AND THE WINNER IS . . . : THE CONTEST OVER THE ARMS OF ACHILLES IN A MIDDLE DUTCH TROY ROMANCE

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Abstract

The Roman poet Ovid (43 BC–17 AD) devoted the twelfth and thirteenth books of his *Metamorphoses* to the Trojan War. The *pièce de résistance* is the verbal contest between Ajax and Ulysses as they both lay claim to the fallen Achilles' armour. The dispute is won gloriously by the cunning and subtle Ulysses over the valorous man of action Ajax, who, in the end, takes his own life.

More than twelve and a half centuries later, Jacob van Maerlant includes this episode in his *Historie van Troyen* (ca. 1260), which was based on Benoît de Sainte-Maure's *Roman de Troie* (ca. 1160). The medieval Dutch poet did not merely translate Ovid's Latin text, but introduced three adjustments: he simplified the language, he added explanations of mythological details and he eliminated the role of the supernatural completely. In the *Historie van Troyen* Maerlant gives an extremely unfavourable picture of the Greeks. By including this episode, Maerlant underlines once more than cunning and deceit (Ulysses) are valued higher by the Greeks than valour and bravery (Ajax).

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The *Metamorphoses* of the Latin author Ovid (43 BC–17 AD) can be considered a compendium of classical mythology. Because the poet relied on his many precursors, he did not need to treat all stories *in extenso*. Thanks to Homer (9th/8th BC) and Virgil (70–19 BC) he could deal with the Trojan War in a few episodes in Books 12 and 13. It seems as if the stories hardly hang together, but studied more closely it is clear that Ovid structured these two books tightly.[1]

Book Twelve begins with a brief description of the causes and the beginnings of the Trojan War. The first elaborated metamorphosis concerns the invulnerable Cygnus.[2] This son of Neptune is strangled by Achilles (71–145).[3] This event enables Nestor – triggered off by the sex change of Caenis – to relate at length the struggle between the Lapiths and the Centaurs (212–535).[4] A brief account follows of the murder of Achilles by Paris, whose arrow had been directed by Apollo (580–611). The arms of Achilles are claimed by the great Ajax, the son of Telamon, as well as by Ulysses. At Agamemnon's request the Greek chiefs gather

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together to decide which of the two claims has the most right. Here Book 12 ends.

Book Thirteen opens with Ajax' speech, who maintains by strength of arguments that the arms should be allotted to him. But Ulysses refutes Ajax' claim in a long speech.[5] In the end the arms are awarded to Ulysses and Ajax throws himself onto his own sword. On the spot a purple flower, a hyacinth, sprang up (1–398).

Next come another three stories related to the siege of Troy. The Trojan princess Polyxena is sacrificed on the grave of Achilles to ensure a favorable wind for the Greek return home (439–480).[6] Then follows Hecuba's complaint over the death of Polyxena and her son Polydorus and her revenge on the Thracian king (399–438 and 481–575). The last Troy-related story describes the sadness of Aurora over the death of her son Memnon (439–480). Ovid closes Book Thirteen with the love stories of Galathea and the cyclops Polyphemus and of Scylla and Glaucus (623–968).

The Trojan War in Middle Dutch literature[7]

Some twelve and a half centuries after Ovid's death the Dutch poet Jacob van Maerlant used some of the episodes from Ovid's *Metamorphoses* in his version of the Trojan War. His *Historie van Troyen* [*History of Troy*], which consists of more than 40,000 lines, is based on the *Roman de Troie*, composed by Benoît de Sainte-Maure in about 1160 at the request of King Henry II of England and Eleonor of Aquitaine.[8] Jacob van Maerlant did not simply translate the more than 30,000 lines of the Old-French text. On the contrary, the Dutch poet had some fundamental disagreements with Benoît's representation of who had ultimately caused the destruction of Troy. According to the Old-French text, Aeneas, Anchises, Antenor and Polydamas had given the Palladium to the Greeks in exchange for a safe conduct. This statue of the goddess Pallas Athena was supposed to protect Troy as long as it was inside the city walls.[9] Maerlant could not accept that Aeneas was a traitor:

> Benoit, die dit dichte wale
> Uytten Latyn in Walsche tale,
> Die tiet al die grote moert,
> Dat verlaeren wert die poert,
> Athenor ende Polidamase,
> Anchise ende Enease,
> Ende alle die daer ontginghen,
> Ende seghet dat hy van desen dinghen
> In Ysis' boec die waerheyt vant.
> Hierteghen seg ic u tehant:
> Rome ende alle die senatore
> Ende die keyser van rechten ore
> Die syn van Eneas comen.
> Soude Got, te synen vromen,

Enen verrader doen die eer,
Dat Hyne al soe groten heer
Maken soud te sulcken moert?
Dat weer een sake onghehoert.

Historie van Troyen 30249–30266:[10]

Benoît, who translated this carefully from Latin into French, attributes the great massacre by which the city [= Troy] was destroyed to Antenor, Polydamas, Anchises and Aeneas and to all the others who escaped from it. He [= Benoît] says that he found the truth about these matters in Dictys' book; in contrast to which I at once say this to you: Rome, the senators and the emperors are descendants of Aeneas: they are his rightful heirs. Would God grant a traitor the honour – to his benefit – of making him such a powerful ruler after such a massacre? That would be unheard-of.

But neither could Maerlant accept that the Greeks could have taken Troy with ease. He looked for another scapegoat and found him in Calchas. According to medieval tradition this seer was of Trojan origin, but the Oracle at Delphi had ordered him to join the Greek side. Maerlant changed this turncoat into an evil genius who – in collaboration with Achilles and Ulysses – brought about the final defeat of Troy. Already at Calchas' first appearance in the *Historie van Troyen*, Maerlant calls him *die quade verrader die Troyen onderdeed allegader* (*Historie van Troyen* 5490–5491: the evil traitor who caused the utter defeat of Troy).[11]

The first mention of Calchas occurs in Maerlant's adaptation of the *Achilleid*, an incomplete epic by the Roman poet Publius Papinius Statius (± 45–96), describing the youth of Achilles. In addition to reworking the *Achilleid*, Maerlant also added his version of parts of other classical texts to that of Benoît. As a result the Middle Dutch poem is 10,000 lines longer than the Old-French original. Not only did Maerlant include a complete adaptation of Virgil's *Aeneid*, but he also included several episodes from Ovid's *Metamorphoses*. One of these is the so-called *iudicium armorum*, the contest over the arms of Achilles.[12]

Adaptation techniques

A comparison of the Middle Dutch version of the *iudicium armorum* with Ovid's Latin original shows that Maerlant closely follows his source. But he also makes some changes and these indicate three types of adaptation techniques.

1. Simplification

Like other Latin authors from the two centuries around the beginning of our era, Ovid delights in adding stylistic embellishments to his text. Frequently a hero is not only referred to by his proper name, but often patronyms or toponyms are used instead. Thus Ulysses becomes *Laertides*

[= son of Laërtes], or he becomes *Ithacus* [= the man from Ithaca]. Ovid's public must have understood this complicated method of namegiving; it is even likely that the poems were more appreciated as the degree of difficulty was increased. After all, Ovid and his fellow-poets wrote for a highly educated public.[13]

Twelve centuries later Jacob van Maerlant's lay public lacked such a classical education. In the Middle Ages the training in the seven liberal arts was, after all, a professional training for the clergy.[14]

Although we do not know who may have commissioned Maerlant's *Historie van Troyen*,[15] we can assume that this extensive work was written for a wealthy noble patron or patroness. The primary public should most probably be found in the circle around the Count of Holland and Zeeland, at that moment (± 1263) the still infant Floris V.[16] This lay audience was interested in the Trojan War because it involved the legendary ancestors of almost all the leading noble families in Europe. But they were unschooled in Latin. And because they lacked a formal education they were unfamiliar with Latin methods of expression. A literal translation would therefore not be appropriate; so poetic allusions had to be rendered in a language that was suited to this audience. Maerlant opts for a simplification of names; patronyms and toponyms are systematically replaced by proper names.[17]

One example must suffice here. It occurs in the speech of Ulysses when he enumerates a number of Greek heroes who could also lay claim to the arms of Achilles:

> peteret moderatior Aiax
> Eurypylusque ferox claroque Andraemone natus
> nec minus Idomeneus patriaque creatus eadem
> Meriones, peteret maioris frater Atridae

Metamorphoses 13,356–359:[18]

so would the lesser Ajax [seek the arms of Achilles], warlike Eurypylus and the son of illustrious Andraemon, and no less so Idomeneus and his fellow-countryman, Meriones; yes, Menelaüs [the brother of the great son of Atreus], too, would seek the prize.

Maerlant renders these lines as:

> Soe had Ayax Ovelius;
> Leefde hy, soe deed Euripulus,
> Thoas ende Ydomenus,
> Meriones en Menelaüs

Historie van Troyen 26920–26923:[19]

Ajax Oïlius could [have claimed the arms], as could Eurypylus – if he were still alive – or Thoas, Idomeneüs, Meriones and Menelaüs.

Two circumlocutions (*natus Andraemone and maioris frater Atrides*) are replaced by proper names, those of Thoas and Menelaüs. The latter, husband of the kidnapped Helen, occurs frequently, of course; Thoas, too, was not an unknown Greek hero, even if he is not given a major role.[20]

Ajax Oïlius is a special case. In the listing of the Greek heroes at the beginning of the exchange between Ajax and Ulysses, Maerlant makes out of *Oleos Aiax* (*Metamorphoses* 12,622: Ajax, the son of Oïlius) two different people: Ajax of Locris and Ajax Oïlius. In classical mythology these are two names for the same person, the one a patronymic, the other a toponymic. Maerlant, however, does not err. On the contrary his splitting of the lesser Ajax into two persons has a solid basis in his sometimes contradictory sources. Thus according to Ovid's *Metamorphoses* (13,391–392) the greater Ajax throws himself onto his own sword, but according to Benoît he dies later on the battlefield (*Roman de Troie* 22795–22822).[21] In the passage borrowed from Benoît, Maerlant replaces the greater Ajax by Ajax of Locris (*Historie van Troyen* 27977–28048). But now Maerlant is in conflict with Virgil's *Aeneid* where the lesser Ajax actively participates in the destruction of Troy. In his adaptation of the *Aeneid* therefore Maerlant calls the lesser Ajax *Ajax Oïlius* so that he can deal with his later wanderings, in accord with Benoît.[22]

To conclude one can say that Maerlant greatly simplifies the names in his adaptations of classical texts.[23] It must also be noted that he leaves untranslated the so-called *epitheta ornantia* (the almost cliché-like embellishments describing the characters). In the passage cited above the word *claro* (illustrious) disappears in the case of Andraemon.

2. Explanation

Simplifying names was not enough, for these were allusions to people, places and events that might cause problems even for the educated. For example, Maerlants omits *ferox* (warlike) with the name of Eurypylus and replaces it with *Leefde hy* [= if he was still living] to indicate that this hero was dead. Apparently Maerlant identified this Greek with the King of Hircanis who had been killed by Hector in the tenth battle. In this case Maerlant refers back to something he had related earlier in his narrative.[24]

There are also allusions to matters that Maerlant had not at all or only barely mentioned in the earlier part of his text. These needed some clarification for a public not brought up on classical mythology. For example, Ajax accuses Ulysses of having left the wounded Philoctetes on the island of Lemnos on purpose.

> et nunc ille eadem nobis iuratus in arma,
> heu! pars una ducum, quo successore sagittae

Herculis utuntur, fractus morboque fameque
velaturque aliturque avibus, volucresque petendo
debita Troianis exercet spicula fatis.

Metamorphoses 13,50–54:

And now he, who took oath with us for this same war, alas! one of our chieftains, who fell heir to [Hercules'] shafts, now, broken with disease and hunger, is clothed and fed by the birds, and in pursuit of birds uses those arrows which fate has intended for Troy!

Maerlant believes he cannot copy this remark concerning Hercules' arrows without explanation and he adds several lines:

Hercules' strale heft hy daer,
Daer Calcas af seghet voerwaer
Dat Troyen blyft al onghewonnen
Tensy dat wyse ghewynnen connen.
Ic segt u waerby dattet coemt:
Hercules, die men ducke noemt,
Scloech int broec dat hiet Lerna
Enen worm, hiet ydia,
Daerin venynden hy syn strale.
Men weet daeraf die waerheit wale:
Wie datter af wort ghewont
Dat hy moet blyven onghesont,
Hem en quame sulcke meister an
Die wel fenynen ghenesen can.

Historie van Troyen 26046–26059:[25]

[Philoctetes][26] had the arrows of Hercules about which Calchas says that Troy cannot be taken unless we can get them. I'll tell you how that came about. Hercules, who is often mentioned, killed the snake Hydra in a swamp called Lernia. With [the snake's blood] he poisoned his arrows. The truth of this is well known. Who is wounded with that poison will remain sick unless he can find a doctor who knows about poisons.

Maerlant explains first that the arrows are absolutely necessary for the destruction of Troy.[27] Then he briefly relates how the arrows were poisoned in a reference to one of Hercules' twelve tasks, namely the defeat of the Lernian hydra.[28]

Comparison of the Latin source with Maerlant often shows this technique; each time Maerlant's public might be lost as a result of their ignorance, he offers an explanatory addition to help them out.[29]

3. The supernatural

In the fourth century Christian Europe adopted the Roman curriculum of the seven liberal arts, but the Church Fathers and apologists were strongly opposed to the study of classical authors in that curriculum.

Because Christians believe in one God and the classical epics present an entire pantheon of gods – who, moreover, often interfere in the actions of mortals –, a solution for that polytheism had to be found. Four solutions were proposed: *euhemerism* (gods had been human beings in earlier times; this theory was proposed in the fifth century BC by a certain Euhemeros), an *astronomic* solution (the gods are stars and planets), a *moral* solution (the stories are not true, but they do contain a moral sense), and a *diabolic* solution (Satan is hiding in the idols).[30]

Maerlant also had to face the problem of how to make the gods acceptable to his thirteenth-century public. In his *Historie van Troyen* he appears to have used all four solutions. The most striking is that those gods who are needed in an action are stripped of their divinity and made into people of flesh and blood. In the beginning of the *Achilleid* Maerlant changes the goddess Thetis, Achilles' mother, into an aristocratic lady who is ruling the land of her absent husband Peleus.[31]

In the dispute over the arms of Achilles, intervening gods do not occur. But both Ajax and Ulysses often call on the gods in their speeches. Maerlant did, however, not have to hide from his public that in pre-Christian times people worshipped idols.[32]

In classical mythology the gods were subjected to fate or the *fata*. That concept did not fit into the Christian view of the supernatural either. Maerlant frequently omits reference to fate. In the passage on the arrows of Philoctetes, quoted above, Maerlant changed Ovid's *debita Troianis [. . .] spicula fatis* [those arrows which fate has intended for Troy] into a prophesy of Calchas. But in several places he changes the classical fate into the medieval Fortuna.[33] In the beginning of his speech, Ulysses refers to the *fata*:

> quem quoniam non aequa mihi vobisque negarunt
> fata

Metamorphoses 13,131–132:

But since the unjust fates have denied him [= Achilles] to me and you.

Maerlants renders this phrase as follows:

> Mer omdat die aventuere
> Die wandel, fel is ende suere,
> Ons den princhе heft ghenomen,

Historie van Troyen 26348–26350:

But because Fortuna, who is fickle, malevolent and cruel, has taken from us the prince [= Achilles].

Here and elsewhere Maerlant makes his classical source understandable to his medieval public. In the medieval Christian "hierarchy" *providentia* is below God; she communicates the wishes and commands of God to Fortuna. Since mankind has been thrown out of paradise, they no longer have part in divine knowledge and therefore they think of Fortuna as fickle.[34]

Why?

The question remains why Jacob van Maerlant undertook the task of adapting and reworking these classical texts. It is, of course, possible that the Middle Dutch poet merely wanted to complete the Old-French source. Benoît de Sainte-Maure had based himself primarily on Dares Phrygius (*De excidio Troiae historia* = The story of the destruction of Troy) and Dictys Cretensis (*Ephemeri belli Troiani* = Diary of the Trojan War). It is one of Benoît's merits that he rendered these – often extremely dry – pseudo-eyewitness reports into a smoothly running narrative poem in which – in addition to the war itself – attention is also given to courtly manners and to love.[35] But, even if Benoît had provided an extensive treatment of the Trojan War, there were many more stories. Every clerk knew that from his schooldays. In connection with the theft of the Palladium, Maerlant makes a direct reference to the schoolbooks:

> In syn Romans so scryft Benoet,
> Een dinc die my vernoit,
> Dat Athenor soud hebben ghenomen
> Ende soud te Ulixes syn comen
> Ende hebben hem dat beelde ghebrocht;
> Mer, had hy die waerheit besocht
> In buecken die men leest in scolen,
> Soe en had hy niet moghen dolen.
> Ic wil u tellen mitter haest,
> So ic mach der waerheit naest,
> Hoet was ghenomen ende by wies rade.

Historie van Troyen 23555–23565:

In his French, Benoît writes something that bothers me, namely that Antenor took the statue [the Palladium] and brought it to Ulysses. But if he had searched for the truth in books that are read in the schools, he would not have made this error. Therefore, I will quickly tell you and as well as I possibly can according to the truth, how and by whose counsel that statue was stolen.

This instance indicates that Maerlant used the classical texts to correct Benoît.[36] A close reading also shows that Maerlant uses all the additional classical stories to sharpen his own version of the destruction of Troy. They all betray, moreover, the poet's pro-Trojan sympathies. I have

already mentioned that Maerlant disagrees with Benoît on the cause of Troy's destruction: it was not Aeneas, Anchises, Antenor and Polydamas who had betrayed Troy, but the turncoat Calchas brought about her defeat.

The use of Statius' *Achilleid* served the same purpose. Maerlant adapted the story of Achilles' youth to show why this Greek hero was such a baleful person during the siege of Troy. A man who was brought up by a centaur and who – even if he was more or less forced by his mother – went around in woman's clothing, can never be a courtly knight. Achilles shows his abjectness by killing Hector from behind![37]

Maerlant does not have a high regard for Ulysses either: he has absolutely no admiration for his cunning and scheming and his excellent oratory. The Middle Dutch poet favors the greater Ajax instead. Although he was a Greek by birth, he was also related to the Trojans, for Hesiona, his mother, was the sister of the Trojan king Priam.[38] Ajax was thus a first cousin of Hector. Because Maerlant continuously and openly takes sides with the Trojans, Ajax' blood ties with the Trojan royal family must be seen as significant. This he had already shown in the battle around the ships between Hector and Ajax. As soon as the two combatants discover that they are cousins, they stop fighting and exchange gifts. Ajax gives Hector a girdle and Hector gives Ajax a sword.[39] It is with this girdle that Hector is dragged around the walls of Troy by Achilles after his death; and Ajax throws himself onto the sword he received from Hector:

> Al daer toe sach menich man,
> Trac hy uyt syn goede sweert,
> Dat Hector lief had ende weert

Historie van Troyen 27015–27017:

As many looked on, he [Ajax] drew his excellent sword that had been so treasured by Hector.

As I see it, Maerlant introduced the *iudicium armorum* from Book Thirteen of Ovid's *Metamorphoses* to underline once again how perfidious a character Ulysses was,[40] and to show that, though the greater Ajax was not a gifted speaker, he was certainly a brave fighter and a model of medieval chivalry. To increase Ajax' honor and reputation, Maerlant describes in great detail the burial monument built for this Greek hero. It portrays the battle between the Lapiths and the Centaurs. This battle, which symbolizes the contrast between culture and barbarism, Maerlant also borrowed from Ovid's *Metamorphoses* (Book 12,212535). But that is another story.[41]

Appendix

Summary of the *iudicium armorum* (*Metamorphoses* 13,1–381 and *HvT* 25762–26987)

Met	*HvT*	
1	25762	After the Greeks leaders have taken their seats in a circle, Ajax adresses them:
5	25776	I regret that I have to contend with Ulysses, a man of many words but hardly brave.
21	25824[42]	I pride myself in my ancestors. By the way of Aeacus I am descended from Jupiter, while Ulysses is a son of Sisyphus.
34	25911[43]	I was also the first to come to the War and that without coercion; Ulysses, on the other hand, acted as if he was crazy and arrived last.
43	25980[44]	Ulysses hardly helped the Greek cause. With no thanks to him the Greeks must do without Philoctetes (without whose arrows Troy will never be taken) as well as Palamedes (who has unjustly been accused by Ulysses of treason).
63	26086	In addition Ulysses once abandoned Nestor in battle, even though Diomedes tried to make him change his mind. But I helped Ulysses at a later stage when he was in need.
82	26153[45]	And it was I, Ajax, who engaged in battle with Hector.
95	26203[46]	In what, indeed, can Ulysses take pride. If he should receive the arms, he would have to share them with his comrade Diomedes.
103	26236[47]	After all, he does all his deeds during the night. He will not be able to carry the arms of Achilles; they are far too heavy for him.
120	26296	In short, let the bravest soldier receive the arms.
123	26322	After the applause for Ajax' speech has died down, Ulysses rises to his feet ans commences his address:
128	26340	We cannot do without Achilles. But his arms belong to him who brought Achilles here. I have always served the Greek cause with my ingenuity.
140	26370[48]	And I also am descended from Jupiter, namely via Acresius and Laërtes. Moreover, on my mother's side I am descended from Mercury. But that is not why I claim the arms, they belong to Achilles' father, Peleus, or to Achilles' son, Pyrrhus. Telamon, Ajax' brother, also has a claim, but he has renounced it. Let me recite my deeds.
162	26430[49]	I discovered Achilles on the isle of Scyros where he – disguised as a woman – had been hidden by his mother. That is why Telaphus was healed and Hector was defeated. These are actions that must be added to my account.
181	26500	When the ships could not depart from Aulis, I convinced Agamemnon to sacrifice his daughter Iphigeneia and I went to Clytaemnestra to fetch their daughter.
196	26536[50]	I risked my life by going to Troy to demand the return of Helen.
205	26552	It would take too long to recite all my deeds. During the years we were not fighting I kept the troops occupied.
216	26578[51]	And what did Ajax do when Agamemnon dreamed erroneously that we should return to Greece? I had to stop Ajax.
238	26633[52]	Who wants to be associated with Ajax? On the other hand, Diomedes has been my friend for years. Several times during the night I foiled

		the plans of the Trojans. Look at me. Here are my wounds. Ajax cannot show any.
268	26729[53]	Ajax maintains that he defended the ships, but that was done by Patroclus. And Hector left the battlefield unharmed.
280	26765	It was I who carried the fallen Achilles from the field of battle. Thus the arms belong to me! Moreover, Ajax has no appreciation for the beautiful reliefwork on the shield.
296	26805	Ajax says that I arrived too late, but that is also true for Achilles. I went looking for Achilles, but Ajax did not search for me.
307	26815[54]	Ajax says that I accused Palamedes falsely, but the proofs were there and you based your judgment on them.
313	26832	I did indeed advise to leave Philoctetes behind. Now that we need his arrows, Ajax can go and get them, after all, he has the gift of speech. But I am prepared to get the arrows myself, just as I got the Palladium.
350	26904	It is true that Diomedes was always at my side, but Ajax too, did not stand alone on the battlefield. Your power could not do without my brains.
369	26942	Thus give me the arms of Achilles, for it will be thanks to me that Troy will be conquered. If I do not receive them, give them to Pallas Athena.

Notes

1. About the structure of Ovid's *Metamorphoses* see Von Albrecht (1979).

2. Before that (*Metamorphoses* 12,11–38) Ovid had briefly presented two more metamorphoses, those of Iphigenia and of the petrification of a snake mother. Both these also belong to the matter of the Trojan War. Jacob van Maerlant adapted both these stories – though in reverse order – to include them in his *Historie van Troyen* (7415–7508). See Jongen (1988: 19).

3. This story has also been incorporated by Maerlant in *Historie van Troyen*: 27050–27628. See Jongen (1988: 19; 141–142; 188–189).

4. This is followed by another brief story about Hercules (536–576): how he killed all Neleus' sons except Nestor. Maerlant includes this story as well: *Historie van Troyen* 27629–27720. See Jongen (1988:19–20).

5. For an extensive précis of this debate see the Appendix.

6. This story has been included by Maerlant as well in his *Historie van Troyen*: 32459–32479. See Jongen (1988: 19; 157–158).

7. For a survey of Middle Dutch literature see Kooper (1994). Jacob van Maerlant and his works are discussed by Van Oostrom (1996). The *Historie van Troyen* is examined extensively in Jongen (1988); see also Jongen (1994) and Jongen (1997).

8. See *Lexikon des Mittelalters* 1: 1918–1919.

9. See Benoît de Sainte-Maure 24425–26240.

10. The Middle Dutch text – including the emendations – is quoted from Jongen (1988: 107 and 127–128, note 52).

In his *Historie van Troyen*, Maerlant criticizes Benoît repeatedly: see 6514–6519; 19572–19583; 23547–23565; 23700–23706; 31239–31240; 31425–31440; 31571–31584 and 33231–33234. Furthermore, Maerlant consistently removes all references to the treason committed by Aeneas and his friends: see Jongen (1988: 126, note 42).

11. About the role played by Calchas in the *Historie van Troyen* see Jongen (1988: 101–108); about Achilles' role see Jongen (1988: 135–174) and Jongen (1994).

12. For Maerlant's use of (classical) sources see Jongen (1988: 16–21). For his adaptation of Vergil's *Aeneid* see De Ceukelaere (1991).

13. See Burck (1979).

14. See Glauche (1970); *Lexikon des Mittelalters* 7: 1589–1591; and Kelly (1999: 79–120).

15. In the prologue of the only more or less complete manuscript of the *Historie van Troyen* (Brussels, Royal Library, IV 927) Maerlant sums up all his "published" works to date, but the name of his patron is lacking. This manuscript breaks off abruptly in the middle of a couplet. As a result, the epilogue is missing.

16. See Van Oostrom (1996: 127–136).

17. Cf. Jongen (1988: 59–60) and Kelly (1999: 145–170).

18. Text and translations of Ovid's *Metamorphoses* are cited from Miller (1977). Additions between [ ] are mine.

19. Text is quoted from Jacob van Maerlant: *Dit is die Istory van Troyen*. Comp. Verdam (1873: vss. 7894–7897).

20. Thoas plays a part in three episodes of the *Historie van Troyen*:

a. In the second battle he enters the field with 1000 men, where he kills Cassibilanus (*HvT*: 10548–10577 = Benoît de Sainte-Maure: 9117–9144); later on in that battle he is nearly taken prisoner (*HvT*: 11132–11191 = Benoît de Sainte-Maure: 9739–9798).

b. He is captured by Deiphobus (*HvT*: 12934–12959 = Benoît de Sainte-Maure: 11541–11570); the Trojans want to kill him, but in the end he is exchanged for Antenor (*HvT*: 13078–13409 and 14511–14545 = Benoît de Sainte-Maure:11685–11994 and 13065–13085).

c. He is one of the Greeks inside the Trojan horse (*HvT*: 31551 and 31982; cf. Virgil's *Aeneid* 2:262).

21. As a matter of fact Benoît makes a mistake, because after that (Benoît de Sainte-Maure:26603–27116) he mentions that the greater Ajax is killed, after the Palladium has been awarded to Ulysses. Maerlant also split the greater Ajax into two as Ajax and Telamon. See Jongen (1988: 108–111).

22. See Jongen (1989).

23. See Jongen (1988: 59–60).

24. See *HvT*: 7157, 9718 and 19307 = Benoît de Sainte-Maure 5665, 8270 and 16059. According to the Greek spy Sinon it was Eurypylus who was sent to Delphi to consult the oracle (*HvT*: 31773 = *Aeneid* 2: 114).

25. Emendations follow Verdam (1873:vss. 7020–7033).

26. Before this adaptation of Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, Philoctetes is mentioned only twice:

a. He acts as guide for the Greeks (HvT: 7509–7518; cf. Benoît de Sainte-Maure: 5985–5990). In this passage Maerlant announces that Philoctetes will be wounded by Achilles' spear, which, in fact, happened to Telephus (*Metamorphoses* 13: 171–172; cf. *HvT*: 26468–26475).

b. He is mentioned as commander of a Greek army detachment (*HvT*: 9736–9740 = Benoît de Sainte-Maure: 8288–8292).

27. Whether this was prophesied by Calchas or by an oracle does not matter.

28. It should be noted that Ajax' role seems changed. The *Ic segt u waerby dattet coemt* [I'll tell you how this happened] and the *Men weet daeraf die waerheit wale* [The truth about this is well known] are more appropriate to the author or narrator than to the excited Ajax.

29. For more instances see the Appendix.

30. See Seznec (1972).

31. See Jongen (1988: 44–56).

32. In the *iudicium armorum* Ajax and Ulysses refer, on the one hand, to the

classical gods (25776): Jupiter; 26004: *bidt op gade* [pray to the gods]; 26506: *Ons daden die gade verstaen* [the gods made known to us]; 26511: *Hy vloeckte mede alle die gade* [he also cursed all the gods]; 26532: *wrede Dyana* [the cruel Diane; because Agamemnon had killed a deer consecrated to her, she was said to have hindered the Greeks from leaving Aulis; see *HvT*: 7417–7480 and *Metamorphoses* 12: 24–38]; 26882: *Die gaden daden ons bekynnen* [the gods made clear to us] and 26973 *Om den gaden wille die wy nomen* [for the sake of the gods that we call upon], but, on the other hand, also the Christian God (25893): *Got vergeeft* [may God forgive this]; 25922: *Gotweet* [God knows it]; 25980: *verghave Got* [may God forgive it]; 26063: *Got moet hem daerom verdoemen* [may God therefore damn him] and 26325: *Alsoe helpe ons Got* [may help us God].

33. See Patch (1927).

34. See Pickering (1970) and Jongen (1988: 54–56).

35. See Griffin (1907); Lumiansky (1958); Hansen (1971); Eisenhut (1983); Sullivan (1985) and Kelly (1999: 145–170).

36. See Jongen (1988: 178–186).

37. See Jongen (1994) and Jongen (1997).

38. In Ajax' speech Maerlant adds the hero's Trojan line of descent: *HvT* 25852–25865. See Jongen (1988: 108–111).

39. Maerlant derived this episode from the *Ilias latina*. See *Jongen* (1988: 17–19).

40. About Ulysses' role in the *Historie van Troyen* see Jongen (1988: 158–162).

41. The text of this article is a revised and extended version of a paper read at the "36th International Congress on Medieval Studies" (Kalamazoo, MI); 3–6 May 2001. I want to thank Lea van Hilversum and Bart Veldhoen for their comments on earlier versions. The original Dutch text was translated with comments by my American friend, Prof. Derk Visser (Collegeville, PA).

42. Maerlant adds four explications:

* 25831–25841: Ajax is descended from Telamon who accompanied Jason and Hercules to Colchos where the Golden Fleece was to be found (cfl. *HvT*: 1072–1742 and Benoît de Sainte-Maure:1167–1877).

* 25852–25865: By way of his mother Hesiona Ajax is also decended from Jupiter, for he was the forefather of the Trojans: Dardanus > Ilus > Laomedon > Hesiona & Priamus.

* 25875–25892: The fact that Ajax and Achilles are related is spun out.

* 25893–25910: Ulysses is descended from Sisyphus, a common thief.

43. Maerlant adds two explications:

* 25920–25929: The stratagem by which Ulysses wanted to stay out of the war.

* 25932–25951: How Palamedes sees through the strategem and is consequently betrayed by Ulysses (cf. *Metamorphoses* 13: 56–60 and *HvT*: 26064–26080).

44. Maerlant adds two explications:

* 25993–25999: Why there are no men on the island of Lemnos.

* 26013–26059: Where Hercules' arrows came from.

45. Maerlant adds that Achilles was angry because he had been deprived of a lady (*HvT*: 26139–26144). This seems reminiscent of Achilles' anger in Homer's *Iliad*, but in the *HvT* Achilles does not stay away from the battles until he has fallen in love with Polixena. See Jongen (1994).

46. The characters of Rhesus and Dolon, as well as the Palladium, are given brief explanatory notes.

47. Maerlant elaborates on Achilles' shield (26256–26275).

48. Maerlant adds that Peleus had killed his brother Focus. Cf. *Metamorphoses* 11: 267.

49. Achilles' feats of arms are given brief explanatory notes.

50. Cf. *HvT*: 7594–8020 and Benoît de Sainte-Maure: 6073–6518.

51. Again (see also note 45 above) Maerlant adds that Achilles was angry when he had been deprived of a yound lady (26614–26619).

52. 26664–26675 add further explication about Rhesus; cf. note 46.

53. 26738–26744: Ajax and Hector have changed presents; cf. note 37 above.

54. It would appear that a few lines at the beginning of this passage have been lost in the transmission.

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