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# The Vacillations of the Trojan Myth: Popularization & Classicization, Variation & Codification<sup>1</sup>

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Petersen's *Troy*, claiming only to be "inspired by Homer's *Iliad*," contains more Iliadic material than most works of art of the past three millennia. The archaic Greek cyclic poets created popular and romantic prequels and sequels to the events of the war, of which Homer's *Iliad* comprises a relatively small part, so only a proportionally small percentage of works by subsequent Greco-Roman poets and painters recast or illustrated events from the *Iliad*. Later antiquity questioned the authenticity of Homer's account, and along with the medieval neglect of Greek this led to the dominance of the accounts by Dares, Dictys, and Benoît de Sainte-Maure. The recovery of Greek in the Renaissance relegated Homer's epic to scholarly ventures, and Schliemann's identification of the historical Troy discouraged popular artists from transferring the *Iliad* to new twentieth-century genres and media.

## *Introduction: Artists, Invention, Authenticity, and the Classical Tradition*

When the mythological fantasy film, *Clash of the Titans*, premiered in 1981, I had the opportunity to meet with Ray Harryhausen, who was responsible for realizing the film's Dynamation effects, thereby bringing Pegasus to life by creating the visual images of a winged white stallion soaring above the clouds with Perseus riding on his back. Harryhausen and I talked

1. The following article developed out of a paper presented at a conference on "The Aesthetics of Power and the Classical Epic Tradition" held at Boston University on November 19, 2004, to mark the completion of the first ten volumes of this journal, *IJCT* volumes 1 (1994/95) to 10 (2003/04). Articles based on the other four papers read at the conference have been published in *IJCT* vol. 13 (2006/07) 449-570. – The author wishes to express his thanks to the editor, Wolfgang Haase, for his numerous suggestions, and to Daniel Javitch (New York University, Department of Comparative Literature) as well.

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about mythology and film for a few minutes, and when he, a filmmaker, asked me, a classicist, what was not authentic about the film, the following exchange took place, as best I can reconstruct it:

Solomon: "I was wondering how you came up with the idea to have Perseus ride Pegasus—because in our ancient Greek sources it is the lesser known hero Bellerophon who rides Pegasus; Perseus is the hero who cuts off Medusa's head which in turn causes her to give birth to Pegasus, but he never rides Pegasus."<sup>2</sup>

Harryhausen: "Did you see the film? Did you think the scenes in which Perseus rides on Pegasus above the mountains and clouds were convincing?"

Solomon: "Yes, those scenes were quite imaginative and effective."

Harryhausen: "So that's why I did it!"

Solomon: "Well, you're actually in good company: there is plenty of historical precedent for doing it this way going all the way back to the Renaissance."<sup>3</sup>

I begin with this anecdote because, despite its apparent superficiality, it confirmed for me what I had begun thinking in 1977 while writing *The Ancient World in the Cinema*. There I allowed for an artist's creativity and originality to balance the authenticities required by a film set in antiquity.<sup>4</sup> But as a result of this encounter and others in which I had the opportunity to talk with artists, I eventually developed something tantamount to a guideline: whether an artist (filmmaker or otherwise) is faithful to the ancient sources or distorts historical, literary, or iconographic authenticity, I, as a classicist interested in studying methods of representing classical antiquity in the arts and the continuing development of the classical tradition, require myself at least to attempt to understand the artist's purpose in preserving, paralleling, adapting, or even contradicting this authenticity.

This guideline applies in particular to a film like Wolfgang Petersen's *Troy*, which via camera and computer renders into drama what can be considered both a cycle of well-known ancient Greek myths and a significant event in ancient history as well as one of the most important works of epic poetry ever written, Homer's *Iliad*.<sup>5</sup> A myth is a fiction—at least in the rational world—and lends itself to narrative variation and adaptation as well as in-

2. For a summary of the early sources, see Timothy Gantz, *Early Greek Myth: A Guide to Literary and Artistic Sources* (Baltimore & London: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1993) 314-316.

3. For the late medieval sources of the conflation, and the ancient accounts that may have led to it, see John M. Steadman, "Perseus Upon Pegasus and Ovid Moralized," *Review of English Studies* 9 (1958) 407-410. For a subsequent list, see Jane Davidson Reid, *The Oxford Guide to Classical Mythology in the Arts, 1300-1990s* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993) II, 876-883.

4. Jon Solomon, *The Ancient World in the Cinema* (South Brunswick NJ: A. S. Barnes and Company, 1978) 10, 23; revised and expanded edition (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2001) 25-31.

5. For *Troy*, see the recent Martin M. Winkler, ed., *Troy: From Homer's Iliad to Hollywood Epic* (Malden MA: Blackwell Publishing Ltd., 2007); and Gideon Nisbet, *Ancient Greece in Film and Popular Culture*, ser. Greece and Rome Lives (Exeter:

novative thematic interpretation.<sup>6</sup> Accounts of ancient historical events have been recorded by only a few sources at best, rarely by eyewitnesses, and, insofar as the details of bronze age events are concerned, are particularly difficult to reconstruct accurately. Even allowing for oral variants and the so-called "wild papyri,"<sup>7</sup> Homer's *Iliad* offers the most monolithic narrative of the three, but Petersen never claimed that his purpose was to dramatize Homer's *Iliad*. Petersen was "inspired" by the poem, but as an artist dramatizing an ancient cycle of myths and an inaccurately documented historical event, Petersen respected the required narrative and iconographical parameters but thereby acquired in turn the authority to alter the internal details of mythical and mytho-historical events.<sup>8</sup> Many artists do not alter myths or historical events drastically; they simply retell them in conformance with their source material—irrespective of the reliability of their sources. But when independently thinking artists do alter them in significant ways, they often make a notable change of direction in the tradition.

This precedent begins with Homer and Hesiod and continues throughout antiquity and beyond. Homer hardly describes the actual events of a thirteenth-century Mycenaean invasion of Wilusa, and his text confuses bronze age and geometric elements.<sup>9</sup> The *Iliad* itself seems to contain a number of nar-

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University of Exeter Press, 2006) 78-86, along with my review, forthcoming in this journal, *IJCT* 15.1 (2008).

6. For a recent discussion of the relationship between fiction and truth, fiction and history including variation and contextualization of Homeric myth, see G. W. Bowersock, *Fiction as History: Nero to Julian*, Sather Classical Lectures 58 (Berkeley, Los Angeles and London: University of California Press, 1994) 9-27.
7. For a summary of recent scholarship in reevaluating the extent to which Homer's text was codified, recorded, and varied, see Margalit Finkelberg, "The *Cypria*, the *Iliad*, and the Problem of Multifority in Oral and Written Tradition," *Classical Philology* 95 (2000) 1-11.
8. Petersen had studied ancient Greek at the Johanneum Gymnasium in Hamburg for at least six years. When he heard that Warner Brothers was developing a film inspired by the *Iliad*, he "flashed back right away to schooltime." See Winkler, ed., *Troy* (above, n. 5) 5.
9. On the historicity of the Trojan War, insofar as Petersen's *Troy* is concerned, see Manfred O. Korfmann, "Was There a Trojan War? Troy Between Fiction and Archaeological Evidence," in Winkler, ed., *Troy* (above, n. 5) 20-26, after Manfred Korfmann, Joachim Latacz and David Hawkins, "Was There a Trojan War?" *Archaeology* 57, no. 3 (May-June 2004) 36-41. Korfmann 2007 (26) concludes with the working hypothesis "that we ought to take Homer seriously about the background information of a war between Trojans and Greeks that his epic provides." Carol G. Thomas and Craig Conant *The Trojan War*, ser. Greenwood guides to historic events of the ancient world (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2005; reprint: Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press, 2007) 94 sum up their book by speaking of "the tale of Troy – which we have argued seems to be built on a factual base." No clear stand on the matter is taken by Andrew Dalby, *Rediscovering Homer: Inside the Origins of Epic* (New York and London: W. W. Norton & Co., 2006) 31-63 ("The *Iliad* and History"). Radically skeptical about even the possibility of specific recollections of a 'Trojan War' in the Homeric epic: Kurt Raaflaub, "Historical approaches to Homer," in Sigrid Deger-Jalkotzy and Irene S. Lemos, eds., *Ancient Greece: From the Mycenaean Palaces to the Age of Homer*, Edinburgh Leventis Studies 3 (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2006) 449-462, esp. 451-455.

rative and mythological inventions.<sup>10</sup> Hesiod seems to have invented the character Epimetheus as a less foresighted foil to his forward-thinking Prometheus,<sup>11</sup> while Pindar in his *First Olympian Ode* (35-40) purposefully and unabashedly announces that he is changing the myth of Pelops.<sup>12</sup> Thucydides observes this process in the works of poets (e.g. Homer) and chroniclers (e.g. Herodotus),<sup>13</sup>

The conclusions drawn from the verbal evidence I have considered should not be in error when compared to the poets who exaggerate their songs or the chroniclers who collect information to make recitations more pleasing than truthful, speaking of matters beyond the reach of evidence, many of them rendered legendary by the expanse of time.

But although Thucydides criticizes his predecessors for such artistic license and attempted to be as accurate as possible, he (1.22) willingly admits that he reconstructs the speeches of the politicians and generals he discusses, and these are the speeches of contemporary historical figures, not of legendary figures from the bronze age. Plato manufactured a number of myths, at least two of them—the myths of Er (*Rep.* 10.614b-618b) and Atlantis (*Ti.* 24e-25d; *Criti.* 108e-109a)—having considerable influence for centuries and, in the case

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(“The Trojan War”). Stefanie Jahn, *Der Troia-Mythos: Rezeption und Transformation in epischen Geschichtsdarstellungen der Antike* (Köln, Weimar, Wien: Böhlau Verlag, 2007) rightly speaks of “Der Troiamythos als Geschichtsfiktion” (pp. 25-27). For the debate on Troy from Heinrich Schliemann to Manfred Korfmann and the aftermath see also below, p. 529 f. with n. 197

10. See, for example, Wolfgang Kullmann, “Gods and Men in the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*,” *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology* 89 (1985) 17 (= id., *Homerische Motive. Beiträge zur Entstehung, Eigenart und Wirkung von Ilias und Odyssee*, ed. Roland J. Müller [Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1992] 257); and M. M. Willcock, “Ad Hoc Invention in the *Iliad*,” *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology* 81 (1971) 41-53. For the problem of differentiating what Homer inherited and what he invented, see Mabel L. Lang, “Reverberation and Mythology in the *Iliad*” in Carl A. Rubino and Cynthia W. Shelmerdine, eds., *Approaches to Homer* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1983) 140-164; Lang, “War Story into Wrath Story,” in J. B. Carter and Sarah P. Morris, eds., *The Ages of Homer: A Tribute to Emily Townsend Vermeule* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1995) 149-162; and Lowell Edmunds, “Myth in Homer,” in Ian Morris and Barry Powell, eds., *A New Companion to Homer*, Mnemosyne Suppl. 163 (Leiden, New York, Köln: Brill, 1997) 428-434.
11. Cf. M. L. West, *Hesiod Theogony; Edited with Prolegomena and Commentary* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1966) 307, 309-310; and Gantz, *Early Greek Myth* (above, n. 2) 164.
12. See Adolf Köhnken, “Pindar as Innovator: Poseidon Hippios and the Relevance of the Pelops Story in *Olympian 1*,” *Classical Quarterly* 24 (1974) 199-206 (repr. in id., *Darstellungsziele und Erzählstrategien in antiken Texten* [Berlin and New York: Walter de Gruyter, 2006] 259-267); Douglas E. Gerber, *Pindar's Olympian One: A Commentary* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1982) xi-xv, 89-90; and Gordon Kirkwood, *Selections From Pindar* (Chico, CA: Scholars Press, 1982) 43.
13. Thucydides 1.21: ἐκ δὲ τῶν εἰρομένων τεκμηρίων ὁμῶς τοιαῦτα ἂν τις νομίζων μάλιστα ἃ διήλθον οὐχ ἁμαρτάνοι, καὶ οὔτε ὥς ποιηταὶ ὑμνήκασι περὶ αὐτῶν ἐπὶ τὸ μείζον κοσμοῦντες μᾶλλον πιστεύων, οὔτε ὥς λογογράφοι ξυνέθεσαν ἐπὶ τὸ προσαγωγώτερον τῇ ἀκροάσει ἢ ἀληθέστερον, ὄντα ἀνεξέλεγκτα καὶ τὰ πολλὰ ὑπὸ χρόνου αὐτῶν ἀπίστως ἐπὶ τὸ μυθῶδες ἐκνευικηκότα.

of the latter, even being accepted as historical.<sup>14</sup> These are just a few notable examples of a creative process that innovative ancient artists intuitively mastered, and the same process continues through the intervening centuries to the modern period.

This would not be an important point to make since it has been such an artistic commonplace throughout Western history and is a *sine qua non* of film adaptation.<sup>15</sup> But several shocking sequences in *Troy* demand its restatement here. The specific sequences to which I refer take place within the space of four minutes (1'16"-1'20"), wherein at the climax of a battle scene Petersen has Hector kill first Menelaus and then Ajax. When that happens, much to the astonishment of classical scholars—including myself at first viewing—this version of the Trojan myth becomes Petersen's version of the Trojan myth. Petersen establishes membership among the impressive list of notable artists who have made major revisions to the Troy tale, a list which, as we shall see, is considerable in size and which, we should not forget, includes Homer.

Why does Petersen (or writer David Benioff) have Hector kill Menelaus and Ajax?<sup>16</sup> I do not know for certain, of course, but in the dramaturgical sense Petersen's innovation establishes Hector as a more worthy opponent of the invincible Achilles, setting up the climactic duel between the two of them. In the *Iliad* Homer does not have Achilles perform in battle at all until late in the epic, but Petersen, seeking some significant action at the outset of his action film, has already made sure to establish the prowess of Achilles in battle long before: near the opening we see a duel between Achilles and the Thessalonian Boagrius, which serves to establish the former as swift of foot and sure of hand.<sup>17</sup> These subsequent twin-killings by Hector thereby help to establish the

14. On the tradition of Plato's Myth of Er, see, for instance, Isidore Silver, "Ronsard's Reflections on the Heavens and Time," *Proceedings of the Modern Language Association* 80 (1965) 344-364; and Josephine Waters Bennett, "Milton's Use of the Vision of Er," *Modern Philology* 36 (1939) 351-358. For Plato's mythological invention of Atlantis in a socio-political context, see Kathryn A. Morgan, "Designer History: Plato's Atlantis Story and Fourth-Century Ideology," *Journal of Hellenic Studies* 118 (1998) 101-118; for a historiological reading, see Gerard Naddaf, "The Atlantis Myth: An Introduction to Plato's Later Philosophy of History," *Phoenix* 48 (1994) 189-209; for an annotated translation of Plato's texts on Atlantis (from the *Timaeus* and *Critias*), see Diskin Clay and Andrea Purvis, *Four Island Utopias, being Plato's Atlantis, Euhemerus of Messene's Panchaia, Iamboulos' Island of the Sun, Sir Francis Bacon's New Atlantis*, ser. The Focus Classical Library (Newburyport, MA: Focus Publishing/R. Pullins Company, 1999) 53-97 (with "Introduction," 36-41). For a modern account of Atlantidean history, see Charles R. Pellegrino, *Unearthing Atlantis: An Archaeological Odyssey to the Fabled Lost Civilization* (New York: Random House, 1990).
15. Even high-profile, best-selling novels which have attracted legions of devoted readers, e.g. the Lord of the Rings trilogy and the Harry Potter series, necessarily undergo significant omissions and rearrangement of episode as well as conflations of character. For the application to films set in antiquity, see Martin M. Winkler, "Gladiator and the Traditions of Historical Cinema," in Winkler, ed., *Gladiator: Film and History* (Malden MA: Blackwell Publishing Ltd., 2004) 16-30.
16. Queries to Petersen and Benioff by correspondence have not yet merited a response.
17. The name of Boagrius (Hom. *Il.* 2.533) is that of a river in Locris; Strabo (9.4.4) says this river is also known by the name Manes.

final duel between Achilles and Hector as indeed a grand championship. In terms of cinematic tradition, there is the time-honored Hollywood requirement of killing villains, as the Atreidae are characterized in the film. Movie villains must be punished, or at least it is quite rare that they are not, and in a film which is filled with heroes and villains, many villains must die, as we see at the end of the film when both Agamemnon and Achilles are executed by Briseis and Paris, respectively. This helps account for the slaying of Menelaus at least. Also, by killing off Menelaus, Petersen releases Helen from her marital obligation so she can flee from Troy with Paris at the end of the film—without jumping through absurd narrative hoops, as Stesichorus (fr. 192) was forced to do with his Egyptian Helen.<sup>18</sup> And then there is the powerfully effective shock value of the moment: could anyone who has read the *Iliad*, whether as student, teacher, or lay reader, be anything but stunned by this unexpected sequence in which both Menelaus and then Ajax fall in battle at the hands of Hector?

This is precisely the type of cinematic moment that forces the scholar of the classical tradition to ponder more thoroughly and at least consider alternative narrative tracts. To do so it helps to keep in mind that Menelaus and Hector were not historical characters, certainly at least not to the extent that we have any reliable information about individual events in their lives or the cause or place of their deaths. Even if one or both were originally historical bronze-age kings or warriors, insofar as their roles in the *Iliad* are concerned, they are mere fictional characters, and, equally important, they were in all likelihood not fictional characters invented by Homer. Homer's Menelaus and Homer's Hector do not have anything resembling an authentic history other than what is found in the Homeric narrative. In *Troy* Petersen and Benioff are the artists treating the fictional characters and narratives of the Trojan War, so now Menelaus and Hector are their characters, the story of the Trojan War is their narrative, and they make their artistic choices accordingly. Our function is to consider why they change the fiction and how this fits into their cinematic conception and realization of the Trojan War and into the entire tradition of the Trojan tale. Our function is certainly not to say, simply, that Homer

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18. Stesichorus retracted his (lost) poem denigrating Helen—which caused him to go blind—by writing a palinode (quoted in Plato *Phdr.* 243A; *R.* 586C) claiming that she never went to Troy, which regained him his eyesight. See David A. Campbell, *Greek Lyric III: Stesichorus, Ibycus, Simonides, and Others*, Loeb Classical Library 476 (Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press, 1991) 92-97. For recent work and doubts about the authenticity of the story, see Alexander J. Beecroft, "'This is not a true story': Stesichorus's Palinode and the Revenge of the Epichoric," *Transactions of the American Philological Association* 126 (2006) 47-69; and W. S. Barrett, *Greek Lyric, Tragedy, and Textual Criticism: Collected Papers* (M. L. West, ed.) (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007) 1-37. Nonetheless, the variant that Helen spent the war in Egypt inspired subsequent works of art, including Euripides' *Helen* and, centuries later, H. D.'s canto epic, *Helen in Egypt*; see the recent Brittany Hughes, *Helen of Troy: Goddess, Princess, Whore* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2005); Michèle Broze, ed., *Le mythe d'Hélène*, ser. Mythes et Religions (Brussels: Ousia, 2003); Maurizio Bettini and Carlo Brillante, *Il mito di Elena: immagini e racconti dalla Grecia ad oggi* (Torino: G. Einaudi, 2002); and Matthew Gumpert, *Grafting Helen: The Abduction of the Classical Past* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2001) esp. 18-19.

did not do this and that therefore it is not authentic, or worse, that it is *wrong*, and that therefore the Petersen/Benioff version is inaccurate or inauthentic, and ergo poor or ineffective. There is no right or wrong here, only what exists artistically.

Beyond the linguistic play on multi-syllabic Latinate nouns, the reason I use the term “vacillations” and the pairs of opposing terms “popularization and classicization” and “variation and codification” in the title of this paper is that they apply quite fittingly to the unique tradition of the myths surrounding the Trojan War. And I use the word “surrounding” here specifically as well, for the traditions of myths involving the Trojan War are indeed surrounded by a large corpus of myths generally known as the Cyclic Epics (or “epic cycle”) that precede and follow the events of the *Iliad* and the entire Trojan War.<sup>19</sup> The compass of these myths both before Homer and after vacillated in that they were transmitted orally and greatly varied in popular epics, then they were turned into literary works that became regarded as classics that were in turn segmented, imitated, and varied again, being subsequently codified as classics, which were then imitated, varied, and again popularized.

This process began in bronze-age Greece, continued throughout iron-age, geometric, archaic, classical, and Hellenistic Greece and from contemporary Republican Rome well into the Empire, went through a second cycle in late antiquity continuing into the middle ages and Renaissance, and has gone through still another cycle in the modern period. This is a repetitious, cyclical process, one which contradicts thoroughly the received assumption that Homer’s *Iliad*, because of its considerable reputation as a literary classic, became and persisted as the exemplar for subsequent artists to imitate and recast as “slices of Homer.”<sup>20</sup>

19. See M. L. West, *Greek Epic Fragments from the Seventh to the Fifth Centuries BC*, Loeb Classical Library 497 (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2003); and Malcolm Davies, *The Greek Epic Cycle*<sup>2</sup> (London: Gerald Duckworth & Co., Ltd., 1989). West (12-19) discusses authorship, content, and other difficulties. The poems are dated to the eighth and seventh centuries B.C. and attributed variously to Homer, Stasinus of Cyprus, Hegesinus of Salamis, Eumelus of Corinth, Arctinus of Miletus, and others. Although the poems were arranged chronologically in the third century BC, perhaps by the first Homeric scholar of note, Zenodotus of Ephesus, the texts were lost in the ensuing centuries. The unidentified late-ancient grammarian Proclus summarized them in his *Chrestomathy*, and then the ninth-century patriarch Photius in his *Bibliotheca* wrote a synopsis of Proclus’ work; Photius’ synopsis is preserved in Venetus A—a Venetian manuscript containing a copy of the *Iliad* (Venetus gr. 239). For an early discussion, see D. B. Monro, “On the Fragment of Proclus’ Abstract of the Epic Cycle Contained in the Codex Venetus of the *Iliad*,” *Journal of Hellenic Studies* 4 (1883) 305-334. For the text and transmission of Proclus’ *Chrestomathy*, see Albert Severyns, *Recherches sur la Chrestomathie de Proclus*, Bibliothèque de la Faculté de Philosophie et Lettres de l’Université de Liège 78, 79, and 132 (Paris: E. Droz, 1938, 1938, and 1953). On dating Proclus, who was either the well-known fifth-century Neoplatonist or a later grammarian, see West (12) and Michael Hillgruber, “Zur Zeitbestimmung der Chrestomathie des Proklos,” *Rheinisches Museum*, Neue Folge 133 (1990) 397-404.

20. The phrase, attributed to Aeschylus (Ath. *Deip.* 8.39.347e), later echoed by Eustathius (*Ad Iliadem* 23.256), has in modern scholarship been interpreted variously to suggest that Aeschylus believed Homer to have composed the entire epic cycle, or that it serves as an erudite joke by juxtaposing Aeschylus’ slices of fish (in the

Because the subject of authenticity in contemporary popular cinema, insofar as it attempts to recreate ancient settings and narratives, is of considerable complexity, this paper addresses only the specific but widely repeated criticism that Petersen's *Troy*, which, again, claims in the credits only to be "inspired by Homer's *Iliad*," does not accurately represent Homer's *Iliad*.<sup>21</sup> This particular criticism became common enough among movie critics, few of whom know the *Iliad* well at all, but it also seemed to be ubiquitous among comments made by many of my colleagues in classical studies, whether these comments were made to me personally or via an intermediary, or whether I heard them in sessions at regional or national meetings.<sup>22</sup> To the contrary, dramatic representations of the Trojan War have traditionally followed the Homeric version, which covers at most only a few months of the conflict, only in part and expanded upon it because the *Iliad* includes no account of the causes, beginning, or conclusion of the war. Indeed, by the end of the following survey we will see that Petersen's *Troy*, hardly a film version of Homer's *Iliad*, belongs entirely to and fittingly within the tradition of the Troy myth.

This survey will place *Troy* at the end of the artistic tradition associated with Homer's *Iliad* and within the mythological context of the general Troy tale, which is one of the longest continuous narrative traditions in all of Western culture. As a survey it is by nature incomplete. I make no pretense of addressing every work derived directly or indirectly from the *Iliad*, let alone associated with the corpus of myths surrounding the Trojan War. Such a comprehensive survey is beyond the scope of this paper. The purpose of the survey is to examine general trends, and as the survey proceeds it will become clear, 1) that the tradition has always been at least bifurcated and has usually

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context of Athenaeus' banquet) and Homer's meat eaters. See John A. Scott, "Athenaeus on Aeschylus and Homer," *Classical Journal* 16 (1921) 302-303; and Max Radin, "Homer and Aeschylus," *Classical Journal* 17 (1922) 332-334.

21. Martin M. Winkler, "The *Iliad* and the Cinema," in Winkler, ed., *Troy* (above, n. 5) 43-67, addresses this issue by discussing literary structures, e.g. similes, and Homeric themes in the cinema.
22. See my comments in Jon Solomon, "Viewing *Troy*: Authenticity, Criticism, Interpretation," in Winkler, ed., *Troy* (above, n. 5) 85-98. Of all the professional film critics' cleverly crafted comments regarding the film's lack of fidelity to Homer, that by Roger Ebert of the *Chicago Sun-Times* stands out: "Homer's estate should sue." But he subsequently reveals his lack of familiarity with Iliadic battles: "the movie shows perhaps 100,000 men in hand-to-hand combat, and then completely forgets them in order to focus on the Patroclus battle scene, with everybody standing around like during a fight on the playground." For the review, see: <http://rogerebert.suntimes.com/apps/pbcs.dll/article?AID=/20040514/REVIEWS/40514030/1023>. Kenneth Turan of the *Los Angeles Times* ([http://www.fandango.com/troy\\_84171/criticreviews](http://www.fandango.com/troy_84171/criticreviews)) wrote: "For those viewers familiar with *The Iliad*—not exactly a key demographic—*Troy*'s script is a strange combination of accurate small details and major departures. ... The most interesting change from the ancient sources (except for a brief cameo by Julie Christie as Achilles' mother, Thetis) is the complete absence of the Greek gods. Their names are mentioned frequently but, very different from *The Iliad* and *The Odyssey*, they do not physically appear and involve themselves in the world of flesh and blood." Also common were comments like those of Mick LaSalle of the *San Francisco Chronicle*: ([http://www.filmspot.com/pages/tracking/index.php?tid=10&ref\\_id=303329](http://www.filmspot.com/pages/tracking/index.php?tid=10&ref_id=303329)): "*Troy* is all Hollywood and no Homer."

consisted of multiple branches, making accuracy and authenticity a matter of choice, 2) that the processes of classicization, popularization, codification, and variation have worked within these various branches of the tradition, and 3) that the Trojan War tradition has been relatively un-Homeric and even anti-Homeric for a large portion of the 2700 years since Homer seems to have composed the *Iliad*. In the survey it will also become apparent how rare it has been for an artist of any era to construct an accurate and/or successful representation of the *Iliad*.<sup>23</sup>

### I. Ancient Greece

We begin within Homer's *Iliad* itself and a feature as quintessential as the characterization of the protagonist Achilles. In the first book (1.415-418) Thetis laments that Achilles has but one destiny, whereas in the ninth book (9.410-416) Achilles claims to have a choice of two destinies. These two concepts of destiny are incompatible.<sup>24</sup> Externally, Homer's Achilles conflicts with several well known literary variants. Romance, fear, and cowardice are not characteristic of the Homeric Achilles, but before the Trojan conflict the Achilles of the cyclic *Cypria* sailed to the island of Skyros and married Lycomedes' daughter Deidameia.<sup>25</sup> By the fifth century this myth had developed into the very

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23. For comprehensive surveys and anthologies, see Margaret Scherer, *The Legends of Troy in Art and Literature* (New York: Phaidon Press for the Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1963); Andrew Erskine, *Troy Between Greece and Rome: Local Tradition and Imperial Power* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001); Martin Zimmermann, ed., *Der Traum von Troia* (Munich: C. H. Beck, 2006); Heinz Hofmann, ed., *Troia von Homer bis heute* (Tübingen: Attempto Verlag, 2004). See also, Georg Danek, "The Story of Troy Through the Centuries," in Winkler, ed., *Troy* (above, n. 5) 68-84; and Ernst A. Schmidt, "Achill," in Heinz Hofmann, ed., *Antike Mythen in der europäischen Tradition* (Tübingen: Attempto Verlag, 1999) 91-125.
  24. See, for instance, Bryan Hainsworth, *The Iliad: A Commentary*; Volume III: Books 9-12 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993) 116. Christopher H. Wilson, *Homer Iliad Books VIII and IX* (Warminster: Aris & Phillips, Ltd, 1996) 236, in demonstrating that *Iliad* 9 has several inconsistencies with the rest of the poem, contrasts the latter passage as well with 16.36. See also, James V. Morrison, "Alternatives to the Epic Tradition: Homer's Challenges in the *Iliad*," *Transactions of the American Philological Association* 122 (1992) 61-71; Bruno Currie, "Homer and the Early Epic Tradition," in M.J. Clarke, B.G.F. Currie, R.O.A.M. Lyne, eds., *Epic Interactions: Perspectives on Homer, Virgil, and the Epic Tradition presented to Jasper Griffin by former pupils* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006) 30.
  25. Proclus *Chr.* 1. On the basis of linguistic elements in the remaining fragments of the *Cypria*, West, *Greek Epic Fragments* (above, n. 19) 13, assumes the *Cypria* were written later than the *Iliad*. See also, Robert Lamberton, *Homer the Theologian: Neoplatonic Allegorical Reading and the Growth of the Epic Tradition* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1986) 177-179. For the poetic account in the "Epithalamium of Achilles and Deidameia" attributed to the second-century B.C. Bion of Smyrna, see J. M. Edmunds, *The Greek Bucolic Poets*, Loeb Classical Library 28 (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1912) 397-401; on the attribution, see also, J. D. Reed, *Bion of Smyrna: The Fragments and the Adonis* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997) 29. For a modern poetic "sequel," see Henry Harmon Chamberlin, *Last Flowers: A Translation of Moschus and Bion* (Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press, 1937) 37-42. That Homer omits this myth does not necessarily mean that he was unfamiliar with it; there is also the possibility that he consciously omit-

un-Homeric tale that Thetis had put Achilles on the island of Skyros and disguised him in woman's clothing to avoid war duty; he was discovered only when Odysseus sounded a trumpet, or offered weaponry amidst wares usually targeted for women, which lured Achilles into revealing himself.<sup>26</sup> Subsequent writers tried to flesh out Homer's brooding warrior by describing his passion for the Amazon Penthesileia,<sup>27</sup> and by giving him the Trojan princess, Polyxena, as either a sacrificial victim after his death<sup>28</sup> or the object of traitorous congeniality.<sup>29</sup> Then there is the myth of his invulnerability, his mother Thetis treating him in fire<sup>30</sup> or dipping him into the River Styx to make him so, except for the heel by which she held him.<sup>31</sup> Surely the Achilles of the *Iliad* is vulnerable, and we have no literary evidence for this strange variant until the Roman period.<sup>32</sup> But there is some visual evidence, for instance, the now lost, sixth-century Chalcidian amphora attributed to the Inscription Painter, which suggests that Achilles' heel, or more precisely his ankle, was a spot of vulnerability, whether the rest of him was vulnerable or not.<sup>33</sup> In an attempt at some clarity, we can say that either there were at least two variants for the nature of Achilles from the time of Homer, or earlier, or, there were at least two variants that developed from the time of Homer through the Roman period.<sup>34</sup> In either case, there was no single physical characterization of Achilles. Another possibility is that the literary tradition concerning Achilles was not observed by visual artists. There are a number of ancient Greek graphic illustrations of myths and events which do not match up with correlating nar-

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ted mention of it from his epic, or, less likely, that it has been left out in the transmission of our text.

26. It is Pausanias (1.22.6) who reports that already in the fifth century Polygnotus had painted some aspect of this episode in the Athenian Pinacotheca. Cf. Apollodorus *Bibliotheca* 3.174; Ov. *M.* 13.162-170; Hyginus *Fab.* 96; Statius *Ach.* 1.198-396.
27. In addition to later ancient accounts, the *Aethiopis* (Proclus *Chr.* 2; West, *Greek Epic Fragments* [above, n. 19] 14-15) reports that Achilles slew Thersites for taunting him about his love for Penthesileia, suggesting that there was already at least the appearance of love between the two warriors. For the relationship between the *Iliad*, the *Aethiopis* and a hypothetical separate *Memnonis* see Bruno Currie, "Homer and the Early Epic Tradition," in Clarke, Currie and Lyne, eds., *Epic Interactions* (above, n. 24) 24.
28. E.g. in Euripides' *Hecuba*. The paintings in the Athenian Pinacotheca, described in Pausanias (1.22.6), also included a depiction of Polyxena about to be sacrificed on the tomb of Achilles.
29. E.g. Hyginus *Fab.* 110.
30. E.g. Apollodorus *Bibliotheca* 3.171. (See Robin Hard's note in: Apollodorus, *Library of Greek Mythology*, transl. with an Introd. and Notes by R. H., ser. Oxford World's Classics [Oxford: University Press, 1997] 237.)
31. Statius *Ach.* 1.133-34, 268-70, 480-81.
32. Hyginus *Fab.* 107; Servius *Aen.* 6.57.
33. For a discussion and drawing of the lost painting, see Jonathan Burgess, "Achilles' Heel: The Death of Achilles in Ancient Myth," *Classical Antiquity* 14 (1995) 217-43. Burgess observes that a second arrow has pierced Achilles' back, suggesting that this Achilles is not therefore invulnerable either.
34. For additional discussion, see William Hansen, *Ariadne's Thread: A Guide to International Tales Found in Classical Literature* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2002) 483-485.

rative texts.<sup>35</sup> But again, that idea, too, supports the idea that there were multiple and/or developing traditions.

As we have seen, Helen was another bifurcated character from the myths surrounding the Trojan War: the Homeric Helen remains at Troy for the entire span of the war, while the Stesichorean Helen never went to Troy.<sup>36</sup> Reliable sources for these variant traditions of Achilles, Helen, and many other characters and events associated with the Trojan War were not nearly as obscure or unimpressive in the pre-classical period as they are today. Even in Homer's day, or shortly after or before, there was the assortment of epics, many of which were attributed to Homer and therefore seemed to have his imprimatur, completing the rest of the Trojan mythological cycle from Paris' abduction of Helen in the aforementioned *Cypria*, to Paris' slaying of Achilles and the death of Penthesileia in the *Aethiopis*, the episode of the Trojan Horse in the so-called *Little Iliad*, and the sacking of Troy in the *Iliu Persis*. It is important to note that all of these events, except for the death of Penthesileia, are found in Petersen's *Troy*.<sup>37</sup>

35. R. Glynn, "Herakles, Nereus and Triton: A Study of Iconography in Sixth Century Athens," *American Journal of Archaeology* 85 (1981) 121-132, discusses the absence of contemporary literary sources for the depiction of Heracles wrestling the sea monster Triton, which became popular in both Attic vase painting and sculpture in the late sixth century. Descriptions of the Panathenaic procession fail to describe even the sculpted Parthenon frieze to such an extent that R. Holloway, "The Archaic Acropolis and the Parthenon Frieze," *Art Bulletin* 48 (1966) 233, claimed that the former is not the subject of the latter; see also, Susan I. Rotroff, "The Parthenon Frieze and the Sacrifice to Athena," *American Journal of Archaeology* 81 (1977) 379. Similarly, even the brief accounts of Heracles carrying off Apollo's Delphic tripod in Plutarch (*De E apud Delphos* 6.387D), Pausanias (3.21.8), and Apollodorus (2.6.2) all post-date a proliferation of late geometric and archaic relief sculpture and black-figure vase depictions of the myth by more than six centuries.
36. See above, n. 18. In the first half of the second century A.D. the grammarian Ptolemy Chennos ("the Quail") in his *New History* created the fiction of a Helen, daughter of an Athenian man named Musaios, who lived in the time before Homer and had "written a work on the Trojan war ..., from whom Homer is said to have taken the story" (ἡ πρό Ὀμήρου Ἑλένη, ἡ τὸν Ἰλιακὸν συγγραψαμένη πόλεμον ... παρ' ἧς καὶ Ὀμηρον λέγεται λαβεῖν τὴν ὑπόθεσιν, Ptol. Chenn., *Kaine Historia* IV 15, ed. Anton Xhatzis, *Der Philosoph und Grammatiker Ptolemaios Chennos. Leben, Schriftstellerei und Fragmente etc.* I, Studien zur Geschichte und Kultur des Altertums VII, 2, 1 [Paderborn: Druck und Verlag von Ferdinand Schöningh, 1914; repr. New York: Johnson Reprint Corp., 1967] 29). On Ptolemy's *New History* in literary-historical context see G. W. Bowersock, *Fiction as History: Nero to Julian* (above, n. 6) 24-27 and 35.
37. For a brief orientation, see Ken Dowden, "The Epic Tradition in Greece," in Robert Fowler, ed., *The Cambridge Companion to Homer* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004) 188-205, esp. 197-204. See also, Michael J. Anderson, *The Fall of Troy in Early Greek Poetry and Art*, ser. Oxford Classical Monographs (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1997) 105-176; Bernhard Zimmermann, "Scheiben von den grossen Mahlzeiten Homers': Troia und Homer in der griechischen Dichtung der archaischen und klassischen Zeit," in Hofmann, ed., *Troia von Homer bis heute* (above, n. 23) 35-51; and Jonathan S. Burgess, *The Tradition of the Trojan War in Homer and the Epic Cycle* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2001) 7-46. For the view that Homer's *Iliad* is more comprehensive, see Lang, "War Story into Wrath Story" (above, n. 9) 149. On the ascription, in the archaic and classical

The ancient mythological tradition examined thus far has been found to be bifurcated and variable, and, insofar as Homer's *Iliad* is concerned, surprisingly irreverent. This pattern emerges clearly in the sixth century BC, when the influential Stesichorus penned his versions of such post-Homeric tales as the Oresteia, the Wooden Horse, the Sack of Troy, and the Nostoi (Returns) as well as the account of Helen's absence, and continues throughout the classical fifth century.<sup>38</sup> Gregory Nagy in *Pindar's Homer* observes that not only did the fifth-century Pindar fail to distinguish between the Homeric and extra-Homeric aspects of the Troy myth, but he also treated the non-Homeric heroes Cycnus and Memnon as equivalents of the Homeric ones.<sup>39</sup> Thucydides (1.9-11) treats Homer's epic poems as historical texts and mines them for historical and even archaeological information.<sup>40</sup> Despite the statement in *On the Sublime* (13.3), the author of which claims that Herodotus, Stesichorus, Archilochus, and especially Plato are all imitators of Homer, Herodotus (2.118-120) tells us that he believes an entirely non-Homeric variant that came indirectly, through Egyptian priests, from the mouth of Menelaus himself.<sup>41</sup>

Of the thirty-three extant fifth-century B.C. Athenian tragic dramas, more than one-third are extra-Homeric.<sup>42</sup> None can be said to be direct dramatiza-

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periods, of much of the epic cycle beyond *Iliad* and *Odyssey* to Homer see Barbara Graziosi, "La definizione dell'opera omerica nel periodo arcaico e classico," in Guiseppe Zanetto, Daniela Canavero, Andrea Capra and Alessandro Sgobbi, eds., *Momenti della ricezione omerica: Poesia arcaica e teatro*, Quaderni di Acme 67 (Milano: Cisalpino. Istituto Editoriale Universitario, 2004) 1-18.

38. For Stesichorus, see David A. Campbell, *Greek Lyric: Stesichorus, Ibycus, Simonides, and Others* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991) 28-199. In general for this period, see Barbara Patzek, "Troia und der Troia-Mythos im Bewusstsein der Griechen von der archaischen zur klassischen Zeit," in Zimmermann, ed., *Der Traum von Troia* (above, n. 23) 57-70. On the Nostoi, see Maria Cecilia d'Ercole, "Back From Troy: Diomedes and Other Heroes in the Ancient Mediterranean," in Metoda Kokole, Barbara Murovec, Marjeta Šašel Kos, and Michael Talbot, eds., *Mediterranean Myths from Classical Antiquity to the Eighteenth Century* (Ljubljana: Založba ZRC, 2006) 23-34.
39. See chapter 14, "Pindar's Homer," of Gregory Nagy, *Pindar's Homer: The Lyric Possession of an Epic Past*, ser. The Mary Flexner Lectures (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1990) 414-415.
40. See Barbara Graziosi, *Inventing Homer: The Early Reception of Epic*, ser. Cambridge Classical Studies (Cambridge University Press, 2002) 118-123.
41. See Ludwig Huber, "Herodot und Homer," in Hellmut Flashar and Konrad Gaiser, eds., *Synusia: Festgabe für Wolfgang Schadewaldt zum 15. März 1965* (Pfullingen: Verlag Günther Neske, 1965) 29-52, esp. 47, n. 6; Andrew Ford, *The Origins of Criticism: Literary Culture and Poetic Theory in Classical Greece* (Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2002) 146-152 ("Herodotus and Poetry"), esp. 148; Graziosi, *Inventing Homer* (above, n. 40) 111-118, 193-195. For the sense of Longinus' statement about Herodotus see Christopher Pelling, "Homer and Herodotus," in Clarke, Currie, and Lyne, eds., *Epic Interactions* (above, n. 24) 75-104.
42. The extra-Homeric include Aeschylus' *Oresteia* (see, for example, Martin Hose, "Aischylos' Orestie. Eine alte Geschichte neu erzählt," in M. Hose, ed., *Meisterwerke der antiken Literatur. Von Homer bis Boethius* [München: Verlag C. H. Beck, 2000] 34-53); Sophocles' *Ajax*, *Electra* and *Philoctetes*; and Euripides' *Andromache*, *Electra*, *Hecuba*, *Helen*, *Orestes*, *Troades*, and the two *Iphigenia* plays.

tions of the *Iliad* except the *Rhesus*, the problematic attribution and the lack of dramatic inspiration of which are telling.<sup>43</sup> Of the scores of lost plays, a significant majority have nothing to do with Homer or the Trojan tradition.<sup>44</sup> But of those that do, Aeschylus' *Memnon*, *Weighing of Souls* (*Psychostasia*), and *Phrygian Women* derive from the cyclic Aethiopis; his *Iphigenia*, *Bone Gatherers* (*Osologoi*), *Necromancers* (*Psychagogoi*), *Palamedes*, *Penelope*, *Philoctetes*, and *Ajax* trilogy (*The Adjudication of Arms*; *Thracian Women*, *Women of Salamis*) are also extra-Homeric; and while Aeschylus' aptly termed *Achilleis* trilogy (*Myrmidons*, *Nereids*, *Phrygians*) almost certainly dramatized some aspect of the latter third of the *Iliad*'s narrative, several fragments apparently attach a homoerotic element to the relationship between Achilles and Patroclus.<sup>45</sup> Of the more than one dozen Sophoclean dramas which treat some aspect of the Trojan cycle, all are extra-Homeric,<sup>46</sup> while a few other pre-Homeric tales are reduced to satyr-plays (*The Marriage of Helen*, *Crisis* [*Judgment of Paris?*]). Of Euripides' lost works, a half-dozen are extra-Homeric,<sup>47</sup> and none are Homeric other than the aforementioned *Rhesus*. While Aristarchus of Tegea (*Achilleis*), Astydamos II (*Palamedes*), and the fourth-century Chaeremon (*Achilles Thersitoctonus*) and Carcinus (*Myrmidones*) penned tragedies drawn from the Trojan War material, none of their works have survived.<sup>48</sup> This means that of the more than

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43. For recent work, see Marco Fantuzzi, "Euripides (?) 'Rhesus' and Homer 'Iliad' 8.498-501: Another Possible Clue to Zenodotus' Reliability," *Classical Philology* 100 (2005) 268-273; for the question of authenticity, see William Ritchie, *The Authenticity of the Rhesus by Euripides* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1964). For this period in general, see Elena Pallantza, *Der Troische Krieg in der nachhomerischen Literatur bis zum 5. Jahrhundert v. Chr.* (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner, 2005). On *Rhesus* in the vase-painting tradition, see Marion True, "The Murder of Rhesos on a Chalcidian Neck-Amphora by the Inscription Painter," in Carter and Morris, eds., *The Ages of Homer* (above, n. 10) 415-429.
  44. See Ernst A. Schmidt, "Frauen nach verlorenen Krieg," in Hofmann, *Troia von Homer bis heute* (above, n. 23) 77-99.
  45. Fragments 135-36 (Radt); 228-229 (Mette). For the connection with vase paintings of the period, see B. Döhle, "Die 'Achilleis' des Aischylos in ihrer Auswirkung auf die attische Vasenmalerei des 5. Jahrhunderts," *Klio* 49 (1967) 63-149.
  46. Probably Alexander, *Antenoridae*, *Chryses*, *The Reclaiming of Helen*, *Eris*, *Eurypylus*, *Iphigenia*, *Lacaenae*, *Laocoon*, *Nauplius*, *Nausicaa*, *Phoenix*, *Shepherds*, *Gathering of the Achaeans*, *Syndeipnoi*, *Telegonia*, *Troilus*, and *Xoanephoroi*. Proposing an Iliadic context for Sophocles' lost *Aichmalotides* is Albrecht von Blumenthal, "Sophokles," *RE* 3 A (1927) 1052; for a discussion see Howard Jacobson, "Ovid's Briseis: A Study of Heroides 3," *Phoenix* 25 (1971) 335, n. 11.
  47. Probably Alexander, *Epeius*, *Palamedes*, *Philoctetes*, *Protesilaus*, and *Telephus*. See Ruth Scodel, *The Trojan Trilogy of Euripides*, *Hypomnemata*. Untersuchungen zur Antike und zu ihrem Nachleben 60 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 1980) esp. 90-93, as well as George Leonidas Koniaris, "Alexander, Palamedes, Troades, Sisyphus—A Connected Tetralogy? A Connected Trilogy?," *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology* 77 (1973) 85-124.
  48. For a fuller analysis, see Jacobson, "Ovid's Briseis: A Study of Heroides 3" (above, n. 46) 335; Georgia Xanthakis-Karamanos, "The Influence of Rhetoric on Fourth-Century Tragedy," *Classical Quarterly* 29 (1979) 66-76; and Edward Capps, "The Chorus in the Later Greek Drama with Reference to the Stage Question," *The American Journal of Archaeology and of the History of the Fine Arts* 10 (1895) 287-325, esp. 299.

250 titles attributed to the Attic tragedians, just a handful might have represented episodes of the *Iliad*, while over fifty belong to some other segment of the myths involving the Trojan War.<sup>49</sup>

Similarly, while there are a good number of late sixth-century and fifth-century Attic and Italic vases that depict tableaux inspired by the *Iliad*, there are considerably more that do not.<sup>50</sup> The Sosias Painter's well known red-figure kylix depicting Achilles bandaging the wounds of Patroclus is extra-Homeric even though the event it depicts presumably takes place during the timeframe encompassed by the *Iliad*,<sup>51</sup> as are the thirty-seven versions by Exekias, the Andocides Painter, and others of Achilles and Ajax playing dice<sup>52</sup> as well as the illustrations in which Achilles and Troilus visit with Polyxena,<sup>53</sup> Achilles slays Penthesileia,<sup>54</sup> and Ajax carries the corpse of Achilles<sup>55</sup> or commits suicide.<sup>56</sup> There are numerous variations of the Iliupersis, including episodes involving Ajax and Cassandra,<sup>57</sup> the deaths of Priam<sup>58</sup> and

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49. John Edwin Sandys, *A History of Classical Scholarship* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1903; reprint: New York: Hafner Publishing Co., 1958), I, 22-40, begins his three-volume work by discussing the influence of Homer on the fifth-century tragic poets (as well as historians, sophists, Plato, and Aristotle), but despite his intent to demonstrate the pervasive influence of Homer, most of his examples derive from the *Odyssey* or cyclic epics, not the *Iliad*.

50. For instance, the "Achilles" entry in the *Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae* (LIMC) I.1 (1981) 37-200, I.2 (1981), 56-145, lists 922 items ranging in date and genre from archaic Greek vases to Roman mosaics and sarcophagi. Of these 922 items, 205 are pre-Iliadic, 204 post-Iliadic. Of the 513 items illustrating Trojan episodes within the timeframe of the *Iliad*, 183 depict the escapade involving Troilus, and another 37 depicting Achilles playing dice with Ajax, so 220 of those are non-Iliadic. Of the remainder, there are 9 illustrating the quarrel in *Iliad* 1, another 29 illustrating the embassy in *Iliad* 9, 40 illustrating Achilles with Patroclus (including non-Iliadic tableaux), 36 illustrating Thetis and the new arms in *Iliad* 18, 16 illustrating Achilles fighting in battle (including non-Iliadic tableaux), 26 illustrating the duel between Achilles and Hector in *Iliad* 22, 58 illustrating the mutilation of Hector's corpse, and another 77 illustrating the funeral of Hector. The latter two categories contain 135 illustrations, only 38 of which date from the fifth century B.C. or earlier.

51. LIMC I.1, "Achilles" 468 (Berlin F 2278). See Susan Woodford, "Ajax and Achilles Playing a Game on an Olpe in Oxford," *Journal of Hellenic Studies* 102 (1982) 173-185, esp. 173-174, n. 6.

52. LIMC I.1, "Achilles" 391-427.

53. LIMC I.1, "Achilles" 206-388.

54. LIMC I.1, "Achilles" 719-744.

55. LIMC I.1, "Achilles" 860-890.

56. LIMC I.1, "Aias I" 104-108, 115, 117-124.

57. LIMC I.1, "Aias II" 1-116, including post fifth-century entries.

58. LIMC VII.1 (1994), "Priamos," 87-109, 115-138. See also, Margaret C. Miller, "Priam, King of Troy," in Carter and Morris, *The Ages of Homer* (above, n. 10), 449-465.

Astyanax,<sup>59</sup> and scenes depicting Aeneas<sup>60</sup>— whose escape was included in Petersen's film.<sup>61</sup>

Of the mural paintings illustrating aspects of the Trojan saga, those by Polygnotus included a pre-Iliadic depiction of Achilles on Scyros<sup>62</sup> and a post-Iliadic depiction of the Iliupersis. The latter is just one of several paintings Pausanias (10.25.2) cites specifically in reference to the account by Lescheos, which would seem to be an alternative form for the name of the author of the *Little Iliad*, by other sources (not by Pausanias) attributed to a poet Lesches.<sup>63</sup>

59. LIMC II.1 (1982), "Astyanax I" 1-33. See also Sarah P. Morris, "The Sacrifice of Astyanax: Near Eastern Contributions to the Siege of Troy," in Carter and Morris, eds., *The Ages of Homer* (above, n. 10), 221-245, and Susanna Philippo, "'A future for Astyanax': alternative and imagined futures for Hector's son in classical and European drama," above in this volume (IJCT 14 [2007]) 320-321.

60. LIMC I.1, "Aeneias," 1-94. For a summary, see Anderson, *The Fall of Troy* (above, n. 37) 179-245.

61. Burgess, *The Tradition of the Trojan War in Homer and the Epic Cycle*, 53-94, examines Iliadic images in vase painting, tracing the "overoptimistic belief in Homeric influence on early Greek artists" to Karl Schefold, and concludes (59) that the "conflation of poetic and mythological traditions serves to exaggerate the importance of the Homeric poetic tradition"; see, for example, Karl Schefold (Alan Griffiths, trans.), *Gods and Heroes in Late Archaic Art* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992) and *Göttersagen und Heldensagen der Griechen in der früharchaischen und hocharchaischen Kunst* (Munich: Hirmer Verlag, 1993). Steven Lowenstam, "The Uses of Vase-Depictions in Homeric Studies," *Transactions of the American Philological Association* 122 (1974) 167-82, offers suggestions as to why the literary and visual traditions differ, e.g. a painter's ignorance, artistic license, and the influence of variant literary and dramatic versions. But Schefold followed a well established literary tradition of overstating Homeric influence.

For the archaic period, see Anthony Snodgrass, *Homer and the Artists: Text and Picture in Early Greek Art* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998); and Susanne Muth, "Bilder des Troia-Mythos in der griechischen Kunst," in Zimmermann, ed., *Der Traum von Troia* (above, n. 23) 71-88. Finding a dearth of Iliadic representations, Richard Kannicht, "Poetry and Art: Homer and the Monuments Afresh," *Classical Antiquity* 1 (1982) 70-86, concludes (85) that "the *Iliad*, apart from its stock of typical battle-scenes, at that time was still beyond the ability of the artists," and (86) that "the *Iliad* seems already to be implicitly present in the early pictures." (Original German version: Kannicht, "Dichtung und Bildkunst: Die Rezeption der Troja-Epik in den frühgriechischen Sagenbildern" [1977], in id., *Paradigmata: Aufsätze zur griechischen Poesie*, eds. Lutz Käppel and Ernst A. Schmidt, Supplemente zu den Sitzungsberichten der Heidelberger Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philos.-histor. Klasse 10 [Heidelberg: Universitätsverlag C. Winter, 1996] 45-67, here 66-67.) Cf. R. M. Cook, "Art and Epic in Archaic Greece," *Bulletin van de Vereeniging tot Bevordering der Kennis van de Antieke Beschaving* 58 (1983) 1-10.

62. Polygnotus' painting was in the pinacotheca adjacent to the propylon of the Athenian acropolis; Paus. 1.22.6.

63. For Lescheos and Lesches, see the translator's note in Pausanias (Peter Levi, trans.), *Guide to Greece I: Central Greece* (New York: Penguin Books, 1979) 471, n. 152. For Lesches and the *Little Iliad* see recently Barbara Graziosi, *Inventing Homer* (above, n. 40) 184-185. On the Delphi mural as an evocation of the Athenian Kimon's victory over the Persians at the Eurymedon in Pamphylia, see Robert B. Kebric, *The Paintings in the Cnidian Lesche at Delphi and Their Historical Context*, *Mnemosyne Supplementum* 80 (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1983) 14-32.

Similarly, the subjects of the sculptural program on the pediments of the archaic Aegina Temple of Aphaea are the pre-Homeric first invasion of Troy by Telamon and Heracles and a para-Iliadic version of the second invasion featuring the Aeginetan Telamon's son, Ajax.<sup>64</sup> The Trojanomachy of the Siphnian Treasury at Delphi is not specifically Homeric, nor are the Trojanomachy metopes along the northern entablature of the Parthenon.<sup>65</sup> Similarly, depicted on the east pediment of the early fourth-century Temple of Asclepius at Epidauros was the post-Homeric sack of Troy.

The Hellenistic period offered new and varied genres of both literary and visual arts. At the Museum of Alexandria in the early third century, Zenodotus carefully examined the text of the *Iliad*, athetized and transposed lines, interpolated new readings, and thereby created an edited version of the *Iliad*, laying the foundations for the glosses and scholia which would soon follow, particularly in the hands of Aristarchus in the following century. Assigning the Homeric texts to state-of-the-art scholarly analysis would prove to be a central feature of the Homeric tradition in several subsequent historical periods, and this would have a significant impact on its artistic by-products. Early Hellenistic scholarship introduced a period of considerable confusion for the Iliadic textual tradition. When Aratus, the third-century BC author of the influential, popular, and long-enduring didactic astronomical poem, *Phaenomena*, asked the poet and philosopher Timon of Phlius how to obtain a reliable copy of Homer's poetry, Timon suggested that he find old and uncorrected copies.<sup>66</sup> While Aratus aimed to use these to create his own editions of the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*,<sup>67</sup> Timon satisfied himself by parodying individual Iliadic lines, along with paraphrases of Old and New Comedy, to satirize contemporary and deceased philosophers.<sup>68</sup>

While the Homeric epics went under scholarly scrutiny and were subjected to methodic revisions, Homer himself was literally deified: according to Aelian (VH 13.22), Ptolemy IV Philopator, king of Ptolemaic Egypt during the last two decades of the third century B.C., actually constructed a temple to him in Alexandria.<sup>69</sup> Adored in the scholarly arena as well, the Homeric epics

64. Dieter Ohly, *The Munich Glyptothek* (Nördlingen: C. H. Beck, 1974) 54. For the non-Iliadic Trojan metopes of Selinus, see Clemente Marconi, *Temple Decoration and Cultural Identity in the Archaic Greek World* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007) 200-205.

65. The Parthenon metopes (Athens NM 24-25) which portray Helen taking refuge from Menelaus at the Palladium identify at least that portion of the series as post-Homeric. Cf. Guy Hedreen, "Image, Text, and Story in the Recovery of Helen," *Classical Antiquity* 15 (1996) 171-73; and Katherine A. Schwab, "Celebrations of Victory: The Metopes of the Parthenon," in Jennifer Neils, ed., *The Parthenon: From Antiquity to the Present* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005) 183-190.

66. Diog. Laert. 9.12.113.

67. For details, see T. B. L. Webster, *Hellenistic Poetry and Art* (London: Methuen and Co., Ltd., 1964) 30; supplemented by H. W. Bulloch, "Hellenistic Poetry," in P. E. Easterling and B. M. W. Knox, ed., *The Cambridge History of Classical Literature, I. Greek Literature* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989) 598-602.

68. For details, see Webster, *Hellenistic Poetry and Art* (above, n. 67) 26-27.

69. Froma I. Zeitlin, "Visions and Revisions of Homer," in Simon Goldhill, ed., *Being Greek under Rome: Cultural Identity, the Second Sophistic and the Development of the Empire* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001) 195-207, traces this ado-

also inspired a new subgenre of dramatic representation in the Hellenistic period. In the late fourth century *Homeristai*, performers dressed in costumes and equipped with simple weaponry props, reenacted "Homeric scenes," genuine slices of Homer.<sup>70</sup> Popular enough to survive into the third century AD, the content and nature of these performances are, however, poorly documented: Athenaeus (*Deip.* 14.12.620b) says nothing more than that Demetrius of Phaleron first introduced them onto the dramatic stage in Athens;<sup>71</sup> in the second half of the second century AD, Artemidorus (*Onir.* 4.2) simply compares a Homerist's gesture for drawing blood without the intention of killing to that of a surgeon; earlier in the second century, Achilles Tatius (8.9.3) merely refers to a young man playing at being a Homerist;<sup>72</sup> and a handful of papyri preserve receipts for payment to Homerists.<sup>73</sup> The only extant detailed description is that in Petronius' *Satyricon* (59), which was clearly meta-homeric in that Petronius intentionally confuses the plot and characters of the *Iliad* (e.g. making Diomedes, Ganymede, and Helen into siblings) in order to have Trimalchio bring the performance to a climax by having Ajax slice up a boiled calf decorated with a helmet. If the helmeted victim of Ajax represented Odysseus, upon whom Ajax was seeking revenge, then we have ventured well beyond the context of the *Iliad*.<sup>74</sup>

In the visual arts there are two groups of notable Iliadic renderings. The first belongs to the "Homeric bowls" which have been traced back to a collection of gold or silver cups thought to have been commissioned by Ptolemy IV Philopator.<sup>75</sup> The *Iliad* is well represented in the five dozen extant examples: passages from twelve of the twenty-four books are referenced, but so are five books of the *Odyssey*, the *Aethiopis*, *Iliou Persis*, and *Nostoi*, as well as numerous works from Greek tragedy. Four cups illustrate the *Little Iliad* alone. Moreover, the bowl which depicts the final Iliadic episode, where Priam appeals to Achilles, also depicts two episodes from the *Aethiopis*—Priam greeting Penthesileia at the tomb of Hector and the death of Penthesileia.

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ration back to Alexander the Great, and discusses its relationship with the votive relief by Archelaos of Priene.

70. See Zeitlin, "Visions and Revisions of Homer" (above, n. 69) 210.

71. Timothy Boyd, "Where Ion Stood, What Ion Sang," *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology* 96 (1994) 116, n. 18, suggests that earlier rhapsodes, e.g. Plato's Ion, "performed Homer." Ironically, Demetrius' philosophical pedigree can be traced back through Theophrastus and Aristotle to Plato, who certainly would have condemned this double form of imitation.

72. Cf. Achilles Tatius 3.20.4, for a nameless ship passenger who "recited" Homer in theaters.

73. For these and several additional sources, see Geneviève Husson, "Les Homéristes," *Journal of Juristic Papyrology* 23 (1993) 93-99; and Gregory Nagy, *Poetry As Performance: Homer and Beyond* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996) 156-86. Nagy makes a plausible argument that there were even "Homeric scripts" for these performances.

74. See Edward Courtney, *A Companion to Petronius* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001) 107.

75. See Ulrich Hausmann, *Hellenistische Reliefbecher aus attischen und böotischen Werkstätten* (Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer, 1959) 17-58 and passim; Webster, *Hellenistic Poetry and Art* (above, n. 67) 144-153.

Lastly, the fifth book of Athenaeus' *Deipnosophistae* (40.207d-209e) includes the detailed description by a certain Moschion of the construction and fitting of the huge, 2000-ton freighter built by Hiero II, King of Syracuse and a contemporary of Ptolemy IV Philopator.<sup>76</sup> The officers' quarters of the '*Syracusia*' contained a mosaic floor which depicted "the entire story of the *Iliad* [πᾶς ὁ περὶ τὴν Ἰλιάδα μῦθος]." In light of all the ancient Greek examples cited to this point, one must wonder whether the adjective "entire" [πᾶς] means the representations were based on the entirety of Homer's *Iliad* or included the entirety of the Iliadic, i.e. Trojan War, narrative. If the former, this would be one of the very few examples from Greek antiquity. In either case it would parallel the phenomenon of the fifteenth century in Europe, when individual rulers with a passion for Homer, much like Ptolemy IV Philopator, commissioned individual rooms to be decorated with scenes from the *Iliad*.<sup>77</sup>

In sum, although Homer garnered and maintained tremendous respect and had considerable influence in many artistic pursuits and intellectual circles through the classical and Hellenistic periods in Greece, the number of dramatic and pictorial representations of Homer's *Iliad* is strikingly small, particularly in comparison with the large proportion of artworks derived from either non-Iliadic Trojan War subject matter or non-Trojan War subject matter. It would be naïve and outmoded to assume that the only reason for this disproportionate representation was that the *Iliad*'s thematic intelligence, poetic brilliance, and lofty reputation prevented ancient artists from borrowing from it or imitating it. A more pragmatic hypothesis would be that the narrative genres in which ancient Greek artists flourished—tragic, comic, lyric, and epic poetry as well as vase and mural painting and temple sculpture—offered artists, patrons, consumers, and public audiences a variety of choices for subject matter, of which Homer's *Iliad* was only one. These choices differed greatly between artistic genres and varied considerably between chronological periods both short-term and longer-term, and there were a variety of artistic, materialistic, economic, and political factors that changed periodically as well. Of the choices for subject matter among mythological, historical, and everyday subjects, the mythological choices offered a bounty of subjects from the epic cycle and beyond, namely, the spectrum from the earlier generation of the gods (e.g. Prometheus) to the death of Odysseus, and local myths from Attica, Boeotia, the Argolid, and elsewhere, all of which offered narrative suggestions ranging from military to domestic disputes. Considering this vast array along with the dearth of Iliadic borrowings and adaptations, we can posit that the Greeks considered the *Iliad* to be for the most part a complete entity unto itself worthy of reverence, study, and analysis much more than a treasure chest filled with narrative choices for poetic imitation and graphic or dramatic adaptation.

76. Ptolemy IV Philopator also ordered the construction of extraordinarily large vessels; see Ath. *Deip.* 5.36-41.203e-207e; along with Fik Meijer and André Wegener Sleswyk, "On the Construction of the 'Syracusia' (Athenaeus V. 207 A-B)," *Classical Quarterly* 46 (1996) 575-578; and R. P. Duncan-Jones, "Giant Cargo-Ships in Antiquity," *Classical Quarterly* 27 (1977) 331-332.

77. See below, pp. 514-516 (on Primaticcio et al.). For Ptolemy IV Philopator, see Webster, *Hellenistic Poetry and Art* (above, n. 67) 144-145.

## II. The Roman Period

Even the third- and second-century B.C. Roman tragedians, who flourished during the Hellenistic period but had a considerable interest in the works of the Attic tragedians, and who seemed to promote tales surrounding the Trojan War, only rarely dramatized events that fall within Iliadic parameters.<sup>78</sup> Accius in particular seemed to find inspiration in the Trojan cycle, but of forty titles only *Achilles*, *Diomedes*, and *Myrmidones* might be Iliadic, while *Aegisthus*, *Agamemnonidae*, *Antenoridae*, *Armorum Iudicium*, *Astyanax*, *Hecuba*, *Neoptolemus*, *Philocteta*, *Telephus*, and *Troades* almost certainly are not. Ennius' *Achilles* and *Hectoris lytra* are only two of the twenty dramas assigned to his output, which also includes extra-Homeric tragedies about Ajax, Andromache, Hecuba, Iphigenia, Orestes, Paris, Phoenix, Telamon, Telephus, and Thyestes. Livius Andronicus composed both an *Achilles* as well as an *Aegisthus*, *Ajax*, and *Equos Troianus*, not to mention that he translated the *Odyssey* and not the *Iliad*. Pacuvius as well wrote an extra-Iliadic *Armorum Iudicium*, *Chryses*, *Dulorestes*, *Hermiona*, *Niptra*, and *Teucer*. And Naevius' tragedies include an *Andromacha*, *Equos Troianus*, *Hesiona*, and *Iphigenia*.<sup>79</sup>

Of the later compendia of myths, the first or second century *Bibliotheca* and *Epitome* attributed to the second century B.C. Apollodorus, which encompass the entire chronological sweep of Greek myths from the creation of the gods to the death of Ulysses, devote a considerable number of sections (*Bibliotheca* 3.123-176; *Epitome* 2.3-7.40) to the Trojan War: of 157 sections in all, forty-one describe pre-Iliadic material, ninety-eight post-Iliadic material, and a mere eight (*Epitome* 4.1-8), or about 5%, Iliadic material itself.

Similarly, of the 257 "fables" attributed to Hyginus, twenty-six treat the material from the Judgment of Paris to the end of the Trojan war, and of these just one (106) covers Iliadic material; the only other fables involving Achilles recount the un-Homeric incident on the island of Scyros (96) and his death by Paris (107), and this Iliadic gap seems to grow wider as we note that the two longest passages in the entire collection narrate events of two other Greek epics, the *Argonautica* (14) and *Odyssey* (125).

Where Ovid incorporates events from the Trojan War cycle into his *Metamorphoses*, he tells the tale of Achilles' battle against, ironically, the invulner-

78. For the fragments, see Alfred Klotz, *Scaenicorum Romanorum fragmenta*, I: *Tragicorum Fragmenta* (Munich: Oldenbourg, 1953), and Otto Ribbeck, *Scaenicae Romanorum poesis fragmenta*<sup>3</sup> (Leipzig: Teubner, 1897-1898; reprint: Hildesheim: Georg Olms Verlag, 1978), Volume I. For a survey, see A. J. Boyle, *An Introduction to Roman Tragedy* (London: Routledge, 2006).

79. For a survey of the Roman period, see Uwe Walter, "Die Rache der Priamos-Enkel? Troia und Rom," in Zimmermann, ed., *Der Traum von Troia* (above, n. 23) 89-103. Putting the Troy myths in a Roman political and cultural framework is Andrew Erskine, *Troy Between Greece and Rome: Local Tradition and Imperial Power* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), and, most recently, Stefanie Jahn, *Der Troia-Mythos: Rezeption und Transformation etc.* (above, n. 9), part 3, "Der Troiamythos in der historischen Epik der römischen Republik" (pp. 39-91). For Pacuvius specifically see now Peter Schierl, *Die Tragödien des Pacuvius: Ein Kommentar zu den Fragmenten mit Einleitung, Text und Übersetzung, Texte und Kommentare* 28 (Berlin and New York: Walter de Gruyter, 2006); for Accius see Beatrice Baldarelli, *Accius und die vortrojanische Pelopidensage*, *Studien zur Geschichte und Kultur des Altertums*, 1. Reihe: Monographien, 24 (Münster: Schöningh, 2004).

able Cygnus (12.64-167), has Apollo and Paris dispatch Achilles (12.580-619), and describes the contest between Ulysses and Ajax to win the deceased Achilles' divine armor, the deaths of Polyxena and Memnon, and the escape of Aeneas (12.620-13.674). Although in his *Heroides* (3.30-38) Ovid does imitate Homeric diction in the passage in which Briseis describes the gifts Agamemnon offers to Achilles, in his *Metamorphoses* Ovid did not see fit to retell the events of the *Iliad* at all.<sup>80</sup> And although Vergil's nearly contemporary *Aeneid* has two of its twelve books set in intra-bellum Troy itself and also offers an ecphrasis of the Trojan War (1.456-493), and although it is clear that Vergil knew well and was thoroughly inspired by Homer's epics, still, his influential poem does not replay or recast episodes of the *Iliad*.<sup>81</sup>

Similarly, despite a substantial number of Iliadic tableaux in Roman visual arts, the majority of them illustrate non-Iliadic portions of the Trojan cycle. Written testimony prepares us for Homeric expectations, for in listing decorative themes for domestic painting of the Second Style, Vitruvius (7.5.2) suggests a Homeric grouping by including "Trojan battles or the wanderings of Ulysses through landscapes" (*troianas pugnas seu Ulixis errationes per topia*), and Petronius in his *Satyrica* (29) specifies that there were paintings from the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* in the atrium of Trimalchio's house (*interrogare ... coepi, quas in medio picturas haberent. 'Iliada et Odyssean' inquit*).<sup>82</sup> And there remain some well known Trojan cycles, e.g. the dozen Iliadic illustrations in Pompeii's House of Loreius Tibertinus (aka Casa di Octavius Quartio) and the several dozen frescoes in the frieze of the cryptoportico of the House of the Cryptoporticus illustrating the end of the *Iliad*, not to mention individual illustrations like those depicting the quarrel between Achilles and Agamemnon in the House of the Diocscuri and the assemblage of Achilles, Patroclus, and Briseis in the House of the Tragic Poet, of which there are numerous illustrated

80. For an analysis of Ovid's text and his Homeric exemplar, see Jacobson, "Ovid's Briseis: A Study of *Heroides* 3" (above, n. 46) 332-333.

81. For a recent study of Vergil's use of even ancient Homeric scholarship, see Tilman Schmit-Neuerburg, *Vergils Aeneis und die antike Homerexegese: Untersuchungen zum Einfluss ethischer und kritischer Homerrezeption auf Imitatio und Aemulatio Vergils, Untersuchungen zur antiken Literatur und Geschichte* 56 (Berlin and New York: Walter de Gruyter, 1999), along with Georg Nicolaus Knauer, *Die Aeneis und Homer: Studien zur poetischen Technik Vergils, Hypomnemata. Untersuchungen zur Antike und ihrem Nachleben* 7 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1964), as well as id., "Vergil and Homer," in *Aufstieg und Niedergang der Römischen Welt / Rise and Decline of the Roman World (ANRW)*, vol. II.31.2, ed. Wolfgang Haase (Berlin and New York: Walter de Gruyter, 1981) 870-918, and Stefanie Jahn, *Der Troia-Mythos: Rezeption und Transformation etc.* (above, n. 9) 92-196. – On the Trojan saga in Rome, see Jacques Perret, *Les origines de la légende troyenne de Rome*, Collection d'études anciennes, pub. sous le patronage de l'Association Guillaume Budé 42 (Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1942) (controversial) and, more critically nuanced, Erich Gruen, *Studies in Greek Culture and Roman Policy* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990) 11-20.

82. Petron. *Sat.* 89 offers an 85-verse ecphrasis in the form of Eumolpius' poem, *Troiae halosis*, for which see Peter Habermehl, *Petronius, Satyrica* 79-141: *Ein philologisch-literarischer Kommentar*, I. *Sat.* 79-110, *Texte und Kommentare* 27/1 (Berlin and New York: Walter de Gruyter, 2006) 149-207.

parallels.<sup>83</sup> But the latter sat opposite a Discovery of Achilles, the Homeric frescoes in the Cryptoporticus, complete with Greek labels, yield to scenes from the post-Iliadic *Aethiopis* and perhaps other cyclic epics, culminating in the escape of Aeneas, while the third set includes a non-Iliadic Fury pursuing Hector. Of the mythological frescos recovered in Pompeii, Herculaneum, and elsewhere in Campania and Latium, the majority do not depict images of the Trojan War, but those that do include high profile illustrations of Achilles on Scyros (House of Jason [IX.5.2] and the House of the Dioscuri), the Sacrifice of Iphigeneia (House of the Tragic Poet), and the Wooden Horse and sack of Troy (House of the Menander).<sup>84</sup>

The score of relief sculpted plaques known collectively as the *Tabulae Iliacae* demonstrate how scholars in the past often assumed incorrectly that the *Iliad* provided a predominant force in the retelling of Troy tales, for, despite their collective name, only nine of the twenty-two illustrate Iliadic scenes, while many of them depict the entry of the Trojan Horse, the escape of Aeneas, and other scenes from the Sack of Troy.<sup>85</sup> In fact, the Capitoline example contains the inscription, "Iliou Persis According to Stesichorus" (ΙΛΙΟΥ ΠΕΡΙΣ ΣΙΣ ΚΑΤΑ ΣΤΗΣΙΧΟΡΟΝ) and mentions other cyclic authors, and yet for several centuries it has been referred to as if it featured the Homeric version of the war.<sup>86</sup> The Capitoline version does, in fact, contain a dozen or so rectangular panels illustrating Iliadic events, but the large bird's-eye view in the center illustrates only the destruction of Troy.<sup>87</sup>

83. See William A. P. Childs, "The Achilles Silver Plate in Paris," *Gesta* 18 (1979) 19-26.

84. In general, see Ulrich Sinn, "Der Troia-Mythos in der römischen Kunst," in Zimmermann, ed., *Der Traum von Troia* (above, n. 23) 104-119.

85. Three of them illustrate non-Trojan scenes involving Heracles and Alexander. For a description and analysis of the attribution to Theodorus, see Nicholas Horsfall, "Stesichorus at Bovillae?" *Journal of Hellenic Studies* 99 (1979) 26-48. In general, see Horsfall, "Tabulae Iliacae in the Collection Froehner, Paris," *Journal of Hellenic Studies* 103 (1983) 144-147; and Richard Neudecker, "Tabula Iliaca," *Der Neue Pauly* 11 (2001) 1197 s.v.

86. Musei Capitolini (Palazzo Nuovo) Inv. MC0316. The date of its discovery in Marino, 1683, corresponds to an era in which Homer was much more widely known and recognized than Stesichorus or the poets of the cyclic epics. The predominance of the non-Iliadic elements in Stesichorus's poem must have been the reason why *The Wooden Horse* (δοῦρειος ἵππος) appears beside *The Destruction of Troy* (Ἰλίου Πέρις) as an alternative title of the work (P. Oxy. 2803 [1st c. A.D.]). Hellenistic scholarship noted that, in deviation from the Homeric tradition, Stesichorus and Simonides had located the palace of Agamemnon in Sparta instead of Mycenae (schol. Eur. Or. 46 [= Stesich. frg. 39 Page]). Cf. Luigi Bravi, "Stesicoro, Simonide e la presa di Troia: compresenza o interazione?" in Paola Angeli Bernardini, ed., *L'epos minore, le tradizioni locali e la poesia arcaica. Atti dell'incontro di studio Urbino, 7 giugno 2005* (Pisa and Roma: Fabrizio Serra, Editore, 2007) 127-132, here 130 and 128, n. 6, respectively. For possible traces of influence of Stesichorus's poem in Hellenistic dithyramb and epigram see John Ma, "A Horse from Teos: Epigraphical Notes on the Ionian-Hellespontic Association of Dionysiac Artists," in Peter Wilson, ed., *The Greek Theatre and Festivals: Documentary Studies*, ser. Oxford Studies in Ancient Documents (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007) 215-245, esp. 242-244.

87. For a description, see Anderson, *The Fall of Troy in Early Greek Poetry and Art* (above, n. 37) 1-3.

Lastly, towards the end of classical antiquity, Quintus of Smyrna's third-century Greek epic—about half the size of the *Iliad*—begins exactly where the *Iliad* ends, with the funeral of Hector. Significantly named *Posthomerica*, the poem continues through the death of Achilles, the end of the war, and the voyages home, excepting the completion of the voyage of Ulysses.<sup>88</sup> On a smaller scale, Triphiodorus' roughly contemporary *Capture of Troy* focuses on the episode of the Trojan horse.<sup>89</sup>

From this brief but broad survey of the major Greco-Roman accounts and depictions of the Trojan War it should be clear that throughout Greco-Roman antiquity, that is, from the late geometric/early archaic era of the Epic Cycle poets to the advent of the medieval period, a broad corpus of tales encompassing the pre-Iliadic and post-Iliadic Trojan War was offered to Greek and Roman writers and visual artists, trivializing considerably the profundity of the *Iliad* by extending and fleshing out its mythological narrative. In this sense, the general corpus of the tales of Troy continued to be popularized and varied while Homer's *Iliad* itself continued towards canonization and codification as a classic text—from the archaic-period versions sung by Homer and the subsequent offerings of the Homeridae and the Rhapsodes to the so-called Peisistratid recension and the Alexandrian scholarly texts established and commented on by Zenodotus and Aristarchus.<sup>90</sup> Meanwhile, as Greek authors struggled under the assumption of Homeric canonization, Stesichorus, Xenophanes (fr. B11), Herodotus, and Thucydides rethought and rationalized Homer's accounts, Plato (*R.* 3.392B-394B) offered sharp criticisms, Vergil to a certain extent supplanted his two great epics by dividing his own into Iliadic and Odyssean halves, and by the second century, particularly during the Second Sophistic which encouraged anti-iconic analysis, it had become commonplace to prefer anti-Homeric, pro-Trojan accounts of the war.<sup>91</sup> In his

88. See Quintus of Smyrna (Alan James, trans. and ed.), *The Trojan Epic: Posthomerica* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2004), with Mary Lefkowitz' review, *International Journal of the Classical Tradition* 14 (2007) 266-269; and Giuseppe Pompella, ed., *Quinti Smyrnaei Posthomerica*, Bibliotheca Weidmanniana 7 (Hildesheim: Georg Olms, 2002). Cf. Manuel Baumbach and Silvio Bär, eds., *Quintus Smyrnaeus: Transforming Homer in Second Sophistic Epic*, Millennium Studien / Millennium Studies 16 (Berlin and New York: Walter de Gruyter, 2008).

89. See Michael Paschalis, "Pandora and the Wooden Horse: A Reading of Triphiodorus' Ἀλωσις Ἰλίου," in Michael Paschalis, *Roman and Greek Imperial Epic*, Re-thymnon classical studies 2 (Herakleion: Crete University Press, 2005) 91-115.

90. On the problematic Peisistratid recension of Homer, see recently D. L. Cairns, "Introduction," in: Cairns, ed., *Oxford Readings of Homer's Iliad* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001) 1-7; and Ruth Scodel, *Listening to Homer: Tradition, Narrative, and Audience* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2002) 54-62.

91. On the period, see Jan Fredrik Kindstrand, *Homer in der Zweiten Sophistik: Studien zu der Homerlektüre und dem Homerbild bei Dion von Prusa, Maximos von Tyros und Ailius Aristides*, Studia Graeca Upsaliensia 7 (Uppsala: Uppsala Universitet; Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell, 1973); Robert L. Lamberton and J. J. Keaney, eds., *Homer's Ancient Readers: the Hermeneutics of Greek Epic's Earliest Exegetes* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1992); and Froma Zeitlin, "Visions and Revisions of Homer," in Simon Goldhill, ed., *Being Greek Under Rome: Development of Empire* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001) 195-266.

eleventh, "Trojan Oration," Dio Chrysostom presages and by far surpasses all of Petersen's narrative transgressions by having Hector kill not Menelaus or Ajax but Achilles!<sup>92</sup> He then insists that the Greeks never conquered the city at all.<sup>93</sup> Similarly, the *Heroicus* attributed to one of the Philostrati claims as its source the ghost of Protesilaus, who, killed during the landing at Troy—an event featured in Petersen's film—had a broader and more unbiased vision of all the war's subsequent events.<sup>94</sup>

### III. The Dictys/Dares/Benoît Tradition

A different ancient variation of the Troy story was soon to be canonized as another 'classic.' This entirely different narrative of the Trojan War, which became popular probably by the fourth century, was the account attributed to the Cretan Dictys, a companion of Idomeneus during the war itself, whose diary had supposedly been written in Greek with Phoenician characters on linden bark, buried with Dictys (as his pillow) in a lead box, found more than a millennium later in Knossos during the reign of Nero, and then translated during the 4<sup>th</sup> century into Latin by Lucius Septimius.<sup>95</sup> Then there was also Dares the Phrygian. Dares was the name of a Trojan priest of Hephaestus in Homer's poem (*Il.* 5.9-10), another eye-witness, who authored a different account of the war, later translated from Greek into Latin and prefaced with a letter claiming to be written to Sallust by Cornelius Nepos.<sup>96</sup> Having lived

92. For a more detailed description of the history of Homerepanorthosis from Archilochus and Sappho to Philostratus and Ptolemy Chennos, see Leslie D. Myrick, *From the De excidio Troiae historia to the Togail Troi*, Anglistische Forschungen 223 (Heidelberg: C. Winter, 1993) 9-21.

93. D.Chr. 11.95-96 and 123-24.

94. Cf. Philostr. *Her.* 43.5. See Jennifer K. Berenson Maclean and Ellen Bradshaw Aitken (trans.), *Flavius Philostratus: Heroikos* (Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2001) l-lx. See also, Peter Grossardt *Einführung, Übersetzung und Kommentar zum Heroikos von Flavius Philostrat*, 1: *Einführung und Übersetzung*, 2: *Kommentar*, Schweizerische Beiträge zur Altertumswissenschaft 3.1 and 2 (Basel: Schwabe Verlag, 2006). In addition there were the *Troika* ascribed to an otherwise unknown Palaephatus, probably of the mid-fourth century B.C., and to a somewhat younger Theodorus of Ilion, the content of which was doubtfully derived from the *Iliad*. For Palaephatus see *FGrHist* 44, for Theodorus *ibid.* 48, with Felix Jacoby's commentaries, and see Kai Brodersen, "'Das aber ist eine Lüge!' Zur rationalistischen Mythenkritik des Palaiphatos," in Raban von Haehling, ed., *Griechische Mythologie und frühes Christentum* (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 2005) 44-57, esp. 46. For the intellectual milieu of the period, see David S. Potter, *The Roman Empire at Bay AD 180-395* (London: Routledge, 2004) 173-211, esp. 184-196.

95. Werner Eisenhut, ed., *Dictys Cretensis Ephemeridos Belli Troiani Libri*<sup>2</sup> (Leipzig: B. G. Teubner, 1973), and Stefan Merkle, *Die Ephemeris belli Troiani des Diktys von Kreta* (Frankfurt am Main: Verlag Peter Lang, 1989). For a discussion of the preface and letter, and dating the account, see Myrick, *From the De excidio Troiae historia to the Togail Troi* (above, n. 92) 24-29; cf. William Hansen, "Strategies of Authentication in Ancient Popular Literature," in: Stelios Panayotakis, Maaike Zimmerman, Wytse Keulen, eds., *The Ancient Novel and Beyond*, Mnemosyne Suppl. 241 (Leiden & Boston: Brill, 2003) 301-314.

96. F. Meister, ed., *Daretis Phrygii de excidio Troiae historia* (Leipzig: B. G. Teubner, 1872); Andreas Beschorner, *Untersuchungen zu Dares Phrygius*, Classica Monachensia 4 (Tübingen: Gunter Narr Verlag, 1992) 2-3 (bibliography); and Myrick, *From the De*

during the war, both Dictys and Dares were claimed to predate the famed Homer and, more importantly, to be more authoritative.<sup>97</sup>

Until just recently the simplistic forgeries of Dictys and Dares were barely taken seriously, even after a papyrus fragment of Dictys' Greek text had been discovered in Tebtunis in 1899/1900.<sup>98</sup> But in part because of their availability in Latin and in part because they were written in such an unexceptional prose in comparison with Homer's much more sophisticated poetry, these relatively short narratives were able to do what Homer's Greek masterpiece was not, and that is, survive the medieval period in Europe.<sup>99</sup> While Dante in his *Inferno* (4.88-90) respectfully places Homer in the uppermost circle reserved for sinless but unbaptized pagans—even if he had never read a word of Homer's poetry—his ninth, lowest, and most vivid circle of the *Inferno* includes the area of Antenora (*Inf.* 32.88), reserved for those who become traitors to their country, and named after Antenor, who towards the end of Dares' account ultimately betrays the Trojans by opening the gates of the city to the Greek invaders, replacing the ruse of the Trojan Horse with human treachery.<sup>100</sup> Later in the fourteenth century, Geoffrey Chaucer cites his literary predecessors for *Troilus and Criseyde* (1.141-47) when discussing the fall of Troy:<sup>101</sup>

But how this toun com to destruccioun  
Ne falleth nought to purpos me to telle;

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*excidio Troiae historia* etc. (above, n. 92) 8-52. For additional bibliography, see Stefan Merkle, "Telling the True Story of the Trojan War: The Eyewitness Account of Dictys of Crete," in James Tatum, ed., *The Search for the Ancient Novel* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1994) 195 (n. 6); and Merkle, "The Truth and Nothing But the Truth: Dictys and Dares," in Gareth Schmeling, ed., *The Novel in the Ancient World*, *Mnemosyne Supplementum* 159 (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1996) 565, n. 5.

97. Ael. VH 11.2; Ptolemy Chennos *apud* Photius *Bib.* 190; cf. Eustathius *Od.* 11.521 and *FGrHist* 51 T 5; cf. Nathaniel Edward Griffin, "Un-Homeric Elements in the Medieval Story of Troy," *Journal of English and Germanic Philology* 7 (1907-1908) 32-52.
98. P. Tebt. 268. See Nathaniel Edward Griffin, "The Greek Dictys," *American Journal of Philology* 29 (1908) 329-35.
99. Stefan Merkle, "Telling the True Story" (above, n. 96) 183-96, reevaluates Dictys' account, suggesting it was intentionally written as "dreary chronicle" to convince its readers of its authenticity, and puts it into its presumed fourth-century, pervasively anti-Homeric context.
100. For Antenor's treachery in an ancient comedy, see Maryline Parca, *Ptocheia or Odysseus in Disguise at Troy* (P. Köln VI 245), *American studies in papyrology* 31 (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1991) 8. Reflecting on Dante (about the death of Ulysses) in relation to Dictys and Dares, see Roberto della Vedova and Maria Teresa Silvotti, eds., *Il "Commentarium" di Pietro Alighieri nelle redazioni ashburnhamiana e ottoboniana* (Firenze: L.S. Olschki, 1978) 370-371.
101. Margaret J. Ehrhart, *The Judgment of the Trojan Prince Paris in Medieval Literature* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1987) 44, assumes that Chaucer's "Dares" was a copy of Joseph of Exeter's *Frigii Daretis Yliados*. On Chaucer's sources, see also Alice Walker, *Troilus and Cressida* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1957) xxxviii-xlvi; and Robert Kilburn Root, "Chaucer's Dares," *Modern Philology* 15 (1917) 1-22. Cf. Thomas C. Stillinger, *The Song of Troilus: Lyric Authority in the Medieval Book* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1992) 132-164.

For it were a long digressioun  
 Fro my matere, and yow to long e dwelle.  
 But the Troyane gestes, as they felle,  
 In Omer, or in Dares, or in Dyte,  
 Who-so that can, may rede hem as they wryte.

Chaucer, of course, had never read Homer either.<sup>102</sup> In fact, it is highly doubtful that at the time there were any copies of Homer in Europe, whether in Greek or in Latin translation.<sup>103</sup> Francesco Petrararch became the first European in nearly a millennium to acquire a copy of Homer's *Iliad* in 1354, but he never managed to learn to read ancient Greek.<sup>104</sup> Then his fellow humanist, Giovanni Boccaccio, was instructed in the Greek language by the irascible Calabrian Greek Leontius Pilatus (Leonzio Pilato), whom he put up in his house from 1360-1362, but this educational venture was ultimately not successful either: Boccaccio had Leontius render the poem into Latin, albeit in an interlinear prose translation replete with errors and infelicities.<sup>105</sup> Even so, in his *Genealogia deorum gentilium* Boccaccio refers to Homer frequently and even at-

102. For additional accounts of Antenor and Aeneas, see Sharon Stevenson, "Aeneas in Fourteenth-Century England," in Aldo S. Bernardo and Saul Levin, eds., *The Classics in the Middle Ages, Medieval & Renaissance texts & studies* 69 (Binghamton NY: Center for Medieval & Early Renaissance Studies, 1990) 371-378.

103. The Homeric *Periochae* ascribed to the fourth-century Ausonius preserved a book-by-book summary of the characters, events, and arrangement of the *Iliad*; for the text, see Rudolphus Peiper, ed., *Decimi Magni Ausonii Burdigalensis Opuscula* (Leipzig: B. G. Teubner, 1886; repr. Stuttgart: B. G. Teubner, 1976) 377-405; and for a brief analysis, see Wolfgang Kullmann, "Einige Bemerkungen zum Homerbild des Mittelalters," in Michael Borgolte and Herrad Spilling, eds., *Litterae medii aevi: Festschrift für Johanne Autenrieth zu ihrem 65. Geburtstag* (Sigmaringen: Jan Thorbecke, 1988) 1-15, esp. 2. For "Pindar's" *Ilias Latina*, written probably in the first century during the reign of Nero by Baebius Italicus, see Marco Scaffai, ed., *Baebii Italici Ilias Latina: introduzione, edizione critica, traduzione italiana e commento*, Edizioni e saggi universitari di filologia classica 28 (Bologna: Patron Editore, 1982); and George A. Kennedy, *The Latin Iliad: Introduction, Text, Translation, and Notes* (published privately, 1998). This Latin hexameter poem offered only an incomplete epitome expanded with several un-Homeric passages.

104. He received the manuscript (Milan Bibl. Ambros. I 98 inf.) from Nicholas Sigerus. Byzantine envoy to the papal court in Petrarch's native city of Avignon. Later he lamented to Sigerus: "Homerus tuus apud me mutus, imo vero ego apud illum surdus sum. Gaudeo tamen vel aspectu solo, et sepe illum amplexus ac suspirans dico; 'O magne vir, quam cupide te audirem!'" (*Epistolae Familiares* 18.2); cf. 24.12, written in response to a letter purportedly from the shade of Homer. See Agostino Pertusi, *Leonzio Pilato fra Petrarca e Boccaccio; Le sue versioni omeriche negli autografi di Venezia e la cultura greca del primo umanesimo*, Civiltà veneziana. Studi 16 (Venice, Rome: Istituto per la collaborazione culturale, 1964) 73-111.

105. See Robin Sowerby, "Early Humanist Failure with Homer," *International Journal of the Classical Tradition* 4 (1997/98) 37-63 and 165-194. On Leontius now see also Vincenzo Fera, "Petrarca lettore dell'Iliade," in Michele Feo, Vincenzo Fera, Paola Megna, and Antonio Rollo, eds., *Petrarca e il mondo greco I: Atti del Convegno internazionale di studi Reggio Calabria 26-30 novembre 2001*, Quaderni Petrarqueschi 12/13, [I] (Firenze: Casa Editrice Le Lettere, 2002/2003 [actually: 2006]) 141-154 and Antonio Rollo, *Leonzio lettore dell'Ecuba nella Firenze di Boccaccio (= Petrarca e il mondo greco II)*, Quaderni Petrarqueschi 12/13, [II] (same dates) 23-28.

tempts to quote him periodically in Greek, but there are also a dozen citations of Dares and Dictys, often juxtaposed to the citations of Homer.<sup>106</sup>

Many of the characters in Dares' version are the same as those in the Homeric *Iliad*, but it is especially the scope of Dares' *De excidio Troiae historia* that differentiates it from the *Iliad*: of the forty-four sections of Dares' account, only five involve the period of the war covered by Homer's epic.<sup>107</sup> The pre-war mythological material, beginning with the Argonauts' unfriendly visit to Troy and including the subsequent abduction of Helen, comprises the first eighteen sections; the mythological material that follows the death of Hector consumes the final twenty sections, during the course of which, strangely for readers of Homer, Palamedes replaces Agamemnon as commander-in-chief (25-26) but is then killed by Paris (28). Paris will also kill Achilles (34), who had otherwise refused to fight the Trojans any longer, not because he was quarreling with Agamemnon, but because he had promised the Trojan royal family that he would no longer fight against their city in exchange for the princess Polyxena, with whom he had fallen in love (27).<sup>108</sup> After Paris kills Achilles, the aforementioned Antenor, along with—*mirabile dictu*—Aeneas, treacherously opens the gates of the city to the detested Greeks for its final destruction (39-41). One can easily get lost in the details and divergences, but the general picture is that at least in the minds of artists and the common populace alike the broad narrative spectrum of the late-ancient forgeries contained what the *Iliad* so sorely lacked—a lengthy and quickly shifting narrative filled with intrigue, and a compelling beginning and ending.<sup>109</sup> In addition, helping to make Dares' account so popular during the medieval period was that the pagan gods did not have the same omnipresence they had in the *Iliad*. Devoid for the most part of the complicated Olympian apparatus, uncomplicated by Hellenic concepts of destiny, and spiced with romantic tensions involving Paris & Helen and Achilles & Polyxena as well, it was better suited to the medieval aesthetic.<sup>110</sup>

We should pause briefly to point out that the events of Dictys' and Dares' accounts are far more un-Homeric than the un-Homeric events in Petersen's film: in Petersen's film Ajax is killed by Hector; in Dictys' account (5.15) Ajax seems to have been killed by Ulysses and the Atreides. Also, the broad chronological sweep of Dares' account is far broader than that of Petersen's film, and Petersen's overall anti-Hellenic bias is no more so than Dares' or his Greco-Roman predecessors' reaching back through the Second Sophistic to Vergil.

106. E.g. 12.12: "*secundum Omerum ... ut ait Dares Frigijs ... Dites vero dicit.*"

107. For a theoretical discussion about borrowing, adaptation, and *imitatio* in the late middle ages and early Renaissance, see Thomas M. Greene, *The Light in Troy: Imitation and Discovery in Renaissance Poetry* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1982) 8-19.

108. Joachim Latacz, "From Homer's Troy to Petersen's Troy," in Winkler, ed., *Troy* (above, n. 5) 28-30, offers a schema outlining the scope of the *Iliad*.

109. The lack of a compelling beginning and ending does not imply that the featured story of Achilles is not compelling nor that the *Iliad* is incoherent or incomplete. For a similar argument, see Jinyo Kim, *The Pity of Achilles: Oral Style and the Unity of the Iliad*, ser. Greek Studies (Lanham MD: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc., 2000) 1-8.

110. Dares also offered the pro-Trojan perspective more amenable to medieval taste. Dictys' account offered a Hellenic perspective, but extended the myth farther.

But while all these matters of authenticity and narrative structure elicited negative responses to Petersen's film, they helped Dares' version of the Trojan War saga replace Homer in Europe for more than a millennium.<sup>111</sup>

Eventually replacing the now lost poems of the Cyclic Epics, the accounts of Dares and Dictys continued to engender numerous imitations and adaptations for centuries through the end of the Renaissance.<sup>112</sup> Along with the anonymous, fifth-century AD, vulgar Latin prose account known as the *Excidium Troiae*,<sup>113</sup> the accounts of Dares and Dictys inspired the eleventh-century Irish *Togail Troí*,<sup>114</sup> the anonymous mid-twelfth-century Latin hexameter adaptation *Historia Troyana Daretis Frigii*,<sup>115</sup> Joseph of Exeter's (Josephus Iscanus) Latin *Frigii Daretis Ylias* (c. 1188),<sup>116</sup> the Middle High German *Der Gött-*

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111. For a more detailed analysis of the Troy legend in medieval literature, see Ehrhart, *The Judgment of the Trojan Prince Paris in Medieval Literature* (above, n. 101).

112. See Louis Faivre d'Arcier, *Histoire et géographie d'un mythe: la circulation des manuscrits du De excidio Troiae de Darès le Phrygien (VIIIe-XVe siècles)*, Mémoires et documents de l'Ecole des Chartes 82 (Paris: École des Chartes, 2006). 335-368 discusses primarily the manuscript tradition of the works of both Dares and Dictys. Beyond the parameters of the European tradition being surveyed here, the Greek text of Dictys' account had influence as well on such Byzantine writers as the sixth-century Joannes Malalas (who in his *Chronographia* cites also Sisyphus of Cos, Pheidalus of Corinth, and Corinnus of Ilium), the seventh-century Joannes Antiochenus, the eleventh-century Georgios Kedrenos, and the twelfth-century Joannes Tzetzes; see Merkle, *Die Ephemeris belli Troiani des Diktys von Kreta* (above, n. 95) 22-23; and R. M. Frazer, *The Trojan War: The Chronicles of Dictys of Crete and Dares the Phrygian* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1966) 170. On the possibility of a common source, whether direct or indirect, for Malalas and Dares, see Peter Grossardt, "Die Kataloge der troischen Kriegsparteien: Von Dares und Malalas zu Isaak Porphyrogenetos und Johannes Tzetzes—und zurück zu Diktys und Philostrate?" in Eugenio Amato, ed., *Approches de la Troisième Sophistique: Hommages à Jacques Schamp*, Collection Latomus 296 (Brussels: Éditions Latomus, 2006) 451-454.

113. E. Bagby Atwood and Virgil K. Whitaker, eds., *Excidium Troiae*, The Mediaeval Academy of America, Publication no. 44 (Cambridge: The Medieval Academy of America, 1944). The scope of this work ranges from the wedding of Peleus and Thetis to the early history of Rome, including a summary of Vergil's account of the destruction of Troy. Cf. Atwood, "The Rawlinson Excidium Troiae – a Study of Source Problems in Mediaeval Troy Literature," *Speculum* 9 (1934) 379-404.

114. The anonymous Irish monastic author who translated and adapted Dares' version as the *Togail Troí* worked in the tenth century; the earliest extant recension dates from the eleventh; and the latest extant copy is from the fifteenth. See Brent Miles, "Togail Troí: The Irish Destruction of Troy on the Cusp of the Renaissance," in Alan Shephard and Stephen D. Powell, eds., *Fantasies of Troy: Classical Tales and the Social Imaginary in Medieval and Early Modern Europe*, Essays and studies 5 (Toronto: Centre for Reformation and Renaissance Studies, 2004) 81-96.

115. Jürgen Stohlmann, *Anonymi historia Troyana Daretis Frigii*, Beihefte zum "Mittelateinischen Jahrbuch" 1 (Wuppertal, Ratingen, Düsseldorf: A. Henn Verlag, 1968).

116. Ludwig Gompf, ed., *Joseph Iscanus, Werke und Briefe*, Mittellateinische Studien und Texte 4 (Leiden: Brill, 1970). For a translation, see Gildas Roberts, *Joseph of Exeter: the Iliad of Dares Phrygius* (PhD thesis: Ohio State University, 1975). On source material, see Peter Walsh, "Virgil in Medieval Epic," in Richard A. Cardwell and Janet Hamilton, eds., *Virgil in a Cultural Tradition* (Nottingham: University of Nottingham, 1986) 52-64.

*weiger Trojanerkrieg* attributed to Wolfram von Eschenbach<sup>117</sup> as well as the thirteenth-century *Troilus* by Albert von Stade,<sup>118</sup> the anonymous Icelandic *Trójumanna Saga* of c. 1263,<sup>119</sup> an extensive insertion into the thirteenth-century Spanish account of the life of Alexander the Great (*Libro de Alexandre*),<sup>120</sup> and several other lengthy poems,<sup>121</sup> but especially Benoît de Sainte-Maure's in-

117. Wolfram (von Eschenbach), *Der Götweiger Trojanerkrieg*, edited by Alfred Keppitz, Deutsche Texte des Mittelalters 29 (Berlin: Weidmann, 1926); Keppitz attributed this version to a pupil of Konrad von Würzburg. See also, Elisabeth Lienert, *Geschichte und Erzählen: Studien zu Konrads von Würzburg 'Trojanerkrieg'*, *Wissensliteratur im Mittelalter* 22 (Wiesbaden: Dr. Ludwig Reichert Verlag, 1996) 350-375. For the Germanic tradition, see Manfred Kern, Alfred Ebenauer, and Sylvia Krämer-Seifert, eds., *Lexikon der antiken Gestalten in den deutschen Texten des Mittelalters* (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2003); Jan-Dirk Müller, "Das höfische Troia des deutschen Mittelalters," in Hofmann, *Troia von Homer bis heute* (above, n. 23) 119-141; and Horst Brunner, ed., *Die deutsche Trojaliteratur des Mittelalters und der Frühen Neuzeit: Materialien und Untersuchungen*, *Wissensliteratur im Mittelalter* 3 (Wiesbaden: Dr. Ludwig Reichert Verlag, 1990)
118. Thomas Gärtner, ed., *Albert von Stade. Troilus*, *Spolia Berolinensia* 27 (Hildesheim: Weidmann, 2007). For Albert's dependence on Lucan as well, see Eva Matthews Sanford, "Quotations from Lucan in Mediaeval Latin Authors," *American Journal of Philology* 55 (1934) 5.
119. Jon Sigurdsson, "Trójumanna Saga ok Breita Sögur, efter Hauksbók, med Dansk Oversættelse," *Annaler for Nordisk Oldkyndighed og Historie* 4 (1848) 4-101. Cf. Stefanie Würth, "Intention oder Inkompetenz: Die Bearbeitungen der Trojumanasaga," *skandinavistik* 22 (22) 1-26 and ead., *Der 'Antikenroman' in der isländischen Literatur des Mittelalters. Eine Untersuchung zu Übersetzung und Rezeption lateinischer Literatur im Norden*, *Beiträge zur Nordischen Literatur* 27 (Basel: Helbing & Lichtenhahn, 1998)
120. Alfred Morel-Fatio, ed., *El Libro de Alexandre: Manuscrit esp. 488 de la Bibliothèque Nationale de Paris*, *Gesellschaft für Romanische Literatur* 10 (Dresden: GRL [Max Niemeyer. Halle a. S.], 1906; repr. Georg Olms Verlag: Hildesheim & New York, 1978) 39-95 (st. 306-754); Raymond S. Willis, Jr., ed., *El Libro de Alexandre: Texts of the Paris and the Madrid Manuscripts, prepared with an introduction*, *Elliott Monographs in the Romance Languages and Literatures* 32 (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1934; repr. New York: Kraus Reprint Corp., 1965) 62/63-138/139 (st. 306-754 [P]/st. 299-726 [O]); Jesús Cañas Murillo, ed. *Libro de Alexandre*, *Letras hispánicas* 280 (Madrid: Catedra, 1988) 199-281 (st. 322-772). See Ian Michael, *The treatment of classical material in the Libro de Alexandre*, *Publications of the Faculty of Arts of the University of Manchester* 17 (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1970) 256-261.
121. Cf. Bernard of Fleury's relatively early *De excidio Troiae* in the eleventh century, and the twelfth-century *Ylias* by Simon Aurea Capra (Chèvre-d'Or), for which, see André Boutemy, "La version parisienne du poème de Simon Chèvre d'Or sur la Guerre de Troie (Ms Lat. 8430)," *Scriptorium* 1 (1946/1947) 267-288 and Jürgen Stohlmann, "Magister Simon Aurea Capra. Zu Person und Werk des späteren Kanonikers von St. Viktor," in: Guy Cambier, ed., *Hommages à André Boutemy*, *Collection Latomus* 145 (Brussels: Latomus, 1976) 343-366. See also F. M. Warren, "The Story of Troy in Orderic Vital," *Modern Language Notes* 28 (1913) 203-205; and the list in Myrick, *From the De Excidio Troiae historia etc.* (above, n. 92) 49-52. For the influence of Dares in several works by Christine de Pizan, see Margaret J. Ehrhart, "Christine de Pizan and the Judgment of Paris: A Court Poet's Use of Mythographic Tradition," in Jane Chance, ed., *The Mythographic Art: Classical Fable and the Rise of the Vernacular in Early France and England* (Gainesville: University of Florida

novative, twelfth-century, Old French verse romance.<sup>122</sup> Benoît's *Le Roman de Troie* had a particular and timely resonance because of the well-established belief in the Trojan origins of France – which, however, Benoît himself does not mention at all.<sup>123</sup> In addition, the Dictys/Dares/Benoît tradition offered a generous slice—to borrow from Aeschylean imagery—of the *histoire universelle*, the late medieval version of the Eusebian notion that the history of humankind was all-inclusive, which encouraged poets and chroniclers to provide sequels and prequels as well as stories of not just epic magnitude but epic compass, particularly in the mythographical telling of history. Many of the late medieval tales of chivalry and romance did so, as did the Homeric cyclic epics and Dares' accounts, as did the numerous accounts following the Dictys/Dares/Benoît model, as does Petersen's film, but as Homer's *Iliad* does not.

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Press, 1990) 149; for her representation of the hero/anti-hero Hector, from whom the French nobility traced their ancestry, as a symbol of masculine violence, see Lorna Jane Abray, "Imagining the Masculine: Christine de Pizan's Hector, Prince of Troy," in Shephard and Powell, eds., *Fantasies of Troy* (above n. 114) 133-148; and for the late fifteenth-century tapestries showing the battle of queen Panthe-silea and her Amazons with the Greeks during the Trojan War see J. P. Asselberghe, "Les tapisseries tournaisiennes de la Guerre de Troie," *Revue Belge d'Archéologie et d'Histoire de l'Art* 39 (1970) 93-182 and Susan Groag Bell, *The Lost Tapestries of the City of Ladies: Christine de Pizan's Renaissance Legacy* (Berkeley, Los Angeles & London: University of California Press, 2004) 54-55, 68-69 (and pl. IV). See also, Manfred Kern, *Agamemnon weint; oder arthurische Metamorphose und trojanische Destruktion im "Göttweiger Trojanerkrieg"* (Erlangen and Jena: Verlag Palm & Enke, 1995) 175-83. For the relationship between these and still other medieval versions of the Troy tale (e.g. the early fourteenth-century Middle English poem *The Seege or Batayle of Troye*, and the *Compendium Historiae Troianae-Romanae*), see E. Bagby Atwood, ed., *Excidium Troiae* (above, n. 113) xi-xli; and Mary Elizabeth Barnicle, ed., *The Seege or Batayle of Troye* (London: Oxford University Press, 1927) lvi-lxxiv. For a version thought to be unrelated to the Dares/Dictys tradition, see E. Bagby Atwood, "The Rawlinson Excidium Troie: A Study of Source Problems in Mediaeval Troy Literature," *Speculum* 9 (1934) 379-404. For comparisons, see Wilhelm Greif, *Die Mittelalterlichen Bearbeitungen der Trojanersage* (Marburg: N. G. Elwert'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1886). For citations of Dares in historical chronicles, see Louis Faivre d'Arcier, *Histoire et géographie d'un mythe* (above, n. 112) 277-292.

122. Léopold Eugène Constans, ed., *Benoît de Sainte-More. Le roman de Troie* (Paris: Firmin-Didot et cie, 1904-1912). See also, Udo Schöning, "Der Troiaroman des Benoît de Sainte-Maure: Zur Funktionalisierung der Geschichte im Mittelalter," in Hans-Joachim Behr, Gerd Biegel and Helmut Castritius, eds., *Troia – Traum und Wirklichkeit. Ein Mythos in Geschichte und Rezeption* (Braunschweig: Braunschweigesches Landesmuseum, 2003) 198-205 and earlier Idem, *Thebenroman - Eneasroman - Trojanroman: Studien zur Rezeption der Antike in der französischen Literatur des 12. Jahrhunderts*, Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für Romanische Philologie 235 (Tübingen: Max Niemeyer, 1991) esp. 98-119, as well as Paul Strohm, "Storie, Spelle, Geste, Romaunce, Tragedie: Generic Distinctions in the Middle English Troy Narratives," *Speculum* 46 (1971) 348-359.

123. Trojan origins would have provided a strong incentive for interest in and adaptation of the tale for not just France but also individual cities and aristocratic dynasties. See Colette Beaune, *The Birth of an Ideology: Myths and Symbols of Nationhood in Late-Medieval France* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991) 226-244 and

Just as the Dictys/Dares version of the Troy saga had provided the classic narrative parameters to be varied for centuries by a number of authors in several languages, so with Benoît's adaptation, which quickly became the new standard version, the tales of Troy would metamorphose considerably once again. The chronological scope of the story still ranged from the voyage of the Argonauts to the death of Ulysses, but now Achilles battles between Love and Honor because Polyxena wants him to suffer for slaying her brother Hector.<sup>124</sup> More significantly, a new romance has blossomed, that between Troilus, the prince of Troy barely mentioned in the *Iliad* but depicted in ancient Greek visual art, and Briseida, that is, the ancient Greek Briseis, soon to become more widely known—mostly through Boccaccio's *Il filostrato* (c. 1335)—as Cresida.<sup>125</sup>

The popular influence and the artistic impact of Benoît's huge (30,108 octosyllabic lines) poem written in the third quarter of the twelfth century was tremendous.<sup>126</sup> Much more so than any direct influence Homer had in the centuries following the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, Benoît's poem was immediately

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333-345 (= ead., *Naissance de la nation France*, ser. Bibliothèque des histoires [Paris: Gallimard, 1985] 38-54 and 19-38); Paul Cohen, "In Search of the Trojan Origins of French: The Uses of History in the Elevation of the Vernacular in Early Modern France," in Shephard and Powell, eds., *Fantasies of Troy* (above, n. 114) 63-80; and Bernd Roeck, "Trojaner, Goten und Etrusker: Städtische Gründungsmythen der Renaissance," in Therese Fuhrer, Paul Michel, and Peter Stolz, eds., *Geschichten und ihre Geschichte* (Basel: Schwabe Verlag, 2004) 175-198. In contrast, Venice later distanced itself from its Trojan origins; see Sheila Das, "The Disappearance of the Trojan Legend in the Historiography of Venice," in Shephard and Powell, eds., *Fantasies of Troy* (above, n. 114), 97-114.

124. See Alfred Adler, "Militia et Amor in the *Roman de Troie*," *Romanische Forschungen* 72 (1960) 14-29; and Rüdiger Schnell, *Causa amoris: Liebeskonzeption und Liebesdarstellung in der mittelalterlichen Literatur*, Bibliotheca Germanica 27 (Bern: Francke, 1985).

125. For Troilus, see, for instance, Hom. *Il.* 24.257, and Kern, Ebenauer, and Krämer-Seifert, *Lexikon der antiken Gestalten in den deutschen Texten des Mittelalters* (above, n. 95), s.v. "Troilus" 625-626. That this new romance arose in the wake of Boccaccio's *Filostrato*, see Nathaniel Edward Griffin and Arthur Beckwith Myrick (eds. and trans.), *The Filostrato of Giovanni Boccaccio* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1929) 26, n. 1; cf. R. M. Lumiansky, "Aspects of the Relationship of Boccaccio's 'Il Filostrato' with Benoît's 'Roman de Troie' and Chaucer's 'Wife of Bath's Tale,'" *Italica* 31 (1954) 1-7.

For some critics of Petersen's film, Briseis' romance with Achilles presented problems in authenticity, but Ovid's fictitious love letter (*Her.* 3) from Briseis to Achilles provides ample literary precedent; see Luca Barbieri, *Le "epistole delle dame di Grecia" nel Roman de Troie in prosa: la prima traduzione francese delle Eroidi di Ovidio*, Romanica Helvetica 123 (Tübingen: A. Francke Verlag, 2005) 3-78. In addition to the Benoît/Boccaccio narrative, additional precedent was established in opera librettos written between the late seventeenth century and the late eighteenth, e.g. the Lully/Collasse *Achille et Polyxène* (1687), the Rodríguez/Cruz *Briseida* (1768), the Corradini/Cruz *La Briseida* (1745), and the Paer/De Gamerra *Achille* (1801). See now, Alena Allen, "Briseis in Homer, Ovid, and *Troy*," in Winkler, ed., *Troy* (above, n. 5) 148-162.

126. For overviews, see Knut Görich, "Troia im Mittelalter—der Mythos als politische Legitimation," and Jan-Dirk Müller, "Das höfische Troia des deutschen Mittelalters," in Zimmermann, ed., *Der Traum von Troia* (above, n. 23) 120-134 and 135-

adapted and translated in an explosion of Gothic romantic epics, including Herbot von Fritzlar's Middle High German *Das Lied von Troya* (c. 1200),<sup>127</sup> Segher Diengotgaf's Dutch *Trojeroman* (c. 1250),<sup>128</sup> Jacob van Maerlant's Flemish *Historie van Troyen* (c. 1263),<sup>129</sup> the huge, 40,000-verse *Der Trojanerkrieg* commenced by Konrad von Würzburg (c. 1287) and perhaps completed by a pupil,<sup>130</sup> and the Sicilian Guido delle Colonne's Latin prose chronicle *Historia destructionis Troiae* (1272-87),<sup>131</sup> which was translated into Italian by Filippo

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148, respectively; and Thomas Gärtner, *Klassische Vorbilder mittelalterlicher Trojaepen*, Beiträge zur Altertumskunde 133 (Stuttgart: B. G. Teubner, 1999).

127. Helga Lengenfelder, *Das 'Lied von Troye' Herborts von Fritzlar: Untersuchungen zur epischen Struktur und geschichts-moralischen Perspektive*, Europäische Hochschulschriften: Reihe I, Deutsche Literatur und Germanistik 133 (Bern: Lang, 1975), answers critics who, much like Petersen's detractors, found Herbot von Fritzlar's Troy tale different from and therefore inferior to Homer's and Benoît's.
128. Jozef Janssens and Ludo Jongen, eds., *Segher Diengotgaf. Trojeroman* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2001).
129. Jacob Verdam, ed., *Episodes uit Maerlant's Historie van Troyen naar het te wissen gevonden handschrift* (Groningen: J. B. Wolters, 1873); complete edition: Napoleon de Pauw and Edward Gailliard, eds., *Jacob van Maerlant, Dit is die Istory van Troyen, Naar het vijftiendeuwsche handschrift van Wessel van de Loe, met al de Middel-nederlandsche fragmenten*, 4 vols. (Ghent: Boekdrukkerij A. Siffer, drukker der Koninklijke Vlaamsche Academie, 1889-92). See most recently W. P. Gerritsen, "Exculpating Aeneas. An Ovidian Argument in Maerlant's History van Troyen," in R.I.A. Nip, H. van Dijk, E.M.C. Houts, i.a. eds., *Media Latinitas: A collection of essays to mark the occasion of the retirement of L.J. Engels*, Instrumenta Patristica XXVIII (Steenbrugis: in Abbatia S. Petri; Turnhout: Brepols Publishers, 1996) 217-221. The Trojan narratives of both Benoît de Sainte-Maure and Diengotgaf, as well as additions from Statius' *Achilleis*, Vergil's *Aeneis* and Ovid's *Metamorphoses* were incorporated into this version by Jacob van Maerlant.
130. Adelbert von Keller, G. Karl Frommann, and F. Roth, eds., *Konrad von Würzburg. Der trojanische Krieg*, Bibliothek des Litterarischen Vereins in Stuttgart 44 (Stuttgart: Litterarischer Verein, 1858; repr. Amsterdam: Editions Rodopi, 1965). Konrad as well seems to have derived his *Trojanerkrieg* from a variety of sources in addition to Benoît; Greif, *Die Mittelalterlichen Bearbeitungen der Trojanersage* (above, n. 121), 95, for instance, identified details in Konrad's version quite similar to those in the *Ilias* of Simon Capra Aurea. On Konrad and Herbot von Fritzlar, see Martin Pfenning, *Erniuwen — Zur Erzähltechnik im Trojaroman Konrads von Würzburg*, Europäische Hochschulschriften. Reihe I, Deutsche Sprache und Literatur 1537 (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 1995) 13-18; Elisabeth Lienert, *Geschichte und Erzählen: Studien zu Konrads von Würzburg 'Trajanerkrieg'*, Wissensliteratur im Mittelalter 22 (Wiesbaden: Dr. Ludwig Reichert Verlag, 1996), esp. ch. B III, 'diz getihtte grôz: Tendenzen von Konrads Quellenadaptation' (182-222) and Kern, Ebenauer, and Krämer-Seifert, *Lexikon der antiken Gestalten in den deutschen Texten des Mittelalters* (above, n. 125) 687-689. For Konrad's vision of Troy as a medieval mimesis of the heavenly city, see Hartmut Kugler, *Die Vorstellung der Stadt in der Literatur des deutschen Mittelalters*, Münchener Texte und Untersuchungen zur deutschen Literatur des Mittelalters 88 (Munich: Artemis, 1986) 131-136.
131. Nathaniel Edward Griffin, ed., *Guido de Columnis: Historia destructionis Troiae*, Mediaeval Academy of America Publication 26 (Cambridge, MA: The Mediaeval Academy of America, 1936; repr. New York: Kraus Reprint Company, 1970). See Hugo Buchthal, *Guido delle Colonne: Historia destructionis Troiae*, Codices illuminati medii aevi 3 (Munich: H. Langenfelder, 1987); Francesco Bruni, "Boncompagno

Ceffi in 1324, translated into Spanish by Pero López de Ayala, rendered by Jacques Milet into the drama, *Lystoire de la destruction de Troye* (1498),<sup>132</sup> and which provided the exemplar for John Lydgate's expanded, English *Troy Book* (1420),<sup>133</sup> and through Boccaccio's *Il filostrato*—possibly via Louis de Beauvau's French translation, *Le Roman de Troye et de Criseida*—for Chaucer's *Troilus and Cresseyde* (c. 1385) and Raoul Lefèvre's French prose *Le recueil des hystoires de Troyes* (1464).<sup>134</sup>

In assessing the relative reception of the Trojan sagas narrated by Dares and Benoît, Hugo Buchthal in his work on Guido found that in comparison to Benoît and his romantic narrative, Dares was considered to be a "more reliable historian."<sup>135</sup> In this respect, and insofar as Dares had been read, translated, imitated, adapted, and expanded for more than a millennium, his Trojan narrative had become a classic. To the modern aesthetic trained in Homeric studies, it may seem preposterous, perhaps even scandalous that such a blatant forgery, not to mention an unfocused narrative written in vulgar prose, could have been held in such high regard that many of the most accomplished artists of the medieval period and early Renaissance employed his work as their narrative exemplar. It may seem even more preposterous that a significant number of subsequent accomplished artists, who now regarded Dares as a classic and used Benoît's version as their model, created a secondary corpus of works for the next several centuries. But this is the result of the very cyclical processes of codification and variation and popularization and classicization we are examining. As for vacillation, just as most of the early Greek cyclic epics inspired

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da Signa, Guido delle Colonne, Jean de Meung: metamorfosi dei classici nel Duecento," in: Claudio Leonardi and Enrico Menestò, eds., *Retorica e poetica tra i secoli XII-XIV*, Quaderni del Centro per il collegamento degli studi medievali e umanistici nell'Università di Perugia 18 (Perugia: Regione dell'Umbria, 1988) 79-108 (on disparaging attitudes to Vergil, Ovid and Homer); and James Simpson, "The Other Book of Troy: Guido delle Colonne's *Historia destructionis Troiae* in Fourteenth- and Fifteenth-Century England," *Speculum* 73 (1998) 397-423.

132. Jacques Milet, *L'istoire de la destruction de Troye la grant, translâtée de latin en françoys mise par parsonnages et composée par Jacques Milet*. Imprimée à Paris par Jehan Bonhomme 1484 *Autographische Vervielfältigung veranstaltet von E. Stengel* (Marburg: N.G. Elwert, 1883). See Gustav Häpke, *Kritische Beiträge zu Jacques Milets dramatischer Istoire de la Destruction de Troye la grant* (Marburg: M. G. Elwert, 1899).

133. For the relationship between Guido and the British "*Gest Historiale*" of the *Destruction of Troy* and the *Laud Troy Book*, see C. David Bronson, *The History of Troy in Middle English Literature: Guido delle Colonne's Historia Destructionis Troiae in Medieval England* (Totowa NJ: Rowman and Littlefield, 1980). For similar but not necessarily Trojan tales, e.g. in William of Malmesbury's *Gesta Regum Anglorum* and the Tannhäuser legend, see Ehrhart, *The Judgment of the Trojan Prince Paris in Medieval Literature* (above, n. 101) 47.

134. For a list, see Reid, *The Oxford Guide to Classical Mythology in the Arts* (above, n. 3) II.1043-1044. For Chaucer's additional use of Statius, see Julia Ebel, "Troilus and Oedipus: The Genealogy of an Image," *English Studies* 55 (1974) 15-21. The definitive edition of Lefèvre's work is: Marc Aeschbach, ed., *Raoul Lefevre: Le recueil des histoires de Troyes*, Publications universitaires européennes, Série XIII: Langue et littérature française 120 (Bern & New York: P. Lang, 1987).

135. Hugo Buchthal, *Historia Troiana; Studies in the History of Mediaeval Secular Illustration*, Studies of the Warburg Institute 32 (London: Warburg Institute, University of London, 1971) 4-5.

so many artists for the better part of a millennium but then literally disappeared and survived as mere summaries in an obscure late ancient/early medieval treatise written by an otherwise little known antiquarian, so the works of the Dares/Dictys/Benoît tradition would fade from view eventually and be reduced to being thought of as relatively insignificant aberrations from the reconstituted Homeric model. These once well regarded and/or popular medieval and Renaissance works have for the most part been reduced to encyclopedic summaries and subjects for a subdiscipline of scholarly inquiry.

#### IV. The Renaissance

The survey has reached the last half of the fifteenth century, the period in which European artists began to paint depictions of Greco-Roman myths, subject matter that had previously been relegated for the most part to individual cassoni and the like. Nearly contemporary with Raoul Lefèvre's mid-fifteenth-century *Le recueil des hystoires de Troyes* was the first notable Greek mythological series—three Antonio Pollaiuolo canvas paintings—now lost—depicting Herculean labors painted in the 1460s or 1470s,<sup>136</sup> followed soon after by such prominent individual works as Botticelli's "Primavera" (1478) and "Birth of Venus" (1482/5).<sup>137</sup> The two generations of artists who followed Botticelli in the first half of the sixteenth century had occasional opportunities to paint works in large formats and ambitious cycles to decorate palace and municipal chambers. Not surprisingly, as in the literary tradition, Homer's *Iliad* inspired relatively few of these cycles early on. Raphael's "Parnassus" (1508-1513) in the Vatican depicts only a portrait of Homer along with those of Dante, Vergil, Petrarch, and many other ancient and Italian poets, while at the Farnesina in 1518 he (and his workshop) featured Apuleius' "Cupid and Psyche," as did his Mannerist protégé Giulio Romano at the Palazzo del Te in Mantua in the 1520s.<sup>138</sup> But Giulio also decorated Mantua's Palazzo Ducale in the next decade, and here he depicted illustrations of the Trojan War in the Appartamento di Troia.<sup>139</sup> The paintings are characteristically of mixed tradition, the Homeric Aristeia of Diomedes sprawling majestically just above depictions of the arming of Achilles and the Battle for the Body of Patroclus, two pre-Iliadic scenes of Paris, and the post-Homeric events of the Entry of the

136. For the 1460s dating, see Herbert Cook, "The New Haven Pollaiuolo," *Burlington Magazine* 9 (1906) 52-53, who points out that copies of "Hercules and Nessus" and "Hercules and the Hydra" were painted onto the ends of a Florentine cassone; for the 1470s dating, see L. D. Ettlinger, "Hercules Florentinus," *Mitteilungen des Kunsthistorischen Institutes in Florenz* 16 (1972) 128-138. For Pollaiuolo's sources, see Laurie Fusco, "Antonio Pollaiuolo's Use of the Antique," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 42 (1979) 257, n. 2:

137. For recent scholarship, see Sergiusz Michalski, "Venus as Semiramis: A New Interpretation of the Central Figure of Botticelli's "Primavera"," *Artibus et Historiae* 24 (2003) 213-222. On Botticelli's use of Ovid, see Paul Barolsky, "As in Ovid, So in Renaissance Art," *Renaissance Quarterly* 51 (1998) 451-474.

138. For the tradition, see Luisa Vertova, "Cupid and Psyche in Renaissance Painting Before Raphael," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 42 (1979) 104-121.

139. Giulio's Sala delle Metamorfosi in the Palazzo del Te included a Judgment of Paris among its eight illustrations.

Trojan Horse and the Death of Laocoon.<sup>140</sup> Nonetheless, this and several other mixed cycles constituted a mid-sixteenth-century renaissance of interest in depicting events and characters from the *Iliad*, albeit much more so in graphic arts than in poetry. Romano's pupil, Francesco Primaticcio, who spent most of his career in the service of a succession of French kings, decorated Fontainebleau's *Chambre du Roi* in 1533-35 with six Iliadic and quasi-Iliadic frescoes illustrating the wiles of Hera, the *Chambre de la Duchesse d'Etampes* (1541-43) with scenes of the Life of Alexander, and the *Porte Dorée* with the Olympian Gods. From the late 1530s until his death in 1570 he designed an entire Ulysses gallery, which offered fifty-eight scenes illustrating Homer's epic.<sup>141</sup> And while Luca Cambiaso and his father Giovanni were decorating Genoa's Palazzo Doria in the latter half of the 1540s with a depiction of "Apollo Shooting the Greeks Encamped Before the Walls of Troy" surrounded by a score of lunettes of scenes illustrating the Trojan War, in 1555 Pellegrino Tibaldi painted a Ulysses cycle covering two rooms of Bologna's Palazzo Poggi, and in 1561-62 Giovanni Stradano executed a contemporary Ulysses cycle designed by Giorgio Vasari for the Sala di Penelope in Florence's Palazzo Vecchio.<sup>142</sup>

Generally throughout the later middle ages and early Renaissance it was not Homer's *Iliad* but Benoît's *Le Roman de Troie* and its scions that had the greatest influence on the literary tradition of the Trojan saga, but Homer's *Iliad*, along with the *Odyssey*, did have some influence on the visual artistic tradition. The Homeric epics provided ample and inspirational tableaux with which to decorate the halls of courtly patrons, and although the cycles they painted were not necessarily derived exclusively from or limited to scenes from Homer's epics, this was one of the few periods in which there existed an artistic medium for which the *Iliad* could provide appropriate inspiration. But this period was to be relatively short-lived. It could not begin until enlightened court patronage demanded such decorative schemes, which, as we have just seen, was a phenomenon that flourished in the first few decades of the sixteenth century, nor until the text of the *Iliad* had been promulgated to at least a limited extent in a language other than ancient Greek, which, as we will soon see, had occurred by this same period. But just a few decades later in the middle of the sixteenth century came the introduction of illustrated mythological manuals, first Virgil Solis' illustrated version of Lodovico Dolce's verse translation of Ovid's *Metamorphoses* (1553), and then the illustrated second edition of Vincenzo Cartari's *Imagini, con la spositione de i dei de gli antichi* (1571). In the

140. See Bette L. Talvacchia, "Homer, Greek Heroes and Hellenism in Giulio Romano's Hall of Troy," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 51 (1988) 235-242; and Frederick Hartt, *Giulio Romano* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1958) 179-182.

141. The frescoes illustrating the Abduction of Helen, the Feigned Madness of Ulysses, Achilles at Scyros, the Election of Agamemnon, and the Greeks Sacrificing, are no longer extant; see Louis Dimier, *Le Primatice* (Paris: Leroux, 1900) 256. For the Fontainebleau cycle, see Kathleen Wilson-Chevalier, "Women on Top at Fontainebleau," *Oxford Art Journal* 16 (1993) 34-48. In general, see Emmanuel Schwartz, *The Legacy of Homer: Four Centuries of Art from the École Nationale Supérieure des Beaux-Arts, Paris* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2005).

142. See R. A. Scorza, "A 'Modello' by Stradanus for the 'Sala di Penelope' in the Palazzo Vecchio," *Burlington Magazine* 126 (1984) 432-435, and 437.

wake of this concentrated popularization of the vast corpus of Greco-Roman myths, and with Cartari's publication being adopted as an iconographic sourcebook, the Trojan cycle and Homer's *Iliad* were overshadowed again.

During the Renaissance there were two divergent Trojan traditions, for while the anti-Homeric Dares and Dictys tradition was still thriving 400 years after Benoît, the Petrarch/Boccaccio impetus for the reestablishment of Homer in Europe had finally begun to take root.<sup>143</sup> Significantly, it took more than an entire century after Petrarch's acquisition of the first modern European *Iliad* in 1354, but the Byzantine Athenian Demetrios Chalcondyles finally published the *editio princeps* of Homer in Florence in 1488.<sup>144</sup> This was two decades after the printing press had already been used to create first editions of the Latin works of Cicero in 1465 as well as Apuleius, Caesar, Lucan, Pliny, Vergil, and Livy before 1470 and Tacitus, Terence, Ovid, Varro, Horace, Lucretius, Quintilian, and many others before 1475.

But Greek, of course, requires a different font as well as a variety of diacritical marks and a skilled editor, not to mention a Greek-reading audience. The latter is no minor factor in the choice an artist makes in continuing the tradition along either the Homeric or the Dares/Dictys/Benoît models, for as we have just seen, the Dares/Dictys/Benoît tradition was available in not just Latin, the lingua franca, but also in several variants of French and German as well as in Dutch and English, all before 1475.<sup>145</sup> In addition, some of the ancient Latin accounts of the Trojan War, which we recall were primarily non-Homeric or at best peripherally Homeric, were already printed during this early wave: Vergil's *Aeneid* in 1469, Statius' *Achilleid* in 1470, and Ovid's *Metamorphoses* in 1471.<sup>146</sup> That the *Iliad*, despite the fame and the respect associated with its author's name, was not committed to print until 1488—twelve years after the first edition of Aesop's *Fables*, two years after the mock epic, the *Batrachomyomachia*, and only after Chalcondyles' careful examination of the com-

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143. For the proliferation of ethical, allegorical, and Christian readings of Homer from the Renaissance to the seventeenth century, see Luc Brisson, *Introduction à la philosophie du mythe*, I. *Sauver les mythes*, ser. Essais d'art et de philosophie (Paris: Librairie Philosophique J. Vrin, 1996 [2me éd., 2005] 194-197 (= Brisson, *How Philosophers Saved Myths: Allegorical Interpretation and Classical Mythology* (Catherine Tihanyi, trans.) (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2004) 139-141.

144. See Deno J. Geanakoplos, "The Discourse of Demetrius Chalcondyles on the Inauguration of Greek Studies at the University of Padua in 1463," *Studies in the Renaissance* 21 (1974) 118-144.

145. This situation cannot be attributed entirely to the inaccessibility of Homer's ancient Greek language. Almost every new version of the Troy tale that emerged between 1175 and 1464 was derived from a version written in a different language. Moreover, Leontius had rendered the *Iliad* into Latin well before 1400, and thereafter still more variations and adaptations of the Dictys/Dares/Benoît model proliferated while imitations and adaptations, let alone translations, of the *Iliad* were rarities. It was not until about 1440 that Pedro González de Mendoza's Castilian translation of Pier Candido Decembrio's Latin translation of the *Iliad* (*Homero romanceado*) appeared, but it was almost exactly contemporary with Juan de Mena's translation of "Pindar's" (Neronian) *Ilias Latina*.

146. The sole manuscripts of Hyginus and Apollodorus were not found and committed to print until 1535 and 1555.

mentaries by Eustathius—corroborates our understanding that Homer's *Iliad* was still not the paradigm for the Trojan tale, even after the revival of Greek in the Renaissance. As we will see increasingly from this period to the outset of the twentieth century, the *Iliad* was more a treatise for serious study and intellectual stimulation than it was an exemplar for artists and popular entertainments.

The publication of Chalcondyles' carefully prepared text of the *Iliad* in ancient Greek did not inspire a renaissance of interest in the work or its contents. Indeed, although Homer's epic had by now been rendered into the generally more accessible language Latin by the aforementioned Leontius Pilatus (1360-1362) as well as Pier Candido Decembrio (1439-1441), the latter accepted the authority of Dares and Dictys.<sup>147</sup> Hampered by an inability to capture the artistry of Homer in the Latin language, Decembrio's efforts were not widely acclaimed, nor were those of Lorenzo Valla (and, subsequently, Francesco Griffolini [Arretino]), who just after Decembrio began translating the work into Latin, albeit into Latin prose.<sup>148</sup> Then the precocious teenager Angelo Poliziano commenced a Latin hexameter translation, but even he, whose mastery of Greek and Latin was not surpassed by his contemporaries, succumbed to the difficulty of the task after completing only five books.<sup>149</sup> And it is important to note that his initial attempt at translating the first seven lines of Homer's second book depended not only on Vergil's *Aeneid* (8.26-30) but also on the *Ilias Latina* (111-113).<sup>150</sup> Perhaps even more significant is that in 1485, soon after abandoning the *Iliad* project, Poliziano adapted the Olympian gods' Ethiopian retreat described in the first book of Homer's *Iliad* for his own Latin poem "Ambra, in poetae Homeri enarratione pronuntiata." Here, in order to render the Homeric material more palatable to Renaissance sensibilities, Poliziano has Jupiter speak of Achilles as the predecessor of Alexander the Great, the enlightened conqueror of the East and the worthy pupil of Aristotle. To the Renaissance audience in search of ancient epic heroes, Achilles was not one to be admired.<sup>151</sup> Finally, even the mid-sixteenth-century Latin verse translations of

147. Decembrio used the copy of Leontius' translation annotated by Petrarch as well as a copy of the Greek text borrowed from the Visconti-Sforza library in the ducal palace of Pavia, which may well have been the copy given to Petrarch in 1354. See Aubrey Diller, "Petrarch's Greek Codex of Plato," *Classical Philology* 59 (1964) 270-271; and Sowerby, "Early Humanist Failure with Homer" (above, n. 105) esp. 56-60.

148. Valla translated the first sixteen books into Latin prose in 1442/4; the rest was completed by Griffolini in 1458 but not published until 1474; see Sowerby, "Early Humanist Failure with Homer" (above, n. 105) 61-63; and Alice Levine Rubenstein, "Imitation and Style in Angelo Poliziano's 'Iliad' Translation," *Renaissance Quarterly* 36 (1983) 50.

149. Poliziano worked under the tutelage of Andronikos Kallistos, a Byzantine scholar working at the Florentine Academy. See Rubenstein, "Imitation and Style in Angelo Poliziano's 'Iliad' Translation" (above, n. 148) 48-70; and Rubenstein, "The Notes to Poliziano's 'Iliad,'" *Italia Medioevale e Umanistica* 25 (1982) 205-239.

150. Rubenstein, "Imitation and Style in Angelo Poliziano's 'Iliad' Translation" (above, n. 148) 52.

151. See Sowerby, "Early Humanist Failure with Homer" (above, n. 105) 168-171; and David Quint, *Epic and Empire: Politics and Generic Form from Virgil to Milton* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993) 4-9.

the *Iliad* by the Bavarian Vincentius Opsopoeus (Books 1, 2, 9) and Niccolò della Valle (Nicolao Valla) (Books 3-5, 8, 18, 20, 22-24) were bound together with Joseph of Exeter's and pseudo-Pindar's non-Homeric versions to provide readers with a "complete" version of the Trojan saga.<sup>152</sup>

By another measure more relevant to the general populace, the *Iliad* was not translated into the vernacular languages of Europe—other than some selections and paraphrases beginning in the 1470s, and some of these, too, e.g. Jehan Samxon's French prose translation of 1530, were embellished with passages from Benoît (via Guido delle Colonne), Dares, and Dictys—until well into the sixteenth century. At the order of King Francis I, Hugues Salel translated the first ten books of the *Iliad* into French in 1545,<sup>153</sup> ultimately published the first eleven books, and worked on the twelfth and thirteenth books published posthumously in 1570, but the remaining books were translated by the poet Amadis Jamyn only in 1577—thirty-two years after Salel's *decad* was originally published.<sup>154</sup> Salel's French rendering was then translated into English by Arthur Hall in 1581.<sup>155</sup> George Chapman used the Greek text to trans-

152. *Daretis Phrygii Poetarum et Historicorum omnium primi, de bello Troiano, in quo ipse militavit [...]* a Cornelio Nepote Latine carmine Heroico donati, & Crispo Sallustio dedicati, nunc primum in lucem aediti. Item Pindari Thebani Homericae Iliados Epitome [...] Ad haec Homeri Poetarum Principis Ilias, quatenus a Nicolao Valla, & V. Opsopoeo carmine reddita (Basel: J. Parcus, 1541). For a more complete list of Latin translations, see Pertusi, *Leonzio Pilato fra Petrarca e Boccaccio* (above, n. 104) 521-529. See also, Austin Warren, "Pope on the Translators of Homer," *Modern Philology* 29 (1931) 229-232.

153. Jehan Samxon, *Les Iliades de Homere poete grec et grant hystoriographe: avecques les premises et commencemens de Guyon de Coulonne, souverain historiographe: additions et sequences de Dares Phrygius et Dictys de Crete* (Paris: Jehan Petit: 1530). – Hugues Salel, *Les Dix Premiers Livres de l'Iliade d'Homère, Prince des Poètes* (Paris: Iehan Loys, 1545). For a survey of Salel's predecessors see Philip Ford, "Homer in the French Renaissance," *Renaissance Quarterly* 59 (2006) 1-28. – See Philip Ford, *De Troie à Ithaque: Réception des épopées homériques à la Renaissance*, *Travaux d'Humanisme et Renaissance* CDXXXVI (Genève: Librairie Droz S.A., 2007) 192-195 (on Samxon) and 240-244 (on Salel). – It was Francis I as well for whom Primaticcio began painting the aforementioned frescoes as Fontainebleau (see above, p. 515); see Ford, *De Troie à Ithaque*, 269-270.

154. Amadis Jamyn, *La Continuation de l'Iliade d'Homère (livres XII-XVI)* (Paris: L. Breyer, 1574); and *Les XXIII Livres de l'Iliade d'Homère, traduits du grec en vers François, les XI premiers par M. Hugues Salel, et les XIII derniers par Amadis Jamyn* (Paris: Lucas Brayer, 1577). Additional editions were produced in 1580, 1594, and 1599. See, Hélène J. Harvitt, "Hugues Salel, Poet and Translator," *Modern Philology* 16 (1919) 595-605, esp. 599-602, and Noémi Hepp, "Homère en France au XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle," *Atti della Accademia delle Scienze di Torino: Classe di scienze morali, storiche e filologiche* 96 (1961-62) 389-508. – See also Petra Fochler, *Fiktion als Historie: Der Trojanische Krieg in der deutschen Literatur des 16. Jahrhunderts* (Wiesbaden: Dr. Ludwig Reichert Verlag, 1990) 69-98. – Johann Spreng's predecessor Simon Schaidenreisser published his translation of the *Odyssey* into German prose in 1537, but his projected *Iliad* translation never materialized. Johann Baptista Rexius derived his 1584 German prose translation from Valla's Latin prose translation; see Antje Willing, "Die 'Ilias Homeri' des Johannes Baptista Rexius," *Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum und deutsche Literatur* 136 (2007) 480-499.

155. Arthur Hall, *Ten Books of Homers Iliades, translated out of French by Arthur Hall* (London: Ralph Newberie, 1581).

late books 1-2 and 7-11 of the *Iliad* in 1598, but he did not publish his entire English *Iliad* until 1611.<sup>156</sup> Similarly, the first German translation by Johannes Spreng did not appear until 1610,<sup>157</sup> which is also the approximate date of Cristóbal de Mesa's Spanish translation.<sup>158</sup>

That is some 400 years after the first vernacular translations of Benoît, which puts the late medieval and Renaissance differences between the popular reception of the Dares/Dictys/Benoît model and the arcane obscurity of the *Iliad* into deep perspective. The supposition remains that the *Iliad* at the time seems to have been so difficult to access physically, or was so revered intellectually, or had such a complex narrative or such unappealing characters that it only rarely inspired a significant work of contemporary art. As it was, the *Iliad* had not been read in Western Europe for nearly a millennium before Petrarch, Boccaccio, and Leontius, but as if anticipating and spoiling its return in the fourteenth century, Benoît's Dares and Dictys-derived romance had already established thoroughly throughout northern Europe an entirely different template for the Trojan saga. And then when Homer was reintroduced to Greek-reading scholars in northern Italy, they found something in the heralded text of the most revered poet from ancient Greece that they had not expected—a strangely complex and ultimately pessimistic narrative that seems to have been not very enjoyable or comprehensible or perhaps even interesting to the late medieval and early Renaissance aesthetic. From their perspective no doubt the *Iliad* lacked romance;<sup>159</sup> it also lacked the characteristic late-medieval tension between Honor and Amor; its theme of destructive

156. See Millar MacLure, *George Chapman: A Critical Study* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1966) 158-191.

157 Spreng's *Iliad* translation was accompanied by his translation of the *Aeneid* (*Ilias Homeri. Das ist Homeri, dess uralten fürtrefflichen Griechischen Poeten, XXIII. Bücher. Von dem gewaltigen Krieg der Griechen wider die Trojaner. ... Dessgleichen die 12 Bücher Aeneidos ... P. Virgilii Maronis ... In artliche Teutsche Reimen gebracht von ... Johann Sprengen* (Augsburg: Christoff Mangen, 1610).

158. Cristóbal de Mesa's translation has not been preserved. On the reception of Homeric epic, the *Odyssey* rather than the *Iliad*, in Spain in the 16th century see Luis Arturo Guichard, "La Ulyxea de Gonzalo Pérez y las tyraducciones latinas de Homero," in Barry Taylor and Alejandro Coroleu, eds., *Latin and Vernacular in Renaissance Iberia II: Translations and Adaptations*, Cañada Blanch Monographs 8 = Manchester Spanish & Portuguese Studies 17 (Manchester: University of Manchester Department of Spanish and Portuguese Studies, 2006) 49-72. – Long after Lodovico Dolce translated the *Odyssey* into Italian in 1573, Girolamo Bac[c]elli made an attempt at translating *Iliad* 1-7 into Italian; Federico Malipiero finally translated the *Iliad* into Tuscan in 1642 (*L'Iliada d'Omero trapportata dalla greca nella toscana lingua da Federico Malipiero nobile Veneto* (Venice: Paolo Baglioni, 1642), followed by Bernardino Bugliazzini in 1703/1705 and Anton Maria Salvini in 1723. For a list of translations, see R. R. Bolgar, *The Classical Heritage and its Beneficiaries* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1954) 516-517.

159. This attitude is not unlike that described by Jenny Strauss Clay at the opening of her 2007 presidential address to the 138th Annual Meeting of the American Philological Association: "... a substantial proportion of what is recognized as great literature is boring. ... Now, among Greek texts frequently appearing as finalists for Most Boring Award are undoubtedly the Catalogue of Ships and the so-called Battle Books of the *Iliad*"; see Jenny Strauss Clay, "Homer's Trojan Theater," *Transactions of the American Philological Association* 137 (2007) 233-252, esp. 233.

anger failed to resonate; and its pantheon of gods was rather bewildering to a society so thoroughly devoted to its Christianity that Boccaccio, who for nearly two centuries after the promulgation of his *Genealogia deorum gentilium* was considered an authority on ancient mythology, believed that Jupiter and the other pagan gods were nothing other than Euhemerized mortals who had lived in early antiquity.<sup>160</sup>

The *Iliad* was not the only victim of early Renaissance culture shock: so were the tragedies of Aeschylus, Sophocles, and Euripides. In contrast to the number of popular productions of Plautus and Terence initiated at the d'Este court at Ferrara in 1486 and performed subsequently elsewhere, performances of authentic Greek tragedies—not including Senecan adaptations and school productions—were almost non-existent throughout the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.<sup>161</sup> Of the small handful of translations and productions that appeared in the first half of the sixteenth century, Alessandro de' Pazzi's *Edipo re* (c. 1525) was merely an unpublished literary exercise;<sup>162</sup> and Giovanni Andrea dell'Anguillara's *Edippo tragedia* was performed at most twice in the period from 1556-1561.<sup>163</sup> Gian Giorgio Trissino's *Sofonisba* (c. 1515), an attempt at an ancient Greek-style tragedy (without the requisite five acts) based on Livy's account—via Petrarch's *Africa*—of the Numidian queen, was printed first in 1524 and nearly two dozen times subsequently but not performed until 1562, after Trissino's death, and even that had to take place at Vicenza's Olympic Academy designed by Palladio, Trissino's protégé.<sup>164</sup> There were several productions of tragedies penned by the prolific Lodovico Dolce, e.g. *Gio-casta* (1549),<sup>165</sup> but I think it is fair to say that there was not a significant, authentic, large scale production of an ancient Greek tragedy in Renaissance Europe until Sophocles' *Oedipus Tyrannus* was produced for the inauguration of Palladio's Teatro Olimpico in 1585.<sup>166</sup> Thereafter there were a few notable adaptations of Oedipus by Corneille, Voltaire, and Dryden, and operatic ver-

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160. E.g. Boccaccio, *Gen.* 2.1.

161. Soon after the Society of Jesus was founded by St. Ignatius Loyola, Jesuit schools became in circa 1565 a venue for annual performances of Latin plays, but these schools showed little interest in performing authentic Greek tragedy. For a list of these, dwarfed by the number of productions of Terence and Plautus comedies, see Oxford's Archive of Performances of Greek and Roman Drama: <http://www.apgrd.ox.ac.uk>.

162. For a survey, see Richard Fabrizio, "Moravia's *Il Dio Kurt*: Sophocles and the Oedipus Legend in Italy," *Italica* 58 (1981) 262, n. 7.

163. Richard Fabrizio, "The Two Oedipuses: Sophocles, Anguillara, and the Renaissance Treatment of Myth," *Modern Language Notes* 110 (1995) 178-179, points out that the drama was severely criticized largely because he strayed from the Sophoclean narrative.

164. Jonas Barish, "The Problem of Closet Drama in the Italian Renaissance," *Italica* 71 (1994) 7-9, discusses this kind of unperformed "*teatro letto*," citing as another example, Sperone Speroni's *Canace*, a Senecan-style tragedy based on the myth of the daughter of the mythical Aeolus, which was performed only once two decades after it was written.

165. Adapted for the London stage in 1566.

166. See Daniel Javitch, "La canonizzazione dell'*Edipo re* nell'Italia del sedicesimo secolo," in Anna Maria Palombi Cataldi, ed., *Teatro e palcoscenico dall'Inghilterra all'Italia, 1540-1640* (Rome: Bulzoni Editore, 2001) 17-43.

sions (usually ending happily) of the Iphigenia and Alcestis myths in the middle of the eighteenth century. Despite Goethe's efforts in the early nineteenth century and Ludwig Tieck's production of Donner's translation of Sophocles' *Antigone* at the Prussian court of Friedrich Wilhelm IV in 1841, performances of Greek tragedy would reach the popular culture only in the 1880s via university productions and then spectacular outdoor productions in southern France.<sup>167</sup>

#### IV. The Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries

Even the introduction of vernacular translations of the *Iliad* to a broader audience at the outset of the seventeenth century failed to inspire a literary Iliadic renaissance. Europe had by now after four centuries become blasé about even Benoît's Dares and Dictys-derived romantic template of the Trojan saga. Shakespeare gave the Dares/Dictys/Benoît tradition its last Renaissance hurrah with his *Troilus and Cressida* in approximately 1602.<sup>168</sup> Chapman's translation of the *Iliad* and some of the aforementioned continental translations appeared less than ten years later, and at that point the balance between the two main branches of the Trojan War stemma seems to be even. In 1699 John Dryden published his translation of the first book of the *Iliad*, but twenty years earlier he had also adapted Shakespeare's *Troilus and Cressida* (1679). Alexander Pope's highly regarded translation of 1715-1720 seems to have finally tipped the balance in the *Iliad*'s direction, and the final nail in the coffin for the Dares/Dictys/Benoît tradition would come with the renewed interest in Hellenism that followed in the wake of Winckelmann's publications one generation later.<sup>169</sup>

The seventeenth century also deepened another critical division in the Homeric tradition one generation after the appearance of Chapman's trans-

167. Most notably the production in Orange featuring Jean Mounet-Sully.

168. Shakespeare's sources included the aforementioned works by Chaucer and Lydgate as well as Robert Henryson's late fifteenth-century *The Testament of Cresseid*, William Caxton's *Recuyell of the Historyes of Troye* (1473/4), and Robert Greene's *Euphues his Censure to Philautus* (1587). On his sources, see Charles and Michelle Martindale, *Shakespeare and the Uses of Antiquity* (London: Routledge, 1990) 91-120. On Shakespeare's adaptation of the Trojan myth in *Hamlet*, see Andrew Hiscock, "'What's Hecuba to him...': Trojan Heroes and Rhetorical Selves in Shakespeare's *Hamlet*," in Shephard and Powell, *Fantasies of Troy* (above, n. 114) 161-175. For Elizabethan England as "Troynovant," see Elizabeth Jane Bellamy, "Slandorous Troys: Between Fame and Rumor," in Shephard and Powell, eds., *Fantasies of Troy*, 215-235; John S. P. Tatlock, "The Siege of Troy in Elizabethan Literature, Especially in Shakespeare and Heywood," *Publications of the Modern Language Association* 30 (1915) 673-770, offers a catalogue of dramatic performances and quotations relating to Troy. For meistersinger Hans Sachs' dramatic rendition inspired by Dictys, see Niklas Holzberg, "Staging the Fringe Before Shakespeare: Hans Sachs and the Ancient Novel," in Panayotakis, Zimmerman, and Keulen, eds., *The Ancient Novel and Beyond* (above, n. 95) 393-400.

169. Pope's English verse translation was contemporary with Anne Le Fèvre Dacier's high profile French prose translations of the *Iliad* (1711) and *Odyssey* (1716). This followed Jacobus Perizonius' academic repudiation of the veracity of Dares and Dictys in 1702, for which see Griffin, "Un-Homeric Elements" (above, n. 97) 37-38.

lations of the *Iliad* in 1611 and then the *Odyssey*, which he published together with the *Iliad* in a complete Homer edition in 1616. The division between the *Iliad* tradition and the *Odyssey* tradition, which we have recently observed in Mannerist fresco cycles, becomes visible on stage in the early 1640s. The advent of the Baroque era brought with it the musical/theatrical development of opera, which combined renewed popular interest in Greek mythology, a scholarly examination of ancient Greek music, and the desire to recreate ancient Greek tragedies with happy endings and without incest or intrafamilial murders.<sup>170</sup>

In the years 1640-1643, Claudio Monteverdi produced in succession the first operas based on Homeric and Vergilian epics, *Il ritorno d'Ulisse in patria* (1640) and *Le nozze d'Enea e Lavinia* (1641),<sup>171</sup> as well as *L'incoronazione di Poppea* (1643), based on the *Annals* of Tacitus.<sup>172</sup> We note the conspicuous absence of an opera based on the *Iliad*. Simply put, the *Odyssey* and *Aeneid* offered powerful female roles, while the *Iliad*, with brief and infrequent appearances by Briseis, Helen, Hecuba, Andromache, Hera, and Aphrodite, lacks the romance that Troilus and Cressida had provided for centuries, and that now Ulysses &

170. Renewed popular interest in Greek mythology developed just after the middle of the sixteenth century with the publication of Dolce's illustrated verse translation of Ovid's *Metamorphoses* (1553), Cartari's *Imagini, con la spositione de i dei de gli antichi* (1556), and Natale Conti's *Mythologiae sive explicationis fabularum libri decem* (1567). A new understanding of ancient Greek music, never a popular subject, was being formulated at the same time by Girolamo Mei, e.g. in his little known but influential treatise, *De modis musicis antiquorum* (1573). His influence was felt by Vincenzo Galilei (*Dialogo della musica antica e della moderna* [1581]) and Giovanni Bardi, the latter serving as the patron of the Florentine Camerata, which produced the impetus towards what would eventually be known as opera. This was also the period in which contemporary translators tackled such treatises as the pseudo-Plutarchan *De musica* (Carlo Valgulio), Aristides Quintilianus' *De musica* (Giovanni Burana), and Ptolemy's *Harmonics* (Nicolò Leonicensio and Giovanni Augio).

171. Hans Ferdinand Redlich (Kathleen Dale, trans.), *Claudio Monteverdi, Life and Works* (London: Oxford University Press, 1952) 105 and 175, cited by Reid, *The Oxford Guide to Classical Mythology in the Arts* (above, n. 3) II.748, has little justification for attributing *La Delia e l'Ulisse* to Monteverdi in 1630, although it is not impossible that Monteverdi reused some earlier music in *Il ritorno d'Ulisse in patria*. – The title of the latter work (*Le nozze ...*) as it appeared on the only extant printed *argomento* was *Le nozze d'Enea in Lavinia*, but manuscript copies of the libretto use the more familiar *Le nozze d'Enea e Lavinia*. In this I follow Ellen Rosand, *Opera in Seventeenth-Century Venice: The Creation of Genre* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991) 18, n. 25. On *Il ritorno d'Ulisse in patria* see now Michael Ewans, *Opera from the Greek: Studies in the Poetics of Appropriation* (Burlington, VT: Ashgate Publishing, 2007) 9-29 and Ellen Rosand, *Monteverdi's Last Operas: A Venetian Trilogy* (Berkeley, Los Angeles, London: University of California Press, 2007) 27-34, 52-59, 86-97, 133-143, and 149-150, on *Le nozze d'Enea e Lavinia* *ibid.*, 8-10, 15-17, 143-150 and 158-174.

172. For the literary tradition in the Tacitean opera, see Robert C. Ketterer, "Militat omnis amans: Ovidian elegy in L'Incoronazione di Poppea," *International Journal of the Classical Tradition* 4 (1997-1998) 381-395. See also Albert Gier, *Das Libretto. Theorie und Geschichte einer musikoliterarischen Gattung* (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft 1998) 49-54 and Rosand, *Monteverdi's Last Operas* (above, n. 149) 34-38, 61-68 and 90-97.

Penelope, and Aeneas and Lavinia, or more regularly, Aeneas and Dido, would provide for the next century.<sup>173</sup> And so, in the wake of Chapman and the continental European translators and Monteverdi's operas, during the seventeenth and much of the eighteenth century the *Odyssey* becomes the Homeric epic of dramatic romance and action, while the *Iliad* continues to be relegated for the most part to the cerebral world of scholarship.<sup>174</sup>

At the conclusion of the Baroque, Homeric studies, particularly scholarly interest in the *Iliad*, made a significant advancement.<sup>175</sup> Robert Wood had departed from Naples in the spring of 1750 to visit the Troad and elsewhere in the eastern Mediterranean, among other purposes, to avail himself of the opportunity to read the *Iliad* at the actual sites once visited by Homer. (Perhaps I should note here that none of the medieval, Renaissance, or subsequent scholars or artists mentioned in this article thus far, with the exception of several Byzantines, had ever been to Greece.) Returning to his native England, he immediately assumed the position of Under-Secretary of State at the end of the

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173. The need for romance, or at least an interesting female protagonist, be she mortal or immortal, seems to have been so compelling that a great number of art works depicting Achilles from the late seventeenth century into the twentieth incorporate as well Briseis, Thetis, Athena, Deidamia, Penthesileia, or Polyxena. Jean-Baptiste Lully's last opera, *Achille et Polyxène* (1687), completed by Pascal Collasse, does cram elements of the *Iliad* into the first act, e.g. the quarrel between Achilles and Agamemnon, the embassy (Diomedes alone) to Achilles, and the death of Patroclus, but by the third act he introduces an operatic love triangle and reverses the Homeric original by having Agamemnon introduce Briseis to Achilles so she can entice him away from the Trojan Polyxena.

174. Between 1640 and 1750, according to the number of works in fine arts, music, dance, and literature catalogued in Reid, *The Oxford Guide to Classical Mythology in the Arts* (above, n. 3) I.2, 9-10, 12-13, and II.726-27, 733, 735-36, 739-40, 741-43, 745-46, and 748-49, the number of works derived from the *Odyssey* (95) outnumbers that of works derived from the *Iliad* (20) by almost five to one. The eleven works listed under the promising "Wrath of Achilles" heading (9-10) include a painting of the horses of Achilles by a secondary artist, a drawing ("Thetis Urges Achilles to Return to Battle") attributed to Rembrandt, an unfinished tragedy *Achille* by Jean de La Fontaine, an unattributed painting of "Achilles Wounded at the Siege of Troy," Sebastiano Ricci's lost "Rape of Briseis," two André Campra cantatas depicting a static Achilles, and Francesco Corradini's revision (*serenata armonica*) of Pietro Torri's opera, *La Briseida*; those works under "Return to Battle" (12-13) include a misattribution and three lost paintings attributed to Jacob Jordaens, and five of the works depict merely Achilles arming, with or without Thetis. This large number of para-Iliadic, lost, and minor works suggests that the ratio of *Odyssey*-related works to genuinely *Iliad*-related works is even higher. In addition, recent scholarship, e.g. Gordana Lazarevich's essay on Torri in Stanley Sadie, ed., *The New Grove Dictionary of Opera*, IV.764, doubts even the attribution of *La Briseida* to Torri. Proving the point even further is that Torri's securely attributed works include a para-Iliadic pastoral *Enone* (1705) as well as the post-Iliadic opera, *Asiatante* (a.k.a. *Andromacca*) (1716/17).

175. For a current summary of the period of transition from Baroque and Classicism to Romanticism see Bruce Graver, "Romanticism," ch. 6 in Craig W. Kallendorf, ed., *A Companion to the Classical Tradition*, ser. Blackwell Companions to the Ancient World (Oxford: Blackwell. 2007) 72-80 ("Homeric Criticism and Romantic Primitivism").

Seven Years War. The anecdote, that while reviewing a draft of the Treaty of Paris, Lord Carteret, President of the Council, quoted to Wood from memory Sarpedon's exhortation towards duty in the *Iliad* (12.322-8), demonstrates how inspirational and cerebral the *Iliad* had become in 1762.<sup>176</sup> But, occupied with diplomatic duties, Wood did not publish his findings until many years later, and even then in only a preliminary version, *A Comparative View of the Ancient and Present State of the Troade* (1767), to which his *Essay on the Original Genius of Homer* was prefixed.<sup>177</sup> Only six copies were printed, but he sent several to Germany where the essay was much admired by Heyne, Goethe, and others.<sup>178</sup> Europe was becoming aglow with Homeric fire. In the 1750s and 1760s Winckelmann had declared Greek art superior to all others, and Lessing applied the same valuation to Greek literature and especially Homer. Now in 1770 Johann Gottfried Herder, in his prize-winning treatise *On the Origin of Language*, identified Homer as the first exponent of natural poetry, poetry in its original and purest form.<sup>179</sup> In the summer of 1770 Europeans began to read of the Russian naval campaign, sponsored by Catherine the Great, to free Greece from the Turks, and then in November came the Vienna première of the opera *Paride ed Elena*, its libretto written by Ranieri de' Calzabigi and set by Christoph-Willibald Gluck.

In his essay, Wood (35) praised Homer for his ability to be a "constant and faithful copier after Nature....Homer therefore had only the great book of Nature to peruse, and was original from necessity, as well as by genius." Because the contemporary academic hypotheses were that poetry was the first language of man, that the Greeks lived very soon after the poetic invention of language, and that Homer was first and primary of the Greek poets, it followed that any imitation of Homer should be as natural and pure as possible

176. See W. Baring Pemberton, *Carteret, the Brilliant Failure of the Eighteenth Century* (London: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1936) 329-330.

177. Reprinted as Robert Wood, *An Essay on the Original Genius of Homer* (1769 and 1775). (Hildesheim: G. Olms, 1976). Thomas Blackwell's attempts in 1735 and 1736 at advancing the prestige of Homer were premature, not recognized until they were translated into German by Johann Heinrich Voss in 1776. See Kirsti Simon-suuri, *Homer's Original Genius: Eighteenth-Century Notions of Early Greek Epic* (1688-1798) (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979) 133-142.

178. See T. J. B. Spencer, "Robert Wood and the Problem of Troy in the Eighteenth Century," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 20 (1957) 75-105.

179. *Abhandlung über den Ursprung der Sprache* (definitive edition by Ulrich Gaier, in: Herder, *Frühe Schriften 1764-1772* (= *Werke I* [Frankfurt am Main: Deutscher Klassiker Verlag, 1985] 695-810, with commentary, 1274-1328) won the prize of the Royal Academy of Berlin in 1770 and was published in 1772. See Helene M. Kastinger Riley, "Some German Theories on the Origin of Language from Herder to Wagner," *The Modern Language Review* 74 (1979) 617-632; William A. Wilson, "Herder Folklore and Romantic Nationalism," *Journal of Popular Culture* 6 (1973) 819-835; and Christa Kamenetsky, "Folklore Revival in the Eighteenth Century: Herder's Theory of *Naturpoesie*," *Journal of Popular Culture* 6 (1973) 836-848. Further for Herder on the nature and influence of the Homeric epics see "Homer und Ossian" and "Homer, ein Günstling der Zeit" (both 1795), in: Herder, *Schriften zu Literatur und Philosophie 1792-1800*, ed. Hans Dietrich Irmscher (= *Werke 8* [1998]) 71-87 and 89-115, respectively; cf. Joachim Wohleben, "Friedrich August Wolfs »Prolegomena ad Homerum« in der literarischen Szene seiner Zeit," *Poetica* 28 (1996) 154-170.

to retain Homer's primordial spirit. Gluck reflected this thinking in attempting to represent purely the ethnic stereotypes of the Spartan Helen and Phrygian Paris. The week before the première, Gluck wrote in a preface to the published score:<sup>180</sup>

I was obliged to find some variety of color, seeking it in the different characters of the two nations of Phrygia and Sparta, by contrasting the roughness and savagery of one with the delicacy and tenderness of the other. I believed that since singing in opera is nothing but a substitute for declamation, I must make Helen's music imitate the native ruggedness of that nation, and I thought that it would not be reprehensible if in order to capture this characteristic in the music, I descended now and then to create a coarse effect. I believed that I must vary my style in the pursuit of truth. ... *Tolle Syparium sufficit mihi unus Plato pro cuncto populo* (Raise the curtain! One Plato, rather than everyone, is enough for me)<sup>181</sup>

Rousseau, for one, thought Helen's music was "coarse," but, Gluck was attempting to recreate the ethos of the ancient Dorian and Phrygian modes. He captured the austere, steadfast, even manly Dorian ethos of the ancient Spartans, to the point of nearly creating an androgynous Helen, thereby creating a musical dichotomy similar to the architectural dichotomy between the graceful Ionic order of the Anatolian Greeks and the more austere Dorian order of Western Greeks, which had experienced its own renaissance in Europe just a few decades before.<sup>182</sup>

Plato states categorically in his *Republic* (4.399A) that the Dorian and Phrygian are the only styles of music pedagogically appropriate for developing the ideal human state, and in the early 1770s an opera about not just ancient Greece but the primordial Homeric period was very close to representing the artistic origins of humankind. The story of the opera takes place in Sparta, visited by the Phrygian Paris, lyre in hand, almost an Ionian Homer *redivivus*, who sings beautifully, naturally, and simply about Helen, the beautiful representative of an austere Dorian Greece. In the static visual arts, this same dichotomy between Phrygian and Dorian and the understanding that Homer

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180. Christoph-Willibald Ritter von Gluck, *Paride ed Elena. Drame per Musica* (Vienna, 1770), as translated in Patricia Howard, *Gluck: An Eighteenth-Century Portrait in Letters and Documents* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1995) 98; this preface was written in the form of a letter to Duke Giovanni Braganza. It was probably written by Gluck's librettist Simone Francesco Maria Ranieri de' Calzabigi. The difference between Gluck's Phrygian and Dorian interpretations are clearly audible in Paris' "*Le belle immagini d'un dolce amore*" (II.3) and Helen's much harsher, almost militaristic "*Donzelle semplici, no, non credete*" (V.1).

181. Gluck's Latin seems to be a variation of Cicero's *Brutus* (51 [191]: *Plato enim mihi unus instar est centum milium*).

182. Jacques-Germain Soufflot, for instance, in 1750 rendered a popular engraving of the Temple of Poseidon at Paestum, which represented the Doric ideal, and returned to Paris five years later to design the multi-ordered Panthéon in Paris.

reaches back towards the origins of human arts influenced Jacques-Louis David as well in his subsequent representation of "Paris and Helen" (1788).<sup>183</sup>

Unlike Gluck's very successful operatic versions of the Orpheus myth and the quasi-tragic *Alceste* and *Iphigénie* operas, Gluck's Trojan opera was not a success.<sup>184</sup> The increased analysis and intellectualization of the Troy tale served to render the story—and now also the romance of Paris and Helen—even less suitable for dynamic, popular theater. And then two decades later, after the French Revolution had rendered the *Iliad* and its cast of aristocratic characters irrelevant—and perhaps politically incorrect—for public consumption,<sup>185</sup> the *Iliad* was to become the focus of a new intellectual controversy after the publication in 1795 of Friedrich August Wolf's iconoclastic *Prolegomena to Homer*.<sup>186</sup> Wolf refined the assumption that "Homer" was just one of many poets who developed the epic *Iliad* and *Odyssey* over a period of

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183. David's "Funeral of Patroclus" (1779) and "Andromache Mourning Over the Body of Hector" (1783) preceded "Paris and Helen." Interestingly, Yvonne Korshak, "Paris and Helen by Jacques Louis David: Choice and Judgment on the Eve of the French Revolution," *Art Bulletin* 69 (1987) 102-116, bases her argument on the fact that David's painting "seems anomalously unphilosophical and 'feminine'" (102). Dora Wiebenson, "Subjects from Homer's *Iliad* in Neoclassical Art," *Art Bulletin* 46 (1964) 23-37, identified 300 illustrations of *Iliad* subjects, only 40 of which belonged to the period 1470-1750, while over 200 belonged to the neoclassical period (1750-1825). That most of the latter belong to the category of minor arts corroborates the intellectual nature of Homeric interest during the late eighteenth century but qualifies the period as a mini-renaissance at least in the minor visual arts. See also, Helge Seifert, *Themen aus Homers Ilias in der französischen Kunst (1750-1831)*, Beiträge zur Kunstwissenschaft 24 (Munich: Scaneg, 1988). For the reception of Homer in France during this period, see Françoise Létoublon, Catherine Volpilhac-Auger, Daniel Sangsue, eds., *Homère en France après la Querelle (1715-1900). Actes du colloque de Grenoble (23-25 octobre 1995) Université Stendhal – Grenoble 3, Champion-Varia 32* (Paris: Honoré Champion Éditeur, 1999).

Following Gluck's *Paride ed Elena* by eight years came the inauguration of La Scala in Milan, for which Michele Martellari set Mattia Verazi's three-act libretto, *Troia distrutta* (1778); the first act covered from the abduction of Helen to the death of Hector, the third the episode of the Trojan horse and the fiery deaths of both Paris and Helen.

184. Daniel Hertz, in his review of Federico Marri, *La figura e l'opera di Ranieri de' Calzabigi*, in *Music and Letters* 71 (1990) 568, calls *Paride ed Elena* "the proverbial Cinderella—a neglected child on account of her older sisters." Achilles plays an important role in Gluck's pre-*Iliad* *Iphigénie en Aulide* (1774), his first Parisian opera, the plot of which is derived not from Homer but from Euripides and Aeschylus via Racine; see Susanna Philipppo, "Clytemnestra's Ghost: The Aeschylean Legacy in Gluck's Iphigenia Operas," in: Fiona Macintosh, Pantelis Michelakis, Edith Hall and Oliver Taplin, eds., *Agamemnon in Performance 458 BC to AD 2004* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005) 77-103.

185. Compared, for instance, with revivals of Voltaire's *Brutus* (originally 1730) and Bernard-Joseph Saurin's *Spartaco* (originally 1760). Prior to and during the French Revolution, *Brutus* and then *Spartacus* were revered as ancient prototypes for anti-monarchical revolutionaries. See Maria Wyke, *Projecting the Past: Ancient Rome, Cinema and History* (London: Routledge, 1997) 34-37.

186. See the annotated English translation: F. A. Wolf, *Prolegomena to Homer*, 1795; translated with introduction and notes by Anthony Grafton, Glenn W. Most, and James E. G. Zetzel (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1985).

several centuries, and in doing so Wolf influenced subsequent classical philologists, even if many of his contemporaries had already accepted this concept. No longer was Homer simply a revered natural poet: he, and as a consequence the *Iliad* as well, had now shifted further from the realms of Renaissance humanists and Baroque literati to the late-eighteenth/early-nineteenth century realm of scholars and textual critics.<sup>187</sup>

## VI. The Nineteenth Century

The *Iliad* was now ever farther from the public eye as a beloved work of ancient art. There are notable examples. Goethe's epic *Achilleis* was certainly not designed to be a popular work: it was to be his attempt at embracing and re-fashioning Homeric poetry.<sup>188</sup> Moreover, the eight cantos were dependent in part on Dictys' account because they were to narrate Achilles' affair with Polyxena and his subsequent death. Ultimately Goethe completed only one canto, and it was published in 1808.<sup>189</sup> The youthful Donizetti's *L'ira d'Achille*, written in 1817, was and remains unperformed. The heroic melodrama *Achille* (1801), for which Ferdinando Paer set a libretto written by Giovanni De Gamerra, was not nearly as popular an opera as Paer's earlier mythological works *Orphée et Euridice* (1791) or *Circe* (1792). To the contrary but much to Paer's good fortune, the opera was much favored by Napoleon, who later appointed Paer to multiple imperial posts.<sup>190</sup> Giuseppe Nicolini's setting of the

187. *Ibid* 5-39. For a non-technical survey of earlier Homeric scholarship, see Anthony Grafton, "Renaissance Readers of Homer's Ancient Readers," in Lamberton and Keaney, eds., *Homer's Ancient Readers* (above, n. 72) 149-172. Contemporary was Heinrich von Kleist's romantic tragedy *Penthesilea* (written in 1806/7, published 1808, but staged for the first time only in 1876), which was transformed into an opera by the Swiss composer Othmar Schoeck (1927), and into a made-for-television film by Hans Neuenfels (1983); for a brief introduction and overview (with rich bibliography) see Dieter Borchmeyer, *Kindlers Neues Literatur Lexikon* IX (1988) 482-484; for an interpretative study Jochen Schmidt, *Heinrich von Kleist. Die Dramen und Erzählungen in ihrer Epoche* (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 2003) 105-128.

188. See R. B. Harrison, review of Humphry Trevelyan, *Goethe and the Greeks*, in *Classical Review* 32 (1982) 266. Julius Bryant in John Spurling and Julius Bryant, *The Trojan War: Sculptures by Anthony Caro* (London: Lund Humphries, 1994) 6-9 discusses Homeric inspiration with Joshua Reynolds as a theoretician of art and in subsequent works of sculpture created in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.

189. See Wolfgang Schadewaldt, "Goethes «Achilleis». Rekonstruktion der Dichtung," in Schadewaldt, *Goethestudien: Natur und Altertum* (Zurich: Artemis Verlag, 1963) 301-395; and Christian-Friedrich Collatz, "Achilleis," in Bernd Witte, Theo Buck, et al., eds., *Goethe Handbuch 1: Gedichte* (Stuttgart: J. B. Metzler, 1996) 537-540.

190. Contemporary with this Napoleonic-era opera were Ingres' canvases depicting events from *Iliad* 9 ("Achilles Receiving the Ambassadors of Agamemnon" [1801]) and *Iliad* 1 ("Jupiter and Thetis" [1811]), as well as several versions of Bertel Thorvaldsen's "Briseis Led Away from Achilles by Agamemnon's Heralds" (1803); see also Jérôme-Martin Langlois's "Priam at the Feet of Achilles" (1809), Michel-Martin Drölling's "The Wrath of Achilles" (1810), and Jean Alaux's "Briseis Mourning Patroclus" (1815) in Brooks Beaulieu, "Dieux et Mortels: Les thèmes homériques dans les collections de l'École nationale supérieure des beaux-arts de Paris," *Nine-*

two-act opera seria *L'ira d'Achille* (1814) was an exception in that it was reasonably successful at its première at La Scala in 1814. But to a considerable extent this success can be attributed to the librettist, the learned Felice Romani, who was a member of the faculty of letters at the University of Genoa and an artist able to bridge the scholarly and popular artistic worlds. Romani was an early advocate for the analytical study of mythology and contributed to a multi-volume dictionary of mythology and antiquity.<sup>191</sup> In addition, unlike many of his artistic peers, Romani made a scholarly pilgrimage to Greece.<sup>192</sup>

As the process of the intellectualization of the *Iliad* continued throughout the first half of the nineteenth century, the simultaneous popularization of the modern novel among the urban industrialized populace drastically reduced even their awareness of the Greco-Roman classics. The predominance of classical literature among the educated elite, which had continued from late antiquity to well into the eighteenth century, was now experiencing its first demographic challenge. That challenge was met promptly and effectively, however, after the southern Italian sojourn of the young English novelist, Edward Bulwer-Lytton, who returned home to write *The Last Days of Pompeii*. The novel was released on September 29, 1834, the very week that the front pages of many London newspapers were filled with vivid descriptions of the August 27-29, 1834 eruption of Vesuvius.<sup>193</sup> No doubt this increased initial sales considerably, and the resulting phenomenal popular success of this ground-breaking ancient historical novel helped establish classical antiquity as a source from which to draw and develop popular and commercially viable subject matter. But it renewed interest in popular works set in ancient Rome, not Greece. In contrast, Homer's Troy had been so relegated to the intellectual sphere that just seven years later, in 1841, Hector Berlioz, the dominant French composer and musical intellectual of his day, could write in a Parisian newspaper of erecting "a Temple of Sound at the foot of Mount Ida," where he "would then take the finest orchestra in the world to the ruins of Troy to play the "Eroica Symphony"."<sup>194</sup> In other words, for Berlioz the ruins of Troy have become part of an inspiration for idealized art; the Iliadic narrative has become irrelevant.

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*teenth-Century Art Worldwide* 4 (2005) online: [http://www.19thc-artworldwide.org/spring\\_05/reviews/beau.html](http://www.19thc-artworldwide.org/spring_05/reviews/beau.html).

191. Girolamo Pozzoli, *Dizionario d'ogni mitologia e antichità ... continuato ed ampliato dal prof. Felice Romani e dal dr. Antonio Peracchi* (Milan: Batelli e Fanfani, 1809-1827).

192. Romani also penned the libretto for Mayr's *Medea in Corinto* (1813).

193. James C. Simmons, "Bulwer and Vesuvius: The Topicality of *The Last Days of Pompeii*," *Nineteenth-Century Fiction* 24 (1969) 103-105.

194. This very essay seems to have had a profound influence on the young Richard Wagner, then living in Paris, giving him the inspiration to build his Bayreuth Festspielhaus as the venue for his ultimate *Gesamtkunstwerk* some thirty-one years later. Berlioz's article appeared in the *Gazette musicale*, January 28, 1841, and Wagner's reaction in *The Artist and Publicity* (*Der Künstler und die Öffentlichkeit*) in the same paper (as "*Le musicien et la publicité*") on April 1, 1841. For the text, see William Ashton Ellis, trans., *Richard Wagner's Prose Works* (New York: Broude Brothers, 1892) VII, 134-41.

Berlioz spent many of the last years of his career writing his operatic Trojan epic, *Les Troyens*, a five-act grand opera based predominantly on Vergil's *Aeneid*.<sup>195</sup> The action of the first two acts of *Les Troyens* takes place in Troy and include events from the Trojan horse episode to the flight of Aeneas; that of the last three acts takes place in Carthage and includes the ill-fated romance between Dido and Aeneas. That this masterwork was Vergilian and not a Homeric work already speaks volumes in itself about the intellectual aura that kept Homer's *Iliad* out of the public view for the most part in the mid-nineteenth century, but even more telling about the public regard for the Trojan myth in that period was this: although Berlioz could not generate enough interest to get his Trojan masterpiece performed on stage even once, just two years later Paris reveled in 400 performances of Jacques Offenbach's farce about the Trojan War, *La Belle Hélène* (1864).<sup>196</sup>

The next decade brings us to Schliemann's excavations, which widened the reception rift between the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* into a chasm. Schliemann's widely publicized excavations in Troy in the 1870s changed the public perception of Troy from that of Homer's mythical city to that of Schliemann's controversial archaeological mound.<sup>197</sup> Following Schliemann's death in 1890, Wilhelm Dörpfeld proclaimed to the world in public lectures after his subse-

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195. See Heinz Hofmann, "Troia im Musiktheater: von Lodovico Dolce und Claudio Merulo, *Le Troiane*, bis zu Hector Berlioz, *Les Troyens* (und darüber hinaus)," in Hofmann, ed., *Troia von Homer bis heute* (above, n. 37) 142-185, and, more specifically, Christian Doumet, "La musique et les mythes (à propos des *Troyens* de Berlioz)," in: Françoise Létoublon, Catherine Volpilhac-Auger, Daniel Sangsue, eds., *Homère en France après la Querelle (1715-1900)* (above, n. 183) 439-453.

196. Berlioz was able to get only the final three acts produced in 1863, but this was largely because at the time Paris was experiencing a Carthaginian craze in the wake of the publication of Flaubert's *Salammbô* in 1862, which in turn had just followed upon Charles-Ernest Beulé's excavations at Carthage and the resulting *Fouilles à Carthage* (1861).

197. For the perception that Troy was a controversial archaeological mound, see, for instance, "Priam's Palace: Has It Been Unearthed By Dr. Schliemann? – Remnants of an Older Troy Than That of Homer," *The New York Times* (December 27, 1878) 4; and the very critical unsigned article, "The Land of Homer," *The New York Times* (December 19, 1880) 4: "Even now Dr. Schliemann does not abandon his theory that the city of which Homer sang is the one which he has unearthed upon the hill of Hisarlik. ... The fact still remains that only by an effort of the imagination can the remains of the comparatively small citadel and town of which he has discovered the debris be connected with the glory and magnificence of Priam. ... If in this age we cannot know whether Homer himself was one poet or many, and in his time the events of which the 'Iliad' tells belonged to the realm of legendary lore, it does not seem likely to have been given to an explorer of this generation to discover the scene where all these marvels took place." For later perspectives, in addition to the literature cited above, n. 9, see Justus Cobet, "Schliemanns Troia," in Zimmermann, ed., *Der Traum von Troia* (above, n. 23), 149-164; Johannes Haubold, "Wars of Wissenschaft: The New Quest for Troy," *International Journal of the Classical Tradition* 8 (2002-2003) 564-579, and for the publicity around the recent debate stirred up by Manfred Korfmann's excavations and subsequent publications Wolfgang Ernst, "Datenkrieg. Troia zwischen Medien und Archäologie," in Knut Ebeling and Stefan Altenkamp, eds., *Die Aktualität des Archäologischen in*

quent excavation at Troy, that the Trojan War was a historical event that took place in the late bronze age.<sup>198</sup> It was now a well publicized fact: there was a historical Trojan War. Troy itself was no longer a city of mythology, and as a famed historical city reclaimed from the foggy grip of the mythical world, it would lose even more of its artistic allure and be even further confined to academic study and controversy. It would be many years before Troy and particularly the *Iliad* would provide the subject matter for a significant or successful work for stage or the soon-to-be invented cinema.

In contrast, Schliemann's excavations at Ithaca in 1868 had not been nearly so productive or informative, and soon after the *Odyssey* would provide inspiration for a very popular novel, *The World's Desire* (1890), which told the story of Ulysses and his death at the hands of Telegonus. The novel was written by the successful adventure-novel writer Sir H(enry) Rider Haggard in collaboration with Merton fellow Andrew Lang, whose previous publications included a prose translation of the *Odyssey* (1879) and a narrative poem, *Helen of Troy* (1882).<sup>199</sup>

### VIII. The Twentieth Century

As we move into the twentieth century, therefore, the *Odyssey* flourishes, first with August Bungert's massive operatic tetralogy *Die Homerische Welt* (1898-1903), nine additional dramas featuring Nausicaa,<sup>200</sup> Gabriel Fauré's operatic *Pénélope* in 1913, and thereafter with consistent bursts of inspiration in a variety of modern genres, highlighted by Samuel Butler's (still circulating) translation (1900), Jean Giraudoux's *Elpénor* (1919), James Joyce's *Ulysses* (1922), Nikos Kazantzakis' *Odyssey: A Modern Sequel* (1925-1938), individual poems by H. D., allusions by Ezra Pound, and drawings and paintings by Giorgio de Chirico, all paralleled by silent film versions in 1908, 1911, and 1918.<sup>201</sup>

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*Wissenschaft, Medien und Künsten* (Frankfurt am Main: Fischer Taschenbuch Verlag, 2004) 233-251.

198. For the widespread acceptance of Dörpfeld's assertions, cf. the standing-room-only New York audience that thronged to hear him lecture in German at Columbia in 1895, as described in "Ruins of Ancient Troy: Dr. Dörpfeld's First Archaeological Lecture at Columbia College," *The New York Times* (November 10, 1896) 3.
199. Lang used contemporary academic theories and discoveries about the ancient past to expand his artistic inspiration; cf. Andrew Lang, *Anthropology of the Classics: Six Lectures Delivered Before the University of Oxford by Arthur J. Evans, Andrew Lang, Gilbert Murray, F. B. Jeavons, J. L. Myres, W. Warde Fowler* (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1908) 44: "Even in the few fragments of the so-called Cyclic poets ... there are survivals of barbaric customs—for example human sacrifice, and the belief in phantasms of the dead. ... It is not easily conceivable that Homer was ignorant of any of these things."
200. Reid, *The Oxford Guide to Classical Mythology in the Arts* (above, n. 3) II.747.
201. Bungert's *Die Homerische Welt* included *Kirke* (1898), *Nausikaa* (1901), *Odysseus Heimkehr* (1896), and *Odysseus Tod* (1903). Like the Haggard/Lang novel, it continued through the story of Telegonus and the death of Odysseus. The filmed adaptations include Charles Le Bargy's *Le retour d'Ulysse* (1908) for Pathé Frères and Milano Film's *Odissea* (1911) with Giuseppe De Liguoro. That of 1918 was Victory Films' *The Triumph of Venus*, which focuses on Venus' affair with Mars as told

The *Iliad*, on the other hand, had already had several centuries of relegation to the intellectual, academic, and now historical sphere, and it had had nearly three millennia of competition with and for the most part domination by an array of pre- and post-Iliadic mythological material; and now it had been deprived of what little mythological allure it had left. In 1899 Karl Goldmark responded to Bungert with his opera featuring Briseis (*Die Kriegsgefangene*), but it spawned no sequel, and Bungert had abandoned his own *Die Ilias* project by the time of his death in 1915. Even including such minor works as Wilhelm Schmidtbonn's verse tragedy *Der Zorn des Achilles* (1910) and André Suarès' *Achille vengeur* (1922), there were barely a half-dozen Iliadic works produced for the entire first half of the century.

Not surprisingly, the *Iliad* would leave relatively little trace in the relatively new art form of the cinema, which, now that the twentieth century has come to its completion, can be said arguably to be the most significant art form of the century. In fact, there were no film versions of Homer's *Iliad*, while Giovanni Pastrone's *La caduta di Troia* (1911), Georges Hatot's *Le jugement de Paris* (1922), the German *Der Raub der Helena* (1924), and Itala Film's Hollywood-produced *La Regina di Sparta* (1931) all celebrated the events of the non-Iliadic cyclic epics.<sup>202</sup> The events of John Erskine's novel, *The Private Life of Helen of Troy* (1925), which Alexander Korda rendered cinematically two years later, take place after the Trojan War has ended.<sup>203</sup>

The only significant Iliadic work of the first half of the twentieth century, Jean Giraudoux's *La Guerre de Troie n'aura pas lieu* (1935), appeared at the dawn of the German reoccupation of the demilitarized Rhineland, inspired, of course, by the looming war. It drastically converted Hector into a pacifist who tries in vain to talk the elders of Troy into returning Helen to Menelaus in the hope that they could avoid fighting a war against the Greeks, while Helen, earlier enamored of Paris, ends the play ironically by flirting with Troilus.<sup>204</sup> This is a particularly interesting characterization of Hector insofar as our survey is concerned, for Petersen's Hector attempts as well to avert the war towards the beginning of the film by returning Helen to Menelaus, but Petersen's Hector is overruled.

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in *Od.* 8.266-366. See Solomon, *The Ancient World in the Cinema* (above n. 4) 7-8. For a broader survey, see Bernd Seidensticker, "Aufbruch zu neuen Ufern. Transformationen der Odysseusgestalt in der literarischen Moderne," in Bernd Seidensticker and Martin Vöhler, eds., *Urgeschichten der Moderne: Die Antike im 20. Jahrhundert* (Stuttgart: Verlag J. B. Metzler, 2001) 249-270.

202. See Winkler, "Editor's Introduction," in Winkler, ed., *Troy* (above n. 5) 15-17, and id., "The Trojan War on the Screen: An Annotated Filmography," *ibid.*, 204-205. There may have been also a French *La Chute de Troie* (1911), which some attribute to Pathé. Cf. <http://ibelgique.iffrance.com/peplums/pep18d.htm>.

203. In addition, Erskine also wrote a companion piece, *Penelope's Man: The Homing Instinct* (1928).

204. See G. Grammann, "Les allusions politiques dans, 'La guerre de Troie n'aura pas lieu'," *Cahiers Giraudoux* 7 (1978) 27-46; Rolf Klopfer, "Anmerkungen zu Giraudoux's Stück 'Der trojanische Krieg findet nicht statt'," in Hans-Jürgen Horn and Hartmut Laufhütte, eds., *Ares und Dionysus: das Furchtbare und das Lächerliche in der europäischen Literatur*, Mannheimer Beiträge zur Sprach- und Literaturwissenschaft 1 (Heidelberg: C. Winter, 1981) 177-187.

The middle of the twentieth century experienced a renaissance of popular interest in the ancient world in general. When the Great Depression and World War II had receded into recent memory, first Cecil B. DeMille's *Samson and Delilah* (1949) and subsequently MGM's *Quo Vadis* (1951) created a new excitement among the movie-going public and attractive profits for film studios. Meanwhile Maria Callas was thrilling the operatic world with her renditions of Cherubini's *Medea*, Robinson Jeffers' adaptation of Euripides' *Medea* starring Tony Award winner Judith Anderson had just completed its run of 214 performances, the New York Times Best Seller List included Thornton Wilder's *The Ides of March* (1948), Lloyd C. Douglas' story of St. Peter, *The Big Fisherman* (1948), Mika Waltari's *The Egyptian* (1949), and Thomas Costain's *The Silver Chalice* (1952), and the Gilberton Corporation issued its "Classics Illustrated" version (#77) of the *Iliad* (November, 1950), followed by a version of Homer's *Odyssey* (#81) in March, 1951. Popular projects evoking classical antiquity (including the Passion of Christ) would continue to flourish during the ensuing decade, particularly in the cinema. But among the few hundred films set in Greco-Roman antiquity, only four included Iliadic material, and one of them, *The Face That Launched a Thousand Ships* (1954), was never completed, while two others, *The Fury of Achilles* (*L'Ira d'Achille*—1962) and *The Trojan Horse* (aka *La Guerra di Troia*—1962) were Italian pepla which received little public or critical attention.<sup>205</sup> The only completed project of note was Warner Brothers' *Helen of Troy* (1956), with Robert Wise as director, which like so many Troy tales of the previous two and one-half millennia, ranges from the abduction of Helen to the death of Achilles and a little beyond.<sup>206</sup> In fact, of the two most visible, high-cost theatrical arts operative during the twentieth century, film and opera, there is only one major representation of the *Iliad* in each, the operatic entry being Michael Tippett's *King Priam* (1962), which, again, begins with the abduction of Helen and then concludes by focusing on how the Achilles-Patroclus-Hector tragedies directly affect the Trojan King.<sup>207</sup> Interestingly, just a few years earlier the Dares/Dictys/Benoît part of the tradition

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205. *The Fury of Achilles* (*L'Ira d'Achille*—1962) unfolds more or less within the chronological parameters of the *Iliad*, beginning with and elaborating upon the sack of Lyrnessus, the arrest of Briseis, and the assignment of booty, and concluding with the ransom of Hector. Chryses invokes Apollo to punish the Greeks, and there are even double-exposure divine interventions of Athena (Book I) and Thetis (Book XVIII). *The Trojan Horse* (*La Guerra di Troia*—1962) begins towards the end of the *Iliad* with the dragging of Hector's corpse, the funeral games of Patroclus, and Priam's visit to Achilles. The Swedish film, *Sköna Helena* (1951) included Hercules rather than Achilles. The same period inspired a French stage comedy, André Roussin's *Le tombeau d'Achille* (1956). See Winkler, "The Trojan War on the Screen" (above n. 202) 207-208.

206. *Helen of Troy* includes several Iliadic moments, including the farewell between Andromache and Hector, and the quarrel in Book I, which lasts just over one minute. Cf. the remarks by Nisbet, *Ancient Greece in Film and Popular Culture* (above, n. 5) 31-36.

207. See Ewans, *Opera from the Greek* (above, n. 171) 129-151. – For other minor representations, see Winkler, "The Trojan War on the Screen" (above n. 202) 208-215.

had a significant revival in Sir William Walton's Chaucerian *Troilus and Cressida* (1955), which included both Chaucerian and Shakespearean elements.<sup>208</sup>

For the most part<sup>209</sup> that brings us to the current renaissance of films with ancient subjects that has followed in the wake of Sam Raimi's highly successful syndicated television series "Hercules: The Legendary Journeys" (1994-2000).<sup>210</sup> On the silver screen this renaissance brought forth DreamWork's highly acclaimed *Gladiator* (2000),<sup>211</sup> a number of made-for-television films, and then *Troy* (2004).<sup>212</sup> Among the made-for-television films was *Helen of Troy* (2003), aired originally on the USA Network, wherein an actor named Joe Montana—not the football player—portrayed Achilles. The film, broadcast over two nights (April 20-21), did not have the players reach Troy itself until the second evening, but thereafter it did spend some 20 of its 177-minute running time on the duels between Menelaus/Paris and Achilles/Hector. But although those minutes include Menelaus defeating Paris and pulling his helmet by the crest, as at *Iliad* 3.369-73, Menelaus then shows mercy, engages in a lengthy conversation with Paris, and chats calmly about how his wife is faring while living with the Trojan prince. In contrast, Achilles dares Hector to throw his javelin at him, but Hector claims he does "not fight that way"; Achilles says, "I do!" and immediately spears his unaware opponent.<sup>213</sup>

That brings us back to Wolfgang Petersen's *Troy*, and it is important to realize, in light of the preceding survey, that in the formative stages of the project Warner Brothers originally considered producing Michael Tabb's script featuring the story of Troilus and Cressida. This illustrates again that in the 2700-year tradition of the myths surrounding the Trojan War, whether the reason has been its unparalleled style of artistry, its archaic ambience, its limited narrative scope, its lack of romance, or its Greek text, the *Iliad* has only rarely been an exemplar for artists. And while my purpose here has been to place Pe-

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208. The same period produced Robert Graves' novel, *Homer's Daughter* (1955), which formed the basis for the libretto of Peggy Glanville-Hicks' opera, *Nausicaa* (1961). For other contemporary novels related to the Trojan War, see <http://www.rhul.ac.uk/classics/NJL/novels.html>.

209. During the year-long hiatus following the relatively unsuccessful *Casanova* (1976) and *City of Women* (1980), Federico Fellini took some steps, with Anthony Burgess, towards developing a version of the *Iliad* in 1980, planning to tell "stories of men and gods who wonderfully represent the human creature in all of its most secret psychic components." See Hollis Alpert, *Fellini: A Life* (New York: Atheneum, 1986) 276-279. The year before the British made-for-television *Of Mycenae and Men* (1979) detailed what happened to Helen (Diana Dors) after the war.

210. The second pilot film, *Hercules and the Lost Kingdom* (1994), involved the "lost city of Troy," and in the first season of the spin-off "Xena: The Warrior Empress" series, the twelfth episode, "Beware Greeks Bearing Gifts" (1996), had Helen asking Xena to assist the Trojans during the last days of the war against the Greeks.

211. See Winkler, *Gladiator: Film and History* (above, n. 15).

212. See the chronology offered in Karl Galinsky, "Film," in Craig W. Kallendorf, ed., *A Companion to the Classical Tradition* (above, n. 160) 399-400.

213. Dictys' version also has Achilles defeat Hector through human treachery; Homer's Hector is tricked by the immortal Athena. In the made-for-television *Helen of Troy*, Agamemnon slays Priam in his palace, as in Petersen's *Troy*,—just before he rapes Helen, an obscenity Petersen does not repeat.

tersen's *Troy* into this art-historical perspective, I conclude the process with the thought that the mythological tradition of the Trojan War is ongoing. Insofar as Petersen and Benioff continued this tradition, they had, as we have seen, essentially an art-historical imperative, to expand the *Iliad* beyond the Homeric parameters and fashion the story as befitted the cinematic medium with all the considerable financial pressures attached to making a high-profile Hollywood release, not to mention the specter of anticipated initial audience responses and critical opinions, both of which would determine whether their efforts had pleased the masses and earned back its nearly \$200 million investment. As for the historical and archaeological authenticity of the film and its fidelity to Homer, again, this is a much larger investigation that deserves separate treatment.<sup>214</sup> But I hope that I have demonstrated that for over two thousand years matters of authenticity have very rarely been of concern.<sup>215</sup> In fact, Petersen's *Troy* is actually one of the few major works of art in the past 2700 years even to attempt a balance between respecting Homer's thought-provoking slice of the Troy tale and a glorification of its more user-friendly, non-Iliadic aspects while satisfying its intended audience, which, I emphasize, does not include the professional classicist.

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214. See, for instance, J. Lesly Fitton, "Troy and the Role of the Historical Advisor," and Kim Shahabudin, "From Greek Myth to Hollywood Story: Explanatory Narrative in *Troy*," in Winkler, ed., *Troy* (above n. 5) 99-106, and 107-118, respectively.

215. Cf. Potter, *The Roman Empire at Bay* (above, n. 94) 195-196.