
The papyrus roll P. Oxy. 2637 of the mid-second century AD contains a fragmentary commentary on a number of lyric poems by Ibycus and at least three by Sappho (S259-261).\(^1\) Ascription to Ibycus is based on dialect ('a conventional Doric' showing 'no obvious signs of lateness')\(^2\) and on the fact that the poet is named in S223(a) and S225 Dav.\(^3\) Scholars have discussed the mythological content of S220 and S223(a) Dav., and have tentatively identified the lemmata in S220-221 Dav. as belonging to early epinicians,\(^4\) but very little has so far been written about S222 and S224 Dav., despite the fact that both fragments contain a certain amount of reasonably intelligible quotation and commentary. An exception in the case of S224 is a recent article by Eleonora Cavallini to be found amongst her ongoing series of 'Note a Ibico'.\(^5\) The following is intended to shed further light on this

---


tantalizing fragment by supplementing the Italian scholar's research, being at times critical of certain suggestions she makes in her article, but generally supportive. I will pay particular attention to her thesis that the Troilus of this fragment can be interpreted as Achilles' eromenos.

The opening lines of S224 Dav. concern Achilles' murder of Troilus in the sanctuary of Apollo Thymbraeus outside the walls of Troy. The fragment then passes rapidly, and a little obscurely, to the aftermath. Our text reads:

The lemma in lines 7-8 (in a dactylo-epitrite metre: D/-e/-E) is followed by several lines of commentary outlining the location of

---


6 P. Oxy. 2637 fr.12 = S224 Dav.
the murder,\textsuperscript{7} the vengeance (?) of the gods upon Achilles (lines 10-12; an interpretation possibly supported by Schol. on Lycophron 307, see further below), and, conceivably, the presence of Polyxena, Troilus' sister, at the ambush of her brother, and/or the part she played in a later, post-Homeric tradition of Achilles' death. The recurrence of words denoting siblings is confusing, however. We have \( \delta \varepsilon \lambda \phi \eta \) in line 13 (cf. line 18 where the word seems to recur in either masculine or feminine form) and \( \kappa \alpha \sigma \iota \nu \) or \( \kappa \alpha \sigma \iota \gamma \nu \tau - \) in line 17.\textsuperscript{8} It is of course possible that the \( \delta \varepsilon \lambda \phi \eta \) (or one of the \( \delta \varepsilon \lambda \phi \alpha \iota \)) in question is Cassandra;\textsuperscript{9} but this sister was not so directly involved in the deaths of Troilus and/or Achilles. Unless the commentator also concerned himself with the prophecy of these deaths (and we have no firm evidence to suggest that he did), Cassandra is much less likely to have been mentioned in lines 13ff.

Broadly speaking, the legend of Troilus' death can be divided into two major traditions. In the one, the Trojan is a warrior killed in battle; in the other, he is a younger man, a \( \nu \alpha \iota \varsigma \), ambushed and killed by Achilles, or, in certain sixth-century artistic representations of the incident, a mere child murdered by the Achaeans.\textsuperscript{10} The first tradition is followed by Iliad 24.255-59, where Priam laments the deaths of his bravest sons, including

\textsuperscript{7} The sanctuary of Apollo Thymbraeus was said to lie 10 stades outside the walls of Troy. See Hesych. s.v. \( \theta \varphi \mu \beta \rho \alpha \) (ii.328 Schmidt). Cf. Dio Chrys. 11.78.

\textsuperscript{8} Page in Supplementum (n.1) 66, describes these supplements as 'veri sim.' The faint fragment of an upright visible on the papyrus after \( \delta \varepsilon \lambda \phi \) in line 13 is consistent with an eta. See Lobel (n.2) 151 & Pl.X.

\textsuperscript{9} So speculates Cavallini (n.5) 42, who, citing the appearance of Cassandra in Ibycus 303(a) Dav. and S151 Dav., suggests \( \tau \alpha \ \pi \rho \sigma \epsilon \iota \pi \nu \eta \mu \epsilon \nu \alpha \) (i.e. her prophecies) as a possibility in S224.13. But we find Polyxena in Ibycus too (307 Dav.) and \( \tau \alpha \ \pi \rho \sigma \epsilon \iota \pi \nu \eta \mu \epsilon \nu \alpha \) could mean 'the aforementioned'.

This is the only mention of Troilus in the *Iliad*, but he was definitely killed on the field of battle (*II. 24.260: τοὺς μὲν ἀπόλεσ 'Ἀρης*), a fully-grown man according to the scholiasts on *II. 24.257.* The tradition to which Homer merely alludes was recast by Vergil whose Troilus ἵπποχάρμης is a more tragic figure: an *infelix puer* unfairly matched against Achilles.13

Homer's brief allusion to the death of Troilus in battle suggests that this version was already part of an established tradition. The *lemma* in S224 Dav. on the other hand is actually the earliest extant literary evidence known to us of the other tradition, but beyond educated guesswork, we have no means of knowing how old this tradition was by the time of Ibycus' *floruit*, i.e. c.560-530BC.14 The *Cypria* (often ascribed to Stasinus of Cyprus) continued an account of Troilus' death, but in his summary of the poem Proclus shows little interest in the event, merely stating that Achilles Τρωίλον φονεύει.15 Some scholars, however,

11 In Homer, the epithet is applied to a warrior who fights from a chariot. In the fifth century, it tends to mean 'fighting on horseback'. See *Eschilo: I Persiani*, ed. L. Belloni (Milan, 1988) 86 (on line 29); cf. R.W. Garson, *Phoenix* 39/1 (1985) 3.

12 Schol.T: καὶ τὸν Τρωίλον οὐ παίδα, διότι ἐν τοῖς ἀρίστοις καταλέγεται; Schol.A: Ὅμηρος δὲ διὰ τοῦ ἐπιθέτου (ἵπποχάρμης) τέλειον ἀνδρὰ ἐμφαίνει· οὐ γὰρ ἄλλος ἰππόμαχος λέγεται.


14 The chronography of Ibycus is fraught with difficulties, but the sometimes contradictory evidence affords a *floruit* ranging from c.560-530BC. For a thorough and lucid discussion of the problems, see L. Woodbury, 'Ibycus and Polycrates', *Phoenix* 39/3 (1985) 193-220.

15 *Epicorum Graecorum Fragmenta*, ed. M. Davies (Göttingen, 1988) 32, line 82. G.L. Huxley would place the composition of the *Cypria*, the *Ilias Parva* and the *Ilipopersis* in the early seventh century: *Greek Epic Poetry* (London,
believe that the phrase οἱ νεώτεροι in Schol. A. II. 24.257 refers especially to the poet of the *Cypria*: Τρώιλον ἵπποχάρμην: ὅτι ἐκ τοῦ εἰρήσατι ἵπποχάρμην τὸν Τρώιλον οἱ νεώτεροι ἐφ' ἰππο διωκόμενον αὐτὸν ἐποίησαν. Whether the phrase includes the *Cypria* or not, the scholiast is certainly of the opinion that the episode of Troilus’ ambush, pursuit and death at the hands of Achilles stems from the earlier tradition of the ἵπποχάρμης killed in battle.

The all too brief accounts of Troilus’ ambush and murder which we find in the scholiasts and mythographers show a basic consistency: Troilus was out exercising his horses near the sanctuary of Apollo Thymbraeus when he was attacked. This is the version Sophocles followed in his *Troilus*, according to Schol. T II.24.257: ἐντεύθεν Σοφοκλῆς ἐν Τρώιῳ φησίν αὐτὸν <λοχηθήναι> ὑπὸ Ἀχιλλέως ἵππους γυμνάζοντα παρὰ τὸ θυμβραίον καὶ ἀποθανεῖν. Apollodorus, however, says nothing about horses, places the murder inside the sanctuary (cf. Eustath.), and has the whole incident take place shortly after the Greeks disembarked: μὴ θαρροῦντων δὲ τῶν βαρβάρων, Ἀχιλλεὺς ἐνθέδεσας Τρώιλον ἐν τῷ τοῦ θυμβραίου Ἀπόλλωνος ἱερῷ φονεύει (Epit. 3.32). The poet of the *Cypria* also places Troilus’ death early in the Trojan War: Proclus’ summary includes it amongst Achilles’ earlier exploits.

1969) 126 and 144. Davies, on the other hand, is reluctant to date most of the Epic Cycle poems ‘before the second half of the sixth century’, given ‘the lack of unity of these epics as a whole and their status as attempts to fill in the gaps left by Homer’s poems’, *The Epic Cycle* (Bristol, 1989) 4.

16 For views that the scholiast is referring to the *Cypria*, see Cavallini (n.5) 40 n.11. The scholiast’s comment, with Apollod. Epit. 3.32 (see below), is consigned to the Fragmenta Dubia of the *Cypria* by A. Bernabé, *Poetarum Epicorum Graecorum Testimonia et Fragmenta Pars 1* (Leipzig, 1987) 63.

The evidence of the vase paintings which depict episodes of the whole incident from ambush to murder is particularly interesting because many of the earliest examples date from the second quarter of the sixth century (i.e. a little before the generally accepted floruit of Ibycus). Furthermore, it is often suspected that there is a literary tradition behind it. The continuous frieze on the François vase (c. 570BC) is said to follow the account in the Cypria, though this is very much an educated guess based on Schol. A II. 24.257 quoted above. The frieze extends half way round the large volute crater and shows a youthful Troilus on horseback attempting to escape from Achilles who has ambushed him at a fountain and is now pursuing him on foot. Polyxena is also present; she has dropped the hydria she had filled at the nearby fountain and is now running in front of her brother's horses. A fountain is again the location of Troilus' ambush on an Attic black-figured hydria (c. 575-550): Achilles, lying in wait, watches both Polyxena and Troilus approach the spring, the latter on horseback. The ambush at the fountain (where Troilus had come to water his horses after exercising

---


19 Early examples are described and discussed in some detail by T. Gantz, Early Greek Myth (Baltimore & London, 1993) 598-600. The earliest, showing Achilles in pursuit of Troilus, can be dated to c.650BC, Gantz 598.


21 See S. Woodford, The Trojan War in Ancient Art (Ithaca, 1993) 57-58. Polyxena is named on the vase (three letters and traces of a fourth).

22 Scherer (n.20) 53 fig.40. Cf. Lex. Icon. Myth. Class. (henceforth LIMC, Zurich/Munich 1981) viii.92 fig. 3 and 93 fig. 10. Cf. also the close parallel on an Attic neck amphora, M. Robertson, 'Ibycus, Polycrates, Troilus, Polyxena', BICS 17 (1970) 11-15, p.13 and Pl. 1(a); the fresco in the Tomb of the Bulls, Tarquinii (c.550 or slightly later; Troilus unaccompanied), M. Pallottino, Etruscan Painting (Geneva, 1952) 29-32.
them) may be a variant of the ambush at the temple of Apollo Thymbraeus. On the other hand, if fountain and temple were in reasonably close proximity, the ambush in some accounts might have taken place at the fountain and the murder at the temple (specifically at the altar where the young Trojan had sought sanctuary after a chase).  

But why should Achilles kill the unarmed and defenceless youth at the temple of Apollo? When we consider the question of motivation, the legend divides once again into two major traditions. In the one, Troilus had to be assassinated because of an oracle: his city would be safe if he reached his twentieth year. The other introduces a love-motive: Achilles killed the handsome Troilus at the altar of Apollo when the boy rejected his advances. So Lycophron (*Alex.* 307-13), who presents the deed with a typical mixture of graphic detail and recondite allusion, characteristics which suggest the elaboration of an earlier tradition. The tradition apparently goes back to a period earlier than the Hellenistic, earlier too than the late classical vase-paintings which appear to depict Troilus as an eromenos. For the young Trojan seems to have been portrayed as such by Phrynichus in a verse (fr. 13 Snell: λάμψει δ ’ἐπι πορφυρέας παρήσι φώς ἐρωτος) which Sophocles is said to have quoted in praise of a boy at a symposium (*Athen.* 604a). Was Sophocles also familiar with

---

23 Fountain and altar in close proximity, cf. Gantz (n.19) 601; Séchan (n.20) 218. The iconography of the whole incident can be divided into 1) the ambush at the fountain-house; 2) the pursuit; 3) Achilles kills Troilus a fugitive at the altar of Apollo, or alternatively Achilles drags Troilus to the altar and kills him there; 4) the fight over the body. See Gantz, 599; A. Cambitoglou, 'Troilus pursued by Achilles', in *Studies in Honour of T.B.L. Webster* Vol.2 (Bristol, 1988) 1-21.

24 First Vatican Myth., *loc. cit.* (n.17); Servius on *Aen.* 2.13.

25 See Cambitoglou (n.23) 9 and 13. Perhaps we can include the Campanian bell-crater of c. 350BC (Sydney 69.10) if Troilus' pose on this vase is modelled on the Pothos of Scopas, which was sculpted for a shrine of Aphrodite in Megara (*Paus.* 1.43.6). See A. Cambitoglou & J. Wade, *Antike Kunst* 15 (1972) 90-94, Pl.23.
the legend of Troilus as the eromenos of Achilles, and did he base the *Troilus* on it? Further iconographic evidence would place the tradition as far back as the first quarter of the sixth century. The figures painted above the fresco of Achilles and Troilus in the Tomb of the Bulls (above n.22) suggest an erotic relationship between the two, while a bronze lamina from Olympia shows the boy holding a cockerel, the love-token most often given to the eromenos in Archaic art.

It is impossible to say which motive for the murder—oracle or frustrated love—belongs to the earlier tradition, but the second motive can only involve an adolescent Troilus; the first, the child or the adolescent. One reason for suspecting that the love-motive is at least as old as the first quarter of the sixth century is the downright brutality of Troilus' murder as depicted on a number of vases dating from 570BC. A jealous rage might explain the ferocity of the murder on these vases, Troilus being decapitated at the altar, as in Lycophron. Gantz suggests that the device of an oracle was introduced into the story sometime later 'to palliate unseemly actions', but if Troilus appears in early- to mid-sixth century art as a mere child butchered at the altar by Achilles, then it can be argued that the oracle device is just as ancient as the

---

26 See A.C. Pearson, *The Fragments of Sophocles* (Amsterdam, 1963) ii.254; Robertson (n.18) 67. Troilus was described as an ἄνδρόποις in Sophocles' play: fr. 619 (Pearson).

27 See B. Palumbo Stracca, *Bolletino Classico* 2 (1981) 155, n.15. Cf. *LIMC* i.90 fig.377, a bronze lamina from Olympia dated 590/580BC and showing the death of Troilus; a cockerel stands on the altar of Apollo. Servius (on *Aen. 1.474*) was aware of a version in which Troilus was enticed by Achilles' offer of doves and then murdered. Cf. the Apulian amphora of c.320BC (Bari 5590) which shows a dove (?) flying over Troilus' head as he stretches out his arms towards Achilles in supplication. See Cambitoglou (n.23) 8-9.

28 See Gantz (n.19) 600.


30 See Anderson *loc. cit.* (n.10); *LIMC* i.94-95.
love-motive and entails about as much brutality (Troilus, or a piece of him, being hurled from the altar towards the advancing Trojans in several vase-paintings).

The phrase παῖδας θεοίς ἱκέλον in S224.7 would seem to indicate that the Troilus described here is that divinely beautiful adolescent by whom even Achilles was bewitched. The impression seems to be confirmed if we compare the phrase with Sappho's θέας σ' ἱκέλαν ἀρτι/γνώται (96.4-5 L-P), which expresses the beauty of the beloved. But the phrase in our fragment can also be interpreted as an epic formula applied, as often in lyric poetry, to heroic personages. The formula expresses the boy's beauty, but cannot in itself suggest that he is an eromenos. Thus we cannot establish that the Troilus we glimpse so briefly in this fragment is the παῖς καλός murdered because he spumed Achilles' love. Nevertheless, despite the meagre pickings our fragment affords in this respect, one could reasonably believe that Ibycus would favour a version of the legend which introduced an erotic relationship between Achilles and Troilus. Consider the innovations he made in certain myths, giving them a romantic, erotic or homoerotic slant, e.g. the marriage of Achilles and Medea in the Elysian Fields (291 Dav.); Rhadamanthys as the eromenos of Talos (309 Dav.). ... And Troilus as the eromenos of Achilles, as Cavallini suggests? The problem is that any theory of originality regarding the literary treatment of Greek myths in the Archaic period is forever frustrated by our superficial knowledge of the Epic Cycle. The authors of these poems also appear to have introduced a number of innovations, including, in the Ilias Parva, Zeus' homosexual abduction of

---

31 So Cavallini (n.5) 42, n.18.

32 Cf. Sappho 44.21 L-P: ᾧ]κέλοι θέοις (of Hector and Andromache). For Homeric epithets in lyric poetry, see A.E. Harvey, CJ n.s.7 (1957) 206-23, esp. 217.

33 See also K.J. Dover, Greek Homosexuality² (Cambridge, Mass., 1989) 197 and 199; Cavallini (n.5) 42.
Ganymede, the earliest extant account of which is otherwise Ibycus 289 Dav.\textsuperscript{34} I say ‘otherwise’ because it is by no means certain that the poet of the \textit{Ilias Parva} predated Ibycus; he may actually have been his contemporary.\textsuperscript{35}

Turning now to the consequences of Troilus’ death in S224.10ff., I am at a loss to find an exact precedent for these gods ‘established outside Ilium’ who appear to be sealing Achilles’ fate.\textsuperscript{36} Presumably Apollo Thymbraeus is among the gods \textit{ιδρυμένοι} with shrine, image or altar outside the walls of Troy;\textsuperscript{37} the god is thus avenging either the desecration of his altar or the murder of his own son. Cavallini\textsuperscript{38} compares Schol. on Lycophron \textit{Alex.} 307 (p.125 Scheer): (Troilus) δὴ, φασὶ, καὶ τιμωρῶν ὁ Ἀπόλλων αὐτόθι παρεσκεύασεν ἀναρεθήναι τὸν Ἀχιλέα. ἐλέγετο δὲ ὁ Τρωίλος φύσει εἶναι υῖὸς τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος, θέσει δὲ Πριάμου. But who is the other god—or gods? Pro-Trojan Ares is a distinct possibility, but not Poseidon, though he asks Apollo to kill Achilles in Ovid’s account of the Achaean’s death (\textit{Met.} 12.580-97); Poseidon is avowedly anti-Trojan in the Greek epic tradition.\textsuperscript{39}

\textsuperscript{34} See \textit{Ilias Parva} fr.6 in Davies, \textit{EGF} (n.15); see also Davies, \textit{Epic Cycle} (n.15) 67. Fr. 6 is hardly the ‘frank avowal of Zeus’ homosexual abduction of Ganymedes’ that Davies asserts, however.

\textsuperscript{35} See n.15 above.

\textsuperscript{36} D.A. Campbell, \textit{Greek Lyric} Vol.3 (Cambridge, Mass. & London, 1991) 243, suggests, in his translation of lines 11-12, that the gods ‘abandoned’ Troilus, a possibility that might be supported by Stesichorus S105.11-12 Dav., where Apollo, Artemis and Aphrodite seem to be abandoning the ‘hallowed (city) of Troy’. However, I am inclined to follow Cavallini’s suggestion that the gods ‘avenged’ Troilus.

\textsuperscript{37} For \textit{ιδρυμένοι} in this sense, cf. Lycurg. in \textit{Leocrat}. 1: τοῖς ἡρωϊ τοῖς κατὰ τὴν πόλιν καὶ τὴν χώραν ἱδρυμένοις.

\textsuperscript{38} Cavallini (n.5) 42.

\textsuperscript{39} In Ov. \textit{Met.} 12.580-96, Poseidon is seeking revenge for the death of his son Cygnus, but this is possibly an invention of Ovid’s. See F. Bömer, \textit{P. Ovidius
From line 13 the fragment becomes too difficult to reconstruct with any confidence. The commentator is possibly discussing the fates of a number of Troilus’ siblings (cf. II. 24.255-59). But if, as we have seen, ἀδελφή[ is possible in line 13, then Polyxena is the sister most likely to be mentioned in the context of Troilus’ death. Furthermore, the vengeance of the gods upon Achilles, whether this was part of Ibycus’ poem or not, may have provoked further comment concerning an alternative tradition of Achilles’ death which involved Polyxena as the hero’s beloved.40

The ambush of Troilus at the fountain and his death in the sanctuary of Apollo Thymbraeus were evidently popular themes in the art and literature of the sixth century.41 In Homer, by contrast, his death in battle was treated in a very cursory fashion; it is his shadowy brother Mestor who is singled out by Priam as ἄντιθεος (II. 24.257). By the time of Ibycus’ ode to Polycrates, the earliest extant secular encomium by ‘the first court-poet of whom we hear after the Homeric bards’,42 Troilus has become a touchstone of youthful beauty. In the climax of that courtly ode, just before Polycrates himself is indirectly complimented for the same quality, a relatively obscure king of Sicyon by the name of Zeuxippus (he too a son of Apollo: Paus. 2.6.7) is compared to Troilus in beauty:

τῶι δ’ [ά] ῥα Τρώιλον

ώσει χρυσόν ὄρει
χάλκωι τρις ἀπεφθα[ν] ηδῆ

Troβες Δ[α]ναόι τ’ ἐρό[ε]ςαν

Naso. Metamorphosen XII-XIII (Heidelberg, 1982) 182-83. In Eur. Tro. 4ff. Poseidon is again pro-Trojan because Troy is partly his creation.

40 See the Excursus at the tail-end of this paper.

41 See Robertson (n.22) 12.

Here Troilus is the ‘gold thrice-refined’ to the other’s orichalc. In other words, Troilus is the exemplar, Zeuxippus a worthy second best who can bear comparison with the highest standard.44

Perhaps the most abiding feature of the Troilus legend, however, is the pathos of the young prince’s death. This is especially true of what we presume to be the later, anti-Homeric tradition. We might conjecture that in the second half of the sixth century Troilus had also become the exemplar of a fate inextricably connected with his godlike adolescent beauty—namely the mors immatura he typifies in later literature.45 Was Troilus’ death introduced in the poem discussed by our fragment as an instructive paradeigma illustrating a maxim? If so, the tenor of the ode is likely to have been somewhat pessimistic; to quote Martin Robertson, ‘poor Troilus’ youth and beauty brought him little happiness.46

Excursus: Achilles and Polyxena

The earliest extant literary evidence of the story of Achilles’ love for Polyxena appears to be Lycophron, Alex. 323-24, two lines in which Cassandra prophesies that the ‘lion of Iphis’ (i.e. Neoptolemus) will lead Polyxena to ‘savage nuptials’ and ‘bridal

---

43 S151.41-45 Dav.

44 Cf. L. Woodbury (n.14) 202. Orichalc (i.e. ‘mountain copper’, or the brass derived from it) is second only to gold in Plato, Crit. 114e; Aphrodite has earrings of orichalc and gold at H. Hom. 6.9. Troilus never loses his reputation for beauty in later literature; cf. Quintus Smyrnaeus 4.430: υίον Πρίαμοι θεοῖς ἐναλλυκτον εἰδός.

45 See, for example, Callimachus fr.491 (Pfeiffer); Statius, Silv. 2.6.30ff.

46 Robertson (n.22) 12. Ibycus’ ode to Gorgias (289[a] Dav.), in which the myth of Tithonus was retold, may also have been pessimistic in tone. See further Barron (n.4) 18. It may be pertinent to refer to the pessimistic themes of Ibycus 286 and 287 Dav.
sacrifice:

σὲ δ’ ωμὰ πρὸς νυμφεῖά καὶ γαμηλίους
ἀξεῖ θυηλᾶς στυγνὸς Ἰφίδος λέων ... 

The scholia comment: ‘Αχιλεύς ἐρασθεὶς Πολυξένης καὶ δι’ αὐτῆς ἐν τῷ τοῦ Θυμβραίου Ἀπόλλωνος ἰερῷ ἀναρεθεὶς μετὰ τὸ πορθῆναι τὴν Ἰλιον ἢτήσατο καθ’ ὑπὸν λόγον τοῦς ἀρίστους τῶν Ἑλλήνων τὴν Πολυξένην ὡς καὶ μετὰ θάνατον ἐρων αὐτῆς σφαγιασθῆναι αὐτῷ ... 47 Achilles’ motive for having Polyxena sacrificed at his tomb, according to the scholia, was his desire for a betrothal in death ‘as he still loved her’. 48 Other sources stress the revenge motive. In Hyginus Fab. 110, the maiden is sacrificed at Achilles’ tomb because he was ambushed and killed by her brothers, Paris and Deiphobus, when he came to the temple of Apollo to parley with Priam about terms of marriage with the girl. 49

Is there any evidence earlier than Lycophron for this doomed love of Achilles? The sacrifice of Polyxena featured in the Iliupersis, and the lyric poets Ibycus, Stesichorus and Simonides also seem to have handled the dramatic events surrounding her death. 50 But it remains uncertain whether the sacrifice, as retold

47 Schol. Lycoph. 323 (p. 128 Scheer).
50 Iliupersis in Davies EGF (n.15) 62, lines 35-36: ἐπεὶτα ἐμπρήσαντες τῆν πόλιν / Πολυξένην σφαγιάζουσιν ἐπὶ τοῦ τοῦ Ἀχιλλέως τάφον; Ibycus 307 Dav.: ὑπὸ Νεοπτολέμου φασίν αὐτήν (scil. Πολυξένην) σφαγιασθῆναι Εὐριπίδης καὶ Ἰβυκός ; Stes. S135 and 137 Dav.; Simon. 557P. An Attic neck amphora (pre mid-sixth century BC) shows Neoptolemus
by any of these poets, was due to the fact that she was Achilles’ beloved, or had betrayed his love.\textsuperscript{51} It may have been motivated by some quite different objective such as an attempt to secure favourable winds by granting Achilles’ ghost the \( \gamma\varepsilon\rho\alpha\varsigma \) (or ‘prize of honour’, i.e. Priam’s daughter) it demands for his tomb, as in Euripides’ \textit{Hecuba},\textsuperscript{52} a tragedy in which the love/revenge motive plays no part. It is difficult to imagine that Euripides’ treatment of the theme stems from an earlier version, however. It seems to be a doublet of the sacrifice of Iphigenia at Aulis, the subject of a late play which once again allowed him to explore the motif of ‘voluntary self-sacrifice’.\textsuperscript{53}

Artistic evidence is not particularly helpful with this problem. Robertson finds it ‘of interest’ that a few early fifth-century depictions of Achilles’ ambush of Troilus at the fountain show Polyxena with her hydria but no Troilus on horseback.\textsuperscript{54} As Robertson admits, however, this can hardly be adduced as firm evidence of Achilles (falling) in love with the girl; it may in fact be the result of restrictions on the vase-painter’s field of composition. G. Türk has a rather subtle argument in favour of a love-interest appearing as early as the \textit{Cypria}.\textsuperscript{55} According to

sacrificing Polyxena in the company of a number of Achaean. See Robertson (n.22) Pl.1(b); cf. Schol. Lycoph. 323 (p.129 Scheer).

\begin{footnote}
Another twist in the tale of Polyxena sacrificed as Achilles’ beloved is provided by Servius on \textit{Aen.} 3.322: Calchas cecinit Polyxenam ... quam vivus Achilles dilexerat, eius debere manus immolari.
\end{footnote}

\begin{footnote}
\textit{Hec.} 35-41, 107-115. In Simonides and Sophocles (the \textit{Polyxena} no doubt), Achilles’ ghost also appears above his tomb, demanding the sacrifice of the girl. See Simon. 557P.
\end{footnote}

\begin{footnote}
\end{footnote}

\begin{footnote}
Robertson (n.22) 14; (n.18) 65-66; \textit{LIMC} i.73-74 figs.209-213, 217. Cf. Servius on \textit{Aen.} 3.322: Achilles, dum circa muros Troiae bellum gereret, Polyxenam visam adamavit ... alii dicunt quod, cum ad redimendum corpus Hectoris ab Achilles etiam ipsa cum patre venisset, adamatam est.
\end{footnote}

\begin{footnote}
See \textit{Ausführliches lexicon der griechischen und römischen mythologie} (Leipzig, 1897-1909) iii.2719.
\end{footnote}
Glaucus of Rhegium at Schol. Eur. Hec. 41 (I.17 Schwartz), ὁ δὲ τὰ Κυπριακὰ ποιήσας φησίν (scil. Πολυξένην) ὑπὸ Ὄδυσσεώς καὶ Διομήδους ἐν τῇ τῆς πόλεως ἀλώσας ἀπολέσθαι, ταφῆναι δὲ ὑπὸ Νεοπτολέμου... Türk extrapolates from this evidence to suggest that Neoptolemus buried Polyxena because he was acting on behalf of his father, thus it appears that in the Cypria Achilles was in love with Polyxena. The subtlety of the argument is unfortunately compromised by the lack of further evidence. It is true that the poets of the Epic Cycle introduced romantic plots and intrigues into their accounts of the various legends of Troy, but once again we are unable to find, without the shadow of a doubt, one of Achilles’ post-Homeric ‘grands amours’ in a literary work before the Hellenistic era.

E.A.B. Jenner
Chancellor College
University of Malawi

56 There is some disagreement about the meaning of ὁ δὲ τὰ Κυπριακὰ ποιήσας. For Türk and Davies (Epic Cycle [n.15] 51), the phrase refers to the Cypria; Huxley (n.15) 158, interprets it to mean ‘the poet of the Cypria’, who therefore told this tale of Polyxena’s death in another poem. If Polyxena’s death was related in the Cypria, it can only have appeared ‘in parenthesis’: the Cypria dealt with the pre-Iliadic war, but Polyxena was killed during the sack of Troy. See Robertson (n.18) 64.