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SARPEDON'S FEAST:  
A HOMERIC KEY TO CHAUCER'S *TROILUS AND CRISEYDE*


by

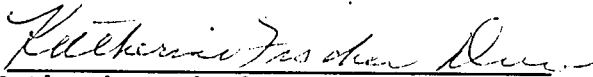
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ABSTRACT

Sarpedon's Feast:

A Homeric Key to Chaucer's *Troilus and Criseyde*

by

Ann Bradley

Chaucer's insistence on the name of Sarpedon signals the importance of the *Iliad*, with its treatment both of the hero and the theme of necessity, for the development of his *Troilus*. Chaucer's access to the *Iliad* was second hand through the Italians who were cultural heirs to the Greeks. The story of Homer's Troy reached Chaucer through three traditions: the classical, euhemeristic, and epic recountings of the people and gods of Troy; the romance tales of the fall of Troy and its lovers; the Christian mythographic allegorizing of the Trojan material. The mythographic is itself an offshoot of the epic because it also treats of Gods and men while the romance debunks the otherworldly in favor of earthly affairs. Finally, Chaucer takes a pagan tale, views it through a Dantean lens, and presents it to a fourteenth century Christian audience, integrating the romance back into the epic by expanding its scope beyond the material universe ruled by fate to a world within the Dantean universe which uses fate as an instrument of Providence but leaves men free to choose. Chaucer's *Troilus*, developed from Priam's two word epitaph to the hero

and derived from Sarpedon, Achilles, and Hector, becomes more understandable in light of Sarpedon's acknowledgment of fate and assertion of will. Chapter One traces Sarpedon and necessity from Homer to Chaucer through the epic material about Troy. Chapter Two develops the emergence of Chaucer's Troilus from the suppressed deeds and characteristics of Homer's Sarpedon, Achilles, and Hector. Chapter Three examines Chaucer's adaptation of the mythographic method. In place of Christian allegoresis he employs myth as subtext, using Sarpedon's feast as a center of a debate about fate and using Cassandra to join the fates of Thebes to Troy and Troy to London. Chapter Four explores the Thomistic synthesis, examining the necessity soliloquy as scholastic parody and comic center for Chaucer's theme of fate and will and using Dantes's *Purgatorio* to interpret Troilus' Christian apotheosis, beyond the pagan apotheosis of Sarpedon's immortalization as hero, by Troilus' removal to the spheres of the Dantean universe.

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This is for the memory of Dr. James J. Greene, the finest of teachers, who taught his undergraduates to love Chaucer, Dante, and excellence in teaching.

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Sarpedon's Feast:  
A Homeric Key to Chaucer's *Troilus and Criseyde*

Introduction

Chaucer's insistence on the name of Sarpedon signals the importance for the *Troilus* of the *Iliad*, with its theme of necessity and its treatment of the hero. He uses Sarpedon of the *Iliad* to explain the enigma that is Troilus. As a figure of necessity, the heroic Sarpedon provides a dramatic foil for Troilus' passivity and vacillation, a model by which to judge Troilus' behavior, and a prototype from which Troilus has partially evolved. No one has ever connected Sarpedon to Troilus as explanation, model, or precursor. Chaucer's immediate source for Sarpedon was Boccaccio who had access to the *Iliad* and who was first to change the metaphorical feast of Homer's Sarpedon to an actual feast. But to Boccaccio's genial host named Sarpedon, Chaucer has joined implications of fate by his additions to the *Troilus* of material about necessity and the fates of Troilus, Troy, and Thebes. Sarpedon as an emblem of necessity has come down to Chaucer through a classical tradition available to him in Latin and through the Italian access to the heritage of the Greeks.

Sarpedon in the *Iliad*<sup>1</sup> is the beloved son of Zeus who knows his son will die but does not intervene to save him. Lycian king and hero, Sarpedon has come to fight for Troy, and before his death, speaks of a warrior's feast. Sarpedon

berates Hector for his brothers who do not support him and who allow others to do their fighting while they stand there as sheep.<sup>2</sup> Sarpedon knows that "a thousand shapes of death surround us, and no man can escape them, or be safe" but he responds to necessity by scorning the role of victim: "Let us attack."<sup>3</sup> Although Sarpedon's father, Zeus, knows that this favorite son is fated to be killed by Patroclus,<sup>4</sup> Zeus, goaded by Hera, overcomes his temptation to change destiny and vents his rage by raining fire upon those below.<sup>5</sup>

Sarpedon and his feast provide a key to an understanding of the meaning of the *Troilus* as a series of variations on the theme of necessity, of Homeric Fate observed through the speculum of medieval theory.<sup>6</sup> In Book V of *Troilus and Criseyde*, Chaucer emphasizes the figure of Sarpedon by a litany of seven references to the hero and his feast within a hundred lines of text.<sup>7</sup> Originally, Sarpedon was Homer's emblem of the power of Fate and the strength and nobility of human will. Chaucer positions the *Iliad's* hero and his feast as one of several responses to Troilus' introspective behavior during the necessity soliloquy which has preceded it and also as his commentary on Troilus' plight as representative of the fate of Troy.

In *Troilus and Criseyde*, Sarpedon appears soon after Troilus' lengthy psychomachia on necessity and foreknowledge and immediately after Book IV in which the two themes echo through the structure and content, at a point in the

narrative which has been problematic to critics. Yet, despite this litany of Sarpedon's name,<sup>8</sup> few critics mention him except to identify him in passing in a footnote. When Robinson<sup>9</sup> and Benson<sup>10</sup> mention Sarpedon in their footnotes, they worry over the gap between his capture in Book II and his reappearance in Book V but never note his traditional association with Fate. In fact, most critics treat the foreknowledge-necessity debate as a digression and Book IV as a weak book. Nowhere in Curry's excellent article on destiny in the *Troilus* does he mention Sarpedon. Instead, he cites the "universal condemnation" of the necessity passage by Lounsbury, Ward, Price, and Manly and the damnation by faint praise from Root and Kitteredge.<sup>11</sup> Curry sees the inescapable necessity governing the story<sup>12</sup> and berates Chaucer for an ending he sees as completely unrelated. Barbara Nolan comments upon Chaucer's contrapuntal approach to genre,<sup>13</sup> though not to his use of Sarpedon, while Root, Kitteredge, and Curry see the tale as a tragedy,<sup>14</sup> a classification which Boitani rejects, saying that Chaucer removes it from tragedy "by an act of will"<sup>15</sup> and is "a Pandarus of literature."<sup>16</sup> But Boitani also mentions Sarpedon only in passing, as a place where Pandarus takes Troilus, and never connects him with the concept of fate or will.<sup>17</sup> Spearing, too, never mentions Sarpedon in his excellent analysis of *histoire*, *discors*, and the unresolved ending of the story, seeing the ending "as



product of an act of will on the poet's part rather than as the inevitable outcome of the underlying *histoire*,"<sup>18</sup> in other words, as the author's romance rather than Troilus' tragedy. Vance, in *Mervelous Signals*, never speaks of Sarpedon at all; he speaks of Gower and Strode but not of Strode's connection to Wyclif through the debates on predestination, which were current when Chaucer was writing.<sup>19</sup> As Windeatt, Wallace, and Anderson have shown,<sup>20</sup> Chaucer has added to Boccaccio the necessity soliloquy, the ending, the tale of Cassandra, and most of the Theban materials. Therefore, he stresses Sarpedon, the Homeric hero emblematic of Fate, in a way more deliberate than Boccaccio's. And, when Chaucer repeats a name seven times in fewer than one hundred lines, he is certainly calling attention to that character, and presumably he is reinforcing his story by evoking his audience's response to the subtext of that character's own tale, information which it knows and the author can leave unsaid.

Chaucer could possibly have had second hand access to the Homeric tale through Boccaccio and Pilatus.<sup>21</sup> Literary scholars agree that he could not have read Homer. They assume that he could not have heard it either, or have come into contact with it through people who knew Greek. In fact, it is frequently asserted by English critics that Greek disappeared entirely from the Western World during the Middle Ages. This loss of Greek from the West is a

Renaissance myth, as self-serving as the term Middle Ages itself, a relegation of the thousand years between the fall of Rome, with its preservation of Greek literature, and the Reformation, with its new availability of printed books, to the realm of the insignificant. In fact, the knowledge of Greek never died out in the West.<sup>22</sup>

Knowledge of Greek seemed to be the same kind of claim to scholarly superiority then as now, and a sprinkling of Greek was fairly common in texts. A knowledge of Greek is referred to as a mark of education by Bede when he describes Theodore of Tarsus<sup>23</sup> and by Einhard about Charlemagne.<sup>24</sup> Greek is sprinkled through the text in pompous and silly linguistic analysis by Gerald of Wales who avers that Welsh is its descendent.<sup>25</sup> It is used by the Second Vatican Mythographer in the ninth - tenth century.<sup>26</sup> Twelfth century Matthew Paris refers to the immigration of some of the Greek nobility into England,<sup>27</sup> and the twelfth century saw a revival of learning of the Greek and Roman classics.<sup>28</sup> Greek was certainly known by educated Romans until the fall of Rome, by educated Northumbrians at the time of Bede; it was encouraged and reintroduced in Alfred's Wessex, encouraged in the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies, known in Moorish Spain, common in North Africa, known at the papal courts, known at Oxford and Paris, encountered on the Crusades, and kept alive in the West by interactions with the important power center of Constantinople especially

through the intermediary of the Germans. The law codes of southern Italy (Magna Graecia) were written in Greek throughout the Middle Ages.<sup>29</sup> The influence of Greek Romance on twelfth century western and Arthurian romance is well known and permeates the stories of Chrétien and Hartmann.

While no general presence of Homeric texts in the West has ever been substantiated,<sup>30</sup> they were available to Greeks and their total disappearance appears unlikely; more polemic than fact, the "loss" of Greek is part of the same pervading scholastic bias which caused a prominent critic of the 1920's to aver that humor as we know it began with the Renaissance.<sup>31</sup> Although there is no way to know if Chaucer ever did read or hear a translation of the *Iliad*,<sup>32</sup> he travelled where Greek was known and he knew Greek people. Chaucer had access to all the strains of the Trojan tale. The *Iliad* was by no means readily available in translation, but Greeks learned their language from Homeric texts, Greeks knew Homer, and Greeks were a part of Western Europe. Neither language nor literature ever died out. Most access to the Troy story came through Latin commentaries and popular culture, but Homer was always there in the Western tradition. Whether or not Chaucer had the text, he had the tale and all three variations of the tradition.<sup>33</sup>

At the beginning of his *Troilus and Criseyde*, Chaucer says that his story can be read in Homer or in Dares, or

Dictys (I.14507). He does not suggest that he ever read Homer, but whether or not he heard read to him a Greek Homer or a Latin translation, he was heir to both the epic and the romance traditions of the story of Troy and certainly had written Latin access to the tradition which connected Sarpedon to the fate that awaits all mortal men. His use of Sarpedon and his feast suggests the centrality of the necessity soliloquy in a tour-de-force on the theme of necessity which opens up some of the implications of his *Troilus*.

Chaucer even has one stanza which echoes the *Iliad's* beginning, "Sing, goddess, the wrath of Achilles," and its end, "And so they buried Hector, tamer of horses."<sup>34</sup> Chaucer establishes the wrath of Troilus rather than of Achilles, and speaks of the Greek fear of him as "withouten any peere Save Ector" (V.1803-4) in a stanza which begins with 'wrathe' and ends with 'Achilles'.

The wrath, as I bigan yow for to seye,  
Of Troilus the Grekis boughten deere,  
For thousandes his hondes maden deye,  
As he that was withouten any peere,  
Save Ector, in his tyme, as I kan heere,  
But - weilaway, save only Goddes wille,  
Despitously hym slough the fierse Achille  
V.1800-1806.

This curious stanza, in which Donaldson sees a possible knowledge of the *Iliad*,<sup>35</sup> also links Troilus, Hector, and Achilles together. It indicates that after he gave up his romantic ideal of Criseyde he turned into a great warrior.

The stanza includes his death according to God's will. The last line grammatically makes Troilus the one slain but by word order suggests Achilles slain, just enough to connect the two men, Troilus and Achilles, in death. The wrath of Achilles has become the wrath of Troilus, and the burial of Hector has been replaced by the death of the ambiguous figure of Troilus or Achilles.

Moreover, there is an established tradition that does use Sarpedon as an emblem of Fate and foreshadowing. When Chaucer wrote his *Troilus and Criseyde*, he had inherited two distinct traditions of the story of Troy, the epic and the romance. None of the romance sources connect Sarpedon to Zeus, but the connection is central to the epic sources. These, Homeric and classical, told in epic and tragic mode of the interactions of gods with heroic men who were locked together at Ilium in the cycles of destiny; knowing their mortal fate and accepting its necessity, men made free choices to live and die in ways that would insure their continuation in the tales of glory they wrote with their lives. In this tradition, Sarpedon is an emblem of necessity, foreknowledge, and free will. Son of Zeus, he comes to Troy to lead his Lycians in battle, fully aware that his destiny as warrior only intensifies his destiny as mortal and that the special joys of the warrior's feast and privileges exist because he will die on the battlefield; Zeus his father knows that to save his mortal son is to

destroy the order of things. The only hope for Sarpedon is the glory he will gain at Ilium, the beacon city of men which must fall just as surely as men must die and which will endure in tales of its glory.

This tradition, poetic, philosophical, endlessly rich in metaphor, reached Chaucer through Boccaccio and the Italians as the Latin and Italian legacy of Homer:<sup>36</sup> the secondary retellings of his tale of Ilium, its heroes and its fall. Hesiod, Apollodorus, Virgil, Cicero, Hyginus, Servius, Fulgentius, Berchorius, Gellius, Ausonius, and Tertullian were among those who referred to Ilium. The Second Vatican Mythographer, borrowing heavily from Fulgentius, in telling the story of Thetis and Peleus, condensed the tale of Troy and placed Sarpedon pivotally within it. Chaucer had access to this through Boccaccio's *Genealogie* and through the Italian influences absorbed during his trips to Italy before he wrote his *Troilus*. Chaucer tapped into the Greek tradition through the Italian which never lost its contact with Greek language and literature.

The second tradition is anti-Homeric,<sup>37</sup> romantic, non-poetic.<sup>38</sup> It eliminates the gods and demystifies the tale. In it, from the roles and deeds of Achilles, Sarpedon, and Hector, the figure of Troilus is created. No longer just a passing reference to a son of Priam, his tale becomes the central one, a human love story not an epic, and a tale of

prose not poetry. Augustine, heavily influenced by Plato, transmitted this tradition by setting Troy as the city of man, by ignoring the part of the pagan gods and mocking the idea that they interfere. Dictys' fourth century manuscript, like Augustine's *De Civitate Dei*, eliminates the gods, changes the name of Achilles' captive, and then reduces the story to a soldier's chronicle. It is the sixth century Dares who creates the story of Troilus and Briseus by usurping the love story, sorrow, and wrath of Achilles; adjusting the time order of the tale, Dares expands Troilus into a major war leader at the head of Hector's troops, after Hector has been killed off in ambush, who leads the fight against the Greek ships instead of Sarpedon.

Essentially, Dares creates Troilus from these elements of Achilles, Sarpedon, and Hector. By eliminating the gods, he eliminates the inexorable necessity of Fate, the metaphoric depth of the tale, its poetry. He also gives importance to the woman in love. Dares is imitated by the romance writers of the eleventh to the thirteenth centuries, especially by the most influential Benoît de Sainte-Maure and Guido delle Colonne. When the tale comes to Boccaccio, he keeps the romance tradition in his *Filostrato*, his story of Troilus and lost love which, like Dante's *La Vita Nuova*, has the new sweet style of the Italian Trecento; in the *Genealogie Deorum Gentile Libri*, he traces the Homeric tales and their commentators, producing what he claims to abrogate.

Chaucer, heir to both traditions, takes the story of Troilus and his Criseyde and places it firmly in a Homeric and Classical tradition, once again poetic, metaphoric, epic, and tragic, once again connected to Fate, necessity, foreknowledge, and free will, and to enduring glory through its retelling. By tracing the treatment of the figure of Sarpedon, the emblem of foreknowledge, necessity, and free will, through Homer, the epic tradition, the romance tradition, Boccaccio, and finally, Chaucer, I hope to show this division and reintegration of the story of Troy. By Chaucer's repetition of the name of Sarpedon, I think he is signalling the return to the Homeric theme of necessity. If so, then the necessity monologue of Troilus, although a comic speech, is a keynote address rather than a digression, and Sarpedon and his feast is a metaphorical repetition and reminder of this necessity. Chaucer's *Troilus* itself becomes a feast, a tour de force on the theme of necessity.

In the *Troilus*, Sarpedon functions as a very rich nexus of associations for Chaucer's ideas about foreknowledge, necessity, and will. The several possible reasons for the emphasis on Sarpedon and his feast connect the character and event to the main story of Troilus' double sorrow. First of all, Zeus' choice not to save his favorite son provides an ironic echo and an answer to Troilus' question about necessity and foreknowledge. Secondly, Sarpedon's actions as a man and a warrior provide frame and judgment for



Troilus' dilemma of paralysis of will. Lastly, the feast and doom of Sarpedon provide an archetype to connect the elements and characters of Troy and Thebes and Olympus with those of Chaucer's England.<sup>39</sup>

Reading the *Troilus* backward from the feast of Sarpedon explores the complex Chaucerian merger of the medieval romance with the Homeric tale of Fate. Fate is the theme of epic: the necessary death of mortal man and the nobility of the individual man who wills to affirm life despite the inevitability of his death. In his *Troilus and Criseyde*, Chaucer uses the figure of Sarpedon from the *Iliad* to join his romantic hero, Troilus, to the epic theme of fate. For Chaucer, Sarpedon's filial connections to Zeus, to preordained and foretold death, and to strength of will to act in the face of the knowledge of that death make him a dense mythographic emblem, an emblem of the fate of Troilus the individual, of the fate of all of Troy, and even of the fate of all mortals. Chaucer also employs Sarpedon to represent the strength of will which Troilus lacks. This work will explore the interactions of Sarpedon within the Trojan story and also the possibilities of interpretation of the themes of fate and will which an analysis of Lycian Sarpedon opens in Chaucer's tale.

The pagan classical or Homeric stories of Troy came to Chaucer in an unbroken line. The story of Troy became *exemplum* told in the beauty of metaphor and carrying the

weight of philosophical ideas of fate and will, of temporality and earthly mortality. Thus, Chapter One will analyze the idea of necessity in terms of the second tradition, the Homeric or Classical, in which the Trojan tale with the great themes of Fate and Human Will was transmitted from Homer's time to Chaucer's. It will trace Sarpedon as emblem of Homeric Fate through Homer, Cicero, Virgil, Tertullian, Apollodorus, Augustine, Gellius, the Second Vatican Mythographer, and Boccaccio's *Genealogie*. Boccaccio, Chaucer's immediate source, spans both major traditions, the classic with his *Genealogie* and the romance with his *Filostrato*.

The Troy story is the Greek cultural expression of the myth of human mortality, of the loss of Eden and the restrictions of Fate and Time, a myth adopted by the Romans and then by the Franks and the Britons to explain their origins from settlements by the dispersed Trojans.<sup>40</sup> Chaucer received the story most obviously through the Trojan romances in the representational figure of Troilus who stood for Troy and for the fate of men. This Troilus was a distillation and a diminution into popular culture of a figure who derived from the ancient male figures of Achilles, Hector, and Sarpedon. These and Troilus are pre-Homeric cultural archetypes, men more god-like than mortal but still bound by mortality. The Norse had gods who die and heroes who descend from them; like them, the Greeks

introduced medial heroic figures whose function was also redemptive or at least totemic. As Boitani shows, the purpose of the youthful Troilus figure is his ritualized death.<sup>41</sup> Neither springtime nor Eden can last. Through the popular culture of romance tales, the three great heroes merge into the emblem of transient youth that is the Troilus inherited by Chaucer. In these popular tales, the gods were excised, along with all the machinery of superhuman deeds and also their imaginative and magical poetic metaphor of expression.

Chaucer was heir to more than the classic tradition. Chapter Two will treat the development of the heroic man of strong will and the ironic product that is Chaucer's weak-willed Troilus. It will analyze Sarpedon, along with Hector and Achilles, as antecedents of Chaucer's Troilus. It will trace, through the Anti-Homeric or Romance Tradition of Dares, Dictys, Benoît, Guido, and Boccaccio in his *Il Filostrato*, the metamorphosis of Troilus who evolves from Homer's two word epitaph by Priam, *Τρωϊλον ἵππιοχάρμην*, Troilus the warrior charioteer (XXIV.257), into the central hero of the medieval romances of Troy where Chaucer found him. As Sarpedon, Hector, and Achilles fade from prominence in the romances, Troilus grows as a figure of importance by the accretion of the deeds and characteristics of the three heroes of the *Iliad* that he displaces.

Chaucer also knew the Christian mythographic

explications of the story. Still based on the Homeric,<sup>42</sup> these texts subsumed pagan magic in the service of Christian morality. Chaucer is not so heavy handed as the religious mythographers. In his hands the Greek connection to gods and cosmic forces becomes a subtext which moves in counterpoint to his tales, much as the universe moves in the double motion of the Zodiac and the planets. In his ironic adaptation, Chaucer uses narrative voices which express the variations in the traditional approaches to the tale. Pandarus is his voice of the romance, the narrator of the classic, and Cassandra of the mythologic; Sarpedon is his emblem of fate.

Chapter Three will suggest how Chaucer adapts the third tradition, the Christian mythographic, by exploiting the example of Sarpedon's feast, his metaphor in the *Iliad* for the privileges accorded the warrior because he must die and because his death is somehow a sacrificial substitute for the necessary death of all men. Boccaccio changes this metaphoric feast into an actual feast, and Chaucer expands the image. Troilus balks and does not join the warriors because of his lovesick paralysis of will and bemoaning of fate. The final necessity that death is the condition of human life controls both men but not their responses to it. Chaucer's implicit contrast between Sarpedon and Troilus underscores the foolishness of Troilus' self pity and moping in comparison to Sarpedon's pleasure in life and

determination to live well and die fighting. Although Sarpedon's is the voice of Fate, Chaucer's touch is light, and he enfoldes the feast in a kind of debate between two narrative voices, the Narrator and Pandarus. He has the Narrator speak as the voice of the traditional Homeric past and Pandarus express the iconoclastic views of the Romance tradition. Then he serves up a voice for the third tradition, the mythographic, by having Cassandra do in her section what Chaucer does in the whole *Troilus*. Chapter Three will explore the necessity soliloquy, Sarpedon's feast, and Cassandra's explanation of Troilus's dream of Diomedes who, like Sarpedon is linked genealogically to Thebes and fights at Troy; the explanation leads to Cassandra's prophecy of Criseyde's necessary betrayal. Chaucer's method embroils the narrator in the theme of fate, both of individuals and of nations. Chapter Three will look at the implications for the theme of necessity of the merging of the Theban and Trojan tales in terms of the *Troilus* and the "Knight's Tale." Sarpedon's feast, the narrative debate, the dream of Troilus, Cassandra's explanation, and the linking of Troy to Thebes illustrate Chaucer's playful mythographic variations on the theme of necessity with the example of Sarpedon providing an ironic template through which to judge Troilus' behavior and, by implication, the behavior of the descendants of Troy in the New Troy of London of Chaucer's day.

Influenced deeply by Dante's retranslation of Christian theology and pagan philosophy back into literary myth, Chaucer added to his tale of Troilus two sections, the necessity soliloquy of Troilus and the ending with its apotheosis of the hero and its prayer. These sections particularly trouble many modern critics<sup>43</sup> who, not sharing Chaucer's world view, do not see how they are necessary to the structure of the story.

Chapter Four will treat the new Chaucerian synthesis of the myth of Troy and medieval Scholasticism. It will analyze the necessity soliloquy as a scholastic parody of the whole controversy over predestination and free will that absorbed Chaucer's contemporaries as it absorbed his Troilus, but which Sarpedon resolved through action. Lastly, as Sarpedon was apotheosized by Zeus, so Troilus also was carried off after his death; as Sarpedon was immortalized in the classical tradition, so Chaucer's narrator will immortalize Troilus. The chapter will argue for the necessity of Chaucer's ending as his Dantean resolution of the question of necessity.

## Notes

<sup>1</sup> Homer *Iliad*, II.876; XII.101; V.655ff., 660ff; XII.397ff.; XVI.462ff., 677ff. trans. Robert Fitzgerald (Garden City: Anchor Press, 1975) 64, 90, 124, 129-31, 146-48, 284, 290-91, 293, 343, 351, 387, 390, 392, 394.

<sup>2</sup> *Iliad* V.470-93; Fitzgerald 124.

<sup>3</sup> *Iliad* XII.326-28; Fitzgerald 291.

<sup>4</sup> *Iliad* XV.60-65; XVI.440-74. Fitzgerald 351, 390-91.

<sup>5</sup> *Iliad* XVI.472-474; Fitzgerald 391.

<sup>6</sup> See Janet Coleman's chapter, "English Culture in the Fourteenth Century" in Piero Boitani's *Chaucer and the Italian Trecento* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1989) for an analysis of the question of fate and free will as a primary issue in Chaucer's England.

<sup>7</sup> In his *Chaucer: Troilus and Criseyde* (London: Edward Arnold, 1976), Spearing uses the number of repetitions as an indication of a word's importance. "Love is the central theme of *Troilus and Criseyde*, from the introductory section, where the word love and its derivations are used thirteen times in eight stanzas down to the mention of love -- now that of Christ -- in the last line." So also the repetition of Sarpedon should underscore Chaucer's intent.

<sup>8</sup> V.403-500 (Geoffrey Chaucer, *The Riverside Chaucer*, ed. Larry D. Benson, 3rd ed. [Boston: Houghton, Mifflin, 1987] 565-66).

<sup>9</sup> Geoffrey Chaucer, *The Works of Geoffrey Chaucer*, F. N. Robinson, 2nd ed. (Boston: Houghton, Mifflin, 1957) 833, 827. In the endnote for V.403, Robinson states: "According to iv.52, Sarpedon had been taken prisoner by the Greeks. Neither Chaucer nor Boccaccio explains his return to Troy" (833). For IV.50ff, he is more expansive, identifying the source for Sarpedon as "*Fil.*, iv, 3. According to Boccaccio . . . taken prisoners, but there is no authority for this statement in Benoit or Guido, and Chaucer's account . . . is in accord with theirs. . . . Root points out that Chaucer's earliest draft may have agreed with Boccaccio. Antenor, Polydamus, Sarpedon, and Polymnestor are familiar names in the Trojan cycle" (827). Chaucer's list of prisoners reads:

At which day was taken Antenor,  
 Maugre Polydamas or Monesteo,  
 Santippe, Sarpedon, Polynestore,  
 Polite, or ek the Trojan daun Rupheo,  
 And other lasse folk as Phebuseo;  
 (TC IV, 50-54 Robinson 441)

Robinson adds that "'Rupheo' (Ripheus or Rhipheus, Aen., l ii, 339) Boccaccio may have taken over from Virgil."

Since Chaucer leaves Troilus at the end with Mercury, it is interesting that Ripheus appears in this list with Sarpedon and also appears in Dante's *Paradiso*, canto xx, with Mercury in the sphere of the seekers after honor. cf. *The Divine Comedy of Dante Alighieri*, vol. III, *Paradiso*, tr. John D. Sinclair (New York: Oxford UP, 1961) 286-301.

<sup>10</sup> Benson 1051. In his endnotes to V.403, Benson says that "Boccaccio (5.38-49) omits explaining how he returned to Troy soon after his imprisonment; Chaucer, following Benoit and Guido, avoided the problem (see 4. 50-54n)." Benson's endnote for 430-431 says: "In the *Filostrate* (5.38) Troilo suggests a visit to Sarpedon's; Chaucer follows the French translation (251) in attributing the suggestion to Pandarus.

Benson's note on IV.50-54 (1044) follows Robinson, adding only that Boccaccio probably derived Rupheo ultimately from Virgil. He changed Robinson's *possible* to *probable*.

<sup>11</sup> Walter Clyde Curry, "Destiny in *Troilus and Criseyde*," *Chaucer Criticism: Volume II: Troilus and Criseyde and the Minor Poems*, eds. Richard J. Schoeck and Jerome Taylor (Notre Dame: U of Notre Dame P, 1961) 53.

<sup>12</sup> Curry 55.

<sup>13</sup> *Chaucer and the Tradition of the Roman Antique* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1992) and in an address at Kalamazoo, MI in May 1994.

<sup>14</sup> Curry 53.

<sup>15</sup> Piero Boitani, *English Medieval Narrative in the 13th & 14th Centuries* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1986) 201.

<sup>16</sup> Boitani 203.

<sup>17</sup> Boitani 209. See also Joseph S. Salemi, "Playful Fortune and Chaucer's *Criseyde*," *Chaucer Review* 15 (1981):209-23. Salemi considers the pleye at Sarpedon's "of a non-serious or inconsequential sort; it is a human activity with no real aim" (221). He discusses fate and



providence but does not connect Sarpedon to either.

18 A. C. Spearing, *Readings in Medieval Poetry* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1986) 201.

19 Eugene Vance, ed. *Mervelous Signals: Poetics and Sign Theory in the Middle Ages* (Lincoln: U of Nebraska P, 1986) 309. Vance refers to Strode but misses any connection to the Wyclif debates or the fate and predestination: "Next, Chaucer addresses "philosophical Strode," an English logician -- that is, a man whose intellectual goal was by definition to restore truth to the speech of man."

20 Geoffrey Chaucer, *Troilus and Criseyde: A New Edition of 'The Book of Troilus'*, ed. B. A. Windeatt (London and New York: Longman, 1984); see also the work of David Anderson about Troy and Thebes, especially his *Before the Knight's Tale: Imitation of Classical Epic in Boccaccio's Teseida* (Philadelphia: U of Pennsylvania P, 1988), and David Wallace, "Troilus and the Filostrato: Chaucer as Translator of Boccaccio," *Chaucer's Troilus and Criseyde*, ed. R.A. Shoaf (Binghamton, NY: Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies, 1992) 257-67.

21 See James Bruce Ross, "On the Early History of Leontius' Translation of Homer." *Classical Philology* XXII (1927) 341-53. Pilatus's translation dates from 1369.

22 "Alors qu'au XIXe siecle, philologues et historiens estimaient que la connaissance du Grec n'avait pas totalement disparu de l'occident, leurs successeurs du XXe siecle ont ete beaucoup plus sceptiques" ( Pierre Riche, "Le Grec dans les centres de culture d'occident," *The Sacred Nectar of the Greeks: The Study of Greek in the West in the Early Middle Ages*, trans. Michael W. Herren [London: King's College London Medieval Studies, 1988]:143).

Also, the eleventh to twelfth century Vatican "author of the third mythography learnedly specifies the standard authorities by name: Servius, Lactantius, and Fulgentius. He cites others whom he may have consulted: Cicero, Macrobius, Martianus Capella, and Remigius the Glossator. Still others he names as sources of facts and interpretations, or to illustrate his comments: Homer, Thucydides, Plato, Terence, Lucretius, Virgil, Horace, Juvenal, Persius, Livy, Lucan, Statius, Pliny, Petronius, and Varro" (John P. McCall, *Chaucer Among the Gods. The Poetics of Classical Myth* [University Park and London: Pennsylvania State UP, 1979] 10). Note that the three secular Greek authors open the list of Latin sources.

23 Abbot Hadrian of the monastery of Neridano near Naples, a native of Africa who accompanied Theodore of Tarsus to Britain was "a great scholar in Greek and Latin" (204). The seventh-century Theodore was the first archbishop of all England and "both he and Hadrian were men of learning both in sacred and secular [my emphasis] literature. They attracted a large number of students into whose minds they poured the waters of wholesome knowledge day by day. In addition to instructing them in the holy Scriptures, they also taught their pupils poetry, astronomy, and the calculation of the Church calendar. In proof of this, some of their students still alive today are as proficient in Latin and Greek as in their native tongue" (Bede, *A History of the English Church and People*, trans. Leo Sherley-Price [New York: Penguin Books, 1984] 206). Also, Bretwald, successor of Theodore (AD 690) "consecrated many bishops, including Tobias, a man of weide learning and a scholar of Latin, Greek, and Saxon, who became Bishop of Rochester on the death of Gebmund" (313). As for Tobias (d.725), "in addition to his knowledge of ecclesiastical and general literature, he understood the Greek and latin languages so thoroughly that they were as familiar to him as his own native tongue" Bede 330. Note also that Bede edited and corrected Jerome's Latin translation of the Greek Bible: "he corrected some errors of translation in Saint Jerome's Vulgate Bible" (Robert S. Hoyt and Stanley Chodorow, *Europe in the Middle Ages* [New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1976] 107), and that Eddius Stephanus in *The Life of Bishop Wilfred*, trans. Bertram Colgrave (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1985) speaks of the Roman Curia speaking Greek among themselves when they did not want visitors to understand them (113).

24 "He learnt Latin so well that he spoke it as fluently as his own tongue; but he understood Greek better than he could speak it" (79). Charlemagne asked the pope to send him monks to teach singing; the monks were Greek and Roman. (103). He received legates from the King of Constantinople. (124). He sent an envoy to Greece (138). In one of several instances of Greek envoys sent to Charlemagne, the envoys sang music to a Latin hymn in Greek: "The Emperor thereupon ordered one of his chaplains, who had some knowledge of the Greek language, to translate these responses into Latin" (Einhard and Notker the Stammerer, *Two Lives of Charlemagne*. trans. Lewis Thorpe [New York: Penguin Books, 1986] 142).

Einhard mentions also the presence of Greeks in Italy: "Southern Calabria, at the point where the frontiers between the Greeks and the men of Benevento are to be found" (69). He even refers to a commonly known Greek proverb: "the power of the Franks always seemed suspect to the Greeks and

Romans. Hence the Greek proverb which is still quoted today: "If a Frank is your friend, then he is clearly not your neighbor" (71).

Berschin notes that Frederick Cramer (c.1848) "concluded, on the basis of the exchange of envoys between the Frankish and Byzantine Empires in Charlemagne's time, that there must have been men throughout the Frankish Empire who knew Greek. . . . Cramer drew from obscure sources the claim that Homer was read in the monasteries of Benediktbeuren and Wessobrunn during the Middle Ages, and he inferred. . . that Homer was also known in St. Gall" (Walter Berschin, *Greek Letters and the Latin Middle Ages. From Jerome to Nicholas of Cusa*, trans. Jerold C. Frakes [Washington, D. C.; The Catholic U of America P, 1988] 8-9).

<sup>25</sup> *Gerald of Wales, The Journey Through Wales and the Description of Wales*, trans. Lewis Thorpe (New York: Penguin Books, 1984). "The Bishop [David II of St. David's] told me that these words were very like Greek. When they wanted water they said 'ydor ydorum', which meant in Latin 'equam offer'. In their language 'ydor' was the word for water, like Greek 'udwr' and just as 'udriki' means water vessels. In Welsh the word for water is 'dwfr'. When they wanted salt they said 'halgein ydorum', which means 'salem offer'. Salt is 'als' in Greek and 'halen' in Welsh. The Britons stayed a long time in Greece after the fall of Troy and then took the name from their leader Brutus so that the early Welsh language is similar to Greek in many of its details" (135). See also p. 225. Also, explaining the English as inwardly cold and outwardly fair, Gerald comments on their origins:

"The Britons, on the contrary, transplanted from the hot and arid regions of the Trojan plain, kept their dark colouring, which reminds one of the earth itself, their natural warmth of personality and their hot temper. . . After the fall of Troy their peoples managed to escape from Asia Minor to different parts of Europe . . . the Romans under their leader Aeneas, the Franks under Antenor and the Britons under Brutus. . . . The Britons alone kept the vocabulary of their race and the grammatical properties of their original tongue. This is because they were held captive in Greece for many years after the destruction of their country and because they migrated much later to these western parts of Europe. You will still find the following names common among them: Oeneus, Rhesus, Aeneas, Hector, Achilles, Heliodorus, Theodorus, Ajax, Evander, Ulysses, Helena, Elissa, Gwendolena, and many others which make you think of ancient times. You must know too that all the words in Welsh are cognate with either Greek or Latin." A list of words in the three languages, including Greek script, follows (245-46).

Finally, Gerald says: "Some say that their language is

called Cymric, the 'lingua Kambrica', from 'cam Graecus', which means Crooked Greece because of the similarity of the two tongues, caused by their long stay in Greece" (232).

26 Cf. *Scriptores Rerum Mythicarum Latini Tres Romae Nuper Reperti*, trans. Georgius Henricus Bode (Hildestrum: G. Olms, 1968).

27 "Also at this time some hungry foreign nobles arrived in England with empty stomachs and open mouths gaping for the king's money, namely Baldwin, emperor of Constantinople, with some of his supporters, who had been expelled forcibly from the Greek territories" (Entry for 1247 in *Chronicles of Matthew Paris. Monastic Life in the Thirteenth Century*. ed. Richard Vaughan [New York: St. Martin's P, 1986] 107).

28 Note Raymond Lull, "On the Study of Oriental Languages" in 1298-99: "here at Paris. . . there should be founded study of Arabic, Tartar and Greek, that we, having learned the languages of the adversaries of God and ourselves, by preaching to and teaching them may overcome their errors in the sword of truth and render the people acceptable unto God and convert enemies into friends" (Julius Kirshner and Karl F. Morrison, eds. *University of Chicago readings in Western Civilization: vol. 4 Medieval Europe* [Chicago and London: The U of Chicago P, 1986] 359, from *University Records and Life in the Middle Ages*, trans. Lynn Thorndyke, ed. [New York: Columbia UP, 1944] 125-127).

Also Walter Berschin ("Greek Elements in Medieval Latin Manuscripts" 85-103 in Herren) notes that Roger Bacon wrote a Greek grammar as an introduction to the reading of Greek (90) and that Bishop Robert Grosseteste assembled a stock of Greek manuscripts in England (95).

29 Interview, Katherine Fischer Drew, Rice University, October 1993. Also, according to Berschin, "the Digests of Justinian's *Corpus Iuris Civilis* contain Greek quotations from Homer to Plutarch" (66).

30 However, G. S. Kirk in *The Songs of Homer* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1962) notes that "Aristarchus's editions and commentaries [of the second century B. C.] . . . produced a . . . Vulgate text of Homer. This was transmitted in many different uncial manuscripts -- for Homer was still the favorite author of later antiquity -- to the Byzantine world, and was reproduced in miniscule copies after the rebirth of interest in pagan literature from the ninth century onwards. Superb annotated manuscripts of the 10th and 11th centuries, of which Venetus A of the Iliad, preserving critical extracts primarily from Aristarchus, is outstanding, were recopied and eventually formed the basis

of the earliest printed editions" (301). Also, Deno John Geanakoplos in *Greek Scholars in Venice. Studies in the Dissemination of Greek Learning from Byzantium to Western Europe* (Cambridge: Harvard UP, 1963) notes that a "Professor A. Pertusi informs me that in his forthcoming book he will show that he has found the first evidence of a knowledge of Greek at Padua (before 1358) in two notes in the hand of Pilatus, in his copy of Homer's *Iliad* (Ven. Marc. gr. IX, 2; no. 1447-48 de l'ino.). Here Pilatus mentions that when in Padua he had heard a jurist (elsewhere Pilatus terms him a legist) defending a law case by reciting verses from the codex of Homer's *Iliad* which he was holding in his hand" (25n). He adds that Venetians long before the thirteenth century were merchants fluent in Greek and needed Greek-fluent administrators for their eastern colonies (25). Sir John L. Myres in *Homer and His Critics*, ed. Dorothea Gray (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1958) in speaking of the twelfth to fifteenth centuries notes that "more than once in this period we have the complaint that Homer is so hard to translate; and . . . Petrarch, who was at pains to acquire a manuscript of the *Iliad*, could not read it . . . . But others did read Homer, and manuscripts were multiplied rapidly. A printed edition was produced in Florence, by a Greek, Demetrius Chalcondyles, in 1488." (37).

Arthur M. Young (*The Origin and Development of the Story of Troilus and Criseyde* [London:1908]) comments that Greek manuscripts had been coming into Italy for a century before the fall of Constantinople in 1433. In 1354 Petrarch gained possession of a Greek manuscript of Homer. "The Medici Library in Florence, opened in 1444, housed what was then the most complete classical library in existence. . . . The *editio princeps* of Homer was made in 1488" (66-67). Young also locates a fragmentary vellum of the *Iliad* dating from the third or fourth century in the Ambrosian Library at Milan (105-06). See also Mary Catherine Bodden, "The Preservation and Transmission of Greek in Early England" in *Sources of Anglo-Saxon Criticism*, eds. Paul E. Szarmach and Virginia Darrow Oggins (Kalamazoo MI: Medieval Institute Publications, 1986) 33-64. In her comments on bilingual liturgy, Bodden mentions the Greek elements of the Good Friday service of the tenth century, but my choir was still singing that particular Greek as the "Reproaches" at *Tenebrae* in the 1950s; it is now available on compact disc in the Latin and Greek *Tenebrae* hymn, "Popule Meus" by Tomas Luis de Victoria [sixteenth century] (*Musique Sacrée à Notre-Dame de Paris Chant grégorien et polyphonies*. Direction: Michel-Marc Gervais. MS 001. Enregistre a Notre-Dame de Paris les 20, 22, 23 et 24 juin 1993). Also, Bodden never mentions the Kyrie which is still the remains of Greek in the Roman and Anglican liturgies. Some Greek has remained in the Latin liturgy from the beginnings until the present time.

<sup>31</sup> See J. S. P. Tatlock, "Medieval Laughter," *Speculum* XXI(1946): 89-94 for Tatlock's rebuttal and commentary on Casamian's comment.

<sup>32</sup> Cf. W. Meredith Thompson, "Chaucer's Translation of the Bible" 183-199 in Norman Davis and C. L. Wrenn, *English and Medieval Studies* (London: George Allen & Unwin, 1962). Thompson uses his argument of Chaucer's knowledge of Scripture despite the fact that his quotations are all in intermediate sources (89). The same argument then becomes open for Homer. Thompson stresses Chaucer's independence from immediate sources, rather than his dependency, as an indication of his originality as a writer (185).

<sup>33</sup> For the three traditions, this paper follows, generally, Margaret J. Ehrhart's categories of "the three traditions through which the Middle Ages knew the Judgment: the classical, the allegorical, and the rationalizing. . . . In the classical tradition, the story is presented as a true event, an encounter between a mortal and the gods [i.e. Hyginus] . . . . In the allegorical tradition, the story is important not because it is true but because it stands for truths . . . . Stoics introduced the theme of the three lives - contemplative, active, and voluptuous [Fulgentius]. . . . In the rationalizing tradition, Paris's judgment of the goddesses is debunked in some way, usually by the premise that he dreamed it" [Dares] . . . . *The Judgment of the Trojan Prince Paris in Medieval Literature* (Philadelphia: U of Pennsylvania P, 1987) preface xi-xii.

The classical is equivalent to the epic, the allegorical to the mythographic, and the rationalizing to the romance.

In *The Survival of the Pagan Gods* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1953) Jean Seznac divides the categories into four traditions of gods: 1) Euhemeristic or historical which debunks the gods (i.e. my 'romance tradition'); 2) the Physical or astral with the heavenly bodies as gods (close to my mythographic); 3) Moral in which gods have philosophical meaning as myth (most like my epic); 4) Encyclopedic, encompassing all of the above (essentially, like my Chaucerian synthesis).

Other critics suggest twofold variations: in his introduction, R. M. Frazer, the translator of Dares and Dictys, refers to their texts as "anti-Homeric." (*The Trojan War: The Chronicles of Dictys of Crete and Dares the Phrygian* [Bloomington: U of Indiana P, 1944]) 7. G.S. Kirk (*The Iliad: A Commentary*. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1990) and Arthur M. Young (*Troy and Her Legend*. [Pittsburg: U of Pittsburg P, 1948]) refer to the epic tradition, and Young clearly differentiates it from the corrupt tradition of Dictys and Dares. Katherine Cullen King divides by time the

Epic or Classical from the Romantic and Rationalistic of the medieval. (*Achilles. Paradigms of the War Hero from Homer to the Middle Ages* [Berkeley: U of California P, 1987] vii). Lee Patterson speaks of secular history, Troy as parallel to the Biblical Moment of Genesis, dehistoricizing into romance, with an historical narrative and erotic counterplot (*Chaucer and the Subject of History* [Madison: U of Wisconsin P, 1991] 127). Christopher Baswell's unpublished manuscript, *Figures of Olde Work: Visions of Virgil's Aeneid in Medieval England*, treats the Aeneid's three approaches -- allegorical, romantic, and pedagogical -- with the pedagogical and allegorical being clerical (12-18) and the romantic characterized by the "growing presence of women" (19).

<sup>34</sup> Μῆνιν ἄειδε θεά, Πηληϊάδεω Ἀχιλῆος (I.1);  
Ὡς οἱ γ' ἀμφιέπον τάφον Ἐκτορος ἱπποδάμοιο (XXIV.804).

<sup>35</sup> E. Talbot Donaldson comments on this stanza when "Troilus meets his death. This begins once again -- in the epic style with perhaps a glance at the *Iliad*" (*Speaking of Chaucer* [New York: W. W. Norton, 1970] 96).

<sup>36</sup> "It is now indisputably evident that Chaucer was an extremely gifted Italianist; few writers in the English-speaking world have ever understood Italian poetry better" (David Wallace, "Troilus and the *Filostrato*: Chaucer as Translator of Boccaccio," *Chaucer's Troilus and Criseyde* ed. R.A. Shoaf [Binghamton, NY: Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies, 1992] 257). Wallace goes on to note that "it is curious that Chaucer nowhere mentions Boccaccio by name" (257). Anderson observes that Chaucer used the *Genealogie* in his *Legend of Good Women* and *Canterbury Tales* (David Anderson, "Cassandra's Analogy. Troilus V.1450-1521" [*Hebrew University Studies in Literature and the Arts* 13(1985)] 1-17, see 2n). See also Noel Harold Kaylor, Jr. for the comment that Chaucer knew Italian well enough to translate Petrarch and read Dante ("Boethian Resonances in Chaucer's 'Canticus Troili'" [*Chaucer Review* 27(1993)] 219-227 219).

<sup>37</sup> R. M. Frazer Jr., who translates Dictys and Dares, uses the term "Anti-Homeric" for the romance tradition *The Trojan War: The Chronicles of Dictys of Crete and Dares the Phrygian* (Bloomington and London: Indiana University Press, 1966) Introduction 7.

<sup>38</sup> The writers of romance assert their superiority over Homer. Griffin reports that the twelfth century poet Joseph of Exeter (*Historia e Bello Trojano*, ed. in Volpy, *Scriptores Latini*, lib.I, vv 24 ff) and the thirteenth-century poet Albert of Stade (*Troilus*, ed. Merzdorf, lib. VI, vv, 697 ff.) rejoice that Dares the Phrygian soldier

rejects all poetic fables and holds himself strictly within the bounds of truth (Nathaniel Edward Griffin, *Dares and Dictys: An Introduction to the Study of Medieval Versions of the Story of Troy*. [Baltimore: J. H. Furst, 1907] 40-41).

The twelfth-century historian Guido delle Colonne (*Historia Trojana*, [Strasbourg, 1486], sig. al rect, col. I, II. 34 ff) accuses Homer of having deliberately tampered with the plain unvarnished truth of Dares, and of having invented many incidents that never occurred and misrepresented others that did (Griffin 41).

Griffin also notes that Chaucer accords to Dares and Dictys a position in front of Homer on the iron pillar of his *House of Fame* (V.1467) (Griffin 41).

Minnis discusses the definition of history and the critique of Homer as mythmaker, saying that "the crucial distinction between history and fable is reflected by medieval contrasts of Dares as a reliable historian with Homer as a mischievous mythmaker who invented the Trojan War" (A. J. Minnis, *Chaucer and Pagan Antiquity* [Cambridge; D.S. Brewer, 1982] 23). Minnis cites Cornelius Nepos as translator of Dares' *De Excidio Troiae Historia*, describing "Homer insane for describing gods battling with mortals." Minnis adds that "subsequent writers criticized Homer . . . he mingled with historical truth poetical fictions concerning divine intervention in human affairs" (Minnis 27). See also Nathaniel Edward Griffin's "Un-Homeric Elements in the medieval Story of Troy," *Journal of English and Germanic Philology* VII(1907-1908): 32-52.

<sup>39</sup> See Chauncey Wood, "What Chaucer Really Did to *Il Filostrato*," *The Elements of Chaucer's Troilus* (Durham: Duke UP, 1984) 31-37.

<sup>40</sup> As early as the sixth and seventh centuries AD, the Frankish chroniclers claim descent from the Trojans. See *Liber Historiae Francorum*, trans. Bernard S. Bachrach, ed. (Lawrence, KS.: Coronado P, 1973) 23. It is a commonplace that British writers began their tales with their Trojan ancestry and the settlement of Britain by Brutus, descendant of Aeneas.

<sup>41</sup> See also Kaylor re Troilus' fate as part of Troy's downfall and of the three conditions for its fall, his death before he reproduces, as well as the theft of the Palladium, and the breaching of the walls. Kaylor also speaks of him as young and naive (219).

<sup>42</sup> McCall says that the Christian mythographic tradition is classical rather than religious through the time of the Third Vatican Mythographer. "Again the insistent conclusion is that the author of this widely circulated encyclopedia of myth (who was perhaps an Englishman) showed



no inclination to Christianize his interpretations" (10).

<sup>43</sup> For a defense of the ending, see E. Talbot Donaldson's "The Ending of Chaucer's *Troilus*" in *Early English and Norse Studies*, eds. Arthur Brown and Peter Foote (London: Methuen, 1963) 26-45.

## Chapter One

### The Epic Tradition: Sarpedon as Emblem of Fate

#### A. Romance and Epic Roots of Chaucer's Sarpedon

Chaucer's immediate source for his *Troilus* was the Italian Trecento writer Boccaccio who inherited the tale both from the epics and from the romances, exploiting the former in his *Genealogie* and the latter in his *Filostrato*. Chaucer's romance source was the *Filostrato*, itself the end product of an anti-Homeric tradition which debunked the gods, increased the importance of women, added copious detail and description, and produced the romances which were so popular in the Middle Ages. This romance tradition was considered to be real history because it eliminated the gods and the fabulous. It also lost much of its poetic metaphor, the magic of words and ideas, along with its other magic. It was intentionally anti-Homeric, drawing on Augustine in the *City of God* for his scorn of Olympian gods, and concentrating rather on men in their relationships with other men as warriors at war and, with increasing importance, in their relationships with women in the domestic wars which they called love.

Boccaccio, however, whose work was encyclopedic, was heir to the Greek and Roman epic and classical tradition as well.<sup>1</sup> In his *Genealogie* he interspersed enough Greek to

show his interest in the texts of Homer and recounted the Troy story as it was known to the classical writers whose tales concerned the fates of men and gods<sup>2</sup> and the exploits of heroic men who could not be gods because they were mortal. This distinction between traditions is based on the inclusion of the fabulous and the exegetical in the Homeric tales which intertwine the fates of gods with those of men, which employ poetic metaphor, and which are exempla of philosophical concepts. One branch of this tradition, the Christian mythographic or exegetical, allegorizes the story in terms of Christian values, in bono or in malo. The other branch, Ciceronian and Virgilian and based on the ancient myths, also passes down the story. Fate is really its theme, and it attributes to gods what does not seem rational in human experience. I am referring to this strain as the epic or classical or Homeric. It is written down in Greek or in Latin rather than in medieval vernacular languages. Once it reaches the Middle Ages, its intended audience is clerical or highly educated.

Boccaccio taps into this tradition in his *Genealogie Deorum Gentilium Libri*. Although he protects himself with an Augustinian disclaimer of belief in the gods or their place in the story,<sup>3</sup> Boccaccio in fact discusses the gods and searches out the literary backgrounds for their stories. In his description of Sarpedon and his son, he tells the story from the *Iliad* and adds the reference to the son from

the *Aeneid*. He cites Homer directly in Greek and refers also to Servius, quotes Augustine's *City of God*, and relates from the *Iliad* Sarpedon's death at the hands of Patroclus, the removal of his body by Apollo at the order of Jupiter, and his funeral.<sup>4</sup> Boccaccio, who had had the *Iliad* translated by Leontius Pilatus, refers to his hearing it from Pilatus.<sup>5</sup> We know too that Chaucer had access to the *Genealogie*<sup>6</sup> for the figure of Zephyrus and for Cleopatra.<sup>7</sup> Consequently, Chaucer had at least second-hand access to the stories of Homer and quite possibly had access to Pilatus' translation as well. It is not likely that Chaucer would miss the opportunity when in Italy.<sup>8</sup> In addition, he would certainly have known that Homer's theme was the epic theme of fate. His emphasis on fate makes his *Troilus* parallel Homer's tale of Sarpedon in ways which, deliberate or not, show that *Troilus* does derive from Sarpedon and in a manner which sheds light on Chaucer's use of Sarpedon as a standard by which to evaluate *Troilus*. Chaucer's repetitive use of the name of Sarpedon in his *Troilus and Criseyde* is one part of his remarkable tour de force on the subject of necessity and, with it, foreknowledge and free will. In his use of the Matter of Troy, Chaucer has taken the action of the romance and reinvested it with the meaning of the epic.

The Sarpedon that Chaucer inherits is this Homeric model of the man of necessity. Homer's metaphor of the feast has become Boccaccio's actual feast, but the man who

hosts it has remained an emblem of mortality for Chaucer as well as for Homer, and the necessity of physical death and of earthly endings becomes the controlling metaphor of the *Troilus*. Far from digressionary, Troilus' necessity soliloquy centers the structure of Chaucer's *Troilus and Criseyde*. Although its catalyst is fear of the death of human love rather than of human life, eros and thanatos are interconnected, and the speech focuses on necessity within a nexus of associated ideas of foreknowledge, fate, and free will. Reading the speech backward from the feast of Sarpedon exposes its importance as theme and metaphor.

In Chaucer, the feast of Sarpedon answers the ambiguities of the necessity soliloquy; by locating the feast after that parody of scholastic foolishness, Chaucer opposes the clarity and strength of will of Sarpedon to Troilus' refusal to accept that within himself which derives from Homer's Sarpedon. After the soliloquy, Troilus repairs to Sarpedon's actual feast but cannot join his metaphorical one. Because Sarpedon's insistence upon action and choice, in spite of his knowledge of certain death, so underscores Troilus' own inaction and wavering will, Sarpedon's freely willed choices overshadow Troilus' issue of necessity.

Set against the backdrop of Troy, the death preordained for Sarpedon becomes emblematic of the fate of all creatures in a world itself existing within the patterns of cyclic change and the rotations of the delusionary wheel of Lady

Fortune. Troilus finds himself on the wheel, caught in an inexorable pattern which determines the end of his earthly love. For Chaucer and his narrator for whom all reality is shaped and enclosed by telescoping patterns, the only path out of this pattern for his noble but foolish pagan, Troilus, is the kind of divine love known to Chaucer but not even conceived of by Troilus or by Criseyde. Troilus, unlike Sarpedon, does not have Zeus for a father; Chaucer's Troilus has only Chaucer who is himself bound and limited by the pattern he too is within. The presence of Sarpedon, with his name drummed insistently by Chaucer, makes sense of the soliloquy before it and the events to follow it. This perspective on Sarpedon did not reach Chaucer through the *Filistrato*. It did, however, get to Chaucer in the path from the *Iliad* to Boccaccio's *Genealogie*, a path in which Sarpedon is linked firmly to the issue of necessity and in which his death, along with those of Hector, Achilles, and Troilus, establishes the fall of Troy as an emblem of human passage.<sup>9</sup>

Chaucer's inherited Sarpedon then is connected to the natural cycle of change which is the principle of life: the mortal son of a god, he must die as leaves fall and all things change from life to death. He is also crucial to the story of Troy, connected through the marriage feast of Peleus and Thetis to Achilles and to Hector. Different from Troilus who contemplates the necessity of the man sitting on

his cushion, Sarpedon is the model for the man who knows he must die but acts courageously in the face of his inevitable fall. The Sarpedon whose feast discomforts Troilus is the model against which Troilus falls short. If all characters in a book can be seen as projections of the hero's conflicts, then Sarpedon is the part of himself that Troilus tries to suppress in order to be faithful to Criseyde and to human love.<sup>10</sup> In fact, in the alternative tradition, the Romance or Anti-Homeric, the figure of Troilus grows as the replacement for the classically heroic figures of Sarpedon, Hector, and Achilles once the heroes are demystified and the gods debunked and removed. In *Troilus and Criseyde* Chaucer reconnects the English romance of Troilus firmly back within the context of its epic roots. Accordingly, this chapter will explicate the Homeric Sarpedon to see the clay from which Chaucer's Troilus is formed and will trace his path and the path of Greek culture to Chaucer's time by examining the transmission of the emblematic and metaphorical connection of Sarpedon with fate.

#### B. Sarpedon of the *Iliad*

The Homeric Sarpedon, unlike his Romance ghost, charges the *Iliad* as the force outside of Troy which comes to its aid against Greece but which cannot withstand the predetermined fall of Troy; as Chaucer's Troilus represents

Troy, so Homer's Sarpedon represents Fate. That Fate essentially is the fate of human mortality. As with the classical Troilus, the importance of Homer's Sarpedon lies in his death.<sup>11</sup> Son of Zeus, king of Lycia, connected to Thebes by descent through Europa, Zeus-raped daughter of Cadmus' cursed line, the mortal Sarpedon must die despite his Olympian father's anguish. As leader of Troy's allies, and with a fate emblematic of Troy's and of mankind's, Sarpedon is aware that he must die. Fate, Homer makes clear from the opening of the *Iliad*, is the controlling force and the controlling theme. But, unlike Chaucer's Troilus, Homer's Sarpedon is a strong-willed man of action who embraces his role as warrior-prince and leader of his people despite his understanding of his resultant mortality. Homer acknowledges him as strong and wise enough to rebuke even Hector about his effete Trojans, and to advise his cousin Glaucus about the fate of warriors. He is introduced in metaphor, by Glaucus' description of the leaves of trees, and he concludes in metaphor, by his analogy of the warrior's worth and the warrior's feast. Knowledge of Sarpedon as emblem of fate reaches Chaucer's time through a long list of classical writers; an understanding of the context of Greek culture is transmitted to Chaucer's time through centuries in which contact with Greece is never lost.

Around the theme of fate, Homer organized the stories



of Troy which Chaucer inherited. These stories did not, of course, originate with Homer but were a common pool of oral tales upon which Homer and others drew.<sup>12</sup> This common tradition can account for early variation in the accounts of Troy's fall, but much of what reached the Latin West derived from Homer. While Greek never completely disappeared in the West,<sup>13</sup> there is general agreement that until Boccaccio, Homer was not available to the West in translation and that the story of Troy was generally known through commentaries. What survived for widespread use were the school text excerpts followed by explications.

Nevertheless, the heroic figure known as Sarpedon did survive in the Latin tradition and was known to Chaucer. Whether or not Chaucer read or listened to Homer, he used Homer's character of Sarpedon, and so, for today's reader to understand more fully what Chaucer did with Sarpedon and the Troy story, it really is wise to begin with the *Iliad* and hear the echoes and parallels to Chaucer which are in Homer's version of the tale. "Für uns ist heute die Ilias die Hauptquelle über Sarpedon."<sup>14</sup> Homer's main theme for Sarpedon, son of Zeus and King of Lycia, is the necessity of mankind's fall into death. Like Chaucer's Troilus, Sarpedon is doomed by the very nature of human mortality and the principle of physical change. Homer establishes this necessity from the first introduction of Sarpedon as the leader of the Trojan allies, the next most important warrior

after Hector, and a hero linked inextricably to the fall of Troy, and then in Glaucus' recital of their common genealogy;<sup>15</sup> this he introduces indirectly through Glaucus' tale of his own family history and connection to the gods. Developing a portrait of Sarpedon as a great warrior and a man of courage and strong will, Homer even has him rebuke Hector, scolding the model Trojan for the failures of the brothers and friends he is supposed to lead.

For Homer, Sarpedon is a link between Thebes and Troy; in Chaucer, the story of *Troilus and Criseyde* connects the stories of the two cities.<sup>16</sup> In the *Iliad* Sarpedon himself is goaded by the Greek Tlepolemus in an interchange which reinforces the connections of the Theban and Trojan stories as well as Sarpedon's connection to Zeus and which foreshadows his own death at the hands of the Greeks, and, by implication, the death of Hector. In his language, Homer clearly parallels Sarpedon and Hector. Reminded of his mortality, Sarpedon speaks to Glaucus about the warrior's role. Then he guards the wounded Hector and then finally falls himself, leaving a final message to Glaucus to continue to fight. Homer has Zeus choose painfully to let him die, then mourn him and have his body transported home to Lycia. Finally, Sarpedon's armor is given as a prize in the funeral games for Patroclus, reinforcing his connection with Achilles' friend.<sup>17</sup>

Chaucer identifies Troilus' importance by his

connection to his father Priam as King of Troy, but Sarpedon of the *Iliad* is dependent upon his relationship with Zeus his father who, loving him and knowing his fate, chooses not to intervene to save him. Homer specifically connects Sarpedon and his father closely and necessarily just as in the *Iliad* generally he closely connects men and gods and questions the origins of gods as objectifications of the psyches of great men.<sup>18</sup> Chaucer's Troy is reflected in Troilus; for Homer, Zeus is, in one sense, a projection of the greatness of Sarpedon as hero; however, by the time of the *Iliad*, the gods have become separate from and greater than men. Hence, Sarpedon can be seen also as the obverse, as the shadow of the god, as Chaucer's Troilus is the reflection of Troy. Unlike the later Troilus, Sarpedon knows his own fate and its necessity. Nevertheless, he chooses to enact the heroic warrior's role in the face of that necessity.

As the Greek tradition does with Troilus, Homer centers the importance of Sarpedon on his death. Of the approximately 678 lines of the *Iliad* which tell the story of Sarpedon, son of Zeus and king of Lycia, nearly a third, 278 lines, describe his death, which triggers the rage of Hector and the death of Patroclus, which in turn inflames the wrath of Achilles, the death of Hector, and the fall of Troy.<sup>19</sup> In the *Iliad*, before he dies, Sarpedon explains to his kinsman Glaucus that the reason for the warrior's feast and

the warrior's privilege is the warrior's fate. A man of will, Sarpedon has left wife and child behind to live and fight in the male society of warriors, the society Chaucer has Troilus shun. He indicates his foreknowledge and full acceptance of the death that awaits him on the Scamandrian plain and the necessity of his fate there at Troy; his father Zeus bewails the same necessity as he predicts it and wills not to change it.

For Chaucer, Fortune is contingent upon location in space and time. The location of the stars at the moment of birth influences what a person will become.<sup>20</sup> The choice of Troilus' man on his cushion is necessitated by the circumstances of time and place. But for Homer, Fate is a matter of genealogy. Because Sarpedon's importance lies in this connection to his father, Homer carefully delineates Sarpedon's genealogy and therefore his connection to the gods who know all. Zeus-begotten, he is Olympian descended also through his mother who connects him back to the fabled hero Bellerephon. His lineage is related indirectly, by Glaucus his cousin. Glaucus tells his own descent in response to Diomedes' challenge to identify himself before they battle.<sup>21</sup> The crafty Diomedes, who later attacks and wounds both Aphrodite and Ares, has said he does not wish to battle the immortals. This flattery elicits the information from Glaucus.

As Chaucer begins his tale with a reminder of the

Paladium, the theft of which will hasten the fall of Troy, Glaucus begins his genealogy with the image of necessary death and cyclical life that moves through western literature and is famous in Dante.

οἷη περ φύλλων γενεή, τοίη δὲ καὶ ἀνδρῶν.  
 φύλλα τὰ μὲν τ' ἄνεμος χαμάδις χέει, ἄλλα δὲ θ' ὕλη  
 τηλεθώσα φύει, ἔαρος δ' ἐπιγίγνεται ὥρη  
 ὡς ἀνδρῶν γενεή ἢ μὲν φυεῖ ἢ δ' ἀπολήγει

Even as are the generations of leaves, such are those also of men. As for the leaves, the wind scattereth some upon the earth, but the forest, as it burgeons, putteth forth others when the season of spring is come; even so of men one generation springeth up and another passeth away (VI.146-149).

The prescient sense of the transience of life and the necessity of death thus begin his genealogical recital: man's will and actions alone ennoble him, and his ancestry, if noble, requires of him this heroic behavior. The common god-ancestor for Glaucus and Sarpedon was the essence of passage, Aeolus the god of winds, who fathered Sisyphus who fathered Glaucus who fathered the heroic Bellerophon whom Fate carried to Lycia.<sup>22</sup> By Glaucus' recital, Homer connects Sarpedon in blood both to Zeus as his father and to Bellerophon and Aeolus through his mother, to the all-knowing god, to the heroic warrior, and to the evanescence of the wind.

Like the later Troilus, Sarpedon is a warrior hero; unlike him, he is a man of strong will; ὁ δ' ἔπρεπε καὶ διὰ πάντων, "he was pre-eminent even amid all."<sup>23</sup> His epithet is ἀντιθέφω, "godlike";<sup>24</sup> he is Διὸς υἱόν, "son of Zeus"<sup>25</sup> when he

is wounded and later when he storms the Greek walls,<sup>26</sup> when he is going to die,<sup>27</sup> and when his father does not save him.<sup>28</sup> Sarpedon is also identified by his leadership of the allies.<sup>29</sup> He is strong as well as courageous: single-handed he tears down the battlement of the Greek wall at the ships,<sup>30</sup> and he is called one of the bravest of the warriors when he runs to protect Hector.<sup>31</sup> A leader strong, courageous, and godlike, Sarpedon is developed by Homer as one of the great heroic men of will. Chaucer's evocation of Sarpedon underscores his Troilus' weakness.

Chaucer's weak-willed Troilus turns to the unheroic Pandarus,<sup>32</sup> the mentor whom he has chosen to follow; as a leader, Sarpedon chides and teaches not only his Lycians but even the great Hector. After Sarpedon has torn down the battlement, he turns to his companions and drives them into the attack.<sup>33</sup> The Lycians respond to their king out of fear of rebuke; here Homer captures both the nuance of what motivates men in battle and the measure of the good leader. As the human shadow of his father Zeus, Sarpedon is the leader and the decision maker who controls and disciplines his men. Thus, Zeus is, in a sense, the objectification of the warrior's will personified in his son, Sarpedon, and hence it is appropriate that Sarpedon rebuke the great hero, Hector, and express his disgust with the other sons of Priam.<sup>34</sup> As Priam does when he eulogizes his Troilus, Sarpedon moves from rebuking to urging,<sup>35</sup> using his own

example and his family, which parallels Hector's own.<sup>36</sup> Although he has come to help, he does not risk his family and wealth;<sup>37</sup> Hector who stands to lose more should fight more.<sup>38</sup> Sarpedon, like Zeus, warns of the future, and an ominous doom lurks below his words of encouragement:

*μή πως, ὡς ἄψισι λῖνοι ἄλόντε πανάγρου,  
ἀνδράσι δυσμενέεσσω ἔλωρ καὶ κύρμα γένησθε·  
οἱ δὲ τάχ' ἐκπέρσουσ' εὐ ναιομένην πόλιν ὑμῖν,  
σοὶ δὲ χρῆ τάδε πάντα μέλειν νύκτας τε καὶ ἡμάρ,  
ἀρχοῦς λισσομένω τηλεκλειτῶν επικούρων  
ῥωλεμέως ἔχεμεν, κρατερῆν δ' ἀποθέσθαι ἐνιπήν."  
Ὡς φάτο Σαρπηδῶν, δάκε δὲ φρένας Ἑκτορι μῦθος·*

Beware lest thou and they, as if caught in the meshes of all-ensnaring flax, become a prey and spoil unto your foemen; and they shall anon lay waste your well-peopled city. On thee should all these cares rest by night and day, and thou shouldst beseech the captains of thy far-famed allies to hold their ground unflinchingly, and so put away from thee strong rebukings." So spake Sarpedon, and his word stung Hector to the heart. (V.487-493)

So the godly Sarpedon functions as the mirror of his father Zeus in his direction and correction of his men and even of Hector. His is the voice of responsibility, the tutor to Hector, a man among men who has left behind his woman and is not influenced by her as Chaucer's Troilus is by Criseyde. He is also a man connected to his place and, unlike Chaucer's Troilus or the Greek Troilus, who must die before he leaves an heir for Troy, a man who has left behind a child to secure his future. Chaucer's Troilus meets none of his standards; instead, he mirrors the weakness of his father, Troy.

In a parallel incident which aligns him with Hector and foreshadows both their deaths, Sarpedon himself becomes the one goaded and insulted, here by Tlepolemus, son of Hercules, in a speech with a far different intent from Sarpedon's words of instruction. Tlepolemus taunts him before battle but cannot shake him. Tlepolemus demotes him verbally from king to "counselor of the Lycians."<sup>39</sup> By his rhetorical antiphrasis, Homer has Tlepolemus establish Sarpedon's actual worth; after his hero is called a skulker and unskilled in battle, he establishes Sarpedon's bravery and military might:<sup>40</sup> Sarpedon is called by Tlepolemus no son of Zeus and inferior to earlier warriors sprung from Zeus, unlike his own father Heracles. Homer emphatically establishes Sarpedon as indeed the son of Zeus and peer of Heracles. Tlepolemus' boast that he will dispatch Sarpedon to Hades ends in his own defeat and death at Sarpedon's hands.

Unlike Chaucer's Troilus who is ensnared by his own words in his necessity soliloquy, Homer's Sarpedon controls his speech: Sarpedon's reply wins the verbal part of their duel before Sarpedon wins by his spear. To Tlepolemus' boast that his father stole Laomedon's horses and sacked Troy, Sarpedon calmly asserts Heracles' right to take what had been promised him and avers Laomedon's duplicity.<sup>41</sup> Then Sarpedon separates Tlepolemus from his admirable father by his simple, "But as for thee" and asserts his own power



over his adversary simply, without taunts, and matter-of-factly:

*σοὶ δ' ἐγὼ ἐνθάδε φημι φόνον καὶ κῆρα μέλαιναν  
ἐξ ἐμέθεν τεύξεσθαι, ἐμῶ δ' ὑπὸ δουρὶ δαμέντα  
εὐχὸς ἔμοι δώσειν, ψυχὴν δ' Αἴδι κλυτοπόλῳ,*

But for thee, I deem that death and black fate shall here be wrought by my hands, and that vanquished beneath my spear thou shalt yield glory to me, and thy soul to Hades of the goodly steeds. (V.652-654)

In the simultaneous cast of spears, Tlepolemus is killed and Sarpedon wounded in the thigh.

Foreshadowing his actions in Book XVI,<sup>42</sup> his father Zeus protects him as his comrades carry him away. Guided by Athene, Odysseus chooses not to pursue him<sup>43</sup> in a "clear foreshadowing of. . . 16.433f where Zeus laments that Sarpedon is destined to be killed by Patroklos:. . . Destiny is normally enforced by a god, here Athene."<sup>44</sup> When Hector takes notice, it is the first encounter since Sarpedon's scold. Sarpedon's plea is subtle.<sup>45</sup> He calls Hector son of Priam, the father who will plead later with Achilles for Hector's body, and asks that he be taken into Troy to die so that his body might be safe. The mention of his wife and infant son also evokes Hector's own situation. According to Kirk, this first meeting after the rebuke is ironic.<sup>46</sup> In the mention of Priam, of securing his body, and of the wife and child, Sarpedon also clearly establishes for the reader the dramatic irony of his parallel situation to Hector's own doom: the repeated mentions of wives and babies connect the

pair as sympathetic figures and underscore Troilus' childish youthfulness.<sup>47</sup> But, as after the rebuke, Hector is silent and responds instead by actions as he attacks the Greeks.

This wound which Sarpedon seems to think is fatal proves otherwise when his comrades carry him under the oak of Zeus and remove the spear. Sarpedon revives when the North Wind blows upon him to make him live again.<sup>48</sup> The incident clearly points to his death when his ancestral deities, Zeus and Aeolus, will not revive him, but when Zeus will send Apollo to have Sleep and Death carry him back to his own city which holds his wife and child.

If Sarpedon's death is thus anticipated in his interchanges with Hector and Tlepolemus, his speech to Glaucus before battle gives his death its meaning. As is usual in the *Iliad*, and as Chaucer will connect them, feast and death are linked in pattern, but Sarpedon speaks of the funeral fest which come before the battle. Why, he asks, is the warrior honored in the festival hall with the best seats, food, drink, and the adulation given to gods, as well as by lands and wealth?

Glaucus, wherefore is it that we twain are held in honor above all with seats, and messes, and full cups in Lycia, and all men gaze upon us as gods? Aye, and we possess a great desmesne by the banks of Xanthus, a fair tract of orchard and of wheat-bearing plow land.<sup>49</sup>

He answers his own question: the purpose of their lives and of their privilege is their mission to die in battle:

Therefore now it behoveth us to take our stand amid

the foremost Lycians, and confront the blazing battle, that many a one of the mail-clad Lycians may say: "Verily no inglorious men be these that rule in Lycia, even our kings, they that eat fat sheep and drink choice wine, honey-sweet; nay, but their might too is goodly, seeing they fight amid the foremost Lycians."<sup>50</sup>

Homer's warriors are poignant and tragic because they understand and express both this purpose and their desire, the desire so particularly acute for the man who must carry the spear, the desire to escape war and know peace.

Ah friend, if once escaped from this battle we were ever to be ageless and immortal, neither should I fight myself amid the foremost, nor should I send thee into battle where men win glory;<sup>51</sup>

But the warrior is different from other men only in intensity. With all of his kind, he must face both life and necessary death:

but now - for in any case fates of death beset us, fates past counting, which no mortal may escape or avoid - now let us go forward, whether we shall give glory to another, or another to us.<sup>52</sup>

What he hopes for is the glory, the transcendence that differentiates his death, gives it purpose, and keeps him from being forgotten.<sup>53</sup>

Sarpedon and Glaucus then lead the assault on the wall that results in a futile impasse until Zeus intervenes to give victory to Hector.<sup>54</sup> Although a personal glory for Sarpedon who has torn down the battlement by himself, it remains a pointless stalemate without divine intervention.<sup>55</sup> Even Sarpedon's urging on of his men<sup>56</sup> can not effect the victory unaided. The god who has saved him from the attack of Teucer gives the glory to Hector instead. When Hector

falls wounded, "for ere that might be, the bravest stood forth to guard him, even Polydamus, and Aeneas, and goodly Agenor, and Sarpedon, leader of the Lycians, and peerless Glaucus."<sup>57</sup> But when Sarpedon falls and calls for aid from Hector, Hector runs by him to attack the foe.

Sarpedon's final speech to Glaucus gives closure to his first. The softness is gone;<sup>58</sup> he urges Glaucus to acquit himself in battle, to save his armor from the Achaeans, and to hold on and spur on his troops:

Dear Glaucus, warrior amid men of war, now in good sooth it behooveth thee to quit thee as a spearman and a dauntless warrior; now be evil war thy heart's desire, if indeed thou art swift to fight. First fare thou up and down everywhere, and urge on the leaders of the Lycians to fight for Sarpedon, and thereafter thyself do battle with the bronze in my defence. For to thee even in time to come shall I be a reproach and a hanging of the head, all thy days continually, if so be the Achaeans shall despoil me of my armour, now that I am fallen amid the gathering of the ships. Nay, hold thy ground valiantly, and urge on all the host.<sup>59</sup>

He dies a warrior, and the armor Glaucus cannot save and Patrocles takes from his body becomes a prize in Patrocles' own funeral games.<sup>60</sup>

As Chaucer and the Narrator well know,<sup>61</sup> the warrior, the god, and the poet in fact are all enmeshed in the necessity of fate, its predictability or their foreknowledge, and their will to choose to act despite it.<sup>62</sup> Like a weapon forged to be cast in battle, a warrior is aimed at transcendence; his predetermined purpose is to die in battle. Zeus knows his son's fate and does not forestall

it. Sarpedon's "divine parentage wins him no more than a mystically solemn funeral."<sup>63</sup>

It is as if Zeus, along with the poet, knows the story and can only lament but not change it; so also will Chaucer's Narrator repeatedly mourn his inability to change his tale. Zeus enacts this dilemma when he moans about his knowledge of the necessity of his son's death and his own powerlessness to will to contradict Fate. He tells Hera that Sarpedon will die and connects his death by implication to the fall of Troy by connecting him to Patrocles and Hector and to the sequence of doomed events. Zeus explicitly has Hector go into his final battle "for Sarpedon's sake."<sup>64</sup> Zeus has had no qualms about stepping in earlier, when Sarpedon is wounded in the thigh by Tlepolemus: "howbeit his father as yet warded from him destruction."<sup>65</sup> He has stepped in again during the fight with Teucer and prevented him from being hurt at all: "but Zeus warded off the fates from his own son that he should not be laid low at the ships' sterns."<sup>66</sup> and then gives Hector the glory of firing the ships.<sup>67</sup> Zeus' will wavers at the final moment, when he actually sees the contest between Patroclus and his son, taking pity.<sup>68</sup> He does not, however, have the will to withstand the arguments of Hera who asks him, "A man that is mortal, doomed long since by fate, art thou minded to deliver from dolorous death?"<sup>69</sup> Hera adds a veiled threat that other gods will interfere and

do the same for their sons; she then puts into his mind the idea and words he will later repeat to save his son's body.<sup>70</sup> Apparently, when he is emotionally torn, his will is not strong enough to resist Hera when she is determined. He gives in to fate and the exigencies of the story but weeps for his child.<sup>71</sup>

Glaucus gets more response from Apollo to whom he turns for help when he protests: "And a man far the noblest has perished, even Sarpedon, the son of Zeus; and he succoureth not his own child."<sup>72</sup> It is Apollo also to whom Zeus turns to care for the body of Sarpedon in a more elaborate way than Hera has suggested. Sounding like Priam, Zeus arranges the funeral<sup>73</sup> and the pattern of his words, taken partly from Hera and reflecting the wishes Sarpedon himself would voice if he could, is repeated again for the third time by the poet who relates their enactment<sup>74</sup> and completes the pattern.

What is necessary and yet unjustifiable in fact justifies itself, at the end, as an object of poetic knowledge. What is incomprehensible in experience becomes patterned and even beautiful in the imitation of experience. And since poetic imitation, which claims to stand outside experience, is itself a human achievement, poetry claims for itself a place both outside and within the human world as it recovers for man a tragic meaning in the experience of meaninglessness.

Zeus sent this evil portion, so that later  
For men to come, we should be themes for song.<sup>75</sup>

Priam begs his son Hector not to fight; Zeus chooses to let his son Sarpedon die. The gods know what mortals do not

know, that neither god nor poet, regardless of what he knows will happen, can change a tale of what is or what has been. Homer's tale, in its classical rather than in its romance format, passes to Chaucer with this clear emphasis on Fate, an emphasis which Chaucer makes a central theme and a theme which he received from Homer by way of a series of writers who knew the *Iliad*.

C. Sarpedon's Path to Chaucer:  
The Latin Adoption of the Greek Tradition

When the Romans defeated the Greek conquerors of Troy and claimed descent from the Trojans, Homer's epic treasury became a mine for Latin writers and through them, for the medieval West. Despite the echoes and parallel from the *Iliad* in *Troilus and Criseyde*, and despite the survival in the West of Greek language and Greek texts, Chaucer's access to original Greek texts and language is uncertain; yet, he certainly did know Latin, and he read Cicero, Virgil, Ovid and the lesser Latin writers who themselves had access to the Greek. He could find references to Homer's Sarpedon in several Latin works and had a thin but definite history of Sarpedon to draw upon outside of the *Iliad* itself. Sarpedon's connection to fate and will were definitely known to him through the Latin materials.

Chaucer's access to Cicero is unquestioned, and Cicero quite clearly connects Sarpedon to the topos of necessity.

Cicero's brief comment in *De Divinatione* is reminiscent of Priam's eulogy of Troilus:

Si autem nihil fit extra fatum, nihil levare re  
divina potest. Hoc sentit Homerus cum querentem  
Iovem inducit quod Sarpedon filium a morte contra  
fatum eripere non posset.<sup>76</sup>

In Cicero, Jupiter does not have any choice: he is powerless to alter what necessarily must be, even though he knows ahead and wills to do so. The state of Cicero's Jupiter is singularly akin to that of Chaucer's Troilus as he kneels in the Temple and ponders necessity. Chaucer definitely had access to the writings of Cicero and to Sarpedon's role in them. Without question, he also knew Virgil's *Aeneid*.

The Virgil read by Chaucer saw Sarpedon as a figure of fate, and Virgil mentions Sarpedon several times in the *Aeneid*. His clearest and fullest statement of the dilemma of Jupiter occurs in Book Ten. Read along with earlier references, in Books One and Nine, Virgil's account fully explicates Sarpedon's importance in a complex web of fatality that makes Rome the heir to Troy. Book One weaves references to Sarpedon with those of Hector and of Aecus, grandfather of Achilles. Here, Aeneas, at the mercy of the gods when Juno has commanded Aeolus to stir up a storm at sea, cries out to the fallen heroes and to Diomedes:

O terque quaterque beati  
quis ante ora patrum Troiae sub moenibus altis  
contigit oppetere! O Danaum fortissime gentis  
Tydide! mene Iliacis occumbere campis  
non potuisse tuaque animam hanc effundere dextra



saevus ubi, Aeacidae telo iacet Hector, ubi ingens  
Sarpedon.<sup>77</sup>

Virgil sets up several interesting connections as he begins his web here. First, weaving together many aspects of the Troy story, he unites Sarpedon closely to Hector; their deaths are the result of the same fate. Next, they are slain by the Aeachidae, the Myrmidons, here Achilles and Patroclus. Aeacus too, like Sarpedon, was a son of Jupiter, living alone on the island named Oenone until he prayed to his father for companions, and Jupiter changed the ants to Myrmidons. Like Paris who was sheltered and loved by a nymph named Oenone, Aeacus is called to judge a contest, this one between Nisus and Sceiron over the rule of Megara. Aeacus fares better than Paris: the loser, Sceiron, gives him his daughter in marriage and their sons are Peleus and Telamon. Aeacus' prayers to Jupiter end a drought and return fertility to the earth. He also is called by Apollo and Neptune to help build the walls of Troy. When three snakes attack the walls, two die but one is able to enter Troy through the part of the wall built by Aeacus. "Apollo correctly interpreted this omen to mean that the descendents of Aeacus would bring destruction on Troy during three generations."<sup>78</sup> Aeacus, after death, becomes a gatekeeper or judge in the Underworld.

By his mention of Aeacus as ancestor of the slayers of Hector and Sarpedon, and therefore by extension the slayers of Troy itself, Virgil refers to the story of Paris and his

judgment, to Peleus, Aeacus' son, and his marriage feast, to the will of Zeus and his intervention in his son's life, to the foretelling of the fate of Troy. Next Virgil mentions the Trojan heroes' fate to die before their fathers' eyes, connecting the grief of Priam to the grief of Jupiter and again linking the fate of Hector and Sarpedon. Finally, Virgil has Aeneas pray to Diomedes, descendent of Aeolus, a dealer of death in battle which is preferable to a death in a storm at sea.

Virgil seems to be connecting the *Aeneid* to the *Iliad* also by way of a bastard son of the hero and the repetition of the name of Pandarus, an interesting and fertile juxtaposition. The next reference in the *Aeneid*, in Book Nine, is not to Sarpedon but to his son. In battle, the Trojan gates are opened to Turnus by men named Pandarus and Britias who invite the foe in to fight. Turnus storms in and slays Antiphates, Sarpedon's son.

ex primus Antiphaten (is enim se primus agebat),  
Thebana de matre nothum Sarpedonis alti,  
coniecto sternit iaculo.<sup>79</sup>

Beside this bastard son, Sarpedon has two brothers fighting for Aeneas: "hos germani Sarpedonis ambo/ et Clarus et Thaemon, Lycia comitatus ab alta."<sup>80</sup> Earlier, Virgil established Sarpedon as heroic and a model warrior: here Virgil uses Sarpedon's name to transfer the warrior's family and heroic reputation from Troy to Rome. Finally, Virgil connects the implications of Sarpedon's death to the idea of

fate and to the fate of Rome.

Chaucer had to be aware of Sarpedon's connection to fate through Virgil's technique in the *Aeneid* of including overt echoes to the *Iliad*. In Book Ten, Virgil sets up the figure of Pallas as a parallel to Sarpedon and then connects them through Jupiter's repetition that the gods cannot stop man's fate of mortality. Pallas, a friend of Aeneas and son of Evander, is slain by Turnus. Much is made of his death and burial. He reflects both Hector and Sarpedon and also Sarpedon's speech before battle:

aut spoliis ego iam raptis laudabar opimis  
 aut leto, insigni, sorti pater aequus utrique est.  
 tolle minas.<sup>81</sup>

Heaven cannot help him when he prays though he begs Hercules for help: "audiit Alcides iuvenem magniumque suo imo/ corde premit genitum lacrimasque effundit inavis."<sup>82</sup> Jupiter responds to Hercules' tears by reiterating his inability to save Pallas any more than he could have saved Sarpedon whom he wished to save:

tum genitor natum dictis adfatur amicis:  
 "stat sua cilcique dies, breve et irreparabile tempus  
 omnibus est vitae; sed famam extendere factis,  
 hoc virtutis opus. Troie sub moenibus altis  
 tot gnati cecedere deum, quinoccidit una  
 Sarpedon, mea, progenies, etiam sua Turnum  
 fata vocant metasque dati pervenit ad aevi."<sup>83</sup>  
 sic ait atque oculos Rutulorum reicit arvis.

Mortality is 'the fate man was born for', and the book of his life contains a limited number of pages. This span of time on earth, the time when he is known, can be lengthened

by the reputation he leaves: through his will in the face of fate, through the valor with which he lives and the fame which surrounds him. Hercules' foreknowledge cannot save him any more than Jupiter's could save Sarpedon. As Chaucer mourns to his readers, what is written must stand, but what the poet celebrates will endure. From Cicero and from Virgil, Chaucer had to be aware of the connection of Sarpedon to the ideas of necessity, foreknowledge, and will.

Writing in Greek in the first century B.C., Apollodorus was cited by Cicero in his *Letters* and often quoted by Strabo,<sup>84</sup> but his texts were not known in the West until 1555.<sup>85</sup> Although Chaucer could not have known his work, his ideas did filter into the tradition, and he contributed to the cachet of Sarpedon as emblem of fate. Sarpedon was connected in the Homeric tradition to the figures of Hector and of Achilles just as he was in the romance tales where the figure of Troilus rises from the ashes of the three great heroes as their situations and deeds are suppressed and reassigned to the Troilus Chaucer inherits. As Virgil linked the fates of Sarpedon, Hector, and Achilles (via his grandfather Aeacus), so also had Apollodorus a century earlier. Apollodorus also connected Briseus into the story. His selection and juxtaposition of detail join Sarpedon to Achilles' anger and to his reclamation of Briseus:

Patroclus. . .killed many, amongst them Sarpedon, son of Zeus, and was himself killed by Hector. . . a fierce fight taking place for the corpse [of Patroclus], Ajax

with difficulty, by performing feats of valour, rescued the body. And Achilles laid aside his anger and revered Briseus. And a suit of armor having been brought from Hephaestus, he donned the armour and went forth to the war.<sup>86</sup>

In the *Epitome*, Apollodorus also clearly identifies Sarpedon as the Lycian son of Zeus and companion to Glaucus, son of Hippolochus.<sup>87</sup> Like Homer, he places Sarpedon last in the list of Trojans; unlike Homer who begins with Hector, Apollodorus lists only the allies, beginning with Aeneas as an ally rather than as a Trojan prince.<sup>88</sup> In his *Library*, Apollodorus tells a different tale of Sarpedon, apparently of the Homeric king's grandfather, son of Europa and Zeus.<sup>89</sup> Europa married Asternus, Prince of Crete, who raised Sarpedon and his two brothers, Minos and Rhadamanthus. When the brothers quarreled over a boy,<sup>90</sup> the boy chose Sarpedon and precipitated a war. Defeated,

Sarpedon allied himself with Cilix, who was at war with the Lycians, and having stipulated for a share of the country, he became king of Lycia.<sup>91</sup> And Zeus granted him to live for three generations.

Apollodorus then drops all mention of the elder Sarpedon to pick up his grandson in the *Epitome*. There is a third Sarpedon, not connected to the Lycians, whom he mentions later in connection with Troy, a man killed by Heracles when he attacks Troy for its fabled horses: "And as he [Heracles] was sailing away [from Aenus] he shot and killed on the Aenian beach a lewd fellow, Sarpedon, son of Poseidon and brother of Polys."<sup>92</sup> Each of the three Sarpedons is represented as son of a god. The Sarpedon at Aenus is

connected through the Trojan context and is not otherwise significant. The Sarpedon who is son of Europa contributes to the Homeric Sarpedon's redoubtable genealogy; it is this connection to Zeus which is a major issue for the writers influenced by Apollodorus.

In combining wisdom and strength as attributes of Sarpedon, Gellius, whom Chaucer may have known through Macrobius, makes Sarpedon an heroic epitome in the struggle between wisdom and strength that breathes through the *Iliad*, and he does consider him the son of Jupiter. In the *City of God*, Augustine praises this Aulus Gellius, the author of the *Attic Nights*, and Gellius was also praised by Erasmus. Gellius was used by many later writers, extensively by Macrobius whose influence on the Middle Ages and especially on Chaucer was enormous.<sup>93</sup> Gellius' contribution to the reputation of Sarpedon is slight; in one passing reference he says that

Praestantissimos virtute, prudentia, viribus Iovis  
filios poetae appellaverunt, ut Aeacum et Minos et  
Sarpedona.<sup>94</sup>

Goodness, prudence, manliness are the exemplary virtues that Sarpedon represents and those which would help Chaucer's Troilus resolve his dilemma or live with it.

Chaucer may have known Gellius through Macrobius, but he certainly knew Ovid directly. The index to the Loeb edition of Ovid mixes both tales of Sarpedon's parentage and refers to him as the son of Jupiter and Europa,<sup>95</sup> but Ovid's

only reference is buried in a lengthy speech of Ulysses:

"quid Lycii referam Sarpedonis agmina ferro devastata meo?"<sup>96</sup> Ovid's Ulysses mentions Sarpedon to boast of his own prowess; he implies that his own greatness can be measured by the greatness of his defeated foe. Berchorius, who comments on Ovid in his *Ovidius Moralizatus* mentions Sarpedon not at all. Servius, whose commentary on the *Aeneid* covers only the first six books, before Virgil's primary use of Sarpedon, speaks of him in a linguistic note to *Aeneid* I.100 about declension and pronunciation. Later however, Servius does mention him as son of Jove and Laodamia, killed by Patroclus and mourned by Jove.<sup>97</sup> Servius' reference to Sarpedon's death and to Jove's sorrow again recalls the issues of forknowledge, necessity, and will in another source which was available to Chaucer.

Well known to Chaucer, Hyginus, a second-third century mythographer, mixed information about two different generations of Sarpedons, but despite the jumbling of the Trojan ally Sarpedon and his grandfather, the importance of each was the relationship to Jove, his father. Hyginus took to heart Plato's advice in the *Timaeus*,

It is beyond our powers to know or tell about the birth of the other gods; we must rely on those who have told the story before, who claimed to be children of the gods, and presumably know about their own ancestors. We cannot distrust the children of the gods, even if they give no probable or necessary proof of what they say.<sup>98</sup>

Hyginus wrote the *Fabulae*, a reference book of classical

mythology which is arranged more or less chronologically with major gods and creation myths preceding the Theban after which comes the Trojan, the Odyssean, and the Roman. Clearly, Hyginus valued variant stories and recorded them according to a principle of inclusiveness rather than one of selectivity. The name Sarpedon appears in his list of the sons of Jove;<sup>99</sup> again in a list of those who killed,<sup>100</sup> where he killed two; in a list of names of those they did kill;<sup>101</sup> and in a list of provocations.<sup>102</sup> Sarpedon even appears in a curious list: "CCLXXIII: Qvi primi lvdos fecervnt vsqve ad aeneam qvintvm decimum: . . . Sarpedon Iovis filius"<sup>103</sup> which has Priam celebrating Paris, the son he had ordered killed, the old Nestor competing in running against the youthful sons of Priam and against Sarpedon, and Paris as a shepherd who wins and is discovered to be Priam's son. The importance of the relationship to Jove is also true of Sarpedon's inclusion in the story of Europa,<sup>104</sup> again about the grandfather Sarpedon. Since this first Sarpedon was said to have lived for three generations,<sup>105</sup> there seems to be less concern about specifying and individualizing the man than about linking him to Jupiter as the son of the god, and this relationship is important because of Jupiter's choice to let fate determine his son's death.

Tertullian, whose influence on Chaucer is apparent in Alison of Bath's book of wicked wives, mentions Sarpedon in



connection with dreams of prophecy. The gods who know warn men of impending affairs so that they may guide their actions by this "assistance to natural foresight."<sup>106</sup>

Ausonius, too, speaks of this foreknowledge of fate and choice of action in his epitaph for Sarpedon from his *Epitaphs on the Heroes who took part in the Trojan War*:

Sarpedon lycius, genitus Iove, numine partis  
sperabam caelum, set tegor hoc tumulo  
sanguineis fletus lacrimis: proferrea fata,  
et patitur luctum, qui prohibvere potest.<sup>107</sup>

For Tertullian, Jupiter has the power to circumvent Fate, a power denied him by Cicero and Virgil. He, like the others, speaks of Sarpedon's fate in isolation, but this fate is clearly connected to Troy's in the Second Vatican Mythographer's myth and commentary on Thetis and Peleus.

The Second Vatican Mythographer mentions Sarpedon in the classical story of Thetis and Peleus. In what is by far the most interesting and most significant reference to Sarpedon in the Homeric tradition, the Second Vatican Mythographer tells the condensed tale of Troy<sup>108</sup> which combines the elements essential for the tale of fate, the elements of necessity, foreknowledge, and will. The anonymous ninth-tenth century Second Vatican Mythographer is one of three writers of myth and commentary, as yet untranslated, who deal with the stories of Troy and who unite both Homeric and mythographic traditions. To the marriage feast of Peleus, the man of earth, and Thetis, the

woman of water, - mud ("terra, id est caro") and saliva ("aquae, id est humori") in the Latin - joined by the god of fire, comes the Discord of lust which breaks the harmony of the feast: the uninvited goddess throws the golden apple which begins the fall of the Trojan paradise. The Second Vatican Mythographer lists the desire of Jupiter, the marriage feast, the judgment of Paris, the birth of Achilles, his mother's attempt to circumvent his death by dipping him in Styx (the writer omits the disguising of Achilles among the women), the rage over the seizure of Briseus, Patroclus' killing of Sarpedon, Hector's slaying of Patroclus, the armor of Vulcan, the death of Hector, the grief of Priam and burial of Hector, the innocent snare and death of Polyxena, the death of Achilles.

Sarpedon is a necessary link in this essential account of Troy's story. The fable's explanation links the events to the elements of earth, fire, water, and air, and to the necessity underlying the nature of the universe as it was understood, interlocking all three elements of fate or necessity, foreknowledge, and will in his pared down version of the tale. The account begins with Jupiter's own desire for Thetis, warned against by the Fates who say that the child born would drive Jupiter from his throne, the same kind of warning that banishes the infant Paris from Troy. Jupiter has a choice to accept or defy fate, but he knows better than Oedipus, and he arranges for Thetis' marriage to

Peleus, a marriage far more harmonious to nature than his own would be because Thetis is moisture, Peleus Greek for mud, and Jupiter fire. Fate here reads like the book of nature. Sarpedon's fate, then, is natural: the fate of all men is death, and Jupiter cannot change it without changing the balance of men and gods and his own power and position.

So Sarpedon is an emblem of the order of things, of that fate which controls Jupiter along with Sarpedon. In all the father has foreknowledge and chooses freely what he, and the author (like the narrator in Chaucer), know is the way that the story must be. The motif of the feast is also important with its rituals of meals and the coming together of gods and mortals as well as communities of gods. The choice by Paris, as it will later be by Chaucer's Troilus, of the appetitive over the contemplative or active lives is a wrong choice with disastrous consequences, but a choice of free will nonetheless.

From this fable which establishes Sarpedon as the keystone of the causal chain of Troy's fall, Chaucer had his suggestion for his version of Eve, of Criseyde as a parallel to Helen and as representative of all women.<sup>109</sup> For the Second Vatican Mythographer, the women in the tale are all discordia and all lead men to doom. The women are desired not necessarily because of what they do, but because of what, like Briseus, they are, threats to the autonomy of the men who need them and project on to them their own need for

control. Consequently, for Chaucer as for the Second Vatican Mythographer and for the male authors who dominated the discourse of Western Civilization, woman is discord,<sup>110</sup> the principle of disharmony and incompleteness within the man who has this need for someone outside himself. The three goddesses force man to choose a partial life with one of them when he wants the whole. With Paris' choice, the enmity of Juno to Troy is established as the continuity of discord and strife. The women are the connivers here in this tale, the male gods the cheerful athletes enjoying the sport of war. But Thetis knows that, for the children of gods and men, war is a question of mortality rather than games, so she, like Hecuba, tries to circumvent fate and save her son. She dips her mortal son Achilles into the Stygian swamp and misses his heel. Priam and Jupiter, unlike the women, respect and follow the dictates of fate: unlike the women, Hera, Thetis, Oenone, Hecuba, the men accept what must be. The loss of his temptress, Briseus, makes Achilles refuse to fight until the sequence of deaths set in motion by Sarpedon's death.

Sarpedon sits in the midst of the events of temptation by women, of foreknowledge and the necessity of fate, of free choice in the face of fate that swirls over the plains of Troy, moving deliberately to do what he must, enjoying the feast and rewards earned because as a warrior and human surrogate he will die, and knowing ahead about his

inevitable mortality. Death is a part of life, and he is slain by the surrogate for Achilles, the life produced in nature by the mingling of Thetis' moisture and Peleus' mud. The natural cycle of feast which joins gods and mortals, of birth from the joining of earth and water touched by fire, of death and burial in return to the elements is the inevitability which produces the Greek sense of epic. What Sarpedon concentrates on is the glory left behind by the way the warrior lives that life. Only when Chaucer's Troilus finally accepts the end of his romance with Criseyde and returns to his epic role as warrior and prince of Troy does he too find that glory, and he ends up on the eighth sphere in Dante's Paradise, with Mercury whose sphere is the reflected home of the seekers of glory.

## Notes

<sup>1</sup> Although Greek is certainly part of the inheritance of the Italians, modern critical comments on the extent of the Greek heritage for Italian writers seems to be a question of emphasis and individual perspective. Indicative of the controversy about the Greek inheritance are Bergin and Seznec. Bergin, on the one hand, refers to Boccaccio's use of Greek texts (Thomas G. Bergin, *Boccaccio* [New York: Viking, 1981] 230). However, Seznec comments that Boccaccio claimed firsthand knowledge of his sources and acknowledges his familiarity with Pilatus's *Iliad*, but says that Boccaccio's Greek quotations are mostly second-hand and from earlier commentaries (Jean Seznec, *The Survival of the Pagan Gods*, tr. Barbara F. Sessions. Bollingen Series 38 [New York: Pantheon Books, 1953] 220-224).

<sup>2</sup> Boccaccio deals primarily with classical sources in the *Genealogie* but with romance in *Il Filostrato*. In fact, in *Il Filostrato* "Boccaccio. . . was not concerned with the history of Troy and he omitted all material irrelevant to the love story proper." See Robert P. Roberts, "Notes on *Troilus and Criseyde*, IV.1397-1414," *Modern Language Notes* 57(1942):92ff.

<sup>3</sup> According to Boccaccio:

"Ipsa ab illo impetretur aquo solo dari potest, et omnis falsorum deorum turba vanescet" [Men should seek to gain virtue from him alone who can grant it and the whole mob of false gods should be sent packing] (IV.20).

"Has deas non veritas, sed vanitas facit" [It is not truth that creates these goddesses; it is folly] (IV.21).

"deorum dearumque omnium, quae sicut voluerunt pro sua opinatione finxerunt" [all these gods and goddesses which the pagans have whimsically invented according to their fancy] (IV.21).

"Repudietur strepitus innumerabilium daemoniorum" [Away with this hubbub of innumerable demons] (IV.25).

"Sed 'fingebat haec Homerus,' ait Tullius, 'et humana ad deos transferebat' ['But this', Cicero asserts, 'is a fiction of Homer, who transferred human shortcomings to the gods] (IV.26).

"Quintus Lucilius Balbus in secundo de deorum natura libro . . . indignatur tamen institutioni simulacrorum et opinionibus fabulosa ita loquens . . . Haec et dicuntur et creduntur stultissime et plena sunt vanitatis summaeque levitatis" [In the second book of his *On the Nature of the Gods*, Quintus Lucilius Balbus . . . is indignant . . . at the erection of images and at fairy tales . . . he says . . . 'These stories are told by fools and believed by fools -- a mass of frivolous nonsense.'](IV.30) (Giovanni Boccaccio,

*Genealogie Deorum Gentilium Libri*, 2 vols. A Cura Di Vincenzo Romano [Bari: G. Laterza, 1951]).

Book IV of *City of God* is one long argument against belief in pagan gods. See Loeb, ed. Vol. 3, Books 4-7, St. Augustine, *The City of God*, 7 vols, tr. David Wiesen. (Cambridge: Harvard UP, 1978).

<sup>4</sup> XI.xxvii: Iovis filio qui genuit Anthyphatem Sarpedonem Omerus dicit filium fuisse Iovis et Laodomie filie Bellophontis. Cuius etiam Servius vestiga sequitu. Augustinus autem aliter sentire videtur, dicens: Per eo annos, scilicet regnante Danao Argive, a rege Xanto Cretenskum, cuius apud alios aliud nomen invenimus, rapta perhibetur Europa, etinde geniti Radamanthus, Sarpedon, et Mynos, quod magis ex eadem muliere filios Iovis esse vulgatum est. Alii dicunt hos Asterii fuisse filios. Et ob id ego istum non illum reos Sarpedonem esse, cum ille long superior fuerit tempore. Sed quoniam de illo nil legitur, satis sit apposuisse nomen, et de isto que legimus prosequur. Hic igitur rex lycie fuit, et adversus Agamemnon et Grecos partes Troianorum secutus, insignis armorum vir fuit, et multa memoratu digna pugnans fecit, ut per Omerum scribitur in Yliade. Tandem a Patroclo occisus est, et iussu Iovis ab Apolline de medio pugnationum sublatus est, corpus eius, et flumine lotum atque ambrosio respersum liquore, et regia indutum veste, suisque ad esequendum funus restitutum. Quod autem hic figmenti modicum est, nil aliud vult, nisi quod medici opere cadaver curatumsit, et unguentis ad conservationem eium unctum atque respersum.

XI.xxxv: De Anthyphate Sarpedonis filio Anthyphates filius fuit Sarpedonis, Virgilio teste, dum dicit: Et premium Anthyphatem, is enim se primus agebat, Thebana de matre nothum Sarpedonis alti etc. Hic Ylione subverso in Ytaliam Eneam secutas est, et ibi adversus Turnum bellum gerens, ab eodem occisus est. (Boccaccio, *Genealogie* 568-69)

<sup>5</sup> At several places in the text, Boccaccio quotes from the *Iliad* in Greek (315, 549, 603 etc.) as well as in Latin. The *Genealogie Deorum Gentilium Libri* was "his major investment . . . on which he toiled assiduously during the last twenty-five years of his life and which, it is probable, had its beginnings many years before" (*Lydgate's Troy Book*. A.D. 1412-20, 4 vols. Early English Text Society. ed. Henry Bergin [London: Oxford UP, 1935] 230).

<sup>6</sup> Jane Chance, "Chaucer's Zephyrus: Dante's Zefiro, St Dominic, and the Idea of the General Prologue," *The Mythographic Art: Classical Fable and the Rise of the Vernacular in Early France and England* (Gainesville: U of

Florida P, 1990):184.

<sup>7</sup> Peter Godman, "Chaucer and Boccaccio's Latin Works," in *Chaucer and the Italian Trecento*, ed. by Piero Boitani (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1983):290.

<sup>8</sup> "When visiting Florence in the Spring of 1373, Chaucer may have heard Boccaccio referred to as the distinguished elder statesman of Tuscan culture. . . . But even if Chaucer had never heard Boccaccio mentioned by name --which seems most unlikely--he was . . . capable of forming a comparable mental image simply through his reading of Boccaccio's works" (David Wallace, *Chaucer and the Early Writings of Boccaccio* [Woodbridge, Suffolk: D.S.Brewer, 1985] 151).

<sup>9</sup> For an excellent treatment of the death of Troilus, see Piero Boitani, "Antiquity and Beyond: The Death of Troilus" in his *The European Tragedy of Troilus* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1989):1-19. Boitani connects Troilus with Hector and with Achilles, but surprisingly, not with Sarpedon. He plays with the etymology of the name of Troilus as containing Troy and Ilios or "the verb *lyo*, which means 'to destroy', 'to annihilate'. . . . But there is no doubt that the ancients were aware of the connection between 'Troilus' and Troy's fate. There are, says Chrysalus in Plautus's *Bacchides*, 'three fateful events which would prove [Troy's] downfall': the disappearance of the Palladium from the citadel, the tearing away of the lintel of the Phrygian gate, and 'Troili mos'--the death of Troilus. . . . 'Troilus' contains both the beginning and the end of Troy. In this sense he is not primarily a character but a 'function'. He is his death and the fall of Troy in that war which, being the first and most famous of all, constitutes the archetypal World War" (Boitani 5).

Note that the reason Troilus cannot marry Criseyde and have children is his fate as part of Troy's downfall.

<sup>10</sup> For analyses of Troilus as foolish youth caught between the demands of the knightly code and the code of courtly love, see June Hall Martin, *Love's Fools: Aucassin, Troilus, Calisto and the Parody of the Courtly Lover* (London: Tamesis Books, 1972); and William H. Brown, Jr., "A Separate Peace: Chaucer and the Troilus of Tradition," *Journal of English and Germanic Philology* 83 (1984):492-508.

<sup>11</sup> According to Boitani, "If the decrees of fate are to be fulfilled, Troilus must die. His dying as a *pais* or *puer*--a young boy--contains, especially in some versions, and above all in vase painting, a strong element of pathos. Originally, however, it must have represented part of the 'function' Troilus performs in the Trojan cycle. A prophecy



reported by the First Vatican Mythographer states that if Troilus reached the age of twenty Troy could not be destroyed (*Scriptores rerum mythicarum Latini*, ed. G. H. Bode [Celle 1834] i.66. *First Vatican Mythographer*, 210) . . . Troilus, who bears his city's name, cannot achieve an age that would allow him to perpetuate the species by begetting children. 'Troy' must die with him, in this sense, as a 'function', he is complementary to Hector, whose role is, as the name of his son Astyanax witnesses, that of saviour or preserver of the city. In due course Troilus will, in fact, become, as Chaucer's Pandarus calls him, 'the wise, worthi Ector the secounde' (ii.158). . . . As late as the fourth century AD Quintus Smyrnaeus seems to be aware of the all-important fact that Troilus must not procreate. In describing his death, he compares Achilles cutting down Priam's son to a gardener mowing a blade of corn or poppy. Troilus is 'beardless' and 'virgin of a bride, almost a child'--the flower is cut off ere it may reach / Its goal of bringing offspring to the birth' (Quintus Smyrnaeus, *The Fall of Troy [Posthomerica]*, tr. A. S. Way [Loeb, 1913], iv.306-8) . . . . The complexity of motifs in this passage constitutes the best general view one can have from late antiquity (4C AD) of the classical 'sense' of Troilus' end. It includes the function and the end of a human race through barrenness and the notion of Fate; it is violent and pathetic, and at once inevitable, obligatory, and tragic. Troilus' death is a 'sign' of Troy's fall: both must happen, both are dreadful. . . . When Albert von Stade describes Troilus' death in his *Troilus* (IV.341-2) he shows Achilles beheading the Trojan boy as the latter tries to rise from the ground. 'Thus', he concludes, 'the young soldier is cut down in the bloom of life, the flower of the world shines but for a short time'

Sic tiro juvenis rapitur florentibus annis,  
Flos mundi rutilat tempore valde brevi.

With this biblical image Troilus' end has become emblematic of the transience of the whole earthly order" (Boitani, *Eur. Trag.* 5-7).

<sup>12</sup> Seth L. Schein, *The Mortal Hero: An Introduction to Homer's Iliad* (Berkeley: U of California P, 1984): 2-3.

<sup>13</sup> For a full treatment of the impact of Greek, and the knowledge of its language in the West, see Walter Bershin, *Greek Letters and the Latin Middle Ages: From Jerome to Nicholas of Cusa*, tr. by Jerold C. Frakes (Washington, D.C.: Catholic U of America P, 1988).

<sup>14</sup> "For us today the Iliad is the source of Sarpedon." (Georg Wissowa, *Paulys Realencyclopädie der Classischen*

*Altertumswissenschaft* [Alfred Druckenmüller Verlag in Stuttgart, 1921], 36 (tr. by Ann Bradley and Helen Eaker).

15 For genealogy charts, see the appendix.

16 For an excellent analysis of the two cities in Chaucer's work, see David Anderson, "Theban History in Chaucer's *Troilus*," *Studies in the Age of Chaucer* 4 (1982): 257-291. Note also that while the major source for *Troilus and Criseyde* was Boccaccio's *Il Filostrato*, the ending comes from the *Teseide*.

17 Lamberton connects the mourning of Achilles for Patroclus, Priam for Hector, and Zeus for Sarpedon in another joining of the three heroes who metamorphose into the *Troilus* inherited by Chaucer. Then he links all three to Fate: "Realism . . . justifies the Homeric description of the exaggerated mourning of Achilles and Priam. . . . The symbolism of Thetis' tears (II.18) and Zeus' lament for Sarpedon (II.XVI.433-38) on the other hand, attributing the *pathetoiis apathesin* (In. Rep. I.123,22-3), is interpreted differently. Theurgic analogies are evoked, including wailing in the mysteries and initiations. The tears and lamentations become the symbols of specific acts of divine providence" (In. Rep. I.124.1-126.4) (Robert Lamberton, *Homer the Theologian: Neoplatonist Allegorical Reading and the Growth of the Epic Tradition* [Berkeley: U of California P, 1986] 215).

18 "Homer's method of characterization, as is well known, objectifies internal states into visible figures, often into gods" (Frank H. Whitman, "*Troilus and Criseyde* and Chaucer's Dedication to Gower," *Tennessee Studies in Literature* 18 (1973) 38).

19 Troy for Chaucer and his contemporaries exists as the mirror Fall, set in motion by the apple of Discord at the wedding feast of Achilles' parents, Peleus and Thetis. Troy, like Eden (or Camelot or Florence) is a literary emblem for the earthly paradise which, like leaves or flowers, must end and be used to fertilize the next flowering.

20 Cf. Dante, *Paradiso* VIII.97-105, when Dante meets Charles Martel in the Sphere of Venus. Martel explains his brother Robert's wickedness despite their common parentage because the heavenly bodies, through which the soul descends to earth, influence natures and ends of men. (William Warren Vernon, *Readings on the Paradiso of Dante chiefly based on the commentary of Benvenuto Da Imola*, 2 vols. [London: Methuen, 1907] I.270). Vernon cites Chaucer's law of individuality: man is social and subject to the influence of

peers and spheres: Stars grant men their temperaments. See also Benvenuto de Imola, *Comentum Paradisi* vol.4, Cantus Octavius, *Comentum Super Dantis Comoediam*. 5 vols. (Florentiae: Typis G. Barbera, 1887) 489-92.

Lo ben che tutto il regno che tu scandi  
 volge e contenta, fa esser virtute  
 sua provedenza in questi corpi grandi  
 E non pur le natura provedute  
 sono in la mente ch'e da se perfetta,  
 ma esse insieme con la lor salute:  
 per che quantunque quest'arco saetta  
 disposto cade a proveduto fine,  
 si come cosa in sero segno diretta.

[The good that revolves and satisfies the whole kingdom thou art climbing makes its providence to be power in these great bodies; and not only is the nature of things provided for in the Mind which has perfection in itself, but along with their nature their well-being, so that whatever this bow shoots falls fitted for a provided end, as a shaft directed to its mark] (Dante, *Paradiso*, tr. John D. Sinclair [New York: Oxford UP, 1961] 121).

21 Homer, *The Iliad*, tr. A.T. Murray. 2 vols. (Cambridge: Harvard UP, 1985) VI.120ff.

22 Sarpedon's family history involves both fate and passage. Fate in the guise of a treacherous woman sent Bellerophon to Lycia: Anteia, wife of King Proteus of Argos, "lusted madly" (VI.160-62) for the beautiful young man but was spurned. Phaedra-like, she accused him to her husband, making "a tale of lies" (VI.163) and crying attempted rape. Proteus sent him to Lycia where Anteia's father was king and included secret hostile messages. Planning on his death, the Lycian king sent Bellerophon to fight the Chimaera, the female lion-goat-serpent monster image of raging female lust, but Bellerophon slew her. He also defeated but did not kill the male warrior Solymi. Bellerophon could not have slain all of the Solumoi: his son Isandros eventually lost his life against them. "The Solomoi were indigenous inhabitants, later called Miliuai, of Lycia according to Herodotus I.173, driven out by Lycians coming from Crete under Sarpedon (grandfather, that is, of the Homeric hero)." He also slew the female Amazons as well as the Lycian men sent out to ambush him [i.e., fighting like women and not like strong men]. Convinced, the unnamed king gave him half his kingdom and his nameless daughter upon whom he fathered Isander, Hippolochus (Glaucus's father), and Laodamia. "Aristarchus (Arn/A) noted that the Homeric Sarpedon is son of Laodamia, not Europe [cf. Hesiod] . . . but might have

added that Sarpedon must have had a grandfather of that name who was brother of Minos and offspring of Europe and Zeus." This Laodamia lay with Zeus and gave birth to Sarpedon (G.S. Kirk, *The Iliad: A Commentary*, vol 2: books 5-8 [Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1990] 185-86).

The power of Sarpedon's genealogy supports and explains his position of importance in the *Iliad*. He is introduced in the list of hero-captains fighting for Troy, a list which begins with Hector and ends with Sarpedon and Glaucus just as book 2 ends,

Σαρπηδὼν δ' ἦρχεν Λυκίων καὶ Γλαῦκος ἀμύμων  
τηλόθεν ἐκ Λυκίης, Ξάνθου ἀπο δινήεντος

[And Sarpedon and peerless Glaucus were captains of the Lycians from afar out of Lycia, from the eddying Xanthus.] (II.876-877)

23 *Iliad* XII.104.

24 *Iliad* V.629; V.663; VI.199.

25 *Iliad* V.672, 683.

26 *Iliad* XII.292.

27 *Iliad* XII.402-03; XV.67.

28 *Iliad* XVI.522.

29 *Iliad* V.647; XII.101; XII.397-99; XIV.426; XVI.541, 548-51.

30 Σαρπηδὼν δ' ἄρ' ἔπαλξιν ἔλων χερσὶ στιβαρῆσιν  
ἔλχ', ἣ δ' ἔσπετο πᾶσα διαμπερές, ἀντάρ ὑπερθε  
τειχὸς ἐγυμνώθη, πολέεσσι δὲ θῆκε κέλευθον.

[But Sarpedon with strong hands caught hold of the battlement and tugged, and the whole length of it gave way, and the wall above was laid bare, and he made a path for many.] (XII.397-99)

31 πρὶν γὰρ περίβησαν ἄριστοι,  
Πουλυδάμας τε καὶ Αἰνείας καὶ δῖος Ἀγήνωρ,  
Σαρπηδὼν τ', ἄρχος Λυκίων, καὶ Γλαῦκος ἀμύμων.

[for ere that might be, the bravest stood forth to guard him, even Polydamas, and Aeneas, and goodly Agenor, and Sarpedon, leader of the Lycians, and peerless Glaucus]. (XIV.424-26)

32 The list of Trojan heroes begins with Hector: "Τρωσι

μὲν ἡγεμόνευε μέγας κορυθαίολος Ἔκτωρ Πριαμίδης," [The Trojans were led by great Hector of the flashing helm, the son of Priam] (II.816-17). Zeus has given command (II.802-03) and, after separating Hector in importance from the others, adds in epic affirmation: ἄμα τῷ γε πολὺ πλεῖστοι καὶ ἄριστοι λαοὶ θωρήσσοντο μεμαστές ἐγχεῖσσι." [and with him were marshalled the greatest hosts by far and the goodliest, raging with the spear] (II.817-18), including next in order, Aeneas and his Dardanians, and then Pandarus, identified as the son of Lycaon.

Οἱ δὲ Ζέλειαν ἔναιον ὑπὰὶ πόδα νεΐατον Ἰδης,  
 ἀφνειοί, πίνοντες ὕδωρ μέλαν Αἰσῆπιου,  
 Τρῶες, τῶν αὐτ' ἦρχε Δυκάνου ἀγλαὸς υἱός,  
 Πάνδαρος, ᾧ καὶ τόξον Ἀπόλλων αὐτὸς ἔδωκεν.

[And they that dwelt in Zeleia beneath the nethermost foot of Ida, men of wealth that drink the dark waters of Aesepus, even the Troes, these again were led by the glorious son of Lycaon, Pandarus, to whom Apollo himself gave the bow.] (II.824-27)

Pandarus, a bowman, fights from afar. Troilus is not mentioned as a captain, of course, but before his death he would have served under Hector with the other sons of Priam and other Trojans. The next time Sarpedon is mentioned, he is identified by Pandarus as "the king, the son of Zeus who sped me on my way when I set forth from Lycia" (V.104-105). Pandarus is therefore associated with Sarpedon, at least as guest and host if not in friendship. Pandarus's identification of Sarpedon concludes his boast at having shot Diomedes in the shoulder:

βέβληται γὰρ ἄριστος Ἀχαιῶν, οὐδέ ἔφημι  
 δῆθ' ἀνοχήσεσθαι κρατερόν βέλος, εἰ ἔτεόν με  
 ὤρσεν ἀνάξ Διὸς υἱὸς ἀπορνώμενον Λυκίηθεν."  
 "Ὡς ἔφατ' εὐχόμενος.

[Smitten is the best man of the Achaeans, and I deem he will not for long endure the mighty shaft, if in very truth, the king, the son of Zeus, sped me on my way when I set forth from Lycia'. So spake he vauntingly.] (V.103-06)

Diomedes however has the arrow removed and asks Athene for help to slay Pandarus. Apparently, Pandarus, at Athena's urging, shoots his arrows from ambush as he wounds Menelaus and breaks the truce after the individual combat between Paris and Menelaus (IV.85-140). Pandarus obviously did not behave in a manner which would have been applauded by medieval chivalry. Pandarus's death comes by the spear of Diomedes. Aeneas, also less than honorable by medieval

standards, has sought him out to shoot the rampaging Diomede who wants the horses of the stock Zeus once gave to Tros. Pandarus, after his arrow fails, does cast his spear at Diomede. Diomede's spear kills him and cuts off his tongue at the root. Aeneas is wounded trying to protect Pandarus's body but is removed from the battle by Athene so Pandarus is forgotten in the loss of the horses (V.276-96).

It is interesting that Chaucer's Pandarus has such a glib tongue when Homer's Pandarus died so appropriately.

33 "ὦ Λυκίοι, τί τ' ἄρ' ὦδε μεθίετε θούριδος ἄλκῃς;  
ἀργαλῶν δέ μοι ἐστὶ καὶ ἰφθίμῳ περ ἐόντι  
μόνῳ ῥηξαμένῳ θέσθαι παρὰ νῆυσὶ κέλευθον·  
ἀλλ' ἐφομαρτεῖτε πλεόνων δέ τε ἔργον ἄμεινον."

[Ye Lycians, wherefore are ye thus slack in furious valour? Hard is it for me, how mighty so ever I be, alone to breach the wall, and make a path to the ships. Nay, have at them with me; the more men the better work.] (XII.409-12)

34 "Sarpedon, appearing for the first time after his entry in the Trojan Catalogue, now strongly rebukes Hektor . . . and the typical rebuke pattern may well have struck the composer as a convenient way both of involving him once more and of introducing Sarpedon as a sympathetic and ultimately pathetic figure" (Kirk, *The Iliad: A Commentary*, vol. 2: books 5-8 [Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1990] 109).

35 "Sarpedon's praise of allied devotion becomes increasingly emotional" (Kirk, *Commentary* 110).

36 καὶ γὰρ ἐγὼν ἐπίκουρος ἔων μάλα τηλόθεν ἦκω·  
τηλοῦ γὰρ Λυκίῃ, Ξάνθῳ ἐπιδιήεντι,  
ἐνθ' ἄλοχόν τε φίλην ἔλιπον καὶ νήπιον υἱόν,  
καὶ δὲ κτήματα πολλὰ, τὰ ἔλδεται ὅς κ' ἐπιδευής.

[For I that am but an ally am come from very far; afar is Lycia by eddying Xanthus, where I left my dear wife and infant son, and very great wealth the which every man that is in lack coveteth.] (V.478-81).

37 By his mention of wife and child, his point of connection to Hector, this rebuke speech anticipates Sarpedon's plea to Hector when he lies wounded.

38 ἀλλὰ καὶ ὡς Λυιόνος ὄτρύνῳ καὶ μέμον' αὐτὸς  
ἀνδρὶ μαχήσασθαι ἄταρ οὐ τί μοι ἐνθάδε τοῖον  
οἶόν κ' ἤε φέροιεν Ἀχαιοὶ ἢ κεν ἄγοιεν  
τυτῆ δ' ἔστηκας, ἄταρ οὐδ' ἄλλοισι κελευεῖς  
λαοῖσιν μενέμεν καὶ ἀμυνέμεναι ὠρεσσι.

[Yet even so urge I on the Lycians, and am fain myself to fight my man, though here is nought of mine such as the Achaeans might bear away or drive; whereas thou standest and dost not even urge thy hosts to abide and defend their wives.] (V.482-86)

39 Note however that Zeus is also called counselor:

εἰ μὴ ἄρ' υἷόν ἐόν Σαρπηδόνα μητίετα Ζεὺς  
ὤπσεν ἐπ' Ἀργείοισι, λέονθ' ὡς βουσὶν ἐλιξιν.

[had not Zeus the counselor roused his own son, Sarpedon, against the Argives, as a lion against sleek kine.] (XII.292-93).

40 "Tlepolemos makes a typical challenge: an initial taunt of cowardice (633-37) leading to a boast about his own lineage (638-42), then to Sarpedon's supposed weakness again and a prediction of his imminent death (643-6). The accusation of cowardice is obviously unfair, Sarpedon being regularly presented as an exemplary warrior; the point of such taunts was to put one's opponent off his stride as well as to bolster one's own ego" (Kirk, *Commentary* 123).

41 "The implication is that Tlepolemos' argument has no force--perhaps that Herakles had justice on his side, his grandson not." (Kirk, *Commentary* 124)

42 Kirk *Commentary* 125

43 οὐδ' ἄρ' Ὀδυσσῆϊ μεγαλήτορι μόρσιμον ἦεν  
ἰφθιμον Διὸς υἷον ἀποκτάμεν ὄξει χαλκῷ.

[But not for great-hearted Odysseus was it ordained to slay with the sharp bronze the valiant son of Zeus.] (V.674-75).

44 Kirk, *Commentary* 126

45 χάρη δ' ἄρα οἱ προσιόντι  
Σαρπηδῶν Διὸς υἷος, ἔπος δ' ὄλοφυνδῶν εἶπε  
Ἰφιαμίδη, μὴ δὴ με ἔλωρ Δαναοῖσιν ἐάσης  
κεῖσθαι, ἀλλ' ἐπάμνον' ἐπειτά με καὶ λίποι αἰῶν  
ἐν πόλει ὑμετέρη, ἐπεὶ οὐκ ἔρ' ἐμέλλον ἐγὼ γε  
νοστήσας οἰκόνδε φίλην ἐς πατρίδα γαῖαν  
εὐφρανέειν ἄλοχόν τε φίλην καὶ νήπιον υἷον."

[Then glad at his coming was Sarpedon, son of Zeus, and spake to him a piteous word: "Son of Priam, suffer me not to lie here a prey to the Danaans, but bear me aid; thereafter if need be, let life depart from me in your city, seeing it might not be that I should return

home to mine own native land to make glad my dear wife and infant son.] (V.682-88)

46 Kirk, Commentary 127.

47 "The audience is reminded of his own destiny, foreshadowed at 674, of dying at the hand of Patrocles. . . The renewed mention at 688 of his wife and baby son (after 480) marks him as a sympathetic figure; does it foreshadow Hektor with his wife and baby in book 6, where they are described in the same familiar terms at 366? It is, after all, Hektor he is addressing here; but then Hektor will not reply. What is certain is that both of them are deliberately shaped by the poet as men of feeling" (Kirk, Commentary 127).

48 Ὡς φάτο, τὸν δ' οὐ τι προσέφη κορυθαίολος Ἕκτωρ,  
ἀλλὰ παρήϊξεν, λελιμένος ὄφρα τάχιστα  
ῥσαιτ' Ἀργείους πολέων δ' ἄπο θυμὸν ἔλοιτο.  
οἱ μὲν ἄρ' ἀντίθεον Σαρπηδόνα διὸν ἑταῖροι  
εἴσαν ὑπ' ἀγίοχοιο Διὸς περικαλλεῖ φηγῶ·  
ἐκ δ' ἄρα οἱ μηροῦ δόρυ μείλινον ὦσε θύραζε  
ἴφθιμος Πελάγων, ὃς οἱ φίλος ἦεν ἑταῖρος.  
τὸν δὲ λίπε ψυχῆ, κατὰ δ' ὄφθαλμῶν κέχυτ' ἀχλύς.  
αὐτίς δ' ἀμπνύνη, περὶ δὲ προῖη Βορέαο  
ζώγρει ἐπιπνεύουσα κακῶς κεκαφήοτα θυμόν.

[So spake he, yet Hector of the flashing helm spake no word in answer, but hastened by, eager with all speed to thrust back the Argives and take the lives of many. Then his goodly comrades made godlike Sarpedon to sit beneath a beauteous oak of Zeus that beareth the aegis, and forth from his thigh valiant Pelagon, that was his dear comrade, thrust the spear of ash; and his spirit failed him, and down over his eyes a mist was shed. Howbeit he revived, and the breath of the North Wind as it blew upon him made him to live again after in grievous wise he had breathed forth his spirit.] (V.689-98)

49“ Γλαῦκε, τί ἦ δὴ νῶϊ τετιμήμεσθα μάλιστα  
ἔδρη τε κρέασιν τε ἰδὲ πλειοῖς δεπάεσσιν  
ἐν Λυκίῃ, πάντες δὲ θεοῦς ὡς εἰσορόωσι;  
καὶ τέμενος νεμόμεσθα μέγα Ξάνθοιο παρ' ὄχθας,  
καλὸν φυταλιῆς καὶ ἀρούρης πυροφόροιο. (XII.310-14)

50 τῶ νῦν χρῆ Λυκίοισι μετὰ πρώτοισιν ἔοντας  
ἑστάμεν ἠδὲ μάχης καυστέλης ἀντιβολῆσαι,  
ὄφρα τις ὧδ' εἴπη Λυκίων πύκα θωρηκτῶν·  
οὐ μὰν ἀκλέες Λυκίην κάτα κοιρανέουσιν  
ἡμέτεροι βασιλῆες, ἔδουσί τε πλοῖνα μῆλα  
οἶνόν τ' ἔξαιτον μελιθεῖα ἀλλ' ἄρα καὶ ἰς



ἔσθλή, ἔπει Λυκίοισι μέτα πρώτοισι μάχονται.<sup>7</sup>  
(XII.315-21).

51 ὦ πέπον, εἰ μὲν γὰρ πολέμον περι τούδε φυγόντε  
αἰεὶ δὴ μέλλομεν ἀγήρω τ' ἀθανάτω τε  
ἔσσεσθ', οὔτε κεν αὐτός ἐνὶ πρώτοισι μαχοίμην  
οὔτε κε σὲ στέλλοιμι μάχην ἐς κυδιάνειραν. (XII.322-25)

52 νῦν δ' ἐμπης γὰρ κήρες ἐφεστᾶσιν θανάτιοιο  
μυρία, ἄς οὐκ ἔστι φυγεῖν βροτὸν οὐδ' ὑπαλύξαι,  
ἴομεν, ἢ ἐ τῷ εὐχος ὀρέξομεν, ἢ ἐ τις ἡμῖν." (XII.326-28)

53 "Professor Leaf sites the origin of tragedy, not in Dionysian festivals but, as Professor Ridgeway says, in hero-worship, with the center of the stage the tomb, not the altar" (Walter Leaf, *Homer and History* [London: Macmillan and Co., Limited, 1915) 283.

54 *Iliad* XII.442-72

55 Ὡς ἔφαθ', οἱ δὲ ἄνακτος ὑποδδεδείσαντες ὀμοκλήν  
μᾶλλον ἐπέβρισαν βουληφόρον ἄμφι ἄνακτα,  
Ἀργεῖοι δ' ἐτέρωθεν, ἔκαρτνῦναντο φάλαγγας.  
τείχεος ἐντοσθεν, μέγα δὲ σφισι φαίνετο ἔργον.  
οὔτε γὰρ ἴφθιμοι Λύκιοι Δαναῶν ἐδύναντο  
τείχος ρηξάμενοι θέσθαι παρὰ νηυσὶ κέλευθον,  
οὔτε ποτ' αἰχμηταὶ Δαναοὶ Λυκίους ἐδύναντο  
τείχεος ἀψ' ὤσασθαι, ἔπει τὰ πρῶτα πέλασθεν.

[So spake he; and they, seized with fear of the rebuke of their king, pressed on the more around about their counselor and king, and the Argives over against them made strong their battalions within the wall; and before them was set a mighty work. For neither could the mighty Lycians break the wall of the Danaans, and make a path to the ships, nor ever could the Danaan spearmen thrust back the Lycians from the wall, when once they had drawn nigh thereto.] (XII.413-20)

56 ὦ Λύκιοι, τί τ' ἄρ' ὦδε μεθίετε θούριδος ἄλκῆς;  
ἀργαλέον δὲ μοί ἐστι καὶ ἴφθίμω περ ἔοντι  
μούνω ρηξάμένω θέσθαι παρὰ νηυσὶ κέλευθον.  
ἀλλ' ἐφομαρτεῖτε πλεόνων δὲ τε ἔργον ἄμεινον."

[Ye Lycians, wherefore are ye thus slack in furious valour? Hard is it for me, how mighty so ever I be, alone to breach the wall, and make a path to the ships. Nay, have at them with me; the more men the better.] (XII.409-12)

57 πρὶν γὰρ περιβησαν ἄριστοι,  
Πουλυδάμας τε καὶ Αἰνείας καὶ δῖος Ἀγῆνωρ

Σαρπηδῶν τ', ἀρχὸς Λυκίων, καὶ Γλαῦκος ἀμύμων. (XIV.424- 26)

58 In her *Metamorphoses of Helen: Authority, Difference, and the Epic* (Ithaca and London: Cornell UP, 1989), Mihoko Suzuki analyzes the *Iliad* as a book which refutes the warrior code, using Sarpedon's speech as her referent:

"In a famous statement on the heroic code, Sarpedon explains that the warriors are honored in pride of place as well as with tangible rewards for braving the battle; yet he expresses his ambivalence toward a code that necessarily entails the glory of one and the shame and death of the other, musing that were he to escape this battle, he would forego glory to live on (12.310-28). Achilles himself confronts a similar choice between eternal glory and a life cut off in its prime on the Trojan battlefield on the one hand, and obscurity and longevity in his homeland on the other (9.410-16). Like Sarpedon, he expresses his ambivalence toward that of glory and its price, stating that all the wealth of Ilium cannot outweigh a man's life, fragile and fleeting (9.400-09). Hector, too, expresses the contradictions in the heroic code in the *homilia* with Andromache . . . . For Hector is compelled to give up his life with Andromache and Astaganax, not so much for their sake as for the sake of *kleos*." (19-20)

Suzuki groups these same three antecedents of Troilus in her argument and calls Sarpedon "Achilles' Trojan counterpart"(30). But she confuses her own sentiments with theirs in her analysis. Sarpedon's second speech about war clearly shows that he is no protester of war. Sarpedon saw no "shame" in battle, and the *Iliad* is no more an argument against war than any warrior's account has ever been. No one wishes peace more than the man about to fight--except possibly his family. All sane warriors share Sarpedon's wish for home and safety before battle. Shakespeare catches the poignancy of the moment before battle when human life seems most precious in his *Henry V* when the bloodthirsty prince visits his men. A warrior is like other men, except that he lives more intensely. He has given over authority for his life and safety and knows that his call to battle can come at any time. His battle, like his life, is at the mercy of forces outside himself. In the reflective moments before battle, he values peace with an intensity shared by few who do not have to pick up their weapons and face the enemy, especially since he has with that enemy a curious bond, a sympathy within their peculiar and isolated brotherhood. What they confront together is death, and by defeating it they stay alive. Chaucer's choice of the warrior prince, both with Sarpedon and with Troilus, is deliberate because their situation is so emblematic of the

fate of man.

Suzuki also analyzes Helen in the *Iliad*, the *Odyssey*, the *Aeneid*, and the *Fairie Queene*, but skips Chaucer and the Medieval. She sees Sarpedon as echoing Achilles and as his counterpart and Sarpedon's death as a proleptic representation of Achilles who is also favored by the gods but fated to die (n.p. 30).

59 Γλαῦκε πέπον, πολεμιστὰ μετ' ἀνδράσι, νῦν σε μάλα  
 αἰχμητὴν τ' ἔμεναι καὶ θαρσαλέον πολεμιστήν·  
 νῦν τοι ἐελδέσθω πόλεμος κακός, εἰ Θεός εσσι.  
 πρῶτα μὲν ὄτρυνον Λυκίων ἡγήτορας ἀνδρας,  
 πάντη ἐτοιχόμενος Σαρπηδόνοσ' ἀμφιμάχεσθαι·  
 αὐτὰρ ἔπειτα καὶ αὐτὸς εμεῦ περὶ μάρναο χαλκῶ.  
 σοὶ γὰρ ἐγὼ καὶ ἔπειτα δατηφέει καὶ ὄνειδος  
 ἔσσομαι ἤματα πάντα διαμπερές, εἰ' κέ μ' Ἀχαιοὶ  
 τεύχεα συλήσωσι νεῶν ἐν ἀγῶνι πεσόντα  
 ἀλλ' ἔχειο κρατερώς, ὄτρυνε δὲ λαὸν ἅπαντα. (XVI.492-501)

60 *Iliad* XXIII.797-810.

61 "The reader may discern something of the Ovidian narrator as well as his character in Chaucer's creation. . . . The narrator who excuses Medea for her rash loving may have provided Chaucer with the idea of a narrator who repeatedly excuses Criseyde, in even more compromising situations . . . . Chaucer's overall use of Ovid seems to be primarily as ironic undercutting of the action of the *Troilus*" (Mary-Jo Arn, "Three Ovidian Women in Chaucer's *Troilus*: Medea, Helen, Oenone," *The Chaucer Review* 15[1980]: 3,8).

62 "Homer has in fact . . . reduced the divine government of the world to an 'epiphenomenon'; events in Olympus run parallel to those on earth, and concurrently with them, in such a way as to give a pretence of causation which is in reality no more than a bare acknowledgment of the guidance of a supreme will. This comes out clearly in the Homeric concept of Fate--that mysterious power in the background to which at critical moments in the story Zeus himself is subordinate. It is symbolized in the Scales of Zeus . . . . Why is this? Surely because the positive datum of the legend told that Hector was actually slain; that was something which the poet could not deny or the God himself make undone:

non tamen irritum  
 diffinget infectumque reddit  
 quod fugiens semel hora uexit.

The poet has to acknowledge that there are certain data which he regards as historical, as things done, with which

he himself must not tamper; neither, therefore, can the epiphenomenon, Zeus, tamper with them; the decision is not with Zeus, but must be attributed to Fate. To Homer, in fact, if I may say so without undue levity, Fate is the *fait accompli*" (Walter Leaf, *Homer and History* [London: Macmillan, 1915] 17-18).

63 Leaf 11.

64 Ἴκτορα δ' ὀτρύνῃσι μάχην ἔς Φοῖβος Ἀπόλλων,  
 αὐτίς δ' ἐμπνεύσῃσι μένος, λελάθη δ' ὀδυνάων  
 αἶ νῦν μιν τείρουσι κατὰ φρενας, αὐτὰρ Ἀχαιῶν  
 αὐτίς ἀποστρέψῃσιν ἀνάγκησιν φύζαν ἐνορσας,  
 φεύγοντες δ' ἐν νηυσὶ πολυκλήϊσι πέσωσι  
 Πηλεΐδew Ἀχλῆος ὃ δ' ἀνστήσει ὃν ἑταῖρον  
 Πάτροκλον τὸν δὲ κτενεῖ ἔγχει φαίδιμος Ἴκτωρ  
 Ἴλίον προπαρόιθε, πολέας ὄλεσαντ' αἰζηοὺς  
 τοὺς ἄλλους, μετὰ δ' υἱὸν ἔμμον Σαρπηδόνα διον.  
 τοῦ δὲ χολωσάμενος κτενεῖ Ἴκτορα διὸς Ἀχιλλεύς.

[But let Phoebus Apollo rouse Hector to the fight; and breathe strength into him again, and make him forget the pains that now distress his heart; and let him drive the Achaeans back once more, when he has roused in them craven panic; so shall they flee and fall among the many-benched ships of Achilles, son of Peleus, and he shall send forth his comrade Patroclus; howbeit him shall glorious Hector slay with the spear before the face of Ilios, after himself hath slain many other youth, and among them withal my son, goodly Sarpedon. And in wrath for Patroclus shall goodly Achilles slay Hector.] (XV.59-68)

The grief of the Trojans at Sarpedon's death brings on the death of Patroclus at Hector's hands:

Τρῶας δὲ κατὰ κρήθην λάβε πένθος  
 ἄσχετον, οὐκ ἐπιεικτόν, ἐπεὶ σφισιν ἔρμα πόληος  
 ἔσκε καὶ ἄλλοδαπός περ ἑὼν πολέες γὰρ ἀμ' αὐτῷ  
 λαοὶ ἔποντ', ἐν δ' αὐτός ἀριστεύεσκε μάχεσθαι  
 βᾶν δ' ἴθυς Δαναῶν λελιημένοι ἦρχε δ' ἄρα αἴφιν  
 Ἴκτωρ χωσάμενος Σαρπηδόνας.

[The Trojans were utterly seized with grief, unbearable, overpowering; for Sarpedon was ever the stay of their city, albeit he was a stranger from afar; for much people followed with him, and among them he was himself pre-eminent in fight. And they made straight for the Danaans full eagerly, and Hector led them, in wrath for Sarpedon's sake.] (XVI.548-53)

65 πατήρ δ' ἐτι λόγον ἄμυνεν. (V.663).

66 ἄλλὰ Ζεὺς κῆρας ἄμυνε  
 παιδὸς ἐοῦ, μὴ νηυσὶν ἐπι πρυμνήσι δαμείη. (XII.402-03)

67 Iliad XII.437-39

68 ὦ μοι ἐγών, ὅ τέ μοι Σαρπηδόνα, φίλτατον ἀνδρῶν,  
 μοῖρ' ὑπὸ Πατρόκλοιο Μενoitιάδαο δαμήναι.  
 διχθὰ δέ μοι κραδίη μέμονε φρεσὶν δρμαίνοντι,  
 ἢ μιν ζῶν ἔοντα μάχης ἀπο δακρυοέσσης  
 θεῖω ἀναρπάξας Λυκίης ἐν πίοισι δήμῳ,  
 ἢ ἤδη ὑπὸ χερσὶ Μενoitιάδαο δαμάσσω.

[Ah, woe is me for that it is fated that Sarpedon, dearest of men to me, be slain by Patroclus, son of Menoetius: and in twofold wise is my heart divided in counsel as I ponder in my thought whether I shall snatch him up while yet he liveth and set him afar from the tearful war in the rich land of Lycia, or whether I shall slay him now beneath the hands of the son of Menoetius.] (XVI.433-38)

69 ἀνδρα θνητὸν ἔοντα, πάλαι πεπρωμένον αἴση,  
 ἃ ψ' ἐθέλεις θανάτοιο δυσηχέος ἐξαναλῦσαι. (Iliad  
 XVI.441-42)

70 ἀλλ' εἰ τοι φίλος ἐστί, τεὸν δ' ὀλοφύρεται ἦτορ,  
 ἢ τοι μὲν μιν ἕασον ἐνὶ κρατερῇ ὑσμίνῃ  
 χερσ' ὑπὸ Πατρόκλοιο Μενoitιάδαο δαμήναι·  
 αὐτὰρ ἐπὴν δὴ τὸν γε λίπη ψυχὴ τε καὶ αἰών,  
 πέμπειν μιν Θάνατόν τε φέρειν καὶ νήδυμον Ὑπνον,  
 εἰς ὃ κε δὴ Λυκίης ἐυρείης δῆμον ἴκωνται·  
 ἔνθα ἔταρχύσουσι κασίγνητοὶ τε ἔται τε  
 τύμβῳ τε στηλῇ τε τὸ γὰρ γέρας ἐσσι θανόντων·

[But and if he be dear to thee and thine heart be grieved, suffer thou him verily to be slain in the fierce conflict beneath the hands of Patroclus, son of Menoetius; but when his soul and life have left him then send thou Death and sweet Sleep to bear him away until they come to the land of wide Lycia; and there shall his brethren and his kinfolk give him burial with mound and pillar; for this is the due of the dead.] (XVI.450-57)

71 Specific to Homeric epic--and its descendant, Attic tragedy--are the Olympian gods, who are both part of the action and detached from it. They thus mediate between the actors and the audience. The gods' knowledge of fate is partial; otherwise they could not participate in the action. Their knowledge of fate is greater than men's; that is the mark of their greater

detachment. They can intervene in the action on behalf of their favorites and to punish their enemies, but that intervention is, as we saw in the cases of Sarpedon and Hector, limited by the overriding necessities of the plot. The gods must allow the action to happen. (James M. Redfield, "Nature and Culture in the *Iliad*: Purification," Bloom 89).

71 οὐδ' ἀπίθησε πατήρ ἀνδρῶν τε θεῶν τε ·  
αἵματοέσσας δὲ ψιῶδας, κατέχευεν ἔραζε  
παῖδα φίλον τιμῶν, τὸν οἱ Πάτροκλος ἐμελλε  
φθίσειν ἐν Τροίῃ ἐριβώλακι, τηλόθι πάτρης

[and the father of men and gods failed not to hearken. Howbeit he shed bloody rain-drops on the earth, showing honour to his dear son whom Patroclus was about to slay in the deep-soiled land of Troy, far from his native land.] (XVI.458-61)

72 “ ἀνὴρ δ' ὄριστος ὄλωλε, Σαρπηδῶν, Διὸς υἱός· ὃ δ'  
οὐδ' οὐ παιδὸς ἀμύνει.” (XVI.521-22)

73 καὶ τότε Ἀπόλλωνα προσέφη νεφεληγερέτα Ζεὺς·  
“ εἰ δ' ἄγε νῦν, φίλε Φοίβε, κελαινεφές αἷμα κάθηρον  
ἔλθῶν ἐκ βελέων Σαρπηδόνα, καὶ μιν ἔπειτα  
πολλὸν ἀποπρὸ φέρων λούσον ποταμοῖο ῥοῆσι  
χρῖσον τ' ἄμβροσίῃ, περὶ δ' ἄμβροτα εἵματα ἔσسون·  
πέμπε δέ μιν πομποῖσιν ἅμα κραιπνοῖσι φέρεσθαι,  
Ἵπνω καὶ Θανάτῳ διδυμάοσιν, οἳ ῥά μιν ὦκα  
θήσουσ' ἐν Λυκίῃς εὐρείῃς πῖονι δήμῳ,  
ἔνθα, ἔταρχύσουσι κασίγνητοί τε ἔται τε  
τύμβῳ τε στήλῃ τε· τὸ γὰρ γέρας ἔστι θανόντων.”

[And then unto Apollo, spake Zeus, the cloud gatherer:  
"Up now, dear Phoebus, go cleanse from Sarpedon the dark blood, when thou hast taken him forth from out the range of darts, and thereafter bear thou him far away, and bathe him in the streams of the river, and anoint him with ambrosia, and clothe him about with immortal raiment, and give him to swift conveyors to bear with them, even to the twin brethren, Sleep and Death, who shall set him speedily in the rich land of wide Lycia. There shall his brethren and his kinfolk give him burial with mound and pillar; for this is the due of the dead.] (XVI.666-75)

74 ὧς ἔφατ', οὐδ' ἄρα παπρὸς ἀνηκούστησεν Ἀπόλλων.  
βῆ δὲ κατ' Ἰδαίων ὄρεων ἐς φύλοπιν αἰνὴν,  
αὐτίκα δ' ἐκ βελέων Σαρπηδόνα δῖον αἰείρας  
πολλὸν ἀποπρὸ φέρων λούσεν ποταμοῖο ῥοῆσι  
χρῖσεν τ' ἄμβροσίῃ, περὶ δ' ἄμβροτα εἵματα ἔσσε·  
πέμπε δέ μιν πομποῖσιν ἅμα κραιπνοῖσι φέρεσθαι,

Ἕγνων καὶ Θανάτῳ διδυμάοσιν, οἳ ῥά μιν ὤκα  
κάτθεσαν ἐν Λυκίης εὐρείης πίοσι δήμῳ.

[So spake he, nor was Apollo disobedient to his father's bidding, but went down from the hills of Ida into the dread din of battle. Forthwith then he lifted up goodly Sarpedon forth from out the range of darts, and when he had borne him far away, bathed him in the streams of the river, and anointed him with ambrosia, and clothed him about with immortal raiment, and gave him to swift conveyers to bear with them, even to the twin brethren, Sleep and Death, who set him speedily in the rich land of wide Lycia.] (*Iliad* XVI.676-83)

Redfield discusses the closure effected by gods and authors:

But then, after an action is completed, they can intervene to conclude it. This is intervention in a different sense. The gods have a concern for purity, that is, for the proper ending of things, a concern represented in their concern for funerals. They contrive the funeral of Sarpedon, protect the body of Patroclus, protect the body and contrive the funeral of Hector. Here the intervention is, as it were, from outside the action. The gods, who are outside any human community, can intervene to confer that purity which is beyond the power of human community; they can impose a limit on the impurity of combat. But this limitation, since it is from the outside, has an arbitrary element; it is less like the purity which rises from the orderings of culture and more like the purity imposed by the forming power of art (James M. Redfield, "Nature and Culture in the *Iliad*: Purification," Bloom 89-90).

75 *Iliad* VI.357-58; Redfield 91-92.

76 But if nothing happens except in accordance with Fate, no evil can be made lighter by means of religious rites. Homer shows his appreciation of this fact when he represents Jupiter as complaining because he could not snatch his son Sarpedon from death when Fate forbade (Cicero, *De Divinatione*, trans. William Armistead Falconer, Loeb vol XX., *De Senectute, De Amicitia, De Divinatione* [Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1979] II.x.25).

77 O thrice and four times blest, whose lot it was to meet death before their fathers' eyes beneath the lofty walls of Troy. O son of Tydeus, bravest of all the Danaan race, ah! that I could not fall on the Ilian plains and gasp out this life-blood at thy hand! Where

under the spear of Aeacides fierce Hector lies prostrate, where mighty Sarpedon (Virgil, *Aeneid*, tr. H. Rushton Fairclough, 2 vols., Loeb [Cambridge: Harvard UP, 1986] I.94-100).

<sup>78</sup>Edward Tripp, *The Meridian Handbook of Classical Mythology* (New York: New American Library, 1970).

<sup>79</sup> [And first Antiphates, for first came he, the bastard son of tall Sarpedon by a Theban mother, he slays with the cast of a javelin.] (Virgil, *Aeneid* IX.696-98)

<sup>80</sup> [At their side are Sarpedon's two brothers, Clarus and Thaemon, come from lofty Lycia to help Aeneas.] (*Aeneid* IX.125-26)

<sup>81</sup> [Soon shall I win praise either for knightly spoils or for a glorious death; my sire is equal to either lot; away with threats!] (*Aeneid* IX.449-51)

<sup>82</sup> [Alcides heard the youth and deep in his heart stifled a heavy groan, and shed idle tears.] (*Aeneid* X.464-65)

[Alcides, a descendent of Alceus, especially Heracles.] (*Oxford Latin Dictionary*, ed. by P. G. W. Glare [Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1982] 94).

<sup>83</sup> [Then with kingly words the Father bespeaks his son: "Each has his day appointed; short and irretrievable is the span of life to all; but to lengthen fame by deeds—that is valour's task. Under Troy's high walls fell those many sons of gods: yea, with them fell mine own child Sarpedon.

For Turnus too his own fate calls, and he has reached the goal of his allotted years." So he speaks, and turns his eyes away from the Rutulian fields.] (*Aeneid* X.466-73)

<sup>84</sup> John Edwin Sandys, *A History of Classical Scholarship From the Sixth Century To the End of the Middle Ages*, 2nd ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1906) 137.

<sup>85</sup> Jean Seznec, *The Survival of the Pagan Gods*. tr. Barbara F. Sessions, . Bollingen Series 38 (New York: Pantheon Books, 1953) 225.

<sup>86</sup> [[Πατροκλος] καταδιώξας δὲ αὐτοὺς εἰς τὸ τεῖχος πολλοὺς ἀναιρεῖ, ἐν οἷς καὶ Σαρπηδόνα τὸν Διός, καὶ ὑφ' Ἐκτορος ἀναιρεῖται, τρωθεὶς πρότερον ὑπὸ Εὐφύρβου. μάχης δὲ ἰσχυρᾶς γενομένης περὶ τοῦ νεκροῦ, μόλις Αἴας ἀριστεύσας σώζει τὸ σῶμα. Ἀχιλλεὺς δὲ τὴν ὄργην



ἀποθέμενος καὶ τὴν Βρισηίδα κομίζεται. καὶ πανοπλίας αὐτῷ κομισθείσης παρὰ Ἡφαίστου, καθοπλισάμενος ἐπὶ τὸν πόλεμον ἐξέρχεται.] (Apollodorus, *Epitome*, *The Library*, tr. Sir James George Frazer, 2 vols. [Cambridge: Harvard UP, 1967] IV.6-7:208)

87 Apollodorus, *Epitome* II.34:170-71.

88 Ἐνναετοῦς δὲ χρόνου διελθόντος παραγίνονται τοῖς Τρωσὶ σύμμαχ οἳ ἐκ τῶν περιούκων πόλεων Αἰνείας Ἀγχίσιου

[A period of nine years having elapsed, allies came to join the Trojans from the surrounding cities. Aeneas, son of Anchises.] (*Epitome* III.34:300-03)

The Greeks apparently did not have the same need to place Aeneas as the Trojan ancestor of Romans. Apollodorus also places Pandarus farther down the list than Homer who names him as third.

89 He does, however, mention Homer's Sarpedon:

Ἡ δὲ, ἔδει συννευασθέντος αὐτῇ Διός, ἐγέννησε Μίνωα Σαρπηδόνα Ραδάμανθυν· καθ' Ὅμηρον δὲ Σαρπηδῶν ἐκ Διὸς καὶ Λαοδαμείας τῆς Βελλεροφόντου.

[There Zeus bedded with her [Europa], and she bore Minos, Sarpedon, and Rhadamanthys; but according to Homer, Sarpedon was a son of Zeus by Laodamia, daughter of Bellerophon.] (Apollodorus, *Library* III.1.1:298-99)

90 Τὸν δὲ παιδὸς πρὸς Σαρπηδόνα μᾶλλον οἰκειῶς ἔχοντος πολεμήσας Μίνως ἐπροτέρησεν οἱ δὲ φεύγουσι.

[As the boy was more friendly to Sarpedon, Minos went to war and had the better of it and the others fled.] (*Library* III.1.1-2:300-303)

91 Σαρπηδῶν δὲ συμμαχήσας Κίλικι πρὸς Λυκίους ἔχοντι πόλεμον, ἐπὶ μέρει τῆς χώρας, Λυκίας ἐβασίλευσε. καὶ αὐτῷ δίδωσι Ζεὺς ἐπὶ τρεῖς γενεάς ζῆν. (*Library* III.1-2:302-03)

92 Ἀποπλέων δὲ ἐπὶ τῆς ἡϊόνος τῆς Αἰνείας Σαρπηδόνα, Ποσειδῶνος μὲν υἱὸν ἀδελφὸν δὲ Πόλυτος, ὑβριστὴν ὄντα τοξεύσας ἀπεκτείνε. (*Library* II.v.9:208-09)

93 Aulus Gellius, Introduction to *The Attic Nights of Aulus Gellius*, tr. John C. Rolfe, 3 vols. (New York: Putnam Sons, 1927) "Introduction" xviii.

94 "The poets have called the sons of Jupiter most

excellent in worth, wisdom, and strength, for example  
 Aeacus, Minos, and Sarpedon" (*Attic Nights* XXI.108-09).

95 Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, tr. by Frank Justus Miller,  
 vol. 2 (Cambridge: Harvard UP, 1984) 490.

96 "Why should I mention the Lycian Sarpedon's ranks  
 which my sword cut to pieces?" (*Metamorphoses* XIII.255-56).

97 "Est autem Sarpedon Iovis et Laodamiae filius, ut  
 alio [loco]" (X.470). "quin occidit una Sarpedon mea  
 progenies, occisus a Patrolo." (Servius 69-70)

98 Plato, *Timaeus* 8.41 in *Timaeus and Critias*, tr.  
 Desmond Lee (New York: Penguin, 1987) 56.

99 "CLV: Iovis Filii: Minos, Sarpedon et Rhadamantus ex  
 Europa Agenoris filia" (Hyginus, *Hygini Fabulae: Recensvit  
 Prolegomenis Commentario Appendice Instruxit*, ed. by H. I.  
 Rose [Lvgdvni Batavorum: in Aedibus A.W. Sythoff, 1963;  
 Leyden: A. W. Sythoff, 1933]:110-111). (tr. Mary Grant, *The  
 Myths of Hyginus* [Lawrence: U of Kansas Publications, 1960]  
 125).

100 "CXV: Troiani qui quot occiderunt" (Rose 83).

101 "CXIII: Nobilem quem quis occidit: Sarpedon  
 Tlepoleum, idem Antiphum" (Rose 82).

102 "CXII: Provocates inter se qui cum quo dimicaverunt:  
 Patrocles cum Sarpedone, Sarpedone occiditur" (Rose 81).

103 tertio decimo fecit in Ilio Priamus cenotaphum  
 Paridi, quem natum iusserat interfici, gymnicos, in  
 quibus certati sunt cursu Nestor Nelei filius Helenus  
 Priami filius, Deiphobus eiusdem, Polites eiusdem,  
 Telephus Herculis filius, Cygnus Neptuni filius,  
 Sarpedon Iovis filius, Paris Alexander pastor Priamus  
 ignarus filius, uicit autem Paris et inuentus est esse  
 Priami filius. (Rose 173-174)

[CCLXXIII: Those Who First Conducted Games up to the  
 Fifteenth by Aeneas: Thirteenth: Priam made a cenotaph  
 in Ilium for Paris, the son whom he had ordered killed,  
 and held gymnastic contests. The contestants in  
 running were Nestor, son of Neleus, Helenus, son of  
 Priam, Deiphobus, son of the same, Telephus, son of  
 Hercules, Cygnus, son of Neptune, Sarpedon, son of  
 Jove, Paris Alexander <shepherd>, unrecognized son of  
 Priam. However, Paris won and was found to be the son  
 of Priam.] (Grant 173-174)

104 CLXXVIII: Europa. Europa Argiopes et Agenoris filia Sidonia hanc Iuppiter in taurum conuersus a Sidone Cretam transportauit et ex ea procreauit Minoem Sarpedonem Rhadamanthum. (Rose 124)

105 Apollodorus, *Library*, III.1.2.

106 Among all the means of foretelling the future, dreams are awarded the first place by Epicharmus and by Philochorus the Athenian. You'll find oracles of this kind all over the world; there are the oracles of Amphiaraus at Oropus, of Amphilochus at Mallus, of Sarpedon of Troy. . . It is a favorite doctrine of the Stoics that God in His providence over human affairs gave us dreams; among the many other helps to the preservation of the arts and techniques of divination, He especially intended dreams to be of particular assistance to natural foresight. (Tertullian, *Apologetical Works and Minucius Felix Octavius*, tr. Rudolph Arbesmann et al. [New York: Fathers of the Church, 1950] chap. 46, no. 11 [284]).

107 [I am Lycian Sarpedon, the seed of Jove: in virtue of my father's godhead I hoped for heaven; yet I am buried in this tomb though bewailed with tears of blood. Ah, iron-willed Fates! He also suffers grief who can prevent it.] (Tertullian I.149 Epitaph XVI: "Sarpedoni")

108 See appendix.

109 See Arn 5, 8: "Chaucer's use of the Ovidian portrait of Helen (in delineating the character of Criseyde) reinforces the use he makes of Helen in his own poem as a parallel figure to Criseyde - as a symbol of the close connection between love and war. The character of Criseyde seems to arise in part from both Medea and Helen. . . . Chaucer's overall use of Ovid seems to be primarily as ironic undercutting of the action of the *Troilus*."

Also see Mc Kay Sundwall, "Deiphobus and Helen: A Tantalizing Hint," *Modern Philology* 73 (1975) 151-56.

110  
 Such was that happy garden state  
 While man there walked without a mate  
 After a place so pure and sweet  
 What other help could yet be meet!  
 But 'twas beyond a mortal's share  
 To wander solitary there:  
 Two paradises 'twere in one  
 To live in paradise alone.

Andrew Marvel, "The Garden"

The concept of the goddess Discord, who, uninvited, threw the apple at the feast of Peleus and Thetis, as the personification of the principle of womanhood did not arise nor die with the medieval period. It was still in bloom with Marvel in the seventeenth century, flourished in Tennyson and in Hemingway, and proliferates among males of all ages whose bastions are being integrated by females who come to compete rather than to serve. "Experience, though noon auctoritee" has led me to fear, despite my best efforts to eradicate it, that male misogyny is embedded, regretably, in the species as well as in the culture.

## Chapter Two

### The Romance Tradition: The Metamorphosis of Sarpedon, Achilles, and Hector into Chaucer's Troilus

As the characters of Sarpedon, Achilles, and Hector fade from prominence in the retelling of the Trojan story, the figure of Troilus metamorphoses from Priam's one eulogistic line in the *Iliad* to become the central figure of Chaucer's *Troilus*; this fourteenth century Troilus has developed from the excised elements of the three great heroes he has supplanted. From Sarpedon of the *Iliad*, Homer's mortal son of Zeus, Troilus inherits philosophical associations with foreknowledge, necessity, and free will. Both Sarpedon and his Olympian father know he must die, and the grieving father does not save his son. Sarpedon's feast is his metaphor for the warrior's rewards and the warrior's sacrifice. Troilus cannot become part of Sarpedon's feast: he does not accept Sarpedon's strong-willed choice to take action even in the face of inevitable defeat: he seems to deny that part of himself that has evolved from Sarpedon. From Achilles he inherits the role of weeping lover, moping in his tent and erupting into frenzy on the battlefield. Troilus himself assumes this role of lover from Achilles while Troilus' beloved Criseyde has emerged from Achilles' Briseis, the pawn, along with the unnamed daughter of Chryses, in the power struggle between warriors that opens

the *Iliad*. Achilles' part in the tale casts him first as lover of Briseis, whom Boccaccio will later change to Chriseis, and then as lover of Polyxena, the sister of Troilus most like her brother. In ancient iconography, Polyxena and Troilus are interchangeable objects of Achilles' desire. Finally, from Hector, Troilus assumes the mantle of the Prince of Troy, its heir and its people's doomed hope. Troilus supplants Hector as leading warrior of Troy as his and Hector's deaths are interchanged and Hector is killed off earlier in the tale, leaving the field to Troilus. As the Trojan story narrows from epic to romance, Troilus becomes emblematic of Troy in ways which incorporate the themes of its classical model. The figure of Sarpedon unveils the key to this metamorphosis.

From Dictys, Dares, Benoît, Guido, Boccaccio, and the other writers of Trojan romances, Chaucer inherited the Troilus who had fully metamorphosed into the heroic warrior, prince, and lover emblematic of Troy itself. In the process, Sarpedon is reduced to a minor figure who is involved in the exchange of Criseyde and who gives a feast which Troilus attends but does not join. However, Sarpedon is closely associated with Fate in the two other traditional paths in which the Troy story devolved, the Homeric and the Christian Mythographic. Chaucer drew on all three traditions, not just on the romance. This second chapter will summarize the development of the characters of Hector,

Achilles, and Briseis from classical usage to romance tradition to Chaucer's synthesis and will trace the evolution of Sarpedon from Homeric to Chaucerian character in detail.

Contemporary critics have ignored Sarpedon completely or have mentioned him only in passing, yet he is generally a key to understanding much of the density of Chaucer's *Troilus* and specifically a key to the development of the character of Troilus. Boitani comes very close to the metamorphosis, particularly in his essay on the death of Troilus.<sup>1</sup> He connects Troilus intimately with Achilles and introduces the classical erotic relationship between the two, the inseparability of *eros* and *thanatos*, Troilus' closeness to Polyxena, his sister and feminine double as well as Achilles' beloved, and even Criseyde's role as Trojan daughter of Discord, along with Helen.<sup>2</sup> Antipodal in approach and conclusions to this paper, Kiernan's argument detects the close relationship between Hector and Troilus, but has Chaucer expand Hector's role,<sup>3</sup> "developing him as a foil to Troilus" (Kiernan,53) because he is a man of strong will who can take action in the face of inevitability. However, I believe that Hector is not a foil but an example for Troilus, as is Sarpedon, whose Homeric speech to Glaucon, the speech about the metaphorical feast, expresses just that idea of the choice of action despite certain doom. Kiernan has conflated Hector with Sarpedon. He misreads his

sources when he contends that Troilus' and Hector's deaths are different: "Troilus is not killed by treachery, but simply loses to a superior fighter" (n.62). My argument attempts to demonstrate clearly that Troilus' despitious death is very treacherous.<sup>4</sup> Benson, while he does speak of the party at Sarpedon's, loses the resonance of the word 'feast' and sees Troilus' alienation as "from courtly society" which he considers "as a precursor of his alienation from earthly life."<sup>5</sup> But Sarpedon does not court women; he provides them as part of the entertainment. Meech does present Sarpedon in terms of his feast and his home, noting in passing that Chaucer promotes him from 'baron passente' to 'kyng',<sup>6</sup> as Meech does with Sarpedon. Boitani never makes the connection of Troilus to his Homeric forebears, instead seeing Chaucer's development of Troilus as Boccaccian, as including "all those elements which Chaucer eliminated from the *Teseida*. . . the character of Troilus seems to be partly remodeled in the style of Arcita: he is a more lyrical, more passionate, more profound Troilus than his model in the *Filostrato*, more like the gentle, suffering, pensive Arcita of the *Teseida*."<sup>7</sup> Not even King, in her excellent work on Achilles, ever connects Sarpedon to the paradigm or even Troilus to the love model presented by Achilles,<sup>8</sup> nor does Nagy.<sup>9</sup> Boitani comes closest to the essence of the developing Troilus by linking him to Achilles and to Hector, if not to Sarpedon. Since "'Troy' must die



with him. . . in this sense, as a 'function', he is complementary to Hector" (*Eur. Trag.* 5);<sup>10</sup> in his death itself he is connected indissolubly with Achilles.

While Sarpedon takes up a considerable portion of the action of the *Iliad*, Troilus appears only in the words of Priam when the aging king excoriates his remaining sons, including Paris, for not being like their heroic, but dead, brothers, Hector, Troilus, and Mestor. Troilus is eulogized in just two words, "Τρωΐλον ἰπποχάρμην" (XXIV.257), "Troilus the warrior charioteer" (Murray 580-581). From this two-word memory of his father, Troilus develops within the romance tradition of Dictys, Dares, Benoît, Guido, and Boccaccio until he becomes Chaucer's emblematic Trojan.<sup>11</sup> Priam's memory is shaped into Chaucer's hero by the gradual accretion of the deeds and characteristics of Sarpedon, Hector, and Achilles whose importance shrinks until they are background figures for the love story.

### I. Achilles

Troilus' conflicted nature, his unaccommodated blend of lover, prince, philosopher, and warrior, may reflect a disproportionate influence of Achilles upon the composition of his character. Achilles as lover, as the fruit of Peleus and Thetis and the feast at which the conflict began, appropriates the volatile element in the *Iliad*. Homer

begins with "μήνιν," his menis, his wrath: "μήνιν ἄειδε Θεά, Πηληϊάδεω Ἀχιλῆος," literally, "the wrath, sing Goddess, of Peleus' son Achilles." Chaucer's audience knew about the leashed power of all the young men without women who comprised the bulk of the feudal society: Achilles is like them.<sup>12</sup> Achilles' wrath, at his treatment by Agamemnon and his loss of Briseis through the exchange of women among warriors, burns slowly until it erupts to destroy Troy. The story of Achilles and Briseis reflects, after all, the exchange of Helen from Menelaus to Paris effected by the conflict at the feast of Peleus and Thetis. Homer provides, in his *Iliad*, the elements which explode and are rearranged into other Iliads in other times: "Διὸς δ' ἐτελείετο βουλή" (I.5), "this wrath is the instrument of the will of Zeus" (Murray 3). The priest Chryses calls down the wrath of Apollo because the Greeks will not return his captured daughter (the unnamed Chryseis), Agamemnon's slave girl. Achilles urges in Council that the daughter of Chryses be returned, and Agamemnon agrees but takes Briseis from Achilles in exchange. Achilles weeps in his tent.

Fate, the will of God, the seer-father, the exchange of the daughter, the loss of the beloved mistress, the Council, the weeping lover: all the elements reappear in Boccaccio and Chaucer, reassembled into new patterns for new Iliads. The weeping lover becomes Troilus; the figure of Criseyde emerges from a blend of Briseis and the daughter of Chryses

to become the daughter of the *Iliad's* other prophetic priest, Calchas; Achilles no longer loves Briseis: his new love in the romance tradition is Troilus' sister Polyxena, who will become excised from Boccaccio and Chaucer when they eliminate Achilles and leave only Troilus and Briseis.

The metamorphosis of Homer's weeping lover Achilles into Chaucer's weeping lover Troilus emerges from a rearrangement of the ingredients of Homer's stew to which have been added several hints of spice from other classical sources, notably Achilles' love for Polyxena, the connection and possible gender confusion of Troilus and Polyxena, and the ritual deaths of all three, Achilles, Troilus, and Polyxena. The changes in Homer's Brises, Chryses, their daughters, Calchas, Polyxena, and Hecuba all precipitate the change.<sup>13</sup>

The process of transformation of Achilles is observable in Dictys Cretensis' supposedly fourth century Latin redaction, *Ephemeris Belli Troiani* when, pro-Greek but less impartial than Homer, he ennobles Achilles. By making Achilles owner but not lover of Briseis, he eliminates his wrath and his sulks over the loss of Briseis.<sup>14</sup> Increasing the importance of women in the story and focusing on the love of Achilles for Polyxena, Dictys clears a path for the transference of Briseis-Chryseis from Achilles to Troilus by his fanciful alterations in the stories of the daughters of Brises and Chryses. He even changes the girls' names,

giving them individual identities and stories, rather than the derivative names and secondary identities from their fathers. Achilles carries off Astynome, the daughter of Chryses, a widow like Chaucer's Criseyde, after slaying her husband Eetion, king of Lyrnessos (II.17, Frazer 46), a romantic place name curiously like the Arthurian Lyonesse. Achilles also captures the daughter of Brises, the maiden Hippodamia (II.17, Frazer 46). Although Astynome, daughter of Chryses, is given to Agamemnon, Achilles keeps two girls, Diomedea of Lesbos and Hippodamia, Brises' daughter, because the two girls beg not to be parted (II.18, Frazer 47-48). Dictys leaves the homosexual theme latent; he does not elaborate on Diomedea's home on Lesbos or on the *ménage à quatre* with Achilles and Patrocles, but he does embroider the story of the exchange of the women, privileging the male power struggle over the love story. Agamemnon, "fearing that Achilles will be made commander-in-chief," agrees to return Astynome (Chryses' daughter) if Achilles will give him Hippodamia (Brises' daughter).<sup>15</sup> Dictys' Achilles agrees to give up the girl, showing no emotion (II.33, Frazer 57) but staying away from further councils (II.34, Frazer 58). Dictys makes no mention of lover's sulks but resolves the power struggle by having Agamemnon return Hippodamia through the offices of Patrocles (II.52, Frazer 69).<sup>16</sup> Dictys provides a happy ending even for Agamemnon when Chryses, grateful for Greek kindness, returns his

daughter to Agamemnon (II.47, Frazer 66).

By exaggerating the emotional control of Achilles and his nobility of action for his people, Dictys eliminates the emotional love of Achilles for Briseis and her loss and instead transfers Achilles' emotion to his unrequited love for Polyxena, the sister, and alter-ego, of Troilus.<sup>17</sup> It then becomes Achilles who dies, through treachery by his beloved's brothers. Achilles' death at the hands of Deiphobus and Alexander (Paris) follows directly after the death of Troilus, and Troilus, Achilles, and Polyxena are linked by the feast of the Thymbraean Apollo.<sup>18</sup> Vase paintings<sup>19</sup> from the sixth century B.C. onwards show these linkages: the young boy Troilus is slain by Achilles in the temple of Thymbraean Apollo while Polyxena is near; the naked boy Troilus lies beneath Achilles on horseback as Polyxena flees for Troy, and a dove, the sign of lovers, flies above them.<sup>20</sup> Dictys expands Homer's two words of eulogy for Troilus into a description of Troilus' death as a very young man ritually slain by Achilles' order shortly before the feast (IV.8-11, pp.92-94) because of Achilles' anger over not receiving Polyxana.<sup>21</sup> Both *eros* and *thanatos*<sup>22</sup> provide a joining, and the man and boy linked in death at the time of the feast undergo a kind of ritual joining which connects Achilles with Troilus both as warrior and as surrogate lover for Polyxena, and then joins them once more in death when Achilles is ritually slain by their

surrogate brothers. Both by separating Achilles from Briseis and by this ritual union in death, Dictys effectively begins the process of developing the character of Troilus from the character of Achilles.

While Dares, in his sixth-century Latin *De Excidio Troiae Historia*, concentrates more on Hector than on Achilles, he does add changes in the Achilles character which continue the metamorphosis of Troilus. In his pro-Trojan version, Dares is first to develop Troilus as a great warrior prince, and he correspondingly tames and gentles the figure of Achilles. Although his Troilus begins to assume importance as a warrior, Dares continues to emphasize the youthfulness of Troilus: "Troilus, a large and handsome boy, was strong for his age, brave, and eager for glory,"<sup>23</sup> but his Achilles is no longer the barely-leashed force of young manhood:

Achilles had a large chest, a fine mouth, and powerfully formed arms and legs. His head was covered with long wavy chestnut-colored hair. Though mild in manner, he was very fierce in battle. His face showed the joy of a man richly endowed.<sup>24</sup>

Mild of manner with a fine mouth and joy in his face, Achilles would no longer be recognized by Homer; he is evolving into Troilus. His *μῆνιν*, wrath, is no longer the driving force of the tale. Dares also makes no mention of the Chryses-Brises story or of Achilles' connection with the Delphic command to give up the daughter of Chryses. Instead, his connection to the Delphic oracle results from

his commission by the Greek Council to consult Apollo's oracle about the mission to Troy. Taking Patrocles with him, he hears the prophecy that Troy will fall in ten years, and he meets another suppliant: the Phrygian Calchas also hears the prophecy and thereafter joins the Greeks.<sup>25</sup> They sail from Aulis; Achilles' involvement with prophecy and sacrifice begins the Greek journey to Troy just as it will insure their return. Dares does not mention the sacrifice of Iphigenia at Aulis "where Agamemnon appeased the goddess Diana" (15 Frazer 146) to bring the winds which will carry the Greek fleet to Troy, but instead he substitutes the closing sacrifice of Polyxena at Achilles' tomb to quell the storm winds which prevent their return. Unlike Homer,<sup>26</sup> Dares links Achilles to a foretold future death. He eliminates the priest Chryses and instead connects Achilles and the Greeks to Calchas.

By eliminating his wrath over the seizure of Briseis, Dares creates a quieter and gentler Achilles who responds to Hector's slaughter of Patroclus not by rage but by the usual ritual of truce, mourning, and funeral games (17, 20, Frazer 149). Achilles kills Hector in battle, but without any reported emotion, and only after Hector wounds him severely in the leg. Dares has demystified the tale to eliminate Achilles' connection to the gods and to invulnerability. When Hector is buried during another standard truce for burial, Dares makes no mention of Achilles' abuse of

Hector's body or of Priam's begging (24,25, Frazer 153).

Dares uses Hector's burial to establish a focus for the story of Achilles' fatal love for Polyxena. He first sees her, not in a temple as Chaucer's Troilus first sees Chriseyde, but at the tomb of Hector<sup>27</sup> on the first anniversary of his death. There, Achilles is smitten as hard as Troilus:

Achilles, who, being struck by Polyxena's beauty, fell madly in love. The burning power of his love took all the joy out of life. (His soul was also rankled by the fact that the Greeks had deposed Agamemnon and made Palamedes commander-in-chief instead of himself).<sup>28</sup>

-but without Troilus' purity: the motivation of power still drives him. As his Pandarus he chooses Hecuba who dutifully goes to Priam. Priam's response is to require an exchange of a promise of peace for delivering Polyxena:

Granted that Achilles would make a good relative, it was not right to marry one's daughter to an enemy; and even if Achilles himself went home, the Greeks would not follow. Therefore, if Achilles wanted this marriage, he must promise a lasting peace, a treaty with sacred oaths; and the Greeks must depart. On these conditions, Priam would willingly give him his daughter in marriage.<sup>29</sup>

Dares' Priam, like Chaucer's, is more than willing to 'selle' women in Troy. When the Greeks refuse, "Achilles . . . refused to take part because of his anger" (28, Frazer 155): his wrath at Agamemnon over Briseis now has changed to anger at the Greeks for not stopping the war so he can have Polyxena, rage because the Greeks will not accommodate him rather than because Agamemnon bests him in a power play.



"But Achilles, still moody, refused to budge" (30, Frazer 157). Now there are no lover's tears, just his stubbornness.

Decreasing the importance of Achilles as warrior, Dares greatly increases the role of Troilus as Warrior-Prince. He eliminates Chryseis entirely, except for his description of her joined eyebrows.<sup>30</sup> He stresses the unrequited and fatal love of Achilles for Polyxena, uses Hecuba as panderer, and has Achilles die in the temple as Troilus does, according to the Attic vases. He identifies Troilus most strongly with Hector, and although he eliminates the Achilles/Briseis affair, he does not yet transfer Criseyde to Troilus. For Dares, the treacherous woman of Discord is not just Helen or Chryseis but Hecuba, who "bemoaning the loss of Hector and Troilus, her two bravest sons, both slain by Achilles, devised, like the woman she was, a treacherous vengeance" (34, Frazer 160). She sets up an ambush, again at the temple of Thymbraean Apollo, and, luring Achilles by promise of Polyxena, has him slain by Alexander's men: "Such was the death of this hero, a treacherous death: one ill-suiting his prowess" (34, Frazer 161). His death brings on the usual truce, funeral, and games; Polyxena's death mirror-images the absent Iphigenia's and closes the circle begun by the passage of the Greek fleet to Troy. When the Greeks cannot sail, this time because of storms, Calchas' oracle of the god's displeasure causes Achilles' son Neoptolemus (Pyrrhus)

to "cut her throat at the grave of his father" (443, Frazer 167). Dares, therefore, alters the story of Achilles and Troilus by eliminating Achilles' *μῆνυν* over Chryseis, as does Dictys.

Benoît de Sainte-Maure, in his twelfth century *Roman de Troie*, invents the love story of Troilus and Briseida, completing the transfer of Briseis, and the role of her lover, from Achilles to Troilus. Benoît makes his Briseida the daughter of Calchas (5845ff.) as she is for Chaucer. Benoît distances Dares' tales of Hippodamia and Astinome by relegating them to the end of his *Roman* when Ajax Telamon recounts the deeds of the dead Achilles (22815ff).<sup>31</sup> Benoît's Briseida, with the joined eyebrows ("les sorcilles li joigneient") (5279) and questionable courage ("mais sis corages li chanjot") (5286), is reclaimed by her father during the truce following the seventh battle (13086ff.). Benoît tells of the love affair (13261 ff.) and the first night together and includes an ironic reference to Solomon's proverbial description of the virtuous woman (13445 ff.) and her courage.<sup>32</sup> Troilus, like Achilles, weeps over his loss, but Troilus' lament is part of his lamentation over the death of Hector (16339 ff.). Chaucer appropriates the description and love affair as well as Troilus' lament which he transfers to the loss of Criseyde.

For Benoît, Achilles' love story centers on Polyxena and follows Dares. Achilles sees her at Hector's tomb on

the first anniversary of his death and there "Il fu destreiz por fine amor" (17547) because not even he is exempt:

Force, vertu ne hardement  
Ne valent contre Amors neient (17583-17584).

His conquest by love, death, and Polyxena again suggests the response of Chaucer's Troilus to his first glimpse of Criseyde. Benoît leaves no doubt about the narcissistic flavor of *fin amor* (17691 ff.) or of the death this kind of love brings,<sup>33</sup> nor does Chaucer. Like Dares also, Benoît makes Hecuba his panderer (17747 ff.); does Chaucer suggest that Pandarus works for Priam and/or for Hecuba? Also, like Dares, Benoît has Hecuba lure Achilles to his death (21957) at the hands of Paris (22111). Emphasizing Calchas' wisdom and deemphasizing Apollo (Greenfield, 142), he has Calchas instigate Polyxena's death on Achilles' tomb (26383 ff).

Benoît's major contribution to the development of Troilus from Achilles, therefore, is his invention of the Troilus and Briseida love story,<sup>34</sup> the complete removal of the Briseis-Chryseis story from importance to the tale. Benoît's technique is to tell his story in retrospect: he begins at endings and explains what has happened: he tells the story of Troilus and Briseida after Priam has agreed to return her to her father. He introduces the idea of *fin amor*<sup>35</sup> and creates a parallel for Chaucer by the description of his love for Polyxena. He establishes a role for Chaucer's Pandarus by his use of Hecuba as intermediary to

lure Achilles to love and death. He connects Achilles to foreknowledge through the Delphic oracle and through his friendship with Calchas<sup>36</sup> and to *thanatos* and *eros* by explicit references in Achilles' love complaints. His Achilles has disappeared as the lover of Briseis, and Troilus has taken his place;<sup>37</sup> his Achilles serves as model for Chaucer's Troilus by his love affair with Polyxena. Chaucer drops the Achilles-Polyxena affair and merges the two love stories into his one tale of Troilus and Criseyde.

Since Guido delle Colonne, in his thirteenth century *Historia Destructionis Troiae*, wrote a Latin paraphrase of Benoît, there was little change in the portrayal of Achilles or of Troilus.<sup>38</sup> To the parallel love stories of Troilus and Briseida, Paris and Helen, and Achilles and Polyxena, he, like Benoît, adds the story of Jason and Medea. He eliminates the stories of the daughters of Chryses and Brises completely, mentioning Chryses only as a priest suggesting the Trojan Horse (30.97). Otherwise, he simply repeats the Achilles-Polyxena tale as Benoît structured it. Briseida, Calchas, and Hecuba also play the same roles with the same incidents. Polyxena continues to inspire the woeful lover's response common both to Guido's Achilles and to Chaucer's Troilus. As with Chaucer's Troilus,

the arrow of Cupid unexpectedly wounded the mighty Achilles, and penetrating to the inner recesses of his heart, it took possession of him and forced him to become intoxicated by the great ardor of love.<sup>39</sup>

Like Chaucer's Troilus, he takes to his bed  
(23.133) and weeps:

He turned to the wall and in secret dissolved  
completely in tears, so that no one could perceive his  
grief. At last he dried his tears and exchanged them  
for frequent sighs.<sup>40</sup>

Guido's Priam is less sympathetic to Achilles than is Dares' but still agrees to hand over Polyxena if Achilles can get the Greeks to leave (24.38-48). Since the offer does not include Helen, the Greeks refuse, and Achilles retires to his tent to sulk rather than fight (24.107-113; 25.85-116; 25.163-224). He arises in defense of his Myrmidons (26.260-264): the tale of Chryses, Brises, and Patrocles has been excised. Two thousand Myrmidons surround Troilus (26.24 ff.), and Achilles cuts off his head and ties his body to his horse to drag it (26.260-264). Achilles' death follows closely upon Troilus' in Guido's redaction. Since the Greeks ask that Achilles tomb be placed at the Thymbraean Gate of Troy (27.60-63), the death of Polyxena at his tomb follows the established pattern of association with Apollo's shrine. Consequently, Guido follows closely upon Benoît, providing a pattern for Chaucer to eliminate the love story of Achilles and Polyxena, and he uses the love sickness of Achilles for Troilus' sister as a pattern for Chaucer's Troilus' love for Criseyde; eliminating any active role for Hecuba, Boccaccio and Chaucer alter the go-between to produce and develop Pandarus.

Boccaccio's *Il Filostrato* (c.1335-1340) and Chaucer's *Troilus and Criseyde* complete the metamorphosis of the lover that was Achilles into the lover that is Troilus. From Boccaccio and Chaucer, Brises and Chryses disappear entirely. Hecuba is mentioned only once in *Troilus and Criseyde*, to identify Troilus at the opening of Book V, where he is "sone of Ecuba the queene" (V.12); there is no corresponding reference in *Il Filostrato*. The role of intermediary is now wholly Pandarus'. Polyxena is mentioned twice, both times in connection with Criseyde and Helen. Chaucer and Boccaccio both have Troilus think Criseyde is fairer than Helen or Polyxene (*TC* I.455; *Il F.* 1.42), but when Boccaccio's Troilo offers Polyxena or Helen, Chaucer's Troilus offers Pandarus his choice of Polyxene, Cassandra, or Helen in exchange for getting him Criseyde (*TC* 3.409; *Il F.* III.18). Chaucer's addition of Cassandra may possibly suggest her increased importance in his text as connector of the tales of Thebes and Troy and substitute oracular messenger. Achilles appears in Chaucer and Boccaccio nearly as little as Troilus does in Homer, three times in reference and never as a dramatic presence. Chaucer's first reference to Achilles even groups him with both Troilus and Hector: When Criseyde objects to Pandarus' scheme to give her to Troilus, she complains that had she loved Troilus, Achilles, or Hector, she would have thought Pandarus would disapprove (II.416-422); her inclusion of the Greek Achilles between

the two Trojans is curious. In Boccaccio, "Criseida only mentions Troilo" (Wimsatt, n.p. 173). In Chaucer but not in Boccaccio, Troilus mentions Achilles' spear at a crucial moment in his Book III seduction of or by Criseyde when he swears ironically, "And if I lye, Achilles with his spere myn herte cleue" (III.374).<sup>41</sup> Lastly, Chaucer's narrator describes Troilus's death in the one line, "Despitiously hym slough the fierce Achille" (V.1806) while Boccaccio comments "miseramente an di l'uccise Achille" (V.27). For Achilles and Troilus, "war has often the appearance of an extension of sexuality by other means. This was the very character of the Trojan War."<sup>42</sup> The pairing of *eros* with *thanatos* is crucial to the linking of Troilus and Achilles.

In the loves of Achilles for Briseis, for Polyxena, for Patrocles, for the boy Troilus are rooted the love story of Troilus and Criseyde; it evolves through transferences and the conflation of images in a cultural structure or collective unconscious that works as dreams do. The weeping lover of Briseis, the betrayed lover of Polyxena, the blending of Patroclus with Troilus and Troilus with Polyxena, the conflating of Hecuba and the sly Pandarus, all account for the scrambling of elements and the reemergence into a new form that suits the taste of a new culture and proves its tenets of belief. However turbulently for Troilus' peace of mind, Troilus has absorbed much of Achilles the lover into his own persona.

## II. Hector

That part of Troilus which evolved from Hector and established him as Prince of Troy, more subtle than his development as lover, depends primarily on timing, on the transposition of the deaths of Hector and Troilus and the pursuivant assumption by Troilus of Hector's position and attitudes. Once again, as with Sarpedon and Achilles, Dictys and Dares set a pace which is followed incrementally by the later authors. Like Homer, Dictys mentions Troilus only once and in connection with his death, part of the ritual deaths of Achilles and Polyxena that are linked to Apollo's feast and tomb<sup>43</sup>; he does, however, merge Sarpedon with Hector as a kind of preliminary step in creating a hero out of Troilus. In Dictys, Sarpedon and Hector are twin battle leaders, Mr. Outside and Mr. Inside as it were.<sup>44</sup> He also combines them when he has Hector perform both their deeds during the raid on the Greek ships. In Homer, Sarpedon leads the charge and tears down the walls; Hector calls for the firing of the ships and then himself becomes metaphorically the flame (*Iliad* XII, XIII); in Dictys, Hector both leads the army and fires the ships (II.42, Frazer 62-63). Hector also appropriates Sarpedon's position as mentor by scolding the Trojans who do not stand courageous in battle.<sup>45</sup> In addition to merging their battle



deeds and their exhortations to the troops, Dictys blends them together in death. *Thanatos* provides the medium for transformation of the particular to the generic, of heroes to Hero. Dictys has the grieving Trojans join the two men:

The death of Sarpedon and, soon afterwards, the slaughter of Hector, had taken away their remaining hopes.<sup>46</sup>

The death of Troilus follows immediately, close upon these two deaths; Troilus is linked with both Sarpedon and Hector, on the one hand, and also with Achilles and Polyxena whose deaths follow. Dictys' Greek-eyed view of the Trojan heroes blends all three.

Dictys' Hector and Chaucer's Troilus share a view of the interchangeability of women into Woman also, and a use of women as a means of bonding men. In Dictys, both share in the guilt for Helen's abduction: Troilus by his urging of Paris' expedition and Hector by refusal, despite his weeping for his brother's crime, to return Helen. He explains that she has sought his protection, the same reason given by Chaucer's Hector for his concern not to 'selle' Criseyde. But, in a curious echo of Homer's transaction with Brises, Dictys' Hector offers Menelaus an exchange of one of his sisters, Polyxena or Cassandra, as a replacement wife (I.25). From this, Chaucer may have drawn not only Hector's refusal to return Criseyde but also Troilus' offer to Pandarus of Polyxena, Cassandra, or Helen in return for Criseyde. Dictys' Hector, who acts as if women were not

individual, precipitates Achilles' *μῆνιν* over Polyxena and the consequent death of Troilus: here it is Hector, not Hecuba, to whom Achilles turns to bargain for Polyxena, and it is rage at Hector for his reply which sparks Achilles' murderous behavior (III.2-3).

Dictys joins Hector to Troilus in the manner of their deaths, altering the story of Hector's end to make it more like the death of Troilus, having Achilles kill Hector in an ambush with Penthesilia and her Amazon warriors, cutting off the hands of a captive son of Priam and sending him to Troy as messenger, tying Hector to his chariot and desecrating his body publically (III.15). Having Troilus survive Hector, Dictys places his death much later in the story but connects it to Hector's by its manner, to Achilles' and Polyxena's by its place, and to Sarpedon's by the Lycian's position in the causal chain of deaths of Sarpedon by Patroclus by Hector by Achilles. For Dictys, it is not so much that *thanatos* is the great leveller and unifier of victim and slayer and the means of conflating the various heroes into the Hero as that individuals become undifferentiated in the common face of death.

Dares also blends Sarpedon with Hector before transposing Hector's position with Troilus', but in Dares, for the first time, Troilus emerges as a living character rather than as a posthumous allusion. While Dictys mentions Troilus once and Hector thirteen times, Dares evens out

their appearances to seven times each: he obviously increases the importance of Troilus as he decreases Hector's significance.<sup>47</sup> In his list of character descriptions, he even begins to make Hector sound like Troilus:<sup>48</sup> Together the two descriptions detail the young lover, Troilus (and suggest Chaucer's Squire). But Dares does not concern himself with either Troilus or Hector as lover, just with them as warriors. When, after the three year truce, "Hector and Troilus led forth their army,"<sup>49</sup> Troilus has taken over the position of Dictys' Sarpedon as co-commander.<sup>50</sup> Dares also changes the incident of the firing of the Greek ships by reducing it to an urgent suggestion by Troilus<sup>51</sup> and eliminating the actual incident as well as both participants, Sarpedon and Hector. Dares replaces the action by having Troilus, not Sarpedon, actually lead the fight into the Greek camp, until he is stopped at the tents by Ajax<sup>52</sup> just as Hector is stopped by Ajax in his Greek-threatening battle after slaying Patrocles:<sup>53</sup> in both cases, they are defeating Achilles' own Myrmidons. Finally, having eliminated Sarpedon's position in the causal chain of deaths of Patrocles, Hector, and Troy itself, Dares has him killed after Hector's death<sup>54</sup> so that his death no longer has any connection to the deaths of Patrocles or Hector or to Achilles' *μῆνιν*. In place of Sarpedon's death, Troilus' and Hector's deaths are the ones prophesied, but Dares has both Troilus and Hector disregard the prophecies, both of which

occur in dreams. Because he has severed the direct intercourse between gods and men, the foretelling of death, like the Judgment of Paris, has been reduced from event to dream vision. After Paris' dream and Helenus' dire prophecy of the Fall of Troy,

Troilus, who though youngest of Priam's sons, equalled Hector in bravery, urged them to war and told them not to be frightened by Helenus' fearful words.<sup>55</sup>

Equal in bravery and in foolhardiness, Hector also disregards someone else's dream, that of Andromache. In this incident, Dares places Hector in the position of young boy like Troilus under the thumb of his father. When he disregards Andromache's warning, she sends a message to his father to stop him and Priam cuts him from the day's battle force; Hector blames Andromache bitterly and calls for his armor anyway, but Priam will not permit him to fight. Then, seeing the Trojans threatened, he disobeys, leaps into battle anyway, and goes to his death.<sup>56</sup>

Dares, like Dictys, keeps Troilus' and Hector's deaths parallel, but the pro-Trojan writer has them both die in honorable battle and has neither of their bodies despoiled or dragged by Achilles,<sup>57</sup> excising the humiliation. As in Chaucer but not in Homer, Dares' Hector dies before Troilus so that Troilus can take over his position and lead the Trojans. When, just after the death of Sarpedon, Menelaus gloats that the Trojans now have no one to replace Hector, "Diomedes and Ulysses answered that Troilus was the bravest

of men and the equal of Hector".<sup>58</sup> In the ensuing battles, Troilus routs even the Myrmidons<sup>59</sup> and acts for Hector as the leader of the Trojans. Along with Sarpedon, Dares' Troilus, whose death has been transposed to come after Hector's rather than at the very beginning of the war, effectively assumes Hector's persona as battle leader and Prince of Troy.

Benoît and Guido blend the two stories of Troilus' death to place Troilus in the later and more important position as Prince of Troy. They have Troilus perform Hector's feat of burning the ships and Sarpedon's of chasing the Greeks back to their camp. It is Dares who turns Troilus into a heroic actor; Benoît's, and therefore Guido's, contribution is the creation of the love affair which merges Troilus with Achilles.

Basing their stories on Dares, both Benoît and Guido have the figure of Troilus grow: as a warrior at the expense of the figures of Sarpedon, Achilles, and Hector, and as Prince of Troy as Hector declines in importance by dying before Troilus. Benoît creates his romance by spinning out the story of Dares to 30,300 lines, creating Troilus as the lover who replaces Achilles but adding little to Troilus' metamorphosis as Prince. The expansive Benoît gives lengthy descriptions of Hector and Troilus with Troilus' sounding like a source for Chaucer's Squire.

In his Latin prose paraphrase of Benoît, Guido more

succinctly describes Troilus a "a young man as courageous as possible in war, about whose valor there are many tales which the present history does not omit later on" (IV.64-65, Meek 43); his "Hector. . .was noble of purpose and of great courage, unconquerable in battle, a very bold fighter, and the wisest prince and leader in the command of the army" (15.138-140, Meek 127). Even before Hector's death in the eleventh of twenty battles, Benoît makes Troilus one of the leaders at the fourth battle (11128) and at the tenth (15375). Guido keeps Troilus second to Hector, raising him in importance as he grows in experience until, when the enraged Hector is 'grounded' by Priam at Andromache's request, Troilus leads the army (21:57-60, Meek 165). After Hector's death, Troilus assumes command (26.6-9, Meek 189) shortly before his own death. After Hector's death, Benoît's Troilus usurps not just the suggestion but the Homeric deed of Hector and sets fire to the Greek ships (18904ss) with Paris; and, Troilus, rather than Sarpedon, chases the Myrmidons even to their camp (26005). Guido also has Troilus fire the ships (25.63-78).

As Boccaccio does with Sarpedon's feast, Dictys and Dares turn the Homeric metaphor into actual event: Hector suggests firing the ships; he himself is like a flame. Like Homer's Sarpedon who scolds Hector and his Trojans and like Dares' Hector who reprimands the Trojans, Benoît's Troilus reproves Helenus (3988). Both Benoît and Guido keep Dares'

positioning of the death of Hector early enough for Troilus to take over his position. In fact, when Troilus becomes too much like Hector and defeats the lovesick Diomede, Benoît's Briseida transfers her affection to Diomede.<sup>60</sup> While Benoît eliminates Achilles' dragging and fouling of Hector's body and, "Mais, si com me recontre Daire" (16262), has it returned to Troy for lamentation and burial, he does have the Myrmidons surround Troilus for the slaughter and then has Achilles drag his body ("a la coe de son cheval/ Atache le cors del vassal" (21447-8)) until Memnon rescues it ("Fu li cors Troilus rescos (21509)). Guido, also, has Hector attack Troilus, after he is wounded and surrounded by Myrmidons, and kill him cowardly and cruelly; Achilles attacks the unhelmeted Troilus; he

cruelly cut off Troilus' head with his naked blade and cast the head among the feet of the horses, taking the body, however, with his own hands, he tied it firmly to the tail of his horse and dragged it shamefully through the whole army behind his horse (26.249-264, Meek 195-196).

Priam goes to Achilles not to beg but to demand the body, and Memnon rescues it by wounding Achilles (26294-26313). Guido berates Homer because Homer "said Achilles slaughtered by his own might two Hectors, that is, Hector and Troilus, his very brave brother" (26.265-269, Meek 196). By such close association of the two as warriors, the deeds of Hector become associated with Troilus.

Chaucer and Boccaccio replace Hector with Troilus as

the most significant Trojan in their tale. Boccaccio mentions Hector in passing only six times.<sup>61</sup> Chaucer makes more of Hector than does Boccaccio. He extends his speech of reassurance to Criseyde, showing more clearly his sense of honor and his compassion (I.110-126). When the Trojan parliament decides to exchange her for Antenor, Hector's impassioned defense of her ("we usen here no women for to selle" *TC* IV.170) disregards his own reputation: the people ask why he shields her and warns him, "O Ector, lat tho fantasies be," and he again shows his strong sense of honor (IV.176-216). Chaucer also augments Boccaccio's short announcement of Hector's death by his tense and sympathetic descriptions of Hector's being stalked by death and of Troilus' grief<sup>62</sup> (V.1448-1468). Chaucer, echoing Boccaccio, describes Troilus as "That next hym was of worthynesse welle" (V.1565). Chaucer ends his tale of Troilus with a comparison of the two brothers,<sup>63</sup> describing Troilus "As he that was with-uten any peere,/ Save Ector in his tyme as I kan heere" (V.1803-1804).<sup>64</sup> For Chaucer, Hector is the standard by which Troilus is measured as Prince of Troy, measured by himself, by the narrator, and by the audience, and ultimately found wanting.

### III. Sarpedon

Tatlock calls Sarpedon 'princely' along with Hector;<sup>65</sup>



Sarpedon's place in the metamorphosis of Troilus begins with the Lycian's place in the *City of God*; by mocking any belief in the Olympian gods and their exploits, Augustine eliminates their power and consequently Sarpedon's connection to Jove, to foreknowledge, and to necessity, and demotes him to earthly warrior and hero. Thus Augustine diminishes Sarpedon's place within the story of Troy and makes it possible to build the character of Troilus to fill the vacuum left by Sarpedon's absence. Augustine dissociates Sarpedon from his filial connection to pagan deity by revising his genealogy, by locating him as son of Europa without elaborating on the story of Troy, and by scoffing at any connection to Jove. In the *City of God*, he mentions him in the context of false gods<sup>66</sup> when Augustine "returns to the time of Abraham in order to show how the earthly city ran its course in time, parallel to that of the *City of God*"<sup>67</sup> and diminished by comparison. Augustine situates Sarpedon among the foolish men of pride<sup>68</sup> of this earthly city.<sup>69</sup> He associates Sarpedon with Jove only by a false tale; he makes no mention of the Lycian Sarpedon who was great-grandson to Europa and also the hero of Troy. For Augustine the antithesis of the *City of God*, Troy was the ultimate city of men of pride and of lust which fell because of its excesses.

Given his proclivity for digging metaphorical truth out from the sententia which he said existed below the littera,

Augustine's desire to deny and obliterate the pagan gods was strong enough for him not to exploit the *Iliad* in ways that would seem made for him. In fact, Sarpedon as son of Zeus who fights and dies to save his friends, whom his father, the chief among the gods, does not save from death, and who speaks of a feast with his friends before he goes forth to battle and to die would be so patristic and poetic a Christ figure that its absence invites questions about Augustine's response to Homer (and also to indicate that the medieval mythographers, at least, probably did not have access to the full text of Homer). Augustine was certainly aware of the story of Troy and of Rome's belief in its Trojan origins, but he is African and Christian, not Roman, grounded in Plato; reasoning like Plato in the *Timaeus*, he mocks the Graeco-Roman belief in pagan gods and in their foreknowing.<sup>70</sup> Why, he asks, would Apollo and Neptune have performed all that labor to build Troy if they knew Laomedon would refuse to pay them?<sup>71</sup> Since Augustine's purpose was to discredit rather than to glorify the pagan past, he apparently chose largely to ignore Sarpedon and the metaphors of Troy.

While Augustine clears away the Homeric Sarpedon, Dictys and Dares begin the process of creating Troilus by changing time sequences, conflating characters, and carving the character of Troilus from the three Homeric heroes he will largely replace. Like Augustine, Dictys strips

Sarpedon of any connection to Jove and therefore to fate but leaves him his heroic stature and his connection to Hector; both are powers feared by their enemies. Dictys does attempt to denigrate Sarpedon by indicating that Sarpedon's choice, when the Greeks tried to entice him to join them, was not one of loyalty but one of bribery.<sup>72</sup> Dictys quantifies loyalty and suggests that Sarpedon is a mercenary; he dismisses heroic motivation, his prosaic literalism leaving no space for metaphor.

Inconsistently, he then mentions Sarpedon as a son of Xanthus and Laodamia, summoned, not bribed, by Priam.<sup>73</sup> At this point, Dictys severs Sarpedon's connection to Jove, either by giving him a less important father in Xanthus or by avoiding the issue of deity neatly by situating him by the river Xanthus, also called Scamander, the river of Lycia and of Troy.<sup>74</sup> Yet, if he were son of the river god and brother to the wives of Tros and Laomedon, he would be doubly bound in ties of blood to help the Trojans, not just present as a result of bribes by Priam. The name Xanthus is doubly evocative because of its connection to the horse of Achilles<sup>75</sup> and suggests again Peleus and Thetis and the Judgement of Paris, as well as the sorrow of Zeus and the powers of prophecy: it is a remarkably fertile image, intentionally or not, and an interesting choice for Dictys as well as an interesting possible reference for Chaucer.

Beginning the process of blending the heroes into one

Hero, Dictys links Sarpedon with Hector as the outstanding Trojan co-leaders in the assault when the Greeks are busy burning their corpses from the plague.<sup>76</sup> First Hector and Sarpedon are connected; next Troilus assumes the position and deeds of Hector; then Sarpedon holds among the allies who rush out to battle the position of eminence which Troilus will assume. Dictys lessens the importance of Sarpedon in another way by comparing him closely with Glaucus whose heroic virtues are the Homeric wisdom and strength. Glaucus and Sarpedon fight together and are both wounded twice. The second time, Dictys identifies Glaucus by his father's name, the usual way, but the name of Sarpedon's father is left unsaid, as if to dissociate him.<sup>77</sup> Until Sarpedon's death, Dictys' mentions of him are cursory.

As are the deaths of Achilles, Hector, and Troilus, the death of Sarpedon is centrally important to the development of the story of Troy into the story of Troilus.<sup>78</sup> Narrating as a Greek soldier, Dictys shows the interest in the detail of battle and the vivid battle description that lead him to develop the heroic warrior who will eventually become Chaucer's Troilus. Dictys' description of Sarpedon's death in battle with Patroclus underscores Sarpedon's part in the fall of Troy because his death clearly incites Hector to kill Patroclus. When they realize that Sarpedon has died, the Trojans are devastated by his death<sup>79</sup> and lose their will to fight; they flee the ground, leaving his body.

Sarpedon functions as a model of will: without him, the Trojans, like Chaucer's Troilus, are paralyzed and unable to act. Hector comes to shore them up and urge them on again;<sup>80</sup> Hector and Sarpedon exhibit the will that Chaucer's Troilus lacks. Eliminating both the general struggle for his body and the general honor for his funeral,<sup>81</sup> extraordinary honor in Homer, Dictys has all of Troy full of sorrow and fear for themselves, not for Sarpedon, when they lose him because he is the Hector-like bulwark of Ilium.<sup>82</sup> After the death of the final hero, Memnon, the Trojans give in to despair over their inevitable defeat.<sup>83</sup> Dictys clearly and literally joins their realization of their fate to their loss of Sarpedon.

Therefore, Dictys' account is transitional in the development of Chaucer's Troilus. His Sarpedon, though diminished from the Homeric, remains a great hero and great warrior; Dictys discretely omits his descent from Jove and connects him to the richly ambiguous Xanthus, links him closely to Hector in power and might as leader and hope of Ilium; Sarpedon's loss, along with Hector's, causes the fall of Troy. Dictys does not mention his feast. Leaving him his power and his military importance to Troy, the Greek soldier narrator has otherwise stripped him of symbolic relevance. Dictys' tale renders the Troy story pedestrian and anti-Homeric: written in prose, chronicle in form, pseudo-historical in tone, and omitting all interaction with

gods, all metaphorical significance, all poetry. Adding some detail, expanding upon dishonorable activities of various Trojans, and generally presenting a flatter and less inspirational tale, this ordinary soldier's perspective strips Homer of his poetry. The heroes tend to be ambushed rather than to die in glorious battle: Achilles and Hector, as well as Troilus and Sarpedon are crippled from behind. Death in battle is shown realistically rather than with Homer's sense of glory, both gods and war being stripped of any aura of romance, leaving his successors only human love as a topic for romance. Dictys' is a soldier's account, not a poet's.

In Dictys, Patroclus kills Sarpedon, son of Xanthus, not son of Jove, and eliminates any effluvia of grieving god, fate, foreknowledge, necessity, or free will. Dictys completely demystifies the fall of Ilium; instead of projecting internal states externally upon gods, he concentrates on the explication of internal feelings.<sup>84</sup>

In Dares,<sup>85</sup> Sarpedon, along with Hector, diminishes in importance, both their deeds absorbed into Troilus'. From Homer's and Dictys' eulogies, Dares first describes the deeds of a living Troilus. Dares' treatment of Sarpedon is paradigmatic of the restructuring of the Homeric tale and its reemergence as medieval romance.

By scrambling the Homeric time sequence of Hector's and Troilus' deaths, Dares eliminates the whole causal paradigm

with Sarpedon at its center, that series of little falls which brings about the large fall of Troy. He introduces Sarpedon into the action<sup>86</sup> after the truce which follows Hector's death,<sup>87</sup> already eliminating from Dictys' tale Sarpedon's central role in Achilles' slaughter of Hector. Reduced here from a great captain of inspirational speeches and inspirational courage to a pedestrian battle leader, Sarpedon, along with the tale, is further demystified by his death at the hands of Palamedes instead of Patroclus.<sup>88</sup> Most noticeably here, the machinery of the gods has disappeared, and the workings of fate are expunged along with the temporal and causal sequence of deaths. Gone also is the grief of the father (Priam's later reflecting Jove's) and its attendant dilemma with fate. And gone, too, is the power and poignancy of the struggle over the body of Sarpedon and of the hero's funeral.<sup>89</sup> Instead, Dares develops the character Troilus as a substitution both for Hector and for Sarpedon. Dares' Sarpedon also does not speak or give any feast; so far in the history of the tale, the feast exists only in Homer's metaphor.

By the twelfth century, Benoît de Sainte-Maure has invented the fully developed love story of Troilus and reduced Sarpedon to another of the valiant knights fighting for Troy. Benoît follows Dictys and Dares in dropping Sarpedon's connection to foreknowledge and necessity and retaining him as a model of the freely acting warrior.

Having lost his connection to Jove and therefore to Homeric necessity, Benoît's Sarpedon still does retain some aura of knightly power: he is still King of Lycia and ally of Priam (18819); he is "rei Sarpedon le vaillant" (455). Benoît introduces him as Glaucus' son when he lists the allies of Priam,<sup>90</sup> demoting him even further from any connection to the gods but retaining his importance as warrior. Like Dares, Benoît severs the connection between Sarpedon and the Judgment of Paris, which, for Benoît as for Dares, is a dream,<sup>91</sup> and the gods and goddesses are dream fantasies rather than physical anthropomorphic entities.<sup>92</sup> For Benoît, the dream takes place by the requisite fountain, and Paris refers to the "calendes de mai" (3860) as the time of this dream, the time picked up by Chaucer for Troilus' fall into love with Criseyde. Troilus' military importance grows as Sarpedon's wanes: the Homeric Sarpedon's role is lessened and Troilus' increased by Benoît.

Guido delle Colonne's redaction in Latin of Benoît's *Roman de Troie*, as the major source for Chaucer of the story of Troilus, and to a large extent, of Troy, adds very little that alters the transition of the Homeric heroes into Troilus.<sup>93</sup> Like Benoît, he eliminates Sarpedon from Paris' dream.<sup>94</sup> Paris, who wants Priam to authorize him to go steal a Greek woman to trade for Priam's captured sister Hesione, narrates his dream which contains no mention of Jove or of the goddess Discord, no connection with the



marriage feast, no Peleus, Thetis, or Achilles, no Sarpedon or sequence of killings which topple Troy. Most of the verbs used are passive. With the transformation of the Judgment of Paris into medieval dream vision, Guido's diminished Sarpedon has no metaphorical feast and no connection with Jove. Accordingly, he introduces Sarpedon as son of King Glaucou, rather than as cousin of Glaucus.<sup>95</sup> Not constrained by the limits of consistency,<sup>96</sup> Guido later has Glaucou not king but son of the king; Guido either reverses himself and makes Sarpedon king and father, or makes this Glaucou an ambitious younger prince, but in either case eliminates Sarpedon entirely from the battle order.<sup>97</sup>

When he has Achilles send Patroclus to fight in his place because he is remaining in his tent taking care of his wounds (XV.160, Meek 127), Guido makes no mention of Achilles' mourning for the loss of Briseus, like Benoît, transferring it here to Troilus as he transferred the deeds of Sarpedon and Hector. Also like Benoît, Guido turns Sarpedon into a medieval knight: the fourth battle encompasses jousts between equally favored knights.<sup>98</sup> By the eighth battle, in which Guido has Hector fall, Troilus, not Sarpedon, leads the troops and Sarpedon is his subordinate.<sup>99</sup> And now it is Troilus, instead of Hector or Sarpedon, who leads the raid on the Greek ships (XXV). The great Homeric battle between Sarpedon and Tlepolemus son of

Heracles, Guido changes to a melee in which Deiphobus, Neoptolemus, Menelaus, the King of Persia, and the Duke of Athens fight. Tlepolemus has become Neoptolemus as Sarpedon's adversary, Tlepolemus son of Heracles changing to Neoptolemus son of Achilles through confusion of names. Sarpedon kills Neoptolemus,<sup>100</sup> whom neither Achilles nor Guido recognizes as Achilles' son, for he eventually reappears under his other name, Pyrrhus, to sacrifice Polyxena at Achilles' tomb. Guido makes the Trojan grief over Sarpedon an afterthought to their grief for Deiphobus, in Homer the next husband of Helen but here a casualty before Paris.<sup>101</sup> There is no apotheosis of Sarpedon's body, no grieving Zeus, no interaction between heaven and earth, no philosophy, no poetry, no sense of fate in necessity. Epic and tragedy have become romantic soap opera, a trite echo of its Homeric past. To this source, and to the Homeric source, comes Boccaccio. With him, the two strains of the Troy story begin to merge together. Following him, Chaucer combines the romance with the poetry, metaphor, and thought of the Homeric model.

Boccaccio's *Filostrato* is the acknowledged predecessor of Chaucer's *Troilus and Criseyde*, but Boccaccio had the *Iliad* translated for him by a man named Pilatus, and Boccaccio also wrote the *Genealogie Deorum Gentilium Libri* in which he refers both in Latin and in Greek to the *Iliad*.<sup>102</sup> In the *Filostrato*, Boccaccio adopts and

elaborates the romance found in Benoît but says very little about Troy, its people, or its war.<sup>103</sup> What he does say follows the *Iliad* rather than Benoît or Dares before him. Hector is once again firmly in charge<sup>104</sup> and the Greeks are besieging Troy, not the Trojans the Greeks. During the ensuing battle, which foreshadows the grief of Troilus and the end of Troy, several men are captured, including Antenor and Sarpedon,<sup>105</sup> but Boccaccio describes the capture<sup>106</sup> only to situate the exchange of Antenor for Criseida and to hint at the coming woe. For the same reason, Boccaccio develops the story of Calchas, his treason to the Trojans, his closeness to the Greeks, and his manipulation of the exchange to regain his daughter.<sup>107</sup> Sarpedon is introduced in Boccaccio exactly at the places Chaucer uses him, at the prisoner exchange and later at his feast when again his story involves the lovers.<sup>108</sup> After Criseida is exchanged, Troilo returns to Troy, weeps first alone and then with Pandaro, through whose counsel they go to spend with Sarpedon the days until she is to return.<sup>109</sup> Troilo knows that nothing can distract him, so Pandaro suggests they go visit someone. It is Troilo who thinks of Sarpedon, the warrior who is not in thrall to a woman and who represents all the glory of the warrior state which Troilo, weakened and sorrowing for his love, has lost.<sup>110</sup> Together, they go to Sarpedon, but Troilo can barely manage to stay there for five days.<sup>111</sup> Troilo is too consumed with his love and his

loss; he does not belong at the warrior's feast.<sup>112</sup> Yet, when Sarpedon welcomes them joyfully and lovingly, even Troilo responds to Sarpedon's magnetism.<sup>113</sup> Boccaccio's Sarpedon is noblest of his peers and peerless in his feasting and his largesse.<sup>114</sup> Boccaccio emphasizes the feast which he has taken from Sarpedon's metaphor in the *Iliad* and which has not appeared since Homer in any of the references or commentators. But to the lovesick Troilo, the feasts are still meaningless.<sup>115</sup> He goes where the desire of his thoughts lead him, to Criesida. Like Chretien's Erec, he chooses love over his duty as warrior and as prince. His choice stands in direct contrast to Sarpedon's, the Lycian king who left wife and child to fight for Troy. Boccaccio gives only glimpses of the Lycian king, but they are hints of what Troilo would have been and what Dares transposed from the character of Sarpedon to the creation of his war-like and philosophical Troilus;<sup>116</sup> Boccaccio apparently returned the warrior status to Sarpedon by his emphasis, and for the first time since Homer, connected him directly to the idea of a feast. Chaucer inherited this Sarpedon and this Troilus directly from Boccaccio.<sup>117</sup> He never mentions Sarpedon's father as Jupiter, but he insists on the name of Sarpedon and adds the references to the Olympian gods and the epic theme of fate. Clearly, Chaucer draws on sources other than the romances to craft his *Troilus*. Chapter One has shown that Chaucer had access to

the classical sources which show Sarpedon's identification with the Olympian gods, with human mortality, and with the themes of fate and strong free will.

## Notes

<sup>1</sup> "Antiquity and Beyond: The Death of Troilus," Boitani 1-19.

<sup>2</sup> "In his commentary on the . . . *Aeneid*, Servius maintains that 'the truth of the story' is that Achilles loved Troilus and presented him with doves. Troilus wanted to keep them, was taken by Achilles, and 'in eius amplexibus perit--perished in his embraces' (Servius, *Aeneid* 1.474)). Virgil, adds Servius, changed this story because it was unworthy of heroic poetry. . . . Figurative evidence indicates that the erotic link between Achilles and Troilus may have been a very ancient and widespread tradition, above all in the West" (Boitani, *Eur. Trag.* 16-17).

Note that the love of Achilles for Troilus exists in Western tradition in addition to the Achilles-Patroclus tale of Homer.

<sup>3</sup> K. S. Kiernan, "Hector the Second: the Lost Face of Troilusatus," *A.M.* 16 (1975) 52-62.

<sup>4</sup> Boitani says that the "Classical end of Troilus is ritual murder and ritual emasculation. Troilus and Troy are neutralized forever. Our sense of an ending is indeed satisfied" (*Eur. Trag.* 16-17). See also N. E. Griffin, "Unhomeroc Elements in the Story of Troy," *Journal of English and German Philology* 7 (1907-08): 32-52, 45.

<sup>5</sup> C. David Benson, *Chaucer's Troilus and Criseyde* (London: Unwin Hyman, 1990) 81.

<sup>6</sup> Sanford B. Meech, *Design in Chaucer's Troilus* (Syracuse: Syracuse UP, 1959) 105-06, 201-02.

<sup>7</sup> Piero Boitani, *English Medieval Narrative in the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries*, tr. Joan Krakover Hall (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1986) 196.

<sup>8</sup> Katherine Callen King, *Achilles: Paradigms of the War Hero from Homer to the Middle Ages* (Berkeley: U of California P, 1987).

<sup>9</sup> Gregory Nagy, *The Best of the Achaeans* (Baltimore and London: Johns Hopkins UP, 1979).

<sup>10</sup> Derek Brewer cites the ninth century First Vatican Mythographer's comment that Troy would not be destroyed if Troilus reached the age of twenty. (*Tradition and Innovation in Chaucer* [London: Macmillan, 1982] 81).

<sup>11</sup> Wimsatt thinks that "Troilus's emotionalism and sensitivity find their origins in Machaut's lovers and also that the characterization of Pandarus has roots in French works (James I. Wimsatt, *Chaucer and His French Contemporaries: Natural Music in the Fourteenth Century* [Toronto: U of Toronto P, 1991] 154). But Chaucer's characters are so human that they appear to be rooted in whatever sources the particular critics examine and to open new understanding with the accumulation of each possibility.

<sup>12</sup> Cf. Georges Duby, *Le chevalier, la femme et le pretre* (Paris: 1981) 242-44 in King 231.

<sup>13</sup> See *The Trojan War: The Chronicles of Dictys of Crete and Dares the Phrygian*, tr. R. M. Frazer (Bloomington and London: Indiana UP, 1966). Two suspect but highly influential texts, those of Dictys and Dares, relate the story of Troy from the Greek and from the Trojan sides. Dictys of Crete claimed to have fought with Ideomeneus of Crete all throughout the war. According to a letter attached to the text, and also to a preface, the original Phoenician text was translated into Greek and presented to Nero by Praxis in the first century A.D. The letter writer, one Lucius Septimius, claims to have translated it freely into Latin, condensing the last four books, which deal with the homeward journey of the Greeks, into one book for a total of six. The extent text, dated from the fourth century, is highly partisan to the Greeks and also suspiciously medieval. Although there are no Christian elements, all machinery of gods has been expunged, characters have been trivialized by the author's comments on their feelings and motivations, and women are written off, with clerical insouciance, as prizes of battle or as nuisances. The author comments on Penthesilia, Queen of the Amazons, wounded by Achilles:

admirarique audaciam . . . quoniam naturae  
sexusque condicionem superare ausa esset . . .  
ad postremum ipsa spectaculum dignum  
moribus suis praevit. (IV.3, Eisenhut 82-83)

[we marvelled at her brazen boldness . . .  
she had transgressed the bounds of nature  
and her sex . . . she died in a way that  
befitted her foolhardy character  
{i.e. Diomedes threw her into the Scamander river}].  
(Dictys IV.3, Frazer 88)

Frazer claims that the Middle Ages based the Troy story on the ostensibly historical Dictys and Dares, not on Homer, and as proof says that the story of Polyxena is in Dictys and Dares but not in Homer. However, Polyxena's tale is

part of the precis of the story of the *Iliad* found in the Second Vatican Mythographer's tale of Peleus and Thetis, so it does exist in the medieval classical tradition as well as in the romances. According to Frazer, the Greek texts of Dictys and Dares "were . . . during the early middle ages translated, more or less completely, into Latin." Yet he then states that "in Western Europe, the knowledge of Greek, and therefore of Homer died out" (Frazer 7). He does not appear to be aware of any contradiction, nor does he give the source of the medieval translation from Greek. The twelfth century Benoit de Sainte-Maure based his *Roman de Troie* upon Dictys and Dares, particularly upon the pro-Trojan Dares who subsequently became the medieval authority.

<sup>14</sup> According to Allen, Dictys differs from the epic account in the elimination of the divine and in the introduction of the romantic feminine interest which Dictys adopts up from the non-Homeric Trojan cycle that coexisted with Homer (Thomas W. Allen, *Homer: The Origins and the Transmission* [Oxford: Clarendon P, 1924] 151, 169).

<sup>15</sup> Dictys transfers Achilles' stubborn refusal to fight to Agamemnon (I.31) who, instead of Achilles, is taunted for his love for a captive girl whom he prefers to the Greek cause (29).

<sup>16</sup> Dictys says that Patrocles is happy to discover that Hippodamia has not been violated by Agamemnon (II.49).

<sup>17</sup> Achilles first sees Polyxena early in the story when she is praying with Cassandra and Hecuba at the altar of Apollo (III.2). Dictys here is closer to Chaucer's tale of Troilus' first sight of Criseyde in the temple than to accounts in which Achilles sees Polyxena after Hector's death, at a point closer to the end of the tale.

<sup>18</sup> Achilles goes to Hector to plead for Polyxena (III.2). Hector promises him Polyxena if Achilles will betray the Greek army to Hector (III.2). Achilles agrees to end the war. Hector asks Achilles to give his oath or to kill the sons of Ajax and Plisthenes. Achilles becomes enraged at Hector and says he will kill him (III.2). Thus Dictys eliminates the sequence of Briseis' loss and Patrocles' death as the cause for Achilles' *μῆτις* and replaces it by this anger over Polyxena.

<sup>19</sup> "The tragic story of Priam's young son, Troilus, was also a favorite with the Greek vase painters" (Arthur M. Young, *Troy and Her Legend* [Pittsburg: University of Pittsburg Press, 1948] 98). Young also observes that there are records of many tapestries from before 1500 with scenes from Troy (119-20). see also R. N. Havelly, ed. and tr. *Chaucer's Boccaccio* (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 1980) 164.



20 Cf. Boitani 11-15; Apollodorus, *The Epitome* III.31-33; also, Proclus in *Epicorum Graecorum Fragmenta*, ed. G. Kinkel (20); Scholiast on Homer II.xxiv (257); Eustathius on Homer, II.xxiv, 251 (1348); Dio Chrysostom, *OR*, xi, vol. i (189), ed. L. Dindorf; Tzetzes, *Schol. on Sycophon* (307-13); Vergil, *Aen.*, i, 474ff; Servius, on Vergil, *Aen.* 1.474; First Vatican Mythographer, (210). Apollodorus. *The Library*, tr. James George Frazer. 2 vols. (Cambridge: Harvard UP, 1967) 203.

21 All through the Troy tradition, "the constant feature of Troilus' figure is his death at the hands of Achilles. . . . The Boccaccio of the *Filostrato* and the Chaucer of *Troilus and Criseyde*, who prefer the new theme of Troilus' love, cannot eliminate his death from their stories, and with supreme tragic irony show the connection between it and Achilles' wrath by inverting the sequence. The stanzas devoted by both authors to the hero's death begin with Troilus' wrath, only to end with Achilles' slaughter of his opponent, matter of fact and 'wretched' in Boccaccio, 'despitiuous' in Chaucer" (Boitani, *Eur. Trag.* 3).

22 For a discussion of eros and thanatos, see Boitani, *Eur. Trag.* 18-19; see also King 110-217.

23 Dares 12, Frazer 143.

"Troilum magnum pulcherrimum pro aetate valentem fortem cupidum virtutis" (Daretis XII, Meister 15).

24 Dares 13, Frazer 144

Achillem pectorosum ore venusto membris valentibus et magnis iubatam bene crispatum clementem in armis acerrimum vultu hilari largum dapsilem capillo myrteo (Daretis Phrygii: *De Excidio Historia*. recensiet Ferdinandus Meister [Lipsiae: In Aedibus B.G. Teubner, MDCCCLXXIII] XIII) 16.

25 "Lumiansky's comparison of priests' roles--in Benoit, Guido, Boccaccio, an Chaucer concludes that Calchas --important in two Troy stories--is kept in the romances only because of his connection with the love story . . . [where he] serves as the primary device for linking the Troilus story with the tale of Troy" (R. M. Lumiansky, "Calchas in the Early Versions of the Troilus Story," *Tulane Studies in English* 4 (1954): 20, cited in Stanley B. Greenfield, "The Role of Calchas in *Troilus and Criseyde*," *Medium Aevum* 36 (1967):141).

26 In Homer, both Achilles and Sarpedon share a foreordained fate of death. Forgetting about Sarpedon, King observes that Achilles is the only person in the *Iliad* to receive this adjective [short-lived, swift doomed] and it is

given to him by his mother who, because she is a goddess, is privy to knowledge that her son will die young" (King 5).

27 Hector is compared with Apollo and Athena as part of the human pair, Hector and Achilles, who represent the ritual antagonists of Troy, Apollo and Athena (Nagy 144-49).

28 Dares 27, Frazer 154-55.

Quibus obuius fit Achilles: Polyzenam contemplatur, figit animum, amare vehementer eam coepit. tunc ardore compulsus odiosam in amore vitam consumit et agere ferebat ademptum imperium Agamemnoni sibique Palamedem praepositum. (Daretis Phrygii XXVII.3-6, Meister 33)

29 Dares 27, Frazer 155.

Priamus respondet fieri non posse, non ideo, quod eum indignum adfinitate existimet, sed si ei dederit et ipse discesserit ceteros non discessuros et iniquum esse filiam, suam hosti coniungere. quapropter si id fieri velit, pas perpetua fiat, et exercitus discedat, foedus iure sanciat: si id factum sit, se illi filiam libenter daturum. (Daretis Phrygii XXVII.17-23, Meister 33)

30 Briseidam formosam non alta statura candidam capillo flavo et molli superciliis iunctis oculis venustis corpore aequali blandam affabilem verecundam animo simplici piam. (Daretis Phrygii XIII, Meister 17)

[Briseis was beautiful. She was small and blond, with soft yellow hair. Her eyebrows were joined above her lovely eyes. Her body was well-proportioned. She was charming, friendly, modest, ingenuous, and pious] (Dares 13, Frazer 144-45).

31 In Benoît de Sainte-Maure, *Le Roman de Troie*, par Leopold Constans (Paris: Librairie de Firmin Didot, 1904), the daughter of Chryses remains Astinome: "Astinomen, fille Crises" (26869) as in Dares; Brises is still the king, killed by Achilles, whose daughter is "La tres bele Ypodamia" (26899).

32 "In Benoît, . . . the Troilus and Briseda episodes become less a story than a lesson in the vices of women, in particular their inconstancy" (Gretchen Mieszkowski, "R. K. Gordon and the *Troilus and Criseyde Story*," *Chaucer Review* 15 (1980) 132).

33 "Narcissus por amer mori, / E jo regerai autresi" (17709-10).

34 Antonelli finds no source for the figure of Briseis: "the figure of Briseis-Cressida, the lover of Troilus, is

unknown in classical and medieval literature." Apparently, he does not consider the Homeric Briseis or the daughter of Chryses to be her forerunner. Antonelli clarifies his position a bit by adding that "the figure of Troilus as a modern character capable of surviving to the present was born together with Briseis: without Briseis Troilus would not exist." It is assumed that he means his statements in the context of the love story. Antonelli considers Briseis' importance that of a "negative exemplum" (Roberto Antonelli, "The Birth of Criseyde - an Exemplary Triangle: 'Classical' Troilus and the Question of Love at the Anglo-Norman Court," in Boitani, *Eur. Trag.* 21-22).

<sup>35</sup> Howard Clark, *Homer's Readers* (Newark: U of Delaware P, 1981) 36.

<sup>36</sup> Benoît strips the tale of most of its connection to fate and necessity. "Benoît does not burden his readers with reflections on their lot. He treats us to an occasional glance at Luck or Fate or Destiny, which, for example, kept Hector from living long enough to destroy the Greeks, and he tells us that God will punish the Greeks for taking Briseida from Troilus (13312-16), but it never quite happens" (Clarke 40-41).

<sup>37</sup> "Achilles and Troilus are the exempla of the knightly virtues destroyed by the power of love" (Antonelli 36).

<sup>38</sup> Lumiansky does not agree. He thinks scholars do not take sufficient "account of the facts that Guido destroys the unity and consistency which this love story possesses within Benoît's poem, and that he significantly reduces Benoît's account of the love story by barely outlining Benoît's detailed material concerning Diomedes' wooing of Briseida" (R. M. Lumiansky, "The Story of Troilus and Briseida according to Benoît and Guido," *Speculum* 29 (1954) 727-28). Root, however, considers the two "so nearly identical . . . in their substance that in a majority of cases it is impossible to assert with confidence that Boccaccio, or Chaucer, is following the one rather than the other" (Robert Kilburn Root, *The Textual Tradition of Chaucer's Troilus* [London: Oxford UP, 1916] xxv).

<sup>39</sup> See Guido 23:115-18 in Meek 176.

Sagitta cupidinis fortem Achillem subity  
uulnerauit et ad interiora pertransiens cordis eius  
ipsum multo ardore amoris obsessum bachari coegit.  
(Liber XXIII, Griffin 184)

<sup>40</sup> Guido 13, Meeks 178.

Et conversus ad parietem funditor totus furtius in  
lacrimis ne aliques percipiat suos dolorem. Et demum

suas lacrimas astringendo eas in suspiria crebra commutat. (Guido XXIII, Griffin 185)

41 Chaucer plays here with the biblical reference to the spear of Longinus which pierces the side of Christ at the Crucifixion to fulfill the Messianic prophecy. According to tradition, Longinus' spear, carried to England by Joseph of Arimathea, becomes the Arthurian lance of the Grail mystery. In a stained-glass window, in a group including panels by Tiffany, in the church of St. Gabriel in New Rochelle, New York, Longinus is shown in the Crucifixion window in medieval armor and carrying a lance which has a pennant on which is drawn the Grail.

42 G. T. Shepherd, "Troilus and Criseyde," *Chaucer and Chaucerians: Critical Studies in Middle English Literature*, ed. D. S. Brewer (London, 1966) 69.

43 Capti etiam Lycaon et Troilus Priamidae, quos in medium productos Achilles iugulari iubet indignatus nondum sibi a Priamo super his, quae secum tractaverat, mandatum. quae ubi animadvertere Troiani, tollunt gemitus et clamore lugubri Troili casum miserandum in modum deflent recordati aetatem eius admodum immaturam, qui in primis pueritiae annis cum verecundia as probitate, tum praecipuae forma corporis amabilis atque acceptus popularibus adolescebat.

Deinde transactis paucis diebus solemne Thymbraei Apollonis incessit. (Dictys IV.9-10, Eisenhut 88)

[And two of Priam's sons were captured, Lycaon and Troilus, the throats of whom, when they had been brought forth into the center, were cut, by order of Achilles, who was angry with Priam for not having seen to that business [Polyxena] they had discussed. The Trojans raised a cry of grief and, mourning loudly, bewailed the fact that Troilus had met so grievous a death, for they remembered how young he was, who, being in the early years of his manhood, was the people's favorite, their darling, not only because of his modesty and honesty, but more especially because of his handsome appearance.

After a few days, the religious festival of the Thymbraean Apollo began.] (Dictys 4.9-10, Frazer 92-93)

44 Ac dein per campos exercitu bipertito Troianis Hector, Sarpedon auxiliaribus duces facti . . . . praecellentibus in ea pugna barbarorum Hectore et Sarpedone. (Dictys II.32, Eisenhut 44-45)

[Their forces were arranged in the plain in two divisions: Hector was leading the Trojans, Sarpedon the allies. . . . Hector and Sarpedon were the out-standing

leaders among the barbarians.] (Dictys II.32, Frazer 56-57)

Note that Dares uses the classic epithet of barbarian to indicate anyone who is not Greek. Cf. Xenophon's *Anabasis, Beginning Greek*, ed. Stephen W. Paine (New York: Oxford UP, 1961) 246-66.

45 Mox conversam suorum aciem pro tempore restituit increpatis ducibus ac plerisque ex fuga reductis. ita praesentia eius animi tolluntur et proelium incenditur. (Dictys III.8, Eisenhut 66)

46 Dictys III.8, Frazer 75.  
Cum hinc Sarpedonis interitus, inde secuta paulo post Hectoris clades spes reliquas animis obstulissent. (IV.8, Eisenhut 88)

47 Griffin notes the interchange of the two. "In Dares Troilus, mentioned by Homer (*Iliad* IV.257) merely as the young prince whose untimely death forms the subject of a lament by the aging Priam, becomes a leading champion of the Trojans and is expressly described (VII) as "no less valiant than his brother Hector" (Griffin, "Unhomerics Elements" 45). See also, Boitani, *Eur. Trag.* 1.

48 Hectorem blaesum candidum crispum strabum pernicibus membris vultu venerabilii barbatum decentem bellicosum animo magno in civibus clementem dignum amore aptum. (Daretis Phrygii XII, Meister 15)

[Hector spoke with a slight lisp. His complexion was fair, his hair curly. His eyes would blink attractively. His face, with its beard, was noble. He was handsome, fierce, and high spirited, merciful to the citizens, and deserving of love.] (Dares 12, Frazer 143)

Troilum magnum pulcherrimum pro aetate valentem fortem cupidum virtutis. (Daretis Phrygii XII, Meister 15)

[Troilus, a large and handsome boy, was large for his age, brave, and eager for glory.] (Dares 12, Frazer 143)

49 Dares 23, Frazer 151.  
Tempus pugnae post triennium supervenit. Hector et Troilus exercitum educunt. (Daretis Phrygii XXIII.6-7, Meister 28)

50 By making only Hector commander-in-chief and Deiphobus, Alexander, Troilus, and Memnon second-in-command,

Dares' Priam demotes Sarpedon and the other allies to third place under his Trojans.

51 Priamus consilium cogit, indicat Argivorum desideria. Troilus negat debere dari tam longo tempore indutias, sed pot impressionem fieri, naves incendi. (Daretis Phrygii XXXI, Meister 37)

[Priam, having called a meeting of his council, reported the desires of the Greeks [for a truce]. Troilus felt that they were asking for too long a truce; he urged the Trojans to continue fighting and fire the ships.] (Dares 31, Frazer 158)

52 Dares 32, Frazer 158.

Troilus in prima acie Argivos caedit, Myrmidones fugat, impressionem usque in castra facit, multos occidit, plurimos sauciat. Aias Telamonius obstetit. (Daretis Phrygii XXXII.8-11, Meister 38)

53 Dares 19, Frazer 149.

Hector Patrolem occidit et spoliare parat. Meriones eum ex acie, ne expoliaretur, eripuit. Hector Merionem persequitur et occidit. quem cum similiter spoliare vellet, advenit subpetia Menestheus, Hectori femur sauciat, saucius quoque multa milia occidit et perseverasset Achivos in fugam mittere, nisi obvis illi Ajax Telamonius fuisset. (Daretis Phrygii XIX.19-i, Meister 24-25)

54 Dares 26, Frazer 154.

Sarpedon quoque vulneratus de proelio recedit. itaque per aliquot dies proelia fiunt, ex utraque parte multi ductores occiduntur sed plures a Priamo. (Daretis Phrygii XXVI.3-6, Meister 32)

55 Dares 7, Frazer 139.

Troilus minimus natu non minus fortis quam Hector bellum geri suadebat et non debere terreri metu verborum Heleni. (Daretis Phrygii VII.19-21, Meister 9)

56 Dares 24, Frazer 152.

At ubi tempus pugnae supervenit, Andromacha uxor Hectoris in somnis vidit Hectorem non debere in pugnam procedere: et cum ad eum visum referret, Hector muliebria verba abicit. Andromacha maesta misit ad Priamum, ut ille prohiberet, ne ea die pugnaret. Priamus Alexandrum Helenum Troilum et Aenean in pugnam misit. Hector ut ista audivit, multa increpans Andromacham arma ut proferret poposcit nec retineri ullo modo potuit. maesta Andromacha summissis capillis Astyanactem filium protendens ante pedes Hectoris eum revocare non potuit. tunc planctu femineo oppidum

concitat, ad Priamum in regiam currit, refert quae in somnis viderit velle Hectorem ueloci saltu in pugnam ire, proiectoque ad genus Astyanacte filio suo eum revocare mandat. Priamus omnes in pugnam deprodire iussit, Hectorem retinuit. Agamemnon Achilles Diomedes Ajax Locrus ut uderunt Hectorem in pugna non esse, acriter pugnaverunt multosque duces de Troianorum numero occiderunt. Hector ut audivit tumultum Troianosque in bello saeve laborare, prosiluit in pugnam. statimque Idomeneum obruncavit, Iphinoum sauciavit, Leonteum occidit, Stheneli femur iaculo figit. Achilles ut respexit multos duces eius dextera cecidisse, animum in cum dirigebat, ut illi obvium fleret. considerabat enim Achilles nisi Hectorem occideret plures de Graecorum numero eius dextera perituros. proelium interea conluditur. Hector Polypoetem ducem fortissimum occidit dumque eum spoliare coepit, Achilles supervenit. fit pugna maior, clamor ab oppido et a toto exercitu surgit. Hector Achillis femur sauciavit. Achilles dolore accepto magis eum persequi coepit nec destuit, nisi eum occideret. . . . noctu Troiani Hectorem lamentantur. (Daretis Phrygii XXIV, Meister 29-30)

57 Dares 33, Frazer 159 (Troilus). Note that Hector's death precedes Troilus' Also, Achilles is wounded by Troilus, kills him when his horse falls, and then attempts to drag off his body as Homer's Achilles dragged Hector's, but is stopped by Memnon. "Achilles de proelio saucius tedit . . . . equus vulneratus corruit, Troilum implicitum excutit. Eum cito Achilles adveniens occidit, es proelio trahere coepit, quod Achilles interventu Memnonis complere non potuit. adveniens enim Memnon et Troili corpus eripuit." Priam and Agamemnon declare a truce and Troilus is buried: "postera die a Priamo legati ad Agamemnon missi sunt qui dierum XX indutias peterent, quod continuo Agamemnon concedit. Priamus igitur Troilum Memnonemque magnifico funere effert" (Daretis Phrygii XXXIII, Meister 39).

Dares 24, Frazer 153 (Hector). See above.

58 Dares 30, Frazer 157.

Commemorare coepit Troianos non habere alium virum tam fortem sicut Hector fuit. Diomedes et ulixes dicere coeperunt Troilum non minus quam Hectorem virum fortissimum esse. (Daretis Phrygii XXX, Meister 36)

59 Dares 32, Frazer 159.

Troilus in prima acie Argivos caedit, Myrmidones fugat, impressionem usque in castra facit, multos occidit, plurimos sauciat. Ajax Telemonius obstitit. Troiani victores in oppidum revertuntur . . . . Troilus myrmidones persequitur sternit fugat . . . . prodit in

primo Troilus caedit prosternit." (Daretis Phrygii XXXII-XXXIII, Meister 38-39).

60 See Lumiansky, "The Story of Troilus and Briseida" 73.

61 When he briefly promises protection to Criseida (*Fil.* 1.10-14); twice when he and Troilus fight the Greeks together (I.45; IV.1), the second incident the taking of Antenor by the Greeks; when he physically picks up Troilus who has fainted upon hearing of the Trojan decision to trade Criseida (IV.18-19); when Criseida praises him to Diomedes and avers that she has loved only her one husband (VI.27); and when Troilus grieves for his death (VII.1).

62 "*Fil.* simply reports Hector's death; TC both recalls and anticipates Hector's death, seeing it creep up on him remorselessly" (Geoffrey Chaucer: *Troilus and Criseyde: A New Edition of 'The Book of Troilus'*, ed. B. P. Windeatt [London and New York: Longman, 1989] 545n).

63 "Troilus is nowhere else mentioned in the *Iliad*. Yet, this single appearance in Homer's poem is highly significant. In Priam's outburst, Troilus is as brave as Mestor and almost as great as Hector himself" (Boitani, *Eur. Trag.* 1).

64 "By never letting Troilus escape the shadow of his older, more famous brother, Chaucer, as had all his sources, emphasizes Troilus' youth and inexperience" (William H. Brown, Jr., "A Separate Peace: Chaucer and the Troilus of Tradition," *Journal of English and Germanic Philology* 83 (1984): 505).

65 J. S. P. Tatlock, "The People in Chaucer's *Troilus*," *Wagenknecht* 344.

66 Augustine, *City of God*. bk.27, ch. 12, entitled: *De sacris falsorum deorum, quae reges Graeciae illis temporibus instituerunt, quae ab exitu Israel ex Aegypto usque ad Iesu nave obitum dinumerantur.*

[On the cults of false gods which the kings of Greece instituted in the period that is reckoned from the exodus of Israel from Egypt to the death of Joshua.] (*De Civitate Dei contra paganos libri*. tr. and ed. William M. Green [London and Cambridge: Harvard UP, 1963] 400).

Note that he places this earlier Sarpedon in the period of historical time after the Exodus.

67 Greene, *City of God*, "introduction," xiii.



68 As the city of God derives its life principle from the love of God, so the earthly city was formed by love of self, a pride which darkened the foolish hearts of men and led them everywhere to worship idols.  
(W.M.Green, *St. Augustine: City of God*, vol. 5 [Cambridge: Harvard UP, 1988] xiii).

Cf. F. Thonnard, "Le Symbolisme dans l'Histoire de la Cite Terrestre," *Bibliothèque Augustinienne* 36: 744-747. Cited in Greene, vol.5, "introduction," xiii. Note that Thonnard's comment could pass for a Robertsonian reading of foolish Troilus' choice of Criseyde as idol.

69 Per eos annos a rege Xantho Cretensium, cuius apud alios aliud nomen invenimus, rapta perhibetur Europa, et inde gentii Rhadamanthus, Sarpedon et Minos, quos magis ex eadem muliere filios Iovis esse vulgatum est.

[During those years Europa is said to have been carried off by Xanthus, king of the Cretans, whom we find others call by another name, and thence sprang Rhadamanthus, Sarpedon and Minos, though the more widely disseminated story makes them the sons of Jove by this same woman.] (Green, ed., *City of God*, XVIII.xii [402-03])

70 Augustine, *The City of God against the Pagans*. tr. John O'Meara (New York: Penguin, 1984) III.1-8 (89-96).

71 O'Meara, III.ii(90).

72 Per idem tempus Lycius Sarpedon neque pretio neque gratia Phalikus, Sidoniorum regis, inlectus, qui virtutis societatem militiae nostrae adversum Troianos sequeretur, quippe quem iam Priamus donis amplioribus eisque postea duplicatis fidissimum sibi retinuerat. (Dictys I.18, Eisenhut 16)

[During this time we were unable, either by bribery or by the influence of Phalis, the king of the Sidonians, to entice the Lycian Sarpedon to follow our alliance. Priam, by offering larger gifts (which afterwards were doubled), had already won his support for the Trojans.] (Dictys I.18, Frazer 33)

73 Per idem tempus Sarpedon Lycius Xanthi et Laodamiae frequentibus nuntiis a Priame accitus cum magna armatorum manu adventabat. Is ubi animadvertit procul magnam vim classium admotam litori, ratus ut negotium erat, prope suos instruit graecosque degredi incipientes invadit, neque multo post re cognita Priamidae arreptis armis accurrunt. (Dictys II.11,

Eisenhut 28)

[Meanwhile the Lycian Sarpedon, the son of Xanthus and Laodamia, in answer to the summons which frequent messengers had made for Priam, had led a huge army to Troy. Having noticed from afar that one great armada was landing, he realized the situation and, alerting his forces, rushed to prevent our debarking. Soon afterwards the sons of Priam learned what was happening and, taking up arms, ran to the aid of Sarpedon.] (Dictys II.11, Frazer 42-43).

74 Scamander. A Trojan river (now called Menderes) and its god. Like most river gods, Scamander (whom the Olympian gods called Xanthus) was a son of Oceanus and Tethys. He was the father by the nymph Ideia of Teucer, the first king of the region of Troy; of Callirrhoe, wife of Tros, and of Sorymo, wife of Laomedon. Understandably sympathetic to the Trojans when the gods took sides in the Trojan war, Scamander was opposed by Hephaestus. He became enraged when Achilles filled his waters with Trojan corpses after the death of Patroclus. Scamander flooded the plain and Achilles would have drowned, in spite of the moral support of Athena and Poseidon, had not Hera sent Hephaestus to his rescue. The fire-god dried up Scamander's stream with a great flame, and the river-god gave up the fight. (Homer, *Iliad* 20.73-74, 21.120-382; Hesiod, *Theogony* 345; Apollodorus 3.12.1-3) (Tripp 522).

75 Xanthus and Balius. The immortal horses of Achilles. These two remarkable beasts were offspring of the Harpy Podarge by Zephyrus, the west wind, who impregnated her as she was grazing by the river Oceanus. The gods gave the horses to Peleus upon his marriage to Thetis. Seeing them later weeping, over the death in battle of Patroclus, Zeus regretted causing them suffering through association with human beings, the most miserable of all creatures. Hera gave Xanthus the power of speech in order to warn Achilles of his impending death, but the Erinyes [Fates] quickly took away his voice again, no doubt to prevent him from giving away any more of the immortals' secrets to human beings. No harm was done in this case, since Achilles had more than once heard the same prophecy from his mother, Thetis. (Homer, *Iliad* 16.145-54, 17.426-58, 19.392-424) (Tripp 602).

76 See above, note 44. (Dictys II.32, Eisenhut 44-45, Frazer 56-57)

77 Sarpedon, Xantho genitus, rector Lyciorum ex

Solemno . . . . Glaucus Hippolochi Lycius, quem sibi Sarpedon, quod praeter regionis eius consilio atque armis pollebat . . . . iterum vulnerati graviter ex ducibus bello decedere coacti sunt barbarorum Aeneas, Sarpedon, Glaucus, Helenus, Euphorbus, Polydamas. . . . inter quae tam trepida Glaucus Hippolochi, Sarpedon atque Asteropaeus ad morandum hostem paulisper ausi resistere mox vulneribus gravati locum amisere. (Dictys II.35.13- 17; II.38.1-4; II.43.14-17, Eisenhut 47,50,53)

[Sarpedon, the son of Xanthus, who led the Lycians from Solymum . . . . Glaucus, the son of Hippolochus, from Lycia, whom Sarpedon had summoned to share the command because he surpassed all other Lycians in counsel and arms . . . . Among the barbarian leaders who were seriously wounded and forced to withdraw from the battle were Aeneas, Sarpedon, Glaucus, Helenus, Euphorbus, and Polydamas . . . . Glaucus, the son of Hippolochus, Sarpedon, and Asteropaeus tried to stem their fearful route but, after briefly resisting, soon gave way, seriously wounded.] (Dictys II.35; II.38; II.43, Frazer 59-63)

78 At in alia belli parte Patroclus et Lycius Sarpedon locati in cornibus nullis propinquorum praesentibus signo inter se dato solitarii certaminis extra aciem processere, moxque telis adversum iactis, ubi uterque intactus est, curru desiliunt atque arreptis gladiis pergunt obviam. iamque crebis adversum se ictibus congressi, neque vulneratus quisquam, multum dies consumpserant, cum Patroclus amplius audendum ratis colligit sese in arma et cautius contactus ingressusque hostem complectitur, manu dextra popitem succidens, quo vulnere debilitatum atque exsectis nervis invalidum propulsat corpore ruentemque interfecit. (Dictys III.7, Eisenhut 65)

[In another part of the field Patroclus and Sarpedon, the Lycian, had withdrawn from their men and were trying to protect their respective armies. Driving out beyond the battle lines they challenged each other to fight in single combat. First, they threw their spears, but neither hit the mark. Then, leaping from their chariots and drawing their swords, they came face to face and fought for much of the day, exchanging blows fast and furious, but neither could wound the other. Finally, Patroclus, realizing that he must act with greater boldness, crouched behind the protection of his shield and came to close quarters. With his right hand he dealt Sarpedon a crippling blow along the back sinews of the leg and then, pressing his body against him--Sarpedon was faint and beginning to

totter--pushed him over and finished him off as he fell.] (Dictys III.7, Frazer 74)

79 Quod ubi animadvertere Troiani, qui iuxta steterant, gemitu magno clamorem tollunt, relictisque ordinibus signo dato arma in Patroclum vertunt, scilicet Sarpedonis interit publicam cladem rati. (Dictys III.8, Eisenhut 65)

[The Trojans, seeing what had happened, cried aloud and abandoned their battle formation, and, at a given signal, made a concerted attack against Patroclus. They felt, no doubt, that Sarpedon's death was a general disaster for their side.] (Dictys III.8, Frazer 75)

80 "Cum interim Hector edoctus quae acciderant, supervenit." (Dictys III.8, Eisenhut 66) [At about the same time Hector, who had learned what was happening, came to the rescue.] (Dictys III.8, Frazer 75).

81 "At lucis principato corpora suorum quisque collecta igni cremant, dein sepeliunt." (Dictys III.9, Eisenhut 66-67) [When dawn arrived, they {Trojans and Greeks} collected, cremated, and buried their dead.] (Dictys III.9, Frazer 76)

82 Tum apud Troiam circa Sarpedonis cadaver cunctis deflentibus ac praecipue feminis luctu atque genitu omnia completa sunt, quis non alii casus acerbissimi, ne interitus quidem Priamidarum, prae desiderio eius cordi insederant. tantum in eo viro praesidium et interfecto spes ablata credebatur. (Dictys III.9, Eisenhut 66)

[Then Troy was filled with cries of grief. All the Trojans, especially the women, were weeping and wailing around the body of Sarpedon. They felt that no other disaster, however bitter, could be compared with this, not even the death of Priam's sons. They had believed in Sarpedon. They had hoped that he would protect them. But now their hopes were dashed.] (Dictys III.9, Frazer 75)

83 Desperatio incesserat, cum hinc Sarpedonis interitus, inde secuta paulo post Hectoris clades spes reliquas animus abstulissent neque, quod postremum in memnone fortuna obtulerat, reliquum iam esisteret, ita confluentibus in unum tot adversis curam omnem exsurgendi omniserant. (Dictys IV.8, Eisenhut 88).

[{Trojans} were gripped by despair; they feared the war's final outcome. The death of Sarpedon, and soon afterwards, the slaughter of Hector, had taken away

their remaining hopes; and now what fortune had for the last time offered in the person of Memnon no longer remained. . . their will to recover was utterly gone.] (Dictys IV.8, Frazer 92)

84 Cf. Dictys III.7, Frazer 74.

85 Dares also ignores any connection between the Trojans and the gods, eliminates necessity, and accelerates the trivialization of Sarpedon and, with him, of the Ilium saga. His arrangement of the Troy story is rather like a cinematic treatment of a novel: the main characters are there, the settings are there, the plot is scrambled, the ending is changed, and the textual beauty has disappeared. Dares is soap opera, complete with a relatively happy ending in which the women, except for Polyxena, are spared, the town is turned over to Antenor, and Aeneas is sent off to exile. The treason and treachery of Antenor and Aeneas are exaggerated. No Olympian gods appear to stir up the plot. There is a certain reveling in prophecy and dreams. Attempting historical validation, Dares, like Dictys, begins with a letter between Romans, telling how the writer, Cornelius Nepos, has found this Greek manuscript and has translated it into Latin, this time word for word. Nepos thinks Dares an improvement on Homer who was "insane for describing gods' battling mortals" (Frazer 133). He excises all poetry and power; what remains is a scrambled tale which begins with Pelias, Aeson, Jason and the Argo, and the initial insult causing the fracas with Troy: Laomedon's refusal to let the scruffy Argonauts debark. He includes Hercules' annoyance and his slaying of Laomedon and seizure of his sister (substituted for Homer's horses!), Priam's attempt to negotiate to get Hesione back, Paris' tit for tat abduction of Helen. The reduction of the Judgment of Paris to a dream, which begins with Dares, the reasonable and steady escalation of warfare, and the lengthy truces (seven and a half years in all), reduce the tale to a pedestrian ghost of Homer, but yet Dares keeps Troy's story vital for Western Europe.

86 As usual, Sarpedon first appears in a list of allies, "de Lycia Sarpedon Glaucus" (Daretis Phrygii XVIII, Meister 22) "Sarpedon and Glaucus from Lycia" (Dares 18, Frazer 148).

87 Sarpedon Lycius cum suis inpressionem in Argivos facit caedit prosternit. obuius ei fit Tlepolemus Rhodius, sed diu stando pugnandoque male vulneratus cadit. succedit Pheres Admeti filius proelium restituit diuque cum Sarpedone comminus pugnando occiditur. Sarpedon quoque vulneratus de proelio recedit. (Daretis Phrygii XXVI, Meister 31-32)

[The Lycian Sarpedon, leading his men, attacked and caused great slaughter and havoc. The Rhodian Tlepolemus met and resisted Sarpedon, but finally fell badly wounded. Then Pheres, the son of Admetus, came up and, after a long hand-to-hand fight with Sarpedon, was killed. But Sarpedon also was wounded and forced from the battle.] (Dares 26, Frazer, 154).

88 Palamedes in prima acie versatur hortaturque, proelium ut fortiter erant. contra eum Sarpedon Lycius occurrit eumque Palamedes interficit. (Daretis Phrygii XXVIII, Meister 34)

[Palamedes, active in the first ranks, using his men to fight bravely, encountered and slew the Lycian Sarpedon.] (Dares 28, Frazer, 154)

89 "Troiani Sarpedonem et Deiphobum deflent" (Daretis Phrygii XXVIII, Meister 35). "Trojans bewailed the deaths of Sarpedon and Deiphobus" (Dares 28, Frazer, 156). Dares makes no other comment.

90 De Lice i vint li viewz Glaucon,  
E sis fiz o lui Sarpedon. (Benoît 6685)

91 Lez la fontaine ou rien n'abeivre,  
Tres desoz l'ombre d'un geneivre,  
M'estut dormir, nel poi muer:  
(Benoît 3869ss.)

92 Benoît's knowledge of Greek classics is flawed. He confuses Peleus, father of Achilles, with Pelias, uncle of Jason: "Peleus . . . Confondu avec Pelias et donne comme epoux de Thetis et pere d'Achille" ("Tables Analytique des Noms Propres," vol. 5 in L. Constans and E. Faral, *Le Roman de Troie En Prose* [Paris: Librairie Ancienne Honore Edouard Champion, 1922]:73). Benoît also does not attach Briseis to Achilles but moves her to Troilus as Briseida. Some of his changes with Sarpedon may result from ignorance rather than intent.

93 In medieval Europe, when Greek was no longer read, Homer's work was known only through the *Ilias Latina*, a Latin abridgement of the *Iliad* attributed to Pindar, but it played no real part in the creation of the medieval concept of Troy" (Guido delle Colonne, *Historia Destructionis Troiae*, tr. Mary Elizabeth Meek [Bloomington: Indiana UP, 1974] "introduction," xii).

Meek's statement is tantalizing in its assumptions and its information. First of all, she is saying that the *Iliad* was in circulation in the Middle Ages in a version attributed to Pindar. Also she says that Homer's work was

known only through the Latin edition. Known to whom? When? Where? The Middle Ages encompasses one thousand years and a large area of territory; it is not an indivisible monolith. Her statement is one of many which are based on the assumption that the Greek *Iliad* was not available at all, presumably even to Greeks, and to the assumption that no one in the West read Greek. But that was highly unlikely, if not impossible, given the social, political, and economic interaction between East and West, to say nothing of the Greek-speaking southern Italians, the Greeks in the court of the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies, the Greeks in Spain, and the Islamic scholars. Obviously, the Greek *Iliad* was not in general circulation in northwestern Europe, but there were people who could read Greek in Oxford, in Paris, certainly at Avignon, in Rome, in Naples, and who knows where else. Professor Kristine Wallace of Rice has commented that she knows the average educated person of the Middle Ages did not read Greek, but that there must have been exceptions (telephone interview, June 23, 1991, Houston, Texas). The claim of the disappearance of Greek, like the term "Middle" ages itself, hints of comfortable Renaissance and post-Reformation bias and oversimplification.

Meek's other interesting assumption regards "the medieval concept of Troy," as if it too were monolithic. The non-Homeric or anti-Homeric or scrambled-Homeric concept of Troy seems pretty limited to Dictys and Dares and their imitators, notably Benoît and Guido. Their influence was enormous, but necessarily exclusive. There was access to the Homeric and ancient classical story through the mythographers and through the old commentators whose work was often excerpted and studied in the schools.

Meek says that Dictys and Dares were the most important source of the tale, and that from the fourth century Dictys text and the sixth century Dares text came this medieval concept of Troy. Dares was more important than Dictys and influenced Joseph of Exeter's twelfth century *De Bello Troiano* as well as the twelfth century Benoît and then the thirteenth century Albert de Stade's prose *Troilus* and the mid-thirteenth century French Roman (which was used by Christine de Pizan). Guido's text purported to be history and was accepted as such, as were Dictys' and Dares'. The Troy stories taken from Dictys and Dares were medieval romances, replete with knights and nobles, fanciful names, and courtly lovers and missing all the classical machinery of gods, epic similes, and philosophical ideas.

<sup>94</sup> Note that the Second Vatican Mythographer's redaction of the Judgement of Paris (see appendix A) is a precis of the action of the *Iliad*, except for Polyxana on the walls of Troy.

<sup>95</sup> See Guido da Columnis, *Historia Destructionis Troia*, ed. Nathaniel Edward Griffin (Cambridge: Medieval Academy of

America, 1936).

Item de regno Licie cum tribus milibus venit rex  
Glaucou cus eius fortissimo filio Sarpedone, qui regi  
Priam fuerat uinculo necessitatis astrictus. (Guido  
XIII, Griffin 116)

[ From the kingdom of Lycia with three thousand  
knights came King Glaucou with his very brave son  
Sarpedon, who was bound to King Priam by the bonds of  
friendship.] (Guido III.200, Meek 112-113)

96 Guido manages to repeat Benoît's error conflating  
Peleus, father of Achilles, and Pelias of Thessaly, father  
of Aeson and Jason of the Argonauts. He also makes him  
Jason's grandfather. See Meek, index 321; 1.2-6, 1.28-33,  
1.51-162, 4.89-117, 5.316-46, 34.1-15, 34.15-175.

Note also the highly corrupt Latin, which suggests a  
poorly educated author.

97 Et conuocatis ad se duobus de consanguineis suis,  
Glaucoune scilicet, filio regis Licie, et Cycinolor,  
fratre suo naturali, ductum prime aciei concessit et  
delegauit eiusdem. (Guido XV, Griffin 127)

[When he [Hector] had called two of his kinsmen to  
him, that is Glaucou, son of the King of Lycia, and  
Cycinolor, his own natural brother, he granted the  
command of the first battlalion and delegated it to  
them.] (Guido XV. Meek 123-24)

98 Rex Thelamon regem Sarpedorem aggreditur, ambo in  
valido impulsu fortium lancearium grauiter vulneratos  
se sternunt, sic quod quasi semiuiui in medio  
bellancium deciderunt. (Guido XVII, Griffin 154)

[King Telamon approached King Sarpedon, and both  
fell, seriously wounded, by the strong impulse of their  
sturdy lances, so that they fell half dead in the midst  
of the fighters.] (Guido XVII.90-92, Meek 148)

99 Mane igitur facto, acrebus omnibus Troyanorum per  
Hectorem ordinatis, Troilus ad bellum primus egreditur,  
deinde Paris, deinde Heneas, subsiquenter Pollidamas,  
deinde rex Sarpedon. (Guido XXI, Griffin 172)

[When it was morning and all the Trojan battalions  
were drawn up by Hector, Troilus marched out, first to  
the battle, then Paris, then Aeneas, afterward  
Polydamas, then King Sarpedon.] (Guido XXI.57-59, Meek  
165)

100 Guido Liber XXV, Griffin, 193; XXV.20-36, Meek,



174-75.

101 De morte uero Deifebi vniuersi Troyani dolore nimio comprimuntur. Delores tamen regis Priami, regine Heccube, sororum et fratrum Deiphebi, cum sit enarrare superfluum, necnon planctus et lacrimae que pro rege Sarpedone diffuse fuerunt, obmissum est in hac parte. Rex tamen Priamus in precioso monumento corpus Deifebi statuit sepeliri, sic et corpus incliti Sarpedonis regis. (Guido XXV, Griffin 193)

[All the Trojans were crushed by very great grief at the death of Deiphobus. Nevertheless, since it would be superfluous to tell of the griefs of King Priam, Queen Hecube, the sisters and brothers of Deiphobus, and in addition the laments and tears which were poured for King Sarpedon it is omitted in this place. King Priam had the body of Deiphobus buried in a very costly monument, as so also th body of the illustrious King Sarpedon.] (Guido XXV.129-36, Meek 185)

102 Havelly is in agreement with Meek that the Greek tradition had died out. "Neither Chaucer nor Boccaccio had direct knowledge of the early Greek sources for the story of *Troilus*" (*Chaucer's Boccaccio*, Appendix A 164).

103 "He was not concerned with the history of Troy and he omitted all material irrelevant to the love story proper" editing the Trojan material out of Benoit (Robert P. apRoberts, "Notes on *Troilus and Criseyde*, IV, 1397-414" *Modern Language Notes* 57 (1942): 95n.).

104 Tenendo i Greci la cittade streta  
con forte assedio, Ettor, nelle cui mani  
era tutta la guerra, fe' seletta  
de' suoi amici e ancora de' Troiani,  
e valorose con sua gente eletta  
incontro a' Greci usci ne' campi piani,  
come piu altre volte fatto avea,  
con varii accidenti alla mislea.

[While the Greeks held the city bound with a strong seige, Hector, in whose hands was the whole war, made a selection of his friends and also of other Trojans and sallied out valiantly with his chosen men against the Greeks on the broad plains as he had done many other times with various fortunes in the melee.] (Giovanni Boccaccio, *Il Filostrato*, ed. Vincenzo Pernicone. tr. Robert P. apRoberts and Anna Bruni Seldis (New York and London: Garland Publishing, 1986):IV.1, 182-83).

105 Tra li quai fu 'l magnifico Antenore  
Polidamas, suo figlio, e Menesteo,

Santippo, Sarpidon, Polinestore,  
 Polite ancora ed il troian Refeo,  
 e molte piu cui la virtu d'Ettore,  
 nel partirsi, riscuoter non potes;  
 si che gran pianto e cruccio fu in Troia,  
 e quasi annunzio di vie piggior noia.

[Among these were the magnificent Antenor, Polydamas his son, and Menestheus, Xanthippus, Sarpedon, Polymnestor, Polites also, and the Trojan Ripheus, and many more whom Hector's prowess was not able to rescue in the disengagement, so that great and bitter lament was made in Troy and it was almost the foreshadowing of a much greater woe.] (*Il Fil.*, IV.3, apRoberts and Seldis 184-185)

106 *Troilus and Criseyde* IV.52. Chaucer changes Boccaccio by the word 'maugre' so that for him, Sarpedon is not captured but joins the rescue attempt. Chaucer adds the 'maugre' after his trip to Italy. Cf. F. N. Robinson, *The Works of Geoffrey Chaucer*, 2nd ed. (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1957) 827n. Concerning 'maugre' Robinson notes "as Root points out, that Chaucer's earliest draft may have agreed with Boccaccio" (827n. re IV.52). Robinson cites Tatlock's date for the *Troilus and Criseyde* as not later than 1376 or 1377, but the revisions go to 1385 (810-11n.). According to Robinson, Chaucer's first trip to Italy was in 1368 (ix); on his first Italian journey of 1372-73, he visited Florence and Genoa (xxi); he went on missions in 1376-1381 (xxi); in 1378 he went on a mission to the powerful Visconti of Milan and left power of attorney with Gower (xxii).

107 *Il Fil.*, IV.5-13, apRoberts and Seldis 184-91.

108 Fleming sees the use of Sarpedon's place by Boccaccio as "schematically playing off against the themes of Ovid's *Remedia*" when Pandarus as "consoling friend" echoes Ovid's advice "to avoid solitude and enjoy the company of the crowd (R. A. 579-91). But it is the advice that Troilus fails to heed that perhaps most clearly signals Ovid's complicating presence in the passage. The crowd does not distract Troilus, who spends much of his time daydreaming about his beloved (R. A. 583-84; *Fil.* 4.45; TC 5.453-55). See John V. Fleming, *Classical Imitation and Interpretation in Chaucer's Troilus* (Lincoln and London: U of Nebraska P, 1990) 26.

109 *Il Fil.*, introduction to IV, apRoberts and Seldis 274-75.

110 Ma dove potrem noi per festa andare  
 come ragioni? Andianne a Sarpidone?

E come vi potro io dimorare?  
 Io avro sempre in l'animo questione  
 non forse questa potesse tornare  
 anzi il di dato per nulla cagione.

[But where can we go for diversion, as you suggest. Shall we go to Sarpedon? And how can I stay there? I shall always have in my soul the question whether she might perhaps be able to return before the given day for some reason.] (*Il Fil.*, V.38, apRoberts and Seldis 296-97).

111 apRoberts and Seldis, introductory note, 296-97.

112 Speaking of Troilus at the empty house of Criseyde, Vance comments: "Chaucer is playing here with the traditional rhetorical technique of artificial memory by which orators used the images of physical spaces in order to remember their speeches. . . . By spatializing his love, Troilus underscores the tragic bond between his individual fortune and that of the city for which he is named. . . . Troy's ghostly spaces are significant to Troilus only insofar as they are absences--empty signs--of his love for Criseyde" (Eugene Vance, *Mervelous Signals: Poetics and Sign Theory in the Middle Ages* [Lincoln and London: U of Nebraska P, 1989] 300).

Chaucer seems to use the feast, here the spatialized metaphor, in a parallel fashion.

113 I due compagni nel cammino entrarò,  
 e forse dopo quattromila passi,  
 la dove Sarpedone ira, arriverò;  
 il quale come 'l seppe, incontro fassi  
 a Triolo lieto, e molto gli fu caro  
 Li quali, avvegna che e' fosser lassi  
 del molto sospirar, pur lietamente  
 festa fer grand col baron possente.

[The two companions started on the way and after about four miles had passed, they arrived where Sarpedon was, who when he knew it, came joyfully toward Troilo and received him very lovingly. Although they were weary from much sighing, they still enjoyed a great festivity with the baron.] (*Il Fil.*, V.40, apRoberts and Seldis 296-97)

114 Costui, si come quei che d'alto core  
 era piu ch'altri in ciascheduna cosa,  
 fece a ciascun maraviglioso onore  
 or con cacce, or con festa graziosa  
 di belle donne e di molto valore,  
 con canti e suoni, e sempre con pomposa  
 grandessa di conviti tanti e tali,

che n Troia mai s'eran fatti eguali.

[He, as one who was more noble-hearted in everything than any other, showed marvelous honor to each, now with hunts, now with the glorious company of beautiful and very worthy ladies, with songs and music, and always with the splendid grandeur of banquets, so many and of such sort that their equal had never been given in Troy.] (apRoberts and Seldis, V.41: 296-97)

115                    Me che giovavan queste al pio  
Troilo che 'l core ad esse non avea?

[But what help were these celebrations to the faithful Troilo, who had no heart for them?] (apRoberts and Seldis, V.42: 296-97)

116 Minnis comments that "what makes Troilus so interesting is the fact that he is a philosopher-lover." (A. J. Minnis, *Chaucer and Pagan Antiquity* [Cambridge: D.S. Brewer and Totowa, N.J.: Rowman & Littlefield Inc., 1982] 43).

117 William H. Brown, Jr. amends this debt: "Chaucer takes extensively from Boccaccio, yet at the same time he appeals to a wider, richer tradition of Troilus than that which he finds in *Il Filostrato* (502). Brown has an excellent survey of the various portraits of Troilus available to the readers of the Middle Ages and cites Benoit's rendition of Troilus' routing the Myrmidons instead of Sarpedon (495).

## Chapter III:

The Mythographic Tradition:  
Sarpedon and the Chaucerian Adaptation  
of Christian Mythography

The third tradition through which the legends of Troy travelled in the Middle Ages does not concern itself with Sarpedon and is ignored by Chaucer. This Christian mythographic tradition of *explicatio* ascribed religious referents *in bono* and *in malo* to the writings of the Greeks and Romans. For this method, Chaucer, along with Gower, substituted the use of classical fables as subtexts, as referents which work along with the text to shed light on it and, for Chaucer, to move in contrapuntal rhythm to his text and to provide ironic counterpoint to his tale.<sup>1</sup> In modern terms, Chaucer deconstructs as he builds. Frequently, Chaucer plays his text against other medieval texts, such as those of Dante, Boethius, Gower. There always hums below the text a cultural melody of biblical and liturgical associations which were apparent to his contemporary readers if not to ours. For example, when Chaucer uses May third as Troilus' moment in time to find Criseyde and fall into earthly love, the Christian audience knew well that May third was the feast of the finding of the Cross by Saint Helena, the mother of the Roman Emperor Constantine. Similarly, the Pearl Poet begins his tale of the Green Knight's beheading and Gawain's loss of innocence on January

first, the feast of the Circumcision of Christ, a joke not lost upon his audience. The date of May third is the immediate clue to Chaucer's original readers that Troilus' choice, along with his fate, is not propitious. Chaucer's biblical referents lurk well below the surface, but his classical referents are closer to the air and far more humorous. For instance, when he refers to the nightingale as male, he makes Troilus rather than Criseyde analogous to the raped Philomela and underscores the Trojan boy's passivity (II.921-922).<sup>2</sup> Beyond all this, I believe that Chaucer uses Sarpedon as an ironic template which acts as overlay through which we view Troilus.<sup>3</sup>

What would Chaucer have known of Sarpedon? From the tradition of romance tales of Troy, Chaucer certainly knew about Sarpedon as a heroic man of strong will and an important participant in the saga of Troy; from the classical tradition, he definitely knew of Sarpedon's genealogy and his subsequent connection to Fate. Also, Chaucer was aware of Sarpedon's relationship, through Europa, to Thebes as well as to Troy. From the Second Vatican Mythographer, he most probably deduced Sarpedon's position in the causal chain which led to the fall of Troy and also the Lycian's connection to the cosmic explanation of the marriage feast of Peleus and Thetis. There, with the delegation of judgment to Paris, Jupiter refused to make the choice between goddesses, that is, between the ways of life

they represented, and his refusal to limit people to one type of life style left them the free will to choose for themselves. In Boccaccio Chaucer read of the physical feast of Sarpedon, and he could have experienced the *Iliad* itself in Pilatus' translation or in hearing the original translated or commented upon by people who were educated in Greek.<sup>4</sup> Whether or not he had better than the second-hand access to the *Iliad* he had through Boccaccio, he most certainly would have recognized Sarpedon as a heroic man of will and as representative of fate. Consequently, Chaucer's inclusion of Sarpedon in his *Troilus* can be read as an intentional reminder of his theme of necessity and will. This chapter and the one following it will suggest a number of connections which are unveiled by reading the *Troilus* backwards from Sarpedon's feast and which shed light on Chaucer's use of mythology. The whole of the *Troilus* and most particularly the last book is a mythographic tour-de-force on the theme of necessity. Sarpedon's feast anchors a kind of debate within Chaucer, projected upon the personae of the Narrator and of Pandarus. Then, Cassandra interprets Troilus' dream, using Chaucer's own methodology, to express the necessity of Criseyde's fall from grace and the fatal interconnection of Troy and Thebes.

Sarpedon's Feast  
and the Narrative Debate

In a kind of Chaucerian psychomachia between Pandarus and the Narrator, Chaucer divides himself between the two traditions: the narrator argues for Homeric fate, the presence of Gods and forces of nature, and the necessity of the past; Pandarus, like Dares and Dictys and the Anti-Homeric romanticists, insists on debunking the gods and any fatality beyond man's consciousness. The terms Romantic and Anti-Romantic or Homeric are themselves loaded with ambiguity. In the traditions of the Trojan story, the Homeric or Anti-Romantic is characterized by a sense of magic, of gods and metaphoric language, of prophetic dreams and praeternatural or supernatural experiences. It is the Romance tradition which is practical and cynical of anything obeyond the physical and natural. Chaucer's Pandarus has this kind of earthiness. Love, for all the posturing, is a sexual urge. So it was for the courtly tradition, a self aware veneer of words and formalities covering a need of the body by mimicking a religion of the soul. Strangely, the warrior code was more imaginative and more concerned with things of the spirit. Chaucer's Narrator is the dreamer of the pair.<sup>5</sup> Between the pronouncements of the two narrative voices, Sarpedon has his feast and establishes the context for the subtle debate.

The Narrator immediately associates fate with Jove, making it clear from the opening of Book V that the final



destiny has arrived and is what Jove has determined (V.1-7). The Narrator addresses Troilus directly with the conventional epic pronouncement of the future; "But Troilus, now far-wel al the joie For shaltow nevere sen hire eft in Troie" (V.27-28). The reader hears the narrator and knows the finality of Criseyde's departure while Troilus, failing in will, deals in introspection rather than action. "Whi suffre ich it? Whi nyl ich it redresse" (V.40); he continues with a whole series of questions to himself about why he does not act to put Troy in an uproar, kill Diomedes, and run off with Criseyde (V,43-49). The Narrator interrupts to explain that Troilus' failure of will is not just an attempt to spare Criseyde's reputation (V.50-56). A condition of their courtly love, the need for secrecy sets up the parodic dilemma which has immobilized the young romantic Troilus like Buridan's ass equidistant between the two bales of hay. Troilus believes in the courtly rule of secrecy as firmly as would Chaucer's Squire. Criseyde must leave; her departure is a necessity: "But forth she moot, for aught that may betide; The is non other remedie in this cas" (V.59-60). That same night, after Diomedes has begun his verbal seduction, Troilus has his first dream of abandonment: "he were allone in place horrible makyng ay his mone" (V.249-250); then, "he was amonges alle his enemys, and in hire handes falle" (V.251-251):

For wele I fele, by my maladie  
 And by my dremes now and yore ago,  
 Al certeynly that I mot nedes dye.  
 The owld ek, which that hette Escaphilo,  
 Hath after me shrigh t al thise nyghtes two.  
 And god Mercurye, of me now, woful wrecche,  
 The soule gyde, and whan the liste, it fecche!  
 V.316-322.

Troilus has no difficulty at all in reading the mythographic clues of Ascalaphus and Mercury, but he will deny the clue of the boor which represents Diomedes; he can accept death but not the loss of Criseyde. Pandarus tries to jolly him out of his mood.

The Narrator's opposite pole, the cynical realist Pandarus may be here as Priam's emissary or Troilus' friend, or even both.<sup>6</sup> Pandarus asks Troilus if he really thinks that no one else has ever loved a paramour (V.330) and thereby trivializes her departure. God knows, he says,

fro many a worthi knyght  
 Hath his lady gon a fourtenyght,  
 And he nat yet made halvendel the fare.  
 What nede is the to maken al this care?

Syn day by day thow maist thiselven se  
 That from his love, or ellis from his wif,  
 A man mot twynnen of necessite  
 V.333-343.

Since 'tywnnes' can mean to escape as well as to depart (Benson glossary, 1301), through Pandarus, Chaucer indulges in secondhand misogynist humor. Pandarus throws cold water not just on fate and romantic love but also on dream theory, refusing to believe that gods provide foreknowledge:

Thi swevnes ek and al swich fantasie  
 Drif out and lat hem faren to meschaunce,  
 For they procede of thi malencolie

That doth the fele in slep al this penaunce.  
 A straw for alle swevenes signifiounce!  
 God helpe me so, I counte hem nought a bene!  
 Ther woot no man aright what dremes mene  
 V.358-364.

Pandarus, here a kind of composite of the Nun's Priest's Pertelote and the Merchant's January, speaks good Macrobian dream theory;<sup>7</sup> Troilus' somnium has no particular significance. Priests and doctors claim to know the import of prophetic dreams and use them to increase their own professional worth, but Pandarus is skeptical both of gods and of humors (V.365-371). He prefers a natural explanation (V.372-378): people dream because of what they have been thinking or because of their response to moon or season, but dreams are not prophetic, even if they express in sleep what Troilus suppresses when awake. Pandarus knows to divert the young Troilus by playing on his youthful pride of manhood and scoffing at belief in dreams as a characteristic of old women (V.379-385). Pandarus says to speak of lusty life in Troy (V.393) and not to worry about knowledge of the future. Expanding his analysis from one stanza of Boccaccio,<sup>8</sup> Chaucer develops his theory of foreknowing. In his rebuke to Troilus, Pandarus has reversed the lecture in the *Iliad* when Sarpedon speaks to Glaucus and later to Hector<sup>9</sup> to counsel and inspire them as heroic warriors; Pandarus' in contrast, advises Troilus to be an unprincipled lover.

Sarpedon's feast interrupts the 'debate' between Chaucer's alternating voices of Narrator and Pandarus.

Chaucer's alterations of his source, *Il Filostrato*, show his Sarpedon to be a greater ideal, a more Homeric presence. Chaucer uses the feast as the reified lecture that replies to Pandarus, as well as to Troilus' earlier soliloquy, and teaches how Troilus should behave: Pandarus' solution for shoring up Troilus's manliness is to take him to Sarpedon's feast: "Go we pleye us in som lusty route to Sarpedoun" (V.402=403). Boccaccio had Troilus suggest Sarpedon's tentatively; Chaucer attributes the stronger suggestion, nearly command, to Pandarus.<sup>10</sup> Chaucer seems to intend for Troilus to measure himself against Sarpedon, to face down that part of himself that is Sarpedon and that was carved from the Homeric figure in the 'bokes' of old. Chaucer mentions Sarpedon by name seven times in lines 403-500, quite insistently. Sarpedon's acceptance of the necessity of his role as mortal son of Jove shows in poor light Troilus' playing on causality and denial of his responsibility or his free will to act: "though ich ever pleyne, Or alwey wepe, I am no thyng to blame, Syn I have lost the cause of al my game" (V.418-420). Since Troilus must by necessity get up, he will get up, "But syn of fyne force I mot arise I shal arise as soone as every I may" (V.421-422). He prays to god to make the time come quickly when Criseyde returns to Troy, she "that cause is of my torment and my joie" (V.427). He situates outside of himself not only the necessity of fate but also the

necessity of feelings, abrogating his free will to respond by making external actions necessary causes of his passivity. He is Sarpedon's opposite; he would never respond to awareness of mortality with the happy feast. In fact, he cannot be a part of it. Homer's feast of Sarpedon never actually occurs: it is a metaphor for the warrior king's response to his fate, to a strong man's choice to live life while he has it in full knowledge that it will pass like the leaves of the trees, to his acceptance that the compensation for death is life. Troilus passively accepts death<sup>11</sup> and denies himself the pleasures of life unless he be given the woman whom he would not actively take.

Nevertheless, in spite of himself, the example of human will power does impel Troilus: the visit to Sarpedon constitutes some sort of decision and action for Troilus.<sup>12</sup>

"But whider is thi reed," quod Troilus,  
 That we may pleye us best in al this town?"  
 "By God, my conseil is," quod Pandarus,  
 "To ride and pleye us wilth kyng Sarpedoun."  
 So longe of this they speken up and down  
 Til Troilus gan at the laste assente  
 To rise, and forth to Sarpedoun they wente  
 V.428-434.

He finally gets up off his physical or metaphorical cushion to go to Sarpedon's physical as well as metaphorical feast. Chaucer situates the name of Sarpedon in a chiasmus, giving it an emphatic position at the end of the stanza and then beginning the first line of the next stanza: "This

Sarpedoun" (V435). Only Chaucer and Boccaccio, of all those after Homer who mention Sarpedon, refer to his feast, and therefore to Homer's metaphor. The *Genealogie* makes it clear that Boccaccio knew some Homer; he quotes it both in Latin and in Greek. Consequently Chaucer had it at least second hand, and by the Feast he reinserts the Troilus romance back into the context of Homeric necessity.

Sarpedon signals his process. In Chaucer, Sarpedon acts from *largesse*, from the great lord's duty to provide the feast and the warriors' gifts. Chaucer expands Boccaccio's description of the feast and places it first in his list of entertainments, whereas Boccaccio reduces its position by having it follow hunts, ladies, and music. Chaucer makes more of the feast itself than Boccaccio does and extends it into the music he calls 'delicious', but he does not add any specifically Homeric details like sleep or honeyed wine. He also expands on Boccaccio's songs and music during the feast, adding detail and commentary,<sup>13</sup> but he moves their placement after the speech. Boccaccio speaks of ladies in a manner closer to Chaucer's, but drops the hunts altogether. Chaucer's Sarpedon is a Theseus to Boccaccio's Franklin.<sup>14</sup>

In painful contrast to Sarpedon, Troilus, at the warrior's feast, is not much of a warrior: "But what availleth this to Troilus That for his sorwe nothyng of it roughete? (V.449-450). But no matter how he cries for Criseyde, "Fortune his howve entended bet to glaze" (V469),

deluded him even further (Benson, 566n). Anxious to leave, Troilus asks Pandarus sarcastically what they are waiting for: "Leve brother Pandarus, Intendestow that we shal here leve / Til Sarpedoun wol forth congeyen us?" (V.477-480), and Pandarus' reply is even more sarcastic as he asks Troilus why the rush "Be we come hider to fecchen fire and rennen hom ayein?" (V.484-485) and then scolds him for rudeness. "Ther any wight is of us feyn than Sarpedon; and if we hennes hye Thus sodeynly, I holde it vilanye" (V.488-490). To Boccaccio's account, Chaucer adds the name of Sarpedon and enlivens the simple "Now have we come here just for a little warmth" <sup>15</sup> by the image of running over to get some live coals. But Troilus does not catch fire from Sarpedon's coals. Boccaccio describes their departure after the fifth day as "displeasing to Sarpedon,"<sup>16</sup> but Chaucer has them leave at week's end when "of Sarpedoun they toke hire leve tho" (V.499) without any displeasure by the Lycian king; similarly, Chaucer had them arrive without Sarpedon's coming out to greet them as he does in Boccaccio. Chaucer's Sarpedon is farther above his Troilus in nobility. Chaucer then uses Boccaccio's addition of the feast, an image Boccaccio takes from Homer but alters in several ways to make it more a reply to the necessity monologue and a comparison between the warrior Sarpedon, who acts freely despite his fate, and the passive Troilus, who has given up his warrior identity to become a lover and who refuses to

accept the warrior realities.

When, with the reappearance of the brooch, the text deepens into mythographic resonance, the floor for the debate which the Narrator began and then passed to Pandarus, returns to the Narrator. The Narrator interrupts his text again after Criseyde has yielded to Diomedes and given him the brooch. She has been seduced by his false counselling tongue, his unusually large tongue which foretells the fall of Troy and manipulates her character through her fear and need for protection.<sup>17</sup> Chaucer interjects a flurry of narrator interruptions to excuse himself for telling the tale he has read, not made up: "And after this, the storie telleth us" (V.1037); "I fynde ek in stories elleswhere" (V.1044); "Men seyn - I not - that she yaf hym hire herte" (V.1050). He condemns her by excusing her as he does the women in his *Legends of Good Women*.<sup>18</sup> In trying to excuse her he shows that her grief is for her reputation, not for her moral choice: "But trewely, the storie telleth us" (1051) that she was very sorry to be false to Troilus because of her loss of reputation. The narrator feels constrained by the necessity of plot to admit she turned coat but can at least hide the time it took her to do so:<sup>19</sup> This highly nervous protesting that he is subject to restraint by the necessity of the text is more of Chaucer's rhetorical parasychidion: he says one thing to suggest its opposite. The narrator calls both Troilus and Pandarus



Fortune's fools for waiting all day for Criseyde, "Fortune hem bothe thenketh for to jape!" (V.1134), and cynically says good by to all that in Villon's words, "Fare wel al the snow of yerne yere"(V.1176). Convinced by Diomedes's words that Troy must fall, the ever practical Criseyde makes virtue of necessity and chooses life rather than Troilus' love (V.1555-1557).

The Narrator refers again to the story which cannot be changed and changes it so that he describes the woe of Troilus, his theme, and not the anger of Achilles or the sorrow of Priam for his sons.

For whom, as olde bokes tellen us,  
 Who mad swich wo that tonge it may nat lette,  
 And namely, the sorwe of Troilus,  
 That next hym was of worthynesse welle  
 V.1562-1565.

In the 'olde bokes' the woe of Priam was for the loss of Hector, a woe here transferred with much of Hector's persona to Troilus. Through the Narrator, Chaucer also connects Troilus to Hector as next most worthy. He links Troilus's sorrow over the death of Hector with his sorrow over the loss of Criseyde and then with his renewed optimism, as if through burying Hector he has buried his anger at his dream and reawakened his hopes yet again. Troilus reverts to excusing her because Calchas is probably causing the delay (V.1571-1575). Troilus daydreams about disguising himself as a pilgrim to go to her but, whenever the war enters his mind, he has a warrior's knowledge that

it will not work. Instead of action he chooses words and writes to her.

In Criseyde's reply, her form of address defines Troilus' dilemma of being caught between the warrior code and the code of lovers when she calls him "cupides sone" (V.1590) and "sward of knyghthood" (V.1591). She shows that the affair is over for her when she sends him the gall of her pity (V.1598). Criseyde says it is grievous to her "that the goddess ordinaunce/ It seme nat ye take it for the beste" (V.1605-1606). But he will not listen, even to the decrees of Fate. To the end, Troilus resists believing that she has gone for good, but finally, reluctantly, he must admit it. The Narrator expresses Troilus' acceptance with Homeric understatement:

Troilus wel understood that she  
 Nas nought so kynde as that hire ought be.  
 And fynaly, he woot now out of doute  
 That al is lost tht he hath ben aboute  
 V.1642-1645

Troilus finally stops considering her treachery a "suspecioun" (V.1647) when he sees Deiphobus with the captured tunic of Diomedes that still has pinned to it the love brooch Troilus gave Criseyde to remember him.

Foreknowledge is no longer an issue; necessity is now, and there is no further way to hide from it. Troilus has clung to a young man's dismissal of causality; wanting foreknowledge not to determine events, Troilus could always find hope in the potential of the future, but now he has to

face a reality which has arrived and which he can no longer hope will somehow be altered before it happens. The Narrator here gives a bogus, and untraceable, source, "The whiche cote, as telleth Lollius, Deiphobe it hadde rent fro Diomedes" (V.1653-1654), to support his inability to change the story, the necessity which binds him against his will as the sight of the brooch finally binds Troilus: "But now ful wel he wiste His lady nas no lenger on to triste" (V.1665-1666). Even at that, he cannot stop loving her, compelled because of the time of his birth,

In corsed tyme I born was, welaway  
That you, that doon me al this wo endure,  
Yet love I best of any creature!  
V.1699-1701

but against Diomedes he can be a warrior. He tells Pandarus "The goddes shewen both joie and tene In slep, and by my drem it is now sene" (V.1714-1715). Troilus believes at last that the gods have spoken; the Narrator invokes Fortune which holds her course despite the sorrow of Troilus and causes Criseyde to love Diomedes (V.1744-1745): "Swich is this world, whoso it kan byholde, / In ech estat is litel hertes reste" (V.1748-1749). Troilus' childhood has ended with his belief in the possibilites of the future and his acceptance of the necessities of the present, and for Troilus, as the old myth promises, with adulthood will come death.

Having lost his dream of love, Troilus immerses himself

in his reality of war, finding his outlet and his solace in his fate as warrior. Again the Narrator refers to his old books to say that Troilus went on to fight many battles and sought death fruitlessly (1751-1757) until Fortune chose it for him: "But natheles, Fortune it naught ne wold Of oothers hond that eyther deyen sholde" (V.1763-1764).<sup>20</sup> The Narrator seems to yield the debate, and he explains his choice between the romance and the epic warrior tale,<sup>21</sup> of the anti-Homeric over the Homeric mode and refers the reader to Dares if he wants the warrior tale (V.1765-1771).<sup>22</sup> Chaucer leads the literal reader astray because, although he has in fact focused on the romantic love story, he has actually reinserted it into the Homeric tradition by his mythographic, euhemeristic, and metaphorical context through the theme of Homeric necessity.

Troilus' Dream, Cassandra's Prophecy,  
the Fates of Thebes and Troy

For Chaucer, all the myths of the gods are like a dream which explains the past, foretells the future, and warns about the present, albeit ironically and playfully. The Sarpedon myth is about foretelling, about inevitable fate which will come, and about the free will of the individual. In Book V of the *Troilus*, and especially in the dream of Troilus and its explanation by Cassandra, Chaucer refers to a rich texture of individual myths to explore the underlying

myth summarized by the story of Sarpedon. He also plays against the genealogical connection of both Sarpedon and Diomedes to Thebes. In Thebes, Theseus' role parallels Sarpedon's in Troy. Thebes and Troy are the two halves of one classical tale, both treated by Statius in his *Thebaid* and in his *Achilleid*, and Chaucer wrote the "Knight's Tale" and the *Troilus* at about the same time. The pairing of the two tales sets up interesting analogies which resonate below his text and link the fates of Troy and Thebes to that of Troilus through Cassandra, another of Chaucer's narrative voices and this time a mythographic voice.

What Sarpedon understands, because he knows that all but the gods are mortal, Troilus wishes to pass off as a dream of ambiguous possibility. Like the Theban Oedipus, he struggles to hold on to the blindness induced by his fear. He projects his disbelief upon Cassandra who, like Tiresias before her, chips away at his stubborn refusal to see the truth. Cassandra floats as an intermediary figure between narrator and text. In a sense her role is Chaucer's own: he must tell what is there although the news is bad and Troilus will not listen. In her own attempt at validation, she begins with a *precis* of Statius's *Thebaid*, and with the mythographic foundation and proof of fate's control over Troilus' situation. Unspoken, below her tale, Sarpedon, Lycian king of Theban origins and leader of all the allies, extends Troy beyond its walls and connects it to fate and

mortality; the figure of Diomedes, the Theban brooch of Criseyde,<sup>23</sup> and the dream of the boar reinforce the joining of Troy to Thebes and its fate.<sup>24</sup> Chaucer's story has enlarged the conflict of his Theban cousins, Palamon and Arcite of the "Knight's Tale," but this time the lover cannot win. Diomedes will have Criseyde; what Troilus sees when he hands his love over to Diomedes is inevitable because of the past and because of the nature of reality. Cassandra's method is Chaucer's own; Chaucer has her use the classical allusions to explain and deepen the significance of the present as well as to form metaphorical images and metaphysical contexts.

Chaucer prepares carefully for Cassandra's prophecy by his mythographic opening of Book V and by the representation of the events which are shadowed in the dream. Avoiding the didactic Christian mythographic tradition, he instead preempts the classical etymological approach to the Olympian gods and molds his references into an ironic subtext. In Book V, as Troy moves from background to foreground, Chaucer provides no invocation because nothing is left to request: foreknowledge has become present understanding and necessity is imminent upon Troy. In lieu of the invocation, the poem refers to Jove who gave its final destiny to the Parcae for disposition (V.1-3) and who will no more intervene for Troilus or Troy than he did for Sarpedon, his son. Troilus is to live in pain until the second Fate, Lachesis, no

longer spins his thread of life (V5-7); here Chaucer presents no Atropos with her fateful scissors to offer the mercy of closure. Time has become a force: Phebus, described by the Homeric epithet, gold-tressed, again denotes the passage of cyclic time, now measured in years not days, three cycles of melting snows (V.8-10) and that time of nature's cruelest thrust, the vision of man's individual end when earth is nearing its spring. Zephyrus has three times brought back green leaves since Troilus, son of Hecuba, first loved Criseyde (V.10-11). Unlike Bersuire, Fulgentius, and the other Christian mythographers, Chaucer does not explicate the Christian imagery, but it does lurk there for his audience, strengthened by the medieval consciousness of the parallels: three years of a public lifetime followed by the cross; the date of May 3, the feast of the finding of the true cross; the identification of Troilus by his mother not by his father - all elements which may not connect Troilus overtly with Christ and his cross but rather suggest an awareness of the necessary end of mortal life and earthly love. Probably lost to the modern reader, the associations were strong for Chaucer's medieval audience.

After the mythographic beginning, Chaucer reifies the dream, making the images of foretelling into the actual experience of the thing which was imagined in sleep. In Homer, Sleep and Death carried off Sarpedon's body; in

Chaucer, sleep foretells the death of love that Troilus experiences. Troilus, son of Hecuba, not son of Priam, passively mourns like the women of Troy, waits, and hopes while his beloved goes among the enemy. On the other hand, Diomedes awaits Criseyde at prime, at daybreak (V.15), the moment of hope. Troilus rides out as his mother's son, the courtly prince of Troy, hawk in hand and entourage of knights in tail, to escort her to the exchange for Antenor. Diomedes is identified by his father, Tydeus of Thebes (V.88) and takes mastery of Criseyde from Troilus: he "ledde hire by the bridel"(V.92). Troilus' nightmare is reality: he hands his captive heart over to the boar. But the returning Troilus "in his throwes, frenetic and madde" (V.206), curses first the gods with whom he tellingly connects his fated plight: Jove, Apollo, Cupid, Ceres, Bacchus, and Cipride, and then everything else except the problem, Criseyde: "His burth, hymself, his fate, and ek nature, And, save his lady, every creature"(V.208-210) feeling the torment of the damned which Chaucer expresses in his tortured lines: "To bedde he goth, and was with there and torneth In furie, as doth he, Ixion in helle"(V.211-212), trapped like Ixion on his own wheel of Fortune.<sup>25</sup> The instrument of his Fortune, Pandarus, does not go with him that day. Chaucer's narrator adds an explanation for his absence, "For with the Kyng Priam al day was he" (V.284).<sup>26</sup> Troy, for Troilus, has become a moonscape like that of Dante's hell (V.274-277),



and when day approaches, "And Phebus with his rosy carte soone" (V.279), he calls for Pandarus to help him face it. He has dreamed again of the owl Escaphilo<sup>27</sup> shrieking at him all the two nights since she left (V.319-320), and of Mercury, "and god Mercury, of me now, woful wrecche, The soule gyde, and whan the liste, it fecche!" (V.321-322), the god who will meet him on the eighth sphere after his death. Robinson says that "It was Mercury's function to act as the guide of souls (Psychopompas)."<sup>28</sup> This vision of Mercury is also prophetic of his own afterlife.

Chaucer's mythography combines medieval with classical sources and is heavily influenced by Dante. The personalization of the desolate city as Troilus' sorrow over the loss of Criseyde echoes *La Vita Nuova* and the loss of Beatrice. Dante evokes the grown man's memories of the sorrows of his youth;<sup>29</sup> the old narrator has the foreknowledge of the end of first love and knows the youth he remembers was bound by its necessity. Much of this necessity is temporal; it results from the inevitability of mortality and of cyclical life which is the nature of all things below the moon. The only escape is for the artist who captures the moment when the future is moving into the past and freezes an approximation of the present into words which last<sup>30</sup> though the reception of their meanings may also shift through time. For Chaucer, this telling of the tale of Troilus can be his own story of lost youth and love,

or the Knight's other tale, the Trojan complement to the Theban, remembered through his own youth or that of his son; or it can be the Squire's tale grown beyond the telling during the course of a Canterbury pilgrimage and even beyond the empathy of the still young Squire. Fortune, Dante's Lady of Permutations,<sup>31</sup> who moves her wheel inexorably through time, is understood by the grown man looking back with pity on the lost path of youth. Like Dante in the *Vita Nuova*, Chaucer uses the bleakness of the city from which love has fled to express this sense of loss. Troilus echoes Dante's pain at the death of Beatrice. "Quomodo sedet sola civitas"<sup>32</sup> - how desolate the city is - in his "O palays desolat" (V.540) for the house of Criseyde; it is the same cry that Zeus will feel when he views the body of his son Sarpedon or Priam when he buries Hector and loses his own future. But the young Troilus is bound by his more limited understanding of time and of human love; he rides through the desolate city and then turns to Cupid (V.582), the source of desolation rather than its cure. Troilus berates the fickle god for treating Troy in the manner of the fury of Juno against Thebes (V.599-602). In the *Canticus Troili* (V.638ff.) he turns from earth to sea imagery; he is the ship adrift which Charybdis will devour if Criseyde does not return (V.644).<sup>33</sup> Each night, Troilus calls to Latona<sup>34</sup>, telling his sorrows to the moon and lamenting three times about the horned moon. Surely the three repetitions of

horns (V.650,652,657) amuse the audience as Troilus asks the moon to renew her horns, that is, to hurry the passage of time, to the night of the new horned moon when Criseyde supposedly will return. There is no doubt for the audience about the cuckolded Troilus' fate and apparently none for Troilus subconsciously either. Troilus blames the perceived slowing down of time to the unexpert hands of Phaeton, Apollo's son, as driver of the chariot of the sun (V.659-665), and here Chaucer blithely slips in another reference of disaster for the young. For Chaucer's narrator, Criseyde is the moon, "Ful pale ywoxen was hire brighte face" (V.708), another imputation of disaster because the moon is inconstancy and all things below the moon, in the Ptolemaic system, are mutable.

While Troilus sits inactive, as the exemplar of his necessity soliloquy, and Sarpedon acts in the face of his doom, Diomedes of Thebes acts out the doom of Troy quite cynically. He plans how to gather Criseyde into his net (V.775), an Ovidian metaphor for garnering sexual lovers. Continuing to blend classical and medieval mythography, Chaucer follows Joseph of Exeter,<sup>35</sup> for his description of Diomedes (V.799-840), and his narrator announces that he has gleaned the description from books:

This Diomedes, as bokes us declare,  
 Was in his nedes prest and corageous,  
 With sterne vois and myghty lymes square,  
 Hardy, testif, strong, and chivalrous  
 Of dedes, lik his fader Tideus.

And som men seyn he was of tonge large;  
 And heir he was of Calydoigne and Arge  
 V.799-805.

Dante plays with the tradition of Diomedes's tongue and places him in a larger than usual tongue of flame shared with Ulysses in the ring of false counsellors of the eighth circle. And Diomedes has the smooth tongue of Ulysses in his cynical seduction of Criseyde when he plays on her fears for Troy's fall and Troilus' with it. He tells her that vengeance on Troy will be so great that the Manes, the gods of the lower world of pain, will be aghast, that is, that he will put hell in the shade by the ferocity of his attack (V.890-896). She is too afraid not to switch sides to safety with him, but she does tell Diomedes that she prays to Jove to save Troy (V.957), a prayer the audience knows is ineffective. When she lies, Criseyde swears, not by her heart and Venus but by her head and Pallas, asserting to Diomedes that she has had no lover but her husband; when she swears again by the same Pallas (V.999-1000-1) that if she pities any Greek it will be Diomedes, the audience is left wondering about the degree of her own cynicism, or of Chaucer's. Criseyde, like Pandarus, is a figure of Romance, not Epic.

Because the truth of his tale is not limited simply to the distant past of the plains of Troy, Chaucer tells time by the stars to underscore the cyclical movement that characterizes Fortune and all things below the moon:

The brighte Venus folwede and ay taughte  
 The wey ther brode Phebus down alighte;  
 And Cynthea hire char-hors overraughte  
 To whirle out of the Leoun, if she myghte;  
 And Signifer his candels sheweth brighte  
 Whan that Criseyde unto hire bedde wente  
 Inwith hire fadres faire brighte tente  
 V.1016-1022.

The story on earth is the reflection of the tale in the heavens; the two tales interconnect. Night follows day, but here Cynthea, the Diana of the moon, tries to whirl out of Leo, overwrought and wild, out of control like Phaethon with the chariot of the Sun. However, she is constrained and must stay on her path through time; Criseyde, too, is supposed to return but goes to her father's tent and shifts her path to stay in the Greek camp. Chaucer also uses astronomy and myth to describe the dawn for Troilus after Criseyde has given Troilus' brooch to Diomedes and sealed the transfer of her loyalty. The sun still rises and warms the eastern sea and the Greek camp:

The laurel-crowned Phebus with his heete  
 Gan, in his cours ay upward as he wente,  
 To warmen of the est se the wawes weete,  
 And Nysus daughter song with fressh entente,  
 Whan Troilus his Pandare after sente;  
 And on th walles of the town they pleyde,  
 To loke if they kan sen aught of Criseyde.  
 V.1107-1113.

Chaucer has Nisus' daughter walk the walls as Troilus does, but she betrays her father for her beloved who did not want her. Chaucer loves to play with myth this way: he takes all the common elements and scrambles them so that all the connections miss. Sylla's love was unrequited: Minos

killed her in disgust when she betrayed her father. Criseyde had professed a willingness to betray her father and now betrays Troilus. Troilus had been willing to choose Criseyde over Troy, and she has rejected him. Scylla cut off her father's purple lock; Criseyde gave away Troilus' lover's brooch.<sup>36</sup> The song of the ciris bird, into which Sylla metamorphosized, sings out over a lover walking a wall, a lover rejected and left to die, a lover who is not listening to the universe warning him of his fate because he refuses to see the exemplars in the Mirror of Providence, the constant changing of the cycle of day and night, birth and death, or to see the particular fates of creatures in the Table of Destiny's temporal order, the story of Scylla in the song of the bird, or to deduce from the Book of Memory the inevitable fate which awaits him.<sup>37</sup> Earlier, in his canticle, he saw himself as the ship adrift which Charybdis would devour; now he hears the song of Scylla and walks like her upon the walls. The whole mythological structure is picturing for him his peril. Since Troilus wishes to ignore the signs of the cosmos,<sup>38</sup> he dreams and believes the dream comes from Jove (V.1446).

#### Troilus' dream

Whether a direct message from Jove or an involuntary

manifestation of knowledge he tries to suppress, Troilus' dream pictures for him the relationship between Diomedes and Criseyde

in a forest faste he welk to wepe. . .  
 He mette he saugh a bor with tuskes grete,  
 That slepte ayeyn the bryghte sonnes hete.  
 And by this bor, faste in his armes folde,  
 Lay, kyssyng ay, his lady bryght, Criseyde  
 V.1235, 1238-1241.

The large tongued Diomedes has become the great tusked boor, and Troilus immediately calls for Pandarus to tell him his worst fears:

My lady bryght, Criseyde, hath me betrayed. . . .  
 She elliswhere hathe now her herte apayed.  
 The blysfyl goddes thorough here grete myght  
 Han in my drem yshewed it ful right.  
 Thus yn my drem Criseyde have I byholde  
 V.1247,1249-1252.

The literal minded and accommodating friend, Pandarus, gives Troilus what he wants to hear, prosaic, practical, demystifying, and debunking advice and a scolding to prod him out of his sorrow.

Have I hit seyde er this  
 That dremes many a maner man bigile?  
 And whi? For folk expoiunden hem amys.  
 how darstow seyn that fals thy lady ys  
 for any drem, right for thyn owene drede?  
 lat be this thought; thow kanst no dremes rede  
 V.1276-1281.

Balm to Troilus, the ambiguous message that no one can read, a dream helps him continue his denial. Pandarus continues to tell him what he wants to hear by his qualified statements about a positive interpretation of the dream. <sup>39</sup> He uses a double conditional (may-may) that it could

possibly be that the dream could possibly have a meaning. He is relentlessly cheerful in suggesting that the boor is Calchas at death's door with his daughter kissing him farewell. Then he, very practically, suggests the solution for Troilus's distress is to write Criseyde and ask her (V.1292-1309). For Troilus, as a lover, action is all words and a little sex, the very formula by which Chaucer the narrator pokes fun at himself as a lover also inept in action but adept in words. In his letter, Troilus makes war his metaphor for life "That deth may make an ende of al my werre" (V.1393). To her reply that "she wolde come, ye, but she nyst whenne" (V.1428) and that "She loveth hym best" (V.1430), the Narrator comments: "But Troilus, thow maist now, est or west, Pipe in an ivy lef, if that the lest! Thus goth the world" (V.1432-1434). Troilus in sorrow does remember the dream constantly, but he believes that Jove has sent it to him as providence to give him knowledge <sup>40</sup> of her untrouthe.

Refusing to accept even this evidence, he goes to his sister Cassandra the sibyl,<sup>41</sup> himself to foresee the truth and not to believe himself; in this sense she is his psychological twin. Her explication of his dream recapitulates Chaucer's own method because she begins with its mythological equivalent, the story of Diana and Meleager, then redacts the *Thebiad* of Statius to remind him of the story of Thebes; she shows the connection between



Thebes and Troy, and she explains to Troilus the meaning or *sentence* of the literal content of the dream (V.1442-1540).<sup>42</sup> She has called Troilus Cupid's son (V.1590), and he shares his father's blindness by choice. The narrator reminds us, after Cassandra leaves, that Fortune is the purveyance and disposition of Jove, that is, his will (V.1541-1547), and that this will is to destroy Troy.<sup>43</sup> Cassandra's speech however is critical and interesting not in what everyone, even Troilus, knows she will say, but in the method she uses: she recapitulates Chaucer's own method of telling his tale.

It takes Cassandra nine stanzas to give Troilus his answer. First she reminds him of Fortune's cyclical movement. Then she recounts the mythographic and euhemeristic background of the situation which itself determines the outcome by necessity, and then she briefly gives her answer and lets him react to it. She will not tell him what the boor is doing in his dream until she is sure he understands the nature of Fortune and the reality that "Fortune overthrowe Hath lordes olde" (V.1460-1461) because by her nature she oversees the cycles of rise and fall or birth and death. That is the way it is, whether or not Troilus approves. To understand this working of fortune, Troilus needs to hear the old tales showing her movement in the lives of people before him. Cassandra begins her explanation by telling the already well known

story of Diana and Meleager.<sup>44</sup> Through Cassandra, Chaucer signals the importance of the tales to which he refers as an explanation of what he is saying. The old 'bokes' are the key and the source. Cassandra describes Diana's anger and her sending of the Caledonian boar and Meleager's slaying of the boar but is ambiguous about his death.<sup>45</sup> Nonetheless the myth is another story of family treachery and another connection to the Thebes of the "Knight's Tale."<sup>46</sup> Cassandra then gives the Latin argument of Statius' *Thebiad* for the story of Tydeus, Diomedes' father; she goes on to summarize the story of the *Thebiad* (V1485-1512), "And how the town was brent, the tolde ek tho" (V.1570), obviously foretelling Troy's fate by connecting the stories of Thebes and Troy via Diomedes and Troilus. Then in one stanza, she interprets the dream:

This ilke boor bitokneth Diomedes,  
 Tideus sone, that down descended is  
 Fro Meleagre, that made the boor to blede;  
 And thy lady, wherso she be, ywis,  
 This Diomedes hire herte hath, and she his.  
 Wepif thou wolt, or lef, for out of doute,  
 This Diomedes is inne, and thou art oute  
 V1513-1519.

By this linking to the tale of Thebes, she reinforces Troilus' fate and Troy's.

Still stubborn, he will not accept the necessity of Fate or the function of the books to provide foreknowledge.

"Thou seyst nat soth." quod he, "thou sorceresse,  
 With al thy false goost of prophecye!  
 Thou wenest ben a gret devyneresse!  
 Now sestow nat this fool of fantasie

Peyneth hire on ladys for to lye?  
V.1520-1524.

Then he curses her by Jupiter and tells her she might as well speak against Alceste as against Criseyde. Chaucer is playing again: right after rejecting the books she has cited, Troilus cites the books which call Alceste the perfect wife (V.1533). Her interpretation does infuriate him sufficiently to propel him to action and cures him of his illness if not of his longing. Chaucer suggests that if we wish to understand a thing we must know how it fits into our myth and our history.

The Narrator closes the scene with Cassandra by himself speaking about Fortune's turning as a consequence of the will of Jove.

Fortune, which that permutacioun  
Of thynges hath, as it is hire comitted  
Thorough purveyaunce and disposicioun  
Of height Jove, as regnes shal be flitted  
Fro folk in folk, or when they shal be smytted,  
Gan pulle away the fetheres brighte of Troie  
Fro day to day, til they ben bare of joie  
V.1541-1547.

Like Troilus' hopes, Fortune's turning is repetitive and inexorable, and if Fate works by Jove's will, overruling it by Jove, as in Sarpedon's death or in changing the reputation of Criseyde, becomes impossible for gods or narrators. Immediately after this insistence upon Jove's will, the death of Hector approaches.

Troilus is involved in a psychomachia in which his youth and vitality keep insisting themselves into the midst

of his self delusion and path to death with assertion after assertion of foreknowledge of what must necessarily come. He keeps choosing, with the comic and maddening stubbornness of youth, what he knows is not true. Chaucer describes this battle in many ways, but very clearly in his use of classical allusions and references to the story of Troy.

Cassandra has replaced Criseyde as interpreter of a Theban dream. The kinsmen of Book II, Criseyde and Pandarus, are replaced by Troilus and Cassandra. Troilus' dream of Diomedes, the Theban who wins his Criseyde, and Cassandra's history of Thebes together recall the story of Thebes read earlier in Criseyde's garden by her handmaiden Antigone, named for the princess of Thebes.<sup>47</sup>

Sarpedon stands in analogous relationship to Troy as Theseus does to Thebes.<sup>48</sup> Both outsiders, powerful kings, and characters of mythic proportion, both influence, and in fact determine, the fate of the cities with which they join themselves. In like manner, the "Knight's Tale" and the *Troilus* are the two halves of the Theban and Trojan tales, the former founded on the Theseus figure who is at once the Knight's idealized projection of himself and the Knight's externalized ideal. The *Troilus*, it seems to me, may have begun as the Knight's second tale, or perhaps as the Squire's tale with the Squire in analogous relationship not to Sarpedon as his father is to Theseus, but anticlimactically to Troilus - and to Troilus as the end

product of the process that has merged Sarpedon, along with Hector and Achilles, into the figure that has evolved into Chaucer's Troilus. And this Chaucer's Troilus, who cannot participate in Sarpedon's feast, is like the Squire who is an inadequate echo of his father the Knight's function as warrior, who has let the lover that was like Achilles develop and degenerate into its courtly parody, and has let the philosophical issue of fate dwindle into trivia.

For Chaucer the warning to Troy was also a warning for New Troy, his London.<sup>49</sup> Sarpedon's fate is human mortality: neither earthly love nor earthly city is immortal. When he dedicates his story to "moral Gower" and "philosophical Strode, he is not simply asking for their patronage or their editorial skills. He has clearly paralleled the fates of Thebes and of Troy: both fell in flames which had been lighted by flawed rulers. Both heroes, Sarpedon and Theseus, must have been in his mind. Theseus was Chaucer's Knight's ideal,<sup>50</sup> but his Squire's ideal would logically be Troilus rather than Sarpedon. The *Troilus* could easily have been begun as *the Squire's Tale* and then have outgrown its teller. With all the suggestions of London as New Troy,<sup>51</sup> Chaucer may well have had Richard II in mind behind his Troilus. As for "philosophical Strode," Chaucer's friend Strode was connected to the issue of fate through his debates with Wyclif over predestination.<sup>52</sup> And "moral Gower" was writing in his *Vox Clamantis* of the New Troy in an

England which was behaving much like Troy before its fall.

Chaucer uses the mythographic method for his own Cassandra-like prophecy which is imbedded in the Theban material of the *Troilus*. The dedication to Gower is a warning signal to heed what David Anderson has seen so clearly delineated in parallels and allusions in Chaucer's tale. Criseyde is connected to Helen by the descriptions of their beauty, by their previous marriages, by their being older than their lovers, by their Greek and Argive ancestry. Criseyde is Diomedes's cousin, connected through the daughters of Adrastus. She has inherited the brooch of Thebes from her mother, Argia (Argyve), and its curse strikes Troilus. By the association of her mother's name and by descent if her mother is descended from the Argia once married to Polyneices, she is also connected to Polyneices of Thebes. Troilus is connected to Polyneices' rival brother through his own brother Paris who is the Trojan counterpoint of Eteocles of Thebes. The web of interrelationships provides a story below the story which in mythographic fashion determines the fall of Troy by making it a mirror of Thebes. Anderson also establishes Chaucer's intent to project the story forward.<sup>53</sup> Perhaps Chaucer is warning that New Troy's fall, which is forecast by the falls of Troy and Thebes and indeed of all the cities of man, does not by necessity have to occur if the warnings are heeded and if men have the will to act. In this belief, Chaucer

recapitulates Troilus' conclusions from his necessity soliloquy. Also, after reading Dante about the degeneration of bloodline which produces weak sons of strong fathers,<sup>54</sup> Chaucer may see London's fall as necessarily proceeding from the inevitable competition among Edward III's heirs to a kingdom left to a boy. Chaucer has hidden a cautionary tale for Richard II within a *Troilus* which functions also as political allegory because of its warnings about free will and fate. It seems appropriate for Sarpedon to be the key to expand the meaning of the story of the fate of Troilus and his Troy to a warning of the possible fate of London and a reminder of the fate of all who are mortal.

## Notes

<sup>1</sup> Chaucer was not inclined to treat mythology as a cunning device or artifice; for him it was not simply a part of narrative gimmickry or decorative opulence . . . he simplifies and economizes on his sources and he complicates the effects of his classical material . . . his rhetorical goal seems to be a "heightened style"; yet the result is often strikingly the opposite--as though Chaucer were thoroughly aware, even in his early work, that the weight of classical ornament could comically topple a literary structure or weaken a fictional creation, and so ironically undercut the normal purpose of mythical allusion. (John P. McCall, *Chaucer Among the Gods: The Poetics of Classical Myth* [University Park: Pennsylvania State UP, 1979] 18).

In analyzing Ralph of Hexter's *Ovid and Medieval Schooling: Studies in Medieval School Commentaries on Ovid's "Ars Amatoria," "Epistulae ex Ponto," and "Epistulae Heroidum"* (Munich, 1986), Christopher Baswell notes that "Hexter's most significant conclusions . . . concern the absence of any allegoresis or Christianizing reference in the commentaries." Evidently, Chaucer had precedents dating back to Dunstan in the ninth century for his treatment of the myths without the Christian overlay. See Christopher Baswell's "Medieval Readers and Ancient Texts: the Inference of the Past" (*Envoi* 1(1988) 4).

<sup>2</sup> "In one place Boccaccio likened Troilo to a falcon; Chaucer altered the simile and compares Criseyde to the falcon (II.1782-1785)." (Stephen A. Barney, "Troilus Bound" *Speculum* 47(1972) 453) For a discussion of the nightingale references, see Robert S. Sturges, "Ascalaphus and Philomela; Myth and Meaning in Chaucer's *Troilus and Criseyde*." (*American Notes and Queries* 4(1991) 63-67).

<sup>3</sup> T.P. Dunning sees the visit to Sarpedon as an example of an "incident used by Chaucer to evoke in the reader's mind a strong impression of Troilus's constancy." ("God and Man in *Troilus and Criseyde*," Davis and Wren 167). Those parts which create this impression are "The most beautiful and carefully constructed parts of Book V." However, Dunning misses Sarpedon's connection to fate and the whole structural framework of the necessity theme.

<sup>4</sup> For a discussion of Greek in Italy, see Barbara M. Kreutz, *Before the Normans: Southern Italy in the Ninth and Tenth Centuries* (Philadelphia: U of Pennsylvania P, 1992).

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Alfred David's *The Strumpet Muse* (Bloomington: Indiana UP, 1976) 27. For a particularly important



discussion, see also Barbara Nolan's chapter, "Saving the Poetry: Authors, Translators, Texts, and Readers in Chaucer's *Book of Troilus and Criseyde*," (*Chaucer and the Tradition of the Roman Antique* [Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1992] 198-246).

<sup>6</sup> On the other hand, in *Chaucer and the Text*, Carolyn Dinshaw argues for his status as Chaucer's own voice (New York and London: Garland Publishing, 1988) 167. The debate can also be viewed as an internal one, as a psychomachia between Chaucer's divided self.

<sup>7</sup> Macrobius lists five main types of dreams:  
 enigmatic/somnium/onerios;  
 prophetic/visio/horama;  
 oracular/oraculum/chrematismos;  
 nightmare/insomnium/enypnion;  
 apparition or incubus/visum/phantasma.

Nightmares and apparitions are not worth interpreting as they have no prophetic significance. The apparition comes upon one in the moment between wakefulness and slumber, in the so-called "first cloud of sleep" (89). A dream is prophetic if it actually comes true, oracular or warning if a messenger reveals what will or will not transpire and what action to take or to avoid, enigmatic if it requires an explanation of veiled truth (Macrobius, *Commentary on the Dream of Scipio*, tr. William Harris Stahl. [New York: Columbia UP, 1990] Ch. III. Varieties of dreams [87-92], esp. 1-11 [89-90]).

<sup>8</sup> E sogni e le paure gitta via,  
 in quel che son lasciali andar ne veunti;  
 essi procedon de malinconia  
 e quel fauno vede che tu tupaventi  
 solo Addio sa il ver di quel che fia  
 ed i sogni e gli auguri a che legenti  
 stolte niguardan, non montano un noio,  
 ne al futuro fanno assai o poco.

[Dispel your dreams and fear; let them go with the winds for that is all they are. They procede from melancholy, and they make you see what you fear. Only God knows the truth of what will be, and the dreams and the auguries to which stupid people pay attention do not amount to a trifle and have no bearing on the future, great or little.] (Giovanni Boccaccio, *Il Filostrato*, ed. Vincente Pernicone, tr. Robert P. apRoberts and Anna Bruni Seldis [Garland Publishing, 1986] V.32 [290-91].)

<sup>9</sup> Now ris, my deere brother Troilus,

For certes it non honour is to the  
 To wepe and in thi bedde to jouken thus;  
 For trowelich, of o thyng trust to me;  
 If thow thus ligge a day, or two, or thre,  
 The folk wol seyn that thow for cowardise  
 The feynest sik, and that thow darst nat rise!  
 (V.407-413).

10 "Ma dove potrem noi per festa andare Come ragioni?  
 Andianne a Sarpidone?" [But where can we go for diversion  
 as you suggest? Shall we go to Sarpedon?] V.38 (294-95).

Note that according to Homer, Pandarus is fifth in the  
 list of Trojans after Hector, Aeneas, and the two sons of  
 Antenor (II.827) and that Dictys identifies him as Lycian  
 (II. 41, 62), so for Boccaccio, Lycian Sarpedon's house is  
 an obvious choice for Pandarus.

Yet in discussing the *Filostrato*, C. David Benson  
 speaks of Boccaccio's introducing an original character,  
 "Criseida's cousin Pandaro" and, "If Pandaro first joins the  
 story with Boccaccio, perhaps Boccaccio found him in the  
*Iliad* himself, since Pandaro is not in Benoît or Guido" (*The  
 History of Troy in Middle English Literature: Guido delle  
 Colonne's Historia Destructionis Troie in Medieval England*  
 [Woodbridge, Suffolk: D.S. Brewer; Rowman & Littlefield,  
 1980] 15).

However, although not a part of the Troilus-Criseyde  
 story, in Dictys he does appear as an archer (as in Homer)  
 of questionable honor, killed by Diomedes, and his ashes,  
 after a ceremony by Priam and his sons, are shipped home to  
 Lycia (41. 62). If Boccaccio and Chaucer thought of him as  
 Lycian, all the more reason for the choice of Sarpedon as  
 the opposite sphere of influence.

In the *Iliad*, Pandarus appears first in the Book II  
 list. Then in Book IV (159), Pandarus shoots Menelaus from  
 ambush and breaks the truce. In his third appearance in  
 Book V, Pandarus, son of Lycaon (possible source of Dictys's  
 error confusing Lycaon and Lycia), wounds Diomedes and boasts  
 of it. Finally, Aeneas tries to save his body (V.p.215)  
 shortly before Sarpedon chides Hector for the behavior of  
 the Trojans (V.p.229).

11 Davis Taylor does an interesting linguistic study of  
 Troilus' passivity reflected in his language ("The Terms of  
 Love: A Study of Troilus's Style" *Speculum* 51(1976): 69-90).

12 Sarpedon, for Troilus, is a catalyst in the way that  
 Fortinbras will be for Hamlet when his observation of the  
 march to Poland marks his awareness of the contrast between  
 them, his discourse on honor, and his turn to action.

13 This Sarpedoun, as he that honourable  
 Was evere his lyve, and ful of hiegh largesse,

With al that myghte yserued ben on table  
 That deynte was, al coste it gret richesse,  
 He fedde hem day by day, that swich noblesse,  
 As seyden bothe the mooste and ek the leeste,  
 Was nevere er that day wist at any feste.  
 Nor in this world ther is non instrument  
 Delicious, thorough wynd or touche of corde,  
 As fer as any wight hath evere ywent,  
 That tonge telle or herte may recorde,  
 That at that feste it nas wel herd acorde;  
 Ne of ladys ek so fair a compaignie  
 On daunce, er tho, was nevere isey with er  
 V.435-48.

14 Chaucer expands *Filostrato* on Sarpedoun's hospitality, stressing the banquets and omitting the hunts (*Fil* 41). Boccaccio's Sarpedon is more magnanimous than others; Chaucer's Sarpedoun is honourable throughout his life. *largesse* preferred to *Cpetc* reading *provesse*, the stanza concerns Sarpedoun's generosity. (*Geoffrey Chaucer: Troilus and Criseyde: A New Edition of the Book of Troilus*, ed. B.A. Windeatt [London and New York: Longman, 1984] 471n.)

This Sarpedoun, as he that honourable  
 was euere his lyne and ful of heigh largesse,  
 With al tht myghte y-serued ben on table  
 That deynte was, al coste it gret richesse,  
 He fedde hem day by day, that swich noblesse  
 As seyden bothe the mooste and ek the leeste,  
 Was neuere ere that day wist at any feste.  
 V.435-41

Compare Boccaccio:

Costui, si come quel che c'alto coce  
 era piu ch'altri in cascheduna cosa  
 fece a ciascun maraviglioso onore  
 or con cacce, or con festa graziosa  
 di belle donne e di molto valore,  
 con canti e suoni, e sempre con pomposa  
 grandezza di conviti tanti e tali  
 che'n Troia, mai s'eran fatti eguali. V.41

[He, as one who was more noble-hearted in everything than any other, showed marvelous honor to each, now with hunts, now with the gracious company of beautiful and very worthy ladies, with songs and music, and always with the splendid grandeur of banquets, so many and of such sort that their equal had never been given in Troy.] (apRoberts and Seldis, *Il Filostrato* V.41, p.297)

15 "Or siam noi per lo foco venuti qui" (Pernicone Bocc. V.47).

16 "Quantunque a Sarpidon cio' no piacesse" (Pernicone V.48).

17 Note that in the *Inferno*, Dante has Diomedes trapped in a double tongue of fire with Odysseus and denies him any speech (Cantos 26-28).

18 The reader may discern something of the Ovidian narrator as well as his character in Chaucer's creation . . . the narrator who excuses Medea for her rash loving may have provided Chaucer with the idea of a narrator who repeatedly excuses Criseyde, in even more compromising situations. Most of the Ovidian passage . . . is taken up by Medea's internal debate between duty and desire. (Mary-Jo Arn, "Three Ovidian Women in Chaucer's *Troilus*: Medea, Helen, Oenone," *The Chaucer Review* 15 (1980) 3).

Arn contends that Chaucer uses the Ovidian portraits of Medea and Helen partially to create Criseyde (5).

19 But trewely, how longe it was bytwene  
That she forsok hym for this Diomedes,  
Ther is non auctour telleth it, I wene.  
Take every man now to his bokes heede,  
He shal no terme fynden, out of drede  
V. 1086-90.

The damage has already been done: her name is already widely known and much as he would like to, he cannot help her.

Ne me ne list this sely womman chyde  
Forther than the storrye wol devyse.  
Hire name, allas, is publysshed so wide  
That for hire gilt it oughte ynough suffise.  
And if I myghte excuse hire any wise,  
For she so sory was for hire untrouthe,  
Iwis, I wolde excuse hire yet for routhe.  
V.1093-99.

20 Compare *KNT*. 1.2694: "The helous strokes on hir helmes byte" and *TC*. V.1758-59: "They mette with bloody strokes and with wordes grete."

21 In "The History of a Shady Character: The Narrator of *Troilus and Criseyde*" (Nischik and Korte 166-78), Derek Brewer comments on Irony and narrative Voice: "Irony at its simplest implies two levels of meaning, one plain, simple,

wrong; the other hidden, subtle, correct. These levels may be seen metaphorically as voices, and voices have speakers (166)." Translating this into Robertsonian terms, it is possible to say that the narrator is the literal voice of romance and the poet's the allegorical voice which then divides into three forms: the allegorical voice of the epic or Homeric, the tropological voice of the mythographic, and the analogical voice of the philosophical-theological.

22 "By Dares Chaucer probably means Joseph of Exeter's work, consulted for V.799-840. Chaucer consults Benoît and Guido, but does not follow their interests both in Troilus' martial exploits and his love" (Windeatt 557n).

23 The brooch of Thebes was a gift to a daughter of Mars and Venus, War and Love: "to spite his cuckoldry Vulcan had given Harmonia the legendary Brooch of Thebes as a wedding gift--a token which would inspire feminine greed and treachery" (McCall 90).

24 Baswell and Taylor connect Troy and Thebes via Helen. They say that, according to Servius, "Helen is said to have been carried off by Theseus in the generation of the Argonauts and then again by Paris in the era of the Trojan War (Servius Grammaticus, *In Vergilii carmina commentarii*, ed. Georg Thilo and Hermann Hagen, [1 Repr. Hildesheim, 1961] 306). Christopher Baswell and Paul B. Taylor ("The Fairie Queene Eleyne in Chaucer's *Troilus*," *Speculum* 63 (1988): 296)

25 Ixion in Boethius. 3m12.37-38; Larry D. Benson, *The Riverside Chaucer* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1987) 563n.

Patch, in *Goddess Fortuna* (167), notes the medieval association of Ixion's and Fortune's wheels (Benson, 1051n).

Ixion killed his wife's father after tricking him to come collect the bride price of horses. Zeus forgave him, but he then tried to seduce Hera. Hera told Zeus, and they tricked Ixion with a cloud shaped like Hera from which was born the centaurs. Zeus chained Ixion to a burning wheel (Edward Tripp, *The Meridian Handbook of Classical Mythology* [New York: New American Library, 1974] 327).

Dante uses the image for the wheel of sodomites in *Inferno* XVI.21: "fenna una rota di se tutti e trei"--[all three made a wheel of themselves] (Sinclair 204-05). It follows upon his reference to Fortune's Wheel (XV.91-95, p.196-97) in terza rima rhythm (Dante Alighieri, *The Inferno*, tr. John D. Sinclair. [New York: Oxford UP, 1961].

26 This recalls Pandarus' earlier concourse with the king and raises a question of Priam's complicity: was Pandarus being paid by Priam to initiate his son and then extract him from the entanglement? Does he appropriate the

role assigned to Hecuba in Benoit's version of the affair between Achilles and Polyxana? Boccaccio does not mention a visit to Priam by Pandarus: "Pandaro non era il di potuto andare a lui, [Neither Pandaro nor any other was able to come to him that day.] (Boccaccio V.22).

27 Benson refers to "Ascalaphus whom Persephone changed into an owl," (Benson, 564n).

Ascalaphus: 1) Son of the river-god Acheron, he told Hades that Persephone ate the pomegranate seeds, the forfeit that would return her to Hades in hell. Persephone turned Ascalaphus into an owl by flinging water from Phlegeton in his face. 2) Son of Ares, an Argonaut and suitor of Helen, with his brother he led many ships to Troy, where he was killed by Deiphobus. At one place, Hyginus calls him and his brother the sons of Lycus and elsewhere sons of Ares (Tripp 106).

28 Robinson 833n. (*The Works of Geoffrey Chaucer*, F. N. Robinson, ed., 2nd ed. [Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1957]).

Note that the sphere of Mercury in Dante is the home of the seekers of honor like Justinian. It is the second circle from earth or the eighth counting from above. Since the eighth counting up is the circle of the fixed stars and the eighth counting down is the circle of Mercury, and since, according to Dante, the souls are in the Fixed Stars but reflected on the individual planets, it seems to me that in the highly disputed ending what Chaucer is doing is having Mercury guide Troilus' soul to its place among the seekers of honor.

29 The narrator of the poem, and thus the description of the actors, is in the hands of a character who is no less related to the action than were the first person narrators of the dream visions (Charles Muscatine, *Chaucer and the French Tradition* [Berkeley: U of California P, 1957] 135).

Note also E. Talbot Donaldson's commentaries on V.1828ff as having a tone of sweetness: "it is also a world full of the young potential of human love 'In which that love up groweth with oure age'; a world which, while it passes soon, passes soon as floweres fair. All the illusory loveliness of a world which is man's only reality is expressed in the very lives that reject that loveliness" (98), a world which the old narrator sees in the story of Troilus and his end ("The Ending of Troilus," *Speaking of Chaucer*. [New York: W. W. Norton, 1970]).

Finally, Baker, in "The History of A Shady Character," compares the narrator of *Troilus and Criseyde* to the narrators of the *Book of the Duchess* which, of all Chaucer's other poems, seems the closest to *Troilus* as one inside the

fiction as a character moving toward knowledge until, finally, the duality of the authorial character is unified and "at the end poet and narrator are one and the same person, united in knowledge and sympathy" (173).

All three circle my point, that Chaucer here is like Dante in *La Vita Nuova*, the older narrator of the Dream Vision who looks back at the bittersweet folly of youth--and weeps for its loss, as does the dreamer-narrator of the Pearl. Cf. Dante Alighieri, *La Vita Nuova*, tr. Barbara Reynolds (New York: Penguin, 1969) II.38-40.

Muscatine connects the *Troilus and Criseyde* narrator to the *Canterbury Tales* narrator as a bumbling bore but does not suggest as I do that the *Troilus* is an outgrown *Squire's Tale* with the same narrator.

30 Augustine on time in *Confessions* XI.xx (*St Augustine's Confessions*, tr. William Watts [Cambridge: Harvard UP, 1988] 252-53).

31 *Inferno* VII.68-96 (Sinclair 102-03). Note that Virgil's response to Dante's question is to call him foolish.

32 "Quomodo sedet sola civitas plena populo! facta est quasi vidua domina gentium" (*Biblia Sacra iuxta Vulgatam Clementinam* [Madrid: Biblioteca de Autores Cristianos, 1985]). [How doth the city sit solitary, that was full of People! How is she become as a widow!] *The Lamentations of Jeremiah*, 1.102 (*The Holy Bible*, Translated from the Latin Vulgate [Rockford Illinois: Tan, 1971]).

See Dante, *La Vita Nuova* 79, 81. Benson says this is an example of paraclausethyron or apostrophe at the door (Benson 105ln). Windeatt says that "Troilus's predestination soliloquy may be seen as a compleynt" and identifies it, "an example of paraclausithyron, lament on an empty house, as lyrical" (Windeatt 128).

33 It was Achilles' mother Thetis, with the other Nereids, who guided the Theban ship Argo safely past Charybdis and Scylla. Also, the fate of the ship was three cycles of being sucked down and belched forth (Tripp 159-160).

34 Benson thinks he means the moon, not Leda, mother of Artemis and Apollo (Benson 1052n). Tripp adds the information that when hounded by Hera, she fled to Lycia and changed into bugs the Lycian peasants who denied her well water (Tripp 344).

35 Voce ferox, animo praeceps, fervente cerebro,  
Audentique ira, validos quadratur in artus  
Tydides, plenisque meretur Tydea factis,

Sic animo, sic ore fero, sic fulmenat armis.  
Joseph of Exeter, 4.124-27 (Joseph Iscani, *De Bello Troiano*. [Samuele Dresemio: Dithmarsa, 1825] 471).

In Dares, there is a list of descriptions. Joseph takes Dares' information but disperses it through the text in individual portraits (cf. Criseyde 4.156-62). Chaucer, like Dares, lists his descriptions of Diomede, Criseyde, and Troilus. In Dante, Diomede shares a tongue of fire with Ulysses among the evil counselors:

chi e in quel foco che vien si diviso  
di sopra, che par surger della pira  
dov' Eteocle col fratel fu miso?  
Rispuose a me: La dentro si martira  
Ulisse e Diomede.

[ who is in that fire which comes so cloven at  
the top that it seems to rise from the pyre  
when Etiocles was laid with his brother.  
He answered me: Within there are tormented  
Ulysses and Diomede.] (*Inferno* XXVI.52-56)

Virgil tells Dante they are there for their crimes against Troy. Note the coupling of the Theban and Trojan tales and the silencing of Diomede.

36 The brooch of Thebes also signals the inevitability of events controlled by the movements of the heavens and therefore by the First Mover. Jill Mann ("The Planetary Gods in Chaucer and Henryson," Morse and Windeatt) notes Chaucer's upward movement and cosmic perspective and the indifference of the fisherman god of which the brooch is an emblem.

Chaucer's "The Complaynt of Mars" is a recapitulation of the inevitability of the *Troilus and Criseyde* love story, one cosmically determined by the movement of the planets. Troilus the Warrior serves Mars. When he tries to serve Venus, or Criseyde too, he moves in and out of her house as the planet Mars does with Venus. Perhaps this inevitability explains Chaucer's ambivalence to Criseyde.

The lines about the brooch of Thebes take up about one-sixth of the 298 line "Complaynt of Mars." The brooch follows the image of the fisherman god baiting his hook and playing men like fish:

The broche of Thebes was of such a kynde,  
So ful of rubies and of stones of Ynde  
That every wight, that sette on his on ye,  
He wende anon to worthe out of his mynde;  
So sore the beaute wolde his herte bynde,  
Til he hit had, him thoghte he moste dye;



And whan that hit was his, then shulde he drye  
Such woo for drede, ay while that he hit hadde,  
That wel nygh for the fere he shulde madde.

And whan hit was fro his possessioun,  
Than had he double wo and passioun  
For he so feir a tresor had forgo;  
But yet this broche, as in conclusioun,  
Was not the cause of his confusioun;  
But he that wroghte hit enfortuned hit so  
That every wight that had hit shulde have wo;  
And therefore in the worcher was the vice,  
And in the covetour that was so nyce.

So fareth hyt by lovers and by me;  
For thogh my lady have so gret beaute  
That I was mad til I had gete her grace,  
She was not cause of my adversite,  
But he that wroghte her, also mot I the,  
That putte such a beaute in her face,  
That made me coveyten and purchase  
Myn oun deth; him wite I that I dye,  
And myn unwit, that ever I clamb so hye.  
"The Complaynt of Mars" (238-71)

37 Compare Bernardus Silvestrus' "Microcosmos" in  
*Cosmographia*, ch. 10-11, pp. 113-17:

The heavenly powers, the stars, the firmament,  
will speak to him, and Lachesis reveal to him her  
deliberations. He shall behold clearly principles  
shrouded in darkness, so that nature may keep  
nothing undisclosed. (ch.10, p.113)

[In the Mirror of Providence] There lived ideas  
and exemplars, not born in time and not destined  
to pass away . . . in the eternal mind . . . . Among  
its exemplars might be discovered the model of  
anything. (ch. 14, p.115)

[The Table of Destiny] exhibited such products of  
the temporal order as were subject to change. The  
Table of Destiny is nothing else but the sequence  
of those things which come to pass by the decrees  
of fate. (ch.14, p.115)

The Book of Memory written not in ordinary letters  
but rather symbols . . . . In this brief compass  
the combined workings of fate and Providence could  
be deduced, and partially understood, but they  
could not be foreseen. (ch.14, p.116)(Translated by  
Winthrop Wetherbee [New York: Columbia UP, 1973])

Note that Scylla is mentioned in *LGW*, 1900-01, according to Benson 575n.

38 "In the *Filostrato* Troilo understands that Diomede is the boar and that he has lost his beloved, but Chaucer's Troilus remains unsure. He asks the advice of his sister, Cassandra" (McCall 101).

39 Perauntger, ther thow dremest of this boor,  
It may so be that it may signifie  
Hire fader, which that old is and ek hoor,  
Ayeyn the soone lith o poynt to dye,  
And she for sorwe gynneth wepe and crie,  
And kisseth hym, ther he lith on the grounde:  
Thus sholdestow thi drem aright expounde!  
V.1282-86

40 This drem, of which I told have ek byforn,  
May nevere outen of his rmembraunce.  
He thought ay wel he hadde his lady lorn,  
And that Joves of his purveyaunce  
Hym shewed hadde in slep the signifiaunce  
Of hir untrouthe and his disaventure,  
And that the boor was shewed hym in figure.  
V.1443-1449.

41 "Her speech is a historic or mythic counterpart of the Boethian philosophic discourse in Book Four" (McCall 102).

42 David Anderson quotes John McCall that "the immediate effect of introducing Cassandra . . . is to have her provide, in panoramic fashion, some concrete analogies to the condition of Troilus as a tragic victim of Fortune" ("Cassandra's Analogy. *Troilus* V. 1450-1521." *Hebrew University Studies in Literature and the Arts* 13 (1985) 4, quoting John P. McCall [102]). "The fall of Thebes in particular recalls the fall of Troy, and both shadow the fall of Troilus, his loss of Criseyde, and death" (Anderson4). In his "Theban History in Chaucer's *Troilus*" (*Studies in the Age of Chaucer* 4(1982):109-134), Anderson cites the "implicit analogy between the fall of Thebes and the fall of Troy that governs Chaucer's use of Theban history in the *Troilus*" (118). Paul Clogan also, in his "Chaucer's Use of the Thebiad" notes that "Unlike the gossiping, snobbish, shrewish sister in the *Filostrato*, Cassandre in *Troilus* is a dignified sibyl who has the true gift of prophecy and who is capable of interpreting Troilus' dream in the light of destiny and the fall of great princes" (*English Miscellany* 18(1967): 22-23). See also Paul Clogan's "Criseyde's Book of the Romance of Thebes," *Hebrew*

*Studies in Literature and the Arts* (1988): 18-28, and "Chaucer and the *Thebiad* Scholia," *Studies in Philology* 61(1964) 599-615.

- 43 Fortune, which that permutacioun  
Of thynges hath, as it is hire comitted  
Thorugh purveyaunce and disposicioun  
Of heichte Jove, as regnes shal be flitted  
Fro folk in folk, or when they shal be smytted,  
Gan pulle away the fetheres brighte of Troie  
Fro day to day, til they ben bare of joie.  
V.1541-1547

44 The story of the Caledonian boar appears both in Ovid (*Metamorphoses*, tr. Frank Justus Miller [Cambridge: Harvard UP, 1984] 8.260-546) and in Boccaccio (*Genealogie Deorum Gentilium Libri*, 2 vols. [A Cura Di Vincenzo Romano. Bari: G. Laterza, 1951]:9, cap.15 and 19). Benson 1054n. *Filostrato* incorrectly has 'l'avolo or grandfather of Tydeus for Meleager; the *Genealogie* correctly has him a half brother (9.2). Lactantius Placidus according to Winthrop Wetherbee (*Chaucer and the Poets* [Ithaca and London: Cornell UP, 1984]) in his commentary on Statius (*Thebiad* 1.463) makes Meleager the ancestor of Tydeus.

According to Tripp, there are two versions of Meleager's death. In the *Iliad* (9.543-99) he dies in battle against his mother's brothers when she curses him. According to Ovid (*M.*8.268-546) she throws a brand into the fire (as foretold by Atropos at his birth). The story also is in Hyginus (*Fabulae* 171-74), Apollodorus (1.8, 2-3), Aeschylus (*The Libation Bearers* 602-611). and Tripp 369-70. Chaucer leaves his death open to interpretation.

- 45 But how this Meleagre gan to dye  
Thorugh his moder, wol I you naught telle,  
For al to longe it were for to dwelle.  
V.1482-84

46 David Anderson notes that Chaucer "refers to Diomede as as [sic] the son of Tydeus five times in the course of Book V (88, 803-05, 932-38, 1025, 1747), as if to make a special point of his genealogy" ("Theban History in Chaucer's *Troilus*" *SAC* 2(1982): 108-34:125). Note that Stephen A. Barney connects the *Knight's Tale* and the *Troilus*: "The *Knight's Tale*, like *Troilus* based on Boccaccio, is in many respects a companion piece to the *Troilus*." ("*Troilus Bound*" [Shoaf 4]). Barney writes about Fortune in terms of bondage.

47 Before Criseyde tells Pandarus of her dream of him, Chaucer establishes a context of betrayal and family betrayal. First Pandarus is awakened by the "swalowe

Proigne" (II.64) telling him her sorrowful tale of the rape-mutilation of her sister by her husband. Then the narrator calls on "Janus god of entree" (II.77), the two-faced household god, to guide Pandarus to Criseyde. When he arrives he finds her with her maidens, one later (Book III) identified by the Theban name of Antigone, in the garden reading the story of Thebes (II.83-84), the setting for the "Knight's Tale" and for Sophocles' archetypal story of family betrayals. She greets him with the information that she has dreamed of him three times that night, a phrase which evokes Peter's three denials of Christ before cock-crow, a biblical image of betrayal from within one's kin group. When Pandarus asks her about the Theban tale, she summarizes the story more succinctly than will Cassandra in Book V, selecting the death of Laius at his son's hands and the seer Amphiorax's descent to hell during the siege by the Seven Against Thebes. With this web of allusions, suggestions, and dream, the narrator situates Criseyde's love in a context of inevitable betrayal, a context his reader recognizes. Then, when Chaucer describes Criseyde's movement to Pandarus' house to meet Troilus, he has her take nine or ten women with her, but Chaucer names Antigone, her niece with the Theban name which invokes Theban sorrows (III.597). His narrator breaks in to remind the reader of the inexorability that dogs Criseyde as it did the Thebans (III.617-23). Like beasts without free will, man cannot see the causes for his sorrow but acts as blindly as did the House of Thebes.

The force of mythic allusions to treachery change from light (and comic) to dark as Fortune's favor changes . . . in her sorrowful complaint about her separation from Troilus, we learn that Criseyde's mother's name was 'Argyve' or Argia (4,742)--the same as Polyneices' wife (5.1509), who possessed the fatal 'broche' of Thebes and who helped her husband to the war which brought his death. Her attractively poisonous brooch, made by Vulcan as a vengeful gift for the offspring of Mars and Venus, was for Chaucer a sign of treachery and tragedy; the fact that Criseyde is related to it through her mother's name is a minor detail of course, but it is another part of the more serious context. (McCall 33)

<sup>48</sup> In the "Knight's Tale," "Theseus, Boethian to the end, asserts the modest dignity of human Free Will, that (under God) controls Mars and Venus in us all" (Neville Coghill, "Chaucer's Narrative Art in the *Canterbury Tales*" [Brewer 4]). Theseus "becomes increasingly linked to the mythological figure of order and justice, Jupiter" (McCall 66), also "a man of 'wysdom' (*KnT* 865), of perception" (McCall 67), and "he balances victory with peace and marriage" (McCall 66). Notice that he subdues the Amazons

by marriage. Notice also that in the "Knight's Tale" are Theseus' feast before the 'battle' of the tournament between the two rival lovers, Palamon and Arcite and also the expression of the theme of fate that structures the *Troilus*. "Before the tournament Theseus holds a great 'feeste' in Athens" for Venus' service (McCall 77). Like Sarpedon, he holds a feast; unlike Sarpedon, he holds it for Venus. McCall also speaks of "the philosophy of Theseus's aged father, Egeus, who "knew this worldes transmutacions As he hadde seyn it chaunge bothe up and doun, Joye after wo, and wo after gladnesse" (*KnT* 2800). "Deeth is an ende of every worldly soore" (*KnT* 2849), and Theseus concludes with the "faire cheyne of love" speech. For Theseus, "death is intrinsic not only to the life of man but to all earthly things (*KnT* 3017-34); it is not a disorder, but a part of the natural order of Jupiter who is the figure of Nature's rule" (McCall 82).

49 "There is some reason to believe that Chaucer added the specter of Thebes to the background of the *Troilus* to underscore an implicit theme of the poem, namely that one fallen city may serve as a warning to another not yet fallen. As Thebes should have been to Troy, so Troy should be to England. The citizens of London, to whom Chaucer read his poem, sometimes referred to their city as "New Troy." (David Anderson, "Theban History in Chaucer's *Troilus*" 133). See also Anderson's "Theban Genealogy in the Knight's Tale," *Chaucer Review* 21 (1987) 311-20. Also see, Craig A Berry. "The King's Business: Negotiating Chivalry in *Troilus* and *Criseyde*," *Chaucer Review* 26 (1992) 236-65, for further discussion of London as New Troy and the public implications of the private business of royalty. And also see Carleton Brown's "Another Contemporary Allusion in Chaucer's *Troilus*," *MLA* 26 (1911): 208-11. Craig Berry, in "The King's Business," notes that England's "integrity at home and security against threats from the continent rested on the slim shoulders of a royal teenager named Richard" but never notes the parallels between Richard and the young *Troilus* (*Chaucer Review* 26(1992) 240).

50 See R. M. Lumiansky's "Chaucer's Philosophical Knight" (*Tulane Studies in English, Vol. III*. [New Orleans: Tulane University, 1952]) for possible connections of the Knight with the Lollards and to Theseus of his tale.

51 Janet Coleman, in "English Culture in the Fourteenth Century," discusses the fourteenth century rise of the thematic 'mirrors for princes' genre as a tradition influencing Chaucer (60). She notes Chaucer's attendance on Queen Anne, and also Richard II's correspondence with the Greek Emperor Palaeologus and possible classically inspired dreams of empire (Boitani *Chaucer and the Italian Trecento*

59-60).

<sup>52</sup> See J. L. Lowes' "New Life Records of Chaucer and I. Gollanz's reply in the *London Times Literary Supplement*, October 11, 1928 (736) and October 25, 1928 (783). Also, Russell A. Peck's "Chaucer and the Nominalist Question," *Speculum* 53 (1978): 745-60.

<sup>53</sup> In "Theban History in Chaucer's *Troilus*" (109-133), David Anderson traces the history of the comparison of the cities and shows Chaucer's use of the Thebes story.

<sup>54</sup> See the story of Dante's ancestor, Cacciaguida, in the *Paradiso*. The theme of degeneration runs throughout the *Paradiso*.

## Chapter IV:

## The Thomistic Synthesis: Necessity and Apotheosis

## Introduction

To the three acknowledged traditions of the transmission of the Troy story from antiquity: the Romance or Anti-Homeric, the Epic or Classical, and the Christian Mythographic, Chaucer added the new medieval synthesis of classical philosophy and Christian theology which Dante had transformed into literature in his *Commedia*.<sup>1</sup> Chaucer was apparently intrigued enough by Dante's treatment of fate and free will to add to Boccaccio's story of the *Filostrato* both the ending, based on the *Teseide*, and the necessity soliloquy which treat Troilus' dilemma and its resolution in Thomistic terms.<sup>2</sup> If Dante is used as a lens to view the *Troilus*, the pattern of echoes from the *Commedia* certainly indicates Chaucer's awareness of Dante and his intent in his ending.<sup>3</sup> Like the necessity soliloquy, the ending belongs in the *Troilus* as part of the philosophical argument about fate and free will in which Chaucer aligns himself with orthodoxy and establishes a fourteenth century philosophical context for his *Troilus*.<sup>4</sup>

A study of Sarpedon adds meaning to the ending of the *Troilus*. Sarpedon exists within the pagan Greek universe controlled by fate and the caprice of gods. Chaucer's Troilus lives in a Troy transformed by Chaucer's awareness of Dante into a place within a pagan universe which exists

within a Christian one. Chaucer takes the Ptolemaic Universe of the Greeks and of Boethius and adds to it the outer circle that is the whole of the Dantean vision.

In the pagan schema, the gods are the euhemeristic reflections of earthly heroes who have been apotheosized after their deaths and whose tombs are places of worship. In the Dantean version of apotheosis, the redeemed heroes ascend through the planets to their home among the blessed on the fixed stars but are reflected on the planets which represent their characters. Chaucer has his hero, Troilus, tread the path to glory which he projects for his own book, the *Troilus*, when he takes a pagan tale and retells it, through Dante's perspective, to a Fourteenth Century Christian audience.

Troy's fascination for the medieval audience reflects its significance as archetype or structure as the Augustinian City of Man: temporal, mortal, beautiful, alluring, but essentially flawed; the place of earthly beauty and joy, the illusory Eden with a dangerous apple at its center and inhabitants whose desires will propel them into exile. Like Aeneas with Anchises, they will carry it with them; as Aeneas cries out to Dido, they will try to rebuild it since they cannot return. Chaucer's ending is his own rueful laughter about the folly of this illusion as he looks down from the reality of his own enlightenment. Lost, foolish, illusionary, Troy still beckons him, evoking



longing and tears for what, Troilus-like, he may desire but knows is not real and fears that wishing cannot make it so.

Troilus among the stars, looking down and laughing, has finally understood this lesson of Troy, not just on Boethian terms but also on Dantean. Chaucer has shown Troy's attraction for fourteenth century readers, their dawning awareness of the emotional hold of the pagan past of their collective childhood, and the intellectual clarity and excitement of the scholastic synthesis of their fourteenth century maturity. Chaucer does with his text what he has his hero do within the tale, place his pagan past in perspective within the reality of his fourteenth century present.

Chaucer's treatment of the end of Troilus concentrates on the anagogical solution to the dilemma. The conflict between fate and will, which had been represented in the classics by the figure of Sarpedon, exists only in time and is resolved with death; death ends all issues of time for Chaucer's Troilus as it did for Homer's Sarpedon. As Chaucer resolves Troilus' dilemma through the perspective of eternity,<sup>5</sup> he also resolves the conflicts between epic theme of fate and romantic tale of the death of human love by the triple dedication to moral Gower,<sup>6</sup> who wrote of the danger to London as New Troy, to philosophical Strode, who debated predestination and will, and to Christ and the Trinity, which is the ultimate

incomprehensible religious dilemma, more complex than fate and will, and resolvable only through faith.

Since his earth bound and literal Troilus is so inviting a target, Chaucer turns the necessity soliloquy into an amusing parody of scholastic method. Just as he treated mythographic methods through Cassandra, whose fate was to foretell a gloomy future and not be believed, so he treats her psychological twin brother, Troilus, who also foresees doom but does not wish to believe himself, as the confused voice of youth trying to think its way through the schoolmen's logic.

The temporal movement of foreknowledge into current necessity and then into memory provides philosophical context for these moments when fate intervenes to explode the present into action.<sup>7</sup> From among these moments, this chapter has selected and focused on the Necessity Soliloquy and also on the *Troilus'* ending because it is so clearly Chaucer's synthesis of scholasticism, the *Commedia*, and Troy; of the ideas of Christian theology and pagan philosophy; of the form of romance and the epic fate of Troy.

#### A. Dante, Fate, and the Ending of the *Troilus*

For Chaucer and for Dante, as well as for Homer, fate is the theme of epic. The pagan hero is programmed by an

overriding force which controls the universe in which both he and his gods live. His gods are destructive and can themselves be destroyed; his own destruction is implicit in his nature. He is heroic if he seizes the moment and acts in spite of that sentence of death. The hero of modern fiction belongs to this pagan tradition although on a smaller, more human scale, disconnected from his world and isolated in his own consciousness; the hero of ancient epic had to live well on a grand scale, global and even cosmic, as a representative of his culture to which he was fully connected genealogically through his past, by association in his own time, and as a model in his people's future.

What Christianity did was to take the pagan culture like "gold out of Egypt"<sup>8</sup> and to expand the pagan universe. When medieval Christians wrote epics, they subordinated the closed circle of fate: beyond the controlling force of the universe of time is a greater Force which is eternal and is not destructive, which allows mankind, which is subject to time and therefore to fate, to take control of its own destiny and to determine its own end, to choose eternity in harmony and in union with this Light beyond time. The *Iliad* emphasizes linear time: it begins with Achilles' wrath and it ends with Hector's funeral. Dante begins with time, mid way in the journey of a man's life, and moves in mythic path down through a place controlled by the past and then up to a future and out beyond time.

Chaucer inherits the richness of the pagan gold and the Christian philosophy of light. His medievalized Troy appropriates the place and time of Homer's Troy; it exists also as the fate lurking below the events in his own London in his own closing fourteenth century; finally, it exists anagogically as the fate of all people. For Chaucer, Troy is London and it also is Eden and all three are subject to fall. When Chaucer writes about fate, as he does all through the *Troilus and Criseyde*, he sees fate as Dante does, as subservient to an omnipotent Being who has created the whole and keeps it in existence. He moves the story of futile pagan rites inside the larger circle.

For Chaucer, the Christian provides a perspective by which he sees reality, and his ending of the *Troilus* is a resolution, not an appendix, to his tale. Chaucer's narrator is too present, too intrusive, for the tale to be a pagan story. When Chaucer takes an ancient pagan tale and retells it in its new context, he makes it also an historical exemplum for his time and then moves it anagogically into an eternity. His narrator reads it from a Dantean perspective. He does not use Christian mechanisms but he writes from within the Christian universe where he himself is situated temporally and spatially. From his perspective, the meaning is clear. From the modernist perspective,<sup>9</sup> there is no intellectual or emotional comprehension of a center; consequently there is no

requirement for the necessity soliloquy or the ending. But Chaucer writes what Chaucer knows<sup>10</sup>; what this writing means to his reader is subject to what the reader knows. The medieval writer who takes a pagan text and invests it with Christian meaning wants the security of the solid mountain of the past beneath his feet and prefers this connectedness to his culture to the modern need for exploratory risk and the excitement of unknown space. For Chaucer, the ending, like the soliloquy, is intrinsic and necessary to the *Troilus*.<sup>11</sup> He adopts and adapts the context of the *Commedia* throughout the *Troilus* and his ending is written in Dantean terms.<sup>12</sup>

Because the *Commedia* is epic, fate is also Dante's theme, and in fact the relationship of God to man to Providence one of the questions he ponders. Dante's world of the *Commedia* is separate or separating from time: the choices of free will have been made for those he and Virgil see and the results of those choices are enacted. Chaucer's world within the *Troilus*, until Troilus' death, is a world of time, the world Sarpedon inhabits. But Chaucer's world has moved from Homer's context to Dante's and fits into the Dantean structure as one part of a whole.

Chaucer and Dante share the medieval landscape, the wilderness east of Eden, historically an untamed and dangerous land, emotionally a partial world, the northern hemisphere of dark wood and desolate plain and storm driven

sea which mirrors the human psyche.<sup>13</sup> "Her is non hoom, her is but wildernesse," Chaucer says in "Truth." There is no sense of a separate physical world: the world which medieval people inhabit is connected, one part of a whole universe both physical and extrasensory with mankind the heirs to both. The need to control the chaos into which they have been cast as a result of their powerlessness and inadequacy leads them, in the midst of all that chaos, to an obsessive need for order; what people list and categorize, they can in some sense control as a child controls his world through ritual. There is no sense of preexistence; instead the clouds of glory they trail are the memory of Adam's evening walks with God in the tamed garden, of angels to serve them as guardians and messengers. They believe that God spoke to them in the desert, guiding His people from bondage in Aegypto to the promised land, giving them the chance to create another Eden; that He even sent his own Son; that the God-Man walked among his people curing, coaching, providing, being one of them. He died for them and rose, defeating death and fear, and remains present for them still. For the medieval person, all is one world, truth can be known in different ways, and symbol merges and corresponds to fact to produce a wholeness of experience. Both inner and outer worlds are *specula dei*; the inner world of consciousness mirrors the world outside. There is a world of comedia, of happy ending in the return to the true Eden and in the

reunion with the joy of their collective past.

Troilus and Sarpedon, who did not know this world, lived in a tragic world of space and time. Their hope for transcendence and meaning came from living a warrior code and being immortalized in song as members of the company of heroes. In either coda, Troilus' earthly love was foolishness. It is as if Chaucer said, let us look at human love without the baggage of Christian sin. His *Troilus* takes the issue of human sexual love, of which the Wife of Bath lamented, "Alas, alas, that evere love was sinne," and places it in a context where it is not an issue of theology but one of philosophy. Chaucer does with human love what Boethius does with human life; examining it on a natural level he draws philosophical conclusions which are common both to pagan and to Christian. Free from the constraints of over-zealous clerical stricture and of tender conscience, earthly love becomes neither sin nor glory but just foolishness, the young man's tragedy and the dreamer's memory. Chaucer builds his Trojan city of men as Christine de Pizan will build her city of Ladies and as Dante has built his city of God. Symbol merges with reality because both the world inside the human consciousness and the macrocosm outside are one world. The ending of the *Troilus* belongs with the story Chaucer tells and answers the question of necessity within a Dantean structure.<sup>14</sup> Chaucer's world of time and human struggle is the

predecessor of Dante's world of the *Commedia*, ending where Dante begins. Troilus' voyage takes him on a path parallel to Dante's, beginning with his Limbo of indifference to love, descending through incontinence of behavior and heresy of argument, past violence of war and fraud by Pandarus, ending with the suffering of the treachery from Criseyde, and continuing after death to his encounter with Mercury, the Accountant, in the place where Dante also paused and considered fate and free will, retranslating the language of Aristotle and Aquinas back into myth.

By using Sarpedon as the key to the importance of fate,<sup>15</sup> the Dantean ending becomes more obvious and accessible. Chaucer echoes Dante both structurally and philosophically. In the *Purgatorio* the lengthy scholastic discussion of fate and free will occupies the travellers on the sphere of Accidie, the slothfulness or lack of will to act that is Troilus' besetting flaw.<sup>16</sup> Canto XVII introduces the issues of free will and predestination which are developed and discussed in Canto XVIII. Structurally, Dante's thematic rhythm joins his metrical terza rima pattern, aba bcb cdc, with a backward and forward motion like the dance of the planets. Chaucer uses this rhythm also, the looking backward structurally and forward thematically that connects the first triads of the *Canterbury Tales*.<sup>17</sup>

Dante's full discussion of fate and freedom occurs on



the terrace of the slothful where the souls are heavy with *accidie*. Virgil tells Dante that though love rises of necessity, the power to control it resides in the free will,<sup>18</sup> and Dante rejects the Epicureans;<sup>19</sup> Chaucer will identify Pandarus specifically as an Epicure. Virgil also lets Dante know that people love what they perceive and their perceptions are not necessarily true or good.<sup>20</sup> In Chaucer, Troilus falls in love with his perception of Criseyde and his perception, not Criseyde herself, is flawed; she simply is not what he wishes her to be. The second half of the Canto, the more difficult section according to Benvenuto da Imola, (who delivered his lectures on the *Commedia* only fifty years after Dante's death, midway between Chaucer's two known visits to Italy)<sup>21</sup> is a scholastic *disputatio*<sup>22</sup> in the standard format of the discussions between master and scholar in the university. In his discussion of scholastic form,<sup>23</sup> Benvenuto in his 1375 commentary on the *Commedia*, mentions the Thebans as an illustration of sloth,<sup>24</sup> the besetting sin of Troilus.

As Troilus moves between paralysis of will and human love, Dante moves from the terrace of *Accidie* to the terrace of Chastity. There, immediately after the scholastic discussion of fate and will, Dante relates his dream within a dream of the Siren. According to Benvenuto, the vision represents the evil woman in Proverbs:

I behold a foolish young man. . .



or were captured with Antenor,<sup>30</sup> for whom Criseyde is later exchanged.<sup>31</sup> If Ripheus can be in heaven because of his justice, then Chaucer has a precedent for placing Troilus there because of his love.

Dante, like Troilus, pauses on the Eighth Sphere and looks below at the smallness and relative unimportance of Earthly life.<sup>32</sup> Dante has just come from Saturn, the Sphere of Contemplation with the triple symbols of cross (human redemption), eagle (earthly order), and ladder (spiritual vision). Dante is controlled by his sign, Gemini, so his arrival in the Sphere of the Fixed Stars provides the occasion for his theory of personality and of the influence of fate on man. For Dante, the soul falls through the spheres and acquires the traits of personality dependent on the configuration of the stars at that time. The Fixed Stars govern individuality, set it for each person, and provide a symbol of individuation. The eighth sphere also provides Dante with a perspective on human individual effort within the bondage of the temporality of earthly life. Dante presents here the vision of St. Gregory who summarizes the meaning of this moment.

All creatures are, as it were, nothing to that soul which beholdeth the Creator;. . . and the soul of him that seeth in this manner. . . doth. . . comprehend how little all that is which before in former baseness it could not comprehend. . . the soul of the beholder was more enlarged, which rapt in god, might without difficulty see that which lay below it, so that in that light which appeared to his outward eyes, the inward light which was in his soul ravished the mind of the

beholder to supernatural things, and showed him how small all earthly things were.<sup>33</sup>

Troilus' insight derives from Dante's experience.<sup>34</sup>

Instead of an earthly funeral like those Homer provided for Achilles and Hector, Chaucer gives Troilus a heavenly apotheosis more like Sarpedon's. Troilus's ghost (V.1808) or spirit goes up to the eighth sphere and looks down as Dante did in *Paradiso* XXII to see the "litel spot of erthe that with the se Embraced is" (V.1815-1816), and despising it, he laughs (V.1821).<sup>35</sup> Clearly Troilus is up in the eighth circle, the fixed stars; "and ther he saugh with ful avysement The eratik sterres" (V.1811-1812).<sup>36</sup> But then he leaves this circle: "Forth he wente, ther as Merecurye sorted him to dwelle" to dwell on Mercury's sphere, the eighth counting down from the *Primum Mobile* and, as Ripheus rests on Jupiter with the just, so Mercury is the home for Dante of the seekers of honor, with Justinian.<sup>37</sup> From the discussion there of the seduction of false love, of free will, and of the secondary causality of the power of nature over man, it seems an appropriate place for Troilus to spend his eternity.

Chaucer refers again to the cycles of earthly happiness:<sup>38</sup> "Alo nys but a faire, This world that passeth soone as floures faire" (V.1840-1841) with a rare repeated rhyme of the word 'faire'. Stylistically Chaucer has Troilus speak in anaphora of the pagan world as Dante read the anaphora on the gateway to hell, establishing the

comparison between the journey through hell for Dante and through Troy for Troilus. Chaucer breaks his anaphora to name Jove, Apollo, Mars, that rabble of pagan gods(V.1853). For Chaucer as well as for Dante the world moves in a rhythm of three, the number of the Trinity. His final dedication is threefold, to moral Gower who warned the New Troy, to Philosophical Strode who argued free will and predestination with Wyclif, and to Christ who, like Sarpedon, died as his father chose and as he himself willed.

Sarpedon as Ironic Standard:  
Reading the Necessity Soliloquy  
as Scholastic Parody

Like the ending of the *Troilus*, the necessity speech of Book IV has been attacked as digressive and weak.<sup>39</sup> But if considered as a conclusion of the theme of necessity, the formulaic "Go, litel bok"(V.1786), the traditional envoie, releases the *Troilus* into the literary stream to become a fledgling authority or part of the necessity of story that constrains the retelling of the plot. For Chaucer it reconnects the tale to its true antecedents, represented by the list including Homer, of those Dante called the greatest poets of all time, and then welcomed himself into their number.<sup>40</sup>

In Chaucer, the feast of Sarpedon answers the ambiguities of the predestination soliloquy. In the *Iliad*

Sarpedon offers the feast as a metaphor for the privileges accorded a warrior because he must die and suggests that his death is a sacrificial substitute for the necessary death of all men. In Chaucer, the reminder of Sarpedon's feast recalls the soliloquy and identifies it as a scholastic parody. Troilus' dilemma between fate and will is the more foolish when Troilus refuses to accept the clarity and strength of will of Sarpedon himself or of the vestiges of Homer's Sarpedon within himself. After the soliloquy, Troilus repairs to Sarpedon's actual feast but cannot join his metaphorical one and does not wish to accept the shadow of necessity cast by the Lycian king.

When Pandarus seeks out Troilus to arrange the lovers' last night together, he finds him alone in a temple praying to the goddess to die. The Narrator says that he has been contemplating necessity and then reconstructs the long and laughable discussion Troilus has with himself. This internal dialogue, by no means a digression, centers the whole tale. Troilus' despairing takes the form of a long parodic Scholastic argument about whether knowing something necessarily means it will happen.<sup>41</sup>

A boy in the throes of first love,<sup>42</sup> knowing his personal idol will not be faithful to him but wanting to be able to wish the knowledge away, he takes refuge in inaction: "For al that comth, comth by necessitee: Thus to be lorn, it is my destinee" (IV.953-954),<sup>43</sup> because he knows

ahead that what will be will be, that

foresight of divine purveyaunce  
 Hath seyn alwey me to forgon Criseyde,  
 Syn God seeth every thyng, out of doutaunce,  
 And hem disponyth, thorough his ortinaunce,  
 In hire merites sothly for to be,  
 As they shul comen by predestyne (IV.961-966).

Although he thinks that God's plan predestines him to lose Criseyde, he hides behind mixed signals and asks whom he should believe (IV.967) because of "grete clerkes many oon that destyne thorough arguments preve" (IV.968), while others say there is no destiny (IV.970) "But that fre chois is yeven us everychon" (IV.971).

Chaucer knew that Strode and Wyclif debated predestination; later, the Narrator and Pandarus will worry the question from opposite sides; here, Troilus seems to parody that debate when he suggests that God knows Criseyde will leave and yet there are those who say she still can choose to return to him. Troilus cannot see it. If God sees all and God cannot be deceived, then he knows before things happen, and therefore

from eterne if he  
 Hath wist byforn oure thought ek as our dede,  
 We han no fre chois, as thise clerkes rede (IV.978-980).

But when he says "That purveyance hath seyn before to be" (IV.977), he has a logical flaw in the use of the word purveyance. Troilus jumps the metonymic gap between providence and god, between seeing and saying. Providence he equates with God, and seeing he equates with saying. He

goes on to say that if there were any way to avoid providence there would be no prescience of things to come (IV.981-987); if he can eliminate deity, he can have her back.

He closes off that avenue of escape for himself by his moral judgment that it would be impossible and wicked to say that God cannot foresee because he does foresee (IV.988-994). According to Aristotelian logic, if one of a pair of opposites is true, the other cannot be true.<sup>44</sup> He dismisses the tinselled clerks, that is, the Thomistic solution that, since God exists outside of time, a thing does not come because it was foreseen but is foreseen because it will come (IV.995-1001) and says that things do not fall because they have been seen but things which fall have been seen (IV.1002-1008), a repetition of the causal argument he has just denied. Then he worries the question repeatedly:

I mene as though I laboured me in this  
 To enqueren which thyng cause of which thyng be:  
 As whether that the prescience of God is  
 The certeyn cause of the necessite  
 Of thynges that to come ben, parde,  
 Or if necessite of thyng comynge  
 Be cause certeyn of the purveyinge (IV.1009-1015),

that is, he has labored, as it were, to inquire which thing is the cause of which, whether God's foreknowledge is the certain cause of the necessity of things to happen, or if the necessity of things to come are certain cause of the 'providence'. He conflates providence with foreknowledge;



here 'providence' should read 'foreknowledge' for the statement to make logical sense. Knowing is not doing; perception is not action.

Troilus keeps mixing his terms, consequently changing his meanings and confusing, deliberately, something he really does understand but does not want to admit. He wants Criseyde, not logical order. His rationalization is self deception, and the pattern is familiar to anyone who has watched young boys end their first loves, or deal with unpleasant realities they cannot control. The pattern, possibly, is also familiar to Chaucer remembering what it felt like to be that young boy. The way the world works is the organization of authorities who have left him to inherit their sorrowful state of affairs: "But now n'enforce I me nat in shewynge How the ordre of causes stant" (IV.1016-1017). Chaucer is playing with Aristotelian/Thomistic logic as he was when he had Criseyde complain to Pandarus that he "was cause causyng unto me, Criseyde" (IV.829).<sup>45</sup> About these lines, Robinson writes of a sense of overruling destiny<sup>46</sup> and a sense of fate which is very like the epic sense of doom.<sup>47</sup>

Chaucer laughs at the circularity of scholastic argument by having Troilus outdo himself in doublespeak. Troilus' explanation to himself is parodic:

But now n'enforce I me nat in shewynge  
How the ordre of causes stant; but wel woot I  
That it byhoveth that the byfallynge

Of thynges wist byfore certeynly  
 Be necessarie, al seme it nat therby  
 That prescience put fallynge necessaire  
 To thyng to come, al falle it foule or faire (IV.1017-  
 1022).

Troilus may not care how the order of causes stands, but he knows that 'things known ahead certainly happen by necessity, although it does not seem to follow that therefore knowing ahead makes occurring necessary for things to come however it turns out'; that is, whatever the cause of Criseyde's departure, he knows well that it is necessary that she be gone, of which he is certain by necessity, but just the same, it is not true that knowing ahead that she will not return makes it necessary for her not to return, however it turns out.

Knowing does not make it so; that is Troilus' despairing wish, the wish of the young to impose their private truth on an unyielding destiny and to make reality conform to their will. Troilus' choice of example, the man sitting, is a pitifully comic self portrait of his own frozen inactivity:

For if ther sitte a man yond on a see,  
 Than by necessite bihoveth it  
 That, certes, thyn opynyoun sooth be  
 That wenest or coniectest that he sit.  
 And further over now ayeynward yit,  
 Lo, right so is it of the part contrarie,  
 As thus - now harkne, for I wol nat tarie (IV.1023-  
 1029).

The humor of this scholastic doublespeak comes through the five repetitions of certainty followed by the conjecture, through the Scholiasts' reversal argument of "the opposite

is true" - that is, he is not sitting - and through the "as thus" which is not followed by a digression.

With the "now herke" Chaucer's narrator apparently forgets that he is in a soliloquy :<sup>48</sup>

I sey that if the opynyoun of the  
 Be soth, for that he sitte than sey I this:  
 That he mot sitten by necessity;  
 And thus necessite in eyther is.  
 For in hym, nede of sittynge is, ywys,  
 And in the, nede of soth; and thus, forsothe,  
 There mot necessite ben in yow bothe (IV.1030-1036).

Suddenly, there is dialogue, I and thee, and just as suddenly, the comic rhymes. This "you" may be Troilus' alter ego, or he may be involved in an interior debate between mind and senses, or Chaucer may have his Narrator become so wrapped up in the current public debate that he inserts himself into the argument. If Troilus sees him sitting, then he is sitting, and Troilus is truly seeing him do it. Consequently, the seeing and the doing are the same; the action and the perception are one. Post haec, ergo propter haec, was condemned by the Schoolmen as logical fallacy.

The nonsense continues with the worst doublespeak so far:

But thow mayst seyn, the man sit nat therfore  
 That thyn opynyoun of his sittynge soth is,  
 But rather, for the man sit ther byfore,  
 Therfore is thyn opynyoun soth, ywis.  
 And I seye, though the cause of soth of this  
 Comth of his sittynge, yet necessite  
 Is entrechaunged, both in hym and the (IV.1037-1043).

Can anyone take "sittynge soth is" seriously? Chaucer's

multiple 's' sounds reduce to auditory nonsense the verbal nonsense of the circular reasoning. Troilus wiggles out of his own dilemma by situating the perception *either* in the act or in its perception and not clarifying which of the two he means, or rather by placing necessity in the interchange between the two aspects of action and perception, of occurrence and awareness. Unfortunately, the Strode-Wyclif debates are lost; it would be interesting to see how closely Chaucer parodies them here. Troilus may be saying that perception of truth can be flawed, or that necessity is interchanged between the two aspects of the problem, that a thing happens because God knows it, or possibly, he is saying the opposite! Or, Troilus may be saying instead that she will come because that is what he believes, but his opinion is true: the necessity is in both the knowing and the acting. He can both know he has lost her and still have her back.

He then transfers his flawed reasoning about action and perception to God's knowledge of things to come as the cause of their occurrence:

Thus in this same wise, out of doutaunce,  
 I may wel maken, as it semeth me,  
 My resonyng of Goddes purveyaunce  
 And of the thynges that to comen be;  
 By which resoun men may wel yse  
 That thilke thynges tht in erthe falle,  
 That by necessite they comen alle (IV.1044-1050).

The thing that shall come must be known ahead, he says,

For although that for thyng shal come, ywys,

Therefore is it purveyed, certeynly -  
 Nat that it comth for it purveyed is -  
 Yet natheles, bihoveth it nedfully  
 That thing to come be purveyd, trewely,  
 Or elles, thynges that purveyed be,  
 That they bitiden by necessite (IV.1051-1057).

Because she will not return, he knows she will not, not that his knowing will cause her not to come, but nevertheless he must truly know it or else he would know it because it has to happen. By now Troilus' comfort may lie in his repetition of circuitous nonsense.

Continuing his scholastic incantation as if it were a spell to conjure her back, Troilus adds:

And this suffiseth right ynough, certeyn,  
 For to destruye our fre chois every del.  
 But now is this abusioun, to seyn  
 That fallyng of hte thynges temporel  
 Is cause of Goddes prescience eternal.  
 Now trewely, that is a fals sentence,  
 That thyng to come sholde cause his prescience  
 (IV.1058-1064).

After determining that things known must happen by necessity, Troilus then reasons that this would destroy free will. But God cannot be controlled by things, so the things that happen cannot cause the foreknowledge; man cannot control God.

Here, Chaucer opposes Wycliffite doctrine. For Wyclif, things are necessary either absolutely or contingently. Absolute necessity is not affected by time--it is, was, and will be. Conditional or hypothetical necessity occurs in time: antecedent to, consequent to, or in accompaniment with the event. Antecedent necessity has three types: necessity

of volition, natural necessity, and necessity of constraint; only the first is free. Wyclif's belief follows Catholic doctrine on necessity; it differs on contingency since he regards the decrees of God as contingent and Aquinas considers them necessary. Wyclif differs from his colleagues not by "imputing extra necessity to human actions but in assigning unusual contingency to divine volitions."<sup>49</sup> Wyclif gives human volition control over the eternal volition of God. "Wyclif's solution to the antimony may seem to involve the absurdity of causation which operates backward in time. That is not necessarily so, given his doctrine that all things are present with God."<sup>50</sup> Wyclif says, "All these and similar things are obvious from the infallible principle that with God all things which have ever been or will be are present, and thus, if something has been or will be, it is at the appropriate time. Blessed then, be the Lord of time, who has lifted us above time to see that independent truth and all the other things that follow from it. For this is the key to the doctrines of predestination and the entire topic of the necessity of future contingents."<sup>51</sup>

It seems to me that the key to the discussion is time. The distinction has to do with present time. Kenny says Wyclif's doctrine has all things present *with* God. His Wyclif seems to be situating God *within* time, involved in a present time. Catholicism situates God *outside* of time and

therefore in no way involved in its contingency or causality except when He interrupts time to bestow the gratuitous boon of grace, to assist him, not to determine him, to his salvation.<sup>52</sup>

By continuing his scholastic babble well beyond serious tolerance, Troilus creates a verbal nonsense series which could make an audience helpless with laughter, especially if the soliloquy is read aloud after dinner and wine. When he decides that Criseyde's not returning prevents his choosing her to return but that her not returning does not cause him to know it, his knowledge is not necessarily accurate. His discussion would be especially appropriate as spoof if the audience had just lived through the long serious debate on predestination and free will between Wyclif and philosophical Strode.<sup>53</sup>

Troilus then decides that God's knowledge results from the things to come; He determines what is to come because He knows it will.<sup>54</sup> He knows that God will know and determine (purvey) that she not return because she will not return, and that he knows God knows without ignorance. And so:

And over al this, yet sey I more herto:  
That right as whan I wot ther is a thyng,  
Iwys, tht thyng moot nedfully be so;  
Ek right so, whan I woot a thyng comyng,  
So mot it come; and thus the bifallyng  
Of thynges that be wist bifore the tyde,  
They mowe nat ben eschued on no syde (IV.1072-1078),

his fear is that if he knows she will leave for ever, she will necessarily leave. In human terms, he finds a kind of

solution which is no solution at all but a long philosophical speculation, a literary convention, not necessarily true, but making the concrete situation meaningful and setting his grief into a kind of order that gives it purpose.<sup>55</sup> Chaucer's genius makes the laughter sympathetic to remembered tears.

So Troilus prays to his God to make it not be so, to change the necessary order of things :

Thanne seyde he thus: "Almighty Jove in trone,  
That woost of al thys thyng the sothfastnesse,  
Rewe on my sorwe: or do me deyen sone,  
Or bryng Criseyde and me fro this destresse!" (iV.1079-1082).

But the Jove who will not change the story even to save his son Sarpedon will not change it for Troilus either. The Jove of the Second Vatican Mythographer was warned not to marry Thetis because their child would destroy him, as water puts out fire. To change the necessary order of things would also destroy him as the controller of the necessary order of things. In the vision of fate and foreknowledge which Troilus believes, along with the classical writers and possibly with Wyclif, there is no free will. Troilus is pagan and cannot take the last steps Boethius takes to resolve the conflict and find man free.<sup>56</sup> Therefore, he is doomed within the epic pagan universe where men and gods must eventually die and all things must end. where there is no hope of a Redeemer or choice to be redeemed. Perhaps this is also Chaucer's commentary upon Wyclif, that Troilus



is foolish to reason like the Lollards,<sup>57</sup> but that he, at least, has the excuse that he is pagan.

The necessity speech is funny because it mocks people who argue in semantic circles and take themselves seriously, because the sound of it is funny, because thwarted human sexual desire is funny, because the audience can remember their own feelings of lost first love, knowing they survived what seemed fatal and has turned out to be trivial. Troilus, in the depth of his sorrow, communicates the sorrow of someone who will survive it. He is a tragic figure because he will not survive it because of his place and time in Troy. The necessity speech is no digression but a lynch pin, not a weakness but a high point comically and dramatically in a book-long discussion of necessity. If the soliloquy is read backwards from Sarpedon's feast, the insistent repetition by Chaucer of Sarpedon's name serves as a reminder of epic as well as of a scholastic sense of necessity. With at least second hand access to the *Iliad* through Boccaccio who was the first since Homer to refer to Sarpedon's feast, Chaucer was the heir of a long classical and mythographic tradition which linked Sarpedon with fate, with foreknowledge, and with a strength of will.

The ideas in the necessity speech reappear as splinters of the whole when Criseyde departs and Troilus first dreams of abandonment; when Troilus attends Sarpedon's Feast; when Troilus and Pandarus discuss Troilus' dream; at the second

seduction by Diomedes the Calydonian, and Troilus' second dream of the boar; in Cassandra's prophecy when Cassandra explicates the dream and its mythographic antecedents; at the deaths of Hector, and of Troilus' belief in Criseyde when Deiphobus captures the physical evidence of the brooch; at the physical death of Troilus and Troilus' apotheosis; with Chaucer's envoi when the narrator sends off the book and dedicates it to Gower and Strode - all are Chaucer's reply to the necessity speech.

## Notes

<sup>1</sup> "The direct source of Scholastic thought in *Troilus and Criseyde* is no doubt Dante's *Divina* [sic] *Commedia*, and it explains at once the poetic resourcefulness with which Chaucer has handled these ideas in his own poem" (Gerald Morgan, "The Ending of *Troilus and Criseyde*," *Modern Language Review* 77(1982): 259). Concerning Dante's examination by St. Peter and St. John on love in *Paradiso* 26, Morgan adds that "Here we have in medieval poetry the Scholastic synthesis upon which the meaning and formal lucidity of *Troilus and Criseyde* also rests" (260). In "The Scholastic Method in Medieval Education: An Inquiry into its Origins in Law and Theology," *Speculum* 49 (1974): 640-661, George Makdisi connects the origins of the Scholastic method to Boethius and the wide dissemination of his *Consolations* (650).

<sup>2</sup> For a comparison of manuscripts of Boccaccio and Chaucer, see *Geoffrey Chaucer, Troilus and Criseyde: A New Edition of 'The Book of Troilus'*, ed. B. A. Windeatt (London and New York: Longman, 1984).

<sup>3</sup> For discussions on Dante and the ending of the *Troilus*, see Bonnie Wheeler, "Dante, Chaucer, and the Ending of *Troilus and Criseyde*," *Philological Quarterly* 61 (1982) 105-23. See also Elizabeth Kirk's "'Paradis Stood Formed in Hir Yen': Courtly Love and Chaucer's Re-Vision of Dante," (Carruthers and Kirk 257-77). Kirk notes Criseyde's trust of Troilus "because of his 'moral vertu grounded upon trouthe' (4.1672)" (263). In other words, Troilus is a seeker of honor whose virtue is truth and consequently belongs in heaven. Kirk misses Ripheus (*TC* IV.53; *Par.* XX. 68, 119-38; *Aen.* II.426-28) when she calls Troilus "the only actor in the story who can cross the line" between the pagan and the medieval (262). For Kirk the superimposition of the *Commedia* makes the *Troilus* "an analysis of the tradition of courtly love" (264). She notes that Dante's smile is "something far more complex than a rejection" (268). Since Chaucer follows Dante, the same might be said for Troilus here. Kirk says that "If the world Dante creates is still the world of St. Thomas Aquinas, that of *Troilus* is the world that was left after William of Ockham" (274) and cites Donaldson's "towards heaven through human experience" (275).

Gerald Morgan asserts that "The poem ends with the celebration of that divine love which encompasses all other loves" ("The Ending of '*Troilus and Criseyde*'" 261).

See also Melvin Storm, "Troilus and Dante: the Infernal Center," *The Yearbook of English Studies* 22 (1992): 154-61; E. Talbot Donaldson, "The Ending of '*Troilus*'," *Speaking of Chaucer* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1970) 84-101; and Robert M.

Jordan, *Chaucer and the Shape of Creation* (Cambridge: Harvard UP, 1967) 61-110. See also Thomas E. Maresca, *Three English Epics* (Lincoln and London: U of Nebraska P, 1979) where he argues for the epic nature of *Troilus* because of the *descensus*, the epic voyage which parallels Dante. Maresca says it is the reader who experiences the *descensus* most fully (193).

For more discussion of Dante and the *Troilus*, based on the *Inferno* or the *Paradiso*, see Frank Bryan Ordiway's "Dante, Chaucer, and the Politics of the Past," *DAI* 5147 (January 1991): 2373A; Nancy M. Peale's "'Bitwixen Game and Ernest'" *Troilus and Criseyde* as a Post-Boccaccian Response to the *Commedia*," *Philological Quarterly* 71 (1992): 155-72; John M. Steadman's *Disembodied Laughter* (Berkeley: U of California P, 1972); Karla Taylor's *Chaucer Reads 'the Divine Comedy'* (Stanford: Stanford UP, 1989).

To this critical discourse, I am adding the presence of Sarpedon as key to the necessity question and also the discussion in terms of the *Purgatorio* as well as new theory about the eighth sphere.

<sup>4</sup> "The prominence of Fortune in *Troilus* reveals an added layer of philosophical material only briefly present in Boccaccio's less intellectual narrative" (C. David Benson, *Chaucer's Troilus and Criseyde* [London: Unwin Hyman, 1990] 149).

<sup>5</sup> No one has connected Sarpedon to the ending, but Derek Baker comments in his essay on the narrator, "History of a Shady Character" (Nischik and Korte 166-78): "As usual the treatment of the ending of the poem tests the critical theory" (170) and quotes Muscatine's "The moral of the epilogue is inherent in the poem from the beginning" (*Chaucer and the French Tradition* [Berkeley: U of California P, 1957] 162). John Lawlor thinks that "the final answers given in *Troilus* do not match the intelligence and energy of the questions asked, the issues raised" ("*Troilus and Criseyde: A Reconsideration*," *Pattern of Love and Courtesy*. [London: Edward Arnold, 1966] 106). What does not provide an answer for him, however, would not necessarily have left Chaucer unsatisfied. The response to the ending measures the reader's critical approach.

<sup>6</sup> For a discussion of Chaucer's choices of Gower and Strode, see R. F. Yaeger, "'O Moral Gower': Chaucer's Dedication of *Troilus and Criseyde*," *Chaucer Review* 19 (1984): 87-99.

<sup>7</sup> For an excellent analysis of the functions of time and perspective in the understanding of fate and will, see Jill Mann's "Chance and Destiny in *Troilus and Criseyde* and the *Knight's Tale*" (Boitani and Mann 75-92). Note also her

"The Planetary Gods in Chaucer and Henryson" (Morse and Windeatt 91-106).

<sup>8</sup> St. Augustine, *On Christian Doctrine*. tr. D. W. Robertson, Jr. (New York: Macmillan, 1986) II.xl. p.75. See also Pope Gregory the Great, *Epistle XI.56*, tr. J. Barmby, "A Select Library of Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers, Second Series" 13 (Oxford and New York, 1898) 84-85 (to Mellitus, Abbot of France 601) about using the old pagan sites for churches because the people are accustomed to going there and will continue) in J.N. Hillgarth, ed., *Christianity and Paganism, 350-700* (Philadelphia: U of Pennsylvania P, 1986) 152-53. In his important *Preface to Chaucer* (Princeton: Princeton UP, 1973), D. W. Robertson notes that the image is a commonplace, found also in John the Scot, Rabanus Maurus, Peter of Blois, Alanus de Insulis, Baudri de Bourgueil, John of Salisbury, Jacques de Vitrey, Erasmus, Berchorius, et al. (341-52).

<sup>9</sup> John Finlayson comments about the *Knight's Tale* that "having invoked a Boethian problematic view of existence, he [Chaucer] has grafted on part of a Boethian solution. It is unsatisfactory, this may have more to do with our needs than with the poem" (145). By extension, his comment pertains to the *Troilus'* ending and the Boethian and Dantean view of freedom and necessity. ("The *Knight's Tale*: the Dialogue of Romance, Epic, and Philosophy," *Chaucer Review* 27 (1992): 126-149). See also Lee Patterson's *Negotiating the Past* (Madison: U of Wisconsin P, 1987) for his analysis of the different perceptions of exegetics, New Critics, and their successors (3-59).

<sup>10</sup> In his "History of a Shady Character, Derek Baker says the problem with the concern over the narrator in *Troilus and Criseyde* arises from the new critical attempt to analyze the gothic by neoclassical norms. He says the work needs to be understood in its own context, privileging characters over story. "We must listen to the story teller, Chaucer, in all his multiple poses" (177).

It seems to me that those critics who find the ending defective situate reality in the perception rather than in the object perceived. Perhaps *Troilus* is so attractive in the 1990s because he so desperately wants the same kind of reality as our postmoderns, but he cannot quite manage it. Perhaps Chaucer would see *Troilus* as a cautionary tale for our time too.

<sup>11</sup> According to Morgan, at the end of *Troilus and Criseyde* there is no unfeeling rejection of human values, but rather a celebration of a higher order of reality and of nobler values. "Usk rightly says of Chaucer (with *Troilus and Criseyde* in mind) that he is a noble philosophical poet

(*The Testament of Love* III.4)" Morgan 266-67.

12 Bonnie Wheeler has noted some of the connections to the *Paradiso* and the use of Trojan Ripheus but has missed the Dantean fixed stars as the actual place and the planets as the reflected place for the souls, and she has placed Troilus on Mars among warriors rather than on Mercury with seekers of honor. She sees the ending as undermining the meaning of the whole and splitting the poem, yet paradoxically sustaining contradictory truths of the value of the world and the inadequacy of the reader ("Dante, Chaucer, and the Ending of *Troilus and Criseyde*," 105-23). Ripheus is in Dante's Paradise, on Jupiter with the just rulers, because he is the most just of Trojans, devoted to truth. Dante apparently made up his conversion, and he uses it to show grace and 'predestination' because Ripheus is given a vision of Christ before he dies.

Chaucer places both Ripheus and Sarpedon in the list of heroes who try to prevent the capture of Antenor by the Greeks (*TC* IV.52-53). See C. Vitto's *The Virtuous Pagan in Middle English Literature* (Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 1989) for further discussion of Ripheus as redeemed pagan hero.

Note also that Chaucer, like Dante, ends with the human figure of Mary the Mother of God. Donaldson notes Chaucer's--though not Dante's--choice of Mary for the ending "to heaven through human experience" (E. Talbot Donaldson, *Speaking of Chaucer* 101).

13 Storm sees that "the encompassing geography of Dante's *Inferno* as a whole provided an influence for Chaucer's setting and narrative structure at the center of *Troilus and Criseyde* and provided, in consequence, a background for the evaluation of Troilus' moral stance in the consummation scene of Book III" (155). He does not comment on Books IV and V.

14 Mark J. Gleason attributes Chaucer's ending to his reading of Nicholas Trevet, especially in his urging of young readers to eschew 'feyende loves' and in the Trinitarian ending ("Nicholas Trevet, Boethius, Boccaccio: Contexts of Cosmic Love in *Troilus*, Book III" [Clogan 179]).

15 C. David Benson misses the connection. "Even Sarpedon's courtly party, full of wine, women and song (V.400-504) can offer no comfort to Troilus, for the focus of the action is now elsewhere, especially in arenas such as parliament and the battlefield where Fortune is dominant" (*Chaucer's Troilus and Criseyde* 165).

16 Gregory M. Sadlek discusses Troilus' "acedia" and the history of the medieval concept of sloth. He makes

several points which enlighten my discussion: 1) Troilus, like Gower's Amans of the *Confessio Amantis*, suffers from both physical and spiritual sloth; 2) Troilus has two personae: the public warrior who is courageous, and the private lover. Only as lover is he affected by sloth (351); 3) "Chaucer modified his major source with this specific vice in mind" (351); 4) Troilus may be a parody of courtly love (351); 5) Wengel and Robertson both discuss medieval sloth; 6) Pandarus uses the word 'slothe' several times about Troilus, and this use is not in Boccaccio (356); 7) Diomede is Troilus's polar opposite (357). Sadlet does not cite Dante, and his ending leaves the reader with a weak rather than conclusive argument to a very interesting article ("Love, Labor, and Sloth in Chaucer's *Troilus and Criseyde*," *The Chaucer Review* 26(1992): 350-368).

<sup>17</sup> See Penn R. Szittyá, "The Green Yeoman As Loathly Lady: the Friar's Parody of the Wife of Bath's Tale," *PMLA* 90 (1975): 386-94.

<sup>18</sup> Onde, poniam che di necessitate  
 surga, ogni amor che dentro a voi s'accende,  
 di ritenero è in voi la podestate.  
 La nobile virtu Beatrice intende  
 per lo libero artitrio, e però guarda  
 che l'abbi a mente, s'a parlar ten prende.  
*Purgatorio* XVIII. 70-75

[Admitting then that every love that is kindled in you arises of necessity, the power to control it is in you; that noble faculty Beatrice means by freewill and therefore see thou have it in mind if she would speak of it to thee.] (Dante Alighieri, *The Divine Comedy*, tr. John D. Sinclair, 3 vols. (New York: Oxford UP, 1961) 236-37.

<sup>19</sup> Dante refers to the "dei ciechi che si fanno duci" [blind who make themselves guides] (Sinclair 232-3). Ciardi translates "the blind who lead the blind" and notes: "Virgil means here the teachers of Epicurean philosophy and their students, both spiritually blind in Dante's view in that they teach that all desire (i.e., all love, as Virgil calls it) is a good thing and should be gratified" (192). The Epicureans, according to Dante, err in not seeing that appearances may beguile the soul into loving a bad object (the Epicures, of course, would reply that nothing that gives pleasure can be bad) and, thus, that a force that is good in the potential may be exercised in such a way as to be evil in its action. (*Purgatorio*. tr. John Ciardi (New York and Toronto: New American Library, 1961) 193n.

ciascun amore in se laudabil cosa,

però che forse appar la sua matera  
sempre esser buona; ma no ciascun segno  
e buono, ancor che buona sia la cera.

[every love is in itself praiseworthy, perhaps  
because its matter always seems good; but not  
every stamp (i.e., object of love) is good, even  
if it be good wax (instinct of love).]  
(Sinclair 234-35)

- 20 Vostra apprensiva da esser verace  
tragge intenzione, e dentro a voi la spiega,  
si che l'animo ad essa volger face;  
e se, rivolto, inver di lei si peiga,  
quel pie gare `e amor, quell'è natura  
che per paicer di novo in voi si lega  
Poi, come 'l foco movesi in altura  
per la sua forma ch'è nata a salire  
là dove più in sua matera dura,  
così l'animo preso entra in disire,  
ch'è moto spiritale, e mai no posa  
fin che la cosa amata il fa gioire (22-33)

[Your perception takes from outward reality an  
impression and unfolds it within you, so that it makes  
the mind turn to it; and if the mind, so turned,  
inclines to it, that inclination is love, that is  
nature, which by place is bound in you afresh. Then as  
fire moves upward by its form, being born to mount  
where it most abides in its matter, so the mind thus  
seized enters into desire, which is a spiritual  
movement and never rests till the thing loved makes it  
rejoice.] (Sinclair 232-35)

The soul is made with a potential for love . . . Such  
love passes to action in three stages: . . . 1) the  
apprehensive faculty (the senses plus the intellect)  
observes that which really is (any object that has real  
existence) and extracts from it a form (not the thing,  
but what the mind conceives the thing to be). This  
form is registered upon the soul (22-24). 2) If the  
soul is drawn to that form, it yields to it with a  
natural tie of love. It is in this way that the soul  
has contact with creation . . . (25-27). Just as fire  
is so conceived and made by Nature that it naturally  
yearns to rise "up there" (i.e., to the Sphere of Fire)  
so the soul by its very nature (its natural disposition  
to love) yearns for that which attracts it (28-33),  
(Ciardi 192n).

According to Vernon:



Your apprehensive faculty draws an image from something really existing, and displays it within you, so that it makes the mind turn to it. And if thus turned, it (the mind) inclines toward this (image), that inclination is Love; it is Nature, which by pleasure is bound in you with a new tie . . . Benvenuto reminds us that there is nothing in the intellect that was not first in the senses, and that did not enter into the soul by sight or hearing. Love therefore is shown to be the inclination of the soul towards a thing that is in itself agreeable and which the external senses have offered to it . . . the cause of the error of those who consider that Love in itself must always be good; whereas in reality the nature of Love's object must determine whether the love is good or not; for that object may not be truly good, although to the soul it appears desirable (William Warren Vernon, *Readings on the Purgatorio of Dante chiefly based on the Commentary of Benvenuto da Imola*, 2 vols. [London: Methuen & Co., 1907] vol II [(76-78)]).

[omnem amorem esse laudabilem, ut dicitur infra, quod fulsam est. Et volens ostendere, quid sit amor, incipit parum a long ab ipsius radice, dicens: *animo ch'e mobile, idest, inclinabilis, ad ogni casa che e pace, idest, quam cito excitatur et movetur, dal piacer innato, idest intus nata delectatione. Sicut cum vides mulierem speciosam, forma illius intrat per fenestras oculorum in camaram animae, et movet ad amandum illam quamvis absentem vel numquam videndam. Et declarat quod dixit, dicens: vostra apprensiva tragge intenzione, mentis, da esser verace, idest, a re vera extra existente; quia nihil est intellectu quod non primus fuerit in sensu ut intrat in animam per visum vel auditum etc. Unde dicit: e dentro a voi la sprega, scilicet, illam rem quae scilicet rem, e se rivolto, ipse animus, si piega in ver dilei, scilicet, illius rei. Ergo amor est inclinatio animi ad rem sibe placitam oblatam ab extra. . . . Et assignet causam erroris istorum, quia considerabant materiam amoris esse bonam, cum nihil possit amari nisi bonam, sed non considerabant quod aliquid potest apparere bonam, quod tamen in se malum est, sed amatur tamquam apprens bonum (1476.7).] (Benvenatus de Imola, *Comentum Super Dantis Purgatorii Cantus Decimus Octavus* [Florentuae: Typis G. Barbera, MDCCCLXXXVII] 476-82).*

<sup>21</sup> Note that Benvenuto da Imola lectured on the *Commedia* at Bologna in 1375 at approximately the time period when Chaucer was travelling on the continent in the service of the king. "In 1376 . . . Chaucer, esquire of the king, received payment for journeys 'on secret business of the

king' . . . . During 1377 Chaucer was sent overseas several times to Paris and Montreuil . . . and to 'parts of France' . . . . Chaucer . . . received funds on 28 May 1378 from 'the king's treasures for war' . . . for a journey to Lombardy to discuss 'certain business concerning the king's war' with Bernabo Visconti, lord of Milan, and Sir John Hawkwood, "Visconti's son-in-law and commander of mercenaries. 1378 records rich gifts from Richard II to messengers of Bernabo and Hawkwood. "The Visconti owned famous libraries and had been patrons of Petrarch." The visit made strong impressions on Chaucer and influenced his writing. By September 1378, Chaucer had returned home (*The Riverside Chaucer*, ed. Larry D. Benson [Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1987] xxi). In other words, Chaucer could have heard or probably at least heard of the Benvenuto commentaries on Dante and had access to a library which probably included Greek texts and Greek scholars.

22 What is known as Scholastic Philosophy may be considered to have flourished from Scotus Erigena in the IXth century to William of Occam at the end of the XIVth century. Its chief activity ranged from the XIth century onward, and it reached the climax of development with Thomas Aquinas and Duns Scotus towards the end of the XIIIth and beginning of the XIVth centuries. The term *doctor scholasticus* was originally applied to any teacher in the schools attached to mediaeval ecclesiastical foundations, but came to mean specially one who occupied himself with dialectics, and the theological and philosophical questions ensuing therefrom. Briefly stated, scholasticism is the application of Aristotelian logic to the doctrines of the Church. Duns Scotus placed less reliance upon the power of reason than did Thomas Aquinas. The followers of the one were known as Scotists and the other as Thomists. The great work of Thomas Aquinas, *Summa Theologicae*, written about 1272, is an encyclopaedic synopsis of all the theological and philosophical science of the age, arranged in logical forms. It was deeply studied by Dante (Vernon, *Purgatorio* vol II, [69-79]).

23 *Anima vegetativa et sensitiva educitur de potentia materiae, et simul oritur et moritur cum illa, sicut patet in plantis et brutis; sed anima rationis non educitur de potentia materiae, nec oritur cum corpore, sed infunditur a Deo et datur pro formas* (Benvenuto De Imola, *Canticus Decimus Octavus Comentum Purgatorii*, 479).

[The vegetative and sensitive soul is evolved out of the power of substance, and is born and dies with it,

as we see in plants and animals; but the rational soul is not evolved out of the power of substances, nor does it come into life with a body, but is infused into it by God, and given instead of a form.] (Vernon 80)

Vernon adds, on *forma sustanzial*:

On this Dean Plumptre writes: 'The soul is, in scholastic terminology, the 'substantial form,' i.e. the essence of man's nature. Without it the man is not. As such, it has its own specific virtues, i.e. its own ideas, tendencies, and capacities. These are known in their effects, as the nature of the plant is known by its leaves and flowers and fruits, as the instinct of the bee is seen in its making honey; but what is the source of either of the primal conceptions or the primal desires, even if directed to counterfeits of good, are simply neutral, deserving neither praise nor blame; but with them there is innate in the soul (here Dante is not doubtful, for with him it was a primary fact of consciousness) a power that judges, warns, advises--what we know as conscience. This stands as warder at the gate through which desire passes into act, brings with it the sense of merit or demerit, is the foundation of human liberty, and therefore of all systems of ethics which are worthy of the name, chiefly that of 'il maestro di color che sanno' (*Inf.*IV.131). Hence, if we allow that every desire in men may be traced to a law of cause and effect, and admit so far the postulates of Determinism, there is yet, a 'noble virtue' in man, which theology embodied in Beatrice, recognizes as keeping men from being bound hand and foot in the iron chain of necessity.' Compare *Padadiso* V.19, *forma substantialis* was, in the schools, the name for that form which, united to primal matter, common to all bodies, forms the different species (Vernon, *Purgatorio* vol.II, 81n).

Quod tamen esset verum, si omnia de necessitate evenirent; quis astrologus velit suam artem damnari, cum dicat posse obviari futuris contingentibus, si praesciatur per artem suam. (quis iudex non nascatur si dicatur sibi quod iniuste punit malefactorem?) quis mercator non dicat negligentiam nimium obesse negotiationi? (quis sapiens non probet multa consilia esse necessaria mundo?) quis agricola non novit culturam prodesse ad fertilitatem fructuum? Sed ut cito dicam, quaerunt homines excusationem, retorquentes omnia vitia sua in coelum, in fata, in fortunam, dicentes illud Cleantis philosophi: *voluntem fata ducunt, nolentem trahunt*. Et demum remittit Virgilius

poetam ad theologiam et dicit sententialiter quod ipse per se sua scientia naturali non potest altius accedere ad declarationem quaestionis, quia tantum iudicat causam per effectum; sed Beatrix intendit, quod nobilis virtus, idest, excellentior quae sit in homine est liberum arbitrium, quia per se ipsum meremur vitam aeternam, vel damnationem (Benvenuto de Imola, *Commentum Purgatorio Cantus Decimus Octavus*, 481-82).

Benvenuto says that it is obvious in practical activity that no one believes in determination or doctors would not treat patients, merchants would not worry about effects of negligence in trade or farmers the fertilization of crops-- that everyone ACTS as if there is not determinism. "But all men try to make excuse, throwing the responsibility for all their vices and sins upon Heaven, upon destiny, upon fortune, saying like the philosopher Cleantes: -'Volentem fata ducunt, nolentem trahunt.'" In conclusion, Virgil refers Dante to theology, and says briefly that he himself by his human knowledge or science cannot rise to any more elevated interpretation of the question, for he can only judge of cause by effect; but Beatrice understands that there is in Man Free Will, for by it we deserve either eternal life or everlasting punishment. (Vernon 85)

24 Vernon, *Purgatorio*, vol.II (85).

Ad cuius intelligentiam debes scire, quod, sicut patet apud multos auctores, thebani solebant certo tempore celebrare festa Bacchi tempore nocturno; nam coronati hedera, induti pelle lincea, portantes hastas virentes in manu, exhibant civitatem Thebarum, et discurrentes per ripas fluviorum suorum cum gaudio et furore invocabant nomen Bacchi et collendabent: idem faciebant cum egebant vino et pluvia, ut scribit Stasius. Dicit ergo: et ma gens discurrebat, tal, idest, tam festina cum fervore, quale *Ismeno et Asopo*, duo flumina Thebarum, vide *gia furia e culea*, idest, festinantiam et frequentiam gentium, *di notte lungo di se*, scilicet, per ripas suas, pur che i teban di Bacco avesser uopo, idest, indigerent ope eius. Et hic nota quantum comparatio auxiliatur proposito: si enim thebani surgebant de nocte ad canendas laudes Bacchi, qui fuerat repertor vini, et triumphi, ut dicit Plinius, quanto magis christiani debent surgere et currere ad canendas laudes vero Deo, qui est datur omnium bonorum et triumphator malorum (Benvenuto, *Purgatorio* 18 [485]).

25 Vernon, *Purgatorio XIX*, vol. II (106-108).

Fingit sibi apparere unam fceminam mirabiliter

deformatam, quae paulo post per inspectionem eius mirabiliter reformatur, et pulcra et placida videtur. Nota ergo profundam fictionem poetae: nam per istam mulierem sic transformatam in contrariam figuram poeta figuraliter representat nobis illecebram et voluptatem. Mundanam, quae recte ad modum materis est in se turpis, horribilis, et odibilis quantum ad existentiam et rei veritatem; sed est pulcra, placibilis et amabilis quantum ad apparentiam et umbram exteriorum. Hanc ergo mulierem prodigiosam poeta describit a quinque organibus defectuosus: primo, quia erat balbutiens lingua; secundo lusca visus; tertio, clauda pede; quarto, trunca manu; quinto, fucata colore. Nunc ergo his praemissis veniendum est ad litteram exponendam, quae male exposita est a multis, qui putaverunt istam mulierem figurare solum avaritiam, gulam et luxuriam, ut statim clarebit ex ipsa expositione. dicit ergo poeta: *Una femmina balba*: hoc respicit avaritiam quae non loquitur clare et aperte, sed implicite et dolose: gulam, quia ebrietas facit linguam grossam, ita et non possit articulate loqui: luxuriam, quae facit hominem adulari, lingere et multa fingere falso; *negli occhi gnercia*: hoc facit avaritiam, quia avarus non videt recte, nimia cupiditate caecus tam habendi, quam retinendi; hoc facit gula, quae reddit oculos lippientes et visum destruit; luxuria multo fortius, quia offuscat oculos corporales et intellectuales, et quid deceat non videt ullus amans: *e sopra i pie distoria*, talis est avaritia quae numquam recte incedit, nec iudicat recta lance; gula peius, quia ebrius praestat risum videntibus ipsum ambulare tortuose: luxuria pessime vadit per viam rectam, *con le man monche*, istud patet in avaro, qui nihil dat, nil recte facit nisi cum moritur; unde paulo infra audies quod avari stant manibus et pedibus ligati; gulosus nihil vult operari, luxuriosus minus, imo luxuria favetur inertia et accidia, *e di colore scialba*: hoc verificatur, in avaro, gulo et luxurioso qui habent bona tantum simulata. Omnes isti communiter habent faciem pallidam et sine colore; talis, inquam, mulier, *mi venne in sogno*, hoc est propter abstractionem mentis didit se ad considerandum quid esset ipsa voluptas, et vidit quod realiter erat talis si bene inspicitur (Benvenuto da Imola, *Comentum Purgatorii Cantus decimus nonus* [498-99]).

26 By their relative positions in the *Purgatorio* and the *Paradiso*, Accidie and Mercury are connected. In the *Purgatorio*, Dante moves from the Terrace of Sloth to the Terrace of Lust; in the *Paradiso*, he progresses from the Sphere of Mercury to the Sphere of Venus.

27 Augustine follows Plato whose influence on the early Middle Ages is enormous. Plato's *Timaeus* is his most well known and most influential work for the medieval period. Plato was known only through Chalcidius' fourth century commentary on the *Timaeus*. Macrobius is a fourth century follower of it. From it comes Dante's theory in Canto V of the *Paradiso*: The Christian soul is eternal and will return to paradise. The soul is distinguished from temperament which is finite and concerned with individual human personality. The eternal soul acquires its characteristics as it moves through the spheres. Therefore, absolute will is the commitment from the soul's desire to return to God while the temperament is responsible for some backsliding. The only Aristotelean influence on this theory came through Boethius who had Latin commentaries on Aristotle. Aquinas combines Augustine's faith with Aristotle. Averrhoes' translation of Aristotle was condemned but was actually used in the thirteenth century anyway.

28 All contingent beings and events, that is, all things derived from secondary causes, are seen in God, but are not for that reason rendered necessary. Man's free will remains intact, although God foresees and predisposes everything. Moreover Divine prescience does not render necessary future events, because man still retains his free-will and liberty of action." (Vernon. *Paradiso* vol I[44]).

Haselford comments that "Contingency . . . has no place beyond this world. In Eternity, where there is no succession of time, all events are certain, and known. But God's foreknowledge of events no more necessitates them than the image on a spectator's retina of a ship going down stream causes the motion of the ship." (Vernon I.44). Cf. Boethius *Cons. Phil.* lib V pros 4.

Si Deus omnia futura contingentia praesentialiter videt, cum eius scientia sit infallibilis, ergo infallibiliter et necessario evenient. Respondet autor: et tamen ipsa contingentia, non prede per necessit quindi, scilicet, ab illo aspectu divino. Et hoc manifestat per unum exemplum grossum domesticum, dicens: se non come nave, che sdiscende gi per corrente, idest fluvium, supple, recipit necessitatem, del viso in che si speccia, idest ab oculo illius a quo prospicitur eam. Et hic note quod per hoc autor vult dicere, quod providentia Dei non imponit necessitatem futuris contingentibus, nisi sicut oculus humanus, qui stans ad ripam maria vel fluminis videt a longe navim venientem secundum cursum aquae, qui licet videat navim certissime venientem ad portum, tamen non imponit

necessitatem sibi, quia ita ipso non vidente sicut vidente, navis facit cursum suum. Sicut ergo praevisio humana non est causa quare hoc sit, ita nec providentia divina est cause qua futura eveniant: ita enim se habere providentia ad futura, sicut visio humana ad praesentia. Videt enim Deus omnia futura in instanti aeternitatis, ita quod futura non sunt sibi futura; et caetera multa videt (Benvenuto (1373), Par. 17.40-42; [Doc 557. Dartmouth Dante Project: baker, Dartmouth.EDU]).

<sup>29</sup> Bloomfield, in his "The Eighth Sphere," comments: "It is hardly likely, however, that Chaucer would tamper with the Christian scheme of the universe to such an extent as to put the pagan Troilus in a Christian heaven and also think of that heaven in Christian terms" (409). Dante, however, well establishes the salvation of the virtuous pagan. See also Cindy Vitto's *The Virtuous Pagan in Middle English Literature* (Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 1989).

<sup>30</sup> See Robinson note for IV.50, p.827 and V.403, p. 833 for explanation of the list of men.

<sup>31</sup> The salvation of Ripheus, most just of Trojans, is Dante's own invention (Sinclair vol.III.299). Note that Ripheus is listed with Sarpedon by Chaucer about the attempt to save Antenor when he was captured. Dante is talking about predestination and the ineffectuality of prayer to change the decrees of God. Vernon comments that "Hezekiah prayed that his life might be prolonged. The prayer was granted, but he died eventually. His prayer did not alter God's decree that he must die (Vernon VI.139). "Now doth he know that the Eternal Judgment is not altered. Ora conosce che il giudizio eterno Non si transmuta.". . . The soul of Ripheus is represented as having had such a large infusion of Divine Grace, that he gave up his whole life to Justice; and was therefore permitted by God to have a special Divine Revelation of the coming Redemption." (Vernon. *Paradiso* II.154). Note that this same kind of dispensation for the virtuous pagan could be granted Troilus because of his love (cf. Vitto, *Virtuous Pagan*). Dean Plumptre says that "the doctrine of predestination is recognized by Dante, as it was by Augustine and Aquinas, but so that it does not clash with man's freedom and responsibility." (Vernon *Paradiso* II.158) Both Cantos XXI and XXII also deal with predestination.

cadit et, Ripheus, iustissimus unus  
qui fuit in Teucris et servantissimus aequi  
(dis aliter visum): (*Aen.II.426-428*)

[Ripheus too, falls, foremost in justice among the Trojans, and most zealous for the right - Heave's will was otherwise.] (Virgil, *Aeneid*, tr. H. Rushton Fairchild. [Cambridge: Harvard UP, 1986] 322-23)

Dante places him in Paradise with Trajan:

Chi crederebbe giù nel mondo errata  
 che Rifeo Troiano in questo tondo  
 fosse la quinta delle luci sante?  
 Ora conosce assai di quel che il mondo  
 veder non può della devina grazie,  
 ben che sua vista non discerna il fondo.

[Who in the erring world below would believe that Trojan Ripheus was the fifth of the holy lights in this round. Now he knows much that the world cannot see of the Divine Grace, although his sight does not discern the bottom.] (*Paradiso* XX.68-73, Sinclair 290-91)

L'altra, per grazia che da sì profonda  
 fontana stilla, che mai creatura  
 non pinse l'occhio infino alla prima onda,  
 tutto suo amor là giù pose a drittura;  
 per che, di grazia in grazia, Dio li aperse  
 l'occhio alla nostra redenzion futura:  
 ond'ei credette in quella, e non sofferse  
 da indi il puzzo più del paganesmo;  
 e riprendiene le genti perverse.  
 Quelle tre donne li fur per battesimo  
 che tu vedesti dalla destra rota,  
 dinanzi al battezzar più d'un millesmo.  
 O predestinazion, quanto remota  
 è la radice tua da quelli aspetti  
 che la prima cagion non veggion tota!  
 E voi, mortali, tenetevi stretti  
 a giudicar; chè noi, che Dio vedemo,  
 non conosciamo ancor tutti li eletti;  
 ed'enne dolce così fatto scemo,  
 perchè il ben nostro in questo ben s'affina,  
 che quel che vole Dio, e noi volemo.  
 Così da quella imagine divina,  
 per farmi chiara la mia corta vista,  
 data mi fu soave medicina.



[The other [Ripheus], through grace which wells from so deep a fountain that no creature ever thrust his eye to its primal spring, set all his love below on righteousness; therefore from grace to grace God opened his eyes to our coming redemption, so that he believed in it and from that time endured no longer the stench of paganism but rebuked the perverse peoples for it. Those three ladies whom thou sawest by the right wheel [Faith, Hope, Charity] stood for baptism to him more than a thousand years before baptizing. O predestination, how far removed is thy root from their gaze who see not the First Cause whole! And you mortals, keep yourselves restrained in judging, for we, who see God, do not yet know all the elect; and this very lack is sweet to us, because in this good our good is perfected, that that which God wills we will too. Thus by that divine image was given sweet medicine to clear the shortness of my sight." (*Paradiso* XX.119-41, Sinclair 292-93).

32 For an astrological analysis which comes to a similar conclusion, see also Chauncey Wood's *Chaucer and the Country of the Stars: Poetic Use of Astrological Imagery* (Princeton: Princeton UP, 1970), particularly pp. 69-78, the section on "Astrology and Mythology in the *Knight's Tale* and *Troilus and Criseyde*."

33 St. Gregory. *Dialogue*, ii.35. In the *Dialogues of St. Gregory the Great*, an old English version, edited by H. J. Coleridge, S.J. (London: Burns & Oates, 1874). See also St. Bernard's prayer from Canto XXXIII, translated by Chaucer in the "Second Nun's Tale."

34 Compare Donaldson on the narrator "when, like Gregory when he wept for Trajan, he has seen his desire for his salvation confirmed" (*Speaking of Chaucer* 100).

35 Chaucer, like Dante, is deeply influenced by Biblical as well as classical sources. Lawrence Besserman cites Black (1974, pp. 74-75) as ascribing Chaucer's source to Ps. 2:4 as well as to Lucan's *Pharsalia* (9.1-18) (*Chaucer and the Bible* [New York and London: Garland, 1988] 274).

Quare tumultuantur gentes  
Et popul; meditantur inania?  
Consurgunt reges terrae  
Et principes conspirant simul  
Adversus Dominum et adversus Christum eius:  
Dirumpamus vincula eorum  
Et proiciamus a nobis laqueos eorum:  
Qui habitat in caelis, ridet,

Dominus illudit eis. . . .  
 Dominus dixit ad me. Filius meus es tu,  
 ego hodie genui te.  
 (*Biblia Sacra Iuxta Vulgatam Clementinam*, Alberto  
 Colunga et Laurentio Turrado, 7th ed. [Madrid:  
 Biblioteca de Auctores Cristianos, 1985]).

[Why have the Gentiles raged and the people  
 devised vain things?

The Kings of the earth stood up, and the princes  
 met together against the Lord, and against His Christ.

Let us break their bonds asunder: and let us cast  
 away their yoke from us.

He that dwelleth in heaven shall laugh at them and  
 the Lord shall deride them. . . .

The Lord hath said to me. Thou art my son, this  
 day have I begotten thee.

(*The Holy Bible*, tr. from the Latin Vulgate [Douay  
 1604--Rheims 1542] [Rockford, Ill.: Tan 1989] 581).

36 Bloomfield, discussing where to begin numbering,  
 mentions Mercury as *psychopomp* or guide of souls but puts  
 everyone in the fixed stars ("The Eighth Sphere," *Modern  
 Language Review* 53 (1958) 410).

37 As they approach the sphere of Mercury, Beatrice  
 tells Dante:

S'io ti fiammeggio nel caldo d'amore  
 di là dal modo che 'n terra si vede,  
 sì che delli occhi tuoi vinco il valore,  
 non ti maravigliar; che cio procede  
 da perfetto veder, che, come apprende,  
 così nel bene appreso move il piede.

Io veggio ben sì come già resplende  
 nell'intelletto tuo l'eterna luce,  
 che, vista, sola e sempre amore acende;

e s'altra cosa vostro amor seduce,  
 non è se non di quella alcun vestigio,  
 mal conosciuto, che quivi traluce.

Tu vuo'saper se con altro servizio,  
 per manco voto, si può render tanto  
 che l'anima sicuri di letigio.

(Sinclair, *Paradiso* V.1-12)

[If, in the warmth of love, I manifest  
 more of my radiance than the world can see,  
 rendering your eyes unequal to the test,  
 do not be amazed. These are the radiances  
 of the perfected version that sees the good  
 and step by step moves nearer what it sees.  
 Well do I see how the Eternal Ray,

which, once seen, kindles love forevermore,  
 already shines on you. If on your way  
 some other thing seduces your love, my brother,  
 it can only be a trace, misunderstood,  
 of this, which you see showing through the other  
 You ask if there is any compensation  
 the soul may offer for its unkept vows  
 that will secure it against litigation.]  
 (*Paradiso*, tr. John Ciardi [New York and Toronto: New  
 American Library, 1970] V.1-12).

"And then she lectures him on free will and the breaking of bad oaths, referring to Iphigenia (69-70) and the oath of Agamemnon to sacrifice for good winds." (Ciardi, 69n). Ciardi, in discussing *Paradiso*.VI.91-93, asks "what is free will in confrontation with a preordained act of God's will," that is, the Crucifixion (Ciardi, 81n). "Molte fiàte già pianser li figli/ per la colpa del padre" ["Many a father's sinfulness has sealed his children's doom."] (*Par*.VI.109-10). Justinian describes his place in paradise: "Questa picciola stella si correda/ di buoni spirti che son stati attivi/ perchè onore e fama li succeda:" [This little star embellishes its crown with the light of those good spirits who were zealous in order to win honor and renown] (*Sinclair, Paradiso* VI.112-14).

At the end of Canto VII, still in Mercury, Beatrice explains that the powers of the universe take their power from God their creator (88); they are secondary effects and corruptible (91n).

38 Stephen Barney describes the "function of the double pattern of time: the historical tempo and duration of events, which the narrator subverts when he can, and the underlying, seasonal pattern, expressed in metaphors, of fresh spring and dying winter, a pattern which reinforces the doom and hints finally at new life" ("*Troilus Bound*." *Speculum* 47 (1972) 445).

39 Howard Rollin Patch refuted the usual argument that the speech is digressionary in a particularly good analysis in "*Troilus on Predestination*" (Wagenknecht 366-84).

40 In his first edition of his *The Poetical Works of Geoffrey Chaucer* (London: Oxford UP, n. d.), F. N. Robinson notes about "Go, litel bok":

in the use of this formula, Chaucer follows a long literary tradition. For examples from Ovid, Martial, Statius, and various mediaeval writers in French, Provencal, and Italian, see Tatlock, pp. 627ff. Nearly all the cases he cites occur in collections of short poems. Boccaccio employs the device also at the end of

longer works, and Chaucer probably had this image in mind. The envoi in the *Filocolo* (II.376-78) seems most likely to have influenced him. Boccaccio there mentions Virgil, Lucan, Statius, Ovid, and Dante, for the last of whom Chaucer may have deliberately substituted Homer as more appropriate to a tale of Troy. But too much significance should not be attached to the similarity of the lists. The same poets, with the addition of Claudian, are represented in the pillars in *HF*, 1455 ff. and they correspond also, with the single exception of Statius (who takes the place of Horace) to the group whom Dante joined in Limbo (*Inf.*, iv, 82f)" (Robinson 950n).

41 "The dilemma results from the attempt to bind God to the temporal limitations of man. But Whereas man exists within time, God is beyond time. Strictly speaking therefore, God does not foresee, he simply sees . . . . The coexistence of divine providence and human free will in the external present of the divine vision is memorably affirmed by Dante" (*Par.*XXII.37, Morgan 268-69).

42 This work disagrees with Kittredge whom Muscatine cites as stating: "Nothing can be more absurd . . . than to describe Chaucer's *Troilus* as lovesick boy" (Muscatine, 187, re. Kittredge's *Chaucer*, 122-23). Piero Boitano, however, says "Troilus is but a boy, yet he dares to defy Achilles" (*The European Tragedy of Troilus* [Oxford: Clarendon, 1989] 2). Boitano's analysis of Troilus and death supports much of the thesis of this paper, although Boitano does not discuss Sarpedon or Homeric fate. He does say that Troilus "almost always appears as a mere boy or, as Sophocles says, an *andropais*, a lad on the verge of manhood" (Pearson, *Fragments of Sophocles* 257). If you want to motivate, or embellish, his story with the love theme, you either keep him a boy or make him grow up. In neither case, however, must he be allowed to procreate, or else Troy would perpetuate itself. Antiquity chooses the first solution: Troilus becomes the object of Achilles' love, rejects him, and perishes. In the different cultural climate of the twelfth century . . . Troilus has grown up. He can--indeed in that culture he must--love, and Cressida is invented. Troilus becomes the subject of love, but one inevitably destined to betrayal and death. The 'functionality' seems to survive even when the characterization has changed and become dominant--myth has its hidden ways of perpetuating itself through metamorphosis" (18).

43 According to Benson (1048n), Bennett in *Chaucer at Oxford*, 63n., observes the resemblance to Wyclif's "[nec] omnia que eveniunt de necessitate eveniunt" [not all things that come about come about from necessity].

44 Cf. Dante's argument in the *Paradiso* about God's justice for unbaptized infants. Dante is having difficulty accepting the relegation of infants to Limbo instead of to Paradise. The insistent answer is that God cannot be unjust because He is Justice and therefore the fault must lie in man's understanding, not in God's justice. On the principle of contradiction, see also Gerald Morgan, "The Ending of 'Troilus and Criseyde'" (258).

45 See Benson 830n. Robinson points this out as a scholastic distinction between *causa causans* or primary cause and *causa causata* or secondary cause.

46 "The argument of Troilus closely follows that of Boethius, but whereas in the *De Consolatione*, Philosophy makes a reply and defends human freedom, Chaucer (or Troilus) stops with the fatalist conclusion. It is not to be inferred that Chaucer himself was a fatalist. The speech, as Mr. Patch argues, expresses not Chaucer's moral, but Troilus' emotional reaction, and is therefore completely relevant. At the same time, it is to be observed that more than once in the *Troilus* the reader is made to feel a deep sense of overruling Destiny. See V.1087n." (Robinson 830n, 953-1085).

47 "But al shal passe; and thus take I my love" - Criseyde to Troilus in her thoughts (V.1085). Robinson's comment reads: "Note here the implication of Fate, the influence of which is repeatedly recognized in the poem" (Robinson 835n).

48 "Troilus or Chaucer has either forgotten the situation of soliloquy in the heat of the argument, or he deliberately adopts the Boethian form" (Benson 1048n).

49 Anthony Kenny, *Wyclif* (Oxford: Oxford UP, 1985) 38.

50 Kenny 38.

51 U 347, Kenny 38-39. For a short explanation of Wyclif belief on necessity, see Kenny 31-41. For Wyclif's own reply to Strode, "Responsoiones ad argumenta Radulfi Strode," see Johannes Wyclif, *Opera Minora*, ed. Dr. Johann Loserth (London: C.K. Paul, 1913) xii-xvii, 175-200. Especially note: "Time past and future meet in the instant and form one" (175); "Free will consistent with necessity" (177); "How far a man's soul is free" (178); and "All things that happen happen of necessity" (181).

52 See also Gerald Morgan, "The Ending of *Troilus and Criseyde*" (257-91). Morgan agrees and summarizes:

the first of the self evident principles of the speculative intellect upon which human reasoning depends is the principle of contradiction, that is, that the same thing cannot be affirmed and denied at the same time: "Et ideo primum principium indemonstrabile est quod non est simul affirmare et negare, quod fundatur supra rationem entis et non entis; et super hoc principio omnia alia fundantur, ut dicit Philosophus in IV Meta (ST. 1a.2ae, 94.2 corp) (Morgan 269, cited in Sinclair 259).

Morgan also connects the appeal to "philosophical Strode" to Ralph Strode, "a Thomist philosopher and fellow of Merton College, Oxford, before 1360. (See also J. A. W. Bennet, *Chaucer at Oxford and Cambridge* 62-65). He was an opponent of Wyclif and objected, as Robinson points out (838), to the necessarianism of Wyclif. Who better than Strode, therefore, to perceive the significance of Providence and free will behind the moving of Fortune's wheel?

Morgan also discusses moral Gower of the *Confessio Amantis* but does not connect to the necessity argument the ideas of the *Vox Clamantis* as a study of foretelling the fate of the New Troy (Morgan 267-268). Morgan's article is excellent for its understanding of Thomistic and Dantean thought as it is reflected in Chaucer. Also critical for an understanding of Wycliff's impact on Chaucer and Strode is David Lyle Jeffrey's chapter, "Chaucer and Wycliff: Biblical Hermeneutic and Literary Theory in the XIV Century," in his *Chaucer and Scriptural Tradition* (Ottawa: U of Ottawa P, 1984) 109-40. Also see Joseph H. Dahmus "John Wycliff and the English Government," *Speculum* 35 (1960): 51-68, and Rodney Delasanta, "Chaucer and Strode," *The Chaucer Review* 26 (1991): 205-18. Also of interest is David Knowles, *Saints and Scholars* (Cambridge: UP, 1963) for portraits of Wycliff's contemporaries and especially of Uthred of Boldon, one of his adversaries.

53 Ruth M. Ames agrees: "It was in the schools that the subject [of predestination] was debated, the most famous disputants in England being Wycliff and Strode . . . . Echoes of the Merton [College, Oxford] argument can be heard plainly in Troilus' monologue in Book IV. But while this speech has often been taken as an expression of Chaucer's philosophical determinism, I believe that it was a spoof of that view and of the endless agreements in the schools over it; and that it would have been so understood by Chaucer's audience" ("Corn and Shrimps: Chaucer's Mockery of Religious Controversy," *Acta Volume VIII. the Late Middle Ages*. ed. Peter Cocozzella [Binghamton: SUNY Press, 1984] 80). See

Ames for an excellent analysis of the speech in the light of Chaucer's friendship with Strode (80-83). See P. B. Taylor, "Chaucer's Cosyn to the Dede," *Speculum* 57 (1982): 315-27 for discussion of Chaucer's knowledge of Bradwardine and Wyclif (318).

54       What myght I wene, and I hadde swich a thought,  
 But that God purveyeth thyng that is to come  
 For that it is to come, and ellis nought?  
 So myghte I wene that thynges alle and some  
 That whilom ben byfalle and overcome  
 Ben cause of thilke sovereyne purveyaunce  
 That forwoot al withouten ignoraunce.  
 (IV.1065-71)

55       Compare Alfred David, "The Hero of the Troilus," *Speculum* 37 (1962): 566-81. David thinks that the soliloquy represents Troilus' dilemma that to give Criseyde free will is to lose her and to abduct her is to lose the quality of their love. Troilus sees himself as the unwilling agent of destiny (576-77). Also, Katherine Heinrick's "Lovers' Consolation of Philosophy in Boccaccio, Machaut, and Chaucer," *Studies in the Age of Chaucer* 11 (1989): 93-115, points out the ironic pattern, based on the *Roman de la Rose*, in which "Experance correctly enunciates certain Boethian principles, only to conclude with bad advice" (100-01). John Huber thinks that Troilus tries to prove the impossibility of free choice so that he can be left with only two alternatives, a reversal of fortune or death. "Troilus' soliloquy on predestination saves him from the need to act" ("Troilus' Predestination Soliloquy: Chaucer's Changes from Boethius" *NM* 66 (1965): 125).

56       Compare Boethius V pr2 in Loeb 392-95; V,pr.4,402-05; and also 409 which gives the literal basis of the argument. Note the reference in V. 4 to Cicero's *De Divinatione* to the section where Cicero mentions Sarpedon (405) (Boethius, *Tractates: De Consolatione Philosophiae*, trans. S.J. Tester [Cambridge: Harvard UP, 1978]).

57       Can this possibly be a reason for Chaucer's choice of "Lollius" as his source? That is, is Chaucer commenting ironically on Lollard errors? For a treatment of Chaucer's Lollard connections, see Ruth Ames' "Corn and Shrimps" (70-88) where Ames suggests "that Chaucer, through the Host and Troilus, was parodying the arguments posed by all sides . . . and the picture that emerges from the history, the life-records, and the poetry is of a Chaucer who was not a heretic or heretic hunter or skeptic, but an orthodox Christian gentelman [sic], whose best friends were heretics" (72-73). Note that in his introduction to *The Book of Troilus and Criseyde by Geoffrey Chaucer*, Robert Kilburn

Root suggests that Lollius derives from a misreading of Horace (Princeton: Princeton UP, 1926) xxxviii.



### Conclusion

This work began with the question, 'why Sarpedon?'. It ends with the answer and with the ramifications of the search. The answer is twofold: First, Chaucer repeated Boccaccio's incident as a place for Troilus and Pandarus to go while they waited for Criseyde, a place which could not distract or satisfy Troilus. Second, because of Chaucer's repetition of Sarpedon's name, the tightness of his structure, and the intensity with which all his details support his theme of necessity, his purpose seems to be to provide an emblem which reinforces the ideas of foreknowledge, necessity, and will which absorb Troilus. Zeus knows ahead that Sarpedon will die, and Sarpedon knows that he will die: he is both warrior and man; as warrior his life and death are lived more intensively but are the same essentially as every man's. This death is necessary for the warrior and for the man. But as warrior and as man, he does not just sit there or stand there and bewail his lot. He feasts and lives and enjoys his life. Troilus subjugates the warrior part of himself to the courtly lover, and decries his freedom of will, so he cannot be a part of Sarpedon's feast.

Because of this investigation of Sarpedon, I found that the Lycian king and the Troy story exist in two separate traditions throughout the Middle Ages, divided by the

attempt to expunge the gods, and with them the poetry and metaphor, from Troy. The first tradition, epic, Homeric or Classical, begins with the *Iliad* which sets its standard. It is continued through references and tales by Hesiod, Servius, Cicero, Hyginus, Fulgentius, the Vatican Mythographers, Jean de Meun, the later mythographic writers, and Boccaccio in his *Genealogie*. Some of these writers incorporate elaborate Christian interpretations of the myths, but they never drop the myths. The third tradition, the Christian Mythographic, is really a subcategory of this classical tradition. Boccaccio's *Genealogie* spans both these categories. Encyclopedic, it also belongs to the anti-Homeric or romance tradition which begins with Augustine in his attempt to demystify the gods and has its roots in Plato. This romance tradition is picked up in the Trojan stories of Dictys, Dares, Joseph of Exeter, Benoît, Guido, and their school and ends with the *Filostrato* of Boccaccio. In it the figure of Troilus develops from the one line reference to a son of Priam in the *Iliad* to the fully developed courtly lover created from elements of the stories of Achilles and his Briseis, of Sarpedon, and of Hector. What Chaucer has done in his *Troilus and Criseyde* is to reinvest the love story with the metaphors of Homeric necessity and to reinsert it into a context of the gods. What he has done differently is to reintroduce the mythographic method by using the gods, not as active

participants in the plot, or as stories within a frame, but as metaphorical referents to the whole. He has reintegrated the two strands of the culture and established the pattern for the use of the Homeric gods that held through Shakespeare and the subsequent English tradition. He has ignored the Christian mythographic and instead parodied it by using its method without its theology. He has added a synthesis of Scholastic theology and classical philosophy. In fact, Chaucer has summed up the Medieval and moved on, not into the Renaissance, for what never died cannot be reborn, but into the modern.

Chaucer, whether or not he had the actual text of the *Iliad*, insisted on the name of Sarpedon in a way which signals his awareness of the epic hero, Sarpedon, as a man of strong will who represents the inevitable mortality of mankind. Chaucer used the hero as foil, model, and antecedent of his youthful lover and warrior, Troilus. To read Chaucer's *Troilus and Criseyde* with an understanding of Sarpedon's role in the *Iliad* is to open the text to new possibilities for interpretation and enjoyment.

## Appendix

## 205. Peleus et Thetis

Quum Juppiter vellet Thetidem, Nympharum matrem, ducere, fata prohibuerunt, eo quod proles, quae nasceretur, Jovem regno pelleret. Juppiter autem eam junxit Peleo. Peleus igitur Thetidem ducens, magnificum fecit convivium diis et deabus omnibus. Sola Discordia minime introducta est. Quae ob hoc irata aureum pomum jactavit in convivium inter Venerem et Minervam et Junonem, in quo erat scriptum: *Pulcherrimum donum pulcherrimae deae*. Illis inter se jactantibus, quae esset pulcherrima, et cui pomum dari deberet, Paris, filius Priami, judex intromissus, formam Veneris, Junoni et Minervae praeferens, aureum pomum ipsi vindicavit. Unde et postea Veneris auxilio Spartam expugnando, Helenam rapuit. Sed propter Paridis judicium Juno semper postea Trojanis inimica fuit. Genuit autem Thetis ex Peleo Achillem. De cujus morte quum timeret, eo quod a patre esset mortalis, et haec quereretur apud Neptunum; Neptunus ait, non esse timendum de eo, quia talis futurus esset, ut credatur deo genitus. Thetis tamen, fata Achillis timens, eum in Stygiam paludem tinxit; unde toto corpore invulnerabilis fuit, excepto talo, qui matris manu tenebatur. Sed Achilles circa muros Trojae bellum gerens, quum fureret adversus Agamemnonem propter Briseidem, noluit egredi adversus Trojanos. Rogatus autem, ut saltem Patroclo, solali suo, qui antea in Trojano bello Sarpedonem, Jovis et Laodamiae filium, occiderat, arma sua. Vulcani manu fabricata, praestaret, persuadente demum Ulixē, concessit. Egressus igitur Patroclus, indutus armis Achillis, ab Hectore occisus, et armis spoliatus occubuit. Postea Thetis Achilli, mortem sodalis impatienter ferenti, Vulcania arma iterum impetravit. Quibus indutus quum Hectorem, in vindictam Patrocli provocatum, interficeret, cadaverque ejus, ad currum suum ligatum, circa muros traheret, rogatus a Priamo est, ut sibi liceret exanime filii corpus auro pensatum recipere. Quo facto, Polyxena, Hectoris soror, in turre stans, armillas et inaures illo, quo fratris pensabatur corpus, projecit. Qua visa, Achilles, si sibi daretur, promisit, ut Hectoreum corpus redderet, et Trojanos cum Graecis, reddita tamen Helena, pacificaret. Quum autem, promissa sibi a Trojanis Polyxena, in templum Thymbraei Apollinis ad firmandum foedus venisset, insidiis Paridis, post simulacrum latentis, missa vulneratus sagitta, moritur, ante obitum tamen petens, ut evicta Troja, Polyxena ad sepulcrum ejus immolaretur; quod etiam post a Pyrrho, ejus filio, impletum est.

## 206. Explanatio ejusdem fabulae.

Thetidem dici voluerunt aquam; unde et Nympha dicta est. Quam quum Juppiter uxorem ducere vellet, fati prohibitum esse dicunt, ne a prole, quae nasceretur, Juppiter regno pelleretur. Ignis enim, id est Juppiter, si cum aqua misceretur, aquae virtute extingueretur. Jupiter autem hanc conjunxit Peleo. Pelos enim Graece lutum dicitur. Ergo terram aqua mixtam volunt hominem procreasse. Omnes autem dii nuptiis finguntur interfuisse, quia secundum paganos singulas partes in homine habere dicuntur, ut Jovem caput, Minervam oculos, Junonem brachia, pectus Neptunum, cor Martem, renes et inguina Venerem, pedes Mercurium. Discordia autem sola in conjunctione aquae et terrae, id est Thetidis et Pelei, non intromittitur, quia utraque elementa concordant, ut homo gignatur, quod etiam competentia conjunctionis indicat. Peleus namque ut terra, id est caro, Thetidi ut aquae, id est humori, jungitur. Juppiter ut ignis, id est anima, utrumque jungere dicitur. Discordia aureum malum, id est cupiditatem, dicitur injecisse; nam in aureo malo est quod videas, non inest quod comedas. Tripartitum autem humanitatis, id est theoricæ, practicæ, philargicæ, modum considerantes poetae, proponunt certamina trium dearum, de formæ qualitate certantium. Minerva enim theoricam, id est contemplativam; Juno practicam, id est actilvam; Venus philargicam, id est voluptariam designat. Contemplativa autem vita est, quae ad sapientiae et veritatis ignitionem pertinet; activa, quae ornatus petit, et vitae commodis inhiat; voluptaria, quae solam vitae appetens corruptelam, libidini tantum nata, nullum honestum deputat bonum. Ideo Jovem super his non posse judicare dixerunt, quia post finem mundi judicium ignorabant, qui in libertate arbitrii constitutum hominem crederent. Quia itaque, si velut deus Juppiter judicasset, damnando duas, unam tantummodo terris vitam dmitteret; ad hominem judicium transfertur, cui deligendi liberum debetur arbitrium. Sed bene pastor non sagitta certus, non jaculo bonus, non vultu decorus, non ingenio sagax, qui, ut pecudum mos est, ad libidinem visus detorsit, quam virtutibus et divitiis praeposuit. Denique Achillem natum mater in aquas Stygias intinxit; nam venae sunt in talo, quae ad renum atque virilium rationem pertinere dicuntur. Hic per talum vulneratus, amore Polyxena periit. Polyxena enim Graece multorum peregrina dicitur, quia amor peregrinari facit mentes. Humana namque virtus, ad omnia inunita, libidinis tamen ictibus subjacet patula.

#### 205. Peleus and Thetis

When Jupiter wanted to marry Thetis, the mother of the nymphs, the fates prohibited it, because the offspring,

which would be born, would drive Jupiter from his kingdom. So, Jupiter united her with Peleus. Therefore Peleus marrying Thetis gave a magnificent feast for all the gods and goddesses. Only Discord was not invited. From anger at this, she threw the gold apple into the feast among Venus and Minerva and Juno, on which was written: "The most beautiful gift for the most beautiful goddess." While they were arguing among themselves as to who was the most beautiful and to whom the apple ought to be given, Paris, the son of Priam, brought in as a judge, preferring the beauty of Venus to Juno and Minerva, claimed for her the golden apple. Then also afterwards storming Sparta with the aid of Venus, he seized Helen. But because of the judgment of Paris, Juno was always afterwards the enemy of the Trojans. Thetis gave birth to Achilles by Peleus. When she feared for his death because he was mortal from his father, and she was complaining to Neptune, Neptune said that she ought not to worry about him because he would be such that he would be believed to have been born of a god. Nevertheless, fearing the fate of Achilles, Thetis dipped him in the Stygian swamp; whence he was invulnerable in his whole body, except the heel which was held by the mother's hand. But Achilles, waging war around the walls of Troy, because he was enraged against Agamemnon on account of Briseis, would not go out against the Trojans. Being asked however that he at least give to Patroclus, his companion,

who previously in the Trojan War had killed Sarpedon, the son of Jupiter and Laodamia, his armor made by the hand of Vulcan, finally at the persuasion of Ulysses, he agreed. Therefore Patroclus went out dressed in the armor of Achilles, was cut down by Hector and stripped of his armor, and died. Afterwards, Thetis got armor a second time from Vulcan for Achilles, who was taking hard the death of his friend. When, clad in these arms, he called forth Hector to avenge Patroclus and killed him, and dragged his body, tied to his chariot, around the walls, he was begged by Priam that he allow him to ransom with gold the dead body of his son, and to receive it. After this had been done, Polyxena, Hector's sister, standing on the tower, threw her armlets and earrings upon the ransom for her brother's body. Having seen this, Achilles promised, if she should be given to him, that he would return the body of Hector, and would reconcile the Trojans with the Greeks, if however Helen were returned. When however, after Polyxena was promised to him by the Trojans, he had come into the temple of Thymbraean Apollo in order to confirm the pact, he was ambushed by Paris hiding behind the statue, wounded by the arrow which was shot, and died, seeking however before his death that after Troy had been conquered, Polyxena would be sacrificed at his tomb; this also afterwards was carried out by Pyrrhus his son.

206: The explanation of this fable

It is claimed that Thetis means water; wherefore she was called a nymph. When Jupiter wished to marry her, it is said he was prohibited by fate, lest by the offspring which was to be born Jupiter would be driven from his kingdom. For fire, that is Jupiter, if it were mixed with water, would be extinguished by virtue of the water. Jupiter however married her to Peleus. For Pelos in Greek means mud. Therefore it is claimed that earth mixed with water brought forth mankind. Moreover, all the gods are depicted as having been present at the marriage because according to the pagans, they are said to have the individual parts in man, as Jupiter the head, Minerva the eyes, Juno the arms, Neptune the chest, the heart Mars, kidney and groin Venus, feet Mercury. Only Discord however is not involved in the joining of water and earth, that is of Thetis and Peleus, because both elements are in harmony in order for man to be brought forth which also the suitability of the union indicates. For Peleus as earth, that is flesh, is united with Thetis, as water, that is moisture (saliva, wine). Jupiter as fire, that is soul, is said to cause the two others to join. Discord is said to have tossed in the golden apple, that is cupidity; for in the golden apple is something to see but not anything to eat. The poets in considering the three part form of humanity, that is the theoretical, the practical, the appetitive (desirous) describe the rivalry of the three goddesses contesting about

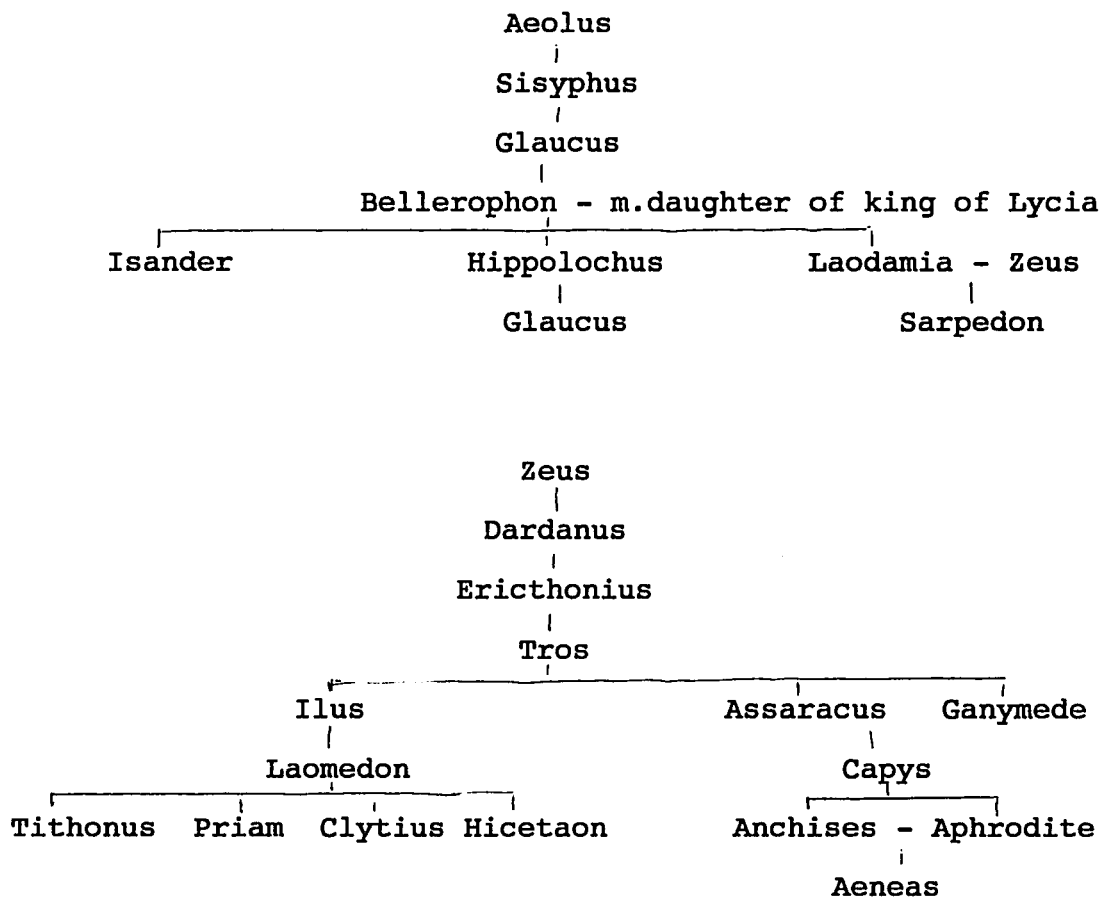


the quality of beauty. For Minerva designates theoretical, that is the contemplative; Juno the practical, that is the active; Venus the covetous (greedy, appetitive), that is the voluptuous (desiring). Moreover, the contemplative life is that which pertains to the investigation of wisdom and truth; the active, that which seeks adornments and longs for the good things of life; the pleasure loving (voluptuous), that which seeking only the seductions of life, born only for pleasure, considers no honorable thing good. Therefore it was said that concerning these things Jupiter was not able to judge because those who believed that man was made in free will did not know that there was a judgment after the end of the world. Therefore, because, if Jupiter had judged as a god, by condemning two, he would allow one life only to the earth; the judgment is transferred to man, to whom the free will of choosing is owed. But well the shepherd, not sure with the arrow, not good with the javelin, not handsome of face, not keen of wit, who, as is the custom of animals, turned away his eyes to pleasure, which he placed before virtues and riches. Finally the mother dipped her son Achilles into the Stygian waters; for the nerves (veins) are in the heel, which are said to relate to the purpose of the kidneys and the male organs. Wounded in his heel, he perished for love of Polyxena. For Polyxena in Greek, means the wanderings of many because love makes the mind to wander. For human virtue, fortified for all

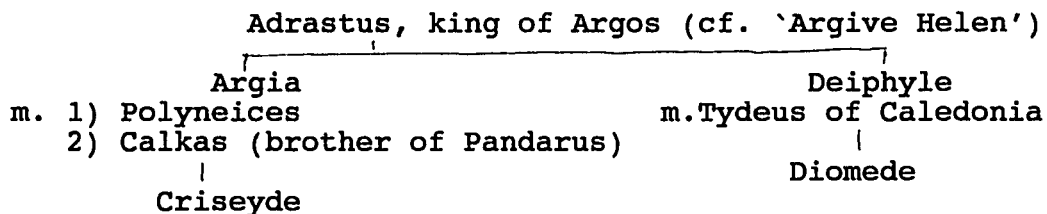
things, nevertheless lies accessible to the blows of lust.

tr. by Ann Bradley and Helen Eaker

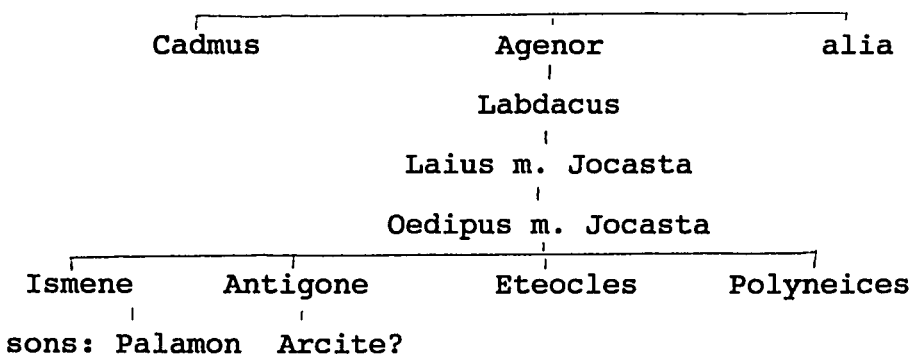
### Genealogy Charts



(*Iliad* XX.208-241)



(David Anderson. "Theban History in Chaucer's *Troilus*." *Studies in the Age of Chaucer* 4(1982):109-134)



(*Lactantii Placidi Commentarios in Statii Thebaide et Commentarium in Achilleida*. Ed. Richard Jahnke. Leipzig: Teubner, 1898: 157 in David Anderson. "Theban Genealogy in the *Knight's Tale*." *Chaucer Review* 21(1987):311-319)

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