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LEE FRATANTUONO

The Penthesilead of Quintus Smyrnaeus: A Study in Epic Reversal

Summary – The first book of Quintus Smyrnaeus' Posthomerica describes the aristeia and death of the Amazon heroine Penthesilea. Close study of the narrative of the poet's Penthesilead illustrates how Quintus manipulates and reverses the plot of Book 11 of Virgil's Aeneid, the account of the equestrian battle in which the Volscian Camilla plays the central role.

The influence of Virgil's Aeneid on the Posthomerica of Quintus Smyrnaeus has long been a subject of scholarly investigation and appraisal, not to say controversy.[1] The present study will consider some of the specific parallels between the first book of Quintus' epic and Book 11 of the Aeneid, so as to illustrate how the imperial Greek poet may have read and interpreted certain details in the Virgilian narrative.[2] Close study of several passages from the Quintan "Penthesilead" will reveal that the first book of the poet's

[1] See especially here U. Gärtner, Quintus Smyrnaeus und die Aeneis: Zur Nachwirkung Vergils in der griechischen Literatur der Kaiserzeit, München: Verlag C. H. Beck, 2005; also R. Keydell, Quintus von Smyrna und Vergil, in: Hermes 82 (1954), 254–256 (reprinted in Id., Kleine Schriften zur hellenistischen und spätgriechischen Dichtung [1911–1976], zusammengestellt von W. Peek, Leipzig, 1982, 373–375); Vian, F., Recherches sur les Posthomerica de Quintus de Smyrne, Paris: Klincksieck, 1959; James, A., Quintus of Smyrna and Virgil – A Matter of Prejudice, in: Baumbach, M., and Bär, S., eds., Quintus Smyrnaeus: Transforming Homer in Second Sophistic Epic, Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2007, 145–157; Quintus of Smyrna, in: VE II, 1062/1063. On the Greek translations of Virgil that existed in the second and third centuries, see E. Fisher, Greek Translations of Latin Literature in the Fourth Century A. D., in: Yale Classical Studies 27 (1982), 173–215, especially 176; note also V. Tomasso, Cast in Later Grecian Mould: Quintus of Smyrna's Reception of Homer in the Posthomerica, Dissertation Stanford, 2010, 140–146; C. A. Maciver, Reading Helen's Excuses in Quintus Smyrnaeus' Posthomerica, in: The Classical Quarterly 62 (2011), 690–703; the same author's Quintus Smyrnaeus' Posthomerica: Engaging Homer in Late Antiquity, Leiden-Boston: Brill, 2012, 26. I am indebted to the suggestions of the two anonymous referees that greatly improved this study, and to Kurt Smolak and Herbert Bannert; all errors that remain are my own.

[2] Our focus, then, will be primarily on Virgil and not on either Homer or Apollonius (the two other major intertextual source inspirations for Quintus' epic).

epic of the fall of Troy offers not only a virtual retelling of the narrative of the Virgilian "Camilliad," but also a reversal of the plot of the Augustan literary account of the Volscian heroine.[3] Detailed consideration of the two heroine narratives will also show a profound poetic affinity between the figures of Penthesilea and Camilla and the image of the goddess Rome.[4]

Book I of the Posthomerica is devoted to the aristeia and death of the Amazon heroine Penthesilea.[5] Indeed, Quintus' epic account is the longest surviving narrative of the exploits of the celebrated female warrior.[6] In surviving Greek literature she may well make her first appearance at Homer, Iliad 3, 181–190, where Priam addresses Helen during the teichoscopy. There Priam describes how he remembers the day when Phrygian warriors were massed along the River Sangarius, ready to meet the Amazons in battle.[7] The background of Priam's narrative is unknown; it is uncertain whether or not Penthesilea was involved in the encounter between her Amazons and Priam's Phrygian allies.[8]

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[3] A reversal of the plot of Virgil's book is particularly appropriate given that in the Aeneid the Camilla episode comes so late in the epic narrative, while in Quintus, the Amazonian lore is only at the beginning of the poet's account of the last episodes of the fall of Troy.

[4] The present study is much indebted to the important work of A. Brill, Die Gestalt der Camilla bei Vergil, Inaugural-Dissertation Heidelberg, 1972, 7–11; also T. Köves-Zulauf, 'Camilla,' in: Gymnasium 85, 2/3, 85, 5 (1978), 182–205, 408–436; G. Arrigoni, Camilla: Amazzone e sacerdotessa di Diana, Milano: Cisalpino-Goliardica, 1982; cf. also the illustrated entry of C. Corbato, Pentesilea, in EV IV, 18–20 (with useful bibliography).

[5] Cf. here R. Schmiel, The Amazon Queen: Quintus of Smyrna, Book 1, in: Phoenix 40.2 (1986), 184–194 (with consideration of the structure of the book).

[6] The date of the Posthomerica is a notorious and vexed problem that has not been definitively resolved. For a convenient overview of the evidence, cf. A. James and K. Lee, A Commentary on Quintus of Smyrna, Posthomerica V, Leiden - Boston - Köln, 2000, 1–9.

[7] There is no detectable logic in all this: why should they be first the enemies of the Phrygians who were allied with Troy (naturally, since Priam's brother-in-law lived there), then come to help the Trojans? (G. Kirk, The Iliad: A Commentary, Volume I: Books 1–4, Cambridge, 1985, ad loc.).

[8] The traditional associations of the Amazons with rivers (the Sangarius, the Thermodon) is paralleled in Camilla's connection to the Amasenus (the name of which may or may not deliberately hint at the Amazons, as Michael Paschalis notes: Virgil's Aeneid: Semantic Relations and Proper Names, Oxford, 1997, 378/379); the origin of the point may be the idea of Amazonian crossing of borders to launch military raids and expeditions. Paschalis, we should note, further associates Camilla with both Hippolyta and Penthesilea with respect to her separation from her horse (in contrast to the fate of Quintus' Amazon and her steed), and the grief she stirs among her people (op. cit., 368/369); cf. his more general reflections on Virgil's Penthesilea at 67/68.

If anything, the Amazon passage of Iliad 3 illustrates that at least at some point prior to the aftermath of Hector's death, the Amazons were apparently at war with the Phrygians. But by the time of the events narrated in the lost epic Aethiopis of Arctinus of Miletus, Penthesilea was the Trojan champion of the hour.[9] If we can trust the summary of Proclus' Chrestomathia, the basic narrative of the Aethiopis is not unlike what we find in the early movements of the Posthomerica: Thracian Penthesilea, the daughter of Ares, comes to aid the Trojans; she performs splendidly until she is killed by Achilles.[10] Achilles in turn kills Thersites after the latter insults his better for his alleged infatuation with the Amazon; there is then a dispute among the Greeks about Achilles' act of violence against a fellow Greek. The son of Peleus sails to Lesbos to make offerings to Leto and the divine twins; he is subsequently purified by Odysseus.[11]

Additional evidence of Penthesilea lore can be found in Lycophron's Alexandra (993–1007).[12] Here we find reference to an obscure story of Penthesilea's nurse and her search for her lost charge; the story of Thersites is obliquely mentioned, as well as the destruction of the city of the Amazon Clete that she had founded in Italy after being thrown off course by a storm.

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[9] Cf. here M. West, The Epic Cycle: A Commentary on the Lost Troy Epics, Oxford, 2013.

[10] Note that Dictys of Crete also seems to have had no idea as to why Penthesilea came to the aid of the Trojans: *sed nec multi transacti dies, cum repente nuntiatum Hectorem obviam Penthesileae cum paucis profectum. quae regina Amazonibus incertum pretio an bellandi cupidine auxiliatum Priamo adventaverat, gens bellatrix et ob id ad finitimos indomita, specie armorum inclita per mortales* (Belli Troiani Lib. 3, 15). Dictys proceeds to relate how Hector went out to meet Penthesilea, and was fatally ambushed by Achilles on the way; when the Trojans later saw the arms of Hector being carried by the Greeks within sight of the walls, they assumed that Penthesilea's army had defected to the Greek cause. The Dictyan narrative may well have been inspired by Virgil's account of the ambush that Turnus plans for Aeneas in Book 11. On Penthesilea and the Amazons, with particular interest in the question of Achilles' necrophilia, see D. Accorinti, Nonnos und der Mythos: Heidnische Antike aus christlicher Perspektive, in: H. Leppin, ed., Antike Mythologie in christlichen Kontexten der Spätantike, Berlin - Boston: Walter de Gruyter, 2015, 43–69, especially 49–54.

[11] Below we shall consider the additional information that can be found in Apollodorus that relates to Quintus' narrative, namely the question of Penthesilea's killing of Hippolyta and her own purification by Priam. The brief account in Triphiodorus (35ff.), for its part, presents no surprises; Penthesilea is victorious in battle until slain by Achilles, who grants her a requiem.

[12] On this passage note S. Hornblower, Lykophron, Alexandra: Greek Text, Translation, Commentary and Introduction, Oxford, 2015, ad loc.

Diodorus Siculus relates the basic details of the story of Penthesilea's aid to the Trojans, with reference to the tale of her need to flee her native land because of the sacrilege of her killing of a relative.[13] For Diodorus, Penthesilea is the last of the Amazons of any renown; the race of warrior heroines fades into obscurity after her apparent exile and death.[14]

A fascinating passage in Pausanias describes a painting of the underworld with a scene of Penthesilea and Paris.[15] Paris seems to be seeking to attract the attention of the dead heroine; Penthesilea, for her part, seems to regard him with absolute disdain. Pausanias notes that the girl appears to be young and girded with her bow that is like the weapons of the Scythians; she has a leopard pelt around her shoulders.[16] Pausanias also notes that in the temple of Zeus at Olympia, there were pictures that ended with a scene of Penthesilea in the throes of her death agonies, and Achilles tending to his victim.[17]

A dramatic tale, then, of sexually eroticized violence and post mortem lament, not to say near necrophiliac, ghoulish aestheticism in the matter of the death of a beautiful young woman.[18]

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[13] 2, 4, 5/6.

[14] By the time of Pliny the Elder (Naturalis Historia 7, 201), Penthesilea is remembered as the inventor of the battle axe – a fact noted twice by Polydore Vergil in his De inventoribus rerum (2, 11, 2; 3, 14, 3).

[15] 10, 31, 8.

[16] Interestingly, in Dictys of Crete (Belli Troiani Lib. 4, 2/3), when Penthesilea arrives at Troy she is distressed at the news of the death of Hector (having arrived during his funeral) and wishes to leave. Paris bribes Penthesilea with gold to remain to aid the Trojans. In the ensuing battle narrative it is noted that Penthesilea decided to fight without any help from the Trojans; Achilles leads the cavalry force for the Greeks while others manage the archer and infantry contingents. In Dictys' account, Achilles strikes Penthesilea and pulls her by her hair from her horse; Penthesilea is left half-alive and dazed. The Greeks hold a council to decide her fate; sadistically, it is determined that she should either be drowned or thrown to wild dogs. Achilles recommends that she simply be allowed to die, with honorable burial to follow. Diomedes, however, wins the day; drowning is the unanimous vote. Dragged by her feet, Penthesilea is murdered in the Scamander (cf. the aforementioned associations of the Amazons with rivers); Dictys agrees that this was an act of barbarism, but he notes that it was a fitting fate for someone as reckless as Penthesilea. Diomedes plays a role in the final movements of the Quintan Penthesilea, where shades of his distaste for the Amazon may be discerned in his anger over Achilles' slaying of his kinsman Thersites.

[17] 5, 11, 5/6; below we shall consider the influence of this passage on Virgil's mention of a similar artistic depiction of the Amazon.

[18] Most of our sources present a single event battle, a one-day set piece narrative; cf. Dares of Phrygia (36), where Penthesilea fights for several days in fierce combat, with the Greeks driven to their camp in flight. Diomedes plays a key role in guarding the Greek

In extant Latin literature, Penthesilea makes her first appearance in the description of the artwork in the temple of Juno in Dido's Carthage.[19] Here, the Amazon heroine is depicted as the last in a series of illustrations of episodes from the Trojan War:

> *ducit Amazonidum lunatis agmina peltis*
> *Penthesilea furens mediisque in milibus ardet,*
> *aurea subnectens exsertae cingula mammae*
> *bellatrix, audetque viris concurrere virgo.* (1,490–493)[20]

Significantly, the climactic mention of Penthesilea comes after a brief description of Memnon, the son of the Dawn (1,489 *Eoasque acies et nigri Memnonis arma*), though in the cyclic epic tradition Memnon appeared after the defeat of the Amazons, not before.[21]

The Virgilian scene is of Penthesilea at her zenith, of the lovely girl in the flower of her victory.[22] Penthesilea is not mentioned again in the Aeneid,

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fleet from being set on fire by Penthesilea's forces; Agamemnon is forced to keep his army in camp as Penthesilea seeks every day to goad the Greeks into further engagements. Meanwhile Menelaus gives the arms of Achilles to his son Neoptolemus, and it is he who meets Penthesilea in battle at last; though wounded, he manages to kill the Amazon. This version should be compared with the perhaps more mysterious account in Photius' summary of Ptolemy Hephaestion's New History (Book 6), where Achilles is slain by Penthesilea and resuscitated at the order of his mother, all so that he may avenge his death and then return to Hades (with a new bride in death, we might be tempted to muse – a pair of rather proven equality in the matter of being able to kill each other). At Seneca, Troades 236ff., Neoptolemus mentions the conquest of Penthesilea in a recitation of the great deeds of his father.

[19] One wonders if she figured in republican tragedy.

[20] All quotes from Virgil are taken from R. Mynors, P. Vergili Maronis Opera, Oxford, 1969 (corrected edition, 1972).

[21] On the pictures in the temple and Aeneas' reaction thereto, see especially M. Putnam, Dido's Murals and Virgilian Ekphrasis, in: Harvard Studies in Classical Philology 98 (1998), 243–275, with special consideration of Virgilian originality in light of his Homeric models; cf. the same author's Virgil's Epic Designs: Ekphrasis in the Aeneid, New Haven, Connecticut: Yale University Press, 1998, 34–39. The question of Quintus' access to the cyclic epics is a vexed one; cf. M.L. West, The Epic Cycle: A Commentary on the Lost Troy Epics, Oxford, 2013, 50: Quintus of Smyrna writes a new epic covering the same ground as the Aethiopis, Little Iliad, and Iliou Persis, not to compete with old epics that are still current but to fill a gap that their disappearance has created.

[22] Cf. the memorable authorial intervention of Ovid at Metamorphoses 12,610/611, where Achilles is reminded that if he had to die by the hand of a woman, he would have preferred for his killer to have been the Amazon: *at si femineo fuerat tibi Marte cadendum, / Thermodontiaca malles cecidisse bipenni.* The passage also connects Penthesilea

though her story is a key inspiration for the dramatic intervention of the Volscian Camilla in the war in Latium – a narrative that in turn provided the principal intertext for Quintus' own epic depiction of the Amazon. We can turn, then, to the Posthomerica and its opening book, in which Quintus offers something of his own version of Book 1 of the Aethiopis. We shall see that Quintus' Penthesilead is a brilliantly constructed reversal of the virtual Virgilian Penthesilead of Aeneid 11. We shall proceed cautiously, given that the landscape presents numerous hazards for both the backwards and the forward glance.[23]

Εὖθ' ὑπὸ Πηλείωνι δάμη θεοείκελος Ἕκτωρ / καί ἑ πυρὴ κατέδαψε καὶ ὀστέα γαῖα κεκεύθει:[24] the Posthomerica opens as if a straight continuation of the Iliad, in possible imitation of the opening of the Aethiopis.[25] Book 1 of Quintus opens in the aftermath of the death of Hector; Book 11 of Virgil opens in the aftermath of the loss of Aeneas' beloved Pallas. A mood of sorrow envelops the commencement of both books, and brooding over both is something of a sense that we are very late indeed in the progress of the respective wars. Posthomerica 1 will end with the funerals of Penthesilea and the other war dead, in a passage that has strong affinities with the start of Aeneid 11.

In Quintus, the sorrow at the start is that of the Trojans in the wake of the loss of their greatest hero; the Greeks are not particularly discomfited.[26] In Virgil the context is rather more mixed; the Latins have lost their Etruscan ally Mezentius and his son, but their champion Turnus remains. The Trojans, for their part, have endured the death of Pallas. The ultimate disposition of the two wars is quite different; in Homer, both Hector and Achilles are

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and Paris as opposing types, if we follow the tradition of Paris (so Homer; cf. Iliad 22, 359) and not Apollo alone (so Quintus) as slayer of Achilles. Ovid also mentions Penthesilea at Heroides 21, 117/118 *non ego constiteram sumpta peltata secure, / qualis in Iliaco Penthesilea solo*, where Cydippe argues to Acontieus that she did not present herself to him as if she were some virago.

[23] Cf. here the important summary of some of the problems by N. Horsfall, Appendix I: Camilla and the Epic Cycle, in: Virgil, Aeneid 11, A Commentary, Leiden - Boston: Brill, 2003, 465–472.

[24] All quotes from Quintus Smyrnaeus are taken from F. Vian, Quintus de Smyrne: La suite d'Homère, Livres I–IV, Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 2003 (deuxième tirage of the 1963 original).

[25] Cf. whatever we are to make of the evidence of fr. 1 of the Aethiopis (Schol. (T) Il. 804a).

[26] At the end of the book, it will be Protesilaus' brother Podarces whose loss is keenly felt by the Greeks.

doomed to die in the war, while in Virgil, Turnus will be lost and Aeneas survive.

Quintus' Penthesilea arrives from across the streams of Thermodon, and she is like the goddess in her loveliness: καὶ τότε Θερμώδοντος ἀπ᾽ εὐρυπόροιο ῥεέθρων / ἦλυθε Πενθεσίλεια θεῶν ἐπιειμένη εἶδος.[27] In Quintus the Amazon is a true replacement of sorts for Hector; in Virgil, Camilla is an ally of Turnus who will emerge as the Pallas or Patroclus of the Rutulian commander. In the Aeneid, Camilla is actually first introduced at 7, 803 – 817, only then to disappear from the narrative for several books. Her return comes only when Turnus is made artfully to recall her first appearance;[28] as in at least some of the traditions of Penthesilea, there is no clear indication as to why exactly the heroine has decided to come to join in the battle.

In Quintus, the rationale for Penthesilea's entry into war is at least in large part the question of the aftermath of the death of Hippolyta, an episode that is conveniently summarized by Pseudo-Apollodorus.[29] In the mythographical account, Penthesilea accidentally killed Hippolyta (who is not explicitly referred to as her sister), and is subsequently purified by Priam; she slays the healer Machaon and many others before her own death at Achilles' hands. Hippolyta is identified as the mother of Hippolytus; at the marriage of Theseus she appeared with other Amazons in arms, and she indicated that she planned to slaughter the nuptial assembly. Penthesilea either accidentally killed her in the confusion of battle, or she was slain by Theseus, or by Theseus' men – rather a complete range of possibilities.

The account in Quintus is simpler; Hippolyta was Penthesilea's sister, and she was accidentally slain in place of a stag during a hunt:

> ἄμφω καὶ στονόεντος ἐελδομένη πολέμοιο
> καὶ μέγ᾽ ἀλευομένη στυγερὴν καὶ ἀεικέα φήμην,
> μή τις ἐὸν κατὰ δῆμον ἐλεγχείῃσι χαλέψῃ
> ἀμφὶ κασιγνήτης, ἧς εἵνεκα πένθος ἄεξεν,
> Ἱππολύτης· τὴν γάρ ῥα κατέκτανε δουρὶ κραταιῷ,
> οὐ μὲν δή τι ἑκοῦσα, τιτυσκομένη δ᾽ ἐλάφοιο·
> τοὔνεκ᾽ ἄρα Τροίης ἐρικυδέος ἵκετο γαῖαν. (1, 20 –26)[30]

[27] Cf. Virgil's *dia Camilla* at 11, 657.

[28] Cf. 11, 432/433 and 7, 803/804.

[29] Epitome 5, 1/2, on which see P. Scarpi, Apollodoro: I miti greci (Biblioteca), Milano: Fondazione Lorenzo Valla, Arnoldo Mondadori Editore, 1996, ad loc.

[30] On this passage cf. S. Bär, Quintus Smyrnaeus: Posthomerica 1, Die Wiedergeburt des Epos aus dem Geiste der Amazonomachie – Mit einem Kommentar zu den Versen 1 –219, Hypomnemata Bd. 183, Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2009, ad loc.

Quintus' Penthesilea may be eager for the fight and the thrill of battle, but she is also at war for a personal, familial reason that reflects a fatal blending of the worlds of hunting and warfare – exactly one of the main themes, as we shall see, of the Virgilian Camilliad.[31]

Virgil's Camilla has a family background that is not without its own mysteries; once Diana relates the Volscian girl's story to her nymph Opis, we learn of Metabus her father and Casmilla her mother (11, 539ff.). Metabus was driven from his Privernian home *ob invidiam* and because of his *viris … superbas*; no details are provided. In the ensuing flight from home only father and infant daughter seem to be present; the nearly homonymous mother may have died in childbirth for all we know, or even in the violence attendant on the expulsion of her family.[32]

No sister, then, for Camilla – at least not by blood, we might think. For in her death scene she will address her companion Acca as her sister;[33] the term is one of affection and endearment for a partner in labor and anxiety non pareil. Acca, of course, will survive to bring news of the slaying of Camilla to Turnus.

Quintus' Penthesilea seeks to avoid the Erinyes that are pursuing her in wrathful fury for her sororicide (1, 27–32); with her are twelve Amazonian companions, girls who are like stars before the splendid moon that is Penthesilea (1, 32–41). The simile has associations with Artemis and the traditional crescent shields of the Amazons; there may be a zodiacal rationale for the presence of twelve lesser Amazons.[34] In Virgil, Camilla is first

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[31] In Virgil both Penthesilea and Camilla are *bellatrices* (1, 493; 7, 805); both are also associated with the world of the hunt, a world that is conflated with war to fatal consequence.

[32] Virgil does not make it explicit, but it is reasonably clear that Metabus was king in Privernum. For consideration of the etymological associations of the name of Camilla's mother Casmilla, see J. O'Hara, True Names: Vergil and the Alexandrian Tradition of Etymological Wordplay, Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 1996, 199/200 ("Armor Woman"? If so, then the slight change in the passage of the name from mother to daughter may be significant – Camilla will not, of course, prove to be safe in war, and she is a more complex figure than mere bellatrix). The mother is of course also ill-fated; did Casmilla die either in childbirth or in battle? For a brief introduction to the father, see T. Duke, "Metabus of Privernum," in: Vergilius 23 (1977), 34–38; he was the perhaps surprising subject of a marble of Nicolas-Bernard Raggi for the 1855 Exposition universelle (Métabus, roi des Volsques, Louvre Département des sculptures).

[33] 11, 820ff.

[34] Cf. the companions of Eos that mourn for Memnon at Posthomerica 2, 593ff. Not surprisingly, the lunar imagery returns when Penthesilea arms for what will be her last battle (1, 147–150).

described with three "Amazonian" companions, the virgin Larina, Tulla, and Tarpeia with her axe, all "daughters of Italy" (*Italides*) (11, 655–658) – with Acca we have four.[35]

Virgil's companions of Camilla are explicitly associated with the Amazons, in particular with Hippolyta and Penthesilea:

> *quales Threiciae cum flumina Thermodontis*
> *pulsant et pictis bellantur Amazones armis,*
> *seu circum Hippolyten seu cum se Martia curru*
> *Penthesilea refert, magnoque ululante tumultu*
> *feminea exsultant lunatis agmina peltis*. (11, 659–663)

The moon-shaped shields are here, and an interesting pair of references to the two most famous Amazons from the icy Thermodon; Penthesilea as daughter of Mars in her chariot is vividly depicted (she, after all, is Camilla's epic forerunner) – and, in juxtaposition, there is the rather colorless mention of Hippolyta, who is given no accompanying description.[36]

Quintus follows his astronomical description of Penthesilea and her Amazons almost at once with a second, similar comparison; Penthesilea is like the goddess Eos, the dawn, as she rises with her Hours in attendance (1, 48–53). The reference to the dawn may have been inspired by the first verse of Virgil's Aeneid 11, *Oceanum interea surgens Aurora reliquit*;[37] in Quintus' brilliantly colorful illustration of the Amazonian sorority there is a pronounced celestial, starry image.[38] The marvel of the Trojans at the splen-

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[35] Unless, of course, Larina is meant to be one and the same as Acca (with Acca Larentia / Larentina in mind); see further M. Alessio, Studies in Vergil: Aeneid Eleven, An Allegorical Approach, Laval, Québec: Montfort & Villeroy, 1993, 129 (with reference to Köves-Zulauf).

[36] See further Horsfall ad 11, 661 for the identity of Hippolyta as sister of Penthesilea and / or as famous Amazon queen in the matter of the Heraclean labor of the belt: "distinction between the homonyms is scarcely possible once confident reconstructions of what was in Arctinus are eschewed."

[37] Book 11 is the only one in Virgil's epic that opens with a dawn formula; if Georges Dumézil is correct in associating Marcus Furius Camillus with Aurora/Mater Matuta, then the reason for Virgil's unique opening dawn may be to underscore the connection between his *furens* Camilla and Camillus; in any case, dawn imagery will recur in Quintus' narrative, with reference in particular to the forthcoming drama of the goddess' son Memnon that will succeed the Penthesilead. On dawn formulas see G. D'Ippolito, Sulle tracce di una koinè formulare nell'epica tardogreca, in: D. Accorinti and P. Chuvin, eds., Des géants à Dionysos: Mélanges de mythologie et de poésie grecques offerts à François Vian, Alessandria, 2003) 501–520, especially 513–516.

[38] Cf. 11, 832/833 *tum vero immensus surgens ferit aurea clamor* / *sidera*, at the very moment of Camilla's death.

did processional arrival of Penthesilea and her Amazons is modeled on the similar scene at the entrance of Camilla at the end of Aeneid 7, where, of course, the Volscian heroine does not yet have explicit Amazonian associations.[39] Astronomical associations continue; the girl smiles beautifully,[40] and her eyes inspire desire and are like beams of light (1, 58/59 … ὑπ᾽ ὀφρύσι δ᾽ ἱμερόεντες ὀφθαλμοὶ μάρμαιρον ἀλίγκιον ἀκτίνεσσιν). In short, the dawn imagery that was subtle and rather muted in Virgil's Camilliad is invested with greater prominence in Quintus – not surprisingly, given the key role of the goddess in the drama of the second book of the epic.

Penthesilea is also implicitly compared to the rainbow (1, 62ff.). The image of the rainbow evokes both the death scene of the Virgilian Dido, and the interaction of the goddess Iris with Turnus.[41] The first recollection is both ominous and all too appropriate given the associations of Dido and Camilla; the second is apt because Camilla is both a key ally of Turnus, and, ultimately, a victim of Jovian intervention in support of the Trojan cause.[42] The weather imagery compares Penthesilea's coming to the signs in the heavens that portend good news for crops and agriculture; the emphasis thus continues on Penthesilea as one like unto the immortals and a veritable force of nature.

Further emphasis on the dawn continues as Priam's joy is described in the wake of Penthesilea's arrival; all is as when a blind man is able for the first time to see the early born light of Eos (1, 79 … ἴδῃ φάος ἠριγενείης). The poet crafts a subtle picture; the aged king is as one who has had his sight restored, though there are still pricks of pain under his eyelids (1, 81/82); the memory of the death of Hector and his other sons is still all too fresh.[43]

Penthesilea is as if a daughter returned from a distant land in the twentieth year (1, 86/87).[44] Although the circumstances are not parallel, both

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[39] Cf. Posthomerica 1, 53ff. and Aeneid 7, 812ff.

[40] Cf. Arthur Way's "Her smile was ravishing" for the first hemistich of the textually vexed 1, 58.

[41] 4, 693–705, where Iris assists in the death agonies of Dido at the behest of Juno; 9, 1–5, where Iris is sent as the messenger of Juno to Turnus to inspire him to attack the Trojans; 9, 802–805, where Iris – at Jupiter's behest – warns Saturnian Juno that Turnus must withdraw from the battle.

[42] Cf., too, the associations of Dido with deer at 4, 68–73, where the Carthaginian queen is compared to a deer that was shot by an unknowing shepherd (i. e., Aeneas) – a situation that is not unlike that of Quintus' Penthesilea with her sister.

[43] There are thematic affinities between Quintus' Priam and Virgil's Evander.

[44] The reference to the year may well refer to the imagined age of the heroine (epic ages, after all, are often notoriously difficult to determine); the image of the return in the twentieth year is also Odyssean.

Penthesilea and Camilla have troubled familial backgrounds; further, if prizes and the pursuit of finery are key factors in the doom of Camilla, then we should not be surprised to see an emphasis on the lavish quality of Priam's reception of Penthesilea, a banquet at which Penthesilea promises not only to kill Achilles, but also to burn the Greek fleet.[45]

But significantly, in the beginning the Virgilian depiction of Camilla's reentry into the war is devoid of selfish interest on the part of the heroine, except in the matter of her desire to take the first part in the battle (11, 498ff.). Camilla promises to lead the cavalry engagement on what will be her fateful, last day – and Turnus praises her in almost fawning language.[46] No offer of prizes or spoils, though, and no pledge to slay Aeneas – Turnus will conduct the infantry ambush operation that will confront the Trojan leader. It is reasonable to assume that Camilla is motivated by a desire for glory and fame; the question of finery will come later.[47]

Penthesilea is confronted by Hector's widow Andromache; the grieving noblewoman chides the Amazon, and in return she receives no response (1, 98–114). The sentiment that if anyone could have killed Achilles, it would have been Hector is inspired by Virgil's similar depiction of the ghost of Hector with Aeneas on the night Troy fell.[48] The remembrance of the dream image of Hector presages the arrival of the deceitful dream that Athena sends to Penthesilea on what will be her last night.[49]

Athena's dream encouragement to Penthesilea to take the field and to fight the Greeks is meant to be a curse both to the Amazon and to the

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[45] Cf. 1, 91 – 97. The attempted firing of the ships is mentioned in Dares; we may compare the efforts of Virgil's Turnus to burn the Trojan fleet in Aeneid 11, indeed the tradition of Trojan ship burning from Book 5 as well.

[46] *O decus Italiae*, etc. (11, 508).

[47] 11, 781/782 *caeca sequebatur totumque incauta per agmen* / *femineo praedae et spoliorum ardebat amore.*

[48] 2, 279–296.

[49] The Homeric inspiration is of course the dream sent by Zeus to Agamemnon in Iliad 2. See further, too, V. Panoussi, Vergil's Aeneid and Greek Tragedy: Ritual, Empire, and Intertext, Cambridge, 2009, 109–112 (with particular reference to the work of Sarah Spence on how the Dira of Aeneid 12 has connection to Pallas Athena / Minerva); cf. L. Fratantuono, Dirarum Ab Sede Dearum: Virgil's Fury Allecto, the Dirae, and Jupiter's Parthian Defeat, in: Bollettino di studi latini 41, 2 (2011), 522–530 (with consideration of the associations of the Furies and Camilla). In the context of Aeneid 11, the homonymity of the goddess' name and the Arcadian hero Pallas serves in part to highlight how Camilla – the young woman who follows the example of Minerva in battle and not in the domestic arts – will not, in fact, survive; the *bellatrix* will die (just as Pallas meets his untimely end).

Trojans (1, 126/127); of particular interest in light of the Virgilian Camilliad is how Camilla is presented as a virtual avatar of Minerva, at least in her martial aspects.[50] Virgil's Minerva is more or less decidedly on the side of the Greeks; just as Penthesilea was on the walls of Dido's temple to Juno, so was a fruitless prayer to Minerva on the part of the Trojan women.[51] Quintus has developed at length what was briefly sketched in the Virgilian depiction of Dido's artwork; Penthesilea is no successful ally of the Trojans, given that ultimately her problem is that she is fighting on the wrong side.[52] Still, the Virgilian influence is strongly felt; when Penthesilea finally advances to battle, she is like Tritonis when the goddess went against the Giants (1, 179 ἡ δ' οἵη Τριτωνίς, ὅτ' ἤλυθεν ἄντα Γιγάντων).[53]

And with the dawn, rejoicing: Penthesilea rises in joy together with her immortal doublet (1, 138–140 ἀλλ' ὅτε δή ῥ' ἐπόρουσε ῥοδόσφυρος Ἠριγένεια, / δὴ τότε Πενθεσίλεια μέγ' ἐνθεμένη φρεσὶ κάρτος / ἐξ εὐνῆς ἀνέπαλτο …). The dream was an appropriate stratagem by which to further Penthesilea's doom, given that she is by nature a creature of the Dawn.[54] Her arming follows, and color imagery may well recall the important connection of the heroine to the rainbow.[55]

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[50] Cf. 7, 805–807, where Camilla is said not to pursue the works of the loom (i. e., the domestic purview of the goddess), and 11, 477–485, where the Latin women (including Lavinia) make offerings to Minerva to save them from Aeneas – a prayer that is answered, in effect, when Camilla reenters the war.

[51] 1, 479–482.

[52] In contrast to Camilla, who is in an important sense doomed though she is, ultimately, on the right side. In light of the Virgilian depiction of the accession of Italy and the suppression of Troy in the reconciliation of Juno, by the time we arrive at Quintus' epic, the Trojans are doubly the losing party, having been vanquished both by the Greeks in the taking of Troy, and by the Italians in the final resolution of the ethnic conflicts in Latium.

[53] This title of the goddess occurs in Virgil only at 2, 226, as the serpents return to the protection of Tritonis after the death of Laocoon and his sons. Quintus' comparative use of Minerva imagery is both inspired by Virgil's similar association of the goddess with Camilla, and indicative of the profoundly conflicted nature not only of the young heroines in battle, but also of the goddess who is patroness of both the world of the loom and the works of war. At Posthomerica 1, 289/290 Tritogeneia spurs the Greek Meges to greater acts of valor in his fight against the Trojans and their allies; cf. 1, 365. For the evocation of the gigantomachy see below on 1, 515ff.

[54] Cf. again Camilla's death as night approaches.

[55] Cf. 1, 144 ἔσσατο δ' αὖ θώρηκα παναίολον, where the description of the breastplate's spangled, multicolored nature may point to the rainbow (certainly to the reflection of light off the metal). For the role of the goddess Iris in the development of Virgil's plot, see L. Fratantuono, Roscida Pennis: Iris in the Aeneid, in: Bollettino di studi latini 43, 1 (2013),

Indeed, on her arrival Penthesilea was compared to the joyful arrival of the rainbow as harbinger of the wind and rain that brings life to the fields (1, 62ff.); now, though still brilliantly colorful, she is like the lightning of Zeus from Olympus at the time of thunderous rain (1, 153–156) – a dramatic comparison for the Amazon as she proceeds to her most glorious aristeia, though not without a memory of the role of the supreme god in the destruction of her Virgilian antecedent.[56] Penthesilea wields something of a sacrificial axe that had been given to her by Eris, the goddess of strife who had set in motion the series of events that prompted the war at Troy (1, 158/159 δεξιτερῇ δὲ / βουπλῆγ᾽ ἀμφίτυπον).[57]

Further associations add to Quintus' depiction of the Amazon: she rides a horse that was a gift of Oreithyia, the bride of the north wind Boreas; the steed was able to match the swift flight of the Harpies (1, 166–169).[58] The emphasis on the speed of the heroine can also be paralleled in Virgil's similar comments with respect to Camilla;[59] the lore of Harpalyce likely lies behind the association of these women with the notorious bird women of mythology.[60]

Priam makes a prayer to Zeus that Penthesilea may both succeed in battle against the Achaeans, and that she may return home to the king who is now in effect her surrogate mortal father (1, 182ff.). The prayer is modeled in part on the appeal of the Etruscan Arruns to Apollo that he might both kill

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123–132; for Aurora, cf. Idem, Iamque Rubescebat: Aurora in the Aeneid, in: Eos 100, 2 (2013), 297–315.

[56] Throughout the Quintan narrative – as in Virgil's – Zeus / Jupiter is associated with the force of fate and destiny; so long as it is Penthesilea's destiny to be an agent of destruction, the goddess can fittingly be cast in Jovian terms.

[57] The axe is one designed for the sacrifice of oxen; the imagery is of Penthesilea as performer of all too human sacrifices as she cuts down her Greek enemies. This axe in the right hand of the Amazon is the same as Virgil's *nunc validam dextra rapit indefessa bipennem* (11, 651; note also the aftermath of Penthesilea's fatal wounding at Posthomerica 1, 597) – but cf. Horsfall's observation about axes in Quintus in his epic cycle appendix to his Aeneid 11 (468 n. 40). Note too that at 1, 180 Penthesilea is directly compared to the angry goddess.

[58] Cf. 1, 209/210, where Penthesilea is compared to wind-driven flames that engulf a meadow; also 625–627 below, of a case of epic reversal of fortune.

[59] 7, 806/807, where the Volscian is said to have been able to outpace the winds. Wind and breeze imagery recurs at Posthomerica 1, 253, as the ill-fated Bremousa is slain by Idomeneus, the breath of her life mingled with the breezes.

[60] For the complicated lore (including the tradition of how Achilles' son Neoptolemus attacked Harpalycus and was driven off by Harpalyce), see L. Fratantuono, A Commentary on Virgil, Aeneid 11, Bruxelles: Editions Latomus, 2009, 183/184.

Camilla and return home in safety;[61] in Virgil's prayer economy, Arruns will have the first of his wishes but not the second.[62]

Zeus responds to Priam's prayer with a terrifying omen that comes as a direct intertextual response to Virgil; the Trojan king sees an eagle that has a gasping, dying dove in its talons (1, 198–200). The image of the eagle and dove is an evocation of Virgil's description of how Camilla's slaying of the Ligurian Aunides was like the evisceration of a dove by an accipiter;[63] there is also a reminiscence of how the Etruscan Tarchon was stirred up by Jupiter to lead the counterattack against Camilla, a sequence in which Tarchon's assault on Venulus was described in a memorable simile of an eagle's attack on a serpent.[64]

Penthesilea's aristeia commences in earnest; eight men die quickly and almost without pause (1, 227–229).[65] Virgil does not devote any attention to the deeds of Camilla's companions in battle; the fates of Tulla and Tarpeia are not recorded. In Quintus, Penthesilea's Amazons have more dramatic roles; Clonie slays Menippus before she is in turn killed by Protesilaus' brother Podarces, though the young heroine is swiftly avenged by Penthesilea (1, 235ff.).[66] Swiftly in turn Bremousa, Evandre, Thermodusa, Derinoe, Alcibie, and Derimacheia are all killed; the five other named Amazons will all be slain soon enough by Achilles.

General fighting ensues; of particular note in the narrative of the deadly clash of armies is the reference to Sipylus as the locus of the petrifaction of Niobe (1, 291ff.).[67] In context the point is that the Greek Polypoetes – a favorite of Ares (ἀρηίφιλος) – killed the Trojan Dresaeus, who was born near the celebrated haunt of Niobe. The proud woman's children were

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[61] 11, 783ff.

[62] In part because the second wish is stated in a rather presumptuous manner (11, 792/793 … *haec dira meo dum vulnere pestis | pulsa cadat, patrias remeabo inglorius urbes*).

[63] 11, 721–724; cf. below on Posthomerica 1, 571/572 for the even more explicit recollection of the Virgilian scene, as Penthesilea is left to face Achilles alone.

[64] 11, 751ff. Venulus is also associated with the decision of Diomedes not to aid the Latins in their struggle against the Trojans (11, 100ff.), a passage we shall consider below.

[65] Cf. Virgil's account of Camilla's swift dispatching of her first victims, also eight in number (11, 664–677) before the longer vignette of Ornytus' death. Note that Camilla slays both Tereus and Harpalycus, both names associated with less than savory fathers; the latter recalls the importance of Harpalyce lore to the Camilla mythos.

[66] Cf. Homer, Iliad 2, 695ff.; Podarces was a descendant of Ares, like his killer Penthesilea (2, 704). The Protesilaus image in Posthomerica I is particularly appropriate for the first book of Quintus' epic; Podarces is a fitting casualty for what amounts to a new beginning in the war.

[67] Cf. Homer, Iliad 24, 602ff.; Ovid, Metamorphoses 6, 146ff.

famously killed by Leto's divine twins Apollo and Artemis; the reference comes fittingly in a book that is devoted to the drama of a heroine whose Virgilian model is inextricably linked to the lore of the immortal siblings.[68]

Amid the Quintan slaughter, Penthesilea rages (1, 314 οὐ γάρ πως ἀπέληγε μένος μέγα Πενθεσιλείης); so too Camilla at the heart of the Virgilian (11, 648 *at medias inter caedes exsultat Amazon*).[69] Penthesilea is like both a lioness and a ferocious wave at sea that is driven by the wind, a wave that in turn assails a ship (1, 315ff.). The reference to the sea continues the wind imagery that has already been employed to describe the reckless girl – and, too, it recalls the Virgilian description of how Camilla could skim the surface of the water without her feet touching the wave (11, 810/811).[70]

Quintus' Penthesilea is exceedingly boastful (arguably more so than Virgil's Camilla); she even threatens that her victims will be denied burial (1, 330 κείσεσθ', οὐδέ τι τύμβος ἐφ' ὑμέας ἴξεται αἴης). But she is also like a veritable winged bringer of death in her might: κηρὶ βίην εἰκυῖα.[71] She is an agent of the Fates, the proximate cause of the death of so many in battle; the Virgilian Camilla functions similarly, not only as the slayer of many Trojans and their allies, but also as a key figure in the doom of Turnus – a subject to which we shall return shortly.

Grisly violence continues; the dead are like falling leaves, or drops of rain (1, 345/346); victims of her onslaught are trampled down as if the battlefield were a threshing floor for grain (1, 350–352).[72] The imagery of the autumn leaves is expanded as Penthesilea is compared to the black force of a storm that assails the sea at the time when the sun is in Capricorn (1, 354ff.) – a continuation of both marine and astronomical, zodiacal associations for the Amazon.

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[68] And, indeed, to implicit conflict between them; cf. ultimately both the question of Penthesilea's killing of her sister and the fratricidal lore of early Roman history.

[69] A passage where simile has been supplemented by direct reference to the Amazonian qualities of the Volscian.

[70] The Amazon's dominance on both land and sea is also evoked; there is special reference in the marine comparison, since in effect Penthesilea threatens not only to assail the Greeks on land, but also to chase them down over the waters as they seek escape and flight. Cf. also the similar imagery at 1, 354ff.

[71] 1, 336; the older reading θηρὶ, where Penthesilea is compared merely to a wild animal, is certainly less vivid. "On dirait la Mort en personne" (Vian). For the Ker as a spirit of violent Death and a child of Night, see M. West, Hesiod: Theogony, Oxford, 1966, ad 211ff.; Cicero seems to translate the idea as *Tenebrae* or Darknesses (De Natura Deorum 3, 17).

[72] See Vian ad loc. for the textual problems of these lines.

An unnamed Trojan makes a boast about the lovely heroine; she is for him (as for the poet) like no mortal woman, but rather an evocation of Athena, Enyo, Eris or Artemis (1, 365/366 ἀλλ᾽ ἄρ᾽ Ἀθηναίην ἢ καρτερόθυμον Ἐνυὼ / ἢ Ἔριν᾽ ἠ⟨ὲ⟩ κλυτὴν Λητωίδα …). The anonymous boast neatly brings together all of the divine imagery that is attendant on Quintus' Penthesilea; she is like the goddess of war and the spirit of strife – and she is similar to the divine huntress Artemis.[73] There is something of an air of inappropriate excess in these verses; the divine comparisons are reminiscent of the fatal boasting of Niobe in the praise of her children. Penthesilea is like unto the gods, but she is no god; Penthesilea is in fact all too mortal.

The identity of Penthesilea's near fanatic devotee is unknown – and so too, curiously, is that of the god who is now said to be holding back both Ajax and Achilles at the tomb of Patroclus (1, 373ff.). The reminder of the loss of the son of Menoetius returns the reader's attention to the key role of Patroclus in Homer, and of Pallas in Virgil.[74] In Quintus' narrative, the greatest of Greek warriors are removed from the fight because of mourning over the dead Patroclus;[75] this is all in accord with the plan of some god to allow Penthesilea to destroy the Greeks (at least for a while).[76] In Virgil, of course, Aeneas is preoccupied with his planned surprise infantry assault on the Latin capital; the Trojan hero – in contrast to his would-be Achillean model – never meets his Amazon.[77]

Penthesilea is like the Roman war goddess Bellona as she triumphs on the field (1, 387 θερμῷ δ᾽ αἵματι πάμπαν ἐδεύετο …); she is drenched with blood as she slays Greek after Greek.[78] Attendant on her, though, is αἶσα λυγρὴ (1, 390) – we should perhaps capitalize the image of doom and fateful

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[73] With the unnamed Trojan cf. Virgil's *filius Auni* at 11, 699ff., the Ligurian who has no name of his own, it would seem; Aunides argues that Camilla would not be so brave if she were not mounted on her horse – a complaint that the Volscian is only too willing to entertain.

[74] Cf. Acoetes and Aeneas at 11, 29ff.

[75] Cf. the absence of Achilles from battle at the start of the Iliad in the wake of his withdrawal from the fight because of Briseis.

[76] 1, 380 τοὺς γὰρ δὴ μακάρων τις ἐρήτυε νόσφι κυδοιμοῦ. Was the goddess Artemis?

[77] As we shall see below, it will be Turnus who is affected by Camilla in a way similar to Achilles' response to Penthesilea; Aeneid 11 opens with Aeneas in the aftermath of the death of his young companion, and it closes with Turnus in a similar situation with respect to the lost Camilla.

[78] And yet her limbs are light as she speeds along (1, 387/388 … γυῖα δ᾽ ἐλαφρὰ / ἔπλετ᾽ ἐπεσσυμένης) – another reminder of her speed and ability to skim, as it were, over the slaughter.

destiny – Penthesilea's baleful lot is drawing near, merely waiting for the arrival of Achilles. The image is ominous and creepily eerie; Penthesilea is being shadowed on the battlefield by an agent of her own death, an agent that permits her to commit grievous acts of manifold slaughter on the battlefield, all so that the destruction of the girl will be more dramatic and profound in its reversal of fortune.[79]

The depiction of Penthesilea's unseen, silent and deadly foe is inspired by Virgil's Arruns, the shadowy Etruscan who stalks Camilla on the battlefield.[80] Penthesilea's violent destiny is, of course, exactly what she herself has served; during her aristeia she is an agent of the very doom that will consume her once Achilles arrives at the scene.[81]

Brilliantly, the image of the violent girl who will in turn suffer fatal violence is described in the complex simile of the heifer that tramples down the grass in an enclosure (1, 396 – 402). The heifer is in a dewy enclosure; the dew may well remind us of the dawn and the early hour of the goddess' rising. The animal excitedly ranges about the grass with no one to check her advance; she feeds on and tramples the meadow underfoot.[82] And yet the very animal to which Penthesilea is compared presents an image of sacrifice, and the enclosed pen in which the heifer does its almost playful marauding is indicative of the narrow confines in which the Amazon unknowingly finds herself.[83]

Camilla was a source of wonder when she appeared in the procession of Italian fighters, and in death she inspires the women of Laurentum to deeds of valor.[84] Penthesilea similarly leads by example, though in Quintus the rousing to battle comes as the women see the Amazon's aristeia – they, too, are ignorant of how closely death stalks the maiden. The Trojan woman who is most captivated by Penthesilea is one Tisiphone, whose very name rather unsubtly projects a picture of fury and mad rage (1, 403ff.).[85] This scene is also inspired by the Virgilian depiction of Tarchon as he upbraids his men in

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[79] Penthesilea is herself like αἶσα λυγρὴ, after all, to the Greeks whose death she brings.

[80] 11, 759ff.

[81] Cf. the Virgilian Arruns, who may or may not be on Camilla's own side in the cavalry battle (i. e., either as an Etruscan ally of Turnus, or of Aeneas); in the former case, the one who has served with Camilla on this day of her glorious achievements will prove to be the one who destroys her.

[82] Cf. Virgil's use of the image of the cut flower to describe the dead Pallas at 11, 68 – 71.

[83] The recklessness that is inherent to the image also calls to mind the similar carelessness that led to Hippolyta's death.

[84] 11, 891 – 895.

[85] Cf. the affinities of Camilla with Allecto.

the face of Camilla's victorious performance on the battlefield;[86] there the Etruscan warrior criticized his audience for how they were slow to action in war, but quick for the works of Venus and the *nocturna bella* of the goddess, and for the banquets and wine.[87]

The women of Troy are stirred to battle by the words of Tisiphone; Quintus compares them to bees that hum loudly in their hives at the close of winter, eager in their zeal to fly out to the meadow (1, 440–446). The bee imagery is inspired in part by similar apian comparisons in Virgil, especially the angry bees that react to their smoked out of their lair by a shepherd – the poetic description of the action of Aeneas when he plans to set fire to the very capital of Latinus (and Lavinia).[88] The bees, sadly, are as enclosed as Penthesilea – and they yearn for escape. And in their zeal for battle, they in effect take on the role of Athena in her capacity as war goddess, now putting aside the works of the loom and the distaff (1, 445/446).

Fittingly, it is one Theano who puts an end to the madness; the character is borrowed from Homer's Iliad 6, 297–310, where as priestess of Athena she begs the goddess to destroy Diomedes and to have mercy on Troy.[89] Here the important factor is that Theano is associated with Athena; Quintus does not make this connection explicit, though the evocation of the priestess of Iliad 6 would have been clear enough to his audience.

Penthesilea meanwhile continues her conquests; she is like a panther as she slaughters Greek goats (1, 479/480) – and once again, there is storm imagery, more of the relentless vision of tempest and gale that Quintus so favors in his depiction of this veritable Harpy of the battlefield (1, 488–493).

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[86] 11, 732ff.

[87] Tarchon's insults are in part gendered in their import; the point is that while Camilla is engaged in the valorous deeds associated with men, her opponents are quick only for Venus and Bacchus.

[88] 12, 587–592. See here C. Maciver, Representative Bees in Quintus Smyrnaeus' Posthomerica, in: Classical Philology 107, 1 (2012), 53–69. Cf. also 6, 707–709, where the souls in Elysium are compared to the bees in the serene summer (*aestate serena*) – the exact image of the fulfillment of the desire of the enclosed bees of late winter. The evocation of the image from Virgil's Elysian simile is also appropriate in a context of response to Tisiphone; the underworld allusions (both Elysian and Tartarean) give an ominous air of foreshadowing to the narrative. More generally here see G. Duckworth, Foreshadowing and Suspense in the Posthomerica of Quintus of Smyrna, in The American Journal of Philology 57, 1 (1936), 58–86.

[89] Theano was a popular and respected figure in Greek mythology and history; see here B. Graziosi and J. Haubold, Homer: Iliad VI, Cambridge, 2010, ad loc.; and B. Nagy, The Naming of Athenian Girls: A Case In Point, in: The Classical Journal 74 (1979), 360–364 (the lone priestess of the Homeric epics).

This is the absolute limit of Penthesilea's glory; at this point, the poet observes that the Greek navy was about to be set on fire – and Ajax warns Achilles of the loud tumult and cries that at last reach his ears.[90] Ajax's appeal to Achilles is rooted in the image of the destruction of Troy; he prays for the day when the two heroes will cooperate in such an end to Priam's city, and he evokes the memory of how Laomedontian Troy was once destroyed (1, 502–507). Significantly, as Ajax and Achilles advance to battle they are explicitly described as being under the protection of Atrytone – that is, of Athena (1, 513/514).[91]

Theano was a priestess of Athena, and she recalled the Trojan women to the domestic works of the goddess; now the shifting imagery of Athena turns again to battle, but to the advantage of the greatest of Greek heroes. And interestingly, the shifting prisms of war association continue as Ajax and Achilles are compared to the Giants who once tried to scale Ossa and Pelion (1, 515ff.). This scene reverses the picture of 1, 179, where Penthesilea was like Tritonis as she advanced against the gigantic rebels of yore; Penthesilea has not changed in her role of battle against such monstrous foes, but Athena is now firmly on the side of the Greeks.[92]

There is preliminary slaughter before the inevitable engagement with Penthesilea; notably the Amazons Antandre, Polemousa, Antibrote, Hippothoe and Harmothoe are all killed by Achilles – the last of Penthesilea's named companions (1, 531–533): Ajax slays several male warriors, but

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[90] Curiously, the arrival of Ajax and Achilles comes in the wake of the advice of Theano for the women of Troy to restrain themselves from the fight; the whole scene is something of a reworking of Virgil's Aeneid 5, 604ff., but with another Quintan reversal. In Virgil the Trojan women are encouraged by Iris (at Juno's behest) to burn the Trojan fleet as to ensure a stay in Sicily; here, the ships are saved by the timely arrival of Ajax and Achilles soon after an aged woman (cf. Quintus' Theano and Virgil's Iris as Beroe, also the nurse Pyrgo who exposes the goddess' fraud) urges the women of the city to refrain from battle. The Theano passage of Posthomerica 1 (not to mention allusion to the idea of Penthesilea's desire to set fire to the Greek fleet) serves to recall important aspects of Aeneid 5, the sister book of 11. See below, too, for consideration of Plutarch's report of the woman Rome/a and the tradition of the attempted Trojan ship burning in Sicily.

[91] For the appellation of the goddess cf. Kirk ad Homer, Iliad 2, 157; the meaning seems to be unwearied – an appropriate enough descriptor for the quite active goddess of Posthomerica 1.

[92] Ajax and Achilles are also compared to lions that find sheep far from their protective shepherd (1, 524–528); the shepherd is Penthesilea (cf. the pastoral image of Camilla at Aeneid 7, 817 and 11, 811).

Achilles reserves the Amazons for himself.[93] And the onslaught of the two is compared to a scene of fire in narrow mountain valleys when the blasts of wind drive on the flames (1, 536/537) – Penthesilean imagery now applied to the victorious saviors of the Greeks.

Penthesilea is once again like a panther – but this time she faces not goats but hunters (1, 538ff.). The principal evocation is of the death of Hippolyta; now Penthesilea will be the one hunted, though the circumstances are so different – the Amazon will make atonement for the death of her sister with her own blood. Soon enough Penthesilea fires two javelions (one at Achilles and one at Ajax); both are ineffectual – and Ajax voluntarily retires from the encounter, knowing as he does that Achilles can handle the situation as easily as a hawk can destroy a dove: 1, 571/572 … ὡς Ἀχιλῆι καὶ ἰφθίμη περ ἐοῦσα / ῥηίδιος πόνος ἔσσεθ' ὅπως ἴρηκι πέλεια. The Virgilian image of Camilla with Aunides is now directly recalled; this time, Achilles will be the accipiter and Penthesilea the hapless dove.[94]

Animal imagery continues as Achilles taunts the Amazon; he warns her that she will fall like a young deer or pricket to a lion (1, 586/587 εὖτ' ἐν ὄρεσσι / κεμμὰς ὁμαρτήσασα βοοδμητῆρι λέοντι). Achilles moves quickly to stab Penthesilea above the right breast – a wound similar to that of her companion Bremousa.[95] Night comes over her (1, 597/598) – appropriately enough, given her associations with the dawn. The end, however, does not come so quickly; there is still time for Penthesilea to give thought to her potential survival.

Here Quintus' Penthesilea indulges in a moment of contemplation that is nearly exactly parallel to the situation of Virgil's Camilla just before her own fatal wounding.[96] Penthesilea wonders whether or not she should draw her sword and prepare for the final onrush of the Greek hero – she wonders if it would be better to supplicate him and beg for her life with promises of bronze and gold. In Virgil, the question comes as part of a rather reversed situation; Camilla is pondering the fate of the Trojan Chloreus, in particular

[93] Cf. Aeneid 11, 487–497, where Turnus is compared to a stallion that prepares to move out into the meadows amid the mares, just before the Rutulian hero meets Camilla. The contexts are different; the eroticized implications all the same – though Turnus will not interact on the field of battle with his Amazonian allies.

[94] A marvelous progress of the image can be traced from Homer to Virgil to Quintus.

[95] Cf. the similar case of Camilla's fatal wound.

[96] Cf. Aeneid 11, 768ff.

whether she should take his spoils and display them in a temple, or wear them herself as a huntress might wear an animal pelt.[97]

Camilla has little time to decide between the alternatives; soon enough Arruns strikes ex insidiis.[98] Achilles, too, moves to pierce rider and horse alike (1, 610ff.). It is reasonably clear from the text that the gods ordained that Penthesilea should die, and that Achilles' decision to slay her took place just as quickly as Arruns' action with Camilla (where the gods also intervened to ensure the death of the Volscian heroine).[99] Penthesilea is slain just as when a man pierces meat on a roasting spit, or when a hunter throws a javelin and pierces a deer (1, 613ff.). The similes are reversed; the hunting should of course precede the roasting and spitting of meat. The striking image of the preparations for a carnivore's dinner serves at least in part to dehumanize Penthesilea; in the single impalement of horse and rider, and perhaps even the grisly image of the roasting of meat for a banquet, there may well be a hint of a lycanthropic reading of Quintus' Virgilian model Camilla.[100]

The north wind Boreas, too, plays something of a part in Penthesilea's destruction; a final death simile compares the fall of the girl to the collapse of a tall tree under the force of chill blasts (1, 625–627); the god whose wife had given the Amazon her swift-footed horse is now mentioned in a poetic comparison of her collapse – another reversal, and one that enacts the very fickleness of wind and storm. Indeed, Penthesilea's Trojan followers are like sailors on the deep, men who have lost their way and suffered extreme hardship at sea in the face of the wind (1, 630ff.).

Achilles' first reaction to Penthesilea's death is insult and revilement; once he removes her helmet, though, mockery gives way to eroticized longing and regretful lament. Despite having suffered violent death, the Amazon is exceedingly lovely in death, and her helmet is not unlike the rays of the sun or the very radiance of Zeus (1, 658 ἠελίου ἀκτῖσιν ἀλίγκιον ἢ Διὸς αἴγλῃ); both the sun and the supreme god recall the two divine figures

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[97] 11, 778ff.

[98] The two poets offer opposing narratives of the deaths of their heroines; Penthesilea's death comes openly, while Camilla's is the result of an act of treachery.

[99] But see Vian ad loc. for the textual problems here; it is possible that Penthesilea decides to move against Achilles.

[100] For detailed consideration of this thesis see Fratantuono ad Virgil, Aeneid 11, 785ff. In Quintus the impalement of the horse is underscored by repetition (1, 612, 619, 624; 655); the horse is also tempest or wind-footed (cf. 1, 611/612 τῇ γὰρ ἐπεσσυμένῃ μέγ᾽ ἐχώσατο Πηλέος υἱός, / καί οἱ ἄφαρ συνέπειρεν ἀελλόποδος δέμας ἵππου).

responsible for the defeat of Virgil's Camilla. But here in part there is a reversal of the Virgilian image; Penthesilea's helmet – which admittedly failed her – has the radiance associated with Phoebus and Zeus, and (less surprisingly), the Amazon in death is like Artemis, the daughter of Zeus, as she sleeps when exhausted from hunting lions (1, 664/665 Ἄρτεμις ὑπνώ-ουσα, Διὸς τέκος, εὖτε κάμῃσι / γυῖα κατ᾽ οὔρεα μακρὰ θοοὺς βάλλουσα λέοντας).

Most interestingly, Quintus notes that Aphrodite – the wife of Ares[101] – makes the dead heroine even more attractive, all so that Achilles might suffer anguish at not having married the Amazon (1, 666ff.). Venus does not figure in the drama of Virgil's Aeneid 11; the Trojan patroness does not exercise any explicit or overt role in the Camilliad. But in Quintus, the goddess is firmly associated with Ares, her at least quasi-spouse; for an imperial Greek poet, there may well be some evocation of the patronage of Mars and Venus over the Romans.[102] In Virgil it was Diana who ensured that the body of Camilla would be preserved from desecration and harm; in Quintus, Aphrodite glorifies the corpse of Penthesilea and guarantees that Achilles will find a perverse attraction to the heroine in death – he will suffer grievously for his attack on the Amazon.[103]

Ares learns of his daughter's death from the daughters of Boreas; he in turn is like the storm winds as he proceeds to the battlefield – indeed he is like the thunderbolt of Zeus (1, 675ff.).[104] Ares' reaction to Penthesilea's death is not unlike Turnus' to Camilla, with the crucial difference that the news of the loss of Camilla causes Turnus to abandon his plans to ambush Aeneas and his infantry force.[105] Virgil makes clear that the will of Zeus

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[101] 1, 667 Κύπρις ἐυστέφανος κρατεροῦ παράκοιτις Ἄρηος. The description serves in part to highlight the union of the two divine lovers in what may well be an intentionally more revered and elevated status than that of adulterers.

[102] We may note that Quintus does specify the Hephaestean provenance of Achilles' shield in his description of how Penthesilea could not attack the Greek hero (1, 550).

[103] The passage is all the more striking for the usual lack of affinity between Aphrodite/Venus and the warrior women. There is perverse eroticism in the death of Camilla, who suffers a fatal wound to the breast – but her protectress Diana preserves her body from all harm, and there is no objectification of the slain heroine. Cf., too, the depiction of Pallas' requiem in language that underscores how the young hero should have been proceeding to his marriage, not the grave; in the Quintan reversal, Aphrodite goads Achilles with the lament that he might have taken Penthesilea back to Phthia as a bride.

[104] Again, the wind and storm imagery serves to underscore the connection of Penthesilea to the Harpies and the dread force of storm winds.

[105] 11, 896ff.

demanded this turn of events;[106] Quintus similarly has a role for Zeus in the aftermath of Penthesilea's death – the god orders his divine son Ares not to proceed to the scene of battle to pursue the Myrmidons.

Ares is not permitted any sort of revenge or martial reaction to the loss of Penthesilea; this ban on retaliation in some sense marks a reversal of the ability of Virgil's Diana to send her nymph Opis to see to the death of Arruns.[107] But here, Ares joins Aphrodite, as it were, in the aftermath of Penthesilea's death; the illicit lovers join together in the general matter of revenge and retribution for the loss of the Amazon heroine.

Achilles, meanwhile, reacts to the death of Penthesilea with the same degree of depression and misery as he experienced after the loss of Patroclus (1, 717ff.). Thersites upbraids the hero for his lament for the Amazon; he attacks Achilles for being seduced by sexual desires and a coward's love for a woman (1, 722ff.).[108] Here the Virgilian model is the attack on Turnus by Drances,[109] the criticism of the bitter and invidious Drances during the Latin war council. In Virgil, the verbal assault of Drances precedes the reentry of Camilla into the war; Camilla is in fact one of the human resources Turnus can cite as evidence for how the Latin cause is by no means finished.[110] The arguments of Virgil's Drances do not involve sexual misconduct, though they do reference implied cowardice; in the aftermath of Camilla's death, one could make the criticism of Turnus that in his overly emotional reaction to the loss of the Volscian heroine, he loses his single best chance to win the war at one stroke.[111]

Quintus' Achilles kills Thersites with one stroke; Achilles invites the corpse to lie in the dust, forgetful of his folly and reckless behavior (1, 757).[112] Significantly, Diomedes alone among the Greeks expresses anger at

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[106] The death of Camilla thereby saves Aeneas from potential doom.

[107] 11, 836ff. For the Virgilian depiction of Mars, see L. Fratantuono, Saevit Medio In Certamine: Mars in the Aeneid, in: Arctos 48 (2014), 137–163. Notably, the killer of Camilla is already a virtual nobody; Arruns gains fame only by his defeat of Camilla – but it is a victory for which he will receive not credit and praise from his fellows, but abandonment – he remains both unburied and forgotten.

[108] Cf. here P. Schubert, Thersite et Penthésilée dans la Suite d'Homère de Quintus de Smyrne, in: Phoenix 50, 2 (1996), 111–117.

[109] 11, 336ff.

[110] 11, 432/433.

[111] As Jupiter, of course, demanded. But the means by which the god achieves his wish is the arguably inappropriate (over)reaction of the Rutulian to the loss of his female captain.

[112] There are echoes here of the fate of Arruns (cf. 11, 865–867). The baleful dream of Iliad 2 was recalled by Penthesilea's fatal vision; now we find another echo of the drama of

Achilles' action; Thersites was, after all, his relative (1, 766ff.). Diomedes plans to assault Achilles, only to be stopped and prevented from such violent action by the other Greeks. The scene is inspired by Virgil's Aeneid 11, 243ff., where Venulus reports to the Latins how Diomedes was unwilling to come to the aid of Turnus and Latinus. We have moved backwards again in the Virgilian narrative; Diomedes will not fight on this day, just as in Virgil's Latin war the Trojan hero took no part. In both Quintus and Virgil there is an implication that the consequences could be serious indeed if Diomedes were to decide to engage in conflict and struggle against either Achilles or Aeneas – and in both poets, there will be no violent action from Diomedes; the threat of the hero's return to battle will not come to fruition.

Posthomerica I draws to a close with a reminiscence of the opening of Aeneid 11: the narrative of the funerals for the dead (1, 782ff.). The shield of Hephaestus had protected Achilles from harm at the hands of the Amazon; now the fire of the god is described as consuming her mortal remains (1, 793).[113] Achilles permits burial rites in just the way that Aeneas allowed for a truce for the requiems of the dead in the wake of loss of Pallas.[114] The Trojans, of course, mourn for Penthesilea – but the Greeks make special offerings on behalf of Podarces, the brother of Protesilaus.[115] Thersites is buried (unlike Virgil's Arruns) – but he is given a spot apart from the other Greeks, a sepulchral exile (1, 824/825).[116]

Fittingly enough, the Dawn makes her final descent as the requiems are concluded; Night falls as Achilles feasts with Agamemnon. Soon Dawn returns again – since, after all, Posthomerica 2 will be devoted to the drama of her son Memnon.[117]

The Quintan Penthesilead thus both retells and reverses the Virgilian Camilliad; the narrative of Aeneid 11 is recast in a complex hommage that highlights numerous aspects of its poetic commentary on the troubled

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Homer's second book in the drama of Thersites. Drances does not reappear in the Aeneid after the Latin war council; his interventions may have lost something of their force in the wake of the Trojan military maneuvers that provoke the plan for infantry and cavalry actions in response. Note, too, that both Arruns and Achilles face death.

113 A final triumph of the cuckolded god over the child of his rival.

114 11, 100ff.

115 Cf. the P-s that is shared with Pallas.

116 Cf., too, the contrast between Mezentius and Pallas at the start of Aeneid 11; in the former instance, there is no clear account of the response of Aeneas to the Etruscan's petition for burial.

117 We might note that according to the scholiast on Pindar, Isthmian 4, 58b, in the Aethiopis Ajax was said to have committed suicide near dawn (Aethiopis fr. 6 West).

heroine Camilla. One of the signal features of both the Penthesilea and the Camilla stories is the question of divine intervention and conflict on the immortal plane – and of the celestial patronage of certain mortal favorites. Fittingly enough, for the imperial Greek poet it is Ares and Aphrodite – the divine parents of the Romans – who intervene after the death of the Amazon whose depiction owes so much to that of the Virgilian heroine Camilla, the Volscian huntress who in an important way made possible nothing less than the rise of Rome.[118]

Lee Fratantuono
Ohio Wesleyan University
Delaware, Ohio, U.S.A.
lmfratan@owu.edu

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[118] For Rome herself as the daughter of Ares (and sister, as it were, of Penthesilea), see C. Bowra, Melinno's Hymn to Rome, in: The Journal of Roman Studies 47, 1/2 (1957), 21–28, on the mysterious five Sapphic stanzas of an ode to Rome (preserved in Stobaeus, Ecl. 3, 7, 12 – it may well date from the second century B.C.). "She [Melinno] begins by making Rome, rather surprisingly, a daughter of Ares. Rome had long ago been connected with Mars, and it was simple for Ovid … and Martial … to speak of *Martia Roma*. For them the alleged parentage of Romulus and Remus would justify some not very precise connection between Rome and Mars. But Melinno goes her own way, and we may appreciate her reasons. So new a deity as Rome had to have a suitable parent, and Ares was excellent in every respect for so belligerent a daughter. We can even see how Melinno's ascription of parentage arose. Ares was the father of the Amazon, Penthesilea … Though Ares is credited with a large number of children (Hygin., Fab. 159), the Amazons are his only known daughters, and it would be easy for a Greek to take Melinno's hint that Rome, as a daughter of Ares, belongs to the same breed as the Amazons and shares their warlike propensities …" (23). On the associations of Camilla with the nurturing of the future Rome see L. Fratantuono, Chiastic Doom in the Aeneid, in: Latomus 68, 2 (2009), 393–401 (with consideration of the possible connections between Camilla's companion Acca and the legends of early Rome; also the she-wolf imagery that may be a key cipher to understanding the Camilla epyllion). However anachronistically in some regards, Quintus' presentation of Penthesilea implicitly accords to the Amazon the same attributes with which Vergil had adorned his Volscian heroine, with expansion: Virgil could not, after all, depict Venus as sympathetic to Camilla. For the possible role of the eponym of the goddess Rome/a in the burning of the Trojan fleet, see Plutarch, Moralia 24eff., and cf. the threats of Penthesilea to set fire to the Greek navy. At any rate, Bowra illustrates how the poet Melinno may well have been inspired by Quintus (and possibly Arctinus) in his description of the goddess Rome/a as being Amazonian, indeed similar in certain important aspects to Penthesilea. It is uncertain if Quintus had any such associations in mind when he crafted his Penthesilead, though of interest and note that in both Virgil and Quintus the figure of the Amazon(ian) is treated with special respect and even reverence in contexts that do hark to the image of Rome and her early history.