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## Triphiodorus Homericus

### People in the Ἰλίου ᾿Αλωσις and their forebears in the Iliad and Odyssey

*Summary* – In the present paper certain cases of Homeric influence on Triphiodorus are suggested and examined; it is argued that Triphiodorus' Simon scene is modelled on Odysseus' encounter with Nausicaa in the Odyssey, that the Cassandra scene is based on the two Iliadic Andromache scenes, and that the description of the masses of Trojans recalls the presentation of the conflicting armies in the Iliad. The poet of the Ἰλίου ᾿Αλωσις skilfully exploits the potential the Homeric circumstances offer him and eruditely alludes to them in his effort to rely upon and at the same time handle in an innovative spirit the epic tradition he inherits.

Ἰλίου ᾿Αλωσις, an epyllion narrating the fall of Troy in 691 lines and the only extant poem by Triphiodorus, the poet who lived in Egypt between the middle of the third and the beginning of the fourth century A. D., expectedly displays numerous Homeric reminiscences frequently examined by scholars.<sup>1</sup> The aim of

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<sup>1</sup> For Triphiodorus' date see B. Gerlaud, *Triphiodore: La Prise d'Iliou*, Paris 1982, 6–9; U. Dubielzig, *Τριφιόδωρου Ἰλίου ᾿Αλωσις*, Tübingen 1996, 7–11. The poet based his work on the tradition of the Trojan Epic Cycle the basic outline of which is preserved in Proclus' *Chrestomathia* and Apollodorus' *Epitome*: Triphiodorus used material from the Aethiopsis, the Little Iliad and Iliou Persis, as did to a greater or lesser extent Virgil for the second book of his *Aeneid* and Quintus Smyrnaeus for his *Posthomerica*. For detailed discussions of Triphiodorus' sources see L. Ferrari, *Sulla Presa di Ilio di Trifiodoro*, Palermo 1962, 67–80; P. L. Leone, *La Presa di Troia di Trifiodoro*, *Vichiana* 5 (1968), 59–108 *passim*, Gerlaud 10–47, and below, nn. 3 and 11. As for the relation between Triphiodorus and Quintus, certain scholars still accept the old view of Quintus' priority, while others doubt it, see Dubielzig 11; if we maintain Quintus' dating in the fourth century A. D. (F. Vian, *Nonnos de Panopolis: Les Dionysiaques*, vol. 1, Paris 1976, XLVII with n. 5, suggested the beginning of the fourth century) it seems very possible that Triphiodorus preceded Quintus, cf. G. D'Ippolito, *Trifiodoro e Virgilio: il proemio della "Presa di Ilio" e l'esordio del libro secondo dell' "Eneide"*, Palermo 1976, 18 with n. 48. This view has been recently reinforced by the argumentation of Dillon who discovers echoes of the Neoplatonist philosopher Theodorus of Asine (first half of the fourth century A. D.) in Quintus which would place the latter in the middle of the fourth century A. D., see J. Dillon, *The equality of the sexes: variations on a rhetorical theme in the fourth century AD*, *Hermathena* 158 (1995), 33–35 with n. 6. A passage discussed in the present paper could perhaps be regarded as also pointing to (though not proving) Triphiodorus' priority, cf. below, p. 112–114. A well-studied instance of Homeric echo in Triphiodorus is the

the present paper is to throw light on certain instances of Homeric allusions unobserved or not considered to their full depth up to now by critics; Triphiodorus, like all poets of late Antiquity, writes in the tradition of the Hellenistic poets and, like them, is fond of producing skilful variations especially of Homeric passages which he treats according to the characteristic Hellenistic principle of imitation with variation, displaying his poetical skill and addressing the accurate knowledge, sensitive perception and fine taste of a learned audience.

The first passage under examination is Sinon's episode, which presents the hero's encounter and dialogue with Priam (Tr. 219–303) and his successful effort to persuade the Trojans to take the Horse into their city; later in the poem Sinon lights the torch to summon back to Troy the Greeks who had sailed to Tenedos pretending they were giving up the war and returning to Greece (Tr. 510/511).<sup>2</sup> Sinon has wounded himself in order to render convincing the false story in which he describes his maltreatment in the hands of the Greeks which is his alleged reason for taking refuge to the Trojans; Sinon's self-injuring occurs only in Triphiodorus.<sup>3</sup> The cunning Greek, not mentioned by Homer, is traditionally a cousin of Odysseus, son of Anticleia's brother, cf. Schol. Lyc. 344. Triphiodorus' setting, presentation of circumstantial details and character drawing reveal that his portrait of Sinon (as well as the portrait of Sinon by Virgil and Quintus) is inspired from the depiction of Odysseus in the *Odyssey*, as has been repeatedly observed by critics: Sinon's self-injuring recalls Odysseus' *ptochēia* in *Od.* 4, 242–246, where Helen narrates how Odysseus abused himself and dressed up as a beggar to achieve a deplorable appearance that helped him enter

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episode of Helen approaching the Horse and calling the names of the heroes' wives and the subsequent death of Anticlus (Tr. 469–486), inspired from Menelaus' narration of how Helen imitated the voices of the Achaeans' wives in her effort to provoke an answer from the men inside the Horse and thus reveal the trap, and his reference to the death of Anticlus in the *Odyssey* (4, 271–289); critics have further observed various Homeric echoes, see L. Castiglioni, *Tryphiodorea. Trifiodoro e Virgilio*, *RFIC* 54 (1926), 501–517 (515/516); Ferrari 44–49 and *passim*; J. Mehler, *Tryphiodoros' Inneming van Ilion*, *Hermeneus* 34 (1963), 43/44; Leone 65/66, 78/79, 89 and *passim*; P. Orsini, *Tryphiodore et la mimesis*, *Pallas* 21 (1974), 4–12; Gerlaud 19, 22/23, 30/31, 33, 36/37 and *passim* in the commentary; Dubielzig 19/20, 27–29 and *passim* in the commentary. The borrowing of several similes from Homer was already noticed by W. Weinberger, *Studien zu Tryphiodor und Kolluth*, *WSt.* 18 (1896), 140–142, n. 54.

<sup>2</sup> For Sinon's lighting the torch cf. Proclus *Chrest.* 252/253, Apollodorus *Epit.* 15, 19.

<sup>3</sup> For Virgil's (*Aen.* 2, 57–198) and Quintus Smyrnaeus' (12, 360–386) dissimilar handling of Sinon's story see Gerlaud (n. 1), 21–26; for a summary of scholars' views on the independence of Quintus and Triphiodorus from Virgil and their use of pre-Virgilian sources see W. Clausen, *Virgil's Aeneid. Decorum, Allusion and Ideology*, München-Leipzig 2002, 60, n. 37; see also below, n. 11. Among the three authors only Triphiodorus makes Sinon injure himself in his effort to present the fictitious events of his speech as persuasively as possible, but he is not the inventor of the story, cf. next note.

Troy and spy; the poet also describes Sinon with terms perfectly appropriate for the Homeric Odysseus: ἀπατήλιος ἥρωας (220), πολυμήχανος ἥρωας (291).<sup>4</sup> It has been further argued that Sinon's part was played originally by Odysseus in the epic tradition, as is reflected in Od. 8, 494/495 where it is stated that it was Odysseus who managed to introduce guilefully the Horse into Troy.<sup>5</sup> Now I would like to explore Triphiodorus' scene in the light of another episode of the Odyssey which, as I suggest, was a source of inspiration for the formation of Sinon's episode, for all its different mood and spirit; in fact it is wholly artistically apposite for a poet of late Antiquity well versed in the Alexandrian technique of *variatio* to use elements from the epic saga creatively adjusting them to different narrative situations.

When they see the enemies' fleet sail away from Troy, Priam and the Elders come out of the city and reach the plain where the Argives had left the Wooden Horse; the king and the Elders ride on wagons to which mules have been yoked, Tr. 241–243 οἱ δὲ θοοὺς οὐρήας ὑποζεύξαντες ἀπήναις / ἐκ πόλιος κατέβαινον ἅμα Πριάμῳ βασιλῆϊ / ἄλλοι δημογέροντες. When they see the Horse (Tr. 247 οἱ δ' ὅτε ... ἴδον, κτλ.), they gather in council to decide what to do with it and a naked man appears wounded and disfigured, Tr. 259 γυμνὸς ὑπὲρ πεδίοιο φάνη κεκακωμένος ἀνὴρ. Sinon crawls before Priam, clasps his knees in supplication and starts his speech begging the king's mercy, Tr. 262–267 αὐτίκα δὲ Πριάμοιο ποδῶν προπάροιθεν ἔλυσθεις / ἰκεσίαις παλάμησι παλαιῶν ἦψατο γούνων, / λισσόμενος δὲ γέροντα δολοπλόκον ἴαχε μῦθον / „ἄνδρα ... εἴ μ' ἔλεαίρεις, / ... / Δαρδανίδη σκηπτοῦχε“, κτλ. Sinon continues with the deceptive speech of his false sufferings (Tr. 268–282) and Priam answers by gently reassuring the Greek that he will offer him aid and refuge in Troy (Tr. 283–290). Striking corresponding to this scene, *mutatis mutandis*, is the encounter of a suppliant Odysseus<sup>6</sup> with Nausicaa and several instances of phrasing in book six of the

<sup>4</sup> See F. Vian, *Recherches sur les Posthomeric de Quintus de Smyrne*, Paris 1959, 64; Ferrari (n. 1), 28; J. W. Jones, *Trojan legend. Who is Sinon?* CJ 61 (1965), 122–128 (126); M. Campbell, *A Commentary on Quintus Smyrnaeus Posthomeric XII*, Leiden 1981, 120/121; Gerlaud (n. 1), 22/23. It has also been noticed (first by E. Bethe, *Vergilstudien*, RhM 16 [1891], 519/520, n. 3) that the voluntary mutilation of Sinon recalls the similar act of Zopyrus allowing the sack of Babylon by Darius (Hdt. 3, 154ff.), which reveals that Sinon's deed belonged to the Trojan saga and its popularity made it “slip” into the historical narration, see Vian *ibid.*, Gerlaud 22; Jones (126/127) put forward the bold suggestion that later authors like Quintus and Triphiodorus might have been influenced by the Babylonian material.

<sup>5</sup> See Jones (prev. note), 124; Gerlaud (n. 1), 23. Jones (123) further holds that the Virgilian Sinon is modelled on Odysseus of Euripides' *Philoctetes*.

<sup>6</sup> Jones (n. 4, 122) has already observed the correspondence between Sinon and Odysseus as suppliants, but only regarding Odysseus' function as a suppliant and beggar from Odysseus' book thirteen onwards.

Odyssey.<sup>7</sup> Nausicaa too comes out of the city accompanied by her maids riding on a wagon to which mules are yoked, Od. 6, 73 – 84 ἡμιόνους θ' ὕπαγον ζευξάν θ' ὑπ' ἀπήνη / ... ἅμα τῆ γε καὶ ἀμφίπολοι κίων ἄλλαι;<sup>8</sup> when the girls arrive at the river (6, 85 αἶ δ' ὅτε δὴ ... ἴκοντο), they wash the clothes, bathe themselves, eat and begin to play, when Odysseus, a stranger like Sinon who is also working towards the attainment of a goal exploiting the circumstances to his benefit, appears naked (Od. 6, 136), distressed and sorrowful, Od. 6, 137 σμερδαλέος δ' αὐτῆσι φάνη κεκακωμένος ἄλλῃ. Triphiodorus emphatically underlines his use of the Homeric passage and at the same time his own novelty, with a stark similarity of phrasing in which, however, Odysseus' affliction by the sea is replaced by Sinon's self-imposed wounds. Subsequently Odysseus considers whether to touch Nausicaa's knees in supplication or entreat her help from a distance and chooses the latter (Od. 6, 141–148); however he starts his speech with the reference to a kneeling supplication, Od. 6, 149 γουνοῦμαί σε, ἄνασσα.<sup>9</sup> The correspondence of Sinon's episode with the Homeric scene is constantly reminded to the reader by Triphiodorus who does not fail to achieve a neat variation of his model according to the requirements of his own narration: it goes without saying that Sinon does not have Odysseus' reasons of shame and embarrassment before a girl to prefer a distant supplication, so he performs the

<sup>7</sup> It is interesting to remember the celebrity of book six of the Odyssey and the repeated exploitation of several of its passages by later poets: for instance Nausicaa's comparison to Artemis (Od. 6, 102–109; 151/152), imitated by Callimachus, Apollonius and Virgil (Aen. 1, 496–504, for Dido), see Clausen (n. 3), 35–38; also Nausicaa's encounter with Odysseus as a model for Venus' and Dido's encounter with Aeneas in Virgil (Aen. 1, 314–320 and 498–502), see J.K. Newman and F.S. Newman, *Troy's Children*, Zürich-New York 2005, 59 and 62.

<sup>8</sup> For the correspondence of this scene with Priam's departure from Troy in Il. 24, 265–280, also with the preparation of a wagon dragged by mules, see (A. Heubeck-S. West -) J.B. Hainsworth, *A Commentary on Homer's Odyssey*, Introduction and books I–VIII, Oxford 1988, 298 (on 6, 71–84); needless to say, the Iliadic scene does not share any other common features with Triphiodorus' setting and cannot be held as a model in the way the scene from the Odyssey can: both belong to a kind of a typical scene, see Hainsworth *ibid.* and, for more Homeric examples of journeys on a wagon, W. Arend, *Die typischen Szenen bei Homer*, Berlin 1933, 86–91. F. Vian, *Echoes and Imitations of Apollonius Rhodius in Late Greek Epic*, in: Th. Papanghelis - A. Rengakos, *A Companion to Apollonius Rhodius*, Leiden 2001, 295 has noticed the correspondence of Triphiodorus' expression with Ap. Rh. 3, 841 οὐρήας προζεύξασθαι ἀπήνη (Medea's leaving her father's palace). Of course the probable echo of Apollonius in Triphiodorus' verse by no means weakens the evidence about the influence of the Odyssey's setting on Triphiodorus' Sinon episode, cf. below, n. 11.

<sup>9</sup> Not “kneel” but “entreat you by your knees”, as Hainsworth (*prev. note*, 303, on 149) underlines, rightly observing that there is no indication in the text that Odysseus ever kneels before Nausicaa.

typical one. Like Sinon, Odysseus goes on to narrate to Nausicaa his misfortunes and implores her to help him (Od. 6, 168 – 185); Triphiodorus produces a variation of Odysseus' main clause of supplication (Od. 6, 175/176 *ἀλλά, ἄνασσ' ἐλέαιρε· σὲ γάρ ... ἰκόμην*) dispersing its constituents, so to speak, in two different loci of Sinon's speech: *εἴ μ' ἐλεαίρεις, ... σκηπτούχε* (Tr. 265–267) and *ἀλλά, μάκαρ, πεφύλαξο Διὸς σέβας ἰκεσίοιο· χάρμα γὰρ Ἄργείοισι γενήσομαι* (Tr. 278/279). Similarly the introductory line to Odysseus' entreaty to Nausicaa (Od. 6, 148 *αὐτίκα μελίχιον καὶ κερδαλέον φάτο μῦθον*) is echoed both in the line introducing Sinon's speech (Tr. 264 *δολοπλόκον ἴαχε μῦθον*) and in the corresponding line introducing Priam's response (Tr. 283 *τὸν δ' ὁ γέρων ἀγανῆ μελιξατο φωνῆ*): Triphiodorus distributes appositely the two qualities of Odysseus' speech (*μελίχιος*, 'gentle', and *κερδαλέος*, 'utile to the speaker')<sup>10</sup> to his interlocutors, according to each one's intentions: self-interest and weighed, sly words to Sinon, kindness to Priam. Now identically opening their address (*ξείνε*) both Priam and Nausicaa reassure the stranger promising him the hospitality of their country (Od. 6, 191 – 193, Tr. 286/287). A nice element of antithetical correspondence is the replacement of Nausicaa's introducing herself to the stranger at the closure of her address to him (Od. 6, 196/197) by Priam's question about the stranger's identity at the end of his address (Tr. 289/290).<sup>11</sup> At the

<sup>10</sup> Odysseus constructs his speech with a remarkable skilfulness, exploiting several psychological devices (flattery, claim to pity, mind-reading) in his effort to achieve the most favorable possible outcome; the craftiness of his speech is summarised in the two adjectives *μελίχιος* and *κερδαλέος* introducing it, cf. Hainsworth (n. 8), 303 (on 148). Triphiodorus' Sinon also strikes as many chords as he can, appealing to Priam's emotions as well as logic: he emphasises his deplorable condition (268, 273–277) to arouse pity, he accuses ardently the Achaeans (270–272) to render his statement of hatred more convincing to Priam, he places himself under the protection of Zeus *Ἰκέσιος* (278–280) to stimulate Priam's sense of piety, and he concludes with a promise of future help and an assurance that the Greeks will not return (281/282) addressing both sentiment and reason of his interlocutor by means of combining the idea of profit with a pleasant feeling of relief.

<sup>11</sup> Of course a structural antithesis between the Sinon-Priam and the Odysseus-Nausicaa dialogue lies in the fact that Priam asks questions which deceitful Sinon answers (partly untruthfully), while on the contrary it is the stranger who ignores the princess' identity and combines question with flattery to learn it in the *Odyssey* (6, 149 *θεός νύ τις ἢ βροτός ἔσσι*); she answers (naturally sincerely), informing him about the location and her identity (6, 195–197). This is wholly justified since the narrative context of the two encounter-with-a-stranger scenes is similar but also opposite, Odysseus being in a foreign land he ignores, Sinon being in a foreign land perfectly familiar to him; and in the situation of his name-sake epic Odysseus' craftiness is necessary but there is no need for deception. Now the dialogue between Sinon and Priam in Triphiodorus bears resemblances to Virgil's corresponding scene (Aen. 2, 108–194); these similarities have been attributed to a common source of the two authors, perhaps Sophocles' tragedy *Σίνων*, by scholars who share the prevailing view of Triphiodorus' independence from Virgil, see Gerlaud (n. 1),

end of the episode the naked Sinon is offered ἔσασθαι χλαϊνάν τε χιτῶνά τε (Tr. 305), similarly to Odysseus to whom Nausicaa's maids πᾶρ δ' ἄρα οἱ φᾶρός τε χιτῶνά τε εἵματ' ἔθηκαν (Od. 6, 214).<sup>12</sup> It is furthermore interesting to note that the common Homeric formula χλαϊνάν τε χιτῶνά τε (εἵματα) Triphiodorus uses appears many times in another ptocheia of Odysseus, in the scenes with Eumaeus where the crafty hero pretends to be a beggar. The Homeric formula recurs in Odysseus' false narration of his adventures to the swineherd: Odysseus reports that receiving him shipwrecked king Pheidon offered him clothes (14, 320; one notes that although the story is untrue it reflects Nausicaa's act) and that, later on, his companions divested him of the clothes the king had given him and dressed him in rags (14, 341–343). In 14, 396 Odysseus refers to the offer of χλαϊνάν τε χιτῶνά τε εἵματα as the ultimate favour the swineherd could do him; with another false story, in his effort to obtain a χλαῖνα from the swineherd, he narrates how he obtained one with a trick when he felt cold in the Greeks' camp at Troy: Eumaeus indeed gives the stranger a χλαῖνα for the time being and assures him that Telemachus will offer him χλαϊνάν τε χιτῶνά τε εἵματα as soon as he comes (14, 516, a promise he repeats in 15, 338). It should not go unobserved that in the vast majority of the occurrences of the formula in the Odyssey the description concerns Odysseus' clothing.<sup>13</sup> So the repeated references to

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24; Clausen (n. 3), 66/67. Gerlaud (ibid.) further notices the resemblance between Triphiodorus' Priam-Sinon scene and the dialogue between Argus and Jason in Apollonius (2, 1123–1156). One can plausibly argue that a similar design of several scenes in poetry, based on a pattern repeated by the authors, might reveal the influence of one upon the other. The similarities of Triphiodorus' scene with the scene of the Odyssey are many and more prominent than its similarities with Apollonius' scene, but this does not exclude the possibility that our poet had in mind the Argonautica as well, as is suggested by quite a few similar points, cf. Tr. 278 and 280 and Ap. Rh. 2, 1131/1132 (cf. Gerlaud, ibid. with n. 3). See also next note.

<sup>12</sup> Apollonius' Argus-Jason scene ends with Jason's offering clothes to Argus (2, 1168 ἐκ νηὸς δῶκέ σφισιν εἵματα δῦναι), cf. Gerlaud (n. 1), 24, n. 3 and prev. note.

<sup>13</sup> Od. 5, 229 (Odysseus dresses himself in Calypso's island), 8, 455 χλαῖναν καλὴν βάλων ἠδὲ χιτῶνα (Arete's handmaids dress Odysseus), the same phrase in 10, 365 (Circe's handmaids dress Odysseus; in 10, 451 Circe offers clothes to Odysseus' comrades), 10, 542 (Circe dresses Odysseus with χλαϊνάν τε χιτῶνά τε εἵματα), 14, 132 and 154 (Eumaeus and Odysseus refer hypothetically to χλαϊνάν τε χιτῶνά τε εἵματα given to a beggar-Odysseus), 16, 79; 17, 550 and 21, 339; 22, 487 (Telemachus / Penelope / Eurycleia intend to offer clothes to Odysseus). There are also several instances of reference to Odysseus' dressing with a parallel formula with the term φᾶρος indicating a more luxurious or a more antiquated, for the time of Odysseus' author, garment than the χλαῖνα (cf. W. Whallon, How the shroud for Laertes became the robe of Odysseus, CQ 50 [2000], 331–337 [336]; [A. Heubeck-] A. Hoekstra, A Commentary on Homer's Odyssey, Books IX–XVI, Oxford 1989, 201, on Od. 14, 132). The Homeric colour Triphiodorus gives his sentence is apparent; it is significant that Tzetzes in his own version of the Posthomeric



χλαίνα and χιτών of the main hero in the *Odyssey*, especially those regarding the appearance that Odysseus, in his beggar's disguise, aspires to achieve, form a literary precedent which Triphiodorus exploits markedly to stress the affinity of deceptive Sinon with his famous Homeric counterpart.

It is interesting to discuss a few more instances of a creative use of Homeric passages in the scene of the reception of the Wooden Horse into Troy. The throng of Trojans who gather around the Horse when they first see it in the plain is compared to a flock of jackdaws who scream when they see a mighty eagle (Tr. 247 – 249):

οἱ δ' ὅτε τεχνήεντος ἴδον δέμας αἰόλον ἵππου  
θαύμασαν ἀμφιχυθέντες, ἅτ' ἠχήμεντες ἰδόντες  
αιετὸν ἀλκήεντα περικλάζουσι κολοιοί.

Triphiodorus' simile is a fine variation of the Homeric similes where a central hero, compared to an eagle or a falcon, attacks the crowd of enemies compared to a flock of jackdaws; Gerlaud (n. 1) cites Il. 15, 690–694 (Hector rushes on the Achaeans as an eagle pounces on a flock of geese, cranes or swans), 16, 581–585 (Patroclus charges on the Trojans as a falcon drives in flight jackdaws and starlings) and 17, 755–759 (Hector and Aeneas chase the Greeks and the Greeks flee as starlings or jackdaws fly shrieking when they see a falcon attacking them). It is noteworthy that Triphiodorus achieves an *oppositio in imitando* which lies in his actual reversal of the motif, and that he more specifically alludes to the picture of Il. 17, 755–759: in Homer the crowd of warriors is scattered before the valiant hero(s) whereas in Triphiodorus the crowd of the Trojans is attracted by the Horse and admires it. Corresponding features underlining the antithetical relation of Tr. 247–249 and Il. 17, 755–759 are the sight the crowd catches of the central figure (ὅτε προΐδωσιν in 17, 756, ἰδόντες in Tr. 248), its movement, of course opposite in each case (ἔρχεται, “fly away”, in 17, 755, ἀμφιχυθέντες, “gather about”, in Tr. 248) and their cries (κεκλήγοντες in 17, 756, περικλάζουσι in Tr. 249).<sup>14</sup> The opposition in situation reflects the

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in which he imitated Triphiodorus (cf. Gerlaud [n. 1], 56 with n. 7) renders the corresponding line replacing Triphiodorus' Homeric formula with another memorable Homeric phrase (ed. F. S. Lehrs, *Tzetzæ Antehomerica, Homerica, Posthomerica*, Paris 1862, 696): τῷ δ' ὁ γέρων πόρεν εἴματα σιγαλόεντα. εἴματα σιγαλόεντα occurs only twice in Homer, Il. 22, 154 (on the habit of Trojan women to wash their clothes in Scamander before the war) and Od. 6, 26 (Athena's advice to Nausicaa to wash the clothes in the river). Is perhaps Tzetzes thinking of Odysseus' *ptochēia* in *Odyssey* four (cf. above, with n. 4) in which Helen gives Odysseus εἴματα to wear (Od. 4, 253) in combination with Nausicaa's scene, associating in his mind Sinon as a suppliant to Priam with Odysseus as a suppliant to the Phaeacian princess?

<sup>14</sup> Weinberger (n. 1, 141) had already in passing cited only Il. 17, 755 as Triphiodorus' model, with no further analysis. Note the affinity of κλάζω and κέκληγα, cf. Eustathius on

opposition of the two parties' motivation deriving from their knowledge (or lack of it) and serves to underscore the cause of the fall of Troy: the Homeric warriors know the dangerousness of their opponents and try to avoid it, while Triphiodorus' Trojans follow the opposite route moving not away but towards their destructor due to their ignorance and to their opponents' guile, features repeatedly stressed throughout the poem as agents of the calamity, cf. 107, 201, 221, 310–315, 410. The bird imagery in the presentation of the crowd of the Trojans continues in the scene of the introduction of the Horse into the city with the imitation of another Homeric bird simile; Triphiodorus compares the noise the Trojans make while accompanying the Horse in their procession with the cries of rows of cranes, voyagers of Oceanus, hateful to the farmers, who fly in the air forming dances (Tr. 352–357):

Οἶαι δ' ἀφνειοῖο μετήλυδες Ὠκεανοῖο,  
 χεῖματος ἀμφίπολοι, γεράνων στίχες ἠεροφώνων  
 κύκλον ἐπογμεύουσιν ἀλήμονος ὄρηθμοῖο  
 γειοπόνους ἀρότησιν ἀπεχθέα κεκληγυῖαι·  
 ὧς οἶ γε κλαγγῇ τε δι' ἄστεος ἠδὲ κυδοιμῷ  
 ἦγον ἐς ἀκρόπολιν βεβαρημένον ἔνδοθεν ἵππων.

In a well-known passage Homer compares the Trojans, coming to the battlefield with clamor, with cranes flying towards the Ocean, Il. 3, 2–7:<sup>15</sup>

Il. 17, 756 Ἀττικῶς δὲ ἔχει τὸ νέφος ψαρῶν ἢ κολοιῶν κεκλήγοντες, ὡς εἴπερ ἔφη ψᾶρες καὶ κολοιοὶ κλάζοντες, cf. also the view on the etymological relation between κολοιός and κλάζειν given by Etymologicum Magnum: Κολῳός· ὁ θόρυβος· ἢ μεταφορὰ ἀπὸ τοῦ κολοιοῦ, ὃ ἐστὶ θορυβῶδες καὶ κραυγαστικὸν ὄρνεον. Ἀπὸ τοῦ κλώ, τὸ φωνῶ καὶ κλάζω, γίνεται κλῶς καὶ πλεονασμῷ κολοιός· κρακτικὸν γὰρ τὸ ζῶον. The cries of the small birds in Il. 17, 756 are indicative of their panic (cf. M. W. Edwards, *The Iliad: A Commentary*, vol. 5: books 17–20, Cambridge 1991, 137, on Il. 17, 755–759), and they reflect the enemies' fear of Hector and Aeneas; Triphiodorus' Trojans have no reason to panic, so in the present simile the birds' cries either stand for their own sake without reflecting any exclamation from the Trojans, or they designate shouts of amazement and admiration, in which case the reversal of the Homeric model is even sharper.

<sup>15</sup> A. W. James, *Some Examples of Imitation in the Similes of Later Greek Epic*, *Antichthon* 3 (1969), 77–90 has collected and commented upon poetic passages referring to cranes, including Triphiodorus' lines, and investigated the degree of their dependence on Homer and on each other; several of them had been already noted by J. Merrick in his editions of Triphiodorus: *The Destruction of Troy*, Oxford 1739, 69 and *Τρυφιδιώδωρου Ἰλίου Ἰλωσις*, Oxford 1741, 51/52; cf. also Weinberger (n. 1), 141. In his comment on Tr. 352–357 Gerlaud (n. 1, 138) cited epigrammatically the passages with crane similes, basically repeating James' passages. Ferrari too (n. 1, 38) mentioned briefly Triphiodorus' debt to Homer, also arguing that the poet borrowed from Quintus the idea of the farmers' detestation; granted however, that Quintus' priority is far from certain (cf. above, n. 1), the opposite can be true perfectly well. Cf. below nn. 17 and 20.



Τρῶες μὲν κλαγγῇ τ' ἐνοπῇ τ' ἴσαν, ὄρνιθες ὤς,  
 ἤντε περ κλαγγῇ γεράνων πέλει οὐρανόθι πρό,  
 αἶ τ' ἐπεὶ οὖν χειμῶνα φύγον καὶ ἀθέσφατον ὄμβρον,  
 κλαγγῇ ταί γε πέτονται ἐπ' Ὀκεανοῖο ῥοάων,  
 ἀνδράσι Πυγμαίοισι φόνον καὶ κῆρα φέρουσαι·  
 ἤερια δ' ἄρα ταί γε κακὴν ἔριδα προφέρονται.

Triphiodorus' imitation and the variation he wreaks are not difficult to observe: the imagery and vocabulary reveal that the later poet follows closely but imaginatively as well the Homeric passage. Triphiodorus' image of cranes as companions of winter and voyagers of the Ocean who shout through the air with the specific mention to χειμα, κλαγγή, Ὀκεανός, ἠερόφωνοι is a blatant marker of his reference to the Homeric simile, which he does not, however, adopt unaltered; his *variatio* lies in the replacement of the Homeric reference to the cranes' famous association with the Pygmies<sup>16</sup> with another well-known association of the birds, their relation to the farmers who hate them, probably imitated by Quintus,<sup>17</sup> which the poet enriches with the idea of their dance<sup>18</sup> conceived as an "engraving" in the sky (ἐπογμεύουσιν), a particularly successful metaphor implying the reason of the cranes' dangerousness and hence the cause of the farmers' hatred, that is their eating the seed from the furrow, the ὄγμος;<sup>19</sup> apart from

<sup>16</sup> For the popular theme of the war between cranes and Pygmies, attested in Attic vases and in certain literary sources, see G. S. Kirk, *The Iliad: A Commentary*, vol. 1: books 1–4, Cambridge 1985, 265 (on Il. 3, 5/6).

<sup>17</sup> For the probable priority of Triphiodorus see above, n. 1. The watcher of the field is γεράνοισι ταυνοφθόγγοισι χολωθεῖς in Quintus 11, 110.

<sup>18</sup> The probable allusion to the dance called γέρανος has been repeatedly and early observed, cf. Merrick (n. 15, 1741), 52, A. W. Mair, Oppian, Colluthus, Triphiodorus, London 1928, and Gerlaud (n. 1) on Tr. 354; cf. Plut. Thes. 21, 1/2 (Theseus dances it on Delos); Luc. De Salt. 34, 18; Pollux 4, 101; Hesychius s. v. γέρανος.

<sup>19</sup> The idea of the cranes' dance in a line described as ὄγμος is borrowed from Oppian, Hal. 1, 624/625 τῆσι δ' ἄρ' ἰπταμένῃσι κατὰ στίχας εὐρέες ἔσμοί / ἤερα τε σκιάουσι καὶ ἄλλυτον ὄγμον ἔχουσιν, as already observed by Merrick (n. 15, 1741, 51). For the association of cranes and farmers cf. Hes. Op. 448–451; James (n. 15, 90) holds that Triphiodorus' phrasing "seems to reflect Hesiod rather than Homer"; this view, based on isolated verbal similarities, is disputable because, as is argued in the present paper, the association between Triphiodorus' and Homer's passages is strongly suggested by the wider network of contextual correspondences the verbal parallels are placed in. Now in Hesiod the appearance of cranes announces the arrival of winter and "hurts the heart" of the farmers who do not have oxen, since, as the Scholiast observes, they will not be able to sow and to plough; James (ibid.) and Gerlaud (n. 1) in his comment on Tr. 355 miss the point, assuming that the cranes' arrival distresses the farmers because it marks the advent of winter and the season of toil; Gerlaud cites the Hesiodic passage and Aristoph. Av. 710 where no such thing is stated however: on the contrary Aratus (1075–1079) remarks that the farmers are happy to see the cranes because the birds introduce the season of their

Homer, Triphiodorus' phrasing is influenced by Aratus and Oppian.<sup>20</sup> Exactly as happens in the previous instance of bird simile used to describe the Trojans' reaction towards the Horse, here too the Homeric circumstances are reversed: Iliad's Trojans come to the battle-field in perfect consciousness of reality and of the opponents they will confront, crying like cranes, with the clamor of war (κλαγγή); on the contrary Triphiodorus' Trojans, unaware of the true situation and of their enemies' impending attack, cry a κλαγγή<sup>21</sup> which is a shout of joy and a celebration of peace and freedom which they erroneously think they have attained; however later in Triphiodorus κλαγγή will acquire its deadly significance (610 τῶν μὲν κλαγγῆ φόνον ἔπνεεν). An element of neat correspondence is the Achaeans' silence, contrasting the Trojans' cries in the opening scene of Iliad 3, 8 οἱ δ' ἄρ' ἴσαν σιγῇ μένεα πνείοντες Ἀχαιοί; being essential to the successful outcome of the ambush, the silence of the Greeks in the Wooden Horse, sketched with an elaborate simile by Triphiodorus in Il. 189–199, is, needless to say, kept throughout the execution of their plan and naturally retained also in the midst of the Trojans' revelries; the absolute necessity of retaining this silence results to Odysseus' deadly seizing of Anticlus' mouth when the latter tried to respond to Helen's devious effort to make the warriors in the Horse betray themselves by calling their wives' names (Tr. 469–486), an echo of Menelaus' account to Telemachus in the Odyssey (see above, n. 1).

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work. In fact the reason why farmers hate cranes (cf. the watcher of the field who gets angry at cranes in Quintus 11,110/111) is because they eat the seed from the furrow during ploughing, cf. Diod. Sic. 6,32; Babrius 1,13; Theocr. 10,30/31; Antipater Sidonius AP 7,172, 1/2 ἀρπάκτειραν ... / σπέρματος ... γέρανον; cf. A. Pischinger, *Der Vogelzug bei den griechischen Dichtern*, Eichstätt 1904, 26/27. A. S. F. Gow, *Theocritus*, Cambridge 1952, 2, 201 and R. Hunter, *Theocritus, A Selection*, Cambridge 1999, 208 observe that apart from the seed the crane is also interested in the worms and insects the plough uncovers.

<sup>20</sup> Cf. Oppian Hal. 1,621 ὑπιπετής γεράνων χορὸς ἔρχεται ἠεροφώνων (James [n. 15], 90 remarks that the mention of the cranes' dance does not necessarily show an influence by Oppian on Triphiodorus, but might be a coincidence, referring to the historical dance called γέρανος; however the scholar is inclined to accept that Triphiodorus "reflects" Oppian); in addition Triphiodorus may also have in mind Aratus 1031 γεράνων μακραὶ στίχες. Quintus' ἠέρι πεπταμένας δολιχὰς στίχας (11,114) and κλαγγηδόν (11,116) echo primarily Aratus, probably in combination with Triphiodorus; cf. also Stat. Theb. 5,13/14, and, for the survival of the motif, Dante, *Div. Com.*, *Inferno* 5, 46/47: E come i gru van cantando lor lai, / faccendo in aere di sè l u n g a r i g a, etc.

<sup>21</sup> Note the derivation of κλαγγή from κλάζειν, cf. Kirk (n. 16), 264 (on Il. 3,3–5) and above, n. 14; a subtle association of this bird simile and the previously discussed one with the jackdaws who scream (Tr. 249 περικλάζουσι κολισοί) is thus implied and a common framing of the Trojans' presentation is skilfully built. In Il. 2,463, a passage discussed below, the birds move κλαγγηδόν.

One more interesting detail of Triphiodorus' passage deserves attention. The poet highlights the Trojans' fallacy by applying the words κλαγγή and κυδοιμός to their noisy festivity (356), κυδοιμός bearing particularly sinister connotations, since it signifies the tumult of the battle, and, in a personified sense, it is also the companion of Enyo, the goddess of war: like κλαγγή (610, see above), κυδοιμός too will take its fatal meaning later in Triphiodorus, 597 σπερχόμενοι μάστιγι φιλαγρύπνοιο κυδοιμοῦ (of the Achaeans' destructive mania when they take Troy). Now Triphiodorus 356 recalls a Homeric line describing the Trojans' clamor when they realise that Rhesus was killed and his horses were secretly stolen in the night by the Greeks, Il. 10, 523 Τρώων δὲ κλαγγή τε καὶ ἄσπετος ὦρτο κυδοιμός: Triphiodorus' conscious reference to this passage is stressed by the Homeric metrical position in which he places the words κλαγγή and κυδοιμός, words which are combined together only in these two loci in the whole extant poetry. The echoing vocabulary emphatically implies the antithesis and correspondence, at the same time, between the two situations: in Il. 10, 523 the unsuspecting Trojans suddenly become conscious of their mishap, brought about by the trickery of Odysseus and Diomedes, and react with noise and confusion;<sup>22</sup> on the contrary Triphiodorus' Trojans make cheerful noise because they ignore – and will ignore till too late – another trickery of the Greeks, fatal this time, in which Odysseus also plays a key role. The correspondence of the two opposite situations ('noisy' knowledge and alert after the destructive deception in the Iliad, 'noisy' ignorance of the destructive deception, an ignorance rendering possible its success in Triphiodorus) is further stressed by the idea of darkness Triphiodorus uses to describe the Trojans' ignorance, 310/311 σχέτιον ἀφραδέων μερόπων γένος, οἷσιν ὀμίχλη / ἄσκοπος ἐσσομένων, acquiring a further significance when seen as recalling the dark night during which the Greeks deceived the Trojans in Iliad ten, cf. 10, 142 νύκτα δι' ἀμβροσίην, 468 διὰ νύκτα μέλαιναν. Of course it is also night, the likely environment of such a deception's attainment, when the Greeks' guile is actually completed and Troy is taken in Triphiodorus (452/453), but one more level of meaning can be discerned in the poet's reference to the darkness keeping the Trojans from realising and averting disaster in 310/311: it is the natural night that enabled the Homeric Greeks to accomplish their wile in Iliad ten, whereas it is the mental night of their opponents that enables Triphiodorus' Greeks to accomplish theirs.<sup>23</sup> It is also worth

<sup>22</sup> κυδοιμός can be interpreted as 'noise' as well as 'confusion' more generally, cf. Il. 11, 52 and 538, 18, 218 and Photius s. v. θόρυβος, ταραχος. In Il. 18, 535 the sense is personified, see R. J. Cunliffe, *A lexicon of the Homeric Dialect*, London 1924, s. v. (240); H. Ebeling, *Lexicon Homericum*, Leipzig 1885, s. v. (926).

<sup>23</sup> The Homeric Trojans delay to see what has happened and come to knowledge only by Apollo who does watch (οὐδ' ἀλασκοπιήν εἶχ' ἀργυρότοξος Ἀπόλλων, Il. 10, 515) and

noting that Triphiodorus' comparison of Odysseus and Menelaus with wild wolves as they attack Deiphobus' house during the sack has a parallel in the description of the pursuit of Dolon by the Greek pair of destroyers, Odysseus and Diomedes, in Iliad ten: Tr. 615 *καρχαλέοισι λύκοισιν ἑοικότες, οἷθ' ὑπὸ νύκτα / χειμερίην φονόωντες, κτλ.*, 625 *θήρας δειμαλέους ἐλάων (ἐλάφους suggested by older critics) ἔδαίξεν Ὀδυσσεύς, Il. 10,360/361 ὡς δ' ὅτε καρχαρόδοντε δῦω κύνε, εἰδότε θήρης, / ἢ κεμάδ' ἠὲ λαγῶν ἐπείγετον ἔμμενές αἰεῖ, κτλ.* Although there are other Homeric passages with comparison of the foemen to wild wolves cited by critics commenting on Tr. 615–617, this one has escaped their attention (probably because it involves dogs and not wolves) while it can be regarded as providing the most pointed parallel: only here, among all Homeric passages, we have two Greeks who carry out a guileful mission which takes place at night and has a successful result, as happens in Triphiodorus, Odysseus being the common party in both cases.<sup>24</sup>

In Triphiodorus 316/317 we read that as they welcomed and led in a procession the Horse into their city, the Trojans made wreaths and crowned it; they “gathered flowers from the dewy Simoeis and crowned the neck of their slayer”. The passage runs thus (316–319):

ἄνθεα δὲ δροσόεντος ἀμησάμενοι Σιμόεντος  
 ἔστεφον αὐχενίους πλοκάμους σφετέρωιο φονῆος.  
 γαῖα δὲ χαλκείοισιν ἐρεικομένη περὶ κύκλοις  
 δεινὸν ὑπεβρυχάτο, κτλ.

The variant *ποταμοῖο* in 316, obvious a gloss of *Σιμόεντος*,<sup>25</sup> is accepted by Mair (n. 18), while Gerlaud (n. 1) and Livrea (Henricus Livrea, *Triphiodorus, Ilii Excidium*, Leipzig 1982) print *Σιμόεντος*. Dubielzig (n. 1), the most recent

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arouses a nephew of Rhesus who in his turn alerts the Trojans. Triphiodorus' choice of the term *ἄσκοπος* (311) in his description of human ignorance is perhaps intentionally echoing the Homeric (οὐδ') *ἀλασκοπιή* of Apollo's vigilance; cf. also Poseidon in Il. 14, 135.

<sup>24</sup> Of course the guile in Triphiodorus is not brought about only by Odysseus and Menelaus but this pair anyway acts within a guileful plan. Gerlaud (n. 1, 162, on 615–617, 615, 616) cites Il. 4, 471; 11, 72; 16, 352–355 (comparison of one or both fighting sides with wolves, 16, 352 also cited as a parallel by Ferrari [n. 1], 56); 16, 156 (comparison of the Myrmidons with wolves); 15, 323–327 (comparison of Hector and Apollo rattling and defeating the Greeks with two wild beasts attacking a herd). Gerlaud (162, on 616) aptly cites a line from Iliad ten as a model for a line of Triphiodorus' passage under examination: Tr. 616 *ἀσημάντις ἐπὶ μήλις* (the Trojans killed by Odysseus and Menelaus) echoes Il. 10, 485 *μήλοισιν ἀσημάντοισιν ἐπελθῶν* (Rhesus' Thracians killed by Diomedes). The correspondence makes plausible the assumption that Triphiodorus had in mind the circumstances of Iliad ten and elegantly hinted at it skilfully embedding certain of its elements in the episodes of his story.

<sup>25</sup> See also Gerlaud (n. 1), 87.

editor of the poem, adopts an earlier conjecture by Gerlaud, *πεδίοιο*, arguing that the attested expression is “dew of the river”, *ποταμία δρόσος*, rather than “dewy river” and that it is impossible to speak of gathering flowers “from the river”, while *δροσόεν πεδίον* is paralleled primarily in Triphiodorus (154), cf. also Ap. Rh. 1, 1282 (Dubielzig 180–182, on 316). The first objection is the weakest, since it is not only possible, but also expected from a poet of late Antiquity to alter the common phrase changing the noun into an adjective and the opposite.<sup>26</sup> Now the second difficulty deserves further attention. On the one hand one could argue that poetic license allows Triphiodorus to speak of the river as if it were its banks, which are typically full of flowers, cf. for instance Schol. on Aristoph. Ran. 244 *κύπειρον καὶ φελεύς εἶδη εἰσὶν ἀνθέων φυόμενα παρὰ χεῖλη ποταμῶν*. And of course the rivers of Troy are in the midst of flowery meadows, as we hear in Il. 2, 467 *ἐν λειμῶνι Σκαμανδρίῳ ἀνθεμόεντι*, so that the boldness of the paradox is appeased as the river and its prairie are closely connected. Interesting in this respect is Eustathius’ interpretation of the adjective *ἠίοεις* in his comment on Il. 5, 36 *ἐπ’ ἠίοεντι Σκαμάνδρω*, “on the banks of Scamander”: *ἐνταῦθα δὲ καὶ τὸν Σκάμανδρον ἠίοεντα λέγει διὰ τὰ περι αὐτόν, ὡς εἰκός, ὄχθῶδη αἰγιαλοῦ δίκην, ἵνα εἴη συγκοπεῖς ἐκ τοῦ ἠιονόεις. ἠιονέες γὰρ οἱ αἰγιαλοί. δύναται δὲ καὶ ἀπὸ ἄνθους τοῦ ἴου εἶναι πλεονασμῶ τοῦ ἠἰόεις, οἰοῦναι ὁ ἀνθηρός, διὰ τὸν προρρηθέντα ἐκέισε ἀνθεμόεντα λειμῶνα*. Eustathius suggests the derivation of the adjective either from *ἠίων* (bank), or from *ἴον*, justifying this etymology by the richness of the vegetation near the river’s banks; the same explanations were already offered by Herodian (3, 2, 257 Lentz, *ἠίων* or *ἴον*), followed by *Etymologicum Magnum* s. v.<sup>27</sup> So river and prairie (and par excellence Scamander and the Trojan plain) are inextricably associated in the thought of ancient writers and Triphiodorus can perfectly well use the name of the river to designate the meadow around it. But this is not all. By his metaphorical expression and his enclosure of line 316 between the noun (*ἄνθεα*) and the genitive depending on it (*Σιμόεντος*) the poet hints playfully to a Homeric passage narrating how a Trojan youth, son of an Anthemion, called Simoeisios because his mother gave birth to him beside the banks of Simoeis, was killed by Ajax (Il. 4, 473–489).

<sup>26</sup> For the common phrase *ποταμία δρόσος* cf. Eur. Hipp. 78, 127; Hel. 1384. Castiglioni (n. 1, 517) unnecessarily suspected an enallage, holding that the poet had in mind *ἄνθεα δροσόεντα* (cf. also Ferrari [n. 1], 100/101). Castiglioni compared Nonnus D. 11, 175 *δροσεροῖς πετάλοισι*.

<sup>27</sup> *Grammatici Graeci*, ed. A. Lentz, Leipzig 1870 (Hildesheim 1965). – Also eloquent, as regards the inextricable association of river and the flowers on its bank, is the noun *ἄνθηρα*, denoting both the raised bank of a river and a “border” for plants and flowers (LSJ s. v.), and in addition, flowers as well, according to the Scholiast of Orpian, cf. schol. on 4, 319 *Ἀνθήροισι: ἄνθεσις, αἰγιαλοῖς: ἄνθηρα κυρίως τὰ χεῖλη τῶν ποταμῶν ... νῦν δὲ σημαίνει τοὺς αἰγιαλοὺς καὶ τὰ ἐκέισε βρύα, καλεῖ δὲ ταῦτα ἄνθη*.

So our poet's "flowers of Simoeis" is a witty reversal of the Homeric name with the tempting poetic potential "Simoeisios of the Flower", Ἄνθεμίδην Σιμοείσιον in Il. 4, 488,<sup>28</sup> which belongs to a victim of the Greeks through the hint to whom Triphiodorus' doctus reader is once again reminded of the impending disaster. Apart from this allusive jeu de mots adeptly conveying Homeric overtones, Triphiodorus is also referring to ἔσταν δ' ἐν λειμῶνι Σκαμανδρίῳ ἀνθεμόεντι of Il. 2, 467, as is indicated by his neat variation of this Homeric expression too with the phrase ἄνθεα ... δροσόεντος ... Σιμόεντος which implies with an elliptical elegance the idea of a λειμῶν. Furthermore, the reminiscence of the Homeric passage is all the more manifest through the account of earth's roar under the weight of the Horse in the immediately following lines, Tr. 318/319: exactly the same image is described in the lines preceding Il. 2, 467, that is 465/466. This part of the second book of the Iliad belongs to the introduction of the Catalogue of the Greek ships, and Homer, comparing the Greek army with "many tribes of winged birds", describes their arrival at Scamander's plain, earth "resounding terribly" beneath the feet of men and horses, until they finally stand on the "flowery meadow of Scamander" (Il. 2, 459–468):

Τῶν δ', ὡς τ' ὀρνίθων πετεηνῶν ἔθνεα πολλά,  
 260 χηνῶν ἢ γεράνων ἢ κύκνων δουλιχοδείρων,  
 Ἄσιῳ ἐν λειμῶνι, Καῦστρίου ἀμφὶ ῥέεθρα,  
 ἔνθα καὶ ἔνθα ποτῶνται ἀγαλλόμενα πετερυγέσσι,  
 κλαγγηδὸν προκαθίζόντων, σμαραγεῖ δέ τε λειμῶν,  
 ὡς τῶν ἔθνεα πολλὰ νεῶν ἄπο καὶ κλισιάων  
 265 ἐς πεδῖον προχέοντο Σκαμάνδριον· αὐτὰρ ὑπὸ χθῶν  
 σμερδαλέον κονάβιζε ποδῶν αὐτῶν τε καὶ ἵππων.  
 ἔσταν δ' ἐν λειμῶνι Σκαμανδρίῳ ἀνθεμόεντι  
 μῦρισι, ὅσσα τε φύλλα καὶ ἄνθεα γίγνεται ὦρη.

Once more Triphiodorus achieves a skilful reversal of the Homeric situation: he makes the flowery meadow of the Trojan river (Simoeis instead of Scamander for reasons of *variatio* and for the allusion to Il. 4, 488, just discussed)

<sup>28</sup> The association of the youth with flowers is further stressed by Homer's attribution of the adjective θαλερός to him, Il. 4, 474. The imagery of the simile Homer uses to describe Simoeisios' death is also inspired by the flora near the river: he fell by the spear like a poplar-tree grown up in a marsh cut up by the iron and collapses ποταμοῖο παρ' ὄχθας (Il. 4, 482–487), cf. Eustathius on Il. 4, 482–484 ἠΐθεον θαλερὸν Σιμοείσιον εἰκάζει φυτῷ ὕδατοτρεφεῖ. Homer exploits playfully the possibilities the name of the youth offers him, and perhaps invents the name to provide a basis for the story of his birth, see Kirk (n. 16), 389. Another Trojan killed by Menelaus is Scamandrius, Il. 5, 49–51; Scamandrius is also the name of Hector's son, called by the Trojans Astyanax, Il. 6, 402/403.



receive the cheerful Trojans who foolishly celebrate the end of the war and presents earth “roaring terribly” under the weight of the Horse, the destructor of Troy which its inhabitants introduce into their city unaware of its true quality; the Homeric flowery meadow of Scamander receives, on the contrary, the enemies’ troops who make earth produce the same horrible noise, the repetition of which in Triphiodorus is already an ominous anticipation of the fatal outcome.<sup>29</sup> And the comparison of the Greeks with birds including cranes in this Iliadic passage could be seen as partially inspiring, together with another Homeric crane simile already discussed, the crane comparison used for the Trojans a little later (Tr. 352–357; cf. the κλαγγηδόν with the inimical connotations of Il. 2,463, in regard to Trojans’ joyful κλαγγή of Tr. 356, discussed above), actually in the lines finishing the description of the Horse’s reception into Troy. So the attributes of Homer’s Greeks are transferred to the Trojans in Triphiodorus and the result of the Greeks’ act (causing the earth’s roaring) is transferred to the result of the Trojans’ act (introduction of the Horse); thus by reversely repeating the Homeric circumstances and by replacing the Greeks with the Trojans as agents of the action, the later poet emphasizes once more the Trojans’ own responsibility for their fate, a pivotal idea in the poem,<sup>30</sup> pointedly stressed here with the tragic irony of Tr. 317, ἔστεφον ἀρχενίους πλοκάμους σφετέραιο φονῆος. And the earth’s groan is caused by the heaviness of the Horse, one more element of contrasting correspondence between Homer and Triphiodorus: the danger for Troy in the Iliad is the mass of the enemies, while in Triphiodorus the multitude is replaced by the one object (containing few τελειότατοι πολεμισταί, Tr. 385) which will in fact accomplish what the huge numbers of Homeric warriors never did.

<sup>29</sup> It is interesting that Homer refers again to the earth’s groan under the feet of the Greek army and their settlement in the plain, in a recapitulation of the march presented in the beginning of the Catalogue at the end of the Catalogue, Il. 2,781–785 γαῖα δ’ ὑπεστενάχιζε Διὶ ὧς τερπικεράων / χωομένῳ ... ὧς ἄρα τῶν ὑπὸ ποσὶ μέγα στεναχίζετο γαῖα / ἐρχομένων· μάλα δ’ ὄκα διέπρησσον πεδίοιο; thus the presentation of the troops is enclosed in the idea of the earth’s roar caused by the Greeks’ multitude which is stressed also in the introduction of the Catalogue; 2,468 μυριοὶ ὅσσα τε φύλλα καὶ ἄνθεα γίνετα ὄρη (for Homer’s emphasis on the Greeks’ multitude cf. Kirk [n. 16], 164/165, on Il. 2, 467/468 and 469–473).

<sup>30</sup> Cf. 138 ἔον κακὸν ἀμφαγαπῶντες, 314/315 οὐδέ τις ἀνδρῶν / ἦδεεν οὐνεκα λάβρον ἐφέλκετο πένθος ἄλαστον, 376–378 τίνα τούτων ἀνάρισον ἵππον ἄγοντες / δαμόνοιο μαινέσθε καὶ ὕσατιν ἐπὶ νύκτα / σπεύδετε καὶ πολέμοιο πέρασ καὶ νήγρετον ὕπνον; Cf. M. Paschalis, Pandora and the Wooden Horse: A Reading of Triphiodorus’ “Ἄλωσις Ἰλίου, in: M. Paschalis (ed.), Roman and Greek Imperial Epic, Rethymnon 2005 (Rethymnon Classical Studies 2), 92–96, exploring Triphiodorus’ emphasis on the deceitful Achaeans’ gift in regard to Pandora, the gods’ deceitful gift to mankind in Hesiod.

In Triphiodorus' next scene we see Cassandra rush out of the palace and run across the city delivering her ill-omened prophecies in her effort to alert the Trojans for the fact that they are introducing into Troy the Horse in which enemies are hidden and which will soon bring calamity (Tr. 358–416). Cassandra's only Homeric appearance is Il. 24, 699–706, where she goes up to the highest point of the city, being the first to see her father returning to Troy with Hector's body, and summons the Trojans. Triphiodorus has this memorable scene in mind; this is suggested by the general resemblance of situation together with the echo of Il. 24, 703 *κώκυσέν τ' ἄρ' ἔπειτα γέγωνέ τε πᾶν κατὰ ἄστρῳ* in Tr. 367 *πάντη δ' ἔβρυχᾶτο κατὰ πτόλιν*, as has been already observed.<sup>31</sup> Now one more Homeric *τειχοσκοπία* can be recognised as a model for this scene. Triphiodorus compares Cassandra to a maenad (369–375), cf. especially 374/375 *Κασσάνδρη θεόφοιτος ἐμαίνετο· πυκνὰ δὲ χαίτην / κοπτομένη καὶ στέρνον ἀνίαχε μαινάδι φωνῇ*. As has been noted, Cassandra is often presented as a bacchant in Euripides' Trojan Women; in art she also appears with loose hair.<sup>32</sup> In Il. 22, 460/461 Andromache is compared to a maenad with a strikingly unusual expression:

ὡς φαμένη μεγάροιο διέσσυτο μαινάδι ἴση,  
παλλομένη κραδίην·

Il. 22, 460 alludes to the words of the housekeeper in book six of the Iliad, reporting to Hector his wife's departure from the palace for the wall, *μαιομένη εἰκυῖα* (6, 389).<sup>33</sup> In Il. 22, 460 Andromache still ignores Hector's death; she is terrified by the cries she hears (22, 447) and decides to go and see what happened fearing that her husband might have been killed by Achilles (22, 455–459). Homer's sketching of Andromache's ignorance is admired by ancient scholiasts as a skilful device of provocation of sympathy revealing the poet's

<sup>31</sup> Cf. Campbell (n. 4), 178. Ferrari (n. 1, 90) remarks that the phrase recalls the Homeric dying warriors (Il. 13, 393; 16, 486 *βεβρυχώς*) and Apollonius' Medea (4, 19 *γοερῆ βρυχήσατ' ἀνίη*).

<sup>32</sup> Eur. Tr. 170; 307; 341; 349; 367; 500; 677, also Hec. 121; 676, see Leone (n. 1), 88, Gerlaud (n. 1), 139; for her maenad-like loose hair cf. also Ovid, Her. 5, 113ff.; Am. 1, 9, 37/38, see J. Davreux, *La légende de la prophétesse Cassandre*, Liège 1942, 61/62; for her depiction in art with loose hair, notably in Etruscan monuments, see Davreux 62. Cassandra is described like a furious bacchant (shaking, her eyes rolling, etc.) and is actually called a *maenas* also in Seneca's Ag. 710–719, cf. Campbell (n. 4), 182 (on Quintus, Posthom. 12, 535–539).

<sup>33</sup> See Ch. Segal, *Andromache's Anagnorisis: Formulaic Artistry in Iliad 22.437–476*. HSCPh 75 (1971), 33–57 (47/48); N. Richardson, *The Iliad: A Commentary*, vol. VI: books 21–24, Cambridge 1993, 156 (on 22, 460); for a detailed analysis of the correspondence of the episodes in Il. 6 and 22 see Richardson 152–154. For the resemblance of Cassandra's scene in Iliad twenty-four with Helen's and Andromache's *τειχοσκοπία* in the Iliad see Richardson 348 (on Il. 24, 699–702).

remarkable ability in psychography and production of dramatic effect.<sup>34</sup> Now the fact that in parallel to the Cassandra of tragedy Triphiodorus has in mind the Homeric Andromache as well is indicated by the general correspondence of situation in combination to specific details common to both passages: in both cases a Trojan woman rushes out of the palace alerted by a stimulus announcing ills for herself and for Troy and proceeds with a speech combining lament and prediction of forthcoming evils (Il. 22,477–514, Tr. 376–416); both women are compared to maenads; Andromache hastens outside *παλλομένη κραδίην* (Il. 22,461) and Cassandra is described as *πλαζομένη κραδίην* too (Tr. 366, the intensity of the echo reinforced by the same metrical position, at verse-opening).<sup>35</sup> Now shortly after her arrival at the wall Andromache realises Hector's death and casts away her veil and other head ornaments (22,468–470);<sup>36</sup> Triphiodorus' Cassandra beats hair and breast (374/375) and has her head uncovered, an outfit emphasised through comparison to a bacchant who “shakes her naked head dark-garlanded with ivy”, *γυμνὸν ἐπισσείουσα κάρη κυνάμπυκι κισσῶ* (372); the rare *κυνάμπυκι* can be regarded as recalling Andromache's *ἄμπυκα* (Il. 22,469)<sup>37</sup> which Triphiodorus replaces with the “improper” ivy *ἄμπυξ* of an imaginary bacchant. Subsequently Andromache delivers a speech of lament including a prophecy for her son, in which she foresees his maltreatment at the hands of the other children as he will be an orphan (22,490–506), if he actually

<sup>34</sup> See Richardson (prev. note), 154. A Homeric Scholiast on Il. 17,401/402 compares Andromache's ignorance of Hector's death with Achilles' ignorance of Patroclus' death 17,401/402 and with Dolon's illusion about the identity of Odysseus and Diomedes following him at Il. 10,355/356. The association of Andromache's and Dolon's unawareness of the truth in the thought of ancient readers is all the more significant if seen in regard to the fact that the Trojans' ignorance in book ten of the Iliad has offered Triphiodorus a literary precedent to which he has skilfully alluded in his presentation of his Trojans' lack of understanding in 356/357 in his crane simile, as has already been argued in the present paper. In other words, together with many other readers, Triphiodorus too noticed the two instances of the Trojans' tragic ignorance in the Iliad (the Trojans' in book ten, Andromache's in book twenty-two) and used echoes from both occasions for the depiction of the same state of mind (or its opposite, in Cassandra's case) of the Trojans in his work.

<sup>35</sup> The phrase also occurs at verse-opening in Moschus' *Europa* (17) and in Quintus 13,115, but the contexts there are completely different; Triphiodorus' is the only passage in which both circumstances and phrasing are comparable.

<sup>36</sup> As Hecuba did a little earlier, when she saw her dead son being dragged by Achilles, Il. 22,405–407 (*ἦ δέ νυ μήτηρ / τίλλε κόμην, ἄπο δὲ λιπαρὴν ἔρριψε καλύπτρην / τηλόσε*), a passage which probably influenced, together with the Andromache scene, H. Dem. 40/41, where Demeter tears her head-dress as soon as she hears her daughter's cry (Richardson [n. 33], 149, on Il. 22,406/407). Richardson (156, on 468–472) considers more likely that Andromache's head-dress fell off as she fainted than that she threw it away like Hecuba.

<sup>37</sup> *κυνάμπυξ* at Pind. fr. 29,3; Bacchyl. fr. Dith. 4,15; Theocr. 17,67; Nonnus D. 6,114.

survives (ἦνπερ γὰρ πόλεμόν γε φύγη πολύδακρυν Ἀχαιῶν, 487). Thus Andromache acquires clairvoyance for a while but still she does so deficiently: she is the last to conceive the truth, and her prophecy, although roughly correct, will prove inaccurate in its details, as the feared danger of the premature death of Astyanax will in fact come true and the child will not live as an orphan.<sup>38</sup> So with a contrasting correspondence to the at first conventionally veiled and ignorant Homeric Andromache who speeds out of the palace alerted in view of the (obvious) evil late comprehended by her, passively laments for what has already happened, and sees the future only partly, Triphiodorus' Cassandra is presented unveiled from the beginning – having cast away her κρήδεμνον earlier, or more probably not wearing one at all, as becomes this exceptional creature –,<sup>39</sup> rushes

<sup>38</sup> I refer of course to the 'truth' known by the reader/Triphiodorus, and not to any 'actual' truth, since it is probable that the story about the death of Astyanax was formed according to the Homeric Andromache's more pessimistic later auguring (Il. 24, 732–738), stating that her son will either follow her in slavery or he will be fatally thrown from the walls of Troy by some Achaean; it is this version which perhaps gave birth to later legends (see Richardson [n. 33], 354, on 22, 734–739).

<sup>39</sup> Cassandra is not wearing the usual maidens' wear, the κρήδεμνον, most prominent among Andromache's ornaments, which falls off her head/is thrown away, and which occupies the most extensive description in the Homeric passage, being Aphrodite's present to Hector's bride (Il. 22, 470–472). Gerlaud (n. 1, 140, on Tr. 372) comments that Triphiodorus' bacchant does not wear either the bacchants' usual ornaments or the maidens' usual veil. D. R. Kardulias, *Odysseus in Ino's Veil: Feminine Headdress and the Hero in Odyssey 5*, TAPhA 131 (2001), 23–51 (32) aptly observes that women who wear a κρήδεμνον in Homer are those who possess αἰδώς or χάρις; this conclusion is reinforced by Triphiodorus' statement that Cassandra, not heeding to parents or friends, was forsaken by virginal modesty, λίπεν δὲ ἐπαθένος αἰδώς (368), the assertion followed by her comparison to the maenad of the γυμνὸν κάρη (372). The possible assumption that, apart from the Homeric scene, the poet may have also in mind Cassandra's throwing away her prophetic tokens, including her garlands, μαντεῖα στέφη, in her famous appearance in Agamemnon (1264–1267) seems too far-fetched. It is interesting to note that Colluthus (389/390) has Cassandra tear her hair and throw away her head cover when she sees Paris arriving at Troy with Helen, πυκνὰ δὲ τίλλε κόμην, χρυσεῖν δ' ἔρριψε καλύπτρην/Κασσάνδρην νεόφοιτον ἀπ' ἀκροπόλης ἰδοῦσα. S. Kotseleni, *Colluthus, The Rape of Helen, A Stylistic Commentary* (PhD Thesis, King's College, University of London 1990), 318 briefly remarks on Κασσάνδρην νεόφοιτον "oppositio in imitatio of Triph. 374 Κασσάνδρην νεόφοιτος". P. Orsini, *Collouthos, L'Enlèvement d'Hélène*, Paris 1972, xxvi/xxvii had suggested that Colluthus is thinking of the scene of Agamemnon; without excluding this possibility, however, we observe that Colluthus is closer to Triphiodorus, with a Cassandra reacting violently with a movement affecting her head (χαίτην/κοπτομένη, Tr. 374/375) when she sees the destruction coming into the city in both cases (the Horse in Triphiodorus, Paris and Helen in Colluthus). Moreover Colluthus does not mention Aeschylus' prophetic tokens: on the contrary his reference to hair and head is closer to Cassandra's nudeness of head and beating of hair of Triphiodorus (372, 374/375) and also points to Triphiodorus' model, the Homeric Andromache's casting away of her

out of the palace alerted in view of the (intelligible only to her) evil, delivers a speech of prediction/lament for future events<sup>40</sup> she infallibly prophesies, has permanent consciousness of the truth and clearness of insight and energetically tries to prevent disaster, though ultimately she proves as powerless as Andromache: it is significant that in Iliad six (431–434) Andromache too had tried in vain to change Hector's mind. Both Andromache in Iliad six and Triphiodorus' Cassandra strove but have been unable to avert the danger (Hector's participation in the battle, reception of the Horse into Troy respectively) and are sent back to the palace by a male authority (Hector and Priam respectively) where they weep for the disaster which has not occurred yet (Hector's death, the sack of Troy respectively) but which they both deem certain (Il. 6, 501/502 οὐ γάρ μιν ἔτ' ἔφαντο ὑπὸ τροπον ἐκ πολέμοιο / ἴξεσθαι, προφυγόντα μένος καὶ χεῖρας Ἀχαιῶν, Tr. 442 κλαίειν ἐπισταμένη τὸν ἐὸν μόρον).<sup>41</sup> Now Triphiodorus' adaptation

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head covers in Iliad 22. But more importantly Cassandra's reaction in Colluthus is almost identical to that of Hecuba in 22, 405–407 (see above, n. 36; completely identical if we accept the conjecture ἔρριψε for the transmitted ἔρρηξε in Colluthus 389, see Orsini 19) and the author repeats Homer's phrasing almost verbatim, as the prophetess τίλλε κόμη and ἔρριψε καλύπτρην also at verse-end as in Il. 22, 406. So Colluthus has probably Triphiodorus in mind, discerning nevertheless the Homeric background of the latter's depiction combining Triphiodorus' setting with its Iliadic forerunners, mainly with the parallel scene (the scene of Hecuba) to that of Triphiodorus' model (the scene of Andromache).

<sup>40</sup> Il. 22, 477–484 is the lament of Andromache's speech. Cf. Tr. 395 ὦ μοι ἐμῶν ἀχέων, ὦ μοι σέο, πάτριον ἄστυ, 398 καὶ σέ, πάτερ καὶ μητέρα οὐδύρομαι. It is worth noting that both Homeric Andromache and Triphiodorus' Cassandra express the wish not to have been born / to have died with the object of their mourning, ὡς μὴ ὄφελλε τεκέσθαι, Il. 22, 481; Tr. 404/405 ὡς ὄφελέν τις / Ἀργείων ἐπὶ σοῖσι γόοις ὀλέσαι με καὶ αὐτήν (foreseeing Polyxena's death); for this common motif of lament see M. Alexiou, *The Ritual Lament in Greek Tradition*, Lanham 2002, 178–181.

<sup>41</sup> Hector sends Andromache back to the palace with the advice to mind the tasks appropriate to women (6, 490–493); she returns to her chamber and laments in advance with the maids (499). Il. 6, 490–493 is almost verbatim repeated in Od. 1, 356–359 and 21, 350–353, where Telemachus dismisses his mother and Penelope retires to her apartments where she starts a lamentation for Odysseus with her maids until Athena casts sleep into her eyes (Od. 1, 360–364 = 21, 354–358): Hector's words to Andromache in Iliad six are generally recognised as the model of the passages in the Odyssey, cf. (J. Russo-A. Heubeck-) M. Fernandez-Galiano, *A Commentary on Homer's Odyssey, Books XVII–XXIV*, Oxford 1992, 190 (on Od. 21, 350–353); I. De Jong, *A Narratological Commentary on the Odyssey*, Cambridge 2001, 519 (on Od. 21, 350–358). Now like Andromache of Iliad six, Cassandra too is ignored by her father (though in a brutal manner never used by gentle and understanding Hector towards his wife) in Triphiodorus 420–438 and she is led almost by force to her chamber (Tr. 439–441). There she throws herself on her bed and weeps, knowing the impending doom (441–443) which she sees as already accomplished (Tr. 442/443); similarly Andromache's "pathetic and sinister" premature mourning for Hector in Il. 6, 499–502 is a foreshadowing of her lamentations for his actual

of elements of the two Andromache scenes of the Iliad (of book twenty-two and of book six, scenes anyway corresponding to each other<sup>42</sup>) in his Cassandra scene can be regarded as indicating (though not proving, of course) that Triphiodorus preceded and influenced Quintus: the occasional similarities in image and phrasing in the two poets' presentation of Cassandra are hard to be viewed as an echo of Quintus in Triphiodorus if the Homeric scenes are indeed models for the poet of the Ἰλίου Ἄλωσις as is indicated by the similarities on a level of general design as well as on a level of details in expression and specific features of depiction. If Triphiodorus was thinking of Homer (and the comparison of both women to a maenad, together with *παλλομένη / πλαζομένη κραδίην* for one thing are strong indications of the dependence), then the nudeness of Cassandra's head

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death in 22,477ff. and 24,719ff., as Kirk (n. 16) comments on Il. 6,500. Now the image of a woman weeping on the bed is well established in poetic tradition starting from Penelope (Od. 17,102/103 = 19,595/596; 20,58); Gerlaud, omitting Homer, cites other passages, among which the most relevant is Ap. Rh. 3,655–663 (Medea); Chariton 1,1,14 (Callirhoe); Quintus 10,414 (Oenone βαρυστενάρχουσα); add also Aesch. Pers. 113 (the Persian women), Soph. Tr. 915–920 (Deianeira), Eur. Alc. 175–177 (Alcestis), Quintus 7,337 (Deidameia). However, in the heroic world men cry, too: cf. Od. 10,497 κλαῖον δ' ἐν λεχέεσσι καθήμενος (Odysseus), recalling Menelaus' reaction at the news of his brother's death in Od. 4,539 κλαῖον δ' ἐν ψαμάθοισι καθήμενος, see (A. Hoekstra-) A. Heubeck (n. 13), 69; De Jong 269 (on Od. 10,496–499); for Odysseus' weeping in the Odyssey cf. H. Monsacré, *Les Larmes d'Achille*, Paris 1984, 143–147; C. Pache, *War games: Odysseus at Troy*, HSCPh 100 (2000), 15–23 (17/18); for heroes crying in the Iliad see Monsacré 138–142, Pache 16. Although many heroes cry in Homer, we hear Eustathius commenting on Od. 20,58 ὅτι κλαυθμὸν γυναικίῳ φράζει τὸ κλαῖε δ' ἄρ ἐν λέκτροισι καθεζομένη μαλακοῖσιν, ἕως κλαίουσα κορέσσατο ὄν κατὰ θυμόν; on Od. 8,84–86 (Odysseus' covering his head out of shame of the Phaeaceans and crying when listening to Demodocus), Eustathius comments ἰστέον δὲ ὅτι δοκεῖ ἀνοικεῖον ἀνδράσι τὸ δακρῦειν, καὶ μάλιστα παρὰ ξένοις. Ὀδυσσεὺς μέντοι παρὰ τῷ υἱῷ καὶ τοῖς δούλοις οἰκείοις οὔσι κλαίει. Οὕτω δὲ καὶ Μενέλαος καὶ οἱ παρ' αὐτῷ βασιλικοὶ φίλοι παῖδες. Are we to conclude that tears are a sign of femininity in the epic? Ch. Segal, *Euripides' Alcestis: Female Death and Male Tears*, *ClAnt.* 11 (1991), 142–157 (148) argued that even if men do cry, tears are still characteristic of women both in Homer and in later literature. As D. Arnould, *Le rire et les larmes dans la littérature Grecque d'Homère à Platon*, Paris 1990, observes, the first condemnation of tears as suitable for women only comes from Archilochus fr. 13 West, and the motif is consequently taken up in tragedy, see Arnould 102–108. Needless to say these rules are not valid for a hero of the erotic novel, cf. Xen. *Ephes.* 3,9,3 Ἄβροκόμης πάνυ ἄθυμος ἦν καὶ αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τῆς εὐνῆς ῥίψαι ἔκλαιε.

<sup>42</sup> Cf. above, n. 33. It is remarkable that in both passages Andromache is compared to a bacchant and that both scenes have the same pattern in reverse order, as Richardson (n. 33, 153) appositely observes: Andromache is on the wall, returns home, laments prematurely for Hector in six: Andromache is at home, rushes to the wall and laments him in twenty-two. Triphiodorus' treatment of the Homeric scenes (with Cassandra's rushing outside, effort to persuade, lament-prophecy, dismissal back to her chambers) could be described as an *aemulatio* of the two Iliadic Andromache scenes.



and her frenzied movements, suitable to a bacchant,<sup>43</sup> is more likely to be inspired from a “bacchant” Andromache who “loses” her veil as a result of her reaction to the terrible news, rather than from Quintus’ κόμαι δὲ οἱ ἀμφιπέχυντο / ὤμοις ἀργυφέοισι μετάφρενον ἄχρις ἰοῦσαι (12, 535/536); in this case it is Quintus who perhaps models his image on Triphiodorus’ πυκνὰ δὲ χαίτην / κοπτομένη (374/375).<sup>44</sup> Elements common to Homer and Triphiodorus intensively suggestive of a Homeric background for the Cassandra scene (Andromache’s and Cassandra’s explicit comparison to a maenad, the tone of lamentation in their speeches, their dismissal back to the palace and their weeping inside) are absent in Quintus: in the *Posthomerica* the prophetess is abused by her fellow-citizens (12, 552–566) and goes further than Triphiodorus’ more Andromache-like Cassandra, as she tries to destroy the Horse with her hands, using fire and steel (12, 567–571), until stopped by the Trojans (12, 573–575). Quintus’ Cassandra strains physically, as a Homeric woman never does (as Triphiodorus’ Cassandra also never dares although she asks the citizens to destroy the Horse with axes or fire, 412/413); this behaviour, although unique in literature, is not Quintus’ own invention, as the prophetess is in fact represented in art holding an axe.<sup>45</sup> In her retreat, after her effort’s failure, and unlike Tri-

<sup>43</sup> Cf. Eur. Ba. 864/865 δέραν / αἰθέρ’ ἐς δροσερὸν ῥίπτουσα. For bacchant’s furious tossing of head see E. R. Dodds, *Euripides’ Bacchae*, Oxford<sup>2</sup>1960, 185 (on 862–865).

<sup>44</sup> Several correspondences between Triphiodorus’ Cassandra scene and Quintus’ Oenone and Cassandra scenes have been noticed already by F. Noack, *Die Quellen des Tryphiodoros*, *Hermes* 27 (1892), 452–463 (453), who followed the traditional view of Quintus’ priority (correspondences with Quintus’ Oenone scene: Tr. 359/360 – Quintus 10, 439–441, Tr. 362/363 – Quintus 10, 443/444; with Quintus’ Cassandra scene Tr. 365 and 374 – Quintus 12, 534/535, Tr. 368 – Quintus 12, 555, Tr. 375 – Quintus 12, 539). Campbell (n. 4, 180, on 530–538) holds that the similarities of the two Cassandras and the context of imagery in which these are presented are not strong enough to reveal a borrowing either way; Campbell (*ibid.*, see also 46/47) deems that it is impossible to draw conclusions on the direction of influence (if any) between the two authors and leaves open the issue of their relative dating.

<sup>45</sup> For Cassandra with the axe in art see Davreux (n. 32), 79, 132/133 and Pl. XV, fig. 30; Vian (n. 4), 70/71; *id.*, *Quintus de Smyrne, La Suite d’Homère*, vol. 3, Paris 1969, 223, n. 3; Cassandra asks the Trojans to destroy the Horse in Tr. 412/413. The frescoes demonstrate that the scene belonged to an old tradition which Virgil, Triphiodorus and Quintus used. While Quintus retains the prophetess’ act as represented in the frescoes, Virgil transfers her effort to destroy the Horse to Laocoon, and turns her axe into a spear (*Aen.* 2, 50–56), see Vian (1969), 223, n. 3; Campbell (n. 4), 176–178, *cf.* the passages given by Campbell 191 (on 567–571). Campbell (177) observes that Cassandra’s request from her fellow-citizens to destroy the Horse in Triphiodorus is reminiscent “of her function in the debate over the Horse in (Arctinus-) [Apollod.]” (*Apollod. Epit.* 5, 17 Κασάνδρας δὲ λεγούσης ἔνοπλον ἐν αὐτῷ δύναμιν εἶναι, καὶ προσέτι Λαοκόωντος τοῦ μάντεως, τοῖς μὲν ἐδόκει κατακαίειν, τοῖς δὲ κατὰ βάράθρων ἀφιέναι). However Triphiodorus does not portray such a vigorous, unconventional woman that a version of her story allows him to, as

phiodorus' Cassandra who submits to her fate confining herself to helpless lamentation in a way appropriate to a woman, Quintus' Cassandra maintains her passion as is elaborately expressed through her comparison to a pantheress, ever violent, though driven away by hounds and shepherds (12, 580–585). Though the dissimilarities in the two Cassandras' depiction cannot be regarded as proving the priority of the more 'Homeric' one, the masculinity of Quintus' Cassandra, together with the presentation of her loose hair in a tone suggesting imitation of a model (see prev. page), could perhaps reinforce the assumption that Quintus wrote after Triphiodorus (an assumption anyway formulated by consideration of independent indications),<sup>46</sup> and imply his awareness of Triphiodorus and a conscious decision to acknowledge but also to deviate from the other poet's concept.

In the present paper I have tried to demonstrate Homeric reminiscences in certain passages of Triphiodorus mainly concerning the presentation of persons who appear in the Ἰλίου Ἀλωσις: Sinon, Cassandra and the nameless crowd of the Trojans. It has been argued that they are portrayed so as to remind the reader of corresponding Homeric figures who bear common/reversed features or play a similar/opposite role: suppliant Sinon trying to convince Priam is another suppliant Odysseus cajoling Nausicaa; Cassandra recalls Andromache, being more active but finally proving equally ineffective; the throng of the Trojans are described in terms of the inimical and destructive Iliadic troops, so that Triphiodorus underlines the fatal effect of the Trojans' act and hence stresses their responsibility for their own doom. These observations can be added to the several instances of Homeric echoes in Triphiodorus already discussed by critics and can contribute to our fuller understanding of the later poet's poetical taste and imaginative treatment of epic tradition.

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Quintus indeed does; it is noteworthy that Quintus' women do occasionally display a manlike behaviour, cf. Hippodameia's or Tisiphone's (uncertain text) and the other Trojan women's impetus, aroused by the Amazons, for involvement in the war (finally abandoned) in 1, 403–446, see Dillon (n. 1), 33. A post-Homeric heroine pondering over violent destruction (of the Argo) is another highly exceptional woman, Apollonius' Medea (4, 391–393); Virgil's Trojan women also try to burn Aeneas' ships in Aen. 5, 635ff. Campbell (177) remarks that Virgil "is thinking of Cassandra's conduct at a gripping moment in the saga and applying it to an episode of his own".

<sup>46</sup> See above, n. 1.