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Dares Phrygius' De Excidio Trojae Historia: Philological Commentary and Translation

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Foreword

About two years ago, I happened to be researching Cornelius Nepos' biography of Miltiades as part of an assignment for a class devoted to the study of translating Greek and Latin texts. After heaping together everything I could find about him in the library, I came to the conclusion that I still needed more information. So I decided to embrace my identity as a loyal member of the 'Internet generation' and began my virtual journey through the World Wide Web in search of articles on Nepos. When I was scrolling through one particular online article, I noticed that it mentioned a certain 'Dares Phrygius'. Intrigued by the sudden appearance of a Late Latin history of Troy, I kept on reading. After a while I decided to search for a translation of Dares so that I could see what all the fuss was about. My thoughts after reading the *De Excidio Trojae Historia* were twofold: I was interested by this drastic reversal of Homer's work (which I had come to read and love several years beforehand), yet I could not fully enjoy the text as I was distracted by the deplorable English translation. When I looked up the Latin original I could not believe that people actually thought Cornelius Nepos was the author of this tasteless work.

This accidental meeting with Dares proved to be quite influential, as the supposed pre-Homeric author ended up being a prominent part of my final two years at university. But before I can let you feast your eyes on the results of my research, I must thank my promoter and *genius meus*: prof. dr. Wim Verbaal. His feedback and support were extremely helpful (as were his proposed deadlines). A chat with him reinvigorated me every time as his sincere enthusiasm and witty yet professional attitude proved very motivating. Secondly, I would like to thank my mother for her unconditional support and for being both a patient listener and a heavenly cook. I also want to thank my friends (more specifically my housemates, who have silently put up with months of closed doors and occasional rants) and my sister for helping me without question whenever I needed it. And finally I want to thank my buddy Martin, who took the time to proofread my work and helped me improve my English.

Now that I have had an opportunity to express my gratitude to the people who made this dissertation possible, I grant you access to the rest of the paper. In the end, I hope that Cornelius Nepos will thank me for explaining who Dares is and why a great historian like him has nothing to do with this elusive Phrygian.

- Jonathan Cornil
Ghent, 2012

Introduction

Throughout literary history, there has not been a subject so persistently reread and rewritten as the works of Homer. The *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* have been regarded as the cornerstone of Western literature and education for more than two millennia, and it does not look like they are going to lose that status any time soon. Aside from their obvious inherent value, these two epics are of the utmost importance to the literary world because of their legacy: they spawned a unique literary tradition spanning from Ancient Greece to modern-day America. And this tradition soon became more than just literary as the fall of Troy and the adventures of Odysseus evolved into a popular subject for painters, sculptors and musicians.

When purely examining the literary tangent of Homer's legacy, there have been countless authors who used Homeric style and themes in their own works (up to certain degrees): names like Virgil, Dante and John Milton remain highly revered until this very day. This is partly because they have delicately carved out a place for themselves in the Homeric tradition. However, aside from these famous works, more enigmatic texts have also surfaced which assume a more precarious position in this literary continuum. A prime example of these is the so-called *De Excidio Trojae Historia*¹, a relatively short prose work supposedly composed by 'Dares the Phrygian' and allegedly translated by Cornelius Nepos. The actual author, however, is as of yet unknown. The history covers the story of Troy from as early as the sailing of the Argonauts until the sack of the city by the Greeks. Striking is that it does so from a Trojan point of view, while simultaneously contradicting –a better word may be rewriting- Homer's *Iliad* in numerous ways. But the real mystery only enters the picture when Dares is compared to *Dictys Cretensis*, which is a similar text written from the Greek perspective. While we have proof that *Dictys* is a translation -or rather adaptation- of a Greek original, we can make no such assumptions for Dares (though this does not stop some researchers from doing it anyway). It is because of these intriguing issues that Dares has often been the subject of academic research in the past few centuries, and it is in this tradition that my master thesis should be situated.

The aim of the following dissertation is to provide future researchers with two modern translations of Dares' history and to elaborate on some of the aspects that make this text –and translating it- so interesting. The first chapter will provide the reader with a brief analysis of a number of key questions that still dominate research on Dares to this day. The first part of the chapter will tackle basic questions such as the identity of the author and the peculiar role of Cornelius Nepos, while also discussing other fundamental aspects such as DETH's time of origin

¹ Henceforth referred to as 'DETH'

and formal characteristics. The second part will focus on DETH as the product of a tradition of rewriting: DETH's literary environment and perceived Homeric criticism will be analyzed, while the reader will also be presented with some insights regarding the discussion about DETH's problematic connection with Dictys Cretensis as well as the possibility of a Greek Dares preceding the Latin manuscript. The chapter ends with a brief conclusion that summarizes what the reader might take away from all this.

The second part of this paper focuses on the translations themselves and translation-based research. It contains an analysis of Dares' writing style based on a comparison of DETH to a number of contemporary texts; it will then discuss how these differences are reflected in my own translations while also comparing them with R. M. Frazer's version¹. The next part consists of the actual translations. Each one shows a different way of dealing with an enigmatic text such as Dares' *historia*: while the aim of the first translation is to provide the reader with a pleasant narrative according to present day norms, the second translation is an attempt at conveying the form of the Latin original and recreating the feeling of disorientation readers in late antiquity must have experienced when reading DETH's awkward Latin.

In the end, I hope this dissertation might prove useful to experienced scholars as well as academic novices. The mysteries surrounding Dares Phrygius make this historical work a very interesting subject for academic study, yet many questions still remain unanswered after centuries of research. Hopefully my paper will raise the interest of young scholars and spark a new wave of research on Dares. And, who knows, perhaps my words will be reread and rewritten many times on the long and arduous road of solving DETH's mysteries and literary enigmas.



¹ Frazer, R.M., *The Trojan war. The chronicles of Dictys of Crete and Dares the Phrygian / transl. with introd. & notes by Frazer.*, London: Indiana University Press, 1966

Chapter I

***De Excidio Trojae Historia:
Philological and Historical Comments***

A. Dares and His *Historia*: Shrouded in Mystery

1. Who Exactly Was 'Dares the Phrygian'?

The first issue that I would like to examine is probably one of the most important and tantalizing controversies of this particular work: I am referring to the mystery surrounding the author of the *De Excidio Trojae Historia*. In the introductory letter¹ preceding DETH famous Roman historian Cornelius Nepos is mentioned as the translator of a Greek history, which was written by a certain 'Dares the Phrygian.' While it is obvious to any critical reader that the real author is neither Dares nor Nepos, the question remains: who is this Dares, and why did the unknown author choose to take up this persona?

Dares² (Δάρης) is a literary significant name: it appears in both Homer's *Iliad*³ as well as Virgil's *Aeneid*⁴. Homer briefly mentions Dares, stating that he is a priest of Hephaestus and the father of Phegeus and Idaios (two brothers who confront the Greek hero Diomedes). In the following scene the first son is killed by Diomedes, while the other is saved by Hephaestus; this familiar setup forms one of Homer's typical poetic vignettes. After this brief reference, however, Dares' name is not mentioned again. The second literary appearance of Dares is in the *Aeneid*, where he has become one of Aeneas' companions on the latter's travels across the Mediterranean (Virgil would not be Virgil if he did not adopt this Homeric character while moulding him into something new). Dares' role in the epic has also become slightly more prominent: in book V there is a lengthy scene which revolves around his surprise defeat in a boxing match at the hands of Entellus.

¹ Textual edition used for this paper: Meister, F., *Daretis Phrygii De excidio Troiae historia / Recensuit Ferdinandus Meister.*, Leipzig : Teubner, 1878

² Bloch, René (Berne); Dingel, Joachim (Hamburg). "Dares." *Brill's New Pauly*. Antiquity volumes edited by: Hubert Cancik & Helmuth Schneider . Brill, 2011. Brill Online. University of Ghent.

< http://www.paulyonline.brill.nl/subscriber/entry?entry=bnp_e311280 > accessed 10-04-2011

³ Hom. Il. 5, 9-11. Translation: Ian Johnston (trans.), *Homer - The Iliad.*, Arlington, Va.: Richer Resources Publications, 2007 < <http://records.viu.ca/~johnstoi/homer/iliad5.htm> > accessed on 10-04-2011

[...] "Among the Trojans
was a rich and honourable man called Dares,
priest of Hephaestus. He had two sons—Phegeus
and Idaios—both very skilled in all aspects of war."

⁴ Verg. Aen. V, 375-377. Translation: Kline, A.S., 2002

<http://www.poetryintranslation.com/PITBR/Latin/VirgilAeneidV.htm#_Toc1537954> accessed 10-04-2011

"Such was Dares who lifted his head up for the bout at once,
showed his broad shoulders, stretched his arms out, sparring
to right and left, and threw punches at the air."

Intriguing about this is the apparent discrepancy between both characters: Homer's Dares is a priest, while Virgil transforms him into a warrior. This issue has already been pointed out by Griffin, who states that, although it seems universally accepted, there is no definitive proof that DETH's Dares is the one mentioned by Homer. (1907: 4) One could argue that both versions had an impact on DETH's real author, especially when we analyse what is said about Dares in DETH¹ itself: 'Dares' describes himself -in third person- as a faithful follower of the Trojan prince Antenor and states that he served in the Trojan army until the siege was over. Considering DETH's direct dialogue with Homer's *Iliad*, it seems quite peculiar that the author chose to make Dares a warrior instead of a priest. This could be interpreted as a sign of Virgilian influence. But one has to be careful with such assumptions as the final chapter describes Dares staying in Troy with prince Antenor after the war, clearly deviating from Virgil's version. A tenable hypothesis of why Dares is described as a warrior in DETH is the author's systematic downplaying of all things mythical and religious in order to adhere to the image of a rational war history: Homer's Dares was a priest, and one of his sons was saved by Hephaestus: both aspects of Homer's take on Dares would have been unacceptable in DETH.

After analysing the author's literary inspiration, it might be interesting to see what became of Dares in the literary tradition following the publication of DETH. The work itself became very influential in Byzantine times and –together with *Dictys Cretensis*- even became the most important source on the Trojan War in Western Europe as the knowledge of Greek diminished and Homer was no longer widely read. (Eisenhut, 1983: 12-14) Very interesting about the work's *Nachleben* is that everyone apparently took Dares and Dictys' work at face value and naively believed (or chose to believe) that DETH truly was an eye-witness report of the siege of Troy and that Dares was an actual combatant in the war (an example of this can be found in the works of Isidore of Seville², who calls Dares Phrygius the "first pagan historian"). I would like to mention two sources explicitly because – as Beschorner pointed out - they deviate from all others in terms of the information they impart about Dares. (1992: 232-235) The first is Ptolemaeus Chennus (as cited by Photius in his 'Bibliotheca'³), who says:

"And Antipater of Acanthe says that Dares, who wrote the Iliad before Homer, was the monitor of Hector and got him to promise not to kill the companion of Achilles." (Henry, 2002)

¹ Information about Dares himself (written in third person) appears in chapter 12 (the character catalogue) and near the end of the history (in chapter 44).

² Isidore of Seville, *Origines*, ed. W.M. Lindsay, Oxford, 1911 (I.41.1):
"Apud gentiles vero primus Dares Phrygius de Graecis et Trojanis historiam edidit."

³ Ptolem. Heph. ap. Phot. Cod. 190. Translation: R. Henry, 2002
<http://www.tertullian.org/fathers/photius_copyright/photius_05bibliotheca.htm#190> on April 9th 2011

The second source is Eustathius of Thessalonica¹, who wrote:

“Antipater of Acanthus says that Hector was given Dares the Phrygian as advisor and that the latter, as the Thymbran Apollo had commanded him to do through an oracle, urged Hector not to kill the friend of Achilles. Dares was later killed by Odysseus after switching sides in the war.” (Beschoner, 1992)

Especially Eustathius presents us with information that is at odds with the conventional Dares story: the death of Dares at the hands of Odysseus -so presumably moments before or after the fall of Troy- does not fit within the story presented in DETH (the main predicament being how Dares could have written his epic if he was killed before the siege was over). The fact that these two authors present similar information that radically deviates from the image of Dares described in DETH, means they probably used the same source: Antipater of Acanthus². (Eisenhut, 1983: 17) Perhaps Antipater concocted a new version of the story which was subsequently copied by both sources cited above. According to Beschoner, it could also signify that there already existed an alternate Dares tradition which is now lost to us. (1992: 233) But, considering the lack of evidence, perhaps the most plausible explanation is that this ‘Antipater’ never existed and that both sources go back to Ptolemaeus Chennus, who is known for making supposedly ‘truthful’ claims based on popular rumours and his own imagination. (Eisenhut: 17)

Concerning the internal differences between both sources, Bornmann points out that they could have been derived from another unknown source which recorded yet another version of the Dares story. (1989: 391-395) The question is where these alleged alternative traditions originated from. The possibility of an older epic as the source of these variants quickly comes to mind, but is highly unlikely as none of the deviating elements appear in the Latin DETH. Moreover, if there had been an older Dares epic, it would probably have been the lost Greek original. And even if that is not the case, a similar epic predating DETH would surely have had visible influence on the latter. Bornmann explains his theory by noting that “alternate versions of the fate of Homeric heroes are not uncommon” (thereby implying that the information is nothing more than a product of Chennus’ imagination). (394) But in the end, Bornmann’s suggestion appears to be a tenuous solution as it merely creates more uncertainty.

¹ Eustath. ad Hom. Od. xi. p. 453. Translation and comments based on Beschoner, 1992: 233-235.

² Apart from these two sources only Aristophanes mentions him as well (or a person with the same name). The lack of concrete information about Antipater begs the question whether he can be seen as a reliable source or not.

A final point of discussion that I would like to address is one posed by Eisenhut, who manages to pile doubt upon doubt as he investigates the significance of the epithet 'Phrygius'. (1983: 17) As the title of DETH itself shows (along with later references such as in Aelian¹), Dares is clearly described as a Phrygian. The problem with this is that there is a clear-cut difference between Greek, Trojan and Phrygian (even more so in ancient times): "The latter were a separate people, with their own land, customs and language." (Eisenhut, 1983: 17) Eisenhut then reminds us that the Homeric Dares was described as being a native Trojan. This once again raises questions about whether DETH's Dares really is the one mentioned in Homer; what if it was someone else? Despite these new complications, I tend to agree with Eisenhut when he opposes the possible existence of a lost 'Phrygian Iliad'. It seems more likely that DETH's author simply picked the name 'Dares' in order to establish a connection between Homer and himself, and then freely attached new meanings and connotations to it in order to fit his own machinations. All in all, I hope it is clear that even something as elementary as the name of DETH's author is shrouded in mystery and that there still remains more research to be done as most academic theories on this subject seem to rely heavily on speculation and dubious assumptions.



¹ Aelian, Var. Hist. XI, 2. Translation: Stanley, T., "Claudius Aelianus - His Various History. Book XI", 1665, pp 205-211: "They say also that Dares the Phrygian, whose Phrygian Iliad I know to be yet extant, was before Homer." While this is seen by some as proof of a Greek original, it is mostly not deemed to be of any value as Aelian's sources are unknown in this case; not to mention that a number of similar claims in his *Varia Historia* are far-fetched and/or not backed up by any credible evidence.

2. The Role of Cornelius Nepos

Another crucial aspect concerning the authorship of DETH is the appearance of famous Roman historian Cornelius Nepos. After choosing a fictional character called Dares to serve as the supposed writer of the original history, the unknown author now claims to be Nepos and boldly tells the reader that 'he' is responsible for the Latin translation.

The introductory letter starts with the distinct Roman greeting "*Cornelius Nepos Sallustio Crispo S.*" Not only does the author claim to be a famed Roman historian, he also wants us to believe that this *historia* was attached to a letter sent to yet another renowned Roman author. This controversial letter has caused much turmoil ever since DETH's publication and the reasons for this are twofold. The first reason must be situated in medieval times: DETH was actually believed to be a genuine eye-witness report. According to Clark, the main reason for this was because of the association with an established Roman historiographer. (2010: 203-226) Medieval scholars recognized Nepos' name in the letter and apparently dismissed all further criticism regarding the authenticity of the story partly because it was written by a known author from Classical Antiquity. (Clark, 2010: 206-208) Gudeman goes on to say that this was exactly what DETH's author would have hoped for. (Gudeman, 1894: 155) In his research on Greek and Roman forgeries, Gudeman cites DETH as a prime example of the important role of anonymity: he states that one particular cause of forgery in ancient times is "the intentional attribution of an anonymous work to an illustrious author for the purpose of increasing their value in the eyes of the public" (Gudeman, 1894: 156). And it appears to have been very effective: associating DETH with Nepos helped give the history enough *auctoritas* to last another thousand years (although this certainly was not the only factor; this issue will be addressed further on in the paper.)

But while the motive of increasing DETH's credibility and *auctoritas* seems valid, the manner in which the author does it looks suspicious. This brings us to the second reason why the greeting "*Cornelius Nepos Sallustio Crispo S.*" is so controversial. In the last few centuries, scholars began to doubt the authenticity of DETH. And this was not without reason: as mentioned above, the author forces us to believe that the letter was directed to Sallust (something which is hard to accept for the very same reasons as the author's claim to be Nepos). And apart from this, there are several other items in the letter which require a slight 'suspension of disbelief'.

The most remarkable ones are briefly described by Beschorner. Firstly, he argues that the choice of Sallust as addressee has its reasons: by doing so, the author builds up a distinct 'historical' atmosphere, clearly supporting DETH's goal. (Beschorner, 1992: 64-67) Moreover, DETH exhibits several Sallustian elements. (75) Merkle argues this is probably related to the fact that *Dictys Cretensis* shows distinct Sallustian undertones as well, so the author manages to incorporate a subtle wink to its more erudite readers. (Merkle, 1996: 158-162) Secondly, the fact that Nepos allegedly found the Greek original during 'scholarly research in Athens' also seems suspiciously stereotypical¹. (Beschorner: 74) What makes critical readers frown as well is the absence of any information regarding the miraculous discovery of the manuscript² -something which is prominently present in *Dictys Cretensis*- and the stress pseudo-Nepos puts on the value of Dares while calling Homer unreliable. Such Homeric criticism was already present for centuries in Greek literature (Latin literature followed soon enough), but Cornelius Nepos is not known to have followed this trend. (Beschorner: 72)

The observations highlighted above point to two possible options: either the letter is fictitious, or the first line (the greeting) was appended to the original letter preceding the Greek version of DETH. In all likelihood, the first option seems to be the correct one; all these doubtful factors combined present us with a text that seems exaggerated - almost like a caricature. It is possible that the author tried (and failed) to insert familiar elements into the letter in order to boost the letter's credibility, but the sheer boldness of the execution points towards intentional satire. (Eisenhut, 1983: 18) It is at this point that Dares' problematic connection with *Dictys Cretensis* comes into play. The letter –and the appearance of Nepos and Sallust- could be seen as a playful response to the introductory letter included in *Dictys*. As for the second option; I mention it purely for the sake of completeness. This theory has been proposed by Schissel von Fleschenberg (1908); he argues that traces of a Greek prologue can be reconstructed from the Latin letter, and that the greeting on the first line was added by copyists in the Middle Ages. But this hypothesis has since been rebuffed³, and has not been taken seriously anymore by most researchers.

¹ Moreover, it seems peculiar that a prose epic written by a Phrygian about the fall of Troy was found in Athens.

² He doesn't mention anything except: "*Cum multa Athenis studiosissime agerem, inveni historiam Daretis Phrygii...*" One explanation for this would be that the author couldn't be bothered to actually make up a coherent story about the manuscript (unlike *Dictys*). Another option is that the author didn't really mean for this letter to be taken seriously, making this sort of vagueness more acceptable (the idea of Dares being a parody of *Dictys Cretensis* will be discussed later on).

³ By both Schetter, W. "Beobachtungen zum Dares Latinus." *Hermes* CXVI (1988) : 94-109 and Beschorner, 1992: 64

The conclusion to take away from this brief analysis is that it is safe to assume that Cornelius Nepos and Sallust were not connected to DETH in any way, and that their names were only mentioned in order to exploit their fame and establish a distinctly 'historiographic' atmosphere. This trick, used to gain legitimacy and to attract the attention of potential readers, has been very popular in the literary history of the Roman Empire -and the entire world for that matter- and is still used today.



3. Time of Origin and Literary Environment

Considering the information we currently possess about DETH, it seems incredibly difficult to form a solid hypothesis about who the real author might have been. What researchers *can* try to figure out is when exactly the work was published and in what literary environment this happened.

Overall, the origin of the Latin DETH is agreed upon by most researchers to be somewhere around the 5th century AD. But the manner in which this information was deduced varies enormously: Eisenhut (1983: 16) and Merkle (1996: 155) based their guesses on the text's "barbarous style" and subsequently assumed that it was written in the second half of the 5th century¹, while Schetter (1987: 211-231) and Beschorner (1992: 254-263) took a slightly more objective approach and attempted to establish a realistic time frame. They assumed the publication of the Latin Dictys (4rd century) to be the *terminus post quem* (because of the strong connection) and deduced that Dracontius' epyllion '*De Raptu Helenae*' is the *terminus ante quem*². Further evidence for this time frame is DETH's language use: Beschorner (1992, 255) notes that Dares uses *audivit quia* (ch.15), whereas earlier Latin authors would have used *audivit quod*. He also argues that certain historical events could have influenced DETH's publication and could therefore be used as *terminus post*: the event in this case being Alaric's sack of Rome in 411 - something which shocked the Roman world enormously and led to Augustinus' publication of *De Civitate Dei*. Beschorner subsequently argues that one could read DETH as an allegory for the fall of Rome to Alaric and infer that this historical event started a literary revival of 'downfall-tales'. (Beschorner: 255-256) But while this theory has some merit, one could just as easily argue that this is a classic case of overinterpretation. Researchers should keep in mind that the connection with *Dictys Cretensis* most likely remains one of the principal reasons for DETH's publication and that any further assumptions rely on nothing but speculation.

Another factor to take into account regarding its time of origin is the literary environment. The subject of Troy was as prominent as ever in the 5th century, with DETH appearing in the same time frame as the Servius Commentary and –as said- Dracontius' work. (Beschorner: 256) Mythology in general remained a popular subject as well; although that should be seen in connection with the contemporary nostalgia for the ancient values or *mos maiorum* (a good example here would be Macrobius' *Saturnalia*). Diocletian's reforms had been crucial for this trend as they created a revitalized concept of Rome. (Beschorner: 257) But, most

¹ Eisenhut even goes as far as the first half of the 6th century.

² Schissel von Fleschenberg argued that it was the other way around: Dracontius influenced Dares. But that theory has been definitively rebuffed by Schetter (1987).

importantly, historiography was also still widely written in the century leading up to DETH's publication; although it was mostly reduced to variations of an imperial biography ('Rome is the emperor'). This situation is a clear example of how a change in politics can be reflected in the production of literature. Despite their seemingly limited value, these imperial biographies have been compared to DETH's character catalogues and could perhaps present another reason why DETH survived: the public was used to reading about the personality and appearance of emperors every day, so they might have been interested in what their mythical forefathers had looked like¹. (Beschoner: 260) With this attitude in mind, it could be interesting to mention another curious work which was published around this time: the *Historia Augusta*. This enigmatic collection of biographies presents itself as a compilation of the work of six *scriptores* and describes the lives of the Roman emperors from 117 AD up to Diocletian in 284 AD. (Meckler, 1996: 364-365) The reason I chose to mention the *Historia Augusta* is because it shows some remarkable parallels with DETH: they were both written by an unknown author who ascribed the text to someone else, and they both present accounts of famous events and lives which deviate from mainstream beliefs (this might have influenced DETH's author). Yet while we can say that DETH's genre and purpose seem clear, the *Historia Augusta* remains mysterious even in these fundamental issues. And to make matters even worse, they are even harder to date than DETH itself. Beschoner concludes by saying that the late 5th century exhibits enough literary tendencies and themes corresponding to DETH's subject in order to assume that it was written and published in this period. (Beschoner: 262) Unfortunately, his arguments regarding the historical context are not always very convincing, and it seems that the lack of concrete evidence continues to hinder researchers in forming a well-founded theory. So far, the *termini post/ante* and the –at times equally dubious- grammatical arguments are the only clear indications we have regarding DETH's date of origin.



¹ While this holds true for the 1st century, the question is whether this still was the case in the 5th century. It looks doubtful, as the concept of 'emperor' had changed drastically in the centuries leading up to DETH's publication.

4. Analysing the Formal Characteristics

After investigating the controversy surrounding the author, this next chapter will focus more on the textual side of Dares' *historia*. We will discuss how form and style relate to the intention of the writer, how DETH relates to the epic genre and what literary techniques are used in the narrative. After that, I will compare DETH with Cornelius Nepos' writing style in order to have linguistic proof that they had nothing to do with each other.

Let us begin by analysing one of the most basic elements of the text: its form. The entire text (including the epistolary preface) is written in prose, as opposed to most preceding works about the fall of Troy, which still adhere to the formal guidelines of the epic genre and write in dactylic hexameters (or a poetic verse form originating from a different poetic tradition which corresponds to the use of hexameters in Latin literature). The point of interest here is the author's reason for doing so. One explanation which might justify the use of prose is the concept of *inversio*. A distinct feature of DETH that is beyond any doubt is its direct dialogue with Homer's *Iliad*: the author internalized elements of the original work and adapted them to his own intentions. (Beschorner: 4) Typical about authors who engage in such a dialogue with an established tradition is that they are fond of turning things around in order to transform their interpretation of said tradition into something new and different. And what could have been more shocking than 'degrading' an epic poem to a banal prose narrative? (Verbaal, personal communication, 25-03-2011) Another determining factor might have been the popularity of the so-called *progymnasmata*¹: these typical exercises formed the basis of rhetorical education and, among other things, taught students useful strategies on dealing with texts. It divided this complicated cognitive process in separate exercises such as making summaries, changing the viewpoint of a story or –more importantly- changing the genre. So, with this in mind, transforming a text from poetry to prose seems to be a scholarly exercise *par excellence*.

What we do need to remember is that the form is also influenced considerably by the genre: in DETH, the genre has undergone a remarkable shift. It went from being an epic poem, to historiography written in a sober, almost summarizing style (or at least, DETH tries to emulate that genre). On a more fundamental level, it must be noted that the author is visibly flirting with the boundaries of fact and fiction. By analysing DETH's character catalogues, Farrow has commented that the work could be seen as "the transition² between the 'heroic' genre of

¹ As noted by Prof. Dr. W. Verbaal (personal communication, 27-02-2012, Ghent)

² Farrow has to be careful: by claiming that DETH is a transitional work, he seems to imply that there was a continuous evolution in the first place. This seems a bit audacious.

catalogue writing, and the bald descriptions which were spread in the Byzantine adaptations of Dictys” (Farrow, 1992: 349). In any case, prose seems to be the obvious choice here.

Closely related to this is the textual style: DETH remains an unusual example, and the majority of researchers have nothing positive to say about its writing style¹. Merkle compared DETH’s (and to a lesser extent Dictys’) style to that of a war historian, commenting that they present

“... sober and factual information in chronological order, conceived with little or no literary ambitions, like a *commentarius*; accordingly, both texts are written in plain, unpretentious prose.” (Merkle, 1996: 156)

So we could in fact accept that the peculiar writing style DETH exhibits is due to the intentions of the author (in this case being credibility) rather than incompetence. An interesting complexity is that the author actually mentions this explicitly in the prologue²: pseudo-Nepos’ own explanation for the sober style is his strict adherence to the original Greek eye-witness report. But at the same time, the plain style could also be seen as an indication that DETH was originally written in Latin. The lack of any lingering Greek aspects in the Latin grammar (such as present participle constructions or typically Greek epithets) supports this hypothesis; although there still is no definite proof that DETH was originally written in Latin. The real question is how researchers should approach the situation: should they try to prove the seemingly obvious (a Latin original) or focus on the arguments that rely on not one but two –apparently- unsolvable mysteries (it’s a translation, and the original happens to be lost)?

Whatever explanation the author gives us, it does not take away any of the text’s formal problems and at times vapid phrasing. For example, Griffin deplores DETH’s repetitive ways of expression and incessant usage of stock phrases such as *‘fit magna caedes’* and *‘dum indutiae sunt’*. (Griffin, 1907: 5) The reason these often occur is because a large portion of DETH is nothing more than summaries of battles, the names of heroes slain in said battles, the number of days the next truce has been agreed to last, etc. And such relentlessly monotonic subjects are often prone to relentlessly monotonic phraseology. Apart from this, the most typical characteristics of Dares’ *historia* are the following:

¹ A few examples: Griffin (1907) calls Dares’ writing style “wretched” and deplores his “irritating habit of constant verbal repetition.” (4) Merkle (1996) also discusses the theory of DETH being an epitomization of a Greek original. In this context, he notes: “the contribution of ‘Nepos’ was mainly the destruction of a quite respectable Greek text.” (155). Eisenhut (1983) compares it to Dictys and argues that “...die Sprache der Übersetzung ist kariger, ja primitiver als die des Septimius.” (17)

²The prefatory letter states: “Optimum ergo duxi, *vere et simpliciter* perscripta, si eam ad verbum in Latinitatem transverterem.” [my emphases]

- Compressed language: the author attempts to say as much as he can in as few words as possible.
- Simple clauses with almost no cohesion: DETH is known for its short, standalone sentences (or several of these linked by a coordinating conjunction) as well as its many *asyndeta*.
- Choice of words: Dares utilizes a very basic vocabulary and apparently avoids using expressions that are too 'colourful' (or should we say idiomatic?).

When we look at these characteristics, an interesting point of discussion quickly pops up: the discrepancy in style between pseudo-Nepos' letter and the actual *historia*. Most researchers who analyse Dares' style do not differentiate between these two parts of the work; they focus on certain paragraphs that can be used as good examples of what Dares' writing style is like.¹ However, when we keep in mind those three characteristics mentioned in the last paragraph, it is clear that pseudo-Nepos' letter exhibits none of them: it is written in an entirely different Latin. The explanation for this is simple. First of all: the dull style typical of DETH was not the result of the author's incompetence. The letter clearly shows that he was able to write in a more sophisticated (and more classical) Latin. This once again stresses that he strived to write like a *commentarius*, and that he deliberately toned down his own Latin so that the insipid language would support his claim that DETH was in fact an –originally Greek- eye-witness report. (Merkle, 1996: 156) Either way, the letter gives researchers the opportunity of looking at Dares' writing style from a different perspective: DETH's language is dull and repetitive, yet the author deliberately wrote the entire history in this style while at the same time making sure that his Latin was still grammatically correct. That takes a tremendous amount of effort. (Verbaal, personal communication, 2012)

In terms of the formal side of DETH's content, Griffin rightly laments the work's lack of internal consistency ("the character Meriones is killed twice") and planning ("the 'Argonautica' segment is elaborately prepared for, but dismissed with "...*Colchos profecti sunt, pellem abstulerunt, domum reversi sunt.*") (Griffin, 1907: 4-5) Though Griffin has a point in mentioning these apparent amateurisms, we must remember that criticism such as this largely relies on subjective criteria, and that it might not always be justified. For example, the sudden end of the Argonautica-segment could be a way of deliberately trying to defuse the tension. A closing remark I would like to make regarding the content concerns the amount of studies on Dares Phrygius that mention the possibility of omissions and of DETH being an 'epitomization'. (Beschoner, 1992: 193-230; Merkle, 1996: 156-158) Most of the research relies on the fact the DETH probably derives from a Greek original; if that is the case, DETH's lack of coherence might

¹ For example: Beschorners' analysis of the letter (1992: 64-75)

prove to be a valuable clue. But if there is in fact no Greek original to begin with, the level of criticism regarding DETH's internal structure is astounding. Therefore, if the second option should prove to be true, the fact that such an epitomization theory even exists could indicate that the author had a bad memory (rather than the author actually haphazardly selecting material from the supposed Greek original.)

The final issue I plan to discuss in this chapter is the comparison between DETH's and Cornelius Nepos' writing style. Interesting about DETH's influential status in the Middle Ages is that everyone believed it to be Nepos' work while the manner of writing is completely different from the latter's style. (Eisenhut, 1983: 18) Even if it is a literal translation -as the letter states-, there would still be distinct Neposian elements visible in the text as there is no such thing as a completely objective and transparent translator. A simple example to support this remark is Nepos' idiosyncratic use of the phrase 'quo factum est': his unrelenting usage of verbal stops such as this is completely absent in DETH. A few more typical characteristics of Nepos' works are described in Titchener (2003: 85-99):

"His style, not surprisingly, has a strongly rhetorical cast, as can be seen from his use of antithesis, alliteration, and rhythmic clausulae, but he also uses ring structure, puns, thematic parallels, and literary motifs to good advantage." (Titchener, 2003: 90)

However, as Titchener goes on to say, most scholars tend to lean towards a more downbeat approach to Nepos' style, as he uses the few rhetorical devices that he has mastered *ad nauseam*. (Titchener: 89-91) But despite these slightly negative reviews of Nepos' style, it still seems much more poetic and crafty than DETH's writing style; nothing Titchener sums up in the preceding quote is present in Dares' work. The reason why medieval scholars failed to notice this mysterious shift in style when reading DETH is threefold. First of all, although Nepos was known by name, his texts were not widely read at all; so scholars simply did not know Nepos' style well enough to be able to form a well-founded comparison with DETH. Secondly, a shift in style was not exactly a big deal in medieval times, as contemporary authors often employed exceedingly varied ways of writing. And thirdly, medieval scholars did not analyse a text like modern researchers do nowadays. (Verbaal, personal communication, 11-05-2012) If we keep this in mind, we can see why it took researchers so long to unmask DETH as a forgery.



B. Dares Phrygius as an Example of ‘Rewriting’

1. Homeric Criticism and the Trojan Legacy in the Middle Ages

As mentioned earlier in this dissertation, Dares (and Dictys) enjoyed an extremely influential status in the Middle Ages: they were considered the primary source of information on the story of the fall of Troy for a surprisingly long time. (Beschoner: 2-5; Clark: 205-208; Schetter, 1988: 94) The reason for this is the result of a number of factors. Considering the comments made about the formal characteristics of the text, it seems laughable to suggest that Dares and Dictys were cherished because of their inherent literary value. The explanation lies in the historical context: the knowledge of Greek -which had previously held the status of lingua franca among the higher echelons of Roman intellectual circles- had steadily diminished in the West after the 1st century BC. (Millar, 2006: 93) Partly responsible for this was the growing absence of Greek literature (although proclaiming a causal link between these two phenomena remains a precarious task; one could easily turn the situation around without straying from the truth). Homer was the cornerstone of education in the Graecophone regions of the Mediterranean, but in the linguistically divided Roman ‘Empire’ of the 5th century there were few people left in the West who could read the original Greek *Iliad*. (Millar, 2006: 7)

As a result, knowledge of these works mostly came about via translations and adaptations. Another crucial element that eroded the credibility of Homer (and Virgil) was the constant criticism which classified them as purely fictitious; Latin criticism started as early as the 1st century AD. (Eisenhut, 1983: 18; Solomon, 2007: 507) In this environment, DETH quickly gained popularity because of its deceptively truthful nature and simplified approach, and went on to become a crucial source of inspiration on the history of *Troja* in Western Europe. (Clark, 2010: 204-209; Griffin, 1908: 15-16) The important status Dares and Dictys have had since beginning of the Middle Ages is easily deducible through the numerous translations that have been made of them (Dares was even translated into Irish¹ and Icelandic²). It was not until the beginning of the 18th century that scholars began to dissect both works with a critical attitude, and they soon saw through the –in our eyes- blatant fiction.

¹ “The Togail Trot”, ed. Stokes and Windisch, *Irische Texte II*, (1884), Leipzig

² “The Trojumanna Saga”, ed. J. Sigurðsson, *Annaler for nordisk Oldkyndighed Copenhagen*, (1848)

A big part of Dares' popularity was due to the emergence of a popular 'Trojan legacy' in Western Europe; this subject has been addressed by both Griffin (1908: 48-50) and Clark (2010: 206-226). During the early Middle Ages, the fall of Troy was seen as a very important event for the history of Europe. This was reflected in both religious literature as well as political writings: following the example of another very popular work in those days (the *Aeneid*), many royal families claimed to be descendants of Aeneas and the other Trojan exiles. (Clark, 2010: 206-207) Dares, who claims to be an eye-witness and thereby imbues himself with an authority higher than Homer, mentioned the fate of the Trojan exiles at the end of his *historia*. (Griffin, 1908: 40) For that reason DETH came in handy as a 'truthful' source which confirmed the claims of many a royal court in Western Europe. This could be considered a reason why such a blatant forgery was accepted by medieval historians; it was exactly what they needed, so it was decided that there was no need for closer scrutiny.

In essence, we can state that DETH has also survived the ages because of its fascinating relationship with Homer. This essential facet of Dares' *historia* is immediately stressed by the author himself in the prologue:

"...utrum magis vera existiment, quae Dares Phrygius memoriae commendavit, qui per id tempus vixit et militavit, quo Graeci Troianos oppugnarent; an Homero credendum, qui post multos annos natus est, quam bellum hoc gestum fuisset: de qua re Athenis iudicium fuit, cum pro insano Homerus haberetur, quod Deos cum hominibus belligerasse descripsit." (Meister, 1878)

The author's overall view on Homer appears to be quite negative, as he boldly reduces the literary giant to an unreliable madman. Such a critical attitude was getting increasingly fashionable in Latin literature starting from the 1st and 2nd century¹, and that period could be linked to DETH in two ways. On the one hand, supporters of the 'Greek original theory' argue the Greek Dares was written around that time (Beschoner, 1992: 250-251), while their opponents claim DETH's 'Homeric revisionism' is a response to the Latin Dictys (whose Greek original was in all likelihood written during the reign of Nero). (Eisenhut, 1983: 16) This could explain why DETH assumes such an anti-Homeric position.

Aside from the literary environment, the relationship between Homer and DETH is also characterized by the typical urge of many Roman authors for *inversio* (although DETH's connection with Dictys Cretensis must be kept in mind at all times). The unknown author took archetypal elements from the Homeric epic and transformed them into something entirely different (Venini (1981) even goes as far as calling DETH a "knowledge test of the *Iliad*"). The most radical –and obvious– changes include the story's new viewpoint and the bias towards one

¹ For example, the poet of the *Aetna* and Longinus.

side in the conflict. And the author does this while convincing the reader of his credibility: he presents himself as an eye-witness and places himself above Homer in terms of authority on the Trojan War. Beschorner (1992: 4) discerns three basic elements which are characteristic of DETH's conversion of the *Iliad* into a 'plausible, rationalistic version of Homer's epic'¹:

1) The rationalization of mythical and fantastical elements

There is hardly a better example of this than the peripheral role the iconic 'Trojan horse' plays in DETH: from a famous giant, wooden structure that created a legacy which lived on until today, the horse has been downgraded to an ornament adorning the Scaean gate of Troy (where the Trojan traitors let the Greeks into the city). That way the author keeps the Trojan horse as a plot element while at the same time retaining his credibility (as he is able to explain why Homer mentions it).

2) The disappearance of anything divine

This second aspect corresponds with the reason why DETH's author claims that the Athenians condemned Homer as insane in his prefatory letter: the blind bard described the Olympian gods as fighting together with mortals and helping combatants from both sides. None of this is present in DETH (no Minerva whispering a certain clever ruse into Odysseus' ear or Venus saving Paris from his battle with Menelaus; even the famous 'judgment of Paris' has completely disappeared). And even the limited appearances of oracles, sacrifices and prayers are kept very brief.

3) The transformation of the epic into the banal

The most striking example here would be the depiction of Hector's death (and battles in general). Whereas in Homer the battle between Achilles and Hector lasts hundreds of lines (almost the entirety of book XXII) and the subsequent scene where Achilles drags Hector around the city is one of the most tragic ones in the whole *Iliad*, DETH condenses this to nothing more than "*Hector Achillis femur sauciat. Ille dolore accepto, magis eum persequi coepit, nec destitit nisi occideret.*" And a few lines later, the author notes "*Noctu Troiani Hectorem lamentantur.*" Battles become nothing more than a bland summary followed by the necessary morbid statistics.

¹ A phrase also used by Merkle (1996) to describe both Dictys and Dares.

An intriguing issue closely related to this theme of *inversio* is the change of focus the characters of the Iliad undergo; Griffin describes DETH as “exalting the subordinate and slighting the principal Homeric personages.” (Griffin, 1907: 13) The main examples of this in DETH are the relatively large role of the Trojan prince Troilus (who was mentioned only once by Homer) and the apparent downplaying and ‘ill-treatment’ of traditional Greek heroes such as Achilles and Odysseus.

This brings us to our final point of discussion for this chapter: DETH is supposed to be an eye-witness account of the fall of Troy from the viewpoint of a warrior in the Trojan army, but the question is whether we can call it that and move on without so much as a closer look. Griffin notes that DETH does exhibit an undeniable nuance which puts the Trojans in a more positive light; and the examples in the previous paragraph actually fit this description quite well.

A final example which seems sufficient proof of this theory is DETH’s characterization of the Trojan prince Paris: here he does not abduct Helen from the house of Menelaus (as is the case in the Iliad), but from the temple of Venus on Cytherea. And he does not do so without her full consent. (Griffin, 1907: 10) Furthermore, he is not a coward in battle: he kills Antilochus and wounds many Greek heroes without needing any divine intervention¹. Besides that, DETH also robs the Greeks of any credit for the actual fall of Troy (that honour goes to the Trojan traitors) and puts their final death toll on 886,000 (whereas the Trojans lost but 676,000 men). (Griffin: 10)

Griffin proceeds to explain the feelings of hostility towards some Trojans as due to Homeric revisionism in DETH (perhaps a reaction against the more positive role Antenor and Aeneas play in the *Iliad*). (Griffin: 10-11) Though, in my opinion, it could also be explained by saying that treachery still awakens some moral feeling in the author (enough to seep through to the actual text). The fact that this attitude fits the author’s ‘Trojan persona’ quite well seems to support this view on the situation (those Trojans betrayed the city for selfish reasons; that in itself seems cause enough to make them susceptible to a ‘slightly subjective’ depiction).

Yet this is only one side of the story: Merkle (1996: 162-163) disagrees with Griffin –to a certain extent- and points out that DETH is not just a pro-Trojan version of Homer. There are signs to assume that DETH is in fact a more neutral history than most readers realize: the author is “not as disparaging and harsh as *Dictys Cretensis*”, and apparently depicts Greeks and Trojans as moral equals. (Merkle: 162)

Moreover, a remarkable point of attention is that DETH actually leaves out several of the ‘evil deeds’ perpetrated by the Greeks (ex. the cruelties at the sack of Troy). (Merkle: 163)

¹ Contrary to the Iliad, where Paris is saved by Aphrodite after Menelaus defeated him in single combat.

Finally, the characterization of king Priam is not as positive as it might look at first sight, toning down the Trojan bias of the work even further. So we can conclude that Dares and Dictys are not exactly mirror images, but that they each appear to give their own interpretation of the truth.



2. DETH's Problematic Connection with *Dictys Cretensis*

An essential aspect of DETH that every reader and researcher should be aware of is that it is more than often published and/or studied together with a similar work called *Dictys Cretensis Ephemeridos Belli Trojani*. The role of Dictys Cretensis (Δίκτυς ὁ Κρής) in studies about Dares is not to be underestimated as the two are inextricably linked in terms of formal, thematic and stylistic features. In the following chapter I aim to provide a concise overview of (and commentary on) the most fundamental parallels and differences.

Let us begin with the most fundamental aspect of both works: the formal characteristics. Undoubtedly, the most conspicuous parallel between Dictys and Dares is the manner in which the work presents itself to the reader: it consists of a prose narrative about the siege of Troy and was supposedly written by an eye-witness, whose work was rediscovered centuries later and subsequently translated by a Latin scholar. (Merkle, 1996: 155-156) The latter imparts this information in the introductory letter together with a detailed account of how the manuscript came into his hands. Overall, this corresponds perfectly to what DETH is supposed to be. So, even when we examine the most basic elements of both works – and we have not even mentioned the content yet- it seems clear that Dares is a literary response to Dictys. The question is: how did the author go about this and why did he do it? In order to answer this question, a somewhat more thorough analysis of both works is needed.

Despite the astonishingly similar upset, a few telling disparities quickly appear. First of all, the Dictys-translator actually gives us his real name -or at least a name that isn't an obvious forgery: Lucius Septimius. Instead of relying on illustrious names such as Cornelius Nepos or Sallust, Septimius attempts to achieve credibility by painstakingly describing the origins of the manuscript. (Griffin, 1907: 8) Although it must be said that Eisenhut (1983) has already pointed out that some of Septimius' explanations are rather dubious or just physically impossible. (19-21) Pseudo-Nepos, on the other hand, tells us nothing about how he found the manuscript and how it had survived the ages. The same can be said of the *nostos*-segment in both works: Dictys spends some time describing the Greeks returning home and further elaborates on the aftermath of the war, while DETH limits the information the reader gets to a single paragraph that includes nothing but numerical facts such as how many casualties there were on each side, and how many followers Aeneas had when he left Troy. Although this was probably done deliberately because Dares was an eye-witness (he could not have known what happened to the Greeks after the war), he could have elaborated on how the surviving Trojans reacted to the fall of their city. But we can assume he did not do this because such things are 'not relevant for a

war history¹. This is one of the first elements that seem to support the theory that DETH is something of a literary parody of Dictys. It is as though pseudo-Nepos saw through Septimius' feeble explanations and wanted to show that all the latter's painstaking work was not necessary at all; people would believe anything if you just added a few famous names – and apparently, he was right. Seeing as pseudo-Nepos deliberately left out any information about the manuscript itself, he could dedicate most of his introductory letter to DETH's relationship with Homer. One final point of interest I'd like to address concerning the translators is that Dictys has both an introductory letter and a prologue, whereas DETH only has the former. Technically speaking, this means one of two things: either there was a Greek DETH and pseudo-Nepos decided to avoid Septimius' apparent amateurism of having two prologues by dropping one of them, or there was no Greek DETH and the lack of a prologue actually is proof of this². I will repeat what I have said earlier and stress that the first option is based on two unproven assumptions. Stating that the original text was lost and subsequently arguing that the absence of traces of said lost text in DETH proves the former's existence just seems absurd.

Another important difference between both works is the role of the narrator: Dictys is narrated from the perspective of a Cretan soldier in the Greek army, whereas DETH is predominantly Trojan-oriented. But the difference does not end there: Dares' narrator appears to be far more complex: he seems to know things that a simple eye-witness could not have known (such as the goings-on in the Greek camp), and seems to take up the role of an omniscient narrator rather than a character in the story itself. (Griffin, 1907: 12-13) In any case, Dictys' more Hellenic take on the tale of Troy stands in stark contrast to Dares' views on the same events. The Cretan's bias is quickly made clear by his treatment of certain characters (cf. *infra*). Interesting is that Trojans are characterized far more negatively in Dictys than Greeks are in Dares: throughout the narrative they are portrayed as 'mere barbarians who fight without any formation or battle plan'. (Griffin: 10) As said in the previous chapter: the Greeks are not belittled or slandered in any way in DETH, and the treachery of Priam's sons has been downplayed – one could call it 'humanized'. All in all, Dictys actually seems much more biased and fundamentally harsher than Dares³. The fact that the latter deliberately chose to give his version a much more relative and humanized tone, could be interpreted as an intertextual message to Dictys in which he proclaims to be the latter's moral superior; he could have done the same as Dictys, but chose not to.

¹ Perhaps another way to rebel against Homer (and Dictys)?

² This issue will be addressed in more detail in the next chapter.

³ Up to the point that one could say that Dictys' history is cruel and explicit. Further concrete proof of this is the way Dictys describes the death of certain characters: Troilus and Lycaon are executed in cold blood while they are unarmed prisoners, and the Greeks also discuss whether they should let Penthesilea be torn to pieces by dogs, or whether they should simply drown her.

In terms of content there is plenty to discuss as well, as Dares seems to transform or leave out some key aspects that characterize Dictys. The first important case of this is the cause of the war. Whereas Dictys follows Homer's story and states that the Greco-Trojan conflict began when Paris abducted Helen, Dares attempts to refute Homer's original claim that the Trojans had been the instigating party. Before mentioning the abduction of Helen, he adds in a scene about the quest for the Golden Fleece. According to Dares, the Greek Argonauts were ordered to leave Phrygia by a prudent Laomedon; as a result the Greeks felt offended and returned in force to sack Troy and kidnap Hesione. When the Greeks pertinently refused to return her, Priam decided to go to war against them. When he eventually does mention the abduction of Helen, Dares claims that it originally¹ had no political purpose, and that Paris could not help himself because of his love for Helen. Moreover, he mentions several times that Helen was not unwilling and that it certainly did not happen in Menelaus' own home. While it certainly does not absolve the Trojans of all guilt², Dares does succeed in making the reader rethink his feelings towards them as he is presented with the other side of the story, which makes the Trojans seem much more sympathetic. And while Dares does not deny that Laomedon wronged the Greeks first, he manages to tell the story in such a way that the reader believes the Greeks to be the instigating party as their reaction to Laomedon's offense was way out of proportion. However, it is clear once again that, at times when one would expect DETH to act decidedly pro-Trojan, Dares chooses not to do so. Instead, he deliberately attempts to make the reader realize that the situation was far more complex than it was depicted in both Dictys and Homer. While one could say that this somewhat more neutral point of view is implemented because it fits pseudo-Nepos' plan of writing like a *commentarius*, it is very likely that the author had more profound reasons as well.

Another conspicuous difference between both works is the role the gods play in the story. Dictys may not be as 'diety-driven' as the *Iliad* was³, but it still includes several religious episodes and divine intervention still occurs a few times. (Meister, 1878) A prime example of this is the Iphigenia-episode. Here we can see that Dictys still attributes certain events to the will of the gods: Agamemnon kills a goat, so Diana punishes the Greeks by means of a rampant plague. While Diana does not exactly make an actual appearance during the attempted sacrifice of

¹ Although Priam approved of it as he considered Helen to be valuable leverage in the negotiations to get Hesione back.

² Dares does not attempt to right the wrongs of the Trojans by simply not mentioning them. As said before, this work should not be seen as an inherently pro-Trojan interpretation of the war.

³ Dictys is a war history after all. While not as thorough as in DETH, Dictys' history is secularized up to a certain extent.

Iphigenia¹, her presence is marked by a strange storm as well as a voice that resounds from her sacred grove:

“Ulysses, Menelaus, and Calchas were put in charge of the sacrifice; everyone else was kept at a distance. When they had begun to adorn the girl, suddenly, lo and behold, the day began to darken. Thunder roared and lightning flashed, earth and sea were shaken. Finally a whirlwind of dust made the darkness complete. Soon afterwards rain and hail poured down. [...] While they were trying to solve their dilemma, they heard a voice from the grove saying that divinity spurned such an offering; the goddess had mercy upon the girl, and they must not touch her; as for Agamemnon, after his victory at Troy, his wife would see to his adequate punishment; they must sacrifice what they would see had been sent in the place of the girl. Then the winds and the lightning and all the storm’s fierceness began to diminish.” (Frazer, 1966)

Throughout Dictys’ history, the gods are often mentioned; this can be a quick reference (ex.: Dictys mentions that Hercules gave Philoctetes his bow just before ascending to the realm of the gods) or a somewhat more prominent scene such as the one mentioned above. But most references are made in the context of a sacrifice. Both the Greeks and the Trojans constantly visit temples or offer sacrifices to the gods to ensure their support. When we compare this to DETH, we can see that there still remain a few select instances where religious themes do occur but that, overall, the story is thoroughly secularized. (Griffin, 1907: 13-14) When Dares does mention the gods or divine omens, he does so in an almost indifferent tone and this ‘episode’ mostly lasts a few –short- sentences at most. For example, here is the Iphigenia-scene as described by Dares:

*Cum eos ibi tempestates retinerent, Calchas **ex augurio** respondet uti revertantur et in Aulidem proficiscantur. Profecti perveniunt. Agamemnon **Dianam placat** dicitque sociis suis ut classem solvant, ad Troiam iter faciant. (Meister, 1878; own emphases)*

If we examine this excerpt more closely, we can see that Dares condenses the entire storyline of the sacrifice of Iphigenia into three sentences; and only four words actually betray the presence of anything divine. This perfectly demonstrates Dares’ attitude towards the gods: he still mentions them but does not seem to believe in them as Dictys does. He views the gods as man’s explanation for remarkable events; there are no divine interceptions or important sacrificial scenes in DETH. What we can conclude from this is that DETH’s author consciously rebels against the Homeric tradition (and Dictys) by purposefully ignoring one of the most important themes in the *Iliad* (cf. supra). The author takes the secularization process one step further than Dictys

¹ Compare this to the frequent instances of –sometimes physical- contact between gods and mortals in Homer’s work.

does. It appears DETH's author wanted to reprimand Dictys for involving gods in a chronicle that should be about nothing but the facts.

Let us now take a look at some important characters in the story, and examine how they are described in both works. Seeing as Dictys describes himself as a Cretan soldier, the first characters that should prove interesting are Idomeneus and Meriones, the leaders of the Cretan contingent in the Greek army. While these are not exactly crucial characters in the story, Dictys does mention them several times; mostly as one of the Greek leaders chosen to lead the army. Interesting is that Dares mentions them as well in his catalogue of ships, but after that they each appear only one more time in the story: Meriones gets killed by Hector after he tried to drag Patroclus' body away, and Idomeneus is mentioned in a list of Greeks killed by Hector just before the latter's final battle with Achilles. (Griffin, 1908: 47) These are not exactly noble deaths for characters that play a fairly prominent role in Dictys' account. It is this radical revision that suggests that Dares deliberately treated certain characters differently in his *historia* in order to rebel against Dictys in a very conspicuous manner.¹ The way Dares treats several other characters appears to support this theory.

Let me illustrate this by evaluating the author's attitude towards Alexander/Paris. Throughout his history, Dictys continuously slanders Alexander and often refers to him as 'the worst of criminals', 'wicked', or 'corrupted'. In the scene where Menelaus and Alexander duel, Dictys describes Alexander as a coward and criticizes the Trojans for saving him when Menelaus was about to finish him off. (Book II, ch. 39-40) Dares, on the other hand, depicts Alexander as much more of a courageous man. (ch.21) He does not deny that Alexander committed the crime of abducting Helen, but he does render the character a lot more human (instead of a two-dimensional villain). In the duel scene Alexander is depicted as a brave warrior, and he even manages to wound Menelaus. When Alexander is saved by Hector and Aeneas, Dares does not call this an act of cowardice, but rather one motivated by fraternity. He concentrates on Hector's love for his brother and so casually shrugs off any residual feeling of treason or cowardice on the Trojans' part.

Another character who has been the victim of the author's urge for *inversio* is Troilus. Although in this case, an opposite evolution occurs: Dictys only mentions Troilus as a prisoner that is executed by the Greeks (and the subject of Priam's lament), while Dares gives this – originally peripheral- character a much greater role. (Griffin, 1908: 45) Troilus becomes something of a second Hector in DETH, and dies after slaying many important Greek leaders. Important to note at this point is that DETH's author does not only do this with Trojan

¹ Griffin (1907) already showed us that he did the exact same thing to rebel against Homer (slighting the main characters).

characters, but also with several Greek characters as well. A prime example would be Palamedes. Whereas Dictys kills him off rather quickly after being involved in a power struggle among the Greeks, Dares actually depicts him as a brilliant military commander and gives him a very important role in the narrative. The power struggle among the Greeks is still included in DETH, and the manner in which Dares deals with this situation perfectly sums up how he uses the characters to rebel against the existent Trojan tradition. Dictys describes this struggle as being quite cruel and states (in book II, ch.15) that Palamedes was treacherously killed in his sleep by one of Agamemnon's agents -or this is at least implied. In Dares' version the situation is solved after a peaceful debate, and the author does not insult the enemy nor does he depict them as being unsympathetic or cruel -something Dictys often does to the Trojans. In the end, the lesser character, at least in both Dictys and Homer, emerges victoriously. Overall, DETH seems to maintain a much more neutral tone towards both sides.

Finally, I would like to analyse the differences in the writing style of both authors. Much has already been said about DETH's dull style -apart from the letter that is-, and we have already established that this is the result of the author's intentions. He employed his notorious awkward style for three reasons. Firstly, as pseudo-Nepos' himself states in the introductory letter, he is supposedly translating the Greek original word for word, so any idiomatic expressions in Latin or even somewhat more 'colourful' language would have been suspicious. Secondly, DETH is a war history, and he attempts to recreate the factual style typical of war historians. (Merkle, 1996) And thirdly, he seems to rebel against the Homeric tradition by describing such an elevated subject using such inappropriately poor language. Dictys is nothing like this, and this in itself already gives us valuable information about why DETH's author chose to write like he did. Dictys does not rebel against Homer -as radically as DETH-, and subsequently, his language is not that 'rebellious' either. (Griffin, 1908) Interesting here is that Septimius translated the Greek Dictys in a style that is quite readable and relatively fluent. That is because he chose to make a 'free translation' (something which he explicitly states in his letter). So, considering the bond between Dictys and Dares, DETH's author could have utilized a similar style to stress that connection. The three points mentioned above explain why he did not do so. However, we could argue that, even on such a basic level as language use, DETH's author seems to reprimand Septimius. Perhaps an additional reason for pseudo-Nepos to write like he did is because he wanted to criticize Septimius for utilizing a writing style that did not suit the genre of historiography. If we compare the Iliad, Dictys and DETH, it is obvious that the literary quality gradually goes down. Yet Dares is by far the most radical adaptation of Homer's work. The author seems to tell Septimius "if you want to mould the *Iliad* into a war history, this is the right way to do it."

In the end, we have good reasons to assume that *Dares Phrygius' De Excidio Troiae Historia* was a playful literary response to *Dictys Cretensis' Ephemeridos belli Trojani*. The

evidence for this is present in all layers of pseudo-Nepos' work. The formal presentation of both works is exactly the same, but Dares deviates from his predecessor in ways that clearly show that he is rebelling against him, or perhaps attempting to 'correct him'. The same can be said about the content and overall themes: Dares completely reworks Dictys (and Homer) in terms of plot and depiction of certain characters (as shown by Griffin, 1908 and Beschorner, 1992), as well as more fundamental aspects such as morality. But he succeeds in doing this without turning it into pro-Trojan propaganda. And finally, when we combine our findings regarding the differences in content with the analysis of the writing style of both authors, we can conclude that DETH actually was not meant for uneducated readers. Instead, it seems very likely that the intended public consisted of scholars who had a working knowledge of both Homer and Dictys, and who could identify and fully comprehend the radical changes DETH's author made to the story. (Venini, 1981)



3. Comments on the 'Lost Greek Original'

Apart from the controversy surrounding the mysterious author, the most frequently studied – and debated - aspect of DETH is the role of its Greek original; and, on a more fundamental level, whether there actually was a Greek original or not. This chapter will look into some of the more persuading arguments in favour of (and opposed to) a Greek Dares while also commenting on the discovery of the Greek Dictys and its importance in this debate.

And an important role it certainly has: the arguments which plead in favour of the existence of a Greek Dares are largely based on DETH's peculiar connection with *Dictys Cretensis*. As mentioned in the previous chapter, the idea of Dares being some kind of literary reaction to Dictys is almost undeniable and raises the question whether this was done by the Latin translators or not; perhaps the bond between both works was already present in the Greek originals? Perhaps the translators merely copied this, adding in only a few elements of their own? Scholars like Beschorner (1992: 231-243) ¹ and Schissel von Fleschenberg (1908) decided to investigate the Greek Dares-question from the latter viewpoint and argued that DETH's similarity to Dictys in terms of subject, –presumed- history and origin is an indication that there must have been a Greek Dares. Their claims are usually presented together with the discovery of the Greek Dictys among the so-called 'Oxyrhynchus'² papyri in 1900. This important find by Grenfell and Hunt³ successfully removed all doubt whether Dictys had a Greek predecessor or not and thus immediately solved a literary debate that had been raging for centuries. Nowadays, this situation is (ab)used to prove the existence of a Greek Dares by analogy. (Beschorner: 231-232) The problem with this theory is that researchers rely on nothing but speculation; although the Greek Dictys makes it easier to believe in a Greek version of its counterpart, such analogies cannot be considered as factual evidence -and certainly not as the leading argument in a scholarly debate such as this.

In order to further substantiate this –perhaps quite hostile- reprimand, let us take a closer look at one of Beschorner's arguments indicating DETH's Greek origin: the use of Greek sources. (236-238) By analysing the several 'epic catalogues' present in DETH (especially the character descriptions in ch.12-13) Beschorner has concluded that Dares draws on three separate sources: Dictys, the *Iliad* and Diodorus Siculus' *Bibliotheca Historica*. The first two are of

¹ Although it must be noted that the arguments presented in his study are largely repudiated moments later -by himself- because they don't offer enough evidence.

² The Greek name (literally meaning 'sharp-nosed') for a city in upper Egypt now called El-Bahnasa (<http://www.crystalinks.com/oxyrhynchus.html> - accessed on 16-04-2011)

³ For more information on the discovery of the Oxyrhynchus papyri, read Grenfell, B.P., Hunt, A.S., *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, Robart – Toronto University, 1898

course easily accessible to Latin authors, but the usage of Diodorus' work seems problematic as Zecchini (1987) has noted that Diodorus' world history was almost exclusively used by Christian authors. (Beschorner: 237) From the 3rd century AD onwards pagan authors also started using Diodorus, yet only by Greek scholars such as Eusebius and Iustinus. Beschorner ends his research with the conclusion that DETH's author clearly used Diodorus as a source for ch.12-13.¹ (Beschorner: 237-238) Despite Zecchini's argument and while this research is indeed proof that Greek sources were used, it does not automatically imply that DETH's author was a Greek scholar. Beschorner seems to ignore the possibility that Dares was a Christian author, or that perhaps he used Diodorus because he was also proficient in Greek. The fact that no evidence has been passed down to us that Latin –pagan- authors used Diodorus does not necessarily mean that they never did. Neither does it suggest the opposite; a lack of evidence suggests nothing. Ignorance is what it is: ignorance.

Another example of such speculative reasoning I would like to comment on is Beschorner's suggestion that DETH displays a certain censorship regarding the 'dark deeds' of the Greeks at Troy. (Beschorner: 242) This time the researcher shifts his attention to the target audience and argues that the omission of certain atrocities implies that the author was a Greek who wanted to rid his compatriots of the majority of their traditional crimes. The weak point in this argument is that Beschorner brings up the target audience to begin with: considering the Roman undertones detected in DETH (Sallust for example), it seems to prove just the opposite; although, to complicate things a bit more, Beschorner could respond with the claim that these Roman undertones are entirely the work of the Latin translator. The bottom line is that it remains very difficult to achieve a level of certainty regarding facts about DETH's author: up until today, he remains an academic shadow on the wall. And the suggestion that certain elements are not of his hand but written by a Greek predecessor does not exactly make life easier for Dares researchers.

A final issue I would like to recap for this discussion is the appearance of Dares in Photius, Eustathius and Aelian; these sources are often cited as evidence for a Greek Dares as well. (Beschorner: 236) But, as mentioned before, the problem is that the facts about Dares differ in all three sources and the authors all heard it 'from a friend of a friend', which tarnishes the quality of the information considerably. (Eisenhut, 1983: 17) Moreover, the frequent derogatory remarks regarding Ptolemaeus Chennus' and Aelian's credibility make dismissing all three mentioned sources as fictitious inventions fairly simple.

¹ Although one should be careful in making such claims, as catalogs such as the one Diodorus wrote utilise a very 'standard' vocabulary. Scholars researching such connections between texts often tend to see what they want to see.

Now that we've examined some arguments in favour of a Greek Dares (and shown some of their structural weaknesses), let us now take a look at the arguments opposing such claims. Once again, DETH's bond with Dictys is the centre of attention: the possibility of DETH being a reaction to Dictys could also be used as an argument that seems to disprove the existence of a Greek original rather than support it. This approach highlights the probability that DETH was simply the product of one Latin author reacting to another and that it is an attempt at a creative rewriting/remixing of the literary Troy-tradition. According to this point of view the so-called Greek original written by Dares is nothing more than a literary ploy used by the actual author to fabricate a historical context and literary upset similar to the one presented by L. Septimius (and we could see this as a framework for the popular rhetorical *progymnasmata*); this way the author could make sure his deliberate alterations and *spielerei* did not go unnoticed.

A curious point of discussion that has received far too little attention in my opinion is the connection between DETH's introductory letter and Dictys' so-called double prologue. In short: Dictys has both a prologue and an introductory letter written by the translator, which describes the history of the Greek manuscript in a similar fashion. (Eisenhut, 1983: 18) However, upon closer inspection, interesting differences quickly come to light: while the prologue presents the reader with a lengthy and highly detailed account of what happened to the Greek Dictys, the letter by Septimius seems to compress as well as contradict the information given in the prologue up to a certain extent. Research has shown that several later manuscripts only included the letter, but that only the Greek original included the prologue. (Eisenhut, 1983: 20) Therefore, it seems safe to assume that the letter has been added by the Latin translator (perhaps as a preliminary translation meant to replace the original prologue in due time – which it did in certain editions). Now let us compare this to DETH: although different versions of the manuscript exist, none of them includes a prologue. The introductory letter by pseudo-Nepos is all we get. Keeping that in mind, it seems certain that DETH was a direct response to the Latin translation of Dictys, as that was the only version which contained the letter by Septimius. DETH's author possibly never even read the Greek Dictys. The fact that pseudo-Nepos' introductory letter exhibits the first instances of DETH trying to outdo Dictys supports this theory. Either way, this could indicate that DETH was simply meant to be a literary response to the Latin Dictys, and that the discussion surrounding the existence of a Greek Dares was exactly what the author wanted (it would mean that his forgery was a success). (Gudeman, 1894: 156) This train of thought brings up one crucial question: if a Greek Dares did exist, why doesn't the Latin version have a prologue – or a double prologue – like Dictys?¹

¹ As stated in the chapter on the role of Cornelius Nepos, a possible answer to this was formulated by Schissel von Fleschenberg. He proposed that DETH's letter is in fact the real prologue, and that the first line was added later on by medieval copyists. Although his claim has since been rebuffed, he could be onto something. One

A logical conclusion is that Dares and Nepos are two personas of the same unknown author. Supporting this theory are factors which have been highlighted in this dissertation before: the apparent shift in style -when comparing DETH to the extant works of Cornelius Nepos- shows that DETH has nothing to do with the famous historian and that his name was only used to give the work more *auctoritas* or at least make it more recognizable. The nature of the work itself (imitating and seemingly mocking Dictys; the Roman undertone) have caused more and more researchers to question the validity of the pro-Greek Dares arguments and move to the idea of studying Dares from the viewpoint of a Latin original. A good example of this is Eisenhut, who notes: “Die Übertreibung trägt den Stempel des Schwindels auf der Stirn.” (Eisenhut, 1983: 18)

In conclusion, saying that DETH had no Greek original just appears to be the most logical option considering the evidence now available to us. Although, when we compare the current situation to the case of *Dictys Cretensis*¹, it might be safest to postpone all definitive conclusions until further notice.



could explain DETH's lack of a prologue by comparing it to later versions of Dictys, who dropped the original prologue in favour of the letter. The only problem with this hypothesis is that DETH's letter does not exhibit traces of a Greek original; its focus is almost exclusively on the translator and Homeric criticism while Dictys' letter still incorporates a substantial part of the real prologue. Either there was a Greek prologue to Dares, and it is completely lost to us; or there never was one to begin with.

¹ Several researchers had already published articles containing 'irrefutable evidence' that Dictys was a Latin concoction just a few years before the Greek original was discovered. The bottom line is that, although it can sometimes be very tempting to draw conclusions based on a mix of peripheral evidence and promising indications, it is not always the right answer.

Conclusion

In this dissertation we have examined the most important factors which make DETH such an enigmatic work. But what exactly can we take away from this?

First of all, there is a good possibility that 'Dares the Phrygian' never even existed; it seems probable that he merely picked a mythological figure from the *Iliad* to hide behind in order to safeguard his real identity. Unfortunately, there is no way to uncover this identity using the evidence available to us. Secondly, Dares' seemingly barbarous Latin can be explained as an attempt by the author to imitate the style of a war historian (or *commentarius*): the unknown author adopted the name of Cornelius Nepos as a smokescreen in order to gain credibility and exposure, but it is safe to say that the famous historian has absolutely nothing to do with DETH. Next, we can say that DETH was probably written in the late 5th century; this can be deduced by studying the literary context (it was published after Dictys and before Dracontius' *De Raptu Helenae*) as well as linguistic aspects. In terms of style, we must not forget that the crude Latin used by Dares is perfectly correct from a grammatical perspective. This suggests that Dares deliberately aimed to break with the epic tradition.

At the same time, he seems to be rebelling against the existent Trojan tradition: the author is influenced by both Homer and Virgil, and uses his knowledge of both works as a guideline for creating something which can be labelled as the polar opposite. It is argued that we should see Dares' work as a rhetorical exercise (or *progymnasmaton*), which was fashionable at the time. The question why medieval readers of DETH did not notice that this style was very different from the one Nepos uses could be answered by referring to the popularity of the 'Trojan legacy' in the Middle Ages; readers simply did not *want* to discover that it was a forgery because of its role in politics. DETH's direct dialogue with Homer is clearly visible through the author's negative views on the latter in the introductory letter as well as through recurring themes in the work which turn the tables on Homer's original using strategies such as rationalization, humanization and banalization. This attitude of secularization was increasingly popular in the age DETH was written and it probably proved beneficial as Dares successfully avoided Christian censorship.

Moreover, DETH's connection with Dictys suggests that the former was in fact written as a form of imitation and mild parody of the latter; obvious parallels such as the similar presentation of the work, the opposite viewpoints and the depiction of certain characters seem

to support this theory. And finally, the existence of a Greek Dares seems unlikely after examining the arguments opposing and supporting the possibility: neither the bond with Dictys nor the use of Greek sources like Diodorus can be seen as adequate evidence. On the contrary, the possibility of DETH being a parody is indicative of a Latin original. Moreover, the fact that DETH was a response to the Latin translation of Dictys (there was no introductory letter present in the Greek original), seems to indicate that the author never even read the Greek version of Dictys, and that there was no Greek version of Dares. In the end, I hope this paper has clarified enough aspects of this mysterious work so that the reader can enjoy my translations to the fullest.



Chapter II

De Excidio Trojae Historia:

Translations

A. Translating Dares: Frustra Laborat, Qui Omnibus Placere Studet

1. Investigating DETH's Style

For every scholar, fledgling or veteran, one of the most essential aspects of the process of translating a text is being able to explain your own choices. These choices can more than often refer to linguistic 'shifts' in a translated text, which can be as minute and idiosyncratic as the translator's preference of one particular adverb over another. But they can also represent a fundamental part of the translator's mindset and the nature of the final product. The aim of this chapter is to expand a little on my personal choices in the translation process by analysing Dares' writing style; I will compare DETH with two similar texts from roughly the same time frame and show how his peculiar style is portrayed in both my translations as well as R. M. Frazer's version. The texts I will be using are the *Historia Apollonii Regis Tyri* and Gregory of Tours' *Historia Francorum*. But before we begin the actual comparison, perhaps a brief introduction to both works is in order.

The *Historia Apollonii Regis Tyri*¹ is a late Latin work about Apollonius, the king of Tyre. Despite its seemingly historiographic title and subject, HART is very much unlike DETH in terms of content and execution. Whereas DETH would probably compress the entire story described in HART into a single page and only keep the necessary historical information, HART could be seen as more of a novel *avant la lettre* rather than a history; it presents the reader with a gripping story full of riddles, literary references and is at times reminiscent of a fairy tale. Nevertheless, these two texts have a lot in common as well: HART's author is still unknown (Apollonius is the name of the main character, as Schmeling (1998: 3271) has proven), many aspects of the work such as the exact date of origin and the validity of subsequent manuscript versions remain shrouded in mystery to this day, and –last but not least- researchers are still unsure whether the story was originally written in latin or not; there might have been a Greek original. (Kortekaas, 1998: 176-177)

The second work, Gregory of Tours' *Historia Francorum*², also has a slightly misleading title as it is not just a history about the lives of the Frankish kings; it actually encompasses the entire history of mankind starting from the moment of Creation. Gregory's Christian motives

¹ Henceforth referred to as 'HART'.

² The work consists of ten books and will be referred to as 'HF'.

quickly reveal themselves in the first 4 books as he changes the subject to the Christianization of Gaul, the life of St-Martin, and the conversion of the Franks. Eventually he describes the lives of the Frankish kings up to Sigebert. Yet, up to this day there still is no consensus whether this work should be called a 'royal history' or not.¹ (Brehaut, 1916)

In essence, Gregory's work is historiographic in nature, but the execution forces most researchers to believe otherwise: the history is written from a distinctly Christian perspective, contains personal views and -sometimes even unfair- bias towards certain people, and was written while keeping his Frankish patrons in mind. (Brehaut, 1916) Despite these issues, the *Historia Francorum* is an interesting text to compare with DETH because they appear to utilize the same literary ploy: a seemingly uneducated writing style. When we compare both texts, we can conclude that each author has his own reasons for this: DETH's style is poor because it claims to be adapted from a Greek eye-witness report, while Gregory's work is written in Vulgar Latin partly because he wanted to make his work accessible to as many people as possible, and because he wanted to write in a completely new literary-yet-rural style. Auerbach² says it best when he states:

"His syntax is far less classical and coherent than that of Caesarius or, as far as we know, of any earlier or contemporary author of comparable origin and position. His phonetics and morphology have also begun to waver, obviously under the influence of the vernacular, and it is by no means certain that he could have written much more correctly even if he had wished to. [...] he lists all his writings and implores those who come after him to make no changes in his text." (Auerbach, 1965: 103-104)

In the chapter about DETH's formal characteristics I stated that there are three different aspects that define the author's style: its compressed language, its lack of cohesiveness (on several linguistic levels), and the author's unusual choice of vocabulary. These three issues will be our starting points when comparing DETH with its counterparts. Let us begin with the first one: DETH's compressed language. (Extracts from DETH, HART and HF will be written in normal font, bold and italics respectively.)

(1) Interea indutiae exeunt. Palamedes ornatum paratumque exercitum educit instruit hortatur. Contra Deiphobus. Pugnatur acriter a Troianis. Sarpedon Lycius cum suis inpressionem in Argivos facit caedit prosternit.

¹ Brehaut, E., introduction on 'The History of the Franks', 1916.

< <http://www.fordham.edu/halsall/basis/gregory-hist.asp#halsall> > accessed on 26-02-2012

² Auerbach, E., *Literary language and its public in late Latin Antiquity and in the Middle Ages*, Princeton (N.J.) : Princeton university press, 1965, pp. 103-104;106

(1) Tunc unusquisque sibi rapuit tabulas, morsque nuntiatur. In illa vero caligine tempestatis omnes perierunt. Apollonius vero solus tabulae beneficio in Pentapolitarum est litore pulsus.¹

(1) Graviter tunc Theudoberthus, filius eius senior, gulae adflictus tumore laboravit, sed convaluit. Interea Childeberthus rex exercitum commovit et Italiam ad debellandam Langobardorum gentem cum isdem pergere parat.²

Even when one uses such a small excerpt to compare these three works, it quickly becomes clear that DETH's style is very different from the other two. When we analyse the language use in the first text (DETH), we can see that there is a very high concentration of asyndeta and compressed constructions: "educit instruit hortatur", "Contra Deiphobus", "facit caedit prosternit". What I have copied here does not even fill a single line of text; yet, in terms of content, one could easily fill an entire page with the events Dares describes here. When we look at the extracts from HART and HF, it is clear that neither of the authors decided to employ such an absurdly compressed style; though we must be careful with such assumptions as the genre of the texts does play an important role in the linguistic characteristics of these works (i.e. it is not very surprising to see that HART, which is more of a novel-like narrative, does not describe Apollonius' fate by saying something like "Mors nuntiatur. Omnes perierunt. Apollonius solus in Pentapolitarum pulsus.") It remains difficult to make an in-depth analysis regarding compressed language as there are many variables in terms of genre, register, style of the author, etc. However, it is possible to draw a conclusion from these three excerpts: DETH is the only one that feels (or deliberately makes the reader feel) that it was written by a foreigner, and that 'this must be a Latin translation of a Greek eye-witness report'.

What supports this conclusion is the lack of cohesiveness in DETH compared to the other texts. When we look at the excerpts above we can see that DETH has five sentences which are not linguistically connected in any way. There are no subordinating conjunctions, linking words (except for 'interea' in the beginning) and only a few coordinating conjunctions: the text seems to be nothing but a series of random sentences strung together. Often the only thing that keeps these sentences in their correct order is the content. Linguistically speaking, this extract -and a large part of DETH's *historia* really- does not look like a proper text. Let us look at a selection of somewhat larger extracts to examine how the three texts relate to each other in terms of linguistic cohesiveness.

¹ Textual edition: Schmeling, Gareth L. *Historia Apollonii Regis Tyri*. 1. Aufl. Leipzig: Teubner, 1988.

² Textual edition: Gregorius Turonensis, *Historia Francorum*

<http://monumenta.ch/latein/verzeichnis4.php?tabelle=Gregorius_Turonensis&xy=Gregorius%20Turonensis,%20Historiae&level=3&nummer=&apparat=&step=&domain=&lang=0&inframe=1&hide_apparatus=1> accessed on 11-04-2012

(2) Palamedes Agamemnonem legatum mittit ad Thesidas Acamantem et Demophoontem, quos legatos Agamemnon praefecerat, ut commeatus compararent et frumentum de Mysia a Telepho acceptum subportarent. Ut eo venit, seditionem Palamedis narrat. Illi moleste ferunt. Agamemnon ait se moleste non ferre, sua voluntate esse factum. Interea naves onerandas curat Palamedes, castra munit, turribusque circumdat. Troiani exercitum exercent, murum diligenter instaurant, fossas et vallum addunt, cetera diligenter comparant.

(2) Et ut plenius misericordiae suae satisfaceret, exuens se tribunarium suum scindit eum in duas partes aequaliter et dedit unam iuveni dicens: "Tolle hoc, quod habeo, et vade in civitatem: forsitan invenies, qui tibi misereatur. Et si non inveneris, huc revertere et mecum laborabis et piscaberis: paupertas quaecumque est, sufficiet nobis. Illud tamen admoneo te, ut, si quando deo adnuente redditus fueris natalibus tuis, et tu respicias tribulationem paupertatis meae." Cui Apollonius ait: "Nisi meminero tui, iterum naufragium patiar nec tui similem inveniam!"

(2) *Sed Langobardi, his auditis, legatus cum muneribus mittunt, dicentes: 'Sit amicitia inter nos, et non pereamus ac dissolvamus certum ditioni tuae tributum. Ac ubicumque necessarium contra inimicus fuerit, ferre auxilium non pegebit'. Haec Childeberthus rex audiens, ad Gunthchramnum regem legatus dirigit, qui ea quae ab his offerebantur in eius auribus intimaret. Sed ille non obvius de hac coniventia, consilium ad confirmandam pacem praebuit.*

The two segments from HART and HF show that, even in both extremes of the literary spectrum of the age (a free-flowing style full of dialogue and a somewhat rural style respectively), DETH is a special case. Particularly the comparison with HF is telling: Gregory attempted to write a type of Latin that is close (but certainly not equal) to spoken Latin (Auerbach, 1965: 102-103), yet even in all his simplistic and vulgar expressions, he is still very different from Dares. The segment from DETH once again shows that the text is not cohesive at all while the extract from HF is full of linguistic constructions which are fairly normal in -Vulgar- Latin, but occur only a few times in DETH (i.e. something as simple as participle constructions, pronoun substitutions, subordinating conjunctions, or the use of synonyms.¹) (Grandgent, 1907) The third point of discussion that I mentioned in the beginning is Dares' poor vocabulary. Proof of this regarding conjunctions is already mentioned in the footnote below, but this statement also applies to every other grammatical word class. For example, the author incessantly uses the verb *coepisse* in his sentences, while the word *acriter* and derivatives from the word *pugna* are ever present as well.

¹ There are almost no participle constructions in DETH; the author mostly solves this by using two separate finite clauses, even if they belong to the same semantic unit. The author also names the characters very often (rather than using any form of substitution). Much like his heavy use of name repetition, the lack of subordinating conjunctions is very noticeable. And finally, Dares always uses *et* and *-que* as coordinating conjunctions, while words like *ac* and *atque* are each used only twice in the entire text. Other 'fairly normal' conjunctions such as *aut* or *vel* are absent as well.

What we must keep in mind at all times, though, is that this was probably done deliberately: the author made use of the effect of verbal repetition because it fit his intentions perfectly. Yet the state of affairs is perhaps explained more efficiently (and more definitively) through quantitative research¹. After analysing DETH with text analysing software, the following results came up:

Characters (words only)	46,419
Sentences	577
Words (different)	7,716 (2,635)
Words per sentence	12,4

Now let us compare this to book IX of the *Historia Francorum*²:

Characters (words only)	47,239
Sentences	492
Words (different)	7,953 (3,489)
Words per sentence	16,2

And a random sample of the *Historia Apollonii Regis Tyri* of similar length:

Characters (words only)	46,079
Sentences	547
Words (different)	8,284 (3,141)
Words per sentence	15,2

The first thing I must point out is that this language analysing software does not recognize conjugations, so the numbers regarding 'different words' are not very accurate. Yet, despite this, the results still clearly show that both HART and HF have more differentiated vocabulary and/or ways of expression as well as more (and longer) sentences than DETH. A possible explanation for this is that DETH's author deliberately avoided a richer vocabulary to strengthen the text's image as 'a literal translation from a Greek eye-witness report written by an individual with no literary training'. So, in the end, we can state that Dares' writing style is very much unlike the styles employed in HART and HF. While it has been mentioned that Gregory employed a simplistic style in order to give less educated people access to his writings, we can clearly see that Dares has no similar intention. His work is grammatically correct, but so repetitive and cringeworthy that his audience most likely read it with a constant grimace. Now that we have established that DETH's style was outlandish even to antique standards, it might be a good idea to show you how this is portrayed in my translations.

¹ Software used: "Advanced Text Analyser" <<http://www.usingenglish.com/members/text-analysis/>> accessed on 18-04-2012 (membership required)

² I chose to analyse book IX because it is similar to DETH in terms of length. Gregory does not suddenly shift styles between his books, so an analysis of the entire *Historia Francorum* would yield similar results. The same can be said for the random selection of HART used for this statistical analysis.

2. My Own Translations: a Brief Comparison

The first of my translations could be defined as a free-flowing, idiomatic text that presents the reader with a work that adheres to the strict norms of modern literature, while the second one is an attempt at recreating the feeling and atmosphere DETH invokes; I wanted to show the reader what Dares' Latin must have felt like to readers from Late Antiquity. By including both versions, the reader can analyse the entire *historia* at his own leisure and systematically go through the Latin text while reading a translation of what was actually written, as well as what should/could have been written. It might be illuminating to briefly elaborate on the concrete differences between both versions. We will do this by looking at the three points used in the segment above.

(3) Annus circumactus est. Palamedes exercitum educit instruit. Deiphobus contra. Achilles iratus in proelium non prodit. Palamedes occasionem nactus inpressionem in Deiphobum facit eumque obruncat. Proelium acre insurgit, acriter ab utrisque pugnatur, multa milia hominum cadunt.

(3) When the year of peace was over, Palamedes took command of the army and formed a battle line. The Trojans, led by Deiphobus, opposed them. Achilles, however, refused to take part in the fight as he was still moody. During the battle, Palamedes took the opportunity to attack Deiphobus and slaughtered him. A ferocious battle began, with both sides fighting savagely, and several thousands were killed.

(3) The year was over. Palamedes commanded the army and formed a battle line. Deiphobus opposed him. Achilles, still angry, did not fight in the battle. Palamedes took the opportunity to attack Deiphobus and killed him. A fierce battle began and both sides fought savagely. Many thousands were killed.

This segment from chapter XXVIII is a great example of how both translations relate to each other. First of all, the sense of compressed language is nowhere to be found in version 1 (in bold). This is to make sure that the text remains fluent and easily readable. In version 2 (in italics), however, I have tried to retain this 'compact' feeling, although it was not easy as English is a language full of prepositions and periphrastic constructions. In any case, the difference between both translations is already clear when looking at the length of both excerpts: the first version includes some additions I decided to put in to make the text more understandable. A good example would be *Deiphobus contra*. Although this obviously does not mean that Deiphobus opposes the Greek army on his own, it does seem like it from a purely grammatical point of view. That is why I decided to elaborate and added in 'the Trojans, led by Deiphobus'. Another good example would be the addition of 'during the battle' in the fourth sentence of version 1: the transition between that sentence and the one that precedes it is very abrupt, so I

decided to set the scene in order to make the situation as clear as possible. Version 2, however, is more faithful to the Latin original, and the staccato feeling of the text is preserved, albeit at the cost of textual cohesion.

The difference in textual cohesion is clearly marked as well: in version 1 I tried to conjoin several of the originally separated Latin clauses using subordinating conjunctions. This allowed me to make the text idiomatic, clear, and pleasant to read. In version 2 I attempted to mimic DETH's lack of linking words by translating very literally at times, but without any grammatical errors¹, and by leaving out any words a native English speaker might have added to make the text more understandable. This resulted in a series of short sentences that were not grammatically linked in any way (most of the time at least). This method leaves the audience with a feeling of awkwardness when reading the text; similar to what contemporary readers must have felt when reading DETH.² Regarding the differences in vocabulary, all I can say is that I attempted to spruce up version 1 with numerous synonyms and substitutions, while I did my best to minimize my range of vocabulary in version 2; often all I had to do was translate somewhat more literally. This is reflected in the short fragment above, where version 1 clearly exhibits a wider range of vocabulary. This is achieved through the copious use of synonyms (Palamedes took command/Deiphobus led; the fight/the battle; kill/slaughter), and by incorporating a number of specialized words and phrases (moody instead of angry, ferocious instead of fierce). The statistical results tell it all:

These are the results for the modern version:

Characters (words only)	55,745
Sentences	621
Words (different)	12,121 (2,039)
Words per sentence	19,5

And this is what came up for the linguistically awkward version:

Characters (words only)	51,932
Sentences	842
Words (different)	11,348 (1,664)
Words per sentence	13,6

¹ Unlike Frazer's translation (cf. *infra*).

² When I presented this version to a native English speaker, his reaction was quite telling:

"[...] Apart from 1 typo I couldn't find any mistakes, but it just looks like something a foreigner would write (no offence mate). The text is just not cohesive at all and it feels like parts of it are missing."

When we compare both versions, we can see a clear echo of the results on page 38: DETH had a considerably less varied vocabulary as well as shorter sentences than HART and HF. In this case the results demonstrate that my second translation exhibits the exact same characteristics as its Latin counterpart. So, from a purely statistical point of view, it seems like my efforts to preserve the linguistic atmosphere in one of my translations was not in vain.



3. A Concise Analysis of R.M. Frazer's Translation

When I explored the English world of Dares research, I noticed that there existed only one translation: R. M. Frazer¹ translated Dares and Dictys in 1966, and his translation has not been available in print for some time. Roughly half a decade later, his version could be seen as somewhat stilted and outdated. While it can still be used for research, it is my humble opinion that a newer version could be beneficial to all Dares researchers and the academic world in general. What follows now is a brief comparison of Frazer's translation with my new versions using a short stylistic analysis of one specific chapter from DETH.

De Excidio Troiae Historia

[XXXI] Tempus pugnae supervenit. Agamemnon, Menelaus, Diomedes, Ajax, exercitum educunt: contra Trojani. Fit magna caedes, pugnatur acriter, uterque exercitus inter se saeviunt. Troilus Menelaum sauciat, multos interficit, ceteros paulatim persequitur. Nox proelium dirimit. Postera die Troilus cum Alexandro exercitum educit, contra omnes Argivi prodeunt; acriter pugnatur. Troilus Diomedem sauciat: in Agamemnonem impressionem facit, nec non et ipsum sauciat, Argivos caedit. Per aliquot dies pugnatur acriter, multa milia hominum ex utraque parte trucidantur. Agamemnon, ut vidit majorem partem exercitus se cotidie amittere, neque sufficere posse, petit indutias in sex menses. Priamus consilium cogit, indicat Argivorum desideria. Troilus negat debere dari tam longo tempore indutias, sed potius impressionem fieri, naves incendi. Priamus quid cuique videatur dicere imperat. Omnibus placitum est, debere fieri quod Argivi petunt: Priamus itaque in sex menses indutias dedit. Agamemnon honorifice suos sepeliendos curat: Diomedem, Menelaum sauciatos curat. Trojani suos aequae sepeliunt. Dum indutiae sunt, ex consilii sententia Agamemnon ad Achillem proficiscitur, ut eum ad pugnam provocaret. Achilles tristis negare coepit se proditum, sed pacem peti oportere, conqueri coepit, quod Agamemnoni nihil negare possit: tamen cum tempus pugnae supervenisset, se milites suos missurum: ipsum excusatum haberet. Agamemnon ei gratias egit.

¹ Frazer, R.M., *The Trojan war. The chronicles of Dictys of Crete and Dares the Phrygian / transl. with introd. & notes by Frazer.*, London: Indiana University Press, 1966 [own emphases]

Translation by R. M. Frazer

[31] When the time for fighting returned, Agamemnon, Menelaus, and Ajax led forth the army. The Trojans came opposite. A great slaughter arose, a fierce and raging battle on both sides. Troilus, having wounded Menelaus, pressed on, killing many of the enemy and harrying the others. Night brought an end to the battle.

On the next day Troilus and Alexander led forth the Trojans. And all the Greeks came opposite. The battle was fierce. Troilus wounded Diomedes and, in the course of his slaughter, attacked and wounded Agamemnon himself.

For several days the battle raged on. Countless numbers fell on both sides. Then Agamemnon, seeing that he was losing more of his forces each day, and knowing that they were unable to last, sought a truce of six months.

Priam, having called a meeting of his council, reported the desires of the Greeks. Troilus felt that they were asking for too long a time; he urged the Trojans to continue fighting, and fire the ships. When, however, Priam ordered the members of the council to give their opinions, the vote was unanimous in favour the Greek petition, and thus they granted a truce of six months.

Agamemnon buried his dead with honors and saw to the care of the wounded, such as Diomedes and Menelaus. The Trojans also buried their dead.

During the truce Agamemnon, following the advice of his council, went to rouse Achilles to battle. But Achilles, still gloomy, refused to go forth; he felt that the king should be suing for peace. Nevertheless, after complaining that it was impossible to refuse Agamemnon, he said that he would send forth his forces when war was resumed, though he himself would stay back. For this Agamemnon gave him his thanks.

Own Translation: Version I

[XXXI] When the time came to resume the war, Agamemnon, Menelaus, Diomedes and Ajax led the army against the opposing Trojans. There was a massive slaughter, with both sides fighting fiercely in a savage battle. Troilus wounded Menelaus, killed countless enemies, and harassed the rest until nightfall brought an end to the battle. The next day, Troilus and Alexander took command of the Trojans against all of the Greeks. The battle was fierce: Troilus wounded Diomedes and, in the course of his slaughter, attacked and wounded Agamemnon himself. The battle raged on for several days and many thousands were slain on both sides. When

Agamemnon saw that he was losing more of his forces each passing day and that they wouldn't last much longer, he proposed a truce of six months. Priam called a meeting and informed everyone of the Greeks' wishes. Troilus felt that they shouldn't grant a truce which lasted such a long time. Instead, he suggested that they mount an attack and set fire to the Greek ships. Nevertheless Priam ordered the other members of the council to voice their opinions as well; and seeing as everyone agreed to give the Greeks what they wanted, Priam granted a truce of six months. Agamemnon gave his dead honourable funerals and saw to the care of the wounded, such as Diomedes and Menelaus. Meanwhile the Trojans also buried their dead. During the truce, Agamemnon followed the advice of his council and visited Achilles to persuade him to rejoin the army. But Achilles, still moody, once again refused to fight and urged the king to make peace with the Trojans. But after a while he grumbled that it was impossible to refuse Agamemnon, and said that he would send his own troops to join the army when the war was resumed. But he himself would stay in the camp. And for this Agamemnon thanked him.

Own Translation: Version II

[XXXI] It was time to fight again. Agamemnon, Menelaus, Diomedes and Ajax led the army. The Trojans opposed them. There was a massive slaughter. It was a fierce battle. Both armies fought savagely. Troilus wounded Menelaus, killed many enemies, and harassed the rest. Nightfall ended the battle. The next day, Troilus and Alexander commanded the Trojans against all of the Greeks. It was a fierce battle. Troilus wounded Diomedes, attacked and wounded Agamemnon himself, and slaughtered the Greeks. The battle raged on for several days. Many thousands were killed on both sides. When Agamemnon saw that he was losing more of his forces each day and that they wouldn't last much longer, he asked for a truce of six months. Priam called a meeting. He informed everyone of the Greeks' wishes. Troilus felt that they shouldn't grant a truce which lasted such a long time. Instead, he suggested that they mount an attack and set fire to the Greek ships. Priam ordered everyone to give their opinion. Everyone agreed to give the Greeks what they wanted. Priam granted a truce of six months. Agamemnon gave his dead honourable funerals and saw to the care of the wounded, such as Diomedes and Menelaus. The Trojans also buried their dead. During the truce, Agamemnon followed the advice of his council and went to see Achilles in order to persuade him to fight. But Achilles, still sad, refused to fight and urged the king to make peace with the Trojans. He complained that he could not refuse anything to Agamemnon. When it was time to fight, he would send his own troops to join the army. But he himself would not come. Agamemnon thanked him.

Analysis

“Translation is like a woman. If it is beautiful, it is not faithful. If it is faithful, it is most certainly not beautiful.”

- Yevgeny Yevtushenko¹

I chose this particular chapter of Dares’ history because it presents a good example of the somewhat problematic passages and choices in Frazer’s translation that also played a role in my decision to produce two new versions. While his translation is by no means poor, it seems to be characterized by archaic language, extreme literalness and numerous grammatical oddities; it is obvious that Frazer opted to model his translation on Dares’ own vapid writing style. It remains a valid choice which, I agree, is a good course of action in this particular case. Yet, while the atmosphere of the original must always be present in modern translations, I agree with Yevtushenko: this must not compromise the quality of the translator’s work -at least not to the degree of ‘linguistic awkwardness’ with which Frazer imbues his text. A translation still remains a form of utilitarian writing: the reader –most of the time at least- employs it in order to ascertain the meaning of the original work. That is why I believe that the reader’s comprehension of the text is equally as important as the recreation of the atmosphere the original was written in: a translation should be idiomatic and should be adapted to its audience (so, in essence, users of the target language). But the issue of the importance of an original text versus its translation only intensifies when dealing with a text dating back to ancient antiquity; and Dares is a typical example of this. The solution I decided on was to make two translations, as you have already read in the previous segment.

Before this entire page is crumpled up by more cynical readers and callously tossed into the literary trashcan of subjectivity, I must insist that, like Frazer’s version, my interpretations of Dares have its advantages and drawbacks as well. There is no such thing as a perfect translation, and I certainly will not even attempt to claim that my versions are inherently better than Frazer’s. That would be useless (and not to mention highly presumptuous). The biggest drawback of my translations is the fact that there are two versions to begin with. Frazer tried to work all of the difficulties of Dares into one text, while one could say I need two texts to make sure the reader can fully appreciate my work. But, as I said before, aside from translating DETH for personal reasons, I also merely aim to provide the modern reader with alternatives as

¹ "Yevgeny Yevtushenko." BrainyQuote.com. Xplore Inc, 2012.

<<http://www.brainyquote.com/quotes/quotes/y/yevgenyyev391310.html>> accessed on 05-04-2012

Frazer's version is currently the only available English translation of Dares (and it is about half a century old). To end, I would like to point out that Frazer also seemed to have made some mistakes. I will not fret over the occasional typographical error, but some linguistic issues can only be explained by an apparent misinterpretation of the original Latin text. This proved to be another reason to produce a modern revision. What follows now is a concrete example which exhibits all of the elements mentioned above. My aim is to analyse chapter XXXI more carefully in order to show the –sometimes minute yet significant- differences between both translations, and to explain some of my personal choices in terms of grammar and phraseology.¹

(4) Tempus pugnae supervenit. Agamemnon, Menelaus, Diomedes, Ajax, exercitum educunt: contra Trojani. Fit magna caedes, pugnatur acriter, uterque exercitus inter se saeviunt.

(4) When the time for fighting returned, Agamemnon, Menelaus, and Ajax led forth the army. The Trojans came opposite. A great slaughter arose, a fierce and raging battle on both sides.

(4) When the time came to resume the war, Agamemnon, Menelaus, Diomedes and Ajax led the army against the opposing Trojans. There was a massive slaughter, with both sides fighting fiercely in a savage battle.

(4) It was time to fight again. Agamemnon, Menelaus, Diomedes and Ajax led the army. The Trojans opposed them. There was a massive slaughter. It was a fierce battle. Both armies fought savagely.

This particular set of phrases appears quite often in Dares' history and is part of a formula which is repeated -with a few variations- every time a battle between the Greeks and the Trojans occurs, or whenever a truce ends (there are seven occurrences of a cease-fire in DETH). Frazer translates this segment very literally, and aims to convey a sense of stiltedness. Also, as these are stock phrases, Frazer always employs the same translation technique. I understand his reasons for doing this, but I believe this segment perfectly illustrates what I have been trying to say on the previous page: although it nicely conveys the atmosphere of the original Latin version, his translation is full of archaisms, grammatical irregularities and even occasional mistakes. I have underlined some specific phrases that are problematic in my opinion.

Frazer's first subordinate clause 'when the time for fighting returned' is a translation that does not appear to be idiomatic at all, and, at the same time, it does not seem to correspond that well with the Latin original. While it certainly is true that Dares' ever present stock phrases cannot be rendered into English with complete faithfulness, my translations reveal that other

¹ Latin original written in bold, italics are used for Frazer's translation, and my versions are written in underlined and plain text respectively.

solutions do exist -apart from Frazer's implementation of a subordinate temporal clause- that still manage to convey the *sensus* of the original while presenting the reader with correct English (and I managed to do this in two linguistic registers.)

Secondly, Frazer seems to have forgotten Diomedes. While this can be forgiven as a simple lapse and presents no serious problems to the understanding of the sentence, it is not acceptable for a translation of this level. Thirdly, Frazer's constant use of 'to lead forth' is very archaic, and I have decided to replace this construction with present-day variants. My next gripe with Frazer's translation is linguistically doubtful phrases such as 'came opposite'. This construction feels very forced as Frazer apparently insists on using the word 'opposite' in its adverb form (perhaps to mimic the Latin *contra*?). In my first translation, I have opted to rework this segment into one large sentence, as both sentences are technically part of the same semantic unit. My second translation keeps the two clauses separated (as Dares did), but I translated *contra* with a verb instead of an adverb; this way the clause can stand on its own while still being grammatically correct.

Finally, one of the most famous –or should I say dreaded- stock phrases in DETH also poses a problem: *fit magna caedes*. Together with his incessant use of 'to lead forth', the phrase 'a great slaughter arose' seems to originate from English translations of the Bible. So either Frazer was a devout man and was influenced by biblical language, or –more likely- he attempted to recreate the haughty, archaic language the Bible was known for to conjure up a distinctly recognizable 'old-fashioned' tone for his readers. This was one of Frazer's strategies to cope with DETH's style. The problem is that this method is not very fitting: DETH has a simple style, but that does not automatically make it archaic. In my second translation (which mimics Dares' simple style) I have not employed any archaisms. Instead, I chose to make the sentences as simplistic as possible to create a certain linguistic tension.

A second sample:

(5) Priamus consilium cogit, indicat Argivorum desideria. Troilus negat debere dari tam longo tempore indutias, sed potius impressionem fieri, naves incendi. Priamus quid cuique videatur dicere imperat. Omnibus placitum est, debere fieri quod Argivi petunt: Priamus itaque in sex menses indutias dedit.

(5) Priam, having called a meeting of his council, reported the desires of the Greeks. Troilus felt that they were asking for too long a time; he urged the Trojans to continue fighting, and fire the ships. When, however, Priam ordered the members of the council to give their opinions, the vote was unanimous in favour the Greek petition, and thus they granted a truce of six months.

- (5) Priam called a meeting and informed everyone of the Greeks' wishes. Troilus said that they shouldn't grant a truce which lasted such a long time. Instead, he suggested that they mount an attack and set fire to the Greek ships. Nevertheless Priam ordered the other members of the council to voice their opinions as well; and seeing as everyone agreed to give the Greeks what they wanted, Priam granted a truce of six months.
- (5) Priam called a meeting. He informed everyone of the Greeks' wishes. Troilus felt that they shouldn't grant a truce which lasted such a long time. Instead, he suggested that they mount an attack and set fire to the Greek ships. Priam ordered everyone to give their opinion. Everyone agreed to give the Greeks what they wanted. Priam granted a truce of six months.

This segment shows that Frazer's translation can be of a very high quality at times, but it also exposes his sometimes questionable choice of words. The first example is *desideria*. While 'desires' seems a straightforward translation, nowadays it does not feel like the correct word to use in a formal setting such as this. Then again, *desideria* in itself seems like a peculiar choice of words even in the Latin original itself; perhaps Frazer tried to convey this sense of linguistic awkwardness in his translation. My opinion is that, when we look at the current connotations of the word 'desire' (a lover desires), a slightly more neutral word might be necessary here: in both versions of my translation I deemed the word 'wishes' to be the best option.

The second point of discussion I would like to address is Frazer's 'Jekyll and Hyde-like' translation process: although he attempts to maintain his very literal style of translating throughout the whole text, once in a while he deviates from the original for no apparent reason. The most obvious example here is Troilus' opinion on the Greeks' request: perhaps Frazer reasoned that conveying the *sensus* of this sentence would be enough. While Frazer's version does imply what is written in the Latin original, I do not understand why he does not simply follow the Latin original in this case, as it yields the best results in both faithfulness and beauty. At the end of that particular sentence, we have another questionable construction: 'fire the ships'. While the meaning is pretty clear, it appears to be grammatically incorrect: one *fires* an employee, and one *sets* fire *to* a ship. Interestingly, this construction can still be recognized in English slang today: 'let's torch the ships'. Perhaps Frazer is desperately trying to stick to the Latin original in terms of form (but we cannot be sure). The real question is why Frazer, as a native speaker of English, allows such errors to find their way into his translation time and time again. The example in the last sentence is yet another example of such a lapse: there seems to be an elision of the preposition 'of' or a linguistic contamination of 'being in favour of something' and 'favouring something'.

After analysing these concrete examples, the difficulties of rendering Dares' writing style into a modern language quickly come to light, and we get a good view on how Frazer attempted to cope with this. Important to understand is that the short analysis above was not included merely in order to criticize, but rather to attempt to comprehend Frazer's mindset as a translator and subsequently reveal where certain mistakes originated from rather than mindlessly condemn them. The main talking point here is best reflected in the last paragraph: Frazer seems to condone -or even deliberately include- grammatical errors in his translation in order to mimic Dares' bizarre Latin. While he seems to have succeeded to a certain extent¹, Frazer overlooked a crucial aspect of Dares' *historia*: as hard as it may be to believe, Dares' Latin is flawless from a purely grammatical point of view. The author deliberately wrote like that in order to con his audience into believing that his work truly is a literal translation from a Greek original. With this in mind, there remains no valid reason for an English translation of Dares to contain mistakes of any kind. In order to produce a good translation, it is important for the translator to understand the author's writing process, and to recognize what elements are typical for his unique style.



¹ These contemporary reviews held Frazer's translation in high acclaim.

- Roberts, G., "The Trojan War: The Chronicles of Dictys of Crete and Dares the Phrygian by R. M. Frazer, Jr.", review, *The Classical Journal*, Vol. 62, No. 6 (1967), p. 282
- Bruère, R.T., "The Trojan War: The Chronicles of Dictys of Crete and Dares the Phrygian by R. M. Frazer, Jr.", review, *Classical Philology*, Vol. 61, No. 3 (Jul., 1966), pp. 218-220

B. Translation I

THE HISTORY OF THE FALL OF TROY BY DARES THE PHRYGIAN

Cornelius Nepos sends greetings to Sallustius Crispus.

While I was busily engaged in study in Athens, I happened to find a history by Dares the Phrygian about the Greeks and the Trojans. As the title indicates, it was written in Dares' own hand. I was absolutely delighted to get a hold of it and immediately translated it. I decided not to add or omit anything to improve the text; otherwise it would seem to be my own work. Instead, I thought it best to translate the text word for word into Latin according to the truthful and simple style of the original, so that my readers can fully understand how these events transpired. Either they will believe the work of Dares to be more truthful, who lived and fought in those days when the Greeks besieged Troy, or that of Homer, who was born many years after that war was fought. When the Athenians judged this matter, they found Homer to be insane for describing Gods fighting alongside mortal men. But enough of this. Let us now turn our attention to what I have promised.

[1] King Pelias, ruler of the Peloponnesos¹, was the brother of Aeson. Aeson had a son named Jason, who was unmatched in his goodness: he treated everyone in the kingdom as his personal friend, therefore everyone adored him. When King Pelias saw how popular Jason was with his people, he feared that the latter might do him harm or even drive him out of his kingdom. So he told Jason that there was something worthy of his virtue in Colchis: the golden fleece of a ram. If Jason was able to steal it, the king would give him everything he wanted. When this came to the ears of Jason, who was a fearless man keen to see the whole world, he thought he could become even more famous by bringing this golden fleece back from Colchis. So he told king Pelias he wanted to go, but not without troops and companions. King Pelias ordered the architect Argus to be summoned and commanded him to build the most beautiful ship he could, according to Jason's specifications. Throughout the whole of Greece the rumour went that a ship was being built so Jason could go to Colchis and get the golden fleece. Friends and acquaintances alike came to Jason and promised to go with him. Jason gave them his thanks and urged them to be ready to sail when the time came. When the ship was finished and it was time to go, he notified them by letter. Straight away they all assembled at the ship, which was named 'Argo'. King Pelias

ordered the necessary supplies to be stowed, and then roused Jason and those who were going with him. They should set out with courage and accomplish their mission, he said, as it would surely bring glory to both Greece and themselves. It is not my duty to talk about those who left with Jason; if anyone wants to learn more about them, they should read the *Argonautica*.

[II] When Jason arrived in Phrygia, he docked at the port of the Simois river and everyone went ashore. Soon news was brought to Laomedon, king of Troy, that a peculiar ship had entered the port of the Simois, and that it carried many young men coming from Greece. When king Laomedon heard this, he was agitated; he thought it would endanger the public welfare if Greeks should begin landing on his shores. So the king sent a messenger to the port to command the Greeks to leave his lands; if they should refuse to obey this order, he would drive them out by force. Jason and his companions were offended by Laomedon's brutality and that they were treated like this when they had done nothing wrong. But at the same time they feared they would be overwhelmed by a horde of barbarians if they tried to stay any longer against the king's will, as they were not ready for battle; so they re-embarked, departed from Phrygia, set sail to Colchis, stole the Golden Fleece and returned to their homeland.

[III] Hercules was offended by the insulting way king Laomedon had treated him and those who had gone to Colchis with Jason. So he went to Sparta and urged Castor and Pollux to help him fight this injustice and make sure Laomedon does not go unpunished for preventing them access to his land and port. He said that if they agreed, many others were sure to follow. Castor and Pollux promised to do whatever he wanted. Then Hercules departed again and set course for Salamis, where he asked Telamon to join the expedition against Troy and to fight the injustice he had suffered. Telamon promised that he was ready for anything Hercules wanted to do. From there, he set out to Phthia to ask Peleus to join the expedition against Troy: and Peleus also promised Hercules he would come with him. Next he went to Pylos to visit Nestor. When Nestor asked why he had come, Hercules answered that he was driven by anger, and that he wanted to lead an army to Phrygia. Nestor praised Hercules and promised to help him. When Hercules saw that he had everyone's support, he readied a fleet and recruited an army. When the time to sail was near, he sent letters to those whom he had asked to come. When everyone had arrived with their own men, they all set sail for Phrygia and arrived at Sigeum during the night. From there, Hercules, Telamon and Peleus led the army ashore while Castor, Pollux, and Nestor were left behind to guard the ships. When news came to king Laomedon that a Greek fleet had landed at Sigeum, he personally came to the shore with a column of cavalry and opened hostilities himself. But Hercules went on to Troy and began to assail the city's unsuspecting inhabitants. When news was brought to Laomedon that the city was besieged by the enemy, he tried to return to Troy immediately. But along the way he encountered the Greeks and was killed by Hercules. Telamon was the first to enter the city of Troy; and to honour his courage, Hercules gave him king

Laomedon's daughter Hesione as a prize of war. All of Laomedon's sons who had gone to battle with him were killed. Priam, however, was in Phrygia at the time, where Laomedon, his father, had put him in charge of the army. Hercules and those who had come with him plundered the city completely and carried the spoils to their ships. Then they decided to return home, and Telamon took Hesione with him.

[IV] When news was brought to Priam that his father had been killed, his fellow citizens decimated, his country plundered, and his sister Hesione carried off as a prize of war, he was offended that the Greeks had treated Phrygia with such contempt. He returned to Troy with his wife, Hecuba, and his children, Hector, Alexander, Deiphobus, Helenus, Troilus, Andromache, Cassandra, and Polyxena. He had other sons by concubines; but only those who were the offspring of lawfully wedded wives could claim to be of royal blood. When Priam arrived in Troy, he immediately ordered stronger walls to be built and saw to the maximum fortification of the city. He also made sure a large garrison was present so that Troy would not be taken by surprise, as had been the case under his father's reign. He also built a palace, in which he consecrated an altar and a statue to Jupiter. Then he sent Hector to Paeonia. He also built the gates of Troy, which were named the Antenorean, the Dardanian, the Ilian, the Scaean, the Thymbraean, and the Trojan Gate. When he saw that Troy was secure, he bided his time. When he thought the moment was right to avenge the wrongs his father had suffered, he summoned Antenor and asked him to go as an envoy to Greece. The Greek army had done him grave wrongs, he said, by killing his father, Laomedon, and by kidnapping Hesione. But if Hesione were returned to him, he would speak no more of it.

[V] Antenor boarded a ship like Priam had ordered and sailed to Magnesia to visit Peleus. For three days the latter entertained him hospitably, and on the fourth he asked why the prince had come. Antenor said what Priam ordered him to say; that he had come to demand that the Greeks return Hesione. When Peleus heard this, he was offended; and since he saw that this was a matter that concerned him², he ordered Antenor to leave his lands. Antenor boarded his ship without delay and, after sailing past Boeotia, set course for Salamis. There he tried to persuade Telamon to return Priam's sister Hesione. It was not right, he said, to have a girl of royal blood as his servant. Telamon replied that he had done Priam no wrong and that nobody would give back something which was given to them as a reward for their courage. Then he ordered Antenor to leave his island. So the prince boarded his ship again and set course for Achaea. There he was brought before Castor and Pollux and tried to persuade them to make amends with Priam by returning his sister Hesione. Castor and Pollux denied that they had done Priam any wrong, and commanded Antenor to leave as well. From there he went to Pylos to speak with Nestor. When Nestor knew why he had come, he berated the prince. How did he have the nerve, he asked, to come to Greece when the Phrygians had been the first to offend? When Antenor saw that he

was accomplishing nothing and that he was being treated with contempt, he boarded his ship and returned home. There he reported to Priam what each ruler had answered and how he had been treated by them; and at the same time he urged Priam to go to war against them.

[VI] Immediately Priam summoned all of his sons and friends: Antenor, Anchises, Aeneas, Ucalegon, Bucolion, Panthus, and Lampus – and all of the sons he had with concubines. When they had all arrived, he told them how he had sent Antenor to Greece as an envoy to demand the return of Hesione as compensation for Laomedon’s death; and how the Greeks had treated him with contempt and sent him home empty-handed. Now, since the Greeks had refused to do what he wanted, he decided to send an army to Greece to make them pay for their crimes and to make sure the Greeks would know that the barbarians were not to be ridiculed. Priam urged his sons to take up a leading role in this expedition – especially Hector as he was the oldest. The latter promised that he would carry out all of his father’s wishes and avenge the death of his grandfather, Laomedon, and every other injustice the Greeks had done to the Trojans. The Greeks, he said, would not get away unpunished. But at the same time he feared that they would not be able to complete their mission; Europe had many warlike tribes that would come to Greece’s aid, he said, while they had always lived an idle life in Asia and therefore had no fleet at all.

[VII] Then Alexander spurred them on to build a fleet and sail to Greece. He would take charge of this mission, if his father wished it so. He said he trusted the righteousness of the gods and that he would doubtlessly conquer the enemy and return from Greece with great renown. Because, when he had gone hunting in the woods of Mount Ida one day, he had fallen asleep and dreamed that Mercury brought Juno, Venus, and Minerva before him so that he could judge their beauty. At that point Venus had promised, if he found her to be the most beautiful, to give him in marriage whoever was deemed the prettiest woman in Greece. When Alexander heard this, he judged Venus to be the most beautiful. And this dream inspired Priam to hope that Venus would help Alexander. Deiphobus approved of Alexander’s plan; he hoped that the Greeks would return Hesione and make amends if they would send a fleet against Greece, as had been proposed. However, Helenus predicted that, if Alexander brought home a wife from Greece, the Greeks would come back, lay waste to Troy and slay his parents and brothers. But Troilus, the youngest of Priam’s sons who nonetheless equalled Hector in terms of bravery, urged them to go to war and told them not to be frightened by Helenus’ prediction. And so they unanimously decided to prepare a fleet and set out for Greece.

[VIII] Priam sent Alexander and Deiphobus to Paeonia to raise an army and called the people to assembly. After arranging it so that his oldest sons had command over their younger brothers, he told the people of the injustice the Trojans had suffered at the hands of the Greeks and how

he had sent Antenor as an envoy to Greece to bring back his sister Hesione and obtain reparations for the Trojan people. But Antenor had been treated with contempt and had not gotten anything from them. For this reason, Priam announced, he had decided to send Alexander to Greece at the head of a fleet so that the prince could avenge the death of his grandfather and all the injustice that the Trojans had suffered. When Priam ordered Antenor to describe how he had been treated in Greece, the latter urged the Trojans to have no fear and made them even more eager for war against Greece. Then Priam declared that if anyone was opposed to the war, he should speak now. It was at this moment that Panthus revealed to the king and his company what he had heard from his father, Euphorbus: if Alexander brought home a wife from Greece, it would be the end of Troy. It was better to spend one's life in peace, he said, than to lose one's freedom in war and go looking for danger. But the people scoffed at Panthus' speech and asked the king what he wanted them to do. Priam told them that ships had to be built if they wanted to sail to Greece and that they needed the materials to do this. The people cried out that they would obey all of the king's orders without delay. Priam gave them all his thanks and dismissed the assembly. Soon afterwards he ordered men to go into the forest of Mount Ida to cut the wood needed to build the ships. He also sent Hector into Upper Phrygia to raise an army [which was promptly done]. When Cassandra heard about her father's plans, she began to foretell what the fate of the Trojans would be if Priam should carry out his plan of sending a fleet into Greece.

[IX] Meanwhile the time had come: the ships were built and the army which Alexander and Deiphobus had raised in Paeonia had arrived. When he deemed the time right for sailing, Priam addressed the troops. He appointed Alexander as commander of the army and sent Deiphobus, Aeneas, and Polydamas along with him. But first, he commanded Alexander to set out for Sparta and arrange a meeting with Castor and Pollux; he was to demand one last time that they return Priam's sister Hesione and pay reparations to the Trojans. If they refused, Alexander had to send word immediately so that Priam could order the army to march against Greece. Accordingly, Alexander sailed for Greece guided by the same man who had gone with Antenor. Just a few days before Alexander arrived in Greece - and before he had reached the island of Cythera- they came across king Menelaus, who was on his way to visit Nestor at Pylos; and Menelaus wondered where the royal fleet was heading. In fact, both parties observed each other closely, each wondering where the other was going. Meanwhile, Castor and Pollux had gone to visit Clytemnestra at Argos, where the festival of Juno was being held; and they had taken along their niece Hermione, the daughter of their cousin, Helen. It was on that day that Alexander arrived on Cythera and sacrificed to Diana at a shrine dedicated to Venus. The inhabitants of the island marvelled at the royal fleet and asked those who had come with Alexander who they were and why they had come. They answered that Alexander had been sent as an envoy by king Priam to confer with Castor and Pollux.

[X] But while Alexander was on Cythera, Helen, the wife of Menelaus, also decided to go there. She went ashore and visited the city of Helaea, where the temples of Diana and Apollo were, in order to worship. When news was brought to Alexander that Helen had arrived on the shore, he wanted to see her. So, confident of his own good looks, he began to walk within sight of her. And when Helen was told that Alexander, son of King Priam, had also come to Helaea, she desired a meeting as well. When they laid eyes on each other, they were struck by each other's beauty and took their time exchanging compliments. Afterwards, Alexander ordered his men to be ready to sail that same night. They would seize Helen in the temple and take her home with them. So, when the signal was given, they stormed the temple and carried Helen off to their ships –she was not unwilling- along with some other women they had taken. When the inhabitants of the town saw that Helen was being abducted, they fought Alexander long and hard to prevent him from taking her away. But Alexander defeated them with his superior forces. After pillaging the temple and taking as many prisoners as his ships would hold, he called for the anchors to be raised and decided to sail home. They arrived at the port of Tenedos, where he tried to comfort Helen, who was having regrets, and sent news to his father about the proceedings. When Menelaus heard what had happened, he left Pylos with Nestor and returned to Sparta. Meanwhile, he sent a message to Argos asking his brother Agamemnon to come and see him.

[XI] Meanwhile, Alexander arrived home with his prize and reported to his father what had happened. Priam was delighted, as he hoped that the Greeks would return his sister Hesione and all they had taken from the Trojans in order to get Helen back. He comforted Helen, who was still low in spirits, and gave her to Alexander in marriage. When Cassandra saw Helen, she began to prophesy, repeating what she had said earlier, until Priam ordered her to be taken away and locked up. When Agamemnon arrived in Sparta, he comforted his brother and decided to send recruiters throughout Greece to rally all the Greeks and make war on Troy. Among those who came were Achilles, who brought along Patroclus; Euryalus, Tlepolemus, and Diomedes. After they had arrived in Sparta, they all swore to avenge the wrongs the Trojans had committed and to muster an army and a fleet, of which they would make Agamemnon commander-in-chief. They also sent messengers to summon all the Greeks to the Athenian port with their ships and armies armoured and ready. From there they would all set out for Troy together to avenge the wrongs they had suffered. When Castor and Pollux heard of the abduction of their sister Helen, they immediately set sail in pursuit. But when they departed from Lesbos, a severe storm arose and they were nowhere to be found. Later, it was said they had been made immortal and that the people of Lesbos looked for them with their ships as far as Troy, but returned home to report that they had found no trace of them.

[XII] Dares the Phrygian, who wrote this history, says that he fought in the army until Troy was taken and that he saw the following people either during times of truce or when he was fighting. Castor and Pollux were the exceptions; he heard about their appearance and personality from other Trojans. They were almost identical: they had blond hair, large eyes, fair skin, and were well built with thick-set figures. Helen was very similar to them: she was beautiful, charming, and had an innocent mind. She had a great pair of legs, a beauty-mark between her eyebrows and a cute little mouth. Priam, king of the Trojans, was a big man with a handsome face and a pleasant voice. He had an almost eagle-like body. Hector spoke with a slight stutter. He had a fair complexion, curly hair, and he squinted a little. His movements were swift and his noble-looking face was bearded. He was handsome and skilled in the arts of war, but was also magnanimous and merciful to the citizens. He was a noble man and, apparently, a great lover. Deiphobus and Helenus were both similar to their father, but their characters were completely different: Deiphobus was the strong man while Helenus was the gentle, learned prophet. Troilus was large, handsome and quite strong for his age. He was also brave and eager for glory. Alexander was a tall, brave man with fair skin. He had gorgeous eyes and soft, blond hair as well as a charming mouth and a pleasant voice. He was swift, and eager to take command. Aeneas had auburn hair and a stocky figure. He was eloquent and outgoing, brave yet prudent, as well as pious and charming. He had dark eyes that twinkled. Antenor was tall, graceful, swift in his movements, shrewd, and cautious. Hecuba was a beautiful woman with a big eagle-like body. She thought like a man and was pious as well as just. Andromache was bright-eyed and fair, with a tall and beautiful body. She was modest, wise, chaste, and charming. Cassandra was of moderate stature, had a round mouth, and auburn hair. She had twinkling eyes and could tell the future. Polyxena was fair, tall, and beautiful. She had a long neck, charming eyes, and long blond hair. Her body was well-built, her fingers quite long, and her legs were straight. Her feet were amazing, surpassing all others in beauty. She had an innocent mind, and was a generous woman.

[XIII] Agamemnon had a large, pale body with powerful limbs and was eloquent, wise, noble, and rich. Menelaus was a handsome man of moderate stature with auburn hair, and was loved by everyone. Achilles had a large chest, a charming mouth, powerful limbs and his head was covered with long manes of curly hair. Though he was mild in manner, he was fierce in battle. He had a cheerful face and chestnut coloured hair. Patroclus was a handsome man with big, lively eyes. He was modest, respectable, wise, and generous. Ajax, son of Oileus, was stocky with powerful limbs, and had an eagle-like body. He was as cheerful as he was brave. Ajax, son of Telamon, was powerful as well. He had a clear voice and curly black hair, and had an innocent mind despite being unrelenting in battle. Ulysses was handsome, shrewd, cheerful, of medium height, eloquent, and wise. Diomedes was handsome, strong and stocky. He had a stern look and was ferocious in battle. He was also loud by nature, hot-tempered, impatient, and bold. Nestor was a big, broad man with a long, hooked nose. He was fair-skinned and often gave good advice.

Protesilaus was fair-skinned as well, and had a dignified look. He was swift, self-confident, even rash. Neoptolemus was large, violent, and easily irritated. He spoke with a slight stutter, and had a well-proportioned face with a hooked nose, round eyes, and shaggy eyebrows. Palamedes was tall and slender, wise, magnanimous, and charming. Podalirius was plump, strong, haughty, and gloomy. Machaon was large and strong, dependable, clever, patient, and merciful. Meriones was a ginger-haired man of moderate height with a rotund body. He was violent, stubborn, cruel, and impatient. Briseis was beautiful: she was not very tall, but was a fair woman with soft, blond hair. Her eyebrows were conjoined above her lovely eyes and her body was well-proportioned. She was charming, friendly, modest, pious, and had an innocent mind.

[XIV] Subsequently the Greeks gathered at Athens with their fleet ready for battle³. Agamemnon came from Mycenae with 100 ships; Menelaus from Sparta with 60; Arcesilaus and Prothoenor from Boeotia with 50; Ascalaphus and Ialmenus from Orchomenus with 30; Epistrophus and Schedius from Phocis with 40; Ajax, son of Telamon, brought along Teucer, his brother, from Salamis, as well as Amphimachus, Diores, Thalpius, and Polyxenus from Buprasion, with 40 ships; Nestor came from Pylos with 80 ships; Thoas from Aetolia with 40; Nireus from Syme with 53; Ajax, son of Oileus, from Locris with 37; Antiphus and Phidippus from Calydna with 30; Idomeneus and Meriones from Crete with 80; Ulysses from Ithaca with 12; Eumelus from Pherae with 10; Protesilaus and Podarces from Phylaca with 40; Podalirus and Machaon, the sons of Aesculapius, from Tricca with 32; Achilles, accompanied by Patroclus and the Myrmidons, came from Phthia with 50 ships; Tlepolemus from Rhodes with 9; Eurypylus from Ormenion with 40; Antiphus and Amphimachus from Elis with 11; Polypoetes and Leonteus from Argissa with 40; Diomedes, Euryalus, and Sthenelus came from Argos with 80 ships; Philoctetes from Meliboea with 7; Guneus from Cyphos with 21; Prothous from Magnesia with 40; Agapenor from Arcadia with 40; and Menestheus from Athens with 50. These were the 49 Greek leaders⁴, who brought a total of 1,130 ships⁵.

[XV] When they had arrived at Athens, Agamemnon called the leaders together in a council of war and urged them to avenge the wrongs they had suffered as quickly as possible. He asked everyone's opinion on the matter and advised that they should consult the oracle of Apollo at Delphi before setting sail. The council unanimously agreed to this and put Achilles in charge of this endeavour, who promptly set out for Delphi along with Patroclus. Meanwhile, after he had heard that the enemy was ready for war, Priam sent messengers throughout Phrygia to ensure the support of neighbouring armies while he zealously readied his troops at home. When Achilles arrived at Delphi, he consulted the oracle; and the response, issued from the inner sanctum, stated that the Greeks would be victorious and would capture Troy in the tenth year of the war. Then Achilles performed his religious duties as ordered. At the same time the seer Calchas, son of Thestor, arrived in Delphi. He had been sent by his people, the Phrygians, to offer

gifts to Apollo. When he asked the oracle about the fate of his country and that of himself, the oracle replied that he had to join the Greek war fleet that would sail against Troy and use his guile to persuade them not to leave until Troy was captured. When Calchas left the temple, he came across Achilles and they compared their responses; overjoyed, they quickly became friends and set out for Athens together. When they had arrived, Achilles made his report to the council. The Greeks were delighted and accepted Calchas as one of their own. When they were about to set sail, a storm arose that prevented them from making progress. After reading the omens, Calchas responded that they had to turn back and head for Aulis first. When they arrived there, Agamemnon appeased Diana and then told his comrades to raise the anchors and set course for Troy. Philoctetes, who had gone with the Argonauts to Troy, acted as their guide. After a while they moored near a city under King Priam's rule, which they quickly conquered. After ransacking it, they set out again and arrived at the island of Tenedos, where they slaughtered all of the inhabitants. Afterwards, Agamemnon divided the spoils and called a meeting.

[XVI] The Greeks sent envoys to Priam asking for the return of Helen and the valuables which Alexander had taken; Diomedes and Ulysses were chosen to lead this endeavour. While the envoys were carrying out their mission, Achilles and Telephus were sent to plunder Mysia, the kingdom ruled by Teuthras. They invaded his lands and had begun to pillage the country when Teuthras himself appeared with an army. Achilles quickly put the enemy army to flight and even wounded the king; he would have finished him off if Telephus had not raised his shield to protect him. Telephus did so because he remembered the friendship that had existed between them in his childhood, when Teuthras had been such a generous host. They say Diomedes, the previous king of Mysia, had been killed by Hercules, Telephus' father, while he was hunting with his wild, powerful horses. The king had left the entire realm to Teuthras; that is why Telephus, Hercules' son, had come to his aid. When Teuthras realized that he would die of his wounds before long, he left his kingdom to Telephus and made him king of Mysia while he was still alive. Later Telephus held a magnificent funeral for Teuthras. Achilles urged Telephus to stay behind and take care of his newly gained kingdom; he would be of more use to the Greeks if he sent supplies from his kingdom than by going to Troy himself. And so, Telephus stayed behind while Achilles returned to the army on Tenedos with many spoils of war. His report of what had happened won Agamemnon's approval and praise.

[XVII] Meanwhile, the envoys had come before Priam, and Ulysses stated Agamemnon's demands. If Helen and the valuables were returned, he said, and proper reparations were made, the Greeks would leave in peace. Priam answered by reminding the Greeks of the crimes the Argonauts had committed: the death of his father, the sack of Troy, and the enslavement of his sister Hesione. He ended by describing how contemptuously the Greeks had treated Antenor when he had sent him as his envoy. For all these reasons, he refused to make peace. Instead, he

declared war and commanded the envoys of the Greeks to leave his lands. When the envoys returned to the camp on Tenedos, they reported what Priam had answered and a meeting was called to discuss their next move.

[XVIII] Many rulers arrived with their armies to help Priam fight against the Greeks, and this might be a good moment to relate their names and where they were from⁶: Pandarus, Amphius, and Adrastus came from Zelia; Mopsus from Colophon; Asius from Phrygia; Amphimachus and Nastes from Caria; Sarpedon and Glaucus from Lycia; Hippothous and Cupesus from Larissa; Euphemus from Ciconia; Pirus and Acamas from Thrace; Pyraechmes and Asteropaeus from Paeonia; Ascanius and Phorcys from Phrygia; Antiphus and Mesthles from Maeonia; Pylaemenes from Paphlagonia; Perses and Memnon from Ethiopia; Rhesus and Archilochus from Thrace; Adrastus and Amphius from Adrestia; and Epistrophus and Odius came from Alizonia. Priam made Hector supreme commander of these rulers and the armies they had brought. Second-in-command were Deiphobus, Alexander, Troilus, Aeneas, and Memnon. While Agamemnon was in a meeting to discuss his plans, Palamedes, son of Nauplius, arrived from Cormos with thirty ships. He apologized and explained that he had not been able to come to Athens because he was ill. They thanked him for coming as soon as he was able and invited him to join the meeting.

[XIX] Later, the Greeks were debating whether they should attack Troy under the cover of night or during the day. Palamedes advised them to carry out the landing by day in order to draw the enemy forces out of the city; and everyone agreed with him. They decided to give Agamemnon command over the army. They also sent Anius and the two sons of Theseus, Demophoon and Acamas, to Mysia and a few other places as envoys to take care of the supplies for the army. Then Agamemnon called the soldiers to assembly; he praised them, spurred them on, and firmly demanded that they obey every order he would issue. When the signal was given, the Greeks raised their anchors and the whole fleet landed on the beaches of Troy deployed in a wide battle line. The Trojans bravely defended their country. Protesilaus went inland, wreaking havoc and putting the Trojans to flight until Hector crossed his path and killed him⁷, to the dismay of the rest of the Greeks. But wherever Hector withdrew, the Trojans fled. There were heavy losses on both sides until Achilles arrived: he put the entire Trojan army to flight and drove them back to their city. When night had brought an end to the battle, Agamemnon led his entire army ashore and set up camp. On the next day Hector led his army out of the city and formed a battle line while Agamemnon's forces rushed towards them with a loud war cry. There was a fierce and intense battle, and many brave men fighting in the frontline were slain. Hector slew Patroclus and tried to strip off his armour, but Meriones snatched the body away from the heat of battle to prevent this. So Hector quickly pursued Meriones and killed him as well. But when Hector was once again trying to loot the body, Menestheus came to the aid of his dead comrade and wounded Hector in the leg. Yet, even though he was wounded, Hector still killed thousands of

enemies and would have succeeded in putting the Greek forces to flight if only Ajax, son of Telamon, had not stood in his way. When he met Ajax, Hector remembered that they were related: Ajax' mother was Priam's sister Hesione⁸. So he commanded the Trojans to stop setting fire to the ships. Then the two men exchanged gifts and departed as friends.

[XX] The next day the Greeks asked for a truce. Achilles mourned for Patroclus, and the Greeks lamented their dead. Agamemnon held a magnificent funeral for Protesilaus and saw to the proper burial of the others while Achilles held funeral games in Patroclus' honour. During this truce, Palamedes never ceased to cause unrest. Agamemnon, he said, was not worthy to be commander of the army. Then Palamedes openly boasted about his own numerous achievements: first about the successful landing, then about his fortifications of the camp, his regulation of guard duty, his invention of signals and scales, and finally, his training regimen for the army. These things were all thanks to him, he said, and it was not fair that Agamemnon commanded all those who had eventually joined the campaign while only a few people had voted him to be the commander-in-chief. Moreover, everyone expected a man in that position to be both brilliant and brave. After two years, during which time the Greeks had been debating who should command them, the war was resumed. Agamemnon, Achilles, Diomedes and Menelaus commanded their army while the forces of Hector, Troilus, and Aeneas fought on the Trojan side. There was a massive slaughter, and on both sides many brave warriors fell: Hector slew Boetes, Arcesilaus, and Prothoenor. When night brought an end to the battle, Agamemnon called all the leaders together in a meeting. He urged them to enter the fray themselves and to try and kill Hector, as the latter had slain some of their bravest commanders.

[XXI] At the break of dawn, Hector, Aeneas, and Alexander advanced with their army while all the Greek leaders advanced with their forces. There was a massive slaughter, and on both sides many thousands were sent down to Ocrus. Menelaus began to pursue Alexander, who turned around and pierced the king's leg with an arrow. But Menelaus, driven by wrath, continued his pursuit, now joined by the Locrian Ajax. As soon as Hector saw what was happening, he immediately came running to the aid of his brother accompanied by Aeneas. While Aeneas provided protection with his shield, Hector led Alexander out of the fighting and into the city. Nightfall brought an end to the battle. The next day Achilles and Diomedes led the army against the forces of Hector and Aeneas. There was a massive slaughter: Hector killed Orcomeneus, Ialmenus, Epistrophus, Schedius, Elephenor, Diore, and Polyxenus. Aeneas slew Amphimachus and Nireus. Achilles killed Euphemus, Hippothous, Pylaeus, and Asteropaeus while Diomedes slew Antiphus and Mesthles. When Agamemnon saw that his bravest leaders had been killed, he sounded the retreat; and the celebrating Trojans also returned to their city. Agamemnon was worried and called the Greek leaders to council. There he urged them to fight bravely and stand

their ground; more than half of their forces had been killed by now, but he hoped that reinforcements from Mysia would come any day now.

[XXII] The next day, Agamemnon ordered the whole army, with all of its leaders, to march to battle against the opposing Trojans. There was a massive slaughter, with both sides fighting fiercely and losing thousands of men. As there seemed to be no natural break in the fighting, the battle raged on for eighty consecutive days. When Agamemnon saw that thousands of his men were being killed daily and that they could not all be buried in time, he sent Ulysses and Diomedes as envoys to Priam to ask for a truce of three years. During this time the Greeks would be able to bury their dead, heal their wounded, repair their ships, reinforce the army, and gather supplies. When Ulysses and Diomedes set out to see Priam at night, they happened to come across a Trojan named Dolon. When the latter asked why they had come to the city at night while bearing arms, they told him that they were envoys sent by Agamemnon to see Priam. When Priam heard of their arrival and knew what they wanted, he called a meeting with all of his officers and explained that these were envoys sent by Agamemnon to ask for a truce of three years. Hector thought it was suspicious that they demanded a truce that lasted such a long time. But nevertheless, Priam ordered every member of the council to voice their opinion on this matter, and everyone ultimately agreed to give the Greeks a truce of three years. During this truce the Trojans repaired their walls, healed their wounded, and gave their dead an honourable burial.

[XXIII] After three years, the time had come to resume the war. Hector and Troilus led the Trojan army while Agamemnon, Menelaus, Achilles, and Diomedes commanded the Greek forces themselves. There was a massive slaughter, with Hector killing the Greek officers Phidippus and Antiphus in the front line, and Achilles slaying Lycaon and Phorcys. Thousands of others were killed on both sides, and the battle raged on for thirty consecutive days. When Priam saw that many of his men had been killed, he sent out envoys to ask for a truce of six months. Following the will of his council, Agamemnon agreed to this. When the fighting was resumed, the fighting raged on for twelve days. Many brave officers were slain on both sides; and even more were wounded, most of whom died during treatment. Therefore Agamemnon sent envoys to Priam to ask for a thirty-day truce so that they could bury their dead. Priam agreed to this after consulting his council.

[XXIV] When the time came to resume the fighting, Andromache, Hector's wife, had a dream warning her that her husband should not go to war. But when she told him about her vision, Hector dismissed it as being nothing but wifely concern. Andromache was distraught and sent word to Priam asking him to stop Hector from fighting that day. Priam, therefore, appointed Alexander, Helenus, Troilus, and Aeneas as commanders of the army. When Hector heard about

this, he fiercely berated Andromache and demanded that she bring him his armour. Nothing, he said, could keep him from fighting that day. Andromache was in tears, but could not persuade Hector to turn back; not even when she fell at his feet with her hair down, holding his son Astyanax out in her arms. So she rushed to the palace, causing quite a commotion in the city along the way because of her mournful wailing. She told king Priam what she had seen in her dream and said that Hector was eagerly going to enter the battlefield anyway. And while holding out Hector's son, Astyanax, she knelt before the king and begged him to withdraw her husband from battle. Accordingly, Priam sent all the others to battle but kept Hector from going. When Agamemnon, Achilles, Diomedes, and the Locrian Ajax saw that Hector was not on the battlefield, they fought even more fiercely and killed many Trojan officers. But when Hector heard the tumult and saw that the Trojans were in grave distress, he entered the battle anyway. Immediately he cut down Idomeneus, wounded Iphinous, killed Leonteus and pierced Sthenelus' leg with a spear. When Achilles saw that countless officers had fallen at the hands of Hector, he directed his attention towards the prince and made up his mind to fight him; he reckoned that many more Greeks would have a similar fate if he didn't kill Hector first. Meanwhile, the battle raged on; Hector killed Polypoetes, one of the bravest Greek leaders. But when he was trying to strip off the Greek's armour, Achilles finally reached him. And so the great duel began, while a deafening clamour came from the city and both armies. Hector wounded Achilles' leg, but the latter fought on even fiercer despite his wound and didn't stop until he had won. After he had killed Hector, Achilles put all the Trojans to flight and pursued them all the way to the gates of Troy, cutting down many of them along the way. Only Memnon resisted. He and Achilles fought fiercely, and neither got off without any injuries. When night brought an end to the battle, the wounded Achilles left the battlefield. The Trojans lamented Hector, and the Greeks mourned their dead.

[XXV] The next day, Memnon led the Trojans against the army of the Greeks. But Agamemnon called the army to assembly and urged them to ask for a truce of two months so they could bury their dead. Accordingly, envoys were sent to Troy and made the proposal to Priam, who granted them a truce of two months. Then Priam buried Hector in front of the gates, following the custom of his people, and held funeral games in his honour. During the truce Palamedes once again did not cease to complain about the Greek leadership, and so it was that Agamemnon finally yielded to Palamedes' defiance. He said he would be reasonable about this and that the Greeks could choose whomever they liked as their supreme commander. The next day he called the people to assembly and denied he had ever wanted to command them. He would calmly accept command if they wanted to give it to him, but he would also willingly give up his position as leader of the army. All he wanted was for the enemy to be punished, he said, and how this was done did not matter to him. Seeing as he was still king of Mycenae, he commanded everyone to voice their opinion on this matter. It was then that Palamedes came forward and

showed off his abilities, until the Greeks willingly gave him command over the army. He gratefully accepted the position and promptly began his administrative duties. Achilles, however, condemned the change in power.

[XXVI] Meanwhile, the truce had ended. Palamedes led his geared up troops out of the camp, formed a battle line and gave a rousing speech. Opposite him, Deiphobus commanded the Trojans, who proved to be fierce adversaries. The Lycian Sarpedon and his men made an assault on the Greek battle line, pushing them back and slaughtering them. Tlepolemus of Rhodos confronted Sarpedon, but after standing his ground against the Lycian for a long time, he fell to the ground badly wounded. After that, Pheres, the son of Admetus, came forward and was also killed after a long hand-to-hand battle with Sarpedon. But Sarpedon himself was wounded as well and had to withdraw from battle. And so the fighting lasted for several days, with many leaders dying on both sides. The casualties on Priam's side, however, were greater, and the Trojans sent envoys to ask for a truce that would allow them to bury their dead and heal their wounded. Palamedes agreed on a cease-fire of one year and, accordingly, both sides buried their dead and took care of their wounded. Their agreement also included that each party could visit the other's territory; the Trojans went to the Greek camp while the Greeks visited the city. Meanwhile, Palamedes sent Agamemnon to Acamas and Demophoon, Theseus' sons, whom Agamemnon had put in charge of establishing a supply line bringing grain from Telephus. When he arrived in Mysia, Agamemnon told them about Palamedes' rebellion. When he saw that they were outraged he said that he was not angry at all and that it had happened according to his wishes. Meanwhile Palamedes repaired the cargo ships, fortified the camp and surrounded it with watchtowers. The Trojans trained their troops, repaired their walls -adding a rampart and ditch- and diligently prepared everything for war.

[XXVII] On the first anniversary of Hector's funeral, Priam, Hecuba, Polyxena, and the other Trojans went to visit his tomb. There they happened to come across Achilles, who was struck by Polyxena's beauty and fell madly in love with her. His burning love for her took all the joy out of his life, and he could hardly bear the thought that the Greeks had deposed Agamemnon and made Palamedes supreme commander instead of himself. So, driven by his love, he instructed a loyal Phrygian slave of his to meet with Hecuba and propose the following: if she would give him Polyxena in marriage, he would go home with his Myrmidons. If he did that, he added, other leaders would doubtlessly follow his example and do the same. When the slave met with Hecuba and made the proposal, Hecuba answered that she would do it, but only if her husband, Priam, agreed. She had to discuss it with him first. The slave returned to Achilles, as Hecuba had ordered, and told Achilles everything that had happened. Meanwhile, Agamemnon arrived back at the camp from Mysia with a large group of followers. When Hecuba talked to Priam about Achilles' proposal, her husband refused it. Not because he viewed Achilles as an unworthy

relative, but out of fear that, even if he did give his daughter away and Achilles did return home, the other leaders would not follow. Moreover, he added that it was not right to marry one's daughter to the enemy. Therefore, if Achilles wanted this marriage, he had to arrange a lasting peace; the Greek armies had to return home, and he wanted a treaty bound by sacred oaths. Only on these conditions would Priam willingly give Achilles his daughter in marriage. After a while Achilles sent his slave back to Hecuba, according to their agreement, to find out Priam's opinion on this matter. Hecuba told the slave everything Priam had said and commanded him to report back to Achilles, which he did. And so, Achilles openly started complaining to everyone that for the sake of one woman, Helen, all of Europe and Greece were at war, and that so many thousands had been dying for such a long time. Their very liberty was at stake, he said, and this was why they ought to make peace and disband the army.

[XXVIII] When the year of peace was over, Palamedes took command of the army and formed a battle line. The Trojans, who were commanded by Deiphobus, opposed them. Achilles, however, refused to take part in the battle as he was still angry. During the battle, Palamedes took the opportunity to attack Deiphobus and slaughtered him. A ferocious battle arose, with both sides fighting savagely, and several thousands were killed. While Palamedes was fighting in the front line and encouraging his men to fight bravely, he encountered the Lycian Sarpedon and managed to kill him. After that, Palamedes cheerfully strutted across the front line; but while the Greek king was proudly celebrating his triumph, Alexander -also called Paris- pierced his neck with an arrow. When the Phrygians saw this, they all hurled their spears at the Greek king to finish him off. With their king dead and all the Trojans attacking together, the Greeks quickly retreated and fled to their camp. The Trojans pursued them, besieged their camp, and set their ships ablaze. When news was brought to Achilles about what was happening, he still decided to stay in his tent. Ajax, son of Telamon, bravely organised the defence until nightfall brought an end to the battle. The Greeks lamented the loss of Palamedes' wisdom, justice, mercy, and goodness while the Trojans bewailed the deaths of Sarpedon and Deiphobus.

[XXIX] At night, Nestor, who was the eldest, called the Greek leaders together in a meeting and urged them to elect a new general. If they thought the same, he said, Agamemnon's reappointment would cause the least conflict. He also reminded them that, while Agamemnon was in charge, things had gone quite well and the army had been happy. Nestor urged anyone who had a better idea to speak up. But everyone agreed with him and they made Agamemnon their general once again. The next day, the Trojans eagerly formed their battle line, while Agamemnon led the Greeks. The two forces clashed and the battle began. Towards the evening, Troilus advanced to the front line and sent the Greeks fleeing back to their camp after slaughtering many men and wreaking havoc. The next day the Trojans advanced with their army against the forces of Agamemnon. There was a horrible slaughter and both armies fought

fiercely; Troilus slaughtered countless Greek officers as the battle raged on for seven consecutive days. After that, Agamemnon arranged a truce of two months and gave Palamedes a magnificent funeral while both sides saw to the burial of their fallen officers and soldiers.

[XXX] During the truce, Agamemnon sent Ulysses, Nestor, and Diomedes to Achilles to ask him to rejoin the fighting. But Achilles, still moody, refused; he had already decided to stay out of battle because of his promise to Hecuba. He added that he would probably fight poorly because of his passionate love for Polyxena. Then he started to criticize those sent by Agamemnon, saying that they needed to arrange a lasting peace. He couldn't believe that one woman could be the cause of so much peril and said that the Greeks were endangering their freedom, not to mention wasting a great deal of time. And so, Achilles demanded peace and refused to fight. When news was brought to Agamemnon about Achilles' stubborn refusal, he summoned all the leaders to a meeting and asked each of them what they thought should be done. Menelaus began to urge his brother to lead the army to battle anyway and not to be concerned if Achilles chose not to fight. He added that he himself would try to persuade Achilles, but he wasn't going to worry should Achilles refuse. He reminded his comrades that the Trojans had no one else who was as brave in battle as Hector had been. Diomedes and Ulysses began to retort that Troilus was at least Hector's equal, and a very brave warrior. But Menelaus dismissed their worries and urged the council to continue the war. After interpreting the omens, Calchas urged the Greeks to go to battle and told them not to be alarmed by the Trojans' recent successes.

[XXXI] When the time came to resume the war, Agamemnon, Menelaus, Diomedes and Ajax led the army against the opposing Trojans. There was a massive slaughter, with both sides fighting ferociously in a savage battle. Troilus wounded Menelaus, killed countless enemies, and harassed the rest until nightfall brought an end to the battle. The next day, Troilus and Alexander took command of the Trojans against all of the Greeks. The battle was fierce: Troilus wounded Diomedes and, in the course of his slaughter, attacked and wounded Agamemnon himself. The battle raged on for several days and many thousands were slain on both sides. When Agamemnon saw that he was losing more of his forces each passing day and that they wouldn't last much longer, he proposed a truce of six months. Priam called a meeting and informed everyone of the Greeks' wishes. Troilus felt that they shouldn't grant a truce which lasted such a long time. Instead, he suggested that they mount an attack and set fire to the Greek ships. Nevertheless Priam ordered the other members of the council to voice their opinions as well; and seeing as everyone agreed to give the Greeks what they wanted, Priam granted a truce of six months. Agamemnon gave his dead honourable funerals and saw to the care of the wounded, such as Diomedes and Menelaus. Meanwhile the Trojans also buried their dead. During the truce, Agamemnon followed the advice of his council and visited Achilles to persuade him to rejoin the army. But Achilles, still moody, once again refused to fight and urged the king to make

peace with the Trojans. But after a while he grumbled that it was impossible to refuse Agamemnon, and said that he would send his own troops to join the army when the war was resumed. But he himself would stay in the camp. And for this Agamemnon thanked him.

[XXXII] When the time came to resume the war, the Trojans advanced with their army against the forces of the Greeks. Achilles told his Myrmidons to gear up and sent them to Agamemnon ready for combat. There was a huge battle, with both sides fighting fiercely and savagely. Troilus fought in the front line, slaughtered many Greeks and put the Myrmidons to flight. He kept up his attack until he reached the Greek encampments, where he killed countless men and wounded even more until Ajax, son of Telamon, stopped him. The Trojans returned to their city victorious. The next day, Agamemnon, along with the Myrmidons and all of the Greek leaders, led the army against the Trojans, who were eager to fight. The battle began and for several days both armies fought fiercely, with countless casualties on both sides. Troilus attacked the Myrmidons and broke their formation, putting them to flight. When Agamemnon saw that many of his men had been killed, he asked for a truce of thirty days so they could bury their dead. Priam agreed to this, and accordingly, both sides saw to the burials of their fallen comrades.

[XXXIII] When the time came to resume the war, the Trojans advanced with their army against Agamemnon and all of his officers. The battle began and there was a massive slaughter, with both sides fighting fiercely and savagely. When the morning had passed, Troilus advanced to the front line, slaughtering many men; and the Greeks all fled with loud cries. When Achilles saw that Troilus fought with savage rage, insulted the Greeks and scattered his Myrmidons without even pausing, he decided to enter the battlefield. But he had to withdraw almost immediately after being wounded by Troilus. The battle raged on for six consecutive days. On the seventh day, the two armies were still fighting, and Achilles, who had been out of action for a few days because of his wound, formed up his Myrmidons. He urged them to be brave and launch an attack against Troilus. Towards the evening, Troilus cheerfully advanced on horseback and the Greeks all fled before him with loud cries. The Myrmidons, however, came to their rescue and assailed Troilus. The Trojan prince killed many of them. But in their fierce struggle his horse was wounded and fell, throwing Troilus to the ground entangled between the reins. At that moment Achilles quickly arrived to finish him off. After that, Achilles tried to drag off the body, but didn't succeed because of the sudden intrusion of Memnon, who snatched Troilus' corpse away and managed to wound Achilles. When the wounded Greek tried to withdraw from battle, Memnon and his men began to pursue him, until Achilles brought them to a halt merely by turning around. After Achilles' wound had been dressed and he had fought for some time, he killed Memnon with many a blow; after that, he withdrew from battle again to tend his wounds. When the Trojans heard that the king of the Persians was dead, they fled to the city and bolted the gates. Night brought an end to the battle. The next day, Priam sent envoys to Agamemnon to

propose a twenty-day truce, which Agamemnon immediately granted. And so, Priam held a magnificent funeral for Troilus and Memnon while both sides buried their dead.

[XXXIV] Hecuba mourned the death of Hector and Troilus, her two bravest sons, at the hands of Achilles and came up with an impulsive plan to get her revenge, as women tend to do. She summoned her son Alexander and desperately begged him to avenge her honour and that of his brothers by killing Achilles; he could do it in an ambush. Achilles wouldn't suspect a thing, she explained, because he had sent a messenger to her in order to ask for Polyxena's hand in marriage. She would tell him that Priam had said that he wanted to confirm the peace and unity between them in the temple of the Thymbraean Apollo, and that he wanted to meet Achilles at the gate in front of the temple. When Achilles arrived for this meeting, Alexander could ambush him. She said that Achilles' death was victory enough for her. Alexander promised that he would try his best. That night he chose the bravest men of the Trojan army and stationed them in the temple with instructions to wait for his signal. Meanwhile, Hecuba sent a message to Achilles, as she had promised. Achilles, burning with love for Polyxena, gladly agreed to come to the temple and, the next day, he arrived for the meeting along with Antilochus, Nestor's son. The moment they entered the temple, the trap was sprung and they were attacked from all sides. All the Trojans hurled their spears, while Paris spurred them on. But Achilles and Antilochus fought back, wrapping their left arm in their cloak for protection and wielding their sword with their right; and Achilles killed many men. But then Alexander managed to cut down Antilochus and slaughtered Achilles with many blows. And so Achilles found his death: bravely defending himself in a treacherous ambush. Alexander ordered the bodies to be thrown to the dogs and carrion birds, but Helenus entreated him not to do such a shameful thing. So he had the bodies taken out of the temple and handed them over to the Greeks, who took their dead and carried them back to their camp. Agamemnon gave them both magnificent funerals and agreed on a truce with Priam in order to properly bury Achilles and hold funeral games in his honour.

[XXXV] Then Agamemnon called the Greek council together and gave a speech. Everyone agreed to pass Achilles' command on to Ajax, who was Achilles' cousin. But Ajax objected to this and said that Neoptolemus, Achilles' son, was still alive, and thus had first claim. Nothing, he said, would be fairer than to give him command of the Myrmidons. And he argued that they should bring Neoptolemus to Troy and give him all of his father's privileges. Agamemnon and the rest of the council agreed to this and appointed Menelaus for this mission. Accordingly, Menelaus went to the island of Scyros and urged King Lycomedes to send Neoptolemus, his grandson, to battle; a request the king gladly granted the Greeks. When the truce had come to an end, Agamemnon roused his troops and led them to battle against the Trojan army that issued from the city. And so, the battle began, with Ajax fighting up front without wearing any armour. The clamour that arose from the battle was deafening, and many died on both sides. Alexander killed many Greeks

with his bow and managed to pierce Ajax' unprotected torso. But, despite his wound, Ajax pursued the prince until he had killed him. Then, exhausted by his wound, the Greek was carried back to the camp, where he died after they had pulled the arrow out of his body. The exhausted Trojans quickly tried to recover Alexander's corpse and bring it back to the city, but they were attacked by the menacing Diomedes, who pursued them until they had reached the walls of Troy. Agamemnon ordered his forces to encircle the city and besieged the walls the entire night after organizing a look-out in shifts. The next day, Priam held a funeral for Alexander in the city. Helen took part in the procession with loud wails. Alexander had always treated her kindly, she said, and she had become like a daughter to Priam and Hecuba, who had always taken care of her. She added that she had endless respect for the Trojans and that she never wanted to go back to her homeland.

[XXXVI] The next day, Agamemnon formed up his army in front of the Trojan gates and challenged the Trojans to come out and fight. But Priam stayed in the city and concentrated on the city's fortifications while waiting for Penthesilea to arrive with her Amazons. When Penthesilea did arrive, she led her army against that of Agamemnon. There was a huge battle which lasted for several days. But eventually the Greeks were overwhelmed and fled back to their camp. Diomedes barely succeeded in preventing Penthesilea from setting fire to the ships and destroying the entire Greek army. When the battle was over, Agamemnon kept his forces inside the encampments, though Penthesilea came back each day and slaughtered many Greeks, trying to provoke him to fight. But Agamemnon, following the advice of his council, further fortified the camp, strengthened the guard, and refused to go to battle – at least until Menelaus came back. When Menelaus arrived on Scyros, he gave Neoptolemus the weapons of his father, Achilles. Neoptolemus accepted them, and when he arrived in the Greek camp at Troy, he bitterly wept at his father's tomb. Penthesilea, following her usual routine, formed up her army and advanced as far as the camp of the Greeks. Neoptolemus, who took command of the Myrmidons, led his troops while Agamemnon also prepared his forces. Both sides clashed head-on. Neoptolemus massacred the Trojans while Penthesilea also entered the fray and bravely defended herself as well. For several days both sides fought fiercely, and many were killed when, finally, Penthesilea managed to wound Neoptolemus. But, despite his wound, the Greek still slaughtered Penthesilea, queen of the Amazons. The death of Penthesilea caused all the Trojans to flee to their city in shameful defeat and the Greek troops quickly surrounded the walls so that the Trojans couldn't even step out their gates.

[XXXVII] When the Trojans realized the situation they were in, Antenor, Polydamas, and Aeneas went to Priam and asked him to call a meeting to discuss the fate of Troy. When Priam had done so, they asked for the opportunity to speak; and Priam ordered them to say what they wanted. Antenor spoke first and reminded the Trojans that they had lost their foremost defenders:

Hector, the other sons of the king, and the foreign rulers that had come to help. But the Greeks, he said, still had their bravest leaders: Agamemnon, Menelaus, Neoptolemus -who was no less brave than his father-, Diomedes and the Locrian Ajax still lived, not to mention many others, like Nestor and Ulysses, who were both very shrewd men. He added that the Trojans were surrounded and worn out with fear. Therefore, he urged that they should give back Helen along with everything Alexander and his men had stolen from the Greeks and that they should sue for peace. After discussing the possibility of peace for some time, Amphimachus, Priam's son and a very brave youth, rose and condemned Antenor and all who agreed with him. They should be ashamed for their behaviour, he said. He insisted that the Trojans should instead lead out their army and launch an assault on the Greek camps until they had either won the battle or died fighting for their country. When Amphimachus finished, Aeneas rose and tried to refute him, urging the Trojans with calm and gentle words to make peace with the Greeks. Polydamas fully supported him.

[XXXVIII] After this speech Priam rose and vigorously berated Antenor and Aeneas. They had been the first to press for war, he said, as they were the envoys who had been sent to Greece. He scolded Antenor, who now wanted to make peace, but had been urging for war earlier; he had been the envoy that went to Greece and complained on his return how disgracefully he had been treated there. And Aeneas, he said, had helped Alexander abduct Helen and steal those valuables. For these reasons, Priam decided that there would be no peace. He commanded everyone to prepare for battle. When the signal was given, they would rush from the gates and end up either victorious or dead. He had made up his mind. After spurring everyone on with a lengthy speech, Priam dismissed the council. Then he led Amphimachus with him to the palace and told him that those who had pleaded for peace had to be killed. He feared that they would betray the city, seeing as there were many among the common people who shared their treacherous sentiments. Once they were dead, Priam said, he would see to his country's defences and the Greeks' demise. He implored Amphimachus to be faithful and obedient, and told him to be ready with a band of armed men – something which could be done without raising any suspicion. The next day Priam would go to the citadel to worship as usual, and he would invite the men in question to dine with him. It was at this point, Priam said, that Amphimachus, along with his posse, had to rush in and kill them. Amphimachus agreed to this plan and promised to carry it out. After that he departed from Priam.

[XXXIX] That same day, Antenor, Polydamas, Ucalegon, and Dolon secretly met. They were amazed at the stubbornness of the king, who would rather die with his court and his people when surrounded by the enemy than sue for peace. Then Antenor told them he had a plan that would benefit them all, and if the others would swear allegiance, he would reveal it. When they had all done so, he first sent word to Aeneas, and then told them his plan. They had to betray

their country, he said, and look to save themselves and their families. He proposed to send someone to Agamemnon - someone that no one would suspect - and tell him about the situation. They had to act quickly, Antenor added, as he had noticed that Priam was livid when he left the council because he had urged the king to sue for peace; he feared that Priam would soon contrive some new plan against them. Everyone promised to help and they quickly chose Polydamas to secretly meet with Agamemnon, as he would rouse the least suspicion. And so Polydamas made his way to the camp of the Greeks, met with Agamemnon and told him about their plan.

[XL] That night Agamemnon summoned all the Greek rulers to a secret meeting to tell them what had happened, and asked their advice. The council unanimously decided to trust the Trojan traitors. But Ulysses and Nestor said they were nervous to carry out the plan. Neoptolemus, however, was in favour of it. After a tense discussion, they decided to demand a password from Polydamas that Sinon might test with Aeneas, Anchises, and Antenor. Accordingly, Sinon went to Troy and, since Amphimachus had not yet posted his guards at the gates, heard Aeneas, Anchises, and Antenor give the correct countersign. Then he returned and reported back to Agamemnon. The members of the council then took an oath and promised that if Troy were betrayed the following night, no harm would come to Antenor, Ucalegon, Polydamas, Aeneas, and Dolon, or to any of their parents, or indeed to their children, wives, relatives, friends, and acquaintances, or to any of their property. After they had promised all this, Polydamas instructed them to lead out their army the following night and march to the Scaean gate - which had a carving of a horse's head on the outside - as Antenor and Aeneas would be in charge of guarding of that gate. They would unlock the bolts and raise a torch, which would be the signal to attack.

[XLI] When every detail of the plan was arranged, Polydamas returned to the city and reported that his mission had been a success. He proceeded to explain that Antenor, Aeneas, and all their associates had to go to the Scaean gate at night, unlock the bolts, and raise a torch to lead the Greek army into the city. That night Antenor and Aeneas were ready at the gate and let Neoptolemus in. After unlocking the gate and raising the torch, they demanded a means of escape for themselves and their associates. When Neoptolemus had given them the protection they wanted, Antenor led the way to the palace, where the Trojans stationed their garrison. Then Neoptolemus gave the signal to storm the palace and slaughter the Trojans; he himself pursued Priam and cut him down before the altar of Jupiter. While Hecuba was fleeing with Polyxena, she came across Aeneas and entrusted her daughter to him. So Aeneas concealed her at the home of his father Anchises. Andromache and Cassandra hid in the temple of Minerva. All night long the Greeks destroyed and plundered the city.

[XLII] When the sun rose the following morning, Agamemnon summoned all of his leaders to a meeting in the citadel. After giving thanks to the gods, he praised his soldiers and ordered all the spoils to be gathered so everyone would get their share. And at the same time he asked his men if they agreed to spare Antenor, Aeneas and all those who had helped betray Troy. His question was greeted with a loud roar, and all the Greeks agreed to honour his promise. And so, Agamemnon summoned all of the traitors and gave back everything that belonged to them. Antenor asked Agamemnon if he could say a few words, which the king granted. He began by thanking the Greeks; then he reminded them how Helenus and Cassandra had always tried to persuade his father to make peace, and how Helenus had successfully urged the return of Achilles' body for burial. Accordingly, Agamemnon followed the will of his council and gave Helenus and Cassandra their freedom. Then Helenus pleaded with Agamemnon in his turn for the fate of Hecuba and Andromache, as he had never forgotten how they had always loved him. And once again Agamemnon granted these prisoners their freedom after discussing it with his council. Meanwhile the spoils were fairly divided among the men and the Greeks expressed their thanks to the gods with a sacrifice. Eventually the Greeks decided that they would return to Greece in five days.

[XLIII] But on the day of their departure there was a severe storm, and they were forced to stay put for a few more days. Calchas informed the Greeks that the spirits of the dead were not satisfied. It was then that Neoptolemus suddenly remembered that Polyxena, who was the cause of his father's death, had not been found in the palace. He demanded that Agamemnon bring her before him and he even accused the army. So Agamemnon summoned Antenor and commanded him to find Polyxena. And when he had done so, Antenor had to bring her to him. Accordingly, Antenor went to see Aeneas and diligently begged him to hand Polyxena over to Agamemnon, so that the Greeks would set sail. When he discovered where she was hidden, Antenor took Polyxena to Agamemnon, who gave her to Neoptolemus in turn. The latter took her to the grave of his father and cut her throat. Agamemnon was furious that Aeneas had been hiding Polyxena and immediately banished him and his family from their country. And so it came to pass that Aeneas and all of his followers departed from these lands. A few days after Agamemnon had set sail, Helen also returned home with her husband, Menelaus, and she was even more depressed than when she had come to Troy. Helenus sought refuge in Chersonesos, accompanied by Cassandra, his sister, Andromache, the wife of his brother Hector, and Hecuba, his mother.

[XLIV] Here the report of Dares the Phrygian ends; he stayed in Troy, being a loyal follower of Antenor. The Trojan War lasted ten years, six months, and twelve days. According to the journal that Dares wrote, the Greek casualties numbered around 866,000, while the number of Trojans that died up until the betrayal of the city was close to 676,000. Aeneas left his country with the

twenty-two ships that Alexander used when he went to Greece; about 3,400 people of all ages decided to follow him. Antenor had about 2,500 followers, while Andromache and Helenus had about 1,200.



C. Translation II

THE HISTORY OF THE FALL OF TROY BY DARES THE PHRYGIAN

Cornelius Nepos sends greetings to Sallustius Crispus.

While I was busily engaged in study in Athens, I found a history by Dares the Phrygian about the Greeks and the Trojans. As the title indicates, it was written in Dares' own hand. I was absolutely delighted to get a hold of it and immediately translated it. I decided not to add or omit anything to improve the text; otherwise it would seem to be my own work. Instead, I thought it best to translate the text word for word into Latin according to the truthful and simple style of the original, so that my readers can fully understand how these events transpired. Either they will believe the work of Dares to be more truthful, who lived and fought in those days when the Greeks besieged Troy, or that of Homer, who was born many years after that war was fought. When the Athenians judged this matter, they found Homer to be insane for describing Gods fighting alongside mortal men. But enough of this. Let us now turn our attention to what I have promised.

[I] King Pelias¹, [ruler of the Peloponnesos,] was the brother of Aeson. Aeson had a son named Jason, who was unmatched in his goodness. He treated everyone who lived under his authority as a friend, and was adored by everyone. When King Pelias saw that Jason was very popular with his people, he feared that he might do him harm or drive him out of his kingdom. He told Jason there was a golden fleece of a ram in Colchis which was worthy of his virtue. If Jason was able to steal it, the king would give him everything he wanted. When Jason, who was very brave and wanted to see the whole world, heard this, he thought he could become even more famous by bringing back this golden fleece from Colchis. He told king Pelias he wanted to go, if he did not lack troops and companions. King Pelias ordered the architect Argus to be summoned. He commanded him to build the most beautiful ship he could, according to Jason's wishes. Throughout the whole of Greece rumour went that a ship was being built in which Jason would go to Colchis to get the golden fleece. Friends and acquaintances came to Jason and promised to go with him. Jason thanked them and asked them to be ready when the time would come. Meanwhile the ship was being built. When the time had come, Jason sent letters to those who had promised to go with him. They immediately gathered at the ship, which had the name

'Argo'. King Pelias ordered what was necessary to be stowed in the ship. Then he roused Jason and those who were going with him. They should set out with courage and succeed in what they were going to attempt. This matter would bring glory to both Greece and themselves. It is not my duty to talk about those who left with Jason. Whoever wants to know more about them should read the *Argonautica*.

[II] When Jason arrived at Phrygia, he steered the ship to the port of the Simois. Everyone left the ship and went ashore. King Laomedon was informed that a strange ship had entered the port of the Simois, and that it carried many young men coming from Greece. When king Laomedon heard this, he was agitated. He thought it would be dangerous to his people if Greeks would begin coming to his shores in their ships. He sent a message to the port that commanded the Greeks to leave his lands. If they did not obey this order, he would drive them from his lands by force. Jason and those who had come with him were offended by Laomedon's brutality and that he treated them like this when they had done him no wrong. At the same time they feared they would be overwhelmed by a horde of barbarians if they tried to stay against the king's order, because they were not ready for a battle. They boarded their ship, left the shore, went to Colchis, stole the fleece and returned home.

[III] Hercules was offended by the insulting way king Laomedon had treated him and those who had gone to Colchis with Jason. He went to Sparta and urged Castor and Pollux to fight this injustice with him. Laomedon would not go unpunished for preventing them access to his land and port. Many others would surely follow if they agreed. Castor and Pollux promised that they would do everything Hercules wanted. Hercules left and went to Salamis, to see Telamon. He asked him to come to Troy with him in order to fight the injustice he had suffered. Telamon promised that he was ready to do everything Hercules wanted him to. From there, he went to Phthia to see Peleus. He asked him to come with him to Troy. Peleus promised Hercules he would come with him. From there, he went to Pylos to see Nestor. Nestor asked why he had come. Hercules said that he was driven by anger and that he wanted to lead an army to Phrygia. Nestor praised Hercules and promised to help him. When Hercules saw that he had everyone's support, he prepared a fleet and recruited an army. When it was time to go, he sent letters to those whom he had asked to join him, asking them to come with their own men. When they had arrived, they left for Phrygia. They arrived at Sigeum at night. There Hercules, Telamon and Peleus led the army. They left Castor, Pollux, and Nestor behind to guard the ships. When king Laomedon was told that a Greek fleet had arrived at Sigeum, he came to the shore himself with a column of cavalry and began to fight. Hercules went on to Troy and began to assail the unsuspecting people who were in the city. When Laomedon was told that Troy was besieged by the enemy, he turned back immediately. Along the way he encountered the Greeks and was killed by Hercules. Telamon entered the city of Troy first. To honour his courage, Hercules gave

him king Laomedon's daughter Hesione. All of Laomedon's sons who had gone to battle with him were killed. Priam was in Phrygia, where Laomedon, his father, had put him in charge of the army. Hercules and those who had come with him plundered the city completely and carried the spoils to their ships. They decided to return home. Telamon took Hesione with him.

[IV] When Priam was told that his father had been killed, his fellow citizens massacred, his country plundered, and Hesione given away, he was very upset that the Greeks had treated Phrygia with such contempt. He went to Troy with his wife, Hecuba, and his children, Hector, Alexander, Deiphobus, Helenus, Troilus, Andromache, Cassandra, and Polyxena. He had other sons by concubines, but only those who were of lawful wives could claim to be of royal blood. Priam arrived in Troy, built bigger walls and fortified the city. He stationed a large garrison there so that Troy would not be taken by surprise again, as it had under his father, Laomedon. He built a palace and consecrated an altar and a statue to Jupiter there. He sent Hector to Paeonia. He built the gates of Troy, which were named the Antenorean, the Dardanian, the Ilian, the Scaean, the Thymbraean, and the Trojan Gate. When he saw that Troy was secure, he waited. When he thought it was time to avenge the wrongs his father had suffered, he called Antenor and said he wanted to send him to Greece as an envoy. Those who had come with the Greek army had done him grave wrongs by killing his father, Laomedon, and by kidnapping Hesione. But he would speak no more of it, if Hesione were returned to him.

[V] Antenor, as Priam had commanded, boarded a ship and went to Magnesia to see Peleus. He was entertained by Peleus for three days. On the fourth day Peleus asked him why he had come. Antenor said what Priam had ordered him to say; that he had come to demand that the Greeks give back Hesione. When Peleus heard this, he was offended. Since he saw that this was a matter that concerned him², he ordered Antenor to leave his lands. Antenor immediately boarded his ship, sailed past Boeotia, and went to Salamis to see Telamon. He began to ask him to return Priam's sister Hesione: it was not right to have a girl of royal blood as a servant. Telamon said that he had done Priam no wrong and that nobody would give back something which was given to them as a reward for their courage. He ordered Antenor to leave his island. Antenor boarded his ship and travelled to Achaea. There he began to demand that Castor and Pollux make amends with Priam and return his sister Hesione. Castor and Pollux denied that they had done Priam any wrong. They commanded Antenor to leave. From there he went to Pylos to see Nestor. He told Nestor why he had come. When Nestor heard this, he berated the prince. How had he dared to come to Greece when the Phrygians had offended the Greeks first? When Antenor saw that he was accomplishing nothing and that he was being treated with contempt, he boarded his ship. He returned home. He reported to Priam what each one had answered and how he had been treated by them. At the same time he urged Priam to go to war against them.

[VI] Immediately Priam called all of his sons and friends: Antenor, Anchises, Aeneas, Ucalegon, Bucolion, Panthus, and Lampus – and all of the sons he had with concubines. When they had all arrived, he told them how he had sent Antenor to Greece as an envoy to make the Greeks pay reparations for killing his father. They had to give back Hesione. The Greeks had treated Antenor with contempt and Antenor had come home with nothing. But since the Greeks refused to do what he wanted, he decided to send an army to Greece to make them pay for their crimes and to make sure the Greeks would know that the barbarians were not to be ridiculed. Priam urged his sons to lead this expedition; especially Hector as he was the oldest. Hector began to say that he would carry out all of his father's wishes and avenge the death of his grandfather, Laomedon, and every other injustice the Greeks had done to the Trojans. The Greeks would not go unpunished. But he feared that they would not be able to do what they were about to try. The Greeks had many allies. Europe had many warlike tribes. They had always lived an idle life in Asia, and therefore had no fleet.

[VII] Alexander began to spur them on to build a fleet and send it to Greece. He would lead this mission, if his father wished it so. He trusted the righteousness of the gods. He would conquer the enemy and return from Greece with great renown. Because, when he had gone hunting in the woods of Mount Ida, he had dreamed that Mercury brought Juno, Venus, and Minerva before him so that he could judge their beauty. Then Venus had promised, if he found her to be the most beautiful, to give him whoever was the prettiest woman in Greece. When Alexander heard this, he judged Venus to be the most beautiful. That is why Priam began to hope that Venus would help Alexander. Deiphobus said he liked Alexander's plan. He hoped that the Greeks would return Hesione and make amends if they sent a fleet to Greece, as had been proposed. Helenus began to predict that the Greeks would come, destroy Troy and kill his parents and brothers, if Alexander brought home a wife from Greece. Troilus, the youngest, who was no less brave than Hector, urged them to go to war. He told them not fear Helenus' words. So everyone agreed to prepare a fleet and go to Greece.

[VIII] Priam sent Alexander and Deiphobus to Paeonia to raise an army. He called the people to assembly. He told his sons to arrange it so that the oldest had command over their younger brothers. He told the people how the Greeks had wronged the Trojans; how he had sent Antenor as an envoy to Greece so that they would give back his sister Hesione and pay reparations to the Trojans. Antenor had been treated with contempt and had not gotten anything from them. He had decided to send Alexander to Greece with a fleet to avenge the death of his grandfather and the injustice that the Trojans had suffered. He ordered Antenor to describe how he had been treated in Greece. Antenor urged the Trojans to have no fear. He made them even more eager for war against Greece. He briefly described what had happened in Greece. Priam said that, if anyone was opposed to the war, he should speak now. Panthus revealed to the king and his

company what he had heard from his father, Euphorbus. He began to say that, if Alexander brought home a wife from Greece, it would be the end of Troy. It was better to spend one's life in peace than to lose one's freedom in war [and go looking for danger]. The people condemned Panthus' words. They asked the king what he wanted them to do. Priam said that ships had to be built if they wanted to sail to Greece. They also needed the materials to do this. The people cried out that there would be no delay. They would obey the king's orders. Priam thanked them and dismissed the assembly. Soon he ordered men to go into the forest of Mount Ida to gather materials. They built the ships. He sent Hector to Upper Phrygia to raise an army [which was promptly done]. When Cassandra heard about her father's plans, she began to foretell what the fate of the Trojans would be if Priam should carry out his plan of sending a fleet into Greece.

[IX] It was time. The ships were built. The army which Alexander and Deiphobus had raised in Paeonia had arrived. When he saw that they were ready to go, Priam addressed his army. He appointed Alexander as commander of the army. He sent Deiphobus, Aeneas, and Polydamas along with him. He commanded Alexander to go to Sparta first and meet with Castor and Pollux; he was to demand that they return Priam's sister Hesione, and pay reparations to the Trojans. If they refused, Alexander had to send a messenger immediately so that Priam could send the army to Greece. Then Alexander sailed to Greece guided by the same man who had gone with Antenor. A few days before Alexander arrived in Greece, and before he had reached the island of Cythera, they came across Menelaus, who was on his way to see Nestor at Pylos and wondered where the royal fleet was going. Both parties watched each other go by, each wondering where the other was going. Castor and Pollux had gone to visit Clytemnestra at Argos along with their niece Hermione, the daughter of their cousin, Helen. It was on the day that the festival of Juno was being held in Argos that Alexander arrived on Cythera. At a shrine dedicated to Venus he sacrificed to Diana. Those who lived on the island admired the royal fleet and asked those who had come with Alexander who they were and why they had come. They answered that Alexander had been sent as an envoy by king Priam to meet with Castor and Pollux.

[X] But Helen, the wife of Menelaus, also decided to go to Cythera while Alexander was there. This is why she went to the shore. There is a city near the sea called Helaea, where the temple dedicated to Diana and Apollo is. There Helen decided to offer a sacrifice. When Alexander was told that Helen had been seen on the shore, he, confident of his own good looks, began to walk within sight of her because he wanted to see her. Helen was told that Alexander, son of King Priam, had also come to Helaea (where she was). She wanted to see him. When they saw each other, they were struck by each other's beauty and took their time so they could exchange compliments. Alexander ordered everyone in the ships to be ready. They would leave at night, seize Helen in the temple, and take her with them. When the signal was given, they stormed the temple and took Helen –who was not unwilling- to their ships along with several other women

they had taken. When the inhabitants of the town saw that Helen was being abducted, they fought Alexander for a long time to prevent him from abducting Helen. Relying on the number of his troops, Alexander defeated them. He pillaged the temple. He took as many prisoners as he could and put them in the ships. He ordered the fleet to set sail. He decided to return home. He arrived at the port of Tenedos, where he comforted Helen, who was sad. He sent news to his father about what had happened. After Menelaus heard what had happened, he left Pylos with Nestor and went to Sparta. He sent a message to Argos asking his brother Agamemnon to come and see him.

[XI] Meanwhile, Alexander came before his father with his great prize and gave him an exact account of his actions. Priam was delighted. He hoped that the Greeks would return his sister Hesione and all they had taken from the Trojans in order to get Helen back. He comforted Helen, who was feeling sad, and gave her to Alexander in marriage. When Cassandra saw her, she began to prophesy, repeating what she had said earlier. Priam ordered her to be taken away and locked up. After Agamemnon had arrived in Sparta, he comforted his brother and decided to send recruiters throughout the whole of Greece to rally the Greeks and make war on the Trojans. The following men gathered: Achilles, who brought along Patroclus; Euryalus, Tlepolemus, and Diomedes. After they had arrived in Sparta, they swore to avenge the Trojans' crimes and to prepare an army and a fleet. They made Agamemnon their general and leader. They sent messengers so that, from the whole of Greece, men would gather at the Athenian port with their ships and armies armoured and ready. From there they would all set out for Troy together to avenge the wrongs they had suffered. When Castor and Pollux heard of the abduction of their sister Helen, they immediately boarded a ship and pursued her. When they departed from the shores of Lesbos, a severe storm arose and it is believed that they were nowhere to be found. Later, it was said they had been made immortal and that the people of Lesbos looked for them with their ships as far as Troy, but returned home to report that they had found no trace of them.

[XII] Dares the Phrygian, who wrote this history, says that he fought in the army until Troy was taken and that he saw the following people during times of truce, or when they took part in the battle. He heard from the Trojans what Castor and Pollux were like and how they looked. The one looked like the other: they had blond hair, large eyes, fair skin, and were well built with thick-set figures. Helen was very similar: she was beautiful, charming, had an innocent mind, great legs, a beauty-mark between her eyebrows and a cute mouth. Priam, king of the Trojans, was big, had a handsome face, a pleasant voice, and an almost eagle-like body. Hector spoke with a stutter, had a fair complexion, curly hair, and squinted a little. His movements were swift and his noble-looking face bearded. He was handsome, warlike, magnanimous and merciful to the citizens, a noble man and a great lover. Deiphobus and Helenus were both similar to their

father, but very dissimilar in character: Deiphobus was strong, and Helenus was a gentle, learned prophet. Troilus was large, handsome, strong for his age, brave and eager for glory. Alexander was tall, brave and had fair skin. He had beautiful eyes, soft blond hair, a charming mouth and a pleasant voice. He was swift and eager to take command. Aeneas had auburn hair and a stocky figure. He was eloquent, outgoing, brave yet prudent, pious, charming and had dark eyes that twinkled. Antenor was tall, graceful, swift in movement, shrewd, and cautious. Hecuba had a tall, beautiful, eagle-like body; she thought like a man and was both pious and just. Andromache was bright-eyed, fair, tall and beautiful. She was modest, wise, chaste, and charming. Cassandra was of moderate stature, had a round mouth, auburn hair, twinkling eyes and she could tell the future. Polyxena was fair, tall, and beautiful. She had a long neck, charming eyes, and long blond hair. Her body was well-built, her fingers long, and her legs straight. Her feet were the best, surpassing all others in beauty. She had an innocent mind, and was very generous.

[XIII] Agamemnon had a large, pale body with powerful limbs and was eloquent, wise, noble, and rich. Menelaus was of moderate stature, had auburn hair and was loved by everyone. Achilles had a large chest, a charming mouth, large, powerful limbs and long manes of curly hair. He was gentle, fierce in battle and generous. He had a cheerful face and chestnut hair. Patroclus was a handsome man with big, lively eyes. He was modest, respectable, wise, and generous. Ajax, son of Oileus, was stocky with powerful limbs, had an eagle-like body and was cheerful as well as brave. Ajax, son of Telamon, was powerful, had a clear voice and curly black hair. He had an innocent mind yet was ruthless in battle. Ulysses was handsome, shrewd, cheerful, of medium height, eloquent, and wise. Diomedes was strong, stocky, had a stern look and was ferocious in battle. He was also loud, hot-tempered, impatient, and bold. Nestor was a big, broad man with a long, hooked nose. He was fair-skinned, and often gave wise advice. Protesilaus was fair-skinned, had a dignified look, and was swift, self-confident, even rash. Neoptolemus was large, violent, and easily irritated. He spoke with a stutter, and had a well-proportioned face with a hooked nose, round eyes, and shaggy eyebrows. Palamedes was tall, slender, wise, magnanimous, and charming. Podalirius was plump, strong, haughty, and gloomy. Machaon was large and strong, dependable, clever, patient, and merciful. Meriones had auburn hair, was of moderate height and had a rotund body. He was violent, stubborn, cruel, and impatient. Briseis was beautiful: she was not very tall, fair-skinned, and had soft, blond hair. Her eyebrows were conjoined above her lovely eyes and her body was well-proportioned. She was charming, friendly, modest, pious, and had an innocent mind.

[XIV] Then the Greeks gathered at Athens with their fleet at the ready³. Agamemnon came from Mycenae with 100 ships; Menelaus from Sparta with 60 ships; Arcesilaus and Prothoenor from Boeotia with 50 ships; Ascalaphus and Ialmenus from Orchomenus with 30 ships; Epistrophus and Schedius from Phocis with 40 ships; Ajax, son of Telamon, brought along Teucer, his brother,

from Salamis, and also Amphimachus, Dioreas, Thalpius, and Polyxenus from Buprasion with 40 ships; Nestor came from Pylos with 80 ships; Thoas from Aetolia with 40 ships; Nireus from Syme with 53 ships; Ajax, son of Oileus, from Locris with 37 ships; Antiphus and Phidippus from Calydna with 30 ships; Idomeneus and Meriones from Crete with 80 ships; Ulysses from Ithaca with 12 ships; Eumelus from Pherae with 10 ships; Protesilaus and Podarces from Phylaca with 40 ships; Podalirus and Machaon, the sons of Aesculapius, came from Tricca with 32 ships; Achilles, accompanied by Patroclus and the Myrmidons, came from Phthia with 50 ships; Tlepolemus from Rhodes with 9 ships; Eurypylus from Ormenion with 40 ships; Antiphus and Amphimachus from Elis with 11 ships; Polypoetes and Leonteus from Argissa with 40 ships; Diomedes, Euryalus, and Sthenelus came from Argos with 80 ships; Philoctetes from Meliboea with 7 ships; Guneus from Cyphos with 21 ships; Prothous from Magnesia with 40 ships; Agapenor from Arcadia with 40 ships; and Menestheus from Athens with 50 ships. These were the 49 Greek leaders⁴, who brought a total of 1,130 ships⁵.

[XV] After they had arrived at Athens, Agamemnon called the leaders together in a meeting, praised them, and urged them to avenge the wrongs they had suffered as quickly as possible. He asked what everyone thought about this and advised that they should consult the oracle of Apollo at Delphi before leaving. Everyone agreed to this. They put Achilles in charge of this matter, and he departed along with Patroclus. Meanwhile, after hearing that the enemy was ready for war, Priam sent messengers throughout the whole of Phrygia to ensure the support of neighbouring armies and eagerly prepared his troops at home. When Achilles had arrived at Delphi, he went to see the oracle; and the response issued from the inner sanctum said that the Greeks would be victorious and would capture Troy in the tenth year of the war. Then Achilles performed his religious duties as ordered. And at the same time the seer Calchas, son of Thestor, arrived in Delphi. He had been sent by his people, the Phrygians, to bring gifts to Apollo and, at the same time, he asked the oracle about the fate of his country and that of himself. The response that came from the inner sanctum said that he had to join the Greek war fleet that would sail against Troy and persuade them with his cleverness not to leave until Troy was captured. After he had left the shrine, Calchas met with Achilles and they compared their responses. They were overjoyed and quickly became friends; they set out for Athens together and soon arrived there. Achilles made his report to the council. The Greeks were delighted, accepting Calchas as one of their own, and set sail. When a storm prevented them from making progress, Calchas read the omens and responded that they had to turn back and go to Aulis first. They soon arrived there. Agamemnon appeased Diana and commanded his comrades to raise the anchors and leave for Troy. Philoctetes, who had gone to Troy with the Argonauts, acted as guide. Eventually they arrived at a city under King Priam's rule. They quickly conquered it, ransacked it, and left again. Then they arrived at Tenedos, where they killed everyone. Agamemnon divided the spoils and called a meeting.

[XVI] From there the Greeks sent envoys to Priam, asking him to return Helen and the valuables which Alexander had taken. Diomedes and Ulysses were chosen as envoys; they departed to see Priam. While the envoys were carrying out their mission, Achilles and Telephus were sent to plunder Mysia. They arrived in King Teuthras' kingdom and began to pillage the country. Teuthras himself appeared with an army, but Achilles wounded the king after putting the enemy troops to flight, and Telephus raised his shield to protect the prostrate king to prevent Achilles from killing him. He remembered the friendship that had existed between them: when Telephus was just a boy, son of his father Hercules, king Teuthras had been a generous host. They say Diomedes, the previous king of Mysia, had been killed by Hercules around that time, while he was hunting with his wild, powerful horses. The king had left the entire realm to Teuthras; that is why Telephus, Hercules' son, had helped him. When Teuthras realized that he was soon going to die of his wounds, he left his kingdom to Telephus and made him king of Mysia while he was still alive. Then Telephus held a magnificent funeral for Teuthras. Achilles urged him to take care of his new kingdom. He told Telephus he would help the Greek army more if he sent supplies from his kingdom than by going to Troy himself. And so, Telephus stayed behind. Achilles returned to the army on Tenedos with many spoils of war. He told Agamemnon what had happened; Agamemnon approved of it and praised them.

[XVII] Meanwhile, the envoys that had been sent out came before Priam. Ulysses said what Agamemnon had instructed him to say: he demanded that Helen and the valuables be returned, and that proper reparations be made, so that the Greeks could leave in peace. Priam reminded them of the wrongs the Argonauts had committed: the death of his father, the sack of Troy, and the enslavement of his sister Hesione. Finally, he described how contemptuously the Greeks had treated Antenor when he had sent him as envoy. He refused to make peace and declared war instead. Then he commanded the envoys of the Greeks to leave his lands. The envoys returned to the camp on Tenedos and reported what Priam had answered. The council discussed what to do.

[XVIII] Many rulers arrived with their armies to help Priam fight against the Greeks, and this might be a good moment to relate their names and where they were from⁶: Pandarus, Amphius, and Adrastus came from Zelia; Mopsus from Colophon; Asius from Phrygia; Amphimachus and Nastes from Caria; Sarpedon and Glaucus from Lycia; Hippothous and Cupesus from Larissa; Euphemus from Ciconia; Pirus and Acamas from Thrace; Pyraechmes and Asteropaeus from Paeonia; Ascanius and Phorcys from Phrygia; Antiphus and Mesthles from Maeonia; Pylaemenes from Paphlagonia; Perses and Memnon from Ethiopia; Rhesus and Archilochus from Thrace; Adrastus and Amphius from Adrestia; and Epistrophus and Odius came from Alizonia. Priam made Hector commander-in-chief of these rulers and the armies they had prepared. Second-in-command were Deiphobus, Alexander, Troilus, Aeneas, and Memnon. While Agamemnon was in

a meeting to discuss his plans, Palamedes, son of Nauplius, arrived from Cormos with thirty ships. He apologized and explained that he had not been able to come to Athens because of an illness. They thanked him for coming as soon as he was able and invited him to join the meeting.

[XIX] Later, when the Greeks were not sure whether they should attack Troy at night or during the day, Palamedes advised that they should attack Troy by day and draw the enemy forces out of the city. Everyone agreed with him. They decided to make Agamemnon commander of the army. They sent Anius and the two sons of Theseus, Demophoon and Acamas, to Mysia and several other places as envoys to take care of the supplies for the army. Then he called the soldiers to assembly. He praised them, spurred them on, and firmly demanded that they obey every order. When the signal was given, all ships set sail and the whole fleet, deployed in a wide line, arrived at the shores of Troy. The Trojans bravely defended themselves. Protesilaus went ashore, attacked the Greeks, scattered them, and slaughtered them. Hector approached him, killed him⁷, and riled the rest of the Greeks. Wherever Hector withdrew, the Trojans were put to flight. After a massive slaughter on both sides, Achilles arrived. He put the entire Trojan army to flight and drove them back to Troy. Nightfall ended the battle. Agamemnon led the entire army ashore and set up camp. The next day Hector led his army out of the city and formed a battle line. Agamemnon rushed towards them with loud cries. There was a fierce and vicious battle, and the bravest were slain in the frontline. Hector killed Patroclus and tried to loot the corpse. Meriones snatched the body away from the battle to prevent it from being looted. Hector pursued Meriones and killed him. When Hector was once again trying to loot the corpse, Menestheus came to the rescue and wounded Hector in the leg. Hector still killed thousands of enemies despite his wound and would have put all the Greeks to flight if only Ajax, son of Telamon, had not stood in his way. When he met Ajax, Hector remembered that they were related: Ajax' mother was Priam's sister Hesione⁸. So Hector commanded the Trojans to stop setting fire to the ships. The two men exchanged gifts and departed as friends.

[XX] The next day the Greeks asked for a truce. Achilles mourned for Patroclus. The Greeks mourned for their dead. Agamemnon held a magnificent funeral for Protesilaus and saw to the burial of the others. Achilles held funeral games in Patroclus' honour. During the truce, Palamedes did not stop causing unrest: king Agamemnon was not worthy to command the army. Palamedes openly boasted to the army about his own numerous achievements: first about the landing, then about the fortification of the camp, his regulation of guard duty, the system of passwords, his system of signals and scales, and his training regimen for the army. As these things were all thanks to him, it was not fair that Agamemnon commanded all those who had joined the campaign while he had been made commander-in-chief by only a few people. Moreover, everyone expected their leaders to be both brilliant and brave. While the Greeks had been debating about who should take command, the war was resumed after two years.

Agamemnon, Achilles, Diomedes and Menelaus led their army while the forces of Hector, Troilus, and Aeneas fought on the Trojan side. There was a massive slaughter. On both sides many brave warriors fell: Hector slew Boetes, Arcesilaus, and Prothoenor. Nightfall ended the battle. At night Agamemnon called all the leaders together in a meeting. He advised them and urged them to enter the battle themselves. And they should try to kill Hector, as he had killed their bravest commanders.

[XXI] In the morning, Hector, Aeneas, and Alexander led the army. All the Greek leaders advanced with their forces. There was a massive slaughter. Many thousands on both sides were sent down to Orcus. Menelaus began to pursue Alexander. Alexander turned around and pierced Menelaus' leg with an arrow. The king, filled with anger, continued to pursue him together with the Locrian Ajax. As soon as Hector saw that they were chasing his brother, he and Aeneas came to help him. Aeneas protected him with his shield and led Alexander out of the fighting and into the city. Nightfall ended the battle. The next day Achilles and Diomedes led the army against Hector and Aeneas. There was a massive slaughter: Hector killed the officers Orcomeneus, Ialmenus, Epistrophus, Schedius, Elephenor, Diores, and Polyxenus. Aeneas slew Amphimachus and Nireus. Achilles killed Euphemus, Hippothous, Pylaeus, and Asteropaeus. Diomedes killed Antiphus and Mesthles. When Agamemnon saw that his bravest leaders had been killed, he sounded the retreat. The celebrating Trojans returned to their city. Agamemnon was worried and called the Greek leaders together in a meeting. He urged them to fight bravely and stand their ground as more than half of their forces had been killed by now. He hoped that the army from Mysia would come soon.

[XXII] The next day, Agamemnon made the whole army -including all of its leaders- march to battle against the opposing Trojans. There was a massive slaughter. Both sides fought fiercely and thousands of men were killed. There was no natural break in the fight, so the battle raged on for eighty consecutive days. When Agamemnon saw that thousands of his men were being killed every day and that they could not all be buried in time, he sent Ulysses and Diomedes to Priam as envoys. They asked for a truce of three years so they could bury their dead, heal their wounded, repair their ships, reinforce the army, and gather supplies. Ulysses and Diomedes set out to see Priam at night. They met a Trojan named Dolon. When he asked why they had come to the city at night while bearing arms, they told him that they were sent as envoys by Agamemnon in order to meet with Priam. When Priam heard of their arrival and knew what they wanted, he called a meeting with all of his officers. He informed them that envoys had been sent by Agamemnon to ask for a truce of three years. Hector thought it was suspicious that they demanded a truce that lasted such a long time. Priam ordered everyone to say what they thought about this. Everyone agreed to give the Greeks a truce of three years. Meanwhile the Trojans repaired their walls, healed their wounded, and gave their dead an honourable burial.

[XXIII] After three years, it was time to fight again. Hector and Troilus led the army. Agamemnon, Menelaus, Achilles and Diomedes commanded the Greek army themselves. There was a massive slaughter. Hector killed the Greek officers Phidippus and Antiphus in the front line. Achilles killed Lycaon and Phorcys. Thousands of others were killed on both sides. The battle raged on for thirty consecutive days. When Priam saw that many of his men had been killed, he sent out envoys to ask for a truce of six months. Following the will of his council, Agamemnon agreed to this. It was time to fight again. The fighting raged on for twelve days. Many brave officers were killed on both sides. Even more were wounded. Most of them died during treatment. Agamemnon sent envoys to Priam and asked for a truce of thirty days so that they could bury their dead. Priam consulted his council and agreed to this.

[XXIV] When it was time to fight again, Andromache, Hector's wife, saw in a dream that her husband should not go to battle. When she told him about her visions, Hector dismissed it as being wifely concern. Andromache was upset and sent a message to Priam asking him to stop Hector from fighting that day. Priam sent Alexander, Helenus, Troilus, and Aeneas to battle. When Hector heard about this, he berated Andromache, demanded that she bring him his armour and said there was no way she could hold him back. Andromache was upset and fell at Hector's feet with her hair down while holding his son Astyanax out in her arms. But she could not persuade Hector to come back. She rushed to the palace, and her mournful wails caused quite a commotion in the city. She told king Priam what she had seen in her dream, and said that Hector was eagerly going to enter the battle anyway. And holding out Hector's son, Astyanax, she knelt before the king and asked him to withdraw her husband from battle. Priam sent everyone to battle but kept Hector from going. When Agamemnon, Achilles, Diomedes, and the Locrian Ajax saw that Hector was not on the battlefield, they fought even more fiercely and killed many Trojan officers. When Hector heard the tumult and saw that the Trojans were struggling in the battle, he entered the battle. Immediately he cut down Idomeneus, wounded Iphinous, killed Leonteus and pierced Sthenelus' leg with a spear. When Achilles saw that many officers had fallen at the hands of Hector, he made up his mind to fight him. Because Achilles reckoned that many more Greeks would die at the hands of Hector if he didn't kill him soon. Meanwhile, the battle raged on. Hector killed Polypoetes, the bravest of all Greek leaders. When he was trying to loot the body, Achilles suddenly appeared. There was a great duel. A deafening clamour arose from the city and both armies. Hector wounded Achilles' leg. Despite his wound, Achilles fought even fiercer and didn't stop until he had killed him. After that Achilles put all the Trojans to flight and pursued them to the gates of Troy while cutting down many. But Memnon resisted. He and Achilles fought fiercely, and both of them left the fight wounded. Nightfall ended the battle. Achilles left the battlefield with many wounds. At night the Trojans lamented Hector. The Greeks mourned their dead.

[XXV] The next day, Memnon led the Trojans against the army of the Greeks. Agamemnon called the army to assembly and urged them to ask for a truce of two months so they could bury their dead. Envoys went to see Priam in Troy. Upon their arrival they made their proposal. They obtained a truce of two months. Priam buried Hector in front of the gates, following the custom of his people, and held funeral games. During the truce, Palamedes once again did not cease to complain about the Greek leadership. So Agamemnon yielded to Palamedes' defiance. He said he would be reasonable about this and that the Greeks could choose whomever they liked as their commander. The next day he called the people to assembly and denied he had ever wanted to command them. He would calmly accept command if they wanted to give it to him, but he would also willingly give up his position. All he wanted was for the enemy to be punished. How this was done did not matter to him. Seeing as he was still king of Mycenae, he commanded everyone to say what they thought about this. Palamedes came forward and showed off his abilities. And so the Greeks willingly gave him command over the army. Palamedes thanked the Greeks, accepted the position and began his administrative duties. Achilles condemned the change in power.

[XXVI] Meanwhile the truce ended. Palamedes commanded his geared up troops, formed a battle line and spurred them on. Opposite him, Deiphobus opposed him. The Trojans fought fiercely. The Lycian Sarpedon and his men attacked the Greeks, slaughtered them, and pushed them back. Tlepolemus of Rhodos resisted Sarpedon, but after standing his ground for a long time, he fell to the ground badly wounded. Pheres, the son of Admetus, came forward and was also killed after a long hand-to-hand battle with Sarpedon. Sarpedon was wounded as well and withdrew from battle. And so the fighting lasted for several days. Many leaders died on both sides, but most of them on Priam's side. The Trojans sent envoys to ask for a truce that would allow them to bury their dead and heal their wounded. Palamedes agreed on a cease-fire of one year. Both sides buried their dead and took care of their wounded. Their agreement also allowed each party to visit the other's territory: the Trojans went to the Greek camp and the Greeks went to the city. Palamedes sent Agamemnon to Acamas and Demophoon, Theseus' sons, whom Agamemnon had put in charge of establishing a supply line bringing grain from Telephus in Mysia. When he arrived there, he told them about Palamedes' rebellion. As they were outraged, Agamemnon said that he was not. It had happened according to his wishes. Meanwhile Palamedes repaired the cargo ships, fortified the camp and surrounded it with watchtowers. The Trojans trained their troops, repaired their walls, added a rampart and ditch, and diligently prepared everything.

[XXVII] One year after Hector had been buried, Priam, Hecuba, Polyxena, and the other Trojans went to his tomb. There they came across Achilles. He was stared at Polyxena and fell madly in love with her. Then his burning love for her took all the joy out of his life, and he could hardly

bear the thought that the Greeks had deposed Agamemnon and made Palamedes commander-in-chief instead of himself. Driven by love he told a loyal Phrygian slave of his to meet with Hecuba and ask that she give him Polyxena in marriage. If she did that, he would go home with his Myrmidons. And if he did that, other leaders would do the same. The slave met with Hecuba and said what he had to say. Hecuba answered that she would do it if her husband, Priam, agreed. While she discussed it with Priam, she ordered the slave to return to Achilles. The slave told Achilles what had happened. Agamemnon arrived at the camp with a large group of followers. Hecuba talked to Priam about Achilles' proposal. Priam answered that it was not possible. Not because he viewed Achilles as an unworthy relative, but because the other leaders would not follow, even if he did give his daughter away and Achilles did return home. And it was not right to marry one's daughter to the enemy. Therefore, if he wanted this to happen, he had to arrange a lasting peace, the army had to return home, and there should be a treaty bound by sacred oaths. If this was done, he would willingly give Achilles his daughter in marriage. And so, Achilles sent his slave back to Hecuba, according to their agreement, to find out what she had said to Priam. Hecuba told the slave everything Priam had said. He reported back to Achilles. Achilles openly complained that for the sake of one woman, Helen, all of Europe and Greece had been called to war, and that many thousands had been dying for such a long time. Their liberty was at stake, and this was why they ought to make peace and disband the army.

[XXVIII] The year was over. Palamedes commanded the army and formed a battle line. Deiphobus opposed him. Achilles, still angry, did not take part in the battle. Palamedes took the opportunity to attack Deiphobus and slaughtered him. A ferocious battle began and both sides fought savagely. Many thousands were killed. Palamedes was fighting in the front line and encouraged his men to fight bravely. The Lycian Sarpedon confronted him and Palamedes killed him. After that, Palamedes cheerfully played his part in the battle. While he was proudly celebrating his triumph, Alexander Paris pierced his neck with an arrow. The Phrygians saw this and threw their spears; and that is how Palamedes was killed. After the king was killed, the Trojans all attacked together and the Greeks retreated. They fled to their camp. The Trojans pursued them, besieged their camp, and set their ships on fire. News was brought to Achilles, but he decided to stay in his tent. Ajax, son of Telamon, bravely defended the camp. Nightfall ended the battle. In their camp the Greeks mourned the loss of Palamedes' wisdom, justice, mercy, and goodness. The Trojans bewailed the deaths of Sarpedon and Deiphobus.

[XXIX] At night, Nestor, who was the eldest, called the Greek leaders together in a meeting and urged them to appoint a new commander-in-chief. If they thought the same as him, Agamemnon's reappointment would cause the least conflict. He also reminded them that, while Agamemnon was in charge, things had gone well and the army had been happy. He urged everyone to speak now if they had a better idea. Everyone agreed with him. They made

Agamemnon their supreme commander. The next day, the Trojans eagerly went to battle. Agamemnon led the opposing Greeks. The battle began and both armies fought each other. When the largest part of the day had passed, Troilus advanced to the front line, slaughtered the Greeks, destroyed everything in his path, and sent them fleeing back to their camp. The next day the Trojans advanced with their army against Agamemnon. There was a massive slaughter. Both armies fought fiercely. Troilus slaughtered many Greek officers. The fighting raged on for seven consecutive days. Agamemnon asked for a truce of two months. He gave Palamedes a magnificent funeral and both sides saw to the burial of their fallen officers and soldiers.

[XXX] During the truce, Agamemnon sent Ulysses, Nestor, and Diomedes to Achilles to ask him to go to war. But Achilles, still moody, refused. He had already decided to stay out of battle as he had promised this to Hecuba. And he would probably fight poorly because he loved Polyxena so much. He started to criticize those who had come to him, saying that they needed a lasting peace and that one woman had been the cause of so much peril. The Greeks were endangering their freedom and wasting a great deal of time. He demanded peace, and refused to fight. News was brought to Agamemnon about what happened in Achilles' tent and about his stubborn refusal. He summoned all the leaders to a meeting, asked the army what he should do, and ordered everyone to give his opinion. Menelaus began to urge his brother to lead the army to battle and not to be concerned if Achilles refused to fight. He himself would try to persuade Achilles, but he wasn't going to worry should he refuse. He began to remind his comrades that the Trojans had no one else who was as brave as Hector had been. Diomedes and Ulysses began to say that Troilus was at least Hector's equal, and a very brave warrior. But Menelaus dismissed Diomedes' and Ulysses' worries and urged the council to continue the war. After reading the omens, Calchas told the Greeks they had to go to war and told them not to be alarmed by the Trojans' recent successes.

[XXXI] It was time to fight again. Agamemnon, Menelaus, Diomedes and Ajax led the army. The Trojans opposed them. There was a massive slaughter. It was a fierce battle. Both sides fought savagely. Troilus wounded Menelaus, killed many enemies, and harassed the rest. Nightfall ended the battle. The next day, Troilus and Alexander commanded the Trojans against all of the Greeks. It was a fierce battle. Troilus wounded Diomedes, attacked and wounded Agamemnon himself, and slaughtered the Greeks. The battle raged on for several days. Many thousands were killed on both sides. When Agamemnon saw that he was losing more of his forces each day and that they wouldn't last much longer, he asked for a truce of six months. Priam called a meeting and informed everyone of the Greeks' wishes. Troilus felt that they shouldn't grant a truce which lasted such a long time. Instead, he suggested that they mount an attack and set fire to the Greek ships. Priam ordered everyone to give their opinion. Everyone agreed to give the Greeks what they wanted. And so, Priam granted a truce of six months. Agamemnon gave his dead

honourable funerals and saw to the care of the wounded, such as Diomedes and Menelaus. The Trojans also buried their dead. During the truce, Agamemnon followed the advice of his council and went to see Achilles in order to persuade him to fight. But Achilles, still sad, refused to fight and urged the king to make peace with the Trojans. He complained that he could not refuse anything to Agamemnon. When it was time to fight, he would send his own troops to join the army. But he himself would not come. Agamemnon thanked him.

[XXXII] It was time to fight again. The Trojans advanced with their army. The Greeks opposed them. Achilles first prepared his Myrmidons and then sent them to Agamemnon. There was a huge battle. It was a fierce and savage battle. Troilus slaughtered the Greeks in the front line and put the Myrmidons to flight. He kept up his attack until he reached the Greek camp, killed many Greeks and wounded even more. Ajax, son of Telamon, stopped him. The Trojans returned to their city victorious. The next day, Agamemnon led the army, along with the Myrmidons and all of the Greek leaders. The Trojans, who were eager to fight, opposed them. The battle began and both armies fought each other. The fierce battle raged on for several days. Thousands of men were killed on both sides. Troilus pursued the Myrmidons, broke their formation and put them to flight. When Agamemnon saw that many of his men had been killed, he asked for a truce of thirty days so they could bury their dead. Priam agreed to this. Both sides saw to the burials of their dead.

[XXXIII] It was time to fight again. The Trojans advanced with their army. Agamemnon and all of his officers opposed them. The battle began. There was a massive slaughter. The battle was fierce and savage. When the morning had passed, Troilus advanced to the front line, slaughtered many Greeks, and pushed them back: the Greeks all fled with loud cries. When Achilles saw that Troilus fought savagely, insulted the Greeks, and scattered his Myrmidons without even pausing, he entered the battlefield. Troilus immediately singled him out and wounded him. Wounded, Achilles left the battlefield. The battle raged on for six consecutive days. On the seventh day, the two armies were still fighting. Achilles, who had not fought for a few days because of his wound, formed up his Myrmidons. He addressed them and urged them to be brave and attack Troilus. When the largest part of the day had passed, Troilus cheerfully advanced on horseback. The Greeks all fled before him with loud cries. The Myrmidons suddenly appeared and attacked Troilus. Many of them were killed by Troilus. While they were fighting fiercely, his wounded horse fell and threw Troilus to the ground. Achilles quickly arrived to kill him. He tried to drag off the body, but didn't succeed because of the sudden intrusion of Memnon. Memnon arrived, snatched Troilus' corpse away and wounded Achilles. Wounded, Achilles left the battlefield. Memnon began to pursue him with many soldiers, until Achilles stopped him merely by turning around. After Achilles' wound had been dressed and he had fought for some time, he killed Memnon with many a blow. He himself withdrew from battle again to tend his wounds. When

the king of the Persians had been killed, the rest fled to the city and closed the gates. Nightfall ended the battle. The next day, Priam sent envoys to Agamemnon to propose a twenty-day truce, which Agamemnon immediately granted. And so, Priam held a magnificent funeral for Troilus and Memnon. Soldiers on both sides saw to the burial of their dead.

[XXXIV] Hecuba was sad because Hector and Troilus, her two bravest sons, had been killed by Achilles. She came up with an impulsive plan to get her revenge, as women tend to do. She summoned her son Alexander, begged him to avenge her honour and that of his brothers, and urged him to kill Achilles in an ambush. He wouldn't suspect anything because he had sent a messenger to her, asking her to give him Polyxena's hand in marriage. She would tell him that Priam had said that he wanted to confirm the peace and unity between them in the temple of the Thymbraean Apollo; that is, at the gate in front of the temple. Achilles would show up for this meeting. There Alexander could ambush him. Achilles' death was victory enough for her. Alexander promised that he would try his best. At night, he chose the bravest men of the Trojan army, stationed them in the temple, and told them to wait for his signal. Hecuba sent a message to Achilles, as she had said. Achilles, burning with love for Polyxena, gladly agreed to come to the temple the next day. Meanwhile, Achilles arrived for the meeting the next day along with Antilochus, Nestor's son. The moment they entered the temple of Apollo, they were attacked from all sides by the ambushers. The Trojans hurled their spears. Paris spurred them on. Achilles and Antilochus, wrapping their left arm in their cloak and wielding their sword with their right hand, attacked them. Achilles killed many enemies. Alexander cut down Antilochus and killed Achilles himself with many blows. And so Achilles found his death: in a futile attempt to defend himself from an ambush. Alexander ordered the bodies to be thrown to the dogs and carrion birds. Helenus asked him not to do so. Then he ordered the bodies to be removed from the temple and handed them over to the Greeks, who took their dead and carried them back to their camp. Agamemnon gave them both magnificent funerals. He agreed on a truce with Priam in order to construct Achilles' tomb and hold funeral games there.

[XXXV] Then he called the Greek council together. He addressed the Greeks. Everyone agreed to give Achilles' possessions to Ajax, who was his relative. Ajax objected to this and said the following: as Neoptolemus, Achilles' son, was still alive, he had first claim. Nothing would be fairer than to give him command of the Myrmidons. They should bring Neoptolemus to Troy and give him everything that had belonged to his father. Agamemnon and the rest agreed to this. They entrusted Menelaus with this affair. He went to Scyros and urged King Lycomedes to send Neoptolemus, his grandson, to battle. Lycomedes gladly did this for the Greeks. When the truce was over, Agamemnon led the army, formed a battle line, and spurred his troops on. The Trojan army issued from the city and opposed them. The battle began. Ajax fought up front without any armour. A deafening clamour arose. There were many casualties on both sides. Alexander used

his bow. He killed many Greeks. He pierced Ajax' unprotected chest. Ajax pursued the prince despite his wound, and did not stop until he had killed him. Ajax, exhausted by his wound, was carried back to the camp. He died after they had pulled out the arrow. Alexander's corpse was brought back to the city. Diomedes bravely attacked the enemy. The exhausted Trojans fled back into the city. Diomedes pursued them until he reached the walls of Troy. Agamemnon ordered his forces to encircle the city and besieged the walls the entire night. He organised a look-out in shifts. The next day, Priam buried Alexander in the city. Helen took part in the procession with loud wails as she had always been treated kindly by him. She had become like a daughter to Priam and Hecuba, and they had always taken care of her. She would never disrespect the Trojans and did not want to go back to Greece.

[XXXVI] The next day, Agamemnon began to form up his army in front of the gates and challenged the Trojans to come out and fight. Priam stayed where he was, fortified the city, and waited for Penthesilea to arrive with her Amazons. When Penthesilea had arrived, she led her army against that of Agamemnon. There was a huge battle. The fighting lasted for several days. The Greeks were overwhelmed and fled back to their camp. Diomedes barely stopped her from setting fire to the ships and destroying the entire Greek army. When the battle was over, Agamemnon stayed inside the camp. Penthesilea came back each day, slaughtered many Greeks and provoked them. Agamemnon, following the advice of his council, fortified the camp, strengthened the guard, and refused to go to battle until Menelaus came back. Menelaus went to Scyros and gave Neoptolemus the weapons of his father, Achilles. Neoptolemus accepted them, travelled to the Greek camp, and wept at his father's tomb. Penthesilea, following her usual routine, formed up her army and advanced as far as the Greek encampments. Neoptolemus took command of the Myrmidons and opposed her with his troops. Agamemnon also prepared his forces. Both armies clashed. Neoptolemus caused a great massacre. Penthesilea entered the battle and bravely defended herself. Both sides fought fiercely for several days. Many were killed. Penthesilea wounded Neoptolemus. But, despite his wound, he slaughtered Penthesilea, queen of the Amazons. This caused all of the Trojans to flee. Defeated, they retreated to their city. The Greek troops surrounded the walls so that the Trojans could not get out.

[XXXVII] When the Trojans saw this, Antenor, Polydamas, and Aeneas went to Priam. They asked him to call a meeting to discuss their fate. Priam called a meeting. He ordered those who had asked for the opportunity to speak to say what they wanted. Antenor reminded the Trojans that they had lost their foremost defenders: Hector, the other sons of the king, and the foreign rulers that had come to help. The Greeks still had their bravest leaders: Agamemnon, Menelaus, Neoptolemus -who was no less brave than his father-, Diomedes, the Locrian Ajax, and many others such as Nestor and Ulysses, both very shrewd men. The Trojans were surrounded and

worn out with fear. He urged that they should give back Helen and everything Alexander and his men had stolen from the Greeks. They should sue for peace. After discussing the possibility of peace for a long time, Amphimachus, Priam's son and a very brave youth, rose. He condemned Antenor and all who agreed with him. They should be ashamed for their behaviour. He urged them to lead the army out of the city and attack the Greek camp until they had either won the battle or died fighting for their country. When he was finished, Aeneas rose. He tried to refute Amphimachus with calm and gentle words. He urged the Trojans to make peace with the Greeks. Polydamas supported him.

[XXXVIII] When they were done speaking, Priam rose and vigorously berated Antenor and Aeneas. They had been the first to press for war and send envoys to Greece. He scolded Antenor because he wanted to make peace, while he had been the envoy that had gone to Greece. He had complained on his return that he had been treated disgracefully. He had urged him to go to war. Aeneas had helped Alexander abduct Helen and steal those valuables. For these reasons, he was certain that there would be no peace. He commanded everyone to prepare for battle. When he gave the signal, they would rush out the gate and end up either victorious or dead. He had made up his mind. After he had spoken for a long time and had spurred everyone on, Priam dismissed the council. He led Amphimachus with him to the palace and told him that those who had asked for peace had to be killed. He feared that they would betray the city, seeing as there were many among the people who felt the same way. When this was done, he would defend his country and defeat the Greeks. At the same time he asked Amphimachus to be faithful and obedient, and told him to be ready with a band of armed men – something which could be done without raising any suspicion. The next day he would go to the citadel to worship as usual, and he would invite them to dine with him. Then Amphimachus, along with his men, had to rush in and kill them. Amphimachus approved of the plan and promised to carry it out. Then he left Priam.

[XXXIX] That same day, Antenor, Polydamas, Ucalegon, and Dolon secretly met. They said they were amazed by the stubbornness of the king, who would rather die with his country and his people when surrounded by the enemy, than make peace. Antenor told them he had a plan that would benefit them all. If he was sure he could trust them, he would reveal it. Everyone swore allegiance to Antenor. When Antenor saw that he could not leave, he sent a message to Aeneas. He said that they had to betray their country and look to save themselves and their families. They had to send someone to Agamemnon that no one would suspect and tell him about the situation. They had to act quickly, as he had noticed that Priam was angry when he left the council because he had urged the king to make peace. He feared that Priam would soon contrive some new plan against them. Everyone promised to help. They immediately chose Polydamas to

secretly meet with Agamemnon, as he would rouse the least suspicion. Polydamas reached the camp of the Greeks. He met with Agamemnon. He told him about their plan.

[XL] At night Agamemnon secretly called all the Greek officers to a meeting. He told them what had happened, and ordered everyone to give their opinion. Everyone decided to trust the traitors. Ulysses and Nestor said they were afraid to carry out the plan. Neoptolemus, dismissed their worries. After a tense discussion, they decided to demand a password from Polydamas that Sinon might test with Aeneas, Anchises, and Antenor. Sinon went to Troy. Since Amphimachus had not yet given his guards the keys to the gates, he heard Aeneas, Anchises, and Antenor give the correct countersign. He reported back to Agamemnon. Then everyone agreed to trust them. They took an oath and promised that, if they betrayed Troy the following night, no harm would come to Antenor, Ucalegon, Polydamas, Aeneas, and Dolon, or to any of their parents, children, wives, relatives, friends, and acquaintances. And they decided that their property would not be damaged either. After they had promised all this and sworn an oath, Polydamas instructed them to advance with their army at night and come to the Scaean gate. It had a carving of a horse's head on the outside. That night Antenor and Aeneas would be in charge of guarding that gate. They would open the gate for the Greek army and raise a torch. That would be the signal to attack.

[XLI] When every detail of the plan was arranged, Polydamas returned to the city. He reported that his mission had been a success and said that Antenor, Aeneas, and all their associates had to lead everyone to the Scaean gate at night, open the gate, raise a torch, and let the Greek army into the city. That night, Antenor and Aeneas were at the gate. They let in Neoptolemus. He opened the gate for the army. They raised a torch. They demanded protection for themselves and their associates. Neoptolemus gave them an escort. Antenor led him to the palace, where the Trojans stationed their garrison. Neoptolemus stormed the palace. He slaughtered the Trojans. He pursued Priam and cut him down before the altar of Jupiter. While Hecuba was fleeing with Polyxena, she came across Aeneas. She entrusted her daughter to him. Aeneas concealed her at the home of his father Anchises. Andromache and Cassandra hid in the temple of Minerva. All night long the Greeks destroyed and plundered the city.

[XLII] When the sun rose, Agamemnon called all of his officers together in the citadel. He thanked the gods. He praised his soldiers. He ordered all the spoils to be gathered so everyone would get an equal share. At the same time he asked his men if they agreed to spare Antenor, Aeneas and all those who had betrayed their homeland. The entire army shouted that they agreed. And so, Agamemnon summoned all of the traitors and gave back everything that belonged to them. Antenor asked Agamemnon if he could say a few words. Agamemnon ordered him to speak. He began by thanking the Greeks. Then he reminded them how Helenus

and Cassandra had always tried to persuade his father to make peace, and how Helenus had urged that Achilles' body be returned for burial. Agamemnon followed the will of his council and gave Helenus and Cassandra their freedom. Helenus pleaded with Agamemnon for the fate of Hecuba and Andromache. He had never forgotten how they had always loved him. Even they were given their freedom according to the will of the council. Meanwhile the spoils were fairly divided among the men. He thanked the gods and offered sacrifices. The Greeks decided that they would return home in five days' time.

[XLIII] On the day of their departure there was a severe storm, and they stayed a few more days. Calchas said that the spirits of the dead were not satisfied. Neoptolemus remembered that Polyxena, who was the cause of his father's death, had not been found in the palace. He demanded that Agamemnon bring her before him. He even accused the army. Agamemnon summoned Antenor and commanded him to look for Polyxena. When he had found her, he had to bring her to him. Antenor went to see Aeneas and desperately begged him to give Polyxena to Agamemnon, so that the Greeks would set sail. He discovered where Polyxena was hidden and took her to Agamemnon. Agamemnon gave her to Neoptolemus. He cut her throat next to his father's tomb. Agamemnon was furious that Aeneas had been hiding Polyxena from him and ordered him and his entourage to leave their homeland immediately. Aeneas and his followers left. After Agamemnon had set sail, Helen also returned home with her husband, Menelaus. She was even more depressed than she was when she had come to Troy. Helenus went to Chersonessos accompanied by Cassandra, his sister, Andromache, the wife of his brother Hector, and Hecuba, his mother.

[XLIV] Here the report of Dares the Phrygian ends. He stayed in Troy with the followers of Antenor. The fighting lasted for ten years, six months, and twelve days. According to the journal that Dares kept, the Greeks lost around 866,000 men. The number of Trojans that died up until the betrayal of the city was around 676,000. Aeneas left in the ships that Alexander used to go to Greece. There were 22. About 3,400 people of all ages followed him. Antenor had about 2,500 followers, while Andromache and Helenus had about 1,200.



D. Notes

1. The author made a mistake here: Pelias ruled in Thessaly.
2. Peleus was Telamon's brother.
3. Compare: *Iliad* 2.494-759.
4. The author appears to have miscalculated: when you add up the number of ships each leader brings to Troy, you end up with 1122 ships instead of 1130.
5. In the Latin edition by Meister, the Roman numeral XLVIII appears; the standard notation should be XLIX.
6. Compare: *Iliad* 2.824-877.
7. According to Dictys (2.11), Aeneas killed Protesilaus.
8. This seems to be a mistake by the author: not Ajax but Teucer was Hesione's son. Ajax was the son of Telamon and Periboea.



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Appendix: the Latin Original

DARETIS PHRYGII DE EXCIDIO TROJAE HISTORIA¹

Cornelius Nepos Sallustio Crispo suo salutem.

Cum multa ago Athenis curiose, inveni historiam Daretis Phrygii ipsius manu scriptam, ut titulus indicat, quam de Graecis et Troianis memoriae mandavit. Quam ego summo amore complexus continuo transtuli. Cui nihil adiciendum vel diminuendum rei reformandae causa putavi, alioquin mea posset videri. Optimum ergo duxi ita ut fuit vere et simpliciter perscripta, sic eam ad verbum in Latinitatem transvertere, ut legentes cognoscere possent, quomodo res gestae essent: utrum verum magis existiment quod Dares Phrygius memoriae commendavit, qui per id ipsum tempus vixit et militavit, cum Graeci Troianos oppugnarent; ane Homero credendum, qui post multos annos natus est, quam bellum hoc gestum est. De qua re Athenis iudicium fuit, cum pro insano haberetur, quod Deos cum hominibus belligerasse scripserit. Sed hactenus ista: nunc ad pollicitum revertamur.

[I] Pelias rex [in Peloponneso] Aesonem fratrem habuit. Aesonis filius erat Iason virtute praestans: et qui sub regno eius erant, omnes hospites habebat, et ab eis validissime amabatur. Pelias rex, ut vidit Iasonem tam acceptum esse omni homini, veritus est ne sibi iniurias faceret, et se regno eiceret. Dicit Iasoni Colchis pellem inauratam arietis esse dignam eius virtute: ut eam inde auferret, omnia se ei daturum pollicetur. Iason ubi audivit, ut erat animi fortissimi et qui loca omnia nosse volebat, et quod clariorem se existimabat futurum, si pellem inauratam Colchis abstulisset, dicit Peliae regi se eo velle ire, si vires sociique non deessent. Pelias rex Argum architectum vocari iussit, et ei imperat ut navem aedificaret quam pulcherrimam, ad voluntatem Iasonis. Per totam Graeciam rumor cucurrit navem aedificari in qua Colchos eat Iason pellem auream petiturus. Amici et hospites ad Iasonem venerunt, et pollicentur se una ituros. Iason illis gratias egit et rogavit ut parati essent, cum tempus supervenisset. Internea navis aedificatur et cum tempus anni supervenisset, Iason litteras ad eos misit qui erant polliciti sese una ituros et ilico convenerunt ad navem, cuius nomen erat Argo. Pelias rex quae opus erant in navim imponi iussit et hortatus est Iasonem, et qui cum eo profecturi erant, ut animo forti ad perficiendum

¹ This is a transcript of the edition by F. Meister, seeing as the version currently available on www.thelatinlibrary.com is either based on a different branch of manuscripts or riddled with mistakes.

irent quod conati essent. Ea res claritatem Graeciae et ipsis factura videbatur. Demonstrare eos qui cum Iasone profecti sunt non videtur nostrum esse: sed qui volunt eos cognoscere, Argonautas legant.

[II] Iason, ubi ad Phrygiam venit, navem admovit ad portum Simoenta. Deinde omnes de navi exierunt in terram. Laomedonti regi nuntiatum est mirandam navim in portum Simoenta intrasse et in ea multos iuvenes de Graecia venisse. Ubi audivit Laomedon rex commotus est: consideravit commune periculum esse, si consuescerent Graeci ad sua litora adventare navibus. Mittit ad portum qui dicant ut Graeci de finibus discedant; si non dicto obaudissent, sese armis eos de finibus eiecturum. Iason et qui cum eo venerant graviter tulerunt crudelitatem Laomedontis, sic se ab eo tractari, cum nulla ab eis iniuria facta esset: simul timebant multitudinem barbarorum, si contra imperium conarentur permanere, ne obprimerentur: cum ipsi non essent parati ad proeliandum, navim conscenderunt et a terra recesserunt, Colchos profecti sunt, pellem abstulerunt, domum reversi sunt.

[III] Hercules graviter tulit a rege Laomedonte contumeliose se tractatum et eos qui una profecti erant Colchos cum Iasone, Spartamque ad Castorem et Pollucem venit. Agit cum his, ut secum suas iniurias defendant, ne Laomedon impune ferat, quod illos a terra et portu prohibuisset. Multos adiutores futuros, si se accommodassent. Castor et Pollux omnia promiserunt se facturos quae Hercules vellet. Ab his Salaminam profectus ad Telamonem venit: rogat eum ut secum ad Troiam eat, et suas suorumque iniurias defendat. Telamon promisit omnibus se paratum esse, quae Hercules facere vellet. Inde ad Phthiam profectus est ad Peleum, rogatque eum ut secum eat ad Troiam: pollicitusque est ei Peleus se iturum. Inde Pylum ad Nestorem profectus est; rogatque eum Nestor quid venerit. Hercules dicit, quod dolore commotus sit, velle se exercitum in Phrygiam ducere. Nestor Herculem conlaudavit, operamque suam ei pollicitus est. Hercules ubi omnium voluntates intellexit, naves paravit, milites eligit. Ubi tempus datum est proficiscendi, litteras ad eos quos rogaverat misit ut venirent cum suis omnibus; cum venissent, profecti sunt in Phrygiam: ad Sigeum noctu accesserunt. Inde Hercules, Telamon, et Peleus exercitum eduxerunt: navibus qui praesidio essent Castorem et Pollucem et Nestorem reliquerunt. Quod ubi Laomedonti regi nuntiatum est classem Graecorum ad Sigeum accessisse, et ipse cum equestri copia ad mare venit, et coepit proeliari. Hercules ad Ilium ierat, et imprudentes qui erant in oppido urgere coepit. Quod ubi Laomedonti nuntiatum est, urgeri ab hostibus Ilium, ilico revertitur: et in itinere obvius Graecis factus, ab Hercule occiditur. Telamon primus Ilium oppidum introiit: cui Hercules virtutis causa Hesionam Laomedontis regis filiam dono dedit. Ceteri vero qui cum Laomedontis ierant occiduntur. Priamus in Phrygia erat, ubi eum Laomedon eius pater exercitui praefecerat. Hercules et qui cum eo venerant praedam magnam fecerunt, et ad naves deportaverunt. Inde domum proficisci decreverunt. Telamon Hesionam secum convexit.

[IV] Hoc ubi Priamo nuntiatum est, patrem occisum, cives direptos, praedam devectam, Hesionam sororem dono datam, graviter tulit tam contumeliose Phrygiam tractatam esse a Graiis. Ilium petit cum uxore Hecuba et liberis Hectore, Alexandro, Deiphobo, Heleno, Troilo, Andromacha, Cassandra, Polyxena. Nam erant ei etiam alii filii ex concubinis nati; sed nemo ex regio genere dixit esse, nisi eos qui essent ex legitimis uxoribus. Priamus ut Ilium venit, ampliora moenia exstruxit, civitatem munitissimam reddidit; et militum multitudinem ibi esse fecit, ne per ignorantiam opprimeretur, ita ut Laomedon pater eius oppressus est. Regiam quoque aedificavit, et ibi aram Iovi statuamque consecravit. Hectorem in Paeoniam misit. Ilio portas fecit, quarum nomina sunt haec: Antenorica, Dardania, Iliaca, Scaea, Thymbraea, Troiana. Et postquam Ilium stabilitum vidit, tempus expectavit. Ut visum est ei iniurias patris ulcisci, Antenorem vocari iubet dicitque ei velle se, eum legatum in Graeciam mittere: graves sibi iniurias ab his qui cum exercitu venerant factas in Laomedontis patris nece, et abductione Hesiona, quae omnia tamen aequo se animo passurum, si Hesiona ei reddatur.

[V] Antenor, ut Priamus imperavit, navim conscendit, et profectus venit Magnesiam ad Peleum. Quem Peleus hospitio triduo recepit, die quarto rogat eum quid venerit. Antenor dicit quae a Priamo mandata erant, ut Graios postularet, ut Hesiona redderetur. Haec ubi Peleus audivit, graviter tulit, et quod haec ad se pertinere videbat: iubet eum de finibus suis discedere. Antenor nihil moratus, navim ascendit, secundum Boeotiam iter fecit Salaminam advectus est ad Telamonem: rogare eum coepit ut Priamo Hesionam sororem redderet; non enim esse aequum in servitute habere regii generis puellam. Telamon Antenori respondit nihil a se Priamo factum: sed quod virtutis causa donatum sit, se nemini daturum: ob hoc Antenorem de insula discedere iubet. Antenor navim conscendit, in Achaiam pervenit. Inde ad Castorem et Pollucem delatus, coepit ab his postulare, ut Priamo satisfacerent, et ei Hesionam sororem redderent. Castor et Pollux negaverunt iniuriam Priamo factam esse, Antenorem discedere iubent. Inde Pylum ad Nestorem venit, dixit Nestori qua de causa venisset. Qui ut audivit, coepit Antenorem obiurgare, cur ausus sit in Graeciam venire, cum a Phrygibus priores Graeci prius laesi fuissent. Antenor ubi vidit nihil se impetrasse, et contumeliose [Priamum] tractari, navim conscendit, domum reversus est. Priamo regi demonstrat, quid unusquisque responderit: et quomodo ab illis tractatus sit: simulque hortatur Priamum, ut eos bello persequatur.

[VI] Continuo Priamus filios vocari iubet, et omnes amicos suos, Antenorem, Anchisen, Aenean, Ucalegontem, Bucolionem, Panthum, Lamponem, et omnes filios qui ex concubinis nati erant. Qui ut convenerunt, dixit eis se Antenorem legatum in Graeciam misisse, ut hi sibi satisfacerent quod patrem suum necassent, Hesionam sibi redderent, illos contumeliose tractasse, et Antenorem ab eis nihil impetrasse: verum quoniam suam voluntatem facere noluisset, videri sibi exercitum in Graeciam mitti, qui poenas repeterent ab eis; ne barbaros Graeci inrisui haberent. Hortatusque est Priamus liberos suos, ut eius rei principes forent, maxime Hectorem:

erat enim maior natu: qui coepit dicere, se voluntatem patris vindicaturum et Laomedontis avi sui necem, et quascumque iniurias Graeci Troianis fecissent, executurum, ne impunitum id Grai foret: sed vereri, ne perficere non possent quod conati essent; multos adiutores Graeciae futuros; Europam bellicosos homines habere; Asiam semper in desidia vitam exercuisse, et ob id classem non habere.

[VII] Alexander cohortari coepit, ut classis praeparetur, et in Graeciam mitteretur: se eius rei principem futurum, si pater velit: in deorum benignitate se confidere, victis hostibus laude adeptam, de Graecia domum rediturum esse. Nam sibi in Ida sylva cum venatum abisset, in somnis Mercurium adduxisse lunonem, Venerem et Minervam, ut inter eas de specie iudicaret. Et tunc sibi Venerem pollicitam esse, si suam speciosam faciem iudicaret, daturam se ei uxorem, quae in Graecia speciosissima forma videretur: ubi ita audisset, optimam facie Venerem iudicasse: unde sperare coepit Priamum, Venerem adiutricem Alexandro futuram. Deiphobus placere sibi dixit Alexandri consilium: et sperare Graecos Hesionam reddituros, et satisfacturos, si, ut depositum esset, classis in Graeciam mitteretur. Helenus vaticinari coepit, Graios venturos, Ilium eversuros, parentes et fratres hostili manu interituros, si Alexander sibi uxorem de Graecia adduxisset. Troilus minimus natu, non minus fortis quam Hector, bellum geri suadebat, et non debere terreri metu verborum Heleni. Ob quod omnibus placuit, classem comparare, et in Graeciam proficisci.

[VIII] Priamus Alexandrum et Deiphobum in Paeoniam misit, ut milites legerent: ad concionem populum venire iubet. Commonefacit filios, ut maiores natu minoribus imperarent. Monstravit quas iniurias Graeci Troianis fecissent: ob hoc Antenorem legatum in Graeciam, misisse, ut sibi Hesionam sororem redderent, et satis Troianis facerent. Antenorem a Grai contumeliose tractatum: neque ab his quicquam impetrare potuisse. Placere sibi, Alexandrum in Graeciam mitti cum classe, qui avi sui mortem et Troianorum iniurias ulciscatur. Antenorem dicere iussit, quomodo in Graecia tractatus esset. Antenor hortatus est Troianos, ne horrescerent, ad debellendam Graeciam suos alacriores fecit. Paucis demonstravit, quae in Graecia gesserat. Priamus dixit, si cui displiceret bellum geri, suam voluntatem ediceret. Panthus Priamo et propinquis prodit ea quae a patre suo Euphorbo audierat: dicere coepit si Alexander uxorem de Graecia adduxisset, Troianis extremum exitium futurum. Sed pulchrius esse in otio vitam degere, quam in tumultu libertatem amittere [et periculum inire]. Populus auctoritatem Panthi contempsit: regem dicere iusserunt, quid vellet fieri. Priamus dixit naves praeparandas esse, ut eatur in Graeciam: utensilia quoque populo non deesse. Populus conclamavit per se moram non esse, quo minus regis praeceptis pareatur. Priamus illis magnas gratias egit, concionemque dimisit. Ac mox in Idam sylvam misit, qui materiam succiderent, naves aedificarent. Hectorem in superiorem Phrygiam misit, ut exercitum pararet; [et ita paratus est]. Cassandra, postquam audivit patris consilium, dicere coepit quae Troianis futura essent, si Priamus perseveraret classem in Graeciam mittere.

[IX] Interea tempus supervenit: naves aedificatae sunt. Milites supervenerunt, quos Alexander et Deiphobus in Paeonia elegerant; et ubi visum est navigari posse, Priamus exercitum alloquitur: Alexandrum imperatorem exercitui praeficit, mittit cum eo Deiphobum, Aeneam, Polydamantem. Imperatque Alexandro, ut primum Spartam accedat, Castorem et Pollucem conveniat, et ab his petat, ut Hesiona soror eius reddatur, et satis Troianis fiat. Quod si negassent, continuo ad se nuntium mittat, ut exercitum possit in Graeciam mittere. Post haec Alexander in Graeciam navigavit, adducto secum duce eo qui cum Antenore iam navigaverat. Non multos ante dies, quam Alexander in Graeciam navigavit, et antequam insulam Cytheream accederet, Menelaus ad Nestorem Pylum proficiscens, Alexandro in itinere occurrit, et mirabatur classem regiam quo tenderet. Utrique occurrentes aspexerunt se invicem, inscii quo quisque iret. Castor et Pollux ad Clytaemnestram ierant, secum Hermionam neptem suam Helenae filiam adduxerant. Argis lunonis dies festus erat his diebus, quibus Alexander in insulam Cytheream venit, ubi fanum Veneris erat: Dianae sacrificavit. Hi qui in insula erant mirabantur classem regiam, et interrogabant ab illis qui cum Alexandro venerant, qui essent, quid venissent. Responderunt illi a Priamo rege Alexandrum legatum missum ad Castorem et Pollucem, ut eos conveniret.

[X] At Helena vero, Menelai uxor, cum Alexander in insula Cytherea esset, placuit ei eo ire. Qua de causa ad littus processit. Oppidum ad mare est Helaea, ubi Dianae et Apollinis fanum est: ibi rem divinam Helena facere disposuerat. Quod ubi Alexandro nuntiatum est, Helenam ad mare venisse, conscius formae suae, in conspectu eius ambulare coepit, cupiens eam videre. Helenae nuntiatum est, Alexandrum Priami regis filium ad Helaeam oppidum, ubi ipsa erat, venisse. Quem etiam ipsa videre cupiebat. Et cum se utrique respexissent, ambo, forma sua incensi, tempus dederunt ut gratiam referrent. Alexander imperat, omnes ut in navibus sint parati: nocte classem solvant, de fano Helenam eripiant, secum eam auferant. Signo dato fanum invaserunt, Helenam non invitam eripiunt, in navem deferunt, et cum ea mulieres aliquas depraedantur. Quod cum Helenam abreptam oppidani vidissent, diu pugnaverunt cum Alexandro, ne Helenam eripere posset. Quos Alexander fretus sociorum multitudine superavit, fanum exspoliavit, homines secum quam plurimos captivos duxit, in navim imposuit, classem solvit, domum reverti disposuit, in portum Tenedon pervenit, ubi Helenam maestam alloquio mitigat, patri rei gestae nuntium mittit. Menelao postquam nuntiatum est Pylum, cum Nestore Spartam profectus est, ad Agamemnonem fratrem misit Argos, rogans ut ad se veniat.

[XI] Interea Alexander ad patrem suum cum praeda pervenit, et rei gestae ordinem refert. Priamus gavisus est, sperans Graecos ob causam recuperationis Helenae sororem Hesionam reddituros, et ea quae inde a Troianis abstulerant. Helenam maestam consolatus est, et eam Alexandro coniugem dedit: quam ut aspexit Cassandra, vaticinari coepit, memorans ea quae ante praedixerat. Quam Priamus abstrahi et includi iussit. Agamemnon postquam Spartam venit

fratrem consolatus est et placuit ut per totam Graeciam conquisituri mitterentur ad convocandos Graecos et Troianis bellum indicendum. Convenerunt autem hi: Achilles cum Patroclo, Euryalus, Tlepolemus, Diomedes. Postquam Spartam accesserunt, decreverunt iniurias Troianorum persequi, exercitum et classem comparare. Agamemnonem imperatorem et ducem praeficiunt. Hi legatos mittunt, ut tota Graecia conveniant cum classibus et exercitibus ornati pariterque ad Atheniensem portum, ut inde pariter ad Troiam proficiscantur ad defendendas suas iniurias. Castor et Pollux in recenti, postquam audierunt Helenam suam sororem raptam, navem conscenderunt et secuti sunt. Cum in litore Lesbio navem solverent, maxima tempestate exorta nusquam eos comparuisse creditum est. Postea dictum est eos immortales factos. Itaque Lesbios navibus eos usque ad Troiam quaesitum isse, neque eorum vestigia usquam vestigium inventum domum renuntiasset.

[XII] Dares Phrygius, qui hanc historiam scripsit, ait se militasse usque dum Troia capta est, hos se vidisse cum indutiae essent, partim proelio interfuisse, a Dardanis autem audisse qua facie et natura fuissent Castor et Pollux. Fuerunt autem alter alteri similis capillo flavo oculis magnis facie pura bene figurati corpore deducto. Helenam similem illis formosam animi simplicis blandam cruribus optimis notam inter duo supercilia habentem ore pusillo. Priamum Troianorum regem vultu pulchro magnum voce suavi aquilino corpore. Hectorem blaesum candidum crispum strabum pernicious membris vultu venerabili barbatum decentem bellicosum animo magno in civibus clementem dignum amore aptum. Deiphobum et Helenum similes patri dissimili natura: Deiphobum fortem Helenum clementem doctum vatem. Troilum magnum pulcherrimum pro aetate valentem fortem cupidum virtutis. Alexandrum candidum longum fortem oculis pulcherrimis capillo molli et flavo ore venusto voce suavi velocem cupidum imperii. Aeneam rufum quadratum facundum affabilem fortem cum consilio pium venustum oculis hilaribus et nigris. Antenorem longum gracilem velocibus membris versutum cautum. Hecubam magnam aquilino corpore pulchram mente virili piam iustam. Andromacham oculis claris candidam longam formosam modestam sapientem pudicam blandam. Cassandram mediocri statura ore rotundo rufam oculis micantibus futurorum praesciam. Polyxenam candidam altam formosam collo longo oculis venustis capillis flavis et longis compositam membris digitis prolixis cruribus rectis pedibus optimis, quae forma sua omnes superaret, animo simplici largam dapsilem.

[XIII] Agamemnonem albo corpore magnum membris valentibus facundum prudentem nobilem divitem. Menelaum mediocri statura rufum formosum acceptum gratum. Achillem pectorosum ore venusto membris valentibus et magnis iubatum bene crispatum clementem in armis acerrimum vultu hilari largum dapsilem capillo myrteo. Patroclum pulchro corpore oculis caesiis viribus magnis verecundum certum prudentem dapsilem. Aiaceum Oileum quadratum valentibus membris aquilino corpore iucundum fortem. Aiaceum Telamonium valentem voce clara capillis nigris coma crispa simplici animo in hostem atrocem. Ulixem firmum dolosum ore hilari statura

media eloquentem sapientem. Diomedem fortem quadratum corpore honesto vultu austero in bello acerrimum clamosum cerebro calido impatientem audacem. Nestorem magnum naso obunco longo latum candidum consiliarium prudentem. Protesilaum corpore candido vultu honesto velocem confidentem temerarium. Neoptolemum magnum viriosum stomachosum blaesum vultu bonum aduncum oculis rotundis superciliosum. Palamedem gracilem longum sapientem animo magnum blandum. Podalirium crassum valentem superbum tristem. Machaonem fortem magnum certum prudentem patientem misericordem. Merionem rufum mediocri statura corpore rotundo viriosum pertinacem crudelem impatientem. Briseidam formosam non alta statura candidam capillo flavo et molli superciliis iunctis oculis venustis corpore aequali blandam affabilem verecundam animo simplici piam.

[XIV] Deinde ornati cum classe Graeci Athenas convenerunt. Agamemnon ex Mycenis cum navibus numero C, Menelaus ex Sparta cum navibus numero LX, Arcesilaus et Prothenor ex Boeotia cum navibus numero L, Ascalaphus et Ialmenus ex Orchomeno cum navibus numero XXX, Epistrophus et Schedius ex Phocide cum navibus numero XL, Ajax Telamonius ex Salamina adduxit secum Teucrum fratrem, ex Buprasione Amphimachum, Diorem, Thalpium, Polyxenum cum navibus XL, Nestor ex Pylo cum navibus numero LXXX, Thoas ex Aetolia cum navibus numero XL, Nircus ex Syme cum navibus numero LIII, Ajax Oileus ex Locris cum navibus numero XXXVII, Antiphus et Phidippus ex Calydna cum navibus numero XXX, Idomeneus et Meriones ex Creta cum navibus numero LXXX, Ulixes ex Ithaca cum navibus numero XII, Eumelus ex Pheris cum navibus numero X, Protesilaus et Podarces ex Phylaca cum navibus numero XL, Podalirius et Machaon Aesculapii filii ex Tricca cum navibus numero XXXII, Achilles cum Patroclo et Myrmidonibus ex Phthia cum navibus numero L, Tlepolemus ex Rhodo cum navibus numero IX, Eurypylus ex Ormenio navibus numero XL, Antiphus et Amphimachus ex Elide navibus numero XI, Polypoetes et Leonteus ex Argisa navibus numero XL, Diomedes Euryalus Sthenelus ex Argis navibus numero LXXX, Philoctetes ex Meliboea navibus numero VII, Guneus ex Cypho navibus numero XXI, Prothous ex Magnesia navibus numero XL, Agapenor ex Arcadia navibus numero XL, Mnestheus ex Athenis navibus numero L. Hi fuerunt duces Graecorum numero XLVIII, qui adduxerunt naves numero mille CXXX.

[XV] Postquam Athenas venerunt, Agamemnon duces in consilium vocat, conlaudat hortatur, ut quam primum iniurias suas defendant. Rogat, si cui quid placeat suadetque ut, antequam proficiscerentur, Delphos ad Apollinem consulendum mitterent: cui omnes adstant. Cui rei praeficitur Achilles, hic cum Patroclo proficiscitur. Priamus interea, ut audivit quia hostes parati sunt, mittit per totam Phrygiam qui finitimos exercitus adducant, domique milites magno animo comparat. Achilles cum Delphos venisset, ad oraculum pergit: et ex adyto respondetur Graecos victuros, decimoque anno Troiam capturos. Achilles res divinas, sicut imperatum est, fecit. Et eo tempore venerat Calchas Thestore natus divinus. Dona pro Phrygiis a suo populo missus

Apollini portabat, simul consuluit de regno rebusque suis. Huic ex adyto respondetur, ut cum Argivorum classe militum contra Troianos proficiscatur eosque sua intelligentia iuvet, neve inde prius discedant, quam Troia capta sit. Postquam in fanum ventum est, inter se Achilles et Calchas responsa contulerunt, gaudentes hospitio amicitiam confirmant, una Athenas proficiscuntur, perveniunt eo. Achilles eadem in consilio refert, Argivi gaudent, Calchantem secum recipiunt, classem solvunt. Cum eos ibi tempestates retinerent, Calchas ex augurio respondet uti revertantur et in Aulidem proficiscantur. Profecti perveniunt. Agamemnon Dianam placat dicitque sociis suis ut classem solvant, ad Troiam iter faciant. Utuntur duce Philocteta, qui cum Argonautis ad Troiam fuerat. Deinde applicant classem ad oppidum, quod sub imperio Priami regis erat, et id expugnant, praedaeque facta, proficiscuntur. Veniunt Tenedum, ubi omnes occidunt. Agamemnon praedam divisit, consilium convocavit.

[XVI] Inde legatos ad Priamum mittit, si velit Helenam reddere et praedam quam Alexander fecit restituere. Legati eleguntur Diomedes et Ulixes, hi ad Priamum proficiscuntur. Dum legati mandatis parent, mittuntur Achilles et Telephus ad praedandam Mysiam. Ad Teuthrantem regem veniunt praedamque faciunt. Teuthras cum exercitu superveniunt. Quem Achilles fugato exercitu vulnerat: quem iacentem Telephus clipeo protexit, ne ab Achille interficeretur. Commemorant inter se hospitium, quod Telephus cum adhuc puer erat, a patre Hercule progenitus, a Teuthrante rege hospitio receptus est. Diomedem regem ferunt eo tempore venantem cum equis potentibus et feris ab Hercule interfectum Teuthranti regnum totum tradidisse: ob hoc eius filium Telephum ei subpetias venisse. Quod cum Teuthras intelligeret, se eodem vulnere mortem effugere non posse, regnum suum Mysiam vivus Telepho tradidit, et eum regem ordinavit. Tum regem Teuthrantem Telephus magnifice sepelivit. Suadet ei Achilles ut novum regnum conservet: ait plus multo exercitum adiuvaturum, si commeatum frumenti exercitui praepararet, quam si ad Troiam iret. Itaque Telephus remanet. Achilles cum magno praedae commercio ad exercitum Tenedum revertitur. Agamemnoni rem gestam narrat, Agamemnon adprobat conlaudat.

[XVII] Interea legati missi ad Priamum veniunt. Ulixes mandata Agamemnonis refert, postulat ut Helena et praeda reddatur satisque Graecis fiat, ut pacifice discedant. Priamus iniurias Argonautarum commemorat, patris interitum, Troiae expugnationem, et Hesioneae sororis servitutem. Denique Antenorem legatum cum miserit, quam contumeliose ab eis tractatus sit. Pacem repudiat, bellum indicit, Graecorum legatos de finibus repelli iubet. Legati in castra Tenedum revertuntur renuntiantes responsum. Res consultu geritur.

[XVIII] Aderant vero ad auxilium Priamo adversus Graecos ducatores hi cum exercitibus suis, quorum nomina et provincias insinuandas esse duximus: de Zelia Pandarus Amphion Adrastus, de Colophonia Mopsus, de Phrygia Asius, de Caria Amphimachus Nastes, de Lycia Sarpedon

Glaucus, de Larissa Hippothous et Cupesus, de Ciconia Euphemus, de Thracia Pirus et Acamas, de Paeonia Pyraechmes et Asteropaeus, de Phrygia Ascanius et Phorcys, de Maeonia Antiphus et Mesthles, de Paphlagonia Pylaemenes, de Aethiopia Perses et Memnon, de Thracia Rhesus et Archilochus, de Adrestia Adrastus et Amphius, de Alizonia Epistrophus et Odus. His ductoribus et exercitibus qui paruerunt praefecit Priamus principem et ductorem Hectorem, dein Deiphobum Alexandrum Troilum Aeneam Memnonem. Dum Agamemnon consulit de tota re, ex Cormo advenit Nauplii filius Palamedes cum navibus XXX. Ille excusavit se morbo adfectum Athenas venire non potuisse: quod venerit, cum primum potuerit, ratias agunt rogantque eum in consilio esse.

[XIX] Deinde cum Argivis non constaret exeundum ad Troiam clam noctu an interdiu foret, Palamedes suadet et rationem reddit luce ad Troiam escensionem fieri oportere et manum hostium deduci. Itaque omnes ei adsentiunt. Consulto Agamemnonem praeficiunt. Legatos ad Mysiam ceterisque locis mittunt, ut exercitui commeatus subportandos curent, Thesidas Demophontem et Acamantem et Anium. Deinde exercitum ad concionem convocat conlaudat imperat hortatur monet diligenter, ut dicto obaudientes sint. Signo dato naves solvunt, tota classis ad latitudinem accedit ad Troiae littora. Troiani fortiter defendunt. Protesilaus in terram excursionem facit fugat caedit. Cui Hector obviam venit et eum interfecit, ceteros perturbat. Unde Hector recedebat, ibi Troiani fugabantur. Postquam magna caedes utrimque facta est, advenit Achilles: is totum exercitum in fugam vertit, redegit in Troiam. Nox proelium dirimit. Agamemnon exercitum totum in terram educit, castra facit. Postera die Hector exercitum ex urbe educit et instruit. Agamemnon contra clamore magno occurrit. Proelium acre iracundumque fit, fortissimus quisque in primis cadit. Hector Patroclum occidit et spoliare parat. Meriones eum ex acie ne spoliaretur eripuit. Hector Merionem persequitur et occidit. Quem cum similiter spoliare vellet, advenit subpetias Mnestheus, Hectoris femur sauciat, saucius quoque multa millia occidit et perseverasset Achivos in fugam mittere, nisi obvius illi Ajax Telamonus fuisset. Cum quo cum congrediretur, cognovit eum esse de sanguine suo, erat enim de Hesiona sorore Priami natus. Quo pacto Hector a navibus ignem removeri iussit et utrique se invicem muneraverunt, et amici discesserunt.

[XX] Postera die Graiugenaee indutias petunt. Achilles Patroclum plangit, Graiugenaee suos. Agamemnon Protesilaum magnifico funere effert ceterosque sepeliendos curat. Achilles Patroclo ludos funebres facit. Dum indutiae sunt, Palamedes non cessat seditionem facere: indignum regem Agamemnonem esse qui exercitui imperaret. Ipse coram exercitu multa sua studia ostendit: primum suam excursionem castrorum munitionem vigiliarum circuitione, signi dationem librarum ponderumque dimensionem exercitusque instructionem. Haec cum a se orta essent, non aequum esse, cum a paucis imperium Agamemnoni datum sit, eum omnibus qui postea convenissent imperare, praesertim cum omnes ingenium virtutemque expectassent in

ducibus suis. Dum Achivi de imperio inter se vicissim certant, proelium post biennium repetitum est. Agamemnon Achilles Diomedes Menelaus exercitum educunt. Contra Hector Troilus Aeneas occurrunt. Fit magna caedes, ex utraque parte fortissimi cadunt. Hector Boetem Archilochum Proethenorum occidit. Nox proelium dirimit. Agamemnon noctu in consilium omnes duces convocat suadet hortatur, ut omnes in aciem prodeant, ex maxime Hectorem persequantur, quia de his aliquos duces fortissimos occidit.

[XXI] Mane facto Hector Aeneas Alexander exercitum educunt. Omnes duces Achivorum prodeunt. Fit magna caedes. Multa milia invicem Orco dimittuntur. Menelaus Alexandrum persequi coepit: quem respiciens Alexander sagitta Menelai femur transfigit. Ille, dolore commotus, pariter cum Aiace Locro non cessant eum persequi. Quos ut vidit Hector instanter fratrem suum persequi, subpetias cum Aenea ei venit. Quem Aeneas clipeo protegit, et de proelio ad civitatem secum adduxit. Nox proelium dirimit. Achilles postera die cum Diomede exercitum educit. Contra Hector et Aeneas. Fit magna caedes. Hector Orcomeneum Palamenem Epistrophum Schedium Elpenorem Dorium Polyxenum duces occidit. Aeneas Amphimachum et Nireum, Achilles Euphemum Hippothoum Pyleum Asterium, Diomedes Xanthippum Mesthlem. Agamemnon ut vidit duces fortissimos cecidisse, pugnam revocavit. Troiani laeti in castra revertuntur. Agamemnon sollicitus duces in consilium vocavit hortatur ut fortiter pugnarent, neque desisterent, quoniam maior pars ex suis superata sit, sperare se exercitum ex Mysia cotidie superventurum.

[XXII] Postera die Agamemnon totum exercitum et omnes duces in pugnam prodire coegit. Contra Troiani. Fit magna caedes, acriter ex utraque parte pugnatur, multa millia hinc et inde cadunt. Nec differebatur pugna, ita ut continuis LXXX diebus animose pugnatum sit. Agamemnon ut vidit multa milia cotidie occidi neque sufficere mortuos sine intermissione funerari, misit legatos Ulixen et Diomedem ad Priamum, ut indutias in triennium peterent, ut suos funerarent, vulneratos curarent, naves reficerent, exercitum compararent, commeatum conveherent. Ulixes et Diomedes noctu ad Priamum vadunt legati. Occurrit illis ex Troianis Dolon. Qui cum interrogaret, quid ita armati noctu ad oppidum venissent, dixerunt se ab Agamemnone legatos ad Priamum missos. Quos ut audivit Priamus venisse et desiderium suum exposuisse, in consilium omnes duces convocat, quibus refert legatos venisse ab Agamemnone, ut indutias ad triennium peterent. Hectori suspectum videtur quod tam longum tempus postulassent. Priamus dicere imperat quid cuique videatur: omnibus placitum est, indutias in triennium dare. Interim Troiani moenia renovant, suos quisque saucios curant, mortuos cum ingenti honore sepeliunt.

[XXIII] Tempus pugnae post triennium supervenit. Hector et Troilus exercitum educunt. Agamemnon Menelaus Achilles et Diomedes etiam ipsi exercitum educunt. Fit magna caedes. Hector in prima acie Phidippum et Antiphum duces interficit, Achilles Lycaonem et Phorcyn

occidit et ex cetera plebe multa milia hominum ex utraque parte cadunt. Pugnatur acriter diebus continuis XXX. Priamus ut vidit multos de suo exercitu cecidisse, mittit legatos ad Agamemnonem, ut indutias peterent mensibus VI et ex consilii sententia Agamemnon concedit indutias. Tempus pugnae supervenit. Acriter per duodecim dies pugnatur. Multi duces fortissimi hinc et inde cadunt, plures vulnerantur, plurimi in curatione moriuntur. Agamemnon mittit ad Priamum legatos et triginta dierum indutias postulat, ut funerare mortuos suos possit. Priamus consulte fecit.

[XXIV] At ubi tempus pugnae supervenit Andromacha uxor Hectoris in somnis vidit Hectorem non debere in pugnam procedere: et cum ad eum visum referret, Hector muliebria verba abicit. Andromacha maesta misit ad Priamum, ut illi prohibeat ne ea die pugnaret. Priamus Alexandrum Helenum Troilum et Aeneam in pugnam misit. Hector ut ista audivit, multa increpans Andromacham arma ut proferret poposcit nec retineri ullo modo potuit. Maesta Andromacha summissis capillis Astyanactem filium protendens ante pedes Hectoris eum revocare non potuit. Tunc planctu femineo oppidum concitat, ad Priamum in regiam currit, refert quae in somnis viderit velle Hectorem veloci saltu in pugnam ire, proiectoque ad genua Astyanacte filio suo eum revocare mandat. Priamus omnes in pugnam prodire iussit, Hectorem retinuit. Agamemnon Achilles Diomedes Aiax Locrus ut viderunt Hectorem in pugna non esse, acriter pugnaverunt multosque duces de Troianorum numero occiderunt. Hector ut audivit tumultum Troianosque in bello saeve laborare, prosiluit in pugnam. Statimque Idoneum obruncavit, Iphinoum sauciavit Leonteum occidit, Stheneli femur iaculo figit. Achilles ut respexit multos duces eius dextera cecidisse, animum in eum dirigebat, ut illi obvius fieret. Considerabat enim Achilles nisi Hectorem occideret plures de Graecorum numero eius dextera perituros. Proelium interea conliditur. Hector Polypoetem ducem fortissimum occidit dumque eum spoliare coepit, Achilles supervenit. Fit pugna maior, clamor ab oppido et a toto exercitu surgit. Hector Achillis femur sauciavit. Achilles dolore accepto magis eum persequi coepit nec destitit nisi eum occideret. Quo interempto Troianos in fugam vertit et maxima caede laesos usque ad portas persequitur. Cui tamen Memnon restitit et inter se acriter pugnaverunt: laesi utrique discesserunt. Nox proelium dirimit. Achilles saucius de bello redit. Noctu Troiani Hectorem lamentantur. Graiugenaes suos.

[XXV] Postera die Memnon Troianos educit contra Graecorum exercitum. Agamemnon exercitum consulit suadetque indutias duum mensium postulari, quisque ut suos quisque sepelire possit. Legati ad Priamum Troiam proficiscuntur, venientes desiderium prosecuti sunt, duum mensium indutias accipiunt. Priamus Hectorem suorum more ante portas sepelivit, ludosque funebres fecit. Dum indutiae sunt, Palamedes iterum non cessat de imperio conqueri. Itaque Agamemnon seditioni cessit et dixit se de ea re libenter laturum, ut quem vellent Imperatorem praeficerent. Postera die populum ad concionem vocat, negat se unquam cupidum imperii fuisse: animo aequo se accipere si cui vellent dare: se libenter cedere: satis sibi esse dum

hostes ulciscantur et parvi facere cuius id opera fiat. Se tamen regnum Mycenis habere, iubet dicere, si cui quid placeat. Palamedes prodit, suum ingenium ostendit. Itaque Argivi ei libenter imperium tradunt. Palamedes Argivis gratias agit, imperium accipit administrat. Achilles vituperat imperii commutationem.

[XXVI] Interea indutiae exeunt. Palamedes ornatum paratumque exercitum educit instruit hortatur. Contra Deiphobus. Pugnatur acriter a Troianis. Sarpedon Lycius cum suis impressionem in Argivos facit caedit prosternit. Obvius ei fit Tlepolemus Rhodius, sed diu stando pugnandoque male vulneratus cadit. Succedit Pheres Admeti filius proelium restituit diuque cum Sarpedone comminus pugnando occiditur. Sarpedon quoque vulneratus de proelio recedit. Itaque per aliquot dies proelia fiunt. Ex utraque parte multi ductores occiduntur sed plures a Priamo. Troiani mittunt legatos, indutias postulant, ut mortuos sepeliant, saucios curent. Palamedes indutias fecit in annum, mortuos utrique sepeliunt, saucios curant. Fide data ultro citroque in oppidum et castra Argivorum commeant. Palamedes Agamemnonem legatum mittit ad Thesidas Acamantem et Demophontem, quos legatos Agamemnon praefecerat, ut commeatus compararent et frumentum de Mysia a Telepho acceptum subportarent. Ut eo venit, seditionem Palamedis narrat. Illi moleste ferunt. Agamemnon ait se moleste non ferre, sua voluntate esse factum. Interea naves onerandas curat Palamedes, castra munit, turribusque circumdat. Troiani exercitum exercent, murum diligenter instaurant, fossas et vallum addunt, cetera diligenter comparant.

[XXVII] Postquam dies anni venit quo Hector sepultus est, Priamus et Hecuba et Polyxena ceterique Troiani ad sepulchrum profecti sunt. Quibus obvius fit Achilles, Polyxenam contemplatur, figit animum, amare vehementer eam coepit. Tunc ardore compulsus odiosam in amore vitam consumit et aegre ferebat ademptum imperium Agamemnoni sibi que Palamedem praepositum. Cogente amore Phrygio servo fidelissimo mandata dat ferenda ad Hecubam et ab ea sibi uxorem Polyxenam poscit. Si dederit, se cum suis Myrmidonibus domum rediturum. Quod cum ipse fecerit, ceteros porro ductores idem facturos. Servus proficiscitur ad Hecubam convenit mandata dicit: Hecuba respondit velle se, si Priamo placeat viro suo: dum ipsa cum Priamo agat, servus reverti iubet. Servus Achilli quid egerit nuntiat. Agamemnon cum magno comitatu ad castra revertitur. Hecuba cum Priamo de conditione Achillis conloquitur. Priamus respondit fieri non posse, non ideo, quod eum indignum adfinitate existimet, sed si ei dederit et ipse discesserit ceteros non discessuros et iniquum esse filiam suam hosti coniungere. Quapropter si id fieri velit, pax perpetua fiat, et exercitus discedat, foedus iure sanciat. Si id factum sit, se illi filiam libenter daturum. Itaque Achilles ut constitutum erat servum ad Hecubam mittit, ut sciat quid cum Priamo egerit. Hecuba omnia quae cum Priamo egerat mandat servo. Is Achilli refert. Achilles queritur in vulgus, unius mulieris Helenae causa totam Graeciam et Europam

convocatam esse, tanto tempore tot milia hominum perisse, libertatem in ancipiti esse, unde oportere pacem fieri, exercitus recedere.

[XXVIII] Annus circumactus est. Palamedes exercitum educit instruit. Deiphobus contra. Achilles iratus in proelium non prodit. Palamedes occasionem nactus impressionem in Deiphobum facit eumque obtruncat. Proelium acre insurgit, acriter ab utrisque pugnatur, multa milia hominum cadunt. Palamedes in prima acie versatur hortaturque proelium ut fortiter gerant. Contra eum Sarpedon Lycius occurrit eumque Palamedes interficit. Eo facto laetus in acie versatur. Cui exultanti et glorianti Alexander Paris sagitta collum transfigit. Phryges animadvertunt, tela coniciunt atque ita Palamedes occiditur. Rege occisocuncti hostes impressionem faciunt Argivi cedunt, in castra confugiunt. Troiani persecuntur, castra obpugnant, naves incendunt. Achilli nuntiatum est, dissimulat. Ajax Telamonius fortiter defendit. Nox proelium dirimit. Argivi in castris Palamedis scientiam aequitatem clementiam bonitatem lamentantur. Troiani Sarpedonem et Deiphobum deflent.

[XXIX] Nestor qui maior natu erat, noctu ductores in consilium vocat suadet hortatur, ut imperatorem praeficiant et si eis videatur eundem Agamemnonem minima cum discordia fieri posse. Item commemorat, quod dum ille imperator fuit, res prospere cecisse, felicem fuisse exercitum: si cui quid aliud videatur dicere suadet. Omnes adsentiunt, Agamemnonem summum imperatorem praeficiunt. Postera die Troiani alacres in aciem prodeunt. Agamemnon exercitum contra educit. Proelio commisso uterque exercitus inter se pugnat. Postquam maior pars diei transiit, prodit in primo Troilus, caedit devastat, Argivos in castra fugat. Postera die exercitum Troiani educunt: contra Agamemnonem. Fit maxima caedes, uterque exercitus inter se pugnat acriter. Multos duces Argivorum Troilus interficit. Pugnatur continuis diebus VII. Agamemnon inducias petit in duos menses. Palamedem magnifico funere effert ceterosque duces ac milites utrique sepeliendos curant.

[XXX] Agamemnon dum induciae sunt mittit ad Achillem Ulixen Nestorem et Diomedem, ut rogent eum in bellum prodire. Abnegat Achilles maestus, quod iam destinaverat in bellum non prodire, ob id quod promiserat Hecubae, aut certe se minus pugnaturum, eo quod Polyxenam valde amabat. Coepit male eos accipere qui ad eum venerant, dicens debere perpetuam pacem fieri, tanta pericula unius mulieris causa fieri, libertatem periclitari, tanto tempore desiderare: pacem expostulat, pugnare negat. Agamemnoni renuntiatur, quid cum Achille actum sit, illum pertinaciter negare. Agamemnon omnes duces in consilium vocat, exercitum quid fieri debeat consulit, imperat dicere quid cuique videatur. Menelaus hortari coepit fratrem suum, ut exercitum in pugnam produceret, nec debere terreri, si Achilles se excusaverit: se tamen persuasurum ei ut in bellum prodeat, nec vereri, si noluerit. Commemorare coepit Troianos non habere alium virum tam fortem sicut Hector fuit. Diomedes et Ulixes dicere coeperunt Troilum

non minus quam Hectorem virum fortissimum esse. Diomedes et Ulixes Menelaum resistens bellum geri suadebat. Calchas ex augurio respondit debere pugnare nec vereri quod modo superiores Troiani fuerint.

[XXXI] Tempus pugnae supervenit. Agamemnon Menelaum Diomedes Ajax exercitum educunt. Contra Troiani. Fit magna caedes, pugnatur acriter, uterque exercitus inter se saevit. Troilus Menelaum sauciat, multos interficit, ceteros paulatim persequitur. Nox proelium dirimit. Postera die Troilus cum Alexandro exercitum educit. Contra omnes Argivi prodeunt: acriter pugnatur. Troilus Diomedem sauciat: in Agamemnonem inpressionem facit, nec non et ipsum sauciat, Argivos caedit. Per aliquot dies pugnatur acriter, multa milia hominum ex utraque parte trucidantur. Agamemnon, ut vidit maiorem partem exercitus se cotidie amittere nec sufficere posse, petit indutias in sex menses. Priamus consilium cogit, indicat Argivorum desideria. Troilus negat debere dari tam longo tempore indutias, sed potius inpressionem fieri, naves incendi. Priamus quid cuique videatur dicere imperat. Omnibus placitum est, debere fieri quod Argivi petunt. Priamus itaque in sex menses indutias dedit. Agamemnon honorifice suos sepeliendos curat, Diomedem Menelaum saucios curat. Troiani suos aequae sepeliunt. Dum indutiae sunt, ex consilii sententia Agamemnon ad Achillem proficiscitur, ut eum ad pugnam provocaret. Achilles tristis negare coepit se proditurum, sed pacem peti oportere, conqueri coepit, quod Agamemnoni nihil negare possit: tamen cum tempus pugnae supervenisset, se milites suos missurum, ipsum excusatum haberet. Agamemnon ei gratias egit.

[XXXII] Tempus pugnae supervenit. Troiani exercitum educunt. Contra Argivi prodeunt. Achilles primo Myrmidones instruit, ad Agamemnonem paratos mittit. Fit pugna maior: acriter saevitur. Troilus in prima acie Argivos caedit, Myrmidonas fuga, inpressionem usque in castra facit, multos occidit, plurimos sauciat. Ajax Telamonius obstitit. Troiani victores in oppidum revertuntur. Postera die Agamemnon exercitum educit, omnes duces et Myrmidones prodeunt. Contra Troiani in aciem laeti exeunt. Proelio commisso uterque exercitus inter se dimicat, acriter per aliquot dies pugnatur, multa milia hominum ex utraque parte cadunt. Troilus Myrmidonas persequitur sternit fugat. Agamemnon ut vidit ex sua parte multos occisos, indutias in dies triginta petit, ut suos funerare possit. Priamus indutias dedit. Suos quisque sepeliendos curat.

[XXXIII] Tempus pugnae supervenit. Troiani exercitum educunt. Contra Agamemnon omnes duces in pugnam cogit. Proelio commisso fit magna caedes: acriter saevitur. Postquam primum diei tempus transiit, prodit in primo Troilus caedit prosternit. Argivi fugam cum clamore fecerunt. Achilles ut animadvertit Troilum iracunde saevire et Argivis insultare simulque sine intermissione Myrmidones prosternere, procedit in bellum. Quem Troilus continuo excipit et sauciat. Achilles de proelio saucius redit. Pugnatur continuis diebus sex. Die septimo dum uterque exercitus proelio facto inter se pugnant, Achilles, qui aliquot dies vexatus in pugnam non

prodierat, Myrmidones instruit. Alloquitur hortatur, ut fortiter impressionem in Troilum faciant. Postquam maior pars diei transiit, prodit Troilus ex equo laetus. Argivi maximo clamore fugam faciunt. Myrmidones supervenerunt, impressionem in Troilum faciunt, de quorum numero multi a Troilo occiduntur. Dum acriter proeliantur, equus vulneratus corruit, Troilum implicitum excutit. Eum cito Achilles adveniens occidit, ex proelio trahere coepit. Quod Achilles interventu Memnonis complere non potuit. Adveniens enim Memnon et Troili corpus eripuit et Achillem vulnere sauciavit. Achilles de proelio saucius rediit. Memnon insequi eum cum multis coepit quem Achilles ut respexit, substitit: curato vulnere, et aliquamdiu proeliatu Memnonem multis plagis occidit et ipse vulneratus ab eo ex proelio recessit. Postquam Persarum ductor occisus est reliqui in oppidum confugerunt, portasque clausurunt. Nox proelium dirimit. Postera die a Priamo legati ad Agamemnonem missi sunt, qui dierum XX indutias peterent, quod continuo Agamemnon concedit. Priamus igitur Troilum Memnonemque magnifico funere effert: ceterosque milites utrique sepeliendos curant.

[XXXIV] Hecuba maesta quod duo filii eius fortissimi Hector et Troilus ab Achille interfecti essent, consilium muliebre temerarium iniit ad ulciscendum dolorem. Alexandrum filium arcessit orat hortatur, ut se et fratres suos vindicaret, insidias Achilli faceret et eum nec opinantem occidat: quoniam ad se miserit et rogaverit ut sibi Polyxenam daret in matrimonium: se ad eum missuram Priami verbis, pacem inter se foedusque firment constituent in fano Apollinis Thymbraei, quod est ante portam: eo Achillem venturum, conlocuturum ibique se illi insidias collocare, satis sibi victum esse si eum occideret. Quod temptatum se Alexander promisit. Noctu de exercitu eliguntur fortissimi, et in fano Apollinis collocantur, signum accipiunt. Hecuba ad Achillem, sicuti condixerat, nuntium mittit. Achilles laetus Polyxenam amans postera die ad fanum se venturum constituit. Interea Achilles sequenti die cum Antilocho Nestoris filio ad constitutum veniunt simulque fanum Apollinis ingrediuntur, undique ex insidiis occurrunt, tela coniciunt: Paris hortatur. Achilles cum Antilocho, brachio sinistro chlamyde involuto, enses dextra tenentes impetum faciunt. Exinde Achilles multos occidit. Alexander Antilocho interimit ipsumque Achillem multis plagis confodit. Ita Achilles animam ex insidiis nequiquam fortiter faciens amisit. Quem Alexander feris et volucris proici iubet. Hoc ne faciat Helenus rogat, tunc eos de fano eici iubet et suis tradi: quorum corpora accepta Argivi in castra ferunt. Agamemnon eos magnifico funere effert Achillique sepulchrum ut faciat, a Priamo indutias petit ibique ludos funebres facit.

[XXXV] Deinde consilium convocat, Argivos alloquitur. Placet omnibus ut ea quae Achillis essent Aiace propinquo eius commendarentur atque ita Ajax ait: cum filius Neoptolemus ei supersit, neminem aequius super Myrmidones principatum habere quam eum, oportere ad pugnam accersiri, eique universa quae patris erant restitui. Consilium idem placuit Agamemnoni et omnibus. Datur negotium Menelao: hic Scyrum proficiscitur ad Lycomedem avum eius: imperat

ut nepotem suum mittat. Quod Argivis Lycomedes libenter concedit. Postquam indutiae exierunt, Agamemnon exercitum educit instruit hortatur. Contra Troiani ex urbe prodeunt. Proelium committitur. In prima acie Ajax nudus versatur, clamore magno orto multi ex utroque exercitu pereunt. Alexander arcum tetendit, multos interfecit, Aiace latus nudum figit. Ajax saucius Alexandrum persequitur, nec destitit nisi eum occideret. Ajax fessus vulnere in castra refertur, sagitta exempta moritur. Alexandri corpus ad urbem refertur. Alexandro occiso, Diomedes virili animo in hostes impressionem facit. Phryges fessi in urbem confugiunt, quos Diomedes usque in urbem persequitur. Agamemnon exercitum circa oppidum ducit, et tota nocte circa murum obsedit, curat ut alternis vice vigiliis agant. Postera die Priamus Alexandrum in oppido sepelit, quem magno ululatu Helena prosecuta est, quoniam ab eo honorifice tractata est. Quam Priamus et Hecuba ut filiam aspexerunt, et diligenter curaverunt, quod numquam Troianos despexisset Argivosque non desiderasset.

[XXXVI] Postera die Agamemnon coepit exercitum ante portas instruere et Dardanos ad proelium provocare. Priamus subsistere, urbem munire et quiescere usque dum Penthesilea cum Amazonibus superveniret. Penthesilea postea supervenit, exercitum contra Agamemnonem educit. Fit proelium ingens, per aliquot dies pugnatur. Argivi fugantur in castris opprimuntur. Cui vix Diomedes obstitit, alioquin naves incendisset et Argivorum universum exercitum devastasset. Proelio dirempto Agamemnon se in castris continuit. Penthesilea vero cotidie prodit Argivos devastat et in bellum provocat. Agamemnon ex consilio castra munit tueturque, et in bellum non prodit, usque dum Menelaus veniat. Menelaus ad Scyrum venit, arma Achillis Neoptolemo filio eius tradit, quae cum sumpsisset, venit et in Argivorum castris vehementer circa patris tumulum lamentatus est. Penthesilea ex consuetudine aciem instruit, et usque ad Argivorum castra prodit. Neoptolemus Myrmidonum princeps contra aciem ducit. Agamemnon exercitum instruit. Pariter ambo concurrunt. Neoptolemus stragem facit. Occurrit Penthesilea et fortiter in proelio versatur. Utrique per aliquot dies acriter pugnaverunt, multosque occiderunt. Penthesilea Neoptolemum sauciat. Ille dolore accepto Amazonidum ductricem Penthesileam obruncat. Eo facto totum exercitum Troianorum in fugam convertit, in urbem victi refugiunt. Argivi cum exercitu murum circundant, ut foras Troiani exire non possent.

[XXXVII] Hoc postquam Troiani viderunt, Antenor Polydamas Aeneas ad Priamum veniunt. Agunt cum eo, ut consilium convocet et deliberet quid de fortunis suis futurum sit. Priamus consilium convocat: qui postulaverunt sibi loquendi facultatem dari iubet eis dicere quid desiderent. Antenor memorat principes defensores Troiae Hectorem ceterosque natos eius cum advenis ductoribus interfectos esse, Argivis remanere fortissimos Agamemnonem Menelaum Neoptolemum, non minus fortem quam pater eius fuit, Diomedem Aiace Locrum ceterosque quam conplures summaeque prudentiae Nestorem Ulixem. Contra, Troianos clausos et metu contritos esse. Suadet potius esse, ut Helena his reddatur et ea quae Alexander cum sociis

abstulerat reddantur et pax fiat. Postquam multis verbis de pace concilianda egerunt, surgit Amphimachus filius Priami adolescens fortissimus, malis verbis Antenorem adortus est et eos qui consenserant, increpare facta eorum, suadere potius educendum exercitum, inruptionem in castra faciendam, usque dum vincant aut victi pro patria occumbant. Postquam is finem fecit, Aeneas exurgit, lenibus mitibusque dictis Amphimacho repugnat, ab Argivis pacem petendam magnopere suadet. Polydamas eadem suadet.

[XXXVIII] Postquam dicendi finis factus est, Priamus magno animo surgit, ingerit multa mala Anteriori et Aeneae. Eos belli appetendi auctores fuisse, ut legatos in Graeciam mitterentur, Antenorem quidem obiurgat, quia pacem suadet, cum ipse quoque legatus ierit et renuntiaverit se contumeliose tractatum esse et ipse bellum suaserit. Deinde Aeneam qui cum Alexandro Helenam et praedam eripuerit. Quapropter certum sibi esse pacem non fieri: imperatque uti omnes parati sint, ut cum signum dederit, e portis inruptionem faciant, aut vincere aut mori sibi certum esse. Haec postquam multis verbis dixit hortatusque est eos, consilium dimittit, Amphimachum secum in regiam duxit dicitque ei vereri se ab his qui pacem suaserunt, ne oppidum prodant, eos habere de plebe multos qui una sentiant, opus esse eos interfici. Quod si hoc factum sit, se esse patriam defensurum, et Argivos superaturum. Simulque rogat, ut sibi fidelis et obaudiens paratusque cum armis sit, id sine suspitione posse fieri. Postera die ita uti solet rem divinam facturum eosque ad cenam vocaturum. Tunc Amphimachus consilio armatis inruptionem faciat eosque interimat. Amphimachus consilium eius approbat seque hoc facturum promittit, atque ita ab eo discessit.

[XXXIX] Eodem die clam conveniunt Antenor Polydamas Ucalegon Dolon, dicunt se mirari regis pertinaciam qui inclusus cum patria et comitibus perire malit quam pacem facere. Antenor ait se invenisse quod sibi et illis in commune proficiat, quod quo pacto fieri possit dicturum si sibi fides servaretur. Omnes se in fidem Anteriori obstringunt. Antenor, ut vidit se obstructum, mittit ad Aenean, dicit patriam prodendam esse et sibi et suis esse cavendum, ad Agamemnonem de his rebus aliquem esse mittendum, quid id sine suspitione curet, maturandum esse, animadvertisse se Priamum iratum de consilio surrexisse, quia ei pacem suaserit: vereri se ne quid novi consilii ineat. Itaque omnes promittunt: statim Polydamantem, qui ex his minime invidiosus erat ad Agamemnonem clam mittunt. Polydamas in castra Argivorum pervenit, Agamemnonem convenit, dicit ei quae suis placuerint.

[XL] Agamemnon clam nocte omnes duces in consilium convocat eadem refert, quid cuique videatur dicere iubet. Omnibus placitum est, ut fides proditoribus servaretur. Ulixes et Nestor dixerunt se vereri hanc rem subire. Neoptolemus hos refutat. Dum inter se certant, placitum est signum a Polydamante exigi et id ipsum propter Sinonem ad Aenean et Anchisen et Antenorem mitti. Sinon ad Troiam proficiscitur et quia nondum claves portae Amphimachi custodibus

tradiderat, signo dato Sinon vocem Aeneae et Anchisae et Antenoris audiendo confirmatus Agamemnoni renuntiat. Tunc placitum est omnibus, ut fides daretur iureiurando confirmaretur, ut si oppidum proxima nocte tradidissent Antenori Ucalegonti Polydamanti Aeneae Doloni suisque omnibus parentibus fides servaretur nec non liberis, coniugibus consanguineis amicis propinquis qui una coniurassent suaque omnia incolumia sibi habere liceat. Hoc pacto confirmato et iureiurando adstricto, suadet Polydamas noctu exercitum ad portam Scaeam adducant, ubi extrinsecus caput equi sculptum est, ibi praesidia habere noctu Antenorem et Anchisen, exercitui Argivorum portam reseratuos, eisque lumen prolaturus. Id signum eruptionis fore.

[XLI] Postquam pacta dicta demonstrata sunt, Polydamas in oppidum redit, rem peractam nuntiat dicitque Antenori et Aeneae ceterisque quibus placitum erat, uti suos omnes in eam partem adducant, noctu Scaeam portam aperiant, lumen ostendant, exercitum inducant. Antenor et Aeneas noctu ad portam praesto fuerunt, Neoptolemum susceperunt, exercitui portam reseraverunt, lumen ostenderunt, fugam praesidio sibi suisque ut sit providerunt. Neoptolemus praesidium dat, Antenor eum in regiam ducit, ubi Troianis positum praesidium erat. Neoptolemus in regiam inruptionem facit, Troianos caedit, Priamum persequitur, quem ante aram Iovis obtruncat. Hecuba dum fugit cum Polyxena Aeneas occurrit, Polyxenam tradit se ei, quam Aeneas ad patrem Anchisen abscondit. Andromacha et Cassandra se in aede Minervae occultant. Tota nocte non cessant Argivi devastare praedasque facere.

[XLII] Postquam dies inluxit, Agamemnon universos duces in arce convocat. Diis gratias agit, exercitum conlaudat, omnem praedam iubet in medio reponendam: quam cum omnibus partitus est simulque consulit exercitum, an placeat Antenori et Aeneae et his qui una patriam prodiderant, fidem servari. Exercitus totus conclamat placere sibi: itaque convocatis omnibus sua omnia reddit. Antenor rogat Agamemnonem, ut sibi loqui liceat. Agamemnon dicere iubet. Principio omnibus Graiugenis gratias agit simulque commemorat Helenum et Cassandram pacem semper patri suasisse, Achillemque suasu Heleni sepulturae redditum fuisse. Agamemnon ex consilii sententia Heleno et Cassandrae libertatem reddit. Helenus pro Hecuba et Andromacha Agamemnonem deprecatur commemoratque semper ab his esse dilectum. Etiam his ex consilii sententia libertas concessa est. Interea praedam omnem exercitui ut decuit divisit, diis gratias agit, hostias immolavit. Quinta die domum reverti constituunt.

[XLIII] Ut dies profectionis advenit, tempestates magnae exortae sunt, et per aliquot dies remanserunt. Calchas respondit inferis satis factum non esse. Neoptolemo in mentem venit Polyxenam, cuius causa pater eius perierat, in regia non esse inventam. Agamemnonem poscit conqueritur, exercitum accusat. Antenorem accersiri iubet imperatque ei ut inquirat eam inventamque ad se adducat. Antenor ad Aeneam venit et diligentius quaerit ut priusquam Argivi

proficiscantur, Polyxena Agamemnoni praesentetur. Polyxenam ab eis absconsam invenit, ad Agamemnonem adducit. Agamemnon Neoptolemo tradit, is eam ad tumulum patris iugulat. Agamemnon iratus Aeneae quod Polyxenam absconderat, eum cum suis protinus de patria excedere iubet. Aeneas cum suis omnibus proficiscitur. Agamemnon postquam profectus est, Helena post aliquot dies, maesta magis quam quando venerat domum reportatur cum suo Menelao. Helenus cum Cassandra sorore et Andromacha Hectoris fratris uxore et Hecuba matre Chersonesum petit.

[XLIV] Hactenus Dares Phrygius Graecis mandavit litteris, nam is ibidem cum Antenoris factione remansit. Pugnatum est annis decem mensibus sex diebus duodecim ad Troiam. Ruerunt ex Argivis, sicut acta diurna indicant quae Dares descripsit, hominum milia DCCCLXXXVI et ex Troianis ruerunt usque ad oppidum proditum hominum milia DCLXXVI. Aeneas navibus profectus est in quibus Alexander in Graeciam ierat, numero viginti duabus. Quem omnis aetas hominum secuta est in milibus tribus et quadringetis. Antenorem secuti sunt duo milia quingenti. Helenum et Andromacham mille ducenti.



