive discrepancies in language, content, and tone, it cannot explain away the fact that Book 10 is, uniquely, structurally unconnected to the rest of the *Iliad*. At the end of Book 9, Diomedes recommends that the Greeks should

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<sup>27</sup> Danek (1988) 237; more generally, see Graziosi & Haubold (2005).

<sup>28</sup> Dué and Ebbott (2010) 6.

<sup>29</sup> Dué and Ebbott (2010) 31-37.

sleep and regain their strength, and all approve (9.705-706), a plan which goes unmentioned and is ignored at the beginning of Book 10. More generally, the events of Book 10 are not referenced in any of the other books of the *Iliad*.<sup>30</sup> As West's Teubner edition illustrates, Book 10 is disconnected from the rest of the *Iliad*, its presence or absence making no difference to the overall narrative. It is this lack of connection that means that, regardless of one's views on the evolution and composition of the *Iliad*, Book 10 must be seen as some kind of 'outlier' or 'foreign body' in our *Iliad*.

In the search for answers, Danek offers a satisfactorily cautious solution. He concludes that, although the *Iliad* and Book 10 stand in the same tradition and were composed at similar times, with the Doloneia succeeding the *Iliad* ('Kein wesentlicher chronologischer Abstand zwischen Ilias und Dolonie', 230), they are not identical.<sup>31</sup> Danek concludes that: 'Die Ilias als kompositorische Einheit ursprünglich ohne die Dolonie konzipiert wurde.'<sup>32</sup>

A more productive approach will be to turn away from questions of whether the Doloneia is an original part of the Homeric *Iliad*, to the thematic parallels between the Doloneia and the rest of the Epic Cycle. In this respect, this chapter builds and extends upon the argument of Dué and Ebbott that the theme of ambush in Book 10 is a traditional theme which, rather than being late or un-Homeric, 'almost certainly long predates our *Iliad*'.<sup>33</sup> The seemingly unusual content of Book 10 can be explained as the working of a poet who is using traditional story patterns to create a new addition to the *Iliad*. If this is the case, we can start to rethink the

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<sup>30</sup> Hainsworth (1993) 152-3; Reichel (1994) 327. A possible exception is the reference to Thrasymedes' shield being borrowed from Nestor (14.9-12), which seemingly follows on from Thrasymedes loaning of his shield to Diomedes at 10.255-257. The Book 10 passage has been explained as an attempt by the Doloneia poet to explain the detail in Book 14: Reichel (1994) 287-288; Krieter-Spiro (2018) *ad* 9-12; cf. Lang (1906) 276-278; Janko (1992) *ad* 9-12.

<sup>31</sup> Danek (1988) 230-232; 177-202. Note that Danek believes in 'der Iliasdichter'.

<sup>32</sup> Danek (1988) 233.

<sup>33</sup> Dué and Ebbott (2010) 10-11.

idea that un-Homeric or even post-Homeric elements are synonymous with non-traditional elements, and that in fact they may actually be more typical of the oral tradition of the Trojan War.<sup>34</sup>

Some examples can suggest the traditionality of Book 10. Here, Odysseus is frequently referred to as *πολύτλας* (10.248; also at 8.97, 9.676, 23.729, 778) and *τλήμων* (10.231, 498 and also 5.670). The former epithet is commonly applied to the hero in the *Odyssey*, although the latter never occurs in that poem.<sup>35</sup> Although we could argue with Hainsworth that these epithets are more appropriate to the hero of the *Odyssey*,<sup>36</sup> I am inclined to agree with Dué and Ebbott, who argue instead that these epithets ‘belong’ neither to the *Iliad* or the *Odyssey*, but instead are formulaic elements traditionally associated with themes of ambush and *lochos*.<sup>37</sup> While for the Odysseus of the *Odyssey* these traditional ideas have been emphasised and applied more broadly, in the Doloneia we may well be seeing these elements functioning according to tradition.<sup>38</sup>

This idea of traditionality can also be applied more broadly to a trifecta of elements that coalesce in Book 10: i) the pairing of Odysseus and Diomedes during a solo adventure, ii) the theme of ambush, and iii) the capture or trickery of another character or object. We have seen

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<sup>34</sup> This ties in well with Danek (2012) and Čolaković’s (2008), (2019) vision of Homer as a ‘creative’ or ‘post-traditional’ poet whose work surpassed and innovated the tradition but had no high impact on the living oral tradition.

<sup>35</sup> Except as *πολυτλήμων* at *Od.* 18.319.

<sup>36</sup> Hainsworth (1993) *ad* 231-2.

<sup>37</sup> Dué and Ebbott (2010) *ad* 248, 231.

<sup>38</sup> The formula *πολύτλας* *δῖος* *Ὀδυσσεύς* appears four other times in the *Iliad*: twice during the Funeral Games, both times in relation to an act of deviousness connected in some way to Odysseus (felling Ajax during their wrestling match, 23.729, and Athene causing Ajax to trip during the running race in order to give Odysseus the victory, 23.778). In Book 8, Diomedes is trying to rescue Nestor from the battlefield and he calls out to Odysseus for assistance; however, οὐδ’ ἐσάκουσε *πολύτλας* *δῖος* *Ὀδυσσεύς* (8.97). We could consider that Odysseus’ almost comical flight back to the ships, as conveyed by the terseness of the statement, is a subversion of the expectation conditioned by tradition that Diomedes and Odysseus will work together. In this way, the presence of the epithet could be a deliberate reminder of the traditional pairing of Odysseus and Diomedes. However, the last example of the use of the epithet is probably dictated by metrical considerations: at 9.676, it is used when Odysseus is counselling Agamemnon after the unsuccessful embassy to Achilles.

that these elements recur together in other stories centring around these characters elsewhere in the Cycle.

A reading of the text will demonstrate how these themes play out and interact. The close partnership between Odysseus and Diomedes is conveyed throughout by the frequent use of dual forms (e.g. 10.297, 349, 360, 469). The covert nature of the pair's mission is also emphasised by the repetition of the verb καταδύω throughout the episode. Odysseus is established as eager to undertake the mission, καταδύναι ὄμιλον/ Τρώων (10.231-2). This formulation of the verb with ὄμιλον is also used at 10.433 and 545, each time referring to Diomedes and Odysseus' attempt to infiltrate the camp of the Trojan allies. Additionally, it is used at 10.517 to describe Apollo's 'supernatural' and unobserved intervention in aid of the Trojans. We should note that the verb is also used twice in relation to Odysseus' infiltration into Troy disguised as a beggar in the *Odyssey*: ἀνδρῶν δυσμενέων κατέδν πόλιν εὐρυάγυιαν (*Od.*4.246) and κατέδν Τρώων πόλιν (*Od.*4.249), and once of Odysseus' ambush of the suitors (*Od.*15.328). This suggests that this verb is closely associated with missions involving an individual secretly or covertly attacking a larger group.<sup>39</sup> Diomedes and Odysseus' ambush of Dolon is also clearly portrayed as the ambush and capture of a lesser figure by the pair of heroes. At 344-348, Odysseus has spotted Dolon and suggests that they get ahead of the spy in order to catch him unawares. When Dolon does see them, he is seized with terror and begs for mercy (374-381). When the Greeks have obtained from him what they need, the information about Rhesus' camp, they mercilessly dispatch him (454-457). Dolon's inferiority and vulnerability in the face of Diomedes and Odysseus is reflected in the

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<sup>39</sup> *Lfgre* δύω, δύνω II 6.10-22. Admittedly, this 'secretive' association is not at play when the phrase is used elsewhere in the *Iliad*, where it instead refers to a warrior going into battle (13.307, 15.299). However, the phrase is also used to describe the entry of Athena in disguise among the Trojans at *Il.*4.86, probably in a similar way to that of Apollo at *Il.*10.517.

Thracians. Although they would otherwise be more than a match for the two warriors, they are rendered vulnerable because they are sleeping (471) and Diomedes is compared to a lion who μήλοισιν ἀσημάντοισιν ἐπελθὼν/ αἴγεσιν ἢ οὔρεσσι κακὰ φρονέων ἐνορούση (485-6). Although admittedly there is no linguistic or formulaic similarities to bring out here, this portrayal of their victims as defenceless and unexpected emphasises the qualities of deception that were also at play in the Cyclic examples.

Therefore, while the Doloneia does not fit into the *Iliad*, it can be more comfortably situated within the wider tradition of stories around the pair of Diomedes and Odysseus. This conclusion does not make any judgements about the date of the Doloneia; as was seen in the previous sections, a number of the Diomedes-Odysseus pairings are probably post-Homeric. Instead, it positions the Doloneia as a conspicuous exemplar of a mode of representing Diomedes and Odysseus in the Epic Cycle which spanned the pre- and post-Homeric tradition.

### **Diomedes and Odysseus in Homer**

Finally, we turn to the presentations of Diomedes and Odysseus in the *Iliad*. Although, with the exception of the Doloneia, the characters are not paired in *lochos* episodes similar to those elsewhere in the Cycle, the Homeric poems do display a familiarity with this character combination and the themes attached to it.

The most obvious, and most discussed, is of course Odysseus' characterisation throughout the *Odyssey*. Odysseus is also an important character in the *Iliad*, where he is clearly distinguished as one of the leading heroes of the Greeks. In Book 1, an angry Agamemnon

threatens to take away the slave-girl of Achilles, Ajax or Odysseus (*Il.*1.138), which suggests that Odysseus is ranked among the best of the Achaeans in the eyes of Agamemnon. Furthermore, Odysseus is drawn up along the other leading Achaeans, Agamemnon, Ajax and Idomeneus, during the *teichoskopia* of Book 3 (*Il.*3.191-224). He plays a particularly important role in Book 2 of the *Iliad*, in which, through his intelligence and skill as an orator, he stops the Greek army from retreating to the ships.<sup>40</sup> However, it is in the *Odyssey* that he is more fully, and complexly, defined. The *Odyssey* is the poem of *metis*, and Odysseus embodies this quality.<sup>41</sup> He is frequently referred to with the epithet *πολύμητις*, his most common distinctive epithet. He pulls off a number of successful stratagems throughout the course of the poem, including the defeat of the Cyclops. But the most obvious *dolos* executed by Odysseus in the poem is his defeat of the Suitors, achieved through his disguise as a beggar, his lying tales, and his infiltration into the palace.<sup>42</sup> Therefore, in both the Homeric poems, Odysseus is distinguished by his intelligence and, in the *Odyssey*, by his skill for trickery. Although *lochos* specifically does not play an important role in either poem, associated tropes of characterisation do distinguish Odysseus from his peers. As a result, more so than Diomedes, Odysseus' acts of subterfuge in the Cycle are in harmony with his characterisation in Homer.

Like the Iliadic Odysseus, the Diomedes of the *Iliad* is distinguished as an important Greek hero, but for the most part this is in the sphere of *polemos* rather than *lochos*. Diomedes is established as an impressive warrior who is favoured by the gods. This is most clearly seen in

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<sup>40</sup> There are many references to Odysseus' distinctive intelligence in this episode: Ὀδυσῆα, Διὶ μῆτιν ἀτάλαντον, 169; πολυμήχαν' Ὀδυσσεῦ, 173; ὦ πόποι, ἦ δὴ μυρὶ Ὀδυσσεὺς ἐσθλά ἔοργε/ βουλὰς τ' ἐξάρχων ἀγαθὰς πόλεμόν τε κορύσσων, 272-273 (showing both *metis* and *biē*).

<sup>41</sup> Plenty has been written on this; see, for example, Slatkin (1996) 235-237; Jones (1997) 37-38.

<sup>42</sup> For the theory that the *Odyssey* suppresses a stronger pre-Homeric tradition of Odysseus as a 'trickster', see Finley (1978) 30; Dirlmeier (1970) 76-77; Philippon (1947) 12-18; Stanford (1954) 10-13. The latter two references include discussions of the significance of his descent from Autolycus.

his *aristeia* at Book 5.1-415. Here Diomedes is escorted into battle with Athena as his charioteer, in the course of which he injures both Aphrodite and Ares. Although other characters in the *Iliad* also receive divine guardianship and support, Diomedes physically interacts with the gods and crosses the threshold between mortals and immortals.<sup>43</sup> Furthermore, it has often been remarked in scholarship that Diomedes apparently takes the place of Achilles after the best warrior among the Achaeans retreats from battle in Book 1. This is in spite of the fact that the Homeric poet refers to Ajax as ‘the best of the Achaeans’ besides Achilles (*Il.*2.768-9), making him the most obvious choice to be Achilles’ substitute.<sup>44</sup> But instead it is Diomedes who has the first *aristeia* of the poem. We also have Book 11.347-384, in which Diomedes injures Hector and is then wounded by Paris in the foot. Some scholars have seen parallels here with Achilles, who kills Hector and is then killed by Paris in the *Aethiopis*.<sup>45</sup> However, we should be wary of this Neoanalytical argument. While Diomedes is shot by Paris in the foot in *Iliad* 11 (*Il.*11.375-378), the detail that Achilles was fatally shot in the heel by Paris is not found in Proclus, and we should therefore be cautious in assuming that it was part of a pre-Iliadic Trojan Cycle. That being said, it is still clear from the internal evidence of the *Iliad* that Diomedes is acknowledged as a leading Greek fighter.<sup>46</sup>

Diomedes’ character in the *Iliad* is clearly heroic, but it is also strangely lacking in any discernible traits. With one exception (see below) it is hard to pin down any defining and specific characteristics for Diomedes. This is reflected in the use of epithets for the character.

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<sup>43</sup> Turkeltaub (2007) 62 n.33, 67-68.

<sup>44</sup> The scholia (AbT) to *Il.*5.1 explain this by arguing that while Ajax is the strongest defensive warrior, Diomedes is better at attacks. However, this only really points out that battle duties are distributed evenly throughout the Achaean leadership. See Kirk (1990) *ad* 5.1; van der Valk (1952) 269-286.

<sup>45</sup> See p.202 n.20.

<sup>46</sup> Although this does not necessarily obviate the comment of Pratt’s (2009) 159, who in her comparison of Diomedes with Achilles, argues that, unlike Achilles, Diomedes both avoids tragedy and ‘misses out on greatness’ in the *Iliad*. This may well be a result of the fact that Diomedes’ primary acts in the Trojan War, in particular the Theft of the Palladium, take place after the events of the *Iliad*.

Diomedes is unique in the *Iliad* as the only leading Achaean who has no individual and specific stock epithet. He shares his most frequent appellation, βοῆν ἀγαθός, with Menelaus. This underlines the general lack of specificity that surrounds the character of Diomedes in the *Iliad*.<sup>47</sup>

However, the one aspect of Diomedes that is sharply defined is his relationship to his father, Tydeus. The patronymic Τυδεΐδης is used in the *Iliad* almost as many times as Achilles' patronymic, and considerably more than any other patronymic, with the exception of the Atreides.<sup>48</sup> Scholars have explored the relationship between Diomedes and his father, and often draw comparisons with the wider theme of fathers and father figures in the poem.<sup>49</sup> However, I think that another link between father and son can be drawn out. Our introduction to Diomedes is dominated by a discussion of his father Tydeus, one of the Seven Against Thebes, and the model to whom Diomedes should be aiming. Sammons has observed that the only substantial narrative allusions to the Theban Cycle in the *Iliad* do not focus on the battle for Thebes itself, but instead on a 'mere preliminary of little strategic importance': Tydeus' defeat of an ambush set for him by the Thebans (*Il*4.370-400; cf. 5.800-813).<sup>50</sup> Admittedly here Tydeus is the one who is ambushed, rather than the ambusher. However, the foregrounding in the *Iliad* of Tydeus as Diomedes' father and role-model ('Diomedes bei Homer Sohn seines berühmten Vaters ist')<sup>51</sup> might encourage us to try to understand why the poet has focussed on this episode. One possible explanation is that this theme of ambush serves to unite father and son and draw Tydeus into the traditional sphere of themes

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<sup>47</sup> On the underestimation of Diomedes by other characters in the *Iliad*, see Kelly (2007) 187.

<sup>48</sup> Pratt (2009) 147 n.24

<sup>49</sup> Pratt (2009) 161.

<sup>50</sup> Sammons (2014) 297-299.

<sup>51</sup> Andersen (1978) 30.

associated with Diomedes. Whether this is a connection that existed previously in the tradition or one created by the Homeric poet is impossible to say.

### **Possible origins of the theme**

But if the association of Odysseus with Diomedes is traditional, what has triggered it? And what does it have to do with the themes of ambush? It has often been stated that the Homeric poems are centred around two complementary characters who embody *metis* and *biē*: Odysseus and Achilles, respectively.<sup>52</sup> Since the *Iliad* portrays Diomedes as a possible substitute for Achilles, this ‘opposites attract’ theory could also apply to the association of Diomedes with Odysseus. Indeed, in the Doloneia, these complementary characteristics can be seen. For example, during the attack on Rhesus’ camp, the poet describes the pair working as a ‘tag-team’, with Diomedes killing the sleeping Thracians and πολύμητις Odysseus following behind, moving the bodies out of the way in order to facilitate the stealing of the horses (*Il.*10.484-493).

However, I believe that rather than focussing on the ‘surface level’ qualities of these characters, we can look deeper into the story-types and character-roles that Odysseus and Diomedes fulfil in order to understand their relationship. Both Diomedes and Odysseus embody the role of the ‘traveller’ or ‘fetcher’ throughout the Epic Cycle. By this, I mean that Odysseus and Diomedes are most often utilised when a task requires a hero to travel outside of the host of the Greek army in order to accomplish a task. These tasks are often characterised as isolated and removed from the rest of the Achaeans, with Diomedes and

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<sup>52</sup> Cf. *Od.*8.72-82. See for example, Dunkle (1987); Jones (1997) 37. Wilson (2005) 15, sets out the *metis-biē* polarity in Homeric poetry, but also points out that Odysseus in particular displays elements of both.

Odysseus either acting alone or as a lonely pair. This is typified by the *Iliad*'s Doloneia, in which they travel alone into Rhesus' camp, or by the Theft of the Palladium, which sees them alone in Troy before the Greeks have overtaken the city. If the death of Palamedes can be admitted to the Epic Cycle, the detail that it happened during a fishing expedition would be a further example of Diomedes and Odysseus undertaking a mission that required them to remove themselves from the Greek camp and act in isolation. Odysseus fulfils the function of the 'traveller' or 'fetcher' elsewhere in the Cycle. As previously mentioned, Proclus records that Odysseus brings Neoptolemus back from Scyros. Furthermore, in the *Aethiopsis*, it was Odysseus who purified Achilles of the murder of Thersites on Lesbos (arg.10). It is not clear in Proclus why Achilles or Odysseus would go to Lesbos to carry out the purification or why this task falls to Odysseus.<sup>53</sup> Nonetheless, like the other examples we have seen, it depicts Odysseus travelling away from the Greek camp during the Trojan War in order to accomplish an important task.

Admittedly, there is little evidence that Diomedes and Odysseus were associated with 'travelling' and 'fetching' in the *Iliad*, apart from the Doloneia. However, there is one exception. In Book 1, it is Odysseus who is charged with returning Chryseis to her father in Chryse (*Il.*1.311, 430-445). Odysseus is put in command of the ship and subsequently hands back Chryseis to her father at the altar in Chryse. This episode is Odysseus' first appearance in the *Iliad*, and it is also the scene of his first speech, as he propitiates Chryses on behalf of Agamemnon (*Il.*1.441-445). It is also the first and only time in the *Iliad* that a Greek warrior leaves the geographical confines of Troy.<sup>54</sup> Another Iliadic example, perhaps even more

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<sup>53</sup> West (2013) 143.

<sup>54</sup> According to Kirk (1985) *ad* 1.428ff, the description of the arrival of Odysseus' ship in Chryse is 'pure' and traditional, with few unfamiliar forms and a high level of formularity. This is in contrast to the Doloneia, where unfamiliar forms abound. If we understand these two episodes as manifestations of the same combination of traditional story-types and character, we should take into account that this is not reflected in the 'traditionality' of the language.

tentative, is Odysseus' participation in the embassy to Achilles in Book 9. Homer describes Odysseus as leading the embassy both to and from Achilles' huts (ἡγεῖτο δὲ δῖος Ὀδυσσεύς, 192; ἦρχε δ' Ὀδυσσεύς, 657) and Odysseus is the only envoy who reports back to Agamemnon on Achilles' response (676-694).<sup>55</sup> At the very least, Odysseus' performance in the embassy, albeit unsuccessful, displays the rhetorical skills and leadership abilities that make his position as an ambassador or representative of the Greeks a very plausible choice.

It is not satisfactory to explain this tendency to travel merely as a reflection of Odysseus' *nostos* as narrated in the *Odyssey*. Other Greek heroes had notable *nostoi*, successful or not, particularly Agamemnon, Menelaus, and Ajax. *Nostos* is not the same as the theme of travelling and fetching which I have been discussing. The former is a journey from A to B, with B as the final destination, whereas the latter is a journey from A to B and back to A. As we see with the examples of Odysseus and Diomedes, it is often manifested as some sort of quest, which involves the retrieval of some intended object or accomplishment of a specific task, and which necessitates the use of cunning and *dolos*. This outline can be used to describe all the episodes with which Diomedes and Odysseus as a pair are associated in the Trojan War tradition.

## **Conclusion**

We have a noticeably large amount of evidence that presents Diomedes and Odysseus working as a pair to undertake a *lochos* or *lochos*-type situation in the Epic Cycle. This evidence comes from both Proclus and the other sources we use to fill in our knowledge of

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<sup>55</sup> Of possible note is the fact that Phoinix accompanies Odysseus in *Iliad* Book 9, and is also his companion in the fetching of Neoptolemus in P.Rylands 22. For a summary of common opinions on the figure of Phoinix in the *Iliad*, see Hainsworth (1993) 85-87.

the Epic Cycle. The aim of this chapter was not to ‘prove’ that all these episodes are authentic parts of a pre-Homeric oral tradition. In the case of some this in fact seems unlikely. Instead, the aim has been to explain the thematic parallels between all these episodes as a result of a traditional connection between *lochos* and the pairing of Diomedes and Odysseus. This chapter has demonstrated that the theme of *lochos* is present not only in the Epic Cycle but also in Homer. A criticism of my approach would be that some of the episodes discussed and brought forward as evidence are too broad and do not conform closely enough to the typology of *lochos* scenes as defined by Dué and Ebbott.<sup>56</sup> A rebuttal might be that, while there are differences, for example, between the death of Polyxena and the Theft of the Palladium, as a constellation these episodes all share a ‘family resemblance’ and a collection of thematic parallels. Finally, this chapter has ended on a speculative note, in an attempt to explain what qualities of the Diomedes and Odysseus characters in the oral tradition led to this pairing. I suggested that there may have been a deeper traditional association with episodes involving travel, perhaps on a quest to achieve a specific goal. There are some reflections of this in the actions of Odysseus in the *Iliad*, but the evidence for Diomedes is unfortunately lacking.

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<sup>56</sup> Dué and Ebbott (2010) 69-70.

## 8. The Princes of Troy

The first significant mortal character to appear in Proclus' summary of the Epic Cycle is not a Greek, but a Trojan. On Mt. Ida, it is Paris who takes centre-stage as he judges between the three goddesses and thus begins the Trojan War. In this chapter, I will explore the Cyclic history of the three main Trojan characters by centring the discussion on three specific scenes from Proclus' Epic Cycle: i) the Judgement of Paris (*Cypria* arg.4-11), ii) Aeneas' escape from Troy (*Iliou persis* arg.9), and iii) Hector's killing of Protesilaus (*Cypria* arg.54). I will discuss these three episodes both in the context of the Epic Cycle, and with regard to how they have been presented in Homer and later literature. Each of these three episodes acts as a gateway to wider questions about i) the extent to which we can reconstruct how Paris, Aeneas, and Hector were portrayed in the Epic Cycle, and ii) the authenticity and primacy of their narratives as recorded by Proclus. The chapter will also look at possible links and common origins between the characters of Paris and Aeneas, particularly in regard to their links with shepherding, the goddess Aphrodite, and Near Eastern models.

### **Episode 1: The Judgement of Paris**

The Trojan prince most prominent in Proclus' summary of the Epic Cycle is Paris. He is especially prominent in the *Cypria*. According to Proclus, Paris was the judge of a contest between the three goddesses, Hera, Athena, and Aphrodite. Paris chooses Aphrodite after she promises him marriage with Helen (τοῖς Ἑλένης γάμοις). This choice is the catalyst for the following events of the *Cypria*, the rape of Helen and the beginning of the Trojan War. In the

*Aethiopsis*, Achilles is killed by Paris and Apollo (arg.16). In turn, in the *Ilias parva*, Paris is killed by Philoctetes and his body mutilated by Menelaus (arg.7).

Monro stated that Paris was the hero and main character of the *Cypria*.<sup>1</sup> We will return to this statement shortly, but for now it is important to recognise that Paris does play a very important role in the Epic Cycle, at least as presented by Proclus. Perhaps most significantly, he is the first mortal character to appear in the poem<sup>2</sup> and is the focus of the Judgement of Paris. His actions in this episode set in motion a chain of events which inevitably lead to the Trojan War. But is the Judgement of Paris an authentic part of the pre-Homeric tradition?

The Judgement of Paris is referenced in Book 24 of the *Iliad*. Describing the pity of the gods towards the Trojans, the poet states:

ἔνθ' ἄλλοις μὲν πᾶσιν ἐήνδανεν, οὐδέ ποθ' Ἥρη  
οὐδέ Ποσειδάων' οὐδέ γλαυκῶπιδι κούρη,  
ἀλλ' ἔχον ὥς σφιν πρῶτον ἀπήχθετο Ἴλιος ἱρή  
καὶ Πρίαμος καὶ λαὸς Ἀλεξάνδρου ἔνεκ' ἄτης,  
ὃς νείκεσσε θεὰς ὅτε οἱ μέσσαυλον ἴκοντο,  
τὴν δ' ἦνῆσ' ἦ οἱ πόρε μαχλοσύνην ἀλεγεινήν.

*Il.24.25-30*

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<sup>1</sup> Monro (1884) 5-6.

<sup>2</sup> Peleus' appearance at his own wedding does precede Paris' introduction in Proclus. However, Peleus is not an active player in the rest of the saga of the Trojan War and will re-appear only at the end of the *Nostoi* (arg.16).

It appears that Aristarchus athetized these lines, but most scholars now accept them as genuine.<sup>3</sup> Richardson gives a summary of the possible objections to this passage, and tentatively concludes that, despite some doubts over lines 29-30, the whole ‘should be regarded as part of the original poem’.<sup>4</sup> The authenticity of the passage is supported both by the internal logic of the poem and by archaic iconography. An ivory comb, dating from the first half of the 7<sup>th</sup> century, was found in the sanctuary of Artemis Orthia near Sparta, and on it is depicted the Judgement of Paris. The 7<sup>th</sup> century Chigi olpe also depicts the scene, with inscriptions confirming this identification.<sup>5</sup> The Judgement of Paris remained a popular iconographic subject throughout the archaic period.<sup>6</sup> The evidence shows, at the least, that the Judgement was known in the time period in which the composition of the *Iliad* is generally placed.<sup>7</sup> In terms of how the passage fits into the poem as a whole, Reinhardt has famously argued that the story of the Judgement is interwoven through the whole of the *Iliad*, although Homer only chooses to refer to it directly in Book 24.<sup>8</sup> The indirect nature of the reference itself may make it more likely to be a genuine component of the poem rather than an interpolation.

However, in his recent Teubner edition, West deletes 29-30 as a rhapsodic interpolation. He argues that the poet would not have ‘contemptuously dismissed the δῶρ’ ἐρατὰ ... χρυσέης Ἀφροδίτης [*Il.*3.64] as μαχλοσύνη’ and that it is unlikely that the poet would make his only reference to the Judgement at such a late stage.<sup>9</sup> Both of these objections can be answered. The fact that the reference to the Judgement comes at the end of the poem is less relevant

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<sup>3</sup> On Aristarchus, see Schironi (2018) 663-665.

<sup>4</sup> Richardson (1993) 279; cf. Kullmann (1960) 236.

<sup>5</sup> *LIMC* ‘Alexandros’, 524.

<sup>6</sup> Gantz (1996) 568.

<sup>7</sup> Although those scholars who are certain of an 8<sup>th</sup> century date for Homer will find this artistic evidence less convincing.

<sup>8</sup> Reinhardt (1997 [1938]) *passim*. See also Davies (1981) and Mackie (2013).

<sup>9</sup> West (2011) 412.

than the fact that it comes at a point in the narrative where it is necessary for some of the gods to be angry at the Trojans. Therefore, the poet turns to the Judgement of Paris as a convenient explanation for the wrath of Hera and Athena.<sup>10</sup> Furthermore, in general, the end of the *Iliad* shows a ‘sustained interest’ in stories from the beginnings of the Trojan saga, as well as the history of the Trojan royal line.<sup>11</sup>

As for the phrase *μαχλοσύνην ἀλεγεινήν*, ‘grievous lustfulness’, this can be easily understood from the context. As Richardson comments, the use of *μαχλοσύνη* not only fits with the negative aspects of the *Iliad*’s portrayal of Paris (*Il.*3.39-55),<sup>12</sup> but, more specifically, the use of *μαχλοσύνη* conveys the danger and disaster that Aphrodite’s gift portended.<sup>13</sup>

Furthermore, the negative connotation of the phrase aligns the Judgement of Paris with wider and well-known themes of early Greek poetry. The destructive quality of lust and its use as a punishment is also seen in the story of the Proitidai (Hesiod fr.132 MW), which uses the noun *μαχλοσύνη* to describe the mad lust for which Hera punished them.<sup>14</sup>

This brings us to the wider context in which the Judgement can be situated. A related aspect of the episode, the beautified woman, is a recurring theme in early Greek poetry. It is frequently used in scenes that cast the beautified woman as a source of trouble.<sup>15</sup> For example, we might think of the toilette scenes of Aphrodite in her eponymous *Homeric Hymn*, of Hera pre-seduction in *Iliad* 14.170-188, and of the adornment of Pandora in Hesiod

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<sup>10</sup> Poseidon’s anger towards the Trojans is explained elsewhere in the poem (*Il.*21.441-457). These three gods are often shown as a united force (*Il.*1.399-400; 20.33-34).

<sup>11</sup> Mackie (2013) 3, 8. Dardanus (24.171, 354, 629, 631); Ilus (24.349); Wedding of Thetis (24.59-61, 534-7); Helen’s absence from Sparta (24.764-6); Death of Troilus (24.257-8).

<sup>12</sup> Bowie (2019) *ad* 38-57: Hector’s speech underlines the two salient aspects of Paris’ personality, his ‘finery and cowardice.’

<sup>13</sup> Richardson (1993) 279. Brügger (2017) 28, also points out that it conveys, ‘the subjective point of view of the relevant individuals.’

<sup>14</sup> Brügger (2017) 28.

<sup>15</sup> For recent scholarship on the role of bad women in Homeric poetry, see Monsacré (1984) 106-108; Warwick (2019) 18; Lesser (2019) 220-221.

(*Th.*571-593;<sup>16</sup> *WD.*72-82).<sup>17</sup> Therefore, as the criterium of the competition was beauty, the Judgement of Paris fits in well with a wider tradition in early Greek hexameter poetry in which female beauty and sexuality is a precursor to a negative turn of events.<sup>18</sup> This is underlined by the fact that in Proclus' summary, the instigator of the Judgement was none other than the personification of Strife (παραγενομένη Ἔρις .....νεῖκος περὶ κάλλους ἐνίστησι, arg.4-6).

We could also note that the terms of the contest vary between different accounts. Proclus simply states that the judgement was περὶ κάλλους (*Cypria* arg.6). Contrast this with the summary of Apollodorus, who states that the three goddesses promised Paris δῶρα, each one linked to her personal divine powers (*Ep.*3.2). The first evidence for these gifts appeared in the 5<sup>th</sup> century parody of the judgement, the *Dionysalexandros* of Kratinos. Without talking in terms of 'earlier' and 'later', it would appear that Proclus' narrative of the *Cypria* is more in line with the sensibilities of early Greek poetry, in which a common trope was the idea of the maddening and destructive consequences of beauty and sexual desire.

If the Judgement of Paris can be securely placed in pre-Homeric epic, we can see that Paris himself played a very significant part in the Trojan Cycle. If the saga begins as it does in Proclus, Paris is the first significant mortal character to appear in the Epic Cycle.

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<sup>16</sup> Note that the female character in the *Theogony* is not named. On the difference between the accounts of the *Theogony* and the *Works and Days*, see Canevaro (2018) 251-252.

<sup>17</sup> Another example would be Athena's adornment of Penelope before she appears to the suitors in the *Odyssey* (*Od.*18.187-213) and Aphrodite leading Helen to Paris' bed in the *Iliad* (*Il.*3.383-446). Similarly, Forsyth (1979) has suggested that the Nausicaa episode on Scheria and Penelope's appearance to the suitors in *Odyssey* 18 share a traditional type-scene, the 'allurement scene'. Forsyth's schema is different from that suggested here because it encompasses seduction/allurement scenes with both 'bad' (Pandora in *WD*, Hera in the *Iliad*) and 'good' consequences (Nausicaa). However, his conclusion, 117, is still relevant, that, 'given the apparent occurrence of allurement scenes in non-Homeric poetry, the type must have been a part of the general Greek tradition, inherited by the singers as the normal way of composing a seduction scene.'

<sup>18</sup> Walcot (1977) 31-9, observes that, although the tone of the story may be 'romantic', it shares themes with the story of Helen's suitors, a tradition attested as early as the Hesiodic Catalogue (fr.196-204 MW). Both revolve around ideas of competition, rivalry, and the importance of physical beauty.

Furthermore, his choice of Aphrodite is the catalyst that sets in motion the events that lead to the outbreak of war. As already mentioned, Monro considered Paris to be the main character of the *Cypria* (since he saw the *Cypria* as a single definitive poem). More recently Sammons has nuanced this view, instead pointing out that Paris occupies the ‘character-space’ at the beginning of the saga.<sup>19</sup> Furthermore, Paris’ actions outside of the *Cypria* are noteworthy. Throughout the Cycle, his actions on the battlefield determine the course of the Trojan War and the balance of power between the Greeks and Trojans. In the *Aithiopsis*, Paris, with Apollo, kills the supreme warrior Achilles.<sup>20</sup> Not only does this remove the strongest Greek fighter from the field, it also precipitates the set-piece of the Funeral Games of Achilles and the conflict between Ajax and Odysseus. Paris is then himself killed by Philoctetes in the *Ilias parva*, who is brought from Lemnos to help the Greeks to victory. Paris’ death marks the end of the Trojan fighting force – the only other warrior of significance to oppose the Greek side is the Mysian Eurypylus (*Ilias parva* arg.12-13).<sup>21</sup> Paris is the only warrior who would have presented a real threat to Neoptolemus, and therefore needs to be removed from the battlefield prior to his arrival in order to allow Neoptolemus to face off against Eurypylus, defeat him, and thus disable the enemy.<sup>22</sup> Following this, the Greeks put into action their plan

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<sup>19</sup> Sammons (2017) 152.

<sup>20</sup> Much has been made of the apparent similarities between Paris’ killing of Achilles and his wounding of Diomedes at *Il.* 11.369-83, with Neoanalysts arguing that the latter reflects the former: see bibliography at Burgess (2009) 74, n.6. Fenik (1968) 234-6, does not deny the possibility that the *Aethiopsis* has influenced the Homeric scene, but also stresses that the similarities between the two scenes could equally be attributed to a shared, traditional style. The Neoanalytical interpretation is premised on the fact that Diomedes is wounded in the foot (*Il.* 11.377) and Achilles is killed by being shot in the heel. Burgess (2009) 9-13, 74-75, argues that, while the detail that Achilles was only vulnerable in the heel is late, the detail that he was wounded in the lower leg was prominent in the early tradition. However, in coming to this conclusion, Burgess relies on the assumption that later sources such as Apollodorus must go back to the older *Aethiopsis*, as well as fairly inconclusive artistic depictions of the scene. In my opinion, the fact that Apollodorus (*Ep.* 5.3) and Quintus Smyrnaeus (3.62) depict Achilles as being killed by a wound to the ankle is not strong enough evidence to conclude that the ankle detail in Book 11 of the *Iliad* must be directly referencing Achilles’ death at the hands of Paris.

<sup>21</sup> West (2013) 187, argues more bluntly that in an earlier form of the story, Paris’ death may have signified the conclusion of the war.

<sup>22</sup> After the death of Eurypylus, Proclus states that καὶ οἱ Τρῶες πολιορκοῦνται (*Ilias parva* arg.13-14).

with the Wooden Horse. Therefore, we can infer that Paris remained a significant figure throughout the Epic Cycle.

In terms of the characterisation of Paris in the *Iliad*, the question remains as to whether he is meant to be a sympathetic character or not, a heroic warrior or a cowardly rake. Nickel concluded that this contradictory characterisation was a result of the Homeric poet imposing new and unique features (namely, the anti-heroic and erotic) on a traditional heroic figure.<sup>23</sup> A well-balanced view of Paris is given by Bowie in his commentary on *Iliad* 3: he is an ‘intriguing mixture of cowardice and bravery’.<sup>24</sup> The Epic Cycle does not add much nuance to the debate surrounding the characterisation of Paris in the *Iliad*. The highly abridged nature of the evidence leaves little opportunity to discuss questions of morality, behaviour, and motives. However, what it does display is Paris’ prominence and importance in the Trojan Cycle outside of the *Iliad*. As I have sketched out above, Paris is an integral part of the Cycle at multiple points, and the examples from the *Aethiopis* and *Ilias parva* would suggest that his importance in the Cycle goes beyond his role in the rape of Helen. This wide-ranging importance is capped off by the detail in the *Ilias parva* that his body is mutilated by Menelaus, before being rescued by the Trojans and given burial (*Ilias parva* arg.8-9). This is a striking act, and the closest parallel is Achilles’ treatment of Hector’s corpse in the *Iliad*,<sup>25</sup> who then too receives burial by the Trojans. It is an effective bookend to the narrative arc of Paris throughout the Epic Cycle. The Trojan War is triggered by his choice in the Judgement episode and his subsequent outrage against Menelaus. It is therefore fitting that his role in the war should be brought to a close by an act of outrage committed by Menelaus, but an act that

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<sup>23</sup> Nickel (1997) 161.

<sup>24</sup> Bowie (2019) 1-2, 20.

<sup>25</sup> See Davies (1989) 66, on the ‘un-Homeric’ nature of such mutilations.

also presumably magnified and emphasised the significance of Paris' death.<sup>26</sup> Therefore, if the Epic Cycle does not further the discussion about whether Paris is a 'heroic' figure in the subjective sense of the term, it does allow us to conclude that he was a prominent 'hero' in the epic oral tradition.

### **Links between Paris and Aeneas: Aphrodite**

Paris' cousin Aeneas is an important Trojan character in his own right, and I will go on to discuss his individual character narrative later in the chapter. However, I will first look at the ways in which Paris and Aeneas appear to be linked in both the Cycle and the *Iliad*, discussing the possible explanations for these apparent similarities. These are, in order, the patronage of Aphrodite, the motif of the shepherd, and possible Near Eastern origins.

If Paris is the most prominent character at the beginning of the Cycle, his cousin Aeneas comes in a close second. In his summary of the *Cypria*, Proclus records that:

καὶ Ἐλενος περὶ τῶν μελλόντων αὐτοῖς προθεσπίζει. καὶ ἡ Ἀφροδίτη Αἰνεΐαν συμπλεῖν αὐτῷ κελεύει. καὶ Κασσάνδρα περὶ τῶν μελλόντων προδηλοῖ.

*Cypria* arg.9-11

Sammons probably overinterprets this passage when he terms it a 'decreasing doublet' which sets in contrast the frivolous, negative character of Paris with the more positive character of Aeneas.<sup>27</sup> The evidence we have of the Epic Cycle does not allow us to make comments

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<sup>26</sup> As in the case of Hector's death and the ransoming of his body in the *Iliad*, and the funeral games after the deaths of Patroclus and Achilles, in the *Iliad*, the *Aethiopsis*, and *Odyssey* 24. This undermines Sammons' (2017) 152, argument that, after the start of the war, Paris' role 'became significantly less prominent'.

<sup>27</sup> Sammons (2017) 106-108. Although he admits that this is conjectural; see 107, n.20.

about the ‘moral’ portrayals of the characters. However, it does show two aspects of Aeneas’ character that are notable. The first is that Aeneas’ character was established as an important and high-ranking member of the Trojan army at the very beginning of the Cycle. We cannot know what role he played in Sparta and in the abduction of Helen, as Proclus’ summary is silent in these matters. Nevertheless, his presence is significant. There is no particular reason why Paris would have had to have been accompanied by his cousin, and in other accounts of the episode Paris is shown to be travelling alone.<sup>28</sup> Therefore, the inclusion of Aeneas here points both to the importance of his character in general and during this first significant episode of the Trojan War.<sup>29</sup>

The second aspect of Aeneas’ character that this illustrates is his relationship to Aphrodite. Proclus appears to show Aeneas having a direct communication with the goddess (ἡ Ἀφροδίτη Αἰνεΐαν.....κελεύει). Such a direct communication with a divinity is rare in Homer and distinguishes the mortal as a favourite of the god.<sup>30</sup> This close connection to Aphrodite is also demonstrated in the *Iliad*. Aeneas is the son of Aphrodite (*Il.*20.105, 209; cf. *h. Hom.Aphr.*196-201) and is rescued from battle by her in Book 5.<sup>31</sup> Like Achilles, Aeneas’ divine parentage sets him apart from other mortals, and is intimately linked with his destiny

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<sup>28</sup> Most notably at *Il.* 6.289-92.

<sup>29</sup> Sammons (2017) 107, suggests that Cassandra’s prophecy mentioned Aeneas’ progeny.

<sup>30</sup> Admittedly, it is not clear from Proclus’ summary how Aphrodite appears to Aeneas. Turkeltaub (2007) has illustrated how in the *Iliad* there exist different modes of perception between mortals and divinities. These range from *post-factum* recognitions through to aural and visual recognition. As the mode of perception becomes more direct, the more important and favoured the mortal is perceived to be. Although Proclus does not give us enough information to ascertain exactly where Aphrodite’s appearance to Aeneas should be placed in his schema, we can look to internal evidence. Excluding the interactions between Achilles and his mother, in the rest of the Proclean summaries, a god interacts with an individual mortal on four occasions: Aphrodite commands Aeneas, Artemis rescues Iphigeneia from the pyre (*Cypria* arg.47-49), Athena instructs Epeius to build the Wooden Horse (κατ’ Ἀθηνᾶς προαίρεσιν, *Ilias parva* arg.14), and Thetis instructs Neoptolemus to journey home by land, thus saving him from the storm (Θέτιδος ὑποθεμένης, *Nostoi* arg.13). In the other three examples, the god is clearly displaying a special dispensation towards the mortal in question and singling them out from their peers. The interaction between Aphrodite and Aeneas would appear to belong to the same level of significance, even though we do not have enough context to fit it into a schema like that of Turkeltaub.

<sup>31</sup> Although Turkeltaub (2007) 55, 68, plays down the significance of the interactions between Aeneas and Aphrodite (*Il.*5.311-343) and Aeneas and Poseidon (*Il.*20.318-340), both show Aeneas’ special status as the son of a goddess and his fate to survive the war.

to continue the Trojan race. Already at the beginning of the *Cypria* Aeneas' intimate relationship with Aphrodite and the special status which that granted him was foregrounded. His relationship with Aphrodite also draws him closer to Paris, who is also a favourite of the goddess. In Book 3, Aphrodite rescues him from his fight with Menelaus and whisks him away to Helen's bedchamber (*Il.*3.374-384) and in the same book both Hector and Paris discuss how the latter has been granted the δῶρ' Ἀφροδίτης (*Il.*3.54; 64-5). Paris and Aeneas are further linked by the guardianship of Apollo. In *Iliad* 5, Apollo rescues Aeneas from being killed by Diomedes (*Il.*5.344-346, 431-459). Furthermore, at two points in the poem Apollo appears in mortal disguise to Aeneas to urge him to rally the Trojans in defence of their city (*Il.*17.322-332; 20.79-109). In the case of Paris, Proclus tells us that it was Apollo and Paris who together killed Achilles (*Aethiopsis* arg.16). Therefore, in both the Epic Cycle and Homer, Paris and Aeneas are both singled out as 'special' through their relationships with the two most pro-Trojan gods in the story of the Trojan War, Aphrodite and Apollo.

### **Another link between Paris and Aeneas: shepherding**

There is another character trope associated with Paris and Aeneas that merits some discussion. This is the trope of the shepherd, which attaches itself to both these princes, as well as to other Trojans. However, in discussing this theme in respect of the Epic Cycle, it is important to analyse the influence of later traditions and make a distinction between the 'shepherd-prince' and the shepherd.<sup>32</sup>

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<sup>32</sup> Also distinct and not under discussion here is the use of shepherding similes in the *Iliad*: see Kelly (2007) 371-372.

From the classical period onwards, Paris is often distinctly depicted as being raised as a shepherd. The most detailed evidence we have for this trope is from a papyrus hypothesis of Euripides' *Alexandros*. Alarmed by the portentous dream of the pregnant Hecuba, Priam has the child exposed and reared by shepherds. This child is named Paris by the shepherds and raised as one of their own. His true identity is discovered when he takes part in a contest of games against the Trojan princes.<sup>33</sup> The story of Hecuba's dream first appears in a fragment of Pindar *Paean* 8 (= fr.52i(A)), and the presentation of Paris as a shepherd is fully-fledged in Greek tragedy. Together with Euripides, Sophocles also wrote an *Alexandros* play (*TrGF* 4 F91a-100a) which seems to have dealt with the same story. Two fragments preserved by Stephanus of Byzantium (fr.92, fr.93) appear to portray Paris as a βοτήρα in contrast to the ἀστίτας ('city-dwellers').<sup>34</sup> The structure of the tale is one that is familiar to us not only from the last books of the *Odyssey* but also from folk tales from around the world.<sup>35</sup> Through some reversal of circumstances, a person of high-standing loses their identity and is reduced to a lower status, but they eventually regain their status and are brought back to their original position. In the 5<sup>th</sup> century depictions of Paris' birth and exposure, his status as a shepherd is integral to this 'reversal of fortunes' narrative.

The theme of shepherding is also present in archaic representations of Paris and Aeneas. Most notably, in the *Iliad*, we learn that Aeneas was tending to his flocks when he was attacked by Achilles,<sup>36</sup> and in the *Homeric Hymn to Aphrodite*, his father Anchises is depicted as a herdsman on Mt Ida.<sup>37</sup> Furthermore, according to Proclus, Paris is on Mt. Ida

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<sup>33</sup> A very similar story is told in Hyginus *Fab.* 91.

<sup>34</sup> Eur.*Tro.*920-22 also makes reference to Hecuba's portentous dream.

<sup>35</sup> Finglass (2018) 51-57, 63-70.

<sup>36</sup> ἢ οὐ μέμνη ὅτε πέρ σε βοῶν ἄπο μούνον ἐόντα/σεῦα κατ' Ἰδαίων ὀρέων ταχέεσσι πόδεσσι/καρπαλίμως; *Il.*20.188-190.

<sup>37</sup> ὅς τ' ἐν ἀκροπόλοις ὄρεσιν πολυπιδάκου Ἴδη/ βουκολέεσκεν βοῦς δέμας ἀθανάτοισιν ἐοικώς *h.Hom.Aphr.*54-55; cf. 75-80, 168-71.

when the goddesses are brought to him for judgement (Ἀλέξανδρον ἐν Ἴδῃ, *Cypria*, arg.6-7). Finally, numerous other Trojan princes are represented as tending flocks and herds on Mt. Ida in the *Iliad*.<sup>38</sup> This is a characterisation that, with the exception of the anonymous besiegers of the Shield of Achilles,<sup>39</sup> is exclusively given to Trojan characters in the Homeric epics.

However, a distinction must be made between the presentation here of Trojans as princes who engage in shepherding, and the later story of Paris' youth as a lowly herdsman. For the latter, there is absolutely no evidence of any aspect of this tale in existence before Pindar, where we first find a reference to Hecuba's dream. Despite this, there has been some speculation that the motif of Paris as a shepherd may be much older. In particular, Mühlestein used the 'fact' that Paris was a shepherd to draw a connection between him and Euphorbus in the *Iliad*,<sup>40</sup> while Sammons has posited that the *Cypria* began with Paris living as a herdsman.<sup>41</sup>

None of the documented components of this story, such as Hecuba's dream or the contest, have any existence before Pindar. We should not conflate the story of Paris' birth, which does very much portray him as a shepherd in a rural setting but is only attested in later literature, with the story of the Judgement of Paris.<sup>42</sup> This latter example could only be associated with

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<sup>38</sup> Anchises (5.313), Bucolion (6.25), Isus and Antiphus (11.104-106), Enops (14.444-445), Melanippus (15.547-8), Lycaon (21.35-38) and Paris (24.29). See Nickel (2002) 219-220 and Ndoye (2010) 38-39. These verses have some examples of shared phraseology (11.106 ≈ 6.25, 5.313 ≈ 14.444-445), although this alone is not strong enough evidence to conclude that the shepherding Trojan theme is traditional.

<sup>39</sup> During the ecpheasis of the Shield of Achilles, the description of the besieged city (which obviously invites comparison with Troy, Taplin (1980) 6-7) includes the detail that it was the besiegers, and not the besieged, who were herdsman and were caught in ambush by the inhabitants of the city (18.509-532). However, the description of these two anonymous cities does not obviate the otherwise clear pattern of Trojans, and not Greeks, being characterised as herdsman. The description of the Shield may depict an 'alternative world', which, while reflecting some familiar themes from the *Iliad* is also at a remove from the events of the poem; see Reinhardt (1961) 401-411; Taplin (1980); Marg (1991); Rutherford (2019) 25-27.

<sup>40</sup> Mühlestein (1987) 80.

<sup>41</sup> Sammons (2017) 151.

<sup>42</sup> It should also be noted that the motif of an exposed child is very widespread. Greek tragedy has many founding narratives, often with the added detail that the exposed child was reared by herdsman: Sophocles' *OT*, *Tyro*; Euripides' *Alope*, *Antiope*, *Wise Melanippe*, as well as his *Alexandros*. It is also found elsewhere, for

‘shepherding’ because according to Proclus it took place on Mt. Ida.<sup>43</sup> I think that this is the link that Sammons makes when he suggests that the *Cypria* began with Paris living as a shepherd. However, when seen without the influence of these other stories, the Mt. Ida setting loses its significance. Furthermore, there is negligible artistic evidence from the archaic period that Paris was depicted as a shepherd or anything other than a Trojan hero.<sup>44</sup>

This is not to say that the shepherd motif is not important at all in the discussion of Paris and Aeneas. Although it is a superficial characterisation whose centrality has been exaggerated by later literature, it should not be dismissed altogether. It is not only a motif associated with Paris and Aeneas, but also with other Trojan heroes. Since no Achaean warrior attracts a similar characterisation, we may say that it is a marker of being ‘Trojan’. This point will be discussed further below.

### **Possible Near Eastern origins**

In sum, to different degrees of prominence, the characters of Paris and Aeneas are both associated with Aphrodite and with shepherding. I will now discuss how the intersection of these two motifs has provoked discussion around possible Near Eastern borrowings. If character motifs for Aeneas and Paris could be located in the Near Eastern literary corpus, this would have important implications for their status as characters in the Trojan War tradition, as well as give a more general insight into the development of the Epic Cycle.

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example in the story of Cyrus in Herodotus (1.108-19). The flexibility of the motif lessens the possibility that it was specific to the story of Paris or that its origins in relation to Paris should be looked for in the pre-Classical period. For more on the motif, see Finglass (2018) 63-70 and Asheri (2007) *ad* 1.113.1.

<sup>43</sup> Note also that Mt. Ida is not mentioned by Homer, who instead says that the goddesses came to Paris in his μέσσαιλον. This word is used elsewhere in the *Iliad* of areas where animals are kept: 11.548; 17.112, 657. On its use in Book 24, Rougier-Blanc (2004) 120, calls it ‘métonymique’ and suggests that Paris was guarding the animals. Such an activity would be within the realms of the Trojan princes elsewhere in the *Iliad*.

<sup>44</sup> Gantz (1996) 569.

It is notable that both Paris and Aeneas are linked across the corpus of early Greek hexameter poetry by scenes involving seduction by Aphrodite. For one, we have a complete poem that records the actual seduction and sexual intercourse between Aphrodite and the shepherd Anchises, the father of Aeneas. For the other, we have the summary of Proclus and a later quote in Athenaeus as evidence of the ‘quasi-seduction’ of Paris by Aphrodite (*Ath.* 15.682d-f = *Cypria* fr.5, fr.6 W). As noted by many scholars, these episodes resemble other ‘toilette-seduction’ scenes in early Greek poetry, to the extent that they are often seen as manifestations of a formulaic ‘type-scene’, much like those of arming and sacrifice. Currie has suggested an alternative explanation, arguing that these episodes are not type-scenes, but instead an allusion, or ‘specific reprise’ of an original scene. There are two stages to his argument, as I understand it. The first is that all these examples in early Greek hexameter poetry are allusions to an earlier, oral poem on the seduction of the Trojan Anchises by Aphrodite.<sup>45</sup> His second point is that this Aphrodite-Anchises poem is a ‘translation’ of the Sumerian Inanna-Dumuzi love poems.<sup>46</sup> What is particularly relevant to this chapter is that Currie points out that the *Hymn to Aphrodite* and the Inanna-Dumuzi poems are linked by, *inter alia*, the representation of the male human lover as a shepherd.<sup>47</sup> If this is true, we might conclude that the intersecting themes of shepherding and Aphrodite-toilette-seduction scenes that cluster around the Trojan princes of the Cycle finds its origin in the Near East. We could add to this mix the fact that many of these episodes happen on Mt. Ida, which is also the location to which Aeneas escapes before the destruction of Troy (*Iliou persis* arg.9). As

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<sup>45</sup> Currie (2016) 149-60. Note that Currie, 160, does acknowledge that this ‘must be recognised to jostle with alternative interpretations’. Although Currie probably states it more strongly and ‘Neoanalytically’ than his predecessors, this is a relatively common view - see especially West (1997) 204.

<sup>46</sup> Currie (2016) 161-175, together with other Near Eastern poetry, 178-220.

<sup>47</sup> Currie (2016) 162-163.

Griffin has demonstrated, there is a ‘bucolic’ theme in the *Iliad* that attaches itself almost exclusively to Trojan warriors, whether in scenes of pastoral *amours* or ambushes.<sup>48</sup>

If we pull back to Aeneas (and Anchises) and Paris therefore, we are left with a variety of intersecting themes: seduction by Aphrodite, shepherding, and Mt. Ida. In my opinion, the comparison of the toilette-seduction scenes with Inanna-Dumuzi is fairly weak. Although it is true that there are some superficial similarities, namely the presentation of Dumuzi as a shepherd and the seduction of a mortal by a goddess following her adornment, the corpus of Inanna-Dumuzi poems shows a far more dynamic and variable relationship between the pair than in Greek poetry. While Inanna is sometimes displayed as a the ‘powerful’ seductress, there are other poems where the power dynamic is different, and Inanna is portrayed as a young, inexperienced maiden.<sup>49</sup> Their relationship is more complex and multi-faceted than that between Aphrodite and Anchises and Paris. In particular, Inanna appears more ‘emotionally invested’ in Dumuzi. This is particularly seen in her laments for his death.<sup>50</sup> The similarity of the shepherd motif remains striking, but we can also see that it is far more integral to the language of the Sumerian poems than the Greek examples. In the former, we have debates about whether Inanna should marry a farmer or a shepherd,<sup>51</sup> the importance of farming and shepherding at the couple’s wedding ceremony,<sup>52</sup> and the mourning of the natural world and the sheepfold at Dumuzi’s death.<sup>53</sup> In contrast, as already discussed, the Greek examples go no further than showing a Trojan prince in a sheepfold or on Mt. Ida, and the engagement goes no deeper.

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<sup>48</sup> Griffin (1992) 197-201. Griffin, 201-204, goes on to explain the presence of Mt. Ida in many of these scenes as linked to the Great Goddess of the Mountains, Phrygian Kybele; cf. Bachvarova (2016) 327.

<sup>49</sup> For example, from Sefati (1998): DI I 194-205; DI D 151-164; DI H 185-193.

<sup>50</sup> Jacobsen (1987): ‘The Wild Bull Who Has Lain Down’, 47-9; ‘In the Desert by the Early Grass’, 61.

<sup>51</sup> Dumuzid and Enkimdu *ETCSL* 4.08.33.

<sup>52</sup> Sefati (1998) DI C<sub>1</sub> 286-300.

<sup>53</sup> Jacobsen (1987): ‘The Wild Bull Who Has Lain Down’, 47-9; ‘Recognition’, 50-52; ‘Vain Appeal’, 53-55; ‘In the Desert by the Early Grass’, 61.

A similarly vague but intriguing connection is the link in Near Eastern Inanna poetry between Inanna and kingly authority. Sacred marriage hymns were a sub-genre of Inanna poems that showed the Sumerian king taking on the persona of Dumuzi and joining in a sacred union with the goddess. As summed up by Lipinkivi, ‘These songs emphasize the political dimension of the sacred marriage, and are an inseparable part of Sumerian royal ideology, used to legitimize the king’s rule.’<sup>54</sup> For example, one hymn describes the union of Inanna with the king Iddin-Dagan. After their love-making, the poem describes how the goddess sits on ‘the great throne dais...and makes the king position himself next (?) to her like the sun.’<sup>55</sup> This portrayal of Inanna as a sort of ‘king-maker’ is reminiscent of Aphrodite in the *Homeric Hymn*. As Currie points out, sexual union with Aphrodite is a guarantee of kingship in the *Hymn to Aphrodite*; after the goddess and Anchises sleep together, she assures him that his son Aeneas will be king among the Trojans and his line will rule for generations (196-199).<sup>56</sup> However, while the seduction-kingship myth of the Near Eastern examples is observable in the *Homeric Hymn*, it is hard to graft the pattern on to the other interactions between Aphrodite and the Trojan princes in the *Iliad* and the Epic Cycle (as discussed above).<sup>57</sup>

Therefore, while Currie is correct to point out the similarities between the Greek and Near Eastern examples, in this case I am in agreement with Kelly on the apparent Near Eastern influences in the example of the *Dios apate*: ‘We cannot use our very partial picture of the Near Eastern traditions as an excuse for an exercise in direct – or even indirect –

*Quellenforschung*.’<sup>58</sup> But all is not lost. As cross-comparisons, the Inanna-Dumuzi poems do

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<sup>54</sup> Lipinkivi (2004) 246; also 6, 59-62, 246-8.

<sup>55</sup> *ETCSL* ‘Inana and Iddin-Dagan (Iddin-Dagan A)’ 195-202.

<sup>56</sup> Currie (2016) 166-168.

<sup>57</sup> One might say that Paris and Aeneas’ interactions with Aphrodite confirm their princely status, but this seems overly nebulous.

<sup>58</sup> Kelly (2008) 303-304.

highlight a notable trademark of these episodes in Greek poetry. In the Sumerian examples, the adornment of the goddess and the description of her erotic appeal is often associated with male sexual pleasure and his enjoyment of the sexual act.<sup>59</sup> Female sexuality is for the benefit of the man. However, this dynamic is different in our Greek examples. This is most vividly demonstrated by the *Hymn to Aphrodite*, wherein Anchises' sexual pleasure is undercut by his own fear and mortality (182-190; 286-290). More generally, the Greek examples tend to foreground the idea that the seduction by the goddess is dangerous. For example, in the Judgement of Paris, the prince's choice of Aphrodite is calamitous for his city, while Zeus is deceived by Hera.<sup>60</sup>

While the motifs associated with Aeneas, Paris, and other Trojans do not map perfectly onto the Sumerian examples, they do suggest something about the construction of 'Trojaness' in the Trojan War tradition. Rather than thinking in terms of direct translation, perhaps the best solution to this is to think in terms of a constellation of Near Eastern themes that were, somehow, absorbed into early Greek poetry and became associated specifically with the Trojans.<sup>61</sup> It is remarkable that these disparate but interconnected themes are very rarely attached to Greek heroes, but instead are shared across a number of major and minor Trojan characters. Perhaps it makes more sense to see the Venn diagram of interlinking themes, of dangerous seduction, of shepherding, and of Mt. Ida, as part of an amorphous oral tradition in which each informs the other. The Near Eastern associations of the Troad may help to explain why these themes became particularly associated with and usable in a Trojan context.

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<sup>59</sup> For example, Jacobsen (1987): 'Hymn to Inanna as Warrior, Star, and Bride', 122-4; 'Dumuzi's Wedding', 19-23.

<sup>60</sup> The latter also makes topographical reference to Mt. Ida (*Il.* 14.292-293).

<sup>61</sup> On this point it is pertinent to bring up Euphorbus, a Trojan warrior and an *ad hoc* invention of the poet whom I will discuss in more detail later in the chapter. He is the subject of an article by Mühlestein (1987), the main idea of which I disagree with, as discussed later. However, Mühlestein, 80, does mention the etymology of the name Euphorbus, and comments that it is an appropriate name for a shepherd. It is possible that the broad association of the Trojans with shepherding meant that, when the poet was thinking of a suitable Trojan name, the name 'Euphorbus' seemed a fitting one.

## **Episode 2: Aeneas escapes from Troy**

While Paris and Hector are killed during the course of the Trojan War, tradition guarantees that Aeneas survives and goes on to establish his own dynasty. This destiny was well-known to Homer, as evidenced by the speech of Poseidon. In Book 20, as Aeneas is on the point of being vanquished by Achilles, the god declares that it is ‘fated for him to escape’ (μόριμον δέ οἱ ἔστ’ ἀλέασθαι, 302) and for him to ‘rule the Trojans, together with the children of his children’ (νῦν δὲ δὴ Αἰνεΐαιο βίη Τρώεσσιν ἀνάξει/ καὶ παίδων παῖδες, τοί κεν μετόπισθε γένωνται, 307-8). Aeneas’ survival and his escape from Troy was mythologized and expanded upon throughout antiquity, reaching a zenith in Virgil’s *Aeneid*. The underlying substance of this tradition was that Aeneas escaped from Troy and travelled to Italy, where he founded a new dynasty that would become the Roman people. However, what we find in Proclus is very different. In his summary of the *Iliou persis*, Proclus links the departure to the death of Laocoon, writing:

δύο δράκοντες ἐπιφανέντες τόν τε Λαοκόωντα καὶ τὸν ἕτερον τῶν παίδων διαφθείρουσιν. ἐπὶ δὲ τῷ τέρατι δυσφορήσαντες οἱ περὶ τὸν Αἰνεΐαν ὑπεξῆλθον εἰς τὴν Ἰδην.

*Iliou persis* arg.7-9

This is the last we hear of Aeneas in Proclus’ Epic Cycle, and therefore it appears that, to his knowledge, Aeneas got no further than the Troad and never journeyed to Italy. This corresponds to the accounts of Aeneas in both the *Iliad* (see above) and the *Homeric Hymn to Aphrodite*. In the latter, Aphrodite tells Anchises:

σοὶ δ' ἔσται φίλος υἱός, ὃς ἐν Τρώεσσιν ἀνάξει  
καὶ παῖδες παίδεσσι διαμπερὲς ἐκγεγάοντες·  
τῷ δὲ καὶ Αἰνεΐας ὄνομ' ἔσσεται, οὐνεκα μ' αἰνὸν  
ἔσχεν ἄχος, ἔνεκα βροτοῦ ἀνέρος ἔμπεσον εὐνή

*Homeric Hymn to Aphrodite, 196-199*<sup>62</sup>

On the face of it, it would appear that in early Greek poetry Aeneas was firmly understood to have remained in Troy and ruled there.<sup>63</sup> Consequently, Aeneas' famous voyage to Italy should be understood as a subsequent development, which diverted from the epic narrative and instead corresponded with the rising importance of Italy and Rome in the classical and Hellenistic period. Ultimately, it was in the Augustan period that the founder Aeneas became a central figure in the self-image of the Romans.<sup>64</sup>

However, there are two sources that, if authentic, would suggest that the tradition of Aeneas leaving Troy and journeying abroad may have been an early aspect of the Trojan tradition itself. The first claims to reflect the *Ilias parva*, and the second the archaic poet Stesichorus. I will ultimately argue that they are not authentic. Both have provoked much discussion, with some scholars believing them to be authentic parts of the early tradition. Therefore they merit detailed discussion.

The first source is Tzetzes, in his commentary on Lycophron. Here he provides us with a fragment purported to be from the *Ilias parva*:

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<sup>62</sup> For a review on the scholarship of the 'Aeineidai' link to the *Hymn*, see Faulkner (2008) 4-18.

<sup>63</sup> There were several efforts by later commentators in the ancient world to explain how the prophecy of Poseidon could be interpreted to allow Aeneas to also be the founder of Rome, for which see Erskine (2001) 100-101.

<sup>64</sup> For example, see Erskine (2001) 26, 30, 147-149, 255; Spawforth (2012) 202-204; Levick (2013) 218, 228.

αὐτὰρ Ἀχιλλῆος μεγαθύμου φαίδιμος υἱός  
Ἴκτορέην ἄλοχον κάταγεν κοίλας ἐπὶ νῆας,  
παῖδα δ' ἑλὼν ἐκ κόλπου ἐϋπλοκάμοιο τιθήνης  
ῥῖψε ποδὸς τεταγὼν ἀπὸ πύργου, τὸν δὲ πεσόντα  
ἔλλαβε πορφύρεος θάνατος καὶ μοῖρα κραταιή  
...  
ἐκ δ' ἔλετ' Ἀνδρομάχην, ἠϋζωνον παράκοιτιν  
Ἴκτορος, ἣν τέ οἱ αὐτῶι ἀριστῆες Παναχαιῶν  
δῶκαν ἔχειν ἐπίηρον ἀμειβόμενοι γέρας ἀνδρί·  
αὐτόν τ' Ἀγκίσαιο κλυτὸν γόνον ἵπποδάμοιο  
Αἰνείαν ἐν νηυσὶν ἐβήσατο ποντοπόροισιν  
ἐκ πάντων Δαναῶν ἀγέμεν γέρας ἕξοχον ἄλλων.

Tzetz. in Lyc.1268 (cf.1232) = *Ilias parva* fr.29-30 W

Thus, according to Tzetzes, Lesches had Aeneas and Andromache captured by Neoptolemus and taken away by him to Pharsalia.

The second source is the Roman era *Tabula Iliaca Capitolina*. Alongside the *Iliad* and the *Aethiopsis*, the tablet also claims to depict the '*Iliou persis* according to Stesichorus'. Among other things, it depicts a group of people boarding a boat, above which is an inscription telling us that this is Aeneas receiving 'ΤΑ ΙΕΡΑ' and setting out 'ΕΙΣ ΤΗΝ ΕΣΠΕΡΙΑΝ'.

If both of these sources were reliable, they would tell us that the tradition of Aeneas leaving Troy and, in the case of Stesichorus, reaching Italy, was at least as early as the first half of the 6<sup>th</sup> century, and that Aeneas' departure from Troy was recorded as part of the Epic Cycle. However, there is good reason to regard both with suspicion. In the case of the fragment from the *Ilias parva*, there are strong grounds to believe that lines 6-11 are by Simias of Rhodes, the Hellenistic Greek poet and grammarian.<sup>65</sup> These lines are also found in a scholion to Euripides' *Andromache* (line 14 = 14 II 250, 17 Schwartz = fr.21 (V) Bernabé) where they are attributed to Simias. Canavero has shown that although the language and style of the fragment is archaizing, the content of these lines and those quotes at Tzetz.1232 are more akin to that of 'un *aition* erudito'. This interest in aetiology is more familiar from the Hellenistic period, supporting the attribution of these lines to Simias.<sup>66</sup>

As for the *Tabula Iliaca Capitolina*, I am unconvinced that it can be taken as a verbatim 'quotation' of Stesichorus' *Iliou persis*.<sup>67</sup> There is much to suggest that the sculptor has taken artistic licences in his depiction. For example, Finglass claims that the illustrations of the *Aethiopsis* and the *Ilias parva* which border the tablet 'correspond exactly to what is known of these poems' and therefore argues that, 'Since the sculptor took the trouble to get these obscure poems right, why would he not do the same with Stesichorus?'<sup>68</sup> However, this is not entirely true; the *Aethiopsis* sequence features a scene of Ajax and Achilles attacking Troy, which is absent from the Epic Cycle. More significantly, as Horsfall has argued, the *Tabula Iliaca Capitolina* as a whole is clearly influenced by the prominence of the Virgilian Aeneas

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<sup>65</sup> Pace Kelly (2015) 335, the reference to Neoptolemus' γέρας ἐσθλὸν at *Od.*11.534 does not have to refer to either Andromache or Aeneas, and it seems more likely to me that μοῖραν καὶ γέρας ἐσθλὸν ἔχων is a hendiadys referring generically to the prizes bestowed on Neoptolemus.

<sup>66</sup> Canavero (2002) 152-8; cf. Horsfall (1979) 374; Gantz (1996) 653, 688; West (2013) 172.

<sup>67</sup> Finglass (2014) *passim*, argues otherwise. Erskine (2001) 149: 'Whether this is a genuine echo of Stesichorus or a rather banal Augustan addition remains an insoluble problem.' Cf. Davies & Finglass (2014) 428-436.

<sup>68</sup> Finglass (2014) 30-31.

legend in Imperial Rome.<sup>69</sup> In the dead centre of the tablet we see Aeneas emerging from the city, led by Hermes, with his son Ascanius and carrying his father Anchises on his back. The composition is a clear adaptation of the prototype from the Augustan forum.<sup>70</sup> Therefore, it does not seem extraordinary to me that the departure of Aeneas as depicted in the bottom right hand corner of the main composition should be inspired by the *Aeneid*, rather than Stesichorus. This is supported by the depiction of Aeneas with τὰ ἱερά, a mark of his piety that is less relevant to archaic epic (as I will argue below). In sum, neither the ‘*Ilias parva*’ fragment nor the *Tabula Iliaca Capitolina* provide insights into the shape of Aeneas’ story in early oral epic. They instead represent colonial narratives that have been shaped by later traditions regarding the descendants of Aeneas and the journey of Aeneas to the west.

Later narratives not only muddy our knowledge of Aeneas’ fate in early epic, but also our perception of how and why his survival came about. In many later accounts, Aeneas’ survival is explained through his piety. Either during or after the destruction of Troy, Aeneas is allowed to leave the city in safety by the Greeks on account of his εὐσέβεια (Xen.*Kyn.*1.15; Ap.*Ep.*5.21; Lyc.1226-80; Dio.Sic.7.4). This piety is underlined and exaggerated by the entrustment to him of the household gods of the Trojans and his rescue of his father.<sup>71</sup>

Horsfall is confident that Aeneas’ defining characteristic from an early period was as the εὐσεβέστατος warrior.<sup>72</sup> However, I would argue that it is a different aspect to his character that is emphasised in the *Iliad*. Throughout the poem, there are indications of an ongoing animosity between Aeneas and his uncle Priam. For example, in Book 13, the narrator comments that Aeneas resented Priam (αἰεὶ γὰρ Πριάμῳ ἐπεμήνιε δίῳ, *Il.*13.460) because,

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<sup>69</sup> Horsfall (1979) 375-376; Levick (2013) 218; Squire (2016) 155-6.

<sup>70</sup> Squire (2016) 151.

<sup>71</sup> For Aeneas as a symbol of *pietas* in Virgil, see Wiseman (2002) 255-256; Marinčić (2002); Heyworth and Morwood (2017) 41-42.

<sup>72</sup> Horsfall (1979) 385.

despite his bravery, he never paid him any honour (οὐνεκ' ἄρ' ἐσθλὸν ἔοντα μετ' ἀνδράσιν οὐ τι τίεσκεν, *Il.*13.461). This tension is also implied by the encounter between Aeneas and one of the sons of Priam, 'Lycaon' (really Apollo in disguise). In an effort to rouse Aeneas to fight, Lycaon taunts him by asking what happened to the ἀπειλαί, when he used to declare among the princes of Troy over a drink (ἄς Τρώων βασιλεῦσιν ὑπίσχεο οἰνοποτάζων) that he would do battle, man against man, with Achilles (Πηλεΐδew Ἀχιλλῆος ἐναντίβιον πολεμίζειν, *Il.*20.83-5). In this case, Apollo is manipulating Aeneas' fraught status among the royal house of Priam and his desire to prove himself as their equal.

The poor relationship between Aeneas and Priam also results in accusations that Aeneas wishes to supplant Priam. In their encounter in Book 20, Achilles mocks Aeneas, imputing to him a vain ambition for sovereignty:

‘Αἰνεΐα, τί σὺ τόσσον ὀμίλου πολλὸν ἐπελθὼν  
ἔστης; ἦ σέ γε θυμὸς ἐμοὶ μαχέσασθαι ἀνώγει  
ἐλπόμενον Τρώεσσιν ἀνάξειν ἵπποδάμοισι  
τιμῆς τῆς Πριάμου; ἀτὰρ εἴ κεν ἔμ' ἐξεναρίζης,  
οὐ τοι τοῦνεκά γε Πρίαμος γέρας ἐν χειρὶ θήσει·  
εἰσὶν γάρ οἱ παῖδες, ὃ δ' ἔμπεδος οὐδ' ἀεσίφρων.

*Il.*20.178-183

It is this motivation that I believe we should focus on when we discuss Aeneas' role in the Epic Cycle. It seems that Homer was drawing on a tradition that contrasted Aeneas with the Priamids. Presumably this contrast was borne out of the fact that, while the house of Priam would fall and his sons Paris and Hector would be killed, Aeneas would survive and go on to

have a flourishing dynasty. But in Homer we see a more antagonistic edge to this dynamic than is visible in later traditions. By the time of Virgil, the focus of the narrative is on Aeneas' survival, which is still explained as a consequence of fate,<sup>73</sup> but also as a consequence of his piety and temperateness,<sup>74</sup> in contrast with the excess of Paris. However, in Homer we see hints that the character of Aeneas himself was portrayed in a more ambivalent light.

Perhaps this ambivalent character can explain the account of Aeneas' departure from Troy in Proclus. After the unnerving death of Laocoon and his sons, it is reported that:

ἐπὶ δὲ τῷι τέρατι δυσφορήσαντες οἱ περὶ τὸν Αἰνεΐαν ὑπεξῆλθον εἰς τὴν Ἰδην.

*Iliou persis* arg.9

It is not clear how exactly this came about. Did Aeneas try, and fail, to convince the rest of the Trojans of the danger? Or did he quickly flee from the city with his entourage? Proclus does not tell us. However, what we can say is that Aeneas essentially abandons Troy when he senses that danger is afoot, and there is no record elsewhere in the Epic Cycle of him returning to the city to fight and help to defend Troy. This is a very different presentation of the character than the pious survivor of later traditions. On the other hand, we might note that Aeneas flees to Mt. Ida, a detail which would tie his character once again into the network of connections, including shepherding, that bind him together with Paris and other Trojans in the tradition.

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<sup>73</sup> For example, the prophecy on Delos at A.3.154-171.

<sup>74</sup> For example, A.2.707-20.

In fact, the *Iliou persis* account would be unique if not for our knowledge of Sophocles' *Laocoon*.<sup>75</sup> A fragment from a messenger speech describes Aeneas' departure from Troy (*TrGF* 4 373= *Dion.Hal.*1.48.2). The contextual information supplied by Dionysius informs us that, as in the *Iliou persis*, Aeneas departed the city at the time of the Laocoon attack. Together with the *Iliou persis* example, these are the only accounts that portray Aeneas as departing prior to the destruction of the city before suffering any peril himself. This is significant when taken together with the suggestions in the *Iliad* of an antagonism between Aeneas and the Priamids. It could be suggested that the later emphasis on the piety of Aeneas overshadowed an alternative and earlier tradition, reflected in both Homer and the Epic Cycle, in which the tension between dynasties and their individuals was far more pronounced and central to the character of Aeneas.

### **Episode 3: Hector kills Protesilaus**

Hector is only mentioned once in the Epic Cycle tradition, but this single reference has been used to bolster claims both for and against the Trojan hero's pre-Homeric existence. In his summary of the *Cypria*, Proclus describes the moment when the Greeks first disembark at Troy:

ἔπειτα ἀποβαίνοντας αὐτοὺς εἰς Ἴλιον εἴργουσιν οἱ Τρῶες, καὶ θνήσκει Πρωτεσίλαος ὑφ' Ἑκτορος.

*Cypria* arg.53-54

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<sup>75</sup> One of several tragedies, including *Locrian Ajax*, *The Sons of Antenor*, and *Sinon*, that centred on the Fall of Troy and apparently drew on material from the *Iliou persis*; see Wright (2019) 99.

The death of Protesilaus is also referenced in the *Iliad*. As in the *Cypria*, he is presented as the first Greek to die on Trojan soil:

οἱ δ' εἶχον Φυλάκην καὶ Πύρασον ἀνθεμόεντα  
Δήμητρος τέμενος, Ἴτωνά τε μητέρα μήλων,  
ἀγγιγιάλον τ' Ἀντρῶνα ἰδὲ Πτελεὸν λεχεποίην,  
τῶν αὖ Πρωτεσίλαος ἀρήϊος ἡγεμόνευε  
ζῶδς ἐὼν τότε δ' ἤδη ἔχεν κάτα γαῖα μέλαινα.  
τοῦ δὲ καὶ ἀμφιδρυφῆς ἄλοχος Φυλάκη ἐλέλειπτο  
καὶ δόμος ἡμιτελής· τὸν δ' ἔκτανε Δάρδανος ἀνήρ  
νηὸς ἀποθρόσκοντα πολὺ πρότιστον Ἀχαιῶν.

*Iliad* 2.695-702

These two passages have formed the cornerstones of Homeric scholarship on the origins of Hector. The issues lies in the fact that Hector is not referred to by name here, but instead simply as a Δάρδανος ἀνήρ. This has encouraged the following line of reasoning. Homer did not know Hector as the killer of Protesilaus because Hector was an invention of the Homeric poet himself. In later poems, as exemplified by the *Cypria*, Hector has been retroactively cast in the place of the previously anonymous Δάρδανος ἀνήρ.<sup>76</sup> One of the most cited proponents of this view is Scheliha, who argued that Patroclus, Phoinix, and Hector were all Homeric inventions, or perhaps, in the case of Hector, had previously simply been one of Priam's many sons. Scheliha argued that the character of Hector was so unlike that of other warriors that he must be the creation of a sophisticated poet with a singular vision.<sup>77</sup> A surprising

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<sup>76</sup> The most recent proponent of this theory is West (2013) 114. See also Scott (1921) 231: 'The author of the *Cypria*, with the plot of the *Iliad* before him, could not see why so important a hero as Hector had no standing in tradition outside of Homer, and so created an exploit for him.'

<sup>77</sup> Scheliha (1943) 221.

exponent of the same view is Kullmann, who argues that Hector is an invention of the Homeric poet and that his silence on the identity of Protesilaus' killer proves that this was a post-Homeric detail.<sup>78</sup> Similarly Unitarian was the view of Scott, who believed that Homer had to dispense with Paris, the traditional leader of the Trojans, for 'moral reasons' and therefore created Hector, 'a hero with sufficient nobility of character to win sympathy for his cause.'<sup>79</sup>

However, stylistic arguments have also been used to argue that Hector must have existed in the pre-Homeric tradition. In a spirited counter-argument to Scott, Combellack argued that Hector was a part of the pre-Homeric tradition. Combellack objects to Scott on many points, but on the Protesilaus episode specifically he says:

'It seems unlikely that so striking an episode should have been treated in poetry with one of the two main actors anonymous. Why Homer gave him no name we can never hope to know. Here, as often, there is the possibility that there was no need to name him, because everyone knew who he was. Possibly the tradition was confused on this point and Homer did not choose to decide.'<sup>80</sup>

Various other scholars have argued along the same lines, reasoning that Hector is such a fully-realised character in the *Iliad* that he must be pre-Homeric<sup>81</sup> and that Homer must have consciously left him anonymous in the Protesilaus episode.<sup>82</sup> It is certainly true that he could have easily referred to Hector here - φαίδιμος Ἴκτωρ would be a metrically equivalent

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<sup>78</sup> Kullmann (1960) 182-5. Burgess (2001) 64 and n.56, points out that Kullmann's position is at odds with the rest of his thesis, and himself argues that the Book 2 reference is an allusion to Hector.

<sup>79</sup> Scott (1921) 226-239. See also Wade-Gery (1952) 36.

<sup>80</sup> Combellack (1944) 232.

<sup>81</sup> Fehling (1991) 13; Wathelet (1989) 136-139.

<sup>82</sup> Currie (2015) 292.

normative formula that could fill the same space after the bucolic diaresis in line 701.<sup>83</sup>

However, I think there is another compelling piece of evidence that suggests that the tradition of Hector killing Protesilaus was part of the pre-Homeric tradition. In Book 2, the killer of Protesilaus is referred to as a Δάρδανος ἀνήρ. The use of the adjective ‘Dardanian’ to refer to a Trojan is fairly common in the *Iliad*. However, the formula Δάρδανος ἀνήρ only appears on one other occasion. This is in Book 16, when it is used to describe Euphorbus, the first Trojan warrior to attack Patroclus:

ὄπιθεν δὲ μετάφρενον ὄξεϊ δουρὶ  
ᾧμων μεσσηγὺς σχεδόθεν βάλε Δάρδανος ἀνήρ  
Πανθοΐδης Εὐφορβος, ὃς ἠλικίην ἐκέκαστο  
ἔγχεϊ θ’ ἵπποσύνη τε πόδεσσί τε καρπαλίμοισι·  
καὶ γὰρ δὴ τότε φῶτας ἐείκοσι βῆσεν ἀφ’ ἵππων,  
πρῶτ’ ἐλθὼν σὺν ὄχεσφι, διδασκόμενος πολέμοιο·  
ὃς τοι πρῶτος ἐφῆκε βέλος, Πατρόκλεες ἵπευ,  
οὐδὲ δάμασσ’· ὃ μὲν αὖτις ἀνέδραμε, μίκτο δ’ ὀμίλῳ,  
ἐκ χροὸς ἀρπάξας δόρυ μείλινον, οὐδ’ ὑπέμεινε  
Πάτροκλον γυμνὸν περ ἐόντ’ ἐν δηϊοτήτι.

*Il.* 16.807-815

The similarities between lines 2.701 and 16.808 are striking. Not only does the phrase Δάρδανος ἀνήρ appear only in these two places in the poem, but in each instance the adjective and noun is placed at the end of the line and is preceded by a 3<sup>rd</sup> person singular

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<sup>83</sup> It is even cited as an alternative in the apparatus criticus of West’s Teubner *ad loc.* (Demetrius of Scepsis, fr.75 Gaede).

aorist verb of killing (ἔκτανε /βάλε).<sup>84</sup> I believe that what is happening here in Book 16 is a Homeric subversion of expectations and strong evidence that Hector was a part of the pre-Homeric tradition.<sup>85</sup> In the lead up to this Patroclus' death has been clearly signposted by the poet: Achilles warns him not to take the battle to Troy, where he will certainly be killed (*Il.* 16.87-100), Zeus explicitly does not grant Achilles' prayer for Patroclus' safe return (*Il.* 16.252), and Patroclus becomes determined to kill Hector (*Il.* 16.382-383). All this clearly confirms to the audience that Patroclus will die at the hands of Hector. This does indeed come to pass. However, first Patroclus is set upon by Euphorbus and other Trojan warriors. As the *BK* comments, Euphorbus acts as a 'proxy' for Hector, anticipating Hector's decisive role in Patroclus' death and being killed by Menelaus (*Il.* 17.1-60).<sup>86</sup> Allan has further argued that Euphorbus is introduced by the poet here to undercut Hector's honour and make his a 'tarnished victory'.<sup>87</sup> It is clear that the Homeric poet has introduced Euphorbus to act as a foil to Hector and to modify the audience's perception of Hector's victory over Patroclus, which is also aided substantially by Apollo (*Il.* 16.786-804). Therefore, I believe that the poet introduces Euphorbus first as a Δάρδανος ἀνὴρ in a purposeful sleight of hand. It reminds the audience of the death of Protesilaus in Book 2, at which point Hector was referred to as a Δάρδανος ἀνὴρ, and therefore encourages us to assume that here too it will be Hector who takes advantage of Apollo's disabling blow to attack and kill Patroclus. However, it is instead the otherwise unknown Euphorbus who seizes the opportunity and thus enjoys his own, very brief *aristeia*.

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<sup>84</sup> See Brügger (2016) *ad* 806b-807. Both of these lines fall outside the scope of Visser's structural studies on Homeric killing-verses, which focus on single hexameters with the syntactic constituents of 'subject-predicate-object', see Visser (1987) and Visser (1988). Neither appears in the index of Visser's 1987 dissertation.

<sup>85</sup> Mühlestein (1987) has argued, unconvincingly, that Euphorbus functioned as a doublet for Paris. This was refuted by Nickel (2002), who in turn argued that Euphorbus was a doublet for Achilles. Finally, Allan (2005) 1-4, has rejected both of these Neoanalytical arguments, stating that, 'The persistent interpretation of the scene in terms of doublets obscures the agency and motivation of the characters involved.'

<sup>86</sup> Brügger (2016) *ad* 806b-815.

<sup>87</sup> Allan (2005) 5, 6-11.

Naturally, this argument is open to criticism, of which the two most pertinent are that i) such intertextual links are not possible in an orally-derived poem and ii) even if they were, this link does not prove that Hector's killing of Protesilaus was known to the Homeric poet. Although both are fair criticisms, I think they can be answered. As stated above, the similarities between the phrases are striking, as well as the use of the adjective Δάρδανος, which is relatively rare in the singular. The mental linking of Patroclus and Protesilaus is also encouraged by the earlier detail at the start of Patroclus' attack that his opening spear cast was beside the ship of Protesilaus (*Il.*16.286). Furthermore, such connections do not need to be understood as active allusions *per se*, but instead a result of the Homeric poet's method of oral composition which creates conceptual links between similar episodes across the poem.<sup>88</sup> In turn, in Book 2, the indirect reference to the Δάρδανος ἀνὴρ as the killer of Protesilaus is striking in its anonymity. It seems more likely to me that it is playing on the audience's knowledge of who Protesilaus' killer actually was, rather than acting as a place-holder for an unknown Trojan. If the latter were the case, it would be more 'Homeric' for the poet to insert an *ad hoc* invented character, as he does at other points during the poem, including most pertinently, Euphorbus himself. Furthermore, we can understand the poet's reluctance to name Hector during the Catalogue of Ships. At this point, no Trojan has yet been introduced in person in the poem. Although Hector has been mentioned in passing already,<sup>89</sup> the poet perhaps did not want to introduce him as the killer of Protesilaus during the Greek Catalogue of Ships, but instead waits until the narrative viewpoint finally shifts over to Troy at the end of Book 2 (*Il.*2.786-877) for Hector to take centre-stage as the leader of the Trojans (*Il.*2.816-818).<sup>90</sup> Therefore, the Homeric poet artfully opens up and embellishes the death of Patroclus,

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<sup>88</sup> Mulder (1910) 814, also references this shared phraseology. However, he does not comment on the significance other than to say that it may go back to an 'altertümliche Version' and that the namelessness in Book 16 reflects the unworthiness of Euphorbus.

<sup>89</sup> *Il.*1.242; 2.416.

<sup>90</sup> Creating in turn a strict delineation between the Greek catalogues and the Trojan catalogues in Book 2.

increasing the pathos of that character's death. In turn, the poet also gives us evidence to strongly suggest that Hector's status as the killer of Protesilaus, and possibly also of Patroclus, was a well-established part of the Trojan war tradition.<sup>91</sup>

If, as I believe, Hector was a part of the pre-Homeric tradition, we must square this with the Neoanalytical reading of Hector as a doublet of Memnon. The similarity in dynamic between the trifecta of Antilochus, Memnon, and Achilles in the *Aethiopsis* (or *Memnonis*) and Patroclus, Hector, and Achilles in the *Iliad* has interested Neoanalytical scholarship, which has as its touchstone the relationship between the *Aethiopsis* and the *Iliad*.<sup>92</sup> This has prompted comparisons between Memnon and Hector in a bid to establish which character is 'primary' and which 'secondary'. This question has implications not only for the character of Hector, but also for the Cyclic character of Memnon. However, the basic problem with this question is that in order to establish primacy we have to rely on subjective judgements about which character is more significant and important.<sup>93</sup> For example, Reinhardt has argued that Achilles' desire to take revenge on Hector is more well-motivated and constructed and more complicated than his desire to take revenge on Memnon, thus showing that the *Memnonis* episode is secondary.<sup>94</sup> However, I would argue that we simply cannot make this judgement. Not only will such arguments always be mired in subjectivity, but the paucity of material on the side of the *Aethiopsis* means that we can never make a fair comparison between Hector and Memnon.<sup>95</sup> Instead, it is more productive to look at this question from an oralist standpoint that sees both Memnon and Hector are part of the same fluid oral tradition.<sup>96</sup>

Rather than focusing on the differences between the two characters, it is more illuminating to

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<sup>91</sup> See also Burgess (2001) 64-70, for other possible pre-Homeric traditions involving Hector.

<sup>92</sup> See especially Kullmann (1981) 8-9. See the Introduction for more on Neoanalysis.

<sup>93</sup> For arguments on both sides, see Willcock (1983) 483-484.

<sup>94</sup> Reinhardt (1961) 353-362.

<sup>95</sup> A similar point is made by Davies (2016) 3-24.

<sup>96</sup> See, for example, Schein (1984) 27-28.

focus on the similarities. The duels between Achilles and Hector and Achilles and Memnon are linked by recurring character-types. In each case, a ‘new’ warrior (Memnon in the *Aethiopis*, Achilles in the *Iliad*) is introduced into the fighting and removes the most powerful warrior on the battlefield, opening on to another stage of the battle.<sup>97</sup> This formulation is an expansion of Fenik’s motif of the ‘late-coming ally’, which for him is represented by Penthesileia, Memnon, Eurypylus, and Rhesus.<sup>98</sup> To be added to this group is the duel between Paris and Philoctetes in the *Ilias parva*, wherein Philoctetes comes from Lesbos, kills Paris and thus leaves Troy open to defeat. In the above cases, the ‘new’ warrior is imported from abroad, but this is not always necessarily the case.<sup>99</sup> I would argue that Achilles’ storyline in the *Iliad* also belongs to this character-type; his absence from battle for the majority of the poem culminates in his reintroduction onto the field and his killing of Hector. We could also perhaps add to the mix the encounter between Paris and Achilles, although Paris is not an ‘imported warrior’ in a strict sense.

These duels modulate the action of the Trojan war and, crucially, allow the action to develop and move on to the next stage of the narrative.<sup>100</sup> Both Paris and Hector are slotted into this ‘formula’, and both their victories and their deaths are integral to the general flow of the Trojan War narrative. Therefore, rather than seeing one character as a copy of another, we

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<sup>97</sup> A similar view has been put forward by Sammons (2017) 163-176, in his discussion of Cyclic *aristeiai*. In his opinion, the four *aristeiai* in the Cycle are those of Telephus, Penthesileia, Memnon, and Eurypylus. Sammons is more interested in the way in which Iliadic *aristeiai* differ from their Cyclic counterparts. Although these differences are important, I think that Sammons ignores examples of other *aristeiai* from both the *Iliad* and the Cycle in order to heighten the distinction between the two.

<sup>98</sup> Fenik (1964) 8-10. Fenik also includes the minor Iliadic characters Ascanius and Asteropaius (*Il.*13.792-794; 21.155-156).

<sup>99</sup> Sammons (2017) 166-167, points out that the Cyclic *aristeuon* is often a Trojan ally, whereas in Homer they are mostly Achaean. However, his selection may be too narrow, see note above.

<sup>100</sup> Sammons (2017) 170: ‘In the Cyclic epics, by contrast, the Achaeans are perpetual winners. Hence the *aristeia* is used to create a suspenseful digression in which the Achaeans are *almost* defeated until a great hero stops the enemy champion.’

can instead suggest that, in the case of Hector, his death at the hands of Achilles was an integral component of the framework of the Epic Cycle.

## **Conclusion**

This chapter has examined the way in which the three main Trojan princes, Paris, Aeneas, and Hector, function within the Epic Cycle. This discussion has centred around three episodes from Proclus' summary, and I hope to have shown how these episodes could plausibly reflect the pre-Homeric appearance of these characters. The evidence from the Cycle suggests that all three were sharply distinguished from an early point in the Trojan War tradition, and that all three played important roles in the tradition, if not roles that were identical with those in Homer and later literature. In particular, it would seem that Paris and Aeneas were significant characters in the oral tradition, and that in some respects we must discard later traditions about these characters in our search for their Cyclic portrayals. In the case of Hector, evidence from the Cycle has been read in conjunction with that from the *Iliad* to argue that his status as the killer of Protesilaus was an established fact in the pre-Homeric period. In a more general sense, this chapter has demonstrated that the Trojan characters of the Epic Cycle were as individualised and sketched out as their Greek counterparts, as well as equally integral to the movement of the narrative and the unfolding of the events of the Trojan War.

## 9. Four Cyclic characters in the *Iliad*

The characters of Protesilaus, Philoctetes, Polypoites and Leonteus appear in the Catalogue of Ships in Book 2 and the Funeral Games of Book 23. I argue that these brief references are allusions to those characters' larger roles in the Trojan War oral tradition, as reflected in the Epic Cycle of Proclus. I will first discuss the possible origins of the Catalogue and the Games, before moving on to explore the way in which the poet signposts the meaningfulness of these characters' inclusion in his poem, and its immediate poetic effect. Finally, I will look at what we can infer about the status of these characters in the Epic Cycle itself.

### The evidence

The two passages in question occur at the beginning and the end of the *Iliad*. The Catalogue of Ships in Book 2 and the Funeral Games of Book 23 are reflections of each other in both form and content. They involve a large group of different warriors; they are catalogic or quasi-catalogic;<sup>1</sup> and add little to the immediate continuation of the plot. Towards the end of the Catalogue, two absent warriors are conspicuous by their presence: Protesilaus (*Il.*2.695-709) and Philoctetes (*Il.*2.716-725). Both men are introduced as the leaders of their respective contingents, before the poet remarks that Protesilaus is dead and Philoctetes is suffering from a snake wound on Lemnos. In Proclus' summary of the Epic Cycle, Protesilaus is the first

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<sup>1</sup> The Funeral Games sequence is not a catalogue. But like the scenes of warrior deaths, it has a certain repetitive formula which sets it apart from other narrative scenes in the poem. This 'katalogartiger Charakter' has been noted by Bannert (1988) 147 and n.35 and Richardson (1993) 165.

Greek to disembark at Troy and is killed by Hector (*Cypria* arg.53-54). Philoctetes appears in two poems; in the *Cypria* he is bitten by a snake and left behind on Lemnos (arg.50-51) and in the *Ilias parva* he is brought back from Lemnos by Diomedes<sup>2</sup> and kills Paris (arg.7-9) and Admetus (Paus.10.27.1 = fr.23 W).

In the Funeral Games of Book 23, the penultimate competition is the throwing of an iron discus (*Il.*23.826-850). The competitors are Polypoites, Leonteus, Ajax and Epeius, with Polypoites crowned the victor. Polypoites and Leonteus reappear, according to Proclus,<sup>3</sup> at the beginning of the *Nostoi*, when they, along with Calchas, lead a group of Achaeans to Colophon (arg.7-9). Such being the case, they are effectively ranked alongside the Greek heroes Nestor, Diomedes, Menelaus, and Agamemnon, who are the other leaders of the various Greek contingents on their returns home. Throughout this chapter, the discussion of Polypoites and Leonteus will suffer from the relative lack of knowledge we have of the finer details of their *nostos*-narrative. Nevertheless, the very fact of their presence in Proclus' brief epitome suggests that their role and their *nostos* was significant enough to merit inclusion.

In both cases, we have characters who otherwise play a minor role in the rest of the *Iliad* but appear to have played significant roles in the Cycle. There is plenty that separates them: Philoctetes and Protesilaus had a strong post-Homeric presence, whereas Polypoites and Leonteus disappeared; Polypoites and Leonteus appear briefly elsewhere in the *Iliad*,<sup>4</sup> while Philoctetes and Protesilaus remain absent throughout as characters. However, both pairs can

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<sup>2</sup> And Odysseus, according to Apollodorus.

<sup>3</sup> Apollodorus adds Amphilocheus and Podalirius. On Apollodorus, see Chapter 2.

<sup>4</sup> In the Catalogue of Ships (*Il.*2.738-47) and in the Trojan attack on the Greek camp, where they frustrate Asios' attack (*Il.*12.127-194). However, this brief *aristeia* (of which there are many other examples in the *Iliad*), still does not justify their inclusion among the foremost warriors in the Games of Book 23. For more discussion, see below.

help reconstruct the interaction between Homer and the Cyclic tradition, and to illuminate the status and use of these specific characters in both traditions.

### **The aetiology of the Catalogue of Ships and the Funeral Games of Patroclus**

Before focusing on the specific characters, I will first discuss the Catalogue of Ships and the Funeral Games as a whole, to understand if these passages should be seen as different in some way from the rest of the poem, and if so, whether this helps to explain the presence here of these characters.

The Catalogue of Ships has often been seen as an unnatural presence in the *Iliad*, due to its distinctive length and surfeit of detail. Analytical scholars such as Schmid believed that the Catalogue had been amateurishly planted in the *Iliad* from another source.<sup>5</sup> It would be easy to dismiss Philoctetes and Protesilaus as the more egregious examples of this process.

However, such hardline Analytical arguments have gradually been abandoned as the school as a whole became devalued through the greater understanding of the unique compositional techniques of oral poetry. Nevertheless, it remains something of a *communis opinio* that the Catalogue must originate from a pre-Homeric context, most probably an Aulis-poem that listed Agamemnon's allies as they set out for Troy. Opinion is split between those who believe it was adopted into the *Iliad* by Homer and those who see it as a later addition.<sup>6</sup> In recent years, interest has moved away from the historical origins of the Catalogue to a focus on its poetic function within the *Iliad*.<sup>7</sup> Most notably, Visser has concluded that the existence of the Catalogue is explicable within the system of oral composition, and therefore can be

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<sup>5</sup> Schmid (1925) 67.

<sup>6</sup> For a detailed bibliography, see Sammons (2010) 137.

<sup>7</sup> See in particular Sammons (2010).

seen as an integral part of the *Iliad*.<sup>8</sup> The Catalogue's internal coherence and integration with the rest of the poem are essential evidence that, whatever its origins, the constituent elements, including Philoctetes and Protesilaus, can be interpreted as a conscious poetic choices.<sup>9</sup>

The Funeral Games have gone through a similar combination of analytical and anthropological readings, albeit to a lesser degree.<sup>10</sup> Analysts such as Wilamowitz, Munro, and Leaf and Bayfield believed that the Games were not part of a unified *Iliad*.<sup>11</sup> This interpretation is now virtually extinct, with scholars instead focusing on the transitional role the Games play between earlier events and those of Book 24. This is centred on Achilles, who undeniably displays here a different character from the stubborn and angry warrior we have previously seen. Achilles acts not as a competitor, but as a peace-maker, mediating various arguments between warriors before they erupt into another cycle of *menis*.<sup>12</sup> For Dunkle, these are scenes that display Achilles' growth in character and his newly found 'noble generosity'.<sup>13</sup> For Taplin, the games are the scene of Achilles' 'public reintegration'.<sup>14</sup> Although Achilles does display hitherto unseen reasonableness in his judgements, it is of course always easier to be reasonable and fair in situations in which you yourself have no stake.<sup>15</sup> That being said, the Games clearly fit into the wider ring composition that structures the entire *Iliad*. This is most obvious in the mirroring of the seminal quarrel of Achilles and

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<sup>8</sup> Visser (1997) 742-50.

<sup>9</sup> Kirk (1985) 169; Danek (2004).

<sup>10</sup> Anthropological and socio-historical interest has mainly centred on the ritual nature of the games, their reality in Homeric Greece, and the importance of *geras* in a pre-monetary economy. See especially Brown (2003).

<sup>11</sup> Wilamowitz-Moellendorff (1916) 68-79, sees both the Funeral Games and the meeting between Priam and Achilles as separate *Einzelgedichte* which have been interpolated into the composite *Iliad*; the Anglophone commentators, Monro (1897) and Leaf and Bayfield (1898), believed that the Games specifically did not belong to the rest of the poem.

<sup>12</sup> For example, between Oilean Ajax and Idomeneus (491-98), Antilochus and Eumelus (555-63) and Odysseus and Telamonian Ajax (735-39), and also by politely stopping Agamemnon from competing (890-4).

<sup>13</sup> Dunkle (1981) 14-18. See also Stawell (1909) 82-92.

<sup>14</sup> Taplin (1992) 259.

<sup>15</sup> Kelly (2017) 108, sums up this note of indeterminacy, saying that the Games display both Achilles' 'shortcomings, and his exceptionalism'.

Agamemnon in the minor quarrels between various warriors in Book 23. Bannert has described in detail other, smaller correspondences between Book 23 and the earliest books of the *Iliad*, concluding that its themes, 'können aus diesem Ganzen nicht herausgelöst werden'.<sup>16</sup> One of the most compelling demonstrations of the Games' cohesiveness with the rest of the poem is that it acts as an effective 'farewell' to most of the major Achaean warriors introduced in Book 2, before the more intimate meeting between Achilles and Priam in the last book.<sup>17</sup>

Both the Catalogue of Ships and the Funeral Games have been suspected of interpolation. This is because their tone, content, and form stand at a slight distance from that found elsewhere in the *Iliad*. However, on balance, they are both thoughtfully connected to the themes and the narrative of the rest of the poem. Therefore, we should feel justified in thinking now more specifically about the poetic meaning and significance of the appearances here of Philoctetes, Protesilaus, Polypoites and Leonteus.

### **Protesilaus, Philoctetes, Polypoites and Leonteus: Significance 'signposted'**

I will now demonstrate how the Homeric poet draws our attention to the significance of these characters. This significance is 'signposted' by the incongruity of their appearance and their position in the overall structure of the poem.

If modern scholarship on Homer tends to emphasise the skill and sensibility with which the poems have been composed, the question remains why Homer chose to include these specific

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<sup>16</sup> Bannert (1988) 148, 129-51.

<sup>17</sup> Richardson (1993) 165.

characters in these places. I will argue that the poem's interaction with characters more prominent in the Cyclic tradition at its beginning and end is one way in which it embraces the whole narrative of the war within its own chronological confines.

The Homeric use of prolepses and analepses is well-known.<sup>18</sup> Both the narrator and the characters reference events that lie beyond the scope of the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*. As Schein writes, 'Homer works the story of the entire war into the *Iliad*.'<sup>19</sup> However, not much attention has been paid to the proleptic and analeptic resonances of Philoctetes, Protesilaus, Polyxites and Leonteus. The *BK* does comment that Protesilaus and Philoctetes may be reflections of Patroclus and Achilles, respectively.<sup>20</sup> However, we can go further in analysing the poetic effect of the inclusion of these Cyclic characters here.

The potential of individual characters, and scenes, to allude to other parts of the Epic Cycle has been discussed in scholarship. Most notably, Anderson sees the Epic Cycle as a tightly-structured poetic construction, built around 'narrative correlations' that 'rupture the present and open corridors to the past and future'.<sup>21</sup> For example, he discusses the correlation and similarities between the first and second abductions of Helen. The conclusion that the Homeric poet is actively including the story of the entire Epic Cycle within the *Iliad* is one that I am also trying to argue with my examples. However, Anderson's evidence that the *Iliad* knew the myth of Helen's first abduction and rescue is shaky. It is based on the inclusion of Aethra as Helen's handmaiden at *Il.3.143-4* and the poet's reference to the death of her brothers at *Il.3.234-44*.<sup>22</sup> The problem is that these examples do not give enough proof that

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<sup>18</sup> Most notably by de Jong (1987) 81-90, (1997) 319-20. This terminology was introduced into Homeric studies by de Jong (1987) 81, but she herself acknowledges the earlier tradition of scholarship on this phenomenon.

<sup>19</sup> Schein (1997) 352.

<sup>20</sup> Brügger et al. (2010) 226, 233.

<sup>21</sup> Anderson (1997) 102.

<sup>22</sup> Anderson (1997) 97-9.

the Homeric poet is aware of this specific story. The search for active allusions within Homer is not a simple or uncontroversial one.

The examples of Philoctetes, Protesilaus, Polypoites and Leonteus offer much stronger support for being identified as ‘allusions’. This is because they fulfil two criteria that ‘signpost’ their allusive and poetic function: 1) their incongruity within the immediate context<sup>23</sup> and 2) their position relative to the text as a whole. Readers suspicious of the Neoanalytical method may object to the criterion of incongruity, reminiscent as it is of that methodology’s differentiation between ‘primary’ and ‘secondary’ iterations of motifs, which I myself critiqued in the Introduction. I think it can be defended here on two counts. The first is that the examples below are not strict, classical Neoanalytical examples of motif transference. The appearance of these characters is not ‘inconsistent’ in that it does not fit perfectly with the immediate context. Instead, I am arguing that their inclusion gains extra meaning when viewed within the context of the Trojan War as a whole. Secondly, their inclusion in the poem is active and meaningful. As I will argue below, these four characters are placed at the beginning and the end of the *Iliad* as references to the past and future of the Trojan War.

The incongruity of both scenes arises from the very presence of these specific characters. In the case of Philoctetes and Protesilaus, two absent characters are included in the list of those fighting in Troy. This is different from the dead Dioscuri in the *teichoskopia* of *Il.3.234-244*. The poetic motivation in that instance is clear, with the contrast between Helen’s ignorance and the narrator’s omniscience creating a moment of pathos that emphasises Helen’s isolation. In contrast, the Catalogue’s main purpose is to give a full list of the commanders in

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<sup>23</sup> See also Currie (2016) 34, 135, on the ‘interpretative gap’.

Troy. One might then argue that Philoctetes and Protesilaus' inclusion is merely a question of completeness. However, the Homeric poet points to the incongruity of their inclusion in the following ways. The first is that both have relatively elaborate biographical entries, suggesting that the poet wishes to draw attention to these specific characters. More significantly, Philoctetes and Protesilaus are not only listed almost consecutively, separated only by Eumelus, but also immediately follow the presentation of Achilles, the only warrior who can be understood as both present and absent at this moment in time, with the poet commenting that he κεῖτ' ἀγέων, τάχα δ' ἀνστήσεσθαι ἔμελλεν (*Il.*2.694).

Of course, the grouping of Achilles, Philoctetes, and Protesilaus can also be explained by the geographical locations of their kingdom, all of which are located near to each other in Thessaly in north-eastern mainland Greece. However, geographical considerations are not mutually exclusive with artistic choice, and the fact that all three are to be grouped in the same geographical area does not mean that the poet could not also have wished to underline the meaningful links between Achilles, Philoctetes, and Protesilaus. As Sammons has pointed out, viewed in the Catalogue's larger design, north-eastern Greece should have come at the beginning rather than the end; its position here is most obviously explained by the poet's desire to have Achilles at the climax of the Catalogue.<sup>24</sup> It could be argued that a degree of manipulation has been exercised in the ordering within the Thessalian contingents: the inclusion of Philoctetes after Achilles and Protesilaus (and admittedly also Eumelus) is not entirely harmonious with the wider sequence. Without him, after Protesilaus, the place names would travel around the Pelasgiatic Gulf, before jumping north and working back down the coast to Prothous in Magnesia.<sup>25</sup> As it is, the 24<sup>th</sup> (Philoctetes) and 29<sup>th</sup> (Prothous) contingent

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<sup>24</sup> Sammons (2010) 184-185. See also Danek (2004) 70: '...der Erzähler springt hier offenbar innerhalb des Gesamtgebietes hin und her auf der Landkarte.'

<sup>25</sup> Although on the huge uncertainty involved in geographically locating some of the Catalogue's place names, see Simpson & Lazenby (1970) 132-139.

overlap, both being in the area known as Magnesia.<sup>26</sup> Obviously, the obscurity surrounding the locations of many place names in the Catalogue means conjectures of this kind should not be given too much weight, but it may nevertheless indicate a level of narrative design to bring the three ‘absent’ leaders in closer proximity to each other.

In the case of Leonteus and Polypoites, incongruity arises from their status and visibility in contrast to the other warriors competing in the Games. When we count the number of references to the fifteen warriors who compete in the Games outside of this section, those with by far the lowest count are Eumelus (2), Epeius (0), Euryalus (2), Polypoites (4) and Leonteus (3).<sup>27</sup> All the others play significantly larger roles in the rest of the poem. Redfield discusses how the Games maintain a hierarchy: ‘These games are an arena in which honour can be won, but they are also a stage upon which honour is recognised.’ This is seen particularly in the spear throw between Agamemnon and Meriones which Achilles calls off (*Il.*23.884-97), because, ‘if the king of kings should be defeated, the result would be a social anomaly.’<sup>28</sup> The scene in which Nestor is given a prize despite not competing (*Il.*23.616-23) and Antilochos’ apology to his elder Menelaus (*Il.*23.586-611), further suggest that the status quo is being reasserted. Consequently, this means that the victory of the minor Polypoites over Telamonian Ajax is highly anomalous. This is the only example of a contest in which the hierarchy established by the poem is so obviously upended. The supreme warrior Diomedes wins the chariot race; the contests between Ajax and Odysseus and Ajax and Diomedes are declared ties; and Odysseus beats Oilean Ajax and Antilochus in the running race. The remarkableness of Polypoites’ victory is even signposted by the poet. At line 843,

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<sup>26</sup> Brügger *et al.* (2010) ad 756-759: ‘[The description of Prothous’ kingdom] trägt Spuren einer Redundanz.’ Simpson & Lazenby (1970) 151.

<sup>27</sup> The last two are also referenced twice as ‘Lapithai’. The majority of these other references occur during their *aristeia* in Book 12.

<sup>28</sup> Redfield (1975) 209-10. For a focus instead on Achilles’ continuing antagonism, see Allan & Cairns (2011) 133-7 and Kelly (2017).

the combination of the compound verb and the substantive ὑπέρβαλε...πάντων demonstrates that Ajax has far outperformed both Leonteus and Epeius. Yet the reversal of his fortunes is suddenly announced by the connective ἀλλ' ὅτε, and Πολυποίτης placed at the end of the next line (844) to maximise surprise.<sup>29</sup>

The pair are also conspicuously significant in their only other major appearance in the *Iliad*, when they repulse the Trojans from the walls of the Greek camp (12.127-194). Polypoites and Leonteus defend the gates of the camp, before killing a series of Trojan warriors in a brief *aristeia* (12.181-194).<sup>30</sup> It is difficult to know how much to read into this Book 12 scene regarding what pre-Homeric knowledge of these characters it may or may not betray. On the one hand, the fact that the pair enjoy this showcase of their fighting capabilities, embellished with a brief *aristeia* and several similes, might suggest that Polypoites and Leonteus were significant in the wider oral tradition. Thus, it could be argued that this succinct battle scene gives us an insight into the wider resonance of these characters in the oral tradition, suggesting that they were known as strong, defensive warriors in the Trojan War. On the other hand, it is also true that there are many other characters who play a minor role in the *Iliad* but who nonetheless enjoy a short span of focus. This does not necessarily obviate the previous argument, but it does lessen the ability of this one particular episode to tell us something unique about Polypoites and Leonteus specifically. Another possible point of significance is the pair being referred to collectively as 'Lapiths' (*Il.*12.128, 181). The myth of the Lapiths and the Centaurs is known in Homeric poetry, as indicated by Antinous' reference to it in the *Odyssey*, together with other references in the *Iliad* (*Od.*21.295-309; cf.

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<sup>29</sup> The simile comparing Polypoites to a herdsman (845), by fulfilling Achilles' opening statement that the iron of the discus would supply a shepherd for five years (831-5), confirms that Polypoites, and not Ajax, was the destined winner.

<sup>30</sup> The episode is termed an *aristeia* by Hainsworth (1993) 315, 329. However, it should be noted that it does not include all the typical elements of an *aristeia*, lacking as it does an arming scene; see the definition at Mueller (2011).

*Il.*1.263, 2.742-744). One might once again argue that the identification of Polypoites and Leonteus as Lapiths slots these characters into a much wider nexus of oral traditions, which included tales not only of the Trojan War, but also of conflicts such as that between the Centaurs and the Lapiths. However, this line of reasoning is stymied by the relative silence of the archaic period about the Lapiths. They do not play a large role in the Trojan War, and the tribe is not even named in the relevant entries in the Catalogue of Ships.<sup>31</sup> Furthermore, Polypoites and Leonteus are not figures from the famous battle itself, but instead Polypoites is the son of Perithous. Rather than significant characters in another song-tradition, the pair look more like minor satellites. In sum, the Book 12 passage hints tantalisingly at a possible wider resonance for these characters, but must be handled with caution.

If the significance of these four characters is signposted by their incongruity within their immediate context, it is also signposted by their position in the overall structure of the poem. Philoctetes and Protesilaus are referenced towards the beginning of the poem in a scene that looks directly backwards to the previous events of the Trojan War. Similarly, we will see that the Funeral Games of Book 23 appear in general to look forward to the events at the end of the Trojan War, and that Polypoites and Leonteus' appearance there points towards their larger roles in the story of the returns of the Achaeans. Thus, both sets of characters are positioned within the poem in a manner that sits well with their positions in the wider Epic Cycle. This fits into Kullmann's interpretation of the poem's structure. He argues that parallels to the beginning and end of the whole war are clustered in the opening and end books of the *Iliad*. Specifically, the Catalogue mirrors the muster at Aulis; the combat

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<sup>31</sup> As Hainsworth (1993) says *ad* 12.128, the tribe was an 'embarrassment to genealogists', with the family tree not fixed in the mythological tradition.

between Paris and Menelaus over Helen mirrors the Rape of Helen; the death of Patroclus mirrors the death of Achilles; and Priam's loss of Hector foreshadows the loss of his city.<sup>32</sup>

### **Poetic effect in the *Iliad***

These four characters do not function only as inert links to the past and future of the *Iliad*, but their presence in the Catalogue and the Games actively contributes to the poetic meaning of those episodes. In the case of Philoctetes and Protesilaus, their appearance in the Catalogue of Ships alludes to the events prior to the *Iliad*, namely the death of Protesilaus and the wounding of Philoctetes. Sammons refers to this as the Catalogue's 'double view', which collapses time and connects the ninth and first year of the war.<sup>33</sup> I would also add that the inclusion of these Cyclic characters is not simply a reference point, but also nuances our reading of the Catalogue. The Catalogue does not just give a list of the Greek commanders. It also depicts an army in disarray by interweaving two themes: a catalogue of the various deputations, and a narrative account of Achilles' wrath. The reference to Agamemnon as the ἄριστος general leading the largest contingent (580) implies stability and order. However, this is undercut by Achilles, who appears near the halfway point of the catalogue. Lines 684-94 introduce the Myrmidons and their leader in the standard form (τῶν αὖ πεντήκοντα νεῶν ἦν ἀρχὸς Ἀχιλλεύς, 685). However (ἀλλ') we then learn of Achilles' withdrawal, before seeing his return to battle foreshadowed (τάχα δ' ἀνστήσεσθαι ἔμελλεν, 694). The importance of Achilles' position is then reflected further by his appearance at the close of the Catalogue (769-779). The references to Philoctetes and Protesilaus in the midst of this Achilles-structure adds to the underlying themes of failure and disaster. That all three belong to the paradigm of

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<sup>32</sup> Kullmann (1992) 221-2.

<sup>33</sup> Sammons (2010) 142.

the ‘absent leader’ has been noticed<sup>34</sup> and Sammons discusses how they tie together the past, present and future of the Trojan War.<sup>35</sup> I think that this interpretation is essentially right.<sup>36</sup> Not only are Protesilaus and Philoctetes analogous to Achilles in that all three should be present and are not, but this similarity is underlined by the phrases πόθειόν γε μὲν ἀρχόν (of Protesilaus and Philoctetes’ men, 703, 726), and οἱ δ’ ἀρχόν ἀρηϊφίλον ποθειόντες (of the Myrmidons, 778).<sup>37</sup> These narrative and linguistic links establish both as a proto-Achilles, whose absence and replacement by lesser men mirrors the plot of the *Iliad*. It has also been suggested that Philoctetes’ inclusion hints at ‘ein gewisses Ungeschick der Griechen im Umgang mit ihren Anführern’,<sup>38</sup> a foible reflected in the story of Achilles. The tragic resonance of Protesilaus within the Trojan War tradition is further demonstrated during the Trojan assault on the Greek camp. At three points (*Il.* 13.681, 15.705, and 16.286), the ships of Protesilaus appear: during the Trojan attack, and at the beginning of Patroclus’ counterattack. There is a practical reason for this – because Protesilaus landed in Troy first, his ship is the furthest inland and therefore the first to be attacked.<sup>39</sup> However, the reminiscence of the doomed Protesilaus is also sudden and unnerving, and the tragic tone of his story brings an air of fatality to the battle. In the case of the Trojan attack, we sense that here Hector will repeat and enlarge upon his killing of the first Greek in Troy, while the juxtaposition of Protesilaus and Patroclus undercuts the triumphant beginning of Patroclus’ attack.<sup>40</sup>

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<sup>34</sup> Stanley (1993) 20; Danek (2004) 71; Sammons (2010) 187, 191-2.

<sup>35</sup> Sammons (2010) 188.

<sup>36</sup> The conceptual links between Philoctetes and Achilles may not be all bad: both represent important heroes who, although absent now, will return to battle in the future. This interpretation does not obviate the more negative linking theme of the ‘absent leader’, which is actually foregrounded by the additional presence of Protesilaus, a true absent leader who will never return.

<sup>37</sup> Note also that there are no other examples of ποθειόν with the object ἀρχόν outside of the Catalogue, although it appears four times here (cf. 709). See *Lfgre* s.v. ποθειόν B.2.

<sup>38</sup> Brügger et al. (2010) 233. *Il.* 2.724 is, together with *Il.* 12.3-35, the only external prolepsis in narrator speech in the poem: de Jong (1987) 88.

<sup>39</sup> Janko (1992) 132.

<sup>40</sup> Brügger et al. (2010) 226: ‘Es verweist auf den kämpferischen Überschwang einzelner Troia-Kämpfer, spez. auf Patroklos’.

Before moving on to their importance in the Funeral Games, it should be noted that Polypoites and Leonteus are also mentioned among the leaders of the various Greek contingents in the Catalogue of Ships. Visser has argued that Polypoites and Leonteus *inter alia* are included in the Catalogue as conspicuous leftovers of older poetic traditions, in their case the myth of the Centauromachy. In this way, according to Visser, the Catalogue functions to set up an agonistic relationship between the *Iliad* and the Trojan War myth and older song traditions.<sup>41</sup> I do not wish to dismiss this as a possible interpretation, especially considering that Visser's analysis takes in a far wider range of individuals mentioned in the Catalogue.<sup>42</sup> Nevertheless, I think attention should also be paid to the poetic significance of their appearance at the end of the *Iliad*, and how this interacts with the evidence of the Epic Cycle.

Like Philoctetes and Protesilaus in the Catalogue, the presence of Polypoites and Leonteus helps to shape our reading of the Funeral Games and furthers the impression that the Games look forwards to the end of the war. We know from the *Odyssey* and other sources that the victory of the Greeks and their departure from Troy was marked by disaster and conflict.<sup>43</sup> As already mentioned, the Funeral Games of Book 23 appear to foreshadow these later, disastrous events to some degree. Other, more familiar Iliadic characters also presage here their later fate. Kullmann suggested that the relatively friendly wrestling match between Ajax and Odysseus (700-739) foreshadows their much less friendly quarrel over the arms of Achilles.<sup>44</sup> Similarly, Athene's treatment of Oilean Ajax in the foot race (774) may

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<sup>41</sup> Visser (1997) 17, 718-720, 749.

<sup>42</sup> For the full list, see Visser (1997) 720 n.66.

<sup>43</sup> As well as the specific episodes listed below, there is also a general *Sturm und Drang* among the Achaeans: see *Nostoi* arg.3-13, and especially *Od.*3.137-152.

<sup>44</sup> Kullmann (1960) 81-2, 335.

foreshadow her punishment of him after he rapes Cassandra (*Iliou persis* arg.15-20; cf. *Od.*4.502-503).<sup>45</sup> Thus, most of these examples look forward to the point of the Greek departure from Troy.<sup>46</sup> It would appear that in constructing his last large-scale set piece, the Homeric poet incorporated references to the next occasion when the whole army will be together in a non-combat situation. Unlike the harmony of the Games, we know from Proclus and the *Odyssey* that the Departure will be characterised by internal conflict and division. I believe that Polypoites and Leonteus' presence in the Games is part of this wider pattern of using the Games as a space for the poet to foreshadow the later events of the war.

Admittedly, Polypoites and Leonteus' future does not have the same tragic depth as that of an Ajax or an Agamemnon. However, they do appear as important characters in the *nostoi* narratives at the end of the Trojan War, where they are conspicuous as the leaders of one of the splinter groups who depart from Troy. Unfortunately, any further assessment of the poetic resonance of their presence in the Funeral Games is stymied by the lack of detail in Proclus' summary of the *Nostoi*. Nevertheless, their remarkable presence in the Funeral Games suggests that the Iliadic poet consciously included them in this allusive narrative space in order to foreshadow their future in the Trojan War story. Taken together with the allusive appearances of Ajax and others, we see that prolepsis here functions not merely to hint at the future, but also to modify the present. The happiness and comradeship that characterises the Funeral Games is undercut by the knowledge of its ephemerality. This reversal is mirrored in Achilles, whose stately behaviour in Book 23 will be partly undone by his more fraught encounter with Priam in Book 24.

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<sup>45</sup> Richardson (1993) 249.

<sup>46</sup> Epeius, who is introduced here for the first time, but plays a larger role in the future of the narrative, should be seen in the same light. We know from the *Odyssey* (*Od.*8.493, 11.523) and Proclus (*Ilias parva* arg.14) that Epeius will build the Trojan Horse. In Book 23, this event is not alluded to directly, but it is significant that he is characterised by his lack of skill in battle (ἢ οὐχ ἄλις ὄρτι μάχης ἐπιδύομαι, 670) and his suggestion that each man is suited to a particular skill (οὐδ' ἄρα πως ἦν/ ἐν πάντεσσ' ἔργοισι δαήμονα φῶτα γενέσθαι, 670-1).

## The significance for our understanding of the Epic Cycle

I have argued that in the Catalogue and the Games, Homer includes the ‘Cyclic’ characters of Philoctetes, Protesilaus, Polypoites and Leonteus in order to allude to the past and future of the Trojan War story and reach outside of the timeframe of the *Iliad*. From a Homer-centric perspective, this supports the common view of both Neoanalysts and Oralists that Homer was working within a Cyclic tradition. The next question is how in turn the recognition of the Cyclic significance of these characters can contribute to our understanding of the oral tradition of the Trojan War.

At a very basic level, we can assume that the accounts of Philoctetes and Protesilaus represent the generally-accepted outline of these characters’ storylines at the time of the *Iliad*’s composition, if we consider that oral poetry on the whole is conservative. In turn, this gives us confidence that, for these two characters at least, the Proclean summaries are a fairly accurate reflection of the oral, pre-Homeric narrative.

The only information given by Proclus is that Hector kills Protesilaus. The fact that he is the first Greek to be mentioned also implies that he is the first to die.<sup>47</sup> In Homer, Protesilaus is killed by a Δάρδανος ἀνὴρ, while his unnamed wife is in Phylake.<sup>48</sup> Protesilaus appears subsequently in Sophocles’ lost *Poimenes*, which told of his killing by Hector, and in Euripides’ *Protesilaus* he returns from the Underworld for one day to be reunited with his wife, Laodameia, before he must return. Apollodorus (*Ep*.3.30) also adds that the grieving Laodameia made a statue of Protesilaus and that, on his return to Hades, she committed

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<sup>47</sup> ἔπειτα ἀποβαίνοντας αὐτοὺς εἰς Ἴλιον εἴργουσιν οἱ Τρῶες, καὶ θνήσκει Πρωτεσίλαος ὑφ’ Ἐκτορος (*Cypria* arg.53-54).

<sup>48</sup> Note also the two *hapaxes* here: ἀμφιδρυφῆς and ἡμιτελής (*Il*.2.700-1).

suicide. We can see a development here from the most ancient presentations of the story through to the Hellenistic period and beyond.<sup>49</sup> Although Collard and Cropp argue that the postmortem reunion between Protesilaus and his wife is a ‘fundamental part of his myth’,<sup>50</sup> this is more likely a later embellishment. The fact that Proclus does not include it in his summary suggests that he did not consider it to belong to the ancient Epic Cycle, even though the evidence of Apollodorus suggests that it was featured in other epitomes of the Trojan War. It is perhaps not surprising that a story that involved a hero’s return from the dead, his wife’s relationship with a statue, and her eventual suicide,<sup>51</sup> should have originated among the playwrights rather than the epic poets.

The case of Philoctetes also highlights the affinities between Proclus and Homer. The issue here is the question of where Philoctetes was bitten. The *Iliad* only states that Philoctetes is now on Lemnos, after being bitten by a snake (*Il.*2.721-5). Proclus tells us that the wounding took place at Tenedos during a feast, where the Achaeans camped before reaching Troy. Philoctetes is then abandoned in Lemnos (*Cypria* arg.50-51). By the time of the Athenian playwrights, the location has changed to Chryse, and the incident occurs during a religious ritual. Pausanias (8.33.4) reports that Chryse is a small island off the coast of Lemnos.

According to Dion of Prusa, in Euripides’ play Philoctetes was bitten while showing the other Greeks the altar of Chryse (DP 59) as in Sophocles (*Ph.*263-70, 1326-28). What is at the root of this variation? Gantz surmised that this was motivated by the ‘illogicality’ of transporting Philoctetes from Tenedos back to Lemnos in order to abandon him.<sup>52</sup> This statement

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<sup>49</sup> Unfortunately, visual representations are rare in Greek art. Canciani *LIMC* ‘Protesilaus’, 560: ‘Nonostante la sua considerevole popolarità letteraria, il mito di P....sembra aver avuto scarso effetto nelle arti figurative.’

<sup>50</sup> Collard and Cropp (2008) 106-7.

<sup>51</sup> Although note on this last point that Pausanias says that according to ‘ὁ δὲ τὰ ἔπη ποιήσας τὰ Κύπρια’ Polydora was the wife of Protesilaus and killed herself after her husband’s death (4.2.7).

<sup>52</sup> Gantz (1996) 590. A scholion to *Il.*2.722 makes the solution even simpler, by having Philoctetes be wounded on Lemnos.

implicitly assumes that the Tenedos version is earlier. I agree with this assumption. This is based on the fact that the more ‘awkward’ narrative is more likely to be the original. The identity of Tenedos as the place where Philoctetes was wounded also fits in much better in the overall epic narrative. Tenedos is elsewhere portrayed as the nearest corral for the Greeks before Troy (*Ilias parva* arg.20; *Iliou persis* arg.11), and the combination of the wounding of Philoctetes and the mysterious argument between Achilles and Agamemnon (*Cypria* arg.50-52) at this last stopping point would have foreshadowed the various misfortunes of the Greeks during the war. Therefore, the evidence of Philoctetes also suggests that the Proclean summaries reflect, to a certain extent, an Epic Cycle tradition that retained its own internal logic and did not integrate the harmonising changes made to the story by the playwrights.

The extent to which we can reconstruct, or even just approximate, the Cyclic appearance of Polypoites and Leonteus is far more restricted, but some discussion can come from the details of their homecoming given in the *Nostoi*. According to Proclus:

οἱ δὲ περὶ Κάλχαντα καὶ Λεοντέα καὶ Πολυποίτην πεζῆι πορευθέντες εἰς Κολοφῶνα  
Τειρεσίαν <Κάλχαντα *Ap.Epit.*6.2><sup>53</sup> ἐνταῦθα τελευτήσαντα θάπτουσι.

*Nostoi* arg.7-9

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<sup>53</sup> Proclus reads Teiresias. West (2013) 254-5, is confident that this is a mistake, reasoning that Teiresias is part of the Theban, rather than the Trojan saga. While I am inclined to agree with him, it is important to note that while Teiresias is best known for his connection to Thebes, in archaic poetry his most prominent appearance is in the *Odyssey*'s Underworld (*Od.*11.90-152). Therefore, we should consider more seriously the apparent evidence that Teiresias appeared in the *Nostoi*. Nevertheless, on balance, I think that Proclus must be mistaken. It is hard to understand where Teiresias would come from – he does not start on the journey, and although his daughter Manto married Rhacius, the king of Caria, which may account for the confusion (*Epigoni* fr.4 W) there is no tradition of Teiresias himself in Ionia. Furthermore, since there is no story of Teiresias dying in a seers' contest, it seems incongruous to have two characters with the same role. Although none of this is definitive proof, I think that, all things considered, we are justified in understanding Teiresias here as meaning Calchas.

The most detailed commentary is given by West, who views the Epic Cycle in general as a distinctly post-Homeric project. He believes the story is motivated by a Colophonian local tradition that the tomb of Calchas was situated in the harbour town of Notion. The reference to Teiresias should be ignored, as he belongs to the Theban rather than the Trojan saga. Furthermore, the death of Calchas in Colophon was the result of a contest between him and the seer, Mopsus.<sup>54</sup> West draws much of this conclusion from the testimony of later authors, especially Strabo.

It is important to interrogate how useful these later sources are for our purposes.

Strabo discusses Colophon during his description of Ionia in Book 14. According to Strabo, ‘the story is told (λέγεται)’ that Calchas and Amphilocheus, on their return from Troy, met Mopsos at the nearby sacred precinct of Apollo Clarius. Calchas, on meeting a superior prophet, died of grief. Strabo then quotes variants from ‘Hesiod’, Pherecydes and Sophocles: ‘τὰ μὲν παλαιὰ τοιαῦτα’ (Strabo 14.1.27).<sup>55</sup>

There are three points to notice here: 1) Strabo at no point mentions Polypoites or Leonteus, 2) he claims that Hesiod told a version of this story, and 3) he claims that Hesiod ‘revised’ (διασκευάζει) the μῦθος. This quotation from ‘Hesiod’ has been assigned to the *Melampodia* (fr.278 MW),<sup>56</sup> which is tentatively dated to the 6<sup>th</sup> century,<sup>57</sup> and would give a *terminus post quem* for the story of the seers’ contest. However, caution should be exercised in using the testimony of Strabo *et al.* to illuminate the *Nostoi*. Firstly, the assignation of the ps-Hesiodic fragment to the *Melampodia* is hypothetical. Furthermore, Hunzinger has pointed out that the

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<sup>54</sup> West (2013) 254-7.

<sup>55</sup> Sophocles transfers the action to Cilicia.

<sup>56</sup> Cingano (2009) 121-2.

<sup>57</sup> Schwartz (1960) 227, Löffler (1963) 59. For a 4<sup>th</sup> century dating on linguistic grounds, see Perpillou (2005) 192 n.4.

variety of possible combinations ('[la] plasticité') suggests that, 'Les aléas de la transmission orale...a sans cesse transformé l'anecdote.'<sup>58</sup> This suggests that the contest between Calchas and Mopsus did not have a definitive version, but instead was transmitted haphazardly in the classical and post-classical world. The version we find in Proclus is very different. No mention is made of the contest, Amphilocheus or Mopsus. Meanwhile, Polypoites and Leonteus are absent in the other versions of the contest.<sup>59</sup> The brevity of Proclus' summary cannot completely explain away the total absence of Mopsus or the contest. Instead, we can conclude, at the least, that the *Nostoi* narrative of Calchas' journey from Troy is separate and distinct. Furthermore, in its apparent lack of embellishment, it would seem to be diachronically earlier.

There is a lot that is confusing and unknowable about the journey to Colophon of Calchas, Leonteus, and Polypoites. Proclus' mistaking of Calchas for Teiresias is the only such example I can find in his summary of the Epic Cycle, and it is hard to divine what prompted such a mistake. Furthermore, concluding that the seers' contest was an original part of the *Nostoi*, we are left wondering why and how Calchas did die in Colophon. Despite these unanswered questions, what is clear is that not enough attention has been paid to the participation of Polypoites and Leonteus, a feature unique to the Epic Cycle.

Why are Polypoites and Leonteus included here? An extreme view of the Epic Cycle, which sees the poems preserved by Proclus as in their essence post-Homeric creations, would naturally argue that the *Nostoi* poet has simply taken characters from the *Iliad* and transplanted them into his own work. Arguments can be offered against this idea. Unlike

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<sup>58</sup> Hunzinger (2015) 175.

<sup>59</sup> Except in Apollodorus and Tzetzes – but these two accounts are clearly compendia of all the known variants.

Philoctetes and Protesilaus, Polypoites and Leonteus have very little existence outside of the *Iliad* and the *Nostoi*. Much later mythographic literature merely describes and minutely expands on their roles in Homer, having them as suitors to Helen<sup>60</sup> and hiding in the Trojan Horse.<sup>61</sup> The apparent lack of a post-archaic afterlife lowers the probability that a later poet would have plucked these minor personages from Homer and made them into prominent characters in his own work. The other homecomings of the *Nostoi* belong to heroes prominent both in Homer and the post-Homeric tradition: Agamemnon, Menelaus, Diomedes, Nestor, Neoptolemus, Oilean Ajax and Odysseus. Therefore Polypoites and Leonteus are an odd addition to the mix. Their presence here makes more sense if we conclude that these characters were far more prominent and important within the oral tradition of the Trojan War. That Homer and the *Nostoi* are dim reflections of a richer oral tradition explains the unusual balance of obscurity and prominence for these characters. Suffice to say, this is merely hypothesis. But it does intersect with Burgess' comment that the potential for 'intertextuality' was highest at the earliest stage of the tradition:

'Later audiences in antiquity would not necessarily have access to living mythological traditions... Eventually non-Homeric traditions lost prominence to such an extent that an audience would not approach Homeric poetry in a mythologically informed way, a situation that continues to the modern period.'<sup>62</sup>

The veracity of this theory is reflected in the multi-faceted role of the pair in the *Iliad* and the *Nostoi*, and their unimportance in the Trojan War story in classical and post-classical literature.

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<sup>60</sup> Ap.3.10.8, Hyginus *Fab.*81.

<sup>61</sup> Quintus Smyrnaeus 12.318, 323.

<sup>62</sup> Burgess (2006) 173.

## Conclusion

Although the links between Homer and the Epic Cycle will always be uncertain, we can make reasonable arguments using the available evidence. We know that the Homeric poet often references people and events from outside the chronological timespan of his poems. In the case of Philoctetes, Protesilaus, and Polypoites and Leonteus, their incongruous appearances in the *Iliad* corroborate their prominence elsewhere in the Cycle, as reflected in Proclus. The poetic and emotional nuances that can be read in their brief Iliadic appearances further suggest a strong background tradition, which we can faintly access through the information given by Proclus' epitomes.

## 10. Palamedes

The absence of Palamedes from the Homeric poems has led to the question of where he came from and when. It has commonly been assumed that Palamedes was a later creation and unknown to Homer, an assumption first found in Strabo: πεπλάσθαι φασὶ τὸν Ναύπλιον [Palamedes' father] καὶ τοὺς παῖδας αὐτοῦ παρὰ τοῖς νεωτέροις (8.6.2).<sup>1</sup> In the late 19<sup>th</sup> century, Monro concluded that Palamedes *inter alia*, 'belong to groups of legends unknown to Homer'.<sup>2</sup> In this chapter, I will attempt to review all the evidence we have relating to Palamedes in order to better understand his relationship to Homer and the Cycle. I will begin by discussing the role of Palamedes in the Epic Cycle, ultimately dismissing the theory that passages in Homer are veiled references to his role in the embassy to Ithaca. I will then move on to the much readier evidence for Palamedes in Greek tragedy. His portrayal here as a 'culture hero' akin to Prometheus is at the forefront, but the absence of this trope in the archaic period suggests that this mode of characterisation should not be read back into the Epic Cycle.

### **Palamedes in the Epic Cycle**

Palamedes appears twice in Proclus' epitome of the Epic Cycle. He first appears towards the beginning of the *Cypria*, accompanying the Atreides as they journey around Greece corraling the Greek leaders to accompany them to Troy. Proclus records that on Ithaca:

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<sup>1</sup> A conclusion which probably owes a lot to the exegesis of Aristarchus; see Jouan (1966) 354 n.8.

<sup>2</sup> Monro (1884) 7.

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

*Cypria* arg.31-33<sup>3</sup>

Although no conclusion to this episode is given by Proclus, we can presume that Palamedes' trickery forced Odysseus to act and thus reveal that his madness was a guise.

Palamedes appears for the second and final time at the end of the *Cypria* epitome. After the Greeks have landed in Troy and carried out raids on the surrounding country, it is simply stated that:

ἔπειτά ἐστι Παλαμήδους θάνατος, καὶ Διὸς βουλή ὅπως ἐπικουφίσει τοὺς Τρῶας Ἀχιλλέα τῆς συμμαχίας τῆς Ἑλλήνων ἀποστήσας, καὶ κατάλογος τῶν τοῖς Τρωσὶ συμμαχησάντων.

*Cypria* arg.66-68

Therefore, the death of Palamedes, at least in Proclus' version of the *Cypria*, seems to act as a sort of coping stone on the events of that poem, or rather, that part of the Epic Cycle. After his death, the narrative begins to look forward to and coincide with the events familiar to us from the *Iliad*.

Our knowledge of Palamedes' role in the Epic Cycle is further bolstered by other testimony. Pausanias claims that in the *Cypria* Palamedes was drowned while fishing by Diomedes and

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<sup>3</sup> Note that in West's Loeb edition he also includes the account of the Apollodorus, according to whom, ἀρπάσας δὲ Τηλέμαχον ἐκ τοῦ Πηνελόπης κόλπου ὡς κτενῶν ἐξιφούλκει (*Ap.Ep.*3.7).

Odysseus (Paus.10.31.2 = fr.27 W) and Apollodorus states that, according to ὁ τοῦς Νόστους γράψας, Palamedes was the son of Nauplius and Philyra (2.1.5 = *Nostoi* fr.11 W). However, it is not certain how confident we can be in identifying Pausanias' *Cypria* and Apollodorus' *Nostoi* with the Epic Cycle of Proclus or the tradition of the Trojan War. At most, we can say that Proclus knew a version of the *Cypria* that opened with the episode between Odysseus and Palamedes on Ithaca and ended with Palamedes' death in Troy.

### **Palamedes in Homer**

Homer makes no mention of Palamedes in either the *Iliad* or the *Odyssey*. This has led scholars unsympathetic to the Epic Cycle to conclude that the character of Palamedes was unknown to Homer. Most recently West expressed this view as follows when discussing the death of Palamedes in the *Cypria*: '[Palamedes] had to be disposed of before the end of the poem as he had no existence in the *Iliad*.'<sup>4</sup> However, the rise of Neoanalysis has brought with it an argument that Palamedes was indeed known to Homer. For example, Schlange-Schönigen argues that the story of Palamedes was a part of the Epic Cycle and therefore would be familiar to Homer. Although he has chosen not to directly reference Palamedes ('for ethical reasons'), traces of the character remain, most noticeably in a passage from *Odyssey* 24.<sup>5</sup> During his Underworld conversation with Amphimedon, the ghost of Agamemnon reminds the former suitor of his visit to Ithaca:

ἤ οὐ μέμνη ὅτε κείσε κατήλυθον ὑμέτερον δῶ,  
ὄτρυνέων Ὀδυσῆα σὺν ἀντιθέῳ Μενελάῳ

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<sup>4</sup> West (2013) 123. For earlier expressions of this commonly-held view, see *RE* s.v Palamedes ('...gehört die Ausgestaltung des wichtigsten Stücks, der Geschichte von dem Konflikt zwischen P und Odysseus, jedenfalls erst späterer Zeit an') and Monro (1884) 7-10.

<sup>5</sup> Schlange-Schönigen (2006) *passim*.

Ἴλιον εἰς ἅμ' ἔπεσθαι εὐσσέλμων ἐπὶ νηῶν;  
μηνὶ δ' ἄρ' οὖλον πάντα περήσαμεν εὐρέα πόντον,  
σπουδῆ παρπεπιθόντες Ὀδυσσῆα πτολίπορθον.'

*Od.*24.115-119

For Schlange-Schönigen, this passage is an allusive reference to the story told in the *Cypria*, in which Palamedes plays a crucial role in Odysseus' recruitment to the Trojan War.<sup>6</sup> If this interpretation is correct, we would have conclusive proof that the poet of the *Odyssey* knew of Palamedes and the 'Mad Odysseus' episode. This in turn would necessarily suggest that Palamedes had a pre-Homeric existence. The language of the passage certainly holds some promising potential. In particular, the use of the participles ὀτρυνέων and παρπεπιθόντες point towards an uneasy negotiation and a reluctant Odysseus.<sup>7</sup>

However, for such an interpretation to be correct, *Odyssey* 24 would have to be a normal book of the *Odyssey*. Unfortunately, *Odyssey* 24 is not a normal book of the poem. We must first consider the perennial question of the authenticity of Book 24 as a whole, since it is only by accepting a unitarian view of the last book of the *Odyssey* that we can use it to draw any conclusions about the poet of the *Odyssey*. Discussion of the status of Book 24 has been ongoing since the Alexandrian period. Very briefly, opinion can be split into three camps: that Book 24 is a later addition to the *Odyssey*; that it is part of the reworking of the poem by a redactor; or that Book 24 is an authentic part of the *Odyssey*.<sup>8</sup> Critical consensus continues to be split, with some scholars seeking to rehabilitate the supposedly un-Homeric character of the

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<sup>6</sup> Schlange-Schönigen (2006) 103. This passage is also quoted by Christopoulos (2014) 157, in his argument for a pre-Homeric Palamedes.

<sup>7</sup> See *Lfgre* s.v. ὀτρύνω and πείθω II.2

<sup>8</sup> For a slightly less brief summation of these views, with bibliography, see Heubeck (1992) 353-355.

book's language and style,<sup>9</sup> while others have re-emphasised the absolute incompatibility of the last book with what has gone before.<sup>10</sup> The controversial *deuteronekuia* has been condemned as spurious by Aristarchus and is marked by strange details (Hermes, the unfamiliar topography) and the untimely reunion of the long-dead Achilles and Agamemnon. It has been hypothesised that it was added as an epilogue to *Od.23.299*, and was inspired by or taken over from the *nekuia* of the *Nostoi*, or a 'pre-form' of the poem.<sup>11</sup> In my opinion, the meeting of Achilles and Agamemnon is the biggest obstacle to seeing the *deuteronekuia* at least as a fully-integrated part of the *Odyssey*, and instead it would appear to be more appropriate to a meeting between the two heroes immediately after the death of Agamemnon. I think that a direct borrowing from the *Nostoi* makes too many assumptions about the written or fixed status of the Cyclic poems in relation to the Homeric one. Instead, I would suggest that the *deuteronekuia* should be seen as inspired by an oral tradition of the meeting between Achilles and Agamemnon in the underworld.

That being said, it is clear that the *deuteronekuia* has been adapted to an extent to its position at the end of the *Odyssey*, namely through the inclusion of the suitors (*Od.24.98-204*). Thus, we return to the passage quoted above, and the question of whether this shows any knowledge of the story of Palamedes and the pretended madness of Odysseus. Even if we see Book 24 as a later addition, a concrete answer, whether positive or negative, could still tell us a lot about the character of Palamedes in the Trojan War tradition.

Firstly, it should be noted that the Homeric poet shows a general knowledge of the recruitment process of the Achaeans at the outset of the war.<sup>12</sup> In the *Iliad*, Nestor recounts the day he and

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<sup>9</sup> Erbse (1997 [1972]); Currie (2013).

<sup>10</sup> S. West (1989) 113-143.

<sup>11</sup> S. West (1989) 123, with earlier bibliography at n.52. Argued again by West (2014) 297-300.

<sup>12</sup> Referred to at *Cypria* arg.30: ἔπειτα τοὺς ἡγεμόνας ἀθροίζουσιν ἐπελθόντες τὴν Ἑλλάδα.

Odysseus arrived in Phthia in order to recruit Achilles and Patroclus (*Il.*11.769-790). Furthermore, in the *Odyssey*, Agamemnon reminds Odysseus of their departure from Ithaca, when they κατελείπομεν ('left behind') Penelope and Telemachus as a small child (*Od.*11.447-449). However, there is no hint in this latter example of any unwillingness on the part of Odysseus to participate in the war, and of course no reference to Palamedes.

In contrast, Agamemnon's description of the recruitment in the Book 24 passage seems to imply that the process was not so simple. His use of verbs implying effort, παρπεπιθόντες and ὄτρυνέων, could be read as references to Odysseus' unwillingness to participate in the expedition. In general, we might suggest that here Agamemnon is speaking to Amphimedon, a man just killed by Odysseus. Perhaps a coy allusion to Odysseus' duplicity and cowardice at the beginning of the war would be apt.<sup>13</sup>

That being said, a correct interpretation of the passage hinges on the connection between lines 118 and 119, that is, whether the dative μηνὶ δ' ἄρ' οὐλω<sup>14</sup> is to be constructed with περήσαμεν or παρπεπιθόντες alone, or whether it represents the total time taken for the journey, including the stay on Ithaca and the onward voyage to Troy. If we were to understand the 'whole month' as referring to the time it took to persuade Odysseus to join the expedition, this would support the view that we have here an allusion to the 'Mad Odysseus' episode on Ithaca and Palamedes' involvement in it. Nevertheless, the construction of the sentence makes this improbable.<sup>15</sup> The most reasonable assumption would seem to be that the 'whole month' refers to the total time

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<sup>13</sup> Amphimedon also complains about the duplicity of Odysseus and Penelope at *Od.*24.167-169. It is generally agreed that the *xenia* between Agamemnon and Amphimedon (24.102-4) is an *ad hoc* invention created to establish a prior relationship between the two dead men: Heubeck (1992) *ad* 102-4; Danek (1998) 476.

<sup>14</sup> We should expect an accusative, but the dative has been explained by Chantraine (1953) 76, as a 'comitative' dative and by Palmer (1962) 135, as an 'instrumental' dative, expressing the time taken for an action.

<sup>15</sup> Heubeck (1992) *ad* 118-119.

taken for the expedition.<sup>16</sup> The vagueness of the reference, combined with the uncertain status of *Odyssey* 24 as a whole, ultimately undermines the search for a Palamedes reference at *Od.*24.115-119.

Other purported ‘clues’ that Homer was aware of the character of Palamedes are vulnerable to similar criticisms. For example, Usener sees the references in the *Odyssey* to the death of Anticleia (*Od.*11.152-224; 15.355-60) as a reference to the story (‘uns erst später greifbare’) of her death through the intrigues of a vengeful Nauplius (Eustathius *ad Od.*11.202).<sup>17</sup> But once again it is extremely hard to make such an argument *ex silentio*. Eumaeus’ statement that Anticleia died, ἄχεϊ οὐ παιδὸς ... κυδαλίμοιο (‘through grief for her son’, *Od.*15.358) is too vague to prove anything, especially when we consider that an important theme of the *Odyssey* is the negative effect that Odysseus’ absence has on his family in Ithaca.

The argument that Homer knew Palamedes but deleted him is a familiar one from the arsenal of Neoanalysis.<sup>18</sup> It is founded on, and dependent upon, the premise that Homer was aware of an Epic Cycle in which the character of Palamedes and his arc cast a negative light on Odysseus, and therefore chose to remove him from the *Odyssey* in a conscious artistic choice to elevate that poem’s hero.<sup>19</sup> This line of argumentation is fairly weak. In general terms, it makes too many assumptions about the identity of the Homeric poet and the emergence of the Homeric poems than can safely be supported. More specifically in the case of Palamedes, the evidence of his role in the story of the Trojan War is relatively sparse, and it is difficult to draw any conclusions as to the ethical presentation of Palamedes in the pre-Homeric

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<sup>16</sup> As Stanford (1965) *ad* 118; Heubeck (1992) *ad* 118-119.

<sup>17</sup> Usener (1994-5) 51-2.

<sup>18</sup> See, for example, Kullmann (1960) 165-6, 383-4; Szarmach (1974) 38.

<sup>19</sup> Danek (1998) 478, takes the opposite view, arguing instead that the allusion to Odysseus’ reluctant participation elevates that hero, showing that he was not only alone in having the foresight to avoid taking part, but that the fall of Troy was also dependent on him, hence the epithet πολίπορθον.

tradition. Ultimately, the absence of Palamedes from the Homeric evidence means that the search for a 'hidden' Palamedes in Homer reaches a dead-end.

### **Palamedes in tragedy**

In contrast to the Homeric poems, Palamedes played a prominent role in Attic tragedy. 5<sup>th</sup> century tragedy is the earliest source for a rich tradition on Palamedes, in which he is presented as a virtuous inventor and culture hero for the Greeks. I will argue that any evaluation of Palamedes' character in the archaic period must be carefully separated from this later, tragic characterisation, which is specific to the literary culture of the 5<sup>th</sup> century.

Although none survive for us, all three tragedians wrote their own *Palamedes* play. Both of the key elements of these tragic plots are absent from the *Cypria*, and are therefore important to our understanding of how the character of Palamedes has developed. The first is Palamedes' inventive genius, for which we have direct evidence. The second is his death, or more specifically, how Palamedes is killed by the Greek army on a false accusation of treachery through the machinations of Odysseus. I will first discuss the direct testimonia for the first element in the works of the three Attic tragedians, before moving on to the indirect evidence for Palamedes' death.

The theme of Palamedes' inventiveness and the great benefits it brought the Greek army dominates the extant fragments of the *Palamedes* of Aeschylus, Sophocles, and Euripides. It is Stesichorus who is the earliest author attested to have discussed Palamedes' inventions,

although no trace of the original remains.<sup>20</sup> The trope appears to have then grown in prominence in the works of all three tragedians. I have collated below the tragic fragments in which Palamedes' inventiveness is described.

Firstly, we have Aeschylus' *Palamedes*:

[ΠΑΛΑΜΗΔΗΣ]<sup>21</sup>

ἔπειτα πάσης Ἑλλάδος καὶ ξυμμάχων

βίον διώκησ' ὄντα πρὶν πεφυρμένον

θηρσὶν θ' ὅμοιον· πρῶτα μὲν τὸν πάνσοφον

ἀριθμὸν ἠύρηκ', ἔξοχον σοφισμάτων

*TrGF* 3 F181a (= Stobaeus 1, Prologue, extract 1a)

'Then I organized the life of all the Greeks and their allies, which previously had been as chaotic as that of beasts. To begin with, I invented the ingenious art of number, supreme among all techniques.'

(transl. Sommerstein/ Loeb)

ΠΑΛΑΜΗΔΗΣ

καὶ ταξιάρχας †καὶ στρατάρχας καὶ ἑκατοντάρχας†

ἔταξα, σῖτον δ' εἰδέναι διώρισα,

ἄριστα, δεῖπνα δόρπα θ' αἰρεῖσθαι τρίτα

*TrGF* 3 F182 (=Athenaeus 1.11d *et al.*)

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<sup>20</sup> Στησίχορος δὲ ἐν δευτέρῳ Ὀρεστείας καὶ Εὐριπίδης τὸν Παλαμήδην φησὶν εὐρηκέναι (sc. τὰ στοιχεῖα). (Schol. Vat. in Dion. Thrac. Art. 6 = fr.175 Finglass). For possible reconstructions of how Stesichorus made use of the myth of Palamedes, see Davies and Finglass (2014) 500-501.

<sup>21</sup> Apart from *TrGF* 3 F181, the other fragments assigned to the *Palamedes* in *TrGF* are done so conjecturally, on the grounds that they relate to him or have him as a speaking character; see Wright (2019) 51.

‘And I appointed brigade and company commanders for the army, and I taught them to distinguish their meals, to take breakfast, dinner and thirdly supper.’

(transl. Sommerstein/ Loeb)

We see that the theme of Palamedes as an inventor of novel and beneficial stratagems continues in Sophocles and Euripides:

### **Sophocles’ *Palamedes***

οὐ λιμὸν οὗτος τῶνδ’ ἔπαυσε,<sup>22</sup> σὺν θεῶ  
εἰπεῖν, χρόνου τε διατριβὰς σοφωτάτας  
ἐφηῦρε φλοίσβου μετὰ κόπον καθημένοις,  
πεσσοῦς κύβους τε, τερπνὸν ἀργίας ἄκος;

*TrGF* 4 F479 (= Eustathius *Il.*228.1, *et al.*)

‘Was it not he who [put an end to the famine], be it said with reverence towards the god, and he who discovered the cleverest ways of passing time for them when they were resting after their struggle with the waves, draughts and dice, a pleasant remedy against idleness?’

(transl. Lloyd-Jones/ Loeb, square brackets my own)

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<sup>22</sup> Changed from ἀπαυσε in Eustathius.

## Sophocles' *Nauplius I and II*

### ΝΑΥΠΛΙΟΣ

οὔτος δ' ἐφηῦρε τεῖχος Ἀργείων στρατῶ,  
σταθμῶν, ἀριθμῶν καὶ μέτρων εὐρήματα  
τάξεις τε ταύτας οὐράνιά τε σήματα.  
κάκεῖν' ἔτευξε πρῶτος, ἐξ ἐνὸς δέκα  
κάκ τῶν δέκ' αὖθις ἤῤυρε πεντηκοντάδας  
ἦδ' ὅς χίλια εὐθὺς ὄς† στρατοῦ φρυκτωρίαν  
ἔδειξε κἀνέφηγεν οὐ δεδειγμένα.  
ἐφηῦρε δ' ἄστρον μέτρα καὶ περιστροφάς,  
ῦπνου †φυλάξει(ς) (στι)θόα† σημαντήρια  
νεῶν τε ποιμαντῆρσιν ἐνθαλασσίοις  
ἄρκτου στροφάς τε καὶ κυνὸς ψυχρὰν δύσιν

*TrGF 4 F432 (= Achilles, Introduction to Aratus 1)*<sup>23</sup>

‘And it was he who devised the wall for the army of the Argives; his was the invention of weights, numbers and measures; he taught them to marshal armies thus and how to know the heavenly signs. He was the first, too, who showed how to count from one to ten and so to fifty and to <a thousand?>; he showed the army how to use beacons, and revealed things that earlier were hidden. He discovered how to measure terms and periods of the stars, <reliable?> signs for those who watched while others slept, and for the shepherds of ships at sea he found out the turnings of the Bear and the chilly setting of the Dogstar.’

(transl. Lloyd-Jones/ Loeb)

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<sup>23</sup> This passage as transmitted has many corruptions – for a discussion, see Sommerstein *et al.* (2012) 164-168.

## Euripides' *Palamedes*

ΠΑΛΑΜΗΔΗΣ

τὰ τῆς γε λήθης φάρμακ' ὀρθώσας μόνος,  
ἄφωνα καὶ φωνοῦντα, συλλαβὰς τιθείς,  
ἐξηῦρον ἀνθρώποισι γράμματ' εἰδέναί,  
ὥστ' οὐ παρόντα ποντίας ὑπὲρ πλακῶς  
τάκεϊ κατ' οἴκους πάντ' ἐπίστασθαι καλῶς,  
παισὶν τε τὸν θνήσκοντα χρημάτων μέτρον  
γράψαντα λείπειν, τὸν λαβόντα δ' εἰδέναί.  
ἂ δ' εἰς ἔριν πίπτουσιν ἀνθρώποις κακά,  
δέλτος διαιρεῖ, κούκ ἐᾷ ψευδῆ λέγειν.

*TrGF* 5 F578 (= Stobaeus 2.4.8)

‘On my own I established remedies for forgetfulness, which are without speech and (yet) speak, by creating syllables; I invented writing for men’s knowledge, so a man absent over the ocean’s plain might have good knowledge of all matters back there in his house, and the dying man might write down the size of his wealth when bequeathing it to his sons, and the receiver know it. And the troubles that afflict men when they fall to quarrelling—a written tablet does away with these and prevents the telling of lies.’

(transl. Kovacs/Loeb)

As we can see, in all three tragedians, a clear theme that emerges is the multiple inventions for which Palamedes is responsible and with which he has benefitted his fellow Greeks.

The second key element that characterises the tragic presentation of Palamedes is his death. Although details vary, the overall story can be summarized as follows: Odysseus accuses Palamedes of betraying the Greeks to the Trojans, and plants the ‘proof’ of this betrayal, a stash of gold, in Palamedes’ tent. Palamedes is then judicially killed by the Greek army. While there is no direct evidence that this episode occurred in any of the three *Palamedes* plays of the tragedians, there is a wealth of indirect evidence to support such an assumption. The most compelling is an exchange from Euripides’ *Philoctetes*, during which Odysseus, in disguise, tells Philoctetes of the injustice he has brought against Palamedes. The dialogue ends with Philoctetes’ disgusted outburst against Odysseus:

ὦ μηδενὸς ἀποσχόμενος τῶν χαλεπωτάτων, λόγῳ τε καὶ ἔργῳ πανουργότατε ἀνθρώπων  
 Ὀδυσσεῦ, οἷον αὖ τοῦτον ἄνδρα ἀνήρηκας, ὃς οὐδὲν ἦττον ὠφέλιμος ἦν τοῖς ζυμμάχοις ἢ περ  
 οἶμαι σύ, τὰ κάλλιστα καὶ σοφώτατα ἀνευρίσκων καὶ συντιθείς· ὥσπερ ἀμέλει καμὲ ἐξέθηκας,  
 ὑπὲρ τῆς κοινῆς σωτηρίας τε καὶ νίκης περιπεσόντα τῆδε τῆ ξυμφορᾷ, δεικνύντα τὸν Χρῦσης  
 βωμόν, οὗ θύσαντες κρατήσειν ἔμελλον τῶν πολεμίων· εἰ δὲ μή, μάτην ἐγίγνετο ἡ στρατεία.  
 ἀλλὰ τί δὴ σοι προσῆκον τῆς Παλαμήδους τύχης;

*TrGF* 5 F789d[9] = Dio Chrys.59.9

At the very least, this lengthy paraphrase of the Euripidean *Philoctetes* proves that the story of the false accusation (cf. *TrGF* 5 F789d[8]) was famous enough to be referenced in 5<sup>th</sup> century tragedy, and it also offers substantial evidence that this storyline was utilized by the tragedians in their *Palamedes* plays. Later testimonia can be found in Hyginus, Polyaeus, and the scholia to Euripides’ *Orestes*.<sup>24</sup> The existence of this storyline in tragic versions of the *Palamedes* can also be inferred from the prominence of Nauplius in the Attic tradition.

<sup>24</sup> Hyginus *Fab.*105; Polyaeus, *praef.*12; Σ Euripides *Or.*432

The story goes that Nauplius, in order to avenge his son's death, caused the Greek fleet to capsize off the Capharaean Rocks and encouraged the wives of the Greek commanders to commit adultery. The fact that Nauplius' revenge very much affects the whole of the Greek army, rather than a single individual, would suggest that he holds the whole host responsible for his son's death, pointing towards Palamedes' execution by stoning. Sophocles produced two plays on Nauplius – *Nauplius Katapleon* and *Nauplius Pyrkaeus* – and the only fragment directly attributed to Aeschylus' *Palamedes* is spoken by Nauplius (τίνος κατέκτας ἔνεκα παῖδ' ἐμὸν βλάβης; *TrGF* 3 F181).<sup>25</sup>

We can marshal all this evidence to help us think about the wider evolution of Palamedes as a character. Since all the evidence is so fragmentary, we have to interpret it through extrapolations of the larger themes and narrative arcs of the plays. The themes of the false accusation and the genius of Palamedes work together extremely well, particularly in a tragic setting. In the quotes above, the descriptions of Palamedes' inventiveness come from what could easily be defense speeches or something of the like. Palamedes or another character attempts to remind the Greek army and the Athenian audience of the benefits his genius has brought to the Greeks. The trope of the false accusation could only have worked dramatically if Palamedes had previously been presented as highly regarded by the Greeks.<sup>26</sup> As is typical of tragedy, a once elevated and esteemed member of the community would then be mortified and brought down through a reversal of fortune. It also contributes to the common tragic characterisation of Odysseus as wicked and deceitful.<sup>27</sup> In the case of the *Palamedes* plays, Odysseus' conspiracy to undo the clever and feted Palamedes through a false accusation of

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<sup>25</sup> See n.21.

<sup>26</sup> Similarly, *Soph.OT* begins with the Priest recalling the great help and deliverance Oedipus has brought to Thebes (35-57).

<sup>27</sup> Usener (1994-5) 61: 'Je mehr Odysseus in das grelle Licht des unsympathischen und kaltschnäuzigen Egoisten gerückt wird, desto bemitleidenswerter und sympathischer erscheint das letztlich wegen (und trotz) eigener Fähigkeit zu Fall gebrachte Opfer Palamedes.'

treachery, which will turn the entire Greek army against him, fits in perfectly to a tragic schema.

Therefore, these tragic portrayals introduce a new motivating factor for Palamedes' death. If we briefly return to the *Cypria*, the sum of evidence we have for this poem points to the fact that Odysseus kills Palamedes because of the episode on Ithaca. However, the introduction of the trope of Palamedes' inventiveness brings a new motivating factor to Odysseus' enmity. In various later testimonies, it is instead Odysseus' jealousy at Palamedes' intellectual achievements that motivates him to bring about his death. This is the motivation given for Palamedes' death in several later sources. Xenophon remarks that Palamedes διὰ σοφίαν φθονηθεὶς ὑπὸ τοῦ Ὀδυσσεύως ἀπόλλυται (Xen.*Mem.*4.2.33). The scholion to Euripides *Orestes* 432 concurs, stating that, φθονήσαντες οἱ περὶ Ἀγαμέμνονα καὶ Ὀδυσσεά καὶ Διομήδην τοιόνδε τι σκευωροῦσι κατ' αὐτοῦ. In Virgil's *Aeneid*, Sinon references the well-known story of Odysseus' jealousy (A.6.90-91), but also adds that the Greeks executed him because of his opposition to the war (81-85). It should be noted that Sophocles did write a play entitled *Mad Odysseus*, which presumably dealt with the episode of Odysseus' feigned madness, although nothing of substance remains of the play. That being so, we must accept that Sophocles does appear to have written works that covered both explanations for Odysseus' hatred of Palamedes. However, the fact that Sophocles also wrote a *Palamedes* play and two *Nauplius* plays, all three centring on the false accusation story and discussing Palamedes' genius, allows us to say that in these plays at least, it was Odysseus' jealousy that took centre-stage as a motivating factor.

Whether the 'Mad Odysseus' plotline was pertinent in Sophocles' plays or even present in Aeschylus and Euripides is not the point to be made. Instead, the point is that the twin

elements that have emerged in this discussion of Palamedes in tragedy and which seem to have flourished there – his genius and his death – are perfectly complementary. The former sets up a dynamic in which Palamedes enjoys high acclaim among his peers and Odysseus is jealous of this acclaim and Palamedes' abilities. This tension is then resolved in Palamedes' death. The false accusation and Palamedes' subsequent execution make sense as products of Odysseus' jealousy. In short, the tragic presentation of the Palamedes story does not need the episode with Telemachus on Ithaca to explain and motivate Palamedes' death.

The most important point to take from this discussion is the fact that the two elements that are most distinctive about later presentations of Palamedes, his inventiveness and the plot against him, are not only clearly mutually complementary but also appear to have no existence before Stesichorus. Their symbiotic nature implies that they originated together, and therefore it would appear that our safest conclusion is that this origin postdates Homer. Therefore, for now I would conclude that Palamedes' death through a false accusation and his inventiveness do not belong to the Epic Cycle.

### **Palamedes as a culture hero?**

If the internal narrative evidence of tragedy does not tell us anything about the pre-classical character of Palamedes, a recourse to wider literary and mythological tropes also offers only negative evidence. This is, namely, the trope of the *protos heurtes*. We will see that the evolution of this concept in the classical period does not suggest that Palamedes would have been associated with such a wide range of inventions in the pre-Homeric period.

Theories about the pre-Homeric and Homeric Palamedes have normally focussed on those two elements which were prominent in his tragic presentation: his cleverness and his rivalry with Odysseus. For example, Phillips has argued that Palamedes is a culture-hero whose ‘civilized’ character represents ‘a genuine piece of ancient tradition’.<sup>28</sup> Similarly, Kakridis has argued that both Odysseus and Palamedes were pre-Homeric ‘geistige Helden’, whose rivalry as intellectual equals was already possible in Homer.<sup>29</sup> If we could conclude that Palamedes existed in the pre-Homeric world as a sort of culture-hero and intellectual, this would have great significance for our understanding of not only the character of Palamedes himself, but also of Odysseus, who could therefore be understood as a foil and an equal to Palamedes.

Evidence for such a pre-Homeric status is thin on the ground. Both Kakridis and Phillips’ conclusions come more from conjecture than any actual evidence. One piece of compelling evidence may be the testimony of Apollodorus, according to whom, in the *Nostoi*, Palamedes’ mother was Philyra (Ap.*Ep.*2.1.5). As far as I can tell, this is the only instance in which Philyra is described as the mother of Palamedes. More commonly, she is the mother of the centaur Chiron. This genealogy is found throughout classical literature (Χείρων Φιλλυρίδης, Ap.Rhod.1.554, Call.*Hymn.*4.118, Ovid *Ars Am.*1.11, Bacchylides fr.27). A prominent early example is Pindar (*Pyth.*3.1, 4.103, 9.30). Perhaps most interestingly, a scholion on Ap.Rhod.1.554 reports that the story of the birth of Chiron to Philyra was told in the archaic epic *Gigantomachy* (sic. *Titonomachy*) of Eumelus (= Eumelus fr.12 W). Throughout the classical tradition, Chiron was portrayed as a culture hero, a sage, and inventor who was the tutor of Achilles and several other heroes. Therefore, notable is

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<sup>28</sup> Phillips (1957) 268; 272-278.

<sup>29</sup> Kakridis (1995) 99.

Apollodorus' claim that the *Nostoi* had Philyra as the mother of Palamedes, another character who, at least in the later tradition, was also fashioned as a culture hero whose inventions benefitted mankind. However, we can draw few if any conclusions from this apparent overlap between Palamedes and Chiron. As I have argued throughout this thesis, the evidence of Apollodorus cannot be used on its own to reconstruct the Epic Cycle with any confidence. Furthermore, the parentage of Palamedes by Philyra actually interferes with another argument often advanced to prove Palamedes' pre-Homeric origin. More commonly, Palamedes' mother is said to be Klymene, making him a kinsman of the Atreides and therefore justifying his participation in the expedition to Troy.<sup>30</sup>

Our earliest evidence for Palamedes as a *protos heurtes* is the 6<sup>th</sup> century Stesichorus. This information comes from a scholiast on Dionysius of Thrace, who records that:

Στησίχορος δὲ ἐν δευτέρῳ Ὀρεστείας καὶ Εὐριπίδης τὸν Παλαμήδην φησὶν εὐρηκέναι (sc. τὰ στοιχεῖα).

Schol.Vat.in Dion.Thrac.p.183 Hilgard = fr.175a Finglass<sup>31</sup>

It is uncertain how Stesichorus would have incorporated Palamedes into his *Oresteia*, but it is possible that he was mentioned as the inventor of writing in connection with Electra sending secret messages to Orestes.<sup>32</sup> The second-hand nature of the testimonia is not very revealing, and we cannot know exactly how this 'discovery' or 'invention' came about. Fortunately, the picture starts to become clearer as we move into the 5<sup>th</sup> century.

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<sup>30</sup> Kakridis (1995) 93.

<sup>31</sup> cf. p.190 Hilgard = fr.175b Finglass

<sup>32</sup> Stephanopoulos (1980) 137; Davies and Finglass (2017) 500-501.

As already seen, Palamedes' status as an inventor and culture hero was further developed in Athenian tragedy. This tragic characterisation is also integral to the presentation of Palamedes in Gorgias (DK 82 B11a30) and Plato (*Rep.*7.522d).<sup>33</sup> As such, Palamedes takes his place next to other culture heroes of classical and later literature. The most notable is perhaps Prometheus, and indeed the fragment from Aeschylus' *Palamedes* that was quoted above (*TrGF* 3 F181a) shares many similarities with lines 459-461 of the *Prometheus Bound* of 'Aeschylus'. In these lines, Prometheus is in the midst of enumerating the many benefits he has brought to mankind, mentioning here the knowledge of numeracy and literacy:

καὶ μὴν ἀριθμὸν, ἔξοχον σοφισμάτων,  
ἔξηϋρον αὐτοῖς, γραμμάτων τε συνθέσεις,  
μνήμην ἀπάντων, μουσομήτορ' ἐργάνην·

*Prometheus Bound* 459-461

We can observe that line 459 is almost identical to the last line of the Aeschylus *Palamedes* fragment (ἀριθμὸν ἠΰρηκ', ἔξοχον σοφισμάτων). There is much debate about whether the *Palamedes* preceded the *Prometheus Bound*,<sup>34</sup> rendering the relationship between the tragic presentations of these two culture heroes unclear. However, what is clearer are the obvious similarities that exist between the tragic characterisations of both Palamedes and Prometheus.

The characterisation of Prometheus in 5<sup>th</sup> century tragedy is instructive. The verses quoted above are a small section of a much longer speech in which Prometheus enumerates the many

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<sup>33</sup> Plato implies that Palamedes as an inventor is a popular trope from tragedy specifically (Παγγέλοιο γούν, ἔφην, στρατηγὸν Ἀγαμέμνονα ἐν ταῖς τραγωδίαις Παλαμήδης ἐκάστοτε ἀποφαίνει, *Rep.*7.522). On the Gorgias, see West (2013) 47.

<sup>34</sup> This is the view taken by Sommerstein (2000) 121 n.8, but this is based on his belief that the *PB* is not by Aeschylus. For succinct accounts of the debate regarding authorship, see Griffith (1983) 31-35 and Sommerstein (2008) 432-433.

benefactions he has brought to mankind (450-506). These include: numbers and literacy (459-461), sailing (467-468), medicine (478-483), architecture and carpentry (450-453), and astronomy (454-458). As such, Prometheus is an archetypal *protos heurtes* and ‘culture-hero on the grandest scale’.<sup>35</sup> This type of characterisation is a considerable step-up from how he was presented in Hesiod. In his archaic presentation, Prometheus is characterised by his deceitful and tricky nature (ποικίλον αιολόμητιν, *Th.*511, ποικιλόβουλον, *Th.*521; ἀγκυλομήτης *WD* 48). He was not responsible for the very many *technai* of mankind, but instead, through trickery, simply brought man the gift of fire (*Th.*559-569; *WD* 42-58). Thus, the *Prometheus Bound* transforms the Hesiodic trickster god into a culture hero and great benefactor of mankind.<sup>36</sup>

This change can be attributed to wider intellectual currents in the classical period. Writers of the 5<sup>th</sup> and 4<sup>th</sup> centuries were increasingly interested in narrating man’s cultural development, an interest spurred on by rationalism and particularly the sophistic movement.<sup>37</sup> Writing of this period has an abundance of ‘culture heroes’, the most prominent being Palamedes and Prometheus. Other figures are Orpheus, Musaeus, Hesiod and Homer (*Ar. Frogs* 1032-1036) and the unnamed god of Euripides’ *Supplikes* (201-213).

Although some of these accounts attribute human developments to gods, it is also clear that mankind’s inventions were increasingly being placed in the hands of mortals.<sup>38</sup> This is a departure from the ethos of epic. Not only are the origins of universal mortal *technai* not of

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<sup>35</sup> Griffith (1983) 9. Griffith develops this at 167: ‘P.’s account here combines elements of the πρώτος εὐρετής *topos* with the more rationalistic analysis characteristic of the Presocratics and Sophists.’

<sup>36</sup> Griffith (1983) 8.

<sup>37</sup> Griffith (1983) 166; Gera (2003) 115. Cf. Cole (1967) 5-7.

<sup>38</sup> This is nowhere better evidenced than the famous ‘Ode to Man’ from Sophocles’ *Antigone* (332-375). This choral ode does not have an individual culture hero, but instead talks more generally about the evolution of society and mankind’s cultural development. For an introduction to the Ode, see Griffith (1999) 179-181.

particular interest in epic, but where they do occur they are the gifts of specific gods to individuals or limited groups.<sup>39</sup> For example, Athena teaches the skill of weaving to Penelope and the Phaeacian women (*Od.*2.116-117; 7.110-111) and Athena and Hephaestus teach mankind useful skills and crafts like how to build houses (*h.Hom.Heph.*20.1-7). This way of thinking is also seen in the late archaic period in Solon's Elegy to the Muses (fr.13 W). In this poem, Solon explains how different professions gain their skills from the relevant gods: the craftsman has 'learnt the works' (ἔργα δαεῖς) of Athena and Hephaestus, while the poet, the seer, and the doctor owe their knowledge to the Muses, Apollo, and Paeon respectively (49-62).<sup>40</sup>

How can we apply this to the case of Palamedes? The fragments we have of the tragic characterisation of Palamedes situate him firmly in this *protos heurtes* archetype, enumerating as they do the many benefactions he has brought to the Greek host. This characterisation finds many counterparts in other culture heroes in classical tragedy and literature, while it would be fairly unique for a mortal to be characterised in such a way in the archaic period. This suggests that Palamedes as *specifically* the intelligent inventor was not a characterisation that belonged to the oral Epic Cycle, but instead was a later development.

In sum, there is no proof that in pre-Homeric epic Palamedes was positioned as an intelligent inventor, whose benefactions for the Greeks made him the intellectual rival to Odysseus.

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<sup>39</sup> Gera (2003) 113-114.

<sup>40</sup> Mülke (2002) 296-308. On the theology of the elegy, see Mülke (2002) 311-312. The Solon elegy emphasises human helplessness and the superiority of the gods (54-76), cf. Johnston (2019) 77-79. It would be reductive to argue that the conception of the gods as the origins of human *technai* ended completely in the classical period; indeed, for example, Athena and Hephaestus continued to be celebrated in Athens as the patron gods of craftsmen: Noussia-Fantuzzi (2010) 181-183, cf. Plato *Leg.*920d-e. However, the literature of the classical period does clearly introduce a new way of understanding *technai* as the inventions of individual humans.

While we have seen that this is the characterisation at play in 5<sup>th</sup> century tragedy, there is no evidence at all that Palamedes was characterised in this way in archaic epic.

### **The ‘Mad Odysseus’ plot**

There is a proviso to be made in all of this. It is still possible that Palamedes was characterised from an early point as particularly clever, even in the absence of the *protos heurètes* trope. In terms of the relationship between Palamedes and Odysseus, an element that has not yet been fully explored is the ‘Mad Odysseus’ plot. That Odysseus feigned madness in order to avoid service and was then unmasked by Palamedes is included in Proclus’ summary of the *Cypria*. In general, this thesis is open to the idea that Proclus preserves an authentic picture of the Epic Cycle, which leads to the possibility that the ‘Mad Odysseus’ plot could reach back to the oral tradition of the Trojan War. However, that being said, other literary evidence for the stratagem only begins with references in Lycophron (815-819) and Lucian (*Dom.30*), and then the full story in Hyginus (*Fab.95*).<sup>41</sup>

Another possible point in favour of the ‘authenticity’ of the ‘Mad Odysseus’ story is its similarity with Homeric examples. The episode should be understood as an example of Odyssean *dolos*, of which the *Odyssey* is replete. But more specifically, this episode at the beginning of the war is structured identically to Odysseus’ meetings with Penelope and Laertes when he returns from the war. In all three examples, Odysseus begins the encounter in a disguise (whether of identity or sanity). In all three examples, the other character in the scene needs to say or do only one thing to undermine Odysseus’ disguise and make him reveal himself. In Book 23, Penelope rouses his suspicious anger when she cunningly

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<sup>41</sup> Gantz (1996) 580.

(πειρωμένη, 181) orders Eurycleia to move back their marriage-bed (177-180). This leads Odysseus to reveal his intimate knowledge of the bed and its construction, proving once and for all his true identity (183-230). Similarly, when he first reunites with his father, Odysseus lies and tells Laertes that he is a man called Eperitus (24.302-314). However, as soon as he sees the grieving Laertes covering himself in dust, Odysseus immediately drops his feint and confesses his true identity (315-344). Therefore, both of these Homeric examples conform very closely, as far as we can tell, to the example from the *Cypria*. There, Odysseus drops his feigned insanity as soon as his son is threatened (*Cypria* arg.31-33). In all three examples, Odysseus finds one of his defining characteristics, his *dolos*, totally undermined by a singular action of someone he is trying to deceive. That the ‘Mad Odysseus’ episode in the *Cypria* conforms to a pattern found in Homer (and the poet of Book 24) and is utilised by that poet at two important points of his narrative, suggests that this episode may well come from oral epic. However, as I have discussed elsewhere in this thesis, thematic parallels are not necessarily synonymous with authenticity. They may also betray a later addition that has been influenced by the precedents of Homeric poetry. A very similar problem occurs with the story of Achilles avoiding war service by hiding on Scyros (discussed in Chapter 5). In this case, perhaps the least risky conclusion to come to would be that, since the ‘Mad Odysseus’ episode does not contain any details that strongly speak against its antiquity and also fits in well with the narrative patterns and characterisation of Odysseus in Homer, it may well belong to the oral tradition.

If the ‘Mad Odysseus’ episode belongs to the oral tradition, this also suggests that the characterisation of Palamedes as particularly clever, although not yet an inventor, should also be traced back to this point. Proclus writes that the Greeks ‘acted on a suggestion of Palamedes’ (ὕποθεμένου). If Palamedes held a role as an advisor, this may have developed in

tandem with a traditional characterisation of ‘cleverness’. How far this intelligence was portrayed in opposition and relation to Odysseus’ intelligence in the oral tradition cannot be ascertained, beyond positing that the ‘Mad Odysseus’ episode presumably set them at odds with each other. It also seems likely that the earlier, traditional characterisation of Palamedes as clever would have laid the foundation stones for his reinvention as a culture hero in the Classical period.

### **Conclusion**

An investigation into the character of Palamedes has unfortunately ended with, if not more questions, certainly fewer answers than we began with. The two elements of Palamedes’ character arc that are most prominent in the literary tradition as a whole, his inventive genius and his death through a false accusation, appear to be impossible to trace back to epic. This does not rule out the possibility that they ought to be, and many scholars have made strong arguments that Palamedes as an inventor is a very ancient tradition. However, I have been able to find no evidence in the Cyclic evidence to support this as a conclusion, nor any trace of Palamedes in Homer. Nevertheless, a more generic characterisation as clever and intelligent may reach back to the epic tradition.

Instead, I end on three short points. The first was made by Stanford in his 1951 monograph, where he noted that Palamedes is ‘a kind of superfluous Prometheus in his inventiveness and a superfluous Odysseus in his prudent counsels’.<sup>42</sup> Much has been made of Odysseus and Palamedes’ close similarity and therefore rivalry, and this may predate the Greek tragic portrayals. This leads to further, possibly unanswerable questions, as to how closely

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<sup>42</sup> Stanford (1954) 257 n.8.

Palamedes and Odysseus were associated in the epic tradition. The second point is another quote from Stanford: ‘There is no evidence that the author of the *Cypria* regarded Palamedes as being such a pure-souled martyr as the fifth-century writers.’<sup>43</sup> This is an important point to bear in mind when we think about Palamedes in the Epic Cycle. Divorced from the tragic juxtaposition between himself (good) and Odysseus (bad), there is no reason to believe that this moral judgement was present in the Epic Cycle. Indeed, we cannot know that Palamedes’ death in the *Cypria* was not in fact presented as a justified comeuppance for his betrayal of Odysseus on Ithaca. This brings us neatly to my third and final point, which is that Palamedes’ death by drowning appears to be unique to the *Cypria*. It is remarkable that no trace of this turn of events is found elsewhere in the Palamedes tradition, which instead has Palamedes executed by the Greek host. Instead of focussing on questions of whether the drowning episode is ‘early’ or ‘late’, I think it better to emphasise the fact that what we have here is a part of the *Cypria* tradition that has remained untainted by the influence of the stronger tragic account of the death of Palamedes. If anything, this lends credibility to a picture of the Epic Cycle as a strong, independent tradition.

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<sup>43</sup> Stanford (1954) 85-86.

# 11. Concluding Remarks

Historically, the Epic Cycle has received short shrift from scholars working on Homer and early Greek poetry. However, the advent of Neoanalysis and then Oral Theory readjusted the view of the Epic Cycle and in recent years the Cycle has been the subject of a number of monographs and essay collections. It is hoped that this thesis might contribute to the increasing scholarly focus on the Epic Cycle.

The aim of this thesis was not to definitively prove that the Epic Cycle wholly pre-dated or post-dated the Homeric poems. Nor was it to prove that the Epic Cycle was the stylistic equal of the *Iliad* or the *Odyssey*. In common with the recent trend in Cycle studies, I have tried to move beyond using Homer as the yardstick by which any and all aspects of the Cycle are measured. Instead, I have adopted the now common view that both the Cycle and Homer are manifestations of a well-established and richly-detailed oral tradition of songs about the Trojan War. That being said, this thesis has also suggested that some details of the Cycle, at least as it is known to us from Proclus and the fragments, have been influenced by the prominence of the Homeric poems in the Classical period and beyond.

What this thesis did aim to do was use individual characters as a new way of approaching the Epic Cycle, understanding it as a complex tradition rather than a single, discrete piece of work. The nebulous nature of the Epic Cycle means that attempts to understand it or conceptualise it as a single block can only take us so far. In contrast, exploring individual characters is one way of breaking down the Epic Cycle into smaller pieces. By mapping out how an individual character is presented in the Cycle, and how this interacts with their presentation in Homer and later literature, I have tried to come to reasonable conclusions as

to how and why a character like Achilles acts the way they do in Proclus' epitomes. In turn, I have tried to expand out from an individual example to talk more generally about the background and evolution of the Epic Cycle. In some cases, enough evidence has been available to also discuss the concept of characterisation, most often in terms of characters displaying consistent traits and associations across the tradition.

In Part 1, I used characters as a way to approach two sets of sources for the Epic Cycle. This analysis suggested that Apollodorus and the fragments are not unproblematic sources for the Epic Cycle, but instead that any knowledge we wish to draw from them about the Cycle must be analysed in context and compared with the Proclean summaries.

Part 2 was an exploration of a number of the characters who populate Proclus' summaries. Unsurprisingly, discussions of each character have been determined by the quantity and type of evidence we have for them individually. The evidence has also determined the methodology I have used to approach each character. Sometimes the evidence has pointed us in the direction of Neoanalysis and the Cyclic allusions in Homer; sometimes it has been more appropriate to think in terms of Oral Theory and traditional referentiality.

Two chapters were given over to a discussion of Achilles and his son Neoptolemus, and how they are presented as characters in the Epic Cycle. The wealth of evidence for this pair in Proclus' epitomes allowed me to discuss characterisation, or at least consistency in characterisation across the Cycle. In the case of Achilles, the evidence of the Epic Cycle suggested that this hero was consistently portrayed not only as the superior warrior, but was also distinguished by his romantic and erotic encounters with a number of women. I argued that both of these modes of characterisation were how the Cycle foregrounded the importance

of Achilles as a character. This was also achieved by the links created across the Cycle between Achilles and Neoptolemus, as well as Achilles' post-mortem appearances. However, this also led to questions about the extent to which Achilles' importance in the Epic Cycle was a traditional element, and to what extent it was shaped and determined by his leading role in the *Iliad*.

The idea of traditional themes being associated with specific characters underpinned my discussion of Diomedes and Odysseus. In this chapter I traced the iterations of the *lochos* theme in episodes concerning these two characters across the Epic Cycle and the Homeric poems. I mostly put aside questions of 'authenticity' and chronology of sources, instead arguing that specific themes are consistently associated with Diomedes and Odysseus, leading to a preponderance of similar scenes, all of which would have 'made sense' to an audience in terms of how these two figures were traditionally characterised.

My discussion of the Trojan Princes also floated the idea that there was a traditional association between Paris and Aeneas and Near Eastern motifs. However, overall this chapter focussed on comparing how these characters are presented in Homer and in the Epic Cycle, in a manner more reminiscent of the Neoanalytical approach.

I then moved from major Homeric characters to those who play only a small role or no role at all in the Homeric poems. The chapter on Philoctetes, Protesilaus, Polypoites, and Leonteus focussed on how these characters are placed in the *Iliad*, arguing that their appearance here in Homer would have been made more meaningful by the audience's awareness of their roles elsewhere in the Epic Cycle.

Finally, the chapter on Palamedes showcased some of the limitations imposed on us by the evidence at hand and exposed the necessary reliance on Homer for the study of the Epic Cycle. The absence of Palamedes from Homer deprives us of an opportunity to see the character in another early Greek context, and consequently compare this with his appearance in the Epic Cycle. Instead, this chapter launched a study of Palamedes' characterisation in 5<sup>th</sup> century Athenian tragedy, arguing that his depiction there as a culture hero was unlikely to go back to oral epic.

What next?

This thesis has raised and underlined some questions that would benefit from further study. Above all, I would be interested to write a full-scale analysis of the fragments and testimonia for the Epic Cycle. While I have, with reservations, made Proclus the central source for my knowledge of the Epic Cycle, I also interrogated the use of Apollodorus and the fragments as different, sometimes competing, sources of information. However, a comprehensive analysis of these sources is beyond the bounds of this thesis. In particular, it would be valuable to have a full account of each fragment, examining the wider context of the fragment and the methodology of the author or scholiast responsible for the fragment. In this thesis I have suggested that some sources, such as the D-scholia, need to be approached with caution when trying to excavate from them information about the Epic Cycle. More work on the fragments may go further in supporting, or undermining, this conclusion.

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