JOSEPH OF EXETER: ILIAD

(JOSEPHUS ISCANUS: DARETIS PHRYGII ILIAS)

 $\begin{tabular}{ll} translated into English verse by \\ A.G. Rigg \end{tabular}$

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INTRODUCTORY NOTES

Joseph of Exeter's six-book hexameter epic on the fall of Troy was completed in 1190, and was dedicated to Baldwin, archbishop of Canterbury. It is one of most literary Latin epics of the Middle Ages, surpassing even Walter of Chatillon's <u>Alexendreis</u> (a curriculum text) in its dense poetic style, its *inventio* of episodes and characters, and its overall structure and plan. It has received one full prose translation into English (Roberts 1970) and one partial one (Bate 1986); the present verse translation attempts to reproduce something of the feel of the original. The following pages give an account of the poem and its genesis; for fuller studies, see the works cited.

Synopsis

- Book I. Prologue: an eye-witness account is a better source than Homer or Virgil; the poem is dedicated to Baldwin, archbishop of Canterbury. Story: en route to find the Golden Fleece, Jason and the Argonauts put in at Troy but are rebuffed by the Trojan king Laomedon. On their return to Greece, Hercules broods over the insult and leads an expedition to punish Troy. Laomedon is killed and his daughter Hesione is given as a prize to Telamon. Laomedon's son Priam returns from campaign and rebuilds the city, which is described in detail.
- Book II. Provoked by the fury of Allecto, Priam broods on the rape of his sister Hesione, whose marriage to Telamon is described. After a fruitless embassy by Antenor, the Trojans plan war. Priam's son Paris describes the debate between the goddesses Juno, Minerva and Venus for the title of "most beautiful." His judgment in favour of Venus (in return for a promise of a beautiful bride) assures the Trojans of the success of his mission.
- Book III. Despite some Trojan forebodings, Paris sets out; Helen's husband, Menelaus, is absent, and she and Paris are instantly attracted to each other. The abduction is easy and they return to Troy, to Cassandra's dismay. The Greeks prepare for a second expedition against Troy.
- Book IV. The poet describes the Trojan and Greek heroes and other major characters. The Greeks set out and consult the oracles, where they meet the seer Calchas, who joins them. The Greek expedition begins; Achilles and Telephus divert to Mysia, kill its king Teuthras, and leave Telephus in charge to send supplies of corn to the Greek troops at Troy.
- Book V. The Greeks, led by Protesilaus, land at Troy; Hector leads the Trojan defence and kills

Protesilaus. Battles rage and Patroclus, Achilles' friend, is killed, as is Merion. Palamedes plots to take command of the Greeks. Various heroes are killed. Andromache dreams of the death of her husband Hector, who is eventually killed by Achilles.

Book VI. Hector's funeral. Palamedes displaces Agamemnon as leader. Battles rage. During a truce, Achilles falls in love with Priam's daughter Polyxena, and withdraws from the war; the Greeks prepare to go home, but new supplies arrive from Mysia. Paris kills Palamedes and Agamemnon resumes command. Several heroes fall, and Troilus is preeminent on the Trojan side; Achilles continues to refuse to fight. Finally Achilles is provoked and kills Troilus and Memnon (son of Aurora, the dawn); Memnon's funeral is described. Hecuba, Priam's wife, intent on revenge for the death of her sons, invites Achilles to come to arrange his marriage to Polyxena. Achilles, along with Antilochus, is thus ambushed by Paris and killed. On the advice of Calchas, Achilles' son Pyrrhus (Neoptolemus) is summoned. Paris and Ajax kill each other. Penthesilea arrives and is at first victorious but is killed by Pyrrhus. Some Trojans (Antenor, Polydamas, and Aeneas) argue for peace and the surrender of Helen, but Priam resists. Antenor and Aeneas treat secretly with the Greeks, who are admitted into the city by a gate surmounted by a horse's head. The city is sacked; Priam is killed and Hecuba laments. Polyxena is killed by Pyrrhus in revenge for his father, and Aeneas is sent into exile for trying to help her. The Greeks return home, often to disaster: Agamemnon, Diomedes and Ulysses are all killed, but Helen survives. The poet addresses Baldwin again and promises to write the epic of the forthcoming crusade.

Sources

To modern readers, whose knowledge of Troy comes mainly from Homer's <u>Hiad</u> and <u>Odyssey</u> and Virgil's <u>Aeneid</u>, this story may seem unfamiliar, but it is the one that enjoyed the widest circulation in the Middle Ages; it was regarded as the most authoritative, since it appeared to be based on an eye-witness account by a Trojan. The <u>Historia de excidio Troiae</u> of Dares Phrygius was, so the story runs, found and translated into Latin by the Roman historian Cornelius Nepos (see I, 6-26), and is the basis of most medieval treatments—Benoit de St. Maure, Guido de Colonnis, Boccacio, and Chaucer, etc. (Joseph's account of the return of the Greeks after the final fall of Troy (VI. 886-93, 898-end) is taken from another so-called eye-witness, the <u>Ephemeris belli Troiani</u> by Dictys

Cretensis). Dares' prose story is bare and arid, with no colour or drama—just the facts. Joseph's poem, by contrast, is imaginative, carefully wrought and mannered in an almost Silver Latin style, and is especially inventive. The process of the expansions is one of the most interesting aspects of Joseph's Ylias.

The most common medieval method of expansion is by verbal and syntactic rhetoric of the kind advocated by Matthew of Vendome and Geoffrey of Vinsauf. Joseph is unusual in expanding the <u>matter</u> of the story. He is fond of mythological themes, particularly in the debate between the goddesses in Book II. Some of his favourite stories include: the division of the world among Jupiter, Neptune and Dis (I. 239 – 40); the conflict of the gods and giants (II. 374; VI. 45 – 48); Jupiter's refusal to marry Thetis because of the prophecy that her son would become greater than his father (II. 574; VI. 354 – 5: in fact, Thetis married Peleus, whose son was Achilles); the love of Aurora/dawn for Tithonus (V. 39); the birth of Venus from Saturn's sperm (II. 523 – 4, 560 – 9: see below). Favourite stories involving humans include: the Labours of Hercules (I. 271 – 3, 281 – 8; II. 110 – 31); Hecuba's dream that she will give birth to a flame that will destroy Troy (III. 155 – 9, 287; VI. 836). Joseph also enjoys geographical descriptions: the river Simois at Troy (I. 524 – 35); the tidal bore of the Phasis (I. 162 – 76), and the route taken by the Argonauts (IV. 326 – 33).

It is impossible to determine where Joseph found these stories, since they are widespread in classical literature. He certainly knew Virgil and Ovid well (particularly Ovid's exchange of letters between Paris and Helen in the <u>Heroides</u>). Statius' <u>Achilleid</u> could have provided much of Achilles' background and career, and the <u>Thebaid</u> describes many of the ancestors of those that fought at Troy, as well as the story of the necklace of Hermione/Harmonia (Joseph, II. 525 – 30). It has been argued that Joseph used the sixth-century prose <u>Excidium Troiae</u> (which includes the *lis dearum*, Jupiter's refusal to marry Thetis, Hecuba's dream and Achilles' disguise as a girl). Also striking, in my opinion, is an earlier poem, the <u>De raptu Helenae</u> by Dracontius (late fifth century), which explicitly aims to provide material not in Homer or Virgil:

It recounts Paris' homecoming after the *lis dearum* (in which Venus' promise to Paris resembles that in Joseph); despite warnings from Helenus and Cassandra, he is welcomed by Priam and Hecuba, as Apollo reassures them that Troy will survive (meaning, of course, its renewal in Rome). He is sent on a mission to Telamon to rescue Hesione (a

voyage reminiscent of Antenor's in Joseph); he fails but on his departure he is driven by a storm to Cyprus; there he meets Helen (with a love-awakening similar to that in Joseph), and the two elope and return to Troy. (Joseph, II. 607 – 9 shares with Dracontius and the sixth-century Excidium the detail that at the end of the <u>lis dearum</u> Venus showed herself naked to Paris).

In his description of Merion (IV. 148-55) Joseph draws on traditional portrayals of the vice of Envy. His account of Helen's lustfulness (IV. 172-207) is based on physiological and psychological theory. Many details that are obscure to modern readers are explained in the commentary that accompanies the poem in Paris BN lat. 15015, but Riddehough has shown that, because of interpretations that are wrong or at variance with Joseph, Joseph could not have been the author of the commentary.

Even more striking is Joseph's invention of new episodes, particularly battle scenes. Where Dares writes that there was a fight (*pugnatum est*), Joseph supplies characters and details of the combat. Books V and VI are packed with warriors not found in Dares; even when their names are found in classical literature, they cannot, for chronological reasons, be associated with the Trojan War, but Joseph seems to have selected names that sounded Greek or exotic. A few other details of Joseph's treatment need comment:

- (a) In traditional history, Telamon of Salamis had two sons, Ajax (Telamonius) and Teucer (by Hesione, sister of Priam). It is clear that Joseph (following Dares, ch. 19) has conflated the two under the name Ajax, eliminating the name Teucer entirely. See II. 150 and V. 268-75, where a potential fratricide by Hector (who would have been killing his aunt's son) is avoided; the relationship is mentioned again at IV. 118-20.
- (b) According to traditional mythology, Venus was born of the seed of Uranus, who was castrated by his son Saturn who threw his father's testicles into the sea. In Joseph (II. 523-4, 560-9) it is Jupiter who castrates his father Saturn, and so Venus is born of Saturn's seed.
- (c) Joseph usually follows the chronological sequence of Dares, but makes an exception for one character. In his list of protagonists in Book IV, he moves Helen into the final and prominent position. Similarly, in the return of the Greeks from Troy, he moves Helen (who actually returned quite early with Menelaus) to final position to receive Joseph's final condemnation.

- (d) If I am right, Joseph alters the account of entry of the Greeks into Troy (VI. 734 46) so that it is not Aeneas and Antenor who opened the gates (as in Dares) but the seer Calchas, whose Trojan nationality Joseph had suppressed at VI. 251 314.
- (e) The attitude of medieval Christians to pagan history and legend is sometimes complex. If I am right, Joseph has tried, though not very consistently, to create a scenario in which the persona of the poet, the eye-witness of the events, is pre-Christian but after the Fall of Adam and Eve, whereas the author himself has a modern, i.e. Christian, overview; see II. 1-30. The poet and the date of the Ylias

(The little that can be inferred about Joseph, his works and his date, is given fully in the editions/translations by Gompf, Mora, etc.; here I give simply an outline together with a few suggestions.)

Joseph was clearly a cleric, since he had the title "Magister"; in addition to the <u>Ylias</u> he wrote an <u>Antiocheis</u>, apparently an epic on the First Crusade, of which only a fragment survives; he wrote a poem on St. Martin and some others, and some letters to Guibert, abbot of Gembloux. His closest known association was with Baldwin, formerly abbot of the Cistercian abbey of Ford, then bishop of Worcester (1180 – 84) and archbishop of Canterbury (1185 – 90), who died on crusade in 1190 before the expedition reached Palestine. Joseph dedicated the <u>Ylias</u> to Baldwin (I. 31 – 59; VI. 961 – 73). Gerald of Wales reports (<u>De rebus a se gestis</u>, 2.20) that in 1188, after Baldwin and Gerald had been engaged in preaching the crusade in Wales, Baldwin was asked who would write the history of the Third Crusade; Baldwin replied that Gerald would write it in prose, and "nepos meus Joseph metrice, quem et archidiacono (i.e. Gerald) adiungam ut ei serviat et inseparabiliter adhereat." This is generally taken to mean that Joseph was Baldwin's nephew (nepos), explaining their close relationship. Ms. Nancy Prior of Toronto, however, has brilliantly suggested (private communication) that nepos meus may mean "my Nepos", alluding to the supposed discoverer and translator of what we now call Dares Phrygius: just as Cornelius Nepos discovered the original, so Joseph has rediscovered it and versified it.

Clearly the poem was <u>completed</u> while Baldwin was still archbishop and after the Third Crusade had been planned (after the fall of Jerusalem to Saladin in 1187) but before Baldwin's death and the arrival in Palestine in 1190. *A fortiori*, it was written after 1183 and the death of the Young

Henry, commemorated in V. 533 – 7. But nothing can tell us when Joseph began work on it; if Nancy Prior's hypothesis is correct, Baldwin's reply reported by Gerald suggests that by 1188 Joseph had already established himself as the poet of Troy. Epics of this size are not written overnight: we can probably assume that Joseph began work on it about 1180 and finished it by 1190 at the latest.

Editions and translations

(For bibliography up to 1900, see Gompf; for recent work, see Mora).

The standard critical edition is by L. Gompf (1970), but somewhat earlier than this G. Riddehough produced an edition as his PhD thesis (1950). I have so far been unable to see the edition and translation of Books I – III by A.K. Bate (1986). The only full translation into English prose hitherto is that by G. Roberts (1970), which was based on Riddehough. Most recently a team led by F. Mora produced a French prose translation based on Gompf's edition. Both Roberts and Mora (etc.) have notes; the Mora (etc.) translation is accompanied by an introduction by J.-Y. Tilliette.

The present verse translation is based on Gompf's edition, with the following exceptions:

- I. 29, where I punctuate with a comma after *poetam*.
- I. 274 I read *iussis* with CP (Gompf *iussus*).
- I. 351 I read *iura* with P (Gompf *cura*).
- I. 496 7 I punctuate with a comma after *mundi*.
- I. 385 6 I punctuate: . . . potens. Cum ...trepide, sit ... hostis?
- II. 494 I read *elidat* (Gompf *elidit*), which is what Roberts seems to have read
- II. 506 I read *placitura* with P (Gompf *placanda*).
- II. 516 I punctuate with a colon after fides.
- IV. 116 I read distincta (Gompf discincta).

I have benefited considerably from the translations and notes of Roberts and Mora (etc.), though naturally I disagree on occasion. At one time I had hoped that this translation would have had its own notes (including discussions of interpretations), but unfortunately this has not been possible.

In the spelling of proper names, I have classicized where there are clear equivalents (e.g.

Telamon for <u>Thelamon</u>, Pyrrhus for <u>Pirrus</u>), but have left Gompf's forms otherwise (e.g. <u>Yparcus</u>, which is perhaps for Hipparchus).

Seeing that Joseph took the trouble to write a hexameter epic, it seemed fair to repay him in English verse. To render his hexameters, I have used Alexandrines (twelve-syllable unrhymed iambics), as this gave me room to include most of Joseph's poeticisms and to match the lineation of original and translation fairly closely. Not surprisingly, this has led to some corner-cutting in his rhetorical devices. I hope, however, to have reproduced in English something of the experience of reading Joseph's Latin.

Select bibliography

For a fuller list, see Mora (etc.) pp. 41-45; for editions prior to 1900, see Gompf, pp. 58-60.

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Joseph of Exeter

THE YLIAS OF DARES PHRYGIUS

Book I

	The tears of Trojan women, Troy resigned to fate,
	The leaders' twice-fought war, the city twice reduced
	To dust, I mourn and weep. The wrath of Hercules,
	Hesione's rape and Helen's flight, destroyed the towers,
5	Dispatched the Trojans, and aroused the towns of Greece.
	O why, to exile sent by ancient poets' din,
	Does holy, sacred Truth lurk in the woods so long?
	Though you lie hidden, scorned and spurned by early times,
	Must you, who should be known, flee us? Come, famous Truth,
10	With me: arise, smooth out the wrinkles, show your face,
	Exalt my humble trumpet. Dry antiquity should blush
	When you come forth adorned and freely show your face.
	Behold, you soothe our ready ears and friendly heart,
	And lightly will endure the cackles of the crowd.
15	If modern taste thinks nothing sweet or of avail
	That recent times produce, if Saturn's golden age
	Alone is in our mind, and if no favour's shown
	To modern worth—yet dare to the try the heights, young Truth!
	Let old men grow grey beards, but we our brains, with mind
20	Not hair, in heart not face. For worth is not denied
	To new beginnings nor conferred by age alone.
	Since each of these two ages has a different aim,
	The one lies still, the other thrives, one grows, one droops.
	Should I admire old Homer, Latin Virgil, or

25	The Bard of Troy (unknown to tale), whose present eye*,	*Dares Phrygius
	A surer witness of the truth, disclosed the war?	
	And now my mind's high hope has grasped this trusty source	,
	What gods should I invoke? My mind, aware of truth,	
	Has banished far the teasing poet and his tales,	
30	Lest Athens' licensed fabrications and its lies	
	Offend you, father*—you, whose bishopric makes	*Baldwin, Archbishop of
	Canterbury thrive and, free, enjoy its ancient laws.	Canterbury (1186 – 90)
	Your honours grow apace: the third great office calls,	
	For Worcester* first knew you, now Canterbury knows	*Bishop of Worcester (1180 – 86)
35	You, Rome itself eyes you, for Peter's sinking ship*	*the catholic church
	Requires a leader, one to guide it through the storms.	
	Yet with your western flock of sheep you live content,	
	From Becket third, a second Thomas*, second sun	*i.e. second to Becket in morals
	Arising, heir in worldly wealth and moral worth.	
40	Happy are those that no ambition drives*, for	*contrasting Baldwin to
	Honour won won't come down from the heights. Blind power	Becket's successor, Richard.
	Sees not the force of Fortune: false prosperity	
	Knows not that he who laughs is soon reduced to tears.	
	Don't tempt the gods with sacrilegious plundering!	
45	Whoever seeks for honours up for sale, erects	
	A scaffold he may fall from. Vengeance falls, when late,	
	More heavily: when seemingly it holds no threat,	
	It should he feared. Wrath knows no match, though seeming	mild,
	When crime enjoys its wrongful wish and seems to thrive.	
50	You're not like that: that pious father, pious priest*,	*Becket
	Would gladly see you take the charge of what he bought	
	With precious blood—the peace he won by giving up	

His life—and would himself be pleased to yield his power

Or gladly share the reins of government with you.

Enough! Now grant your poet, please, your grace, I beg,

To walk the route he's planned and write of fallen Troy.

But you'll be claimed by holy wars and sacred strife*,

And merit then a greater trumpet; then I'll strive

With all my heart to spread us both throughout the world.

*The Third Crusade (1190)

One time, the sport of busy curiosity

55

70

75

Invented ships, before unknown; the greed for gold

Outstripped the bounds of daring and sent men abroad

To plunder marriage beds and seize the temples' wealth.

And so does human grasping set its end at this?

Does Pluto's dug up wealth, which daring avarice

And pallid miner wrest from deep infernal caves,

Suffice? Who now is satisfied that kingdoms, town,

And even hell itself lay bare their wealth for theft?

So now to unknown waves! They freely choose to brave

The tempests and to live their lives for fate alone.

The departure of the Argonauts for the isle of Colchis

The son of Aeson, Jason, first employed the waves

To seize the Golden Fleece. The mighty Alcides*,

The heir of fame, lent him his strength for daring deeds.

Dukes Peleus, Telamon, and Emathia's* youth

Pledged their support to brave all perils of the sea.

Some marvelled at the ship, some came in search of fame,

*Hercules

*Thessaly

		Some came to see new worlds and distant tribes of men.	
		Diana's* pine, ripped up, now learns to follow waves	*goddess of forests
		Before unknown and into Thetis' bosom* goes.	*the sea
8	0	For branches she has oars; content with rough array,	
		Relying less on style than strength, she goes	
		Abroad into the deep, an exile, with few arms.	
		Religion did not fiercely thrust its floating gods*	*figureheads on the prows
		Into the sea; no sails swelled up with wind in pride.	
8	5	(More fussy practice now adds frills; newfangledness	
		Works hard to dress up danger in a splendid guise.)	
		That first pine risked its poor display (that once it had	
		On Haemus) on the rocks. Argus was the shipwright,	
		Argo the ship, both crude. The ship did not offend	
9	0	The gods with prideful gold, nor risked the gold on rocks.	
		The sea's new guest* stands full of doubt, and marvels at	*Jason
		The tidal sport of ebb and flow; his eyes take in	
		The vast horizon, and he feels his love of home,	
		Yet gladly he submits to virtue and the waves.	
9	5	The breeze now takes the ship, but where, doomed ship, O where	
		Do you drag people to their fates? Do you disdain	
		The deeds of snake and arms? Your life, I know, is dull;	
		You seek out deadly sport. Now, mighty earth, employ	
		Your rocks! By thrusting blow of the Symplegades*	*clashing rocks
10	0	Report things not destroyed before! Let Argo hear	
		The doom she brought, and glory in the primal wrath!	
		But fate resists and Atropos*, men's plague, forbids.	*the final Fate
		Gods outrank prayers; that wood of Thessaly has gods	
		At hand (it made them). Aeolus* would have lain despised	*god of winds

105	In cave, and Triton in the sea, and in his cell	
	Old age worn Caurus* down, had Argo then been sunk.	*Northwest wind
	It was from fear, the source of gods, that ignorance	
	Filled hell, sky, sea, with Dis*, Olympians, and gods.	*Pluto, god of the underworld
	The crew felt Ocean's threats and cried, "O Aeolus,	
110	And mighty Neptune—you who with your sceptre soothe	
	The blue sea waves—grant grace to those about to sail!	
	If we return, your name on altars will be praised."	
	The gods respond to prayers, delighted to be called:	
	One smoothes the waves, another summons from his cave	
115	The South-west wind to fill the sails and clear the sky	
	Of cloud. At last, the ship, propelled in smiling calm,	
	Slides into Phrygian* port; impulsive youths jump out	*Trojan
	And eagerly contend to take that still forbidden land.	
	Dire rumour spreads this swift assault on Trojan lands,	
120	This sudden threat to all the people and the king,	
	If foreign fleets should land on Dardanian* soil.	*Trojan
	The people rise and rage: some urge Laomedon*	*king of Troy
	To fight the Greeks, if they won't freely quit the shore.	
	Mob, hateful to the gods, do you thus drive the loved	
125	Of heaven and the nascent gods* upon the rocks?	*Hercules, Castor, Pollux
	Can such a mighty race so blindly fear one boat?	
	Here comes a guest*, no enemy, by whose strong hand	*Hercules
	Are monsters to be crushed. Respect the Thunderer	
	Or, at least, accept the man! If we weigh what's fair	
130	And measure use of things by what is just and right,	
	All land is shared by man. But, hating public law,	
	Barbarians profanely dare to place a fence	

	Round Nature, separating Phrygia for themselves.	
	O mighty Asia's wealth, O Troy that will not yield	
135	To any peaceful god! The sisters' fatal threads*	*The Fates
	Are not at fault, nor those above: the native race	
	Makes its own fate. The stars are merciful, but Troy	
	Itself deserves flame, exile, swords. The Argo is repelled,	
	And out at sea they call on Jupiter to war.	
140	The Greeks, their souls aflame for arms, are all incensed	
	To go where anger leads and with avenging sword	
	Excuse their flight. Yet prudence, all too rare a friend	
	Of crowds, weighs Trojan strength against the slight Greek force.	
	Wise Nestor's ringing voice takes hold of doubtful ears	
145	And guides them as they waver, soothes their angry hearts:	
	"O you who tamed the waves and straits with eager oars	
	And were the first to feel the winds and learn a path	
	That's fraught with angry threats, and followed unknown stars,	
	Now learn to take the rough! One thing alone can crush	
150	The enemy, directing virtues: Patience. She	
	Alone in harmless triumph wins, and gives the best	
	Advice on when to go and where. We all are harmed —	
	And guiltlessly—and first endure indignity	
	So we may find a better cause and, when war comes,	
155	The gods will fight for us. This injury was not	
	Just ours but all the Greeks'. Someone will vindicate	
	Our shame with pious sword." He ceased. The sea, appeased,	
	Accepted those about to sail and spread her lap.	
	The Pegasan ship had crossed the wandering waves,	
160	The ocean left behind, and entered Phasis'* strait	*river in Colchis

And gained a smaller but more open bay;

It suffered things long feared, when on that lofty shore

The stream's discordant surge waged battle with the tide.

The Phasis boldly with its flood restrains the sea

And fighting back prevents it rushing on the land.

In pity for the fated ground. The sea's enraged

And cruelly pollutes the drinking water, pours

Its poison on the gentle straits and won't be held,

No gentle south winds here, no smiling sky, for here

The narrow port stirs constant winter storms: the sea

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Does not lie languidly. The sand piles up its grains

To overwhelm the ships: the hidden ocean floor

Stirs shallow waters in a cloud, pretending depth.

The helmsman hesitates: the shore is close at hand

And he suspects the hidden shoals, and learns to fear

The path he'd hoped was safe. His fear brings out his skill:

A tiny skiff is sent into the bay to see

And with a spear as judge to test the water's depth.

Then, when the seashore's traps are clear, the boat slides through

And makes its narrow path between the spurs of ground;

It gains the land it sought and crunches through the sand.

I need not list the stringent laws that Jason faced

Imposed by Aeetes*—the scattered seeds, the foes

From earth, the bulls of Mars, the fierce dragon's watch.

The fire and sword gave way to Jason's manly strength;

The fleece was filched, though purchased at a mighty risk.

You'd think that Neptune knew, for, as they fled, the sea

Swelled up on high, and as the waves broke on the shore

*king of Colchis

They cried aloud, "Begone, you sacrilegious crew, 190 You shall not, booty-laden, foul the sacred sea." The south wind would not let those dreadful threats oppress The Argonauts, but blew the words away unheard. With golden fleece (from Colchians despoiled) it sails, That mighty brigand! Should I blame the ship that first 195 Through watery ways wrought wickedness and aided fate, Or praise it for a greater cause? For without oars By Egypt Rome would not be known, nor Spain by India, Nor Athens by the Scythians, nor Britain by the Gauls. The helmsman from his watch first sees the hills of Greece 200 And cries out, "Fare you well," but all the other youth Strives eagerly with oars: the ship, victorious, Brings back to Grecian fields the crew it once led forth. Now who could list the many cheers, the widespread joys? If I were brief, I might be thought unwilling to 205 Relate them all, or ignorant; if overlong, The tired ear would give no credence to each case. Larissa marvels to have Peleus back; Pilon Nestor greets; Salamis is proud of Telamon, And Leda's glad to see her sons, Orythia 210 Her twins; Althea, mother still*, not yet alone *she later killed Meleager A sister, praises Meleager; Thrace Orpheus, Arcadians Admetus; every town is glad To see Talaus, Theseus, Idas, Antheus, But Jason, rich in loot, comes to Peloponese; 215 The palace wantons in its lavish grand array. The people run to meet and cheer their hero home;

	With unfeigned looks they demonstrate their joyful hearts.	
	But Pelias alone, though on the surface calm,	
	Is sick with envy unfulfilled; he blames himself,	
220	Laments the vows expended on the gods, and charges Mars	
	Who freely let his untamed bulls* grow meek and mild. *c.f. 1.184	
	His anger struggled out at length in raging bursts;	
	He gulped out cruel words and haughty proud complaints:	
	"Ye gods, where does the incense go? What error guides	
225	Our destiny? O human fates! Does Fortune save	
	The few to hurt the rest? I know, I've stretched my reign	
	Against the will of God. Great god, at last receive	
	What I don't care to use (since I refuse to reign);	
	It's yours, you've wanted it so long! Be proud in what	
230	I've left, not lost (not by the fickle will of gods).	
	I'd like to buy, and conquer, Jove with this, my realm.	
	What angers me (if faith exists) is not the loss	
	Of reign, but waste of prayer. Did I not wish to send	
	That man to Northern exile? Now he reigns. To crush?	
235	He boasts. To squash? He thrives. To slight his fame? He wins.	
	So sacrifice to thankless gods, burn scent to Jove!	
	You'll give and he'll refuse; he'll keep your gifts and mock	
	And trick you. Better far, Fortune should be appeased:	
	She deals out peace and thunderbolts; she first shared out	
240	The rule to threefold tyranny*—she gave, withdrew, *Jupiter, Neptune, Plui	to (Dis)
	And laughed when heaven changed. She'll then again command	
	That those that she's made kings will go below with me,	
	And, having banished Jove, she'll calm down Saturn's wrath."	
	He spoke, and ate his soul up with consuming heat.	

245	Those wrinkles of his heart, those battles in his mind,	
	His peaceful forehead tames; his lying face acquires	
	A specious look, and soothes itself to peaceful mien.	
	A banquet first, with stately revel, greets the joyful	
	Chiefs, but heaven's foe, the bane of earth and sea,	
250	Ambition, stalks and hunts for food the kings enjoy.	
	Now Juno* feels the birds don't sing, and Thetis ⁺ grieves	*the lower air ⁺ the sea
	Her ocean children's loss; fierce Phoebe* takes it ill	*Diana, goddess of forests
	That all her citizens grow thin upon the ground;	
	She wakes and slings her vengeful bow across her back,	
255	Hunts hunters, seeking prey among the predators,	
	And prowls among the groves on vigilant alert.	
	So guests sprawl on the benches; kindly Bacchus cheers	
	The gifts the goddesses provide, and wondrously	
	Blends wet with dry. Neat servants have their diverse tasks:	
260	Some heap up food, some offer different dishes, some	
	Keep filling merry cups. The king, with pride, pours out	
	The ancient wine; the guests stick by the table fare	
	And with devotion worship royal Bacchus' draught.	
	These riches of the friendly feast, the hostly care,	
265	The rest, the pleasant rivalry to entertain -	
	All this the sober heroes carelessly enjoy.	
	These pleasures did not bring inert oblivion	
	To Hercules' stern mind; his anger did not fall	
	Asleep. His mind returns to Troy: his face reveals	
270	His thoughts; he irritates his brooding with these words:	
	"Did I deserve to be Jove's son? In warlike crib	

	Did I teach Juno's snakes to cry along with me,	
	Evading threats? I'm shamed: grown up, victorious,	
	Yet I, no soldiers seen, obeyed barbaric threats!	
275	Could I be crushed by threats? Alas, that shameful fate!	
	Alas, the crime of gods! Someone more Juno-like	
	Than any fate has torn my fame. I had my arms,	
	The enemy was there. Come now, Jove's famous wife,	
	Recall the past and marvel at your husband's son!	
280	You've won, I grant: I fled. Your greatest triumph was	
	That Hercules should flee. Is Euristheus* again,	*king of Mycenae, who
	At your command, to fabricate new pains for me?	imposed labours on Hercules
	If I tamed Lerna's snakes, if three-jawed Cerberus	
	Expelled its aconite upon Dodona's rocks,	
285	If heavy Antaeus aloft lost touch with earth	
	To Rhea's wonder, and if my triumphant hand	
	Could rid the world of all its monsters, I am shamed	
	To lose my strength against these—shall I call them men?—	
	These Phrygians! But why review my famous deeds?	
290	Past glory weighs more heavily on shameful act.	
	No rather, monster-tamer, call to mind what may	
	Be won by sword in new attempts. Let Troy now pay	
	The price. Now, Hercules, destroy the perjurers	
	As they deserve. Bring triumphs for Apollo, Greece,	
295	For Neptune, and yourself! They'll learn: Pelasgians*	*Greeks
	Are taught to stand, not flee, and those who threatened	
	Also can endure." And thus his inner plaints excite	
	His wrath and forge his mind to dare the highest deeds.	
	Just so the chief of bulls laments its exile from	

300	Its pleasant sand; it runs its moon-shaped horny strength
	On ash trees, then extends itself against its foe,
	Takes hardy exercise, imagines splendid fights,
	With forehead rages, thinks unshattered trees a shame,
	And then returns with greater strength, and makes excuse
305	For old defeat, and laurel-crowned as victor reigns.
	The hero scarce had turned his thoughts to moves of war
	When gossip Fame snatched from the ears of mighty lords
	Some news to spread among the crowd and frightened towns.
	"War starts!", she sings. Am I to think that she's
310	The child of hell or heaven, she who brings to light
	The whispers, and brings what is hidden into sight?
	Yet who would argue that she's born of peace divine,
	This turbulence of man, who brings the sacred silences
	Of kings to worldly ears, and on the people's lips
315	Spreads wide, that thief, the secrets of unspoken care?
	Without delay, not summoned by the brass or horns,
	The Greeks conspire for war; the people snatch up arms
	In tumult, brandish swords whose use they scarcely know.
	They learn to feel a noble wrath and make great threats,
320	But little will achieve. One wears his horses out,
	Not long to be a knight. Another struts about
	With plundered helmet, won't admit his failing sight.
	Some wonder that their calves are stiff. Some stoop with weight
	And stumble on their shields. Some challenge foreign lands
325	And boldly litigate - this side of battle, brave,
	Secure with intervening sea! An anxious crowd
	Of mothers wails; their tears, sad solace for their woes,

	Flow free; they vie in tears, and even she that weeps	
	The least thinks her grief greater than all other grief;	
330	One trembles at the thought of swords, one runs into	
	The maelstrom—mother love is never free from care.	
	Yet men have headstrong minds. Their never-broken might	
	Thinks nought of sighs; they won't submit their limbs to fond	
	Embrace—repeated kisses might delay the war!—	
335	They scarcely think to say goodbye. Now Hercules,	
	The darling of the fates, is calmed, with greater hope	
	Stands by his grand designs. The shipyards seethe and sound;	
	A chosen crew churns up Greek ports with fifteen sets	
	Of oars and fifteen ships they drive across the seas.	
340	The South wind lends its force to oars and speeding ship,	
	And leads the fleet unharmed into Simois' mouth*.	*river in Troy

The war between Hercules and the Trojans

First ashore, ahead of Telamon, was Peleus,
Larissa's pride, he whom the ocean Nereid
Took as her husband, not disdaining lower rank

And mortal bed. Beneath this prince the Myrmidons
Enjoy their fame, and Grecian camps resound his praise
Withstanding fate. He gave* Achilles to the Greeks,
As Telamon gave Ajax, equal scourge for Troy.
So Hercules, distributing the tasks, split up

His troops. Some, armed, attacked the Trojan homes, beneath
The leaders that I've named, and some, with Nestor, guard
The fleet they'd left behind, and others in the train

	Of Hercules divide the watch between their friends	
	On either side. So, splitting up his troops in three,	
355	He plans for war. The Trojan king's decree had armed	
	His native land, and all barbarians now rushed	
	To arms. Their leader, confident that he can burn	
	The fleet and drive the Greeks away, commands his troops	
	To make for shore. Obedience is swift, and all	
360	Assault the waves. The Nereids, unused to fear,	
	Are quite dismayed to see the arms; they fear affray.	
	Some fight with spears and some with flame; the spears are aime	ed
	At breasts, the flames at ships, and Venus' cradle* is	*the sea
	Attacked by Mars with arms, by Vulcan with his fire.	
365	Then first the sea grew red with blood; the conch drank in	
	The wealth of blood, and to this day it still has not	
	Forgotten, but retains that red for royal use.	
	This novel prey entices Scylla's* dogs to taste	*a sea monster
	The sad sea's dead; mid howling waves the monstrous brood	
370	From depths of Sicily assembles, drinks the dread	
	Delight, and then departs to hunt another bitter brew.	
	At this uproar Nereus*, shaken from his cave,	*Neptune
	Abhors his altered waves and dives back to his source	
	To seek the nascent urn, and when he saw the course	
375	That Nature gave maintained, he left more reassured.	
	"Now come, ye gods of waves (if you exist) pour in*	*the giant (mountain) Atlas
	The sea and end this war; with Atlas driven out,	held back the Atlantic Ocean
	Unloose your waters! Should that first attack by fate	
	Be unavenged? Do you allow these mad assaults	
380	To go unchecked? The sea is drenched with wretched blood	

	And foams; the ocean steams, enraged. Here Scylla stirs	
	Charybdis*, and the monsters fatten on our fall.	*whirlpool
	If fate says neither should survive, and cause decides	
	The penalties, its treachery will sink down Troy	
385	And crime will damn the Greeks. Brook no delay or sloth!	
	Where retribution's slow, the slide to sin is swift!"	
	The Trojan troops, in fearful ranks, surmount the walls	
	That ring the city; all the youth of Ilium	
	Stands armed to guard their life. No idle eagerness	
390	Plays games of fighting—anger, threats, and fits of rage	
	(Not yet extorted by the cruel wounds of war)	
	Stir battles on both sides, inflamed by pride and hate.	
	The first to aim his spear and turn his horse at Troy	
	Was Peleus; his spear was shattered and he raged:	
395	"This way," he said, "for lodgings and for homes to stay	
	That open to the knocking hand: the city's ours—	
	Let others take the port." Then all the Greeks pressed on,	
	As though the cause of war were fresh, and wrath no less	
	By lapse of time. No need for orders, trumpets, prayers,	
400	Or threats to stir the zeal for war, for you could see	
	Fierce battles fought. They had no fear of gaping holes	
	In earth or waves; each one seemed to himself to fight	
	Alone or lead the rest. Some strive to cross the deep	
	And clear the open path by throwing ladders and	
405	By piling stones; some won't accept delay, but try	
	The hill's rough slope. The wall is clear, and now they can	
	Unleash their slings, but from above Dardanians	
	Defend. They hurl down wood and shards of rock, for some	

Are bold with spears and some are fierce with flames and pour

Their liquid fire. Then Dimmus tries the way that's blocked

By tree, and with his face directed at the wall

He paused. Then waters, showers of thunderbolts, rained down

And shaved his head; his scalp was shorn and stripped of all

Its hair. The wound then spreads and penetrates his guts.

But Telamon, protected by a turtle cloak,

Steals a secret path and with his brazen shield

Repels the flinty shower, and as the fall impends

Goes on and is the first to gain the broken town.

The death of Laomedon

	Meanwhile, a fierce voice assails the king as he
420	Attacks the ships with flame: "For whom, stern Trojan king,
	Do you wage war? Do you hate citizens, and strive
	For peace on monster-bearing seas, or do you rage
	At fearful refugees, and try to smash the fleet
	Lest none survive by flight? The enemies press on
425	With strikes more close at hand: now redirect your eyes
	To Troy, have mercy on your town!" Laomedon
	Is doubtful, but he stops and sees that Troy is breached,
	That foes stand firm and Trojans waver. Hastily
	He takes his stricken band; untried in war he spreads
430	His flags and doesn't group his wings. Then Hercules
	Is glad and swiftly blocks his way. "To those," he cried,
	"Who once, worn out, came to these ports and longed-for shores,
	You gave no slip of land or even time to rest.

	Now, having scorned Minerva and her branch of peace,	
435	Take this in turn: your former guest returns, a foe!"	
	Then with these words he drew his sword and pierced the Trojan	
	King, dispelled delays of breastplates and of shield,	
	Drew out his life, protected by so many guards,	
	And ordered it to burst into the homes of Styx*.	*Hades
440	Their leader dead, the Trojans flee. The enemy	
	Lays waste the city's wealth; some thirst to slake their ire	
	In countless slaughters. Then their king, as Greeks ran wild,	
	Chastised the raging plunders of his troops, and said:	
	"Have mercy, victor Greeks, restrain your strong right hands!	
445	For both alike share equal guilt, are no less cruel,	
	Who spare both none and all. A noble wrath is this,	
	To punish short of wrath. The kingdom's wealth is ours,	
	The city crushed, the foe has gone, their king lies dead.	
	So Phrygians may learn to follow Greeks and show	
450	To wretches pity, now we freely grant—to farmers,	
	Soldiers, sailors, burghers—land, camps, sea and Troy.	
	But if one of that cursed stock survives, he dies,	
	For them I long to crush!" He spoke, and Amphitus,	
	Ysiphilus, Volcantus, and the famous-faced	
455	Hesione*, their hands in chains behind their backs,	*Laomedon's daughter
	Were given to the lords—the men to cruel death,	
	Hesione to Telamon, since he was first	
	To conquer Troy and give it, broken, to its foes.	
	Then with their plunder and Hesione achieved,	
460	The Greeks push out to sea; the laurel, victor's sign,	
	They place upon the prow and reach to heaven with their cheers.	

The return of Priam from Eastern Phrygia

But Priam was not there, preserved for later wrath Of fate and other dooms. He'd had a good campaign: Sweet victory, despoiling eastern Phrygians, 465 Had smiled; his friends in triumph sang at their return. How hard is destiny on man, chance treacherous! Uncertain rule is mocked; while Priam spreads his lands, The city fails. While Priam's sceptre seeks new spheres, The sceptre's honour nods. Fate blessed his setting forth 470 To war, but Fortune, harsh and dire at his return, Showed envy for her gifts. Her favours may be grand But, once the honey's tasted, her revenge is fierce. Thus Priam now, with fearful heart, took in the sight Of Troy, was met by grief, and as he came in view 475 Was greeted from the walls by thunders of lament. Then horror overcomes him, and the mournful woe Suffuses all the ranks. The citizens stand round, Console themselves for all their loss, since Priam breathes. Yet though his heart is overcome by inner grief, 480 He checks the tears that threaten to run down his cheeks, So that the people in his face may find some hope— For those have only misery that have no hope.

Description of Troy

He soon reintegrates the scattered town and spreads

	It wide, but sounder, foreign grammar* keeps at bay	*does not allow <i>Tmesis</i> ,
485	The Greek division. First, the wounded walls are healed	which divides words.
	And breathe beneath his hand; the ramparts are content	
	With just six openings*, and where the rocks give way	*gates
	The double gates maintain the wall; a swinging hinge	
	Provides two ways to pass; the next, with steely grille,	
490	Suspends its maple structure for its silent use.	
	He now is glad the towers fell, for now he has	
	A greater tool—his loss is gain. The battlements	
	That check the first assault raise up their heights to view	
	With towering spikes, and just as many towers protect	
495	The walls, and promise to provide a watchful eye.	
	This higher Troy, its summit striving for the clouds,	
	Perhaps would reach the boundary of land and sky,	
	If, satisfied with its own space and less importunate,	
	It spared the heaven's realm and sought no other space!	
500	The peak of Phlegra* or Assyrian maiden's spires ⁺	*Where the giants attacked heaven
	Do not compare, for Troy will sooner bear God's bolt,	⁺ Babylon
	Divided tongues. No city had a broader spread	
	Of sky, nor did Olympus grant such latitude.	
	Throughout the city almost equal towers are spread	
505	Displaying Titans' zeal: the Trojan, full of pride,	
	Seeks heaven and disdains the earth. The chimneys, here	
	And there, are lit and belch their pitchy flames and smoke.	
	Ucelagon's** gigantic palace claims the air	**These Trojan leaders
	On high, and Antenor**, with walls to match, won't be	eventually betrayed Troy.
510	Outdone. Anchises*, sometimes bent and sometimes straig	tht, *Aeneas' father
	Unsteady, hates to walk and spares his crippled feet:	

*Atlas

From tower he views the city's wealth and busy streets. Not far away, across the fields, the peak of Ida Looms above the town. Its old inhabitant, 515 The wood, is green with lofty fir, with cypress full Of woe, prophetic laurel, pine that loves to roam, Pacific olive, cornet bane of beasts, bold ash, The friendly elm, and never-aging, full of song -The box. A little lower down, the drunken vine 520 Has its own patch; it does not deign to hide, but seeks The burning sun. Nearby, a field gives nourishment To pregnant ears of grain. Salerno and Champagne In wine and crops do not surpass the wealth of Troy. From foreign parts the Simois, with winding course, 525 Glides on to visit Troy and waters all the land, And after many realms and towns it yearns at last To reach the sea and rest, at last a Trojan stream; And as it marvels tirelessly at Pergamum, It slows its sliding stream and calms its course right down, 530 And plans to throw its arms around the town. And while Its flow is checked, then Neptune angrily fights back And makes the river, lessened, turn aside, and comes Close up to Troy. You'd think the river and the sea Were fighting to come near - in turn the currents clash, 535 Redoubling their roar, and so the waters brawl. The majesties of starry skies converge all round To honour Ilium; they clothe hills, walls, and sea, And to the neck* that bears the stars they give relief. Cybele dwells on Idan hills to hold her reign

540	On high, and gives you, Cynthia*, the other groves	*Diana
	And grants to you the hunting on the Idan woods.	
	Amid a grove of grapes is Bacchus; Ceres sits	
	In spiky corn; the waters Neptune, Phebus rules	
	The port, Minerva holds Troy's citadel and doom*.	*the Palladium, which
545	There is, right in the heart of Troy, a holy place:	protected Troy.
	The tiny rise scarce grows into a mound; you'd say	
	It didn't rise or lie entirely flat. Yet Jove's	
	High altar blazes there, with sceptre and with bolt,	
	Not like the bull of Tyre or ram of India*.	*Jupiter appeared in these forms there.

End of Book I

Joseph of Exeter

THE YLIAS OF DARES PHRYGIUS

Book II

Now Priam, blessed with ample progeny, is well,
Blessed in his wife and blessed in his ancestral lands—
If gods and fates allow, if happy folk are left
To thrive. Allecto* sees the spires she'd overthrown
Enjoy a better fate. She sees and seethes; with swathes
Of snakes around her cheeks and head, she spits her spite:
"Shall mortal men provoke eternal realms, and me,
The mighty queen of hell and earth and (would it might
Be so!) of heaven too? I'm shamed that Troy still lives
And sports, despite the Greeks, my tools. Does Troy deny
Defeat and fight my victories? Let it now fall,
My own from birth!" With this complaint she grudges brief
Respite for Priam, taunts him with his sister's rape,
Her servile distaff and her unavenged tears.

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O father of both man and gods, if gods are yours,
Why torment men? Is man despised, since he just lives
On wretched earth? To night and tears, for sure, you sent
Souls driven out from light. Great father, now be swayed:
Restore the souls to heaven or, at least, protect
Their exiled deaths. Why does Allecto, pitiless,
Plague wretched men? Why does she wear out pious Troy
That puts its trust in gods? Famed maid, without delay,
Don't let the towers (your home) be overwhelmed, but show
The Gorgon's head—restrain the monsters out of hell!

*The Fury

25	The Furies, nourishers of crimes, demand to have
	Incense and altars, and insist that prayers be raised
	To tyrants of the night. Tisiphone will not leave unavenged
	Her palace hemmed by heaven and gods that share her realm.
	The Trojan will atone for envy shown her king
30	When worship was withheld. And thus was Priam's mind
	Impelled by Furies' cares and never-sleeping grief
	To different impulses—now seeks Hesione
	By war, now fears to fight. At last his sure resolve
	Is this: to rest on pleas, by flattery to try
35	The Greeks. At last he briefs his legate, Antenor,
	And rolls his message in a tiny scroll. It read:
	"Till now, O mighty race of undefeated Greeks,
	The liberty of Asia, unassailed by blows,
	Has thrived. Then Fortune grudged her wonted favour: Troy
40	Has waned in power. And yet, to yield to Hercules
	Is no disgrace: with such a hero, failure's light.
	And now, since humbleness wins friends, I quit as king
	And fall to humble pleas. So India begged Bacchus,
	And Croesus Cyrus, and Cyrus then begged Tomyris.
45	If Fate had gone for me the way she first began,
	I would receive the pleas and serve a double role,
	To guide the peace as judge or lead the war as prince.
	But, gods, alas, what savage fury mocks this world?
	I left as soldier, led my troops to war, and fought.
50	And won. But, Fortune, why be kind in eastern wars,
	If for my triumph you prepared a sad return?
	Is this the triumph due to me for such great toil?

Troy planned a joyful welcome home: did I deserve To come like this? O savage, ever tearful day, When to my eyes and ears, on my return, so sad A slaughter came. Far better that my self-made foe (Or I for him was made) had pierced with sword the life That bore such blows! Was this a sweet command, to rule And yet recall my father and my brothers dead And Hesione raped? Have mercy, mighty lords, On Troy. Be satisfied that I should mourn my home Despoiled, my father dead, my household spirits crushed. But grant this comfort to my grief and tears: return Hesione! It's little that I ask, but like A greater boon: to my dead life you'll grant both life And saving grace." At these laments tears spread across The face of Priam and the man that took his screed. The west winds promised placid seas; then Antenor Set sail and, with his leader's missive, through the waves Passed Magnes' boundaries and lofty Sparta's heights And Pylos, full of prophecy; he there complained Of days' delays, and left. Not mighty Peleus, Tyndaris' twins, or aged Nestor changed their minds At Priam's words. At length he turned aside to happy Telamon's abode; Doom dogged his tracks always.

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The marriage of Hesione and Telamon

The lofty palace gleams: rich curtains, purple-dyed With shells, bedeck the halls with Sidon's luxury,

		Proclaim the festive day when Juno now unites	
		The royal pair. With glad applause, all celebrate	
	80	The feast, and for his folk the belly-god presents	
		His appetizers, glad to see a tasteful meal	
		And menu manifold. Nor are there lacking drinks	
		To prompt a fecund thirst, desire to drink again	
		And sample diverse grapes. The lords in lordly style	
	85	Indulge in jewelled cups. Their drunken followers	
		Cry "Hymenaeus*, ho!", and sprawl and help themselves	*God of marriage
		To golden vessels; folk with wooden plates (their thirst	
		A match for Britain's, with a greater stamina)	
		Are glad to change their humble jars and feeble juice	
	90	For royal vintage wine. This rare delight makes up	
		For long delays; their thirst won't halt until their brains	
		Are dulled, their tongues relax, lights multiply, steps stall.	
		The others sport in varied forms of revelry:	
		With cymbals, lyres, and tuneful voice each group is pleased	
	95	To show its skill; content with strength they ask no art	
		Besides the lungs that nature gave, no singing strings	
		To aid their voice. Each muse is glad to show herself	
		With any voice or skill that pleases or gives pride.	
		And yet they do not all indulge the same pursuits.	
1	00	Like ages like their own: the greybeards tell their tales	
		To aged folk, the young folk play with other youth.	
		But first a chorus leader gives the cues to sing	
		And regulates the ready groups in rhythmic chants:	
		"Shout loud, co-citizens, sons of rich Salamis,	
1	05	Shout loud! For our great victor marries Priam's kin,	

	Hesione!" All shout 'Great joy!' in harmony	
	And then repeat "Great joy!" He moulds their tuneful cries	
	To fit his strings and then bursts forth upon their ears:	
	"Why stand in awe of Greece's ancestors and wars	
110	Of old? Let's marvel more at our own age's child,	
	The father and the patron of our world, the son	
	Amphitryon brought up*, acclaimed by north and south,	*Hercules
	Whose help the stars demand to fight the giant hordes,	
	When seeking to be armed with double thunderbolt.	
115	Not cruel Juno nor Eurystheus (fierce judge)	
	Nor labours wore him out. His cradle first (when he	
	Was scarcely born) reflects his strength. The lion's dread	
	Shrank from his adult might, and Erimanthus breathed	
	Again, its boar expelled; the bull fell to his club,	
120	Releasing Crete; Geryon, Hiber's duke, bewailed	
	The wealth that Cacus hid in his accursed caves;	
	He was not tamed by Lerna's re-grown snakes, nor by	
	Great Cerberus, nor Lapithae; he apples took	
	That dragon watched; he waved the Afric scourge aloft,	
125	And sharply taught Antaeus, once geometer,	
	To learn the stars; Achelous and Nessus grieved	
	(The one in arms, the other fleeing) at his wrath.	
	He slaughtered Diomedes' horse, called back from arms	
	Hippolyta, and with brave bow tamed savage birds.	
130	Both earth and stars owe just to you that they exist,	
	Their once and future prop. Great one, please grant good luck	
	And give a happy omen to this pair that weds,	
	And may our song deserve your grace! At your command	

	Will bad luck go, will Hymen laugh, and Juno (now
135	Your own) will smile. May Hebe for the gods give birth
	And for our lord his new-found bride!" The halls resound
	Again; with joy the happy crowds shout their assent.
	Hesione alone, grim-faced, disturbs the festive scene
	With gloom, rejects applause, and hates the fawning court,
140	Unmoved by her new rank and lofty marriage gift,
	Such new display ignored. In her eyes she's been raped.
	She sadly grieves; as often as the palace cheers,
	In thrall she fears the name of 'queen'. Though 'free', she dreads:
	Compelled, she'll come in fear to marriage bed by force.
145	The birds, which cheer a wedding feast with merry tune,
	May sing for others; she, too credulous, imagines that
	The night-owls wail for her and that the screech-owl sits
	Upon the roof—the sisters born of Acheron
	Had brought their deadly brands. Alas, she did not know
150	How fierce a foe she'd bear for her own Trojan kin*. *Ajax Telamonius
	She turns aside the offered drinks and proffered bowls,
	And now she pours her silent grief into her cup,
	And drinks her own sad tears; with sluggish taste she fasts,
	And wearily sees food pile up and never go.
155	Meanwhile, O Salamis, the Trojan guest sails sad
	Toward your port, and honoured by Minerva's branch
	He nears your lofty towers. The court is poised to learn
	The rest; the new unwilling bride alone perceives
	Her fellow Trojan citizen. In shame she turns
160	Her face aside, and marvels at his begging words:
	"O famous fruit of Jove, his son at one remove,

O Telamon, revered by Greeks, and powerful In war and just decrees, all Troy and I, its duke, Implore you first, and all your citizens, to show Your mercy: let my toil by land and sea not be In vain. Through many hardships I have come at last. At last I have arrived. I see the one that I was told To seek, Hesione! It's sure that Juno will Not bless this trade. Will weeping captive take delight In laughing victor, foreign slave in master Greek? So give her back! Since Europe has so many brides In waiting, famous flames, choose one with better luck And fate endowed: Hesione was doomed to rape At birth, by evil star. She comes, an easy prey For all: her family will always fear her rape. For Hercules knew Grecian girls, as Pollux did And Castor too, and Peleus and Nestor know: She would be given easily as spoils of war, And luckless Priam would not send me all this way, If of his family a branch, just one, remained, To compensate the cruel loss that Troy has borne. He grants her life is owed to you, not to the gods, Rejoices she is saved for him." "For him? No, rather say

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He makes: "I hold her now, and ever will I hold!"

The Trojan, spurned, departs across his former seas;
In his ancestral lands he tells his journey's tale

He stole a kiss, though grudged. "By sword," he said, "I earned

'For Telamon'," cried Telamon, and through her tears

The right to this embrace!" The famous Theban claim

190 To all, Hesione's betrothal and the Greek Disdain for law. He urges war, but Paris, sick *= Hector's (a scene With unjust doubt, says, "Trojans, do not trust his* words; has been omitted) We're tricked; he's far too pleased. For his reward Alone he speaks against our hope. The common weal 195 Ignored, he works for private gain. The public good He sets below his own A wound to family pride Needs more than tepid sword. Prepare my ships and sails! I'll go, I'll go. The shoals that timid Hector notes Won't bother me, not enemies or hostile arms, 200 Nor will I find the voyage hard. The gods on high Indulge me, show the way, and give me hope to go: Take note, O lords, I'll tell a tale that's strange but true. The beauty contest Since she must leave her mate, Aurora mourned that dawn And day had come, but soon increasing warmth dried up 205 Her chilly tears. The pleasant woodland sport drew me To hunt out hidden lairs, to stalk the fleeting game, And run it down with swift and eager hunting hound. Soon roused, with net, voice, ear (trap, sound, and sense), we play Our battles, snare with net, stir up with voice, with ear 210 Investigate, and, all together, breach the woods.

The queen of Ida's vale, the laurel, worthy tree

Then by divine consent my path was turned astray

Into a hidden spot and to the forest depths,

And let me hunt the secrets of the goddesses.

215 For Phoebus, spreads its leafy hair; its summit soars Unchecked. No vulgar trees of lesser groves are here — It thrives alone: it deigns to share its shade with none. The other trees revere the young Apolline growth And bow their lofty height; they pull themselves far back 220 And check their leaves that rashly dare to seek more space, And fear to mingle with its sacred foliage. There I, detached from friends, was brought by God or chance— A very lucky loss of way! Enjoying welcome shade I marveled that the laurel with its lively youth 225 Droops not when Jove departs. The east wind, too, I joved To feel: its murmur stirred the leaves, and on the buds Breathed silent breath. At this, sleep slowly stole my eyes, Incited languid rest; it set aside my wit's Indulgent vigilance and charmed away my cares. 230 I laid my head upon a grassy bank, and saw The gods' delights; sleep, wont to work frivolities On common minds, rewarded me and filled my mind With dreams of kings. Then soon the bride of mighty Jove And Venus and Minerva willingly appeared 235 Before my tired eyes. The greatest, by her words, Came forth to interrupt the sleep just now begun:

Juno's speech

'To Trojan woods we've come, O Trojan — I have come,
The mate of mighty Jove! Minerva, full of war,
And pleasing Venus too have come! Be glad. Our Mercury

240	Has given you a boon that fate would fear to give,	
	To judge our godly beauty. I myself, the wife	
	Of Jove, myself, who guide the pacts of triple realm,	
	Who am obeyed by Neptune's waves, by shades of Hell,	
	By stars of Jove — if I am praised by human judge,	
245	I do not mind, since I'll be welcomed back by Jove,	
	If mortal man, in doubt, delays upon my face:	
	A long delay will show his wonder, lest the fair	
	Report that Fame, my servant, owes, be thought untrue.	
	Behold my naked face, a sight few gods have seen!	
250	'Tis thus I come to Jove's embrace. Now who would dare	
	Compare horrific Pallas* (Gorgon, full of war)	*Minerva
	To cheeks like these? The world has not so lost all shame	
	That earthly terror, people's scourge, death's messenger,	
	Would wish to please by fear! Dire fiend (I almost said	
255	'Divine'), may I advise? No sword is needed here;	
	Remove your snakes, discard your military mien,	
	Present an easy face without a frown, take off	
	Your helm, and let your shut-in viper breathe!	
	Reveal the horror and the shame your helm and shield	
260	Conceal: have courage to deserve your true acclaim!	
	Will shining steel and glaring gold assist by force	
	Your quest for beauty? Savage goddess, don't you know?	
	Your steel spells fear, your helmet's gold strikes dread, your hilt	
	Of ivory is crude. Does wise Minerva bring	
265	Such dread delights, and hope to please by this array?	
	Do you claim Jupiter as sire? Which of our whores	
	Dared risk the grief? (Minerva has no mother, as	

	They say). What shame for gods! Does she, so bold, take pride	
	To take thought just of man, and did she thus deserve	
270	The name of hero-ine? For sure, her wrath tires gods,	
	And wears men out. "But she is 'martial," as they say;	
	For sure—she eats up men. "She's Pallas"—yes, she's pale,	
	Or since she slit her namesake's* throat. Her name she earns	*= a Titan, Pallas
	By double right, by hue and by her harmful hand.	
275	But, shameful Venus, you, so generous with sex,	
	A woman more than laws allow, unjustly soft,	
	Dare you in consequence contend for beauty's prize?	
	You seek an even match with me? Who'll credit this,	
	That Juno's rivals are so rife? I stood alone;	
280	I once was matched by none. When Nature lavishly	
	Arranged her world, my spouse* was still without a spouse;	*Jupiter
	His face was still developing its sombre look,	
	And so he was when Nature spoke: "Why hesitate,	
	You, heaven's heir? Your wish is yours: she's now by blood	
285	But soon by love conjoined, a sister, soon a wife.	
	Alone, from many picked for you, the only one,	
	Whose like the earth and stars have never seen or known—	
	She'll bear a peerless birth." She thrust me, stalling fate,	
	Into my brother Jove's embrace. Aware he had	
290	What he desired, he gave his sister equal rule.	
	Let Venus dare to challenge my fair face. I came	
	Selected to be bride of Jove. I'm wrong? Should she,	
	The Cyprus god, have come instead? Why not? Her birth	
	Was calm—she grew from foaming sea and cut-off balls!	
295	In giving birth for Jove, she'd also bear for Mars	

	And all the world! With her as wife, the heaven's heir	
	Would doubt and foul the golden age with lowly ore,	
	And Vulcan, who, by Phoebus' aid or vengeful net,	
	Could not achieve a carefree night or solid trust,	
300	Would gently seek revenge for someone else's shame	
	And would not pant in eagerness for his own love.	
	The Trojan—no, no more! There's none who does not know	
	Of Venus' thefts. "She's sweet, kind, gold." She sweetly weaves	
	Deceit, and kindly kindles ill, and grasps for gifts!	
305	Once, I recall, the power to strive with Jove was mine	
	Alone. And where was Venus then? Did she come third in line?	
	And Pallas*, was she fourth to come as she was bid?	*Minerva
	I, Juno, faced the verdict of Teiresias.	
	I say no more. You, Trojan, learn to earn the thanks	
310	Of Juno, who has power to grant both wealth and power.	
	The world admires such wealth; the comets grant vast realms	
	Like these: now choose whatever rule or land you want.	
	However you decide or judge, you know that Jove	
	Was pleased with Juno. Now, since you are Juno's judge,	
315	Don't scorn the doom of Jove!' And with these lofty words	
	She plays the part of queen and adds her haughty face	
	To her proud voice: she shows no sign of begging mien.	
	Minerva's speech	
	Now Pallas comes in view and takes the second turn	
	To speak, aware and confident in her own cause,	
320	And from her fertile breast she pours forth holy words:	

	'The mother of the gods (I don't deny, great wife
	Of Jove, or grudge your role) has criticized my worth,
	Such as it is, famed Trojan, I call sky, sea, earth
	To witness: I had never thought that goddesses
325	Would come in arms to verbal war. I'm shamed my sex
	Is talkative in this respect (I'm less than woman here—
	My war's another kind): a shameful victory
	When vanquished more than victor wins the praise—such fame's
	Unknown in my affairs! What does the queen intend
330	With such fine words? I grant that she's divine, perhaps
	The top. I did not come to claim a share of rule
	Or share in Jove. Let Juno have the name of which
	She boasts. Since titles are at issue, I enjoy
	A lesser name, but—since I am compelled to stoop
335	To words of rank—I, Pallas, do not lack all claim!
	If beauty, if paternity, if moral worth
	Are sought, my care is shame, my blood derives from Jove,
	The critic can assess my face! This is my beauty, then,
	My race, my moral view. If goddesses rejoice
340	In marriages and dowries and in pledges made,
	My sole delight's my chastity that's felt no shame:
	It won't harm marriages or catch out married men.
	See, Paris, men admire my wars and girls my skill
	With wool, and laurelled poets marvel at my songs.
345	I thus enjoy respect from all, I'm loved by all.
	Why should I strive to string examples or add more?
	To brag about oneself, I grant, ill suits good taste
	And modesty: the one that hawks her own deserts

	Degrades the fame she bears. But since the present case	
350	Is armed by force and faults, allow that Pallas earned	
	Far more by silence than she won by argument!	
	When once the world dissolved into a fluid state*	*Deucalion's flood
	And vengeful waves washed all the sins of earth away,	
	Then faith rose with the sun. The other virtues, which,	
355	Offended by man's sins, had long since taken flight,	
	Returned, the world reformed. First Prudence, never swift	
	To act; kind Pity next; then Patience, who prevails;	
	Then strong Simplicity; glad Modesty; Desire	
	To act in soberness; unshakeable Resolve;	
360	Far-travelled Peace; protective Harmony; the course	
	Of what is Just and Right. The virtues stood,	
	Protector-less, to see Deucalion and all	
	His folk, and called for leadership: they were not free	
	To move, nor yet, the furies driven back to hell,	
365	Had all fear ceased. Jove's lofty forehead then at last	
	Stirred as it gave Minerva birth. All heaven roared	
	And turned a wider course: no dawn gave to the gods	
	Such joy! From such a birth, from such a father born,	
	Minerva, virtues' guardian and guiding light,	
370	Unfolds a way for gods, and bans the monstrous brood*.	*the gigantomachia
	It's she that Juno scolds—whom, Trojan, you see here,	
	Minerva, strong in war, whose firm right arm disarmed	
	The Phlegran threat. I saw—no need to say, we all	
	Know well. Enceladus burnt up the Cyclopes;	
375	Briareus scorned the hundred quivers and the darts	
	Of Niobe; Typhoeus—stronger yet than Mars—	

	Sought heaven. Where then was Juno, full of war?
	Her presence would have helped—she could have stood close by
	In arms to save her realm! Persephone*, the bride
380	Of Dis, had nearly seized the bedrooms of the gods.
	Then Juno jumped at last from off her fearful bed
	And cried, "Minerva, why, by fate, do you delay?
	We're sorely pressed!" I came. She saw "Medusa's" worth,
	The "Gorgon god's" repute; she saw that gold outdoes
385	Its gleam. Since I restored her sky, her realm and home
	Into her fearful hands, should she be now a foe,
	Ingrate? Her realm, her rule, is ours, her carefree sleep
	With Jove is ours! But when I undertook to guard
	Infirm Olympus, then I was "divine" and "brave".
390	I call you gods to witness to the risks my head
	And breast have borne in toil'—her eyes upraised, she showed
	Her breast, and head—'Behold the "shame" of shield and helm
	That Juno denigrates. Did Jupiter give birth
	To snakes? Let her, divine, recall and note at whom
395	She hurls her taunts, and spare her own. She bears the mighty
	Vulcan. Let her bear! I don't begrudge that he
	Should fight with feeble foot or deftly forge his chains'—
	At this she fixed her eye on Venus with a look
	('A tale deserving poet's scorn!'), and spoke again:
400	'She plays with words, explaining names, and deigns to know
	The Muses' nonsense and the epithets I've earned.
	She's learned her lesson ill, her memory's at fault.
	My name Minerva comes from "might"; my famous name
	Is scarcely equal to the glory I deserve.

*Goddess of the Underworld

405	Come, Paris, I've no need to spread my true renown	
	Or lavishly to pant for praise. I know I may	
	Have hurt the gods. There's precedent: an error forced	
	Is venial. You know that Juno was unfair—	
	Enough, no more! My words, I sadly grant, were proud	
410	(Though true). But I don't seek soft fame or beauty's name	
	With this intent, to slide into a life of shame	
	Or vulgar jokes. With such a look and forward face	
	Let Venus bloom, man's predator, for virtue's fled!	
	I wish my judges were the gods! Now Venus wars	
415	On all, her win earns praise, she glories that the world	
	Has yielded to her laws. How rare the golden axe,	
	How rare the love of good! The moral heights are crushed	
	By that sweet venom, gentle sandbank, meek malaise,	
	Sweet evil, glad disease. So Venus, venal death,	
420	Lays claim to all the world. She spreads herself abroad,	
	Her archer* in her arms. A model she provides—	*Cupid
	She breeds for Vulcan and for Mars. Once, more restrained,	
	Content with human slaves, she did not drive the stars	
	Into her fold and net; her charming thunderbolt	
425	Had not yet crushed the maker of the bolt; the sun	
	Had not yet gaped at greater fires; amid the waves	
	Great Neptune did not boil with care, and Bacchus	
	Still enjoyed the name of 'free'. For shame! Aegeon's* child,	*The ocean's
	Late vengeful, goads the gods and claims Olympic seat—	
430	She, once ejected with her father's sperm and displaced phall—	
	I blush to end the word! Indeed, almighty Venus	
	Sought and strove to sway me too. She failed, for I	

	Became aware. I wish the world, like me, would see
	Her sweet deceitful ways. The smooth-tongued foe is most
435	To fear. With winning looks she falsely offers aid
	But turns embraces into tears, tears treaties up,
	Breaks citadels, and swiftly draws the world to war.
	Yet at the fight she flees; when battles rage, her blood
	Grows cold. Then men put trust in arms: Minerva aids
440	And Venus is rebuked. This trade is foul: she stirs
	The soft, but robs the strong of strength; she grabs the world
	As prey (and she's the prey!). Thus error goes both ways
	And finds a worthy solace for a double shame.
	My aim is not to fix the form of Proteus,
445	Nor wander through the tangled paths that Venus weaves.
	It is enough if by some glance she's recognized
	And doesn't trap one unawares. For no one needs
	A warning voice, when all the world can testify!
	Now, Priam's greatest son, if I take credit for
450	Mars' bravery, Arachne's webs, and Clio's lore,
	If your mixed family will share Minerva's wit,
	If Troy needs guarding and its citadel is kept
	By the Palladium, if virgin earns the prize
	For looks, take thought for Troy and cast your vote for me!'
455	She stopped. Her gaze pursued her thought and words. She turned
	Her glance around, and sat. Then in her native car
	Did splendid Venus come and at the last she spoke,
	A little sad but calm in face, enticing with her eyes.

Venus' speech

	'Alas, what land will end my exile, give me rest,
460	I, Saturn's free-born child? Who'd welcome me as just,
	If I am hated by the gods, astray and lost
	And doomed? But you in this brave world, in whom there breathes
	A tireless faith, in whom for sure no envy burns,
	If Venus' ways are kind and gentle, hard on none,
465	Consider what befel my cause, whence uproar came
	And threats! Since first the daylight brought me into life,
	I've cherished man and eased his toils with tenderness,
	Consoling his distress. So grateful men in gratitude
	Built temples to my name—their incense I had earned—
470	And hence the wrath and hate! But you to whom I flee,
	Show mercy: heaven's "criminal", I call on earth
	That I have cherished. Mortals, aid your citizen!
	Now, Paris, flower of youth, my hope: I don't accuse
	Or goad the goddesses you've heard, for who could blame
475	Or match their sacred tones? But if I may assert
	The truth, you know, famed youth, you know the sequence of
	Events, you know the hinge on which the case revolves,
	Which words have well expressed. By mark of countenance,
	By argument of face, by judging eye, the strife
480	Was to be judged. Whence then this angry armed assault
	Of words? Less harsh, with more respect for modesty,
	The Triton could be thought a maid, the child of Jove.
	"The greatest Muse" she claims is her due epithet.

	I don't deny: she has no peer in fiction or	
485	In teaching knaves to lie, to play on trusting ears	
	And lead the sightless wits in many foolish paths.	
	When deviously bragging with her charming fibs	
	She tells my wars, of Phyllis and Hypsipile,	
	Her venal fabrications earn the sacred wreath.	
490	But if this foul facility to lie was apt	
	For this dispute, at least distinctions should be made—	
	To whom, and what, and why. For if she sprang full-formed	
	From our god's brain, she would not, with her filthy tongue,	
	Erase her "icy virgin's" claim, this "learned maid".	
495	Let her snatch arms, and beg the titles of the men,	
	Let Venus be herself! Let her make haughty threats;	
	I'll placidly submit. Let her, victorious,	
	Bear standards dripping gore; my triumphs shed no blood.	
	Because I don't fight nature, should I be assailed?	
500	I showed Anchises* love: did I betray my sex?	*Aeneas' father
	If I gave birth, whom did I harm? My Cupid dwells	
	In stars, your Aeneas* in Troy—so where's the fault?	*Paris' brother
	Does Venus work destruction on the gods and earth?	
	This is my gift to gods and men. Should spinster Pallas thus	
505	Rebuke kind Venus' ways? Does she find favour then	
	With men she swallows up in war? Does she please girls	
	Whose sex she holds in scorn? Are peaceful gods her style?	
	She calls them cowardly and dull. And that's her way	
	With all; to all she's fair and pleasing—with her spears!	
510	"But she's a maid." Aglauros and the snake say no—	
	Enough of this! "Her face is fair:" the lake she asked	

And swoller	n cheek say no. "She's mighty with the sword:"	
That which	she claims is not her own. Her vaunted strength	l
Is briefly gl	ad, long shamed; a few calm moments, then	
515 The false-ba	ased glory turns, in lasting grief, to filth.	
At one time	faith was sure: Olympic wars were won	
By all, not o	one alone; the laurel was conferred	
On all. "Bu	it by Medusa's head, whom Perseus killed,	
She won from	om timid gods the victor's crown and palm;"	
520 Or that's wh	hat Pallas says, a tale one must believe,	
"So, Paris, t	trust this tale that's fit for history!	
One woman	out-fought Jove, Apollo, and my Mars—	
Would he w	vere mine! For, Juno, I do not begrudge	
Your offspr	ing (if you so deserved), nor shrink to count	
525 Minerva as	my kin. With such support, if fate	
Had granted	d it, might Venus have escaped the lot	
Of parentin	g a snake. Harmonia, Mars' child,	
Would not a	uncoil her tracks in exiled Cadmus' town	
Of Thebes.	I saw, I saw myself, her daughters killed,	
530 Appallingly	destroyed." With this, she bowed her face	
That drippe	d with tears, but roused herself and spoke again:	
"I don't con	nplain at fate: the anger of the gods	
Is to be fear	red. Fate smiled when Semele conceived:	
She bore a ş	god to god*. Ten months in birth she swelled,	*Bacchus, son of Jupiter
When Juno,	, feigning solemn face, arrived and gave	
Advice, and	l left. Why did that simple, trusting child	
Unknowing	bind Jove with an oath? Did Cadmus' faith,	
Through su	ch long ways and year of wandering, deserve	
This doom?	Your sister* raped, you tried for Juno's sake	*Europa

And with her flames she persecutes your family. Let her rejoice! Look how this wrinkled deity Wins fame. She fights with spear atremble in her hand And feigns a nurse's faith—no effort was required 545 To feign the rest! White hairs are readily acquired, And wrinkles too. Old age should be concealed—she had No need to feign! While we compete for beauty's crown, I wish that hag were standing now by Venus' side! That she-ape's mimicry would raise a famous laugh. 550 Fool Agenor, why seek Europa, with such son- In-law*? Her rape was just: need forced the ravisher And love of better bed. The wife of Jupiter should blame Herself for frequent widowhood. A luckier, More stable union she'd have, had beauty more 555 Than chatter forged the bond. A foul and shrewish scold Compels an honest husband into unchaste ways. "But she's Jove's sister and his wife": she scores on one, As sister gains for wife's offence. "She rules on high": But on her father's throne, and there she shares the stars 560 By right of birth, not wedded state. Once that old man*, Whose child I am, was golden and the only heir. The world had not yet sunk to casting lots in urns, When Saturn's pious child was still Minerva's peer, At least no exile yet. When kingship split apart 565 Among three kings, then Venus, queen of all, came forth Into a threefold realm. Like Juno and her Jove,	540	To win back Jove, and in reward she gives you grief	
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I, Venus, was with Jove, with Neptune, and with Dis.		I, Venus, was with Jove, with Neptune, and with Dis.	

	My power was not content to have the stars as slaves:
	I calmed the seas, consoled the underworld. Forgive
570	Your sister's crime, you pious ocean's goddesses,
	If such a lineage is crime. And Thetis, you,
	You great avenger, drive this Juno out; lay claim
	To heaven and your stolen torch. Expel the whore!
	Jove will not mind to have you come and bear his sons:
575	Don't heed the fates! Juno will lose the prize
	For beauty and her wealth. If she were fair at home,
	She would not come to buy it here. When quick to bribe,
	She ill assessed your heart. He is not bent by gold
	Whose very name means "just". His vote is not for sale,
580	The fairness of whose balance rule was once conferred
	Upon the winning bulls, aware of ancient right.
	Kind Paris, shall that one enjoy a victor's face
	Who caused old blood to flow and Hesione's lament,
	Whose Hercules, Minerva, hurled his darts at your
585	Great citadel? Where then was martial art,
	Where then was fate? The ravished Ganymede did more:
	He took her daughter's cups, her bed—a sweet revenge
	For Juno's wrath—and still pours drinks for deities.
	Now, Asia's flower, descendant of both kings and gods,
590	My toil and glory do not come from short-lived verse
	Nor urging timid maidens at their weaving chores:
	I've never challenged Phoebus or Arachne's skill.
	Let Pallas make the metric feet and ply the loom.
	The gods, I grant, can quickly get and give great gifts,
595	The gods, I grant, can quickly get and give great gifts, But what do wealth or arms or kingdoms add to Troy,

Whose sceptre rules the greater part of earth, whose wealth Is all of Phrygia, whose strength the Trojan race? If kings still need the solace of the marriage bed, If wealth and rule are naught without a wife's embrace, Then here is Venus' gift, a gift that's Sparta's pride, Whose name Juno would crave, whose life Minerva'd love. What more? Come closer and inspect the inner me. There's something here to grasp, and now I bare my breasts To view. Behold the face that walks the stars at night, The face that brings the dawn. Fair youth, give credit where It's due: as judge, do not reject a face like mine!' With this, she thrusts her cloak aside, reveals her cheeks, And bares her shoulders, and displays her breasts; her face Brings day. The goddesses are shamed, and Venus wins. Avenging Trojans, note: now Venus stirs the sick. Believe: I saw these things, or dreams for sure have weight. This is my destiny. Heed Venus, who will end Our citizens' laments, our enemies' triumphant laughs."

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End of Book II

Joseph of Exeter

THE YLIAS OF DARES PHRYGIUS

Book III

	Their silent consultations end with mingled cheers;	
	The people, court, and senate sing in Venus' praise.	
	Some pray to gods and some to fates, but all resound,	
	With voice and mind, their praise of Venus. Everywhere	
5	High blood is shed; fields gladly give their produce to	
	The sacrifice. Inachis* mourns the crowned mate	*Io
	She's lost and, groaning, seeks again her stolen calves.	
	The powers that be build splendid banquets for the gods,	
	Constructing thirsty fires for holy temple priests.	
10	All Phrygia's asmoke with incense-burning shrines	
	To buy the venal gods. But our poor sacrifice,	
	Which suits the supreme god and pleases our own Thunderer,	
	Is offered with a mind that's pure, with honest prayers.	
	A higher royal pyre is raised from heaps of flowers	
15	To bear the bursting flames aloft, and draws the eye.	
	Far from these altars smokes a cruel sacrifice	
	Of blood: the leader pours to Venus what is sweet,	
	The Aristaean waters and Melibean streams	
	And draughts of Icarus, dead Phoenix's sweet smells.	
20	Their hair entwined with leaves, the Trojan girls are bid	
	To help their holy father and to pour the cups	
	That foam with milk on even flames. The king himself	
	Assists, pours Hybla's wealth*, but first he makes this prayer:	*honey
	"Great goddess, mighty pleasure for both men and gods,	
25	True offspring of the gods, our Neptune's fosterling,	
	Kind Venus! If the jar of water calls you here,	

Or nectar of the gods, or poppy, heaven's spice,

To feast, then guide your gentle team towards our gifts.

Accept these honeycombs, for pious offerings

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Please you no less than bloody axe. If our gifts please,

Come at our call, lie down with us and share our drink.

Though high Cythera steams with incense hundred-fold,

And Cyprus' groves and mountains blend sweet song of doves

And bloom with many flowers, yet Cythera's sweet scents

And Cyprus' birds and herbs are passed by those of Troy!

To merits and to what you see (such as it is)

Add faith, great Venus, and recall your gracious pledge:

Console a grieving home. My plea is not so bold

As that your judge should seize his prey from Grecian girls:

Hesione will be enough. Now Triton's child

And Saturn's better form would not deny such 'rape'!

Once Asia's might (why need I tell our well-known grief?)

Was great: all Trojans were respected by all Greeks.

The dice are now reversed. Please, goddess, look on us;

Show mercy on the sons of Troy!" With this he poured

The honey on the fire, and thus its heady steam

Consoles the thirsty stars with sweetly scented smoke.

The prophecy of Helenus

The rites and vows now end; the weary flame declines

Its glow, but Helenus bursts forth with other heat;

With burning breast he feels the raging god within.

He focuses the Furies into public words

And speaks: "O Trojan race, that looks not far ahead,

Where goes our ravisher? What is this boat I see

Return to sink our town? It's close to shore! Go, lords, 55 And bar its path!" He broke off here; his words Disturb the hesitant (for he alone earned trust And had the power to heal). He blamed Deiphebus For heeding Venus' laws to rape the girls of Greece In hope the gods would help. "What is this wicked hope?" 60 He asked; "would godly faith and heaven's power permit An evil expedition and give aid to plunderers? No, Paris: find some other partners for your crime And feign another dream! For those will not deceive Who can't themselves be tricked." But Troilus can't bear 65 His plea: headstrong in mind and thirsting for the fight And urging swords, he spoke: "Go, cringing brother, go," He said, "condemned within your dark loquacious cave! Depart, I say, and when you think to trick our folk, Invent a god. Another Phoebus stands by us. 70 Paris shall go. Not if the aged Sibyl speaks, Or ram of Libya or Chaon's squawking bird, Shall he desist from bidden path. He'll bring back poor Hesione, though you say nay!" The headlong crowd Applaud their lord's dictates. They're able to arouse 75 A storm they can't suppress; they dare, and take no thought For what's to come, when danger is not clear. Their thought Is all on arms; they often see the Argo, dead Laomedon, their unavenged city's shame, And cry again: "Free youth, you kin of Trojan Jove, 80 How long shall we allow our elders' bloodied throats, Our parents' broken necks that Argive hands have felled, To go without revenge? For cruel destiny Does not decree that this should be our fate,

Joseph of Exeter *The Ylias of Dares Phrygius*, Book 3

To have no venging hand. If grieving Troy has felt

The wrath of god, the cruel Mycenean feast*

Has earned, as Phoebus has decreed, its punishment.

So go, lords: Venus and Apollo (surer seer)

Command this war. Mycene's brothers gone,

No one will block your way beneath a Trojan lord.

There is no need to fear, since Hercules is burned

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In Nessus' shirt, and thus the leading cause of fear

Has gone. Our Hector lives, the match of Hercules!

Our race will add its fire! The prize first went to Greece,

So it is right for Troy to hope to win this time,

With our renascent gods. You, children of renown,

Recall in grief the throats of your dead parents. You,

Whose tears are woven by a deeper wound, are called

By piety to arms."

The prophecy of Panthus

As they beseech with words,

And stretch their hands, then Panthus sows in their sick ears

The ancient warnings of the fates: he shows the words

His sire Euforbius had wrenched from oracles.

The son proclaims that "Pergamum* is doomed to fall

To Greeks, if Helen once sets foot in Trojan town."

The leaders trust his words; the tumult of the crowd

Is turned; the new is more persuasive than the old.

The gods are more with Panthus as he prophesies

Than when Helenus spoke. Yet Priam's ailing mind

Turns to Hesione; he spurns the gods; he hears,

Yet dares to he deceived. By spurning fate, he aids

*Where Atreus served Thyestes with his own children

*i.e. Troy

110	Its course. "Tell once again your own fates, Antenor;	
	Repeat what has been done! Necessity consists	
	In what's been done; the future still may change. We bear	
	Severer wounds than future threats—Troy drenched with blood,	
	The tears of wives, the groans of parents for their loss.	
115	Tell also what you saw, when you sought out Troy's child;	
	To these disasters add your sufferings abroad.	
	To your true facts let lies of shrieking shrines give way:	
	Let faith advise a sounder course. For sooner streams	
	Shall cease to flow and fire to burn and air to breathe	
120	Than madness say what must be done!" Then Antenor	
	Replied: "O citizens, must I repeat my tale	
	Of toils? Is it so soon forgot? I have no need	
	To mourn: our kingdom tells of treachery and wars.	
	We've seen our city thrive with worthy citizens	
125	Beneath another king*, for Troy was not yet crushed *Lac	omedon
	By Greece. Has swift oblivion so soon wiped out	
	That change of fate and, bored with languishing, erased	
	That long-felt grief? No, famous youth! If you desire	
	To free your minds of that detested hateful grief,	
130	Then arm yourselves and cone! Let's follow Fortune's path,	
	While grief unstated seeks for some great enterprise.	
	Great deeds need haste: slow wrath is overwhelmed by fear.	
	You fear the oracles, and pause? Is this your fear,	
	That gods disturb the silent recesses of time	
135	And sway the turns of life? The course of destiny	
	Is fixed! If fate decrees disaster for poor Troy,	
	Then let us die in war! If she has pledged to us	
	The triumph, slowness robs our victory of worth.	
	You're easily deceived. If I may state the truth,	

Joseph of Exeter *The Ylias of Dares Phrygius*, Book 3

140	I've learned how gods set traps. Lernaean Phoebus stirs	
	Our birds*; the dire disaster that he bodes for Troy	*The (pro-Greek) oracle at Lerna near Argos.
	Is what he fears for his own folk. Thus, spreading lies,	C
	He tries to scare the Trojans as they gird for war.	
	But weigh the facts, which far outweigh what only might	
145	Occur: now Hercules has donned his fatal shirt;	
	The sons of Aeacus* are old; that so-called threat,	*Peleus and Telamon
	Achilles, is a boy (or girl!), no threat at all.	
	I've seen myself their men, their walIs and towns—	
	But cowards won't be moved. Go, 'mighty' Trojan youth,	
150	Prepare your necks for slavery, reject the crown,	
	And hand your swords to foes that speak in prophecies."	
	At this their courage is inflamed; they cast aside	
	Their fear of gods. Helenus leaves, throws from his head	
	His fearful bands, then weeps and castigates the fates.	
	The departure of Paris to ravish Helen	
155	The shepherd Paris leads the host, once newcomer	
155		
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155	The shepherd Paris leads the host, once newcomer To Troy, now Priam's heir. It did the town no good	
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	And is amazed to hear like sounds upon the shore.	
	The ship's array was such as practised skill achieves	
	By constant toil. The woodwork gleams, inscribed with fine	
170	Designs; the prow is clothed in lordly Tyrian*,	*i.e. purple
	The stern with Tagus' gold, and ivory supplies	
	The yard; the cypress spreads its scent along the beams	
	And guides the sails. The winds contend to stretch the sails	
	In purple swells, but Venus, who is carved upon	
175	The stern, calls south-west winds to blow their gentle breeze.	
	And now the day draws near on which the fleet would thrust	
	Itself upon the deeps. The chosen crew, who served	
	The son of Priam, rushed across the shore in haste—	
	Such eagerness to leave and sail away! They cried	
180	In friendly rivalry and mingled as they ran.	
	Then Hector soon brings up his troops in tight array,	
	Exhorts his Trojan friends to cross the deeps, in aid	
	Of Paris; others ran as well to fill the boats,	
	Led by Deiphebus; Anchises' son*, the hope	*Aeneas
185	Of Venus, lends his aid beside Polydamas	
	As well. The fleet now stirred the sands and put to sea,	
	Impelled by sturdy hands and arms. Then at this point	
	Cassandra left her lair and with a cry revealed	
	The fates, to Troy's dismay. But cruel Lachesis*	*i.e. the Fate
190	Thrust out the ship; she broke the anchors' grasping hold,	
	And with a blast of air she drove the sails along.	
	The ravisher is last to join the allied fleet,	
	Delayed by Priam's frequent fruitless prayers to do	
	Nothing in haste, to be a humble suppliant:	
195	Hesione is all he needs; if they refuse	
	To give her back, to threaten war. Thus Priam briefs	

Joseph of Exeter The Ylias of Dares Phrygius, Book 3

Now scarcely had Cythera come in Paris' sight When Menelaus* chanced to sail his native seas *Helen's husband 200 To visit Nestor, and espied the Trojan ship.

Him as he leaves: if he sends word, then Troy will come.

He wondered what it was, whence, where it sailed. Both kings

In wonder fixed their eyes upon each others sails.

Behold how destiny weaves webs to change our lives!

The enemy is here, but Menelaus leaves;

205 Hermione* is in Mycenae, keen to see

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Her aunt, and with her Helen's lordly brothers too*.

The other folk had gone to Argos, there to spend

The day in Juno's honour; all the sea was clear,

The land bereft of men. Thus mighty Chance made wide

The way for all that was to come, and Venus smiled.

The island slopes in steep incline, with rocks offshore,

To Venus sacrosanct; its lower part lies hid

Within a secret bay; in inlets, sickle-shaped,

It steals the long low waves. Here, with its gentle shore,

215 The Trojans beach their boats. With sacrificial blood

The prince himself anoints Diana's altar, close

At hand, and with his lavish axe he pledges more.

So through Cythera's towns the rumour swiftly spreads

That Paris, Priam's son, has come. The people rush

To crowd the port. But fair-faced Helen turns

Her steps towards the shore to see these unknown men.

She walks down to Helea where it meets the sea.

When Paris is aware that Helen stands nearby,

He leaves the ships. Relying on his face and form,

225 He turns this way and that, wherever Helen goes.

With idle, wandering steps he weaves his leisured way;

*Helen's daughter

Pollux

*Clytemnestra, Castor,

52

He gives an eager look and fans the flames they share, And in a moment captivates and holds her love. He doesn't run or walk too fast, nor yet too slow. 230 To beauty he adds poise and spreads his shoulders wide. He lifts his head; with gentle step he toes the sand, And with admiring eye he fixes Helen fast. He checks his step; he fears to be suspicious in Her eyes; he quickly turns his gaze to other things, As though amazed at what he sees. Less brazenly 235 Does Helen cast a sidelong glance, a smile half-formed; She'd like to bare her breast and show her cheeks to view, But modesty restrains and checks her adult urge To go too far, and, mixed with this, some fear 240 Disturbs her troubled heart. This Paris sees: he burns And dares, for Love, the lavish promiser, predicts An easy prey. The signs are good, her will astray: The eye—the fickle heart's translator, witness clear, And pander—prattles preludes of the silent wish. 245 As Helen gazes on the evident delights Of foreign gold and sees the ship with purple sails, She hesitates, unsure of what to do; she'd yield Her hands, if asked; she wants to be compelled. The crowd Denies the youth the right to ask. Great ravisher, 250 Don't rush! She'll give her hand—the hand of gold will win! Your wealth's more mighty than your words: no need for Cicero To rise again, when riches speak. But Fortune aids Your rape herself: the city, wind, and Spartan girl— Bare, following, inclined—assist your plan. The town 255 Is called Helea. Here the sea in offshore winds Drives with its rushing waves on nearby homes, and thrusts

Its water in between, and cuts them from the deep.

Here ancient faith, in honour of Latona's kin,

Had built two altars; here the queen commands a night

260 Of merriment in holy vigil. She is first

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To seek the temple and to pray with due respect.

The eager Trojan hears, and Venus sanctifies

His bold design; she grants fair outcome to his hopes

And offers more. Without delay he plans to seize

The bride, to tear apart the altars, and to win.

Such wanton lust assailed his headstrong mind: he scarce

Could wait for night, the twilight lasts so long; he thought

The sun was jealous and begrudged his happiness.

The rape of Helen

The sun with failing rays had pierced the western waves,

And in the open sea the sailor seeks the dawn

Of stars. Earth, sea, and sky and all on high fall still,

As god withdraws; they cease their roar and silence reigns

Around. All things relax and nod in restful sleep,

But Paris, by the aid of night, is keen to act.

275 He won't delay the gods, but follows Venus, first

To hasten armed assault against the peaceful dance

And undefended crowd, and savagely assails

The playful shrines. Don't sacred marriage or the code

Of guest restrain you, stranger, or the vengeful god,

Protector of the right? But heedless Venus scorns

Such cares: with no regard for shame, she hurls herself

To pleasure—and to sin. The Trojan grabs the girl

From Sparta—she holds out her hands, with happy face—

207	Or rather, she grabs him! Take pleasure in your spoils,
285	Despoiler, but regard the gods! Your hardships done,
	You leave. As profit for your mother you bring death
	And flames she'd rather not have borne*. Alas, doomed man, *Hecuba's dream
	You know not of the deaths and tumults that you bring
	In fleeing fleet. And you, more foul than Lerna's marsh,
290	More blazing than Chimera's fire, less certain than
	A cloudless day, you, Helen, leave your marriage bed,
	Again to be sought out by spouse so often spurned,
	And flee—but never raped. Now come, Charybdis! Scylla,
	Come! Come, Syrtes' shoal and all the savage storms
295	That seas contain! Let all the waves converge on here
	And strike these seas, and with avenging wind dissolve
	Their first embrace in ocean's depth! Swift penalty
	Averts disaster if it halts forbidden crime.
	The silent night, its rest disturbed by dire affray,
300	Not knowing what was wrong, heard voices of alarm:
	Armed citizens, their ears alert to whence the cries
	And uproar come, investigate their native shrines.
	They hear crushed lyres shriek, they see the wine spilled out,
	The broken cups, the torches now deprived of light,
305	The lamps with broken glass that weep with dripping oil.
	They wonder what disaster caused their joyful rites
	To fall in silence, what new sudden cause disturbed
	Their holy dance. They notice other fights on shore,
	The uproar on the sea. "Where, faithless pimp, a guest
310	That shames his host, do you now flee? Is this fair fee,
	Despoiler of the royal bed?" Aroused at this,
	The nobles call for arms, and with the remnant folk
	Attack the Trojans, who don't cease to spread their sails

	And speed their flight, since they disdain to join their hands	
315	In war with such as these—no feeble fight for them!	
	Yet pride provokes the boastful troop to lay their hands	
	On what they've caught, each one prepares to show his own	
	Proud prize of war, some citizen or captured maid.	
	The return of Paris	
	Now having earned the wreath of Venus' crown to bind	
320	His victor's brow, the ravisher makes Tenedos*,	*an island close to Troy.
	And comforts Helen, now more fearful and at last	
	Nostalgic for her land. The soft seducer, skilled	
	In fixing fleeting women's favour with his vows	
	And soothing feigned alarms, heaps up before her mind	
325	Fine scents, great floods of gold, and ivory and silks.	
	The wealth of all the world, the bright and cheerful gifts	
	Of air and sea, the fertile bounty of the land—	
	With these he bought her easy bed, won entry to	
	Her arms, and gained her faith. Now Helen's kiss is real,	
330	And she grants many more. With all her heart	
	She opens up her loins; with eager mouth she steals	
	His dormant love, and as their passion pants its gasp	
	A guilty redness witnesses her secret dews.	
	For shame, foul whore! Could you allow delays for such	
335	Desires? Was pleasure put on hold to wait upon	
	A purchaser? What power of the tender sex,	
	That woman should for gain withhold her headstrong love,	
	Nor deign to laugh or show delight except for hire!	
	The news delights the Trojans. Priam's face is calm	
340	And bright; his gloom, his sick and grieving mind, begin	

To feel his wrinkles disappear; the winter slowly Leaves his mind. The king (his wish the augur) hopes For Hesione's return, if Greece gets Helen back.

Not yet had Paris touched the Trojan sands and left The port; his way was blocked by joyful crowds that lied Of well-earned victories. Some, borne on splendid carts, Enjoy a lofty ride; the rest (who fear no fall) Weave footsteps on the way with less exalted tread, Content to use their feet. How keen they were for news! The people, panting, run to see the Grecian bride, Oblivious of work or children or their trade— No thought of profit, but to see the pleasing prize! And those whom lowly nature meanly grudged long necks Or upright backs, must either lie aloft upon High roofs or, with stiff heels, wear out their limbs and strain Their joints and stretch their humble stature to the sky. Report of Helen's famous looks thus stirred the folk To gaze upon her face. With modesty she bears Herself—no sidelong looks, but to the cheering crowds She held her shamelessness in check and with a blush

The prophecy of Cassandra

Subdued her blazing cheeks.

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But when the royal seer,
Cassandra, learned for sure that Paris had returned
And brought the Spartan bride, the deadly sign of doom,
She fled, lamenting, to the shrine, and there she kissed
The talking boughs. She called on god, and not in vain,
Returning full of fate. God's wrath, wrung out, is clear

Upon her face, and all his raging power distorts Her feeble limbs. She whirled her neck around; her hair Fell on her shoulders, loose; her eyes flashed sparks of fire; 370 Her face was discomposed—at first more blue than glass, Then brighter than a flame, then paler than the box. With such a frenzied face she thrust herself among The princes; drunk, she barely stopped her failing steps, And seeing Helen there she shrieked: "Are you that cow 375 That entered meadows new and, in immoral flight, Left your ancestral stall, the bull that was your mate, And, as they say, now wantonly seek husbands here? Go, men! God bids you, go! With fire and sea destroy My mother's dreamed-of flames, lest what I've sung come true— 380 Dire death!" And with this brief lament she took her rest: Her long and drawn-out sighs released and freed the god. At this the joy of revellers was checked; their cheers Died down. O would that they had listened to their seer's Command! But reverence for Priam overcame 385 Their stirring wrath: Cassandra, wrongly, was enchained. The king soothed Helen, gently calmed her sighs, as she Bemoaned this sudden slight: the "furies" seized the seer, He said; her "voices" were too quick with foul abuse; Her head was quite unsound, and she was prone to fits. 390 Without delay the palace glowed with grand display, Decked-out by king's decree; divine Adultery Lit flames of shame. Far better had deep gloom submerged That foul affair! A sacred name can't palliate Immoral deeds. Gold leaf may cover rottenness, 395 Lamb's fleece a wolf, and linen cloth a pus-filled sore, But fame uncovers every fraud. One woman can't

Belong to two, for her first vows require her faith: She cannot be another's wife but just his whore.

Preparation of the Greeks for war

Now meanwhile, through the Grecian world, swift sorrow spreads; 400 It shakes the lands endowed with Europe's name with talk Of arms and war. In one affliction all are harmed. Some insult to a king may stir the people's wrath, Or envy may bring battles through the realm, or each May take as his own grievance what he fears perhaps 405 Might happen to himself, and what he would lament Or fear himself, each one deplores. Thus all agree With one accord to cut short such outrageous crimes And save the marriage-bed by fear. The people rush And wait for no command: a zeal to fight is born 410 Among the dull; the brave are keener still. The crowd Calls "War!" To offer comfort to the stricken home The famous princes haste, some from the cape of Malea, And some from Thessaly, and from all over Greece. Should I recount (since faithful witness tells the lists) 415 In order true the vengeful forces of the Greeks, The places, kings, how many ships, and who, wore out The sea? I know that such a list robs Muses of Their praise and causes tender ears to take offence. Yet, if my listeners aren't bored, I'd like, in brief, 420 To list a few and mark with number's seal the boats That pledged their aid. Twice one set off to war, One thousand and two hundred more; from everywhere They gather in Apollo's sea, in Cecrops' bay*. *Athens

425	To Athens come the troops and arms; from here the fleet Intends to sail to war, for so the high command Ordains, and all the leaders signify assent.
	The sinking of Castor and Pollux
	But when the Trojans' deeds were known and reached the twins
	Of Leda, both cried out and both were roused with grief,
	And both shook in their rage. No angry lions grieve
430	Like this in plundered lairs, no eagle so laments
	The unexpected silence of its voiceless nest.
	Without delay the twins set forth from Lesbos' port.
	Their spirits boil; their anger, newly roused, waits not
	For cooler thought; they did not wait for followers.
435	In pious memory they sailed, and Castor sought
	The deeps; his very ship yearned for the sands of Troy
	To bring destruction there. Dark night stood in the way,
	Protecting Troy; the anger of the arm-filled sky
	Rings out and with a double blast assails their sails.
440	O piety! No other virtue comes so close
	To God! O gentle brightness of fraternal love!
	Just one discordant sentiment divides the twins:
	They have opposing fears, since each one dreads the other's
	Death. For then the sea falls down upon the deck,
445	And so the ship is overwhelmed and starts to sink.
	They strive in rivalry to meet the ocean's waves
	Head first, and each of them cries out: "Direct at me
	Your threats, dread Thetis, savage Triton, aim at me
	Your blows and hurl your storm at me, but save, I beg,
450	My brother, please spare him!" At this the south wind blows

More fiercely stilt, and for the ship all hope is lost.

The sons of Leda link their arms around their necks

And, just as they were born, they share their fate in death.

Cease, deadly licence of antiquity! Invent

No more immoral gods, for heaven's won by real

Good life, not lying tales. Those whom unseeing storm

Sank in the ocean's depths, you raise up to the skies

And place beside great Jove. Those brought to dust by fire

Or shattered on the rocks, you falsely claim have reached

The stars, cajoling heathen prayers and offerings.

455

Greek fable grants the skies to twins drowned by the storm;

As Castor falls they say that Pollux climbs on high,

And so restores the loss the other's death has caused.

But fierce Atropos denied divinity

And trapped them in the snare that binds both weak and strong,

Both innocent and guilty, commoners and kings.

Lesbos alone claimed Leda's loving sons were saved

From death, and said the twins were seized and never found

Amid the wreck of Troy or in the ocean's waves;

They held that they were gods; though spurned by fruitless faith,

They swelled towns, altars, shrines, with gods and scent and stone—

Just like the foolish British hope and trusting faith

That waits for Arthur to return—and always will!

End of Book III

Joseph of Exeter

THE YLIAS OF DARES PHRYGIUS

Book IV

	when martial fame throughout the towns of Phrygia
	Spread news of war, the eastern lands, dismayed
	By this new threat, joined forces fearfully, allied
	In arms. Thus Mars aroused the hosts on Priam's side.
5	First Amphion from Zelia lent Troy his aid
	And followers, and Pandarus his friendly bow;
	Adrastus seized his sword to help, and Colophon,
	His host, equipped Amphimachus. With Sarpedon
	His friend, to combat Glaucus led his Lycians.
10	Fierce Thracians follow Xanthippus, and Memnon leads
	The Moors, Phorcys Paeons, Remus Ciconians.
	Euphemus, Capesus, and many whose full names
	Would take too long to list contend to swell the ranks;
	Each strives to pass the rest in numbers or in might.
15	The Ganges Arabs sends, Orontes Syrians,
	The Danube Scythians—its double banks adjoin
	The two-fold world—and sends to war both denizens
	Beneath two lords. To battle go whatever folk
	Are bred at daylight's edge, where day begins and where
20	The sun is born; the folk of Asia's wide expanse,
	Enclosed by Hermus' stream and Taurus' mountain range
	All come to lend support to Troy and Ilium.
	In all this uproar and the mighty strength of kings
	In rivalry, great Troy equips its fighting youth

25 With even more acclaim; none hopes to win first rank, Since native strength and Trojan arms soar up above The rest. In all the host the first was Troilus And Hector, full of fire. In war their strength was matched As storms above the crowd. They strive to win the crown; 30 Their reputations shift with alternating fame. The other Trojan brothers also shine in war; Each one, beneath his lord, excels in his own feats: All swear that they, as Priam's sons, will Hectors be; As many sons of Troy claim Troilus as peer.

Description of the leaders

35 Would that I could recall the mind of each, his face, The splendour of his limbs, the vigour that inspired His breast, and that the power of my words could bring To life those faces—that those kings, though lost to sight, Could live in spirit, with the pen to tell the tale! 40 As, to the gaze of crowds, a wordless picture shows Those buried long ago, so written page portrays The lords: one speaks to eyes, the other to the ears. Priam King Priam's ruddy head rose from a lofty neck, His shoulders spreading wide; straight limbs defined his frame. 45 His royal dignity informed his fearsome cheeks With kindly fierceness. His voice, that showed his calm, Spoke not a word of pride or gloom: he seemed to plead As he gave gentle soft commands to willing ears.

Hector

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Within a slender frame there thrives the noble heart

Of Hector; curling hair gleams bright with crinkled locks,

Enclosing tiny head. A stammer stole his words,

Cut short in pleasing style. Brisk limbs he had; his mind

Was placid to the citizens. Some hair adorns

His gentle face. A sidelong glance diverts his eyes

To different ways, and thus a downcast look deforms

His steadfast countenance and makes it seem quite sad.

Helenus and Deiphebus

Alike in face, they share their father's mouth and cheeks;

The twin-born sons of Priam eagerly divide

Their worship of Minerva, each in arms or arts:

Mars guides Deiphebus, Apollo Helenus.

Troilus

The limbs of Troilus expand and fill his space.

In mind a giant, though a boy in years, he yields

To none in daring deeds; with strength in all his parts

His greater glory shines throughout his countenance.

Paris

Desirous of command, firm shoulders spread out wide,

With star-like gleam comes youthful Paris, calm in face,

Soft-spoken, swift of foot, and strenuous in arms,

With flaxen hair, and, to enhance his lofty brow,

His hair was cut above his cheeks, above around

The temples, lest the shock of hair should stray and mar

His grace; his ears held back his hair on either side.

Aeneas

With menace in his hair, calm-faced, serene in speech

And easy in his words, attractive with black eyes,

Pious in counsel, balanced in his stance,

Aeneas stands, his shoulders spread, his gaze on high.

Antenor

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Now Antenor was tall, with slender frame; his calf

Was tight, his movement light, and of his comrades none

Was quicker to detect a trap—or set his own.

Hecuba

A royal beauty burns in Hecuba, endowed

With lofty mien; her shape, unworn by frequent births,

Reveals no shrivelled defects of the pregnant womb.

Her victor's mind gives no command that's weak or soft;

Towards the guilty fierce, but to the gentle kind

And meek; to those oppressed she's mild and fair to all.

Andromache

Andromache's adorned by form, grace, piety,

Sense, modesty—erect in bearing, calm, of face.

Cassandra

Restrained in movement, well aware of what's to come,

Smooth-cheeked, Cassandra, with her dreaded shock of hair

Betrays the shade of blood; with glaring eyes she raves.

Polyxena

Of Trojan women Polyxena far outshines

The rest in looks: her milk-white limbs earn special praise

For her alone—her pleasant smiling eyes, her tall

Fine frame, supported on a slender foot, her knee

That balances her steps with upright poise and stance.

95 No ivory can match her limbs, nor lilies match Her lofty neck, no peacock's tail her gleaming hair, Yet she is humble, simple, easy, lacking pride, Unfeigned, and never grudging help to those that ask. Agamemnon A martial glory graces Agamemnon: limbs 100 Both broad and tall declare his strength, and from his face Shines power; his armed form proclaims him as a king. Fair virtue, rich nobility, wise eloquence— These three, with glowing hair, adorn his manly frame. Menelaus A pleasing shape, supported by a modest build, 105 Make Menelaus fair; his mind subdues the vice That red hair brings. His deeds belie his lying locks. Welcomed by friends, he pleases those that earn his grace. Achilles Achilles—bold, kind, generous—is Phoebus' match In face, a Mars in courage, Peleus in build. 110 His torso spreads out wide; his chestnut hair is curled In narrow coils; his noble head of hair falls down Upon his arms; his knee supports a lofty stride. Patroclus Actorides, with open merry face, fair-limbed And soft in speech, had but three aims: to help with gifts, 115 Be true unto himself, and he of use to all.

Ajax Oileus

A voice marked out by gentle jokes, a lofty mind,

Broad limbs, enrich the frame of Ajax Oileus.

Ajax Telamonius

Dark hair, bound up in easy plait, adorned the head

Of Ajax son of Telamon; his voice was calm

And soft; his mind was slow in guile but keen in war.

Ulysses

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The merry prince of Ithaca was somewhat low

In build; he weighed his counsel carefully, was sharp

In setting traps and skilled in snaring with his speech.

Diomedes

Diomedes, with headstrong mind, fierce-voiced, with brain

On fire, and fearless wrath, was sturdy and square-framed.

By daring deeds he earned his name as Tydeus' son,

For so he raged with spirit, savage face, and arms.

Nestor

Wise Nestor was renowned for prudence, moral guide,

For trust and balanced counsel, and for sage largesse.

His shining snowy hairs were spread across his back;

His nose was flat and somewhat curved, but just too short.

Protesilaus

Phyllace's youth had glowing cheeks and shining hair

More swift than bird, more fierce than wind from Scythia.

No heights too high—his spirit far outstrips his strength;

He thinks no task too hard or harsh, and dares his all.

Pyrrhus

The face proclaims the man: a haughty neck supports

A fearsome face; with proud disdain does Pyrrhus scorn

To catch his comrades' eyes. His mighty limbs, clear eyes,

And outthrust stomach all declare ferocity.

His voice is weak in weaving words: his halting tongue

Can scarcely form his stammer into feeble sounds.

Palamedes

The son of Nauplius is tall and slim and mild;

Wise honesty of mind directs a gallant heart.

Polidarius

Ascending into pride but slumped in folds of fat,

His shoulders Polidarius enshrouds with curls.

Machaon

145

155

Machaon's hair appears to heed his will. He shows

Compliant patience, cautious strength, and clemency.

Merion

His wicked nature thrusts Merion down,

Girt round with goads of envy, tired out by cares

That rob his sleep. A mass of flesh heaps up in piles

Of greasy limbs. The fury of his mind boils up

Into his head and over all. His livid breast

Is scorched with bloody spots. His cheek is green to match

A snake's, but signifying worse. His flaming hair

Bears witness to the raging furies of his mind.

Briseis

Of middle height, Briseis frames her noble looks

For love. The yellow of her hair is coiled in knots

Of equal size. Her eyes support a lesser shade's

Delights, the linking of her eyebrows' double arcs.

160 Her moral worth is equal to her body's charms: She's sober, simple, friendly, chaste, and never cold But kind to those that ask, and gentle in her speech. Castor and Pollux There's nothing two-fold in Tyndaris' twins: one grace Of face adorns them both, and each has yellow hair; 165 The same wide eye brings out in both a merry look. Like gait directs their limbs; like movements link their hearts In harmony; face, eyes, and habits breathe as one. Their names alone, with varied marks, presume to set The pair apart, but countenance resists: mistakes 170 Mislead the hesitant, defying verbal split, And cause the one to be addressed by other's name. Helen That famous Spartan girl is like her sibling twins In face and hair and cheeks; their equal grace of form Proclaims their common stock. But Helen, Leda's child, 175 Imbibes more fully from the star of Jove: her limbs Declare the milky fraud that came from mother's swan. Her forehead rivals ivory; her head has gold For hair, with even locks; her cheek like linen glows; Her hand, teeth, neck, match privet, snow and lily-flower. 180 The curving crescent of her ear, her watchful gaze, And nose that seeks to catch the vagrant scent, all vie To win the shifting triumph of her beauty's prize. Her slightly tilting chin shines white; her pouting mouth Swells just a little, so it forms a rosy mound, 185 That kisses may rest gently as they press her lips.

From head, her shoulders spread; tight bosom hides her breasts.

Her flanks are neat and light, her arms are long.

Her tiny foot (its step just barely touches ground)

Supports a wanton walk: with elegance and poise

Her shapely legs control her limbs in flowing grace.

One blemish runs between her slender brows: a gap,

A daring flaw, distinguishes those fine-drawn arcs.

Her inner nature, too, more secretly adorns

Her wondrous hidden parts, the rooms that give her life,

Directing all her town. First mover is her heart,

190

205

Which guides the balanced work; the speaking lung controls

The voices of her tongue; her spleen, with slight release,

Lets out her laugh; her bile is burned quite evenly

With easy wrath. But tender liver-itch provokes

200 Her lust more softly than is right; it drowns the name

She earned, pollutes the glory of her love.

No greedy bird or falling stone or turning wheel

Or lying wave* could out-perform this monstrous power.

When lust lies dead, worn out and buried, lacking force,

The ancient sparks revive within the new-grown lobes.

Thus this one part swamps all of Helen, and incites

The world itself to doom and death, as kingdoms clash.

*The torments of Tityus, Sisyphus, Ixion and Tantalus

The Greek expedition

	The Grecian ships, with gathered strength, now filled the ports
	Of Athens: there the land denied the men a space,
210	And air and sea could not contain the sails and ships.
	Then war at last demands its right to run the course
	That is allowed and bid. Yet still Achilles then,
	Patroclus too, were sent to beg the Delphic fates
	And call Apollo to reveal their destiny.
215	Such trusting faith! To think that those impelled headlong
	To battle, brooking no delay, should willingly
	Slow down, their vows at rest, to seek the oracles!
	Grief sets aside its sighs and boastfulness its prize;
	Wrath stills its threats: the troops suspend the war and pause,
220	And Mars himself awaits the talking cave's consent.
	O trusting night of heathen worrying, deceived
	In varied ways! Should I deplore Egyptian seers
	With laughter, tears, or both? Vain superstition clothes
	The fields and lurks beneath the bark of trees; it grows
225	In gardens, creeps on land, or sometimes cleaves the air.
	Yet their responses often err, as does that wind
	That wretched souls implore, presuming, by fair name,
	To call it 'god'. But he whom all the world accepts
	As maker does not moo in caves! That noxious old
230	Credulity has spread to our own times and mars
	Our faith. As once the Balearic seer marked out
	His pagan birds, distinguishing by voice or wing
	Or different taste, deriving omens of the fates,

	So now old women see ill fortune in a sleep
235	That smiles, fear ruin in an empty mouth; by beat
	Of raven's wing or tell-tale ear foretell the crowds
	Of coming guests, or prophesy which ones will come again.
	Now fortune often brings the things that we've long sought,
	And so the watchful devil traps the trusting minds
240	And lures them deeper into foolish heresy.
	Far better, lest pure minds fall easily in sin,
	To know no auguries and let the ancient rites
	Be lost to memory! The Greeks adhere to these
	Decrees, imploring Delphic oracles with all
245	Their will. Achilles first, the servants next, approach
	The altar. Then at last does venal Phoebus grant
	These words (words bought by solemn gifts) to Grecian ears:
	The oracle of Phoebus on the attainment of victory
	The oracle of Phoebus on the attainment of victory "Avenging Greeks, you win! The heavy task of war
250	"Avenging Greeks, you win! The heavy task of war
250	"Avenging Greeks, you win! The heavy task of war Will last two fives of years; you conquer in the tenth."
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250	"Avenging Greeks, you win! The heavy task of war Will last two fives of years; you conquer in the tenth." Aroused by destiny, Achilles shares with all His friends the tripod's secret words. Then Calchas comes,
250	"Avenging Greeks, you win! The heavy task of war Will last two fives of years; you conquer in the tenth." Aroused by destiny, Achilles shares with all His friends the tripod's secret words. Then Calchas comes, And meets him in the middle of the cave, and shows
250 255	"Avenging Greeks, you win! The heavy task of war Will last two fives of years; you conquer in the tenth." Aroused by destiny, Achilles shares with all His friends the tripod's secret words. Then Calchas comes, And meets him in the middle of the cave, and shows That gods and fates concur in what they prophesy.
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	"Avenging Greeks, you win! The heavy task of war Will last two fives of years; you conquer in the tenth." Aroused by destiny, Achilles shares with all His friends the tripod's secret words. Then Calchas comes, And meets him in the middle of the cave, and shows That gods and fates concur in what they prophesy. He'd come to seek the oracles for his own land And realm, and from the shrine the same divinity

	And dearth, will fall: your fields will yield fat splendid crops!	
260	Brook no delay: you're called to war. Seek Cecrops' town*,	*Athens
	Assemble venging troops. You'll have no match in war,	
	And outdo Mopsus' eyes and pass old Nestor's wit.	
	Late victory, one won by cruel deaths of men,	
	Will crown the Greeks with glory after ten long years."	
265	Achilles then and Calchas gladly join right hands	
	In firm alliance. Each is highly born, and each	
	Enjoys the rank of king. Achilles' love of war	
	Is greater; Calchas is more calm and seeks to trace	
	The gods in entrails and to know the heaven's course.	
270	Sworn faith unites these men; a third love joins the first	
	Alliance: Patroclus does not begrudge a share	
	In friendship, but more gladly pulled across the sea	
	And brought the ship back home, with Calchas at his side.	
	When news of hopeful oracles is spread through camps	
275	And town and fleet and known for sure, then all delight	
	In war: to win seems sweet to all, too long the wait	
	For war. Knights fit the ships with arms, the crew raise sails	
	And citizens bring food. The few whose coward hearts,	
	Ignoble mind, dull spirit, tell them to ignore	
280	Great victories, and sink them in a dark malaise,	
	These either fear the fight or curse the loss of time	
	A ten-year war would bring, too long for victory,	
	For many mishaps fall and none can dodge the fight,	
	And few will win a palm but many will shed blood.	
285	Yet even these are swayed by reverence for kings	
	And by a nearness that extends a kindred mood.	

Thus feigned audacity of face conceals dull minds;
A braggart threat and shout froth out in daring deeds.
They quickly take to ship; with open hand some spread
The sails; some bend their necks and toil to drag the boats
Into the waves; some, with their might, build oaken paths
Across the thwarts, and others loose the bonds that bind
The biting anchor; thus they loose and launch the ships.

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Then suddenly a brisk south wind, that pours the clouds, Disturbed them as they left, and night, drunk on the draughts Of pouring rain, soaked sails, the crew, and boats with clouds Of moisture, making even captains doubt their skill.

The fleet can't see the sea, and stray; the wind denies The wonted exit; flapping sails assault the boats

Amidships, striking with repeated blasts of wind.

When Calchas from the prow first saw the storm arise And how the leaders strove in vain, with prophet's voice He said that they should heed the gods and yield to hostile Winds and start from Aulis on their warlike course.

The Greeks obey and follow prophet and the winds' Desire. They turn their prows to Aulis, seeking peace On altars from Diana, mountain-dwelling god, And burn their incense lavishly to speed their way.

Adopts a bright blue hue; pure clarity of sky
Returns and smiles; now Juno's washed quite clean and earns
Her Jove, and with a merry face consoles the clouds
That weep. The south wind's banished, and a gentle breeze

Allows a way: the fleet now seeks a stronger wind.

Then instantly the drunken Iris' angry bow

315	So with the winds set fair by gods' decree, the ships
313	
	In multitudes descend into Euboean waves
	To eat the straits; they gasp to see the mighty deep
	Go past beneath their prows. The sailors lock their oars,
	Endeavour to be first and strike the air as one.
320	Thus Xerxes' Athos marvelled at the double shades
	And decked the unknown sea with sails; so Orpheus,
	So strong in voice, the woods pursued your tuneful lyre
	And clothed the fields of Thracia in their wide embrace.
	While they were out at sea, and surging of the waves
325	Was calmed and gave a carefree time and chance to talk,
	In Jason's sea the leader Philoctetes spoke:
	"We suffered on these shoals; these waves delayed our path;
	These rocks of Cyane we braved, when we pursued
	The Golden Fleece; the Lemnians live here, and here
330	The Thracians, Paros Naxos"—all they asked he told
	Unfolding, as he saw the traces of his former trip
	And Jason's route. He lectures them on what they must
	Endure or shun.
	At last on hostile sand they glide
	Ashore, and with their savage clamour scorch the air,
335	And with their angry oars they angrily assault the beach.
	Their uproar quickly spread throughout the camps and fields.
	They plundered shoreline wealth and houses by the sea
	That, ill-protected, lay in Trojan king's domain.
	Then, having piled up booty and a wealth of spoils,
340	They devastated humble homes with fierce flames,
	And then went back to ships and gladly saw the sparks

That they had made spread through the sails across the sea. First Tenedos endured the soldiers' cruel wrath,
Lamenting not just flames or stolen hoards of coin
But, utterly consumed by savage swords, it groaned
At its own death. Young boys, old men, and youths extend
Their throats—bare, tremulous, or bearded—to the sword.
Here Greeks, the uproar stilled, decide to wait some word
From Troy's great lord. Diomedes of Calidon,
With Ulysses, was chosen legate by the lords
To bear their message and, beneath a truce, demand
Return of Spartan spoils, Greek wealth—and stolen girl.

345

350

How Achilles conquered Mysia and killed Teuthras

Meanwhile, Achilles' mind and warlike rage, that can't Endure to rest, arouse his spirit to attempt 355 Some enterprise, rebuking his right hand for sloth. His match in zeal, desiring fame's acclaim, his strength Allied, went Telephus intent on plundering Mysian lands. The river Caicus dreads the wars To come; its native swan laments, its song is hoarse 360 And droops; its Naiads are afraid, don't dare to see The foreign foe, and seek beneath the waves some place That's safe to hide; the cattle cease their frolicking, Take less delight in flowers, in river, and in shade, Since fierce Achilles stirs the cities, streams, and fields 365 Of pasture. All is seized, the sweet, the useful, or The tools of war or all that gives delight in peace.

And work cut short; the sheepfolds wonder that the flock Has gone. Wherever anger drives the roaming foe, Camps, huts, ploughed fields and woods Achilles' presence show. But Teuthras, when he saw the war was growing fast And grieved that civic wealth and rural gods should now Be seized as loot, collected arms, aroused the troops, And went to meet the enemy with all his strength. Achilles, glad to see new victories and fame, Assembled all his men distracted by their loot And to his words he added scornful laughter: "Stand," He cried, "their saviour comes!" He said no more, but rode More fiercely than a storm into opposing foes; He mowed them with his sword, and in his first assault His horse laid low and crushed the ranks. Astoundingly They fled from him alone. Like this, a house consumed By three-forked blast is stricken; only part feels heaven's Wrath, but terror spreads the blasts on all around.

The farmers flee; the fields lament the tilling ox

370

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390

Just so the Asians flee in terror from the rage

Of his fierce hand. Achilles first espied the tracks

Of Teuthras' fleeing car; its view was clear

Since gleaming bronze betrayed his futile hiding-place.

The vain display of wealth is often dangerous:

Flight saves the pauper from his fate, but by his gold
The prince is known; afraid, he bears rich risks to life,
And when he would lie hid, he dies. Achilles' spear

Had nearly drawn the other's blood, his sword now first Was warm, when Telephus repelled a second blow

395	By outthrust shield, and dodged Achilles' useless hand.	
	Shame mixed with anger at his futile thrust enraged	
	Achilles. So he snarled and turned his blazing eyes:	
	"Did you," he cried, "dare thwart my effort and annul	
	My threats ?" He would have hurled his spear at Telephus,	
400	But Telephus, with timid voice, exclaimed: "Alas,	
	Have mercy, bravest of the Myrmidons; may God	
	Avert such shame! Will you, of all, strike someone twice?	
	It should suffice that one who has Achilles for a foe	
	Should fall but once: whoever feels your bolts requires	
405	No second death! What need have you for such fierce threats?	
	I'm not his shield—though he deserved it, since you know	
	How Diomedes'* horses raged and roared; that wicked king's	*a Thracian king
	Enclosures, sated long by human deaths, collapsed	killed by Hercules
	Beneath the hand of Hercules; the tyrant dead,	
410	A safe return was granted Teuthras to his home	
	From many wars and battles with the cruel steeds.	
	Myself, the son of victor Hercules, I'm glad	
	I came to Mysia as guest to kindly home	
	And gratefully recall. But what he did with me,	
415	My father's friend, would take too long. So thus I cared	
	To save him when he fell and turn the sword he feared.	
	Alas, I came too late. But if a warlike hand	
	Drives great Achilles to torment unfeeling limbs,	
	And if new fury tells his ready mind to bear	
420	No thing beyond his will or this side of his might,	
	I yield, and give these frozen limbs and guts to be	
	Ground down beneath triumphant wheels." With this he raised	

	His shield, though fearful, and revealed the king who mourned	
	His end: his blood runs cold, his face grows pale, his breath	
425	Is struggling. At last Achilles' heart is moved	
	And sees his hand. So clemency, too late, checks rage	
	In many: sated by the final penalty	
	It sets aside its savage wrath, but wins no praise.	
	But Teuthras, when he feels the savage wounds take hold	
430	Within his weakened guts and threaten certain death,	
	Said, "Telephus, take Mysia: my royal rank	
	Needs you—no heir is closer or more fit to rule.	
	When Thracian king* pressed hard, your father Hercules	*Diomedes
	Preserved me from the now tame steeds and guaranteed	
435	A quiet reign, exchanging years of war for peace.	
	For this I grant to you my realm, which false fate's wrath	
	Denied and stole from me. May kinder star keep you	
	A happy king till you are old, in later days,	
	Right to the end!" With this, cold Atropos* creeps up	*The final Fate
440	Throughout his tired lips; his troubled eyes grow stiff,	
	His senses weaken, and, deprived of vital warmth,	
	His limbs feel deadly cold; his mind is free at last	
	And flees, returning to his home among the stars.	
	When Telephus beholds the eyes that lack the blood	
445	Of life, he pours his tears upon the grievous wounds	
	And builds a noble pile. Whatever soothes by smell	
	Or binds with strength the nerves and holds the fluid limbs	
	Is heaped up on the mound. His hand confines the gaping wound	
	The blow had dealt; tight bands restrain the flow of blood	
450	And block its course, forbidding it to run away.	

Description of Teuthras' tomb

A royal monument was raised to hold the king, Inscribed with vivid forms. Six pillars held its weight; With amber gleamed its base; its architrave shone bright With gold; its steeple glistened white with ivory. Apart from these, flint, clothed in jasper, would receive Those venerable limbs. Gems, born in India's Rich sandy shores, and gold produced in Hermus' stream Find life in varied forms; the beauty of the work Vies with the rich material. The noble deeds Of Teuthras here were shown by art; the lofty tomb And sculpture here displayed and showed the total king. The first scene, bronze, displays him crying at his birth Wrapped up in purple bands; his cradle's honour grows; His nurse and mother fearfully stand round and soothe His tender tears, each offering her breast in turn. His next age eagerly pursues its merry sports And tires itself with tossing balls or chasing hoops Or with the bow—so lifelike you could see its tips Come close and hear the arrow as it left the string. The third scene girds the man and tells the early start Of noble king; a royal diadem ignites

475

455

460

465

470

His kingdom's rule, sometimes in peace, sometimes in war;

His splendid hair; he sits on high upon a throne

Of ivory; his hand is graced by sceptre's gleam.

His face is shown new-bearded, as he wisely guides

*the second Fate

*a Fury

As changing circumstances need, he modifies

His martial roar for war, his leisured style for peace.

The final scene extends towards old age and brings Grey hairs; his face is furrowed here and there with lines That witness to his later days. Far off his death, when he

Will leave this life: for Clotho*, still untired, extends

The thread of life. But Erinys*, a greater power,

Propels the king by fate.

480

485

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495

The next bronze shows the three

Suspended: grim Achilles, Telephus who pleads,

And lifeless Teuthras. You could see his checks and face

Grow pale; the gold appeared to die. His noble blood spurts out

Into the air. The floorboards dripped with flowing red.

Above, succinctly phrased, a couplet summarized

The fates of Teuthras: kingly rank, his killer's name,

His death, the cause. All these were stated in the verse:

"Lord Teuthras, glory of Mysia's fields, defence

Of ancient realm, felt death beneath Achilles' sword."

When faithful band had mourned the royal tomb with dark

Renown, and with sad voice had stilled the grieving cries

And said at last "Farewell", Achilles led his troops

Away, and Telephus reluctantly was left

To rule the friendly cities and the allied lands.

Himself, he'd rather fight in war than be at rest

In peace, preferring risk of life in hope of palm

500 Of victory. Mysians, robbed of much-loved king,

With grieving pleas, prevailed on him to take the king's

Protective role and task imposed. Achilles then,

81

Far-sighted, urged him to remain and tend his lands,
To plough the fields, and bring forth crops, and then to send
The harvest to support their allied friends at Troy:
Thus they will share the victory, when for the war
He gives the food, and they the men.

505

510

515

520

Achilles then

In haste rejoins the Greeks, but Ulysses came first
And brought back war, reporting that their proferred peace
Had been refused. The Greeks, dismayed, are full of wrath;
They call for war, regret that they'd delayed and stretched
The olive branch. Now Rage is free for war and slips
The reins. Bellona* urges those that wish to fight,
Mars drives the hesitant. A mighty roar resounds,
The index of a raging mind; they seize their arms,
The arms crash loud, and horns and trumpets swell the din
And call on 'Echo', with their sounds that send replies.
The Grecian fleet would then have sailed into the ports
Of Troy without their leader's word, but falling night
Brings damaging delays. The sun is lulled to sleep
By weary day, and Atlas' steaming western shores

Receive beneath the waves the tired Titan's rays.

*goddess of war

End of Book IV

Joseph of Exeter

THE YLIAS OF DARES PHRYGIUS

Book V

The beginning of the war

5

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15

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Diana now propelled on high her steeds of night
And reached the sky's mid-point, and disarmed rest gave hope
In deepest sleep of easy port to those about
To sail—a time for guile. The king plans for the Greeks
A night assault. The sea is not disturbed by stroke
Of oars; no voice is heard. The boat steals on its way
And ploughs the quiet ways, commanded to be still
Beneath the silent oar. Thus Fortune, by light loss,
You give the Greeks a chance to gain a victory
With no great harm, but Nauplus' warlike son* was shamed,
Rejecting stealthiness and surreptitious theft.
He last of all, with thirty ships, came in the wake
Of other chiefs. A burning fever long delayed
Euboaea's force; he claimed that he, afflicted by
Disease, had come as soon as he was well again.
His face supports his words: his pallor testifies
To dire disease; his tale, with face as testament,
Commands belief. But now, unbroken by his pain,
His healthy mind stirs feeble limbs and failing nerves,
And now exhorts the Greeks to wage an open war.
Their courage is inspired to daring wrath, and these
Refuse to win by tricks. By self-esteem each man

*Palamedes

	Is stung: the archers, swordsmen, those who fight on foot	
	Or chariot or ship, are keen to win renown	
25	And recognition: hands that strike require someone	
	To see. If they should do some noble deed, they'd be	
	Ashamed if it were hidden. Thus, the warlike youth	
	Adhere to this new change of mind; they won't endure	
	Long sleep; they spend the night on watch in wakefulness,	
30	Not even dozing off a while. Each one incites	
	The next. Some exercise their shoulders for the fight	
	And march; the greater part put on a martial face;	
	Some wear a coat of brazen mail that hides their shape	
	Right to their feet. At last the order comes, and all	
35	Are armed—their head with helm, their breast with shielding plate,	
	Their flank with sword, their back with quivers, staff in hand.	
	Thus girt, the host can scarcely wait for morn and shout	
	At dawn's delay. They curse the wasted night and your	
	Love-play, Tithonus*, when the herald of the dawn,	*Aurora's husband
40	Aurora, stays in cold embrace and fruitless love.	
	You'd think their prayers had force: a swifter breath revolves	
	The starry sphere; an impulse strikes the deafened ears	
	With tunes that never could be heard*, and speeds along	*the music of the spheres
	The course of Phoebus. Then the Greeks and Atreus' son,	
45	King Agamemnon, Argive prince, became aware	
	That day was close. He quickly put his ships in rank;	
	He kept the smaller boats of shorter sail inside	
	The waves; the turreted and powerful at sea	
	And keen for war he sets to face the first assault.	
50	When fear, that steals the mind, unnerved and shook his troops,	

Since war was close, inflicting horror on their hearts, The king began to speak and with his words to steel Their wrath, confirm their hope, and strengthen daring zeal: "Avenging Greeks, I need not weave a web of words 55 Or pile up lengthy pleas, since courage stirs itself To act. The tremulous will block their ears with fear; Their minds are dull to pleas. If it were not too long To tell the sorry tale, the public cause would Be enough for war: we all—not only married men— 60 Are burned. I need not tell the guest's 'forgivable' Outrage, the pirate's deeds (so chaste!), nor grieve for gods So harmed*. Laomedon's stern 'peace' is cause enough Book I, 119 – 142 To fire our wrath. Was this the charity of kings, Their famous faith? A strange barbarity, indeed, 65 Without a precedent, a fierceness never known Before! Who'd grudge a refuge on their empty shore To wretches broken by pursuing rocks and pool Of Scilla and a sea that welcomed with attendant waves? 'But Peleus, Telamon,' you'll say, 'and Hercules, 70 The son of Jove, were there, and those that Greeks rejoice To have as ancestors!' But Troy was no less bold In sacrilege and scorned the gods and kin of gods. For shame! Then Hercules, not slow in wrath, avenged Himself and other gods: with few co-warriors 75 He came, he won, he then returned. He's dead, but now We'll fight. No enemy's yet felt Achilles' strength! But if you're sure you know a noble mind and bold Endeavours, let each man refuse a second place

	And blush to have a peer! Come, famous youth, go through	
80	These feeble enemies with your avenging swords,	
	Now come! I swear by God, I scorn an easy win	
	Without a fight as cowardly. What's honour now	
	And arms of war? They'll all turn tail; they'll show no front.	
	Shall it suffice, my friends, that perjured king has paid	
85	The penalty? That rigid tyrant now is dead;	
	The unchaste guest survives*. That one was fiercer,	*Paris
	But this one's worse. Let none sheathe sword or needed spears	
	Who cares for trade between our lands or hopes, secure,	
	To join in marriage and enjoy unsullied sleep	
90	In safety. I need say no more. Each will to act	
	Has its own cause to fight. Come, all you willing men,	
	Come, princes! Be not slowed by citadels or arms;	
	Let countless might crush those that Hercules laid low	
	With fifteen ships!"	
	He spoke, and banished night revealed	
95	The dawning day. The sun drives on its chariots	
	More swiftly to behold the fall of perjured Troy.	
	The very horses blame the reins that hold them back,	
	And beg the world more quickly to revolve its sphere.	
	Great sign! Sunrise is swift, no dawn delays its course;	
100	The sun's round wheel outruns the fires of Lucifer.	
	That joyful light may strengthen Greece with lucky sign,	
	No dawning red or Eastern pallor dims the sun;	
	With such a light as when the sun shines clear and bright	
	Without a cloud and shadows narrow to a point,	
105	With such a face the Titan now begins his course.	

The Grecian host is stupefied; their leader cries Again, "Shall we deny the gods our hands and spears, Inachidae? God calls! The joyful sun drives on With panting steeds, and Neptune calms the waves and clears 110 Our path. I do believe the gods increase our might Demanding triumph from Laomedon's domain. But I delay." The Greeks cry out; the bold huzzah Resounds across the bay. No Southern wind shrills thus In winter leaves; in Spring the storms don't overthrow 115 The hills or rivers roll the rocks with such a roar. The guard of Troy's Palladium, named Astur, now Had seen the ships approach; he ran in haste through town, Unsure which way to go, and cried, "To arms!" Again He cried, "To arms! How long, O Trojans, will you sleep? 120 The enemy are here. Their ships obscure the sea; They hold the shore!" The folk believe and howl in fear; With tears the children run behind their mothers' skirts; Their shrieks and cries increase and multiply the din. When Hector heard that Europe sailed with all its fleet, 125 He felt a little fear, but soon his mind returned. He gathered up his spirits and rebuked himself That courage, shaken by a foreign fear, had left And dared to flee. He grabs his arms; he doesn't wait For troops, but on his own swings back the gate; alone 130 He rushes out. The Trojans follow far behind, Close packed. The wall disgorges Troy through six great gates, But waves of Trojans scarce allow a narrow way

For thousands. In the second rush comes Troilus

To gain the field; the third was Paris, keen to join 135 Their rank. An equal rush impels the rest, whose feet Are slower or their chariots less keen to race. Beginning of the war When Hector first aspied the Greeks with eager oars Approaching shore in droves, he cried, "Now where's the rush? Halt, sons of Tantalus! We meet amidst the waves, 140 Which have their own defence." With this, he drove into The waves his panting steeds. He hurled his spear and pierced Protesilaus' boat, which threatened close at hand. He transfixed Licus to the helm and laughed in scorn And said, "Go safely out to sea; the waves and wind 145 Won't shake you; with your firm right hand you'll steer the ship And seek for Jason's sheep." The Greeks were then dismayed, But Trojan minds grew keen. The uproar struck the stars, But foreign Echo scorned to hear discordant Greek And split the half-formed words to angry murmuring. The son of Isyphus* soon saw his rudder lacked 150 *Protesilaus A hand; he seized it, and with all his strength he drove The ship, which flew along, as though in wrath, and broke Upon the beach; ship-wrecked on sandy port it spilled Thessalians ashore. He touched the perjured strand 155 And, as he first set foot upon the hated sands, Protesilaus cried, "Here lies the way we go,

My friends! Not all Mount Ida, which we seek, is Troy's;

We'll share the common lands." With this he rushed upon

The swords, and where the fray was thickest, there he forced 160 A hard-won way. Three sons of far-off India, Five Arabs, seven sons of Nabathaean stock, He slew with unchecked hand. Then Phorbas pushed himself In front and, raging, came at him with outthrust spear. The fierce son of Isyphus slashed off the point 165 And split the shaft; he smashed the mail, the shining helm, And broke the breast and thrust the spear into his groin. Where sea meets shore, Orontes of Chaldea stood And tried to stop the ships; he braced himself to strike; His foot slipped on the sand; his thrust was spent in waves 170 That sank him as he fell. Greek troops then pushed him down. In fear he flapped and waved his arms around, and tried To swim amid the waves; some times he rises up, And then his head sinks down. Fear strikes him on both sides: He shuns both long submersion and the hail of spears. At last, weighed down, he peers among the murky waves 175 And falls among the ships; the anchor hooks his head. The Trojans pressed on hard; the Greeks were fired and armed By wrath and shame. For first they lose the shore, and now They gain uncertain land; the waves drink up the blood 180 Of either side, but Greek blood would not mix with Troy's.

The death of Protesilaus

Bold-spirited, afraid lest any go before,

Protesilaus now in rage had burst upon

The furthest ranks. The errant crowd believed and feared

	An army followed them, like Mars himself, not just	
185	One raging hand. He drove ahead and left the lines	
	Behind—the battle seemed too tame, he yearned to crush	
	The towers of Troy. But as he rode, there Hector blazed	
	And barred his way. "Where now?" he asked, "the end is here!"	
	He bared his sword and plunged it to the hilt within	
190	The breast: no bronze held back the point. He then declaimed:	
	"Unknown to me, go now, more proud than other shades,	
	Blest, slain by Hector's hand!" Your only love lies dead,	
	O Laodamia—forgets his faithful bride.	
	He did not heed your fearful prayers or soft requests	
195	Before the war; at trumpet sound he cast aside	
	His first regard for tender love. His fate unknown,	
	His bride in sadness sighed and longed for absent mate;	
	She held his face that could not feel* and kissed the mouth	*i.e. a wax image
	Of wax, and called the stubborn gods to hear her prayer,	
200	In vain. He lies, and in his fall he blocks the team	
	Of horses and is crushed by their unseeing hooves.	
	The Greeks beheld him fall and roll beneath the wheels;	
	Fear lent their footsteps wings and urged their willing feet	
	To flee. The way back to the shore seemed long to all;	
205	To seek the boats seemed slow. But like a thunderbolt	
	Achilles leapt before them with a fearful roar:	
	"For shame, Inachidae! We've scarcely seen the foe	
	And now already turn our backs!" He snatched a beam	
	Of oak, which bore the sails aloft to catch the wind,	
210	And spoke again: "Now, now, let no one follow me:	
	I'll go—and win—alone!" Straightway the Trojan host	

	Dispersed and emptied not just battlefield and shore,
	But all the land between the sea and towers of Troy
	Lay bare and open to the Greeks. The last to leave,
215	As though unmovable, was Hector: with slow step
	Reluctantly he made his way. Achilles turned
	And chased less urgently: since each one seeks a peer
	In arms, they pause a while, and dare, and feel some fear,
	And each in turn casts fierce glances at his foe.
220	Straightway the Argive host spreads out across the plains;
	The son of Atreus, as chief, next plans what site
	And force will guard the camp, and who will keep the ports.
	Again he calls his men back to the trumpet's blast
	And starts assaults, and now the eager band comes forth
225	In field to fight. Opposed (for so their mood impelled)
	The Trojans rush, not to defend—they spurn the aid
	That towers and walls provide. They gladly match themselves
	Against their foes and send out summonses to war,
	The first to challenge, not in answer to a taunt.
230	The battle lines were drawn up close, each side opposed
	With little space between; such noise was never made
	By bursting Etna's fires or Isthmus' double storms
	Or Aeolus within his cave. The din inflamed
	And swelled the daring wrath of all. No one was balked
235	In rash aggressive mood. The driver spurs his steeds,
	The footman stirs himself. They now fight hand to hand;
	Each one seeks out his match, but odds are often wrong:
	Sometimes one faces more, or more are faced by one;
	Fierce anger burns in all. Sword strives with two-edged axe,

240	And spears with javelins, and arrows fight with slings.

The death of Patroclus

245

250

255

260

Behold, Meneciades—Chiron's* second care,
And second love, in mind Achilles' twin—jumped out
Into the fray. Three Trojans, side by side, stood firm
And shaped their hands to deal out wounds. Patroclus with
His horses foiled their aims; Diarces felt his shield,
Ysiphilus the car, and Iphiton his sword.
Then Hector glanced aside to see the strife, and took
It ill that Trojans fell; he shook his flashing spear
And rushed in haste; his horse laid low the youth upon
His back. Patroclus' horse dragged back the limbs still joined
To head, but Priam's son pressed on more speedily.
He roughly grabbed the yoke and hurled the head, still wrapped
Within the helm, into the air. Its voice still lived
And with its final gasp breathed out this feeble sound:
"Achilles, where is my revenge?" The helmet flies
Beyond the lines to Dorilas. The corpse that's left
Is Hector's now: exultant in the gold and spoils
He would have left, but followed Merion who dared
To stand his ground: "Unknown to me, you'll lose both arms
And life", he cried.

*a centaur who tutored Achilles

The death of Merion

He laid on many wounds, but when

With boasts he stooped to seize the spoils, Menestes rushed, His mind enraged to see his comrade's fall. His sword
Stabbed Hector's thigh. Unknowing, Hector cried, but pain
Did not affect his sense. He saw the yoke was stained
With marks of blood, but didn't know whose blood: his own
Or from some Grecian death? He jumped from chariot,
Enraged, and called for flames. He thrust aside the foe
And sought the ships with raging fire. Then Ajax blocked
His way, burst on the field, and aimed at Priam's son
With angry sword. The cruel Fury smiles to gain
A kindred crime*, but swiftly Piety revealed
Their hidden errors; not allowing them to rage,
She showed their common stock. They gladly left their arms
And flames, and loosed their helmets to embrace and kiss.
They then exchanged their shields and went back to their tents.

*Hesione was Ajax's mother and Hector's aunt

The dispute over the change of command

Meanwhile, a peace was granted for the burial
Of each side's dead. Achilles mourned his slaughtered friend,
Haemonians their son, and Crete its Merion,
Each one his own.

The truce had lasted two full years,
When in the lengthy peace, which both sides had confirmed,
Another conflict drove apart the kings of Greece
And shook the shaky realm's command. For Greed, that grants
No glory to its friends, and Envy, that restricts
The rights of others, drive and overwhelm the son

280

265

270

275

285	Of Nauplius*. He moans about the lack of rule beneath	*Palamedes
	Blind reins, that Plisthenian folly does not help	
	In such great cares, that conduct of the war is slow,	
	And that the soldiers lack a lord. He lists each point	
	And hints at his deserts—the arms, the ordinance,	
290	The watches, plans, and trust. Thus anxiously he yearns	
	To take command. Whoever's sole desire is rule	
	Is blind: a prince must share his throne with many plagues!	
	Divergent sentiments contend: to some, what's new	
	Is always best; they cry that ancient yokes are hard	
295	To bear. But others find it hard to change what's known,	
	A labour long to learn new chiefs. The lords can't yet	
	Decide for sure. The swords return; with peace interred,	
	They snatch up arms again; Bellona* shows the signs	*goddess of war
	And batters men on men. Here daring Troilus,	
300	Here Hector like a storm, and Aeneas, whose arms	
	Win fear, Achilles (son that Jupiter declined	
	To sire), twin sons of Atreus, Diomedes—	
	All stirred the vying wrath. Thus south wind blows against	
	The north, the east on west, as Aeolus equips	
305	His winter hosts and outstrips Etna's thunderbolts.	
	These fall by Hector's constant warfare: Boetes	
	By stone, Archilocus by sword, and Prothenor	
	By spear. Incensed, the Greeks unite against this one;	
	With pikes and swords all press and push against the one.	
310	Whatever use of Mars or Vulcan's skill had made	
	For greedy death, they seized—the Spanish slingsman's cast,	
	The ambush of the Parthians, the Dacian's throw—	

	But Hector, like a rocky spur that stands against
	The storms of Sicily, makes firm his feet, unmoved,
315	And laughing quells their pressing futile angry wrath.
	The fight between Paris and Menelaus
	While Paris elsewhere stirs the Phrygians to war,
	He's pressed by Menelaus, who assails him with
	Few words: "Do you, 'guest', know me? Do you now recall
	Your visit to our Spartan homes? I've come to pay
320	A visit in return: now pay your share! Take me
	To Troy, if you have any plunder there! Why pause?
	Link hands! Or do you turn?" Then Paris, skilfully,
	With Iterean spear inscribes the prince's face
	And shouts in scorn: "Go now, I grant what you desire,
325	Come now to visit Helen!" Menelaus' ire
	Grows strong; when young are snatched, no tigresses
	Nor boars nor Moorish lionesses rage like this.
	His wrath had Ajax Oileus to lend support
	And urge him on; the pair, more swift than thunderbolt,
330	Disperse the intervening crowds and speed through walls
	Of swords. First Menelaus blocks the horses' flight
	And grabs their manes: "We'll travel side by side," he cries,
	"But Troy is still far off!" With this he drove the steeds
	That champed against the bit. The son of Priam's face
335	Grew pale, when Hector came upon the scene and seized
	The reins. Cithera's hero thrust his shield in front
	And rescued Paris from his foe and took him back

To Troy, and brought him to more gentle wars in bed. O Paris, coward, do you turn your back and flee 340 Your war and enemies? But warlike Hector guides His brother's troops and someone else's fight; he wounds, He kills, he puts to flight, he hurls his tireless spears In turn, all powerful, immune to all assaults. By spear falls Horcomenes, Scedius by pike, 345 By sword Helpenus, Dorius by thrust, by bow Polixenus, by rock Palamenes, by wheel Epistrophon is slain; thus seven fall to one! Amphimachus had gouged Phegyas' side, but feared To follow up his winning blow, and as he fled 350 Aeneas followed with his eye and skilful spear And pierced him, whispering in transfixed ear, "Now die." Achilles also with his angry hand mowed down Hippolytus and Phileus; Euphemus fell, And Asterius. You, Xantippus, and Menistus, 355 Your friend, were killed by Diomedes. Thus the deaths Revolve, this side and that, and balance out the dead. As iron laid low the Greeks, their thinner troops relaxed Their lines; the few survivors now were seeking out Their comrades, when great Agamemnon seized his chance, 360 And with commanding roar he roused the falterers, Rebuked, instructed, ordered, and waylaid them all, High on his Spartan horse. He pledged that soon some help Would come, for Telephus would not be slow to arm see Book 4, 502 -- 7 His troops from Mysia and send the Greeks full ships.

Without delay all eagerly resume their rush

365

	And give free rein to blows. To find and get a foe	
	To slay seems long and slow. Each hand's ablaze, and none	
	Strikes angrily in vain. Now could be seen the dire	
	Delights of Mars, his cruel sport abroad throughout	
370	The land. One's beautiful cheek's light*, ripped out, spreads on	*= eye
	His face; another's chin and tongue and nose are slashed	
	And show a gaping grin; some lose their ears and some	
	Their hands; the shoulder slumps in some. Some hold their guts	
	With clutching hands, and some, their hamstrings hacked, are lame	d
375	And fall; yet on their hands they strive to dodge their foe.	
	Here pools of blood drip from their heads; there trunks of dead	
	Are heaped in piles, impeding charging chariots.	
	The river Simois, not fed by winter snows	
	Or spring-time hail or summer rainbow's drenching rain,	
380	Now wonders at its greater surge; blood-soaked and changed	
	It flows to sea. First Triton and then Thetis* see	*sea-goddess and mother
	The coming dead; she views them all and dreads.	of Achilles
	A hundred thousand corpses, searching, she reviews	
	And counts as gain that no Achilles can be found.	
385	The sun had reached its western shore; the skies grew clear	
	And while shadows grew amazed at light, the stars	
	Made firm their night-time day. The Argive chiefs were called	
	And held their council. First came Ulysses, with him	
	Diomedes, and brought the leaders' wishes and	
390	The crowd's requests to Priam. Dolon sees the arms	
	Of Greece afar and fears a trick. In haste he leaps	
	Down from his watch and cries: "Where do you rush? Hold fast	
	And stay your step. You Greeks, do you bring peace or arms?"	

	They show Minerva's olive branch in sign of truce
395	And ask his leave to come. The king is free, their case
	Is put, and they return. They give their hands, and war
	Is paused for three full years. But warlike Hector blames
	The truce and peaceful pause; the broken Greeks, he claims,
	Would use the long delay to build again their strength.
400	This holiday from war brings different cares for all:
	Some watch upon the walls, and some the camps, and both
	At tombs. Scarce had the third new summer freed the earth
	With flowers, when to the raging risks of unused field
	The chiefs jumped out this side and that. Wild Hector whirled
405	His sword, and Fortune served their lofty minds with thoughts
	Upon their final days; she clothed resplendent deaths
	With splendid deeds. First Antiphus and Philibus
	Behind enclosed the Trojan lord; the ashen spears
	Of each held Hector poised between. But he pulled back
410	The spear aslant, and thus encountered each in turn:
	The first mourned loss of eye, the second loss of brain.
	Achilles crowds Euforbus, who pulls back and slows
	The thrusting spear—his right hand pulls it back. He runs
	Into the crowd, and rushing knocks down Licaon
415	His friend. Achilles follows, stabs their fallen breasts,
	And sends their allied shades down to the underworld.
	In battle Troilus snatched-up his Trojan club
	And with one blow sent seven Myrmidons to death,
	And would have slaughtered seven more, if seven more
420	Had been available. He burned to match his hand
	Against Achilles, but the sun was sad to see

A hundred thousand fall, so many cries, and such Discordant deaths. It sadly sank its speeding reins And terrified the ranks by bringing on the stars.

425

Night fell. Andromache embraced her husband, long Worn out by war. When she had asked about the toils Of war—which nation led, what were the names of kings, And how they looked, what feats the Trojans did, and he Himself, and did he feel no fear?—then tired, she slept

Beside her spouse. The cloud of early slumber passed:

430

Deep sleep was cleared of doubt and saw true forms and shapes

That terrified. Close by their room a laurel grew Around their private resting place; a hostile axe

435

With blood upon their marriage bed. More nightmares come

Hacks down the laurel from its stock; the branches drip

In sleep: sometimes she lies across the bed without

Her mate; sometimes she sees his mouth gape wide and stain His breast with blood. At last, heart-sick, she starts awake And with repeated shrieks calls, "Hector, Hector, where

440

445

Are you?" With fearful hand she searched the bed and sighed

Again, "My love, my Hector, are you here?" He tried To calm her fears and slowly drive her drowsiness Away. Now she believes in what she saw, and now

Denies. She hugs her husband that she thought was lost;

She fears all certain things; she daren't reveal her thoughts,

But begs him not to arm. Unswayed by woman's words,

He won't accept forebodings from the fearful sex;

Impatiently he longs to join the fight, and calls

For horse. Now driven out of mind with fear, she lifts

450	Her voice and begs all those she meets; unsure, she comes
	And goes; she thrusts his little son Astyanax,
	Who gapes to see her tears, beneath his father's feet.
	But Hector, high upon his chariot, had donned
	His helm. Andromache warned Priam with her cry:
455	"O father, help, we die!" He barely heard the king's
	Command, but paused, allowed delays while Memnon ruled
	His troops. When Hector was not seen beneath a helm
	Of Troy, the Greeks gained spirit and more confidence;
	With greater strength and freedom for the fight, now bold,
460	They took their steps far in the field right up to Troy,
	And Trojans fled. Old men and mothers cry aloud,
	Who'd thought it grand or grim to see from off the walls
	The arms; their wailing lamentations shake the town.
	Then Hector turns fierce eyes towards Andromache:
465	"Will you still hold me back?" he cries, and headlong spurs
	His chariot. Less fierce falls Mars on Ossa's heights
	With armed Fear to fell the Gelons with his sword
	And Getae with his scythe and Thracians with his lance.
	When Hector grasped his spear of ash for war, the Greeks
470	Soon saw him, and straightway turned tail; fear, guardian
	Of life, advised retreat, but savage Hector blocked
	Their fleeing breasts with rushing sweeps; he scorned to rage
	Against their backs. He seized a beam-length spear and sought
	Idomeneus, and Leontius fell too;
475	Both Stelenus in flight and Yphidus, who tried
	To block his path, earned certain death from Hector's blow.

The death of Hector

480

485

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500

The last to feel his sword, thrust deep into his throat, Was Polyboetes; Fortune also helped the hand Of death and pierced his armour and his arms; his corpse Was split in two twin trunks. His shield alone remained Unscathed, but while the victor Hector sought to take The shield and proudly fit the Argive Juno's form To his left arm, the goddess blazed in wrath more fierce Than her own Mars or flames of Jove, for thus her sex Is prone to ire; she's roused by ancient pain, and stirs Achilles. He would not have tried to match himself With such as Hector, but, when he resists, he's pressed By Juno and Minerva too; they both provide His strength: one gives him will to fight, the other wrath. The heroes come up close. Achilles, with the power The goddesses provide, had bared his flashing sword. And so the fearful troops pulled back on either side: The battles of the kings fell back and left the field For greater fight to come. On each side then arose Both fierce cries and anxious fear. They yearn to see The raging fight, yet fear to see. You'd think twin bolts Of lightning clashed in flames. First Hector blocked Achilles, Swirled his ashen spear. It flew and struck—alas, Despatched by humble hand begrudging deadly aim— Achilles' thigh. Then Hector's shame increased his wrath; He would have purged the stain of useless throw of spear; He drew his sword but, swifter for his painful wound,

	Achilles poised his blade. With strength divine and from	
	Himself he hurled the Trojan down. At last, though life fought back	ζ,
505	The martial Hector's spirit left his frozen limbs.	
	Forthwith, in feeble flight, the Trojan army fled	
	In panic. Then Achilles, fiercer yet, assailed	
	And raged with stronger hand. A thousand warriors	
	Were slain right by the gates. Tithonus' son* held out	*Memnon
510	A hostile shield and thrust his stubborn breast across	
	Achilles' path; he struck and then was struck himself.	
	Night came at last and ceased the fight, and darkness fell.	
	On what a slender thread do mortal fates depend!	
	For man, no thing is firm. Sweet Fortune's offerings	
515	Are traps, not gifts, I think; just like the Sirens' choir	
	You'll always fear a cloud beneath a sunny sky,	
	And tears beneath a laugh, and poison under sweet.	
	If you have wealth, chance fails; to beauty comes old age,	
	To strength, disease; a famous name will some day be	
520	Erased. In none of Fortune's gifts lies constancy.	
	Amid these storms man has but little strength to stand:	
	While dying he is sick, or withers when he's dead.	
	In any case, dread Atropos brings death and takes	
	The final days and reaps the middle years of life.	
525	Alas, the only hope of Troy, brave Hector, dies;	
	He dies! If nature had immortalized his limbs,	
	Great Jove would readily have passed the thunderbolts	
	To him to hurl, and rested from his task. The fates,	
	However, felt that he resisted their decrees	
530	And, hand in hand, they snapped the growing threads of youth	

535

That still was green. They slew the guardian, to bring, With greater licence, ruin to the town of Troy.

As great in daring, matching Hector's wrath, had grown Our third great Henry*: Britain smiled with him as king, And Normandy to have him as its duke, and France As son. The warlike race that found him first in war* Did not begrudge him might, or us* Minerva's wit.

*Son of Henry II, crowned in 1170 as Henry III ('the Young King'), but died in 1183, before his father.

*warriors

*us = Joseph himself

End of Book V

Joseph of Exeter

THE YLIAS OF DARES PHRYGIUS

Book VI

The overthrow of the city

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More slowly Troy, its ranks spread out, brings grieving flags In view. Shields weep; helm-crests are weighted down with tears; The narrow gold is split by frequent sighs, and arms Bring grief. Throughout the host no happiness is felt, And nothing sweet. The flags, less pregnant with the wind, Relax their false display of life; in death, with scarce A breeze, they droop their dragon symbols, prone to sleep. The horse no more repeats its angry snorts, the signs Of haughty mind; it does not paw the dusty ground Or multiply its tracks with light and easy turns; Uncertainly it neighs; its hoof is all immersed Beneath the sand. It drops its rider, turns its neck, Disdaining driver, and deflects the coming reins. The trumpet blasts are shrill; the horns respond with shrill Commands. In all the uproar not one sound is glad. Thus Troy's sad youth, with Memnon at its head, is dragged Towards the front; they seek to leave, and then refuse; It always seems that Hector comes behind their backs. As when the kings of Hybla* give the sign and rush *bees Upon the honeyed perils, if one tyrant falls, The buzzing host, bereaved, bewails its loss, acquires

A substitute command, and waves its frightened stings;

With weak and feeble spurs they trudge back to the wars.

The change of command

	The Argive* phalanx, now more proud, with happy arms	*Greek
25	Rides forth; their spirits rise and now, with Hector dead,	
	They hope for sudden victory. Palamedes,	
	His wish secure, directs their arms. Unhappy man,	
	He takes the dread command, an honour filled with fear.	
	The son of Atreus* lays down his royal rank	*Agememnon
30	And his command. He had not come, he said, as chief:	
	It would suffice for him if, under any prince,	
	The Greeks returned as victors, Pergamon destroyed.	
	"It matters not who, where, or when, but how and what	
	Is done. The deeds will last; the doer will pass on."	
35	To this he adds that at Mycenae he is king	
	And safely rules at home. He did not so desire	
	To bear the leader's standards that, worn out at heart,	
	He'd spend his nights in watchfulness and days in toil!	
	Achilles, child of Mars, alone rebukes the change	
40	Of rule. But Palamedes, proud to take command	
	Of war, is keen to win and earn the rank of king.	
	So once again the forces clash; both sides rush on;	
	The ground between grows small. Then Sarpedon* takes all	*the son of Jupiter and Europa
	The troops and swords of Lycia and in his first assault	
45	Attacks the foe. As hundred-handed Briareus—	
	Who bore the giants' standards on the Phlegran heights	
	And mocked the feeble fires of Jove, Diana's darts,	

The steeds of Mars, Apollo's shafts, Minerva's snakes—

No less did he drive on, in pride as son of Jove,

And fiercely scorned Argolic Juno and the hosts

Of gods. Wherever he assailed the scattered foes,

His hand laid thousands low, and many thousands fell

Beneath his chariot. You'd think his father's bolt

And thunderclaps, though less, were flashing from his wheels.

Unhappy Gobius was slain and, no more glad,

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70

Triptolemus and Cormas of Menalus, wont

To hunt wild beasts. Fourth, Perses died, who took revenge

For many dead; his spear had pierced the left-hand side

Of Sarpedon, but he could scarcely be compelled

At last to turn aside; he cast his glance behind

And paused at every track; he yearns to turn again,

Frustrated that he can't, and strikes those who forbid.

But now his sight grows dim: as blood runs from his wound

His strength declines, although he will himself survive.

Demophoon and Zagamas made haste to bring

The crops from Mysia, and you, Hippolytus,

Were glad to be the third. Greek spirits had been sapped

By dearth of warlike wheat and wine to make them bold,

For famine eats their strength.

A truce puts arms to sleep

And year-long oaths are sworn. Each camp is open wide

To other's view. The Trojans now may see the ships

Of Greece, and Greeks, though foes, may visit Trojan homes.

While they thus wander through each other's camp and town,

The parents of dead Hector, with a holy throng

75 Of daughters, come to Thymbra's gate to calm the shades Of their lost son. His year-old dust and troubled shade Demand a feast of solace and a festive wake And solemn glory of a tomb. Troy's women stand, Their hair unkempt: one mourns a husband, one a son, 80 And many for a brother: each and all lament. While others' faces fade and pale, their brightness dimmed, Polyxena alone still blooms, her face untouched; The clouds that dim her mind dare not affect her face. Love-sick Aeacides* beholds and longs: he feels *Achilles 85 The golden dart of Venus and a sudden love. As long-felt love by use slows down the tender mind To stately pace, so new desire of heart evokes An equal spur and fires that cannot be removed; It soothes—and dooms—Achilles for the marriage bed. 90 Thus he forgets his arms and has no care to fight: He'll gladly go back home, withdraw his country's troops, And wreck the whole campaign, if he could have the young Princess to share his bed, the price of his retreat. He briefs Sergestus who, as Trojan, fully knows 95 The royal secret thoughts, and pledges future peace And swears that treaties will ensue instead of war, If Myrmidons obey his word and go back home. Thus Priam heard and Sergestus returned; a deal Would please Achilles; wars displease. With slight repulse 100 His love grows strong. It's thus: if open war should cease, The girl will wed Achilles and go off to Greece. He quickly urges all to go back home, laments

	The pointless risks they run, and claims it is unjust	
	That all these chiefs unite for one man's bed, a woman's war*:	*Menelaus and Helen
105	In curing Sparta's ills, the people and the kings,	
	He says, are being wasted by these lengthy wars.	
	The pause is welcome; rage for war is less intense	
	And plans are made. Each one prepares the ships to sail	
	Next day. The fates, however, seize their time, and speed	
110	The ships that bear the crops which Telephus has sent*	*from Mysia
	The Greeks, though he deplores the change of leaders' flags	
	And ruling kings, with Agamemnon thrust aside.	
	They'd scarcely reached the port, when Grecian hearts were change	d
	And stiffened by this news, and called again for swords.	
	The deaths of Deiphebus, Sarpedon and Palamedes	
115	The movement of the year, twelve labours done, had turned	
	The sun, star-wanderer, into its destined path	
	And battle ranks were joined. Only Achilles failed	
	To fight; alone he stays, lamenting that his hopes	
	Have stumbled on the war. The son of Nauplius*	*Palamedes
120	Urged others on; he first assailed—a lucky sign	
	To those that followed him—Deiphebus. He hurled	
	His spear and pierced the Trojan's temples, dealt	
	A second grief for Priam. Sarpedon let fly	
	His spear; with all the might remaining blood supplied	
125	To deal the wound, he thrust himself into the blow	
	Insistently, and destiny stood by to lend	
	Its power. His slashing sword went through the shield to wound	

	The left-hand side. The other's sword was luckier:
	It followed on his hand with better stroke, and sent
130	Poor Sarpedon up to the angry gods in death.
	The victor joyfully exults and boasts: "See, see,"
	He cries again, "what giants my right hand and sword
	Have slain! Will Phlegra, Libya, or Minos show
	That Jove or Hercules or Theseus did more
135	Than I? Let Greece's prince—" But this surpassed by far
	What's right for him to boast. Behold, an arrow hissed
	And pierced his throat, a dart that Paris fired into
	The air, a match for Gelons and Assyrians!
	The leader fell: his boasting vaunt won little gain
140	And sadly passed away; a mass of spears hacked out
	His corpse. Now that their king lies dead, his army fails
	To rule itself; their leader slain, his followers
	Decline in martial strength; their very arms appear
	To lose their force. As when reins break and driver falls,
145	The horses are upset, amazed to feel such light
	Commands, and, having suddenly attained free rein,
	As if afraid, they dash in wayward course, their steps
	Unsure—in such unguided disarray the Greeks
	Now flee. The camps and shores seem far away; in turn
150	They tread each other down. The first now fears to be
	The last and closer to the foe. Their breasts now bare,
	They shield their backs and arm for flight, but spears and ships
	And palisades can offer no protection now.
	The Trojans torch the ships, break down the towers; with swords
155	They slay the men. News spreads. Achilles will not fight.

His cousin Ajax stands against so many flames,
So many spears; though tired he toils, his one defence
His shield. At last the goddess Thetis pities, lifts
The eager seas on high and meets the setting sun,

More quickly to submerge its rays, so slow to sink.

160

165

180

Next day had scarcely moved the shades, when from all sides

They rise in anger, snatching spears that lean against

The well-armed beds. Some, necks laid on their shields, had not

Unloosed their helmet's shade or doffed the dripping hilt

Of sword: bold sleep had come upon them in their arms.

The trumpet rouses Troy, the pipe and horns (the signs

Of martial strife) the Greeks, but ready courage runs

Before the summons calls. On each side fierce fights

Grow thick; they press and yield, they threaten and feel fear.

170 Thus Fortune alternates: some briefly triumph, some

As briefly flee - to each she alternates their fate.

A knight attacks the footmen: he, on high, bends down

To strike, and those below lift up their hands to wound.

Then Abas came; he drew his sword to overthrow

Melampus as he drove. You'd think the horses knew:

They reared up savagely, their breasts upraised, and trod

Him down and left him tangled, crushed beneath their hooves.

In joy Melampus, trusting in his horses' help,

Flew over arms and men and faces in his rage

On vaunting chariot, in search of flesh to crush,

Disdaining vacant ground. At last he fell, brought low

By Dictan Anxur's spear; entangled by his steeds

He split apart, and though with open mouth he cried

"Have pity!" pitiless, the wheel, quite deaf, rolled on.

The fortunes of the war revolved, the hope of palm

Unsure, till Troilus burst forth amid his foes

With victory and all its terrifying signs,

Like Alexander and the exiled Tydeus*,

Whose hands flashed lightning, one before, the other late

In time, but Troilus surpassed them both in strength;

To summarize his worth, he outstripped Hector's might.

The Greeks, dismayed, fall back. At this fierce storm their hearts,

Once carefree, now feel fear. Amazed, they think they see

More Hectors come to life, so Troilus inflamed

Renews his brother's slaughters. Pain they feel beneath

190

His glorious right hand, which pleases to behold.

From far with spear he cuts Alcestes down; close by

By sword is Ida slain. Beneath so great a foe

It is no shame to die: as though they sought to fall,

Some gloried in the spears he threw, so proud in death.

Then Ulysses, Diomedes, and Nestor go

To sway Achilles; he alone could equal you,

Great Troilus, but pleas are vain. He stays resolved

To quit the war. With forceful logic he refutes

Their arguments, and shows the cause of war is shame,

That fights bring losses and the victories no gain.

The chiefs concur and urge a truce, but he* withstands

Whose marriage-pain lies deep; the Furies, too, withstand

As does unyielding Fate, and Calchas most of all,

210 Who knows the gods' design and gives the war to Greece.

Forthwith, with Agamemnon at their head, the Greeks

*Alexander the Great; Tydeus, father of Diomedes and a leader in the war on Thebes

*Menelaus

	In joy rushed out. As swiftly, Troilus rode through
	The plain on panting steeds; the chariot was proud
	With such a lord; it skimmed the furrows in the air
215	And scarcely touched the ground. Triptolemus's* drake
	Nor Venus' bird nor Bacchus' panther was more swift.
	The field grows thick with dust and darkness dims the day
	In murky clouds; the citizens can't see their foe,
	Till spears bring back clear skies, and so the battlefield
220	Is calmed and settles down—laid low by streams of blood.
	Alcidamas had slain Troy's Leucon from afar
	By throw of spear; he followed up his cast and tried
	To take it back. He hoped with blood-stained spear to win
	Acclaim as "Trojan's terror" or to boast as "friend
225	Of Greece", but first he fell, struck by a sling-borne stone,
	And by his death consoled the Trojan whom he'd slain.
	Menalcas' throwing spear transfixed Euripilus:
	It pierced his falling hair and through the left-hand eye
	Came out; upon its point it held the eye-ball, fixed.
230	Then Glaucus shafted Lycidas with poisoned dart
	Where neck and shoulder meet. It passed between the rims
	Of helm and shield, and stabbed the unprotected throat.
	In Herculean waters dipped, it wears out life
	In double death: the poison rages and the blood
235	Runs from the wound: both strive to cut the thread of life.
	By spear and axe Tersilocus and Creteon
	Were slain by Gromius and Xerses, and the third
	Was Atis, killed by arrow aimed by Nisus' hand.
	Resus, Achonteus, Yon, and Argus strike

*carried in Ceres' dragoncart, Triptolemus introduced agriculture.

240	Retheus, Libidus, Stemon, Tessander too.	
	Acron is slain by Pholus, whom Ebalus slays,	
	Whom Actor, whom Thiodamas, whom Licheus.	
	More fiercely rages Troilus; with mighty hand	
	He challenges the Greeks. Though sword of Anthenor,	
245	Aeneas' spear and bandit's dart cause them to quake,	
	It's Troilus that wins and overwhelms all praise.	
	All deeds are credited to his triumphant score.	
	Bellona* marvelled and incited him in rage	*goddess of war
	Less fierce, so glad to see her pupil pass herself.	
250	Thus Mars himself learned other wraths and greater wars,	
	And, though a god, he follows in this mortal's wake,	
	While he drives Scythians, recalling deeds he'd seen.	
	With flashing sword Umbrasides, enflamed, wears out	
	The Phrygians. Then Troilus, with naked sword,	
255	Resists and cruelly concludes his death, surprised	
	Where second cell* controls the mind; in vain he tries	*the brain cell that
	To free himself, but destined fate can't be escaped.	controls the imagination
	He crowds Ascalaphus, who runs away and won't	
	Await his thrust; he shuns the hand, but ashen spear	
260	Won't come back dry; it finds his horse, which implicates	
	Its lord. He's caught in mounting ropes and can't get free;	
	He drinks a draught of blood and, drowned by it, he dies.	
	Content his man is dead, the victor, Priam's son*,	*Troilus
	Assails the other ranks. With triple-pointed club	
265	He deals three deaths: Astilus mourns his shattered arm,	
	And Ytis for his breast, Antiphates his paunch	
	Devoid of guts. Though fierce, his hand disdained to strike	

Below the groin: he was too proud and arrogant To see his victory demeaned by cutting knees! 270 He yearns yet more; such feeble fights against the folk Are such a bore; to stain his spears with vulgar blood Would be great shame. He doesn't steal the wretched lives Of lower ranks: he aims more fiercely at the throats Of kings and dukes. He rushed where jeweled ranks were thick 275 And fell on both of Atreus' sons, with different arms: He wounded one with darts and one with pike; in pain Diomedes was third to feel his wounding sword. He would have slain them all—his anger never failed, His valour always thrived—but crowds were thrust between 280 And robbed his heavy hand of dealing deadly wound, As though no fates existed for the gods and few

The death of Troilus

285

290

The Greeks were wavering and lost their hope to win

Or even flee. They blamed fate's tricks, the lies of gods,

And Calchas' falsity; they whisper of return

If no fear comes behind. Then Agamemnon goes

With Nestor to seek Pelides*. He won't compete *Achilles

But grants his Myrmidons to join the battle line.

When Troilus beheld them wildly rushing forth,

"Let's go this way!" he cried. "What new young men are these?

What new dust cloud ascends? Does Greece now first send forth

These men and hasten thus to use up all its strength?

For kings, but all their daring fell on poorer men.

	May gods be kind! There weren't enough for me to slay
	Or sacrifice to Hell; my sword was in great dread
295	Of idleness. So let them learn from Trojan blasts—
	Far better to have stayed at home! "With this he pierced
	Yparcus, leader of the troop, with ashen spear
	Where shield boss gleams, and threw him headlong from his horse,
	Which halted at the blow. He quickly took to foot;
300	He left his shield and threw away his spear, and fled
	His closely pressing foe, and came back to the camp
	Of Greece. He fell there, slaughtered at Achilles' feet,
	And by his flow of blood he stained the leader's tent.
	Achilles, as his wrath lent force, roared savagely,
305	Raised up his arm, and with all might prepared to strike
	A blow in recompense. A spear of Troilus
	Had come and grazed his shoulder on the left-hand side;
	Minerva foiled the dart and let it do no harm.
	Then Troilus perceived Minerva's skill and cursed
310	Her deed. A better fate befell his second throw:
	The spear-point struck and cut the shoulder, seeking death;
	It grieved to scratch without inflicting mortal wound.
	He snatched a third, cornel, that thirsted for more blood,
	But then a pine-shaft hissed and framed its certain flight
315	To hit its mark. The horse, foreknowing death, reared up
	On high - perhaps to fight in his defence or just
	In fear. Although transfixed, it joyed to die before
	Its lord. It bent its knee and, though unwillingly,
	It trod down Troilus and as he fell, alas,
320	It helped his death: despite itself it weighed him down.

Achilles seized him; as he tried to rise, he cut
His neck; his severed head was seen to roll far off.
His headless trunk remained; his hand, not yet disarmed,
Still moved, as though about to fight the war again.
What chance, what fates, what gods, O Troilus, should I
Bewail? Your aid, now gone, is mourned by orphaned Troy.
O Troilus, whose praise is rightly sung by fame,
O Troilus, whom Greece thinks worthy of its praise,
Alas, you fall. You once were public hope for Troy
And now you lie, with only Memnon to protect

The death of Memnon

Your threatened corpse.

325

330

335

340

Achilles sought to spoil the trunk,

But Memnon held him off; he planned to send the limbs

Of such a splendid son to slake his mother's grief.

He left the tears and women's wails to others then;

Himself, he pledges war and weapons, grabs his spear,

And crowds the victor for revenge. With spear and sword

He grazed Achilles' loin and breast; Achilles turned

And, furious, declaimed with words of raging wrath:

"The fates call you as well: in Styx a prior guest*

Awaits on board; you too will cross that nether lake."

With this, his ashen spear transfixed the Eastern king*

*Memnon

Right through the guts. The black blood spurted out on high,

And Memnon's sunburnt ghost was cooled by icy Styx.

Their leader dead, the Persians flee: Achilles, prince

116

345 Of Myrmidons, drives on, for so his mind and wounds Incite. It takes too long to seek out fearful kings: Unwillingly he aims at vulgar throats; obsessed, He changes course; his vengeful arm becomes low-class. He smites the bold, puts fearful men to flight, treads down 350 The lazy, and makes up for leisure by quick fight. Great Jupiter beheld the plains of Troy resound In strife, and, though his sight was clouded by the dust, He spotted Vulcan's arms and saw Achilles rage Against his foes. At such a sight he felt relief 355 Not to have Thetis as his wife*: with less pale face *It was prophesied that Thetis would bear a son Would he feel fear at Phlegra's mountains and their spears. greater than his father. Achilles' mother counts the dead and in her son Exults, forgetting fate (so overcome by pride), And halts her waves in wonder at his cherished wars. 360 It makes her glad to see; it's right to hope to win, When one hand drives them all and all the army flees— Just as when fields grow white and crops are fully grown, The fields bow down and flee before the summer wind. Iollas last, slowed down by broken chariot, 365 (The gates now being shut) called out to friends to let Him enter, but his pleas were vain: Achilles fixed Him with his spear and married him to posts and gate. At last, though camps are far and few are following And Troy is close, Minerva begs: he stays his course.

The gathering of birds at Memnon's tomb

370	Next day Aurora* scarcely moves her grieving team	*the dawn, Memnon's
	With saddened pole; her dew had never poured so thick	mother
	And fed the fields so well; the drunken earth is dazed,	
	Such rain it never knew. With such rich flow of tears	
	A mother mourns her son. For him, each axle groans,	
375	The light is pale, clouds ragged, skies are torn apart,	
	And Venus' morning star now lacks its wholesome glow.	
	Tithonus* tires of life; he begs a grave, and hates	*Aurora's husband, turned
	To be a grasshopper for ever without end.	into a grasshopper.
	The eager mother gathered fragrant Asian herbs	
380	To lay upon the tomb, and for her son prepared	
	His grave. A flock of birds on eager wings soon comes	
	To form the funeral. The single Phoenix comes	
	And many swallows too; the heron with its beak carves out	
	The marbles into grooves; the nightingale planes smooth;	
385	The parrot cuts the letters; Philomena* prays;	*another word for nightingale
	The swan laments, the pigeon coos, and Juno's bird*	*peacock
	Made haste to purify the tomb, but Juno checks	
	Its flight and calls it back, since she hates all from Troy.	
	The king of birds* was bearing Telchin bolts to Jove,	*eagle
390	But when it saw the funeral, it paused; it dropped	
	Its bolt and snatched up other flames and frankincense,	
	And with its holy fragrance soothed the sacrament.	
	The hungry flame is now appeased; the bones, reduced,	
	Fill up the urn. The birds depart and pledge to Dawn	
395	Each year to celebrate the feast at Memnon's tomb.	

How Achilles, together with Nestor's son Antilochus, was betrayed and killed.

Elsewhere unhappy Hecuba begins to pay

Sad honours to her sons - alas the pains she's borne!

She now can count the tombs and now laments the third*

To die. So Niobe, bereaved by double bows*,

Wept for the folk that she had borne: the Delians

Were harsh, and Juno no less harsh to Hecuba.

The tears dried up, the lamentations of the tomb

Were stilled, the honours dry. The mother's lonely grief

Grows into deep despair; anxiety excites

405 Her sickly mind; avenging sorrow finds the tricks

To serve her will.

400

415

A gleaming temple to the Sun

Stood just outside the walls. Thymbrean herb, that gives

The god a name*, grew over all, above and round,

To shade the lordly altars with its praying leaves.

Bold Hecuba invites Achilles here to crime:

She'd pledge the marriage pact*, she said. He came unarmed

With no companions; he took just Nestor's son*

And almost left his sword; he left the rest behind,

Alas, too keen to see the love he so desired.

The place and temple's sanctity remove the fear

Of ambushes or tricks. But Troy's adulterer*,

At her command, thinks nothing sinful after rape

Performed*. He breaks God's peace, disturbs the shrines, and hides

*Troilus

*The bows of Apollo and Diana, which killed her children, the

Delians.

*Apollo

*Antilochus

*to Polyxena

*Paris

*of Helen

	A corps of well-armed men behind the altar screens.	
420	The mind's forebodings rarely err; Achilles came,	
	Great hero; thrice upon the threshold paused his step	
	In fear, and thrice pulled back. He dithered in his dread;	
	His hair stood up on end. The image of the god,	
	Aware of fate, wept thrice, and he, amazed at fear,	
425	Denied he was afraid. The hostile band rushed in;	
	With dreadful shouts and warlike hands they ringed him round	
	In armed array. The eager son of Priam first	
	Assailed: "Don't move a step! About to hold your love*	*Polyxena
	Within your arms, will you depart? She comes, though late:	
430	Her mother, busy with her dress, delays and gives	
	Sweet orders, teaching her about the first night's kiss."	
	With this, he poised his sword and rushed to get his blow	
	In first. "Now, now," he cried, "if any favour's felt	
	Or love for those that fell in war, O citizens,	
435	The Trojan shades await appeasement by this blood."	
	What should he* do? How rouse himself? Where flee? To beg	*Achilles
	Would be disgrace - no mercy would be shown. He wrapped	
	His clothes around his arm and grabbed a spear. With all	
	The might sheer strength and force at bay can bring, he fights	
440	And single-handed fells them all. Antilochus	
	Attacks with no less wrath and strives; desire for great	
	Renown and fierce desperation lend him strength.	
	As when a hundred hands with rustic axes strive	
	To fell twin oaks, at last with many wounds worn out	
445	The trees bend down and in their fall bring down with them	
	Immense calamities to woods and also men—	

Just so the heroes stand. The Trojans will not win So easily; a thousand deaths may wear them down And wounds can find no place, until at last the Greeks 450 With fierce force had broken and used up their swords. The Trojans press, relying on their mass of shields; They cannot overcome by arms, but by their weight They crush the bodies, not yet dead but soon to fall. All this Apollo saw and bent his vengeful bow; 455 Minerva lent her arms, but Jupiter with fire Opposed the darts and used his bolt to bring a peace. Paris was glad, as though the gods approved his deeds And liked his treachery. He would (0 shame!) have thrown Their limbs and naked bodies without burial 460 To birds and beasts, if Helenus* had not advised *brother of Paris What's right—a better brother—and restrained his rage. Alas, the stricken looks and faces all around That common grief brings to the Greeks! Here tears, and there Laments, when on the backs of chiefs both bodies came 465 Back home, and both these gods of war, as ritual Allowed, were given to a mortal pyre. Allied In grief the Myrmidons and Pylians shed tears And Nestor hides, his troops competing in lament. If Jove himself had died, thus would the stars, bereft, 470 Bewail, and gods join in a grief unknown till now. They* now have lost their faith to win; the fates and gods *Greeks Offer no hope; yet, firmly, they decide to go

And ask the gods: should they go home or stand and fight?

They'd rather leave: they have no confidence in war,

475	Achilles being dead. But Calchas asks and hears	
	That through Achilles' son the Greeks will win the war—	
	Through destined Pyrrhus, now kept by Lycomedes	
	Who once had nursed Achilles when he was a girl*.	*disguised to avoid the war
	Then quickly Menelaus, as the chiefs decreed,	(3.147)
480	Prepared the fleet to sail. I know—and gladly would	
	I tell—what seas his oars wore out, what ports, what towns	
	The might of Calydon* once touched, assisted by	*Diomedes (in search of
	Odysseus' wiles, when with approaching fleet he touched	the disguised Achilles)
	On Delos and you, lofty Samos, Naxos too,	
485	By Bacchus loved. But war calls me to stir	
	And sing her battle songs.	
	How Paris and Ajax killed each other	
	Inflamed, then Paris led	
	His Mygdon troops to war, and now with all his host	
	He plans to match his brothers' victories, to be	
400	The best. His spirits grow, and to himself he seems	
490	More strong. He doffs his bow and boasts to cast	
	His spears: he deals a different death with bigger arms.	
	Now slashing swords fight hand to hand; now from afar	
	His ashen spear is hurled at length like thunderbolt.	
	Less skillfully the Scythian, Sigambrian,	
495	Ligurian and Mede and Persian wield their spears.	
	With sword he cuts the face of Thoas, Pilos' son;	
	With spear he stabs the loins of Lamus, Pleuron's child;	

500	Elsewhere, the tireless son of Telamon* disturbs	*Ajax, Priam's nephew (5. 268 – 75)
	His kindred foes. He bears a shield of seven hides	
	Of ox, his spear an oak that only he could throw,	
	His hand alone. No woven iron shields his side,	
	So proud! His wrath would not allow delays in war,	
	Or else he thought that his broad breast concealed	
505	Him overall; so thus he raged, unarmed, against	
	Protected men. The fear of him brings fate to those	
	Who fall; to cowards, to behold his rage is death.	
	Then Paris sees and hesitates: should he attack	
	With sword or spear? At last he takes his darts,	
510	Since here his hand is sure and always heeds his will.	
	From case and quiver he takes arrows and his bow,	
	His left hand holds the bow, his right pulls back the string;	
	Each hand takes aim. Along the shaft his eyes	
	Are focussed narrowly. The arrow's feathers grazed	
515	His breast, its point his left-hand grip, as it sped forth.	
	Its flight complete, it entered in the left-hand side	
	And dripped in death. The wrath of Ajax did not feel	
	The cold of death, till his avenging raging mind	
	Was sated, with his foe now dead, and took its rest*.	*i.e., Ajax, dying, kills
520	Thus each one's hand was fortunate, for gods bestowed	Paris.
	Each other's death. But Ajax was more blest: he killed	
	The tyrant of the war, who lit the flames of death	
	And crime, and sent his fornicating soul to Hell.	
	Go now where sin drags sinners down! The sixth recess	
525	Of Hell's abode is your reward. The fourth holds those	
	That loved, the fifth has warriors, but both reject	

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	Adulterers and tyrants who fought unchaste wars.	
	For you awaits the place of Titans' sulphur chains,	
	The final night to shut you in its gloom, the depths	
530	Of Hell. May Styx pour hate and Phlegethon its fumes,	
	Cocytus tears, and Acheron its wails for you*!	*the rivers of Hades
	May Charon drive you from his port, and Cerberus*	*the ferryman of Styx and
	From gate! But when at last you go and enter in,	the guard dog of Hades
	May plagues of hell and every death conspire and fall	
535	Upon your head. May Tantalus give you his waves,	
	And Ixion his wheel, and Sisyphus his rock	
	That slides, and Titius his birds - have these for joys,	
	As long as seas drink streams and rainbows herald rain!	
	When Helen hears the news, which burns her fearful ears,	
540	Her voice and tears are caught and stilled, held back at length	
	By massive grief. Her mind departs and fails, and seems	
	To suffer sudden death. With healing dew*, cold grief	*her tears
	Comes slowly back into her sense. Forthwith enraged	
	In face, with tangled hair, she sees the swords around	
545	And motives for her death; she silently reflects	
	Whose sword to steal or whom to ask for spear, since she	
	Will die by her own hand. The Trojan women sensed	
	Her rage and tried in turn to soothe her grief's too bold	
	Attempts. The king was gentler with her in her grief,	
550	Since she had never spurned the Trojans, choosing Greeks.	
	At last her tears died down, and also day, worn out,	
	Turned into night and hid. But Diomedes raged	
	And stirred his foes; though they, worn out, had fled within	
	The walls, he challenged Trojans now enclosed inside	

555	Their nightly watch. The watchmen do not play at games of chan-	ce
	With dice, but keenly stand alert by wakeful fires;	
	No chins droop down in sleep or knock upon their breasts.	
	The day had scarcely dawned: Greeks rush to arms again,	
	Roll up the catapults and storm the town: strength comes	
560	From sheds, from slings that spew out stones, and tortoises	
	That walk deceitfully, and rams that undermine*.	*siege engines
	The Trojans firmly fend them off with hail of rocks,	
	With showers of steel, and flames that flash with lightning.	
	In fear they have no faith in open war, nor wish	
565	Again for battlefield; they hide within the walls.	
	Penthesilea, shielded, brings to Priam's aid	
	Her maidens' axes. She builds up their arms; she firms	
	The troops. A warrior, she lends her might to men.	
	The gates spread wide: she drives the fleeing Greeks towards	
570	Their camp. She aims her swords at throats, and threatens ships	
	With fire. Diomedes alone stood firm against	
	Both threats; nowhere did he match Tydeus* so well.	*his father (6.188 – 9)
	Here Pyrrhus* comes across the Grecian sea to port	*Achilles son
	With ten pine ships. Who would deny that Fortune stirs	
575	Up war with fate? The fates bring Pyrrhus to the Greeks	
	And Fortune brings the Scythians* to strengthen Troy.	*Penthesilea's troops
	They came to war well-matched: on this side stood the Greeks,	
	Arranged in ranks, and, on the other, with the maid,	
	The hosts of Troy. Each side had gods and each proclaimed	
580	Its deities. On Attic shield the olive branch	
	Of Pallas lies of peace. The helms of Thrace make threats	
	With their own Mars, for Mars is everywhere, and so	

	Is Juno: many strike the air with ashen flag	
	And sit upon the shields and soar up to the helms.	
585	The Trojans boast of Cybele and Venus too;	
	Some mingle purple wings of thunder-bearing bird*	*Jupiter's eagle
	With their own Ganymede. It seems both fair and sweet	
	To men to go to war and see the gods conflict.	
	With fearful axes at her back, preeminent, there stands	
590	The queen of maiden choir*. No lavish care for looks	*Penthesilea
	Or beauty bother her; rough visage, tawdry clothes,	
	Are hers; the gold threads on her arms flash out in wrath.	
	Her laugh, her words and eyes reveal no levity	
	Or weakness all her acts conceal her womanhood.	
595	Against her, Pyrrhus, borne aloft on panting horse,	
	Stirs troops and Myrmidons to vengeance and to arms.	
	He* fights not for the chiefs nor to avenge the son	*Pyrrhus
	Of Atreus* but for himself. At guilty foes	*Agememnon
	He, vengeful, bears his father's arms, but growing arms	
600	Can't bear such weight. The helm needs stronger neck;	
	His smaller hand can scarcely grasp his father's spear.	
	Penthesilea first with blazing hand attacked	
	Mycaenae's Menethus, He bellowed out at all	
	With lion's voice—at heart a hare! He roared but gaped	
605	To hear the women's horns, since women in his land	
	Were timid and unused to arms. He did not know	
	That men and women harden in the cold: the North	
	Breeds anger in the hearts of all its progeny.	
	He cried, "Great Mars, you should be shamed—a hand scarce fit	
610	For spinning bears your standards and effeminates	

Our arms. For now, indeed, these perjured walls will stand
And girls will turn their baskets and their yarn, and spin
Their twine. On such a soldiery, such arms, does Troy
Rely! But we Achaeans will not stand for this.

It may be base for men to trample timid girls
But I'll go forth! "He spoke; then she was slow to match
The male in words, but swiftly answered him with just
One spear. A miserable death! The shaft transfixed
Him as he fell; his feet were stuck; his horse rushed on,
At pains to go; the point forbids, and horse and spear
In fearsome rivalry rip up the luckless corpse.

Their leaders' deeds inspired the other troops of less.

But still gave up his life to but a mortal foe.

Their leaders' deeds inspired the other troops, of less

Strong hands, to follow in their path –too long to tell!

If I should count the streams of Sicily, the grains

Of Libya, and Hybla's bees, I could not list

So many deaths and wounds. The healing god's

Two sons* had not till then required so many herbs.

*Machaon and Poliderius (4.144 – 8), sons of Aesculipius.

The death of Penthesilea

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Now Fortune, having crushed the meek, exerts herself
To match the rival pair. They don't take long to seize
Their arms; they keenly heed the call. Till then the crowd
Had blocked their daring moves, but now the field was wide
And numbers few. Penthesilea fiercely first
Drove Pyrrhus back. Mars backed the man, and Enyo*,

*Bellona, goddess of war

Not slow to help her sex, helped her. Minerva then And Juno stood aside, but won't help Pyrrhus win. The field is spread out wide. Each stretches forth their spear, Each draws their sword; they let their horses run, and spur Them on. The ashen spears fly first, but lose their force; Parts stick in shields, parts scatter in the fields, and parts Stay in their grasp. Then close at hand a surer fight With sword grows fast and fierce. The maid first aims her blow, But strikes obliquely, sheering off the helmet's crest. The hilt sticks in the shield and, held within the boss, Its thrust is paused. She did her best to draw it out, Pressed in so deep, but Pyrrhus with his blade transfixed Her left-hand breast. Thus proud Penthesilea fell, Without her sword. So great her sex's modesty, She drew her purple cloak and flaming robes around Her legs and angrily declaimed at fate, and died. The Trojans flee, the Amazons disperse: the fear Attendant on their sex returns. Dismay and fear Abound as they run wild. Discordant cowardice Conflicts, to take to flight. None takes a thought to help Their fallen brothers or to see their crying sons.

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The betrayal and overthrow of the city

The basket's final thread was spun; the promised day

Some reach the city; others stay behind as prey

Return to face the foe and earn a splendid death.

For Greeks to catch. Some few that see a danger clear

Of fate arrived. Ten times the orb of Titan had Revolved. A thousand presages, a thousand threats Of doom shone forth; the comets with their bloody tails Sang fearful news. The star of Phoebus sometimes shone As double, sometimes not at all. The wrath of Jove Was never more in view nor omens in new forms Unseen before: the tears of rocks, the sweat of gods, The groan of barking dogs, the monstrous births, provide Clear proof of coming doom. The son of Testor* stirs *Calchas The Greeks, unfolding plans of gods: they strike against The walls, wherever space is clear. Some aim to link The ships and try to find the city's secret spots. The Trojans urge that Helen should return, to gain A peace and treaties to replace the long, long war. This course is urged by Antenor, Polidamas (More eloquent), and Aeneas, whose voice persuades Most gently of them all. They grieve the fall of kings; Few soldiers now remain. "Not only Troy and bounds Of Phrygia lament, but all that lie between Ydaspes, rich in gems, and shores of Scythia Bewail war's loss, yet Greece's fortune does not match: Still Pyrrhus fights, and Nestor gives advice; the wrath Of Atreus' sons still rages; Ulysses still tricks." Amphimachus resists: "No peace, but arms!"—unbar The gates, and he can pledge a victory for Troy Or everlasting fame in sweet and splendid death! He'd match his brothers, passing even Hector's might, If boyhood left and as a man he grew to war.

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	Indeed, though Priam's years decline towards old age,
690	And though his old grey hairs won't let him bear a helm,
	Though old, he's still a king, and in the king there thrives
	A knight, and wrinkles still can dare to think of war.
	Yet Trojan fickleness checks Priam's daring plan
	And makes him fear and doubt. First Antenor had urged
695	That war be waged, and now seeks peace; Aeneas went
	To Sparta for the spoils, and now demands the prey
	Should be returned and hopes for favours from the foe!
	King Priam plans to thwart their tricks by tricks, by guile
	To stop their guile, and in this way he lays his plans.
700	He'll feign a holy day and to the feast of peace
	Invite the chiefs: "While all together they imbibe,
	Amphimachus must keenly rush and with armed band
	Take them unarmed. So then the way to war will be
	Quite clear, and victory will suffer no delays!"
705	Meanwhile the Trojans met*: they mourned and hated war, *i.e. the conspirators
	And were of one accord. Their faithless faith conspired
	In perfidy with Antenor, who hatched the dire
	Disgrace. Ucelagon, Amphidamas, agreed
	With his advice, and Dolon, no more just than false
710	Polidamas, and Aeneas (not "pious"), who
	Concurred with their bold plans, conspiring in Troy's fall.
	Polidamas informed the Greeks that Troy would be
	Betrayed; he asked for peace for their cabal, the fee
	For treachery; he guaranteed a quiet route
715	Towards the walls. But Pyrrhus shuns deceit; fear, doubt
	Grip Nestor, Ulysses. Uncertain promises

	Cause them to pause: they* fear a trick; he's+ sure they'll win	*Nestor and Ulysses
	And won't befoul their victory by war at night.	⁺ Pyrrhus
	This doubtful tale disturbs the chiefs; the Trojan* seized,	*Polidamas
720	The mission was transferred to Sinon, one of theirs.	
	Should they believe the pledge? He visits Trojan homes;	
	Anchises testifies and calms their doubtful fears,	
	And Antenor gives oaths that what they say is true.	
	And so the Greeks swear by their gods and give their word	
725	To Troy's cabal. They gladly tell themselves and troops	
	To have no fear, and furthermore give gifts; their words	
	They strengthen with rewards—not only Troy; they also pledge	
	Uncounted Asian cities and their citizens.	
	The Trojan*, confident, departs in joy, and shows	*Polidamas
730	By cautious sign how Grecian foes should make their way	
	To Troy and when, what signs to give to move the troops.	
	A hidden gate, which gives a silent path for guile	
	And bears the head of Pegasus, provides their way;	
	To this the chiefs ,as bidden, came.	
	The sun's orb sank:	
735	The time for them to move. A flame's calm light was seen	
	By all and gave the sign. Both sure and hesitant	
	Joined ranks and made their way. A Trojan with a torch	
	Was guide and opened up the gates. What dire designs	
	Of knaves! What crimes unknown before to chronicles!	
740	Then all of Asia thrived and Troy was rich in goods,	
	And mighty with its king and, through its soldiers, safe,	
	Afraid of neither gods nor fate. Greek victory	
	Would soon have failed, and Calchas lied, if Troy-born foe	

	And, deadliest of all, a private fund of ill	
745	Had not made Testor's son* a seer. A Trojan, he	*Calchas
	Himself unlatched the gate. No creak of hinge was heard,	
	No sound of shield or spear: they knew the need for stealth,	
	And all was still and nothing seen. Then Pyrrhus first	
	Attained the town: he scorned to war by guile or win	
750	By theft and cried: "Now, Trojans, bring out open arms	
	And come and fight! How long will you just sleep and dream?	
	Now nothing's safe: the gates are open wide. Behold,	
	We Greeks pour in. If any, in their wrath, will fight	
	With me, this noble deed of war will not be dimmed	
755	In shade: your flames of death will be a sight for all!"	
	He spoke, and seized a torch and first set fire to Troy	
	To open up the way. The others, using sword	
	Or flame, vied in their rage. The devastating fire	
	Spreads overall and sword dispels their peaceful sleep.	
760	O cruel night (so truly named), confused and grim,	
	Night, fierce, treacherous, a theme for tragic style	
	Or satire's biting pen, for you alone can boast	
	A profit from so many days of futile strife.	
	If I had just as many tongues as Proteus	
765	Has shapes, and Phoebus filled my breast with countless songs,	
	I could not tell the slaughters, burnings, or the griefs	
	That one night brought to Troy. Some dodge the swords but fall	
	To flames, some flee from flames to swords: alas, for them	
	The flight from fate meets fate. That death alone is feared	
770	Which first appears to thought. To many who felt flame	
	And sword, it's right to pay a double debt of grief.	

Fierce is the face of evil, never known before!

These sleep; the others wake and hate. None raise a hand

In fighting back, and so the striking arm can choose

Which death to deal - to go for throat or breast or face

Or reckon all the limbs as targets for the wound.

But some had stayed up late in banqueting, or spent

The time of rest in talk; they heard the noise and news

That Greeks now held the town. They saw the fires; to save

Themselves they seized their arms but, hemmed around by flames,

They saw, dismayed, their way was blocked; in vain they tried

To flee their flaming homes. They mourned the bitterest

Of deaths: they die enwrapped in arms consumed by fire.

The death of Priam

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Should I unfold the slaughter and relate each death?

But they lay hidden in the dark, they died by night;

The ignorance of night puts shades upon my muse.

Unlucky Priam clasped the temples and the shrines

Of Jove in flight—he could not trust his hand to fight.

Fear drove out wrath, but, lofty with majestic face,

He did not shame his royalty by pleas or tears

Or humble look. Grim Pyrrhus cried, "Do you give back

The Spartan girls and brides at last? Or will you fight,

Not fearing war? Why clasp the gods of ivory,

You, hated of the gods? You harmed the gods yourself,

I'm forced. My father fell to Phoebus as a gift,

As you to Jove." With this, disdaining to destroy

A supine man, he seized the greying hairs and raised

The fearful body, plunging blade within his guts.

His hand soon ceased to struggle, since his feeble life

Flew lightly to the shades; with weight of limbs he helped

The steel to penetrate. At last, now full of years,

He died—in youth rejoicing, happy in old age,

If Fortune had but kept her faith and stayed secure.

The gentle Zephyrs lead to winter's blast, and joy

To grief. Thus, better never to be prosperous.

When news, now sure, reached Hecuba of all this ill,

She sped her steps without delay and made her way

Undaunted through the swords; her hair awry, breast torn,

She sought and mourned her man. "O Greeks, who'll give me back

His aged limbs to mourn? Or have you taken him

And spread his corpse as prey for birds and animals,

For me to seek elsewhere?" The ranks, disturbed, gave way

Before her rage. She passed and found the king and fell

Upon him, crying, "My --", then silent, then again

Repeats, "Alas my --, mine --" again, and yet again

Dissolved in single words. At last she joined her plaints

In full connected sense and so began to speak:

Hecuba's lament

	"What sighs, what fitting groans, will grief supply to serve	
	For tears? I do not blame the sorrow, for my cheeks	
820	Are now worn out; my eyes grow dim from weeping long;	
	My sight is now less keen. The wound is deeply felt,	
	But up till now my grief has been without a tongue.	
	O gods and heavens, though provoked, I have not blamed	
	You in a woman's way, but for what crime am I	
825	Condemned to such distress? If I deserve to die,	
	Why do I live? The sad are sadder for long life.	
	Should I lament my wedding and my births? For both	
	Brought savage misery. King Priam could have ruled	
	In peace, but harmful destiny wed him to me:	
830	The wrath of gods was fixed. With many progeny,	
	Indeed, my womb was rich, but with an evil fate	
	As mother and as bride. Bereft now of my young	
	And husbandless I've learned to mourn with double grief,	
	Worn out by closing eyes and, O so many deaths.	
835	Dear Hector, while you lived, and Troilus, Troy stood	
	So long secure—for Paris, wicked flame of womb,	
	Shall not be named by me!" She spoke, amazed to see	
	Such fires as Phaeton's spreading sparks could never match,	
	Nor Nero's burning Rome permit, and added this:	
840	"Are these the flames I bore, unstruck by thunderbolt?	See 3.155 – 9
	Is this the produce of my womb? Why did the earth	
	Not swallow me? I swelled with this? Why was I spared	
	In that grim flood of old? You, Trojans, harmed by my	

Impiety, for whom I bore laments, come, tear

Apart your enemy! But wrath is now too late;
The time was when I dreamed. With you, great husband, now,
My mate in bed and tomb, I'll go beneath the shades.
Alas, are there no foes? Where now the raging wars?
Where's Pyrrhus now? Bring spears, you warriors: old hands
Will be enough to slay. Or shall I learn, as slave,
To fear the Grecian brides?" She spoke, and pity stirred
And moved the Greeks to share in grief with Hecuba.

The division of the spoils

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The dewy shades of night had now been stripped away, But day was not yet clear: the sun was glad to hide— He saw the walls that he had built thrown down—you'd think He mourned his enemies. All prey, all profit of the night, Is heaped in Pallas' citadel. You now could gauge The fates of fallen Troy—so many gleaming arms, Gods, jewels, images, bronze, ivory: such spoils Before had never swelled triumphant Fortune's lap. When all the chiefs had satisfied the crowd with loot And giving hand had filled greed's hopes, then all cried out To go back home in joy. At last, without a war, Does nature now return. The priest proclaims the hour And day to set their sails. The Greeks now have the time To wander here and there and view the smoking town Of Troy. Some had not yet expelled their hate and rage: They stripped the Trojan hills of cypress for their dead,

For sacraments the laurel, alders for their ships.

The prayers and funerals now done, the fleet, repaired,

Prepared to cut its ocean path. The South wind stirred the waves;

A sudden tempest roused two storms and blasts of wind

And rain. The augur warned the sailors to repeat

Their offerings; the gods had not yet been appeared.

The chiefs obey his words. Then Pyrrhus recollects

Polyxena had not been found. In rage he blames

The Trojans: Hecuba gave her to Aeneas,

Who hid her in their father's house—O monstrous crime!

This luckless girl is handed to the hated Greeks.

For saving her Aeneas pays an unfair price:

He's ordered into exile; twice eleven ships

He takes (which once the Trojan ravisher had used),

With friends to share his doom. Now Antenor attains

The rule: he's chosen king, and amplifies the realm

By forging friendly treaties with the Gabaians.

Aeneas still attempts to drive him from the throne

He'd seized; he seeks the aid of Maenalus and towns

Of Thebes; now Greeks had left, he dared to risk a war.

His efforts to renew the war were vain; he mourned

And as an exile sailed the Adriatic seas.

He built a new town there and named it Corcyra,

And there he reigned content within a narrow land;

He was foretold as founder of the walls of Rome.

Sad Hecuba, Cassandra too, to whom Troy paid

No heed, sought Chersonese; Andromache went too,

And with her Helenus. Thus Troy alone, by loss

So rich, filled realms and towns with tribes and citizens.

The return of the Greeks after the fall of Troy

	Now, Troy destroyed, the Phoronean* kings traversed	*C1	
	Aegean seas, exulting in the spoils of Troy.	*Greek	
900	No breeze disturbed their peaceful course; in harmony		
	They cut the waves, when Southern winds unleashed burst forth		
	From prison with their blast. The heaven's storm dispersed		
	The ships across the sea or sucked them down with waves.		
	The fleet of Locris wandered, driven by the storm,		
905	And perished on the rocks. A thunderbolt destroyed		
	The royal ship that Ajax* sailed; in vain he tried	*Ajax Oileus (4.116 – 7)	
	To use his body's bulk, but drowned within the deep.		
	When Ajax*, son of Nauplius, heard that the Greeks	*=Oeax	
910	Returned in victory, with Palamedes dead,		
	Now brotherless he grieved. With bitter wrath at heart		
	He roused the maids of Greece to wars unspeakable		
	And strived to find them reasons for a wicked crime:		
915	"Alas, poor wives, what good were sacred oaths and vows		
	For many years proclaimed and husband's rights preserved		
	And chastity unstained? They've come back home, but fame		
	Reports that Trojan brides come too, and foreign slave		
	Will crush the former marriages in servitude.		
	Greek wives, remember Lemnos, dare to undertake		
920	An equal deed to match the cause*. You skulk and fear?	*The women of Lemnon killed all the men.	
	A royal concubine commands our native girls!"		
	At this the news arrived of sudden happenings:	e news arrived of sudden happenings:	

	The chiefs of Greece had come. Not often do the gods	
	Keep faith up to the end! However long you thrive	
	Or outmatch others, fool, what cause have you to boast?	
925	Old age alone brings peace. Here Atreus' son*, who had	*Agamemnon
	No loss in war or on the sea, wins Argive shores:	
	His wife cuts through the victor's throat; her gigolot*	*Clytemnestra and Aegistheus
	Entraps and slays the king. At Diomedes' return	
	Sad Aegiale greets him not with kiss or smile	
930	Or kindness but with war. The other wives of Greece	
	Stir similar revolts: with treachery they meet	
	Their men, or bar the city gates to them by war.	
	Thus, when the Greeks were driven off by civil arms,	
	They left in exile and to Corinth made their way,	
935	And there in unison prepared to take revenge	
	For each offence. But Nestor has a sounder plan	
	And urges peace instead - to sway the citizens	
	By pleas, not challenge them with arms, lest civil strife	
	Give birth to public loss and ruin for the realm.	
940	Thus majesty that suffers prayer puts civil war	
	To sleep unarmed, quells wrath of Mars, and won't allow	
	The blast of female horns. Old piety and faith	
	Return to royal minds: to each, his realm is glad	
	To welcome him. To Samos Ulysses was borne,	
945	Through Sirens' songs, the sea of Sicily, the house	
	Of one-eye, Circe's cups, and Antiphates' feasts.	
	At last (though after many wives) to Ithaca	
	He came and to the chaste Penelope's embrace.	
	But sleep, foretelling fate, and dreadful dreams forewarn	

950 Of Telegonus'* sword and of a kindred knife. *Ulyssus' son by Circe Thus died the witch's scorn, a victim of his son, Old-aged but strong and victor of the East's great wealth. When it was known that Helen had returned to her Mycene, all of Europe thronged in crowds to see 955 The Plisthinian* bride; they yearn to contemplate *Greek The face that overthrew all Asia and took pride That she set lords on fire and tore the world in war, And won an ugly fame for beauty without shame. **EPILOGUE** Till now I've mourned the tragic fall of Ilium, 960 Unfolding brief and tangled webs of ancient truth, And adding only here and there. But now I pull The string of sacred lyre: the wars of Antioch Now call, requiring greater tunes, for now I wish To speak of Christ's crusade*, the standards of the Church, *1190 965 The Cross's mighty gifts. No panting Muse pours feet Of verse for me: a greater Phoebus*, heaven-sent, *Christ Comes down to fill the chasm of my faithful mind. Great father*, you, the other trusty prop of this *Baldwin, Archbishop of Canterbury New task, will spread my sails upon a second sea. 970 This work is but a game; a later age comes now: More solemn deeds will come deserving of your ear. If your bright light will countenance my bold attempts, I shall not fear the biting gnat or buzzing drone*. *envy Now live and thrive in freedom, book! If any harm

975 Befall, be glad to learn that envy has no match

In height. When hostile murmurs hurl their biting laughs
At you and seek to tear you with their vulgar tongues,
May you deserve their envy, which attacks the heights:

It feeds on what is here, and ends with final age.

Finis

Appendices

Appendix A: Correspondences between Joseph's Ylias and its Sources

Ylias	Sources	Ylias	Sources
1.1 - 23		5.28 - 115	
1.24 - 26	Dares 1	5.116 - 512	<i>Dares</i> 19 – 23
1.27 - 70		6. 1 – 64	<i>Dares</i> 25 – 26
1.71 - 549	<i>Dares</i> 1 – 4	6.65 - 69	Dares 26
2.1 - 72	<i>Dares</i> 4 – 5	6.69 - 72	Dares 26
2.73	Dares 5	6.73 - 109	Dares 27
2.74 - 613	<i>Dares</i> 5 – 7	6.109 - 113	Dares 26
3.1 - 413	<i>Dares</i> 7 – 11	6.115 - 160	Dares 28
3.416 - 432	Dares 13	6.161 - 200	
3.433 - 473	Dares 11	6.201 - 658	<i>Dares</i> 30 – 36
4.1 - 34	Dares 18	6.659 - 673	
4.35 - 42		6.673 - 883	<i>Dares</i> 37 – 43
4.43 - 162	<i>Dares</i> 12 – 13	6.886 - 892	Dictys 5.17
4.163 - 207	Dares 12	6.894 - 897	Dares 43
4.208 - 522	<i>Dares</i> 15 – 17	6.898 - 907	Dictys 6.1
5.1 - 9		6.908 - 944	Dictys 6.2
5.10 - 11	Dares 19	944 - 952	<i>Dictys</i> 6.5 – 6, 14 –
			15
5.12 – 19	Dares 18	6.953 - 958	Dictys 6.6
5.20 - 27	Dares 19		

Dares and Dictys

These prose translations are based on: Dares Phrygius, *De excidio Troiae historia*, ed. F. Meister (Leipzig: Teubner, 1873), and Dictys Cretensis, *Ephemeridos Belli Troiani*, ed. W. Eisenhut (Leipzig: Teubner, repr. 1973). The translation of Dares is complete; only extracts have been translated from Dictys. A full translation of both is to be found in *The Chronicles of Dictys of Crete and Dares the Phrygian*, transl. R.M. Frazer Jr. (Indiana UP, Bloomington, Ind., 1966).

Appendix B: De excidio Troiae historia

Preface

Cornelius Nepos to Sallustius Crispus, greetings.

During my many investigations at Athens, I discovered the History of Dares
Phrygius, written by his own hand as the title indicates; in it he recorded for posterity the
story of the Greeks and Trojans. I embraced it with delight and immediately translated it.
I decided that nothing should be added or taken away for the sake of remolding it;
otherwise, it could seem to be my own work. Thus, I thought it best, truly and simply
written as it was, to translate it literally into Latin, so that readers could learn what
happened: *namely, whether they should accept as truth what was recorded by Dares *Ylias: 1.24 – 6
Phrygius, who lived and fought throughout that time during the Greek siege of Troy, or
whether they should believe Homer, who was born many years after the war was waged.
Judgment on this matter was made at Athens, since it was considered a sign of madness
that he (i.e. Homer) wrote that the gods had waged war on men. But enough of this: let
us now return to the promised task.

Dares Phrygius: the Destruction of Troy

(=Ylias 1.71-116)

1. Pelias, who was king in the Peloponese, had a brother Aeson. Aeson had a son Jason, whose prowess was outstanding: he treated all those under his rule as his guests, and was greatly loved by them. When King Pelias saw that Jason was so popular with everyone, he was afraid that he would harm him and expel him from his kingdom. He told Jason that the golden fleece of Colchis was worthy of his prowess; he promised to give him everything to bring it back for him from Colchis. Jason had a very bold spirit and wanted to explore everywhere; he thought that his fame would be greater, if he brought back the golden fleece of Colchis. He therefore told King Pelias he would go there, if he had enough force and companions. King Pelias had the architect Argus summoned, and commanded him to build the most beautiful ship at Jason's direction. The rumour ran through all Greece that a ship was being built, in which Jason was going to Colchis to seek the golden fleece. His friends and guests came to Jason and promised to go with him. Jason thanked them and asked them to be prepared when the time came.

Meanwhile the ship was built, and at the appropriate time of the year he sent letters to those who had promised to go with him, and they immediately assembled at the ship, whose name was Argo. King Pelias ordered the ship to be loaded with all that was necessary, and encouraged Jason, and all those who were to go with him, to go with a brave heart to accomplish what they had attempted. The expedition seemed likely to bring fame to Greece and themselves. It does not seem to be my business to list all those that set out with Jason: anyone who wants to know should read the 'Argonauts'.

(= Ylias 1.116-266)

2. When Jason arrived at Phrygia, he brought the ship in at the port of Simois, and everyone disembarked on to the land. A message was sent to King Laomedon that a wonderful ship had entered the port of Simois, carrying many young men from Greece. When he heard this, King Laomedon was disturbed: in his view, there would be a common peril, if the Greeks developed the habit of sailing to his shores. He sent messengers to the port to tell the Greeks to leave his territory: if they disobeyed his edict, he would eject them by force of arms. Jason and his companions were very angry at Laomedon's cruel treatment, seeing that they had done him no harm. At the same time they were afraid that they would be overwhelmed by the great number of barbarians, if they tried to stay against his order, since they were not equipped for a battle. They boarded their ship, left the territory, set off for Colchis, took away the fleece, and returned home.

(= Ylias 1.267-461)

3. Hercules was very angry that he had been treated so abusively by King Laomedon, along with all those who had gone to Colchis with Jason. He went to Sparta to see Castor and Pollux, and urged them to join him in avenging their injuries, so that Laomedon should not get away free with prohibiting the approach to the land and port; he said that they would have many supporters, if they agreed to his plan. Castor and Pollux promised to do everything that Hercules asked. From them he went to Telamon at Salamis; he asked him to go with him to Troy to avenge his injuries and those of his companions. Telamon promised that he was ready for everything that Hercules wanted. From there he went to Phthia to visit Peleus, and asked him to accompany him to Troy, and Peleus promised to go. After this he went to Pylos to see Nestor, who asked him why

he had come. Hercules replied that he was seriously upset and wanted to lead an army to Phrygia. Nestor praised Hercules, and promised his assistance. When Hercules was sure of everyone's intentions, he prepared ships and chose soldiers. When the time came for departure, he sent letters to those he had asked, requesting them to come with all their men. When they had arrived, they departed for Phrygia, and arrived at Sigea by night. Hercules, Telamon, and Peleus led out the army, and left Castor, Pollux, and Nestor to guard the ships. When King Laomedon was told that a Greek fleet had arrived at Sigeum, he came to the sea with a force of cavalry, and began to fight. Hercules had gone to Troy and pressed hard on the unwatchful inhabitants of the town. When Laomedon was told that Troy was under pressure from enemies, he immediately returned: as he went he ran across the Greeks and was killed by Hercules. Telamon was the first to enter the town of Troy; for his prowess Hercules gave him Hesione, daughter of King Laomedon. All the others who had gone with Laomedon were killed. Priam was in Phrygia, where his father had given him command of the army. Hercules and those who had come with him gathered a great pile of booty and carried it to the ships. After that they decided to return home, and Telamon took Hesione with him.

(=Ylias 1.462-549)

4. When Priam heard the news that his father had been killed, the citizens despoiled, booty carried off, and his sister Hesione given away, he was very angry that Phrygia had been so humiliated by the Greeks. He headed back to Troy with his wife Hecuba and his children, Hector, Alexander, Deiphobus, Helenus, Troilus, Andromache, Cassandra, and Polyxena. He had other sons by concubines, but he said that only those of legitimate wives were members of the royal family. When Priam arrived at Troy, he built larger walls and completely reinforced the city's defences. He stationed a great number of soldiers there, so that it would not be overwhelmed by lack of attention, as his father Laomedon had been overcome. He also built a palace and dedicated an altar to Jupiter there. He sent Hector to Paeonia, and built gates for Troy with these names: the Antenorian, Dardanian, Ilian, Scaean, Thymbrian and Trojan. When he saw that Troy had been fortified, he bided his time.

(=Ylias 2. 1-67)

When it seemed that the time was right to avenge his father's injury, he had Antenor summoned to him; he told him that he wanted to send him as an ambassador to Greece; he was to tell them that, at the hands of those who had come with the army, he had suffered serious injuries by the death of his father Laomedon and the abduction of Hesione; nevertheless he would accept everything else, as long as Hesione was returned to him.

(= Ylias 2. 68-74 (see below for 73))

5. As Priam ordered, Antenor embarked and sailed to Magnesia to see Peleus. Peleus entertained him for three days, and on the fourth day asked him why he had come. Antenor told him what Priam had ordered, that he was to ask the Greeks to return Hesione. When Peleus heard this, he was annoyed; as he saw that this applied to himself, he told Antenor to leave his lands.

(= Ylias 2, 75-187)

Without delay Antenor boarded ship and set sail for Boeotia; he went to Salamis to see Telamon and asked him to give back Priam his sister Hesione; he said it was not right to keep a girl of royal birth in servitude. Telamon replied that he had done nothing to Priam, but he would not surrender to anyone that which he had received for valour; consequently he ordered Antenor to leave the island.

(= Ylias 2. 73)

Antenor set sail and arrived at Achaia; from there he went to Castor and Pollux and asked them to give satisfaction to Priam and return his sister Hesione. Castor and Pollux said that they had done Priam no harm and told Antenor to leave. From there he went to Pylos to see Nestor, and told him why he had come; on hearing this, Nestor abused Antenor for coming to Greece, seeing that the Greeks had first been injured by the Trojans.

(= Ylias 2. 188-91)

When Antenor saw that he was getting nowhere and was being abused, he got into his ship and returned home. He told King Priam how each one had replied and how he had been treated, and with this he urged Priam to make war on the Greeks.

(Not in Ylias at this point)

6. Priam immediately had all his sons and friends summoned: Antenor, Anchises, Aeneas, Ucalegon, Bucolio, Panthus, Lampo, and all his sons from concubines. When they had assembled, he told them that he had sent Antenor on a mission to Greece, so that the Greeks would give him satisfaction for killing his father and would return Hesione; Antenor, he said, had been treated with contempt and had achieved nothing. However, since the Greeks would not do what he wanted, he thought that he should send

an army against Greece to exact retribution, lest the Greeks laugh at the barbarians. Priam urged his sons to take the lead in the matter, especially Hector, since he was the eldest. Hector said that he would fulfill his father's wish and avenge the death of his grandfather Laomedon and whatever injuries the Greeks had done to the Trojans; he would ensure that the Greeks would not go unpunished, but he was afraid that they might be unable to accomplish their plans: Greece, he said, would have many supporters; Europe was full of warlike men, whereas those in Asia had always lived a life of idleness and consequently had no navy.

(=Ylias 2. 191-613)

7. Alexander (Paris) urged the preparation of a fleet and its dispatch to Greece; he would be leader of it, if Priam agreed. He was confident in the benevolence of the gods: he would return home from Greece with glory after defeating the enemy. For when he had gone hunting on Mount Ida, Mercury had brought to him in his sleep Juno, Venus, and Minerva, so that he would judge their beauty; Venus had then promised that, if he would judge her face to be beautiful, she would give him as wife a woman who would be seen to be the most beautiful in Greece; on hearing this, he gave his verdict that Venus was the most beautiful.

(=Ylias 3. 1-197)

As a result, Priam was hopeful that Alexander would have the help of Venus. Deiphobus said that he liked Alexander's advice, and if, as they planned, an army were sent to Greece, he hoped that the Greeks would return Hesione and give satisfaction. Helenus prophesied that the Greeks would come and overthrow Troy; parents and brothers would die at the hands of their enemies, if Alexander brought a wife from Greece. Troilus was the youngest, but just as brave as Hector; he urged war, and said they should not be terrified by fear at Helenus' words. As a result they all agreed to prepare a fleet and to set sail for Greece.

8. Priam sent Alexander and Deiphobus to Paeonia to gather troops. He commanded the people to assemble; he told his sons that the older should have command over the younger. He showed what injuries the Greeks had done to the Trojans: it was for this reason that he had sent Antenor on a mission to Greece, to get them to give Hesione back and give the Trojans satisfaction; Antenor, however, had been treated with contempt and unable to get anything from them; they had therefore decided to send

Alexander to Greece with a fleet to avenge his grandfather's death and the Trojan injuries. He told Antenor to describe his reception by the Greeks. Antenor encouraged the Trojans not to be afraid; he incited them to overwhelm Greece in war, and briefly told what had happened in Greece. Priam said that if anyone disagreed with the plan to go to war, they should make their wish known.

Panthus told Priam and his family what he had learned from his father Euphorbius; he said that if Alexander brought a wife back from Greece, it would be the final end for the people of Troy; it was better to live in peace than to lose their lives in violence. The people scorned Panthus' authority, and told the king to make his wishes clear. Priam said that ships should be prepared for the expedition to Greece: the people had plenty of tools. The people replied that there would be no delay on their part in fulfilling the king's orders. He said that he was grateful to them, and dismissed the assembly. He immediately sent men to Mount Ida to gather materials and to build ships; he sent Hector to Upper Phrygia to gather an army, and this was done. On hearing her father's plan, Cassandra said what was going to happen to the Trojans if Priam persisted in sending a fleet to Greece.

9. Time passed, the ships were built, and the soldiers that Alexander and Deiphobus had recruited in Paeonia arrived. When he saw that the expedition was possible, Priam addressed the army; he put Alexander in charge, and with him he sent Deiphobus, Aeneas, and Polydamas. He ordered Alexander to proceed first to Sparta, to seek out Castor and Pollux and ask them to give back his sister Hesione and to make restitution to the Trojans; if they refused, Alexander was to send a message immediately, so that Priam could send an army against Greece.

(= Ylias_ 3. 198-220) After this Alexander sailed to Greece, taking with him the guide who had already sailed there with Antenor. A few days after he set sail, but before he arrived at the island of Cythera, Menelaus, who was going to Pylos to see Nestor, met Alexander and wondered where this royal fleet was going. When the two of them met they looked at each other, but neither knew where the other was going. Castor and Pollux had gone to Clymemnestra; they had taken with them their niece, Hermione, Helen's daughter. At this time the feast of Juno was being held, when Alexander came to the island of Cythera,

where there was a shrine of Venus. He made a sacrifice to Diana. The people on the island were amazed at the royal fleet, and asked those who had come with Alexander who they were and why they had come. They replied that Alexander had been sent by King Priam as an ambassador to meet Castor and Pollux.

(= Ylias 3. 221-338)

10. Now while Alexander was on the isle of Cythera, Helen, wife of Menelaus, took a fancy to go there, and therefore went to the coast. By the sea is the town of Helaea, where there is a shrine of Diana and Apollo. Helen planned to perform a religious ceremony there. When Alexander was informed that Helen had gone to the seashore, confident in his own beauty, he took a walk there, eager to see her. Helen was told that Alexander, son of King Priam, had come to the town of Helaea, where she was herself, and she also was eager to see him. When they looked at each other, they were both enflamed by the other's beauty, and spent their time in winning the other's favour. Alexander ordered everyone on the ships to make ready, to loose the ships at night, to seize Helen from the shrine, and to take her with them. When the signal was given, they invaded the shrine and seized a not unwilling Helen; they took her to the ship, and along with her seized some women. When the townspeople saw that Helen had been snatched away, they fought with Alexander for a long time to try to stop him taking Helen. Alexander relied on the numerical superiority of his friends and overcame them; he plundered the shrine, took as many captives as possible, put them on board the ships, loosed the fleet, set sail for home, and arrived at the port of Tenedos; there he soothed Helen's sadness with his words, and sent a messenger to his father to tell him what had happened*. After the news was reported to him at Pylos, Menelaus set out for Sparta with Nestor; he sent to Argos to his brother Agamemnon, asking him to come to him.

*Last line not in Ylias at this point.

(= Ylias 3.339-426)

11. In the meantime Alexander came to his father with his great booty, and told him the sequence of events. Priam was delighted, hoping that the Greeks, in order to recover Helen, would give back his sister Hesione and everything that they had taken from the Trojans. He comforted Helen, who was sad, and gave her to Alexander as his wife. When Cassandra saw Helen, she began to prophesy, recalling what she had foretold earlier; Priam had her taken away and locked up.

After he had arrived at Sparta, Agamemnon consoled his brother; it was decided that they should send messengers throughout all Greece to summon the Greeks and declare war on Troy. The following assembled: Achilles with Patroclus, Euryalus, Tlepolemus, and Diomedes. After they arrived at Sparta they decided to avenge the Trojan injuries and to assemble an army and a fleet; they appointed Agamemnon as commander and leader. They sent messengers to cause the whole of Greece to assemble, equipped and fitted with fleets and armies, at the port of Athens; from there they would set out together to avenge their injuries.

- (=Ylias 3. 427-473) Next, Castor and Pollux, on hearing of the seizure of their sister Helen, boarded ship and followed. When they embarked at the port of Lesbos, a great storm arose, and it was believed that they did not reappear anywhere; later it was said that they had become immortal. The people of Lesbos went all the way to Troy to look for them, but they reported home that they had not found a trace of them anywhere.
- (= Ylias 4.163-71)

 12. Dares Phrygius, the author of this history, says that he served in the army until Troy was captured; he saw them during a truce, and was sometimes present in battle, but he had learned from the Trojans what Castor and Pollux had looked like, and what their natures were. Each resembled the other in yellow hair, big eyes, and clear complexion; they were well formed with long bodies.
- (= Ylias 4.172-207) Helen looked like them: she was beautiful, had a simple spirit, was kindly, and had fine legs, a mark between her eyebrows, and a small mouth.
- (= Ylias 4. 43-48) Priam, king of Troy, was big, with a fine face, a sweet voice, and an aquiline body.
- (= Ylias 4. 49-56) Hector stammered; he had fair curly hair, and a squint; his limbs were long and his face venerable; he was bearded, proper, warlike, and magnanimous; he was kindly to his citizens, worthy and fit to be loved.
- (= Ylias 4. 57-60) Deiphobus and Helenus resembled their father, but had different natures: Deiphobus was strong; Helenus was merciful and a learned poet (prophet).
- (= Ylias 4. 61-64) Troilus was big, very handsome, strong for his age, brave, and eager for virtue (manliness).
- (= Ylias 4, 65-71) Alexander (Paris) was fair-haired, tall, brave, had beautiful eyes, soft and yellow

- hair, a pleasant mouth, and sweet voice; he was swift-footed and eager for command.
- (= Ylias 4. 72-75) Aeneas was red-haired, square-built, eloquent, affable, brave, prudent, pious, pleasant, with cheerful black eyes.
- (= Ylias 4, 76-78) Antenor was long and slender, quick-limbed, cunning, and cautious.
- (= Ylias 4. 79-84) Hecuba was big, with an aquiline body, beautiful, with a masculine mind; she was pious and just.
- (= Ylias 4. 85-86) Andromache had bright eyes, was fair-haired, tall, beautiful, modest, wise, chaste, and kindly.
- (= Ylias 4. 87-89) Cassandra was small in build, round-mouthed, red-haired, with flashing eyes; she could tell the future.
- (= Ylias 4. 90-98) Polyxena was fair, tall, beautiful, long-necked, with pleasant eyes, long yellow hair, poised in limbs, long fingers, straight legs, and excellent feet; by her beauty she could surpass everyone; she had a simple disposition, and was generous and ready to serve.
- (= Ylias 4. 99 103) 13. Agamemnon had a pale body; he was big with strong limbs, eloquent, wise, noble, and rich.
- (= Ylias 4. 104-7) Menelaus was of medium build, red-haired, handsome, well-received, and pleasing.
- (= Ylias 4. 108-12) Achilles had a sturdy frame, a pleasant face, strong big limbs, and long curly hair. He was merciful, very keen in arms, cheerful of face, generous, ready to serve, and had chestnut hair.
 - (= Ylias 4. 113-5) Patroclus had a beautiful body, grey eyes, great strength; he was bashful, sure of himself, wise, and ready to serve.
 - (= Ylias 4. 116-7) Ajax Oileus was square-built with strong limbs; he had an aquiline body, and was merry and strong.
 - (= Ylias 4. 118-20) Ajax Telamonius was strong; his voice was clear; he had black curly hair, a straightforward spirit, and was cruel towards the enemy.
- (= Ylias 4. 121-3) Ulysses was firm, crafty, merry-faced; he was of medium height, eloquent, and wise.
- (= Ylias 4, 124-7) Diomedes was strong, square-built in body; he had an honest stern face, was very

keen in war, boisterous, with a warm brain, impatient and bold.

- (= Ylias 4. 128-31) Nestor was big, with a long hooked nose, broad, fair hair, and was a wise adviser.
- (= Ylias 4. 132-5) Protesilaus had a body of fair colour and an honest face; he was swift, self-confident, and rash.
- (= Ylias 4. 136-41) Neoptolemus (Pyrrhus) was big, robust, prone to anger, stammering, fine-faced, stooping, round-eyed, and high-browed.
- (= Ylias 4. 142-3) Palamedes was slender and tall, wise, great-hearted, and kindly.
- (= Ylias 4. 144-5) Podalirius was solid and strong, proud, and gloomy.

(= Ylias 4. 208-12)

- (= Ylias 4. 146-7) Machaon was brave, big, sure, wise, patient, and merciful.
- (= Ylias 4. 148-55) Merion was red-haired and of medium height, round-bodied, robust, persistent, cruel, and impatient.
- (= Ylias 4. 156-62) Briseis was beautiful and not tall; she was fair with soft yellow hair; her eyebrows were joined, her eyes pleasant; her body was well-proportioned; she was kindly, easy to talk to, modest, straightforward, and pious.
- (Cf. Ylias 3. 414-23) 14. Then, arranged with their fleet, the Greeks assembled at Athens:

Agamemnon (from Mycenae, with 100 ships), Menelaus (Sparta, 60), Archesilaus and Prothoenor (Boeotia, 50), Ascalaphus and Ialmenus (Orchomenus, 30), Epistrophius and Schedius (Phocis, 40), Ajax Telamonius (with his brother Teucer from Salamis, and from Buprasione he brought Amphimachus, Diores, Thalpius, and Polyxenus, 40 ships), Nestor (Pylos, 80), Thoas (Aetolia, 40), Nireus (Syme, 53), Ajax Oileus (Locri, 37), Antiphus and Phidippus (Calydna, 30), Idomeneus and Meriones (Crete, 80), Ulysses (Ithaca, 12), Eumelus (Pherae, 10), Protesilaus and Podarees (Phylaca, 40), Podalirius and Machaon, sons of Aesculapius (Tricca, 32), Achilles, Patroclus and the Myrmidons (Phthia, 50), Tlepholemus (Rhodes, 9), Eurypylus (Ormenius, 40), Antiphus and Amphimachus (Elis, 11), Polypoetes and Leonteus (Argisa, 40), Diomedes, Euryalus and Sthenelus (Argos, 80), Philoctetes (Melibea, 7), Guneus (Cyphus, 21), Prothous (Magnesia, 40), Agapenor (Arcadia, 40), Menestheus (Athens, 50). These were the leaders of the Greeks, totaling 49; they brought ships totaling 1130.

15. When they had arrived at Athens, Agamemnon called the leaders to a

meeting. He praised them and urged them to avenge their wrongs as soon as possible. He asked them for their counsel, and urged them, before departure, to send to Delphi to consult Apollo; everyone agreed.

- (= Ylias 4. 212-42) Achilles was put in charge of this task and set out with Patroclus. (In the meantime Priam had learned that his enemies had made ready. He sent messengers throughout Phrygia to gather the neighbouring armies; at home he enthusiastically assembled soldiers).
- (= Ylias 4. 243-51) When Achilles arrived at Delphi, he went to the oracle. The answer from the sanctuary was that the Greeks would be victorious and would capture Troy in the tenth year. Achilles performed the religious rites, as he had been commanded.
- (= Ylias 4. 251-93) Also at that time Calchas, son of Thestor, had arrived; he was a man of religion.

 He had been sent by his people and was bringing gifts for Apollo on behalf of the Phrygians; at the same time he was seeking advice about his kingdom and its affairs.

 This was the oracle's response, that he should go with the Argive fleet against the Trojans and help them by his knowledge, and they should not leave before Troy was captured.

 After they had been at the shrine Achilles and Calchas compared their replies; they rejoiced in mutual hospitality and pledged friendship. They set out together for Athens and arrived there. Achilles reported these matters in council; the Argives were delighted and took Calchas with them, and launched the fleet.
- (= Ylias 4. 294-314) When storms held them back there, Calchas gave the oracle's message to turn back and go to Aulis. They set out and arrived there.
- (= Ylias 4. 315-47) Agamemnon made a placatory offering to Diana and told his allies to launch their ships and to set sail for Troy. Their leader was Philoctetes, who had been at Troy with the Argonauts. Then they landed the fleet at a town that was under Priam's rule and sacked it; they took plunder and departed. They arrived at Tenedos and killed everyone. Agamemnon shared out the booty and called a council.
- (= Ylias 4. 348-52) 16. He then sent ambassadors to Priam, to see if he would return Helen and make good the plunder that Alexander had done. Diomedes and Ulysses were chosen as ambassadors and went to Priam.
- (= Ylias 4. 353-428) While the ambassadors were fulfilling their mission, Achilles and Telephus were

sent to pillage Mysia; they came to (the land of) King Teuthras and plundered. Teuthras and his army came on them, but Achilles wounded him and put the army to flight. Telephus protected Teuthras with his shield as he lay, to prevent Achilles from killing him. They recalled together the visit when Telephus, son of Hercules, still a boy, was received as a guest by King Teuthras. They say that King Diomedes, who at that time was hunting with fierce wild horses, was killed by Hercules and handed over all his kingdom to Teuthras; consequently his (Hercules') son Telephus came to give assistance to Teuthras.

- (= Ylias 4. 429-507) When Teuthras realized that by that wound he could not escape death, while still alive he handed over his kingdom of Mysia to Telephus and made him king. Telephus then gave Teuthras a magnificent burial. Achilles urged him to protect his new kingdom: he said that he would help the expedition much more if he supplied corn for the army than if he went to Troy. Telephus therefore remained. Achilles returned to the army at Tenedos with a great supply of plunder. He told Agamemnon what had happened and Agamemnon approved and praised him.
- (= Ylias 4. 507-22) 17. Meanwhile the ambassadors came to Priam. Ulysses delivered Agamemnon's orders; he demanded that Helen and the plunder be returned and satisfaction made to the Greeks; then they would depart peacefully. Priam recalled the injuries inflicted by the Argonauts, his father's death, the sack of Troy, the enslavement of Hesione, and then, when he had sent Antenor as an ambassador, the Greeks' humiliating treatment of him; he rejected peace and declared war; he ordered the Greek ambassadors to be expelled from his borders. The ambassadors returned to the camp at Tenedos and reported Priam's reply. They then deliberated on the situation.
- (= Ylias 4.1-34) 18. To assist Priam against the Greeks, the following leaders were present with their armies. I give their names and province:

Pandarus, Amphius, Adrastus (Zelia); Mopsus (Colophonia); Asius (Phrygia); Amphimachus, Nastes (Caria); Sarpedon, Glaucus (Lycia); Hippothous, Cupesus (Larisa); Euphemus (Ciconia); Pirus, Acamas (Thracia); Pyraechmes, Asteropaeus (Paeonia); Ascanius, Phorcys (Phrygia); Antiphus, Mesthles

(Maeonia); Pylaemenes (Paphlagonia); Perses, Memnon (Aethiopia); Rhesus, Archilocus (Thracia); Adrastus, Amphius (Adrestia); Epistrophus, Odius (Alizonia).

Over these leaders and the armies that followed them, Priam placed Hector as prince and leader, and then Deiphobus, Alexander (= Paris), Troilus, Aeneas, and Memnon.

(= Ylias 5.12-19)

While Agamemnon was taking counsel on the whole affair, Palamedes, son of Nauplus, came from Cormus with thirty ships. He excused himself for being unable to come to Athens, since he had been sick. They thanked him for coming as soon as he could, and invited him to be part of their deliberations.

19. When the Greeks could not decide whether their secret departure to Troy

(= Ylias 5.10-11, 20-27) should be made by night or day, Palamedes urged, with reasons, that they should make their expedition to Troy in the light and entice out the enemies' force. Everyone agreed

with this.

(Occupying the space of 5.28-115)

After taking consultation they put Agamemnon in charge. They sent ambassadors to Mysia and other places to see that provisions were sent for the army, namely descendants of Theseus, Demophoon, Acamas, and Anius. Then he summoned the army to a meeting; he praised them, and commanded, urged, and carefully advised that they should be obedient to his word. The signal was given, and the ships set sail; the whole fleet arrived in a line at the shores of Troy.

(=Ylias 5.116-240)

The Trojans defended strenuously. Protesilaus made an assault on the land and put them to flight and slaughtered them. Hector blocked his way and killed him, dispersing the others. Wherever Hector left, the Trojans were put to flight. After there had been great slaughter on both sides, Achilles arrived. He put the whole army to flight and drove it back to Troy. Night separated the fighting. Agamemnon brought the whole army out on to the land and set up his camps. On the next day Hector led the army out of the city and drew them up in order. Agamemnon met him with a great clamour. The battle was keen and angry; the bravest fell among the first.

(=Ylias 5.241-275)

Hector killed Patroclus and made ready to despoil him; Meriones dragged Patroclus out of the line to prevent his being plundered. Hector pursued Meriones and killed him, but when he tried to plunder Meriones in the same way, Menestheus came to the rescue and wounded Hector in the thigh. Though wounded, Hector killed many thousands, and would have continued to put the Greeks to flight if Ajax Telamonius had not blocked his way. When they began to fight, he recognized that he was of the same blood, since he was the son of Hesione, Priam's sister. Consequently Hector ordered the fire to be removed from the ships; they gave each other gifts and departed as friends.

(=Ylias 5, 276-292)

20. Next day the Greeks sought a truce: Achilles was mourning Patroclus, and the Greeks their kin. Agamemnon gave Protesilaus a splendid funeral and took care of burying the others. Achilles held funeral games for Patroclus.

During the truce Palamedes continued to cause dissension. He said that King Agamemnon was not fit to lead the army. He demonstrated his own exploits in front of the army - first his assault, and then his fortification of the camps, his circuit of the watches, his giving the signal, his measuring of pounds and weights, and his training of the army. As all these things had been begun by him, he said, it was not fair that Agamemnon, who had been given command by only a few, should rule over those who came afterwards, especially since everyone expected intelligence and prowess from their leaders.

(=Ylias 5. 293-364)

While the Greeks were arguing about the command among themselves, the war was resumed after two years. Agamemnon, Achilles, Diomedes, and Menelaus led out the Greek army; on the other side they were met by Hector, Troilus, and Aeneas. There was great slaughter on both sides, and the strongest fell. Hector killed Boetes, Arcesilaus, and Prothoenor. The battle was interrupted by night. During the night Agamemnon summoned all the leaders to a council; he urged and encouraged them all to go into battle and especially to pursue Hector, since he was killing some of the strongest leaders among them.

21. In the morning Hector, Aeneas, and Alexander led out their army, and all the Greek leaders came forth. There was great slaughter and many thousands were dispatched to the underworld. Menelaus began to pursue Hector; Alexander saw him and pierced Menelaus' thigh with an arrow. Enraged with pain, he and Locrian Ajax continued to pursue Alexander. When Hector saw them urgently pursuing his brother, he and Aeneas came to help him. Aeneas covered Alexander with his shield and took him with him to the city out of the battle. The battle was paused by night. Next day Achilles

and Diomedes led out the army, and Hector and Aeneas opposed them, and there was a great slaughter. Hector killed the leaders Orcomeneus, Ialmenus, Epistrophus, Schedius, Elephenor, Dores, and Polyxenus. Aeneas killed Amphimachus and Nireus. Achilles killed Euphemus, Hippothous, Pylaeus, and Asteropaeus. Diomedes killed Antiphus and Mesthles.

When Agamemnon saw that his bravest generals had fallen, he called back the assault, and the Trojans returned rejoicing to the city. Agamemnon was disturbed and called the leaders to a council; he urged them to fight bravely and not to stop, since the greater part of their army had been overcome; he hoped that an army would come from Mysia any day.

(=Ylias 5. 365-402)

22. On the next day Agamemnon made his whole army and its leaders go out to fight, and the Trojans came against them. There was great slaughter: both sides fought keenly; many thousands fell on both sides, and the war continued vigorously for eighty days. When Agamemnon saw that many thousands were dying daily and that without a pause there were not enough to bury the dead, he sent Ulysses and Diomedes as ambassadors to Priam to seek a three-year truce, to give time to bury the dead, heal the wounded, repair the ships, reassemble the army and get supplies. Ulysses and Diomedes went in the night to Priam. They were met by Dolon, who asked why they had come to the city armed and at night. They said that Agamemnon had sent them as ambassadors to Priam. When Priam heard of their arrival and their wishes, he summoned all his leaders to a council; he told them that ambassadors had come from Agamemnon to ask for a three-year truce. Hector was suspicious that they had asked for such a long time. Priam commanded each one to say what he thought. Everyone agreed to grant a truce for three years. In the meantime the Trojans repaired the walls, everyone took care of their wounded, and buried the dead with great honour.

(=Ylias 5. 402-457)

23. After three years the time for war arrived, and Hector and Troilus led out their army; on the other side Agamemnon, Menelaus, Achilles, and Diomedes did the same; there was great slaughter. In the front line Hector killed Phidippus and Antiphus. Achilles killed Lycaon and Phorcys, and of the lower ranks many thousands fell on both

sides. The fight continued keenly for thirty days. When Priam saw that many of his army had fallen, he sent ambassadors to Agamemnon to seek a six-month truce, and with his council's agreement Agamemnon agreed to it. Then the time to fight came again; they fought bitterly for twelve days; many of the bravest leaders fell on both sides; many were wounded, and most died while their wounds were being tended. Agamemnon sent ambassadors to Priam and asked for a thirty-day truce to bury his dead. Priam acted advisedly.

24. But when the time for battle returned, Andromache, Hector's wife, saw in sleep that Hector ought not to go to battle, but when she told him what she had seen, he dismissed her womanish words. Sadly Andromache sent to Priam so that he would forbid Hector to fight on that day. Priam sent out Alexander, Helenus, Troilus, and Aeneas to the fight. When Hector learned this, he was very angry with her and demanded that his arms be brought; he could not be held back in any way. Andromache sadly let down her hair and laid out Hector's son Astyanax before his feet, but even so she could not bring him back. Then she roused the city with her womanly wailing; she ran to the palace to Priam, and told him what she had seen in her sleep, and that Hector wanted to rush off to battle; putting her son Astyanax at his knees, she demanded that he call Hector back. Priam ordered everyone to go out and fight, but held Hector back.

(=Ylias 5. 457-512)

When Agamemnon, Achilles, Diomedes, and Locrian Ajax saw that Hector was not in the battle, they fought keenly and killed many leaders of the Trojan host. When Hector heard the uproar and saw that the Trojans were suffering seriously in the battle, he rushed off to the fight. Immediately he cut down Idomeneus, wounded Iphinous, killed Leonteus, and pierced Sthenelus' thigh with his spear. When Achilles saw that many leaders had fallen to Hector's right hand, he directed his energy at him and tried to meet him. For Achilles realized that if he did not kill Hector, many of the Greek host were going to die at his hands.

In the meantime the battle was joined. Hector killed Polypoetes, a very brave leader, and when he tried to despoil him, Achilles intervened. There was a great fight, and a shout arose from the city and from the whole army. Hector wounded Achilles' thigh; when Achilles felt the pain, he pursued Hector even more, and did not stop until he

killed him. When Hector was dead, Achilles put the Trojans to flight; with great slaughter he wounded them and pursued them to the gates. Memnon, however, resisted him; they fought keenly and separated, both wounded. Night separated the combatants, and Achilles, being wounded, retired from the fight. During the night the Trojans lamented for Hector, and the Greeks for their dead.

(=Ylias 6.1-40)

25. The next day Memnon led out the Trojans against the Greek army. Agamemnon consulted the army and urged that they seek a two-month truce so that each side could bury their dead. Ambassadors went to Troy to seek Priam; when they arrived they set out their desire and accepted a two-month truce. Priam buried Hector before the gates according to the custom of his people and held funeral games. During the truce Palamedes continued to complain about the leadership. Consequently Agamemnon gave in to the dissension and said he would gladly accept it if they appointed whatever leader they wanted. Next day he called the people to a meeting; he said that he had never been eager for the command, and that he would accept with an easy mind whoever they wished to give it to; he would yield gladly; it was enough for him that they should take vengeance on the enemy, and it mattered little to him by whose effort it was achieved; in any case he had a kingdom at Mycenae. He said that each should make his wishes clear. Palamedes came before them and showed his ability, and so the Greeks gladly gave him the command. Palamedes thanked the Greeks, accepted the leadership, and began to conduct it. Achilles criticized the change of command.

(Ylias 6.40-64, 69-72) 26. Meanwhile the truce ran out. Palamedes equipped and prepared the army; he led it out, arranged it, and encouraged them. Deiphobus came against him, and the Trojans fought keenly. The Lycian Sarpedon and his men made an assault on the Greeks, with slaughter and death. Tlepolemus of Rhodes withstood him, but despite a long resistance and fight he was badly wounded and fell. Pheres, son of Admetus, took his place and resumed the battle; after a long hand-to-hand fight with Sarpedon he was killed. Sarpedon was also wounded and withdrew from the battle. So the fights continued for some days; on both sides many leaders were killed, but more on Priam's side. The Trojans sent ambassadors and asked for a truce to bury the dead and take care

of the wounded. Palamedes called a truce for a year, and both sides buried their dead and looked after the wounded. Pledges were given on each side, and there were visits to the town and the Greek camp.

(=Ylias 6. 65-69, 109-113)

Palamedes sent Agamemnon as an ambassador to Acamas and Demophoon, sons of Theseus, whom Agamemnon had appointed as ambassadors to obtain provisions and carry the grain from Mysia that they had obtained from Telephus. When he arrived there, he reported on Palamedes' coup. They took it badly, but Agamemnon said he did not mind: it had been done with his agreement. Meanwhile Palamedes took care of loading the ships; he fortified the camp and surrounded it with towers. The Trojans exercised their army, carefully fortified the wall, added a ditch and rampart, and arranged everything with care.

(=Ylias 6. 73-109)

27. On the anniversary of Hector's burial, Priam, Hecuba, Polyxena and other Trojans went to Hector's tomb. Achilles met them there; he saw Polyxena, set his mind on her, and fell wildly in love with her. Driven by passion he spent a miserable life because of his love; he was angry that Agamemnon had been deprived of the command and that Palamedes had become his superior. Under the compulsion of love, he gave orders to a very trusty Trojan servant to take to Hecuba, and asked that she should give Polyxena to him in marriage. If she did so, he wrote, he would return home with his Myrmidons, and when he did so the other leaders would follow his lead and do the same. The servant went to Hecuba, met her, and delivered the letter. Hecuba replied that she was willing, if her husband Priam agreed; she told the servant to return while she talked it over with Priam. The servant told Achilles what he had done. Agamemnon returned to the camp with a great following. Hecuba spoke with Priam about Achilles' terms. Priam said it could not be done, not because he thought Achilles unworthy to be related to him by marriage, but because if he gave Polyxena to him and he departed, the others might not leave, and it would be wrong to link his daughter to the enemy. Therefore, he said, if Achilles wished this, there would have to be a permanent peace: the army must leave and the treaty be sanctioned by law; if this was done, he would gladly give him his daughter. So Achilles, as had been arranged, sent the servant to Hecuba to learn what success she

had had with Priam. Hecuba entrusted to the servant all that had been discussed with Priam, and he reported back to Achilles. Achilles complained to the crowd that for the sake of one woman, Helen, all Greece and Europe had been summoned, so many thousands of men had died over so long a time, and their freedom was in doubt; therefore peace should be made and the army return.

(=Ylias 6. 115-160)

28. A year passed by. Palamedes led out the army and drew it up, and Deiphobus opposed him. Achilles remained angry and did not come out to the battle. Palamedes seized his chance, rushed at Deiphobus and cut him down. The battle grew keen and both sides fought eagerly; many thousands of men fell. Palamedes was active in the front line, encouraging them to fight bravely. Sarpedon of Lycia met him and Palamedes killed him. Rejoicing at this, he continued at the battle front. As he boasted and exulted, Alexander Paris pierced his neck with an arrow; the Phrygians noticed and hurled their spears, and so Palamedes was killed. When the king was killed, all the enemies assaulted; the Greeks yielded and fled to the camp. The Trojans pursued, attacked the camp, and set fire to the ships. Achilles was told, but ignored it. Ajax Telamonius defended bravely, and night brought an end to the fight.

(No direct equivalent in Joseph)

In their camp the Greeks mourned Palamedes' knowledge, fairness, clemency and virtue. The Trojans wept for Sarpedon and Deiphobus.

29. At night Nestor, being older, summoned the leaders to council, and urged and encouraged them to appoint a leader; if they agreed, Agamemnon could be reappointed with the least disagreement. He reminded them that when Agamemnon was leader, things had gone well and the army had been successful; if anyone disagreed, he urged them to say so. They all agreed and appointed Agamemnon as their leader.

The next day the Trojans came out eagerly to the front, and Agamemnon led the army against them. They joined battle and each army fought the other. When most of the day was over, Troilus came to the fore; he slaughtered and laid waste, and drove the Greeks back to the camp. Next day the Trojans led out their army, and Agamemnon opposed them. There was great slaughter and both armies fought keenly; Troilus killed many Greek leaders. The battle lasted for seven days. Agamemnon asked for a two-

month truce. He gave Palamedes a magnificent funeral, and both sides took care to bury their leaders and soldiers.

(Ylias 6, 201-210)

30. During the truce Agamemnon sent Ulysses, Nestor and Diomedes to Achilles to ask him to go to war. Sadly Achilles refused, since he was now determined not to go to war because of what he had promised Hecuba, and certainly he was less inclined to fight because of his great love for Polyxena. He received the emissaries with bad grace, saying that there ought to be a permanent peace: all these dangers were for the sake of one woman, their freedom was in danger, and they were wasting their time; he demanded peace and refused to fight. They reported to Agamemnon how they had fared with Achilles and that he had firmly refused. Agamemnon summoned all the leaders to a council and asked the army's advice as to what to do; he told them to make their wishes clear. Menelaus urged his brother (Agamemnon) to lead the army into battle, saying that there was no need for fear if Achilles had excused himself; he (Menelaus) would persuade him to join the war, and was not afraid if he refused. He reminded them that the Trojans now had no one as strong as Hector had been. Diomedes and Ulysses pointed out that Troilus was just as strong a warrior as Hector had been. Menelaus opposed them, and urged that the war be resumed. Calchas consulted the omens and said that they ought to fight: he was not afraid that the Trojans would now be superior to them.

(Ylias 6. 211-288)

31. The time had arrived to fight. The Greek army was led by Agamemnon, Menelaus, Diomedes and Ajax; the Trojans opposed them. There was great slaughter and keen combat, and both armies fought savagely. Troilus wounded Menelaus, killed many men, and pursued the rest here and there; the fighting was stopped by nightfall. Next day Troilus and Alexander (Paris) led out the army; the Greeks opposed them and there was a fierce fight. Troilus wounded Diomedes; he attacked Agamemnon, and also wounded him, and slaughtered Greeks. The battle was fought keenly for several days and many thousand men were slaughtered on both sides. When Agamemnon saw that he was daily losing the greater part of his army and that there were not enough of them, he asked for a six-month truce. Priam called a council and told them what the Greeks wanted. Troilus said they ought not to grant a truce for so long a time; instead they should attack and burn

the ships. Priam told them to say what they each thought, and they all decided that the Greeks should be granted what they asked, so Priam granted a truce for six months. Agamemnon gave his dead honourable burial and took care of the wounded Diomedes and Menelaus. The Trojans also buried their dead. During the truce, at the decision of the council, Agamemnon went to Ulysses to encourage him to fight. Achilles sadly said that he would not come out: he said that peace should be sought but he was sorry because he could deny Agamemnon nothing; nevertheless, when the time came, he would send him his men, but would keep himself excused. Agamemnon thanked him.

(Ylias 6. 289-343)

- 32. The time for fighting arrived. The Trojans led out their army, and the Greeks opposed them. Achilles first drew up the Myrmidons and sent them ready to Agamemnon. There was a bigger battle, fought keenly. In the first line Troilus killed Greeks, put the Myrmidons to flight, drove the attack up to the camp, slaughtered many and wounded large numbers. Ajax Telamonius resisted, and the Trojans returned to the city victorious. Next day Agamemnon led out the army, and all the chiefs and Myrmidons came out; the Trojans gladly came to the front. They joined battle and both sides fought; the battle continued keenly for some days, and many thousands fell on each side. Troilus pursued the Myrmidons, laying them low and scattering them. When Agamemnon saw that many had been killed on his side, he asked for a thirty-day truce to bury the dead. Priam granted it, and both sides buried their dead.
- 33. The time for fighting arrived. The Trojans led out their army; Agamemnon on the other side gathered all the chiefs for the battle. When battle was joined, there was great slaughter and savage fighting. When the early part of the day had passed, Troilus first came out and slaughtered and scattered; the Greeks fled in commotion. When Achilles saw that Troilus was raging angrily, attacking the Greeks and ceaselessly scattering the Myrmidons, he came out to fight. Troilus immediately confronted him and wounded him, and Achilles, wounded, pulled back. The fight continued for six days. On the seventh day, while the two armies had joined battle and were fighting, Achilles, who had not been in the fight for some days because of his wound, drew up the Myrmidons; he urged and encouraged them to attack Troilus vigorously. When most of the day was

over, Troilus came out, happy on his horse. The Greeks fled in great commotion, but the Myrmidons came on and attacked Troilus; many of them were killed by Troilus. While they fought keenly, Troilus' horse was wounded and fell; it threw him and entangled him. Achilles came up quickly and killed him; he tried to drag him out of the battle but could not, because of Memnon's intervention. Memnon came up and snatched away Troilus' body and wounded Achilles, who retired from the battle. Memnon and many others pursued him; when Achilles saw him, he stopped; he recovered from his wound, and after a long fight heaped wounds on Memonon and killed him; he himself was wounded and withdrew from the battle.

(=Ylias 6. 344-470)

After the leader of the Persians had been killed, the rest fled into the city and closed the gates. Night stopped the fight. On the next day ambassadors were sent by Priam to Agamemnon to ask for a twenty-day truce, which Agamemnon granted immediately. Priam buried Troilus and Memnon with a magnificent funeral, and both sides carefully buried their dead.

34. Hecuba grieved because her bravest sons, Hector and Troilus, had been killed by Achilles. She therefore set about avenging her sorrow by a plan that was dangerous and typically female. She summoned her son Alexander and begged and urged him to avenge himself and his brothers: he was to prepare an ambush for Achilles and kill him unawares; he had sent a request to her to give him Polyxena in marriage; she would send to him, using Priam's words, to say that they should establish peace and make a treaty in the shrine of Apollo at Thymbra, in front of the gate; Achilles would come there to talk and she would plan an ambush there; she felt that she would have lived enough if she killed him. Alexander promised to try this. At night the bravest men were selected from the army and placed in Apollo's shrine; they were given a signal. Hecuba, as she had said, sent a message to Achilles. Achilles was delighted, as he loved Polyxena, and established that he would come to the shrine the next day. On the next day, with Nestor's son Antilochus, he came to the appointed place, and they both entered Apollo's shrine. Men ran out on them from ambush on all sides and hurled their weapons, urged on by Paris. Achilles and Antilochus wrapped their left arms in their cloaks and, with swords in their right hands, counterattacked. Achilles killed many; Alexander killed Antilochus

and stabbed Achilles himself with many wounds. Thus Achilles breathed his last in the ambush, fighting bravely but in vain. Alexander commanded him to be thrown out for the birds and wild beasts, but Helenus asked him not to do this. He ordered the bodies to be removed from the shrine and given back to the Greeks. The Greeks took them and carried them to the camp. Agamemnon gave them a magnificent burial and asked Priam for a truce so that he could make a tomb for Achilles and he held funeral games there.

(Ylias 6. 471-557)

35. Then he called a council and addressed the Greeks. Everyone agreed that everything of Achilles should be given to his relation Ajax, and so Ajax said that since Achilles' son Neoptolemus (Pyrrhus) survived, no one had more fair claim to rule the Myrmidons than he; he should be summoned to the war and all his father's belongings should be handed over to him. This advice pleased Agamemnon and the rest, and the task was entrusted to Menelaus. He went to Scyros to see his (Neoptolemus') grandfather Lycomedes, and told him to send his grandson. Lycomedes gladly granted this to the Greeks. After the truce ran out, Agamemnon led out, drew up and encouraged his army, and the Trojans came out from the city against them. Battle was joined, and Ajax fought unprotected in the front line. There was a great cry, and many died on both sides. Alexander stretched his bow, killed many, and transfixed Ajax's bare side. The wounded Ajax pursued Alexander and would not stop until he killed him, but exhausted by the wound he was carried back to camp, and when the arrow was pulled out he died. The body of Alexander was carried back to the city. Diomedes made a spirited attack on the enemy. The weary Trojans fled and were driven into the city by Diomedes. Agamemnon led his army round the city and besieged the walls all night; he took care that the watches were alternated. Next day Priam buried Alexander in the city; Helen followed with great wailing, since she had been treated honourably by him. Priam and Hecuba looked on her as a daughter and took care that she should not despise the Trojans or desire the company of the Greeks.

(=Ylias 6. 558-658)

36. On the next day Agamemnon drew up his army before the gates of Troy and challenged the Trojans to fight. Priam did not move but fortified the city, and waited quiet until Penthesilea arrived with the Amazons. After this Penthesilea arrived and led

the army against Agamemnon. There was a big battle, fought for several days. The Greeks were driven back to the camp and overwhelmed; only Diomedes resisted, and that with difficulty; otherwise she would have burned the ships and destroyed the entire army. When the battle was over, Agamemnon kept himself in the camp. Penthesilea, however, came out every day, attacking the Greeks and challenging them to fight. Agamemnon advisedly fortified and protected the camp and did not come out to war until Menelaus' return. Menelaus arrived at Scyros and handed over Achilles' arms to his son Neoptolemus (Pyrrhus). When Neoptolemus had received these, he came, and in the Greek camp he lamented greatly at his father's tomb. Penthesilea, as usual, drew up her ranks and advanced up to the Greek camp. Neoptolemus, leader of the Myrmidons, brought his line up opposite, and Agamemnon drew up the army. Both sides came together. Neoptolemus spread slaughter; Penthesilea blocked him and fought bravely; both of them fought keenly for several days and killed many. Penthesilea wounded Neoptolemus, but he, although in pain, struck down Penthesilea, leader of the Amazons. With this he put the whole Trojan army to flight; they fled defeated into the city; the Greeks surrounded the walls with their army, so that the Trojans could not come out.

(=Ylias 6. 673-704)

37. When the Trojans saw this, Antenor, Polydamas and Aeneas went to Priam. They suggested to him that he should call a council and consider what was to come of their fortunes. Priam called a council; they asked for permission to speak, and he told them to say what they wanted. Antenor reminded them that the leading defenders of Troy, Hector and Priam's other sons, had been killed along with the foreign leaders; the Greeks still had the very brave Agamemnon, Menelaus, Neoptolemus, who was just as brave as his father, Diomedes, Ajax of Locris, and many others, the very wise Nestor, and Ulysses; for their part the Trojans were shut up and crushed by fear. He argued that it would be better to give back to the Greeks Helen and everything that Alexander had taken with her, and to make peace. After a great deal had been said on the need to get peace, Priam's son Amphimachus, who was young but very brave, stood up; he addressed Antenor abusively and those who had sided with him; he criticized their actions, and said that they should instead lead out the army and assault the camp, until they either conquered or were defeated and died for their homeland. When he had finished, Aeneas

rose and with soft and gentle words argued against Amphimachus; he strongly argued that they should ask the Greeks for peace. Polydamas made the same arguments.

38. When they had finished talking, Priam showed great spirit and stood up; he made many accusations against Antenor and Aeneas: they had been the first to seek war and ask to be sent to Greece. He also rebuked Antenor for urging peace, since he had gone as an ambassador and had reported that he had been treated insultingly and had himself urged war. Then he attacked Aeneas, who had gone along with Alexander and taken Helen and the booty; it followed that they should not make peace. He ordered them all to be prepared, when he gave the signal, to break out from the gates, since he was sure that they would either be victorious or die. After he had said this at length and encouraged them, he dissolved the council. He took Amphimachus with him into the palace, and said he was afraid that those who urged peace would betray the city; they had many in the city who agreed with them, and it was necessary to kill them; if this was done, he would defend his homeland and defeat the Greeks. At the same time he asked Amphimachus to be faithful and obedient to him and be ready with armed men; this could be done without suspicion; the next day he would, as usual, perform divine service in the citadel and summon them to a banquet; then Amphimachus would burst in with armed men and kill them. Amphimachus approved the plan and promised to perform it, and so he left.

(=Ylias 6. 705-34)

37. On the same day, Antenor, Polydamas, Ucelagon and Dolon met; they said they were amazed by the obstinacy of the king, who preferred to die, shut up, along with his homeland and companions rather than make peace. Antenor said that he had found a way to their common advantage: he would tell them how it could be done if they would maintain loyalty to him. All pledged themselves to Antenor, and when Antenor saw that he had their word, he sent for Aeneas. He told him that the city was to be betrayed, and he and his followers must be careful: they must send someone to Agamemnon about the affair, and he must take care of it without raising suspicion; there was need of haste; he had noticed that Priam had angrily left the council because he urged peace on him; he was afraid that some new plan was afoot. They all promised, and immediately secretly

sent Polydamas, the least suspect of them, to Agamemnon. Polydamas arrived at the Greek camp, had a meeting with Agamemnon, and told him what he and his followers had decided.

40. Agamemnon called all his leaders to a secret council at night, and repeated the news; he told them to give their opinion. They all agreed to keep faith with the betrayers. Ulysses and Nestor said they were afraid to risk the plan. Neoptolemus argued against them, and after an argument it was agreed that a sign was required from Polydamas, to be sent through Sinon to Aeneas, Anchises and Antenor. Sinon went to Troy, and because Amphimachus had not yet given the keys of the gate to the guards, at the given sign Sinon heard the voices of Aeneas, Anchises and Antenor; reassured, he reported to Agamemnon. Then all agreed to pledge their loyalty with an oath: if on the next night they had handed the city over, faith would be kept with Antenor, Ucelagon, Polydamas, Aeneas, Dolon, and all their parents, as well as their children, wives, relatives, friends and neighbours—all who had conspired—and each would be permitted to keep all their property intact. When the pact had been confirmed and sealed by an oath, Polydamas urged them to lead the army by night to the Scaean gate, where the head of a horse was carved on the outside; there Antenor and Anchises had guards at night; they would open the gate to the Greek army and provide light; this was to be a sign of the assault.

(Ylias 6. 734-869)

41. After the pacts had been spoken and proclaimed, Polydamas returned to the city. He reported that the matter was settled, and told Antenor, Aeneas and all who were in the plot that they should lead all their men to that part; at night they should open the Scaean gate, show a light, and lead in the army. At night Antenor and Aeneas were ready at the gate; they received Neoptolemus, opened the gate to the army, showed a light, and took care to provide an escape route to protect themselves and their people. Neoptolemus provided a guard; Antenor led him into the palace, where a guard had been placed for the Trojans. Neoptolemus made the assault on the palace: he slaughtered the Trojans; he pursued Priam and cut him down before the altar of Jupiter. Aeneas met Hecuba as she fled with Polyxena; Polyxena gave herself to Aeneas, and Aeneas hid her with his father

Anchises. Andromache and Cassandra hid themselves in Minerva's temple. Throughout the night the Greeks continued to lay waste and take booty.

42. When day dawned, Agamemnon summoned all the leaders to the citadel. He gave thanks to the gods and praised the army; he ordered all the booty to be spread out openly and shared it among everyone. He then asked the army if they agreed to keep their pledge to Antenor and Aeneas and those who had conspired to betray their country. The whole army cried out that they agreed. So he summoned the conspirators and handed back their property. Antenor asked Agamemnon for permission to speak, which he granted. Antenor first thanked the Greeks and at the same time reminded them that Helenus and Cassandra had always urged their father to make peace, and it was at Helenus' persuasion that Achilles had been given back for burial. At the decree of the council Agamemnon granted Helenus and Cassandra their liberty. Helenus begged Agamemnon on behalf of Hecuba and Andromache, and recalled that he had always been loved by them. The council also decreed that they should be granted liberty. Meanwhile Agamemnon divided all the booty among the army as was right; he thanked the gods and made sacrifices. On the fifth day they decided to return home.

(=Ylias 6. 870-883, 894-7) 43. When the day of their departure arrived, huge storms arose and continued for several days. Calchas said that the gods below had not yet been satisfied. It occurred to Neoptolemus that Polyxena, for whose sake his father had died, had not been found in the palace. Agamemnon searched and complained; he accused the army and then ordered Antenor to be summoned; he told him to make inquiries and bring her to him when she had been found. Antenor went to Aeneas and very earnestly asked that before the departure of the Greeks Polyxena should be presented to Agamemnon. He discovered Polyxena, who had been hidden from them and took her to Agamemnon. Agamemnon handed her over to Neoptolemus, who slaughtered her at his father's tomb. Agamemnon was angry at Aeneas for hiding Polyxena, and ordered him immediately to take his family and leave the country. Aeneas departed with all his family. A few days after Agamemnon had left, Helen, sadder than when she had come, was carried home with her husband Menelaus. Helenus, with his sister Cassandra and Andromache, wife of his

brother Hector, and his mother Hecuba made for the Chersonese.

44. This is the end of the story that Dares Phrygius committed to writing, for he remained in Troy with Antenor's party. The war at Troy lasted ten years, six months, and twelve days. Of the Greeks, as shown by the daily reports that Dares copied, there fell 886,000 men, and of the Trojans, up to the betrayal, 676,000. Aeneas set out in the ships in which Alexander had gone to Greece, twenty-two in number; he was followed by every age of men, to the number of 3400. 2500 followed Antenor, and 1200 followed Helenus and Andromache.

Appendix C: Excerpts from Dictys Cretensis: <u>Ephemeridos Belli Troiani</u> (Selected solely to match the relevant passages in Joseph's *Ylias*).

(=Ylias 6.886-92) (Dictys 5.17)

Aeneas remained at Troy. After the departure of the Greeks he approached everyone from Dardanus and the almost adjacent island, and asked them to join him in driving Antenor from the kingship. After Antenor had learned this from a messenger whom he had subverted, Aeneas, returning to Troy, was forbidden entry, his plan unfulfilled. Thus he was forced to leave Troy with his inheritance; he came to the Adriatic Sea, after passing by many strange races. There, with his fellow sailors, he founded a city called Corcyra Melaenas.

(=Ylias 6.898-907) (Dictys 6.1)

After they had loaded everything that each of them had acquired in the war and embarked, they loosed the anchors and set sail. Then, with a good following wind, they arrived at the Aegean Sea; there rain and wind came and consequently the sea was stormy, so they had many troubles everywhere and, as ill chance had it, were scattered. One of these was the fleet of the Locrians; the sailors were impeded from their tasks by the storm and entangled with each other; finally the fleet was struck by a thunderbolt and shattered or burnt. The Locrian king Ajax tried to escape the shipwreck by swimming, and others floated by night using planks or other supports; after they came to Euboea,

they were driven on the rocks of Choerades and perished. For when he had learned what had happened, Nauplius, eager to avenge the death of Palamedes, had raised a beacon by night and forced them to turn aside to the rocks as though to port.

(=Ylias 6.908-944)

(Dictys 6.2)

At the same time, Oeax, son of Nauplius, brother of Palamedes, learned that the Greeks were returning home. He went to Argos and there stirred up Aegiale and Clytemnestra against their husbands with the false news that they were bringing with them from Troy wives to supersede them Aegiale therefore used the citizens to block the approaching Diomedes from entry. Clytemnestra and Aegisthus, allied to her in adultery, captured Agamemnon in an ambush and killed him; she soon married the adulterer and gave birth to Erigo Diomedes, who had been driven from the kingdom, met with Teucrus, who had been forbidden to enter Salamis by Telamon (because he had not defended his brother when he was ambushed) When more of those who had escaped the sea and the plots of their families had arrived at Corinth, they plotted to join forces and attack each kingdom and by war open up an entry to their people. Nestor forbade this course, urging that they should first test the minds of the citizens and not do something that would cause all Greece to be corrupted with internal discord through strife Then the story spread throughout Greece and all of the cities accepted their kings back

(=Ylias 6.944-52)

(Dictys 6.5-6 and 14-15)

At the same time Ulysses was driven onto Crete. . . . Idomeneus asked him how he had fallen upon such miseries, and he began to tell the story of the beginning of his wanderings: driven to Ismarus, he had sailed away, taking much booty won in the war; he was driven to the Lotus-eaters, and after suffering misfortune he arrived at Sicily, where he endured many indignities at the hands of the brothers Cyclops and Laestrygon, and finally lost most of his companions through their sons Antiphates and Polyphemus. He was driven through the islands of Aeolus and came to Circe, and from there to Calypso, both of them queens of the islands in which they stayed; with certain enticements these queens used to allure the hearts of guests to love them. . . . After this

he was driven on the rocks of the Sirens and was freed by his own effort. Finally, between Scylla and the fierce sea of Charybdis, which used to swallow up everything that entered it, he lost many ships and companions. . . .

(Dictys 6.6 *Ulysses then visited Alcinous, king of the Phaeacians*).

There, because of his fame, he was kindly received for several days, and he learned that Penelope was being sought in marriage by thirty famous suitors.

(Ulysses, his son Telemachus, and Idomeneus planned their assault).

They came secretly to Ulysses' home where the suitors were now replete with food and wine, and rushed in on them and killed them. When it was learned in the city by the people that Ulysses had arrived, he was received by them with pleasure and kindness, and he learned everything that had happened at home; he dealt out gifts and punishments as they deserved. Penelope and her chastity are widely known and renowned. . . .

(Dictys 6.14)

At this time Ulysses was alarmed by frequent auguries and nightmares . . .

Interpreters told him that his dream was a deadly omen and that he should be wary of ambushes from his son. He suspected Telemachus and sent him into the fields; he himself went away. Meanwhile, Telegonus, his son by Circe, arrived in search of his father; in spite of rebuffs by the guards, he persisted and killed many of them—they thought that he was Telemachus. Ulysses thought that the young man had been sent by Telemachus; he hurled a spear at him unsuccessfully. Telegonus threw his own spear at Ulysses, wounding him seriously. Ulysses was pleased that he had freed his son Telemachus from the sin of parricide. However, when Telegonus learned that he had killed his father, he was in great anguish, and Ulysses also learned that the dreams had been prophetic. He died three days later, advanced in years but physically strong.

(Dictys 6.4)

(=Ylias 6.953 - 8)

Meanwhile, across the whole island (of Crete), when it was learned that Helen

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had arrived there, many people, both men and women, flocked together to see the woman for whose sake almost the whole world had come together in war.