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The Structure of the Amazonia (Aethiopsis)¹

by
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I

There exists a group of vases, dated to the Hellenistic Age, decorated with illustrations from literary works. Called "Homeric bowls" by Carl Robert,² they form a sub-set of the pottery commonly referred to as "Megarian ware". Their subject matter ranges over ancient epic and tragedy, including such arcane work as Sophocles' lost tragedy, *Athamas*. One set of Homeric bowls (Robert's D; MB 23—26 Sinn) portrays three scenes, all clearly labeled: Priam supplicating Achilles (presumably for the body of his son, Hector); Priam greeting the Amazon queen, Penthesilea, before the tomb of Hector; Achilles confronting Penthesilea in battle. Penthesilea appeared in the *Amazonia*³ which we are told in the ancient summaries began the famous lost epic, *Aethiopsis*. Since Robert this set of bowls has been interpreted as presenting a mixture of scenes from two literary works, a mixture unique in Homeric bowls. I propose to make the more natural assumption that when two scenes on a set of objects come from one source, so does the third, especially when the set belongs to a series that typically shows scenes from only one work a bowl. This assumption and discrete use of Ockham's razor suggests a beginning for *Aethiopsis* rather different from that provided by other ancient evidence.

Our knowledge of the poems of the so-called "epic cycle" is split into two quite distinct and separate, but related, traditions. One branch (H) is represented by the Homeric bowls, the origins of which may now be dated to the last quarter of the third century B.C.⁴ They show, *inter alia*, scenes from *Iliad*, *Odyssey*, *Cypris*, *Aethiopsis*, *Ilias Micra* of Lesches, *Nostoi*, and various Greek tragedies, mainly Euripidean. Each bowl shows scenes from one literary work. (The "contamination" of two different works posited for the "Aethiopsis bowls" [MB 23—26 Sinn] is not found on other bowls.) These scenes are often labeled, sometimes with the title or author of the work that is the source.

The second branch (C) is much more complex and is itself divided into many subdivisions. Found both

in manuscripts and artistic representations, it is derived from an attempt to show the events of the Trojan War as a continuous narrative from its origins to the Sack of Troy and the Returns of the Greek Heroes.⁵ In written form, we have summaries of the poems of the epic cycle, such as that in the *Chrestomathia* of Proclus (fifth century, A.D., as it seems), found in the early Byzantine Middle Ages in manu-

¹ This essay expands and replaces pp. 930—931 of my article "Virgil and the Cyclic Epics," *Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt* II 31.2, Berlin/New York 1981, pp. 919—947, which also contains a brief bibliography and discussion of some basic problems. Fortunate limitations of space prevent the following notes from attempting more than introductions to the many and complex issues raised. The present form of this essay owes much to the helpfulness of the staffs of the Swedish Institute in Athens and the American Academy in Rome and discussion with the participants in the Symposium, especially Professor W. Burkert, Director R. Hägg, and Doctors N. Marinatos and O. Murray.

² From Suetonius, *Nero* 47.1: "duos scyphos gratissimi usus, quos Homeros a caelatura carminum Homeri vocabat. . . ." Some useful works include Carl Robert, "Homerische Becher," *Fünfzigstes Programm zum Winckelmannsfeste der Archäologischen Gesellschaft zu Berlin*, Berlin 1890, pp. 1—98; U. Hausmann, *Hellenistische Reliefbecher aus attischen und böotischen Werkstätten*, Stuttgart 1959; U. Sinn, *Die homerischen Becher. Hellenistische Reliefkeramik aus Makedonien*, Berlin 1979. I shall cite the bowls from Sinn, whose recent book includes earlier bibliography and clarifies many problems.

³ 'Αμαζονία is found as a work of Homer in Suda's article on Homer. Although modern scholars use the title for convenience' sake to refer to the first part of *Aethiopsis*, or to the hypothetical separate poem later attached to the beginning of *Aethiopsis* (see *infra* n. 29), there is no evidence that the title was so used in Antiquity.

⁴ Excavations at Demetrias allow a more secure dating; see Sinn (*supra* n. 2), pp. 37—40; U. Hausmann, "Der Iphigenie-Becher aus dem Piräus", *Wandlungen. Studien zur antiken und neueren Kunst Ernst Homann-Wedeking gewidmet*, Munich 1975, p. 227.

⁵ Ed. Schwartz, "Apollodorus" 61, *RE* I (1894), col. 2884: "Der epische Cyclus will kein Bild von den Epen geben — die Gedichte selbst und sonderlich ihre Ökonomie taugten ja nichts —, sondern die ἀκολουθία τῶν πραγμάτων, eine fortlaufende Erzählung."

scripts of *Iliad* and of the ninth century, A.D. Byzantine scholar and statesman, Photius.⁶ Proclus summarizes the events of the Trojan War, omitting the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, and divides the narrative according to the epics that told of the events that took place. The summary of the story of the Trojan War, including the plots of *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, found in the text of the epitome of the *Library* of Apollodorus (second century, A.D.) derives ultimately from the same source as Proclus.⁷

In art we have a wide variety of representations, related to the famous *tabula iliaca capitolina* composed by Theodorus in the early Augustan era; fragments of many other "Iliac tablets";⁸ sequences of paintings such as those found in the Casa del Criptoportico and Casa del Sacello Iliaco in Pompeii⁹ and presumably the "bellum Iliacum plurimis tabulis, quod est Romae in Philippi porticibus" attributed to Theorus by Pliny, *Natural History* 34.144;¹⁰ and other related scenes, such as that found on the sarcophagus lid showing Penthesilea's entrance into Troy, now in the Villa Borghese.¹¹ This second tradition (C) cannot be traced before Theodorus' time, the late first century, B.C. It has an iconography distinct from tradition H, the Homeric bowls. Compare, for instance, the parallel scenes showing the rescue of Aeneas by Poseidon, the confrontation of Lycaon and Achilles, and the meeting of Priam and Penthesilea.¹² To take the last example, as clearest and most relevant, in H, the Homeric bowls, Penthesilea shakes hands with Priam before the clearly marked tomb of Hector; in C, the tomb of Hector is missing and Penthesilea leads or rides a horse. C attempts to form a regular continuous narrative of the Trojan War. There is evidence that events which contradict or overlap with scenes in *Iliad* are removed or modified. There is most confusion over the beginnings and endings of poems. One Iliac tablet (3C) implies that the battle in which Chryseis is captured and her delivery to Agamemnon took place in *Iliad*.¹³ There is considerable unclarity over the presence of the quarrel over the arms of Achilles in different poems within the cycle.¹⁴ The narrative of the Sack of Troy is attributed to Stesichorus in one part of C (*tabula iliaca* 1A)¹⁵ and to Arctinus in another (Proclus). And so on.

The two branches, H and C, both go back ultimately to the text of *Aethiopsis*.¹⁶ H is a simple tradition; C complex and interpolated, a "tradizione aperta" in Giorgio Pasquali's language.¹⁷ H may be dated to the end of the third century, B.C.; gives only one literary work a bowl; and has a distinctive iconography. C cannot be found before the late first century, B.C.; gives a continuous narrative of the Trojan War; and has its own iconography. We might attempt a stemmatic representation somewhat as *Fig. 1*.¹⁸

We need both traditions, H and C, to reconstruct the poems of the epic cycle, but we must be aware of the different traditions' strengths and weaknesses. C gives us a fuller and more detailed account of the

epics, but it is prone to assimilation and is especially unreliable about the beginnings and endings of the works described.

II

I believe that a "stemmatic" analysis of the various sources of our knowledge of *Aethiopsis* leads us to the conclusion that C, the common source of Theodorus, Proclus and the rest, has misrepresented the begin-

⁶ The evidence for Proclus is conveniently discussed by T. W. Allen, *Homer. The Origins and the Transmission*, Oxford 1924, pp. 51—55. The Suda article places him in the fifth century A.D., but second century dates have been suggested by, e.g. F. G. Welcker, *Der epische Cyclus oder die homerischen Dichter* I, Bonn 1835 (21884), pp. 3—7; see A. Rzach, "Kyklos", *RE* XI (1922), col. 2351.

⁷ A good discussion in Ed. Schwartz (supra n. 5), cols. 2875—2886.

⁸ A. Sadurska, *Les tables iliagues*, Warsaw 1964; see also O. Jahn (-A. Michaelis), *Griechische Bilderchroniken*, Bonn 1873; U. Mancuso, *La 'Tabula Iliaca' del Museo Capitolino*, Rome 1911.

⁹ See Fr. Aurigemma, "Appendice: tre nuovi cicli di figurazioni ispirate all'Iliade in case della via dell'Abbondanza", in V. Spinazzola, *Pompei alla luce degli scavi nuovi di via dell'Abbondanza (anni 1910—1923)* II, Rome 1953, pp. 869—901.

¹⁰ That Theorus is not Theodorus, see Sadurska (supra n. 8), pp. 9—10.

¹¹ W. Helbig, *Führer durch die öffentlichen Sammlungen klassischer Altertümer in Rom*, 4th rev. ed. by H. Speier, II, Tübingen 1966, pp. 721—722, no. 1961 (B. Andreae); K. Weitzmann, *Ancient Book Illumination*, Cambridge, Mass. 1959 (Martin Classical Lectures 16), pp. 44—46.

¹² Brief analyses in Weitzmann (supra n. 11), pp. 37—39 (Lycaon-Achilles); pp. 43—46 (Penthesilea-Priam); p. 145, n. 20 (Poseidon-Aeneas).

¹³ The first three scenes on tablet 3C are 1) Achilles and Diomedes dividing spoils; 2) Chryseis led away in fetters; 3) Chryseis supplicating Agamemnon. That scenes 1) and 2) "took place at the very end of *Cypria*" (Weitzmann, supra n. 11, p. 42) was the conclusion of Jahn-Michaelis (supra n. 8), pp. 9—10, but is doubted by Sadurska (supra n. 8), p. 41; N. Horsfall, "Stesichorus at Bovillae?", *JHS* 99, 1979, p. 47.

¹⁴ See Carl Robert, *Bild und Lied*, Berlin 1881 (Philologische Untersuchungen 5), pp. 222—224; M. Schmidt, "Troika", diss. Göttingen 1917, pp. 12—29; Rzach (supra n. 6), cols. 2352—2353.

¹⁵ Schmidt (supra n. 14), pp. 60—93; Horsfall (supra n. 13), pp. 26—48.

¹⁶ Weitzmann (supra n. 12) first pointed out the iconographical differences between H and C, but his acceptance of "contamination" of *Iliad* and *Aethiopsis* on MB 23—26 Sinn caused him to have "little doubt regarding the dependence of the Megarian bowl (= MB 23—26 Sinn) on the 'epic cycle' (= C)" (supra n. 11), p. 44.

¹⁷ G. Pasquali, *Storia della tradizione e critica del testo*, 2nd ed., Florence 1952.

¹⁸ Separation of H and C: Weitzmann (supra n. 12); relation of Proclus and Apollodorus: R. Wagner, *Mythographi Graeci I. Apollodorus*, Leipzig 1894; connection of Proclus and Iliac tablets: Jahn-Michaelis (supra n. 8), pp. 26, 83, 87; Horsfall (supra n. 13), p. 46, nn. 167, 168, p. 47, n. 176 (although I do not share his reservations); connection of Iliac tablets and wall paintings: similarities: Weitzmann (supra n. 11), pp. 37—38; A. Sadurska, *Eos* 53, 1963, pp. 35—36; differences: K. Schefold, *Wort und Bild*, Basel 1975, p. 129 with note 636, which contains references to Aurigemma (supra n. 9), pp. 926—928, 937, 939—41, 948.

ning of *Aethiopsis* and that we must accept an *Aethiopsis* which included at least the supplication of Achilles by Priam for the body of Hector, as H suggests. This scene presupposes the death of Hector.¹⁹ Now there is a tradition in both art and literature about the death of Hector that is at least as common as the Iliadic version. It would make sense to attribute it to a major source. The variant is found in literature at Sophocles, *Ajax* 1031; Euripides, *Andromache* 107—108, 399 in Greek tragedy; and in later sources at Virgil, *Aeneid* 1.483; 2.272—73, 286; Curtius Rufus 4.6.29;²⁰ *Palatine Anthology* 7.151, 152; and in many artistic representations from the time of the Roman Empire.²¹ In this version Achilles slays Hector by tying the Trojan's feet to his chariot with the girdle given Hector by Ajax (see *Iliad* 7.303—305) and then dragging Hector to his death around the walls of Troy before family and fellow citizens. Achilles's charioteer, Automedon, is often present in pictures of this scene.²² (In *Iliad* Achilles slays Hector in a regular battle before the walls the Troy and then drags his corpse from Troy to the Greek ships where he proceeds to desecrate it by dragging it around the tomb of his best friend, Patroclus, whose death is described in *Iliad* 16.)

Achilles' savagery in this account has a parallel in another famous scene. On one wall of the François Tomb in Vulci, Italy, there is a painting (now in the Museo Torlonia in Rome) of Achilles' sacrificing Trojan captives to the ghost of Patroclus, a scene which differs in several respects from the scene as we know it from *Iliad* 23.179—182. Some of the differences involve the intrusion of Etruscan divinities into the scene, but others, such as the presence of Agamemnon and the two Ajaces (clearly marked as Telamonian and Oïlian) seem to be Greek and have no parallel in the Iliadic account. F. Messerschmidt showed that there are many representations of the scene, all going back to a fifth-century Greek original.²³ The representations typically and the painter of the François Tomb especially emphasize the brutality of the sacrifice and the suffering of the captives. The version we possess in *Iliad* 23.179—182 seems to be an abbreviated account from a fuller version, which the painting in the François Tomb helps us to reconstruct.

III

I would like to digress to avoid confusion. I have relied on evidence in art and literature mainly from the Hellenistic and Roman eras, because there is no serious doubt in these cases that the relevant sources go back to *Aethiopsis* and other poems of the epic cycle. There is some confirmation for my reconstruction from earlier periods and I refer to this evidence where convenient. Often, however, it is difficult to be sure that earlier artistic representations derive directly from literary sources and not from myth, folktale, or

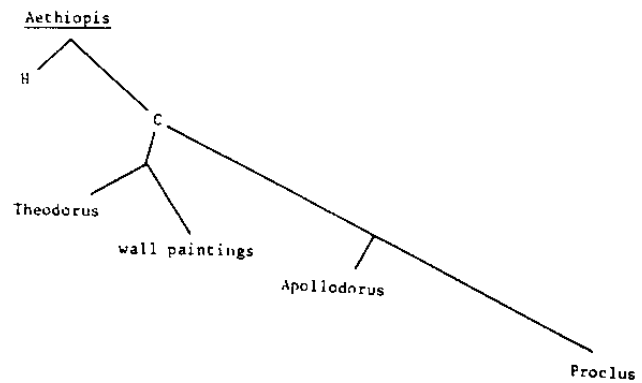


Fig. 1.

a hypothetical *Ur-Kyklos*, oral and not literary in nature.²⁴ So, for instance, most artistic representations of Amazonomachies involve Hercules, not Achilles.²⁵ There are some Archaic and Classical vases that have pictures of Achilles and Amazons, including Penthesilea, which are clearly labeled, though even they seem to reflect the iconography of Herculean Amazonomachies. The earliest picture of a warrior fighting an Amazon, on a terracotta votive shield from Tiryns, is taken by many to represent Achilles and Penthesilea.²⁶ Certainly there is nothing to indicate that the warrior is Hercules. The shield is dated to ca. 700 B.C. and could be evidence for an eighth century *Aethiopsis*. Some distinguished authorities believe that the shield shows us Hercules, as do most Archaic il-

¹⁹ Cf. E. Bethe, "Aithiopsis", *RE* I (1894), col. 1103, of the epic of Penthesilea: "Voraussetzung für diesen vermutlich nicht grosser Gesang war der Tod Hektors."

²⁰ J. E. Atkinson, *A Commentary on Q. Curtius Rufus' "Historiae Alexandri Magni" Books 3 and 4*, Amsterdam/Uithoorn 1980, p. 341 on 4.6.26—29: "Alexander treats Betis as Achilles did Hector: . . . Curtius is the only one to draw attention to the link with the legend of Achilles and Hector, but the reference is awkward not least because Hector was dead when Achilles dragged his corpse behind his chariot, but Betis was still alive."

²¹ These artistic representations are now being re-studied by Professor Martin Kilmer, University of Ottawa.

²² K. Bulas, *Les illustrations antiques de l'Iliade*, Lwow 1929 (*Eos Supplementum* 3) discusses the Hellenistic versions, pp. 92—96, but shows, pp. 18—23, that even archaic versions, which clearly show the tomb of Patroclus, may include Automedon.

²³ F. Messerschmidt, "Probleme der etruskischen Malerei des Hellenismus", *JdI* 45, 1930, pp. 62—90.

²⁴ Schefold (supra n. 18), pp. 27—28; W. Kullmann, *Die Quellen der Ilias*, Wiesbaden 1960 (*Hermes Einzelschriften* 14), p. 4.

²⁵ D. von Bothmer, *Amazons in Greek Art*, Oxford 1957.

²⁶ E.g., von Bothmer (supra n. 25), p. 1—2; K. Fittschen, *Untersuchungen zum Beginn der Sagenstellungen bei den Griechen*, Berlin 1969, p. 177; R. Hampe, *Frühe griechische Sagenbilder in Böotien*, Athens 1936, p. 81; idem, *Die Gleichnisse Homers und die Bildkunst seiner Zeit*, Tübingen 1952, pp. 30, 45, n. 23; H. L. Lorimer, *Homer and the Monuments*, London 1950, pp. 170—171; cf. *BSA* 42, 1947, p. 135, n. 4.

illustrations.²⁷ At any rate, one can hardly date or reconstruct *Aethiopsis* from this isolated piece of evidence. To take another example from the other side of Antiquity, a clear representation of the slaying of Penthesilea by Achilles on a painted shield from Dura Europos (third century A.D.), though not doubtful in content, seems to reflect in iconography the Amazonomachy of the Shield of Athena Parthenos of Phidias.²⁸

I have therefore ignored much interesting evidence that is not probative to concentrate on evidence that I believe is. A "stemmatic" analysis of evidence that clearly goes back to the literary *Aethiopsis* gives us the supplication of Achilles by Priam as part of *Aethiopsis*. A reasonable hypothesis that extends *Aethiopsis* further back in time is confirmed as much as such a hypothesis can be by the existence of deeply-rooted non-Iliadic traditions.

IV

How do these discoveries affect what we can know of the interpretation of *Aethiopsis*? Here we enter a more speculative area, but one worth at least discussing. It will not affect the validity of the first two parts of this essay. Many good scholars believe that *Aethiopsis* should be interpreted in the narrow sense of the epic of Memnon the Ethiopian, a *Memnonis*.²⁹ This is largely because the Proclan story of Penthesilea is a mere fragment attached to *Iliad*. With this new interpretation, following the evidence of H, Penthesilea may resume her place as an integral part of a great epic. Although I shall discuss the influence of *Aethiopsis* on *Iliad* 24, it is, of course, possible that influence went in the reverse direction or that the two works were contemporary or, at least, independent. I trust that hypotheses on these moot points will not affect readers' acceptance of other arguments.

Iliad 24 shows a changing Achilles, a man beginning to understand the implications of war and heroism. I believe that *Aethiopsis* did the same. Achilles appears first as a savage and relentless warrior, who slays his enemy ruthlessly before wife and child, mother and father, and fellow citizens. He may have sold Hector's body back to his father by weighing it in a scale, as we see in Aeschylus' *Phrygians* and the *crûche de Berthouville*.³⁰ Achilles' sacrifice of the Trojan captives, a scene rather passed over in *Iliad*, may have been equally savage, as the François Tomb painting tends to suggest.

The sarcophagus lid from the Villa Borghese suggests that a lament of Andromache with her son, Ashtyanax, followed and then the arrival of Penthesilea.³¹ It is reasonable to place the lament at the burial of Hector. (See the end of *Iliad* 24.) The transitional lines may have survived. The T-scholia to *Iliad* 24.804 provides as a variant two lines of transition from Hector's burial to the arrival of Penthesilea.³²

ὧς οἱ γ' ἀμφίεπον τάφον Ἑκτορος ἦλθε δ'
'Αμαζῶν

Ἄρῃος θυγάτηρ μεγαλήτορος ἀνδροφόνου.

"den keine überlieferung, sondern nur moderne willkür für den anfang der Aithiopsis ausibt."³³ Erich Bethe vainly urges, "Ähnlich war auch die Ilias mit den Kyprien verbunden: Anecd. Osanni ἐσπετε νῦν. Ein prooimion s. 'Kleine Ilias' Frg. 1".³⁴ The prooemiums he cites begin traditionally with either second person imperatives to the Muses, or the first person singular of the poet. Imperatives are found in the other parallels cited by scholars from Welcker on.³⁵ Ancient epics began with invocations of the Muse(s) or proclamations by the poet, not with a Xenophontean μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα.

²⁷ E. Kunze, *Archaische Schildbänder*, Berlin 1950 (Olympische Forschungen II), p. 151, n. 1; F. Brommer, *Herakles. Die zwölf Taten des Helden in antiker Kunst und Literatur*, Cologne 1953, p. 72, n. 41 (cf. *Gnomon* 30, 1958, p. 346); K. Schefold, *Frühgriechische Sagenbilder*, Basel 1964, p. 22.

²⁸ K. Weitzmann, *Age of Spirituality*, Princeton 1979, pp. 223—24, no. 200 (Malcolm Bell).

²⁹ Scholars who feel that Amazonia existed as an epic separate from *Memnonis* (= *Aethiopsis*) include C. A. Lobeck, *Aglaophamus I*, Regimontii Prussorum 1829, p. 417; E. Bethe (supra n. 19), col. 1103; Rzsch (supra n. 6), col. 2398 and most Neoanalytiker, e.g. H. Pestalozzi, *Die Achilleis als Quelle der Ilias*, Zürich 1945, p. 5; W. Schadewaldt, "Einblick in die Erfindung der Ilias: Ilias und Memnonis", *Von Homers Welt und Werk*, 4th ed., Stuttgart 1965, pp. 155—202 = *Varia variorum. Festgabe für K. Reinhardt*, Cologne 1952, pp. 13—48.

³⁰ Aeschylus, *Phryges* fr. 254 Mette; cf. F. Brommer, *Vasenlisten zur griechischen Heldensage*, 2nd ed., Köln 1960, p. 331, D3; Bulas (supra n. 22), pp. 96—104, discusses the weighing scenes in Roman art.

³¹ Weitzmann (supra n. 11), p. 45, uses the sarcophagus lid to show that Andromache's lament "is the initial scene of the *Aethiopsis*".

³² H. Erbse, *Scholia Graeca in Homeri Iliadem (scholia vetera)*, V, Berlin 1977, p. 642; see H. J. M. Milne, *Catalogue of the Literary Papyri in the British Museum*, London 1927, p. 20 for the variant with Penthesilea's mother, Otrere: Ὀτρῆρης θυγάτηρ εὐειδῆς Πενθεσίλεια.

³³ U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, *Homerische Untersuchungen*, Berlin 1884 (Philologische Untersuchungen 7), p. 373.

³⁴ E. Bethe, *Homer. Dichtung und Sage*, II.2.4, Leipzig/Berlin 1929, p. 129 = *Der Troische Epenkreis*, Darmstadt 1966, p. 20.

³⁵ Welcker (supra n. 6), p. 214 cited Hesiod, *Theogony* 1021—1022 = *Catalogue of Women*, fr. 1.1—2 Merkelbach-West. G. Huxley, *Greek Epic Poetry*, Cambridge, Mass. 1969, p. 147: "Here the linkings of the end of Hesiod's *Theogony* to the *Catalogues of Women*, of *Catalogues* Book iv to the *Shield* and of the *Days* to the *Ornithomanteia* are analogous." The *Catalogue* begins with an invocation to the Muses, as does the expansion that begins at Th. 963. We do not know how *Ornithomanteia* began (see R. Merkelbach-M. L. West, *Fragmenta Hesiodica*, Oxford 1967, p. 157), although I doubt it lacked an invocation. The expansion of one of the many *Ehoiae* by a brief tale of Hercules, of course, bears no resemblance to the linking of independent epics, as the linking by an invocation to the muses of *Iliad* and *Cypria*, recorded in *Anecdota Romanum*, reported by Bethe (supra n. 34) under the name "Anecd. Osanni."

The two lines could not be the beginning of an epic poem, but no more could a major theme be introduced as a line and a half conclusion to *Iliad*, as Wilamowitz suggested. The scholia may not be giving us a variant for the end of *Iliad*, but a variant for the line itself, drawn from *Aethiopsis*, not at the beginning, but later. The lines make most sense as a transition from the first sequence of *Aethiopsis* to the second, from the death, ransoming, and burial of Hector to the arrival of the Amazon queen. Such brief summaries which are then expanded are fully in epic style.³⁶

Troy now hopes in the great Amazon queen and warrior, Penthesilea. Art shows her arrival, compact with Priam, and the arming of her soldiers. She wins some victories, as Proclus tells us and as Virgil's imitation in *Aeneid* 11 suggests, but in the end she falls fighting Achilles. Thersites, the ugly plebeian we know from *Iliad* 2,³⁷ mocks Achilles for his remorse (suggesting that Achilles is in love?³⁸) and even desecrates her body, putting out an eye, according to the Scholia to Sophocles, *Philoctetes* 445 (364 Papageorgius). In fury Achilles slays Thersites and must then be purged of blood pollution by the wiser and calmer Odysseus. This is the prelude to Achilles' final battle with a true peer, another son of a goddess, Memnon the Ethiopian, son of the Dawn, and Achilles' own death in the Scaean Gate at the hands of Paris and Apollo (see *Iliad* 22.359-360). For many years it has been clear that parts of *Iliad* could be most easily understood as influenced by *Aethiopsis*,³⁹ especially the rescue of Nestor in *Iliad* 8,⁴⁰ the arrival of Thetis and the Nereids to mourn Patroclus in *Iliad* 18,⁴¹ and certain parts of the battle of Sarpedon and Patroclus in *Iliad* 16, such as the weighing of the fates and the carrying off of the body of the loser by Death and Sleep.⁴² Virgil indicates that there were passages in *Iliad* and *Aethiopsis* that were at least parallel, such as the divine armor made by Hephaestus for the heroes, Achilles (*Iliad* 18) and Memnon.⁴³

The Amazonia that was reported as beginning *Aethiopsis* found little place in this scholarly discussion.⁴⁴ It seemed a mere fragment, added to fill out the ἀκολουθία τῶν πραγμάτων. With this new reconstruction, which began with a reassessment of the value of the evidence of the Homeric bowls, we can glimpse an influence on or parallelism to *Iliad* 24. In *Iliad* 24 Achilles confronts Hector's broken father and remembers his own. He is led to an understanding of and perhaps even compassion for human suffering that he had lacked. In *Aethiopsis* Achilles meets an opponent as beautiful and gallant as himself. This confrontation does not lead to mercy, but to a feeling for the vanity and hopelessness of his angry, driven heroic accomplishments. He sees that "the paths of glory lead but to the grave". His first response is an outburst of that irrational savagery which he feared would break out when he confronts Priam in *Iliad* 24.568—571, but he then learns to accept the control and moderation of Odysseus. (See the contrast of the

two men in *Iliad* 19.145—237.) We see why he was not fighting when Memnon arrives and attacks Nestor and kills Antilochus, the Patroclus of *Aethiopsis*. We shall never know, unless the gods that guard the sands of Egypt smile upon us, why he attacked Troy so futilely after the death of Memnon. (Compare Patroclus' charge against Troy in *Iliad* 16.684—711 and Achilles' address at *Iliad* 22.376—394.) The reason may have been the despair of human achievement, of human accomplishment that he glimpsed for the first time when he looked upon the face of the beautiful Penthesilea. (See the famous Penthesilea cup, fifth century B.C., in Munich.)

If *Iliad* 24 followed *Aethiopsis*, as seems most reasonable to me, it is no wonder that that great poet

³⁶ See, e.g., *Iliad* 1.8—12; 5.1—3. Brief summarizing introduction followed by expansion is typical of catalogues, similes, and battle narrative.

³⁷ See W. Kullmann, "Die Probe des Achaiherheeres in der Ilias", *Museum Helveticum* 12, 1955, pp. 270—272.

³⁸ Scholars often try to remove *eros* from early Greek literature, following Homer's bowdlerizing example; see G. Murray, *The Rise of the Greek Epic*, 4th ed., Oxford 1934 ('1907), pp. 132—135; Kullmann (supra n. 24), pp. 46—47. The Munich Penthesilea vase does not contradict the tradition. It is compared with the Tiryns terracotta votive by Hampe, *Gleichnisse* (supra n. 26), pp. 38—39, plates 21—22.

³⁹ The Neoanalytiker had a predecessor in O. Gruppe, *Griechische Mythologie und Religionsgeschichte*, Munich 1906, pp. 680—683 and notes. For bibliography, see Kopff (supra n. 1), p. 922, n. 20. Attacks include U. Hölscher, *Gnomon* 27, 1955, pp. 391—398; D. L. Page, *CR* n.s. 11, 1961, pp. 205—209; A. Dihle, *Homer-Probleme*, Opladen 1970, pp. 9—44 (cf. W. Kullmann, *Gnomon* 49, 1977, pp. 529—543). J. Griffin, "The Epic Cycle and the Uniqueness of Homer", *JHS* 97, 1977, pp. 39—53 demonstrates Homer's special qualities when compared with other archaic epics, which have been dated from the eighth to the sixth centuries, B.C. (his p. 39, n. 9) and authored on three continents. He does not attempt to show that Homer could not have been influenced by his inferiors, as was Shakespeare, or that the different epics were all of a piece.

⁴⁰ Welcker (supra n. 6), II², p. 174; U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorf, *Die Ilias und Homer*, Berlin 1916, pp. 45—46, and Neoanalytiker from J. Th. Kakridis, *Homeric Researches*, Lund 1948 (Skrifter utg. av Kungl. Humanistiska Vetenskapssamfundet i Lund, 49), p. 94.

⁴¹ Kakridis (supra n. 40), pp. 65—75.

⁴² *Kerostasie*: Welcker (supra n. 6), II², p. 175; Robert, *Bild und Lied* (supra n. 14), p. 143; Schadewaldt (supra n. 29), p. 164. Memnon and Sleep and Death: H. Brunn, "Troische Miszellen, dritte Abteilung", *Sitzungsberichte der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philos.-philol. Klasse*, 1880, pp. 157—216 = *Kleine Schriften* III, Leipzig/Berlin 1906, pp. 104—134; see K. Friis Johansen, *The Iliad in Early Greek Art*, Copenhagen 1967, pp. 255—256.

⁴³ Ed. Fraenkel, "Vergil und die Aithiopsis", *Philologus* 87, 1932, pp. 242—248 = *Kleine Beiträge zur klassischen Philologie* II, Rome 1964, pp. 173—179; Kopff (supra n. 1).

⁴⁴ Amazonia is used against Pestalozzi and Schadewaldt (supra n. 29) by F. Focke, "Homerisches", *La nouvelle Clio* 3, 1951, pp. 335—337; Hölscher (supra n. 39), pp. 391—392.

was entranced by the wisdom of tragic self-knowledge he found in his predecessor and preserved it in his own way in the last book of the extant *Iliad*, a final fragrance of the vision of the poet of the *Amazonia* that began the great lost epic, *Aethiopsis*.

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Discussion

O. Murray: What puzzles me is how are we to tell which is the source of which, when we have two such different poems as this. One of the things that has been said recently is that the rest of the Epic Cycle is far more blood-thirsty, and far more given to magnificent magical scenes than Homer (J. Griffin, "The Epic Cycle and the Uniqueness of Homer", *JHS* 97, 1977, pp. 39—53). If that is true in general of the rest of the Epic Cycle, then why not follow the normal view and see the rest of the Cycle dependent on Homer rather than the other way around?

E. C. Kopff: First I would distinguish between levels of methodological certainty in my paper. (a) The non-Proclan beginning I take to be a certain result of the 'stemmatic' analysis of the tradition. (b) The structure is a likely hypothesis, reasonably confirmed by the extant evidence. (c) Other points are by their nature more speculative, e.g. the meaning of *Aethiopsis* and its relation to *the Iliad*. I am not certain that *Aethiopsis* preceded *Iliad*, but I believe that the literary

critical evidence suggests that it did. Why otherwise did the poet of the *Iliad* choose the confrontation of Achilles with Hector and not with Memnon? Why so many references to Achilles' death, a theme of the *Aethiopsis*?

W. Burkert: I agree that the arguments of the priority of the *Aethiopsis* against the *Iliad* are to be taken seriously, though they may apply to earlier oral stages of this theme. But what strikes me is that the *Amazonomachia* does not really come in. From the point of view of narrative, the *Amazonomachia* is not the story of Achilles and Memnon, and all the comparisons apply to the story of Achilles and Memnon. The *Amazonomachia* is an additional theme that Achilles fights still another adversary, Penthesileia. It seems to me that it is just a coincidence that in the summary of Proclus the *Amazonomachia* takes part of the *Memnonis* and that both are labelled *Aethiopsis*.

E. C. Kopff: *Amazonia*, as my title suggests, may have been a separate work. The title is very late (Suda, 10th cent. A.D.) and the great scholars who ignored it in working on *Aethiopsis* were using Proclus' summary. In my interpretation, it provides a good introduction to the tale of Memnon and explains why Achilles was not fighting when Memnon first appears. The appearance of Achilles and Ajax in the beginning is balanced by their deaths at the end (*Hoplomachia* and Ajax's suicide are attested for *Aethiopsis*) leaving the less heroic but self-controlled Odysseus, as in Sophocles' *Ajax* and what we know of Arctinus' *Iliupersis*.

I believe that understanding the variant couplet preserved in *Iliad* scholia to 24,804 as a variant, not the end of *Iliad* or beginning of *Aethiopsis*, is consistent with scholiastic practice and good epic technique.