

The Contribution of the Cyclic Poets to the Aeneid

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Macrobius, Sat. IV, 17, speaking of the invention of a cause of war between Aeneas and the Italian races, says, "maluissent Maronem et in hac parte apud auctorem suum vel apud quemlibet Graecorum alium quod sequeretur habuisse, alium non frustra dixi, quia non de unius pacem vindemiam sibi fecit sed bene in rem suam vertit quidquid ubicumque invenit imitandum adeo, ut de Argonauticorum quarto -----".

Much has been said since the time of Macrobius, of Vergil as an imitator. German criticism, followed for awhile by the English has been especially severe, and with the "obtrectatores" of his own lifetime, sees in him little more than a literary freebooter, - one who shines only in what he has appropriated from others. But more recent English criticism, ably represented by Conington again inclines to Macrobius' opinion, - "bene in rem suam vertit quidquid invenit."

His indebtedness to Homer has always been confessed to be immense; but after a study of the Aeneid one is struck by the variety of his sources, and the freedom with which he, after all, handles his Homeric material, either adopting the versions of later writers or changing the story as his poetic genius deemed most fit.

t. Aeneid is that of the Greek epic; the underlying thought, partly Greek, 24 partly Roman; when Greek, it belongs to the Attic stage and perhaps the eue- Orphic writings, rather than to the Homeric poems. 24

Likewise, Conington, in closing his General Introduction to the Aeneid, says:---- "he modified the Homeric story at his pleasure, according to the thousand considerations that might occur to a poetical artist, a patriot, and a connoisseur of antiquarian learning. Of later influences the only one which seems to have taken a really powerful hold of him is Greek tragedy, which was in fact the only instance of a genius and culture commensurate with his own, operating in a sphere analogous to his. The epics of Alexandria and of early Rome may furnish occasional illustration to the commentator on the Aeneid, but his more continuous studies will be better devoted to the poetry of Homer, and to the tragic drama of Greece".

It is the contribution to the Aeneid of that part of the Greek Epic, known as the Cyclic poems, which is the subject of the present paper, a subject about which, apparently not a great deal has been written. Heyne's notes and excursuses, the sources of Conington's and Papillon and Haigh's, are valuable as a basis from which to work, but they call for not only a use of the writings of Vergil's predecessors, but also of such writers as Quintus Smyrnaeus (or Calabes), Tryphiodorus, Dares Phrygius, and Dictys Cretensis, whose sole value lies in the fact that they are supposed to have slavishly followed early sources.

Welcker's "Der Epische Cyclus, oder die Homerischen Dichter", two volumes, Bonn, 1865, and "Die Griechischen Tragödien mit Rücksicht auf den epischen Cyclus", three volumes, Bonn, 1839, do not bring the story up to Vergil.

Monro, who largely follows Welcker, has two instructive articles in the 4th and 5th volumes of the journal of Hellenic Studies, '83-'84, entitled respectively, "On the Fragment of 'roclus' Abstract of the Epic Cycle-contained in the Codex Venetus of the Iliad," pp. 305-334; and "The Poems of the Epic Cycle", pp.1-41. Monro follows the order adopted in Kinkel's "Epicorum Graecorum Fragmenta", the text used as the basis of this paper.

In attempting to trace Vergil's use of the Cyclic poets, we are at once met by the disadvantage that the only record we possess of them is a mutilated abstract contained in Codex Venetus of the Iliad, and the

fragments accidentally preserved in other writers. Thus we are unable to remark verbal imitation, which, in the case of his indebtedness to Homer, plays a large part; nor are we enabled to judge how far Vergil followed the details of incidents.

The importance, too, of the Epic Cycle, exclusive of the Iliad and Odyssey, as a source employed by Vergil, is impaired by two facts, - one, that the epic poets after Homer copied him largely in such matters as the conduct of the war, its battles and the like; - the other, that in furnishing material to the tragic poets with whom Vergil was temperamentally in greater sympathy, they have often lost the opportunity to be called his direct source, though the original inspiration was theirs.

There seems to have been a great mass of legend left untouched by the Iliad and Odyssey; by the epic poets after Homer, - 776-550-; this was worked up into poems intended as introductions and conclusions of the story told in those great epics. These poems did not survive the vicissitudes of the Roman Empire, and as has been said, are known to us now only from the abstracts of Proclus, represented in part by the Codex Venetus of the Iliad, the account of Photius in his "Bibliotheca", quotations by Greek tragic writers.

The history of the Epic Cycle up to the abstract made by Proclus is very uncertain. Monro, by an examination of the extant Greek literature from the time of Plato and Aristotle down to Alexandrian times, thinks he establishes that in this period (1) 'there is no trace of the epic cycle as we understand it, or of any similar poetical composition. The poems relating to the Theban expedition and those dealing with the Trojan war were not as yet arranged in a chronological order. (2) The word *Κύκλος* occurs as the name of a particular kind of short poem, and in the title of a prose work containing a comprehensive survey or abridgement of mythical history. The adjective *Κυκλικός* has the general sense of "conventional", and is also the name or epithet of an Alexandrian school, to which Horace's scriptor cyclicus belonged. He thinks further proves that at some time the separate poems were arranged in their proper chronological sequence, and that in doing this some were abridged where two poems treated of the same event, and minor changes were made in the body of the poems where such changes were needed to make a consistent story. Welcker, on the other hand, believes these changes were made not in the poems themselves but in the abstract.

When this arrangement of the poems was made it seems impossible to say, nor how long the poems maintained a separate existence.

The brief prose abstract which we possess in part and which Photius (9th century) quotes, professes to be from a certain *χρηστομαθεια γραμματικη* a kind of primer or resume of Greek literature, - the work of a grammarian Proclus. About Proclus, says Monro, nothing is certain except that he is not Proclus Diadochus, the Platonic philosopher of the 5th century; such a work is not consonant with his character and studies.

He was born at Byzantium, February 8, 412 A.D. and was educated at Xanthus in Lycia, where his family had had its origin. Alexandria and Athens also claimed him as a student, and in the later city he became a celebrated teacher, dying there April 17, 485 A.D. He was the last of the Neo-Platonic school who acquired any celebrity. His labors to win converts from Christianity were earnest. There is no complete edition of his extant works, which deal with philosophic subjects.

Authorities generally agree in supposing Eutyclus Proclus of Sicca, the tutor of Marcus Aurelius, the writer of the abstract. The Codex Venetus of the Iliad, a MS of the 10th century, contains all the Trojan portion of the Epic Cycle except the Cypria, which is found in four other MSS, none of high authority.

That the Cypria belonged to the Cycle we know from Photius, patriarch of the 9th century.

Photius was prominent in the civil and ecclesiastical affairs of his day and was distinguished for his learning and literary taste. Of his work the Myriobiblion, or Bibliotheca, a collection of extracts and summaries of a large number of Greek authors in 283 sections, the Lexicon, the Nomocanon, a collection of facts and decrees of councils up to the 7th oecumenical council and his letters, are of great interest.

Photius says he had before him selections (ἐκλογαί), from the χρονολογία εἰς γραμματικὴν of Proclus, and that this work was divided into four books. The extracts employed by Photius in his Bibliotheca consisted of short lives of the great epic poets, Homer, Hesiod, Pisander, Panyasis, and Antimachus; an account of the so called Epic Cycle; and a discussion of the authorship of the Cypria.

He says the Epic Cycle began with the primeval embrace of Heaven and Earth, and ended with the death of Ulysses. It was made up from different parts, and was preserved and valued not so much for its worth as for the order of the events contained in it.

The Codex Venetus and others contain the life of Homer. Of the rest of the Chrestomathy, we have an abstract or argument of the Trojan part of the Epic Cycle, specifying the poems of which it was made up; these, if our text be complete, were eight:

1. Cypria (authorship disputed).
2. Iliad.
3. Little Iliad, by Lesches of Mitylene.
4. Aethiopus, by Arctinus of Miletus.
5. Sack of Ilium (Ἰλίου Πέρις), by Arctinus.
6. Nostor, by Agias of Troezen.
7. Odyssey.
8. Telegonia, by Engammon of Cyrene.

This is the order determined upon by Monro and Kinkel, the only point in which they differ from some other arrangements being in the 5th number of the series. Maffay in his history of Greek literature says "the arrangers of the mythical cycle preferred, on the sack of Troy, a poem of Lesches called the "Little Iliad". Monro sees no reason for this, and asks how, if the "Sack of Ilium" by Arctinus was not in the Epic Cycle, it came to be in Proclus' abstract?"

From a derangement in the order of the leaves of the Codex, and a transposition of the text, Heyne and Michaelis conjectured that a poem by Lesches on the Sack of Troy was also introduced into the Epic Cycle along with that by Arctinus. This however is not admitted by Welcker, Monro and others.

The poems of the Trojan cycle are described as follows:

I. The Cypria.

Kinkel uses the four MSS, E (Escr. or Matrit.), M (Monac. Gr. 111), N (Neap.), and P (Parm.), for the Chrestomathy of Proclus. These four he regards as derived from Codex Venetus A. Proclus says the poem was divided into eleven books, of which the story was this:

Zeus and Themis to relieve the earth of its excessive population (cp. Frag. 1) planned the Trojan war. Eris who was present at the wedding feast of Peleus and Thetis roused strife between Athena and Hera and Aphrodite, with a golden apple for the fairest; at the command of Zeus, Hermes leads them to Mt. Ida where Paris decided in favor of Aphrodite who promised him Helen for his wife. She bids Paris and Aeneas set sail for Greece. In spite of the warnings of Helenus and Cassandra they go; Paris is entertained in Lacedaemon by Castor and Pollux, then in Sparta by Menelaus. At the feast Paris gives gifts to Helen. Afterward Menelaus sails to Crete, bidding Helen entertain the visitors till their departure. During his

absence Aphrodite unites Paris and Helen; then taking on board a great quantity of treasure, they sail away by night. Hera raises a storm and they are driven to Sidon which Paris captures; - thence to Troy where Paris consummates the marriage.

The voyage to Sidon, given by Proclus, did not constitute a part of the original poem as we learn from Herodotus II, 116, 117. He says the Cypria could not have been written by Homer, as was the prevalent belief, because that poem represented Paris as arriving the third day in Ilium, with fair wind and smooth sea (cp. Horace Od. I, 15, 5)

Ingrato celeres obruit otio

Ventos); whereas "ἐν ταύταις δὲ Ἰλιάδι λέγεται ὡς ἐπλάσθητο ἄγνωσθῆναι. Ἐν ταύτοις τοῖς ἔπεσι (Il. I 289-297) δηλοῦται ἡ πίστις τὴν ἐκ Αἴγυπτου Ἀλεξάνδρου πλάσσειν. ὁμοῦρεν γὰρ ἡ Συρία Αἴγυπτος, οὗ δὲ φολύκεε ---"

It is evident that the change was made in consequence of Herodotus' criticism, probably before the time of Proclus.

The story of the Cypria now returns to Sparta and tells of the Dioscuri and the Messenian twins Lynceus and Idas. Castor is slain by Polydeuces; Zeus grants the twin brethren alternate immortality.

Iris is then sent to tell Menelaus of Helen's deed. He learns that she is in Ilium and prepares, with Agamemnon, to lead an army for her recovery. First he goes to Nestor who made a long speech about Epopeus and the daughter of Lycus, about Oedipus and the madness of Herakles, about Theseus and Ariadne. Then they got together the chiefs of Hellas, except Ulysses, who, foreseeing the war was destined to be long, feigned madness. Palamedes however, placed the child Telemachus in the furrow where Ulysses was plowing, and so exposed the sham. After this, coming to Aulis they sacrifice, where took place the incident of the sparrows and the serpent, and the prophecy of Calchas. (Il., 2, 300.). Then they set sail and come to Teuthrania where they encounter Telephus and the Mysians. They sack the city, in mistake for Ilium say Proclus and Strabo. There Telephus killed Thersander, son of Polyneices, and was himself wounded by Achilles. When the Greeks leave Mysia they encounter a storm. Achilles was carried to Scyrus where he married Deidameia, daughter of Lycomedes. On his return to Argos he healed Telephus in order that he might guide the Greeks to Troy. The expedition scattered by the storm reassembles at Aulis, where Agamemnon kills a deer sacred to Artemis. In anger she detains the fleet by contrary winds. At the word of Calchas, Iphigeneia was brought, on the pretense of being wedded to Achilles, but in reality to be sacrificed to Artemis. But Artemis, substituting a deer, carries her off among the Taurians and makes her immortal. Then they sail to Tenedos where Philoctetes was bitten by a serpent and in consequence of the offensive odor of the wound was deserted on Lemnos. On their arrival at Troy Achilles quarrels with Agamemnon over a question of precedence. The Trojans repel the Greeks; Hector slays Profesilaus. But Achilles joins the fray and routs them, killing Cycnus, son of Poseidon, and recovers the dead. The Greeks open negotiations demanding back Helen and the treasure she had carried off. (Il. 3, 205, ff) When the Trojans refused, the τεύχομαχία took place, then they ravage the country and take the neighboring villages. After this Achilles desires to see Helen and Aphrodite and Thetis bring them together. The siege did not advance and the army longed to go home, but were prevented by Achilles, who then performed various exploits mentioned or implied in the Iliad, driving away the herds of Aeneias, and plundered Lyrnesus and Pedasus and many other neighboring towns. He also killed Troilus. And Patroclus driving Lycaon away to Lemnos kills him. Achilles gets Briseis as his share of the booty, while Chryseis falls to Agamemnon. Palamedes is killed, and Zeus plans to come to the rescue of the Trojans, by withdrawing Achilles from the fighting; and the whole concludes with a catalog of the Trojan allies. The authorship of the Cypria is generally attributed to Stasinus of

Cyprus or to Hegesias or Hegesinus of Salamis in Cyprus. The Scholiast on Clem. Alex. III, 30 says the Cyprian poems belong to the cycle, and are concerned with the rape of Helen, but their author is unknown. Photius, Bibl. p. 319 Bekk. says some attribute them to Stasinus of Cyprus, some to Hegesinus of Salamis, some to Homer who gave the *mk* to Stasinus for his daughter and called it after Stasinus' native land. But Photius, after Proclus, remarks that the Cypria cannot well be ascribed to Homer.

Tzetes ad Lyc. Cass. 570, and others call the poem τὰ Κουπριακά. Clem. Alex. Protr. II, 30, τὰ Κουπριακά ποικιλιάτα, but most often the title is simply τὰ Κούπρια.

Kinkel gives twenty two fragments of the Cypria, besides three which are uncertain. About half are quotations amounting in all to more than forty lines. These fragments add something to our knowledge of the details of the poem, and serve, with the exception of Herodotus II, 117, to confirm Proclus' account.

Fragment I, tells how Zeus pitied the overpopulated earth, and planned the Trojan war to thin the people by death.

The Scholiast on Ven A, Il. A, 5, 6, says Zeus first sent the Theban war; and then calling Momus into counsel, he deliberates destroying mankind by lightning and flood, but is dissuaded by Momus who suggests the marriage of Thetis to a mortal, and offspring of a beautiful daughter who shall cause war between Greek and barbarian, and so lighten the earth's burden, and says *Stasinus who wrote the Cypria says* "Βούλην

Frag. (2) Schol. Ven. et Minn. ad Il. II, 140, describes the spear given to Peleus by the gods. (3) and (4) probably describe Helen arraying herself for the judgment of Paris. (6) Tells how Nemesis, mother of Helen, fled from Zeus and changed herself into various forms to escape him.

(5), (7), (9), (14) belong to the episode of the Dioscuri; one says Lynceus was endowed with superhuman power of sight and could see from Taygetus over all Peloponnesus, and through the trunk of the oak in which the Dioscuri were hiding.

Frag. (11) refers to the son of Achilles born in Scyros, and tells us his name "Pyrrhus", - not mentioned by Homer, - was given by Lycomedes, while "Neoptolemus" was that bestowed by Phoenix.

(16) Accounts for Chryseis, a native of Chryse, being taken in the sack of Thebe. (Il. I, 369) saying that she came there to sacrifice to Artemis.

(18) Tells that Palamedes was killed while fishing by Diomedes and Ulysses.

(14) Tells of the death of Protesilaus.

(13) Refers to the quarrel of Achilles and Agamemnon.

(19) Pausanias X, 26, 1, says Lesches and the Cypria call Eurydice the wife of Aeneas.

The hero of the poem is Paris, the main event the carrying away of Helen, and Aristotle says it also had one time, so probably the earlier part of the story was introduced as an episode, as in the Odyssey. Aphrodite is here the tutelary divinity, as Athene is in the Odyssey; Aeneas is also rendered prominent. Paris is the favorite of Aphrodite, as was Ulysses of Athene in the Odyssey. Monro thinks the poem was marked by a distinct ethos or vein of moral feeling.

But although the Cypria according to Aristotle had one hero, one action and one time, its structure is looser than that of the Iliad and Odyssey, and it furnished many subjects to the dramatists.

It was most certainly composed as an introduction to the Iliad. The *Βούλην Διός* (frag. 1) points to Il. I, 5; the story that Chryses came to sacrifice at Thebe (fr. 16), is to reconcile an apparent inconsistency in the Iliad; the taking of Lycaeus and Pedasus (fr. 15), is suggested by Iliad II, 690, XX, 92; the spear of Peleus (fr. 2) by Il. XVI, 140; the embassy to Troy, by Il. 3, 205; the portents at Aulis, by

Il. II, 301, ff.

The slaying of Protesilaus, (fr. 14), Achilles' visit to Scyros and the birth of Neoptolemus (fr. 11), and the incident of Philoctetes may have been suggested by Homer, but could have been the survival of an independent legend.

The catalog of Trojan allies must have been intended to supplement that in Il. II, 816 ff. and is the result of larger knowledge of the Non-Hellenic races in the Troad.

But a large part of the events in the Cypria are Non-Homeric:

1. The opening series of events, Zeus' wish to depopulate the earth, the apple of Discord, and the rest, appear to be post-Homeric. The judgment of Paris is alluded to in Il. XXIV, 25-30.

ἔνθ' ἄλλοις μὲν πᾶσιν ἔαρδανεν, οὐδὲ ποθ' Ἥρη
 οὐδὲ Ποσειδάων' οὐδὲ γλαυκώπιδα Κούρη,
 ἀλλ' ἔχον ὡς σφιν πρῶτον ἀπήχθετο Ἴλιος ἔρη,
 καὶ Πρίαμος καὶ λαὸς Ἀλεξάνδρου ἔνεκά ἄρχης,
 ὃς νείκεσσε θεάς, ὅτε οὐ μέσσαυλον ἔκορτο,
 τὴν δ' ἦνθησ' ἢ οὐ πόρε μαχλοσύνην ἀλεγεινήν.]

"So to all the others seemed it good, yet not to Hera, or Poseidon or the bright-eyed Maiden, but they continued as when at the beginning sacred Ilios became hateful to them, and Priam and his people, by reason of the sin of Alexandros (in that he contemned those goddesses when they came to his steading, and preferred her who brought him deadly lastfulness)!"

The twenty fourth book is generally regarded as one of the late books, and Aristarchus obelized the passage

ὃς νείκεσσε θεάς, ὅτε οὐ μέσσαυλον ἔκορτο,
 τὴν δ' ἦνθησ' ἢ οὐ πόρε μαχλοσύνην ἀλεγεινήν.

on the ground, among others, that νείκεσσε is inappropriate, and means not "decided against", but "scolded", "flouted".

The lines however suggest a simpler and local version of the affair, especially, the words "ὅτε οὐ μέσσαυλον ἔκορτο", and "πόρε μαχλοσύνην."

This legend was probably in some respects parallel to the story of Aphrodite and Anchises, told in the Homeric Hymn to Aphrodite, and to other like tales told in Asia Minor.

The more common version may have been inspired by a desire to fit the local legend into the story of the Trojan war: Homer does not hint even in the twenty fourth book at any connection between the visit of the goddesses and the journey of Paris to Sparta. The story was probably recast in post-Homeric times to increase the importance of Aphrodite in the Trojan story.

Vergil makes use of the judgment of Paris as one of the several causes of Juno's anger, - Aen. I, 26. "Manet alta mente repostum Iudicium Paridis spretaeque injuria forma".

The story of Lynceus and Idas, the Messenian twins, is unknown to Homer. Vergil gives one of his Trojans the name Lynceus, - Aen. IX, 768, for no apparent reason except that of his fancy.

The alternate immortality of the Dioscuri, says Monro, is contradicted by Il. III, 243. --- τοὺς δ' ἦδη κάτεχευ φουρίβοος αἶα,
 Il. III, 236-244,

κατορά θ' ἐπὶ δαμόν καὶ πύε ἀγαθὸν πολυδέυκεα,
 αὐτοκασιγνήτω, τῷ μοι μῖα γείνατο μήτηρ.
 ἢ οὐχ ἔσπεύσθην λακεδαίμονος εἰε ἔραται κῆρ

αἰσχεὰ δειδιότες καὶ ὄρεϊδεα πόλῃ, ἄμοι' ἔστυν.
ὡς φάτο, τοὺς δ' ἤδη κάταχεν Φυσίβοος αἶα
ἐν Λακεδαιμόνῃ αἰθερὶ, φίλῃ ἐν πατρίδι γαίῃ.

"But two captains of the host can I not see, even Kastor tamer of horses and Polydeukes the skilful boxer, mine own brethern, whom the same mother bore. Either they came not in the company from lovely Lakedaimon; or they came hither indeed in their seafaring ships, but now will not enter into the battle of the warriors, for fear of the many scornings and revilings that are mine." So said she; but them the life-giving earth held fast there in Lakedaimon, in their dear native land".

There is certainly no intimation of immortality here. As to their relation to Helen, they are children of the same mother.

But in Od. XI, 298-304 the story has changed,-

καὶ Λήδην εἶδον τὴν Τυνδάρεω παράκοιτιν,
ἣ ῥ' ὀπὸ Τυνδάρεω κρατερόφρονε γέλνατο παῦδε,
Κάστορά θ' ἱππόδαμον καὶ πύξ ἀγαθὸν Πολυδεύκην,
τοὺς ἀμφω, ζωὸς κατέχει Φυσίβοος αἶα
οἳ καὶ νέρθεν γῆς τὴν πρὸς Ζηνὸς ἔχοριες
ἄλλοτε μὲν ζωὸς ἕτερη μέροσ' ἄλλοτε δ' αὐτὲ

"And I saw Lede, the famous bed-fellow of Tyndareus who bare to Tyndareus two sons, hardy of heart, Kastor tamer of steeds, and Polydeukes the boxer. These twain yet live, but the quickening earth is over them; and even in the nether world they have honour at the hand of Zeus. And they possess their life in turn, living one day and dying the next, and they have gotten worship even as the gods".

In the Cypria, they are called Tyndarides. Idas kills Kastor, but both the Messenians are killed by Polydeukes, - "καὶ Ζεὺς αὐτὰς ἕτερη μέρον νέμετ τὴν ἀθαρασίαν."

We are unable to judge from this brief abstract whether the story that Helen and Polydeukes were children of Zeus and Leda, and so immortal, while Kastor was the mortal son of Tyndareus and Leda, had its origin in the Cypria.

Certainly the alternate immortality belongs to the Odyssey, which however makes the twin brethren mortals. Vergil follows the later story which makes Pollux obtain alternate immortality for his brother. Aen. VI, 121,

si fratrem Pollux alterna morte redemit itque reditque viam totiens.

So much space has been devoted to this doubtful point, because Monro asserts that the alternate immortality of Kastor and Pollux is post-Homeric.

The story of Cycnus, the "Swan hero", son of Poseidon belongs to the marvels of the post-Homeric times. "In later accounts he is invulnerable and can be dispatched only by leaping into the sea", says Monro. "According to another version he is changed into a swan like the Schwan-Ritter of German legend". Smith's Dictionary of Biography distinguishes no less than five characters bearing this name. One "was a son of Poseidon, king of Colonae in Troas and father of Tenes and Hemithea. His second wife Philonome fell in love with her stepson Tenes, and being refused by him, accused him to his father who threw Tenes and Hemithea in a chest into the sea. The chest was driven to the island of Leucophrys where Tenes was made king. He called the isle Tenedos after himself. Cycnus discovered the innocence of Tenes, killed Philonome, and joined his children in Tenedos. Here both Tenes and Cycnus were killed by Achilles. As Cycnus could

οἳ
λέγειν
ἔχοντες
τὴν
βασιάν

not be wounded with iron, Achilles strangled him with the thong of his helmet, or killed him with a stone. As he was stripping the dead king of his armor, the body disappeared and was changed into a swan".

Vergil's allusion in Aen. II, 21, would appear to be to this story:-

Est in conspectu Tardos, notissima fama insula, dives opum, Priami dum regna manebant."

But Aen. X, 185-193,

Non ego te, Ligurum ductor fortissime bello, transierim, Cunare, et paucis comitate Cuparo, // cuius olorinae surgunt de vertice pinnae, // crimen, Amor, vestrum fundeque insigne paternae. //

namque ferunt luctu Cycnum Phaethontis amati, //
populeas inter frondas umbramque sororum

dum canit, et maestum musa solatur amorem, // canentem molli pluma duxisse senectam, // linquentem terras et sidera voce sequentem". seems to refer rather to Cycnus, son of Sthenelus, king of the Ligurians, and friend and relative of Phaethon, whose fate Ovid tells in Met. II, 367, and Pausanias in I, 30, 3.

Proclus merely says Cycnus was killed by Apollo, so it is impossible to say how much of the marvellous element there was in the Cypria. (But Cycnus is at any rate, a fantastic creature such as Ulysses might have met, but is unknown to the Iliad.)

Palamedes is an important addition to post-Homeric story. In the Cypria he detects the feigned madness of Ulysses, and is drowned while fishing, by Ulysses and Diomedes (fr. 18). In later writers he appears as a hero of the new type, one of those who have benefited mankind by their inventions, and his fate is something of a martyrdom. As the enemy of Ulysses he represents the highest type of intelligence in contrast to mere selfish cunning (Ovid Met. 13, 37). It is impossible to say how much this was brought out in the Cypria. Vergil, whose conception of Ulysses' character was based not alone on the depravation that character had undergone in later writers than Homer, but also on his position as defender of the Trojans, gives us the highest development of Palamedes' character, Aen. II, 81-

fando aliquod si forte tuas pervenit ad auris // Belidae nomen Palamedes et inclenta fama // gloria, quem falsa sub proditione Pelasgi // insontem infando indicio, quia bella vetabat // demisere Neci, nunc cassum lumine lugent; // illi me comitem et consanguinitate propincum // pauper in arma pater primis huc misit ab annis // dum stabat regno incolumis regumque vigeat // conciliis, et nos aliquod nomenque decusque // gessimus. Invidia postquam pallacis Ulixii // (haut ignota loquor) // superis concessit ab oris, // adflictus vitam in tenebris luctuque trahebam // et casum insontis mecum indignabar amica, // nec tacui demens et me, fors si qua tulisset, // si patrios umquam remeassem victor ad Argos, // promisi ultorem et verbis odia aspera movi // hinc mihi prima mali labes, hinc semper Ulixes // criminibus terrere novis, hinc spargere voces // in volgum ambiguas et quaerere conscius arma. // nec requirit enim, donec Calchante ministro, // sed quid ego haec autem nequiquam ingrata revolve? // quidve moror? si omnis uno ordine habetis Achivos // idque audire sat est, iandudum sumite poenas". //

Dictys Cretensis 2, 15, makes Ulysses and Diomedes persuade Palamedes to descend into a well where they pretended was a hidden treasure, and then hurl rocks down and so kill him.

Palamedes was a favorite subject with the tragic writers, the sophists and the grammarians, and Vergil's conception is doubtless the result of all these; but Monro remarks that the germ, - the contrast between the wisdom of Palamedes and the wisdom of Ulysses, - can fairly be traced in the Cypria: the murder by Ulysses and Diomedes is as inconsistent with

Homer, as consonant with later conceptions.

Helenus is in the Cypria represented as along with Cassandra prophesying the results of Paris' voyage to Sparta. He is not mentioned at all in the Odyssey, and of the nine times in the Iliad, with two exceptions, VII, 44, VI, 76, he is simply the son of Priam and one of the warriors. In VI, 76, VII, 44, he is called a seer. He is heard of again in the Little Iliad, where Vergil's account of him will be considered.

Cassandra is mentioned three times by Homer, Il. XIII, 365, XXIV, 699, Od. XI, 422 but with no reference to her prophetic powers. The Cypria says, *καὶ Κασσάνδρα περὶ τῶν μεγάλων προσηλοῖ.*

She reappears in the Iliu persis.

The Cypria says after pillaging Lyrnessus and other towns, Achilles killed Troilus. This hero is mentioned once by Homer, Il. XXIV, 257.

*τῶν δ' οὐ τινα φημι λελεσθαι,
καὶ Τρώϊον ἐπιοχάρμυρ.*

(Priam's speech to his sons after Hector's death) / Aen. I, 474.

parte alia fugiens amissas Troilus armis
infelix puer atque impar congressus Achilli:// fertur equis curruque haeret
resupinas inani//lora tenem tamen; hinc cervixque comaeque trahuntur //
per terram, et versa pulvis inscribitur hasta.

This scene may be written with a conscious remembrance of Il VI 42-43, but the death of Troilus at the hands of Achilles certainly belongs to the Cypria.

One of the un-Homeric stories of the Cypria is that of Anius of Delos and his three daughters *Οἰνώ, Στερμώ, Ελαίς*, a story not given by Proclus but surviving in a fragment (17) preserved in the Scholl. vet. (Cod. Marc. 476) ad Lycophr 570. Staphylus (grapes), son of Dionysius had a daughter Rhoio (pomegranate). Her father perceiving she was with child by Apollo put her in a chest and cast it into the sea. The chest floated to Euboea, where the mother bore Anius, who afterwards became a priest of Apollo in Delos and married Dorippe by whom he had three daughters, Oino, Stermo and Elais. These were given the power to produce any quantity of wine, seed (corn) and oil; so that once when famine was imminent, Agamemnon at the suggestion of Palamedes, sent for them, and they came to Rhoeteum where they fed the Greek army. Proclus says Pherecydes said that Anius persuaded the Greeks to stay with him eight years and prophesied that Troy would fall in the tenth year.

Vergil recalls the father, Anius, in Aen. III, 80, (At Delos)
Rex Anius, rex idem hominum ^{divinorum sacerdos} tempora lauro, // occurrit, veterem Anchisen ^{et eadem redemptus}
agnovit amicum // iungimus hospitio dextras et tecta subimus".

The author of the Cypria was fond of personification, as in this story of Anius and his three daughters, of Helen as daughter of Nemesis, the consultation of Zeus and Themis, and the sending of Discord with the apple. He is fond of wonders, as the protean changes of Nemesis, the apple of discord, the healing of Telephus, the marvellous sight of Lynceus, the powers of the daughters of Anius. The notion of magical efficiency residing in certain persons and objects is one that is found in Homer only in the "outer geography" of the Odyssey. Monro thinks a study of the Cypria will show (1) that between the time of Homer and the time of the former poem, a large body of legend had gathered available for epic treatment, (2) this was brought about chiefly by the opening up of local tradition. (3) Concurrently with this, came a marked change in the tone and spirit of the stories, notwithstanding that the writer of the Cypria wrote under the influence of Homer, and to furnish an introduction to his work.

This ever-increasing change will help to explain why while the form of the Aeneid may be Homeric, its spirit certainly is not.

The Iliad was continued by the Aethiopis of Arctinus of Miletus, in five books. Arctinus was the greatest of the epic poets after Homer. His date is put by the chronologists at about 776 B.C. The story is this;— After the death and burial of Hector, the Amazon Penthesilea, a Thracian, daughter of Ares, came to assist the Greeks. After performing prodigies of valor she was killed by Achilles. She was buried by the Trojans, which gave Thersites occasion to speak ill of Achilles and say he was seized by love for her. Achilles slew Thersites, and this caused a faction among the Greeks. Achilles sailed to Lesbos and there sacrificing to Apollo, Artemis and Leto, he was purified of blood guilt by Ulysses. Memnon, son of Eos, the dawn, clad in armour made by Hephaestus came to the aid of the Trojans. Thetis foretold to Achilles his fate should he kill Memnon, but when Antilochus had been killed by Memnon, Achilles slays him in revenge. Eos obtains from Zeus immortality for her son. Achilles routed by the Trojans and chasd them into the city when he fell at the hands of Paris and Apollo, in the Scaean gate. A fierce fight takes place over the dead body which was carried to the ships by Ajax while Odysseus wards off the foe. Antilochus is buried and the body of Achilles lies in state. Thetis coming with the Muses and her sisters bewailed her son, then bore him away to the island of Leuce. The Greeks erected a mound and celebrated games, in which Ulysses and Ajax contended for the armour of Achilles. So far the Chrestomathy of Proclus.

The Tabula Veronensis, now in the Louvre gives the following summary of the Aethiopis. "Penthesilea the Amazon arrives. Achilles kills Penthesilea. Memnon kills Antilochus. Achilles kills Memnon. Achilles falls in the Scaean gates at the hand of Paris."

Monro conjectures that each sentence summarizes a book, and would make the order as follows;—

- I. Arrival of Penthesilea: her ἀποτεία
 - II. Slaying of Penthesilea: interval of truce, occupied by the Trojans in her burial, and by the Greeks in the Thersites scene and the withdrawal of Achilles.
 - III. Arrival and ἀποτεία of Memnon. He slays Antilochus.
 - IV. Return of Achilles. He kills Memnon and routs the Trojans.
 - V. Death of Achilles; the battle over his body; θρῆνος and apotheosis of Achilles; funeral games and contest for his arms:
- The Scholiast on Pindar, Isth. 3, 53, says that according to the Aethiopis Ajax killed himself about dawn,— which would indicate that the story was brought down further than Proclus intimates. The omission is made in order to connect the Aethiopis with the Little Iliad which also related the contest for the arms and the death of Ajax.

The Aethiopis has greater simplicity and unity than the Cypria. There are two days of battle separated by an interval not necessarily long; and the second battle is followed quickly by the funeral games. The hero is Achilles; the main event of his death; and to this apparently all the rest was duly subordinated.

However, the number of incidents based on Homer is comparatively small. The death of Achilles follows Il. XXII, 359, 360.

ἤματι τῷ ὅτε κεν σε Πάρις καὶ Φοῖβος Ἀπόλλων.
ἔφαλλον ἔοιτ' ὀλέσωνεν ἐνὶ ἕκαλῃσι Πύργισι.

This could have been a part of the myth before Homer.

Od. IV, 187,
μῆσατο γὰρ κατὰ θυμὸν ἀμύμονος Ἄρτε γόχουλο,
τόν ῥ' ἦοὺς ἔκτενε φαεινῆς ἀγλαῶς υἱός.

does not connect Memnon with the Ethiopians.

The Amazons are mentioned in the Iliad, but like the Aethiopians in the Odyssey, belong to a faraway and fanciful region.

Il. 3, 189.

... ὅτε τῷ ἦλθον Ἀμαζόνες ἀρτιάριπα.

Il. VI, 186,

τὸ τρίτον αὖ κατέπεφεν Ἀμαζόνες ἀρτιάριπας.

The funeral games, held in honor of Achilles and the lament performed by Thetis, the Muses and the Nereids, are described Od. XXIV, 36-97.

It is to be remembered however that the 24th book is one of the latest. The burning of the body there, 71-79, is replaced in the Aethiopsis by an apotheosis more satisfactory to later religious and national feeling. The burning of the body marks Od. XXIV as earlier, at any rate, than the Aethiopsis.

This exhausts the list of direct borrowings from Homer, but the whole course of events is closely paralleled to that of the Iliad. The hero is the same; he quarrels with the Greeks and withdraws awhile; Thetis plays the same part, in consoling and warning her son. Antilochus replaces Patroclus and his death is avenged by Achilles who pursuing the Trojans too far is killed by Paris and Apollo as Patroclus was by Hector and Apollo.

The contest over the body repeats Il. 17, over Patroclus' body, especially Il. 17, 715 ff. where Menelaus and Meriones bear the body away, while the two Ajaxes ward off attack, just as Ulysses and Ajax in the Aethiopsis. Achilles' armour is repeated by Memnon's; he gives up Penthesilea as he had given up Hector. Thersites once more appears, and all is wound up by a *ἔπος* ἄλλο, a funeral, and funeral games.

The post-Homeric elements are:-

(1) The Amazon episode, which was unknown to Homer. Strabo XII, 24, speaks as if it were an established fact that the Amazons took no part in the Trojan war; he probably did not know the poems of Arctinus.

(2). Memnon and the Aethiopians are substantially post-Homeric, though Od. 4, 187, already quoted, speaks of Nestor weeping for his son Antilochus, whom the son of the dawn slew. ^{also Od. II, 521} But the Aethiopians in the Odyssey are too far out of the known world to take part in the Trojan war. Both the Amazons and the Aethiopians are nations of a fabulous type, not of the type of those of the Iliad. Their introduction into the Aethiopsis makes a leaning to the romantic and marvellous of which we have seen examples in the Cypria.

Aen. I, 490,

ducit Amazonidum lunatis agmina peltis
Penthesilea furens mediisque in milibus ardet,
aurea subnectens exertae cingula mammae,
bellatrix, audetque viris concurrere virgo.

Aen. V, 311,

"alter Amazoniam pharetram plenamque sagittis
Thraeciis, lato quam circum amplectitur auro
balteus et tereti subnectit fibula gemma"

may be taken either literally, or Amazoniam and Thraeciis may be taken as ornamental epithets. This reference however, cannot be said to be in-

spired any more by the Aethiopis than by Homer.

Aen. VII, 803-817, XI, 648- to end, the story of the maiden warrior Camilla is copied after that of Penthesilea. There are it is true, Homeric touches in the picture, but the main outlines are those of Arctinus. The direct comparison is found in XI, 659-663, quales Thraeciæ cum flumina Thermodontis pulsant et pictis bellantur Amazones armis sum circum Hippolyten, seu cum se Martia curru Penthesilea refert, magnoque ululante tumultae feminea exultant lunatis agmina peltis".

Vergil twice refers to Memnon.

Aen. I, 489,------(adgnovit)
eoasque acies et inigrio Memnonis arma.

Aen. VIII, 384

Arma rogo genetrix nato te filia Neri//te potuit lacrimis Tithonia flectere coniunx.

The first reference is explainable perhaps by Homer's allusion to the son of dawn but more probably suggested by the Aethiopis.

Aen. I, 751,

nunc, quibus Auroræ venisset filia^us armis .

The Little Iliad.

The Ilias Parva of Lesches of Mitylene, according to Proclus, followed the Aethiopis. It was divided into four books, and related the events of the Trojan war from the award of the arms of Achilles to the bringing of the wooden horse into the city. The original poems brought the story down to the departure of the Greeks and so over-lapped the *Ιλίου Περσος* of Arctinus. This is proved by three things; (1) Aristotle's discussion of the Little Iliad in his Poetics, (2) the fact that several incidents in it are referred to by Pausanias in his account of a picture by Polygnotus, (3) the considerable number of extant fragments explainable only by this theory. The conclusion from a study of these is that Proclus' version of the poem was considerably shorter than the one known to Aristotle and Pausanias.

Aristotle treating of the essential unity of the epic, says the Iliad and the Odyssey are so perfect in this respect that they have supplied far the fewest subjects for the drama, but that the Little Iliad furnished more than eight, viz. (1) The Arms, (2) Philoctetes, (3) Neoptolemus (4) Euryplus, (5) The Begging (Ulysses entering Troy as a beggar), (6) The Laconian women (probably about the theft of the Palladium), (7) Sack of Ilium, (8) Departure of the Greek Army, (9) Sinon, (10) Troades.

The first six follow Proclus' story, - the rest he gives under the Iliapersis of Arctinus, apparently the version preferred by the compiler.

Pausanias (X, 25-27) describing a picture by Polygnotus, in the Lesche at Delphi, of the taking of Troy. The details are from Lesches, though he is mentioned only once by Pausanias. This view is supported by two quotations. The Scholiast on Aristophanes (Lys. 155) says the story that Menelaus dropped his sword at the sight of Helen was told by Lesches in the Little Iliad. Tzetzes (ad Lycophr. 1263) quotes from the Little Iliad five lines describing Neoptolemus taking away Andromache as his captive and throwing Astyanax from a tower. These instances prove that the Little Iliad describe the fall of Troy. It was omitted by the compilers according to Monro, - by Proclus according to Welcker. From Pausanias' description we know more of the details of the poem than is known by any other part of the Epic Cycle.

The authorship of the Little Iliad was much disputed in antiquity;

it was generally ascribed to Lesches of Mitylene, or Pyrrha; by some to Thestorides of Phocaea; by others, as Hellanicus of Lesbos, to Cnaethon of Sparta; to Diodonus of Erythrae. It has been ascribed to authors belonging to all the great divisions of the Hellenic race, and the story was even told that Homer himself composed it and gave it to Thestorides of Phocaea in return for lodging and maintenance.

The story goes as follows:

The arms, by the influence of Athene, are adjudged to Ulysses. Ajax, in his madness, destroys the booty of the Greeks, and kills himself. After this Ulysses ensnares Hellenus, and by his advice Diomedes brings Philoctetes from Lemnos. Machaon heals him and he kills Paris. The dead body of Paris is treated with indignity by Menelaus, then given up to be buried by the Trojans. Deiphobus becomes the husband of Helen. Ulysses brings Neoptolemus from Scyros and gives him the arms of Achilles. The shade of Achilles appears to him. Eurypylos the son of Telephus now comes as a fresh ally of the Trojans; after doing great deeds, he is killed by Neoptolemus. The Trojans are closely besieged, and the wooden Horse is made by Epineus under the guidance of Athene. Ulysses maltreats himself and enters Troy in the garb of a beggar; he is recognized by Helen, confers with her about the taking of the city, and fights his way back to the Greeks. After this he and Diomedes carry off the Palladium from Troy. The Wooden Horse is then filled with the best warriors and the Greeks feign a retreat, and go away to Tenedos. The Trojans rejoicing that their evils are over and that the Greeks are conquered, take the Wooden Horse into the city and to do so, tear away a part of the wall.

So far, Proclus' account agrees with the order of plays mentioned by Aristotle. The other plays were (7) Ἰλίου Περσῆς; (8) Ἀπόλλωνος

(the departure of the Greeks), one of the incidents in the Iliupersis of Arctinus; (9) Sinon, - doubtless founded on the same story as given in the Iliupersis of Arctinus, and with full detail by Vergil. (10-) Troades, probably the extant play of that name which turns upon events that immediately followed the taking of the city. The Sinon and Troades are properly incidents in (7) the Sack of Troy.

About twenty lines of the Little Iliad survive besides many references. Vergil's indebtedness for what perhaps is his greatest book the second Aeneid is principally to the Little Iliad and to the Iliupersis. Homer left this field untouched, and Vergil appropriating his materials, it is true, in largest part, from the account of the Cyclic poets, has yet in the judgment of his critics, risen to a freer treatment of his theme than in any other extended passage. The largest proportion of events of the Little Iliad are suggested by Homer. The Palladium, however, is unknown to Homer; it belongs to the class of objects endowed with magic power. It would be very unlike Homer to make a fate of a city dependent upon anything of the kind. The Little Iliad says, *καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα οὐρ Ἀλομήδου τὸ Παλλᾶδιον ἐκκρίβει ἐκ τῆς Ἰλίου.*

Ae n. II, 162-171.

omnis spes Danaum et coepti fiducia belli // Palladis auxiliis semper stetit
 impius ex quo // Tydides sed enim scelerumque inventor Ulixes // fatale adhaesit
 sacro avellere templo // Palladium caesis summae custodibus arcis // corrip-
 uere sacram effigiem manibusque cruentis //
 virgineas ausi divae contingere vittas: //

ex illo fluere ac retro sublapsa referri
 spes Danaum, fractae vires aversa deae mens
 nec dubiis ea signa dedit Tritonia monstris.
 Aen. IX, 151 is bracketed by Ribbeck.

Conington says this is "nearly repeated from II, 166. It is found in all the MSSs but recent critics from the time of Heyne and Bryant, have been all but unanimous in condemning it, on the grounds of tediousness, inappropriateness, and the un-Vergilian character of "Palladii". Conington thinks the balance of considerations, on the whole, is in favor of the passage.

Sinon did not belong to the circle of Homeric characters.

We know from Aristotle that a tragedy "Sinon" was made from the Little Iliad. Fragment 11 says,-

"Νόξ μὲν ἔην μέσση, λαμπρὴ δ' ἔπεταλλε σελήνη." Tzetzes ad Lycoph
 344; τότε δὲ τῶν Τρώων κατελθόντων καὶ ἀπατηθέντων δόλοιο τοῦ
 ξίνωρος καὶ ἐλκυσάντων τοῦτον περὶ τὴν πόλιν καὶ μέθη
 καὶ χαρὰ καὶ ὄπνω συσχεθέντων, αὐτὸς δ' ξίνωρος, ὡς ἦν αὐτῶν
 συντεθειμένος φροκτὸν ὑποδείξας τοῦς Ἕλλησιν, ὡς ὁ
 Λέσχειος φησὶν ἠήκα, "νόξ --- σελήνη."

Compare Aen. II, 54-198, 250-267, m 329-330-

The story of Sinon, says Conington, was the subject of a lost tragedy by Sophocles, and was variously treated by Quintus Smyrnaeus, Tryphiodorus, Dictys, Dares, and Tzetzes. In one story he is made to mutilate himself like Ulysses, Od. 4, 244 a source from which, as Heyne suggests, the whole story may have arisen. He is represented as the son of Aethius, brother of Anticlia, and so a first cousin to Ulysses. *Aesimius*

Aen. 260-264 gives the list of those who were in the Wooden Horse. Thessander was unknown to Homer and supposed to be the son of Polynice, killed by Telephus at the beginning of the war. The Cypriax says,-

Τήλεφος δὲ ἐκβοηθεῖ θερσαρόντε τὸν πολυνεέκους
 κτείνει.

As Heyne says, we can hardly identify them, though Servus apparently did. Another ^{and} inferior reading is Tisandrus which, too, is not found in Homer.

Acamas, son of Theseus and brother of Demophoon is also unknown to Homer, but in fragment 17, Paus. X, 25, 8 (3) in telling the story of Aethra, mother of Theseus, who was carried off by the Dioscuri when they invaded Attica, and so fell into possession of Helen, says she went to the greek camp when the city was taken where "ὕπὸ τῶν παίδων ὑπώρισθηναὶ τῶν Θησέως".
 From Diod. IV, 62, Acamas is identified as son of Theseus.

Monro says the two sons of Theseus are not among the warriors of the Iliad and references to Theseus himself are probably interpolations.

The death of Priam is nowhere mentioned in Homer., though a few of the events of that night of sack and siege are told. Paus. X, 27, 1sq, quoted under the Little Iliad, frag. 15, says, Πρίαμος δὲ οὐκ ἀποθανεῖν ἔφη Λέσχειος ἐπὶ τῇ ἐσχάτῃ τοῦ Ἑρκείου, ἀλλὰ ἀποσπασθέντα ἀπὸ τοῦ βόμοιο παρεργὸν τῷ Νεοπτόλεμῳ πρὸς ταῖς τῆς οὐκίας γενέσθαι θύραις.

We shall see that Vergil followed the story of the Iliupersis in regard to the killing of Priam rather than that of the Little Iliad. According to fragment 18 of the Ilias Parva,-

Αὐτὰρ Ἀχιλλῆος μέγα θυμὸν φαίδιμος υἱὸς
ἔκτορέην ἄλοχον κάτα γὰν κοίλας ἐπὶ νῆας.
παῖδά δ' ἔλων ἐκ κόλπου εὐπλοκάμοιο Πηθήνης
ῥίφε ποδὸς τεταγὼν ἀπὸ πύργου· τὸν δὲ πεσόντα
ἔλλαβε παρφύρεος θάνατος καὶ μοῖρα κραταίῃ.

Thietze ad. Lycophan. 1263: Λέσχης δὲ ὁ τὴν μικρὰν Ἰλί-
αδα πεποικηκῶς Ἀνδρομάχην καὶ Αἰνεΐαν αἰχμαλώτους
Θησὶ δόθηται τῷ Ἀχιλλέως υἱῷ Νεοπτόλεμος, καὶ ἀπαχ-
θῆναι σὺν αὐτῷ εἰς Φαρσαλίαν τὴν Ἀχιλλέως
πατρίδα. Θησὶ γὰρ οὕτως· αὐτὰρ κραταίῃ.

Θαμν. X, 25, 9(4): Γέγραπται μὲν Ἀνδρομάχη, καὶ ὁ
παῖς οὗ προέστηκαν ἐλόματος τοῦ μαστοῦ· τούτῳ Λέσχεις
ῥιφέντι ἀπὸ τοῦ πύργου συμβῆναι λέγει τὴν τελευτήν,
οὐ μὲν ὑπὸ τοῦ σώματός γε Ἑλλήνων, ἀλλ' ἰδίᾳ Νεοπ-
τολεμον αὐτόχειρα ἐθελήσαι γενέσθαι.

The Iliupersis, (to be taken up in its order), says, - καὶ Ὀδυσσεὺς
Ἄστυνακτα ἀνακτόρος Νεοπτόλεμος Ἀνδρομάχην γέρας λαμ-
βαίνει. Frag. 2, Schol. Ven. et Vat. ad Eur. Andr. 10, de Astyanacte
Ἐτησίχορον μάρτυρα ἱστορεῖν (ὡς οὐκ) ὅτι τε Θηήκοι καὶ τὸν τὴν
Πίστισα συντεταχότα---- ποιητὴν ὅτι καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ τεύχους βίβλην.

The story of the parting of Hector and Andromache, one of the most pathetic scenes in the Iliad, is told, VI 369-502. Line 403 says "him Hector called Skamandrios, but all the folk Astyanax; for only Hector guarded Ilios". Some critics regard this as an interpolation inserted to introduce the name Astyanax, so popular in the Cycle. The passage too at the end of Il. XXII, is probably spurious, 487-501, though even here the throwing from the walls and the name of the murderer are not hinted at.

Vergil twice mentions Astyanax, Aen. II, 457, a direct reminiscence of Homer; and Aen. III, 489. From Aen. 294-505 runs the story of the after fate of Helenus and Andromache, with an implication, 489-491, of the death of Astyanax.

Vergil makes Helenus the other of Neoptolemus' two captives, whether according to some previous tradition or not, it is not possible here to say.

The character of the Little Iliad is that of the Odyssey than of the Iliad, except the Doloneia, which is certainly later than the rest of the poem. In the Iliad, with this one exception, Ulysses esiswise and eloquent rather than adventurous. The Little Iliad was probably

Monro thinks, a collection of adventurous incidents like those of the Doloneia. It helped to prepare the way for the lower conception of Ulysses, so marked in later times.

The Iliupersis of Arctinus in two books next, ^{is the} in chronological order, of the Cyclic poems. Its story was that the Trojans were at first doubtful about the wooden horse; some wished to throw it over a precipice, some to burn it, some to place it in the temple as an offering to Athene. This counsel prevailed, and they rejoiced thinking the war had ended. Laocoon and one of his two sons were killed by two serpents. Disquieted by the portent, Aeneas and his followers withdraw to Mt. Ida. Sinon gives a signal to the Greeks by means of a torch, first having gained entrance into the city by fraud. Those Greeks who had gone to Tenedos return, and those in the wooden horse issue forth, and both parties attack the city. Neoptolemus kills the Priam, in the palace on the altar of Zeus Herkeios.

Menelaus kills Deiphobus and carries Helen off to the ships. Ajax Oileus drags away Cassandra who had fled to the image of Athene for refuge and was still clinging to it. The Greeks dismayed by his impiety wished to stone him, but he fled for protection to Athene's altar. When the city was taken Polyxena was sacrificed on the tomb of Achilles; Odysseus kills Astyanax, and Andromache falls to Neoptolemus. The remaining spoils were divided. Demophon and Acamas find Aethra. The Greeks sail away and the insulted Athene prepares disaster for them upon the sea. (This is the order preferred by Lehrs. The MSS make the last sentence in Kinkel's arrangement follow that which says Ajax fled for protection from the Greeks to the altar of Athene.)

According to Proclus, the Iliupersis took up the story where the Little Iliad left off; but since it is certain that the latter poem dealt with events down to the departure of the Greeks, ~~so~~ the Iliupersis in its original form may have dealt with incidents prior to the introduction into the city of the wooden horse.

There are very few references to the Iliupersis. One of these by Dionysius of Halicarnassus Antiq. Rom. 9, 69 (frag. 1, Kinkel), says, Ἀρκτίου δὲ Θησίου ὑπὸ Διὸς δοθῆναι Δαρδάνῳ παλάδιον ἐν καὶ εἶναι τοῦτο ἐν Ἰλίῳ εὖς ἢ πόλις ἠλίσκετο, κεκρυμμένον ἐν τοῦ ἀρχετύπου διάφορον ἀπάτης τῶν ἐπιβουλεύοντων ἕνεκα, ἂν φανερῶ τεθῆναι καὶ αὐτὴν Ἀχαιῶν ἐπιβουλεύσασσας λαβεῖν.

So it is evident the Iliupersis must have related the theft of the Palladium.

Vergil is said by Servius to have followed Arctinus in Aen. II, in describing the sack of Troy; Monro thinks we may assume that the part played by Venus in the Aeneid was based upon the Iliupersis. He would reconstruct the Iliupersis as follows: Neoptolemus, the destined conqueror in the Trojan war, - is brought from Scyros (for his birth there see Cypria, Proclus Chrestom.)

Ἀχιλλεύς δὲ Σκύρῳ προσχὼν γαμῆ τὴν Λυκομήδους θυγατέρα Δηιδάμειαν. Frag. II, Paus. I, 26, 4(1): τοῦ δὲ Ἀχιλλέως τῶ παιδὶ Ὀμηροῦ μὲν Νεοπτόλεμον ὄνομα ἐν ἀπάσῃ οἱ τίθεται τῆ ποιήσει. τὰ δὲ Κύπρια ἔπη Θησίου ὑπὸ

Λυκομήδους μὲν Πύρρον, Νεοπτόλεμον ὄρμα ἐπὶ Φοῖβος

Perhaps he was accompanied by a contingent of islanders ("Scyria pubes", Aen. II, 477). He succeeds to the arms of Achilles, takes a leading part in bringing Philoctetes from Lemnos, and kills Eurypylos the new Trojan champion. Thus all the important steps for the capture are taken by him, for the Palladium was a deception.

In the division of spoil he gets the chief prize, Andromacha. He is the hero of the poem, an Achilles Triumphant, standing to his father as the Epigon to the heroes of the Thebaid.

The death of Laocoon is not,*(as in Vergil) a warning to those about to destroy the wooden horse, but a sign of the approaching doom of the city. One son escapes,- a version found nowhere else,- doubtless to signify that one branch of the royal house, that represented by Aeneas, would survive, and fulfill the prophecy of Poseidon Il. 20, 307-8,

ὄν δὲ δὴ Ἀγραλαβίη Τροέσσιν ἀναβαλε
καὶ παῖδων παῖδας, τοῦ κεν μετόπισθε γενώνται.

a prophecy long recognized as a piece of local or family legend, connecting the later inhabitants of the Troad with Aeneas. The divine agent in these events was probably Aphrodite, (who is also associated with Aeneas in the Cypria), and Cybele the Idaean mother to whose sacred mountain the fugitives escaped.

A trace of this remains in Paus. X, 26,1, where it is said that Creusa wife of Aeneas was said to have been delivered from slavery by Aphrodite and the mother of the gods. Aen. II, 785-788,

Non ego Myr midonum sedes Dolopumoe superbas//aspiciam aut Graias servitum matribus ibo//Dardanis et divae Veneris nurus,// sed me magna deum genetrix hic detinet oris.

Pausanias adds that according to Lesches (Little Iliad), and the Cypria, the wife of Aeneas was Eurydice (Cypria, frag. 19, Kinkel); he never mentions Arctinus, and seems not to have known of the Aethiopsis or the Iliupersis. The story of Creusa probably belongs to the Iliupersis. The poem thus becomes a link of connection between the Aeneas-legend and the local worship of Cybele in which Creusa was a subordinate figure,- taken into her service like Ganymede into that of Zeus or Iphigenia into that of Artemis. Another trace of local influence, Monro thinks, was the story that the Palladium carried off by Ulysses and Diomedes was a deception; it points to a version that made the real Palladium carried off by Aeneas and preserved in the royal house that claimed descent from him. Vergil is content to say Aen. II, 747, that he carried off the "Teucrosque penatis".

Monro reckons as Homeric features common to the Ilias Parva and the Iliupersis;- the wooden horse,- followed by Vergil,- the death of Deiphobus, the sacrilege of Ajax, death of Astyanax, and the disasters of the return.

The two accounts given by the Odyssey, IV, 276, and VIII, 517, of the whereabouts of Deiphobus on the night of the sack, are apparently contradictory, though perhaps not really so. IV, 276, says Helen and Deiphobus walked round the wooden horse while the heroes were still within. VIII, 517, says Odysseus and Menelaus "went like Ares" to the house of Deiphobus, where "Odysseus adventured their most grievous battle, and in the end prevailed by grace of greathearted Athene".

Vergil's two contradictory accounts of Helen are notable. Aen. I, 566-589, show us Helen in hiding, fearful alike of Greeks and Trojans. These lines, says Servius, were omitted by Varius and Tucca; and they

Φοῖβος ὁ δὲ δὴ Ἀγραλαβίη Τροέσσιν ἀναβαλε, καὶ παῖδων παῖδας, τοῦ κεν μετόπισθε γενώνται. Ἰλιάς, βιβλ. 20, στίχ. 307-8.

are missing in all the uncial MSS. But the immediate context requires them, and they form a part of Aeneas' adventures on the fatal night that we would little care to lose. The passage seems to be a happy stroke of Vergil's own. These lines however, contradict VI, 515, where, in the under world Diomedes tells Aeneas his most unhappy fate;— which reminds of that of Agamemnon, since it was caused by the treachery of a woman.

Aen. VI, 511-529; Helen under pretense of leading a bacchic revel gives the signal to the Greeks,— while in the Cyclic poets it is Sinon who does this. Deiphobus is asleep in his house, and all his arms removed by Helen. She leads Menelaus and Odysseus in who, as in the Iliupersis, kill him. Homer's account is certainly vague, nor do we see all the materials of Vergil's story in the Cyclic poems. These poems afford us no hint of the beginning of the degradation of Helen's character, but perhaps, as in the case of Ulysses, it really began here. The element of treachery in the death of Deiphobus may be Vergil's own story, for Aeneas' greeting to the shade of the Trojan hero, suggests the story of the Cyclic poets that Deiphobus was killed, by inference in combat, by the Greeks. Though it is perhaps impossible to know the full development of the story, its results in Vergil's hands are of exceeding interest.

Homer's story of Ajax, Od. IV, 490ff. gives a different reason for his death than that given by the Iliupersis. "Aias was in truth smitten in the midst of his ship of the long oars. Poseidon at first brought him to Gyrae, to the mighty rocks, and delivered him from the sea. And so he would have fled his doom, albeit hated by Athene, had he not let a proud word fall in the fatal darkening of his heart. He said that in the gods despite he had escaped the great gulf of the sea; and Poseidon heard his loud boasting, and presently caught up his trident into his strong hands, and smote the rock Gyraean and cleft it in twain. And the one part abode in his place, but the other fell into the sea, the broken piece whereon Ajax sat at the first, when his heart was darkened. And the rock bore him down into the vast and heaving deep; so there he perished when he had drunk of the salt water". According to the Iliupersis, Athene contrived disaster for the Greeks upon the sea, and it is to be supposed this was because they did not avenge the insult paid her by Ajax. Vergil in Aen. I, 39-42 is not very explicit,—

Pallasne exurere classem/Argivom atque ipsos potuit submergere
ponto/
unius ob noxam et furias Aiaceis Oili?

However, since Pallas herself here avenges the "noxam et furias" of Ajax, Vergil probably had the sacrilege of Ajax in mind. In Homer, it is his insolence toward Poseidon which is finally punished by Poseidon; he would have escaped the wrath of Pallas. If we ask why he was hated in particular, we must suppose the story of the sacrilege was pre-Homeric.

Aen. II, 402-415, tells the story fully. Just why Monro should call it Homeric except to explain the phrase, "albeit hated by Athene", is not apparent.

We have seen that the passages in the Iliad relating to the death of Astyanax are suspected.

Nettleship suggests that Dido's words and acts often recall those of the Ajax of Sophocles, which character was probably modelled after Arctinus.

The order of proposals to dispose of the wooden horse was the same in Arctinus and Vergil. The proposal to burn the horse post-Homeric.

The post-Homeric features of the Ilias Parva and the Iliupersis are,— the treachery of Sinon, already noticed; the killing of Priam

by Neoptolemus, which by the Ilias Parva is made to occur not on the altar of Zeus Herkeios, but at the door. Vergil follows Arctinus, - Aen. II, 550-558. 662-663.

The most important additions are the story of Aeneas' flight, and the story of Laocoon, which are peculiar to the Iliupersis. The Little Iliad made Aeneas fall to the share of Neoptolemus, but here he escapes from the city, at the death of Laocoon. Vergil however makes him escape after the sack of Troy, - compare Aen. II, 804, III, 4

The subsequent wanderings of Aeneas lie outside the knowledge of the epic Cycle. Stesichorus, the lyric poet, was the first to make him turn to the west, though Heyne thinks perhaps the Nostoi may have related Aeneas' journey.

The sacrifice of Polyxena, arguing from the silence of our authorities, was seemingly related only in the Iliupersis. Aen. III. 321-324.

The Aethippis and the Iliupersis are almost the only epics attributed to Homer, probably because they never became sufficiently popular for such a legend to arise. They are not mentioned earlier than Dionysius of Halicarnassus and apparently were unknown to Strabo and Pausanias. Probably all that saved to us the name of Arctinus was that he gave the earliest account of the escape of Aeneas and so gave witness to the Roman nation - a legend; and the Iliupersis gained a species of immortality in the Aeneid II.

The returns of the heroes, - Nostoi, - were told in five books, by Agias of Troezon, according to Proclus; by Hegias, according to Pausanias; a Colophonian, according to Eustathius. The summary by Proclus says that Athene's wrath roused by the impiety of Ajax and extending to all the Greeks because they failed to punish him, now begins to manifest itself.

First the Atridae quarrel about setting sail. Agamemnon stays to appease Athene, but Nestor and Diomedes having reached home in safety Menelaus sets sail, but lost all except five ships and is driven to Egypt. Calchas, Leontus and Polypoetes went on foot to Colophon and there buried Teiresias. When Agamemnon was about to sail, the ghost of Achilles appears and warns him in vain of his doom. Then comes the story of the storm in which Locrian Ajax is lost. Neoptolemus by advice of Thetis returns by land through Thrace, and meets Odysseus in Maroneia. After burying the aged knight Phoenix, he returns to the Molossian country and is recognized by Peleus. Agamemnon is murdered by Clytemnestra and Aegisthus, vengeance is taken by Orestes and Pylades, and Menelaus reaches home.

According to Paus. X 28, 7 (frag. 3), the Odyssey, the Mingas and the Nostoi each contained a Nekuia. Proclus says nothing of this, but several fragments bear out the statement, - frag. 10, a version of the story of Tantalus; lines about Medes restoring Aeson (frag. 6); perhaps also (4) and (6)

The death of Calchas at Colophon (for Monro accepted Calchas instead of Teiresias as the true reading) is the subject of a story by Hesiod and by the logographer Pherecydes (Strabo, XIV, p. 643). He had been told he would die when he met a mightier seer than himself and this was fulfilled when he met Mopsus grandson of Teiresias who presided over the Clarian oracle of Apollo. Some form of the legend was probably adopted by the author of the Nostoi. The Clarian oracle too belongs to a time when the Greeks of Asia Minor had adopted some of the native religious ideas and practices. Aen. III, 360, "Clarii laurus".

In the Nostoi is found the first instance of the claims of the kings of Epirus to descent from Achilles, - in Neoptolemus' journey to Molossus. -

In Vergil we found that Pyrrhus had ruled over Epirus, and Helenus, after his death.

The prophetic warning by the shade of Achilles is a post-Homeric idea. Compare his appearance to Neoptolemus in the Little Iliad. When Vergil causes the shades of Creusa and Anchises to appear to Aeneas, and of Sichaes to Dido he is following a post-Homeric precedent, which is found in the Epic Cycle.

The Telegonia was written to satisfy those who insisted upon the very last word about Ulysses, and to work in genealogies, as in the Thesprotian episode.

The Telegonia, in two books, was the work of ~~Telegonia~~ Ergammon of Cyrene about 570 B.C. It is closely fitted to the Odyssey and begins with the burial of the suitors by their relatives. Odysseus goes to Elis to see the herds there, and is there entertained by Polyxenus who gives him a bowl on which was chased the story of Trophonius, Agamedes, and Augeas. He returns to Ithaca and performs the sacrifices ordained by Teiresias. Next he goes to Thesprotis and marries Callidice the queen, and led the Thesprotians in a war against the Brugi. Ares routes Ulysses' forces, but Athene comes to his aid. Apollo finally intervenes. Callidice dies, and her son by Odysseus, Polypoetes, inherits the kingdom and once more Ulysses returns to Ithaca. Meanwhile Telegonus, son of Odysseus by Circe had come from Acaea in search of his father. He is ravaging Ithaca and in the ensuing battle kills Odysseus. He discovers too late the identity of the dead man, and takes the body, and Penelope and Telemachus to Circe, - who made them immortal. Telegonus marries Penelope, Telemachus Circe, - so grotesquely does the Homeric story finally end.

Vergil seems to have borrowed nothing from this poem, the character of which doubtless had no attraction for him.

The imitations, then, of the Cyclic poems by Vergil are, by books, -

- I, 26, (from the Cypria.)
- I, 474,
- I 489, 490, (from the Aethiopis)
- I 751
- II, 21, (Cypria)
- II, 81 (?) (Cypria)
- II, 162-171, (Little Iliad)
- II, 457 (Little Iliad)
- II, 477 (?) Aethiopis) II, 54-198, 250-267-329p-330 (from Little Iliad)
- II, 785-788 (Iliupersis)
- II, 550- 58(Iliupersis)
- II, 660-663 (Iliupersis)
- II, 801-804 (")
- III, 80 (Cypria)
- III, 489 (Iliupersis and Little Iliad)
- III, 4, (Iliupersis)
- (III, 321-324,)(Iliupersis)
- III, 360 (Nostoi)
- V, 2311 (Aethiopis)
- VI, 121 (Cypria)
- VII, 7803-817 (Aethiopis)
- XIII, 384
- IX, 151 (Little Iliad)
- XI, 684-end (Aethiopis)

The Introduction of Acamas, Admetus and Creusa; the story of Pyrrhus' connection with Epirus; and appearance of shades in a vision.

No notice has here been taken of what Heyne deems probable indebtedness of Vergil to the Cyclic poets, since the authorities which he employs are not available. One such instance is Vergil's bleeding laurel branch, which Heyne thinks probably came from the Cyclic poets.

We have seen that Vergil apparently owes nothing to the Telegonia. His use of Arctinus is great, est

While a deeper study would reveal other less obvious imitations, and many probabilities, such as Heyne enumerates, the general conclusion arrived at is that of Conington and Nettleship, - that Vergil, in the Aeneid, owes by far the greatest debt to Homer and to the Greek tragedians; that the contribution of the Epic Cycle while significant and of great interest, is yet slight in quantity.

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- This paper is very greatly indebted to Monro's two articles in the Journal of Hellenic Studies, vols. IV and V, '83-'84,
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