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Laura Miguélez-Cavero

TRIPHIODORUS, ›THE SACK OF TROY‹

A GENERAL STUDY AND A COMMENTARY

TEXTE UND KOMMENTARE

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Triphiodorus, *The Sack of Troy*

TEXTE UND KOMMENTARE

Eine altertumswissenschaftliche Reihe

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Siegmar Döpp, Adolf Köhnken, Ruth Scodel

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A General Study and a Commentary

by

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“In a way, I suppose, I think of poems as a sort of animal. They have their own life, like animals, by which I mean that they seem quite separate from any person, even from their author, and nothing can be added to them or taken away without maiming and perhaps even killing them. And they have a certain wisdom. They know something special … something perhaps which we are very curious to learn” (Ted Hughes, *Poetry in the Making*, London 1967, 15).

Poems and dreams are birds of the same feather. “Ein Traum ist wie ein Tier, aber ein unbekanntes, und man übersieht nicht seine Glieder. Die Deutung ist ein Käfig, doch der Traum ist nie darin” (Elias Canetti, *Die Provinz des Menschen. Aufzeichnungen 1942–1972*, München 1973, 163).

Preface

Critical attention to Triphiodorus in the past thirty years has taken the shape of four editions (Livrea's in 1982, Gerlaud's also in 1982, Cuartero's in 1988, Dubielzig's in 1996) and a lexicon (Campbell's, in 1985). Considering that the works by Gerlaud, Cuartero and Dubielzig also offer modern translations, instructive introductions and notes, we could even think that more time and ink has been devoted to Triphiodorus than he deserves. But the last full commentary on the *Sack of Troy* was published by Wernicke in 1819, and even the most recent discussions of the poem tend to see it as a space where the influences of different authors compete for attention, a quick halt in the evolution of epic poetry on its way to Nonnus of Panopolis.

Triphiodorus clearly does not reach significant peaks of lyrical excellence, but he is still a poet with his own ideas about the Trojan War, not a simple versifier who pulls together strings from other poems. It is time now to focus on the *Sack of Troy* on its own, which is why I have tried to write a companion book to the poem, a study that makes it more accessible for the reader and helps to see it in context. Each passage is analysed in the context of the poem and of the tradition of the Trojan War, so that Triphiodorus' choices are more evident. The initial chapters aim to offer a general introduction to the author and the poem. The text of the *Sack of Troy* provided is not a new edition, only a revision of the most recent editions. Not being a native speaker, I have not dared to furnish it with an English translation.

I should like to thank the editors of the Texte und Kommentare series, Siegmar Döpp, Adolf Köhnken and especially Ruth Scodel for their acute reading notes and Benjamin Henry for revising the whole manuscript and saving me from many mistakes. Errors remain my own. Many thanks also to Katharina Legutke for not loosing sight of this book at a very busy time.

This book was made possible by two successive grants of the Spanish Ministry of Education: first a Postdoctoral Grant, supervised by the

Spanish Foundation for Science and Technology (FECYT) and by Dr. Dirk Obbink (Oxford University), and then a Juan de la Cierva Fellowship at the University of Salamanca. I have also benefited from several research projects directed by Prof. José Antonio Fernández Delgado, granted by the Spanish Ministry of Education (HUM2007–62093/FILO, FFI2010–21125) and the local government of Castilla y León (SA052A08).

I should like to dedicate this book to Julián and Julia, my constant sources of love, happiness and encouragement.

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Abbreviations

Ancient Authors

AR Apollonius Rhodius
QS Quintus of Smyrna
Triph. Triphiodorus
For other Greek authors, see the standard abbreviations in LSJ.
For Latin authors, see the standard abbreviations in P. G. W. Glare (1996), *Oxford Latin Dictionary*, Reprinted with corrections, Oxford

Papyri

Abbreviations of papyri follow the *Checklist of Editions of Greek, Latin, Demotic and Coptic Papyri, Ostraca and Tablets* (http://library.duke.edu/rubenstein/scriptorium/papyrus/texts/clist.html)
CPP (Corpus of Paraliterary Papyri) at http://cpp.arts.kuleuven.be/
LDAB (Leuven Database of Ancient Books) at http://www.trismegistos.org/ldab/
MP^3 Mertens-Pack^3 at http://promethee.philo.ulg.ac.be/cedopal/

Bibliographical Abbreviations

Bernabé *PEG*: A. Bernabé (1996), *Poetarum Epicorum Graecorum Testimonia et Fragmenta. Pars I*, Ed. correctior, Stuttgart – Leipzig
Campbell *Lex.*: M. Campbell (1985), *Lexicon in Triphiodorum*, Hildesheim
Cuartero *Triph.*: F. J. Cuartero Iborra (1988), *Trifiodor, La Presa de Troia*, Barcelona
Davies *EGF*: M. Davies (1988), *Epicorum Graecorum Fragmenta*, Göttingen
Dubielzig *Triph.*: U. Dubielzig (1996), *Triphiodor, Die Einnahme Ilions*, Tübingen
Gerlaud *Triph.*: B. Gerlaud (1982), *Triphiodore, La Prise d'Ilion*, Paris
GP: A. S. F. Gow – D. L. Page (1965), *The Greek Anthology: Hellenistic Epigrams*, 2 vols., Cambridge
GP *Garland*: A. S. F. Gow – D. L. Page (1968), *The Garland of Philip and Some Contemporary Epigrams*, 2 vols., Cambridge
Livrea *Triph.*: E. Livrea (1982), *Triphiodorus, Ilii excidium*, Leipzig
LSJ: H. G. Liddell – R. Scott – H. S. Jones (1996), *A Greek-English Lexicon*, With a Revised Supplement edited by P. G. W. Glare with the assistance of A. A. Thompson, Oxford
Peek *Lex.*: W. Peek (1968–1975), *Lexikon zu den Dionysiaka des Nonnos*, 4 vols., Hildesheim
PIR: W. Eck *et al.* (1933–), *Prosopographia imperii romani saec. I. II. III*, editio altera, Berlin – NY
PMGF: Page, D. L. – M. Davies (1991), *Poetarum Melicorum Graecorum Fragmenta, Volumen I*, Oxford

Weinberger *Triph.*: W. Weinberger (1896), *Tryphiodori et Colluthi Carmina*, Leipzig
Wernicke *Triph.*: F. A. Wernicke (1819), Τρυφιοδώρου Ἅλωσις Ἰλίου, Leipzig

Abbreviations of journal titles follow *L'Année philologique.*

I. Introduction

1. Triphiodorus: Name, Origin, Date and Lost Works

1.1 Name and Origin

Our information on Triphiodorus depends heavily on the two entries which the *Suda* dedicates to Τρυφιόδωρος:[1]

> Τρυφιόδωρος [T 1111 Adler], Αἰγύπτιος, γραμματικὸς καὶ ποιητὴς ἐπῶν. ἔγραψε Μαραθωνιακά, Ἰλίου ἅλωσιν, Τὰ κατὰ Ἱπποδάμειαν, Ὀδύσσειαν λειπογράμματον· ἔστι δὲ ποίημα τῶν Ὀδυσσέως καμάτων, καὶ ὅσα μυθολογοῦσι περὶ αὐτου· καὶ ἄλλα.
>
> Τρυφιόδωρος [T 1112 Adler]· διάφορα ἔγραψε δι᾽ ἐπῶν. Παράφρασιν τῶν Ὁμήρου παραβολῶν καὶ ἄλλα πλεῖστα.

Already in 6th century documents,[2] the form Τρυφιόδωρος competed with the correct Τριφιόδωρος and became the usual denomination of the author, only to be corrected in the 20th century. The double entry in the *Suda* seems to be the result of some confusion and the *communis opinio* is that both entries refer to the same person.[3]

The first clue about Triph. is his own name, a theophoric based on Triphis, the female deity who with Min and Kolanthes/Kolanthos formed the local divine triad of Panopolis, the capital of the ninth Egyptian nome or Panopolite.[4] Names derived from these three deities

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1 The first of these articles was copied at the beginning of the manuscripts M and V of the *Sack of Troy*. Triph. is also mentioned by Eustathius in his commentary on the *Odyssey*: 1.312 ἐνέφῃνε γοῦν ὁ ποιητὴς ἔχειν ἐκ τούτων ὕλην πολλὴν ποιήσεως. δι᾽ ἧς καὶ ὅλον ἂν ἀπαρτισθείη βιβλίον, ὁποῖα ἐπραγματεύσαντο οἱ τὴν Τρωϊκὴν ἅλωσιν γράψαι πραγματευσάμενοι ὧν καὶ ὁ Τρυφιόδωρος. Dubielzig gathered testimonia on the life and work of Triphiodorus in his *Triph.*, 271–5.

2 E.g. in the 6th-century cadastre of Aphrodito (*P.Freer* Inv. 08.45 a/b), published as Gascou – MacCoull 1987.

3 Only Keydell 1939 produced two entries on "Tryphiodoros" for the *RE*, but in the second of these he cautioned that in all probability they referred to only one person.

4 More on Triphis/Repit in Helck – Westendorf 1972–92, *s.v.* "Repit", 5.236–42.

were common all over Upper Egypt,[5] which suggests that Triph.'s origins were in that area, though not necessarily in Panopolis itself.[6] A Panopolitan or Upper Egyptian background is consistent with Triph.'s authorship of the *Sack of Troy*, if we take into account that the local elites usually tried to appear as Hellenic as possible.[7]

1.2 Dating

Triph. had traditionally been dated to the latter part of the fifth century, among the first group of imitators of Nonnus, but prior to Colluthus (*ca.* 500), who also imitated Triph.[8] However, Weinberger and especially Wifstrand sowed the seeds of doubt in this respect by proving that, despite phraseological parallels, Triph.'s metrical practice is completely different from that of Nonnus.[9] The major breakthrough came with the publication in 1972 of *P.Oxy.* 41.2946, containing lines 301–402 of the *Sack of Troy*. Rea dated it in his edition to the third/fourth century, owing to the type of script used, "usually called 'the

5 See e.g. the census register extant in *P.Oxy.* 984 (ed. Bagnall *et al.* 1997, esp. pp. 114–23; on the onomastics, see Bagnall 1998), which originated in Ptolemais Hermiou or Lycopolis (see Bagnall *et al.* 1997, 22–6, 57) and included a large number of names derived from the Panopolitan triad. On the impact of the local triad on Panopolitan names, see Geens 2009, 307–13; Martin 1962, 59–63; also the onomastic index of *P.Panop.Beatty*.

6 Previous attributions: Panopolis (Cameron 1965, 472; Gerlaud *Triph.*, 6; Dubielzig *Triph.*, 4–7); Athribis, a town on the opposite bank of the Nile, facing Panopolis and hosting the Tripheion, the temple of Triphis (Cuartero Iborra *Triph.*, 13). Dubielzig (*Triph.*, 6) uses the comparison of the Trojans with cranes in 352–5 to support Triph.'s Egyptian origin, but the simile is not so specific: see note to 353. Gerlaud (*Triph.* 9–10, 138 [n. to 350–1]) tried to use the distribution of the Trojans into groups when receiving the horse into their town (350–1) as a proof of Triph.'s residence in Alexandria, but this conclusion is not at all convincing: see note to 350–1. Dubielzig (*Triph.*, 5–6, 10) dismisses Gerlaud's reasoning, but finds the idea of Triph.'s living in Alexandria seductive.

7 Cf. Geens 2009; Miguélez Cavero 2008, 194–8, 210ff.

8 Classically, Keydell 1939, 178.

9 Weinberger 1896; Wifstrand 1933, 75 ("bei Triphiodoros haben wir nichts Nonnisches gefunden … wären nicht die zahlreichen Phrasen und Versteile, die er offenbar aus den *Dionysiaka* geholt hat, würde man geneigt sein ihn sogar vor Nonnos zu setzen") and pp. 19, 24, 62, 129–30, on Triphiodorus as an exception among the 'Nonnianer'. His observations were complemented by those on Triph.'s use of the article in Svensson 1937, 126–7 ("[127] Triphiodoros … überhaupt nicht als Nonnianer gerechnet werden kann"). See already Wernicke *Triph.*, 211: "[Tryphiodorus] in multis rebus ad grammaticam et metricam artem pertinentibus a Nonno mirum quantum dissentit".

common angular hand' and usually assigned to a period running from the late second century to the early fourth".[10] On the back of *P.Oxy.* 2946 another text was copied, which Rea published as *P.Oxy.* 2947. The damage to the surface only allowed Rea to conclude that this was a prose text, and to suggest that, because of the occurrence of the name of Neoptolemus in line 5, *P.Oxy.* 2947 could be a commentary on the text on the front (referring to the murder of Priam, lines 399–400), or more generally a commentary on the *Sack of Troy.*[11]

The publication of *P.Oxy.* 2946 led to the reconsideration of all the elements with a bearing on Triph.'s date, in particular his metrical choices. Even before the publication of the papyrus, Cameron had produced a comparison of Nonnian and Triphiodorean metrics and called for a pre-Nonnian dating of Triph.[12] In his edition of the *Sack of Troy*, Gerlaud proposed 250 AD as *terminus post quem* (after the *Lipogrammatic Iliad* of Nestor of Laranda and the *Posthomerica* of QS), and 350 as *terminus ante quem*, because of the dating of the papyrus and because Gregory of Nazianzus seems to have known the *Sack of Troy.* Gerlaud associated the composition of the poem with the cultural propaganda celebrating the construction of Constantinople (324–30).[13] However, the theme of the poem was fairly popular at all times in antiquity and cannot be reliably associated with any particular 'classical revival'. Moreover, this dating is a relatively awkward fit with that of *P.Oxy.* 2946. Vian appears to be closer to the truth when he dates Triph. to the third century, after the Oppians and QS.[14]

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10 Rea pointed out as the closest parallels in the *P.Oxy.* series nos. 1012 (mid 3rd c. AD), 2216 (3rd c. AD), 2370 (*c.* 200 AD), and quoted G. Cavallo giving as parallels *P.Berol.* 9766 (BKT II, p. 53–4; dated 3rd c. AD), *P.Ryl.* 1.57 (2nd/3rd c.), *P.Beatty* 6.11 (4th c. AD). See also Del Corno – Vandoni 1976, 235: "[il papiro] va ascritto al III–IV sec. (ma gli elementi paleografici suggeriscono la data più alta)"; Lenaerts 1978, 379: "le Dr. J. R. Rea en a assigné l'écriture aux IIIe ou IVe siècles. Mais je voudrais rappeler ici que cette datation a été établie d'après des parallèles sûrs (qui font porter la présomption sur le IIIe plutôt que sur le IVe siècle) et que plusieurs experts, dont le Professeur G. Cavallo, se sont ralliés sans restriction à cette estimation".

11 He offers as a parallel *P.Oxy.* 34.2694, an annotated copy of AR 4, furnished with a commentary and *marginalia* on the back.

12 Cameron 1970, 478–82.

13 Gerlaud *Triph.*, 6–9; also Cuartero Iborra *Triph.*, 10–13.

14 Vian 1986, 334.

In the most recent edition of the *Sack of Troy*, Dubielzig (*Triph.*, 7–11) concludes that Triph. must have been younger than both Oppians,[15] both of whose poems had an influence on the Ἰλίου πέρσις, and Nestor of Laranda (fl. 193–211), whose *Lipogrammatic Iliad* would have inspired him to compose his own *Lipogrammatic Odyssey.* The *terminus ante quem* is necessarily *P.Oxy.* 2946, but, since the papyrus is not an autograph, we cannot estimate the chronological gap between the composition of the poem and the copying of this papyrus. Dubielzig placed Triph. in the third century, pointing out that a more accurate dating would depend on the relative dating of QS and Triph.[16]

1.3 Lost Works

The picture that emerges from the works ascribed to Triph. in the articles of the *Suda* is that of a grammarian who also wrote hexametric poems (γραμματικὸς καὶ ποιητὴς ἐπῶν). This combination guarantees that *qua* ποιητὴς ἐπῶν he would be concerned with the usual interests of the γραμματικοί, not only ἑλληνισμός (the correct use of Greek) and theoretical or analytical grammar, but also the analysis of the work of 'model' poets (esp. Homer) and mythography. The fusion of scholar and poet had occurred in the first phase of Hellenism,[17] but the case of Triph. is not that of a powerful librarian of the Museum, hired by the Pharaoh, but that of a notably humbler teacher.[18]

Of the titles attributed to him, *Marathoniaca* (Μαραθωνιακά) could have been a historical *epos* dealing with the battle of Marathon, but we do not know of any imperial poems with so distant a historical topic. It makes more sense to relate it to Theseus' killing of the Mara-

15 The *Halieutica* of Oppian of Cilicia were dedicated to Marcus Aurelius and Commodus as joint emperors, and are accordingly dated 177–80. The *Cynegetica* of Oppian of Apamea were dedicated to Caracalla (212–17). On the dating and composition of both poems, see Martínez – Silva Sánchez 2003.

16 On the dating of QS's *Posthomerica*, see Bär 2009, 14–23; Gärtner 2005, 23–6; Maciver 2012, 3–5. More on this in 3.7 Triphiodorus and Imperial Literature.

17 On the fusion of the scholar and the poet in Hellenistic times, see Fantuzzi – Hunter 2004, 23–6, 43–4; Rossi 1995.

18 Though we also know of the Imperial figure of the *grammaticus* who shares (and offers for hire) his bibliographical expertise: cf. Esposto 2004.

thonian bull, notably referred to in Callimachus' *Hecale*.[19] The *Sack of Troy* does in fact provide evidence that Triph. knew the *Hecale*.[20]

The Story of Hippodamia (Τὰ κατὰ Ἱπποδάμειαν) could have been a mythological poem, the main character of which would have been one of the mythological females bearing this name. The best-known of these is the daughter of King Oenomaus, who challenged her suitors to a chariot race and killed all the losers until Pelops defeated him and married the girl. Pindar's first *Olympian Ode* could be an enticing referent for such a poem. Another suitable candidate is the wife of Pirithous, at whose wedding the battle between Lapiths and Centaurs started: she would provide an imaginative starting point for a poem on the Centauromachy, which also had a Homeric referent (*Od.* 21.295–303). Hippodamia is also the name of the mother of Phoenix, who in the *Iliad* (9.447–84) tells how his mother, after falling out of favour with his father, had asked him to sleep with his father's mistress, and how he had done so and then had to flee. Triph. could have expanded the Homeric miniature narrative. According to the *schol. in Il.* 1.392, Hippodamia was also the proper name of Briseis, the prisoner of war who served Achilles in Troy and was given to Agamemnon as a replacement for Chryseis.[21] The title Τὰ κατὰ Ἱπποδάμειαν can also be related to the titles of novels, which often followed the pattern τὰ περί or τὰ κατά + name(s) of protagonist(s).[22]

Triph.'s *Lipogrammatic Odyssey* is also mentioned in the *Suda* in the entry for Nestor of Laranda:

19 More detailed references in Dubielzig *Triph.*, 11–12.

20 Cf. Hollis 1990, 264 (n. to 80.1), 267 (n. to fr. 82), 308 (n. to fr. 125), 350–1; also notes to Triph. 360b–1, 657b–9a, 659b.

21 Briseis is mentioned in *Il.* 2.688–93, 19.258–65, 19.291–7. On the tradition naming her Hippodamia, see Dué 2002, 55–8. See Tomasso 2012, 407: "Giving a female character, who has a minor but important part in the Homeric poems, a central role in an expansive narrative treatment would be in keeping with a major trend imperial Homeric revisionism", quoting as a parallel the case of Chryseis in e.g. D.Chr. *Or.* 61. More Hippodamias are considered in Dubielzig *Triph.*, 12.

22 Full analysis of titles of novels in Whitmarsh 2005a (I should like to thank Tim Whitmarsh for this reference). Also mentioned in Tomasso 2012, 406. Dümmler 2012, 431–4 discusses the title of Musaeus' poem *Hero and Leander* (Τὰ καθ' Ἡρὼ καὶ Λέανδρον).

> Νέστωρ [N 261 Adler] Λαρανδεύς, ἐκ Λυκίας, ἐποποιός … Ἰλιάδα λειπογράμματον ἤτοι ἀστοιχείωτον· ὁμοίως δὲ αὐτῷ ὁ Τρυφιόδωρος ἔγραψεν Ὀδύσσειαν· ἔστι γὰρ ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ μὴ εὑρίσκεσθαι ἄλφα καὶ κατὰ ῥαψῳδίαν οὕτως τὸ ἑκάστης ἐκλιμπάνειν στοιχεῖον.

Both Nestor and Triph. would have rewritten the Homeric poems, preserving the verse form and the Homeric language, but suppressing a letter in each of the books (α in book 1, β in book 2, etc.). The possibility also exists that both poems were written simply without the sigma, not only because this is the view of Eustathius,[23] but also because the lipogram was a type of γρῖφος,[24] and the most common of these was the asigmatic.[25] Though the *Suda* does not say so, it is likely that Nestor's *Iliad* was written first and served as an inspiration for Triph.'s *Odyssey*.[26]

As regards the *Paraphrase of Homer's comparisons* (Παράφρασις τῶν Ὁμήρου παραβολῶν), Keydell (1939, 181) believed that this could be something resembling P.Cairo inv. 60565, an anthology of similes from Books 16 and 17 of the *Iliad*.[27] A paraphrase of each comparison might be expected, followed by a commentary similar to those that we now read in the *Scholia* to the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*.[28] In all probability the *Paraphrase* would focus on long comparisons, since παραβολή is a longer or extended simile, whereas εἰκασία denotes the short comparison (e.g. in *Il.* 1.359 Thetis rises out of the sea ἠύτ᾽ ὀμίχλη).[29] Also, the *Scholia* on the *Iliad* focus on long similes and simply ignore shorter ones.[30]

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23 Cf. Eustath. *Od.* 1.2.16–17 Τρυφιόδωρος δέ φασιν ἀνάπαλιν αὐτοῦ δραμὼν, Ὀδύσσειαν λειπογράμματον ποιῆσαι ἱστόρηται, ἀπελάσας αὐτῆς τὸ σίγμα.

24 Analysed in antiquity by Clearchus of Soli in his Περὶ γρίφων, partially preserved in Athenaeus 448b–459c (on which see Guichard 2010). On the lipogram, see Athenaeus 448c-d and the study by Luz 2010, 223–45.

25 See Clayman 1987. For an example of an asigmatic γρῖφος, see *P.Bodm.* 28 (*ed. pr.* Turner 1976), part of a library which has been located in Panopolis: cf. Miguélez-Cavero 2008, 218–23.

26 See Ma 2007, 84 (see also p. 110: "the lipogrammatic *Iliad* takes on its full force as cultural gesture: it expresses playfulness, even ironical distance, towards the Homeric model and shifts attention to the poet's virtuosity and learning"). Dubielzig (*Triph.*, 13) is doubtful.

27 P.Cairo inv. 60565 (= CPP 0478, LDAB 2754, MP^3 1200): *ed. pr.* Waddell 1934–7, 145–8.

28 On these, see Snipes 1988, 204–22.

29 Demetrius *De elocutione* 80, 89.

30 After Snipes 1988, 204–8; Martin 1997; Nünlist 2009, 282–6. More about the ancient rhetorical theories of simile and comparison in McCall 1969.

2. The *Sack of Troy*: An Overview

Triph.'s only extant work is the Ἰλίου ἅλωσις, a 691-hexameter poem which narrates the last days of Troy, from the capture of Helenus to the departure of the victorious Achaeans. Triph. seems to have chosen this topic as a re-enactment of the song that Odysseus requested from the bard Demodocus, about the construction of the wooden horse and the deployment of the snare (*Od.* 8.492–5).[1] Demodocus' song is summarised in the *Od.* (8.499–520), and said to focus on the delusions of the Trojans when faced with the horse and the subsequent nocturnal combat. Both the introduction and the summary of Demodocus' song refer to the three themes of the *Sack of Troy*, first mentioned in the proem and then developed throughout the poem: 1) τέρμα, the turning point of the war (40–56 the betrayal of Helenus and his prophecies galvanise the Achaeans into action); 2) λόχον, the stratagem of the wooden horse (57–541 from its construction to the scene where Helen tempts the heroes hidden inside to abandon it); 3) ἔριν, the final battle (542–691 nocturnal combat).

Demodocus' patronage over the *Sack of Troy* has three main consequences:[2] the chronological layout of the poem, the impact of superhuman design in the lives of both the Greeks and the Trojans (*Od.* 8.511–13 αἶσα γὰρ ἦν ἀπολέσθαι …) , and the search for a compromise between epic long-windedness and the conciseness required of a poem sung as an entertainment after a meal (*Od.* 8.469–83), as reflected in Triph.'s proem (esp. 3–4 αὐτίκα μοι σπεύδοντι πολὺν διὰ μῦθον ἀνεῖσα / ἔννεπε). A fourth, more obvious, consequence is the general Homeric stance which pervades the poem, though we need to clarify what Triph., a γραμματικός, understood by 'Homeric'.[3]

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1 I already commented on this point in Miguélez-Cavero 2008, 327–30. More on this topic in the Introduction to Triph. 1–5.

2 See a more detailed account in the introduction to lines 1–5 (Invocation to Calliope).

3 Cf. 3.1 Triphiodorus and Homer.

With 691 hexamenters the *Sack of Troy* would come under the generic affiliation of the epyllion (ἐπύλλιον)[4] if the term is defined as a short hexameter poem and if we place the length limit at the length of a book of standard epic.[5] It would still be part of this epic subgenre if we added to the necessary conditions narrativity (i.e. a somehow linear progression)[6] or the insertion of an ekphrasis (the description of the Wooden Horse in Triph. 57–107).[7] On the other hand, other content- or style-based requisites are likely to leave the *Sack of Troy* out of the subgenre. Thus, Fantuzzi 2004 finds in epyllia "[1170] some typical characteristics of the aesthetic of the ἔπος τυτθόν, going back to Callimachus" and explicitly leaves out Triph. ([1170] "examples not fitting the pattern, at least as regards cyclic them and deficient unity of action: Coluthus' 'Rape of Helen' and Triphiodorus, *Ilíou hálōsis*" – contra Tomasso 2012, 379–80). Clearly Triph.'s choice of the Trojan War, the uneventful narrative and the treatment of the characters cannot be defined as aesthetically Callimachean.

2.1 General Design

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57–107 Construction of the wooden horse
  57–61 Introduction
  62–102 Construction
  103–7 Conclusion
108–52a Achaean assembly
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  152b–83 Catalogue of the heroes who volunteer for the mission of the horse
  184–203 The Achaean chieftains in the horse
  204–34 The Achaeans set fire to their camp and depart for Tenedos; Sinon is left behind

4 See Baumbach – Bär 2012b for a short introduction, and Tilg 2012 and Masciadri 2012 on the early history of the term.

5 Tomasso 2012, 382.

6 Baumbach – Bär 2012b, xiii-xiv; Merriam 2001, 159.

7 Merriam 2001, 2; Fantuzzi 2004, 1171.

235–357 The Trojans fall into the Achaean snare
- 235–57 The Trojans leave Troy; confused assembly in front of the horse
- 258–303 Sinon fools the Trojans, headed by Priam
  - 265–82 Sinon's first speech
  - 284–90 Priam's speech
  - 292–303 Sinon's second speech
- 304–57 The Trojans drag the horse into the town

358–443 Cassandra's intervention against the horse
- 376–416 Cassandra's speech
- 419–38 Priam's speech

444–53 Sacrifice and nocturnal feast

454–98a Helen tempts the men hidden inside the horse
- 457–62 Aphrodite's speech
- 490b–6 Athena's rebuke

498b–505 End of the celebration

506–691 Nyktomachy
- 506–41 Preliminaries
- 542–663 Battle
- 664–7 Narratorial intervention
- 668–91 Aftermath and conclusion

The general structure of the poem is simple.[8] It starts with the traditional invocation to the Muse (1–5) and the description of the initial situation (6–39 mood of the armies, narration of previous events by means of a catalogue of casualties). The narrative then moves chronologically towards the end of the war in a sequence of clear-cut episodes:[9] Helenus' predictions and their fulfilment (40–56); the construction of the wooden horse (57–107); Odysseus motivates the Greeks and sketches the plans for the final attack (108–52a); the Achaeans prepare for the final battle (152b–234 a group hide inside the horse, the army set fire to their camp and leave for Tenedos, Sinon prepares for his role); the Trojans come out of their city and Sinon takes advantage of their indecision to persuade them to transport the statue into the citadel (235–357); Cassandra opposes the entrance of the horse, but she is quickly dismissed (358–443); the Trojans settle down to celebrate the end of the war, while Aphrodite places the Achaean strategy in jeop-

8 A similar division is offered in Gerlaud *Triph.*, 47–8. Gerlaud 2003 suggests that the succession of scenes is built as a series of multiples of five with variations.

9 As Gerlaud 2003, 404 points out, the beginnings of some of these sections are marked with ἤδη: 6 ἤδη μὲν, 57 ἤδη καί, 235 ἤδη δέ, 506 ἤδη δέ. On paratactic narrative as a characteristic of the Homeric poems, continued in the Hellenistic epic tradition, see Hutchinson 2008.

ardy (444–505). The nocturnal battle is then carefully developed, with its preliminaries (506–41), furious combat (542–663) and aftermath (668–91).

Despite the simplicity of this outline, the *Sack of Troy* is not always easy to read, because the narrative often shifts abruptly from one episode to the next without any transitional elements.[10] A similar pattern has been observed in Oppian's *Cynegetica*, the *Posthomerica* and Nonnus' *Dionysiaca*. All four poems share a more or less clear overall structure, in which elaborated scenes are placed in juxtaposition and contrast, with no attempt to achieve a complete integration of all the elements.[11]

Note for instance the first transition, between the introduction (6–39), illustrating the stagnation of the war, and the episode of Helenus (40ff.). Lines 40–2 consider the possibility of an indefinite prolongation of the conflict,[12] and the impasse is broken by Helenus' defection to the Greeks.[13] A pivotal contrafactual stresses the contrast between the lack of progress in the last few years of the war (which have produced the casualties mentioned in the catalogue) and the quick outcome once Helenus has revealed to his former enemies the requirements for conquering Troy. However, no connection is established between Helenus' prophecies (49–50) on the one hand, and on the other the arrival of Neoptolemus (51–4) and the theft of the Palladion (55–6). The narrative is held together by the assumption that readers can recall the contents of the prophecy and deduce that these two events and the subsequent construction of the horse (57–107) respond to Helenus' requirements for the capture of Troy.

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10 Compare the smooth transitions in Oppian's *Halieutica*, on which see Rebuffat 2001, 40–55.

11 On Opp. *C.* see Schmitt 1969, 34. Campbell (1981, 3) points out QS's "general absence of narrative strategy and a tendency to leave a number of loose ends untied in almost every book". Some of QS's inorganic passages are analysed in Vian 1969, 10–15; Campbell 1981, nn. to 12.87, 337, 338–44, 500–24. On Nonnus, see Whitby 1994, 112; Miguélez-Cavero 2008, 273. On the late antique poetics of discontinuity, see Miguélez-Cavero 2008, 285–8. Note also that the Homeric scholia value changes of scene and location as a means of variation or to increase the tension of the plot: see Nünlist 2009, 57–64.

12 Triph. 40–2 Εἱστήκει δ᾽ ἔτι πᾶσα θεοδμήτων ὑπὸ πύργων / Ἴλιος ἀκλινέεσσιν ἐπεμβεβαυῖα θεμέθλοις, / ἀμβολίῃ δ᾽ ἤσχαλλε δυσαχθέι λαὸς Ἀχαιῶν.

13 Triph. 43–6 Καί νύ κεν ὑστατίοισιν ἐποκνήσασα πόνοισιν / ἀκάματός περ ἐοῦσα μάτην ἵδρωσεν Ἀθήνη, / εἰ μὴ Δηιφόβοιο γαμοκλόπον ὕβριν ἐάσσας / Ἰλιόθεν Δαναοῖσιν ἐπὶ ξένος ἤλυθε μάντις.

The reader also has to supply the connection between the construction of the horse and the assembly of the kings (108–52a),[14] and between the latter and the catalogue of those who volunteer to hide in the horse (152b ff.). The ensuing retreat of the army is more clearly linked to Agamemnon's orders (204–18), but then Sinon appears with no introduction (219–29). The all-night fire of the Achaean camp (230 παννυχίη φλόξ) provides a suitable link to the smoke (237 σημάντορι καπνῷ) that tells the Trojans in the morning of the departure of the Achaeans. After this, the narrative moves on smoothly, though some transitions jar somewhat: at the end of Sinon's second speech (292–303), in particular, the Trojans immediately conjure up ropes and musical instruments and orchestrate the transporting of the wooden horse (305–9), but this is the result of the characterisation of the Trojans as gifted organisers of festivities.[15]

This narrative shape would have pleased cultured narratees who appreciated allusion more than a straightforward narrative on a perfectly well-known topic.[16] The demands on the narratee (of the *Sack of Troy*, but also of the *Cynegetica*, the *Posthomerica* and the *Dionysiaca*) clearly go beyond supplying links between episodes by recalling missing pieces of mythological information. Triph. challenges his readers: 1) to evaluate the Homeric heritage of the poem in a critical context;[17] 2) to enjoy the poetics of allusion by deciphering his enigmas;[18] and 3) to relate the characterisation of individuals and groups to their behaviour.[19]

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14 Why did the Achaeans decide to build the horse? Why was Epeius in charge of it? What was Athena's relationship with Epeius? What does Odysseus' audience in the poem know about the horse? Did they decide on its construction? Note also the vagueness of lines 122–38 in Odysseus' speech (see n. *ad loc.*).

15 More on this in 2.3 Characterisation.

16 Bakker 1993, 2–3. Reliance on prior knowledge is a regular epic convention, already present in the Homeric poems (see Scodel 1999, 135–9) and analysed in the scholia (see Nünlist 2009, 157–67). See also Campbell 1981, 12 (on QS 12.21–65): "here Odysseus does not say why the Trojans will actually be prepared to take in the Horse … And nobody in the world of the Heroic Digest thinks to ask now. The bare and bland 'let us construct a Horse' (28) is all right if you know the story already".

17 More on this in 3.1 Triphiodorus and Homer.

18 On which, see 2.2 Enigmas.

19 On the Homeric usage of different modes of comparison in characterising descriptions, see [Plut.] *De Homero* 84–9.

2.2 Enigmas

One of the challenges that Triph. offers his readers is that of solving the enigmas scattered throughout the poem. An αἴνιγμα is a form of γρῖφος, a word that referred in antiquity to learned word games to be tackled by intellectual means.[20] γρῖφοι spiced up intellectual conversation, for example in Athenaeus' *Table Talk* (10.448b ff.), where the diners engage in this literary game and quote several passages of a lost Περὶ γρίφων by Clearchus of Soli.[21]

The most systematic literary use of riddles occurs in the *Alexandra*, where Lycophron refers to characters, gods, places and natural and artificial elements, without actually naming them. The names of the characters, for instance, are replaced by identifications with animals, references to their family and descriptive elements,[22] and all periphrases are accompanied by stylistic manoeuvres that obscure the syntactic structure.[23] Lycophon's αἰνίγματα relate to traditional prophetic and oracular displays,[24] but their concentration (a structural device)[25] makes the poem unique.

Triph. does not seek the levels of saturation and obscurity characteristic of Lycophron.[26] The αἰνίγματα are placed here and there in the *Sack of Troy* as a means of communication between the scholar poet

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20 According to the definition attributed by Athenaeus to Clearchus of Soli: 10.448c (fr. 86 Wehrli) γρῖφος πρόβλημά ἐστι παιστικόν, προστακτικὸν τοῦ διὰ ζητήσεως εὑρεῖν τῇ διανοίᾳ τὸ προβληθὲν τιμῆς ἢ ἐπιζημίου χάριν εἰρημένον (to be read with Fusillo – Hurst – Paduano 1991, 13–16). For a more general introduction to the γρῖφος, see Luz 2010, 139–46.

21 On this treatise, see Guichard 2010. On the variable cultural perception of αἰνίγματα, see Beta 2009.

22 See the analysis in Ciani 1973 (pp. 134–42 on characters), updated, esp. on the intertextual and linguistic aspects of the poem, in Sistakou 2009.

23 Cf. Kalospyros 2009. Lycophon's riddles cause a dematerialisation and stylisation of the substituted elements, a detachment from hackneyed traditional images: Lambin 2005, 228–30.

24 Pucci 1996, 9ff.; Fusillo – Hurst – Paduano 1991, 12–16. The main body of the poem reproduces Cassandra's speech, traditionally said to be plagued with enigmas: A. *Ag.* 1112–13 νῦν γὰρ ἐξ αἰνιγμάτων / ἐπαργέμοισι θεοφάτοις ἀμηχανῶ, 1183 φρενώσω δ' οὐκέτ' ἐξ αἰνιγμάτων.

25 According to Cusset – Kolde 2013 (esp. conclusions in p. 182), Lycophron's metaphors mutually reinforce each other.

26 Lambin 2005, 220–8.

and an audience versed in the appreciation of complex forms of literature. αἰνίγματα were used at school[27] and Triph. was a γραμματικός, but he clearly transcends the basic skills taught at school and emerges as a master of the referential aspects of language. His use of αἰνίγματα relates to both the religious and the ludic/learned aspects of the tradition, both of which engage the reader (or listener) in the game and portray the creator as a witty speaker.[28]

The αἰνίγματα that may be related to the ludic and learned tradition are the following:

1. The themes of the proem (τέρμα, λόχον, ἔριν) work as riddles that the reader is to decode with the help of the adjoining clusters (1 Τέρμα πολυκμήτοιο μεταχρόνιον πολέμοιο; 2 λόχον, ᾽Αργείης ἱππήλατον ἔργον ᾽Αθήνης; 4b ἀρχαίην ἔριν ἀνδρῶν) and then follow throughout the poem: the turning point of the war (40–56), the stratagem of the wooden horse (57–541), and the final battle (542–691).
2. The cryptic introduction of characters. The simplest type is that of 17 Κεῖτο δὲ Πηλείδης μὲν ἔχων ἅμα νεκρὸν ἑταῖρον: Achilles was already called Πηλείδης in the proem of the *Iliad* (1.1 Πηληϊάδεω ᾽Αχιλῆος; see also Triph. 687 μῆνιν … τεθνειότος Αἰακίδαο), and Patroclus was his very well-known companion (*Il.* 1.345 Πάτροκλος δὲ φίλῳ ἐπεπείθεθ᾽ ἑταίρῳ). The reference to Rhesus (Triph. 29–30 Καὶ δολίην ὑπὸ νύκτα κακῷ πεπεδημένον ὕπνῳ / ῾Ρῆσον μὲν Θρήικες ἐκώκυον) is a more learned one: Rhesus and his people are explicitly named, but Triph. hints at the circumstances of his death (κακῷ πεπεδημένον ὕπνῳ: according to *Il.* 10.496–7, he is killed because Athena had induced in him a κακὸν … ὄναρ), and at the name of the person responsible for his death (δολίην ὑπὸ νύκτα: Dolon had revealed to Odysseus and Diomedes the position of Rhesus and his army in *Il.* 10.332–468).[29] Longer introductions are turned into full-scale riddles in three cases: the Amazons, Neoptolemus and Cassandra. The name of the Amazons (Triph. 33–5) is replaced by a periphrasis, referring to

27 See Guichard 2007.

28 More on this in Pucci 1996, 37–8.

29 Similar allusions are made in the catalogue of the heroes of the horse: see nn. to 167b–8, 170, 171–2a.

their place of origin and warlike nature (33 αἱ δ᾽ ἀπὸ Θερμώδοντος ἀρηιφίλοιο γυναῖκες) and contrasting their maturity as adult women (33 αἱ … γυναῖκες) with their unripe breasts (34 ἀθηλέος ὄμφακα μαζοῦ). Triph. 'hides' their name across two words (ὄμφακΑ ΜΑΖΟῦ), playing with the etymology ἀ-μαζον- 'breastless', which refers to their custom of amputating the right breast. The final clue is that their leader is παρθένον … Πενθεσίλειαν (35). Similarly, the introduction of Neoptolemus (51–4) comprises a reference to his place of origin (51 Σκῦρον … λιπών), the names of his parents (52 υἱὸς ᾽Αχιλλῆος καὶ ἐπαινῆς Δηιδαμείης), a brief physical description (53–4) and a pun on his name (54 ΝΕΟς περ ἐὼν ΠΟΛΕΜιστής). Finally, Cassandra (358–75) is referred to as 'the inspired daughter of Priam' (358 Κούρη δὲ Πριάμοιο θεήλατος) and compared to a heifer (359–68) and a bacchant (369–75). Her name is only revealed at the end of the description (374 Κασσάνδρη).

3. There is only one case of the use of a periphrasis for a toponym: 218 γλαυκὸν ἀναπτύσσοντες ὕδωρ ᾽Αθαμαντίδος ᾽Ελλης (the Hellespont, the name given by Homer to the sea beyond the Achaean camp).[30]

With the exception of the introduction of Cassandra (358–75), the αἰνίγματα and all the etymological games of the ludic type[31] appear before the deployment of Sinon's strategy (219ff.), at which point the poem moves from a lighter to a more tragic mood.

The religious/oracular αἴνιγμα is confined in the *Sack of Troy* to the figure of Cassandra, in particular to her frenzied speech (376–416). Cassandra refers metaphorically to death[32] and to the defeat of the Trojans,[33] but especially to the horse. The metaphor of the pregnant horse (379b–90; anticipated in 135–6, 200, 308, 384) plays on the ambiguity of λόχος, both 'ambush' and 'childbirth', in the description of the warriors emerging from the horse as if the statue were giving birth to them

30 Compare the *griphoi* applied to natural and artificial elements in Lyc. *Alex.*, on which see Ciani 1973, 146–7.

31 There are other (pseudo-)etymological games: 44 ἀκάματός … ᾽Αθήνη; 57–8 ᾽Επειὸς / … ἐποίει; 104–5 τὸν οὐδέ κεν ἀρνήσαιτο/ … ᾽Αρης; 183 ἐπέβαινεν ᾽Επειός.

32 377 ὕστατίην ἐπὶ νύκτα, 378 νήγρετον ὕπνον, 392 κῦμα φόνοιο; see also 393–4 δεσμὰ/ … νύμφια.

33 378 πολέμοιο πέρας, 381 λήγει δ᾽ ἀμβολιεργὸν ἔτος πολέμοιο λυθέντος.

(382b–5). This is followed by the riddles on the double patronage of Eileithyia and Athena (386–90). Cassandra's enigmatic talk is restricted to the first half of her speech, and when she moves on to prophesy the doom of several individuals (398–409) and to exhort the Trojans (410–16), her speech becomes more transparent. Triph. assumes the traditional schema of prophecies, consisting of an obscure, visionary introduction, which reflects the initial rapture of the prophet, and a clearer second phase.[34]

Neither the ludic nor the oracular enigmas scattered throughout the *Sack of Troy* are particularly complex, and most of them are backed up by a solid tradition. Triph. provided light entertainment, and he was certainly not seeking a reputation for obscurity, which would have been at odds with his interpretation of the song of Demodocus as a learned but accessible narrative.

2.3 Characterisation

A third, more elusive aspect, in which Triph. requires the attention of his readers, is that of characterisation. While QS divests Homeric characters of their faults and defects for the sake of epic dignity,[35] Triph. chooses to give all of them (human and divine individuals, collective characters) more nuances and to relate the descriptions of them to their behaviour and the advancement of the plot. In this he seems to reflect the ancient analysis of Homeric characterisation: the scholia value the introductions of characters in the Homeric poems as an important aspect of the motivation of the plot, in the sense that they have a preparatory effect, which, when handled correctly, results in a well-wrought and coherent plot.[36]

In the *Iliad*, the contrast between the two armies, both the mass and the individual fighters, is vital to the plot: when both armies march to war (3.1–9), the Trojans advance with screams and cries, like birds, and

34 Cf. Mazzoldi 2001, 201–12, 219–28; Mazzoldi 2002. For more on this, see the introduction to lines 376–416.

35 Vian 1963, xxxv–xxxvii; James 2004, xxvi.

36 On how the scholia see characterisation in the Homeric poems, see Nünlist 2009, 51–7 (on the introductions of characters), 246–56 (on characterisation). See also Race 1993 on the introductions of characters in the *Odyssey*, concluding that the main narrator reveals the essential characteristics of the main characters in their first appearance.

this contrasts with the silent resolution and spirit of cooperation shown by the Achaeans.[37] The shortcomings of both armies are reflected in the personalities of some of their leaders. The Trojans have Hector, but they also have Paris, a skilled archer (*Il.* 11.369–95, 504–9, 581–4), but not a disciplined fighter: he sometimes prefers to stay at home, letting the women of his household admire his beauty (6.321–31), and he goes into battle wearing a leopard skin (3.16–18), which is glamorous but inappropriate for combat.[38] As for the Achaean leaders, as Griffin (1980, 55) puts it: "Agamemnon is ruthless and unreflective; Achilles kills in a passionate revenge".[39] The logic behind this portrayal seems to be that, when their instincts are unleashed in all their fury, they obstruct their martial efficiency, preventing them from fighting, or making them fight with excessive cruelty.

Triph. works along similar lines, describing the national personalities of Trojans are Greeks. His initial characterisation of the opposing armies as equally exhausted (6–16) is immediately qualified in the catalogues of the casualties in both sides (17–39). On the Achaean side, Achilles, Patroclus, Antilochus and Ajax are quickly dealt with in four lines, implying that the Greeks have an expeditious approach to death. The losses are acutely felt, but many good Greek warriors are still alive and ready to fight and lead the army.[40] In contrast, the deceased on the Trojan side (Hector, Sarpedon, Rhesus, Memnon, Penthesilea) receive a lengthier treatment, and their deaths seem to cause a deeper grief, because they were the successive hopes of salvation for Troy. The only prominent warrior left is Deiphobus. In this difficult situation, the desertion of Helenus, after Helen was given in marriage to Deiphobus rather than to him, meant the loss of a valuable fighter. The fact that the

37 As Stoevesandt (2004, ch. II–IV) has proved, the Greeks in the *Iliad* are shown as superior to the Trojans in combat, though the Trojans prevail so long as Achilles takes no part in the fight. This general impression is made more visible in the similes, which compare the Achaeans with predators and the Trojans with weak animals (Stoevesandt 2004, ch. V).

38 On the Homeric characterisation of Paris and the contrast between physical appearance and martial effectiveness, see Moulton 1977, 88–96.

39 On the characterisation of Agamemnon, see Moulton 1977, 96–9. On Achilles, see *ibid.*, 99–116.

40 The catalogue of the Achaean warriors who volunteer to hide in the wooden horse (152b–83) emphasises the human resources of their army. On the other hand, the Trojans who go down to the plain when the Achaeans abandon Troy, are all anonymous, except for Priam, who is surrounded by a group of aged councillors (235–46).

Trojans prefer Deiphobus (a rather brutish fighter) to a respected seer and warrior (Helenus) is a further illustration of the Trojans' nature: they seem regularly to infringe the lawful rights of good men (first Menelaus, and now Helenus),[41] without considering the disastrous consequences that this may have for them.

After this introduction there follow two sections illustrating the character of the Greeks (45–234) and that of the Trojans (235–453). The Achaeans do everything well: they are good at sign reading, thorough in their preparations, and united. When they are given a guaranteed prophecy by Helenus,[42] they are immediately galvanised into action: Neoptolemus comes from Scyros (51–4), they secure the help of Athena with the theft of the Palladion (55–6), and the construction of the horse (57–107) highlights their industriousness and hard work.[43] Then comes an organised assembly, in which their undisputed leader (Odysseus)[44] reviews their plans and motivates each of them to fulfil his function for the common good (120–51). Odysseus receives a positive, action-based response from all the groups (152–234):[45] the volunteers for the horse immediately climb up into it, the army dismantle their camp in an orderly fashion and leave, and Sinon stays behind. Each step is preceded by appropriate preparation.[46]

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41 Triph. is consistent in presenting Deiphobus as a second Paris: 45 Δηιφόβοιο γαμοκλόπον ὕβριν, 163 Δηιφόβου ποτὶ δῆριν, 164 δεύτερον ἁρπακτῆρα γάμου, 613 γυναιμανέος … Δηιφόβοιο. The contrast with the two slighted men is clear: Helenus is 49 βαρυζήλοιο … Ἑλένοιο; Menelaus is 47 μογέοντι … Μενελάῳ, 462 πολυτλήτῳ Μενελάῳ, and appears angry in his attack on Deiphobus (162–4, 613–28).

42 His words are confirmed by Calchas' previous prophecy (cf. 128–34) and validated later by Calchas himself (172–4).

43 The construction of the horse presents the Achaeans as hard-working, efficient creators. The function of each part is described and parts with no immediate function are praised for their extraordinary beauty: the horse is a complete weapon, with all the necessary implements, and its beauty is designed to seduce the Trojans, who are expected to find it too exquisite to be destroyed.

44 According to Tomasso 2012, 393–4, Odysseus' pivotal role in the *Sack of Troy* is related to the centrality of Odyssean structures and themes in the poem.

45 On Odysseus' Iliadic ability to forge an operational consensus, see Elmer 2013, 98–104.

46 Epeius prepares for the construction of the horse (57–61); preparations are made for the assembly (108–10); Odysseus prepares to speak (114–19); the Achaean warriors prepare for their mission when they climb into the horse (184–203); the horse is prepared for the deployment of the snare (204–7); Sinon prepares for his role (219–29).

Several warnings spoil this image of martial perfection, however: the description of Neoptolemus as an impetuous young man who steps into the horse immediately after hearing Odysseus, without taking the time to reflect on their mission (152–8); the juxtaposition of Neoptolemus' excitement at the prospect of the final battle and the reference to the loss of men in combat and its impact on family life (159–61 war made Cyanippus an orphan, and his mother a widow); the prediction that Ajax Oileus will lose his mind during the battle (165–7a); the prediction that at least one of the men will die before the strategy of the horse is completed (178–9 Anticlus); and the comparison of the men in the horse with wild beasts hiding in a cave and waiting for good weather (189–99), an image of resistance but also an anticipation of possible animal-like behaviour on the part of the warriors once they are out of the horse.[47]

On the other side, some of the Trojans are cautious about the Achaean flight (238–40), but the elders, who exercise power among them, hold on to their expectations of peace (241–6). The assembly in front of the horse is confused and muddled, with shouting and contradictory opinions (235–57).[48] There are three main currents of opinion, two of which are in favour of the destruction of the horse, but these are unable to reach a compromise which would have allowed them to form a stronger front against those in favour of the treatment of the statue as a *xoanon*. No leader intervenes to settle the discussion by pointing out that they are simply letting themselves be guided by their desire for peace, and that there is nothing to suggest that the horse is a beautiful image of the end of the war.[49] Sinon chooses this moment to appear and

47 Especially if read in conjunction with 533–41 (the Achaean leaders leave the horse as a swarm of enraged bees leave their hive to attack oblivious passers-by), 544–6 (the kings attack like lions), 613–17 (Odysseus and Menelaus attack like wolves). Some instances of Achaean misbehaviour in the past make their way into the discourse as part of Sinon's masquerade: 268–72.

48 Note the contrast between the Achaean assembly, sensibly organised far away from the noise of the army (109–10) and followed by an ordered response (152ff.), and that of the Trojans, in the midst of the excitement (248–9 ἅ τ᾽ ἠχήεντες ἰδόντες / αἰετὸν ἀλκήεντα περικλάζουσι κολοιοί), spontaneous and lacking in order (250 Τοῖσι δὲ τετρηχυῖα καὶ ἄκριτος ἔμπεσε βουλή). On the deficiencies of the Trojans' deliberative procedures in the *Iliad* (theirs is a consensus of fools), see Elmer 2013, 132–45.

49 The natural leaders of the Trojans were all dead, and mentioned in the initial catalogue (21–39).

fill the gap left by the prophet and leader, completely fooling them, Priam first and foremost (258–303). Again, the Trojans do not take the time to reflect on who Sinon is and the possible reasons for his behaviour, and they are galvanised into immediate action. They are capable of organising an impromptu festival in no time at all, but they do not prepare properly for the arduous transporting of the horse and only reach Troy with the self-interested help of Athena (304–57). The Trojans are not only childishly spontaneous and thoughtless, but also bad at reading signs: they do not pay attention to the warnings of the natural elements while they are transporting the horse (318–27), and reject Cassandra's predictions when she tries to lead them in the right direction (358–453).[50]

The behaviour of both sides in the nyktomachy (506–691) is the natural consequence of their previous characterisation. The Achaeans are so effective in the deployment of their strategy that they engage in massacre. They did not foresee the impact that extreme violence would have on their behaviour, turning them into berserkers who ignore the most sacred laws,[51] thus jeopardising their safe return home once the war (and the poem) are over. The Trojans are defeated as a result of the slackness that has characterised them from the beginning of the poem: they are incapable of executing a plan of defence. Those who manage to escape do so because they are able to rely on divine protection (651–9 Aeneas), on their previous connections with the Achaeans (656–9 Antenorids), or simply on luck (590–1), and never as a consequence of their heroic resolution or hard work.

The nyktomachy affects all Troy, not only the combatants but also the town itself[52] and its civil population, all three of which must be destroyed because they are accomplices in the kidnapping of Helen and failed to return her to her rightful husband during the war. Since children, women and the elderly had taken part together with the men

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50 On the parallels between the speeches of Odysseus and Cassandra, see introduction to 120–51.

51 596–9, 600–6 (600 ἀτιμοτάτοισι φόνοισιν), 634–50, 671 (οἱ δ᾽ ἐπαγαλλόμενοι πολέμου ὑπεραυχέι νίκῃ). Achilles was the only Achaean leader who was capable of seeing his actions in the perspective of human life and death as a whole (cf. Griffin 1980, 55), and now that he was dead there was no one left to put the Achaean actions into perspective.

52 Troy also stands for the surrounding plain and its natural features, which first warn the Trojans about the horse (318–29), and then mourn for them and their city (683–4).

in the festivities for the end of the war (340–57), they will also suffer the consequences of the capture of Troy, and the city itself will be ransacked and razed to the ground for holding Helen captive. Whatever the Trojans' shortcomings, however, the Achaean response is excessive and a natural source of πάθος.[53]

The characterisation of both parties is twice reinforced with similes and descriptions of the behaviour of the divinities supporting them. Of these, Athena is constantly active on the Achaean side, a tireless helper[54] who allows the Achaeans to steal the Palladion (56 ληιστὴ μὲν ἐοῦσα, φίλοις δ' ἐπίκουρος Ἀθήνη), helps Epeius to build the horse (57–8, 120–1) and stands by Odysseus to guarantee the success of the assembly (111–13). Later on, she makes sure that the Trojans take the horse into the citadel (330–5), blocks Helen's stratagem and orders her to signal to the Achaean fleet (487–97), and finally takes part in the destruction of the city (566–7). On the other hand, the pro-Trojan Aphrodite is conspicuously absent from the whole affair. She only intervenes at the last minute, to improvise a strategy through an unreliable Helen (454ff.). After this, she abandons the Trojans and only appears again to save her son Aeneas, with the consent of Zeus (651–5).[55] Athena is constant and hard-working, always ready to seize an opportunity, whereas Aphrodite is imaginative but ineffective in her improvisations.

As regards the similes,[56] they replicate the Homeric 'predator vs. prey' pattern.[57] The Achaeans are systematically compared with poten-

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53 Cf. Apsines of Gadara, Τέχνη ῥητορική 10.48 Τὸ πάθος πολὺ μὲν ἐν ποιήσει τῇ τραγικῇ, ἥξει δέ ποτε καὶ εἰς τὸν πολιτικὸν ὅταν πόλει ἢ προσώπῳ τινὶ τῶν παρ' ἀξίαν συμβάντων κακῶν μνημονεύσῃς ("Pathos is frequently found in tragic poetry but sometimes comes into political oratory whenever you make mention of evils happening to a city or some person beyond what is deserved"). Greek text and English translation from Dilts – Kennedy 1997.

54 44 ἀκάματος … Ἀθήνη, 112 θοῦρις Ἀθήνη; Odysseus calls her 137 ἀταρβήτοιο θεῆς.

55 Ares was supposedly pro-Trojan, but also violent and changeable: 104–5 τὸν οὐδέ κεν ἀρνήσαιτο, / εἴ μιν ζωὸν ἔτετμεν, ἐλαυνέμεν ἵππιος Ἄρης, 244 φοίνιος Ἄρης, 563 ἐπεὶ καὶ φοίνιος Ἄρης / ὀψὲ μὲν ἀλλὰ καὶ ὦς πολέμων ἑτεραλκέα νίκην / ἦλθε φέρων Δαναοῖσι καὶ ἀλλοπρόσαλλον ἀρωγήν.

56 For more on these, see 2.4 The narrator.

57 Stoevesandt 2004, ch. V. On the Homeric use of similes for characterisation, see Moulton 1977, 88–116. As Jahn 2009 has shown, QS manipulates Homeric similes to direct the reader's attention towards the fear of the Trojans or to divert it from that of the Greeks, thus tilting the balance further in favour of the Greek side.

tially aggressive animals (190–9 wild beasts, 533–41 irascible bees, 544–6 lions), and the Trojans with weak ones (350–7 cranes, 358–68 Cassandra as a vulnerable heifer, 550 swallows). This is especially noticeable in the comparison of the Trojans surrounding the horse with a flock of jackdaws thoughtlessly approaching an eagle (247–9), and later when Odysseus and Menelaus charge against the Trojans like wolves attacking an unguarded herd of sheep (613–17, 624–5). The images of the hunt are anticipated by the comparison of Sinon with the lookout of a hunting party (219–28) and completed by the comparison of the survivors left after the battle with fish caught in a net (671–5). The comparison of Neoptolemus with a vigorous colt (152–8) is a cautionary image, but also a victorious one.

As regards the portrayal of individuals, the initial introduction of each is meant to forecast and justify his success or lack of it, and it is often backed up with a simile. For example, when Odysseus is about to intervene in the Greek assembly, he is depicted as a man in a state of complete concentration before his speech,[58] as if he were trying to absorb all the persuasive powers that Athena has given him.[59] The combination of his natural rhetorical ability, constantly displayed in the *Odyssey*, with Athena's support sets the stage for a formidable performance, and the introduction to the speech is accompanied by several metaphors of verbal success.[60] The immediate galvanisation of the whole army into action after the speech is guaranteed not so much by the speech itself as by the description of the effect that it has on them: Odysseus' words drench them like a spring, or raindrops, and what he says feels as sweet as honey, the terrestrial version of the nectar Athena had given him (113 ἐπιχρίουσα μελίχροϊ νέκταρι φωνήν).

Later, during the nyktomachy, Odysseus and Menelaus attack the house of Deiphobus (613–28). From the outset, readers know that they are going to be successful, not only because Troy has already been de-

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58 115–16 πρῶτα μὲν εἵστήκει κενεόφρονι φωτὶ ἐοικὼς / ὄμματος ἀστρέπτοιο βολὴν ἐπὶ γαῖαν ἐρείσας.

59 111–13 Ἡ δὲ τανυφθόγγοιο δέμας κήρυκος ἑλοῦσα / συμφράδμων Ὀδυσῆι παρίστατο θοῦρις Ἀθήνη / ἀνδρὸς ἐπιχρίουσα μελίχροϊ νέκταρι φωνήν.

60 Producing a speech is similar to giving birth (the resulting product being like a perfect newborn creature); the speech flows naturally like a spring or running honey; words fall like rain-drops: 117–19 ἄφνω δ' ἀενάων ἐπέων ὠδῖνας ἀνοίξας / δεινὸν ἀνεβρόντησε καὶ ἠερίης ἅ τε πηγῆς / ἐξέχεεν μέγα λαῖτμα μελισταγέος νιφετοῖο.

scribed as the scene of a massacre (542–6) or because tradition states that they succeeded, but because they are compared with two wolves attacking an unguarded flock during the night, which implies that the Trojans will be butchered like sheep, as indeed they are.[61]

The introduction of Cassandra is more elaborate and aims to explain why the Trojans did not believe her, despite her sensible arguments. The comparison of her on her irruption into the festivities with a heifer in distress bitten by a gadfly (358–68) and with a Bacchant dancing out of her mind in the mountains (369–75) reflects her insanity and lack of self-control, draining her credibility before she has even opened her mouth. The reader is reminded after the speech that Apollo had deprived her of her power to convince because she had broken her promise to him, so disabling any divine force that her words might have had.[62]

The same technique is applied to the divinities. In order to persuade Helen to expose the men hidden in the wooden horse (454–6), Aphrodite has carefully prepared herself to meet Helen with all her charms (πολιὸν δεμάς ἀσκήσασα), she is presented as an eloquent and practised liar (δολοφρονέουσα πολυφράδμων ᾽Αφροδίτη), and her speech is described as a set of convincing words (πειθήμονι φωνῇ). The success of the goddess is guaranteed by the introduction to her speech, and not by the speech itself. The effect that Helen has on the Trojans and Achaeans is also similar to that of Aphrodite on her: her astonishing beauty and charm evoke admiration in the Trojan women[63] and even break the resolve of the hardened men hidden in the horse (469–86).[64]

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61 613–17 Τὼ δὲ γυναιμανέος ποτὶ δώματα Δηιφόβοιο / στελλέσθην ᾽Οδυσεύς τε καὶ εὐχαίτης Μενέλαος / καρχαλέοισι λύκοισιν ἐοικότες, οἵ θ᾽ ὑπὸ νύκτα / χειμερίην φονόωντες ἀσημάντοις ἐπὶ μήλοις / οἴχονται, κάματον δὲ κατατρύχουσι νομήων; 624b–5 καὶ ἀντίβιον μὲν ὅμιλον, / θῆρας δειμαλέους, ἐλάων ἐδάιξεν ᾽Οδυσσεύς.

62 417–18 τῇ δ᾽ οὔ τις ἐπείθετο· τὴν γὰρ ᾽Απόλλων / ἀμφότερον μάντιν τ᾽ ἀγαθὴν καὶ ἄπιστον ἔθηκεν.

63 Triph. 465b–6 τὴν δὲ κιοῦσαν / Τρῳάδες ἑλκεχίτωνες ἐθηήσαντο γυναῖκες. Compare the effect of Aphrodite's beauty on Helen.

64 Note esp. the parallels between the reactions of Helen to Aphrodite (463b–4 ἡ δὲ δόλοισι / θελγομένη κραδίην θάλαμον λίπε κηώεντα) and of the Greek men to Helen (487 Καί νύ κεν ἄλλον ἔθελγε γυνὴ δολόμητις ᾽Αχαιῶν). Both Helen and Aphrodite are expert deceivers: 455 δολοφρονέουσα πολυφράδμων ᾽Αφροδίτη, 487 γυνὴ δολόμητις. Helen's action is also referred to as deceit in 497 Ὣς φαμένη κενεὴν ἀπάτην ἐκέδασσε γυναικός.

The subsequent comparison of Helen carrying the torch with the full moon (514–21) highlights this impression of semi-divinity.

In three cases (Sinon, Neoptolemus and Athena) Triph. devotes several descriptions to individual characters to make them more credible.[65] Sinon's case is particularly interesting. His introduction, when he stays behind in Troy after the Achaean fleet sails off for Tenedos, seems to hint that he will succeed in deceiving the Trojans: he is called a hero experienced in guile (220 ἀπατήλιος ἥρως), and he is given a concentration scene similar to the one introducing Odysseus,[66] supported by a comparison with the patient scout of a hunting party (222–6). His preparation is so painstaking that he even mutilates himself to appear more credible as a traitor to the Achaeans (219, 227–9). His success is guaranteed before he starts the speech that he has prepared during the night, when the narrator describes his appearance on the plain through the eyes of the Trojans: they see a tortured man, and it does not occur to them that his wounds may be self-inflicted.[67] This preliminary impression is reinforced when his speech is introduced as 264 δολοπλόκον … μῦθον, and later he is given Odysseus' Homeric epithet (291 πολυμήχανος ἥρως).

The poet carefully presents the character of Neoptolemus progressively as a prelude to his death, which is beyond the scope of the narrative of the Trojan war.[68] When he arrives in Troy, he is said to take

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65 Priam would be a fourth instance, but his character does not receive so much descriptive attention. He first appears as one of the elderly men of Troy (241–5a), who are all looking forward to finishing their days in peace. Old age has not made them more reflective and, when they see that the Achaeans have gone, they immediately rush onto the plain. Sinon then approaches Priam with the respect appropriate to an elderly man (262–4). The latter's reaction to Sinon's supplication is mild and comforting (283 τὸν δ' ὁ γέρων ἀγανῇ μειλίξατο φωνῇ), and his polite speech betrays the fact that he is already under the spell of the beautiful horse (284–90, with nn. *ad loc.*). When Cassandra's appearance exposes him to ridicule as a father and spoils his chances of peace and feasting, he utters a violent, condemnatory speech, which is further proof of his blindness (419–44a).

66 Esp. 221 κρυπτὸν ἐπὶ Τρώεσσι δόλον καὶ πήματα κεύθων, 228 Τροίῃ λυγρὸν ὄλεθρον ἐμήδετο.

67 258–61 Φραζομένοις δ' ἐπὶ τοῖσι παναίολα γυῖα κομίζων / γυμνὸς ὑπὲρ πεδίοιο φάνη κεκακωμένος ἀνήρ· / αἵματι δὲ σμώδιγγες ἀεικέι βεβριθυῖαι / ἴχνια λωβήεντα θοῶν ἀνέφαινον ἱμάντων. He then makes the most of his wounds in his first speech (268–77 – note that 276b–7a ἀεικελίῃσι δ' ἱμάσθλαις / πᾶν δέμας οὐτήσαντες is close in meaning to the preceding 261 ἴχνια λωβήεντα … ἱμάντων).

68 For a more detailed analysis, see notes to 51–4, 152b–8, 634–43.

after his father in terms of his strength (54). He then impetuously volunteers for the expedition of the horse, rushing like a colt that anticipates its charioteer's wishes, and reminds Diomedes of Achilles (152–8). The simile sounds cautionary, not only because comparisons of fighters with horses of exhilarating strength (e.g. *Il.* 6.506–14, *Od.* 15.263–8) are images of the brevity of the prime of life, but also because the best horses are those that are obedient to the reins, and not impetuous ones.[69] Neoptolemus may possess his father's strength and courage, but he does not take after him in his lack of reflection, since his father always foresaw and accepted the full consequences of his acts: he killed Hector despite being fully aware that this would bring his own death forward, and he spared Priam, thinking of his own father. Finally, the negative consequences of Neoptolemus' hastiness are revealed in the nyktomachy, with the description of how he, unlike his father, kills Priam (634–9), and the prediction that his death will be similar to Priam's and caused by his hot-headedness (640–3).

The characterisation of Athena is vital in suggesting the events following the departure of the Achaeans from Troy. Athena appears as a tireless divinity (44 ἀκάματος … ᾽Αθήνη), who makes the most of every single opportunity to bring about the defeat of the Trojans.[70] However, Athena's fidelity to the Achaeans is no more than a means of punishing all the Trojans for the affront committed by one of their number, Paris. It comes as no surprise, then, that she should be equally unyielding in her rancour and methodical in her revenge when one of the Achaeans affronts her, namely when Ajax rapes Cassandra, who had sought the protection of her statue (647–50). The description of Athena's horrified reaction to the rape is a reminder that her behaviour will change completely once the narrative of the *Sack of Troy* is complete.

69 AR 4.1604–8; Philostr. *Imag.* 1.17.2; Opp. *H.* 5.497–8; Opp. *C.* 1.313.

70 Triph. 55–6, 57–8, 111–13, 120–1, 184–8, 330–5, 487–97, 566–7.

2.4 The Narrator

Triph. designs his narrator with the Homeric one in mind.[71] In the initial invocation to Calliope (1–5), he addresses the Muse as the Homeric narrator does at the beginning of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey.* The final narratorial intervention to bring the poem to an end (664–7) also draws on the Homeric motifs of the poet's inability to do justice to his topic and the request for divine assistance.[72] The Triphiodorean narrator is, like the Homeric one, external, omniscient, and omnipresent.[73] Whereas in other contemporary poems the narrators volunteer personal information,[74] the narrator of the *Sack of Troy* is nowhere related to the *persona* of the author and remains entirely anonymous.

The narrator's omniscience is particularly clear in passages where he describes the gods at work (including examples of the correspondence between natural elements and divine entities),[75] when he interprets the inner motivations of his characters,[76] and in his management

71 See the descriptive overview in de Jong 2004b, 13–18, as a reference.

72 The poet's insufficiency: *Il.* 2.488, 12.176; *Od.* 3.113–14, 4.240, 11.328–9, 11.517. Requests for divine assistance in *Il.* 2.484–93, 2.761–2, 11.218–20, 14.508–10, 16.112–13.

73 The fiction of a continuous, uniform narrative is broken by the polemical tone of the rejection of alternative versions of the end of Laodice: 660–3.

74 See the introduction to Triph. 1–5 (F. Comparison with other poems).

75 6–8 Enyo; 43–5 Athena would have failed; 55–6 Athena and her Palladion; 57 βουλῇσι θεῆς; 111–13 Athena by Odysseus; 185–8 Athena feeds the heroes; 230–4 Hera (air) and Hephaestus (fire); 235–7 Φήμη (smoke); 245–6 Zeus' intentions; 324–7 Ida, Xanthus, Simoeis, Zeus (lightning); 331–2 Athena helps in the transporting of the horse; 336–9 Hera and Poseidon; Cassandra inspired by a god (358 θεήλατος, 365–6, comparison with a Bacchant in 369–74, her speech is not ratified by Apollo – 417–18); 447 the gods reject the hecatombs of the Trojans; 454–98a Aphrodite and Athena approach Helen; 503–5 Ἡσυχίη, Νύξ, Σιγή; 506–9 Zeus and Apollo; 529 Poseidon helps the Greeks; 559–72 theophany I; 596–9 theophany II; 649–50 Athena disapproves of the rape of Cassandra; 651–2 Aphrodite saves Aeneas, with Zeus' approval; 668–70 Eos; 683–5 Xanthus, Hephaestus (fire), Hera (air).

76 Neoptolemus' impetuosity (53–4, 152–6, 634–43); Helenus' motivations (45–50); motivations of the volunteers for the horse (157–8, 162–4, 172–4); feelings of the Greek heroes hidden inside the horse (189–99); Sinon's inner attitude (218–29); motivation of the Trojan elders (243b–5a); admiration of the Trojans when faced with the horse (247–9); blindness of the Trojans (310–15); Cassandra's feelings and thoughts (440–3); ὕβρις and μεθημοσύνη of the Trojans (448–51); Helen's mixed feelings (630–3). Ruth Scodel notes to me that Homer does this less than we would expect from an omniscient narrator, and usually very briefly.

of narrative time[77] and space.[78] Direct narratorial interventions take the following forms:[79]

- Apostrophes: to Laodice (660–3 Δειλὴ Λαοδίκη …) , a sign of compassion and a validation of one of the versions of Laodice's death.
- Evaluative comments, stressing the *pathos* of death: 245–6 (οὐ μὲν ἔμελλον / γηθήσειν ἐπὶ δηρόν, ἐπεὶ Διὸς ἤθελε βουλή), 310–15 (of the Trojans, who are bringing the wooden horse into Troy: Σχέτλιον ἀφραδέων μερόπων γένος …) , 579–80 (of a Trojan who reveals his position to a Greek soldier, thinking that he is another Trojan: νήπιος …), 640–3 (of Neoptolemus, who has impulsively killed Priam: Σχέτλιος …).
- 'If-not' situations or 'pivotal contrafactuals' ("X would have happened, if Y had not intervened"), introduced to create tension and add *pathos* to the narrative, since when they are invited to imagine alternative endings, readers become emotionally involved in the narrative: 43–8 (Athena's efforts to help the Achaeans would have been in vain, had Helenus not defected to the Achaeans), 487–90 (Helen would have tempted the men hidden inside the horse, if Athena had not stopped her).

There are also more discreet narratorial interventions of various kinds, such as implicit evaluation of the narrative and emotionalisation:[80]

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77 He recalls the past (analepses) and anticipates the future of his characters (prolepses): Cyanippus (159–61); Ajax Oileus (165–7a); Anticlus (178–9); the Trojan elders (245b–6); Neoptolemus (634–43); Aeneas (651–5); Antenorids (656–9). Triph.'s use of anachronism is limited when compared with that found in longer poems, esp. the *Posthom.*, on which see Schmitz 2007. Triph. narrates at various speeds: he brings the narrative to a halt, esp. with similes (189–99, 352–5, 360–72, 514–19), and propels it onward with summaries (6–39); he allots different narrative slots to characters who do the same thing, esp. in catalogues (17–39, 152b–83).

78 Bird's-eye views: assembly by Agamemnon's ship (108–10); overview of the Achaean camp (208–18); the Trojans see the Achaean camp from their walls and scatter throughout the plain (235–43a); overview of the plain (316–29); various settings in Troy (340–9, 444–53, 463–8); nocturnal overview of Troy (506–691).

79 De Jong (2004b, 15–17) analyses invocations to the Muse, apostrophes ("when the narrator addresses one of his characters with a vocative and then switches … to second-person narration"), gnomic utterances, evaluative comments, 'if-not' situations. Compare the variety of narratorial interventions in the *Halieutica* of Oppian, as analysed in Rebuffat 2001, 113–33.

80 De Jong (2004b, 17–18) includes here descriptions, comparisons and similes, motifs and juxtaposition.

– Descriptions: the *Sack of Troy* features three main descriptions of actions: the construction of the wooden horse (57–107), designed to demonstrate the expertise and careful preparations of the Achaeans; the transporting of the wooden horse into Troy (304–57), showing the Trojans as a people who are capable of improvising a wonderful feast, but find sustained effort difficult; and the nocturnal battle (506–691), which contrasts the pathetic situation of the Trojans, incapable of defending themselves, and the growing brutality of the Achaeans, overcome by the paroxysm of battle.[81]
– Motifs: mainly in the nyktomachy, where epic and historiographical motifs appear inextricably entwined, to enhance the description of the battle with the resonances of other ones, both those narrated by Homer and those recorded by the historians.[82]
– The various modes of comparison (short comparisons, extended similes, metaphors, parallelisms, juxtapositions) are privileged spaces for narratorial intervention, because they boost the emotional impact and enliven the main narrative through the introduction of sets of comparable images.[83]

The last type requires further critical analysis. The most subtle of the forms of comparison are the parallels between objects (and ani-

81 On the descriptions, see the introductions to lines 57–107, 304–57, 506–691.

82 Epic motifs: *kerostasia* (506–7); 'the gods abandon a city when it is about to be taken' (508–9); a young bride asks her groom's killer to kill her (551–5), blending the motifs of the 'young husband slain', 'bereaved widow' and the bride who commits suicide when her fiancé dies; 'Dolon's death' or 'man gets killed by the enemy whom he mistook for a friend' (577–80a); 'death falling from a roof' (580b–1); 'Elpenor's death' or 'drunken man falls from the top floor' (582–6); 'Epicles' death' or 'jumping down from the city walls' (588–9); 'dogs and birds of prey devour the corpses after the battle' (607–12); 'two against a throng' (618–20a); 'repayment of a debt of hospitality' (656–9). Historiographical motifs: defenders of a town taken by surprise are killed in bed (540–1), suicide of the defeated (548–9), grisly killing of innocent infants (556–8, 603–6, 644–6), deaths in a stampede (592–4a), ignominious death of the elderly (600–2, 634–43), women pelt the invaders with stones and roof tiles (620b–1). For more on this, see the introduction to the nyktomachy (506–691).

83 Ancient commentators interpreted similes primarily as affective devices and a means of bringing a scene to life before one's eyes. They were also concerned with the appropriateness of the comparison to the specific narrative moment. Cf. Martin 1997, 140–1. For an overview of the Homeric forms of comparison, see Buxton 2004, citing previous bibliography.

mals) and people to depict exhaustion,[84] or the use of juxtaposition. The narrator sets in parallel not only secondary narratives (the construction of the horse and the construction of the ships for Paris, connecting the end and the beginning of the story: 59–61), but also different views of the same event (219–29 Sinon seen by the narrator vs. 258–61 Sinon seen by the Trojans; 308–9 musical accompaniment of the procession as heard by the Trojans vs. 318–28 ominous noise perceived by the narrator; different descriptions of the advance of the horse across the plain in 307–8a, 328–35).

Though in the *Iliad* extended similes tend to be clustered in action sequences, especially in battles,[85] they are conspicuously absent from the three long descriptions of actions in the *Sack of Troy*. In these Triph. resorts to quick comparisons, and there are only two long ones,[86] one at the beginning and another at the end of the description, but none in the middle of the action.[87] As Whitby (1994, 120) suggests, the movement and tension of these scenes may account for the abandoning of the extended simile, but Triph. also makes use of other modes of comparison, in particular metaphors.[88] These provide a more subtle and provocative means of introducing new perspectives on key elements of the plot,

84 8b–16 weapons and horses to depict the exhaustion of war; 500–2 musical instruments and tableware to illustrate the sudden calm at the end of the banquet. Priam uses the same technique to describe the end of the war (427–8).

85 Moulton 1977, 50–87.

86 The construction of the wooden horse (57–107): the construction of the statue is like that of a ship (63b–4), its tail compared to a grapevine (82–3), comparison with a living horse (84–5). In the transporting of the horse (304–57): 328–9 ὁδὸς δ᾽ ἐβαρύνετο μακρή, / … οὐ πεδίοισιν ὁμοίη; 333 ὃς δὲ θέων ἀκίχητος ἐπέδραμε θᾶσσον ὀιστοῦ. In the final battle (506–691): 545 <ἔνθορον> ἔνθα καὶ ἔνθα μεμηνότες οἷα λέοντες; 550 χελιδόνες οἷά τε κοῦφαι; 559 οἷα θύελλα (extended with metaphors 560–1); 590 οἷά τε φῶρες; 615–17 (Menelaus and Odysseus attack like wolves attacking an unguarded flock during the night – completed with 624b–5).

87 The comparison of the noisy Trojans with cranes (350–7) draws a final general picture of the situation and seems to bring the procession to a halt before the intervention of Cassandra (358ff.). The final battle begins with an extended simile (533–41 Achaean kings leaving the horse) to emphasise the transition from the complete immobility of the men hidden inside the horse to frantic action. Cf. Martin 1997, 146: "[Homeric] Similes do not occur in the middle of an action. They draw attention either to the start of an action or to its finish".

88 For an ancient interpretation of Homeric metaphors, see [Plut.] *De Homero* 19–20 (*Mor.* 54), to be read with Ramos Jurado 1984.

such as cosmic phenomena (including personifications)[89] or battle-related concepts.[90] It is in the portrayal of the horse as a multifarious artefact that Triph. makes the most of this rhetorical device. The wooden horse is presented:

- as an ambush: 2 λόχον, 120 κρύφιος λόχος, 201 ἀτεκμάρτοιο λόχου, 379b–90 (Cassandra) λόχος / λόχιος, 539 κρυφίοιο λόχου;
- as an artefact, at once human and divine in its origin (2 Ἀργείης ἱππήλατον ἔργον Ἀθήνης, 57 βουλῇσι θεῆς ὑποεργὸς Ἐπειός, 121 χερσὶ μὲν ἀνδρομέῃσιν, ἀτὰρ βουλῇσιν Ἀθήνης, 137 ἀταρβήτοιο θεῆς ἀπατήνορα τέχνην, 295 Ἵππον δ' Ἀργείοισι παλαίφατον εὗρεν Ἐπειός), and as a creation worthy of the gods: 104–5, 255–7, 298 εἰ δέ μιν ἁγνὸν ἄγαλμα λαβῇ νηοῖσιν Ἀθήνη, 303 δαιδάλεον … ἀνάθημα, 342 περὶ βρέτας εἱλίσσοντο, 432, 444–5);
- as a monster: 58 πελώριον ἵππον, 288–9 τί τοι τόδε θαῦμα τέτυκται, / ἵππος, ἀμειλίκτοιο φόβου τέρας;
- as a malign statue, because of the pain that it is going to cause: 58 Τροίης ἐχθρὸν ἄγαλμα, 135–8, 317 ἔστεφον αὐχενίους πλοκάμους σφετέροιο φονῆος;
- as a weapon of war: 78–9, 84–6 (ready to go into battle), 99 μενεδήιον ἵππον, 104b–5 worthy of Ares, 256 ἀρήιον ἵππον, 330 Εἵπετο δ' αἰόλος ἵππος ἀρηιφίλους ἐπὶ βωμούς, 376 (Cassandra) ἀνάρσιον ἵππον;
- as a vessel, the means of transport by which the Achaeans can enter Troy: 60–1 (compared with the ships built for Paris), 62–4 (construction of the horse compared with the construction of a ship), 185 ἱππείην … ἐς ὁλκάδα, 344 ὁλκῷ δουρατέῳ;
- as a deception: 107 δόλον;
- as a means of conquering Troy: 174 ἤδη Τρώιον ἄστυ καθιππεύσουσιν Ἀχαιοί;
- as a pregnant animal, ready to deliver the warriors: 200 ἐγκύμονος ἵππου, 357 ἦγον ἐς ἀκρόπολιν βεβαρημένον ἔνδοθεν ἵππον, 379b–90 (Cassandra) pun on λόχος / λόχιος;
- as a seductive work of art: 103–4a, 206–7 θέλεν δέ ἑ γυμνὸν ἐάσσαι, / τηλεφανὴς ἵνα πᾶσιν ἑὴν χάριν ἀνδράσι πέμποι, 247 τεχνήεντος … δέμας αἰόλον ἵππου, 255 οἱ δὲ νεοξέστοιο πεποιθότες ἔργμασι τέχνης, 468 ἔστη παπταίνουσα φυὴν εὐήνορος ἵππου.

The metaphors used of the horse reach their peak in Cassandra's frenzied speech (376–416), but recur throughout the poem to evoke the various (and sometimes competing) aspects of its nature.

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89 6 Ἤδη μὲν δεκάτοιο κυλινδομένου λυκάβαντος; 218 Hellespont; 230–7 personifications of fire, air and smoke; 503–5 night; 514–19 moon; 668–70 dawn. Also cosmic perspectives on disaster: 310b–11a οἷσιν ὀμίχλη / ἄσκοπος ἐσσομένων; 411 (Cassandra) νεφέλην … βλαψίφρονος ἄτης; 448–51a.

90 36 πολυξείνοιο χορὸν πολέμοιο; 37 νέφος ἀνδρῶν; 122–3 Ὑμεῖς δ', οἵ τε μάλιστα πεποίθατε κάρτεϊ χειρῶν, / πρόφρονες ἀλκήεντι νόῳ καὶ τλήμονι θυμῷ; 559–65; 664 μόθου χύσιν.

Triph. reserves long similes for more static situations, as his usual strategy for building up a character.[91] Not all characters receive the same treatment, however. In the presentation of Odysseus (114–19), for example, comparisons are unnecessary, because his main feature is that he is Athena's human *alter ego*. Triph. introduces two brief comparisons[92] to give the description visual impact, but their main aim is that of referring the reader to the description of Odysseus' gestures before giving a speech in *Il.* 3.216–23.

On the other hand, Neoptolemus is always measured against his famous father and any comments on their resemblance are a mild form of comparison.[93] Triph. resorts to an extended simile of an impetuous colt (152–8) to renew the link between the two men: Neoptolemus is driven by impulses, just as his father was, when he refused to fight because Agamemnon had robbed him of his *geras*, when he allowed Patroclus to fight in his place or when he embarked on furious revenge for Patroclus' death. However, Achilles accepted the consequences of his killing of Hector (he knew that this was his death sentence) and placed a limit on his rage, taking pity of old Priam. The gulf between father and son becomes clear when Neoptolemus does not follow his father in his respect

91 Individuals: Odysseus (115–19), Neoptolemus (simile in 153–6; comparison with his father in 634–43), Sinon (219–28), Cassandra (358–75, double simile), Helen (512–21), Menelaus and Odysseus (613–17). Groups: Achaean chiefs in the horse (190–9, 533–41, 544–6), noisy Trojans (247–9, 350–7), Trojans in battle (550, 624–5), fugitive Trojans (590–4, 672–5). More on collective similes and comparisons in 2.3 Characterisation.
Compare the use of similes in other Imperial hexameter poems: didactic poets make frequent use of brief comparisons and only very restricted use of extended similes (cf. Rebuffat 2001, 241–2), with the exception of Oppian, who makes extensive use of similes to bring his *Halieutica* closer to Homer, and the author of the *Cynegetica*, who imitates Oppian (cf. Rebuffat 2001, 242–3). QS again and again picks up the same topics of comparison, detaching himself progressively from his (Homeric) model: cf. Vian 1954, 30–41, 42–3; Maciver 2012a, chapter 4; Maciver 2012b. Nonnus is not particularly keen on comparisons and prefers to build networks of metaphors, on which see Gigli Piccardi 1985.

92 114–19 Αὐτὰρ ὁ δαιμονίῃσι νόον βουλῇσιν ἑλίσσων / πρῶτα μὲν εἱστήκει κενεόφρονι φωτὶ ἐοικὼς / ὄμματος ἀστρέπτοιο βολὴν ἐπὶ γαῖαν ἐρείσας, / ἄφνω δ' ἀενάων ἐπέων ὠδῖνας ἀνοίξας / δεινὸν ἀνεβρόντησε καὶ ἠερίης ἅ τε πηγῆς / ἐξέχεεν μέγα λαῖτμα μελισταγέος νιφετοῖο.

93 54a ἀλκὴν πατρὸς ἔφαινε; 157b–8 Διομήδης / θαυμάζων ὅτι τοῖος ἔην καὶ πρόσθεν Ἀχιλλεύς.

for Priam.[94] The ultimate comparison involving Neoptolemus occurs when the narrator predicts that he will suffer a death similar to the one that he has given to Priam (640–3): he who lives by the sword will die by it.

Helen is at first equated to Aphrodite: the presentations of both focus on the power of their charm (454–6, 463–6). Then Athena breaks the connection between them, placing Helen at the service of the Achaeans (487–97), but the extended simile comparing Helen holding a torch with the full moon (512–21) shows that she maintains her Aphrodite-like powers of attraction. She is made all the more special by the fact that while she is granted an extended simile, Sinon, who also holds a torch to call the Achaeans back, only receives a brief mention (510–11). In a sense this predicts that she will have no difficulty in drawing Menelaus to her (630–3), thus avoiding punishment for her elopement with Paris.

Such cases show that similes usually appear in combination with other comparative strategies. They are used in various types of sequences and their images become narrative patterns that affect the main narrative, both within a narrow compass and over longer units. A good instance of this is to be found in the double extended simile[95] with which Cassandra is presented (358–75). The initial impression that Cassandra makes on passers-by when she is seen running in a trance (heifer bitten by a fly = person who has completely lost control of her body and mind during a fit), towards a more accurate perception of her as a possessed woman (like a Bacchant). The negative form of the second simile[96] enhances the image of the Bacchant and reduces the impact of the first comparison, thus making it clear to the readers that the presentation of Cassandra as a prophetess should prevail. However, Priam chooses the first option: in his response to Cassandra he takes into account the divine nature of her inspiration, but calls her prophecies lies[97] and

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94 636–9 οἶκτον ἀπωσάμενος πατρώιον· οὐδὲ λιτάων / ἔκλυεν, οὐ Πηλῆος ὁρώμενος ἥλικα χαίτην / ᾐδέσαθ᾽, ἧς ὕπο θυμὸν ἀπέκλασεν ἠδὲ γέροντος / καί περ ἐὼν βαρύμηνις ἐφείσατο τὸ πρὶν Ἀχιλλεύς.

95 On the successive simile technique in the *Iliad*, cf. Moulton 1977, 27–49.

96 369 οὐχ οὕτω … 373 ὡς ἥ γε …

97 420 Τίς σε πάλιν, κακόμαντι, δυσώνυμος ἤγαγε δαίμων;, 434a ψεύδεα θεσπίζουσα, 438 οὐδ᾽ ἔτι μαντιπόλοιο τεῆς κεχρήμεθα φωνῆς.

gives more prominence to the mental illness that has transformed his daughter into a wild beast.[98] These similes contribute in their immediate context both to the portrayal of Cassandra and to the demonstration of Priam's lack of insight. Further on, the double image accompanies Cassandra beyond this scene: despite her prophetic gift she is no more than a wild, defenceless animal, an easy prey for the rapist Ajax (647–50), for Agamemnon when he takes her as a concubine, and for her killer Clytemnestra.[99]

Moreover, the simile of the heifer is one of a sequence which portrays the Trojans as easily-captured animals, with a twin series portraying the Achaeans as aggressive predators, and describing the final battle for Troy as a hunt. Both in the *Iliad* and in the *Odyssey*, animal similes (and more generally animal images) are constantly used to portray future winners (the Achaeans in the *Iliad*, Odysseus in the *Odyssey*) as strong animals, usually predators, and the losers (the Trojans, and the suitors) as weak ones.[100] In the *Sack of Troy* this theme becomes a unifying thread of the narrative. It starts with the construction of the wooden horse, the ultimate Achaean weapon, as a horse ready for battle (78–9, 84–6, 99–102), and a perfect mount for Ares (104b–5).[101] Odysseus' mention of the old omen of the snake that ate eight chicks and their mother, meaning that Troy was to be taken in the tenth year (128–31), provides the theme with a Homeric base.[102] The Greeks hidden inside the horse (189–97) seem to be the hunting party for which Sinon is the scout (222–6), and the success of the hunt is depicted in the

98 421a θαρσαλέη, κυνάμυια, 422–3 Οὔ πω σοι κέκμηκε νόος λυσσώδεϊ νούσῳ, / οὐδὲ παλιμφήμων ἐκορέσσαο λαβροσυνάων;, 433 Παρθένε τολμήεσσα, σὺ δὲ πρὸ δόμοιο θοροῦσα, 434b–5 ἄγρια μαργαίνουσα / μοχθίζεις ἀτέλεστα καὶ ἱερὸν ἄστυ μιαίνεις.

99 As she had anticipated in her prophecies: 408–9.

100 For the *Iliad*, see Moulton 1977, 88–99; Stoevesandt 2004, chapter V. For the *Odyssey*, see Moulton 1977, 135–41.

101 The horse will then aggressively chase the Trojans (330–5). We can even say that Neoptolemus becomes the human counterpart of the horse when he is compared with an impulsive colt (153–6). Also, the poet directs his poem as a charioteer directs his horses (1–5, 664–7), and the Dawn is ἱππότις (670).

102 The last battle provides a human counterpart for the omen: the Trojan women flutter around their children like delicate swallows (550–1), mirroring the behaviour of the mother bird of the omen, when she realises that the snake has eaten her chicks.

animal similes for Greek predators and Trojan victims,[103] which become real when maddened birds and hounds feast on the corpses of the Trojans (607–12). The thread is completed with the comparison of the defeated Trojans to fish caught in a hunting net (674–5).

Animal similes and images illustrate and emphasise the irrationality of both parties, which is punished sooner rather than later. The Trojans, not considering rationally the possible threats embodied by the wooden horse, bring it into Troy and cause their own destruction, and the Achaeans, attacking Troy as wildly and brutally as scavengers attacking dead bodies, bring upon themselves the enmity of their protector Athena (647–50).[104]

2.5 Speeches

The poem is dominated by the narratorial voice, but Triph. does introduce eight speeches into the poem: 120–51 Odysseus, 265–82 Sinon, 284–90 Priam, 292–303 Sinon, 376–416 Cassandra, 420–38 Priam, 457–62 Aphrodite, and 491–6 Athena. These comprise 135 lines out of the 691 of the poem (therefore nearly 20%).[105] In the first, Odysseus opens an assembly in which any verbal response is truncated by his own

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103 Trojans in front of the horse = jackdaws surrounding an eagle (247–9); Trojans taking the horse into the citadel = unpleasant-sounding migration of the cranes (352–7); Greek chieftains coming out of the horse to attack the sleeping Trojans = bees coming out of their hive to attack innocent passers-by (533–41) + Greek chieftains attack like maddened lions (545–6); Menelaus and Odysseus attacking = wolves attacking an unguarded flock (614–17) + Odysseus massacres the Trojans, who are like timid animals (624b–5).

104 In the *Sack of Troy*, as in the *Aeneid* (cf. analysis in Hornsby 1970, 8–9, 47–77, esp. 64–9 on Book 9), the Homeric conception of the warrior as a powerful predator has become anachronistic.

105 Compare the percentages of direct speech in other authors: according to Griffin (1986, 37), direct speech takes up 45% of the *Iliad* and 67% of the *Odyssey* (including Odysseus' long narrative in Books 9–12). For overviews of Homeric speeches, see Griffin 2004; Richardson 1990, 70–88.
For later authors, Elderkin (1906, 2–3) gives figures of 29% in AR, 24% in QS, 36% in Nonnus, 34% in Musaeus, and 37% in Colluthus. Cameron 1970, 266–7, comments on the tendency towards fewer but longer speeches and towards a reduction in the interchange of speeches (Homeric conversation) in favour of long, set speeches directed at silent interlocutors. On Nonnus' speeches, see Wifstrand 1933, 140–51; Whitby 1994, 101–2, 114–16, 119–20 ("[120] Triphiodorus' preference for realistic debate between specific individuals makes his speeches closer to those of Homer (and more remote from Nonnus) than the corresponding ones in Quintus"); Agosti 2005, 45–53; Miguélez-Cavero 2008, 336–9.

success. The episodes of Sinon (258–303) and Cassandra (358–443) reflect the tone of 'Homeric conversation', with contrasting speeches. The two speeches made by Aphrodite (457–62) and Athena (491–6) to a silent Helen serve as a means of characterising her as a plaything of the gods and of highlighting the differences between the divinities helping the Trojans (the wily Aphrodite) and the Achaeans (the resourceful Athena).[106]

Speeches provide a good testing ground for an evaluation of the close ties between rhetoric and Homeric manners in the *Sack of Troy*.[107] Aphrodite's speech to Helen is based on the visits to Helen of Aphrodite and Iris in the *Iliad* (*Il.* 3.121–40, 383–420), and the rebukes of Priam to Cassandra (419–38) and of Athena to Helen (491–6) faithfully reproduce the patterns of Homeric rebukes.[108] Odysseus' speech (120–51), too, is an excellent example of this combination of Homeric and rhetorical imprints: it draws on Odysseus' harangues in *Il.* 2 (190–7, 200–6, 284–332), and its structure and arguments reproduce the usual layout of historiographical harangues.[109]

The speeches of Sinon and Priam (258–303) work differently. Both speakers sound Homeric, without imitating any particular speech,[110] and the rhetorical imprint is felt in the characterisation of Sinon as a

106 More on this in 2.3 Characterisation.

107 More on this in 3.8.3 Prose on the Trojan War.

108 Introduction to the intentions of the speaker (419, 490b); emotional words of reproach (420–1, 491–2); account of the problem (422–3, 493–4); action viewed from a broader perspective (424–35); a proposal for amends (436–8, 495–6). The pattern is analysed by Minchin 2007, 27–38.

109 Structure: exordium (120–1), instructions concerning the situation combined with paraenetic motifs (122–45) and *peroratio* (146–51). Arguments common in historiographical harangues and Homeric models: necessity (Triph. 124–7; *Il.* 15.502–3, 17.227–8); possibility of victory and the justified expectation of winning the battle, based on the *omina* (Triph. 128–34; *Il.* 8.139–44, 173–7).

110 Triph. 278 can be compared with other suppliants' speeches, such as *Od.* 9.269–70. Priam's generous response to Sinon (286–7) may be compared to other instances involving the reception of foreigners (*Od.* 6.192, 214–16, 246, 7.166, 172–7, 334–42, 189–94). The questions addressed to Sinon (289b–90) are comparable to other questions for foreigners (*Od.* 1.170, 3.71, 14.47, 15.423, 17.368, 19.162). Answers to enquiries about name and origins usually start with a statement of veracity (Triph. 292; *Od.* 1.179, 3.80, 19.167, 24.303), before the speaker embarks on a detailed reply (Triph. 293–4; *Od.* 1.180–1, 3.81, 14.199, 15.425–6, 24.304–6). On the Homeric naming type-scene, see Higbie 1995, 69–109.

man in distress, stumbling when he tries to make himself heard,[111] and of Priam as a polite host who allows his curiosity to show itself in his speech.[112] In a similar way, Cassandra's metaphors and intricate riddles are used with the aim of presenting her as a possessed *mantis* (376–416), but the referent here is not Homer, but Euripides and Lycophron, which Triph. must have found more suitable for the presentation of obscure and pathos-filled words.[113] The preoccupation with the *ethos* of the speaking characters may well be related to the growing importance of *ethopoea* as a literary tool.[114]

111 Cf. Nicol. 66.9–13 Felten on how to convey *pathos* in a speech.

112 He first offers protection to the suppliant, but he cannot help asking about the horse (288–9a).

113 Cassandra does use rhetorical argumentation in the second half of her speech, however: her predictions concerning the fates of individuals can be compared with rhetorical advice on the persuasive use of διατύπωσις (references in the introduction to 376–416). Her final exhortation (410–16) is similar to the final exhortations of Homeric harangues: compare Triph. 412–13a with *Il.* 12.440–1.

114 See the brief summary of the rhetorical treatments of *ethopoea* in Miguélez-Cavero 2008, 316–19.

3. The Literary Universe: Triphiodorus and the Epic Tradition

3.1 Triphiodorus and Homer

Homer was central both at every level of education[1] and in visual culture,[2] and in general was considered to be a repository of Hellenic *paideia*.[3] Nonetheless, the implications of this general truth in the *Sack of Troy* still require evaluation. There are three main forms of Triphiodorean engagement with the Homeric texts:[4]

a) Demodocus' song (*Od.* 8.499–520) is taken into account for all related passages:[5]

- Triph. 208–18 the Achaeans burn their camp and leave in their ships ~ *Od.* 8.500–1.
- Triph. 200–3 the Achaean warriors sit inside the horse with Odysseus ~ *Od.* 8.502–3.
- Triph. 247–57 confused Trojan assembly ~ *Od.* 8.505–10.
- Triph. 310–15 Troy is doomed ~ *Od.* 8.511–13.
- Triph. 533–4a the Achaean warriors leave the horse ~ *Od.* 8.514–15.
- Triph. 613–25 Menelaus and Odysseus launch a joint attack ~ *Od.* 8.516–20.

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1 Cribiore 2001, 140–2, 194–7, 204–5. The oral performance of the Homeric texts is also to be taken into account: see Gangloff 2010.

2 Zeitlin 2001.

3 Kim 2010. On the meaning of *paideia* in Imperial times see Whitmarsh 2001, 5–17, 90–130, and the definition in Zeitlin 2013, 21: "*paideia*, a sophisticated Hellenism of the elite – of an author and of his audience that could appreciate the verbal pyrotechnics as well as draw upon a sophisticated cultural literacy".

4 On the *Sack of Troy* as a reactivation of the cultural power of the Homeric poems in the (Imperial) present, see Tomassso 2012, 374–5. *Ibid.* 390ff. on the approach to the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* in the *Sack of Troy*, especially in contrast with QS's aesthetic choices ("[396] Quintus envisions his audience moving from the Homeric *Iliad* directly to his own work and from his work directly to the *Odyssey*, whereas Triphiodorus envisions his audience consuming his poem as a self-standing text").

5 Triph.'s narrative choices are not always the same as those of Homer, however. In particular, in the *Od.* the Trojan assembly takes place when the wooden horse is already inside the citadel (8.505–13), whereas in the *Sack of Troy* it occurs immediately after the discovery of the horse (250ff.). Athena is said to play a role in the combined attack of Menelaus and Odysseus (*Od.* 8.519–20), but this reference is absent in Triph.'s equivalent passage (613–25). Sinon is not mentioned by Demodocus.

b) Specific passages are adapted to fit a particular situation (this includes references to events of the last days of Troy,[6] but also other passages which can be adapted to suit a different event):

- Triph. 14–16 (the horses mourn their partners and charioteers) ~ *Il.* 17.426–62 (Achilles' horses mourn Patroclus), phrasing included.
- Triph. 17–20 (catalogue of Achaean casualties) ~ *Od.* 3.108–12 (Nestor's catalogue of the Achaean *aristoi* who died before Troy was captured), different phrasing.
- Triph. 29–30a (Rhesus' death) recalls *Il.* 10.469–502 (Odysseus and Diomedes attack the Thracian camp), esp. 496–7.
- Triph. 62–4 (construction of the framework of the horse, compared with that of a ship) evokes *Od.* 5.241–62 (Odysseus builds a raft).
- Triph. 114–19 (Odysseus preparing to speak) ~ *Il.* 3.216–23 (Antenor describes Odysseus before a speech), with phraseological parallels.
- Triph. 128–31 (Odysseus' reminder of the prodigy of Aulis) ~ *Il.* 2.299–332 (idem), with phraseological parallels.
- Triph. 185b–8 (Athena feeds the warriors of the horse with ambrosia) ~ *Il.* 19.345–8, 353–5 (Athena feeds Achilles with nectar and ambrosia), different phrasing.
- Triph. 352–5 Trojans compared to cranes, as in the description of the Trojan arrival on the battlefield in *Il.* 3.2–7.
- Triph. 358–416 (Cassandra) ~ *Il.* 6.639–502, 22.437–515 (Andromache and Hector).[7]
- Triph. 454–98a (Helen tempts the men hidden inside the horse) ~ *Od.* 4.271–89 (Menelaus' account of how Odysseus overcame Helen's temptation).
- Triph. 457–62 (Aphrodite tempts Helen) ~ *Il.* 3.121–40, 383–420 (Iris and Aphrodite visit Helen), with phraseological parallels.
- Triph. 570–2 (Hades is scared by the noise of battle) is a variation of *Il.* 20.61–6.
- Triph. 634–9, the encounter between Neoptolemus and Priam is compared with that of Achilles and Priam (*Il.* 24.468ff.).

In some cases, specific Homeric passages are turned by Triph. into anonymous motifs: 577–80a ~ *Il.* 10.354–9 (Dolon); 582–6 ~ *Od.* 10.552–60, 11.61–5 (Elpenor); 588b–9 ~ *Il.* 12.385–6 (Epicles).

c) Recreation of Homeric motifs (sometimes Triph. simply sounds Homeric because he is referring to common Homeric motifs, with or without phraseological parallels):

- Deployment of the snare of the wooden horse, following the pattern of Homeric scenes of seduction (*Il.* 3.385–448, 14.154–366 and 15.4–6; *Od.* 8.272–366, 23.153–343).[8]
- Triph. 122–4 courage in battle, as in Homeric references to battle (*Il.* 4.309, 5.670, 8.226, 11.9, 17.317–19, 24.140).

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6 The final days of Troy were predicted in the *Il.* (6.454–63, 21.454–63, 24.734–5; see also 22.405–11, where the death of Hector is represented as if Troy were in flames) and described in the *Od.* (4.271–80, 11.523–32).

7 Cf. Ypsilanti 2007, 108–14.

8 Cf. the introduction to 57–107, A. Epic Tradition.

- Triph. 152b–83 (catalogue of volunteers for hiding inside the horse) ~ scenes where several warriors stand up to volunteer for a task or to participate in games (*Il.* 7.161–8, 23.287–300, 708–9, 811–12, 836–8, 859–60).
- Triph. 189–97 (simile: wild beasts waiting in a cave for the end of winter) ~ similes of *Il.* 4 (273–80, 422–8, 452–6), where the noise and violence of the combat are compared with those of the elements.
- Triph. 206b–7 (*charis* of the Horse) ~ Homeric *charis* (*Od.* 2.12–13, 6.235–7, 8.17–19, 17.63–4, 18.298 – also Hes. *Op.* 65, 73–4; *Th.* 583).
- Triph. 289b–90 (Priam asks Sinon about his identity) ~ questions addressed to foreigners (*Od.* 1.170, 3.71, 14.47, 15.423, 17.368, 19.162).
- Triph. 463b–4 (Helen is deluded by Aphrodite) ~ Homeric delusion caused by the gods (*Il.* 15.594, 21.276, 21.604; *Od.* 16.194–5, 17.514, 18.282).
- Triph. 542a (earth drenched with blood) ~ *Il.* 4.451, 8.65, 11.394, 13.655, 15.715, 20.494.
- Triph. 542b (noise of battle) ~ *Il.* 11.500, 13.169, 13.540, 16.267.
- Triph. 543b–4a (corpses pile up) ~ *Il.* 10.199–200, 21.220.
- Triph. 551b–5 (a young bride asks her groom's killer to kill her) ~ Homeric motifs of the young husband slain, the bereaved widow and the *parthenos* who commits suicide when her fiancé dies (cf. Griffin, 1980, 120–4, 131–4).

Triphiodorus, like all the learned men of his age, knew his Homer extremely well, and like them, he also relied on certain props for a better understanding of the Homeric poems.[9] To start with, the text of the Homeric poems had attracted much scholarly concern and a large number of grammarians had engaged in the expurgation and correction of what they considered faulty lines.[10] The ὑπομνήματα or commentaries,[11] sets of philological and exegetical explanations, provided by Didymus and Aristonicus (from the time of Augustus), Nicanor (under Hadrian) and Herodian (under Marcus Aurelius), may have been considered together or even combined to form a single whole since the second or third century AD. These collections were at the origin of the so-called *Viermännerkommentar*, later included in the A-Scholia.

Work on semasiology usually took the form of *scholia minora*,[12] i.e. lists of *lemmata* consisting of words or phrases in the order of the

9 For an analysis of the different types of Homerica, see Montanari 1995a; Montanari 1998; Schmidt 2002; Nagy 2004, 3–24; Dickey 2007, 18–28; Wilson 2007. For a list of Homerica, see West 2001, 130–6.

10 On how the Homeric text was edited, see Montanari 2002a; Nagy 2009, 11–37. More generally on the ancient procedures for what we now call a critical edition, see Montanari 2011.

11 A general introduction to the genre is given by del Fabbro 1979.

12 Henrichs 1971a; Henrichs 1971b; Henrichs 1973; Raffaelli 1984; West 2001, 130–6. For a definition of *scholia* and the history of the genre, see Montana 2011.

verses, followed by a *Worterklärung* (glossae) and occasionally exegetic or grammatical comments. These are often extant as independent texts, though explanations of individual words may appear as interlinear or marginal notes in copies of the poems. There were also specialist works such as the *Lexicon Homericum* by Apollonius Sophista (first century AD), partially extant on papyrus and as an epitome.[13]

If they were interested in the mythology that occurs in the poems, ancient scholars would have resorted to the ἱστορίαι,[14] sets of Homeric *lemmata* followed by a mythological commentary, which tended to give only one version of each myth, usually attributed to an author. The *historiae* are often aetiological and they sometimes provide information beyond what is necessary to understand the text. They transmit the work of the so-called *Mythographus Homericus* (not later than the first century AD), now extant in papyri and as part of medieval scholia.[15] Among other mythographical handbooks there was the *Bibliotheca*, attributed to Apollodorus.[16]

[Plutarch's] *De Homero*,[17] probably the work of a second or third century *grammaticus*, dealt with the language of Homer and his πολυμάθεια, viewing him as the source of all disciplines and literary genres. Also highly regarded were the books of Homeric problems or questions (προβλήματα or ἀπορήματα or ζητήματα), and their solutions (λύσεις).[18] Among other issues, they deal with problems of the poem's composition and of the personality of the characters as seen in their behaviour and speeches. Heraclitus' *Homeric Allegories* (first or second century AD)[19] gathers physical (the poem represents the forces or elements of the natural world in the form of gods), and ethical allegories (there are edifying concealed messages). Heraclitus, [Plutarch]

13 Epitome: Bekker 1833. In general, see Haslam 1994, with an overview of the papyri (pp. 107–18).

14 See Montanari 1995b; van Rossum-Steenbeek 1998, 85–118; Montanari 2002b.

15 Complete edition with commentary in Pagès Cebrián 2007. An earlier edition of the papyri is given by van Rossum-Steenbeek 1998, nos. 48–57.

16 Translated in Smith – Trzaskoma 2007. On Imperial mythography, see Cameron 2004a.

17 For which see Keaney – Lamberton 1996.

18 We know the *Quaestiones Homericae* of the 3rd-c. Neoplatonist Porphyry, a student of philosophy in Athens. Only the first book survives in its complete form: MacPhail 2011.

19 See Russell – Konstan 2005.

and Porphyry aim to disclose what Homer actually meant through different types of allegorical readings.[20]

3.1.1 Editorial work

As a γραμματικός, Triph. was aware of all these analytical aspects,[21] and refers to them in his *Sack of Troy*. Firstly, he alludes several times to the basic editorial work on the Homeric poems,[22] both corrections and the interpretation of the meaning of Homeric words:

- regarding *Il.* 5.62–4 ὃς καὶ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ τεκτήνατο νῆας ἐίσας / ἀρχεκάκους, αἳ πᾶσι κακὸν Τρώεσσι γένοντο / οἵ τ᾽ αὐτῷ, it was discussed whether ὅς (in 5.61 and 5.62) referred to Phereclus or to his father Tecton, son of Harmon (5.59–60 Μηριόνης δὲ Φέρεκλον ἐνήρατο, Τέκτονος υἱὸν / Ἁρμονίδεω).[23] Triph. refers to these lines in 60b–1 (ὁπόθεν καὶ πρόσθε Φέρεκλος / νῆας Ἀλεξάνδρῳ τεκτήνατο, πήματος ἀρχήν) assuming that they refer to Phereclus, just as Lycophron (*Alex.* 97) and Colluthus (196–201) do.
- Triph. 85 ἄπτερον … ἐπὶ δρόμον is easier to understand if we remember that ancient commentators read the Homeric ἄπτερος … μῦθος as 'swift word', with ἀ- *intensivum*.[24]
- Triph. 90–1 Κληιστὴν δ᾽ ἐνέθηκε θύρην καὶ κλίμακα τυκτήν, / ἡ μὲν ὅπως ἀίδηλος ἐπὶ πλευρῇς ἀραρυῖα makes more sense if we take into account the ancient explanation of ἀίδηλος as a synonym of ἄδηλος and ἀφανής.[25]
- *Il.* 22.69 οὗς τρέφον ἐν μεγάροισι τραπεζῆας πυλαωρούς, was corrected by Aristarchus to θυραωρούς in accordance with the usual distinction between πύλαι 'double gates of a town', and θύρα 'single door of a house'.[26] Triph. either ignores or does not

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20 Bernard 1990. On allegory, see Buffière 1956; Pépin 1976; Lamberton 1986; Copeland – Struck 2010, esp. Most's article.

21 Though he is far from the level of Hellenistic scholar poets: compare the analysis in Rengakos 1993, 1994. On the other hand, QS avoids the use of Homerica: cf. Vian 1963, xxviii.

22 Dubielzig (*Triph.*, 17) notes that Triph. uses Homeric half-lines that were athetised by some commentators: *Il.* 21.290 (see *Schol. in Il.* 21.290: Ζηνὸς ἐπαινήσαντος <ἐγὼ καὶ Παλλὰς Ἀθήνη>: ἀθετεῖται, ὅτι ἀπίθανον εἰς ἀνδρὸς μορφὴν ὡμοιωμένον λέγειν ἐγὼ καὶ Παλλὰς Ἀθήνη· τίς γάρ ἐστιν, οὐ μὴ νοήσῃ. A) ~ Triph. 654 Ζηνὸς ἐπαινήσαντος; *Od.* 8.81–2 (see *Schol. in Od.* 8.81–2: ἐν ἐνίαις τῶν ἐκδόσεων οὐκ ἐφέροντο· διὸ ἀθετοῦνται) ~ Triph. 61 πήματος ἀρχήν.

23 *Schol. in Il.* 5.60–2: <ὃς χερσὶν ἐπίστατο –> ὃς καὶ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ: ὁ Ἁρμονίδης, οὐχ ὁ Φέρεκλος, ἐπεὶ πρὸς τὰ δεύτερα ὕπαντᾷ. b(BCE^{3}E^4) T καὶ οἱ ἱστορικοί. ὁ δὲ δεύτερος ὅς (62) ἐπὶ Φερέκλου, T ὡς καὶ Λυκόφρων (Alex. 97)· "τράμπις σ᾽ ὀχήσει καὶ Φερέκλειοι πόδες". b(BCE^{3}E^4) T.

24 *Schol. in Od.* 17.57: ἄπτερος μῦθος] ἤτοι ἰσόπτερος, ταχύς. V. ταχὺς πρὸς τὸ πεισθῆναι καὶ ἰσόπτερος. Q. ἢ οὐκ ἀπέπτη ὁ λόγος, ἀλλ᾽ ἐπέμεινε μὴ ἔχων πτερόν. λέγει δὲ ὅτι ταχέως προσήκατο τὸν λόγον, ταχέως ἤκουσεν. Q.V. Ἡρωδιανὸς δὲ, ἕτοιμος, λέγει. MS Barnes.

25 See *Schol. in Il.* 2.455–6; Hesych. *s.v.* ἀίδηλον· ἄδηλον, ἀφανές B 455.

26 See LSJ *s.v.* πύλη; *Schol. in Il.* 22.69.

take into account the correction in 201 πιστὸς ἀτεκμάρτοιο λόχου πυλαωρὸς Ὀδυσσεύς.

– Triph. 236–7 (Φήμη / δήιον ἀγγέλλουσα φόβον σημάντορι καπνῷ) preserves the original sense of δήιον … φόβον 'the enemy flight' in *Il.* 11.71 οὐδ᾽ ἕτεροι μνώοντ᾽ ὀλοοῖο φόβοιο.[27]
– In 325–6 (ἵαχε καὶ Ξάνθου ποταμοῦ μυκώμενον ὕδωρ, / καὶ στόμα κεκλήγει Σιμοείσιον), Triph. alludes to the philological polemic regarding *Il.* 6.4 (the battle surged over the plain) μεσσηγὺς Σιμόεντος ἰδὲ Ξάνθοιο ῥοάων, which Aristarchus corrected to μεσσηγὺς ποταμοῖο Σκαμάνδρου καὶ στομαλίμνης.[28] Strabo (13.1.31, 34), Apollonius Rhodius (4.1571–2) and Theocritus (*Id.* 4.20–5) refer to the correction by using the word στομαλίμνη or στόμα λίμνης,[29] whereas Triph. seeks a compromise between the original line and the correction, by mentioning both rivers (Ξάνθου ποταμοῦ …/… Σιμοείσιον) and also the mouth of the Simoeis (στόμα … Σιμοείσιον, after the correction στομαλίμνης).
– *Od.* 4.271–89, the story of how Helen tried to seduce the men hidden inside the horse, narrated by Menelaus, attracted the attention of ancient critics, who found it marred by its implausibility in several places:[30]
  a) line 276 (καί τοι Δηίφοβος θεοείκελος ἕσπετ᾽ ἰούσῃ) was athetised by some,[31] probably because it did not make sense to them that Menelaus called his rival Deiphobus θεοείκελος. In his version of the episode, Triph. rephrases this line, suppressing the adjective and thus avoiding the problem: 465a καί οἱ Δηίφοβος πόσις εἵπετο.
  b) In 279 (πάντων ᾽Αργείων φωνὴν ἴσκουσ᾽ ἀλόχοισιν) Helen was said to imitate the voices of the wives of the Argives hidden in the horse. The line was considered implausible and even ridiculous:[32] how could Helen imitate the voices of women whom

27 *Schol. in Il.* 11.71: μνώοντ᾽ ὀλοοῖο φόβοιο: ὅτι φόβον τὴν φυγήν. ὃν δὲ ἡμεῖς φόβον, δέος λέγει. A.

28 See *Schol. in Il.* 6.4; also *P.Hib.* 193 and *P.Tebt.* 3.899, with comment in Trachsel 2007, 57–9.

29 Complete analysis in Trachsel 2007, 238–40, 251–3.

30 Complete analysis in Orsini 1974, 8–12; Gerlaud *Triph.*, 30–2.

31 *Schol. in Od.* 4.276.a (Pontani 2010): καί τοι Δηΐφοβος: προηθετεῖτο κατ᾽ ἐνίους. Deiphobus needs to be present so that he can observe whether the Achaeans hidden inside the horse give in to temptation and, if they do so, can wake the Trojans up: cf. Eustath. *ad Od.* 4.271.

32 *Schol. in Od.* 4.279 (Pontani 2010): a1. πάντων ᾽Αργείων φωνήν: ὅ ἐστι τὴν Ἑλληνικὴν φωνὴν τῶν ᾽Αχαιΐδων μιμουμένη. πόθεν γὰρ ὅλας ᾔδει, ἵνα καὶ τὰς φωνὰς αὐτῶν μιμήσηται; BHM^{a}OT // a2. πάντων ᾽Αργείων φωνὴν ἴσκουσ᾽ ἀλόχοισιν] μιμουμένη τὴν Ἑλληνίδα φωνήν. Es οὐ γὰρ ἂν πασῶν ἠπίστατο τὰς φωνάς. ἢ ἴσως οὐκ ἠγνόει τῶν ἀρίστων τὰς φωνάς. E // a3. πάντων ᾽Αργείων: τοῦτο ἑκατέροις δύναται προ<σ>δίδοσθαι, μᾶλλον δὲ τοῖς ἄνω, ἵνα μὴ ἀλογώτερον γένηται τὸ ζήτημα. οὐ δυνατὸν γὰρ ταῖς ἁπάντων γυναιξὶν ὁμοφωνῆσαι, ἀλλὰ ταῖς τῶν ἀριστέων, αἷς καὶ ἐν ἔθει ἐτύγχανεν. HO // b. πάντων ᾽Αργείων φωνήν] πάνυ γελοία ἡ τῶν φωνῶν μίμησις καὶ ἀδύνατος. πῶς δ᾽ ἂν ἐπίστευον ὅτι πάρεισιν αὐτῶν αἱ γυναῖκες; BHM^{a}OTy // c1. πάντων ᾽Αργείων φωνὴν ἴσκουσ᾽ ἀλόχοισιν] ἐίσκουσα καὶ ὁμοιοῦσα τὴν φωνὴν ἑαυτῆς ταῖς ἀλόχοις, ἀντὶ τοῦ ὑποκρινομένη τὸ ἦθος μιᾶς ἑκάστης γυναικὸς τῶν ἀνδρῶν τῶν ἐγκαθημένων τῷ ἵππῳ τῷ δουρίῳ. I.

she had never met, and how could she see which men were hidden inside the horse? Triph. tries to sidestep the problem by having Helen call the names of their wives in a sweet voice (470–1 πάσας ἠυκόμους ἀλόχους ὀνόμαζεν ᾽Αχαιῶν / φωνῇ λεπταλέῃ).

c) Aristarchus athetised lines 285–9 (episode of Anticlus), on the grounds that Anticlus did not appear in the *Iliad*. The scholia also suggest that this figure was 'imported' from the Cycle.[33] Triph.'s answer is to develop this episode (476–86) and make it more credible by adding extra details: he provides the name of Anticlus' wife (Laodamia), and explains that what Homer called Odysseus' powerful grip on Anticlus referred to suffocation, and that the Achaeans lamented the death of their comrade. Triph. could be referring to a different, exegesis of the episode, now lost.

– In *Il.* 19.351 οὐρανοῦ ἓκ κατεπᾶλτο δι᾽ αἰθέρος, the verb could be said to come from either κατὰ + πάλλω 'shake' or from κατὰ + ἐπὶ + ἅλλομαι 'leap'. In Homer the context supports the latter,[34] and this seems to be Triph.'s choice in 478 ἀλλ᾽ ᾽Οδυσεὺς κατέπαλτο, where he also plays with the ambivalence of the word.[35]

3.1.2 Vocabulary

Triph. was also preoccupied with the choice of appropriate vocabulary for his poem.[36] Gerlaud[37] calculated that about 80 % of Triph.'s vocabulary is Homeric (1061 words out of the 1556 that he uses), and counted 115 Homeric ἅπαξ and 70 δὶς λεγόμενα. There is innovation too, not only because Triph. introduces non-Homeric vocabulary, particularly visible in the case of compound adjectives,[38] and his own neologisms,[39]

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33 Cf. *Schol. in Od.* 4.285 (Pontani 2010): a. ἔνθ᾽ ἄλλοι μὲν πάντες: ᾽Αρίσταρχος τοὺς ε′ [scil. 285–89] ἀθετεῖ, ἐπεὶ ἐν ᾽Ιλιάδι οὐ μνημονεύει ᾽Αντίκλου ὁ ποιητής. / ἀλλ᾽ οὐδὲν τὸ κωλῦον οὐ βασιλέα ὄντα τοῦτον, ἀλλὰ γενναῖον, εἰς τὴν ἐνέδραν ταχθῆναι, οὐ τῶν ἡγεμόνων <μόνων>, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἐπιλέκτων ἐπὶ τὴν πρᾶξιν ἡρημένων· "ἀρίστους" νῦν [δ 272, 278] οὐ τῷ ἀξιώματι, ἀλλὰ τῇ ἀνδρείᾳ φησίν. H. // b. ἔνθ᾽ ἄλλοι – ᾽Αντικλος …] ὁ ᾽Αντικλος ἐκ τοῦ Κύκλου [Il. parv. fr. 26 Bern.]. οὐκ ἐφέροντο δὲ σχεδὸν ἐν πάσαις οἱ πέντε [scil. 285–89]· τὰ γὰρ τῆς διαθέσεως ψυχρά. H.

34 Also in AR 2.583 (μέγα κῦμα) νὴος ὑπὲρ πάσης κατεπάλμενον; Opp. *H.* 4.661 πόντῳ δ᾽ ἐγκατέπαλτο λίνων ὕπερ; Opp. *C.* 3.120 κίρκον ὑπὲρ τέγεος κατεπάλμενον; Nonn. *D.* 48.614 οὐρανόθεν κατέπαλτο.

35 See the more detailed comment in the note *ad loc.*

36 Fajen – Wacht 2003 is a helpful tool for the study of Triphiodorean vocabulary.

37 Gerlaud *Triph.*, 51–2.

38 Compound adjectives are the lexical element where there is the greatest innovation: 113 out of 238 compound adjectives are non-Homeric (ca. 47 %). Data and analysis in Monaco 2007, 149–72. 53 out of 161 compound verbs are also non-Homeric: see Monaco 2007, 182–4.

39 In Monaco 2007, see the following categories:
6 Voces, quae nisi apud posteriorum temporum scriptores non occurrunt: substantives γειόπονος; adjectives ἀπόσσυτος, ἀρτίφατος, μέτηλυς, μινύωρος, ὁμόπλοος, ὀρει-

but also because of the innovative use of Homeric vocabulary.[40] Homeric substantives become adjectives, and Homeric adjectives become substantives.[41] Homeric epithets are transferred to different substantives:[42]

- Personal epithets are applied to objects: Triph. 354 ἀλήμονος ὀρχηθμοῖο (cf. *Od.* 19.74 ἀλήμονες ἄνδρες); Triph. 601 ἱκετήσια γυῖα (cf. *Od.* 13.213 Ζεὺς … ἱκετήσιος); Triph. 680 πτολίπορθον ἐπὶ φλόγα (cf. *Il.* 2.278 πτολίπορθος Ὀδυσσεύς), but 390 πτολίπορθος Ἀθήνη; 38 νῆας ἐς ἀγχιάλους (in Homer only with place names: *Il.* 2.640 Χαλκίδα τ᾽ ἀγχίαλον); 320 τρηχεῖαν … ἠχήν (in Homer only with place names: *Il.* 2.633 Αἰγίλιπα τρηχεῖαν).
- Breaches of the usual Homeric combinations, such as *Il.* 5.844 Ἄρης … μιαιφόνος (cf. Triph. 670 νύκτα … μιαιφόνον); *Il.* 2.516 etc. γλαφυραὶ νέες (in Triph. used to refer to the wooden horse, hinting at its resemblance to a ship: 65 γλαφυροῖσιν ἐπὶ στήθεσσιν, 198 γλαφυροῖο διὰ ξυλόχοιο, 533 γλαφυρῆς ἀπὸ γαστέρος … ἵππου); *Il.* 5.654 etc. Ἄϊδι κλυτοπώλῳ (cf. Triph. 92 the wooden horse as λόχον κλυτόπωλον Ἀχαιῶν); *Il.* 6.48 etc. πολύκμητος … σίδηρος (cf. Triph. 1 πολυκμήτοιο … πολέμοιο); *Il.* 3.243 φυσίζοος αἶα, 21.63 γῆ φυσίζοος (cf. Triph. 77 φυσίζοος … ἀήρ); ἀργυροδίνης is normally applied to rivers or liquids (*Il.* 2.753, 21.8, 130), but see Triph. 98 ἀργυροδινέι χαλκῷ; ἀελλόπος is the Homeric epithet for Iris (*Il.* 8.409, 24.77, 24.159), and is later applied to animals (AR 1.1158; Opp. *C.* 1.191, 413; 3.184, 191; QS 1.612, 4.536, 5.89; Nonn. *D.* 11.289, 24.135), but Triph. has 189 ἀελλοπόδων νεφελάων; μογοστόκος is the Homeric epithet for Eileithyia (*Il.* 11.270, 16.187, 19.103), but see Triph. 386 μογοστόκον ἵππον; μινυνθάδιος in Homer normally refers to life (*Il.* 4.478, 17.302), but Triph. transfers it (603 μινυνθαδίων ἀπὸ μαζῶν); πολύφλοισβος is no longer used of the sea (*Il.* 1.34, 2.209), but rather of the war (560 πολυφλοίσβου πολέμοιο).

Certain Homeric words, too, are used in the light of later interpretations:[43]

μανής, ὀριπλανής, παλίγναμπτος, περιδινής, τανύφθογγος; adverbs ἀντολίηθεν; verbs ἀγνώσσω, ἐπιθαρσέω, ἐπικυμαίνω, καθιππεύω, ὑποβρυχάομαι.

6tr Triphiodorean *proton legomena*: adjectives ἀγλαόμητις, ἀθηλής, αὐτοκέλευθος, ἀχαλκής, γαμόκλοπος, ἐπιμάζιος, ἑτερόφρων, λοφόεις, νεόξεστος, πειθήμων, περίκυκλος, περίπλοκος, πρωτοφαής, ὑπεραυχής, ψυχοστόλος; verbs ἀνακνισσόω, διψόω, κατασφηκόω.

* Triphiodori ut videtur semel dicta: substantives ὀμφητήρ; adjectives ἀχλυόπεζα, εὐγύαλος, θεόφοιτος, κακοκλής, λαθρίδιος, λιθώπης, λυσήνωρ, νεογλυφής, νοοπλήξ, ὀλεσίπτολις, πορφυρόπεζα, πρόγαμος; adverbs ἐκκριδόν (224, conjecture); verbs ἀναβροντάω, ἐπαχθέω, ἐπάχνυμαι, ἐπογμεύω, ἰουλίζω, περικλάζω, ποτιδέχνυμαι.

40 Compare lexical innovation in Nonnus, on which see Miguélez Cavero 2008, 114–21.

41 Substantives as adjectives: 192 κυβιστητῆρι κυδοιμῷ, 237 σημάντορι καπνῷ, 375 μαινάδι φωνῇ. Adjectives as substantives: 621 λιθάκεσσι.

42 Cf. Weinberger 1896, 156–7 (Übertragung der Epitheta); Ferrari 1962, 98–101.

43 In other cases he offers an etymological redefinition of previously existing words (both Homeric and non-Homeric): 1 μεταχρόνιος as ‘long-delayed’ (as in Luc. *Salt.* 80 τὰ πράγματα δὲ μετάχρονα ἢ πρόχρονα), instead of the usual ‘high in the air’ (Hes. *Th.* 269;

- λυκάβας, the Homeric lunar month (*Od.* 14.161–2 = 19.306–7), becomes a different, learned way of saying 'year': cf. AR 1.198, 610; Opp. *H.* 1.551–2, 588–9; *C.* 3.289, 4.330–1; QS 6.61–2; Triph. 6 ἤδη μὲν δεκάτοιο κυλινδομένου λυκάβαντος.
- the Homeric *hapax* ὄμφαξ 'unripe grape' (*Od.* 7.125–6) had become a common metaphor for pre-pubertal girls and their unripe breasts (Theocr. *Id.* 11.19ff.; Philostr. *Imag.* 2.18.3; *AP* 5.20, 304), as in Triph. 34 (κοπτόμεναι περίκυκλον ἀθηλέος ὄμφακα μαζοῦ) and later in Nonn. *D.* 42.305–6.
- 119 μέγα λαῖτμα … νιφετοῖο: for Triph. νιφετός does not mean snowflakes as in the Homeric referent for the passage (*Il.* 3.222 ἔπεα νιφάδεσσιν ἐοικότα χειμερίῃσιν), but it is combined with λαῖτμα to depict a downpour of raindrops (= ψεκάδες). Triph. may be drawing on a Homeric lexicon or a scholion on the Homeric passage that he was working on (cf. Ap. Soph. *s.v.* νιφάδεσσι). Compare Nonn. *D.* 8.258–60, 275–8; *P.* 19.155.[44]

Triph.'s Homeric vocabulary is complemented by an equally Homeric use of the article, which occurs 11 times in the 691 lines of the *Sack of Troy*, out of which eight respond clearly to Homeric patterns or concrete passages.[45] Triph., like AR (e.g. 11 articles in AR 2.1–618) and QS (e.g. eight articles in QS 4.1–595), tries to imitate Homer's usage (e.g. 14 articles in *Il.* 18.1–617), whereas in Nonnus (three articles in *D.* 5.1–621) there are fewer articles because his strict metrical rules regarding pauses and caesurae reduce the opportunities to use monosyllables.[46]

AR 2.300); 51 εὐπάρθενον ἄστυ 'city of beautiful maidens', though the adjective usually means 'happy maid' (E. *Ba.* 520, *AP* 6.287.1, Nonn. *D.* 16.311); 52 ἐπαινῆς Δηιδαμείης, not 'dreadful' like the Homeric Persephone (*Il.* 9.457, 569; *Od.* 10.491, 534, 11.47), but 'worthy of praise', as if derived from ἔπαινος. Cf. Rengakos 2008, 247: "When Apollonius employs in his epic rare Homeric words which occur in earlier or contemporary poets, he will not, as a rule, stick to the meaning the words have in those texts. Besides the attested post-Homeric meanings, he will often also adopt meanings drawn from the interpretation of particular Homeric passages; equally frequent is the adoption of all semantic nuances accrued to a work through exegesis".

44 Gerlaud *Triph.*, p. 119, note to 119; Monaco 2007, 137–9.

45 Triph. 139 (~ e.g. *Od.* 3.427), 283 (~ *Il.* 3.181), 442 (~ *Il.* 22.280), 526 (~ e.g. *Il.* 6.391), 533 (~ *Od.* 9.430), 639 (~ e.g. *Il.* 15.72), 649 (~ *Il.* 23.583, *Od.* 11.629), 665 (~ e.g. *Il.* 11.706). Triph. 527 αἱ δ' ἄρα νῆες| seems to hark back to a Homeric usage of the article at the line ending: *Il.* 1.382 οἱ δέ νυ λαοί, 22.405 ἡ δέ νυ μήτηρ, 23.392 αἱ δέ οἱ ἵπποι. Triph. 483 (οἱ δέ μιν ἄλλοι, preceded by καὶ τὸν μὲν …) may be classified as a pronoun. Triph. 202–3 (τὼ δέ οἱ ἄμφω / ὀφθαλμώ) remains unexplained. The analysis comes from Svensson 1937, 126–7.

46 Svensson 1937, 109.

3.1.3 Mythography

Triph. also displays an erudite preoccupation with the control of mythographical versions. Whenever possible, he reproduces the Homeric version of the events, sometimes through pertinent interpretations: he carefully refers to Iliadic episodes when the events that he is narrating are mentioned in the *Iliad*. This is the case in respect of the joint burial of Achilles, Patroclus and Antilochus (17–18),[47] and the deaths of Rhesus (29–30a)[48] and Sarpedon (25–8).[49] In the latter case, however, he avoids naming Sarpedon's mother, when he says that she had sent him to Troy.[50] For her role in sending him to Troy we have no further evidence, but in all probability he does not call her Laodamia, as Homer had (*Il.* 6.198–9), because other sources described him as the son of Europa.[51] The treatment of the figure of Helen, too, betrays the influence of previous *Homererklärung*: according to Aristarchus, the seizure of Helen by Theseus was unknown to Homer,[52] and Triph. duly avoids mentioning him.

The polemical approach to the death of Laodice (660–3) is not related to Homer and the exegesis of his poems, but it does show that the discrimination between mythological versions was part of Triph.'s expertise as a γραμματικός and that it was appropriate to make use of this knowledge when he was acting as a poet. He also tried to bring into his poem allegorical analyses of the Homeric texts, but his allusions in this respect are confined to the simplest of allegories: Hera is identified with air and Hephaestus with fire (232–4, 567b–8, 683b–5), and Poseidon with water (529).[53]

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47 Cf. *Il.* 23.83–92 (Patroclus' ghost expresses his desire to be buried with Achilles) and *Od.* 24.76–84 (Agamemnon's soul says that they had obeyed him and buried the bones of Achilles, Patroclus and Antilochus together). This explains why Antilochus is mentioned after Achilles and Patroclus (Triph. 18). The tradition attributing two separate tombs to Achilles and Patroclus (cf. Vian 1959, 34) is omitted here.

48 After *Il.* 10.332–468, esp. 496–7.

49 Patroclus kills him with his spear (*Il.* 16.462–507), and Zeus weeps with drops of blood as tears (*Il.* 16.459–60).

50 25b–6 τόν ποτε μήτηρ / ἐς Τροίην μὲν ἔπεμψεν ἀγαλλομένη Διὸς εὐνῇ.

51 Hes. fr. 140 M-W, *schol. in* E. *Rh.* 28–9. The opposite happens in the case of Anticlus: Homer does not mention his wife's name (*Od.* 4.285–7), but Triph. calls her Laodamia (476–7).

52 *Schol. in Il.* 3.139–40, 7.392–3, 13.626–7, commented on by Severyns 1928, 271–4.

53 Hera = ἀήρ in [Plut.] *De Homero* 96, 102; Hephaestus = hot and dry, fire in [Plut.] *De Homero* 101–2; Poseidon = cold and wet, water, in [Plut.] *De Homero* 97, 101–2. Poseidon

3.1.4 Stylistic choices

Triph., like other epic poets,[54] preferred a Homer with fewer repetitions than the vulgate text, and shunned any element that had been overused by Homer.[55] His Homer was a master craftsman of the language, whose use of literary σχήματα was worth studying and imitating. By reading the *Sack of Troy* and the chapters dedicated to figures of speech in [Plutarch's] *De Homero* side by side we can better understand some Triphiodorean stylistic choices:[56]

- The descriptions of peace and war through their impact on weapons (8b–16, 427–8, 500–2) can be analysed as examples of synecdoche: cf. [Plu.] *De Homero* 22 (on the different types of synecdoche) ἀπὸ δὲ τῶν παρεπομένων τὴν πρᾶξιν, οἷον "Πάνδαρος, ᾧ καὶ τόξον Ἀπόλλων αὐτὸς ἔδωκεν (B 827)"· ἀπὸ γὰρ τοῦ τόξου τὴν περὶ τὸ τόξον ἐμπειρίαν δηλοῖ ("Synecdoche may also go from the attendant thing to the action itself: Pandarus, to whom Apollo himself gave the bow [*Il.* 2.827], for by the 'bow' he means skill as an archer").[57]
- On the cryptic introduction of characters (2.2), see [Plu.] *De Homero* 24 ἔστι καὶ ἄλλος τρόπος ἡ ἀντωνομασία, λέξις δι' ἐπιθέτων ἢ συσσήμων ὄνομα ἴδιον σημαίνουσα, ὡς ἐν τούτῳ· "Πηλεΐδης δ' ἐξαῦτις ἀταρτηροῖς ἐπέεσσιν / Ἀτρεΐδην προσέειπε (A 223–4)"· δηλοῖ γὰρ διὰ τούτων τόν τε Ἀχιλλέα καὶ τὸν Ἀγαμέμνονα. καὶ πάλιν "θάρσει, Τριτογένεια, φίλον τέκος (Θ 39 = X 183)" καὶ ἐν ἄλλοις "Φοῖβος ἀκερσεκόμης (Y 39)"· τὸ μὲν γὰρ τὴν Ἀθηνᾶν τὸ δὲ τὸν Ἀπόλλωνα δηλοῖ ("There is another trope called antonomasia in which an epithet or word of related meaning is used to refer to the name itself, as in this: The son of Peleus again spoke unkind words / to the son of Atreus [*Il.* 1.223–24], where Achilles and Agamemnon are meant. And again, Take courage, Tritogeneia, dear child [*Il.* 8.39] and elsewhere, Phoibos with unshorn hair [*Il.* 20.39], for the first indicates Athena, the second, Apollo").
- (Pseudo-)etymological games (44 ἀκάματος … Ἀθήνη; 57–8 Ἐπειὸς / … ἐποίει; 104–5 τὸν οὐδέ κεν ἀρνήσαιτο/ … Ἄρης; 183 ἐπέβαινεν Ἐπειός) also occur in the Homeric

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also appears in the capacity of earth-shaker, with his trident: 338–9, 568b–9 (cf. [Plut.] *De Homero* 107). See also Men. Rh. 337.1–4 (on scientific hymns). The comparison of Helen with the moon (512–21) may also be alluding to an allegory of the moon as Artemis (see note to 512–21; cf. [Plut.] *De Homero* 102, 202). Parallels in Heraclitus, Eustathius, the D-Scholia and others are gathered together and commented on in Rodríguez García 2008. See also Lamberton 2002, 187–93.

54 Cf. Fantuzzi 2008; Rengakos 2008.

55 Hence the break with the usual Homeric combinations mentioned above (3.1.2).

56 It is particularly appropriate to refer to this treatise when analysing Triph.'s *Sack of Troy* because it has been attributed to "a *grammaticus* of the end of the second century, or perhaps some time in the third" (Keaney – Lamberton 1996, 9): thus it may provide us with an idea of the materials that Triph. might have used, both *qua grammaticus* and *qua poeta*. Lausberg 1998 provides a detailed account of each figure. Greek text and English translation of the *De Homero* from Keaney – Lamberton 1996.

57 See also Nünlist 2009, 209–212, on indirect presentation in Homer as seen in the scholia.

poems and were categorised in antiquity as paronomasia: cf. [Plu.] *De Homero* 38 τῆς δὲ ὁμοίας χάριτος ἔχεται καὶ ἡ παρονομασία, ὅταν παρὰ τὸ προκείμενον ἕτερον ὄνομα ἐμφερὲς τεθῇ εὐθὺς κατὰ σύμμετρον διάστημα, οἷόν ἐστιν "οὐδὲ γὰρ οὐδὲ Δρύαντος υἱός, κρατερὸς Λυκόεργος, / δὴν ἦν (Z 130–1)"· καὶ ἐν ἄλλῳ· "τῶν ἦ τοι Πρόθοος θοὸς ἡγεμόνευε (B 758)" ("Paronomasia is equally graceful, when a word is immediately followed by a word that answers to it, as in Neither did the son of Dryas, strong Lycurgus / exist for long [δὴν ἦν] [*Il.* 6.130–31] and elsewhere, and swift Prothoos [Προθόος θόος] led them [*Il.* 2.758]"). More examples in Lausberg 1998, § 637.

– Repetitions similar to ὕβρις, / ὕβρις (448–9), a type of epanalepsis, occur already in the Homeric poems (*Il.* 2.837–8, 12.95–6; *Od.* 1.22–3). On the impact of this figure [Plu.] *De Homero* says: 32 ἔστι δὲ τὸ σχῆμα κίνησιν ἐμφαῖνον τοῦ λέγοντος καὶ ἅμα κινοῦν τὸν ἀκροατήν ("This figure both reveals the emotion of the speaker and deeply affects the listener").
– Gerlaud (*Triph.*, 50) noted the abundant use of the *homoeoteleuton*,[58] a figure also present in Homer (e.g. *Od.* 6.42–5, 15.74), on which [Plu.] *De Homero* says: 35 τὰ δὲ εἰρημένα καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα μάλιστα προστίθησι τῷ λόγῳ χάριν καὶ ἡδονήν ("These and things of this sort primarily add grace and pleasure to the discourse").

3.1.5 Geography

The motto "omerico, ma non troppo" applies also to Triph.'s Homeric geography of the Troad.[59]

– In the Homeric poems Ἴλιος usually refers to the city of Troy, and Τροίη to the Troad.[60] Hence Triph.'s title Ἰλίου ἅλωσις is correctly applied to a poem on the capture of the city, but this division is not maintained throughout the poem. Most of the occurrences of Ἴλιος, Τροίη and related words refer to the city,[61] and there are only a few clear references to the Troad: 26 Sarpedon's mother sent him ἐς Τροίην, 141 Ἰλιάδος δὲ λιπόντες ἐρημαίην χθονὸς ἀκτήν, 691 ἐκ Τροίης ἀνάγοντο … Ἀχαιοί. This lack of differentiation gives way to un-Homeric clusters such as 235 Τρώεσσι καὶ Ἰλιάδεσσι γυναιξίν.
– The Iliadic Troy is a citadel provided with strong ramparts, walls and towers, accessible through several gates, of which the Scaean or Dardanian Gates are mentioned several times.[62] All these elements recur with particular intensity in Triph.'s poem because the

58 Esp. Triph. 168 (Κρητῶν Ἰδομενῆα μεσαιπόλιον βασιλῆα), 170 (καὶ Τελαμώνιος υἱὸς ἑκηβόλος ἤιε Τεῦκρος), 433–4 (Παρθένε τολμήεσσα, σὺ δὲ πρὸ δόμοιο θροοῦσα / ψεύδεα θεσπίζουσα καὶ ἄγρια μαργαίνουσα), 474–6 (… Αἰγιαλείης / … Πηνελοπείης / … Λαοδαμείης), 622–3 (… πυργώσαντες / … κυκλώσαντες). On this figure in antiquity, see Lausberg 1998, §§ 725–8.

59 There is no comparison with the level of geographical complexity in Apollonius Rhodius, outlined in Meyer 2008. For a narratological introduction on the role of space in the Homeric poems see de Jong 2012. For Apollonius, see Klooster 2012.

60 Trachsel 2007, 12.

61 See esp. Triph. 174 Τρώιον ἄστυ, 297 Τροίην … πόλιν, 437 Τροίης ὑπὸ τείχεσι. For Ἴλιος, see 41, 46, 138, 453, 508–9, 453, 529, 543, 683.

62 Trachsel 2007, 13–16.

fate of Troy depends on maintaining intact the walls built by the gods.[63] The Trojans destroy the Dardanian Gates to introduce the horse (337–9), and a few desperate Trojans try unsuccessfully to flee through them (574–5, here called Scaean Gates).

– Within Troy,[64] in the Homeric acropolis there is certainly the temple of Athena (esp. *Il.* 6), and perhaps also two further temples, dedicated to Apollo (*Il.* 5.445–6, 512, 7.83) and Zeus (*Il.* 22.172).[65] Athena's temple is an important location in the *Sack of Troy*, because the Trojans place the horse there as an offering to the goddess (298–303, 356–7, 432, 444–7), and Helen tempts the Achaean warriors hidden inside the statue (467–8, 487–90). That is where the Achaean offensive begins (533–41), and where Ajax rapes Cassandra (647–50). Apollo is said to abandon Troy for his temple in Lycia (508–9), perhaps also suggesting the existence of a temple in the acropolis. No temple of Zeus is mentioned, but Priam dies at the altar of Zeus Herkeios, set in parallel with the altar of the temple of Apollo in Delphi (634–43).
– Mainly in *Il.* 3, 6 and 24,[66] we are provided with an image of everyday Troy, with men and women walking down the broad streets (Troy is often called εὐρυάγυια), from one palace to another. In Triph.'s poem, Cassandra is locked in her room in Priam's palace, but she escapes and runs all over the town, only to be locked away again (358–60, 367, 433–5, 439–40). The house that receives most attention is that of Deiphobus, because it is also Helen's: 463–6, 498, 613–33. The houses of the common Trojans are also described as having two levels joined by a ladder and being covered with a roof: 547, 580–6. The streets become packed with dead bodies (546 σώμασιν ἀρτιφάτοισι γεφυρώσαντες ἀγυιάς).
– The Achaean camp is usually referred to in the *Iliad* through references to the huts (κλισίαι) and ships (παρὰ / ἐπὶ νηυσίν).[67] In Triph.'s poem, the Achaean camp is the setting of the first scenes of the poem, but it is never fully described. The combination of huts and ships occurs in relation to the Achaean strategy of the false flight: the army intends to set fire to the shelters and leave in the ships (139–40, 215–16). The wall surrounding the camp, which plays such an important role in the *Iliad*,[68] is never mentioned in the *Sack of Troy*, probably because Triph. wanted to place extra emphasis on the wall protecting the horse (106–7, 204–8). In the *Aeneid*, Virgil makes it clear that the Trojans visit the Achaean camp when the Greeks have left, and that they find the horse there (2.25–32; see also QS 12.353–4). On the other hand, in the *Sack of Troy* this scene is not properly located, and seems to take place on the plain (259 γυμνὸς ὑπὲρ πεδίοιο φάνη κεκακωμένος ἀνήρ, 307 εἷλκον ὑπὲρ πεδίοιο).
– The inside of the Greek camp is described in the *Iliad* as a temporary Achaean version of Troy, with huts in place of palaces, and even an agora for public meetings and altars for sacrifices (11.806–11).[69] Triph. hints at this by placing the Achaean assembly by

63 Triph. 40–1, 238, 335–9, 437, 574–5, 580–1, 588–91, 644, 680. Also in Cassandra's distorted vision: 391–2, 395–7, 399–400, 442–3.

64 Trachsel 2007, 27–9.

65 As Ruth Scodel points out to me, Hecabe's assumption that Hector has come to Troy in order to pray to Zeus (6.254–62) is stronger evidence for a temple in the city.

66 Trachsel 2007, 29–32.

67 Trachsel 2007, 33–5.

68 Trachsel 2007, 41–51.

69 Trachsel 2007, 52–4.

Agamemnon's ship,[70] just as the Trojan agora was by Priam's palace (*Il.* 2.788 οἱ δ' ἀγορὰς ἀγόρευον ἐπὶ Πριάμοιο θύρῃσι), and describes the shelters as well-built (Triph. 215 ἐυσταθέων κλισιάων), like a Homeric μέγαρον.[71] This equation is particularly evident in the description of the fire destroying the huts (230–4), which prefigures the annihilation of Troy (680–5).

– Homeric warriors fight on the broad plain between Troy and the Achaean camp.[72] In the *Sack of Troy*, the battles on the plain are over and the plain is a place of transit. It is approached from Mount Ida (59–60 δοῦρα … ἐς πεδίον κατέβαινεν / Ἴδης ἐξ αὐτῆς), and from Troy (239 ἐς πεδίον προχέοντο, 242 ἐκ πόλιος κατέβαινον). Sinon and the Trojans move across the plain (259 ὑπὲρ πεδίοιο φάνη, 307 ὑπὲρ πεδίοιο, 329 οὐ πεδίοισιν ὁμοίη) and then enter Troy (335 εἰσόκε δὴ πυλέων ἐπεβήσατο Δαρδανιάων).
– The rivers of the plain are duly recorded in a Homeric catalogue (12.19–24),[73] which gives coherence to Triph. 328–9 (ὁδὸς δ' ἐβαρύνετο μακρή, / σχιζομένη ποταμοῖσι καὶ οὐ πεδίοισιν ὁμοίη). The best known of these are the Scamander (called Xanthus by the gods) and the Simoeis, which are the two rivers mentioned in the *Sack of Troy*: 316?, 325–6,[74] 683–4.
– In the *Iliad*, Mount Ida is one of Zeus' observatories, used for following the progress of the war.[75] In the *Sack of Troy*, Zeus retains remote control over the events (245–6, 326–7, 506–7, 653–5) without actually watching them. Mount Ida is the source of timber for both the ships of Paris and the wooden horse (Triph. 60–1), and is also one of the natural elements of the Trojan plain that cry for the Trojans as their doom approaches (324–6). In the latter passage, Triph. seems to refer to the position of Mount Ida at the far end of the plain.[76]
– In the *Iliad*, beyond the Achaean ships there is the seaside (θίς) and then the Hellespont.[77] The tomb of Patroclus and Achilles is also on the seashore.[78] Triph. names the sea after Helle (218 γλαυκὸν ἀναπτύσσοντες ὕδωρ Ἀθαμαντίδος Ἕλλης), and the tomb of Achilles is mentioned several times (17, 510–11, 686–7), but never precisely located. Beyond the sea, Triph. only mentions Cape Rhoeteum (216 – based on the description of the geography of the Troad in AR 1.922–35),[79] and the island of Tenedos (217 – conforming to the tradition, see note *ad loc.*).

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70 108–10 Οἱ δὲ Μυκηναίης Ἀγαμέμνονος ἐγγύθι νηὸς /…/ ἐς βουλὴν βασιλῆες ἀολλίσθησαν Ἀχαιῶν.

71 ἐυσταθέος μεγάροιο occurs six times in *Od.* 22: 120, 127, 257, 274, 441, 458.

72 Trachsel 2007, 79–84.

73 See Trachsel 2007, 57–9, 93.

74 Here alluding to the exegetical tradition on *Il.* 6.4: see note *ad loc.*

75 Trachsel 2007, 103–4.

76 *Il.* 21.558–9 φεύγω πρὸς πεδίον Ἰλήϊον, ὄφρ' ἂν ἵκωμαι / Ἴδης τε κνημοὺς κατά τε ῥωπήϊα δύω.

77 *Il.* 7.84–91, 9.357–61, 12.30–4, 14.30–6, 15.231–3, 17.432–3, 18.150, 23.1–3. Cf. Trachsel 2007, 60–3.

78 *Il.* 7.84–91, 23.326–33; *Od.* 24.76–84.

79 Cf. Trachsel 2007, 231–8.

3.2 Triphiodorus and the *Cycle*?

Gerlaud[80] and Dubielzig[81] are happy to assert that Triph. used the *Cycle*, either in a summary or directly. In the *Sack of Troy*, Triph. could have made use of the *Cypria*, for the explanation of Neoptolemus' name[82] and for his references to Philoctetes (271), Palamedes (272) and Polyxena (686–7), but he does not. The *Aethiopis* could have served for his references to Memnon and Penthesilea (30b–9), but these are too brief to require more than the most general notions regarding the figures in question. The *Ilias Parva* and the *Ilii Excidium* (the latter presented in Proclus' summaries as a sequel to the former), however, narrate most of the episodes related in the *Sack of Troy*, from the preparations leading to the final battle to the final distribution of the booty afterwards and the dispersal of the Achaean fleet, and these require careful analysis before one can reach any conclusions.

The *Ilias Parva* described the final stages before the actual sack of Troy (Bernabé PEG *Iliades Parvae* Arg. 1, lines 6–18), and may be compared with the account in Apollodorus' *Library* (Apollod. *Epit.* 5.9–13) and with a composition extant on a first-century AD papyrus (*P. Ryl.* 1.22).[83] QS chooses to narrate at great length the arrivals in Troy of Eu-

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80 Gerlaud *Triph.*, 37: "Que Triphiodore se soit servi du Cycle est suggéré par les nombreux points communs qui existent entre son poème et l'*Épitome* d'Apollodore: la chronologie des [38] événements est identique; beaucoup d'épisodes sont semblables chez les deux auteurs. Si l'apport d'Arctinos est négligeable, Triphiodore doit beaucoup à la *Petite Iliade* … [39] … On peut donc supposer avec quelque vraisemblance que Triphiodore a utilisé le poème de Leschès, mais son imitation est partielle: sa connaissance de l'œuvre devait être fragmentaire ou indirecte". Similarly, Cuartero 1973, 43; Cuartero *Triph.*, 49–50. See also Tomasso 2012, 380–1.

81 He thinks that *Il.* 2.134–41, A. *Ag.* 551–79 and Triph. 6–42 (also partially Apollod. *Epit.* 5.8 and QS 12.1–2) all have the same structure and that Triph. was drawing here on a lost epic. He concludes (Dubielzig *Triph.* 20): "Die alte Streitfrage … ob Tr. den epischen Kyklos noch im Original gekannt habe … läßt sich also bejahen; die Benützung 'mythographischer Handbücher' … ist damit ja nicht ausgeschlossen". Triph. may well have written lines 6–16 with *Il.* 2.134–5 in mind, but the grief of the families of the fighters (*Il.* 2.136–8), the dead long settled in Hades (A. *Ag.* 568–72) and Triph.'s catalogue of casualties (17–39) do not seem to have anything in common, though Dubielzig (*Triph.* 19–20) thinks that they all reflect "Leid und Tod von Menschen".

82 Triph. 54b – cf. Bernabé *PEG Cypria* fr. 21.

83 The same papyrus as *P. Yale* 2.110, listing events related to Achilles: marriage of Peleus and Thetis; birth of Achilles, whom Thetis tries to make immortal; Achilles and Chiron; judgement of the goddesses.

rypylus, Neoptolemus and Philoctetes and their *aristeias*,[84] and keeps this strand separate from the episodes related to Helenus, plotted by *Aisa* when Paris is dying (10.343b–60), but not narrated in detail later in the poem.[85]

Ilias Mikra	Apollod. *Epit.* 5.9–13	*P. Ryl.* 1.22	QS 10.343b–60	TRIPH.
1. Odysseus captures Helenus. 2. Odysseus and Diomedes fetch Philoctetes. 3. Philoc. kills Paris. 4. Deiphobus marries Helen.	1. Calchas: we need Heracles' arrows. 2. They fetch Philoctetes and he kills Paris. 3. Helenus and Deiphobus compete for Helen. D. wins. 4. Calchas: Helenus knows the oracles that protect Troy. 5. Helenus captured and forced to prophesy. 6. The Greeks fetch the bones of Pelops.	1. On Helenus' advice, Odysseus and Diomedes steal the Palladion.	1. Marriage of Helen and Deiphobus. 2. Helenus' resentment.	45–50 Deiphobus marries Helen. Helenus defects and prophesies the destruction of Troy.

84 QS 6.1–115 embassy to Scyros; 6.116–7.168 arrival of Eurypylus and his *aristeia*; 7.169–734 embassy to Scyros and reception of Neoptolemus in Troy; 8 Neoptolemus kills Eurypylus; 9.333–546 embassy to Lemnos and reception of Philoctetes in Troy; 10 Philoctetes wounds Paris, who dies on Mount Ida.

85 Vian (1959, 44–9) concludes that QS had probably gone through one or more mythographical accounts, made up his own chronology and rounded off the narrative with a *variatio* of standard patterns such as the embassy scenes and the insertion of external narratives (childhood of Telephus in 6.137ff.; *ekphrasis* of the shield of Eurypylus with images of the labours of Heracles in 6.200ff.). He suggests that the predictions of *Aisa* were "tirées de la *Petite Iliade*" (1959, 62). See also Maciver 2012a, 8: "By Quintus' time, [9] it is surely likely that the Epic Cycle was still 'around' … but there is insufficient evidence to argue for or against the existence of the Epic Cycle when Quintus wrote the *Posthomerica* (in my opinion there were surely significant portions extant); it can be concluded, however, that Quintus did not have to follow the exact details of the Cycle (as he sometimes does on various points)".

Ilias Mikra	Apollod. *Epit.* 5.9–13	*P.Ryl.* 1.22	QS 10.343b–60	TRIPH.
5. Odysseus fetches Neoptolemus and gives him his father's weapons. 6. Achilles appears to his son.	7. They fetch Neoptolemus and give him his father's weapons.	2. Odysseus and Phoenix fetch Neoptolemus from Scyros.	3. The Achaeans capture Helenus.	51–4 Arrival of Neoptolemus from Scyros.
7. Arrival of Eurypylus. 8. Neoptolemus kills Eurypylus. 9. Construction of the horse.	8. Arrival of Eurypylus. 9. Neoptolemus kills Eurypylus.	3. Arrival of Eurypylus.		
10. Odysseus as a spy in Troy, recognised by Helen. 11. Od. and Diomedes steal the Palladion.	10. Diomedes, Odysseus and Helen cooperate in the theft of the Palladion.		4. At the instigation of Helenus, Odysseus steals the Palladion.	55–6 Theft of the Palladion.

The first point highlighted by a comparison of all the timelines of these narratives with the *Sack of Troy* is that Triph. left several elements out to speed up the beginning of his poem and that he could have made many different choices. Triph.'s account of the initial part is so condensed that there is no way of establishing whether or not he had before him a copy of the *Little Iliad* or even a summary.

If we move on to the events between the construction of the horse and the start of the nyktomachy, where Triph. goes into more detail, his poem can again be compared to Apollodorus' *Epitome* (5.14–20), and to the detailed account of the *Posthomerica* (Books 12–13). The scanty references of Proclus' summary of the *Ilioupersis* (Bernabé PEG *Ilii Excidium* Arg. lines 3–13) can be supplemented with the end of his summary of the *Little Iliad* (Bernabé PEG *Iliades Parvae* Arg. 1, lines 14–20).

[Ilias Mikra] Ilioupersis	Apollod. *Epit.* 5.14–20	QS 12–13	TRIPH.
[1. Construction of horse.]	1. Construction of horse (Odysseus and Epeius).	12.1f. Achaean assembly 1. 104f. Construction of the horse.	57f. Constr. of horse (Epeius and Athena).
	2. Achaean assembly?[87]	157f. Theomachy.	108f. Achaean assembly.
[2. Best men hide in horse.]	3. Best men in horse, dedicated to Athena.	218f Achaean assembly 2: Sinon and others volunteer.	152f. The Achaean chieftains in the horse.
[3. Achaeans set fire to their camp and leave for Tenedos.]	4. Achaeans set fire to their camp, leave Sinon behind and sail for Tenedos.	306f. Kings in horse; army sets fire to camp and sails for Tenedos.	209f. The Achaeans set fire to their camp and sail for Tenedos; Sinon left behind.
4. Trojan assembly: precipice, fire, dedication.[86]	5. Trojans drag the horse into the town. 6. Trojan assembly. 7. Cassandra and Laocoon. 8. Three options: fire, precipice, offering. 9. Sacrifice and feasting. 10. Serpents devour Laocoon's children.	353f. Trojans find the horse and Sinon; Laocoon's opposition and punishment. 395f. The Trojans drag the horse into the town. 444f. Laocoon persists and is punished again.	247f. Trojan assembly: precipice, axe, offering. 258f. Sinon. 304f. The Trojans drag the horse into the town; bad omina. 358f. Cassandra. 444f. Sacrifice and feast.
5. Two serpents devour Laocoon and his sons.	11. Sinon lights a beacon.	498f. Sacrifices and bad omina.	454f. Helen tempts the Achaeans.
6. Aeneas retreats to Mount Ida.	12. Helen tempts the Achaeans.[88]	525f. Cassandra. 13.1f. Feast.	521f. Signals by Sinon and Helen.
7. Sinon signals to the Achaeans.	13. Achaeans leave the horse and open the gates of Troy.	21f. Sinon signals to the fleet and tells the men in the horse to come out.	522f. Achaeans sail back. 533f. Chieftains leave the horse and attack.

86 *Od.* 8.505–13: the assembly takes place when the horse has been taken to Troy. They consider three options: cleaving it with axes, throwing it down the rocks or letting it stand as an offering for the gods.

87 Apollodorus is somehow vague here: *Epit.* 5.14–15 εἰς τοῦτον [the wooden horse] Ὀδυσσεὺς εἰσελθεῖν πείθει πεντήκοντα τοὺς ἀρίστους … τοὺς δὲ λοιποὺς γενομένης νυκτὸς ἐμπρήσαντας τὰς σκηνάς, ἀναχθέντας περὶ τὴν Τένεδον ναυλοχεῖν καὶ μετὰ τὴν ἐπιοῦσαν νύκτα καταπλεῖν. οἱ δὲ πείθονται καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἀρίστους ἐμβιβάζουσιν εἰς τὸν ἵππον …

88 After *Od.* 4.274–89.

There is, then, a constellation of episodes, which can be ordered in different ways to suit different chronologies. Just as Helenus' predictions could be linked to a number of events or left unconnected to them, the construction of the horse is associated in various ways with an assembly in which Odysseus may or may have not been the main speaker. The Trojan assembly may take place before or after the transporting of the horse, and may or may not be related to the opposition between Cassandra and Laocoon.

If we consider that in antiquity there was no canonical edition of the Epic Cycle and keep in mind its present ruinous state of conservation, it is clear that associating any passage or author to any of the poems that it comprised is always a perilous affair. The Homeric poems are the only canonical narratives that transmit some parts of the story of the Trojan war,[89] and they are approached, as we have seen, through an abundant interpretative literature. Outside the remit of the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* there remained a plethora of episodes that had been and could be freely dealt with, and most authors indeed did not aim to provide a unified account of all the available information.[90] The interpretation of Homer was the province of the learned man, and he was expected to be aware of the competing versions of the events of the Trojan cycle beyond Homer. Triph. must have known various versions of the episodes of the Trojan war, but there is no way to prove that he knew and used the Epic Cycle.

3.3 Hesiod and Pindar

Triph. points to his knowledge of the Hesiodic poems through several verbal parallels,[91] but it is when he refers to the wooden horse that he

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89 Broadly considered, from Zeus' decision to lighten the burden of the Earth with a war that would reduce the number of men, to the adult lives of Odysseus' children (the *Telegonia*).

90 As Vian (1959, 88) puts it with regard to QS "Les *Posthomerica* ne sont pas un *epitome* du Cycle et QS n'a pas eu l'intention de donner une réédition simplifiée, unifiée, mais *conforme* des légendes cycliques. Il n'est nullement exclu pour autant que QS ait utilisé telle ou telle épopée cyclique, ou tel fragment de l'une d'elles. Posé sous cette forme, le problème demeurera insoluble tant qu'un hasard, bien improbable, ne nous restituera pas ces épopées dans leur texte original". See also Vian 1963, xxviii-xxx.

91 Triph. 7 γηραλέη … Ἐνυώ ~ Hes. *Th.* 270–3, esp. 270–1 Γραίας … καλλιπαρήους / ἐκ γενετῆς πολιάς; Triph. 73 ἐχάραξεν … ὀδόντας perhaps related to [Hes.] *Sc.* 235 ἐχάρασσον ὀδόντας; Triph. 106a Ἀμφὶ δέ μιν μέγα τεῖχος ἐλήλατο ~ Hes. *Th.* 726 τὸν πέρι

seems most clearly to have Hesiod in mind. His *ekphrasis* of the statue shares some ground with the pseudo-Hesiodic shield,[92] and in general the horse has much in common with Hesiod's Pandora (*Th.* 570–87, *Op.* 60–105):[93] both are built out of costly materials and have lifelike qualities,[94] beauty and charm;[95] both are the means to a deception[96] and are designed to cause pain.[97] Triph. emphasises these parallels by shaping Odysseus' reference to the horse (136b–8 ὅπως αὐτάγρετον ἄλγος / Τρῶες ἀταρβήτοιο θεῆς ἀπατήνορα τέχνην / Ἴλιον εἰσανάγωσιν ἑὸν κακὸν ἀμφαγαπῶντες) after Hes. *Op.* 57–8 (τοῖς δ' ἐγὼ ἀντὶ πυρὸς δώσω κακόν, ᾧ κεν ἅπαντες / τέρπωνται κατὰ θυμὸν ἑὸν κακὸν ἀμφαγαπῶντες).

As for Pindar's influence on the *Sack of* Troy,[98] it is not restricted to phraseological parallels, both from the better transmitted poems and from those extant only fragmentarily:[99] Pindar seems to be central in Triph.'s narrative of Neoptolemus' death in Delphi (640–3).[100]

χάλκεον ἕρκος ἐλήλαται; Triph. 355 γειοπόνοις ἀρότῃσιν ἀπεχθέα κεκληγυῖαι is reminiscent of Hes. *Op.* 449–51 κεκληγυίης, / ἥ τ' ἀρότοιό τε σῆμα φέρει καὶ χείματος ὥρην / δεικνύει ὀμβρηροῦ, κραδίην δ' ἔδακ' ἀνδρὸς ἀβούτεω; Triph. 617b κάματον δὲ κατατρύχουσι νομήων, probably after Hes. *Op.* 305–6 οἵ τε μελισσάων κάματον τρύχουσιν ἀεργοὶ / ἔσθοντες.

92 See introduction to 57–107 (A. Epic Tradition).

93 On the elements shared by the horse and Pandora, see Faraone 1992, 100–3; Steiner 2001, 116–17; Paschalis 2005, 93–6; Francis 2009.

94 Hes. *Op.* 61–2, 77–80. Triph.'s horse is provided with sight (72), teeth ready to bite (74), breathing (75–7) and hearing (79), and seems to be about to move (82 σύρετο, 84–6a, 87 ἔξεχον, 88 κατεσφήκωντο, 89 ἁπτόμεναι, 99 μενεδήιον, 101–2, 104–5).

95 Triph. 206b–7 ~ Pandora is sprinkled with χάρις in Hes. *Op.* 65, 73–4; *Th.* 583.

96 Pandora is a δόλος in Hes. *Th.* 589, *Op.* 83. The horse is described as a δόλος in *Od.* 8.494; Triph. 107.

97 Hes. *Th.* 592 πῆμα μέγα; *Op.* 56, 82, 94–5. Triph. 58 Τροίης ἐχθρὸν ἄγαλμα, 136b–8, 317.

98 On which see Cannatà Fera 2003.

99 Triph. 80 νῶτα … καὶ ῥάχιν ὑγρήν ~ Pi. *Py.* 1.9 ὑγρὸν νῶτον; Triph. 98a κολλήσας ἐλέφαντι ~ Pi. *N.* 7.78 κολλᾷ … ἐλεφάνθ'; Triph. 207 ~ Pi. *Dith.* fr. 75.2 Snell-Maehler ἐπί τε κλυτὰν πέμπετε χάριν; Triph. 417b–18 ~ Pi. *O.* 6.17; Triph. 468 ἔστη παπταίνουσα φυὴν εὐήνορος ἵππου, the meanings of φυή and εὐήνωρ are similar to those given in Pindar (*Py.* 4.235 ἐριπλεύρῳ φυᾷ, *O.* 1.24 ἐν εὐάνορι Λυδοῦ Πέλοπος ἀποικίᾳ); Triph. 615b–16a ~ Pi. *O.* 6.100. The personification Ἡσυχίη (Triph. 503) is also mainly Pindaric: *O.* 3.16, *Py.* 8.1, *N.* 9.48, *Hyporchemata* fr. 109.2 Snell-Maehler.

100 Triph. 643 Δελφὸς ἀνὴρ ἐλάσας ἱερῇ κατέπεφνε μαχαίρῃ must be somehow related to Pi. *N.* 7.42 ἵνα κρεῶν νιν ὕπερ μάχας ἔλασεν ἀντιτυχόντ' ἀνὴρ μαχαίρᾳ.

3.4 Tragic Triphiodorus

One of the chapters of the Περὶ μεθόδου δεινότητος, a treatise preserved in the Hermogenic rhetorical corpus, is devoted to dramatic speech, and it begins with the following statement:[101]

> Hermog. Μεθ. δειν. 450.1–3 (Περὶ τοῦ τραγικῶς λέγειν) Τὸ τραγικῶς λέγειν Ὅμηρος μὲν ἐδίδαξε, Δημοσθένης δὲ ἐμμήσατο. ὅτι μὲν γὰρ τραγῳδὸς καὶ πατὴρ τραγῳδίας Ὅμηρος, Πλάτων μαρτυρεῖ ("Homer taught how to speak tragically, and Demosthenes imitated him. That Homer was a tragedian and the father of tragedy, Plato testifies").[102]

Homer is then described as a master in the writing of tragedies because he omitted the description of the sack of Troy, which was only a small town and therefore not suitable for his tragic poetry, and simply evoked it in two lines by recalling the sack of any city (as if the capture of Troy included within it all the horrors of historical captures of cities).[103]

Two main conclusions may be drawn from this passage and applied to Triph.'s poem. Firstly, ancient writers were aware that the Homeric poems contained an essentially tragic element, and this was present in references to the sack of Troy. If Triph. wanted his capture of Troy to sound truly Homeric, he therefore needed to provide it with a tragic slant, as indeed he does in a number of passages.[104] Secondly, Ps. Hermogenes analyses Homer's successful method for speaking tragically: he is concise when dealing with grand topics, so as to preserve their grandeur, and amplifies trivial topics to make them appear grand.[105] We know, however, that other parameters besides grandeur were involved in the creation of tragedy, especially *pathos*.[106]

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101 Greek text and English translation from Kennedy 2005.

102 Cf. Pl. *Resp.* 10.598d μετὰ τοῦτο ἐπισκεπτέον τήν τε τραγῳδίαν καὶ τὸν ἡγεμόνα αὐτῆς Ὅμηρον.

103 Hermog. Μεθ. δειν. 450.6–11: Ἰλίου ἅλωσιν οὐκ εἶπε, τέχνῃ παραλιπών· οὐ γὰρ ἥρμοζεν αὐτοῦ τῇ τῆς ποιήσεως τραγῳδίᾳ ἑνὸς πολιχνίου πόρθησις· τί οὖν ποιεῖ; πάσης πόλεως εἶπε πόρθησιν ἐν δυσὶν ἔπεσιν· "ἄνδρας μὲν κτείνουσι, πόλιν δέ τε πῦρ ἀμαθύνει, / τέκνα δέ τ' ἄλλοι ἄγουσι βαθυζώνους τε γυναῖκας" [*Il.* 9.593–4].

104 Esp. the episode of Cassandra (358–443) and the nyktomachy (506–691).

105 Hermog. Μεθ. δειν. 450.16–19 τὰ μεγάλα τῇ βραχύτητι τῆς ἑρμηνείας φυλάττει μεγάλα, τῆς συντομίας τὸ μέγεθος αὐτοῖς διασῳζούσης, τὰ δὲ μικρὰ καὶ φαῦλα τῇ περιβολῇ τῶν λόγων μέγεθος προσλαμβάνει.

106 Apsines of Gadara (Τέχνη ῥητορική 10.48) singles out πάθος as a frequent element in tragedy, and proposes a series of figures to enhance it in any given text (10.49–58).

Triph.'s answer to the problem of 'how to sound tragic' starts with the use of vocabulary and phraseology with tragic connotations throughout the *Sack of Troy*,[107] but the influence of tragedy is particularly felt in the intervention of Cassandra (358–416).[108] Her character and personality had been powerfully described in Aeschylus' *Agamemnon* and Euripides' *Trojan Women*, and it is to these two plays that Triph. turns in search of a suitable dramatic atmosphere.[109]

- The comparison of Cassandra with a heifer (358–68) is inspired by AR 1.1263–72, but it has a strong air of tragedy (cf. A. *Ag.* 1063, 1297–8; E. *Ba.* 862–76), especially because the image of the bull bitten by a gadfly is closely associated with the legend of Io (e.g. A. *Supp.* 306–8, *Pr.* 674–5).[110]
- The comparison of Cassandra with a Thracian Bacchant (369–75) is related to the appearances of Cassandra as a Bacchant in E. *Tr.* (169, 172, 306–7, 341, 349), and the description of her appearance and gestures can only be completely understood on the basis of Euripides' *Bacchae*.
- Cassandra's speech (376–416) moves from an enigmatic and visionary first half to a rational prophecy in the second, just as Cassandra's prophecies do in A. *Ag.* and E. *Tr.*[111] The use of figures is also associated to tragedy, esp. the metaphor of the pregnant horse (Triph. 379b–90, after A. *Ag.* 825 and E. *Tr.* 11, 519–21, 534),[112] and the lamentation in Triph. 395, to be linked to similar ones in A. *Ag.* 1136–9, 1167–72 and E. *Tr.* 1251–1332. Triph.'s Cassandra prefers death to her future plight as a slave, as in several plays (A. *Ag.* 1146–9; E. *Tr.* 268, 271, 630–83; Polyxena in E. *Hec.*), and anticipates her own death just as she does in A. *Ag.* 1072ff.; E. *Tr.* 353–64, 445–50.

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107 See the notes to 20 φάσγανον ἐχθρὸν ἔλουσε μεμηνότος αἵματος ὄμβρῳ, 142 ψευδώνυμον, 155 ὅς τε νεοζυγέεσσιν ἀγαλλόμενος φαλάροισιν, 219 Μοῦνος δὲ πληγῇσιν ἑκούσια γυῖα χαραχθείς, 231 φοιτάδι ῥιπῇ, 559–61 (esp. 559a Παννυχίη δ' ἐχόρευσεν, 561 αἵματος ἀκρήτοιο).

108 The tragic atmosphere fades in Priam's answer to Cassandra (419–38), which follows the pattern of Homeric rebukes (see note *ad loc.*), but 421b Μάτην ὕλάουσ' ἀπερύκεις may be compared to A. *Ag.* 1672 μὴ προτιμήσῃς ματαίων τῶνδ' ὑλαγμάτων; for λυσσώδεϊ νούσῳ (422), see S. *Aj.* 452 λυσσώδη νόσον.

109 Compare QS's reading in classical tragedy: Vian (1959, 94; 1963, xxx) found allusions to Sophocles' *Ajax* and *Philoctetes*, and to Euripides' *Trojan Women*, *Hecuba*, and *Suppliants*, but not to Sophocles' *Ethiopians*, or to Aeschylus' *Memnon* and *Psychostasia*.

110 The phraseology can also be compared to that of the dramatic genres: see esp. 364b βοέων ἐξήλυθε θεσμῶν ~ S. *Tr.* 682 παρῆκα θεσμῶν οὐδέν', *Ant.* 802–3 θεσμῶν / ἔξω φέρομαι, Ar. *Av.* 331 παρέβη μὲν θεσμοὺς ἀρχαίους; 365 μαντιπόλοιο βολῆς ~ E. *Hec.* 121 (on Cassandra) τῆς μαντιπόλου Βάκχης.

111 Detailed analysis in the introduction to lines 376–416.

112 Full comment in the introduction to lines 379b–70. On the evolution of this metaphor, see Rodari 1985.

The influence of the tragedians is not only felt in Cassandra's intervention.[113] Line 161 may bear some relation to Aeschylus,[114] and there are some parallels with Sophoclean plays,[115] but these do not seem to be sufficiently prominent. The shadow of Euripides, on the other hand, is felt in the *Sack of Troy* from its very proem.[116] Euripidean undertones are abundant[117] and the Trojan tragedies helped to shape the plot of Triph.'s poem in a number of episodes:

- In Triph.'s poem, Menelaus is not presented as the Homeric martial, kingly warrior, but as a passionate, suffering husband (47 μογέοντι … Μενελάῳ, 162 ἄγριος ὁρμή, 163 ἀπηνέι … θυμῷ, 462 πολυτλήτῳ Μενελάῳ, 473), as in Euripides' *Helen* and *Trojan Women.*
- Triph. 304–57 (the Trojans drag the horse into the town) harks back to the comparison of the dragging of the horse with that of a ship in E. *Tr.* 537–9.
- The musical accompaniment of the κῶμος (Triph. 308b–9) also occurs in E. *Tr.* 529–30.
- Triph.'s comment on the blindness of the Trojans (310–17) may hark back to E. *Tr.* 529–30.
- The songs and dances of the Trojan women (340–2) are also mentioned in E. *Tr.* 545–7, 551–5.

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113 As regards plays that have been lost, Aeschylus' *Psychostasia* and *Memnon*, Sophocles' *Aithiopes* and *Sinon* and Euripides' *Alexandros* would also appear to be related to various parts of the *Sack of Troy*, but there is no way to prove that Triph. had direct access to them.

114 Triph. 161 ὠκυμόρῳ τέκε παῖδα σακεσπάλῳ Αἰγιαλῆι, perhaps assuming that the Epigoni carried shields similar to those carried by the Seven against Thebes (A. *Th.* 375ff.).

115 Triph. 214 πευκήεντος … πυρὸς ὁρμήν (~ S. *Ant.* 123 πευκάενθ' Ἥφαιστον), 221 κρυπτὸν … κεύθων (~ S. *Ant.* 85 κρυφῇ δὲ κεῦθε), 422 λυσσώδεϊ νούσῳ (~ S. *Aj.* 452 λυσσώδη νόσον), 434 ψεύδεα θεσπίζουσα (~ S. *Ant.* 1054 καὶ μὴν λέγεις, ψευδῆ με θεσπίζειν λέγων).

116 Triph. 2 καὶ λόχον, Ἀργείης ἱππήλατον ἔργον Ἀθήνης sounds close to E. *Tr.* 560–1 λόχου δ' ἐξέβαιν' Ἄρης, / κόρας ἔργα Παλλάδος, and anticipates the Euripidean pun on λόχος / λόχιος developed later on in the poem (see note to 376–90).

117 Triph. 125 μοχθίζειν ἀτέλεστα (~ E. *Heracl.* 448 πολλὰ μοχθήσας μάτην, *Ph.* 1666 μάταια μοχθεῖς), 147 φόβου νέφος (~ E. *Hipp.* 172 στυγνὸν δ' ὀφρύων νέφος αὐξάνεται, *El.* 1078, *Med.* 107 νέφος οἰμωγῆς, *HF* 1140 στεναγμῶν … νέφος), 174 ἤδη Τρώιον ἄστυ καθιππεύσουσιν Ἀχαιοί (~ E. *Ph.* 732 τί δ' εἰ καθιππεύσαιμεν Ἀργείων στρατόν;), 200 ἐγκύμονος ἵππου (~ E. *Tr.* 11 ἐγκύμον' ἵππον), 235 Ἰλιάδεσσι γυναιξίν (~ E. *Andr.* 141 γύναι Ἰλιάς, 489 τὰν τάλαιναν Ἰλιάδα κόραν, 1023 Ἰλιάδαι βασιλῆες), 263 ἱκεσίαις παλάμῃσι (~ E. *Or.* 1414 χέρας ἱκεσίους; *Hec.* 851 χεῖρά θ' ἱκεσίαν ἔχω; *Suppl.* 108), 293 Ἄργός μοι πόλις ἐστί (~ E. *Hipp.* 1184, *Andr.* 1222, *Or.* 1076), 294 πολιὸν γενετῆρα (~ E. *Cyc.* 307 πολιούς τε πατέρας, *Andr.* 613 πολιούς … πατέρας), 301 χρυσήνιον ἵππον (~ E. *Tr.* 520 χρυσεοφάλαρον), 454 Ἀργείῃ δ' Ἑλένῃ πολιὸν δέμας ἀσκήσασα (~ E. *Tr.* 1022–3 κἀπὶ τοῖσδε σὸν δέμας / ἐξῆλθες ἀσκήσασα), 479 στόμα λῦσαι (~ E. *Hipp.* 1060 τί δῆτα τοὐμὸν οὐ λύω στόμα).

- The Trojans receive the wooden horse into Troy amid shouts (Triph. 350–1), as in E. *Tr.* 522–3.
- Triph. gives three different explanations of Helen's past deeds (491–4: mischief, adulterous inclinations and erotic folly), all of which occur in E. *Tr.*[118]
- Helen is treated as a war captive (Triph. 630), as in E. *Tr.* 35, 871–2.
- Triph.'s description of the death of Neoptolemus (640–3) seems to refer to the account in E. *Andr.* (esp. E. *Andr.* 1074–5, 1118–19, 1149–51; see also E. *Or.* 1656).

3.5 Triphiodorus' Hellenistic Reading

When Vian studied how the influence of Apollonius Rhodius had enriched late antique epic poetry, in particular QS, Triph. and Nonnus, he noticed that all three of these writers used the *Argonautica* for their nautical scenes.[119] In the cases of Triph. and QS, this was particularly important in the case of the images of the wooden horse hauled like a ship: the hauling of the Argo in AR 1.362–90 inspired both QS 12.422–34[120] and Triph. 318–35.[121] Triph. saw AR as a proficient upholder of the Homeric tradition[122] whose work could be useful when seeking epic *variatio*, in the description of the construction of the wooden horse,[123] Trojan

118 See note to 491–4.

119 Vian 2008, 388 (QS), 397–8 (Triph.), 399 (Nonnus). In the *Sack of Troy*, esp. 130–45 (Odysseus asks the army to embark in their ships): 139 ~ AR 4.207–8 (Jason cuts the hawsers); 143 ~ AR 4.900 (Sirens). Also Triph. 522–32 (the Achaeans leave Tenedos): Triph. 515 οὐρανὸν αἰγλήεντα = AR 4.615, Triph. 522 ~ AR 4.482, Triph. 523 ~ AR 4.1650, Triph. 525 ~ AR 4.1282. More on Nonnus and Hellenistic poetry (AR, Callimachus, Aratus, Euphorion, Eratosthenes, Nicander, Parthenius, Moschus) in Hollis 1994; Harries 1994; Whitby 1994, 101–5; Magnelli 2002, 117–22; Harries 2006, 515–40.

120 In particular QS 12.427 ~ AR 1.373, QS 12.428 ~ AR 1.384, QS 12.431 ~ AR 1.388, QS 12.432 ~ AR 1.377, 390. Cf. detailed analysis in Vian 2008, 394–5. More on QS's Hellenistic referents in Vian 1959, 101–2; Vian 1963, xxx–xxxi; Campbell 1981, 133–4, 139f.

121 Triph. 319b–20 ~ AR 1.388–9; Triph. 321b–2 ~ AR 1.389–90 (see also AR 4.1188); Triph. 323 is comparable with AR 1.387; Triph. 330 ~ AR 1.386–7; Triph. 332 ~ AR 1.381, 383–5. The construction of the wooden horse is also related to the construction of the Argo: Triph. 57 βουλῇσι θεῆς ὑποεργὸς Ἐπειός ~ AR 1.226 Ἄργος τε θεᾶς ὑποεργὸς Ἀθήνης.

122 Vian 2008, 410: "For Quintus and Triphiodorus, Apollonius continues rather than renews Homer, enriching the epic tradition without really changing it".

123 The prodigious horse surging out of the sea in AR 4.1365–6 surfaces in Triph. 58 πελώριον ἵππον, 65–6. Also Triph. 62–3a (and 78, 91) ~ AR 1.945–6 (earth-born men), Triph. 73–4 ~ AR 4.1607–8 (horse).

geography (AR 1.927–30 ~ Triph. 216, 218), similes,[124] or more generic scenes.[125]

Triph.'s poetics are clearly influenced by the Callimachean *recusatio* of the long poem, both in the programmatic statement of the prologue[126] and in his avoidance of excessive long-windedness in the poem.[127] Triph. refers to the poems of Callimachus several times in the course of the *Sack of Troy*,[128] but above all in his reference to the hospitality of Theano (657b–9), in relation to which he recalls Hecale.[129] One of Triph.'s lost works, the *Marathoniaca*, may well have dealt with Theseus and the Marathonian bull, in the wake of the *Hecale*.[130]

Links with Theocritus, on the other hand, are much more difficult to track down, owing to the difference in subject matter, among other reasons. The phrasing of the animal attack in the nyktomachy (610b–11) is similar to bucolic descriptions of animal grief,[131] but the parallels are not close enough to suggest that Triph. had read Theocritus.

Lycophron's *Alexandra* has a visible influence on various aspects of the *Sack of Troy*. The *Alexandra* is the account of Cassandra's prophecies to Priam, and is enclosed by a proem and an epilogue, which the

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124 AR 1.1263–72 (Heracles, maddened by the disappearance of Hylas, is compared to a bull stung by a gadfly) inspired not only Triph. 358–68 (Cassandra as a heifer), but also Opp. *H.* 2.521–31 (an ox stung by a gadfly) and QS 10.439–47 (Oenone). Triph. 615–17 ~ AR 2.123–9 (and Triph. 615a ~ AR 3.1058).

125 Sinon's supplication to Priam (Triph. 262–305) is reminiscent of the appeal made by the sons of Phrixus in AR 2.1123–68. Also Triph. 241 (the Trojans leaving Troy) ~ AR 3.841 (Medea leaving the palace); Triph. 504 (silence at night) ~ AR 3.749–40.

126 Callimachean poetics occur not only in the proem of the *Sack of Troy*, but also in that of the *Cynegetica* (see Costanza 1991) and in the inner proem of the *Posthomerica* (QS 12.306–13, on which see Bär 2007, 47–51; De Stefani – Magnelli 2011, 553–4).

127 More on this in the introduction to lines 1–5 (B. Poetic program). See also Vian 1986, 338; De Stefani – Magnelli 2011, 553.

128 Triph. 78–9 ~ Call. *Del.* 230–1 (Artemis' dog); Triph. 513 ~ Call. *Ap.* 99; Triph. 557 ~ Call. *Del.* 120. See also notes to lines 119, 221, 237 (σημάντορι καπνῷ), 342, 354, 386–7, 415, 420–1a, 430a. 450b–1a, 475, 503, 557, 637, 643, 653a, 666–7.

129 Triph. 657b–9 φιλοξείνοιο γέροντος, / μειλιχίης προτέρης μεμνημένος ἠδὲ τραπέζης / κεινῆς, ᾗ μιν ἔδεκτο γυνὴ πρηεῖα Θεανώ ~ Call. *Hecale* fr. 80 Hollis (= 263 Pf.), 1 πρηεῖα γυναικῶν, 4–5 μαῖα, < > φιλοξείνοιο καλιῆς / μνησόμεθα. Note also that 310 Σχέτλιον ἀφραδέων μερόπων γένος can be compared with Call. *Hecale* fr. 125 Hollis (= 318 Pf.) σχέτλιαι ἀνθρώπων ἀφραστύες; 360–1 ~ fr. 107 Hollis (= 301 Pf.).

130 See 1.3 Lost Works.

131 Theocr. *Id.* 1.71 τῆνον μὰν θῶες, τῆνον λύκοι ὠρύσαντο; Bion 1.18 τῆνον μὲν περὶ παῖδα φίλοι κύνες ὠρύονται. See also Theocr. *Id.* 2.35 and AR 3.1216–17.

poet links through verbal parallels[132] and the image of the messenger as an athletic runner (13–15, 1467–71). In a similar way, Triph. encloses his speech of Demodocus with a proem (1–5) and a final narratorial intervention (664–7), also linked by verbal parallels[133] and the metaphor of the poet as a charioteer and the poem as the chariot and horses. Triph. seems also to have regarded the *Alexandra* as a source for mythological variants of several stories[134] and for the metaphors for which Lycophron's poem was already known in antiquity.[135] However, it is when he describes Cassandra that Triph. turns to Lycophron more consistently:

- Triph.'s Cassandra is named only once (374) in the long episode in which she confronts her father (358–443). Likewise, in the *Alexandra*, Cassandra's name occurs only once (30 Ἀλεξάνδρα), after she has been introduced through several periphrases in the previous lines.
- The comparison of Cassandra with a Thracian Bacchant (Triph. 369–75) harks back to two similar Homeric comparisons of Andromache,[136] but it may also refer to the double role of Cassandra as a μάντις inspired by Apollo and a μαινάς in Dionysiac frenzy, on which the servant reflects in Lyc. *Alex.* 5–7, 28, 1463–5.
- Though there are no phraseological parallels to confirm a direct connection, Triph.'s Cassandra refers in her speech to Hecabe and Priam (398–402), Polyxena (403–5) and herself (406–9), whereas in Lyc. *Alex.* she cries for Laodice (316–22), Polyxena (323–29), Hecabe (330–4), Priam (335–47) and herself (348–60).
- Triph.'s metaphor of the pregnant horse giving birth (379b–90) is based on the double meaning of λόχος ('ambush', 'childbirth'), after both E. *Tr.* 534 and Lyc. *Alex.* 342–3.

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132 ἀναπεμπάζω in lines 9 and 1470; 6 φοιβάζεν ~ 1468 φοιβαστρίας; 14 λοξῶν … ἐπῶν ~ 1466–7 δυσφράστως … λοξόν; 11 τυλίσσων ~ 1466 ἑλικτὰ … ἔπη.

133 Triph. 1 τέρμα ~ 667 τέρματος, 1 πολυκμήτοιο ~ 664–5 Πᾶσαν … μόθου χύσιν …/… τὰ ἕκαστα καὶ ἄλγεα νυκτὸς ἐκείνης, 2 ἱππήλατον ~ 666 ἵππον ἐλάσσω, 3 μοι ~ 666 ἐγώ, 4 Καλλιόπεια ~ 666 Μουσάων, 5 κεκριμένου ~ 665 κρινάμενος, 5 ἀοιδῇ ~ 667 ἀοιδήν. The proems of the *Alexandra* and the *Sack of Troy* share only one element: Triph. 4 καὶ ἀρχαίην ἔριν ἀνδρῶν seems to be inspired by Lycophr. *Alex.* 1362 ἀρχαίαν ἔριν.

134 Sinon's self-mutilation (Triph. 219, 228–9, 258–61) could have Lycophron's πτωχεία (*Alex.* 774ff.) as a secondary model (esp. Lyc. 783 ~ Triph. 219, 260; Lyc. 784–5 ~ Triph. 227); the motif of the incarceration of Cassandra (439–43) could be related to Lyc. *Alex.* 349–51, 1461–2 (esp. Triph. 439–40a ~ Lyc. 1461–2); the double version of the fate of Laodice (Triph. 660–3) probably harks back to Lyc. *Alex.* 314–22, 494–503 (esp. Triph. 660–1 ~ Lyc. *Alex.* 316–17); Triph. 649b–50 (the wrath of Athena towards Ajax and the Achaeans) ~ Lyc. *Alex.* 361–2, 365–6.

135 Triph. 34 περίκυκλον ἀθηλέος ὄμφακα μαζοῦ ~ Lyc. *Alex.* 1328 μαστὸν εὔθηλον; Triph. 49 βαρυζήλοιο … Ἑλένοιο ~ Lyc. *Alex.* 57 ἡ βαρύζηλος δάμαρ (of Oenone, Paris's first wife); 164 δεύτερον ἁρπακτῆρα γάμου ~ Lyc. *Alex.* 147 ἁρπακτῆρας … λύκους (Theseus and Paris, as Helen's husbands); Triph. 386 μογοστόκον ἵππον ~ Lyc. *Alex.* 829–30 τῆς μογοστόκους / ὠδῖνας ἐξέλυσε δενδρώδης κλάδος.

136 *Il.* 6.388–9, 22.460–1 ~ Triph. 358–75 (esp. 360, 366). To be read with Ypsilanti 2007, 108–14.

Despite some lexical parallels,[137] there is not enough evidence to suggest that Triph. had access to Nicander's *Theriaca* and *Alexipharmaca*.[138] As regards Aratus, it would be tempting to relate Triph.'s comparison of the Trojans with a flock of migrating cranes (352–5) to Aratus' passage on the same subject (*Phaen.* 1075–81), but the phraseological parallels point instead towards Opp. *H.* 1.620–7.[139] Similarly, when Triph. compares Helen with the full moon (512–21), some of the ideas sound close to Aratus, but they are either very general or better explained by comparison with another author.[140]

3.6 Triphiodorus and Virgil?

Research on Triph.'s reading and referents has always been focused on his relationship with Homer and Virgil (esp. *A.* 2, in which Aeneas narrates the last days of Troy and his escape).[141] Before tackling this ques-

137 See notes to 73, 227, 355, 365, 366.

138 On the other hand, both Vian (1959, 49–50; 1966, 177–8) and Campbell (1981, 133–4) find evidence that QS was influenced either by Nicander or some didactic poem similar to his. Nonnus, too, drew on Nicander: see De Stefani 2005–6, 65–70.

139 Esp. Triph. 353b γεράνων στίχες ἠεροφώνων appears to be close to Arat. *Phaen.* 1031 γεράνων μακραὶ στίχες, but he may have come across Aratus' image through Opp. *H.* 1.622 γεράνων … ἠεροφώνων, 624 κατὰ στίχας.

140 Both authors share the common image of the moon as a face (Triph. 515 προσώπῳ, Arat. *Phaen.* 178 μέτωπα); Triph. 516 γλωχῖνας … κεραίης can be compared to Arat. 733–4, but also to Opp. *C.* 4.122–3; Triph. 518 could be related to Arat. 737, but also to *Il.* 23.454–5. On the other hand, QS does seem to have had access to Aratus: see Vian 1959, 102; Vian 1963, xxxi, note 1; Campbell 1981, notes to 5–6, 33, 55.

141 Most recent commentators have concluded that Triph. did not know (or did not refer to) the *Aeneid*: Gerlaud *Triph.* 46–7; Campbell 1984, 220; Dubielzig *Triph.* 26; Clausen 2002, 60. Cuartero *Triph.* 51–5 has a more nuanced opinion. D'Ippolito (1976, 1990) remains the most prolific defender of Virgilian influence. Summaries of the earlier debate can be found in Gerlaud *Triph.*, 41–7 and Dubielzig *Triph.* 20–6. As regards QS, Vian (e.g. 1959, 98–100; 1963, xxxi-xxxv; 1969, 78–84) and Campbell (1981, 117–18) rejected the idea that Virgil influenced the *Posthomerica*. More recently, however, Gärtner (2005) and James (2007, 149–53) have been more favourable to the idea of Virgilian influence. Note Gärtner's sensible remark about the differences between Triph. and QS: "[2005, 275] In der Tat ist die Situation bei Triphiodor anders als bei Quintus. Denn in seinem ausdrücklich um Kürze bemühten Epos gibt er eine relativ widerspruchsfreie, in sich geschlossene Version des Stoffes wieder, während Quintus den Stoff weit ausführlicher darstellen wollte und daher auf verschiedene Quellen zurückgriff". On QS and Virgil, see also Maciver 2011; 2012a, 191–2; 2012b. See also James – Lee 2000, 80–2, 91–3 on the influence of Ovid's *Metamorphoses* 13.1–381 on QS 5.180–317.

tion, however, we need to evaluate the knowledge of Latin in contemporary Egypt and in particular the impact of its main literary referent, the *Aeneid*. Secondly, since allusions to a poem in a different language are difficult or even impossible to prove, it needs to be clarified how exactly it is possible to relate the *Sack of Troy* to the *Aeneid*. Only after answering these two questions can we analyse the passages of Triph.'s poem that appear to be close to the *Aeneid*.

As regards the first question, the presence of Latin in third-century Egypt was inextricably linked to the everyday life of the Egyptians as subjects of the Roman Empire, in relation primarily to the army, administration and legal affairs.[142] Basic education at school would have included the rudiments of the language,[143] and Virgil was read mostly with the aid of bilingual lexica and editions[144] that did not address literary interests, but the linguistic needs of the users.[145]

Presented in this way, the evidence would imply that γραμματικοί like Triph. would approach the *Aeneid* only as a means of teaching Latin and not for its literary qualities. On the other hand we do find Virgilian imprints in compositions such as the second or third-century Orphic Catabasis,[146] and the third- or early fourth-century poem which narrates the transition of Hesiod from pastoral to epic poetry through the inspiration of the Muses.[147] Triph. and his fellow citizens were undoubtedly exposed to Latin, and some were proficient speakers and readers, but their degree of acquaintance with Latin literature and crit-

142 Rochette 1997, 105–26, 147–50; Fournet 2009, 421–30; Adams 2003, 527–641; Evans 2012. On the influence of Latin in Greco-Egyptian texts, see Dickey 2010, Filos 2010, Maravela-Solbakk 2010.

143 Rochette 1997, 177–206; Gärtner 2005, 16–18; Cribiore 2003–4; Cribiore 2007, 57–62.

144 Gaebel 1970; Rochette 1990, 1994; Kramer 1996; Rochette 1997, 188–204 (see also pp. 271–2, 302–18, on the translations of his works into Greek); Scappaticcio 2009a, 98 (note 6). On Virgil as a school text and the army, see Scappaticcio 2009b; Birley 2009, 273–8.

145 Kramer 1996, 2–3; Rochette 1997, 266; Scappaticcio 2009a, 107–8.

146 *P.Bon.* 4, lines 31, 33, 103. See analysis in Lloyd-Jones – Parsons 1978, 88.

147 *P.Oxy.* 50.3537r, line 25. Bernsdorff (1999, 71–8) has suggested that biographical details regarding Hesiod may be based on a stylised biography of Virgil found in 1st century AD Latin texts, such as Calp. 4.160–3 or *Laus Pisonis* 230–5. See Rochette 1997, 272–9 (on citations and reminiscences of Virgil in Greek authors) and his positive conclusions on the knowledge of Latin literature in the East (pp. 320–3).

ical appreciation of it probably depended on personal circumstances.[148] We do not know what level can be expected of Triph., even though we know that he was a γραμματικός.[149]

As far as the possible influence of Virgil on Imperial and Late Antique authors is concerned, Greek poets would, if they were interested in Virgil's account, engage with his poem in the same critical and creative manner as they did with Greek authors. In other words, a knowledge of Virgil does not automatically imply that he was taken into account, nor that he was followed slavishly,[150] especially given that we have seen that Triph. did not do this even with Homer. Also to be noted is the 'cultural autarchy' of the Greeks,[151] in other words, their tendency to prefer and protect their own literature as the cultural expression of their identity.

As regards Virgil and Triph., they are sometimes diametrically opposed, while in other cases they seem to make similar choices, and in one specific situation they are particularly close. The most glaring difference is to be found in Virgil's decision to develop the character of Laocoon (*A.* 2.40–56, 199–231), while neglecting Cassandra (246–7), whereas Triph. does not even mention Laocoon and focuses on Cassandra (358–443).[152] There are more examples, however:

- Triph. 90–4: Epeius fits a door and a ladder into the horse, whereas in the *Aeneid* the heroes leave the horse using a rope (2.262), and the information regarding the door is unclear (258–9 "pinea furtim / laxat claustra Sinon").
- Triph. develops the motif of Sinon's self-mutilation (Triph. 219, 228–9, 258–61), absent in other accounts. Virgil's Sinon anticipates that the Trojans are going to beat him (*A.* 2.72, 103), but there are only veiled references to violence on the part of the Trojans (2.67, 73–4).

148 See the cases of Flavius Josephus, Plutarch and Lucian, studied in Rochette 1997, 239–41, 243–4.

149 According to D'Ippolito (1976, 9–10), Triph.'s activity as a γραμματικός would have facilitated his access to Virgil. On the other hand, Dubielzig (*Triph.*, 21) regards the teaching of Latin as the province of the γραμματιστής, so that Triph.'s profession would not guarantee any knowledge of Latin.

150 For this line of reasoning, see Gärtner 2005, 38–40.

151 Rochette 1997, 320; Swain 1996, 1–100.

152 Note also the differences between Virgil and QS: in the *Aeneid* Laocoon's sons are killed by two snakes sent from Tenedos before the entrance of the horse, whereas in the *Posthom.* Athena blinds him before the horse's entrance and has his sons killed by the snakes after it. QS, unlike both Virgil and Triph., chooses to develop the interventions of both Cassandra and Laocoon.

- Triph. minimises Trojan resistance (587–8a), which reaches epic proportions in Aeneas' account (2.336–452), to the point that Virgil's defending Trojans (2.355–7) are granted a simile comparable to that of Triph.'s Achaean attackers (613–17).
- In Triph. 613–33, Menelaus and Odysseus conduct a joint attack on Deiphobus' house and Menelaus kills him, whereas Virgil (*A.* 6.494–534) has Helen take away the weapons in the house and open the door for Menelaus; Deiphobus is subsequently killed in bed and mutilated.
- In Triph. 634–9, Neoptolemus kills Priam without any of the grisly details present in Verg. *A.* 2.550–8 (and QS 13.241–6) and only Triph. introduces a narratorial prediction of Neoptolemus' death (640–3), whereas in Verg. *A.* 2.535–43 Priam curses Neoptolemus.
- Triph.'s Cassandra is raped (647–50), whereas in Verg. *A.* 2.402–8 she is described being dragged away from the temple, though the language of the passage is redolent of sexual violence.[153]
- In the *Sack of Troy*, the Achaeans briefly sack the city the day after the battle (676–9), while Virgil focuses on pillage already occurring during the battle itself (*A.* 2.374–5, 503–5, 761–7).
- Triph. reproduces the oldest tradition, according to which the Achaeans set fire to Troy after the sack (680–5), but in the *Aeneid* flames are already mentioned during the nyktomachy: Verg. *A.* 2.289, 310–12, 327, 329, 337 etc.

There are some similar choices, but these do not necessarily imply that Triph. had the *Aeneid* in mind:

- Triph. 55–6, on the theft of the Palladion, is too brief to be related to any previous account of the episode, including Verg. *A.* 2.162–70.
- The comparison of the horse and a ship occurs not only in Triph. 62–4, 185, 304ff., 344, and Verg. *A.* 2.13–20, but also in Bernabé *PEG Iliades Parvae* Arg. 1, line 19; E. *Tr.* 537–9; QS 12.427–34.
- The gods abandon Troy in Triph. 508–9 and Verg. *A.* 2.351–2, but also in E. *Tr.* 25–7, 1060–80; compare A. *Th.* 216–22, 304–20 (Thebes).
- Sinon and Helen play important roles at the start of the nyktomachy in both poems, but they are different in each poem. In the *Sack of Troy*, Sinon and Helen light two torches to call the Achaean fleet back to Troy from Tenedos (510–21). In the *Aeneid*, when the Greek fleet leaves Tenedos, they signal their advance to Sinon with a fire in the flagship, and he releases the heroes hidden in the horse (2.250–64); Helen is later said to signal to the Achaeans with a torch during a Bacchic procession in the citadel (6.517–19).
- The death of a fiancé before the eyes of his bride (Triph. 551b–5) could be the anonymous version of the death of Coroebus, as narrated in Verg. *A.* 2.403–8, 424–6, but the Triphiodorean scene simply blends together various epic motifs: the 'young husband slain', the 'bereaved widow', and the παρθένος who commits suicide when her fiancé dies (see note *ad loc.* for more references).
- Triph. 559–72 (Theophany I: Enyo, Eris, Ares, Athena, Hera, Poseidon) appears to be close to Verg. *A.* 2.608–18 (Venus shows Aeneas the gods at work in the destruction of Troy: Neptune, Hera, Pallas, Jupiter), esp. Triph. 566–7a (Athena) and Verg. *A.* 2.615–16 (Pallas), Triph. 568b–9 (Poseidon) and Verg. *A.* 2.610–12a (Neptune). However, the descriptions of the actions of the gods are generic, and both authors simply

153 See Whittaker 2009; Horsfall 2008, pp. 322–3, n. to 2.403.

refer to the conspicuous enemies of Troy, with a few logical additions (Triph. uses Enyo, Eris and Ares to emphasise the fury of the combat, while Virgil has Jupiter to convince Aeneas that there is no hope for Troy). Triph.'s distant referent seems to be *Il.* 20.1–75.
- Some motifs from the nyktomachy are similar, but Triph. is using them in the context of a clear Homeric referent: Triph. 588b–9 reworks *Il.* 12.385–6 (death of Epicles), and not Verg. *A.* 2.565–6; Triph. 620b–1 draws on several Homeric passages (esp. *Il.* 12.154–5), and not on Verg. *A.* 2.445–9, 2.460–8, 9.505–18.
- Triph. 664–5 (Πᾶσαν δ' οὐκ ἂν ἔγωγε μόθου χύσιν ἀείσαιμι / κρινάμενος τὰ ἕκαστα καὶ ἄλγεα νυκτὸς ἐκείνης) seems to be close to *A.* 2.361–2 ("quis cladem illius noctis, quis funera fando / explicet aut possit lacrimis aequare labores?"), but also to *Il.* 2.488, 12.176; *Od.* 3.113–14, 4.240, 11.328–9, 11.517; AR 1.919, 4.1387–8.

Finally, in the episode of Sinon, Triph. and Virgil are particularly close in a number of areas:[154]

- In *Od.* 8.505–13 the Trojan debate over the horse takes place when they are already in Troy, whereas in Triph. (247–57) and the *Aeneid* (2.32–56) it occurs on the plain, by the newly-found statue.
- In both poems Sinon is an accomplished speaker who plays upon the curiosity and childishness of his Trojan listeners (see n. to 258–303). Triph.'s Sinon savagely mutilates his body to give his speech extra credibility (227–9, 258–61, 275–7).
- Priam has kind words for Sinon and asks him about the horse (*A.* 2.146–51, Triph. 284–90).[155]
- Sinon's speech also presents several shared elements:[156] he tells the truth about himself (*A.* 2.76–80, Triph. 292–4), mentions Palamedes (*A.* 2.81–96, Triph. 292),[157] says that the Achaeans will be happy if the Trojans kill him (*A.* 2.103–4, Triph. 279–80), and presents the horse as ambivalent for the Trojans, depending on what they decide to do with it (*A.* 2.189–94, Triph. 296–303).

What sets the two accounts apart is the fact that Triph.'s Sinon is a hero, a double of the resourceful Odysseus,[158] and that his enemies are the

154 Virgil has been said to have a tragic background, probably going back to Sophocles' *Sinon* (Campbell 1981, 121–2; Clausen 2002, 65). Triph.'s treatment may be somehow related to this (not necessarily directly), but the interaction of Sinon and Priam reminds us of Odysseus' supplication to Nausicaa in *Od.* 6 (Ypsilanti 2007, 95–9).

155 In particular, Triph. 286–7 (Αἰεὶ δ' ἡμέτερος φίλος ἔσσεαι, οὐδέ σε πάτρης, / οὐδὲ πολυκτεάνων θαλάμων γλυκὺς ἵμερος αἵρεῖ) appears to be close to Verg. *A.* 2.137–8 ("nec mihi iam patriam antiquam spes ulla uidendi / nec dulcis natos exoptatumque parentem"), 148–9 ("quisquis es, amissos hinc iam obliuiscere Graios; / noster eris"), but Triph.'s lines can also be compared to Greek parallels (see notes to 286–7).

156 Clausen 2002, 66.

157 Triph.'s catalogue of victims of the Achaeans (Achilles/Ajax, Philoctetes and Palamedes) has been said to reproduce a catalogue from a ὅπλων κρίσις, focused on Odysseus: see Vian 1959, 64; Gerlaud *Triph.* p. 131, note to 270–2.

158 Triph. gives Sinon the epithet of Odysseus (291 πολυμήχανος ἥρως), among other elements that bring the two characters together: see notes to 219–29, 219, 220, 226, 227–9, 259, 260–1, 273–4, 275–7.

Greeks as a whole, whereas in the *Aeneid* he is presented as the epitome of the treacherous Greek,[159] with Ulysses as his personal enemy. Virgil places the simple Trojans and the deceitful Greeks in opposition, whereas Triph., as we have seen, takes a more balanced view, bringing out the shortcomings of both peoples (the Greeks are effective but brutal, and the Trojans inventive but blind and reckless), and sees both punished.[160] This balance is upset because the *Sack of Troy* exalts Odysseus as the ultimate Achaean hero, whereas the Trojan Aeneas is simply transported by his mother Aphrodite from Troy to Italy, where he founds an eternal empire simply because the gods want Aphrodite's descendants to hold power (651–5), and not because of his own merits.

In her analysis of the role of Sinon in the *Posthomerica*, Hadjittofi suggests that QS is systematically unravelling the Virgilian version (which would require at least a certain acquaintance with the *Aeneid*):[161] Quintus' Trojans are collectively guilty of torturing Sinon, and the latter is praised by his fellow Achaeans not for his craftiness or rhetoric (his speech in QS 12.375–86 is not particularly elaborate), but for his endurance,[162] a Stoic and very Roman quality, attributed by Virgil to Aeneas. Hadjittofi also proves that QS inflicts a dismantling treatment on Aeneas, divesting him of his Virgilian heroism.[163] This would make sense in the context of the contemporary Greek attitude towards Rome: upper-class Greeks accepted Roman domination and helped to make the East governable, while firmly resisting full cultural integration. This played itself out in their Hellenism, both in the use of language (Atticism) and in the focus on classical history and tradition (culture was seen as Greek and Greek alone).[164] Greek myths, history and biographical facts formed the core of the discourse, which was often adapted to meet the needs of a specific situation, group or public *persona*,[165] and was nearly always

159 Verg. *A.* 2.65–6 (Aeneas to Dido): "accipe nunc Danaum insidias et crimine ab uno / disce omnis".

160 See 2.3 Characterisation.

161 Hadjittofi 2007, 365–70.

162 QS 14.107–8 Θαύμαζον <δὲ> Σίνωνα περικλυτόν, οὕνεχ᾽ ὑπέτλη / λώβην δυσμενέων πολυκηδέα. See also the requirements for the role in Odysseus' speech (12.239 μμνέτω ἄγχ᾽ ἵπποιο σιδήρεον ἐνθέμενος κῆρ) and Sinon's answer (12.247–52).

163 Hadjittofi 2007, 358–65. See also note to 651–5.

164 Hadjittofi 2007, 363–5; Swain 1996, 1–100.

165 Swain 1996, 73–9, 93–4; Whitmarsh 2001, 133–294.

made palatable to Roman ears.[166] However, despite the frequent links between the two, public speeches remained a very different phenomenon from epic poetry, and elements suitable for rhetoric were not equally suitable for epic hexameters. In other words, the choice of the epic genre, generally considered the core of Greek cultural identity with Homer at its centre, would imply stripping the mythical narrative bare of non-Greek elements. This would explain both QS's and Triph.'s choices.

Both QS and Triph. mention the usual propaganda which presents the Roman empire as a spin-off of Troy,[167] but they refrain from transforming this into a full-scale encomium of the Roman empire.[168] Both seem also to know of Virgil's 'Roman' epic and of his negative characterisation of the Greeks through a treacherous Sinon, for which they would at least have needed a translation or summary of the second book of the *Aeneid*. They counteract this derogatory depiction of their people by highlighting the shortcomings of the Trojans and granting Sinon a more dignified role. QS replies to the characterisation of Aeneas as an embodiment of Roman virtues by divesting him of them and by transferring some of them to Sinon, whereas Triph. neglects to mention Aeneas' role in the war as much as possible. Triph. and QS seem to be responding to the unwritten rules of the genre and to a common cultural atmosphere, but the similarities in their attitudes are not enough to imply that they were copying each other.[169]

We can conclude, then, that Triph. knew of the *Aeneid* and how it was written. If the *Aeneid* left only negative traces in the *Sack of Troy*, it is because Triph.'s objective was to construct a poem so Greek that it could be imagined as coming from the mouth of Demodocus, the ultimate Homeric singer. He could not sound even remotely close to Virgil. The Homeric poems were, after all, the common hearth of the imperial Greek-speaking societies.

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166 Swain 1996, 67–8.

167 QS 13.336–43; Triph. 651–5.

168 Compare Dio Chrysostom's *Trojan Oration* (11), a good instance of a reading of the Trojan legend suitable for Roman ears, which concludes with a long encomium of Rome. See also how the epigrammatists adapted the Roman interpretation of the Trojan War to their genre in *AP* 7.391 (= 5 GP *Garland*, Bassus), 9.236 (= 6 GP *Garland*, Bassus), commented on in Harder 2007, 420–1.

169 More on QS and Triph. in 3.7 Triphiodorus and Imperial Literature.

3.7 Triphiodorus and Imperial Literature

Dionysius Periegetes (dated to the 130s) may appear an unlikely ally in the composition of a poem on the sack of Troy, but Triph. did find inspiration in the polished phraseology of the Οἰκουμένης περιήγησις,[170] and so did Nonnus.[171] At least part of the reason behind Dionysius' success may lie in the possible use of his work as an educational aid to explain geography, history and mythology.[172]

The *Halieutica* of Oppian of Cilicia (dated *ca.* 177–80) and the *Cynegetica* of Oppian of Apamea (*ca.* 212–17), chronologically closer to Triph. than Dionysius, are also closer in vocabulary and phraseology to the *Sack of Troy.*[173] The main appeal of these poems for Triph., however, was probably their hexametric elaboration of topics that in the Homeric poems were relegated to similes. The *Cynegetica* was particularly useful for the composition of the *ekphrasis* of the wooden horse (57–107):[174] having a living referent for his statue helped Triph. to de-

170 Triph. 69b–70 ~ DP 1119, 1122; Triph. 73 Ἀργυφέους … ὀδόντας (codd. ἀργυρέους) ~ DP 1117 ἀργυφέους … ὀδόντας; Triph. 133 μετήλυδος ὀμφητῆρος, 352 μετήλυδες Ὠκεανοῖο ~ DP 689 μετήλυδες Αἰγύπτοιο; Triph. 205 ἐυγνάμπτοισι μακέλλαις ~ DP 1115 ἐϋγνάμπτῃσι … μακέλῃσιν; Triph. 218 ὕδωρ Ἀθαμαντίδος Ἕλλης = DP 515 ὕδωρ Ἀθαμαντίδος Ἕλλης|; Triph. 369 οὐχ οὕτω Θρήισσαν … ~ DP 575 Οὐχ οὕτω Θρῄϊκος …; Triph. 571 = DP 372 Διὸς μέγα χωσαμένοιο.

171 Cf. Whitby 1994, 105–7.

172 Bowie 1990b, 73–4: "expansions, some of them introducing mythology, others natural history, endow the geographical framework with variety and allow a more lively or emotional tone. They must have enhanced the poem's eligibility for use as a school-reader through whose line-by-line explication *grammatici* could introduce pupils not only to geography but to central features of history and myth."

173 For the *Halieutica*, see Triph. 76 παλίρροον ἄσθμα ~ Opp. *H.* 2.398 παλίρροος … ἀήρ; Triph. 97 ~ Opp. H. 3.527, 5.185–6; Triph. 126 ~ Opp. *H.* 3.404; Triph. 145 ἑσπέριον πῦρ, as in Opp. *H.* 4.645; 213 νῆας ἐυκραίρους 'finely-beaked ships', as in Opp. *H.* 2.516 νήεσσιν ἐϋκραίροις; Triph. 385 ἐς μόθον ὁρμήσουσι ~ Opp. *H.* 5.43 κήτειον ὅτ' ἐς μόθον ὁρμήσωνται; Triph. 391–2 should be compared with Opp. *H.* 4.199, 5.269–70; Triph. 478–9 reshapes *Od.* 4.287–8, but for the phrasing Triph. relied on Opp. *H.* 5.635 παλάμῃσι δ' ἐν ἀμφοτέρῃσιν, 4.446 ἀμφιέπουσα πιέζει; Triph. 551b–2 is comparable to Opp. *H.* 5.518; Triph. 657b φιλοξείνοιο γέροντος ~ Opp. *H.* 3.221 φιλοξείνοιο μετ' ἀνέρος.
For the *Cynegetica*, see Triph. 34 ἀθηλέος … μαζοῦ, probably inspired by Lyc. *Alex.* 1328 μαστὸν εὔθηλον and Opp. *C.* 1.437 νεοθηλέϊ μαζῷ; Triph. 275 ~ Opp. *C.* 2.480; Triph. 668 ~ Opp. *C.* 1.43.
QS draws on the *Halieutica* for two similes (7.569–75) and a digression (11.62–5). On the Oppians and Nonn. see Whitby 1994, 108–14.

174 Triph. 67–8 crest ~ Opp. *C.* 1.176–7; Triph. 69–72 eyes made of brilliant stones to match the bright eyes of horses (Opp. *C.* 1.179–81, 314–15); Triph. 78–9 ears cocked listening for

pict a more vivid horse. He also used these poems in the composition of similes, seeking to provide a taste of a more realistic and up-to-date composition:

- 222–6 Sinon, preparing to deceive the unsuspecting Trojans, is compared to the guardian of the nets in a hunting party. The simile is un-Homeric, and reflects the use of nets (Opp. *C.* 1.147–57, 3.120–1, 3.379ff., 4.120–1, 4.379–81; Opp. *H.* 3.98–9, 3.117–18, 3.444, 3.567–8, 4.148–9, 4.655–6) and the figure of the scout (Opp. *H.* 3.637–9; Opp. *C.* 4.105–6), typical of hunting and fishing as recorded in the epics of the Oppians.
- 352–5 Trojans = cranes ~ Opp. *H.* 1.620–7 (esp. Triph. 353 γεράνων στίχες ἠεροφώνων, after Opp. *H.* 1.621 γεράνων … ἠεροφώνων, 1.624 κατὰ στίχας; Triph. 354 κύκλον ἐπογμεύουσιν ἀλήμονος ὀρχηθμοῖο, after Opp. *H.* 1.621 ὑψιπετὴς … χορὸς ἔρχεται, 1.625 καὶ ἄλλυτον ὄγμον ἔχουσιν).
- 534b–6 Achaean leaders hiding inside the horse like bees in their hive ~ Opp. *C.* 4.271–2.

The texture of the poem is enriched by this renewed version of Homeric language, which is more suitable not only for their topics, but also for contemporary tastes. The difference between the old and the new epic becomes apparent if we compare the simile of Sinon as the scout of a hunting party (222–6) with the final one of the Trojans trapped in Troy like fish caught in a net (671–5, inspired by *Od.* 22.381–9). The second simile is heavier and flatter, contrasting with the visuality of the former, which was also more appealing for the contemporary upper-class male audience of Triph., who often had a taste for hunting.

Gerlaud endorses the opinion that Triph. drew on QS's *Posthomerica*, especially in the description of the horse, Odysseus' speech, the catalogue of Achaean warriors hidden inside the horse, and the episode of Cassandra. In his view, Triph. liberated his narrative from QS's doublets and general prolixity, and recreated a Homeric religious atmosphere.[175] Campbell is sceptical about a link between the two poems, and notes that similarities in structure and content are inevitable in two roughly contemporary poets who base themselves on the same rich tradition for the treatment of a subject that was extensively studied at

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the sound of the trumpet, the call to battle ~ Opp. *C.* 1.206–7; Triph. 80–1 upper half of the abdomen ~ Opp. *C.* 1.185–6 εὐρέα νῶτα, / καὶ ῥάχις ἀμφίδυμος μέσον ἰσχία πιαίνουσα; 89 hooves hardly touching the ground when they run ~ Opp. *C.* 1.231–2.

175 Gerlaud *Triph.* 16–36 (on the sources of each passage), 40–1 (on QS). Also Vian 1959, 61–4, 70–1; Maciver 2012, 3, 29. Cuartero 1994, 288, offers a more nuanced opinion: "Trifiodoro tiene presente en todo momento a Quinto, pero no como fuente, sino como *textus receptus* que hay que citar para oponerse a él variándolo o negándolo".

school. Their similarities would not make up for the sharp differences in tone and detail between the two poems.[176]

As regards controversial passages:

- Triph.'s *ekphrasis* of the wooden horse (57–107) has in fact very little to do with the episode in QS (12.104–56), where most of the space is taken up not by the construction of the horse (138b–45a), but by the preliminaries and subsequent reactions.[177] As for the construction itself, QS 12.140b–1a and 141b–3 vaguely refer to the same steps narrated in Triph. 80–4 and 65–8 respectively. The only phraseological parallels are Triph. 69 ὀφθαλμοὺς … λιθώπεας ~ QS 12.144 ὀφθαλμοὺς … διειδέας, Triph. 80 Νῶτα δ' ὁμοῦ λαγόνεσσι συνήρμοσε ~ QS 12.140 τῇ δ' ἐφύπερθε συνήρμοσε νῶτα, and again these are not specific enough. QS does not mention any trappings (Triph. 95–8), and the elements relating the horse to its function as a hiding place (Triph. 90–4, 99–102) are only mentioned later (QS 12.330–4, 424b–5).
- Odysseus' speeches in Triph. 120–51 and QS 12.220–42 share only their objective (that of setting the final Achaean strategy in motion) and the appeal to the courage of the soldiers.[178] In the *Posthomerica* Odysseus focuses on the appeal for volunteers for the horse (220–34), briefly mentioning that the rest of the army should go to Tenedos and wait for the Trojans to take the horse into their city (235–7), and finally asks for a volunteer to play the role of traitor (238–42). In the *Sack of Troy*, he divides his speech between appeals for volunteers for the horse (122–38) and an address to the rest of the army, with detailed instructions (139–48), and does not mention Sinon.[179] Triph. draws on Odysseus' speeches in *Il.* 2 (190–7, 200–6, 284–332), not on QS.
- In his catalogue of volunteers for the snare of the horse, Triph. (152b–83) mentions 23 heroes, 16 of whom also appear in QS 12.314–35, not including Cyanippus, Calchas, Peneleus and the triad composed of Iphidamas, Eurydamas and Amphidamas. According to Gerlaud (*Triph.* 20–1), Triph. would have used QS's catalogue as a model, but Triph. seems to have his own agenda, both in the choice of names (heroes mentioned in the *Od.*, some playing a role in the horse or the battle, Helen's suitors, leaders of important contingents or their substitutes, final string of Homeric-sounding names), and in his Homeric model (warriors standing up for a task or competition, as in *Il.* 7.161–8, 23.287–301, 708–9, 811–12, 836–8, 859–60).[180]
- The episode of Cassandra shares a similar initial outline in both authors: introduction of Cassandra in frenzy, compared with a wild animal (QS 12.525–39 a wounded lioness; Triph. 358–75 a heifer bitten by a gadfly, but also a Bacchant), her speech (QS 12.540–51,

176 Esp. Campbell 1981, 46–7, 176–7. Cuartero *Triph.* 51 is similarly cautious.

177 QS 12.104–16, in a dream, Athena inspires Epeius with the idea of the construction of the horse; 117–21, Epeius transmits his dream, and the Achaeans approve of the construction; 122–38a, the whole army sets to work, some felling trees from Mount Ida and carrying them down to the plain (after *Il.* 23.110–26), others making the parts of the statue; 145b–8a, comments on the completion of the statue; 148b–56, celebration of the beauty of the animal by Epeius and Athena. For more on this, see the introduction to 57–107 (A. Epic Tradition).

178 QS 12.221–3, 229–33 and Triph. 122–3, with no phraseological parallels.

179 Cf. Campbell 1981, 78. For a more detailed analysis, see note to 120–51.

180 More detailed analysis in the introduction to 152b–83.

Triph. 576–416), critical response (QS 12.553–61 anonymous Trojan, Triph. 419–38 Priam). After this, QS's maiden tries to attack the wooden horse and is carried away by the Trojans, who start a feast, while the Greeks hidden inside the horse commend her prophetic wisdom (562–85). Triph.'s seer is locked away, and the Trojans take to feasting (439–53). Ypsilanti (2007, 108–14) has proved that Triph.'s main referents for Cassandra were *Il.* 6.639–502 and 22.437–515, where Andromache mourns for Hector and prophesies future disasters. Noticing that it is the Homeric elements that are absent in QS's version, Ypsilanti suggests that QS might have looked at Triph.'s composition, discarded the Homeric model and appropriated the heifer-like Cassandra as the inspiration for his own. However, while QS and Triph. are close in some respects in these lines, there is no exact parallel that could justify a claim of dependence in one direction or the other,[181] so that a sceptical attitude seems to be the soundest option. The dishevelled appearance of the mad makes them look animal-like, and the symptoms of madness had become part of a common literary code.[182]

– As suggested before, both QS and Triph. seem to dismantle in a similar way the Virgilian version of the confrontation between Sinon and the Trojans, and write about Aeneas without any patriotic enthusiasm.[183] Once more, they share analogous intentions, but there are no real parallels.

The general impression that QS and Triph. resemble each other at some points is not enough to establish a direct link between the two poems. A more detailed study on Triph.'s and QS's (dis)agreements would provide the perfect arena for an exploration of what the *literati* of the third century understood by epic poetry, not as passive readers of Homer and Apollonius, but as active creators.

Finally, as Gerlaud (*Triph.*, 41) remarks, Triph. seems to have been acquainted with the language of literary epitaphs of the type now extant in *AP* 7. Some parallels:

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181 Triph. 358–9a Κούρη δὲ Πριάμοιο θεήλατος οὐκέτι μίμνειν / ἤθελεν ἐν θαλάμοισι ~ QS 12.534–5 ὣς ἄρα μαιμώωσα θεοπρόπον ἔνδοθεν ἦτορ / ἤλυθεν ἐκ μεγάροιο; Triph. 358a Κούρη δὲ Πριάμοιο and QS 12.553 Ὦ κούρη Πριάμοιο (introductory line of the speech) are both inspired by *Il.* 13.173 κούρην δὲ Πριάμοιο; Triph. 366 πλαζομένη κραδίην sounds similar to QS 12.532 τῆς δ' ἐν φρεσὶ μαίνεται ἦτορ; Triph. 367a Πάντῃ δ' ἐβρυχᾶτο κατὰ πτόλιν has more or less the same meaning as QS 12.533 πάντῃ ἀν' οὔρεα μακρά, 12.530 μέγ' ἴαχεν, εὖτε λέαινα; Triph. 368b λίπεν δέ ἑ παρθένος αἰδώς ~ QS 12.537 ὅσσε δέ οἱ μάρμαιρεν ἀναιδέα (and subsequent accusations of shamelessness in QS 12.555; Triph. 421 θαρσαλέη, κυνάμυια, 433–5); Triph. 371b παρήορον ὄμμα τιταίνει, related to the eyes like QS 12.537 ὅσσε δέ οἱ μάρμαιρεν ἀναιδέα, though not an exact parallel. Compare Campbell 1981, 46: "If one were to lock away a Greek of the fourth century with a modest set of *Troica* and ask him, never having set eyes on Q[uintus]'s poem, to draft a version of Cassandra's opposition to the Horse, there is a very strong chance that she would emerge equipped with, among other attributes, 'virgin modesty'."

182 Explored in Padel 1992, 1995.

183 See supra 3.6 Triphiodorus and Virgil? Also Hadjittofi 2007, 358–70.

- Triph. 19–20 (death of Ajax) Αἴας δ᾽ αὐτοφόνῳ βριαρὸν δέμας ἕλκεϊ λύσας / φάσγανον ἐχθρὸν ἔλουσε μεμηνότος αἵματος ὄμβρῳ ~ *AP* 7.149.4 (Leont.) (epitaph of Ajax) παλάμῃ θῆκεν ὑπ᾽ αὐτοφόνῳ, 152.5 (Leont.) τὸ ξίφος εἷλ᾽ Αἴαντα μεμηνότα.
- Triph. 311 κενεῷ δ᾽ ὑπὸ χάρματι ~ *AP* 7.334.18 κενεὸν χάρμα φίλης πατρίδος.
- Triph. 378 νήγρετον ὕπνον ~ [Mosch.] *Id.* 3.104 μακρὸν ἀτέρμονα νήγρετον ὕπνον; *AP* 7.305.3 (Addaeus of Mitylene) νήγρετον ὑπνώσας, 338.6 (anon.) αὐτὸς δ᾽ εἰκοσέτας νήγρετον ὕπνον ἔχεις.
- Triph. 554b–5 ἀλλ᾽ ἐχόλωσε καὶ οὐκ ἐθέλοντα φονῆα / καὶ ξυνὸν λέχος ἔσχεν ὀφειλόμενον παρακοίτῃ (analogy of the marriage bed and the death bed) ~ *AP* 7.378.4 (Apollonides) ξυνὸν ἀγαλλόμενοι καὶ τάφον ὡς θάλαμον, 8.154.4 (Greg. Naz.) ξυνὸν ἔχει … καὶ τάφον ὡς βίοτον, 5.221.5–6 (Paul. Sil.) ἥδιον ἡμῖν / ξυνὸν ἀεὶ μεθέπειν ἢ βίον ἢ θάνατον.
- 660–1 Δειλὴ Λαοδίκη, σὲ δὲ πατρίδος ἐγγύθι γαίης / γαῖα περιπτύξασα κεχηνότι δέξατο κόλπῳ ~ *AP* 7.564.1–2 (anon.) Τῇδέ ποτ᾽ ἀκτερέϊστον ἐδέξατο γαῖα χανοῦσα / Λαοδίκην.

Some phraseological parallels in epigrams now collected in the *Palatine Anthology* suggest the gradual attachment between epic subjects and certain words:

- Triph. 45 Δηιφόβοιο γαμοκλόπον ὕβριν: γαμοκλόπος is apparently a Triphiodorean innovation, which reappears in *AP* 9.475.5 (anon.) (Helen on seeing the combat between Paris and Menelaus) μὴ πάλιν ἄλλος ἕλῃ με γαμοκλόπος.
- Triph. 113 μελίχροϊ νέκταρι: compare *AP* 6.239.5–6 εὖ δὲ μελιχροῦ / νέκταρος ἐμπλήσαις κηροπαγεῖς θαλάμας; also QS 3.224 κηροὺς … μελίχροας; Nonn. *D.* 10.271 μέλιτος γλυκεροῖο μελιχροτέρῃ πέλε Βάκχῳ.
- The only possible parallel for Triph. 231 καπνὸν … περιδινέα is *AP* 6.23.5 (Zon.) περιδινέα κύρτον.
- Triph. 251 πολέμῳ βαρυπενθέι can be compared with *AP* 7.743.4 (Antipater) οὐ βαρυπενθήτους Ἄρτεμις εἶλε κόρας, 9.254.1–2 (Phil.) ἡ βαρυπενθὴς / μήτηρ.
- Triph. 646 μινύωρον … Ἀστυάνακτα ~ *AP* 7.481.1–2 (Philitas) Τὰν μινύωρον, / τὰν μικκὰν Ἀίδας ἅρπασε Θειοδόταν, 9.362.26 (Leont.) μινυώρια τέκνα τεκοῦσαι; Nonnus has both μινύωρος and μινυώριος (see Peek *Lex. s.vv.*); Musae. 306 μινυώριον ἀστέρα λέκτρων.

3.8 Triphiodorus and the Contemporary Literary Scene

3.8.1 Didactic poetry

There was a continuous production of didactic poetry in the first three centuries AD.[184] Anubion's poem in elegiac distichs is only partially extant on papyrus.[185] Dorotheus of Sidon wrote a *Carmen astrologicum*

184 See the overview in Bowie 1990b, 66–80.

185 Edited in Obbink 2006.

and Manetho his *Apotelesmatica*. The *Periegesis* of Dionysius of Alexandria is extant, and he is also credited with a *Lithica* and an *Ixeutica*. As for medical subjects, we hear of the *Chironides* of Marcellus of Side, the poems of Heraclitus of Rhodiapolis, and Nestor of Laranda's *Alexikepos* and *Panakeia*. Finally, on fishing and hunting, we can still read the *Halieutica* of Oppian of Cilicia and the *Cynegetica* of Oppian of Apamea. Bowie relates these poems to the Hellenistic didactic tradition which aimed both to instruct and to please, and to do so within a small compass, though some of the poems were on a larger scale, following Callimachus' four-book *Aitia*, rather than Aratus' *Phaenomena*.[186] When composing his *Sack of Troy*, Triph. clearly had in mind the *Periegesis*, the *Halieutica* and the *Cynegetica*, and they, together with other didactic poems that he may have read, contributed to his definition of his own hexametric poem. His interest in keeping it short may be ultimately Callimachean, but his Callimachus comes to him through its Imperial reception.[187]

Imperial didactic authors had achieved a balance between a serious depiction of the physical world (as opposed to the ancient deeds narrated by the Homeric poems) and the need to tell tales about it, be it local myths, θαύματα or pseudo-historical accounts, which would enliven the narrative and allow a more emotional tone.[188] Triph. also pursues an appropriate mixture of instruction and pleasure. Thus he aims at a correct narration of the Trojan myth, considered core information for any person with a minimum of cultural attainment, but also at stylistic γλυκύτης. The latter is contributed by the *ekphrasis* of the horse (57–107), the vignettes of the natural world comprised in the similes (152–8, 189–97, 222–6, 247–9, 350–7, 358–68, 512–21, 534–8, 613–17, 671–5), and the πάθος of the scene of Cassandra (358–443) and the final battle (542–663). Hence also the juggling of myth, on one hand,

186 Bowie 1990b, 70, 80.

187 On the reception of Hellenistic poetry in the *Periegesis*, see Counillon 2004, Cusset 2004, Hunter 2004, Kahn 2004, Lightfoot 2008. For Ps. Oppian, see Hollis 2006, 147–9, 153. More on this in 3.5 Triphiodorus' Hellenistic Reading.

188 See for instance Dionysius' "carefully deployed purple passages" in his *Periegesis*, as analysed in Bowie 1990b, 73–4, and Bowie 2004 on the integration of the contemporary world in the apparently timeless *Periegesis*. On Opp. *H.*, see Kneebone 2008, 34–9.

and internal coherence and verisimilitude on the other.[189] There are no authentication strategies of the type found in historiography or the novel (including the works of Dares and Dictys on the Trojan war), but Triph. strives to enhance the credibility of his poem.

We have seen that he is at pains to ensure that his plot 'works' and that he uses the characterisation of individuals and groups to explain and anticipate their behaviour.[190] He is also interested in making the strategy of the horse credible,[191] which is why he describes the construction with such care: the method and materials used make the resulting statue not only credible but also seductive;[192] there are holes in its mouth and snout to renew the air in the inner cavity (75–7); it is fitted with a secret door and a ladder to get the hiding heroes in and out quickly (90–4), and with wheels to make it easier to transport (99–102). The deployment of the stratagem is also carefully orchestrated: unlike the Argonauts, who go for twelve days without food or drink (AR 4.1381–7), the men hidden inside the horse have previously been fed with ambrosia by Athena (Triph. 185b–8), so that they can re-emerge fresh and fight with murderous efficacy all night long. Also, Odysseus sits in the head of the statue to keep an eye on what is happening outside, apparently using the holes of the mouth and snout (202–3).[193] The description of the reception of the horse in Troy following the usual procedure of the *adventus* (acclamation by all the citizens gathered in age and sex groups, ornamental elements such as music and

189 There is nothing new here: Homer also deploys various strategies to mitigate mimetic flaws, inconsistencies and implausibilities of character and plot. Cf. Scodel 1999, 33–83. Scodel (*ibid.*, 23–4) notes that Homer has more stringent rules of coherence and motivation than most comparable traditions (folk tale, the Bible, the *Mahabharata*). Motivation and narrative coherence are also constantly analysed in the Homeric scholia: see Nünlist 2009, 23–33, 185–93. On poetic licence in Homer and the scholia, see Nünlist 2009, 174–84. See Fantuzzi – Hunter 2004, 141–67, on Theocritus' selective mixture of idealisation and reality. On Triph., see Dubielzig *Triph.*, 28–32. On the meaning of 'realism', see Zanker 1987, 3–8.

190 2.3 Characterisation.

191 Cf. Clausen 2002, 60: "the Wooden Horse – that unwieldy, inevitable problem confronting a Roman poet who wished to tell again the age-old [61] story of Troy; the problem, that is, of convincing a sophisticated modern audience, Virgil's audience, that their ancestors could have been taken in by so obvious a stratagem".

192 Note esp. the conclusion (103–5), stating that it was so beautiful that even Ares would not have rejected it, had he found it alive. Who can blame the Trojans for falling for its charm?

193 His position explains why he knows later that it is Helen who is tempting them (469 ff.).

flowers, speech of a notable),[194] would have made the whole affair more credible in the eyes of contemporary readers,[195] though on the other hand the construction of the wall surrounding the horse (106–7) sounds incongruous.[196] The same is true of the Palladion to which Cassandra clings in the nyktomachy (647–8), though it had previously been stolen by the Achaeans (55–6).

In his search for balance between narrative coherence and mythical atmosphere, Triph. refers to divine interventions in human affairs (55–8, 111–14, 185b–8, 331–2, 337–9, 454–97, 506–9, 559–72), but in some cases he seems to interpret them as allegories of natural elements (232–4, 529, 567b–8, 683b–5). He also tries to divest Helen's intervention by the horse of some of the magical air of his Homeric referent (*Od.* 4.277ff.), but then she is compared to the full moon and made to look like a goddess when she signals to the Achaean fleet with a torch.[197]

In the similes, Triph. makes significant changes with respect to his (usually Homeric) referents, thus creating a more realistic and up-to-date impression:[198]

- 152–8 Neoptolemus = colt. The Homeric referent is the comparison of Paris and Hector with horses joyfully running across the plain (*Il.* 6.506–14, 15.263–9), but Triph. says that the colt anticipates the orders of the charioteer, making it the opposite of a good horse, which is obedient to the reins (Philostr. *Imag.* 1.17.2; Opp. *H.* 5.497–8).
- 189–97 Achaeans in the horse = beasts in a cave during winter, harking back to the comparison between the noise and violence of the combat and that of the atmospheric elements (*Il.* 4.273–80, 422–8, 452–6), enhanced by a scientific explanation of the snow as water frozen in the clouds.
- 222–6, Sinon = scout of a hunting party, goes back to the comparisons of defeated warriors with fish caught in a net (*Il.* 5.487–8, *Od.* 22.284–8). The simile is adapted to contemporary hunting/fishing techniques combining stakes and nets, and including the figure of the scout, who was in charge of watching the nets (Opp. *H.* 3.637–9; *C.* 4.10–56, 413–14).
- 247–9 Trojans in front of the horse = jackdaws admiring an eagle. The ultimate Homeric referent is the comparison of soldiers in flight when faced with a powerful warrior to jackdaws fleeing from a predator (*Il.* 16.582–3, 17.755–7), but Triph. reverses the original image by presenting jackdaws/Trojans unnaturally attracted by a bird of prey (cf. Ypsilanti 2007, 99–100).

194 See note to 340–9.

195 Cf. Zanker 1987, 6: "Realism constantly tries to relate its object to the observable present."

196 See note *ad loc*.

197 See notes to 469–71a and 512–21.

198 QS makes a similar use of 'scientific' information in some of his similes: see Vian 1954, 49–51.

- 350–7 Trojans dancing = cranes in migration, after *Il.* 3.2–9, where the Trojans are said to arrive on the battlefield like cranes, in perfect formation and amid cries. Triph. notices that the arrival of cranes is not necessarily welcome, either because they announce the winter or because they follow the plough to eat the seeds (cf. Ypsilanti 2007, 102).
- 358–68 Cassandra = heifer bitten by a gadfly, goes back to AR 1.1263–72 (Heracles, maddened by the disappearance of Hylas, is compared to a bull stung by a gadfly), but is counteracted with a second comparison of Cassandra with a Bacchant (369–75). Both similes include references to the usual symptoms of a mental illness or sudden fit.
- 512–21 Helen carrying the torch = full moon, developed from the etymological equivalences Ἑλένη = Σελήνη and Ἑλένη = ἑλένη / ἑλάνη. The simile is enhanced with astronomical ideas concerning the moon (nature of the moon, origin of its light), and well-known metaphors and comparisons (moon = eye, crescent = horns, full moon praised for its brilliance and roundness).
- 534b–8, chieftains leaving the horse = bees leaving their hive, goes back to comparisons between throngs of soldiers and bees (*Il.* 2.87–90, 16.259–65), but is later modified by the more bestial comparison of the Achaean kings attacking like lions (544–6).
- 613–17 Odysseus and Menelaus attack like wolves, a common Homeric simile (*Il.* 15.323–6, 16.156–67, 16.352–6), later refined in lines 624–5, where Odysseus is called by his name, but the Trojans are massacred like sheep. The martial efficiency of Odysseus is perfectly rational, whereas the behaviour of the Trojans is closer to animal instinct.
- 671–5 defeated Trojans = fish caught in a net, inspired by *Od.* 22.381–9 (Odysseus searching for hidden suitors), but the net is said to be that of fate (674), meaning that the Achaeans may be over-confident.

The vague medical referents deployed in the descriptions of Troy during and after the final feast, which make the town appear to be suffering the effects of an epidemic (448–51, 498b–505), should also be remembered in this context. Besides using medical-related vocabulary,[199] Triph. seems to describe the effects of wine and peace on the city as if enumerating medical symptoms, with short phrases that link each element causally to the next.[200] In technical literature, catalogues of symptoms

199 448 ἐπίδημος, 503 κατεβόσκετο (see notes *ad loc.*). The effects of wine described in Triph. 448–51 can be compared with the similar effects of poison and wine on the body mentioned in Nic. *Alex.* 29–35 (esp. 29 οἷα χαλικραίῃ νύχιος δεδαμασμένος οἴνῃ, 35 ὣς οἵ γε σκοτόωσι κακῇ βεβαρηότες ἄτῃ).

200 Triph. 448–51 (Εἰλαπίνη δ᾽ ἐπίδημος ἔην καὶ ἀμήχανος ὕβρις, / ὕβρις ἐλαφρίζουσα μέθην λυσήνορος οἴνου· / ἀφραδίῃ τε βέβυστο, μεθημοσύνῃ τε κεχήνει / πᾶσα πόλις), 498b–503 (οἱ δὲ χοροῖο / παυσάμενοι καμάτῳ ἀδδηκότες ἤριπον ὕπνῳ. / Καὶ δή που φόρμιγξ ἀνεπαύσατο, κεῖτο δὲ κάμνων / αὐλὸς ἐπὶ ΚΡΗΤΗΡΙ, ΚΥΠΕΛΛΑ δὲ πολλὰ χυθέντα / αὐτόματα ῥείεσκε καθελκομένων ἀπὸ χειρῶν. / Ἡσυχίη δὲ πόλιν κατεβόσκετο). Compare the catalogues of symptoms of poisoning in Nic. *Ther.* 235–7, 271–81, 298–308, 326–33, 338–42, 425–37; *Alex.* 16–35, 78–86, 117–27, 187–94, 204–23, 249–59, 281–97, 337–43, 378–84, 434–42, 474–82, 540–5, 594–600.

used to be nominal in nature, but poetic authors such as Nicander replaced the lists of substantives with verbal structures.[201]

3.8.2 Greek epic poetry under the Roman emperors

In the early empire, up to the third century, epic poetry concerned with the deeds of emperors was not particularly favoured. Several fragments of Pancrates' epyllion on the lion hunt of Hadrian and Antinous are extant,[202] but the epic celebration of powerful men was usually restricted to dedications (in the *Halieutica* and *Cynegetica*) or acrostics (as in Dionysius' *Periegesis*). Poetic celebrations would be composed in epigram form.[203] Freed from a full commitment to political obligations, epic poems were reserved for the deeds of ancient heroes and myths, but little has survived of these works.

We hear of the lost *Gigantias* by the sophist Scopelianus,[204] the *Metamorphoseis* by Nestor of Laranda and the *Theogamiai* by his son Peisandros of Laranda,[205] and of the work of Soterichus of Oasis (fl. under Diocletian).[206] Fragments of another *Gigantias* and a *Bassarika* by a certain Dionysius, not identical with the Periegetes, are preserved,[207] and QS's *Posthomerica* and Triph.'s *Sack of Troy* are fully extant. If we adopt Bowie's distinction between amateur, professional[208]

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201 As explained in De Stefani 2005–6, 64–5. Compare the medical ideas displayed by QS (on which see Ozbek 2007) and Nonnus (on which see Gerlaud 1994, 148–9; Agosti 2003, 318–19).

202 Athen. 15.677d-f, *P.Oxy.* 8.1085, *P.Lond.* 3.1109b. See comm. in Bowie 1990b, 81–3.

203 See the overview in Bowie 1990b, 59–66.

204 Philostr. *VS* 1.518.

205 Suda *s.vv.* Νέστωρ (N 261 Adler), Πείσανδρος (Π 1466 Adler).

206 According to the *Suda* (*s.v.* Σωτήριχος, Σ 877 = *FGrH* 1080 T 1), he wrote an encomium on Diocletian, *Bassarika* or *Dionysiaka* in four books (also mentioned in *Suda s.v.* Βασσαρικά, B 140), *On Pantheia of Babylon*, *On Ariadne*, *Life of Apollonius of Tyana*, *Python or Alexandriacus* (on Alexander's capture of Thebes), and other works. Other sources ascribe to him *Patria of Oasis* (Steph. Byz. *s.v.* Ὕασις = *FGrH* 1080 T 2) and a *Calydoniaca* on the myth of the Calydonian boar (Tzetz. *Schol. in Lycoph.* 486 = *FGrH* 1080 T 3(a)). In recent times he has been credited with two extant encomia on Diocletian (*P.Oxy.* 63.4352, *P.Argent.* 480 [= MP³ 1848= LDAB 5742, edited by Gigli Piccardi 1990]), on which see Miguélez-Cavero 2008, 44–5, 63–5.

207 Edited in Livrea 1973.

208 Bowie 1989a, 198: "a man commissioned to compose a sepulchral or dedicatory epigram, more often the composer of poems for competition at festivals".

and semi-professional poets,[209] these poems seem to be the work of semi-professional poets. Their aspiration would have been to receive the title *neos Homeros*,[210] thus disassociating themselves from the plethora of imitators of Homer whom the epigrammatist Pollianus calls 'plunderers of Homer',[211] because they restrict themselves to borrowing Homeric lines and fitting them into flat pseudo-epic narratives.

This explains Triph.'s focus on sounding Homeric without being accused of plagiarism, the aversion to borrowing more than half a line from the *Iliad* or the *Odyssey*, and the interest in lexical innovation. Monaco's 2007 article reveals some of Triph.'s patterns as regards the latter: he shows a preference for substantives in -σύνη and -τήρ, and for adjectives in -αλέος, some of which were already present in Homer and some of which were created later;[212] he playfully uses as a means of *variatio* different substantives and adjectives derived from the same root;[213] the abundant use of appositional substantives testifies to the advance of the nominal style, which appears fully developed in Nonnus;[214] the major field for innovation is that of compound adjectives, both the coining of new ones and the introduction of new semantic values for old ones.[215] For Triph.'s show of linguistic erudition we can blame, at least partly, the γραμματικός at work in him.

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209 Bowie 1989a, 199: "whose main literary commitment is to the production of poetry … [the sort] that produced the poetry with greatest claims to quality and long life".

210 Evidence for the use of this title in honorary epigrams is collected in Bowie 1989a, 202–3. On QS's ambition to become a new Homer, see Bär 2009, 12–13, 53–69.

211 *AP* 11.130.1–2, 7–8 (Pollianus): Τοὺς κυκλίους τούτους, τοὺς "αὐτὰρ ἔπειτα" λέγοντας, / μισῶ, λωποδύτας ἀλλοτρίων ἐπέων … οἱ δ' οὕτως τὸν Ὅμηρον ἀναιδῶς λωποδυτοῦσιν, / ὥστε γράφειν ἤδη "μῆνιν ἄειδε, θεά". To be read with Nisbet 2003, 188–93.

212 Monaco 2007, 133, 146.

213 E.g. γενεή, γενέθλη, γένος; θέμεθλα, θεμείλια; ἀεικής, ἀεικέλιος. Cf. Monaco 2007, 134–5, 146–7.

214 E.g. 21 λωβητῆρσιν … ἑλκυθμοῖσι, 112 συμφράδμων … Ἀθήνη, 201 πυλαωρὸς Ὀδυσσεύς. Cf. Monaco 2007, 135–6. On Nonnus' nominal style, see Wifstrand 1933, 81–2.

215 Cf. Monaco 2007, 149–72. Compare the conclusions of the analysis of new formations in Oppian's *Halieutica* (and comparison with the *Cynegetica*) in James 1970, 257–66.

3.8.3 Prose on the Trojan War

Although the capacity to write poetry was respected[216] and major authors were drawn upon for topics and arguments of declamations, vocabulary and figures, quotations and allusions,[217] prose genres had seized the intellectual foreground in the first two centuries AD.[218] This prose was of a highly rhetorical kind, composed with performance in mind, i.e. with an eye for sound effects, and a concern to impress the listener.

When Triph. sat down to compose a poem on the sack of Troy, besides his poetic referents on the Trojan legend (the Homeric poems,[219] highly respected tragedies,[220] more recent poems such as the *Theogamies* of Pisander of Laranda,[221] and epigrams from all periods),[222] he also had before him an important prose tradition. The Trojan legend had been revised in Dio's *Trojan Speech* (11)[223] and Philostratus' *Heroicus*,[224] given the form of a novel in Dictys' *Bellum Troianum* (second

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216 See Bowie 1989a (on poetry in the Second Sophistic), 1989b (on the place of poetry in the cultural universe of the sophists, both the use of and reaction to poetry in their prose works and the poems they composed).

217 See Bowie 1989b, 210–14, 254–5.

218 Overall surveys: Anderson 1993, Whitmarsh 2005b.

219 References to the capture of Troy in the Homeric poems take the form of predictions in the *Iliad* (4.164–5, 6.448–9, 7.30–2, 7.454–63, 15.70–1, 22.62–8, 24.734–5) and recollections of past events in the *Odyssey* (4.271–89, 8.492–520, 11.523–32).

220 Aeschylus' *Agamemnon* was very influential. Sophocles had written *Ajax* and *Philoctetes.* Euripides' tragedies with Trojan subject matter: *Andromache*, *Hecuba*, *Trojan Women*, *Helen*, *Iphigenia in Tauris*, *Iphigenia at Aulis* (plus the lost *Alexandros*, *Palamedes*, *Philoctetes*, *Telephus*).

221 There is no firm evidence as to whether Triph. knew of the *Posthomerica* or not, but the very fact that both the *Posthomerica* and the *Sack of Troy* were composed in the third century AD attests to the unremitting poetic interest in the Trojan cycle.

222 Epigrams on the destruction of Troy (on which see Harder 2007, 419–22): *AP* 5.138 (= 2 GP, Dioscorides), 9.62 (= 2 GP *Garland*, Euenus), 9.103 (= 1 GP *Garland*, Mundus), 9.104 (= 10 GP *Garland*, Alpheus), 9.236 (= 6 GP *Garland*, Bassus). Also, later on, *AP* 9.152–5 (Agathias). On epigrams about the Trojan War, see Harder 2007. Homer was considered a literary predecessor of the Hellenistic epigram (cf. Bolmarcich 2002), and Homeric exegesis played a significant role in the composition of literary epigrams (cf. Sistakou 2007).

223 To be read with Kim 2010, 85–139.

224 To be read with Mestre 2004; Whitmarsh 2009; Kim 2010, 175–215.

century AD),[225] and the motif of the capture and destruction of a city had been and still was widely exploited by historians and in all the oratorial genres.[226]

Literary culture gradually experienced a poetic revival from the third century onwards, but was still focused on prose.[227] By Triph.'s time, prose works on the Trojan war had already proved the pliability of the legend, which was twisted to suit the needs of different genres and often used in argumentation to provoke pity.[228] The Trojan War had always been an appealing subject because it raised the recurrent problems of human nature (war as a source of fame and suffering, love and jealousy, beauty and deprivation), and it could now be related to the specific situation of the empire: we have seen how Triph. deals with the Roman adaptation of the final episodes of the legend.[229]

Through prose, the Trojan legend became the object of intensive rhetorical treatment: its credibility was measured, variants compared and its mythical appeal dissected. Dio Chrysostom's *Trojan Speech* provides an excellent example of this. Poetry had never been alien to rhetoric,[230] but now it benefited from the persuasive and performative aspects of rhetoric as applied to myth.[231]

As regards rhetoric as a means of persuasion, the main elements to evaluate are argumentation, the arousal of emotions, and the appropri-

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225 The four papyri of Dictys published so far are dated to the second or third centuries AD: *P.Oxy.* 73.4943 (MP^3 337.11, 2nd c. AD, perhaps first half), *P.Oxy.* 31.2539 (MP^3 338.1, 2nd/3rd c.), *P.Oxy.* 73.4944 (MP^3 338.11, beginning of the 3rd c. AD), *P.Tebt.* 2.268 (MP^3 338, 3rd c. AD). See also Lucian's *True Stories*, analysed in Kim 2010, 140–74.

226 Cf. Paul 1982 and Demoen 2001.

227 On the late antique poetic revival, see Cameron 2004b; Cameron 2007, 34–44; Miguélez-Cavero 2008. On the balance between prose and poetry in late antiquity, see Agosti 2006, 35–40.

228 References in Demoen 2001. Poetic texts were often drawn upon in the search for topics for prose *progymnasmata*: Webb 1997, 346–7.

229 3.6 Triphiodorus and Virgil?

230 For an overview of 'rhetorical' techniques in Homer, Hesiod and AR, see Toohey 1994, 153–62; Worthington 2007, 429–72. The fact that poetic forms are often at the origin of highly rhetorical modes of expression such as the encomium, and continue to influence them as models, makes it difficult to relate particular features to rhetorical models: cf. Russell – Wilson 1981, xxxi-xxxiv; Webb 1997, 360.

231 Though this does not justify talking of a 'Second Sophistic epic' (see Baumbach – Bär 2007, 8–15; Bär 2009, 85–91; Bär 2010), a contradiction in terms (see Maciver 2012a, 17–18; Maciver 2012c, 606–7).

ate matching of speech and speaker.[232] In his speeches,[233] Triph. mainly replicates the Homeric patterns,[234] or tragic ones in the case of Cassandra's speech (376–416). However, he is more rhetorical in Odysseus' speech (120–51), where he combines the Homeric background with the scheme of battles common in historiography, and uses the appropriate arguments of necessity (124–7) and possibility of victory (128–34).[235] Triph.'s rhetorical background shows especially in his characterisation of both individuals and groups[236] and in his use of rhetorical motifs for the capture and destruction of a city.[237] He appeals to his readers' rhetorical knowledge in the central part of Priam's speech to Cassandra (424–8.430–1.429.432), where he applies to the wooden horse certain topics from the ἐπιβατήριος λόγος or 'speech of arrival',[238] and the encomiastic motif of the emperor sent by Zeus to bring new light to mortals.[239] These elements are also found in an extant third-century panegyric mentioning the flower of Antinous, Diocletian and some Egyptian dignitaries.[240] Triph. was reflecting here on the paradox of the Achaeans sending a beautiful object to seduce the Trojans and the Trojans receiving it in their city with the paraphernalia and speeches appropriate for a visiting governor or for the statue of a god. This would not have escaped the attention of his rhetorically-trained readers.

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232 See Webb 1997, 341–4. Two good examples of the application of rhetorical resources in verse are the debates of Ajax and Odysseus over the arms of Achilles in Ovid *Metamorph.* 13.5–381 and QS 5.

233 Briefly analysed in 2.5 Speeches.

234 Esp. in 420–38 (Priam), 457–62 (Aphrodite), 491–6 (Athena). More loosely in 265–82 (Sinon), 284–90 (Priam), 292–303 (Sinon).

235 For a more detailed analysis, see the introduction to Triph. 120–51. See also the rhetorical argumentation applied to the Trojan horse in lines 58, 103–4a, 247–9, 288–9 (analysed in the introduction to 57–107, B. Rhetorical references).

236 Extensive comment in 2.3 Characterisation.

237 One type of discreet narratorial interventions, analysed in 2.4 The Narrator.

238 Triph. 427–8.430–1.429 should be read with Men. Rh. 378.18–24, 381.15–18. On the speech of arrival see Men. Rh. 377.31–388.15; comment in Pernot 1993, 95–7.

239 Triph. 425–6 should be read with Men. Rh. 422.15–19, 423.9–12.

240 *P.Oxy.* 63.4352 (*ed. pr.* J. R. Rea), fr. 5.ii, lines 18–25, 29–31: Triph. 425–6 ~ *P.Oxy.* 18–22, Triph. 430–1 ~ *P.Oxy.* 23–5, Triph. 427–8 ~ *P.Oxy.* 29–31. More on this encomium in Magnelli 1998, Gigli Piccardi 2002, Agosti 2002. For a more detailed analysis of Triph. 424ff., *P.Oxy.* 4352 and their Menandrean parallels, see note to 424–32.

The matching of speech, speaker and situation, with the subsequent arousal of emotions (esp. *pathos*), is particularly well achieved in Sinon's first speech (265–82) and Cassandra's long speech (376–416). In the former, Sinon feigns distress, starting with a few faltering lines, heavily charged with anacoluthon (265–7),[241] and articulating in confusion a rant against the continual offences of the Greeks (268–72). However, as a cunning plotter, he is clear in explaining what has happened to him (273–7) and what he can offer to the Trojans (278–82). His second speech (292–303) cleverly builds up the deception on foundations that have been laid by the first.

Like Sinon's first speech, Cassandra's reveals the character of the speaker in its first half, while the second is devoted to specific proposals.[242] Lines 376–97 are obscured by riddles and metaphors, blending together visions of the past and the future, but Cassandra is perfectly clear when she comes to prophesy the future of certain members of her family (398–409) and suggests how the destruction of Troy can be avoided (410–16).

The performative nature of the late antique epic has only recently been emphasised,[243] and it needs to be acknowledged in the wider context of rhetorical delivery.[244] In Triph.'s case it should be all the more evident because the *Sack of Troy* recreates the performance of the Homeric bard Demodocus in *Od.* 8.492–520, and because the poem is referred to as a song.[245] The Panopolitan ensures that the poem is pleasing to the ears of his listeners,[246] making use of *homoeoteleuton*,[247] allit-

241 Cf. Nicol. 66.9–13 Felten on how to write a pathetic speech.

242 See the detailed introduction to 376–416.

243 Agosti 2006, 40, 46–50.

244 On delivery, see Olbricht 1997; Díez Coronado 2003. On the theatricality of late antique rhetorical performances, see Quiroga Puertas 2013 (p. 210: "By the fourth century AD … rhetoric was performed – rather than taught – by sophists and orators in search of individual success").

245 Triph. 5 ταχείῃ … ἀοιδῇ, 667 ἀοιδήν. Cf. Agosti 2006, 46–7.

246 Cf. Gerlaud *Triph.* 50–1; Whitby 1994, 120, 122. For Nonnus, see Miguélez-Cavero 2008, 139–42.

247 Esp. Triph. 168 (Κρητῶν Ἰδομενῆα μεσαιπόλιον βασιλῆα), 170 (καὶ Τελαμώνιος υἱὸς ἑκηβόλος ἤιε Τεῦκρος), 433–4 (Παρθένε τολμήεσσα, σὺ δὲ πρὸ δόμοιο θοροῦσα / ψεύδεα θεσπίζουσα καὶ ἄγρια μαργαίνουσα), 474–6 (… Αἰγιαλείης / … Πηνελοπείης / … Λαοδαμείης), 622–3 (… πυργώσαντες / … κυκλώσαντες).

eration[248] and inner rhyme.[249] The clear demarcation of metrical units (lines are usually constructed as sense units, with a pause at the line ending, and often broken down into two half-lines)[250] creates a steady declamatory rhythm, and the alternation of different narrative speeds[251] and voices[252] is also used to provide an agreeable variation for reading. However, the aural aspects of the *Sack of Troy* are mainly revealed in metrical choices.[253]

Triph. is also proficient at applying to poetry the rhetorical resources taught by the γραμματικός, namely figures of speech and the techniques of vivid representation.[254] With regard to the former, he makes the most of word games, both etymologies[255] and *double entendre*,[256] and uses a *sententia* to make a transition from one section to the next (310–15), a method noted and criticised by Quintilian (*Inst.* 4.1.77).

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248 Triph. 191–2 (roar of a mountain river), 319–21 (dull noise of the transporting of the horse), 559b–60 (tempest at sea). Simpler cases in 36, 48, 61. Compare the abundant use in Opp. *C.*, as shown by Schmitt 1969, 19–21.

249 Triph. 1–2 (Τέρμα πολυκμήτοιο μεταχρόνιον πολέμοιο / καὶ λόχον, ᾽Αργείης ἱππήλατον ἔργον ᾽Αθήνης), 43 (Καί νύ κεν ὕστατίοισιν ἐποκνήσασα πόνοισιν), 49 (Οἱ δὲ βαρυζήλοιο θεοπροπίῃς ῾Ελένοιο), 82–4 (πρυμνοῖσιν … ἴχνεσιν … γναμπτοῖσι … βαλιοῖσιν … γονάτεσσιν). Opp. *C.* displays frequent rhymes: cf. Schmitt 1969, 15–18.

250 E.g. with a καί marking the caesura: 4 (ἔννεπε, Καλλιόπεια, καὶ ἀρχαίην ἔριν ἀνδρῶν), 39 (καὶ κτάνε καὶ σύλησε καὶ ἐκτερέιξεν ᾽Αχιλλεύς), 52 (υἱὸς ᾽Αχιλλῆος καὶ ἐπαινῆς Δηιδαμείης), 59, 70, 93, 98, 118 etc.

251 The poem begins with a brief summary of the antecedents of the narrative (6–56) and eases up with the *ekphrasis* of the wooden horse (57–107). After this, Triph. focuses on major scenes and tends to skip the transitions between them (cf. 2.1 General Design). The use of similes (189–99, 352–5, 360–72, 514–19) brings the advance of the narrative to a halt.

252 Narratorial interventions (cf. 2.4 The Narrator) and speeches (cf. 2.5 Speeches) provide the necessary variation of mood and voice, in contrast to the uniform tone of the third-person narrator.

253 See 4. Metrics.

254 Webb 1997, 343–5.

255 Some define a character (cf. 2.2 Enigmas) or his of her circumstances: 29 δολίην ὑπὸ νύκτα, 34 ὄμφακα μαζοῦ, 54 νέος περ ἐὼν πολεμιστής, 324 Νυμφαίῃσιν ἅμα δρυσί, 513–14 ῾Ελένη … πεύκην … σελήνη, 643 ἱερῇ … μαχαίρῃ. Others are more playful: 44 ἀκάματος … ᾽Αθήνη; 57–8 ᾽Επειός … ἐποίει; 104–5 τὸν οὐδέ κεν ἀρνήσαιτο … ᾽Αρης; 183 ἐπέβαινεν ᾽Επειός. See the notes *ad loc.* for their significance and impact in the immediate context. On all of these, see Miguélez-Cavero 2008, 143–5.

256 Particularly evident in the metaphor of the pregnant horse: see note to 379b–90.

The interest in vivid representation (embodied in the virtue of ἐνάργεια and practised thoroughly in the exercise of the ἔκφρασις), the focus of much scholarly attention in recent years,[257] is particularly clear in the *ekphrasis* of the wooden horse (57–107).[258] The statue grows before our eyes as Epeius assembles each part, thanks to the details about the manufacturing procedures and the materials used, and the connection with a living horse. A similar idea of movement and accumulation of details are conveyed in the descriptions of the transporting of the horse to Troy (304–57)[259] and the nyktomachy (506–691).[260]

In the eyes of modern literary historians, the *Sack of Troy* may seem to have been written inconveniently in the third century AD, too late to be a product of the High Empire (the last poem to be labelled as such is the *Cynegetica* of Oppian), and too early to be a true product of the late antique tradition. If we read the *Sack of Troy* in the context of its literary background, however, the poem falls into place, with its balance of mythical and narrative coherence, being *omerico ma non troppo*, and also rhetorically intelligent.

257 E.g. Zanker 1987; Becker 1995; Manieri 1998; Webb 1999; Elsner 2007; Webb 2009.

258 For a more detailed analysis, see the introduction to 57–107, B. Rhetorical References.

259 Triph. may well be vying with the plastic representations of the transporting of the wooden horse, since it seems to have been a popular topic (see note to 304–57).

260 Nocturnal battles were mentioned by the *Progymnasmata* as examples of *ekphraseis* of a mixed type: Theon 119.3–5, Hermog. *Prog.* 10.3 Patillon, Aphth. 12.2 Patillon. For a rhetorical analysis, including references to narrative conventions and parallels in the plastic arts, see introduction to 506–691.

4. Metrics

Triphiodorean metrics have been particularly well studied,[1] since they provide an interesting mid-point in the evolution from the Callimachean to the Nonnian hexameter. As regards the context of Nonnian metrics,[2] we now know that the aim of most of his rules was that of making his composition recognisable as hexametric even by the less cultured members of the audience: elision and hiatus were banned, because they would obscure the number of syllables per line; the use of monosyllables and word endings was restricted to make sure that middle caesura and line endings were easily recognised; these latter were also reinforced by careful regulation of accent. In Nonnus' time and later, following the latest metrical developments with the greatest care would have served as a proof of one's poetic competence (vital in the context of the fierce competition for patronage), and, since poems were written to be performed, an easy appreciation of the metre was of the utmost importance.

The *Sack of Troy* does not reflect such a pressure, but the generalisation of the middle caesura and the frequent coincidence of the line ending and a significant pause already suggest the search for a smooth version of the hexameter, with more regular and recognisable units, though without the metrical rigidity later enforced by Nonnus.

In more detail, Triph. tends to build hexameters as sense units.[3] He uses 17 of the 32 possible combinations of dactyl and spondee in the

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1 Weinberger 1896, 161–79; Cameron 1970, 478–82; Gerlaud *Triph.*, 52–4; Dubielzig *Triph.*, 35. For the general picture, see Wifstrand 1933, 3–77; West 1987, 78–80; Whitby 1994; Gentili – Lomiento 2008, 260–2. See Agosti – Gonnelli 1995–6 on Christian poetry. For a detailed description of Nonnian metrics, see Keydell 1959, 35*-42*; Vian 1976, I–IX.

2 On which see Jeffreys 1981, esp. 317–19; Lauxterman 1999, 71–3; Agosti 2004, 62–4; Agosti 2006, 61–2.

3 Wifstrand 1933, 138: "Die Dichter der Spätzeit strebten danach, jeden Vers als eine selbständige kleine Einheit zu gestalten. Der Vers soll voll ausklingen, darum lässt man ihn fast immer mit einer langen Silbe schliessen … Enjambement ist selten".

first five feet of the hexameter, while Nonnus uses only nine (though Colluthus employs 15). Several consecutive spondaic feet are tolerated, but spondees are rare, especially in the third and fifth feet. To give numbers, out of the 691 lines of the poem, 176 are holodactylic (25.47%), whereas only 4.92% have a spondainc fifth foot (6.7% in QS). The succession of two spondees, avoided by Nonnus, occurs 12 times in the *Sack of Troy*.[4]

As regards the caesura,[5] Triph. nearly always employs a third-foot caesura (hephthemimeral only in 176 and 181),[6] and shows a strong preference for the feminine caesura (77.8%) over the masculine (22.1%).[7] The latter is reinforced with a hephthemimeral or bucolic caesura, except in one case (line 544). The rules for the placing of word ends, so important for Nonnus, are not followed rigorously in the *Sack of Troy*. There is only one breach of Hermann's Bridge (the rule that word end is avoided between the two shorts of the fourth biceps), in line 54,[8] and one of Hilberg's Law (according to which word end is avoided after a spondaic second foot), in line 99, but there are several of Naeke's law.[9] The restrictions concerning the placing of long monosyllables that Callimachus began to enforce are also not so strictly observed in Triph. as in Nonnus.[10]

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4 Cf. Wifstrand 1933, 37–53 (pp. 50–1 on Triph.).

5 On which see Agosti 2004; Sánchez Ortiz de Landaluce 1993, 108–11.

6 A characteristic already present in Callimachus and distinctive of Hellenistic metrics: Agosti 2004, 65.

7 Compare other authors (tables in Agosti 2004, 66–7): the *Il.* has 44% masculine caesura and 54.9% feminine (others 1.1%); the *Od.* 46.95% and 51.75% (others 1.3%); Callimachus always has a third-foot caesura (22% masculine, 78% feminine); AR has 36.7% masculine and 63.2% feminine caesura (others: 0.03%). The numbers for Imperial authors are also overwhelming, though there are exceptions of hephthemimeral caesurae: in Agosti's numbers, Opp. *H.* has 25% masculine caesura and 73% feminine (3 examples of hephthemimeral caesura), QS has 19% masculine, 81% feminine (not counting 28 examples of hephthemimeral caesura, 11 of which occur in the first book) and Nonnus has in the *D.* 18.9% of masculine and 81.1% feminine caesurae, whereas in the *P.* 20.05% masculine and 79.95% feminine caesurae.

8 Though see the explanation in Sánchez Ortiz de Landaluce 1993, 111: "Este caso se podría justificar por la presencia del participio del verbo εἰμί, que llevaría a situar la cesura tras el quinto tiempo fuerte".

9 This is the name given to the tendency to avoid word end following a contracted fourth biceps. Triph. has breaches at 5, 52, 148, 408, 461, 640.

10 Wifstrand 1933, 56–64. Wifstrand (*ibid.*, 62) locates 'anomalies' in the long syllable of the

Hiatus, restricted in Nonnus to cases borrowed from earlier authors (Homer, AR), is also avoided by Triphiodorus, but he admits epic correption.[11] The elision of nouns, adjectives and verbs was restricted in Callimachus[12] and confined to indeclinable words in Nonnus, but this does not seem to interest Triph.,[13] and neither does he show any interest in accent regulations:[14] he ignores Wifstrand's first[15] and second laws,[16] and ends over a hundred of his lines with a proparoxytone word (1 πολέμοιο, 6 λυκάβαντος, 23 κωκύοντες, 35 Πενθεσίλειαν etc.), completely avoided by Nonnus.[17]

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first foot (71, 291, 671), in the second biceps (417, and [less striking] 147) and in the third biceps (471, 544, 620).

11 Triph. 128 (προφερέστεραι ἤ περ), 161 (σακεσπάλῳ Αἰγιαλῆι), 379 (που ἤδη), 535 (ἐπεὶ οὖν) are Triph.'s choices, while five cases of hiatus are due to the imitation of Homer: 296 (μένειν αὐτοῦ ἐνὶ χώρῃ, after *Od.* 21.366 αὐτῇ ἐνὶ χώρῃ), 302 (Ἀθηναίη ἐρυσίπτολις, after *Il.* 6.305 Ἀθηναίη, ῥυσίπτολι), 465 (καί οἱ Δηίφοβος πόσις εἵπετο, after *Od.* 4.276 καί τοι Δηΐφοβος θεοείκελος ἕσπετ᾽), 499 (καμάτῳ ἀδδηκότες, after *Il.* 10.98 καμάτῳ ἀδηκότες), 671 (πολέμου ὑπεραυχέι νίκῃ, after a Homeric type, appearing e.g. in *Il.* 24.699). See the comparison tables in Sánchez Ortiz de Landaluce 1993, 94–9.

12 On which see Silva Sánchez 2003.

13 Triph. 301 ἕλκετ᾽ ἐς ἀκρόπολιν, 421 ὑλάουσ᾽ ἀπερύκεις, 436 Ἔρρ᾽ οὕτως, 638 ᾗδέσαθ᾽, 650 ἀνθ᾽ ἑνός. Some common elisions are placed in positions unacceptable for Nonnian metrics: 273 Καὶ νῦν οἷά μ᾽ ἔρεξαν (– –| –⏑ ¦ ⏑| –⏑), 301 ἕλκετ᾽ ἐς (¹–⏑ ¦ ⏑), 418 ἀμφότερον μάντιν τ᾽ ἀγαθήν (–⏑⏑ | – – | – ⏑ ¦⏑ | – –), 451 πᾶσα πόλις· πυλέων δ᾽ ὀλίγοις (–⏑⏑ | –⏑⏑ | – ¦⏑⏑ |). See the comparison tables in Sánchez Ortiz de Landaluce 1993, 88–94.

14 Wifstrand 1933, 75: "Triphiodoros auf den Wortakzent wirklich keine Rücksicht nimmt".

15 An oxytone word can stand before the feminine caesura only in combination with a trihemimeral caesura. Cf. Wifstrand 1933, 3–20 (p. 19 for Triph.).

16 A proparoxytone word can stand before the hephthemimeral caesura only in combination with a bucolic diaeresis. Cf. Wifstrand 1933, 21–5.

17 Wifstrand 1933, 75–6, for Triph. and Colluthus.

5. Reading the *Sack of Troy*

The first evidence for the reading of the *Sack of Troy* takes the form of *P. Oxy.* 41.2946, the only papyrus of Triph.'s poem published to date. If the prose text written on the *verso* (*P. Oxy.* 41.2947) is indeed some kind of commentary on the poem, then what we have before us is an active form of reading. It is certainly possible that, in writing the *Sack of Troy*, Triph. made the most of the compositional elements taught at school (enigmas, similes, descriptions, speeches) so that his poem could be used as a course text,[1] or else that, no matter what his intentions were, it ended up being used in schools.

From this point, Triph.'s trail may be followed in the works of others.[2] Gerlaud claims to have found Triphiodorean parallels in the poetry of Gregory of Nazianzus,[3] but none of the instances cited is conclusive, and some appear to be common late antique catchphrases.[4] Nonnus, on the other hand, clearly read the *Sack of Troy* and profited from it, as is proved not only by their shared clausulae,[5] but also by clear cases where Nonnus builds on Triph.[6] Triph. also exerted a sub-

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1 On this possibility, see Dubielzig *Triph.*, 16–19, 34–5

2 Gerlaud *Triph.*, 55–6, offers an overview.

3 Gerlaud *Triph.*, 55. The most significant are Triph. 275–7 (οἱ δὲ νοοπλήγεσσιν ἀτασθαλίῃσι δαμέντες / εἵματα μέν μ᾽ ἀπέδυσαν, ἀεικελίῃσι δ᾽ ἱμάσθλαις / πᾶν δέμας οὐτήσαντες ἐπὶ ξείνῃ λίπον ἀκτῇ) ~ Greg. Naz. *Carm.* 2.1.1.370–2 (37.997–8 Migne: τὸν πληγῇσιν ἀεικελίῃσι τεμόντες / εἵματά τ᾽ ἐκδύσαντες … / λεῖψαν); Triph. 568–9 (ἔβραχε γαῖα βαρεῖα / παλλομένη) ~ Greg. Naz. *Carm.* 1.1.20.35 (37.490 Migne γαῖα δὲ παλλομένη); Triph. 621 (βαλλόντων λιθάκεσσι καὶ ὠκυμόροισιν ὀιστοῖς) ~ Greg. Naz. *Carm.* 2.1.13–16 (37.1228 Migne: βαλλόντες ἐπασσυτέροισιν ὀιστοῖς).

4 E.g. phrases similar to Triph. 284–5 οὐκέτ᾽ ἔοικε / τάρβος ἔχειν appear in QS 2.91–2 ἀμφὶ δὲ τάρβος / ἀσφαλὲς αἰὲν ἔχοιμι; *AP* 8.175.5 (Greg. Naz.) νῦν δέ τι τάρβος ἔχει με; Nonn. *D.* 6.323–4 τοσσατίου γὰρ / τάρβος ἔχω νιφετοῖο.

5 Wernicke (*Triph.*, 64–5) gathered what he believed to be Nonnian clausulae used by Triph., such as Triph. 7 = Nonn. *D.* 21.262 ἀκόρητος Ἐνυώ; Triph. 29 = Nonn. *D.* 17.1 πεπεδημένον ὕπνῳ; Triph. 64 = Nonn. *D.* 37.109, 39.17 τορνώσατο τέκτων; Triph. 119 = Nonn. *P.* 19.155 μελισταγέος νιφετοῖο.

6 Some passages singled out by Keydell, ap. Cameron 1970, 481: Triph. 14 ἵπποι …

stantial influence on Colluthus' *Rape of Helen*,[7] and a less visible one on Musaeus' *Hero and Leander*[8] and on the ekphrastic poems by Paul the Silentiary.[9]

ἀεργηλῆς ἐπὶ φάτνης ~ Nonn. *D.* 25.306 λέοντας ἀεργηλῇ παρὰ φάτνῃ; Triph. 26 = Nonn. *D.* 7.357 ἀγαλλομένη Διὸς εὐνῇ; Triph. 48 ὀψιτέλεστον ὄλεθρον ἑῇ μαντεύσατο πάτρῃ ~ Nonn. *D.* 25.362 νίκην ὀψιτέλεστον ἐμὴ μαντεύσατο Ῥείη; Triph. 326b–7 οὐρανίη δὲ / ἐκ Διὸς ἑλκόμενον πόλεμον μαντεύετο σάλπιγξ ~ Nonn. *D.* 6.230b–1 οὐρανίη δὲ / βρονταίοις πατάγοισι Διὸς μυκήσατο σάλπιγξ.

7 Triph. 26 ~ Collut. 64 (perhaps through Nonn. *D.* 7.357); Triph. 56–61 ~ Collut. 195–8; Triph. 146 ~ Collut. 209; Triph. 154 ~ Collut. 343; Triph. 234 ~ Collut. 176; Triph. 331 ~ Collut. 324; Triph. 360–4 ~ Collut. 41–5; Triph. 477 ~ Collut. 277; Triph. 540 ~ Collut. 49 = 252 = 391; Triph. 685 ~ Collut. 53.

8 Triph. 32 ~ Musae. 140; Triph. 278 ~ Musae. 216 (perhaps through Nonn. *D.* 45.214); Triph. 476 ~ Musae. 166; Triph. 511 ~ Musae. 308. See notes *ad loc.* in Kost 1971.

9 Triph. 100 ὑπέθηκεν ἑκάστῳ ~ *Ekphr. Soph.* 842 ὑπέθηκαν ἑκάστῳ; Triph. 523 παλιγνάμπτοισι κελεύθοις ~ *Ekphr. Soph.* 464 ἐυγνάμπτοισι κελεύθοις; Triph. 631 ἐπὶ τέρματι μόχθων ~ *Ekphr. Soph.* 283 ἐπὶ τέρματα μόχθων (same *sedes*).

II. Greek Text[1]

1 This is not a critical edition, but simply a companion text for the commentary, based on Gerlaud's edition, though referring in the footnotes to the different readings in modern standard editions (mainly Livrea's and Dubielzig's). I should like to thank Dr. Dubielzig for sending me a list of corrections to his 1996 edition. For a detailed survey of all the editions of the *Sack of Troy*, see Dubielzig *Triph.*, 283–92. The conspectus siglorum is a simplified version of that of Gerlaud *Triph.*, 73.

Π *P.Oxy.* 41.2946 (cont. u. 391–402)

F Laurentianus 32, 16 (saec. XIII), e quo
  M Matritensis 4691 (anno 1465)
  V Vaticanus gr. 1406 (saec. XV)
b codex perditus, e quo
  Y Yalensis 255 (saec. XV)
  L Laurentianus 31, 27 (saec. XV)
  N Neapolitanus Bibl. Nat. II F 17 (saec. XV)

Ἰλίου ἅλωσις

Τέρμα πολυκμήτοιο μεταχρόνιον πολέμοιο
καὶ λόχον, Ἀργείης ἱππήλατον ἔργον Ἀθήνης,
αὐτίκα μοι σπεύδοντι πολὺν διὰ μῦθον ἀνεῖσα
ἔννεπε, Καλλιόπεια, καὶ ἀρχαίην ἔριν ἀνδρῶν
5 κεκριμένου πολέμοιο ταχείῃ λῦσον ἀοιδῇ.
Ἤδη μὲν δεκάτοιο κυλινδομένου λυκάβαντος,
γηραλέη τετάνυστο φόνων ἀκόρητος Ἐνυὼ
Τρωσί τε καὶ Δαναοῖσιν· ἐναιρομένων δ᾽ ἄρα φωτῶν
δούρατα κεκμήκει, ξιφέων δ᾽ ἔθνῃσκον ἀπειλαί,
10 σβέννυτο θωρήκων ἐνοπή, μινύθεσκε δ᾽ ἑλικτὴ
ἁρμονίη ῥηχθεῖσα φερεσσακέων τελαμώνων,
ἀσπίδες οὐκ ἀνέχοντο μένειν ἔτι δοῦπον ἀκόντων,
λύετο καμπύλα τόξα, κατέρρεον ὠκέες ἰοί.
Ἵπποι δ᾽ οἱ μὲν ἄνευθεν ἀεργηλῆς ἐπὶ φάτνης
15 οἰκτρὰ κάτω μύοντες ὁμόζυγας ἔστενον ἵππους,
οἱ δ᾽ αὐτοὺς ποθέοντες ὀλωλότας ἡνιοχῆας.

Ἰλίου ἅλωσις (VYLN): Livrea, Dubielzig. Ἅλωσις Ἰλίου (F): Wernicke, Cuartero Iborra, Gerlaud. **16** Inser. Dubielzig 16a <ἔτρεχον αὐτόματοι δροσόεντος ὑπὲρ πεδίοιο.>

Κεῖτο δὲ Πηλεΐδης μὲν ἔχων ἅμα νεκρὸν ἑταῖρον,
Ἀντιλόχῳ δ᾽ ἐπὶ παιδὶ γέρων ὠδύρετο Νέστωρ,
Αἴας δ᾽ αὐτοφόνῳ βριαρὸν δέμας ἕλκεϊ λύσας
φάσγανον ἐχθρὸν ἔλουσε μεμηνότος αἵματος ὄμβρῳ.
Τρωσὶ δὲ λωβητῆρσιν ἐφ᾽ Ἕκτορος ἑλκυθμοῖσι
μυρομένοις οὐ μοῦνον ἔην ἐπιδήμιον ἄλγος,
ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀλλοθρόοις ἐπὶ πένθεσι κωκύοντες
δάκρυσιν ἠμείβοντο πολυγλώσσων ἐπικούρων.
Κλαῖον μὲν Λύκιοι Σαρπηδόνα, τόν ποτε μήτηρ
ἐς Τροίην μὲν ἔπεμψεν ἀγαλλομένη Διὸς εὐνῇ,
δουρὶ δὲ Πατρόκλοιο Μενοιτιάδαο πεσόντα
αἵματι δακρύσας ἐχύθη πατρώιος ἀήρ.
Καὶ δολίην ὑπὸ νύκτα κακῷ πεπεδημένον ὕπνῳ
Ῥῆσον μὲν Θρήικες ἐκώκυον· ἡ δ᾽ ἐπὶ πότμῳ
Μέμνονος οὐρανίην νεφέλην ἀνεδύσατο μήτηρ
φέγγος ὑποκλέψασα κατηφέος ἤματος Ἠώς.
Αἱ δ᾽ ἀπὸ Θερμώδοντος ἀρηιφίλοιο γυναῖκες
κοπτόμεναι περίκυκλον ἀθηλέος ὄμφακα μαζοῦ
παρθένον ὠδύροντο δαΐφρονα Πενθεσίλειαν,
ἥ τε πολυξείνοιο χορὸν πολέμοιο μολοῦσα
θηλείης ὑπὸ χειρὸς ἀπεσκέδασεν νέφος ἀνδρῶν
νῆας ἐς ἀγχιάλους· μελίῃ δέ ἑ μοῦνος ὑποστὰς
καὶ κτάνε καὶ σύλησε καὶ ἐκτερέιξεν Ἀχιλλεύς.
Εἱστήκει δ᾽ ἔτι πᾶσα θεοδμήτων ὑπὸ πύργων
Ἴλιος ἀκλινέεσσιν ἐπεμβεβαυῖα θεμέθλοις,
ἀμβολίῃ δ᾽ ἤσχαλλε δυσαχθέι λαὸς Ἀχαιῶν.
Καί νύ κεν ὑστατίοισιν ἐποκνήσασα πόνοισιν
ἀκάματός περ ἐοῦσα μάτην ἵδρωσεν Ἀθήνη,
εἰ μὴ Δηιφόβοιο γαμοκλόπον ὕβριν ἐάσσας
Ἰλιόθεν Δαναοῖσιν ἐπὶ ξένος ἤλυθε μάντις,
οἷα δέ που μογέοντι χαριζόμενος Μενελάῳ
ὀψιτέλεστον ὄλεθρον ἑῇ μαντεύσατο πάτρῃ.
Οἱ δὲ βαρυζήλοιο θεοπροπίῃς Ἑλένοιο
αὐτίκα μηκεδανοῖο μόθου τέλος ἠρτύναντο.
Καὶ Σκῦρον μὲν ἔβαινε λιπὼν εὐπάρθενον ἄστυ
υἱὸς Ἀχιλλῆος καὶ ἐπαινῆς Δηιδαμείης·
μή πω δ᾽ εὐφυέεσσιν ἰουλίζων κροτάφοισιν
ἀλκὴν πατρὸς ἔφαινε νέος περ ἐὼν πολεμιστής.

55 Ἦλθε δὲ καὶ Δαναοῖσιν ἑὸν βρέτας ἁγνὸν ἄγουσα
ληιστὴ μὲν ἐοῦσα, φίλοις δ᾽ ἐπίκουρος Ἀθήνη.
Ἤδη καὶ βουλῇσι θεῆς ὑποεργὸς Ἐπειὸς
Τροίης ἐχθρὸν ἄγαλμα πελώριον ἵππον ἐποίει.
Καὶ δὴ τέμνετο δοῦρα καὶ ἐς πεδίον κατέβαινεν
60 Ἴδης ἐξ αὐτῆς, ὁπόθεν καὶ πρόσθε Φέρεκλος
νῆας Ἀλεξάνδρῳ τεκτήνατο, πήματος ἀρχήν.
Ποίει δ᾽ εὐρυτάτῃς μὲν ἐπὶ πλευρῇς ἀραρυῖαν
γαστέρα κοιλήνας, ὁπόσον νεὸς ἀμφιελίσσης
ὀρθὸν ἐπὶ στάθμην μέγεθος τορνώσατο τέκτων.
65 Αὐχένα δὲ γλαφυροῖσιν ἐπὶ στήθεσσιν ἔπηξε
ξανθῷ πορφυρόπεζαν ἐπιρρήνας τρίχα χρυσῷ·
ἡ δ᾽ ἐπικυμαίνουσα μετήορος αὐχένι κυρτῷ
ἐκ κορυφῆς λοφόεντι κατεσφηγίζετο δεσμῷ.
Ὀφθαλμοὺς δ᾽ ἐνέθηκε λιθώπεας ἐν δυσὶ κύκλοις
70 γλαυκῆς βηρύλλοιο καὶ αἱμαλέης ἀμεθύσσου·
τῶν δ᾽ ἐπιμισγομένων διδύμης ἀμαρύγματι χροιῆς
γλαυκῶν φοινίσσοντο λίθων ἑλίκεσσιν ὀπωπαί.
Ἀργυφέους δ᾽ ἐχάραξεν ἐπὶ γναθμοῖσιν ὀδόντας
ἄκρα δακεῖν σπεύδοντας ἐυστρέπτοιο χαλινοῦ·
75 καὶ στόματος μεγάλοιο λαθὼν ἀνέῳξε κελεύθους
ἀνδράσι κευθομένοισι παλίρροον ἄσθμα φυλάσσων,
καὶ διὰ μυκτήρων φυσίζοος ἔρρεεν ἀήρ.
Οὔατα δ᾽ ἀκροτάτοισιν ἐπὶ κροτάφοισιν ἄρηρεν
ὀρθὰ μάλ᾽, αἰὲν ἑτοῖμα μένειν σάλπιγγος ἀκουήν.
80 Νῶτα δ᾽ ὁμοῦ λαγόνεσσι συνήρμοσε καὶ ῥάχιν ὑγρήν,
ἰσχία δὲ γλουτοῖσιν ὀλισθηροῖσι συνῆψε.
Σύρετο δὲ πρυμνοῖσιν ἐπ᾽ ἴχνεσιν ἔκλυτος οὐρὴ
ἄμπελος ὥς γναμπτοῖσι καθελκομένη θυσάνοισιν.
Οἱ δὲ πόδες βαλιοῖσιν ἐπερχόμενοι γονάτεσσιν
85 ἄπτερον ὥς περ ἔμελλον ἐπὶ δρόμον ὁπλίζεσθαι,
οὕτως ἠπείγοντο· μένειν δ᾽ ἐκέλευεν ἀνάγκη.
Οὐ μὲν ὑπὸ κνήμῃσιν ἀχαλκέες ἔξεχον ὁπλαί,
μαρμαρέης δ᾽ ἑλίκεσσι κατεσφήκωντο χελώνης

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65 στήθεσσιν (F, N): Gerlaud, Livrea, Dubielzig *per lit.* (29. 08. 2010). στήθεσφιν (YL): Dubielzig. **73** ἀργυρέους (codd.): Livrea, Dubielzig. Corr. ἀργυφέους: Wernicke, Gerlaud, Campbell (*Lex.*, p. 209, APP. 73).

ἁπτόμεναι πεδίοιο μόγις κρατερώνυχι χαλκῷ.
Κληιστὴν δ᾽ ἐνέθηκε θύρην καὶ κλίμακα τυκτήν,
ἡ μὲν ὅπως ἀίδηλος ἐπὶ πλευρῇς ἀραρυῖα
ἔνθα καὶ ἔνθα φέρῃσι λόχον κλυτόπωλον ᾽Αχαιῶν,
ἡ δ᾽ ἵνα λυομένη τε καὶ ἔμπεδον εἰς ἓν ἰοῦσα
εἴη σφιν καθύπερθεν ὁδὸς καὶ νέρθεν ὀροῦσαι.
᾽Αμφὶ δέ μιν λευκοῖο κατ᾽ αὐχένος ἠδὲ γενείων
ἄνθεσι πορφυρέοισι πέριξ ἔζωσεν ἱμάντων
καὶ σκολιῇς ἑλίκεσσιν ἀναγκαίοιο χαλινοῦ
κολλήσας ἐλέφαντι καὶ ἀργυροδινέι χαλκῷ.
Αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ δὴ πάντα κάμεν μενεδήιον ἵππον,
κύκλον ἐυκνήμιδα ποδῶν ὑπέθηκεν ἑκάστῳ,
ἑλκόμενος πεδίοισιν ὅπως πειθήνιος εἴη
μηδὲ βιαζομένοισι δυσέμβατον οἶμον ὁδεύῃ.
῞Ως ὁ μὲν ἐξήστραπτε φόβῳ καὶ κάλλεϊ πολλῷ
εὐρύς θ᾽ ὑψηλός τε· τὸν οὐδέ κεν ἀρνήσαιτο,
εἴ μιν ζωὸν ἔτετμεν, ἐλαυνέμεν ἵππιος ᾽Αρης.
᾽Αμφὶ δέ μιν μέγα τεῖχος ἐλήλατο, μή τις ᾽Αχαιῶν
πρίν μιν ἐσαθρήσειε, δόλον δ᾽ ἀνάπυστον ἐνίψῃ.
Οἱ δὲ Μυκηναίης ᾽Αγαμέμνονος ἐγγύθι νηὸς
λαῶν ὀρνυμένων ὅμαδον καὶ κῦμα φυγόντες
ἐς βουλὴν βασιλῆες ἀολλίσθησαν ᾽Αχαιῶν.
῾Η δὲ τανυφθόγγοιο δέμας κήρυκος ἑλοῦσα
συμφράδμων ᾽Οδυσῆι παρίστατο θοῦρις ᾽Αθήνη
ἀνδρὸς ἐπιχρίουσα μελίχροϊ νέκταρι φωνήν.
Αὐτὰρ ὁ δαιμονίῃσι νόον βουλῇσιν ἑλίσσων
πρῶτα μὲν εἱστήκει κενεόφρονι φωτὶ ἐοικὼς
ὄμματος ἀστρέπτοιο βολὴν ἐπὶ γαῖαν ἐρείσας,
ἄφνω δ᾽ ἀενάων ἐπέων ὠδῖνας ἀνοίξας
δεινὸν ἀνεβρόντησε καὶ ἠερίης ἅ τε πηγῆς
ἐξέχεεν μέγα λαῖτμα μελισταγέος νιφετοῖο·
“῞Ω φίλοι, ἤδη μὲν κρύφιος λόχος ἐκτετέλεσται
χερσὶ μὲν ἀνδρομέῃσιν, ἀτὰρ βουλῇσιν ᾽Αθήνης.

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98 ἀργυροδινέι (codd.): Livrea, Dubielzig. Corr. ἀργυροειδέι Gerlaud. **107** ἀνάψῃ (codd.): Livrea. Corr. ἐνίψῃ: D'Orville, Wernicke (*Triph.*, 149–50), Gerlaud, Dubielzig. **115** κενεόφρονι φωτὶ ἐοικὼς (F): Gerlaud, Livrea. Corr. κενεόφρονος ἀνέρος εἶδος: Dubielzig.

Ὑμεῖς δ᾽, οἵ τε μάλιστα πεποίθατε κάρτεϊ χειρῶν,
πρόφρονες ἀλκήεντι νόῳ καὶ τλήμονι θυμῷ
σπέσθέ μοι· οὐ γὰρ ἔοικε πολὺν χρόνον ἐνθάδ᾽ ἐόντας
125 μοχθίζειν ἀτέλεστα καὶ ἀχρέα γηράσκοντας,
ἀλλὰ χρὴ ζώοντας ἀοίδιμον ἔργον ἀνύσσαι
ἢ θανάτῳ βροτόεντι κακοκλεὲς αἶσχος ἀλύξαι.
Ἡμῖν θαλπωραὶ προφερέστεραι ἤ περ ἐκείνοις,
εἰ μή πω στρουθοῖο καὶ ἀρχαίοιο δράκοντος
130 καὶ καλῆς πλατάνοιο καὶ ὠκυμόροις ἐπὶ τέκνοις
μητέρος ἑλκομένης ἁπαλῶν ἐλάθεσθε νεοσσῶν.
Εἰ δὲ θεοπροπίῃσι γέρων ἀνεβάλλετο Κάλχας,
ἀλλὰ καὶ ὧς Ἑλένοιο μετήλυδος ὀμφητῆρος
μαντοσύναι καλέουσιν ἑτοιμοτάτην ἐπὶ νίκην.
135 Τούνεκά μοι πείθεσθε, καὶ ἱππείην ἐπὶ νηδὺν
θαρσαλέοι σπεύδωμεν, ὅπως αὐτάγρετον ἄλγος
Τρῶες ἀταρβήτοιο θεῆς ἀπατήνορα τέχνην
Ἴλιον εἰσανάγωσιν ἑὸν κακὸν ἀμφαγαπῶντες.
Οἱ δ᾽ ἄλλοι πρυμναῖα μεθίετε πείσματα νηῶν
140 πῦρ ἴδιον πλεκτῇσιν ἐνὶ κλισίῃσι βαλόντες·
Ἰλιάδος δὲ λιπόντες ἐρημαίην χθονὸς ἀκτὴν
πλώετε πασσυδίῃ ψευδώνυμον οἴκαδε νόστον,
εἰσόκεν εὐόρμου τετανυσμένον ἐκ περιωπῆς
ὕμμι συναγρομένοις ἐπὶ γείτονος αἰγιαλοῖο
145 σημήνῃ παλίνορσον ἐπὶ πλόον ἑσπέριον πῦρ.
Καὶ τότε μήτε τις ὄκνος ἐπειγομένων ἐρετάων
γινέσθω μήτ᾽ ἄλλο φόβου νέφος, οἷά τε νύκτες
ἀνθρώποισι φέρουσιν ἐλαφροῦ δείματα θυμοῦ.
Ἔστω δὲ προτέρης ἀρετῆς ἐμφύλιος αἰδώς,
150 μηδέ τις αἰσχύνειεν ἑὸν κλέος, ὥς κεν ἕκαστος
ἄξιον ὧν ἐμόγησε λάβῃ γέρας ἱπποσυνάων.”
Ὣς φάμενος βουλῆς ἐξήρχετο· τοῖο δὲ μύθοις
πρῶτος ἐφωμάρτησε Νεοπτόλεμος θεοειδής,
πῶλος ἅ τε δροσόεντος ἐπειγόμενος πεδίοιο,

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128 ἡμῖν θαλπωραὶ προφερέστεραι (*b*): Gerlaud, Livrea. ἡμῖν θαλπωραὶ προφερέστεροι (F): corr. Dubielzig ἡμῖν δ᾽ ἐλπωραὶ προφερέστεροι. **145** σημήνῃ (F): Gerlaud, Dubielzig. σημαίνῃ (YL): Livrea.

155 ὅς τε νεοζυγέεσσιν ἀγαλλόμενος φαλάροισιν
ἔφθασε καὶ μάστιγα καὶ ἡνιοχῆος ἀπειλήν.
Τυδεΐδης δ᾽ ἐπόρουσε Νεοπτολέμῳ Διομήδης
θαυμάζων ὅτι τοῖος ἔην καὶ πρόσθεν ᾽Αχιλλεύς.
Ἕσπετο καὶ Κυάνιππος, ὃν εὐπατέρεια Κομαιθὼ
160 Τυδηὶς θαλάμοιο μινυνθαδίοιο τυχοῦσα
ὠκυμόρῳ τέκε παῖδα σακεσπάλῳ Αἰγιαλῆι.
᾽Έστη καὶ Μενέλαος· ἄγεν δέ μιν ἄγριος ὁρμὴ
Δηιφόβου ποτὶ δῆριν, ἀπηνέι δ᾽ ἔζεε θυμῷ
δεύτερον ἁρπακτῆρα γάμου λελιημένος εὑρεῖν.
165 Τῷ δ᾽ ἐπὶ Λοκρὸς ὄρουσεν ᾽Οιλῆος ταχὺς Αἴας,
εἰσέτι θυμὸν ἔχων πεπνυμένον οὐδ᾽ ἐπὶ κούραις
μαργαίνων ἀθέμιστον· ἀνέστησεν δὲ καὶ ἄλλον,
Κρητῶν ᾽Ιδομενῆα μεσαιπόλιον βασιλῆα.
Νεστορίδης δ᾽ ἅμα τοῖσιν ἔβη κρατερὸς Θρασυμήδης,
170 καὶ Τελαμώνιος υἱὸς ἑκηβόλος ἦιε Τεῦκρος·
τοῖσι δ᾽ ἐπ᾽ ᾽Αδμήτοιο πάις πολύιππος ἀνέστη
Εὔμηλος· μετὰ τὸν δὲ θεοπρόπος ἔσσυτο Κάλχας
εὖ εἰδὼς ὅτι μόχθον ἀμήχανον ἐκτελέσαντες
ἤδη Τρώιον ἄστυ καθιππεύσουσιν ᾽Αχαιοί.
175 Οὐδὲ μὲν οὐδ᾽ οἱ ἔλειφθεν ἀποστρεφθέντες ἀρωγῆς
Εὐρύπυλός τ᾽ Εὐαιμονίδης ἀγαθός τε Λεοντεύς,
Δημοφόων τ᾽ ᾽Ακάμας τε, δύω Θησήια τέκνα,
᾽Ορτυγίδης τ᾽ ᾽Αντικλος, ὃν αὐτόθι τεθνειῶτα
ἵππῳ δακρύσαντες ἐνεκτερέιξαν ᾽Αχαιοί,
180 Πηνέλεώς τε Μέγης τε καὶ ᾽Αντιφάτης ἀγαπήνωρ
᾽Ιφιδάμας τε καὶ Εὐρυδάμας, Πελίαο γενέθλη,
τόξῳ δ᾽ ᾽Αμφιδάμας κεκορυθμένος· ὕστατος αὖτε
τέχνης ἀγλαόμητις ἑῆς ἐπέβαινεν ᾽Επειός.
Εὐξάμενοι δἤπειτα Διὸς γλαυκώπιδι κούρῃ
185 ἱππείην ἔσπευδον ἐς ὁλκάδα· τοῖσι δ᾽ ᾽Αθήνη
ἀμβροσίην κεράσασα θεῶν ἐκόμισσεν ἐδωδὴν
δεῖπνον ἔχειν, ἵνα μή τι πανημέριοι λοχόωντες
τειρόμενοι βαρύθοιεν ἀτερπέι γούνατα λιμῷ.

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161 σακεσπάλῳ (codd.): Gerlaud, Livrea. Corr. σακέσπαλον: Dubielzig. **165** Αἴας (F): Gerlaud, Dubielzig. υἱὸς (*b*): Livrea. **175** ἀποστραφθέντες (F): Dubielzig. Corr. ἀποστρεφθέντες: Gerlaud, Livrea.

Ὡς δ᾽ ὁπότε κρυμοῖσιν ἀελλοπόδων νεφελάων
190 ἠέρα παχνώσασα χιὼν ἐπάλυνεν ἀρούρας,
τηκομένη δ᾽ ἀνέηκε πολὺν ῥόον· οἱ δ᾽ ἀπὸ πέτρης
ὀξὺ καταθρῴσκοντα κυβιστητῆρι κυδοιμῷ
δοῦπον ὑποπτήξαντες ὀριτρεφέος ποταμοῖο,
θῆρες, ἐρωήσαντες ὑπὸ πτύχα κοιλάδος εὐνῆς
195 σιγῇ φρικαλέῃσιν ἐπὶ πλευρῇσι μένουσι,
πικρὰ δὲ πεινάοντες ὀιζυρῆς ὑπ᾽ ἀνάγκης
τλήμονες ἐκδέχαται πότε παύεται ὄβριμον ὕδωρ·
ὣς οἵ γε γλαφυροῖο διὰ ξυλόχοιο θορόντες
ἀτλήτους ἀνέχοντο πόνους ἀκμῆτες Ἀχαιοί.
200 Τοῖσι δ᾽ ἐπεκλήισσε θύρην ἐγκύμονος ἵππου
πιστὸς ἀτεκμάρτοιο λόχου πυλαωρὸς Ὀδυσσεύς.
Αὐτὸς δ᾽ ἐν κεφαλῇ σκοπὸς ἕζετο· τὼ δέ οἱ ἄμφω
ὀφθαλμὼ προθέοντες ἐλάνθανον ἐκτὸς ἐόντας.
Ἀτρεΐδης δ᾽ ἐκέλευσεν ὑποδρηστῆρας Ἀχαιοὺς
205 λῦσαι λάινον ἕρκος ἐυγνάμπτοισι μακέλλαις,
ἵππος ὅ περ κεκάλυπτο· θέλεν δέ ἑ γυμνὸν ἐάσσαι,
τηλεφανὴς ἵνα πᾶσιν ἑὴν χάριν ἀνδράσι πέμποι.
Καὶ τὸ μὲν ἐξελάχαινον ἐφημοσύνῃ βασιλῆος·
ἠέλιος δ᾽ ὅτε νύκτα παλίνσκιον ἀνδράσιν ἕλκων
210 ἐς δύσιν ἀχλυόπεζαν ἑκηβόλον ἔτραπεν ἠῶ,
δὴ τότε κηρύκων ἐπεκίδνατο λαὸν ἀυτὴ
φεύγειν ἀγγελέουσα καὶ ἑλκέμεν εἰς ἅλα κοίλην
νῆας ἐυκραίρους ἀνά τε πρυμνήσια λῦσαι.
Ἔνθα δὲ πευκήεντος ἀνασχόμενοι πυρὸς ὁρμὴν
215 ἕρκεά τε πρήσαντες ἐυσταθέων κλισιάων
νηυσὶν ἀναπλώεσκον ἀπὸ Ῥοιτειάδος ἀκτῆς
ὅρμον ἐς ἀντιπέραιον ἐυστεφάνου Τενέδοιο
γλαυκὸν ἀναπτύσσοντες ὕδωρ Ἀθαμαντίδος Ἕλλης.
Μοῦνος δὲ πληγῇσιν ἑκούσια γυῖα χαραχθεὶς
220 Αἰσιμίδης ἐλέλειπτο Σίνων, ἀπατήλιος ἥρως,

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197 ὄμβριμον (Y): Gerlaud. ὄβριμον (L): Livrea; West 1983, 185; Campbell *Lex. s.v.* ὄβριμος; Dubielzig. **201** δόλου (F): Livrea. λόχου (*b*): Gerlaud, Dubielzig. **203** ποθέοντες (codd.): Gerlaud, Livrea. Corr.: πολέοντες (Campbell *Lex.*, p. 210, APP 203), προθέοντες (Dubielzig). **205** λῦσαι (F^{pc}): Gerlaud. χῦσαι (F^{ac}): Livrea, Bremer (1988, 186), Dubielzig. Corr. χεῦαι: Campbell (*Lex.*, p. 210, APP 205). **207** πέμποι (F): Gerlaud, Dubielzig. πέμπῃ (L): Livrea.

κρυπτὸν ἐπὶ Τρώεσσι δόλον καὶ πήματα κεύθων.
Ὡς δ᾽ ὁπότε σταλίκεσσι λίνον περικυκλώσαντες
θηρσὶν ὀριπλανέεσσι λόχον πολυωπὸν ἔπηξαν
ἀνέρες ἀγρευτῆρες· ὁ δ᾽ ἐκκριδὸν οἶος ἀπ᾽ ἄλλων,
225 λαθρίδιος πυκινοῖσιν ὑπὸ πτόρθοισι δεδυκώς,
δίκτυα παπταίνων ἔλαθεν θηροσκόπος ἀνήρ·
ὣς τότε λωβητοῖσι περίστικτος μελέεσσι
Τροίῃ λυγρὸν ὄλεθρον ἐμήδετο· κὰδ δέ οἱ ὤμους
ἕλκεσι ποιητοῖσι κατέρρεε νήχυτον αἷμα.
230 Ἡ δὲ περὶ κλισίῃσιν ἐμαίνετο παννυχίη φλὸξ
καπνὸν ἐρευγομένη περιδινέα φοιτάδι ῥιπῇ·
Ἥφαιστος δ᾽ ἐκέλευεν ἐρίβρομος· ἐκ δὲ θυέλλας
παντοίας ἐτίνασσεν ἐπιπνείουσα καὶ αὐτή,
μήτηρ ἀθανάτοιο πυρός, φαεσίμβροτος Ἥρη.
235 Ἤδη δὲ Τρώεσσι καὶ Ἰλιάδεσσι γυναιξὶν
ὄρθρον ὑπὸ σκιόεντα πολύθροος ἤλυθε Φήμη
δήιον ἀγγέλλουσα φόβον σημάντορι καπνῷ.
Αὐτίκα δ᾽ ἐξέθορον πυλέων πετάσαντες ὀχῆας
πεζοί θ᾽ ἱππῆές τε καὶ ἐς πεδίον προχέοντο
240 διζόμενοι μή πού τις ἔην δόλος ἄλλος Ἀχαιῶν.
Οἱ δὲ θοοὺς οὐρῆας ὑποζεύξαντες ἀπήναις
ἐκ πόλιος κατέβαινον ἅμα Πριάμῳ βασιλῆι
ἄλλοι δημογέροντες· ἐλαφρότατοι δ᾽ ἐγένοντο
θαλπόμενοι περὶ παισίν, ὅσους λίπε φοίνιος Ἄρης,
245 ὀσσόμενοι καὶ γῆρας ἐλεύθερον· οὐ μὲν ἔμελλον
γηθήσειν ἐπὶ δηρόν, ἐπεὶ Διὸς ἤθελε βουλή.
Οἱ δ᾽ ὅτε τεχνήεντος ἴδον δέμας αἰόλον ἵππου,
θαύμασαν ἀμφιχυθέντες, ἅ τ᾽ ἠχήεντες ἰδόντες
αἰετὸν ἀλκήεντα περικλάζουσι κολοιοί.
250 Τοῖσι δὲ τετρηχυῖα καὶ ἄκριτος ἔμπεσε βουλή·
οἱ μὲν γὰρ πολέμῳ βαρυπενθέι κεκμηῶτες,
ἵππον ἀπεχθήραντες, ἐπεὶ πέλεν ἔργον Ἀχαιῶν,
ἤθελον ἢ δολιχοῖσιν ἐπὶ κρημνοῖσιν ἀράξαι
ἠὲ καὶ ἀμφιτόμοισι διαρρῆξαι πελέκεσσιν·

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224 Codd. δὲ κριδὸν: Dubielzig. Corr. ἐκκριδὸν: Wernicke (*Triph.*, 231–2), Gerlaud, Livrea, Campbell (*Lex. s.v.*), Monaco (2007, 173). **228** Codd. ὤμους. Corr. ὤμων: Campbell *Lex.*, p. 210, APP 228–9. **241** Codd. θοῦς. Corr. θοῶς: Campbell *Lex.*, pp. 210–11, APP 241.

255 οἱ δὲ νεοξέστοιο πεποιθότες ἔργμασι τέχνης
ἀθανάτοις ἐκέλευον ἀρήιον ἵππον ἀνάψαι,
ὕστερον Ἀργείοιο μόθου σημήιον εἶναι.
Φραζομένοις δ᾽ ἐπὶ τοῖσι παναίολα γυῖα κομίζων
γυμνὸς ὑπὲρ πεδίοιο φάνη κεκακωμένος ἀνήρ·
260 αἵματι δὲ σμώδιγγες ἀεικέι βεβριθυῖαι
ἴχνια λωβήεντα θοῶν ἀνέφαινον ἱμάντων.
Αὐτίκα δὲ Πριάμοιο ποδῶν προπάροιθεν ἐλυσθεὶς
ἱκεσίαις παλάμῃσι παλαιῶν ἥψατο γούνων,
λισσόμενος δὲ γέροντα δολοπλόκον ἴαχε μῦθον·
265 “Ἄνδρα μὲν Ἀργείοισιν ὁμόπλοον εἴ μ᾽ ἐλεαίρεις,
Τρώων δὲ ῥυτῆρα καὶ ἄστεος εἴ με σαώσεις,
Δαρδανίδη σκηπτοῦχε, καὶ ὕστατον ἐχθρὸν Ἀχαιῶν –
οἷά με λωβήσαντο θεῶν ὄπιν οὐκ ἀλέγοντες
οὐδὲν ἀλιτραίνοντα, κακοὶ καὶ ἀπηνέες αἰεί·
270 ὣς μὲν Ἀχιλλῆος γέρας ἥρπασαν Αἰακίδαο,
ὣς δὲ Φιλοκτήτην ἔλιπον πεπεδημένον ὕδρῳ,
ἔκτειναν δὲ καὶ αὐτὸν ἀγασσάμενοι Παλαμήδην.
Καὶ νῦν οἷά μ᾽ ἔρεξαν ἀτάσθαλοι, οὕνεκα φεύγειν
οὐκ ἔθελον σὺν τοῖσι, μένειν δ᾽ ἐκέλευον ἑταίρους·
275 οἱ δὲ νοοπλήγεσσιν ἀτασθαλίῃσι δαμέντες
εἵματα μέν μ᾽ ἀπέδυσαν, ἀεικελίῃσι δ᾽ ἱμάσθλαις
πᾶν δέμας οὐτήσαντες ἐπὶ ξείνῃ λίπον ἀκτῇ.
Ἀλλά, μάκαρ, πεφύλαξο Διὸς σέβας Ἱκεσίοιο·
χάρμα γὰρ Ἀργείοισι γενήσομαι, εἴ κεν ἐάσσεις
280 χερσὶν ὑπὸ Τρώων ἱκέτην καὶ ξεῖνον ὀλέσθαι.
Αὐτὰρ ἐγὼ πάντεσσιν ἐπάρκιος ἔσσομαι ὑμῖν
μηκέτι δειμαίνειν πόλεμον παλίνορσον Ἀχαιῶν.”
Ὣς φάτο· τὸν δ᾽ ὁ γέρων ἀγανῇ μειλίξατο φωνῇ·
“Ξεῖνε, σὲ μὲν Τρώεσσι μεμιγμένον οὐκέτ᾽ ἔοικε
285 τάρβος ἔχειν· ἔφυγες γὰρ ἀνάρσιον ὕβριν Ἀχαιῶν.
Αἰεὶ δ᾽ ἡμέτερος φίλος ἔσσεαι, οὐδέ σε πάτρης,
οὐδὲ πολυκτεάνων θαλάμων γλυκὺς ἵμερος αἱρεῖ.
Ἀλλ᾽ ἄγε καὶ σύ μοι εἰπέ, τί τοι τόδε θαῦμα τέτυκται,
ἵππος, ἀμειλίκτοιο φόβου τέρας· εἰπὲ δὲ σεῖο

255 ἔργμασι (F): Gerlaud, Livrea. Corr. ἔργματι Dubielzig.

290 οὔνομα καὶ γενεήν, ὁπόθεν δέ σε νῆες ἔνεικαν.”
Τὸν δ᾽ ἐπιθαρσήσας προσέφη πολυμήχανος ἥρως·
“Ἐξερέω καὶ ταῦτα· σὺ γάρ μ᾽ ἐθέλοντα κελεύεις.
Ἄργός μοι πόλις ἐστί, Σίνων δέ μοι οὔνομα κεῖται·
Αἴσιμον αὖ καλέουσιν ἐμὸν πολιὸν γενετῆρα.
295 Ἵππον δ᾽ Ἀργείοισι παλαίφατον εὗρεν Ἐπειός·
εἰ μὲν γάρ μιν ἐᾶτε μένειν αὐτοῦ ἐνὶ χώρῃ,
Τροίην θέσφατόν ἐστιν ἑλεῖν πόλιν ἔγχος Ἀχαιῶν·
εἰ δέ μιν ἁγνὸν ἄγαλμα λάβῃ νηοῖσιν Ἀθήνη,
φεύξονται προφυγόντες ἀνηνύστοις ἐπ᾽ ἀέθλοις.
300 Ἀλλ᾽ ἄγε δὴ σειρῇσι περίπλοκον ἀμφιβαλόντες
ἕλκετ᾽ ἐς ἀκρόπολιν μεγάλην χρυσήνιον ἵππον·
ἄμμι δ᾽ Ἀθηναίη ἐρυσίπτολις ἡγεμονεύοι
δαιδάλεον σπεύδουσα λαβεῖν ἀνάθημα καὶ αὐτή.”
Ὣς ἄρ᾽ ἔφη· καὶ τὸν μὲν ἄναξ ἐκέλευσε λαβόντα
305 ἕσσασθαι χλαῖνάν τε χιτῶνά τε· τοὶ δέ, βοείαις
δησάμενοι σειρῇσιν, ἐυπλέκτοισι κάλωσιν
εἷλκον ὑπὲρ πεδίοιο, θοῶν ἐπιβήτορα κύκλων,
ἵππον ἀριστήεσσι βεβυσμένον· οἱ δὲ πάροιθεν
αὐλοὶ καὶ φόρμιγγες ὁμὴν ἐλίγαινον ἀοιδήν.
310 Σχέτλιον ἀφραδέων μερόπων γένος, οἷσιν ὀμίχλη
ἄσκοπος ἐσσομένων· κενεῷ δ᾽ ὑπὸ χάρματι πολλοὶ
πολλάκις ἀγνώσσουσι περιπταίοντες ὀλέθρῳ·
οἵη καὶ Τρώεσσι τότε φθισίμβροτος ἄτη
ἐς πόλιν αὐτοκέλευθος ἐκώμασεν· οὐδέ τις ἀνδρῶν
315 ᾔδεεν οὕνεκα λάβρον ἐφέλκετο πένθος ἄλαστον.
Ἄνθεα δὲ δροσόεντος ἀμησάμενοι Σιμόεντος
ἔστεφον αὐχενίους πλοκάμους σφετέροιο φονῆος.
Γαῖα δὲ χαλκείοισιν ἐρεικομένη περὶ κύκλοις
δεινὸν ὑπεβρυχᾶτο, σιδήρειοι δὲ δι᾽ αὐτῶν
320 τριβόμενοι τρηχεῖαν ἀνέστενον ἄξονες ἠχήν·
τετρίγει δὲ κάλων ξυνοχὴ καὶ πᾶσα ταθεῖσα
λιγνὺν αἰθαλόεσσαν ἕλιξ ἀνεκήκιε σειρή·

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297 πόλιν (*b*): Gerlaud, Livrea. πάλιν (F): Dubielzig. ἔγχος Ἀχαιῶν (*b*): Gerlaud, Livrea. υἷας Ἀχαιῶν (F): Dubielzig. **302** ἐρυσίπτολις (F): Gerlaud, Livrea. Corr. ῥυσίπτολις Dubielzig. **316** Σιμόεντος (*b*): Gerlaud, Livrea. ποταμοῖο (F). Corr. πεδίοιο: Campbell (*Lex.*, p. 211, APP 316), Dubielzig.

πολλὴ δ᾽ ἑλκόντων ἐνοπὴ καὶ κόμπος ὀρώρει·
ἔβρεμε Νυμφαίῃσιν ἅμα δρυσὶ δάσκιος Ἴδη,
ἴαχε καὶ Ξάνθου ποταμοῦ μυκώμενον ὕδωρ,
καὶ στόμα κεκλήγει Σιμοείσιον· οὐρανίη δὲ
ἐκ Διὸς ἑλκόμενον πόλεμον μαντεύετο σάλπιγξ.
Οἱ δ᾽ ἦγον προπάροιθεν· ὁδὸς δ᾽ ἐβαρύνετο μακρή,
σχιζομένη ποταμοῖσι καὶ οὐ πεδίοισιν ὁμοίη.
Εἵπετο δ᾽ αἰόλος ἵππος ἀρηιφίλους ἐπὶ βωμοὺς
κυδιόων ὑπέροπλα, βίην δ᾽ ἐπέρεισεν Ἀθήνη
χεῖρας ἐπιβρίσασα νεογλυφέων ἐπὶ μηρῶν·
ὃς δὲ θέων ἀκίχητος ἐπέδραμε θᾶσσον ὀιστοῦ
Τρῶας ἐυσκάρθμοισιν ὁδοιπορίῃσι διώκων,
εἰσόκε δὴ πυλέων ἐπεβήσατο Δαρδανιάων.
Αἱ δέ οἱ ἐρχομένῳ θυρέων πτύχες ἐστείνοντο·
ἀλλ᾽ Ἥρη μὲν ἔλυσεν ἐπίδρομον ὅρμον ὁδοῖο
πρόσθεν ἀναστέλλουσα, Ποσειδάων δ᾽ ἀπὸ πύργων
σταθμὸν ἀνοιγομένων πυλέων ἀνέκοπτε τριαίνῃ.
Τρωιάδες δὲ γυναῖκες ἀνὰ πτόλιν ἄλλοθεν ἄλλαι,
νύμφαι τε πρόγαμοί τε καὶ ἴδμονες Εἰλειθυίης,
μολπῇ τ᾽ ὀρχηθμῷ τε περὶ βρέτας εἱλίσσοντο·
ἄλλαι δὲ χνοόωσαν ἀμελγόμεναι χάριν ὄμβρου
ὁλκῷ δουρατέῳ ῥοδέους στορέσαντο τάπητας·
αἱ δὲ θαλασσαίης ἐπιμάζια νήματα μίτρης
λυσάμεναι κλωστοῖσι κατέπλεκον ἄνθεσιν ἵππον·
καί τις ἀπειρεσίοιο πίθου κρήδεμνον ἀνεῖσα
χρυσείῳ προχέουσα κρόκῳ κεκερασμένον οἶνον
γαῖαν ἀνεκνίσσωσε χυτὴν εὐώδεϊ πηλῷ.
Ἀνδρομέῃ δὲ βοῇ συνεβάλλετο θῆλυς ἰωή,
καὶ παίδων ἀλαλητὸς ἐμίσγετο γήραος ἠχῇ·
οἷαι δ᾽ ἀφνειοῖο μετήλυδες Ὠκεανοῖο,
χείματος ἀμφίπολοι, γεράνων στίχες ἠεροφώνων

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325 κυκώμενον (F), κυκλόμενον (*b*). Corr. μυκώμενον: Gerlaud, Campbell (*Lex.*, p. 211, APP 325). Corr. κυκλούμενον: Livrea (*Triph.*; 1979, 64–5), Dubielzig. **333** ὃς δὲ (F): Gerlaud, Dubielzig. ὡς δὲ (*b*): Livrea. **337** ἀλλ᾽ Ἥρη μὲν ἔλυσεν ἐπὶ δρόμον αὖθις ὁδοῖο (F): Gerlaud. ἀλλ᾽ Ἥρη μὲν ἔδυσεν ἐπίδρομον ὅρμον ὁδοῖο (*b*). Corr. ἀλλ᾽ Ἥρη μὲν ἔλυσεν ἐπίδρομον αὖτις ὁδοῖο: Campbell (*Lex.*, pp. 211–12, APP 337), Luppe (1995–6). Corr. ἀλλ᾽ Ἥρη μὲν ἔλυσεν ἐπίδρομον ὅρμον ὁδοῖο: Livrea, Dubielzig. **346** κατέπλεκον (F): Gerlaud. περίστεφον (*b*): Livrea, Dubielzig.

κύκλον ἐπογμεύουσιν ἀλήμονος ὀρχηθμοῖο
355 γειοπόνοις ἀρότῃσιν ἀπεχθέα κεκληγυῖαι·
ὣς οἵ γε κλαγγῇ τε δι᾽ ἄστεος ἠδὲ κυδοιμῷ
ἦγον ἐς ἀκρόπολιν βεβαρημένον ἔνδοθεν ἵππον.
Κούρη δὲ Πριάμοιο θεήλατος οὐκέτι μίμνειν
ἤθελεν ἐν θαλάμοισι· διαρρήξασα δ᾽ ὀχῆας
360 ἔδραμεν ἠύτε πόρτις ἀήσυρος, ἥν τε τυπεῖσαν
κέντρον ἀνεπτοίησε βοορραίσταο μύωπος·
ἡ δ᾽ οὔτ᾽ εἰς ἀγέλην ποτιδέρκεται οὐδὲ βοτῆρι
πείθεται οὐδὲ νομοῖο λιλαίεται, ἀλλὰ βελέμνῳ
ὀξέι θηγομένη βοέων ἐξήλυθε θεσμῶν·
365 τοίη μαντιπόλοιο βολῆς ὑπὸ νύγματι κούρη
πλαζομένη κραδίην ἱερὴν ἀνεσείετο δάφνην.
Πάντῃ δ᾽ ἐβρυχᾶτο κατὰ πτόλιν· οὐδὲ τοκήων
οὐδὲ φίλων ἀλέγιζε· λίπεν δέ ἑ παρθένος αἰδώς·
οὐχ οὕτω Θρήισσαν ἐνὶ δρυμοῖσι γυναῖκα
370 νήδυμος αὐλὸς ἔτυψεν ὀρειμανέος Διονύσου,
ἥ τε θεῷ πληγεῖσα παρήορον ὄμμα τιταίνει
γυμνὸν ἐπισσείουσα κάρη κυανάμπυκι κισσῷ,
ὡς ἥ γε πτερόεντος ἀναΐξασα νόοιο
Κασσάνδρη θεόφοιτος ἐμαίνετο· πυκνὰ δὲ χαίτην
375 κοπτομένη καὶ στέρνον ἀνίαχε μαινάδι φωνῇ·
“Ὦ μέλεοι, τίνα τοῦτον ἀνάρσιον ἵππον ἄγοντες
δαιμόνιοι μαίνεσθε καὶ ὑστατίην ἐπὶ νύκτα
σπεύδετε καὶ πολέμοιο πέρας καὶ νήγρετον ὕπνον;
Δυσμενέων ὅδε κῶμος ἀρήιος· αἱ δέ που ἤδη
380 τίκτουσιν μογερῆς Ἑκάβης ὠδῖνες ὀνείρων,
λήγει δ᾽ ἀμβολιεργὸν ἔτος πολέμοιο λυθέντος.
Τοῖος ἀριστῆων λόχος ἔρχεται, οὓς ἐπὶ χάρμην
τεύχεσιν ἀστράπτοντας ἀμαυροτάτην ὑπὸ νύκτα
τέξεται ὄβριμος ἵππος· ἐπὶ χθόνα δ᾽ ἄρτι θορόντες
385 ἐς μόθον ὁρμήσουσι τελειότατοι πολεμισταί.
Οὐ γὰρ ἐπ᾽ ὠδίνεσσι μογοστόκον ἵππον ἀνεῖσαι
ἀνδράσι τικτομένοισιν ἐπισχήσουσι γυναῖκες,

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378 πολέμοιο τέλος (*b*): Livrea, Campbell (*Lex.*, p. 212, APP 378). πολέμοιο τέρας (F): Dubielzig. Corr. πέρας: Gerlaud. **384** ὄβριμος (LN): Livrea, Dubielzig. ὄμβριμος (FR): Gerlaud. **386** ἐπ᾽ ὠδίνεσσι (F): Gerlaud, Campbell (*Lex.*, p. 212, APP 386), Dubielzig. ὑπ᾽ ὠδίνεσσι (*b*): Livrea.

αὐτὴ δ᾽ Εἰλείθυια γενήσεται ἥ μιν ἔτευξε·
γαστέρα δὲ πλήθουσαν ἀνακλίνασα βοήσει
390 μαῖα πολυκλαύστοιο τόκου πτολίπορθος Ἀθήνη.
Καὶ δὴ πορφύρεον μὲν ἑλίσσεται ἔνδοθι πύργων
αἵματος ἐκχυμένου πέλαγος καὶ κῦμα φόνοιο,
δεσμά τε συμπαθέων πλέκεται περὶ χερσὶ γυναικῶν
νύμφια, φωλεύει δ᾽ ὑπὸ δούρασι κευθόμενον πῦρ.
395 Ὤμοι ἐμῶν ἀχέων, ὤμοι σέο, πάτριον ἄστυ,
αὐτίκα μοι λεπτὴ κόνις ἔσσεαι, οἴχεται ἔργον
ἀθανάτων, προθέλυμνα θεμείλια Λαομέδοντος.
Καὶ σέ, πάτερ καὶ μῆτερ, ὀδύρομαι, οἷά μοι ἤδη
ἀμφότεροι πείσεσθε· σὺ μέν, πάτερ, οἰκτρὰ δεδουπὼς
400 κείσεαι Ἑρκείοιο Διὸς μεγάλου παρὰ βωμῷ·
μῆτερ ἀριστοτόκεια, σὲ δὲ βροτέης ἀπὸ μορφῆς
λυσσαλέην ἐπὶ παισὶ θεοὶ κύνα ποιήσουσι.
Δῖα Πολυξείνη, σὲ δὲ πατρίδος ἐγγύθι γαίης
κεκλιμένην ὀλίγον δακρύσομαι· ὡς ὄφελέν τις
405 Ἀργείων ἐπὶ σοῖσι γόοις ὀλέσαι με καὶ αὐτήν.
Τίς γάρ μοι χρειὼ βιότου πλέον, εἴ με φυλάσσει
οἰκτροτάτῳ θανάτῳ, ξείνη δέ με γαῖα καλύψει;
Τοιάδε μοι δέσποινα καὶ αὐτῷ δῶρον ἄνακτι
ἀντὶ τόσων καμάτων Ἀγαμέμνονι πότμον ὑφαίνει.
410 Ἀλλ᾽ ἤδη φράζεσθε – τὰ δὲ γνώσεσθε παθόντες –
καὶ νεφέλην ἀπόθεσθε, φίλοι, βλαψίφρονος ἄτης·
ῥηγνύσθω πελέκεσσι δέμας πολυχανδέος ἵππου
ἢ πυρὶ καιέσθω· δολόεντα δὲ σώματα κεῦθον
ὀλλύσθω, μεγάλη δὲ ποθὴ Δαναοῖσι γενέσθω.
415 καὶ τότε μοι δαίνυσθε καὶ ἐς χορὸν ὀτρύνεσθε
στησάμενοι κρητῆρας ἐλευθερίης ἐρατεινῆς.”
Ἦ μὲν ἔφη· τῇ δ᾽ οὔ τις ἐπείθετο· τὴν γὰρ Ἀπόλλων
ἀμφότερον μάντιν τ᾽ ἀγαθὴν καὶ ἄπιστον ἔθηκεν.
Τὴν δὲ πατὴρ ἐνένισπεν ὁμοκλήσας ἐπέεσσι·

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390 πολυκλαύτοιο (*b*): Dubielzig, Livrea. πολυκλαύστοιο (F): Gerlaud. **407** οἰκτροτέρῳ θανάτῳ (*b*): Dubielzig. οἰκτροτάτῳ θανάτῳ (F): Gerlaud, Livrea. **414** πυρή (*b*): Dubielzig. ποθή (F): Gerlaud, Livrea, Campbell (*Lex., s.v.*). **419** ἐνένισπεν (*b*): Gerlaud, Livrea. ἐνέειπεν (F): corr. ἐνένιπεν Wernicke (*Triph.* 354–7), West (1983, 185), Campbell (*Lex.*, p. 213, APP 419), Dubielzig.

420 “Τίς σε πάλιν, κακόμαντι, δυσώνυμος ἤγαγε δαίμων,
θαρσαλέη, κυνάμυια; Μάτην ὑλάουσ᾽ ἀπερύκεις.
Οὔ πω σοι κέκμηκε νόος λυσσώδεϊ νούσῳ,
οὐδὲ παλιμφήμων ἐκορέσσαο λαβροσυνάων;
᾽Αλλὰ καὶ ἡμετέρῃσιν ἐπαχνυμένη θαλίῃσιν
425 ἤλυθες, ὁππότε πᾶσιν ἐλεύθερον ἦμαρ ἀνῆψεν
ἡμῖν Ζεὺς Κρονίδης, ἐκέδασσε δὲ νῆας ᾽Αχαιῶν.
Οὐδ᾽ ἔτι δούρατα μακρὰ τινάσσεται, οὐδ᾽ ἔτι τόξα
428 ἕλκεται, οὐ ξιφέων σελάγη, σιγῶσι δ᾽ ὀιστοί.
430 οὐ μήτηρ ἐπὶ παιδὶ κινύρεται, οὐδ᾽ ἐπὶ δῆριν
431 ἄνδρα γυνὴ πέμψασα νέκυν δακρύσατο χήρη,
429 ἀλλὰ χοροὶ καὶ μοῦσα μελίπνοος· ἡ δ᾽ ἐπὶ νίκῃ
432 ἵππον ἀνελκόμενον δέχεται πολιοῦχος ᾽Αθήνη.
Παρθένε τολμήεσσα, σὺ δὲ πρὸ δόμοιο θοροῦσα
ψεύδεα θεσπίζουσα καὶ ἄγρια μαργαίνουσα
435 μοχθίζεις ἀτέλεστα καὶ ἱερὸν ἄστυ μιαίνεις.
᾽Ερρ᾽ οὕτως· ἡμῖν δὲ χοροὶ θαλίαι τε μέλονται·
οὐ γὰρ ἔτι Τροίης ὑπὸ τείχεσι δεῖμα λέλειπται,
οὐδ᾽ ἔτι μαντιπόλοιο τεῆς κεχρήμεθα φωνῆς.”
᾽Ως εἰπὼν ἐκέλευσεν ἄγειν ἑτερόφρονα κούρην
440 κευθμὸν ἔσω θαλάμοιο· μόγις δ᾽ ἀέκουσα τοκῆι
πείθετο, παρθενίῳ δὲ περὶ κλιντῆρι πεσοῦσα
κλαῖεν ἐπισταμένη τὸν ἑὸν μόρον· ἔβλεπε δ᾽ ἤδη
πατρίδος αἰθομένης ἐπὶ τείχεσι μαρνάμενον πῦρ.
Οἱ δὲ πολισσούχοιο θεῆς ὑπὸ νηὸν ᾽Αθήνης
445 ἵππον ἀναστήσαντες ἐυξέστων ἐπὶ βάθρων
ἔφλεγον ἱερὰ καλὰ πολυκνίσσων ἐπὶ βωμῶν·
ἀθάνατοι δ᾽ ἀνένευον ἀνηνύστους ἑκατόμβας.
Εἰλαπίνη δ᾽ ἐπίδημος ἔην καὶ ἀμήχανος ὕβρις,
ὕβρις ἐλαφρίζουσα μέθην λυσήνορος οἴνου·
450 ἀφραδίῃ τε βέβυστο, μεθημοσύνῃ τε κεχήνει

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421 κυνάμυια (*b*): Livrea, Dubielzig. κυνόμυια (F): Gerlaud. **428** σελάγη (F): Gerlaud, Livrea, Monaco (2007, p. 132, n. 10). Corr. σαλαγή: Campbell (*Lex.*, p. 213, APP 428). πάταγος (*b*): Dubielzig. **429** Codd. 429.430.431.432 (Gerlaud, Livrea): corr. Campbell *Lex.*, p. 213, APP 428–32; Dubielzig. **431** οὐδ᾽ ἐπὶ νείκη (F): corr. οὐδ᾽ ἔτι νείκη Livrea, Gerlaud. οἱ δ᾽ ἐπὶ νίκη (*b*): corr. ἡ δ᾽ ἐπὶ νίκῃ Campbell (*Lex.*, p. 213, APP 428–32), Dubielzig. **434** ἄγρια μαργαίνουσα (F): Gerlaud, Livrea. ἄχρεα σεῖο πόλῃι (*b*): Dubielzig. Inser. Dubielzig 434a <αἰσχύνεις γενετῆρε> καὶ ἄγρια μαργαίνουσα.

πᾶσα πόλις· πυλέων δ᾽ ὀλίγοις φυλάκεσσι μεμήλει,
ἤδη γὰρ καὶ φέγγος ἐδύετο, δαιμονίη δὲ
Ἴλιον αἰπεινὴν ὀλεσίπτολις ἀμφέβαλεν νύξ.
Ἀργείῃ δ᾽ Ἑλένῃ πολιὸν δέμας ἀσκήσασα
455 ἦλθε δολοφρονέουσα πολυφράδμων Ἀφροδίτη,
ἐκ δὲ καλεσσαμένη προσέφη πειθήμονι φωνῇ·
“Νύμφα φίλη, καλέει σε πόσις Μενέλαος ἀγήνωρ
ἵππῳ δουρατέῳ κεκαλυμμένος, ἀμφὶ δ᾽ Ἀχαιῶν
ἡγεμόνες λοχόωσι τεῶν μνηστῆρες ἀέθλων.
460 Ἀλλ᾽ ἴθι, μηδ᾽ ἔτι τοι μελέτω Πριάμοιο γέροντος
μήτ᾽ ἄλλων Τρώων μήτ᾽ αὐτοῦ Δηιφόβοιο·
ἤδη γάρ σε δίδωμι πολυτλήτῳ Μενελάῳ.”
Ὣς φαμένη θεὸς αὖθις ἀνέδραμεν· ἡ δὲ δόλοισι
θελγομένη κραδίην θάλαμον λίπε κηώεντα,
465 καί οἱ Δηίφοβος πόσις εἵπετο· τὴν δὲ κιοῦσαν
Τρῳάδες ἑλκεχίτωνες ἐθηήσαντο γυναῖκες.
Ἡ δ᾽ ὁπόθ᾽ ὑψιμέλαθρον ἐς ἱερὸν ἦλθεν Ἀθήνης,
ἔστη παπταίνουσα φυὴν εὐήνορος ἵππου.
Τρὶς δὲ περιστείχουσα καὶ Ἀργείους ἐρέθουσα
470 πάσας ἠυκόμους ἀλόχους ὀνόμαζεν Ἀχαιῶν
φωνῇ λεπταλέῃ. Τοὶ δ᾽ ἔνδοθι θυμὸν ἄμυσσον
ἀλγεινοὶ κατέχοντες ἐεργμένα δάκρυα σιγῇ·
ἔστενε μὲν Μενέλαος, ἐπεὶ κλύε Τυνδαρεώνης,
κλαῖε δὲ Τυδεΐδης μεμνημένος Αἰγιαλείης,
475 οὔνομα δ᾽ ἐπτοίησεν Ὀδυσσέα Πηνελοπείης.
Ἄντικλος δ᾽ ὅτε κέντρον ἐδέξατο Λαοδαμείης,
μοῦνος ἀμοιβαίην ἀνεβάλλετο γῆρυν ἀνοίξας·
ἀλλ᾽ Ὀδυσεὺς κατέπαλτο καὶ ἀμφοτέρῃς παλάμῃσιν
ἀμφιπεσὼν ἐπίεζεν ἐπειγόμενον στόμα λῦσαι·
480 μάστακα δ᾽ ἀρρήκτοισιν ἀλυκτοπέδῃσι μεμαρπὼς
εἶχεν ἐπικρατέως· ὁ δ᾽ ἐπάλλετο χερσὶ πιεσθείς,
φεύγων ἀνδροφόνοιο πελώρια δεσμὰ σιωπῆς.
Καὶ τὸν μὲν λίπεν ἄσθμα φερέσβιον· οἱ δέ μιν ἄλλοι
δάκρυσι λαθριδίοισι κατακλαύσαντες Ἀχαιοὶ
485 κοῖλον ἀποκρύψαντες ἐς ἰσχίον ἔνθεσαν ἵππου

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472 ἀλγεινοὶ (F): Gerlaud, Livrea. ἀλγεινὴ (YL): corr. Dubielzig ἀλγεινῇ.

καὶ χλαῖναν μελέεσσιν ἐπὶ ψυχροῖσι βαλόντες.
Καί νύ κεν ἄλλον ἔθελγε γυνὴ δολόμητις Ἀχαιῶν,
εἰ μή οἱ βλοσυρῶπις ἀπ᾽ αἰθέρος ἀντήσασα
Παλλὰς ἐπηπείλησε, φίλου δ᾽ ἐξήγαγε νηοῦ
490 μούνῃ φαινομένη, στερεῇ δ᾽ ἀπεπέμψατο φωνῇ·
“Δειλαίη, τέο μέχρις ἀλιτροσύναι σε φέρουσι
καὶ πόθος ἀλλοτρίων λεχέων καὶ Κύπριδος ἄτη;
Οὔ ποτε δ᾽ οἰκτείρεις πρότερον πόσιν οὐδὲ θύγατρα
Ἑρμιόνην ποθέεις; Ἔτι δὲ Τρώεσσιν ἀρήγεις;
495 Χάζεο καὶ θαλάμων ὑπερώιον εἰσαναβᾶσα
σὺν πυρὶ μειλιχίῳ ποτιδέχνυσο νῆας Ἀχαιῶν.”
Ὣς φαμένη κενεὴν ἀπάτην ἐκέδασσε γυναικός.
Καὶ τὴν μὲν θάλαμον δὲ πόδες φέρον· οἱ δὲ χοροῖο
παυσάμενοι καμάτῳ ἀδδηκότες ἤριπον ὕπνῳ.
500 Καὶ δή που φόρμιγξ ἀνεπαύσατο, κεῖτο δὲ κάμνων
αὐλὸς ἐπὶ κρητῆρι, κύπελλα δὲ πολλὰ χυθέντα
αὐτόματα ῥείεσκε καθελκομένων ἀπὸ χειρῶν.
Ἡσυχίη δὲ πόλιν κατεβόσκετο, Νυκτὸς ἑταίρη,
οὐδ᾽ ὑλακὴ σκυλάκων ἠκούετο, πᾶσα δὲ Σιγὴ
505 εἱστήκει καλέουσα φόνον πνείουσαν ἀυτήν.
Ἤδη δὲ Τρώεσσιν ὀλέθριον εἷλκε τάλαντον
Ζεὺς ταμίης πολέμοιο, μόγις δ᾽ ἐλέλιξεν Ἀχαιούς·
χάζετο δ᾽ Ἰλιόθεν Λυκίης ἐπὶ πίονα νηὸν
ἀχνύμενος μεγάλοις ἐπὶ τείχεσι Φοῖβος Ἀπόλλων.
510 Αὐτίκα δ᾽ Ἀργείοισιν Ἀχιλλῆος παρὰ τύμβον
ἀγγελίην ἀνέφαινε Σίνων εὐφεγγέι δαλῷ.
Παννυχίη δ᾽ ἑτάροισιν ὑπὲρ θαλάμοιο καὶ αὐτὴ
εὐειδὴς Ἑλένη χρυσέην ἐπεδείκνυτο πεύκην.
Ὡς δ᾽ ὁπότε πλήθουσα πυρὸς γλαυκοῖο σελήνη
515 οὐρανὸν αἰγλήεντα κατεχρύσωσε προσώπῳ·
οὐχ ὅτε που γλωχῖνας ἀποξύνουσα κεραίης
πρωτοφαὴς ὑπὸ μηνὸς ἀνίσταται ἄσκιον ἀχλύν,
ἀλλ᾽ ὅτε κυκλώσασα περίτροχον ὄμματος αὐγὴν
ἀντιτύπους ἀκτῖνας ἐφέλκεται ἠελίοιο·

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486 Dubielzig add. 486a <ἀρρήτοις ἐπέεσσιν ἐμμνήσκοντο θανόντος>. **493** οὔ ποτε (F): Gerlaud. οὔπω (*b*): Livrea, Campbell (*Lex.*, p. 214, APP 493), Dubielzig. **499** καμάτῳ (F): Gerlaud, Livrea, Campbell (*Lex. s.v.* κάματος). καμάτοις (*b*): Dubielzig.

520 τοίη μαρμαίρουσα Θεραπναίη τότε νύμφη
οἴνοπα πῆχυν ἀνεῖλκε, φίλου πυρὸς ἡνιοχῆα.
Οἱ δὲ σέλας πυρσοῖο μετήορον ἀθρήσαντες
νῆας ἀνεκρούσαντο παλιγνάμπτοισι κελεύθοις
Ἀργεῖοι σπεύδοντες, ἅπας δ᾽ ἠπείγετο ναύτης
525 δηναιοῦ πολέμοιο τέλος διζήμενος εὑρεῖν.
Οἱ δ᾽ αὐτοὶ πλωτῆρες ἔσαν κρατεροί τε μαχηταὶ
ἀλλήλοις τ᾽ ἐκέλευον ἐλαυνέμεν· αἱ δ᾽ ἄρα νῆες
ὠκυπόροι κραιπνῶν ἀνέμων ταχυπειθέι ῥιπῇ
Ἴλιον εἰσανάγοντο Ποσειδάωνος ἀρωγῇ.
530 Ἔνθα δὲ δὴ πεζοὶ πρότεροι κίον, οἱ δ᾽ ἐπέλειφθεν
ἵππῆες κατόπισθεν, ὅπως μὴ Τρώιον ἵπποι
λαὸν ἀναστήσωσιν ἀειρομένῳ χρεμετισμῷ.
Οἱ δ᾽ ἕτεροι γλαφυρῆς ἀπὸ γαστέρος ἔρρεον ἵππου,
τευχησταὶ βασιλῆες, ἀπὸ δρυὸς οἷα μέλισσαι,
535 αἵ τ᾽ ἐπεὶ οὖν ἔκαμον πολυχανδέος ἔνδοθι σίμβλου
κηρὸν ὑφαίνουσαι μελιηδέα φωλάδι τέχνῃ,
ἐς νομὸν εὐγυάλοιο κατ᾽ ἄγκεος ἀμφιχυθεῖσαι
νύγμασι πημαίνουσι παραστείχοντας ὁδίτας·
ὣς Δαναοὶ κρυφίοιο λόχου κληῖδας ἀνέντες
540 θρῷσκον ἐπὶ Τρώεσσι καὶ εἰσέτι κοῖτον ἔχοντας
χαλκείου θανάτοιο κακοῖς ἐκάλυψαν ὀνείροις.
Νήχετο δ᾽ αἵματι γαῖα, βοὴ δ᾽ ἄλληκτος ὀρώρει
Τρώων φευγόντων, ἐστείνετο δ᾽ Ἴλιος ἱρὴ
πιπτόντων νεκύων, οἱ δ᾽ ἀνδροφόνῳ κολοσυρτῷ
545 <ἔνθορον> ἔνθα καὶ ἔνθα μεμηνότες οἷα λέοντες
σώμασιν ἀρτιφάτοισι γεφυρώσαντες ἀγυιάς.
Τρωιάδες δὲ γυναῖκες ὑπὲρ τεγέων ἀίουσαι
αἱ μὲν ἐλευθερίης ἐρατῆς ἔτι διψώουσαι
αὐχένας εἰς θάνατον δειλοῖς ὑπέβαλλον ἀκοίταις,

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528 ὠκυπόροι (*b*): Gerlaud, Livrea, Campbell (*Lex. s.v.* ὠκύπορος). ὠκύτεραι (F): Dubielzig. **532** ἀειρομένῳ (F): Gerlaud, Livrea. ἐγειρόμενοι (YL): Dubielzig. **537** καὶ ἄγγεος (F): corr. κατ᾽ ἄγκεος (Schaefer 1808; Livrea *Triph.*; Livrea 1979, 71; Gerlaud); corr. κατ᾽ ἄγγεος (Weinberger; Campbell *Lex.*, p. 214, APP 537). Corr. Dubielzig: 537 ἐς νομὸν εὐγυάλοι κατ᾽ ἄγγεος <ἐκποτέονται / 537a εἴαρος ἀρχομένοιο> καὶ ἄνθεσιν ἀμφιχυθεῖσαι. **545** om. F. εὔζονοι ἔνθα καὶ ἔνθα μεμηνότες οἷα λέοντες (*b*): Livrea †εὔζονοι†. Corr. Gerlaud <ἔνθορον>. Inser. Dubielzig: εὔζωνοι <Πριάμου τάχα κύδιμον ἄστυ κιχόντες / ἔνθορον> ἔνθα καὶ ἔνθα μεμηνότες οἷα λέοντες.

550 αἱ δὲ φίλοις ἐπὶ παισί, χελιδόνες οἷά τε κοῦφαι,
μητέρες ὠδύροντο. Νέη δέ τις ἀσπαίροντα
ἠίθεον κλαύσασα θανεῖν ἔσπευδε καὶ αὐτὴ
οὐδὲ δορυκτήτοισιν ὁμοῦ θεσμοῖσιν ἕπεσθαι
ἤθελεν, ἀλλ᾽ ἐχόλωσε καὶ οὐκ ἐθέλοντα φονῆα
555 καὶ ξυνὸν λέχος ἔσχεν ὀφειλόμενον παρακοίτῃ.
Πολλαὶ δ᾽ ἠλιτόμηνα καὶ ἄπνοα τέκνα φέρουσαι,
γαστέρος ὠμοτόκοιο χύδην ὠδῖνα μεθεῖσαι
ῥιγεδανῶς σὺν παισὶν ἀπεψύχοντο καὶ αὐταί.
Παννυχίη δ᾽ ἐχόρευσεν ἀνὰ πτόλιν, οἷα θύελλα,
560 κύμασι παφλάζουσα πολυφλοίσβου πολέμοιο
αἵματος ἀκρήτοιο μέθης ἐπίκωμος Ἐνυώ.
Σὺν δ᾽ Ἔρις οὐρανόμηκες ἀναστήσασα κάρηνον
Ἀργείους ὀρόθυνεν, ἐπεὶ καὶ φοίνιος Ἄρης
ὀψὲ μὲν ἀλλὰ καὶ ὦς πολέμων ἑτεραλκέα νίκην
565 ἦλθε φέρων Δαναοῖσι καὶ ἀλλοπρόσαλλον ἀρωγήν.
Ἴαχε δὲ γλαυκῶπις ἐπ᾽ ἀκροπόληος Ἀθήνη
αἰγίδα κινήσασα, Διὸς σάκος· ἔτρεμε δ᾽ αἰθὴρ
Ἥρης σπερχομένης· ἐπὶ δ᾽ ἔβραχε γαῖα βαρεῖα
παλλομένη τριόδοντι Ποσειδάωνος ἀκωκῇ.
570 Ἔφριξεν δ᾽ Ἀίδης, χθονίων δ᾽ ἐξέδραμε θώκων
ταρβήσας μή πού τι Διὸς μέγα χωσαμένοιο
πᾶν γένος ἀνθρώπων κατάγοι ψυχοστόλος Ἑρμῆς.
Πάντα δ᾽ ὁμοῦ κεκύκητο, φόνος δέ τις ἄκριτος ἦεν·
τοὺς μὲν γὰρ φεύγοντας ἐπὶ Σκαιῇσι πύλῃσι
575 κτεῖνον ἐφεστηῶτες, ὁ δ᾽ ἐξ εὐνῆς ἀνορούσας
τεύχεα μαστεύων δνοφερῇ περικάππεσεν αἰχμῇ.
Καί τις ὑπὸ σκιόεντι δόμῳ κεκρυμμένος ἀνήρ,
ξεῖνος ἐών, ἐκάλεσσεν ὀιόμενος φίλον εἶναι·
νήπιος, οὐ μὲν ἔμελλεν ἐνηέι φωτὶ μιγῆναι,
580 ξείνια δ᾽ ἐχθρὰ κόμισσεν· ὑπὲρ τέγεος δέ τις ἄλλος

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553 θεσμοῖσιν (F): Gerlaud, Dubielzig. δεσμοῖσιν (N): Livrea. **555** ὀφειλόμενον (F): Weinberger (1896, 151), Gerlaud, Campbell (*Lex.*, p. 214, APP 555), Dubielzig. ὀφειλομένῳ (*b*): Livrea, West (1983, 185). **558** ῥιγεδαναί (*b*): Campbell (*Lex.*, p. 214, APP 558), Dubielzig. ῥιγεδανῶς (F): Gerlaud. **559** οἷα θύελλα (*b*): Gerlaud, Livrea, Campbell (*Lex. s.v.* οἷος/οἷός τε), Dubielzig. ἠὺ θύελλα (F). **578** Codd. ἐών. Corr. Campbell (*Lex.*, p. 214, APP 578) ἑκών. **582** βεβαρηότες (F): Gerlaud, Campbell (*Lex. s.v.* βαρέω), Dubielzig. βεβολιότες (*b*): corr. βεβοληότες Livrea.

μή πω παπταίνων τι θοῷ διέπιπτεν ὀιστῷ.
Καί τινες ἀλγεινῷ κραδίην βεβαρηότες οἴνῳ,
ἐκπλαγέες ποτὶ δοῦπον, ἐπειγόμενοι καταβῆναι
κλίμακος ἐξελάθοντο καθ᾽ ὑψηλῶν τε μελάθρων
585 ἔκπεσον ἀγνώσσοντες, ἐπαυχενίους δὲ λυθέντες
ἀστραγάλους ἐάγησαν, ὁμοῦ δ᾽ ἐξήρυγον οἶνον.
Πολλοὶ δ᾽ εἰς ἕνα χῶρον ἀολλέες ἐκτείνοντο
μαρνάμενοι, πολλοὶ δὲ διωκόμενοι κατὰ πύργων
ἤριπον εἰς ἍΙιδαο πανύστατον ἅλμα θορόντες.
590 Παῦροι δὲ στεινῆς διὰ κοιλάδος, οἷά τε φῶρες,
πατρίδος ὀλλυμένης ἔλαθον χειμῶνα φυγόντες.
Οἱ δ᾽ ἔνδον πολέμῳ <τε> καὶ ἀχλύι κυμαίνοντες,
ἀνδράσιν οἰχομένοισι καὶ οὐ φεύγουσιν ὁμοῖοι,
πῖπτον ἐπ᾽ ἀλλήλοισι· πόλις δ᾽ οὐ χάνδανε λύθρον
595 ἀνδρῶν χηρεύουσα, περιπλήθουσα δὲ νεκρῶν.
Οὐδέ τι φειδωλή τις ἐγίνετο· φοιταλέῃ δὲ
σπερχόμενοι μάστιγι φιλαγρύπνοιο Κυδοιμοῦ
οὐδὲ θεῶν ὄπιν εἶχον, ἀθεσμοτάτης ὑπὸ ῥιπῆς
ἀθανάτων ἔχραινον ἀπενθέας αἵματι βωμούς.
600 Οἰκτρότατοι δὲ γέροντες ἀτιμοτάτοισι φόνοισιν
οὐδ᾽ ὀρθοὶ κτείνοντο, χαμαὶ δ᾽ ἱκετήσια γυῖα
τεινάμενοι πολιοῖσι κατεκλίνοντο καρήνοις.
Πολλὰ δὲ νήπια τέκνα μινυνθαδίων ἀπὸ μαζῶν
μητέρος ἡρπάζοντο καὶ οὐ νοέοντα τοκήων
605 ἀμπλακίας ἀπέτινον· ἀνημέλκτου δὲ γάλακτος
παιδὶ μάτην ὀρέγουσα χοὰς ἐκόμισσε τιθήνη.
Οἰωνοί τε κύνες τε κατὰ πτόλιν ἄλλοθεν ἄλλοι,
ἠέριοι πεζοί τε συνέστιοι εἰλαπινασταί,
αἷμα μέλαν πίνοντες ἀμείλιχον ἕλκον ἐδωδήν,
610 καὶ τῶν μὲν κλαγγὴ φόνον ἔπνεεν, οἱ δ᾽ ὑλάοντες
ἄγρια κοπτομένοισιν ἐπ᾽ ἀνδράσιν ὠρύοντο,
νηλέες, οὐδ᾽ ἀλέγιζον ἑοὺς ἐρύοντες ἄνακτας.
Τὼ δὲ γυναιμανέος ποτὶ δώματα Δηιφόβοιο

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585 Corr. λυθέντας Campbell (*Lex.*, pp. 214–15, APP 585). **592** τε add. Gerlaud, Livrea, Dubielzig. **593** ἀνδράσιν οἰχομένοισι (F): Gerlaud, Campbell (*Lex. s.v.* οἴχομαι), Chuvin (1985, 128). ἀνδράσι νηχομένοις (*b*): corr. ἀνδράσι νηχομένοισι Livrea, Dubielzig. **609** ἕλκον (*b*): Gerlaud, Livrea. εἶχον (F): Campbell (*Lex.*, p. 215, APP 609), Dubielzig.

στελλέσθην Ὀδυσεύς τε καὶ εὐχαίτης Μενέλαος
615 καρχαλέοισι λύκοισιν ἐοικότες, οἵ θ᾽ ὑπὸ νύκτα
χειμερίην φονόωντες ἀσημάντοις ἐπὶ μήλοις
οἴχονται, κάματον δὲ κατατρύχουσι νομήων.
Ἔνθα δύω περ ἐόντες ἀπειρεσίοισιν ἔμιχθεν
ἀνδράσι δυσμενέεσσι· νέη δ᾽ ἠγείρετο χάρμη
620 τῶν μὲν ἐπορνυμένων, τῶν δ᾽ ὑψόθεν ἐκ θαλάμοιο
βαλλόντων λιθάκεσσι καὶ ὠκυμόροισιν ὀιστοῖς.
Ἀλλὰ καὶ ὧς ὑπέροπλα καρήατα πυργώσαντες
ἀρρήκτοις κορύθεσσι καὶ ἀσπίσι κυκλώσαντες
εἰσέθορον μέγα δῶμα· καὶ ἀντίβιον μὲν ὅμιλον,
625 θῆρας δειμαλέους, ἐλάων ἐδάιξεν Ὀδυσσεύς·
Ἀτρεΐδης δ᾽ ἑτέρωθεν ὑποπτήξαντα διώξας
Δηίφοβον κατέμαρψε, μέσην κατὰ γαστέρα τύψας
ἦπαρ ὀλισθηρῇσι συνεξέχεεν χολάδεσσιν.
Ὣς ὁ μὲν αὐτόθι κεῖτο λελασμένος ἱπποσυνάων,
630 τῷ δ᾽ ἕπετο τρομέουσα δορυκτήτη παράκοιτις,
ἄλλοτε μὲν χαίρουσα κακῶν ἐπὶ τέρματι μόχθων,
ἄλλοτε δ᾽ αἰδομένη, τοτὲ δ᾽ ὀψέ περ ὡς ἐν ὀνείρῳ
λαθρίδιον στενάχουσα φίλης μιμνήσκετο πάτρης.
Αἰακίδης δὲ γέροντα Νεοπτόλεμος βασιλῆα
635 πήμασι κεκμηῶτα παρ᾽ Ἑρκείῳ κτάνε βωμῷ
οἶκτον ἀπωσάμενος πατρώιον· οὐδὲ λιτάων
ἔκλυεν, οὐ Πηλῆος ὁρώμενος ἥλικα χαίτην
ᾗδέσαθ᾽, ἧς ὕπο θυμὸν ἀπέκλασεν ἠδὲ γέροντος
καί περ ἐὼν βαρύμηνις ἐφείσατο τὸ πρὶν Ἀχιλλεύς.
640 Σχέτλιος, ᾗ μὲν ἔμελλε καὶ αὐτῷ πότμος ὁμοῖος
ἑσπέσθαι παρὰ βωμὸν ἀλαθέος Ἀπόλλωνος

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624 Codd. ἀντίβιον: Gerlaud, Livrea, Dubielzig. Corr. ἀντιβίων Wernicke (*Triph.* 462), West (1983, 185), Campbell (*Lex.*, p. 215, APP 524–5). **625** θῆρας (F): Gerlaud, Livrea, Dubielzig. Corr. θὴρ ἄτε Koechly. Corr. ἀντιβίων …/ πῦρ ἄτε δειμαλέων Campbell (*Lex.*, p. 215, APP 624–5). **625** ἐλάων (codd.): Gerlaud, Livrea. Corr. ἐφέπων, κλονέων Campbell (*Lex.*, p. 215, APP 624–5). Corr. ἅτ᾽ ἀγρεύς Dubielzig. **626** ὑποτμήξαντα (*b*), ἀποτμήξαντα (F). Corr. ὑποπτήξαντα Gerlaud, Livrea, Campbell (*Lex. s.v.* ὑποπτήσσω); ἀποπτήξαντα Dubielzig. **627** Inser. Dubielzig 627a <ἀλλ᾽ ὅ γε κάππεσε δουρὶ δαμεὶς καὶ δεινὰ βοήσας>. **641** ἀλαθέος (F): Wernicke (*Triph.*, 468–9), Gerlaud, Campbell (*Lex.*, p. 215, APP 641), Dubielzig. ἀληθοῦς (*b*): corr. ἀληθέος Frischlin.

ὕστερον, ὁππότε μιν, ζαθέου δηλήμονα νηοῦ,
Δελφὸς ἀνὴρ ἐλάσας ἱερῇ κατέπεφνε μαχαίρῃ.
Ἡ δὲ κυβιστήσαντα διηερίων ἀπὸ πύργων –
645 χειρὸς Ὀδυσσῆος ὀλοὸν βέλος – ἀθρήσασα
Ἀνδρομάχῃ μινύωρον ἐκώκυεν Ἀστυάνακτα.
Κασσάνδρην δ᾽ ᾗσχυνεν Ὀιλῆος ταχὺς Αἴας
Παλλάδος ἀχράντοιο θεῆς ὑπὸ γοῦνα πεσοῦσαν·
ἡ δὲ βίην ἀνένευσε καὶ ἡ τὸ πρόσθεν ἀρηγὼν
650 ἀνθ᾽ ἑνὸς Ἀργείοισιν ἐχώσατο πᾶσιν Ἀθήνη.
Αἰνείαν δ᾽ ἔκλεψε καὶ Ἀγχίσην Ἀφροδίτη
οἰκτείρουσα γέροντα καὶ υἱέα, τῆλε δὲ πάτρης
Αὐσονίην ἀπένασσε· θεῶν δ᾽ ἐτελείετο βουλή,
Ζηνὸς ἐπαινήσαντος, ἵνα κράτος ἄφθιτον εἴη
655 παισὶ καὶ υἱωνοῖσιν ἀρηιφίλης Ἀφροδίτης.
Τέκνα δὲ καὶ γενεὴν Ἀντήνορος ἀντιθέοιο
Ἀτρεΐδης ἐφύλαξε, φιλοξείνοιο γέροντος,
μειλιχίης προτέρης μεμνημένος ἠδὲ τραπέζης
κείνης, ᾗ μιν ἔδεκτο γυνὴ πρηεῖα Θεανώ.
660 Δειλὴ Λαοδίκη, σὲ δὲ πατρίδος ἐγγύθι γαίης
γαῖα περιπτύξασα κεχηνότι δέξατο κόλπῳ·
οὐδέ σε Θησεΐδης Ἀκάμας οὐδ᾽ ἄλλος Ἀχαιῶν
ἤγαγε ληιδίην, ἔθανες δ᾽ ἅμα πατρίδι γαίῃ.
Πᾶσαν δ᾽ οὐκ ἂν ἔγωγε μόθου χύσιν ἀείσαιμι
665 κρινάμενος τὰ ἕκαστα καὶ ἄλγεα νυκτὸς ἐκείνης.
Μουσάων ὅδε μόχθος· ἐγὼ δ᾽ ἅ περ ἵππον ἐλάσσω
τέρματος ἀμφιέλισσαν ἐπιψαύουσαν ἀοιδήν.
Ἄρτι γὰρ ἀντολίηθεν ἀπόσσυτος Ὠκεανοῖο
ἠρέμα λευκαίνουσα κατέγραφεν ἠέρα πολλήν,
670 νύκτα διαρρήξασα μιαιφόνον ἱππότις Ἠώς·
οἱ δ᾽ ἐπαγαλλόμενοι πολέμου ὑπεραυχέι νίκῃ
πάντοσε παπταίνεσκον ἀνὰ πτόλιν εἴ τινες ἄλλοι
κλεπτόμενοι φεύγουσι φόνου πανδήμιον ἄτην.
Ἀλλ᾽ οἱ μὲν δέδμηντο λίνῳ θανάτοιο πανάγρῳ,

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645 Ὀδυσσῆος (codd.): Gerlaud, Livrea. Corr. Dubielzig Ὀδυσσείης. **659** κείνης (F): Wernicke (*Triph.*, 477), Livrea, Campbell (*Lex.*, p. 215, APP 659), Hollis (1990, 351, n. 61), Dubielzig. κοινῆς (*b*): Gerlaud. **665** τὰ ἕκαστα (codd.): Gerlaud, Livrea. Corr. καθ᾽ ἕκαστα Dubielzig. **671** πολέμου (codd.): Gerlaud, Livrea. Corr. πολέμων Dubielzig.

675 ἰχθύες ὣς ἁλίῃσιν ἐπὶ ψαμάθοισι χυθέντες,
ᾬργεῖοι δ᾽ ἀπὸ μὲν μεγάρων νεοτευχέα κόσμον
ἐξέφερον νηῶν <τ᾽> ἀναθήματα πολλὰ δ᾽ ἐρήμων
ἥρπαζον θαλάμων κειμήλια· σὺν δὲ γυναῖκας
ληιδίας σὺν παισὶν ἄγον ποτὶ νῆας ἀνάγκῃ.
680 Τείχεσι δὲ πτολίπορθον ἐπὶ φλόγα θωρήξαντες
ἔργα Ποσειδάωνος ἰῇ συνέχευον ἀυτμῇ·
αὐτοῦ καὶ μέγα σῆμα φίλοις ἀστοῖσιν ἐτύχθη
Ἴλιος αἰθαλόεσσα· πυρὸς δ᾽ ὀλεσίπτολιν ἄτην
Ξάνθος ἰδὼν ἔκλαυσε γόων ἁλιμυρέι πηγῇ,
685 Ἡφαίστῳ δ᾽ ὑπόεικεν ἀτυζόμενος χόλον Ἥρης.
Οἱ δὲ Πολυξείνης ἐπιτύμβιον αἷμα χέαντες
μῆνιν ἱλασσάμενοι τεθνειότος Αἰακίδαο.
Τρωιάδας δὲ γυναῖκας ἐλάγχανον ἄλλά τε πάντα
χρυσὸν ἐμοιρήσαντο καὶ ἄργυρον, οἷσι βαθείας
690 νῆας ἐπαχθήσαντες ἐριγδούπου διὰ πόντου
ἐκ Τροίης ἀνάγοντο μόθον τελέσαντες ᾬαχαιοί.

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677 ἐξέφερον νηῶν ἀναθήματα (codd.): Livrea, Dubielzig. Corr. Merrick, Gerlaud, Campbell (*Lex.*, pp. 215–16, APP 677): ἐξέφερον νηῶν <τ᾽> ἀναθήματα. **686** χέαντες (F): Gerlaud, Livrea, Dubielzig. χέοντες (*b*): corr. χέοντο (Jamot), χέαντο (Campbell *Lex.*, p. 216, APP 686–7). Inser. Wernicke (*Triph.*, 492) 686a: <ἐς πλόον ἐντύνοντο, λιγυπνείοντος ἀήτου>. Inser. Gerlaud: "Les Danaens versent le sang de Polyxène sur le tombeau <d'Achille et obtiennent la possibilité du retour> en apaisant la colère du défunt Éacide". Inser. Dubielzig: 687a <νοστήσειν εὔξαντο λιγὺ πνείουσιν ἀήταις>. **687** ἱλασσάμενοι (F): Gerlaud, Livrea. ἱλασσόμενοι (*b*): Dubielzig. **688** Add. Dubielzig: ἄλλά τε πάντα / 688a <κτήματα δασσάμενοι μεγάλης ὑπὸ χάρματι νίκης> / χρυσὸν ἐμοιρήσαντο.

III. Commentary

Title

F has ἅλωσις ἰλίου, but most manuscripts have ἰλίου ἅλωσις. A similar variation occurs with the title of the poem Nero is said to have sung while Rome was in flames: Suet. *Ner.* 38.2 "Hoc incendium e turre Maecenatiana prospectans laetusque 'flammae,' ut aiebat, 'pulchritudine' Halosin Ilii in illo suo scaenico habitu decantauit"; Tac. *Ann.* 15.38 "peruaserat rumor ipso tempore flagrantis urbis inisse eum domesticam scaenam et cecinisse Troianum excidium"; D.C. 62.18 ὁ Νέρων ἔς τε τὸ ἄκρον τοῦ παλατίου … ἀνῆλθε, καὶ τὴν σκευὴν τὴν κιθαρῳδικὴν λαβὼν ᾖσεν ἅλωσιν, ὡς μὲν αὐτὸς ἔλεγεν, Ἰλίου, ὡς δὲ ἑωρᾶτο, Ῥώμης. Gerlaud prints Ἅλωσις Ἰλίου (also Wernicke *Triph.*; Cuartero Iborra *Triph.*), whereas Livrea and Dubielzig (*Triph.*, 127) prefer Ἰλίου ἅλωσις.

In favour of Ἅλωσις Ἰλίου: S. *Ph.* 61 ἅλωσιν Ἰλίου; Dio Chr. *Or.* 11.34 ἐκεῖ [in the *Odyssey* Homer] δὲ καὶ τὰ περὶ τὸν ἵππον καὶ τὴν ἅλωσιν τῆς Τροίας διεξιόντα τὸν Δημόδοκον ἐν ᾠδῇ δι᾽ ὀλίγων ἐπῶν. A. *Ag.* 589 ἅλωσιν Ἰλίου τ᾽ ἀνάστασιν is not relevant.

On the other hand, Ἰλίου ἅλωσις is the title given in the Suda entry for Triphiodorus (T 1111). Ἰλίου ἅλωσις would mirror Ἰλίου πέρσις, the title of one of the poems of the Trojan Cycle (testimonia and fragments in Bernabé *PEG*), and there are other similar titles, such as Phrynichus' Μιλήτου ἅλωσις (cf. Hdt. 6.21.2). More Greek parallels: Pi. *Paeanes* fr. 52f.81–2 Snell-Maehler Ἰλίου δὲ θῆκεν ἄφαρ / ὀψιτέραν ἅλωσιν; Pl. *Leg.* 685d μέγα γὰρ ἔγκλημα πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἡ τῆς Τροίας ἅλωσις τὸ δεύτερον ἐγεγόνει; Thuc. 1.12.3 μετὰ Ἰλίου ἅλωσιν; Plu. *Mor.* 315a8 μετὰ τὴν Ἰλίου ἅλωσιν. Among Latin authors, see Verg. *A.* 5.626 "Troiae excidium". In Petronius' *Satyricon* the poetaster Eumolpus produces a "Troiae halosis" (89.1).

1–5 Invocation to Calliope

A. Topics
B. Demodocus' and Triphiodorus' Poetic Programmes
C. Inspiration of the Muse
D. Metaphor
E. Conclusive Intervention (664–7)
F. Comparison with the Proems of other Hexametric Poems

A. Topics

The invocation to Calliope introduces the three main themes of the poem: 1) τέρμα, the turning point of the war, brought about by Helenus' prophecies (40–56); 2) λόχον, the stratagem of the wooden horse, including its construction and deployment (57–541); and 3) ἔριν, the final battle (542–691). For their presentation, Triph. adapts the model of the Iliadic proem. There, the main topic is announced and condensed in the first word (*Il.* 1.1 Μῆνιν), and then expanded through a series of relative clauses (1.2–5 ἣ μυρί' Ἀχαιοῖς ἄλγε' ἔθηκε, / πολλὰς δ' ἰφθίμους ψυχὰς Ἄϊδι προΐαψεν / ἡρώων, αὐτοὺς δὲ ἑλώρια τεῦχε κύνεσσιν / οἰωνοῖσί τε πᾶσι). In the *Sack of Troy*, each of the three topics is expanded via a cluster of related notions: 1) Τέρμα πολυκμήτοιο μεταχρόνιον πολέμοιο, 2) λόχον, Ἀργείης ἱππήλατον ἔργον Ἀθήνης, and 3) ἀρχαίην ἔριν ἀνδρῶν. When compared with the topics of the *Iliad* (1.1–2 Μῆνιν … Πηληϊάδεω Ἀχιλῆος / οὐλομένην) and the *Odyssey* (1.1–2 Ἄνδρα … πολύτροπον, ὃς μάλα πολλὰ / πλάγχθη), with their focus on suffering individuals, Triph.'s sound more impersonal and abstract. Where the *Iliad* tells of Achilles' wrath, the *Sack of Troy* opts for a general, more detached picture of the Trojan War.

The choice of topics is inspired by the third song of Demodocus in *Od.* 8 (for recent scholarship on Demodocus' songs, see Rinon 2006; Beck 2012, 29–30, 37–51; Hunter 2012). Having heard him treat the quarrel of Odysseus and Achilles (8.73–82 – on the ideas behind the topic, see Heubeck – West – Hainsworth 1988, p. 351, n. to 75; Fernández Delgado 1989; Nagy 1999, 15ff., 59) and the love affair of Ares and Aphrodite (266–369), Odysseus asks the bard to sing of the wooden horse and how it was taken to Troy:

Od. 8.492–5 ἀλλ᾽ ἄγε δὴ μετάβηθι καὶ ἵππου κόσμον ἄεισον
δουρατέου, τὸν Ἐπειὸς ἐποίησεν σὺν Ἀθήνῃ,
ὅν ποτ᾽ ἐς ἀκρόπολιν δόλον ἤγαγε δῖος Ὀδυσσεύς,
ἀνδρῶν ἐμπλήσας οἳ Ἴλιον ἐξαλάπαξαν.

The song itself is only given in summarised form (499–520): the Greek army leaves Troy, while Odysseus and other leaders, hidden in the horse, attend the assembly in which the Trojans decide what to do with the statue; the Achaeans pour out of the horse and destroy the city; among the many combats of the nyktomachy, Demodocus describes that of Odysseus when he fought his way into Deiphobus' house. For an ancient summary of Demodocus' song, see D. Chr. *Or.* 11.34: ἐκεῖ [in the *Odyssey* Homer] δὲ καὶ τὰ περὶ τὸν ἵππον καὶ τὴν ἅλωσιν τῆς Τροίας διεξιόντα τὸν Δημόδοκον ἐν ᾠδῇ δι᾽ ὀλίγων ἐπῶν. Demodocus' songs were important referents for AR (and more generally for the Hellenistic narrative tradition) as images of his oblique relationship to the Homeric narrative: cf. Albis 1996, 17–21; Fantuzzi – Hunter 2004, 90–1, 193–4. On Demodocus and Triphiodorus, see also Hunter 2012, 88: "it is clear that it is indeed Demodocus' third song which is the principal Homeric, as opposed to cyclic, inspiration for Triphiodorus' poem".

From the Odyssean passage Triph. extracts the protagonists of his poem, the wooden horse and Odysseus. *Od.* 8.492–3 ἵππου κόσμον … / δουρατέου may have referred originally not to the fashioning of the horse, which is not described in the subsequent song, but to a 'well-constructed song about the wooden horse' (see de Jong 2004a, 204; Finkelberg 1998, 124–6). However, like ancient commentators (e.g. *Schol. in Od.* 8.492, p. 395 Dindorf: ἵππου κόσμον] τὴν κατασκευὴν, ἢ τὴν οἰκονομίαν, ἢ τὴν ὑπόθεσιν), Triph. assumes that *Od.* 8.492–3 refers to the construction of the horse by Epeius, inspired by Athena (57–107), and he refers to the resulting statue as λόχον, as in *Od.* 8.515 κοῖλον λόχον. Triph. then narrates the deployment of the snare, starting from the fake flight of the Achaeans and the Trojan debate, just as Demodocus does (*Od.* 8.494 ὅν ποτ᾽ ἐς ἀκρόπολιν δόλον ἤγαγε δῖος Ὀδυσσεύς). ἔριν, the final battle, is only suggested in Odysseus' request (8.495), but the summary of Demodocus' song has him narrating it in detail (8.514–20), including anonymous episodes (516) and one which illustrates Odysseus' fighting stance (517–20).

B. Demodocus' and Triphiodorus' Poetic Programmes

When Odysseus praises Demodocus for his song on the quarrel of Odysseus and Achilles, he does so because λίην … κατὰ κόσμον ᾽Αχαιῶν οἶτον ἀείδεις (*Od.* 8.489). Odysseus then requests a song on the horse, and promises to praise the bard publicly αἴ κεν δή μοι ταῦτα κατὰ μοῖραν καταλέξῃς (496). According to Finkelberg (1994, 124–6), we can infer from these expressions that Demodocus reproduces in his song the order of the events as they took place. Odysseus and the bard are giving programmatic importance to chronological construction, although it is obvious that Homer made a frequent use of both prolepsis and analepsis, which were analysed in detail in the Homeric scholia: see Nünlist 2009, 34–48, 170–2.

If we follow Finkelberg's interpretation of the Homeric passage, we can conclude that Triph. derives his interest in chronological order from the Odyssean passage. He would have taken Odysseus' request literally and not allowed himself to misplace or miss a single event, though he sometimes anticipates the future (Cassandra's prophecies, narratorial comments) or refers to the past (introductions of characters, Cassandra's prophecies).

Even if we do not accept Finkelberg's interpretation, we can still compare the layout of the two songs. Just as Demodocus starts his poem with a summary of previous events (*Od.* 8.500–4: the Achaean heroes, hidden in the horse and guided by Odysseus, are sitting in the place of assembly of the Trojans, *after* the Achaean army has left Troy and burned their camp, and the Trojans have dragged the horse into the citadel), the initial analepsis of the *Sack of Troy* condenses the previous events and the general situation (6–39). This is, of course, the same strategy as is used in *Il.* 1: after invoking the Muse to sing of Achilles' wrath, the poem goes on to trace its origins in Chryses' visit to the Achaean camp.

Demodocus' song also reflects on the futility of the Trojans' decision-making when they are already doomed (511–13 αἶσα γὰρ ἦν ἀπολέσθαι …) , thus presenting supernatural powers as a narrative force. In a similar way, Triph. unravels the plot of his poem as the Trojans' inexorable path towards ruin, interspersed by wasted opportunities to save the city (Triph. 250–7 some Trojans want to destroy the horse; 358–443 Cassandra opposes the entry of the horse in the citadel; 454–96 Aphrodite convinces Helen to tempt the heroes hidden in the

horse). In both poems, the red thread of the song is not war, but fate (αἶσα) ruling men: see Rutherford 2001. Compare the overwhelming presence of personifications of fate in the *Posthomerica*, on which see Gärtner 2007.

Superhuman designs had also been at the heart of Demodocus' song on the quarrel between Odysseus and Achilles (*Od.* 8.81–2 τότε γάρ ῥα κυλίνδετο πήματος ἀρχὴ / Τρωσί τε καὶ Δαναοῖσι Διὸς μεγάλου διὰ βουλάς, 489 Ἀχαιῶν οἶτον), thus proving that they affected both Trojans and Greeks. Triph. makes this clear by suggesting that the Achaean victory is only temporary and that the Achaeans will suffer on their way home (see n. to 506–691, introduction to the nyktomachy). Note also that Demodocus' three performances in *Od.* 8 share a common motif, the victory of intelligence and strategic planning over brute force and impulse (Pralon 1997). This is articulated in the *Sack of Troy* in the victory of the Achaeans' proactive, well-planned performance over the slackness and impulsive craving for freedom characteristic of the Trojans.

Demodocus draws on the constellation of themes related to the Trojan War to choose a specific topic for each song. Thus, whereas QS designed his poem as a slot in a linear legend, designed to fill the gap between the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*, Triph. returned to the notion presented in the *Odyssey*, where the Trojan War is a past experience which professional singers (Demodocus) and protagonists (Odysseus, Helen, Menelaus, Nestor) partially re-perform as an entertainment for a group of banqueters (Macleod 2001, 296).

The context of Demodocus' performances also influences the construction of Triph.'s poem. The singer is entertaining the audience after the meal (*Od.* 8.469–83), which means that the poem cannot be too long. This is one of the reasons why the poet presents himself in the poem as seeking a compromise between the long-windedness typical of Calliope (3–4 πολὺν διὰ μῦθον ἀνεῖσα / ἔννεπε, Καλλιόπεια) and his own haste (3 μοι σπεύδοντι, 5 ταχείῃ λῦσον ἀοιδῇ). Triph.'s commitment to brevity takes shape in his promise to end the poem as soon as the last battle of the war is decided (4b–5), and he sticks to this at the end of the poem: after the catalogue of those Trojans who escape their people's common fate (651–63), he introduces a final narratorial intervention (664–7) and finishes only 24 lines later. In this he may have aimed at setting himself apart from the Homeric poems, in both of

which the conclusion of the main event (Hector's death in the *Iliad*, the punishment of the suitors in the *Odyssey*) did not imply the end of the poem. See n. to 666–7. On the epic dynamics of compression and extension, see Hunter 2012, 83–7, 101–6.

Triph.'s compromise between long-windedness and conciseness also relates to the fashionable duality of the long/short poem, traditionally associated with Callimachus' preface to his *Aitia*, where the poet replies to the criticism of the Telchines for not writing a lengthy poem in celebration of kings and heroes (analysis in Cameron 1995, ch. 11–12; Barbantani 2002–3; Fantuzzi – Hunter 2004, 66–76; Barbantani 2011, 178–9; Harder 2012, II.6–11, followed by detailed commentary). On Triph. and Callimachus, see Koster 1970, 158; Dubielzig *Triph.* 27–8, 130; Agosti 2006, 46–7; De Stefani – Magnelli 2011, 553. On the other hand, D'Ippolito (1976, 26–8) proposes to relate Triph.'s duality to the answer which Aeneas gives to Dido in Verg. *A.* 2.10–13: "Sed si tantus amor casus cognoscere nostros / et breuiter Troiae supremum audire laborem, / quamquam animus meminisse horret luctuque refugit, / incipiam".

Abundant fragments of Callimachus survive from the second and third centuries (cf. Casanova 2006; Lehnus 2011, esp. 30–4), and Callimachean polemics remained popular in late antiquity. The Callimachean *recusatio* of the prologue is the source of inspiration of that of the *Cynegetica* (Costanza 1991), and the influence of the proem of the *Aitia* is perceived too in the inner proem of the *Posthomerica* (12.306–13, on which see Bär 2007, 47–51; De Stefani – Magnelli 2011, 553–4), and the first proem of Nonn. *D.* (cf. Hopkinson 1994b, 9–10). See also *AP* 9.342, 11.347.

Triph. is clearly referring to Callimachus, but we should also bear in mind other notions if we are to understand the poem fully. πολὺν διὰ μῦθον (3) sends the reader to *Il.* 3.212–15, where the different speaking styles of Menelaus and Odysseus are described: Menelaus is fluent, but, not being a man of many words, he values clearness and brevity, and his remarks are straight to the point (3.214–15 παῦρα μὲν ἀλλὰ μάλα λιγέως, ἐπεὶ οὐ πολύμυθος / οὐδ' ἀφαμαρτοεπής – on πολύμυθος see also Tomasso 2012, 387–9), whereas Odysseus' words fall like snowflakes (3.222 ἔπεα νιφάδεσσιν ἐοικότα), abundant and cumulative. This passage turned Menelaus into a paradigm of elliptic and laconic style and Odysseus into one of a long-winded speaker (cf. [DH] *Rhet.*

384.3–7 U.-R.). If Triph. wants to please Odysseus with the poem which he puts in Demodocus' mouth, he may prefer to use a similar style. In other words, he may be brief, but he cannot succumb to dryness or an excessively laconic style.

Demodocus' song has a cathartic effect on Odysseus, who weeps like a woman on hearing the re-enactment of his adventures (*Od.* 8.521–31 – on the role of memory and memories in this passage see Minchin 2012, 95–7). In the Homeric poems, the effect of poetry on listeners is described as delight (τέρπειν) or enchantment (θέλγειν). Poetry is said to produce pleasure even when painful emotions are stirred, because the distance from the events narrated helps us to understand that suffering is common to all men, and so we learn to live with our own (Macleod 2001, 301–7; Nünlist 2009, 139–49). Odysseus' tears work as a sign of appreciation of the realism of Demodocus' song, and when he has recovered from the impact of the song, he tells Alcinous that he has enjoyed it (*Od.* 9.2–11). In the *Sack of Troy*, Triph. reflects on human suffering and the pressure of fate, but he sounds more academic than Demodocus.

C. Inspiration of the Muse

The initial invocation to the Muse was almost mandatory in the *Sack of Troy* because, after Odysseus' request, Demodocus is said to have been inspired to begin his song by a divine force (*Od.* 8.499 ὁ δ' ὁρμηθεὶς θεοῦ ἄρχετο, φαῖνε δ' ἀοιδήν), just as he had been in previous performances (8.43–5, 62–4, 72–5, 479–81, 488). Odysseus also establishes a direct connection between divine inspiration and the authenticity of the song: 8.487–91 (Odysseus on Demodocus' previous song: I know that you are inspired by a god, because you sing the fate of the Achaeans as if you had been present or had heard it from somebody who was), 496–8 (Odysseus to Demodocus: αἴ κεν δή μοι ταῦτα κατὰ μοῖραν καταλέξῃς, / αὐτίκ' ἐγὼ πᾶσιν μυθήσομαι ἀνθρώποισιν / ὡς ἄρα τοι πρόφρων θεὸς ὤπασε θέσπιν ἀοιδήν). As de Jong (2006, 192) puts it, "the Muses add the authenticity of an eye-witness report to mortal hearsay stories".

The presence of the Muse guarantees authenticity, but also the vividness (ἐνάργεια) that recreates the events before the eyes of the listener (Macleod 2001, 300). Demodocus makes Odysseus cry not because his account is true to reality, but because he makes it so vivid that

Odysseus re-experiences it. Triph. asks the Muse for help to make his rendition of the poem a living, visual and visible experience.

By impersonating Demodocus and claiming for himself the inspiration of the Muse, Triph. enhances his role as a poet. Demodocus is not a blind bard who moves from place to place singing in exchange for food, but Scheria's resident singer, highly appreciated because his blindness is amply compensated for by his talent. He is honoured because he preserves the memories of the exploits of the men in his community, because he is the inspired singer who interprets and re-performs the past. His presence is requested at banquets and parties, where he sings beautiful tales which provide pleasure to his audiences. On the Homeric bard as a singer of tales, a purveyor of pleasure and a preserver of traditions, see Segal 1992.

It would be naive to think that Triph. could not start his poem with a vague invocation to the Muse, because as a γραμματικός he knew that of the nine Muses named by Hesiod (*Th.* 75–80), Calliope was the patroness of the epic. Certainly, Calliope had come to represent poetry in general (*AP* 11. 373.1 [Palladas] Πάντων μουσοπόλων ἡ Καλλιόπη θεός ἐστιν) and catalogues with the names and activities of the Muses were used at schools, and we have two stylised versions of them in *AP* 9.504 and 505 (on which see Rossi 2002, 167–70 – see also *AP* 9.523: Καλλιόπη πολύμυθε μελισσοβότου Ἑλικῶνος, / τίκτε μοι ἄλλον Ὅμηρον, ἐπεὶ μόλεν ἄλλος Ἀχιλλεύς), but the choice here is related to the poet's understanding of the genre.

In the first place, in Antiquity it was generally accepted that with *Il.* 1.1 θεά and *Od.* 1.1 Μοῦσα Homer meant Calliope ([Mosch.] *Bion* 71–2 Ὅμηρος, / τῆνο τὸ Καλλιόπας γλυκερὸν στόμα; Maxim. Tyre 1.2; *Schol. in Od.* 1.1.j [Pontani 2007] Μοῦσα] ὦ θεὰ Καλλιόπη, ἤγουν ὦ γνῶσις· τὴν γνῶσιν αὐτοῦ νῦν καλεῖ. Y / ὦ γνῶσις HP / Καλλιόπη BIT – also mentioned by Tomasso 2012, 386–7).Triph. appeals to the Muse of epic poetry (Calliope) because of the epic contents of the poem (the Trojan war), just as AR, in the proem to his third book (3.1–5) appeals to Erato, because of the erotic subject matter of the book. Similarly, the poet of the *Cynegetica*, writing didactic poetry, makes a joint call to Calliope and Artemis and vows to avoid Bacchic, heroic, warlike and erotic topics (Opp. *C.* 1.17ff.).

D. Metaphor

In the *Sack of Troy*, both the proem and the final narratorial intervention (664–7) develop the image of the poet as a charioteer and poetry as the chariot and horses that he drives. The metaphor builds on descriptions of chariot racing, explaining the importance of the turns, mainly *Il.* 22.162–6, 23.301–40: just as the charioteer's victory depends upon his skill in going round the critical turning-post, so does the poet's victory depend upon his ability in dealing with the crucial points in the poem. In the Trojan War, the turning point is marked by Helenus' prophecies, which bring about the construction of the horse, the starting signal for the final battle.

A quick horse race suits a short poem, just as a marathon, or any long-distance run in which velocity is balanced with endurance (cf. Lyc. *Alex.* 13–15, 1467–72), would be appropriate for a longer poem. If the plot of the *Sack of Troy* is to resemble a racecourse, it must be clearly marked, not only physically with the turning posts, but also with rules. The circularity of the track forces horse and driver to go back to the beginning, and so does the poet in his conclusive intervention, when he revisits his initial promise (664–7). This race will be one of many for the charioteer, all of them following a well-known track, under the critical eye of the public. Similarly this is one of the poet's songs, all of them to be judged by listeners or readers according to the traditional rules of epic.

There may be a Homeric referent in the use of spatial vocabulary to describe epic narrative (e.g. οἶμος / οἴμη in *Od.* 8.73–4, on which see Strauss Clay 2007, 248–9), but it is too distant. Triph. does not seem to refer either to Apollo's request to Callimachus that he should take his chariot down untrodden paths (*Aitia* book 1, fr. 1.25–8 Pf. = Harder 2012, book 1, fr. 1): πρὸς δέ σε] καὶ τόδ᾽ ἄνωγα, τὰ μὴ πατέουσιν ἅμαξαι / τὰ στείβε͵ιν, ἑτέρων ἴχνια μὴ καθ᾽ ὁμά / δίφρον ἐλ]ᾷν μηδ᾽ οἶμον ἀνὰ πλατύν, ἀλλὰ κελεύθους / ἀτρίπτο]υς, εἰ καὶ στει͵ι͵νοτέρην ἐλάσεις. The Panopolitan probably adapted his metaphor from the one linking the prologue and epilogue of Lycophron's *Alexandra*: 13–15 Ἐγὼ δ᾽ ἄκραν βαλβῖδα μηρίνθου σχάσας / ἄνειμι λοξῶν ἐς διεξόδους ἐπῶν, / πρώτην ἀράξας νύσσαν, ὡς πτηνὸς δρομεύς (on the meaning of νύσσα here, see Negri 2009, 181–7), 1469–71 ἐπεί μ᾽ ἔταξας …/ καὶ πάντα φράζειν κἀναπεμπάζειν λόγον / ἐτητύμως ἄψορρον ὥτρυνας τρόχιν (with analysis in Looi-

jenga 2009, 76). Later on, Nonnus seems to draw on a similar idea in *D.* 19.153–5 ἡμετέρη γὰρ / νύσσα χορός, βαλβῖδες ἐπισκιρτήματα ταρσῶν, / χεὶρ τροχαλὴ καὶ σκαρθμὸς ἕλιξ (cf. comm. in Gerbeau – Vian 1992, 76–7, 88; Gigli Piccardi 1985, 251–2). Compare also Claudian's preface to *Rapt.* 1, featuring the poet as a sailor who grows gradually bolder until at last he ventures into the open sea, the poem being a long sea voyage.

E. Conclusive Intervention (664–7)

Three elements present in the proem (the invocation to the Muse, the metaphor of the horse race and the end of the final battle as the signal to bring the poem to a close) recur in lines 664–7. There are also clear word-by-word parallels: 1 τέρμα ~ 667 τέρματος, 1 πολυκμήτοιο ~ 664–5 Πᾶσαν … μόθου χύσιν …/… τὰ ἕκαστα καὶ ἄλγεα νυκτὸς ἐκείνης, 2 ἱππήλατον ~ 666 ἵππον ἐλάσσω, 3 μοι ~ 666 ἐγὼ, 4 Καλλιόπεια ~ 666 Μουσάων, 5 κεκριμένου ~ 665 κρινάμενος, 5 ἀοιδῇ ~ 667 ἀοιδήν.

Something similar happens in the introductory and concluding lines of Lyc. *Alex.* (Looijenga 2009, 60, 75–6), linked by lexical coherence (ἀναπεμπάζω in lines 9 and 1470; 6 φοιβάζω ~ 1468 φοιβαστρία; 14 λοξῶν … ἐπῶν ~ 1466–7 δυσφράστως … λοξόν; 11 τυλίσσων ~ 1466 ἑλικτὰ … ἔπη) and the imagery of the messenger as an athletic runner (13–15, 1467–72). Considering that both poems reproduce the long speech given by a mythical character (Priam's servant / Demodocus) as a response to someone else's (Priam's / Odysseus') demand for information (Cassandra's prophecies / the construction of the horse and the sack of Troy), Triph.'s wink towards Lycophron has an added meaning.

Lines 664–7 cannot be considered a 'proem in the middle' (Conte 1992), because they do not aim to ease the transition to the second half of the work or to another book; nor do they offer a specific declaration of poetics, for which they rely completely on the initial invocation to the Muse (1–5). It would be better to describe them as a conclusive narratorial intervention, reflecting the interruption of Demodocus' song in the *Odyssey.* There, on seeing Odysseus moved to tears (8.521–34), Alcinous asks the bard to bring his song to an end because it is not pleasing to their visitor: 8.537–8 Δημόδοκος δ᾽ ἤδη σχεθέτω φόρμιγγα λίγειαν· / οὐ γάρ πως πάντεσσι χαριζόμενος τάδ᾽ ἀείδει, 542 ἀλλ᾽ ἄγ᾽

ὁ μὲν σχεθέτω, ἵν᾽ ὁμῶς τερπώμεθα πάντες. The pattern is frequent enough in the *Odyssey* for Parry (1987, 455–7) to refer to the theme of 'the interrupted song', occurring when singers like Phemius or Demodocus are interrupted before the end of their songs (*Od.* 1.328–64, 4.17, 8.83–103, 8.537). There are several other interruptions of non-professional songs and other interruption patterns in the *Od.*, on which see Rabel 2002.

F. Comparison with the Proems of other Hexametric Poems

QS's *Posthomerica* lacks the initial invocation of the Muse. The poem is introduced with an εὖτε which hints at the *Iliad*, without establishing a real sequence between the two poems. The absence of the Muse is filled in with the references to Penthesilea, and the πένθος evoked by the latter reinforces the decline of the glory that the Muse represents (see Bouvier 2005). While Triphiodorus tries to embed his poem in a certain performance described in the *Odyssey*, QS writes no proem so that his *Posthomerica* can be read as 'still' the *Iliad* (Maciver 2012a, 27–33).

In the 'Binnenproömium' (12.306–13 – analysis in Bär 2007, 40–51; Maciver 2012a, 33–8; Maciver 2012b, 65–8), built on Homeric (*Il.* 2.484–92), Hesiodic (*Th.* 22–8) and Callimachean (proem of the *Aitia*) references, Quintus presents himself as a poet from Smyrna who was hesiodically called by the Muses to sing poetry. Smyrna claimed to be the birthplace of Homer, which means that QS is claiming Homer, Hesiod and Callimachus as his poetic and inspirational ancestors.

In the long initial proemia of the *Halieutica* (1.1–79) and the *Cynegetica* (1.1–80), the Muse and other divinities who might help with inspiration (*H.* 1.73–9, *C.* 1.77–80) come only third in importance after the dedication to the emperors (*H.* 1.1–11, *C.* 1.1–15, 43–6) and the topic in question (both include a σύγκρισις between hunting and fishing: *H.* 1.12–55, *C.* 47–76). Both Oppians discuss the appropriate mood for the poem, in the *H.* through a description of a fishing party at the royal fish pond (1.56–72), and in the *C.* through a dialogue on the topic of the poem and the correct approach (1.16–40). The invocations to favourable divinities (*H.* 3.1–28; *C.* 2.1–4, 3.1–6, 4.21–4) and to the emperors to whom the poets dedicate their works (*H.* 2.680–8, 5.1–10; *C.* 4.20–4) recur later in the poems in the manner of inner proemia. Like QS, both Oppians give details of their origins: the poet of the *H.* comes from Cilicia (3.7–10, 205–9), and the author of the *C.* says that he is from Apa-

mea in Syria (2.125–7). On the proems of the *Cynegetica*, see Agosta 2009, 7–18. For further discussion of the proems in Imperial epics, see Brioso 1996.

When compared with the proems of epic poems of his time, Triph.'s stands out for its compactness and the absence of biographical details. The former is a result of his aim to write a concise poem, while the latter is the natural consequence of his impersonation of Demodocus. In a few respects Triph. is closer to Lycophron. In the first place, both present their poems as speeches of a third character who is not described: a slave reports to Priam Cassandra's words in the *Alexandra*, and Demodocus sings for Odysseus the final part of the Trojan War in the *Sack of Troy*. Secondly, both the singer and the slave insist on the accuracy of their speeches (Lyc. *Alex.* 1–2 λέξω τὰ πάντα νητρεκῶς, ἅ μ᾽ ἱστορεῖς, / ἀρχῆς ἀπ᾽ ἄκρας, 1471 ἐτητύμως; Triph. 1–5) and consider their length (Lyc. *Alex.* 2–3 ἢν δὲ μηκυνθῇ λόγος, / σύγγνωθι, δέσποτ᾽, with Looijenga 2009, 64; Triph. 3 πολὺν διὰ μῦθον, 5 ταχείῃ … ἀοιδῇ).

1 Τέρμα πολυκμήτοιο μεταχρόνιον πολέμοιο. Triph.'s topic is not the Trojan War *per se*, but its unravelling, starting with "the long-delayed [μεταχρόνιον] turning point [τέρμα] of the war that caused much toil [πολυκμήτοιο]". This moment arrives when, after capturing Helenus, the Trojan seer, and hearing his predictions about the end of the war (43–50), the Achaeans bring to Troy Neoptolemus to act as the *alter ego* of his father Achilles (51–4), steal the Palladion to secure Athena's help (55–6), and build the wooden horse (57–107). The burst of activity following Helenus' predictions brings to an end the relentless attrition of the previous ten years (6–39).

Parallels with the proems of the Homeric poems are easy to spot. In the *Iliad* the theme is Achilles' wrath and not Achilles himself (*Il.* 1.1 μῆνιν … ᾿Αχιλῆος), and so the poem does not have one clear protagonist. In the *Sack of Troy* the τέρμα … πολέμοιο prevents the song of the poet from focusing on one particular character. Both Homer's and Triph.'s subjects are chosen because of their consequences. Achilles' μῆνις is οὐλομένη, causes the Achaeans abundant pain (*Il.* 1.2) and sends the souls of many heroes down to Hades (3–4). In the *Sack of Troy* the τέρμα … πολέμοιο is chosen because it is **πολυκμήτοιο** (cf. QS 7.424 ἴομεν ἐς πολέμοιο πολυκμήτοιο κυδοιμόν, Nonn. *D.* 40.282–3 πολυκμήτοιο λιπόντες / μνῆστιν ὅλου πολέμοιο).

πολυκμήτοιο … πολέμοιο matches the extreme suffering projected in the proem of the *Od.*: 1.1–2 ἄνδρα … πολύτροπον, ὃς μάλα πολλὰ / πλάγχθη.

Τέρμα and νύσσα refer in the Homeric poems to the post which marks the turning point in a horse race (cf. Delebecque 1951, 204). Particularly significant in this respect is *Il.* 23.301–40, Nestor's advice to Antilochus when he is about to take part in a race: he says that the good charioteer makes up for his bad horses with his skill in rounding the turning-post, scraping it without knocking the chariot over (see esp. 309, 334–41, 344–5; reshaped in Nonn. *D.* 37.205–6, 211–15). Triph. alludes to this passage in the inner proem (669b–70). The post-Homeric meaning of τέρμα is 'final limit', 'end' (cf. LSJ and Campbell *Lex. s.v.*), which would generate a pun, with the first word of the poem referring to the end of the war (see Gerlaud *Triph.*, p. 103, n. to 1).

The mention of the τέρμα 'turning point' adds an extra justification for the chosen starting point, and the equestrian metaphor makes particular sense in a poem on the wooden horse. Compare the mention of the starting point in the proem with *Od.* 1.10 τῶν ἁμόθεν γε, θεά, θύγατερ Διός, εἰπὲ καὶ ἡμῖν, 8.500–1 ἔνθεν ἑλὼν ὡς οἱ μὲν ἐϋσσέλμων ἐπὶ νηῶν / βάντες ἀπέπλειον; AR 1.1–2 Ἀρχόμενος σέο, Φοῖβε, παλαιγενέων κλέα φωτῶν / μνήσομαι, 3.1b–2 καί μοι ἔνισπε, / ἔνθεν ὅπως ἐς Ἰωλκὸν ἀνήγαγε κῶας Ἰήσων.

μεταχρόνιος means here 'long-delayed' (as in Luc. *Salt.* 80 τὰ πράγματα δὲ μετάχρονα ἢ πρόχρονα), instead of the usual 'high in the air' (Hes. *Th.* 269; AR 2.300), a synonym of μετέωρος (Ap. Soph. *s.v.* μεταχρόνιον· μετέωρον). The sentence can be compared with Triph. 381 (Cassandra's prophecy on the end of the war) ἀμβολιεργὸν ἔτος πολέμοιο λυθέντος; QS 14.117 Ἠνύσαμεν πολέμοιο μακρὸν τέλος. See Wernicke *Triph.*, 39–41; Campbell *Lex. s.v.*; Monaco 2007, 158–9.

2 καὶ λόχον, Ἀργείης ἱππήλατον ἔργον Ἀθήνης: the key element in the turning point of the war is the construction of the wooden horse (57–107), presented from the beginning as Athena's work (ἔργον Ἀθήνης). Compare for the phrasing E. *Tr.* 560–1 λόχου δ' ἐξέβαιν' Ἄρης, / κόρας ἔργα Παλλάδος. λόχος 'snare, ambush' is used to describe the horse in the three Odyssean passages where it is mentioned (4.277 = 8.515 κοῖλον λόχον, 11.525 πυκινὸν λόχον) and recurs in

Triph. (92, 120, 201, 382, 539). The pun on λόχιος 'relative to childbirth' is developed later in the poem (see n. to 376–90; Rodari 1985).

Ἀργείης … Ἀθήνης is a transposition of *Il.* 4.8 = 5.908 Ἥρη τ' Ἀργείη καὶ Ἀλαλκομενηΐς Ἀθήνη (cf. Weinberger 1896, 156). Triph. insists from the very proemium that the Achaeans depend on Athena's help to win the war, a notion that recurs later in the poem (111–14, 184–8, 331–2, 487–97, 566–7). Athena will eventually withdraw her protection when she becomes angry at the rape of Cassandra (647–50), and the subsequent Greek disaster will expose the vulnerability of the Achaeans when they lack divine help.

The cluster **ἱππήλατον ἔργον** makes a new use of the adjective originally reserved places (*Od.* 4.607 οὐ γάρ τις νήσων ἱππήλατος; 13.242 ἦ τοι μὲν τρηχεῖα καὶ οὐχ ἱππήλατός ἐστιν; Theocr. *Id.* 24.131 ἱππήλατον Ἄργος). ἱππήλατος plays on the equestrian nature of the work (ἔργον) built under the inspiration of Argive Athena (Ἀργείης … Ἀθήνης – 57–8), but also driven (ἐλαύνειν) by her to cause the destruction of Troy: 331b–2 βίην δ' ἐπέρεισεν Ἀθήνη / χεῖρας ἐπιβρίσασα νεογλυφέων ἐπὶ μηρῶν. The phraseological parallel with the final narratorial intervention also establishes a link with the metaphor of the poem as a chariot driven by the poet (666b–7 ἐγὼ δ' ἅ περ ἵππον ἐλάσσω / τέρματος ἀμφιέλισσαν ἐπιψαύουσαν ἀοιδήν). Cf. Monaco 2007, 159.

Dubielzig (*Triph.*, 128) suggests a chiastic combination λόχον … ἱππήλατον, creating a structural parallelism with the first line (cf. Nonn. *D.* 37.105 τέρμα δρόμου τελέσας ἱππήλατον). Compare also Triph. 92 λόχον κλυτόπωλον Ἀχαιῶν.

3–4a αὐτίκα μοι σπεύδοντι πολὺν διὰ μῦθον ἀνεῖσα / ἔννεπε, Καλλιόπεια: line 3 is omitted in the oldest manuscript (F) and its problematic construction has given rise to several interpretations (see Dubielzig *Triph.*, 128–9; Montes Cala 1989): 1. διά should be read in tmesis with ἀνεῖσα, with πολὺν … μῦθον as object; 2. πολὺν διὰ μῦθον is an adverbial (local, causal or modal) turn of phrase to be taken a) with σπεύδοντι, b) with ἀνεῖσα. Campbell (*Lex.*, p. 207, APP. 3) considers ἀνύσσαι instead of ἀνεῖσα ("to me who strive to reach the end through a long story"). But there is no need for correction. Lines 1–4a go as follows: "The long-delayed turning point of a war that caused much toil and the ambush, Argive Athena's equestrian work, Calliope, letting it

go through a long speech, tell me at once because I am eager". Thus τέρμα and λόχον are the objects of both ἔννεπε and ἀνεῖσα, and the two individuals taking part in the composition of the poem are opposed and divided by the feminine caesura. On one side, the Muse's contribution is effortless, as she simply releases the song, setting it loose in the shape of a long speech (cf. ἀνεῖσα – on which see Monaco 2007, 184–6 – and 5 λῦσον). On the other hand, αὐτίκα μοι σπεύδοντι describes the poet's eagerness, haste and strain: compare the meaning of the verb in *Il.* 4.225, 11.118–19, 13.235–6, 15.402, 17.744–5, 18.472; 23.414, 506, 767. On σπεύδω in the *Sack of Troy*, see Campbell *Lex.*, *s.v.* The construction of the sentence reminds us of AR's inner proems: 3.1 Εἰ δ᾽ ἄγε νῦν, Ἐρατώ, παρά θ᾽ ἵστασο, καί μοι ἔνισπε; 4.1–2 Αὐτὴ νῦν κάματόν γε, θεά, καὶ δήνεα κούρης / Κολχίδος ἔννεπε, Μοῦσα, Διὸς τέκος.

(Τέρμα … μοι …) **ἔννεπε, Καλλιόπεια** is built after *Od.* 1.1 Ἄνδρα μοι ἔννεπε, Μοῦσα, so maintaining a balance with other references to the *Iliad*. Καλλιόπεια is an adjectival formation built on the etymological reading of Καλλιόπη as a maiden with a beautiful voice (ὄψ), used in several other late antique poets: *Arg. Orph.* 683 περίφρων Καλλιόπεια; Nonn. *D.* 13.430, 22.190, 22.323; *AP* 4.3.107 (Agathias) εὐμύθοιο … Καλλιοπείης.

4b–5 καὶ ἀρχαίην ἔριν ἀνδρῶν / κεκριμένου πολέμοιο ταχείῃ λῦσον ἀοιδῇ points again to the proem of the *Iliad* (1.5–7 Διὸς δ᾽ ἐτελείετο βουλή, / ἐξ οὗ δὴ τὰ πρῶτα διαστήτην ἐρίσαντε / Ἀτρεΐδης τε ἄναξ ἀνδρῶν καὶ δῖος Ἀχιλλεύς; in the *Iliad*, ἔρις means mostly battle-strife (cf. LSJ *s.v.* ἔρις I). Personified Ἔρις ('Strife') is one of the forces that stir the Greeks at the beginning of the final battle (562–3 Σὺν δ᾽ Ἔρις οὐρανόμηκες ἀναστήσασα κάρηνον / Ἀργείους ὀρόθυνεν). Compare also *Od.* 18.263–4: on leaving Ithaca, Odysseus does not know whether he will eventually come back, since the Trojans are skilled warriors, οἵ τε τάχιστα / ἔκριναν μέγα νεῖκος ὁμοιΐου πολέμοιο.

ἀρχαίην ἔριν: compare Lyc. *Alex.* 1362 ἀρχαίαν ἔριν. **κεκριμένου πολέμοιο**: insists on the notion of τέρμα, the turning point of the battle, the moment when its outcome is decided. Compare Pi. *N.* 4.1 πόνων κεκριμένων (pointed out by Cannatà Fera 2003, 196), and several Homeric parallels suggested by Gerlaud (*Triph.*, p. 104, n. to 4–5), such as *Il.* 2.385 στυγερῷ κρινώμεθ᾽ Ἄρηϊ, 18.209 στυγερῷ κρίνονται

Ἄρηϊ; *Od.* 18.264 ἔκριναν μέγα νεῖκος … πολέμοιο. **λῦσον** means here 'put an end to' (cf. LSJ *s.v.* II.4), though it hints at the notion of effortless releasing present in ἀνεῖσα. As F. Vian (*ap.* Gerlaud *Triph.*, n. to 3) points out, the verb is also used for the loosening of the bridle of a horse (e.g. Opp. *H.* 1.229–30), thus creating an extra reference to the metaphor of the horse and chariot.

6–39 Description of the starting point and analepsis. The attrition of the war is analysed in three progressive stages: its effect on inanimate objects (8–13 arms and armour), on animals accompanying the warriors (14–16), and on the warriors themselves (17–39).

6 ἤδη μὲν δεκάτοιο κυλινδομένου λυκάβαντος: the closest parallel is QS 6.61–2, where Calchas prophesies the end of Troy: Ἤδη μὲν καὶ πρόσθ' ἐφάμην δεκάτῳ λυκάβαντι / πέρσειν Ἴλιον αἰπύ. Ultimately both go back to the prediction of the fall of Troy in *Il.* 2.308ff. (mentioned by Odysseus in Triph. 128–31, and by Cassandra in 381 λήγει δ' ἀμβολιεργὸν ἔτος πολέμοιο λυθέντος), and to *Il.* 12.15 (πέρθετο δὲ Πριάμοιο πόλις δεκάτῳ ἐνιαυτῷ). Triph. also had in mind *Od.* 8.81–2 (the first song of Demodocus) τότε γάρ ῥα κυλίνδετο πήματος ἀρχὴ / Τρωσί τε καὶ Δαναοῖσι Διὸς μεγάλου διὰ βουλάς (note Triph. 8a Τρωσί τε καὶ Δαναοῖσιν) and Pi. *I.* 3.18 κυλινδομέναις ἁμέραις (pointed out by Cannatà Fera 2003, 196). Other parallels: QS 2.593–602 (esp. 599–600 ἔνθα καὶ ἔνθα πέριξ λυκάβαντα φέρουσαι / καρποῖσι βρίθοντα, κυλινδομένου περὶ κύκλου); Nonn. *D.* 36.395, 422–3, 38.114–15, 222–52, 47.472; Nonn. *P.* 5.13 κύκλα κυλινδομένων ἐνιαυτῶν.

λυκάβας occurs twice in *Od.* (14.161–2 = 19.306–7), and reappears later in Hellenistic times (cf. Bion *Frag.* 2.15 – ed. Reed 1997; AR 1.198, 610; in numerous inscribed epitaphs from Hellenistic and Roman times it is the word used to count the years of the deceased: cf. Citti 1999, *s.v.*). The word became popular in epic poetry from the 2nd c. onwards: Opp. *H.* 1.551–2, 588–9; *C.* 3.289, 4.330–1; QS 1.87, 2.599, 3.327, 6.61; for Nonn. *D.* cf. Peek *Lex. s.v.*

7–8a γηραλέη τετάνυστο φόνων ἀκόρητος Ἐνυὼ / Τρωσί τε καὶ Δαναοῖσιν introduces the theme of the exhaustion of both armies (8b–13 arms and armour, 14–16 horses, 17–39 catalogue of casualties on both sides). The strain is only maintained because war feeds herself on her

own desire for killing (φόνων ἀκόρητος). **ἀκόρητος** is one of Nonnus' favourite words (see Peek *Lex. s.v.*). **τανύω** applies also to the stringing of a weapon (*Od.* 24.177 ἐτάνυσσε βιόν), implying here that even Enyo's insatiability has been pushed to its limit, and setting up a contrast with the lassitude of the weapons narrated subsequently (esp. 13 λύετο καμπύλα τόξα; note the causal relationship established by 8b δ᾽ ἄρα; cf. Paschalis 2005, 100–1).

Enyo is already in the *Iliad* the personification of war (5.333, 592–3; Hes. *Th.* 273) and becomes a must in war scenes in later poetry (cf. Opp. *H.* 2.23–5, 4.384; Nonn. *D.* 21.262 μόθων ἀκόρητος Ἐνυώ|, see also Peek *Lex. s.v.* Ἐνυώ; *P.Argent*. 480.1r [MP3 1848= LDAB 5742, edited by Gigli Piccardi 1990]). QS presents similar phrasing twice (2.525 σφισι δῆριν ἴσην ἐτάνυσσεν Ἐνυώ, 11.237–8 ἑκάτερθε δ᾽ ἴσην ἐτάνυσσεν Ἐνυὼ / ὑσμίνην), unsurprisingly since both he and Triph. are following *Il.* 11.336 σφιν κατὰ ἶσα μάχην ἐτάνυσσε Κρονίων. See also *Il.* 14.189–90 δή ῥα τότ᾽ αἰνοτάτην ἔριδα πτολέμοιο τάνυσσαν / κυανοχαῖτα Ποσειδάων. Enyo represents war generically here, but reappears in Triph. 561 together with Ἔρις 'Discord', driving the Greeks on in the nyktomachy. **γηραλέη** is a regular characteristic of Enyo, an allusion to Hes. *Th*. 270–3, esp. to 270–1 γραίας … καλλιπαρήους / ἐκ γενετῆς πολιάς. Cf. Campbell *Lex.*, APP. 7.

Τρωσί τε καὶ Δαναοῖσιν is of course highly Homeric in character: *Il.* 2.40, 8.431, *Od.* 8.82; similar turns of phrase in *Il.* 11.285, 424, 485, 22.434.

8b–13 To convey a general impression of the state of affairs, Triph. focuses on the objects here, in Priam's speech when he describes the difference between peace and war (427–32 – see n. *ad loc.* for references to similar texts) and in the Trojan fin-de-fête (498b–505). He uses metonymy and analogy: human weariness (8b ἐναιρομένων δ᾽ ἄρα φωτῶν) causes the reduction in the weapons' activity. Ancient rhetoric suggests transferring or adapting the schemes used for people to animals, plants and inanimate objects, e.g. in *encomia* and descriptions (Pernot 1993, 238–45), and here Triph. transfers the moods of the soldiers to their instruments. There is also a distant Homeric referent: *Il.* 2.134–5 ἐννέα δὴ βεβάασι Διὸς μεγάλου ἐνιαυτοί, / καὶ δὴ δοῦρα σέσηπε νεῶν καὶ σπάρτα λέλυνται. See also *Il.* 2.388–90 (ἱδρώσει μέν τευ τελαμὼν ἀμφὶ στήθεσφιν / ἀσπίδος ἀμφιβρότης, περὶ δ᾽ ἔγχεϊ χεῖρα καμεῖται· /

ἱδρώσει δέ τευ ἵππος ἐΰξοον ἅρμα τιταίνων), and descriptions of battles focused on the din of the weapons, such as *Il.* 4.446–9. QS (6.352–4) and Nonnus (*D.* 5.42–4, 39.242–7) also use weapons to illustrate the outcome of battles.

Lines 9–13 are designed as a self-contained unit, relying on the rhythm created by the verbs (κεκμήκει, ἔθνῃσκον, σβέννυτο, μινύθεσκε, ἀνέχοντο, λύετο, κατέρρεον). The arms and armour mentioned (δούρατα, ξιφέων, θωρήκων, τελαμώνων, ἀσπίδες, τόξα, ἰοί) are those normally owned by Homeric warriors, though the greaves (κνημῖδες) are missing.

8b ἐναιρομένων δ᾽ ἄρα φωτῶν: compare *Il.* 13.483 μάχῃ ἔνι φῶτας ἐναίρειν.

9a δούρατα κεκμήκει: compare *Il.* 6.261 ἀνδρὶ δὲ κεκμηῶτι, 11.802 = 16.44 κεκμηότας ἄνδρας ἀϋτῇ; QS 8.374–5 ὥς ἄρ᾽ ᾽Αχαιοὶ / ἄμπνεον ἐν τεύχεσσι κεκμηκότες.

9b ξιφέων δ᾽ ἔθνῃσκον ἀπειλαί: the opposite of *Il.* 14.479 ᾽Αργεῖοι ἰόμωροι, ἀπειλάων ἀκόρητοι.

10a σβέννυτο θωρήκων ἐνοπή: compare *Il.* 12.35–6 τότε δ᾽ ἀμφὶ μάχη ἐνοπή τε δεδήει / τεῖχος, 16.621 πάντων ἀνθρώπων σβέσσαι μένος, 16.804 λῦσε δέ οἱ θώρηκα … ᾽Απόλλων, *Od.* 3.182–3 οὐδέ ποτ᾽ ἔσβη / οὖρος.

10b–11 μινύθεσκε δ᾽ ἑλικτὴ / ἁρμονίη ῥηχθεῖσα φερεσσακέων τελαμώνων: compare *Il.* 15.493 ὡς νῦν ᾽Αργείων μινύθει μένος, *Od.* 4.374 μινύθει δέ τοι ἦτορ ἑταίρων, 12.46 περὶ δὲ ῥινοὶ μινύθουσι; Nonn. *D.* 24.272 βίου μινύθοντος. The τελαμών or baldric was a leather strap attached to the shield, which enabled the shield to be carried on the warrior's back: *Il.* 2.338–9, 5.796–9, 11.38–40, 16.802–3, 18.480. Homer describes it as made of leather (*Il.* 7.804 = 23. 825 ἐυτμήτῳ τελαμῶνι) and decorated (*Od.* 11.610–14).

ἑλικτὴ / ἁρμονίη refers to the fastening of the two long strands of flat leather of which the baldric is made, with ἑλικτή describing the twist over the shoulder. Compare AR 2.1040–1 ἀπὸ σφετέρου κολεοῖο / λυσάμενος τελαμῶνα κατήορον; QS 10.216–18 τοῦ γὰρ ἀπ᾽ ὤμων / Πουλυδάμας ἀπάραξε σάκος τελαμῶνα δαΐξας / βουπλῆγι στιβαρῷ; Nonn. *D.* 15.149–50 καὶ πολὺς εὐκύκλοιο λαβὼν τελαμῶνα

βοείης / Ἰνδὸν ἐπωμαδίῳ πεπεδημένον εἶχεν ἱμάντι, 26.253–4 γηραλέου κούφιζεν ὑπὲρ νώτοιο βοείην, / αὐχένι κυρτωθέντι περικρεμάσας τελαμῶνα. See Campbell *Lex.*, pp. 207–8, APP. 10–11. **φερεσσακής** occurs already in [Hes.] *Sc.* 13 and again in Nonn. *D.* (cf. Peek *Lex. s.v.*). Here it specifies that the τελαμών is one for carrying shields, not swords (*Il.* 7.303–4, 14.404–5, 18.597–8, 23.824–5; AR 2.1040–1; Nonn. *D.* 3.1–2, 5.8–9), or quivers (Nonn. *D.* 13.307–8).

12 ἀσπίδες οὐκ ἀνέχοντο μένειν ἔτι δοῦπον ἀκόντων: compare *Il.* 15.645–6 στρεφθεὶς γὰρ μετόπισθεν ἐν ἀσπίδος ἄντυγι πάλτο, / τὴν αὐτὸς φορέεσκε ποδηνεκέ᾽, ἕρκος ἀκόντων, 15.470 ὄφρ᾽ ἀνέχοιτο θαμὰ θρῴσκοντας ὀϊστούς, 16.360–1 ἀσπίδι ταυρείῃ κεκαλυμμένος εὐρέας ὤμους, / σκέπτετ᾽ ὀϊστῶν τε ῥοῖζον καὶ δοῦπον ἀκόντων; QS 9.134–6 ὑπ᾽ ἔγχε<σ>ι δ᾽ ἀσπίδες ἀνδρῶν / θεινόμεναι κτυπέεσκον <ἀ>άσχετον, αἳ δ᾽ ὑπ᾽ ἀκόντων / καὶ ξιφέων. **δούπον ἀκόντων**|, as in *Il.* 11.364, 16.361, 20.451; Nonn. *D.* 18.172.

13a λύετο καμπύλα τόξα: καμπύλα τόξα occurs in the same *sedes* in *Od.* 9.156, 21.362, AR 2.592. For λύετο, see *Il.* 2.135 σπάρτα λέλυνται, *Od.* 22.186 ῥαφαὶ δὲ λέλυντο ἱμάντων.

13b κατέρρεον ὠκέες ἰοί: ὠκέες ἰοί seems to be a variation on the Homeric βέλος ὠκύ (*Il.* 5.105, 112, 187 etc).

14–16 The horses mourn their partners and charioteers. After the weapons come the horses, the animal counterparts of the soldiers in battle: *Il.* 13.683–4, 17.400–1. The intelligence and empathy of animals were already stated in Homer (Delebecque 1951, 157–8; Nicolay 2001), with Achilles' horses mourning him several times in the *Iliad*: 17.426–62, 19.399–424, 23.283–6. Animal intelligence was a common topic in didactic literature (cf. Ael. *NA* 6.44, 11.31, 16.24; Opp. *C.* 1.206–70, on which see Bartley 2003, 104–15), and was philosophically defended e.g. in Plutarch's *De sollertia animalium* and *Bruta animalia ratione uti*.

Triph. constructs his passage upon *Il.* 17.426–62 (Achilles' horses mourn Patroclus): Triph. 14a ἵπποι δ᾽ οἱ μὲν ἄνευθεν ~ *Il.* 17.426 ἵπποι δ᾽ Αἰακίδαο μάχης ἀπάνευθεν ἐόντες; Triph. 15 οἰκτρὰ κάτω μύοντες ὁμόζυγας ἔστενον ἵππους, after *Il.* 17.437–8 δάκρυα δέ σφι / θερμὰ κατὰ βλεφάρων χαμάδις ῥέε μυρομένοισιν; Triph. 16 ποθ-

έοντες … ἡνιοχῆας after *Il.* 17.439 ἡνιόχοιο πόθῳ; Triph. 16 ὀλωλότας probably after *Il.* 17.427 κλαῖον. Note that Achilles and Patroclus are the first casualties of the war mentioned in 17.

Dubielzig unnecessarily adds an extra line after 16 to complete its meaning, so that the two sentences (14 οἱ μὲν, 16 οἱ δ᾽) do not share the verb ἔστενον (15).

14b ἀεργηλῆς ἐπὶ φάτνης provides a link with the previous section in the characterising use of the adjective. ἐπὶ φάτνῃ| appears six times in the Homeric poems, but the form of the adjective there is ἀεργός (*Il.* 9.320, *Od.* 19.27). See also Nonn. *D.* 25.306 ἀεργηλῇ παρὰ φάτνῃ.

15 οἰκτρὰ κάτω μύοντες ὁμόζυγας ἔστενον ἵππους: compare E. *Tr.* 669–70 ἀλλ᾽ οὐδὲ πῶλος ἥτις ἂν διαζυγῆι / τῆς συντραφείσης ῥαιδίως ἕλκει ζυγόν; Opp. *C.* 1.225 καὶ πολέμοισι πεσόντα μέγα στενάχουσιν ἑταῖρον. **κάτω μύοντες**: after *Il.* 17.437 οὔδει ἐνισκίμψαντε καρήατα, 19.405–6 Ξάνθος, ἄφαρ δ᾽ ἤμυσε καρήατι, πᾶσα δὲ χαίτη / ζεύγλης ἐξεριποῦσα παρὰ ζυγὸν οὖδας ἵκανεν, 23.283–4. For the phrasing, see *Od.* 23.91 ἧστο κάτω ὁρόων; AR 2.683 στὰν δὲ κάτω νεύσαντες ἐπὶ χθονός, 2.862–3 κατήμυσαν δ᾽ ἀχέεσσιν / θυμόν, 3.1400 [ἔρνεα] κατημύουσιν; Opp. *C.* 4.343–4 προσώπατα δ᾽ ἐς χθόνα δῖαν / ἠρέμα νευστάζουσι κάτω; QS 3.133 ἧστο κατωπιόων; Nonn. *D.* 7.42 = 12.272 κάτω νεύοντι καρήνῳ. **ὁμόζυγας … ἵππους**: compare *Il.* 5.195 = 10.473 δίζυγες ἵπποι; Nonn. *D.* 2.423 ἵπποι δὲ Κρονίωνος ὁμόζυγες.

16 οἱ δ᾽ αὐτοὺς ποθέοντες ὀλωλότας ἡνιοχῆας: similarly QS 3.195 ἀχνύμενοι … ἑὸν ποθέοντες ἄνακτα. See also the adaptation of the motif to Achilles' death in QS 3.743–5. Dubielzig *Triph.* adds an extra line: 16a <ἔτρεχον αὐτόματοι δροσόεντος ὑπὲρ πεδίοιο.>

17–39 The catalogue of Greek and Trojan casualties illustrates the painful attrition experienced by both armies and counterbalances the beginning *in medias res* of the poem, offering a quick evocation of past episodes. The entries vary in form and length, but they share a common aim of abridgement and an allusive approach to the events, which makes them a reminder more than a proper summary. Triph.'s catalogue is somewhat similar to *AP* 7.136–52, a series of epitaphs for the heroes of Troy, which focus on the circumstances of their deaths with

lapidary conciseness. However, the only parallels occur in lines 19–20 (see n. *ad loc.*), and the epitaphs do not refer to the topic of the mourning of the living which is so important here (though cf. *AP* 7.145–6).

Triph. makes an effort at lexical *variatio*, avoiding repetitions of the vocabulary of grief: 18 ὠδύρετο, 22 μυρομένοις, 23 κωκύοντες, 24 δάκρυσιν ἠμείβοντο, 25 κλαῖον, 30 ἐκώκυον, 34 κοπτόμεναι, 35 ὠδύροντο. Note the use of ἐπί + dat. with verbs of mourning: 18 ἐπὶ παιδὶ … ὠδύρετο, 21–2 ἐφ᾽ … ἑλκυθμοῖσι / μυρομένοις, 23 ἐπὶ πένθεσι κωκύοντες.

This catalogue is the first means of characterisation of the two armies. The Achaeans quickly dispatch their dead, despite the pain produced by their losses and their importance in battle, whereas the Trojan victims are mourned for a long time, because each of them represents a lost opportunity to save Troy. The Trojans are left with Priam, an elderly man consumed by grief, to govern them, and only Deiphobus and Helenus to lead them in battle. The Achaeans, on the other hand, can still count on many skilled leaders, of whom Odysseus will play the leading role in subsequent events.

17–20 Achaean casualties (Achilles, Patroclus, Antilochus, Ajax). These four are mentioned by Nestor (*Od.* 3.108–12) in a short catalogue of the Achaean warriors (ἄριστοι) who died before Troy was captured. The phrasing is not related to this passage and Triph. (like QS) avoids the ubiquitous Homeric formula Γερήνιος ἱππότα Νέστωρ, choosing instead a weaker γέρων … Νέστωρ (18; cf. *Od.* 3.436 = 444 γέρων δ᾽ ἱππηλάτα Νέστωρ||).

17 Achilles and Patroclus are mentioned first because the motif of the mourning of the horses (14–16) hints at the mourning of Achilles' horses in the *Iliad* (17.426–62, 19.399–424, 23.283–6). The deaths of the two warriors are not explained and they are dispatched with a mention of their joint burial (Triph. 17 Κεῖτο δὲ Πηλείδης μὲν ἔχων ἅμα νεκρὸν ἑταῖρον). This is the version of the Homeric poems, where Patroclus' ghost expresses his desire to be buried with Achilles (*Il.* 23.83–92) and Agamemnon's soul says that they had obeyed him (*Od.* 24.76–84). In the latter passage, though, they are buried together with Antilochus, which explains why he is mentioned afterwards (see also the epitaph in *AP* 7.143). The imperial tradition attributing to Achilles and Patroclus

two separate tombs (cf. Vian 1959, 34) is omitted here and in the *Posthomerica*, where QS narrates the burial of Achilles without any reference to Patroclus (3.719–42). On the death and burial of Achilles, see Burgess 2009.

18 Antilochus (on whom see Willcock 1983) is only referred to as the son of Nestor (Ἀντιλόχῳ δ᾽ ἐπὶ παιδὶ γέρων ὠδύρετο Νέστωρ), though his position after Achilles may be a reminder of his closeness to the hero (*Il.* 23.555–6). Antilochus had died at the hands of Memnon (*Od.* 4.185–7; QS 2.244–59; Dictys 4.6, 8), and Nestor mentions him among the Achaean warriors slain trying to conquer Troy (*Od.* 3.111–12). The death and burial of Antilochus were episodes of the *Aethiopis*: see Bernabé *PEG Aethiopis* Arg., lines 12–14, 19–20. Nestor's pain is described in QS 2.260–6, and in several Latin authors: Horace *Od.* 2.9.13–14, Propert. 2.13.46–50, Juv. 10.246–55.

19–20 Ajax son of Telamon commits suicide. Triph. condenses several notions about Ajax: his large body (19 βριαρὸν δέμας), which differentiates him from the lesser Ajax; his suicide (19 αὐτοφόνῳ … ἕλκεϊ) in a state of madness (20 μεμηνότος) and by means of a sword (20 φάσγανον); his action is considered a reparation (lit. cleansing: 20 ἕλουσε) for the evil acts he perpetrated with the same sword (20 φάσγανον ἐχθρόν), namely the butchering of the sheep. μεμηνότος (20) does not refer to past madness, suggesting that he committed suicide after losing Achilles' weapons or that he never recovered his sanity. No information is provided about what type of funeral and burial Ajax was given (cf. Holt 1992). The account of the event is too brief to be related to any particular source.

In the *Od.* Ajax and Odysseus meet during Odysseus' visit to Hades (*Od.* 11.543–67). Ajax is still angry because of his opponent's victory (544–6), and the reference to his suicide is veiled (549 τοίην γὰρ κεφαλὴν ἕνεκ᾽ αὐτῶν γαῖα κατέσχεν). The ὅπλων κρίσις was narrated in the *Aethiopis* (Bernabé *PEG Aethiopis* Arg., lines 23–4), the *Little Iliad* (Bernabé *PEG Iliades Parvae* Arg. 1, lines 3–5), Sophocles' *Ajax*, Apollod. *Epit.* 5.6–7 and QS 5 (to be read with Vian 1966, 3–17; James – Lee 2000).

19 Αἴας δ᾽ αὐτοφόνῳ βριαρὸν δέμας ἕλκεϊ λύσας: αὐτόφονος is completely un-Homeric. It appears first in the tragedians, meaning 'murdering one's kin' (cf. LSJ *s.v.*), and later with the sense of 'suicidal'

in Opp. *H.* 2.322 αὐτοφόνοισιν ἀγηνορίῃσι; Opp. *C.* 1.269, 2.480, 4.290; several times in Nonn. *D.* (s. Peek *Lex. s.v.*); *AP* 7.149.4 (epitaph of Ajax) παλάμῃ θῆκεν ὑπ᾽ αὐτοφόνῳ. Other alternatives, such as αὐτοθάνατος (Plu. *Mor.* 293e) and αὐτόχειρ (S. *Ant.* 1175) cannot be used in a hexameter. Compare also *AP* 7.147.10 σὺ σῇ πότμον ἕλῃς παλάμῃ.

βριαρὸν δέμας: Ajax' outstanding stature is commented on by Homer (*Il.* 2.527–9, 3.229 οὗτος δ᾽ Αἴας ἐστὶ πελώριος, 7.207–13 – esp. 208 οἷός τε πελώριος … Ἄρης, 211 τοῖος ἄρ᾽ … ὦρτο πελώριος). Triph. avoids using Homeric phrasing: in the *Iliad* βριαρός is applied to κόρυς (*Il.* 11.375 etc.), though later we read Opp. *H.* 2.328 βριαρὸν δέμας; QS 4.461 βριαροῖσι μέλεσσιν. In Nonn. *D.* it often characterises persons and divinities (see Peek *Lex. s.v.*). **δέμας … λύσας** is a variation of the Homeric γυῖα/μένος/ψυχὴν λύειν to convey the moment of death (cf. *e.g. Il.* 4.469, 5.296, 11.240, 16.240; QS 7.582; Nonn. *D.* 42.345).

20 φάσγανον ἐχθρὸν ἕλουσε μεμηνότος αἵματος ὄμβρῳ sounds tragic: compare A. *Ag.* 1533–4 δέδοικα δ᾽ ὄμβρου κτύπον δομοσφαλῆ / τὸν αἱματηρόν; S. *OT* 1278–9 ἀλλ᾽ ὁμοῦ μέλας / ὄμβρος χάλαζά θ᾽ αἱματοῦσσ᾽ ἐτέγγετο. See also Bernabé *PEG Iliades Parvae* Arg. 1, lines 4–5 Αἴας δ᾽ ἐμμανὴς γενόμενος τήν τε λείαν τῶν Ἀχαιῶν λυμαίνεται καὶ ἑαυτὸν ἀναιρεῖ; *AP* 7.152.5 τὸ ξίφος εἷλ᾽ Αἴαντα μεμηνότα. For the motif of the washing of a weapon in blood, see Call. *Del.* 95–6 ταχινός σε κιχήσομαι αἵματι λούσων / τόξον ἐμόν; *AP* 6.2.4 (Simonides, about a bow) Περσῶν ἱππομάχων αἵματι λουσάμενα; Opp. *C.* 4.203 λελουμένος αἵματι λάβρῳ.

21–39 The Trojans and their allies. The Trojan army is presented as a mixed force, with a Trojan core and many allies (36 πολυξείνοιο … πολέμοιο). The Achaeans seem to be an army of individuals, while the Trojans are communal in their grief: they all cry for the outrage committed on Hector's body (21–2 Τρωσὶ … μυρομένοις) and for the losses of their allies, mentioned in groups (25 Λύκιοι, 30 Θρήικες, 33 Θερμώδοντος … γυναῖκες), with the exception of Memnon (30–2), who is lamented by his mother.

Triph. does not follow the chronological order (21 Hector, 25–8 Sarpedon, 29–30a Rhesus, 30b–2 Memnon, 33–9 Penthesilea): the first

to die had been Rhesus (*Il.* 10), followed by Sarpedon (*Il.* 16), Hector (final books of the *Iliad*), Penthesilea (killed by Achilles after Hector's death) and finally Memnon (killed by Achilles, who is in turn killed by Paris). Hector is mentioned first because he is the only Trojan, and Penthesilea comes last because she is given the longest treatment. Sarpedon comes second after Hector, just as he did in battle. Rhesus and Memnon are referred to briefly together, because they are not significant to the development of the plot. Paris is not included in this catalogue, and he is not mentioned later when Deiphobus and Helenus are said to dispute the hand of his widow, Helen (45–6).

The loss of so many good warriors is highlighted as a remider that the leaders who made the decisions and encouraged the troops are dead, which means that the Trojans will find it difficult to cope with new challenges. The ἐπίκουροι (24) of the Trojans are dead, but the Achaeans acquire a more powerful one, the Palladion, representing Athena's full power (56 φίλοις δ᾽ ἐπίκουρος ᾽Αθήνη).

21–4 The Trojans mourn Hector and their allies.

21–2a Τρωσὶ δὲ λωβητῆρσιν ἐφ᾽ Ἕκτορος ἑλκυθμοῖσι / μυρομένοις: no reference to Hector's funeral or its effect on the Trojan morale. ἑλκυθμός is Triph.'s version of ἑλκηθμός, a Homeric *hapax* (*Il.* 6.465 Hector says to Andromache that he would rather be dead πρίν γέ τι σῆς τε βοῆς σοῦ θ᾽ ἑλκηθμοῖο πυθέσθαι). It does not reappear in later epic poets and may be a pun on the Homeric ἕλκειν, of the action performed by Achilles on Hector's body: *Il.* 22.398 κάρη δ᾽ ἕλκεσθαι ἔασεν, 401 τοῦ δ᾽ ἦν ἑλκομένοιο κονίσαλος, 463–5. The variant may be a conscious creation, or Triph. may have had a different text of Homer before him. λωβητήρ is Homeric (*Il.* 2.275, 11.385, 24.239), but not popular in epic verse (only AR 3.372, Opp. *H.* 4.684).

22b ἐπιδήμιον ἄλγος is mirrored in 23 ἀλλοθρόοις … πένθεσι.

24b πολυγλώσσων ἐπικούρων recalls *Il.* 2.803–4 (πολλοὶ γὰρ κατὰ ἄστυ μέγα Πριάμου ἐπίκουροι, / ἄλλη δ᾽ ἄλλων γλῶσσα πολυσπερέων ἀνθρώπων). For πολύγλωσσος as 'speaking many languages' (LSJ *s.v.* II), see also Lyc. *Alex.* 1377 πολυγλώσσῳ στρατῷ; Nonn. *D.* 13.222–3 ἡγεμόνευε πολυγλώσσων ναετήρων / ᾽Αστέριος, 17.389 πολυγλώσσῳ … λαῷ, 26.84 πολυγλώσσων γένος ᾽Ινδῶν.

25–8 Sarpedon is killed by Patroclus in his *aristeia* (*Il.* 16.419–683, on which see Wöhrle 1999, 104–10). Death and Sleep carry his body away to Lycia for burial (*Il.* 16.450–7, 666–83). On the figure of Sarpedon in the *Iliad*, see Wathelet 2008. On the plastic representations of his death, see von Bothmer 1994. Triph. focuses on three points: 25–6 his origins and how he came to Troy; 27 Patroclus killed him with his spear; 28 his father Zeus cried tears of blood for him.

25–6 κλαῖον μὲν Λύκιοι Σαρπηδόνα, τόν ποτε μήτηρ / ἐς Τροίην μὲν ἔπεμψεν ἀγαλλομένη Διὸς εὐνῇ: Sarpedon is the Lycian leader (*Il.* 2.876–7), son of Zeus and a woman, who sent him to Troy. Triph. does not name his mother to avoid making a choice, since Homer calls him the son of Laodameia (*Il.* 6.198–9), while Hesiod makes him the son of Europa (fr. 140 M-W; *schol. in* E. *Rh.* 28–9). It is not attested anywhere else that Sarpedon was sent to war by his mother. For **ἀγαλλομένη Διὸς εὐνῇ** (= Nonn. *D.* 7.357), see *Od.* 5.176 ἀγαλλόμεναι Διὸς οὔρῳ.

27 δουρὶ δὲ Πατρόκλοιο Μενοιτιάδαο πεσόντα: this is a Homeric episode (*Il.* 16.462–507; the weapon is mentioned in 481–2, 503–5), and Πατρόκλοιο Μενοιτιάδαο occurs three times in the relevant book: *Il.* 16.420, 434, 452. See also *Il.* 21.28, 23.239, 24.77. πεσόντα| occurs seven times in the *Il.*, twice in the *Od.*

28 αἵματι δακρύσας ἐχύθη πατρώιος ἀήρ is inspired by *Il.* 16.459–60 αἱματοέσσας δὲ ψιάδας κατέχευεν ἔραζε / παῖδα φίλον τιμῶν (on which see Lateiner 2002). See also *Il.* 11.52–5, [Hes.] *Sc.* 383–5. For the wording, cf. Triph. 28 ἐχύθη ~ *Il.* 16.459 κατέχευεν, but also maybe *Od.* 10.415 δακρυόεντες ἔχυντο. In the *Iliad* the portent appears before the duel, as an omen, whereas here it is transferred to the aftermath. For a humorous explanation of this blood rain, see Lucian *VH* 1.17.

29–32 Rhesus and Memnon: these lines present the same elements as those on Sarpedon, but in a different order: Rhesus' death and origin (29–30a), and Memnon's mother and the portents after his death (30b–2).

29–30a καὶ δολίην ὑπὸ νύκτα κακῷ πεπεδημένον ὕπνῳ / Ῥῆσον μὲν Θρήικες ἐκώκυον: the treatment of Rhesus is a good example of Triph.'s management of Homeric antecedents. In *Il.* 10.332–468 the

Trojan Dolon is captured by Odysseus and Diomedes while on his way to spy on the Achaean camp. He reveals to them the position of the Thracian allies, led by their king Rhesus, who have just arrived bringing valuable goods (433–41). Dolon is therefore to blame for Rhesus' death, as Triph. hints with 29a δολίην ὑπὸ νύκτα (similar puns at 34, 54, 324, 643; Dubielzig *Triph.*, 13 calls them 'Versteck-Spiele'). In the Iliadic account, Odysseus and Diomedes attack the Thracian camp (469–502) and Diomedes kills the sleeping king, who was having a nightmare: 496–7 κακὸν γὰρ ὄναρ κεφαλῆφιν ἐπέστη / τὴν νύκτ᾽ Οἰνεΐδαο πάϊς, διὰ μῆτιν Ἀθήνης. Triph. reshapes this in 29b κακῷ πεπεδημένον ὕπνῳ (= Nonn. *D.* 17.1 πεπεδημένον ὕπνῳ), implying that if Rhesus had not been distracted by Athena he would have woken up and fought. More on the connections between death and dreams in 378, 541.

30b–2 Memnon's death raises the problem of the origin of the account, since Homer only mentions him in passing (*Od.* 4.187–8, 11.522). His story was part of the *Aethiopis* (Bernabé *PEG Aethiopis* Arg., lines 10–15; Apollod. *Epit.* 5.3; West 2000, 343–7): Memnon, son of Eos (and Tithonus: *Il.* 11.1–2, *Od.* 5.1–2, Hes. *Th.* 984–5), arrives at the war as a Trojan ally; Thetis prophesies that if he is killed by Achilles, the latter will die afterwards; Memnon kills Antilochus, Achilles kills Memnon (cf. Pi. *N.* 6.49–53) and is killed by Paris; at some point Zeus weighs up Achilles' and Memnon's fates in the presence of Eos and Thetis (Plu. *Mor.* 17a-b); Eos bestows immortality upon her son.

Memnon's death was the subject of several tragedies: Aeschylus' *Psychostasia* (fr. 279–80a Radt) and *Memnon* (fr. 127–30 Radt), and Sophocles' *Aithiopes* (fr. 28–33 Radt). In E. *Tr.* 847–57, the chorus reproaches the Dawn for having allowed the destruction of Troy, despite her connections with the land. Dictys dedicates several chapters to him (4.4–8). QS devotes Book 2 of his *Posthomerica* to Memnon and refers to his mother's mourning with phrasing similar to that used in Triph.: 2.549 Ἠὼς δὲ στονάχησε καλυψαμένη νεφέεσσιν, 593–4 Δύσετο δ᾽ ἠελίοιο φάος· κατὰ δ᾽ ἤλυθεν Ἠὼς / οὐρανόθεν κλαίουσα φίλον τέκος; 13.415–16 Θεοὶ δ᾽ ἐρικυδέα Τροίην / κυανέοις νεφέεσσι καλυψάμενοι γοάασκον. See also Philostr. *Imag.* 1.7.3 (Ἠὼς ἐπὶ τῷ παιδὶ πενθοῦσα κατηφῆ ποιεῖ τὸν Ἥλιον) and Musae. 110 (φέγγος ἀναστείλασα κατήιεν εἰς δύσιν Ἠώς).

30b–1 ἐπὶ πότμῳ / Μέμνονος could refer to the ψυχοστασία, though that would by no means prove that Triph. had the *Aethiopis* or Aeschylus' *Psychostasia* in mind.

31b οὐρανίην νεφέλην ἀνεδύσατο μήτηρ has proved a difficult cluster because of the verb. ἀναδύομαι (cf. LSJ *s.v.*) means 'come up' or 'rise', and the place of origin goes either in the gen. (*Od.* 5.337 ἀνεδύσατο λίμνης) or the acc. (*Il.* 1.496 ἀνεδύσετο κῦμα θαλάσσης). Meaning 'shrink back', 'withdraw' (*Od.* 9.377 μή τίς μοι ὑποδείσας ἀναδύη), it can also take an acc. of place of origin (*Il.* 13.225 ἀνδύεται πόλεμον). Triph. reads it as 'withdraw' + acc. of direction (cf. also Nonn. *D.* 9.158 ἀρχαίην παλίνορσος ἑὴν ἀνεδύσατο μορφήν, *P.* 2.106–7, 12.71), with a pun on Eos' vertical approach. See Livrea 1976, 444–6; Gerlaud *Triph.*, 107–8; Campbell *Lex.*, APP. 31; Dubielzig *Triph.*, 133.

For οὐρανίην νεφέλην, see E. *Alc.* 245 οὐράνιαί τε δῖναι νεφέλας δρομαίου; Ar. *Nu.* 316 οὐράνιαι Νεφέλαι; *AP* 7.748.8 οὐρανίων νεφέων, 9.95.4 οὐρανίων … νεφέων, 9.187.6 οὐρανίων … νεφέων.

32 φέγγος ὑποκλέψασα κατηφέος ἤματος Ἠώς: compare AR 4.981 Ἠὼς ἠριγενὴς φέγγος βάλε νισσομένοισιν; Musae. 110 φέγγος ἀναστείλασα κατήιεν εἰς δύσιν Ἠώς. Nonnus resorts to similar images several times, esp. in the episode of Phaethon: *D.* 38.20 κλεπτομένης δ' ἀκτῖνος ἐπεσκιόωντο κολῶναι, 36 κλεπτομένης Φαέθοντος ἀθηήτοιο πορείης, 52–3 καὶ δύσιν ἠματίην Φαεθοντίδος ἄμμορον αἴγλης / κλεπτομένης, 255 φέγγος ὅλον κλέψειεν ἐπισκιόων. κατηφέος ἤματος: compare *AP* 9.658.3 (Paul. Sil.) κατηφέα νύκτα.

33–9 Penthesilea is given the longest treatment, a kind of encomiastic medallion (cf. Miguélez-Cavero 2008, 354–5), including general notions about the Amazons which cannot be ascribed to any particular source. Triph. does not refer to the mentions of the Amazons in the *Iliad* (3.188–9, 6.186) and exploits the paradox of their feminine yet warlike nature.

Penthesilea's arrival in Troy after Hector's death, her warlike exploits, her death at Achilles' hands and the story of how Achilles fell in love with her and was mocked by Thersites were all narrated in the *Aethiopis* (Bernabé *PEG Aethiopis* Arg., lines 4–10, and frags. 1–2). These episodes are also mentioned in D.S. 2.46.5–6; Lyc. *Alex.* 999–1004;

Apollod. *Epit.* 5.1; Dictys 3.15, 4.2–3. QS offers the longest treatment of the figure of Penthesilea in his first book, on which see Schmiel 1986; Schubert 1996; Bär 2009; Maciver 2012a, 135–53.

33–4 Introduction to the mourning of her company of fighting women, mentioning their name in a riddle. They are **33 αἱ δ᾽ ἀπὸ Θερμώδοντος ἀρηιφίλοιο γυναῖκες**, which provides the clues of the Cappadocian river of Thermodon, by which they have their capital Themiscyra, and their bellicose nature. Compare QS 1.18 Θερμώδοντος ἀπ᾽ εὐρυπόροιο ῥεέθρων; Nonn. *D.* 20.198 ἀπὸ Θερμώδοντος ᾽Αμαζόνες, 26.329–32, 36.260–3, 37.118–20. ἀρηιφίλοιο in agreement with Θερμώδοντος may, but need not, be taken as an example of hypallage: see Campbell *Lex.*, p. 208, APP 33.

Their origin and their masculine temperament should have been enough to identify them, but Triph. adds a third clue **34 περίκυκλον ἀθηλέος ὄμφακα μαζοῦ**, hiding their name in the last two words (similar cases in lines 29, 54, 324, 643). For parallels for breast-beating as a female gesture of mourning, see *Il.* 18.30–1, 50–1; QS 3.548; Nonn. *D.* 18.331–2, 24.184–6 (with comm. in Miguélez-Cavero 2009, 268–70). περίκυκλον is un-Homeric, but present in late epic (verb in Opp. *H.* 5.379, Triph. 222; adj. five times in Nonn. *D.*, see Peek *Lex. s.v.*) to suit the late antique taste for round shapes (Miguélez-Cavero 2008, 122–4). ἀθηλέος … μαζοῦ was probably inspired by Lyc. *Alex.* 1328 μαστὸν εὔθηλον and Opp. *C.* 1.437 νεοθηλέϊ μαζῷ. Cf. Monaco 2007, 153–4.

The cluster **ὄμφακA MAZOῦ** was meant to hide the name of the Amazons and make a pun on its etymology (ἀ-μαζον- 'breastless'), understood to refer to their practice of amputating the right breast of their girls to improve their shooting technique: see D.S. 3.53.3; Philostr. *Her.* 57.6; *Etym. Magn. s.v.* ᾽Αμαζόνες. For an analysis of the ancient etymologies of the name and of their interaction with its imagery, see Tichit 1991. Similar phrasing in Nonn. *D.* 1.71 = 48.957 ὄμφακι μαζῷ (in Nonnus it is an adjective), 48.364–5 ἠνίδε μαζοὺς / ὄμφακας οἰδαίνοντας ἀθηλέας. As Gerlaud (*Triph.*, p. 108, n. to 34) notes, ὄμφαξ is a Homeric *hapax* for an unripe grape (*Od.* 7.125–6) and was used metaphorically for maidens who had not reached puberty and their unripe breasts (Theocr. *Id.* 11.19 ff., to be read with Philostr. *Imag.* 2.18.3; *AP* 5.20, 304; Nonn. *D.* 42.305–6 exploiting the metaphor). More parallels in Monaco 2007, 136–7.

35–8a Penthesilea is presented in her dual nature, as a maiden who should be joining the chorus with her peers (35 παρθένον, 36 χορὸν … μολοῦσα), but who is instead heroic in nature and joins the chorus of war (36 χορὸν πολέμοιο).

35 δαΐφρονα is the usual epithet for respectable Homeric heroes: e.g. *Il.* 2.875 Ἀχιλεὺς … δαΐφρων, 4.252 Ἰδομενῆα δαΐφρονα, 5.184 δαΐφρων Τυδέος υἱός. QS uses the same combination in 1.47 δαΐφρονι Πενθεσιλείῃ, 538, 594, 2.17, to highlight Penthesilea's likeness to a manly warrior. See also QS on Athena: 1.128 δαΐφρων Τριτογένεια, 12.377 δαΐφρονι Τριτογενείῃ.

36 ἥ τε πολυξείνοιο χορὸν πολέμοιο μολοῦσα: the metaphor of war as a dance recurs in 559–61 and was very popular with Nonnus (cf. Gigli Piccardi 1985, 131–3).

37–8a θηλείης ὑπὸ χειρὸς ἀπεσκέδασεν νέφος ἀνδρῶν / νῆας ἐς ἀγχιάλους: her female hand used against the multitude of men not only underlines the contrast between her femininity and their masculinity (θηλείης … ἀνδρῶν), but relates to the topic of 'one against many' (Fenik 1968, 98, 110). On the flight of the Greeks towards their ships, see also QS 1.475–93. No mention is made of the weapons of the Amazons, on which see Nonn. *D.* 20.198–202, 37.117–20. **νέφος ἀνδρῶν**: compare *Il.* 4.274 = 23.133 νέφος εἵπετο πεζῶν, 16.66 εἰ δὴ κυάνεον Τρώων νέφος ἀμφιβέβηκε; AR 4.397 ὅσσον δυσμενέων ἀνδρῶν νέφος ἀμφιδέδηεν; Nonn. *D.* 22.164 = 48.9 νέφος Ἰνδῶν. ἀγχιάλους usually refers to places, as in *Il.* 2.640 Χαλκίδα τ᾽ ἀγχίαλον.

38b–9 Penthesilea's final achievement is that only Achilles, the most powerful of all Achaean warriors, was superior to her (38b μελίῃ δέ ἑ μοῦνος ὑποστάς). On the weapon, see QS 1.620 ἔγχει, 624 δουρί, 654 μελίην, 656 δόρυ.

39 καὶ κτάνε καὶ σύλησε καὶ ἐκτερέιξεν Ἀχιλλεύς: their relationship is described as a purely masculine one, leaving out a possible mention of her beauty (cf. QS 2.659–74: the Greeks, including Achilles, gaze at her beauty) and the story of her post-mortem seduction of Achilles (QS 1.659–74, 718–81). The conclusive rhythm of this line provides a clear closure to the catalogue of dead leaders.

40–56 Troy is still standing, but some developments set its fate in motion. Even though the Greeks have tried their utmost and both they and the Trojans are weary after ten years of war (6 ἤδη μὲν δεκάτοιο κυλινδομένου λυκάβαντος), Troy survives intact (40a Εἱστήκει δ᾽ ἔτι πᾶσα), not because of the strength or skill of her warriors, but thanks to the protection of the towers built by the gods (40b θεοδμήτων ὑπὸ πύργων) and the sure foundations that keep her from collapsing (41 ἀκλινέεσσιν ἐπεμβεβαυῖα θεμέθλοις). In Triph.'s version, the defeat of Troy is beyond the reach of the Greeks, and even of Athena, and they only achieve victory as a consequence of Deiphobus' ὕβρις (45). It is not always so in the tradition: see e.g. E. *Tr.* 46–7 (Poseidon's apostrophe to Troy) εἴ σε μὴ διώλεσεν / Παλλὰς Διὸς παῖς, ἦσθ᾽ ἂν ἐν βάθροις ἔτι, 72 (Poseidon to Athena) καὶ μὴν ἔπερσάν γ᾽ Ἴλιον τῶι σῶι σθένει. Rodari (2005, 262–3) suggests that in lines 40–1 Triph. evokes AR 4.1680b–1 (οὐδ᾽ ἔτι δηρὸν / εἱστήκει προβλῆτος ἐπεμβεβαὼς σκοπέλοιο), a comment on the resilience of Thalos, guardian of Crete, when he is about to succumb to Medea. Similarly, here Triph. comments on the impregnability of the Trojan walls before the setting-off of the events that will lead to their destruction.

40 εἱστήκει δ᾽ ἔτι πᾶσα θεοδμήτων ὑπὸ πύργων rephrases *Il.* 8.519 (Homeric *hapax*) θεοδμήτων ἐπὶ πύργων, and 21.526 ἑστήκει δ᾽ ὃ γέρων Πρίαμος θείου ἐπὶ πύργου. Triph. prefers the Attic εἱστήκει (here and in 115, 505) to the Homeric ἑστήκει (cf. [Hes.] *Sc.* 269, AR 4.1681, QS 5.50–1 ἐν δὲ καὶ αὐτὴ / εἱστήκει φοίνικος ἐπεμβεβαυῖα κατ᾽ ἄκρης). On the textual difficulties of this line, see Livrea 1976, 446; Gerlaud *Triph.* 109–10; Campbell *Lex.*, p. 208, APP. 40; Bremer 1988, 185–6; Dubielzig *Triph.*, 134–6.

θεοδμήτων ὑπὸ πύργων: the walls of Troy were said to have been built either by Apollo and Poseidon (*Il.* 7.452–3), or by Poseidon alone (*Il.* 21.446–9) in the time of Priam's father, Laomedon. Triph. refers to the walls in similar terms in 396–7 οἴχεται ἔργον / ἀθανάτων, προθέλυμνα θεμείλια Λαομέδοντος. In 680–1 the walls are said to have been built by Poseidon, but earlier on, Apollo cries in anticipation of their destruction (509 ἀχνύμενος μεγάλοις ἐπὶ τείχεσι Φοῖβος Ἀπόλλων). According to the tradition, Troy would be impregnable as long as it was protected by its walls, but the circle of the walls is broken when the Trojans dismantle the gates to manoeuvre the wooden horse into the cita-

del (337–9). Compare for the phrasing QS 12.514 θεοδμήτοιο πόληος; Nonn. *D.* 5.5 θεοδμήτων ἐπὶ βωμῶν; Collut. 312 θεοδμήτοισι παρὰ προθύροισι πυλάων.

41 ἀκλινέεσσιν … θεμέθλοις ("unswerving foundations"): θέμεθλα occurs twice in Homer, never referring to a building, but to the 'lowest part' of something (*Il.* 14.493 κατ᾽ ὀφθαλμοῖο θέμεθλα, 17.47). QS has both the Homeric meaning (3.156 ἐς θέμεθλ᾽ ὀφθαλμοῖο) and the new one (7.500–1 θέμεθλα / ἕρκεος αἰπεινοῖο); Nonn. *D.* uses it 11 times (see Peek *Lex.*, *s.v.*). The Homeric term would be θεμείλια (*Il.* 12.28–9 ἐκ δ᾽ ἄρα πάντα θεμείλια κύμασι πέμπε / φιτρῶν καὶ λάων), which Triph. uses in 397 προθέλυμνα θεμείλια Λαομέδοντος.

42 ἀμβολίῃ δ᾽ ἤσχαλλε δυσαχθέι λαὸς ᾽Αχαιῶν: the Achaeans are aware that all their attacks against the Trojans are doomed to fail because of the walls, and become demoralised (Apollod. *Epit.* 5.8 Ἤδη δὲ ὄντος τοῦ πολέμου δεκαετοῦς ἀθυμοῦσι τοῖς Ἕλλησι). The line brings together old and new: λαὸς ᾽Αχαιῶν occurs four times in the *Iliad* in the same *sedes* (6.223, 7.434, 13.822, 23.156); ἀμβολίη is not Homeric, but it is epic (cf. AR 1.861–2, QS 1.431 ἀμβολίη πολέμοιο, several times in Nonn. *D.* including 25.273 ἀμβολίῃ πολέμοιο; also Triph. 381 ἀμβολιεργὸν ἔτος πολέμοιο); δυσαχθής ('very grievous') is a Triphiodorean innovation, maybe going back to *Il.* 11.274 = 400 ἤχθετο … κῆρ, and to be compared with QS 3.421 πολυαχθέι … πέτρῃ and Nonn. *D.* 40.155 ζυγὰ δουλοσύνης βαρυαχθέα. On the meaning of ἤσχαλλε, see *Il.* 2.296–7 τῶ οὐ νεμεσίζομ᾽ ᾽Αχαιοὺς / ἀσχαλάαν παρὰ νηυσὶ κορωνίσιν, 24.403–4, with Campbell *Lex. s.v.* ἀσχάλλω.

43–50 Helenus' predictions. According to QS, Αἶσα, the Allotter, brings about the end of the war when she gives Helen to Deiphobus in a detested marriage (10.343–5 Αἶ δ᾽ ὀάριζον / ὁππόσα λοίγιος Αἶσα περὶ φρεσὶν οὐλομένῃσι / μήδετο), causing Helenus to be angry and abandon Troy, to be captured later by the Achaeans (346–9). In Triph.'s case no supernatural force is invoked, and Helenus seems to leave Troy voluntarily and give his former enemies all the information necessary to conquer the city (note the nuance of unexpectedness in 46 ἐπὶ … ἤλυθε μάντις, as in e.g. *Od.* 19.155 εἷλον ἐπελθόντες). In other versions Helenus retreats to Mount Ida, where he is approached or ambushed by the Achaeans: cf. Apollod. *Epit.* 5.9; Dictys 4.18.

These events are not brought up in the Homeric poems, though the marriage of Helen to Deiphobus after Paris' death was hinted at in *Od.* 4.276, 8.516–20 (to be read with Bernabé *PEG Iliades Parvae* Arg. 1, line 10, and fr. 4 = *Schol. in Od.* 8.517 [397.17 Dind.]; *Schol. in Od.* 4.276.a, d1, d2, d3 [Pontani 2010]). According to Homer, Helenus was a good seer (*Il.* 6.76 οἰωνοπόλων ὄχ᾽ ἄριστος) and a fighter (13.576–600), but since Deiphobus was the most valiant Trojan warrior after Hector (13.402–539), Helen was given to him and not to Helenus. The latter became angry because he was older than Deiphobus and thought that this was more important than skill in battle: cf. Conon *FGrH* 26 F 1.34.1 Ἕλενος καὶ Δηίφοβος ἤριζον ὑπὲρ τῶν Ἑλένης γάμων καὶ κρατεῖ βίαι καὶ θεραπείαι τῶν δυνατῶν Δηίφοβος, νεώτερος ὢν Ἑλένου. Ἕλενος δὲ τὴν ὕβριν οὐ φέρων εἰς τὴν Ἴδην ἀποχωρήσας ἡσύχαζε.

Triph. brings the stagnation of the war to a climax, immediately shifting the course of the narrative with Helenus' prophecies. To achieve this, he resorts to a common Homeric technique called 'pivotal contrafactuals' (Louden 1993), 'Beinahe-Episoden' (Nesselrath 1992 – analysing their use by QS and Nonn. on pp. 53–73) or 'if-not' situations (de Jong 2004a, xvii-xviii, 68–81). According to Lang's classification (1989), the one used by Triph. here (43 Καί νύ κεν …) is an unreal condition with negative protasis, type C (some action or passion would have continued, had not someone put a stop to it). The sequence emphasises that we are facing a pivotal point or a boundary in the evolution of the Trojan War, and thus heightens the sense of climax and dramatises the solution of the crisis (see Louden 1993, 186–7). This explains the contrast between the lassitude of the weapons (8b–13) and how the Achaeans are spurred into immediate and even frantic action by Helenus' prophecies (49 ff.). The same resource is used in the episode of Helen faced with the horse: 487 ff.

43 ὑστατίοισιν ἐποκνήσασα πόνοισιν: *b* has ὑποκνήσασα (preferred by Livrea *Triph.*, p. XIX, n. 1; Monaco 2007, 187–8), but most editors prefer to correct F's reading ἐπὶ κνήσασα into ἐποκνήσασα (Gerlaud *Triph.*, 110; Campbell *Lex.* APP 43; Bremer 1988, 186; Dubielzig *Triph.*, 136–7). Triph. would have built this *hapax* upon ὀκνεῖν with ἀποκνέω and κατοκνέω (cf. LSJ *s.vv.*) in the background, meaning "having recoiled" or "shrunk back", here "before the latest toilings". Καί νύ κεν

(also line 487) is a common introduction of pivotal contrafactuals: *Il.* 3.373, 5.311, 5.388 etc.; *Od.* 4.363, 4.502; AR 1.1298, 4.20, 4.1305; QS 1.447, 3.752, 4.563, 6.570, 9.403; Nonn. *D.* 6.371, 9.137, 12.373.

44 ἀκάματός περ ἐοῦσα μάτην ἵδρωσεν Ἀθήνη is close in sense to *Il.* 4.26–7 πῶς ἐθέλεις ἅλιον θεῖναι πόνον ἠδ᾽ ἀτέλεστον, / ἱδρῶ θ᾽ ὅν ἵδρωσα μόγῳ. **ἀκάματος** is one of QS' favourite words. He uses it 60 times, including 12.152 ἀκαμάτῳ Τριτωνίδι. Both he and Triph. keep their distance from the Homeric ἀκάματον πῦρ (*Il.* 5.4, 15.731, 16.122, 18.225; 21.13, 341; 23.52; *Od.* 20.123, 21.181). Gerlaud (*Triph.* p. 110, n. to 44; see already Wernicke *Triph.*, n. *ad loc.*) suggests that ἀκάματος … Ἀθήνη may be alluding to the goddess's name Ἀτρυτώνη (*Il.* 2.157 etc. αἰγιόχοιο Διὸς τέκος, Ἀτρυτώνη), relating it to the entry in Hesychius (ἀτρυτώνη· *ἀκαταπόνητος AS ἀκοπίαστος S ἄτρωτος ἐν μάχῃ· ἡ Ἀθηνᾶ). **μάτην** is not Homeric (though cf. *hCer* 308), which may explain why QS avoids it. On the other hand, see Opp. *H.* 4.258 τῷ πολλὰ μάτην περιμοχθήσωσι; Triph. 421, 606; Nonn. *D.* e.g. 1.312 μάτην μογέεσκεν. It also occurs in sepulchral (e.g. *AP* 7.290.5 τί μάτην πρὸς κύματ᾽ ἐμόχθει;) and other epigrams (*AP* 9.370.5 ἤλιτον ἡ χέρσοιο μάτην φυγάς, 734.1 μάτην ἐπὶ μόσχον ἐπείγεαι).

45–50 Helenus is introduced in the same allusive way as characters previously mentioned. He is first called 46 ξένος … μάντις and should be identified by his relationship with Deiphobus (45) and his prophesying against his own hometown (48). His name is only given in line 49.

45 εἰ μὴ Δηιφόβοιο γαμοκλόπον ὕβριν ἐάσσας: ὕβρις is Agamemnon's (*Il.* 1.203, 214; 9.368) and the suitors' (*Od.* 1.368, 3.207, 4.321 …) sin, and Triph. uses it also in non-erotic contexts (285, 448, 449). A similar turn of phrase can be found in Nonn. *D.* 44.230 οὐ χθονίην σέθεν ὕβριν ἐγὼ νήποινον ἐάσω. γαμοκλόπος seems to be a Triphiodorean innovation (cf. the Homeric ἐπίκλοπος in *Il.* 22.281), later adopted by Nonnus for Ares (*D.* 6.97) or Zeus (8.64, 47.545). See also *AP* 9.475.5 (Helen on seeing the combat between Paris and Menelaus) μὴ πάλιν ἄλλος ἕλῃ με γαμοκλόπος.

46 Ἰλιόθεν Δαναοῖσιν ἐπὶ ξένος ἤλυθε μάντις: Triph. is unique in presenting Helenus' prophecy as a voluntary treason, whereas in other sources he is captured on Mount Ida after leaving Troy in anger and is forced to prophesy. On this episode, see S. *Ph.* 604–14; the hypothesis of

E. *Ph.* in *P.Oxy.* 27.2455, fr. 17, col. xviii, lines 254ff.; Conon *FGrH* 26 F 1.34; Apollod. *Epit.* 5.9–10.

47 οἷα δέ που μογέοντι χαριζόμενος Μενελάῳ: compare *Il.* 11.23 τοὔνεκά οἱ τὸν [θώρηκα] δῶκε χαριζόμενος βασιλῆι and similar turns of phrase (*Il.* 15.448–9, 17.290–1; *Od.* 8538, 10.43–4). The expression does not occur in QS, but is familiar in Nonn. *D.* (cf. e.g. 5.108 Ζηνὶ χαριζομένη, 10.144 χαριζόμενος δὲ Λυαίῳ). The situation is not clearly accounted for. Is it a favour done out of pity? Does Helenus only want to please the king, or is he bargaining for his life with his prophecy? See Conon *FGrH* 26 F 1.34.2 καὶ τὰ μὲν ἀπειλαῖς τὰ δὲ δώροις, πλέον δὲ τῆι πρὸς Τρῶας ὀργῆι ἀποκαλύπτει αὐτοῖς Ἕλενος.

48 ὀψιτέλεστον ὄλεθρον repeats the Homeric *hapax* (*Il.* 2.324–5 ἡμῖν μὲν τόδ᾽ ἔφηνε τέρας μέγα μητίετα Ζεύς, / ὄψιμον, ὀψιτέλεστον, ὅου κλέος οὔ ποτ᾽ ὀλεῖται) and avoids the ubiquitous αἰπὺς ὄλεθρος (*Il.* 6.57, 10.371, 11.174, 12.345 …) or λυγρὸς ὄλεθρος (*Il.* 2.873, 6.16, 10.174, 20.289, 24.735; cf. Triph. 228 λυγρὸν ὄλεθρον). It also stresses the lateness of the developments: cf. 1 τέρμα … μεταχρόνιον πολέμοιο. Rephrased by Nonn. *D.* 25.362 νίκην ὀψιτέλεστον ἐμὴ μαντεύσατο Ῥείη.

49 βαρυζήλοιο … Ἑλένοιο: Triph. seems to have used Lyc. *Alex.* 57 ἡ βαρύζηλος δάμαρ (of Oenone, Paris' first wife) and Nonnus (s. Peek *Lex. s.v.*) seems to have approved. As Rodari (2005, 263) notes, the adjective βαρύζηλος brings together two victims of Helen, who take their vengeance against Troy: Oenone refuses to heal Paris, and Helenus defects to the Achaeans. QS describes Helenus' feelings as μῆνιν … καὶ χόλον (10.346–7). See also *AP* 2.155–6 (Christodorus) Οὔθ᾽ Ἕλενος κοτέων ἀπεπαύετο· πατρίδι νηλὴς / φαίνετο δινεύων ἔτι που χόλον. Helenus' activities as a seer are perfectly Homeric: for θεοπροπίης, see e.g. *Il.* 1.86–7 ᾧ τε σύ, Κάλχαν, / εὐχόμενος Δαναοῖσι θεοπροπίας ἀναφαίνεις.

50 Οἱ δὲ …/ αὐτίκα μηκεδανοῖο μόθου τέλος refers to the proemium (1 Τέρμα … μεταχρόνιον πολέμοιο): Triph. stresses that he is dealing with his first topic. μηκεδανός only joins the epic lexicon with the Oppians (e.g. *H.* 5.634–5 πείσματι μηκεδανῷ μεσάτης ὑπὲρ ἰξύος ἀνὴρ / ἔζωσται [with *Schol. in Hal.* 5.634], *C.* 1.402 μηκεδανόν, κρατερὸν δέμας ἄρκιον), and it is often used by Nonnus (see Peek *Lex. s.v.*).

51–6 Helenus' prophecies fulfilled. Triph. offers a rather vague account of the events after the prophecies. Neoptolemus joins the Achaean army (51–4, note 51 ἔβαινε), but his presence in Troy is not explained. Why does he travel to Troy at this particular moment? Did somebody fetch him? The same happens with Athena's Palladion, whose arrival at the Achaean camp is vaguely described with ἦλθε (55). The subsequent construction of the wooden horse (57–107) is completely detached from the plot, without any reference to Helenus' prophecies.

According to Apollodorus (*Epit.* 5.10), Helenus had mentioned three requirements for the capture of Troy: Pelops' bones (also Paus. 5.13.4), Neoptolemus (also *Od.* 11.506–37) and the Palladion (Conon *FGrH* 26 F 1.34). Other sources add the bow that Heracles had given to Philoctetes (S. *Ph.* 1336–42; hypothesis of E. *Phil.* in *P.Oxy.* 27.2455, fr. 17, col. xviii, lines 254ff.) and the wooden horse (Conon *loc.cit.*). It is difficult to determine the source of Triph.'s account and, though it would be tempting to think of the *Ilias Parva* (Bernabé *PEG Iliades Parvae* Arg. 1), he could have profited from one of the numerous summary narrations of the events that were also in circulation (e.g. *P. Yale* 2.110 + *P.Ryl.* 1.22). Even if he had access to those versions, he did not need to follow them. QS, for instance, presents the embassy to Scyros and Neoptolemus' arrival to Troy in Book 7 and the embassy to Lemnos and the reception of Philoctetes in Book 9. Helenus' prophecy that Troy will only be captured if the Trojans are deprived of the protection of the Palladion comes later (10.355ff.).

51–4 Neoptolemus joins the Achaean army coming from Scyros. Odysseus tells Achilles in *Od.* 11.506–37 that he himself had fetched Neoptolemus from Scyros (according to S. *Ph.* 344, Phoenix had accompanied him) and brought him to Troy, where he had revealed himself to be a good speaker and a fearless warrior. Achilles mentions in the *Iliad* that Neoptolemus was being brought up in Scyros: *Il.* 19.326–7. The *Ilias Parva* provides more details about the episode: Bernabé *PEG Iliades Parvae* Arg. 1, lines 10–13, and frags. 13–15, 18. See also QS 7.169–477; Dictys 4.15–18.

The introduction of Neoptolemus, whose name is not mentioned, is, like that of Penthesilea, an encomiastic medallion (Miguélez-Cavero 2008, 354–5). Triph. starts with the usual reference to the nobility of his birthplace (51 Σκῦρον … εὐπάρθενον ἄστυ) and the importance of his

lineage (52 υἱὸς Ἀχιλλῆος καὶ ἐπαινῆς Δηιδαμείης). Since he is too young (53 μή πω δ᾽ εὐφυέεσσιν ἰουλίζων κροτάφοισιν) to boast personal achievements, he focuses on his qualities: beauty (53 εὐφυέεσσιν; cf. *Od.* 11.522 κεῖνον δὴ κάλλιστον ἴδον μετὰ Μέμνονα δῖον, 529 χρόα κάλλιμον; not uncommon in a Homeric warrior, cf. e.g. *Il.* 4.146–7) and strength, in which he takes after his father (Triph. 54a ἀλκὴν πατρὸς ἔφαινε). The likeness of sons and fathers as a proof of identity and reason for praise is a common topic: see *Od.* 1.206–9, 3.123–5, 4.141–50 (all three on Telemachus); Hes. *Op.* 235; S. *Ph.* 356–8; QS 7.176–7, 185–6, 357–8a.

Triphiodorus introduces Neoptolemus in the light of the *paradeigma* of his parents as a prelude to his future passionate and impulsive behaviour, similar to his father's (152–8, 634–43). On the epic illustration ἐκ παραδείγματος and the use of genealogy as a paradigm, see Alden 2000, 23–38, 153–78.

51 Σκῦρον … εὐπάρθενον ἄστυ is a novel development: in other occurrences of the adjective, it means 'happy maid' (E. *Ba.* 520, *AP* 6.287.1, Nonn. *D.* 16.311), but lacking a Homeric adjective for the town (*Il.* 9.668 Σκῦρον … αἰπεῖαν, Ἐνυῆος πτολίεθρον; QS chooses Σκύροιο πολυκλύστοιο, 4.170), Triph. redefines it as a possessive ('which has beautiful maidens'). Nonnus incorporates Triph.'s innovation: *D.* 39.188 Κεκροπίης εὐπαρθένου, 42.462 Νάξον … εὐπάρθενον, 43.430 Φρυγίην εὐπάρθενον. Cf. Monaco 2007, 159–60.

52a υἱὸς Ἀχιλλῆος: so QS 8.33, 135, 150, 366; 11.216, 234, 239, 346; 12.315.

52b ἐπαινῆς Δηιδαμείης: it is usually Persephone who is ἐπαινή 'dreadful' (*Il.* 9.457, 569; *Od.* 10.491, 534, 11.47) and the epithet does not suit a young woman such as Deidameia. Triph. seems to derive the adjective from ἔπαινος with the meaning 'worthy of praise', for which see Hsch. E 4089 ἐπαινή· ἐπαινετή, ἢ δεινὴ καὶ φοβερά. See Appel 1987; Dubielzig *Triph.*, 137. QS resorts to more common epithets: 7.184 ἐύφρονα Δηιδάμειαν, 385 ἐσθλὴ Δηιδάμεια.

53–4a μή πω δ᾽ εὐφυέεσσιν ἰουλίζων κροτάφοισιν / ἀλκὴν πατρὸς ἔφαινε: compare QS 7.357–8 καί περ ἐὼν ἔτι παιδνός, ἔτ᾽ ἄχνοος· ἀλλά μιν ἀλκὴ / καὶ μένος ὀτρύνεσκον. **ἰουλίζω** is created by Triph. from

ἴουλος ('first growth of the beard'). Probably he had in mind *Od.* 11.319–20 πρίν σφωϊν ὑπὸ κροτάφοισιν ἰούλους / ἀνθῆσαι πυκάσαι τε γένυς εὐανθέϊ λάχνῃ. For the motif of the cheeks covered by the first beard, see also Theocr. *Id.* 15.85 πρᾶτον ἴουλον ἀπὸ κροτάφων καταβάλλων; AR 2.43–4 Διὸς υἱός, ἔτι χνοάοντας ἰούλους / ἀντέλλων, 3.519–20 οὐδέ περ ὅσσον ἐπανθιόωντας ἰούλους / ἀντέλλων; *AP* 6.198.1–2 (Antipater), 12.36.1–2 (Asclepiades). ἀλκὴν πατρὸς ἔφαινε: compare QS 3.121–2 (of Neoptolemus) εἴκελος ἀλκὴν / πατρὶ ἑῷ; Nonn. *D.* 34.182 (Morrheus) Ἰνδῶν Γηγενέων μιμήσατο πάτριον ἀλκήν.

54b νέος περ ἐὼν πολεμιστής ("young warrior though he was") is built upon Homeric turns of phrase, such as *Il.* 10.549 γέρων περ ἐὼν πολεμιστής, 15.585 θοός περ ἐὼν πολεμιστής, 23.306 ἦ τοι μέν σε νέον περ ἐόντα. Dubielzig *Triph.*, 13 calls this and similar etymologies of personal names 'Versteck-Spiele', but the technical term would be 'narrativised etymologies'. Cf. Tsitsibakou-Vasalos 2007, 57: "the qualities evoked by the signifier or the signified are attributed to the heroic or divine figure in the compass of narrative and in verisimilitude with the bearer's mythical *vita*. Proper names contain their own microstory and generate narrative". As Gerlaud explains (*Triph.*, 112), Triph. characterises Neoptolemus as a young warrior, at the same time creating an etymology of his name. The poet does not seem to be aware of the Homeric principle of children being named after their fathers' characteristics, which would make Neoptolemus 'one whose father is a young warrior', just as Telemachus is 'one whose father fights far away' (Wöhrle 1999, 62–3; Higbie 1995, 11–12). See also Paus. 10.26.4 (Bernabé *PEG Cypria* fr. 21) τὰ δὲ Κύπρια ἔπη φησὶν … Νεοπτόλεμον δὲ ὄνομα ὑπὸ Φοίνικος αὐτῷ τεθῆναι, ὅτι Ἀχιλλεὺς ἡλικίᾳ ἔτι νέος πολεμεῖν ἤρξατο, which means that either Triph. did not know the *Cypria* or simply rejected this convention because it did not fit his interests. Etymologies were creative tools of the poets, but also the field of the grammarian (Lallot 1991; Peraki-Kyriakidou 2002, 490–3).

55–6 The Palladion is stolen by the Greeks, but Cassandra is later portrayed clutching Athena's statue when Ajax assaults her (647–50). Apparently in his *Ilioupersis* Arctinus had solved the problem by stating that the stolen statue was a copy (DH 1.69.3 = Bernabé *PEG*, *Ilii Excidium* fr. 1; DH 2.66.5), but Triph. does not seem to be bothered by the inconsistency. The most common version of the story was that accord-

ing to which Diomedes and Odysseus ventured into Troy to steal the Palladion (some cases mention a rivalry between the two, with Odysseus trying to kill Diomedes and gain for himself all the glory): Bernabé *PEG*, *Iliades Parvae* Arg. 1, lines 17–18 (καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα σὺν Διομήδει τὸ παλλάδιον ἐκκομίζει ἐκ τῆς Ἰλίου), and fr. 25 dubium; E. *Rh.* 501–7; Verg. *A.* 2.162–70; Paus. 1.22.6, 1.28.9, 2.23.5; QS 10.350–4; Apollod. *Epit.* 5.13.

55 Ἦλθε δὲ καὶ Δαναοῖσιν ἑὸν βρέτας ἁγνὸν ἄγουσα: the Palladion is not referred to by its name, but simply as a wooden statue (βρέτας). For βρέτας ἁγνόν see AR 1.1119 ἱερὸν βρέτας, *Arg. Orph.* 609 βρέτας ἱερόν.

56 λῃστὴ μὲν ἐοῦσα, φίλοις δ᾽ ἐπίκουρος Ἀθήνη: the Palladion is said to be booty (λῃστή, with no reference to the assault), though Athena seems to have been cooperative. QS conveys a similar idea in 10.353 ἁρπάξας ἐθέλουσαν ἐύφρονα Τριτογένειαν. See also Verg. *A.* 2.162–70: Sinon tells the Trojans that Athena withdrew her protection from the Achaeans because they dared to steal the Palladion and touch it with bloody hands. λῃστή is a Homeric *hapax* (*Il.* 9.406 λῃστοὶ … βόες; see also *Il.* 9.408–9 οὔτε λεϊστὴ / οὔθ᾽ ἑλετή).

57–107 Construction of the Wooden Horse

Introduction (57–61)
- 57–8 Epeius and Athena, makers of the horse
- 59–61 Preparation of the materials and antecedents

Construction (62–102)
- 62–6 Frame: lower part of the abdomen, neck and mane
- 67–79 Head: crest, eyes, teeth, hidden holes, ears
- 80–9 Completion of the body: upper half of the abdomen, tail, legs and feet, hooves
- 90–102 Accessories: door and ladder, trappings, wheels

Conclusion (103–7)
- 103–5 General impression
- 106–7 Construction of a wall

Like the arrival of Neoptolemus (51–4) and the theft of the Palladion (55–6), the construction of the horse is not explicitly related to Helenus' prophecies; nor are we told whose idea the stratagem was or how it was decided. When the description is completed, the narrative moves without any transition to the next episode, the Achaean assembly and Odysseus' speech (108–52a).

The *ekphrasis* is a self-contained unit with a clear introduction and conclusion, but it does not lack connections with the main narrative. In the first place, the construction of the horse is related at the beginning to the past events of the Trojan Cycle (59–61 the Achaeans use wood from Mount Ida, just as Paris had done to build his ships, thus closing the cycle of grief started by Paris), and at the end to future developments (106–7 construction of a wall, a reminder that the horse is part of the strategy that will serve to defeat the Trojans). Secondly, this description is a key factor in the 'characterisation' of the horse as an attractive and yet evil artefact, essential to understand why the Trojans were completely overcome by its charm (247ff.). The comparison of the horse with a ship (60–4), the impression that it is about to become a real horse and run (74, 79, 84–6), and the description of the wheels (99–102) prepare the ground for the transporting of the horse (305–35).

A. Epic Tradition

The wooden horse is mentioned in *Od.* 4.271–89, 8.492–520 and 11.523–32, and was the protagonist of several scenes of the *Little Iliad* (Bernabé *PEG*, *Iliades Parvae* Arg. 1, lines 14–23, and fr. 8) and the *Iliou Persis* (Bernabé *PEG*, *Ilii Excidium* Arg. 1, lines 3–13, and fr. 2). See also the surviving fragments of Stesichorus' *Ilioupersis*: *P.Oxy.* 2619 fr. 15b, 30, 31, 15a (S 89–90 *PMGF*; Schade 2003, 151–2, 199–203). Virgil's Aeneas narrates the deployment of the snare from the perspective of a defeated Trojan, which means that he is not very interested in the construction of the horse (2.15–16 "instar montis equum divina Palladis arte / aedificant sectaque intexunt abiete costas") or its physical properties. On the description of the Trojan Horse in Verg. *A.* 2.13–39, see the bibliographical introduction in Horsfall 2008, 56–7.

QS is closer to Triph. (comm. in Campbell 1981, 37–56, esp. 46–7; Vian 1959, 61–2). In the *Posthomerica*, Athena inspires Epeius to build the wooden horse in a dream, and on waking up he shares his dream with the Achaean army (12.104–21). The building of the horse (12.122–56), suggested by Odysseus earlier (12.25–45, 80–3), is a collective enterprise, with the army felling trees on Mount Ida and making the pieces for Epeius to assemble (122–45a). To bring out the lifelike qualities and the grandeur of the result, QS compares it with a living horse and exploits the ekphrastic motif of its quasi-animation (142–7, 149–50), as well as insisting on Athena's involvement in its

construction and the deployment of the snare (147–8, 151–6). Note that the construction of the horse is not QS's 'main' *ekphrasis.* He duplicates the model *ekphrasis* of Achilles' shield (*Il.* 18.483–607) with his descriptions of the shields of Achilles (5.6–101) and Eurypylus (6.198–293), on which see Baumbach 2007; Maciver 2007; Maciver 2012a, 42ff.

Several scholars have claimed that Triph. imitated QS (12.104–56), expanding his description of the wooden horse. According to Noack (1892, 454–5), the account is completely dependent on QS, whereas Vian (1959, 62) considered that Triph. had drawn on the *Little Iliad* and QS on the *Ilioupersis*, and that Triph. had also exploited the elements he found in QS. In Gerlaud's view (*Triph.* 17–19), Triph. found inspiration in QS, but also had in mind Oppian's description of the ideal horse (*C.* 1.173–95) and the *ekphraseis* popularised in the Second Sophistic. There is also the possibility that they shared a common source, identified by Severyns (1926, 308–11) as the *Ilioupersis.* Cesareo (1928, 265–7) tried to prove that Verg. *A.* 2.235–6 was the source for Triph. 67–8 and 99–102, but he was severely criticised (Vian 1959, 69; Gerlaud *Triph.*, 18–19). The most realistic approach so far has been that of Campbell (1981, 46–7), who argued that the two descriptions only shared their topic (the naming of the parts of the horse is therefore inevitable), and not their mood or approach, and were thus completely unrelated.

The depictions of the horse are studied in Sparkes 1971; Sadurska 1986; Ingoglia 2000; and Fuchs 2007. Though not much is left, it is clear that the preferred motifs were the transporting of the horse into Troy and the descent of the heroes to start the final battle, rather than the building of the horse.

Triph. focuses on the construction of the horse in response to Odysseus' instructions to Demodocus (*Od.* 8.492–3 ἀλλ᾽ ἄγε δὴ μετάβηθι καὶ ἵππου κόσμον ἄεισον / δουρατέου, τὸν Ἐπειὸς ἐποίησεν σὺν Ἀθήνῃ), and to the need to include in his poem one of the staple epic components, the description (ἔκφρασις) of a beautifully-decorated object, in the mode of Homer's shield of Achilles (*Il.* 18). Homer describes the forging of a shield engraved with a series of scenes and Triph. seems to split this model into two units, first describing the construction of the horse (57–107) and then presenting the nyktomachy as a series of juxtaposed scenes (506–691).

As regards the shield, however, there are several other suitable Homeric elements of which Triph. does not make use. In the *Iliad*, Thetis and Hephaestus make it clear that the new weapons will make Achilles' appearance more impressive, but will not protect him from the dreadful fate that awaits him (*Il.* 18.457–67), just as Troy is doomed (*Od.* 8.511–13, Triph. 297) despite the protection of its god-built walls (Scully 2003, 31). This could have been easily adapted by highlighting the fact that Athena's help with the statue would enable the Achaeans to enter Troy, but that nothing would prevent her revenge for their misbehaviour during the nyktomachy (165–7, 647–50), just as the walls of Troy offered no protection against fate. Achilles' armour is also a one-off present from the gods (*Il.* 19.10–11; similarly [Hes.] *Sc.* 139–40), but no mention is made of the uniqueness of the horse, and the involvement of the gods in the war is not explained.

The construction of the horse is also close to the Hesiodic fashioning of Pandora (*Th.* 570–93, *Op.* 60–105), a statue endowed with polychrome accessories (*Th.* 574–5 ἀργυφέῃ ἐσθῆτι … καλύπτρην / δαιδαλέην, 576 στεφάνους … ἄνθεα, 578 στεφάνην χρυσέην; *Op.* 74 ὅρμους χρυσείους, 75 ἄνθεσιν) and lifelike qualities (*Op.* 61–2, 77–80; see note to Triph. 72–9). Both Pandora and the horse are the means to a deception (δόλος at *Th.* 589, *Op.* 83, just like the horse in *Od.* 8.494) which causes a great deal of pain to humanity (*Th.* 592 πῆμα μέγα, *Op.* 56, 82, 94–5).

The appeal of both statues partly stems from their being treated as tutelary images, which would never be expected to cause any harm (Steiner 2001, 116–17). They are inlaid with costly materials, just as in the rituals of *kosmesis* or adornment of statues, and are paraded, crowned, wreathed and displayed, as images of divinities would be during their festivals. Both are no more than representations, not the real thing (Pandora is a fabricated woman, and the horse is made of wood), and they are not what they appear to be (Francis 2009, 14–15). Pandora is given the form of a modest girl (*Th.* 572 = *Op.* 71 παρθένῳ αἰδοίῃ ἴκελον), but is filled with guile and shamelessness (*Op.* 67–8, 77–8), whereas Triph.'s horse is astonishingly beautiful, but its eyes and teeth (69–74) betray its evil intentions, and it will be filled with men ready to attack Troy. Triph. makes the parallels all the more explicit by shaping lines 136–8 after *Op.* 57–8. On the elements shared by the horse and Pandora, see Faraone 1992, 100–3; Paschalis 2005, 93–6; Francis 2009.

As an instance of the creation scene, the building of the horse can also be related to dressing/arming scenes which add the nuance of preparation for a particular mission (Arend 1933, 92–8), e.g. *Il.* 14.166–88 (Hera); 19.364–92 (Achilles); *Od.* 8.362–6 (Aphrodite). The costliness and beauty of each garment or weapon enhance the status of the protagonist and the complexity of the task for which he or she is preparing. In this case it is the Achaeans that benefit from the connotations of the horse.

A dressing scene can also be part of a more complex theme of seduction (Sowa 1984, 67–94), different from a simple sexual encounter in that one of the persons involved is tricked into the relationship. The best-known instances of this are *Il.* 3.385–448 (Paris and Helen), 14.154–366 and 15.4–6 (Hera and Zeus); *Od.* 8.272–366 (Ares and Aphrodite), 23.153–343 (Odysseus and Penelope); Hes. *Th.* 535–89 (Pandora and Prometheus); *H. Ven.* 56–180 (Aphrodite and Anchises). They follow a common pattern (Sowa 1984, 71–2), including motivation, preparation, approach, links with nature, reactions of the seduced, deceit, overcoming objections, undressing, intercourse, awakening/dressing, which can be traced in the *Sack of Troy*:

- Motivation: Athena's and Hera's revenge for not being awarded the title of the most beautiful by Paris, as hinted at in 61 (νῆας Ἀλεξάνδρῳ … πήματος ἀρχήν).
- Preparation: construction of the horse (57–107), assembly (108–52a), warriors hiding in the horse (152b–203).
- Approach: the wall enclosing the horse is demolished (204–8).
- First reactions of the seduced and first objections: the Trojans move towards the horse (235–46) and express their admiration (247–9) and repudiation (250–7).
- Deceit and first overcoming of objections: Sinon (258–305).
- Tie with nature (318–27).
- Second reactions of the seduced and second objections: Cassandra (358–416).
- Overcoming objections for the second time: Priam disregards Cassandra's warning (417–43).
- Undressing and intercourse: the Trojans feast and fall asleep (444–53, 498–505).
- Awakening: the Trojans are violently awoken by the Achaean attack (540–1).

B. Rhetorical References

The description of the making of the wooden horse also betrays a rhetorical imprint. In the classifications of the rhetors it would fall into the category of ἔκφρασις τρόπων 'description of manner', just like the description of the construction of Achilles' weapons in *Il.* 18. In Theon's words: Αἱ δὲ καὶ τρόπων εἰσὶν ἐκφράσεις, ὁποῖαι τῶν σκευῶν καὶ τῶν ὅπλων καὶ τῶν μηχανημάτων, ὃν τρόπον ἕκαστον παρεσκευάσθη, ὡς παρὰ μὲν Ὁμήρῳ ἡ Ὁπλοποιία (118.22–4).

One of the most important characteristics of *ekphraseis* is that they do not focus so much on the object described as on the effect of seeing that object. In other words, "physical features are subsumed under the describer's reaction and inference and interpretation" (Becker 1993, 282 – with an analysis of the Hesiodic descriptions of Pandora on pp. 282–9; Webb 2009, 19–28, 87–106). In Triph.'s description, the search for ἐνάργεια and the references to visual reactions to the statue, which are built upon rhetorical sources of argumentation and aim to guide the reactions of the readers (Becker 1993, 282–9; Francis 2009, 15–16), are related to this trend.

The ἐπιχειρήματα or ἀφορμαί (rhetorical sources for discussion) of such a description of manner would be the very narrative in which it is inserted and those elements of it that can be described as beautiful, useful and pleasant: so Homer described Achilles' weapons as beautiful, strong, impressive to his fellow warriors and a cause of fear for his enemies (Theon 119.25–30; cf. also Hermog. *Prog*. 10.4–5 Patillon, including arguments from the narrative itself, beauty, utility and surprise). This is more or less what we read in lines 58 and 103–4a: an evil-looking, awesome statue (58 ἐχθρὸν ἄγαλμα πελώριον, 104 ὑψηλός), which was a cause of fear, but also exceedingly beautiful (103 Ὣς ὁ μὲν ἐξήστραπτε φόβῳ καὶ κάλλεϊ πολλῷ; for such a combination used of Achilles' weapons, cf. *Il.* 19.10–23, 22.131–7, 312–20, analysed in Scully 2003, 32–47). The *locus* of the surprise or admiration (Becker 1995, 35–8) is to be found in the subsequent reactions of the Trojans (247–9, 288–9; cf. *Il.* 15.682–3, 18.466–7), while the beauty and charm of the horse reappear later: 206–7, 468.

The emphasis on the method or procedure of the construction of the horse may be related to the typology of the ekphrastic exercise, but is of course mainly due to Homer's active approach to the description of Achilles's shield. The detail of the engraved scenes illustrated on it is

not applicable to the description of the horse, and Triph. chooses to make the horse grow before our eyes, to comply with one of the desirable virtues of any description, ἐνάργεια ('visibility', 'visuality'). Cf. Theon 118.7–8 (Ἔκφρασίς ἐστι λόγος περιηγηματικὸς ἐναργῶς ὑπ᾽ ὄψιν ἄγων τὸ δηλούμενον), 119.31–2 (Ἀρεταὶ δὲ ἐκφράσεως αἵδε· σαφήνεια μὲν μάλιστα καὶ ἐνάργεια τοῦ σχεδὸν ὁρᾶσθαι τὰ ἀπαγγελλόμενα). On ἐνάργεια and ἔκφρασις, see Becker 1995, 24–7; Manieri 1998, 149–72; Webb 1999, 11–15; Webb 2009, 87–106; Nünlist 2009, 194–8.

Both Aphthonius (12.1 Patillon) and Nicolaus (69.12–17) highlight the importance of the order of the description, from the beginning to the end, or from head to toe, which bestows life on the subject: see esp. Nicol. 69.17 οὕτω γὰρ πανταχόθεν ἔμψυχος ὁ λόγος γίνεται. Triph. seems to be writing with such a starting point in mind, aiming to make the building and deployment of the snare intelligible and to model the visualisation of the resulting statue through the eyes and intentions of its builder. QS is more explicit about this when he says in 12.145–7 ᾽Αέξετο δ᾽ ἱερὸν ἔργον / ὡς ἐτεὸν ζώοντος, ἐπεὶ θεὸς ἀνέρι τέχνην / δῶκ᾽ ἐρατήν, meaning that the addition of each new part brings the statue closer to a living animal, and insisting that this is the result of a god-inspired technique.

In Triph. these two lines of thought take different shapes. The process is visualised:

1. through the naming of each part of the horse (62 πλευρῇς, 63 γαστέρα, 65 αὐχένα … στήθεσσιν, 66 τρίχα, 67 αὐχένι, 68 κορυφῆς, 73 γναθμοῖσιν ὀδόντας, 75 στόματος, 77 μυκτήρων, 78 οὔατα … κροτάφοισιν, 80 νῶτα … λαγόνεσσι … ῥάχιν, 81 ἰσχία … γλουτοῖσιν, 82 ἴχνεσιν … οὐρή, 84 πόδες … γονάτεσσιν, 87 κνήμῃσιν … ὁπλαί, 91 πλευρῇς, 95 αὐχένος, 100 ποδῶν; for catalogues of parts of animals and their description, cf. Xen. *Cyn.* 4.1 [hounds], 5.30 [hares]; *AP* 5.132.1–4 [girl]) and of the trappings (74 χαλινοῦ, 90 θύρην καὶ κλίμακα, 95 γενείων, 96 ἱμάντων, 97 χαλινοῦ, 100 κύκλον);
2. by relating each part to the surrounding ones in spatial terms (62 ἐπὶ πλευρῇς, 65 ἐπὶ στήθεσσιν, 73 ἐπὶ γναθμοῖσιν, 78 ἐπὶ κροτάφοισιν, 82 ἐπ᾽ ἴχνεσιν, 87 ὑπὸ κνήμῃσιν, 91 ἐπὶ πλευρῇς, 95 κατ᾽ αὐχένος; compare Aphth. 12.5.4–9 Patillon, 12.7, 12.11; Miguélez-Cavero 2008, 292; Manieri 1999, 113);

3. through the use of verbs indicating how the different parts fit together (65 ἔπηξε, 69 ἐνέθηκε, 73 ἐχάραξεν, 75 ἀνέῳξε, 78 ἄρηρεν, 80 συνήρμοσε, 81 συνῆψε, 90 ἐνέθηκε, 96 ἔζωσεν, 100 ὑπέθηκεν; Virgil employs a similar strategy: *A.* 2.16 "sectaque intexunt abiete costas", 112 "trabibus contextus acernis", 186 "roboribus textis").

The frequent use of copulative particles (δέ, τε, καί), recalling the description of Achilles' shield in *Iliad* 18, creates a steady narrative flow. The ἀκρίβεια of the details is always appreciated in the description of works of art: Webb 2006, 117–18, 120; Webb 2009, 90–2; Otto 2009, 77–80.

The complexity of the τέχνη of the construction is also emphasised through the combination of straight (62 ἐπὶ πλευρῇς ἀραρυῖαν, 64 ὀρθόν, 79 ὀρθὰ μάλ᾽) and curved lines (63 γαστέρα κοιλήνας … ἀμφιελίσσης, 64 τορνώσατο, 69 ἐν δυσὶ κύκλοις, 72 ἑλίκεσσιν, 74 ἐυστρέπτοιο, 83 γναμπτοῖσι … θυσάνοισιν, 88 ἑλίκεσσι, 96 πέριξ ἔζωσεν, 97 σκολιῇς ἑλίκεσσιν; see Miguélez-Cavero 2008, 123), and the adjectival comments on the high quality of the results (74 ἐυστρέπτοιο, 100 ἐυκνήμιδα).

To make it more credible, the statue is perforated so that the air inside can be renewed (75–7), and fitted with a door and a ladder to facilitate access to it (90–4), and wheels to make it easier to transport (99–102). Some of these motifs already appear in the earliest representations of the horse. See, for example, the seventh-century BC Ilioupersis pithos from Mykonos (image 1, on which see Anderson 1997, 183–6), where the horse is represented with wheels attached to its hooves, and its back and neck are perforated with window-like openings through which the heroes' heads can be seen.

Describing how something is made and/or works not only proves its feasibility and satisfies rational curiosity, but also attests to its power and anticipates its success, as well as enhancing the figure of its owners, in this case the Achaeans as future conquerors. On this point, see duBois 1982, 18–19; Schmiel 1992, 373–5; Becker 1995, 52–4.

However, the focus on the τέχνη lacks specific, real elements. To start with, the models for the construction are not realistic, but literary. In particular, the construction of the initial frame (62–8) is modelled on Odysseus' building a raft or boat in *Od.* 5.241–62. There is no explicit commendation of Epeius' skills (compare *Il.* 18.380 = 482 ἰδυίῃσι πραπίδεσσι, [Hes.] *Sc.* 244, 297, 313) and no detailed account is given

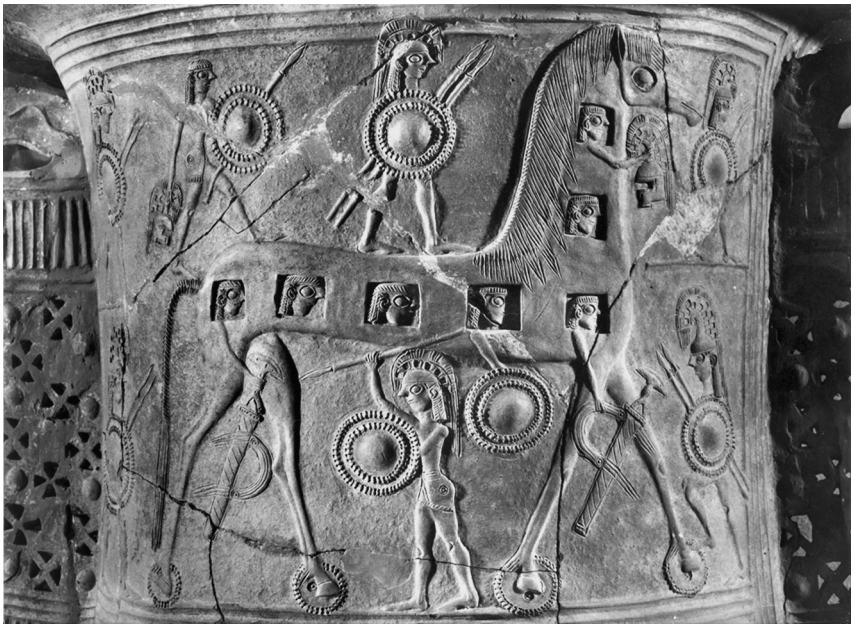

Image 1. Horse fitted with wheels under the hooves and seven windows along the neck and abdomen, showing the heads of seven men, four of whom strech an arm with a weapon through the hole. The horse is surrounded by fully-armed men who seem to have emerged from it already. Detail from the neck of a large terracotta funeral amphora decorated with reliefs, *ca.* 650 BC. Mykonos Archaeological Museum inv.2240. © Hellenic Republic. Ministry of Culture and Tourism. Mykonos Archaeological Museum.

of the specific technique used for any of the parts of the horse (no reference is made to the shape of the head, in particular). We have before us here an *ekphrasis*, a 'notional' construction, which gives an impression of complexity, but does not provide a technical account (Hollander 1988; Miguélez-Cavero 2008, 145–53). The same objective surfaces in several references to the horse later in the poem: 120–1 κρύφιος λόχος ἐκτετέλεσται / χερσὶ μὲν ἀνδρομέῃσιν, ἀτὰρ βουλῇσιν Ἀθήνης, 137 ἀταρβήτοιο θεῆς ἀπατήνορα τέχνην, 183 τέχνης ἀγλαόμητις ἑῆς ἐπέβαινεν Ἐπειός, 247 τεχνήεντος … δέμας αἰόλον ἵππου, 255 νεοξέστοιο … ἔργμασι τέχνης. On the topic of the σοφία of the painter and describer, see Michel 1974; Elsner 2007, 49–66.

To help the audience to imagine the statue, the wooden horse is related several times to the characteristic movements and behaviour of a living one, which explains the numerous points shared with descriptions of horses in Xen. *Eq.* and Opp. *C.* This strategy had already been exploited in the descriptions of the shields of Achilles (*Il.* 18.539, 599–601) and Heracles (*Sc.* 189–90, 194, 209, 211, 244, 314).

The wooden horse is gradually endowed with movement. Until the reference to the eyes (69–72), Triph. only mentions the limbs of the animal and the material they are made of. Then he grants the animal sight (72 ὀπωπαί), teeth ready to gnash the bit (74 ἄκρα δακεῖν σπεύδοντας ἐυστρέπτοιο χαλινοῦ), breathing (75–7) and hearing (79 αἰὲν ἑτοῖμα μένειν σάλπιγγος ἀκουήν). From then on he draws on the technique known as 'imminent quickening' (Kurman 1974, 2–3), when saying that each limb is 'about to move' (82 σύρετο, 84–6a, 87 ἔξεχον, 88 κατεσφήκωντο, 89 ἁπτόμεναι, 99 μενεδήιον, 101–2, 104–5), as if the movement were restrained (86b, 105a; cf. Becker 1995, 27–31, 34). This technique is first found in the ps.-Hesiodic *Sc.* 195–6, 214–15, 228, 231a, 240b, 251–2; Theocr. *Id.* 15.83–6; Herodas *Mim.* 4.31–4, 59–62, 69–71. For parallels for the focus on movement in descriptions of painted or sculpted horses, see Philostr. *Imag.* 1.27.2, 1.30.2, 2.4.2, 2.25.1; Philostr. Iun. *Imag.* 11.5; *AP* 9.777.

There is a tradition ascribing mobility to the wooden horse (Bernabé *PEG Ilii Excidium* fr. 2), based on the automata which Hephaestus has in *Il.* 18.417–20, but Triph. seems to be confining himself to ekphrastic *topoi*. For Virgil, see Faraone 1992, 103–4; for QS 12.142–7, 149–50, see Campbell 1981, 53–4.

The other visual elements are the colours and brilliance of the materials employed, exploited in clusters (66, 69–73, 88, 95–8; on the cumulative use of colour in epic, see Edgeworth 1992, 2). The horse itself would presumably have been a dull wood colour, since painting is nowhere mentioned (though see 95 λευκοῖο κατ᾽ αὐχένος), and to counterbalance this Triph. highlights the parts (65–8 mane, 69–72 eyes, 73–4 teeth, 87–9 hooves) and apparel (95–8) where other materials are used: gold (66), gems (70–2), bronze (87, 89, 98), turtle-shell (88), ivory (98).

The rich colours and materials divert the attention from the deprivation and decay at the end of the Trojan War. The statue is a wonder to behold and it also becomes an offering that the gods cannot refuse,

especially Ares, who would find the horse irresistible if it were alive (104–5). Indeed, Ares will finally play his part in the Achaean victory (563–5). However, despite the optimistic combination of white, red and bright tones, the mixture of γλαυκός and red in the eyes (69–72) calls for an interpretation of the horse as a cold-blooded killer. This cautionary detail was not directed at the Trojans, but at the external audience (Becker 1995, 150). In this sense the *ekphrasis* can be described as proleptic (Harrison 2001). On the ekphrastic use of chromatic references for their connotations, see Dubel 2009, 312–13.

57–8 Epeius builds the horse, inspired by Athena. In the *Iliad* Epeius takes part in the games for Patroclus (23.664–99 [boxing], 836–40 [discus]; QS 4.323–404), and the *Od.* mentions him making the horse with the help of Athena (8.492–3, paraphrased in Paus. 2.29.4; Paus. 2.19.6 attributes to him a wooden statue of Aphrodite in Argos). Athena's involvement in the destruction of Troy is foreseen by Zeus in *Il.* 15.70–1 εἰς ὅ κ᾽ Ἀχαιοὶ / Ἴλιον αἰπὺ ἕλοιεν Ἀθηναίης διὰ βουλάς. Odysseus appears in the *Odyssey* (4.284, 287; 8.494–5; 11.524–5) and later in the *Sack of Troy* (111–52, 200–3, 478–82) as the person in charge of the stratagem, but he is not linked to the construction of the statue.

The *Ilias Parva* ascribes to Epeius the construction of the horse and seems also to have mentioned Athena's intervention: Bernabé *PEG*, *Iliades Parvae* Arg. 1, line 14 (καὶ Ἐπειὸς κατ᾽ Ἀθηνᾶς προαίρεσιν τὸν δούρειον ἵππον κατασκευάζει) and fr. 8 (Apollod. *Epit.* 5.14 ὕστερον δὲ ἐπινοεῖ δουρείου ἵππου κατασκευὴν καὶ ὑποτίθεται Ἐπειῶι, ὃς ἦν ἀρχιτέκτων; compare Lyc. *Alex.* 930, calling Epeius ἱπποτέκτων). See also *Schol. in Lycophr.* 930. Other references to Athena inspiring Epeius: E. *Tr.* 9–12; *AP* 9.152.3–4 (Agathias), 156.3–4 (Antiphilus of Byzantium), 15.22.1–2 (Simmias). Nothing remains of Euripides' *Epeius.*

While Triphiodorus briefly introduces Epeius' intervention, QS creates a whole dream-scene explaining how Athena inspired him (QS 12.104–38). Triph.'s Epeius appears to be working on his own with Athena's inspiration, whereas in the *Posthom.* he directs the work of the army, with the horse presented as a collective enterprise (12.122–38). Later in the *Sack of Troy*, Odysseus refers to the horse as a product of human work and divine inspiration (121 χερσὶ μὲν ἀνδρομέῃσιν, ἀτὰρ βουλῇσιν Ἀθήνης), but when Sinon is asked to explain its origin he

conveniently ignores Athena's role and focuses on Epeius (295 Ἵππον δ᾽ Ἀργείοισι παλαίφατον εὗρεν Ἐπειός).

57–8 ἤδη καὶ βουλῇσι θεῆς ὑποεργὸς Ἐπειὸς / Τροίης ἐχθρὸν ἄγαλμα πελώριον ἵππον ἐποίει discreetly relate to the Homeric model (*Od.* 8.492–3 ἀλλ᾽ ἄγε δὴ μετάβηθι καὶ ἵππου κόσμον ἄεισον / δουρατέου, τὸν Ἐπειὸς ἐποίησεν σὺν Ἀθήνῃ), refining the original word game Ἐπειὸς ἐποίησεν as Ἐπειὸς / … ἐποίει (see later 183 ἐπέβαινεν Ἐπειός). Triph. seems also to have in mind AR 1.226 Ἄργος τε θεᾶς ὑποεργὸς Ἀθήνης (construction of the Argo).

58 Τροίης ἐχθρὸν ἄγαλμα πελώριον ἵππον: the first description of the horse emphasises its monstrous nature, with the dual attraction of beauty and horror. Athena inspires Epeius to build an enormous, awe-inspiring statue (ἄγαλμα πελώριον ἵππον, after *Od.* 8.509 μέγ᾽ ἄγαλμα and AR 4.1365 πελώριος … ἵππος – see Vian 2008, 397), like a portent. This is designed to cause admiration (θαῦμα): cf. *Il.* 10.439 on Rhesus' armour τεύχεα δὲ χρύσεια πελώρια, θαῦμα ἰδέσθαι ~ 18.82–3, Patroclus' armour; *Od.* 9.190 about the Cyclops. At the same time, it is evil (ἐχθρὸν … πελώριον: cf. *Od.* 12.87 Scylla πέλωρ κακόν) and inspires fear: cf. mountain wolves and lions near the home of Circe in *Od.* 10.219 τοὶ δ᾽ ἔδεισαν, ἐπεὶ ἴδον αἰνὰ πέλωρα; QS 12.463–4 Κακὴ δ᾽ ἐπενίσετο φύζα / Τρῶας, ὅτ᾽ εἰσενόησαν ἀνὰ πτόλιν αἰνὰ πέλωρα, of the serpents that are about to kill Laocoon. Later Priam refers to it as a portent: Triph. 289 ἵππος, ἀμειλίκτοιο φόβου τέρας. See also Verg. *A.* 2.245 "monstrum infelix".

59–61 Preliminaries: a short introduction to the actual building of the horse with the cutting of the wood from the nearby Mount Ida, also mentioned in the *Little Iliad* (Bernabé *PEG*, *Iliades Parvae* fr. 8 οὗτος [Ἐπείος] ἀπὸ τῆς Ἴδης ξύλα τεμὼν ἵππον κατασκευάζει κοῖλον ἔνδοθεν εἰς τὰς πλευρὰς ἀνεωιγμένον). QS expands on this topic (12.122–38a).

59–60a Καὶ δὴ τέμνετο δοῦρα καὶ ἐς πεδίον κατέβαινεν / Ἴδης ἐξ αὐτῆς: to be compared with the long account in QS 12.122–38a. Nonnus develops the motif of the cutting and transporting of wood in *D.* 37.7–36. Καὶ δὴ τέμνετο δοῦρα, after *Od.* 5.243 αὐτὰρ ὁ τάμνετο δοῦρα, which also inspired QS 12.135–6 οἳ μὲν γὰρ τέμνεσκον ὑπ᾽

ὀκριόεντι σιδήρῳ / δούρατα; Nonn. *D.* 45.191 τέμνων νήια δοῦρα. ἐς πεδίον κατέβαινεν ~ *Il.* 3.252 ἐς πεδίον καταβῆναι.

60–1 Ἴδης ἐξ αὐτῆς, ὁπόθεν καὶ πρόσθε Φέρεκλος / νῆας Ἀλεξάνδρῳ τεκτήνατο, πήματος ἀρχήν is constructed after *Il.* 5.62–4 (on Phereclus) ὃς καὶ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ τεκτήνατο νῆας ἐΐσας / ἀρχεκάκους, αἳ πᾶσι κακὸν Τρώεσσι γένοντο / οἵ τ᾽ αὐτῷ. Note the techniques of rephrasing, esp. in πήματος ἀρχήν, after *Il.* 5.63 ἀρχεκάκους (also Collut. 197 ἀρχεκάκοιο … Φερέκλου), but using *Od.* 8.81 πήματος ἀρχή (this line was athetised: *Schol. in Od.* 8.81–2: ἐν ἐνίαις τῶν ἐκδόσεων οὐκ ἐφέροντο· διὸ ἀθετοῦνται) and *Il.* 6.282–3 (Paris) μέγα … πῆμα / Τρωσί. There was a learned dispute as to whether *Il.* 5.62 ὅς (and *Il.* 5.61 ὅς) referred to Phereclus or to his father Tecton, son of Harmon (5.59–60 Μηριόνης δὲ Φέρεκλον ἐνήρατο, Τέκτονος υἱὸν / Ἁρμονίδεω), reflected in the *Schol. in Il.* 5.60–2. Triph. here, Lycophron (*Alex.* 97) and Colluthus (196–201) all choose Phereclus. More on this passage and Triph.'s editorial work in 3.1.1.

The building of the ships for Paris' expedition parallels the construction of the horse (compared with a ship in 63–4), because the wood used in both cases comes from Mount Ida. In *Il.* 5.60–1, Phereclus, like Epeius, is protected by Athena, which Triph. does not mention because in the *Sack of Troy* she is an active protector of the Achaeans. Just as the building of the ships by Paris marked the beginning of an age of sorrow for the Trojans (in E. *Hec.* 629–37 the chorus states that the starting point of their misfortune was the cutting of timber for Paris' ships), the building of the horse by the Achaeans now marks the beginning of the final stage of the war for the Greeks. On the narrative analogies between the wooden horse and the ships of Paris, see Anderson 1997, 20–6.

62–102 Construction of the horse

62–4 The construction of the frame of the horse, compared with the frame of a ship, evokes Odysseus' construction of a raft in *Od.* 5.241–62 (the description is that of a boat: see Heubeck – West – Hainsworth 1988, pp. 274–5, n. to 5.243–61). In particular, lines 62–4 reverse the comparison in *Od.* 5.249–51 ὅσσον τίς τ᾽ ἔδαφος νηὸς τορνώσεται ἀνὴρ / φορτίδος εὐρείης, εὖ εἰδὼς τεκτοσυνάων, / τόσσον ἔπ᾽ εὐρεῖαν σχεδίην ποιήσατ᾽ Ὀδυσσεύς (*Od.* ὅσσον … τόσσον … ~ Triph. ὁπόσον; *Od.* εὖ εἰδὼς τεκτοσυνάων ~ Triph. ὀρθὸν … τέκτων; *Od.*

φορτίδος εὐρείης … ἔπ᾽ εὐρεῖαν σχεδίην ~ Triph. εὐρυτάτῃς μὲν ἐπὶ πλευρῇς; *Od.* νηὸς τορνώσεται ~ Triph. νεὸς … τορνώσατο; *Od.* ποιήσατ᾽ Ὀδυσσεύς ~ Triph. ποίει). Nonnus draws on the same passage when reporting the construction of ships by the Rhadamanes (*D.* 36.402–11) and the Tyrians (40.446–62). See Dubielzig *Triph.*, 27; Miguélez-Cavero 2008, 146–7.

The comparison of the wooden horse with a ship seems to have entered literary tradition early on: see Bernabé *PEG Iliades Parvae* Arg. 1, line 19, and Apollod. *Epit.* 5.15, both using ἐμβιβάζω, a common term for putting people on board a ship (Anderson 1997, 22–3); E. *Tr.* 537–9; Verg. *A.* 2.13–20 (with Clausen 2002, 62); QS 12.427–34. One of the rational explanations for the wooden horse was, of course, that it had been a ship of the type called ἵππος because it had a horse for a figurehead: cf. Euph. fr. 73 van Groningen. The comparison of the ship as a mode of marine transport with the horse, the means of transport on dry land, occurs already in *Od.* 4.707–9, 5.366–71, 13.81–3; Opp. *C.* 2.86–7. Dubielzig (*Triph.* 29) sees here an allusion to the rationalisation of the wooden horse as a ship.

Triph. compares the horse with a ship here and in other passages (185 ἱππείην … ἐς ὁλκάδα, 304 ff., 344 ὁλκῷ δουρατέῳ), and mentions the large size of the statue (75 στομάτος μεγάλοιο, 412 δέμας πολυχανδέος ἵππου), but he never claims that the horse is as big as a ship.

62–3a ποίει δ᾽ εὐρυτάτῃς μὲν ἐπὶ πλευρῇς ἀραρυῖαν / γαστέρα κοιλήνας: besides *Od.* 5.249–51, Triph. found inspiration in AR 1.946 αἰνοτάτῃσιν ἐπὶ πλευρῇς ἀραρυῖαι (also Triph. 78 οὔατα δ᾽ ἀκροτάτοισιν ἐπὶ κροτάφοισιν ἄρηρεν, 91 ἐπὶ πλευρῇς ἀραρυῖα). For the tmesis, see *Od.* 22.102 ἐπὶ κροτάφοις ἀραρυῖαν ~ [Hes.] *Sc.* 137. For another description of these parts in living animals, see Opp. *C.* 1.293–7, 3.327 εὐρύτατοι νώτοισιν, 491 νώτοις εὐρυτάτοισι.

Ποίει δ᾽ probably parallels the beginning of the *ekphrasis* of the shield of Achilles (*Il.* 18.478 Ποίει δὲ πρώτιστα). The idea of 'scooping out' (**γαστέρα κοιλήνας**) the abdomen of the horse highlights the inner cavity of the animal and reminds us of the typically Homeric 'hollow ships' (e.g. *Il.* 1.26 κοίλῃσιν … νηυσί). Compare also *Od.* 4.272 ἵππῳ ἔνι ξεστῷ, 4.277 = 8.515 κοῖλον λόχον; Bernabé *PEG*, *Iliades Parvae* fr. 8 οὗτος [Epeius] … ἵππον κατασκευάζει κοῖλον ἔνδοθεν εἰς τὰς πλευρὰς ἀνεωιγμένον).

63b–4 ὁπόσον νεὸς ἀμφιελίσσης / ὀρθὸν ἐπὶ στάθμην μέγεθος τορνώσατο τέκτων: besides *Od.* 5.249–51, the comparison with the work of the shipwright reshapes *Il.* 15.410–11 ἀλλ᾽ ὥς τε στάθμη δόρυ νήϊον ἐξιθύνει / τέκτονος ἐν παλάμῃσι δαήμονος.

νεὸς ἀμφιελίσσης is fully Homeric (the combination appears 7x in the *Il.*, 12x in the *Od.*; avoided by AR, Nonnus). According to Gerlaud (*Triph.*, p. 113, n. to 64), **ὀρθὸν ἐπὶ στάθμην** is based on *Od.* 5.245 = 17.341 ἐπὶ στάθμην ἴθυνεν (cf. *Schol. in Il.* 16.475 *b* <ἰθυνθήτην·> εἰς ὀρθὸν κατέστησαν). Similar phrases occur in S. fr. 474, 4–5 Radt *TrGF* ὥστε τέκτονος / παρὰ στάθμην ἰόντος ὀρθοῦται κανών; E. fr. 376 Kannicht *TrGF* οὐκ οἶδ᾽ ὅτῳ χρὴ κανόνι τὰς βροτῶν τύχας / ὀρθῶς ἀθρήσαντ᾽ εἰδέναι τί δραστέον; *AP* 7.380.2 (Crinagoras) καὶ ξεστὸν ὀρθῇ λαοτέκτονος στάθμῃ.

65–6 Neck and mane. αὐχένα δὲ γλαφυροῖσιν ἐπὶ στήθεσσιν ἔπηξε / ξανθῷ πορφυρόπεζαν ἐπιρρήνας τρίχα χρυσῷ: compare AR 4.1365–6 (a prodigious horse surging from the sea) ἐξ ἁλὸς ἤπειρόνδε πελώριος ἔκθορεν ἵππος, / ἀμφιλαφής, χρυσέῃσι μετήορος αὐχένα χαίταις; QS 12.141–3 καθύπερθε δὲ χαίτην / αὐχένος ὑψηλοῖο καθήρμοσεν, ὡς ἐτεόν περ / κινυμένην. The procedure is similar to that followed by Odysseus in building his raft, when he attaches the mast and sail to the frame: *Od.* 5.254 ἐν δ᾽ ἱστὸν ποίει καὶ ἐπίκριον ἄρμενον αὐτῷ.

65 γλαφυροῖσιν ἐπὶ στήθεσσιν (and Triph. 533 γλαφυρῆς ἀπὸ γαστέρος … ἵππου) again conjures up the ubiquitous Homeric formula for ships (e.g. *Il.* 2.256 γλαφυραὶ νέες). On the exact meaning of στῆθος, see Delebecque 1951, 155.

66 ξανθῷ πορφυρόπεζαν ἐπιρρήνας τρίχα χρυσῷ is concerned with adding colour to the wooden image. The Homeric blond heroes (e.g. *Il.* 1.197 ξανθῆς δὲ κόμης, 23.141 ξανθὴν … χαίτην; ξανθὸς Μενέλαος occurs 31 times in the Homeric poems) have horses with a coat or mane of a similar colour (*Il.* 9.407 ἵππων ξανθὰ κάρηνα; 11.680 ἵππους δὲ ξανθὰς ἑκατὸν καὶ πεντήκοντα), though this is not a *conditio sine qua non* (*Il.* 2.838–9 = 12.96–7 ἵπποι / αἴθωνες, 10.437 λευκότεροι χιόνος, 20.224 ἵππῳ … κυανοχαίτῃ).

An abundant mane enhances the beauty of a horse (καλλίτριχες ἵπποι, 14x in the Homeric poems; Ael. *NA* 2.10, 11.18) and its appear-

ance shows its mood (*Il.* 17.437–40, 457–8, 495–6; 19.404–6; 23.280–4; Delebecque 1951, 144, 151–3, 156). Triph. introduces a variation on the topic, describing the mane as purple-fringed (πορφυρόπεζαν … τρίχα), though besprinkled with blond gold (ξανθῷ … ἐπιρρήνας … χρυσῷ; see Campbell *Lex.*, pp. 208–9, APP. 66).

He was probably thinking of the gilding of the horns of sacrificial animals, specifically of *Od.* 3.418–63: Nestor orders the sacrifice of a heifer to Athena and asks for the smith to be fetched to overlay the animal's horns with gold in order to please the goddess (438 ἵν᾽ ἄγαλμα θεὰ κεχάροιτο ἰδοῦσα). If Sinon is to present the horse to the Trojans as an offering to Athena (Triph. 298 εἰ δέ μιν ἁγνὸν ἄγαλμα λάβῃ νηοῖσιν Ἀθήνη), then it should be made credible. Triph. does not refer to any particular technique, whereas the Homeric passage describes the covering of the horns with gold leaf (*Od.* 3.426 ὄφρα βοὸς χρυσὸν κέρασιν περιχεύῃ, 437–8 ὁ δ᾽ ἔπειτα βοὸς κέρασιν περίχευεν / ἀσκήσας, on which see Heubeck – West – Hainsworth 1988, n. to 3.432–3). Triph.'s ἐπιρρήνας may be an adaptation of the sprinkling of the victim with barley prior to its sacrifice (*Od.* 3.445 οὐλοχύτας τε κατήρχετο, 447 οὐλοχύτας προβάλοντο; represented on Achilles' shield, *Il.* 18.559–60) to the gold appropriate for this horse. Note also that in *Od.* 3.450–1 the attendant women perform the ritual cry when the victim is stunned, just as Athena does in the *Sack of Troy* when the horse's abdomen is opened (566).

The combination of gold, used in the Homeric poems for the decoration of the gods' horses (golden frontlet – χρυσάμπυκας in *Il.* 5.358, 363, 720; 8.382), with purple, a timeless symbol of status (Stulz 1990, 98–120; Reinhold 1970, 56–61), presents the horse as the property of the gods, an offering for them. In addition, Triph.'s age found the combination of crimson (πορφύρεος) and gold particularly appealing to the eye: cf. Luc. *Ind.* 9.6–8; Ach. Tat. 2.11.2; Philostr. *Imag.* 1.28.4; Opp. *C.* 2.596–7, 3.45; Nonn. *D.* 34.141–3, 38.291–6, 43.442–3, 47.599–602; *AP* 5.205.

πορφυρόπεζα, like ἀχλυόπεζα (210), is a Triphiodorean *hapax*, for which he seems to have found inspiration in φοινικόπεζα, occurring in Pi. *O.* 6.94 (Demeter) and *Pa.* 2.77 (fr. 52b Maehler). Note also the metrically equivalent πορφυρόεσσα (Opp. *C.* 2.379). Cf. Monaco 2007, 156. As regards its meaning, Gerlaud (*Triph.*, p. 113, n. to 66), like Wernicke (*Triph.*, 114–16) before him, considers that the second

element has lost its meaning, and that πορφυρόπεζα is a synonym of πορφυρόεσσα. This need not be the case, however (cf. Campbell *Lex.*, pp. 208–9, APP 66; Monaco 2007, 160–1): the mane would originally have been purple, but after it had been sprinkled with gold, only the purple roots would show.

67–8 Crest (ἡ δ᾽ ἐπικυμαίνουσα μετήορος αὐχένι κυρτῷ / ἐκ κορυφῆς λοφόεντι κατεσφρηγίζετο δεσμῷ): similar phrases occur in other literary descriptions of the movement of horses. See Xen. *Eq.* 1.11 Καὶ μὴν κορυφὴ μὲν μείζων, ὦτα δὲ μικρότερα ἱππωδεστέραν τὴν κεφαλὴν ἀποφαίνει; AR 4.1365–6 ἐξ ἁλὸς ἤπειρόνδε πελώριος ἔκθορεν ἵππος, / ἀμφιλαφής, χρυσέῃσι μετήορος αὐχένα χαίταις (on which see Vian 2008, 397); Ach. Tat. 1.12.4 ὁ δὲ ἵππος τῇ τῶν ποδῶν κυρτούμενος ἁμίλλῃ ἄνω τε καὶ κάτω πηδῶν πρὸς τὴν ἑκατέρων σπουδὴν δίκην νεὼς χειμαζομένης τοῖς νώτοις ἐκυμαίνετο (note the comparison between the movements of the horse and those of a ship); Opp. *C.* 1.176–7 βαιὸν ὑπὲρ δειρῆφι μετήορον ὕψι κάρηνον / ἀείροι, 183–4 γυραλέη δειρὴ τελέθοι λασιαύχενος ἵππου, / ὡς ὅτε χαιτήεσσα λόφον νεύει τρυφάλεια; Hld. 3.3.7 τὸν αὐχένα κυμαίνων (and 3.4.5 Charicleia's hair).

67 αὐχένι κυρτῷ: cf. *Il.* 10.305 ἐριαύχενας ἵππους (= 11.159, 17.496, 18.280, 23.171). On the form of a healthy horse, see Xen. *Eq.* 1.8, 10.3–4.

68 κατεσφρηγίζετο δεσμῷ seems to have been adopted by Nonnus for several line endings: *D.* 2.653, 15.369, 26.261; *P.* 5.130, 10.129, 13.140. The κορυφή is the top of the horse's head, from which the mane flows (cf. *Il.* 8.81–4) and λοφόεις derives from λόφος, the Homeric word for the menacing crest of a helmet (e.g. *Il.* 3.337 δεινὸν δὲ λόφος καθύπερθεν ἔνευεν, 6.469–70 ἰδὲ λόφον ἱππιοχαίτην, / δεινὸν ἀπ᾽ ἀκροτάτης κόρυθος νεύοντα νοήσας), thus relating the statue more closely to a warrior. Cf. Monaco 2007, 147.

69–72 The horse's eyes provide a good opportunity to linger on the precious stones used, with their rich colours and glitter (71 ἀμαρύγματι). These are meant to seduce all the onlookers (cf. Luc. *Ind.* 8–9): the Achaean army should be convinced of the success of the strategy before embarking on it; the gods, especially Ares, should be entranced

by them and cooperate in the final stages of the war; the Trojans should find it too beautiful to be destroyed; and the outer audience should be seduced by the description. Compare Nonnus' literary interest in magical stones, as studied by Frangoulis 2003. As with the golden tincture of the mane (66), no explanation is given of the method used to engrave the stones, other than a mere ἐνέθηκε (69). The eyes are the first element of the horse to be filled with life, when they are granted the capacity of sight (see 72 ὀπωπαί).

The combination of brilliant green and red stones to form the eyes and the powerful mane makes better sense against the background of Oppian's descriptions of the ideal horse (*C.* 1.179–81, 314–15) and of mighty lions, beautiful because of their shaggy necks and breasts and their bright green eyes (2.164–5, 3.24–8, 31–3, 42–5, 345–9; for the eyes, see also *Il.* 20.172 γλαυκιόων, *Od.* 11.611 χαροποὶ … λέοντες; QS 7.488 τοὶ δ' ὄμμασι γλαυκιόωντες; Maxwell-Stuart 1981, 42–5). Bright eyes are a common characteristic of animals in Oppian's *Cynegetica* (2.302, 317; 3.26, 90–1, 97, 114, 185, 233–4, 348–9, 435, 479), as an outward reflection of their wild nature and physical condition. In some cases this brightness is combined with a red element which attests to an inner fire, responsible for the animal's capacity to destroy its opponents: see esp. 3.69–73 (leopards) ὄμμα φαεινόν· / γλαυκιόωσι κόραι βλεφάροις ὕπο μαρμαίρουσαι, / γλαυκιόωσιν ὁμοῦ τε καὶ ἔνδοθι φοινίσσονται, / αἰθομέναις ἴκελαι, πυριλαμπέες; 4.162–3 δερκόμενος χαροποῖσιν ὑπ' ὄμμασιν αἰθόμενον πῦρ, / θυμῷ παφλάζων ἴκελος δίοισι κεραυνοῖς. These animals can only be overcome with fire itself (4.133–4), or by an animal with equally bright eyes (1.302–10, 4.112–18). Compare also the description of a painted wild boar in Philostr. *Imag.* 1.28.1. The wooden horse's eyes, then, attest to its wild nature and malign intentions, and suggest that they can only be quenched by fire, which would devour the material of which it is made.

Furthermore, bloodshot eyes are an external sign of illness, madness or poison (Pl. *Phaedrus* 253e; Opp. *C.* 3.220–1; Ael. *NA* 7.5, 14.20; QS 12.407–8, Nonn. *D.* 10.23) and treatises of physiognomy agree that light eyes, both blue and green, betray an untrustworthy, greedy nature, inclined to cowardice: Ps.Arist. *Physiog.* 812b; Polemon *Physiog.* (Hoyland 2007) 6b, 7a–8a, 15a–b; Philostr. *Gym.* 25. To be noted for their particular significance: Adamantius *Physiognomica* (ed. Repath 2007) A.8, A.16 (μαρμαρυγὴ γὰρ εἰ ἐν γλαυκοῖς καὶ αἱματώδεσιν ὀφθαλ-

μοῖς εἴη, θερμουργίαν καὶ παντολμίαν δηλοῖ, ὡς ἐγγὺς μανίας ἥκειν, εἰ δὲ ἐν χαροποῖς εἴη, δειλίαν), B.36 (γλαυκότης ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖς ἀγριώτερον, μελανότης ἡμερώτερον· γλαυκὰ γὰρ τῶν ἀγρίων ζώων τὰ πλείω, τὰ δὲ ἥμερα μελανόμματά πως εὑρήσεις). See Maxwell-Stuart 1981, 12–16.

On the other hand, if the construction of the horse is inspired by Athena, it is only fair that its eyes are the same colour as hers (Triph. 184 Διὸς γλαυκώπιδι κούρῃ, 566 γλαυκῶπις … Ἀθήνη), thus suggesting an intelligent gaze and bloodthirsty intentions. Compare Luc. *D.Deor.* 23(19).1: Eros is scared by Athena's eyes φοβερὰ γάρ ἐστι καὶ χαροπὴ καὶ δεινῶς ἀνδρική.

69–70 ὀφθαλμοὺς δ᾽ ἐνέθηκε λιθώπεας ἐν δυσὶ κύκλοις / γλαυκῆς βηρύλλοιο καὶ αἱμαλέης ἀμεθύσσου: these lines could mean: a) each eye is made of one circular stone, one a beryl, and the other an amethyst (an interpretation to be discarded on reading the plural in 72 γλαυκῶν … λίθων); b) each eye is made of one circle of stones, combining beryls and amethysts; or c) each eye is made of two circles of stones, one of beryls and one of amethysts.

69a Ὀφθαλμοὺς … λιθώπεας: the adjective belongs to the category of compounds in which the second element is synonymous with the noun (cf. 372 κυανάμπυκι κισσῷ; Giangrande 1973). Compare Opp. *C.* 2.317 πέρδικες … πυρώπεες. λιθώπης is a *hapax*: compare Nonn. *D.* 30.265 ἢ Σθεννοῦς ἴδες ὄμμα λιθώπιδος. Cf. Monaco 2007, 157.

69b–70 ἐν δυσὶ κύκλοις / γλαυκῆς βηρύλλοιο καὶ αἱμαλέης ἀμεθύσσου: the closest parallels are DP 1119 βηρύλλου γλαυκὴν λίθον, 1122 καὶ γλυκερὴν ἀμέθυστον ὑπηρέμα πορφυρέουσαν. Beryls are the same colour as the sea (Maxwell-Stuart 1981, 84–6): Plin. *HN* 37.20.76; *Nautical Lapidary* 3 (Halleux – Schamp 1985); *AP* 9.544. Amethysts are usually related to wine (e.g. Nonn. *D.* 18.77 οἰνωπὴν ἀμέθυστον) because of their colour and their use as a protection against μέθη 'drunkenness' (Plu. *Mor.* 15b, 647b; Nonn. *D.* 12.380–1, 18.75–7; *AP* 9.748, 752). Heliodorus mentions their 'inner fire' (5.13.4, 15.2), but Triph. relates the colour to blood (αἱμαλέης ἀμεθύσσου), because of the homicidal intentions of the horse. Note that αἱμαλέος is absent from literary tradition prior to Triph. but occurs 29 times in Nonn. *D.* (see Peek *Lex. s.v.*).

71–2 τῶν δ᾽ ἐπιμισγομένων διδύμης ἀμαρύγματι χροιῆς / γλαυκῶν φοινίσσοντο λίθων ἑλίκεσσιν ὀπωπαί: the combination or transition from one colour to another, summing up the visuality of colours and movement, is an ekphrastic strategy to enhance the *enargeia* of the description. Compare Ach. Tat. 2.11.3; Philostr. *Imag.* 2.5.5.4–5; Opp. *H.* 1.791, 793–5, 4.500–3, 5.271, 275–6; QS 5.87, 9.147–8, 177–9; Callistr. *Imag.* 4.2; Nonn. *D.* 1.150, 2.461–2, 3.414–16, 9.47–8, 10.173–4, 12.201–2, 18.69–84 *et al.*

At the same time, the duplicity of the eyes (**71 διδύμης … χροιῆς**) hints at the deceptive nature of the statue. For the eyes as a source of light and brilliance, see AR 2.184, 3.1018–19; Opp. *C.* 3.32, 90; QS 1.59; Nonn. *D.* 5.341–2 (esp. 342 ὀφθαλμῶν ἀμάρυγμα), 7.249. For the brilliance of the eyes as a proof of divine descent, see *AP* 2.281–2, 295–6. In the passages where he deals with gems, Nonnus also stresses their glitter: *D.* 5.167–70, 175–7, 18.71–80, 45.123–5.

73–4 Teeth. The motif of horses champing the bit is common enough (Pl. *Phdr.* 254d, AR 4.1607–8 ἀργινόεντα δ᾽ ἐπὶ στομάτεσσι χαλινὰ / ἀμφὶς ὀδακτάζοντι παραβλήδην κροτέονται, QS 4.548–9, 7.318–19, *AP* 6.233.1), but references to the teeth of beasts usually occur in the context of attacks or when describing their aggressive behaviour: *Il.* 9.538–42, 11.414–18, 12.146–50 13.473–5; *Od.* 12.90–3; [Hes.] *Sc.* 146–7, 235–6, 249–50, 404; AR 3.1351–3; Opp. *C.* 2.242–5, 3.72–3, 370–1, 412–1; QS 9.242–4. In other words, the wooden horse's mouth is as hostile as its eyes.

For the horse's accoutrements, including the breast strap (λέπαδνον), the bit (χαλινός) and the reins (ἡνία), see *Il.* 19.392–5; Ael. *NA* 6.10; Nonn. *D.* 6.109–13, 29.365–9. χαλινός refers sometimes to the bridle (e.g. Opp. *C.* 1.95–6), but here it is the bit, since the reins are dealt with in lines 95–8.

73 ἀργυφέους … ὀδόντας (ἀργυρέους codd., Livrea, Dubielzig *Triph.*, 138–40; ἀργυφέους Wernicke *Triph.*, Gerlaud *Triph.*, Campbell *Lex.*, p. 209, APP. 73) is consistent with Triph.'s previous policy of mentioning together the material and colour of each element, meaning 'dazzling white', not 'made of silver'. Compare DP 1117 ἀργυφέους πρισθέντας ἀποξύουσιν ὀδόντας (same *sedes*). White teeth are often mentioned in descriptions of animals (e.g. Hom. *Il.* 10.263–4 λευκοὶ

ὀδόντες / ἀργιόδοντος ὑός; Opp. *C.* 3.73, 353, 370–1, 478; QS 6.611, 10.184). For **ἐχάραξεν … ὀδόντας**, see [Hes.] *Sc.* 235 ἐχάρασσον ὀδόντας; Nonn. *D.* 4.361, 5.329, 5.496, 25.463; Paul. Sil. *Ekphr. Soph.* 621. χαράσσω means here either 'to sharpen' (LSJ *s.v.* I; Campbell *Lex.*, *s.v.*) or 'to engrave' (LSJ *s.v.* III; Gerlaud *Triph.*, p. 114, n. to 73; Vian 1976, p. 149, n. to 1.221). **ἐπὶ γναθμοῖσιν ὀδόντας**: compare Nic. *Alex.* 421 ὑπὸ γναθμοῖσιν ὀδόντας, Opp. *H.* 5.322 ἐνὶ γναθμοῖσιν ὀδόντας, QS 9.244 ὑπὸ γναθμοῖσιν ὀδόντας.

74 For **ἄκρα … ἐυστρέπτοιο χαλινοῦ**, see Hom. *Od.* 2.426 = 15.291 ἐϋστρέπτοισι βοεῦσιν (oxhide straps); QS 11.195 ἐυγνάμπτοιο χαλινοῦ; Opp. *H.* 5.498 εὐγνάμπτοισιν … χαλινοῖς; Nonn. *D.* 37.303 ἄκρα χαλινοῦ. Triph. 97 καὶ σκολιῇς ἑλίκεσσιν ἀναγκαίοιο χαλινοῦ highlights the curved shape of this piece.

75–7 Opening of hidden passages to renew the air inside the horse. Dubielzig *Triph.*, 28 (see also Miguélez-Cavero 2008, 146) argues that these lines are the result of Triph.'s interest in the technique and feasibility of the statue. They also relate to the ekphrastic strategy of the complicated construction as a means of praising the image for its quality: hence the opposition between the brightly-ornamented exterior, to please the eye of the beholder, and the hidden mechanisms, to meet the particular need for which the artefact is designed. The naive eye of the Trojans is expected to linger on the beautiful exterior of the horse, blind to the elements which point to its most immediate purpose. Note that when the Achaean warriors are hidden in the horse, Odysseus is said to sit inside the head, and to be able to see the outside unobserved: 202–3 Αὐτὸς δ᾽ ἐν κεφαλῇ σκοπὸς ἕζετο· τὼ δέ οἱ ἄμφω / ὀφθαλμὼ προθέοντες ἐλάνθανον ἐκτὸς ἐόντας.

The two sets of holes, one in the mouth to let the foul air out (76) and the other in the nostrils to let clean air in (77), also bring the horse closer to a living animal. For nearly breathing statues, see Callistr. *Imag.* 1.3, 11.2; *AP* 2.243–5 (Christodorus of Coptus, on the statue of Melampus).

75 καὶ στόματος μεγάλοιο λαθὼν ἀνέῳξε κελεύθους: for the opposite process, that of the closure of the breathing passages, see Opp. *H.* 2.395–8 (398 παλίρροος … ἀήρ ~ Triph. 76 παλίρροον ἄσθμα).

76–7 ἀνδράσι κευθομένοισι παλίρροον ἄσθμα φυλάσσων, / καὶ διὰ μυκτήρων φυσίζοος ἔρρεεν ἀήρ: compare Nic. *Ther.* 144 σμερδαλέῃ μυκτῆρος ἐπισπέρχοντες ἀυτμῇ; Opp. *H.* 2.398 παλίρροος ἕλκεται ἀήρ; Nonn. *D.* 15.93 (one Indian) ὑπναλέῳ μυκτῆρι μεθυσφαλὲς ἄσθμα τιταίνων, 25.535 καὶ ψυχραῖς γενύεσσι παλίνσοον ἄσθμα τιταίνων, 37.295 (horse) διχθαδίῳ μυκτῆρι παλίμπνοον ἄσθμα τιταίνων; *AP* 1.49.2 (Lazarus) αὐαλέῳ μυκτῆρι παλίνσοον ἆσθμα κομίζων. **φυσίζοος** is a Homeric epithet for the earth (*Il.* 3.243, 21.63, *Od.* 11.301; Hdt. 1.57.18, Opp. *H.* 1.395). Nonnus broadens its uses: *D.* 13.280 φυσίζοον αὔρην, *P.* 12.40–1 Λάζαρον, ὃν παλίνορσον ἀναστήσας ἀπὸ νεκρῶν / ἔμπνοον ἐψύχωσε χέων φυσίζοον ἠχώ.

78–9 οὔατα δ᾽ ἀκροτάτοισιν ἐπὶ κροτάφοισιν ἄρηρεν / ὀρθὰ μάλ᾽, αἰὲν ἑτοῖμα μένειν σάλπιγγος ἀκουήν: the phrasing is indebted to Call. *Del.* 230–1 (Artemis' dog) οὔατα δ᾽ αὐτῆς / ὀρθὰ μάλ᾽, αἰὲν ἑτοῖμα θεῆς ὑποδέχθαι ὀμοκλήν. See also Hom. *Il.* 18.611 κροτάφοις ἀραρυῖαν|, *Od.* 18.378 = 22.102 = [Hes.] *Sc.* 137 ἐπὶ κροτάφοισ᾽ ἀραρυῖα(ν)|; A. *Th.* 393–4 ἵππος χαλινῶν ὡς κατασθμαίνων μένει, / ὅστις βοὴν σάλπιγγος ὁρμαίνει μένων.

The notion of the horse with upright ears (Ael. *NA* 6.10.2 on seeing his decoration and hearing the shouting of the stablemen, the horse τὰ ὦτα ὤρθωσεν), preparing for combat on hearing the sound of the trumpet, is commonly mentioned as an indication of the intelligence and warlike nature of horses: see esp. Opp. *C.* 1.206–7. Despite Gerlaud's doubts (*Triph.*, pp. 114–15, n. to 79), σάλπιγξ refers to the war trumpet, the sound of which marks the beginning of the battle (*Il.* 18.219 ἴαχε σάλπιγξ). In the *Sack of Troy* Zeus' thunder sounds like a σάλπιγξ when the Trojans are bringing the horse into Troy (326–7) and, on hearing it, the horse seems to advance more quickly, with Athena's help (330–2).

80–1 Upper half of the abdomen (νῶτα δ᾽ ὁμοῦ λαγόνεσσι συνήρμοσε καὶ ῥάχιν ὑγρήν, / ἰσχία δὲ γλουτοῖσιν ὀλισθηροῖσι συνῆψε): compare Opp. *C.* 1.185–6 εὐρέα νῶτα, / καὶ ῥάχις ἀμφίδυμος μέσον ἰσχία πιαίνουσα; QS 12.140–1 τῇ δ᾽ ἐφύπερθε συνήρμοσε νῶτα καὶ ἰξὺν / ἐξόπιθεν; Nonn. *D.* 14.167 λαγόνεσσι συνήρμοσε (same *sedes*).

80 νῶτα δ᾽ ὁμοῦ … συνήρμοσε: the loins seem to be in the shape of a straight line (cf. *Il.* 2.765 on the best horses σταφύλῃ ἐπὶ νῶτον ἑΐσας), though see the reservations expressed in Delebecque 1951, 155–6. **ῥάχιν ὑγρήν**, 'supple chine', refers to the flexibility of the joints (cf. Xen. *Eq.* 1.6, 7.6–7, 10.16, 11.2), but it is also a proof of the ability of the carpenter, as opposed to the rigidity of the material: compare Callistr. *Imag.* 5.5 (Τὸ δὲ οὐδὲ λόγῳ ῥητὸν λίθος εἰς ὑγρότητα κεχαλασμένος), 8.2 (οὕτω δὲ ὑγρὸν καὶ κεχαλασμένον ἔχων τὸ σῶμα, ὡς ἐξ ἑτέρας ὕλης, ἀλλὰ μὴ χαλκοῦ πεφυκώς), 11.1 (πρὸς τὸ ὑγρὸν ἤγετο ἐστερημένος ὑγρότητος), 11.3. Cannatà Fera (2003, 196) thinks that Triph. found the inspiration for νῶτα … καὶ ῥάχιν ὑγρήν in Pi. *P.* 1.9 ὑγρὸν νῶτον.

81 ἰσχία δὲ γλουτοῖσιν ὀλισθηροῖσι ~ *Il.* 8.340 ἰσχία τε γλουτούς τε. For ἰσχίον, see the Homeric gloss in *Il.* 5.305–6 κατ᾽ ἰσχίον, ἔνθα τε μηρὸς / ἰσχίῳ ἐνστρέφεται, κοτύλην δέ τέ μιν καλέουσι. Oppian refers to his fishes as ὀλισθηροί 'slippery' (*H.* 1.217, 521, 2.272, 3.120; also Triph. 628 ὀλισθηρῇσι … χολάδεσσιν). Here the epithet may hint at the slippery buttocks of a horse covered in sweat or at the high-quality polish of the wood on that particular curve, with a pun on 80 ῥάχιν ὑγρήν (see Gerlaud *Triph.*, p. 115, n. to 80). Both options should be combined with the metaphorical sense 'deceitful', 'treacherous' (LSJ *s.v.* ὀλισθηρός, II), as in Pl. *Sph.* 231a on comparison ὀλισθηρότατον γὰρ τὸ γένος; *AP* 10.66.4 [Agathias] ὀλισθηρῆς … Τύχης. In other words, the horse is ready to slip out of the hands of its captors. Compare Nonn. *D.* 28.168 ὀλισθηρῶν ἀπὸ νώτων; *AP* 7.702.6 [Apollonides] ὀλισθηρῶν … φαρύγων.

82–3 Tail. A further advance in terms of the autonomy of the horse: the maker disappears and the tail is presented as flowing on its own (σύρετο, as in Nonn. *D.* 21.209–10 ἐκ μεσάτης δὲ / ἰξύος αὐτοέλικτος ἐσύρετο σύγγονος οὐρή). The note on the length of the tail, long enough to reach the soles of the feet, enables the reader to imagine it more accurately. Compare descriptions of living horses, in which an abundant tail is appreciated as a sign of quality and beauty: Xen. *Eq.* 5.7 ἐπείπερ αὔξειν δεῖ τὰς τρίχας, τὰς μὲν ἐν τῇ οὐρᾷ, ὅπως ἐπὶ πλεῖστον ἐξικνούμενος ἀποσοβῆται ὁ ἵππος τὰ λυποῦντα … 8 δέδοται δὲ παρὰ θεῶν καὶ ἀγλαΐας ἕνεκεν ἵππῳ χαίτη, καὶ προκόμιόν τε

καὶ οὐρά; Opp. *C.* 1.187 ἐκ δὲ θέοι πολλὴ μετόπισθε τανύτριχος οὐρή.

82 πρυμνοῖσιν ἐπ᾽ ἴχνεσιν: based on the Homeric phrase for the point where a limb joins the body (e.g. *Il.* 5.292 γλῶσσαν πρυμνήν, 339 πρυμνὸν ὕπερ θέναρος, 13.532 πρυμνοῖο βραχίονος, *Od.* 17.462–3). **ἔκλυτος οὐρή**: 'loose tail', along the line of the flexible chine (80 ῥάχιν ὑγρήν; cf. also 83), or, less likely, as opposed to a plaited tail (Gerlaud *Triph.*, 115, n. to 82).

83 Comparison with a vine: vine tendrils are sometimes plaited into the hair in Dionysiac contexts (e.g. Nonn. *D.* 7.326, 9.121, 12.193–5), but there are no parallels for the comparison of hair with a vine. The closest is the comparison with a tree: cf. Philostr. *Imag.* 2.18.3 χαίτην μὲν ἀνασείων ὀρθὴν καὶ ἀμφιλαφῆ πίτυος δίκην. Another point of contact could be that ἕλιξ refers both to the tendril of the vine (LSJ *s.v.* III.1) and to a curl or lock of hair (LSJ *s.v.* III.3): Nonn. *D.* 15.44–51; *AP* 2.268–9 (Christodorus, on the statue of Apollo) εἶχε γὰρ ἀμφοτέροισι κόμης μεμερισμένον ὤμοις / βόστρυχον αὐτοέλικτον, 284–5 (another Apollo) πλόκαμος γὰρ ἕλιξ ἐπιδέδρομεν ὤμοις / ἀμφοτέροις. **γναμπτοῖσι … θυσάνοισιν** means 'twisted tendrils', but γναμπτός also refers to the flexibility of the limbs of a living man: *Il.* 11.669 = 24.359 γναμπτοῖσι μέλεσσιν; QS 2.340. Cf. also *AP* 2.240 (Christodorus of Coptus, on the statue of a wrestler) αὐχένος εὐγνάμπτοιο.

84–6 Legs and feet. Again there is no sign of the action of the carpenter: the horse is approached as if it were already built. Since feet and knees are the source of strength in running, in both men and horses (*Il.* 15.269, 21.52, 22.21–4, 23.443–5), this use of the 'imminent quickening', reversed by the impossibility of movement, comes as no surprise. Compare Callistr. *Imag.* 1.3 καὶ ἐνεργεῖν ἐθέλον τὸ εἴδωλον καὶ εἰς ἀγωνίαν τὸν λίθον πίπτοντα, 2.3, 3.2 τῶν δὲ κινήσεως ἔργων ἐστερημένος ἕτοιμος ἦν δεῖξαι κίνησιν, 14.3 Ἐπήγετο δὲ ἡ εἰκὼν ἐπὶ τὴν ἄκραν; *AP* 9.777.7–8 (Philippus) ὁ σὸς πόνος, Λύσιππε, καὶ παρ᾽ ἐλπίδας / τάχ᾽ ἐκδραμεῖται.

84 οἱ δὲ πόδες βαλιοῖσιν ἐπερχόμενοι γονάτεσσιν, after *Il.* 15.268–9 (Hector compared with a horse) ῥίμφα ἑ γοῦνα φέρει μετά τ᾽ ἤθεα καὶ νομὸν ἵππων· / ὣς Ἕκτωρ λαιψηρὰ πόδας καὶ γούνατ᾽ ἐνώμα.

βαλιός means here 'swift' (cf. LSJ *s.v.* βαλιός II), not 'dappled': compare Opp. *C.* 2.21 καὶ σκυλάκεσσι θοαῖς βαλιοὺς ἐδαμάσσατο θῆρας, 2.314; for Nonnus, see Peek *Lex. s.v.* βαλιός.

85 On **ἄπτερον** (ἄπτερον Ω: εὔπτερον F) **… ἐπὶ δρόμον**, see Gerlaud, *Triph.*, p. 115, n. to 85; Campbell *Lex.*, p. 209, n. to 85; Dubielzig *Triph.*, 140–1. Gerlaud reads ἄπτερον with ἀ- *privativum*, 'wingless', 'motionless' (Gerlaud "à une course immobile"), but it makes more sense with ἀ- *intensivum*, 'wing-swift' (Dubielzig "[wie] von schnellen Flügeln getragen"; Campbell 'wing-swift', though "a stricter 'wingless' may be *hinted at* to counteract the impression of mobility which the Horse does not in fact possess"). A good argument for 'wing-swift', mentioned by Dubielzig (*Triph.*, 140), is that Imperial commentators understood the Homeric ἄπτερος … μῦθος as 'swift word' (e.g. *Schol. in Od.* 17.57). For the general sense, compare Callistr. *Imag.* 3.2 (on a statue of Eros) εἰς μὲν γὰρ ἕδραν στάσιμον ἵδρυτο, ἠπάτα δὲ ὡς καὶ τῆς μετεώρου κυριεύων φορᾶς. For ὁπλίζειν as 'getting the horses ready' (i.e. harnessing), see *Il.* 23.301 ὁπλίσαθ᾽ ἵππους, 24.189–90 ἡμιονείην / ὁπλίσαι ἠνώγει. Campbell *Lex.*, p. 209, n. to 85 points out a possible pun on 87 ὁπλαί (hooves). More on this line and Triph.'s editorial work in 3.1.1.

86 οὕτως ἠπείγοντο· μένειν δ᾽ ἐκέλευεν ἀνάγκη: Callistratus is particularly keen on emphasising the opposition between the immobility of the material (constrained by ὕλη and φύσις, not by ἀνάγκη) and the impression of movement achieved by τέχνη. See e.g. Callistr. *Imag.* 1.2 τῇ μὲν γὰρ ἀκοῇ μέλος οὐ προσῆπτεν αὐλοῦντος οὐδὲ ἦν ὁ αὐλὸς ἔμφωνος, τὸ δὲ τῶν αὐλούντων πάθος διὰ τῆς τέχνης εἰς τὴν πέτραν εἰσῆκτο, 2.4–5, 3.2. In the *Ekphrasis* by Christodorus of Coptus it is mostly τέχνη that restricts movement (*AP* 2.30–1, 43–4, 58, 258), but ἀνάγκη suits an epic poem better: cf. e.g. *Il.* 6.85 ἀναγκαίη γὰρ ἐπείγει, 458 κρατερὴ δ᾽ ἐπικείσετ᾽ ἀνάγκη, *Od.* 10.273 κρατερὴ δέ μοι ἔπλετ᾽ ἀνάγκη.

87–9 Hooves. Triph. imagines the hooves as made entirely of bronze (87 Οὐ … ἀχαλκέες ἔξεχον ὁπλαί, 89 κρατερώνυχι χαλκῷ) and firmly attached (88 κατεσφήκωντο) to the shanks with μαρμαρέης … ἑλίκεσσι … χελώνης 'curved straps of brilliant turtle shell' (88). ἑλίκεσσι suggests the curved shell of the turtle attached to the curved

hoof (cf. Opp. *C.* 1.192 περίδρομος ὁπλή; Campbell *Lex.*, *s.v.* ἕλιξ subst.). *Contra* Livrea 1983, 41 "designante le marezzature di una superficie testidunea?".

There is certainly no reference to horseshoes, as Livrea (1983, 41) suggests. In fact, it is doubtful that the ancient world had any knowledge of nailed horseshoes, since ancient authors (including Xen. *Eq.*) do not mention them and alleged depictions are unreliable. Neither does what we know about hipposandals fit this description. On this subject, see Dixon – Southern 1992, 229–33.

Tortoiseshell inlays in walls, doors and furniture became fashionable in Roman times as a luxurious shiny adornment (Dumoulin 1994, 25–6): Verg. *G.* 2.463; Plin. *HN* 9.39; Philo Alex. *Som.* 2.57, *Spec.* 2.20, *Cont.* 49.2; Ovid *Met.* 2.737; Lucan 10.120; Martial 12.66; Juvenal 11.94, 14.308. Stories of shells of giant turtles given as presents or used for different purposes were also common: cf. Strab. 15.1.73; Ael. *NA* 16.17; Plin. *HN* 9.35ff. From all this, it may be deduced that Triph. used the shell for his horse for its connotations of exoticism, luxuriousness and brilliance. He also hinted that an animal with tortoise-made feet cannot be quick (in fact it is a statue), and this contrasts with the impression of movement and velocity it conveys (89). See Gerlaud *Triph.*, p. 116, n. to 88; Livrea 1983, 41; Campbell *Lex.*, p. 209, n. to 85.

87 ἀχαλκέες is a *hapax*, but there were other similar terms: ἀχάλκεος (*AP* 11.403.7 ἀ. οὐδόν), ἄχαλκος (S. *OT* 191 ἄχαλκος ἀσπίδων). See comm. in Gerlaud *Triph.*, p. 116, n. to 86. **ὁπλαί** are restricted in Homer to horses' hooves: *Il.* 11.536 = 20.501 ἀφ᾽ ἱππείων ὁπλέων. See also Xen. *Eq.* 1.3 (on the hooves), 5 (on the shanks); Opp. *C.* 1.192–3, 288.

For **88 κατεσφήκωντο**, cf. *Il.* 17.52 οἳ χρυσῷ τε καὶ ἀργύρῳ ἐσφήκωντο; Nonn. *D.* 10.9 πόδας σφηκώσατο δεσμῷ, 18.200, 22.333 καὶ χθονίῳ σφήκωσεν ὁμοζεύκτῳ πόδα δεσμῷ, 25.505, 46.113, 47.585, 48.628; Paul. Sil. *Ekphr. Soph.* 481 λαϊνέη δ᾽ ὅλα νῶτα κατεσφήκωσέ τις ἄντυξ. See comm. in Gerlaud *Triph.*, p. 116, n. to 87.

89 ἁπτόμεναι πεδίοιο μόγις κρατερώνυχι χαλκῷ: for parallels for the horse/cart/feet hardly touching the ground when they run, see Opp. *C.* 1.231–2 ἵππος ἐπ᾽ ἀνθερίκων ἔθεεν κούφοισι πόδεσσιν, / ἄλλος ὑπὲρ πόντοιο, καὶ οὐ στεφάνην ἐδίηνεν; Nonn. *D.* 7.139–40 ὄρθιος ἄκρα κονίης / λεπτὸς ἐυκνήμιδος ἐπέγραφεν ὁλκὸς ἀπήνης, 19.282

ἁπτομένη δαπέδοιο καὶ οὐ ψαύουσα κονίης. Compare also [Hes.] *Sc.* 217–19, where the figure of Perseus is said hardly to touch the shield to which it was attached, thanks to the skill of Hephaestus: οὔτ᾽ ἄρ᾽ ἐπιψαύων σάκεος ποσὶν οὔθ᾽ ἑκὰς αὐτοῦ, / θαῦμα μέγα φράσσασθ᾽, ἐπεὶ οὐδαμῇ ἐστήρικτο. / τὼς γάρ μιν παλάμαις τεῦξεν κλυτὸς Ἀμφιγυήεις.

κρατερώνυχι χαλκῷ: the solidity and resistance of the hooves allow the horse to run more quickly and for longer periods of time. Hence the epithets of the Homeric poems (cf. Delebecque 1951, 52, 148–9, 151): μῶνυξ 'single-hoofed' (e.g. *Il.* 23.279, 435, 536, 550), κρατερῶνυξ 'strong-hoofed' (*Il.* 16.732, 24.277 [mules]). The only horses called χαλκόπους "bronze-footed" are Zeus' and Poseidon's (*Il.* 8.41, 13.23; also Nonn. *D.* 29.198 χαλκείῃ … ὁπλῇ), a fact which Triph. was surely aware of.

90–4 Epeius reappears now to add **the door and the ladder** (90 introduces both elements, 91–2 focusing on the former, and 93–4 on the latter), impossible elements in a living horse. These lines are similar to those dedicated to the holes opened to allow the renewal of air inside the horse (75–7), in the sense that they highlight the feasibility of the statue as a hiding place and contrast the beautiful external image with the cleverly designed equipment. After the novel elements in the previous three lines Triph. now goes back to Homeric phrasing, but through learned interpretations of the original text which we now read in the Homeric scholia.

QS describes thoroughly the two doors fitted in the horse and their use (12.330–4, 13.39–43), and makes a similar reference to the ladder, also highlighting its use for getting in and out (13.51–3). Apollod. *Epit.* 5.20 and Verg. *A.* 2.262 both present the heroes using a rope. Virgil is not clear about the door: 2.258–9 "pinea furtim / laxat claustra Sinon". In the Iliac tablets A (*Tabula Iliaca Capitolina*, see image 2) and NY the warriors use a ladder to descend from the horse: cf. Sadurska 1964, 28, 38. On the relationship between the *Tabula Iliaca Capitolina* and other accounts of the Trojan War, mainly Proclus' and Apollodorus', see Valenzuela Montenegro 2004b.

In the *Sack of Troy*, the ladder is not mentioned when the Achaean warriors climb into the horse (183 τέχνης ἀγλαόμητις ἑῆς ἐπέβαινεν Ἐπειός), and once they are all inside, the door is simply closed and

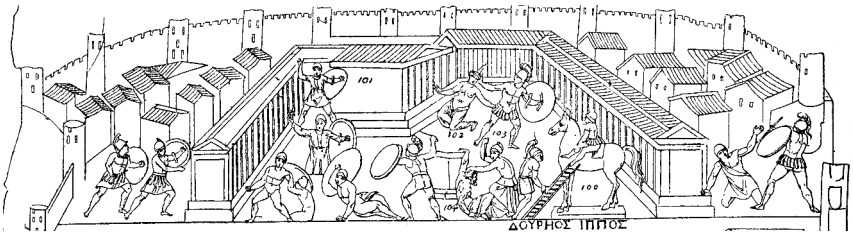

Image 2. Detail of the *Tabula Iliaca Capitolina*. The wooden horse stands in the citadel, resting on a pedestal. It has no wheels. A warrior is coming out of it, through an opening on one of its sides, while another leans a ladder against the statue. The Nyktomachy has already started and several pairs of Greeks and Trojans are shown fighting. Drawing from S. Reinach (1909), *Répertoire de Reliefs Grecs et Romains. Tome Premier: Les ensembles*, Paris, 286.

Odysseus adopts the function of the doorkeeper (200–1 Τοῖσι δ᾽ ἐπεκλήισσε θύρην ἐγκύμονος ἵππου / πιστὸς ἀτεκμάρτοιο λόχου πυλαωρὸς Ὀδυσσεύς). When the Achaean heroes finally leave the horse, Triph. is not clear about how they get out of it: 533 Οἱ δ᾽ ἕτεροι γλαφυρῆς ἀπὸ γαστέρος ἔρρεον ἵππου, 539 ὣς Δαναοὶ κρυφίοιο λόχου κληῖδας ἀνέντες.

90–1 κληιστὴν δ᾽ ἐνέθηκε θύρην καὶ κλίμακα τυκτήν, / ἡ μὲν ὅπως ἀίδηλος ἐπὶ πλευρῇς ἀραρυῖα ~ *Od.* 2.344–5 κληϊσταὶ δ᾽ ἔπεσαν σανίδες πυκινῶς ἀραρυῖαι, 22.155 = 258 = 275 θύρην πυκινῶς ἀραρυῖαν. **τυκτός** ‘complete’, as in *Od.* 4.627 τυκτῷ δαπέδῳ, 17.205–6 κρήνην … / τυκτὴν καλλίροον; Nonn. *D.* 4.204 τυκτὰ … κύκλα θυράων. **ἀίδηλος** does not mean ‘destructive’ here (esp. as used to describe fire: *Il.* 9.436, 11.155; QS 2.58 etc.), but ‘hidden’, ‘unseen’, as in other late antique poems: cf. Opp. *H.* 1.594 ἀλλ᾽ ἔτι τοῦτ᾽ ἀίδηλον ἐν ἀνθρώποισι τέτυκται; Opp. *C.* 2.496 σήματα δ᾽ οὐκ ἀίδηλα, 4.324 ἀπροφάτως ἀίδηλον … ὕδωρ; Nonn. *D.* 11.381 ἑρπύζων δ᾽ ἀίδηλος, 16.3. Triph. may have thought that ἀίδηλος was synonymous with ἄδηλος and ἀφανής: cf. *Schol. in Il.* 2.455–6; Hesych. *s.v.* ἀίδηλον· ἄδηλον, ἀφανές B 455. More on this word and Triph.’s editorial work in 3.1.1. **ἐπὶ πλευρῇς ἀραρυῖα** (and 62 Ποίει δ᾽ εὐρυτάτῃς μὲν ἐπὶ πλευρῇς ἀραρυῖαν), after AR 1.946 αἰνοτάτῃσιν ἐπὶ πλευρῇς ἀραρυῖαι.

92 ἔνθα καὶ ἔνθα occurs 17x in the *Iliad*, 15x in the *Odyssey*, 17x in AR, 9x in QS, 58x in Nonn. *D.* **λόχον κλυτόπωλον Ἀχαιῶν** is a variation of Triph. 2 λόχον … ἱππήλατον ἔργον. κλυτόπωλος is a Homeric epithet

for Hades (*Il.* 5.654 = 11.445 = 16.625 Ἄϊδι κλυτοπώλῳ), here applied to the troops inside the horse because it is thanks to it that they become famous. Cf. Monaco 2007, 161; Rodari 2005, 261.

93 εἷς ἓν ἰοῦσα *vel sim.* is an epic, non-Homeric line ending: AR 1.39; Arat. *Phaen.* 243, 459; Opp. *H.* 1.780, 2.562; QS 4.308, 7.565, 12.470.

94 καθύπερθεν ὁδὸς καὶ νέρθεν ~ *Od.* 10.353 καθύπερθ᾽, ὑπένερθε.

95–8 The **trappings** of the horse give Triph. another chance to indulge in a description of rich colours and materials. For the tradition of a beautifully-decorated wooden horse, see also E. *Tr.* 520 χρυσεοφάλαρον. The horse is described as white (Triph. 95 λευκοῖο κατ᾽ αὐχένος), to highlight the contrast with the red reins (96 ἄνθεσι πορφυρέοισι … ἱμάντων; though cf. 301 χρυσήνιον ἵππον) and the white inlays of the bit (97–8). Triph. suggests the harnessing of a living horse: note the verb 96 ἔζωσεν and compare Nonn. *D.* 29.366–9.

The phrasing is inspired by *Il.* 4.141–2 Ὡς δ᾽ ὅτε τίς τ᾽ ἐλέφαντα γυνὴ φοίνικι μιήνῃ / Μῃονὶς ἠὲ Κάειρα, παρήϊον ἔμμεναι ἵππων, 5.582–3 ἐκ δ᾽ ἄρα χειρῶν / ἡνία λεύκ᾽ ἐλέφαντι χαμαὶ πέσον ἐν κονίῃσιν. For the combinations of colours and materials, see *Od.* 8.403–5, 23.200–1. For a description of the luxurious trappings of a horse, see Philostr. *Imag.* 1.28.2, 2.5.2.

96 ἄνθεσι πορφυρέοισι … ἱμάντων: on ἱμάς see Delebecque 1951, 184. Purple was a mark of status, which would make the horse an appropriate offering to the gods (see n. to 66). However, this colour is closely associated in the Homeric poems with blood and violent death (Dürbeck 1977, 132–3; Edgeworth 1992, 52–4): cf. πορφύρεος θάνατος in *Il.* 5.83, 16.334, 20.447; Triph. 391–2 πορφύρεον … / αἵματος … πέλαγος. When she learns the news of Hector's death, Andromache is weaving colourful details on a purple tapestry (*Il.* 22.440–1 ἀλλ᾽ ἥ γ᾽ ἱστὸν ὕφαινε …/ δίπλακα πορφυρέην, ἐν δὲ θρόνα ποικίλ᾽ ἔπασσε). Triph.'s purple reins seem to prefigure the breast-bands which Trojan women entwine on the statue as an offering (345–6 αἱ δὲ θαλασσαίης ἐπιμάζια νήματα μίτρης / λυσάμεναι κλωστοῖσι κατέπλεκον ἄνθεσιν ἵππον; θαλασσαίης here refers to colour, 'of sea-purple'; cf. Campbell *Lex. s.v.*). 96 ἄνθεσι and 346 ἄνθεσιν refer to vividly-coloured items, not to flowers (Campbell *Lex. s.v.* ἄνθος). There is a simi-

lar ambivalence in *Il.* 22.441 θρόνα (to be read with *Schol. in Theocr.* 2.59–62b) and [Hes.] *Sc.* 95 ἡνία φοινικόεντα.

97 καὶ σκολιῇς ἑλίκεσσιν ἀναγκαίοιο χαλινοῦ refers to the curve of the bit and its mandatory character for the horse, just like that of any other ordinary bit: cf. AR 4.1607–8 ἀργινόεντα δ᾽ ἐπὶ στομάτεσσι χαλινὰ / ἀμφὶς ὀδακτάζοντι παραβλήδην κροτέονται; Opp. *H.* 3.527 σκληρῇσιν ἀναγκαίῃσι χαλινοῦ, 5.185–6 ἀφρῷ ὑφ᾽ αἱματόεντι γένυν σκολιοῖσι χαλινοῖς / ἐμπρίει, 5.498 εὐγνάμπτοισιν … χαλινοῖς, 5.504 βιαζομένων τε χαλινῶν; Opp. *C.* 4.49 ψαλίοισι βιαζομένοιο χαλινοῦ; Nonn. *D.* 36.228 καμπύλα … ἄκρα χαλινοῦ, 36.318 ἀγκύλα κύκλα χαλινῶν, 37.248 ἀγκυλόδοντι … χαλινῷ, 48.457 σκολιοὺς … χαλινούς. Note that the cluster σκολιαῖς ἑλίκεσσι(ν) appears 4x in Nonn. *D.* (1.278, 4.369, 25.506, 36.174). For a description of the parts of the bit and different types, see Xen. *Eq.* 10.6–11.

98 κολλήσας ἐλέφαντι καὶ ἀργυροδινέι χαλκῷ: one of the possible ways to increase the value of an object is by adding inlays of precious materials, in this case shiny metal and ivory, for which see *Il.* 4.141–2, 5.582–3; *Od.* 4.72–3, 19.59, 21.7. For more elaborate bits, see Nonn. *D.* 11.122 εὐλάιγγι χαλινῷ (also 32.242, 36.228), 48.329 χρυσέοισιν … χαλινοῖς. Cannatà Fera (2003, 196) thinks that **κολλήσας ἐλέφαντι** was inspired by Pi. *N.* 7.78 κολλᾷ … ἐλέφανθ᾽.

ἀργυροδινέι χαλκῷ comes at first as a surprise because the epithet is normally applied to rivers or liquids (*Il.* 2.753, 21.8, 130; Call. *Cer.* 13; Nonn. *D.* 19.306), but Triph. seems to be reinterpreting it after the verb δινεύω 'whirl', 'spin round', to smarten the ivory and bronze inlays with a silver whirl (compare 230–1 φλὸξ / καπνὸν ἐρευγομένη περιδινέα φοιτάδι ῥιπῇ). He may be drawing on *Od.* 8.403–5 δώσω οἱ τόδ᾽ ἄορ παγχάλκεον, ᾧ ἔπι κώπη / ἀργυρέη, κολεὸν δὲ νεοπρίστου ἐλέφαντος / ἀμφιδεδίνηται. For full discussion, see Dubielzig *Triph.*, 139–40; Monaco 2007, 162. Gerlaud (*Triph.*, p. 116, n. to 98) found the cluster unacceptable and revived Merrick's proposal (in his 1741 edition) ἀργυροειδέι, as a reference to the orichalc, an expensive alloy mentioned in *hVen.* 9, [Hes.] *Sc.* 122, AR 4.973 and Call. *Lav. Pall.* 19–20, but not in any other late antique epic poem. For a more basic use of this adjective, see Athen. *Deipn.* 3.93c on mother-of-pearl (ἔστιν ἡ μὲν χρυσοειδὴς … ἡ δὲ ἀργυροειδής, ἡ δὲ τελείως λευκή), DS 3.47.6

(κιόνων τε ἁδρῶν περίστυλα, τὰ μὲν ἐπίχρυσα, τὰ δ᾽ ἀργυροειδεῖς τύπους ἐπὶ τῶν κιονοκράνων ἔχοντα).

99–102 Wheels. The obvious Homeric referent for chariot wheels would be *Il.* 5.722–8, but Triph. does not draw on it. Instead, he focuses again on the statue's capacity for movement. Not only is the horse presented as μενεδήιον (99), like the Homeric heroes (*Il.* 12.247, 13.228; Ajax in QS 1.495, 3.252, 4.439), but its stubborn refusal to be transferred to Troy would have had immediate negative consequences for the Achaean strategy: as a good horse, it is expected to be obedient to the reins (cf. Philostr. *Imag.* 1.17.2, Opp. *C.* 1.313). The wheels are mentioned again during the transporting of the horse to attest to their importance: 307 θοῶν ἐπιβήτορα κύκλων, 318 χαλκείοισιν … περὶ κύκλοις, 319–20 σιδήρειοι δὲ δι᾽ αὐτῶν / τριβόμενοι τρηχεῖαν ἀνέστενον ἄξονες ἠχήν.

The wooden horse appeared already fitted with wheels in E. *Tr.* 516 (τετραβάμονος … ὑπ᾽ ἀπήνας). QS does not mention them when describing the construction of the horse, but he does in the context of its transporting: 12.424–8 ἐπεί ῥά οἱ ἐσθλὸς Ἐπειὸς / ποσσὶν ὑπὸ βριαροῖσιν ἐύτροχα δούρατ᾽ ἔθηκεν, / ὄφρά κεν αἰζηοῖσιν ἐπὶ πτολίεθρον ἕπηται / ἑλκόμενος Τρώων ὑπὸ χείρεσιν (to be read with Vian 1959, 69; Vian 1969, p. 105, n. 5; Campbell 1981, 147–7). See also Dictys 5.11.

Virgil's account is different: Sinon tells the Trojans that Calchas bade the Danaans to build a wooden statue, so enormous that it could not be drawn through the gates of Troy into the citadel (2.185–8). Deceived by Sinon, the Trojans break down the walls (2.234) and place wheels under the statue (235–6 "pedibusque rotarum / subiciunt lapsus"). As Austin (1964, 111, n. to 236) puts it, a wheeled horse would have made Calchas appear unconvincing to the Trojans, but Virgil ignores the difficulty of fitting wheels onto a statue which has just been described as enormous, and therefore heavy.

99 αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ δὴ πάντα κάμεν μενεδήιον ἵππον hints at the final lines on the making of Achilles' shield (*Il.* 18.614 Αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ πάνθ᾽ ὅπλα κάμε), just as the first line harked back to its beginning (Triph. 62 Ποίει δ᾽ ~ *Il.* 18.478 Ποίει δὲ πρώτιστα).

μενεδήιον ἵππον makes the horse appear like a warrior going into battle: cf. *Il.* 12.247 οὐ γάρ τοι κραδίη μενεδήϊος οὐδὲ μαχήμων,

13.228 ἀλλά, Θόαν, καὶ γὰρ τὸ πάρος μενεδήϊος ἦσθα; AR 2.114–15 μενεδήιον …/ Ἴφιτον; QS 1.495 = 3.252 = 4.439 μενεδήιος Αἴας, 2.69 οὐδὲ σοὶ ἐν στέρνοισι πέλει μενεδήιον ἦτορ ~ 5.189. The adjective is also applied to living animals: Opp. *C.* 1.414 (dog breeds) τοῖσιν μενεδήϊος ἀλκή; *AP* 7.208.1–2 (Anyte) μενεδαΐου … / ἵππου.

100 κύκλον ἐυκνήμιδα ποδῶν ὑπέθηκεν ἑκάστῳ draws on *Il.* 18.375 χρύσεα δέ σφ᾽ ὑπὸ κύκλα ἑκάστῳ πυθμένι θῆκεν. Compare also QS 12.425 ὑπὸ βριαροῖσιν ἐύτροχα δούρατ᾽ ἔθηκεν. **κύκλον ἐυκνήμιδα**: not the ubiquitous Homeric ἐϋκνήμιδες Ἀχαιοί. κνημίδες are here not the greaves, but the spokes of a wheel (cf. DS 18.27.3), just as in Nonn. *D.* 7.140, 21.195, 38.179.

101–2 ἑλκόμενος πεδίοισιν ὅπως πειθήνιος εἴη / μηδὲ βιαζομένοισι δυσέμβατον οἶμον ὁδεύῃ: compare QS 12.426–7 ὄφρά κεν αἰζηοῖσιν ἐπὶ πτολίεθρον ἕπηται / ἑλκόμενος Τρώων ὑπὸ χείρεσιν.

101 ἑλκόμενος πεδίοισιν (also Triph. 328–9 ὁδὸς δ᾽ ἐβαρύνετο μακρή, / σχιζομένη ποταμοῖσι καὶ οὐ πεδίοισιν ὁμοίη): the Trojan plain is singular in Homer (e.g. *Il.* 3.263 τὼ δὲ διὰ Σκαιῶν πεδίονδ᾽ ἔχον ὠκέας ἵππους), QS (1.266, 2.196 …) and Nonn. *D.* (22.145, 173, 356 …), though occasionally plural in AR (1.1282, 3.888, 1185) and Opp. *C.* (2.125). See also nn. to Triph. 212, 301, 307, 323. For **πειθήνιος**, see Plu. *Lyc.* 30.4 καὶ καθάπερ ἱππικῆς τέχνης ἀποτέλεσμα πρᾷον ἵππον καὶ πειθήνιον παρασχεῖν.

102 δυσέμβατον οἶμον ὁδεύῃ: for δυσέμβατον see Thuc. 4.10.3 (τοῦ τε γὰρ χωρίου τὸ δυσέμβατον ἡμέτερον νομίζω), Nonn. *D.* 5.542 (καὶ κραναῶν στείβουσα δυσέμβατα κύκλα κελεύθων), 11.216. For οἶμον ὁδεύῃ, see AR 4.838 ἄσπετον οἶμον ὁδεύειν|; Nonn. *D.* 2.127 συνέμπορον οἶμον ὁδεύσω|, 10.102 μετάρσιον οἶμον ὁδεύοι|, 18.55 δύσβατον οἶμον ἔχουσα, 41.42 (~ Paul. Sil. *Ekphr. Soph.* 872).

103–5 Conclusion. These lines close the ring composition initiated in 57–8 with Athena's involvement in the process and the description of the horse via the impression it makes on its beholders, relating the statue to Ares and depicting its awe-inspiring appearance. Compare the conclusion of the description of Heracles' shield in [Hes.] *Sc.* 318–20 θαῦμα ἰδεῖν καὶ Ζηνὶ βαρυκτύπῳ, οὗ διὰ βουλὰς / Ἥφαιστος ποίησε σάκος μέγα τε στιβαρόν τε, / ἀρσάμενος παλάμῃσι.

Homeric war horses inspire fear (cf. *Il.* 2.767 φόβον Ἄρηος φορεούσας, 5.272 = 8.108 μήστωρε φόβοιο, 10.547 αἰνῶς ἀκτίνεσσιν ἐοικότες ἠελίοιο), but here the effect of the horse is expected to go beyond a mere display of strength and brute force and suspend the good sense of the Trojans, suggesting that it cannot be a mere product of human craft and that it is a suitable offering for the gods. Compare the reaction in Triph. 247–9, 255–7, calling the horse 256 ἀρήιον ἵππον; QS 5.40–2, 7.362–4 τοῦ δὲ παρειαὶ / κάλλος ὁμοῦ κρυόεντι φόβῳ καταειμέναι αἰεὶ / φαίνοντ᾽ ἐσσυμένου.

103 ὣς ὁ μὲν ἐξήστραπτε φόβῳ καὶ κάλλεϊ πολλῷ alludes to the reactions to Achilles' weapons in the *Il.* Compare in particular *Il.* 19.13–15 τὰ [τεύχεα] δ᾽ ἀνέβραχε δαίδαλα πάντα. / Μυρμιδόνας δ᾽ ἄρα πάντας ἕλε τρόμος, οὐδέ τις ἔτλη / ἄντην εἰσιδέειν, ἀλλ᾽ ἔτρεσαν, 19 (Achilles) αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ φρεσὶν ᾗσι τετάρπετο δαίδαλα λεύσσων. The weapons (and Triph.'s horse) glow so beautifully that onlookers stand in religious awe before them, and dread the moment of facing them, whereas their owner delights in their beauty. The combination of religious awe and the admiration of beauty emphasises that, just as with Achilles' shield, we are dealing here with the construction of a work of art, not only a weapon. Similar combinations of brilliance, delight in beauty and fear occur in the *Posthomerica*, in the descriptions of Achilles' and Eurypylus' weapons: QS 5.3–4 Ἀμφὶ δὲ πάντῃ / δαίδαλα μαρμαίρεσκεν, 40–1 Ἀπειρέσιον δ᾽ ἄρα θαῦμα / δαίδαλα κεῖνα πέλοντο μέγ᾽ ἀνδράσι δεῖμα φέροντα; 6.197, 260 Ἐν δ᾽ ἄρ᾽ ἔην μέγα δεῖμα καὶ ἀθανάτοισιν ἰδέσθαι, 295–6 Τρῶες δ᾽ ἀμφιέποντες ἐγήθεον, εὖτ᾽ ἐσίδοντο / τεύχεά τ᾽ ἠδὲ καὶ ἄνδρα θεῶν ἐπιειμένον εἶδος. Compare also the description of Neoptolemus going to war: QS 7.361–4 ἀμφὶ δ᾽ ἄρ᾽ αὐτῷ / ὄμματα μαρμαίρουσιν ἴσον πυρί, τοῦ δὲ παρειαὶ / κάλλος ὁμοῦ κρυόεντι φόβῳ καταειμέναι αἰεὶ / φαίνοντ᾽ ἐσσυμένου, τρομέουσι δὲ καὶ θεοὶ αὐτοί.

ἀστράπτειν frequently refers to beauty in works of art and in amatory texts: cf. Ach. Tat. 1.19.1, 2.1.2; Hld. 1.21.3, 2.4.3. 10.9.3; Callistr. *Imag.* 5.1, 10.2; *AP* 2.13, 367, 388 (Christodorus); 5.310.1, 12.110.1 (Meleager), 12.84.3–4 (Meleager). Comm. in Gerlaud *Triph.*, p. 117, n. to 103; Dubielzig *Triph.*, 142–3; White 2002, 413.

104a εὐρύς θ᾽ ὑψηλός τε draws on *Il.* 23.247 εὐρύν θ᾽ ὑψηλόν τε (cf. also QS 1.790, 7.160, 9.272). The size of the horse makes it an appro-

priate match for the city walls (*Il.* 16.297, 512, 702, 20.145–6, 21.540; *Od.* 7.44–5), the towers (*Il.* 3.384, 7.338, 437, 12.386; *Od.* 6.262–3) and the doors (*Il.* 12.131, 454–5, 18.275; *Od.* 3.407, 9.304, 18.32).

104b–5 again stress the impression of mobility combined with the reality of lack of movement. Presenting the statue as a suitable mount for the god of war attests to its primary bellicose aim, downgrading its beauty to a secondary position. The mention of Ares is no mere chance: up to this point he has been backing the Trojans, but after the stratagem of the horse, in the final battle, he joins the Achaeans (563–5), as if he could not resist the temptation of being on the winning side. Hence the etymology **τὸν οὐδέ κεν ἀρνήσαιτο** … **Ἄρης**, which can be compared with Collut. 177 οὔ σοι Ἄρης ἐπάρηξε.

105a εἴ μιν ζωὸν ἔτετμεν: cf. *Od.* 3.256 εἰ ζωόν γ᾽ Αἴγισθον … ἔτετμεν; AR 1.907–8 ἢν ἄρα τούς γε / τέτμῃ ἔτι ζώοντας; QS 12.146 ὡς ἐτεὸν ζώοντος. For **105b ἵππιος Ἄρης** there are no exact parallels: a relationship with horses would make more sense for Poseidon or Athena, but Triph. may be thinking of the times when Ares is driven on a chariot pulled by horses (*Il.* 15.119–20, [Hes.] *Sc.* 191–2) and ἄρης may be understood as a rationalisation of war, here brought into Troy by the horse. See also Stat. *Silv.* 1.1.8–21, on the equestrian statue of emperor Domitian, comparing the horse with the Trojan one.

106–7 The construction of a wall surrounding the finished statue sounds rather illogical. Triph. has already mentioned the large size of the horse (58, 62–4, 75 – also explaining the dimensions of the surrounding wall: 106 μέγα τεῖχος), which would have made its construction a conspicuous event in the Achaean camp and also to the Trojans, advantageously positioned on top of the walls of their city. Triph. seems to imply that the whole affair was brought to a conclusion in secret: Helenus' prophecies and the Achaean decision to end the war (47–50) would have taken place in a secret assembly of the chieftains, and the construction of the horse and its surrounding wall (57–107) would have been concealed by Athena. He then emphasises that only the βασιλεῖς attend the subsequent assembly (108–52), at the end of which (204–7) Agamemnon orders his servants to destroy the wall to make the horse τηλεφανής 'visible from afar'. However, in his subsequent speech Odysseus starts by saying that the horse is finished (120–1), and does not explain why it

has been built, though he later mentions the strategy in vague terms (135–8). The model for the construction and demolition of the wall is the building and destruction of the wall surrounding the Achaean camp in the *Iliad* (7.433–66, 12.3–35), especially 7.461–3 (463 μέγα τεῖχος ~ Triph. 106; 462 καλύψαι ~ Triph. 206 κεκάλυπτο).

The wall is Triph.'s invention, though QS also mentions Odysseus' fears that the purpose of the horse may be revealed at an inopportune time (12.242 ὄφρα μὴ ἀμφαδὰ Τρωσὶν ᾽Αχαιῶν ἔργα πέληται). According to Leone (1968, 72), the wall would serve as protection for the horse against possible Achaean attacks directed by Neoptolemus and Philoctetes, who did not agree with the decision to give up the fight for the sake of the overall strategy (QS 12.84–103). He supports the reading of the manuscripts for 107 ἀνάψῃ, instead of ἐνίψῃ, thus giving an awkward reference to an attack with fire.

106a ἀμφὶ δέ μιν μέγα τεῖχος ἐλήλατο ~ Hes. *Th.* 726 τὸν πέρι χάλκεον ἕρκος ἐλήλαται.

106b–7a μή τις ᾽Αχαιῶν / πρίν μιν ἐσαθρήσειε: ἐσαθρέω is a Homeric *hapax* (*Il.* 3.450 εἴ που ἐσαθρήσειεν ᾽Αλέξανδρον) which became popular in late epic poetry (3x in Opp. *H.*; QS 1.111; 19x in Nonn. *D.*; Musae. 337).

107b δόλον δ᾽ ἀνάπυστον ἐνίψῃ: the codices read ἀνάψῃ, which sounds awkward ('light up' or 'kindle', both in its basic and its figurative sense: see LSJ *s.v.* ἀνάπτω II), and was corrected to ἐνίψῃ by Wernicke (*Triph.*, 149–50), also printed by Gerlaud and Dubielzig. Compare Nonn. *D.* 40.155 μή τις ἐνίψῃ. See Dubielzig *Triph.*, 143–5 for possible explanations of the passage. **ἀνάπυστος** is a Homeric *hapax* (*Od.* 11.274 ἄφαρ δ᾽ ἀνάπυστα θεοὶ θέσαν ἀνθρώποισιν), which did not enjoy any success at all in subsequent tradition.

108–52a Achaean assembly. With the wooden horse now ready for the attack, the poem reaches the end of its introductory section and presents the second protagonist of the poem, Odysseus. Tomasso (2012, 394) notes that the omnipresence of Odysseus in Triphiodorus' Achaean debate comes into contrast with Quintus' narrative: in *Posthom.* 12 Neoptolemus and Philoctetes oppose to the use of δόλος to defeat the Trojans, thinking it unhonourable to use a method different of

the traditional βίη. Compare the depiction of Odysseus in the *Posthomerica*, analysed in Bär 2010, 296–310.

In the *Od.*, Odysseus asks Demodocus to sing of the wooden horse which Epeius had made with Athena, and which he himself had filled with warriors and taken to the citadel (*Od.* 8.492–5). In the summary of the bard's response (*Od.* 8.499–520), the horse and Odysseus are the protagonists, surrounded by the groups of the Trojans and the Argives. This will remain the case in the *Sack of Troy*: now that Epeius has, with Athena's help, finished the horse, it is Odysseus' responsibility to fill it with men, and to make the strategy work.

In his Odysseus, Triph. envisages the planner of the end of the war, the leader of the Achaeans and the embodiment of the virtues of his people. As a planner, Triph.'s Odysseus should not only design the strategy, but focus on the long-term goal (the capture of Troy) and anticipate possible obstacles. As a charismatic and well-spoken leader, he should be able to galvanise all the Argives into action, inducing the best men to volunteer for the dangerous stratagem of the horse, and the rest of the army to put the plan into action with martial efficiency. He should also manage the stress levels of the men under his command, restraining their survival and killing instincts so that they do not jeopardise the whole operation.

This corresponds, of course, with the characterisation of Odysseus in the *Odyssey* as a hero of practical intelligence. As Barnouw describes him, Odysseus is a single-minded character (Barnouw 2004, 21–36), someone who uses all his intelligence to attain his goal, considering his actions in the light of anticipated consequences (*ibid.* 53–64), and enduring all the obstacles and difficulties on the way (85–98). In the *Odyssey*, his character is outlined through his affinities with Athena and Penelope (335–45), and through contrast with the heedless recklessness of his crew, the suitors and Aegisthus (37–52). On Odysseus' Iliadic ability to forge an operational consensus, see Elmer 2013, 98–104.

In the *Sack of Troy*, Odysseus is freed from his Homeric deviousness (e.g. *Od.* 13.291–9), which Triph. passes to Sinon (esp. Triph. 219–29). His position among the Argives is uncontested, and his intelligence and rhetorical skills are associated with Athena (111–19), while his endurance and self-control may be contrasted with the impulsive behaviour of Anticlus (in the horse) and Neoptolemus and Ajax (in the final battle). As *de facto* leader of the Achaeans, he correctly reads the signs of the end of the war (128–38) and leads his army to victory, whereas

Priam misinterprets these signs (419–38) and misleads his people into a careless enjoyment of the festivities of peace, without considering the consequences of such a rash decision (444–53). The underlying principle is that of the σύγκρισις ('comparison') of two groups: their two principal elements should be compared in order to determine which group is better (Theon 114.8–29). In other words, if Odysseus is better than Priam, then the Achaeans are better than the Trojans.

The narrative pace relaxes, and an attempt is made to capture the scene more realistically, including the use of direct speech to underline the intervention of Odysseus.

108–19 Introduction to the assembly and Odysseus's speech. Triph. is not specific about the exact physical background of the scenes (nothing has so far been said about the topography of the Achaean camp), but tries to recreate the atmosphere by referring to the overall noise of the place (109). The *Sack of Troy* alternates quiet and noisy scenes: see Miguélez-Cavero 2008, 129–30.

108 οἱ δὲ Μυκηναίης Ἀγαμέμνονος ἐγγύθι νηός: an example of Triph.'s use of concentrated introductions to avoid holding back the narrative. Agamemnon is first mentioned here, and in a single line we are told the three facts that the author is interested in emphasising: that he is the king of the powerful Mycenae (cf. *Il.* 7.180 = 11.46 βασιλῆα πολυχρύσοιο Μυκήνης), that he is the leader of the fleet from Mycenae (*Il.* 2.569–80) and head of the army (the assembly takes place by his ship), and that his leadership is contested, since it is not he who opens the assembly, but Odysseus. Compare *Il.* 2.53–4, 11.806–8, 14.27–41.

109 λαῶν ὀρνυμένων ὅμαδον καὶ κῦμα φυγόντες: the expected cluster would have been ὅμαδος καὶ δοῦπος (*Il.* 9.573, 23.234; *Od.* 10.556; [Hes.] *Sc.* 257). For the image of a group of people stirred like the waves of the sea, see *Il.* 2.144–6, 207–10, 394–7. Hector, too, holds a council far away from the noise of the army in *Il.* 10.414–16. On λαῶν ὀρνυμένων, see Dubielzig *Triph.*, 145–7.

110 ἐς βουλὴν βασιλῆες ἀολλίσθησαν Ἀχαιῶν: the expression echoes the introduction to another assembly, in *Il.* 19.54 (ἀολλίσθησαν Ἀχαιοί – Achilles' speech follows). Compare also *Il.* 10.194–5 τοὶ δ' ἅμ' ἕποντο / Ἀργείων βασιλῆες, ὅσοι κεκλήατο βουλήν.

111–13 Athena takes the form of a herald and sits at Odysseus' side to endow him with the powers of persuasion. This provides yet another instance of her cooperation with the Achaeans: she strives to bring the war to an end (43–4), she joins the Achaeans in the shape of the Palladion (55–6), and she inspires Epeius to build the horse (57–8). On Athena's love for Odysseus, see *Il.* 10.245, 274–82. The main referent of the passage is *Il.* 2.278–82 (Athena inspires Odysseus before a speech). For Odysseus' rhetorical skill, see *Il.* 2, 3, 9; Strabo 1.2.5.

111 δέμας κήρυκος ἑλοῦσα rephrases *Il.* 2.280 εἰδομένη κήρυκι. **τανυφθόγγοιο … κήρυκος** is a variation of *Il.* 2.50 etc. κηρύκεσσι λιγυφθόγγοισι. The new adjective only appears here and in QS 11.110 (γεράνοισι τανυφθόγγοισι); Nonn. *D.* 22.61 (a tragic actor speaking through his mask: μύκημα τανυφθόγγων ἀπὸ λαιμῶν). Odysseus' herald, Eurybates (*Il.* 2.184), is fully described in *Od.* 19.244–8.

112 συμφράδμων Ὀδυσῆι: in the Iliadic referent Athena has already given her advice to Odysseus (*Il.* 2.166–81), and her function in the assembly is to ensure the silence of the army (2.279–82). **παρίστατο θοῦρις Ἀθήνη** (= Nonn. *D.* 26.2) is a variation on *Il.* 2.279 παρὰ δὲ γλαυκῶπις Ἀθήνη. In the Iliadic referent, Odysseus is given the epithet πτολίπορθος (2.278; also *Il.* 10.363 – see the analysis in Haft 1990) to predict his success in the capture of Troy. The adjective θοῦρις applied to Athena here has a similar function, foretelling her involvement in the fight (566–7). She will also be called 390 πτολίπορθος, 432 πολιοῦχος, 444 πολισσούχοιο.

113 ἀνδρὸς ἐπιχρίουσα μελίχροϊ νέκταρι φωνήν: Triph. combines the motif of Athena's feeding of a hero with nectar and ambrosia to make him resistant to hunger (*Il.* 19.352–4; also Triph. 185–8) with the simile of the speech of a good orator flowing sweetly from his mouth like honey (*Il.* 1.249 τοῦ καὶ ἀπὸ γλώσσης μέλιτος γλυκίων ῥέεν αὐδή). The nectar is said to have the sweet flavour and runny texture of the honey, and this will later describe Odysseus' speech (119 ἐξέχεεν μέγα λαῖτμα μελισταγέος νιφετοῖο). **μελίχροϊ νέκταρι**: compare *AP* 6.239.5–6 (Apollonides) εὖ δὲ μελιχροῦ / νέκταρος ἐμπλήσαις κηροπαγεῖς θαλάμας; QS 3.224 κηροὺς … μελίχροας; Nonn. *D.* 10.271 μέλιτος γλυκεροῖο μελιχροτέρη πέλε Βάκχῳ. Analysis in Campbell *Lex.*, p. 209, APP 113; Monaco 2007, 162–4.

114–19 The description of Odysseus preparing to speak is built on Antenor's account of Odysseus' practice before a speech (*Il.* 3.216–23). In detail: Triph. 115 εἱστήκει ~ *Il.* 217 στάσκεν (Odysseus also stands still in *Il.* 2.169–70, because of grief); Triph. 115b κενεόφρονι φωτὶ ἐοικώς ~ *Il.* 219b ἀΐδρεϊ φωτὶ ἐοικώς + 220 ἄφρονα; Triph. 116 ὄμματος ἀστρέπτοιο βολὴν ἐπὶ γαῖαν ἐρείσας ~ *Il.* 217 ὑπαὶ δὲ ἴδεσκε κατὰ χθονὸς ὄμματα πήξας; Triph. 119 ἐξέχεεν μέγα λαῖτμα μελισταγέος νιφετοῖο ~ *Il.* 222 ἔπεα νιφάδεσσιν ἐοικότα χειμερίῃσιν. Quintilian recommended the Iliadic passage as a model for the Roman orator: *Inst.* 11.3.157–8.

In the Iliadic passage, besides looking foolishly downwards, Odysseus holds the sceptre stiffly (3.118–19 – for Odysseus holding the sceptre, see *Il.* 2.185–6, 265–6). In the *Iliad*, the sceptre is said to have been fashioned by Hephaestus and to be the possession of Agamemnon, the last in a chain of illustrious bearers starting with Zeus (2.100–9). The sceptre thus establishes a link between Agamemnon's authority and that of Zeus. Since in the *Sack of Troy* Agamemnon keeps a very low profile (he is only mentioned in 108, 204–8, 406–9), it is only natural that no sceptre is mentioned.

114 αὐτὰρ ὁ δαιμονίῃσι νόον βουλῇσιν ἑλίσσων: particularly appropriate for πολύμητις Odysseus (*Il.* 3.216), the line is inspired by the Homeric phrases with ὁρμαίνειν, such as *Il.* 1.193 ἦος ὁ ταῦθ᾽ ὥρμαινε κατὰ φρένα καὶ κατὰ θυμόν. Compare AR 4.3 νόος ἔνδον ἑλίσσεται, ὁρμαίνοντι …; Opp. *H.* 3.505–6 νόος δέ οἱ ἠΰτε κῦμα / εἱλεῖται; *AP* 2.50–1 (Christodorus of Coptus) ἐν δὲ μενοινῇ / δαιμονίης ἐλέλιζε νοήματα ποικίλα βουλῆς.

115–16 πρῶτα μὲν εἱστήκει κενεόφρονι φωτὶ ἐοικὼς / ὄμματος ἀστρέπτοιο βολὴν ἐπὶ γαῖαν ἐρείσας: instances of other speakers looking downwards to concentrate before their speeches are to be found in Philostr. *Imag.* 1.3.2; Philostr. Iun. *Imag.* 1.4, 13.1. In AR 3.422–5, the same gesture denotes embarrassment.

κενεόφρονι φωτὶ ἐοικώς is the reading in F (printed by Gerlaud), while *b* reads κενεόφρονι ἀνδρὶ ἐοικώς. Dubielzig (*Triph.*, 147–8) is not satisfied with either of these, and suggests κενεόφρονος ἀνέρος εἶδος. Κενεόφρων is a well-known Pindaric insult (*N.* 11.29–30 βροτῶν τὸν μὲν κενεόφρονες αὖχαι / ἐξ ἀγαθῶν ἔβαλον; see also Nonn. *D.* 44.291 κακογλώσσων στομάτων κενεόφρονι μύθῳ). **ὄμματος**

ἀστρέπτοιο: F has ὄμματος ἀτρέπτοιο ('with impassive look'), but it makes more sense to read ὄμματος ἀστρέπτοιο ('with a fixed look' towards the ground), as explained by Gerlaud *Triph.*, 118–19 (n. *ad loc.*). **ὄμματος … βολὴν** goes back ultimately to *Od.* 4.150 ὀφθαλμῶν τε βολαί. See also Musae. 94 ἀπ᾽ ὀφθαλμοῖο βολάων; Paul. Sil. *Ekphr. Soph.* 196 ὄμματος ἀχράντοιο βολῆι. **βολὴν ἐπὶ γαῖαν ἐρείσας**: compare Nonn. *P.* 9.172 κεφαλὴν δ᾽ ἐπὶ γαῖαν ἐρείσας.

117–19 Triph. accumulates several speech-related metaphors (producing a speech is similar to giving birth; the flow of speech is like that of a spring and like runny honey; words fall like snowflakes/raindrops), thus anticipating the overwhelming effect that the speech will have on those listening.

117–18a ἄφνω δ᾽ ἀενάων ἐπέων ὠδῖνας ἀνοίξας / δεινὸν ἀνεβρόντησε: producing a speech is similar to giving birth, including birth-pangs (cf. Lyc. *Alex.* 842 ὠδῖνας οἴξαντος). In the *Sack of Troy*, the image of labour is linked to the opening of the wooden horse and the Achaean warriors pouring from it to annihilate Troy (esp. in Cassandra's prophecy: 379–80, 386–90). The birth of the warriors is accompanied by Athena's ritual scream (389–90, 566–7), just as here Odysseus gives a terrible shout like a thunderclap (118 δεινὸν ἀνεβρόντησε). This image links the speech (the verbal cause of the final battle) and the battle itself. Success is attributed to Odysseus both in inspiring the troops with his subsequent harangue and in his overall strategy for the capture of Troy. The notions of pain and intense concentration enhance his portrayal as a professional orator whose interventions require considerable effort.

ἄφνω is un-Homeric, but is used by AR (2.187, 3.630 …) and Nonn. *D.* (20.336, 37.538 in the same *sedes*). The comparison of the speech with the awe-inspiring noise of thunder (**118a δεινὸν ἀνεβρόντησε**) predicts a similar effect to that of Zeus's thundering on the armies (*Il.* 20.56–7 δεινὸν δὲ βρόντησε πατὴρ ἀνδρῶν τε θεῶν τε / ὑψόθεν; also *Il.* 8.133, 13.796, 21.198–9 …; QS 2.640–1). ἐμβροντάω is sometimes used to explain the devastating effect of something on somebody: Ach. Tat. 3.15.6 (after a nightmare) μέτρον γὰρ οὐκ ἔχον τὸ κακὸν ἐνεβρόντησέ με.

The performance is then compared with a spring of words (**118b ἠερίης ἅ τε πηγῆς**). The notion of the flow of liquids also appears in

117 ἀενάων 'ever-flowing' (often used to describe water sources, as in *Od.* 13.109 ὕδατ᾽ ἀενάοντα; Hes. *Op.* 595 κρήνης δ᾽ ἀενάου καὶ ἀπορρύτου, 737 ἀενάων ποταμῶν καλλίρροον ὕδωρ; AR 3.222, 860. Compare also Nonn. *D.* 3.246–7 (ἀενάων στίχα μύθων / οἰγομένου κρουνηδὸν ἀνήρυγεν ἀνθερεῶνος), 23.282–3. This image balances the strain of the speaker (117–18a) and suggests that Odysseus is about to embark on a long speech, passing uninterrupted from one argument to the next. Homer always uses πηγή in the plural (as in *Il.* 20.9 πηγὰς ποταμῶν; Hes. *Th.* 282, 738, 809), while Triph. uses the singular here and in 684. As regards other later authors, QS (10.197) and Opp. (*C.* 195) use the plural, whereas Nonnus uses both the singular (*D.* 3.86, 164; 4.358; 7.234; 11.322, 432; 13.133 …) and the plural (*D.* 1.152; 12.129, 375; 15.415; 24.24 …).

119 ἐξέχεεν μέγα λαῖτμα μελισταγέος νιφετοῖο: see *Il.* 3.222 ἔπεα νιφάδεσσιν ἐοικότα χειμερίῃσιν, 1.249 τοῦ καὶ ἀπὸ γλώσσης μέλιτος γλυκίων ῥέεν αὐδή; Call. *Iov.* 32 ἐκ δ᾽ ἔχεεν μέγα χεῦμα. The words fall like snow and the flow is reiterated in λαῖτμα (Campbell *Lex.*, *s.v.* λαῖτμα: 'torrential flood'). In the *Iliad*, snowflakes are compared to large numbers of objects falling in a fast and regular way (*Il.* 12.156–9 stones; 12.277–89 stones; 19.357–61 weapons) and the effect achieved is that of intensification (see Moulton 1977, 64–6). The desired effect here is probably the same. Gerlaud (*Triph.*, p. 119, note to 119; also Monaco 2007, 137–9; *contra* Campbell *Lex.*, *s.v.* νιφετός) rightly points out that, though building his line on *Il.* 3.222 (ἔπεα νιφάδεσσιν ἐοικότα χειμερίῃσιν), Triph. understood νιφετός as a synonym of ψεκάς ('raindrops'), as Nonnus sometimes does (e.g. *D.* 8.258–60, 275–8; esp. *P.* 19.155 μελισταγέος νιφετοῖο). This explains the turn of phrase involving λαῖτμα, usually combined with water (*Od.* 4.504 μέγα λαῖτμα θαλάσσης, 5.174, 9.260; Hes. *Op.* 164), not with snow, and the mention of the storm (118 δεινὸν ἀνεβρόντησε), which causes the rain to fall. Triph. seems to be drawing on some Homeric lexicon or *scholion*. In fact, an interpretation of νιφάς = ψεκάς is found in Apollonius' *Lexicon Homericum*: νιφάδεσσι· ὁ μὲν Ἀπίων ψεκάδας, ἔστι δὲ κατὰ τὸ ὑγιὲς αἱ τῆς χιόνος κατ᾽ ὀλίγον ἀπόρροιαι· οἶδε γὰρ τὰς ψεκάδας δηλῶσαι, ψιάδας λέγων· "αἱματοέσσας δὲ ψιάδας". On the contrary Triph. clearly means snow in 190 χιὼν ἐπάλυνεν ἀρούρας.

Words also flow like honey: **ἐξέχεεν … μελισταγέος**, going back to 113 ἐπιχρίουσα μελίχροϊ νέκταρι. For **μελισταγέος**, see AR 2.1272 οἴνου … μελισταγέας χέε λοιβάς; referring to water in Nonn. *D.* 7.235 μελισταγὲς … ὕδωρ, 15.6, 17.298, 40.136.

120–51 Odysseus's speech does not have the form of the short harangues employed by heroes and gods in the middle of a battle to galvanise the army into immediate action in epic (e.g. *Il.* 5.464–9, 5.787–91, 6.67–91, 6.111–15), though it shares with these the insistence on warlike virtues. Nor is it an exhortation like those with which the Homeric heroes chide one another (e.g. *Il.* 5.472–92) or boast to each other before a combat (e.g. *Il.* 5.627–54), since there is no sign of reviling here, and the shortcomings of the addressees are not criticised.

Odysseus's speech sums up in vague terms the strategy that the Achaeans are to follow in the last battle for Troy. It takes the place of a possible debate among the leaders and builds up the characterisation of both the Achaean army (a united force entirely focused on taking Troy, with all the men ready to cooperate for the common good) and Odysseus (presented as the brains and soul of the Achaeans and thus virtually leading to the disappearance of Agamemnon, mainly because in such a short poem there is no room for two Achaean heroes). Odysseus' intervention and the subsequent ordered response of his army are contrasted with the chaotic approach of the Trojans to the horse (247ff.). Specifically, this speech is set in opposition to Cassandra's (376–416): both appeal to the good sense and virtues of their peoples (Odysseus in 122–7, 147–51; Cassandra 410–11), mention previous prophecies (Odysseus 128–34; Cassandra 379–81), and suggest what to do next (Odysseus 135–45; Cassandra 412–16). The Argives immediately rouse themselves to follow Odysseus' instructions (152ff.), but Priam, speaking for the Trojans, rejects those of his daughter (417ff.), fundamentally because she is a woman, looks demented (358–75), and her words do not have Apollo's approval (417–18), whereas Odysseus is fully supported by Athena (111–13).

Odysseus' speech has a clear structure:

– 120–1 Exordium.
– 122–38 Address to prospective volunteers for the strategy of the horse (122 Ὑμεῖς δ', οἵ τε …).

– 139–45 Address to the rest of the kings, providing instructions about the procedure that the main body of the army should follow (139 Οἱ δ' ἄλλοι …).
– 146–51 Final exhortation.

The structure is the usual one in historiographical harangues (Keitel 1987, 154–66): exordium, διδαχή (instructions regarding the situation and tactics to be employed) entwined with paraenetic motifs, and *peroratio*. Two of Odysseus' arguments fit in with the topics used in a historiographical harangue (some of which also go back to Homeric models): necessity (today's battle brings life or death), explored in 124–7, but also in *Il.* 15.502–3, 17.227–8; Odysseus bases their hopes for victory on previous prophecies (128–34, starting with 128 Ἡμῖν θαλπωραὶ προφερέστεραι), which is in accordance with the topics of the possibility of victory and the justice of winning the battle (based on an omen in *Il.* 8.139–44, 173–7).

Triph.'s Homeric referents are Odysseus' twin harangues to the kings (*Il.* 2.190–7) and to the soldiers (200–6), and his subsequent speech (284–332) reminding the Achaeans of Calchas' interpretation of the prodigy at Aulis (*Il.* 2.299–332 ~ Triph. 128–32). Triph.'s Odysseus does not mention the role of the false Achaean deserter who is to convince the Trojans to take the horse into their city, to be played by Sinon (258ff.). As Campbell suggests (1981, 78), this may be due to the absence of the common folk from the βουλή of the kings (110, 152).

QS's episode is far more complex than that of Triph. The stagnation of the war (mentioned by Triph. in 6–39) is broken up by Calchas' call for a council of the kings, where he announces that a prodigy (a hawk defeating a pigeon with cunning, not with a frontal attack) is advising them to take Troy through deception (12.1–20). Odysseus proposes a fully-formed plan (12.25–45), which is immediately endorsed by Calchas' authority (51–65), but criticised by Neoptolemus and Philoctetes, who are convinced only by a second prodigy (66–103). Then, in a general assembly (246 λαός, 259 λαόν) Odysseus asks for a group of kings to volunteer for the strategy of the horse (220–34), orders the army to sail to Tenedos and wait there (335–7), and asks for another man to play the traitor (338–42).

Vian (1959, 62) considered that the many coincidences between Triph.'s and QS's passages suggested either that they had a common source, which QS had reshaped more thoroughly, or that Triph. had re-

worked QS' approach. Campbell (1981, 78) is closer to the truth when he says that "the similarities are far outweighed by the differences". Not only does Triph. not mention Sinon here, but the scene of the *Posthomerica* is designed to respond to Neoptolemus: Odysseus insists that the heroes hidden in the horse will have to make continuous use of violence in order to prevent Neoptolemus from saying that success should be achieved by prowess (i.e. violently), and that the use of a strategy is unacceptable for a proper fighter, as he had done when Odysseus had suggested the ruse of the wooden horse (12.67–72).

120–1 The exordium does not explain what Odysseus' audience knows about the wooden horse or how the construction had been decided upon. However, lines 120–1 (**ὦ φίλοι, ἤδη μὲν κρύφιος λόχος ἐκτετέλεσται / χερσὶ μὲν ἀνδρομέῃσιν, ἀτὰρ βουλῇσιν Ἀθήνης**) are concerned with the construction of the horse, in particular with its introduction (57–8 Ἤδη καὶ βουλῇσι θεῆς ὑποεργὸς Ἐπειὸς / … ἵππον ἐποίει).

The opening **ὦ φίλοι** is a common way of addressing an assembly in the Homeric poems (*Il.* 2.79, 110; 5.529, 601; 6.67; 7.191; 9.17 etc.; *Od.* 10.174, 226; 11.344 etc.; also used by AR 2.468 etc.; QS 4.83, 303, 490 etc.; only once in Nonn. *D.* 37.131).

Odysseus calls the horse **κρύφιος λόχος** (perhaps after E. *Rh.* 92 δόλος κρυφαῖος – λόχος κρυφαῖος is a variant reading), which can be linked to 92 λόχον κλυτόπωλον Ἀχαιῶν, and reappears in 221 κρυπτὸν … δόλον and esp. 539 κρυφίοιο λόχου. The completion of the horse (**ἐκτετέλεσται**) mirrors the completion of the war through the destruction of Troy which it is about to bring about (172–4 Κάλχας / εὖ εἰδὼς ὅτι μόχθον ἀμήχανον ἐκτελέσαντες / ἤδη Τρώιον ἄστυ καθιππεύσουσιν Ἀχαιοί). See also *Il.* 2.330 (Odysseus, on Calchas' prophecy) κεῖνος τὼς ἀγόρευε· τὰ δὴ νῦν πάντα τελεῖται.

121 χερσὶ μὲν ἀνδρομέῃσιν, ἀτὰρ βουλῇσιν Ἀθήνης: compare *AP* 9.156.3–4 (Antiphilus) τεκταίνει μὲν Ἐπειός, Ἀθηναίη δὲ κελεύει / ἔργον. The horse is later presented as the work of Athena (137 ἀταρβήτοιο θεῆς ἀπατήνορα τέχνην), but Sinon does not mention her involvement when he tells the Trojans about the statue (295 ἵππον δ' Ἀργείοισι παλαίφατον εὗρεν Ἐπειός), though he does present it as an offering to the goddess (296–9).

122–38 Volunteers for the strategy of the horse

122–4a Requirements for those joining the mission of the horse
124b–7 Need to bring the present stagnation to an end
128–34 Predictions of their forthcoming success in capturing Troy
135–8 Final exhortation to prospective volunteers

Note the vagueness of this part of the speech: lines 122–7 could be part of any harangue before any fight, since they do not refer to the circumstances; Calchas' and Helenus' prophecies (128–34) are not fully narrated, and so no motive for trusting them is provided; and lines 135–8 do not explain the strategy of the horse.

122–4a οἵ τε μάλιστα πεποίθατε κάρτεϊ χειρῶν, / πρόφρονες ἀλκήεντι νόῳ καὶ τλήμονι θυμῷ / σπέσθέ μοι: compare QS 6.203–5 καί οἱ ἀταρβὴς / ἔσκε νόος καὶ θυμός, ἐπεὶ Διὶ κάρτος ἐῴκει / ἐξ ἀρχῆς. The requisites are adapted to the context: strong hands (**κάρτεϊ χειρῶν**) are necessary for the fight against the Trojans (533ff.) because the Achaeans hidden inside the horse will be only very few in number to fight against the whole city of Troy. Valiant determination (**ἀλκήεντι νόῳ**), too, is essential to hide in the horse for a whole day, under the constant pressure of being surrounded by the enemy; only with a steadfast soul (**τλήμονι θυμῷ**) will the heroes be able to remain silent and motionless, without food and drink, for a whole day and then emerge from the horse ready for the fight. Later, Athena feeds them with ambrosia to free them from hunger (185–8), but their situation inside the horse is then compared to that of animals taking refuge in a cave during a hard winter, experiencing hunger and fear (189–97), as they imagine what is to come. The conclusion (199 ἀτλήτους ἀνέχοντο πόνους ἀκμῆτες Ἀχαιοί) insists on their self-control and foretells their success, but when the real temptation comes in the shape of Helen luring them to betray themselves, Anticlus will not be strong enough (463–86). Odysseus' requirements in QS 12 are more general: 229 Ἀλλ᾽ ἄγε δὴ μένος ἠὺ καὶ ἄλκιμον ἐν φρεσὶ θέσθε (expanded in lines 230–3).

122 κάρτεϊ χειρῶν also appears in *Il.* 8.226 = 11.9; AR 1.1162, 2.334, 3.507; Opp. *C.* 4.48; QS 5.271). κάρτος is usually combined with βίη: *Od.* 4.415, 6.197, 13.143, 18.139; QS 3.314, 4.317, 12.99. QS also presents the combination κάρτος and θυμός [here in line 123] in 1.459–60, 2.516, 3.255, 3.389 etc. Compare also *Il.* 17.328–30 ὡς δὴ ἴδον ἀνέρας ἄλλους / <u>κάρτεϊ</u> τε σθένεϊ τε <u>πεποιθότας</u> ἠνορέῃ τε / πλήθεϊ τε

σφετέρῳ; QS 2.204 κάρτεϊ Πηλείδαο πεποιθότες, 11.184, 12.76 χερσὶ πεποιθώς.

123 πρόφρονες ἀλκήεντι νόῳ καὶ τλήμονι θυμῷ: compare πρόφρονι θυμῷ in *Il.* 24.140, *Od.* 16.257; Hes. *Th.* 536; QS 6.143, 447. For the combination of νόος and θυμός (the usual phrase is μένος καὶ θυμόν, as in *Il.* 5.470 etc.; QS 1.554), see *Il.* 4.309 (of the men of old) τόνδε νόον καὶ θυμὸν ἐνὶ στήθεσσιν ἔχοντες. **τλήμονι θυμῷ** = QS 14.110 (same *sedes*), for which see *Il.* 5.670 τλήμονα θυμόν.

124a σπέσθέ μοι: it seems to be already settled that Odysseus is to lead the expedition. Compare a more neutral invitation in QS 12.223–4 ᾽Αλλὰ μνησώμεθ᾽ ᾞΑρηος, / ἐς δ᾽ ἵππον βαίνωμεν ἐύξοον, 234 ᾽Αλλ᾽ ἄγ᾽ ἀριστῆες μὲν ἐὺν λόχον ἐντύνασθε.

124b–7 Odysseus depicts the current situation as a dilemma: either they prolong the present stagnation and grow old without glory (as described in 6–13), or they risk everything to provoke a turning-point, bringing the war to an end or perishing in the attempt. Though the exact words differ, Ajax makes a similar 'either/or' proposal in *Il.* 15.511–13, and he succeeds in arousing the army (*Il.* 15.514 ᾞΩς εἰπὼν ὄτρυνε μένος καὶ θυμὸν ἑκάστου). Similar notions occur in *Il.* 2.119–22, 22.304–5; QS 9.281–2 αἰδὼς γὰρ μάλα πολλὸν ἐπὶ χρόνον ἔνθα μένοντας / ἔμμεναι ἀπρήκτους καὶ ἀνάλκιδας.

124b οὐ γὰρ ἔοικε πολὺν χρόνον ἐνθάδ᾽ ἐόντας: after *Il.* 2.343 πολὺν χρόνον ἐνθάδ᾽ ἐόντες. See also QS 10.29 Οὐ γὰρ ἀκηδήσουσι πολὺν χρόνον ἐνθάδ᾽ ᾽Αχαιοί, 14.245 πολὺν χρόνον ἐνθάδ᾽ ἐρύξειν.

125 μοχθίζειν ἀτέλεστα is contraposed with Priam's accusation against his daughter Cassandra (435 μοχθίζεις ἀτέλεστα). μόχθος also describes the Achaean invasion of Troy (173). Compare E. *Heracl.* 448 πολλὰ μοχθήσας μάτην, *Ph.* 1666 μάταια μοχθεῖς; Nonn. *D.* 33.224 μοχθίζων ἀτέλεστον ἐς ἵμερον. **ἀχρέα γηράσκοντας**: compare AR 2.893 ἐτώσια γηράσκοντας, and for the opposite *Od.* 4.210 αὐτὸν μὲν λιπαρῶς γηρασκέμεν ἐν μεγάροισιν.

126 ἀλλὰ χρὴ ζώοντας ἀοίδιμον ἔργον ἀνύσσαι: ἀοίδιμος 'subject of song' occurs only once in Homer (*Il.* 6.358; also *H. Ven.* 299, AR 4.1143, of the wedding night), but on several occassions Homeric characters are aware that their sufferings were designed by the gods to be sung of

and commented on in the future (*Il.* 2.119–22; *Od.* 8.579–80, 24.196–201). For **ἔργον ἀνύσσαι**, see *Od.* 5.243 θοῶς δέ οἱ ἤνυτο ἔργον; Opp. *H.* 3.404 δυσμήχανον ἔργον ἀνύσσαι, 427 σιγῇ δέ οἱ ἄνυται ἔργον; QS 2.470 ἐπεὶ μέγα ἤνυτο ἔργον, 14.104.

127 ἢ θανάτῳ βροτόεντι κακοκλεὲς αἶσχος ἀλύξαι: for critical peer pressure as a means of encouragement for the fighters, see *Il.* 6.350–1, 523–5. **θανάτῳ βροτόεντι** 'bloody death' is probably a reworking of πορφύρεος θάνατος (*Il.* 5.83, 16.334, 20.477), since blood is also πορφύρεος (Triph. 391–2). **κακοκλεές** is a *hapax*, probably built on the Homeric ἀκλεής (e.g. *Il.* 7.100). Cf. Monaco 2007, 157. **ἀλύσκειν** is said of death also in *Il.* 10.371 ἀλύξειν αἰπὺν ὄλεθρον; *Od.* 22.363 ἀλύσκων κῆρα μέλαιναν.

128–31 Reminder of the prodigy of Aulis: compare Homer's Odysseus, trying to raise the morale of the assembly by reminding them of the prodigy in Aulis (*Il.* 2.299–332). In detail: *Il.* 307 καλῇ ὑπὸ πλατανίστῳ ~ Triph. 130a καλῆς πλατάνοιο; *Il.* 311 στρουθοῖο νεοσσοί, νήπια τέκνα ~ Triph. 129 στρουθοῖο, 130 τέκνοις, 131 νεοσσῶν. Homer narrates the whole prodigy in detail (while making a sacrifice before the departure of the fleet from Aulis, the Achaeans see a serpent gliding up a plane tree and eating eight sparrow chicks and their mother, but then the serpent is turned into stone), and even reproduces Calchas' explanatory speech. Triph. only mentions the elements of the prodigy (sparrow, serpent and plane tree) and the death of an indeterminate number of the chicks, before that of their mother. He does not account for a second prodigy mentioned by Nestor (*Il.* 2.350–6), namely Zeus' auspicious lightning as they embarked for Troy.

128 ἡμῖν θαλπωραὶ προφερέστεραι ἤ περ ἐκείνοις: θαλπωρή 'comfort' is a Homeric word (*Il.* 6.412, 10.223; *Od.* 1.166–7 οὐδέ τις ἡμῖν / θαλπωρή), which did not enjoy any success in subsequent epic poems. The hiatus is similar to that in *Il.* 10.352 αἱ γάρ τε βοῶν προφερέστεραί εἰσιν, and would be unthinkable in Nonnus (Vian 1976, lv). Dubielzig *Triph.*, 149–50 finds this line too anomalous because of the asyndeton and the hiatus and corrects it: ἡμῖν δ᾽ ἐλπωραὶ προφερέστεροι ἤπερ ἐκείνοις.

129 ἀρχαίοιο δράκοντος does not mean 'an ancient serpent', but 'a serpent witnessed long ago', after *Il.* 2.303 χθιζά τε καὶ πρωΐζ'.

130b–1 ὠκυμόροις ἐπὶ τέκνοις / μητέρος ἑλκομένης ἁπαλῶν ἐλάθεσθε νεοσσῶν: a prefiguration of the deaths of the children in the nyktomachy (550–1a αἳ δὲ φίλοις ἐπὶ παισί, χελιδόνες οἷά τε κοῦφαι / μητέρες ὠδύροντο, 603–6, 645b–6 ἀθρήσασα / Ἀνδρομάχη μινύωρον ἐκώκυεν Ἀστυάνακτα). **ὠκυμόροις ἐπὶ τέκνοις**: compare *Il.* 18.95 ὠκύμορος δή μοι, τέκος, ἔσσεαι.

132–4 If Calchas' prophecy is not enough, they can think of that of Helenus. In the *Iliad*, Odysseus acknowledges that nothing proves that Calchas' interpretation of the omen is correct, and simply asks the army to wait patiently to confirm it (2.299–300). He seems to assume that, since nine years have elapsed and they have not yet been able to conquer Troy, they must be about to do so (330 τὰ δὴ νῦν πάντα τελεῖται, on which see Kirk 1985, p. 150, note to 2.330). Calchas plays an important role as a seer in the *Iliad* (1.68–120, 2.299–332; in 13.43–75 Poseidon takes the form of Calchas to talk to the two Aiantes).

In the *Sack of Troy*, Helenus' recent prophecy (45–50) makes up for the lack of chronological accuracy in Calchas' interpretation of the omen. The opposition between the two seers is marked in structural terms (132 Εἰ δὲ … 133 ἀλλὰ καὶ ὧς … – the latter being a strong concessive) and Calchas' old age and distant and deferred prophecy (132 γέρων ἀνεβάλλετο Κάλχας) is juxtaposed with Helenus' implied youth and his recent prophecy, which is meant to have an immediate impact (134 ἑτοιμοτάτην ἐπὶ νίκην). However, earlier in the poem, Helenus' prophecy is not so clear (48 ὀψιτέλεστον ὄλεθρον ἑῇ μαντεύσατο πάτρῃ), though the Achaeans are said to be preparing for an immediate end to the combat (50 αὐτίκα μηκεδανοῖο μόθου τέλος ἠρτύναντο). Calchas reappears in lines 172–4, entering the horse in the full knowledge that it will bring about the destruction of Troy.

132 εἰ δὲ θεοπροπίῃσι γέρων ἀνεβάλλετο Κάλχας: note the resonances of *Il.* 2.322 Κάλχας δ' αὐτίκ' ἔπειτα θεοπροπέων ἀγόρευε.

133 ἀλλὰ καὶ ὧς appears in the same *sedes* ten times in the *Il.* (e.g. 1.116), seven times in the *Od.*, three times in AR and eleven times in QS, but never in the Oppians or Nonnus, which probably implies that it was

considered characteristic of the old epic style. Triph. uses it again to introduce a line in 622, and in a different *sedes* in 564.

With **μετήλυδος ὀμφητῆρος**, two unusual, un-Homeric words, Triph. is probably trying to reformulate his own presentation of Helenus (46 Ἰλιόθεν Δαναοῖσιν ἐπὶ ξένος ἤλυθε μάντις). ὀμφητήρ is a *hapax* built by Triph. on ὀμφή, a Homeric term for the voice of the gods (*Il.* 2.41, 20.129; *Od.* 3.215, 16.96), very popular with Nonnus, who creates two adjectives, ὀμφήεις and ὀμφαῖος (cf. Peek *Lex. s.vv.* ὀμφαῖος, ὀμφή, ὀμφήεις). On Triph.'s predilection for *nomina agentis* in -τήρ, see Monaco 2007, 133. With such a pompous term, Odysseus emphasises that in Helenus the voice of the gods is speaking, and therefore his prediction is sounder than that of Calchas. In a similar way, Calchas' prophetic skills are praised in *Il.* 1.69–70 before he explains the reason for the plague that is decimating the Achaean army, and Helenus is called οἰωνοπόλων ὄχ᾽ ἄριστος when he is about to give orders to Hector and Aeneas on a winning strategy (*Il.* 6.76). Compare also the introduction of Calchas' prediction in QS 12.4–6.

The substantive **μέτηλυς** ('migrant', one who moves from one place to another) was probably made up by Dionysius the Periegete (689 Κόλχοι ναιετάουσι, μετήλυδες Αἰγύπτοιο), from whom Triph. borrowed it for his description of the migration of the cranes (352–5). From the substantive Triph. derived an adjective to revisit in euphemistic terms Helenus' desertion from the Trojans, as a substantive for the verb μετέρχομαι (cf. LSJ *s.v.* μετέρχομαι, V "go over"). Nonnus uses the word twenty times in his *D.* (cf. Peek *Lex. s.v.*); also *P.* 6.106, 211. Full analysis in Monaco 2007, 164–5.

134 μαντοσύναι 'prophecies', in plural, as in *Il.* 2.832, 11.330; AR 1.80. For καλέω + ἐπί, see Hes. *Th.* 187 Νύμφας θ᾽ ἃς Μελίας καλέουσ᾽ ἐπ᾽ ἀπείρονα γαῖαν.

135–8 Final address to potential volunteers: Odysseus takes up again the use of the imperative (124 σπέσθέ μοι, 135 πείθεσθε, 136 σπεύδωμεν), appearing again as the real leader of the expedition.

135–6a τούνεκά μοι πείθεσθε, καὶ ἱππείην ἐπὶ νηδὺν / θαρσαλέοι σπεύδωμεν: the sense of urgency (σπεύδωμεν) builds up as the fruition of the prophecy becomes more imminent (134 ἑτοιμοτάτην ἐπὶ νίκην). **τούνεκα** appears in this *sedes* ten times in the *Il.*, seven times in the *Od.*,

eight times in Opp. *H.*, and four times in Opp. *C.*, but it is never used in Nonn. *D.* **ἵππείην ἐπὶ νηδύν** refers to the abdomen of the horse (63 γαστέρα), which the heroes are to reach using the ladder provided (93–4). If νηδύς is taken to mean the womb (as in *Il.* 24.496 and Nonn. *D.* 46.318, of the female womb), this would seem to be preparing the metaphor of the fighters' coming out from the horse as a birth, to be fully developed in 386–90. Odysseus describes the presence of the heroes in the horse in a rather more prosaic way in the *Od.* (8.495 ἀνδρῶν ἐμπλήσας). **θαρσαλέοι** resumes, in the manner of a ring composition, the virtues required of the volunteers in 123 (πρόφρονες ἀλκήεντι νόῳ καὶ τλήμονι θυμῷ).

136b–8 ὅπως αὐτάγρετον ἄλγος / Τρῶες ἀταρβήτοιο θεῆς ἀπατήνορα τέχνην / Ἴλιον εἰσανάγωσιν ἑὸν κακὸν ἀμφαγαπῶντες: the Achaeans will climb up into the horse (135–6 ἐπὶ … σπεύδωμεν), but the Trojans themselves will be to blame for their ruin, because it is they who will take the horse up to their citadel (138 εἰσανάγωσιν). This duplicity is already present in the description of the strategy in *Od.* 8.494 (ὅν ποτ᾽ ἐς ἀκρόπολιν δόλον ἤγαγε δῖος Ὀδυσσεύς), 504 (αὐτοὶ γάρ μιν Τρῶες ἐς ἀκρόπολιν ἐρύσαντο). The surreal image of the Trojans joyfully embracing their destruction reappears in the narratorial comments on the transporting of the horse (310–15) and in Cassandra's speech (376–8). QS's Odysseus, on the other hand, establishes a more direct relationship between the role of the warriors in the horse and the end of the war: 12.224–5 ἐς δ᾽ ἵππον βαίνωμεν ἐύξοον, ὄφρά κε τέκμωρ / εὕρωμεν πολέμοιο δυσηχέος.

136 αὐτάγρετος is a Homeric *hapax* (*Od.* 16.148 εἰ γάρ πως εἴη αὐτάγρετα πάντα βροτοῖσι; also *H. Merc.* 474 σοὶ δ᾽ αὐτάγρετόν ἐστι δαήμεναι ὅττι μενοινᾷς; AR 2.326 αὐτάγρετον οἶτον ὀλέσθαι), which Oppian uses once in an active sense (*H.* 5.588 χεῖρας ἐς ἰχθυβόλων αὐτάγρετος ἀντήσασα).

137 ἀτάρβητος 'fearless' is a Homeric *hapax*: *Il.* 3.63 ἀτάρβητος νόος; also [Hes.] *Sc.* 110 ἀτάρβητον Διὸς υἱόν; QS 7.383 πατρὸς ἀταρβήτοιο μένος, 8.284 ἀταρβήτοιο … Ἄρεος; Nonn. *D.* 45.216 ἀταρβήτῳ … πεδίλῳ; *AP* 9.177.1 Αἴαντος … ἀταρβήτοιο. **ἀπατήνωρ** 'beguiling men' seems to have been made up by Triph., and reused by Nonn. *D.* 26.118 ἀπατήνορι μύθῳ, *P.* 8.130 ἀπατήνορα μῦθον.

138 ἑὸν κακὸν ἀμφαγαπῶντες after Zeus' words, promising to punish men for stealing the fire, foretelling that they will welcome their ruin when they accept Pandora: Hes. *Op.* 57–8 τοῖς δ᾽ ἐγὼ ἀντὶ πυρὸς δώσω κακόν, ᾧ κεν ἅπαντες / τέρπωνται κατὰ θυμὸν ἑὸν κακὸν ἀμφαγαπῶντες.

139–45 Instructions for the rest of the army. In contrast to his address to the prospective heroes of the horse, Odysseus' orders to the army (carried out in 210ff.) are quite definitive as regards the result he wishes to achieve. The deception has to be complete in order to fool the Trojans: the Achaeans should set fire to their camp (140 πῦρ ἴδιον is emphatic), and all the army should leave in a fake flight (142 πλώετε πασσυδίῃ ψευδώνυμον οἴκαδε νόστον). His instructions for the procedure once the army leaves Troy are more vague (143–5), but he insists that the Argives must never think of it as a real return home, because that is only a fake name (142 ψευδώνυμον). *Il.* 2.48ff. may lie behind this insistence: Agamemnon simulated a return home to test his army, and the soldiers enthusiastically took it as real and had to be stopped by Odysseus.

139 οἱ δ᾽ ἄλλοι πρυμναῖα μεθίετε πείσματα νηῶν: after AR 4.208 πρυμναῖα νεὼς ἀπὸ πείσματ᾽ ἔκοψεν. See also Opp. *H.* 5.226 πρυμναίοις … δεσμοῖς. **οἱ δ᾽ ἄλλοι** appears in the same *sedes* 8x in the *Il.*, 3x in the *Od.*, 2x in AR.

140 πῦρ ἴδιον πλεκτῇσιν ἐνὶ κλισίῃσι βαλόντες: after *Od.* 8.501 πῦρ ἐν κλισίῃσι βαλόντες. πλεκτῇσιν ἐνὶ κλισίῃσι echoes Homeric clusters on the manufacture of the huts such as *Il.* 9.663 κλισίης εὐπήκτου, 10.566 κλισίην εὔτυκτον. Triph. imagined that the huts would be made of plaited reeds or grasses, probably after *Il.* 24.448–56, the description of how Achilles' κλισίη had been built, by cutting down beams of fir (450 δοῦρ᾽ ἐλάτης κέρσαντες) and using thatch from the meadows (451 ὄροφον λειμωνόθεν) for the roof. This line is quoted in *Schol. in Lycophr.* 344.24–7, adding extra geographical information: πρὸς Τένεδον κατῆραν καὶ τὰς Καλύδνας νήσους οὔσας περὶ τὴν Τροίαν.

141 ἐρημαίην χθονὸς ἀκτήν: see AR 4.1719–20 ἐρημαίῃ ἐνὶ … / ἀκτῇ.

142 οἴκαδε νόστον: after *Il.* 4.103 = 121 οἴκαδε νοστήσας (also *Od.* 2.343, 8.252, 15.177, 19.258). For the poetic uses of **ψευδώνυμος**, see

A. *Pr.* 717 Ὑβριστὴν ποταμὸν οὐ ψευδώνυμον; A. *Th.* 670–1 ψευδώνυμος / Δίκη; Nonn. *D.* 31.118 (Hera asks Iris to adopt the shape of Night) γίνεο κυανέη ψευδώνυμος; Nonn. *P.* 5.165–6 εἰ δέ τις ἄλλος ἵκοιτο νόθος ψευδώνυμος ἀνὴρ / ἀντίθεος, 19.58–9.

F reads **πασσυδίῃ** (nine times in AR and Nonn. *D.* 34.255, to be read with Gerlaud 2005, p. 220, n. *ad loc.*), whereas *b* has πανσυδίῃ (five times in the *Il.*; Opp. *H.* 1.462; seventeen times in QS). Gerlaud (*Triph.* 71) believes that the former is the correct reading, which would have been Homerised in other manuscripts. πασσυδίῃ does not mean here 'with all speed' (*Il.* 2.11–12 = 28–9 = 65–6; QS 1.526), but 'with all the army' (= πανστρατιᾷ, for which see LSJ *s.v.* πανσυδίᾳ II), as in AR 4.858–9; QS 1.631, 7.432.

143 εἰσόκεν εὐόρμου τετανυσμένον ἐκ περιωπῆς: after AR 4.900 αἰεὶ δ᾽ εὐόρμου δεδοκημέναι ἐκ περιωπῆς. Triph. imagines the light of a fire (meaning the torches lit by Sinon and Helen – 510–21) 'stretching out' over the surface of the sea to reach Cape Sigeum, in the manner of a lighthouse. Nonnus uses τανύω twice in relation to rays of light, though in the active form: *D.* 2.318–21, 3.169–71.

144 ὕμμι συναγρομένοις ἐπὶ γείτονος αἰγιαλοῖο: with no reference to the place where they are supposed to wait for the signal of fire to be lit. QS 12.235–6 is more specific: οἱ δ᾽ ἄλλοι Τενέδοιο πρὸς ἱερὸν ἄστυ μολόντες / μίμνετε. Triph. leaves the details for the actual development of the strategy (214–18). **συναγρομένοις** is the participle of the second aorist of συναγείρω, which occurs only once in the Homeric poems: *Il.* 11.687 οἱ δὲ συναγρόμενοι Πυλίων ἡγήτορες ἄνδρες. Also QS 1.163, 2.192, 10.366; Nonn. *D.* 27.250.

145 σημήνῃ παλίνορσον ἐπὶ πλόον ἑσπέριον πῦρ: compare QS 13.28–9 οἳ δ᾽ ἐσιδόντες / ἐκ Τενέδου νήεσσιν ἐπὶ πλόον ἐντύνοντο. **παλίνορσος** is a Homeric *hapax* (*Il.* 3.33), also favoured by Nonnus (see Peek *Lex. s.v.*). See also QS 1.371 ἀλλ᾽ οὐ μὰν παλίνορσοι ἐς Ἑλλάδα νοστήσαντες. **ἑσπέριον πῦρ**, as in Opp. *H.* 4.645; Nonn. *D.* 18.367. Compare also AR 2.42 ἑσπερίην διὰ νύκτα; Opp. *C.* 3.52 ἑσπερίη νύξ; QS 10.198 ἑσπερίη Νύξ.

146–51 ***Peroratio***

146–8 καὶ τότε μήτε τις ὄκνος ἐπειγομένων ἐρετάων / γινέσθω μήτ᾽ ἄλλο φόβου νέφος, οἷά τε νύκτες / ἀνθρώποισι φέρουσιν ἐλαφροῦ δείματα θυμοῦ: though initially referring to common soldiers (ἐρετάων 'rowers' – 526 πλωτῆρες), the final address simply rejects the defects which are contrasted with the virtues previously requested (ὄκνος, φόβος and ἐλαφρὸς θυμός against 123 πρόφρονες ἀλκήεντι νόῳ καὶ τλήμονι θυμῷ) and with what Odysseus afterwards calls the most important virtue, shame (149).

146 Καὶ τότε μήτε τις ὄκνος ἐπειγομένων ἐρετάων: a delay in the arrival of the fleet in Troy after the signal of attack would jeopardise the whole operation, since the Trojans could wake up and repel the attack. This explains the importance of avoiding any hesitation (ὄκνος) in the transporting of the army to the town, and the stress on the speed (ἐπειγομένων – see also 524 Ἀργεῖοι σπεύδοντες, ἅπας δ᾽ ἠπείγετο ναύτης). Iliadic warriors always reject ὄκνος ('shrinking before combat'): *Il.* 5.817, 10.122, 13.224. **ἐπειγομένων ἐρετάων**: cf. *Od.* 13.115 τοίων γὰρ ἐπείγετο χέρσ᾽ ἐρετάων; AR 4.226 νηῦς … κρατεροῖσιν ἐπειγομένη ἐρέτῃσιν; Opp. *H.* 5.242 ἐπειγομένοισιν ἐρετμοῖς; Nonn. *D.* 39.309 καὶ πόνος ἦν ἀνόνητος ἐπειγομένων ἐλατήρων.

147a φόβου νέφος is to the Achaean army what the νεφέλην … βλαψίφρονος ἄτης (411) is to the Trojans, as Cassandra warns them. The difference between the two armies is that, whereas the Argives do not give in to fear and rush to complete their mission (522ff.), the Trojans pay no heed to Cassandra's warnings (417ff.). The cluster is constructed in the style of Homeric expressions such as *Il.* 16.350 θανάτου … νέφος (also *Od.* 4.180), 17.243 πολέμοιο νέφος (also Opp. *H.* 1.463), 17.591 ἄχεος νεφέλη (also *Od.* 24.315; S. *Ant.* 528). It also has tragic overtones: S. *Ant.* 528 νεφέλη δ᾽ ὀφρύων ὕπερ; E. *El.* 1078 συννέφουσαν ὄμματα, *Med.* 107 νέφος οἰμωγῆς, *HF* 1140 στεναγμῶν … νέφος, *Ph.* 1308 συννεφῆ.

147b–8 οἷά τε νύκτες / ἀνθρώποισι φέρουσιν ἐλαφροῦ δείματα θυμοῦ: not an all-purpose comparison drawing on the fearful associations of the night (e.g. Hes. *Th.* 211–25), but a preparation for the horrors of a nocturnal battle (533ff.), in which it will be difficult to calculate the strength of the enemy and to distinguish friend from foe.

For **ἀνθρώποισι φέρουσιν ἐλαφροῦ δείματα θυμοῦ**, see *Il.* 5.682 δεῖμα φέρων Δαναοῖσιν; AR 1.979 βάλεν δ᾽ ἀπὸ δείματα θυμοῦ, 3.695–6 ἐπέκλυσε θυμὸν … / δείματι, 4.53 ὑπὸ δείματι πάλλετο θυμός; Opp. *C.* 4.371 θυμὸς ἐλαφρός; Nonn. *D.* 10.247 παιδὸς ἐλαφρονόοιο.

149–51 Odysseus leaves for the final lines his appeal to shame and decency (αἰδώς), one of the key elements of Homeric ethics. αἰδώς is often the first topic of speeches of rebuttal and encouragement in the *Iliad* (e.g. 5.787, 8.228, 13.95, 15.502, 15.661, 16.422), and it makes a good final reminder (e.g. *Il.* 13.121–2 ἀλλ᾽ ἐν φρεσὶ θέσθε ἕκαστος / αἰδῶ καὶ νέμεσιν). Agamemnon and Telamonian Ajax have two similar short harangues focussed on it (*Il.* 5.529–32, 15.561–4).

149–50a ἔστω δὲ προτέρης ἀρετῆς ἐμφύλιος αἰδώς, / μηδέ τις αἰσχύνειεν ἑὸν κλέος: a short appeal to the customs of the listeners' forefathers and fatherland, one of the usual topics in harangues (see Keitel 1987, 154). **προτέρης ἀρετῆς ἐμφύλιος** is an unusual combination, meaning '(Pay respect) to our national ancestral virtue'. For ἐμφύλιος meaning 'native' or 'national', see A. *Eu.* 862–3 (ἐν τοῖς ἐμοῖς ἀστοῖσιν … Ἄρη / ἐμφύλιον) and the phrase αἷμ᾽ ἐμφύλιον (S. *OT* 1406; also AR 1.865, Nonn. *D.* 13.228). ἐμφύλιος is un-Homeric, but used by AR (1.865, 4.725) and Nonnus (8x in his *D.*). For **μηδέ τις αἰσχύνειεν ἑὸν κλέος**, see *Od.* 24.508 (μή τι καταισχύνειν πατέρων γένος), 512 (οὔ τι καταισχύνοντα τεὸν γένος), echoed by QS 1.503.

150b–1 ὥς κεν ἕκαστος / ἄξιον ὧν ἐμόγησε λάβῃ γέρας ἱπποσυνάων: horsemanship (ἱπποσύνη – on which see Delebecque 1951, 210) is an essential virtue for Homeric heroes (e.g. *Il.* 4.303–4, 11.502–3, 16.808–9, 23.289, 23.306–8). The appeal makes particular sense here, because Odysseus is addressing the kings, who go to battle in chariots, while it is the common soldiers who make up the infantry. The division of the Achaean army into infantry and cavalry recurs in the nocturnal attack against Troy (530–2), but since the cavalry does not reappear in the battle, ἱπποσυνάων may have a metaphorical meaning. The ἱπποσύνη may refer not to the cavalry, but to the wooden horse and to the qualities required to make the ruse of the horse work, i.e. the strength, endurance and audacity required by Odysseus (122–4). This metaphor recurs in 174 ἤδη Τρώιον ἄστυ καθιππεύσουσιν Ἀχαιοί

(see n. *ad loc.*). Note also that the bard claims to be a skilled charioteer in his final narratorial intervention (666–7).

Odysseus also speaks of distribution of the booty according to merit (**ἄξιον ὧν ἐμόγησε**), and not according to status. This aims to encourage the kings to be more aggressive in combat and prevent complaints such as that of Achilles (*Il.* 1.160–8), who, despite his toil in battle, received only a small γέρας. Triph. may also be suggesting that the division of the spoils will come after the battle has ended (*de facto* 676–9, 688–9), as to do it during the battle would cause delays and encourage fighters to lag behind in combat (cf. *Il.* 6.68–9). On the division of booty, see n. to 688–9.

152a ὣς φάμενος βουλῆς ἐξήρχετο: contradicted by what follows, since, after Odysseus' speech, a group of heroes simply stands up to volunteer for the mission of the horse (152b–83) and climbs up to the statue (184–203). Agamemnon then orders the destruction of the wall surrounding the horse (204–7), and the army follows Odysseus' orders, setting fire to the camp and leaving Troy (208–18). There is no actual continuation of the assembly and Triph. does not mention its end (compare *Il.* 2.398). In the *Posthom.* there is a debate about the horse, albeit short and quickly dealt with, but Triph. wants to present the Achaean army as united by the leadership of Odysseus. Triph. may be adapting *Il.* 2.84 Ὣς ἄρα φωνήσας βουλῆς ἐξῆρχε νέεσθαι.

Ὣς φάμενος appears only once in the Homeric poems (*Il.* 5.290), and never in AR and QS, but seven times in Nonn. *D.* For **βουλῆς ἐξήρχετο**, see *Od.* 12.339 ἐξάρχετο βουλῆς.

152b–234 The Achaean army responds positively to Odysseus' orders

152b–83 Catalogue of the heroes who volunteer for the mission of the horse. With no transition from Odysseus' speech, Triph. introduces a catalogue to name the twenty-three heroes who volunteer for the mission of the horse: Neoptolemus, Diomedes, Cyanippus, Menelaus, Ajax Oileus, Idomeneus, Thrasymedes, Teucros, Eumelus, Calchas, Eurypylus, Leonteus, Demophon, Acamas, Anticlus, Peneleus, Meges, Antiphates/Agapenor, Iphidamas, Eurydamas, Amphidamas, Epeius (and Odysseus). Of these, four reappear later when Helen attacks the horse (471–86 Menelaus, Diomedes, Odysseus, Anticlus), and four in

the nocturnal combat (613–33 Odysseus and Menelaus, 634–43 Neoptolemus, 644–6 Odysseus, 647–50 Ajax Oileus).

There is a long tradition regarding the number of men hidden inside the horse:

– The passages related to the horse in the *Od.* (4.271–89, 8.492–520, 11.523–32) mention Odysseus, Menelaus, Diomedes, Anticlus and Neoptolemus, without saying how many more men there were. The warriors hidden in the horse are called πάντες ἄριστοι / Ἀργείων (4.272–3 ~ 8.512–13, 11.524) and Δαναῶν ἡγήτορες ἠδὲ μέδοντες (11.526).
– Pausanias (1.23.8) describes a wooden horse, out of which Menestheus, Teucros and the sons of Theseus (presumably Demophon and Acamas) are peeping.
– QS (12.314–35) counts 30 men, of whom 16 match Triph.'s, though in a different order (Neoptolemus, Menelaus, Odysseus, Diomedes, Anticlus, Ajax, Eurypylus, Idomeneus, Teucros, Leonteus, Eumelus, Demophon, Agapenor, Acamas, Meges and Epeius). QS adds to the list three names with similar endings 12.321 Εὐρύμαχος, 323 Ἀντίμαχος, 325 Ἀμφίμαχος, to be compared with Triph. 181–2 Iphidamas, Eurydamas and Amphidamas. Among the rest there are several names also mentioned by Eustathius: Philoctetes, Meriones and Eumelus. See the analysis in Campbell 1981, 101–2.
– Hyginus' *Fabula* 108 lists "Menelaus, Vlixes, Diomedes, Thessander, Sthenelus, Acamas, Thoas, Machaon, Neoptolemus".
– Eustathius (*Comm. ad Od.* 11.522) states that, according to Stesichorus, there were a hundred men in the horse, but also records that other authors mentioned twelve: Menelaus, Diomedes, Philoctetes, Meriones, Neoptolemus, Eurypylus, Eurydamas, Pheidippus, Leonteus, Meges, Odysseus and Eumelus. Eustathius adds Anticlus and Epeius.

Other sources mention different numbers, without detailing the names: the *Ilias Parva* counted thirteen men (Bernabé *PEG*, *Iliades Parvae* fr. 8); according to Apollodorus (*Epit.* 5.14 – he does not mention his source), there were fifty. A comparative analysis of all the catalogues can be found in Gerlaud *Triph.*, pp. 19–21.

Speculations regarding their number aside, there were two types of heroes related to the horse: a group of minor characters who could be included or omitted depending on the needs of the narrative, and those

who, for various reasons, were necessary for the plot. The latter were Menelaus (he had to reach Helen before anybody else did), Odysseus (because of his involvement in the strategy of the horse – hence also the presence of Epeius in some lists), Anticlus (Homer had reported him threatening the success of the strategy), Neoptolemus (because of his impulsive nature, he had to be in the front line, wanting to avenge his father's death – similar reasons could be adduced for Philoctetes), Diomedes (mentioned by Homer, and too important a fighter to be left out), and Ajax Oileus (who had a role to play in the sack of Troy, raping Cassandra in Athena's temple). This list could be expanded with Achaean heroes who played a particular role in the final battle, such as Theseus' sons, who wanted to free their grandmother Aethra, a servant to Helen. Other suitable candidates were Helen's suitors, also gathered in lists (Hes. *Cat. Mul.* Fr. 154 [a-3], 155 in Most 2007; Apollod. *Bibl.* 3.10.8–9; Hygin. *Fab.* 81), which helps to explain the presence of certain heroes in Triph.'s horse (Idomeneus, Eumelus, Eurypylus, Leonteus, Peneleus, Meges, Agapenor?) and also in QS's (Idomeneus, Eumelus, Eurypylus, Leonteus, Meges, Agapenor, Podaleirius, Ialmenus, Thalpius, Amphimachus, Sthenelus, Philoctetes, Menestheus, Thoas, Polypoetes, Meriones, Amphilochus). Note that in Triph. 458b–9 Aphrodite calls the men hidden in the horse Helen's suitors (ἀμφὶ δ' Ἀχαιῶν / ἡγεμόνες λοχόωσι τεῶν μνηστῆρες ἀέθλων).

The rationale behind Triph.'s catalogue seems to be: heroes mentioned in the *Odyssey* (Neoptolemus, Diomedes, Menelaus, Anticlus, Odysseus), those with a role to play in the horse (Calchas as a seer, Epeius as the builder) or in the battle (Ajax Oileus, Demophon and Acamas), Helen's suitors who had sworn to rescue her from any peril (Idomeneus, Eumelus, Eurypylus, Leonteus, Peneleus, Meges, Agapenor), Cyanippus because he was the king of Argos and not his uncle Diomedes (see n. to 159–61), Thrasymedes in place of his father Nestor, and Teucros as the substitute for his late brother Ajax Telamonius. Finally, the string of Homeric-sounding names (Iphidamas, Eurydamas, Amphidamas) could have been added to round up the catalogue. Triph. seems to have made up his own list. There is no need to resort to QS 12.314–35 for a model, despite Gerlaud *Triph.*, 20–1.

QS emphasises the catalogue-like form of the passage by inserting the only invocation to the Muses in his poem (12.306–7 – after the invocation before the catalogue of ships in *Il.* 2.484–93). Triph. does not,

and carefully inserts components of different length to steer clear of the monotony of repetition. The first heroes mentioned are approached from different angles (152b–67a): Neoptolemus' personality, Diomedes' admiration for Neoptolemus, Cyanippus' family background, Menelaus' mood, Ajax' future mistake. He deals with the second group (167b–74 Idomeneus, Thrasymedes, Teucros, Eumelus, Calchas) with a common strategy, condensing the personality they show in the Homeric poems in a few words, while the final group (175–83), with the exceptions of Anticlus (178–9) and Epeius (182b–3), is simply a list of names.

Triph.'s model is not the catalogue of ships, but those occasions when several warriors stand up as volunteers for a task, especially when Nestor asks the Argives to fight Hector (*Il.* 7.161–8) and when Achilles introduces the competitions in the games for Patroclus (*Il.* 23.287–301, 708–9, 811–12, 836–8, 859–60).

Despite not following the rhetorical scheme of the Iliadic catalogue of ships, the catalogue of the heroes hidden in the horse fulfils a similar function. Both go beyond their primary pragmatic function (to offer a full cast of characters for the first time in the poem) and depict the necessary background for the world these characters inhabit, collapsing their past and future together with their current military task. In Triph.'s catalogue, the past takes the form of the reference to the heroic families of certain warriors (157–61, 169), or of the 'Homeric' past as symbolised in their main characteristic in the *Iliad* (168, 170–2a). As regards the future, Ajax Oileus and Anticlus will commit an action that is wrong (165–7a, 178–9) and Calchas has a vision of the future (172b–4, 177, 181). On the functions and capabilities of the catalogue of ships, see Sammons 2010, 19–20, 135–96.

Similar catalogues can be read in Nonnus' games for Opheltes, esp. *D.* 37.154–73, 553–5, 621–4, 675–7, 758–60. Nonnus retains some Homeric features, but the overall result is completely un-Homeric. His task is made easier because the names of the heroes mentioned are not Homeric. See the analysis in Frangoulis 1999, 3–74, and also the joint analysis of three catalogues (QS 12.314–23, Triph. 152–61, Nonn. *D.* 13.53–62) in Whitby 1994, 120–2, concluding (p. 122): "Triphiodorus is strikingly Homeric not so much for his diction, where Nonnian mannerisms have begun to appear, as in his use of simile and vignette to bring out the conflicting emotions of war".

To avoid monotony and excessive repetition, Triph. selects the verbs carefully: 157 ἐπόρουσε, 159 ἕσπετο, 162 ἔστη, 165 ὄρουσεν, 167 ἀνέστησεν, 169 ἔβη, 170 ἤιε, 171 ἀνέστη, 172 ἔσσυτο, 175 ἔλειφθεν, 183 ἐπέβαινεν. He refers to the first and last warriors as such (153 πρῶτος, 182 ὕστατος), and uses different links between the rest: 157 Τυδείδης δ᾽ ἐπόρουσε, 159 Ἕσπετο καὶ Κυάνιππος, 162 Ἔστη καὶ Μενέλαος, 165 Τῷ δ᾽ ἐπί, 167 ἀνέστησεν δὲ καὶ ἄλλον, 169 Νεστορίδης δ᾽ ἅμα τοῖσιν ἔβη, 171 τοῖσι δ᾽ ἐπ᾽, 172 μετὰ τὸν δὲ, 175 Οὐδὲ μὲν οὐδ᾽ οἱ ἔλειφθεν.

152b–8 Neoptolemus and Diomedes. Triph. has already mentioned Neoptolemus' arrival in Troy (51–4), saying that he takes after his father in his strength (54 ἀλκὴν πατρὸς ἔφαινε νέος περ ἐὼν πολεμιστής). The same two characteristics, resemblance to his father and vigour, recur in his second appearance, though now via a comparison with the impetuosity of a young colt and through the eyes of Diomedes. Compare QS 7.317–25, where Neoptolemus, eager to go to war, is compared to an impatient horse that is difficult to restrain.

Though there are no phraseological parallels, the first and most obvious referent for Triph. 152b–8 are the comparisons of Paris (*Il.* 6.506–14) and Hector (*Il.* 15.263–9) to horses running joyfully across the plain, two pleasurable, though transitory, images of the prime of life. The other relevant passage would seem to be Odysseus' encounter with Achilles in the Underworld, and the former's account of the feats and personality of Neoptolemus (*Od.* 11.506–37). Odysseus explains that the young man was always the first to speak in the council (511 αἰεὶ πρῶτος ἔβαζε), and that only Nestor and he himself surpassed him in fluency; in combat he would always be in the front line, yielding to nobody and killing many enemies (513–21); he was handsome (522); when they were about to enter the wooden horse, the heroes were crying and trembling, except Neoptolemus, who, already inside the horse, kept asking Odysseus to let him out to kill the Trojans (523–32; compare QS 7.431–4); he left Troy unscathed with his share of the spoil (533–7). The Homeric Odysseus keeps quiet about the fact that Neoptolemus had impiously killed Priam during the last battle (Triph. 634–43), but draws an accurate image of an impetuous man, always wanting to be the first in the assembly and in battle, who has to be restrained when they are all hiding in the horse so that he does not

jeopardise the operation by coming out of the statue too soon. In the *Posthomerica* (12.66–103), his violent impetuosity leads him to reject taking Troy with a ruse rather than by force.

Triph.'s Neoptolemus is the first volunteer for the ruse of the horse (also QS 12.314–15 Πρῶτος μὲν κατέβαινεν ἐς ἵππον κητώεντα / υἱὸς Ἀχιλλῆος). Triph. pictures him as an impetuous and willing fighter, but leaves the trembling and weeping of the Achaean kings for the episode of Helen, when the horse has already been taken into Troy (463–86). Since he is too young to be married, it would make no sense to mention his pain when the other heroes are longing for their wives.

The simile of the horse describes his youth (he is compared to a young colt, πῶλος, not a fully grown horse), speed (the colt runs across the plain and even anticipates the desires of the charioteer), and lack of fear. It also leaves room for two cautionary remarks. Firstly, Neoptolemus' youth contrasts with the reflection and balance characteristic of maturity, and suggests youthful impulsiveness and lack of thought. In other words, this description is consistent with Neoptolemus' impetuosity when he kills Priam without thinking of the consequences (634–43). Secondly, a good horse obeys the reins (AR 4.1604–8, Philostr. *Imag.* 1.17.2, Opp. *H.* 5.497–8, Opp. *C.* 1.313), which implies that the colt's anticipation of its charioteer (156 ἔφθασε may be interpreted also as 'coming first / before the driver') can be understood as evidence of disregard for those who are in charge (are they slower because of their age, or is it because experience makes them more reflective?). Priam will suffer the consequences of this impetuosity, which will not be restrained by his being old and respectable.

Neoptolemus is also to be compared with the perfect horse, the wooden one built by Epeius, which is eager to go into combat (78–9, 84–6), but docile to those who transport him (99–102, 330–1a).

152b–3 τοῖο δὲ μύθοις / πρῶτος ἐφωμάρτησε Νεοπτόλεμος θεοειδής: Triph. cares about the *variatio* of verbs and starts with an unusual construction, avoiding *Il.* 7.162 = 23.288 ὦρτο πολὺ πρῶτος μέν … and *Il.* 23.708 = 811 = 836 = 859 ὦρτο δ' ἔπειτα. ἐφομαρτέω appears in absolute constructions in Homer (cf. LSJ *s.v.*; *Il.* 8.191 ἀλλ' ἐφομαρτεῖτον καὶ σπεύδετον, 12.412, 23.414; AR 3.111). The cluster with the dative occurs in AR 1.199–201 (also Nonn. *D.* 13.93, 13.310, 14.107, 18.210, 28.3), but only here do we see a dative *rei* (τοῖο δὲ

μύθοις; similarly Paul. Sil. *Ekphr. Soph.* 706 οὐρανίου βασιλῆος ἐφωμάρτησαν ἐφετμῇ). **Νεοπτόλεμος θεοειδής**: after *Il.* 19.327, in the same *sedes.*

154 δροσόεντος ἐπειγόμενος πεδίοιο is a gen. *loci* (cf. *Od.* 1.309 = 3.284 = 15.49 ἐπειγόμενός περ ὁδοῖο). For the combination with the adjective, see AR 1.1282 πεδία δροσόεντα, Collut. 345 δροσόεντος ὑπὲρ πεδίοιο.

155 ὅς τε νεοζυγέεσσιν ἀγαλλόμενος φαλάροισιν: the young colt glories in its newly-harnessed trappings, just as Neoptolemus glories in his father's weapons, only recently given to him by Odysseus (QS 7.194–212, 445–51; Bernabé *PEG Iliades Parvae* Arg. 1, lines 10–11). Cf. Campbell *Lex. s.v.* νεοζυγής. Compare for the phrasing Nonn. *D.* 47.405 νεοζυγέος σέο νύμφης (and 2.594 νεοζεύκτῳ σέο νύμφῃ ~ 24.194), 48.553 Σιθονίης ἀλόχοιο νεοζυγέων ὑμεναίων. φάλαρα 'cheek-pieces' (LSJ *s.v.* φάλαρον II) or 'ornamental trappings' (Campbell *Lex. s.v.*: "i.q. ἱπποκόσμια"; cf. Photius *s.v.* φάλαρα) is an unusual word. See E. *Supp.* 586–7 φάλαρα κινεῖσθαι †στόμα† / ἀφρῶι, and above all S. *OC* 1067–70 πᾶς γὰρ ἀστράπτει χαλινός, / πᾶσα δ' ὁρμᾶται κατὰ / ἀμπυκτήρι' <ἀντιπάλων> / ἄμβασις, where manuscripts read κατ' ἀμπυκτήρια φάλαρα πώλων.

156 ἔφθασε καὶ μάστιγα καὶ ἡνιοχῆος ἀπειλήν: the notion probably comes from *Il.* 21.262 φθάνει δέ τε καὶ τὸν ἄγοντα. μάστιξ and ἀπειλή appear in the same *sedes* in Nonn. *D.* 44.209 Ταρταρίῃ μάστιγι λαθίφρονα παῦσον ἀπειλήν, 225 Εὐμενίδων μάστιγες ἀναστέλλουσιν ἀπειλάς. ἀπειλή meaning 'threats' is plural in Homer: *Il.* 9.244, 13.219, 14.479, 16.200, 20.83; *Od.* 13.126; also Triph. 9. Nonnus too preferred the singular, usually in the same *sedes*: *D.* 3.222, 4.66, 5.480, 8.408, 11.71, 12.285, 14.318. For the combination of lashes of the whip, gentle words and threats, see *Il.* 17.430–1, 19.362–4; Nonn. *D.* 37.217–18, 287–8. On the μάστιξ, see Delebecque 1951, 186–7, and for the charioteer shouting to his horses, see [Hes.] *Sc.* 340–1; Ael. *NA* 6.10.

157–8 Diomedes: the first of the two mentions of the hero in the *Sack of Troy*, the second being his weeping on hearing his wife's name (474). Diomedes was in the horse already in *Od.* 4.280, and in the *Posthom.* he is the fifth warrior to enter the statue (12.316), after Neoptolemus,

Menelaus, Odysseus and Sthenelus. The lack of detail regarding his introduction makes up for the greater space dedicated to Neoptolemus, and may also be explained by his not playing an important role in any of the extant accounts of the nyktomachy.

157 Τυδείδης δ᾽ ἐπόρουσε Νεοπτολέμῳ Διομήδης: after *Il.* 5.793 Τυδεΐδῃ δ᾽ ἐπόρουσε. Τυδείδης … Διομήδης appears 17 times in the *Iliad*, though the epithet is never separated so far from the noun.

158 θαυμάζων ὅτι τοῖος ἔην καὶ πρόσθεν ᾽Αχιλλεύς: compare QS 7.176–7, 631, 722–3. Helen is also amazed at seeing Telemachus, recognising him as Odysseus' child: *Od.* 4.141–6.

159–61 Cyanippus. Diomedes and Comaetho were the children of Tydeus and Deipyle (Adrastus' daughter). According to Triph.'s version, Comaetho married Aegialeus, who died shortly after the birth of their son, Cyanippus (160 θαλάμοιο μινυνθαδίοιο, 161 ὠκυμόρῳ … Αἰγιαλῆι). Cyanippus seems to have joined his uncle's retinue in Troy and accompanies him inside the horse. He does not appear anywhere else in the poem. This appears to be a case of a grammarian showing his knowledge of obscure mythology, though Whitby (1994, 122) rightly suggests that he is included here not only because of his relationship with Diomedes, but also "because the vignette of his family suggests the tragic aspect of war and contrasts with Neoptolemus' exultation at the prospect of fighting".

Pausanias throws some light on the story. According to him (2.18.4–5), Bias occupied the throne of Argos and was succeeded by four generations of his own descendants, down to Cyanippus, son of Aegialeus. He later says that the Argive leaders in Troy were Diomedes and Euryalus, guardians of the boy king Cyanippus, son of Aegialeus (2.30.10). This would imply that, although the main Argive leader was Diomedes, well known for his *aristeia* in *Il.* 5–6, the king of Argos was Cyanippus, who exercised his royal prerogative in joining the group inside the wooden horse. The story of Cyanippus seems also to have been mentioned by Ibycus: *PMGF* Ibycus S151, line 37 Κυάνι]ππ[ο]c ἐc ᾽Ίλιον (with Σ ad 37–9).

Apollodorus gives a different genealogy (*Bibl.* 1.9.13), according to which Cyanippus was the grandson of Bias, son of Adrastus and Amphithea, and brother of Argeia, Deipyle, Aegialea and Aegialeus.

According to this author, Aegialeus took part in the expedition of the Epigoni against Thebes and was the only one to be killed in the first battle against the Thebans (3.7.2–3).

159 εὐπατέρεια Κομαιθώ: compare *Il.* 6.292 = *Od.* 22.227 Ἑλένην … εὐπατέρειαν, *Od.* 11.235 Τυρὼ … εὐπατέρειαν, AR 1.570–1 εὐπατέρειαν / Ἄρτεμιν. **160 Τυδηίς** 'daughter of Tydeus', mirroring the introduction of Diomedes (157 Τυδείδης), is not found anywhere else. **θαλάμοιο μινυνθαδίοιο τυχοῦσα** is an unusual combination which found favour with Nonnus: *D.* 13.379–81 ὅν ποτε κούρη / … / Ψύλλου κουφονόοιο μινυνθαδίῃ τέκεν εὐνῇ, 42.337 μινυνθαδίης … εὐνῆς. Though there were other possible combinations (e.g. *Il.* 22.54 μινυνθαδιώτερον ἄλγος, AR 2.856 μινυνθαδίη … νοῦσος, 3.690 μινυνθαδίῳ … ὕπνῳ), μινυνθάδιος was normally used to describe a lifespan: *Il.* 1.352, 4.478, 15.612–13, 17.302–3, 21.84–5; *Od.* 11.307, 19.328; QS 1.486, 12.207.

161 ὠκύμορος is used in the *Iliad* to describe Achilles (1.417, 505; 18.95, 458; QS 3.626) and in the *Odyssey* in relation to the suitors (1.266, 4.346, 17.137). **τέκε παῖδα** appears in the same *sedes* in Hes. *Th.* 821, 981, 1001; Nonn. *D.* 9.211, 30.261. **σακέσπαλος** is a Homeric *hapax* (*Il.* 5.126 σακέσπαλος ἱππότα Τυδεύς) applied to Comaetho's husband, rather than to her father. Triph. may also have been thinking of the famous shields of the *Seven Against Thebes* (A. *Th.* 375ff.), and assuming that the Epigoni carried similar symbols. Dubielzig (*Triph.*, 153–4) prefers παῖδα σακέσπαλον Αἰγιαλῆι.

162–4 Menelaus' presence in the horse is described in the *Odyssey* (4.271–89). Triph. has already mentioned him in competition with Deiphobus for Helen's hand (45–8). On the circumstances and consequences of Deiphobus' marriage to Helen, see notes to lines 43–50 and 47. Menelaus' violent mindset (162 ἄγριος ὁρμή, 163 ἀπηνέι δ' ἔζεε θυμῷ) on entering the horse forms a prelude to his grisly killing of Deiphobus (626–9 – note that he and Odysseus are compared to wolves thirsty for carnage when they attack in 613–17) and Helen's subsequent subservience to her first husband (630–3). Compare Menelaus eager to fight Paris, like a lion coming upon a great carcass (*Il.* 3.21–9).

162b–3a ἄγεν δέ μιν ἄγριος ὁρμὴ / Δηιφόβου ποτὶ δῆριν: compare *Il.* 4.23 χόλος δέ μιν ἄγριος ᾕρει; QS 2.250 πέλει δέ οἱ ἄσχετος ὁρμή,

10.444 φέρει δέ μιν ἄσχετος ὁρμή. In epic poetry, δῆρις 'strife' always appears in the accusative and becomes a favourite of QS and Nonnus: *Il.* 17.158; *Od.* 24.515; Hes. *Op.* 14, 33; [Hes.] *Sc.* 241, 251, 306; Opp. *H.* 2.359; *C.* 2.213, 2.63, 239; 48x in QS (ποτὶ δῆριν in 1.805, 8.245); Triph. 430; 42x in Nonn. *D.*

163b ἀπηνέι δ᾽ ἔζεε θυμῷ: after *Od.* 23.97 ἀπηνέα θυμὸν ἔχουσα. See also Opp. *H.* 3.387 ἀπηνέϊ δ᾽ ἔνδοθι θυμῷ, in the same *sedes.* For ἔζεε θυμῷ, post-Homeric and meaning 'seethe with fury' (Campbell *Lex. s.v.* ζέω), see S. *OC* 434 ἔζει θυμός; AR 4.391 ἀναζείουσα βαρὺν χόλον; Chariton *Chaereas* 1.5.1 Χαιρέας δὲ ἔτι τῷ θυμῷ ζέων; QS 5.385 (maddened Ajax) ὣς τοῦ ὑπὸ στέρνοισι πελώριος ἔζεε θυμός; *AP* 2.215–16 (Christ. Copt.) Οἰνώνη δὲ χόλῳ φρένας ἔζεεν, ἔζεε πικρῷ / ζήλῳ θυμὸν ἔδουσα.

164 δεύτερον ἁρπακτῆρα γάμου λελιημένος εὕρεῖν: ἁρπακτήρ is a Homeric *hapax* (*Il.* 24.262 [Priam to his sons] ἀρνῶν ἠδ᾽ ἐρίφων ἐπιδήμιοι ἁρπακτῆρες, echoed by Opp. *C.* 3.267), also used by Opp. *H.* 1. 373, 425; Nonn. *D.* 6.92. For **ἁρπακτῆρα γάμου**, Rodari (2005, 262) suggests that Triph. was drawing on Lyc. *Alex.* 147 ἁρπακτῆρας … λύκους (Theseus and Paris, as Helen's husbands), consciously rejecting Lycophron's version, according to which Helen had been abducted by Theseus in her childhood, before being taken away by Paris. Aristarchus had rejected the story of the capture of Helen by Theseus because he thought it was unknown to Homer: cf. Severyns 1928, 271–4, on *Schol. in Il.* 3.139–40, 7.392–3, 13.626–7. A similar turn of phrase occurs in Nonn. *D.* 29.355 φῶρα γάμοιο. **λελιημένος** takes an ὄφρα construction in Homer (*Il.* 4.465, 5.690), but occurs later with the infinitive (AR 2.897, 4.1487; QS 8.416, 14.147, 499).

165–7a Ajax Oileus is given a routine introduction with his patronymic and place of origin (Locroi). The former is necessary to distinguish him from Ajax Telamonius, who has already committed suicide (19–20). Lines 166–7a provide a prelude to his rape of Cassandra (647–50) and attribute it to temporary madness (167 μαργαίνων), like Lyc. *Alex.* 403–7 (in Hades, Ajax will curse Aphrodite for inspiring an erotic passion in him); Verg. *A.* 1.41 "unius ob noxam et furias Aiacis Oilei"; QS 13.422–3 Κασσάνδρην ᾗσχυνεν Ὀιλέος ὄβριμος υἱός, / θυμοῦ τ᾽ ἠδὲ νόοιο βεβλαμμένος.

165 Τῷ δ᾽ ἐπὶ Λοκρὸς ὄρουσεν ᾽Οιλῆος ταχὺς Αἴας: after the introduction of Ajax in the catalogue of ships in *Il.* 2.527 Λοκρῶν δ᾽ ἡγεμόνευεν ᾽Οϊλῆος ταχὺς Αἴας. The final formula appears seven times in the *Iliad*, and Triph. uses it again in 647, but QS avoids it altogether.

166a εἰσέτι θυμὸν ἔχων πεπνυμένον: πεπνυμένος (here opposed to 167 ἀθέμιστος) is the usual epithet for Telemachus in the *Od.* (1.213 etc.), so frequent that later poets avoided its use. Both πεπνυμένος and ἀθέμιστος (e.g. *Il.* 9.63, *Od.* 9.106, 17.363) are often used to describe people, but Triph. here applies them to a secondary element of a person, the θυμός.

166b–7a οὐδ᾽ ἐπὶ κούραις / μαργαίνων ἀθέμιστον: μαργαίνων, a Homeric *hapax*, implies possession by an inner force (jealousy) or an external one (a god). Cf. *Il.* 5.881–2 ἣ νῦν Τυδέος υἱόν … / μαργαίνειν ἀνέηκεν ἐπ᾽ ἀθανάτοισι θεοῖσι; Opp. *H.* 3.491 ζήλῳ μαργαίνουσαν ἀτάσθαλα, 4.430 μαργαίνοντες ὑποφθαδὸν ἅρπαγι λύσσῃ; QS 3.57–9; Nonn. *D.* 45.66 Κάδμε, τί μαργαίνεις; τίνι δαίμονι κῶμον ἐγείρεις; (echoed by Musae. 123 Ξεῖνε, τί μαργαίνεις; τί με, δύσμορε, παρθένον ἕλκεις;); Collut. 198.

167b–8 Idomeneus, king of Crete (**ἀνέστησεν δὲ καὶ ἄλλον, / Κρητῶν ᾽Ιδομενῆα μεσαιπόλιον βασιλῆα**), had joined the Achaean forces with a contingent of eighty ships (*Il.* 2.645–52) and had played an active role in the war (his *aristeia* is described in *Il.* 13.361–525). He is given as an epithet the Homeric *hapax* **μεσαιπόλιος** (*Il.* 13.361), but never in the Homeric poems is Idomeneus called βασιλεύς. QS too mentions him entering the horse, together with his attendant Meriones (12.320), and refers to him during the subsequent battle (13.212). This is Idomeneus' only appearance in the *Sack of Troy*, but Nestor states in *Od.* 3.191–2 that he returned safely to Crete after the war with all his companions. At the beginning of the prologue to his *Ephemerides*, Dictys says that he had accompanied Idomeneus and his half-brother Meriones to the Trojan war, and later that Meriones succeeded Idomeneus as king of Crete (6.6).

169 Thrasymedes, son of Nestor (Νεστορίδης … Θρασυμήδης – cf. *Il.* 9.81 Νεστορίδην Θρασυμήδεα), represents his old father in the horse, just as he represents him in the fight (*Il.* 9.80–8, 10.255–9, 14.9–11,

16.321–5, 17.377–83). He is also present in the horse in the *Posthom.* (12.319). Triph. and QS do not mention him again, but in the *Od.* he is seen back in his father's palace in Pylos after the war (3.39, 414, 442–3, 448–9). He is given Diomedes' usual epithet **κρατερός** (e.g. *Il.* 4.401 κρατερὸς Διομήδης|) because their names are metrically equivalent.

170 καὶ Τελαμώνιος υἱὸς ἑκηβόλος ἤιε Τεῦκρος: Teucros, son of Telamon, is a half-brother of Ajax Telamonius (*Il.* 12.370–2). With him he fights as a notable archer (*Il.* 8.266–334, 12.335–412, 13.170–205, 15.430–83), which is why Triph. calls him ἑκηβόλος. Since Ajax has already committed suicide (19–20), Teucros substitutes for him in the horse. Pausanias, in his description of a bronze wooden horse from the temple of Brauronian Artemis in the Acropolis (1.23.8), states that Menestheus, Teucros and the sons of Theseus (Triph. 177 Demophon and Acamas) are peeping out of it, and QS also depicts him inside the horse (12.322). According to Lycophron (*Alex.* 450–5, 467–78), he goes back to Salamis after the war, but his father Telamon does not accept him because he has not avenged the death of Ajax.

171–2a Eumelus, son of Admetus and Alcestis, brought eleven ships from Pherae and Glaphyrae to Troy (*Il.* 2.711–15). He was married to Iphthime (*Od.* 4.796–8). Triph. calls him πολύιππος (a Homeric *hapax* – *Il.* 13.171 – which enjoyed little success in epic tradition), because he boasted the best horses of the Achaean army (*Il.* 2.763–7). He also took part in several races: *Il.* 23.288–9, 354, 373–97; QS 4.503, 522; Apollod. *Epit.* 5.5. QS also includes him in the group inside the horse (12.324). **τοῖσι δ᾽ ἐπ᾽ Ἀδμήτοιο πάις πολύιππος ἀνέστη / Εὔμηλος** is modelled on *Il.* 2.713–14 τῶν ἦρχ᾽ Ἀδμήτοιο φίλος πάϊς ἕνδεκα νηῶν / Εὔμηλος.

172b–4 Calchas' prophecy of the capture of Troy in the tenth year of the war had been mentioned earlier by Odysseus, who compared it with Helenus' more recent predictions (128–34). Triph. does not say whether Calchas shares his new prophecy with the rest of the army or how he has acquired the knowledge of the success of the strategy (divine inspiration or interpretation of a new omen?). Calchas is not among the Achaeans hidden in the horse in the *Posthom.* (12.314–35). Gerlaud (*Triph.* pp. 122–3, n. to 172b–4) suggests that Triph. may have included Calchas here to highlight the religious nature of the passage (cf. 184–8,

where the heroes pray to Athena and are fed with ambrosia by her), or as a relic of the role Calchas plays in the strategy of the horse in other sources (e.g. QS 12).

172b μετὰ τὸν δὲ θεοπρόπος ἔσσυτο Κάλχας: compare *Il.* 13.70 οὐδ᾽ ὅ γε Κάλχας ἐστί, θεοπρόπος οἰωνιστής. **Κάλχας / εὖ εἰδώς** = QS 12.3–4.

173 εὖ εἰδὼς ὅτι μόχθον ἀμήχανον ἐκτελέσαντες: compare *Il.* 14.262 νῦν αὖ τοῦτό μ᾽ ἄνωγας ἀμήχανον ἄλλο τελέσσαι; Hes. *Op.* 83 αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ δόλον αἰπὺν ἀμήχανον ἐξετέλεσσεν. μόχθος is un-Homeric, but it is used not only by Triph. (also 631, 636), but by Opp. *H.* (e.g. 2.570; 4.41, 219; 5.159, 240, 394 …) and Nonnus (see Peek *Lex. s.v.* μόχθος), though not by QS. The expected Homeric form would have been μόγος (*Il.* 4.27), though see [Hes.] *Sc.* 305–6 ἀμφὶ δ᾽ ἀέθλῳ / δῆριν ἔχον καὶ μόχθον.

174 ἤδη Τρώιον ἄστυ καθιππεύσουσιν Ἀχαιοί: καθιππεύω means ‘ride over, overrun with a horse’, referring here not to the cavalry, but to the wooden horse. Triph. may have been thinking of E. *Ph.* 732 τί δ᾽, εἰ καθιππεύσαιμεν Ἀργείων στρατόν;. The word is un-Homeric, but it occurs in late epic sources: Opp. *H.* 2.514–15 (the fish riding over the waves) ἄλλοτε δ᾽ ἄλλῃ / κῦμα καθιππεύουσιν. A similar metaphor appears in 150b–1 (see n. *ad loc.*) and in Nonn. *D.* 2.646, 41.45, 43.282. Cf. Monaco 2007, 188–9. **Τρώιον ἄστυ** is an un-Homeric cluster (cf. ἄστυ μέγα Πριάμοιο in *Il.* 2.332, 803; 9.136, 278 …) , with late epic parallels: QS 13.70 Τρώων ποτὶ ἄστυ, 14.9 Τρώιον ἄστυ; Collut. 142 Τρώιον ἄστυ.

175–6 Eurypylus and Leonteus are given very basic mentions. In the *Iliad*, Eurypylus is the leader of a contingent of forty ships (2.734–7) and plays a role in combat scenes (5.76–83, 6.36, 8.265, 11.575–95, 809–48). QS presents him both fighting (4.502, 11.67, 352–4) and as part of the team inside the horse (12.319). Leonteus, together with Polypoetes, leads the contingent of the Lapiths (*Il.* 2.738–47) and takes part in the fighting (12.188–94). In the *Posthom.* he participates in the fighting (7.484) and enters the horse with the Achaean chieftains (12.323).

175 οὐδὲ μὲν οὐδ᾽ οἱ ἔλειφθεν ἀποστρεφθέντες ἀρωγῆς: F has ἀποστραφθέντες, a Dorism, printed by Dubielzig (*Triph.*, 156–7), whereas Gerlaud prefers ἀποστρεφθέντες. For **οὐδὲ μὲν οὐδ᾽**, in the

same *sedes*, see *Il.* 2.703, 726, 10.299, 17.24, 19.295; *Od.* 10.551 (also 5x in AR and 4x in QS).

176 Εὐρύπυλός τ᾽ Εὐαιμονίδης: after *Il.* 5.76 Εὐρύπυλος δ᾽ Εὐαιμονίδης. **ἀγαθός τε Λεοντεύς** is a reworking of a Homeric line-end formula for Diomedes (e.g. *Il.* 2.563 ἀγαθὸς Διομήδης) and Menelaus (e.g. *Il.* 2.408 ἀγαθὸς Μενέλαος).

177 Demophon and Acamas, Theseus' sons (Δημοφόων τ᾽ Ἀκάμας τε, δύω Θησήια τέκνα), also join the team inside the horse in the *Posthom.* (12.325–6), and, according to Pausanias (1.23.8), were shown peeping out of a bronze cast of the wooden horse at the temple of Brauronian Artemis in the Acropolis. The presence of the two brothers in the sack of Troy is related to the rescue of their grandmother Aethra, who had been kidnapped by the Dioscuri and was serving Helen in Troy. Triph. does not mention this episode in the nyktomachy (see n. to 651–63), but Acamas reappears in the account of Laodice's death (660–3, see n. *ad loc.*), where Triph. rejects the idea that he or any other Achaean took hold of Priam's daughter. For **Δημοφόων τ᾽ Ἀκάμας τε**, see *Il.* 2.823 = 12.100 Ἀρχέλοχός τ᾽ Ἀκάμας τε.

178–9 Anticlus: QS mentions him among the group of heroes hiding in the horse (12.317), but suppresses the episode of Helen in front of the horse. Both the *Od.* (4.285–8) and Apollod. (*Epit.* 5.19) mention that Anticlus was the only Achaean hero tempted by Helen, but also state that Odysseus held him until the peril passed. Only Triph. gives more information about him and the scene in the horse (476–86).

178a Ὀρτυγίδης τ᾽ Ἄντικλος, 'Anticlus, son of Ortyx', is a made-up genealogy, for which Orsini (1974, 6–7) and Gerlaud (*Triph.*, p. 123, n. to 178–9) have suggested a possible mocking intention. ὄρτυξ 'quail' is not a flattering base for a proper name and could imply an insult such as 'looking like a quail' (cf. Ar. *Av.* 1297–9). Another possibility would be to relate the person to the method employed in hunting the animal (Athen. 9.393a: in the quail mating season, if one places a mirror and a noose in their path, thinking the image to be a female, the males will run to meet the reflection in the mirror and be caught in the noose), or to its ethology: it migrates (Arist. *HA* 597a22–27); the males cry out during fights (Arist. *HA* 536a26); and the females do not build proper nests, but lay their eggs in a nest built on the ground (Arist. *HA*

558b30–559a2, 613b6–21). The closest parallels with the episode of Anticlus in the horse (Triph. 476–86: he nearly betrays the presence of the men on hearing his wife's name, only to be stifled by Odysseus) are the male quails screaming during fights or being beguiled by a fake image of the female. More on this cluster in Miguélez-Cavero forth.

178b ὃν αὐτόθι τεθνειῶτα: after *Il.* 19.403 μηδ᾽ ὡς Πάτροκλον λίπετ᾽ αὐτόθι τεθνηῶτα.

179 ἵππῳ δακρύσαντες ἐνεκτερέιξαν Ἀχαιοί: after *Il.* 22.336 τὸν δὲ κτεριοῦσιν Ἀχαιοί| and AR 1.1060 τύμβῳ ἐνεκτερέιξαν. Compare Triph. 483–6: the Achaeans grieve for his death (483–4), but Anticlus is not really buried in the horse, and he is not given funeral honours (κτέρεα as in *Il.* 24.38 ἐπὶ κτέρεα κτερίσαιεν; also *Od.* 1.291, 2.222, 3.285). He is simply covered with a cloak (Triph. 486 καὶ χλαῖναν μελέεσσιν ἐπὶ ψυχροῖσι βαλόντες) in the manner of a shroud (AR 1.254 εἰ τὸ πάροιθεν ἐνὶ κτερέεσσιν ἐλυσθείς).

180–2a Peneleus, Meges, Antiphates, Iphidamas, Eurydamas, Amphidamas: the last batch of names before the final 'necessary' hero of the horse (182b–3 Epeius).

180a Peneleus, one of Helen's suitors (Apollod. *Bibl.* 3.10.8), was one of the leaders of the Boeotian troops (*Il.* 2.494–510) and is mentioned several times as a combatant during the war (13.92, 14.486–507, 16.335–41, 17.597–600). In the *Aeneid* (2.424), he kills Coroebus in the final battle, but in the *Posthom.* he falls at the hands of Eurypylus (7.104–6, 124–7, 158–60).

180b Meges, one of Helen's suitors according to Apollodorus (*Bibl.* 3.10.8), brought forty ships to Troy (*Il.* 2.125–30). He engaged in combat on numerous occasions (*Il.* 5.69–75, 13.692, 15.518–39; QS 1.287–90, 10.107–8, 138–40) and was part of the group that went to Agamemnon's tent to collect the presents for Achilles (19.238–40). QS also places him in the horse (12.326 Μέγης τε κραταιοῦ Φυλέος υἱός) and mentions him later in the combat (13.212). Pausanias (10.25.5 = Bernabé *PEG Iliades Parvae* fr. 10), on describing Polygnotus' painting in the Delphian Lesche, refers to a wounded Meges, who according to Lesches' *Ilioupersis* had been wounded by Admetus during the night.

180c ᾽Αντιφάτης ἀγαπήνωρ: there is no suitable Antiphates mentioned by mythographers or in the Homeric poems. The only ones described in the latter are a warrior killed by Leonteus in *Il.* 12.190–2, the cannibal king of the Laestrygones in *Od.* 10.100–32 and an ancestor of the seer Theoclymenus (*Od.* 15.242–3). The text is easier to understand if one reads ἀντιφάτης ᾽Αγαπήνωρ, since Agapenor was one of Helen's suitors (Apollod. *Bibl.* 3.10.8 ᾽Αγαπήνωρ ᾽Αγκαίου): he led the Arcadian contingent to Troy (*Il.* 2.603–14), and QS placed him in the horse (12.325 κρατερός τ᾽ ᾽Αγαπήνωρ). However, while ἀγαπήνωρ is sometimes used as an epithet (esp. *Il.* 8.114 Εὐρυμέδων ἀγαπήνωρ, but also *Il.* 13.756, 15.392, 21.113 = 124, *Od.* 7.170), ἀντιφάτης is nowhere so used. See the long comm. in Dubielzig *Triph.*, 157–61.

181–2 The string **Iphidamas, Eurydamas and Amphidamas** is brought together by the shared second element and can be compared with QS 12.321 Εὐρύμαχος, 323 ᾽Αντίμαχος, 325 ᾽Αμφίμαχος. The three names occur in Homer, but none refers to a hero who could have been part of the team inside the horse. The Trojan Iphidamas, son of Antenor, is killed by Agamemnon (*Il.* 1.218–63; in QS 13.178–80 Diomedes kills Eurydamas, Antenor's son-in-law). The Trojan seer Eurydamas cannot predict the death of his children at the hands of Diomedes (*Il.* 5.148–51), and another Eurydamas is one of Penelope's suitors, killed by Odysseus (*Od.* 22.283). Amphidamas is a previous owner of the helmet made of boar tusks that Meriones lends to Odysseus (*Il.* 10.261–71), and another figure of the same name is the father of a boy whom Patroclus killed as a child, in an argument over a game of dice (*Il.* 23.85–8). Amphidamas is also the name of one of the Argonauts (AR 1.161, 2.1046).

181b Compare **Πελίαο γενέθλη** 'offspring of Pelias' with *H. Ap.* 136 Διὸς Λητοῦς τε γενέθλην. γενέθλη becomes more frequent in late epic sources (Opp. *C.* 1.8 Ζηνὸς Κρονίδαο γενέθλης; Nonn. *D.* 48.27 Κρονίδαο γενέθλῃ; Collut. 1 Ξάνθοιο γενέθλη, 283). Pelias was the eldest son of Poseidon and Tyro and king of Iolcus (*Od.* 11.235–59). The contingent from Pherae, Boebe, Glaphyrae and Iolcus was led to Troy by Eumelus, son of Alcestis, Pelias' daughter (*Il.* 2.711–15).

182a τόξῳ … κεκορυθμένος 'armed with a bow', as in *Il.* 4.274 τὼ δὲ κορυσσέσθην ('they were arming for battle'), 495 κεκορυθμένος αἴθοπι χαλκῷ.

182b–3 Epeius is the last Argive to go into the horse in the *Posthomerica* (12.329–34), although there QS explains that, as the maker of the horse, he is the one who knows how to open and close the doors (330–1). In Triph.'s case, it is Odysseus who is in charge of the door and of keeping watch over the surrounding area by peeping through the holes (200–3). See also Verg. *A.* 2.264 "ipse doli fabricator Epeos".

182b ὕστατος αὖτε after *Il.* 23.356 (same *sedes*).

183 τέχνης ἀγλαόμητις ἑῆς ἐπέβαινεν Ἐπειός: after the first pun 57–8 Ἐπειὸς / … ἐποίει, Triph. has another play on the name of the maker of the horse. ἐπιβαίνω + gen. can be used of mounting a chariot (*Il.* 5.46 ἵππων ἐπιβησόμενον; cf. Delebecque 1951, 189, *s.v.* ἐπιβαίνω), or of going on board a ship (*Il.* 8.512 νεῶν ἐπιβαῖεν; cf. Campbell *Lex. s.v.* ἐπιβαίνω). **ἀγλαόμητις** is a *proton eiremenon* (cf. Monaco 2007, 153). Late antique poetry is fruitful in compound epithets in ἀγλαο- (ἀγλαόμορφος in Opp. *C.* 1.287, *AP* 9.524.2, 525.2; ἀγλαόπαις in Opp. *H.* 2.41; ἀγλαόπεπλος in QS 11.240; Nonn. *D.* has ἀγλαόβοτρυς, ἀγλαόδωρος, ἀγλαόκαρπος, ἀγλαόπαις, ἀγλαόπηχυς, ἀγλαόφορτος – cf. Peek *Lex. s.vv.*) and in -μητις, beyond the Homeric πολύμητις Ὀδυσσεύς (*Il.* 1.311 etc.) and Αἴγισθον δολόμητιν (*Od.* 1.300; Opp. *H.* 2.120; Triph. 487; Nonn. *D.* 2.576). Cf. ἀγκυλόμητις (Opp. *H.* 2.107, Nonn. *D.* 21.255), αἰολόμητις (Opp. *H.* 2.503, Nonn. *D.* 1.279, Musae. 198), ποικιλόμητις (Nonn. *D.* 8.125), πολύμητις (QS 12.154, Nonn. *D.* 26.36, Collut. 146), ὑστερόμητις (Nonn. *D.* 2.8).

184–203 The Achaean chieftains in the horse

184–5a The Achaeans pray to Athena and enter the horse, emphasising the role of Athena in the construction of the horse and the ruse as a whole.

184 εὐξάμενοι δἤπειτα Διὸς γλαυκώπιδι κούρῃ: after *Od.* 2.433 (Διὸς γλαυκώπιδι κούρῃ|), 24.518 (εὐξάμενος κούρῃ γλαυκώπιδι καὶ Διὶ πατρί) and 521 (εὐξάμενος δ᾽ ἄρ᾽ ἔπειτα Διὸς κούρῃ μεγάλοιο). Triph. avoids the ubiquitous Homeric line end γλαυκῶπις Ἀθήνη (though see 566 γλαυκῶπις … Ἀθήνη). On the meaning of γλαυκῶπις as Athena's epithet, see Grand-Clément 2010.

185a ἱππείην ἔσπευδον ἐς ὁλκάδα: on the images of the horse as a ship, see n. to 62–4. On comparing the horse with a ship here, Triph.

creates a parallel between the group entering the horse and the army embarking to leave Troy (216 νηυσὶν ἀναπλώεσκον). ὁλκάς 'merchant ship' is not Homeric, though it is later incorporated into epic vocabulary by AR (1.603, 4.283). See also Peek *Lex. s.v.*

185b–8 Athena feeds the heroes with ambrosia: this hints at the feeding of Achilles with nectar and ambrosia in *Il.* 19.345–8, 353–5, to prevent the loosening of his knees because of hunger in battle. On the importance of eating before battle, see *Il.* 19.162–70. On Triph.'s passage, see Campbell 1981, *s.v.* ἀμβροσίη; Gerlaud *Triph.*, p. 124, n. to 186. Triph.'s search for credibility here contrasts with AR 4.1381–7, where the Argonauts travel for twelve days without food or drink.

When writing **186–7a ἀμβροσίην κεράσασα θεῶν ἐκόμισσεν ἐδωδὴν / δεῖπνον ἔχειν**, Triph. seems to have had in mind *Od.* 5.92–4 (θεὰ παρέθηκε τράπεζαν / ἀμβροσίης πλήσασα, κέρασσε δὲ νέκταρ ἐρυθρόν. / αὐτὰρ ὁ πῖνε καὶ ἧσθε διάκτορος ἀργειφόντης), where ambrosia is solid food and red nectar is mixed like wine (also in *Il.* 1.598, 4.2–4). In the *Sack of Troy*, ambrosia is mixed like wine (also QS 4.138–9 ἀμφὶ δὲ Νύμφαι / ἀμβροσίην ἐκέραιον ἐνὶ χρυσέοις<ι> κυπέλλοις) and served together with the food of the gods (θεῶν … ἐδωδήν), which would refer to the nectar. QS usually refers to nectar as liquid (3.690–1, 4.390–1), and Nonnus maintains the Homeric referent (e.g. *D.* 6.39–42).

187b–8 ἵνα μή τι πανημέριοι λοχόωντες / τειρόμενοι βαρύθοιεν ἀτερπέι γούνατα λιμῷ: after *Il.* 19.354 ἵνα μή μιν λιμὸς ἀτερπὴς γούναθ᾽ ἵκοιτο. Compare also *Il.* 19.165–6 λάθρῃ γυῖα βαρύνεται, ἠδὲ κιχάνει / δίψα τε καὶ λιμός, βλάβεται δέ τε γούνατ᾽ ἰόντι. Similar constructions: AR 2.47 μηδ᾽ ἄμυδις καμάτῳ τε καὶ εἰρεσίῃ βαρύθοιεν, 2.202 γοῦνα βαρυνθείς; QS 3.176 ὄβριμα γυῖα βαρυνθείς; Nonn. *D.* 10.33 γλῶσσα βαρύνετο θυιάδι φωνῇ. **πανημέριοι λοχόωντες** 'waiting in ambush for a whole day': the warriors stay in the horse for the rest of the day (205–18: meanwhile the army dismantles the camp and embarks), for the following night and day (235–451: the Trojans visit the Achaean camp and take the horse to their citadel), and also for part of the second night (452–97: the Trojans feast and fall asleep, and the Achaean heroes are tempted by Helen). Only when there is total silence (498–505) can they come out (533–41), and after that they have to face combat lasting all night. For **ἀτερπέι … λιμῷ**, see Hes. *Op.* 647 λιμὸν ἀτερπέα; QS 9.360 λιμὸς ἀτερπής.

189–97 Simile (beasts waiting in a cave for the end of bad weather = Achaean kings waiting in the horse for the appropriate moment to come out). The main referent is the similes in *Il.* 4 referring to the Achaean forces, in which the noise and violence of the combat are compared with those of the atmospheric elements, highlighting their fearsome impact on spectators: *Il.* 4.273–80, 422–8, 452–6. Parallels in detail: *Il.* 4.279 ῥίγησέν τε ἰδών, ὑπό τε σπέος ἤλασε μῆλα ~ Triph. 194–5 θῆρες, ἐρωήσαντες ὑπὸ πτύχα κοιλάδος εὐνῆς / σιγῇ φρικαλέῃσιν ἐπὶ πλευρῇσι μένουσι; *Il.* 4.424–5 αὐτὰρ ἔπειτα / χέρσῳ ῥηγνύμενον μεγάλα βρέμει ~ Triph. 189–90a κρυμοῖσιν ἀελλοπόδων νεφελάων / ἠέρα παχνώσασα; *Il.* 4.452 ὡς δ᾽ ὅτε χείμαρροι ποταμοὶ κατ᾽ ὄρεσφι ῥέοντες (also *Il.* 11.492–3 ὡς δ᾽ ὁπότε πλήθων ποταμὸς πεδίονδε κάτεισι / χειμάρρους κατ᾽ ὄρεσφιν) ~ Triph. 191b–2 οἱ δ᾽ ἀπὸ πέτρης / ὀξὺ καταθρῴσκοντα; *Il.* 4.453 ὄβριμον ὕδωρ| = Triph. 197; *Il.* 4.455 δοῦπον = Triph. 193. For the melting of the snow by the action of the winds, see the simile in *Od.* 19.205–7, esp. 207 τηκομένης δ᾽ ἄρα τῆς ποταμοὶ πλήθουσι ῥέοντες ~ Triph. 191 τηκομένη δ᾽ ἀνέηκε πολὺν ῥόον. QS has similar comparisons in 7.132–41, 8.336–40, 379–86, also based on *Il.* 4.275–9.

As Moulton (1977, 42–5) explains, Homer associates the actions of the Greek side with aggressiveness and cosmic violence, thus effectively enhancing their image, and so does Triph. The unstoppable nature of meteorological forces and the fear that they cause in humans create a powerful image of the perils that the Achaean heroes are facing on entering the horse: if the Trojans decide to hurl it down a precipice or to destroy it with axes or by fire (the three options are later considered: 250–4, 412–13), the Achaeans will not be able to prevent it. They can only wait for the Trojans to calm down (compare 197 and 498 ff.) and then abandon their hiding-place and launch their attack. This demands self-control in waiting until the appropriate moment, but at the conclusion of the simile, the narrator anticipates that they possess this quality (199). The simile can also be said to predict the wild behaviour of the Achaeans when they leave the horse, especially in combination with the simile of the fuming bees leaving their hive to attack passers-by (533–41).

Triph. revitalises the natural simile with a scientific description of the snow as water frozen in the clouds (189–90). For different scientific explanations of the origin of ice and snow, usually involving the freezing

of wind or water particles, see Arist. *Meteor.* 347b12–33, Theophrastus *Meteorology* 9 (Daiber 1992, p. 267), DL 10.106–9 (Epicurus' *Ep. ad Pyth.*), Lucretius 3.20–2 ("neque nix acri concreta pruina / cana cadens violat semperque innubilus aether / integit" ~ Verg. *G.* 2.376 "frigora nec tantum cana concreta pruina"; Lucretius is more ambiguous in 6.527–34), Plin. *HN* 2.105 (influence of the stars on the seasons).

189 ὡς δ᾽ ὁπότε at the beginning of a simile is also found in *Il.* 11.492; AR 4.1452; QS 8.387, 14.263. Triph. resorts to the same introduction in 222 and 514. **κρυμοῖσιν … νεφελάων** refers to 'frozen water emitted by the clouds to form snow' (Campbell *Lex. s.v.* κρυμός). **ἀελλοπόδων νεφελάων** is an unusual combination: ἀελλόπος is the Homeric epithet for Iris (*Il.* 8.409, 24.77, 24.159; Hermes in QS 10.189; similar divinities in Nonn. *D.* 11.486, 12.54). It is later applied to horses (AR 1.1158; QS 1.612, 4.536, 5.89; Nonn. *D.* 11.289) and other animals (Opp. *C.* 1.191, 413; 3.184, 191; Nonn. *D.* 24.135).

190 ἠέρα παχνώσασα χιὼν ἐπάλυνεν ἀρούρας: after *Il.* 10.6–7 τεύχων ἢ πολὺν ὄμβρον ἀθέσφατον ἠὲ χάλαζαν / ἢ νιφετόν, ὅτε πέρ τε χιὼν ἐπάλυνεν ἀρούρας; see also *Od.* 14.476 αὐτὰρ ὕπερθε χιὼν γένετ᾽ ἠΰτε πάχνη. παχνόω usually has a metaphorical sense in epic poetry, referring to a 'frozen heart' *vel sim.* (*Il.* 17.111–12, Hes. *Op.* 360, AR 4.1278–9, Opp. *C.* 4.298, QS 3.237–8, 7.721–2, 5.322), but here it has its original meaning. χιών means 'snow' here: compare AR 3.69–70 νιφετῷ δ᾽ ἐπαλύνετο πάντα / οὔρεα; Opp. *C.* 3.171 χιὼν δ᾽ ὅτε πάντα παλύνει; Nonn. *D.* 8.275 οὐ νιφετοῖς ἔτι γαῖα παλύνεται.

191a τηκομένη δ᾽ ἀνέηκε πολὺν ῥόον: after *Od.* 19.207 τηκομένης δ᾽ ἄρα τῆς ποταμοὶ πλήθουσι ῥέοντες.

191b–3 οἱ δ᾽ ἀπὸ πέτρης / ὀξὺ καταθρῴσκοντα κυβιστητῆρι κυδοιμῷ / δοῦπον ὑποπτήξαντες ὀριτρεφέος ποταμοῖο: Triph. creates a contrast between the absolute silence, hunger and lack of energy of the animals in the cave (194–7 – also of the warriors hidden inside the horse) and the noise (192–3 κυδοιμῷ / δοῦπον) and elements full of energy outside, i.e. both the natural elements of the simile and the Trojans, rushing down to the plain (242 ἐκ πόλιος κατέβαινον) and surrounding the horse like noisy jackdaws (248–9). For a comparison between the noise of a stream and the noise of battle, see *Il.* 4.452–6 (esp. 455–6 τῶν δέ τε τηλόσε δοῦπον ἐν οὔρεσιν ἔκλυε ποιμήν· / ὣς

τῶν μισγομένων γένετο ἰαχή τε πόνος τε). The reading καταθρῴσκοντα in F has been preferred to καταθρῴσκοντες, transmitted in other manuscripts. See Gerlaud *Triph.* p. 125, n. to 192; Campbell *Lex.* p. 210, APP 192.

191b ἀπὸ πέτρης: same *sedes* in *Il.* 13.137, 22.126; *Od.* 19.163.

192 ὀξὺ καταθρῴσκοντα κυβιστητῆρι κυδοιμῷ: καταθρῴσκοντα refers to 193 δοῦπον; ἀπὸ πέτρης refers to the origin (compare Hdt. 3.87 οἱ δὲ καταθορόντες ἀπὸ τῶν ἵππων); κυβιστητῆρι κυδοιμῷ is a dative of manner. Nonnus has it with a genitive, meaning 'leaping down against/upon': *D.* 23.220 καταθρῴσκων Διονύσου, 43.255 καταθρῴσκων ἐλεφάντων. καταθρῴσκω occurs once in the Homeric poems: *Il.* 4.79 (Athena, darting down to the earth, leaps into the midst of the Trojans) κὰδ δ᾽ ἔθορ᾽ ἐς μέσσον. Nonnus seems to have used this line for *D.* 43.340 καὶ Σάτυροι ῥώοντο κυβιστητῆρι κυδοιμῷ.

193 ὑποπτήξαντες (beasts crouching down to hide from an impending peril): cf. *Il.* 2.312 πετάλοις ὑποπεπτηῶτες; Opp. *H.* 1.451, 2.537; QS 5.435. Metaphorically in QS 7.132–3 (warriors cowering like animals) οἱ δ᾽ ἄρα τείχεος ἐντὸς ὑποπτώσσοντες ἔμιμνον, / αἶγες ὅπως …, 12.37 (Sinon cowering by the horse) ἵππῳ ὑποπτήξας εὐεργέι. **ὀριτρεφέος ποτάμοῖο** is unusual: the epithet was first used by AR (2.34 ὀριτρεφέος κοτίνοιο) and later on by Nonnus (*D.* 36.166 ὀριτρεφέες … μαχηταί, 37.45 ὀριτρεφέος Διονύσου). Similar images occur in *Il.* 4.452 χείμαρροι ποταμοὶ κατ᾽ ὄρεσφι ῥέοντες; Nonn. *D.* 2.442 χειμερίων ποταμῶν ὀρεσίδρομον ὕδωρ.

194–5 θῆρες, ἐρωήσαντες ὑπὸ πτύχα κοιλάδος εὐνῆς / σιγῇ φρικαλέῃσιν ἐπὶ πλευρῇσι μένουσι: compare *Il.* 20.22–3 ἀλλ᾽ ἦ τοι μὲν ἐγὼ μενέω πτυχὶ Οὐλύμποιο / ἥμενος; Hes. *Op.* 512 θῆρες δὲ φρίσσουσ᾽ (part of the description of winter). The cave and the horse are explicitly paralleled: 194 ὑπὸ πτύχα κοιλάδος εὐνῆς ~ 198 γλαφυροῖο διὰ ξυλόχοιο; see also 63 γαστέρα κοιλήνας, 485 κοῖλον … ἰσχίον. For πτύχα as a 'fold' in a mountain, see *Il.* 11.77 πτύχας Οὐλύμποιο, 20.5 Οὐλύμποιο πολυπτύχου. **195 φρικαλέῃσιν ἐπὶ πλευρῇσι** 'with shivery flanks' refers to the beasts. The epithet occurs in medical writers (Hp. *VM* 16; *Cat. Cod. Astr.* 2.165) and becomes part of epic tradition in late antiquity: Opp. *C.* 2.162 φρικαλέην χαίτην; Nonnus uses it to refer to dreadful noises (*D.* 6.183 φρικαλέον

βρύχημα, 9.42 φρικαλέαι δ᾽ ἀλάλαζον, 27.225 φρικαλέον μύκημα, 44.30 φρικαλέαι δ᾽ ἰάχησαν, 45.245 φρικαλέην … φωνήν); Musaeus 294 φρικαλέας … ἀέλλας.

196–7 πικρὰ δὲ πεινάοντες ὀιζυρῆς ὑπ᾽ ἀνάγκης / τλήμονες ἐκδέχαται πότε παύεται ὄβριμον ὕδωρ: for the notion see *Il.* 3.112 ἐλπόμενοι παύσασθαι ὀϊζυροῦ πολέμοιο. Compare also the situation in Troy before the warriors come out of the horse: Triph. 498b–500 οἱ δὲ χοροῖο / <u>παυσάμενοι</u> καμάτῳ ἀδδηκότες ἤριπον ὕπνῳ. / Καὶ δή που φόρμιγξ <u>ἀνεπαύσατο</u>.

196 πικρὰ δὲ πεινάοντες: not combined anywhere else, though see references to hungry beasts in *Il.* 16.758 [λέοντε] ἄμφω πεινάοντε, 18.162 μέγα πεινάοντα; Opp. *H.* 5.50 αἰεὶ πεινώοντα. πικρός is often used to refer to pain (*Il.* 11.271 πικρὰς ὠδῖνας; AR 2.222 πικρότατον … κακόν, 4.1167 πικρή … ἀνίη; Opp. *H.* 1.536 πικρὸς ὄλεθρος; Opp. *C.* 1.93 θήρεσσι πικρὸν φόνον ἐντύνοιντο; Nonn. *D.* 2.136 πικρὰ παθοῦσα). Triph. may have been thinking of AR 2.232–3 ἀλλά με πικρὴ δῆτα καὶ ἄατος ἴσχει ἀνάγκη / μίμνειν. **ὀιζυρῆς ὑπ᾽ ἀνάγκης** is a surprising combination, avoiding better-known options such as κρατερὴ ἀνάγκη (*Il.* 6.458, Hes. *Th.* 517, Opp. *C.* 2.271). Nonnus also provides versatile combinations: *D.* 2.552 διψαλέην … ἀνάγκην, 4.214 φλογερῇ … ἀνάγκῃ.

197 τλήμονες reminds us of Odysseus' request that the volunteers for the ruse of the horse had a τλήμονι θυμῷ (123), and is mirrored in 199 ἀτλήτους ἀνέχοντο πόνους ἀκμῆτες ᾽Αχαιοί. **ὄβριμον ὕδωρ**: after one of the similes that probably inspired Triph.: *Il.* 4.453 ὄβριμον ὕδωρ|. The cluster is not reused in AR, QS, Opp. *H.* and *C.*, or Nonn. *D.*

For this line the *Yalensis* has ὄμβριμον, whereas the *Laurentianus* reads ὄβριμον. See also line 384, where L and N have ὄβριμον. Only Gerlaud (*Triph.*, p. 71) chooses ὄμβριμον, because that is the usual form in QS's manuscripts (citing Vian 1959, 167). In favour of the likelier ὄβριμον, see West 1983, 185; Campbell *Lex. s.v.* ὄβριμος; Dubielzig, *Triph.*, 161–2.

198–9 ὣς οἵ γε γλαφυροῖο διὰ ξυλόχοιο θορόντες / ἀτλήτους ἀνέχοντο πόνους ἀκμῆτες ᾽Αχαιοί: the warriors are about to enter the horse, but they are not compared with the animals entering the cave. Instead, their situation is compared with that of the animals after they

have spent the whole winter in the lair, when they are already consumed by the lack of food and fear, and still have to wait until the first, violent stages of the thaw are over. This lack of correspondence hints at the future suffering of the Achaeans inside the horse; they are implicitly praised for having accepted this before starting their mission. The cyclical nature of the seasons and of days and nights guarantees an end to the hardship for both the animals in the cave and the men in the horse. Where Triph. emphasises the courage of the Achaeans, QS gives a particularly dramatic description of their mood on entering the horse: 12.334–5 τοὶ δὲ σιωπῇ / πάντες ἔσαν μεσσηγὺς ὁμῶς νίκης καὶ ὀλέθρου.

198 ὣς οἵ γε γλαφυροῖο διὰ ξυλόχοιο θορόντες: Triph. avoids any reference to *Od.* 11.523 εἰς ἵππον κατεβαίνομεν. **γλαφυροῖο διὰ ξυλόχοιο**: ξύλοχος means 'lair', as in *Od.* 4.335, 17.126, 19.445 (also AR 1.1144 and Collut. 42; never in Opp. *H.* and *C.*, QS and Nonnus) and mirrors the lair of the animals (194 κοιλάδος εὐνῆς). At the same time, Triph. hints at the wooden material of the horse (ξύλος) and at λόχος 'ambush' (*Od.* 8.515 κοῖλον λόχον) and λόχιος 'related to birth' (reminding us of the image of the pregnant horse about to give birth to armed warriors: 200 ἐγκύμονος ἵππου). See Campbell *Lex. s.v.* ξύλοχος; Rodari 2005, 261.

199 ἀκμῆτες Ἀχαιοί 'tireless Achaeans': the adjective is used of warriors in *Il.* 11.802, 15.697, 16.47. Here it combined with **ἀτλήτους … πόνους** (cf. AR 3.578 ἀτλήτους … δόλους, same *sedes*).

200–4 Odysseus closes the door of the horse: after *Od.* 11.524–5 ἐμοὶ δ᾽ ἐπὶ πάντ᾽ ἐτέταλτο, / ἠμὲν ἀνακλῖναι πυκινὸν λόχον ἠδ᾽ ἐπιθεῖναι. However, in the *Od.*, the role of Odysseus in the horse seems to have been decided on jointly by the hidden warriors, whereas in Triph., Odysseus appears as the natural, undisputed leader. QS gives the role of porter to Epeius, because, being the maker of the horse, he should be the one who knows it best (12.330–3).

200 τοῖσι δ᾽ ἐπεκλήισσε θύρην: see *Od.* 19.30 = 21.387 κλήϊσεν δὲ θύρας, 21.236 = 382 κληῖσαι μεγάροιο θύρας. **ἐγκύμονος ἵππου**: probably after E. *Tr.* 11 ἐγκύμον᾽ ἵππον. The image of the wooden horse filled with warriors as a pregnant animal about to give birth to them is fully developed in Cassandra's speech: see n. to 379b–90.

201 πιστὸς ἀτεκμάρτοιο λόχου πυλαωρὸς Ὀδυσσεύς: note the contrast between the uncertainty of the strategy (ἀτεκμάρτοιο λόχου) and the trustworthiness of Odysseus (πιστὸς … πυλαωρὸς Ὀδυσσεύς), as a prelude to his role as guardian of the horse when Helen tries to lure the occupants to give their position away (469–82). The reputation of Odysseus among the Achaeans (for πιστός as an epithet for warriors, see *Il.* 15.437, 17.500, 557, 589 etc.) contrasts with Cassandra's lack of credibility: 417–18 τὴν γὰρ Ἀπόλλων / ἀμφότερον μάντιν τ᾽ ἀγαθὴν καὶ ἄπιστον ἔθηκεν.

ἀτεκμάρτοιο means 'uncertain' (Opp. *H.* 1.35 ἀτέκμαρτοι … ἄεθλοι; Nonn. *D.* 37.440 ἀτεκμάρτου περὶ νίκης), not 'unlimited' (Opp. *H.* 2.206 γαστρὸς ἀτεκμάρτοιο; Nonn. *D.* 3.213 ἀτεκμάρτου νιφετοῖο).

ἀτεκμάρτοιο λόχου: here and in line 223 (λόχον / δόλον πολυωπόν – perhaps under the influence of 221 κρυπτὸν … δόλον), F has δόλου and *b* has λόχου, with the confusion probably originating in uncial manuscripts (ΔΟΛΟΥ, ΛΟΧΟΥ). In their editions, Gerlaud and Dubielzig prefer ἀτεκμάρτοιο λόχου, for which there are more parallels: *Od.* 11.525 πυκινὸν λόχον (which inspired this passage); *AP* 9.156.1–2 Δέρκεο τὸν Τροίας δεκέτη λόχον, εἴσιδε πῶλον / εὐόπλου Δαναῶν ἔγκυον ἡσυχίης (though see also lines 5–6 εἰ πρὸς Ἄρηα / ἦν δόλος Ἀτρείδαις ἐσθλότερος πολέμου). Triph. calls the horse λόχος in 2 (λόχον, Ἀργείης ἱππήλατον ἔργον Ἀθήνης), 92 (λόχον κλυτόπωλον Ἀχαιῶν), 120 (κρύφιος λόχος), 382 (ἀριστήων λόχος), 539 (κρυφίοιο λόχου). As for ἀτεκμάρτοιο δόλου (Livrea's reading), Triph. calls the horse δόλος in 107 (δόλον … ἀνάπυστον), 221 (κρυπτὸν … δόλον), 240 (δόλος ἄλλος Ἀχαιῶν).

πυλαωρός is originally the gatekeeper of an enclosure (*Il.* 21.530, 24.681; AR 3.747; Nonn. *D.* 3.410, 44.24), but here Odysseus is the guardian of the door. As Campbell (*Lex. s.v.* πυλαωρός) notes, the vulgate text of the *Iliad* has at 22.69 οὓς τρέφον ἐν μεγάροισι τραπεζῆας πυλαωρούς, where πυλαωρούς was corrected by Aristarchus to θυραωρούς in order to bring it into accordance with the usual division between πύλαι 'double gates of a town' and θύρα 'single door of a house' (see LSJ *s.v.* πύλη; *Schol. in Il.* 22.69). Campbell (*Lex.* p. 210, APP 201[2]) points out that Triph. may also be playing with the medical meaning of πυλωρός, 'pylorus' (*i.e.* 'the lower orifice of the stomach') and sometimes *os uteri* (see LSJ *s.v.* πυλωρός II). This

explains Triph. 200 ἐγκύμονος ἵππου. More on this word and Triph.'s editorial work in 3.1.1.

202–3 αὐτὸς δ᾽ ἐν κεφαλῇ σκοπὸς ἕζετο· τὼ δέ οἱ ἄμφω / ὀφθαλμὼ ποθέοντες <better προθέοντες> ἐλάνθανον ἐκτὸς ἐόντας: Odysseus seems to be using the air holes in the mouth and snout of the wooden horse (75–7, esp. 75 στόματος μεγάλοιο λαθὼν ἀνέῳξε κελεύθους) to watch the area around the statue. The direct contact of the men hidden in the horse with the outside will enable them to know when the moment for the attack has arrived and thus leave the horse of their own accord (533ff.; also Apollod. *Epit.* 5.19). In other versions, Sinon was required to tell them to do this: e.g. QS 13.30–3.

202a Αὐτὸς δ᾽ ἐν κεφαλῇ σκοπὸς ἕζετο: after *Il.* 2.792 ὃς Τρώων σκοπὸς ἷζε. See also *Od.* 16.365–6 ἤματα μὲν σκοποὶ ἷζον ἐπ᾽ ἄκριας ἠνεμοέσσας / αἰὲν ἐπασσύτεροι.

202b–3a τὼ δέ οἱ ἄμφω / ὀφθαλμώ: after Homeric clusters such as *Od.* 5.453 ὁ δ᾽ ἄρ᾽ ἄμφω γούνατ᾽ ἔκαμψε, 18.89 τὼ δ᾽ ἄμφω χεῖρας ἀνέσχον; *Il.* 9.503 παραβλῶπές τ᾽ ὀφθαλμώ; esp. τὼ δέ οἱ ὄσσε (six times in the *Il.*; *Od.* 4.704, 19.471; AR 1.1296). Triph. uses the dual here and in 613 (Τὼ δὲ … / στελλέσθην Ὀδυσεύς τε καὶ εὐχαίτης Μενέλαος), whereas Nonnus never uses the dual in the *D.* (see Keydell 1959, 43*).

The transmitted **ποθέοντες** is unsatisfactory. ποθέω usually takes an accusative when it means 'to long for' or 'yearn after' what is absent, or 'miss' or 'regret' what is lost (see LSJ *s.v.*; Triph. 16 οἱ δ᾽ αὐτοὺς ποθέοντες ὀλωλότας ἡνιοχῆας, 493–4 Οὔ ποτε … / Ἑρμιόνην ποθέεις;). Gerlaud (*Triph.*, p. 126, n. to 202–3) suggests an absolute use as in Theocr. *Id.* 12.2, meaning 'full of desire', 'avid', but this leaves ἐλάνθανον in a difficult position. Campbell (*Lex.*, p. 210, APP 203) suggests πολέοντες = δινέοντες 'moving about, roving' (compare Nonn. *D.* 15.238–40), implying that the movement of Odysseus' eyes inside the horse escapes the detection of those outside. It is more likely that the meaning of the line is 'seeing without being seen' and the best option is προθέοντες, as suggested by Köchly (1837, 358) and preferred by Dubielzig (*Triph.*, 163–4).

204–8 Demolition of the wall which had been built after the construction of the horse (106–7). The horse is said to cast a magic spell on onlookers both towards the end of its construction (103–5) and when the Trojans first approach it (247–9) and the wall seems to have contained it. On the incongruity of the process and possible relationships with the construction and demolition of the wall enclosing the Achaean camp in the *Iliad*, see n. to 106–7.

204a ᾽Ατρείδης δ᾽ ἐκέλευσεν: Agamemnon orders the destruction of the wall (note the emphasis: 208 ἐφημοσύνῃ βασιλῆος). He seems to be in charge of the army, which is about to depart for Tenedos (208–18), but his role is not explained any further. In fact, he is virtually absent in the poem (he is only mentioned here and in 108 and 408–9), probably because Odysseus assumes the moral leadership of the Greeks and because the ruse of the horse is given precedence over the invasion of Troy by the army. In the *Posthom.*, once the warriors have hidden in the horse, the army follows the orders of both Nestor and Agamemnon (12.337–43).

204b ὑποδρηστῆρας ᾽Αχαιούς: Campbell (*Lex.*, p. 210, APP 204) suggests correcting to ὑποδρηστῆρας ᾽Αχαιῶν, in order to comply with the usual construction of the word. See *Od.* 15.330 ὑποδρηστῆρες ἐκείνων; Nonn. *D.* 6.38 πατρὸς ὑποδρηστῆρες, 16.284 ῞Υπνον ὑποδρηστῆρα μεθυσφαλέων ὑμεναίων, 19.52 Βακχείων ὁμόφοιτος ὑποδρήστειρα κυπέλλων etc.; Collut. 153 ὑποδρηστῆρες ᾽Ενυοῦς.

205 Gerlaud prints **λῦσαι λάινον ἕρκος** after F^{pc}. Livrea (*Triph.*), Bremer (1988, 186), and Dubielzig (*Triph.*, 165–6) prefer χῦσαι λάινον ἕρκος after F^{ac}: cf. *Il.* 7.461 τεῖχος ἀναρρήξας τὸ μὲν εἰς ἅλα πᾶν καταχεῦαι, *Od.* 24.81. Campbell (*Lex.*, p. 210, APP 204) proposes χεῦαι, also after *Il.* 7.461.

For **λάινον ἕρκος**, see *Il.* 9.404 λάϊνος οὐδός (also *Od.* 8.80, 16.41, 17.30, 20.258, 23.88; QS 10.137 πέλει δ᾽ ἄρα λάινον οὖδας; Nonn. *D.* 4.15 λάινον οὐδόν), *Il.* 12.177–8 περὶ τεῖχος …/ λάϊνον (after which QS 7.577 λαΐνεον περὶ τεῖχος). **μάκελλα** is a Homeric *hapax* (*Il.* 21.259). Compare Nonn. *D.* 4.255 = 47.237 πεδοσκαφέεσσι μακέλλαις. Triph. prefers the geminated version to μακέλη, which appears in other authors (Hes. *Op.* 470; Theocr. *Id.* 16.32; AR 4.1532–3 χαλκείῃσι …/… μακέλῃσιν; [Mosc.] *Megara* 94, 108). **εὔγναμπτος** is also a Homeric *hapax* (*Od.* 18.294 κληῖσιν ἐϋγνάμπτοις), which met with little success

among later poets: AR 3.833, Opp. *H.* 5.498, QS 9.435, 11.195. The cluster **ἐυγνάμπτοισι μακέλλαις** was probably inspired by DP 1115 ἐϋγνάμπτῃσι … μακέλῃσιν.

206a ἵππος ὅ περ κεκάλυπτο: compare 458 ἵππῳ δουρατέῳ κεκαλυμμένος.

206b–7 θέλεν δέ ἑ γυμνὸν ἐάσσαι, / τηλεφανὴς ἵνα πᾶσιν ἑὴν χάριν ἀνδράσι πέμποι: the exposure of the horse parallels Sinon's nudity (259 γυμνὸς … ἀνήρ). The success of the strategy of the horse depends on the man's ability to seduce the Trojans: the horse's beauty was designed to discourage the Trojans from destroying it; Sinon bares his body to display the wounds that he has himself inflicted (219–21, 258–61) and to make his appeal more credible. The link with Sinon enhances the presentation of the horse as a wilful being.

The ultimate Homeric referent for these lines is the four passages of the *Od.* in which Athena sheds χάρις upon Telemachus (2.12–13, 17.63–4) and Odysseus (6.235–7, 8.17–19), to give them a gleaming appearance (6.237 κάλλεϊ καὶ χάρισι στίλβων). This causes onlookers to marvel (2.13 τὸν δ᾽ ἄρα πάντες λαοὶ ἐπερχόμενον θηεῦντο; 6.237 θηεῖτο δὲ κούρη) and preludes their success in the following scene. The figure of Pandora is also sprinkled with χάρις (here clearly related to her erotic appeal) in Hes. *Op.* 65, 73–4; *Th.* 583. See also *Il.* 14.183 = *Od.* 18.298 χάρις δ᾽ ἀπελάμπετο πολλή, on the gleaming impact of two sets of earrings; *Od.* 4.45–6 = 7.84–5 ὥς τε γὰρ ἠελίου αἴγλη πέλεν ἠὲ σελήνης / δῶμα καθ᾽, on Menelaus' and Alcinous' palaces; *Od.* 18.295–6 ὅρμον …/ χρύσεον, ἠλέκτροισιν ἐερμένον, ἠέλιον ὥς, on a golden chain; QS 3.557–8 on a woman's beauty; Nonn. *D.* 5.167–9, on a gleaming pearl.

τηλεφανής is a Homeric *hapax* (*Od.* 24.83, on the construction of a tomb for Patroclus, ὥς κεν τηλεφανὴς ἐκ ποντόφιν ἀνδράσιν εἴη). See also Nonn. *D.* 3.125, 18.63, 25.480, 28.281, 41.310. **ἑὴν χάριν … πέμποι**: compare Pi. *Dith.* fr. 75.2 Snell-Maehler ἐπί τε κλυτὰν πέμπετε χάριν, as suggested by Cannatà Fera (2003, 196).

208 καὶ τὸ μὲν ἐξελάχαινον ἐφημοσύνῃ βασιλῆος: probably after AR 4.1532–3 αἶψα δὲ χαλκείῃσι βαθὺν τάφον ἐξελάχαινον / ἐσσυμένως μακέλῃσιν (note Triph. 205 ἐυγνάμπτοισι μακέλλαις). ἐφημοσύνη is an unusual Homeric word (*Il.* 17.697 Μενελάου

ἐφημοσύνης, *Od.* 12.226 Κίρκης … ἐφημοσύνης ἀλεγεινῆς), recurring in AR: see esp. 1.3 βασιλῆος ἐφημοσύνῃ Πελίαο. It is rarely used by later epic poets: QS 2.551, 14.236; Nonn. *D.* 4.441; Collut. 19, 79.

209–18 The Achaeans set fire to their camp and depart for Tenedos. This is the starting point of Demodocus' song: *Od.* 8.500–2 ἔνθεν ἑλὼν ὡς οἱ μὲν ἐϋσσέλμων ἐπὶ νηῶν / βάντες ἀπέπλειον, πῦρ ἐν κλισίῃσι βαλόντες, / Ἀργεῖοι. Most narratives describing the final stages of the Trojan war mention both the destruction of the camp and the false flight to Tenedos or a place nearby: Bernabé *PEG Iliades Parvae* Arg. 1, lines 19–20 τάς τε σκηνὰς καταφλέξαντες οἱ λοιποὶ τῶν Ἑλλήνων εἰς Τένεδον ἀνάγονται; Apollod. *Epit.* 5.14 τοὺς δὲ λοιποὺς γενομένης νυκτὸς ἐμπρήσαντας τὰς σκηνάς, ἀναχθέντας περὶ τὴν Τένεδον ναυλοχεῖν καὶ μετὰ τὴν ἐπιοῦσαν νύκτα καταπλεῖν, 5.15 αὐτοὶ δὲ ἐμπρήσαντες τὰς σκηνὰς καὶ … τῆς νυκτὸς ἀνάγονται καὶ περὶ Τένεδον ναυλοχοῦσιν; Dictys 5.12 "Interim Graeci, ubi cuncta nauibus imposita sunt, incensis omnium tabernaculis ad Sigeum secedunt, ibique noctem opperiuntur". Virgil only mentions the departure from Troy for Tenedos (*A.* 2.21–4).

In the *Posthom.*, Odysseus explains the procedure twice, first in the council of the kings (12.29–31) and then in the general assembly (235–7). When Odysseus and his team are hidden inside the horse, the narrative moves on to Agamemnon and Nestor, the leaders of the army (338–42). The setting fire to the camp (337) and the departure for Tenedos (336, 345–9) are dispatched quickly.

209–10 ἠέλιος δ᾽ ὅτε νύκτα παλίνσκιον ἀνδράσιν ἕλκων / ἐς δύσιν ἀχλυόπεζαν ἑκηβόλον ἔτραπεν ἠῶ: after *Il.* 8.485–6 ἐν δ᾽ ἔπεσ᾽ Ὠκεανῷ λαμπρὸν φάος ἠελίοιο, / ἕλκον νύκτα μέλαιναν ἐπὶ ζείδωρον ἄρουραν. The sunset and sunrise are often presented via their impact on mortals (*Od.* 3.2–3 ἵν᾽ ἀθανάτοισι φαείνοι / καὶ θνητοῖσι βροτοῖσιν, 11.19 ἀλλ᾽ ἐπὶ νὺξ ὀλοὴ τέταται δειλοῖσι βροτοῖσι), or their activities (*Il.* 7.465 δύσετο δ᾽ ἠέλιος, τετέλεστο δὲ ἔργον Ἀχαιῶν, 8.487–8, 18.241–2; *Od.* 7.289 δείλετό τ᾽ ἠέλιος, καί με γλυκὺς ὕπνος ἀνῆκεν, 8.417; QS 8.490 νὺξ δ᾽ ἐχύθη περὶ γαῖαν, ἀπέτραπε δ᾽ ἀνέρας ἔργων). Triph. avoids well-known formulas such as δύῃ τ᾽ ἠέλιος καὶ ἐπὶ κνέφας ἱερὸν ἔλθῃ (*Il.* 11.194, 11.209, 17.455) or δύσετό τ᾽ ἠέλιος σκιόωντό τε πᾶσαι ἀγυιαί (*Od.* 2.388, 3.487, 3.497,

11.12, 15.185, 15.296, 15.471). Similar passages are found in Nonn. *D.* 2.163–6, 25.568–70, 36.151; Musae. 110, 287–8.

νύκτα παλίνσκιον replaces the Homeric νύκτα μέλαιναν (*e.g. Il.* 8.486). παλίνσκιος is not Homeric, though the simplified form παλίσκιος is found in *H. Merc.* 6 ἄντρον … παλίσκιον. See also S. fr. 289 Radt *TrGF* χειμῶνι σὺν παλινσκίῳ; Nic. *Ther.* 509 ἀριστολόχεια παλίνσκιος. As Campbell (*Lex. s.v.* παλίνσκιος) suggests, besides the common meaning 'with dense shadows', there is probably a pun here on πάλιν in the sense of 'returning'.

ἐς δύσιν ἀχλυόπεζαν seems to have inspired Nonn. *D.* 4.195 ἐς δύσιν ἀχλυόεσσαν. **δύσις** is not a Homeric word, but was incorporated into the vocabulary of epic by AR (1.84–5 ἠελίοιο / μεσσηγὺς δύσιές τε καὶ ἀντολαί), and became popular with Nonnus (*D.* 2.531 καὶ δύσιν εἰσορόων βλοσυρῆς ἀντώπιον Ἠοῦς, 6.126 εἰς δύσιν ἑλκομένη, 7.299 τεὸν προκέλευθον Ἑωσφόρον εἰς δύσιν ἕλκων, 36.151, 38.52). **ἀχλυόπεζαν**, a πρῶτον εἰρημένον, means literally 'with a gloomy fringe' (see Campbell *Lex. s.v.* and pp. 208–9, APP 66; compounds of -πεζα are popular with Nonnus: see Peek *Lex.*, 1291–2). Triph. may have thought of ἀχλυόπεζα as a new, fashionable synonym for the Homeric κυανόπεζα (*Il.* 11.629). Cf. Monaco 2007, 156. The combination of παλίνσκιον and ἀχλυόπεζαν to refer to the night creates an ominous atmosphere, a prelude to the difficulties that the Achaeans are to face the following night when they attack Troy.

ἑκηβόλον is a common epithet for Apollo in the *Il.* (1.14, 21, 96, 110, 373, 438; 16.513; 22.302; 23.872), which Triph. uses to refer to a skilled archer (170 Teucros), and here to the dawn (ἠῶ), comparing its shafts to shots from a distance. Despite Monaco's suggestion that **ἠώς** here has the imperial meaning 'day' or 'daylight' (cf. Monaco 2007, 139–40), it is opposed to ἐς δύσιν ἀχλυόπεζαν (just as in 210 ἠέλιος is opposed to νύκτα) and has the Homeric meaning 'dawn'. Triph. creates images of a string of personifications: Helios 'pushes' the Dawn, and with it the Night, to the West (ἐς δύσιν).

211–13 The heralds call the army to flee, to haul out the ships and to loosen the stern cables. Similar elements occur in the sham flight of *Il.* 2: 151–4 τοὶ δ᾽ ἀλλήλοισι κέλευον / ἅπτεσθαι νηῶν ἠδ᾽ ἑλκέμεν εἰς ἅλα δῖαν, / οὐρούς τ᾽ ἐξεκάθαιρον· ἀϋτὴ δ᾽ οὐρανὸν ἶκεν / οἴκαδε ἱεμένων (the heralds had previously organised the assembly: 96–8).

211 δὴ τότε κηρύκων ἐπεκίδνατο λαὸν ἀυτή: see AR 2.1079 τοίη ἄρ᾽ ὑψόθι νηὸς ἐς ἠέρα κίδνατ᾽ ἀυτή for the phrasing. ἐπικίδνημι is used in the *Il.* for the light at dawn (e.g. 8.1 = 24.695 Ἠὼς μὲν κροκόπεπλος ἐκίδνατο πᾶσαν ἐπ᾽ αἶαν, 7.451 = 458; AR 4.183).

212b–13a ἑλκέμεν εἰς ἅλα κοίλην / νῆας ἐυκραίρους: see *Il.* 2.165 = 181 μηδὲ ἕα νῆας ἅλαδ᾽ ἑλκέμεν ἀμφιελίσσας, 9.683 = 14.97 = 14.106 νῆας ἐυσσέλμους ἅλαδ᾽ ἑλκέμεν. **εἰς ἅλα κοίλην** (see AR 2.595 κοίλης ἁλός), instead of the ubiquitous κοῖλαι νῆες (*Il.* 1.26 etc.). **νῆας ἐυκραίρους** 'finely beaked ships', as in Opp. *H.* 2.516 νήεσσιν ἐϋκραίροις, and unlike *H. Merc.* 209 βουσὶν ἐϋκραίρῃσιν, A. *Supp.* 300 εὐκραίρῳ βοῖ, Opp. *C.* 1.145 ἐϋκραίρους ὄϊας περὶ βληχάδας, Nonn. *D.* 31.223 δαμάλης … ἐυκραίροιο.

213b ἀνά τε πρυμνήσια λῦσαι = *Od.* 9.178, 9.562, 11.637, 12.145, 15.548.

214–18 The Achaeans set fire to their camp and embark.

214 πευκήεντος … πυρὸς ὁρμήν 'pine-torches from which fire shot up': cf. Campbell *Lex. s.v.* ὁρμή. Compare S. *Ant.* 123 πευκάενθ᾽ Ἥφαιστον (Ἥφαιστος being a metonym of πῦρ); Opp. *C.* 4.132 δεξιτερῇ δὲ φέρει πεύκης ἄπο δαιόμενον πῦρ. Also, in a different context, see Verg. *A.* 11.786–7 "cui pineus ardor aceruo / pascitur".

215 ἕρκεά τε πρήσαντες ἐυσταθέων κλισιάων: compare *Il.* 7.429 = 432 ἐν δὲ πυρὶ πρήσαντες; QS 12.337 (the army sets fire to the camp before leaving for Tenedos) ἃς κλισίας πρήσαντες; Apollod. *Epit.* 5.15 αὐτοὶ δὲ ἐμπρήσαντες τὰς σκηνάς. **ἕρκεα … κλισιάων** describes not temporary huts, but durable constructions such as Achilles' dwelling (*Il.* 24.446–57), referred to as 'lofty' (449 ὑψηλήν), surrounded by a large court (452 μεγάλην αὐλήν), enclosed by thick-set stakes (453 σταυροῖσιν πυκινοῖσι) and accessible through a heavy door (453b–7). The destruction of the wall surrounding the horse (205 λῦσαι λάινον ἕρκος) and that of the enclosures around the huts are set in parallel. Triph. avoids repeating the phrasing of the first reference to the fire: 140 πῦρ ἴδιον πλεκτῇσιν ἐνὶ κλισίῃσι βαλόντες. **ἐυσταθέων κλισιάων** renovates the Homeric formulae for the huts (*Il.* 9.663 = 24.675 κλισίης εὐπήκτου, 10.566 = 13.240 = *Od.* 4.123 κλισίην εὔτυκτον), with the epithet of the μέγαρον (*Il.* 18.374 περὶ

τοῖχον ἐϋσταθέος μεγάροιο; *Od.* 22.120 = 257 = 274 σταθμὸν ἐϋσταθέος μεγάροιο).

216 νηυσὶν ἀναπλώεσκον ἀπὸ Ῥοιτειάδος ἀκτῆς: probably after AR 1.929–30 τὸ δ᾽ ἐννύχιοι Ῥοιτειάδος ἔνδοθεν ἀκτῆς / μέτρεον Ἰδαίην ἐπὶ δεξιὰ γαῖαν ἔχοντες, on the Trojan landscape (to be read with Trachsel 2007, 231–8). AR 1.927–8 κούρης Ἀθαμαντίδος αἰπὰ ῥέεθρα / εἰσέβαλον occurs just before, and Triph. 218 ὕδωρ Ἀθαμαντίδος Ἕλλης follows. For **ἀναπλώεσκον**, compare Opp. *H.* 5.474–5 κοίλοιο πάροιθεν / ὅρμου ἀναπλώεσκε. **ἀπὸ Ῥοιτειάδος ἀκτῆς**: Cape Rhoeteum is also mentioned as the place where Ajax' tomb is built, in QS 5.655–6 περὶ δέ σφισι γαῖαν / χεῦαν ἀπειρεσίην Ῥοιτηίδος οὐχ ἑκὰς ἀκτῆς; *AP* 7.146.1 (Antipater of Sidon) Σῆμα παρ᾽ Αἰάντειον ἐπὶ Ῥοιτηίσιν; Lucan 9.961–3 "sigeasque petit famae mirator harenas / et Simoentis aquas et Graio nobile busto / Rhoetion et multum debentis uatibus umbras". On the topography of the area, see Cook 1973, 79–81, 87–9, with Plate 6 and the map on p. 361.

217 ὅρμον ἐς ἀντιπέραιον ἐυστεφάνου Τενέδοιο: Tenedos is an island opposite the Troad. For other mentions of Tenedos as the hiding-place of the Achaeans, see Bernabé *PEG Iliades Parvae* Arg. 1, line 20; *Ilii Excidium* Arg. line 11; Verg. *A.* 2.21–4; QS 12.345 (οἱ δὲ θοῶς ἀφίκοντο πρὸς ἠιόνας Τενέδοιο); Apollod. *Epit.* 5.14–15. Nestor explains in the *Od.* that the Achaeans also call at Tenedos on the way back to Greece after the war (3.159–60).

For **ὅρμος** 'haven', see *Il.* 1.435 = *Od.* 15.497 τὴν δ᾽ εἰς ὅρμον προέρεσσαν ἐρετμοῖς. **ἀντιπέραιον** is a Homeric *hapax* (*Il.* 2.635 οἵ τ᾽ ἤπειρον ἔχον ἠδ᾽ ἀντιπέραι᾽ ἐνέμοντο). The cluster may be inspired by AR 4.521 νῆσον ἐς ἀντιπέραιαν (see also Nonn. *D.* 11.415 = 21.318 = *P.* 6.65 γαῖαν ἐς ἀντιπέραιαν). For **ἐυστέφανος** as an epithet for cities (referring to their walls), see *Il.* 19.99 ~ Hes. *Th.* 978 ἐϋστεφάνῳ ἐνὶ Θήβῃ, *Od.* 2.120 ἐϋστέφανός τε Μυκήνη; DP 369 ἐϋστεφάνοιο Κρότωνος.

218 γλαυκὸν … ὕδωρ rephrases *Il.* 16.34 γλαυκὴ … θάλασσα, a frequent combination in epic poetry: AR 1.182 πόντου ἐπὶ γλαυκοῖο; Opp. *H.* 4.444 γλαυκοῖς δ᾽ ἐνὶ βένθεσι λίμνης, 5.107 γλαυκὸν ὕδωρ, 5.271 γλαυκὴ … ἅλμη; Nonn. *D.* 1.105 γλαυκὰ … νῶτα θαλάσσης, 2.14 γλαυκὸν … ὕδωρ, 5.168 γλαυκὸν … οἶδμα θαλάσσης, 20.353

γλαυκὸν … κῦμα θαλάσσης. **ἀναπτύσσοντες** has an unusual meaning here, perhaps *hapax*: 'opening up', 'cleaving' the waters. See Campbell *Lex. s.v.*; LSJ *s.v.*

ὕδωρ Ἀθαμαντίδος Ἕλλης (= DP 515 ὕδωρ Ἀθαμαντίδος Ἕλλης|) i.e. the Hellespont, where Helle, daughter of Athamas, drowned while fleeing from her stepmother Ino, on a golden ram, along with her brother Phrixus (Apollod. *Bibl.* 1.9.1). Similar phrasing: Pi. fr. 189 Snell-Maehler πανδείμαντοι μὲν ὑπὲρ πόντιον Ἕλλας πόρον ἱερόν; A. *Pers.* 69–70 λινοδέσμωι σχεδίαι πορθμὸν ἀμείψας / Ἀθαμαντίδος Ἕλλας; Ar. *V.* 306–8 Ἔχεις ἐλ- / πίδα χρηστήν τινα νῷν ἢ / πόρον Ἕλλας ἱερόν;; AR 1.927 κούρης Ἀθαμαντίδος αἰπὰ ῥέεθρα / εἰσέβαλον; *AP* 12.53.1–2 (Straton of Sardis) αἳ πόρον Ἕλλης / πλεῖτε; Nonn. *D.* 3.37 Τρώιον ὑγρονόμοιο διασχίζων πόρον Ἕλλης (the legend is briefly mentioned in 10.98–101); Collut. 389 Αἰολίδος πόρον Ἕλλης. Homer usually refers to the sea beyond the Achaean camp as the Hellespont: cf. Trachsel 2007, 61–3.

219–29 Sinon is left behind when the Achaean army leaves and wounds himself. In the *Sack of Troy*, Sinon is left alone in Troy by the departing Achaeans (219–20 Μοῦνος …/… ἐλέλειπτο), actively meditating on the best way to achieve his goal, the destruction of Troy (228 Τροίῃ λυγρὸν ὄλεθρον ἐμήδετο). His deep reflection before the action is similar to that of Odysseus before speaking to the kings (114–19). Sinon reappears, nude and bleeding, when the Trojans are discussing what to do with the horse (258–61). He adopts the posture of a suppliant before Priam, asking to be spared because of the shameful treatment meted out to him by the Achaeans when he refused to flee (265–82). Priam is won over by his words, receives him as a suppliant and asks him about his identity and the construction of the horse (284–90). Sinon answers truthfully about himself and lies about the purpose of the horse, convincing the Trojans that taking it to Troy will save their city (291–303).

Sinon is never mentioned by Homer, not even in Demodocus' song (*Od.* 8.492–520), but he did appear in the *Ilioupersis* (Bernabé *PEG Ilii excidium* Arg. line 10). Sophocles wrote a *Sinon* which is now lost, though it may be the one mentioned in Arist. *Poet.* 1459b7. For later sources, see Apollod. *Epit.* 5.15; Palaephatus 16.

In both the *Posthom.* (12.360–73, to be read with Hadjittofi 2007, 365–70) and the *Aeneid* (2.57–64, on which see Horsfall 2008, 93–5, cit-

ing earlier bibliography), Sinon is found by the Trojans. This appears to be a more credible option than his sudden voluntary appearance in Triph. Virgil's Sinon is a skilled speaker who plays upon the emotions of the Trojans (2.67ff.), while QS's is remiscent of Odysseus in his disguise as a beggar and endures torture without speaking before finally giving in (12.375ff., with comm. in Campbell 1981, 120–1). In both cases, after hearing Sinon the Trojans require some prodigies to be fully convinced (Verg. *A.* 2.195ff., QS 12.389ff.), while in the *Sack of Troy* they immediately obey Sinon's advice to take the horse into their citadel (305ff.).

Sinon's self-mutilation (Triph. 219, 228–9, 258–61) mirrors the words of Helen in the *Od.* about the mutilation of Odysseus (esp. *Od.* 4.244–8; see also Bernabé *PEG Iliades Parvae* fr. 7, where Thoas wounds Odysseus to make him unrecognisable). However, while Odysseus' wounds are part of his disguise as a beggar (*Od.* 4.247–8), Sinon aims to make his hatred for the Achaeans credible and to stir pity among the Trojans. The parallel between the self-mutilation of the two Achaeans is already mentioned by Eustathius in his comments on the *Ptocheia* (*Comm. ad Od.* 4.244). Campbell (1981, 120) points to Lycophron's πτωχεία (*Alex.* 774ff.) as the secondary model for Triph.'s passage. In particular, Lyc. *Alex.* 783 ἑκουσίαν σμώδιγγα προσμάσσων δομῆι would have inspired Triph. 219 Μοῦνος δὲ πληγῇσιν ἑκούσια γυῖα χαραχθείς and 260 αἵματι δὲ σμώδιγγες ἀεικέι βεβριθυῖαι. Lyc. 784–5 κατασκόποις / λώβαισι καὶ κλαυθμοῖσι φηλώσας πρόμον would have inspired Triph. 227 ὣς τότε λωβητοῖσι περίστικτος μελέεσσι.

Self-mutilation is only one of the elements shared by Sinon and Odysseus, which Triph. is keen to emphasise:

– they belong to the same family: when Triph. calls Sinon Αἰσιμίδης (220 – see also 294 Αἴσιμον αὖ καλέουσιν ἐμὸν πολιὸν γενετῆρα), he is reminding us that Aesimus was the brother of Odysseus' mother, Anticleia. See n. to 220.
– Sinon has a capacity for lying which is also characteristic of Odysseus. Triph. calls him 220 ἀπατήλιος ἥρως and 291 πολυμήχανος ἥρως (πολυμήχανος is a frequent epithet used for Odysseus in the Homeric poems).
– Sinon is the θηροσκόπος ἀνήρ outside the horse (226), while Odysseus is the σκοπός inside the horse (202).

– Sinon prepares for his appearance before the Trojans (228) just as Odysseus meditated on his speech to the Achaeans (114–19).
– Sinon's supplication to Priam (258 ff.) reminds us of Odysseus' supplication to Nausicaa in *Od.* 6 (see Ypsilanti 2007, 95–9).

Besides Triph. and the sources depending on him (Tzetzes, *Posthom.* 688; *schol. in Lycophr.* 2.243–13 αἰκισάμενος ἑαυτόν), only Palaephatus mentions the detail of self-mutilation (16.5 αὐτόμολος δὲ ἐλθὼν παρὰ τῶν Ἀργείων Σίνων). In the *Posthom.* Sinon is savagely tortured by the Trojans, who want to ensure that they exact the truth from him (12.366–73). Virgil's Sinon anticipates that the Trojans are going to beat him (*A.* 2.72, 103), but violence on the Trojan side is only suggested by Aeneas (2.67 "namque ut conspectu in medio turbatus, inermis", 71–2 "super ipsi / Dardanidae infensi poenas cum sanguine poscunt", 73–4 "compressus et omnis / impetus" – on the theme of sacrifice in this episode see Smith 1999).

Self-mutilation as the recourse of a false traitor to win the trust of the enemy occurred in historical works, both Greek and Latin (e.g. Livy 1.53), from an early stage. Especially notorious is one Zopyrus whose stratagem is described by Herodotus (3.153–60). Without entering into discussion on the nature of links between Zopyrus and Sinon (for which, see Vian 1959, 64; Ter Vrugt-Lentz 1967), one can state that Herodotus' episode gives credibility to Triph.'s Sinon. Before presenting himself to Darius, Zopyrus crudely mutilates himself, cutting his nose and ears, scourging his body and shaving his head (154). The king is greatly moved (155 Δαρεῖος δὲ κάρτα βαρέως ἤνεικε ἰδὼν ἄνδρα τὸν δοκιμώτατον λελωβημένον), and listens to him. The Babylonians are persuaded by his tortured appearance that he was speaking the truth, and are ready to grant him at once all that he wants (157).

Later, more sophisticated, audiences found it hard to swallow the fact that the Trojans could have been taken in by so obvious a stratagem (see Clausen 2002, 60 ff.). Triph. must have been aware of this, since he resorts to a strong characterisation of both Sinon and the Trojans to boost the credibility of the passage. Sinon is presented as an accomplished speaker, capable of amplifying the visual impact of his wounds with a description of the Achaeans' record for cruelty and impiety. Thus he convinces the Trojans that he would do anything to keep his fellow countrymen as far away as possible. He appeals at the same time to a sense of pity (the monstrous behaviour of the Achaeans is meant to

trigger the opposite reaction in the Trojans) and to the self-interest of the Trojans. He plays on their craving for a long-lasting peace, confronting them with a dilemma: if the horse is left where it stands, the oracle predicting the fall of their city at the hands of the Achaeans will come to fruition, whereas if they take the horse into Athena's temple, the oracle will become invalid. Presented in this way, the horse appears perfectly harmless on its own, and the Trojans risk nothing by bringing it into their citadel.

To explain their subsequent behaviour, the Trojans appear childish. They are described surrounding the wooden horse like small birds around a powerful one, talking noisily about it and finding it difficult to reach a decision (247–56). They look like children daydreaming about the magical nature of a newly-found object, completely unaware of the danger it may pose to them. To complete the image, any possible rational reaction is immediately inhibited by a comment on their fate (245–6, 310–15, 417–18), namely to be annihilated, always to make the wrong decisions. According to Homer too, the Trojans are "gens de l'erreur, ils commettent des fautes d'appréciation parfois considérables" (Wathelet 1998, 296–7). See also Verg. *A.* 2.21–39, to be read with Austin 1964, 38 (the Greeks sail away and the Trojans abandon themselves to joy and flock to the shore: "Virgil at once makes the Trojan temperament plain: in contrast to the subtle Greeks they are frank and unsuspicious to the point of recklessness"); Horsfall 2008, pp. 83–84, n. to 2.42.

Though there is not necessarily a direct relation between the two, Triph.'s Sinon is similar to Virgil's, whom Aeneas presents as a skilled liar (2.61–2, 106, 195–6) and a gifted speaker (cf. Horsfall 2008, 93–5). In the words of Austin 1964, 52 (note to 57–75), Virgil's Sinon plays "upon all the Trojans' emotions, leading them on from jeering to curiosity, from curiosity to kindness and pity, from pity to trust". On the other hand, QS's Sinon is not a speaker, because it is assumed that the Trojans will automatically take the horse into their citadel, provided that Sinon maintains throughout the torture process that the horse was built to honour Pallas: see Campbell 1981, 117–26, esp. pp. 119–20.

219 μοῦνος δὲ πληγῇσιν ἑκούσια γυῖα χαραχθείς: probably after Odysseus' *Ptocheia* (*Od.* 4.244 αὐτόν μιν πληγῇσιν ἀεικελίῃσι δαμάσσας). πληγῇσιν … χαραχθείς can refer to direct blows (*Il.* 2.264 πεπλήγων … ἀεικέσσι πληγῇσιν) or to whipping (*Il.* 15.17 σε πληγῇσιν

ἱμάσσω – see also Triph. 276 ἀεικελίῃσι δ᾽ ἱμάσθλαις). ἑκούσιος is notoriously absent from Homer, Hesiod and AR. Its presence in later epic poets (Opp. *H.* 1.529–30 οἱ δ᾽ ἀεκουσῶν / εὐνῆς ἱμείροντες ἑκούσιοι, 5.502 ἑκούσιον ἔργον; QS 1.25 οὐ μὲν δή τι ἑκοῦσα; Nonn. *D.* 1.482, 10.375, 14.265, 15.335, 37.253, 47.225) may be influenced by the vocabulary of tragedy: see e.g. E. *Supp.* 151 σοφήν γ᾽ ἔλεξας τήνδ᾽ ἑκούσιον φυγήν. Compare ἑκούσια γυῖα (rephrased in 227 λωβητοῖσι … μελέεσσι) with Nonn. *D.* 9.296 καὶ ῥοδέοις ἐκόρυσσαν ἑκούσια δάκτυλα μαζοῖς.

220 Αἰσιμίδης … Σίνων (also line 294 Αἴσιμον αὖ καλέουσιν ἐμὸν πολιὸν γενετῆρα): Lycophron calls Sinon a cousin (αὐτανέψιος) of Odysseus (*Alex.* 344–7 and *Schol. in Lycophr.* 344, p. 133 in Scheer 1958) because Sinon's father and Odysseus' mother, Anticleia, were siblings, children of Autolycus. See also Serv. *Aen.* 2.79. In his description of Polygnotus' painting of the sack of Troy, Pausanias (10.27.3) mentions Sinon, a companion (ἑταῖρος) of Odysseus, carrying the body of Laomedon.

The description of Sinon as **ἀπατήλιος ἥρως** (also 264 δολοπλόκον ἴαχε μῦθον) relates him more closely to Odysseus, who was well known for his capacity to lie and invent excuses. This first impression is strengthened when he is presented as πολυμήχανος ἥρως (291): Odysseus is πολυμήχανος seven times in the *Il.* and eighteen times in the *Od.* Compare Sinon's heroic character in Triph. with similar notions in QS, when Odysseus asks for a volunteer for this role (12.32–3 ἀνὴρ / θαρσαλέος, 238 αἰζηῶν δέ τις ἐσθλός), and in the response to his offering (243–6, 253 Ὣς φάτο θαρσαλέως, 254–5 Ὡς τῷδε θεὸς μέγα θάρσος ἔδωκε / σήμερον). Also Virgil's introduction: *A.* 2.61–2 "fidens animi atque in utrumque paratus, / seu uersare dolos seu certae occumbere morti". Obliquely related to a person in *Od.* 14.288 (δὴ τότε Φοῖνιξ ἦλθεν ἀνὴρ ἀπατήλια εἰδώς), ἀπατήλιος became more usual in late poetry: Nonn. *D.* 1.120 Ποσειδάων ἀπατήλιος, 1.513 ἀπατήλιος … ποιμήν, 8.180 ἀπατήλιος … Ἥρη, 40.187 ἀπατήλιε Μορρεῦ; Collut. 380 ἀπατήλιος … ἀνήρ.

221 κρυπτὸν ἐπὶ Τρώεσσι δόλον καὶ πήματα κεύθων reflects on the double strategy of concealment, with the horse concealing the warriors (κρυπτὸν … δόλον) and Sinon concealing the purpose of the horse (κεύθων). Compare QS 12.443 (on the Trojans surrounding the horse)

θάμβεον ὄβριμον ἔργον ὃ δή σφισιν ἔκρυφε πῆμα, 545 Ὃ γὰρ μέγα πῆμα κέκευθεν. For **κρυπτὸν … δόλον**, see Call. *Aitia*, book 3, fr. 54c.16 Harder 2012 (= *SH* 259 = fr. 177.16 Pf.) [ἐ]ṃεὶ ṣṃίνθοις ṇ[ρ]υπτὸν ἔτευχε ḍṓḷṇον; AR 3.592 κρυπταδίους τε δόλους τεκταινέμεν; Opp. *H.* 2.97 οὐδὲν ὀϊόμενοι κρυπτὸν δόλον, 3.392–3 τὸν μὲν ἔπειτα / ὑψόσ᾽ ἀναρπάζει κρυπτὸς δόλος. For **κρυπτὸν … κεύθων**, see S. *Ant.* 85 κρυφῇ δὲ κεῦθε; Nonn. *D.* 48.763 οὐ δύνασαι κρύπτειν κρύφιον γάμον.

222–6 Sinon's proactive role in the capture of Troy is compared with that of the scout of a hunting party, left close to the hunting net to tell the rest of the hunters when to attack when the prey has fallen into the trap. The simile works in two directions, following a double interpretation of the members of the hunting party. On the one hand, Sinon signals with a torch to call the Achaean fleet back from Tenedos when the Trojans are already asleep (510–11). On the other hand, this simile completes those of the warriors hidden in the horse like beasts waiting in a cave for the end of winter (189–99) and of the warriors leaving the horse like enraged bees to attack passers-by (533–8). The hidden *basileis* belong to Sinon's hunting party too, and the whole operation becomes a hunt of the unsuspecting Trojans, who will later be described as fishes caught in a net (671–5). The simile may be referring to those versions of the episode where Sinon tells the *basileis* to leave the horse and attack when the Trojans are asleep and the Achaean fleet is approaching Troy (e.g. QS 13.30–60).

As regards the tradition of the simile, Sarpedon warns Hector about the danger of being captured by the enemy like fish in a net (*Il.* 5.487–8), and the suitors are compared to fishes killed using a net (*Od.* 22.384–8). The simile is otherwise completely un-Homeric and closer to the hunting and fishing methods mentioned by the Oppians (see the following notes). QS uses the metaphor of the ruse of the hunt for the seizure of Troy too, when he tells of the prodigy witnessed by Calchas (12.12–18): a falcon catches a pigeon, which had found shelter against its attacks in the cleft of a rock, by hiding in a bush and waiting for the naive pigeon to come out. The prodigy inspires the ruse of the horse and presents it as a hunt. QS also compares the Trojans trying to escape from the burning Troy with the beasts trying to flee from a mountain on fire (13.488–95).

222 ὡς δ᾽ ὁπότε σταλίκεσσι λίνον περικυκλώσαντες: compare Opp. *H.* 5.379–80 ἀλλ᾽ ὅτ᾽ ἐϋπλεκέεσσι λίνοις περικυκλώσωνται / φώκην. The combination of nets and stakes is common in references to hunting (e.g. Opp. *C.* 1.147–57, 3.120–1, 379ff., 4.120–1; Nonn. *D.* 5.234–5, 9.265–6, 15.180, 16.24). However, it is usually fishing nets that are set in a circle (see Opp. *H.* 3.98–9, 117–18, 444, 567–8, 4.148–9, 655–6), whereas hunting nets are set straight or in the shape of a purse (see Opp. *C.* 4.120–3, 379–81). For a more detailed description of the use of nets and stakes, see Xen. *Cyn.* 2.3–9, 6.5–10, 10.19; Opp. *C.* 4 is dedicated to different hunting methods, including the use of nets. On the different names of the nets for fishing, see Opp. *H.* 3.79–84. See also Hull 1964, 10–18, 228–9; Delebecque 1970, 101–21.

223 θηρσὶν ὀριπλανέεσσι: ὀριπλανής is an invention of Triph.'s and occurs five times in the *D.* (see Peek *Lex. s.v.*). Similar creations can be found in the poems by the Oppians: *H.* 4.309 ὀρειαύλοις … βοτοῖσιν; *C.* 2.75 ὀρειαύλοισιν … ἐν ξυλόχοισιν, 3.18 θηρσὶν ὀρειαύλοις (same *sedes* as Triph.). Also Opp. *C.* 2.434 φῦλον … πολύπλανον, 3.268 (of the hyena) νυκτιπλανῆ, 4.258 πρέσβυν … ἁλίπλανον, 358 ἴχνια … ὀλοῶν πουλύπλανα θηρῶν. Nonn. uses in his *D.* (see Peek *Lex. s.vv.*) ἁλιπλανής, δολοπλανής, νοοπλανής, ὁμοπλανής, πολυπλανής. **λόχον πολυωπόν**: see *Od.* 22.386 δικτύῳ … πολυωπῷ (a Homeric *hapax* – in a simile about fishing); Opp. *H.* 3.579 λίνου πολύωπον ὄλεθρον. For λόχος referring to a trap for animals, see Opp. *C.* 3.259, 4.413, 393, 448.

224a ἀνέρες ἀγρευτῆρες: un-Homeric, but later incorporated into epic vocabulary. See Call. *Dian.* 218 ἐπίκλητοι … ἀγρευτῆρες; Theocr. *Id.* 21.6 Ἰχθύος ἀγρευτῆρες … γέροντες; Opp. *H.* 1.272 ἁλίπλοοι ἀγρευτῆρες, 2.235 ἄνδρας δ᾽ ἀγρευτῆρας (same *sedes* as in Triph.), 4.149 ἁλίστονοι ἀγρευτῆρες; Opp. *C.* 4.418 ἀνέρας ἀγρευτῆρας|.

224b ὁ δ᾽ ἐκκριδὸν οἶος ἀπ᾽ ἄλλων: manuscripts read δὲ κριδὸν, considered inadmissible and corrected to ἐκκριδόν first by Schaefer 1808 (cf. Wernicke *Triph.*, 231–2) and subsequently by Gerlaud and Livrea (see also Campbell *Lex. s.v.*; Monaco 2007, 173). ἐκκριδὸν is not found anywhere else, which is why Dubielzig (*Triph.*, 167) is not convinced and prints ὁ δὲ κριδόν. The reasoning behind Schaefer's correction is that Triph. must have been aware of the Homeric use of διακριδόν

in contexts where somebody is chosen from the best (*Il.* 12.103–4, 15.102–3), and also that AR used ἀποκριδόν (2.15–16) and ἐπικριδόν (2.302–3) for similar purposes. Compare also the use of ἔκκριτος: A. *Pers.* 340 δεκὰς δ᾽ ἦν τῶνδε χωρὶς ἔκκριτος, 803 πλῆθος ἔκκριτον στρατοῦ; A. *Th.* 57 ἀρίστους ἄνδρας ἐκκρίτους πόλεως; E. *Hec.* 267 εἰ δ᾽ αἰχμαλώτων χρή τιν᾽ ἔκκριτον θανεῖν; AR 4.1185–6 ἔκκριτον ἄλλων / ἀρνειὸν μήλων.

225 λαθρίδιος πυκινοῖσιν ὑπὸ πτόρθοισι δεδυκώς: compare Opp. *C.* 4.334–5 (hunting leopards: προπροκαλυψάμενοι δέμας ἄλκιμον ἢ σισύρῃσιν / ἢ αὐτοῖσι λίνοισιν), 381–2 (bear hunt: ἐν δὲ δύω κλῖναν δοιαῖς ἑκάτερθε κεραίαις / ἀνέρας ἀκρολίνους ὑπὸ μειλινέοισι πάγοισιν), 394–6. **λαθρίδιος** (a variant of λαθραῖος) appears only in late poetry: it occurs three times in the *Sack of Troy* (here, 484, 633), and three times in Nonn. *D.* (3.377, 5.308, 42.134), Musae. 106. **πυκινοῖσιν ὑπὸ πτόρθοισι δεδυκώς**: Triph. is probably thinking of *Od.* 6.127–8 ὣς εἰπὼν θάμνων ὑπεδύσετο δῖος Ὀδυσσεύς, / ἐκ πυκινῆς δ᾽ ὕλης πτόρθον κλάσε. **ὑπὸ πτόρθοισι** = Opp. *H.* 4.165.

226 δίκτυα παπταίνων ἔλαθεν θηροσκόπος ἀνήρ: the figure of the scout on the lookout for prey occurs both in hunting (Opp. *C.* 4.105–6 οἱ δ᾽ ἄρ᾽ ἀπὸ σκοπιῆς τηλαυγέος ἀθρήσαντες / ἀγρευτῆρες ὄρουσαν, 413–14 τοὶ δ᾽ ἐγγὺς ἐόντες / ἀκρόλινοι θρώσκουσι) and in fishing (Opp. *H.* 3.637–9 ἔνθ᾽ ἤτοι πρῶτον μὲν ἐπ᾽ ὄρθιον ὕψι κολωνὸν / ἴδρις ἐπαμβαίνει θυννοσκόπος, ὅστε κιούσας / παντοίας ἀγέλας τεκμαίρεται). For a description of his functions, see Xen. *Cyn.* 2.3–9, 10.19–20, who calls him ἀρκυωρός. Mair (1928, p. 597, note b) identified this as the λινόπτης 'one who watches nets to see whether anything is caught' (see LSJ *s. v.*). **θηροσκόπος** is a rare epithet for Artemis: see *hHom.* 27.11 θηροσκόπος ἰοχέαιρα; B. *Ep.* 11.107; *AP* 6.240.1 (Philippus) θηροσκόπε … κούρη.

227–9 Sinon's self-inflicted wounds mirror those of Odysseus in the *Ptocheia* (see esp. *Od.* 4.244 ~ Triph. 227), which Helen narrates as a proof of Odysseus' endurance (4.240–3, calling him 242 καρτερὸς ἀνήρ). Compare also *Il.* 11.811–13, where Patroclus is covered in sweat and blood from his wounds, but remains steadfast.

Just as Odysseus had prepared himself for his speech to the Achaean βασιλεῖς (114–19), Sinon prepares to delude the Trojans by

shaping his appearance to fit the role that he is going to play before them: that of the decent man mistreated by his own people. With this plan in mind, he beats himself all over his body (227 περίστικτος), causing very visible wounds (229 νήχυτον αἷμα) designed to affect onlookers (229 ποιητοῖσι). This crude presentation of his intentions is in contrast with what the Trojans later see (258–61), a man who has been thoroughly beaten. They never suspect that he himself could have caused the injuries.

227 For **λωβητοῖσι … μελέεσσι** '(with blows tattooed all over) his outraged limbs', see the Odyssean model: *Od.* 4.244 αὐτόν μιν πληγῇσιν ἀεικελίῃσι δαμάσσας. Compare for the phrasing *Il.* 24.531 ᾧ δέ κε τῶν λυγρῶν δώῃ, λωβητὸν ἔθηκε; S. *Tr.* 1069 λωβητὸν εἶδος. **περίστικτος** (on which see Monaco 2007, 166) occurs here and, in a literal sense, in Nic. *Ther.* 464 (περίστικτος φολίδεσσι – see also *Schol. in Nic. Ther.* 464b). Compare Opp. *C.* 1.335–6 ἀμφὶ δὲ πάντῃ / πᾶν δέμας εὐστίκτοισι περὶ χροιῇσι γράφουσι.

228a Τροίῃ λυγρὸν ὄλεθρον ἐμήδετο: after ἐμήσατο λυγρὸν ὄλεθρον|, which occurs three times in the *Od.* (3.194, 10.115, 24.96), though Triph. inverts the original word order.

228b–9 κὰδ δέ οἱ ὤμους / ἕλκεσι ποιητοῖσι κατέρρεε νήχυτον αἷμα: compare *Il.* 4.149 = 5.870 αἷμα καταρρέον ἐξ ὠτειλῆς, 11.812–13 ἀπὸ δ᾽ ἕλκεος ἀργαλέοιο / αἷμα μέλαν κελάρυζε, 13.539 κατὰ δ᾽ αἷμα νεουτάτου ἔρρεε χειρός, 23.716–17 πυκναὶ δὲ σμώδιγγες ἀνὰ πλευράς τε καὶ ὤμους / αἵματι φοινικόεσσαι ἀνέδραμον. **κὰδ … κατέρρεε**: the anticipation of the preverb is an epic mannerism (*Il.* 7.438 ἐν δ᾽ αὐτοῖσι πύλας ἐνεποίεον). It was much appreciated by QS (cf. Campbell 1981, p. 73, note to 12.198–9): 3.739–40 ἀμφὶ δὲ τύμβον / Ἀργεῖοι … ἀμφεβάλοντο, 13.494–5 περὶ γὰρ λίνα πάντοθε Μοῖραι / μακρὰ περιστήσαντο, 14.563–4 περὶ γὰρ κακὰ μυρία Κῆρες / ἀνδρὶ περιστήσαντο. Campbell (*Lex.* p. 210, APP 228–9) suggests replacing **ὤμους** ('along the line of the shoulders') with ὤμων ('down from the shoulders'). **ἕλκεσι ποιητοῖσι** means 'with wounds made by himself', i.e. fake wounds, not real ones, inflicted by another person (LSJ *s.v.* ποιητός III), as in Pi. *N.* 5.29 ψεύσταν δὲ ποιητὸν συνέπαξε λόγον; E. *Hel.* 1547 οἱ δ᾽ ἐκβαλόντες δάκρυα ποιητῶι τρόπωι; Nonn. *D.* 3.179 ποιητῆς … οὐρῆς ('of an artificial tail'). **νήχυτον αἷμα**: com-

pare AR 3.530 νήχυτον ὕδωρ|, 4.1367 νήχυτον ἅλμην|; Nic. *Alex.* 587 χέαι δ᾽ ἀπὸ νήχυτον ἱδρῶ|; QS 1.417 νήχυτος ἀήρ|; Musae. 247 νήχυτον ὕδωρ.

230–4 The fire goes on all night long. As described here, the fire appears particularly violent, an anticipation of the final destruction of Troy (680–5), again presided over by Hephaestus and Hera (685). Both divinities will also work together to bring about the destruction of the city (337–9, 567–9).

230–1 ἡ δὲ περὶ κλισίῃσιν ἐμαίνετο παννυχίη φλὸξ / καπνὸν ἐρευγομένη περιδινέα φοιτάδι ῥιπῇ: compare *Il.* 8.554 ἥατο παννύχιοι, πυρὰ δέ σφισι καίετο πολλά, 15.605–6 μαίνετο δ᾽ ὡς ὅτ᾽ … ὀλοὸν πῦρ / οὔρεσι μαίνηται, 21.12 ὑπὸ ῥιπῆς πυρός, 23.217–18 παννύχιοι δ᾽ ἄρα τοί γε πυρῆς ἄμυδις φλόγ᾽ ἔβαλλον / φυσῶντες λιγέως; Pi. *I.* 3/4.83–4 φλὸξ ἀνατελλομένα συνεχὲς παννυχίζει, / αἰθέρα κνισάεντι λακτίζοισα καπνῷ; QS 5.386–7 μαίνετο δ᾽ ἠύτε πόντος ἀπείριτος ἠὲ θύελλα / ἢ πυρὸς ἀκαμάτοιο θοὸν μένος; Nonn. *D.* 34.136–7, 36.296–7, 37.78–9.

καπνὸν … περιδινέα: the only possible parallel is *AP* 6.23.5 περιδινέα κύρτον. On seeing the whirls of smoke, the Trojans will realise the following morning that the Achaeans have abandoned their camp (235–7). **φοιτάδι ῥιπῇ** emphasises the personification of the fire already suggested by ἐμαίνετο. φοιτάς has tragic connotations (A. *Ag.* 1273 φοιτὰς ὡς ἀγύρτρια, S. *Tr.* 980–1 φοιτάδα δεινὴν / νόσον, Lyc. *Alex.* 612 τραῦμα φοιτάδος πλάνης) and is used by Nonnus to refer to (tragic) madness: e.g. *D.* 2.24 φοιτάδι λύσσῃ, 3.274 φοιτάδι χηλῇ.

232a Ἥφαιστος δ᾽ ἐκέλευεν ἐρίβρομος: Hephaestus is a metonym for fire already in Homer (*Il.* 2.426 σπλάγχνα δ᾽ ἄρ᾽ ἀμπείραντες ὑπείρεχον Ἡφαίστοιο; see also the cluster φλὸξ Ἡφαίστοιο in *Il.* 9.468, 23.33, *Od.* 24.71). Hephaestus takes on the form of fire to fight the water personified by the river Xanthus in *Il.* 20.73–4, 21.328–82. **ἐρίβρομος** is originally an epithet for Dionysus (*hDion.* 56, *hHom.* 26.1 – never, however, used by Nonnus in his *D.*), but see also Pi. *O.* 11.20 ἐρίβρομοι λέοντες, *P.* 6.3, 11; Opp. *C.* 4.80 ἐρίβρομος ἠΰκομος λῖς.

232b–4 ἐκ δὲ θυέλλας / παντοίας ἐτίνασσεν ἐπιπνείουσα καὶ αὐτή, / μήτηρ ἀθανάτοιο πυρός, φαεσίμβροτος Ἥρη: after Hera's role in Hephaestus' attack against the river Xanthus (*Il.* 21.334–7, though the blast is later attributed to Hephaestus: 21.355 πνοιῇ … Ἡφαίστοιο, 366–7 ἀυτμὴ / Ἡφαίστοιο). Hera is here a metonym for the air (note the metathesis of the letters in her name: Ἥρα – ἀήρ), a brief reference to the role of air in the starting and propagation of fire (hence μήτηρ ἀθανάτοιο πυρός). On the allegory of Hera as the air, see Heraclit. *All.* 40, taking *Il.* 15.18–21 as his starting point.

For the construction of **ἐκ δὲ θυέλλας / παντοίας**, see *Il.* 20.248–9 πολέες δ᾽ ἔνι μῦθοι / παντοῖοι, *Od.* 6.76–7 ἐδωδὴν / παντοίην. For **ἐπιπνείουσα** related to fire, see *Il.* 6.182 δεινὸν ἀποπνείουσα πυρὸς μένος αἰθομένοιο; Hes. *Th.* 319; AR 3.231 ἐκ δὲ πυρὸς δεινὸν σέλας ἀμπνείεσκον, 1292, 1327; QS 5.33, 6.226, 8.244, 10.62, 14.455–6. With **ἀθανάτοιο πυρός**, Triph. points to the previous personification of the fire as Hephaestus, instead of using one of the common Homeric epithets for fire (e.g. *Il.* 5.4 ἀκάματον πῦρ, 6.331 πυρὸς δηΐοιο, 8.217 πυρὶ κηλέῳ, 9.242 μαλεροῦ πυρός etc.). **φαεσίμβροτος Ἥρη**: after *Il.* 24.785 φαεσίμβροτος ἠώς|. The epithet is usually applied to Helios (*Od.* 10.138, 191; Hes. *Th.* 958; E. *Heracl.* 750; QS 2.209; Nonn. *D.* 10.284).

235–357 The Trojans fall into the Achaean snare

235–46 The Trojans leave Troy. Triph. seems to have drawn inspiration for this passage from *Od.* 14.265–8 = 17.434–7 τάχα δ᾽ ἐς πόλιν ἵκετ᾽ ἀϋτή. / οἱ δὲ βοῆς ἀΐοντες ἅμ᾽ ἠοῖ φαινομένηφιν / ἦλθον· πλῆτο δὲ πᾶν πεδίον πεζῶν τε καὶ ἵππων / χαλκοῦ τε στεροπῆς. See also E. *Tr.* 522–5 (ἀνὰ δ᾽ ἐβόασεν λεὼς / Τρωϊάδος ἀπὸ πέτρας σταθείς· / Ἴτ᾽, ὦ πεπαυμένοι πόνων, / τόδ᾽ ἱερὸν ἀνάγετε ξόανον), 527–8 (τίς οὐκ ἔβα νεανίδων, / τίς οὐ γεραιὸς ἐκ δόμων;). Compare QS's more prosaic exposition (12.353–7): the following morning the Trojans see the smoke and notice that the Achaeans are gone; happy, but still fearful, they first arm themselves and then run to the shore.

235–7 Personified rumour (Φήμη) is not a Homeric character. Despite the presence of Ὄσσα, the messenger of Zeus in the Homeric poems (*Il.* 2.93, *Od.* 24.413), Triph.'s Φήμη is closer to the Latin *Fama* (Verg. *A.* 4.181–3 – to be read with Hardie 2012, 78–98; Ov. *Met.* 9.137 and

12.39–66 – to be read with Hardie 2012, 150–68). Besides playing a role in the novel (see Schmeling 2005, 39 ff.; Hardie 2012, 113–23), she is one of the standard personifications of Nonnus (*D.* 5.370, 18.1–4, 24.179–80, 26.275–6, 41.1–3, 44.123–4 – with Gerbeau – Vian 1992, p. 129, n. to 18.1–2) and also occurs in *P. Ross. Georg.* 1.11 (Hymn on Dionysus, 3rd c. AD, ll. 31 and 34).

235 Τρώεσσι καὶ Ἰλιάδεσσι γυναιξίν is certainly un-Homeric, when compared with *Il.* 24.704 Τρῶες καὶ Τρῳάδες (also 6.442, 7.297, 22.57, 22.105) or *Il.* 7.80 Τρῶες καὶ Τρώων ἄλοχοι. Ἰλιάδεσσι γυναιξίν may be inspired by Euripidean clusters such as *Andr.* 141 γύναι Ἰλιάς, 489 τὴν τάλαιναν Ἰλιάδα κόραν, 1023 Ἰλιάδαι βασιλῆες. **καὶ Ἰλιάδεσσι γυναιξίν** = *AP* 7.99.1 (Plato), also quoted in DL *Vit.* 3.30.

236–7 ὄρθρον ὑπὸ σκιόεντα πολύθροος ἤλυθε Φήμη / δήιον ἀγγέλλουσα φόβον σημάντορι καπνῷ: ὄρθρος is the shady light announcing the dawn, which is why Φήμη is presented here announcing (ἀγγέλλουσα) what has happened in the Achaean camp. Compare Nonn. *D.* 18.166–7 ἀλλ᾽ ὅτε δὴ ῥοδέοις ἀμαρύγμασιν ἄγγελος Ἠοῦς / ἀκροφαὴς ἐχάραξε λιπόσκιον ὄρθρος ὀμίχλην.

ὄρθρος is not mentioned in the Homeric poems, though it is in *H. Merc.* 142 (τάχα δ᾽ ὄρθρος ἐγίγνετο δημιοεργός) and Hes. *Op.* 577 (ὄρθρου ἀνιστάμενος). Nonnus always presents it in conjunction with Ἠώς (*D.* 3.57, 26.213–14, 31.138, 37.86–7, 38.8–9, 47.279). **πολύθροος ἤλυθε Φήμη**: compare *Od.* 10.541 = 12.142 = 15.56 = 20.91 χρυσόθρονος ἤλυθεν Ἠώς; QS 12.352 (after the Achaean warriors have hidden in the horse) καὶ τὰ μὲν ἐλπομένοισιν ἐπήλυθεν Ἠριγένεια. **πολύθροος … Φήμη** is close to the phrasing in other late epic works: see Opp. *C.* 3.461 πολύθροε Μοῦσα λιγεῖα, Nonn. *D.* 18.1 = 26.275 πολύστομος … Φήμη, 24.179–80 Ἤδη δὲ στονόεσσα δι᾽ ἄστεος ἵπτατο Φήμη, / σύγγονον ἀγγέλλουσα νεοσφαγέων φόνον Ἰνδῶν, 28.55 μόθος ὦρτο πολύθροος. **δήιον … φόβον** ‘the enemy flight’: Triph. preserves the original sense, which occurs e.g. in *Il.* 11.71 οὐδ᾽ ἕτεροι μνώοντ᾽ ὀλοοῖο φόβοιο, to be read with *Schol. in Il.* 11.71 ὅτι φόβον τὴν φυγήν. ὃν δὲ ἡμεῖς φόβον, δέος λέγει. More on this cluster and Triph.’s editorial work in 3.1.1. **σημάντορι καπνῷ**: the adjectival use of σημάντωρ occurs only in late epic poetry (cf. LSJ *s.v.* II), e.g. Opp. *C.* 2.539 παῖδας … σημάντορας; Nonn. *D.* 22.88 σημάντορι σιγῇ, 37.551 σημάντορι φωνῇ (= *P.* 1.119, 2.39, 5.38; esp. *P.* 18.81

Σίμων δ᾽ ἀντιάχησε φόβου σημάντορι φωνῇ), 47.277 ἀλλ᾽ οὐ κεστὸν ἔχει σημάντορα Κυπρογενείης; Nonn. *P.* 13.121 σημάντορι μύθῳ. Compare also Call. fr. 228.40 Pf. καμάντριαν ἃ δὲ πυρᾶς ἐνόης᾽ ἰ[ωάν, mentioned in De Stefani – Magnelli 2011, p. 553, n. 7.

238 αὐτίκα δ᾽ ἐξέθορον πυλέων πετάσαντες ὀχῆας: compare *Il.* 21.531 πεπταμένας ἐν χερσὶ πύλας ἔχετ᾽; QS 3.367 εἰ μὴ πεπταμένῃσι πύλῃς ἐσέχυντο πόληα; Nonn. *D.* 2.704 οὐρανίας πετάσαντο πύλας. ὀχῆες are the bolts or bars that keep doors closed: *Il.* 12.121, *Od.* 21.46–8, AR 4.41–2; QS 3.27–8, 8.377–8, 12.511–12; Nonn. *D.* 2.177–8 etc.

239a πεζοί θ᾽ ἱππῆές τε, after *Il.* 2.810 = 8.59 = *Od.* 24.70. QS tries to move away from the Homeric referent: 3.695 πεζοὶ ἅμ᾽ ἱππήεσσι, 9.127–8. The division between cavalry and infantry recurs in the organisation of the initial attack in the nyktomachy (530–2).

239b ἐς πεδίον προχέοντο after *Il.* 2.465 ἐς πεδίον προχέοντο Σκαμάνδριον. See also QS 12.32–3 (Odysseus' initial explanation of the plan) ἵνα Τρῶες ἀπ᾽ ἄστεος ἀθρήσαντες / ἐς πεδίον προχέωνται ἀταρβέες; Nonn. *D.* 22.145 = 34.129 ἐς πεδίον προχέοντο. Note that all these clusters occur at the beginning of the line, except Triph.'s.

240 διζόμενοι μή πού τις ἔην δόλος ἄλλος Ἀχαιῶν: for the construction, compare *Od.* 15.90 μὴ πατέρ᾽ ἀντίθεον διζήμενος αὐτὸς ὄλωμαι. δόλος ἄλλος occurs in the same *sedes* in *Il.* 6.187.

241 οἱ δὲ θοοὺς οὐρῆας ὑποζεύξαντες ἀπήναις: after AR 3.841 ἐσσυμένως οὐρῆας ὑποζεύξασθαι ἀπήνῃ (Medea leaving the palace); see also AR 3.1152 θοῆς … ἀπήνης. Gerlaud (*Triph.* p. 129, note to 241) suggests that Triph. has transferred **θοούς** from *Il.* 1.50 οὐρῆας … καὶ κύνας ἀργούς. Campbell (*Lex.*, pp. 210–11, APP 241) backs Köchly 1853's correction θοῶς, as a variation of AR 3.841 ἐσσυμένως (compare *Il.* 16.145 ἵππους δ᾽ Αὐτομέδοντα θοῶς ζευγνῦμεν ἄνωγε). An ἀπήνη, i.e. a wagon pulled by mules, is a suitable means of transport for the elders, and especially for Priam: see *Il.* 24.263–77, 324–7.

242 ἐκ πόλιος: same *sedes* in *Il.* 8.505 = 545 = *Od.* 9.41. Compare also *Od.* 24.205 οἱ δ᾽ ἐπεὶ ἐκ πόλιος κατέβαν. **ἅμα Πριάμῳ βασιλῆι**: after *Il.* 24.680 Πρίαμον βασιλῆα (~ *Il.* 24.803 – QS never uses this

combination), not the usual epithets for Priam: e.g. *Il.* 4.18 Πριάμοιο ἄνακτος, 24.217 γέρων Πρίαμος θεοειδής. This cluster is similar to the condensed introductions of other characters in the initial catalogues (17–39, 152–83).

243a ἄλλοι δημογέροντες are the Trojan elders, described in *Il.* 3.146–60 (esp. 149 δημογέροντες in the same *sedes*).

243b–5a For the worries of the elders regarding their surviving children, see *Il.* 24.255–6 ἐπεὶ τέκον υἷας ἀρίστους / Τροίῃ ἐν εὐρείῃ, τῶν δ᾽ οὔ τινά φημι λελεῖφθαι.

243b ἐλαφρότατοι δ᾽ ἐγένοντο: Triph. is perhaps thinking of *Il.* 22.287 καί κεν ἐλαφρότερος πόλεμος Τρώεσσι γένοιτο.

244b φοίνιος Ἄρης = 563: similar references are common in early epic works (*Il.* 4.441 Ἄρεος ἀνδροφόνοιο = [Hes.] *Sc.* 98; *Il.* 5.31 Ἄρες Ἄρες βροτολοιγέ, μιαιφόνε, τειχεσιπλῆτα, 5.844 Ἄρης … μιαιφόνος; AR 3.1357 Ἄρηος … φθισιμβρότου), and tragedy (S. *El.* 96 φοίνιος Ἄρης). φοίνιος, 'killer', enters epic only in Late Antiquity: Opp. *C.* 2.170 φοίνια κέντρα, 4.309 φοίνιον ὄμμα; Nonn. *D.* 10.71 φοίνιος … λέβης, 20.254 πτερὰ φοίνια, 25.186 φοίνιον … λέοντα, etc.

245a ὀσσόμενοι καὶ γῆρας ἐλεύθερον: introduction of the topic of the yearning for the day of freedom (*Il.* 6.455, 16.831, 20.193 ἐλεύθερον ἦμαρ), which will play a central role in Priam's rebuttal of Cassandra (424–31).

245b–6 οὐ μὲν ἔμελλον / γηθήσειν ἐπὶ δηρόν, ἐπεὶ Διὸς ἤθελε βουλή: the first authorial comment of the poem (see also 310–12). It highlights the gap between the realistic narrator and his naive characters. Similar comments in the Homeric poems: *Il.* 12.113–15 (νήπιος, οὐδ᾽ ἄρ᾽ ἔμελλε …), 16.46–7 (μέγα νήπιος· ἦ γὰρ ἔμελλεν / οἷ αὐτῷ θάνατον … λιτέσθαι), 17.497–8 (νήπιοι, οὐδ᾽ ἄρ᾽ ἔμελλον …), 20.466, *Od.* 3.146. Compare for the phrasing AR 3.1133–4 οὐ μὲν δηρὸν … ἔμελλεν / … ὣς γὰρ τόδε μήδετο Ἥρη. **ἐπὶ δηρόν**, as in *Il.* 9.415; AR 1.615, 870, 1072, 2.757, 3.930, 1049; QS 3.524, 4.248, 6.18, 12.39; Musae. 291. **ἐπεὶ Διὸς ἤθελε βουλή** rephrases *Il.* 1.5 = *Od.* 11.297 Διὸς δ᾽ ἐτελείετο βουλή. See also Triph. 653b θεῶν δ᾽ ἐτελείετο βουλή. Allan 2008 finds three functions in the use of this phrase in early epic: 1) the poet's means of claiming poetic authority (the poet signposts his

knowledge of the mind and will of Zeus in order to guarantee that what follows is true); 2) a narrative device connecting the particular story in which the phrase appears to a larger continuum of heroic songs; 3) an expression of a distinctive view of divine and heroic myth.

247–57 The Trojans in front of the horse: confused assembly. The *Odyssey* (8.505–13) situates the debate about the horse after it has been taken to Troy (also Apollod. *Epit.* 5.16). There the Trojans engage in a confused debate, considering three options: cleaving the horse open with axes, throwing it down onto the rocks, or letting it stand where it is as an offering for the gods. They end up choosing the worst possible option, thus fulfilling their fate. The *Ilioupersis* (Bernabé *PEG Ilii Excidium* Arg. lines 3–6) located this debate on the plain, adding a fourth option, the destruction of the horse by fire. See also Stesichorus' *Ilioupersis*: *P.Oxy.* 2619 fr. 1a, 1b and 47 (S 88 *PMGF*; Schade 2003, p. 143, 181–7). It seems that from an early stage the four options were considered, and each author chose whether to introduce them in the assembly or in the interventions of Laocoon and Cassandra.

Virgil (*A.* 2.32–56) locates the assembly on the plain. Thymoetes wants to consecrate the statue, and Capys favours its destruction, by hurling it into the sea, by fire or with axes (*A.* 2.31–9). Laocoon boldly attacks the horse with a spear (40–56), but the impact of his intervention is cancelled out by Sinon (57–198) and his subsequent punishment (199–228). Cassandra is briefly mentioned as opposing the bringing of the horse into the citadel (246–9).

In QS's *Posthomerica*, the Trojans find Sinon immediately after finding the horse (12.360–86), and the debate takes place after his speech (389–94). Some Trojans believe Sinon and want to consecrate the horse (12.389), but others are opposed to this option, and Laocoon suggests burning it (390–4). Athena convinces the Trojans to preserve the statue by punishing Laocoon twice (395–417, 444–97), and, when the sacrifice is already in progress, Cassandra tries unsuccessfully to attack the horse with fire and with a double axe (498–585). Apollodorus (*Epit.* 5.17–18) records yet another version of the episode: Cassandra states that the horse is hiding an armed contingent, and this is confirmed by Laocoon; some Trojans favour burning it, and others throwing it down a precipice, but most want to spare it as a votive offering; Laocoon is punished by Apollo.

Triph.'s main referent for this passage is *Od.* 8.505–13. He transfers the scene from the town to the plain, and captures the mood of the Homeric passage: the Trojans spend too long reaching their conclusion, and their decision brings about the destruction that was predicted for them. The three options considered in the *Od.* are duly reproduced, endowed with a psychological foundation to make them more credible. The Trojans who feel exhausted by the war (251) see the horse as the work of their enemies and want to destroy it (252–4), whereas a second group, seeing the horse as a work of art, want to make of it a symbol of the peaceful future, by dedicating it to the gods (255–7). The debate is presented as a confrontation between those Trojans who see the horse as part of the war, which has not yet come to an end, and those who believe that the war is over and that the horse, constructed recently, may be used as a landmark for the end of the war. These two opinions are restaged in the confrontation between Cassandra and Priam (376–416), when Cassandra warns the Trojans that the horse is a weapon of war, and Priam says that the war is over.

247–8a οἱ δ᾽ ὅτε τεχνήεντος ἴδον δέμας αἰόλον ἵππου, / θαύμασαν ἀμφιχυθέντες: compare *Il.* 12.208–9 Τρῶες δ᾽ ἐρρίγησαν ὅπως ἴδον αἰόλον ὄφιν / κείμενον ἐν μέσσοισι. For the notion, see Verg. *A.* 2.31–2 "Pars stupet innuptae donum exitiale Mineruae / et molem mirantur equi"; QS 12.358–9 ἵππον δ᾽ εἰσενόησαν ἐύξοον, ἀμφὶ δ᾽ ἄρ᾽ αὐτῷ / θάμβεον ἑσταότες.

247 τεχνήεντος refers not only to the use of τέχνη in the construction of the horse, but also to its 'cunning' nature: compare *Od.* 8.296–7 ἀμφὶ δὲ δεσμοὶ / τεχνήεντες ἔχυντο πολύφρονος Ἡφαίστοιο; QS 8.296 τεχνήεντι Μέδοντι δαήμονι, 11.359 (Odysseus') τεχνήεντι νόῳ; Nonn. *D.* 19.202 νεύματι τεχνήεντι, 37.202 τεχνήεντι δόλῳ. **δέμας αἰόλον ἵππου**: a variation on *Il.* 19.404 πόδας αἰόλος ἵππος|. In the Iliadic passage, αἰόλος refers to the agility and velocity of the horse, but here it means 'shiny' (cf. *Il.* 5.294–5 τεύχε᾽ …/ αἰόλα παμφανόωντα, 7.222 σάκος αἰόλον), and refers to the use of gold and gems in its construction (66, 69–72, 74, 88, 103 ἐξήστραπτε). In Late Antiquity the adjective referred not only to the brilliant appearance of an object, but also to its varied hue, and it became a synonym of δαίδαλος (Sinon calls the horse 303 δαιδάλεον … ἀνάθημα) and ποικίλος. Sometimes it bore a nuance of deceitfulness: cf. Opp. *H.* 2.280 τὰ δ᾽ αἰόλα κέρδεα τέχνης,

2.503 αἰολόμητιν Ὀδυσσέα, 3.1–2 παναίολα δήνεα τέχνης / ἰχθυβόλου, 3.42 μάλα πολλὰ καὶ αἰόλα μηχανόωνται; Opp. *C.* 1.470, 2.194, 3.466; QS 7.330–1; Nonn. *D.* 5.361 πόρδαλις αἰολόνωτος, 5.494 δέμας αἰόλον, 7.173 παρθένος αἰολόπεπλος, 20.160 Μυρτίλος αἰολόμητις, 37.478 χρυσοφαῆ θώρηκα, παναίολον ἔργον Ὀλύμπου. See also Looijenga 2009, 64–5, on Lyc. *Alex.* 4 αἰόλον στόμα (after A. *Pr.* 661 αἰολοστόμους).

248a θαύμασαν ἀμφιχυθέντες: compare *Il.* 2.320 (after the prodigy of the snake and the birds) ἡμεῖς δ᾽ ἑσταότες θαυμάζομεν οἷον ἐτύχθη, 13.11, 18.495–6, 24.394.

248b–9 On two occasions Homer mentions in similes birds of prey attacking noisy groups of jackdaws in flight: Patroclus charging against the Trojans in *Il.* 16.582–3 (ἴρηκι ἐοικὼς / ὠκέϊ, ὅς τ᾽ ἐφόβησε κολοιούς τε ψῆράς τε), and the young Achaeans fleeing before Aeneas and Hector in *Il.* 17.755–7 (τῶν δ᾽ ὥς τε ψαρῶν νέφος ἔρχεται ἠὲ κολοιῶν, / οὖλον κεκλήγοντες, ὅτε προΐδωσιν ἰόντα / κίρκον). See also *Il.* 15.690–4, Hector charging against the Achaeans like an eagle against a flock of birds. According to Ypsilanti (2007, 99–100), Triph. is reversing *Il.* 17.755–7: in the *Sack of Troy* the jackdaws are unnaturally attracted by the bird of prey, thus proving their lack of common sense. Triph.'s simile is proleptic in his presentation of the horse as a bird of prey about to hunt the flock of little jackdaws, which are too busy making noise to be aware of the peril. The passage also harks back to the Trojan elders spending their days in endless discussions by the Scaean Gates, like cicadas in their chatter (*Il.* 3.151 τεττίγεσσιν ἐοικότες). The Trojans are compared again with noisy birds in Triph. 350–7 (Trojans hauling the horse = migrating cranes giving out ominous shouts).

Stesichorus' *Ilioupersis* seems to have included a similar simile: *P.Oxy.* 32.2619, fr. 1, col. ii.19–21 (S 88 *PMGF* = Schade 2003, p. 143) πυκινᾳ[ῖ]ς̣ πτερ[ύγεσσι … / κίρκον τανυσίπ[τερον … / [ψᾶ]ρ̣ες ἀνέκραγο̣ν̣. See also Pi. *N.* 3.80–2, *O.* 2.86–8 (with Cannatà Fera 2003, 196); QS 8.387–94, 14.89–91, and other winged animals in flight 5.297–301, 13.103–8.

ἠχήεντες … κολοιοί: the adjective at first referred to the roaring sea (*Il.* 1.157 θάλασσά τε ἠχήεσσα, AR 4.910 ἠχῆεν φέρε κῦμα, QS 2.559, 4.159, 6.379) or to the echoes of a building (*Od.* 4.72 δώματα ἠχήεντα). For its use with animals, compare *AP* 7.196.1 (Meleager)

᾽Αχήεις τέττιξ. **περικλάζω** ‘scream around’ is a *hapax*, but preferable to the περικράζω found in some manuscripts: see Gerlaud *Triph.*, p. 130, n. to 249. Compare Opp. *H.* 4.328–9 ἦμος ἅπας περὶ χῶρος ἀγαλλομένῃσιν ἰωῇς / νηπιάχων κέκληγε.

250 τοῖσι δὲ τετρηχυῖα καὶ ἄκριτος ἔμπεσε βουλή: after *Od.* 8.505–6 τοὶ δ᾽ ἄκριτα πόλλ᾽ ἀγόρευον / ἥμενοι ἀμφ᾽ αὐτόν· τρίχα δέ σφισιν ἥνδανε βουλή. See also *Il.* 7.345–6 (Τρώων αὖτ᾽ ἀγορὴ γένετ᾽ Ἰλίου ἐν πόλει ἄκρῃ, / δεινὴ τετρηχυῖα) and the summary of the *Ilioupersis* (Bernabé *PEG*, *Ilii Excidium* Arg. lines 3–4 ὡς τὰ περὶ τὸν ἵππον οἱ Τρῶες ὑπόπτως ἔχοντες περιστάντες βουλεύονται ὅ τι χρὴ ποιεῖν). Several Trojan assemblies are mentioned in the *Il.* (2.789–808, 7.344, 7.414, 8.489, 18.243–313). During the war the Trojans had been divided into two parties, those in favour of peace, led by Antenor (7.347–53), and those opposed to the restitution of Helen and her possessions to the Greeks, led by Antimachus (11.123–5). On τετρηχυῖα, see Monaco 2007, 177–9.

251 οἱ μὲν γὰρ πολέμῳ βαρυπενθέι κεκμηῶτες: the participle usually appears in an absolute construction, without the dative of cause (*Il.* 6.261 ἀνδρὶ … κεκμηῶτι, AR 3.1341–2 κεκμηῶτες / ἐργατίναι; QS 6.107, 8.372). βαρυπενθής is unheard of in epic poetry, but not in other genres: see B. 14.12–13 Οὔτ᾽ ἐ]ν βαρυπενθέσιν ἅρ- / μό[ζει μ]άχαις φόρμιγγος ὀμφά; *AP* 7.743.4 (Antipater) οὐ βαρυπενθήτους ᾽Άρτεμις εἶλε κόρας, 9.254.1–2 (Phil.) ἡ βαρυπενθὴς / μήτηρ.

252a ἵππον ἀπεχθήραντες: for ἀπεχθαίρω ‘have a deep hatred for’, see *Il.* 3.415 τὼς δέ σ᾽ ἀπεχθήρω ὡς νῦν ἔκπαγλα φίλησα.

252b ἐπεὶ πέλεν ἔργον ᾽Αχαιῶν: see AR 1.629 ᾽Αθηναίης πέλεν ἔργων. ἔργον ᾽Αχαιῶν occurs in the same *sedes* in *Il.* 7.465, QS 14.641.

253 ἤθελον ἢ δολιχοῖσιν ἐπὶ κρημνοῖσιν ἀράξαι: the second of Homer’s options (*Od.* 8.508 ἢ κατὰ πετράων βαλέειν ἐρύσαντας ἐπ᾽ ἄκρης). **κρημνοῖσιν** refers originally to the banks of a river (*Il.* 12.54 κρημνοὶ … ἐπηρεφέες, 21.25–6 ῥέεθρα / … ὑπὸ κρημνούς), but already in AR it means ‘cliffs’ (2.729 κρημνοῖσιν … ἠλιβάτοισιν, 4.945; QS 2.381). Compare QS 13.259 κρημνὸν ἐς ἠχήεντα … βάλωνται. **δολιχός** usually means ‘long’, either of space (*Il.* 4.533 δολίχ᾽ ἔγχεα χερσὶν ἔχοντες, 13.162 δολιχὸν δόρυ, *Od.* 4.483 δολιχὴν ὁδόν), or of

time (*Il.* 10.52 δηθά τε καὶ δολιχόν, *Od.* 11.172 δολιχὴ νοῦσος, 23.243 νύκτα … δολιχήν), but here it means 'deep'. Triph. may have misunderstood AR 1.21 = 4.586 δολιχῆς … ἁλός 'the broad sea' as 'the deep sea', or 1.568 δολιχὴν … ἄκρην as 'high headland', instead of 'broad headland'. Compare QS 12.126 = 13.490 δολιχαὶ … κολῶναι; Nonn. *D.* 38.314 δολιχῇσιν … ἐρίπναις.

254 ἠὲ καὶ ἀμφιτόμοισι διαρρῆξαι πελέκεσσιν: the first of Homer's options (*Od.* 8.507 ἠὲ διαπλῆξαι κοῖλον δόρυ νηλέϊ χαλκῷ). **ἀμφιτόμοισι … πελέκεσσιν**: compare AR 1.168–9 ἀμφίτομόν τε / … πέλεκυν μέγαν; Opp. *H.* 5.257–8 βουπλῆγα … / ἀμφιτόμον; QS 5.208 ἀμφιτόμοις ξιφέεσσι, 6.362 = 11.389 ἀμφιτόμοις πελέκεσσι, 11.190 ἀμφιτόμῳ βουπλῆγι; Nonn. *D.* 5.14 = 17.209 = 21.21 ἀμφιτόμῳ βουπλῆγι, 17.334 τυπτόμενοι πελέκεσσι καὶ ἀμφιτόμοισι μαχαίραις. For **διαρρῆξαι** 'break through', see *Il.* 12.307–8 Σαρπηδόνα … ἀνῆκε / τεῖχος ἐπαΐξαι διά τε ῥήξασθαι ἐπάλξεις.

255 οἱ δὲ νεοξέστοιο πεποιθότες ἔργμασι τέχνης 'trusting in a work of recently carved art': the second group of Trojans suggest consecrating the horse, because they trust it as a work of art (as opposed to an element of warfare), which has been recently made (i.e. it does not belong to the past war, but to the present). There is no reason to assume that they have been seduced aesthetically because they particularly enjoy new artistic developments, as Gerlaud (*Triph.* p. 130, n. to 255) and Campbell (*Lex.* p. 211, APP 255) suggest. Also to be born in mind: [Plu.] *De Homero* 6 ὅτι δὲ ἀεὶ τὰ καινὰ καὶ ἔξω τοῦ προχείρου θαυμάζεται καὶ τὸν ἀκροατὴν ἐπάγεται παντί που δῆλον.

Similar constructions occur in the Homeric poems and later epic, always referring to the reasons for acting in a certain manner ('so and so, trusting in the might of their arms, attacked'): *Il.* 12.135 τὼ χείρεσσι πεποιθότες ἠδὲ βίηφι, 153, 256; 13.716–17, 17.328–30; *Od.* 7.34, 9.107; AR 4.110; Opp. *H.* 1.176–7, 4.613; QS 1.544, 2.204, 6.123, 8.284; Nonn. *D.* 10.402, 27.22, 43.341. Also Triph. 122 οἵ τε μάλιστα πεποίθατε κάρτεϊ χειρῶν.

νεόξεστος 'newly carved' only occurs here and in Greg. Nys. *Litt.* 20.10 οὐκ εἶδε τὴν ὄγχνην λευκοτέραν τοῦ νεοξέστου ἐλέφαντος, though Homer has ἐύξεστος (e.g. *Il.* 16.402 εὐξέστῳ ἐνὶ δίφρῳ). Compare QS 12.224 = 358 ἵππον … ἐΰξοον. **ἔργμα** (usually in plural 'deeds', as opposed to words) is a poetic synonym of ἔργον, which does

not occur in Homer, but is found in *H.hom.* 27.20, 32.19, and in other genres: Pi. *N.* 1.7; E. *Hipp.* 1106–7, *Ba.* 1069; Theocr. *Id.* 16.14. It was infrequent in late antique epic: only Opp. *H.* 3.222 κλεινὸς ἀνὴρ ἢ χειρὸς ἐν ἔργμασιν ἠὲ νόοιο. **ἔργμασι τέχνης**: compare DH 1.68.2 τῆς παλαιᾶς ἔργα τέχνης.

256 ἀρήιον ἵππον (see AR 3.1259 ἀρήιος ἵππος; Opp. *C.* 1.195, 206; Nonn. *D.* 20.201) reminds us of the warlike nature of the horse, as highlighted at the end of its construction when it is said to be fit for Ares (104–5). The second group of Trojans are deceived by its artistic appearance. **ἀθανάτοις … ἀνάψαι** 'consecrate [the horse] to the gods', as in *Od.* 3.274 πολλὰ δ᾽ ἀγάλματ᾽ ἀνῆψεν (see LSJ *s.v.* ἀνάπτω I.2).

257 ᾽Αργείοιο μόθου (also 282 πόλεμον … ᾽Αχαιῶν): the Trojans do not refer to the 'Trojan war', but to the 'Argive war'. **σημήιον** is, according to Campbell (*Lex. s.v.*), a synonym of μνημήιον 'visible memorial' (of the Argive war). Homer has σῆμα: *Il.* 23.331 ἤ τευ σῆμα βροτοῖο πάλαι κατατεθνηῶτος. Compare Nonn. *D.* 5.504, 8.231, 8.244, 8.339, 21.138, 43.124; Collut. 206; Musae. 130, 228. According to Dio Chrysostom, the construction of a votive offering to Athena after the war made sense only as a custom of the defeated party: *Or.* 11.121, 128 (ὡς ἔθος ἐστὶ τοὺς ἡττημένους).

258–303 Sinon fools the Trojans, led by Priam. Triph.'s Sinon voluntarily presents himself before the Trojans, covered with self-inflicted wounds in order to arouse their pity and dispel their natural mistrust of him (258–64). See Worman 1999, 36–8, 64–6 on the importance to the success of a speech of appearance and persuasive self-presentation, and Odysseus, Sinon's model, as a character who takes on different forms.

Sinon addresses a speech to the Trojans of his own accord (265–82), basing his appeal on the πάθος of his own distress and offering the Trojans a guarantee that the Achaeans will never return. Priam is completely taken in by the appeal, and answers politely offering him protection, and asking about the horse and about his identity (284–90). Sinon answers the questions about himself truthfully and justifies the construction of the horse with a false oracle, encouraging the Trojans to drag it into the citadel to avoid the possibility that the Achaeans will return for it (292–303). The supplication scene is completed with the offering of fresh clothes to the suppliant and the immediate acceptance of

Sinon's suggestions by the Trojans (304–9). In the eyes of the Trojans, Sinon's arrival and first speech have no ulterior motive: he does not evoke any suspicion, and his proposals do not lead to any debate. The grounds for his success are prepared with the description of his thorough preparation for this role (219–29), in contrast with the lack of thought and organisation of the Trojans, whose assembly near the horse (247–57) has the air of a school playground, with children engaged in discussion about a newly-found object. For more on this, see the introduction to 219–29.

In the *Aeneid*, some Trojan shepherds find Sinon, who has crossed their path on purpose, and bring him before Priam (2.57–64). Surrounded by all the Trojans, Sinon arouses their curiosity and pity with a lament about his fate. The credibility of the whole scene depends on the skilful characterisation of both Sinon and the Trojans. Sinon uses his first two speeches (2.77–104, 108–44) to present himself to the Trojans as an honourable man, faithful to his friend Palamedes to the point of bringing about his own doom, and deeply wronged by the arch-enemy of the Trojans, Ulysses. (Note that Virgil's Sinon seems to have been a double of the Odysseus of Euripides' *Philoctetes*: Odysseus visits him in disguise, claiming to have provoked Odysseus' enmity by protesting the death of Palamedes – see Smith 1999, 509). Only when the Trojans have been entirely won over by his story and Priam has granted him protection (145–51) does he tell them, in a third, very solemn speech (154–94), that Athena's anger about the impious theft of the Palladion has forced the Danaans to leave Troy, and to atone for their sin by building the horse. The enormous size of the statue would be expected to prevent the Trojans from bringing it into their citadel, though if they did so they would gain the support of Pallas. Aeneas' comments on the situation and on Sinon's speeches (63–6, 105–6, 145–7, 152, 195–8) boost the credibility of the episode: he reflects on the power of Greek guile, of which Sinon is an accomplished exponent, in contrast to Trojan naivety and humanity. Virgil's Sinon has to be particularly effective to counteract the powerful effect of Laocoon's previous intervention, and to explain why the Trojans then accept his proposals without hesitation.

Virgil and Triph. have several elements in common (Clausen 2002, 66): in both poems, Sinon tells the truth about himself (*A.* 2.76–80, Triph. 292–4), mentions Palamedes (*A.* 2.81–96, Triph. 292), says that the Achaeans will be happy if the Trojans kill him (*A.* 2.103–4, Triph.

279–80), and presents the horse as ambivalent to the Trojans depending on what they do with it (*A.* 2.189–94, Triph. 296–303). Also, in both poems, Priam has kind words for Sinon and questions him about the horse (*A.* 2.146–51, Triph. 284–90). However, what draws Virgil and Triph. together is that both rely on the characterisation of Sinon as a gifted speaker and of the Trojans as a naive people to explain why the Trojans follow Sinon's suggestions. In Virgil's case, Sinon's intervention counteracts Laocoon's previous opposition to the horse, whereas in the *Sack of Troy* the figure of Laocoon is suppressed to highlight that of Cassandra, and Cassandra opposes not Sinon but her father (see note to 358–443).

Virgil's *pathos* and speeches in this episode have been described as having a backdrop of tragedy, probably going back to the lost Sophoclean *Sinon* (Campbell 1981, 121–2; Clausen 2002, 65). Triph.'s treatment may be somehow related to this, though the appearance of Sinon on the plain and his suppliant's speech to Priam hark back to Odysseus' supplication to Nausicaa in *Od.* 6 (Ypsilanti 2007, 95–9): both Sinon and Odysseus appear naked before complete strangers (Priam/Nausicaa: *Od.* 6.137 ~ Triph. 259), present themselves as suppliants, ask for help and are consoled and given clean clothes. There is no evidence to suggest that Triph. had direct access to the Sophoclean play.

The careful construction of the scene in the *Aeneid* contrasts with the disarray in the *Posthomerica*. When Odysseus explains the strategy of the horse, the role of the fake traitor is to maintain before the Trojans that the Achaeans wanted to sacrifice him in order to ensure a safe return, but that he sought the protection of the horse which they had built for Athena, because she had turned her back on them for love of the Trojans (12.32–41). The following day, the Trojans find Sinon by the horse and question him about it, at first politely, then with threats and blows, and finally with savage torture (360–73). Only one speech is reproduced (375–86), which Vian (1969, 74) believes to be a summary of his repeated declarations: the conclusion (387 Ὣς φάτο κερδοσύνῃσι καὶ οὐ κάμεν ἄλγεσι θυμόν) seems to refer to a repeated situation, and the speech itself lacks the usual passionate and pathetic style of QS's speeches. In any case, Sinon's explanations convince only some of the Trojans (389–90), and give rise to a confused debate. QS's Sinon does not explain why Athena had become angry with the Greeks, who he is and why he was singled out to be sacrificed. The characterisation is very

poor: Sinon is a hero and the Trojans are cruel, in both cases without proper justification. Cf. Vian 1969, 74–5; Campbell 1981, 119–20, 125. QS is not related to Virgil here: cf. Campbell 1981, 117–18, 121–5.

258–61 Description of Sinon's appearance as viewed by the Trojans

258 φραζομένοις δ᾽ ἐπὶ τοῖσι: compare AR 4.493–4 ἐπὶ δέ σφισιν ἤλυθε κούρη / φραζομένοις. **παναίολα γυῖα κομίζων** 'carrying his limbs mottled all over with blows': the wounds are also described in 228–9 (introduction of Sinon) and in 275–7 (how the Trojans see them). For the sense of the verb, see LSJ *s.v.* κομίζω II.4 (as in *Il.* 23.699 κόμισαν δέπας, *Od.* 13.68 τὴν δ᾽ ἑτέρην χηλὸν πυκινὴν ἅμ᾽ ὄπασσε κομίζειν). For the context, see *Il.* 14.456 τις ᾽Αργείων κόμισε χροΐ [τὸν ἄκοντα] and 463 [τὸν ἄκοντα] κόμισεν δ᾽ ᾽Αντήνορος υἱός. On the connotations of παναίολος, see note to 247.

259 γυμνὸς ὑπὲρ πεδίοιο φάνη κεκακωμένος ἀνήρ: after *Od.* 6.137 (Odysseus appearing to Nausicaa and her maids) σμερδαλέος δ᾽ αὐτῇσι φάνη κεκακωμένος ἅλμῃ. **γυμνός** (explained by Sinon in 276: εἵματα μέν μ᾽ ἀπέδυσαν) appears in the same *sedes* in *Il.* 17.122, 693, 18.21, 21.50, 22.510; *Od.* 11.607, 21.417. **ὑπὲρ πεδίοιο**, instead of the more typically Homeric ἐν πεδίῳ (*Il.* 2.473 etc.), occurs in the same *sedes* in Triph. 337; Nonn. *D.* 23.216, 39.280. **κεκακωμένος ἀνήρ** = Nonn. *P.* 5.6.

260–1 αἵματι δὲ σμώδιγγες ἀεικέι βεβριθυῖαι / ἴχνια λωβήεντα θοῶν ἀνέφαινον ἱμάντων: both this introduction (αἵματι … ἀεικέι, ἴχνια λωβήεντα) and Sinon's subsequent speech (268 οἷά με λωβήσαντο, 276 ἀεικελίῃσι δ᾽ ἱμάσθλαις) stress the fact that the blows witnessed on his body are proof of the outrage committed against him by others. The motif was first introduced in 227 λωβητοῖσι … μελέεσσι and goes back to Odysseus' self-mutilation in the *Ptocheia* (*Od.* 4.244 αὐτόν μιν πληγῇσιν ἀεικελίῃσι δαμάσσας). Compare for the phrasing *Il.* 2.264 (Odysseus menacing Thersites) πεπλήγων ἀγορῆθεν ἀεικέσσι πληγῇσιν, 265–7 (Odysseus hitting Thersites with the staff) σκήπτρῳ δὲ μετάφρενον ἠδὲ καὶ ὤμω / πλῆξεν … / σμῶδιξ δ᾽ αἱματόεσσα μεταφρένου ἐξυπανέστη (after which QS 3.555); 23.716–17 (boxers) πυκναὶ δὲ σμώδιγγες ἀνὰ πλευράς τε καὶ ὤμους / αἵματι φοινικόεσσαι ἀνέδραμον.

260 αἵματι δὲ σμώδιγγες ἀεικέι βεβριθυῖαι 'weals laden with ignominious blood': for the construction, see *Il.* 8.307 [μήκων] καρπῷ βριθομένη, Opp. *C.* 1.528 βριθομένη πυρῷ; Nonn. *D.* 8.196–7 κούρην / βριθομένην ὠδῖνι πεπαινομένου τοκετοῖο. **261 λωβήεις** occurs only here and in AR 3.801.

262–4 Sinon adopts the posture of a suppliant, crouching before Priam, clasping the king's knees and uttering a pleading speech. The best-known Homeric model for this is *Il.* 1.500–2: kneeling before Zeus, Thetis grasps his knees with her left hand and his chin with her right hand and pleads for her son Achilles. Triph. only mentions the grasping of the knees and the speech. As both Gerlaud (*Triph.*, 24) and Vian (2001, 295) note, Sinon's supplication to Priam (262–305) is reminiscent of the appeal made to Jason by the sons of Phrixus after their shipwreck (AR 2.1123–68), though the specific parallels are somewhat vague: see Triph. 278 ~ AR 1131–3; Triph. 288–90 ~ AR 1137–9; Triph. 304–5 ~ AR 1168. On the institution of supplication and artistic and literary depictions of it, see Naiden 2006.

262 αὐτίκα δὲ Πριάμοιο ποδῶν προπάροιθεν ἐλυσθείς: after *Il.* 24.510 (Priam weeping for Hector, on meeting Achilles) προπάροιθε ποδῶν ᾿Αχιλῆος ἐλυσθείς.

263 ἱκεσίαις παλάμῃσι: compare E. *Or.* 1414–15 περὶ δὲ γόνυ χέρας ἱκεσίους / ἔβαλον ἔβαλον ῾Ελένας ἄμφω; *Hec.* 851 χεῖρά θ᾿ ἱκεσίαν ἔχω; *Supp.* 108 τί γὰρ πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἦλθον ἱκεσίαι χερί;. **παλαιῶν ἥψατο γούνων**: after *Il.* 1.512 (Thetis supplicating Zeus) Θέτις δ᾿ ὡς ἥψατο γούνων.

264 λισσόμενος δὲ γέροντα δολοπλόκον ἴαχε μῦθον: compare *Il.* 1.502 (Thetis before Zeus) λισσομένη προσέειπε Δία Κρονίωνα ἄνακτα, 24.485 (Priam before Achilles) τὸν καὶ λισσόμενος Πρίαμος πρὸς μῦθον ἔειπε. Similar speech introductions in Nonn. *D.*: 20.265 δολοπλόκον ἴαχε φωνήν, 39.173 ἴαχε μῦθον ᾿Ερεχθεύς, 48.831 ἴαχε κέντορι μύθῳ. Also Musae. 267 φιλήτορας ἴαχε μύθους. **δολοπλόκος** was a lyric adjective (esp. used of Aphrodite: Sapph. 1.2 παῖ Δίος δολόπλοκε, λίσσομαί σε; Thgn. *Eleg.* 1.1386 Κυπρογενὲς Κυθέρεια δολοπλόκε), which became common in Nonnus. See Peek *Lex. s.v.*, esp. *D.* 1.413 δολοπλόκον ὕμνον and 20.265 δολοπλόκον ἴαχε φωνήν;

P. 11.201 δολόπλοκον ἴαχε φωνήν. Note the shift in the perspective: Sinon has been presented through the eyes of the Trojans, but the narrator intervenes to remind us of his true motives. Compare Verg. *A.* 2.107 "ficto pectore fatur"; QS 12.374 τοῖα δ᾽ ἄρ᾽ ἐν μέσσοισι δολοφρονέων ἀγόρευεν.

265–82 Sinon's first speech

- Confused presentation (265–7).
- I am a victim of the Achaeans (268–9a).
- The Achaeans have always been evil, showing no respect for the gods (Achilles/Ajax, Philoctetes, Palamedes); I am only their latest victim (269b–72).
- The Achaeans wanted to flee (why?) – I dissented, and was beaten and abandoned (273–7).
- Appeal to reverence for Zeus, god of suppliants (278).
- I also appeal to your own self-interest (279–82): 1) if you hurt me, you will bring upon yourselves the punishment of the gods, which will make the Achaeans very happy; 2) but if you treat me well, I can guarantee that the Achaeans will not be back. (Sinon is offering a deal and appealing to the curiosity of the Trojans.)

Triph. builds up Sinon's first speech carefully, using the anacoluthon at the beginning to evoke the faltering speech of someone moved by deep πάθος (cf. Nicol. 66.9–13 Felten on how to display *pathos* in a speech). These breaks are the verbal accompaniment of the upsetting appearance of Sinon when he shows himself to the Trojans.

Sinon also adapts his speech to his listeners, who, despite pitying his appearance, would still see him as an enemy worth killing. To dispel their natural animosity, he appeals to their previous knowledge of the Achaeans, whose attacks they have suffered for years, and presents himself as their victim, taking the Trojan and not the Greek side. By highlighting Greek depravity, he appeals to the good nature of the Trojans and provides them with the opportunity to appear to be god-fearing in the eyes of Zeus. Sinon also takes advantage of their lack of leadership and resolution when faced by the horse, by offering them two simple options: (1) hurting him and making the Achaeans happy; (2) being kind to him. Their choice of the latter option will enable him to guarantee that the Achaeans will not return. If the Trojans accept this duality as valid and do not hurt him, he will become their leader, and Troy will be lost forever because he will order them to take the horse into the citadel.

265–7 Sinon does not address all the Trojans, but only their leader Priam (267a Δαρδανίδη σκηπτοῦχε), who is to take the decision about his and their future. In his introduction, he brings together his past identity (265a ἄνδρα μὲν Ἀργείοισιν ὁμόπλοον) and his future capabilities in the event of his being saved by the Trojans (266a Τρώων δὲ ῥυτῆρα καὶ ἄστεος … 267b καὶ ὕστατον ἐχθρὸν Ἀχαιῶν), but he does not reveal his name and kin.

265 ἄνδρα μὲν Ἀργείοισιν ὁμόπλοον 'a fellow voyager of the Argives': the adjective is probably Triph.'s invention and was adopted twice by Nonn. *D.* 4.234 ὁμόπλοον … κούρην, 247 ὁμόπλοος … ἀνήρ. See also *AP* 7.635.1 Ναῦν … ὁμόπλουν. **εἴ μ' ἐλεαίρεις**: after *Il.* 10.176 εἴ μ' ἐλεαίρεις|, following the Homeric use of elisions of pronouns (see also Triph. 273 οἷά μ' ἔρεξαν, 276 μ' ἀπέδυσαν, 292 μ' ἐθέλοντα), constantly avoided by Nonnus (see Keydell 1959, 41*).

266 Τρώων δὲ ῥυτῆρα καὶ ἄστεος 'the saviour of the Trojans and their citadel': for ῥυτήρ meaning 'guardian', see *Od.* 17.187 = 223 σταθμῶν ῥυτῆρα; Opp. *H.* 1.669 ἀλλ' αἰεὶ ῥυτῆρες ἐπίσκοποι ἐγγὺς ἕπονται; Nonn. *D.* 1.396–7 σὲ γὰρ ῥυτῆρα τελέσσω / ἁρμονίης κόσμοιο, 14.150. For ῥυτήρ meaning 'saviour', see Opp. *H.* 3.16 Διὸς ῥυτῆρα; Opp. *C.* 3.13; Nonn. *D.* 27.300 ῥυτῆρα τινασσομένου Μαραθῶνος, 47.381. **εἴ με σώσεις**: see *Il.* 1.83 εἴ με σώσεις|.

267 Δαρδανίδη σκηπτοῦχε: a grandiloquent appeal to Priam, as the holder of Trojan power. Sinon tries to flatter Priam by acknowledging the importance of his house (Dardanus, the founder of the Trojan royal dynasty, was the son of Zeus). The phrasing has epic parallels (*Il.* 2.86 σκηπτοῦχοι βασιλῆες, *Od.* 2.231, 5.9, 8.41; QS 3.518 Ἀργείων σκηπτοῦχε, μέγα κρατέων Ἀγάμεμνον; Nonn. *D.* 1.445, 479 etc.), but there are similar invocations in contemporary references to the emperor: Opp. *H.* 2.41 μάκαρ σκηπτοῦχε, 3.1, 5.675. **καὶ ὕστατον ἐχθρὸν Ἀχαιῶν**: compare Triph. 57–8 Ἐπειὸς / Τροίης ἐχθρὸν ἄγαλμα πελώριον ἵππον ἐποίει.

268–9a οἷά με λωβήσαντο: compare Opp. *H.* 5.393 θήρην λωβήσαντο; QS 12.419 οὕνεκα λωβήσαντο δέμας μογεροῖο Σίνωνος. **θεῶν ὄπιν οὐκ ἀλέγοντες** after *Il.* 16.388 = Hes. *Op.* 251 θεῶν ὄπιν οὐκ ἀλέγοντες|. For the idea, see also *Od.* 14.82 οὐκ ὄπιδα φρονέοντες ἐνὶ φρεσὶν οὐδ' ἐλεητύν, 20.215 οὐδ' ὄπιδα τρομέουσι θεῶν,

21.28 οὐδὲ θεῶν ὄπιν αἰδέσατ᾽. **οὐδὲν ἀλιτραίνοντα** 'to me, who had never gone astray': a metrical variant of ἀλιταίνω, found in Hes. *Op.* 241 ὅστις ἀλιτραίνῃ. Nonnus resorts to it only in the *P.*: 9.12, 12.161. Compare *Il.* 24.570 Διὸς δ᾽ ἀλίτωμαι ἐφετμάς; AR 4.388 μάλα γὰρ μέγαν ἤλιτες ὅρκον; Opp. *H.* 5.563 σπονδάς τ᾽ ἀθανάτων καὶ ὁμοφροσύνην ἀλιτόντες.

269b–72 'The Achaeans have always been evil. I am only their latest victim'. Compare Verg. *A.* 2.65–6 (Aeneas to Dido): "accipe nunc Danaum insidias et crimine ab uno / disce omnis". Sinon recovers rapidly from his initial nervousness, and starts to build up an opposition between the evil Achaeans and the humane treatment that he is requesting from the Trojans. His assertion (269b κακοὶ καὶ ἀπηνέες αἰεί) is backed by a small catalogue of victims of friendly fire in the Achaean army: Achilles/ Ajax, Philoctetes and Palamedes.

Vian (1959, 64; also Gerlaud *Triph.* p. 131, n. to 270–2) suggested that Triph. was reproducing here a traditional catalogue of Odysseus' victims borrowed from a ὅπλων κρίσις. He was thinking in particular of the *Posthomerica*: during the ὅπλων κρίσις, Ajax accuses Odysseus of having a heart full of treachery and perverse deeds, not of courage (5.189–90), which explains why he is portraying himself as better than Ajax, just as he was responsible for the abandonment of Philoctetes and the death of Palamedes (5.195–200). Ajax had become the prototype of the well-meaning person robbed by his own friends: cf. Men. Rh. 397.3–5. Vian (*ibid.*) also suggested that Virgil had had a similar catalogue before him when writing the episode of Sinon, and had substituted it with a more dramatic episode, creating a personal link between one of the victims of Odysseus (Palamedes) and Sinon. In his first long speech (*A.* 2.77–104), Virgil's Sinon says that he was part of Palamedes' family entourage and that, when Palamedes was accused with false evidence and killed, he had taken it upon himself to avenge him, thus attracting the active enmity of Ulysses.

However, Triph. does not seem to point only to Odysseus (see the following notes for more details): line 270 does not appear to refer to Ajax (deprived by Odysseus of Achilles' weapons), but to Achilles (deprived by Agamemnon of part of his booty); Philoctetes is said to have been abandoned on Lemnos because of the stench of his wound (271), and the lack of reference to Odysseus would make this a collective sin;

only the death of Palamedes can therefore be blamed on Odysseus. Besides, in the *Sack of Troy* Sinon does not present himself as the opposition to Odysseus, but as an outcast of the brutal and impious Achaeans.

269b κακοὶ καὶ ἀπηνέες αἰεί: compare *Il.* 15.94 θυμὸς ὑπερφίαλος καὶ ἀπηνής (also *Il.* 23.611, Opp. *C.* 2.455) and 16.35 ὅτι τοι νόος ἐστὶν ἀπηνής (also *Il.* 23.444, *Od.* 18.381, 23.97, 230).

270 ὣς μὲν Ἀχιλλῆος γέρας ἥρπασαν Αἰακίδαο, 'thus they snatched away Aeacid Achilles' reward', refers to the main theme of the *Iliad*: Agamemnon takes away from Achilles part of his γέρας, the maiden Briseis, as repayment for his loss of Chryseis. The phrasing does not coincide with Iliadic references to the subject: 1.161 καὶ δή μοι γέρας αὐτὸς ἀφαιρήσεσθει ἀπειλεῖς, 1.356 ἑλὼν γὰρ ἔχει γέρας (= 1.507 = 2.240 = 9.111), 9.344 ἐπεὶ ἐκ χειρῶν γέρας εἵλετο, 16.54 γέρας ἂψ ἀφελέσθαι.

The line could also be understood as 'thus they snatched from the Aeacid (Ajax) Achilles' reward', a reference to Ajax Telamonius' being deprived of Achilles' weapons by Odysseus (cf. *Od.* 11.543–64). When Achilles was shot dead, Ajax had rescued his body while Odysseus held back the Trojans (Bernabé *PEG Aethiopis* Arg. 1, lines 15–23; QS 3.58 ff.). Both claimed Achilles' weapons as γέρας, but Odysseus won, and Ajax went insane and committed suicide (Bernabé *PEG Iliades Parvae* Arg. 1, lines 3–5, and fr. 2; QS 5.1 ff.).

There are two main obstacles to this second reading (see Gerlaud *Triph.* p. 132, note to 270). In the first place, the construction ἁρπάζειν + acc. rei + gen. of person is awkward. The usual construction is with a dative (*Il.* 18.319 ᾧ ῥά θ' ὑπὸ σκύμνους ἐλαφηβόλος ἁρπάσῃ ἀνήρ) or ἀπό + gen. (*Il.* 13.527–8 Δηίφοβος μὲν ἀπ' Ἀσκαλάφου πήληκα φαεινὴν / ἥρπασε). Secondly, though both Achilles and Ajax, as children of the brothers Telamon and Peleus, are the grandchildren of Aeacus, in the Homeric poems it is Achilles who is called Aeacid: *Il.* 2.860, 874, 9.184, 191, 10.402, 11.805, 16.134, 140, 165, 854, 865 etc.; also Triph. 687 μῆνιν … τεθνειότος Αἰακίδαο. QS does call Ajax Aeacid (3.244 Αἰακίδην Αἴαντα), but the epithet on its own refers to Achilles.

271 Philoctetes abandoned on Lemnos. Philoctetes had been bitten by a water snake (ὕδρος) while the army was feasting on Tenedos, and the wound developed a dreadful stench, which forced the Achaeans to

abandon him on Lemnos (Bernabé *PEG Cypria* Arg. lines 50–2; S. *Ph.* 260–75; Apollod. *Epit.* 3.27). Triph. does not mention his arrival among the preparations for the end of the war (49ff.), but in some versions his bow was necessary for the sacking of Troy, and he therefore had to be persuaded to rejoin the Achaean forces (Bernabé *PEG Iliades Parvae* Arg. 1, lines 6–8; QS books 9–10).

ὣς δὲ Φιλοκτήτην ἔλιπον πεπεδημένον ὕδρῳ: compare the more benevolent *Il.* 2.722–3 ὅθι [Λήμνῳ] μιν λίπον υἷες Ἀχαιῶν / ἕλκεϊ μοχθίζοντα κακῷ ὀλοόφρονος ὕδρου, and also with Ajax's attack on Odysseus in QS 5.195–6 σῇς γὰρ ὑπ᾽ ἐννεσίῃσι κλυτὸν Ποιάντιον υἷα / Λήμνῳ ἐν ἠγαθέῃ λίπομεν μεγάλα στενάχοντα. **πεπεδημένον ὕδρῳ** (similarly 29 κακῷ πεπεδημένον ὕπνῳ): compare Nonn. *P.* 4.212 = 5.16 πεπεδημένα γούνατα νούσῳ, 11.23 κέκλιτο νουσαλέῳ πεπεδημένος ἅψεα δεσμῷ.

272 Palamedes' death was usually related to Odysseus' long-standing animosity towards him (cf. Bernabé *PEG Cypria* Arg., lines 30–3; Plin. *HN* 35.129; Hygin. *Fab.* 95). Odysseus had tried to avoid going to Troy by feigning madness: before Greek observers, he had attached a horse and an ox to a plough and tried to turn over a field with them, but Palamedes had laid the baby Telemachus in the furrow, and when Odysseus spared his son, he proved that he was in fact sane and fit for the army. Odysseus never forgave Palamedes for this, and later contrived his death, either by drowning him when he was fishing (Bernabé *PEG Cypria* fr. 30 = Paus. 10.31.2), or by accusing him of being about to betray them to the Trojans, using as proof a letter and gold that he had previously hidden in his tent, and having him stoned to death (Apollod. *Epit.* 3.8, Hygin. *Fab.* 105 – Dictys 2.15 narrates a different version, also including gold and death by stoning). Triph. does not explain how Palamedes had died; nor does he mention Odysseus' involvement in the episode. He attributes his death to envy (ἀγασσάμενοι), which seems to work in the same direction as QS 5.198–9 (Ajax confronting Odysseus) ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀντιθέῳ Παλαμήδεϊ θῆκας ὄλεθρον, / ὃς σέο φέρτερος ἔσκε βίῃ καὶ ἐύφρονι βουλῇ (Odysseus wanted Palamedes dead because he was his superior both in the assembly and on the battle-field). For ἀγασσάμενοι meaning 'feeling envy' (LSJ *s.v.* ἄγαμαι II), see *Il.* 17.71 εἰ μή οἱ ἀγάσσατο Φοῖβος, 23.639 ἀγασσάμενοι [μοι] περὶ νίκης. See Gerlaud *Triph.*, p. 132, note to 272.

273–4 καὶ νῦν οἷά μ᾽ ἔρεξαν ἀτάσθαλοι, οὕνεκα φεύγειν / οὐκ ἔθελον σὺν τοῖσι, μένειν δ᾽ ἐκέλευον ἑταίρους: Triph. may have found inspiration for Sinon in the behaviour of his *alter ego* Odysseus in *Il.* 2. There the Achaeans are all preparing to leave Troy (2.142–54), but Odysseus encourages them to stay and brings them back to the place of assembly (185–210).

οἷά μ᾽ ἔρεξαν: for ῥέζω + double acc. (LSJ *s.v.* I.3), usually in contexts of doing harm to somebody, see *Il.* 3.354 ξεινοδόκον κακὰ ῥέξαι, 9.647–8 ὥς μ᾽ ἀσύφηλον ἐν ᾽Αργείοισιν ἔρεξεν / ᾽Ατρεΐδης; *Od.* 2.72 κάκ᾽ ἔρεξεν ἐϋκνήμιδας ᾽Αχαιούς. With **ἀτάσθαλοι** (also 275 νοοπλήγεσσιν ἀτασθαλίῃσι), Sinon attributes to the Achaeans a wickedness similar to that of the suitors in the *Odyssey* (e.g. 16.93–4 οἷά φατε μνηστῆρας ἀτάσθαλα μηχανάασθαι / ἐν μεγάροισ᾽, 24.282 ὕβρισταὶ … καὶ ἀτάσθαλοι ἄνδρες). For the type of character that Sinon wants to evoke, compare also Hes. *Th.* 996 ὕβριστὴς Πελίης καὶ ἀτάσθαλος ὀβριμοεργός; AR 1.1317 ἀτασθάλῳ Εὐρυσθῆι; QS 2.83 στυγερὸς καὶ ἀτάσθαλος, 10.471 ᾽Ατρεκέως Πάρις ἦεν ἀτάσθαλος; Nonn. *D.* 44.133 = 45.65 ἀτάσθαλος … Πενθεύς. On the Homeric context of ἀτασθαλίη, see Finkelberg 1995. **οὕνεκα φεύγειν / οὐκ ἔθελον**: compare *Il.* 21.579 ᾽Αγήνωρ / οὐκ ἔθελεν φεύγειν. **μένειν δ᾽ ἐκέλευον ἑταίρους**: compare *Il.* 3.259–60 ἐκέλευσε δ᾽ ἑταίρους / ἵππους ζευγνύμεναι; *Od.* 9.177–8 = 15.547–8 ἐκέλευσα δ᾽ ἑταίρους / αὐτούς τ᾽ ἀμβαίνειν. Triph. presents a similar turn of phrase in 86 μένειν δ᾽ ἐκέλευεν ἀνάγκη.

275–7 οἱ δὲ νοοπλήγεσσιν ἀτασθαλίῃσι δαμέντες / εἵματα μέν μ᾽ ἀπέδυσαν, ἀεικελίῃσι δ᾽ ἱμάσθλαις / πᾶν δέμας οὐτήσαντες ἐπὶ ξείνῃ λίπον ἀκτῇ: compare *Il.* 2.261–4 (Odysseus threatens Thersites) εἰ μὴ ἐγώ σε λαβὼν ἀπὸ μὲν φίλα εἵματα δύσω, / χλαῖνάν τ᾽ ἠδὲ χιτῶνα …/…/ πεπλήγων ἀγορῆθεν ἀεικέσσι πληγῇσιν; *Od.* 4.244 (Odysseus' self-mutilation) αὐτόν μιν πληγῇσιν ἀεικελίῃσι δαμάσσας, 14.341 (the Thesprotians mistreat Odysseus) ἐκ μέν με χλαῖνάν τε χιτῶνά τε εἵματ᾽ ἔδυσαν.

275 οἱ δὲ νοοπλήγεσσιν ἀτασθαλίῃσι δαμέντες: compare Opp. *C.* 2.480 αὐτοφόνους σφετέρῃσιν ἀτασθαλίῃσι δαμέντας; Collut. 44 τοῖα βαρυζήλοισιν ᾽Ερις πληγῇσι δαμεῖσα. νοοπλήξ is a *hapax*, to be compared with *AP* 6.71.2 (Paul. Sil.) τὰ νοοπλήκτου κλαστὰ κύπελλα μέθης. Monaco (2007, 157) relates it to φρενοπληγής / φρενόπληκτος

(A. *Pr.* 878, 1054). **277 πᾶν δέμας οὐτήσαντες**: compare Opp. *C.* 2.61 πᾶν δέμας ἀλλήλοισιν ἀμοιβαδὶς οὐτάζουσιν; Nonn. *D.* 21.37 σὸν δέμας οὐτήσω.

278–82 Final appeal

278 ἀλλά, μάκαρ, πεφύλαξο Διὸς σέβας Ἱκεσίοιο: compare other suppliants' speeches, such as *Od.* 9.269–70 ἀλλ᾽ αἰδεῖο, φέριστε, θεούς· ἱκέται δέ τοί εἰμεν. / Ζεὺς δ᾽ ἐπιτιμήτωρ ἱκετάων τε ξείνων τε; AR 2.215–18 Ἱκεσίου πρὸς Ζηνός, ὅ τις ῥίγιστος ἀλιτροῖς / ἀνδράσι … / λίσσομαι, 2.1131–2 ἀλλ᾽ ἱκέτας ξείνους Διὸς εἵνεκεν αἰδέσσασθε / Ξεινίου Ἱκεσίου τε; Nonn. *D.* 18.18–19 Πρὸς Διὸς Ἱκεσίοιο, τεοῦ, Διόνυσε, τοκῆος, / … ἐμὸν μὴ παῖδα παρέλθῃς, 45.214 ἀλλά, τέκος, πεφύλαξο (also 17.130, 37.214); Musae. 216 ἀλλά, φίλη, πεφύλαξο.

For **μάκαρ**, see *Il.* 3.182 ὦ μάκαρ Ἀτρεΐδη, μοιρηγενές, ὀλβιόδαιμον; Opp. *H.* 1.66 σοί τε, μάκαρ, 2.41 σοί τε, μάκαρ σκηπτοῦχε; Opp. *C.* 1.1 Σοί, μάκαρ, ἀείδω, 4.301 ἰὼ μάκαρ, ὦ Διόνυσε. For **πεφύλαξο Διὸς σέβας Ἱκεσίοιο**, see AR 4.700 ὀπιζομένη Ζηνὸς θέμιν Ἱκεσίοιο; Nonn. *D.* 3.265 σέβας πεφυλαγμένος Ἥρης, 4.5 ἀλλὰ Διὸς σέβας εἶχε.

279–80 χάρμα γὰρ Ἀργείοισι γενήσομαι, εἴ κεν ἐάσσεις / χερσὶν ὑπὸ Τρώων ἱκέτην καὶ ξεῖνον ὀλέσθαι: the Argives would rejoice, because the transgression of the laws of protection for suppliants and foreigners (Sinon is both) will bring Zeus's wrath upon the Trojans. The argument is weak: if the Achaeans have mistreated Sinon, why would they care about the Trojans doing the same?

χάρμα γὰρ Ἀργείοισι γενήσομαι: inspired by *Il.* 6.82 δηΐοισι δὲ χάρμα γενέσθαι, 10.193 μὴ χάρμα γενώμεθα δυσμενέεσσιν, 17.635–6 ἠδὲ καὶ αὐτοὶ / χάρμα φίλοις ἑτάροισι γενώμεθα νοστήσαντες, 23.342 χάρμα δὲ τοῖς ἄλλοισιν. For χάρμα as 'source of malignant joy', see LSJ *s.v.* I.2. **χερσὶν ὑπὸ Τρώων** = *Il.* 11.827, 18.11, QS 1.495, always in the same *sedes*. **ἱκέτην καὶ ξεῖνον**: Zeus *Hikesios* protects both suppliants and foreigners (*Od.* 9.270; Hes. *Op.* 327; AR 2.1131–2, 3.987).

281–2 αὐτὰρ ἐγὼ πάντεσσιν ἐπάρκιος ἔσσομαι ὑμῖν / μηκέτι δειμαίνειν πόλεμον παλίνορσον Ἀχαιῶν: appealing to the curiosity of the Trojans.

ἐπάρκιος instead of ἐπαρκής (LSJ *s.v.* II) occurs only in late antique poetry: Opp. *H.* 4.377 πάσῃσιν ἐπάρκιος ἔπλετ᾽ ἀκοίτης; Nonn. *D.* 27.44 καὶ Σατύρους καὶ Βάκχον ἐπάρκιός ἐστι καλύψαι, 42.240–1 εἰς Παφίην γὰρ / ἀμφιέπεις τεὸν εἶδος ἐπάρκιον; *AP* 10.76.3 (Paul. Sil.) πλοῦτον ἔχειν ἐθέλω τὸν ἐπάρκιον. **δειμαίνειν** is not Homeric, though it became part of the epic vocabulary early on: *h.Ap.* 404; AR 4.796 ἐνὶ φρεσὶ δειμαίνουσα; Opp. *H.* 1.448, 5.320, 348; Opp. *C.* 2.415, 421 etc.; QS 2.28 etc.; for Nonnus, see Peek *Lex. s.v.*; Collut. 56, 58 etc.

283 τὸν δ᾽ ὁ γέρων ἀγανῇ μειλίξατο φωνῇ: inspired by *Il.* 9.112–13 πεπίθωμεν / δώροισίν τ᾽ ἀγανοῖσιν ἔπεσσί τε μειλιχίοισι, together with familiar clusters such as *Il.* 6.214 μειλιχίοισι προσηύδα, 6.343 μύθοισι προσηύδα μειλιχίοισι, 10.542 ἐπέεσσί τε μειλιχίοισι. Nonnus turned it into a formula to introduce speeches: *D.* 8.124 = 11.482 δολίῳ μειλίξατο μύθῳ, 11.116 ἠπεροπῆι τόσῳ μειλίξατο μύθῳ, 11.482 φιλίῳ μειλίξατο μύθῳ. Compare the introduction of Priam's words in the *Aeneid*: 2.147 "dictisque ita fatur amicis".

284–90 Priam's speech encapsulates the appropriate, polite reception of a suppliant, first offering protection and only then asking about the foreigner's identity and the burning question regarding the nature of the horse. On the Homeric naming type-scene, see Higbie 1995, 69–109.

Sinon's appeal to Zeus as the protector of suppliants and Priam's pious and protective answer contrast Trojan and Achaean morality: Priam naively follows the rules and pays respect to Zeus by protecting a suppliant, but one of the Achaeans (Neoptolemus) is to kill him, despite the fact that he is begging for his life at the altar of Zeus (634–9). Neoptolemus' brutality will be punished in the future (cf. the narrator's prophetic comment at 640–3), but Priam cannot be compensated. Compare E. *Hec.* 239–331: Hecabe tries to save Polyxena from being sacrificed by appealing to Odysseus as a suppliant, reminding him that she spared his life when he entered Troy and was discovered by Helen and herself, whereupon he grasped Hecabe's knees and asked for his life to be spared; Hecabe's generous response is not enough to make Odysseus save Polyxena.

284–5 ξεῖνε, σὲ μὲν Τρώεσσι μεμιγμένον οὐκέτ᾽ ἔοικε / τάρβος ἔχειν· ἔφυγες γὰρ ἀνάρσιον ὕβριν Ἀχαιῶν: compare *Il.* 24.364–5 (Hermes to Priam) οὐδὲ σύ γ᾽ ἔδδεισας μένεα πνείοντας Ἀχαιούς, / οἵ τοι δυσμενέες καὶ ἀνάρσιοι ἐγγὺς ἔασι;

The vocative **ξεῖνε** can be found starting a speech addressed to a foreigner in *Od.* 6.187, 7.237, 19.104, 19.509, 22.27; AR 1.793, 3.401; Nonn. *D.* 3.326; Collut. 268; Musae. 123, 174. **Τρώεσσι μεμιγμένον**: the same *sedes* as *Il.* 10.424 Τρώεσσι μεμιγμένοι ἱπποδάμοισιν. **οὐκέτ᾽ ἔοικε / τάρβος ἔχειν**: the phrase is not the standard one used in earlier epic poetry (e.g. *Il.* 12.46 = 21.575 ταρβεῖ οὐδὲ φοβεῖται, 24.181 μηδέ τί τοι θάνατος μελέτω φρεσὶ μηδέ τι τάρβος; AR 3.479–80 οὐκέτι τάρβος / ἔσσετ᾽ ἀεθλεύοντι δαμήμεναι), but it does match later occurrences: QS 2.91–2 ἀμφὶ δὲ τάρβος / ἀσφαλὲς αἰὲν ἔχοιμι; *AP* 8.175.5 (Greg. Naz.) νῦν δέ τι τάρβος ἔχει με; Nonn. *D.* 6.323–4 τοσσατίου γὰρ / τάρβος ἔχω νιφετοῖο. **ἔφυγες γὰρ ἀνάρσιον ὕβριν Ἀχαιῶν**: transference of the epithet, which refers more to the Achaeans than to their ὕβρις (compare *Il.* 24.365 δυσμενέες καὶ ἀνάρσιοι, *Od.* 10.459 ἀνάρσιοι ἄνδρες). Note that Cassandra later calls the wooden horse ἀνάρσιον ἵππον (376). Finding the Achaeans guilty of ὕβρις is a natural consequence of Sinon's accusation that they are ἀτάσθαλοι (273, also 275 οἱ δὲ νοοπλήγεσσιν ἀτασθαλίῃσι δαμέντες): see *Od.* 24.282 ὑβρισταὶ … καὶ ἀτάσθαλοι ἄνδρες (also *Od.* 20.170, 370, 24.352, always with reference to the suitors); Hes. *Th.* 996; Nonn. *D.* 5.478.

286–7 Αἰεὶ δ᾽ ἡμέτερος φίλος ἔσσεαι, οὐδέ σε πάτρης, / οὐδὲ πολυκτεάνων θαλάμων γλυκὺς ἵμερος αἱρεῖ: when Odysseus appears on the island of the Phaeacians as a foreigner and a suppliant, he is at once offered clothing (*Od.* 6.192, 214), the means of cleaning his body (6.215–16, 7.172–4), food and drink (6.246, 7.166, 175–7), lodging (7.334–42) and the promise of entertainment, propitiation of the gods and a passage home (7.189–94). Sinon's situation is clearly different: he has already introduced himself as an outcast of the Achaeans, which means that he will not be welcome back home. Priam assumes that he will be missing his home town (286 πάτρης), his house and his wife (287 πολυκτεάνων θαλάμων), and gallantly offers to replace these in Troy. At this point it is important to remember Odysseus' constant preoccupation with going back to his country and his house (*Od.* 5.41–2 = 114–15, 6.314–15, 7.76–7, 319–20, 9.27–8, 33–6 etc), or to his country

and his wife (esp. *Od.* 5.203–24). Compare also Verg. *A.* 2.137–8: "nec mihi iam patriam antiquam spes ulla uidendi / nec dulcis natos exoptatumque parentem". In the *Sack of Troy*, Priam does not offer Sinon food or drink, but he does give him some clothes (304–5).

286a αἰεὶ δ᾽ ἡμέτερος φίλος ἔσσεαι: the impossibility of sending the stranger back home forces Triph. to resort to a formula which is different from the usual ones employed in the Homeric poems to welcome strangers. Priam gives a similar aswer to Sinon in Verg. *A.* 2.148–9 ("quisquis es, amissos hinc iam obliuiscere Graios; / noster eris"), but this does not necessarily imply a direct connection between the two authors. There are also strong Greek parallels such as Hdt. 1.35, Croesus taking in the suppliant Adrastus: ᾿Ανδρῶν τε φίλων τυγχάνεις ἔκγονος ἐὼν καὶ ἐλήλυθας ἐς φίλους, ἔνθα ἀμηχανήσεις χρήματος οὐδενὸς μένων ἐν ἡμετέρου. Cf. Gerlaud *Triph.*, p. 133, note to 286a.

287 πολυκτεάνων θαλάμων: a variant of *Od.* 4.718 πολυκμήτου θαλάμοιο, with a less frequent synonym. See Pi. *O.* 10.36 πατρίδα πολυκτέανον, *P.* 9.68–9 θαλάμῳ …/ ἐν πολυχρύσῳ, fr. 221.3 Snell-Maehler πολυχρύσοις θαλάμοις (with Cannatà Fera 2003, 196); Paus. 10.24.3 (quoting an epigram on the birth of Homer) πολυκτεάνοιο … Σαλαμῖνος; Opp. *C.* 1.239 πολυκτεάνων … ἀνάκτων; *Oracula Sybillina* 4.146 πολυκτέανον κατὰ δῶμα. Priam assumes that Sinon is rich and of good standing. On the contrary, see Verg. *A.* 2.87 (Sinon on himself) "pauper … pater". **γλυκὺς ἵμερος αἱρεῖ**: after *Il.* 3.446 = 14.328 (~ *Od.* 22.500) με γλυκὺς ἵμερος αἱρεῖ.

288–9a ἀλλ᾽ ἄγε καὶ σύ μοι εἰπέ τί τοι τόδε θαῦμα τέτυκται, / ἵππος, ἀμειλίκτοιο φόβου τέρας: despite the spell cast by the horse on the Trojans (247–8), it does not only provoke admiration (θαῦμα – the phrase found at *Il.* 10.439 etc., πελώρια θαῦμα ἰδέσθαι, would have been in place), but also the fear (ἀμειλίκτοιο φόβου) that a mortal feels before a monster (τέρας – see also Verg. *A.* 2.245 "monstrum infelix"). The contrast between the soft-spoken king (283 τὸν δ᾽ ὁ γέρων ἀγανῇ μειλίξατο φωνῇ) and the horse (289 ἀμειλίκτοιο φόβου τέρας) could not be clearer. For a similar contrast, see *Il.* 11.136–7 προσαυδήτην βασιλῆα / μειλιχίοις ἐπέεσσιν· ἀμείλικτον δ᾽ ὄπ᾽ ἄκουσαν.

Virgil's Priam is more inquisitive, and asks about the maker and the purpose of the horse, mentioning that it may be either a religious offer-

ing or a machine of war: 2.150–1 "quo molem hanc immanis equi statuere? quis auctor? / quidue petunt? quae religio? aut quae machina belli?".

ἀλλ᾽ ἄγε often introduces a resolution in Homeric speeches (see e.g. *Il.* 1.62, 210, 337), but the phrasing reminds us of *Il.* 24.197 ἀλλ᾽ ἄγε μοι τόδε εἰπέ, τί τοι φρεσὶν εἴδεται εἶναι;, *Od.* 4.379 = 468 ἀλλὰ σύ πέρ μοι εἰπέ, 19.162 ἀλλὰ καὶ ὥς μοι εἰπὲ τεὸν γένος, ὁππόθεν ἐσσί. Compare also QS 8.145 ᾽Αλλά μοι εἰπέ, τίς ἐσσι, τίνος δ᾽ ἐπαγάλλεαι ἵπποις;. **τί τοι τόδε θαῦμα τέτυκται**: compare *Il.* 18.549 (of Achilles' shield) τὸ δὴ περὶ θαῦμα τέτυκτο. **ἀμειλίκτοιο φόβου τέρας**: compare [Mosch.] *Id.* 4 (*Megara*) 26 μέγα τάρβος ἀμειλίκτοιο πελώρου; QS 5.366 τέρας κρυεροῖο φόβοιο.

289b–90 εἰπὲ δὲ σεῖο / οὔνομα καὶ γενεήν, ὁπόθεν δέ σε νῆες ἔνεικαν: this sounds Homeric, but does not match any specific passage. Compare the questions that foreigners are asked in the *Od.*: 1.170 τίς πόθεν εἰς ἀνδρῶν; πόθι τοι πόλις ἠδὲ τοκῆες; (= 14.187, 15.264, 19.105, 24.298), 3.71 = 9.252 ὦ ξεῖνοι, τίνες ἐστέ; πόθεν πλεῖθ᾽ ὑγρὰ κέλευθα;, 14.47 εἴπῃς, ὁππόθεν ἐσσὶ καὶ ὁππόσα κήδε᾽ ἀνέτλης, 15.423 εἰρώτα δὴ ἔπειτα, τίς εἴη καὶ πόθεν ἔλθοι, 17.368 ἀλλήλους τ᾽ εἴροντο τίς εἴη καὶ πόθεν ἔλθοι, 19.162 ἀλλὰ καὶ ὥς μοι εἰπὲ τεὸν γένος, ὁππόθεν ἐσσί. The sentence also appears similar to Jason's answer to Argus' supplication in AR 2.1137–9 ἀλλ᾽ ἄγε μοι κατάλεξον ἐτήτυμον, ὁππόθι γαίης / ναίετε, καὶ χρέος, οἷον ὑπεὶρ ἅλα νεῖσθαι ἀνώγει, / αὐτῶν θ᾽ ὑμείων ὄνομα κλυτὸν ἠδὲ γενέθλην. **οὔνομα καὶ γενεήν**: compare AR 1.20 νῦν δ᾽ ἂν ἐγὼ γενεήν τε καὶ οὔνομα μυθησαίμην, 2.762, 3.354–5.

291 τὸν δ᾽ ἐπιθαρσήσας προσέφη πολυμήχανος ἥρως: after *Il.* 4.183 Τὸν δ᾽ ἐπιθαρσύνων προσέφη ξανθὸς Μενέλαος. See also *Il.* 1.85 θαρσήσας μάλα εἰπὲ θεοπρόπιον ὅ τι οἶσθα; *Od.* 3.75–6 τὸν δ᾽ αὖ Τηλέμαχος πεπνυμένος ἀντίον ηὔδα / θαρσήσας. Similarly, Verg. *A.* 2.76 "ille haec, deposita tandem formidine, fatur". **ἐπιθαρσήσας** ('having taken courage', 'with new courage') refers to Sinon's pretending to be relieved by Priam's words. The Trojans do not notice anything strange in his reaction, but the narrator conveys a note of caution to the reader by giving him Odysseus' epithet πολυμήχανος, to foretell the success of his lies. On **πολυμήχανος ἥρως**, see note to 220.

292–303 Sinon's second speech. Still bleeding, but no longer feigning fear, Sinon produces a fully coherent speech:

– 292 Polite introduction, the appropriate answer to Priam's kind speech.
– 293–4 Brief presentation of himself (answering Priam's second question).
– 295–9 Origin and purpose of the horse (answering Priam's first question).
– 300–3 Instructions to the Trojans.

292 ἐξερέω καὶ ταῦτα· σὺ γάρ μ᾽ ἐθέλοντα κελεύεις: answers to an enquiry about name and origins usually start with a similar statement on the willingness to answer. Compare *Od.* 1.179 = 14.192 = 15.266 τοιγὰρ ἐγώ τοι ταῦτα μάλ᾽ ἀτρεκέως ἀγορεύσω, 3.80 εἴρεαι ὁππόθεν εἰμέν· ἐγὼ δέ κέ τοι καταλέξω, 19.167 ἀλλ᾽ ἔκ τοι ἐρέω, 24.303 τοιγὰρ ἐγώ τοι πάντα μάλ᾽ ἀτρεκέως καταλέξω; E. *Hel.* 334 θέλουσαν οὔ με δὶς καλεῖς; AR 3.1084 ἐξερέω· μάλα γάρ με καὶ αὐτὸν θυμὸς ἀνώγει. **ἐξερέω καὶ ταῦτα** is a variant of *Il.* 1.212 ὧδε γὰρ ἐξερέω (= *Il.* 8.401, 454 etc.; *Od.* 16.440, 19.487, 21.337). **σὺ γάρ μ᾽ ἐθέλοντα κελεύεις**: compare *Il.* 20.87 τί με ταῦτα καὶ οὐκ ἐθέλοντα κελεύεις;.

293–4 Sinon tells the truth about himself (see note to 219–29). The only new element is that he comes from Argos, for which see also Verg. *A.* 2.95 "si patrios umquam remeassem uictor ad Argos". In the *Aeneid* Sinon presents himself as a companion of Palamedes (2.81–7), also from Argos. For Homeric answers to enquiries concerning name, family and place of origin, see *Od.* 1.180–1, 3.81, 14.199, 15.267, 15.425–6, 24.304–6, none of which coincides fully with the present passage.

Ἄργός μοι πόλις ἐστί: compare E. *Hipp.* 1184 πόλις γὰρ οὐκέτ᾽ ἔστιν ἥδε μοι, *Or.* 1076 σοὶ μὲν γάρ ἐστι πόλις, ἐμοὶ δ᾽ οὐκ ἔστι δή. **Σίνων δέ μοι οὔνομα κεῖται**: compare *Od.* 9.366 Οὖτις ἐμοί γ᾽ ὄνομα, 19.183 ἐμοὶ δ᾽ ὄνομα κλυτὸν Αἴθων, 24.306 αὐτὰρ ἐμοί γ᾽ ὄνομ᾽ ἐστὶν Ἐπήριτος. **γενετήρ** is unheard of in early epic works, but common in later poems: Opp. *H.* 4.154, 5.84 γενετῆρα παλαίτερον; Opp. *C.* 3.10, 339, 354, 355; for occurrences in Nonn., see Peek *Lex. s.v.*; Collut. 375; Musae. 125. Compare **πολιὸν γενετῆρα** with E. *Cyc.* 307 πολιούς τε πατέρας, *Andr.* 613 πολιούς … πατέρας.

295–9 Sinon retells the origin and purpose of the statue. To boost the credibility of his explanation, Sinon relates the horse to a prophecy, also present in Palaeph. 16 (Σίνων φράζει αὐτοῖς κατὰ μαντείαν ὡς εἰ μὴ εἰσαγάγοιεν τὸν ἵππον εἰς τὴν πολίν, ὑποστρεψόντων Ἀχαιῶν, ἂν δὲ εἰσαγάγωσι, μηκέθ᾽ ἡξόντων). The prophecy itself and its relationship with the construction of the horse are left prudently shrouded in shadow, and Sinon focuses on extracting from it a clear alternative for the Trojans: they have two options, one bringing destruction, and the other salvation.

Virgil's Sinon is much more prolix in his third speech (*A.* 2.154–94). Beginning and ending with solemnity, he explains that Pallas' anger after the impious theft of the Palladion forced the Achaeans to leave Troy and build the horse in atonement for their behaviour. Calchas ordered the horse to be built higher than the walls of Troy so that the Trojans could not appropriate the protection of Pallas that it represented by receiving it into their citadel. Sinon considers two options, either harming the statue (thus causing the destruction of Troy), or bringing it into the citadel (leading to Asia's advance in the war, even as far as Greece), which had been discussed before (2.32ff.). At no point do the Trojans or Sinon consider simply leaving the statue where it stands.

Triph.'s Sinon does not provide so many details (Virgil is trying to make the deception of the Trojans as credible as possible), but his message aims to ensure that the horse is taken into Troy. Hence the phrasing of the alternative: placing the horse in Athena's temple (no explanation is given regarding the connection between the horse and the goddess) will keep the Achaeans away from Troy (298–9), whereas leaving it where it stands will lead to the seizure of Troy by the Achaean army (296–7). The Trojans had previously debated whether to destroy the horse (251–4), an option which is not even mentioned now, because of the sacred character of the image (298 ἁγνὸν ἄγαλμα). In some versions the Achaeans emphasise the sacred character of the statue by attaching a dedication to it. See e.g. Apollod. *Epit.* 5.15: the Achaeans affix to the statue a sign reading τῆς εἰς οἶκον ἀνακομιδῆς Ἕλληνες Ἀθηνᾷ χαριστήριον ('The Greeks [dedicated this statue] as a thanksoffering to Athena for the return home').

Virgil's Sinon persuades the Trojans because he employs elements of the sacred as guarantees for his speech (the perfect appeal to the pious Trojans), and because of the the comprehensiveness of his account. In

Triph.'s case, Sinon first wins the trust of the Trojans by stirring their pity, but in the end he succeeds because he manages to convey his message to the Trojans clearly and quickly, galvanising them into action before they have time to reflect on the consequences of their acts. This is his only chance of success: if the Trojans are not fully convinced at once and begin to analyse his proposal carefully, they will demand more explanations and start a new debate of uncertain outcome.

295 ἵππον δ᾽ Ἀργείοισι παλαίφατον εὗρεν Ἐπειός: Sinon makes up an old prophecy, combining it with a real element (Epeius as the constructor of the horse), but not daring to involve any god in the lie. For **ἵππον … παλαίφατον**, meaning 'the horse mentioned long ago [in a prophecy]', see also A. *Ag.* 750 παλαίφατος … λόγος; Opp. *H.* 5.448 Λέσβοιο παλαίφατον ἔργον ἀοιδοῦ; Nonn. *P.* 13.87 = 14.118 μῦθον ἀναμνήσησθε παλαίφατον. For παλαίφατος in combination with θέσφατος (297), see *Od.* 9.507 = 13.172 ἦ μάλα δή με παλαίφατα θέσφαθ᾽ ἱκάνει; S. *Tr.* 822–3 τοὔπος τὸ θεοπρόπον ἡμῖν / τᾶς παλαιφάτου προνοίας.

296 ἐνὶ χώρῃ: same *sedes* in *Il.* 17.394, 23.349; *Od.* 21.366 (αὐτῇ ἐνὶ χώρῃ = AR 4.159), 23.186.

297 Τροίην θέσφατόν ἐστιν ἑλεῖν πόλιν ἔγχος Ἀχαιῶν: *b* has πόλιν, which harks back to *Il.* 1.129 = *Od.* 11.510 πόλιν Τροίην and is preferred by Gerlaud, whereas F has πάλιν, which is preferred by Dubielzig (*Triph.*, 174–6). *b* has ἔγχος Ἀχαιῶν 'the spear of the Achaeans', a metonym for 'armed force' (see LSJ *s.v.* III; Call. fr. 613 Pf. Ἰηπύγων ἔγχος ἀπωσάμενοι), which is preferred by Gerlaud. Dubielzig (*Triph.*, 176) prints F's υἷας Ἀχαιῶν (a frequent Iliadic line ending, e.g. 1.240; see also *Il.* 16.698 = 21.544 Ἔνθα κεν ὑψίπυλον Τροίην ἕλον υἷες Ἀχαιῶν), which has the additional advantage of providing the subject for 299 φεύξονται. For **θέσφατόν ἐστιν**, see *Il.* 8.477 ὡς γὰρ θέσφατόν ἐστι; *Od.* 4.561–2 σοὶ δ᾽ οὐ θέσφατόν ἐστι … / Ἄργει ἐν ἱπποβότῳ θανέειν, 10.473 εἴ τοι θέσφατόν ἐστι σαωθῆναι. For θέσφατόν ἐστιν + acc. + inf., see *H. Merc.* 534 οὔτε σε θέσφατόν ἐστι δαήμεναι; AR 2.234–5 τὰς μὲν θέσφατόν ἐστιν ἐρητῦσαι Βορέαο / υἱέας. **ἑλεῖν πόλιν ἔγχος Ἀχαιῶν**: compare *Il.* 21.544 Τροίην ἕλον υἷες Ἀχαιῶν.

298–9 εἰ δέ μιν ἁγνὸν ἄγαλμα λάβῃ νηοῖσιν Ἀθήνη, / φεύξονται προφυγόντες ἀνηνύστοις ἐπ᾽ ἀέθλοις: the Achaean departure has

already been described as a flight by the narrator (211–12 δὴ τότε κηρύκων ἐπεκίδνατο λαὸν ἀυτὴ / φεύγειν ἀγγελέουσα), and by Sinon himself (273–4 οὕνεκα φεύγειν / οὐκ ἔθελον), while Odysseus refers to it at 142 as ψευδώνυμον οἴκαδε νόστον. Compare Verg. *A.* 2.176–94: according to Sinon, Calchas prophesied that the Achaeans would not conquer Troy unless they went back to Argos to seek new omens and escort the deity back home. The Achaeans have therefore only left temporarily to ensure divine protection for their mission and to assemble reinforcements. Once they have achieved this, they will return, unless the Trojans deprive them of Pallas' protection by placing the horse in her temple inside their citadel.

ἁγνὸν ἄγαλμα: compare E. *Tr.* 525 τόδ᾽ ἱερὸν ἀνάγετε ξόανον; QS 13.427 (in reference to the Palladion) θεῖον ἄγαλμα; Nonn. *D.* 19.241 Παλλάδος ἁγνὸν ἄγαλμα, 48.696 θεῖον ἄγαλμα. Triph. has previously referred to the Palladion as βρέτας ἁγνόν (55). This is Sinon's first reference to the holiness of the statue in the *Sack of Troy.* **φεύξονται προφυγόντες**: after *Il.* 14.81 (βέλτερον ὃς φεύγων προφύγῃ κακὸν ἠὲ ἁλώῃ), to emphasise that the Achaean departure will be definitive only if the Trojans bring the statue into Troy. See also 282 μηκέτι δειμαίνειν πόλεμον παλίνορσον ᾽Αχαιῶν. The *codices* have ἀνηνύτοις ἐπ᾽ ἀέθλοις, but both Gerlaud and Dubielzig (*Triph.*, 177–9) print **ἀνηνύστοις ἐπ᾽ ἀέθλοις**, a conjecture after AR 4.1307 ἀνηνύστῳ ἐπ᾽ ἀέθλῳ (after *Od.* 16.111 ἀνηνύστῳ ἐπὶ ἔργῳ).

300–3 After providing a brief answer to all Priam's questions, Sinon tries to galvanise the Trojans into immediate action, under the assumption that the procedure to follow is quite obvious. In the eyes of the Trojans, his eagerness might present itself as proof of his interest in ensuring that the departure of the Achaean fleet is definitive and of his instant integration as a Trojan citizen.

300–1 ἀλλ᾽ ἄγε δὴ σειρῇσι περίπλοκον ἀμφιβαλόντες / ἕλκετ᾽ ἐς ἀκρόπολιν μεγάλην χρυσήνιον ἵππον: Sinon initiates here a process which concludes with the entrance of the horse into the citadel (357 ἦγον ἐς ἀκρόπολιν βεβαρημένον ἔνδοθεν ἵππον). Compare also the account in *Od.* 8.494 ὅν ποτ᾽ ἐς ἀκρόπολιν δόλον ἤγαγε δῖος ᾽Οδυσσεύς, 504 αὐτοὶ γάρ μιν Τρῶες ἐς ἀκρόπολιν ἐρύσαντο; Stesichorus *P. Oxy.* 2619, fr. 1, col. ii (S 88 *PMGF* = Schade 2003, p. 143, line 6)]ṗὸc ναὸν ἐ̣ς ἀκρ[όπο]λ̣[ι]ν̣ σπεύδοντεc[; Verg. *A.* 2.236–7 "stuppea

uincula collo / intendunt"; QS 12.423–4 σειρὴν ἀμφεβάλοντο θοῶς περιμήκεϊ ἵππῳ / δησάμενοι καθύπερθεν.

On **ἀλλ᾽ ἄγε δή**, see note to 288. **περίπλοκος** occurs only in late antique literature: Nonn. *D.* 37.507 ἀζαλέων ἔσφιγξε περίπλοκον ὁλκὸν ἱμάντων (cf. Peek *Lex. s.v.*); *AP* 9.362.9–10 οἷα δὲ νύμφη / νυμφίον ἀμφιχυθεῖσα περίπλοκον ἡδέι δεσμῷ; Jo. Gaz. *Ekphr. Kosm. Pin.* 2.114 περίπλοκον ἅμμα βαλόντες. On compound words in -πλοκος/-πλόκος, see James 1970, 16. **χρυσήνιον ἵππον** does not match the initial description of the reins of the horse (96 ἄνθεσι πορφυρέοισι πέριξ ἔζωσεν ἱμάντων). χρυσήνιος is usually applied to divinities (*Il.* 6.205 χρυσήνιος Ἄρτεμις; *Od.* 8.285 χρυσήνιος Ἄρης; QS 5.395 χρυσήνιος Ἠώς; Nonn. *D.* 44.253 χρυσήνιος … δαίμων); Sinon stresses the holiness of the image. Triph. may have had in mind the account of the episode in E. *Tr.* (520 χρυσεοφάλαρον).

302–3 ἄμμι δ᾽ Ἀθηναίη ἐρυσίπτολις ἡγεμονεύοι / δαιδάλεον σπεύδουσα λαβεῖν ἀνάθημα καὶ αὐτή: Sinon's appeal to Athena as protector of Troy is a direct appeal to the Trojan *psyche*. The Trojans knew that their citadel could not be taken while the goddess was present among them in the shape of the Palladion, but this had been stolen by the Achaeans (55–6 – though Cassandra is said in 647–8 to embrace the knees of the statue of the goddess). What Sinon is proposing to the Trojans, therefore, is to treat the horse as a substitute for the Palladion. Sinon misleads the Trojans into believing that the protection of Athena will now be easily recovered, despite Paris' affront to her in the judgement of the goddesses.

Gerlaud (*Triph.* p. 134, n. to 302; see also Campbell *Lex. s.v.* ἐρυσίπτολις) believes that Sinon is playing with the ambiguity between Athena as the protector of the city that invokes her (432 πολιοῦχος) and the destroyer of the enemy's city (302 ἐρυσίπτολις), so that the Trojans read his words in the wrong sense. No ambiguity needs to be invoked, however: Sinon is taking advantage of the Trojans' blind trust in Athena, their protector in the past.

Ἀθηναίη ἐρυσίπτολις: after *Il.* 6.305 πότνι᾽ Ἀθηναίη, ῥυσίπτολι, δῖα θεάων. See also *h.Hom.* 11.1 Παλλάδ᾽ Ἀθηναίην ἐρυσίπτολιν, *h.Hom.* 28.3; Call. fr. 626 Pf. τῶν οὐκ ἀγαθῶν ἐρυσίπτολιν. Athena is also referred to as protector of the πόλις by Priam (432 πολιοῦχος Ἀθήνη) in his confrontation with Cassandra, who has called her

πτολίπορθος Ἀθήνη (390). Athena's temple is presented a few lines later as πολισσούχοιο θεῆς ὑπὸ νηὸν Ἀθήνης (444) to convey Priam's victory over Cassandra's version, though Athena's participation in the destruction of Troy (566–7) proves that Cassandra was in fact right.

The suggestion that Athena will lead the way for the Trojans (**ἄμμι … ἡγεμονεύοι**) anticipates the intervention of the goddess in the transporting of the horse (331–2), but for the wrong reasons: Athena wants the horse in Troy not to help the Trojans, but to see Troy annihilated as soon as possible. Compare for the phrasing *Il.* 16.92 προτὶ Ἴλιον ἡγεμονεύειν; *Od.* 3.386 τοῖσιν δ' ἡγεμόνευε … Νέστωρ, 9.142 = 10.141 τις θεὸς ἡγεμόνευε; QS 13.326 Κύπρις δ' ὁδὸν ἡγεμόνευεν; Nonn. *D.* 17.8 = 23.125 καὶ θεὸς ἠγεμόνευε.

ἀνάθημα means a 'votive offering' here (LSJ *s.v.* 1), as in Nonn. *D.* 2.412–13 βέλεμνα …/ Ζηνὶ … ἀνάθημα γέρων ἱδρύσατο Νηρεύς, 42.253 βάρβιτα χειρὶ λίγαινε, τεῆς ἀναθήματα Ῥείης. In the Homeric poems it meant 'delight' (LSJ *s.v.* 2: *Od.* 1.152 = 21.430 τὰ γάρ τ' ἀναθήματα δαιτός). On the connotations of **δαιδάλεος** (~ αἰόλος), see note to 247 (δέμας αἰόλον ἵππου).

304–57 The Trojans drag the horse into the town. The ultimate referent for this passage is the comparison of the dragging of the horse with a ship in E. *Tr.* 537–9 (κλωστοῦ δ' ἀμφιβόλοις λίνοιο ναὸς ὡσεὶ / σκάφος κελαινὸν εἰς ἕδρανα / λάϊνα δάπεδά τε). For the phrasing, Triph. resorts to the launching of the Argo in AR 1.367–91: esp. Triph. 320–3 ~ AR 1.387–9, Triph. 332 ~ AR 1.381–4. QS expands the comparison with a simile (12.428–32), also inspired by AR 1.367–91 (analysis and parallels in Campbell 1981, 146–9). Triph. had already compared the horse to a ship during its construction (62–4) and in 185 ἱππείην … ἐς ὁλκάδα.

The transporting of the horse is depicted in the bottom scene of the *Tabula Iliaca Capitolina* (see Image 3).

The same theme appears in three first-century AD frescoes at Pompeii. Two of these are preserved in the Museo Archeologico in Naples: one comes from the Casa del Cavallo Troiano (MNN inv. 120 176) and another from the Casa di Cipius Pamphilus (MNN inv. 9010 – see technical details and images of both in Hodske 2007, pp. 214–15, Tafel 113 [Kat. 500 and 755]). The Pompeian House of Menander boasts two frescoes preserved *in situ* that are related to this topic: one depicts Cas-

Image 3. Detail of the bottom scene of the *Tabula Iliaca Capitolina*. From left to right: the Wooden Horse (slightly larger than human size, no wheels, no trappings) is drawn towards Troy by a group of Phrygian and Trojan men; Priam talks to Sinon, who has his hands tied behind his back and is led by a Trojan; a soldier restrains Cassandra before the Scaean gate. Drawing from S. Reinach (1909), *Répertoire de reliefs grecs et romains. Tome premier: Les ensembles*, Paris, 286.

sandra's opposition to the transporting of the horse (ala 4, east wall, central picture), and another a detail of the Sack of Troy (ala 4, north wall, central picture: Ajax dragging Cassandra from the statue of Athena in the presence of Priam). For a complete analysis and parallels, see Ling – Ling 2005, 74–5 (and colour plates 7 and 10). Also extant are two second-century AD reliefs: a stone sarcophagus now in the Ashmolean Museum in Oxford (see details in Sparkes 1971, 67 and plate 4a; Sadurska 1986, no. 13), and a schist relief from Gandhara, now in a British private collection (details in Sparkes 1971, plate 4b; Sadurska 1986, no. 15).

304b–5a καὶ τὸν μὲν ἄναξ ἐκέλευσε λαβόντα / ἕσσασθαι χλαῖνάν τε χιτῶνά τε: clothing the suppliant formed part of the appropriate response to his supplication (*Od.* 6.192–3 οὔτ᾽ οὖν ἐσθῆτος δευήσεαι οὔτε τευ ἄλλου, / ὧν ἐπέοιχ᾽ ἱκέτην ταλαπείριον ἀντιάσαντα, 214 πὰρ δ᾽ ἄρα οἱ φᾶρός τε χιτῶνά τε εἵματ᾽ ἔθηκαν; AR 2.1168 ἐκ νηὸς δῶκέ σφισιν εἵματα δῦναι). Here the act makes particular sense, because with it Priam is trying to make up for the bad behaviour of the Achaeans, who, according to Sinon, had stripped him of his clothes (276). **ἕσσασθαι χλαῖνάν τε χιτῶνά τε**: after *Od.* 14.396 ἕσσας με χλαῖνάν τε χιτῶνά τε εἵματα πέμψαι (= 14.154, 16.79, 17.550, 17.557, 21.339).

305b–7a τοὶ δέ, βοείαις / δησάμενοι σειρῇσιν, ἐυπλέκτοισι κάλωσιν / εἷλκον ὑπὲρ πεδίοιο: Triph. distinguishes between the leather cords (βοείαις … σειρῇσιν) with which the horse is tethered (δησάμενοι as in *Il.* 8.544 δῆσαν δ᾽ ἱμάντεσσι, 10.474–5 ὠκέες ἵπποι / ἐξ ἐπιδιφριάδος πυμάτης ἱμᾶσι δέδεντο – on the meaning of δέω, see Delebecque 1951, 181), and the plaited cables (ἐυπλέκτοισι κάλωσιν – compare *Il.* 23.115

σειράς τ᾽ εὐπλέκτους; Nonn. *D.* 37.25 ἐυπλέκτοιο δὲ σειρῆς) that serve to drag the statue through the plain (Triph. 307a εἷλκον ὑπὲρ πεδίοιο). This distinction is maintained in 321–2. Compare AR 1.367–9 (dragging the Argo) νῆα … / ἕζωσαν πάμπρωτον ἐυστρεφεῖ ἔνδοθεν ὅπλῳ / τεινάμενοι ἑκάτερθεν; Verg. *A.* 2.236–7 "stuppea uincula collo / intendunt" (*stuppeus* may also refer to a ship's cable – see Austin 1964, p. 112, note to 236); QS 12.422–4 ἀγειρόμενοι δ᾽ ἄρα πάντες / σειρὴν ἀμφεβάλοντο θοῶς περιμήκεϊ ἵππῳ / δησάμενοι καθύπερθεν.

εἷλκον ὑπὲρ πεδίοιο: similarly Triph. 101 ἑλκόμενος πεδίοισιν; QS 12.427a ἑλκόμενος Τρώων ὑπὸ χείρεσιν. The Homeric imperfect is ἕλκον (*Il.* 4.213), but εἷλκον was already accepted by AR (2.668, 4.888). See also QS 12.427b–8 οἱ δ᾽ ἅμα πάντες / εἷλκον ἐπιβρίσαντες ἀολλέες; Nonn. *D.* 40.270 ληιδίη πλοκάμων μελανόχροος εἵλκετο νύμφη. Late antique poets prefer forms with the augment: see Keydell 1959, 48–9*.

307b θοῶν ἐπιβήτορα κύκλων: the Trojans take advantage of the wheels that Epeius has attached to the horse (99–102). These wheels are also mentioned in E. *Tr.* 516 τετραβάμονος … ἀπήνας; QS 12.424–5 ἐπεί ῥά οἱ ἐσθλὸς Ἐπειὸς / ποσσὶν ὑπὸ βριαροῖσιν ἐύτροχα δούρατ᾽ ἔθηκεν (not mentioned in the account of the construction of the horse in 12.135–47); Dictys 5.11 "cui edito [the wooden horse] in immensum ima, quae sub pedibus erant, rotis interpositis suspenderat, scilicet quo adtractu motus facilius foret". In the *Aeneid*, to make the story more credible, the horse has no wheels, and the Trojans have to fit it with them (2.235–6 "pedibusque rotarum / subiciunt lapsus"). For the phrasing, compare *Il.* 5.722 θοῶς βάλε καμπύλα κύκλα; *Od.* 18.263 ἵππων τ᾽ ὠκυπόδων ἐπιβήτορας; Opp. *C.* 4.51 ἱππελάται … ἐπιβήτορες ἵππων. For Nonnus' use of ἐπιβήτωρ, see Peek *Lex. s.v.*; also Nonn. *P.* 4.28, 6.191, 21.63.

308a ἵππον ἀριστήεσσι βεβυσμένον 'the horse, stuffed with chieftains': not referring to the metaphor of the pregnant horse (see 389ff. – note that Virgil uses this metaphor when presenting this episode: *A.* 2.238 "feta armis"), but to the image of the horse as a ship. Compare *Od.* 4.134 (τάλαρον) νήματος ἀσκητοῖο βεβυσμένον. Triph. notes here for the first time that the ἄριστοι alone have taken part in the ambush (see also 382 τοῖος ἀριστήων λόχος ἔρχεται), while Odysseus in his initial speech had only asked for resistant and courageous men (122–4,

146–51). QS stresses this notion: 12.28 ἀριστέες ἐς λόχον ἄνδρες / βησόμεθ᾽, 234 ἀριστῆες μὲν ἐὺν λόχον ἐντύνασθε, 304–5 αὐτοὶ θωρήχθησαν / ἡρώων οἱ ἄριστοι, 327 ὅσοι ἔσαν ἔξοχ᾽ ἄριστοι. Compare *Il.* 1.227 οὔτε λόχονδ᾽ ἰέναι σὺν ἀριστήεσσιν ᾽Αχαιῶν.

308b–9 οἱ δὲ πάροιθεν / αὐλοὶ καὶ φόρμιγγες ὁμὴν ἐλίγαινον ἀοιδήν: the music accompanying the procession is also mentioned in E. *Tr.* 529–30 κεχαρμένοι δ᾽ ἀοιδαῖς / δόλιον ἔσχον ἄταν; Verg. *A.* 2.238–9 "Pueri circum innuptaeque puellae / sacra canunt"; perhaps QS 12.436–7 (see comment in Campbell 1981, pp. 150–1, n. to 436–7). Triph.'s words may be compared with *Il.* 18.494–5 (the city in peace on Achilles' shield) ἐν δ᾽ ἄρα τοῖσιν / αὐλοὶ φόρμιγγές τε βοὴν ἔχον (after which QS 6.174); AR 1.740–1 ᾽Αμφίων δ᾽ ἐπὶ οἷ χρυσέῃ φόρμιγγι λιγαίνων / ἤιε. The musical accompaniment is mentioned again in Triph. 342 μολπῇ τ᾽ ὀρχηθμῷ τε περὶ βρέτας εἱλίσσοντο. The insistence on the harmony of the music played stands in contrast later with the dreadful sounds produced by the dragging of the horse (318–27) and the ominous noises of the crowd (350–7). **οἱ δὲ πάροιθεν**: compare *Il.* 23.498 οἵ τε πάροιθεν|. **ἐλίγαινον ἀοιδήν**: with acc. cogn., as in [Bion] *Id.* 2.1 Σικελὸν μέλος ἁδὺ λιγαίνειν, [Mosch.] *Id.* 3.120 Σικελικόν τι λίγαινε.

310–15 Narratorial comment on Trojan folly. The blindness of the Trojans, unaware that they are causing their own destruction, is also deplored at this point in E. *Tr.* 529–30 κεχαρμένοι δ᾽ ἀοιδαῖς / δόλιον ἔσχον ἄταν, 540–1 (of the horse) φονέα πατρί-/δι; Verg. *A.* 2.244–5 "instamus tamen immemores caecique furore / et monstrum infelix sacrata sistimus arce". The main aim of this narratorial comment is to provide an additional reason for the behaviour of the Trojans: Sinon's wounds and charismatic speeches, together with the Trojan nature, childish and prone to make erroneous decisions, are not enough to explain the immediate transporting of the horse to Troy.

Triph. could have simply commented on the physical and psychological weariness resulting from the privations of war, but he chooses instead to provide an explanation that is appropriate to the generic framework (on fate as an epic motivation, see Scodel 1999, 13, 140–53). Not only does Demodocus attribute the destruction of Troy to αἶσα (*Od.* 8.511–13), but in the *Iliad* Helen relates her abduction to Paris' in-

fatuation (*Il.* 6.356 = 24.28 Ἀλεξάνδρου ἕνεκ᾽ ἄτης – also *Od.* 4.261–2 ἄτην δὲ μετέστενον, ἣν Ἀφροδίτη / δῶχ᾽; AR 1.803; Triph. 492 Κύπριδος ἄτη), Agamemnon justifies his bad behaviour by saying that Zeus infatuated him (*Il.* 2.111, 19.136–7), and there is a strong belief that an external folly can completely overcome humans, causing them to do terrible things (*Il.* 24.480–1). Ate is also presented personified (*Il.* 9.502–12, 19.86–138), taking hold not only of humans, but even of her father Zeus.

A reference to ἄτη or Ἄτη is a perfectly valid explanation in the epic world (see Wyatt 1982 and Yamagata 1994, 50–60, on Homeric ἄτη), but this would not have sufficed for Triph.'s educated public. They were no doubt more satisfied with the poet's reflection on the weaknesses of human nature, half moralistic (raising the ethical standard of the poem), and half psychological (along the lines of Triph.'s pseudo-scientific motives in his similes). Compare the description of Ajax's madness when Achilles' weapons are given to Odysseus in QS: first comes a reference to ἄτη (5.322–3 αἶψα δ᾽ ἄρ᾽ αὐτῷ / ἄτη ἀνιηρὴ περικάππεσε), and then a detailed description of the physical cause of his subsequent madness, a surplus of blood in his brain (5.323b–9a). Triph. is not so explicit, and his line of reasoning goes as follows:

- 310–11a The Trojans are a disgraceful race, which seems to be blinded as if a sudden mist had surrounded it (ὀμίχλη 'mist' acts as an image of the Ἄτη 'blindness' affecting the Trojans). This image will become real at night, when they are attacked during the darkest hours.
- 311b–12 General statement: an artificially ecstatic elation often leads humans to ruin.
- 313–14a Application to the specific situation (both the Trojans and the epic context), referring to their blindness as Ἄτη.
- 314b–15 Proof of this is the fact that they bring into their town the ultimate cause of their own destruction.

The narrator becomes involved in the narrative on several occasions via a direct connection with the characters, whose vulnerability he highlights (on apostrophe and weakness, see Block 1982, 16): see 310–15 (to the Trojans, unaware that they are bringing death into Troy), 579–80 (to an anonymous Trojan, who causes his own death in the nyktomachy), 640–3 (to Neoptolemus, whose consistent impulsive behaviour will cause his own death), 660–3 (to Laodice, on her death). His comments on the inevitability of human blindness also justify the developments of the plot. Compare Virgil's use of the apostrophe to propel and justify the plot: Behr 2005, 200ff.

310a Σχέτλιον ἀφραδέων μερόπων γένος: compare Call. *Hecale* fr. 125 Hollis (= 318 Pf.) σχέτλιαι ἀνθρώπων ἀφραστύες; *AP* 7.688.3 (Palladas) ὦ γένος ἀνθρώπων ἀνεμώλιον. **μερόπων γένος**: compare *Il.* 1.250 δύο μὲν γενεαὶ μερόπων ἀνθρώπων; *h.Hom.* 31.18 μερόπων γένος ἀνδρῶν; Hes. *Op.* 109 = 143 = 180 γένος μερόπων ἀνθρώπων. More parallels in Monaco 2007, 136.

310b–11a οἷσιν ὀμίχλη / ἄσκοπος ἐσσομένων: ὀμίχλη is a thick mist which makes vision impossible (see *Il.* 3.10–14, 13.334–6; QS 1.297–8, 2.471–6, 11.248–50). The narrator compares the inability of the Trojans to discern their future (ἐσσομένων) with the involuntary lack of sight (ἄσκοπος) caused by the mist. Cassandra resorts to a similar metaphor: 411 καὶ νεφέλην ἀπόθεσθε, φίλοι, βλαψίφρονος ἄτης.

311b–12 κενεῷ δ᾽ ὑπὸ χάρματι πολλοὶ / πολλάκις ἀγνώσσουσι περιπταίοντες ὀλέθρῳ: a general statement followed by its application to the Trojans' behaviour. Again, Cassandra says something similar in her speech, when she asks the Trojans to destroy the horse (412–14) because this should provide them with real joy and a real reason for celebration (415–16). On the other hand, dragging the horse into the citadel would entail the end of the war and the sleep of death (376–8).

κενεῷ δ᾽ ὑπὸ χάρματι: compare *AP* 7.334.18 κενεὸν χάρμα φίλης πατρίδος. **ἀγνώσσω** (see LSJ *s.v.*), a late equivalent of ἀγνοέω, occurs mostly in late antique epic poetry: Triph. here and in 585 (ἔκπεσον ἀγνώσσοντες); Nonn. *D.* 1.424–5 ἄρκυν ὀλέθρου / ἀγνώσσων etc.; Collut. 8, 187; Musae. 249. **ἀγνώσσουσι περιπταίοντες ὀλέθρῳ**: compare Opp. *H.* 2.106 οὐδ᾽ ἐνόησαν ἑὸν σπεύδοντες ὄλεθρον, 3.182 δείπνοις γὰρ γελόωντες ἐπισπεύδουσιν ὄλεθρον, 5.534 χρίμπτοντες ἑὸν χαίροντες ὄλεθρον; Nonn. *D.* 14.372 καὶ τυφλοῖσι πόδεσσι περιπταίουσα κελεύθῳ.

313–14a οἴη καὶ Τρώεσσι τότε φθισίμβροτος ἄτη / ἐς πόλιν αὐτοκέλευθος ἐκώμασεν. According to Gerlaud (*Triph.*, p. 135, n. to 314), these lines present the wooden horse coming into Troy as an automaton (αὐτοκέλευθος – pointing to 334 Τρῶας ἐυσκάρθμοισιν ὁδοιπορίῃσι διώκων) in the midst of the κῶμος. This would also imply that the construction of the statue was a process of giving life to an intelligent animal with a killing instinct. However, Campbell's suggestion makes more sense. He (*Lex.*, p. 211, APP 313) favours a personified

Ἄτη, the spirit of ruinous infatuation, entering the city as the head of the κῶμος (κωμαστής), ready to destroy it. Ἄτη leads the κῶμος (compare *AP* 7.186.3 [Phil.] θρῆνος δ᾽ εἰς ὑμέναιον ἐκώμασεν; Nonn. *D.* 17.319 εἰς μόθον ἄλλον ἐκώμασε θυιὰς Ἐνυώ), and chooses her way (αὐτοκέλευθος) to bring destruction into the town, while the Trojans believe Sinon's lies (302 ἄμμι δ᾽ Ἀθηναίη ἐρυσίπτολις ἡγεμονεύοι) and now imagine a benevolent Athena leading them on the way to Troy. The narrator reflects that they have a distorted view of what is happening: Ἄτη, not Athena, is guiding them, and what they drag is not an elaborate offering that Athena will be happy to accept as a token of her protection (303 δαιδάλεον σπεύδουσα λαβεῖν ἀνάθημα καὶ αὐτή), but a source of dreadful sorrow (315 ἐφέλκετο πένθος ἄλαστον). Note the contrast of the epithets, encapsulating the gulf between Sinon's optimistic false confidence and the narrator's pessimistic realism: 302 Ἀθηναίη ἐρυσίπτολις *vs.* 313 φθισίμβροτος ἄτη.

For the epithet **φθισίμβροτος**, see *Il.* 13.339 μάχη φθισίμβροτος (after which QS 8.446); *Od.* 22.297 δὴ τότ᾽ Ἀθηναίη φθισίμβροτον αἰγίδ᾽ ἀνέσχεν; AR 3.1357 Ἄρηος τέμενος φθισιμβρότου, QS 4.433 = 9.218 ἐς πόλεμον φθισίμβροτον. The closest cluster is Opp. *H.* 2.667 Ἄρευς φθισήνορος ἄτη. **αὐτοκέλευθος** seems to be a Triphiodorean innovation, later adopted by Nonnus (see Peek *Lex. s.v.*, esp. *D.* 21.169 πολλάκις αὐτοκέλευθα περιπταίοντα πεδίλοις), and in *AP* 9.362.5 νυμφίος αὐτοκέλευθος. Applied to Ἄτη, it implies that she follows her own free will, and goes her own way. κέλευθος was not a popular second element for compound words in early epic poetry (Homer has only ἱπποκέλευθος, as in *Il.* 16.126; see also αἰψηροκέλευθος in Hes. *Th.* 379), but Nonnus builds up a whole set: ἀγχικέλευθος (*D.* 5.476), ἀντικέλευθος (*D.* 2.301), ἰθυκέλευθος (*D.* 15.365), ἰσοκέλευθος (*D.* 16.189), λοξοκέλευθος (*D.* 5.233), ὀπισθοκέλευθος (*D.* 18.159), ὀψικέλευθος (*P.* 5.55), προκέλευθος (*D.* 3.359), ὑγροκέλευθος (*D.* 2.57), ὑψικέλευθος (*D.* 6.377). Cf. Monaco 2007, 154.

314b–15 οὐδέ τις ἀνδρῶν / ᾔδεεν: compare *Il.* 18.403–4 οὐδέ τις ἄλλος / ᾔδεεν οὔτε θεῶν οὔτε θνητῶν ἀνθρώπων; AR 2.821–2 οὐδέ τις ἀνδρῶν / ἠείδει. **ἐφέλκετο πένθος ἄλαστον**: see *Od.* 1.342 καθίκετο πένθος ἄλαστον; Hes. *Th.* 467 Ῥέην δ᾽ ἔχε πένθος ἄλαστον; QS 5.534 = 7.64 Τῶ μοι πένθος ἄλαστον ἐποίχεται.

316–17 ἄνθεα δὲ δροσόεντος ἀμησάμενοι Σιμόεντος / ἔστεφον αὐχενίους πλοκάμους σφετέροιο φονῆος. These two lines complete the preparations for transporting the horse that were initiated before the narratorial comment (305b–9). The crowning of their murderer with flowers illustrates the extent of the Trojans' infatuation, thus providing evidence for the narratorial comment and a neat transition to the transporting of the horse itself.

The motif of the crowns of flowers in the procession (which Triph. expands in lines 340–6) also occurs in Verg *A.* 2.248–9 ("nos delubra deum …/… festa uelamus fronde per urbem"). QS 12.434–6 is closer still: ἀμφὶ δ᾽ ἄρ᾽ αὐτῷ / πολλὸν ἄδην στεφέων ἐριθηλέα κόσμον ἔθεντο· / αὐτοὶ δ᾽ ἐστέψαντο κάρη. For a poetic description of the gathering of flowers and their plaiting into crowns, see Opp. *C.* 4.367–73.

316 ἄνθεα δὲ δροσόεντος ἀμησάμενοι Σιμόεντος: compare *Il.* 2.467–8 ἔσταν δ᾽ ἐν λειμῶνι Σκαμανδρίῳ ἀνθεμόεντι / μυρίοι, ὅσσα τε φύλλα καὶ ἄνθεα γίγνεται ὥρῃ, 4.474–6 ἠΐθεον θαλερὸν Σιμοείσιον, ὅν ποτε μήτηρ / Ἴδηθεν κατιοῦσα παρ᾽ ὀχθῃσιν Σιμόεντος / γείνατ᾽ (Triph. ἄνθεα … Σιμόεντος may be a reversal of *Il.* 4.488 Ἀνθεμίδην Σιμοείσιον); AR 1.1182–4 τοὶ δὲ λεχαίην / φυλλάδα λειμώνων φέρον ἄσπετον ἀμήσαντες / στόρνυσθαι. Cf. Ypsilanti 2007, 104–6.

Where *b* has σιμόεντος, F has ποταμοῖο. Gerlaud (*Triph.*, p. 87, n. 6) prefers Σιμόεντος, because of other cases of inner rhymes (1 πολυκμήτοιο … πολέμοιο, 43 ὑστατίοισιν … πόνοισιν, 49 βαρυζήλοιο … Ἑλένοιο, 83–4 γναμπτοῖσι … θυσάνοισιν … βαλιοῖσιν). He assumes that ποταμοῖο is a gloss (in R σιμόεντος is commented on with a gloss: ὄνομα ποταμοῦ). Cf. however Tzetzes *Post-hom.* 703–4 (Dubielzig *Triph.* Test. 34) quoting Triph.: ἄνθεσιν ἐστεφάνωσε τὸν ἵππον ἐκ ποταμοῖο / χειμῶνος μεσάτοιο ἐόντος. According to Campbell (*Lex.* p. 211, APP 316), an expression like πεδίοιο would make more sense (see Triph. 154 δροσόεντος … πεδίοιο, AR 1.1282 πεδία δροσόεντα), and indeed this is what Dubielzig (*Triph.*, 180–2) prints.

317 ἔστεφον αὐχενίους πλοκάμους σφετέροιο φονῆος: the reference to the mane as a bunch of locks (αὐχενίους πλοκάμους) like those sported by women (*Il.* 6.380 Τρῳαὶ ἐϋπλόκαμοι, 14.176 χερσὶ πλοκάμους ἔπλεξε), could be seen as a step forward in the feminisation of

the horse, which is soon to give birth to the warriors (382–90). This does not seem to be the case, though Nonnus too refers to the mane of an animal as πλοκάμους: *D.* 20.119 (lion) αὐχενίων πλοκάμων δεδραγμένος, 25.187 (lion) αὐχενίου πλοκάμοιο κεχηνότα θῆρα.

318–27 The ominous noises of the transporting are matched by the strident reception of the horse in Troy by all age groups (350–7, with the gloomy comparison with the cranes), and anticipate the hideous sounds of the battle: the cries of the participants (551, 610), the ambient noise of the battle (560, 597), and the intervention of the same three gods (Athena: 566 Ἴαχε … Ἀθήνη; Hera: 567 ἔτρεμε δ᾽ αἰθήρ; Poseidon: 568 ἐπὶ δ᾽ ἔβραχε γαῖα βαρεῖα). Sounds help to enhance the *enargeia* of the passage: see Marini 2010.

QS's comparison of the hauling of the statue with the dragging of a ship (12.428–32) includes a similar (though unrelated) reference to the noise of the process (430–1 στιβαραὶ δὲ περιστενάχουσι φάλαγγες / τριβόμεναι, δεινὸν δὲ τρόπις περιτετριγυῖα). He also adds references to noise and the tremors of an earthquake at Laocoon's feet as a dissuasive measure (12.395–400), and relates several *omina* that predict Troy's destruction (12.503–24; see also Dictys 5.7–8) and precede Cassandra's intervention (525–85). For an evaluation of the instances when nature responds to human affairs in the *Posthomerica*, see Fernández Contreras 1998.

As Vian (2001, 291–2) points out, both Triph. 318–35 and QS 12.422–34 draw on the hauling of the Argo, as described in AR 1.362–90. Thus Triph. 320 τριβόμενοι … ἄξονες ~ AR 1.388–9 φάλαγγες / τριβόμεναι; Triph. 321b–2 ~ AR 1.389–90; Triph. 323 ~ AR 1.387; Triph. 330 ~ AR 1.386–7; Triph. 332 ~ AR 1.381, 383–5.

318–20 The comment on the noise produced by the wheels completes their description in the *ekphrasis* of the horse (99–102 – no physical details, only 100 κύκλον ἐυκνήμιδα). Here the wheels are said to be made of bronze (318 χαλκείοισιν … κύκλοις), with axles of iron (319–20 σιδήρειοι … ἄξονες). For the combination of iron and bronze, see *Il.* 8.15 ἔνθα σιδήρειαί τε πύλαι καὶ χάλκεος οὐδός.

318 γαῖα δὲ χαλκείοισιν ἐρεικομένη περὶ κύκλοις: the wheels are said to tear the ground like a plough (compare [Hes.] *Sc.* 286–7 οἱ δ᾽ ἀροτῆρες / ἤρεικον χθόνα δῖαν), because of the great weight of the statue.

Compare for the phrasing *Il.* 13.441 δὴ τότε γ᾽ αὖον ἄϋσεν ἐρεικόμενος περὶ δουρί; Nonn. *D.* 29.73 ἀκρότατον δὲ σίδηρον ἐρεισάμενος περὶ τόξῳ. **319a δεινὸν ὑπεβρυχᾶτο**: after *Od.* 12.242 δεινὸν βεβρύχει. QS uses similar expressions in different contexts: 2.546 γαῖα δ᾽ ὑπεσμαράγησε, 3.178 γαῖα δ᾽ ὑπεπλατάγησε, 6.335 = 10.72 μέγ᾽ ὑπέβραχε γαῖα πελώρη, 11.127 ἀμφὶ δὲ γαῖα μέγ᾽ ἔβραχεν.

319b–20 σιδήρειοι δὲ δι᾽ αὐτῶν / τριβόμενοι τρηχεῖαν ἀνέστενον ἄξονες ἠχήν: compare *Il.* 2.95–6 τετρήχει δ᾽ ἀγορή, ὑπὸ δὲ στεναχίζετο γαῖα / λαῶν ἱζόντων; QS 12.430–1 στιβαραὶ δὲ περιστενάχουσι φάλαγγες / τριβόμεναι. The phrasing is inspired by that used for the hauling of the Argo in AR 1.388–9 αἳ δ᾽ ἄρ᾽ ὑπὸ τρόπιδι στιβαρῇ στενάχοντο φάλαγγες / τριβόμεναι. Derivatives of στένω are used in similar contexts in the *Iliad* and the pseudo-Hesiodic *Shield*: *Il.* 2.781 γαῖα δ᾽ ὑπεστενάχιζε, 784–5 ὣς ἄρα τῶν ὑπὸ ποσσὶ μέγα στεναχίζετο γαῖα / ἐρχομένων; [Hes.] *Sc.* 344 περιστενάχησε δὲ γαῖα, 373 τῶν δ᾽ ὑπὸ σευομένων κανάχιζε †πόσ᾽ εὐρεῖα χθών†. Triph. adds an acc. cogn. to ἀναστένω (τρηχεῖαν ἀνέστενον … ἠχήν) in order to emphasise the volume of the noise. ἠχή describes a shrill noise, also attributed to the voice of old people: 351 γήραος ἠχῇ.

321a τετρίγει δὲ κάλων ξυνοχή: a shrill noise similar to that made by birds when they are about to be killed (*Il.* 2.314; Opp. *H.* 5.583; QS 7.331), or by bats (*Od.* 24.9). Compare Opp. *H.* 1.228 (of a ship) ῥοχθεῦσιν δὲ κάλωες; QS 6.108–9 ἀπήνην / ἄχθεϊ τετριγυῖαν ὑπ᾽ ἄξονι δινήεντι, 12.431 δεινὸν δὲ τρόπις περιτετριγυῖα. **κάλων ξυνοχή**: compare Opp. *H.* 5.132 θωμίγγων ξυνοχῇσι πολυστρεφέεσσι.

321b–2 πᾶσα ταθεῖσα / λιγνὺν αἰθαλόεσσαν ἕλιξ ἀνεκήκιε σειρή: after the hauling of the Argo in AR 1.389–90 περὶ δέ σφιν ἀιδνὴ κήκιε λιγνὺς / βριθοσύνῃ. See also AR 4.1188 θυέων δ᾽ ἀποτηλόθι κήκιε λιγνύς.

πᾶσα ταθεῖσα: see *Od.* 22.200 ταθεὶς ὀλοῷ ἐνὶ δεσμῷ. For **αἰθαλόεσσαν** (perhaps a prelude of 683 Ἴλιος αἰθαλόεσσα), see *Il.* 2.414–15 Πρίαμοιο μέλαθρον / αἰθαλόεν, 18.23 κόνιν αἰθαλόεσσαν; Opp. *H.* 2.673 καπνῷ τ᾽ αἰθαλόεντι … Ἡφαίστοιο. **ἕλιξ … σειρή** may go back to Triph. 305–6 βοείαις / δησάμενοι σειρῇσιν, ἐυπλέκτοισι κάλωσιν, with ἕλιξ as a synonym of εὔπλεκτος. On ἕλιξ as an adjective

(ἕλιξ … σειρή), see LSJ *s.v.* ἕλιξ (A). For the causal use of **ἀνακηκίω**, see AR 4.600 βαρὺν ἀνακηκίει ἀτμόν; Nonn. *D.* 12.358–9 ὀπώρη / λευκὸν ἐρευθαλέης ἀνεκήκιεν ἀφρὸν ἐέρσης.

323 πολλὴ δ᾽ ἑλκόντων ἐνοπὴ καὶ κόμπος ὀρώρει: compare the hauling of the ship in AR 1.387 οἱ δ᾽ ἑκάτερθεν ἐπίαχον ἀίσσοντες. ἐνοπή is again a high-pitched noise such as the chirping of birds (*Il.* 3.2 Τρῶες μὲν κλαγγῇ τ᾽ ἐνοπῇ τ᾽ ἴσαν, ὄρνιθες ὥς), or the sound of instruments (*Il.* 10.13 αὐλῶν συρίγγων τ᾽ ἐνοπήν). κόμπος is the clash of teeth (*Il.* 11.417 = 12.149 κόμπος ὀδόντων), or of metal (*Il.* 12.151 ὥς τῶν κόμπει χαλκὸς ἐπὶ στήθεσσι φαεινός). The combination of the two does not occur anywhere else, but the line may be inspired by *Od.* 8.380 πολὺς δ᾽ ὑπὸ κόμπος ὀρώρει.

324–7 The shrill noises produced by the transporting of the statue are echoed and amplified in nature. The Trojans are not only blind, but also deaf to anything that is not the melodious song of flutes and lyres (308b–9). The noise turns the transporting of the horse into an event with environmental consequences. Compare Amm. Marc. 16.10.9 [Constantius entering Rome] "Augustus itaque faustis uocibus appellatus, non montium litorumque intonante fragore cohorruit, talem se tamque immobilem, qualis in prouinciis suis uisebatur, ostendens".

324 ἔβρεμε Νυμφαίῃσιν ἅμα δρυσὶ δάσκιος Ἴδη: compare QS 5.498 μέγα δέ σφιν ἐπέβραχε δάσκιος Ἴδη, 12.459–60 (reaction of the river nymphs on seeing the sea monsters emerging from the deep to devour Laocoon's children) Ἀμφὶ δ᾽ ἄρα στενάχοντο μέγα Ξάνθοιο θύγατρες / Νύμφαι καὶ Σιμόεντος.

Νυμφαίῃσιν ἅμα δρυσί: a word play on the etymology of the Hamadryad nymphs, whose lives are completely dependent on the oak trees they are attached to, since they are born and die with them (ἅμα δρυσί). See AR 2.476–81 and especially the explanation in *schol.* to AR 2.477: Ἁμαδρυάδας νύμφας Μνησίμαχός φησι διὰ τὸ ἅμα ταῖς δρυσὶ γεννᾶσθαι· ἢ ἐπεὶ δοκοῦσιν ἅμα ταῖς δρυσὶ φθείρεσθαι, νύμφαι Ἁμαδρυάδες λέγονται. Dubielzig (*Triph.* 14) calls this a 'Versteck-Spiel', or game of hiding a name in a combination of words. See also Miguélez-Cavero 2008, 143–4. **δάσκιος Ἴδη** is a variation of the Homeric line ending δάσκιος ὕλη (*Il.* 15.273, *Od.* 5.470; also Opp. *C.*

2.73, 2.530, 3.391, 4.1; QS 1.536; Nonn. *D.* 10.175, 20.279, 21.333 etc.; Collut. 194, 225, 358). On the variations of the manuscripts (ΙΔΗ / ΥΛΗ), see Gerlaud, *Triph.*, p. 136, n. to 324.

325–6a ἴαχε καὶ Ξάνθου ποταμοῦ μυκώμενον ὕδωρ, / καὶ στόμα κεκλήγει Σιμοείσιον: for the combination of Xanthus and Simoeis, see *Il.* 5.773–7 and esp. 6.4 μεσσηγὺς Σιμόεντος ἰδὲ Ξάνθοιο ῥοάων. QS adapts this line several times: 2.488 ῥοῇς Σιμόεις καὶ Ξάνθος, 3.23–4 ῥέεθρα / Ξάνθου καὶ Σιμόεντος, 11.246 καλλιρόου Σιμόεντος ἰδὲ Ξάνθοιο θύγατρες (see also 12.459–60 Ἀμφὶ δ᾽ ἄρα στενάχοντο μέγα Ξάνθοιο θύγατρες / Νύμφαι καὶ Σιμόεντος). Triph. alludes here to Aristarchus' correction of the line: μεσσηγὺς ποταμοῖο Σκαμάνδρου καὶ στομαλίμνης (cf. *Schol. in Il.* 6.4, with Trachsel 2007, 57–9), maintaining the reference to the rivers and pointing to Aristarchus's correction στομαλίμνης with στόμα … Σιμοείσιον. Strabo (13.1.31, 34), Apollonius Rhodius (4.1571–2) and Theocritus (*Id.* 4.20–5) refer to the correction by using the word στομαλίμνη or στόμα λίμνης (see Trachsel 2007, 238–40, 251–3). More on this passage and Triph.'s editorial work in 3.1.1.

325 ἴαχε καὶ Ξάνθου ποταμοῦ μυκώμενον ὕδωρ: manuscripts read κυκώμενον ὕδωρ (F – compare *Il.* 21.235 πάντα δ᾽ ὄρινε ῥέεθρα κυκώμενος, 21.240 κυκώμενον ἵστατο κῦμα; AR 1.1327–8 ἀμφὶ δέ οἱ δίνῃσι κυκώμενον ἄφρεεν ὕδωρ / πορφύρεον) or κυκλόμενον ὕδωρ (*b*), an unmetrical line ending. The same alternative occurs in the manuscripts of Nonn. *D.* 20.336, where Keydell 1959 and Hopkinson – Vian 1994 have adopted μυκώμενον. Both Gerlaud (*Triph.*, p. 136, n. to 325) and Campbell (*Lex.*, p. 211, APP 325 – noting the parallel with Nonn. *D.* 14.403–9) prefer μυκώμενον ὕδωρ. Livrea (*Triph.*; 1979, 64–5) and Dubielzig (*Triph.*, 182–4) correct *b*'s reading to κυκλούμενον ὕδωρ, after Nonn. *D.* 1.497 κυκλούμενον ὕδωρ, from κυκλεῖσθαι '(in sich) kreisen/wirbeln', according to Dubielzig.

μυκώμενον ὕδωρ has better parallels: *Il.* 21.237 (Scamander attacking Achilles) μεμυκὼς ἠύτε ταῦρος; AR 1.1235 περὶ δ᾽ ἄσπετον ἔβραχεν ὕδωρ; Opp. *H.* 3.461 ὀξύτατον τόθι κῦμα περὶ σπιλάδεσσι μέμυκεν; Opp. *C.* 2.145–6 ὣς ποταμὸς κελάρυζε … / σμερδαλέον μύκημα, 4.166 (Ganges) μυκᾶται βρύχημα πελώριον; Nonn. *D.* 23.221 οὐχ οὕτω Σιμόεντος Ἀρειμανὲς ἔβρεμεν ὕδωρ; Paul. Sil. *Ekphr. Soph.* 928 βρυχώμενον ὕδωρ. μυκάομαι is also used to describe

the noise produced by the earth: Hes. *Op.* 508 μέμυκε δὲ γαῖα καὶ ὕλη; AR 3.864 μυκηθμῷ δ᾽ ὑπένερθεν ἐρεμνὴ σείετο γαῖα.

Ξάνθου ποταμοῦ: redundant and unheard of elsewhere, perhaps explained by the author's wanting to establish an explicit distinction from the horse of the same name (*Il.* 8.185, 16.149 etc.). Triph. calls the river Xanthus here and in 683–5, not Scamander (*Il.* 20.74 ὃν Ξάνθον καλέουσι θεοί, ἄνδρες δὲ Σκάμανδρον).

326a καὶ στόμα κεκλήγει Σιμοείσιον: στόμα for the mouth of a river is already used in *Il.* 12.24 (of the rivers of the Trojan plain) τῶν πάντων ὁμόσε στόματ᾽, *Od.* 5.441 ποταμοῖο κατὰ στόμα καλλιρόοιο; AR 2.370 ἐπὶ δὲ στόμα Θερμώδοντος. Here it suggests a personification of the Simoeis, answering the cries of the Xanthus with a different sound.

326b–7 οὐρανίη δὲ / ἐκ Διὸς ἑλκόμενον πόλεμον μαντεύετο σάλπιγξ: while the Trojans are dragging the horse into Troy, they pay no heed to a thunderclap, Zeus' trumpet blast signifying the start of the final battle (ἑλκόμενον πόλεμον) and a prophecy of the Trojan defeat. To be compared with *Il.* 7.478–9a παννύχιος δέ σφιν κακὰ μήδετο μητίετα Ζεὺς / σμερδαλέα κτυπέων, understood as a bad omen by the men at the encampment, who try to avert it by means of libations (7.479b–81); *Il.* 21.388 ἀμφὶ δὲ σάλπιγξεν μέγας οὐρανός; Nonn. *D.* 2.558 = 6.231 βρονταίοις πατάγοισι Διὸς μυκήσατο σάλπιγξ. The trumpet blast is the usual sign for the start of a battle: Opp. *C.* 2.59; Nonn. *D.* 2.364–5, 13.506–7, 17.91–4, 22.247–9 etc. For μαντεύετο, see Nonn. *D.* 1.257 Φόρμιγξ ἀστερόεσσα Διὸς μαντεύσατο νίκην, 14.406–7 βρονταίοις πατάγοισι μέλας μυκώμενος ἀὴρ / ἐκ Διὸς ἐσσομένην Βρομίῳ μαντεύσατο νίκην.

328–39 After the note on the ominous atmosphere of the procession, Triph. resumes the description of the hauling of the horse. The Trojans had at first seen this as an easy task because the horse was fitted with wheels (307 εἷλκον ὑπὲρ πεδίοιο, θοῶν ἐπιβήτορα κύκλων), but the narrator had from the beginning warned of the weight of the statue, increased by its being filled with heavily-armed warriors (308a ἵππον ἀριστήεσσι βεβυσμένον). When the Trojans begin to experience difficulties because of the distance to be covered and the difficult landscape of the plain, Athena intervenes to facilitate their work, to prevent them

from abandoning their task and thus frustrating her destructive plans. The Trojans were quick to organise the κῶμος, but their actions were not realistic, which harks back to their previous characterisation as a childish people (see nn. to 247–57 and 248b–9).

QS too refers to the laboriousness and difficulty of the transporting (esp. 12.429 μογέοντες, 434 μογέοντες), reflecting on the absurdity that the Trojans are investing all their efforts in causing their own destruction (12.433–4 ὣς οἵ γε σφίσι πῆμα ποτὶ πτόλιν ἔργον Ἐπειοῦ / πανσυδίῃ μογέοντες ἀνείρυον). In the *Aeneid*, the horse comes to a halt four times before the threshold (a sign of bad luck in Roman culture – see Austin 1964, pp. 114–15, note to 242; Horsfall 2008, p. 216–217, n. to "ipso in limine portae"), and on all four occasions the clashing of the weapons kept inside is heard, but the Trojans pay no attention to this (2.242–5).

328–9 When the Trojans have begun to move the horse (Οἱ δ' ἦγον προπάροιθεν), their task becomes more onerous (ἐβαρύνετο), because there is a long distance to cover (ὁδὸς … μακρή), and because the terrain is not level (οὐ πεδίοισιν ὁμοίη), but constantly cut by rivers (σχιζομένη ποταμοῖσι). This matches Homer's descriptions of the Trojan plain as crossed by numerous rivers (*Il.* 12.18–22, 20.7–11), two of which have just been mentioned (Triph. 325–6).

ὁδὸς δ' ἐβαρύνετο μακρή: compare *Il.* 5.664–5 βάρυνε δέ μιν δόρυ μακρὸν / ἑλκόμενον, 19.165 ἀλλά τε λάθρῃ γυῖα βαρύνεται. Campbell (*Lex.*, p. 211, APP 328–9) suggests unnecessarily correcting ὁδὸς δ' ἐβαθύνετο μακρή, understanding that the way is hollowed out (ἐβαθύνετο, as in Cunaeus' correction for Nonn. *D.* 3.49 βαθυνομένου διὰ κόλπου), because the wheels of the heavy horse cut deep furrows into it (ποταμός 'artificial stream' – LSJ *s.v.* I.3). **ὁδὸς … / σχιζομένη ποταμοῖσι**: for the construction, compare AR 3.1332 [νειός] σχιζομένη ταύρων τε βίῃ. For σχίζειν as the action of a river, see AR 4.325 ᾧ πέρι δὴ σχίζων Ἴστρος; QS 14.551 σχίζετο δ' ἁλμυρὸν οἶδμα περὶ κρατερῇσι χέρεσσιν.

330–5 Triph. combines four different versions of the transporting of the horse:

1. The Trojans haul the horse by pulling the ropes that they have attached to it and taking advantage of the wheels (305–8), but are delayed because of the landscape of the plain (328–9).

2. The horse follows the Trojans like an obedient animal (330–1a).
3. Athena pushes it (331b–2).
4. The horse seems to become self-animated and runs on its own up to the entrance to Troy (333–5), perhaps because of the intervention of Athena, though this is not stated.

This combinatory strategy enables Triph. to reflect more faithfully the evolution of the Trojan insight into the scene. In their first impulse the Trojans do not take into account the practical difficulties of their task, and the first few metres seem as easy as having a tame living horse following them. Before they get tired of struggling across the plain, Athena intervenes by pushing the horse. The Trojans do not see Athena, but they do not wonder what has made the horse move more quickly than it normally would, and fail to realise that the horse is now revealing its true nature by aggressively chasing them. Athena's is the first intervention made by the pro-Achaean divinities to ensure that the strategy succeeds: Hera and Poseidon will later ease the entrance of the horse into Troy (337–9).

330 εἵπετο δ᾽ αἰόλος ἵππος ἀρηιφίλους ἐπὶ βωμούς 'The many-coloured horse followed towards the altars dear to Ares', as if it were a living animal endowed with movement, and just as the Argo did (AR 1.386–7 ἡ δ᾽ ἕσπετο Πηλιὰς Ἀργώ / ῥίμφα μάλ᾽). Gerlaud (*Triph.*, p. 136, n. 330) links ἀρηιφίλους by hypallage to ἵππος, because of 104–5 τὸν οὐδέ κεν ἀρνήσαιτο, / … ἐλαυνέμεν ἵππιος Ἄρης, 256 ἀρήιον ἵππον. Campbell (*Triph.*, p. 211, APP 330) suggests instead that ἀρηιφίλους ἐπὶ βωμούς reflects the opinion of the second group of Trojans, who want to consecrate the statue as a memorial to the end of the war (256–7 ἀθανάτοις ἐκέλευον ἀρήιον ἵππον ἀνάψαι, / ὕστερον Ἀργείοιο μόθου σημήιον εἶναι). They would not invoke Athena, but Ares, whom they beg to spare the surviving citizens (244). However, it is explicitly mentioned that the horse is dedicated to Athena, and that it is brought to her temple (298–303, 432, 444–7, 467–8). There is a third option: the narrator does not speak from the Trojan point of view, but instead comments from a distance, saying that the sacrifice is welcomed not by Athena, who refuses to help the Trojans, but by Ares, rejoicing at the forthcoming battle in which he will take part with all his bloodthirsty entourage (559–65). Compare the reactions of the gods to the transporting of the horse in QS 12.437–9 (ἐγέλασσε δ᾽ Ἐνυὼ / δερκομένη πολέμοιο κακὸν τέλος· ὑψόθι δ᾽ Ἥρη / τέρπετ᾽, Ἀθηναίη δ᾽ ἐπεγήθεεν). On **αἰόλος ἵππος**, see note to 247 (δέμας αἰόλον ἵππου).

331a κυδιόων ὑπέροπλα: the statue is presented as a living horse that receives the Trojans' attentions with an excess of arrogance (ὑπέροπλα). Compare *Il.* 6.507–9 = 15.264–6 (of a living horse) δεσμὸν ἀπορρήξας θείῃ πεδίοιο κροαίνων / … / κυδιόων; AR 3.1260–1 (of a warhorse eager for battle) αὐτὰρ ὕπερθεν / κυδιόων ὀρθοῖσιν ἐπ᾽ οὔασιν αὐχέν᾽ ἀείρει; Opp. *C.* 1.315 (of the Nisaean horse) κυδιόων ἑκάτερθε μελιχρύσοισιν ἐθείραις. Triph. inspired Collut. 326 κυδιόων δ᾽ ὑπέροπλον.

331b βίην δ᾽ ἐπέρεισεν ᾽Αθήνη: see *Il.* 5.856–7 ἐπέρεισε δὲ Παλλὰς ᾽Αθήνη / νείατον ἐς κενεῶνα, 7.269 ἐπέρεισε δὲ ἶν᾽ ἀπέλεθρον (= 9.538).

332 χεῖρας ἐπιβρίσασα νεογλυφέων ἐπὶ μηρῶν: after the transporting of the Argo in AR 1.381 στέρνα θ᾽ ὁμοῦ καὶ χεῖρας ἐπήλασαν, 383–5 τοὶ δὲ παρᾶσσον / ᾧ κράτεϊ βρίσαντε μιῇ στυφέλιξαν ἐρωῇ / νειόθεν ἐξ ἕδρης. As regards the μηροί of a living horse, see Opp. *C.* 1.188 μηροὶ δ᾽ εὐπαγέες, μυώδεες. **νεογλυφής** is a Triphiodorean invention which enjoyed no success in later authors. According to Monaco (2007, 157), it was based on the Theocritean ἀρτιγλυφής (*AP* 9.437.2 ἀρτιγλυφὲς ξόανον).

333–5 ὃς δὲ θέων ἀκίχητος ἐπέδραμε θᾶσσον ὀιστοῦ / Τρῶας ἐυσκάρθμοισιν ὁδοιπορίῃσι διώκων, / εἰσόκε δὴ πυλέων ἐπεβήσατο Δαρδανιάων: for the phrasing, see *Il.* 17.75 νῦν σὺ μὲν ὧδε θέεις ἀκίχητα διώκων; Nonn. *D.* 9.92 ἀκίχητος ἐς οὐρανὸν ἔδραμεν Ἑρμῆς, 36.273–4 Δηριάδης δ᾽ ἀκίχητος ἐπέδραμε θυιάσι Βάκχαις, / καὶ Χαρόπην ἐδίωκε. Compare Verg. *A.* 6.515 "cum fatalis equus saltu super ardua uenit".

333 For **θέων** see *Il.* 11.807 ἶξε θέων Πάτροκλος, 12.343 θέων Αἴαντα κάλεσσον, 15.442 = 649 θέων δέ οἱ ἄγχι παρέστη, 17.189 θέων δ᾽ ἐκίχανεν ἑταίρους; Opp. *C.* 2.200 ἀλλὰ ποσὶ κραιπνοῖσι θέων ἐκίχανε θέουσαν. **θᾶσσον ὀιστοῦ** is a common comparison (compare E. fr. 1063.13 Kannicht *TrGF* θᾶσσον μὲν οἰστοῦ; AR 2.600 ἡ δ᾽ ἰκέλη πτερόεντι μετήορος ἔσσυτ᾽ ὀιστῷ; Opp. *H.* 1.565 ἔσσυτο θᾶσσον ὀϊστοῦ – see also Triph. 581 θοῷ … ὀιστῷ), which also reminds us that the horse acts as a weapon.

334 Τρῶας … διώκων: at first it followed the Trojans (330 εἵπετο), and now the horse persecutes or hunts them. **ἐυσκάρθμοισιν** after the Homeric *hapax* ἐΰσκαρθμοι … ἵπποι (*Il.* 13.31; cf. Delebecque 1951, 147), also used in Nic. *Alex.* 325 εὐσκάρθμοιο λαγωοῦ; QS 14.10 ἐυσκάρθμους ἐπὶ νῆας; Nonn. *D.* 27.118 ἐυσκάρθμοιο βοείης. For more on the epithet, see Monaco 2007, 167. For **ὁδοιπορίῃσι**, see *h. Merc.* 85 ἔσπασε Πιερίηθεν ὁδοιπορίην ἀλεείνων; Nonn. *D.* 25.552 ποσσὶν ὁδοιπορίη [πέλε].

335 εἰσόκε δὴ πυλέων ἐπεβήσατο Δαρδανιάων: compare Opp. *C.* 4.287 Θήβης ἐπεβήσατο; Nonn. *D.* 24.323 ἑῆς ἐπεβήσατο Κύπρου, 25.376 εἰσόκε Μαιονίης ἐπέβη χθονός, 40.580 Ἀσσυρίης ἑτέρης ἐπεβήσατο Βάκχος ἀρούρης. **πυλέων … Δαρδανιάων**, 'the Dardanian Gates' (also called the Scaean Gates, e.g. in *Il.* 3.145 Σκαιαὶ πύλαι, Triph. 574): after *Il.* 5.789 = 22.194 = 22.413 πυλάων Δαρδανιάων. Compare *AP* 11.259.3–4 (Lucillius) δούριον ἵππον, ὅν, εἰ Φρύγες εἷλκον ἅπαντες / σὺν Δαναοῖς, Σκαιὰς οὐκ ἂν ἐσῆλθε πύλας.

336–9 The destruction of the wall is a well-known motif in the epic tradition: see Bernabé *PEG Iliades Parvae* Arg. 1, lines 21–2 οἱ δὲ Τρῶες τῶν κακῶν ὑπολαβόντες ἀπηλλάχθαι τόν τε δούρειον ἵππον εἰς τὴν πόλιν εἰσδέχονται, διελόντες μέρος τι τοῦ τείχους; Verg. *A.* 2.234 "diuidimus muros et moenia pandimus urbis"; QS 12.439–41 οἳ δὲ μολόντες / ἄστυ ποτὶ σφέτερον μεγάλης κρήδεμνα πόληος / λυσάμενοι λυγρὸν ἵππον ἐσήγαγον; Palaeph. 16 οὗ [Sinon] ἐπακούσαντες οἱ Τρῶες καὶ καθελόντες τὸ τεῖχος, εἰσάγουσι τὸν ἵππον; Dictys 5.11; Dio Chr. *Or.* 11.123 ὅ τε ἵππος ὑπὸ τῶν Ἀχαιῶν ἐτελέσθη, μέγα ἔργον, καὶ ἀνήγαγον αὐτὸν οἱ Τρῶες πρὸς τὴν πόλιν, καὶ τῶν πυλῶν οὐ δεχομένων, μέρος τι τοῦ τείχους καθεῖλον.

Triph., however, builds up the traditional motif, relating the breach in the wall to divine intervention. There are three possible interpretations:

– A real intervention of the gods, which the Trojans, a myth-conscious people, take quite naturally (Athena has just been described as pushing the horse – 331–2).
– The narrator refers to the opinion of the Trojans: dismantling the gates of the city is easier than expected, which suggests that the gods have helped them.

– The narrator is allegorising the opening of the gate and its subsequent demolition, just as in 685 Hephaestus and Hera are allegories of fire and air. Hera could refer to a gust of air causing the gates to open (compare the portent narrated by QS 12.511–12 αὐτόματοι δ᾽ ἄρ᾽ ὀχῆες ἀνωίγνυντο πυλάων / αἰνὸν κεκλήγοντες), and Poseidon to a small earthquake, though he is said to strike the jambs from the top of the towers (Triph. 338b ἀπὸ πύργων) instead of provoking an earth tremor under them. Compare QS 12.509–10 περισσείοντο δὲ μακρὰ / τείχεα καὶ πύργοι μεγάλ᾽ ἔκτυπον.

336 αἱ δέ οἱ ἐρχομένῳ θυρέων πτύχες ἐστείνοντο: compare for the phrasing *Od.* 18.385–6 αἶψά κέ τοι τὰ θύρετρα … / φεύγοντι στείνοιτο διὲκ προθύροιο θύραζε; Opp. *H.* 4.99 στείνονται προβολαί τε λύγων καὶ χάσμα πυλάων; Nonn. *D.* 18.55–6 καὶ πτύχα πέτρης / στεινὴν κλιμακόεσσαν ἐμέτρεεν ὠκέι ταρσῷ. In the *Aeneid* Sinon tells the Trojans that Calchas asked the Argives to build a tall horse that could not be brought into Troy through the walls (*A.* 2.185–7). See also Palaeph. 16 ἵππον κατεσκεύασαν ξύλινον πρὸς μέτρον τῶν πυλῶν, ὅπως μὴ ἑλκόμενος εἰσέλθῃ, ἀλλ᾽ ὑπερέχῃ τῷ μεγέθει. On the other hand, Triph. says that the horse is too wide to go through the gates, not too tall. **πτύχες** are the leaves of a folding door (see LSJ *s.v.* πτύξ IV). See also Opp. *H.* 2.171 κληῖδας ἀναπτύξαντα θυρέτρων.

337 ἀλλ᾽ Ἥρη μὲν ἔλυσεν ἐπίδρομον ὅρμον ὁδοῖο ‘but Hera rendered accessible the harbour (i.e. the final destination) of the way’. This line has required a great deal of editorial work: F has ἀλλ᾽ Ἥρη μὲν ἔλυσεν ἐπὶ δρόμον αὖθις ὁδοῖο and *b* has ἀλλ᾽ Ἥρη μὲν ἔδυσεν ἐπίδρομον ὅρμον ὁδοῖο. Gerlaud keeps F’s reading, while Campbell (*Lex.*, pp. 211–12, APP 337) favours ἀλλ᾽ Ἥρη μὲν ἔλυσεν ἐπίδρομον αὖτις ὁδοῖο (also Luppe 1995–6, though with a different meaning), and Livrea and Dubielzig print ἀλλ᾽ Ἥρη μὲν ἔλυσεν ἐπίδρομον ὅρμον ὁδοῖο. For a detailed summary of all the possibilities considered so far, see Dubielzig *Triph.*, 188–91.

ἔδυσεν appears to be due to a confusion in the copying of capital letters (ΕΔΥΣΕΝ, instead of ΕΛΥΣΕΝ). Therefore, Gerlaud, Livrea, Campbell (*Lex.*, p. 211, APP 337) and Dubielzig prefer F’s reading **ἔλυσεν**. Ἥρη μὲν ἔλυσεν can be compared with *Il.* 16.100 ὄφρ᾽ οἷοι Τροίης ἱερὰ κρήδεμνα λύωμεν; *Od.* 13.388 οἷον ὅτε Τροίης λύομεν λιπαρὰ κρήδεμνα; QS 12.440–1 κρήδεμνα πόληος / λυσάμενοι.

Gerlaud (*Triph.*) maintains the reading of F **ἐπὶ δρόμον**, and translates as "mais Héra le remet dans sa marche rapide". The copyist may have been influenced by 85 ἐπὶ δρόμον ὁπλίζεσθαι, or the reading may be the result of a mistake in word division. The phrase is awkward, and it seems preferable to choose the reading of *b* **ἐπίδρομον** (as do Livrea *Triph.*; Campbell *loc.cit.*; Dubielzig *loc. cit.*; Luppe 1995–6; Monaco 2007, 167–8), matching a Homeric passage: *Il.* 6.433–4 (Andromache advises Hector to station the army by the wild fig tree) ἔνθα μάλιστα / ἀμβατός ἐστι πόλις καὶ ἐπίδρομον ἔπλετο τεῖχος. Andromache speaks of a weak section of the wall (τεῖχος), which may be easily overrun (ἐπίδρομον). ἐπίδρομος usually occurs as an adjective (see LSJ *s.v.*), and so the natural choice would be to understand it as predicative with ὅρμον. The copyist of F may have tried to solve the confusion resulting from the division ἐπὶ δρόμον, by comparison with line 463 (θεὸς αὖθις ἀνέδραμεν) and its Homeric model (*Il.* 16.813 ὃ μὲν αὖτις ἀνέδραμε).

ὅρμος means 'harbour', as in *Il.* 1.435 = *Od.* 15.497 τὴν δ᾽ εἰς ὅρμον προέρεσσαν ἐρετμοῖς; AR 2.350 νήσου Θυνηίδος ὅρμον ἵκησθε, 2.728 ἄκρης Ἀχερουσίδος ὅρμον ἵκοντο; Opp. *H.* 2.684 ἐκ τῶν μοι γλυκὺς ὅρμος ἀνακτορίης πεπέτασται; Triph. 216–17 ἀναπλώεσκον … / ὅρμον ἐς ἀντιπέραιον ἐυστεφάνου Τενέδοιο. The arrival of the horse in the city is thus compared again with the hauling of a ship towards the sea, completing the parallels suggested in lines 305–7 and 319–23 (see notes *ad loc.*). Compare QS 12.428–30 ἠύτε νῆα / ἕλκωσι<ν> μογέοντες ἔσω ἁλὸς ἠχηέσσης / αἰζηοί, 432 κατέρχεται εἰς ἁλὸς οἶδμα.

Regarding the interpretation of **Ἥρη μὲν ἔλυσεν ἐπίδρομον ὅρμον**, it is clear that Hera unblocks or clears (ἔλυσεν) the way in, and that the gates are compared to a haven receiving the horse (note the implicit comparison of the horse with a ship). ἐπίδρομος developed from the Homeric 'that may be overrun', at least partly because it is paired with ἀμβατός (*Il.* 6.433–4 ἔνθα μάλιστα / ἀμβατός ἐστι πόλις καὶ ἐπίδρομον ἔπλετο τεῖχος), to mean 'that is overrun', even 'accessible', whether it be a space swept by the wind (Opp. *H.* 3.635 ἀνέμοισιν ἐπίδρομον, *AP* 10.13.3 [Satyr.] ζεφύροισιν ἐπίδρομον) or a space that can be crossed with a means of transport (Mosch. *Europa* 137 νηυσὶν γὰρ ἐπίδρομός ἐστι θάλασσα; *AP* 9.58.1 [Antipatr.] ἐπίδρομον ἅρμασι τεῖχος; Paul. Sil. *Ekphr. Soph.* 872 στεινὴ πυρσοφόροισιν

ἐπίδρομος οἶμος ὁδίταις). What Hera does, then, is to make the harbour accessible, i.e. she opens the gates, which Gerlaud relates to her role of κλειδοῦχος 'keeper of the keys' (see Gerlaud *Triph.*, p. 137, note to 338; Vian 1952, 70). Triph. is at the same time referring to Andromache's comment on the weak section of the wall (*Il.* 6.433–4) and to the description of the opening of a door in *Od.* 21.46–7 αὐτίκ᾽ ἄρ᾽ ἥ γ᾽ ἱμάντα θοῶς ἀπέλυσε κορώνης, / ἐν δὲ κληῖδ᾽ ἧκε, θυρέων δ᾽ ἀνέκοπτεν ὀχῆας (note the parallel with Triph. 339 σταθμὸν ἀνοιγομένων πυλέων ἀνέκοπτε).

As for Livrea's interpretation of ἔλυσεν ἐπίδρομον ὅρμον (Livrea 1979a, 67: "mentre Era stacca dai cardini i battenti già aperti (339, forse anche 238), Posidone fracassa a colpi di tridente gli stipiti [Oberschwelle] dall' alto delle torri che fiancheggiano la porta"), it does make sense in the context, but it does not correspond to the actual text. Both Campbell (*Lex.*, pp. 211–12, APP 337) and Luppe 1995–6 try to keep ἐπίδρομον αὖτις / αὖθις ὁδοῖο, but they differ in their interpretations. Campbell reads "Hera set it [the horse] free, coursing speedily (and freely) once again (previously ἐπέδραμε, 333) over / along its path", while Luppe 1995–6 looks to the context to solve the problem: the gate is said to be too narrow for the horse to enter (336) and Poseidon knocks out the gatepost (338b–9), and so what Hera does is to clear ἐπίδρομος ὁδοῖο 'die Überspannung des Eingangs-Weges'. As a substantive, ἐπίδρομος refers to the 'cord which runs along the upper edge of a net', as in X. *Cyn.* 6.9 (see LSJ *s.v.* III.1), but Luppe takes it here to refer to the upper limit of the gate, the beam at the top ('oberer Torbalken').

Both *b* and F agree in ending the line with **ὁδοῖο**. Campbell (*Lex.*, pp. 211–12, APP 337) suggests the translation 'over/along the path', comparing Triph. 154 ἐπειγόμενος πεδίοιο (cf. *Od.* 1.309 ἐπειγόμενός περ ὁδοῖο) and S. *OC* 689 πεδίων ἐπινίσσεται. It makes more sense to relate it to ὅρμον, 'the harbour of the way'. Compare *AP* 11.317.2 (Palladas) τῶν βασταζομένων ὅρμον ὁδοιπορίης.

338a πρόσθεν ἀναστέλλουσα relates to ὅρμον ὁδοῖο (337) and further explains ἔλυσεν ἐπίδρομον (337), i.e. "Hera rendered accessible the harbour of the way, by opening … it before [the horse]". See the comment in Dubielzig, *Triph.*, p. 191 (C). 337–8a Ἥρη …/ πρόσθεν is opposed to 338b Ποσειδάων δ᾽ ἀπὸ πύργων. For πρόσθεν with a local

meaning, see LSJ *s.v.* B.I; Campbell *Lex. s.v.* πρόσθε(ν), i. Gerlaud (*Triph.*, p. 137, n. to 338) translates "'ramener en arrière' (s.e. πτύχας) d'où 'écarter les vantaux'" and Campbell (*Lex. s.v.* ἀναστέλλω) translates 'draw back' out of the way (scil. θυρέων πτύχας).

338b–9 Ποσειδάων δ᾽ ἀπὸ πύργων / σταθμὸν ἀνοιγομένων πυλέων ἀνέκοπτε τριαίνῃ: Poseidon causes the frame of the gate to collapse with a blow of his trident. Compare Nonn. *D.* 36.202–4 χειρὶ δ᾽ ἀνοχλίζων ᾽Αίδης ὀρφναῖον ὀχῆα / εὐρυτέρους πυλεῶνας ἑῶν ὤιξε μελάθρων / κτεινομένον ἑκάτερθε, 46.139–40 ᾽Ηδη δ᾽ ἑπταπόροιο παρέδραμε τείχεα Θήβης, / αὐτομάτοις ἑλίκεσσιν ἀνοιγομένων πυλεώνων. In the Homeric poems, σταθμός in the singular refers to the bearing pillar of the roof in a hall (*Od.* 1.333 etc. παρὰ σταθμὸν τέγεος, 17.96 παρὰ σταθμὸν μεγάροιο) or to a doorpost (*Od.* 4.838 σταθμοῖο παρὰ κληῖδα, 17.339–40 ἷζε δ᾽ ἐπὶ μελίνου οὐδοῦ ἔντοσθε θυράων, / κλινάμενος σταθμῷ κυπαρισσίνῳ). In the plural it usually refers to the door jambs (*Od.* 6.18–19, 7.89, 10.62–3, 21.45, 22.181; AR 4.26–7; Nonn. *D.* 3.135–6). Despite the use of the singular, Triph. seems to be referring to both door jambs: Poseidon is widening the gap between the towers, striking the narrow entrance from both towers (ἀπὸ πύργων). Cf. Monaco 2007, 135.

ἀπὸ πύργων: as in *Il.* 12.154 ἀπὸ πύργων|. **ἀνέκοπτε τριαίνῃ**: compare *Il.* 12.27 αὐτὸς δ᾽ ᾽Εννοσίγαιος ἔχων χείρεσσι τρίαιναν; QS 14.481 ὄρος μέγα τύψε τριαίνῃ.

340–9 The women welcome the horse into Troy. Only the men had left Troy and taken part in the assembly to decide what to do with the horse, while the women waited inside the city for them to come back. As with the hauling of the horse (305ff.), it is nowhere explained how the homage to the horse is so quickly orchestrated.

The elements of the reception would have been familiar to contemporary readers as part of the ritual entry of the statue of a divinity in a town, to some extent similar to the ceremonial reception of a living person (Greek ἀπάντησις or ὑπάντησις, Latin *adventus*). On the arrival of the emperor as *deus presens*, see MacCormack 1981, 22–33. On imperial visits to Alexandria, see Harker 2008, 60–8. The ceremonies of the *adventus* and the triumph were also closely related: see Peterson 1930; MacCormack 1981, 17–89; Robert 1984, 482–6; Lehnen 1997.

The usual procedure in the reception of statues, dignitaries and victors involved the inhabitants of the receiving town coming out *en masse*, but in ordered groups (local authorities, men, women, elderly men, elderly women, children: see Plu. *Pomp.* 40.2; Men. Rh. 381.7–22 [also verbally 423.28–31]; Amm. Marc. 16.10.5–6; *Pan. Lat.* 8.19.1), and waiting for the divinity or visitor outside the town to escort it/him inside the walls. They were expected to acclaim the visitor (Lehnen 1997, 169–70) and a notable would address him with a welcome speech known as ἐπιβατήριος λόγος (see Men. Rh. 377.31–388.15; MacCormack 1981, 19–22; Lehnen 1997, 145–9). The ceremony was meant to gain the protection of the divinity or dignitary for the town and all its inhabitants, which is why it was so important that all groups took part in it. On the preparations for the ἀπάντησις and the procedures of the ceremony, see Perrin-Saminadayar 2009; Bérenger 2009.

Elements used in these receptions and also mentioned by Triph.:

– Musical accompaniment, sometimes accompanied with dancing: *Pan. Lat.* 8.8.4 "Exornauimus uias quibus in palatium peruenitur paupere quidem supellectili, sed omnium signa collegiorum, omnium deorum nostrorum simulacra, paucissima clarorum instrumenta modulorum per compendia saepius tibi occursura protulimus"; *Pan. Lat.* 12.37.3 "Ferebant se obuiae tripudiantium cateruae. Cuncta cantu et crotalis personabant. Hic tibi triumphum chorus, ille contra tyranno … carmen exequiale dicebat". Compare Triph. 308–9, 340–2.
– Palms and crowns: common in numismatic representations of triumph (see Stutzinger 1983, esp. catalogue on pp. 298–305; Lehnen 1997, 77–83), also reproduced in the fourth-century silver bowl depicting the triumph of Constantius II, now in the Hermitage Museum (the emperor, dressed in full military gear, drives a chariot; to his left a Victoria holds a palm branch in her left hand, and with her right hand extends a wreath towards Constantius: cf. Althaus – Sutcliffe 2006, cat. no. 62), or the Barberini diptych now in the Louvre (the emperor on horseback is accompanied by a flying Victory holding a palm in her left hand and a wreath in her right – now missing). Triph. does not mention the palms, but the Trojans do crown the horse with garlands of flowers before bringing it into the town (316–17).

– Flowers: Amm. Marc. 21.10.1 (Julian enters Sirmium) "militaris et omnis generis turba, cum lumine multo et floribus … duxit in regiam"; Herodian 8.7.2 (on entering Aquileia) εὐφήμουν τε καὶ ἐφυλλοβόλουν τὸν Μάξιμον. Compare the procession of Callirhoe and Dionysius to the temple of Aphrodite in Chariton's novel (3.8.5 Ἐπευφήμησε τὸ πλῆθος τῶν περιεστηκότων καὶ οἱ μὲν ῥόδοις, οἱ δὲ ἴοις, οἱ δὲ αὐτοῖς στεφάνοις ἐφυλλοβόλησαν αὐτούς, ὥστε πλησθῆναι τὸ τέμενος ἀνθῶν), and the triumphal entrance of King Hydaspes into Syene in the *Aethiopica* of Heliodorus (9.22.1 πάσης μὲν τῆς πόλεως καὶ διὰ πάσης ἡλικίας προυπαντώσης, στεφάνοις δὲ καὶ ἄνθεσι νειλῴοις τὴν στρατιὰν βαλλούσης). Compare Triph. 316–17, 340–6.

Triph. does not mention the use of torches and candles in the procession, though these were often displayed in the *adventus*, and compared in the narratives to the light emanating from the face or body of the visitor: see MacCormack 1981, 45ff.; Lehnen 1997, 122–3.

The burning of essences (here restricted to the sprinkling of saffron mixed with wine in 347–9) was a common element in religious processions. For instance, Callixenus' description of a Dionysiac πομπή organised in Alexandria by Ptolemy II Philadelphus (Athen. 5.197c–203b = *FGrHist* 627 F 1) mentions incense, myrrh, saffron and other spices (197e ἔφερον δ' αὗται [Νῖκαι] θυμιατήρια ἐξαπήχη, 197f ἐπηκολούθουν δ' αὐτῷ παῖδες ἐν χιτῶσι πορφυροῖς, λιβανωτὸν καὶ σμύρναν, ἔτι δὲ κρόκον ἐπὶ χρυσῶν μαζονόμων φέροντες ἑκατὸν εἴκοσι, 198d ἐφ' οὗ θυμιατήριον χρυσοῦν καὶ φιάλαι δύο χρυσαῖ, κασσίας μεσταὶ καὶ κρόκου, 201a κάμηλοι δ' αἱ μὲν ἔφερον λιβανωτοῦ μνᾶς τριακοσίας, σμύρνης τριακοσίας, κρόκου καὶ κασίας καὶ κινναμώμου καὶ ἴριδος καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν ἀρωμάτων διακοσίας). See also Achilles Tatius' depiction of a religious procession (2.15.2), where Clitophon describes perfumes (τὰ θυμιάματα, κασσία καὶ λιβανωτὸς καὶ κρόκος) and the aroma of the garlands of flowers (τὰ ἄνθη, νάρκισσοι καὶ ῥόδα καὶ μυρρίναι) blending in the air. Callirhoe is also honoured as a goddess in Chariton's novel: 8.1.12 Ἄνθη καὶ στεφάνους ἔβαλλον αὐτοῖς, καὶ οἶνος καὶ μύρα πρὸ τῶν ποδῶν ἐχεῖτο.

Livy (29.14.13) refers to the use of incense in the reception of the sacred stone of Cybele in Rome. Apuleius (*AA* 11.9–10), in describing this procession of Cybele, mentions women adorned with flowers,

strewing flowers along the path ("uerno florentes coronamine, quae de gremio per viam qua sacer incedebat comitatus solum sternebant flosculis"), the sprinkling of the streets with balsams ("illae etiam quae ceteris unguentis et geniali balsamo guttatim excusso conspargebant plateas"), the use of torches and lamps ("magnus praeterea sexus utriusque numerus lucernis, taedis, cereis, et alio genere facticii luminis"), and a chorus and the sound of instruments.

In his search for a suitable scheme for the transporting of the horse, Triph. presents it as the transporting of the statue of a divinity (the horse is an offering to Athena and therefore belongs to or represents the goddess). The institution has to be adapted to the situation, and therefore the transporting of the horse across the plain is restricted to men, headed by Priam (250–309), which makes more sense than having all the population leave the walls in a situation marked by uncertainty. Women, children, and the elderly join in the ἀπάντησις inside the town, thus backing their menfolk's decision to bring the horse in and acquiring a share in its consequences (on the *adventus* as an expression of the *consensus omnium*, see MacCormack 1981, 21; Dufraigne 1994, 169–70, 173). Their collective folly justifies the complete annihilation of the town at the hands of the Achaeans: just as all the Trojans have taken part in the celebration, so they will all suffer the destruction. The division of the crowd into distinct groups (340–2, 350–1) is paralleled in the nyktomachy by the grouping of the victims according to their gender and age (547–58 women, 573–95 men, 600–6 old men and children). This rhetorical resource is known as μερισμός or *distributio*: cf. Miguélez-Cavero 2008, 287ff.

However, not everything goes according to plan: all age groups acclaim the statue, but their cries are far from melodious (350–7), and the horse is not welcomed by a pleasant panegyric, but by Cassandra's dishevelled appearance and distorted words (358–416). This explains why Priam tries to avert the ill omen with a derogatory speech to his daughter (419–38), which contains elements of a proper ἐπιβατήριος λόγος (see n. to 424–32). Triph. is not alone in inserting disturbing overtones into a ceremony of *adventus*: see Dufraigne 1994, 182–3, 186–7 on Ammianus Marcellinus.

340–2 The songs and dances performed by the Trojan women to honour the statue are briefly mentioned in other sources: E. *Tr.* 545–7 (παρθένοι δ᾽ / ἄειρον ἅμα κρότον ποδῶν / βοάν τ᾽ ἔμελπον εὔφρον᾽),

551–5 (ἐγὼ δὲ τὰν ὀρεστέραν / τότ᾽ ἀμφὶ μέλαθρα παρθένον / Διὸς κόραν ἐμελπόμαν / χοροῖσι); Verg. *A.* 2.238–9 ("pueri circum innuptaeque puellae / sacra canunt funemque manu contingere gaudent" – Virgil describes something similar to a real ceremonial entry of a statue into a Roman town, as explained by Austin 1964, 113–14; more nuanced analysis in Horsfall 2008, 213–15); QS 12.441–3 (αἳ δ᾽ ὀλόλυξαν / Τρωιάδες, πᾶσαι δὲ περισταδὸν εἰσορόωσαι / θάμβεον ὄβριμον ἔργον). Compare also AR 1.843–4 (Jason received at Hypsipyle's palace) ἀμφὶ δὲ τόν γε νεήνιδες ἄλλοθεν ἄλλαι / μυρίαι εἱλίσσοντο κεχαρμέναι, 4.1196–8 (reception of the Argonauts) νύμφαι δ᾽ ἄμμιγα πᾶσαι … / ἱμερόενθ᾽ ὑμέναιον ἀνήπυον· ἄλλοτε δ᾽ αὖτε / οἰόθεν οἷαι ἄειδον ἑλισσόμεναι περὶ κύκλον.

340 Τρωιάδες δὲ γυναῖκες (also 547, 688), after *Il.* 9.139 = 9.281 = 16.831 Τρωϊάδας δὲ γυναῖκας (same *sedes*), avoided altogether by QS. **ἀνὰ πτόλιν** (also Triph. 559, 672) occurs in *Il.* 8.55; six times in AR (see esp. 4.1281 ἀνέρες εἱλίσσονται ἀνὰ πτόλιν); eleven times in QS; Nonn. *D.* 44.125, 47.34.

341 νύμφαι τε πρόγαμοί τε καὶ ἴδμονες Εἰλειθυίης 'young brides, fiancées and those who already knew Eileithyia [i.e. the women who had already given birth]': compare *Od.* 11.38–9; E. *Ba.* 694 νέαι παλαιαὶ παρθένοι τ᾽ ἔτ᾽ ἄζυγες; QS 14.11–16. Triph. elaborates the motif of the dance of the maidens, splitting the group into women who are about to get married (πρόγαμοι – a Triphiodorean *hapax*, based on the verb προγαμέω and its derivatives; compare Opp. *H.* 4.179–80 ἀρτιγάμοισι / νύμφαις; cf. Monaco 2007, 158), newly-weds (νύμφαι) or those with young children (ἴδμονες Εἰλειθυίης). This last group is compared by Gerlaud *Triph.*, p. 137, note to 341, with Verg. *G.* 4.340 "Lucinae experta labores". The μερισμός emphasises the participation of all the women, with the exception of the maidens.

342 μολπῇ τ᾽ ὀρχηθμῷ τε: compare *Il.* 13.637 = *Od.* 23.145 μολπῆς τε γλυκερῆς καὶ ἀμύμονος ὀρχηθμοῖο; QS 13.2–3 (nocturnal feast in Troy) ἀμφὶ δὲ πάντῃ / μολπὴ ἐπ᾽ ὀρχηθμοῖσι. **βρέτας** is not Homeric, though AR incorporates it into the epic vocabulary (1.1119 ἱερὸν βρέτας). Compare also Call. *Dian.* 248–9a κεῖνο δέ τοι μετέπειτα περὶ βρέτας εὐρὺ θέμειλον / δωμήθη, mentioned in De Stefani – Magnelli 2011, p. 553, n. 74. Euripides calls the wooden image ἱερὸν … ξόανον (*Tr.* 525).

343–4 ἄλλαι δὲ χνοόωσαν ἀμελγόμεναι χάριν ὄμβρου / ὁλκῷ δουρατέῳ ῥοδέους στορέσαντο τάπητας: one of the first reactions of the men had been to crown the horse with garlands of flowers, plucked impromptu from the nearby river (316–17), but the carpets of flowers can be assumed to have required lengthier preparation.

Campbell (*Lex.*, p. 212, APP 343; 1984, 220) suggests reading ἀμεργόμεναι and not **ἀμελγόμεναι**. Compare AR 4.1143–4 ἄνθεα δέ σφιν / νύμφαι ἀμεργόμεναι; Ps. Pamprepius, fr. 3.25 (Livrea 1979b) ἀμεργόμεναι χ[ύσι]ν ὄμβρων. See also the commentary in Dubielzig *Triph.*, 343–5. **χνοόωσαν … χάριν ὄμβρου**: between a poetic image and a poetic definition or a riddle, solved in the following line (ῥοδέους … τάπητας). χνοάω comes here as a complete surprise, since the participle is regularly used to refer to the first down of a beard (AR 2.43 χνοάοντας ἰούλους, 779 ἐμὲ δ᾽ εὗρε νέον χνοάοντα ἰούλους; Opp. *C.* 4.347 ἔτι χνοάοντες ἰούλους; Nonn. *D.* 3.344 ὅτε χνόον ἔσχεν ἰούλων) or, less often, to a girl's cheeks (Theocr. *Id.* 27.50 μᾶλα τεὰ πράτιστα τάδε χνοάοντα διδάξω).

344 ὁλκῷ δουρατέῳ: supported by similar expressions throughout the poem (185 ἱππείην … ὁλκάδα, 458 ἵππῳ δουρατέῳ). On the metaphor of the horse as a ship, see notes to 62–4, 323, 328–39. **ῥοδέους στορέσαντο τάπητας**: see *Il.* 24.645 στορέσαι τ᾽ ἐφύπερθε τάπητας (= *Od.* 4.298, 7.337).

345–6 αἱ δὲ θαλασσαίης ἐπιμάζια νήματα μίτρης / λυσάμεναι κλωστοῖσι κατέπλεκον ἄνθεσιν ἵππον: a μίτρα is here a breast-band (= ζώνη, μαστόδετα – see LSJ *s.v.* μίτρα I.2), said to be of the colour of the sea, i.e. dyed purple. Compare Nonn. *D.* 4.110 Τυρίης … βασιλήια πέπλα θαλάσσης (~ 18.355). μίτραι were among the offerings that women consecrated to Aphrodite at the end of maidenhood (*AP* 5.199.3–5 [Hedylus]; a μίτρα appears also in a courtesan's offering to Aphrodite in *AP* 13.24.3 [Callimachus]) or to Artemis after a safe birth (*AP* 6.201 [Marcus Argentarius], mentioning μίτρην, ζώνην, μαστόδετα; 6.272 [Perses], mentioning ζῶμα, μίτραν). If we assume that Triph. is trying to reproduce in this passage some rituals that were recognisable by contemporary readers, he must be recalling female offerings to divinities of the female sphere, thus emphasising the feminine nature of the horse, which is about to give birth. The horse's role as a protector of female fertility would guarantee the continuity of their

town after the war. The women are praying for new children to be born to replace the warriors who lost their lives fighting the Greeks.

Gerlaud (*Triph.* p. 137, note to 345) points out as a parallel Herodian's account of the arrival in Rome from Pessinus of the sacred stone of Cybele in 205/4 (1.11.4–5): the ship transporting the statue became trapped in the mire and only glided forward when a vestal loosened her sash and threw it onto the prow of the ship (λυσαμένη τὴν ζώνην ἐπαφῆκε τῇ πρώρᾳ τῆς νεώς). The detail of the sash only occurs in Herodian's account, not in other authors: Livy 29.14.11–14; Ov. *Fasti* 4.201–330.

Triph.'s phrasing can be compared with AR 3.254–5 βαλοῦσαι / νήματα καὶ κλωστῆρας; Nonn. *D.* 15.82–3 ἀμφὶ δὲ δειρῇ / οὐραίαις ἑλίκεσσιν ἀνέπλεκε κυκλάδα μίτρην, 48.691 λυσαμένη ζωστῆρα νεοκλώστοιο χιτῶνος (see also 24.303 νεοκλώστῳ δ᾽ ἐνὶ πέπλῳ, 41.301 ἐυκλώστοιο χιτῶνος); Jo. Gaz. *Ekphr. Kosm. Pin.* 2.190 τοσσάτιον μείωσε παλίλλυτα νήματα μίτρης.

ἐπιμάζιος, a *proton legomenon*, has here its literal sense 'on/over the breast', as in *AP* 5.276.5–6 (Agathias, about a κρήδεμνον) ὅπως ἐπιμάζιον εἴη / ἀμφιπεριπλέγδην εἰς σὲ κεδαννύμενον. It does not refer to a suckling infant (= ἐπιμαστίδιος), as in Nonn. *D.* 3.380 πήχεϊ κεκλιμένην ἐπιμάζιον ἤγαγε; *AP* 9.548.1 (Bianor) Κοῦρον ἀποπλανίην, ἐπιμάζιον Ἑρμώνακτα. See LSJ *s.vv.* ἐπιμάζιος, ἐπιμαστίδιος; Monaco 2007, 154. **νήματα … / λυσάμεναι** occurs in Nonn. *D.*, though in a completely different context: 7.11 οὔ πω γὰρ τοκετοῖο λεχώια νήματα λύσας, 9.7 παιδοτόκου λύσασα μογοστόκα νήματα μηροῦ. **κλωστοῖσι κατέπλεκον ἄνθεσιν ἵππον**: the breast-bands are here the textile version of the garlands of flowers with which the men crown the horse (316–17). Compare Greg. Naz. *Or.* 21.29 κλάδοι δὲ αὐτὸν ὑποδέχονται, καὶ στρώσεις ἱματίων πολυανθῶν καὶ ποικίλων προρριπτουμένων τε καὶ ὑπορριπτουμένων. Livrea and Dubielzig (*Triph.*, 193–4) prefer *b*'s reading περίστεφον, instead of F's κατέπλεκον. Compare *Od.* 8.175 ἀλλ᾽ οὔ οἱ χάρις ἀμφιπεριστέφεται ἐπέεσσιν; Nonn. *D.* 6.131 λαϊνέης ὀρόφοιο περιστεφθέντα καλύπτρῃ.

347–9 Sprinkling of the streets of the city with perfumed wine: common in religious processions. See Athen. 5.195b ἔπειτα γυναῖκες ἐκ χρυσῶν καλπίδων μύροις ἔρραινον εἰς διακοσίας; Charito 8.1.12 οἶνος καὶ μύρα πρὸ τῶν ποδῶν ἐχεῖτο; Greg. Naz. *Or.* 21.29 Ἐῶ γὰρ λέγειν

κρότους πανδήμους καὶ μύρων ἐκχύσεις. Among Latin authors, see Apuleius *AA* 11.9. Despite Gerlaud's suggestion (*Triph.* p. 138, n. to 347–9), there is no need to bring in the Roman custom of spraying liquid saffron at theatrical spectacles (Lucr. 2.416, Hor. *Epist.* 2.1.79–80, Prop. 4.1.16, Ov. *AA* 1.103–4, Plin. *HN* 21.33 – cf. Coleman 2006, 47–8).

347 καί τις ἀπειρεσίοιο πίθου κρήδεμνον ἀνεῖσα: κρήδεμνον already means 'lid of a wine jar' in *Od.* 3.392 ὤϊξεν ταμίη καὶ ἀπὸ κρήδεμνον ἔλυσε (see LSJ *s.v.* κρήδεμνον II.2), but the pun on the battlements of Troy is too clear to be missed. See *Il.* 16.100 ὄφρ᾽ οἷοι Τροίης ἱερὰ κρήδεμνα λύωμεν ~ *Od.* 13.388; QS 6.45 πρὶν Τροίης κρήδεμνα ποτὶ χθόνα πάντα βαλέσθαι, and esp. 12.439–41 οἳ δὲ μολόντες / ἄστυ ποτὶ σφέτερον μεγάλης κρήδεμνα πόληος / λυσάμενοι λυγρὸν ἵππον ἐσήγαγον.

The opening of the horse, i.e. the actual beginning of the final battle, is later referred to with the same verb ἀνίημι: 386 (Cassandra's prophecy) μογοστόκον ἵππον ἀνεῖσαι and 539 (the Achaean chieftains come out of the horse) ὣς Δαναοὶ κρυφίοιο λόχου κληῖδας ἀνέντες. There is no clear parallel with Hesiod's account of Pandora's opening of the jar and the liberation of human sorrows (*Op.* 94–105), but any opening of a jar by a woman would point to this myth. In fact, Nonnus uses a similar phrase to refer to it: *D.* 7.56–8 οὐράνιον γὰρ / οὐκ ὄφελέν ποτε κεῖνο πίθου κρήδεμνον ἀνοῖξαι / ἀνδράσι Πανδώρη γλυκερὸν κακόν. The large size of the jar (Triph. 347 ἀπειρεσίοιο πίθου) would then hint simultaneously at that of the horse (58 ἄγαλμα πελώριον ἵππον, 75 στόματος μεγάλοιο, 412 δέμας πολυχανδέος ἵππου) and at the enormity of the sorrows that were about to come out of it (see Cassandra's speech, esp. 376–90).

348 χρυσείῳ … κρόκῳ: an obvious combination with literary precedents, such as S. *OC* 685 χρυσαυγὴς κρόκος; *AP* 12.256.7 (Meleager) χρυσανθῆ δὲ κόμαισι κρόκον, Θήρωνα, συνῆψεν. **κεκερασμένον οἶνον**: compare *Od.* 3.332 κεράασθε δὲ οἶνον, 8.470 κερόωντό τε οἶνον, 15.500 κερῶντό τε αἴθοπα οἶνον, 24.364 κερῶντάς τ᾽ αἴθοπα οἶνον.

349 γαῖαν ἀνεκνίσσωσε χυτὴν εὐώδεϊ πηλῷ: compare Nonn. *D.* 18.101 εὐόδμου δὲ πόληος ἀνεκνίσωσαν ἀγυιάς (reshaping the phrase κνισᾶν ἀγυιάς, for which see Ar. *Eq.* 1320, *Av.* 1233; D. 21.41, 43.66;

Gerbeau – Vian 1992, p. 138, n. to 18.101, favour an Aristophanic influence for Nonnus' line, though they also consider Triph.). Nonnus also refers to the fragrance emanating from the wine, which fills Staphylos' palace and the whole town (*D.* 18.102 ἀμφιλαφεῖς δ' ἐμέθυσσαν ὅλον δόμον ἰκμάδες οἴνου). In Triph.'s case, the aroma stems from the drops of wine sprinkled on the ground.

Campbell (*Lex.*, p. 212, APP 349) opposes the geminate sigma printed by Gerlaud here (ἀνεκνίσσωσε) and in 446 πολυκνίσσων ἐπὶ βωμῶν|: compare Nonn. *D.* 21.158 πολυκνίσων ἐπὶ βωμῶν|; *P.* 4.90 πολυκνίσῳ παρὰ πέτρῃ|.

γαῖαν … χυτήν has strong negative resonances, because the Homeric cluster always refers to the heaping-up of a burial mound: *Il.* 6.464 ἀλλά με τεθνηῶτα χυτὴ κατὰ γαῖα καλύπτοι (~ 14.114), 23.256 εἶθαρ δὲ χυτὴν ἐπὶ γαῖαν ἔχευαν (~ *Od.* 3.258); AR 4.1536 χυτὴν ἐπὶ γαῖαν ἔθεντο; QS 1.109 ὥς εἴ με χυτὴ κατὰ γαῖα κεκεύθει (~ 3.464, 7.656). See also Monaco 2007, 148–9.

εὐώδεϊ πηλῷ: Triph. plays on the two meanings of πηλός, 'mud' (e.g. Nonn. *D.* 10.162 καὶ διδύμους στίλβοντι πόδας στηρίξατο πηλῷ, 421 ψαμαθώδεϊ πηλῷ|) and 'wine' (S. fr. 783 *TGrF* Radt πολὺς δὲ πηλὸς ἐκ πίθων τυρβάζεται – cf. also QS 1.795 εὐώδεϊ οἴνῳ|). Here πηλός may be the soil, muddy and perfumed with the wine, or the perfumed wine on being mixed with the soil. Compare Plu. *Mor.* 463a καὶ πηλόν, ὥς τις εἶπεν, οἴνου καὶ σπαράγματα στεφάνων; Chariton 1.3.2 (fake evidence of a κῶμος) ἐστεφάνωσαν τὰ πρόθυρα, μύροις ἔρραναν, οἴνου πηλὸν ἐποίησαν, δᾶδας ἔρριψαν ἡμικαύστους. See Gerlaud *Triph.*, p. 138, n. to 349; Monaco 2007, 140–1. On the adjective, see Boehm 2009, 15.

350–1 ἀνδρομέῃ δὲ βοῇ συνεβάλλετο θῆλυς ἰωή, / καὶ παίδων ἀλαλητὸς ἐμίσγετο γήραος ἠχῇ. The Trojans also receive the statue amid cries in E. *Tr.* 522–3 ἀνὰ δ' ἐβόασεν λεὼς / Τρωϊάδος ἀπὸ πέτρας σταθείς; Verg. *A.* 2.232–3 "ducendum ad sedes simulacrum orandaque diuae / numina conclamant" (noting Austin 1964, p. 110, n. to 233: "it is hard not to think that Virgil had in mind the association of *conclamare* with death-laments"); QS 12.441–2 αἳ δ' ὀλόλυξαν / Τρωιάδες (according to Campbell 1981, p. 152 "The verb strikes a sinister note").

Homer mentions the ceremonial cries performed by the Trojan women offering a *peplos* to Athena (*Il.* 6.301 αἱ δ' ὀλολυγῇ πᾶσαι

᾿Αθήνῃ χεῖρας ἀνέσχον), and there are also cries of approval in assemblies: *Od.* 24.463 οἱ δ᾿ ἄρ᾿ ἀνήϊξαν μεγάλῳ ἀλαλητῷ. The mixing of the shouts of the different age groups of both sexes, however, refers to their regular participation in the ceremony of the *adventus*: cf. Men. Rh. 381.7–13 οἷον ὅτι προαπηντήκαμεν δέ σοι ἅπαντες ὁλοκλήροις τοῖς γένεσι, παῖδες, πρεσβῦται, ἄνδρες, ἱερέων γένη, πολιτευομένων συστήματα, δῆμος περιχαρῶς δεξιούμενοι, πάντες φιλοφρονούμενοι ταῖς εὐφημίαις, σωτῆρα καὶ τεῖχος, ἀστέρα φανότατον ὀνομάζοντες, οἱ δὲ παῖδες τροφέα μὲν ἑαυτῶν, σωτῆρα δὲ τῶν πατέρων (to be read with Liebeschuetz 1972, 208–19; Dufraigne 1994, 175–6). This was the usual routine everywhere, and not an exclusively Alexandrian custom as Gerlaud (*Triph.* 138, n. to 350–1) suggests, citing Greg. Naz. *Or.* 21.29 (κατὰ γὰρ γένη καὶ ἡλικίας … διαιρεθέντες· φιλοῦσι γὰρ μάλιστα ἡ πόλις αὕτη οὕτω διασκευάζεσθαι, ὅταν τινὶ πλέκωσι τιμὴν δημοσίαν).

The participation of all the Trojans (except Cassandra) in the ritual of the reception of the wooden horse makes them all equally responsible for the fall of their town, and explains why they are all punished with death and suffering during the assault on the town: 547–58 women, 573–95 men, 600–6 old men and children. In fact, their shouting (especially with the ominous undertones of the comparison with the cranes in 352–5) could be said to parallel the strident noises of the transporting (318–27) and to anticipate the cries of the victims during the sack (551 μητέρες ὠδύροντο, 610 on animal noises): see note to 318–27. Compare Verg. *A.* 2.486–8 "at domus interior gemitu miseroque tumultu / miscetur, penitusque cauae plangoribus aedes / femineis ululant; ferit aurea sidera clamor".

ἀνδρομέῃ does not mean here 'human', as opposed to inanimate, animal or divine (AR 1.257–8 of the golden ram, 4.581 of the ship; Opp. *C.* 1.227–8 of a horse; Triph. 121 χερσὶ μὲν ἀνδρομέῃσιν, ἀτὰρ βουλῇσιν ᾿Αθήνης; Nonn. *D.* 3.424; LSJ *s.v.*; Campbell *Lex. s.v.*), but 'masculine', as opposed to θῆλυς 'feminine' (= ἄρσην, as in Nonn. *D.* 1.506 θῆλυ μέλος πλέξωσιν ὁμόθροον ἄρσενι μολπῇ). **θῆλυς ἰωή**: compare *Od.* 6.122 θῆλυς ἀϋτή|; Opp. *H.* 4.125 θηλυτέρης ἐνοπῇσι παραπλαγχθέντες ἰωῆς; Nonn. *D.* 14.162 = 33.237 = 47.739 θῆλυν ἰωήν|.

351 καὶ παίδων ἀλαλητὸς ἐμίσγετο γήραος ἠχῇ: compare *Il.* 4.436 ὣς Τρώων ἀλαλητὸς ἀνὰ στρατὸν εὐρὺν ὀρώρει, after which QS 1.313 πολὺς δ᾽ ἀλαλητὸς ὀρώρει.

352–5 Trojans = cranes. The cranes (γέρανοι, the scientific name of which is *grus grus*) spend the warmer months of the year in northern Europe, where they breed, and migrate to the south of Egypt at the start of the cold season, crossing Greece from north to south (Ael. *NA* 2.1, 3.13). For this reason they are said to announce the start of the rainy season (*Il.* 3.3–5; Hes. *Op.* 448–51; E. *Hel.* 1479–86; Ael. *NA* 1.44; Nonn. *D.* 14.329–37, after *Il.* 3.1–9 and Opp. *H.* 1.620–7, to be read with Hopkinson 1994b, 19), and peasants can use their migration to predict the weather for the start of winter (Arat. *Phaen.* 1075–81). Literary texts also mention their migration to the north in spring: e.g. at Opp. *H.* 1.620–7, cranes flee from the snow on mount Atlas, just as in their migration to the south they flee from the winter that is coming from the north.

Migrating flocks of cranes fly in a V-formation, emitting a loud trumpeting call that allows the group to establish the position and condition of each individual and to pay special attention to the weakest members, since the call of younger adults has a higher pitch. Their arrangement in neat lines and their shrill noise led Homer to compare the Trojans arriving on the battlefield with them (*Il.* 3.2–9). Not only do they march in an army-like formation, making an oppressively hostile noise, but they are turned from harmless herbivorous birds into the carnivorous predators of the Pygmies (6–7). Cranes here replace eagles, falcons or vultures, the usual predators used in similes (Muellner 1990, 74–6). The Trojans are thus depicted as arriving on the battlefield in an orderly fashion, making a considerable noise and with murderous intent, and they are in turn mirrored by the Achaeans, who arrive in silence, with deep anger and a desire to cooperate in their task (8–9).

Through Homer's patronage, the comparison with the cranes became an important component of literary descriptions of battles, relating in a variety of ways with the elements of order, noise and massacre: Verg. *A.* 10.264–6; Nonn. *D.* 14.331–7. Without reference to massacre: E. *Hel.* 1479–86; Opp. *H.* 1.620–7; QS 3.589–91, 11.110–18; Nonn. *D.* 36.36–7. For a joint analysis of Opp., QS, Triph. and Nonn., see James 1969, 87–90.

As Ypsilanti (2007, 102) notes, the correspondence in the behaviour of Homer's and Triph.'s Achaeans is complete: in both poems they are silent (voluntarily in Homer's case, out of necessity when hidden in the horse in the *Sack of Troy*), and their strength lies in their motivation for a joint attack. On the other hand, Triph.'s Trojans lack the warlike attitude and awareness that they show in the Iliadic passage.

At first sight, Triph.'s simile uses the cranes to mirror the current behaviour of the Trojans without any negative implications: the loud trumpeting of the flock brings to mind the noise of the human acclamations, and their perfect formation mirrors the quality of the performance of the dancers around the horse (342 μολπῇ τ᾽ ὀρχηθμῷ τε περὶ βρέτας εἱλίσσοντο). Triph. seems to be alluding to the dance called γέρανος, first executed by Theseus, accompanied by a chorus, to celebrate his survival of the labyrinth (because of its similarity to the movements of the birds during either courtship or migration): see Call. *Del*. 312–13 σὸν περὶ βωμὸν ἐγειρομένου κιθαρισμοῦ / κύκλιον ὠρχησαντο, χοροῦ δ᾽ ἡγήσατο Θησεύς; Plu. *Thes.* 21.2; Pollux *Onom.* 4.101. Compare also Nonn. *D.* 36.36–7 καὶ γεράνων μιμηλὸς ἔην τύπος ἠεροφοίτης / ἱπταμένων στεφανηδὸν ἀμοιβαίῳ τινὶ κύκλῳ. Muellner (1990, 90–5) linked the dance of the γέρανος and *Il.* 3.2–7. However, the aversion of the men to the κλαγγή of the animals (Triph. 355 γειοπόνοις ἀρότῃσιν ἀπεχθέα κεκληγυῖαι), in anticipation of the coming of winter, reflects on the cries and dances of the Trojans, transforming them into the prelude to a catastrophe, that is, the sack of Troy that is to occur that same night.

352 μετήλυδες ᾽Ὠκεανοῖο: the phrasing is probably inspired by DP 689 μετήλυδες Αἰγύπτοιο (see note to Triph. 133 μετήλυδος ὀμφητῆρος), but Triph. is also playing on *Il.* 3.5 κλαγγῇ ταί γε πέτονται ἐπ᾽ ᾽Ὠκεανοῖο ῥοάων. **ἀφνειοῖο … ᾽Ὠκεανοῖο** is a surprising combination. Campbell (*Lex. s.v.*) translates the adjective as 'rich', i.e. 'prolific, teeming' (with life), as in the Homeric instances, where it refers to men or places (*Il.* 2.570, 5.9). However, referring to the ocean, ἀφνειός probably has a spatial connotation here ('of the broad Ocean'): cf. Monaco 2007, 149. In the *D.*, when the adjective refers to liquids it means 'abundant': 2.156 δάκρυσιν ἀφνειοῖσιν, 8.260 ἀφνειῇ ῥαθάμιγγι, 11.50 ἀφνειῆς … γαλήνης, 16.68 ἀφνειῆς … ὄμβρον ἐέρσης (~ 38.434), 17.34 χεύμασιν ἀφνειοῖσι … οἶδμα κυλίνδων.

353 χείματος ἀμφίπολοι: 'attendants of the winter', because they announce the arrival of the cold season (*Il.* 3.4 αἵ τ᾽ ἐπεὶ οὖν χειμῶνα φύγον καὶ ἀθέσφατον ὄμβρον, Hes. *Op.* 450–1, Ar. *Av.* 710, Verg. *A.* 6.309–12, Arat. *Phaen.* 1075–81, Nonn. *D.* 14.332–3). For this poetic apposition, there are a few earlier parallels: Pi. *Encom.* fr. *122.1–2 Snell-Maehler Πολύξεναι νεάνιδες, ἀμφίπολοι / Πειθοῦς ἐν ἀφνειῷ Κορίνθῳ; *AP* 7.425.8 (Antipater – epitaph of Myro) γλαῦξ ἅδε γλαυκᾶς Παλλάδος ἀμφίπολον. Nonnus uses similar appositions for the Seasons (*D.* 2.176–7 Ὧραι / ἀμφίπολοι Φαέθοντος, 8.5, 8.33, 12.54, 38.415) and the Graces (24.261–2 = 41.225–6, 34.37–8).

According to Dubielzig (*Triph.* 6–7), this expression reflects Triph.'s Egyptian point of view: cranes pass over Greece in their migrations without ever alighting there, and they can only be '(permanent) attendants of the winter' in Egypt, where they spend the whole winter. However, the notion of regularity can be safeguarded, without resorting to an Egyptian point of view, by remembering that the cranes act as messengers of the winter each and every year, just as other birds announce other seasons. Compare Ar. *Av.* 709–15.

γεράνων στίχες ἠεροφώνων: compare Arat. *Phaen.* 1031 γεράνων μακραὶ στίχες; Opp. *H.* 1.621 γεράνων … ἠεροφώνων, 624 κατὰ στίχας. ἠεροφώνων is a Homeric *hapax* (*Il.* 18.505 κηρύκων … ἠεροφώνων), with which Opp. translates Homer's *Il.* 3.7 ἠέριαι and which Triph. adopts (as explained by James 1969, 88).

354 κύκλον ἐπογμεύουσιν ἀλήμονος ὀρχηθμοῖο: Triph. makes up the *hapax* ἐπογμεύω after Opp. *H.* 1.625 καὶ ἄλλυτον ὄγμον ἔχουσιν, also taking into account Opp. *H.* 1.621 ὑψιπετὴς … χορὸς ἔρχεται. ὄγμος sometimes refers to an aerial furrow, i.e. the trajectory of a planet (Arat. *Phaen.* 749 ἠέλιος, μέγαν ὄγμον ἐλαύνων). See also Wernicke *Triph.*, 313–17.

κύκλον … ὀρχηθμοῖο: after Call. *Del.* 313 κύκλιον ὠρχήσαντο? **ἀλήμων** is used in the *Odyssey* to describe wanderers (17.376, 19.74; also Opp. *C.* 1.257 ἀλήμονος Οἰδιπόδαο; Nonn. *D.* 1.45 = 13.334 ἀλήμονος … Κάδμου, 20.167, 46.106, 48.366), but in later epic poetry it also refers to the orbits of the stars (Nonn. *D.* 1.231, *AP* 9.25), the circular movements of the eyes (Nonn. *D.* 3.131 ἀλήμονι Κάδμος ὀπωπῇ, 7.258 ἀλήμονα κύκλον ὀπωπῆς, 19.201 ὀφθαλμοὺς δ᾽ ἐλέλιζεν ἀλήμονας), the circles of a dance (Nonn. *D.* 11.3 εἰλιπόδην περὶ

κύκλον ἀλήμονα ταρσὸν ἀμείβων), and the movements of animals in the sea (Opp. *H.* 3.455) and in the air (Nonn. *D.* 29.85 ἀλήμονα μυῖαν, 37.728 ἠερίη πεφόρητο μετάρσιος ὄρνις ἀλήμων).

355 γειοπόνοις ἀρότῃσιν ἀπεχθέα κεκληγυῖαι: reminiscent of Hes. *Op.* 449–51 κεκληγυίης, / ἥ τ᾽ ἀρότοιό τε σῆμα φέρει καὶ χείματος ὥρην / δεικνύει ὀμβρηροῦ, κραδίην δ᾽ ἔδακ᾽ ἀνδρὸς ἀβούτεω. The usual explanation for the farmers' fear of the arrival of the cranes has been that they announce bad weather conditions for the start of the sowing season: see James (1969, 90) and Gerlaud (*Triph.* p. 139, note to 355), on Hes. *Op.* 448ff.; Ar. *Av.* 710 σπείρειν μέν, ὅταν γέρανος κρώζουσ᾽ εἰς τὴν Λιβύην μεταχωρῇ; Arat. *Phaen.* 1075–81. Ypsilanti (2007, 10–2, note 19) suggests that farmers do not like cranes because during sowing they follow the plough to eat the seeds: Theocr. *Id.* 10.31 ἁ γέρανος τὤροτρον [διώκει]; Babrius 13 (Luzzatto – La Penna) 2 γεράνους σποραίων πολεμίας, 5 οὐκ εἰμὶ γέρανος, οὐ σπόρον καταφθείρω; *AP* 7.172.1–2 (Antipater of Sidon) ἁρπάκτειραν …/ σπέρματος, ὑψιπετῆ Βιστονίαν γέρανον. Farmers would frighten them away and install traps: *AP* 7.172 (Antipater of Sidon); Babrius 13; QS 11.110–16.

γειοπόνος or γεωπόνος is unheard of in earlier poetry, but becomes popular in Late Antiquity: Nonn. *D.* 21.97, 42.303, 42.329, 47.50, 47.109, 48.676; *AP* 6.72.5 (Agathias), 9.384.13–14, 9.644.1 (Agathias), 9.797.1–2 (Julian the Prefect). On the other hand, for **ἀρότῃσιν**, see already *Il.* 18.542, 23.835. In the cluster **γειοπόνοις ἀρότῃσιν**, it is not clear which of the two elements is appositive: compare Nonn. *D.* 21.97 γειοπόνοις ἀνέμοισιν, Ps.-Pamprepius 3.114 (Livrea 1979b) [Ἄ]ρει γειοπόνῳ (cf. Monaco 2007, 136).

ἀπεχθής occurs earlier in Nic. *Ther.* 483–4 ἀπεχθέα βρύγματ᾽ … / ἀσκαλάβου, *Alex.* 72 ἀπεχθέα νοῦσον. Also in imperial authors: Opp. *H.* 2.433 ἀπεχθέα … ἰόν; QS 12.479 (of the task of the serpents, attacking Laocoon's children) ἀπεχθέα … ἐφετμήν. **κεκληγυῖαι** (like 356 κλαγγῇ) takes up the usual term for the utterance of the cranes: *Il.* 2.463 κλαγγηδόν, 3.2–5 Τρῶες μὲν κλαγγῇ … / ἠΰτε περ κλαγγὴ γεράνων …/…/ κλαγγῇ …; *AP* 6.109.8 (Antipater of Sidon) κλαγερῶν … γεράνων. The reader is invited to recall the first comparison of the Trojans with shrieking animals (249 περικλάζουσι κολοιοί), and to look forward to the final battle (610 τῶν μὲν κλαγγὴ φόνον ἔπνεεν).

356–7 These two lines act as a conclusion to the misinterpretations of the noise made by the Trojans (308–9, 318–27, 342, 350–7) and to the process initiated by Sinon (301 ἕλκετ᾽ ἐς ἀκρόπολιν μεγάλην χρυσήνιον ἵππον – see note on 300–1). As in the previous comparison of the Trojans surrounding the horse to noisy jackdaws (247–9), the Trojans are characterised here as a naïve people, always unaware of the perils that surround them.

356 ὣς οἵ γε κλαγγῇ τε δι᾽ ἄστεος ἠδὲ κυδοιμῷ: this is composed on the basis of the horrified reaction of the Trojans on discovering that Odysseus and Diomedes have broken into the Thracian camp, killed Rhesus and several other men and freed their precious horses, in *Il.* 10.523 Τρώων δὲ κλαγγή τε καὶ ἄσπετος ὦρτο κυδοιμός (κλαγγή and κυδοιμός occur in the same positions; ἄστεος echoes the position, vowels and two consonants of ἄσπετος). Both passages reflect on the Trojans' tardy awareness of catastrophe and build on their reputation (Ypsilanti 2007, 103). See also *Il.* 18.218 (Achilles shouts) ἀτὰρ Τρώεσσιν ἐν ἄσπετον ὦρσε κυδοιμόν. κλαγγή, which usually describes the shrill sound of birds (see note to 355) and other animals (the grunting of swine in *Od.* 14.412; also *Il.* 1.49 of the twang of a bow), remains more neutral, but κυδοιμός clearly represents the din of battle: *Il.* 11.52–3, 164, 538–9; QS 1.695 etc. πτολέμοιο κυδοιμόν, 2.281 αἱματόεντα κυδοιμόν; Triph. 597; Nonn. *D.* 4.52 Ἄρηα, κυβερνητῆρα κυδοιμοῦ. In fact, the personified Κυδοιμός is part of Ares' entourage when he leads men to war: *Il.* 5.592–3 ἦρχε δ᾽ ἄρα σφιν Ἄρης καὶ πότνι᾽ Ἐνυώ, / ἡ μὲν ἔχουσα Κυδοιμὸν ἀναιδέα δηϊοτῆτος, 18.535; [Hes.] *Sc.* 154–6; QS 1.308–11, 6.350–1.

357 ἦγον ἐς ἀκρόπολιν βεβαρημένον ἔνδοθεν ἵππον: after *Od.* 8.494–5 ὅν ποτ᾽ ἐς ἀκρόπολιν δόλον ἤγαγε δῖος Ὀδυσσεύς, / ἀνδρῶν ἐμπλήσας (βεβαρημένον being an adaptation of ἀνδρῶν ἐμπλήσας), 504 αὐτοὶ γάρ μιν Τρῶες ἐς ἀκρόπολιν ἐρύσαντο. Compare also E. *Tr.* 11–12 [Ἐπειὸς] ἐγκύμον᾽ ἵππον τευχέων συναρμόσας / πύργων ἔπεμψεν ἐντός, ὀλέθριον βάρος.

βεβαρημένον refers back to the difficulties experienced by the Trojans in transporting the horse because of its great weight (318–329, esp. 328 ὁδὸς δ᾽ ἐβαρύνετο μακρή), and prepares us once again for the image of the pregnant horse about to give birth to fearless warriors (379b–90). **ἔνδοθεν ἵππον**: as in QS 12.264, 272, 340, 14.139.

358–443 Cassandra's intervention against the horse is usually twinned with Laocoon's: cf. QS 12.391–585; Apollod. *Epit.* 5.17 (Κασάνδρας δὲ λεγούσης ἔνοπλον ἐν αὐτῷ δύναμιν εἶναι, καὶ προσέτι Λαοκόωντος τοῦ μάντεως, τοῖς μὲν ἐδόκει κατακαίειν). Though Proclus does not refer to them in his summaries (Bernabé *PEG Iliades Parvae* Arg. 1; *Ilii Excidium* Arg.), Cassandra's prophecies may also have been narrated in the *Little Iliad* and the *Ilioupersis*, since Cassandra is depicted being restrained by a Trojan before the Scaean gates in the *Tabula Iliaca Capitolina*. See Mazzoldi 2001, 118–20.

Cassandra had already prophesied what would happen after the judgement of the goddesses, when Paris brought Helen to Troy: see Bernabé *PEG Cypria* Arg. line 11 (καὶ Κασσάνδρα περὶ τῶν μελλόντων προδηλοῖ); Pi. *Paeanes* fr. 52i (A), lines 10–14 Snell-Maehler (comm. in Mazzoldi 2001, 124–34); Lyc. *Alex.* 1–2, 8–9, 1467–71; Collut. 389–92 (after Triph. 358 ff.). General studies on literary treatments of the figure of Cassandra can be found in Davreaux 1942; Neblung 1997; Mazzoldi 2001. On the artistic depictions of Cassandra as a μάντις, see Mazzoldi 2001, 169–77. See also Christodorus' description in *AP* 2.189–91.

Triph., like Dio Chrysostom (*Or.* 11.128) and Hyginus (*Fab.* 108.2), chooses to develop the figure of Cassandra, not even mentioning Laocoon. On the other hand, Virgil had briefly referred to Cassandra (*A.* 2.246–7 "tunc etiam fatis aperit Cassandra futuris / ora") only to focus on Laocoon (2.40–56, 199–231), thus making a comparison of sources impossible. Triph.'s episode should therefore be compared with that of the *Posthomerica*, owing to the general similarities:

QS 12	TRIPH.
525–39 Introduction of Cassandra in a frenzy, compared to a lioness	558–75 Introduction of Cassandra in a frenzy, comparisons with a heifer and a Bacchant
540–51 Cassandra's speech	576–416 Cassandra's speech
553–61 Retort of an anonymous Trojan	419–38 Priam's rebuke
562–75 The Trojans take Cassandra away from the horse because she tries to attack it, and then prepare for the feast	439–43 Cassandra is locked away 444–53 Sacrifice and nocturnal feast
576–9 The Greeks hidden in the horse appreciate the accuracy of Cassandra's prophecy	
580–5 Cassandra leaves of her own accord	

Vian (1959, 70–1) emphasised the parallels between the two poems and suggested the existence of a common source, but the clear differences in tone (the passage in Triph. is pathetic, while QS is deadpan) and content (in Triph. the horse has not yet arrived at the citadel, Cassandra does not physically attack the statue and is immediately locked away, the Greeks are not mentioned) suggest that similarities are due to the common topic and to the fact that the authors are roughly contemporary.

Ypsilanti (2007, 108–14) provides a better solution, by pointing out that Triph.'s main referent for Cassandra is to be found in the two Iliadic passages in which Andromache grieves for Hector and prophesies future events, with success where the general picture is concerned, but not as regards the details (*Il.* 6.639–502, 22.437–515). Andromache (esp. in *Il.* 6) and Cassandra undergo a similar plight of seeing disaster coming and yet being unable to avert it because the men of their families do not pay attention to what they say and send them back home:

1. *Il.* 6.386–7 Andromache hears that the Trojans are hard pressed; *Il.* 22.447–61 Andromache hears shrieks coming from the wall which distress her (448 τῆς δ᾽ ἐλελίχθη γυῖα, χαμαὶ δέ οἱ ἔκπεσε κερκίς, 451b–3a ἐν δ᾽ ἐμοὶ αὐτῇ / στήθεσι πάλλεται ἦτορ ἀνὰ στόμα, νέρθε δὲ γοῦνα / πήγνυται) and make her think that Achilles may have killed Hector. Triph.'s Cassandra is propelled by divine inspiration (358 θεήλατος, 365–6 τοίη μαντιπόλοιο βολῆς ὑπὸ νύγματι κούρη / πλαζομένη κραδίην ἱερὴν ἀνεσείετο δάφνην, 371 θεῷ πληγεῖσα).
2. *Il.* 6.388–9 Andromache goes to the wall in haste, like one beside herself (ἡ μὲν δὴ πρὸς τεῖχος ἐπειγομένη ἀφικάνει, / μαινομένῃ ἐϊκυῖα); *Il.* 22.460–1 Andromache leaves her house like one beside herself (μεγάροιο διέσσυτο μαινάδι ἴση, / παλλομένη κραδίην) ~ Triph. 358–75 Cassandra leaves her quarters, rushing like a wild animal and a Bacchant (360 ἔδραμεν ἠύτε πόρτις ἀήσυρος, 366 πλαζομένη κραδίην).
3. *Il.* 22.462–74 Andromache sees Hector's body being dragged along by Achilles, faints and bares her head as a sign of mourning (468–70a τῆλε δ᾽ ἀπὸ κρατὸς βάλε δέσματα σιγαλόεντα, / ἄμπυκα κεκρύφαλόν τε ἰδὲ πλεκτὴν ἀναδέσμην / κρήδεμνόν θ᾽). Triph.'s Cassandra makes similar gestures, but they are related to madness, and not to grief: 372 γυμνὸν ἐπισσείουσα κάρη κυανάμπυκι κισσῷ, 374b–5 πυκνὰ δὲ χαίτην / κοπτομένη καὶ στέρνον ἀνίαχε μαινάδι φωνῇ.
4. *Il.* 6.405–39 Andromache weeps and tries to restrain Hector from going back to the battle (future image: she will be a widow and their son an orphan; past image: she has lost all her family in war), suggesting to him the strategy he should follow; *Il.* 22.475–515 Andromache's grieving speech (it would have been better not to have been born; future of Astyanax as an orphan, if an Achaean does not kill him; outrage at Hector's corpse) ~ Triph. 376–416 Cassandra's speech (past *omina* coming true, grief for Troy, prophecy of future disasters; it would have been better not to have been born; counselling on the most appropriate strategy).
5. *Il.* 6.440–65 + 486–94 Hector is sympathetic to her, but refuses to stay in Troy (because of what the Trojans might say) or to take her advice into account, and sends her back home, to take care of more feminine tasks ~ Triph.'s Priam (419–40a) is not sympathetic at all, and refuses to pay heed to her advice, issuing orders for her to be confined at home.

6. *Il.* 6.494–502 Andromache goes back home crying and leads her handmaids in lamentation for Hector, believing that he will never return from battle ~ Triph. 440b–3 Cassandra weeps on her bed and sees fire engulf Troy.

There are, of course, considerable differences in tone and context. The principal difference consists in the fact that Cassandra is in a state of inspired frenzy, whereas Andromache is terrified by the coming loss of her husband. Similarly, Priam is an irritable old man, while Hector is a loving husband who believes that a woman's place is at home and speaks accordingly.

After pointing out the elements shared by Homer's Andromache and Triph.'s Cassandra, Ypsilanti (2007, 113–14) reflects that these are absent in QS's Cassandra: in the *Posthom.* she is not compared to a Bacchant, the mood of her speech is not one of grieving, she is not sent back home, and she does not weep for Troy at the end. Ypsilanti considers the possibility that QS may have had Triph.'s text in front of him and consciously imitated his innovations (QS's comparison of Cassandra with a lioness would be a development of Triph.'s heifer; Cassandra's wild appearance in QS 12.535b–8 would mirror Triph. 371–5), while rejecting his Homeric model.

358–68 Cassandra compared to a heifer. Triph. found the inspiration for this simile in AR 1.1263–72 (Heracles, maddened by the disappearance of Hylas, is compared to a bull stung by a gadfly), also the referent for Opp. *H.* 2.521–31 (an ox stung by a gadfly) and QS 10.439–47 (Oenone running to the pyre is compared to a heifer stung by desire for a bull). In detail: Triph. 360a ἔδραμεν ἠύτε πόρτις ἀήσυρος ~ AR 1.1270–1 θοὰ γούνατ᾽ ἔπαλλεν / συνεχέως; Triph. 362–3a ἡ δ᾽ οὔτ᾽ εἰς ἀγέλην ποτιδέρκεται οὐδὲ βοτῆρι / πείθεται ~ AR 1.1266b–7 οὐδὲ νομήων / οὐδ᾽ ἀγέλης ὄθεται; Triph. 363b οὐδὲ νομοῖο λιλαίεται ~ AR 1.1266 πίσεά τε προλιπὼν καὶ ἑλεσπίδας; Triph. 363c–4 βελέμνῳ / ὀξέι θηγομένη ~ AR 1.1269 κακῷ βεβολημένος οἴστρῳ. Compare also A. *Ag.* 1063 τρόπος δὲ θηρὸς ὡς νεαιρέτου, 1066–7 χαλινὸν δ᾽ οὐκ ἐπίσταται φέρειν / πρὶν αἱματηρὸν ἐξαφρίζεσθαι μένος, 1297–8 πῶς θεηλάτου / βοὸς δίκην πρὸς βωμὸν εὐτόλμως πατεῖς;. The Euripidean choir of Bacchants (wearing fawn skins) compare themselves to fawns at play in a meadow after escaping the hunters (E. *Ba.* 862–76). QS chooses to compare Cassandra with a hunted lioness (12.530–5 μέγ᾽ ἴαχεν, εὖτε λέαινα …)

or a female panther (580–3 Ἢ δ᾽, ἅτε πόρδαλις ἔσσυτ᾽ ἐν οὔρεσιν ἀσχαλόωσα …).

The comparison of a distressed person with a bull bitten by a gadfly occurs already in Homer (*Od.* 22.299–301 the suitors, chased by Odysseus, run like bulls set to flight by a gadfly) and is closely associated with the legend of Io (e.g. A. *Supp.* 306–8, *Pr.* 674–5) and with Eros attacking lovers like a persistent gadfly (AR 3.275–7, Nonn. *D.* 42.185–93). On the sting as a poetic metaphor for madness, see Padel 1992, 117–25; Ead. 1995, 15–17. Both the comparison with a heifer stung by a gadfly and that with a Bacchant struck by Dionysus (370 αὐλὸς ἔτυψεν … Διονύσου, 371 ἥ τε θεῷ πληγεῖσα) suggest that Cassandra is not responsible for her own behaviour.

358–9a κούρη δὲ Πριάμοιο θεήλατος οὐκέτι μίμνειν / ἤθελεν ἐν θαλάμοισι: compare QS 12.534–5 ὣς ἄρα μαιμώωσα θεοπρόπον ἔνδοθεν ἦτορ / ἤλυθεν ἐκ μεγάροιο. Once more Triph. introduces a new character with a definition and does not mention her name until line 374. Κούρη δὲ Πριάμοιο θεήλατος should be enough to identify Cassandra. A similar case occurs in Lycophron's *Alexandra*, where Cassandra's name occurs only in line 30 (Ἀλεξάνδρα), after she has been described through a number of periphrases in the previous lines.

As a maiden, Cassandra was confined to her chambers, as were the rest of the Trojan maidens, since they did not attend the reception of the horse into Troy with the rest of the women (341 νύμφαι τε πρόγαμοί τε καὶ ἴδμονες Εἰλειθυίης – see note *ad loc.*).

κούρη δὲ Πριάμοιο: after *Il.* 13.173 κούρην δὲ Πριάμοιο (on Medesicaste, born to Priam out of wedlock), also borrowed by QS for the introductory line of the speech scolding Cassandra (12.553 Ὦ κούρη Πρίαμοιο). **θεήλατος** seems to be inspired by AR 3.939 ὀμφὴν οἰωνοῖο θεήλατον. See also Pi. *P.* 11.19–20 κόραν Πριάμου / Κασσάνδραν; E. *IA* 779–80 κόρας πολυκλαύ-/τους δάμαρτά τε Πριάμου. **οὐκέτι μίμνειν / ἤθελεν**: compare *Il.* 18.262–3 οὐκ ἐθελήσει / μίμνειν ἐν πεδίῳ; Opp. *H.* 4.513–14 οὐδ᾽ ἐθέλουσι / μίμνειν. **ἐν θαλάμοισι**: plural referring to a single chamber, as in AR 1.1031 νυμφιδίους θαλάμους, 3.656 ἐν θαλάμοισιν|, 3.799 ἐν θαλάμοισιν|, 3.1128 θαλάμοις ἔνι κουριδίοισιν.

359b–61 Cassandra breaks down the doors of her chambers to counteract the previous breach of the city walls (238 the Trojans coming out of

the citadel πυλέων πετάσαντες ὀχῆας). Compare *Il.* 9.474–80, where Phoenix describes how he fled from his father's house.

359b διαρρήξασα δ᾽ ὀχῆας: compare *Il.* 12.291 τείχεος ἐρρήξαντο πύλας καὶ μακρὸν ὀχῆα (~ 13.124), 308 τεῖχος ἐπαΐξαι διά τε ῥήξασθαι ἐπάλξεις; QS 10.439–40 πυλεῶνας ἀναρρήξασα μελάθρων / ἔκθορεν.

360a ἔδραμεν ἠύτε πόρτις ἀήσυρος: compare QS 10.441 ὡς δ᾽ ὅτ᾽ ἀν᾽ οὔρεα πόρτιν, 13.258 ἠύτε πόρτιν ὄρεσφι, 14.258 τὴν δ᾽ ἄγον, ἠύτε πόρτιν. According to LSJ *s.v.*, ἀήσυρος means 'light as air': see Suid. *s.v.* ἀήσυρον· τὸ λεπτὸν, τὸ μετέωρον καὶ κοῦφον, τὸ ἐλαφρόν, παρὰ τὸ ἀέρι σύρεσθαι. Triph. is probably interpreting AR 1.1270–1 θοὰ γούνατ᾽ ἔπαλλεν / συνεχέως. See also AR 2.1100–1 αὐτὰρ ὅ γ᾽ ἠμάτιος μὲν ἐν οὔρεσι φύλλ᾽ ἐτίνασσεν / τυτθὸν ἐπ᾽ ἀκροτάτοισιν ἀήσυρος ἀκρεμόνεσσιν; QS 10.440–1 ἠύτ᾽ ἄελλα· φέρον δέ μιν ὠκέα γυῖα. According to Campbell (*Lex.*, p. 212, APP 360), it is more likely that this refers to the prophetic blast (ἄημα), which makes Cassandra 'volatile, restless', and induces her to run out of her chambers, breaking the bolts.

Cassandra runs (360 ἔδραμεν, 433 σὺ δὲ πρὸ δόμοιο θοροῦσα), instead of walking (QS 12.535 ἤλυθεν ἐκ μεγάροιο), because of her frenzied state: compare E. *Tr.* 41–2 ἣν δὲ παρθένον / μεθῆκ᾽ Ἀπόλλων δρομάδα Κασσάνδραν ἄναξ, 307 μαινὰς θοάζει δεῦρο Κασσάνδρα δρόμωι, 349 μαινὰς θοάζουσ᾽, 726–7. On the wanderings of the mad and their disorderly movements, see Padel 1995, 104–14, 131–5; Ead. 1992, 65–8.

360b–1 ἥν τε τυπεῖσαν / κέντρον ἀνεπτοίησε βοορραίσταο μύωπος: compare A. *Supp.* 307 βοηλάτην μύωπα κινητήριον; Call. *Hecale* fr. 107 Hollis (= 301 Pf.) βουσόον ὅν τε μύωπα βοῶν καλέουσιν ἀμορβοί; AR 1.1265 ὡς δ᾽ ὅτε τίς τε μύωπι τετυμμένος ἔσσυτο ταῦρος, 3.277 ὅν τε μύωπα βοῶν κλείουσι νομῆες; Nonn. *D.* 8.57 πῇ σέο κέντρα μύωπος ἀφειδέος;, 11.191 μύωπα βοοσσόον, 42.189 βουτύπος ὀξυόεντι μύωψ ἐχαράσσετο κέντρῳ; Collut. 42–3 πόρτις … / φοινήεντι μύωπι, βοῶν ἐλατῆρι, τυπεῖσα.

In the Homeric poems **κέντρον** is always a synonym of μάστιξ, the goad, and the meaning of 'sting' occurs only in the epithets κέντορες ἵππων and κεντρηνεκής (cf. Delebecque 1951, 188). **ἀνεπτοίησε** can be compared with Opp. *C.* 1.107 θῆρας ἀνεπτοίησεν, 2.425 θῆρας

ἀνεπτοίησας; Nonn. *D.* 9.244 Ζηνὸς ἀνεπτοίησε δάμαρ μετανάστιον Ἰνώ. **βοορραίστης** is a *hapax*, for which there are several Homeric and later parallels: θυμοραϊστής (*Il.* 13.544 etc.), κυνοραιστής (*Od.* 17.300), ἁλιρραίστης (Nic. *Ther.* 828), πολυρραίστης (Opp. *H.* 1.463), πολιρραίστης (Lyc. *Alex.* 210), λυκορραίστης (*AP* 7.44.2). Cf. Monaco 2007, 143.

362–3a ἡ δ᾽ οὔτ᾽ εἰς ἀγέλην ποτιδέρκεται οὐδὲ βοτῆρι / πείθεται οὐδὲ νομοῖο λιλαίεται: inspired by AR 1.1266–7. In more detail: Triph. 362–3a ἡ δ᾽ οὔτ᾽ εἰς ἀγέλην ποτιδέρκεται οὐδὲ βοτῆρι / πείθεται rephrases AR 1266b–7 οὐδὲ νομήων / οὐδ᾽ ἀγέλης ὄθεται, substituting ποτιδέρκεται (a fully Homeric verb: *Il.* 16.10, *Od.* 17.518) for ὄθεται, and βοτῆρι (more specific) for νομήων; Triph. 362b οὐδὲ νομοῖο λιλαίεται (for the construction see *Od.* 1.315 λιλαιόμενόν περ ὁδοῖο, 13.31 ἀνὴρ δόρποιο λιλαίεται) stands for AR 1.1266 πίσεά τε προλιπὼν καὶ ἑλεσπίδας. Compare also Opp. *H.* 2.523–4 οὔτε τι βουφόρβων μέλεται σέβας οὔτε νομοῖο, / οὔτ᾽ ἀγέλης ποίην δὲ καὶ αὔλια πάντα λιπόντες; QS 10.443–4 ἣ δ᾽ οὔ τι λιλαιομένη φιλότητος / ταρβεῖ βουκόλον ἄνδρα, φέρει δέ μιν ἄσχετος ὁρμή; Nonn. *D.* 4.299–300 (Zeus in the shape of a bull) οὐ νομόν, οὐ λειμῶνα μετέρχεται, οὔ τινι κέντρῳ / πείθεται, οὐ μάστιγι κελεύεται.

363b–4 βελέμνῳ / ὀξέι θηγομένη: after AR 1.1269 κακῷ βεβολημένος οἴστρῳ. For the phrasing, see Nic. *Ther.* 14 ἐκ κέντροιο τεθηγμένον; QS 6.115 θῆγον δ᾽ αἰνὰ βέλεμνα; Nonn. *D.* 11.169 καὶ βοὸς ὑλονόμοιο τεθηγμένος ἡδέι κέντρῳ, 18.256 τεθηγμένος ὀξέι κέντρῳ. **βοέων ἐξήλυθε θεσμῶν** has tragic undertones: compare S. *Tr.* 682 παρῆκα θεσμῶν οὐδέν, *Ant.* 802–3 θεσμῶν / ἔξω φέρομαι; Ar. *Av.* 331 παρέβη μὲν θεσμοὺς ἀρχαίους.

365 μαντιπόλοιο βολῆς: Triph. probably has in mind E. *Hec.* 121 (on Cassandra) τῆς μαντιπόλου Βάκχης. This adjective also occurs in Opp. *C.* 2.548 κύκνοι μαντιπόλοι, 618 μαντιπόλου Φοίβοιο, and it is frequent in Nonn. *D.* (see Peek *Lex. s.v.*). See also *AP* 2.41 (Christodorus of Coptos) μαντιπόλος πάλιν ἄλλος ἔην Φοιβηίδι δάφνῃ. In poetry, **νύγμα** (or νύχμα) 'prick' or 'bite' only occurs in didactic hexameters: Nic. *Ther.* 271 ἀεικέλιον περὶ νύχμα, 298 νύχματι δ᾽ ἀρχομένῳ, 446–7 ἐν χροῖ νύχμα / εἴδεται, 730 δεινὸν … νύχμα, 916; Opp. *H.* 128, 461.

366 πλαζομένη κραδίην: similar to (though not necessarily dependent on) QS 12.532 τῆς δ᾽ ἐν φρεσὶ μαίνεται ἦτορ. For the phrasing, see Nic. *Ther.* 757 κραδίη δὲ παραπλάζουσα, 778–9 κακὴ δ᾽ ἐπὶ τοῖσι χάλαζα / εἴδεται ἐμπλάζουσα. **ἱερὴν ἀνεσείετο δάφνην**: compare Ar. *Plu.* 213 ὁ Φοῖβος αὐτὸς Πυθικὴν σείσας δάφνην; Nonn. *D.* 9.272 σεισαμένη κεφαλῇ … δάφνην, 38.56 σείων εὔια θύρσα καὶ οὐ Πανοπηίδα δάφνην. Triph. is ambiguous: Cassandra could be shaking her head, crowned with a laurel wreath, backwards (E. *Ba.* 240–1 ἀνασείοντά τε / κόμας), or brandishing a laurel staff to and fro ([Hes.] *Sc.* 343–4 ᾽Αθήνη / αἰγίδ᾽ ἀνασσείσασα), just as the Bacchants brandish a thyrsus: E. *Ba.* 80 ἀνὰ θύρσον τε τινάσσων. The first option makes more sense, because Cassandra is known to have worn a bay wreath on her head, in her capacity as Apollo's prophetess (E. *Tr.* 256–7 ῥῖπτε … ζαθέους κλά-/δας, 329–30 κατὰ σὸν ἐν δάφναις / ἀνάκτορον θυηπολῶ; *IA* 758–60 πλοκάμους / χλωροκόμωι στεφάνωι δάφνας / κοσμηθεῖσαν), and the phrase is paralleled in the second comparison by a Bacchant shaking her head (Triph. 372 γυμνὸν ἐπισσείουσα κάρη).

367–8 Cassandra runs freely through the city. Compare A. *Ag.* 1072ff. and E. *Tr.* 308f., where she emerges from her lodgings in a frenzy and delivers a speech in the same place. See Campbell 1981, 180–1, note to 530–8. Triph. may have had in mind the Homeric Cassandra (*Il.* 24.699–706): she goes up to the citadel and, on seeing her father coming back to Troy with Hector's body, alerts the Trojans (24.703 κώκυσέν τ᾽ ἄρ᾽ ἔπειτα γέγωνέ τε πᾶν κατὰ ἄστυ).

367a πάντῃ δ᾽ ἐβρυχᾶτο κατὰ πτόλιν: compare *Od.* 24.413 ᾽Οσσα … κατὰ πτόλιν οἴχετο πάντῃ; Opp. *H.* 2.530 πάντῃ δὲ βρυχή; QS 9.111 καναχὴ δὲ κατὰ πτόλιν ἔπλετο πάντῃ, 12.533 πάντῃ ἀν᾽ οὔρεα μακρά. βρυχάομαι combines the bellowing of the bull (Hes. *Th.* 832 ταύρου ἐριβρύχεω; also of lions: Opp. *C.* 1.304, 2.460, 3.36, 3.129, 4.116, 4.161; QS 3.171; Nonn. *D.* 1.272) and the low noise of human desperation (AR 4.19 Medea βρυχήσατ᾽; Nonn. *D.* 5.336 κινυρῇ βρυχήσατο φωνῇ; Collut. 382 ὀξυτέρῃ … ἀνεβρυχήσατο φωνῇ). Compare QS's introduction of Cassandra: 12.530 μέγ᾽ ἴαχεν, εὖτε λέαινα. βρυχάομαι (also βρύκω and βρύχω) also refers to the 'grinding of teeth' typical of acute illnesses: Hp. *Mul.* 2.27 βρύξει τοὺς ὀδόντας, 7.22 τοὺς ὀδόντας βρύχει, 36.13 οἱ ὀδόντες βρύχουσι; Nic. *Alex.* 221–2 ὥς ὁ νόου λύσσῃ ἐσφαλμένα βρυχανάαται / ὠρυδόν.

Vocal quality can be a sign of virginity, either preserved or lost: see Armstrong – Hanson 1986.

367b–8a οὐδὲ τοκήων / οὐδὲ φίλων ἀλέγιζε: compare *Il.* 11.80 τῶν μὲν ἄρ᾽ οὐκ ἀλέγιζε πατήρ; Hes. *Th.* 171–2 ἐπεὶ πατρός γε δυσωνύμου οὐκ ἀλεγίζω / ἡμετέρου; AR 1.813 οὐδὲ πατὴρ ὀλίγον περ ἑῆς ἀλέγιζε θυγατρός.

368b λίπεν δέ ἑ παρθένος αἰδώς: her state of frenzy made her forget that, being a virgin, she should stay in her chambers in order not to shame her parents. The same applied to married women who did not wish to attract criticism: see E. *Tr.* 647–50. Both Triph. and QS (12.537 ὅσσε δέ οἱ μάρμαιρεν ἀναιδέα) mention Cassandra's lack of shame in introducing the character, thus preparing for later accusations against her: QS 12.555 οὐδέ σε παρθενικὴ καὶ ἀκήρατος ἀμπέχει αἰδώς; Triph. 421 θαρσαλέη, κυνόμυια, 433–5. For the phrasing, see AR 3.681–2 δὴν δέ μιν αἰδὼς / παρθενίη κατέρυκεν ἀμείψασθαι μεμαυῖαν; Nonn. *D.* 1.83–4 αἰδομένη δὲ / παρθενίην πόρφυρε παρηίδα Παλλάς, 16.288 αἰδομένοις στομάτεσσιν ἀμείβετο παρθένος Ἠχώ. Compare also Opp. *H.* 4.178–83: out of nuptial shame, the young brides of the merle wrasse (κόσσυφος) do not leave their chambers (181 ἐν δέ σφι γαμήλιος αἴθεται αἰδώς).

369–75 Cassandra is compared to a Thracian Bacchant, following a long-established tradition: E. *Tr.* 169 ἐκβακχεύουσαν Κασσάνδραν, 172 μαινάδ᾽, 306–7 παῖς ἐμὴ / μαινὰς θοάζει δεῦρο Κασσάνδρα δρόμωι, 341 βακχεύουσαν οὐ λήψηι κόρην, 349 μαινὰς θοάζουσ᾽ (with Mazzoldi 2001, 232–41); Lyc. *Alex.* 5–6 ἀλλ᾽ ἄσπετον χέασα παμμιγῆ βοὴν / δαφνηφάγων φοίβαζεν ἐκ λαιμῶν ὄπα, 28 ἡ δ᾽ ἔνθεον σχάσασα βακχεῖον στόμα, 1464 Κλάρου Μιμαλλών. Similar comparisons: *Il.* 22.460–1 μεγάροιο διέσσυτο μαινάδι ἴση, / παλλομένη κραδίην (Andromache leaves her house at once on hearing shrieks coming from the wall; anticipated in *Il.* 6.388–9 ἡ μὲν δὴ πρὸς τεῖχος ἐπειγομένη ἀφικάνει, / μαινομένῃ ἐϊκυῖα); *h.Cer.* 385–6 ἡ δὲ ἰδοῦσα / ἤϊξ᾽ ἠΰτε μαινὰς ὄρος κατὰ δάσκιον ὕλης; E. *Hel.* 543 οὐχ ὡς δρομαία πῶλος ἢ βάκχη θεοῦ; E. *Hipp.* 547–50 οἴ-/κων ζεύξασ᾽ ἀπ᾽ Εὐρυτίων / δρομάδα Ναΐδ᾽ ὅπως τε Βάκ-/χαν. Compare also the effects of different poisons that drive their victims insane: Nic. *Alex.* 124–7, 159–61 οἱ μέν τ᾽ ἀφροσύνῃ ἐμπληγέες οἷά τε μάργοι / δήμια

λαβράζουσι, παραπλῆγές θ᾽ ἅτε Βάκχαι / ὀξὺ μέλος βοόωσιν ἀταρμύκτῳ φρενὸς οἴστρῳ, 187–94, 212–23.

By comparing Cassandra with a Bacchant, profoundly disturbed by Dionysus in the wilderness, Triph. makes the Trojan maiden appear not only insane, but also disoriented, behaving in the city as one should only behave in wild, uncivilised places like the mountains. Dionysus is to blame for the Bacchant's behaviour (370 αὐλὸς ἔτυψεν … Διονύσου, 371 ἥ τε θεῷ πληγεῖσα), just as Apollo is to blame for Cassandra's lack of credibility (417–18). This dual role of Cassandra as inspired μάντις (under the influence of Apollo, socially integrated) and frenzied μαινάς (under the influence of Dionysus, socially marginalised) had been a key element in the evolution of the character among the tragedians (cf. Mazzoldi 2001, 241–4). It had been further developed in Lycophron's *Alexandra*, where the narrator mixes references to Bacchic frenzy, the Apolline oracles, the Sphinx and the Sirens (cf. Looijenga 2009, 68–70; Kossaifi 2009, 143–6): *Alex.* 5–7 ἀλλ᾽ ἄσπετον χέασα παμμιγῆ βοὴν / δαφνηφάγων φοίβαζεν ἐκ λαιμῶν ὄπα, / Σφιγγὸς κελαινῆς γῆρυν ἐκμιμουμένη, 28 ἡ δ᾽ ἔνθεον σχάσασα βακχεῖον στόμα, 1463–5 Σειρῆνος ἐστέναξε λοίσθιον μέλος, / Κλάρου Μιμαλλὼν ἢ Μελαγκραίρας κόπις / Νησοῦς θυγατρός, ἤ τι Φίκιον τέρας.

369–70 οὐχ οὕτω Θρήισσαν ἐνὶ δρυμοῖσι γυναῖκα / νήδυμος αὐλὸς ἔτυψεν ὀρειμανέος Διονύσου: compare DP 575–6 οὐχ οὕτω Θρήϊκος ἐπ᾽ ᾠόσιν Ἀψύνθοιο / Βιστονίδες καλέουσιν ἐρίβρομον Εἰραφιώτην; Nonn. *D.* 4.4 οὐδὲ γυνὴ Θρήισσα …

Negative comparisons are not as frequent as positive ones, but they occur in Homer (*Il.* 14.394–401 οὔτε θαλάσσης κῦμα τόσον βοάᾳ ποτὶ χέρσον …, 17.20–3 οὔτ᾽ οὖν παρδάλιος τόσσον μένος …; see also *Batrachom.* 78–81 οὐχ οὕτω … – compare also the Homeric 'description by negation' technique, employed to define things or conditions which are the reverse of normal, mortail existence, on which see de Jong 2001, 234), Theocritus (*Id.* 3.47 οὐχ οὕτως Ὤδωνις ἐπὶ πλέον ἄγαγε λύσσας), *AP* 7.227.1–2 (οὐδὲ λέων ὡς δεινὸς ἐν οὔρεσιν, ὡς ὁ Μίκωνος / υἱὸς Κριναγόρης ἐν σακέων πατάγῳ), Opp. *C.* 2.138–46 (οὐ τοίω …), and above all Nonnus (*D.* 10.322–5 οὐχ οὕτω … ὅσσον …, 11.227–30 οὐ τόσον … ὡς τότε …, 23.221–4 οὐχ οὕτω … οὐχ οὕτω … ὡς τότε, 29.240–2 οὐ τόσον … ὅσον). According to Vian

(1990, 25, note 1), "une comparaison introduite par οὐ τόσον, οὐχ οὕτω, vise à affirmer la supériorité de l'objet comparé par rapport au terme de comparaison choisi en raison même de son éminence".

ἐνὶ δρυμοῖσι, as in Opp. *C.* 1.84, 1.130, 2.82 and Collut. 357. Not the Homeric διὰ δρυμὰ πυκνά (*Il.* 11.118; *Od.* 10.150, 197), after which QS 2.382, 7.715. Compare E. *Ba.* 1228–9 εἶδον Αὐτονόην Ἰνώ θ᾽ ἅμα / ἔτ᾽ ἀμφὶ δρυμοὺς οἰστροπλῆγας ἀθλίας. **νήδυμος αὐλός** is an unusual combination, since νήδυμος is the usual attribute of ὕπνος: *Il.* 2.2 etc.; QS 2.163, 4.72; Nonn. *D.* 9.280 etc. Note the contrast between the sweet-sounding flute and the violent, thudding effect it has on the Bacchant and on Cassandra (ἔτυψεν, also 371 πληγεῖσα). Compare also E. *Ba.* 851 (Dionysus on Pentheus) ἐλαφρὰν λύσσαν. **ὀρειμανής** may be a Triphiodorean *proton legomenon* (cf. Monaco 2007, 155–6). Nonnus uses several ὀρι- and -μανής compounds to refer to Dionysus, but never this one: 37.45 ὀριτρεφέος Διονύσου, 45.230 ὀριπλανέος Δ.; 16.229 γυναιμανέος Δ., 17.184 θηλυμανῆ Δ., 18.309 θυρσομανὴς Δ., 24.178 ἀρειμανέος Δ., 48.541 ἐρωμανέοντι … Δ., 48.716 οἰστρομανῆ Δ.

371a ἥ τε θεῷ πληγεῖσα: emphasises the violence of divine possession and the involuntary character of the movement. Compare *Il.* 17.296 πληγεῖσ᾽ ἔγχεΐ τε μεγάλῳ καὶ χειρὶ παχείῃ, 23.694 (boxing) ὣς πληγεὶς ἀνέπαλτο; *Od.* 12.416 = 14.306 πληγεῖσα κεραυνῷ (also [Hes.] *Sc.* 422).

371b παρήορον ὄμμα τιταίνει: Cassandra seems to be rolling her eyes, a typical sign of madness in tragedy (see Padel 1992, 59–63), affecting Io in A. *Pr.* 882 τροχοδινεῖται δ᾽ ὄμμαθ᾽ ἑλίγδην, and the frenzied Agaue in E. *Ba.* 1122–3 διαστρόφους / κόρας ἑλίσσουσ᾽, 1166–7 ἐν διαστρόφοις / ὄσσοις. QS 12.537 ὄσσε δέ οἱ μάρμαιρεν ἀναιδέα, is not an exact parallel: Cassandra's eyes are brilliant with lack of shame, i.e. instead of chastely looking downwards, she stares at men defiantly. Cf. Campbell 1981, p. 182, note to 535–9. The rolling of the eyes is mentioned by Hippocratic treatises as a symptom of mental illness: Hp. *Morb.Sacr.* 7 τὰ ὄμματα διαστρέφονται, *Coac.* 476 ὄμμασι περιβλέπουσαι. ὄμμα τιταίνει is a frequent Nonnian phrase: cf. *D.* 3.156 ἄστατον ὄμμα τίταινε, 4.248 ἀντώπιον ὄμμα τιταίνων etc.

372 γυμνὸν ἐπισσείουσα κάρη κυανάμπυκι κισσῷ ('shaking her bare head against the ivy, woven into a dark circlet'): the phrasing may be in-

spired by AR 1.1254 γυμνὸν ἐπαΐσσων παλάμῃ ξίφος. Note that the vertical movement described by ἐπισσείω usually implies menacing intent: *Il.* 4.167 αὐτὸς ἐπισσείῃσιν ἐρεμνὴν αἰγίδα πᾶσι, 15.229–30 λάβ᾽ αἰγίδα …/ τῇ μάλ᾽ ἐπισσείων φοβέειν ἥρωας ᾽Αχαιούς; Opp. *C.* 3.301 (wolf) αἰὲν ἐπισσείων κεφαλήν.

Civilised women were supposed to have their heads covered with a veil (κρήδεμνον) adjusted and adorned with several accessories, including a frontlet (ἄμπυξ): e.g. Andromache starts mourning Hector by discarding her headdress (*Il.* 22.468–70). In Cassandra's case, the lack of a veil is related to her lack of virginal shame (368 λίπεν δέ ἑ παρθένος αἰδώς – cf. Ypsilanti 2007, 110, note 39; Kardulias 2001, 30–5), but also to her being a Bacchant. When possessed by Dionysus, Bacchants abandon civilisation and all its symbols, including the headdress: Nonn. *D.* 45.227 (of Agaue) λυσσαλέης ἐρύσαντες ἀνάμπυκα βότρυν ἐθείρης. Nonnian Nymphs and Bacchants are ἀνάμπυκες: 12.372, 20.342, 23.272, 29.266, 35.108, 35.261, 48.313.

Euripides' Bacchants crown their heads with ivy stems (*Ba.* 81, 106, 177, 200, 313, 323, 341–2, 384, 702–3), and *mitrai* are also mentioned (*Ba.* 833, 929, 1115). On the shaking of the head as a Bacchic movement, see E. *Ba.* 150 τρυφερόν <τε> πλόκαμον εἰς αἰθέρα ῥίπτων, 185 κρᾶτα σεῖσαι πολιόν, 240–1 ἀνασείοντά τε / κόμας, 864–5 δέραν / αἰθέρ᾽ ἐς δροσερὸν ῥίπτουσ᾽ (with Dodds 1960, p. 185, note *ad loc.*).

The line is better understood in combination with the images of Bacchants shaking their heads and thyrsoi in their static dance. The dancing steps are fragmented into several movements, and in one of them the head is held down, with the forehead nearly touching the ivy foliage adorning the tip of the thyrsus: see image 4.

Triph. exploits the contrast between the bare head (γυμνόν = ἀνάμπυξ) of the Bacchant and the κυανάμπυξ thyrsus. The νάρθηξ becomes a Bacchic thyrsus by the twining of ivy into it: cf. E. *Ba.* 176–7 θύρσους ἀνάπτειν …/ στεφανοῦν τε κρᾶτα κισσίνοις βλαστήμασιν (with Dodds 1960, p. 92, note to 176 "ἀνάπτειν: lit. 'to tie', i.e. *make* a thyrsus by tying a bunch of ivy leaves to a narthex"), 1054–5 Αἳ μὲν γὰρ αὐτῶν θύρσον ἐκλελοιπότα / κισσῷ κομήτην αὖθις ἐξανέστεφον (with Dodds 1960, p. 208, note to 1054–5: "The act described is … the crowning of the νάρθηξ with the terminal bunch of ivy leaves which transforms it into a thyrsus" – see also *Hel.* 1360–1 κισσοῦ τε στεφθεῖσα χλόα / νάρθηκας εἰς ἱερούς). See Campbell, *Lex.*, p. 212,

Image 4. The so-called Callimachus' Maenades (original *ca.* 400 BC), Neoattic relief (120–40 AD), now in the Museo del Prado, Madrid, inv. no. E0046.

APP 372. On the combined movements of the head and the thyrsus, see E. *Ba.* 943–4 ἐν δεξιᾶι χρὴ χἄμα δεξιῶι ποδὶ / αἴρειν νιν, on which Dodds (1960, p. 195, note to 943–4) comments: "the thyrsus is to be lifted and brought down … in time with the right foot. If it was used like a walking-stick, this would be an unnatural movement".

κυανάμπυκι κισσῷ 'against the ivy, woven into a dark circlet': κυανός refers secondarily to the dark ivy, and does not mean 'dark blue' (Irwin 1972, 28–9, 79–110). Compare Nonn. *D.* 6.114 νεφέλης κυανάμπυκι μίτρῃ (after *Il.* 5.345 κυανέῃ νεφέλῃ – cf. Chuvin 1992, p. 144, note to 6.114). The dark colour of the ivy would contrast with

the lighter colour of the bindweed, also used by the Bacchants: E. *Ba.* 106–8 στεφανοῦσθε κισσῶι / βρύετε βρύετε χλοήρει / μίλακι, 702–3 ἐπὶ δ᾽ ἔθεντο κισσίνους / στεφάνους δρυός τε μίλακός τ᾽ ἀνθεσφόρου. Theocritus (*Id.* 17.67 Δῆλον … κυανάμπυκα) and Pindar (*Hymn.* fr. 29.3 Snell – Maehler κυανάμπυκα Θήβαν) use κυανάμπυξ as an epithet for cities, perhaps thinking of personifications (cf. Gow 1952, II, p. 337, note to 17.67). Compare Hes. *Th.* 916 Μοῦσαι χρυσάμπυκες; E. *Hec.* 464–5 ᾽Αρτέμιδος θεᾶς / χρυσέαν ἄμπυκα; Nonn. *D.* 48.712 χρυσάμπυκα Πειθώ.

373–4a ὡς ἥ γε πτερόεντος ἀναΐξασα νόοιο / Κασσάνδρη θεόφοιτος ἐμαίνετο: notice the contrast between Cassandra's appearance (ἐμαίνετο – on which see Padel 1995, 23–7) and her accusations of madness against the Trojans (377 δαιμόνιοι μαίνεσθε). Her dishevelled appearance makes her words difficult to believe.

ἀναΐσσειν is usually said of a person who leaps up: *Il.* 3.216, 4.114, 7.106, 15.6 etc; AR 3.36, 4.842, 1337; QS 4.547; Nonn. *D.* 12.174. Nonnus uses it to refer to a *daimon* leaping into the air: *D.* 16.292 = 22.201 ψυχὴ δ᾽ ἠνεμόφοιτος ἀναΐξασα, 20.261 ἀναΐξασα δὲ δαίμων, 34.89–90, 36.184–5 etc. Gerlaud (*Triph.*, p. 90, note 1) interprets ἀναΐξασα νόοιο as a poetic transposition of ἔξω ἑαυτοῦ γίγνεσθαι (see Pi. *O.* 7.47 ἔξω φρενῶν; E. *Ba.* 853 ἔξω δ᾽ ἐλαύνων τοῦ φρονεῖν), but the construction of ἀνά with the genitive is unnatural. Campbell (*Lex.*, p. 212, APP 373) is alone in replacing it with ἀπό (as in S. *Aj.* 447–8 φρένες διάστροφοι / γνώμης ἀπῆιξαν – with LSJ *s.v.* ἀπαΐσσω), which would give the translation: "darting away from her winged mind". On the wanderings of the mind of mad persons, see Padel 1995, 120–3.

πτερόεντος … νόοιο was perhaps inspired by AR 4.23–4 πτερόεις δέ οἱ ἐν φρεσὶ θυμὸς / ἰάνθη. Compare also Nonn. *D.* 42.334 πτερόεντα νόον πόμπευεν; Nonnian comparisons of velocity such as ὡς πτερὸν ἠὲ νόημα (*D.* 7.315–16, 14.6, 32.37); Nonn. *P.* 6.81–3 ἐπεὶ θεοδινέι παλμῷ / οἷα νόος πτερόεις ἀνέμων δίχα, νόσφιν ἐρετμῶν, / τηλεπόροις λιμένεσσιν ὁμίλεεν αὐτομάτη νηῦς.

θεόφοιτος is a *hapax*, the second element of which is unusual in early epic poetry (*Il.* 9.571 = 19.87 ἠεροφοῖτις ᾽Ερινύς), but becomes quite popular in later works (Opp. *H.* 3.166–7 ἠερόφοιτα γένεθλα / τευθίδος, 5.403–4 οὐρεσίφοιτον / … χέλυν), especially in Nonnus' *D.* (see Peek *Lex. s.vv.* ἀστερόφοιτος, ἠερόφοιτος, ἠνεμόφοιτος,

ἱμερόφοιτος, ὁμόφοιτος, οὐρεσίφοιτος); also Collut. 392 Κασσάνδρη νεόφοιτον ἀπ᾽ ἀκροπόληος ἰδοῦσα; Musae. 181 πολύφοιτος. Triph. may have drawn his inspiration from A. *Ag.* 1140, where Cassandra is called θεοφόρητος. See Monaco 2007, 156–7, on compound words in -φοιτάω. **Κασσάνδρη θεόφοιτος** brings the introduction of Cassandra to a close by referring back to the beginning (358 Κούρη δὲ Πριάμοιο θεήλατος) and finally calling her by her name.

374b–5a πυκνὰ δὲ χαίτην / κοπτομένη καὶ στέρνον: other sources mention Cassandra tossing her hair (E. *IA* 757–8 τὰν Κασσάνδραν ἵν᾽ ἀκού-/ω ῥίπτειν ξανθοὺς πλοκάμους; QS 12.535–6 κόμαι δέ οἱ ἀμφεκέχυντο / ὤμοις ἀργυφέοισι μετάφρενον ἄχρις ἰοῦσαι), but not the beating of her breast. The phrasing is similar to that of manifestations of feminine despair such as AR 4.18–19 (Medea) πυκνὰ δὲ λαυκανίης ἐπεμάσσετο, πυκνὰ δὲ κουρὶξ / ἑλκομένη πλοκάμους γοερῇ βρυχήσατ᾽ ἀνίῃ; Nonn. *D.* 2.89–90 (Aphrodite) πυκνὰ δὲ μυρομένη καλύκων εὐώδεα χαίτην / βόστρυχον ἁβρὸν ἔτιλλε κονιομένου ῥοδεῶνος; Collut. 391–2 πυκνὰ δὲ τίλλε κόμην, χρυσέην δ᾽ ἔρριψε καλύπτρην / Κασσάνδρη.

375b ἀνίαχε μαινάδι φωνῇ: ἀνίαχε completes 367 Πάντῃ δ᾽ ἐβρυχᾶτο κατὰ πτόλιν. There is nothing significant here, since prophecies are usually shouted. Compare E. *Andr.* 296–7 ὅτε νιν παρὰ θεσπεσίωι δάφναι / βόασε Κασσάνδρα; Lyc. *Alex.* 5–6 ἀλλ᾽ ἄσπετον χέασα παμμιγῆ βοὴν / δαφνηφάγων φοίβαζεν ἐκ λαιμῶν ὄπα; QS 12.530 μέγ᾽ ἴαχεν, εὖτε λέαινα, 539 καί ῥα μέγα στονάχησε καὶ ἴαχε παρθένος ἐσθλή. **μαινάδι φωνῇ**, as in Nonn. *D.* 36.377 μαινάδι φωνῇ||, completes the comparison of Cassandra with a Bacchant (Triph. 369–75).

376–416 Cassandra's speech aims to sound tragically prophetic, while at the same time offering a reasonable and reasoned way out of the conflict, in the manner of the plaintive and argumentative speeches of Euripides' female characters. In fact, Campbell (1981, 179, n. to 526–8) has suggested that Cassandra's predictions in Euripides' *Alexandros* may have had a direct influence on Triph.'s speech, but the extant lines of the tragedy and the hypothesis are insufficient to prove such a theory. Cf. *P. Oxy.* 52.3650, lines 25–8 (*TrGF* 5.1 Kannicht, *Alexandros* iii); *Alexandros* fr. 30, 33–4 (Jouan – Van Looy 1998) = *TrGF* 5.1 Kannicht 62e, 62h, 62k. Triph.'s Cassandra also comes close to *Il.* 6.407–39: Androm-

ache appeals to Hector to stay in Troy, on the grounds that he is the only family she has left, and suggests a possible strategy for the army.

Triph.'s references to Hecabe and Priam (398–402), Polyxena (403–5) and Cassandra (406–9) seem close to Cassandra's description in Lyc. *Alex.*: 314–15 Cassandra will cry for Laodice, Polyxena and Hecabe; 316–22 Laodice; 323–29 Polyxena; 330–4 Hecabe; 335–47 Priam; 348–60 Cassandra. Gerlaud (*Triph.* 29–30) suggests that Triph. is following Lycophron, but there are no phraseological parallels to prove this. In the *Posthomerica*, Cassandra is given a shorter speech (12.540–51, with Campbell 1981, p. 184, note to 540–51), focusing on her vision of blood and destruction and linking this directly to the previous *omina* that the other Trojans have failed to notice (12.500–24).

The transition from an enigmatic, visionary introduction into rational prophecy that is present in Triph.'s speech resembles the evolution of Cassandra's prophecies in A. *Ag.* and E. *Tr.* (cf. Mazzoldi 2001, 201–12, 219–28; Mazzoldi 2002). Mazzoldi (2002, 149, n. 19) distinguishes in Triph.'s speech:

a) the initial cry (376–81);
b) the stage of visions in the present tense (391–4);
c) the stage of mediate clairvoyance in the future tense and the metaphors (382–90, 398–407);
d) the stage of rational prophecy with awareness of surrounding reality (410–16).

Cassandra sounds particularly frenzied in the first half of the speech (376–94), where she blends past, present and future events into a single unit of time. Compare the use of the present in her vision on entering Agamemnon's house in A. *Ag.* 1000ff., where, as a result of the abolition of temporal and spatial distance, she *sees* the past, present and future of the Atreidai together (cf. Mazzoldi 2001, 186–93, 204–5; *ibid.* 229–31 on Euripides' Cassandra; *ibid.* 252–5, 261–3, 267–9, on Lycophron's Cassandra; also Fusillo 1984, 507–16).

As regards the riddles, Aeschylus' Cassandra already used the αἴνιγμα in her speech (A. *Ag.* 1112–13 νῦν γὰρ ἐξ αἰνιγμάτων / ἐπαργέμοισι θεσφάτοις ἀμηχανῶ, 1183 φρενώσω δ᾽ οὐκέτ᾽ ἐξ αἰνιγμάτων), while Euripides' Cassandra resorts to the paradox, in *Tr.* 308–461. Riddles became Cassandra's main form of expression in the poem by Lycophron, where her prophecies are described in the prologue as δυσφάτους αἰνιγμάτων / οἴμας (10–11 – with Looijenga 2009, 66–8; Mazzoldi 2001, 259–60). These enigmas contributed greatly to Lycoph-

ron's ancient reputation for obscurity: cf. Berra 2009; De Stefani – Magnelli 2009.

In the *Sack of Troy*, Cassandra's words are also obscured by riddles and metaphors. The metaphor of the pregnant horse (379b–90) is particularly relevant, but she also uses several periphrases for death (377 ὑστατίην ἐπὶ νύκτα, 378 νήγρετον ὕπνον, 392 κῦμα φόνοιο; see also 393–4 δεσμά … νύμφια), and refers obliquely to the defeat of the Trojans (378 πολέμοιο πέρας, 381 λήγει δ᾽ ἀμβολιεργὸν ἔτος πολέμοιο λυθέντος). The wooden horse and other inanimate elements are treated as if they were alive and conscious: 384 τέξεται ὄβριμος ἵππος (the labour is attended by matrons), 391–2 ἑλίσσεται …/ αἵματος ἐκχυμένου πέλαγος καὶ κῦμα φόνοιο, 393 δεσμά … πλέκεται, 394 φωλεύει … κευθόμενον πῦρ.

In the second part of her speech, Cassandra takes on a more sober tone for her predictions of the fates of individuals (398–409) and her final suggestions for avoiding the destruction of Troy (410–16). Compare E. *Tr.* 365–6 ἔνθεος μέν, ἀλλ᾽ ὅμως / τοσόνδε γ᾽ ἔξω στήσομαι βακχευμάτων. The description of the sack of a city (391–409) combines realistic and prophetic elements.

Triph.'s Cassandra tells of the deaths of Priam, Hecabe, Polyxena and herself, in an attempt to move her father, talking of him, his wife and his daughters. On this use of vivid description (διατύπωσις) to add life to the discourse and to evoke pity, see [Plu.] *De Homero* 67. More on this figure in Lausberg 1998, §§ 810–19. In the *Iliad* similar descriptions are employed as a powerful dissuasive argument. The images of destruction work when Cleopatra tries to convince her husband Meleager (*Il.* 9.590–6), but not when Priam tries to encourage Hector back into the safety of the walls of Troy (*Il.* 22.59–76). In Triph.'s case the description is not merely an argument, but a prediction, and would not sound strange coming from the mouth of a prophetess in a state of frenzy: see Plu. *Pyrrh.* 31 ἐν … τῇ πόλει τῶν Ἀργείων ἡ τοῦ Λυκείου προφῆτις Ἀπόλλωνος ἐξέδραμε βοῶσα νεκρῶν ὁρᾶν καὶ φόνου κατάπλεω τὴν πόλιν.

Cassandra's depiction of the end of Troy is correct, but incomplete: Priam will die at the altar of Zeus, but she does not say who will kill him; Hecabe will become a raging bitch, but she does not specify why beyond a vague ἐπὶ παισί (402), and does not mention her subsequent metamorphosis into a stone; Polyxena will be buried in Troy, but her

being sacrificed to Achilles is not mentioned; she relates her own death and that of Agamemnon at Clytemnestra's hands, without explaining that before that she will be raped by Ajax (647–50). In the *Iliad* the poet follows a similar pattern of partial revelation for the sake of suspense (Rutherford 2001, 276), but here it is more a case of brevity and of simply alluding to the basic elements, which could be easily completed by the learned readers.

376–9a Analysis of the situation. As Padel 1995, 78 puts it, "when the mad see wrongly, they are usually looking at something the sane can see too: only they see it different. Their own child as a lion. Cattle as human enemies. But they see more truly … when they see something where the sane see nothing. Madness can see things that really are there, but that it is normal not to see. Erinyes are known to exist, but most people do not see them. Orestes' madness is to see them as they really are." For more on madness and insight, see Padel 1995, 65–81. In Cassandra's case, her madness and prophetic insight enable her to see what her compatriots cannot, completely taken in as they are by Sinon's lies. Cassandra's first task in her speech is to tell the Trojans what is happening before her eyes and thus counteract the illusion created by Sinon to the detriment of the Trojans (298–9 bringing the horse into the citadel will impede the return of the Achaeans).

Cassandra relates the transporting of the horse (376b ἵππον ἄγοντες) directly to the final nocturnal battle (377b–8 ὑστατίην ἐπὶ νύκτα / σπεύδετε καὶ πολέμοιο πέρας καὶ νήγρετον ὕπνον): the Trojans are actively bringing forward (378a σπεύδετε) the latter by carrying the horse into the citadel (376b ἵππον ἄγοντες, picking up previous references to the transporting of the horse: 307 εἷλκον, 323 ἑλκόντων ἐνοπή, 328 οἱ δ᾽ ἦγον προπάροιθεν, 357 ἦγον ἐς ἀκρόπολιν βεβαρημένον ἔνδοθεν ἵππον). The horse, called by Sinon μεγάλην χρυσήνιον ἵππον (301), is now described again according to its true nature: 376 ἀνάρσιον ἵππον. The joyful κῶμος (305b–9, 340–51) organised by the Trojans, unaware of the accompanying *omina* (318–39, 350–7), now becomes a δυσμενέων … κῶμος ἀρήιος (379), matching the previous narratorial comment οἵη καὶ Τρώεσσι τότε φθισίμβροτος ἄτη / ἐς πόλιν αὐτοκέλευθος ἐκώμασεν (313–14). These first lines create a menacing atmosphere similar to that of the narratorial comments (245b–6, 310–15), but Cassandra raised the level of discomfort by es-

tablishing a link with the past (379b–81), predicting the destruction of the city (391–409), and imploring the Trojans to change their mind (410–16).

376 Ὦ μέλεοι: as in AR 2.341 (Phineus prophesies to the Argonauts). QS's Cassandra begins with ὦ δειλοί (12.540). See also Verg. *A.* 2.42 (beginning of Laocoon's speech) "o miseri, quae tanta insania, ciues?".

377a δαιμόνιοι μαίνεσθε, after *Od.* 18.406 (Telemachus to the suitors: δαιμόνιοι, μαίνεσθε), is not only an accusation of folly, but also an acknowledgement that this folly is caused by a divinity, who does not allow the Trojans to foresee the consequences of their deeds. Just as Cassandra is not responsible for her frenzy, caused by Apollo, so the Trojans are blinded by the gods, but if they were really willing to do so, they would be able to see through the illusion of peace into which they have been allured.

377b–8a ὑστατίην ἐπὶ νύκτα / σπεύδετε: in opposition to the previous opinion of a group of Trojans who saw the statue as ὕστερον Ἀργείοιο μόθου σημήιον (257). Compare QS 12.575 (after the restraint of Cassandra's opposition) μάλα γὰρ τάχ᾽ ἐπήιεν ὑστατίη νύξ. On the Homeric formulations of death as darkness, see Morrison 1999, 136–43.

378b πολέμοιο πέρας: *b* has τέλος, F has τέρας (perhaps after *Il.* 11.4 πολέμοιο τέρας μετὰ χερσὶν ἔχουσαν), corrected to πέρας by Schaefer (1808), whose proposal is accepted by Gerlaud. Campbell (*Lex.*, p. 212, APP 378) prefers τέλος and Dubielzig (*Triph.*, 198–9) F's reading τέρας. Note that the themes of the poem, as expressed in the proemium, were τέρμα … πολέμοιο (1) and the λόχον (2). **νήγρετον ὕπνον**: the ultimate referents are probably *Od.* 13.79–80 καὶ τῷ νήδυμος ὕπνος ἐπὶ βλεφάροισιν ἔπιπτε, / νήγρετος ἥδιστος, θανάτῳ ἄγχιστα ἐοικώς and *H. Ven.* 177 τί νυ νήγρετον ὕπνον ἰαύεις;. The phrase became frequent in epitaphs as a poetic metaphor of death: [Mosch.] *Id.* 3.104 μακρὸν ἀτέρμονα νήγρετον ὕπνον; *AP* 7.305.3 (Addaeus of Mitylene) νήγρετον ὑπνώσας, 338.6 (anon.) αὐτὸς δ᾽ εἰκοσέτας νήγρετον ὕπνον ἔχεις. See also Nonn. *P.* 11.45 ἀνήγρετον ὕπνον ὀλέθρου. Triph. uses a similar metaphor when narrating the initial attack: 541 χαλκείου θανάτοιο κακοῖς ἐκάλυψαν ὀνείροις.

379a δυσμενέων ὅδε κῶμος ἀρήιος: Triph. means that the revelry has a warlike character (κῶμος ἀρήιος) and that as such it can only be celebrated by the enemy (δυσμενέων). This suggests that the only participants in the procession who are truly celebrating it are the Achaeans hidden inside the horse. Their κῶμος is then imitated by the return of the Achaean fleet to the gates of Troy in full military array (522–32). The horse had already been linked to Ares at the end of its construction (104–5), by the Trojans themselves (256 ἀρήιον ἵππον) and by the narrator (330 Εἵπετο δ᾽ αἰόλος ἵππος ἀρηιφίλους ἐπὶ βωμούς).

κῶμος ἀρήιος is a grim, tragic paradox. Compare E. *Supp.* 390 Κῶμον δέχεσθαι τὸν ἐμὸν ἀσπιδηφόρον (with Morwood 2007, n. *ad loc.*: "We end up with an impression of unfestive mayhem), *Ph.* 790bis κῶμον ἀναυλότατον προχορεύεις (with Mastronarde 1994, note *ad loc.*: "a typically tragic use of a pejorative epithet ironically to negate the positive connotations of the noun"), 796 ἀσπιδοφέρμονα †θίασον ἔνοπλον†. Nonnus develops the imagery of war as a κῶμος (see Gigli Piccardi 1985, 131–3): Nonn. *D.* 17.157 τεύχων κῶμον Ἄρηι, 28.303–5.

379b–90 The metaphor of the pregnant horse giving birth (see analysis in Rodari 1985) is absent from the *Iliad*, Seneca *Ag.* and *Satyricon* 89 ff., and QS. It was first suggested by Aeschylus in his *Agamemnon* (825 ἵππου νεοσσός; on which see Rodari 1985, 83–5) and developed by Euripides (*Tr.* 11, 519–21, 534, on which see Rodari 1985, 85–90) and Lycophron (*Alex.* 342–3 τὸν ὠδίνοντα μορμωτὸν λόχον / ἀναψαλάξῃ γαστρὸς ἑλκύσας ζυγά; see Rodari 1985, 91–7). See also *AP* 9.156.1–2, and among Latin authors, Lucret. 1.476–7; Verg. *A.* 2.20, 52–3, 238, 243, 258–9, 6.515–16; Ovid *Ars Amat.* 1.364.

Triph. has prepared the metaphor earlier (135–6 ἱππείην ἐπὶ νηδὺν / θαρσαλέοι σπεύδωμεν, 200 ἐγκύμονος ἵππου, 308 ἵππον ἀριστήεσσι βεβυσμένον), and now introduces it in connection with Hecabe's dream of the birth of Paris. Both Paris and the Greek warriors are the product of a monstrous delivery that occurs during the night, and both set fire to Troy.

The introduction of Cassandra's prophetic talk (379b–81) makes past (Hecabe's dream), present (the Trojans dragging the horse into the citadel) and future events (the destruction of Troy) equivalent, because all of them lead to pain and destruction by fire. In the manner of Eu-

ripides (*Tr.* 534) and Lycophron (*Alex.* 342–3), Triph. bases the metaphor on the double meaning of λόχος (ambiguous in 382 Τοῖος ἀριστῆων λόχος ἔρχεται): as an 'ambush', it falls under Athena's patronage, because it is a feat of intelligence and it brings with it the destruction of war; as a 'childbirth', it calls for Eileithyia as a divine midwife and suggests the joy of the birth of a new being. Lines 382–5 blend the two meanings: the labour is attended by Athena and the warriors emerge armed (just as she herself emerged from Zeus's head) to bring about the destruction of Troy. The goddess is both μαῖα and πτολίπορθος, two antithetical, yet complementary functions.

The obscurity of the speech is accentuated by the use of riddles:

- Riddle 1 (386–7): no human midwives will attend the horse in labour.
- Answer in the shape of a second riddle (388): the horse's divine midwife will not be Eileithyia, but its builder.
- Final answer (389–90): the opening of the womb and the ritual cry will be performed by Athena in her dual capacity of midwife and destroyer of cities.

379b–80 αἱ δέ που ἤδη / τίκτουσιν μογερῆς Ἑκάβης ὠδῖνες ὀνείρων: compare E. *Tr.* 919–20 (Helen on Hecabe) πρῶτον μὲν ἀρχὰς ἔτεκεν ἥδε τῶν κακῶν, / Πάριν τεκοῦσα. On the pangs of delivery, see *Il.* 11.269–72.

The oldest extant narrative of Hecabe's dream is Pi. *Paeanes* fr. 52i (A), lines 17–23 Snell-Maehler: the pregnant Hecabe dreams of giving birth, and it seems to her that she is giving birth to a fire-bearing Erinys, which sets Troy on fire. Later summaries present only slight variations and tell of the subsequent events. According to Apollodorus (*Bibl.* 3.12.5), Hecabe dreamt that she had brought forth a firebrand and that the fire then burned the whole city; Priam was told that the child was to be the ruin of his country and was advised to abandon him; Paris survived exposure, and was first nursed by a bear and then adopted by the servant who had been given the task of abandoning him in the wilderness. According to Hyginus (*Fab.* 91.1–3), Hecuba dreamt that she was giving birth to a blazing torch, out of which serpents emerged; interpreters saw in this a prediction that he was going to cause the destruction of Troy, and ordered the child to be killed immediately after birth; Priam and Hecabe gave the baby to a servant, who left him to die on Mount Ida, where he was rescued by shepherds. Other accounts included S. *Alex.* frr. 91a–100a (*TrGF* 4 Radt), the prologue of Euripides' *Alexandros* (Scodel 1980, 22; Jouan – Van Looy 1998, 48), and

E. *Tr.* 919–22. Virgil mentions the dream only briefly in the *Aeneid* and does not relate it to the horse (*A.* 7.319–20 "nec face tantum / Cisseis praegnas ignis enixa iugalis"). Compare also the use of dreams in Nonnus' *Dionysiaca*, as analysed by Auger 2003.

With the connection between Paris' birth and the horse giving birth to the Achaean warriors, Triph. imbues Cassandra's speech with a feeling of inexorability. Hecabe knew about the consequences of giving birth to Paris in advance, and yet Paris survived. Now Cassandra warns the Trojans about the consequences of allowing the horse to give birth in Troy, but, despite her foresight, the success of the strategy of the horse is inexorable.

381 λήγει δ᾽ ἀμβολιεργὸν ἔτος πολέμοιο λυθέντος: while highlighting 378 σπεύδετε καὶ πολέμοιο πέρας, this line is also to some extent a rewording of 1 Τέρμα … μεταχρόνιον πολέμοιο. ἀμβολιεργός is a rather unusual word: cf. Hes. *Op.* 413 ἀμβολιεργὸς ἀνήρ; Nonn. *D.* 42.156 ἀμβολιεργὸν ἀπεσφήκωσε σιωπήν.

382–4a τοῖος ἀριστῆων λόχος ἔρχεται, οὓς ἐπὶ χάρμην / τεύχεσιν ἀστράπτοντας ἀμαυροτάτην ὑπὸ νύκτα / τέξεται ὄβριμος ἵππος: Triph. explicitly connects the birth of Paris and the birth of the Achaeans, at opposite ends of the legend, as immediate causes of harm for the Trojans. Note the opposition between 380 μογερῆς Ἑκάβης and the ὄβριμος ἵππος (also 376 ἀνάρσιον ἵππον): Hecabe suffers during labour (and anticipates this suffering in her dreams), whereas the horse, again presented as a living animal (it was progressively endowed with life in 57–107; 330–5), displays the warlike endurance of a warrior (cf. *Il.* 5.845 ὄβριμος Ἄρης, 8.473 ὄβριμος Ἕκτωρ), appropriately for the protagonist of a κῶμος ἀρήιος (379). The warriors are born armed and ready for battle (385 τελειότατοι πολεμισταί), like Athena, their protector and midwife (386–90).

382b οὓς ἐπὶ χάρμην: as in Nonn. *D.* 26.215 οὓς ἐπὶ χάρμην|. **383a τεύχεσιν ἀστράπτοντας**: perhaps inspired by *Il.* 17.214 = 18.510 = 20.46 τεύχεσι λαμπόμενος, and similar phrases in Hes. *Th.* 186, [Hes.] *Sc.* 60. See also Nonn. *D.* 1.10 τεύχεσιν ἀστράπτουσαν … Ἀθήνην, 21.311 τεύχεσιν ἀστράπτων ἅτε Φωσφόρος. **383b ἀμαυροτάτην ὑπὸ νύκτα**, like 377–8 ὑστατίην ἐπὶ νύκτα / σπεύδετε, predicts that the birth of the warriors and the attack are to take place during the night.

384a ὄβριμος ἵππος: as in Opp. *C.* 1.195 ὄβριμος ἵππος; QS calls the horse ὄβριμον ἔργον (12.443). On the variant ὄβριμος/ὄμβριμος, see note to 197.

384b–5 ἐπὶ χθόνα δ᾽ ἄρτι θορόντες / ἐς μόθον ὁρμήσουσι τελειότατοι πολεμισταί: to be related to the description of the Achaean warriors emerging from the horse to launch an immediate attack on the sleeping Trojans (533–41, esp. 539–40 ὣς Δαναοὶ κρυφίοιο λόχου κληῖδας ἀνέντες / θρῷσκον ἐπὶ Τρώεσσι). **ἐς μόθον ὁρμήσουσι**: compare Opp. *H.* 5.43 κήτειον ὅτ᾽ ἐς μόθον ὁρμήσωνται; *Arg. Orph.* 519 ἐς μόθον ὁρμαίνοντες ἀρήϊα τεύχε᾽ ἔδυνον. εἰς μόθον with a verb of movement is a frequent Nonnian phrase for going to battle: e.g. *D.* 13.197 εἰς μόθον … ἐβακχεύθησαν, 275 ἤιεν εἰς μόθον, 299 εἰς μόθον ἕλκων, 14.291 εἰς μόθον ὡπλίζοντο, 17.319 εἰς μόθον … ἐκώμασε.

386–7 Riddle 1. **ἐπ᾽ ὠδίνεσσι … ἀνεῖσαι**: ἐπ᾽ (F, as in Call. *Del.* 254 ὁσσάκι κύκνοι ἐπ᾽ ὠδίνεσσιν ἄεισαν; Nonn. *D.* 48.794) fits in better with the movement in ἀνεῖσαι than ὑπ᾽ (*b*, as in Call. *Dian.* 21 ὀξείῃσιν ὑπ᾽ ὠδίνεσσι, *Del.* 202; Collut. 173). See Gerlaud *Triph.*, p. 141, note to 386; Campbell *Lex.*, p. 212, APP 386; Dubielzig *Triph.*, 199–200. **μογοστόκον ἵππον**: in normal circumstances μογοστόκος would have a passive meaning here ('undergoing a painful delivery'), but in this ambiguous situation Triph. seems to be suggesting the causative 'causing a painful delivery' (cf. Nonn. *D.* 25.560 λίθον … μογοστόκον, 27.324 πέλεκυν … μογοστόκον, 41.133 μογοστόκον … ὥρην), with a pun on Triph. 380 μογερῆς Ἑκάβης ὠδῖνες and Lyc. *Alex.* 829–30 τῆς μογοστόκους / ὠδῖνας ἐξέλυσε δενδρώδης κλάδος. See Campbell *Lex.*, p. 212, APP 386; Monaco 2007, 168–9. μογοστόκος is the Homeric epithet for Eileithyia: *Il.* 11.270, 16.187, 19.103; Nonn. *D.* 25.41.

388 Riddle 2 (αὐτὴ δ᾽ Εἰλείθυια γενήσεται ἥ μιν ἔτευξε): compare other unusual births where Eileithyia is substituted by other deities, such as Nonn. *D.* 8.396 καὶ στεροπὴ πέλε μαῖα, καὶ Εἰλείθυια κεραυνοί (first birth of Dionysus), 25.40–1, 41.70, 41.161–2.

389–90 Final answer (γαστέρα δὲ πλήθουσαν ἀνακλίνασα βοήσει / μαῖα πολυκλαύστοιο τόκου πτολίπορθος Ἀθήνη): a mythical allegory of the opening of the door of the horse, with Athena acting as a midwife for the pregnant horse. On the opening of the door of the

horse, see *Od.* 11.525 ἠμὲν ἀνακλῖναι πυκινὸν λόχον ἠδ᾽ ἐπιθεῖναι; E. *Tr.* 560–1 λόχου δ᾽ ἐξέβαιν᾽ Ἄρης, / κόρας ἔργα Παλλάδος; Lyc. *Alex.* 342–3 τὸν ὠδίνοντα μορμωτὸν λόχον / ἀναψαλάξῃ γαστρὸς ἑλκύσας ζυγά; Triph. 533 Οἱ δ᾽ ἕτεροι γλαφυρῆς ἀπὸ γαστέρος ἔρρεον ἵππου.

The opening of the horse's womb is paralleled by the premature labour of pregnant women during the sack of the city (557 γαστέρος ὠμοτόκοιο χύδην ὠδῖνα μεθεῖσαι), and by the death of Deiphobus, horribly wounded in the lower abdomen (627b–8 μέσην κατὰ γαστέρα τύψας / ἦπαρ ὀλισθηρῇσι συνεξέχεεν χολάδεσσιν).

389a γαστέρα δὲ πλήθουσαν ἀνακλίνασα: compare the use of ἀνακλίνω for the opening of a door in *Od.* 22.155–6 θύρην … ἀγκλίνας. **389b–90a βοήσει / μαῖα**: Athena's cry when the warriors are born (see 566–7) may correspond to the ὀλολυγή traditionally performed when a child was born. Cf. *H. Ap.* 115–19 Leto gives birth to Apollo (esp. 119b θεαὶ δ᾽ ὀλόλυξαν ἅπασαι); Pi. *Paeanes* fr. 52m.16–17 Snell-Maehler πολὺν ῥόθ[ο]ν ἵεσαν ἀπὸ στομ[άτων / Ἐ]λείθυιά τε καὶ Λά[χ]εσις; Call. *Del.* 256–8 νύμφαι Δηλιάδες … / εἶπαν Ἐλειθυίης ἱερὸν μέλος, αὐτίκα δ᾽ αἰθήρ / χάλκεος ἀντήχησε διαπρυσίην ὀλολυγήν. **390a μαῖα πολυκλαύστοιο τόκου**: after E. *Ion* 869 σιγῶσα τόκους πολυκλαύτους. Compare also Nonn. *D.* 9.6 μαῖα πολυρραφέος τοκετοῖο. *b* has πολυκλαύτοιο, as in Nic. *Alex.* 612 θανάτοιο πολυκλαύτοιο δότειραν; QS 10.141 οὐδέ μιν ἐκ πολέμοιο πολυκλαύτοιο μολόντα (causative epithet – QS uses the same epithet in 1.806, 3.380 = 11.315, 6.263). F has πολυκλαύστοιο, as in Opp. *H.* 2.668 μαῖά τ᾽ ἐρικλαύστων πολέμων Ἔρις). Gerlaud prints πολυκλαύστοιο, whereas Dubielzig (*Triph.*, 200–1) prefers πολυκλαύτοιο. **390b πτολίπορθος Ἀθήνη**: transference of the epithet from *Il.* 5.333 οὔτ᾽ ἄρ᾽ Ἀθηναίη οὔτε πτολίπορθος Ἐνυώ. Cassandra's prophetic view of the role that Athena is to play in the sack of Troy (566–7) clashes with the reverence that her father has for the goddess (432 ἵππον ἀνελκόμενον δέχεται πολιοῦχος Ἀθήνη), after being deceived by Sinon (302 Ἀθηναίη ἐρυσίπτολις).

391–7 Vision of the future destruction: Cassandra sees in the present Troy the seeds of its future destruction (see also 442b–3 ἔβλεπε δ᾽ ἤδη / πατρίδος αἰθομένης ἐπὶ τείχεσι μαρνάμενον πῦρ), continuing the theme of the prophetic conjunction of epochs. The three images of destruction mentioned here reappear in the nyktomachy:

– 391–2 Troy turned into a sea of blood ~ 542–4a earth drenched in blood, Troy overflowing with corpses.
– 393–4a Women taken into slavery ~ 547–58 female anonymous victims, 630–3 Helen as a war captive, 647–50 rape of Cassandra, 688 women as part of the booty.
– 394b–7 Troy, on fire, is reduced to ashes ~ 680–5.

Cassandra's speech shares with Priam's appeal to Hector (*Il.* 22.38–76) the vision of the destruction of Troy and the misfortune of its inhabitants (Triph. 391–409 ~ *Il.* 22.60–76) as a powerful dissuasive argument. However, hers is a proper prediction, whereas those of Hector (*Il.* 6.447–63) and Priam are merely intuitions.

391–2 καὶ δὴ πορφύρεον μὲν ἑλίσσεται ἔνδοθι πύργων / αἵματος ἐκχυμένου πέλαγος καὶ κῦμα φόνοιο: compare Opp. *H.* 5.269–70 κῦμα δ᾽ ἅπαν λύθροιο φορύσσεται ἐκχυμένοιο / ὠτειλαῖς ὀλοῇσι; QS 2.485–6 πάντῃ δὲ πέριξ ἐφορύνετο γαῖα / αἵματος ἐκχυμένοιο, 12.540–2 (Cassandra on Troy) ἀμφὶ γὰρ ἡμῖν / ἔμπλειον πυρὸς ἄστυ καὶ αἵματος ἠδὲ καὶ οἴτου / λευγαλέου; Nonn. *D.* 4.447–50. πορφύρεος is the word usually employed for the colour of the sea: cf. *Il.* 21.324–6; *Od.* 11.243, 13.84–5. **ἑλίσσεται … κῦμα φόνοιο** is a variation of the Homeric formulae for the movement of the waves: *Il.* 11.307 πολλὸν δὲ τρόφι κῦμα κυλίνδεται; *Od.* 1.162 ἢ εἰν ἁλὶ κῦμα κυλίνδει, 5.296 μέγα κῦμα κυλίνδων, 9.147 κύματα μακρὰ κυλινδόμενα, 14.315 μέγα κῦμα κυλίνδον. Compare κῦμα φόνοιο with Opp. *H.* 4.199 κῦμα πόνων; Nonn. *D.* 9.49 φοιταλέης ἑτερόφρονι κύματι λύσσης, 15.152 ἀφριόωσα λαθίφρονι κύματι λύσσης.

393–4a δεσμά τε συμπαθέων πλέκεται περὶ χερσὶ γυναικῶν / νύμφια: the bonds of captivity become the nuptial bonds of the female captives. After the defeat, the previously free wives are condemned to be slaves and concubines of their new masters. As a woman who knows what awaits her if Troy is taken (406–9), Cassandra is particularly sympathetic to the fate of her fellow female citizens (see also 401–2 Hecabe, 403–5 Polyxena). The juxtaposition of female captives and the sea of blood suggests that most of the dead bodies will belong to men and children, and that women will be spared as valuable booty.

δεσμά … πλέκεται: compare Nic. *Alex.* 224 δεσμοῖσι πολυπλέκτοισι; Nonn. *D.* 45.266–7 Βασσαρίδων δὲ φάλαγγα περίπλοκον ἅμματι χειρῶν / δέσμιον. **συμπαθέων … γυναικῶν** has no epic or

tragic parallels. The epithet has a causative meaning: 'of the women who excite sympathy'. See Campbell *Lex. s.v.* συμπαθής.

394b φωλεύει δ᾽ ὑπὸ δούρασι κευθόμενον πῦρ: the fire lurks inside the wood like a hidden animal ready to attack (Nic. *Alex.* 523 ἐπὶ φωλεύοντα τραφῇ βαθὺν ὁλκὸν ἐχίδνης), or like the fire of love, dormant under the ashes, but always ready to blaze up if triggered off (Theocr. *Id.* 11.51; Herondas 1.38; *AP* 5.122 [Diodorus], 12.79.1–2 [anon.], 80.4 [Meleager], 139.1–2 [Callimachus]). δούρασι refers here to the wood of which the horse is made (59–61, 344 ὁλκῷ δουρατέῳ, 458 ἵππῳ δουρατέῳ – cf. Campbell *Lex.*, pp. 212–13, APP 394), as if the horse carried within it the sparks of the fire that is to devour Troy (680–5), in the form of the concealed Greeks (76 ἀνδράσι κευθομένοισι, 413 δολόεντα … σώματα κεῦθον). This image also anticipates the simile of the warriors emerging from the wooden horse like maddened wasps (533–41). Compare QS 12.550–1 πεφορυγμένα λύθρῳ / ἤδη ἐπιψαύοντες ὁμὴν ὁδὸν εἰδώλοισι. Wernicke (*Triph.*, 340) stated that the phrase had "colorem proverbii", but did not offer any suitable parallel.

395 ὤμοι ἐμῶν ἀχέων, ὤμοι σέο, πάτριον ἄστυ: despite epic parallels (*Il.* 1.414, 11.404, 18.6, 18.54; *Od.* 5.299, 5.356, 5.465, 19.363), this is related above all to tragic lamentations, such as A. *Ag.* 1494–6 = 1518–20; S. *Aj.* 900–3; E. *Andr.* 513–14 (Astyanax to Andromache) ὤμοι μοι, τί πάθω; τάλας / δῆτ᾽ ἐγὼ σύ τε μᾶτερ. Compare especially A. *Ag.* 1136–9 (Cassandra laments her fate), 1167–72 (Cassandra laments the fate of Troy); E. *Tr.* 1251–1332 (when Troy is set on fire, Hecabe laments her own pain and the destruction of her home town). Nonnus uses ὤμοι repeatedly to lend speeches an air of tragedy: *D.* 11.304, 305, 325; 16.354–6; 48.535, 536, 540.

396a αὐτίκα μοι λεπτὴ κόνις ἔσσεαι: compare other references to Troy reduced to ashes in E. *Tr.* 1298–9 πτέρυγι δὲ καπνὸς ὥς τις οὐ- / ρίαι πεσοῦσα δορὶ καταφθίνει γᾶ, 1320–1 κόνις δ᾽ ἴσα καπνῶι πτέρυγι πρὸς αἰθέρα / ἄιστον οἴκων ἐμῶν με θήσει; QS 13.430–1 Πάντῃ δ᾽ ἄλλοθεν ἄλλα κατηρείποντο μέλαθρα / ὑψόθεν· ἀζαλέη δὲ κόνις συνεμίσγετο καπνῷ.

396b–7 οἴχεται ἔργον / ἀθανάτων, προθέλυμνα θεμείλια Λαομέδοντος: again past (the building of the city walls in the time of Laomedon) and future events (the destruction of Troy) are united in the

present (οἴχεται). According to *Il.* 7.452–3, 21.441–57 and Apollod. *Bibl.* 2.5.9, Apollo and Poseidon built the walls of Troy (Triph. alludes to this with ἔργον / ἀθανάτων) for Priam's father, Laomedon, who cheated them of their wages. See also E. *Tr.* 4–7. Compare for the phrasing QS 9.481–2 ἔφαντο γὰρ ἔμμεναι ἔργον / ἀθανάτων. **προθέλυμνα θεμείλια**, being a pair of synonyms, reinforces the idea of a complete uprooting of the city walls. No reconstruction of the city will be possible.

398–409 Prediction of the fate of individuals

398–402 Hecabe and Priam: their sufferings are set in parallel (398b–9a οἷά μοι ἤδη / ἀμφότεροι πείσεσθε), though Priam is killed earlier, during the nyktomachy, whereas there are more sufferings in store for Hecabe after the battle. She will learn of the deaths of her husband and all her sons, see the insane Cassandra allotted as a concubine to Agamemnon and Polyxena selected for sacrifice to Achilles, witness the sack and complete destruction of Troy, and become the slave of Odysseus, before being metamorphosed into a dog (see esp. Euripides' Trojan plays). The death of Priam will be recounted in 634–9, but Hecabe is only mentioned here.

398 καὶ σέ, πάτερ καὶ μῆτερ, ὀδύρομαι: after a Homeric pattern for lamentation, occurring in *Il.* 22.424 = *Od.* 4.104 τῶν πάντων οὐ τόσσον ὀδύρομαι, *Od.* 4.819, 14.152, 14.174, 21.250. Compare also Lyc. *Alex.* 314–15 Οἴμοι δυσαίων, καὶ διπλᾶς ἀηδόνας / καὶ σόν, τάλαινα, πότμον αἰάζω σκύλαξ; Nonn. *D.* 44.215 κλῦθι, πάτερ καὶ μῆτερ.

399b–400 σὺ μέν, πάτερ, οἰκτρὰ δεδουπὼς / κείσεαι Ἑρκείοιο Διὸς μεγάλου παρὰ βωμῷ: replicated in 634–5 Αἰακίδης δὲ γέροντα Νεοπτόλεμος βασιλῆα / πήμασι κεκμηῶτα παρ᾽ Ἑρκείῳ κτάνε βωμῷ. **οἰκτρὰ δεδουπώς** predicts Neoptolemus' vicious attack on the old king (634–43). On the evolution of the meaning of δουπέω, see Monaco 2007, 180–1. **Ἑρκείοιο Διὸς μεγάλου παρὰ βωμῷ**: after *Od.* 22.334–5 ἢ ἐκδὺς μεγάροιο Διὸς μεγάλου ποτὶ βωμὸν / ἕρκείου ἵζοιτο, 379 Διὸς μεγάλου ποτὶ βωμόν. On this moment, see also E. *Tr.* 16–17 πρὸς δὲ κρηπίδων βάθροις / πέπτωκε Πρίαμος Ζηνὸς ἕρκείου θανών; AR 2.522 καὶ βωμὸν ποίησε μέγαν Διὸς Ἰκμαίοιο; QS 6.147 βωμὸς ἀκήρατος Ἑρκείοιο, 13.222 Ἑρκείου ποτὶ βωμόν, 13.435–6 ἀμφί τε βωμὸν / Ἑρκείου. Dubielzig (*Triph.*, 201–2) prefers *b*'s reading

Ἑρκείοιο Διὸς μεγάλῳ παρὰ βωμῷ: compare Verg. *A.* 2.513 "ingens ara"; Tz. *Posthom.* 732–3 Νεοπτόλεμος Πρίαμον κατέπεφνε / ἐς Διὸς Ἑρκείοιο μέγαν … βωμόν.

401–2 The metamorphosis of Hecabe into a dog is prophesied by Polymestor (E. *Hec.* 1259–73). When she blinds him for killing her son Polydorus, he predicts that, on sailing to Greece as the slave of Odysseus, she will become a bitch (as shameless as she was herself in her behaviour towards Polymestor), climb the ship's mast and fall into the sea; her tomb will receive the name κυνὸς ταλαίνης σῆμα (1273) and act as a mark for sailors. A similar version is recorded in Apollod. *Epit.* 5.23. According to QS 14.347–51, when the Achaeans set sail from Troy, she becomes first a dog and then a stone. According to Ovid *Met.* 13.565–75 and Lyc. *Alex.* 330–4, she becomes a dog while she is being stoned to death. In E. *Alexandros*, Cassandra prophesied the metamorphosis of her mother: fr. 33 (Jouan – Van Looy 1998) = *TrGF* 5.1 Kannicht, fr. 62h.

401 μῆτερ ἀριστοτόκεια ('mother who has given birth to the best children') refers to Hecabe as the mother of Priam's rightful heirs. On Hecabe's fertility, see *Il.* 24.496, E. *Hec.* 421. Compare *Il.* 18.54 (Thetis mourning) ὤ μοι ἐγὼ δειλή, ὤ μοι δυσαριστοτόκεια; Theocr. *Id.* 24.73 ἀριστοτόκεια γύναι; Opp. *C.* 3.62 γαστρὸς ἀριστοτόκοιο; Nonn. *D.* 22.322 ἀριστοτόκῳ … νύμφῃ. **βροτέης ἀπὸ μορφῆς**: compare QS 14.349 ἐκ βροτοῦ ἀλγινόεσσα κύων γένετ', and for the phrasing, Nonn. *D.* 2.256 βροτοειδέι μορφῇ|, 47.149 βροτέῃ δ' ἰσάζετο μορφῇ|.

402 λυσσαλέην ἐπὶ παισὶ θεοὶ κύνα ποιήσουσι: a cryptic line condensing the circumstances of her metamorphosis. λυσσαλέην ἐπὶ παισί may refer to her rage when she is told of the death of her youngest son, Polydorus, at the hands of his host, Polymestor, and she exacts a terrible vengeance from the latter and his family (see E. *Hec.*). Triph. may be thinking of the λύσσα showing in the eyes of the bitch that she becomes: cf. E. *Hec.* 1265 κύων γενήσηι πύρσ' ἔχουσα δέργματα. **λυσσαλέην … κύνα**: compare AR 4.1393 λυσσαλέοις … ἴκελοι κυσίν. For the use of the adjective in Nonn. *D.*, see Peek *Lex. s.v.*

403–5 Polyxena's fate comes true in 686–7. See note *ad loc.* on other accounts of this episode and Triph.'s treatment of the myth. Cassandra does not disclose the details of her death, but envies Polyxena's rapid

death and immediate burial on Trojan soil, comparing them with her own fate, namely travelling to Mycenae as Agamemnon's concubine and being killed there by his wife.

Triph. draws here on the motif that those who die in war have a better lot than those who survive and have to endure life for longer. This theme runs through E. *Tr.*: see esp. the comments on the fate of Polyxena (268 εὐδαιμόνιζε παῖδα σήν· ἔχει καλῶς, 271 ἔχει πότμος νιν, ὥστ᾽ ἀπηλλάχθαι πόνων); Andromache preferring Polyxena's fate to her own (630–1; also Verg. *A.* 3.321–4) and defending the idea that it is better to die than to continue living (E. *Tr.* 634–83). In E. *Hec.* 342–78, Polyxena refuses to beg Odysseus to spare her life and prefers to die instead of becoming a slave and concubine to another slave. Similarly, in the nyktomachy some Trojan women ask their husbands to kill them (548–9), and a young bride provokes the Greek warrior who has killed her groom so that he does not spare her (551–5). In QS 13.267–86, after seeing Astyanax murdered, Andromache asks to be killed too (note the narrator's sentence: 269–70 ἐπεὶ βασιλεῦσιν ἄμεινον / τεθνάμεν ἐν πολέμῳ ἢ χείροσιν ἀμφιπολεύειν). See also *Od.* 5.306–10 (Odysseus envies the Greeks who died and were buried at Troy, while he himself had to carry on suffering); A. *Ag.* 1146–9 (Cassandra envies the girl whom the gods turned into a nightingale, because she herself will soon die a violent death).

The opposition between the happiness of being buried in one's own city and the disgrace of lying in a foreign land is a key element in Cassandra's argument that the Trojans are more blessed than the Greeks in E. *Tr.*: 376–9 (οὓς δ᾽ Ἄρης ἕλοι, / οὐ παῖδας εἶδον, οὐ δάμαρτος ἐν χεροῖν / πέπλοις συνεστάλησαν, ἐν ξένηι δὲ γῆι / κεῖνται), 387–90 (οὓς δ᾽ ἕλοι δόρυ, / νεκροί γ᾽ ἐς οἴκους φερόμενοι φίλων ὕπο / ἐν γῆι πατρώιαι περιβολὰς εἶχον χθονός, / χερσὶν περισταλέντες ὧν ἐχρῆν ὕπο). Triph. alludes to this theme in his account of the death of Laodice (660–3). On the 'far from home' motif, see Griffin 1980, 106ff., also noting its reversal: "it is also terrible to see one's country ravaged, and to be slain among its friendly scenes" (*ibid.*, 112).

403–4a δῖα Πολυξείνη, σὲ δὲ πατρίδος ἐγγύθι γαίης / κεκλιμένην: replicated in 660 δειλὴ Λαοδίκη, σὲ δὲ πατρίδος ἐγγύθι γαίης. **δῖα Πολυξείνη**: compare AR 4.932 δῖα Θέτις (same sedes), after which QS 4.93, 273, 469, 7.211. **πατρίδος ἐγγύθι γαίης**: a variation of the

Homeric line ending ἐν πατρίδι γαίῃ (*Il.* 3.224 etc.), taken up in Triph. 663 ἔθανες δ᾽ ἅμα πατρίδι γαίῃ|.

404b ὀλίγον δακρύσομαι parallels 398 ὀδύρομαι, introducing the grief for Priam and Hecabe.

404c–5 ὡς ὄφελέν τις / ᾽Αργείων ἐπὶ σοῖσι γόοις ὀλέσαι με καὶ αὐτήν: compare *Od.* 5.308 ὡς δὴ ἐγώ γ᾽ ὄφελον θανέειν; AR 1.256–7 ὣς ὄφελεν καὶ Φρίξον, ὅτ᾽ ὤλετο παρθένος Ἕλλη, / κῦμα μέλαν κριῷ ἅμ᾽ ἐπικλύσαι; QS 3.572–3 ὡς ὄφελόν με / γαῖα χυτὴ ἐκάλυψε πάρος σέο πότμον ἰδέσθαι, 5.537–8, 14.300–1. This unfulfilled wish is one of the common elements of ancient lament, where it took on different forms: that the mourner had died instead of the dead, that they had died together (as is the case here), or that neither had ever been born. Cf. Alexiou 2002, 178–81. **ὡς ὄφελέν τις**: after *Il.* 4.315 ὡς ὄφελέν τις|.

406–9 Cassandra and Agamemnon: Cassandra compares Polyxena's fate with her own and concludes her predictions with her death and that of Agamemnon at the hands of Clytemnestra (Aegisthus is not mentioned). This episode was popular in tragedies: Cassandra anticipates the messenger's report of her own death in A. *Ag.* 1072ff.; E. *Tr.* 353–64, 445–50 (Cassandra prophesying her own future) and *Hec.* 1275, 1277, 1279 (Polymestor prophesies her death at Clytemnestra's hands). Agamemnon's return to Mycenae with Cassandra is also mentioned in *Od.* 3.248–312, 4.519–37, 11.409–34, and is the theme of one of Philostratus' paintings (*Imag.* 2.10).

406a τίς γάρ μοι χρειὼ βιότου πλέον: compare E. *Hec.* 167–8 οὐκέτι μοι βίος / ἀγαστὸς ἐν φάει; E. *Andr.* 113–14 τί μ᾽ ἐχρῆν ἔτι φέγγος ὁρᾶσθαι / Ἑρμιόνας δούλαν;.

406b–7a εἴ με φυλάσσει / οἰκτροτάτῳ θανάτῳ: compare *Il.* 10.291 ὣς νῦν μοι ἐθέλουσα παρίσταο καί με φύλασσε. *b* has οἰκτροτέρῳ (Dubielzig), while F has οἰκτροτάτῳ (Gerlaud). There are more parallels for οἰκτροτάτῳ: Pi. *P.* 3.42 οἰκτροτάτῳ θανάτῳ; E. *El.* 158 κοίται ἐν οἰκτροτάται θανάτου; see also *Od.* 11.412 ὣς θάνον οἰκτίστῳ θανάτῳ, 24.34 νῦν δ᾽ ἄρα σ᾽ οἰκτίστῳ θανάτῳ εἵμαρτο ἁλῶναι; AR 4.1296 οἰκτίστῳ θανάτῳ. Dubielzig (*Triph.*, 202–3) prefers οἰκτροτέρῳ, among other reasons because the comparison is then limited to the deaths of Polyxena and Cassandra, thus ensuring a smoother

transition. On the other hand, οἰκτροτάτῳ sets Cassandra's death against those of Priam, Hecabe and Polyxena.

407b ξείνη δέ με γαῖα καλύψει: after *Il.* 6.464 ἀλλά με τεθνηῶτα χυτὴ κατὰ γαῖα καλύπτοι (~ 14.114). Different variations of the line ending can be found in Hes. *Op.* 121 = 140 = 156; QS 3.573, 10.403, 14.301; Nonn. *D.* 9.74, 12.221, 15.327, 27.51.

408–9 τοιάδε μοι δέσποινα καὶ αὐτῷ δῶρον ἄνακτι / ἀντὶ τόσων καμάτων ᾽Αγαμέμνονι πότμον ὑφαίνει: Clytemnestra is said to plan the death of Agamemnon as a recompense for his endeavours, perhaps referring to the sacrifice of their daughter Iphigenia to Artemis (see E. *IA*, on how Agamemnon deceived his daughter so that she would go to Aulis and how she accepted dying for the common good). In the *Sack of Troy*, Cassandra does not explain how she and Agamemnon are going to die: compare E. *Tr.* 361–2 (Cassandra) πέλεκυν οὐχ ὑμνήσομεν, / ὃς ἐς τράχηλον τὸν ἐμὸν εἶσι χἀτέρων.

δῶρον ἄνακτι| = QS 3.688, perhaps after *Il.* 1.390 ἄγουσι δὲ δῶρα ἄνακτι|. ἄνακτι … ᾽Αγαμέμνονι rephrases the Homeric formula ἄναξ ἀνδρῶν ᾽Αγαμέμνων (*Il.* 1.172 etc.). **πότμον ὑφαίνει**: avoiding the common Homeric line end πότμον ἐπισπεῖν (*Il.* 7.52 etc.). Nonn. uses the same line ending twice (*D.* 8.336, 41.211). On this and related metaphors, see Gigli Piccardi 1985, 112–21.

410–16 Final exhortation. Cassandra finishes her speech with an exhortation, talking to the Trojans not as a shy maiden, but as a sober, fully responsible citizen (she calls them φίλοι 411), with an equal share in their common decisions (410–14) and feasting (415–16), thus raising hackles among her male audience, including her father. Her words take the form of a masculine command: compare esp. Triph. 412–13a with Hector's orders in *Il.* 12.440–1 (ὄρνυσθ᾽, ἱππόδαμοι Τρῶες, ῥήγνυσθε δὲ τεῖχος / ᾽Αργείων καὶ νηυσὶν ἐνίετε θεσπιδαὲς πῦρ). The closest parallel for this situation is the encounter of Andromache and Hector in *Il.* 6: Andromache tries to keep Hector in Troy and suggests the strategy that he should use for the army (431–9), but Hector sends her back home, to busy herself with looking after the household, because war is a masculine concern (490–3). See note to 358–63 on how Triph. draws on the characterisation of Andromache in *Il.* 6 and 22 for the construction of his Cassandra.

410a ἀλλ᾽ ἤδη φράζεσθε: compare *Il.* 22.174 ἀλλ᾽ ἄγετε φράζεσθε, θεοί; AR 2.423–4 ἀλλά, φίλοι, φράζεσθε θεᾶς δολόεσσαν ἀρωγὴν / Κύπριδος; QS 2.21 ᾽Αλλ᾽ ἄγε φραζώμεσθα τί λώιον ἄμμι γένηται, 10.11–12 ᾽Αλλ᾽ ἄγε δὴ φραζώμεθ᾽ ὅπως πολέμοιό τι μῆχος / εὕρωμεν.

410b τὰ δὲ γνώσεσθε παθόντες: a popular proverb with epic and tragic resonances. The tragic patterns of 'learning through suffering' and 'late learning' are integrally related to the themes of the power and knowledge of the gods, and contrasted with the limitations and failures of human insight and action. See Rutherford 2001, 268–9.

On learning through suffering, see Hes. *Op.* 218 παθὼν δέ τε νήπιος ἔγνω; A. *Ag.* 177–8 τὸν πάθει μάθος / θέντα κυρίως ἔχειν (with Denniston – Page 1957, 85–6; Dodds 1973, 59–62, on μάθος as an education in insight, not in morals); S. *OT* 403 παθὼν ἔγνως ἄν οἷά περ φρονεῖς; Hdt. 1.207 Τὰ δέ μοι παθήματα ἐόντα ἀχάριτα μαθήματα γέγονε (with Stahl 1975); Pl. *Symp.* 222b κατὰ τὴν παροιμίαν ὥσπερ νήπιον παθόντα γνῶναι; Lyc. *Alex.* 1458 σὺν κακῷ δέ τις μαθών; *AP* 12.144.4 (Meleager) παθὼν ἔμαθες. The notion could have an ominous, definitive effect, as in S. *Aj.* 1418–20 ἦ πολλὰ βροτοῖς ἔστιν ἰδοῦσιν / γνῶναι· πρὶν ἰδεῖν δ᾽ οὐδεὶς μάντις / τῶν μελλόντων ὅ τι πράξει.

On the motif of 'pathetic ignorance' in the *Iliad*, see Griffin 1980, 126, 129, 136–7. On the related notion of late learning (ὀψιμαθία), see *Il.* 17.32 = 20.198 ῥεχθὲν δέ τε νήπιος ἔγνω, 24.242 ἀτὰρ γνώσεσθε καὶ ὔμμες; A. *Ag.* 1425; S. *Trach.* 933; E. *Or.* 99, *Alc.* 940, *Hipp.* 1401, *Ba.* 1120–1, 1285, 1296, 1345.

411 καὶ νεφέλην ἀπόθεσθε, φίλοι, βλαψίφρονος ἄτης: the cloud of blindness is not a common image, but see S. *OT* 1313–14 ἰὼ σκότου / νέφος ἐμὸν ἀπότροπον, ἐπιπλόμενον ἄφατον. On the other hand, the clouds of pain and sorrow are frequently-used metaphors in epic and tragic language: *Il.* 17.591 = 18.22 τὸν δ᾽ ἄχεος νεφέλη ἐκάλυψε μέλαινα, 20.417–18 νεφέλη δέ μιν ἀμφεκάλυψε / κυανέη; S. *Ant.* 528 νεφέλη δ᾽ ὀφρύων ὕπερ; E. *Hipp.* 172 στυγνὸν δ᾽ ὀφρύων νέφος αὐξάνεται, *El.* 1078 συννέφουσαν ὄμματα, *Med.* 107 νέφος οἰμωγῆς, *Ph.* 1308 Κρέοντα λεύσσω τόνδε … συννεφῆ. Compare also *Od.* 20.351–2 νυκτὶ μὲν ὑμέων / εἰλύαται κεφαλαί τε πρόσωπά τε νέρθε τε γοῦνα, where the darkness enveloping the suitors is a sign both of their blindness and of their fate.

In the *Sack of Troy*, Cassandra's appeal is hopeless on three counts: a cloud (or mist: compare 310b–11 οἷσιν ὀμίχλη / ἄσκοπος ἐσσομένων) cannot be dissolved by human means, ἄτη is inexorable, and Cassandra's frenzied state weakens the argument that the Trojans are being maddened by ἄτη. On the blindness of the Trojans, see 310–17 and note *ad loc.* There is here a clear contrast with Odysseus' successful appeal to the Achaeans: 146–8 Καὶ τότε μήτέ τις ὄκνος ἐπειγομένων ἐρετάων / γινέσθω μήτ᾽ ἄλλο φόβου νέφος, οἷά τε νύκτες / ἀνθρώποισι φέρουσιν ἐλαφροῦ δείματα θυμοῦ.

412–13a ῥηγνύσθω πελέκεσσι δέμας πολυχανδέος ἵππου / ἢ πυρὶ καιέσθω: Cassandra adds a fourth option to the three mentioned when the Trojans held an assembly to decide the fate of the horse (250–7: hauling it down a precipice, demolishing it with axes or consecrating it to the gods). For the tradition of the debate on the destruction of the horse, see note to 247–57.

In the *Sack of Troy* Cassandra simply mentions these two options, but in the *Posthomerica*, when the Trojans have rejected her prophecies, she attacks the horse with a blazing brand in one hand and an axe in the other (12.567–75). Vian (1959, 58–9, 70–1) and Gerlaud (*Triph.*, 28–30, 143 [note to 412–13]) suggest that Triph. imitated QS 12.567–75 here. Campbell (1981, 191, note to 567–71) rejects this possibility on the grounds that previous depictions of the subject reproduce Cassandra carrying a torch or an axe. See in particular the fresco in the Pompeian House of Menander (Ala 4 O), where Cassandra is depicted in front of the horse, holding in her left hand the reins of the statue and in her right hand an axe, while being restrained by a Trojan man (technical details and images in Hodske 2007, p. 214, Tafel 113.1 [Kat. 61 / IV]). Campbell (1981, 177) also suggests that the fact that Cassandra urges the Trojans to destroy the horse with axes or fire could be reminiscent of an account where Cassandra took part in the debate over the horse.

ῥηγνύσθω πελέκεσσι: compare QS 11.389–90 ὑπ᾽ ἀμφιτόμοις πελέκεσσι / ῥῆξαι τείχεα μακρά. **δέμας πολυχανδέος ἵππου** is very much in the late antique fashion, as the parallels show: Opp. *H.* 5.331 (of a whale) πολυχανδέα νηδύν (= QS 1.527); Nonn. *D.* 11.162, 18.284, 26.305, 41.69. See also Nic. *Ther.* 951 πολυχανδέος ὅλμου. Triph. uses the same adjective for the horse again in 535 πολυχανδέος ἔνδοθι σίμβλου, and so does QS 12.264 πολυχανδέος

ἔνδοθεν ἵππου, 307 πολυχανδέος ἵππου (see comment in Campbell 1981, 91, note to 264).

413b–14a δολόεντα δὲ σώματα κεῦθον / ὀλλύσθω: compare *Od.* 19.212 δόλῳ δ᾽ ὅ γε δάκρυα κεῦθεν|. Note earlier references to the men hidden in the horse (Triph. 76 ἀνδράσι κευθομένοισι) and to Sinon (221 κρυπτὸν ἐπὶ Τρώεσσι δόλον καὶ πήματα κεύθων).

414b μεγάλη δὲ ποθὴ Δαναοῖσι γενέσθω: F has ποθή (compare *Il.* 11.471 μεγάλη δὲ ποθὴ Δαναοῖσι γένηται, 17.690), while *b* has πυρή. Going against Gerlaud's choice, Dubielzig (*Triph.* 206–7) rejects ποθή as a Homerisation and prefers πυρή, which would fit the context well, but adds an unwanted repetition, after 413a ἢ πυρὶ καιέσθω.

415–16 Cassandra does not only want to take part in the decision-making of her town, but also in the feasting (note 415 μοι), which proves that she is not simply a κακόμαντις who takes delight in pain and negative *omina*, as her father suggests (420–6). Cassandra does not mean to deprive the Trojans of a long-awaited opportunity for merriment, but merely to postpone it for a better occasion. Her idea of celebration is very Homeric and consists of a banquet, dancing and drinking (compare *Od.* 8.248 αἰεὶ δ᾽ ἡμῖν δαίς τε φίλη κίθαρίς τε χοροί τε). QS's Cassandra is horrific at this point: 12.549b–50 ἐπ᾽ εἰλαπίνῃ δ᾽ ἀλεγεινῇ / δαίνυσθ᾽ ὕστατα δόρπα κακῷ πεφορυγμένα λύθρῳ.

415 καὶ τότε μοι δαίνυσθε: compare Helen's invitation to the men to sit at the table in *Od.* 4.238 ἦ τοι νῦν δαίνυσθε καθήμενοι ἐν μεγάροισι. **ἐς χορὸν ὀτρύνεσθε**: compare Call. *Ap.* 8 ἐς χορὸν ἐντύνασθε, after which Mosch. *Eur.* 30 ὅτ᾽ ἐς χορὸν ἐντύναιτο and Collut. 4. This is the peaceful version of *Il.* 2.589 ὀτρύνων πόλεμόν δε, 4.294 οὓς ἑτάρους στέλλοντα καὶ ὀτρύνοντα μάχεσθαι, 5.520 ὄτρυνον Δαναοὺς πολεμιζέμεν and similar phrases (QS 1.162–3 Τρῶας ἐποτρύνουσα μάχην ἐς κυδιάνειραν / ἐλθέμεναι, 12.112 ἔργον ἐς ὀτρύνουσα, 13.37 ἐς μόθον ὀτρύνοντι). See also *Od.* 8.90 αὐτὰρ ὅτ᾽ ἂψ ἄρχοιτο καὶ ὀτρύνειαν ἀείδειν; Nonn. *D.* 25.14 ἐποτρύνων δέ με μέλπειν.

416 στησάμενοι κρητῆρας ἐλευθερίης ἐρατεινῆς: after *Il.* 6.528 κρητῆρα στήσασθαι ἐλεύθερον ἐν μεγάροισιν. **ἐλευθερίης ἐρατεινῆς** (also 548 ἐλευθερίης ἐρατῆς): Triph. is perhaps thinking of *Od.* 23.300 φιλότητος … ἐρατεινῆς, together with *Il.* 19.347 = 353 ἀμβροσίην

ἐρατεινήν| and *Od.* 8.61 = 20.117 δαῖτ᾽ ἐρατεινήν|. Compare also QS 1.120 ποτοῦ δαιτός <τ᾽> ἐρατεινῆς, 5.69 ὀρχηθμοῦ τε καὶ εὐφροσύνης ἐρατεινῆς.

417–18 Apollo and Cassandra. The narrator's comment leaves Cassandra's speech devoid of effect. Paying no attention to her frenzied appearance and the obscurity of her words, he reminds the readers that, no matter how great her efforts at communication and her prophetic talent, she lacks any credibility. She had traded her maidenhood for Apollo's gift of prophecy, but then she rejected the god's advances. The god could not deprive her of the gift he had already given her, but he did take away her credibility as a prophetess (see A. *Ag.* 1202–12; Lyc. *Alex.* 352–5, 1454–60; Apollod. *Bibl.* 3.12.5; Hygin. *Fab.* 93). As Austin put it (1966, 303–4; see also Miguélez-Cavero 2005, 165–6), Cassandra's act in the past became indicative of a permanent lying ἦθος. Cassandra's tragedy (on which see Rutherford 2001, 274) is that her knowledge of what is to come does not protect her from it, nor enable her to help others, but simply gives her a clearer insight into the tragedy of human blindness and the inescapable power of the gods. She can only pity the Trojans: see Triph. 440–2. QS blames Cassandra's lack of credibility more generally on Τύχη: 12.527–8 ἀκούετο δ᾽ ἔκ τινος αἴσης / ὡς ἀνεμώλιον αἰέν, ἵν᾽ ἄλγεα Τρωσὶ γένηται (to be read with Campbell 1981, pp. 179–80, note to 527).

417a ἡ μὲν ἔφη· τῇ δ᾽ οὔ τις ἐπείθετο: a variation on Homeric speech conclusions, such as *Il.* 4.104 Ὣς φάτ᾽ Ἀθηναίη, τῷ δὲ φρένας ἄφρονι πεῖθεν, 12.173 Ὣς ἔφατ᾽, οὐδὲ Διὸς πεῖθε φρένα ταῦτ᾽ ἀγορεύων, 17.33 Ὣς φάτο, τὸν δ᾽ οὐ πεῖθεν, 22.224 Ὣς φάτ᾽ Ἀθηναίη, ὃ δ᾽ ἐπείθετο; *Od.* 9.500 ὣς φάσαν, ἀλλ᾽ οὐ πεῖθον ἐμὸν μεγαλήτορα θυμόν.

417b–18 τὴν γὰρ Ἀπόλλων / ἀμφότερον μάντιν τ᾽ ἀγαθὴν καὶ ἄπιστον ἔθηκεν (Dubielzig prints ἔθηκε): Cannatà Fera (2003, 193–5) suggests that the juxtaposition of a positive and a negative element could be the result of the adaptation of a line in which both elements were positive, such as *Il.* 3.179 ἀμφότερον βασιλεύς τ᾽ ἀγαθὸς κρατερός τ᾽ αἰχμητής, or Bernabé *PEG Thebais*, fr. 10 ἀμφότερον μάντιν τ᾽ ἀγαθὸν καὶ δουρὶ μάχεσθαι, or, better, Pi. *O.* 6.17 ἀμφότερον μάντιν τ᾽ ἀγαθὸν καὶ δουρὶ μάρνασθαι.

419–38 Priam's speech follows the patterns of Homeric rebukes (on which see Minchin 2007, 27–38):

- An introductory line describing the intentions of the speaker (419 ἐνένισπεν ὁμοκλήσας).
- Emotional words of reproach, often in the manner of an insult (420–1).
- An account of the problem alluding to the undesirable behaviour at issue, couched as a negative command (422–3).
- The action viewed from a broader perspective (424–35: the war has come to an end and it is time for celebration, but you insist on behaving inappropriately), also functioning as the ἐπιβατήριος λόγος or 'speech of arrival' for the horse.
- A proposal for amends, almost always an imperative (436–8: go away and leave us to enjoy ourselves; we do not need you).

Athena's rebuke to Helen (490–6) follows the same pattern.

419 τὴν δὲ πατὴρ ἐνένισπεν ὁμοκλήσας ἐπέεσσι: after *Il.* 23.363 ὁμόκλησάν τ᾽ ἐπέεσσιν|, one of a cluster of similar phrases, such as *Il.* 2.199 ὁμοκλήσασκέ τε μύθῳ, 5.439 δεινὰ δ᾽ ὁμοκλήσας προσέφη ἑκάεργος Ἀπόλλων, 6.54 καὶ ὁμοκλήσας ἔπος ηὔδα, 16.706 = 20.448 δεινὰ δ᾽ ὁμοκλήσας ἔπεα πτερόεντα προσηύδα. See also *Od.* 18.326 ἥ ῥ᾽ Ὀδυσῆ᾽ ἐνένιπεν ὀνειδείοισ᾽ ἐπέεσσι. The usual Homeric form is ἐνένιπε(ν), but in the manuscripts of Triph. we read ἐνένισπεν (*b*) and ἐνέειπεν (F), which Stephanus (1566) corrected to ἐνένιπτεν and Wernicke (*Triph.* 354–7) to ἐνένιπεν. Gerlaud retains ἐνένισπεν, on the grounds that it also occurs in the manuscripts of QS. West (1983, 185), Campbell (*Lex.*, p. 213, APP 419) and Dubielzig (*Triph.*, 208–9) are in favour of ἐνένιπεν.

420–1a τίς σε πάλιν, κακόμαντι, δυσώνυμος ἤγαγε δαίμων, / θαρσαλέη, κυνάμυια;: first, derogatory attack, for which see *Od.* 10.64 πῶς ἦλθες, Ὀδυσεῦ; τίς τοι κακὸς ἔχραε δαίμων;, 24.149 καὶ τότε δή ῥ᾽ Ὀδυσῆα κακός ποθεν ἤγαγε δαίμων; Call. *Lav. Pall.* 80–1 τίς σε …/… χαλεπὰν ὁδὸν ἄγαγε δαίμων;. κακόμαντι perhaps after A. *Th.* 722 (of the Ἐρινύς) κακόμαντιν, or AR 3.936 ἔρροις, ὦ κακόμαντι, κακοφραδές. In the background is Agamemnon's attack on Calchas (*Il.* 1.106 μάντι κακῶν, οὐ πώ ποτέ μοι τὸ κρήγυον εἶπας). In fact, the introduction of Priam's speech is set up against the previous description of Cassandra as 418 μάντιν τ᾽ ἀγαθὴν καὶ ἄπιστον. Priam acknowledges that Cassandra is under the influence of a divinity, but does not recognise Apollo's influence on her. Compare his intervention with the opening lines of the anonymous speech in QS 12.553–4: ὦ

κούρη Πριάμοιο, τί ἤ νύ σε μάργος ἀνώγει / γλῶσσα κακοφραδίη τ᾽ ἀνεμώλια πάντ᾽ ἀγορεύειν;.

θαρσαλέη, κυνάμυια: after *Od.* 19.91 θαρσαλέη, κύον ἀδδεές (Penelope to Melantho, for her insolence). For θαρσαλέος, see also *Od.* 17.449 ὥς τις θαρσαλέος καὶ ἀναιδής ἐσσι προΐκτης. κυνάμυια is the insult with which Ares starts his confrontational speech against Athene (*Il.* 21.394 τίπτ᾽ αὖτ᾽, ὦ κυνάμυια …), and Hera uses it for Aphrodite (*Il.* 21.421). As Graver (1995, 53) puts it, "metaphors drawn from the κύων group are a rather harsh form of abuse, one which labels its object as greedy and potentially cannibalistic in the domain of material goods, or of fighting, sexuality, or speech". In general they evoke a lack of restraint caused by base and inordinate greed, which ought to have been prevented by shame. In Cassandra's case it is the lack of verbal restraint that applies (Graver 1995, 51–3), since dog-related insults are used for speakers who indulge in unjustified verbal blame and insolent speech. This is the case of Melantho and in general the servant girls in the *Odyssey* (19.91, 372–4). In Semonides' *Satire on Women*, the woman who comes from a dog gossips as ceaselessly as the bitch barks (7.12–20).

Dubielzig (1995; summary in Dubielzig, *Triph.*, 209–10) explored the evolution of κυνάμυια, concluding that the Homeric insult had later become confused with κυνόμυια, a term originally referring to a *musca canina* (including the fourth Egyptian plague in the Septuagint) or, in botanical terms, to the plant ψύλλιον. Dubielzig (1995, 54–6), thinks that this is a 'beiordnendes Kompositum', pairing the two *paradeigmata* of insolence, the dog and the fly. The insult would be particularly appropriate for Cassandra, because of her insistence in pestering the Trojans with negative prophecies (like a fly), and her harsh voice (367 Πάντῃ δ᾽ ἐβρυχᾶτο κατὰ πτόλιν, 421 Μάτην ὑλάουσ᾽ ἀπερύκεις), similar to that of a dog.

In the manuscripts of the *Sack of Troy*, F has κυνόμυια (printed by Gerlaud, because "elle semble préférée des poètes tardifs" – p. 143, n. to 421) and *b* has κυνάμυια, favoured by Livrea because κυνόμυια is more vulgar (*Triph.*, xviii, n. 2, quoting Eust. 1243, 22, see Erbse, schol. ad Φ 394, p. 220). Dubielzig *Triph.* also prefers κυνάμυια.

421b μάτην ὑλάουσ᾽ ἀπερύκεις: compare A. *Ag.* 1672 μὴ προτιμήσῃς ματαίων τῶνδ᾽ ὑλαγμάτων.

422–3 οὔ πω σοι κέκμηκε νόος λυσσώδεϊ νούσῳ, / οὐδὲ παλιμφήμων ἐκορέσσαο λαβροσυνάων;: Priam's words at first sound contradictory, since he admits that she is suffering from a mental illness (see also QS 12.556 ἀλλά σε λύσσ᾽ ὀλοὴ περιδέδρομε), but accuses her of taking delight in the antisocial behaviour caused by her illness (similarly QS 12.553–6). On madness as an illness, see Padel 1995, 157–62. Compare A. *Ag.* 1064 (Clytemnestra on Cassandra) ἦ μαίνεταί γε καὶ κακῶν κλύει φρενῶν; E. *Tr.* 349–50 (Hecabe to Cassandra) οὐδὲ σαῖς τύχαις, τέκνον, / σεσωφρόνηκας ἀλλ᾽ ἔτ᾽ ἐν ταὐτῶι μένεις.

λυσσώδεϊ νούσῳ: see S. *Aj.* 452 λυσσώδη νόσον. The adjective is a Homeric *hapax* (*Il.* 13.53–4 ᾗ ῥ᾽ ὅ γ᾽ ὁ λυσσώδης φλογὶ εἴκελος ἡγεμονεύει, / Ἕκτωρ), on which see Boehm 2009, 13–15. For the meaning of **παλιμφήμων**, see Hesych. *s.v.* παλίμφημα· κακόφημα, δύσφημα, βλάσφημα (LSJ *s.v.* II). For **λαβροσυνάων**, see LSJ *s.v.* λαβροσύνη, 2. *bold talking*.

424–32 Priam's delusion of peace: Priam describes what he sees in his apparent sanity, to counteract Cassandra's vision of the destruction of Troy (391–7). His relaxation ('the war is over, let us celebrate') contrasts with the Achaean fighters' proactive intent to bring about the end of the war (525 δηναιοῦ πολέμοιο τέλος διζήμενος εὑρεῖν). Livy exploits the same opposition for the siege of Veii in Book 5, modelling it on the capture of Troy: see Kraus 1994a, 272.

The transition from the darkness of war to the day of peace and freedom, embodied in the idle weapons (427–8) and the citizens freed from the horrors of war (430–1) and now enjoying the festivities (429), brings this part of the speech close to an ἐπιβατήριος λόγος or speech of arrival, usually delivered at the reception of a governor in a city (cf. Men. Rh. 377.31–388.15, to be read with Pernot 1993, 95–7). In his suggestions for this type of speech, Menander Rhetor recommends elaborating on the contrast between the terrible previous situation and the light brought by the new governor: Men. Rh. 378.18–24, 381.15–18 (more references to this topic in Pernot 1993, 287–8; Gigli Piccardi 2002, 59–60; Agosti 2002, 55–6). The initial reference to Zeus' intervention (425–6) appears to be a reworking of the motif of Zeus taking pity on the human race and sending them a new emperor who will be merciful to them: cf. Men. Rh. 422.15–19, 423.9–12 (less clear in 370.21–6). This motif is also developed in Opp. *H.* 2.669–75

(esp. 674–5) and Nonn. *D.* 7.7–109. Cf. Magnelli 1998, 64–5; Agosti 2002, 52–4.

Triph.'s passage is particularly close to a fragmentary encomium which refers to Antinous' flower, the emperor Diocletian and local Egyptian dignataries. *P.Oxy.* 63.4352 was dated in the *ed. pr.* (by J. R. Rea) to 285 AD, and thus would be roughly contemporary with Triph. Triph. 424–32 deals roughly with the same topics as fr. 5.ii, lines 18–25, 29–31:

Ζ̣ε̣ὺ̣ς μόγις οἰκτείρας γενεὴν Καπιτώλιος ἀν[δρῶν
κοιρανίην πάσης τραφερῆς πάσης τε θαλάσς̣η̣[ς
ὤπασεν ἀντιθέωι Διοκλητιανῶι βασιλῆϊ.
μνημοσύνην δ̣᾽ ἀ̣χέων προτέρων σβός̣ε̣[ν εἴ τις ἔτ᾽ αἰνοῖς
μοχθόζει δεσμοῖσιν ἀφεγγέος ἔνδοθι χ[ώ]ρ̣[ου.
ἀλλὰ πατὴρ μὲν παῖ̣δα, γυνή θ̣᾽ ἑὸν ἄνδρα λ̣υ̣θ̣ό̣[ντας
εἰσορά̣α̣ καὶ γνωτὸς ἀδελφεὸν οἷα μολόντας[
εἰς φάος ἠ̣ε̣ίλιοιο τὸ δεύτερον ἐξ Ἀΐδαο …
γηθοσύνη̣ι̣ πᾶς χῶρος ἰαίνεται ὥς ἐπὶ φωτ[ὶ
χρυσείης γενεῆς, ἀνδροκτα̣ς̣ό̣ης τε λιασθεὶ[ς
κεῖται ἀ̣ν̣α̣μ̣μωτὶ κολεῶν ἔν[[δ]]ᾳ̣τ̣ο̣σθε σίδηρο̣ς.[

"Capitoline Zeus took pity at last on the human race and gave the lordship of all the earth and all the sea to godlike king Diocletian. He extinguished the memory of former griefs for any still suffering in grim bonds in a lightless place. Now a father sees his child, a wife her husband, a brother his brother released, as if coming into the light of the sun a second time from Hades … The whole land takes delight in its joy as at the light of a golden age, and the iron, drawn back from the slaughter of men, lies bloodlessly in the scabbard". [Greek text and English translation of the *ed.pr.*].

Note the parallels (pointed out in Miguélez-Cavero 2008, 344–5): Zeus' gift to humanity and transition from night to day (Triph. 425–6 ~ *P.Oxy.* 18–22), effects on humanity (Triph. 430–1 ~ *P.Oxy.* 23–5) and uselessness of weapons (Triph. 427–8 ~ *P.Oxy.* 29–31).

The closeness at this point of rhetorical rules, panegyric and epic composition is yet another argument against the supposed isolation of the late antique epic genre in an ivory tower. Triph.'s point here is that the Trojans are granting the wooden horse a proper *adventus* ceremony, complete with the speech of arrival, a setting which contemporary readers would find perfectly understandable.

Together with 284–90 (Priam's polite response to Sinon's supplication), the pronunciation of an appropriate speech of arrival contributes to the characterisation of Priam as a formal old man. No matter what the situation, he remembers his (rhetorical) manners, and this is of

course yet another depiction of Trojan ingenuousness and lack of perspicuity in the analysis of the situation.

424–6 ἀλλὰ καὶ ἡμετέρῃσιν ἐπαχνυμένη θαλίῃσιν / ἤλυθες, ὁππότε πᾶσιν ἐλεύθερον ἦμαρ ἀνῆψεν / ἡμῖν Ζεὺς Κρονίδης, ἐκέδασσε δὲ νῆας Ἀχαιῶν: despite Cassandra's claim that she is only deferring festivities (415–16), Priam accuses her of being incapable of being merry and of having a morbid attachment to pain, suffering and darkness (compare E. *Tr.* 406 ὡς ἡδέως κακοῖσιν οἰκείοις γελᾶις).

Priam's response can also be related to the ancient (medical) perception of extended virginity: Cassandra is talking nonsense because she needs a husband. Compare e.g. with a medical condition related to the menarche and the lack of sexual intercourse as described by Hippocrates (*Virg.* 8.466–70): the accumulation of menstrual blood exerts pressure on the girl's vital organs, making her scared, anguished and suicidal, even experiencing pleasure in desiring death as if it were a good thing (ἡδονή τις, ἀφ᾽ ἧς ἐρᾷ τοῦ θανάτου ὥσπέρ τινος ἀγαθοῦ; see also Plu. *Mor.* 249b-d). To cure this, Hippocrates recommends immediate sexual intercourse. However, ancient medical schools were not unanimous and held different opinions on the advantages and disadvantages of prolonging virginity: see Gourevitch 1984, 105–11.

ἡμετέρῃσιν ἐπαχνυμένη θαλίῃσιν (and similarly 436 ἡμῖν δὲ χοροὶ θαλίαι τε μέλονται): for θαλίαι as 'festivities', see *Od.* 11.603 τέρπεται ἐν θαλίῃς; Hes. *Op.* 114–15 αἰεὶ δὲ πόδας καὶ χεῖρας ὁμοῖοι / τέρποντ᾽ ἐν θαλίῃσι. **ἐλεύθερον ἦμαρ**: same *sedes* in *Il.* 6.455, 16.831, 20.193; Nonn. *D.* 3.441. **Ζεὺς Κρονίδης**: same *sedes* in *Il.* 16.845. **ἐκέδασσε δὲ νῆας Ἀχαιῶν**: after *Od.* 13.316–17 (Odysseus sums up the aftermath of the Trojan war) αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ Πριάμοιο πόλιν διεπέρσαμεν αἰπήν, / βῆμεν δ᾽ ἐν νήεσσι, θεὸς δ᾽ ἐκέδασσεν Ἀχαιούς (see also 3.130–1, 14.241–4).

427–8 οὐδ᾽ ἔτι δούρατα μακρὰ τινάσσεται, οὐδ᾽ ἔτι τόξα / ἕλκεται, οὐ ξιφέων σελάγη, σιγῶσι δ᾽ ὀιστοί: Priam describes the general situation through the effect it has on the weapons, just as the narrator had done in 8b–13 (stagnation), and will do later when describing Troy at night (500–2).

οὐδ᾽ ἔτι δούρατα μακρὰ τινάσσεται: compare *Il.* 12.298 δύο δοῦρε τινάσσων, *Od.* 22.148–9 ὡς περιβαλλομένους ἴδε τεύχεα χερσί

τε δοῦρα / μακρὰ τινάσσοντας (after which QS 8.135–6 τὼ δ᾽ ἄμφω δούρατα μακρὰ / ἐν παλάμῃσι τίνασσον). **οὐδ᾽ ἔτι τόξα / ἕλκεται**: compare *Il.* 11.582–3 αὐτίκα τόξον / ἕλκετ᾽ ἐπ᾽ Εὐρυπύλῳ, after which Nonn. *D.* 7.195–6 ὀπισθοτόνοιο δὲ τόξου / ἑλκομένου. **οὐ ξιφέων σελάγη (or πάταγος)**: the σελάγη preserved by F (and printed by Gerlaud; also Monaco 2007, p. 132, note 10) is a rare variant of σέλας. Compare *Il.* 19.379 ὣς ἀπ᾽ Ἀχιλλῆος σάκεος σέλας αἰθέρ᾽ ἵκανε; [Hes.] *Sc.* 60 τεύχεσι λαμπομένους σέλας ὣς πυρὸς αἰθομένοιο; Opp. *H.* 5.430 ἴπνου χαλκείοιο θοὸν σέλας; Opp. *C.* 1.210 = 3.136 χαλκὸν σελαγεῦντα. Campbell (*Lex.*, p. 213, APP 428) considers σαλαγή ('tumult'). Dubielzig (*Triph.*, 210–11) prefers *b*'s reading πάταγος 'clatter' (*Il.* 13.283, 16.769, 21.9), which fits the context better: compare A. *Th.* 103 πάταγος οὐχ ἑνὸς δορός; S. *Tr.* 518–19 τόξων / πάταγος; E. *Heracl.* 832 πάταγον ἀσπίδων; Opp. *C.* 4.131 ἀσπίδος ἐν πατάγῳ. **σιγῶσι δ᾽ ὀιστοί**: as if they were musical instruments (A. *Supp.* 181 σύριγγες οὐ σιγῶσιν; Opp. *C.* 3.286 τύμπανα σιγάζει; Nonn. *D.* 2.21 δόναξ σίγησε).

430–1.429.432 (οὐ μήτηρ ἐπὶ παιδὶ κινύρεται, οὐδ᾽ ἐπὶ δῆριν / ἄνδρα γυνὴ πέμψασα νέκυν δακρύσατο χήρη, / ἀλλὰ χοροὶ καὶ μοῦσα μελίπνοος· ἡ δ᾽ ἐπὶ νίκῃ / ἵππον ἀνελκόμενον δέχεται πολιοῦχος Ἀθήνη): the order of these lines as preserved in the manuscripts and printed by Gerlaud and Livrea is unsatisfactory. Campbell (*Lex.*, p. 213, APP 428–32) and Dubielzig (*Triph.*, 211–12) adopt the solution partly proposed by Köchly: line 429 should appear after line 431 and the end of the line should be corrected. F has οὐδ᾽ ἐπὶ νείκη (Gerlaud printed Northmore's correction οὐδ᾽ ἔτι νείκη), whereas *b* preserves a better reading, οἱ δ᾽ ἐπὶ νίκη, for which we should read ἡ δ᾽ ἐπὶ νίκῃ. This produces a balanced speech, with two lines on the silent weapons (427–8), two on the end of lamentation (430–1), and two on the joy of peace, with Athena receiving the horse at Troy (429.432).

430a οὐ μήτηρ ἐπὶ παιδὶ κινύρεται: one of the most pathetic sorrows of war, this motif will be exploited in lines 550–1a (see note *ad loc.*). For the phrasing, compare Call. *Ap.* 20 οὐδὲ Θέτις Ἀχιλῆα κινύρεται αἴλινα μήτηρ; QS 7.335 αἰνὰ κινυρομένη τεκέων ὕπερ, 12.485–6 ἀμφὶ δὲ μήτηρ / πολλὰ κινυρομένη κενεῷ ἐπαΰτεε τύμβῳ, 13.261–2 ἣ δὲ θέῃ γοόωσα φίλον τέκος ἔνθα καὶ ἔνθα / μακρὰ κινυρομένη.

430b–1 οὐδ᾽ ἐπὶ δῆριν / ἄνδρα γυνὴ πέμψασα νέκυν δακρύσατο χήρη: an anonymous version of the pain of Andromache, who sees her husband off to battle (*Il.* 6.390–502, esp. 407–9) and watches his body being dragged by Achilles around Troy (22.437–515, esp. 483–5). The travails of the wives in the sack of Troy are mentioned in Triph. 547–58 (anonymous women), 644–50 (famous victims). Compare Deidameia's appeal to Neoptolemus in QS 7.285–6 οὕνεκεν οὔ τι τέτυκται ὀιζυρώτερον ἄλλο / χήρης ἐν μεγάροισιν ἀκιδνότερόν τε γυναικός.

429a ἀλλὰ χοροὶ καὶ μοῦσα μελίπνοος ~ 436 ἡμῖν δὲ χοροὶ θαλίαι τε μέλονται. μοῦσα μελίπνοος 'melodious singing', as in Nonn. *D.* 10.188 καὶ στόματος ῥοδέοιο μελίπνοος ἔρρεε φωνή, *P.* 19.186 ὃ ζαθέῃ φόρμιγγι μελίπνοος ἔννεπε μολπή. In Theocr. *Id.* 1.128 μελίπνοος retains its original meaning, 'sweet smelling', since it refers to the binding wax of the σῦριγξ. μοῦσα is a common word for music in tragedy: e.g. A. *Eu.* 308; E. *Ion* 757, *Ph.* 1028, *Alc.* 962.

429b.432 ἡ δ᾽ ἐπὶ νίκῃ / ἵππον ἀνελκόμενον δέχεται πολιοῦχος Ἀθήνη: Priam sees Athena as the long-term warrant of the peace that they have already achieved. Against the background of the transporting of the horse, described as an ominous path towards self-destruction (305b–57), and presented similarly by Cassandra (376–9a), Priam's attitude illustrates the complete deception of the Trojans.

πολιοῦχος Ἀθήνη (= Nonn. *D.* 32.267, 47.96) and 444 πολισσούχοιο θεῆς … Ἀθήνης, are opposed to 390 πτολίπορθος Ἀθήνη (see comm. *ad loc.*). Compare Pi. *O.* 5.10 ὦ πολιάοχε Παλλάς; A. *Supp.* 493 τῶν πολισσούχων θεῶν, *Th.* 69, 185, 271, *Ag.* 338; AR 1.312 Ἀρτέμιδος πολιηόχου ἀρήτειρα.

433–5 Priam sees an intentionally damaging element in Cassandra's behaviour: see notes to 420–1a, 422–3.

433 παρθένε τολμήεσσα refers to her lack of virginal αἰδώς, as in Triph. 368 λίπεν δέ ἑ παρθένος αἰδώς and QS 12.555 Οὐδέ σε παρθενικὴ καὶ ἀκήρατος ἀμπέχει αἰδώς. Similar phrasing in Nonn. *D.* 4.92 παρθένε πασιμέλουσα, 12.94 = 18.304 = 41.335 παρθένος ἀστερόεσσα, 34.158 παρθένος ἱμερόεσσα, 34.282 παρθένος ἁρπάξασα, 48.259 παρθένος ὑπνώουσα. **σὺ δὲ πρὸ δόμοιο θοροῦσα** ~ 359–60 διαρρήξασα δ᾽ ὀχῆας / ἔδραμεν.

434 ψεύδεα θεσπίζουσα: for the phrasing, see S. *Ant.* 1054 καὶ μὴν λέγεις, ψευδῆ με θεσπίζειν λέγων. Compare also QS 12.554 τί … ἀνεμώλια πάντ᾽ ἀγορεύειν;, 563–5 καὶ οὐ φάσαν ἄρτια βάζειν, / οὕνεκ᾽ ἄ<ρα> σφί<σι> πῆμα καὶ ἀργαλέον μένος Αἴσης / ἄγχι παρειστήκει. **ἄγρια μαργαίνουσα**: see note to 166–7a. Compare A. *Ag.* 1088–9 (Cassandra, ironically) εἰ σὺ μὴ τόδ᾽ ἐννοεῖς, / ἐγὼ λέγω σοι· καὶ τάδ᾽ οὐκ ἐρεῖς ψύθη; Lyc. *Alex.* 1455 ψευδηγόροις φήμαισιν ἐγχρίσας ἔπη; QS 12.553–4 τί ἤ νύ σε μάργος ἀνώγει / γλῶσσα κακοφραδίη τ᾽; (with Campbell 1981, 187, note to 553–7: "we are dealing here with a reflection of tragic language … and, no doubt, with specific 'Cassandra-terminology'").

435 μοχθίζεις ἀτέλεστα (~ 125 μοχθίζειν ἀτέλεστα): see note to 424–6. **ἱερὸν ἄστυ μιαίνεις**: on madness as a civic *miasma*, see Padel 1995, 149–50. ἱερὸν ἄστυ occurs eight times in QS; also Nonn. *D.* 5.85, 13.77, 13.318, probably after Homeric phrases such as *Il.* 4.103 = 121 ἱερῆς εἰς ἄστυ Ζελείης, 21.128 ἄστυ … Ἰλίου ἱρῆς.

436–8 Conclusion: Priam expels Cassandra from the community, not because of her condition or because he thinks that she is polluting the citadel, as he has just said (435b). The real reasons are that in his eyes her refusal to take part in the celebrations of her community means that she feels no longer part of it (436–7), and that in times of peace they do not need a prophet (438).

436 ἔρρ᾽ οὕτως: after *Il.* 22.498 ἔρρ᾽ οὕτως· οὐ σός γε πατὴρ μεταδαίνυται ἡμῖν (orphan Astyanax expelled from the banquet with reviling words – 497 ὀνειδείοισιν). Compare also QS 12.558 (anonymous Trojan to Cassandra) ἔρρε καὶ … **ἡμῖν δὲ χοροὶ θαλίαι τε μέλονται** ~ 424 ἡμετέρῃσιν … θαλίῃσιν, 429a ἀλλὰ χοροὶ καὶ μοῦσα μελίπνοος. Probably after E. *HF* 763–4 χοροὶ χοροὶ / καὶ θαλίαι μέλουσι Θή-/ βας ἱερὸν κατ᾽ ἄστυ.

437 οὐ γὰρ ἔτι Τροίης ὑπὸ τείχεσι δεῖμα λέλειπται (~ 427–31) opposes Cassandra's visions of Troy being destroyed (391–7, 442b–3). Compare QS 14.122–3 οὐ γὰρ ἔτ᾽ αὐτοῖς / δεῖμα πέλεν πολέμοιο δυσηχέος. **Τροίης ὑπὸ τείχεσι**: compare *Il.* 21.277 Τρώων ὑπὸ τείχεϊ; A. *Ch.* 363–4 ὑπὸ Τροίας / τείχεσι; E. *IA* 762–4 στάσονται δ᾽ ἐπὶ περγάμων / Τροίας ἀμφί τε τείχη / Τρῶες.

438 οὐδ᾽ ἔτι μαντιπόλοιο τεῆς κεχρήμεθα φωνῆς: compare A. *Ag.* 1099 (the chorus to Cassandra, who has started to prophesy) προφήτας δ᾽ οὔτινας ματεύομεν; QS 12.558–9 ᾽Αργείοισι κακὴν προτιόσσεο φήμην / ἠδ᾽ αὐτῇ. **μαντιπόλοιο τεῆς … φωνῆς**: see note to 365.

439–43 Cassandra is locked in the palace. Triph. alludes to the tradition of Cassandra's incarceration, also mentioned in Lyc. *Alex.* 349–51, 1461–2; Dares 11 "quam [Cassandram] Priamus abstrahi et includi iussit". The opposition of the two scenes, with Cassandra ignored and punished for her foresight (cf. QS 12.576–9: the Achaeans hidden inside the horse marvel at Cassandra's precognition) while the rest of the Trojans celebrate all night long (Triph. 444–53), emphasises the part that the Trojans play in their own destruction.

QS is vaguer on the subject: Cassandra tries to destroy the horse herself with a blazing torch and an axe (12.566–73a), but the Trojans simply take them away from her (573–4a). They start the feast (574b–5a), whereupon Cassandra leaves discouraged (580–5).

439–40a ὣς εἰπὼν ἐκέλευσεν ἄγειν ἑτερόφρονα κούρην / κευθμὸν ἔσω θαλάμοιο: Priam admonishes Cassandra as if she were responsible for her words and deeds, but he acknowledges that her lack of sanity makes it impossible for her to follow his orders. He thus gives orders to have her locked in the palace. Compare Lyc. *Alex.* 1461–2 τόσσ᾽ ἠγόρευε, καὶ παλίσσυτος ποσὶν / ἔβαινεν εἱρκτῆς ἐντός. **ἑτερόφρονα κούρην**: the adjective is popular with Nonnus (*D.* 9.49, 10.36, 12.376, 33.3, 44.227, 46.240; *P.* 4.155, 5.115, 6.210). Cf. Monaco 2007, 154–5.

440b μόγις δ᾽ ἀέκουσα: see AR 2.488 μόλις δ᾽ ἀέκοντα (Triph. prefers the Homeric μόγις: cf. *Il.* 9.355, 21.417, 22.412; *Od.* 3.119, 19.189).

441–2 The image of a woman weeping on her bed goes back to Penelope (*Od.* 17.102–3, 19.595–6, 20.58) and then became a well-established motif: A. *Pers.* 113 (Persian women); S. *Tr.* 915–20 (Deianeira); E. *Alc.* 175–7 (Alcestis); AR 3.655–63 (Medea); Charito 1.1.14 (Callirhoe). Cf. Ypsilanti 2007, 112 (note 41), on women and femininity.

441 παρθενίῳ δὲ περὶ κλιντῆρι πεσοῦσα: compare AR 3.655 (Medea) λέκτροισιν πρηνὴς ἐνικάππεσεν; Verg. *A.* 4.650 (Dido) "incubuitque toro" (after referring to the Trojan couch). κλιντήρ is a Homeric *hapax* (*Od.* 18.190 αὐτοῦ ἐνὶ κλιντῆρι). In AR 3.1159 (Medea: ἷζε δ᾽ ἐπὶ χθα-

μαλῷ σφέλαϊ κλιντῆρος ἔνερθεν), it clearly refers to a couch. For παρθενίῳ … κλιντῆρι, compare AR 2.502 λέκτρον ἀκήρατον; Nonn. *D.* 4.205 (Harmonia) κλιντῆρα καὶ ἕρκεα παρθενεῶνος. For a more detailed analysis, see Monaco 2007, 141.

442a κλαῖεν ἐπισταμένη τὸν ἑὸν μόρον: compare *Il.* 19.421 (Achilles) εὖ νυ τὸ οἶδα καὶ αὐτὸς ὅ μοι μόρος ἐνθάδ᾽ ὀλέσθαι, 24.85 (Thetis cries for Achilles) κλαῖε μόρον οὗ παιδός, 24.773 (Helen cries for Hector and for herself) τῶ σέ θ᾽ ἅμα κλαίω καὶ ἔμ᾽ ἄμμορον ἀχνυμένη κῆρ. Later: Musae. 27 εἰσέτι που κλαίοντα μόρον καὶ ἔρωτα Λεάνδρου.

442b–3 ἔβλεπε δ᾽ ἤδη / πατρίδος αἰθομένης ἐπὶ τείχεσι μαρνάμενον πῦρ ~ 391–4 Cassandra's vision of the destruction of Troy, esp. 394 φωλεύει δ᾽ ὑπὸ δούρασι κευθόμενον πῦρ. Compare QS 14.393–4 δέρκοντο δὲ τλήμονα πάτρην / αἰθομένην ἔτι πάγχυ. For the phrasing, see *Il.* 11.596 Ὣς οἳ μὲν μάρναντο δέμας πυρὸς αἰθομένοιο (= 13.673, 18.1).

444–53 Sacrifice and nocturnal feast. The descriptions of the beginning and end of the celebrations (444–53, 498b–505) surround the episode of Helen and the horse (454–498a) and serve to mark the passage of time. Note the different arrangements of the events in Triph. and QS. In the *Sack of Troy*, the Trojans are already in Troy, heading towards the citadel (336–57), when Cassandra interrupts them (358–418); once Priam has dispatched her (419–43), they simply carry on with their original plan. QS places the sacrifices immediately after the episode of Laocoon (12.500–24) and highlights the bad presages which surround them. The episode of Cassandra follows (12.525–85), and the feast opens Book 13 (13.1 ff.).

The feasting of the Trojans after bringing the horse into the town and their subsequent drunken sleep was a well-attested episode (see references in note to 448–53). The theme is too general to have a direct connection with QS, despite Gerlaud's opinion (*Triph.*, 30: "Le thème de la fête à Troie … doit dériver de Quintus ou d'un modèle commun à ce dernier et à Triphiodore").

444–7 Sacrifice, both to consecrate the horse to Athena and in thanksgiving for the end of the war (255–7, 298–303, 432). For the rejection of the sacrifice, see QS 12.500–24; Dictys 5.7–8 (a Trojan sacrifice does not burn).

444 πολισσούχοιο θεῆς … Ἀθήνης: see note to 432. The epithet reflects the defeat of Cassandra's view of Athena (390), due to Priam's defence of the goddess (432).

445 ἵππον ἀναστήσαντες ἐυξέστων ἐπὶ βάθρων: this detail is not mentioned by QS (12.339b–43a: the Trojans break down the walls to get the horse into the citadel, where it is received by the women). Compare also E. *Tr.* 537–41 κλωστοῦ δ᾽ ἀμφιβόλοις λίνοιο ναὸς ὡσεὶ / σκάφος κελαινὸν εἰς ἕδρανα / λάϊνα δάπεδά τε, φονέα πατρί-/δι, Παλλάδος θέσαν θεᾶς; Verg. *A.* 2.245 "et monstrum infelix sacrata sistimus arce".

446–7 ἔφλεγον ἱερὰ καλὰ πολυκνίσσων ἐπὶ βωμῶν· / ἀθάνατοι δ᾽ ἀνένευον ἀνηνύστους ἑκατόμβας: compare QS 12.500–24 (Trojan sacrifices are surrounded by ominous signs, on which see Campbell 1981, 169–70). Trojan hecatombs are also rejected in *Il.* 8.545–52.

446 ἔφλεγον ἱερὰ καλά is a variation of *Od.* 7.191 ῥέξομεν ἱερὰ καλά (~ 4.473, 11.130, 23.277). **πολυκνίσσων ἐπὶ βωμῶν** (after which Nonn. *D.* 21.158 πολυκνίσων ἐπὶ βωμῶν) was presumably inspired by AR 3.880 πολυκνίσου ἑκατόμβης.

447 ἀθάνατοι δ᾽ ἀνένευον: a nod backwards is a sign of negation. It therefore implies that the gods reject the Trojan offerings (compare *Il.* 6.311 Ὣς ἔφατ᾽ εὐχομένη, ἀνένευε δὲ Παλλὰς Ἀθήνη; see also Triph. 649 ἡ δὲ βίην ἀνένευσε – Athena makes a gesture of disapproval when Ajax rapes Cassandra). Had the gods nodded downwards (νεύειν, ἐπινεύειν, κατανεύειν, as when Thetis supplicates Zeus in *Il.* 1.524–7, 555–9), it would have meant approval and acceptance. For more on this subject, see Miguélez-Cavero 2009, 258–9. **ἀνηνύστους ἑκατόμβας**: the adjective has a negative connotation. Compare *Od.* 16.111 ἀνηνήστῳ ἐπὶ ἔργῳ; AR 3.502 ἀνήνυτος … ἄεθλος; Opp. *H.* 2.515 ἀνήνυτον ἄλγος; Opp. *C.* 4.196 ἀνηνύστοισιν … καμάτοισιν; Triph. 299 ἀνηνύστοις ἐπ᾽ ἀέθλοις.

448–53 The nocturnal feast in Troy to celebrate the end of the war is mentioned in Proclus's summaries of the *Ilias Parva* and the *Ilii Excidium*: Bernabé *PEG Iliades Parvae* Arg. 1, lines 22–3 καὶ εὐωχοῦνται ὡς νενικηκότες τοὺς Ἕλληνας; Bernabé *PEG Ilii Excidium* Arg. lines 6–7 τραπέντες δὲ εἰς εὐφροσύνην εὐωχοῦνται ὡς ἀπηλλαγμένοι τοῦ πολέμου. The topic is also mentioned in E. *Tr.* 542–55, *Hec.* 914–23.

Other general references to the episode: B. 13(12).162–3 −−⏑⏑ εἰλα]πίνας τ᾽ ἐν / …]ρ̣ε̣ις ἕξειν θ[εόδ]ματον πόλιν; Apollod. *Epit.* 5.17 τραπέντες ἐπὶ θυσίαν εὐωχοῦντο; DH *Ant. Rom.* 1.46.1 τὸ μὲν ἄλλο πλῆθος ἐν τῇ πόλει Τρωικόν τε καὶ συμμαχικὸν ἐν ταῖς εὐναῖς ἔτι καταλαμβανόμενον ἐφονεύετο; Dio Chr. *Or.* 11.128 οἱ δὲ Τρῶες ὑποπτεύσαντες μὲν τὸ πρᾶγμα καὶ βουλευσάμενοι κατακαῦσαι τὸν ἵππον ἢ διατεμεῖν, μηθὲν δὲ τούτων ποιήσαντες, ἀλλὰ πίνοντες καὶ καθεύδοντες, καὶ ταῦτα προειπούσης αὐτοῖς τῆς Κασσάνδρας.

Virgil's Aeneas is discreet about the celebrations: he only says that on receiving the horse in Troy, they adorn the temples with garlands (*A.* 2.248–9 "nos delubra deum miseri …/… festa uelamus fronde per urbem"), but on referring to the attack of the Achaeans hidden in the horse, he says "inuadunt urbem somno uinoque sepultam" (*A.* 2.265). See also Petronius *Sat.* 89.56 "cum inter spultos Priamidas nocte et mero".

Triph. stresses the generalised state of drunkenness and folly (451 πᾶσα πόλις), thus highlighting the involvement of all the citizens in the downfall of Troy, already hinted at on the reception of the horse in Troy (see note to 340–9 – compare QS 13.1 Οἳ δ᾽ ἄρ᾽ ἀνὰ πτολίεθρον ἐδόρπεον). Triph. completes this picture with the description of Troy falling asleep after the banquet: 498b–505. QS 13.1–22 refers to the musical entertainments (1–4), but focuses above all on the excess of drinking (6a πῖνεν ἀκηδέστως), which leads to a general weakening of the senses (6b βαρύθοντο δέ οἱ φρένες ἔνδον, 12–13 ἀκρήτῳ γὰρ ἀμαλδύνονται ὀπωπαὶ / καὶ νόος αἰζηῶν, 19 Τρώων τις ἐεργόμενος φρένα οἴνῳ).

448–9 Εἰλαπίνη δ᾽ ἐπίδημος ἔην καὶ ἀμήχανος ὕβρις, / ὕβρις ἐλαφρίζουσα μέθην λυσήνορος οἴνου: the celebrations (banquets and drinking) fall upon the Trojans like ὕβρις, which here has the connotations of an epidemic and of poisoning in general. The situation reminds us of the ὕβρις of the suitors, forever banqueting and drinking in Odysseus' palace with no fear of the gods' anger (see Fisher 1992, 156–76).

Repetitions similar to ὕβρις, / ὕβρις (an instance of anadiplosis, a type of epanalepsis – see Lausberg 1998, §§ 616–22) occur already in the Homeric poems (*Il.* 2.837–8, 12.95–6; *Od.* 1.22–3) and in all epic poets: AR 1.41–2, 59–60, 67–8; QS 2.293–4, 4.37–8, 7.294–5, 8.220–1,

12.520–1. On Nonnus, see Keydell 1953; Miguélez-Cavero 2008, 139–43. On the effect of this figure, [Plu.] *De Homero* 32 states: ἔστι δὲ τὸ σχῆμα κίνησιν ἐμφαῖνον τοῦ λέγοντος καὶ ἅμα κινοῦν τὸν ἀκροατήν.

448 εἰλαπίνη δ᾽ ἐπίδημος ἔην: despite *Od.* 1.226 Εἰλαπίνη ἠὲ γάμος; (on which see Monaco 2007, 142), the phrase is not epic in character. ἐπίδημος seems to have medical connotations, with banquets spreading out through the city like an epidemic (see Campbell *Lex. s.v.* ἐπίδημος) which is to cause the death of the citizens. The epidemic is unstoppable (ἀμήχανος) because it escapes the control of the Trojans: see *Il.* 1.9–10 ὁ [Apollo] γὰρ βασιλῆϊ χολωθεὶς / νοῦσον ἀνὰ στρατὸν ὦρσε κακήν, ὀλέκοντο δὲ λαοὶ. Compare also Ba. 13(12).162–3 Snell-Maehler εἰλα]πίνας τ᾽ ἐν / …]ρ̣ε̣ις ἕξειν θ[εόδ]ματον πόλιν. A comparison with the gory banquet of the predatory animals all over the city during the battle seems inevitable (607–8 οἰωνοί τε κύνες τε κατὰ πτόλιν ἄλλοθεν ἄλλοι, /… εἰλαπινασταί). See also Cassandra's accusation in QS 12.549–50 ἐπ᾽ εἰλαπίνῃ δ᾽ ἀλεγεινῇ / δαίνυσθ᾽ ὕστατα δόρπα κακῷ πεφορυγμένα λύθρῳ. **ἀμήχανος ὕβρις**: probably inspired by *Od.* 16.418 ᾽Αντίνο᾽, ὕβριν ἔχων, κακομήχανε, 17.588 (~ 20.170, 20.370) ἀνέρες ὑβρίζοντες ἀτάσθαλα μηχανόωνται. Compare also AR 2.578 ἀμήχανος ἦεν ὄλεθρος, 2.623 ἤμβροτον ἀασάμην τε κακὴν καὶ ἀμήχανον ἄτην; Opp. *H.* 5.512 τοῖόν μιν ἀμήχανον ἄμπεχε πένθος.

449 ὕβρις ἐλαφρίζουσα μέθην λυσήνορος οἴνου. ἐλαφρίζειν is not a Homeric verb, but occurs in later epic poetry: Opp. *H.* 3.299–300 φαίης κεν ἐπ᾽ ἀνέρα δήϊον ἄνδρα / γούνατ᾽ ἐλαφρίζειν πεφοβημένον; Nonn. *D.* 3.335 κέντρον ἐλαφρίζουσαν ἀμοιβαίου τοκετοῖο, 11.483 ᾽Ερως, γλυκὺ κέντρον ἐλαφρίζων Διονύσῳ; Collut. 31, 157, 319. λυσήνωρ is a *hapax*, probably inspired by *Od.* 4.622 εὐήνορα οἶνον. Compare Opp. *C.* 4.254 λυσιπόνῳ Διονύσῳ; Nonn. *D.* 17.82 = 25.283 = 47.42 λυσιπόνοιο μέθης, 19.18 ἰκμάδα λυσιμέριμνον ἀλεξικάκου πόρεν οἴνου, 42.345 λυσιμελὴς Διόνυσος. More parallels in Monaco 2007, 157.

450a ἀφραδίῃ τε βέβυστο: in opposition to 308 ἵππον ἀριστήεσσι βεβυσμένον. Compare for the phrasing *Il.* 5.648–9 Τληπόλεμ᾽, ἤτοι κεῖνος ἀπώλεσεν ᾽Ιλιον ἱρὴν / ἀνέρος ἀφραδίῃσιν; QS 12.487–8 ἔστενε δ᾽ ἄτην / ἀνέρος ἀφραδίῃ.

450b–1a μεθημοσύνῃ τε κεχήνει / πᾶσα πόλις: μεθημοσύνη is attributed in the *Iliad* to the general host of fighters, in contrast with other defects of the leaders (13.108 ἡγεμόνος κακότητι μεθημοσύνῃσί τε λαῶν, 120–1 ὦ πέπονες, τάχα δή τι κακὸν ποιήσετε μεῖζον / τῇδε μεθημοσύνῃ). Triph. may be introducing an etymological game which points to 449 μέθην λυσήνορος οἴνου. Compare for the phrasing AR 3.893–4 ἀμηχανίῃ βεβόληται / πᾶσα πόλις; Call. fr. 320 Pf. βέβυστο δὲ πᾶσα χόλοιο.

451b πυλέων δ᾽ ὀλίγοις φυλάκεσσι μεμήλει: Triph. tries to make the surprise attack on the citadel credible by reducing the sentries to a small number, who will prove unable to wake up the entire town from its deep, alcohol-driven slumber. Verg. (*A.* 2.334–5 "uix primi proelia temptant / portarum uigiles et caeco Marte resistunt") mentions that the guards offer very little resistance to the Achaean attack. QS may have done something similar in the lacunose lines following 13.61. See Vian 1969, pp. 224–5, note 8.

452–3 ἤδη γὰρ καὶ φέγγος ἐδύετο, δαιμονίη δὲ / Ἴλιον αἰπεινὴν ὀλεσίπτολις ἀμφέβαλεν νύξ: the topic of the last, dreadful night of Troy was introduced by Cassandra (377–8 ὑστατίην ἐπὶ νύκτα / σπεύδετε καὶ πολέμοιο πέρας καὶ νήγρετον ὕπνον). Compare the Homeric starts of ominous nights: *Il.* 16.567 Ζεὺς δ᾽ ἐπὶ νύκτ᾽ ὀλοὴν τάνυσε κρατερῇ ὑσμίνῃ, *Od.* 11.19 ἀλλ᾽ ἐπὶ νὺξ ὀλοὴ τέταται δειλοῖσι βροτοῖσι.

452 ἤδη γὰρ καί: same *sedes* in *Il.* 3.205, QS 3.48. **φέγγος ἐδύετο**: a Triphiodorean creation, based on Homeric formulae for dusk (e.g. *Il.* 1.605 Αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ κατέδυ λαμπρὸν φάος ἠελίοιο, 8.487 Τρωσὶν μέν ῥ᾽ ἀέκουσιν ἔδυ φάος, 23.154 ἔδυ φάος ἠελίοιο; *Od.* 5.225 ἠέλιος δ᾽ ἄρ᾽ ἔδυ) and perhaps reversing descriptions of morning twilight in AR (2.670–1 λεπτὸν δ᾽ ἐπιδέδρομε νυκτὶ / φέγγος, 3.823–4 τῇ δ᾽ ἀσπάσιον βάλε φέγγος / Ἠριγενής, 3.1229–30 φέγγος / ἠελίου, 4.981 Ἠὼς ἠριγενὴς φέγγος βάλε).

452–3 δαιμονίη … νύξ: instead of the Homeric ἀμβροσίη νύξ (*Il.* 2.57, 10.41, 10.142, 24.363; *Od.* 4.429, 4.574, 7.283; QS 2.625, 9.432), with the epithets functioning as partial synonyms meaning 'related to the immortals'. Triph. thus prepares the scene for divine intervention in the sack of Troy (506–9, 559–72). δαιμόνιος occurs in the Homeric poems

in the vocative, as a mild reproach (*Il.* 1.561, 2.190, 2.200, 3.387 …; *Od.* 4.774, 10.472 …).

453 Ἴλιον αἰπεινήν: same *sedes* in *Il.* 9.419, 9.686, 13.773, 15.215, 15.558, 17.328. **ὀλεσίπτολις** (here and in 683 ὀλεσίπτολιν ἄτην) is a *hapax*, a synonym of the more common πτολίπορθος (*Il.* 2.278, 2.728, 5.333, 8.372 etc. – cf. Monaco 2007, 158). This brings to an end the opposition of compound words on -πόλις that characterised the confrontation between Cassandra and Priam (302 Ἀθηναίη ἐρυσίπτολις, 390 πτολίπορθος Ἀθήνη, 432 πολιοῦχος Ἀθήνη, 444 πολισσούχοιο … Ἀθήνης).

454–98a Following Aphrodite's orders, Helen tempts the Argives hidden inside the horse, but is expelled by Athena. The scene is built on Menelaus' narration of the episode in *Od.* 4.271–89. *Od.* 4.271–89 is a twin of Helen's account of Odysseus' successful spying inside Troy (*Od.* 4.235–64): only Helen recognises him, and after she swears not to betray him, he tells her of the Achaeans' plans. Menelaus' speech plays down Helen's intervention by attributing the initiative to a harmful divinity (274–5), while at the same time hinting that Odysseus' revelations provided Helen with a precious insight into what was going to happen, including the role of the horse (see Worman 2001, 32), and thus jeopardised the whole operation. Odysseus' encounter with Helen was also referred to in the *Little Iliad*: Bernabé *PEG Iliades Parvae*, Arg. 1, lines 15–17. On the nuptial undertones of the passage, see note to 520–1. Aphrodite's visit to Helen in the *Sack of Troy* is based on the visits that Iris and Aphrodite pay her in *Il.* 3.121–40, 383–420. As Orsini (1974, 6–11) and Gerlaud (*Triph.*, 30–2) point out, Triph. also used the *scholia* to the passage: see notes to 465a, 469–71a, 478–9.

QS remains silent on this episode, though he includes Anticlus among the warriors hidden inside the horse (12.317). Virgil's treatment of Helen is more complex: in *A.* 2.567–87 Aeneas sees Helen hiding in Vesta's shrine and considers the possibility of killing her. In 6.509–29, when Aeneas visits the underworld, a heavily mutilated Deiphobus explains that when the horse was brought into Troy, Helen led the Trojan women in a Bacchic procession and used the torch that she was holding aloft to call the Greeks back to Troy; in the meantime she removed all the weapons in the house that she shared with Deiphobus, and opened

the door to Menelaus and Odysseus, who mutilated and killed him. On the two passages, see Reckford 1981; Horsfall 2008, 553–67. See also Apollod. *Epit.* 5.19.

454–5 ᾿Αργείῃ δ᾽ ᾿Ελένῃ πολιὸν δέμας ἀσκήσασα / ἦλθε δολοφρονέουσα πολυφράδμων ᾿Αφροδίτη: the scene is inspired by *Il.* 3.383–420, where Aphrodite appears before Helen in the form of an old woman, but Helen recognises her because of her beauty (396–7 καί ῥ᾽ ὡς οὖν ἐνόησε θεᾶς περικαλλέα δειρὴν / στήθεά θ᾽ ἱμερόεντα). In Triph.'s version, the goddess prepares herself to appear at the peak of her beauty, so that Helen will immediately appreciate her power.

454 ᾿Αργείῃ δ᾽ ᾿Ελένῃ: as in *Il.* 2.161, 2.177, 4.174, 6.323. **πολιὸν δέμας ἀσκήσασα**: here πολιός means 'white' (as in QS 10.135 πολιὸν γάλα; Nonn. *D.* 6.190 πολιῷ λεύκαινε … γένυν ἀφρῷ; Hesych. *s.v.* πολιόν· λευκόν). It refers to the pale appearance that was very much valued in women (cf. the frequent Homeric epithet λευκώλενος [e.g. *Il.* 1.55]; *Il.* 5.314 = *Od.* 23.240 πήχεε λευκώ). It may also have the connotation of 'shiny as a metal' (as in σίδηρος πολιός: *Il.* 9.366, 23.261; *Od.* 21.3, 21.81, 24.168; Hesych. *s.v.* πολιόν τε σίδηρον· τὸν λευκὸν καὶ λαμπρόν. ὅταν γὰρ ὁ σίδηρος κλασθῇ, λευκὸς φαίνεται; compare the Homeric formula ἀργυρόπεζα Θέτις, *Il.* 1.556 etc.), or 'bright and clear' like the sea (θάλασσα in *Il.* 4.248, *Od.* 6.272, 11.75, 22.385; ἅλς in *Il.* 12.284, 23.374 …) and the air (E. *Or.* 1376 αἰθὴρ πολιός, *Ph.* 1543 πολιοῦ αἰθέρος; AR 3.275 πολιοῖο δι᾽ ἠέρος; QS 2.554 πολιοῖο δι᾽ ἠέρος). See Dürbeck 1977, 81–6, 268–72; Dubielzig, *Triph.*, 215–20. **δέμας ἀσκήσασα**: after *Il.* 14.187–8 (the conclusive lines of Hera's toilette) αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ δὴ πάντα περὶ χροῖ θήκατο κόσμον, / βῆ ῥ᾽ ἴμεν ἐκ θαλάμοιο; E. *Tr.* 1022–3 κἀπὶ τοῖσδε σὸν δέμας / ἐξῆλθες ἀσκήσασα (ἀσκέω has a pejorative connotation here and in E. *El.* 1072–3 γυνὴ δ᾽ ἀπόντος ἀνδρὸς ἥτις ἐκ δόμων / ἐς κάλλος ἀσκεῖ). See also Nonn. *D.* 32.36 (Hera's beauty preparations to deceive Zeus).

455 δολοφρονέουσα πολυφράδμων ᾿Αφροδίτη: Aphrodite is not introduced as a golden, laughter-loving divinity (*Il.* 3.64 etc. χρυσέης ᾿Αφροδίτης, 3.424 φιλομμειδὴς ᾿Αφροδίτη), but as a dangerous one who can bestow infinite graces or bitter punishments depending on her mood (compare *Il.* 3.413–17). In the Homeric poems, it is usually Hera who is δολοφρονέουσα (*Il.* 14.197 Τὴν δὲ δολοφρονέουσα προσηύδα

πότνια Ἥρη ~ 14.300, 14.329, 19.97, 19.106), but see Opp. *H.* 4.28 πολυφράδμων Ἀφροδίτη|; Nonn. *D.* 4.68 δολοφράδμων Ἀφροδίτη|, 5.135 πολυφράδμων Ἀφροδίτη|, 32.1 δολοφράδμων δ᾽ Ἀφροδίτη|.

456 ἐκ δὲ καλεσσαμένη προσέφη: after *Il.* 5.427 καί ῥα καλεσσάμενος προσέφη χρυσῆν Ἀφροδίτην, *Od.* 19.15 = 21.380 ἐκ δὲ καλεσσάμενος προσέφη. **πειθήμονι φωνῇ**: see Nonn. *D.* 8.165 πειθήμονι μύθῳ (= *P.* 9.88); Nonn. *P.* 4.70 πειθήμονι φωνῇ.

457–62 Aphrodite tempts Helen with a speech based on Iris' and Aphrodite's visits to Helen (*Il.* 3.121–40, 383–420). When Aphrodite summons Helen to the bedroom that she shares with Paris, she appears in the shape of an old servant as a go-between for the spouses, and suggests to Helen what she should do; only when Helen resents her attitude does the goddess become peremptory. Triph.'s scene is more straightforward: Aphrodite appears in all of her power (this is probably what is referred to in 454 πολιὸν δέμας ἀσκήσασα), and orders Helen to go back to Menelaus, as if she were pitying him for his sufferings (462 πολυτλήτῳ Μενελάῳ) and as if Helen were a submissive possession that she can bestow at will (cf. *Il.* 3.400–2 where Helen accuses Aphrodite of using her as a mere instrument). Triph. thus develops Menelaus' comment on Helen's behaviour in this episode: *Od.* 4.274–5 ἦλθες ἔπειτα σὺ κεῖσε· κελευσέμεναι δέ σ᾽ ἔμελλε / δαίμων, ὃς Τρώεσσιν ἐβούλετο κῦδος ὀρέξαι. Aphrodite has been introduced as δολοφρονέουσα πολυφράδμων (455), because although she seems to give in to Helen's desire to go back to Menelaus, her real aim is to hinder the Achaean strategy and save the Trojans. Helen answers Aphrodite's secret intentions, and not her words. The defeat of Aphrodite can be said to work at the same level as the *kerostasia* (506–7), Apollo's departure from Troy (508–9) and Ares' helping the Greeks in battle (563–5): all pro-Trojan divinities fail in their attempts to protect the city.

457 νύμφα φίλη, καλέει σε πόσις Μενέλαος ἀγήνωρ: after *Il.* 3.130 δεῦρ᾽ ἴθι, νύμφα φίλη, 390 δεῦρ᾽ ἴθ᾽· Ἀλέξανδρός σε καλεῖ οἶκόνδε νέεσθαι. **Μενέλαος ἀγήνωρ**: Triph. is reworking the common Homeric line ending θυμὸς ἀγήνωρ (*Il.* 2.276 etc.).

458a ἵππῳ δουρατέῳ κεκαλυμμένος: see *Od.* 8.492–3 ἵππου κόσμον ἄεισον / δουρατέου, 503 κεκαλυμμένοι ἵππῳ, 511–12 ἐπὴν πόλις

ἀμφικαλύψῃ / δουράτεον μέγαν ἵππον; E. *Tr.* 13–14 ὅθεν πρὸς ἀνδρῶν ὑστέρων κεκλήσεται / δούρειος ἵππος, κρυπτὸν ἀμπισχὼν δόρυ.

458b–9 ἀμφὶ δ᾽ Ἀχαιῶν / ἡγεμόνες λοχόωσι τεῶν μνηστῆρες ἀέθλων: inspired by *Il.* 3.126–8 πολέας δ᾽ ἐνέπασσεν ἀέθλους / Τρώων θ᾽ ἱπποδάμων καὶ Ἀχαιῶν χαλκοχιτώνων, / οὓς ἕθεν εἵνεκ᾽ ἔπασχον ὑπ᾽ Ἄρηος παλαμάων, 136–7 αὐτὰρ Ἀλέξανδρος καὶ ἀρηΐφιλος Μενέλαος / μακρῇς ἐγχείῃσι μαχήσονται περὶ σεῖο. **τεῶν μνηστῆρες ἀέθλων**: Aphrodite refers to the men hidden inside the horse as Helen's former suitors, who swore to support her husband in subsequent disputes over her (Hes. *Cat. fr.* 196–200, 202, 204; Stesich. fr. 190 PMG; Hygin. *Fab.* 81), and at the same time as contestants in the fight. Compare Pi. *P.* 12.24 μναστῆρ᾽ ἀγώνων, *N.* 1.16 πολέμου μναστῆρα; Nonn. *D.* 10.386 μνηστῆρας ἀγῶνος, 45.249 τεῶν μνηστῆρα θοώκων.

460–1 ἀλλ᾽ ἴθι, μηδ᾽ ἔτι τοι μελέτω Πριάμοιο γέροντος / μήτ᾽ ἄλλων Τρώων μήτ᾽ αὐτοῦ Δηιφόβοιο: Aphrodite refers first to Priam because he is the king of Troy, but also because he had a close relationship with Helen (*Il.* 3.162–5, 3.172–6 [see comment in Roisman 2006, 11–15], 24.770; Hector, who was also kind to Helen [24.762, 767–75], is now dead). Then she refers to the host of the Trojans (compare *Il.* 7.386 Πρίαμός τε καὶ ἄλλοι Τρῶες ἀγαυοί; QS 6.182 Πρίαμός τε καὶ ἄλλοι Τρώιοι υἷες) and only at the end to her third husband, Deiphobus.

ἀλλ᾽ ἴθι: after Helen's rebuke to Paris in *Il.* 3.432 (ἀλλ᾽ ἴθι νῦν προκάλεσσαι ἀρηΐφιλον Μενέλαον). This is a common start for a line: e.g. *Il.* 1.32, 2.163, 2.179; *Od.* 3.323, 7.30. **μηδ᾽ ἔτι τοι μελέτω … μήτ᾽ …**: compare *Il.* 24.152 = 181 μηδέ τί οἱ θάνατος μελέτω φρεσὶ μηδέ τι τάρβος. **Πριάμοιο γέροντος**: after *Il.* 13.368 etc. γέρων Πρίαμος; see also QS 1.647 Πριάμοιο γέροντος.

462 πολυτλήτῳ Μενελάῳ: the portrayal of Menelaus as a suffering husband does not correspond to the Homeric poems, where he is usually given neutral or more warlike attributes (ἀγαθὸς Μενέλαος, ἀρηΐφιλος Μενέλαος, ξανθὸς Μενέλαος, Ἀτρεΐδης Μενέλαος, Μενέλαος κυδάλιμος, δουρικλειτὸς Μενέλαος, Μενέλαος διοτρεφής), but to later treatments of his character. In Euripides' *Helen* and *Trojan Women* in particular, he is completely under the spell of his wife, for whom he has endured ten years of hardship in Troy. This is

consistent with the presentation of Menelaus as a passionate character in the *Sack of Troy*: 47 μογέοντι … Μενελάῳ, 162 ἄγριος ὁρμή, 163 ἀπηνέι … θυμῷ, 473 ἔστενε μὲν Μενέλαος, ἐπεὶ κλύε Τυνδαρεώνης. πολύτλητος is a Homeric *hapax* (*Od.* 11.38 πολύτλητοί τε γέροντες), though Triph. may well have been thinking of (and trying to avoid) the frequent πολύτλας δῖος Ὀδυσσεύς (*Il.* 8.97 etc.). See also QS 1.135 πολυτλήτων ἀνθρώπων, 5.361 πολυτλήτου Ὀδυσῆος, 8.411 Πριάμοιο πολυτλήτοιο etc.; Nonn. *D.* 7.40 πολυτλήτων γένος ἀνδρῶν; Collut. 206 πολυτλήτων … μόχθων; Musae. 330 καὶ ψυχὴν καὶ ἔρωτα πολυτλήτοιο Λεάνδρου.

463a ὣς φαμένη (= 497), as in *Il.* 5.835, 22.247, 22.460; *Od.* 11.150, 18.206, 23.85. **θεὸς αὖθις ἀνέδραμεν**: compare *Il.* 16.813 ὁ μὲν αὖτις ἀνέδραμε.

463b–4 ἡ δὲ δόλοισι / θελγομένη κραδίην θάλαμον λίπε κηώεντα: Helen is completely taken in by Aphrodite (compare *Od.* 16.194–5 ἀλλά με δαίμων / θέλγει), and obeys her order without even responding.

ἡ δὲ δόλοισι / θελγομένη: compare *Il.* 21.276 ἥ με ψεύδεσσιν ἔθελγεν, 21.604 δόλῳ δ᾽ ἄρ᾽ ἔθελγεν Ἀπόλλων; *Od.* 14.387 μήτε τί μοι ψεύδεσσι χαρίζεο μήτε τι θέλγε; Opp. *H.* 4.141 θελγόμενοι λιαρῇσιν ὑπὸ ῥιπῇς Ἀφροδίτης; QS 3.499–500 ἦ ῥά τι καὶ σὺ βροτοὺς ψευδέσσι λόγοισι / θέλγεις, 13.405 δόλῳ δ᾽ ἄρ᾽ ἔθελγεν Ἀχαιούς. **θελγομένη κραδίην**: compare *Il.* 15.594 θέλγε δὲ θυμόν (~ *Od.* 18.282); *Od.* 17.514 θέλγοιτό κέ τοι φίλον ἦτορ. **θάλαμον λίπε κηώεντα**: a variation on *Il.* 6.288 αὐτὴ δ᾽ ἐς θάλαμον κατεβήσετο κηώεντα (~ 3.382, 24.191, *Od.* 15.99).

465a καί οἱ Δηίφοβος πόσις εἵπετο: a direct copy of Homer's narration of this episode (*Od.* 4.276 καί τοι Δηίφοβος θεοείκελος ἕσπετ᾽ ἰούσῃ). Deiphobus' presence was necessary, as Heubeck – West – Hainsworth (1988, 211) explain in a comment on the Homeric referent: "if Helen had not been observed by a Trojan there would have been no danger to the Greeks and Odysseus' precaution would have been unnecessary". Helen's marriage to Deiphobus has already been mentioned in Triph. 45 and 162–4. According to Orsini (1974, 8–9; see also Gerlaud *Triph.*, p. 146, note to 465), Triph. omits θεοείκελος because in the Homeric text it did not make sense that Menelaus should call his

wife's husband 'handsome'. More on this line and Triph.'s editorial work in 3.1.1.

465b–6 τὴν δὲ κιοῦσαν / Τρῳάδες ἑλκεχίτωνες ἐθηήσαντο γυναῖκες: a reference to Helen's beauty and charms. It is impossible not to be reminded of the Trojan elders' comment on the destruction caused by Helen's charms (*Il.* 3.156–60; see also QS 14.57b–70). Gerlaud (*Triph.*, p. 146, note to 466) criticises the 'feminisation' of the scene, saying that it is "au mépris de toute vraisemblance psychologique", but Triph. is probably trying to reflect Helen's complex nature: she is completely dependent on Aphrodite (compare *Od.* 4.261–2 ἄτην δὲ μετέστενον, ἣν ᾽Αφροδίτη / δῶχ᾽, ὅτε μ᾽ ἤγαγε κεῖσε φίλης ἀπὸ πατρίδος αἴης), and capable of casting an Aphrodite-like spell on the women around her, similar to the one that the goddess has cast on her. By contrast, in *Il.* 3.419–20 Helen leaves the walls discreetly to avoid being noticed by the Trojan women (420 πάσας δὲ Τρῳὰς λάθεν), because she wants to avoid their condemnation (411–12). **Τρῳάδες ἑλκεχίτωνες … γυναῖκες**: the epithet is a Homeric *hapax* (*Il.* 13.685 ᾽Ιάονες ἑλκεχίτωνες; see also Nonn. *D.* 40.213 τοῖα μὲν ἑλκεχίτωνες ἐπωδύροντο γυναῖκες), with an allusion to the Homeric Τρῳάδας ἑλκεσιπέπλους (*Il.* 6.442, 7.297, 22.105; see also Nonn. *D.* 1.103, 35.15). **ἐθηήσαντο γυναῖκες** = *Od.* 19.235, Nonn. *D.* 35.13.

467 ὑψιμέλαθρον ἐς ἱερόν: compare *h.Merc.* 103 = 134 = 399 ἐς αὔλιον ὑψιμέλαθρον.

468 ἔστη παπταίνουσα φυὴν εὐήνορος ἵππου: the *Odyssey* hints that Helen knew of the stratagem of the horse in advance (4.256), but Triph. does not. Instead he resorts to the motif of Helen's uncanny visual acumen (on which see Clader 1976, 30; Suzuki 1989, 65; Austin 1994, 81–2): when she glances at the statue, she seems to see the men hidden inside, just as on seeing Telemachus she realises that he is Odysseus' son (*Od.* 4.137–46).

In Homer **φυή** always refers to the human form (LSJ *s.v.*), whereas here it is applied to the statue in an attempt to endow it with human characteristics, or perhaps in reference to AR 2.1237 ἔσσυτο χαιτήεντι φυὴν ἐναλίγκιος ἵππῳ. As Cannatà Fera (2003, 197) points out, φυή occurs with a similar meaning in Pi. *P.* 4.235 ἐριπλεύρῳ φυᾷ. **εὐήνωρ** does not have the Homeric sense of 'the joy of men' (LSJ *s.v.* εὐήνωρ I:

Od. 4.622 φέρον δ᾽ εὐήνορα οἶνον, 13.19 φέρον δ᾽ εὐήνορα χαλκόν), but 'abounding in brave men' (LSJ *s.v.* II, as in Pi. *O.* 1.24 ἐν εὐάνορι Λυδοῦ Πέλοπος ἀποικίᾳ).

469–71a τρὶς δὲ περιστείχουσα καὶ ᾽Αργείους ἐρέθουσα / πάσας ἠυκόμους ἀλόχους ὀνόμαζεν ᾽Αχαιῶν / φωνῇ λεπταλέῃ: in *Od.* 4, Helen walks around the Trojan horse three times (277a τρὶς δὲ περίστειξας), touching it (277b κοῖλον λόχον ἀμφαφόωσα), in a sort of magic ritual (cf. Worman 2001, 34: "fondling its sides as if touching the Greek husbands"). She then calls the men aloud by their names, imitating the voices of their wives (278–9 – on Helen's skills in mimicry, see Kakridis 1971, 46–9; Zeitlin 1981, 203–6; Worman 2001), so that they will come out to meet them or at least give themselves away by answering the call (282–3). Deiphobus would then alert the Trojans and crush the Achaean offensive before it started. Odysseus, either because from his position inside the horse he can see Helen through the holes in the statue (he is the doorkeeper: *Od.* 11.524–5; see also Suzuki 1989, 69; Austin 1994, 82), or because he remembers telling her about the horse (see the n. to 454–98a), is the one who recognises that Helen is behind the plan (*Od.* 4.284).

Apollodorus reproduces Homer's account (*Epit.* 5.19 Ἑλένη δὲ ἐλθοῦσα περὶ τὸν ἵππον, μιμουμένη τὰς φωνὰς ἑκάστης τῶν γυναικῶν, τοὺς ἀριστέας ἐκάλει). Triph., however, could not leave it like this, because *Od.* 4.279 (πάντων ᾽Αργείων φωνὴν ἴσκουσ᾽ ἀλόχοισιν) was considered awkward in expression and implausible in content: cf. *Schol. in Od.* 4.279 (Pontani 2010, with notes *ad loc.*), commented on by Heubeck – West – Hainsworth 1988, 211–12, note to 279; Kakridis 1971, 44–5. Triph. seems to have tried to bypass this problem by having Helen call the names of the Achaeans' wives in a feminine voice, expecting them to break down at the mere mention of their much-missed wives. She is still given unusual visual powers because she knows which heroes are hidden in the horse. More on this passage and Triph.'s editorial work in 3.1.1.

469a τρὶς δὲ περιστείχουσα: after *Od.* 4.277 τρὶς δὲ περίστειξας. A magical element, commented on by Kakridis 1971, 44. **469b ᾽Αργείους ἐρέθουσα**: not 'stirring the anger of the Argives' (*Il.* 1.32 μή μ᾽ ἐρέθιζε, 1.519, 3.414), but 'causing distress to the Argives' (*Od.* 4.813 αἵ μ᾽ ἐρέθουσι κατὰ φρένα καὶ κατὰ θυμόν).

470–1a πάσας ἠυκόμους ἀλόχους ὀνόμαζεν ᾽Αχαιῶν / φωνῇ λεπταλέῃ: after *Od.* 4.279 πάντων ᾽Αργείων φωνὴν ἴσκουσ᾽ ἀλόχοισιν. ἠΰκομος is a common Homeric epithet for women (e.g. *Il.* 1.36) and goddesses (e.g. *Il.* 2.689). Compare QS 13.384 ἠυκόμοις ἀλόχοισιν. **φωνῇ λεπταλέῃ**: after *Il.* 18.571 λεπταλέῃ φωνῇ. See also AR 3.708–9 ἰωὴ / λεπταλέη.

471b τοὶ δ᾽ ἔνδοθι θυμὸν ἄμυσσον: after *Il.* 1.243 σὺ δ᾽ ἔνδοθι θυμὸν ἀμύξεις.

472 ἀλγεινοὶ κατέχοντες ἐεργμένα δάκρυα σιγῇ: an excessive reaction to simply hearing the names of their wives. The chieftains, except Neoptolemus, had been said to cry on entering the horse (*Od.* 11.526–30), and they will do so in the *Sack of Troy* when Anticlus dies (Triph. 178–9, 483–6). Gerlaud prefers F's reading **ἀλγεινοί** 'feeling pain, suffering' (LSJ *s.v.* ἀλγεινός II; the Homeric form ἀλεγεινός is always active in sense, 'painful'), whereas Dubielzig adopts R's version ἀλγεινῇ … σιγῇ (similar clusters occur in 471 φωνῇ λεπταλέῃ and 482 ἀνδροφόνοιο … σιωπῆς).

473–4 ἔστενε μὲν Μενέλαος, ἐπεὶ κλύε Τυνδαρεώνης, / κλαῖε δὲ Τυδείδης μεμνημένος Αἰγιαλείης: Triph. is reshaping *Od.* 4.280–3 (αὐτὰρ ἐγὼ καὶ Τυδεΐδης …).

Τυνδαρεώνης: Helen, as daughter of Tyndareus. In the Homeric poems, Helen is referred to as the daughter of Zeus (*Il.* 3.418 = *Od.* 4.184 = 219 Διὸς ἐκγεγαυῖα; *Od.* 4.227 Διὸς θυγάτηρ). Apollodorus (*Bibl.* 3.10–7) sums up the main versions of the myth. In the oldest version, which already appears in Bernabé *PEG Cypria* fr. 9, Helen is said to be the daughter of Zeus and Nemesis, born from an egg, which was given to Leda, Tyndareus' wife. According to another version, Zeus consorted with Leda in the shape of a swan, and she laid an egg from which Helen was born (Leda is first mentioned as Helen's mother in E. *Hel.* 16–21). In both cases, Tyndareus is only Helen's putative father. As regards the adjective itself, this is of Triph.'s invention (followed by Christod. *AP* 2.167 δερκόμενος ῥοδόπηχυν ὁμόφρονα Τυνδαρεώνην; Collut. 378 τοῖα δὲ φωνήσασα προσέννεπε Τυνδαρεώνη). Castor and Polydeuces are usually called Τυνδαρίδαι (*h.Hom.* 17.2, 5; Pi. *O.* 3.1, 39; Theocr. *Id.* 22.89, 136, 202, 212, 216; AR 1.1045, 2.30, 41, 74 etc.), and Euripides uses the feminine form of the same adjective for

Helen and Clytemnestra (*Hec.* 269 ἡ Τυνδαρίς, 1278 Τυνδαρὶς … παῖς; *El.* 13 Τυνδαρίδα κόρην, 60 Τυνδαρίς; though cf. *IA* 1532 ὦ Τυνδαρεία παῖ Κλυταιμήστρα; see also QS 10.310, 345).

474 κλαῖε δὲ Τυδείδης μεμνημένος Αἰγιαλείης: Aegialeia, daughter of Adrastus, is mentioned in *Il.* 5.410–15 as Diomedes' wife. Diomedes, son of Tydeus, had been the second of the Achaean heroes to enter the horse (Triph. 157–8).

475 οὔνομα δ᾽ ἐπτοίησεν Ὀδυσσέα Πηνελοπείης: "Penelope's name inflamed the heart of Odysseus", as in Call. *Dian.* 191 πτοιηθεὶς ὑπ᾽ ἔρωτι; AR 1.1232–3 τῆς δὲ φρένας ἐπτοίησεν / Κύπρις. The contrast between Odysseus' strong feelings on hearing Penelope's name and his quick reaction when he realises that Anticlus is about to give away their position (476–82) shows him to be a steadfast hero, proactive and endowed with endurance. This presentation is consistent with Menelaus' description in *Od.* 4.266–89 (esp. 270–1 οἷον Ὀδυσσῆος ταλασίφρονος ἔσκε φίλον κῆρ. / οἷον καὶ τόδ᾽ ἔρεξε καὶ ἔτλη καρτερὸς ἀνήρ). On the mastery of silence and endurance as part of the Homeric characterisation of Odysseus, see Montiglio 2000, 256–75.

476–86 Anticlus is about to give in but Odysseus suffocates him. In the Homeric referent, Menelaus is vague: Anticlus hears the voice of his anonymous wife and is about to answer (*Od.* 4.286–7a Ἄντικλος δὲ σέ γ᾽ οἷος ἀμείψασθαι ἐπέεσσιν / ἤθελεν), when Odysseus covers his mouth with his own hand (287b–8a ἀλλ᾽ Ὀδυσεὺς ἐπὶ μάστακα χερσὶ πίεζεν / νωλεμέως κρατερῇσι) and holds him like this until Athena takes Helen away (289 τόφρα δ᾽ ἔχ᾽ ὄφρα σε νόσφιν ἀπήγαγε Παλλὰς Ἀθήνη). Triph. provides a more detailed account: Anticlus' behaviour inside the horse had been anticipated in lines 178–9, when he had joined the other heroes (see note *ad loc.*); the anonymous wife is given the random name Laodameia (not to be mistaken for Sarpedon's mother, mentioned in *Il.* 6.196–9, or for Protesilaus' wife, mentioned in *Il.* 2.700). What Menelaus referred to as a strong grip is now depicted as a genuine suffocation, with Triph. even explaining what the Achaeans did with his body. The name Laodameia may have been chosen to complete the homoeoteleuton of the line endings: 474–6 … Αἰγιαλείης / … Πηνελοπείης / … Λαοδαμείης. More on this passage and Triph.'s editorial work in 3.1.1.

476–7 Ἄντικλος δ᾽ ὅτε κέντρον ἐδέξατο Λαοδαμείης, / μοῦνος ἀμοιβαίην ἀνεβάλλετο γῆρυν ἀνοίξας: Triph. is rephrasing *Od.* 4.286–7a Ἄντικλος δὲ σέ γ᾽ οἶος ἀμείψασθαι ἐπέεσσιν / ἤθελεν.

476 κέντρον ἐδέξατο Λαοδαμείης: Triph.'s metaphor reappears in Nonn. *D.* 40.568 δέχνυσο κέντρα πόθοιο (the κέντρον Ἐρώτων is popular with Nonnus: e.g. *D.* 1.329, 4.217, 6.348, 10.324); Musae. 166 γλυκύπικρον ἐδέξατο κέντρον ἐρώτων; *AP* 5.87.2 (Rufinus) ὡς βελέων δεξάμενον φαρέτρην; even Diosc. Aphr. 33.16–17 Fournet ̣καὶ γὰρ ̣ὁπόλλῳ[ν] / ἡδυβόλων πολύυμνος ἐδέξατο κέντρον Ἐρό̣[των].

477 μοῦνος ἀμοιβαίην ἀνεβάλλετο γῆρυν ἀνοίξας: echoed by Collut. 279 αὐτὰρ ὁ μειλιχίην ἠμείβετο γῆρυν ἀνοίξας. See also Nonn. *D.* 48.857 τοῖον ἔπος παλίνορσος ἀμοιβαίῃ φάτο φωνῇ. γῆρυς is a recherché word for 'speech' (*Il.* 4.437 οὐ γὰρ πάντων ἦεν ὁμὸς θρόος οὐδ᾽ ἴα γῆρυς; AR 4.1342–3 τοῖς δ᾽ οὔ νύ τι γῆρυς ἐτύχθη / ῥιγεδανή). This use of ἀναβάλλω is common enough, but the verb usually refers to a musical response: cf. *Od.* 1.155 ~ 8.266 ἦ τοι ὁ φορμίζων ἀνεβάλλετο καλὸν ἀείδειν; Theocr. *Id.* 6.20 Τῷ δ᾽ ἐπὶ Δαμοίτας ἀνεβάλλετο καὶ τάδ᾽ ἄειδεν, 8.71 Δεύτερος αὖ Δάφνις λιγυρῶς ἀνεβάλλετ᾽ ἀείδεν; Nonn. *D.* 19.102 δίστιχον ἁρμονίην ἀνεβάλλετο Φοιβάδι μολπῇ, 24.242 αὐτὰρ ὁ φορμίζων ἀνεβάλλετο Κύπριν ἀείδειν.

478–9 ἀλλ᾽ Ὀδυσεὺς κατέπαλτο καὶ ἀμφοτέρῃς παλάμῃσιν / ἀμφιπεσὼν ἐπίεζεν ἐπειγόμενον στόμα λῦσαι: Triph. is reshaping *Od.* 4.287–8 ἀλλ᾽ Ὀδυσεὺς ἐπὶ μάστακα χερσὶ πίεζεν / νωλεμέως κρατερῇσι (cf. also Apollod. *Epit.* 5.19 ὑπακοῦσαι δὲ Ἀντίκλου θέλοντος Ὀδυσσεὺς τὸ στόμα κατέσχεν). *Od.* 4.285–9 was athetised by Aristarchus and absent from many ancient editions (*Schol. in Od.* 4.285.a and b [Pontani 2010]; Heubeck – West – Hainsworth 1988, p. 212, note to 285–9). In the *Od.* Menelaus is not clear about what happened to Anticlus, though the reference to Odysseus' strong hands (*Od.* 4.287–8 χερσὶ … κρατερῇσι) suggests that he had to work hard to restrain Anticlus. However, the death of Anticlus would spoil a story that aims to illustrate Odysseus' character in favourable terms for the sake of his son Neoptolemus. The death of Anticlus must have been present in other sources, since it is mentioned by Ovid: *Ibis* 569–70 "Utque loquax in equo est elisum guttur acerno, / sic tibi claudatur pollice uocis iter". The episode of Anticlus can also be compared with the

description of the octopus attacking the crayfish in Opp. *H.* 2.392–402 (as suggested by Gerlaud *Triph.*, p. 94, note 3).

κατέπαλτο: κατεπᾶλτο is a Homeric *hapax* (*Il.* 19.351 οὐρανοῦ ἓκ κατεπᾶλτο δι᾽ αἰθέρος – see Edwards 1991, p. 275, note to 350–1), either from κατά + πάλλω 'shake' or from κατά + ἐπὶ + ἅλλομαι 'leap' (see also *Il.* 11.94 ἤτοι ὅ γ᾽ ἐξ ἵππων κατεπάλμενος ἀντίος ἔστη). In Homer the context supports the latter, as in AR 2.583 [μέγα κῦμα] νηὸς ὑπὲρ πάσης κατεπάλμενον; Opp. *H.* 4.661 πόντῳ δ᾽ ἐγκατέπαλτο λίνων ὕπερ; Opp. *C.* 3.120 κίρκον ὑπὲρ τέγεος κατεπάλμενον; Nonn. *D.* 48.614 οὐρανόθεν κατέπαλτο. The meaning is the same in Triph.: see LSJ *s.v.* κατεφάλλομαι; Campbell *Lex. s.v.* κατεφάλλομαι ('leap, swoop down upon, to assail' [Odysseus from his position in the head of the horse, upon Anticlus below]); Dubielzig *Triph.*, 222–3. Gerlaud (*Triph.*, p. 147, note to 478 – quoting Weinberger 1896, 142, 144–5; Gow – Page 1965, 2.314) favours καταπάλλομαι on the grounds that all the manuscripts have κατέπαλτο (from καταπάλλομαι) and not κατεπᾶλτο (from κατεφάλλομαι), and that Triph. rarely uses a double preverb (but see lines 41, 138, 495, 529, 576, 628).

478b ἀμφοτέρῃς παλάμῃσιν: compare Opp. *H.* 5.635 παλάμῃσι δ᾽ ἐν ἀμφοτέρῃσιν.

479 ἀμφιπεσὼν ἐπίεζεν: compare Opp. *H.* 4.446 ἀμφιέπουσα πιέζει. **στόμα λῦσαι**: compare E. *Hipp.* 1060 τί δῆτα τοὐμὸν οὐ λύω στόμα; Nonn. *D.* 4.373 στόμα πικρὸν ἔλυσε.

480–1a μάστακα δ᾽ ἀρρήκτοισιν ἀλυκτοπέδῃσι μεμαρπὼς / εἶχεν ἐπικρατέως: for **ἄρρηκτος** in similar contexts, see *Il.* 13.36–7 χρυσείας, / ἀρρήκτους ἀλύτους, 15.19–20 δεσμὸν … / χρύσεον ἄρρηκτον; *Od.* 8.274–5 δεσμοὺς / ἀρρήκτους ἀλύτους; AR 4.1645–6; Opp. *H.* 1.415 ὑπὸ δεσμῷ / ἀρρήκτῳ; QS 5.343 = 10.201 δεσμῷ ἐν ἀρρήκτῳ. **ἀλυκτοπέδαι** does not occur in the Homeric poems, but it is found in Hes. *Th.* 521–2 (δῆσε δ᾽ ἀλυκτοπέδῃσι Προμηθέα ποικιλόβουλον, / δεσμοῖς ἀργαλέοισι), and in later epic poetry: AR 2.1249 ἰλλόμενος χαλκέῃσιν ἀλυκτοπέδῃσι; Nonn. *D.* 16.160 καί σε σιδηρείῃσιν ἀλυκτοπέδῃσι πεδήσω, 29.354 ἀμφοτέρους δολίῃσιν ἀλυκτοπέδῃσι πιέζων, 45.76 καί κεν ἀλυκτοπέδῃσιν ἐγὼ σέο χεῖρας ἑλίξας. **μεμαρπώς** occurs as a line ending seven times in AR (e.g. 1.756 προτενὲς δόρυ χειρὶ μεμαρπώς). **εἶχεν ἐπικρατέως**: after *Od.* 4.287–8

χερσὶ … κρατερῇσι, same *sedes* as in *Il.* 23.863 ἧκεν ἐπικρατέως; [Hes.] *Sc.* 321 πάλλεν ἐπικρατέως; AR 3.1307 εἷλκεν ἐπικρατέως.

481b ὁ δ᾽ ἐπάλλετο χερσὶ πιεσθείς: as in *Od.* 8.336 ἦ ῥά κεν ἐν δεσμοῖσ᾽ ἐθέλοις κρατεροῖσι πιεσθείς. For ἐπάλλετο, see similar phrases in Nonn. *D.* 25.532 καὶ νέκυς αὐτοέλικτος ἐπάλλετο, 28.139 ἐπάλλετο μαινομένη χείρ, 38.306 ἐπάλλετο χάρματι μήτηρ, 40.218 Διόνυσος ἐπάλλετο χάρματι νίκης, 47.453 ἐπάλλετο χάρματι κούρη.

482 ἀνδροφόνοιο … σιωπῆς: the transference of the epithet from the human killer to secondary elements already occurs in Homer (*Il.* 23.18 χεῖρας ἐπ᾽ ἀνδροφόνους, 24.478–9 χεῖρας / δεινὰς ἀνδροφόνους, after which Nonn. *D.* 47.147 ἀνδροφόνοις παλάμῃσιν), but is more evident in Nonn. *D.* (13.118 ἀνδροφόνῳ παρὰ βωμῷ, 17.302 ἀνδροφόνῳ δὲ ῥόῳ, 17.320 ἀνδροφόνοισιν … κορύμβοις, 23.51 ἀνδροφόνον παρὰ χεῦμα). **δεσμὰ σιωπῆς** = Opp. *C.* 1.226. See also *AP* 2.30–1 (Christ. Copt.) ἀλλά ἑ τέχνη / χαλκείης ἐπέδησεν ὑπὸ σφρηγῖδος σιωπῆς.

483a καὶ τὸν μὲν λίπεν ἄσθμα φερέσβιον: a variation of *Il.* 4.470 τὸν μὲν λίπε θυμός, and similar phrases (*Il.* 12.386, 16.410, 16.743; *Od.* 3.455, 12.414). φερέσβιος is usually an epithet applied to the earth: Hes. *Th.* 693 γαῖα φερέσβιος; AR 3.164 = 4.1509 γαῖα φερέσβιος; Opp. *H.* 1.475, Nonn. *D.* 22.284, 38.280. In Nonn. *D.* it is also used with several other nouns (see Peek *Lex. s.v.*).

483b–6 Funerary rites adapted to the situation: the conventions of a Homeric funeral (*Il.* 23.110–257, 24.777–804: Hector; *Od.* 24.43–92: Achilles – commented on in Edwards 1986) include the building of a pyre and the burning of the corpse on it. The fire is then extinguished with wine, the bones are gathered and covered with a cloth, and a mound is built to hold the bones. Given the situation, the Achaean warriors have to restrict this ritual to mourning (483b–4 ~ *Il.* 23.252 κλαίοντες, 24.794 μυρόμενοι, θαλερὸν δὲ κατείβετο δάκρυ παρειῶν; *Od.* 24.58–9a, 63–4), the placement of the (unburnt) body in the makeshift burial chamber (485 ~ *Il.* 24.797) and the covering of it with a cloak, instead of a plain cloth (486 ~ *Il.* 23.254 ἐν κλισίῃσι δὲ θέντες ἑανῷ λιτὶ κάλυψαν, 24.796 πορφυρέοις πέπλοισι καλύψαντες μαλακοῖσιν; compare also *Od.* 24.59 περὶ δ᾽ ἄμβροτα εἵματα ἕσσαν). The order is different here because the situation is different.

The concentration of three participles (484 κατακλαύσαντες, 485 ἀποκρύψαντες, 486 βαλόντες) and their order have aroused the suspicion of editors. Köchly (1853) suggested the inversion of lines 485 and 486 or the addition of an extra line after 486, but Gerlaud and Livrea maintain the text preserved by the manuscripts. Campbell (*Lex.*, p. 213, APP 485–6) suggests correcting 486 βαλόντες to βάλοντο, and Dubielzig (*Triph.*, 223–5) reconstructs an extra line after 486, either <ἀτλήτους ἀνέχοντο πόνους ἀκμῆτες ἐόντες>, or <ἀρρήτοις ἐπέεσσιν ἐμιμνήσκοντο θανόντος>.

483b–4 οἱ δέ μιν ἄλλοι / δάκρυσι λαθριδίοισι κατακλαύσαντες ᾽Αχαιοί: compare *Il.* 18.340 κλαύσονται νύκτάς τε καὶ ἤματα δάκρυ χέουσαι; *Od.* 4.801 παύσειε κλαυθμοῖο γόοιό τε δακρυόεντος, 17.7–8, 24.323. λαθρίδιος is used instead of the Homeric λάθρῃ.

485 κοῖλον ἀποκρύψαντες ἐς ἰσχίον ἔνθεσαν ἵππου: after *Il.* 24.797 (funerary rites of Hector) αἶψα δ᾽ ἄρ᾽ ἐς κοίλην κάπετον θέσαν, at the same time echoing the Homeric description of the horse as κοῖλον λόχον (*Od.* 4.277 = 8.515; see also Triph. 63 γαστέρα κοιλήνας). The ἰσχία of the horse are mentioned in line 81.

486 καὶ χλαῖναν μελέεσσιν ἐπὶ ψυχροῖσι βαλόντες: compare Nonn. *D.* 11.232–3 (Dionysus prepares Ampelus' body for burial) καί μιν ἀνεχλαίνωσε τὸν ἄπνοον, ὑψόθεν ὤμου / νεβρίδα καὶ ψυχροῖσιν ἐπὶ στέρνοισι καθάψας. Compare the phrasing with that of *Il.* 2.183 = *Od.* 14.500 ἀπὸ δὲ χλαῖναν βάλε; *Od.* 8.455 ἀμφὶ δέ μιν χλαῖναν καλὴν βάλον (~ *Od.* 17.89, 24.367), 14.520 ἐπὶ δὲ χλαῖναν βάλεν αὐτῷ (~ 20.4). Dubielzig adds an extra line: <ἀρρήτοις ἐπέεσσιν ἐμιμνήσκοντο θανόντος>. **μελέεσσιν ἐπὶ ψυχροῖσι** (~ Nonn. *D.* 17.308 = 38.135 ψυχροῖς μελέεσσι) is an unusual combination, since ψυχρός usually refers to water (*Il.* 22.152, *Od.* 5.469, 9.392 etc.). Triph. seems to view it as an antonym for the Homeric expression for the limbs of the living, γναμπτοῖσι μέλεσσιν (*Il.* 11.669, 24.359; *Od.* 22.394 …).

487–98 Athena intervenes. Helen appears on the scene guided by one divinity (Aphrodite) and leaves guided by another (Athena). She is a plaything of the gods, as she herself complains to Aphrodite (*Il.* 3.400–4). Homer had presented Odysseus as the saviour of the Greeks (*Od.* 4.288 σάωσε δὲ πάντας ᾽Αχαιούς) and Athena only in a second-

ary role, as Odysseus' usual protector (*Il.* 23.782–3; see also Triph. 111–13). Triph. highlights Athena's actions, assuming that Odysseus' initiative would not have been enough to restrain all the Achaeans in the horse, given the strength of the spell. Athena's intervention originates from *Od.* 4.289 ὄφρα σε νόσφιν ἀπήγαγε Παλλὰς Ἀθήνη, but seems to be inspired by Athena's appearance before Achilles in *Il.* 1.194–200: Triph. 488 βλοσυρῶπις ~ *Il.* 200 δεινὼ δέ οἱ ὄσσε φάανθεν; Triph. 488–9 ἀπ᾽ αἰθέρος ἀντήσασα / Παλλάς ~ *Il.* 194–5 ἦλθε δ᾽ Ἀθήνη / οὐρανόθεν, 197 στῆ δ᾽ ὄπιθεν; Triph. 490 μούνῃ φαινομένη ~ *Il.* 198 οἴῳ φαινομένη· τῶν δ᾽ ἄλλων οὔ τις ὁρᾶτο. Compare Nonn. *D.* 30.254 (Athena scolds Dionysus, after *Il.* 1.194–200) μούνῳ φαινομένη βλοσυρὴ θεός.

487–9a καί νύ κεν ἄλλον ἔθελγε γυνὴ δολόμητις Ἀχαιῶν, / εἰ μή οἱ βλοσυρῶπις ἀπ᾽ αἰθέρος ἀντήσασα / Παλλὰς ἐπηπείλησε: Helen seduces the Achaeans just as she has been seduced by Aphrodite (463–4 ἡ δὲ δόλοισι / θελγομένη κραδίην), and her influence has to be counteracted by a divinity who is as powerful as Aphrodite.

487 καὶ νύ κεν: frequently used in introducing pivotal contrafactuals, on which see notes to 43–5 and 43. **ἄλλον ἔθελγε … Ἀχαιῶν**: compare *Il.* 12.254–5 αὐτὰρ Ἀχαιῶν / θέλγε νόον; QS 13.405 δόλῳ δ᾽ ἄρ᾽ ἔθελγεν Ἀχαιούς. **γυνὴ δολόμητις**: the epithet is used in the *Od.* of Aegisthus (1.300 etc.) and Clytemnestra (11.422). See also Opp. *H.* 2.120 (the cuttlefish); QS 5.292 Ὦ Ὀδυσεῦ δολομῆτα; Nonn. *D.* 2.576 (Prometheus), 8.126 and 176 (the goddess Ἀπάτη), 29.336 (Athena); Collut. 82 (Aphrodite).

488 βλοσυρῶπις … Παλλάς: a variation on the usual Homeric γλαυκῶπις Ἀθήνη (*Il.* 1.206 etc.). Triph. applies to Athena the Homeric epithet of the Gorgon (*Il.* 11.36 Γοργὼ βλοσυρῶπις; see also QS 8.243 βλοσυρῶπις Ἐριννύς, 14.454 βλοσυροῖο Μεδούσης), suggesting that her appearance should be enough to break the enchantment of Aphrodite. **ἀπ᾽ αἰθέρος ἀντήσασα**: compare *Il.* 14.258 καί κέ μ᾽ ἄϊστον ἀπ᾽ αἰθέρος ἔμβαλε πόντῳ, 15.610 αὐτὸς γάρ οἱ ἀπ᾽ αἰθέρος ἦεν.

489a οἱ … Παλλὰς ἐπηπείλησε: for the construction, see *Il.* 13.582 βῆ δ᾽ ἐπαπειλήσας Ἑλένῳ, *Od.* 13.126–7 τὰς ἀντιθέῳ Ὀδυσῆϊ / πρῶτον ἐπηπείλησε.

489b φίλου δ᾽ ἐξήγαγε νηοῦ: the horse is stationed by Athena's temple (444–7), which provides an additional reason for Athena's intervention.

490a μούνῃ φαινομένη: Deiphobus (466) and the Trojans celebrating nearby (444–6) do not see Athena, just as they had not seen Aphrodite when she appeared to Helen beforehand (454–62). Compare for the phrasing *Il.* 1.198 (Athena appears to Achilles) οἴῳ φαινομένη; Nonn. *D.* 30.254 (Athena appears to Dionysus) μούνῳ φαινομένη.

490b–6 Athena's rebuke follows the same Homeric scheme of rebuttal as Priam's speech to Cassandra (419–38): an introductory line, describing the intentions of the speaker (490b στερεῇ δ᾽ ἀπεπέμψατο φωνῇ); emotional words of reproach, including an insult (491–2); an account of the problem, alluding to the undesirable behaviour at issue, couched as a negative command (493–4); an imperative of amends (495–6).

490b στερεῇ δ᾽ ἀπεπέμψατο φωνῇ: compare *Il.* 12.267–8 ἄλλον στερεοῖς ἐπέεσσι / νείκεον, 21.452 ἀπειλήσας δ᾽ ἀπέπεμπε.

491–4 The three elements of Athena's accusation are three different explanations for Helen's past deeds:

- Mischief (491 ἀλιτροσύναι): Helen is fully responsible for her behaviour, which is considered offensive to the gods. ἀλιτροσύνη is not Homeric, but enters the epic vocabulary with AR, where it is applied to Medea's murderous behaviour: 4.699 Κίρκη φύξιον οἶτον ἀλιτροσύνας τε φόνοιο. See also QS 10.407 (Helen) ἀλιτροσύνης μεμνημένη.
- Adulterous inclinations (492a πόθος ἀλλοτρίων λεχέων): Helen is fully responsible for her behaviour, which is presided over by her sexual appetite. Helen's sexual impulses hover over her confrontation with Aphrodite and Paris in *Il.* 3: Aphrodite tempts Helen by saying that Paris is awaiting her in bed, gleaming with beauty (3.441–6); she refuses to go to him, because it would be shameful and the Trojan women would criticise her for it (410–12 – presumably for her indecent haste, as explained by Kirk 1985, pp. 324–5, note to 411); forced to attend Paris, she is sarcastic towards him (428–36), but gives in to his sexual advances (438–46) and follows him to bed (447).
- Erotic folly (492b Κύπριδος ἄτη): Aphrodite is to blame for Helen's behaviour, since she has induced in her a temporary folly that increases her sexual appetite (cf. *Il.* 3.139–40). The phrase can also be understood to refer to Helen's irrational behaviour under the influence of an overwhelming passion, which she is not capable of mastering (see Heubeck – West – Hainsworth 1988, p. 210, note to 261). Helen gives a similar explanation for her behaviour in *Od.* 4.261–2 ἄτην δὲ μετέστενον, ἣν ᾽Αφροδίτη / δῶχ᾽.

These three explanations for Helen's behaviour are also found in E. *Tr.*: Helen blames Aphrodite for her elopement with Paris (929–37, 940–2, 948–50), but Hecabe refutes her excuses (982–6) and accuses her of hav-

ing been seduced by the prospect of becoming the wife of a handsome man (987) and of enjoying all his riches (991–7). Hecabe refers in delicate terms to Helen's sexual interest in Paris (988–90).

In the *Sack of Troy*, Athena contrasts Helen's erotic impulses (492a πόθος ἀλλοτρίων λεχέων) with the more appropriate longing for Menelaus and Hermione (esp. 493b–4a οὐδὲ θύγατρα / Ἑρμιόνην ποθέεις;). In the *Iliad*, Aphrodite inspires such a longing in Helen (3.139–40 θεὰ γλυκὺν ἵμερον ἔμβαλε θυμῷ / ἀνδρός τε προτέρου καὶ ἄστεος ἠδὲ τοκήων; see also *Il.* 3.174–5, Helen on what she left behind when she eloped with Paris). In the *Odyssey*, Helen herself states that, when Odysseus had gone to Troy to spy on them, she already resented Aphrodite's influence over her, which had been the cause of her abandoning her child and husband (*Od.* 4.263 παῖδά τ᾽ ἐμὴν νοσφισσαμένην θάλαμόν τε πόσιν τε). On QS's Helen, see Maciver 2012a, 143–71; Maciver 2011.

491–2 δειλαίη, τέο μέχρις ἀλιτροσύναι σε φέρουσι / καὶ πόθος ἀλλοτρίων λεχέων καὶ Κύπριδος ἄτη;: a hostile version of *Il.* 24.128–9 τέκνον ἐμόν, τέο μέχρις ὀδυρόμενος καὶ ἀχεύων / σὴν ἔδεαι κραδίην;. See also Nonn. *D.* 2.569–70, 11.331, 23.165, 31.136, 35.283.

δειλαίη: instead of the usual Homeric δειλός, which has a compassionate sense (e.g. *Il.* 11.441, 452, 816; *Od.* 10.431, 11.618), Triph. opts for the lengthened form, common in tragedy (S. *Tr.* 1243, *OT* 1347; E. *Med.* 1265, *Tr.* 192), and gives it an aggressive tone. Compare QS 1.645–6 (Achilles over Penthesilea's body) δειλαίη· τίς γάρ σε παρήπαφεν ἀντ<ί>᾽ ἐμεῖο / ἐλθέμεν;, Nonn. *D.* 47.161. **πόθος ἀλλοτρίων λεχέων** (after which Nonn. *D.* 36.248 ποθέων λέχος Ἰοχεαίρης): compare the Homeric Helen's longing for her past life (*Il.* 3.139–40 γλυκὺν ἵμερον … / ἀνδρός τε προτέρου), and the expression of men seized by desire (*Il.* 3.446 = 14.328 με γλυκὺς ἵμερος αἱρεῖ). See also Menelaus' verdict on Helen in E. *Tr.* 1037–8 (ἑκουσίως τήνδ᾽ ἐκ δόμων ἐλθεῖν ἐμῶν / ξένας ἐς εὐνάς) and Helen's commentary on her own terrible *faute* in QS 10.406–7 (αἰνῆς / μύρετ᾽ ἀλιτροσύνης μεμνημένη – to be read with Maciver 2012a, 168–9). The bed can be said to represent the most important aspect of a marriage and the main determinant of a woman's behaviour. Also, "a wife's attitude towards it is also a sign of the state of the marriage" (Croally 1994, 87, with his comments in the following pages).

493–4 οὔ ποτε δ᾽ οἰκτείρεις is F's reading, adopted by Gerlaud. *b* has οὔπω δ᾽ οἰκτείρεις, preferred by Livrea (*Triph.*), Campbell (*Lex.*, p. 214, APP 493) and Dubielzig (*Triph.*, 226–7) because it suits 491 τέο μέχρις and 494 ἔτι δέ better. **πρότερον πόσιν**: as in *Il.* 3.140 ἀνδρός τε προτέρου, 163 πρότερόν τε πόσιν, 429 ὃς ἐμὸς πρότερος πόσις ἦεν. See note to 164 on Helen's husbands. **οὐδὲ θύγατρα / Ἑρμιόνην ποθέεις;**: in the *Odyssey*, Hermione is explicitly stated to be Menelaus' only child with Helen, though he also had a son, Megapenthes, with a slave (4.11–14). In the Hesiodic *Catalogue* (fr. 175 M-W), Menelaus and Helen have a second child, Nicostratus. According to Homer (*Od.* 4.5–9), Menelaus married Hermione to Neoptolemus. Triph. does not mention Hermione again, but he recounts how Neoptolemus is killed in Delphi (640–3), presumably when he was visiting the oracle to inquire why his marriage with Hermione was childless (see note to 640–3). **ἔτι δὲ Τρώεσσιν ἀρήγεις;**: after *Il.* 14.192 οὕνεκ᾽ ἐγὼ Δαναοῖσι, σὺ δὲ Τρώεσσιν ἀρήγεις;. See also *Il.* 1.521, 5.507, 16.701. QS has two similar line endings: 4.49, 8.471.

495–6 χάζεο καὶ θαλάμων ὑπερώιον εἰσαναβᾶσα / σὺν πυρὶ μειλιχίῳ ποτιδέχνυσο νῆας Ἀχαιῶν: note the contrast between Cassandra, locked up in her chambers on her father's orders (439–40), and thus prevented from helping the Trojans, and Helen, who is asked to go to her chambers on her own accord to help the Achaeans.

495 χάζεο: as in *Il.* 16.707, 17.13 (different *sedes* in 5.440); AR 3.1041; QS 2.315, 3.40, 10.321; Nonn. *D.* 20.398, 27.40, 40.19, 40.192, 47.527. **ὑπερώιον εἰσαναβᾶσα** = *Il.* 2.514, *Od.* 17.101, 19.594.

496 σὺν πυρὶ μειλιχίῳ: a surprising combination, which suggests the difference between the aggressive fire that will devour Troy (680–5) and the fire that will provide the signal to the Achaeans to bring the war to an end. Helen's torch will later be called φίλου πυρός (521), a reminder that she is complying with Athena's orders to receive the Achaeans with friendly fire. μειλίχιος refers in the Homeric poems above all to words (e.g. *Il.* 6.343 μύθοισι … μειλιχίοισι; not to be confused with μείλιχος, usually applied to people, such as Patroclus: *Il.* 17.671 πᾶσιν γὰρ ἐπίστατο μείλιχος εἶναι). Nonnus takes up Triph.'s suggestion (*D.* 42.5 μειλιχίου πλήθουσα πυρὸς … φαρέτρη, 47.623 μειλιχίη φλόξ), and in general he uses the epithet more broadly, to mean not only 'gentle',

but more specifically 'tame': e.g. *D.* 7.330 χείλεσι μειλιχίοισι, 8.350 μειλίχιον σπινθῆρα γαληναίοιο κεραυνοῦ, 9.197 μειλιχίη θήρ.

ποτιδέχνυσο: a *hapax*, a synonym of προσδέχομαι. Homer has only the present participle ποτιδέγμενος, meaning 'await, expect', as in *Od.* 22.380 φόνον ποτιδεγμένω αἰεί; AR 4.1282 λοιμοῖο τέλος ποτιδέγμενοι; QS 3.407 φίλους ποτιδέγμεναι ἄνδρας. See LSJ *s.v.* προσδέχομαι. δέχνυσο and other forms of δεχνύμαι had already occurred in Call. fr. 746 Pf. *incerti auctoris* δέχνυσο μῆτερ; Theocr. *Id.* 27.72 Δέχνυσο τὰν σύριγγα τεὰν πάλιν (though the relationship of this line with the rest of the poem is uncertain: Kirstein 2007, 74); Parth. fr. 8 Lightfoot (with her comment in Lightfoot 1999, 148); *AP* 9.553.6 (3517 GP *Garland*) Φοῖβος ἄναξ ταύτην δέχνυται. The verb became more frequent in late antique epic poetry: Opp. *H.* 4.323–4 αἶγες δὲ φίλον χορὸν … / δέχνυνται, 5.514–15 οὐ βρῶσιν ὀρεγνυμένην ἐθέλεσκε / δέχνυσθαι; Opp. *C.* 2.147 δεχνύμεναι … οἶδμα θαλάσσης, 3.81 δεχνύμεναι … δῶρον; QS 12.585 μέγα δέχνυτο πῆμα (see comment in Campbell 1981, 194, note to 12.585); Nonn. *D.* 1.469 δέχνυσο Λητώ etc.; Collut. 160–1 δέχνυσο μορφὴν / ἡμετέρην, 216.

νῆας Ἀχαιῶν (= 426): a frequent Homeric line ending (e.g. *Il.* 1.12, 1.347, 2.8., 2.17); QS 4.330, 6.526, 8.220.

497–8a ὣς φαμένη κενεὴν ἀπάτην ἐκέδασσε γυναικός. / καὶ τὴν μὲν θάλαμον δὲ πόδες φέρον: Aphrodite's deceit is disabled by Athena's intervention, and yet Helen is not set free, but subjected to Athena's will. Aphrodite's influence on Helen is now referred to as a deceit (ἀπάτη), just as her words were lies (463 δόλοισι) and the goddess was δολοφρονέουσα (455). Athena ends the deceit for Helen and persuades her to help the Greeks, whereas the Trojans have proved incapable of dispelling their folly, despite Cassandra's warnings (411 καὶ νεφέλην ἀπόθεσθε, φίλοι, βλαψίφρονος ἄτης).

ὣς φαμένη: see note to 463. **κενεὴν ἀπάτην ἐκέδασσε γυναικός**: compare *Il.* 2.114 = 9.21 κακὴν ἀπάτην; Nonn. *D.* 8.124 δολίην Ἀπάτην.

498a καὶ τὴν μὲν θάλαμον δὲ πόδες φέρον: inspired by Homeric phrases, such as *Il.* 6.514 ταχέες δὲ πόδες φέρον, 13.515 τρέσσαι δ' οὐκέτι ῥίμφα πόδες φέρον ἐκ πολέμοιο, 15.405; *Od.* 15.555. The phrase may simply reproduce the Homeric metaphor of movement, or else draw on similar passages in the *Argonautica*, where it suggests a

state of semi-consciousness: 1.1264 ᾗ πόδες αὐτὸν ὑπέκφερον ἀίσσοντα, 3.1152 αὐτομάτοις δὲ πόδεσσι θοῆς ἐπεβήσατ᾽ ἀπήνης.

498b–505 End of the celebration: after the failure of Aphrodite's strategy, the narration returns to a general panorama of the city, thus closing the circle opened after the Cassandra scene, with the description of the beginning of the celebrations (444–53). Both passages refer to excess of drink (448–51a, 501–2), which affects the whole city (451 πᾶσα πόλις, 504 πᾶσα δὲ Σιγή), and in both cases the processes are described as an epidemic (448 Εἰλαπίνη δ᾽ ἐπίδημος ἔην καὶ ἀμήχανος ὕβρις, 503 Ἡσυχίη δὲ πόλιν κατεβόσκετο – see notes *ad loc.*). Compare E. *Tr.* 542–7; Verg. *A.* 2.250–3; QS 13.21–2, 27–8. For a visual counterpart, see some depictions of the first moments of the nyktomachy, which depict the Trojans still lying on their couches at their banquet, such as the upper scene of the Homeric shield from Dura Europos (third century AD – image 5) and the Vatican Virgil (Cod. Vat. lat. 3225), fol 19r. (image 8).

The theme of the banqueters killed over their drink has Odyssean resonances: Agamemnon and his men are killed during the banquet to celebrate their return home (11.412–20 – also Philostr. *Imag.* 2.10), and Odysseus kills the suitors in the μέγαρον of his own house (Book 22). The speedy capture of a city invaded during the night, when its inhabitants are asleep after the festivities of the day, became a historiographic *topos*: see Livy 4.37.1–2, 8.16.9–10, 25.23.14–25.24.7.

These lines also relate to the initial description of the exhaustion of the armies through the wearing out of their weapons (8–13), and to Priam's brief description of peace as the silence and uselessness of weapons (427–8). In all three passages the motionless objects illustrate the calm of the situation. The fighters are depersonalised, in contrast to the personification of the objects.

498b–9 οἱ δὲ χοροῖο / παυσάμενοι καμάτῳ ἀδδηκότες ἤριπον ὕπνῳ: after *Il.* 10.98–9 μὴ τοὶ μὲν καμάτῳ ἀδηκότες ἠδὲ καὶ ὕπνῳ / κοιμήσωνται; *Od.* 12.281 ἑτάρους καμάτῳ ἁδηκότας ἠδὲ καὶ ὕπνῳ. On the participle ἀδηκότες / ἁδδηκότες, see Hainsworth 1993, p. 166, note to 98; Heubeck – Hoekstra 1989, p. 131, note to 281. Triph.'s ἀδδηκότες occurs in the *Schol. in Od.* 12.281 (p. 549 Dindorf). Gerlaud, Livrea and Campbell (*Lex. s.v.* κάματος) accept F's reading καμάτῳ, whereas Dubielzig (*Triph.*, 227–8) prefers the καμάτοις of YLNR. The

Image 5. Oval wooden plank shield, known as the 'Homeric shield' from Dura-Europos, now in Yale University Art Gallery (Acc. no. 1935.551). Watercolour copy by H. Gute (Acc. no. 1936.127.26). © Yale University Art Gallery, Dura Europos Collection. The lower scene depicts the transporting of the horse into Troy. The background is formed by the wall of the city with a small arched gate. Three figures on top of the wall observe the scene in the foreground. On the left, the wooden horse is accompanied by a man (shooting a bow at the horse?). Over the top of the horse ΚΗΒΡΙΟΘΗΣ was written, perhaps referring to Κεβριόνης, son of Priam and Hector's charioteer, who was killed by Patroclus (*Il.* 16.733–43), though it may also represent Laocoon attacking the horse. In front of the gate a woman (Cassandra) extends her hand to touch the horse, and on the right there is a group of four Trojan men, of whom the one standing next to the woman is bearded (Priam).

The upper scene represents the Greeks slaying the Trojans. In the centre there are two altars partly surrounded by figures: on the right, a man kneels and stretches his hands out towards the left (Priam), while a warrior towers over him; on the left, a woman advances to the left, seemingly with another figure in front of her, now lost. On both sides, Greek armed soldiers stand in a position of attack over the Trojan men, who are sitting or lying on cushions or mattresses.

Descriptions and interpretations may be found in M. I. Rostovtzeff – F. E. Brown – C. B. Welles (eds.) (1939), *The Excavations of Dura Europos. Preliminary Report of the Seventh and Eighth Seasons of Work 1933–1934 and 1934–1935*, New Haven, 331–49. Conservation details and more parallels are available in S. James (2004), *The Arms and Armour and Other Military Equipment. The Excavations at Dura-Europos, Final Report VII*, London, cat. no. 616.

mention of sleep signals the beginning of the fulfilment of Cassandra's prophecies, which started with νήγρετον ὕπνον (378). See also the beginning of the Achaean offensive: 541 χαλκείου θανάτοιο κακοῖς ἐκάλυψαν ὀνείροις.

500–1a καὶ δή που φόρμιγξ ἀνεπαύσατο, κεῖτο δὲ κάμνων / αὐλὸς ἐπὶ κρητῆρι: the φόρμιγξ and the αὐλός are also mentioned in 309, in the procession of the horse to Troy. They are the appropriate instruments to accompany the dance: cf. *Il.* 18.494–5 κοῦροι δ᾽ ὀρχηστῆρες ἐδίνεον, ἐν δ᾽ ἄρα τοῖσιν / αὐλοὶ φόρμιγγές τε βοὴν ἔχον. Both Campbell (*Lex. s.v.* ἀναπαύω) and Gerlaud (*Triph.* p. 149, note to 500) note the definitive connotation of ἀνεπαύσατο, accentuated by κεῖτο. Compare *Od.* 11.419–20 (death of Agamemnon and his retinue) ὡς ἀμφὶ κρητῆρα τραπέζας τε πληθούσας / κείμεθ᾽ ἐνὶ μεγάρῳ. The silence at the beginning of the night proves to be only a short hiatus between the noisy acclamation of the horse (308–9, 318–27, 342, 350–7) and the festivities (436, 448–51), and the noise of the battle (542–3, 550–1 etc.). The αὐλός is personified: compare κάμνων / αὐλός with 251 πολέμῳ βαρυπενθέι κεκμηῶτες, 499 καμάτῳ ἀδδηκότες.

The reference to the mixing bowl (**ἐπὶ κρητῆρι**) highlights once again the drunkenness of the foolish Trojans, thus referring back to the description of the nocturnal excesses (448–53) prior to Helen's scene (454–98b). This stresses the fact that the carousing Trojans were entirely unaware that Aphrodite was making her final attempt to save them by manipulating Helen.

501b–2 κύπελλα δὲ πολλὰ χυθέντα / αὐτόματα ῥείεσκε καθελκομένων ἀπὸ χειρῶν: κύπελλα are the goblets in which the wine mixed in the κρητήρ is served and drunk (*Il.* 23.219 ἐκ κρητῆρος, ἑλὼν δέπας ἀμφικύπελλον, *Od.* 20.252–3 ἐν δέ τε οἶνον / κρητῆρσιν κερόωντο· κύπελλα δὲ νεῖμε συβώτης). The reference to the κρητήρ (501a) and the κύπελλα (501b) creates a smooth transition between the description of the silence of the night and the general impression of debauchery. The number of the cups (κύπελλα δὲ πολλά) suggests that all parts of the city had turned into a drinking banquet, matching the introduction of the feast (esp. 450–1 μεθημοσύνῃ τε κεχήνει / πᾶσα πόλις). Compare other descriptions of the end of a banquet, such as Verg. *E.* 6.17 "et grauis attrita pendebat cantharus ansa"; *AP* 6.71 (Paulus Sil., esp. 2 σοὶ τὰ νοοπλήκτου κλαστὰ κύπελλα μέθης). Non-

nus develops a liking for automatic events: compare esp. *D.* 4.363–4 ψαφαρὴ δὲ κατ᾽ αὐχένος ἔρρεε χαίτη / αὐτομάτη, 22.26 αὐτομάτου δὲ χυθέντος ἐπ᾽ ἀκρεμόνεσσιν ἐλαίου, 24.257–8 αὐτόματοι δὲ / στήμονες ἐρρήγνυντο παχυνομένοιο χιτῶνος, 46.1–2 ὅττι λυθέντος / αὐτομάτου δεσμοῖο σιδηροφόρων ἀπὸ χειρῶν.

καθελκομένων ἀπὸ χειρῶν: the opposite of the Homeric line-end formula θρασειάων ἀπὸ χειρῶν (*Il.* 11.553, 11.571, 13.134, 15.314, 17.662, 23.714; *Od.* 5.434).

503–5 Ἡσυχίη δὲ πόλιν κατεβόσκετο, Νυκτὸς ἑταίρη, / οὐδ᾽ ὑλακὴ σκυλάκων ἠκούετο, πᾶσα δὲ Σιγὴ / εἱστήκει καλέουσα φόνον πνείουσαν ἀυτήν: the appearance of these personifications suggests that Troy is now doomed to be destroyed. As Campbell (*Lex.*, p. 214, APP 505) puts it, "when abstractions gang up like this there is no hope for a city". Quintus does not develop this motif: 13.21–2 Εὖτε γὰρ ὕπνος ἔρυκεν ἀνὰ πτόλιν ἄλλοθεν ἄλλον / οἴνῳ ἐνιπλήθοντας ἀπειρεσίῳ καὶ ἐδωδῇ, 27–8 ἀλλ᾽ οἳ μὲν λεχέεσσι πανύστατον ὕπνον ἴαυον / πολλῷ ὑπ᾽ ἀκρήτῳ βεβαρηότες, in contrast with the Achaean chiefs, waiting wakefully in the horse. Compare also Verg. *A.* 6.520–3 (Deiphobus' account of the capture of Troy) "tum me, confectum curis somnoque grauatum, / infelix habuit thalamus, pressitque iacentem / dulcis et alta quies placidaeque simillima morti"; Dictys 5.12 "fessis dein multo uino atque somno barbaris, quae utraque per laetitiam securitatemque pacis interuenerant"; Apollod. *Epit.* 5.19 ὡς δὲ ἐγένετο νὺξ καὶ πάντας ὕπνος κατεῖχεν, οἱ ἀπὸ Τενέδου προσέπλεον. For the ominous arrival of night, see Verg. *G.* 1.247–8 "illic, ut perhibent, aut intempesta silet nox, / semper et obtenta densentur nocte tenebrae". Triph.'s referent is AR 3.744–50, esp. 749–50 οὐδὲ κυνῶν ὑλακὴ ἔτ᾽ ἀνὰ πτόλιν, οὐ θρόος ἦεν / ἠχήεις· σιγὴ δὲ μελαινομένην ἔχεν ὄρφνην.

503 Ἡσυχίη δὲ πόλιν κατεβόσκετο: the verb describes the consumptive advance of a disease or pestilence (see LSJ *s.v.* καταβόσκω), as in Call. *Dian.* 125 κτήνεά φιν λοιμὸς καταβόσκεται; Plu. *Mor.* 670F (on skin diseases) τῇ προσβολῇ τὰ τοιαῦτα καταβόσκεσθαι πάθη τοὺς ἀνθρώπους οἴονται; Nic. *Ther.* 244 πᾶν δ᾽ ἐπί οἱ δριμεῖα δέμας καταβόσκεται ἄτη. The celebrations had been described earlier as a pestilence: 448 εἰλαπίνη δ᾽ ἐπίδημος ἔην καὶ ἀμήχανος ὕβρις (with note *ad loc.*).

The personification **Ἡσυχίη** is mainly Pindaric: *O.* 4.16 Ἡσυχίαν φιλόπολιν, *P.* 8.1 φιλόφρον Ἡσυχία, *N.* 9.48 ἡσυχία δὲ φιλεῖ μὲν συμπόσιον, *Hyporchemata* fr. 109.2 Snell-Maehler μεγαλάνορος Ἡσυχίας. **Νυκτὸς ἑταίρη**: an *ad hoc* association, made up for the context. Hesiod does not include Ἡσυχίη among the children of Night (*Th.* 211–25), but in view of the monstrous nature of the latter, the association of Ἡσυχίη with Νύξ suggests more distress.

504a οὐδ᾽ ὑλακὴ σκυλάκων ἠκούετο: a hyperbole. The town is so silent that not even the growling of puppies (cf. *Od.* 12.86–7 τῆς ἦ τοι φωνὴ μὲν ὅση σκύλακος νεογιλῆς / γίγνεται) can be heard, in contrast to the horrible growling of the dogs eating the bodies of their masters later during the battle (610 ὑλάοντες). ὑλακή is not Homeric (though cf. *Il.* 18.586 ἱστάμενοι δὲ μάλ᾽ ἐγγὺς ὑλάκτεον, *Od.* 14.29 = 16.4 κύνες ὑλακόμωροι), and seems to be inspired by AR 3.749–50 (silence at night, but the anxious Medea is unable to sleep) οὐδὲ κυνῶν ὑλακὴ ἔτ᾽ ἀνὰ πτόλιν, οὐ θρόος ἦεν / ἠχήεις. See also AR 3.1040 κυνῶν ὑλακή, 1216–17 ἀμφὶ δὲ τήν γε / ὀξείῃ ὑλακῇ χθόνιοι κύνες ἐφθέγγοντο; Opp. *H.* 5.437 θῆρα κύνες σεύοντες ἀμοιβαίῃς ὑλακῇσι; Opp. *C.* 4.367 οἰκτρὰ μάλ᾽ ὑλακόων.

504b–5 πᾶσα δὲ Σιγὴ / εἱστήκει καλέουσα φόνον πνείουσαν ἀυτήν is an allegory of the situation: the silence at Troy acts as a clarion call to the hiding Greeks (both in the horse and in Tenedos) to attack the city and kill its inhabitants. It also anticipates 610 καὶ τῶν μὲν κλαγγὴ φόνον ἔπνεεν (compare Nonn. *D.* 25.509 φόνου πνείοντα). Note the oxymoron of Σιγή in combination with καλέουσα, and how the universal presence of silence (πᾶσα δὲ Σιγή) harks back to the all-encompassing celebrations of the Trojans throughout Troy (451 πᾶσα πόλις), predicting the total destruction of the city. Similar personifications of silence occur in AR 2.740 σιγὴ δ᾽ οὔ ποτε τήν δε κατὰ βλοσυρὴν ἔχει ἄκρην, 3.750 σιγὴ δὲ μελαινομένην ἔχεν ὄρφνην; Opp. *H.* 4.680–1 εἰσόκε σιγὴ / πόντον ἕλῃ; Nonn. *D.* 2.518 βόστρυχα συρίζοντα κατεσφρηγίσσατο σιγή ~ 14.283, 45.187–8; Musae. 280 σιγὴ παστὸν ἔπηξεν, ἐνυμφοκόμησε δ᾽ ὀμίχλη.

506–691 Nyktomachy

A. 506–41 Preliminaries
506–7 *Kerostasia*
508–9 Apollo abandons Troy
510–21 Sinon and Helen: the signs
522–32 The Achaean army leaves Tenedos
533–41 The chieftains leave the horse
B. 542–663 Battle
542–6 Initial image of blood and destruction
547–58 Anonymous victims I: women
559–72 Theophany I
573–95 Anonymous victims II: men
596–9 Theophany II: irrational forces of war
600–6 Anonymous victims III: old men and children
607–12 Animal attack
613–50 Illustrious victims (Deiphobus, Priam, Astyanax, Cassandra)
651–63 Some escape the destruction (Aeneas, the Antenorids, Laodice)
[664–7 Narratorial intervention]
C. 668–91 Aftermath and conclusion
668–70 Dawn
671–5 The Achaeans leave no survivors
676–9 The sacking
680–5 Troy set on fire
686–7 Religious duties – Sacrifice of Polyxena
688–9a Distribution of booty
689b–91 Departure of the conquerors

A nyktomachy or night battle was a common theme for a mixed description, i.e. one which belonged to more than one category. All the treatises on *progymnasmata*, except that of Nicolaus, provide a similar account of the description of night battles, in terms of how the description (ἔκφρασις) is structured. See Theon 119.3–5, citing as examples Thucydides and Philistus; Hermogenes *Prog.* 10.3 Patillon, mentioning Thucydides; and the slightly longer account by Aphthonius: 12.2 Patillon Τῶν δὲ ἐκφράσεων αἱ μέν εἰσιν ἁπλαῖ, αἱ δὲ συνεζευγμέναι· καὶ ἁπλαῖ μὲν ὡς αἱ πεζομαχίας ἢ ναυμαχίας διεξερχόμεναι. Συνεζευγμέναι δὲ ὡς αἱ πράγματα καὶ καιροὺς ἅμα συνάπτουσαι, ὥσπερ ὁ Θουκυδίδης τὴν ἐν Σικελίᾳ νυκτομαχίαν ἐκφράζει [7.42–5]· μετὰ γὰρ τῆς μάχης πῶς ἐπράττετο καὶ νυκτὸς ὅπως εἶχεν ὡρίσατο.

An ἔκφρασις of a nyktomachy would involve elements of the approach used in a description of facts (πραγμάτων ἔκφρασις: Theon 118.17–18, Hermog. *Prog.* 10.2 Patillon, Aphth. 12.1 Patillon; compare the descriptions of a πεζομαχία and a ναυμαχία among the προγυμνάσματα attributed to Libanius, in 8.460–4, 489.7–490.16 Förster) and a de-

scription of circumstances (καιρῶν ἔκφρασις: Theon 119.4–5, Hermog. *Prog.* 10 Patillon, Aphth. 12.1 Patillon; compare the description of spring attributed to Libanius, in 8.479.15–482.17 Förster). As a description of facts, the description of the nyktomachy should deal with previous events (preparations, including levies, expenses, fear, plundering of the countryside, siege), the event itself (the battle, including wounds, deaths and pain), and its consequences (enslavement of the defeated, victory songs and trophies of the victors): see Theon 119.16–24, Hermog. *Prog.* 10.4 Patillon. As a description of a circumstance (night), on the other hand, the description of the nyktomachy should focus on the circumstances related to it: Aphth. 12.1 Patillon Καιροὺς δὲ ὡς ἔαρ καὶ θέρος, φράζων ὁπόσα παρ᾽ αὐτὰ προέρχεται τῶν ἀνθέων … Ἐκφράζειν δὲ δεῖ … καιροὺς δὲ καὶ τόπους ἐκ τῶν περιεχόντων. On the subjects and techniques used for the *ekphrasis*, see Webb 2009, 55–6, 61–86.

The model suggested by the rhetors, Thucydides' description of the night attack on Epipolai (7.42–7), does indeed deal first with the preliminaries and preparations (42.6–43.2), followed by the nyktomachy (43.3–44.8) and finally the result of the battle as seen the following day (45). Thucydides also mentions the confusion resulting from the lack of light, despite the full moon (44.1–2). His description of the night-time attack on Plataea (Thuc. 2.2–5) follows a similar pattern. Thucydides was clearly aware of the pathetic and rhetorical connotations of his use of the topos, since, in describing the Athenians after the naval battle at Syracuse (7.75.1 ff.), he reaches the following conclusion, after referring to their pain, grief and fear (7.75.5): οὐδὲν γὰρ ἄλλο ἢ πόλει ἐκπεπολιορκημένῃ ἐῴκεσαν ὑποφευγούσῃ, καὶ ταύτῃ οὐ σμικρᾷ. Thucydidean descriptions of battles were taken as a model of vivid composition, because they were perceived as being capable of bringing the subject alive before the eyes of the reader: cf. Walker 1993, 355–61.

Historians recorded battles following precise narrative conventions, shaping each event through a combination of type-scenes, which readers would recognise, relate to past history and project into present situations (Kraus 1994a, 270; Kraus 1994b, 15–17; Paul 1982). The classic example of this is Livy's presentation of the captures of Veii (5.1–23) and Rome (5.32–50) using that of Troy as a mirror (cf. analysis in Kraus 1994a, 270–87), while Virgil has been shown to manipulate both the epic tradition and the rhetorical topos of the *urbs capta* in his description of the fall of Troy (Rossi 2004, 23–52).

The unification of the narrative of the sack of Troy and the historico-rhetorical motifs of the *urbs capta* was presided over by the tragic connotations of such violent assaults, as reflected on by rhetors and historians alike. See among the historians Polyb. 2.56 (criticism of Phylarchus' tragic style, focusing on his description of the capture of Mantinea by Antigonus), Livy 21.57.13; among orators and rhetoricians, see D. *Or.* 65.361, Aeschin. *In Ctes.* 157, Quintilian *Inst. Orat.* 8.3.67–9, Hermog. Περὶ μεθόδου δεινότητος 450.1–451.8 Rabe (Περὶ τοῦ τραγικῶς λέγειν), Dio Chr. *Or.* 11.29. The *pathos* was also connected to the echoes of real, brutal sieges and sackings of cities (on which see van Wees 2004, 138–45, 149–50; Ziolkowski 1993) and reinforced visually by the parading in Roman triumphal processions of tableaux depicting episodes from the war: cf. Östenberg 2009, 245–61.

Any narration of the sack of Troy would necessarily include a number of episodes, such as the death of Deiphobus and the liberation of Helen, the savage killings of Priam and Astyanax, the rape of Cassandra and the escape of Aeneas with his family, but a number of anonymous victims are still needed to heighten the πάθος. Homer seldom refers to anonymous individual fighters (e.g. *Il.* 2.701 τὸν δ᾽ ἔκτανε Δάρδανος ἀνήρ, 13.578–9 τις ᾽Αχαιῶν / μαρναμένων μετὰ ποσσὶ κυλινδομένην ἐκόμισσε), but mass movements remain very important an indication of the course of battles (cf. Stoevesandt 2004, 49–63). The πληθύς or common troops (on which see Heiden 2008, 128–34) appear in battles under a welter of names, sometimes merely as 'cannon fodder' to contribute to the big picture of wounding and slaughter (see Strauss Clay 2007, 234–5). The masses are depicted through similes of herds and flocks, and after the battle the bodies of the anonymous dead litter the plain (Griffin 1980, 48). As Griffin (1980, 103–43) demonstrates, the poet of the *Iliad* brings into the 'obituaries' of the warriors the tragedy of all age groups, by showing the suffering and pain of their parents, wives and children, three groups that would otherwise be left out of battle accounts, thus rendering incomplete the overall picture of the war. For a complete analysis of the motifs repeated in these obituaries, see Stoevesandt 2004, 126–59. On the tragic colouring of the narrative through references to children, see Le Meur 2009, 596–606.

Triph. follows the chronological model suggested by the rhetors (506–41 preliminaries, 542–663 nyktomachy, 668–91 aftermath). He

highlights the transition from the preliminaries into the battle with an initial image of blood and destruction (542–6), and after the battle moves towards the aftermath with a narratorial intervention (664–7). The beginning and end of the night receive special attention (498b–505, 668–70), and there are several references to the confusion caused by the lack of light (540–1, 575–95). The nyktomachies of Triph. and Thucydides have in common not only their general layout, but even some stock elements: Thuc. 2.4.4 ~ Triph. 588–9 death by jumping from the walls; Thuc. 2.4.4 ~ Triph. 590–1 some inhabitants of the town flee unseen; Thuc. 2.4.4 ~ Triph. 587–8 a group of citizens die while fighting in isolation; Thuc. 7.44.1 ~ Triph. 574 and 597 disorder. On Triph.'s nyktomachy and its rhetorical models, see also Miguélez-Cavero 2007. On descriptions of battles in late antique epic, see Miguélez-Cavero 2008, 301–9.

Triph. moves from the anonymous mass to individual scenes, first building a general image of carnage through three tableaux of anonymous victims (547–58 women, 573–95 men, 600–6 old men and children) set against a backdrop of forces beyond their control (559–72 theophany I, 596–9 theophany II, 607–12 animal attack). When the battle has reached its climax, with the animals attacking the bodies of those of whom they were previously afraid (607–12), he introduces the fates of illustrious Trojans, both those who suffer horribly (613–50 Deiphobus, Priam, Astyanax, Cassandra) and those who escape destruction by one means or another (651–63 Aeneas, the Antenorids, Laodice). Anonymous and illustrious victims mirror each other: Deiphobus' death parallels those of the anonymous Trojan men, Priam's those of the elderly Trojans, Astyanax's those of the anonymous children, and Cassandra's those of the anonymous women.

QS too is aware of the dramatic potential of anonymous victims, but in his *Ilioupersis* (*Posthom.* 13) he alternates tableaux of the general carnage and individual episodes. Vian (1969, 117) notices that QS builds up the background with general descriptions (100–8 commotion and cries of the women, 124–44 carnage, 165–7 light of the torches) and highlights against this the catalogues of anonymous victims (86–99, 109–23, 145–64). The individual episodes follow (168–429) and, as is usually the case in QS, the structure is then replicated with a second general tableau (430–95) and a second group of individual episodes (496–560a). On the other hand, Virgil avoids a general description of

the sack and limits the corpses in the streets to *A.* 2.364–6: see analysis in Horsfall 2008, pp. 270–1, n. to 318–369.

Triph. aims to magnify the disaster in his description, and this is achieved by placing emphasis on the number of attackers and victims, arrayed in groups for an enhanced effect, the lack of space depicted in the entanglement of the bodies (Triph. 543–4, 546, 594–5), and the images of the war as waves ravaging Troy (559–61, 590–2). This oppressive effect comes close to the crowded landscape of this and other battles as shown in plastic renderings.

A similar impression is given by Pausanias' description of the painting on the wall of the Lesche of Cnidos at Delphi (10.25–7), which depicted "Troy taken and the Greeks sailing away" (10.25.2 τὸ ἐν δεξιᾷ τῆς γραφῆς Ἴλιός τέ ἐστιν ἑαλωκυῖα καὶ ἀπόπλους ὁ Ἑλλήνων). Pausanias describes a sizeable number of densely-populated scenes, naming all the figures that can be identified (see Anderson 1997, 247–55; Stansbury-O'Donnell 1999, 178–90). The chaos of the battle is condensed in the third-century AD Ilioupersis sarcophagus, now in the Palazzo Ducale at Mantua (see Zanker – Erwald 2012, 350–2): from right to left Neoptolemus drags Priam by the hair; several women with young children seek the protection of a temple and make supplications to a soldier; fighting scenes with the Greeks depicted as Roman soldiers and the Trojans as barbarians; a naked Trojan tries to lift the body of another man; a Greek soldier grabs a fallen Trojan man by the hair while his wife intercedes; above the last two scenes, two figures protect young children.

Note also the *horror vacui* of the central scene in the *Tabula Iliaca Capitolina* (Image 6 – analysis in Valenzuela Montenegro 2004a, 26–149; Ead. 2004b, 74 on the *horror vacui*), a first-century BC tablet probably designed as a decorative object for display in a Roman house, and not as a visual aid for the teaching of mythology (cf. Valenzuela Montenegro 2004a, 402–12; Petrain 2012, 599 – more generally on the uses of the *Tabulae Iliacae*, Squire 2011, 67–126). Among the battle scenes depicted in the *Ambrosian Iliad*, see especially XXXIX and XL, showing Troy under attack (reproductions in Ceriani *et al.* 1953).

The resulting effect of Triph.'s description of the nyktomachy is not that of rotating a ceramic piece to read the development of a story through successive scenes, but one of the accumulation of simultaneous scenes to build up a larger tableau that would have a stronger impact on

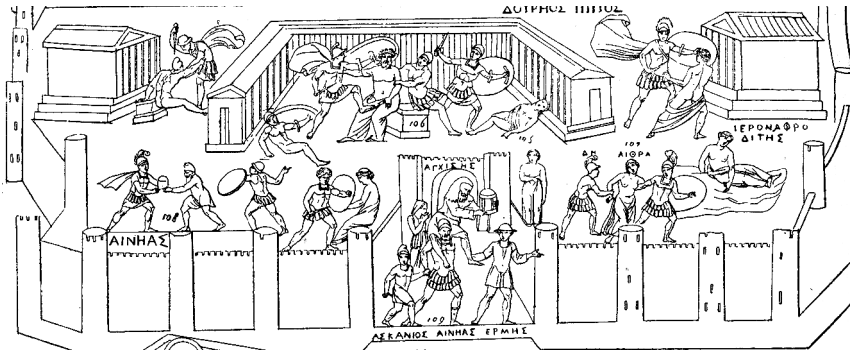

Image 6. Detail of the middle scene of the *Tabula Iliaca Capitolina* (Roma, Musei Capitolini, inv. no. 316). Drawing from S. Reinach (1909), *Répertoire de Reliefs Grecs et Romains. Tome Premier: Les ensembles*, Paris, 286. Troy is represented as a walled city divided into three horizontal registers. In the top register, the precinct of the temple of Athena, Ajax drags Cassandra and the warriors come out of the wooden horse and fight in pairs. At the centre of the middle register is the courtyard of Priam's palace, showing Neoptolemus attacking Priam, who sits at the altar of Zeus, and on the right, by the temple of Aphrodite, Menelaus and Helen. On the lower register, by the city gates, Aeneas is given a box, and then goes through the gates with Ascanius and Anchises, guided by Hermes, while on the right Acamas and Demophon find their grandmother Aethra.

the viewer/reader. This is also the case in Virgil's Aeneas, when he sees "Iliacas ex ordine pugnas / bellaque iam fama totum uulgata per orbem" (*A.* 1.456–7), depicted in the temple of Juno in Carthage, and cries on recognising the figures and scenes (464–93 – cf. Petrain 2006, 263–7, citing previous bibliography), just as Odysseus had cried on hearing his adventures in Troy as told by Demodocus (*Od.* 8.521–34).

Though isolated scenes such as the deaths of Priam and Astyanax and the rape of Cassandra are more frequent in pre-classical and classical ceramics, multi-scene narratives also occur, such as the 7th-c. BC Ilioupersis pithos from Mykonos (Image 1 – Anderson 1997, 183–191), depicting the wooden horse on the neck and, on the upper body of the vessel in horizontal rows, the enslavement of Trojan women and the murder of their children. From classical times there is a particularly well-preserved piece by the Kleophrades Painter, the red-figure Ilioupersis hydria now in the Museo Archeologico Nazionale of Naples (81669, H 2422, on which see Mangold 2000, 120–32; Anderson 1997, 208–45). This tradition continued into Hellenistic times with the Homeric bowls (see Image 7 and Thessaloniki Museum Inv. 5440 and Florina Museum Inv. 164, on which

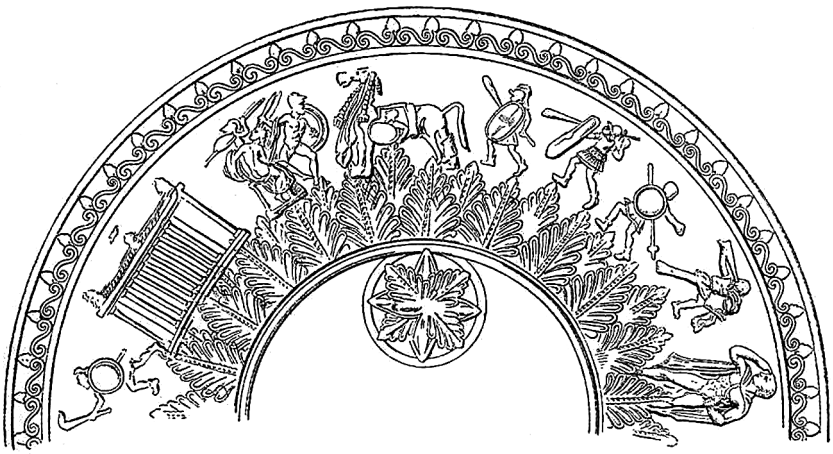

Image 7. Third c. BC moulded vase, depicting, from left to right, a warrior carrying a torch (Sinon or an anonymous Achaean warrior trying to orientate himself in the darkness?); a temple (Athena's), on top of which flies a bird (an omen); in front of the temple, on the right, there is a heavily-armed figure of Athena, embraced by a woman covered only with a cloak (Cassandra), while a naked warrior (Ajax) initiates a movement towards the right; the statue of the horse, adorned with infulae and a long cloth hanging down from its head; a warrior emerging from the horse through a rectangular opening in the abdomen; three armed men coming from the right, representing the Greek warriors who have arrived from Tenedos through the open gates of the town; another man blowing a trumpet; a naked man covered with a cloak (probably not belonging to this scene). Image from C. Robert (1890), "Homerische Becher", in *Fünfzigstes Programm zum Winckelmannsfeste der Archæologischen Gesellschaft zu Berlin*, Berlin, p. 69, with description and analysis on pp. 69–73.

see Sinn 1979, 98–100). In the classical period, the North metopes of the Parthenon in Athens displayed a narrative of the fall of Troy made up of several correlative scenes (cf. Anderson 1997, 246–7).

Together with the large numbers of attackers and victims, the grisly details scattered throughout the narrative also contribute to the magnification of the catastrophe. Triph. refers several times to the abundance of blood (542a, 559–61, 594b, 609), and several scenes include bloody elements: 556–8 miscarriages; 575b–6 impalement; 582–6 several men break their necks and vomit; 603–6 breastfeeding of dead children; 607–12 birds and dogs attack the bodies of the dead; 626–8 Deiphobus wounded in the lower belly, with his innards spilling out. Triph., however, appears restrained when his treatment is compared with QS 13.86–99, 127–30, 143–4, 146–56.

Grisly, brutal slayings occur in the *Iliad*, but as Fenik shows, they were generally associated with second-rank warriors. These killings were also attributed to Achilles and Agamemnon with some consistency as an expression of their violent characters, but both were punished for this in due course (cf. Fenik 1968, 15, 57, 82–5, 181–2, 192). The savagery exhibited by the Achaeans in the *Ilioupersis*, with the slaughter of children, unnecessary violence inflicted on the bodies of the defeated and vicious assaults on suppliants in temples, was soon deployed as a model for atrocious behaviour worthy of severe punishment. The Ilioupersis covering the North metopes of the Parthenon, in particular, was probably meant to be understood as a tragic example of the wicked use of violence as a means to justice, a cautionary image of the devastating consequences of *hybris* in war (cf. Ferrari 2000, esp. 128, 139). As Zeitlin (2009, esp. 684) puts it, Troy became a locus for the self-examination of the consequences of an inordinate drive for victory.

Triph.'s thinking is along the same lines. He describes with care the Achaeans' lack of control during the battle and adds grisly details, not only because he wants to be faithful to the story and to nod to Homeric descriptions of battles, but as a means of anticipating the development of the plot beyond the episodes narrated in his poem. His readers should therefore anticipate the punishment of the Achaeans when they finish reading his poem, with the departure of the Greek ships from Troy.

Triph.'s nyktomachy is a self-contained episode, but it is also designed to match Cassandra's predictions (376–416), proving that she was right:

- 377b–8 ὑστατίην ἐπὶ νύκτα / σπεύδετε καὶ πολέμοιο πέρας καὶ νήγρετον ὕπνον ~ 498b–505 (the Trojans fall asleep after the banquet), 540–1 θρῷσκον ἐπὶ Τρώεσσι καὶ εἰσέτι κοῖτον ἔχοντας / χαλκείου θανάτοιο κακοῖς ἐκάλυψαν ὀνείροις;
- 379–90 unnatural births of Paris and the Achaean warriors ~ 556–8 miscarriage;
- 379 Δυσμενέων ὅδε κῶμος ἀρήιος ~ 559a Παννυχίη δ' ἐχόρευσεν ἄνα πτόλιν, 561 αἵματος ἀκρήτοιο μέθης ἐπίκωμος Ἐνυώ;
- 386–90 Athena as midwife to the wooden horse in labour ~ 566–7a Athena shouts from the Acropolis after the warriors have left the horse, just as midwives do when a child is born;
- 391–2 καὶ δὴ πορφύρεον μὲν ἑλίσσεται ἔνδοθι πύργων / αἵματος ἐκχυμένου πέλαγος καὶ κῦμα φόνοιο ~ 559b–60 οἷα θύελλα, / κύμασι παφλάζουσα πολυφλοίσβου πολέμοιο, 591 πατρίδος ὀλλυμένης ἔλαθον χειμῶνα φυγόντες;
- 415–16 ἐς χορὸν ὀτρύνεσθε / στησάμενοι κρητῆρας ἐλευθερίης ἐρατεινῆς ~ 548–9 αἱ μὲν ἐλευθερίης ἐρατῆς ἔτι διψώουσαι / αὐχένας εἰς θάνατον δειλοῖς ὑπέβαλλον ἀκοίταις.

At some points, the description of the battle is also opposed to Priam's vision of the end of the war (425–32), proving that he was wrong:

- 430a οὐ μήτηρ ἐπὶ παιδὶ κινύρεται ~ 550–1a αἱ δὲ φίλοις ἐπὶ παισί, χελιδόνες οἷά τε κοῦφαι, / μητέρες ὠδύροντο;
- 430b–1 οὐδ᾽ ἐπὶ δῆριν / ἄνδρα γυνὴ πέμψασα νέκυν δακρύσατο χήρη ~ 551b–5 a young bride provokes her groom's killer so that he kills her too; 594b–5 (the city as a widow) πόλις δ᾽ οὐ χάνδανε λύθρον / ἀνδρῶν χηρεύουσα, περιπλήθουσα δὲ νεκρῶν.

506–39 Preliminaries (A)

506–7 The kerostasia, or weighing of the fates before a battle, signals that there will be no further digressions and that the capture of Troy will take place without interruption (cf. Morrison 1997, 291, 293). The main referents are *Il.* 8.69–74, where Zeus weighs up the fates of Trojans and Achaeans (see esp. 69 καὶ τότε δὴ χρύσεια πατὴρ ἐτίταινε τάλαντα, 72a ἕλκε δὲ μέσσα λαβών) and 22.209–13, where Zeus does the same with the fates of Achilles and Hector (esp. 212a ἕλκε δὲ μέσσα λαβών; 213b Apollo abandons Hector ~ Triph. 508–9 Apollo abandons Troy). On the kerostasia in the Iliad, see Morrison 1997; on the iconographic motif, see Soleti 2006 and the bibliography cited there.

506 ἤδη δὲ Τρώεσσιν ὀλέθριον εἷλκε τάλαντον: Triph. is probably rephrasing *Il.* 8.70 κῆρε τανηλεγέος θανάτοιο. Compare also *Il.* 19.294 ὀλέθριον ἦμαρ (= QS 1.290), 409 ἀλλά τοι ἐγγύθεν ἦμαρ ὀλέθριον (~ 5.415, 9.158); QS 2.540–1 Ἔρις δ᾽ ἴθυνε τάλαντα / ὑσμίνης ἀλεγεινά.

507a Ζεὺς ταμίης πολέμοιο: after a passing reference to the *kerostasia* in *Il.* 19.223b–4 ἐπὴν κλίνῃσι τάλαντα / Ζεύς, ὅς τ᾽ ἀνθρώπων ταμίης πολέμοιο τέτυκται.

507b μόγις δ᾽ ἐλέλιξεν Ἀχαιούς "and reluctantly/finally he rallied the Achaeans": for ἐλέλιξεν, see *Il.* 17.278–9 μάλα γάρ σφεας ὦκ᾽ ἐλέλιξεν / Αἴας, and LSJ *s.v.* ἐλελίζω II ("in *Il.* of an army, *cause* it *to turn* and face the enemy, *rally* it"). The verb suits the Achaean army particularly well, since Zeus orders them to *return* from Tenedos and *attack* Troy. As for Zeus's signal, Triph. seems to be drawing on the context of the *kerostasia* in *Il.* 8, where Zeus weighs up the fates of Achaeans and Trojans (69–74), and then communicates the result to the Achaeans with thunderclaps: 75–6 αὐτὸς δ᾽ ἐξ Ἴδης μεγάλ᾽ ἔκτυπε, δαιόμενον

δὲ / ἧκε σέλας μετὰ λαὸν ᾽Αχαιῶν. In Triph.'s text, μόγις could mean 'reluctantly' (Zeus was very fond of the Trojans and their allies and found it difficult to authorise the capture of Troy, though the city was already doomed: cf. *Il.* 16.433–49, 22.168–81), or 'finally, at last' (referring to what Triph. had called Τέρμα πολυκμήτοιο μεταχρόνιον πολέμοιο, 1; cf. Peek *Lex. s.v.* μόγις: | καὶ μ. = 'und schließlich, und endlich'). A similar ambivalence is found in *Od.* 3.119 μόγις δ᾽ ἐτέλεσσε Κρονίων.

508–9 Apollo abandons Troy after the *kerostasia*, just as he abandons Hector when his fate sinks in the scales (*Il.* 22.213b λίπεν δέ ἑ Φοῖβος ᾽Απόλλων), while Athena steps in to help Achilles (*Il.* 22.214ff. ~ Triph. 559–72). For the motif of the gods abandoning a city when it is about to be taken, see A. *Th.* 216–22, 304–20; E. *Tr.* 25–7 (Poseidon leaves Troy), 1060–80; Verg. *A.* 2.351–2 "excessere omnes adytis arisque relictis / di, quibus imperium hoc steterat" (with comment in Austin 1964, pp. 153–4, n. to 351; Horsfall 2008, p. 291, n. to 2.351). In historiographical texts: Hdt. 8.41.3, Plu. *Ant.* 75.4–5, D.S. 17.41.7–8; Livy 5.21.5. On this motif, see Bowie 1993, 142–50.

508 χάζετο δ᾽ ᾽Ιλιόθεν Λυκίης ἐπὶ πίονα νηόν: compare *Il.* 2.549 ἐν πίονι νηῷ, 16.437 = 514 Λυκίης ἐν πίονι δήμῳ, 673 = 683 ἐν Λυκίης εὐρείης πίονι δήμῳ; *Od.* 12.346 πίονα νηόν. The *Iliad* connects Apollo with Lycia: 4.101 = 119 ᾽Απόλλωνι Λυκηγενέϊ, interpreted in antiquity as 'born in Lycia' (*Schol. in Il.* 4.101; Hesych. Λ 1376 Λυκηγενέι); 5.104–5 εἰ ἐτεόν με / ὦρσεν ἄναξ Διὸς υἱὸς ἀπορνύμενον Λυκίηθεν; 16.514–15 (Glaucus to Apollo) κλῦθι, ἄναξ, ὅς που Λυκίης ἐν πίονι δήμῳ / εἷς ἢ ἐνὶ Τροίῃ. See also Men. Rh. 439.13–17, 25–9. A Lycian contingent led by Sarpedon and Glaucus took part in the war on the side of the Trojans (*Il.* 2.876–7).

509 ἀχνύμενος μεγάλοις ἐπὶ τείχεσι Φοῖβος ᾽Απόλλων: on Apollo's attachment to the wall of Troy see *Il.* 21.515–17 (Zeus expresses a similar concern in *Il.* 20.30). On the participation of Apollo in the building of the wall, see notes to 40–56 and 396b–7. **Φοῖβος ᾽Απόλλων|** as in *Il.* 1.43 etc.

510–21 Sinon and Helen light two torches to call the Achaean fleet back to Troy from Tenedos. Sinon's signal was already mentioned in the Cyc-

lic poems, though the location is different: Bernabé *PEG Ilii Excidium* Arg., lines 10–11 καὶ Σίνων τοὺς πυρσοὺς ἀνίσχει τοῖς ᾽Αχαιοῖς, πρότερον εἰσεληλυθὼς προσποίητος.

The *Aeneid* has two accounts of the episode: Aeneas tells how the fleet leaves Tenedos after lighting a beacon to tell Sinon to open up the horse (*A.* 2.254–9, with the comment in Austin 1964, 120–1; Horsfall 2008, 227–8), and later Deiphobus tells how Helen used the torch of a Bacchic procession in the citadel as a signal for the Achaeans (6.517–19, esp. 518b–19 "flammam media ipsa tenebat / ingentem et summa Danaos ex arce uocabat"). In QS's *Posthomerica*, Sinon makes signals with a torch to the army waiting on Tenedos and then calls the heroes of the horse to emerge and attack the sleeping Trojans (12.42–5, 13.23–36). See also Lyc. *Alex.* 340–7, where Antenor opens up the horse and Sinon signals to the Trojans.

The closest version to Triph.'s is Apollodorus' summary (*Epit.* 5.19): when the night falls and the Trojans are asleep, the Greek fleet approaches from Tenedos and Sinon guides them by kindling a fire on the grave of Achilles (Σίνων αὐτοῖς ἀπὸ τοῦ ᾽Αχιλλέως τάφου πυρσὸν ἧπτεν; see also Apollod. *Epit.* 5.15 καταλιπόντες Σίνωνα, ὃς ἔμελλεν αὐτοῖς πυρσὸν ἀνάπτειν, τῆς νυκτὸς ἀνάγονται καὶ περὶ Τένεδον ναυλοχοῦσιν). However, Apollodorus then records the episode of Helen tempting the Achaean chieftains (5.19), and the latter come out of the horse when they believe that the Trojans are asleep, and open the gates for the rest of the army to enter (5.20).

Triph. does not explain why there are two torches. In fact, Odysseus had made it clear that the signal for the return was to be 'an evening fire' (145 σημήνῃ παλίνορσον ἐπὶ πλόον ἑσπέριον πῦρ), not two, and the Greeks seem to respond only to Helen's torch (522 Οἱ δὲ σέλας πυρσοῖο μετήορον ἀθρήσαντες, with note *ad loc.*). Helen's torch is a direct consequence of Athena's orders (495–6), but Sinon's role is not anticipated. The reasoning behind this double signal may be that Odysseus could not possibly foresee Aphrodite's tempting of Helen and Athena's subsequent intervention. Sinon's fire proved that the plan would have worked out well even without Helen's help, which was not requested by the Achaeans in Triph.'s version of the myth.

510b ᾽Αχιλλῆος παρὰ τύμβον: compare QS 4.590 ᾽Αχιλλῆος ποτὶ τύμβῳ, 14.257, 268, 304.

511 ἀγγελίην ἀνέφαινε Σίνων εὐφεγγέι δαλῷ seems to have inspired Musae. 308 Μοιράων ἀνέφαινε καὶ οὐκέτι δαλὸν Ἐρώτων (see Kost 1971, note *ad loc.*). Compare **εὐφεγγέι δαλῷ** with *AP* 7.407.5 (Dioscorides) εὐφεγγέα πεύκην. The epithet is usually used of the moon or the stars (B. 9.29 εὐφεγγὴς σελάνα; AR 3.1195 Ἑλίκης εὐφεγγέος ἀστέρες Ἄρκτου; Nonn. *D.* 10.191–2), thus suggesting that for the Achaeans the torch shines in the middle of the night like a distant star, and completing the comparison of Helen with the moon.

512–21 Helen carrying a torch is compared with the full moon. Feminine beauty was often compared with that of the moon (*h. Ven.* 89; Ach.Tat. 1.4.3; QS 1.37–40; Nonn. *D.* 7.236–47, 16.47–8, 38.122–4; Musae. 57), but this passage should be related principally to the tradition of the moon illuminating Troy on the night it was taken: Bernabé *PEG Iliades Parvae*, fr. 9 νὺξ μὲν ἔην μεσάτη, λαμπρὴ δ᾽ ἐπέτελλε σελήνη; Verg. *A.* 2.255 "tacitae per amica silentia lunae" (and again 340 "oblati per lunam"; the moon seems to have set in 360 "nox atra caua circumuolat umbra", 397 "caecam … noctem"). Triph. does not mention the moon again, and during the nyktomachy the Trojans are victims of confusion caused by the darkness (576, 577, 580–1, 592), as if only the sober Achaeans could take advantage of the light, while the Trojans suffered the consequences of the wine that they had drunk (582–6).

Helen appears to the Achaeans as the full moon (518–19), because the darkness of the new moon (516–17) could have been interpreted as a bad omen: compare QS 12.514–16 (bad presages, ignored by the Trojans) ἄστρα δὲ πάντ᾽ ἐφύπερθε θεοδμήτοιο πόληος / ἀχλὺς ἀμφεκάλυψε καὶ ἀννεφέλου περ ἐόντος / οὐρανοῦ αἰγλήεντος. See also the comparison of Penthesilea's shield with the moon in QS 1.147–50: ἂν δ᾽ ἔθετ᾽ ἀσπίδα δῖαν ἀλίγκιον ἄντυγι μήνης, / ἥ θ᾽ ὑπὲρ Ὠκεανοῖο βαθυρρόου ἀντέλλῃσιν / ἥμισυ πεπληθυῖα περιγνάμπτοισι κεραίῃς· / τοίη μαρμαίρεσκεν <ἀ>άσπετον.

The simile is supported by the Homeric comparison of Helen with Artemis: *Od.* 4.121–2 ἐκ δ᾽ Ἑλένη θαλάμοιο θυώδεος ὑψορόφοιο / ἤλυθεν Ἀρτέμιδι χρυσηλακάτῳ ἐϊκυῖα. Both Nausicaa (*Od.* 6.102–9) and Penelope (*Od.* 17.37, 19.54) are compared with Artemis too, but the *Schol. in Od.* 4.122.c2 (Pontani 2010) adds some extra weight to Triph.'s comparison: χρυσηλακάτῳ] τῇ λαμπρὰς καὶ χρυσαυγεῖς ἠλακάτας ἤτοι ἀκτῖνας ἐχούσῃ. Triph. also draws on two etymological

equivalences: Ἑλένη = Σελήνη, as in Theocr. *Id.* 18.26–8, and Ἑλένη = ἑλένη/ἑλάνη 'torch' (Hesych. ἑλένη· λαμπάς, δέτη). According to Skutsch 1987, 191–3, ἑλένη was assimilated to ἑλάνη due to Helen's association with lights other than the sun, esp. torches and the corposant (ἑλένη). See also Clader 1976, 63–80. On several occasions, Nonnus plays an etymological game with Σελήνη and σέλας or πεύκη: *D.* 2.188–90, 4.136–7, 22.156–8, 38.138–9, 38.150–1, 44.191–4.

To enhance the credibility of the simile, Triph. delves into astronomical notions about the moon, referring in particular to the question of the nature of the moon, which Triph. suggests is made of fire (514 πλήθουσα πυρὸς γλαυκοῖο σελήνη), and the origin of its light (a reflection of that of the sun, according to Triph. 519 ἀντιτύπους ἀκτῖνας ἐφέλκεται ἠελίοιο). The two problems were actually related: the moon was either said to be opaque and reflect external light, or considered to have its own light and be made of fire (see Préaux 1973, 157). Anaxagoras, Empedocles and Plutarch believed that the moon did not have its own light (Préaux 1973, 157–8, 173–4, 176, 190–1), while the opposite view was held by Anaximander, Heraclitus and most of the Stoics (Préaux 1973, 157–8, 186, 190–1). Parmenides, Aristotle and Zeno defended the idea that the moon was made of fire, whereas Empedocles and most of the Stoics thought it was a combination of air and fire, and only Anaximenes, Diogenes of Apollonia and Plutarch believed that it was solid (see Préaux 1973, 172–3, 185–94). Like Triph., Nonnus reproduces the theory of the reflection of moonlight: *D.* 4.282–4, 40.376–8, 41.91–4.

Triph. also alludes to more general ideas. In 518 (κυκλώσασα περίτροχον ὄμματος αὐγήν), he compares the moon with an eye, a popular image: e.g. Pi. *O.* 3.19–20 διχόμηνις ὅλον … / ἑσπέρας ὀφθαλμὸν ἀντέφλεξε Μήνα; A. *Th.* 390 νυκτὸς ὀφθαλμός; hence Nonn. *D.* 5.70 γλαυκώπιδι Μήνῃ. This association was related both to the Greek belief that the eyes are a source of light (*Il.* 1.104 ὄσσε δέ οἱ πυρὶ λαμπετόωντι ἐΐκτην, 19.365–6 τὼ δέ οἱ ὄσσε / λαμπέσθην ὡς εἴ τε πυρὸς σέλας; Pl. *Tim.* 45 b-c; Nonn. *D.* 4.380 μαρμαρέην … ὄμματος αἴγλην), and to the image of the moon as a face (Triph. 515 προσώπῳ, but also Aratus *Phaen.* 738 μέτωπα; QS 10.337 χαροπὴ δμηθεῖσα Σελήνη; Nonn. *D.* 4.281 ὅλῳ στίλβουσα προσώπῳ).

Regarding the phases of the moon, Triph. is not particularly imaginative. When he speaks of its first appearance, the reference to horns

is an obvious one: Triph. 516 γλωχῖνας … κεραίης can be compared with Arat. *Phaen.* 733–4 ὀλίγη μὲν ὅταν κεράεσσι σελήνη / ἑσπερόθεν φαίνηται; Opp. *C.* 4.122–3 τόσσον δ᾽ αὖθ᾽ ἑκάτερθεν ἐπιπρονένευκε κεραίη, / ὅσσον ἐπημύει κέρας ἀρτιτόκοιο σελήνης; Nonn. *D.* 5.72 ταυροφυὴς κερόεσσα βοῶν ἐλάτειρα Σελήνη, 38.123, 40.378. The full moon calls for praise of its brilliance and roundness (*Il.* 23.454–5 ἐν δὲ μετώπῳ / λευκὸν σῆμα τέτυκτο περίτροχον ἠύτε μήνη; Arat. *Phaen.* 737 διχόμηνα δὲ παντὶ προσώπῳ; Nonn. *D.* 4.281 ὅλῳ στίλβουσα προσώπῳ, 38.122–4), hence Triph. 518 ἀλλ᾽ ὅτε κυκλώσασα περίτροχον ὄμματος αὐγήν and the terms referring to brilliance and gleam: 513 χρυσέην, 514 γλαυκοῖο, 515 αἰγλήεντα κατεχρύσωσε, 520 μαρμαίρουσα.

512–13 παννυχίη δ᾽ ἑτάροισιν ὑπὲρ θαλάμοιο καὶ αὐτὴ / εὐειδὴς Ἑλένη χρυσέην ἐπεδείκνυτο πεύκην: Helen has followed Athena's orders, going to her chambers (495 θαλάμων ὑπερώιον εἰσαναβᾶσα; 498a καὶ τὴν μὲν θάλαμον δὲ πόδες φέρον) and lighting a torch as a signal for the Greeks (496 σὺν πυρὶ μειλιχίῳ ποτιδέχνυσο νῆας Ἀχαιῶν).

512 παννυχίη is left unexplained. Why would Helen be holding a torch all night long, after the Greek army has entered Troy? Is she signalling her position to Menelaus? If we take into account the comparison of her with the moon, does this mean that the moon shone all night long? **ἑτάροισιν**: despite her failed attack (454–98) and her sex, Helen becomes a full member of the Achaean army, with a task to fulfil in coordination with all the Greeks (522–7). Her full incorporation into the Achaean army contrasts with the expulsion of Cassandra from her community (439–43) after she has tried, as a good citizen, to offer a solution to the conflict (410–16). **ὑπὲρ θαλάμοιο**: compare Verg. *A.* 6.518b–19 "flammam media ipsa tenebat / ingentem et summa Danaos ex arce uocabat".

513 εὐειδὴς Ἑλένη: not particularly common as an epithet for women, though see Thgn. 1.1002 εὐειδὴς … Λάκαινα κόρη. More generally, see also *Il.* 3.48 γυναῖκ᾽ εὐειδέ᾽; Bernabé *PEG Aethiopis* fr. 1.2b εὐειδής Πενθεσ̣ό̣λ<ε>ια; Hes. *Th.* 250, 354; E. *Alc.* 174; Theocr. *Id.* 17.46–7 Βερενίκα / εὐειδής; AR 4.538 εὐειδὴς Μελίτη, 895–6 εὐειδὴς … Τερψιχόρη. On Helen's beauty, see Austin 1994, 24–8. **χρυσέην**

ἐπεδείκνυτο πεύκην: compare Call. *Ap.* 99 ἦμος ἑκηβολίην χρυσέων ἐπεδείκνυσο τόξων.

514 ὡς δ᾽ ὁπότε πλήθουσα πυρὸς γλαυκοῖο σελήνη: compare *Il.* 18.484 σελήνην τε πλήθουσαν; Nonn. *D.* 38.122–4 ἔην δέ τις, ὡς ὅτε δισσῆς / μαρμαρυγὴν τροχόεσσαν ἀναπλήσασα κεραίης / ἑσπερίη σελάγιζε δι᾽ ὕδατος ὄμπνια Μήνη, 40.378 ταυρείην ἐπίκυρτον ἀολλίζουσα κεραίην. γλαυκός often refers to the colour of the moon (see Pötscher 1998, 108–10; Maxwell-Stuart 1981, 73, 105) and can be understood here as a transferred epithet.

515 οὐρανὸν αἰγλήεντα κατεχρύσωσε προσώπῳ: κατεχρύσωσε makes sense because the moonlight is reflected from the sun (519), and because Helen's torch has been called golden (513 χρυσέην … πεύκην). Compare Nonn. *P.* 1.11–12 ἐν ἀχλυόεντι δὲ κόσμῳ / οὐρανίαις σελάγιζε βολαῖς γαιήοχος αἴγλη (for the Callimachean parallels, see De Stefani 2002, 115–17). **οὐρανὸν αἰγλήεντα**: similar clusters in AR 4.301 οὐρανίου πυρὸς αἴγλη, 4.615 (same *sedes*); QS 5.131, 9.9, 12.104 αἰγλήεντα … οὐρανόν, 12.516 οὐρανοῦ αἰγλήεντος.

516 οὐχ ὅτε που γλωχῖνας ἀποξύνουσα κεραίης: compare Nonn. *D.* 14.136 ὀξυτενεῖς γλωχῖνες ἐμηκύνοντο κεραίης, 38.122–3 ὡς ὅτε δισσῆς / μαρμαρυγὴν τροχόεσσαν ἀναπλήσασα κεραίης. **γλωχῖνας … κεραίης** recurs in Nonn. *D.*: 1.193, 2.676, 11.221, 11.269, 32.141, 34.152, 36.192, 44.288 etc. **ἀποξύνουσα** means 'bringing to a point, making taper': cf. LSJ *s.v.* ἀποξύνω I; Campbell *Lex. s.v.*; Chuvin 1985, 128 (pointing out that Gerlaud's traslation of the word as 'dardant' is confusing). For **κεραίη** and κέρας used of the horns of the moon, see Arat. *Phaen.* 733, 778, 785, 790. Comparisons of the horns of the moon and a heifer are found in Mosch. *Eur.* 87–8 (with Campbell 1991, 87–8) and Nonn. *D.* 1.213–15.

517 πρωτοφαὴς ὑπὸ μηνὸς ἀνίσταται ἄσκιον ἀχλύν: ἄσκιον ἀχλύν can hardly be the direct object, as ἀνίσταται is usually intransitive (Gerlaud *Triph.* "à sa première apparition dans le mois, elle se lève dans une obscure clarté"). A better option is to take ὑπό as governing ἀχλύν, and understand ἄσκιον ἀχλύν as a reference to the new moon, characterised by a complete lack of light, as opposed to the full moon, so bright that it causes shadows to appear (Chuvin 1985, 128 "se lève, à sa première apparition, à la période du mois où l'obscurité est sans

ombres"; Campbell *Lex. s.vv.* ἀνίστημι, ἀχλύς). For ἀχλύς and the moon, see AR 4.1479–80 ὥς τίς τε νέῳ ἐνὶ ἤματι μήνην / ἢ ἴδεν ἢ ἐδόκησεν ἐπαχλύουσαν ἰδέσθαι; Nonn. *D.* 1.174–5 ἀχλύι φέγγος ἔην κεκερασμένον, ἠματίη δὲ / Ἠελίῳ σελάγιζε συναντέλλουσα Σελήνη. **πρωτοφαής** is unusual: cf. Suda *s.v.* Βοῦς ἕβδομος· πέμματα κέρατα ἔχοντα κατὰ μίμησιν τῆς πρωτοφαοῦς σελήνης. Similar formations can be found in other late antique authors: for ἀμφιφαής, see Nonn. *D.* 22.348–9 κεραῆς ἴνδαλμα Σελήνης, / ἀμφιφαὴς ὅτε βαιὸν ἀποστίλβουσα κεραίης; ἀρτιφαής occurs in Nonn. *D.* 5.164–5 Μήνη / ἀρτιφαής; ἀρτιφανής in Nonn. *D.* 12.5 ἀρτιφανὴς … Σελήνη; for πρωτοφανής, see Nonn. *D.* 41.66. Cf. Monaco 2007, 155.

518–19 ἀλλ᾽ ὅτε κυκλώσασα περίτροχον ὄμματος αὐγὴν / ἀντιτύπους ἀκτῖνας ἐφέλκεται ἠελίοιο: for the phrasing, compare *Il.* 23.454–5 ἐν δὲ μετώπῳ / λευκὸν σῆμα τέτυκτο περίτροχον ἠύτε μήνη; AR 3.1229–30 οἷόν τε περίτροχον ἔπλετο φέγγος / ἠελίου; Nonn. *D.* 4.282–4, 4.380 μαρμαρέην ἤχλυσε μεμυκότος ὄμματος αἴγλην, 18.71–2 αἴγλη, / σύγχροος ἠελίοιο καὶ ἀντιτύποιο σελήνης, 40.376–8 ὅτε δροσόεσσα Σελήνη / σῆς λοχίης ἀκτῖνος ἀμέλγεται ἀντίτυπον πῦρ, / ταυρείην ἐπίκυρτον ἀολλίζουσα κεραίην; Nonn. *P.* 9.64 νιψάμενος σκιεροῖο περίτροχον ὄμματος ἰλύν; *AP* 9.139.4 (Claudian) ἠλεμάτοις ἀκτῖσι χαράσσεται ὄμματος αὐγή.

520–1 τοίη μαρμαίρουσα Θεραπναίη τότε νύμφη / οἴνοπα πῆχυν ἀνεῖλκε, φίλου πυρὸς ἡνιοχῆα: Helen appears motionless, like the statue of a goddess. Compare QS 10.456–7 (Selene guides the steps of Oenone) οἱ ὕπερθε / λαμπρὸν παμφανόωσα μακρὰς ἀνέφαινε κελεύθους.

520 τοίη μαρμαίρουσα Θεραπναίη τότε νύμφη: compare Theocr. *Id.* 18.28 ὧδε καὶ ἁ χρυσέα Ἑλένα διεφαίνετ᾽ ἐν ἁμῖν. Helen glitters like a star: A. *Th.* 400–1 νύκτα ταύτην ἣν λέγεις ἐπ᾽ ἀσπίδος / ἄστροισι μαρμαίρουσαν οὐρανοῦ κυρεῖν; DP 328–9 φύεται ἀστέριος καλὸς λίθος, οἷά τις ἀστὴρ / μαρμαίρων, λυχνίς τε πυρὸς φλογὶ πάμπαν ὁμοίη; Nonn. *D.* 47.253 Κύνα μαρμαίροντα. This is much more than the usual shining eyes: *Il.* 3.397 ὄμματα μαρμαίροντα; Mosch. *Eur.* 85; Opp. *C.* 4.157; QS 1.59, 7.464, 12.537.

Θεραπναίη … νύμφη: Therapnae was a Laconian cult site where Helen (Hdt. 6.61; Isoc. *Helen* 63) and the Dioscuri (Pi. *N.* 10.55–9, *I.*

1.31) were worshipped. According to Pausanias (3.19.9), the tombs of Helen and Menelaus could be visited there. Triph. probably found the inspiration for the epithet in AR 2.163 (of Polydeuces) κλεῖον δὲ Θεραπναῖον Διὸς υἷα. See also Ovid *Ars Amat.* 3.49 "Therapneae … maritae", *Her.* 16.198 "rure Therapnaeo nata puella"; Nonn. *D.* 4.134 Θεραπναίης ὑακίνθου, 11.259, 12.224. Aphrodite had called Helen νύμφα φίλη (Triph. 457) and told her that she was giving her to Menelaus (462 ἤδη γάρ σε δίδωμι πολυτλήτῳ Μενελάῳ), as a bride is handed to the groom. Helen seems to be completing the ritual here by summoning the Achaeans with a torch, as a bride summons the groom with the νυμφιδίη πεύκη 'nuptial torch'. The parallel is not perfect, since Menelaus is hidden in the horse, and not embarked in the Greek fleet. See Campbell *Lex. s.v.* νύμφη.

521 οἴνοπα πῆχυν ἀνεῖλκε: as in *Il.* 11.375 = 13.583 ὁ δὲ τόξου πῆχυν ἄνελκε. See also Nonn. *D.* 1.255 = 451 πήχεϊ μαρμαίροντι. οἶνοψ is in Homer the colour of the sea (*Il.* 2.613 οἴνοπα πόντον; also *Il.* 13.703 = *Od.* 13.32 βόε οἴνοπε), but Triph. refers here to the basic sense ('winey, ruddy', as in Nonn. *D.* 12.95 οἴνοπα βότρυν ἔχουσα; *AP* 2.278–9, Christodorus, on Sarpedon's cheeks): the reddish glow of the torch reddens Helen's arm. **φίλου πυρὸς ἡνιοχῆα**: Helen has obeyed Athena's orders (see 495–6, esp. σὺν πυρὶ μειλιχίῳ). The phrase found favour in later poets: Nonn. *D.* 23.238 Ἠελίου θρασὺν υἷα, πυρώδεος ἡνιοχῆος (and 242 πυρὸς ἡγεμονεύει), 27.196 (Helios) αἰθερίοιο πυραυγέος Ἡνιοχῆος, 33.293 (Myrtilos) πυρίπνοον Ἡνιοχῆα; Joh. Gaz. 1.276, 2.254.

522–32 The Achaean army leaves Tenedos. The return of the fleet from Tenedos and the Achaean chieftains abandoning the wooden horse are always mentioned together, though the details vary. To start with, in the *Od.* Demodocus sings briefly of how the Achaeans leave their hideout and kill the sleeping Trojans, and Odysseus attacks Deiphobus' palace (*Od.* 8.514–20). See also the basic outline in Bernabé *PEG Ilii Excidium* Arg., lines 11–13 οἱ δὲ ἐκ Τενέδου προσπλεύσαντες καὶ οἱ ἐκ τοῦ δουρείου ἵππου ἐπιπίπτουσι τοῖς πολεμίοις καὶ πολλοὺς ἀνελόντες τὴν πόλιν κατὰ κράτος λαμβάνουσι.

In the *Aeneid*, when the Trojans are asleep and the city silent (2.250–3), the Greek fleet leaves Tenedos and signals its advance to

Image 8. Vergilius Vaticanus (Vatican, Biblioteca Apostolica, Cod. Vat. lat. 3225), fol. 19r, ca. AD 400. Drawing from C. Ruspi (1835), *Virgilii picturae antiquae ex codicibus Vaticanis*, Roma.

Sinon with a fire in the flagship (254–7a – see comment in Austin 1964, 120–1, n. to 256); Sinon, on seeing this, opens the horse up for the heroes to emerge (257b–64, including a brief catalogue of the heroes leaving the horse). They storm the city, kill the sentinels and open the gates for the rest of the army to come in (265–7). In a second account, Panthus adds that the Greeks are setting fire to Troy (Verg. *A.* 2.328–35 "arduus armatos mediis in moenibus astans / fundit equus uictorque Sinon incendia miscet"). The moment when the Achaeans leave the horse and attack the unsuspecting Trojans is depicted in the Vatican Virgil (Cod. Vat. lat. 3225, fol. 19r – Image 8).

The iconographic formula of the diners bleeding to death on the couches with the attackers pointing their spears at them also appears in the upper scene of the Homeric shield from Dura Europos (Image 9). On the image of the Greeks emerging from the horse in Hellenistic and Roman gems, see Morricone 1984; Toso 2007, 252.

Apollodorus (*Epit.* 5.20–1) records a similar version: when the Trojans are asleep, the men in the horse come out into the open, letting themselves down with a rope; they open the gates for the rest of the army, which has just arrived from Tenedos, and together they sack the

Image 9. Detail of the oval wooden plank shield, known as the 'Homeric shield' from Dura-Europos, now in Yale University Art Gallery (Acc. no. 1935.551). Watercolour copy by H. Gute (Acc. no. 1936.127.26). © Yale University Art Gallery, Dura Europos Collection.

city. In the *Posthomerica*, when the Trojans fall into a drunken sleep, Sinon calls the Greek fleet to return (13.21–9) and while it is doing so he tells the heroes hidden in the horse to come down, which they do in a cautious and orderly fashion (30–60). Some of them start the attack (60–1a) and the others seem to go to the walls to welcome the fleet (61b–3a), although a *lacuna* makes the text here difficult to understand. In the meantime, the fleet, helped by Thetis, moors at Troy and attacks the city (63ff.).

Triph.'s account is close to QS's, but not dependent on it. As Vian (2001, 295) remarked, Triph.'s account shows several echoes of AR. In particular Triph. 522 ~ AR 4.482; Triph 515 οὐρανὸν αἰγλήεντα = AR 4.615; Triph. 523 νῆας ἀνεκρούσαντο ~ AR 4.1650 νῆα … ἀνακρούεσκον; Triph. 525 πολέμοιο τέλος διζήμενος εὑρεῖν ~ AR 4.1282 ἢ πολέμοιο / ἢ λοιμοῖο τέλος ποτιδέγμενοι.

522–4a οἱ δὲ σέλας πυρσοῖο μετήορον ἀθρήσαντες / νῆας ἀνεκρούσαντο παλιγνάμπτοισι κελεύθοις / Ἀργεῖοι σπεύδοντες: com-

pare AR 4.482–5 (Medea signalling to the Greeks) οἱ δ᾽ ἄμυδις πυρσοῖο σέλας προπάροιθεν ἰδόντες, / τό σφιν παρθενικὴ τέκμαρ μετιοῦσιν ἄειρεν, / Κολχίδος ἀγχόθι νηὸς ἑὴν παρὰ νῆα βάλοντο / ἥρωες; QS 13.23–4 (Sinon signalling the return of the fleet) δὴ τότ᾽ ἄρ᾽ αἰθαλόεντα Σίνων ἀνὰ πυρσὸν ἄειρε / δεικνὺς ᾽Αργείοισι πυρὸς σέλας, 28–9 οἳ δ᾽ ἐσιδόντες / ἐκ Τενέδου νήεσσιν ἐπὶ πλόον ἐντύνοντο.

522 οἱ δὲ σέλας πυρσοῖο μετήορον ἀθρήσαντες: although it is not specified, the light seems to be Helen's (512–21) and not Sinon's (510–11), since the Achaeans in Tenedos see it up in the air, which would make more sense if it was coming from Helen's chambers at the top of the citadel rather than from Achilles' tomb, where Sinon was located. The association of Helen with the moon becomes complete now as she is seen μετήορον. Helen is also closing the circle of disaster for Troy: it was she who attracted the Achaeans to Troy to begin the war, and it is she who is now calling them back to finish it. **σέλας πυρσοῖο**: compare *Il.* 19.366 πυρὸς σέλας; AR 3.231, 3.1292, 3.1377, 4.68, 4.482; QS 13.24 δεικνὺς ᾽Αργείοισι πυρὸς σέλας, 13.166 πολλοὶ ἔχον χείρεσσι πυρὸς σέλας.

523 νῆας ἀνεκρούσαντο παλιγνάμπτοισι κελεύθοις: similarly QS 13.64–5 Καρπαλίμως δ᾽ ἐλθόντες ἐπ᾽ ᾐόνας ῾Ελλησπόντου, / ἔνθ᾽ αὖτις στήσαντο νέας. **νῆας ἀνεκρούσαντο**: see AR 4.1650 νῆα … ἀνακρούεσκον ἐρετμοῖς. **παλιγνάμπτοισι κελεύθοις**: probably the source of inspiration for Paul. Sil. *Ekphr. Soph.* 464 ἐϋγνάμπτοισι κελεύθοις, 910 γναμπτῆισι κελεύθοις. The adjective only occurs here and in Opp. *H.* 1.54–5 παλιγνάμπτοιό τε χαλκοῦ / χείλεσι, 527 παλιγνάμπτοισί τ᾽ ὀδοῦσιν; Opp. *C.* 2.305 (horns) παλιγνάμπτοισιν ἀκωκαῖς.

524b–5 ἅπας δ᾽ ἠπείγετο ναύτης / δηναιοῦ πολέμοιο τέλος διζήμενος εὑρεῖν: the Greek warriors are presented actively seeking the end of the war, as Odysseus told them to do (146–8), while the Trojans have fallen into a drunken slumber, as a result of their celebrations of the end of the war, which they have not worked to bring forward. Compare for the phrasing E. *Hipp.* 1185 τοὐνθένδε μέντοι πᾶς ἀνὴρ ἠπείγετο; AR 4.226 νηῦς ἤδη κρατεροῖσιν ἐπειγομένη ἐρέτῃσιν (after which Nonn. *D.* 3.31 νηὸς ἐπειγομένης διὰ πόντου), 4.1008 ἐπειγομένους πολέμοιο (after which Nonn. *D.* 14.212–13 αἳ τότε πᾶσαι /

εἰς μόθον ἠπείγοντο συνήλυδες). **δηναιοῦ πολέμοιο τέλος** refers back to the beginning of the poem (1 Τέρμα πολυκμήτοιο μεταχρόνιον πολέμοιο). πολέμου τέλος occurs in *Il.* 20.101 (in reverse order in *Il.* 3.291, 16.630); AR 4.1281–2; QS 12.438, 14.117; Nonn. *D.* 25.363 (in reverse order in 36.415). **διζήμενος εὑρεῖν**: compare *Il.* 4.88 Πάνδαρον ἀντίθεον διζημένη, εἴ που ἐφεύροι (~ 5.168, 13.760; after which Nonn. *D.* 8.113); QS 12.22–3 δίζοντο δὲ μῆχος / εὑρέμεναι.

526–7a οἱ δ᾽ αὐτοὶ πλωτῆρες ἔσαν κρατεροί τε μαχηταὶ / ἀλλήλοις τ᾽ ἐκέλευον ἐλαυνέμεν: the complete disorder on the Trojan side is contrasted with the efficient organisation and expertise of the Greeks. Compare QS's version: 13.65b–6 σὺν δ᾽ ἄρμενα πάντα / εἷλον ἐπισταμένως ὅσα νήεσιν αἰὲν ἕπονται. The protagonists are now referred to as stout fighters (κρατεροί … μαχηταί), and not the exhausted men described at the beginning of the poem (6–13).

526 πλωτῆρες is un-Homeric, but common in Nonn. *D.* (see Peek *Lex. s.v.*). See also Kost 1971, note to line 2. **527a ἀλλήλοις τ᾽ ἐκέλευον ἐλαυνέμεν**: compare *Il.* 2.151–2 τοὶ δ᾽ ἀλλήλοισι κέλευον / ἅπτεσθαι νηῶν ἠδ᾽ ἑλκέμεν εἰς ἅλα δῖαν.

527b–9 αἱ δ᾽ ἄρα νῆες / ὠκυπόροι κραιπνῶν ἀνέμων ταχυπειθέι ῥιπῇ / Ἴλιον εἰσανάγοντο Ποσειδάωνος ἀρωγῇ: in the *Posthomerica* it is Thetis who helps with the navigation (13.63–4 Θέτις δ᾽ ἴθυνε κέλευθα / οὖρον ἐπιπροϊεῖσα). Both Triph. and QS are keen to explain how it was possible for the Greeks to arrive in Troy in such a quick, timely manner, and to emphasise that the gods are fully committed to the Achaeans, and have abandoned the Trojans (Triph. 506–9). Poseidon had already cooperated with the Achaeans by demolishing part of the city walls to allow the horse to enter (Triph. 338–9), and he will reappear in the theophany (Triph. 568–9). Compare also E. *Hec.* 921–2 ναύταν οὐκέθ᾽ ὁρῶν ὅμι-/λον Τροίαν / Ἰλιάδ᾽ ἐμβεβῶτα.

528 ὠκύπορος is a frequent epithet of Homeric ships (e.g. *Il.* 1.421; Opp. *H.* 1.202; QS 4.14), which is why Gerlaud, Livrea and Campbell (*Lex. s.v.* ὠκύπορος) accept *b*'s reading νῆες / ὠκυπόροι, whereas Dubielzig (*Triph.*, 229–30) prefers F's νῆες / ὠκυτέραι κραιπνῶν ἀνέμων. **ἀνέμων … ῥιπῇ**: compare *Il.* 15.170–1 πτῆται … ὑπὸ ῥιπῆς αἰθρηγενέος Βορέαο (~ 19.358); AR 2.1229 ὑπαὶ ῥιπῆς ἀνέμοιο, 3.970 ὑπὸ ῥιπῆς ἀνέμοιο; QS 8.184 οἱ δ᾽ ἀνέμων ῥιπῇσιν ἐοικότες αἰψηρῇσι.

ταχυπειθής means 'quick to obey' here, and not 'soon persuaded, credulous' as in Theocr. *Id.* 2.138 ἐγὼ δέ νιν ἁ ταχυπειθής, 7.38 (see LSJ, *s.v.*). Nonn. *D.* 22.79 καὶ πίθεν ἀντιβίους ταχυπειθέας is less clear: see comment in Hopkinson – Vian 1994, p. 233, note to line 79.

529 Ἴλιον εἰσανάγοντο ~ 138 Ἴλιον εἰσανάγωσιν. **Ποσειδάωνος ἀρωγῇ** = AR 1.951. See also *Il.* 4.408 Ζηνὸς ἀρωγῇ.

530–2 ἔνθα δὲ δὴ πεζοὶ πρότεροι κίον, οἱ δ᾽ ἐπέλειφθεν / ἵππῆες κατόπισθεν, ὅπως μὴ Τρώιον ἵπποι / λαὸν ἀναστήσωσιν ἀειρομένῳ χρεμετισμῷ: yet another proof of the preparation and expertise of the Achaeans and of Triph.'s interest in making the plot credible by preserving the factor of surprise. Triph.'s strategy can be compared with *Il.* 4.293–309 (Nestor seems to place the chariots in front, the infantry behind and the cowards in the middle – on Nestor's tactical advice, see Kirk 1985, 153–4), and is based on the Homeric division of the army into πεζοί θ᾽ ἱππῆες τέ (*Il.* 2.810, 8.59; *Od.* 24.70; also AR 3.1274; Triph. 239). Since the aim of the Achaeans is not only the recovery of Helen, but the complete annihilation of Troy and its inhabitants, their army needs to be able to creep into the town unseen to prevent the Trojans from escaping concealed by the darkness. The Trojans can also be expected to improvise a passionate defence of their lives and families, and so the Greeks needed to make the most of the effect of surprise in order to reduce the number of casualties. The narration of this moment in QS 13.67–77 is marred by *lacunae* and not altogether clear (cf. Vian 1969, p. 131, n. 1).

530a ἔνθα δὲ δὴ πεζοὶ πρότεροι κίον: compare *Il.* 17.612–13 πεζὸς γὰρ τὰ πρῶτα … ἤλυθε.

530b–1a οἱ δ᾽ ἐπέλειφθεν / ἵππῆες κατόπισθεν: compare QS 1.351 τοὺς δ᾽ ἄρα Τρώιοι ἵπποι ἐπεσσύμενοι μετόπισθεν.

531b–2 ὅπως μὴ Τρώιον ἵπποι / λαὸν ἀναστήσωσιν ἀειρομένῳ χρεμετισμῷ: horses should also be prevented from whinnying during a hunt (Opp. *C.* 1.158–65). **Τρώιον … λαόν**: compare *Il.* 16.368–9 λαὸν / Τρωϊκόν, 21.295–6 λαὸν … / Τρωικόν. **ἀειρομένῳ χρεμετισμῷ**: compare *Il.* 12.51 μάλα δὲ χρεμέτιζον ἐπ᾽ ἄκρῳ (comment in Delebecque 1951, 51), [Hes.] *Sc.* 347–8 τῶν δ᾽ ἵπποι μὲν ἔπειθ᾽ ὑπεναντίοι ἀλλήλοισιν / ὀξεῖα χρέμισαν.

533–41 The chieftains leave the horse, and the horse disappears from the narrative here and in other narratives of the episode. The only known exception to this is the *Aeneid*, where, under the charge of a group of Trojans led by Aeneas, some Greeks retreat to the shores and climb back into the horse (Verg. *A.* 2.400–1 "pars ingentem formidine turpi / scandunt rursus equum et nota conduntur in aluo").

533–4a οἱ δ᾽ ἕτεροι γλαφυρῆς ἀπὸ γαστέρος ἔρρεον ἵππου, / τευχησταὶ βασιλῆες: compare *Od.* 8.514–15 ἤειδεν δ᾽ ὡς ἄστυ διέπραθον υἷες ᾽Αχαιῶν / ἱππόθεν ἐκχύμενοι, κοῖλον λόχον ἐκπρολιπόντες; E. *Tr.* 560–1 λόχου δ᾽ ἐξέβαιν᾽ Ἄρης, / κόρας ἔργα Παλλάδος. **γλαφυρῆς ἀπὸ γαστέρος … ἵππου**: Triph. is rephrasing *Od.* 8.515 κοῖλον λόχον. The resulting expression is similar to those used elsewhere in reference to the horse (Triph. 65 γλαφυροῖσιν ἐπὶ στήθεσσιν, 198 γλαφυροῖο διὰ ξυλόχοιο). It evokes the Homeric images of hollow ships (*Il.* 2.454 ἐν νηυσὶ γλαφυρῇσι etc.) and caves (*Il.* 18.402 ἐν σπῆι γλαφυρῷ). **τευχησταὶ βασιλῆες**: compare A. *Pers.* 902 ἀνδρῶν τευχηστήρων, *Th.* 644 ἄνδρα τευχηστήν; Call. *Jov.* 77 τευχηστὰς δ᾽ Ἄρηος; AR 3.415 ἀνδράσι τευχηστῇσι.

534b–8 Simile of the bees, inspired by that of the Myrmidons leaving the ships like wasps (*Il.* 16.259–65) and, more distantly, by that of the Achaeans going to the place of assembly like unending throngs of bees emerging from a rock and flying in clusters towards spring flowers (*Il.* 2.87–90; compare QS 8.41–4, where the Achaeans assemble around Neoptolemus like wasps). QS compares Odysseus when he is about to leave the horse with a wolf about to attack a flock of sheep (13.44–8), and the rest of the men are like wasps (13.55–7).

With this simile, Triph. completes the initial comparison of the heroes hidden in the horse with beasts waiting in a lair for the winter to finish (189–99 – see note *ad loc.* on the similes used by Homer to enhance the description of the Achaeans). The wait of the animals inside the cave and of the heroes inside the horse required endurance (197 τλήμονες ἐκδέχαται πότε παύεται ὄβριμον ὕδωρ, 199 ἀτλήτους ἀνέχοντο πόνους ἀκμῆτες ᾽Αχαιοί), but this second simile refines the description of the suffering Achaeans: they are not only to be praised for their Stoic attitude, but also for their silent work. The bees, though only seen when they come out of their hive, are hard workers that secretly produce honey. Similarly, the Achaeans are only seen when they come out

of the horse, but they have been waiting to attack inside the hollow statue.

534b–6 ἀπὸ δρυὸς οἷα μέλισσαι, / αἵ τ᾽ ἐπεὶ οὖν ἔκαμον πολυχανδέος ἔνδοθι σίμβλου / κηρὸν ὑφαίνουσαι μελιηδέα φωλάδι τέχνῃ: compare Opp. *C.* 4.271–2 καὶ ποτὶ σίμβλους / ἐκ δρυὸς ἀείρας ἀγανὰς ἐνέκλεισε μελίσσας.

535 αἵ τ᾽ ἐπεὶ οὖν ἔκαμον: after *Il.* 4.244 αἵ τ᾽ ἐπεὶ οὖν ἔκαμον (same *sedes*). **πολυχανδέος ἔνδοθι σίμβλου**: see note to 412–13a.

536 κηρὸν ὑφαίνουσαι μελιηδέα: after *Od.* 12.48 κηρὸν δεψήσας μελιηδέα (same *sedes*). **φωλάδι τέχνῃ**: compare Theocr. *Id.* 1.115 ὦ ἀν᾽ ὤρεα φωλάδες ἄρκτοι; Nonn. *D.* 31.98–9 ἡ δὲ σιωπῇ / γείτονα Καυκασίης ὑπὸ φωλάδα πέζαν ἐρίπνης, 32.136 ἄρκτος … ἐκεύθετο φωλάδι πέτρῃ, *P.* 12.173 ἀβόητος ἐκεύθετο φωλάδι σιγῇ; *AP* 9.233.2 (Erycius, on the bite of a hidden spider) φωλὰς ἀραχναίη, 251.2–4 (Evenus).

537–8 ἐς νομὸν εὐγυάλοιο κατ᾽ ἄγκεος ἀμφιχυθεῖσαι / νύγμασι πημαίνουσι παραστείχοντας ὁδίτας: compare *Il.* 16.263–4 τοὺς δ᾽ εἴ περ παρά τίς τε κιὼν ἄνθρωπος ὁδίτης / κινήσῃ ἀέκων; QS 8.44 τεύχουσι<ν> μέγα πῆμα παρεσσυμένοισι βροτοῖσιν. The comparison fits in particularly well with the image of the Achaeans dispersing through Troy and killing the sleeping Trojans scattered all over the city, using their pointed swords as lethal stings.

537 ἐς νομὸν … ἀμφιχυθεῖσαι: compare Nic. *Ther.* 400–1 ὅτ᾽ ἐς νομὸν ἠὲ καὶ ὕλην / … ἀΐξαντες; QS 1.441, 7.135, 8.385; Nonn. *D.* 3.271 ἐς νομὸν ἤιε κούρη. **εὐγυάλοιο κατ᾽ ἄγκεος**: F has καὶ ἄγγεος, corrected to κατ᾽ ἄγκεος by Schaefer (1808), while Weinberger (*Triph.*) suggested κατ᾽ ἄγγεος (compare *AP* 9.226.5 [Zonas]; Nonn. *D.* 13.68). Both Livrea (*Triph.*; Livrea 1979a, 71) and Gerlaud accept Schaefer's correction, because the confusion of γγ and γκ is common (Keydell 1959, I 23*) and the epithet εὐγύαλος is particularly appropriate to an ἄγκος (Hes. *Op.* 389 ἄγκεα βησσήεντα, after which QS 5.372 = 9.162 ἄγκεα βήσσης; LSJ *s.v.* γύαλον 4). Campbell (*Lex.*, p. 214, APP 537) favours ἄγγος, on the grounds that the reference to the hive as a receptacle would sharpen the parallel with the Greeks' emergence from the belly of the horse (also endowed with cavities). Dubielzig (*Triph.*, 232–4)

prefers the supplement of Köchly (1853), combining F's reading (corrected to κατ᾽ ἄγγεος) and *b*'s (καὶ ἄνθεσιν): ἐς νομὸν εὐγυάλοιο κατ᾽ ἄγγεος <ἐκποτέονται / εἴαρος ἀρχομένοιο> καὶ ἄνθεσιν ἀμφιχυθεῖσαι. **εὐγύαλος** is built on the Homeric *hapax* κραταιγύαλος (*Il.* 19.361 θώρηκές τε κραταιγύαλοι). See Monaco 2007, 156.

538b παραστείχοντας ὁδίτας: compare Nonn. *D.* 47.231 παρερχομένοισι δ᾽ ὁδίταις|, *P.* 9.50; Paul. Sil. *Ekphr. Amb.* 296 παρερχομένοισιν ὁδίταις|.

539–41 On coming out of the horse, the Achaeans immediately spring into action, thus fulfilling Cassandra's predictions: 384b–5 ἐπὶ χθόνα δ᾽ ἄρτι θορόντες / ἐς μόθον ὁρμήσουσι τελειότατοι πολεμισταί. Other accounts of the episode provide similar descriptions: see esp. *Od.* 8.516 ἄλλον δ᾽ ἄλλῃ ἄειδε πόλιν κεραϊζέμεν αἰπήν; E. *Hec.* 927–32, *Tr.* 556–7 πτόλιν βοὰ κατέσχε Περ-/ γάμων ἕδρας; DH *Ant. Rom.* 1.46.1 τὸ μὲν ἄλλο πλῆθος ἐν τῇ πόλει Τρωικόν τε καὶ συμμαχικὸν ἐν ταῖς εὐναῖς ἔτι καταλαμβανόμενον ἐφονεύετο.

Epeius had provided the horse with a door and a ladder (90–4), and Odysseus is said to have closed the door (200–1) after all the heroes had climbed into the horse. Triph. mentions only the opening of the bolts that keep the door shut (539 κληῖδας ἀνέντες), but QS elaborates on the scene of the Achaeans cautiously emerging from the horse (13.30–60). In Lyc. (*Alex.* 340–3) it is Antenor, and in the *Aeneid* Sinon, who opens the doors of the horse to allow the men hidden inside to come out: Verg. *A.* 2.258–60 "inclusos utero Danaos et pinea furtim / laxat claustra Sinon. illos patefactus ad auras / reddit equos, laetique cauo se robore promunt".

539 κληῖδας ἀνέντες: compare *Od.* 21.47–8 ἐν δὲ κληῖδ᾽ ἧκε, θυρέων δ᾽ ἀνέκοπτεν ὀχῆας / ἄντα τιτυσκομένη. Collut. drew on this cluster on several occasions: 49 = 254 κληῖδας ἀνεῖσα|, 393 πυλέων κληῖδας ἀνεῖσα|.

540b–1 εἰσέτι κοῖτον ἔχοντας / χαλκείου θανάτοιο κακοῖς ἐκάλυψαν ὀνείροις: this confirms the success of the strategy of the horse (530–2). The Trojans have not been woken up by any noise and the Greeks are making the most of the effect of surprise. This also signals the fulfilment of Cassandra's prophecies: 377b–8 ὑστατίην ἐπὶ νύκτα / σπεύδετε καὶ πολέμοιο πέρας καὶ νήγρετον ὕπνον.

The anonymous Trojans are also killed while still in their beds in QS 13.72–7 (the Achaeans attack the Trojans as the wolves attack the flock of a sleeping shepherd), 124–5 (οἳ δ᾽ ἐκέχυντο / πότμον ὁμῶς ὁρόωντες ὀνείρασιν) and Apollod. *Epit.* 5.21 (χωρήσαντες δὲ μεθ᾽ ὅπλων εἰς τὴν πόλιν, εἰς τὰς οἰκίας ἐπερχόμενοι κοιμωμένους ἀνῄρουν). In the *Aeneid*, Aeneas says that the attack occurred in the first hours of sleep (2.268–9 "Tempus erat, quo prima quies mortalibus aegris / incipit et dono diuum gratissima serpit"), and he is asleep when Hector appears in his dreams (270–97). Among the eminent Trojans, Virgil and QS mention that Deiphobus is also killed in his bed (Verg. *A.* 6.520–2; QS 13.355–6), but Triph. does not refer to this detail in his account of Deiphobus' death (626–9). The motif of the defenders of a town killed in bed is common in treatments of the theme of the city captured in a surprise attack: see e.g. Livy 5.45.3, 30.5.10, 31.23.4.

540b εἰσέτι κοῖτον ἔχοντας: compare Theocr. *Id.* 24.51 ἦ ῥα γυνὰ Φοίνισσα μύλαις ἔπι κοῖτον ἔχουσα. **541 χαλκείου θανάτοιο κακοῖς ἐκάλυψαν ὀνείροις**: compare esp. Hes. *Fr.* 278.13 M-W καὶ τότε δὴ Κάλχανθ᾽ ὕπνος θανάτοιο κάλυψεν, *Op.* 166 ἔνθ᾽ ἦ τοι τοὺς μὲν θανάτου τέλος ἀμφεκάλυψεν; also *Il.* 10.496 (Rhesus is killed because Athena keeps him asleep) κακὸν γὰρ ὄναρ κεφαλῆφιν ἐπέστη, 11.241–2 ὣς ὁ μὲν αὖθι πεσὼν κοιμήσατο χάλκεον ὕπνον / οἰκτρός; *Od.* 13.79–80 καὶ τῷ νήδυμος ὕπνος ἐπὶ βλεφάροισιν ἔπιπτε, / νήγρετος, ἥδιστος θανάτῳ ἄγχιστα ἐοικώς.

542–663 Battle (B)

542–6 The initial image of blood and destruction is a consequence of the Achaeans' careful preparation and the intensity of their first charge. There will be no relaxation in the paroxysm of battle before the catalogue of illustrious Trojans who escape the doom of their community, more than a hundred lines later (651–63). Compare other descriptions of the first moments of the attack: Verg. *A.* 2.298–313; QS 13.78–87.

542a νήχετο δ᾽ αἵματι γαῖα: compare QS 13.86 Πάντῃ δ᾽ αἷμα κελαινὸν ὑπέρρεε, δεύετο δὲ χθών. For the phrasing, see *Il.* 4.451 ῥέε δ᾽ αἵματι γαῖα (~ 8.65, 13.655, 15.715, 20.494), 10.484 ἐρυθαίνετο δ᾽ αἵματι γαῖα (~ 11.394); QS 3.22–3 πάντῃ δὲ φερέσβιος αἵματι γαῖα / δεύετο, 6.354–5.

542b–3a βοὴ δ᾽ ἄλληκτος ὀρώρει / Τρώων φευγόντων: compare *Il.* 11.500 βοὴ δ᾽ ἄσβεστος ὀρώρει (= 13.169, 13.540, 16.267); QS 2.606 γόος δ᾽ ἄλληκτος ὀρώρει, 4.561 βοὴ δ᾽ ἀνὰ λαὸν ὀρώρει / ἄσπετος, 13.292 ἐν δ᾽ ἄρα τοῖσι βοὴ πολύδακρυς ὀρώρει. **Τρώων φευγόντων** = *Il.* 11.159.

543b–4a ἐστείνετο δ᾽ Ἴλιος ἱρὴ / πιπτόντων νεκύων: compare *Il.* 10.199–200 νεκύων … πιπτόντων, 21.220 στεινόμενος νεκύεσσι; Archilochus, *P.Oxy.* 69.4708 fr. 1.8b–9 ἐυρρείτηϲ δὲ Κ[άϊκοϲ / π]ι̣π̣τ̣ό̣ν̣των νεκύων στείνε̣τ̣ο̣ (I thank B. Henry for this reference); AR 2.127–8 τὰ δὲ πάντοθεν αὔτως / στείνονται πίπτοντα περὶ σφίσιν; QS 2.358–9 ἀμφὶ δὲ νεκρῶν / στείνετο Τρώιον οὖδας, 2.487 στείνετο δὲ κταμένων πεδίον μέγα ἱππόβοτόν τε, 3.23 νεκύεσσι περιστείνοντο ῥέεθρα, 6.642–3, 7.100–1 νεκρῶν δ᾽ ἐστείνετο γαῖα / κτεινομένων ἑκάτερθεν, 9.161 πέδον δ᾽ ἐστείνετο νεκρῶν; Nonn. *D.* 16.367–8, 36.201 πληθύι τοσσατίῃ νεκύων ἐστείνετο Λήθη. The abundance of corpses is a physical proof of the Achaean success, hence the repetition of the motif: 546, 594–5. **Ἴλιος ἱρή** ends 21 lines in the *Il.* (4.46 etc.); also QS 6.551.

544b ἀνδροφόνῳ κολοσυρτῷ: compare *Il.* 12.147 ἀνδρῶν … κολοσυρτόν, 13.472 κολοσυρτὸν … πολὺν ἀνδρῶν.

545 <ἔνθορον> ἔνθα καὶ ἔνθα μεμηνότες οἷα λέοντες is missing in F. For the first word, *b* has εὔζονοι, which Köchly (1853) corrected to εὔζωνοι: in the *Il.* (e.g. 1.429), this is an epithet for women, but in prose historians it is used of warriors (e.g. Hdt. 1.72 εὐζώνῳ ἀνδρί, Thuc. 2.97.1 ἀνὴρ εὔζωνος, Xen. *Anab.* 5.4.23 τῶν πολεμίων οἱ εὔζωνοι; more examples in Dubielzig *Triph.*, 235). Köchly (1853) then assumed a *lacuna* to provide a main verb (e.g. <Τρωσὶν θάνατον καὶ κῆρα φέροντες / ἔνθορον>). Other editors have tried to replace εὔζονοι with a verb of movement compatible with ἔνθα καὶ ἔνθα and with palaeographic support (see Livrea 1979a, 72–3 for all the variants): ἕζεον (Frischlin 1588, Mair 1928), ἔκζεον (Schaefer 1808), ἔσσυντ᾽ (Merrick 1741). The best suggestion is Wakefield's ἔνθορον (cf. Lehrs 1840): cf. *Il.* 5.161 ὡς δὲ λέων ἐν βουσὶ θορών and the human version, e.g. *Il.* 8.252 μᾶλλον ἐπὶ Τρώεσσι θόρον; AR 4.486–7 λέοντες / … ἐνὶ σταθμοῖσι θορόντες; QS 1.277–8 μάλα δ᾽ ὦκα λέων ὣς πώεσι μήλων, / ἔνθορε, 315–16 ἀλλ᾽ ὥς τίς τε βόεσσι κατ᾽ οὔρεα μακρὰ λέαινα /

ἐνθόρῃ ἀΐξασα. ἔνθορον also has the advantage of relating to the previous movements of the men hidden in the horse: 198 γλαφυροῖο διὰ ξυλόχοιο θορόντες, 384–5 ἐπὶ χθόνα δ᾽ ἄρτι θορόντες / ἐς μόθον. Wakefield's proposal was accepted by Keydell (1931, 129) and printed by Gerlaud *Triph*.

Livrea (*Triph.*) printed †εὔζονοι†, but said that he would accept ἔνθορον (Livrea 1979a, 73). Dubielzig, in contrast, goes back to the restoration of Köchly (1853) and prints another possibility: οἱ δ᾽ ἀνδροφόνῳ κολοσυρτῷ / εὔζωνοι <Πριάμου τάχα κύδιμον ἄστυ κιχόντες / ἔνθορον> ἔνθα καὶ ἔνθα μεμηνότες οἷα λέοντες (transl.: "<Inzwischen hatten auch> die anderen Achäer <die stolze Stadt des Priamos erreicht>: Gut gerüstet, <sprangen sie> in dem männermordenden Getümmel wie tobende Löwen hin und her").

Triph.'s comparison with lions preludes the brutal behaviour of the Achaeans during the battle (esp. 600–6, 634–43, 647–50), also characterised as μανία (545 μεμηνότες), the consequence of the influence of the divinities of sordid war on the fighters (559–65 Enyo, Eris, Ares; 596–9 Kudoimos). On lion similes in the Homeric poems, see Moulton 1977, 60–1, 139–41. In the *Posthomerica*, the Achaeans attacking Troy are compared with wolves attacking a flock at night (13.67–77).

546 σώμασιν ἀρτιφάτοισι γεφυρώσαντες ἀγυιάς: compare *Il.* 15.357–8 γεφύρωσεν δὲ κέλευθον / μακρὴν ἠδ᾽ εὐρεῖαν; Nonn. *D.* 39.298–9 πληθύι νεκρῶν / γείτονος ἄβροχα νῶτα γεφυρωθέντα θαλάσσης, 40.95 μηκεδανοῖς μελέεσσι γεφυρώσας ὅλον ὕδωρ. A form of μερισμός operates here: the city of Troy is viewed not as a unit, but as a conglomerate of streets, thus maximising the extent of the carnage, since each and every street is imagined to be covered with corpses. Similar turns of phrase can be found in *Il.* 5.642 Ἰλίου ἐξαλάπαξε πόλιν, χήρωσε δ᾽ ἀγυιάς; Nonn. *D.* 5.282–3, 13.568, 18.101, 25.273–5, 25.297–9, 35.8–10 ἐρευθιόωντι δὲ λύθρῳ / ἄστεος εὐλάιγγες ἐφοινίχθησαν ἀγυιαὶ / κτεινομένων καναχηδὸν ἐν ἄστεϊ θηλυτεράων (~ 36.437–9), 45.326–7, 47.5–6. Aeneas tells of the Achaeans fighting at the wide gates (Verg. *A.* 2.330 "portis alii bipatentibus adsunt") and in the narrow streets (2.332–3 "obsedere alii telis angusta uiarum / oppositis"), to show that they are everywhere. He also sees heaps of corpses all over the town (2.364–6 "plurima perque uias sternuntur inertia passim / corpora perque domos et religiosa deorum / limina").

σώμασιν ἀρτιφάτοισι: Opp. *H.* 4.256 ἀρτιφάτου παιδὸς νέκυν; Nonn. *D.* 5.554–5 ἀρτιφάτου δὲ / πένθεος ἱσταμένοιο φερώνυμος ἔπλετο Πενθεύς; Hesych. *s.v.* ἀρτίφατος· νεωστὶ πεφονευμένος. ἀρτίφατος is un-Homeric, but is formed after the Homeric ἀρηίφατος (*Il.* 19.31, 24.415; *Od.* 11.41) and πρόσφατος (*Il.* 24.757), to which was later added δουρίφατος (Opp. *H.* 4.556).

547–58 Anonymous victims I: women. The women who took part in the celebrations of the end of the war (340–9) are now presented as the first group of victims in the final battle. This makes sense because captive women were the dominant symbol of conquest in the Greek mentality (see Carney 1996, 563–4; Schaps 1982, 202–6; also the *ekphrasis* of a Trojan woman attributed to Libanius, in 8.504.13–507.18 Förster), and the image of women choosing to die, rather than become captives, is yet another indication that the end of Troy is approaching. Note that Triph. presents the Trojan women in relation to their husbands (548–9, 551b–5) and children (500–1a, 556–8), and not as independent beings.

The fate of Andromache if Troy were to be captured had haunted Hector (*Il.* 6.450–65), and the motif of the 'widowed wife and orphaned child' (Griffin 1980, 120–2) hovers over all men fighting for the survival of their city (Ducrey 1999, 113–16). In the case of the Trojan war, the future of the female Trojan survivors will be even worse because the Achaean chiefs have encouraged mass rape as a means of revenge for Paris' abduction of Helen (cf. *Il.* 2.354–6). In Euripides' Trojan plays, the surviving captives wish they had died, and choose to die when offered the possibility: *Andr.* 113; *Hec.* 168–9, 232, 342–78, 356–8, 367–8; *Tr.* 607, 630–1, 635–83, 1282–3. Another catalogue of the sufferings of women after defeat can be read in *P.Flor.* 2.114, on which see Miguélez-Cavero 2008, 66–7, 308. On women in ancient sieges, see Kern 1999, 154–62, 284–5.

Like Triph., QS dedicates part of the description of the battle to anonymous women (13.103–23), with three main themes: they have no masculine μένος, and when they discover that they have been invaded they simply scream (103–10); when the enemy soldiers enter into their homes they are not properly dressed (110–16); some of them simply express their grief at what is to come, while others try to protect their families, but all wake their children with their cries (116–23). One cannot help thinking of Polybius' criticism of Phylarchus for his tragic

treatment of the capture of Mantinea: 2.56.7 εἰσάγει περιπλοκὰς γυναικῶν καὶ κόμας διερριμμένας καὶ μαστῶν ἐκβολάς, πρὸς δὲ τούτοις δάκρυα καὶ θρήνους ἀνδρῶν καὶ γυναικῶν ἀναμὶξ τέκνοις καὶ γονεῦσι γηραιοῖς ἀπαγομένων. In the *Posthomerica*, the Greeks seem to spare the women (Vian 1969, p. 117, note 2), but some are killed by their husbands (13.443–4) or burnt alive when fire reaches their homes (13.453–6).

In the *Aeneid*, anonymous women are altogether absent from the fight, but in 2.486–90 Neoptolemus breaks into the room where Priam is surrounded by the women of his household, dramatically described crying, lamenting and clutching the columns: see analysis in Horsfall 2008, 374–7. The fate of several women of the royal family is also narrated: Cassandra is dragged away from the temple of Minerva (2.403–6); Hecuba and her daughters seek refuge at the altars (2.501, 515–25); Helen seeks refuge by the altars (2.567–74); and Creusa gets lost when she is trying to escape with her family (2.736–46).

The suicide of the defeated, who sometimes killed their women and children first, is a common historiographical motif: Thuc. 3.81.3; Plb. 16.30–4 (Abydos); Livy 21.14 (Saguntum), 31.16–18 (Abydos); D.S. 15.17, 17.28.3, 18.22.4. It was called the 'Phocian desperation' (Plb. 16.32.1–2; Paus. 10.1.6–10; Plu. *Mor.* 244A-D): the men of Phocis, faced with an apparently hopeless battle with the Thessalians, built a large pyre to cremate their families and possessions, already gathered together, in case of defeat. See Schaps 1982, 200–2.

Female suicide can also be considered as retaliation against the conquerors, who are deprived by it of one of the main symbols of victory and precious booty, female captives (Carney 1996, 563): Cleopatra killed herself to avoid being paraded on the triumph of Octavius (Plu. *Ant.* 84–6); Darius' mother, Sisygambis, killed herself when Alexander died, because she knew that she would be treated like a captive (D.S. 17.118.3). Anonymous women also committed suicide: D.S. 20.21, 25.15,17; Livy 21.14.3–4; Paus. 7.16.6; *AP* 7.492 (Anyte?), 493 (Antipater of Sidon). However, women do not seem to have been expected to carry out the act of suicide themselves (see Schaps 1982, 201), which explains why they here ask the men to kill them.

547 Τρωιάδες δὲ γυναῖκες ὑπὲρ τεγέων ἀίουσαι: compare QS's Trojan women, who shout when they realise that Troy has been invaded

(13.103 Οἰμωγὴ δὲ πέλε στονόεσσα γυναικῶν, 108 ὣς ἄρα Τρωιάδες μέγ᾽ ἐκώκυον ἄλλοθεν ἄλλαι, 118 γοάασκον ἄδην, 122–3 Οἰμωγὴ δ᾽ ἀταλάφρονας ἔκβαλεν ὕπνου / νηπιάχους). See also sequences in which women come out onto the rooftops when the city is attacked, such as Thuc. 2.4.2, 3.74.1; D.S. 13.56.7; Nonn. *D.* 35.12–16, 92–6.

In the *Iliad*, the dwellings of Priam's sons and daughters are described as chambers built around a courtyard (*Il.* 6.242–8), and women are generally said to go up to their chambers: *Il.* 2.514 ὑπερώϊον εἰσαναβᾶσα, *Od.* 17.101–2 ἦ τοι ἐγὼν ὑπερώϊον εἰσαναβᾶσα / λέξομαι εἰς εὐνήν (~ 19.594–5), 19.600, 19.602, 23.1, 23.85 (as Helen is told to do in Triph. 495 θαλάμων ὑπερώιον εἰσαναβᾶσα).

Τρωιάδες δὲ γυναῖκες: see note to 340.

548–9 αἱ μὲν ἐλευθερίης ἐρατῆς ἔτι διψώουσαι / αὐχένας εἰς θάνατον δειλοῖς ὑπέβαλλον ἀκοίταις: these lines hark back to the debate between Cassandra, who said that celebrations of freedom should be delayed (415–16 ἐς χορὸν ὀτρύνεσθε / στησάμενοι κρητῆρας ἐλευθερίης ἐρατεινῆς), and Priam, who insisted that Zeus had already granted them freedom (425–6 ὁππότε πᾶσιν ἐλεύθερον ἦμαρ ἀνῆψεν / ἡμῖν Ζεύς). They prove once more that Cassandra was right. Compare the phrasing with that of *Il.* 16.830–2 Πάτροκλ᾽, ἦ που ἔφησθα πόλιν κεραϊξέμεν ἁμήν, / Τρωιάδας δὲ γυναῖκας ἐλεύθερον ἦμαρ ἀπούρας / ἄξειν ἐν νήεσσι φίλην ἐς πατρίδα γαῖαν, 20.193–4 (Achilles on having laid waste to Lyrnessus) ληιάδας δὲ γυναῖκας ἐλεύθερον ἦμαρ ἀπούρας / ἦγον. QS too refers to the motif of husbands killing wives and chidren and then committing suicide (13.443–4 οἳ δ᾽ ἄρ᾽ ὁμῶς τεκέεσσι κατακτείναντες ἀκοίτις / κάππεσον ἄσχετον ἔργον ἀναπλήσαντες ἀνάγκῃ).

548 αἱ μὲν ἐλευθερίης ἐρατῆς ἔτι διψώουσαι: compare for the phrasing Pl. *Resp.* 8.562c δημοκρατουμένη πόλις ἐλευθερίας διψήσασα. Other metaphorical references to thirst: Nonn. *D.* 17.91 διψώων δὲ φόνοιο καὶ εὐθύρσοιο κυδοιμοῦ, 36.199 γαῖα δὲ διψώουσα φόνου; *AP* 2.227 (Christodorus) πυγμαχίης δ᾽ ὤδινε φόνου διψῶσαν ἀπειλήν.

550–1a αἱ δὲ φίλοις ἐπὶ παισί, χελιδόνες οἷά τε κοῦφαι, / μητέρες ὠδύροντο: the female version of the motif of bereaved parents mourning the death of their child (see Griffin 1980, 108–9, 113, 123–8;

cf. Triph. 18, Nestor mourning his son Antilochus), proving that Priam was wrong when he said οὐ μήτηρ ἐπὶ παιδὶ κινύρεται (430). The comparison of the mother, trying to protect her young children and crying for them, with a bird is quite common: A. *Ag.* 49–59 (vultures); S. *Ant.* 423–8, *Tr.* 105, *Aj.* 625–34; in E. *Tr.* Hecabe leads the laments like a mother bird (146–8 μάτηρ δ᾽ ὡσεὶ πτανοῖς κλαγγὰν / † ὄρνισιν ὅπως ἐξάρξω ᾽γὼ / μολπάν†); [Mosch.] *Megara* 21.8; QS 7.330–6 (Deidameia cries for Neoptolemus like a swallow), 12.489–97 (Laocoon's wife cries for the death of their children like a nightingale); *AP* 7.210 (Antipater). The comparison is used for animals too: in Opp. *C.* 3.210–17, the female wild ass tries to protect her child from the attack of its father, like a mother clinging to her dying child, wounded by the soldiers; in Opp. *H.* 5.572–8, a dolphin mother whose calf has been captured allows the fishermen to kill her, just as a swallow, after crying for her brood, killed by a snake, allows herself to be killed.

Compare for the phrasing *Il.* 2.315 (omen of the snake and the birds) μήτηρ δ᾽ ἀμφιποτᾶτο ὀδυρομένη φίλα τέκνα, 20.210 τῶν δὴ νῦν ἕτεροί γε φίλον παῖδα κλαύσονται, 22.79 μήτηρ δ᾽ αὖθ᾽ ἑτέρωθεν ὀδύρετο δάκρυ χέουσα, 24.619 ἔπειτά κεν αὖτε φίλον παῖδα κλαίοισθα. For **χελιδόνες … κοῦφαι**, see AR 4.601 πτερὰ κοῦφα τανύσσας, 771; Opp. *H.* 2.99 κούφοισι … ὄρνισι, 2.539 κούφοισι … οἰωνοῖσιν, 4.588–9 κούφων / ὀρνίθων; Opp. *C.* 3.484 κούφοις … οἰωνοῖσι; Nonn. *D.* 2.126 πτερὰ κοῦφα.

551b–5 A young bride asks the killer of her groom to kill her: Triph. blends the motifs of the 'young husband slain' (e.g. *Il.* 17.34–7; see Griffin 1980, 123–4, 131–4), the 'bereaved widow' (*Od.* 8.523–30; see Griffin 1980, 120–2), and the παρθένος who commits suicide when her fiancé dies (also used for recently-married couples). Mythical examples of the latter: Oenone (QS 10.411–89; Lyc. *Alex.* 57ff.; Ov. *Epist.* 5), Hero (Musae. 341–3, with notes *ad loc.* in Kost 1971), Polydora (Paus. 4.2.7), Evadne (Capaneus' wife, on whom see E. *Supp.* 980ff.) and Laodameia (Protesilaus' wife, on whom see Ov. *Epist.* 13.150–4; Hyg. *Fab.* 103, 243). Again, Priam was wrong when he said οὐδ᾽ ἐπὶ δῆριν / ἄνδρα γυνὴ πέμψασα νέκυν δακρύσατο χήρη (Triph. 430b–1).

As Wernicke (*Triph.*, 432) pointed out, the death of this fiancé before his future bride is the anonymous version of the death of Coroebus, as narrated in Verg. *A.* 2.403–8, 424–6, though this is not enough to

infer that both authors shared a common source (see Gerlaud, *Triph.*, pp. 155–6, note to 551b–5). The death of Coroebus is also found in QS 13.168–78, though the presence of Cassandra is not mentioned there. According to Pausanias (10.27.1 = Bernabé *PEG Iliades Parvae* fr. 15), Coroebus was depicted in the Lesche of the Cnidians by Polygnotus.

551b–2 νέη δέ τις ἀσπαίροντα / ἠίθεον κλαύσασα θανεῖν ἔσπευδε καὶ αὐτή: see *Od.* 8.526–7 ἡ μὲν τὸν θνῄσκοντα καὶ ἀσπαίροντα ἰδοῦσα / ἀμφ᾽ αὐτῷ χυμένη λίγα κωκύει. Homer's usually combines παρθένος and ἠίθεος (*Il.* 18.567, 18.593, 22.127–8; *Od.* 11.38–9 νύμφαι τ᾽ ἠΐθεοί τε … παρθενικαί). **θανεῖν ἔσπευδε**: compare Opp. *H.* 5.518 σὺν δὲ θανόντι θανεῖν ἔσπευσεν ἑταίρῳ; Opp. *C.* 3.138 σπεύδουσιν δ᾽ ἢ πρόσθε θανεῖν ἢ τέκνα σαῶσαι.

553–4a οὐδὲ δορυκτήτοισιν ὁμοῦ θεσμοῖσιν ἕπεσθαι / ἤθελεν: this reminds us of Cassandra's predictions (393–4 δεσμά τε συμπαθέων πλέκεται περὶ χερσὶ γυναικῶν / νύμφια). Both men and women know the fate that awaits the wives of the defeated: see esp. Priam's (*Il.* 22.62 ἑλκηθείσας τε θύγατρας, 65 ἑλκομένας τε νυοὺς ὀλοῇς ὑπὸ χερσὶν Ἀχαιῶν) and Andromache's fears (*Il.* 24.731–8). Compare also *Od.* 8.529 εἴρερον εἰσανάγουσι, πόνον τ᾽ ἐχέμεν καὶ ὀϊζύν. **δορυκτήτοισιν ὁμοῦ θεσμοῖσιν** (and 630 δορυκτήτη παράκοιτις): compare Opp. *H.* 2.314 ἑλκομένων παίδων τε δορυκτήτων τε γυναικῶν; QS 10.384 = 13.523 δορυκτήτῳ ὑπ᾽ ἀνάγκῃ; Nonn. *D.* 17.191 ἑλκομένας ἐπὶ λέκτρα δορικτήτων ὑμεναίων (~ 35.19, 40.207).

554b–5 ἀλλ᾽ ἐχόλωσε καὶ οὐκ ἐθέλοντα φονῆα / καὶ ξυνὸν λέχος ἔσχεν ὀφειλόμενον παρακοίτῃ: Greek warriors preferred to spare the lives of women, as they were valuable booty, but in this case the killer of her fiancé is provoked (Triph. does not explain how) so that the wife is killed with him. The expected marriage bed (λέχος – see *Il.* 8.291 ἠὲ γυναῖχ᾽, ἥ κέν τοι ὁμὸν λέχος εἰσαναβαίνοι) is now replaced with the deathbed. Similar analogies are drawn in Chariton (*Chaereas and Callirhoe* 3.3.6 εἰ θάλαμον μετὰ Καλλιρρόης κοινὸν οὐκ ἐτήρησα, τάφον αὐτῇ κοινὸν εὑρήσω) and in literary epitaphs: *AP* 5.221.5–6 (Paul. Sil.) ἥδιον ἡμῖν / ξυνὸν ἀεὶ μεθέπειν ἢ βίον ἢ θάνατον, 7.378.4 (Apollonides) ξυνὸν ἀγαλλόμενοι καὶ τάφον ὡς θάλαμον, 8.154.4 (Greg. Naz.) ξυνὸν ἔχει … καὶ τάφον ὡς βίοτον.

F has ὀφειλόμενον (defended by Weinberger 1896, 151; Gerlaud *Triph.*; Campbell *Lex.*, p. 214 APP 555; Dubielzig, *Triph.*, 237–8), while *b* has ὀφειλομένῳ (preferred by Livrea *Triph.*; West 1983, 185). See Nonn. *D.* 41.247–8 Βερόην διεροῖσιν ὀφειλομένην ὑμεναίοις / γνωτῷ λεῖπεν ἄκοιτιν, 42.506–7 ὄφρα συνάψω / τὴν [παῖδα] μὲν ὀφειλομένην Ἐνοσίχθονι.

556–8 Miscarriage: Agamemnon had expressed a desire to kill even the unborn male child (*Il.* 6.57–60 – considered more rhetorical than realistic by Kirk 1990, p. 161, note to 57–60), and the death of pregnant women and their premature children, due to the extreme distress provoked by the invasion, seems to be a milder version of Agamemnon's wish. See also A. *Ag.* 104–59 (with Anderson 1997, 109–13), where the chorus recalls how, during the initial assembly of the Greek army, two eagles devoured a pregnant hare with its unborn young, and Calchas interpreted the two eagles as representing the Atreidai, devouring Troy with all the riches it contained. The birth pangs (ὠδῖνα) also refer to the uncanny births mentioned by Cassandra in her prophecies: that of Paris, compared to a burning torch (379–80 αἱ δέ που ἤδη / τίκτουσιν μογερῆς Ἑκάβης ὠδῖνες ὀνείρων), and that of the pregnant horse, delivering armed men (382–90).

Gerlaud (*Triph.*, p. 156, note to 556–8) points out several parallels in the *AP*: 7.163–8 (epitaphs of women who have died during labour) and 7.375 (Antiphilus of Byzantium, a woman gives birth during an earthquake).

556 For **ἠλιτόμηνα**, see *Il.* 19.118 ἐκ δ᾽ ἄγαγε πρὸ φόωσδε καὶ ἠλιτόμηνον ἐόντα (on the birth of Eurystheus); Nonn. *D.* 8.400 καὶ βρέφος ἠλιτόμηνον ἀδηλήτου τοκετοῖο, 9.9 πάις ἠλιτόμηνος. **557 γαστέρος ὠμοτόκοιο χύδην ὠδῖνα μεθεῖσαι**: after Call. *Del.* 120 ὠμοτόκους ὠδῖνας ἀπηρείσαντο λέαιναι. **558** For **ἀπεψύχοντο**, meaning 'they expired', see S. *Aj.* 1031 ἐκνάπτετ᾽ αἰέν, ἔστ᾽ ἀπέψυξεν βίον; Bion *Epitaph. Adon.* 9 λεπτὸν ἀποψύχων (ed. Reed 1997). F has **ῥιγεδανῶς** (preferred by Gerlaud *Triph.*, p. 156, note to 558, who considers it to be more euphonic and an echo of 557 γαστέρος … μεθεῖσαι), whereas *b* has ῥιγεδαναί, preferred by Campbell (*Lex.*, p. 214, APP 558) and Dubielzig (*Triph.*, 238–9) because it is the *lectio difficilior*. 'Horrific' would stand for 'horrifically', just as in 472 ἀλγεινοί could have been replaced by ἀλγεινῶς.

559–72 Theophany I: Enyo, Eris, Ares, Athena, Hera, Poseidon, Hades. Throughout the epic tradition the gods take an active part in the battles of the Trojan war: *Il.* 20.1–75; Verg. *A.* 2.608–18 (Venus shows Aeneas the gods at work in the destruction of Troy); QS 13.85, 125–6, 154, 159–61. Of the divinities mentioned in this theophany, Hera and Hephaestus took part in the destruction of the Achaean camp (Triph. 232–4), Athena made the transporting of the wooden horse easier by pushing it (331b–2), and Hera and Poseidon made the gap in the wall wider so that it could be taken up to the citadel (337–9). Ares had previously been linked to the horse (104–5, and indirectly 300, see note *ad loc.*) and had appeared, as here, as a metaphor for furious battle (33, 244). He now joins the mêlée with his usual retinue (Enyo and Eris are mentioned here, and Kudoimos will join them in 596–9).

Three ideas come together here:

– The intervention of the divine forces of war (559–61 Eris, 562–5 Ares, 566–7a Athena, as in *Il.* 20.47–53; Kudoimos/Tumult appears later 596–9) is meant to explain and anticipate the subsequent ruthless battle. On the joint presence of Athena and Ares, see Deacy 2000.
– The proactive attitude of the divinities taking part raises the battle to a cosmic level. This is more evident in *Il.* 20.56–66 (see comment in Edwards 1991, 293–4), where Zeus shakes the sky and Poseidon the earth and the sea, involving the Underworld itself in the confrontation. Triph. rephrases this with the allegory of Hera as the air (567b–8a – also 232a, 685), combining her strength with that of Poseidon, as in 337–9 (see note *ad loc.*). The resulting mayhem is enough to scare Hades (570–2), let alone simple mortals (583a ἐκπλαγέες ποτὶ δοῦπον).
– By taking part in the destruction of the city, Athena and Hera are not only settling an old score against the Trojans, but also making sure, by an exemplary punishment of the offender and his fellow citizens, that they discourage any future temptation to humiliate them as Paris did by preferring Aphrodite.

559–61 The introduction of Enyo (on which see note to 7–8a) combines two metaphors. The first of these, war as a tempest (559b–60 οἷα θύελλα, / κύμασι παφλάζουσα πολυφλοίσβου πολέμοιο), harks back to Cassandra's predictions (391–2 Καὶ δὴ πορφύρεον μὲν ἑλίσσεται

ἔνδοθι πύργων / αἵματος ἐκχυμένου πέλαγος καὶ κῦμα φόνοιο). The idea reappears in 591 πατρίδος ὀλλυμένης ἔλαθον χειμῶνα φυγόντες. For the use of this metaphor in Nonnus, see Gigli Piccardi 1985, 129–31.

The second metaphor, war as a κῶμος or χορός (559a Παννυχίη δ᾽ ἐχόρευσεν ἀνὰ πτόλιν, 561 αἵματος ἀκρήτοιο μέθης ἐπίκωμος Ἐνυώ), parallels the κῶμος of the horse into Troy (305–35, esp. 313–14 οἵη καὶ Τρώεσσι τότε φθισίμβροτος ἄτη / ἐς πόλιν αὐτοκέλευθος ἐκώμασεν) and the celebrations of the Trojans, including dancing (342 μολπῇ τ᾽ ὀρχηθμῷ τε περὶ βρέτας εἱλίσσοντο, 436 ἡμῖν δὲ χοροὶ θαλίαι τε μέλονται, 498b–9a οἱ δὲ χοροῖο / παυσάμενοι). Cassandra's predictions come true: 379 Δυσμενέων ὅδε κῶμος ἀρήιος, 415 ἐς χορὸν ὀτρύνεσθε (as something that should be postponed). For the use of this metaphor in Nonnus, see Gigli Piccardi 1985, 131–3. Compare similar descriptions of a festive κῶμος, such as *AP* 7.24.5–6 (Simonides?), 7.223.3–7 (Thyillus), 12.115.1–3.

These lines fulfil Cassandra's prophecies and foretell future events. Zeus and Apollo have abandoned Troy (506–9) and the sacral space that they leave behind is occupied by the irrational forces of war for a whole night (559 παννυχίη). There will be no mercy, and the Trojans will be overwhelmed by the situation, just like seamen when their ship is tossed uncontrollably by a storm that lasts the entire night. Enyo will also govern the Greeks, on whom she will have an effect similar to the drunkenness produced by unmixed wine (561 αἵματος ἀκρήτοιο μέθης), the allegorical equivalent of the real wine that helped to bring about the Trojans' fate (449 ὕβρις ἐλαφρίζουσα μέθην λυσήνορος οἴνου). Under the influence of Enyo, the Achaeans will kill innocent children and the elderly (600–6, 644–6) and desecrate the temples (596–9, 634–43, 647–50), thus bringing divine punishment upon themselves.

In general, the appearance of Enyo at the beginning of a battle is a prelude to a massacre in late antique epic poetry: e.g. QS 2.525ff., 5.25ff., 8.186ff., 8.286ff., 11.8ff., 13.85 (beginning of the nyktomachy: μαίνετο δ᾽ ἐν μέσσοισιν Ἄρης στονόεσσά τ᾽ Ἐνυώ); Nonn. *D.* 2.414ff., 7.30–1, 17.315ff., 28.35–44.

559a παννυχίη δ᾽ ἐχόρευσεν (Dubielzig *Triph.*, 240, proposes ἐχόρευεν): compare S. *Ant.* 152–3 χοροῖς / παννυχίοις, 1151–2 πάννυχοι / χορεύουσι; E. *Ba.* 862 ἐν παννυχίοις χοροῖς; Nonn. *D.* 5.116–17 πάννυχος ἔπλετο κῶμος ἀκοιμήτοιο χορείης / μελπομένων.

559b–60 οἷα θύελλα, / κύμασι παφλάζουσα πολυφλοίσβου πολέμοιο: after *Il.* 13.798 κύματα παφλάζοντα πολυφλοίσβοιο θαλάσσης (after which Nonn. *D.* 42.59 κύμασι παφλάζοντα πολυφλοίσβοιο μερίμνης). Compare also Opp. *H.* 4.11–13 ὑπὸ φρένα δ᾽ ὥστε θύελλα / μίσγεαι …/ παφλάζων ὀδύνῃσι καὶ ἀκρήτοισιν ἀνίαις; Nonn. *D.* 2.532 ἑσπερίην … θυελλήεσσαν Ἐνυώ (~ 20.59, 39.185), 39.295 ἐριφλοίσβοιο κυδοιμοῦ. Other θύελλα similes: *Il.* 13.39, 23.365–6; QS 1.488–93. See Dubielzig (*Triph.*, 241–2) for a detailed comment on the different readings of the manuscripts: *b* οἷα θύελλα, F ἠὺ θύελλα.

561 αἵματος ἀκρήτοιο μέθης ἐπίκωμος Ἐνυώ: compare Nonn. *D.* 4.457–8 οἱ δὲ δαφοινήεντι πόθῳ μεθύοντες Ἐνυοῦς / Ἄρεϊ βακχεύθησαν, 17.319 εἷς μόθον ἄλλον ἐκώμασε θυιὰς Ἐνυώ, 28.303 κῶμον Ἐνυοῦς. **αἵματος ἀκρήτοιο**: compare A. *Ch.* 577–8 φόνου δ᾽ Ἐρινὺς οὐχ ὑπεσπανισμένη / ἄκρατον αἷμα πίεται τρίτην πόσιν; S. *El.* 785–6 τοὐμὸν ἐκπίνουσ᾽ ἀεὶ / ψυχῆς ἄκρατον αἷμα.

562–3a σὺν δ᾽ Ἔρις οὐρανόμηκες ἀναστήσασα κάρηνον / Ἀργείους ὀρόθυνεν: after *Il.* 4.440–5 (also the inspiration of QS 10.53–64). In detail: Triph. 562 οὐρανόμηκες ἀναστήσασα κάρηνον ~ *Il.* 4.443a οὐρανῷ ἐστήριξε κάρη (for the adjective see *Od.* 5.239 ἐλάτη τ᾽ … οὐρανομήκης); Triph. 563a Ἀργείους ὀρόθυνεν ~ *Il.* 4.444–5a ἥ σφιν καὶ τότε νεῖκος ὁμοίϊον ἔμβαλε μέσσῳ / ἐρχομένη καθ᾽ ὅμιλον. Compare for the phrasing *Il.* 13.351 Ἀργείους δὲ Ποσειδάων ὀρόθυνε μετελθών; QS 6.274 ἔρις δ᾽ ὀρόθυνε καὶ οἶνος, 8.68 Ἔρις δ᾽ ὀρόθυνε καὶ αὐτή. In the *Aeneid* it is Jupiter who stirs up the battle: 2.617–18 “ipse pater Danais animos uiresque secundas / sufficit, ipse deos in Dardana suscitat arma”.

563b–5 ἐπεὶ καὶ φοίνιος Ἄρης / ὀψὲ μὲν ἀλλὰ καὶ ὦς πολέμων ἑτεραλκέα νίκην / ἦλθε φέρων Δαναοῖσι καὶ ἀλλοπρόσαλλον ἀρωγήν: Ares had supported the Trojans before (*Il.* 20.38 ἐς δὲ Τρῶας Ἄρης κορυθαίολος), but his changeability was commonly known (see *Il.* 5.829–34, esp. 831 ἀλλοπρόσαλλον; 5.888–93, esp. 888 ἀλλοπρόσαλλε). Here it is also a prediction. Ares comes to the fight late (ὀψέ), only when the result has already been decided by Zeus, and contributes to the maddened behaviour of the fighters, which leads to indiscriminate killing. When the battle is over, Ares will abandon the Achaeans and

go back to Olympus, but the Achaeans will have to deal with the consequences of their reckless deeds.

563b φοίνιος Ἄρης = Triph. 244 (with note *ad loc.*). **564b πολέμων ἑτεραλκέα νίκην**: after *Il.* 7.26–7 ἦ ἵνα δὴ Δαναοῖσι μάχης ἑτεραλκέα νίκην / δῷς; (~ 8.171, 16.362, 17.627; *Od.* 22.236). Campbell (*Lex.*, p. 214, APP 564) suggests πολέμου ('the war', hiatus as in 671), instead of πολέμων. **565a φέρων Δαναοῖσι**: same *sedes* in *Il.* 5.682.

566–7a ἴαχε δὲ γλαυκῶπις ἐπ᾽ ἀκροπόληος ᾽Αθήνη / αἰγίδα κινήσασα, Διὸς σάκος: the Homeric referent is *Il.* 20.48b–53, with Athena shouting beside the trench and on the beach, and Ares from the citadel (52 κατ᾽ ἀκροτάτης πόλιος) and by the bank of the river Simoeis. In the *Sack of Troy* it makes particular sense that Athena shouts from the citadel because she has been mentioned before as being close to her temple there (444–7, 488–90). Compare Verg. *A.* 2.615–16 "iam summas arces Tritonia, respice, Pallas / insedit, nimbo effulgens et Gorgone saeua". Cassandra had predicted that Athena was to act as midwife to the horse in labour and give the ritual cry (389–90, with note *ad loc.*). For the phrasing, see *Il.* 2.446–7 μετὰ δὲ γλαυκῶπις ᾽Αθήνη, / αἰγίδ᾽ ἔχουσ᾽ ἐρίτιμον; [Hes.] *Sc.* 343–4 ἐν γάρ σφιν μένος ἧκε θεὰ γλαυκῶπις ᾽Αθήνη / αἰγίδ᾽ ἀνασσείσασα. Διὸς σάκος sounds like a gloss for αἰγίδα, too simple to be literary in nature, and perhaps a slip of the γραμματικός that Triph. was. Alternatively, it could suggest that Athena is taking part in the battle to please her father (Gerlaud, *Triph.*, p. 157, note to 566–7a).

567b–8a ἔτρεμε δ᾽ αἰθὴρ / Ἥρης σπερχομένης: compare the *Aeneid*, where Juno is more active (2.612–14 "hic Iuno Scaeas saeuissima portas / prima tenet sociumque furens a nauibus agmen / ferro accincta uocat"). Triph.'s phrasing was probably inspired by AR 4.640–2 (esp. 642 δεινὸν γὰρ ἐπὶ μέγας ἔβραχεν αἰθήρ). Compare also AR 2.567 πάντῃ δὲ περὶ μέγας ἔβρεμεν αἰθήρ, 2.1257–8 ἔκτυπε δ᾽ αἰθὴρ / οἰμωγῇ; Opp. *C.* 4.171 ἐπιβρέμεται δ᾽ ὅλος αἰθήρ; QS 2.555–6 ἀμφὶ δ᾽ ἄρ᾽ αἰθὴρ / ἔστενε, 8.244–5 ὑπέστενε δ᾽ αἰόλος αἰθὴρ / ἐσσυμένων ποτὶ δῆριν, 9.296–7 ἔβραχε δ᾽ αἰθὴρ / θεσπέσιον καὶ γαῖα μεγ᾽ ἴαχεν, 12.164–5 τοῖσι δ᾽ ὕπ᾽ αἰθὴρ / ἔβραχεν (~ 14.531–2), 14.458 ἐπιβρέμει ἄσπετος αἰθήρ, 14.464–5 περὶ δ᾽ ἔβραχεν αἰθήρ, / ὡς Διὸς ἀκαμάτοιο ποτὶ κλόνον ἐμμεμαῶτος, 14.534 περίαχε δ᾽ αἶα καὶ αἰθήρ. For σπερχόμενος, see *Il.* 11.110, 23.870, 24.248, 24.322.

568b–9 ἐπὶ δ᾽ ἔβραχε γαῖα βαρεῖα / παλλομένη τριόδοντι Ποσειδάωνος ἀκωκῇ: compare *Il.* 20.57–8 αὐτὰρ νέρθε Ποσειδάων ἐτίναξε / γαῖαν ἀπειρεσίην (note that Triph. 570–2 is built after *Il.* 20.61–6); Verg. *A.* 2.610–12 "Neptunus muros magnoque emota tridenti / fundamenta quatit totamque a sedibus urbem / eruit". **568b ἐπὶ δ᾽ ἔβραχε γαῖα βαρεῖα**: similar motifs can be found in *Il.* 2.95 ὑπὸ δὲ στεναχίζετο γαῖα (~ 2.784); Hes. *Th.* 843 ἐπεστενάχιζε δὲ γαῖα (~ 858, *Sc.* 344); QS 2.225 γαῖα πελώρη / ἔβραχε (~ 6.335, 10.72), 2.232 μάλα γάρ ῥα περιτρομέει βαθὺ γαῖα, 2.546 γαῖα δ᾽ ὑπεσμαράγησε, 2.640–1 ἀμφὶ δὲ γαῖα / κινήθη περὶ πᾶσα, 3.36 ποσὶν δ᾽ ὑπο κίνυτο γαῖα, 3.178 γαῖα δ᾽ ὑπεπλατάγησε, 9.219 περιτρομέει δ᾽ ἄρα γαῖα, 9.311 ἐρεμνὴ κίνυτο γαῖα (~ 10.62), 12.176 κελαινὴ ἔτρεμε γαῖα. **569 τριόδοντι Ποσειδάωνος ἀκωκῇ**: compare Nonn. *D.* 43.183 ἐμῆς τριόδοντος ἀκωκῆς (Poseidon on his trident).

570–2 ἔφριξεν δ᾽ Ἀΐδης, χθονίων δ᾽ ἐξέδραμε θώκων / ταρβήσας μή πού τι Διὸς μέγα χωσαμένοιο / πᾶν γένος ἀνθρώπων κατάγοι ψυχοστόλος ἕρμῆς: a variation of the motif in *Il.* 20.61–6. In detail: Triph. 570a Ἔφριξεν δ᾽ Ἀΐδης ~ *Il.* 20.61 ἔδδεισεν δ᾽ … Ἀϊδωνεύς; 570b χθονίων δ᾽ ἐξέδραμε θώκων ~ *Il.* 20.62 ἐκ θρόνου ἆλτο; Triph. 571 ταρβήσας μή πού … ~ *Il.* 20.62 δείσας … μή … Compare also Nonnus' adaptation of the Homeric theme in *D.* 36.97–105. In the Iliadic passage Hades is afraid that the foundations of the earth will be left uncovered, while in the *Sack of Troy* he fears that the entire human race will die and be led to the underworld. Triph. is perhaps thinking of the explanation of the Trojan war as Zeus' answer to the excess of people on earth, recorded in *Schol. in Il.* 1.5 (Bernabé *PEG Cypria* fr. 1). Hence Triph. 568 γαῖα βαρεῖα.

570 ἔφριξεν δ᾽ Ἀΐδης: compare *Il.* 13.339 ἔφριξεν δὲ μάχη. **χθονίων δ᾽ ἐξέδραμε θώκων** 'sped away from his underworld seat/realm' (Campbell, *Lex.*, p. 214, APP 570 and *s.v.* θῶκος). For the plural, see *Il.* 8.439 θεῶν δ᾽ ἐξίκετο θώκους. For the singular, see *Od.* 5.3 οἱ δὲ θεοὶ θῶκόνδε καθίζανον, AR 3.111.

571b Διὸς μέγα χωσαμένοιο: compare *Il.* 2.781–2 γαῖα δ᾽ ὑπεστεναχίζε Διὶ ὧς τερπικεραύνῳ / χωομένῳ; DP 372 Διὸς μέγα χωσαμένοιο; QS 8.72 Διὸς μέγα χωομένοιο (see also 1.611 μέγ᾽ ἐχώσατο Πηλέος υἱός, 14.570 καί οἱ μέγ᾽ ἐχώσατο).

572 πᾶν γένος ἀνθρώπων κατάγοι ψυχοστόλος Ἑρμῆς: Hermes already appears in this role as a psychopomp in *Od.* 24.1–14, 98–101 (see esp. 100 ψυχὰς μνηστήρων κατάγων); *H. Merc.* 258–9. For **γένος ἀνθρώπων**, see *Il.* 6.180 ἡ δ᾽ ἄρ᾽ ἔην θεῖον γένος, οὐδ᾽ ἀνθρώπων, 23.790 οὗτος δὲ προτέρης γενεῆς προτέρων τ᾽ ἀνθρώπων; Hes. *Op.* 109 = 143 = 180 γένος μερόπων ἀνθρώπων. **ψυχοστόλος** seems to have been made up by Triphiodorus as a synonym for ψυχοπόμπος, for which see E. *Alc.* 361. It is later used by Nonn. *D.* 44.207 ψυχοστόλος Ἑρμῆς|; *P.* 12.4 = 77 ἐκ νεκύων ἤγειρε χέων ψυχοστόλον ἠχώ.

573–95 Anonymous victims II: men

573a πάντα δ᾽ ὁμοῦ κεκύκητο: compare *Il.* 21.235 πάντα δ᾽ ὄρινε ῥέεθρα κυκώμενος; A. *Pr.* 993–4 νιφάδι καὶ βροντήμασι / χθονίοις κυκάτω πάντα.

573b φόνος δέ τις ἄκριτος ἦεν: for a similar reflection on the nyktomachy, see Verg. *A.* 2.360–2 "nox atra caua circumuolat umbra. / quis cladem illius noctis, quis funera fando / explicet aut possit lacrimis aequare labores?". See also QS 11.382–3 περίαχε δ᾽ ἄκριτος αὐδή, / οἷον ὑπὸ σμήνεσσι περιβρομέουσι μέλισσαι. Nonnus develops similar turns of phrase as at *D.* 4.453 = 32.237 καὶ φόνος ἄσπετος ἔσκε, 17.328 ἄλλων δ᾽ ἄλλος ἔην φόνος ἄσπετος, 20.176 καὶ φόνος ἦν, 22.273 = 23.76 καὶ φόνος ἄσπετος ἦεν, 28.159 ἀλλὰ καὶ ἱππήεσσιν ἔην φόνος, 39.225 καὶ φόνος ἦν ἑκάτερθε.

574–5a τοὺς μὲν γὰρ φεύγοντας ἐπὶ Σκαιῇσι πύλῃσι / κτεῖνον ἐφεστηῶτες: yet another proof of the efficiency of the Achaeans, who station sentinels by the broken-down doors (as substitutes for the Trojan ones: 451 πυλέων δ᾽ ὀλίγοις φυλάκεσσι μεμήλει) in order to counteract the first reaction of the Trojans on realising the attack, namely to flee (542b–3a βοὴ δ᾽ ἄλληκτος ὀρώρει / Τρώων φευγόντων). Compare for the phrasing Nonn. *D.* 32.183 καὶ πολέες φεύγοντες ἑνὶ κτείνοντο φονῆι. For **ἐπὶ Σκαιῇσι πύλῃσι … ἐφεστηῶτες**, see *Il.* 18.514–15 τεῖχος μέν ῥ᾽ ἄλοχοί … / ῥύατ᾽ ἐφεσταότες; QS 8.396 πύργοισιν ἐφεσταότες. ἐπὶ Σκαιῇσι πύλῃσι = *Il.* 3.149.

575b–6 ὁ δ᾽ ἐξ εὐνῆς ἀνορούσας / τεύχεα μαστεύων δνοφερῇ περικάππεσεν αἰχμῇ can be considered as an interpretation (and clarification) of *Il.* 18.230–1 ἔνθα δὲ καὶ τότ᾽ ὄλοντο δυώδεκα φῶτες ἄρισ-

τοι / ἀμφὶ σφοῖς ὀχέεσσι καὶ ἔγχεσιν. The Trojans are stricken with panic, and in a tumultuous flight "men die transfixed by the weapons of others (or even their own), trampled by horses and crushed under the wheels of chariots" (Edwards 1991, 173).

575b ὁ δ᾽ ἐξ εὐνῆς ἀνορούσας: compare *Il.* 10.519 ὁ δ᾽ ἐξ ὕπνου ἀνορούσας| (~ *Od.* 4.839), 21.246 ὁ δ᾽ ἄρ᾽ ἐκ δίνης ἀνορούσας|; *Od.* 23.348–9 ὦρτο δ᾽ Ὀδυσσεὺς / εὐνῆς ἐκ μαλακῆς; AR 2.1236 ὁ δ᾽ ἐξ εὐνῆς ἀνορούσας|; QS 14.230 δὴ τότ᾽ Ἀχαιῶν υἷες ἀπ᾽ ἐκ λεχέων ἀνόρουσαν. **576b δνοφερῇ περικάππεσεν αἰχμῇ**: compare AR 2.831 θοῷ περικάππεσε δουρί, 3.543 κίρκος δ᾽ ἀφλάστῳ περικάππεσεν; QS 3.281–2 ὣς ὅ γε δουρὶ δαμεὶς περικάππεσε Πηλείωνι / βλήμενος, 13.450 ἀμφὶ δέ οἱ κενεὴ περικάππεσε κάλπις. δνοφερῇ seems to refer to the night: cf. *Od.* 13.269 νὺξ … δνοφερή, 15.50 νύκτα διὰ δνοφερήν; Hes. *Th.* 107.

577–80a The Trojans cannot escape through the open gates of the citadel because of the Achaean preparations, but their disorientation and childishness (579 νήπιος) are such that they cannot even hide in the darkest, remotest corners of their own city. The confusion favours the sober Achaeans. An anonymous Trojan leaves the shadows where he is hiding to call a stranger into his house, without realising that he is an Achaean, who, instead of giving him the appropriate gift for his hospitality, kills him. This motif is Homeric: in *Il.* 10.354–9, Dolon waits for Diomedes and Odysseus to approach, thinking that they are Trojan fighters, and only realises that they are foes when they are within a spear's throw. In the *Aeneid* (2.370–401) it works the other way round: Aeneas and his men encounter a Greek faction led by Androgeos, who realises too late that they are not from his own army; the Trojans then put on their helmets and pick up their weapons and in this guise kill other unsuspecting attackers. QS suggests this motif when he presents the Achaeans carrying torches to differentiate friend from foe (13.165–7).

577 ὑπὸ σκιόεντι δόμῳ: perhaps inspired by *Od.* 1.365 etc. μέγαρα σκιόεντα.

578 ξεῖνος ἐών: Campbell (*Lex.*, p. 214, APP 578) suggests reading ἑκών ("the Trojan lurking in the shadows … is willing enough to act as host because he believes he is dealing with a friend"). See the refutation in Dubielzig *Triph.*, 244. **καλέω** means here 'call to one's house' or 'to a

repast', 'invite' (LSJ *s.v.* καλέω I.2), as in *Od.* 10.230–1 ἡ δ' αἶψ' ἐξελθοῦσα θύρας ὤιξε φαεινὰς / καὶ κάλει, 17.382 τίς γὰρ δὴ ξεῖνον καλεῖ. **ὀιόμενος φίλον εἶναι**: compare *Od.* 1.323, 10.232, 10.258; Opp. *C.* 4.228; QS 5.457.

579 νήπιος, οὐ μὲν ἔμελλεν ἐνηέι φωτὶ μιγῆναι: compare *Il.* 12.113 νήπιος, οὐδ' ἄρ' ἔμελλε … On this type of line as an example of repetition of a meaning through etymologising, see Peraki-Kyriakidou 2002, 488. On the meaning of νήπιος and the tradition of its use as an insult, see Kneebone 2008, 46–9. **ἐνηέι φωτί** can be compared with AR 1.1338 ἐνηέος ἀνδρός. For μείγνυμι in a context of hospitality, see *Od.* 24.313–14 θυμὸς δ' ἔτι νῶϊν ἐώλπει / μίξεσθαι ξενίῃ ἠδ' ἀγλαὰ δῶρα διδώσειν.

580a ξείνια δ' ἐχθρὰ κόμισσεν: compare *Od.* 22.290–1 (Odysseus kills Ctesippus, in retaliation for his previous behaviour towards him) τοῦτό τοι ἀντὶ ποδὸς ξεινήϊον, ὅν ποτ' ἔδωκας / ἀντιθέῳ Ὀδυσῆϊ. The ultimate referent for the perversion of the gifts of hospitality is Polyphemus' gift to Odysseus, eating him last (*Od.* 9.355–70; E. *Cyc.* 342–4, 548–51). This idea recurs in S. *El.* 95–6 (referring to the killing of Agamemnon as a gift) πατέρ', ὃν κατὰ μὲν βάρβαρον αἶαν / φοίνιος Ἄρης οὐκ ἐξένισεν; E. *Hel.* 480 θάνατος ξένιά σοι γενήσεται. For the phrasing, see AR 1.419 = 4.1705 ἀπερείσια δῶρα κομίσσω; Nonn. *D.* 16.106 ἅρμενα δῶρα κομίσσω, 27.109, 42.396, 42.416.

580b–1 ὑπὲρ τέγεος δέ τις ἄλλος / μή πω παπταίνων τι θοῷ διέπιπτεν ὀιστῷ: a variation of *Il.* 8.268–70 (αὐτὰρ ὅ γ' ἥρως / παπτήνας, ἐπεὶ ἄρ τιν' ὀϊστεύσας ἐν ὁμίλῳ / βεβλήκοι, ὁ μὲν αὖθι πεσὼν ἀπὸ θυμὸν ὄλεσσεν), related to the motif of death by falling from a roof, as in *Od.* 10.559 καταντικρὺ τέγεος πέσεν (~ 11.64); *AP* 7.579.4 (Leon. Schol.) ὑψόθεν ἐκ τέγεος σὺν πλεόνεσσι πεσών, 9.158.5 ἐκ τέγεος γὰρ ἄελπτον ἀπωλίσθησε πέσημα. **θοῷ … ὀιστῷ** avoids the more common πικρὸς ὀιστός (*Il.* 4.118 etc.) and parallels AR 1.483 θοοῖς … ὀιστοῖς. Compare also *Il.* 5.395 ὠκὺν ὀϊστόν (= 11.478, *Od.* 21.416; Opp. *C.* 1.153, 3.517; QS 8.315), 15.470 θρῴσκοντας ὀιστούς; *Od.* 22.83 θοὸν βέλος (= QS 4.417, 10.210).

582–6 Some Trojans, confused by the wine that they have drunk and the noise, forget to go down the stairs, a variation on the death of Elpenor (*Od.* 10.552–60, 11.61–5): Triph. 582b βεβαρηότες οἴνῳ ~ *Od.* 10.555

οἰνοβαρείων (11.61 ἀθέσφατος οἶνος); Triph. 583a ἐκπλαγέες ποτὶ δοῦπον ~ *Od.* 10.556b δοῦπον ἀκούσας; Triph. 583b–4a ἐπειγόμενοι καταβῆναι / κλίμακος ἐξελάθοντο ~ *Od.* 10.557b–8 ἐκλάθετο φρεσὶν ᾗσιν / ἄψορρον καταβῆναι ἰὼν ἐς κλίμακα μακρήν (~ 11.62b–3); Triph. 585b–6a ἐπαυχενίους δὲ λυθέντες / ἀστραγάλους ἐάγησαν ~ *Od.* 10.559b–60a ἐκ δέ οἱ αὐχὴν / ἀστραγάλων ἐάγη (~ 11.64b–5a). Other versions of the motif: *AP* 7.428.17–18 (Meleager) θνᾴσκειν δὲ πεσόντα / οἰνοβρεχῆ προπετὴς ἐννέπει ἀστράγαλος; 7.632.1–3 (Diodorus) Κλίμακος ἐξ ὀλίγης ὀλίγον βρέφος ἐν Διοδώρου / κάππεσεν, ἐκ δ᾽ ἐάγη καίριον ἀστράγαλον / δινηθεὶς προκάρηνος.

582 καί τινες ἀλγεινῷ κραδίην βεβαρηότες οἴνῳ: F has βεβαρηότες (as in *Od.* 3.139 οἴνῳ βεβαρηότες υἷες Ἀχαιῶν, 19.122 βεβαρηότα με φρένας οἴνῳ; QS 13.164 καὶ ὣς βεβαρηότες οἴνῳ – see also 7.734, 13.28, 13.449), while *b* has βεβολιότες (compare *Il.* 9.9 ἄχεϊ μεγάλῳ βεβολημένος ἦτορ, after which QS 3.763 etc.; AR 1.1269 κακῷ βεβολημένος οἴστρῳ). The first option, closer to the Homeric model (*Od.* 10.555 οἰνοβαρείων), seems preferable (see Gerlaud *Triph.*, pp. 158–9, note to 582; Campbell *Lex. s.v.* βαρέω; Dubielzig *Triph.*, 245–7), though Livrea 1973–4 defends a neologism, βεβοληότες.

583a ἐκπλαγέες ποτὶ δοῦπον: compare *Il.* 13.394 ἐκ δέ οἱ ἡνίοχος πλήγη φρένας, 16.403 ἐκ γὰρ πλήγη φρένας, 18.225 ἡνίοχοι δ᾽ ἔκπληγεν; Opp. *H.* 4.572 δούποιο φόβῳ.

583b–5a ἐπειγόμενοι καταβῆναι / κλίμακος ἐξελάθοντο καθ᾽ ὑψηλῶν τε μελάθρων / ἔκπεσον ἀγνώσσοντες: compare *Od.* 1.330 (~ 21.5) κλίμακα δ᾽ ὑψηλὴν κατεβήσετο οἷο δόμοιο, 11.278 ἀφ᾽ ὑψηλοῖο μελάθρου.

585b–6a ἐπαυχενίους δὲ λυθέντες / ἀστραγάλους ἐάγησαν: compare Nonn. *D.* 11.218–19 ἐπ᾽ ἀστραγάλου δὲ πεσόντος / λεπτὸν ὑποτρίζων ἐδιχάζετο δόχμιος αὐχήν. Campbell (*Lex.*, pp. 214–15, APP 585) suggests reading ἐπαυχενίους δὲ λυθέντας / ἀστραγάλους ‘they had their vertebrae broken at their necks’. See response in Dubielzig *Triph.*, 247. For αὐχένιος ‘on the neck’, see Pi. *P.* 2.93 ἐπαυχένιον … ζυγόν; Nonn. *D.* 1.19 ἐπαυχενίην τρίχα.

586b ὁμοῦ δ᾽ ἐξήρυγον οἶνον: as in *Od.* 9.374 ὁ δ᾽ ἐρεύγετο οἰνοβαρείων; Nonn. *D.* 15.19 οἶνον ἐρευγομένων, 45.308.

587–8a This is the only reference to Trojan resistance in the *Sack of Troy.* It was, however, mentioned in the *Little Iliad* (Bernabé *PEG Iliades Parvae* fr. 10 τρωθῆναι δὲ ὑπὸ τὴν μάχην τοῦτον ἣν ἐν τῆι νυκτὶ ἐμαχέσαντο οἱ Τρῶες), amplified in the *Aeneid* (2.336–452), and referred to in QS 13.145–64. Triph. concedes that the Trojans were capable of offering some resistance, but he does not 'allow' them to organise their efforts, nor does he praise their courage in the difficult circumstances.

πολλοὶ δ᾽ εἰς ἕνα χῶρον ἀολλέες ἐκτείνοντο / μαρνάμενοι: compare *Batrachom.* 198 πάντες δ᾽ αὖτ᾽ εἰσῆλθον ἀολλέες εἰς ἕνα χῶρον. See also *Il.* 4.446 = 8.60 (the beginning of a combat) Οἱ δ᾽ ὅτε δή ῥ᾽ ἐς χῶρον ἕνα ξυνιόντες ἵκοντο. **εἰς ἕνα χῶρον** occurs in AR 2.604; Opp. *H.* 3.416, 4.652; QS 3.18, 10.53 Τοὺς δ᾽ ἄγεν εἰς ἕνα χῶρον Ἔρις μεδέουσα κυδοιμοῦ, 11.43, 14.64; Nonn. *D.* 35.231, 42.19. μαρνάμενοι occurs in the same *sedes* in *Il.* 6.256, 6.328, 14.25 etc.

588b–9 πολλοὶ δὲ διωκόμενοι κατὰ πύργων / ἤριπον εἰς ᾽Αίδαο πανύστατον ἅλμα θορόντες: the Homeric referent is *Il.* 12.385–6 (Ajax kills Epicles) ὁ δ᾽ ἄρ᾽ ἀρνευτῆρι ἐοικὼς / κάππεσ᾽ ἀφ᾽ ὑψηλοῦ πύργου. Compare also *Il.* 16.742–3 ὁ δ᾽ ἄρ᾽ ἀρνευτῆρι ἐοικὼς / κάππεσ᾽ ἀπ᾽ εὐεργέος δίφρου, *Od.* 12.413–14 ὁ δ᾽ ἄρ᾽ ἀρνευτῆρι ἐοικὼς / κάππεσ᾽ ἀπ᾽ ἰκριόφιν; E. *Ph.* 1149–51 πολλοὶ δ᾽ ἔπιπτον κρᾶτας αἱματούμενοι, / ἡμῶν τ᾽ ἐς οὖδας εἶδες ἂν πρὸ τειχέων / πυκνοὺς κυβιστητῆρας ἐκπεπνευκότας; Verg. *A.* 2.565–6 "deseruere omnes defessi, et corpora saltu / ad terram misere aut ignibus aegra dedere". This became a historiographical motif: e.g. Livy 25.24.5 "alii salire de muro". **ἤριπον εἰς ᾽Αίδαο**: a common metaphor for death, as in *Il.* 21.47–8 ὅς μιν ἔμελλε / πέμψειν εἰς ᾽Αίδαο, 22.213 Hector's doom ᾤχετο δ᾽ εἰς ᾽Αίδαο; *Od.* 10.174–5; Call. *Epigr.* 23.2 (= *AP* 7.471.2) ἥλατ᾽ ἀφ᾽ ὑψηλοῦ τείχεος εἰς ᾽Αίδην. **πανύστατον ἅλμα θορόντες**: compare Nonn. *D.* 7.314 ἅλμα θορὼν πρώτιστον.

590–1 A few Trojans get out through a crack in the wall: they are the anonymous counterpart of the illustrious Trojans who escape the fate of their community (651–9).

590 στεινῆς διὰ κοιλάδος: Campbell (*Lex. s.v.*) suggests a 'breach' in the city walls or a 'tunnel', as in Amm Marc. 19.8.5 ("in abstrusa quadam parte oppidi cum duobus aliis latens, obscurae praesidio noctis

postica per quam nihil seruabatur euado"). Given the state of the walls of Troy after the interventions of Hera and Poseidon (337–9, 567b–9), the former makes more sense. See also Gerlaud *Triph.*, p. 159, note to 590. Compare *Il.* 23.419 στεῖνος ὁδοῦ κοίλης (referring to 420 ῥωχμὸς ἔην γαίης). **οἷά τε φῶρες**: compare AR 3.1197 βῆ ῥ᾽ ἐς ἐρημαίην, κλωπήιος ἠύτε τις φώρ. The simile refers not only to their sneaking out of the city, but also to the fact that they are 'stealing' life and freedom from the common doom of the Trojans.

591 πατρίδος ὀλλυμένης ἔλαθον χειμῶνα φυγόντες: the line continues the metaphor of war as a tempest (see note to 559–61). Compare for the phrasing *Il.* 3.4 αἵ τ᾽ ἐπεὶ οὖν χειμῶνα φύγον. A similar image is found in Triph. 672–3: πάντοσε παπταίνεσκον ἀνὰ πτόλιν εἴ τινες ἄλλοι / κλεπτόμενοι φεύγουσι φόνου πανδήμιον ἄτην.

592–4a Deaths in stampede: many people's instinctive reaction is to flee when they realise that the city has been invaded (542b–3 βοὴ δ᾽ ἄλληκτος ὀρώρει / Τρώων φευγόντων), but only a few (590 παῦροι) manage to escape, while those trying to leave through the obvious escape routes (i.e the Scaean gates) are killed before crossing (574–5a), and the rest die crushed when they converge *en masse* in some areas of the city (593–4a). For the latter motif in historiography, see Livy 25.24.5, 30.5.10, 30.6.6.

592 οἱ δ᾽ ἔνδον πολέμῳ <τε> καὶ ἀχλύι κυμαίνοντες: again the image of the sea, already exploited in 391–2 and 559–60. ἀχλύς is not only the darkness of night, but the darkness falling over the eyes of the dead (*Il.* 5.127, 5.596, 16.344 etc; *Od.* 22.88; AR 4.1525) and a powerful evil omen (*Od.* 20.357 κακὴ δ᾽ ἐπιδέδρομεν ἀχλύς).

593 ἀνδράσιν οἰχομένοισι καὶ οὐ φεύγουσιν ὁμοῖοι: F has ἀνδράσιν οἰχομένοισι (preferred by Gerlaud *Triph.*; Campbell *Lex. s.v.* οἴχομαι; Chuvin 1985, 128), while *b* has ἀνδράσι νηχομένοις (preferred by Livrea, who corrected it to ἀνδράσι νηχομένοισι). Dubielzig (*Triph.*, 248–9) prints Livrea's correction.

Livrea (1976, 448–9) offered some parallels for νηχομένοις: [Hes.] *Sc.* 211 νηχομένοις ἴκελοι (after which Mosch. *Eur.* 47, QS 5.96); Opp. *H.* 1.437 ἄμφω νηχομένοισι καὶ ἱπταμένοισιν ὁμοῖοι; similar metaphors appear in Triph. 392 αἵματος ἐκχυμένου πέλαγος καὶ κῦμα φόνοιο, 542 νήχετο δ᾽ αἵματι γαῖα, 594 πόλις δ᾽ οὐ χάνδανε λύθρον. However,

Gerlaud (*Triph.*, p. 159, note to 593) is right in pointing out that the hyperbole makes no sense in its immediate context and that the parallels with other authors are only phraseological, whereas ἀνδράσιν οἰχομένοισι would relate to previous references to the doom of the Trojans (though they try to flee, the Trojans are doomed to die, except for a few who manage to escape from the city unseen). They have missed their opportunities to avoid the massacre: they could have destroyed the horse when they first saw it, they could have appreciated the natural *omina* or listened to Cassandra, and they could have paid attention to Helen's initiative. Zeus and Apollo have abandoned them (506–9) and the rest of the gods are siding with the enemy (559–72). πῖπτον ἐπ᾽ ἀλλήλοισι (594a) also makes more sense if it refers to the corpses piling up on the ground (compare 544a πιπτόντων νεκύων), as in Charito 3.9.10 ὁ μὲν οὖν ἔκειτο καὶ σχῆμα καὶ χρῶμα νεκροῦ ποιήσας; QS 14.524–5 οἳ δ᾽ ἐν νήεσσι πεσόντες / κεῖντο καταφθιμένοισιν ἐοικότες.

594a πῖπτον ἐπ᾽ ἀλλήλοισι: compare [Hes.] *Sc.* 379 ἐπ᾽ ἀλλήλοισι πέσον; QS 6.643 ἐπ᾽ ἀλλήλοισι πεσόντων; Nonn. *D.* 32.232 ἐπ᾽ ἀλλήλοις δὲ πεσόντες. See also *Od.* 22.389 μνηστῆρες ἐπ᾽ ἀλλήλοισι κέχυντο, 23.47 κείατ᾽ ἐπ᾽ ἀλλήλοισιν; Opp. *H.* 4.598 ἐπ᾽ ἀλλήλαις δὲ κέχυνται; Opp. *C.* 4.352 θῆρες ἐπ᾽ ἀλλήλῃσι χυθεῖσαι; Nonn. *D.* 22.166 ἐπ᾽ ἀλλήλοις δὲ χυθέντες.

594b–5 The final comment on the death of the men takes Cassandra's prediction (391–2 ἑλίσσεται ἔνδοθι πύργων / αἵματος ἐκχυμένου πέλαγος) and the initial description of the massacre (542–4 Νήχετο δ᾽ αἵματι γαῖα …/… ἐστείνετο δ᾽ Ἴλιος ἱρὴ / πιπτόντων νεκύων) a step further, with λύθρον serving as an intensification of αἷμα. Not only is Troy littered with blood and corpses, but they are overflowing, just as the bed of the Scamander is choked with corpses after the battle: *Il.* 21.218 πλήθει γὰρ δή μοι νεκύων ἐρατεινὰ ῥέεθρα, 220 στεινόμενος νεκύεσσι. Compare Opp. *H.* 4.691 νεκύων δὲ πόλις πέπληθεν ἅπασα; QS 1.346–7 αἶα / αἵματι δευομένη νεκύεσσί τε πεπληθυῖα, 11.160–1 ἀμφὶ δὲ γαῖα νεκρῶν περιπεπληθυῖα / αἵματι πλημμύρεσκεν, 11.302–3 τῶν δ᾽ ἄρα δαμναμένων ποταμοὶ πλήθοντο νέκυσσι / καὶ πεδίον; Nonn. *D.* 36.199 γαῖα δὲ διψώουσα φόνου κυμαίνετο λύθρῳ, 201 πληθύι τοσσατίῃ νεκύων ἐστείνετο Λήθη.

ἀνδρῶν χηρεύουσα: the metaphor of the city as a widow (χήρη) can be said to respond to Priam's misguided perception (430b–1 οὐδ᾽

ἐπὶ δῆριν / ἄνδρα γυνὴ πέμψασα νέκυν δακρύσατο χήρη), and is inspired by *Od.* 9.124 ἀνδρῶν χηρεύει. Compare also *Il.* 5.642 Ἰλίου ἐξαλάπαξε πόλιν, χήρωσε δ᾽ ἀγυιάς; E. *Cyc.* 304–5 ἅλις δὲ Πριάμου γαῖ᾽ ἐχήρωσ᾽ Ἑλλάδα, / πολλῶν νεκρῶν πιοῦσα δοριπετῆ φόνον; A. *Th.* 329–32 βοᾶι / δ᾽ ἐκκενουμένα πόλις / λαΐδος ὀλλυμένας μειξοθρόου; Verg. *A.* 8.571 "tam multis uiduasset ciuibus urbem". On the intertwining of men and cities in similes, see Hornsby 1970, 113–17. Compare also prose descriptions of the theme of the *urbs capta*: e.g. D. *Or.* 19.65 οἰκίας κατεσκαμμένας, τείχη περιῃρημένα, χώραν ἔρημον τῶν ἐν ἡλικίᾳ, γύναια δὲ καὶ παιδάρι� ὀλίγα καὶ πρεσβύτας ἀνθρώπους οἰκτρούς.

596–9 Theophany II (Kudoimos 'Tumult'). To highlight the gradual increase of violence during the night, as the Achaeans become more confident and possessed by the frenzy of battle, Triph. brings in the personification of Tumult (mentioned already in *Il.* 5.592–3, 18.535 ~ [Hes.] *Sc.* 156) and the ultimate sin, transgression against the gods, in the form of the desecration of temples. What follows is a string of illicit acts of aggression, starting with the killing of the elderly and of children (600–6) and culminating with the death of Priam (634–43) and the rape of Cassandra (647–50). For the historiographical topic of violent excesses in the sack of a town, see Thuc. 3.81.2 and 5 (πᾶσά τε ἰδέα κατέστη θανάτου, καὶ οἷον φιλεῖ ἐν τῷ τοιούτῳ γίγνεσθαι, οὐδὲν ὅτι οὐ ξυνέβη καὶ ἔτι περαιτέρω … ἀπὸ τῶν ἱερῶν ἀπεσπῶντο καὶ πρὸς αὐτοῖς ἐκτείνοντο, οἱ δέ τινες καὶ περιοικοδομηθέντες ἐν τοῦ Διονύσου τῷ ἱερῷ ἀπέθανον).

596a οὐδέ τι φειδωλή τις ἐγίνετο: after *Il.* 22.243–4 μηδέ τι δούρων / ἔστω φειδωλή.

596b–8a φοιταλέῃ δὲ / σπερχόμενοι μάστιγι φιλαγρύπνοιο Κυδοιμοῦ / οὐδὲ θεῶν ὄπιν εἶχον: compare for the phrasing A. *Pr.* 597 κέντροισι φοιταλέοισιν; Opp. *H.* 2.512–13 ἐπισπέρχει δ᾽ ἀέκοντας / φοιταλέῃ μάστιγι χορευέμεν. See also the interventions of Kudoimos in QS: 1.308–9 Δεινὸς γὰρ ἐνεστρωφᾶτο Κυδοιμὸς / λαοῖς ἐν μέσσοισιν, 6.350–1 ἐν δὲ Κυδοιμὸς / στρωφᾶτ᾽ ἐν μέσσοισι μετ᾽ ἀργαλέοιο Φόνοιο.

597 φιλάγρυπνος occurs only in late antique poetry: Nonn. *D.* 14.291 φιλαγρύπνῳ δὲ Λυαίῳ, 33.274 φιλαγρύπνῳ παρὰ λύχνῳ, 34.122 φιλαγρύπνων ἐπὶ λέκτρων, 48.321 φιλαγρύπνων … πυρσῶν; *AP* 2.392 (Christod.) ῥαθάμιγξι φιλαγρύπνοιο μελίσσης; *AP* 5.166.1 φιλάγρυπνος … πόθος, 197.3–4 φιλάγρυπνον / λύχνον; *APl.* 309.4 φιλαγρύπνων σήματα παννυχίδων.

598a οὐδὲ θεῶν ὄπιν εἶχον: Sinon unknowingly described the future behaviour of the Achaeans in 268 οἷά με λωβήσαντο θεῶν ὄπιν οὐκ ἀλέγοντες (see note to 265–82). For the phrasing, see *Od.* 21.28 οὐδὲ θεῶν ὄπιν αἰδέσατ᾽; *Il.* 16.388 θεῶν ὄπιν οὐκ ἀλέγοντες (= Hes. *Op.* 251); Hes. *Op.* 187 σχέτλιοι, οὐδὲ θεῶν ὄπιν εἰδότες.

598b ἀθεσμοτάτης ὑπὸ ῥιπῆς: the lash of Kudoimos' whip has the effect on the Achaeans of a gust of wind (*Il.* 15.171 ὑπὸ ῥιπῆς αἰθρηγενέος Βορέαο), causing them to commit utterly impious acts. For the un-Homeric metaphorical sense, see Opp. *H.* 4.141 θελγόμενοι λιαρῇσιν ὑπὸ ῥιπῇς Ἀφροδίτης. The image of the lash of the whip for divine pressure on humans goes back to *Il.* 12.37 Ἀργεῖοι δὲ Διὸς μάστιγι δαμέντες, 13.812 (after which Opp. *H.* 5.282), but is particularly developed as an image of god-sent madness (Padel 1992, 117–19), similar to those of the goad and the sting that have been used to describe Cassandra's frenzy (363–4 βελέμνῳ / ὀξέι θηγομένη, 365 μαντιπόλοιο βολῆς ὑπὸ νύγματι). Compare also Nonn. *D.* 21.108 θεινόμεναι μάστιγι δρακοντοκόμοιο Μεγαίρης, 34.137–8 ὑπὸ κέντρῳ / δαιμονίης μάστιγος ἐθηλύνοντο μαχηταί, 44.208–9 σεῖο δὲ Τισιφόνης, μανιώδεος ἠὲ Μεγαίρης / Ταρταρίῃ μάστιγι, 45.6 Κρονίης μάστιγος ἱμασσομένη φρένα κέντρῳ.

Instead of the Homeric ἀθέμιστος (e.g. *Od.* 9.106 Κυκλώπων … ὑπερφιάλων ἀθεμίστων), Triph. uses the prosaic ἄθεσμος (e.g. Plu. *Caes.* 10.5, *Art.* 29.12, *Mor.* 360E), found in late poetry: see Nonn. *D.* 25.16 λέκτρον ἀθέσμιον, 31.88 = 95 ἄθεσμον … νόον, 44.212 φῶτα … ἀθέσμιον, *AP* 9.154.5–6 (Agath.) εἰ γὰρ ἄθεσμος / ἔπλετο.

599 ἀθανάτων ἔχραινον ἀπενθέας αἵματι βωμούς: compare B. 11 (10).110–11 Snell-Maehler ταὶ δ᾽ αὐτίκα οἱ τέμενος βωμόν τε τεῦχον, / χραῖνόν τέ μιν αἵματι μήλων; E. *IA* 1595 ὡς μὴ μιαίνοι βωμὸν εὐγενεῖ φόνωι; Verg. *A.* 2.501–2 "uidi … Priamumque per aras / sanguine foedantem quos ipse sacrauerat ignis". **ἀπενθέας … βωμούς**: the adjective

is sometimes applied to the attributes of the gods (A. *Pr.* 956 ἀπενθῆ πέργαμ᾽; B. 13 (12).87 νεβρὸς ἀπεν[θής; Nonn. *D.* 7.87 ἀπενθέα βότρυν), but it sounds awkward here. Gerlaud (*Triph.*, p. 160, note to 599) suggests relating it by hypallage to ἀθανάτων, and translates "jusque là exempts de deuil" (because they have not suffered such an offence before? – compare QS 6.147 βωμὸς ἀκήρατος Ἑρκείοιο, before Neoptolemus kills Priam by this altar in 13.213–50). Campbell (*Lex.*, p. 215, APP 599) suggests 'void of sorrow, that cannot experience mourning': the invaders try to inflict πένθος, but the altars are inanimate and so unfeeling. The phrase is easier to understand with the use of ἀπενθής in Nonnus' *D.* in mind: Dionysus is ἀπενθής, and yet the death of Ampelos brings πένθος to him (11.279 ἀλλὰ θανὼν λίπε πένθος ἀπενθήτῳ Διονύσῳ, 12.167 Ἄμπελε, πένθος ὄπασσας ἀπενθήτῳ Διονύσῳ): as possessions of the gods, altars should be inviolable and should never suffer, but the Achaeans affront them.

600–6 Anonymous victims III: old men and children. This tableau can be compared with the deaths of Priam (634–43) and Astyanax (644–6).

600–2 The Achaeans not only kill the **Trojan elders**, showing no respect for them, but even kill them after they have adopted the posture of the suppliant, thus attracting onto themselves the wrath of Zeus Ἱκέσιος. These lines illuminate the death of Priam: 600 Οἰκτρότατοι δὲ γέροντες (the elders are pitiful, and yet they do not inspire pity in the Achaean invaders) ~ 634–5 βασιλῆα / πήμασι κεκμηῶτα and 636a οἶκτον ἀπωσάμενος πατρώιον; 601b–2a χαμαὶ δ᾽ ἱκετήσια γυῖα / τεινάμενοι ~ 636b–7a οὐδὲ λιτάων / ἔκλυεν; 602b πολιοῖσι … καρήνοις ~ 637–8a οὐ Πηλῆος ὁρώμενος ἥλικα χαίτην / ᾐδέσαθ᾽. This image of the elders, begging for their lives stretched out on the ground, instead of being on their feet receiving a respectful treatment from the younger warriors (600–1 ἀτιμοτάτοισι φόνοισιν / οὐδ᾽ ὀρθοὶ κτείνοντο), is particularly distressing. Compare Talthybius' horrified reaction on seeing white-haired Hecabe lying on the ground and covered in dust in E. *Hec.* 484–500. Quintus develops a similar episode with the death of Ilioneus (13.181–207): when he is about to kill the man, Diomedes grants him enough time to adopt the posture of the suppliant (183–6a) and utter a desperate speech (191–7), but despite this he does not spare him.

As in the case of the women (547–58), the deaths of the elderly are 'designed' to provoke *pathos*, through the contrasting of helplessness and brutality. And yet the elderly had to be punished too, because they had shared in the collective sin of bringing the horse into Troy, and had taken part in the celebration of the end of the war (351). They had rejoiced when the Achaeans had abandoned their camp (241–4), looking forward to old age in freedom (245 ὀσσόμενοι καὶ γῆρας ἐλεύθερον), but Zeus did not grant their wish (245b–6).

600a οἰκτρότατοι δὲ γέροντες: compare *Od.* 11.38 πολύτλητοί τε γέροντες. **601a ὀρθοί**: as in *Il.* 18.246 ὀρθῶν δ᾽ ἑσταότων (= *Od.* 9.442), 23.271 etc. στῆ δ᾽ ὀρθός; *Od.* 18.241 ὀρθὸς στῆναι.

601b–2 χαμαὶ δ᾽ ἱκετήσια γυῖα / τεινάμενοι πολιοῖσι κατεκλίνοντο καρήνοις: compare AR 1.1008–9 γυῖα δ᾽ ὕπερθεν / χέρσῳ τεινάμενοι. For κατακλίνω, see *Od.* 10.165 κατακλίνας ἐπὶ γαίῃ; Nonn. *D.* 17.118 ἄλλοι δ᾽ ἀστορέεσσι κατεκλίνοντο χαμεύναις. **πολιοῖσι … καρήνοις**: the phrase reminds us of how Achilles took pity on Priam because of his old age (*Il.* 24.516 οἰκτείρων πολιόν τε κάρη πολιόν τε γένειον). Compare Aion's supplication of Zeus in Nonn. *D.* 7.22–8, esp. 22–3 ᾽Αλλὰ Διὸς πετάσας ἐπὶ γούνασι λευκάδα χαίτην / Αἰών, 25–6 δαπέδῳ δὲ καθελκομένοιο καρήνου / ἐκταδίην ἔθλιψε ῥάχιν κυρτούμενος αὐχήν.

603–6 The **murder of infants** had been one of the elements that Priam had considered in his description of the sack of Troy (*Il.* 22.63b–4 καὶ νήπια τέκνα / βαλλόμενα προτὶ γαίῃ ἐν αἰνῇ δηιοτῆτι). See also A. *Th.* 348–50 βλαχαὶ δ᾽ αἱματόεσσαι / τῶν ἐπιμαστιδίων / ἀρτιτρεφεῖς βρέμονται. For the historiographical motif, see Thuc. 7.29.5; Livy 28.20.6, 29.8. The children had taken part in the celebration of the end of the war along with the elderly: 351 καὶ παίδων ἀλαλητὸς ἐμίσγετο γήραος ἠχῇ.

603a νήπια τέκνα: 11x a line ending in the *Il.*, 2x in the *Od.* Same *sedes* in QS 12.491, 14.284; Nonn. *D.* 47.724.

603b–4a μινυνθαδίων ἀπὸ μαζῶν / μητέρος ἡρπάζοντο: the motif of the child snatched away from his mother's breast is usually related to Astyanax. See E. *Tr.* 570–1 παρὰ δ᾽ εἰρεσίαι μαστῶν ἕπεται / φίλος ᾽Αστυάναξ, 750–1, 782–3 ἄγε, παῖ, φίλιον πρόσπτυγμα μεθεὶς /

μητρὸς μογερᾶς (also Hecabe on Polyxena in E. *Hec.* 513 ὄλωλας, ὦ παῖ, μητρὸς ἁρπασθεῖσ᾽ ἄπο); Paus. 10.25.9 γέγραπται μὲν Ἀνδρομάχη καὶ ὁ παῖς οἱ προσέστηκεν ἑλόμενος τοῦ μαστοῦ; QS 13.252b–3 (Astyanax) φίλον δέ οἱ ἦτορ ὄλεσσαν / μητρὸς ἀφαρπάξαντες (and the parallel in the simile: 260 [πόρτιν] μητρὸς ἀποτμήξαντες ἐυγλαγέων ἀπὸ μαζῶν). In other versions Astyanax is seized from his nurse's breast: Bernabé *PEG Iliades Parvae* fr. 21.3–4 παῖδα δ᾽ ἑλὼν ἐκ κόλπου ἐυπλοκάμοιο τιθήνης / ῥῖψε ποδὸς τεταγὼν ἀπὸ πύργου. Triph. seems to combine both versions here (603b–4a ἀπὸ μαζῶν / μητέρος, 606 χοὰς ἐκόμισσε τιθήνη). See also Verg. *A.* 6.428–9 (of the children at the entrance of Hades) "quos dulcis uitae exsortis et ab ubere raptos / abstulit atra dies et funere mersit acerbo"; *AP* 7.207.1–2 (Meleager) ἔτι παῖδα συναρπασθέντα τεκούσης / ἄρτι μ᾽ ἀπὸ στέρνων; Opp. *H.* 2.313–18.

μινυνθαδίων ἀπὸ μαζῶν refers to the brief period during which mothers were able to breast-feed their infants, and the short lives of the latter (anticipating 646 μινύωρον … Ἀστυάνακτα). In the *Il.* Achilles complains of the shortness of his life (1.352 μῆτερ, ἐπεί μ᾽ ἔτεκές γε μινυνθάδιόν περ ἐόντα), but his is long in comparison with those of the Trojan infants.

604b–5a οὐ νοέοντα τοκήων / ἀμπλακίας ἀπέτινον: compare *Il.* 4.161–2 σύν τε μεγάλῳ ἀπέτεισαν, / σὺν σφῇσιν κεφαλῇσι γυναιξί τε καὶ τεκέεσσιν (a similar idea in *Il.* 3.298–301, Hes. *Op.* 282–5); AR 2.475–6 ἀλλ᾽ ὅ γε πατρὸς ἑοῖο κακὴν τίνεσκεν ἀμοιβὴν / ἀμπλακίης; *AP* 7.339. QS develops this motif in his account of the death of Astyanax, as a result of resentment towards Hector (13.251–7): see esp. 257 νήπιον, οὔ πω δῆριν ἐπιστάμενον πολέμοιο. See also E. *Tr.* 723–79 (Astyanax is sentenced to be flung from the Trojan walls, for being Hector's son), esp. 764–5 ὦ βάρβαρ᾽ ἐξευρόντες Ἕλληνες κακά, / τί τόνδε παῖδα κτείνετ᾽ οὐδὲν αἴτιον;; E. *Hipp.* 1363 πατρὸς ἀμπλακίαις. Inherited family guilt was very much part of Greek culture (Parker 1983, 198–206; Lloyd-Jones 1983, 35), and there is no need to infer in these lines any Christian or Judaic referent.

605b–6 ἀνημέλκτου δὲ γάλακτος / παιδὶ μάτην ὀρέγουσα χοὰς ἐκόμισσε τιθήνη. QS develops a similar pathetic theme after the nyktomachy: 14.15–16 ὁπλοτέρας ὧν παῖδας ἀπειρύσσαντ᾽ ἀπὸ μαζῶν / ὑστάτιον χείλεσσι γλάγος πέρι μαιμώωντας. See also Opp. *C.*

3.210–15 (esp. 214–15 νέρθε τε μαζῶν / αἵματι δευομένην θερμῷ λιαρῷ τε γάλακτι). There is also the image of the mother killed during the sack of a city feeding her child for the last time, the theme of a painting by Aristides of Thebes (Pliny *HN* 35.98 "Huius opera oppido capto ad matris morientis ex uolnere mammam adrepens infans, intellegiturque sentire mater et timere, ne emortuo lacte sanguinem lambat"), described in *AP* 7.623 (Antiphilus).

ἀνημέλκτου δὲ γάλακτος: compare *Od.* 9.439 θήλειαι … ἀνήμελκτοι; Nonn. *D.* 41.140 ἀνημέλκτοιο δὲ θηλῆς. **χοή** is a libation to the dead, often including milk: *Od.* 10.518–19 ~ 11.26–7; Verg. *A.* 3.66–7 "inferimus tepido spumantia cymbia lacte / sanguinis et sacri pateras". In tragedy, it appears in the plural: E. *Hec.* 527–9, 535.

607–12 The animal attack replicates with grisly realism the banqueting all over the city (448 Εἰλαπίνη δ᾽ ἐπίδημος ἔην) and the oppressive silence before the invasion (504–5 οὐδ᾽ ὑλακὴ σκυλάκων ἠκούετο, πᾶσα δὲ Σιγὴ / εἱστήκει καλέουσα φόνον πνείουσαν ἀυτήν).

The motif of the dogs and birds of prey devouring the corpses of the warriors killed in battle, linked to the lack of care after death (comment by Griffin 1980, 115–18, 120ff.; Segal 1971), recurs in the *Iliad*: 1.4–5 αὐτοὺς δὲ ἑλώρια τεῦχε κύνεσσιν / οἰωνοῖσί τε πᾶσι, 2.393, 4.237, 8.379–80, 11.391–5, 11.452–4, 13.831–2, 17.241, 22.335–6, 22.354, 24.411; also *Od.* 3.259–60, 14.133–6, 24.290–6. Priam produces the most pathetic version when he tries to convince Hector to abandon the plain and save his life: the last of the vignettes with which he describes the capture of Troy is that of his own body being torn apart by the dogs that he had reared at his table (*Il.* 22.66–76). QS is also fond of this theme (1.329–30, 1.644–5, 5.441–8, 6.417–18, 10.403–4, 11.243–5), but avoids it in his account of the invasion of Troy, mentioning only the barking of the dogs (13.100–1) and the dogs and horses trampling on dead bodies as they try to escape from the fire (457–60).

607–8 οἰωνοί τε κύνες τε = QS 5.448 (same *sedes*). Compare also *Il.* 22.354 ἀλλὰ κύνες τε καὶ οἰωνοί. **κατὰ πτόλιν ἄλλοθεν ἄλλοι** ~ Triph. 340 ἀνὰ πτόλιν ἄλλοθεν ἄλλαι. **συνέστιοι εἰλαπινασταί**: echoed by Nonn. *D.* 47.199 συνέστιος εἰλαπινάζων|.

609 αἷμα μέλαν πίνοντες ἀμείλιχον ἕλκον ἐδωδήν: compare *Il.* 11.453–4 οἰωνοὶ / ὠμησταὶ ἐρύουσι, 22.66–7 (Priam of his own dogs) αὐτὸν δ᾽ ἂν πύματόν με κύνες …/ ὠμησταὶ ἐρύουσιν, 22.335–6 σὲ μὲν κύνες ἠδ᾽ οἰωνοὶ / ἑλκήσουσ᾽ ἀικῶς; QS 3.210–11 τόνδ᾽ …/ θήσομεν οἰωνοῖσιν ἀερσιπέτῃσιν ἐδωδήν (~ 6.49), 5.448 [σὲ] οἰωνοί τε κύνες τε δεδουπότα δαρδάψουσιν, 10.403–4 νέκυν …/… κύνες δάψουσι καὶ οἰωνῶν θοὰ φῦλα. **αἷμα μέλαν πίνοντες**: after *Il.* 22.70 (Priam) οἵ κ᾽ ἐμὸν αἷμα πιόντες (see also *Il.* 11.813, 16.529), which also inspired QS 13.138–9 πάντ᾽ ἐπιόντες / αἷμα μέλαν πίνουσιν. *b* has **ἕλκον** and F has εἶχον: both Gerlaud and Livrea print ἕλκον, but Campbell (*Lex.*, p. 215, APP 609) and Dubielzig (*Triph.*, 253–4) prefer εἶχον. See Livrea (1976, 449–50) and Dubielzig (*ibid.*) for a detailed analysis of the variants.

610a καὶ τῶν μὲν κλαγγὴ φόνον ἔπνεεν: compare QS 13.100–1 Πάντῃ δ᾽ ἀμφὶ πόληα κυνῶν ἀλεγεινὸς ὀρώρει / ὠρυθμός. For the phrasing, see note to 504b–5.

610b–11 οἱ δ᾽ ὑλάοντες / ἄγρια κοπτομένοισιν ἐπ᾽ ἀνδράσιν ὠρύοντο: the phrasing recalls bucolic descriptions of animal grief (Theocr. *Id.* 1.71 τῆνον μὰν θῶες, τῆνον λύκοι ὠρύσαντο; Bion *Epitaph. Adon.* 18 τῆνον μὲν περὶ παῖδα φίλοι κύνες ὠρύονται – ed. Reed 1997; Ael. *NA* 10.41 ὁ δὲ κύων ὠρυόμενός τε καὶ θρηνῶν τὸν τῶν κυνῶν θρῆνον). The distinction lies in ἄγρια (Triph. 611), which shows that the howling is aggressive and that these animals have literally torn apart the dead bodies (611 κοπτομένοισιν ἐπ᾽ ἀνδράσιν) and are fighting to defend them from other predators. Compare also Theocr. *Id.* 2.35 Θεστυλί, ταὶ κύνες ἄμμιν ἀνὰ πτόλιν ὠρύονται; AR 3.1216–17 ἀμφὶ δὲ τήν γε / ὀξείῃ ὑλακῇ χθόνιοι κύνες ἐφθέγγοντο; QS 12.518–19 ἐν δὲ λύκοι καὶ θῶες ἀναιδέες ὠρύσαντο / ἔντοσθεν πυλέων; Collut. 117 οὐ κύνες ὠρύοντο καὶ οὐ μυκήσατο ταῦρος.

612 νηλέες, οὐδ᾽ ἀλέγιζον ἑοὺς ἐρύοντες ἄνακτας: Triph. is hinting at Priam's fears that his own dogs would devour him (*Il.* 22.66–9), and drawing a comparison with the Achaeans, who show no respect for the gods or the elderly. In fact, νηλέες (= AR 4.389) can be applied to both human and animal attackers, as both share similar instincts (the animals 609 αἷμα μέλαν πίνοντες; Odysseus and Menelaus 616 φονόωντες). Compare also Nonn. *D.* 5.325–6 (Actaeon's dogs do not recognise him

when he is turned into a stag) ἀλλοφυῆ δὲ / οὐκέτι τὸν πρὶν ἄνακτα κύνες μάθον. For the phrasing, see *Il.* 11.453–4 (corpses) οἰωνοὶ / ὠμησταὶ ἐρύουσι, 15.351 (of the bodies of the dead) ἀλλὰ κύνες ἐρύουσι πρὸ ἄστεος ἡμετέροιο, 22.66–7 (Priam) αὐτὸν δ᾽ ἂν πύματόν με κύνες πρώτῃσι θύρῃσιν / ὠμησταὶ ἐρύουσιν.

613–50 Illustrious victims

613–33 Menelaus and Odysseus attack Deiphobus' house. The best-known account of the episode is the song of Demodocus (*Od.* 8.516–20), but it is also mentioned in the *Ilioupersis* (Bernabé *PEG Ilii Excidium* Arg., lines 14–15 Μενέλαος δὲ ἀνευρὼν Ἑλένην ἐπὶ τὰς ναῦς κατάγει, Δηΐφοβον φονεύσας). Virgil (*A.* 6.494–534) presents Deiphobus telling Aeneas how Helen took away the weapons of the house and opened the doors to the Danaans, who came in led by Ulysses, and killed Deiphobus and mutilated his body. On extant accounts of the death of Deiphobus, see note to 626–9.

The inspiration for the details of Triph.'s episode comes from *Il.* 12.127–61: Polypoetes and Leonteus hold the gates of the Achaean camp against a cohort of Trojan attackers, fighting like a pair of wild boar against a throng of men (*Il.* 12.146 ἀγροτέροισι σύεσσιν ἐοικότε ~ Triph. 615 καρχαλέοισι λύκοισιν ἐοικότες); the Achaeans try to repel the Trojans by hurling stones from the towers, and these crash onto the helmets and shields of both the Trojans and the Achaeans. This is one of a long, loosely-associated series of comparisons in which the motif of the hunted beast predominates, which are scattered through *Il.* 11–12 (analysed in Moulton 1977, 45–9).

613–14 τὼ δὲ γυναιμανέος ποτὶ δώματα Δηιφόβοιο / στελλέσθην ᾽Οδυσεύς τε καὶ εὐχαίτης Μενέλαος ~ *Od.* 8.517–18 αὐτὰρ ᾽Οδυσσῆα προτὶ δώματα Δηϊφόβοιο / βήμεναι, ἠΰτ᾽ Ἄρηα σὺν ἀντιθέῳ Μενελάῳ. Menelaus tells of his attachment to Odysseus in *Od.* 4.100–12, 168–82. **γυναιμανέος … Δηιφόβοιο**: γυναιμανής is the adjective that Hector uses for Paris in *Il.* 3.39 and 13.769. Triph. suggests that Deiphobus is, like his brother, a womaniser, who was so obsessed with Helen as to marry her after Paris' death, thus causing Helenus' defection (see 45–50, esp. 45 Δηιφόβοιο γαμοκλόπον ὕβριν). Nonnus uses this epithet frequently in his *D.*: e.g. 2.125 γυναιμανέων ᾽Ενοσίχθων. **ποτὶ δώματα Δηιφόβοιο**: after the song of Demodocus (*Od.* 8.517

προτὶ δώματα Δηϊφόβοιο|). **εὐχαίτης Μενέλαος**: Triph. is probably thinking of the Homeric line ending ξανθὸς Μενέλαος (*Il.* 3.284 etc.); the epithet becomes common in later poetry, esp. in Nonn. *D.* (same *sedes* in 13.63 εὐχαίτην Ἐλεῶνα).

615–17 Analogous similes occur in the *Il.* (15.323–6, 16.156–67, 16.352–6; also shorter comparisons: 4.471–2, 11.72–3), AR 2.123–9 (see Vian 2008, 398) and QS (esp. 13.72–7, first Achaean attack). Virgil uses a comparable simile for the Trojans, led by Aeneas, when they attack the Achaean invaders: *A.* 2.355–7 "lupi ceu / raptores atra in nebula, quos improba uentris / exegit caecos rabies". See also Nonn. *P.* 10.47–8 καὶ λύκος ἀγκυλόμητις ἐπέρχεται ἅρπαγι λαιμῷ / μῆλα διασκεδάσας σημάντορος οὐ παρεόντος.

615a καρχαλέοισι λύκοισιν ἐοικότες: after AR 3.1058 καρχαλέοι κύνες ὥς τε περὶ βρώμης. Compare also *Il.* 10.360 (Odysseus and Diomedes) ὡς δ᾽ ὅτε καρχαρόδοντε δύω κύνε, 13.198 κυνῶν ὕπο καρχαροδόντων; Opp. *C.* 2.18. **615b–16a ὑπὸ νύκτα / χειμερίην**: as in Pi. *O.* 6.100 ἐν χειμερίᾳ / νυκτί. For **φονόωντες**, see S. *Ph.* 1209 φονᾷ, φονᾷ νόος ἤδη. **616b–17a ἀσημάντοις ἐπὶ μήλοις / οἴχονται**: compare *Il.* 10.485 ὡς δὲ λέων μήλοισιν ἀσημάντοισιν ἐπελθών, 15.325 σημάντορος οὐ παρεόντος. Also, for the idea, see AR 2.125 λάθρῃ ἐυρρίνων τε κυνῶν αὐτῶν τε νομήων. **617b κάματον δὲ κατατρύχουσι νομήων**: probably after Hes. *Op.* 305–6 οἵ τε μελισσάων κάματον τρύχουσιν ἀεργοὶ / ἔσθοντες. Compare also *Od.* 14.417 ἄλλοι δ᾽ ἡμέτερον κάματον νήποινον ἔδουσιν.

618–20a ~ *Od.* 8.519 κεῖθι δὴ αἰνότατον πόλεμον φάτο τολμήσαντα. For the theme 'two against a throng', see *Il.* 12.127–72 (Polypoetes and Leonteus hold up the Trojan attack), 13.235–8 (Idomeneus and Poseidon), 13.738–9 οἱ δὲ μάχονται / παυρότεροι πλεόνεσσι, 17.746–53 (the two Aiantes hold up a Trojan attack). Compare Nonn. *D.* 30.220–1 ἀπειρεσίας δὲ διώκων / Μαινάδας εὐπέπλους κορυθαιόλος ἔκτανε Μορρεύς. Triph. abandons the dual form with which he introduced the scene (613 Τώ …, 618 Ἔνθα δύω … ἔμιχθεν), though Homer uses the dual in similar scenes: *Il.* 12.171 = 13.236 δύ᾽ ἐόντε.

618–19a ἀπειρεσίοισιν …/ ἀνδράσι δυσμενέεσσι: a blend of Homeric expressions, such as *Il.* 5.488 etc. ἀνδράσι δυσμενέεσσιν; *Od.* 19.173–4 ἐν δ᾽ ἄνθρωποι / πολλοί, ἀπειρέσιοι. **619b–20a νέη δ᾽ ἠγείρετο**

χάρμη / τῶν μὲν ἐπορνυμένων: compare *Il.* 5.496 = 6.105 = 11.213 ἔγειρε δὲ φύλοπιν αἰνήν; AR 3.1386 ἐγειρομένου πολέμοιο; Opp. *H.* 1.336 ἀλκὴ καὶ μέγα νεῖκος ἐγείρεται.

620b–1 τῶν δ᾽ ὑψόθεν ἐκ θαλάμοιο / βαλλόντων λιθάκεσσι καὶ ὠκυμόροισιν ὀιστοῖς: compare *Il.* 12.154–5 (Polypoetes and Leonteus against the Trojans) οἱ δ᾽ ἄρα χερμαδίοισιν ἐϋδμήτων ἀπὸ πύργων / βάλλον. Virgil locates a similar scene at Priam's palace (*A.* 2.445–9, 460–8; also 9.505–18), with the Trojans trying to defend the building from the Danaans, who climb up using ladders and protect themselves with shields (440–4). It is usually women who pelt the invaders with stones and roof tiles when the city is attacked (see Schaps 1982, 195): Thuc. 2.4.2 (Plataean women and slaves shout war cries and pelt the Theban invaders with stones and roof tiles), 3.74.1 (in a battle during the Corcyraean civil war, women pelt the oligarchs with tiling from the houses); Diod. Sic. 13.56.7 (the women of Selinus throw stones and tiles at the Carthaginians from the rooftops); Nonn. *D.* 35.12–16, 92–6 (esp. 95b–6 ὑπὲρ τεγέων δὲ καὶ ἄλλαι / λαϊνέοις βελέεσσιν ἐθωρήσσοντο γυναῖκες). In fact, in the *Posthomerica* Aeneas is reproached for fighting like a woman when he throws a stone from the walls and kills a man (11.484–95).

621 βαλλόντων λιθάκεσσι καὶ ὠκυμόροισιν ὀιστοῖς: compare *Il.* 8.327 βάλεν λίθῳ ὀκριόεντι, 21.113 ἢ ὅ γε δουρὶ βαλὼν ἢ ἀπὸ νευρῆφιν ὀϊστῷ; Nonn. *D.* 39.302 βαλλομένων ξιφέεσσι καὶ ὀξυτέροισιν ὀιστοῖς. **ὠκυμόροισιν ὀιστοῖς**: after *Il.* 15.440–1 ἰοὶ / ὠκύμοροι, *Od.* 22.75 ἰῶν ὠκυμόρων. See also QS 10.296 ὠκυμόρων σθένος ἰῶν.

622–3 ἀλλὰ καὶ ὧς ὑπέροπλα καρήατα πυργώσαντες / ἀρρήκτοις κορύθεσσι καὶ ἀσπίσι κυκλώσαντες: compare esp. *Il.* 12.160–1 (Polypoetes and Leonteus against the Trojans) κόρυθες δ᾽ ἀμφ᾽ αὖον ἀΰτευν / βαλλομένων μυλάκεσσι καὶ ἀσπίδες ὀμφαλόεσσαι, but also *Il.* 7.61–2 τῶν δὲ στίχες ἥατο πυκναί, / ἀσπίσι καὶ κορύθεσσι καὶ ἔγχεσι πεφρικυῖαι, *Il.* 13.131–3 ἀσπὶς ἄρ᾽ ἀσπίδ᾽ ἔρειδε, κόρυς κόρυν, ἀνέρα δ᾽ ἀνήρ· / ψαῦον δ᾽ ἱππόκομοι κόρυθες λαμπροῖσι φάλοισι / νευόντων (~ 16.214–17); QS 10.46–7 αἶψα δὲ δὴ κορύθεσσι καὶ ἀσπίσι καὶ δοράτεσσι / φράχθεν ἐπ᾽ ἀλλήλοις.

It is tempting to see here a reference to the contemporary use of the *testudo* or χελώνη, a battle formation in which soldiers hold their

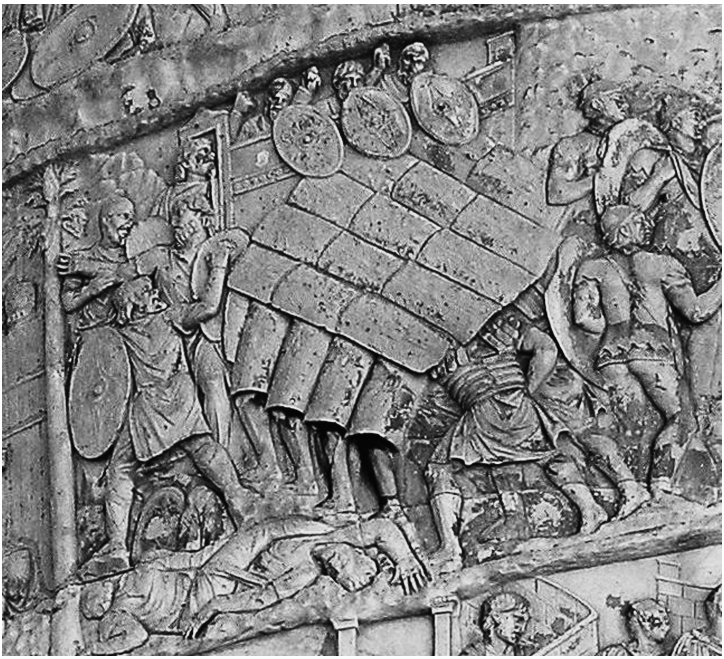

Image 10. Trajan's Column, scene L-LI: Roman legionaries employ the *testudo* to storm a Dacian fort, while the defenders throw objects from the palisade. © Matthias Kabel @ Wikimedia. Commons.

shields side by side, without gaps, so that the front-line soldiers protect the front, the soldiers at the side guard the flanks, and soldiers of intermediate rank cover the unit (Image 10). In fact this passage can be compared with more explicit descriptions in QS 11.358–408 (see comment in Vian 1969, 44–7, and notes *ad loc.*) and Nonn. *D.* 22.180–6 (see comment in Schulze 1973; Hopkinson – Vian 1994, pp. 237–8, note to 180–6). Historiographical accounts describe the use of the *testudo* in sieges (e.g. Tac. *Hist.* 3.27–8, *Ann.* 13.39.3), and it was also depicted on Trajan's column (Image 10).

Triph. hints at the practice of throwing stones and tiles from the rooftops in cases of attack, but two men alone cannot make up a *testudo*. The use of helmets for protection also makes sense in the original Homeric context, where they work in combination with a movable shield, but men locked in a *testudo* would suffocate if wearing 'unbreakable (therefore heavy) helmets'. Triph. may have found inspiration in

AR 2.1047–89, where the Argonauts use shields and helmets to protect themselves from the bronze feathers dropped by the birds from the island of Ares, also mentioned as a source for QS 11.358–407 in James 2007, 151.

622 ὑπέροπλα καρήατα: see LSJ *s.v.* ὑπέροπλος II 'big, mighty', as in Theocr. *Id.* 22.44 ἀνὴρ ὑπέροπλος; Opp. *H.* 1.103 βοῶν θ᾽ ὑπέροπλα γένεθλα, 1.182–3 ὑπέροπλος / ὀρκύνων γενεή, 5.366 κυνῶν ὑπέροπλα γένεθλα. Triph. probably thought of it as a synonym for the Homeric πέλωρος or πελώριος, describing the huge size and awesome appearance of heroes and gods: e.g. *Il.* 3.229 οὗτος δ᾽ Αἴας ἐστὶ πελώριος, ἕρκος ᾽Αχαιῶν, 7.208 πελώριος ἔρχεται ᾽Αρης. ὑπέροπλα καρήατα may refer not so much to the height of Menelaus and Odysseus as to the size and terrifying appearance of their helmeted heads (see *Il.* 6.466–73, Hector's helmet). For the construction of **πυργώσαντες**, see Nonn. *D.* 22.258 ἀρρήκτοις νεφέεσσιν ὅλον πύργωσεν ᾽Αθήνη, 30.52 ἀσπίδι πυργώσας δέμας ἀνέρος. Nonnus says of the construction of the χελώνη (*D.* 22.181) μιμηλὴν σακέεσσιν ἐπυργώσαντο χελώνην. **623 ἀρρήκτοις κορύθεσσι**: compare *Il.* 11.375 κόρυθα βριαρήν (~ 16.413, 16.559, 18.611); A. *Supp.* 190 ἄρρηκτον σάκος; S. *Aj.* 576 ἑπτάβοιον ἄρρηκτον σάκος; Nonn. *D.* 17.17 ἄρρηκτον ἑὸν δόρυ, 28.47 ἀρρήκτοιο σιδηρείοιο χιτῶνος.

624a εἰσέθορον μέγα δῶμα: compare A. *Th.* 454 πρὶν ἐμὸν ἐσθορεῖν δόμον. μέγα δῶμα occurs as a line ending twice in the *Il.* (5.213, 19.333) and six times in the *Od.* (e.g. 4.15). In *Od.* 8.520 (νικῆσαι καὶ ἔπειτα διὰ μεγάθυμον ᾽Αθήνην), Demodocus suggests that Odysseus wins this close combat with the help of Athena, a detail not mentioned by Triph.

624b–5 καὶ ἀντίβιον μὲν ὅμιλον, / θῆρας δειμαλέους, ἐλάων ἐδάιξεν ᾽Οδυσσεύς: compare the *aristeia* of Odysseus in *Il.* 11.401–88 (isolated from the rest of the army, he is like a boar surrounded by hounds, but he faces them all down, though in the end he is wounded and needs to call for help).

624b ἀντίβιον was corrected by Wernicke (*Triph.*, 462) to ἀντιβίων "ex Nonni consuetudine": cf. Nonn. *D.* 5.48 στρατὸς ἀντιβίων, 15.52 ἀντιβίων … χορός, 29.288 ἀντιβίων … φάλαγγες. This suggestion was accepted by West 1983, 185; Campbell *Lex.*, p. 215, APP 524–5. Camp-

bell went further, proposing ἀντιβίων … δειμαλέων, but Weinberger (*Triph.*), Mair (1928), Gerlaud (*Triph.*), Livrea (*Triph.*), Cuartero (*Triph.*) and Dubielzig (*Triph.*) all preferred ἀντίβιον.

625 is also textually difficult (cf. summary in Dubielzig *Triph.*, 255–9): **θῆρας δειμαλέους** (F's reading, whereas L has θῦρας, and YN have θύρας) seems preferable, and is printed by Gerlaud, Livrea and Dubielzig, though Köchly (1853) suggested θὴρ ἅτε. Campbell (*Lex.*, p. 215, APP 524–5) proposes ἀντιβίων …/ πῦρ ἅτε δειμαλέων, after AR 4.488–9 ὅμιλον / πῦρ ἅ τε δηιόωντες ἐπέδραμον. Where the manuscripts have **ἐλάων**, Campbell (*loc.cit.*) sees a dittography (-ΑΛΕΩΝΕΛΑΩΝ) "ousting e.g. ἐφέπων or κλονέων". Dubielzig prints ἅτ᾽ ἀγρεύς.

626–9 Death of Deiphobus. The *Ilioupersis* (Bernabé *PEG Ilii Excidium* Arg., lines 14–15) and Apollodorus (*Epit.* 5.22 Μενέλαος δὲ Δηίφοβον κτείνας Ἑλένην ἐπὶ τὰς ναῦς ἄγει) give neutral accounts of the episode, but Virgil emphasises the grisly details (*A.* 6.494–534): Aeneas meets Deiphobus on his trip to Hades, and sees that he is severely mutilated on his hands and head, because Helen had opened the doors of their chamber and the Greeks had burst in when he was sound asleep and unarmed. The mutilation is also referred to in Dictys 5.12, and Helen's involvement is mentioned in Hygin. *Fab.* 240 (see also *Fab.* 113, attributing Deiphobus' killing to Menelaus). In QS' version (13.354–415), Menelaus enters Deiphobus' palace and kills him while he is still in bed, heavy with wine (354–6), and he continues his fatal charge until he finds Helen, hidden at the back of the house; at first he raises his sword against her, but Aphrodite and Agamemnon appease him; Helen and Menelaus are reconciled when the battle is over, in the intimacy of Menelaus' hut (14.149–78). On the other hand, Christodorus of Coptus describes a statue of Deiphobus, heavily armed and in full martial rage, facing Menelaus at the gates of his house (*AP* 2.1–12, to be read with Tissoni 2000, 89–93). Dares (*De excidio Troiae* 28) presents a completely different version, with Deiphobus killed by Palamedes earlier in the war.

626–7 ᾽Ατρείδης δ᾽ ἑτέρωθεν ὑποπτήξαντα διώξας / Δηίφοβον κατέμαρψε, μέσην κατὰ γαστέρα τύψας: compare *Il.* 5.65–6 τὸν μὲν Μηριόνης, ὅτε δὴ κατέμαρπτε διώκων, / βεβλήκει γλουτὸν κατὰ

δεξιόν, 16.597–8 τὸν μὲν ἄρα Γλαῦκος στῆθος μέσον οὔτασε δουρὶ / στρεφθεὶς ἐξαπίνης, ὅτε μιν κατέμαρπτε διώκων.

626 Ἀτρείδης δ᾽ ἑτέρωθεν = *Il.* 1.247. **ὑποπτήξαντα** is a correction introduced by Leopardus (1568, book 20, ch. 26) where *b* has ὑποτμήξαντα and F ἀποτμήξαντα. It was reproduced by Gerlaud, Livrea and Campbell (*Lex. s.v.* ὑποπτήσσω), and has strong parallels: see Opp. *H.* 1.451 ὑποπτήσσουσιν ἀνάλκιδες; Nonn. *D.* 20.288 οὐδὲ τεοῦ Κρονίωνος ὑποπτήσσειεν Ἐνυώ, 27.132 μή τις ὑποπτήσσειεν ἰδὼν ἐλατῆρα λεαίνης, 34.76 οὐ τρομέω Διόνυσον· ὑποπτήσσω δὲ γυναῖκα. Dubielzig (*Triph.*, 259) proposes instead ἀποπτήξαντα. **627b μέσην κατὰ γαστέρα τύψας**: after *Il.* 17.313 μέσην κατὰ γαστέρα τύψε|. Dubielzig (*Triph.*, 259–60) adds an extra line between 627 and 628: 627a <ἀλλ᾽ ὅ γε κάππεσε δουρὶ δαμεὶς καὶ δεινὰ βοήσας>.

628 ἦπαρ ὀλισθηρῇσι συνεξέχεεν χολάδεσσιν: an elaborate version of *Il.* 4.525–6 = 21.180–1 ἐκ δ᾽ ἄρα πᾶσαι / χύντο χαμαὶ χολάδες. For liver wounds, see esp. *Il.* 20.469–71 ὁ δὲ φασγάνῳ οὖτα καθ᾽ ἧπαρ· / ἐκ δέ οἱ ἧπαρ ὄλισθεν, ἀτὰρ μέλαν αἷμα κατ᾽ αὐτοῦ / κόλπον ἐνέπλησεν, but also 11.578–9 (~ 13.411–12, 17.348–9). These are not the only gruesome killings in *Il.*: see also 11.146, 261; 13.203, 441–4, 605–19; 16.731–43, 17.297. On grisly realism in Homeric descriptions of wounds, see Fenik 1968, 7, 19, 143–4, 174; Segal 1971, 16–17; Griffin 1980, 90–2. Vermeule (1979, 83ff.) relates the physical, pathetic approach to the combat to the formulas and patterns of animal duels between carnivorous predators and grass-eaters. QS' and Nonnus' descriptions are even grislier: see e.g. QS 11.201–6, 13.90–9, 143–4, 146–56; Nonn. *D.* 22.191–8, 232–46, 263–75.

629 ὣς ὁ μὲν αὐτόθι κεῖτο λελασμένος ἱπποσυνάων: after *Il.* 16.775–6 (dead Meriones) ὁ δ᾽ ἐν στροφάλιγγι κονίης / κεῖτο μέγας μεγαλωστί, λελασμένος ἱπποσυνάων (~ *Od.* 24.39–40). Triph. may be suggesting that Deiphobus will lie unburied.

630–3 Helen. Triph. does not record the tradition that Menelaus was about to kill Helen when her beauty (or her bare breast) stopped him: Bernabé *PEG Iliades Parvae* fr. 19; E. *Andr.* 627–31; QS 13.385–402. Euripides staged the debate on Helen's fate in his *Tr.* 874ff., on which see Anderson 1997, 164–6. In Verg. *A.* 2.567–623 it is Aeneas who chases Helen, sword in hand, with murderous thoughts, and is stopped

by his mother Venus. The reunion of the spouses was a popular topic in the plastic arts: see Kahil 1988, 537–52, 559–60; Anderson 1997, 202–6; Hedreen 2001, 32–63; *AP* 2.165–70 (Christodorus – to be read with Tissoni 2000, 158–9). Triph. does not refer to the reconciliation of Helen and Menelaus: cf. QS 14.39–57, 149–78.

630 τῷ δ᾽ ἕπετο τρομέουσα δορυκτήτη παράκοιτις: Deiphobus had followed Helen on her way to Athena's temple to tempt the heroes hidden in the horse (465 καί οἱ Δηίφοβος πόσις εἵπετο), and now Helen follows Menelaus, after he has killed Deiphobus. Compare *Il.* 3.447 (Helen following Paris to bed) ἅμα δ᾽ εἵπετ᾽ ἄκοιτις; QS 13.386–7 εὗρεν ἑὴν παράκοιτιν ὑποτρομέουσαν ὁμοκλὴν / ἀνδρὸς κουριδίοιο θρασύφρονος, 14.46 ἕσπετο νισομένοιο κατ᾽ ἴχνιον ἀνδρὸς ἑοῖο, 14.56–7 ἤιε σὺν Τρῳῇσι δορυκτήτοισι καὶ αὐτὴ / νῆας ἐπ᾽ Ἀργείων εὐήρεας. Helen is treated as a war captive (δορυκτήτη): see E. *Tr.* 35 Ἑλένη, νομισθεῖσ᾽ αἰχμάλωτος ἐνδίκως, 871–2 δόμοις γὰρ τοῖσδ᾽ ἐν αἰχμαλωτικοῖς / κατηρίθμηται Τρωιάδων ἄλλων μέτα; QS 14.11–19.

631–2a ἄλλοτε μὲν χαίρουσα κακῶν ἐπὶ τέρματι μόχθων, / ἄλλοτε δ᾽ αἰδομένη: for the structure, see e.g. *Il.* 24.530 ἄλλοτε μέν τε κακῷ ὅ γε κύρεται, ἄλλοτε δ᾽ ἐσθλῷ. Helen's mixed feelings are described in detail by QS (14.17–19, 39–57). **κακῶν ἐπὶ τέρματι μόχθων**: the phrase sounds similar to 1 Τέρμα πολυκμήτοιο μεταχρόνιον πολέμοιο, and foretells the conclusion of the poem, as signalled in 664–7. Compare for the phrasing A. *Pr.* 99–100 πῆι ποτε μόχθων / χρὴ τέρματα τῶνδ᾽ ἐπιτεῖλαι;, 755–6 νῦν δ᾽ οὐδέν ἐστι τέρμα μοι προκείμενον / μόχθων; E. *Ba.* 1105 ἐπεὶ δὲ μόχθων τέρματ᾽ οὐκ ἐξήνυτον; Paul. Sil. *Ekphr. Soph.* 283–4 εὐκαμάτων δὲ τεῶν ἐπὶ τέρματα μόχθων / ἵξομαι.

632b–3 τοτὲ δ᾽ ὀψέ περ ὡς ἐν ὀνείρῳ / λαθρίδιον στενάχουσα φίλης μιμνήσκετο πάτρης: Helen already longs for her former life in the *Il.* (3.139–40 θεὰ γλυκὺν ἵμερον ἔμβαλε θυμῷ / ἀνδρός τε προτέρου καὶ ἄστεος ἠδὲ τοκήων) and the *Od.* (4.259–64, esp. 260–1 ἐπεὶ ἤδη μοι κραδίη τέτραπτο νέεσθαι / ἄψ οἶκόνδ᾽, 262 φίλης ἀπὸ πατρίδος αἴης). There is a vaguer reference in QS 14.162 σεῦ ἕνεκ᾽ ἀχνυμένην καὶ τηλυγέτοιο θυγατρός. In the *Sack of Troy* it is Athena who reminds Helen of Menelaus and Hermione (493–4).

ὡς ἐν ὀνείρῳ: compare *Il.* 22.199 ὡς δ᾽ ἐν ὀνείρῳ; AR 2.306 οἷόν τ᾽ ἐν ὀνείρασι θυμὸν ἰαίνων. **λαθρίδιον στενάχουσα**: compare *Il.* 4.153

etc. βαρὺ στενάχων, 18.318 etc. πυκνὰ μάλα στενάχων; AR 1.292 ὣς ἥ γε στενάχουσα κινύρετο.

634–43 Neoptolemus kills Priam, an action in keeping with his usual impetuosity (on which see note to 152b–8). Priam had already predicted his own death when trying to bring Hector back into the safety of the Trojan citadel (*Il.* 22.66–71), and the actual episode was well established in the tradition, with minimal variations: Bernabé *PEG Iliades Parvae* fr. 16; Bernabé *PEG Ilii Excidium* Arg., lines 13–14 καὶ Νεοπτόλεμος μὲν ἀποκτείνει Πρίαμον ἐπὶ τὸν τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Ἑρκείου βωμὸν καταφυγόντα; Pi. *Paeanes* fr. 52f.112–17 Snell-Maehler; E. *Tr.* 16ff., 481–3; E. *Hec.* 22–4; Verg. *A.* 2.506–58 (with comment in Austin 1966, 196–8; Bowie 1990a); Paus. 4.17.4; QS 13.220–50 (QS tends to present Neoptolemus in a positive fashion: see analysis in Boyten 2007; Maciver 2012a, 79–83, 171–92); Apollod. *Epit.* 5.21 καὶ Νεοπτόλεμος μὲν ἐπὶ τοῦ ἑρκείου Διὸς βωμοῦ καταφεύγοντα Πρίαμον ἀνεῖλεν; Dio Chr. *Or.* 11.154; Dictys 5.12. See Anderson 1997, 28–38 (on Priam), 38–48 (on Neoptolemus). On artistic representations of the episode, see Neils 1994, nos. 85–139.

The death of Priam, twinned with that of Astyanax (644–6 – see also artistic representations: Neils 1994, nos. 115–31), reciprocates the catalogue of anonymous victims (600–6 elderly men and children). The two of them, together with Hector, embodied Troy: Hector, Troy's present, has already died, and now it is the turn of Troy's past (Priam, connected with the first foundation of Troy) and future (Astyanax, without whom no reconstruction of Troy will be possible).

634–5 Αἰακίδης δὲ γέροντα Νεοπτόλεμος βασιλῆα / πήμασι κεκμηῶτα παρ᾽ Ἑρκείῳ κτάνε βωμῷ: Triph. does not provide details of the killing, unlike Virgil (*A.* 2.550–8) and QS (13.241–6). **πήμασι κεκμηῶτα**: compare QS 13.227–9 οὐ γὰρ ἔγωγε / τοῖα παθὼν καὶ τόσσα λιλαίομαι εἰσοράασθαι / ἠελίοιο φάος πανδερκέος. **παρ᾽ Ἑρκείῳ … βωμῷ**: this altar appears in all the aforementioned accounts of the episode. See also *Od.* 22.330–7: when Odysseus is about to kill him, Phemius considers two possible forms of supplication, either sitting down by the altar of Zeus Herkeios (334–5 ἢ ἐκδὺς μεγάροιο Διὸς μεγάλου ποτὶ βωμὸν / ἑρκείου ἵζοιτο τετυγμένον) or grasping Odysseus' knees.

636–9 Comparison with Achilles' generosity towards Priam when he visited him to ransom Hector's body (*Il.* 24.468 ff., on which see Zanker 1998, 84–92; note that duBois 2012 argues that there is no expression of forgiveness or empathy in this passage and that the archaic Greek world did not know them). In the *Aeneid* it is Priam himself who compares Neoptolemus' behaviour with that of Achilles (2.540–3). QS modifies the tradition to preserve Neoptolemus' respectability and presents Priam as tired of living, asking to be killed and wishing that he had been killed by Achilles when he ransomed Hector's body (13.222–36).

636a οἶκτον ἀπωσάμενος πατρώιον: opposed to *Il.* 24.516 οἰκτείρων πολιόν τε κάρη πολιόν τε γένειον. οἶκτος occurs twice in the *Od.* (2.81 οἶκτος δ' ἕλε λαὸν ἅπαντα, 24.438 οἶκτος δ' ἕλε πάντας Ἀχαιούς). Compare Opp. *H.* 1.761 οὐδέ μιν οἶκτος ἐσέρχεται οἷο τόκοιο.

636b–7a οὐδὲ λιτάων / ἔκλυεν: echoing *Il.* 24.485 τὸν καὶ λισσόμενος Πρίαμος πρὸς μῦθον ἔειπε (also Priam's intentions in 22.418 λίσσωμ' ἀνέρα τοῦτον).

637b–8a οὐ Πηλῆος ὁρώμενος ἥλικα χαίτην / ᾐδέσαθ': Priam compares himself with Peleus in his appeal to Achilles (*Il.* 24.486–506, esp. 486 μνῆσαι πατρὸς σοῖο, 504 μνησάμενος σοῦ πατρός), and Achilles takes pity on him because of his white hair (*Il.* 24.516 οἰκτείρων πολιόν τε κάρη πολιόν τε γένειον). See also *Il.* 22.419–20 (Priam preparing his speech to Achilles) ἤν πως ἡλικίην αἰδέσσεται ἠδ' ἐλεήσῃ / γῆρας· καὶ δέ νυ τῷ γε πατὴρ τοιόσδε τέτυκται. On appeals for pity and to family members in speeches of supplication, see Naiden 2006, 97–100. Compare for the phrasing QS 1.608 ὁμηλικίην αἰδεσσάμενος, 2.308 αἰδεσθεὶς ἀνὰ θυμὸν ὁμήλικα πατρὸς ἑοῖο. **ἥλικα χαίτην** = Call. *Del.* 297, Nonn. *D.* 13.92.

638b ἧς ὕπο θυμὸν ἀπέκλασεν: compare *Od.* 4.481 αὐτὰρ ἐμοί γε κατεκλάσθη φίλον ἦτορ (7x in the *Od.*); AR 4.1077–8 ἥδε δὲ κούρη / αἰνοπαθὴς κατά μοι νόον ἔκλασεν ἀντιόωσα; QS 3.402 θυμὸς δ' αὐτίκα πᾶσι κατεκλάσθη φίλος ἔνδον, 5.458–9 Πάντεσσι δ' ὑπεκλάσθη μελέεσσι / βλήμενος ἄλγεσι θυμὸν ἀρήιον, 8.345–6 δέος δ' ἀμφέκλασε θυμὸν / Νυμφάων, 9.76 πᾶσι<ν> δὲ κατεκλάσθη κέαρ ἔνδον, 14.491–2 κατεκλάσθη δ' ἄρ' Ἀχαιῶν / θυμὸς ἐνὶ στέρνοισιν.

639 καί περ ἐὼν βαρύμηνις ἐφείσατο τὸ πρὶν ᾽Αχιλλεύς: Achilles was full of rancour (βαρύμηνις) towards Hector because Hector had killed Patroclus, but he agreed to release his body on seeing the elderly Priam begging on his knees, because of his age and because he reminded him of his own father Peleus. On the other hand, Neoptolemus is once more an impulsive colt (152b–8), a young warrior not yet tempered by years of fighting, which means that once the battle has started he does not even pause before an elderly man clinging as a suppliant to the altar of the most powerful god. A pitiful supplication is enough to dissolve Achilles' wrath, but even Zeus' power will not be enough to stop Neoptolemus, now a servant of Enyo and Eris (559–65).

βαρύμηνις … ᾽Αχιλλεύς: Achilles' μῆνις was, of course, the topic of the *Iliad* (*Il.* 1.1–2 Μῆνιν ἄειδε θεὰ Πηληϊάδεω ᾽Αχιλῆος / οὐλομένην), and will only be completely appeased with the sacrifice of Polyxena at the end of the war (Triph. 687 μῆνιν ἱλασσάμενοι τεθνειότος Αἰακίδαο). The adjective occurs in A. *Ag.* 1481–2 ἦ μέγαν †οἴκοις τοῖσδε† / δαίμονα καὶ βαρύμηνιν αἰνεῖς; several times in Nonn. *D.*, e.g. 4.417 θοῦρος ᾽Αρης βαρύμηνις (for Nonnus' frequent βαρυ-words, see Peek *Lex. s.vv.*); Collut. 144 βαρύμηνις … ᾽Ενυώ; *AP* 9.98.1 ᾽Ηλέκτρη βαρύμηνις, 591.5 ᾽Ηέλιος βαρύμηνις. Compare also AR 4.391 ἀναζείουσα βαρὺν χόλον (~ 4.585, 740, 1083), 4.731 βαρύφρονος Αἰήταο; Opp. *H.* 4.174 βαρύφρονι δαίμονι.

640–3 Prediction of Neoptolemus' death: like Triph., Pindar explicitly links Neoptolemus' death and his killing of Priam (*Paeanes* fr. 52f.112–17 Snell-Maehler ᾧ[μο]σε [γὰρ θ]εός, / γέ[ρον]θ᾽ ὅ[τι] Πρίαμον / π[ρ]ὸς ἑρκεῖον ἤναρε βωμὸν ἐ[π-/εν]θορόντα, μή νιν εὔφρον᾽ ἐς οἶ[κ]ον / μ̣ήτ᾽ ἐπὶ γῆρας ἱξέ-/μεν βίου; see also Paus. 4.17.4), though in *N.* 7.42 he is less explicit and simply says that he was killed while sacrificing at Delphi. In Verg. *A.* 2.535–43, Priam curses Neoptolemus for his lack of piety and respect and asks the gods to punish him for this (see Panoussi 2009, 41–4, on violent retribution). Other versions of the episode include Euripides' *Andromache*, where Orestes causes the Delphians to kill Neoptolemus while he is sacrificing at Delphi (995–1008, 1070–1160). On the artistic depictions of the death of Neoptolemus, see Sena Chiesa 2007.

Triph. uses the prediction to stress the characteristic impulsiveness of Neoptolemus, by drawing clear parallels between his killing of Priam

and his own death (640 πότμος ὁμοῖος): Neoptolemus again displays inappropriate behaviour in a temple (642 ζαθέου δηλήμονα νηοῦ), but this time it is he who is killed by the altar of the god (641 παρὰ βωμὸν ἀλαθέος ᾽Απόλλωνος ~ 635 παρ᾽ Ἑρκείῳ … βωμῷ).

640–1a σχέτλιος, ἦ μὲν ἔμελλε καὶ αὐτῷ πότμος ὁμοῖος / ἑσπέσθαι: similar comments on unfortunate future developments of the plot occur in Homer (*Il.* 12.113–15, 16.46–7; *Od.* 24.470–1), and become frequent in QS (e.g. 10.94–6, 10.329–31, 13.20). **σχέτλιος** does not mean 'miserable, wretched' here (LSJ *s.v.* I.3), but 'flinching from no cruelty or wickedness, merciless' (LSJ *s.v.* I.2), as Achilles is in *Il.* 9.630, 16.203.

641b παρὰ βωμὸν ἀλαθέος ᾽Απόλλωνος: compare Pi. *Paeanes* fr. 52f.120 Snell-Maehler <ἐν> τεμέ]νεϊ φίλῳ γᾶς παρ᾽ ὀμφαλὸν εὐρύν. F has ἀλαθέος, whereas *b* has ἀληθοῦς, corrected by Frischlin (1588) to ἀληθέος. Wernicke (*Triph.*, 468–9), Gerlaud (*Triph.*, p. 165, note to 641), Campbell (*Lex.*, p. 215, APP 641) and Dubielzig (*Triph.*, 261) prefer the Doric ἀλαθέος, which would be a cultic epithet for Apollo: E. *Ion* 1537 ὁ θεὸς ἀληθής; *AP* 7.239.1–2 (Parmen.) ἀληθὴς / Φοῖβος.

642b ζαθέου δηλήμονα νηοῦ: compare Strabo 9.3.9, giving two reasons for Neoptolemus' presence in Delphi (δίκας αἰτοῦντα τὸν θεὸν τοῦ πατρῷου φόνου, ὡς δὲ τὸ εἰκός, ἐπιθέμενον τῷ ἱερῷ). In E. *Andr.* 1085–99 Orestes tells the Delphians that Neoptolemus has gone to Delphi not to seek the pardon of Apollo (whom he had accused of murdering his father), but to sack his temple. **ζαθέου … νηοῦ**: as in Hes. *Th.* 990 ζαθέοις ἐνὶ νηοῖς; QS 6.146 = 13.435 νηόν τε ζάθεον Τριτωνίδος.

643 Δελφὸς ἀνὴρ ἐλάσας ἱερῇ κατέπεφνε μαχαίρῃ: compare Pi. *N.* 7.42 ἵνα κρεῶν νιν ὕπερ μάχας / ἔλασεν ἀντιτυχόντ᾽ ἀνὴρ μαχαίρᾳ. Since the name of the killer of Neoptolemus was Μαχαιρεύς (Strabo 9.3.9 δείκνυται δ᾽ ἐν τῷ τεμένει τάφος Νεοπτολέμου κατὰ χρησμὸν γενόμενος, Μαχαιρέως; *Schol.* to E. *Andr.* 1151–2 and *Or.* 1656), Triph. seems to be playing an etymological game with the name and the weapon used. See Gerlaud, *Triph.*, p. 165, note to 643; Dubielzig *Triph.*, 14.

Δελφὸς ἀνήρ: compare E. *Andr.* 1150–1 φασγάνῳ τυπεὶς / Δελφοῦ πρὸς ἀνδρός; Call. fr. 517 Pf. καὶ Δελφὸς ἀνὴρ ἐμοὶ ἱεροεργός; Nonn. *D.* 9.263 Δελφὸς ἀνὴρ ἐχόρευε. **ἱερῇ … μαχαίρῃ** seems to refer

to a sacrificial knife, which turns the killing into a propitiatory sacrifice for the sins of Neoptolemus. On the weapon, see also E. *Andr.* 1074–5 τοιάσδε φασγάνων πληγὰς ἔχει / Δελφῶν ὑπ᾽ ἀνδρῶν, 1118–19 οἳ δ᾽ ὀξυθήκτοις φασγάνοις ὡπλισμένοι / κεντοῦσ᾽ ἀτευχῆ παῖδ᾽ Ἀχιλλέως λάθραι, 1149–51 ἔνθ᾽ Ἀχιλλέως πίτνει / παῖς ὀξυθήκτωι πλευρὰ φασγάνωι τυπεὶς / Δελφοῦ πρὸς ἀνδρός, ὅσπερ αὐτὸν ὤλεσεν; E. *Or.* 1656 θανεῖν γὰρ αὐτῷ μοῖρα Δελφικῶι ξίφει.

644–6 The death of Astyanax was predicted by Andromache in *Il.* 24.734–5, and recounted in the *Ilioupersis*: Bernabé *PEG Ilii Excidium* Arg., lines 20–1 καὶ Ὀδυσσέως Ἀστυάνακτα ἀνελόντος Νεοπτόλεμος Ἀνδρομάχην γέρας λαμβάνει; fr. 5 Στησίχορον (fr. 25 *PMGF*) μὲν γὰρ ἱστορεῖν (sc. φασιν) ὅτι τεθνήκοι (sc. ὁ Ἀστυάναξ), καὶ τὸν τὴν πέρσιδα συντεταχότα κυκλικὸν ποιητὴν ὅτι καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ τείχους ῥιφθείη. ὧι ἠκολουθηνκέναι Εὐριπίδην. The death and burial of Astyanax is narrated in E. *Tr.* 709–89, 1118–22, 1129–1255. QS, like Triph., presents the death of Astyanax from the perspective of Andromache (13.251–90, on which see Vian 1969, 125–6). On the different versions of the episode, placing it during or after the battle, with Odysseus or Neoptolemus as the killer, see Anderson 1997, 53–9. On the artistic depictions of the episode, see Croisille 1982, 128–30; Touchefeu 1984.

644 ἡδὲ κυβιστήσαντα διηερίων ἀπὸ πύργων: compare *Il.* 24.734–5 ἤ τις Ἀχαιῶν / ῥίψει χειρὸς ἑλὼν ἀπὸ πύργου, λυγρὸν ὄλεθρον; E. *Tr.* 725 ῥῖψαι δὲ πύργων δεῖν σφε Τρωϊκῶν ἄπο, 755–6, 783–5, 1134–5. This image recalls the motif of the dead warrior falling from his chariot like a diver: *Il.* 16.742–50; E. *Supp.* 692, *Ph.* 1150–1. See also Nonn. *D.* 22.314–17, 28.128–9, 43.162. **διηερίων ἀπὸ πύργων**: un-Homeric, but compare AR 4.954 διηερίην ἐπὶ κύμασιν, Opp. *C.* 1.66 = 3.488 διηερίην … ἀταρπόν, QS 11.456 διηερίη … οἶμος.

645a χειρὸς Ὀδυσσῆος ὀλοὸν βέλος: Triph. is perhaps reworking E. *Tr.* 1120–2 τόνδ᾽ Ἀστύανακτ᾽ …/ νεκρόν, ὃν πύργων δίσκημα πικρὸν / Δαναοὶ κτείναντες ἔχουσιν. ὀλοὸν βέλος also occurs in QS 8.419. According to Gerlaud (*Triph.*, p. 166, note to 645), the reading of the manuscripts, **Ὀδυσσῆος**, with final syllable scanned long, should be retained because it is paralleled by similar lengthenings such as those at *Il.* 14.139 Ἀχιλλῆος ὀλοὸν κῆρ; Hes. *fr.* 198.2 Merk.-West, Ὀδυσσῆος ἱερὴ ἴς. Dubielzig (*Triph.*, 261–2) prefers Ὀδυσσείης.

645b–6 ἀθρήσασα / ᾿Ανδρομάχη μινύωρον ἐκώκυεν ᾿Αστυάνακτα: compare *Il.* 22.407 κώκυσεν δὲ μάλα μέγα παῖδ᾿ ἐσιδοῦσα. **μινύωρον … ᾿Αστυάνακτα**: the same topic is invoked in relation to the anonymous infants killed in combat (603–4a Πολλὰ δὲ νήπια τέκνα μινυνθαδίων ἀπὸ μαζῶν / μητέρος ἡρπάζοντο). For the adjective, used as a synonym of μινυνθάδιος in Late Antiquity, see *AP* 7.481.1–2 (Philitas) Τὰν μινύωρον, / τὰν μικκὰν ᾿Αίδας ἅρπασε Θειοδόταν, 9.362.26 (Leo Phil.) μινυώρια τέκνα τεκοῦσαι; Nonnus has both μινύωρος and μινυώριος (see Peek *Lex. s.vv.*); Musae. 306 μινυώριον ἀστέρα λέκτρων.

647–50 The **rape of Cassandra** is presented as the climax of the folly of war, before the intensity of the account of the battle is relaxed with the catalogue of those who escape the fate of their community (651–63). This episode is analogous to that of Priam's death: both are powerless and appear before their attackers as suppliants to the gods, Cassandra to the virgin Athena, and Priam to kingly Zeus, but the ἱκετεία is not powerful enough to save them in time of war. However, while Priam had played a major role in the war against the Achaeans, Cassandra was innocent, a virgin priestess of Apollo whom no one had even dared to marry (cf. Dio Chr. *Or.* 11.153–4), and she had sought refuge by the statue of Athena, who had hitherto protected and guided the Achaeans (649b ἣ τὸ πρόσθεν ἀρηγών). To make things even worse, the Achaeans let Ajax go unpunished (E. *Tr.* 71 κοὐ δείν᾿ ᾿Αχαιῶν ἔπαθεν οὐδ᾿ ἤκουσ᾿ ὕπο), thus allowing his offence to pollute the whole army. While the gods retaliate for the killing of Priam against the killer alone, Athena will punish all the Achaeans for the assault on Cassandra. See Anderson 1997, 77–80.

The earliest accounts of the episode, in some cases limited to the dragging of Cassandra (see comment in Anderson 1997, 49–52), seem to have been those of the *Ilioupersis* (Bernabé *PEG Ilii Excidium* Arg., lines 15–20) and Alcaeus (S 262 Page). Other accounts include Verg. *A.* 2.403–6; Paus. 1.15.2, 5.11.6, 5.19.5, 10.26.3, 10.31.2; QS 13.420–9; Dictys 5.12 ad fin. On the artistic representations of the episode, see Paoletti 1994 (I, VI.E); Hedreen 2001, 22–32.

In the *Sack of Troy*, Cassandra had previously predicted δεσμὰ … νύμφια for the Trojan women (393–4) and her own enslavement to Agamemnon (406–9), but not her rape. The episode had been announced

earlier when Ajax entered the horse (166–7 οὐδ᾽ ἐπὶ κούραις / μαργαίνων ἀθέμιστον). See notes to 165–7a on the motivations for the assault.

647 Κασσάνδρην δ᾽ ᾗσχυνεν ᾽Οιλῆος ταχὺς Αἴας: compare QS 13.421b–2 ἐπεὶ ἦ νύ οἱ ἔνδοθι νηοῦ / Κασσάνδρην ᾗσχυνεν ᾽Οιλέος ὄβριμος υἱός. Gerlaud (*Triph.*, p. 166, note to 647–50) thinks that Triph. may be following QS here, but the description in both cases is too general to establish a link between the two authors. Triph. and QS make it clear that Ajax rapes Cassandra, whereas in Verg. *A.* 2.402–8 the sight of Cassandra dragged away from the temple is enough to inflame Coroebus (note that the language of the passage is redolent of sexual violence: cf. Whittaker 2009). **᾽Οιλῆος ταχὺς Αἴας** = 165 (see note *ad loc.*).

648 Παλλάδος ἀχράντοιο θεῆς ὑπὸ γοῦνα πεσοῦσαν: compare QS 14.436–8 οὐδ᾽ ἐλέαιρε / Κασσάνδρην ὀρέγουσαν ἀκηδέας εἰς ἐμὲ χεῖρας / πολλάκις. This line emphasises the two elements which make the assault punishable: firstly, Athena is a virgin goddess, undefiled (ἀχράντοιο), which explains why Cassandra seeks her protection and why the goddess finds the attack so hideous; and secondly, Cassandra has adopted the posture of the suppliant, kneeling (πεσοῦσαν) and reaching out towards the knees of the statue (θεῆς ὑπὸ γοῦνα: compare Apollod. *Epit.* 5.22 Κασάνδραν … περιπεπλεγμένην τῷ ξοάνῳ τῆς ᾽Αθηνᾶς). Compare for the phrasing Mosch. *Eur.* 73 οὐδ᾽ ἄρα παρθενίην μίτρην ἄχραντον ἔρυσθαι; Nonn. *D.* 47.416–17 ἀπειρογάμοιο θεαίνης / ὤμοσεν ἀχράντοιο γαμήλιον ὅρκον ᾽Αθήνης.

649a ἡ δὲ βίην ἀνένευσε: ἀνανεύειν refers to the backwards movement of the head to express rejection, for instance of a prayer (*Il.* 6.311 Ὣς ἔφατ᾽ εὐχομένη, ἀνένευε δὲ Παλλὰς ᾽Αθήνη), here a sign of disgust at the sight (according to QS 13.425–7a out of modesty). It also hints at the *aition* of the statue of Athena averting her eyes: Strabo 6.1.14; Lyc. *Alex.* 348–64; Apollod. *Epit.* 5.22 Αἴας δὲ ὁ Λοκρὸς Κασάνδραν ὁρῶν περιπεπλεγμένην τῷ ξοάνῳ τῆς ᾽Αθηνᾶς βιάζεται· διὰ <τοῦ>το τὸ ξόανον εἰς οὐρανὸν βλέπειν.

649b–50 ἡ τὸ πρόσθεν ἀρηγὼν / ἀνθ᾽ ἑνὸς ᾽Αργείοισιν ἐχώσατο πᾶσιν ᾽Αθήνη: the wrath of Athena towards Ajax and the Achaeans is mentioned in the *Od.* (1.326–7, 3.130–45, 4.499–511, 5.108–9, to be

read with Anderson 1997, 77–80), and the *Nosti* (Bernabé *PEG Nosti* Arg. lines 3–4). It was later articulated in the prologue of Euripides' *Troades* (65–73), where Athena enlists Poseidon to punish Ajax and his companions, and in QS 14.419ff. See also Verg. *A.* 1.39–41. For the phrasing, see *Il.* 5.511 (Athena) ἡ γάρ ῥα πέλεν Δαναοῖσιν ἀρηγών; Lyc. *Alex.* 361–2 ἣ δ᾽ εἰς τέραμνα δουρατογλύφου στέγης / γλήνας ἄνω στρέψασα χώσεται στρατῷ, 365–6 Ἑνὸς δὲ λώβης ἀντί, μυρίων τέκνων / Ἑλλὰς στενάξει πᾶσα τοὺς κενοὺς τάφους.

651–63 Some Trojans escape their community's fate. In this catalogue of survivors Triph. does not include any reference to Aethra, spared by the Greeks from death and slavery because she is rescued by her grandchildren Demophon and Acamas (mentioned among the crew of the horse – 177): cf. Bernabé *PEG Ilii Excidium* Arg. lines 21–2, and fr. 6; Bernabé *PEG Iliades Parvae* fr. 20 (Paus. 10.25.8); Apollod. *Epit.* 5.22; QS 13.496–543. The subject was apparently popular in the plastic arts as one of the scenes of the sack of Troy: it was depicted in Polygnotus' *Ilioupersis* (Paus. 10.25.7–8 = Bernabé *PEG Iliades Parvae* fr. 20), Attic vases (see Kron 1981, cat. nos. 59–73) and a Tabula Iliaca (Kron 1981, no. 77 – see Image 6).

651–5 Aeneas. In the *Il.* Aeneas is rescued from imminent death by the gods several times (5.311–46, 445–53; 20.89–93, 187–94, 318–29), according to Poseidon because he and his descendants were destined to rule over the Trojans (*Il.* 20.300–8 – to be read with Anderson 1997, 62–7). According to Proclus' summary of the *Iliou Persis* (Bernabé *PEG Ilii Excidium* Arg., lines 7–9), Aeneas and his household withdraw from Troy immediately after the death of Laocoon and his children. However, the version preserved by Virgil (*A.* 2.589ff.) is more prominent: after trying his hardest to defend Troy in the nyktomachy, Aeneas is told to escape by his mother Venus; setting an example of filial piety, he carries on his back his elderly father Anchises and arrives with other members of his household, including his son Ascanius, at Mount Ida. See also Xen. *Cyn.* 1.15; Apollod. *Epit.* 5.21; Lyc. *Alex.* 1263–72. The artistic representations of Aeneas escaping Troy are reviewed in Anderson 1997, 206–7 (see Image 6).

Triph.'s account, though brief, sounds slightly strange. Aeneas does not risk his life carrying his father Anchises on his back and leading his

son by the hand, but instead Aphrodite steals him away from Troy to Italy (651–3a), just as she had stolen Paris away from his duel with Agamemnon into the safety of his rooms (*Il.* 3.380–2). In addition, the reason for the founding of an empire is simply that the gods, including Zeus, want the descendants of Aphrodite to hold power (653b–5). Aeneas is deprived of heroicity and the Roman empire is only called κράτος ἄφθιτον (654b). The episode is reduced to a family affair, just another example of a god or goddess trying to save his or her son from being killed in battle. Triph. deconstructs the founding legend of the Roman Empire not only to keep his distance in relation to Rome, but also because of the rules of the genre: his epic is Homeric, and therefore fully Greek.

Though completely different in detail and shape, the best parallel is the treatment of Aeneas in the *Posthomerica*, as analysed by Hadjittofi 2007, 358–65. Throughout the poem Aeneas is one of the bravest warriors of Troy (esp. in his ἀριστεία in book 11) and enjoys the protection of the gods, not because of his piety or because he is fated to found the Roman race, but because he is the son of Aphrodite. He is even taunted for fighting like a woman (11.491–5), and does not respond to the accusation. His contribution to Trojan resistance in the nyktomachy is minimal (13.300–2), as he immediately loses hope and decides to leave Troy at once (306b–8). Aphrodite protects him in his flight (326b–32) and Calchas stops the Achaeans from harming him, not only because he sees his future (the prophecy stresses the universality of the future empire, with no mention of its benefits or eternity), but also because he has chosen to save his family instead of his material possessions (334–47). Hadjittofi (2007, 365) suggests that QS is trying here to keep his distance in relation to Rome, which was also characteristic of the Second Sophistic (cf. Swain 1996, 87–9). On Nonnus' 'Roman' passages, see Hadjittofi 2007, 370–8; Mazza 2010.

651–3a Αἰνείαν δ᾽ ἔκλεψε καὶ ᾽Αγχίσην ᾽Αφροδίτη / οἰκτείρουσα γέροντα καὶ υἱέα, τῆλε δὲ πάτρης / Αὐσονίην ἀπένασσε: in QS's account, Aphrodite guides Aeneas as he carries both his father and his son (13.326–32, see esp. 326b–7a Κύπρις δ᾽ ὁδὸν ἡγεμόνευεν / υἱωνὸν καὶ παῖδα καὶ ἀνέρα). In Triph.'s simplified account only Aeneas and Anchises are mentioned, and Aphrodite's protection is not related to the Achaeans.

651 Αἰνείαν δ᾽ ἔκλεψε καὶ ᾽Αγχίσην ᾽Αφροδίτη: compare *Il.* 5.268 τῆς γενεῆς ἔκλεψεν ἄναξ ἀνδρῶν ᾽Αγχίσης.

652 οἰκτείρουσα γέροντα καὶ υἱέα: compare Nonn. *D.* 22.275 υἱέας οἰκτείρουσα. **τῆλε δὲ πάτρης**: in between τηλόθι πάτρης| (*Il.* 1.30 etc.) and τῆλε φίλων καὶ πατρίδος αἴης| (*Il.* 11.817, 16.539). See also QS 5.447 τῆλ᾽ ἀπὸ πάτρης|, 5.540 ἀπὸ τηλόθι πάτρης.

653a Αὐσονίην ἀπένασσε: for the verb, see E. *IT* 175–6 τηλόσε γὰρ δὴ σᾶς ἀπενάσθην / πατρίδος καὶ ἐμᾶς, 1260 παῖδ᾽ ἀπενάσσατο; AR 4.1492 ἐς Λιβύην ἀπένασσε. For Italy as Ausonia, see Call. *Hecale* fr. 18.14 Hollis (= 238.28 Pf.) Αὐ̣σ̣όν[ι]ον κ̣α̣τ̣ὰ̣ π̣[όντον; AR 4.552–3 γαῖαν / Αὐσονίην, 590, 660 etc.; Opp. *H.* 2.676 ἐν Αὐσονίων βασιλεῦσι; Nonn. *D.* 3.199 κοιρανίης ἀλύτοιο προμάντιες Αὐσονιήων, 41.366 υἱέες Αὐσονίων.

653b–5 θεῶν δ᾽ ἐτελείετο βουλή, / Ζηνὸς ἐπαινήσαντος, ἵνα κράτος ἄφθιτον εἴη / παισὶ καὶ υἱωνοῖσιν ἀρηιφίλης ᾽Αφροδίτης: references to the destiny of Aeneas and his descendants occur already in the *Il.* (20.307–8; *h. Ven.* 196–7), and reappear with added emphasis in later authors, such as Lyc. *Alex.* 1226–30; QS 13.336–9; Nonn. *D.* 3.195–9; *AP* 9.236 (Bassus Lollius), 526 (Alpheius), 647 (Adesp.). Among Latin authors see in particular Verg. *A.* 2.701–3, 776–84.

653b θεῶν δ᾽ ἐτελείετο βουλή: after *Il.* 1.5 = *Od.* 11.297 Διὸς δ᾽ ἐτελείετο βουλή. See also Triph. 246b ἐπεὶ Διὸς ἤθελε βουλή. According to Tomasso 2012, 377 "the inceptive imperfect [ἐτελείετο] demonstrates that both the actual foundation of Roma by Aeneas' descendants and the future empire are as much a part of Olympus' plan as the narrative so central to Hellenic identity over the centuries, the Trojan War itself. In other words, Rome is [378] signified with a central Greek cultural signifier".

654 Ζηνὸς ἐπαινήσαντος = *Il.* 21.290 (this line was athetised by some commentators: *Schol. in Il.* 21.290: Ζηνὸς ἐπαινήσαντος <ἐγὼ καὶ Παλλὰς ᾽Αθήνη>: ἀθετεῖται, ὅτι ἀπίθανον εἰς ἀνδρὸς μορφὴν ὡμοιωμένον λέγειν ἐγὼ καὶ Παλλὰς ᾽Αθήνη· τίς γάρ ἐστιν, οὐ μὴ νοήσῃ. A), Nonn. *D.* 38.430. On ἐπαινεῖν in the *Iliad* as referring to a formally recognisable procedure of ratification, see Elmer 2013 (esp. 146–73 on the gods). **ἵνα κράτος ἄφθιτον εἴη**: compare *Il.* 9.413

ἀτὰρ κλέος ἄφθιτον ἔσται; Nonn. *D.* 8.414 καὶ βίον ἄφθιτον ἔσχεν Ὀλύμπιον.

655a παισὶ καὶ υἱωνοῖσιν: probably after *Il.* 20.307–8 νῦν δὲ δὴ Αἰνείαο βίη Τρώεσσιν ἀνάξει / καὶ παίδων παῖδες, τοί κεν μετόπισθε γένωνται, together with *Il.* 2.666 υἱέες υἱωνοί τε; AR 3.366 υἷές τε καὶ υἱωνοί. See also *h. Ven.* 196–7 σοὶ δ᾽ ἔσται φίλος υἱὸς ὃς ἐν Τρώεσσιν ἀνάξει / καὶ παῖδες παίδεσσι διαμπερὲς ἐκγεγάονται. Gerlaud (*Triph.*, 9, 167 [note to 655]) found here a double reference to the Romans as children (παισί) of Aphrodite, and to the recently-founded Constantinople, a second Rome inhabited by the grandchildren of Aphrodite (υἱωνοῖσιν ἀρηιφίλης Ἀφροδίτης). It is more likely that it refers to the imperial succession (the children and grandchildren of Aphrodite) as a means of making the empire imperishable (654 κράτος ἄφθιτον).

655b ἀρηιφίλης Ἀφροδίτης can be interpreted in different yet compatible ways: 1) it reminds us of the affair between Aphrodite and Ares; 2) it refers to Venus and Mars as the divine ancestors of the Romans, since the latter was the father of Romulus and Remus, the future founders of Rome, and their mother Rhea Silvia was descended from Ascanius; 3) Triph. suggests that as the ancestor of the Romans, Aphrodite is warlike, like the armed Aphrodite of Sparta (Nonn. *D.* 31.262–3, 34.120–1, 35.175–7), for which see Triph. 33 αἳ δ᾽ ἀπὸ Θερμώδοντος ἀρηιφίλοιο γυναῖκες, and Nonn. *D.* 37.118 ἀρηιφίλην τε γυναῖκα. Note the contrast between the victorious Greeks, abandoned by their former protector Athena (649–50), and the Trojans who have been spared, who will enjoy Aphrodite's full support and Zeus' approval.

656–9 The Antenorids are spared in repayment for a debt of hospitality. This contrasts with the perversion of hospitality described in 577–80a (esp. 580a ξείνια δ᾽ ἐχθρὰ κόμισσεν), and, in general terms, with the madness of the fray.

Triph. reproduces the version of the story that is more in tune with the role of Antenor in the *Iliad*, where he and his wife Theano receive and entertain in their home Odysseus and Menelaus when they visit Troy as ambassadors (3.203–7), thus creating ties of hospitality that will protect the whole family in the final battle. See also Bernabé *PEG*

Iliades Parvae fr. 12 Λέσχεως δὲ τετρωμένον τὸν Ἑλικάονα ἐν τῆι νυκτομαχίαι γνωρισθῆναί τε ὑπὸ Ὀδυσσέως καὶ ἐξαχθῆναι ζῶντα ἐκ τῆς μάχης φησίν; Apollod. *Epit.* 5.21 Ὀδυσσεὺς δὲ καὶ Μενέλαος Γλαῦκον τὸν Ἀντήνορος εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν φεύγοντα γνωρίσαντες μεθ᾽ ὅπλων ἐλθόντες ἔσωσαν; Dictys 1.6, 11.

In the *Iliad* Antenor defends the surrender of Helen and her treasures to the Greeks (7.347–53), while later on in the tradition he becomes guilty of fully-fledged treason, by cooperating in the stratagem of the horse: see Lyc. *Alex.* 340–7; DH *Ant. Rom.* 1.46; Dictys 4.22–5.3, 5.8–17. In some versions the family mark their house with a leopard skin, so that the Greeks do not attack it during the nyktomachy: Strab. 13.1.53 (on a lost play by Sophocles); Paus. 10.27.3–4. On Antenor's treason, see Braccesi 1984, 113–33; Scuderi 1976.

656–7a τέκνα δὲ καὶ γενεὴν Ἀντήνορος ἀντιθέοιο / Ἀτρείδης ἐφύλαξε: the decision is attributed to Menelaus alone, though Odysseus too was indebted to Antenor (*Il.* 3.203–7) and had been said to be accompanying Menelaus (Triph. 613–33). QS (13.291–9) is vaguer still: the Argives (294 Ἀργεῖοι, 297 Ἀχαιῶν φέρτατοι υἷες) remember Antenor's hospitality at the time of the embassy in Troy, and spare him and his possessions. **Ἀντήνορος ἀντιθέοιο**: Triph. is inspired by *Il.* 21.595 Ἀγήνορος ἀντιθέοιο.

657b–9a φιλοξείνοιο γέροντος, / μειλιχίης προτέρης μεμνημένος ἠδὲ τραπέζης / κείνης: compare QS 13.293–4 οὕνεκ᾽ ἄρ᾽ αὐτοῦ / Ἀργεῖοι μνήσαντο φιλοξενίης ἐρατεινῆς. The phrasing recalls Call. *Hecale* fr. 80 Hollis (= 263 Pf.): 1 πρηεῖα γυναικῶν (modelled upon the Homeric δῖα γυναικῶν), 4–5 μαῖα, < > φιλοξείνοιο καλιῆς / μνησόμεθα. See Hollis 1990, 352; Hollis 2006, 150.

657b φιλοξείνοιο γέροντος: see Opp. *H.* 3.221 φιλοξείνοιο μετ᾽ ἀνέρος; Nonn. *D.* 47.56 φιλοξείνῳ δὲ γεραιῷ. For **μειλιχίη** (**658a**) related to hospitality, see AR 3.584–6.

658b–9a τραπέζης / κείνης: *b* has τραπέζης / κοινῆς (preferred by Gerlaud), whereas F has τραπέζης / κείνης (preferred by Wernicke *Triph.*, 477; Livrea *Triph.*, and 1976, 451–2; Campbell *Lex.*, p. 215, APP 659; Hollis 1990, 351, note 61; Dubielzig *Triph.*, 262–3). The same variation occurs in the manuscripts of AR 1.103. The first is often found in references to hospitality: see E. *Ion* 652 κοινῆς τραπέζης,

Or. 9, *Hec.* 793; Ach. Tat. 3.21.6. See also *Od.* 14.158 = 17.155 ξενίη τε τράπεζα; QS 7.223 ἐύξεινόν τε τράπεζαν; Nonn. *D.* 40.418 καί μιν ἐυφραίνων φιλίῃ μείλιξε τραπέζῃ, and the summary of Nonn. *D.* 3 (ἐν τριτάτῳ μάστευε πολύπλανον ὁλκάδα Κάδμου / Ἠλέκτρης τε μέλαθρα φιλοξενίην τε τραπέζης). In favour of τραπέζης / κείνης, see Nonn. *D.* 17.61–2 ἀεὶ δ᾽ ἐμνώετο κείνης / εἰλαπίνην ἐλάχειαν ἀναιμάκτοιο τραπέζης.

659b ᾗ μιν ἔδεκτο γυνὴ πρηεῖα Θεανώ: Antenor's wife, Theano, was a priestess of Athena (*Il.* 6.297–300), and at the beginning of the extant text of Bacchylides 15 (*Dith.* 1 Maehler), she appears to be addressing a speech to Odysseus and Menelaus, as the whole family try to preserve the peace (cf. Irigoin – Duchemin – Bardollet 1993, 5–7). On the importance of gestures of hospitality on the part of the lady of the house in the cementing of the relationship of *xenia* between the guest and her husband, see Pedrick 1988. **γυνὴ πρηεῖα**: compare Call. *Hecale* fr. 80.1 Hollis (= 263.1 Pf.) πρηεῖα γυναικῶν.

660–3 Laodice was the fairest of Priam and Hecabe's daughters, according to the *Iliad* (3.121–4, 6.252). There are several versions of Laodice's fate, all of them analysed by Ciampa 2009 and Cazzaniga 1959. According to the Trojan version, recounted in Lyc. *Alex.* 314–22, Apollod. *Epit.* 5.25, QS 13.544–51 (probably inspired by Lyc.: see Ciampa 2009, 45–6), when Troy is in flames, the earth opens up and swallows Laodice. In a second version (Lyc. *Alex.* 494–503; Euph. fr. 63 van Groningen = 58 Powell; Parth. *Narr. Am.* 16), Laodice falls in love with Acamas, son of Theseus, and as a result of their secret affair she has a son, named Munitus. A Munychus is also said to be the fruit of a secret union between Laodice and Demophon, Acamas' brother, in Plu. *Thes.* 34.2.

In antiquity there was also an artistic motif of a Laodice αἰχμαλωτίς 'war captive', according to Plu. *Cim.* 4.6, but Pausanias 10.26.7–8 says that Laodice was spared along with the Antenorids, because she was married to Helicaon, Antenor's son (also mentioned in *Il.* 3.121–4). In Hygin. *Fab.* 101.5 she is said to have married Telephus: "A quo [Telepho] cum peterent ut secum ad Troiam expugnandam iret, non impetrarunt, quod is Laodicen Priami filiam uxorem haberet".

Triph. defends the Trojan version of Laodice's miraculous disappearance, and rejects the idea that she became a war captive (663

ληιδίη = αἰχμαλωτίς) assigned to Acamas (662a Θησείδης Ἀκάμας) or to another Greek (662b ἄλλος Ἀχαιῶν), which may refer to Acamas' brother, Demophon. The version depicting an adulterous Laodice is not even mentioned. This is the only episode of the *Sack of Troy* where Triph. takes a polemical approach. The apostrophe here is also a form of validation of the chosen version: Laodice herself is conjured up as the ultimate witness.

Lycophron (314–22, 494–503) and Pausanias (10.26.7–8, on which see Ciampa 2009, 48–50) are also polemical in their narratives of the legend of Laodice. Gerlaud (*Triph.*, pp. 168–9, note to 660–2; see also Cuartero Iborra *Triph.*, 11–12; Ciampa 2009, 48, 50) suggested that the controversy might have been rekindled by the reconstruction of Laodice's tomb in Troy by Maximus, the proconsul of Asia (Ἀσίης ὕπατος). The commemorative epigram was collected in Agathias' *Cycle* and is now extant as *AP* 7.564. This Maximus has been identified with Sextus Quintilius Valerius Maximus (*PIR*^{2} Q 27), ordinary consul in 151 and Proconsul Asiae in 168/9 or 169/70, which might provide us with an approximate date for the revival of the controversy. Dubielzig (*Triph.*, 11) dismisses the use of this controversy as a *terminus post quem* for the composition of the poem as "eine unbeweisbare Kombination".

660–1 δειλὴ Λαοδίκη, σὲ δὲ πατρίδος ἐγγύθι γαίης / γαῖα περιπτύξασα κεχηνότι δέξατο κόλπῳ mirrors Triph. 403–4 Δῖα Πολυξείνη, σὲ δὲ πατρίδος ἐγγύθι γαίης / κεκλιμένην ὀλίγον δακρύσομαι. It is a blessing to lie buried in one's fatherland, when that fate is compared with the disgrace of being taken away as a slave (see notes to 403–9). These lines are probably inspired by Lyc. *Alex.* 316–17 ὧν τὴν μὲν αὐτόπρεμνον ἡ τοκὰς κόνις / χανοῦσα κευθμῷ χείσεται διασφάγος. Compare also QS 13.546b–7a ὄφρά ἑ γαῖα / ἀμφιχάνῃ, 550b ἔσω κοίλοιο βερέθρου; *AP* 7.564.1–2 Τῇδέ ποτ' ἀκτερέϊστον ἐδέξατο γαῖα χανοῦσα / Λαοδίκην.

δειλὴ Λαοδίκη: compassionate apostrophe, ultimately deriving from similar cases in the Homeric poems (*Il.* 17.201, 22.31; *Od.* 14.361, 20.351), though reference to later compositions (esp. AR 1.251 Δειλὴ Ἀλκιμέδη) seems inevitable. **σὲ …/ γαῖα περιπτύξασα κεχηνότι δέξατο κόλπῳ**: the earth is personified as a woman opening her arms to receive Laodice in her bosom. Compare QS 14.2 Χάος δ' ὑπεδέξατο Νύκτα.

662 Θησείδης Ἀκάμας: Acamas, son of Theseus, is one of the occupants of the horse (177), and the main reason for his presence, and that of his brother Demophon, in Troy was their desire to rescue their grandmother Aethra (see note to 651–63).

663 ληιδίη is only used in late poetry: see Opp. *H.* 1.532 ἠΰτε ληϊδίην, πολέμου γέρας; QS 5.522–3 Tecmessa ἥν περ ἐοῦσαν / ληιδ<ί>ην σφετέρην ἄλοχον θέτο; Nonn. *D.* 2.311–12 Ἐφιάλτῃ / Παλλάδα ληιδίην νυμφεύσομαι, 2.585, 16.121, 25.329, 27.205, 40.157, 40.270, 48.278; *AP* 6.20.2 (Jul. Aegypt.), 9.473.10. **ἔθανες δ᾽ ἅμα πατρίδι γαίῃ**: compare E. *Tr.* 1283 σὺν τῆιδε πατρίδι κατθανεῖν. See also note to 403.

664–7 The poet decides to finish the poem. After providing an account of the best-known episodes of the nyktomachy, the suffering of the anonymous Trojans, and the escape of a fortunate few, the poet returns to his initial promise, namely that after narrating these events he will immediately bring the poem to a close: 4b–5 ἀρχαίην ἔριν ἀνδρῶν / κεκριμένου πολέμοιο ταχείῃ λῦσον ἀοιδῇ. See note to 1–5 on the parallels between the initial invocation of the Muse and these lines (E. Conclusive Intervention), and the poetics of a short poem (B. Demodocus' and Triphiodorus' poetic programmes).

The break provided by lines 664–7 fills in the traditional gulf between the nyktomachy and its aftermath (no source tells how the battle ended, how the surviving Trojans pleaded mercy, or how the Achaeans realised that they were all dead or had been taken captive or disappeared) by introducing a reference to the poet's exhaustion, which parallels the exhaustion of the Trojans. De Jong (2001, xiv) calls this a 'fill-in' technique (τὸ διάκενον ἀναπληρώσας, 'Deckszenen'): "the time required for one action (A) to be completed is filled with another action (B)". On the presence of this notion in Homeric scholia, see Nünlist 2009, 83–87.

Compare QS: after Laodice's supernatural disappearance (13.544–51a), the motif of cosmic bereavement (551b–61 Electra, one of the Pleiades, mourns for Troy) provides a sense of an ending, but according to the narrator the battle could go on forever (562–3 Ἀργεῖοι δ᾽ ἔτι θυμὸν ἐπὶ Τρώεσσιν ὄρινον / πάντῃ ἀνὰ πτολίεθρον· Ἔρις δ᾽ ἔχε πείρατα χάρμης). There is no proper narration of the end of the battle,

and Book 14 starts with the description of the dawn (14.1–2) and the arrival of booty and captives at the Achaean camp (14.3–38; compare E. *Tr.* 18–19).

664–5 πᾶσαν δ᾽ οὐκ ἂν ἔγωγε μόθου χύσιν ἀείσαιμι / κρινάμενος τὰ ἕκαστα καὶ ἄλγεα νυκτὸς ἐκείνης: though original in their phrasing, these lines reproduce the well-known notion of the poet's inability to deal with the topic as a whole without the help of the Muse(s). See *Il.* 2.488 πληθὺν δ᾽ οὐκ ἂν ἐγὼ μυθήσομαι οὐδ᾽ ὀνομήνω, 12.176 ἀργαλέον δέ με ταῦτα θεὸν ὥς πάντ᾽ ἀγορεῦσαι; *Od.* 3.113–14 ἄλλα τε πόλλ᾽ ἐπὶ τοῖς πάθομεν κακά· τίς κεν ἐκεῖνα / πάντα γε μυθήσαιτο καταθνητῶν ἀνθρώπων;, 4.240, 11.328–9, 11.517; AR 1.919 τῶν μὲν ἔτ᾽ οὐ προτέρω μυθήσομαι, 4.1387–8 Δύην γε μὲν ἢ καὶ ὀιζὺν / τίς κ᾽ ἐνέποι, τὴν κεῖνοι ἀνέπλησαν μογέοντες;. Virgil makes a similar comment (*A.* 2.361–2 "quis cladem illius noctis, quis funera fando / explicet aut possit lacrimis aequare labores?"), but the abundance of Greek parallels makes it difficult to posit a Virgilian influence in this passage. *Contra* D'Ippolito 1976, 24.

664 μόθου χύσιν: compare *Od.* 5.483 φύλλων γὰρ ἔην χύσις ἤλιθα πολλή (~ 5.487, 19.443); Nonn. *D.* 22.267 κεῖτο πολυσπερέων νεκύων χύσις, 38.318 = 39.3 χύσιν ἄστρων, 42.339 ἀφθόγγων πετάλων χύσιν; Nonn. *P.* 6.14 πολυσπερέων χύσιν ἄρτων.

665 κρινάμενος τὰ ἕκαστα καὶ ἄλγεα νυκτὸς ἐκείνης (Dubielzig corrects to καθ᾽ ἕκαστα): the innumerable sufferings of the Achaeans in the Trojan war are mentioned in *Od.* 3.113–17, 8.489–90 λίην γὰρ κατὰ κόσμον ᾽Αχαιῶν οἶτον ἀείδεις, / ὅσσ᾽ ἔρξαν τ᾽ ἔπαθόν τε καὶ ὅσσ᾽ ἐμόγησαν ᾽Αχαιοί. The theme of Triph.'s song is not the κλέα ἀνδρῶν (*Il.* 9.189; *Od.* 1.337–8, 8.73–4) or other pleasant subjects (*Od.* 8.266ff., 17.518–20), but the miseries of war of which other bards sang: *Od.* 1.326–7 ὁ δ᾽ ᾽Αχαιῶν νόστον ἄειδε / λυγρόν, 340–1 ταύτης δ᾽ ἀποπαύε᾽ ἀοιδῆς / λυγρῆς, 350 Δαναῶν κακὸν οἶτον ἀείδειν; 8.489–90. Compare for the phrasing AR 2.633 φραζόμενος τὰ ἕκαστα, 3.926 ὀισσάμενος τὰ ἕκαστα, 3.1165 = 4.1346 πιφαυσκόμενος τὰ ἕκαστα.

666–7 Μουσάων ὅδε μόχθος· ἐγὼ δ᾽ ἅ περ ἵππον ἐλάσσω / τέρματος ἀμφιέλισσαν ἐπιψαύουσαν ἀοιδήν: Triph. is probably inspired by AR 4.1381–2 Μουσάων ὅδε μῦθος, ἐγὼ δ᾽ ὑπακουὸς ἀείδω / Πιερίδων, and in general terms by common requests for divine assist-

ance in epic poems (e.g. *Il.* 2.484–93, 2.761–2, 11.218–20, 14.508–10, 16.112–13; Hes. *Th.* 965–8). Note also De Stefani – Magnelli 2011, p. 553, n. 75: "Triph. 666–667, ἐγὼ δ' ἅ περ ἵππον ἐλάσσω … ἀοιδήν, may stem from Call. *Aet.* Fr. 1.5 Pf. = M., if one reads ἐλ[αύνω rather than ἐλ[ίσσω in the latter passage". **μόχθος** refers to the physical toil of a race ([Hes.] *Sc.* 305–6; Opp. *H.* 5.641–3) and reintroduces the metaphor of the narrative as a horse race, which was deployed in the proem (Triph. 1–5).

Triph. refers now to the final bend, where the race may be decided depending on how the contenders round the post. The ultimate referent is Nestor's advice to Antilochus regarding the turning-post in a chariot race (*Il.* 23.323, 338–40, 344–5), which became a popular motif: S. *El.* 720–2 (with Finglass 2007, p. 320, note to 720–2); Xen. *Symp.* 4.6; Posid. 79.3–4 A-B; Theocr. *Id.* 24.119–20; Verg. *A.* 5.162–4; Ov. *Ars Amatoria* 1.39–40, 2.426; Stat. *Theb.* 6.440–2; Nonn. *D.* 37.195–220, esp. 205–6 (ἐγγὺς ἀεὶ περὶ νύσσαν ἄγων δρόμον, ἅρμα δὲ κάμπτει / ἱππεύων περὶ τέρμα καὶ οὔ ποτε τέρμα χαράσσων), 211b–13 (ἄχρι φανείη / πλήμνη ἑλισσομένου σέθεν ἅρματος οἷά περ ἄκρου / τέρματος ἁπτομένη τροχοειδέι γείτονι κύκλῳ), 214b (μὴ ἄξονι νύσσαν ἀράξας).

The bard reaching the climax of his poem is compared with the chariot driver who has skilfully rounded the bend on the last lap (**667 τέρματος ἀμφιέλισσαν**), passing so close to the post that he almost scrapes it (**ἐπιψαύουσαν**), but avoids overturning it, and heads speedily towards the finishing line, thus fulfilling his initial promise: 5 κεκριμένου πολέμοιο ταχείῃ λῦσον ἀοιδῇ. A poet who does not proceed through the climax to the end of the poem would be like a charioteer who misses the turning-point and loses control of his horses: compare Nonn. *D.* 37.200–1 ἡνίοχος δὲ μετάτροπος ἔκτοθι νύσσης / ἕλκεται, ἦχι φέρουσιν ἀπειθέες ἅρπαγες ἵπποι, 38.326–8.

κέντει τὸν πῶλον περὶ τὴν νύσσαν was also a proverbial expression, used of going back to the main topic after a digression: Apostol. 9.65 = *CPG* ii.475.10–3 (with comment in García Romero 2001, 78–9); Suda κ 1331; *Etymol. Gudianum* 314.56; Greg. Naz. *Or.* 38.10 (669c); Evagr. *Hist. Eccl.* 1.11. This would provide further proof that Triph.'s intention in writing the *Sack of Troy* was playfully to reconstruct Demodocus' song in *Od.* 8.499–520, a digression to the main narrative of the *Odyssey*, which should be brought to an end as soon as its main

points (Triph. 1–5 τέρμα, λόχον, ἔριν) have been covered (see note to 4b–5).

There are also Latin parallels. In an analogous context, Ovid makes a similar comment (Bömer 1986, p. 375, note to 453): *Met.* 15.453 "ne tamen oblitis ad metam tendere longe / exspatiemur equis". See also Quintilian 9.3.87 "et *Longius euectus sum sed redeo ad propositum* ἄφοδον [uocant]" (with Lausberg 1998, § 340). The conclusion of the second book of Virgil's *Georgics* also draws on an equestrian metaphor: 2.541–2 "Sed nos immensum spatiis confecimus aequor, / et iam tempus equum fumantia soluere colla".

666b ἅ περ ἵππον ἐλάσσω: as in *Od.* 5.371 κέληθ᾽ ὡς ἵππον ἐλαύνων (after which also Nonn. *D.* 28.25 ἅτε πῶλον ἐλαύνων).

667 τέρματος ἀμφιέλισσαν ἐπιψαύουσαν ἀοιδήν. ἀμφιέλισσα, the Homeric epithet for ships (cf. Triph. 63 νεὸς ἀμφιελίσσης, with note *ad loc.*), is used here in a different context, which has led to some difficulties over its interpretation: see e.g. LSJ *s.v.* ἀμφιέλισσα *wavering, doubtful*; D'Ippolito 1976, p. 25, note 63 ('quick', perhaps thinking of AR 4.907 ἐυτροχάλοιο … ἀοιδῆς). Later examples mean simply 'twisting', as in Nonn. *D.* 48.328 ἀμφιέλισσαν … ἱμάσθλην. ἀμφιέλισσαν has a predicative function here, describing how the song rounds the turning-post (τέρματος ἀμφιέλισσαν … ἀοιδήν), which makes sense when it is related to other words of the same family whose meanings are closer to 'whirl round' or 'go round' (Monaco 2007, 169–70): cf. ἀμφιελίσσω 'wind round' in Arat. *Phaen.* 995–6 Εὖ δὲ μάλα χρὴ / ἐς Φάτνην ὁράαν τὴν Καρκίνος ἀμφιελίσσει; *Orac. Sib.* 5.208 Ταῦρός τ᾽ ἐν Διδύμοις μέσον οὐρανὸν ἀμφιελίξῃ. Note also ἀμφιελικτός 'revolving', 'winding', in Arat. *Phaen.* 378 (the stars) πάντες γε μὲν ἀμφιέλικτοι; DP 466 περίπλοον ἀμφιέλικτον, 718 σχῆμα περίτροχον, ἀμφιελικτόν; in the *D.* it often refers to the coiling-up of a snake (e.g. *D.* 15.102 ὡς ὄφις ἀμφιέλικτος), but see 48.144 (Dionysus in combat with Pallene) δόχμιον ἀμφιέλικτον ἐκούφισεν ὑψόθεν ὤμου.

668–91 Aftermath and conclusion (C)

668–70 Triph. introduces dawn as a clear break in the description of the nightmarish assault on Troy. The horses of the Dawn leave the east (668 ἀντολίηθεν ἀπόσσυτος Ὠκεανοῖο), and their white trail (669 ἠρέμα

λευκαίνουσα κατέγραφεν ἠέρα πολλήν) breaks through the darkness (670 νύκτα διαρρήξασα μιαιφόνον) as they continue towards the west. The image draws on elements common in descriptions of dusk and dawn: see *Il.* 8.1, 8.485–6, 19.1–2; *Od.* 23.243–6; E. *IA* 156–7 λευκαίνει / τόδε φῶς ἤδη λάμπουσ᾽ ἠώς; AR 1.1280–3, 4.1170–1; Verg. *A.* 2.801–2 "iamque iugis summae surgebat Lucifer Idae / ducebatque diem"; QS 1.48–51, 11.330–1, 14.228–9.

A similar Day/Night – light/chaos contrast is drawn in QS 14.1–2 (Καὶ τότ᾽ ἀπ᾽ Ὠκεανοῖο θεὰ χρυσόθρονος Ἠὼς / οὐρανὸν εἰσανόρουσε, Χάος δ᾽ ὑπεδέξατο Νύκτα), but in the *Sack of Troy* the image engages with the previous one of the poet as a charioteer, and the poem as the horse (666–7). There is an established course for both Dawn and the poet, each day/song being only part of a longer sequence.

668 ἄρτι γὰρ ἀντολίηθεν ἀπόσσυτος Ὠκεανοῖο: compare Opp. *C.* 1.43 ἀντολίηθεν ἐπ᾽ Ὠκεανόν; Ps.-Pamprepios, fr. 3.24–5 Livrea 1979b (the Pleiads) ἄρτι μὲν ἀντολίης χιονώδεες ἔπρ[ε]ṭ[ον …]ạ̣ι / αἰθερίων γονόεσσαν ἀμεργόμεναι χ[ύσι]ỵ ὄμβρων; Nonn. *D.* 27.1–2 Ἄρτι δὲ … / ἀντολίης ὤιξε θύρας πολεμητόκος Ἠώς. See also late antique descriptions of the confines of the earth: QS 13.341 ἄχρις ἐπ᾽ Ἀντολίην τε καὶ ἀκάματον Δύσιν ἐλθεῖν; Nonn. *D.* 30.275 ἀντολίην δ᾽ ἐρέεινε καὶ ἕσπερον, 41.282–5, 41.290, 42.464–5, 43.135–6. For **ἀπόσσυτος**, see Opp. *H.* 4.102 (of a foot race) στάθμης ὁρμηθέντες ἀπόσσυτοι; Nonn. *D.* 29.25 εἴ ποτε πῶλον ἔλαυνεν ἀπόσσυτον εἰς μόθον Ἰνδῶν, 37.197.

669 ἠρέμα λευκαίνουσα κατέγραφεν ἠέρα πολλήν: Triph. is perhaps thinking of AR 1.545–6 (the ship moves) μακραὶ δ᾽ αἰὲν ἐλευκαίνοντο κέλευθοι, / ἀτραπὸς ὥς χλοεροῖο διειδομένη πεδίοιο. Triph. 669 ἠέρα πολλήν would then reshape AR 1.545 μακραὶ … κέλευθοι (see also *Il.* 3.381 ἠέρι πολλῇ = 11.752, 17.269, 20.444, 21.549, 21.597). Compare also Opp. *H.* 5.156–7 κώπῃσι δ᾽ ὑπ᾽ εὐκήλοισι θάλασσαν / ἀτρέμα λευκαίνουσι; QS 14.418 λευκαίνοντο δ᾽ ὑπὲρ πόντοιο κέλευθοι (after AR 1.545); Nonn. *D.* 2.13–14 καὶ οὐκέτι κῦμα χαράσσων / γλαυκὸν ἀκυμάντοισιν ὕδωρ λεύκαινεν ἐρετμοῖς. The same use of καταγράφω occurs several times in Nonn. *D.* referring to the sea or the sky: 1.77–8, 3.34, 3.274, 4.407 βαθὺν ἠνεμόεντι κατέγραφεν ἠέρα ταρσῷ (~ 23.119, 31.5, 42.3), 6.370, 28.285.

670a νύκτα διαρρήξασα μιαιφόνον: μιαιφόνος refers not only to a murderous attitude ('murderous, bloodthirsty': so with reference to Ares in *Il.* 5.31, 5.455, 5.844, 21.402), but to someone already polluted by murder (E. *Med.* 1346 αἰσχροποιὲ καὶ τέκνων μιαιφόνε; E. *Andr.* 335 μιαιφόνον … μύσος), as seems to be the case here. Dawn brings a new, whitened beginning, in contrast with a night drenched in blood (542, 559–61, 609). See LSJ *s.v.* μιαιφόνος; Campbell *Lex. s.v.* μιαιφόνος.

670b ἱππότις Ἠώς was the classic example of Triphiodorus' influence on Nonnus, since the epithet was thought to occur only here and in Nonn. *D.* 1.172 ἱππότις Ὥρη. See Gerlaud *Triph.*, p. 170, note to 669–70; Livrea 1976, 452; Vian 1976, pp. 145–6, note to 172. However, Accorinti (1992) points out that it also occurs in one of the oracles preserved in the *Theosophia Tubingensis* (ed. Erbse 1995, Beatrice 2001), in a context similar to Triph.'s: Ἄρτι μὲν ἀστερόεντα κατ' οὐρανὸν ἱππότις Ἠὼς / ἕλκει νύκτα μέλαιναν (I.33.264–5 Beatrice = § 36.305–6 Erbse). The *Theosophia* is the 8th-century epitome of an earlier compilation of pagan oracles proving the supremacy of the Christian God over pagan deities. Apparently it was edited *ca.* 500 by a Monophysite author, who assembled authentic oracles from various sources as an appendix to a treatise on the Incarnation and the Trinity (see Beatrice 2001, xx-l; Erbse 1995, xi-xv). This is not the only parallel between the *Theosophia Tubingensis* and Nonn. *D.*, a fact that points to the existence of a late antique poetical *koine*, with its popular catchphrases to which Triph. and Nonnus were by no means immune (Miguélez-Cavero 2008, 182–6, 189). As for other parallels, Monaco (2007, 132, 136) mentions *A.Pl.* 336.4 (Antiph.) ἡνία καὶ ζώνην ἱππότιν ἀνθέμενος. As Gigli Piccardi points out (2003, pp. 144–5, note to 1.172), Ἱππότις also occurs as a proper name used of Staphylos' mother in *PSI* 11.1220 (edition and commentary in Stephens – Winkler 1995, 429–37, see esp. p. 429 on Hippotis).

ἱππότις could mean both charioteer and horse rider (see LSJ *s.v.* ἱππότης), but the Dawn is usually presented as a charioteer (e.g. *Od.* 23.243–6; QS 1.48–51, 11.330–1), though Lycophron describes her riding Pegasus (*Alex.* 16–17).

671–5 The Achaeans leave no survivors: the contrast between the victorious Achaeans and the exterminated Trojans (some had escaped pre-

viously – 590–1, 651–6 – or had been spared – 656–9) is emphasised by comparing the latter with fish caught in a net, none other than the net of Destiny which had condemned them long before (506–7). The Achaeans do not devote any time to the burial of their dead or the care of the wounded (medical care is available in *Il.* 2.732, 4.190–219, 11.514–15, 11.833), as if all of the casualties of the capture of the city had been Trojan (*contra* QS 13.145–64, 300–2). However, the Achaeans are incapable of learning about the upheavals of Fortune on witnessing the defeat of the Trojans, thus suggesting that their excess of pride will cause their own disaster. See E. *Tr.* 95–7 μῶρος δὲ θνητῶν ὅστις ἐκπορθεῖ πόλεις / ναούς τε τύμβους θ᾽, ἱερὰ τῶν κεκμηκότων· / ἐρημίαι δούς <σφ᾽> αὐτὸς ὤλεθ᾽ ὕστερον.

671 οἱ δ᾽ ἐπαγαλλόμενοι πολέμου ὑπεραυχέι νίκῃ (Dubielzig corrects to πολέμων): Triph. may be referring to the song of victory (compare *Il.* 22.391–3; QS 14.85–100, esp. 85–6 ᾽Αργεῖοι δ᾽ ἐπὶ νῆας ἔβαν μέγα καγχαλόωντες, / μέλποντες Νίκης ἐρικυδέος ὄβριμον ἀλκήν). The excess of pride in victory (ὑπεραυχέι νίκῃ) hints at the lack of awareness of the Achaeans, who do not realise that they are going to pay dearly for the excesses of the battle (596–9). The historiographical 'victor after victory' set piece creates a clear opposition between the good victor, aware of the changeability of human fortune and therefore moderate in character, and the bad victor, characterised by arrogance and over-confidence induced by success, which lead to a general lack of moderation and are punished later by divine intervention: see Hau 2008. Compare for the phrasing *Il.* 16.91 μηδ᾽ ἐπαγαλλόμενος πολέμῳ καὶ δηιοτῆτι; QS 1.90 ἀγαλλόμενοι περὶ νίκης.

672–3 πάντοσε παπταίνεσκον ἀνὰ πτόλιν εἴ τινες ἄλλοι / κλεπτόμενοι φεύγουσι φόνου πανδήμιον ἄτην: inspired by *Od.* 22.381–2 πάπτηνεν δ᾽ ᾽Οδυσεὺς καθ᾽ ἑὸν δόμον, εἴ τις ἔτ᾽ ἀνδρῶν / ζωὸς ὑποκλοπέοιτο, ἀλύσκων κῆρα μέλαιναν. A similar metaphor occurs in Triph. 590 παῦροι δὲ στεινῆς διὰ κοιλάδος, οἷά τε φῶρες.

The over-confidence of the Achaeans shows in their lack of mercy, when they try to annihilate completely the defeated city and its inhabitants. Note the emphasis on the thoroughness of the search: πάντοσε … ἀνὰ πτόλιν …/… πανδήμιον ἄτην. The Trojans were all to be punished because all of them had been infatuated (310–15) and had taken part in the feasting and excess that had settled all over the town like a plague

the previous night (448–53): see esp. 448 Εἰλαπίνη δ᾽ ἐπίδημος ἔην καὶ ἀμήχανος ὕβρις, 451a πᾶσα πόλις (with notes to 448–51). The victors are not capable of drawing a parallel between the excess that caused the Trojan ruin and their own ὕβρις. Compare the final scenes of QS 14, on which see Carvounis 2007.

Triph.'s Achaeans do not want to take the risk of seeing Troy rebuilt and the survivors striving for revenge. On the other hand, in the *Posthomerica*, a group of survivors is mentioned as taking care of the bodies of the dead, under the direction of Antenor (14.320–8, 399–402). According to Vian (1969, 163), QS may be referring here to the tradition that Troy was rebuilt with Antenor as king, as recounted by Dictys 5.17; Dares 43–4. In the *Aeneid*, Aeneas' account of the destruction of Troy does not mention any survivors in the city: they all stream towards Mount Ida, ready to be guided into exile by Aeneas, while the Danaans hold the gates of Troy (*A.* 2.796–804; see also DH 1.47.3). Aeneas later learns that Helenus is reigning over Greek cities and has married Andromache, thus providing continuity to the Trojan dynasty (*A.* 3.294ff.).

πάντοσε παπταίνεσκον: as in *Il.* 17.674 πάντοσε παπταίνων, *Od.* 22.24 πάντοσε παπταίνοντες, 22.380 πάντοσε παπταίνοντε. **πανδήμιον ἄτην** may be compared with A. *Ag.* 361 ἄτης παναλώτου.

674–5 The simile of the fish caught in a net is inspired by Odysseus' search for hidden suitors in his house, completed with a fishing simile (*Od.* 22.381–9). In detail: Triph. 675a ἰχθύες ὥς ~ *Od.* 22.384 ὥσ τ᾽ ἰχθύας; Triph. 675b ἐπὶ ψαμάθοισι χυθέντες ~ *Od.* 22.387 ἐπὶ ψαμάθοισι κέχυνται. According to de Jong 2001, 540, "the vehicle of the fish has two connotations: helpessness and unheroicness (it is not a proud and impressive animal, like a lion or boar)". The simile mirrors the image of Sinon waiting for the Trojans as the scout of a net-hunting expedition (222–6): the trap was set, and now the Achaeans collect the fruit of their previous work. Compare the simile with Nonn. *D.* 39.131–5, where the Bacchic fleet surrounds the Indian ships, like a shoal of fish enclosed in a net. On the use of nets in fishing, see Opp. *H.* 3.76–84, 98–127, 633–48; Buchholz *et al.* 1973, 175–8; Bekker-Nielsen 2002.

This simile draws on the image of the net as a tool for fishing, but the net is also the usual attribute of Destiny: *Il.* 20.127–8 ὕστερον αὖτε τὰ πείσεται ἅσσα οἱ Αἶσα / γιγνομένῳ ἐπένησε λίνῳ (~ 24.209–10, *Od.* 7.197–8); A. *Ag.* 357–61, 1375–6; QS 13.494–5 περὶ γὰρ λίνα πάντοθε

Μοῖραι / μακρὰ περιστήσαντο τά περ βροτὸς οὔ ποτ᾽ ἄλυξε; Nonn. *D.* 1.367 ῥαψάμενος Τυφῶνι δυσηλακάτου λίνα Μοίρης, 1.482–3, 2.677–9, 11.255, 12.213, 25.365–6, 28.248–50, 30.146–7, 32.229–30, 39.233–5, 45.55, 47.694, 48.737.

674 ἀλλ᾽ οἱ μὲν δέδμηντο λίνῳ θανάτοιο πανάγρῳ: as in *Il.* 5.487 ὡς ἀψῖσι λίνοι᾽ ἁλόντε πανάγρου. πάναγρον was the name of a net used in both hunting and fishing: Opp. *H.* 3.82–3 ἄλλα δὲ κικλήσκουσι …/ … σκολιόν τε πάναγρον; Opp. *C.* 1.147–50 τόσσα φέροιντο ποτὶ κνημοὺς …/…/…/ ἄρκυας εὐστρεφέας τε λύγους ταναόν τε πάναγρον.

675 ἰχθύες ὣς ἁλίῃσιν ἐπὶ ψαμάθοισι χυθέντες: after *Od.* 22.386–7 οἱ δέ τε πάντες / κύμαθ᾽ ἁλὸς ποθέοντες ἐπὶ ψαμάθοισι κέχυνται. Compare also *Od.* 3.38 ἐπὶ ψαμάθοις ἁλίῃσι. For a description of the bodies piled up within the city, see Verg. *A.* 2.364–6 "plurima perque uias sternuntur inertia passim / corpora perque domos et religiosa deorum / limina".

676–8a The Achaeans sack Troy: both Homer (*Od.* 10.40–1) and Euripides (*Tr.* 18–19, 28–35) refer to the plentiful spoils of the sack, but they do not offer a description of how it took place. Virgil's Aeneas remembers that Phoenix and Ulixes were in charge of watching over the spoils, ornaments from the temples and captives brought from all over the city to the temple of Juno (Verg. *A.* 2.761–7; earlier references to pillage in 2.374–5, 503–5). On the other hand, QS does not describe the Achaeans pillaging the city, but merely links the capture of Troy with the possession of its riches (14.3–4 Οἳ δὲ βίῃ Τροίην εὐερκέα δῃώσαντο / ᾽Αργεῖοι καὶ κτῆσιν ἀπείρονα λῃίσσαντο), and tells how these are taken to the ships (14.9–10 ὣς Δαναοὶ πέρσαντες ὑπαὶ πυρὶ Τρώιον ἄστυ / κτήματα πάντα φέρεσκον ἐυσκάρθμους ἐπὶ νῆας). On spoils in historical wars, see Pritchett 1991, 68–541; Ziolkowski 1993; van Wees 2004, 26–8, 121–6; Sabin *et al.* 2007, I 170–3, 180–3, 250–1, 282–5, 494–5; II.93–4, 209–10, 315, 319, 330–2.

676–7a ᾽Αργεῖοι δ᾽ ἀπὸ μὲν μεγάρων νεοτευχέα κόσμον / ἐξέφερον νηῶν <τ᾽> ἀναθήματα: the insertion of τ᾽ proposed by Merrick (1741) is adopted by Gerlaud *Triph.*; Campbell *Lex.*, pp. 215–16, APP 677. Livrea (*Triph.*) obtains the same sense without the insertion by means

of punctuation: 677 ἐξέφερον, νηῶν ἀναθήματα, πολλὰ δ᾽ ἐρήμων. Following Wernicke (*Triph.*, 489–90), Dubielzig (*Triph.*, 265–6) keeps the text of the manuscripts, but with a different meaning: "Zum einen trugen die Argiver aus den Hallen neu geschaffene Kunstwerke als Weihegaben für ihre Tempel". It makes more sense to preserve the opposition between the plunder from the temples and that from private houses.

For the sense of **᾽Αργεῖοι δ᾽ ἀπὸ μὲν μεγάρων νεοτευχέα κόσμον / ἐξέφερον**, see *Il.* 5.193–4 ἀλλά που ἐν μεγάροισι Λυκάονος ἕνδεκα δίφροι / καλοὶ πρωτοπαγεῖς νεοτευχέες (and 4.145 κόσμος θ᾽ ἵππῳ, of a cheek-piece). κόσμος is also used to describe feminine adornments (e.g. *Il.* 14.187). Compare for the phrasing *Od.* 15.19 μή νύ τι σεῦ ἀέκητι δόμων ἐκ κτῆμα φέρηται. The wooden horse had been taken into Troy as an offering for Athena (302–3 ᾽Αθηναίη …/ δαιδάλεον σπεύδουσα λαβεῖν ἀνάθημα, 444–5), and now the Achaeans sack the offerings kept in the Trojan temples (677a ἐξέφερον νηῶν <τ᾽> ἀναθήματα). The plundering of temples was periodically criticised, but their treasuries contained valuable offerings accumulated over the years, which made them difficult to resist: see Pritchett 1991, 160–8.

677b–8a πολλὰ δ᾽ ἐρήμων / ἥρπαζον θαλάμων κειμήλια: Triph. is probably thinking of *Il.* 22.63 (Priam's prophetic description of the sack of Troy) θαλάμους κεραϊζομένους, and *Od.* 10.40–1 πολλὰ μὲν ἐκ Τροίης ἄγεται κειμήλια καλὰ / ληΐδος. See also QS 13.9 ἐν μεγάροις κειμήλια. κειμήλια were the treasures stored in the houses of the wealthy (*Il.* 6.47–8, 11.132–3; *Od.* 2.74–8), some of them the booty of previous wars (*Il.* 9.330–1), gifts (*Od.* 1.312–13, 4.600) and prizes won in games (*Il.* 23.618; Nonn. *D.* 37.615–16). According to Hector, a large part of Troy's wealth had been sold off to finance the war (*Il.* 18.288–92), though enough was left for Priam to offer Achilles a sumptuous ransom for Hector's body (*Il.* 24.228–37).

678b–9 σὺν δὲ γυναῖκας / ληιδίας σὺν παισὶν ἄγον ποτὶ νῆας ἀνάγκῃ: the usual consequence of the sack of a town. In two Iliadic anticipations of the capture of Troy (6.447–65 Hector, 22.59–76 Priam), men are slain in combat and their wives dragged away from the city and given to the victors as booty. When Hector dies and Andromache sees the end of Troy imminent, she is afraid of the captivity of women and children, including herself and Astyanax (24.725–34). Compare

also *Il.* 4.238–9 (Agamemnon encouraging his men in the fight) ἡμεῖς αὖτ᾽ ἀλόχους τε φίλας καὶ νήπια τέκνα / ἄξομεν ἐν νήεσσιν, ἐπὴν πτολίεθρον ἕλωμεν, 9.594 (Cleopatra's generic description of the sack of a city) τέκνα δέ τ᾽ ἄλλοι ἄγουσι βαθυζώνους τε γυναῖκας; *Od.* 9.98 (Odysseus saves his men from the lotus eaters) τοὺς μὲν ἐγὼν ἐπὶ νῆας ἄγον κλαίοντας ἀνάγκῃ; Opp. *H.* 5.553–5 (simile of a generic capture of a town) φαίης κεν ὀδυρομένην ὁράασθαι / μητέρα περθομένης πόλιος περὶ δυσμενέεσσι / παίδων θ᾽ ἑλκομένων ὑπὸ ληΐδα δουρὸς ἀνάγκῃ; QS 10.383–4 (Hecabe's prediction of the fall of Troy) σύν τε νυοὺς θύγατράς τε μετὰ Τρῳῇσι καὶ ἄλλαις / ἑλκομένας ἅμα παισὶ δορυκτήτῳ ὑπ᾽ ἀνάγκῃ, 14.29–30 Ἕτερος δ᾽ ἑτέρην γοόωσαν / ἤγετο Τρωιάδων σφετέρας ἐπὶ νῆας ἀνάγκῃ. The historiographical motif can be found in Thuc. 5.3.4, 5.32.1, 5.116.4; Plb. 2.56.7. The situation of the Trojan women immediately after the capture of Troy was the topic of Euripides' *Trojan Women* and *Hecabe.* On the treatment of prisoners of war in the ancient world, see Ducrey 1999; Pritchett 1991, 203–312. On the semantics of the term ληίς, see Pritchett 1991, 77–86.

680–5 The burning of Troy is prayed for and anticipated in the *Il.*: 2.414–15 (Agamemnon's prayer) πρίν με κατὰ πρηνὲς βαλέειν Πριάμοιο μέλαθρον / αἰθαλόεν, πρῆσαι δὲ πυρὸς δηΐοιο θύρετρα, 21.375–6 μηδ᾽ ὁπότ᾽ ἂν Τροίη μαλερῷ πυρὶ πᾶσα δάηται / καιομένη, καίωσι δ᾽ ἀρήιοι υἷες Ἀχαιῶν, 22.410–11 ὡς εἰ ἅπασα / Ἴλιος ὀφρυόεσσα πυρὶ σμύχοιτο κατ᾽ ἄκρης. In the *Posthomerica* Hecabe predicts it in her description of the fall of Troy (10.381–2 κεραϊζομένην δὲ πόληα / καὶ πυρὶ δαιομένην Δαναῶν ὑπὸ καρτεροθύμων), and in Triph.'s poem the fire recurs in Cassandra's predictions of the fall of Troy: 394 φωλεύει δ᾽ ὑπὸ δούρασι κευθόμενον πῦρ, 395–6 πάτριον ἄστυ, / αὐτίκα μοι λεπτὴ κόνις ἔσσεαι, 442–3 ἔβλεπε δ᾽ ἤδη / πατρίδος αἰθομένης ἐπὶ τείχεσι μαρνάμενον πῦρ.

Triph. reproduces here the oldest tradition, according to which the Achaeans set fire to Troy after the sack: Bernabé *PEG*, *Ilii Excidium* Arg. 22–3 ἔπειτα ἐμπρήσαντες τὴν πόλιν Πολυξένην σφαγιάζουσιν ἐπὶ τὸν τοῦ Ἀχιλλέως τάφον (= Procl. *Chrest.* 239 Seve.); Apollod. *Epit.* 5.23 Κτείναντες δὲ τοὺς Τρῶας τὴν πόλιν ἐνέπρησαν καὶ τὰ λάφυρα ἐμερίσαντο. The fire is constantly in the background of Euripides' Trojan plays, and it occurs after the sack: *Tr.* 8, 60, 825, 1079–80, 1256–64, 1294–1301; *Andr.* 400; *Hec.* 476–8, 823; *Hel.* 107–8,

196–7, 503–4. On the other hand, in the *Aeneid* and the *Posthomerica* flames are already mentioned during the nyktomachy: Verg. *A.* 2.289, 310–12, 327, 329, 337, 352–3, 374, 431, 505, 555, 569, 581, 600, 624–5, 632–3, 664–5, 758–60, 763–4; QS 13.82–3, 165–7, 232–3, 304–5, 316, 328–30, 430–95.

The burning of the town was a common element of the siege and capture of cities: Aeschin. *in Ctes.* 157; Sal. *Cat*. 51.9; Livy 1.29.2–6, 5.41–43, 6.4.9, 23.17.7, 25.24.11, 30.5.7–8, 30.6.5–6, 32.23.6–7.

680 τείχεσι δὲ πτολίπορθον ἐπὶ φλόγα θωρήξαντες 'Using the destructive flames as weapons against the walls': there is no need to assume a tmesis ἐπὶ … θωρήξαντες, despite Campbell's claims (Campbell *Lex. s.v.* ἐπιθωρήσσω). ἐπί follows its case τείχεσι, as in AR 1.42 ὁππότε Κενταύροις Λαπίθαι ἐπὶ θωρήσσοντο. Compare also AR 4.1000 μέλλον δὲ βοῇ ἔνι θωρήξεσθαι; Nonn. *D.* 26.218 τοῖς ἔπι θωρήσσοντο Σίβαι, 295 τοῖς ἔπι θωρήχθησαν.

πτολίπορθον … φλόγα: Cassandra had referred to Athena as πτολίπορθος (390), and indeed the goddess plays the main role in the strategy to destroy the city, but it is ultimately the fire that annihilates it. The fire is like a destructive weapon in Achaean hands, a corslet (θώρηξ) that protects them from a possible resurgence of the town.

681 ἔργα Ποσειδάωνος ἰῇ συνέχευον ἀυτμῇ: the idea is that Troy is enshrouded in an enormous fire, at once a giant pyre and funeral mound for all her dead citizens (682 μέγα σῆμα φίλοις ἀστοῖσιν). Compare Verg. *A.* 2.624–5 "Tum uero omne mihi uisum considere in ignis / Ilium et ex imo uerti Neptunia Troia" (to be read with Austin 1964, p. 239, n. to 624: "omne: as if Aeneas saw the collapse of Troy in a single all-embracing moment of horror … considere: Troy settled down into the flames like a corpse upon a pyre"), 9.144–5 "at non uiderunt moenia Troiae / Neptuni fabricata manu considere in ignis?"; QS 13.464–5 Φλόξ δ᾽ ἄρ᾽ ἐς ἠέρα δῖαν ἀνέγρετο, πέπτατο δ᾽ αἴγλη / ἄσπετος, 487 Τὸ δ᾽ ἐν πυρὶ καίετο πολλῷ. See notes to 40–56, 40, and 41, on the construction of the wall by the gods. For **ἀυτμή** as the blast of fire, see *Il.* 21.366–7 τεῖρε δ᾽ ἀυτμὴ / Ἡφαίστοιο βίηφι πολύφρονος; *Od.* 9.389–90 ὀφρύας εὖσεν ἀυτμὴ / γλήνης καιομένης, 16.290 ὅσσον πυρὸς ἵκετ᾽ ἀυτμή (~ 19.9, 20); AR 1.734 μαλεροῖο πυρὸς ζείουσαν ἀυτμήν. Frequent in QS: 3.710–11, 8.90–1, 10.62–3, 12.503, 13.150, 13.329–30.

682–3a αὐτοῦ καὶ μέγα σῆμα φίλοις ἀστοῖσιν ἐτύχθη / Ἴλιος αἰθαλόεσσα: compare QS 13.439–40 οἳ δ᾽ ὑπὸ λευγαλέοιο πυρὸς σφετέρων τε μελάθρων, / ἔνθά σφιν καὶ μοῖρα κακὴ καὶ τύμβος ἐτύχθη. The burial of the citizens in the ruins of their city may be the result of war (Plb. 38.8.9 καλὸν γὰρ ἐντάφιον εἶναι τοῖς εὖ φρονοῦσι τὴν πατρίδα καὶ τὸ ταύτης πῦρ) or of natural catastrophes: *AP* 7.299.3–4 (Nicomachus, on an earthquake in Plataea) οἱ δὲ θανόντες / σᾶμ᾽ ἐρατὰν πάτραν κείμεθ᾽ ἐφεσσάμενοι; *AP* 9.426.3–4 (Joh. Barbucallus, on an earthquake in Berytus) Τύμβος ἀταρχύτων μερόπων πόλις, ἧς ὑπὸ τέφρην / αἱ Βερόης πολλαὶ κείμεθα χιλιάδες, 427.3 (idem) τύμβος ὅλη γενόμην. **μέγα σῆμα** as in *Il.* 24.349 μέγα σῆμα … Ἴλοιο; QS 1.788 μέγα σῆμα … ἀφνειοῦ Λαομέδοντος.

683b–5 The bereavement of the river Xanthus, like the warning of the natural elements when the Trojans are taking the wooden horse into the citadel (318–27, with notes *ad loc.*; see esp. 325 ἴαχε καὶ Ξάνθου ποταμοῦ μυκώμενον ὕδωρ), expresses the connection of Troy with the surrounding nature. QS recounts this motif at length and adds to the choir Mount Ida, the Simoeis and all the streams of the plain: 14.71–84. Compare also E. *Tr.* 825–32 (the choir addresses Ganymede) ἃ δέ σε γειναμένα πυρὶ δαίεται, / ἠϊόνες δ᾽ ἅλιαι / ἴακχον οἰωνὸς οἶ- / ον τέκνων ὕπερ βοῶσ᾽, / ἆι μὲν εὐνάς, ἆι δὲ παῖδας, / ἆι δὲ ματέρας γεραιάς.

683b–4a πυρὸς δ᾽ ὀλεσίπτολιν ἄτην / Ξάνθος ἰδών: compare QS 14.71–2 Καὶ τότ᾽ ἄρ᾽, ὡς ἐνόησε φίλον δεδαϊγμένον ἄστυ, / Ξάνθος ἔθ᾽ αἱματόεντος ἀναπνείων ὀρυμαγδοῦ. **πυρὸς δ᾽ ὀλεσίπτολιν ἄτην** mirrors and completes the disaster predicted in the introduction to the previous night (453 Ἴλιον αἰπεινὴν ὀλεσίπτολις ἀμφέβαλεν νύξ) and 673 φόνου πανδήμιον ἄτην.

684 Ξάνθος … ἔκλαυσε γόων ἁλιμυρέι πηγῇ: QS has 14.73 [Ξάνθος] μύρετο, 82–4 ἀμφέστενεν Ἴδη / καὶ Σιμόεις· μύροντο δ᾽ ἀπόπροθι πάντες ἔναυλοι / Ἰδαῖοι Πριάμοιο πόλιν περικωκύοντες. See also Nonn. *D.* 46.265b–6 γόον κρουνηδὸν ἰάλλων / δάκρυσι πηγαίοισι γέρων ἔκλαυσε Κιθαιρών. **ἔκλαυσε γόων** rewords the Homeric κλαυθμοῖο γόοιό τε (*Od.* 4.801, 17.8, 21.228, 24.323; compare also *Il.* 24.760). **ἁλιμυρέι πηγῇ** ‘in a stream which flew into the sea’, as in *Il.* 21.190 ποταμῶν ἁλιμυρηέντων; *Od.* 5.460 ποταμὸν ἁλιμυρήεντα;

AR 2.936 Παρθενίοιο ῥοὰς ἁλιμυρήεντος. On the connotations of the second element of the epithet (μύρεσθαι, usually a synonym of θρηνεῖν, may be associated with μορμύρειν), see Monaco 2007, 171–2.

685 Ἡφαίστῳ δ᾽ ὑπόεικεν ἀτυζόμενος χόλον Ἥρης: the Xanthus does not dare to quench the fire consuming Troy, because, in his previous conflict with Hephaestus and Hera (*Il.* 21.328–82), he had been severely burned and had promised Hera not to ward off Troy's fate, μηδ᾽ ὁπότ᾽ ἂν Τροίη μαλερῷ πυρὶ πᾶσα δάηται / καιομένη, καίωσι δ᾽ ἀρήιοι υἷες Ἀχαιῶν (21.375–6). On Hephaestus and Hera as allegories of the fire and the air, see 230–4 and notes *ad loc.* Triph.'s line inspired Collut. 53 Ἡφαίστῳ δ᾽ ὑπόεικεν ἀμαιμακέτη περ ἐοῦσα. **ἀτυζόμενος χόλον Ἥρης**: compare AR 3.614 πατρὸς ἀτυζομένην ὀλοὸν χόλον, 4.512 ἀτυζόμενοι χόλον ἄγριον Αἰήταο.

686–7 Polyxena's fate had been predicted by Cassandra (403–5). Triph.'s version of her death is the most common: she is sacrificed by the Greeks on Achilles' grave, because his spirit demands this as his price for not hindering the return home of the Greek fleet. See Bernabé *PEG Ilii Excidium* Arg., lines 22–3 ἔπειτα ἐμπρήσαντες τὴν πόλιν Πολυξένην σφαγιάζουσιν ἐπὶ τὸν τοῦ Ἀχιλλέως τάφον; E. *Hec.* 1–628; E. *Tr.* 260–71; Dictys 5.13; Apollod. *Epit.* 5.23 καὶ θύσαντες πᾶσι τοῖς θεοῖς … Πολυξένην δὲ ἐπὶ τῷ Ἀχιλλέως τάφῳ κατέσφαξαν; Dio Chr. *Or.* 11.153. On the fragments of Sophocles' *Polyxena*, see Pralon 2009. The sacrifice of the virgin Polyxena to secure the safety of the Achaean fleet is similar to that of Iphigenia at Aulis: see Anderson 1997, 60–1. Compare also the sacrifice of twelve Trojans on Patroclus' pyre (*Il.* 23.173–83). On the artistic depictions of the episode, see Croisille 1982, 130–1.

In the *Aeneid*, Aeneas leaves Troy at the end of the night (2.796–804) and does not witness the Achaean arrangements of the following day. Polyxena's fate is only mentioned by Andromache, who is envious of it (3.321–4). On the other hand, QS expands the episode (14.179–328): Neoptolemus receives in his sleep the visit of his father's ghost, who asks for Polyxena to be sacrificed on his tomb and threatens to hinder their journey home if they do not obey; the Greeks agree to this, and Polyxena is sacrificed by Neoptolemus; her body is handed over to Antenor for burial.

In some versions Achilles is said to have fallen in love with Polyxena (Dictys 3.2–3) and to have tried to negotiate the terms of their marriage in the temple of Apollo, where he was killed by Paris (Dictys 4.10; Hygin. *Fab.* 110; *schol. in* E. *Tr.* 16). The *Cypria* recorded yet another version, according to which Polyxena died after the nyktomachy because of wounds inflicted by Odysseus and Diomedes, and was buried by Neoptolemus: Bernabé *PEG*, *Cypria* fr. 34 ὑπὸ Νεοπτολέμου φασὶν αὐτὴν (sc. Πολυξένην) σφαγιασθῆναι Εὐριπίδης καὶ Ἴβυκος (fr. 26 Page)· ὁ δὲ τὰ Κυπριακὰ ποιήσας φησὶν ὑπὸ Ὀδυσσέως καὶ Διομήδους ἐν τῆι τῆς πόλεως ἁλώσει τραυματισθεῖσαν ἀπολέσθαι. ταφῆναι δὲ ὑπὸ Νεοπτολέμου, ὡς Γλαῦκος γράφει.

686–7 οἱ δὲ Πολυξείνης ἐπιτύμβιον αἷμα χέαντες / μῆνιν ἱλασσάμενοι τεθνειότος Αἰακίδαο: two main kinds of solution have been proposed for the problem presented by the lack of a main verb in these lines. Scholars either turn χέαντες (F) / χέοντες (*b*) into a main verb, χέοντο (Jamot – cf. Wernicke *Triph.*, 491–2) or χέαντο (Campbell, *Lex.*, p. 216, APP 686–7, who also prefers *b*'s reading ἱλασσόμενοι 'in order to appease'), or assume the existence of a lacuna between 686 and 687. The second possibility was already suggested by Wernicke (*Triph.*, 492), who proposed something like <ἐς πλόον ἐντύνοντο, λιγυπνείοντος ἀήτου>. Gerlaud (*Triph.*) suggests for the contents of the lacuna "Les Danaens versent le sang de Polyxène sur le tombeau <d'Achille et obtiennent la possibilité du retour> en apaisant la colère du défunt Éacide", while Dubielzig (*Triph.*, 266–8) proposes to introduce an extra line after 687: 687a <νοστήσειν εὔξαντο λιγὺ πνείουσιν ἀήταις>.

687 μῆνιν … τεθνειότος Αἰακίδαο avoids the phrasing of the well-known *Il.* 1.1 Μῆνιν … Πηληϊάδεω Ἀχιλῆος. The second rage of Achilles, like the first one narrated in the *Iliad*, is due to the fact that he feels slighted by the distribution of the spoils (compare QS 14.215–16 ἐπεί σφισι χώομαι ἔμπης / μᾶλλον ἔτ᾽ ἢ τὸ πάρος Βρισηίδος). This, however, makes little sense here, because the booty is allocated after Polyxena's sacrifice. The reason for the order of the Achaean actions may be that Triph. wanted to present them first performing their religious duties and then attending to more practical matters relating to property.

688–9a The distribution of the booty was also narrated in the Cyclic poems: Bernabé *PEG Ilii Excidium* Arg., lines 20–2 καὶ ᾽Οδυσσέως ᾽Αστυάνακτα ἀνελόντος Νεοπτόλεμος ᾽Ανδρομάχην γέρας λαμβάνει. καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ λάφυρα διανέμονται. Δημοφῶν δὲ καὶ ᾽Ακάμας Αἴθραν εὑρόντες ἄγουσι μεθ᾽ ἑαυτῶν; Bernabé *PEG Iliades Parvae* fr. 21 (on Neoptolemus and Andromache). See also *Il.* 18.327 ᾽Ἴλιον ἐκπέρσαντα, λαχόντα τε λῆίδος αἶσαν; *Od.* 3.153–4 ἠῶθεν δ᾽ οἱ μὲν νέας ἕλκομεν εἰς ἅλα δῖαν / κτήματά τ᾽ ἐντιθέμεσθα βαθυζώνους τε γυναῖκας. On what we know about the distribution of booty in wars, see Pritchett 1991, 363–401.

688a Τρωιάδας δὲ γυναῖκας ἐλάγχανον: the allotment of the women is one of the topics of Euripides' *Trojan Women* (32–5, 41–4, 184–293), where Agamemnon asks to have Cassandra (see Triph. 406–9), Hecabe goes with Odysseus (see Triph. 401–2), and Andromache is allotted to Neoptolemus (she is only mentioned when Astyanax is killed in Triph. 644–6). In the *Sack of Troy* Menelaus has already taken Helen away (630–3; compare QS 14.17–19). In the *Posthomerica* (14.11–38), on the other hand, all the surviving women are brought to the seashore and each Achaean chief chooses one and takes her away to the ships: Menelaus takes Helen, Agamemnon Cassandra, Neoptolemus Andromache, and Odysseus Hecabe. This is the usual distribution: Apollod. *Epit.* 5.23 λαμβάνει δὲ ᾽Αγαμέμνων μὲν κατ᾽ ἐξαίρετον Κασάνδραν, Νεοπτόλεμος δὲ ᾽Ανδρόμαχην, ᾽Οδυσσεὺς δὲ ᾽Εκάβην. ὡς δὲ ἔνιοι λέγουσιν ᾽Έλενος αὐτὴν λαμβάνει. On the latter possibility mentioned by Apollodorus, see also Dares (42–3), according to whom Helenus went to the Chersonesus with Hecabe, Andromache and Cassandra.

688b–9a ἄλλά τε πάντα / χρυσὸν ἐμοιρήσαντο καὶ ἄργυρον: compare E. *Tr.* 18–19 πολὺς δὲ χρυσὸς Φρύγιά τε σκυλεύματα / πρὸς ναῦς ᾽Αχαιῶν πέμπεται; Apollod. *Epit.* 5.23 Κτείναντες δὲ τοὺς Τρῶας τὴν πόλιν ἐνέπρησαν καὶ τὰ λάφυρα ἐμερίσαντο. Quintus mentions the rich booty (14.3–10, 354–8), but not its distribution. Compare for the phrasing A. *Th.* 906–7 ἐμοιράσαντο δ᾽ ὀξυκάρδιοι / κτήμαθ᾽ ὥστ᾽ ἴσον λαχεῖν. Dubielzig (*Triph.*, 269) inserts an extra line: ἄλλά τε πάντα / <κτήματα δασσάμενοι μεγάλης ὑπὸ χάρματι νίκης> / χρυσὸν ἐμοιρήσαντο.

689b–91 Departure. The preparations for departure, the departure itself and the destruction of the Achaean fleet fill most of the second half of QS 14 (346–631, 655–8).

689b–90 οἷσι βαθείας / νῆας ἐπαχθήσαντες: Triph. highlights the abundance of booty with which the Achaeans leave Troy (already mentioned in 676–9). **ἐριγδούπου διὰ πόντου**: compare *Il.* 20.50 ἐπ᾽ ἀκτάων ἐριδούπων; *Od.* 10.515 δύω ποταμῶν ἐριδούπων; QS 2.221 ἐρίγδουποι ποταμοί, 3.766 ἐριγδούποιο … ἁλὸς ὄβριμον οἶδμα. On the epithet, see Kaimio 1977, 68–9.

691 ἐκ Τροίης ἀνάγοντο μόθον τελέσαντες Ἀχαιοί: Triph. fulfils the promise made in his proem (4–5 ἀρχαίην ἔριν ἀνδρῶν / κεκριμένου πολέμοιο ταχείῃ λῦσον ἀοιδῇ) and presents a word play involving the first line Τέρμα πολυκμήτοιο μεταχρόνιον πολέμοιο. The capture of Helenus had brought about the end of the war (49–50 Οἱ δὲ βαρυζήλοιο θεοπροπίῃς Ἑλένοιο / αὐτίκα μηκεδανοῖο μόθου τέλος ἠρτύναντο), and first Calchas (172–4) and then Cassandra had foreseen these events (378 πολέμοιο πέρας, 381 λήγει δ᾽ ἀμβολιεργὸν ἔτος πολέμοιο λυθέντος).

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