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**The Representation of the Divine in the *Posthomerica* of Quintus of Smyrna**

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**Submitted in partial fulfillment of the  
Requirements for the degree  
of Doctor of Philosophy  
in the Graduate School of Arts and Sciences**

**Columbia University  
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## ABSTRACT

### The Representation of the Divine in the *Posthomerica* of Quintus of Smyrna

Maria Henderson Wenglinsky

Quintus of Smyrna portrays the gods quite differently than do other ancient poets. In Homer especially, but also in other canonical works, the gods are quarrelsome, inscrutable, capricious, and callous to human suffering. In the *Posthomerica*, they are willingly subordinate to Zeus and concerned both to maintain harmony among themselves and to ensure the fated course of human events. They are deeply moved by human suffering, rarely harming men except to punish impious wickedness. Quintus effects this revision of the portrayal of the gods in two ways. He avoids, minimizes, or qualifies matters which ancient commentators specifically criticized as unseemly or felt compelled to explain away. Also, he evokes specific passages, usually from Homer, not simply imitating them, but altering them in such a way as to present the gods more favorably.

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**To the memory of my mother  
Ruth Ellen Jameson Henderson  
who had Greek feet.**

## Chapter One: Introduction

### Purpose of the Dissertation

A very large number of studies discuss the portrayal of the gods in the Homeric poems, and similar studies have been made of many epic poems. D. C. Feeney's recent book, The Gods in Epic, discusses several of these epics,<sup>1</sup> paying particular attention to the question of whether their portrayals of the gods respond to ancient literary criticism. The present study extends this inquiry, as Feeney suggests doing,<sup>2</sup> to a work which has received little scholarly attention, the *Posthomerica* of Quintus of Smyrna. Taking into account all references to the gods in the poem, it compares the representation of the divine in the *Posthomerica* to that in other ancient epics, identifying points of similarity and difference, and seeking to explain the latter. These differences are substantial. The working hypothesis of the dissertation is that they result because Quintus "corrects," as far as possible while remaining within the generic conventions of epic, the traditional, Homeric, portrayal of the gods, avoiding features of that portrayal (such as conflicts

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<sup>1</sup>The *Argonautica* of Apollonius, the fragments of Ennius and Naevius, the *Aeneid*, Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, Lucan's *Bellum Civile*, Silius' *Punica*, the *Argonautica* of Valerius Flaccus, and Statius' *Thebaid*

<sup>2</sup>Feeney, 393 "The scope of the present book ... could be expanded, continuing to the Latin epics of Claudian ... or the Greek epics of Tryphiodorus, Quintus Smyrnaeus, or Nonnus ..."

among the gods, their capriciousness, callousness or cruelty. deceptions perpetrated by or upon them. and disparaging description of them) which some ancient critics condemn as "unseemly."

Such an examination of the *Posthomerica* contributes to scholarship in several ways. First, it treats as a work of literature a poem which in general has been neglected and maligned.<sup>3</sup> In addition, it complements and qualifies previous studies of the divine in epic, and of the interaction in antiquity between the reception and criticism of literature and literary production. Because its style and subject matter are explicitly Homeric, the *Posthomerica* illustrates some features of this interaction more clearly than do other epics, and is particularly suited to consideration of the question of the use of and response to Homer. Moreover, if Quintus' portrayal of the gods indeed responds to the critical tradition hostile to the portrayal of the gods in Homer, this response reveals a dimension of the influence of ancient criticism which usually is not acknowledged.

### Previous Scholarship

Little of the scholarship on the *Posthomerica* itself is of direct use to the present study.<sup>4</sup> Garcia Romero's articles and Calero Secall on the goddesses of the *Posthomerica* are obviously and explicitly relevant, but are little more than incomplete catalogues of pertinent passages. In general, the most useful studies are Vian's edition of the *Posthomerica* (whose notes constitute a brief commentary on the poem), and M. Campbell's commentary on Book Twelve, which deals with several important divine

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<sup>3</sup>The judgment of Easterling and Knox, 1132, that the *Posthomerica* is a "cento on a vast scale," is generally accepted. The disparaging comments of Parry, 82, n. 2, and Means, 340, are typical of modern scholars whose work touches upon the poem. Most who focus upon it make no comment on its merits. Exceptions are Bates, 15-16, and Duckworth (1936) 58 (whence the quotation), who assert, but do not demonstrate the poem's "considerable intrinsic merit." cf. Appel, who discusses the long history of appreciation of the poem in Poland. Schmiel discusses specifics, but only for Book I.

<sup>4</sup>On the poor quality of much of the scholarship on the poem, see Campbell, x.



actions and instances of worship and prophecy, and contains key passages for the establishment of the poet's authority. Köchly's notes to his edition, and the brief remarks of G. W. Paschal in his largely descriptive dissertation, "A Study of Quintus of Smyrna," also occasionally deal with Quintus' representation of the divine. G. E. Duckworth's studies of foreshadowing and G. W. Elderkin's dissertation on speeches in Greek epic illuminate some aspects of the poem's divine machinery. Some works whose primary concern is Quintus' sources<sup>5</sup> are also of use to the present study's consideration of Quintus' response to the representation of the gods in the Homeric poems and elsewhere. The most important of these are P. Kakridis' neanalytic study ΚΟΙΝΤΟΣ ΣΜΥΡΝΑΙΟΣ, and Vian's Recherches. M. W. Mansur's dissertation, "The Treatment of Homeric Characters by Quintus of Smyrna," is also of some use in this regard, as are M. Roussell's and K. C. King's studies of the character of Achilles. Two studies of the poem's similes, K. A. E. Niemeyer's dissertation "Ueber die Gleichnisse bei Quintus Smyrnaeus," and Vian's "Les Comparisons de Quintus de Smyrne," pertain to Quintus' response to Homer and also are employed in the discussion of the "mythological background" of the *Posthomerica*. Attention should, however, be called to Guez' comparison of the dreams in the *Posthomerica* to those of the Homeric poems. This article (published after the present study was substantially completed) treats the passages in question in much the same fashion as they are here treated, and draws similar conclusions.

While some studies of the *Posthomerica* note in passing what will be seen to be the characteristic tendencies of Quintus' portrayal of the gods, they do not discuss these tendencies in any detail, and the conclusions, if any, which they draw are facile or

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<sup>5</sup>The great majority of scholarship on the poem is devoted to the question of whether or not Quintus utilized Latin sources, particularly the *Aeneid*. It has long been generally accepted (Heinze, 38-47, Keydell (1954), followed by Vian, Recherches, 95-101 and P. Kakridis, 8) that no use of Latin sources can be demonstrated, but the notion still finds adherents: González Senmartí, 199-200, who has read Vian, maintains that Quintus used Virgil. Fisher, 176, 183-9, finds documentary evidence to support this possibility.

inaccurate. This dissertation, therefore, is to a large extent modeled on the various studies of the portrayal of the gods in other epics, especially the Homeric poems.<sup>6</sup> The similarity of Quintus' poem to the *Iliad* permits the methods of many of these studies to be adapted easily to consideration of the *Posthomerica*, and they also aid in discussion of Quintus' use of and response to Homer. O. Jørgensen's "Das Auftreten der Götter im den Büchern 1-12 der *Odyssee*," the seminal observation of the marked difference between statements about the gods made by the poet and those made by characters in the poem, is crucial to the consideration of the portrayal of the gods from the perspective of mortal characters, and to the identification of one of the greatest differences between Quintus' and Homers' portrayals of the gods. P. Chantraine's influential general discussion, "Le divin et les dieux chez Homère," expands upon Jørgensen's observations. The schema of W. Kullmann's Das Wirken der Götter in der *Ilias*, the first great study of the divine machinery, is here adapted for the discussion of the narration and mimesis of divine action. B. C. Dietrich's Death, Fate and the Gods and W. C. Greene's Moirai: Fate, Good, and Evil in Greek Thought are of use in establishing the relationship between Fate and divine will and action, and Dietrich's thorough treatment of all relevant passages also influences the approach here taken. Very useful, too, are the excellent synthetic studies of J. Griffin (Homer on Life and Death and "The Divine Audience and the Religion of the *Iliad*") and of Kullmann ("Gods and Men in the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*").

The present study's consideration of the representation of the divine in the context of literary production and criticism is adopted from Feeney's The Gods in Epic. In discussing the various epics he surveys, Feeney follows no strict methodology, but rather a pragmatic approach to the investigation of various topics, such as poetic authority.

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<sup>6</sup>Much of this scholarship seeks to deduce a Homeric theology from Homer's portrayal of the gods. The disparity between literary representations of the divine and religious belief has long been recognized (Jørgensen's is the first articulation, Mikalson's, the definitive discussion, see also Feeney, 3-4), as it is by the present study.

allegory, anthropomorphism, etc. His consideration of all relevant passages, from disparate contexts (narrative, character speech, ephrasis, etc.), is noteworthy. This, of course, is not unique to Feeney, but the consistency with which he employs this technique, and his emphasis on it, is unusual. This "holistic" approach is well-suited to the present study, as Quintus' apparent "correction" of "unseemly" features of the traditional portrayal of the gods depends in part on the devaluation of some of these features, which are confined to the "mythological background" of the poem or to the speech of mortal characters. In addition to Jørgensen, narratological studies, such as I. J. F. de Jong's Narrators and Focalizers and J. M. Bremer's "The So-Called *Götterapparat* in *Iliad* XX-XXII," aid in delineating character speech, mythological background, and mimesis. The work of those such as G. M. Calhoun and W. G. Thalmann, whose primary concern is with the Homeric poems as examples of traditional, oral, poetry, is of use in identifying the norms which Quintus follows or to which he responds.

Response to Homer and other models is a central issue in studies of Alexandrian and Roman epic, and this dissertation draws upon the methods and substance of several of these. Most useful are the general discussions of G. Giangrande, Heinze's Virgil's Epic Technique, and Klein's and Knight's studies of Apollonius' treatment of the gods.<sup>7</sup> Quintus, however, seems to respond not only to Homer, but to ancient criticism of Homer. Thus, the present study draws heavily upon ancient educational and philosophical treatises, the Scholia, and Eustathius, and modern studies of these texts.<sup>8</sup> A methodological model is R. R. Schlunk's The Homeric Scholia and the *Aeneid*, which discusses in detail Virgil's response to specific criticisms in the Scholia.

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<sup>7</sup>More theoretical discussions of the Latin tradition, such as Conte's The Rhetoric of Imitation, and Williams' Change and Decline, and the numerous studies of Hellenistic poets listed in the bibliography are also useful

<sup>8</sup>The works of Van der Valk, Pfeiffer, Lamberton, and Keaney, cited in the bibliography

### Organization of the Present Study

This dissertation does not follow exactly the arrangement of any single previous study of the gods in epic, but adapts the methods and approaches of several such studies, in order to show most efficiently how Quintus represents the divine, and to address the peculiarities of this representation.

Quintus' references to the divine are discussed according to the context in which they occur. Distinction of context is of crucial importance to understanding the manner in which Quintus achieves his "corrected" portrayal of the gods. Because it is well-established and familiar, the terminology of narratological studies is used to distinguish narrative contexts.<sup>9</sup> The distinctions here made, however, are very basic.<sup>10</sup> The distinction between "narrator-" and "character-text" (respectively, statements made by the poet in the narratorial or authorial voice, and those attributed to characters in the poem) is self explanatory.<sup>11</sup> So-called "complex narrator-text" or "embedded focalization," summarizing characters' perceptions, thoughts or emotions, and indirect speech, are here classed as character-text: as will be seen, Quintus is fond of indirect quotation, making the separation of direct and indirect speech difficult, and probably misleading.<sup>12</sup> Character

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<sup>9</sup>Terminology and definitions as in de Jong, 18-9; 38, 255, n. 15

<sup>10</sup>The present study demands nothing like the sophistication and complexity of narratological studies of classical texts (examples in Bremer, De Jong, and Kalf), still less of those devoted to modern literature. For an overview of narratological studies, see de Jong, 15-28 *passim*

<sup>11</sup>To avoid awkwardness of expression, the present study uses "Quintus" and "the poet" indiscriminately to denote the narratorial voice. Similarly, "Homer" denotes the narratorial voice of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*.

<sup>12</sup>On rationales for treating *oratio obliqua* in Homer as character speech, see de Jong, 139. The abundance of *oratio obliqua* in the *Posthomerica* (for percentage comparison to other epics, see Elderkin, 2-6, cf. Griffin (1986) 37) seems to be merely a stylistic quirk, whose origins are beyond the scope of this study. Two points, however, should be noted. First though *oratio obliqua* is common in the Cyclics (Griffin (1976) 49-50), Quintus' partiality to it need not indicate dependence on them nor on any other source, he is quite capable of writing speeches. Second, while the large quantity of *oratio recta* in the Homeric poems provoked Platonic objections (Griffin (1986) 36) this seems not to be why Quintus avoids it, nor does Kannicht's (14-5) theory that the minimal use of *oratio recta* is a sign of poetic creativity and authority likely apply to the *Posthomerica*, (which he does not consider): The content of direct and indirect speeches do not differ significantly, and Quintus is, as will be seen, quite as vague as his characters as to "how it really was."

text, however, is here divided between that attributed to divine and to mortal characters. The speech of gods is discussed with other mimesis and narrative of divine action. The speech of mortals is divided between instances in which characters mention objects of divine origin, divine ancestry, or events occurring before the dramatic time-span of the poem. Narrator-text is divided between "objective" narrative of the story ("primary narrative") and "subjective" (or "secondary") passages, which include proemia, apostrophe, and obvious authorial comment, and also proleptic and analeptic passages, obituary and other digressions, ecphrases, and similes. Distinction between the two was made in antiquity,<sup>13</sup> and is crucial to the present study. "Correction" of unseemly features of the traditional portrayal of the gods is found largely in the primary narrative and mimesis of divine action, while the ornamental secondary narrative and the statements of mortal characters are far more traditional.

Ancient criticism of the traditional portrayal of the gods, and background information about the *Posthomerica* are discussed in this chapter. Chapter Two catalogues the divine entities who appear as characters or who are mentioned in the *Posthomerica*, noting the frequency of reference to these entities and the nomenclature and descriptive epithets applied to them.<sup>14</sup> Chapter Three deals with what may be termed the "mythological background" of the poem: The secondary narrative, and references to pre-existing connections between the mundane and the divine (such as objects of divine origin and the divine ancestry of mortal characters) in both primary narrative and character text. Chapter Four deals with passages (all in primary narrative) which are open to allegorical

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<sup>13</sup>Plato (*Rep.* 392c-349b) draws a basic distinction between mimesis and simple narration. Aristotle (*Poet.* 60a 5-11) between mimetic and non-mimetic narrator text (i.e. between the proem and narration). Plutarch (*de aud. poet.* 19a 6-20c 25) points out occurrences of non-mimetic or subjective narrator-text outside the proem. For discussion, see de Jong, 2-10, and 10-14 on the (far less detailed) reflections of these notions in the Scholia.

<sup>14</sup>This survey distinguishes between narrator and (mortal) character-texts only where this is of particular relevance to points immediately under discussion.

interpretation. Chapter Five discusses the "divine machinery," the narration and mimesis of divine action, which both impels the action narrated and guides response to the narrative.<sup>15</sup> Chapter Six considers the gods from the perspective of the *Posthomeric*'s mortal characters, discussing references to such human actions as prayer, priesthood, and prophecy, and mortal characters' statements about the gods. A final chapter summarizes the representation of the divine in the *Posthomeric* and re-examines the hypothesis that Quintus systematically "corrects" the traditional portrayal of the gods.

At each stage, the dissertation considers the way in which Quintus' references to the divine contribute to the over-all portrayal of the gods, and the effect of these references on the reader's response to the events narrated. Quintus' references to the divine are also compared to other epic portrayals of the gods. For comparison, the *Iliad* always serves as a sort of "control." It is the key text for the establishment of the traditional portrayal of the gods, and the text of greatest concern to ancient literary critics. The *Iliad* is of necessity privileged above the *Odyssey* and other epics because its subject, the battles of the Greeks and Trojans, is also the *Posthomeric*'s. Because differences in the type of action narrated make comparison to other epics difficult and possibly misleading, the *Posthomeric* is compared to these only in instances where such comparison is feasible and illuminating, as in the discussion of the nomenclature and description of divine entities. Reference is also made to works of other genres where Quintus seems to follow or respond to the tradition these represent.

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<sup>15</sup>This definition is formulated from the summary of the history of the term "divine machinery" given by Bremer, 31-3

## The Poem

It has been said that Quintus' purpose was "to compose a vulgate version of the Trojan cycle for the cultured reader of his day."<sup>16</sup> In so doing, he shapes the material of the Cyclic poems into a continuous, coherent narrative, which spans exactly the gap between that *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*, from immediately after the funeral of Hector to the point at which Odysseus' tale of his wanderings begins. The essential character of the *Posthomerica* as a link between the two Homeric poems is implicitly recognized in the title given the work by the manuscripts and Byzantine commentators: τὰ μεθ' Ὀμηρον.<sup>17</sup> and by its inclusion between the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* in a number of codices.<sup>18</sup> Because the *Posthomerica* is little known (and less read) even by classicists, it is appropriate to summarize its plot, paying special attention to the references to the divine.<sup>19</sup>

Book 1: The *Posthomerica* begins immediately after the funeral of Hector. The arrival of Penthesileia and a contingent of Amazons lifts Trojan morale. Penthesileia, the daughter of Ares, has come to Troy in part to expiate the accidental killing of her sister. Her appearance is such that she is frequently compared to, and occasionally confused with, the more vigorous goddesses. During her first and only night in Troy, Penthesileia is visited by a false dream sent by Athena, which promises her success against Achilles. The next morning, Penthesileia takes the field. Priam prays for her success, but receives an unfavorable omen. The Trojans are at first resisted only by Meges, whom Athena inspires. The Trojan women are so inflamed with Penthesileia's success that Theano can scarcely

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<sup>16</sup>Recherches, 100: "[Quintus] a voulu composer un vulgate du cycle Troyen pour l'honnête homme de son temps." see also Suite I xxix, xlii-xliii

<sup>17</sup>There are slight variations. Köchly, 1, gives the most complete list of variants of the title. See also Suite I vii-viii, and Paschal, 11

<sup>18</sup>Suite I xxv n. 3

<sup>19</sup>Paschal, 45-63 and Niemayer (1883) 1-7 also provide plot summaries

dissuade them from arming and taking the field. Thus far, Fate or a god has kept Ajax and Achilles out of the battle. When they become aware of the fight, and join in, they are given strength by Athena. Penthesileia casts an ineffective javelin at each. Ajax, who is not fated to be wounded by an enemy, withdraws. After exchanging boasts, Achilles and Penthesileia fight. Penthesileia is wounded, and considers whether to fight on or ask quarter, but a god decides the issue and Achilles kills her. Achilles removes her helmet and is struck by her beauty, which Aphrodite has augmented, to grieve him, and as a favor to Ares. The winds inform Ares of Penthesileia's death. He descends to avenge her, but thinks better of it when Zeus drops a lightning bolt at his feet. Achilles kills Thersites, who mocks his grief for Penthesileia.

Book 2: Priam informs the Trojan council that he is awaiting the arrival of an ally, Memnon, son of Dawn and Tithonus, the king of the Aethiopians. After an unspecified interval, Memnon arrives and recounts his exotic career and family history at a welcoming banquet. Priam toasts him with a cup made by Hephaestus, which Zeus gave to Dardanus. It is an heirloom of the Trojan royal house, but god did not ordain that Priam give it to his son. A simultaneous feast takes place on Olympus. Zeus informs the assembled gods that the morrow's fighting will be bloody, and asks that the gods not petition him on behalf of their favorites: the request is accepted without debate. Dawn rises unwillingly, and battle is joined. Memnon enjoys considerable success, culminating in the killing of Nestor's son, Antilochus. In the fighting over the corpse, Dawn wards off weapons from Memnon: Nestor fetches Achilles. Achilles and Memnon boast of their ancestry. Zeus loves both heroes, and gives both strength, and Eris delights in their duel. The larger battle also rages, with various bellicose deities present on the field. The gods sweep away a cloud of dust to observe. A celestial quarrel is prevented by Zeus' displaying the fates of Memnon and Achilles, indicating Memnon's doom. Because both are descended from Zeus, Enyo prolongs their struggle. Finally Memnon falls: the sky darkens, and at Dawn's command the winds bear Memnon's body to Paphlagonia; a god transports the Aethiopian after



them. Dawn descends, and with other minor gods mourns through the night. The next morning she rises only when driven by Zeus' lightning bolt.

**Book 3:** The Trojans come out and fight because the keres give them courage to face and be slain by Achilles, who will himself die. Almost immediately they are driven back. Achilles is on the point of entering the city, when Apollo descends and orders him to stop. Achilles replies rudely and does not halt, and Apollo veils himself in mist and shoots him in the ankle. He returns to Olympus, and Hera reproaches him. The other gods, depending on their sympathies, are pleased or angry. Achilles dies. In the fight over his corpse. Glaucus is slain, though Aeneas rescues his body. The Greeks eulogize Achilles, whom Athena sprinkles with ambrosia and makes fearsome in appearance. Zeus gives the Greeks the courage to look upon Thetis and her train of Nereids and Muses when they arrive. Thetis, bitter and angry, is consoled by Calliope. After an unspecified interval, Achilles is cremated. Zeus sprinkles the pyre with ambrosia and sends Hermes for the winds, who come from Aeolia and fan the flames. Achilles' bones are buried, although not with those of Patroclus. Achilles' horses mourn him. Poseidon informs Thetis that Achilles will be a god, worshipped at Leuke in the Black Sea; she and her attendants return to the sea.

**Book 4:** The Trojans cremate Glaucus. Apollo raises his body from the pyre, and the winds transport it to Lycia. The Greeks mourn for a day, during which Hera reproaches Zeus for aiding the Trojans and wronging Thetis; he does not reply, but ponders the fall of the city and the woes of both Greeks and Trojans. The next morning, Ajax prevents the Greeks from fighting, informing them that Thetis will come to hold funeral games: as a result of the games, Ajax is fated to die. Thetis comes from the sea, and presides over the games. Nestor sings of the wedding of Peleus and Thetis, and the deeds of Achilles, concluding with a prayer that Achilles' son come from Scyros. In the foot race, a god causes Teucer to trip. Other events are wrestling, boxing, shot-putting, the chariot race, and a race on horseback.

**Book 5: Thetis sets out the arms of Achilles, which are described in great detail, and offers them as a prize for the "best of the Greeks" who rescued Achilles' body, an honor claimed by Odysseus and Ajax. Each gives two speeches; the Trojan captives judge Odysseus the winner. Thetis and the Nereids return to the sea. They are angry at Prometheus, whom Cymothoe, in a brief speech, holds responsible for the marriage of Thetis to Peleus. To protect Odysseus, Athena maddens Ajax, who has brooded all night on his loss and intends to kill the Greek chiefs. Dawn is announced in a brief passage in which Hera meets and greets Sleep. Ajax kills the sheep. Athena removes his madness; he curses the Greeks and commits suicide. Ajax is eulogized and cremated; Thetis sends a wind to fan the flames of his pyre.**

**Book 6: Menelaus proposes returning to Greece. Diomedes refuses, and Calchas reminds the assembly of his earlier prophecy that Troy would fall in the current, tenth, year. On Calchas' advice, Diomedes and Odysseus are sent to Scyros to fetch Neoptolemus. Meanwhile, Eurypylus comes to Troy as an ally, answering the Trojans' prayers. He is the grandson of Heracles, and divine in appearance. His arms, which depict the career of Heracles, are described in detail. The morning after his arrival, battle is joined. Zeus gives Eurypylus strength, honoring Heracles, and the Greeks are driven back to the ships. Machaon is killed, and Podalireius kills Cleitus and Lasso, providing opportunity for a digression on a cave of the nymphs. The lesser Ajax escapes Aeneas because he is not yet fated to die.**

**Book 7: The next morning the Greeks bury their dead. Nestor consoles Podalireius, adapting the Homeric parable of Zeus' pithoi, and says that Machaon will likely attain immortality, because of his excellence and because his father, Asclepius, is a god. Battle resumes. Only Athena's inspiration of the Greeks prevents their defeat. The fight continues for an unspecified period, interrupted by a two-day truce. Meanwhile, Odysseus and Diomedes arrive in Scyros. Neoptolemus, despite the anxieties of his mother, is glad to accompany them. Thetis, Poseidon, and the Nereids rejoice at**

Neoptolemus' departure, and Amphitrite gives a favorable wind. They arrive as Eurypylus is about to breach the earthworks. Neoptolemus dons his father's armor, and, with Diomedes and Odysseus, joins the fight. Zeus' inspiration of Eurypylus prevents the turning of the tide of battle, though the Trojans believe Neoptolemus is Achilles. Athena descends to the field and gives glory, though not complete victory, to the Greeks. Nightfall ends the fighting, and Neoptolemus is formally welcomed.

Book 8: The next morning battle is joined. Thetis exults in Neoptolemus' prowess. Many are slain, although Antiphus, doomed to be eaten by the Cyclops, escapes. Neoptolemus and Eurypylus meet, exchange boasts, and duel, urged on by Enyo and Eris. The gods watch. Neoptolemus kills Eurypylus, and routs the Trojans. Ares descends to the field: he is manifest only as a voice, recognized by Helenus, who exhorts the Trojans. The battle continues, to the delight of Enyo, Eris, Moros, and the Keres. Ares again shouts, inspiring the Trojans, but not frightening Neoptolemus. Ares would fight Neoptolemus, but is himself confronted by Athena. Zeus thunders, preventing them from exchanging blows, and they depart. Neoptolemus drives the Trojans into the city, where they fight from the ramparts: Apollo gives them strength, but the sack of the city is prevented only when Ganymede begs Zeus that he not see the destruction of his hometown. Zeus hides the city in mist, and hurls thunderbolts. Nestor advises retreat to await a more propitious day. The Greeks feast Neoptolemus, who is not tired, because Thetis charms pain and weariness from his limbs.

Book 9: The Trojans remain inside the city. Antenor prays to Zeus for deliverance, or an end to suffering: the latter will be granted. After a truce, fighting resumes. Deiphobus, perhaps inspired by a god, leads the Trojans. Deiphobus and Neoptolemus meet, but Apollo snatches Deiphobus out of harm's way. Apollo descends to the field and shouts, encouraging the Trojans; Poseidon in turn gives the Greeks courage, and prevents Apollo from confronting Neoptolemus. Calchas advises withdrawal, as Troy can not be taken without Philoctetes: Odysseus and Diomedes go to Lemnos to seek him. Athena

prevents Philoctetes from shooting them on sight, and he is convinced to accompany them: Athena gives a fair wind on the return trip. Podalireus heals Philoctetes, who is welcomed, and next morning leads the Greeks.

**Book 10:** The Trojans refuse Polydamas' suggestion of waiting out the siege, and return to the field. Zeus gives them courage, for Paris is fated to die in the fighting. Eris and other deities of war rouse the hosts. Philoctetes, whose quiver and baldric are described in detail, kills many and wounds Paris. When night ends the fighting, Paris goes to Oenone, who he knows from an oracle can cure him; unfavorable omens attend his journey, and she refuses. Hera revels in his agony, and discusses with the Horae the events his death will set in train: Helenus' departure from the city and the rape of the Palladium: these events, however, are not narrated. Paris is lamented by Hecuba and Helen. The Idaean nymphs cremate Paris, and Oenone immolates herself on his pyre.

**Book 11:** Deities of war rouse the Trojans to take the field. Apollo, disguised as Polymestor, son of Apollo's priest, informs Aeneas and Eurymachus that they are not fated to die in battle, inspiring them to great deeds. Neoptolemus rallies the Greeks and prevents their rout. Out of respect for Aphrodite, Thetis prevents Neoptolemus from fighting Aeneas. Zeus clears away the dust of battle. The peasants of the Troad see the fight, and pray in vain for victory. At length, Athena comes to the aid of the Greeks, and Aphrodite, fearing she will not respect Aeneas' fate, removes him from battle. The Trojans retreat to the city, which the Greeks storm the next morning. Aeneas, aided by Ares and Aphrodite, leads the defense of the walls.

**Book 12:** Calchas tells the assembled Greeks Troy can be taken only by stratagem. Odysseus outlines the plan of the wooden horse, which receives favorable omens. Philoctetes and Neoptolemus reject the trick, and prepare to storm the city, but are stopped by lightning bolts. That night, Athena visits Epeius in a dream, and promises her assistance in the construction of the horse. In three days, the horse is built, and after Epeius prays, is beautified by Athena. Fate prevents the pro-Trojan gods from destroying

the horse by causing them to fight the divine partisans of the Greeks. Athena and Ares come to blows, but Zeus and Themis quickly restore order. Sinon volunteers to ensure that the Trojans take in the horse. After an appeal to the Muses, Quintus names the heroes who enter the horse; the other Greeks sail to Tenedos. The Trojans enter the camp. Under torture, Sinon, inspired by Hera, tells them the horse is an offering to Athena, and that he himself escaped being sacrificed to secure a safe voyage only by clinging to it as a suppliant. Laocoon nearly prevents the horse being brought into the city. Athena strikes him blind and causes an earthquake. The Trojans interpret this as an omen, and bring in the horse, to the rejoicing of Hera, Athena, and Enyo. Laocoon still denounces the horse; two serpents eat his sons, further convincing the Trojans they have done right to take the horse into the city. The Trojans give thanks and feast, heedless of a catalogue of ill omens and the prophecies of Cassandra.

Book 13: The Trojans sleep. Sinon signals the Greeks at Tenedos and lets the warriors out of the horse; Thetis assists them. The Trojans are put to the sword. Antenor is spared. Aeneas, with his father and son, escapes with the assistance of Aphrodite and through the intervention of Calchas. Aphrodite also prevents Menelaus harming Helen. All the gods lament, except Hera and Athena. Athena, however, is outraged by the rape of Cassandra in her temple, from which the cult-statue averts its eyes. Priam's daughter, Laodice, is swallowed up by the earth in response to her prayer, and Electra leaves the Pleiades in grief. Quintus repeatedly mentions that the city's destruction was fated.

Book 14: The Greeks convey their booty to the ships. Helen's fear and embarrassment is likened to that of Aphrodite taken in adultery with Ares. Ida, and the Rivers and Nymphs of the Troad lament. The Greeks sing the praises of the gods, and their own great deeds; this delights or grieves the gods, depending on their sympathies, but the outcome was fated. The Greeks sacrifice in thanksgiving and pray, in vain, for a safe return, then feast and retire to bed. Aphrodite restores the marital harmony of Helen and Menelaus. The shade of Achilles visits Neoptolemus in a dream. After much advice on

proper comportment, Achilles demands the sacrifice of Polyxena under threat of a storm which will prevent the Greeks' departure, then returns to Elysium. In the morning, Neoptolemus informs the Greeks of the dream. Poseidon causes the sea to become rough, and the Greeks pray to Achilles as to a god. Polyxena is brought, and Hecuba recalls a dream portending the girl's death. Neoptolemus prays, and kills her on Achilles' tomb: Antenor buries the body. The sea calms. Hecuba turns into a dog, then a god turns her into a stone, which Calchas says the Greeks must transport across the Hellespont. Calchas foresees the destruction of the fleet, but only he and Amphilocheus, the son of Amphiaraus, do not embark; they will found cities in Asia. The Greeks embark and pour libations. The Trojan captives recall the accuracy of Cassandra's prophecies. Athena goes to Zeus, to demand redress for the rape of Cassandra; he gives her his thunderbolts. Athena sends Iris to fetch the winds from Aeolus, and stirs up a great storm in which Poseidon and Zeus cooperate. Ajax' ship is sunk, but he swims for shore, his strength amazing the gods. Athena allows him to suffer before dying, and when he reaches land, Poseidon crushes him under a rock. Nauplius rejoices to see the Greeks storm-tossed, and prays to Poseidon, who hears and drives the ships toward his false beacon. Athena rejoices, but regrets the woes Odysseus will suffer at Poseidon's hands. Poseidon, Apollo and Zeus cooperate in the destruction of the Greek earthworks at Troy. The storm is stilled, and the surviving Greeks go whither god leads them.

Quintus approximates Homeric style closely enough, as has been noted, that the casual reader may regard his poem as a Homeric *cento*:<sup>20</sup> even among more careful readers a belief lingers that the *Posthomerica* incorporates unchanged much material

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<sup>20</sup>See n 3 On the success of Quintus' imitation of Homer generally, see *Suite I* xxvii, on the Homeric flavor of his descriptions Newbold, 55. Quintus' avoidance of the "florid style and erotic sensibility of later Greek verse writing" is often noted, most recently by Hainsworth, 136, whence the quotation. Paschal discusses Quintus' non-Homeric vocabulary and usages (27-32). *Recherches* (145-249) discusses Quintus' style and metrical technique in detail.

drawn from the Cyclic epics.<sup>21</sup> The style of the *Posthomerica*, however, is not strictly "Homeric."<sup>22</sup> Rather, Quintus repeatedly evokes, then departs from, identifiable, usually Homeric, models. Quintus' technique is usefully compared to that of the Alexandrians. Like them, he departs from Homeric models in such a way as to comment upon, or suggest a particular interpretation of, the model. The Alexandrian "arte allusiva" consists in slight variation of the diction and syntax of usually rather obscure passages.<sup>23</sup> Quintus does make such small-scale allusions.<sup>24</sup> Allusions in the *Posthomerica*, however, are usually very obvious, (typical of literature of the imperial period) he evokes well-known passages; this lack of subtlety, of course, is entirely unlike the Alexandrians. This evocation and alteration of (usually Homeric) literary models is one of the primary means by which Quintus establishes his portrayal of the gods. Quintus' "correction of the traditional portrayal of the gods is likely motivated by awareness of and interest in contemporary paedagogical concerns,<sup>25</sup> and his broad and obvious technique accords well with the notion that his purpose is didactic.

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<sup>21</sup>Tychsen, li: Alsina, 152.

<sup>22</sup>Quintus very rarely duplicates exactly any Homeric phrase, and those he does are simple, insignificant, and in some cases perhaps unavoidable; formulae are never duplicated. Paschal, 32-4, gives a complete list. Bates, 15 notes the avoidance of exact duplication.

<sup>23</sup>On "arte allusiva," see Pasquali, 11-20; Giangrande (1967 and 1970); and Conte, 24, 31-2, 141-5, 151. On the Alexandrians' avoidance of exact duplication of their models, see Garson, 1, 5-7; on them as scholarly interpreters of Homer, see Pfeiffer, 140, 146-9. On the Latin poets' similar response to Homer and other models, see Heinze, and Williams, 193-271.

<sup>24</sup>Two instances (neither pertaining to the portrayal of the gods) are discussed in detail, in studies of the Alexandrians (Giangrande (1970) 58-9; Claus 42 n. 10, 47 n. 18); others are noted in the present study. Other studies note, but do not discuss, Quintus' use of Alexandrian techniques. Newmann, 111 n. 21, 228, identifies "Callimachean" tendencies in Quintus; Lamberton (1997) 50, explicitly includes Quintus in the "tradition of hexameter poetry" which can be subjected to the same sort of examination as has been accorded Apollonius; and Garcia Romero (1986) 101, regards Quintus as altering Homer as Virgil (in the *Eclogues*) does Theocritus.

<sup>25</sup>This interest and awareness is also indicated by the influence of rhetoric on the *Posthomerica*. This influence, apparent in character speeches and set-piece descriptions, as well as in the content of some passages, primarily in didactic digressions and the speech of mortal characters, has little effect on the portrayal of the gods. *Suite I*: xxxviii-x; Paschal, 37, 63-4. Alsina, 154-5, overestimates the rhetorical nature of the poem and underestimates Quintus' breadth of reading.





170. and like them probably express the poet's modest aims.<sup>30</sup> Despite the wealth of detail the passage provides certain evidence of nothing more than the poet's wide reading. Quintus' apparently detailed acquaintance with the monuments and natural features of western Asia Minor may be deceptive. Most of the geographical references in the poem have parallels in extant literature (and Quintus' use of some of these sources is demonstrable).<sup>31</sup> There is evidence that Artemis was revered at Smyrna, but there is no other evidence of a temple to her, or a grove sacred to Zeus, in the city.<sup>32</sup> Smyrna is, of course, the most prominent of the birth-places of Homer, and Quintus' claim of a connection with the city can be viewed as a detail stemming from his writing of a "Homeric" poem. Still, Smyrna was a center of Homeric scholarship, and thus possibly the poet's native or adopted home.<sup>33</sup>

The poet's name is given in the manuscripts and Byzantine references to the poem.<sup>34</sup> That it is a Roman name has probably contributed to speculation regarding Quintus' use of Latin sources, but a variety of circumstances might account for a Greek bearing such a name: that he was a freedman, that he was of Roman or long-Romanized descent, or that he had recently been granted citizenship.<sup>35</sup> Κοῖντος occurs frequently in

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<sup>30</sup>I am indebted to Professor Alan Cameron of Columbia University who called my attention to this parallel.

<sup>31</sup>Suite I: x-xiii. Recherches, 110-44; again, Vian initially believed that Quintus knew these places through autopsy (1954) 48. Cadoux, 26, n. 1 and Robert (1980) 355-6; (1987) 497, 501, document some errors in geographical description, and dependences on other texts. Only once (10. 161-6) does Quintus alone "preserve a unique and authentic local tradition" regarding geography (Robert ((1978) 48).

<sup>32</sup>Cadoux, 219

<sup>33</sup>Suite I: ix. Lefkowitz 13-4. The book of Lefkowitz amply demonstrates the dangers attendant in seeking autobiographical data in the poets' own words

<sup>34</sup>Paschal, 11-2. Suite I: vii-viii

<sup>35</sup>On the basis of the poem's high level of culture, Paschal (who dates the *Posthomerica* prior to the *constitutio Antoniniana* of 212), 11-2, inclines to the view that Quintus was descended from Roman stock. Vian notes (Suite I: vii) that the use of the praenomen alone need not imply that Quintus was a freedman. "[l'] absence de patronyme n'est pas une fait insolite à l'époque impériale."

inscriptions of relevant date from western Asia Minor, both alone and as a praenomen of individuals of both unquestionably Roman and non-Roman descent.<sup>36</sup> There is thus no compelling reason to suppose that the poet of the *Posthomerica* was of free or freed, Roman or Romanized, origin.

Nor is there any reason to extend a hypothesis regarding Quintus' origin to illuminate his religious beliefs. P Bodmer 24, which preserves a Christian poem, the *Vision of Dorotheus*, is cited as evidence of Quintus' connection with Christian circles. The eponymous Dorotheus has the patronym (line 300) Κωντιάδης; the editors of the papyrus identify him as the son of the author of the *Posthomerica*. This identification has been challenged on both chronological and stylistic grounds. Given the wide span of time within which the *Posthomerica* might have been composed, the former can not be persuasive. The *Vision*, however, evinces so low a level of diction, prosody, orthography, and general culture that it is virtually inconceivable that the author of the *Posthomerica* had any hand in the education of Dorotheus.<sup>37</sup> Quintus' Christianity is also postulated by Köchly, who sees a reflection of Christian conceptions of heaven and hell in 7. 87-9:<sup>38</sup>

... Καὶ γὰρ ῥα πέλει φάτις ἀνθρώποισιν  
 ἐσθλῶν μὲν νίσεσθαι ἐς οὐρανὸν ἄφθιτον αἰεὶ  
 ψυχᾶς, ἀργαλέων δὲ ποτὶ ζόφον. . .

There is a saying among men that the souls of the good go to an everlasting heaven, those of the wicked to darkness.

<sup>36</sup> As determined by search of the PHI CD-ROM of Greek documentary texts and inscriptions

<sup>37</sup> Hurst, 46, cites *Suite I*: vii to support the identification of Quintus as the father of Dorotheus. Vian (1976), xlvii n. 5; xv n. 1, seems to have been willing to revise his dating of the *Posthomerica* on the basis of the papyrus before its publication. "Une recente découverte papyrologique amenera peut-être abaisser la date de la *Suite d'Homère* jusqu'à début de iv<sup>e</sup> siècle." Campbell, 195, also subscribes to the notion that a son of Quintus composed the *Vision*. Vian later challenged the connection between Quintus and Dorotheus on stylistic grounds (1985) 47-8. Fantuzzi, 186-7, does so on chronological grounds

<sup>38</sup> Köchly, v-vi. As Köchly also regards the *Posthomerica* as a product of Julian's pagan revival it is odd that he makes nothing of the fact that this "Christian doctrine" is presented in a positive light. For further discussion, see ch. 6

The expression, however, is vague, appertaining equally well, if not better, to Quintus' demonstrable Stoicism.

Nor can the date of the *Posthomerica's* composition be fixed securely save within the very broad range which may be deduced on stylistic grounds. These place the poem between [Oppian's] *Cynegetica* and Nonnus' *Dionysiaca*; that is, between the late second and early fifth centuries AD.<sup>39</sup> This possible period of composition can not be much reduced. Because no writer of Homerizing epic is mentioned in Philostratus' *Lives of the Sophists*, which gives a picture of intellectual life at Smyrna under Alexander Severus (AD 222-235), this date is usually accepted as a *terminus post quem* for the composition of the *Posthomerica*, despite the uncertainty of Quintus' connection with the city.<sup>40</sup>

Evidence for a *terminus ante quem* is similarly inconclusive. The foundation of Rome is the subject of a prophecy at 13. 336-41, where Calchas orders the Greeks to allow Aeneas to pass unharmed.<sup>41</sup> The absence of any reference to Constantinople may indicate that the *Posthomerica* pre-dates the foundation of the second capital in 324; this argument *a silentio*, however, is not convincing. A century after the foundation of Constantinople, Nonnus fails to mention the second capitol in a similar prophecy (*Dion.* 41. 389-393). A simile (6. 531-6) in which the Atreidae, hard pressed in battle, are compared to beasts in the arena is also sometimes cited as evidence of the date. This simile at most reinforces the *terminus ante quem* of approximately 325, if it is understood as referring to *condemnatio ad bestias*, a practice abolished by Constantine. The reference, however, is perhaps to *venationes*, banned unsuccessfully by Anastasius in 499 (and again

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<sup>39</sup>Hermann, xxv-xxx. For general discussion of the date, see Paschal, 17-21, and *Suite I* xix-xxii. On Quintus' use of [Oppian], see Vian (1954) 50-1. If the revision of the dating of Tryphiodorus (Cameron (1970) 478-82) is accepted, then Quintus falls between [Oppian] and Tryphiodorus.

<sup>40</sup>Vian (*Suite I* xxi) uses Philostratus in fixing the date, but elsewhere questions the poet's association with Smyrna.

<sup>41</sup>Internal evidence for the date is reviewed by Paschal, 14

by Justinian), long after the date of composition which can be established on stylistic grounds.<sup>42</sup>

The only external evidence for a *terminus ante quem* is a papyrus of the late fourth century which contains a versified consolation of Thetis, probably a school exercise, which bears some resemblance to Calliope's speech at 3. 632-54. It has been supposed that the writer of the papyrus text made use of Quintus, although the similarities are not great. The document would, however, support the estimation from internal evidence of approximately 325 as the latest possible date for the composition of the *Posthomerica*.<sup>43</sup>

On the basis of the poem's subject, Vian dates it to the late third century, which he sees as marked by a resurgence of mythological epic, replacing the previous century's preference for didactic verse.<sup>44</sup> In fact, the subject of the *Posthomerica* is as likely to indicate a still later date. While similarities may be presumed between the *Posthomerica* and the lost mythological epics of the third century to which Vian compares it, Quintus' subject and treatment of it are demonstrably similar to those of later writers, such as Tryphiodorus and Nonnus, whose use of Quintus is recognized, and Coluthus.<sup>45</sup> This

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<sup>42</sup>Vian (*Suite I*: xxi, following Köchly, v), understands 6. 531-6 as an allusion to: "... esclaves livres aux bêtes dans l'amphithéâtre:" that is, to *condemnatio ad bestias*. His note *ad loc.* (*Suite II*: 88-9), however, suggests that the simile refers to *venationes*: "... une allusion anachronique aux combats de gladiateurs contre les fauves." Wright, 370, also interprets this as a reference to *venationes*. The allusion is not in fact anachronistic; the popularity of the games in the East is demonstrated by Robert (1971) 13-5, who specifically discusses both *condemnatio ad bestias*, 320-1, and *venationes*, 330; cf Cameron (1973) 228-9. On the eventual abolition of *venationes*, see Jones, 997, 1398 n. 87. Niemayer (1884) 5, is not concerned with the ramifications of the simile for the dating of the *Posthomerica*.

<sup>43</sup>For the text of the papyrus, see Heitsch, 86, for discussion, Reitzenstein, 103-5, and *Suite I*: xx-xxi.

<sup>44</sup>*Suite I*: xxi-xxiv. Alsina, 152-3, follows Vian, discussing the vogue for mythological epic in greater detail. Vian (1976), xlvi n. 5; xv n. 1, however, indicates his doubt as to the date.

<sup>45</sup>Some support for later dating of the *Posthomerica* is given by the distribution of heroic epic in the papyri. Of those fragments of epic catalogued by Pack, 100-3, which are substantial enough to permit description, two (nos. 1836, 1838) are dated to the first or second centuries AD, one (1834) to the third century, and five (1803, 1831, 1834, 1844, and 1835) to the fourth century or later.

being noted, there is no reason strongly to prefer any date between 250 and 325 over any other.<sup>46</sup>

### The Traditional Portrayal of the Gods: Poetry and Philosophy

The present study takes as its hypothesis that the *Posthomerica* is influenced by ancient criticism of the traditional portrayal of the gods. This traditional portrayal, and objections to it, is reviewed here, and should be borne in mind throughout the subsequent discussion of the *Posthomerica*. The immense influence of the Homeric poems, especially the *Iliad*, on virtually all the subsequent literature of antiquity, is so well known as to require no discussion.<sup>47</sup> Homer's portrayal of the gods is adopted, with only the most minimal alteration, by later writers, particularly of epic and tragedy.<sup>48</sup> Philosophical writers soon condemned this portrayal of the gods as incorrect and impious.<sup>49</sup> Their criticisms.

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<sup>46</sup>Other scholars place the *Posthomerica* at widely different points within this period. Tychsen, xxxi-xxxiii, followed by Köchly, v-vii, views it as symptomatic of a "pagan revival," and accordingly assigns it to the reign of Julian. Largely in reaction, Paschal, 21, places the date as early as possible, in the late second or early third century, discounting the omission of Quintus from Philostratus

<sup>47</sup>Lamberton (1997) 42-6, discusses Homer's influence, noting that the *Iliad* was far more widely read than the *Odyssey*. All the Second Sophistic writers in Kinstrand's study demonstrably use the former, but only Dio Chrysostom and Plutarch the latter. Browning, 16, finds the same tendency in later periods, and Criboire (194) notes the rarity of citations of the *Odyssey* in the papyri.

<sup>48</sup>The Greeks were early aware of Homer's influence upon the portrayal of the gods, as is evinced by Herodotus' statement (2. 53) that Homer and Hesiod "gave the gods their titles, offices, and powers." Buffiere, 11, terms Homer a "catechism." Whitman, 223-4, regards his portrayal of the gods as "canonical." The view that the *Odyssey* and Hesiod are essentially corrections of the theodicy of the *Iliad* (Lloyd-Jones, 81-2; Kullmann (1985); Gould, 3-4, 22-3, 91), is to be rejected. On the essential equivalence of all archaic epic, see Thalmann, xi-xiii, Ford, 405-10

<sup>49</sup>Plato's criticisms are the most extensive surviving, and the best-known. Kannicht (20), following Havelock's seminal discussion, notes that the philosopher's polemical stance is a reaction primarily "against the manifest validity of Homer's effectiveness as a quasi-biblical authority among the Greeks." White (247) calls the poets, especially Homer, "Plato's main rivals;" see also Tate, 105, and Lamberton (1997) 35-6

too, are well-known, and what Plato (*Rep.* 607b) calls "the ancient quarrel between philosophy and poetry" requires only the briefest summary here.<sup>50</sup>

The first surviving philosophical criticisms are those of Xenophanes, writing a century and a half before Plato. Xenophanes seems to have conceived divinity very abstractly (B 25-6, DK), and attacks Homer and Hesiod for anthropomorphism (B 14, DK), as well as for depicting such shameful divine actions as theft and adultery (B 11, DK). He also (B 1. 21-2) rejects Titanomachy, Gigantomachy, and Centauromachy as suitable themes.<sup>51</sup> The best-known criticisms are those of Plato, who is hostile to epic and tragedy because of their mimetic nature, but whose reasons for excluding poetry (he mentions Homer, Hesiod, and tragedy specifically) from the ideal city are primarily paedagogical. Not only is the poetic portrayal of the gods untrue (377 d-e. 379 a), but their behavior, and that of human characters, is a poor model for the guardians (377b-c. 381e).<sup>52</sup> Plato objects to any story which "gives a bad image of the nature of the gods (377e). These include stories which show them in conflict with each other (377e-378d): which assign to them responsibility for human suffering (379d-e. 380b) or human misbehavior (379e-380a); or in which the gods appear in false shapes (380d-382c), or lie (382c-383c).

Other philosophers' response to these criticisms is of two types.<sup>53</sup> Allegorical interpretation, likely stemming from desire to square Homer with philosophical truths.<sup>54</sup>

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<sup>50</sup>On the whole history of the quarrel, see Buffière, 13-22, and Friedlander, 49-83 (for listing of the critics and brief summary of the critics), also Weinstock, Kannicht, and Gould. Mehmel gives a broader review of intellectual response to Homer through Aristotle.

<sup>51</sup>Bowra (362-3) is perhaps correct to regard "strife on Olympus" as particularly objectionable to Xenophanes, but B 11 amply demonstrates his objections to anything that "cast[s] general discredit on the gods."

<sup>52</sup>On the distinction between theological truth and moral injunction and the emphasis on the latter, see Buffière 18-9, Solmsen, 215, Scolnicou, 115. This paedagogical concern is also clearly stated at *Laos* II 658d. On Plato's general hostility to poetry in the context of literary criticism, see Pfeiffer, 58.

<sup>53</sup>Coulter, 73, identifies three strands of criticism, "Allegorical," "Genre," and "Ethical," but speaks of the last two collectively as "Rhetorical" criticism. Arguments (e.g. Dietrich (1979)) that some of the most

began in response to Xenophanes,<sup>55</sup> but its fullest flowering came in response to Plato's widely-disseminated objections.<sup>56</sup> Plato himself, however, specifically rejects allegory as a means of neutralizing the bad examples set by the poets' gods (*Rep.* 378d-e; *Ion* 530c-d),<sup>57</sup> and the widespread use of allegory to this end is a late, primarily Neoplatonic phenomenon.<sup>58</sup>

The other response to criticism of poetry is that of Aristotle (*Poetics* 1460b-1461a), that the traditional portrayal of the gods reflects popular opinion and is to be accepted as a literary conceit or convention; poetry is to be divorced from theology, and accepted on its own terms.<sup>59</sup> This indeed was the practice of the Peripatetics,<sup>60</sup> of the Epicureans (although they did regard the poetic portrayal of the gods as erroneous and damaging),<sup>61</sup> and of some Stoic writings on Homer;<sup>62</sup> the criticisms of the Cynic Zoilus,

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famous stories of divine misbehavior (the Διὸς ἀπάτη, the adultery of Ares and Aphrodite, and the Theomachy) reflect pre-Homeric religion are not found in antiquity, and so are not relevant here.

<sup>54</sup>Lamberton (1986) 11-2

<sup>55</sup>Pfeiffer, 9-11, Podlecki, 116; Kannicht, 20.

<sup>56</sup>Buffière, 20-1

<sup>57</sup>Pfeiffer, 10, 69.

<sup>58</sup>Lamberton (1986) 2; (1997) 47-54; Buffière, 393-598; Coulter, 19-31; Browning, esp. 16-7. The Stoics are generally regarded as interpreting Homer allegorically to support their doctrines (deLacy (1948) 259-64; Pfeiffer, 238-40; Buffière, 137-54; Russell, 41-2), or (a subtle distinction), as a compendium of material which they interpret in light of their doctrines (Most; Long (whose chapter on "Stoic Readings of Homer" (58-84) is an excellent summary both of Stoic writings on the subject and modern interpretations of these), Dawson, 24-38). Epicureans seem to have found allegorical interpretations more misleading than the poets' portrayals of the gods (Obbink, b. 199).

<sup>59</sup>Halliwell, 233, clearly articulates the point that Aristotle does not square poetry and philosophy, but "secularizes" poetry.

<sup>60</sup>Podlecki details the Peripatetics' concern with "straightforward textual exegesis, analysis of characters' consistency, plausibility of incident . . . [and] coherence of plot" (132).

<sup>61</sup>Russell, 43, notes Philodemus' rejection of "any expectation that poetry should have a moral or factual content, and any allegorization designed to produce this result." Asmis and Obbink (b) make it clear that while Philodemus rejects censorship and allegory, Epicureans are in fact much concerned with how the gods are represented (as incorrect portrayal leads to misconception and so to unhappiness).

the famous "scourge of Homer", too, seem to have dealt with the general credibility of episodes, rather than with theology *per se*.<sup>63</sup>

It is generally held that the poetic portrayal of the gods was accepted on its own terms, and that philosophical criticism of poetry "faded from significance in Plato's own generation," influencing neither the composition of epic nor literary criticism.<sup>64</sup> In the case of epic, this is generally true. Objections to anthropomorphism and mimesis are ignored: The participation of divine characters and mimesis of their actions are defining characteristics of epic,<sup>65</sup> and demand anthropomorphism and the representation of physical action.<sup>66</sup> Nor do the surviving epic poets appear to have been greatly troubled by the propriety of their divine characters' behavior. Though each portrays the gods differently, as will be seen, all, with the exception of Quintus, regularly show the gods engaged in

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<sup>62</sup>As opposed to Stoic allegoresis, on which see above. When concerned with Homer as literature, they seem to have accepted the co-existence of truth and falsehood, generally regarding the whole as producing the proper effect in the reader (Heinze, 387, n. 14; deLacy (1948) 268-9). Long, 65-6, notes that the pertinent fragments of Zeno are entirely concerned with "philology, rather than philosophy."

<sup>63</sup>Zoilus' Καθ' Ὀμήρου (also called Κατὰ τῆς Ὀμήρου ποιήσεως or Ὀμηρομάστιξ) and Ψόγος Ὀμήρου are not extant. Friedlander lists and discusses his preserved and deduced criticisms. See also Buffière, 22-5; Russell, 86-91. Remarks of Zoilus on the representation of the divine are discussed below, ch 5, p 180

<sup>64</sup>Lamberton (1997) 32. Feeney, 29, in effect takes this as the thesis of his study.

<sup>65</sup>So Servius, *ad Aen.* 1. 4. Feeney's remarks (261-2) on "the characterful narration of divine action [as] the irreducible line of demarcation between epic and history" make the point well. See also the ancient testimonia reviewed by Innes, 165-6, and Coleman, 166, n. 2, also Thalmann, xii, 78; Feeney, 48-51, Hainsworth, 128, 153, n. 1, Heinze, 202, 235, 276, n. 32; c. f. [Plutarch] 113; and Block, 19. On the extent of Homer's anthropomorphism, see Adkins (1972) esp 1, 17. Vernant, 28-9, takes Xenophanes' criticisms as his starting point, but minimizes his objections to divine corporeality.

<sup>66</sup>For theoretical discussion of the difficulty of avoiding such representation of the gods, see Feeney, 47 and n. 175. The gods appear as characters in all extant ancient epics, (on their probable presence in lost Greek historical epics, see Feeney, 265-7, and sources there cited), save the *Bellum Civile* of Lucan. For this reason, ancient readers hesitated to class that poem as an epic. The "standard assessment" is that of Servius, *ad Aen.* 1. 328. On the ancient response to Lucan see Sanford, and Feeney, 261-4. Feeney also (270, and nn. 89-91, 93) makes clear that Lucan's constant references to the divine do not make up for his failure to represent the gods as characters; Bartsch, 108-12, takes a different view, but her sensibilities are far separated from those of traditional criticism.



unseemly actions or spoken of in unseemly terms (often worse than what appears in Homer).

As for the claim that the attacks on Homer's portrayal of the gods had no effect on philosophy after Plato, it is true that exegesis of Homer generally follows Aristotle in taking the poet on his own terms,<sup>67</sup> and that Aristarchus, the "supreme critical authority," and his followers, appear to have taken little interest in the moral effect of the portrayal of the gods.<sup>68</sup> But criticisms like those of Plato were not without influence on subsequent literary criticism. This is clearly apparent in the case of the representation of unseemly human behavior, to which Plato also objects. From the fourth century on, there is consistent concern to demonstrate that Homer appropriately portrays human characters: writers of the Second Sophistic repeatedly defend Homer against charges (which they explicitly attribute to Plato) that his portrayal of men is inappropriate.<sup>69</sup> It should be noted, as a small piece of evidence in favor of the proposition that Quintus responds to criticism, that he consistently idealizes human behavior.<sup>70</sup>

As for divine behavior, criticisms akin to those made by Plato and Xenophanes persist throughout antiquity.<sup>71</sup> Concern over the portrayal of the gods is by no means absent from what may be termed practical commentary on Homer, though this is dedicated

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<sup>67</sup>Pfeiffer, 69, 227, 237. Feeney, 30-56, cites and discusses the expression in the Scholia and ancient commentaries of this Aristotelian approach. See also Richardson, esp. 266, 271-2, 278-9

<sup>68</sup>Pfeiffer, 140, 174, 232, 259; Coulter, 8-9

<sup>69</sup>For general discussion of suitable characterization, see Pohlenz; Buffière, 19-20. On the fourth century see Apfel; on the Alexandrians, Pfeiffer, 113; Van der Valk (1963-4) II: 11-35, on the very similar criticisms of Zoilus, Friedlander, 7-17; on the Second Sophistic, Kinstrand, 139-41, 187-9, 211-3, de Lacy (1974) 9. Note that Coulter, 13-4, specifically classes Plato's attacks on Homer's portrayal of the gods as an instance of such "ethical" criticism.

<sup>70</sup>This is the thesis of Mansur.

<sup>71</sup>They are adopted ultimately Christian polemicists (Buffière, 14, Lambertson (1986) 16); see also Podlecki, 125-6; Pépin, 12, Asmis, 148.

to admiring exegesis.<sup>72</sup> This sort of commentary is represented by Plutarch's *de Audiendis Poetis*, the pseudo-Plutarchian *de Homero*, the Scholia, and Eustathius' commentaries,<sup>73</sup> which draw on these and similar material no longer extant. Plutarch is explicitly concerned with charges of impropriety.<sup>74</sup> Some theological improprieties he accepts on grounds of poetic license (2). Others he explains away, either by recognizing that the names of gods are frequently used in metonymy (as in the equation of Zeus with Fate, Poseidon with the sea, etc., 6).<sup>75</sup> or by interpreting episodes in such a fashion as to draw from them a moralizing conclusion: The consequences of the adultery of Ares and Aphrodite and the Διὸς ἀπάτη (and instances of unseemly human behavior) are such that these incidents are negative examples, and the effect of the whole is morally sound (4. 7. 19-25).

Plutarch, of course, is a Platonist, and so might be expected to be preoccupied with such issues, but the same concerns are apparent elsewhere. The *de Homero* exhibits a similar absence of "mystical allegory"<sup>76</sup> and, in holding that Homer "mixes good and evil in order to cause his readers to use and so develop their moral sense" (128), approaches Plutarch's idea of negative examples. [Plutarch] is explicitly concerned with the portrayal of the gods, and argues that the Homeric poems present a strong argument against atheism (112). He attempts to demonstrate that the gods are not indifferent to human suffering (5).

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<sup>72</sup>Friedlander, 48, remarks that the Scholiasts' purpose is "*non . . . Homerum vituperare sed explicare itaque satis coram vituperationes commentatoris inmixtae sunt* "

<sup>73</sup>Russell (90) regards Plutarch as "reflecting fairly accurately much educational thinking of the Roman period." Criboire (206) calls the *de Aud. Poet.*, the *de Homero*, and the Scholia typical of grammatical education. On the distinction of these "very practical guide[s]" from "theoretical dissertation[s]" on the nature of poetry, see Schenkeveld, 62. But cf. Obbink (b), who sees parallels between Philodemus and the Scholia and Longinus

<sup>74</sup>de Jong, 9-10, provides a good, if brief discussion of Plutarch's approach to improprieties in Homer

<sup>75</sup>The observation regarding Tyche is also made by Macrobius, *Sat.* 5. 16. On the importance of the recognition of "how the poets use the names of the gods . . . and what they mean by Fate," see Russell, 11. Hainsworth, 50, errs in stating that Plutarch rejects allegory entirely

<sup>76</sup>Keaney and Lamberton, 9

but desire that men act justly (118). He quite clearly responds to some specific criticisms,<sup>77</sup> being at pains to explain that Homer's conception of the gods is non-corporeal (112), and to minimize their physical action (114). The Scholia and the commentary of Eustathius, as will be seen, consistently explain passages which might be regarded as portraying the gods in an unseemly fashion. Although they rarely explicitly respond to charges of impiety, their concern with such passages suggests that they anticipate such charges.<sup>78</sup>

There can be little doubt that Quintus knew that the traditional portrayal of the gods might be regarded as impious.<sup>79</sup> It is certainly possible, though not demonstrable, that he read Plato.<sup>80</sup> Certainly, like all educated people, he would have been exposed to commentary of the sort found in the Scholia and the Plutarchian and pseudo-Plutarchian treatises.<sup>81</sup> Nor is "correction" of Homer's portrayal of the gods an inherently unlikely project. Virgil has been demonstrated to have "carefully harmonized [passages condemned for impropriety, including unseemly divine action] . . . and hence seen to their propriety for his own epic."<sup>82</sup> and there is some evidence of Homer being re-written specifically to

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<sup>77</sup>On the squaring of Homer and philosophy (though that of no specific school) as the over-riding concern of [Plutarch] see Keaney and Lambertson 5, 9-11.

<sup>78</sup>The rather ambiguous principle of τὸ πρέπον pertains to both dramatic plausibility of action and description and to the ethical or theological suitability of what is represented. On the Scholiasts' application of the principle to the portrayal of the gods, see van der Valk (1963-4) II: 11-2, who regards this concern as a response to Plato. cf. Pfeiffer, 239-40, on traces of Hellenistic allegorization of such passages in the Scholia and Eustathius. Xenophanes is cited by name in two scholia (bT *ad* Λ 27; Ge *ad* Φ 196-7) which apply cosmological allegorization to the gods

<sup>79</sup>Many of the ancient objections to Homer's portrayal of the gods are due to "incorrect views on archaic mentality" (Van der Valk (1963-4) II: 374), but it is these views, those not of Homer, but of his ancient readers, which are the concern of the present study

<sup>80</sup>On the considerable familiarity with Plato in the Hellenistic period, see Hutchinson, 3 and n. 5, in the Second Sophistic, deLacy (1974) 5-7

<sup>81</sup>Richardson, 265; Schlunk, 1-7, and cf. the discussions of the Scholia as reflecting educational norms cited above. On the availability to Quintus of books containing Scholia, and the Scholia as a source for him, see Kehmptzow, 9, 11.

<sup>82</sup>Schlunk, 8. For specific instances, see ch. 5.

avoid impiety.<sup>83</sup> The hypothesis that Quintus corrects the portrayal of the gods, then, is not to be taken as an assertion that the *Posthomerica* departs radically from the ancient epic tradition; rather, the poem consistently exhibits tendencies which are apparent only sporadically in other extant works. It should be emphasized that Quintus' representation of the divine does not necessarily reflect the promulgation of any particular doctrine. Nor is it solely the product of a project of correction: It is certainly influenced, for example, by contemporary social and political organization. In short, Quintus seems, like the Scholiasts and Alexandrian critics, to respond to his models in an *ad hoc* manner,<sup>84</sup> avoiding or "correcting" the various unseemly features of his very familiar story. Without removing divine characters from the plot, and without engaging in any allegory more complex than Plutarch' simple metonymy,<sup>85</sup> he consistently modifies the traditional portrayal of the gods in such a way as to avoid accusations of impropriety.

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<sup>83</sup>For discussion of the papyrus text in question, see ch. 5

<sup>84</sup>Van der Valk (1963-4) II 24, n. 116, notes that the Alexandrians' and the Scholiasts' remarks about the unseemliness of Homer's portrayal of the gods are not necessarily motivated by religious piety

<sup>85</sup>In contrast to (e.g.) Apollonius, Virgil, and Statius, there are very few instances in the *Posthomerica* in which divine action can be interpreted as psychological motivation. On Apollonius and Virgil, see Coleman (144-5), c.f., and Rabel (1981) on Stoic propagandizing in a particularly vivid passage of divine action in the *Aeneid*; on Statius, see Feeney, 384-91, but cf. Dominick, 1, who sees "abuse of supernatural power [as] the dominant theme of the *Thebaid*."

## Chapter 2

### The Gods of the *Posthomerica*: *Dramatis Personae*, Nomenclature, and Description

This chapter catalogues the divine entities in the *Posthomerica*, noting the frequency of reference to them, and the nomenclature, epithets, and other description applied to them, which establish the broad outlines of their portrayal.<sup>1</sup> For the purpose of this survey, these divine entities are conveniently divided into five categories: the gods collectively; unspecified deities; the Olympian gods; other deities; and mortals who attain divine status. Places associated with the gods are also considered. Quintus' references to these divine entities and places are systematically compared with references to the same entities and places in the *Iliad*. References to the gods collectively and to unspecified deities are also compared with the *Odyssey* and the *Argonautica*.<sup>2</sup> This comparison shows that, even at this most basic level, Quintus' portrayal of the gods is quite different from Homer's.

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<sup>1</sup>On the effect of Homer's epithets in characterizing the gods, see Vivante, 18, 23, 97, 151-6, on ancient attitudes, 157-9 on modern. On the Alexandrians, see Giangrande (1970) 54-6, on Virgil, Schlunk, 17, who cites relevant Scholia

<sup>2</sup>Differences in the type of action narrated make systematic comparison between the *Posthomerica* and the *Odyssey* and the *Argonautica* impractical or even misleading in other cases. Comparison to these poems, and to other works, is made only where immediately relevant.

### The Gods Collectively

To denote the gods as a group, Quintus uses the nouns θεοί, δαίμονες, and substantive adjectives and adjectival phrases which identify them as immortal (ἀθάνατοι, αἰὲν ἔόντες), or blissful (μάκαρες), or locate them in the heavens (οὐρανίωνες, ἔπουράνιοι) or on Olympus (Ὀλύμπιοι).<sup>3</sup>

Table 1A: The gods collectively<sup>4</sup>

	<i>Posthomerica</i>	<i>Iliad</i>	<i>Odyssey</i>	<i>Argonautica</i>
total lines	8,781	15,690	12,103	5,895
θεοί	81 (1/108)	391 (1/40)	271 (1/45)	58 (1/102)
δαίμονες	1	1	0	4
ἀθάνατοι	75 (1/117)	61 (1/253)	43 (1/281)	21 (1/281)
	<i>Posthomerica</i>	<i>Iliad</i>	<i>Odyssey</i>	<i>Argonautica</i>
αἰὲν ἔόντες	1	does not occur as substantive		0
μάκαρες	37	does not occur as substantive		12
Ὀλύμπιοι	3	2	0	0
οὐρανίωνες	5	5	does not occur as substantive	
ἔπουράνιοι	4	does not occur as substantive		0
[οἱ] Ὀλύμπια δῶματ' ἔχοντες	0	2	3	0
total	207	460	314	95
overall frequency	1/42	1/34	1/39	1/62
other description	<i>Posthomerica</i>	<i>Homeric Poems</i>		<i>Argonautica</i>
denoting immortality	ἀθάνατοι	ἀθάνατοι αἰειγενέται αἰὲν ἔόντες ἀναίμονες		ἀθάνατοι

<sup>3</sup>Occurrences of the genitive plural of the substantive with the indefinite τις to denote an unspecified deity are not included here, but in Table 1B. Occurrences of τις + the genitive to denote "no god," "any god," or the like, however, are included in Table 1A.

<sup>4</sup>The tables are compiled from Vian and Battegay: Pompella (1981); Marzullo (1962 a and b); Dee, Papathomopoulos; and the CD-ROM text of the *Thesaurus Linguae Graecae*

	<i>Posthomerica</i>	<i>Homeric Poems</i>	<i>Argonautica</i>
denoting location	ἐπουράνιοι οὐρανίωνες	ἐπουράνιοι οὐρανίωνες Ὀλύμπιοι οἱ Ὀλυμπον ... ἀμφινέμονται [οἱ] Ὀλυμπον ἔχουσιν οἱ οὐρανόν εὐρύην ἔχουσιν παρ Διός	οὐρανόθεν
other description denoting bliss	ἀκηδέες μάκαρες	μάκαρες ῥεῖα ζῶοντες	μάκαρες
denoting knowledge and power	ἄπειρές ζαθέοι ἴφθιμοι πανδερκέες	ἄνακτες δωτῆρες ἑάων ἐπίσκοποι μάρτυροι οὐ ... ἀγνώτες ... ἀλλήλοισι ἀρίγνωτοι	
unseemly epithets		δηλήμονες ζηλήμονες σχέτλιοι	

Overall, terms denoting the gods collectively occur almost as frequently in the *Posthomerica* as in the Homeric poems;<sup>5</sup> they occur much more rarely in the *Argonautica*. This indicates that the peculiarities of Quintus' portrayal of the gods are not simply a matter of avoidance of reference to the gods. Variance in the frequency of individual terms illustrates two typically Alexandrian facets of Quintus' adaptation of Homeric usage: the avoidance of formulae, and the substantive use of terms which Homer employs only as epithets. Quintus' much rarer use of θεοί is due largely to avoidance of formulae: note that the frequency of occurrence of θεοί in the *Argonautica* is almost exactly the same as in the *Posthomerica*. Quintus employs all adjectival designations more often than does Homer. In addition, some terms used substantively in the *Posthomerica* (αἰὲν ἑόντες, μάκαρες, ἐπουράνιοι) occur only as adjectives in Homer. This, however, is not simply a post-Homeric development, as all these terms are still less frequent in Apollonius than in

<sup>5</sup>There is no great difference in the frequency of occurrence of these terms between narrator- and character-speech

Homer; αἰὲν ἑόντες, ἔπουράνιοι, and Ὀλύμπιοι do not occur even as adjectives.<sup>6</sup> The Homeric [οἱ] Ὀλύμπια δώματ' ἔχοντες is a line ending formula, and hence avoided. Quintus' use of the plural δαίμονες to denote the gods collectively accords with normal usage. The word occurs in the *Posthomerica* in the speech of a mortal character, and in the *Iliad* in an instance of "assimilated focalization."<sup>7</sup> Apollonius uses the word more frequently, but no differently.

The *Posthomerica*, however, differs markedly from the Homeric poems and the *Argonautica* in the epithets and descriptive phrases applied to the gods collectively. Those which Quintus applies to the gods collectively<sup>8</sup> overlap to some extent with the substantives used to denote them; these terms locate the gods in the heavens<sup>9</sup> or pertain to their immortality and life of blessed ease. Other description pertains to the gods' knowledge and power. In the use of these terms Quintus differs considerably from both Homer and Apollonius. While Quintus uses a greater number of terms to denote the gods collectively than does Homer, he applies to them far fewer descriptive words and phrases. This paucity of description, however, is again less pronounced in the *Posthomerica* than in the *Argonautica*.

Quintus' descriptions of the gods collectively also differ qualitatively from Homer's. These differences illustrate tendencies which will be seen to be characteristic of Quintus' portrayal of the gods: He avoids the use of Homeric descriptive terminology

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<sup>6</sup>Moseley, 5, notes that avoidance of epithets is characteristic of Apollonius

<sup>7</sup>This instance and the ramifications of the use of the term δαίμων are discussed in detail in the next section

<sup>8</sup>Because Quintus does not duplicate Homeric formulae, it matters little with what substantives these descriptions occur, and this distinction is not made. Nor is distinction between the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, which differ little in this regard.

<sup>9</sup>In both the Homeric poems and the *Posthomerica*, no significant distinction is made between Olympus and the heavens as the abode of the gods; see Sale (1972) and (1984). Quintus' representation of the abodes of the gods in general differs little from Homer's



which is not pertinent to context, and which is either explicitly pejorative or open to criticism as unseemly.

Quintus refers to the gods' immortality using ἀθάνατοι as an epithet and substantive, and αἰὲν ἑόντες as a substantive. The Homeric description of the gods as "bloodless" (ἀναίμονες) and therefore immortal,<sup>10</sup> however, is not found in the *Posthomerica*. This is by far the most technical of the terms which stress the gods' immortality, specifying its cause. The avoidance of specific physical description is typical of the *Posthomerica*, and perhaps reflects a desire to avoid objections to the anthropomorphic portrayal of the gods.

The Homeric description of the gods as accompanying Zeus (παρ Διός) has no parallel in the *Posthomerica*. Its absence is perhaps significant, as Quintus in general does not show the gods meeting in councils of the sort which propel much of the action of the Homeric poems. Quintus avoids several of Homer's local designations. οἱ Ὀλυμπον ἔχουσιν and οἱ οὐρανὸν ἔχουσιν are line ending formulae and probably absent from the *Posthomerica* for that reason. These and other local designations convey nothing more than do terms common to both the *Posthomerica* and the Homeric poems.

The frequency of the substantive μάκαρες indicates that it is for Quintus little more than a synonym for θεοί. While Homer once (Ω 377) uses the adjective in reference to mortals, Quintus and Apollonius use it only of gods. Reference to the gods' life of bliss demands further comment. Homer's emphasis upon this, and his description of the gods as living in ease (ῥεῖα ζῶοντες), in contrast to the tribulations of mortals, is felt to imbue the *Iliad* with pathos.<sup>11</sup> Quintus does not duplicate the epithet, but twice describes the gods as "carefree" (ἀκηδέες, 5. 142; 7. 704). Here, adaptation of Homer is apparent not only in the alteration of the epithet, but in its use. At 5. 142, where Nestor is mourning the

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<sup>10</sup>For discussion of the notion, see Clay (1982) 113-5.

<sup>11</sup>Griffin (1978), c.f. [Plutarch] (112) who feels compelled to defend the phrase as an expression of piety.

loss of Achilles, it is unremarkable. But 7. 704 is spoken by Neoptolemus, whom the gods cherish and aid to an exceptional degree.

Quintus employs fewer and less specific terms pertaining to the gods' knowledge and power than does Homer. This may reflect devaluation of the concept of divine omniscience, which Homer frequently violates for dramatic purposes. Quintus refers to divine knowledge only in the description, in character speech, of the gods as "all-seeing" (πανδερκέες).<sup>12</sup> In Homer, too, descriptions of the gods as overseers (ἐπίσκοποι), witnesses (μάρτυροι)<sup>13</sup> and dispensers of rewards (δωτηῆρες ἐάων) are uttered only by men. These however, especially the last, are more specific than Quintus' πανδερκέες, and are imbued with some notion of divine authority over mundane affairs. This notion of authority is conveyed explicitly by the Homeric description of the gods as "rulers" (ἄνακτες), and perhaps also implied by the above-mentioned description of the gods as "holding sway" (ἔχουσιν) on Olympus and in the heavens. As will be seen, Quintus applies terms suggesting such authority only to Zeus. The epithets which Quintus applies to the gods, "untiring" (ἄτειρέες) and "mighty" (ἰφθιμοί) are vague by contrast. The use of ἰφθιμοί is noteworthy, as the word is rarely applied to deities. It is used of Hades in the *Odyssey* and by Hesiod. The singular appears in the Christian Trisagion (ἅγιος θεός, ἅγιος ἰφθιμος, ἅγιος ἀθάνατος).

The gods of Homer are also said to be possessed of special powers of recognizing each other (οὐ ... ἀγνώτες ... ἀλλήλοισι), and also easily recognized by men (ἀρίγνωται). The absence of such description from the *Posthomeric* is not surprising. On the rare occasions that the gods appear to mortals in the poem, they either do so

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<sup>12</sup>The word occurs in the context of Thetis' assistance to Zeus, Hephaestus, and Dionysus, 2-443, incidents which Quintus devalues, see ch. 3 for discussion.

<sup>13</sup>Griffin (1978) 2 maintains that ἐπίσκοποι and μάκαρες identify the gods as "patron[s] and avenger[s], vigilant watcher[s] to ensure justice "

openly, or remain unrecognized; never do they disguise themselves from each other or linger on earth in disguise to observe events.

Perhaps the most significant difference between Quintus' and Homer's descriptions of the gods collectively is Quintus' avoidance of pejorative epithets. In Homer, the assembled gods are on occasion addressed by one of their number as "destructive" (δηλήμονες), "jealous" (ζηλήμονες), and "hard-hearted" (σχέτλιοι). In the *Posthomerica*, Apollo is once addressed, by Hera, as σχέτλιος, but in exceptional circumstances.<sup>14</sup> Quintus in general presents relations among the gods as decorous and harmonious.

### Unspecified Divine Actors

When action is attributed to a divine power which can not be identified, this power is usually denoted by δαίμων or θεός; ἀθάνατος and τις ἀθανάτων, τις μακάρων, and τις οὐρανόων also occur.<sup>15</sup> Differences in the description of these entities are minimal, limited to Quintus' application to δαίμων of the epithet κακός, and single use of the phrase δαίμονες εἰναλίοι to refer to the gods of the sea. Both occur in the speech of mortal characters, and κακός δαίμων, while not Homeric, is common elsewhere, especially in tragedy and prose. Whenever an epithet is applied to θεός the deity in question is identifiable.<sup>16</sup>

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<sup>14</sup>This speech, which is of great importance to Quintus' "correction" of the portrayal of the gods, is discussed in ch. 5

<sup>15</sup>Table 1B gives the frequency of occurrence of these terms in the *Posthomerica*, *Iliad*, *Odyssey*, and *Argonautica*. θεός and ἀθάνατος also sometimes denote identifiable deities. These instances are not reflected in Table 1B, but are commoner in Homer than in the *Posthomerica*. François, 317-43, catalogues and discusses all such occurrences in archaic and classical texts. The use of θεοί to denote unspecified divine power, and of θεός to denote the gods collectively, is much debated, for review, see François, 9-17, 23-35

<sup>16</sup>Descriptive terms applied to ἀθάνατοι, μάκαρες, and οὐρανόωνες are given in Table 1A.

Table 1B: Unspecified divine actors

	<i>Posthomerica</i>	<i>Iliad</i>	<i>Odyssey</i>	<i>Argonautica</i>
total lines	8,781	15,690	12,103	5,895
θεός	82 (1/107)	189 (1/114)	106 (1/114)	23 (1/256)
δαίμων	22 (1/399)	23 (1/682)	33 (1/366)	12 (1/491)
ἄθανατος	9	2	7	does not occur as substantive
τις μακάρων	4	does not occur as substantive		2
τις οὐραניῶνων	1	0	0	0
total	118	214	146	37
overall frequency	1/74	1/73	1/83	1/159

Terms denoting unspecified divine actors occur with nearly identical frequency in the *Posthomerica* and the *Iliad*; they occur slightly more often in the *Posthomerica* than in the *Odyssey*, and Quintus uses them more than twice as frequently as Apollonius. These figures, however, are somewhat misleading, as Quintus' use of these terms differs considerably from both Homer's and Apollonius'. The differences in usage are such as to suggest that Quintus assumes a somewhat different narratorial stance, implying in turn a different conception of the manner in which the gods are to be portrayed.

It is well known that in Homer references to truly unidentifiable divine powers occur only in the speech of mortal characters.<sup>17</sup> Save in the speech of characters, Homer never uses θεός to denote an unidentifiable deity; when used in narrative, θεός denotes entities easily identified from the context. τις θεῶν and τις ἀθανάτων occur only in the speech of mortal characters, or in the speech of deities disguised as mortals. δαίμων occurs once (ε 396), in a simile whose perspective is that of an ordinary mortal, and there is truly unidentifiable. The word occurs only three other times in narrative. At Γ 420 the daimon who leads Helen to Paris (ἦρχε δὲ δαίμων) is clearly Aphrodite. The daimon

<sup>17</sup>First demonstrated by Jorgensen, whose basic thesis remains unchallenged. Its tenets are extended beyond the *Odyssey* by Chantraine (1952) esp. 51-55. See also Wilford, Dietrich (1967) 14-5

who assists Hector in the attack on the ships (ἐπεὶ ῥ' ἐπελασσί γε δαίμων. O 418) is probably Apollo, who is said to lead the assault (O 355-66). After preventing Achilles from attacking Agamemnon, Athena departs to Olympus, where Zeus lives "with the other daimons" (μετὰ δαίμονας ἄλλους. A 222), i. e. the Olympians. In all these instances δαίμων is easily identified, the use of the term serves to shift the perspective from that of the omniscient narrator, who in fact has previously made clear the identity of the δαίμων, to that of mortals affected by divine action.<sup>18</sup>

Quintus of course uses terms denoting unspecified divine powers in the same fashion as does Homer; θεός and ἀθάνατος sometimes, though less often than in Homer, refer to divine entities easily identified by context; δαίμων, θεός, and also τις θεῶν, τις ἀθανάτων, τις μακάρων, and τις οὐρανόων refer, in the speech of mortal characters, to unidentifiable entities. Some occurrences of δαίμων and θεός in the narrative of the *Posthomerica* are similar to those at Γ 420, O 418, and A 222. The perspective of ordinary mortals is implied by the use of θεός in similes (1. 78-9; 7. 683), and at 14. 507-15, the use of δαίμων marks a shift in perspective from omniscient narration of the actions of Poseidon, Athena, and Zeus, who cause the storm at sea, to that of the imperiled Greeks.

Quintus, however, frequently uses terms denoting unidentifiable divine entities (δαίμων, θεός, τις θεῶν, and τις μακάρων) in primary narrative.<sup>19</sup> He attributes to these entities the decision of the fate of individual characters or unnatural or miraculous actions, much as mortal characters attribute to them action whose cause is beyond their ken. In this regard, the frequency of δαίμων is particularly significant. The word occurs

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<sup>18</sup>Jorgensen, 364, and François, 21, 33. The use of δαίμων to indicate mortal perspective is also noted in Schol. A ad A 222. Similar is *Aen.* 2. 632, where *ducente deo* is clearly Venus, mentioned at 2. 620. The extensive discussion of the passage (reviewed by Harrison, 322) establishes only that Venus may be acting as an agent of Zeus.

<sup>19</sup>The tendency is noted, though not discussed, by P. Kakridis, 167. For further discussion of the passages mentioned here, see ch. 3 p. 106.

most commonly in the *Odyssey*, almost twice as often as in the *Iliad* or *Argonautica*, because of the great length of Odysseus' first-person narrative. It is nearly as common in the *Posthomerica*, however, despite the fact that Quintus makes much less use of direct discourse character speeches. In all instances of the occurrence of δαίμων in the primary narrative of the *Posthomerica*, the action attributed to δαίμων is such that the power responsible seems to be equivalent to Fate.<sup>20</sup> These actions, it is to be noted, are to the detriment of the mortals involved.<sup>21</sup> Ultimate responsibility for the deaths of four characters is attributed to δαίμων (Ajax, 4. 101; Cleodorus, 10. 220; Hippasus, 11. 89; and Euryalus, 11. 188); to "god or some daimon" (ἢ θεὸς ἢ δαίμων τις) is attributed the escape of some Greeks from death at sea (14. 628).<sup>22</sup> As 14. 628 suggests, Quintus similarly uses θεός: "A god" deprives Priam of an heir (2. 145); dashes Coroebus' hopes of saving Troy and marrying Cassandra (13. 176); checks Diomedes' slaughter of Trojans long enough to allow Ilioneus to utter his dying speech (13. 187); and, in the last sentence of the poem, leads the Greeks who survive the storm to their ultimate destinations (14. 657).<sup>23</sup> Decision of the fate of individual characters is also the result of the restraint from battle of Achilles and Ajax by τις μακάρων until many Greeks are slain (1. 380). Other

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<sup>20</sup>On the equation of δαίμων with Τύχη, see Chew, 210 and n. 23, and sources there cited. While the importance of Tyche in Hellenistic and later thought doubtless affects Quintus' portrayal of the gods to some degree, it does not fully explain its peculiarities.

Some, but by no means all, such references to unspecified divine actors are instances of double causation. 11. 188 and 9. 80-2 are explicitly so, and death is caused by human agency at 10. 220, 11. 89, and 13. 176.

<sup>21</sup>The distinction noted by Dodds (1951) 23, n. 75, that "if . . . intervention is harmful, it is usually [attributed to] δαίμων not θεός," is not made in the *Posthomerica*.

<sup>22</sup>The equation of δαίμων with Fate is also suggested by Quintus' use of the genitive δαίμονος, which in all six of its occurrences in the *Posthomerica* describes Aisa. The phrase δαίμονος Αἴσα occurs once, in character speech, in both the *Odyssey* (λ 61) and *Argonautica* (1. 443).

<sup>23</sup>14. 657 is similar in wording and identical in context to δ 520. But reference to the god who leads Agamemnon back to Argos occurs in the speech of a mortal character, and at δ 513 Hera is said to have saved him from ship-wreck.

actions attributed to unspecified divine powers in the narrative of the *Posthomerica* are chance events, with little impact on the plot, or prodigies. Chance events include *τις μακάρων* sweeping away the dust of battle (2. 481);<sup>24</sup> *θεός* tripping Teucer in a foot race (4. 201);<sup>25</sup> "some god or his own heart" (*θεῶν τις . . . ἢ καὶ αὐτοῦ θυμός*) inspiring, with no effect on the eventual outcome of battle, Deiphobus with courage (9. 80-2); and *τις μακάρων* guiding Aethra to her grandsons (13. 498). Prodigious events are the transportation of the Aethiopians from the field after Memnon's death (2. 571) and the petrification of Hecuba (14. 350-1), attributed to *θεός*; and the swallowing up of Laodice by the earth (13. 548-9), effected by *τις θεῶν* who hears her prayer.

Such references to unidentifiable divine actors are peculiar to the *Posthomerica*. They do not, as has been noted, occur in the primary narrative of the Homeric poems. In the *Argonautica*, *δαίμων/δαίμονες* occurs twelve times. Of these, four are in direct discourse character speech. In other cases, the speech of mortal characters is implied (4. 1549), or the word occurs in instances of internal focalization (1. 1119, 1141; 2. 719; 4. 448, 1316); *τις μακάρων* is also once (4. 1592) used in this fashion. Only once, at 1. 921, where the poet mentions the deities (*δαίμονες*) honored by the Samothracian mysteries, about which he refuses to speak (*τὰ μὲν οὐ θέμις ἄμμιν αἰεΐδειν*), does Apollonius truly use in the poet-narrator's own voice. This is not comparable to Quintus' attribution of action to unspecified deities. The more frequent use of the plural, *δαίμονες*, is in fact Apollonius' most marked departure from Homer in the use of these terms.

It is also to be noted that Quintus does not attach to *δαίμων* the sense, frequent in classical and later writers, of an inferior category of deity.<sup>26</sup> Nor does he ever use the

<sup>24</sup>This is meant literally. The dust which irritates the combatants (2. 478-80) does not represent the fog of war as is often the case in the *Iliad*, nor (again as in the *Iliad*) does its clearing signify victory for one side, as the battle continues drawn for some time (2. 490-1).

<sup>25</sup>For discussion of this obvious alteration of a well-known Iliadic passage, see ch. 5, pp. 272-4.

<sup>26</sup>Brunius-Nilsson, 134; Dietrich (1967) 22-6, cf. 57.

phrases δαίμονι ἴσος or σὺν δαίμονι, which are common (in the speech of characters) in Homer, or the vocative δαιμόνιε.<sup>27</sup> The absence of such usages is not merely a post-Homeric phenomenon. In Apollonius, σὺν δαίμονι is found once, and δαιμόνιε (also very common in Attic prose and poetry<sup>28</sup>) occurs more frequently than in Homer.

Quintus, then, attributes to the action of unspecified divine power only certain types of events: the decision of the fate of either large groups or relatively insignificant individuals, and prodigious occurrences. Such attributions are made, that is, in instances which are not of great dramatic importance to the narrative or which are inherently unlikely; it is also to be noted that in most instances the actions in question are to the detriment of the mortals affected. This pattern of usage is a significant feature of the representation of the divine in the *Posthomerica*. The very fact that the poet attributes actions to unidentifiable divine entities indicates that he conceives of a unified divine power, of which individual deities represent, as it were, various aspects, united in purpose.<sup>29</sup> Moreover, by attributing to unidentifiable divine entities the type of actions he does, Quintus is able to give the impression of a high degree of divine involvement in the action of the poem, while restricting the participation of the gods as characters to its most crucial and dramatic events, and to disconnect the gods as characters from implausible occurrences and from doing harm, both types of action faulted by ancient critics.<sup>30</sup> The actions attributed to named deities thus also can be limited to those particularly appropriate to their respective spheres of influence, which, as will be seen, Quintus defines far more specifically than does Homer.<sup>31</sup>

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<sup>27</sup>The question of whether or not δαιμόνιε actually comes from δαίμων is beyond the scope of this study; see Brunius-Nilsson, 126; Verdenius, 147-8; Dickey, 141-2

<sup>28</sup>Brunius-Nilsson, 85

<sup>29</sup>See above, on *Aen.* 2. 632

<sup>30</sup>On criticism of unlikely intervention, see Heinze, 213, n. 13

<sup>31</sup>P. Kakridis, 19, 67 notes the frequency with which Quintus attributes action to anonymous deities and the gods collectively, but does not comment further on the phenomenon



## The Olympian Gods

Comparison of references to individual deities in the *Iliad* and *Posthomerica* is of great interest, and especially telling, as both poems narrate action of the same type (battles of Greeks and Trojans) with little difference in *dramatis personae*.<sup>32</sup>

Eleven Olympian gods,<sup>33</sup> Zeus, Athena, Apollo, Aphrodite, Poseidon, Hera, Hermes, Iris, Ares, Artemis, Hephaestus, and Hades, are mentioned in both the *Iliad* and *Posthomerica*.

Table 2A: Olympian Gods

	Hierarchy in <i>Posthomerica</i>	<i>Posthomerica</i>	<i>Iliad</i>
total references occurrences/lines	Zeus	160 1/55	565 1/28
total references occurrences/lines	Athena	55 1/160	193 1/81
total references occurrences/lines	Apollo	28 1/314	153 1/103
total references occurrences/lines	Aphrodite	20 1/440	43 1/365
total references occurrences/lines	Poseidon	16 1/549	79 1/199
total references occurrences/lines	Hera	12 1/732	137 1/114
total references occurrences/lines	Hermes	2 1/4391	32 1/490
total references occurrences/lines	Iris	2 1/4391	41 1/383
total references occurrences/lines	Ares	89 1/99	121 1/130

<sup>32</sup>Changes in the human *dramatis personae* have little effect on divine partisanship. Achilles is replaced in the *Posthomerica* as the Greek champion by Neoptolemus; Hector by Penthesileia, Memnon, Eurypylus, and several Trojan warriors. Comparison of references to individual deities in the *Posthomerica* with references to them in the *Odyssey* and *Argonautica* is not illuminating, due to the very different nature of the action narrated in those poems.

<sup>33</sup>Dionysus is said in the *Posthomerica* to be made, not born, a god, and is discussed among those who attain immortality. Demeter is not mentioned in the *Posthomerica*. Hestia is not mentioned in either poem.

	Hierarchy in <i>Posthomerica</i>	<i>Posthomerica</i>	<i>Iliad</i>
total references occurrences/lines	Hephaestus	27 1/325	56 1/280
total references occurrences/lines	Hades	15 1/585	49 1/320
total references occurrences/lines	Artemis	3 1/2927	19 1/826
total references occurrences/lines	all Olympians	410 1/21	1352 1/12

The frequency with which gods are mentioned roughly indicates their importance. Unlike references to the gods collectively, which are nearly as common in the *Posthomerica* as in the Homeric poems, and references to unspecified divine actors, which are commoner in the *Posthomerica* than in the *Iliad*, references to individual Olympian gods occur only half as often, overall, in the *Iliad* as in the *Posthomerica*. As will be seen, this results largely from the fact that these gods are less important in propelling the action of the *Posthomerica*, and because that they are less often addressed in prayer. Differences in the frequency of reference to individual Olympians indicate different conceptions of hierarchy and their relative status in the *Posthomerica* and *Iliad*.<sup>34</sup> Differences in description suggest a more favorable portrayal of some deities and the avoidance of any suggestion of disagreement among the Olympians.

Zeus Comparison of references to, and description of, Zeus in the *Posthomerica* and *Iliad* shows that Quintus emphasizes Zeus' position as the ruler of the gods, further separated from and elevated above the other Olympians than he is in the *Iliad*: as a corollary, allusion to power struggles among the Olympians is avoided. Also avoided is

<sup>34</sup>It is to be noted that the hierarchy of the Olympians in the *Iliad* as determined by reference to them (Zeus, Athena, Apollo, Hera, Poseidon) differs somewhat from that determined otherwise. Martin, 47, cf. 48-54, sees "the distribution of the word *muthos* [applied to speeches of Olympians, indicating command] as mirror[ing] . . . exactly" a generational hierarchy (Zeus, Hera, Poseidon, Athena, Hermes, Apollo). Quintus' limited use of direct speech makes comparison of this sort impossible.

Ares, Artemis, Hephaestus, and Hades are discussed separately, as the last three do not participate in the action of the poem, and the metonymic use of the names of Ares, Hephaestus, and Hades (discussed in ch. 4) complicates the issue of frequency of reference

allusion to the incestuous nature of the union of Zeus and Hera, implicit in some of Homer's descriptive phrases, and features of Zeus' Iliadic characterization which are irrelevant to the plot of the *Posthomerica*.

Table 2B: Zeus<sup>35</sup>

		<i>Posthomerica</i>	<i>Iliad</i>
<b>proper name identifiable</b>	<b>Ζεύς</b>	137	454
		0	2
<b>genealogical designations</b>	<b>Κρονίδης</b>	3	23
	<b>Κρονίων</b>	13	36
	πάις of Cronus	0	12
	υιός of Cronus	0	1
	πόσις of Hera	0	2
	κασίγνητος of Hera	0	1
	πατήρ	2	29
<b>genealogical designations</b>		πατήρ	Κρονίδης Κρονίων ἀδελφός of Poseidon. Hades ἀκοίτης of Hera πόσις of Hera πατήρ πατήρ θεῶν τε ἀνδρῶν τε

<sup>35</sup>Tables 2B-M distinguish between substantive and adjectival usages, and, for convenience, group together terms relating to the genealogy of the deities in question, their local associations, and terms which call attention to their divinity, power and honor, or specific roles and attributes; instances in which a god is not named, but identifiable, are also noted. Terms which Quintus and Homer apply to the same gods are printed in **boldface**; epithets (except those indicating strength or immortality, which are extremely common) transferred from one god to another are indicated by *italics*, slight variations of epithets applied to the same god are indicated by underlining or double underlining, or **boxing**

Because Quintus avoids Homeric formulae, it is of little importance with which substantive designations descriptive vocabulary is associated, and this distinction is not made. Because of the paucity of direct discourse in the *Posthomerica* distinction between terms which occur in narrative, in the speech of gods, or in the speech of mortal characters might be misleading, and is mentioned only where especially relevant; the speeches of deities and statements about the gods by mortal characters are discussed in detail in subsequent chapters.

	<i>Posthomerica</i>	<i>Iliad</i>
local designations <u>Όλύμπιος</u>	1	16
	<u>Ίδαιος</u> <u>Ίδης μεδέων ἤδ' οὐρανοῦ</u>	<u>Ίδηθεν</u> <u>Ίδηθεν μεδέων</u> <u>Όλύμπιος</u> Δωδωναῖος Δωδώνης μεδέων Πελασγικός ἀνά ὑψίζυγος αιθέρι ναίων τηλόθε ναίων
Other description	<i>Posthomerica</i>	<i>Iliad</i>
ruler of gods ἀναξ θεῶν <u>μακάρων μεδέων</u>	1 1	0 0
	<u>θεῶν μεδέων</u>	θεῶν ὑπάτος καὶ ἄριστος <u>μήστωρ</u> <u>μητιέτης</u>
divinity	ἀθάνατος	ἀθάνατος
might	ἀκάματος μέγας μεγασθενής πελώριος πολυσθενής ὑπέρβιος	ἐρισθενής μέγιστος κραταιός ὑπερμενής κράτιστος φέρτερος μέγας φέρτατος
honor	ὑπάτος	ἀναξ ἄριστος ἀγαθός κύδιστος ἄινότατος ὑπάτος
special attributes aegis	αιγίοχος	αιγίοχος
thunder and lightning Κελαινεφής	0	1
	ἀργικέρανος στεροπηγέρετα ἐριβρεμέτης ἐρίγδουπος ἐρισμάραγος <u>μεγαλοβρεμέτης</u>	ἀργικέρανος ἀστεροπητής ἐριβρεμέτης ἐρίγδουπος κελαινεφής νεφελεγέρετα στεροπηγέρετα τερπικέρανος ὑπερβρεμέτης

	<i>Posthomerica</i>	<i>Iliad</i>
other Ἐρκεῖος	2	0 εὐρόπης πανομφαῖος ξείνιος
unseemly epithets		αἰὲν ἀλιτρός ἀπερωεύς δολομήτης ὀλώτερος σχέτλιος φιλοψευδής

The salient feature of Quintus' characterization of Zeus is his superiority over the other gods. In both the *Iliad* and *Posthomerica* Zeus is mentioned more often than any other Olympian.<sup>36</sup> Quintus, however, lays greater emphasis upon Zeus' superiority over the other Olympians. The descriptive terms applied to Zeus indicate Quintus' greater emphasis on the god's supremacy. Both Homer and Quintus use a large number of terms which stress Zeus' divinity, might, and honored position. Only Quintus, however, designates Zeus by substantives (ἄναξ θεῶν, μακάρων μεδέων) which explicitly identify him as the ruler of the gods. In addition, while Homer similarly identifies several other gods, Quintus describes only Zeus as the son of Cronus. Also in contrast to Homer, Quintus avoids referring to the fraternal relationship of Zeus with Poseidon and Hades (ἀδελφείος), and with Hera (κασιγνήτος). Nor does Quintus refer to Zeus as Hera's husband (πόσις, ἀκοίτις), although he does call Hera the wife of Zeus. Quintus' avoidance of these genealogical designations avoids the implicit suggestion that Zeus is merely first among equals.<sup>37</sup> In the case of the fraternal relationship between Zeus and Hera, avoidance also suppresses the incestuous nature of this union.<sup>38</sup> Both Quintus and

<sup>36</sup>Homer mentions Zeus four times and Quintus only thrice as often as the next most-frequently mentioned Olympian in both poems, Athena: the greater frequency of reference in the *Iliad* is due at least in part to the occurrence of Zeus' name in formulaic phrases.

<sup>37</sup>On Zeus' allotted portion, see generally Clay (1989) esp. 15. For a listing and discussion of the relevant epithets, Calhoun (1935) is useful, despite his thesis connecting them to the nature of Mycenaean kingship.

<sup>38</sup>Note that [Plutarch], 96-8 allegorizes the fraternal relationship of Zeus and Hera.

Homer refer to Zeus as πατήρ. In the *Posthomerica*, however, such references are rarer, and Zeus is named only as the father of quite important deities; he is never said literally to be the father of mortal characters. This heightens the sense of his separation from mundane affairs and his elevation above such deities as Ares and Aphrodite, whom Quintus does portray as the parents of mortal offspring.<sup>39</sup> Nor is Zeus in the *Posthomerica* associated, as he is commonly in Homer and elsewhere, with kings or heralds.

The absence of other Iliadic descriptions also suggests avoidance of unseemliness. In Homer Zeus is once addressed by a mortal as ὀλοώτερος. In the *Posthomerica*, such terms, which suggest the destructive power of the gods, are applied only to those for whom such power is an appropriate attribute (Ares and other deities associated with battle and death).<sup>40</sup> Quintus also generally avoids the insulting terms of address (αἰὲν ἀλιτρός, ἀπερωεύς, δολομήτα, σχέτλιος, φιλοψευδής) which Homer puts into the mouths of gods, and occasionally, mortal characters.<sup>41</sup>

Iliadic descriptions which are irrelevant to the plot of the *Posthomerica* are avoided. While Quintus uses epithets which refer to Zeus' thunder and lightning, he avoids the Homeric Κελαινεφής and νεφελεγερέτης which refer to clouds. While the thunderbolt figures in the *Posthomerica* as a weapon and a means of communicating divine displeasure, Quintus does not (except in similes) associate Zeus with ordinary storms. Apart from the designation of Zeus as Ὀλύμπιος and of the gods collectively as Ὀλύμπιοι, Quintus does not associate the gods with locations, other than their birth-places, outside the Troad.<sup>42</sup> Homer's association of Zeus with Dodona and Argos

<sup>39</sup>Both Homer and Quintus use the title πατήρ in prayers, but this is a somewhat different matter; note also the avoidance of the formulaic πατήρ θεῶν τε ἀνδρῶν τε.

<sup>40</sup>On the vocabulary of destructive power, see Garland, 44

<sup>41</sup>This general tendency is noted by Calero Secal (1992)

<sup>42</sup>Exceptions are the brief autobiographical references to temples in the environs of Smyrna (see p. 92), which do not pertain to the characterization of the gods. Even in Homer, "Olympus" is, like the heavens,

(Πελασγικός) reflects his interest in cult sites and ritual, while Quintus' avoidance of such designations is typical of his minimization of these matters.

Quintus avoids Homer's description of Zeus as εὐρύοπης and πανομοφαιῶς. The words' meanings are uncertain, but they may be interpreted as "all-" or "far-seeing," signifying divine knowledge. In the *Posthomerica*, as in the *Iliad*, an omniscient god cannot be all-controlling, and Quintus avoids calling ironic attention to such lapses.<sup>43</sup> The absence of Zeus' Homeric title ξείνιος is not significant. Quintus in fact alludes to Zeus' role as guarantor of hospitality in a speech of Menelaus (13. 379-84). Quintus' Ἐρκεῖος occurs only in reference to the altar of Zeus Herkeios in Troy.

Athena In the *Posthomerica* as in the *Iliad*, Athena is the great partisan of the Greeks, although at the end of Quintus' poem, angered by the rape of Cassandra, she brings about the destruction of the Greek fleet; her patronage of Odysseus is established by her care in protecting him from Ajax (5. 359-62), and reference to her anxiety for him in the face of Poseidon's anger (14. 629-31). Quintus' description of the goddess accords closely with Homer's, although Quintus places somewhat less emphasis upon her bellicosity, and more upon her association with wisdom. Avoidance of formulae and of pejorative description are apparent. Other characteristic tendencies of Quintus' portrayal of the gods clearly illustrated by his references to Athena are his preference for descriptive terms which are vague in contrast to those used by Homer, and always clearly laudatory; the allusive use of rare, but suitable epithets; and the avoidance, except in the case of Zeus, of epithets indicating especial honor.

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simply the abode of the great gods, not recognizably the Thessalian mountain, on the essential equivalence of the two locations, see Sale, (1972) 81-93, (1984) 1-28

<sup>43</sup>On the meaning of the epithets, see Chantraine (1968-80) sv: On lapses of omniscience, and the irony of "all-seeing" gods, see Clay (1983) 149, and Griffin (1978), esp. 1-2, with special reference to εὐρύοπης

Table 2C: Athena

		<i>Posthomerica</i>	<i>Iliad</i>	
proper name	Ἀθήνη Αθηναίη	10 7	104 56	
identifiable		3	5	
genealogical designations	θυγάτηρ of Zeus	0	3	
	κούρη of Zeus	3	6	
	τέκνον of Zeus	0	3	
	τέκος of Zeus	2	4	
	πάις of Zeus	0	1	
	Ὄβριμοπάτρη	not as substantive	2	
		κούρη of Zeus ὄβριμοπάτρη	θυγάτηρ of Zeus τέκος of Zeus	
local designations	Τριτογένεια Τριτωνίς	11 8	3 0	
other designations	divinity	ἀθάνατος ἄμβροτος	ἀθάνατος	
special attributes	Power and Honor Ἄτρυτώνη	<i>Posthomerica</i>	<i>Iliad</i>	
		3	5	
		ἀγαυή δαίφρων δεινή ἔσθλή ἔυφρων κρατερόφρων	μέγας μεγάθυμο ς περίφρων πολυμήτις	αινοτάτη ἀρίστη δεινή διὰ ἔρικυδής κυδίστη πολύβουλος πότνια πρώτη
		war Ἄγελειή	1	1
		σакέσπαλος		ἄγελειή Ἄλαλκυμενήϊς ἔρυσίπτολις λαοσσόος ληϊτις ῥυσίπτολις
		other Παλλάς	6	not as substantive



	<i>Posthomerica</i>	<i>Iliad</i>
other	βαρύκτυπος εὐπλόκαμος	γλαυκῶπις ἠικόμος Παλλάς
unseemly epithets		ἀίδηλος οὐλομένη

Both Homer and Quintus identify Athena as the daughter of Zeus, and use substantive designations which emphasize her strength (Ἄτρυτώνη) and her role as goddess of battle (Ἀγελείη). In addition, Quintus uses Athena's regular Homeric epithet, Παλλάς, as a substantive, a usage first found in Bacchylides. The avoidance of the epithetic use of Παλλάς illustrates Quintus' tendency to use Homeric epithets as substantives, and their corollary removal from the repertory of epithets, preventing the duplication of Homeric formulae. This indicates nothing other than a taste for variation, as many epithets used by Quintus are synonyms of Homeric epithets.

Both Quintus and Homer associate Athena with Lake Tritonis, often (although not explicitly in either poem) said to be her birth-place. This denomination is not relevant to the plot of the *Posthomerica*, but is extremely common. The un-Homeric Τριτώνις, frequent in Apollonius, whence Quintus probably adopts it, is first attested in Alcaeus; it conveys nothing different than Τριτογένεια, found in both the *Iliad* and *Posthomerica*. Nothing suggests that Quintus differentiates between the terms, or uses Τριτογένεια to make an allegorical equation of the goddess with wisdom.<sup>44</sup> He does, however, apply to her several epithets, compounds of φρήν and μήτις, which associate her with mental processes, while varying the Homeric epithet πολύβουλος.

Quintus duplicates none of the epithets which Homer uses to identify Athena as the goddess of battle. Quintus' σακέσπαλος, the only epithet which stresses this role, merits comment. Although a variant of Ares' Homeric epithet ἐγκέσπαλος, the word is rare. It

<sup>44</sup>The allegorization and its popularity are discussed by Adam, 13; Virgil follows the Scholiasts in interpreting the epithet as "terrifying" (Schlunk, 18-9).

is used as an epithet of Athena only at *Orphica* L 717. In the plural, it denotes warriors, and its use by Callimachus (*Hymn to Zeus*, 71) suggests that Athena is to be identified as their patron. The singular also occurs as an epithet of Tydeus (E 126) and Ajax (Sophocles, *Ajax* 19). Quintus uses σακέσπαλος only once, to describe Athena when she inspires Achilles and Ajax to enter the fray (1. 514), a context which suggests that he alludes to the passages in which Homer and Sophocles use it. Quintus' use of rare epithets appropriate to their context is also illustrated by his application to Athena of βαρύκτυπος when the goddess borrows her father's arsenal of thunderbolts to wreak destruction upon the Greek fleet (14. 530).<sup>45</sup>

Preference for vague, laudatory epithets, and the avoidance of those open to condemnation as unseemly is also apparent. The use of εὐπλόκαμος illustrates first tendency, as well as slightly varying the Homeric ἠυκόμος. Note that Quintus avoids the Homeric γλαυκώπις. The epithet is of course formulaic, but its sense (however interpreted) would be at odds with Quintus' usual practice. Quintus avoids specific physical description of the gods, such as is conveyed by the interpretation of γλαυκώπις as "grey-eyed," and certainly nothing like the zoomorphic "owl-eyed" is found in the *Posthomeric*.<sup>46</sup> As in the case of Zeus, Quintus also avoids epithets (αἰδηλος, οὐλομένη) which imply destructive power.

Apollo As Athena is of the Greeks, so is Apollo the great patron of the Trojans. Although he does not concern himself for any individual as she does for Odysseus, Quintus does mention his patronage of Hector (8. 399-401).

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<sup>45</sup>cf Virgil's interpretation of "Pallas" as "hurler of thunderbolts," Schlunk, 17-8

<sup>46</sup>On the epithet's meanings, see Chantraine (1968-80) sv. γλαύξ; on ancient interpretations of it, Pfeiffer, 261.

Table 2 D: Apollo

		<i>Posthomerica</i>	<i>Iliad</i>		
proper name	Ἀπόλλων	11	126		
identifiable		1	6		
genealogical designations	υἱός of Zeus	not as substantive	6		
	υἱός of Zeus and Leto	0	1		
	υἱός of Leto	0	1		
	Λητοῖδης	1	0		
		υἱός of Zeus	υἱός of Zeus		
local designations	Σμινθεύς	not as substantive	1		
		Σμινθεύς			
Other description	divinity power and honor		ἄμβροτος		
		ἦς μέγας	ἄναξ ἄριστος δεῖνος μέγας πολυσθενής φέριστος		
		special attributes	archer Ἄργυρότοξος Ἑκάτος	not as substantive 2	5 2
				ἄργυρότοξος	ἄργυρότοξος ἀφήτωρ ἑκάεργος ἑκατηβελέτης ἑκατηβόλος ἑκηβόλος κλυτότοξος
			other Φοῖβος	9	5
	ἰήσιος	ἄκερσεκόμης ἦσιος λαοσσός χρυσάορος Φοῖβος			
unseemly epithets		νήπιος σχέτλιος	όλοός όλώτατος		

In the case of Apollo, the absence of Homeric terms which call attention to attributes of the god which are not immediately relevant to the action of the

*Posthomerica*, or which indicate especial honor, is especially apparent. Quintus refers to Apollo's power only with the bland and broadly applicable ἡύς and μέγας. He avoids Homer's superlatives<sup>47</sup> and the designation ἄναξ, which in the *Posthomerica* is applied only to Zeus.

Both Quintus and Homer refer to Apollo's primary attribute, the bow. Quintus uses only Ἐκκτος and ἀργυρότοξος, again exhibiting a tendency to separate substantive and epithetic usages. The reduced frequency of description of Apollo as archer in the *Posthomerica* is perhaps connected with Quintus' suppression of Apollo's role -- so explicitly and vividly dramatized in the first book of the *Iliad* -- as a generalized agent of death. This role is of course shared with Artemis, whom Quintus scarcely mentions.

Both Quintus and Homer identify Apollo as the son of Zeus and Leto, and apply to him epithets which stress his divinity and power and honor. Quintus' use of the matronymic Λητοΐδης, found in Pindar and the Homeric Hymns, is noteworthy for its rarity, but conveys nothing different from the *Iliad's* genealogical descriptions.

In both the *Iliad* and *Posthomerica*, Apollo's epithets suggest the association of the god with the paean, or battle-cry. Quintus' ἰήιος is rarer than, but identical in sense to, Homer's ἦϊος.<sup>48</sup> Quintus, however, avoids the more general identification of Apollo as a deity of battle which is implied by the Homeric λαοσσός. Terms such as ἀκερσεκόμης and χρυσάορος, which allude to attributes of the god which have no relevance to the plot, are absent from the *Posthomerica*.

In one instance, the killing of Achilles (3. 30-138), Apollo's participation in action at the mundane level in the *Posthomerica* exceeds the level of divine involvement

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<sup>47</sup>Eustathius, 1191. 5, feels compelled to defend the application of ἄριστος to Apollo as justified by point of view, and to state that it is really Zeus who is ἄριστος. cf. Virgil's description of Apollo as *summum deum* (11. 785) and *omnipotens* (11. 790), which (as Heinze, 276, n. 34, points out) reflect the "ethnic beliefs" of the inhabitants of Soracte

<sup>48</sup>Vian (*Suite III*, 55, n. 2) regards Quintus as establishing an etymological connection between ἰήιος and ἰαίνετο at 11. 168-9. However, as Vian also notes, ἰήιος is attested as a variant of the Homeric ἦϊος

elsewhere in the poem, in the *Iliad*, or in any other account of this incident. This passage, which will be discussed in detail, is crucial to Quintus' portrayal of the gods. For the present, it is to be noted that the episode is exceptional, as is the reaction to it, which entails Hera's application of insulting terms of address (νήπιος, σχέτλιος) to Apollo. Only here does Quintus' employ such vocabulary in connection with the gods. Otherwise, Quintus avoids terms which are pejorative or which suggest destructive power (όλοός, όλοώτατος).

**Aphrodite** Unlike most of the other Olympians, Aphrodite is mentioned more frequently (proportionally) *Posthomeric* than in the *Iliad*. Quintus' description of the goddess also varies considerably from Homer's, contributing to a much more favorable and respectful portrayal of her.

Table 2E: Aphrodite

		<i>Posthomeric</i>	<i>Iliad</i>
proper name	Ἀφροδίτη	5	30
identifiable		0	2
genealogical designations	θυγάτηρ of Zeus	0	2
	τέκνον of Zeus	0	1
	τέκος of Zeus	0	1
	τέκνον of Dione	0	1
	τέκος of Dione	0	1
		παρακοίτις of Ares	
local designations	Κυθήρεια	5	0
	Κύπρις	9	5
	Κυπρογένεια	1	0
other		εὐπλόκαμος	δία
		εὐστέφανος	φιλομμειδής χρυσέη
unseemly epithets			ἄναλκίς κυνάμια

Neither the *Iliad's* identification of Aphrodite as the daughter of Zeus and Dione nor the more wide-spread Hesiodic account of the goddess' origin, from the severed genitals of Uranus (with which the Homeric epithet φιλομειδής is connected), is found in the *Posthomeric*, although Quintus' identification of the goddess by reference to her birth-place, Cyprus, may hint at the latter. But the terms by which he makes this allusion, Κύπρις, Κυθέρεια, and Κυπρογένεια are extremely common.<sup>49</sup> Similarly familiar is the description of the goddess at 13. 401-2 as "she who overcomes the hearts of all immortals and of mortal men" (ἡ περ ἅπαντων/ἀθανάτων δάμνησι νόον θνητῶν τ' ἀνθρώπων).

It is noteworthy that Quintus refers to Aphrodite as the wife (παρακοίτις) of Ares. This identification occurs in a context where it is particularly relevant, explaining the goddess' posthumous favor to Ares' daughter Penthesileia (1. 666-8). The use of the term παρακοίτις suggests mitigation of the well-known story of the adultery of Ares and Aphrodite, as Quintus consistently uses the word to denote a lawful wife.<sup>50</sup> Quintus does allude to the adultery in a simile describing the embarrassment of Helen as she enters the Greek camp (14. 47-54), but never states that Hephaestus and Aphrodite are husband and wife.

Quintus' other departures from the Iliadic description of Aphrodite are to be expected: εὐπλόκαμος and εὐστέφανος are typical of the non-specific laudatory epithets

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<sup>49</sup>Bruchmann, sv: Ἄφροδίτη, Κυθέρεια is used as a substantive in the *Οἰκουμεν*, Κυπρογένεια by Pindar.

<sup>50</sup>Quintus uses ἄλοχος to denote a concubine, as does Homer at 1 336 and δ 623, as well as of lawful wives. Comparison of certain occurrences of ἄλοχος and παρακοίτις is especially informative. Helen is the ἄλοχος of Deiphobus (13. 363) and Paris (6. 188, 10. 52), but παρακοίτις of Menelaus (13. 369, 386, 410, 14. 18). Briseis is the παρακοίτις of Achilles (3. 552) and Tecmesssa of Ajax, but in these instances the point is that they are treated as lawful wives. In the case of Tecmessa, this is clearly stated she is treated as the παρακοίτις of Ajax (5. 522) although she is in fact his ἄλοχος (5. 523). The identification of Aphrodite as Ares wife is perhaps even more significant, as it may echo Apollonius *Arg.* 1. 849-51, where the goddess acts on behalf of Hephaestus, who is not there identified as her husband

which Quintus applies to gods;<sup>51</sup> the goddess' regular Homeric epithet, χρυσέη, is avoided, as are Homer's description of Aphrodite as "strengthless" (ἀναλκις), and the insulting κυνάμια.

**Poseidon** Poseidon is mentioned far less often in the *Posthomerica* than in the *Iliad*. Quintus avoids or minimizes certain facets of his portrayal in the *Iliad*, such as his intervention in battle and his claims of parity with Zeus.

Table 2F: Poseidon

		<i>Posthomerica</i>	<i>Iliad</i>
proper name identifiable	Ποσειδάων	6	43
genealogical designations	υἱός of Cronus αὐτοκασίγνητος καὶ δαήρ of Hera πατροκασίγνητος of Apollo πατήρ of warriors slain by Nestor πόσις of Amphitrite	0 0 0 0 1	1 1 1 1 0
other genealogical description			ἀδελφείος of Zeus. Hades
local designations	Ἐλικώνιος ἄναξ	0	1
other	specific attributes Γαίηχος Ἐννοσίγαιος Ἐνοσίχθων Κυανοχαίτης	0 6 1 2	2 17 9 1
			γαίηχος ἐννοσίγαιος ἐνοσίχθων κυανοχαίτης

<sup>51</sup> εὐστέφανος occurs in the *Odyssey*. On the broad applicability of the epithet, see Boedeker, 27

	<i>Posthomerica</i>	<i>Iliad</i>
power	κρατερόφρων ὄβριμος ὑπέρβιος	εὐρυκρείων εὐρυσθενής μέγας κραταίος κρείων
honor	ἄναξ ἐρικυδής	ἄναξ ἄριστος κλυτός ὀμότιμος with Zeus

Quintus largely avoids Homer's genealogical designations of Poseidon. These occur mostly in the Iliadic quarrels of the Olympians, and imply the parity of the three sons of Cronus: notably absent too is Poseidon's claim that he is deserving of the same honor (ὀμότιμος) as Zeus.<sup>52</sup> Quintus also avoids the suggestion of Poseidon's primacy, at least within his own sphere, which Homer conveys by the superlative ἄριστος, κρείων and its compounds. The honorific ἄναξ and the identification of Poseidon as Zeus' brother occur only once, to explain Apollo's deference to Poseidon (8. 311, 321). The association of Poseidon with Helice, a cult site irrelevant to the plot of the *Posthomerica*, is also avoided.

**Hera** The role of Hera in the *Posthomerica* is, in comparison with the *Iliad*, much reduced, as indicated by the frequency of reference. This results from Quintus' discarding the theme of her opposition to Zeus.

Table 2G: Hera

	<i>Posthomerica</i>	<i>Iliad</i>
proper name Ἥρη	8	121
identifiable	0	6

<sup>52</sup>On the equality of Zeus and Poseidon in their respective spheres, see Adkins (1972) 2



		<i>Posthomeric</i>	<i>Iliad</i>
genealogical designations	δάμαρ of Zeus	2	0
	παρακοίτις of Zeus	2	3
	ἄλοχος of Zeus	0	1
	μήτηρ of Ares, Hephaestus	0	6
			θυγάτηρ of Cronus παρακοίτις of Zeus κασιγνήτη ἄλοχος τε of Zeus
Other description	divinity		ἄθανάτη
	honor	κλυτή	αἰδοίη ἀρίστη δία κυδρή πρέσβα πρεσβυτάτη πότνια
	local specific attributes		Ἄγρειη
			βοῶπις ἠύκόμος λευκώλενος χρυσόθρονος
unseemly epithets		κυνῶπις	

Like Poseidon, Hera is honored by the other Olympians on the basis of her relationship to Zeus (3. 136-8). Her status depends solely upon her role as the wife (δάμαρ, παρακοίτις) of Zeus. Again, Quintus avoids reference to Hera as the sister of Zeus or as the daughter of Cronus, reinforcing Zeus' supremacy and suppressing his incestuous marriage.<sup>53</sup>

<sup>53</sup>Adkins (1972) enumerates the goddess' clear claims of near equality to Zeus: c. f. Virgil's epithets (*regina, regina deorum, regia, regna, domina potens, maxima, omnipotens, germana Iovis, Saturni altera proles*), which as Moseley, 41-2, remarks "constantly remind us of her high position." The statement of Alvis, 5, that "Hera has no cosmological prerogative in the Homeric poems, her status depends on her position as Zeus' consort" may ultimately be correct, but this is not borne out by the text of the *Iliad*, and its demonstration (*mutatis mutandis*) is to a large extent Virgil's point. Quintus takes Zeus' utter and unquestionable superiority for granted.

Quintus otherwise describes Hera only with the widely-applicable κλυτή, avoiding the insulting κυνώπις<sup>54</sup> and the several Homeric epithets which stress her divinity or suggest that she enjoys a position of particular honor; which, like Ἀργεΐη, refer to her cult outside the Troad; or those which, like βοῶπις, λευκώλενος, and χρυσοθρόνος, refer to specific attributes of the goddess not immediately relevant to the plot of the *Posthomerica*. βοῶπις and λευκώλενος, of course, are also formulaic, and βοῶπις, like γλαυκῶπις, is open to theriomorphic interpretation.<sup>55</sup>

Hermes Hermes is mentioned only twice in *Posthomerica*, when he is sent by Zeus to summon the winds.

Table 2H: Hermes

		<i>Posthomerica</i>	<i>Iliad</i>
proper name	Ἑρμείης	2	16
identifiable		0	2
genealogy		υἱός of Zeus	υἱός of Zeus
other	divinity		ἀθάνατος ἄμβροτος
	power and honor		ἄναξ κρατύς
	specific attributes		
	Ἀργειφόντος	0	14
	ἄελλοπόδης	ἀκάκητα ἐριούνιος εὐσκοπος	

Quintus' description of Hermes as swift-footed (ἄελλοπόδης) and as the son of Zeus is unremarkable, save for the fact that ἄελλοπόδης is an unusual form of the ἀελλόπος which Homer applies to Iris. In both the *Posthomerica* and the *Iliad*, Hermes is confined to the role of a divine courier, in contrast to the *Odyssey*, where he also conducts the shades of

<sup>54</sup>On objections to κυνώπις, see bT *ad* Σ 396, and Kirk V: 193 *ad loc*

<sup>55</sup>Chantraine (1968-80) sv: βοῦς

the dead to Hades.<sup>56</sup> In the *Iliad*, however, epithets of Hermes allude to matters irrelevant to the action of the poem (Ἄργειφόντος, ἀκάκητα, ἐριούνιος). Such description is absent from the *Posthomerica*, as is the Homeric honorific ἄναξ.

Iris References to Iris are also much less frequent than in the *Iliad* in the *Posthomerica*. She too, is once sent to summon the winds, and once, fulfilling a function performed in the *Iliad* by Hebe (E 722-31), serves as a celestial stable-hand (12. 193).

Table 2I: Iris

		<i>Posthomerica</i>	<i>Iliad</i>
proper name	Ἴρις	2	39
identifiable		0	2
other	divinity	ἄμβροτος	
	special attributes		ἄγγελος ἀελλόπος μετάγγελος ποδήνεμος χρυσόπτερος

Quintus' description of the goddess is limited to the broadly applicable ἄμβροτος.

### Other Olympians

The names of Ares, Hephaestus, and Hades are used metaphorically<sup>57</sup> far more often in the *Posthomerica* than in the *Iliad*, and so it is difficult to assess the importance of frequency of reference to these deities. Hephaestus, Hades, and Artemis also do not participate in the action of the *Posthomerica*.

Ares Ares is the only Olympian whom Quintus mentions more often (proportionally) than does Homer. This results partly from the fact that Quintus more

<sup>56</sup>Clay (1989) 138, regards Hermes and Dionysus as "somewhat peripheral to the Homeric pantheon "

<sup>57</sup>The occurrences of the names of Ares, Hephaestus, and Hades, and also Aphrodite, in metonymy are discussed in ch 4

frequently uses his name in metonymy, but also is correlated with his greater importance and more favorable portrayal in the *Posthomeric*. Because of the demands of the plot, Ares' partisanship of the Trojans is no more successful in the *Posthomeric* than in the *Iliad*. Quintus does not, however, make Ares the laughing-stock he is in the *Iliad*, always bested in confrontation with the other Olympians; like Aphrodite, he is in the short run able to hold his own.

Table 2J: Ares

		<i>Posthomeric</i>	<i>Iliad</i>
proper name	Ἄρης	88	110
identifiable		1	4
genealogical designations	κασίγνητος of Aphrodite	0	2
		υἱός of Zeus	
other	divinity	ἀθάνατος	ἄμβροτος
	power and honor	ἀκάματος ἀτάρβητος ἀτειρής δεινός δῖος κρατερός ὄβριμος ὑπέρβιος	ἀτάλαντος δεινός κρατέρος ὄβριμος πελώριος
	specific attributes		
	Ἐνύαλιος	0	5
		<i>Posthomeric</i>	<i>Iliad</i>
		ἀκόρητος ὀμοκλῆς ἄλεγεινός ἄμαιμάκετος ἀργαλέος θοός λοιγίος πολύδακρυς πολυκμήτος	ἄλεγεινός ἀνδροφόνος αἰδηλος ἄφρων ἄτος πολέμοιο βριήπιος βροτολοιγός δήιος ἐγκέσπαλος κορυθαίξ κορυθαίολος λαοσσός
			μιαيفونος ὄξύς οὔλος πολύδακρυς πιτιολεμιστής πιτολίπορθος ρίνοτόρος στιγερός ταλαύριος τειχεσπλήτης χάλκεος

Quintus' elevation of Ares is reinforced by the descriptive terms applied to him. While Homer identifies Hera as Ares' mother, Quintus refers to the god as the son of Zeus. Epithets which emphasize Ares' power are more numerous in the *Posthomerica* than in the *Iliad*, and Quintus avoids the Homeric insults directed at him. Other epithets of Ares are all applicable both to the god as a character and as a personification of war. Note that Quintus omits Homer's ἀϊδηλος, which ancient commentators replaced with the "less offensive" κρατέρος.<sup>58</sup>

**Hephaestus** Hephaestus is mentioned once in the simile, noted above, which refers to his capture of the adulterous Ares and Aphrodite; is frequently named as the maker of various objects, notably the arms of Achilles; and his name is frequently used as a synonym for fire.

Table 2K: Hephaestus

		<i>Posthomerica</i>	<i>Iliad</i>
proper name	Ἥφαιστος	27	40
identifiable		0	4
genealogical designations	τέκος of Hera	0	1
genealogical designations			πάϊς of Hera υἱός of Hera
other	divinity power and honor		ἀθάνατος ἀγακλής ναξ κλυτός πέλωρ περικλυτός
	specific attributes Ἀμφιγυήεις Κυλλοποδίων	not as substantive 0	7 3

<sup>58</sup>van der Valk (1963-4) II: 25-6.

	<i>Posthomerica</i>	<i>Iliad</i>
	Ἄμφιγυήεις δαήμων εὐφρων μαλερός περίφρων πυκινόφρων χαλκεοτέχνης	Ἄμφιγυήεις κλυτοτέχνης πολυμήτης πολύφρων χαλκεύς

The description of Hephaestus in the *Posthomerica* is largely what is to be expected, although Quintus does use the Homeric ἀμφιγυήεις as an epithet.<sup>59</sup> Most epithets Quintus applies to him are variations of his Homeric epithets: μαλερός occurs with Hephaestus when the name is used in metonymy for "fire." The absence of Hephaestus as a character from the *Posthomerica* is also to be expected. Most of the scenes in which the god appears in the *Iliad* represent or refer to divine discord. Hephaestus also once intervenes in battle, rescuing his priest, Idaeus, from Diomedes (E 523-4). As will be seen, Quintus avoids references to the cult of gods, and does not ascribe motivation for divine action to such connections.<sup>60</sup>

Hades Quintus uses the name of Hades only to denote the underworld.

Table 2L: Hades

		<i>Posthomerica</i>	<i>Iliad</i>
proper name	Ἄϊδης	12	46
	Ἄϊδωνεύς	3	2
genealogical designations			ἀδελφός of Zeus. Poseidon
other designations	power and honor	ὑπέρθυμος	ἄναξ ἐνέρων κρατέρος πελώριος
	specific attributes Zeús καταχθόνιος	0	1

<sup>59</sup>While such epithets are on occasion condemned (e.g., Schol. Arn/A ad Φ 331), Plutarch (*Mor* 35c) maintains their use is not a reproach, but evidently a sign of familiarity (so Kirk VI: 80)

<sup>60</sup>See ch. 5

	<i>Posthomerica</i>	<i>Iliad</i>
	άνόστατος λυγρός πολυκλαύτος	άμείλικος άδάμας έχθιστος κλυτόπωλος πυλάρτης στυγερός

While Hades does not participate as a character in the action of the *Iliad* or other heroizing epic, other characters, both mortal and divine, speak of him as a well-defined personage with a history,<sup>61</sup> and he is described in terms (κλυτοπώλος, πυλάρτης, άναξ ένέρων, Ζεύς καταχθόνιος) which suggest personification. Any such references are entirely absent from the *Posthomerica*. Even in Quintus' description of the shield of Eurypylos, which depicts several inhabitants of the underworld, no more mention is made of the god than that Cerberus stands "at the baneful gates of mournful Hades" (άφμ' όλοησι πύλησι πολυκλαύτου 'Αΐδαο 6. 263). The epithet, like all those Quintus applies to Hades, is as well or better suited to the Underworld itself as to its king.

Artemis Quintus mentions Artemis more frequently (three times) than he does Hermes or Iris. Unlike them, however, she does not participate in the action of the *Posthomerica*. She is named in similes describing mortal characters and in a reference to her temple.

Table 2 M: Artemis

		<i>Posthomerica</i>	<i>Iliad</i>
proper name	Άρτεμις	2	12
identifiable		0	1

<sup>61</sup>Facts of Hades' "biography:" E 395, 845; I 565, O 188. It is to be noted that in the *Odyssey*, the personification of Hades is limited to the *katabasis*, and consists mostly of references to the god's marriage to Persephone. Virgil, also, does not mention Hades himself, but refers several times to Proserpina. Persephone is never mentioned in the *Posthomerica*.

		<i>Posthomerica</i>	<i>Iliad</i>	
<b>genealogical designations</b>	θυγάτηρ of Zeus	0	1	
	κούρη of Zeus	0	2	
	τέκος of Zeus	0	1	
	Λητωΐς	1	0	
	κασιγνήτη of Apollo	0	1	
<b>other description</b>	<b>power and honor</b>	τέκος of Zeus	κασιγνήτη of Apollo	
	<b>specific attributes</b>	ἀτειρής κλυτή		
		<b>archery</b>		
		Τοξοφόρος	0	1
	Κελαδεινή	0	1	
<b>other</b>			ιοχέαιρα κελαδεινή χρηλάκατος	
			ἀγροτέρη εὐστέφανος πότνια θηρών χρυσόθρονος χρυσήνιος	

As in the *Iliad*, Artemis is the sister of Apollo, and like Apollo is identified in the *Posthomerica* by an unusual matronymic (Λητωΐς, found first in Aeschylus), and by reference to Zeus' paternity. Quintus' other description of Artemis is vague and laudatory. Other omissions are also to be expected. The absence of Artemis as a character from the *Posthomerica* is not surprising. Her portrayal in the *Iliad* is most memorable for her ridiculous encounter with Hera in the theomachy. Quintus does not hint at the roles and attributes of the goddess irrelevant to the plot of the *Posthomerica*. The elimination of her role as agent of death, shared in the *Iliad* with Apollo (Z 428; T 59-60), has already been noted. She is also twice, in passages faulted in antiquity (E 53; ι 525),<sup>62</sup> said to be useless to her devotees.

<sup>62</sup>van der Valk (1963-4) II: 15-6



Comparison of Quintus' and Homer's references to and description of individual Olympians and the gods collectively reveals that even at this basic level, Quintus' portrayal of the gods differs significantly from Homer's. Differences in the frequency of reference make Zeus' supremacy more clearly apparent in the *Posthomerica* than in the *Iliad*, and the notion of this supremacy is reinforced by Quintus' suppression of any suggestion that another god is Zeus' equal. These points are explicable as reflections of late antique social and political organization, just as Homer's more nearly-equal gods are generally agreed to reflect the aristocracy of the archaic period. But the Iliadic challenges to Zeus' supremacy are unseemly, as are other details which Quintus suppresses, notably the gods' destructive power. The large number of references to the gods collectively or to unspecified deities also suggests limitation of the actions ascribed to the Olympian deities, and the chance that these are unseemly.

#### Other Divine Entities

The remainder of the divine *dramatis personae* of the *Posthomerica* overlaps substantially with that of the *Iliad*. More divine entities are mentioned, and mentioned more frequently, in the *Posthomerica* than in the *Iliad*.<sup>63</sup> In some cases (notably Dawn and deities associated with her), the greater frequency of reference is the result of differences in plot. The demands of the plot, however, can not account wholly for the frequency with which Quintus mentions minor divine entities. The very large number of references to entities which do not participate in the action gives the *Posthomerica* superficial air of divine involvement, while increased participation of minor deities limits the role of major gods. In contrast to his practice in the case of the gods collectively and the Olympians, Quintus applies more descriptive terminology to minor gods than does Homer. He

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<sup>63</sup>Contra P. Kakridis, who notes the larger number of minor divine entities in the *Posthomerica* (174) but does not consider this significant, regarding (164-5) the divine *dramatis personae* of the *Posthomerica* as "in general accord" with that of Homer.

duplicates Homeric epithets more frequently than is the case with Olympian gods, and also frequently transfers to them the Homeric epithets of Olympians (usually Ares and Hades).

The most important of the minor deities participating in the action of the *Posthomerica* are Thetis and Dawn. Many others appear as part of the entourages which accompany these goddesses in the mourning of their sons.

Thetis and her Entourage The portrayal of Thetis in the *Posthomerica*, especially her relationship with her son and with the other gods, differs markedly from that in the *Iliad*. This difference, however, is scarcely apparent in her nomenclature and description.

Table 3A: Thetis and her Entourage

		<i>Posthomerica</i>	<i>Iliad</i>
Thetis	Θέτις	38	42
	Νηρήϊς	6	0
	Νηρηϊνή	5	0
	θεός	0	5
	θυγάτηρ ἀλίοιο γέροντος	0	1
	other identifiable	0	9
total references		49	57
description:	genealogy	ἀκοίτις (of Peleus) κούρη (of Nereus) μήτηρ (of Achilles) παρακοίτις (of Peleus)	ἀκοίτις (of Peleus) θυγάτηρ ἀλίοιο γέροντος μήτηρ (of Achilles) παρακοίτις (of Peleus)
	local	ἄλιη	ἄλοσῦδνη
	divinity	θεός ἀθανάτη	θεός ἀθανάτη
	power and honor	ἄγλαόπεπλος δίᾱ	αἰδοίη δεινή δίᾱ θεάων πότνια

	<i>Pasthomerica</i>	<i>Iliad</i>
other	ἀργυρόπεζα ἐλικώπις ἔυπλόκαμος εὐφρων θοή κλυτὰ μητιόωσα κυανοκρήδεμνος	ἀργυρόπεζα ἠύκομος καλλιπλόκαμος τανύτεπλος
Nereus		
Νηρεύς	6 (4 in designations of Nereids)	(does not participate)
άλιοιο γέρων	0	5
πατήρ (of Thetis)	0	3
description	μέγας σθεναρός ὑπέρθυμος	
Nereids		
θύγατρεις Νηρηῶς	2	0
κοῦραι Νηρηῶς	1	0
Νηρηίδες	4	0
Νηρηίηαι	2	3
κασίγνηται (of Thetis)	0	1
description	ἄθανάται εἰναλῖαι θεαί κυανοπλόκαμος	ἄθανάται ἄλιαι θεαί κασίγνηται (of Thetis)
Cymothoe	2	1
other named Nereids	0	34
Muses		
Μοῦσαι	3	8
description	Πιερίδες	Διὸς θύγατρεις θεαί κοῦραι Διὸς 'Ολύμπια δώματ' ἔχουσαι 'Ολυμπιάδες
Καλλιόπη	2	0

The paucity of honorific terms applied to Thetis continues Quintus' tendency to limit such terms to Zeus. Retention of Thetis' regular formulaic epithet, ἀργυρόπεζα, however, shows that the descriptive terminology which Quintus applies to minor deities is closer to

Homer's than is the case in references to the Olympians and gods collectively. Duplication of formulaic epithets and transference of Homeric epithets applied to other deities is common in Quintus' references to minor deities.<sup>64</sup>

Of greater interest is the fact that references to Thetis are more frequent, proportionally, in the *Posthomerica* than in the *Iliad*, despite the fact that Achilles dies in the third of the fourteen books of Quintus' poem; Thetis continues to participate in the action of the *Posthomerica* even after the conclusion of Achilles' funeral games in Book Five. Her continued participation reflects Quintus' use of references to minor deities to maintain divine involvement while limiting the participation of the Olympians and the gods collectively. References to deities associated with Thetis also serve this purpose.

Nereus, the Nereids, and Muses appear in the *Posthomerica* primarily as attendants of Thetis. All are more active in the *Posthomerica* than in the *Iliad*, or in the *Odyssey's* account of the funeral of Achilles. Nereus does not participate in the action of the *Iliad*, where he is not identified by name.<sup>65</sup> His participation in the *Posthomerica* is limited to mourning Achilles and attending his daughters' progress to the Greek camp. The Nereids also accompany Thetis to the Greek camp, and are present through the funeral games. Their collective description and action differs little from that in the *Iliad*. Of individual Nereids, Quintus names only Cymothoe, who delivers a brief speech (5. 338-45). Cymothoe is somewhat more prominent in literary references than are the other thirty-two Nereids catalogued by Homer ( $\Sigma$  41-9) or the forty-eight listed by Hesiod (*Theog.* 246-64), and is probably singled out for this reason.<sup>66</sup>

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<sup>64</sup>Κυανοκρήδεμνος is the regular epithet of Demeter in the Homeric Hymn to that goddess. Quintus probably uses it as a variant of τανύπεπλος, but the possible connection with Demeter is discussed in ch 5

<sup>65</sup>The name Nereus occurs first in the *Theogony* and the *Homeric Hymns*. On the identification of Nereus as Thetis' father, see Roussel, 45, citing ancient sources.

<sup>66</sup>Vian, *Suite II*: 31, n. 4, lists other references to Cymothoe: *Aen.* 1. 144, Valerius Flaccus *Arg.* 2. 606, and Apollodorus, *Bibl.* 1. 2. 7; the Latin authors single out Cymothoe, Apollodorus merely gives yet

Quintus elaborates the presence of the Muses at Achilles' funeral from the *Odyssey* (ω 60-1). As with the Nereids, Quintus singles out and assigns a part in the action to one of the Muses, Calliope, who, like Cymothoe delivers a speech (3. 631-55). As will be seen, the speech's content is appropriate to its speaker, accounting for her singular appearance as a character. Quintus also invokes the Muses before a catalogue (12. 306-13), and twice mentions their traditional connection with song and speech (3. 644-47; 6. 74-8), first articulated in the *Odyssey* (θ 479-81). The *Iliad* also mentions (in a geographical digression), Thamyris' challenge of and blinding by the Muses (B 594-600). The absence of allusion to this incident is to be expected if Quintus avoids referring to harm caused mortals by gods. Πιερίδες (un-Homeric, but common in Hellenistic and later poetry<sup>67</sup>) is essentially a synonym for Μοῦσαι, conveying no additional information.

Dawn and her Entourage Uranus, Night, the Horae, Pleiades, Nymphs, and Winds are all partisans of the Trojans, as are most of the other minor deities who participate in the action of the *Posthomerica*. All are associated with Dawn at least once in the poem, and all but the Nymphs are her close relatives. Many of these kinship connections appear to be fabricated by Quintus,<sup>68</sup> perhaps because these entities form for Dawn an entourage, marking her as an important character,<sup>69</sup> and balancing the troop of Nereids who accompany their sister Thetis.

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another lengthy list of Nereids. Virgil (*Georg.* 4 334-44) and Hyginus (*Fab.* 28-9) give catalogues of Nereids in which Cymothoe does not appear.

<sup>67</sup>See e.g.: P Oxy 2816 (3rd c. AD or later), and Luppe's discussion.

<sup>68</sup>Vian, Suite I: 52, n. 2.

<sup>69</sup>On the "promotion" of Dawn, see Vian, Suite I: xv.

Table 3 B: Dawn and her Entourage

		<i>Posthomeric</i>	<i>Iliad</i>
Dawn description	Ἥως Ἥριγένεια divinity	27 19 ἄμβροτος δία θεσπεσίη	17 not as substantive δία θεά
	other	αιγλήεσσα βοῶπις ἔσθρονος <u>ροδόσφυρος</u> <u>φαεσφόρος</u> χρυσήνιος <u>χρυσόθρονος</u> πολύστονος	ἠριγένεια <u>ἔσθρονος</u> καλή κροκόπεπλος <u>ροδοδάκτυλος</u> <u>φαεσίμβροτος</u>
	Οὐρανός	1	not personified
Night	Νύξ description	9 ἄμβροσίη δία μέλαινα όλοή	2 (does not participate) δημίτεια θεῶν θοή
	Ἥωραι other identifiable description	3 1 ἔπλοκάμοι θοαί πολυαλδέες	4 0 πολυγηθέες
Pleiades	Πληιάδες Ἥλέκτρη description	4 1 βαθύπεπλος	do not participate 1 0
	Nymphs	Νύμφη Νύμφαι description	4 13 ἡύκομος ἔρατειναί καλλιπλόκαμοι Θύγατρες of Simois and Xanthus

		<i>Posthomerica</i>	<i>Iliad</i>
<b>Winds</b>	Ἄνεμοι	5	3
	description	δυσηχέες θοοί	
	Ἀἴται	5	0
	description	ἀκάμαντες θοοί ἀτειρέες λαιψηροί	
	Αὔραι	1	0
	description	Βορέας θυγατρὲς	
	Πνοιαί	1	0
	Βορέας	15	12
	description	ἀλεγεινός κρατερός ἠχῆεις κρυερός κελάδων ὄπωρινός πνείων μέγα	αἰθρηγενής ὄπωρινός
	Εὔρος	3	2
	description	λιγύς	
	Ζεφύρος	9	12
	description	κελάδων πολυηχῆς	κελαδεινός
	Νότος	6	6
description	ἠερόεις κελάδων	ἀργεστής	
Αἰολος	4	0	
description	Ἴπποτάδης		

In the Homeric poems, Dawn is personified only in announcements of the sun-rise. In the *Posthomerica*, references to Dawn are about evenly divided between those which signal the sun-rise, and those in which the goddess takes part in the action of the poem as a more developed character. Although not Homeric, the latter are traditional, involving the death of Memnon and Dawn's exultation over the death of his slayer. Quintus also more vividly personifies Dawn in some references denoting the sunrise than does Homer, and twice mentions her in comparative descriptions of the beauty of Penthesileia. The nomenclature and description of Dawn in the *Posthomerica* are largely as to be expected. Some tendencies noted in the description of the Olympians, such as the substantive use of the Homeric epithet Ἡριγένεια are apparent. As in the case of Thetis,

Quintus duplicates Dawn's Homeric epithets, *εύθρονος* and *χρυσόθρονος*, which occur in the *Odyssey*. The application of Hera's regular epithet *βοῶπις* to Dawn is unusual: probably, it simply denotes beauty, as when applied to mortal women in Homer (Γ 144; Η 10; Σ 40); *πολύστονος* occurs in the account of Dawn's grief for Memnon.

*Οὐρανός*, first personified in Hesiod, participates in the mourning of Memnon. Night also participates in this context; she is also personified in an announcement of the sun rise, and is depicted among other denizens of the Underworld on the shield of Eurypylos. In the *Iliad*, Night is personified only in the story of her rescue of Sleep after his harassment of Heracles (Σ 259-61).<sup>70</sup> As well as being companions of Dawn, the Horae are also the handmaidens or courtiers of Hera (10. 336-43), whom they serve as grooms in the *Iliad* (Θ 433). When they accompany Hera, Quintus gives their number as four. Elsewhere, they are twelve, but it is not certain whether two different groups of deities are meant. In either case, they are overseers of the passage of time (2. 501-6, 594-603; 10. 336-43), a role mentioned once in the *Iliad* (Φ 450), and in all references to them in the *Odyssey*. Despite their appearance in the context of fated events, especially those set in train by the death of Paris in Book Ten, Quintus does not stress their cosmological significance. Rather, they, like other groups of minor deities, form the entourage of more important gods, including Dawn, and their presence lends divine grandeur to various events: like most of the pantheon, they are said to have been present at the wedding of Peleus and Thetis (4. 134-6). Quintus does not refer to their Iliadic role as the gatekeepers of Olympus. The Pleiades are twice personified in the *Posthomeric*. They grieve for Memnon, and their grief at the fall of Troy causes the permanent departure from their number of Electra (13. 551-8). Other references to the Pleiades in the *Posthomeric* denote the constellation, as does the Iliadic reference to them. Quintus' references to the winds do not differ significantly from Homer's.

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<sup>70</sup>Quintus alludes to the Iliadic passage, but without reference to this incident. See ch 5



Nymphs are present at the burials of Memnon and Glaucus, from whose tumulus they cause a spring to rise (4. 9-11), much as the Orestiads planted trees on the tumulus of Eetion (Z 420). They fear and mourn the fall of Troy; are depicted on the shield of Eurypylos; and are said to have been present at the wedding of Peleus and Thetis: Quintus also twice refers to the cave of the Nymphs, well-known from the *Odyssey*. Oenone, who is usually said to be a Nymph, is an important character in Book Ten of the *Posthomeric*, but Quintus in no way represents her as divine;<sup>71</sup> neither are the Nymphs who are mentioned as the mothers of warriors treated as deities. Quintus seems to minimize the divinity of Nymphs generally. The Nymphs who are the daughters of the Rivers of the Troad act no differently than the peasantry and seafarers who see the city's destruction (13. 456-79), and only statues of Nymphs figure in the description of the cave (6. 470-91). The Nymphs do not in the *Posthomeric* leave their homes to attend divine councils, as in the *Iliad* (Y 8), an action which struck ancient commentators as odd.<sup>72</sup> nor are they mentioned except in geographical digressions. While Homer distinguishes between different types of Nymph (Ὀρεστιάδες; Νηΐς). Quintus uses only Νύμφη.

Fate, Death, and Battle      A large number of the divine entities, associated with or personifying Fate, death, and battle participate in the action of the *Posthomeric*.

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<sup>71</sup>She lives with her father in a well-staffed house (10. 438-40)

<sup>72</sup>bT ad Y 8 explains their presence at the council by stating that Leto, who will participate in the Theomachy, is a nymph.

Table 3 C: Fate, Death and Battle

	<i>Posthomeric</i>	<i>Iliad</i>
Αἴσα	29	1
	ἀμείλιχος κρατερή ἄσχετος λοίγος ἀτάσθαλος λυγρή δαίμονος ὀλοή Διός πολύστονος κακή πολύτροπος	never modified
Μοῖρα	17	23
	ἀργαλή πολύστονος ἄτροπος στυγερή ὀλοή	κραταιή ὀλοή
Μοῖραι	5	1
	ἄλεγειναι θύγατρεις Χάους	
Ἀνάγκη	7	not personified
Κῆρ	20	30
	ἀνηλής οὐλομένη κακή	κακή ὀλοή μέλαινα στυγερή
Κῆρες	55	16
	ἀμείλικτοι λευγαλέαι ἀμείλιχοι λυγραί ἄφυκτοι μέλαιναι ἔρεμναί ὀλοαί κακαί σμερδαλέαι κελαιναί στυγεραί ἔχουσαι ἀναιδέα θυμόν	βαρεῖαι κακαί
Ἐνύω	11	3
	κρατερόθυμος ὀλοή λυγρή στονόεσσα	πότνια πτολίπορθος
Ἔρις	18	7
	ἄλγινόεσσα κρατερόφρων δεινή θεός ὀλοή ἐγρεκύδοιμος οὐλομένη ἐπήρατος χάλκεος βοῶσα μακρόν πατροκασιγνήτη of Δεῖμος and Φόβος	

	<i>Posthomerica</i>	<i>Iliad</i>
Δεῖμος	3 ἄταρβῆς	3
Φόβος	4 ἄταρβῆς	7 ἄταρβῆς κρατερός φίλος υἱός of Ares
Ἔριν(ν)ύς	2	3 (do not participate)
	βλοσυρῶπις στονόεσσα	ἠεροφοῖτις ἀμείλιχον ἦτορ ἔχουσα
Ἔρινυες	7	4 (do not participate)
	ἀργαλαίαι ὄβριμόθυμοι θοαί σμερδαλαίαι πνεύουσαι αὐτμήν ὀλοοῖο πυρός	
Horses of Ares Αἴθων Φλογίος Κόναβος Φόβος	1 1 1 1	not named
κυδοιμός	2 δεινός	2 (does not participate)
Θανάτος	5 λευγαλέος	4 (does not participate)
Μόρος	2	not personified
Ὀλεθρος	2 μέλας	not personified
Φόνος	2 ἀργαλέος	not personified
Δῆρις	1	not personified
Πόλεμος	1 (does not participate)	not personified
Ὑσμιναί	1 (does not participate) δυσχηέες	not personified
Ἀλκή	not personified	1 (does not participate)
Ἴωκή	not personified	1 (does not participate) κρυόεσσα

The appearance of a greater number of personifications is the most obvious difference between the *Posthomeric* and the *Iliad*, and is typical of late epic.<sup>73</sup> The Keres, Enyo,<sup>74</sup> and personifications of Strife (Ἔρις), and Fear (Δεῖμος, Φόβος) participate in the action of both the *Posthomeric* and the *Iliad*. Homer mentions the Erinyes, Tumult (Κυδοιμός) and Death (Θάνατος), but they do not participate in the action of the *Iliad*. In ephrastic digressions Quintus personifies Death (Μόρος, Ὀλεθρος<sup>75</sup>), Slaughter (Φόνος), War (Πόλεμος), and Battle (Δῆρις,<sup>76</sup> Ὑσμινάι), which are not personified in the *Iliad*. Ἀλκή (Strength or Courage), and Ἴωκή (Pursuit) are personified in the Iliadic ephrasis of Achilles' shield, but not in the *Posthomeric*. Precedent for un-Homeric personifications varies greatly. Quintus' is the first personification of Ἀνάγκη or Ἀναγκαίη (Necessity) in epic;<sup>77</sup> other notable personifications are those of Euripides (*Hipp.* 1387) and Callimachus (*h.* 4. 122, Ἀναγκαίη μεγάλη θεός; duplicated by Nonnus, *Dion.* 10. 93).<sup>78</sup> The connection of Ἀνάγκη with Fate is explicit in her most famous and detailed personification, in the Myth of Er at the end of the *Republic*, where

<sup>73</sup>Lewis, 52. Note that Roscher, 2094-110, sv: *Personifikationen*, on which the present discussion draws heavily, is not complete for the *Posthomeric* (2104).

<sup>74</sup>AbT ad E 333 and Eustathius, 140. 35, indicate that the ancients regarded Enyo as a personification, not a deity with a mythological personality

<sup>75</sup>Ὀλεθρος is truly personified only at 2. 486 and 13. 218-9. Vian (*Suite III*: index, sv: MORT IV, Ὀλεθρος, and Vian and Battegay, sv: Ὀλεθρος) also counts 12. 543, 13. 20, and 14. 588-9 as instances of personification, but there is no reason in these instances to understand any sense save simply "destruction."

<sup>76</sup>Variant readings of 8. 425-6 make it unclear whether Quintus names Enyo or Deris as the "sister of War" (ἡ κασιγνήτη <v> Πολέμοιο, 8. 426). Vian, *Suite II*, 161, n. 1, is likely correct in regarding Deris and Polemos as analogous to Eris and Ares, and adducing the presence of Deris

<sup>77</sup>Homeric usage of ἀνάγκη is limited to ὑπ' ἀνάγκης and ἀνάγκη ("necessarily"), and the phrase ἡμαρ ἀναγκαῖον, denoting the enslavement of the defeated, the same sense is expressed at Z 456-8. Hesiod has only ὑπ' ἀνάγκης. Apollonius only ὑπ' ἀνάγκης and ἀνάγκη. It is perhaps noteworthy that Quintus clarifies the sense of ἡμαρ ἀναγκαῖον, adding καὶ δούλιον (14. 293).

<sup>78</sup>In the other instances cited by Garcia Romero (1986) 114, n. 16, Ἀνάγκη is not clearly personified

she is said to be the mother of the Moirae (617c) and is perhaps to be understood as holding the spindle from which the cosmos depends (621a).<sup>79</sup> Μόρος and Φόνος are first personified in Hesiod; one of Quintus' references to Eris, too, is seen as denoting the Hesiodic "good" Eris.<sup>80</sup> Πόλεμος is first personified in Pindar, and Δῆρις in Empedocles. Ὑσμιναί and Ὀλεθρος are first personified in the *Posthomerica*; the four horses of Ares also are named only by Quintus.<sup>81</sup>

These entities participate more, and more effectively, in the action of the *Posthomerica* than in the *Iliad*. Quintus attributes to some of them precisely the same actions which are attributed to anthropomorphic deities both in the *Posthomerica* and the *Iliad*. The frequent reference to entities personifying Fate likely stems in part from the increasing prominence of Tyche in Hellenistic and later thought,<sup>82</sup> but is probably also a function of Quintus' previously-noted tendency to limit the participation of major anthropomorphic deities in the action of the poem.

In Homer Αἴσα is to be understood as the fated course of an individual's life. The word is frequently synonymous with death, but is also used of the span of life (A 416) and significant features of it, such as Achilles' glory (I 608) and Pandarus' coming to Troy (E 209-10). Only once in the *Iliad* is Αἴσα personified, described as "spinning" destiny (Y 127-8). Quintus retains these Homeric usages, but, as will be seen, greatly extends the contexts in which reference is made to Αἴσα, attributing to her actions regularly performed by anthropomorphic deities, such as the causation of death, sometimes through physical action: deciding the outcome of battle; bestowing glory; and affecting men's

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<sup>79</sup>On the development of shades of meaning of Ἀνάγκη, see Greene, 143, 160, 196, 211, 315

<sup>80</sup>Vian, *Suite I*: 143, n. 4, thus identifies Ἐρίς ἐπήρατος (4. 195).

<sup>81</sup>For the parallels for their names, and names elsewhere given them, see Vian, *Suite II*, 153, 217, n. 6

<sup>82</sup>Greene, 66, cites testimonia for the explicit equation of Tyche, Clotho, and Ananke. Tyche is usually regarded as an unpoetic word, it does not occur in the *Posthomerica*.

mental processes.<sup>83</sup> Quintus briefly compares warriors to Αἶσα (and also to ker), but not, in contrast to Homer, to anthropomorphic gods, especially Ares; this emphasizes the personification of these minor deities, while separating the great gods from the mundane.

Two points are especially noteworthy: First, the near absence of the Homeric phrases denoting events in accordance with, or contrary to, Fate, κατ' αἶσαν and ὑπὲρ αἶσαν. These account for one-third of the occurrences of the word αἶσα in the *Iliad*, but in the *Posthomerica* κατ' αἶσαν never occurs, and ὑπὲρ αἶσαν occurs only twice. While some events "beyond what is fated" (ὑπὲρ αἶσαν, also ὑπὲρ μοῖραν and ὑπὲρ μόρον) do occur in the Homeric poems,<sup>84</sup> this is not the case in the *Posthomerica*. Quintus uses such phrases either hypothetically (often in character speech), or to state specifically that the occurrence of something contrary to Fate is prevented. Second, almost all the adjectives which Quintus applies to Αἶσα suggest destructive power. The exception is the description of Αἶσα as "from Zeus (Διός), suggesting that Fate is in some way subject to divine will. This accords well with Quintus' tendency to distance the Olympians from harmful actions, and his emphasis on the supremacy of Zeus.

Μοῖρα and the Μοῖραι are treated much as is Αἶσα. In Homer, Μοῖρα seems to denote the time and manner of an individual's death, and sometimes the agency through which this occurs. Like Αἶσα, Μοῖρα in the *Iliad* acts infrequently. Again, the phrases κατὰ μοῖραν and ὑπὲρ μοῖραν account for one-third of the word's occurrences. A broader range of action may be attributed to the Μοῖραι, which are said to be responsible for men's sufferings (Ω 49). As with Αἶσα, Quintus preserves and expands upon the Homeric usages of Μοῖρα, although there is no apparent difference between the use of the singular and plural forms. Again in contrast to Homeric usage, Quintus

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<sup>83</sup>Spinning, ἐπικλώθω, 10 330; causing death, general: ὑποκλάω, σ. 13, αἰρέω, 10 404, ἐφήμι κυδοιμόν, 11 306, δαμάω, 13 462; by breaking weapons, διακλάω, 10 107, decision of outcome, διακρίνω, 7 669; glorification, κυδαίνω, 1. 389; mental manipulation, παραπαφίσκω, 14 364

<sup>84</sup>Famously the case of Aegisthus at α 34-5.

represents Μοῖρα, like Αἴσα, as intervening physically in the action to cause death.<sup>85</sup> Quintus (13. 494) borrows the image of the nets of Fate from Aeschylus' *Agamemnon*,<sup>86</sup> but avoids the more active Homeric image of Μοῖρα seizing (λαμβάνω) or binding (πεδάω) victims. The greatest innovation in Quintus' portrayal of the Moirae is the statement (3. 756-7) that they are the daughters of Chaos. Vian adduces this genealogical innovation as a sign of the increased importance of Fate in the *Posthomerica*.<sup>87</sup> But the alternative descent of the Moirae from Ἀνάγκη would accomplish this elevation more obviously, and in the standard Hesiodic genealogy (*Theog.* 123, 211)<sup>88</sup> the Moirae are in fact the grand-daughters of Chaos.

As he does with Αἴσα and Μοῖρα, Quintus attributes to Ἀνάγκη actions normally performed by anthropomorphic gods, inspiration and mental manipulation. Even where the word can be understood as simple mundane necessity, personification is strongly suggested by the verbs of which it is the subject.

In the *Iliad* and the *Posthomerica* the Keres are both agents of fate and bellicose deities. In both roles, the actions attributed to them by Quintus are closer to those of anthropomorphic deities. Ker and Keres are usually synonyms for death. All occurrences of the words in the *Odyssey* are of this sort. In the *Iliad*, they denote Fate more generally, usually the specific time, place, and manner of death. Twice (Θ 527-8; Λ 332), Homer attributes to the Keres the mental manipulation of mortal characters, resulting in their

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<sup>85</sup>Greeks killed by decree of fate (Μοιράων ἰότητι), 1. 493; Fate causes Eurymenes to face Neoptolemus (ἐπιτρέπω), 10. 97, standing beside him (παρίστημι) as he dies, 10. 109; Fate guides weapons: βέλος ὤσαν, 6. 560-1; [λαῶν] φέρε, 8. 319-20

<sup>86</sup>Vian, *Suite III*: 149, n. 2 notes the parallel

<sup>87</sup>*Suite I*: xvi "[U]n détail, qui semble propre à [Quintus], symbolise l'ordre nouveau [i. e. the supremacy of Fate], les Moires toutes-puissantes sont maintenant les filles du Chaos primordial." Vian also notes (*ibid.*) that the Moirae had a temple at Smyrna. This is an illustration of the widespread importance of Fate in popular thought, but, given the uncertainty of Quintus' actual connection with the city, of limited significance

<sup>88</sup>On the genealogy, see Dietrich (1967) 54-60

deaths. Quintus attributes to the Keres a somewhat greater range of activity. They bring about the deaths of individuals not only by mental manipulation but also by physical intervention. Their participation in battle is much greater in the *Posthomeric* than in the *Iliad*, where Ker is said to act only in the description of the shield of Achilles.<sup>89</sup>

Responsibility for tribulation other than death, and for the fate of the city is also attributed to the Keres. As is the case with Αἶσα and Μοῖρα, such references strengthen the personification of the Keres and the notion that they are determiners of Fate.<sup>90</sup> This is clearest in the statement (13. 244) that the Keres spin (ἐπεκλώσαντο) fate.<sup>91</sup>

Comparison of warriors to Keres, as to Aisa, strengthens their personification.

The actions attributed to the Erinyes differ considerably between the *Iliad* and *Posthomeric*. The Erinyes in the *Iliad* are agents of vengeance and guarantors of oaths. Allusion to the former role, though not the latter, is found in the *Posthomeric*. Quintus' association of the Erinyes with war is unusual. In instances in which they participate in battle, and in the ecphrasis of the representation of deities of war on Achilles' shield, the Erinyes are associated with the Keres.<sup>92</sup> There are genealogical connections between the Erinyes and Keres is seen in Hesiod. (*Theog.* 547), which probably prompt Quintus' representation of the Erinyes as bellicose deities.<sup>93</sup> The Erinyes' association with war is implicit in the statement that one of them is the dam of the Horses of Ares.<sup>94</sup>

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<sup>89</sup>On Ker and Keres in Homer, see Vermeule. 39-41.

<sup>90</sup>On Quintus' conflation of Ker and Aisa generally, see Vian (1954) 236 and *Suite I* 62. 166. n 3. It is noteworthy that Quintus uses the phrase ὑπὲρ κῆρας (7. 289, 11. 296) as Homer uses ὑπὲρ αἴσαν and ὑπὲρ μοῖραν.

<sup>91</sup>The equation of the keres with the Moirae, and their spinning of Fate is found in Hesiod. *Theog.* 211-20.

<sup>92</sup>The passages in question are 5. 31, 11. 9, 12. 546-9; and possibly 13. 382.

<sup>93</sup>On Hesiod, see West (1966), 229 *ad* 217, on Quintus, Kakridis (1962) 172 and Campbell, 180, *ad* 12. 547.

<sup>94</sup>Vian, *Suite II*. 153, 217, n. 7 sees the attribution of the horses' parentage to Erinyes as similar to the usual attribution of the parentage of miraculous horses to harpies. More likely, it reflects dimly the story



Enyo and Eris, who participate in Homeric battles, sometimes, as will be seen, determine their course in the *Posthomerica*, holding the struggle evenly balanced, or deciding its outcome; Quintus also ascribes to these entities the mental manipulation of mortal characters.

Quintus' portrayal of Θάνατος, Δεῖμος, and Φόβος differs only slightly from Homer's. The most significant departure is in the case of Θάνατος, who in the *Iliad* is always, but never in the *Posthomerica*, associated with Sleep (Ὕπνος).<sup>95</sup> Δεῖμος and Φόβος are not as explicitly in the *Posthomerica* as in the *Iliad* the henchmen of Ares (O 119), although they are usually paired in both poems. For this reason, it seems likely that the Φόβος named as one of the horses of Ares is to be understood to be a different entity.<sup>96</sup>

**Other Minor Deities** The other minor deities who participate in the action of the *Posthomerica* are: Nature deities of the Troad, Selene, Themis, Sleep, Dream, Mania and Lyssa.

Table 3D: Other Minor Deities

		<i>Posthomerica</i>	<i>Iliad</i>
Rivers	Ξάνθος	4	10
	description		[Ὅ] ΤΕΚΕΤΟ ΖΕΥΣ
	Σιμόεις	4	1
	κασίγνητος of Xanthus	0	1

of the rape of Demeter-Erinys by Poseidon (*Paus* 8 25 4), to which Quintus otherwise makes no reference.

<sup>95</sup>Most famously when the two bear away the body of Sarpedon (Π 454, 672, 682); also, in a passage which T *ad loc* allegorizes, to identify Sleep (Ξ 231).

<sup>96</sup>Kirk IV: 241 *ad* O 115-9, notes that Antimachus (fr. 37) names Deimos and Phobos as Ares' horses, but this need not imply that Quintus, or even Antimachus, does not regard this as a different Phobos.

	<i>Posthomerica</i>	<i>Iliad</i>	
description 'Αξιός	καλλιρός		
	2 (does not participate)	3	
	εὐρυρέεθρος	εὐρυρέεθρος εὐρὺ ρέων	
	'Αχελώϊος	0	1
			κρείων
	Σπερχειός	0	4
'Αλφειός		ἀκάμας	
	0	2	
'Ιδη	1	not personified	
Σελήνη	5	1 (does not participate)	
	δία χαροπή		
Θέμις	5	2	
	ἀκήρατος πανδερκῆς κλυτή	θεά καλλιπάρης	
'Υπνος	1	5	
	γαμβρός (of Hera)	ἄναξ (of gods and men) διδυμάτων (of Θανάτος) κασίγνητος (of Θανάτος) νήδυμος	
'Ονειρός	3	6	
	δολόεις οἰζυρός λυγρός	Διός ἄγγελος οὐλος θεῖος	
'Λύσσα	2	not personified	
	ἀάσχετος ὀλοόφρων		
Μανιή	1	0	
	βλοσυρή		

The participation the rivers Scamander and Simoeis and Mt. Ida, obvious partisans of the Trojans, is limited to mourning the fall of the city (Il. 7. 71-84): it adds to the poem's level of divine action, but is otherwise meaningless. The participation of Ida is an innovation, but the actions of river gods, and reference to them (especially Scamander), are much reduced in comparison to the *Iliad*.<sup>97</sup> Note also that Quintus does not call Scamander the

<sup>97</sup>Vian, (1959), 115, regards the personification of Simois in the *Posthomerica* as an innovation. Simois does not participate in the action of the *Iliad*, but (as Eustathius, 1237, points out) is surely personified by Xanthus' appeal to him (Φ 305-15).

son of Zeus. The Iliadic personifications of Spercheius and Alpheius refer to the worship of these rivers (E 726-8; Ψ 141-51); they are, moreover, removed from the scene of the action of the *Posthomerica* and irrelevant to its plot, as is Achelous.

Selene is personified in the *Iliad* only in her representation on the shield of Achilles. She is much more frequently personified in the *Posthomerica*,<sup>98</sup> as is suggested by the application to her of the epithet δῖα, and once (10. 454-7) takes part in the action.

Themis is twice personified in the *Iliad*, pouring drinks for the Olympians and conversing with Hera at O 87-95, and assembling the gods at Zeus' command at Y 4-5. In the song of Nestor, which mentions her setting the tables at the wedding of Peleus and Thetis (4. 136-7), Quintus hints at the role Themis plays at O 87-95, but most deities are said to have participated in these festivities. Quintus' tendency, as will be seen, is to portray Themis as the embodiment and guarantor of right action, as is suggested by the use of the epithet πανδερκής.

Sleep is once personified in the *Posthomerica*, in a brief scene announcing the sunrise (5. 395-401). This passage, which is clearly modeled on the Διὸς ἀπάτη, is a telling illustration of Quintus' technique of altering traditional material to render apparently unseemly divine action unobjectionable, and is discussed in detail below: the description of Sleep as the son-in-law (γαμβρός) of Hera figures in this alteration. Quintus' avoidance of the association of Sleep with Θάνατος and the absence of the honorific ἄναξ are also to be noted. Both Mania and Lyssa are first personified in Tragedy: the word λύσσα occurs in Homer, μανία first in Herodotus.<sup>99</sup> Quintus personifies both in connection with the madness of Ajax. Personification of Lyssa is only implicit in the epithet ὀλοόφρων.<sup>100</sup>

<sup>98</sup>Vian and Battegay, sv. Σελήνη, consider all occurrences personifications

<sup>99</sup>On the differing sense of Lyssa in tragedy, see Foster, 130.

<sup>100</sup>Although counted as such by Vian and Battegay, sv. Lyssa is not necessarily personified at 5. 360

Mania is more vividly personified, both in the epithets applied to her, and, as will be seen, in the actions attributed to her. Differences in Quintus' and Homer's descriptions of Ουείρος stem from differences in context.

#### Deities Mentioned, but not Acting, in the *Posthomerica*

Quintus mentions several deities which do not participate in the action of the *Posthomerica*. His treatment of those which are also mentioned in the *Iliad* differs only slightly from Homer's<sup>101</sup> Two, Leto and Charis, participate in the action of the *Iliad*. Their absence as characters in the *Posthomerica* is reasonably connected with the notion that Quintus suppresses reference to unseemly divine behavior: In the *Iliad*, Charis is the wife of Hephaestus, at odds with his usual pairing with Aphrodite (and Quintus' silence regarding his marital status). Leto's participation in the *Iliad* is connected with the altercation of Hera and Artemis in the Theomachy. Quintus' application to Leto of more clearly honorific epithets (δῖα and πότνια) than those found in the *Iliad* (ἔερικυδής, ἠύκομος, καλλιπάρης) is also noteworthy. In the *Iliad*, Tethys is clearly personified (as reflected by her epithet μήτηρ), and named in connection with the unseemly episode of the Διὸς ἀπάτη. In the *Posthomerica* it is impossible to determine whether Tethys and Ocean are to be understood as places or personalities.

Quintus also mentions a number of mythological figures and personified abstractions which do not appear in the *Iliad*. The personified Amphitrite, the Giants, and the man-eating Cyclops appear in the *Odyssey*; Chaos, the Cyclopean smiths, the Hesperides, Prometheus, Argus, Echidna, Enceladus, Geryon, Orthrus, Atlas, Ἴμερος,

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<sup>101</sup>These deities are mentioned so rarely that systematic comparison of frequency of reference to them and the description applied to them is not profitable. Leto, the Charites, Tethys, Ocean (Ὠκεανός), the Sun (Ἡέλιος), Ἄτη, the Litae, centaurs, the centaur Chiron, Cerberus, Gorgons, harpies, the Chimaera, Titans, Orion, and Typhoeus, are mentioned in both the *Iliad* and the *Posthomerica*. Charis, and the Titans Otus and Ephialtes are named in the *Iliad* but not in the *Posthomerica*. Quintus mentions Typhon and names the centaurs Nessus and Pholus and the Gorgon Medusa.

Δίκη, and Νίκη in Hesiod. Pan is first mentioned in the Homeric Hymn devoted to him. Antaeus and Ὑμέναιος appear first in Pindar; references to Heracles' struggle with Antaeus (the context in which Quintus mentions him), however, come mainly from the mythographers, and Ὑμέναιος is frequently personified in Tragedy.<sup>102</sup> Euripides mentions Phaethon and Αἰών, who is also personified by Empedocles;<sup>103</sup> Ἀρέτη is personified in Prodicus. Quintus' are the first literary personifications of Ἄντολίη and Δύσις, the rising and setting of the sun.<sup>104</sup> The large number of such figures, who are mentioned, but perform no action, in the *Posthomerica* contributes to a sense of divine presence in the poem, while limiting divine action.

#### Deities Absent from the *Posthomerica*

Several deities mentioned in the *Iliad* are absent from the *Posthomerica*. Usually, Homer names them in connection with matters which are irrelevant to the plot of the *Posthomerica* or which are unseemly. Of these, Demeter and Persephone are the most important. Their absence, as noted in the discussion of Hades, suppresses the story of the rape of Persephone. Reference to Demeter as one of Zeus' paramours (Σ 326), and of the fulfillment by Hades and Persephone of the curse upon Phoenix (I 457-8) are also unseemly. Persephone also is said to receive the supplication of Meleager's mother (I 568-70), and Quintus rarely mentions religious practice.

Quintus refers rarely to the homely tasks which Hebe performs in the *Iliad*, pouring drinks (Δ 1-3),<sup>105</sup> harnessing Hera's team (E 723-4) and bathing and dressing

<sup>102</sup>Note that Rocher, sv: cites Nonnus, not Quintus, as the first epic personification of Ὑμέναιος

<sup>103</sup>Vian (*Suite I*: xvi-xvii) adduces parallels which suggest that considerable theological significance was attached to Aion, on the cult of Aion, see Lane Fox, 116, 701 n 42 and bibliography there cited. Reference to Aion in the *Posthomerica* (see ch. 5), however, is ornamental

<sup>104</sup>Δύσις is personified in P Mag. berol. 2 94, personification of Ἄντολίη seems unique to Quintus

<sup>105</sup>Nor does Quintus attribute to Ganymede the function of cup-bearer.

Ares after his recovery (E 905). The absence of the Eileithyiae, goddesses of childbirth and daughters of Hera, is explained partly by Quintus' lack of interest in mortal characters' origins. Reference to them in connection with Hera's persecution of Heracles (T 103-4, 119), alludes to unseemly divine behavior.<sup>106</sup> Because Quintus never mentions injuries sustained by the gods, Paieon, the Olympian physician who heals the wounded Ares (E 899-901), is irrelevant to the plot of the *Posthomerica*. Avoidance of reference to the injuries done gods also accounts for the absence of Dione, who comforts her wounded daughter Aphrodite with stories of injuries inflicted by mortals (E 370-417); Dione is also, of course, one of Zeus' paramours. Eurynome (Σ 398-405) and the hundred-handed (ἑκατόγχειρος) son of Poseidon, called Briareus by gods and Aegaeon by mortals (A 403) figure in stories of Thetis' assistance to the Olympians, which Quintus minimizes.

In the *Posthomerica* reference to Cronus is limited to the patronymics Κρονίδης and Κρονίων, which denote Zeus. In addition to these and similar genealogical designations in the *Iliad*, the phrase θεοὶ Κρόνον ἀμφὶς ἐόντες (Ξ 274; O 225) denotes the older generation of gods overthrown by Zeus. Θ 479-81, and Ξ 200-4, where Rhea is also named, refer explicitly to this usurpation.

Neither the Earth (Γαῖα) nor Rumor (᾽Οσσα) is personified in the *Posthomerica*. In the *Iliad*, both gods (O 36) and mortals (T 259) swear oaths by Earth, and she is included with Zeus and Helios in sacrifice (Γ 104). Quintus duplicates none of these. The word ᾽οσσα occurs once in the *Posthomerica*, but Rumor is not personified, and certainly is not connected with Zeus, as at B 93.<sup>107</sup>

<sup>106</sup> The simile of childbirth (Λ 270-1), too, is perhaps not sufficiently dignified. Only two of Quintus' similes (I 86-7, 613-4) involve women or their occupations (S. 380-4 involves not cooking, as Way, 628, suggests, but hog-butcherer). On the frequent criticism directed at Homer's "*humiles imagines*," see van der Valk (1971-1995) II: xl

<sup>107</sup> . . . μετὰ δὲ σφισιν ᾽Οσσα δεδήει/ὄτρύνουσι' ἰέναι. Διὸς ἄγγελος. Although not personified, ᾽οσσα is also described as ἐκ Διὸς at α 282 and β 216.

### Mortals Who Attain Immortality

Three individuals, Ganymede, Tithonus, and Heracles, are presented as immortal in both the *Posthomeric* and the Homeric poems. Ganymede, although said to be mortal at Y 232-3, is represented by Homer as living on Olympus. He is more explicitly a god in the *Posthomeric*, where he has a shrine in the city, and appears as a character.<sup>108</sup> Tithonus' immortality may be presumed on the basis of his association with Dawn in an announcement of the sunrise (Λ 1), and is explicitly stated in the *Posthomeric* (2. 115-6). In the *Iliad*, Heracles is specifically said to be dead (Σ 117). The *Odyssey*, however, refers to his apotheosis (λ 601-4): his εἶδωλον is among the shades of the dead, but he himself (αὐτός) rejoices in Olympus.

Quintus' statement that Dionysus was, like Heracles, apotheosized rather than a god from birth, however, is extremely unusual; he is certainly a god in the *Iliad* (Z 130-40).<sup>109</sup> Although Dionysus' divinity may be questioned by men (as famously in Euripides) Quintus' is the only explicit statement that, despite his lengthy sojourn on earth, he is made, not born, a god.<sup>110</sup> The apotheoses of both Heracles and Dionysus are mentioned in Poseidon's consolation of Thetis (3. 771-2). Dionysus' apotheosis thus may serve Quintus as a mythological paradigm invented or exaggerated to reinforce the promised apotheosis of Achilles.<sup>111</sup> Achilles' mortality is of course of great importance to the *Iliad*, and in the

<sup>108</sup>Kehmptzow, 12, comments on Homer's minimal reference to Ganymede and (17) cites other sources for his representation as a god. Vian, *Suite II*: 142, n. 6, notes that Ganymede was worshipped at Smyrna

<sup>109</sup>There is otherwise considerable similarity between Quintus' and Homer's references to Dionysus. Not only does Quintus, like Homer, mention him rarely, but the context of the references overlaps considerably. Quintus adapts two of Homer's four references to the god: Thetis' rescue of Dionysus (Z 130-7, 2. 437-9) and his gift of Achilles cinerary urn (ω 74; 3. 736-7). The other Homeric references are Z 325 and λ 325

<sup>110</sup>Vian's citation (*Suite I*: 125, 174, n. 4) of evidence for Dionysus' apotheosis is somewhat misleading. Didodorus (3. 38-74) identifies five Dionysuses, mortal and immortal, whose stories coalesce into the god's mythology. Pausanias (2. 31. 2) doubts that Semele died, "because she was the wife of Zeus."

<sup>111</sup> On the invention of myth, see Willcock, (1964) and Brasewell. Didodorus (3. 74. 3-4) notes various other similarities between Heracles and Dionysus.

*Odyssey* he famously appears among the shades of the dead, bitterly regretting his lost life (λ 488-91). Although there is substantial precedent for the apotheosis of Achilles, it greatly alters to tone of the *Posthomerica* from that set in the *Iliad*.

The apotheosis of Aeneas, prophesied by Calchas, is also well attested, though not Iliadic,<sup>112</sup> as is that of Asclepius; there is less precedent for the apotheosis of Machaon. The afterlife of bliss in Elysium said in the *Posthomerica* to await Neoptolemus, and possibly Memnon, has considerable precedent. It is similar to the afterlife which Menelaus expects in the *Odyssey* (though not in the *Posthomerica*).

While the attainment of immortality figures in Quintus' representation of mortals' attitudes toward the gods and such matters as the importance attached to divine ancestry, and while the large number of mortals who attain immortality is a clear difference between the *Posthomerica* and the *Iliad*, this difference is probably not *per se* of great significance. Quintus' reference to mortals who attain immortality follows a well-established tradition,<sup>113</sup> and does little more than testify to the extent that the notion of deification became accepted in the centuries after Homer.

#### Places Associated with the Gods

Quintus' representation of mythological places associated with the gods differs little from Homer's. The essential similarity of descriptive terminology placing the gods on Olympus or in the heavens, and description of Hades as a place, has already been seen. The description of Aeolia (14. 477-9) closely follows that at κ 1-13, and as in the *Odyssey*: Elysium is the abode of the specially privileged dead (δ 563, Menelaus: 3. 761, 14. 224, Achilles: 2. 651, Memnon). The only significant difference between Quintus' and Homer's

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<sup>112</sup>Ovid, *Met.* 14. 581-608, Livy 1. 2. 6-7 For inscriptional and monumental evidence (probably more relevant, indicating dissemination of the story and the possibility of Quintus' awareness of it without having read Latin sources) see Haupt and Korn II: 401-2

<sup>113</sup>Griffin (1976) 42-3.



references to mythological places is found in the case of the Styx. Both Quintus and Homer mention the river in connection with Heracles' labors (6. 266; Θ 367-9). Homer's other references to the Styx all involve the swearing of oaths by the gods (Σ 271; Ο 37-8; even in the context of a geographical digression the Styx is called ὄρκου, Β 755). Quintus does not refer to the river in this context, thus avoiding the suggestion that the gods may be forsworn. He briefly mentions the Styx, in Hesiodic fashion, as the abode of monsters (5. 453-4), but does not dwell on its horrors, nor does he present the Underworld as a place of torment.

Probably because he narrates the sack of Troy, Quintus mentions more sacred places in the city than does Homer. Both mention the temples of Athena (6. 146; 13. 426. 435; Ζ 88-9, 274, 297, 308) and Apollo (12. 480-2, 516-7; 13. 434; Ε 445-6; Η 20-1). Quintus also mentions the altar of Zeus Herceius (6. 147; 13. 436) and a shrine of Ganymede (14. 328-9). The former is the traditional site of Priam's death (*Ilioupersis*, fr. 1), and reference to the latter strengthens Quintus' portrayal of Ganymede as a deity. In the immediate vicinity of Troy, Quintus mentions the temple of Sminthean Apollo (14. 413), but does not associate Smintheus with Chrysa and Cilla (Α 38-9, 451-2). Similarly, both Quintus and Homer associate Zeus with Ida (1. 184; 9.9; Π 605; Ω 291), but Quintus does not mention the god's temple at Gargara (Θ 48).<sup>114</sup>

With the exception of the temple of Artemis and temenos of Zeus Eleutherius at Smyrna, which figure in Quintus' autobiographical statement (12. 312), all the places outside the Troad which Quintus associates with the gods are those with which they are famously linked, usually by Homer: Apollo is associated with Delphi (9. 336; Α 492-3); Hephaestus with Lemnos (9. 336; Α 542-3); Ares with Thrace (8. 355; θ 361-3); and

<sup>114</sup>Vian (1959) 116-21, notes Quintus' references to places in the Troad conform closely to those of geographical writers, on whom he perhaps depends. Use of such sources is perhaps evinced by 12. 480-1, where Quintus says that a memorial of the disappearance of the snakes who eat Laocoon's sons is still visible in Apollo's temple (τῶν δ' ἔτι σημεῖα / φαίνεθ').

**Athena with Athens (8. 355-8; B 546-51; η 80-1). While Homer invariably refers to the Muses as Olympian, Quintus associates them with Pieria (3. 594. 785-6) and Helicon (3. 647, 785-6; 6.76); these associations are Hesiodic, and both places are at any rate in the foot-hills of Olympus. Although they refer to different locations, Quintus' descriptions of caves of the Nymphs (6. 471-90; 10. 126-30) depend on ν 104-12.<sup>115</sup> There is no trace in these passages of the famous allegorization of their model. Quintus' references to these places are very general: he does not mention, as Homer does (B 546-51), specific temples or cults.**

**Absent from the *Posthomerica* are the association of Apollo with Lycia (Δ 101. 109; Π 514-5); Athena with Boeotia (Δ 8. E 908); Hera with Argos and Mycenae and Sparta (Δ 8. 51-2; E 908); Zeus with Dodona (B 750; Θ 248-52; Π 233-4) and Argos (Π 233); and Poseidon with Orchomenus (B 506), Helice (Θ 203-4; Υ 403-5), and Aegae (Υ 2-4; N 20-3). The context of some of these Homeric references (eg: Hera's vindictiveness at Δ 51-2) is open to criticism as unseemly, but Quintus' wholesale avoidance of reference to all but the most famous of the places associated with the gods outside the Troad is clearly connected with his minimal reference to religious practice.**

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<sup>115</sup>Heubeck, *ad* ν 104-12 notes that in contrast to M 317-8 the cave is located in the mundane world, the site of a cult of the Nymphs: the same is true in the *Posthomerica*. On the allegorization of ν 104-12, see Buffière, 419-59

### Chapter 3

#### The Mythological Background of the *Posthomerica*

For the purposes of the present study, the secondary or background narrative consists of the poet's "asides" (invocations, digressions, similes and comparisons) which involve reference to the divine, and references to the divine ancestry of mortal characters and to objects of divine origin made by either the poet or his characters. Many of these are quite literally "background" references, alluding to objects and events from the epic mythological tradition, with which the reader (and often the characters) of the *Posthomerica* is familiar. Although they exhibit some of Quintus' corrective tendencies, these background references to the divine accord more closely with the traditional portrayal of the gods than do those in Quintus' primary narrative. They are discussed first, so that the primary narrative's "correction" of the traditional portrayal of the gods may be seen more readily.

#### Invocations

Appeals for inspiration, usually to the Muses, are perhaps the most obvious poetic "asides." The *Posthomerica* contains only one such appeal. Prior to enumerating the heroes who enter the wooden horse, Quintus calls upon the Muses (12. 306-10):

Τούς μοι νῦν καθ' ἕκαστον ἀνειρομένω σάφα, Μοῦσαι,  
ἔσπεθ' ὅσοι κατέβησαν ἔσω πολυχανδέος ἵππου·

ὑμεῖς γὰρ πᾶσάν μοι ἐνὶ φρεσὶ θήκατ' αἰοιδῆν,  
 πρὶν μοι <ἔτ'> ἀμφὶ παρειὰ κατασκίδανθαι ἴουλον,  
 Σμύρνης ἐν δαπέδοισι περικλυτὰ μῆλα νέμοντι . . .

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Now, Muses, tell me, who ask, clearly and individually, those who entered the cavernous horse. For you put all song into my heart before the beard darkened my cheeks, when I grazed my famous flocks in the pastures of Smyrna . . .

The placement of the appeal, requesting accurate information, before a catalogue and at what is arguably the dramatic climax of the *Posthomerica*, is in accordance with ancient epic practice and critical canons.<sup>1</sup>

In its substance, the appeal is utterly typical; parallel usages, some very obscure, can be adduced for virtually every word.<sup>2</sup> Reference to an inspirational visit which establishes the poet as a divinely inspired reporter of any and all events is not Homeric, but is a conventional epic trope, best known from Hesiod (*Theog.* 23), whence Quintus also draws the conventional detail that his inspirational visit occurred while the poet was shepherding (12. 310).<sup>3</sup> Callimachus (*Aitia* Fr. 1. 37-8) supplies the detail that this occurred in the poet's youth (12. 309). The phrasing closely follows Homeric examples.

12. 306-7 echo<sup>4</sup> B 484, 487: ἔσπετε νῦν μοι Μοῦσαι 'Ολύμπια δώματ' ἔχουσαι . . .

<sup>1</sup>In addition to the proem, the Iliadic appeals to the Muses (B 484; Λ 218-20; Ξ 588; Π 112) all request accurate information; all but the last introduce lists (it precedes the narration of the Trojans' reaching the ships, a climactic moment). For citation and discussion of commentaries (Quintilian, the Scholia, and Eustathius), see Calhoun (1938) 160-2; Minton, 293-4 and n. 4; and deJong, 49-52, who rejects this interpretation of the significance of appeals to the Muses.

<sup>2</sup>For parallels, see Campbell, 103-5; Vian, *Suite III*: 101, n. 1 differs slightly, and is less comprehensive

<sup>3</sup>West (1966) 159-60 lists six conventional elements of inspirational visits. 12.306-13 clearly exhibits two, the shepherding and the fact of inspiration itself; a third, that the poet was previously "without words" is perhaps also implied. Quintus, however, omits entirely the other three: reference to the abode of the inspiring god, derogation of mankind; and the conveyance upon the poet of a visible token of his calling such as a staff or lyre. Absence of these elements may be seen as support for the claim of Haussler that real belief in the inspiring ability of the Muses prevailed in the archaic period, and declined thereafter. The qualitative differences in references to the Muses which he identifies in classical and later texts seem to hold true only for lyric, however, and such belief is unprovable in any period; even the earliest invocations are likely conventional (Thalmann, 129-31, 134-5, 139, 155).

<sup>4</sup>Exact or nearly exact correspondences with the *Posthomerica* are indicated by double underlining, less precise ones by single underlining.

οἵ τινες ἡγεμόνες . . . κτλ. (Tell me now, Muses whose homes are on Olympus . . . who were the leaders . . .). The similarity is not particularly remarkable,<sup>5</sup> given that both passages introduce catalogues. Line 308 more closely parallels *H. Apollo* 518-9 ( . . . Μοῦσα/ἐν στήθεσσι ἔθηκε θεὰ μελίγηρυν ἄοιδήν . . .the goddess Muse put sweet song into their hearts) and Phemius' statement at *χ* 347-8: . . . θεὸς δέ μοι ἐν φρεσίν οἶμας/παντοίας ἐνέφυσεν ( . . . the god planted in my heart all sorts of tales).<sup>6</sup> Note that Quintus emphasizes the connection between accurate and complete information (ἕκαστον . . . σάφα, 206) and inspiration (γάρ, 208).

Taken by itself, Quintus' appeal to the Muses and claim of poetic authority is utterly typical. It is unusual, however, in that it is the only such passage in the *Posthomerica*, but occurs in the twelfth book of the poem. The *Posthomerica* begins with a brief statement of the situation (l. 1-4):

Εὖθ' ὑπὸ Πηλείωνι δάμη θεοείκελος Ἴκτωρ  
καί ἐ πυρὴ κατέδαψε καὶ ὅστέα γὰρ κεκεύθει,  
δὴ τότε Τρῶες ἔμιμνον ἀνὰ Πριάμοιο πόλῃα  
δειδιότες μένος ἠὲ θρασύφρονος Αἰακίδαο·

After godlike Hector fell at the hands of Peleus' son, and the fire consumed him and the earth hid his bones, the Trojans remained in the city of Priam, fearing the great might of the bold Aeacid.

After dilating on the Trojan's fear and grief and reviewing the events of the last books of the *Iliad* (l. 5-17), Quintus' own narrative begins abruptly: Καὶ τότε Θερμῶδοντος ἀπ' εὐρυπόροιο ρεέθρων/ἤλυθε Πενθεσίλεια . . . ("Then from the streams of broad Thermodon came Penthesileia . . ." l. 18-9).

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<sup>5</sup>*Contra* Campbell, 101.

<sup>6</sup>Quintus' request for inspiration to enumerate the heroes in the horse perhaps also alludes to *θ* 487-98, where Demodocus is inspired by the Muse or Apollo on the subject of the wooden horse. Calhoun (1938) 163, emphasizes the connection of inspiration with this subject in particular.

The absence of a formal proem obviously stems from the fact that the *Posthomerica* purports to be a seamless continuation of the *Iliad*. Though unusual,<sup>7</sup> such a continuation of the *Iliad* has precedent; 1. 18-9 is quite similar to the variant readings of ω 804 preserved in the Scholia and on papyrus.<sup>8</sup> Lack of a proem, however, poses difficulties of interpretation, as Quintus gives no hint<sup>9</sup> that he intends anything other than imitation of Homer.<sup>10</sup>

### Digressions

Digressive passages<sup>11</sup> account for a large number of Quintus' references to the gods. Although there is Homeric precedent for the subjects of many of the digressions in the *Posthomerica*, their great frequency is typical of Hellenistic and later writers.<sup>12</sup>

<sup>7</sup>On the expectation of a thematic prologue (in both epic and history), see Aristotle, *Rhet.* 1415a.

<sup>8</sup>Schol. T ad ω 804 gives ὡς οἱ ἀμφίεπον τάφον Ἴκτορος, ἦλθε δ' Ἀμαζῶν / Ἄρης θυγάτηρ μεγαλήτορος ἀνδροφόνοιο ("Thus they performed the burial of Hector, and the Amazon, the daughter of great-hearted man-slaying Ares, came."). P 104 (of the first century A.D.) gives Ὀτρῆρη[ς] θυγάτηρ εὐειδῆς Πενθεσίλ(ε)ια; see Kirk, *ad loc.* Lack of a proem is also paralleled by Xenophon's *Hellenica*, which similarly begins *in medias res*, continuing Thucydides.

<sup>9</sup>Quintus only once elsewhere intrudes directly into the narrative, stating at 6. 320-1, a passage obviously modeled on B 490, that he could not name all those killed by Eurypylus, even if he had a heart of iron, while Homer goes on (491-2) to attribute inspiration to the Muses. Quintus does not mention them.

<sup>10</sup>Conte, 35 n. 5, 70 regards the proem or "incipit" as the poet's "signature" and as "an indispensable guide to interpretation;" cf. Block, 31, who regards invocations as of paramount importance in establishing narrative voice. For specifics, see Feeney on Apollonius (90-1), Virgil (185-6), Lucan (275), and Valerius Flaccus (315), and sources there cited. On the programmatic nature of the proem of the *Odyssey*, see Friedrich; on the *Iliad*, Redfield (1979) 96-7, 105-8, with discussion of other modern interpretations. On ancient interpretations of the *Iliad* proem, see Duckworth (1931) 333. On Xenophon, see Gray, 1, 197 n. 1-2, for brief review of putative reasons for lack of a proem, the difficulties posed by this lack, and pertinent bibliography.

<sup>11</sup>See de Jong, 18-9, 78, on obituary digressions, ecphrases, and similes as secondary narrative. Categorization of passages as "digressive" is in accordance with the definitions of Austin, 300 "anecdotes which describe action outside the time of the poem," and of Gaisser, 2: "tales and episodes unconnected with the main story . . . [giving] background information." The definition of Brasewell, 2, is similar: "stories that have only incidental relevance to the main narrative," but he is concerned particularly with stories told by characters, not by the poet.

<sup>12</sup>On Apollonius' fondness for digression, typical of Hellenistic poetry, see Fränkel, 154.

Digressive passages allow Quintus, as they do Apollonius, to refer frequently to the divine, creating a sense of epic grandeur.<sup>13</sup> Quintus' digressions often deal with well-known but unseemly episodes, confining reference to these episodes to a secondary context which minimizes them. It is to be noted that many of the divine entities mentioned in the *Posthomerica* figure only in digressive passages. Even in this secondary context, Quintus in some instances qualifies references to divine action, further devaluing the traditional portrayal of the gods.

Ecphrases Descriptions of mythological scenes depicted on various objects mentioned in the poem are the most detailed digressions in the *Posthomerica*. While such descriptions are not Homeric,<sup>14</sup> they are common in epic. The best-known example is Apollonius' description of Jason's cloak (*Arg.* 1. 721-73). Others include the basket carried by Moschus' Europa (44-62), which depicts the story of Io; the shield of Dionysus, decorated with scenes depicting the god's ancestry and worship, described by Nonnus (*Dion.* 23. 385-567); and Aeneas' shield (*Aen.* 8. 626-730), which presents Roman history in a cosmological framework. Epic ecphrases are generally regarded as having programmatic or thematic significance for the primary narratives into which they are inserted.<sup>15</sup> Little such significance, however, is apparent in the three ecphrases of the

<sup>13</sup>cf. George, 52, who regards Apollonius' digressions as a means of giving a divine flavor to epic composed in an age when "living myth had become . . . mythology." Ecphrasis is regarded as promoting grandeur (Hermogenes, *Id.* 244; Quintilian, *Inst.* 7. 2. 7, cites shield-descriptions as an ideal rhetorical exercise).

<sup>14</sup>Helen's tapestry, depicting the war, which might be considered a mythological ecphrasis, is not described. Depictions of allegorical figures (like those on Achilles' shield) are a different matter; see ch. 4, pp. 143-7, 150-2.

<sup>15</sup>For discussions of the significance of Achilles' shield, see Kirk V: 200, and King, 11-3, 18, and bibliography there cited, especially Sheppard and Taplin; also Becker and Stanley. On Jason's cloak, see Feeney, 70-1; George 48-50; and Clauss, 120-9, and bibliography there cited. The scenes on the shield of Dionysus and Europa's basket are clearly programmatic, and the significance of Aeneas' shield is also self-evident (also programmatic are the briefly described scenes on Turnus' shield (*Aen.* 7. 789-92) and Pallas' baldric (10. 496-9), on which see Foster 124-5 and Conte, 185-8). Tzetzes' description of Penthesileia's shield (*Posthomerica* 65-71), too, echoes the theme of romanticized versions of her story.

ἐν δ' ἄρ' ἔην Ἄρης καὶ Ἑρως καὶ Πενθεσίλεια.

*Posthomerica*, which describe the decoration of the arms of Achilles (5. 6-109), the shield of Eurypylos (6. 196-293), and the arms of Philoctetes (10. 178-202).

The ecphrasis of the arms of Philoctetes emphasizes the importance of these objects, which are the arms of Heracles himself. The description of the scenes wrought on them seems unlikely to serve any purpose other than that of ornamentation.<sup>16</sup> The quiver (10. 189-202) is adorned with familiar mythological scenes:<sup>17</sup>

ἐν μὲν ἔην Διὸς υἱὸς ἀελλοπόδης Ἑρμείης	
Ἰνάχου ἀμφὶ ρέεθρα κατακτείνων μέγαν Ἔργον,	190
Ἔργον, ὃς ὀφθαλμοῖσιν ἀμοιβαδὸν ὑπνώεσκεν·	
ἐν δὲ βίῃ Φαέθοντος ἀνὰ ρόον Ἑριδανοῖο	
βλῆμενος ἐκ δίφροιο· καταιθομένης δ' ἄρα γαίης	
ὥς ἔτεόν πεπότητο μέλας ἐνὶ ἡέρι καπνός·	
Περσεύς δ' ἀντίθεος βλοσυρὴν ἐδάϊζε Μέδουσαν,	195
ἄστρον ἦχι λοετρά πέλει καὶ τέρματα γαίης	
πηγαί τ' ὤκεανοῖο βαθυρρόου, ἐνθ' ἀκάμαντι	
Ἑλίῳ δύνοντι συνέρχεται ἔσπερήϊ Νύξ·	
ἐν δὲ καὶ ἀκαμάτοιο μέγας πάϊς Ἰαπετοῖο	
Καυκάσου ἠλιβάτοιο παρηώρητο κολώνῃ	200

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Μάρνατο δ' αὐτε Ἔρως ἰδ' ἄρης περὶ τῆς δε γυναικός.  
 Ἦτοι γὰρ μὲν Ἔρως κούρην φάτο ἔμμεναι εἶο.  
 Ἄρης δ' αὐ ἑτέρωθε· μέση δ' ἐπίστατο κούρη.  
 κάλλει καὶ ἐντεσσι διακριδὸν ἄστραπτοῦσα.  
 τῆς δ' ἄρ' κόρυν ἀράζων φιλέεσκεν ὀπωπᾶς.  
 Ἄρης δ' αὐ ἑτέρωθεν ἐκύνη κράτα πυκάζων.

On it were Ares and Eros and Penthesileia, and Eros and Ares struggled over the woman. Eros said that the girl was his, Ares otherwise. In the middle stood the girl, splendid in beauty and weaponry. Eros seized her helmet, and kissed her on sight, while on the other side, Ares covered her head with kisses.

*Pace* Vian (*Suite* I: 14, n. 4) Ares and Eros do not here claim paternity of Penthesileia ("revendiquaient chacun la paternité de la jeune fille"), but rather seem to be emblematic of the forces struggling for dominance in her personality.

<sup>16</sup>Kehmptzow, 7, in this case correctly classifies the episodes depicted as "*fabulas . . . quae non ad Posthomerica spectant, sed tantum exornandi causa a poeta carmini immixta sunt.*" The description of the baldric (10. 180-7), is, as Vian (*Suite* III: 6, n. 1; 24, n. 1) notes, faithfully adapted from the Homeric description of the same object. Conte, 186, sees the scenes on the baldric as programmatic for the career of Heracles, but they are not so for that of Philoctetes, and its scenes of battles and fierce animals are not pertinent to the question of the representation of the divine.

<sup>17</sup>For Quintus' models and his close adherence to them, see Vian, *Suite* III: 24: 206, n. 3 and 5, 24, 207, n. 6



δεσμῶ ἐν ἀρρήκτῳ· κείρε(ν) δέ οἱ αἰετὸς ἦπαρ  
αἰὲν ἀεζόμενον· ὃ δ' ἄρα στενάχοντι ἐώκει.

On it was Zeus' wind-footed son Hermes, by the streams of Inachus, killing great Argus, Argus, whose eyes slept in turn. And on it was the strength of Phaethon, hurled from his chariot into the Eridanus; the earth truly seemed ablaze, and black smoke swirled in the air. Godlike Perseus slew grim Medusa by the stars' baths and the ends of the earth and the springs of deep-flowing Ocean, where Night meets the tireless Sun as he sets. On it also was the great son of tireless Iapetus, held by unbreakable bonds to a peak of the steep Caucasus; the eagle tore his ever undevoured liver, and he seemed to groan.

Although the divine punishments of Phaethon and Prometheus are arguably deserved, the stories illustrated by these scenes involve unseemly divine behavior;<sup>18</sup> in varying degrees, too, they involve the monstrous or fantastic. It is therefore to be noted that Quintus' reference to these stories is largely limited to secondary contexts.<sup>19</sup> Only Prometheus' punishment is mentioned elsewhere.<sup>20</sup> It is also to be noted that while very little divine violence occurs in the primary narrative of the *Posthomerica*, the quiver depicts the most violent point of the episodes in question, the moment when Argus, Phaethon, and Medusa are killed, and the torment of Prometheus.

The shield of Eurypylus depicts the career of the hero's grandfather, Heracles.<sup>21</sup>

<sup>18</sup>The story of Io involves Zeus' extramarital liaison with her, Hera's machinations, and the torment of the innocent girl; that of Perseus, Zeus' seduction of Danaë; in some versions, that of Medusa involves her liaison with Poseidon; the story of Prometheus involves the Titan's deception of Zeus.

<sup>19</sup>Phaethon is also mentioned in the aetiological digression on amber at 5. 625-30; Gorgons figure in the decoration of Achilles' shield, and Medusa's head is also mentioned as adorning the aegis (14. 454-5). Quintus refers only here to the story of Argus; the avoidance of Hermes' regular Homeric epithet, Ἄργειφόντης (see ch. 2, p. 61) is remarkable.

<sup>20</sup>At 5. 341-4, where the Nereid Cymothoe connects it with the arrangement of the marriage of Peleus and Thetis, an episode which is of considerable importance in the *Posthomerica*, contra Kehmptzow, 42, who believes that Quintus refers frequently to the incident because it is treated in detail by an Alexandrian poem on which he depends.

<sup>21</sup>Strangling the snakes (6. 200-7); the twelve labors demanded by Eurystheus (6. 208-67); five parerga, the freeing of Prometheus (6. 268-72), the centauromachy (6. 273-82) the killing of Nessus (6. 283-5) the fight with Antaeus (6. 285-8), and the rescue of Hesione (6. 289-91); "and other deeds" (6. 292). For sources and parallels, see Vian, *Suite II*: 57-8, n. 1; 76, n. 1 and 3; 78, n. 2 (literary) 58-61, 76, 77 n. 3 (pictorial).

Because of the genealogical connection, the decoration of the shield is more obviously relevant to its owner than is that on the arms of Philoctetes. Divine ancestry is of considerable importance in the *Posthomerica* and Quintus' comment (6. 204-7) on the first scene described, the infant Heracles strangling the snakes, draws attention to this theme:

. . . Διὶ κάρτος ἐώκει  
 ἐξ ἀρχῆς· οὐ γάρ το θεῶν γένος Οὐρανίωνων 205  
 ἄπρηκτον τελέθει καὶ ἀμήχανον, ἀλλὰ οἱ ἀλκῆ  
 ἔσπετ' ἀπειρεσίη καὶ νηδύος ἔνδον ἐόντι.

From the beginning, [Heracles'] strength was like unto Zeus'. For those who descend from the heavenly gods are neither unavailing nor helpless, but have boundless strength even in the womb.

Eurypylos, of course, dies. The comment is an example of a tendency which will be observed frequently: The concern and affection of the gods for their human protégés is often and forcefully expressed in the *Posthomerica*, but does not guarantee their safety or success. Nothing else, however, links the ecphrasis with larger themes in the poem. It is also noteworthy that the *Posthomerica's* sole allusion to the Heracleian sack of Troy (the depiction of the rescue of Hesione),<sup>22</sup> and one of its lengthiest references to the underworld (6. 260-8), occur in this secondary context.

The description of the arms of Achilles is by far the most important of the ecphrases in the *Posthomerica*, not only because it has explicit Homeric precedent, but also because of the nature of some of the scenes depicted. The helmet (5. 103-9) is decorated with a Tiatnomachic scene:

Ζεὺς δέ οἱ ἀμφετέτυκτο μέγ' ἀσχαλόωντι ἐοικώς.  
 οὐρανῶ ἐμβεβαώς· περι δ' ἀθάνατοι πονέοντο  
 Τιτηνῶν ἐριδαινομένων Διὶ συμμογέοντες· 105  
 τοὺς δ' ἤδη κρατερόν πῦρ ἀμφεχεν· ἐκ δὲ κεραυνοὶ  
 ἄλληκτοι νιφάδεσσιν ἐοικότες ἐξεχέοντο

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<sup>22</sup>Homer also alludes to the incident only once (Υ 144-8), but primary narrative of divine action. On Quintus' avoidance of the topic, see p. 124, n. 110.

οὐρανόθεν· Ζηὸς γὰρ ἀάσπετον ὤρυντο κάρτος·  
οἱ δ' ἄρ' ἔτ' αἰθομένοισιν ἐοικότες ἀμπνεῖσκον.<sup>23</sup>

Zeus was set in heaven, greatly wroth, and around him the  
Immortals struggled with one accord against the Titans on behalf of  
Zeus. Powerful fire already encircled them; thunderbolts came  
unceasingly from heaven, like snowflakes, for Zeus' measureless  
strength was roused, and those still alive seemed to be burning.

Titanomachy and Gigantomachy are a major component of epic in the Hesiodic style,<sup>24</sup> but were criticized in antiquity.<sup>25</sup> Quintus minimizes the unseemliness of the theme in two ways. First, although he refers frequently to Titanomachy and Gigantomachy, he does so only in secondary contexts. Second, he avoids certain Hesiodic details, such as the gods' lust for combat (*Theog.* 665-7), and the presence of the monstrous, hundred-handed allies of Zeus (*Theog.* 668-73).<sup>26</sup> Also, where Hesiod emphasizes the length of the battle (*Theog.* 710-2), Quintus' ecphrasis is of the crux of the battle, the moment where Zeus is victorious, while the Olympians still strive in common purpose on behalf of Zeus.

Quintus' description of Achilles' shield is obviously modeled on, and in general follows, Homer's description of the same object (Σ 479-608). Three mythological scenes<sup>27</sup>

<sup>23</sup>The emendation of West (1986) 145, changing ἀάσπετον to ἀμπετεν does not affect the present discussion, and seems no better than Vian's reading.

<sup>24</sup>The theme of Zeus fighting from Olympus is found in Hesiod (*Theog.* 687-712), the verbal similarities to that passage, however, are not great; for parallels to 5. 103-9, see Vian, *Suite II*: 22, 205, n. 8, and sources there cited. On typical elements of Titanomachic passages, see Mondini, Innes, 166, terms Gigantomachy "the grandest theme of martial epic." His remarks (168) on the Augustan poets are generally informative: in them, the theme occurs "... only [in] allusive reference ... or a colourful ecphrasis. ... For poets in search of a serious theme, its grandeur suffered from at least one serious disadvantage other than banality: the Gigantomachy showed the morally reprehensible aspect of the Olympian gods and required allegorical interpretation if it was to show the gods as they ought to be." In contrast, Feeney makes much of the Gigantomachy as an "emblem of a Greek state's self-definition" (107) and a "prototype of the fight between civilized order [both Greek and Roman] and barbaric chaos" (117; also 118-9, 267, 297, 329-32. For further discussion see sources cited by Feeney *ad loc.*)

<sup>25</sup>Xenophanes, B1, DK; Plato, *Rep.* 2, 378c. See also the passages of later critics discussed by Innes, *Contra Kehmptzow* 7, who regards references to Titanomachy as utterly devoid of significance

<sup>26</sup>The seismic effects of the battle (*Theog.* 693-709) are transferred to the Theomachy; see ch. 5, p. 198

<sup>27</sup>The personified abstractions associated with war (25-37) and the depiction of Arete (49-56), which does seem to be a true allegory, are discussed below, ch. 4, pp. 143-7. There is no reference to the divine in the scenes of hunting (22-4), peaceful cities (44-8), agriculture (56-65), feasts and dancing (66-8), or the storm

are depicted on the shield as described by Quintus: the birth of Aphrodite (5. 69-72); the wedding of Peleus and Thetis (5. 73-9); and Poseidon calming the sea (5. 88-96). It is possible to regard all of these as purely ornamental. The birth of Aphrodite has no apparent connection with themes in the primary narrative of the *Posthomerica*. The description of depiction of the wedding of Peleus and Thetis, however, reinforces the importance of this event, which Quintus, in contrast to most writers of the imperial period, repeatedly mentions,<sup>28</sup> and the depiction of Poseidon calming the sea is in accord with his portrayal in the *Posthomerica* as a peacemaker.

Other Digressions Quintus refers frequently to the divine in geographical and aetiological digressions.<sup>29</sup> The stories to which these passages allude are well-known.<sup>30</sup>

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at sea (80-7). Quintus' cosmology (8-20, 99-101) "completes" that of Homer, adding aether (6); winds and clouds (7); *aer* (9); and rivers (15-6). Vian (Suite II: 7, n. 4 and 5, citing Philostratus Minor, *Imag.* 10. 5, 12 and Heraclitus, *Alleg.* 49. 2) maintains that these additions render Quintus' cosmology similar to "corrections" of the Homeric cosmology produced by allegorists. There is only the most minimal personification, however. Neither here nor elsewhere in the *Posthomerica* is there consistent, developed allegorization of forces of nature. An instructive comparison, highlighting the slightness of Quintus' departure from Homer, is the allegorization of similar entities in the Christianized description of the shield of Achilles in the thirteenth century Spanish *Libro de Alexandre*; for text and discussion, see King, 156

The arrangement of the scenes is not relevant to the present discussion, although it is to be noted that Köchly, 259; Vian (Suite II: 5-7), and Byre, 184-8, give substantially different schemata

<sup>28</sup>Prof. Alan Cameron points out that Peleus is scarcely mentioned in most imperial-era treatments of the story of Achilles. *Contra* Kehmptzow, 66, who maintains that 5. 88-96 is purely ornamental. The passage, with its references to the sea (5. 74), Mt. Pelion (5. 76) and the meadow where the feast takes place (5. 77-9), does emphasize the setting rather more than the action.

<sup>29</sup>The petrified Niobe (1. 291-306); the formation of the Paphlagonian River from Memnon's blood (2. 555-569), and of the River Glaucus, which rises from that hero's tomb (4. 9-11); the cave of the nymphs (6. 470-91); Aphrodite and Anchises (8. 97-8); Antiphus' death at the hands of Cyclops (8. 125-7); Selene and Endymion (10. 125-37); the burial of Scylaceus in Lycia, near the tomb of Bellerophon and the "Titanian rock" (10. 151-66); the formation of the River Xanthus, whose channel was gouged by Leto in the throes of her labor (11. 20-6); the Corycean volcano, associated with Hephaestus (11. 91-8); the metamorphosis of Hecuba (14. 346-51); the origin of amber (5. 625-30); the disappearance of Electra from among the Pleiades (13. 544-61). Perhaps also the destruction of the Greek fortifications (14. 631-55), which are virtually ignored until the end of the poem (they are mentioned, though barely, at 6. 336 and 9. 70), a fact Vian (1959) 107, attributes to dependence on sources preserving contradictions between the *Aethiopsis* and *Little Iliad*.

8. 125-7, 10. 151-66, and a reference to the foundation of cities in Asia Minor by Calchas and Amphilochous (14. 367-9) are the only instances in which Quintus foreshadows events outside the narrative of the *Posthomerica*. His use of such foreshadowing is slight, in comparison to other epics. Moore, *passim*, lists instances in the *Iliad*, *Odyssey*, *Aeneid*, Apollonius' and Valerius Flaccus' *Argonautica*, Lucan's *Bellum Civile*, and Statius' *Thebaid*. In the *Iliad*, Achilles' death and the fall of the city, however,

Many are open to criticism (in some instances preserved) as unseemly,<sup>31</sup> and all are fantastic. Quintus does mention unseemly matters in such passages. His digression on the metamorphosis of Hecuba (14. 346-51) is in fact more fantastic than any other extant version of the story.<sup>32</sup>

But Quintus does devalue the unseemly or fantastic content of digressions, in two ways. First, he refers to the incidents mentioned in these passages only in secondary contexts,<sup>33</sup> though many are modeled on passages of the primary narrative of the Homeric poems. Second, in many instances Quintus qualifies references to divine action in these passages, further minimizing the episodes in question.

One sort of qualification is reference to some stories (the origin of Amber from the Heliads' tears for Phaethon, 5. 625-31; the connection of the cave with the Nymphs, 6. 471 -2; and Electra's departure from the Pleiades, 13. 551) as "hearsay" or "report" (φατίς; φασί).<sup>34</sup> φατίς does not occur in the *Iliad*, and occurs in the *Odyssey* only in

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are constantly foreshadowed, although de Jong, 88, points out that there are only two prolepses, regarding the return of Philoctetes to the army (B 724-5) and the destruction of the Greek earthworks (M 3-35), both events are narrated in the *Posthomerica*.

<sup>30</sup>For sources, see Vian, *Suite I*: 24, n. 3; 76, n. 1; 77, n. 1-3; 78, n. 1; 80, n. 2; *Suite II*: 43, n. 1; 86, n. 3; 148, n. 5; 149, n. 3; 160, n. 1; *Suite III*: 21, 206 n. 6; 23, n. 2, 3; 49, n. 1; 52, n. 3; 124, n. 1; 151, 231, n. 4, 164 and n. 2; (1959) 128-9, 131-4, 137-9; 141-2; P. Kakridis, 17). For Aphrodite and Anchises, Vian cites only B 819-21; the *Hymn to Aphrodite*, however, is the most famous treatment.

<sup>31</sup>In the case of Selene and Endymion and Aphrodite and Anchises, the impropriety is obvious. Eustathius (353 ad B 819-21) is at pains to demonstrate that the Iliadic reference to Aeneas' divine parentage is not unseemly. Eustathius (157) links Hephaestus' association with specific places to the stories of his being thrown from heaven (A 586-9; O 18-24); these troubled the ancients, and Zenodotus, probably because of its impropriety, omits one (Did/A ad O 18-31; Kirk I: 94; IV: 231; Brasewell, 22); Zenodotus and Aristophanes also allegorize the doublet of this story, in which Sleep is hurled from heaven (AT ad Z 259). The extensive remarks of the Scholiasts on the Iliadic reference to Niobe (Ω 614-7), however, are concerned with whether Achilles is a suitable character to mention the incident.

<sup>32</sup>Only Quintus mentions the petrification of Hecuba, other sources (listed by Vian, *Suite III* 164 and n. 2) recount only her metamorphosis into a dog.

<sup>33</sup>Only Selene and Endymion is mentioned elsewhere in the *Posthomerica* (10 454-7).

<sup>34</sup>Use of φατίς or φασί is common in character speech in the *Posthomerica*. The narrator uses the former also at 3. 535, where ambrosia is "said by men" to be a preservative and the latter at 9. 385, where the bite of the water snake is said to be incurable.

character speech. Homer so characterizes (φασί, B 783) only the digression on the so-called couch of Typhoeus.<sup>35</sup> It is commoner in Apollonius, who so characterizes the same story (2. 1211) and the descent of Augeias from the Sun (1. 172).<sup>36</sup> Another example occurs in the digression on Drepane (4. 984-6):

ἢ ὑπο δὴ κεῖθαι δρέπανον φάτις--ἴλατε Μοῦσαι,  
οὐκ ἐθέλων ἐνέπω προτέρων ἔπος--ὧ ἀπὸ πατρὸς  
μήδεα νηλειῶς ἔταμεν Κρόνος . . .

Under [the island] is said to be buried the sickle -- pardon, Muses, I do not gladly repeat the old story -- with which Cronus ruthlessly cut off his father's genitals.

Here, the parenthetical authorial request for pardon, coupled with φάτις, clearly suggests that Apollonius is devaluing the traditional story he mentions.

Apollonius' usage also provides a parallel for Quintus' use of the particle πού to qualify his references to the Corycian volcano and the destruction of the Greek earthworks which are only "somehow" the work of the gods (11. 97-8; 14. 654-5). Similar use of the particle in digressive contexts is common in the *Argonautica*: The six-armed giants who live in the land of the Doliones, were bred, perhaps, by Hera, as a torment for Heracles (δὴ γὰρ πού . . . θεὰ τρέφεν . . . , 1. 996); πού also occurs in reference to the customary behavior of the Nymphs in whose pool Hyllus drowns (1. 1222), and of the serpent Ladon's guardianship of the apples of the Hesperides (4. 1397).<sup>37</sup>

<sup>35</sup>On Homer's use of φασί, see de Jong, 237-8; on similar qualification in Hellenistic and Roman poetry, Heinze, 198.

<sup>36</sup>The words have a different sense at 2. 977 and 3. 845, where they simply denote the names of the Amazonian mountains and Medea's "Promethean" salve

<sup>37</sup>Apollonius also uses πού to qualify the content of prophecies (1. 444, 1037, 3. 926); the comparison of Jason to Ares and Apollo (3. 1283); divine action in a simile (3. 1399); and events in the primary narrative: Rhea's observation of and response to ritual (1. 1140) and the necessity of purification for the killing of Apsyrtus (4. 557). Feeney, 65, regards the use of the particle as "destabilizing."

Description of the monuments of divine action as "marvelous"<sup>38</sup> justifies their explanation by divine action. The stone figure of Niobe on Mt. Sipylus is "a great wonder to mortals;" so too are the cave of the Nymphs and the volcano, and so will be the petrified Hecuba. For this, also, there is Homeric precedent; the second entrance to the cave of the Nymphs on Ithaca is similarly described (v 108).<sup>39</sup>

Finally, in some instances, Quintus ascribes divine action to an unspecified deity (θεός, 14. 351, the petrification of Hecuba) or to the gods collectively (θεοί: 1. 294, the petrification of Niobe; 2. 558, the formation of the Paphlagonian river from Memnon's blood),<sup>40</sup> just as a mortal character would, eschewing omniscience, and so devaluing reference to the matter in question.<sup>41</sup>

### Similes Involving the Gods

The similes<sup>42</sup> of the *Posthomeric* are one of the few features of the poem which have attracted the attention of scholars, and virtually its only feature which has won their approval.<sup>43</sup> These contribute substantially to the establishment of the mythological

<sup>38</sup> (μέγα) θαῦμα . . . βροτοῖσιν, 1. 299, 6. 482, 11. 93-4, 14. 351.

<sup>39</sup>Other references in Homer and Apollonius to θαύματα occur in quasi-digressive passages (de Jong, 49): The description of Hera's chariot (E 725), and of the aforementioned six-armed giants (Irg 1 943)

<sup>40</sup>On the indefinite sense of θεοί, see François, 23-35

<sup>41</sup>Griffin (1976) 40, notes that Homer puts into character speech references to incident for whose truth he will not vouch, a point noted in antiquity (Aristotle fr. 163 R = T ad T 108, cf. T ad Y 234)

<sup>42</sup>Metonymic usages of the gods' names and references to the winds are not here counted as instances of divine action. Several similes in which Quintus refers to the divine occur in sequences of similes describing the same thing or something closely related (1. 37-8, 63-9, 76-9, 677-80; 2. 345-50, 379-386, 5 484-5, 641-3; 8. 69-73; 11. 377-8); they do not differ from isolated similes in any way significant to the matter at hand.

<sup>43</sup>The similes are studied by Niemeyer and Vian (1954). The present discussion makes use of these studies' identifications of Quintus' models, but does not follow their organization. Some comment is also provided by and Paschal, 38-40, and James. Rebelo Gonçalves' study of animal imagery is indicative of the relatively great interest in Quintus' similes, but irrelevant to the representation of the divine. Bates (15) regards Quintus' similes as "uniformly good," but see 14. 263-71, where Polyxena is compared to an olive-press.

background of the *Posthomerica*. Although a few characteristic features of Quintus' representation of the divine, such as the tendency to attribute action to unspecified deities, are to be observed in similes, in general they, like other secondary references to the divine, accord closely with the traditional portrayal of the gods. The similes of the *Posthomerica* refer quite often to unseemly divine actions, describe the gods and their accouterments in detail, and refer to roles of the gods about which the primary narrative is silent<sup>44</sup> For this reason, the relative frequency of similes in the poem is noteworthy.<sup>45</sup> The great majority of Quintus' similes depend closely upon demonstrable, usually Homeric, models, and his departures from these models are of interest. Quintus frequently refers to the divine when the passage he imitates does not,<sup>46</sup> and increases the level of detail in descriptions of deities.

Several of the similes in which Quintus refers to the divine require little comment. The likening of Penthesileia to Dawn, outshining her companions as the goddess does her attendants, the Horae (l. 47-51), and the comparison of the dead Amazon to the sleeping Artemis (l. 663-5), follow demonstrable Homeric models.<sup>47</sup> In the *Iliad*, comparison of

<sup>44</sup>Commenting on similes comparing mortals to gods in the *Argonautica* of Apollonius, Carspecken, 105, remarks that "Jason can acquire only the reflection of the qualities which [Apollonius' gods] themselves display: impersonality, calmness, courtliness, and an air of abstraction." As will be seen, the gods of the *Posthomerica* display similar qualities, but Quintus' portrayal of the gods in similes accords closely with traditional mythology.

<sup>45</sup>In comparison to Homer and Apollonius, Quintus' use of similes is very frequent. Niemayer (1884) 18, calculates that a simile occurs once in every forty lines of the *Posthomerica*, as opposed to once in every seventy-seven lines of the *Iliad*, although the frequency of occurrence varies greatly from book to book. Comparison of mortals to gods, both in developed similes and in brief comparisons, is somewhat more common in the *Posthomerica* than in the Homeric poems, and much more common than in Apollonius (Carspecken, 75-80). Quintus' similes are also somewhat more frequent than Nonnus', who, however, employs a greater number of mythological similes than does Quintus or any other extant writer of Greek epic (James, 77-8).

<sup>46</sup>James, 78, notes Quintus' avoidance of verbatim borrowings or overly close thematic correspondence with his models.

<sup>47</sup>Niemayer (1883) 16; Vian, *Suite I*: 14, n. 3. The first comparison is formally very similar to ζ 102-9, where Nausicaa's beauty outshines that of her companions as Artemis' does that of the wood-nymphs, for



warriors or their armor to Zeus' lightning (e. g.: the simile describing Idomeneus at N 242-4) regularly precede the entrance of heroes into battle, and foreshadow their victories.<sup>48</sup> Such comparisons in the *Posthomeric* do not have this function. Neoptolemus (8. 222-5) is victorious and Aeneas (6. 197; 11. 411) is inspired, but Penthesileia (1. 152-6; 658) is killed and Ares (1. 677) aborts his descent to avenge her.<sup>49</sup> The images of a river in spate after rain and of falling snow (both sent by Zeus), frequent in Homer,<sup>50</sup> are used, with little alteration, by Quintus to describe, respectively, the collision of the battle lines (2. 221-2) and Memnon's aristeia (2. 345-6), and men falling in battle (10. 248-50). A simile likening the Trojans huddled about Eurypylos in fear of Neoptolemus to children clinging to their father in a thunderstorm caused by Zeus has no extant parallel.<sup>51</sup> It is to be noted, however, that only in similes does Quintus name Zeus as the cause of non-portentous storms.

The simile at 8. 69-73 likens the collision of the battle-lines to a storm which arises ". . . when Zeus is greatly angry with men because they do things contrary to Themis (. . . Διὸς μέγα χλωμένοιο/ἀνδράσιν, οἳ τ' ἐρίτιμον ὑπὲρ Θέμιιν ἔργα κάμονται. 8. 72-3). The lines are modeled on Homer's comparison of the progress of Hector's team to a flood resulting from a storm (Π 386-8):<sup>52</sup>

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the second, Niemayer cites as parallels ρ 37 and τ 54, brief comparisons of Penelope to Artemis or Aphrodite.

<sup>48</sup>Kirk IV: 77 *ad* N 242-5; Van der Valk (1963-4) II: 408; Bassett (1930) 133; and Vernant, 37

<sup>49</sup>For parallels for these passages, see Niemayer (1883) 12, 17; Vian, *Suite* I: 18, 161, n. 5; 38, n. 3; 37, 163, n. 6; *Suite* III: 65, n.5; 172-3.

<sup>50</sup>Parallels listed by Niemayer (1883) 13, 17, and Vian, *Suite* III: 26, 207, n. 5 and (1959) 36. Homer uses the first to describe the charges of Diomedes (E 87-91), Ajax (Λ 492-3), and Hector (P 263-6), and the progress of Hector's team (Π 389-92), and the second of troops rallying (T 357-8), and missiles (M 278-80). For 10. 248-50, Vian also lists as a parallel O 170-1; snow is mentioned there, but the point of the simile is different, and Zeus is not involved, nor is he at K 5-8.

<sup>51</sup>Niemayer (1884) 11; Paschal, 39.

<sup>52</sup>Niemayer (1883) 13; Vian *Suite* II: 147, n. 2.

Ζεύς, ὅτε δὴ ῥ' ἄνδρεςσι κοτεσσάμενος χαλεπήνη,  
οἱ βίη εἰν ἀγορῇ σκολιάς κρίνωσι θέμιστας,  
ἐκ δὲ δίκην ἐλάσωσι, θεῶν ὅπιν οὐκ ἀλέγοντες·

... [in which] Zeus pours down lashing rain, when he is  
angry at men who by violence give bad judgments in the assembly  
and drive out justice, not heeding the gods.

This passage illustrates Quintus' technique of varying his model. μέγα  
χωομένοιο/ ἀνδράσιν echoes Homers' ἄνδρεςσι κοτεσσάμενος χαλεπήνη, and  
ὑπὲρ Θέμιν echoes σκολιάς κρίνωσι θέμιστας (adding perhaps the personification of  
Themis). This imitation of Homer is particularly relevant to the present study, as the Iliadic  
passage is interpreted as approaching "open justification of Troy's fall by linking the  
Trojans with wrong-doing," and cited as a "glimpse [of] an underlying conviction that [the  
gods] are on the side of right and justice" despite the fact that "the *Iliad's* tragic vision  
emphasizes the amoral gods of myth." Quintus, this dissertation argues, de-emphasizes the  
traditional portrayal of "the amoral gods of myth," but does not do so simply by  
maintaining that "the gods are on the side of right and justice;"<sup>53</sup> 8. 69-73 is noteworthy as  
one of Quintus' rare explicit statements to this effect.

Of great interest also are the similes which depart from an identifiable Homeric  
model. This departure often consists in the addition of a reference to the divine.<sup>54</sup> At 2.  
194-5 the Trojans coming out of the gates are likened to a thunderhead, as is the progress  
of the Greek *testudo* across the plain at 11. 377-8. In each case, the clouds are driven  
across the sky by Zeus, who is mentioned in none of the passages identified as models for  
this image.<sup>55</sup> Quintus employs the image of a rock-fall to describe Ares' rush to avenge

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<sup>53</sup>Quotations from Kirk IV. 365.

<sup>54</sup>This occurs also with metonymic usages of the gods' names. James, 82-3, cites an illustrative example  
Quintus (7. 569-78) adapts a simile of Oppian (*Hal.* 4. 604-6), using the phrase μένος Ἡφαιστοῖο (7  
570) in place of Oppian's φλόξ (4. 604) to denote the light of a fish-lantern.

<sup>55</sup>Niemayer (1883) 15; Vian (1954) 34 and *Suite* I: 63, n. 3, cite as models Δ 275-9, Ζ 513, Ο 170-1, Τ  
362, Χ 135, κ 191, λ 13, and Apollonius, *Arg.* 3. 1229.

Penthesileia (1. 696-701), Memnon's charge (2. 379-86), and the effect of the stones which Aeneas hurls from the walls of Troy (11. 401-4). These similes adapt N 137-42.<sup>56</sup> describing Hector's charge to the ships. In the Homeric passage, the rock is dislodged by a rain swollen river (ποταμὸς χειμάρροος ὥση/ρήξας ἀσπέτω ὄμβρω, N 138-9), with no mention of Zeus. In all three of Quintus' adaptations of the Homeric simile the boulder is dislodged by rain sent by Zeus or by his thunderbolt.<sup>57</sup> Dependence on Homer is less close at 1. 63-9, which compares the Trojans' joy at the sight of Penthesileia to that of farmers who see a rainbow from afar (1. 64) in time of drought, when the parched fields long for heaven sent rain (ὄμβρου . . . θεουδέος, 1. 65), water from Zeus (Διὸς ὕδωρ, 1. 66).<sup>58</sup> Observation of the approaching storm is drawn from Δ 275-9, but Zeus is not mentioned there.<sup>59</sup> Deiphobus' likening of the military situation to good weather sent by Zeus after a thunderstorm (9. 106-7) employs the same theme.

Reference to the divine is also added to the description of Penthesileia, who surpasses the other Amazons as the Moon does the stars (1. 37-8). This fairly closely parallels Θ 555-6, where the campfires in the plain shine like stars around the moon, but Quintus personifies the Moon by the addition of an epithet (δῖα Σελήνη, 1. 37-8).<sup>60</sup>

Quintus adds considerable detail<sup>61</sup> to Homeric similes which compare warriors to Ares. Ajax is so described at Η 208-9 (σεύατ' ἔπειθ' οἶος τε πελώριος ἔρχεται

<sup>56</sup>This and other parallels (numerous in the case of 1. 696-701) are cited by Niemayer (1883) 16, and Vian (1954) 38-9, who in this instance notes that Quintus adds the involvement of Zeus

<sup>57</sup> ἀπορρήκη Διὸς ὄμβρος/ὄμβρος ἄρ' ἠδὲ κεραυνός . . . 1. 697-8; . . . ὑπόθεν ἀκάματος Ζεὺς/ὥση ἀπὸ κρημνοῖο βαλὼν στονόεντι κεραυνῶ, 2. 380-1. Ὀλύμπιος οὐρανόθι Ζεὺς ῥήξῃ ὑπὸ βροντῆσι καὶ αἰθαλόεντι κεραυνῶ, 11. 401, 403.

<sup>58</sup>A rainbow is usually a bad omen in Homer, but here the storm is not portentous

<sup>59</sup>For parallels, see Niemayer (1883) 12, and Vian *Suite I*: 15, n. 1. Rainbows are sent by Zeus at P 547-50, and Λ 27-8, but these are true portents

<sup>60</sup>Vian, *Suite I*: 14, and n. 1; see also Vian and Battegay, sv. Σελήνη. The other parallels cited by Vian pertain to the clearing sky (1. 38-40).



The trembling here is not of onlookers, but of the very earth, as in the Theomachy (Υ 57-60). The clashing of armor is formulaic in Homeric narration the deaths of warriors, but also occurs at T 12-3, when Thetis sets down Achilles' armor. Flashing armor is also common in descriptions of mortals (Δ 432; Ζ 513; Π 199; Σ 510, 616; Τ 398). Quintus, then, combines material from various sources, rendering his description of Ares far more detailed than in any one of his models. This level of description of the gods far exceeds that in the primary narrative of the *Posthomeric*. In Homer, the opposite is the case; his descriptions of gods in similes are brief and pale in comparison to those in the primary narrative.

Quintus refers to several unseemly matters only in similes. The much-criticized<sup>63</sup> episode of the taking in adultery of Aphrodite and Ares is mentioned only once, at 14. 47-53, where Helen's embarrassment, as she goes through the Greek camp, is compared to that of Aphrodite. At 3. 420-1 the dead Achilles lies "like Ares on the Trojan plain, when the dread goddess with the mighty father struck him with a heavy stone" (οἷος Ἄρηος, ὅτε μιν δεινὴ θεὸς ὄβριμοπάτρη/ Τρώων ἐν πεδίῳ πολυαχθεὶ κάββαλε πέτρῃ), i.e., when he was felled by Athena in the Theomachy of the *Iliad* (Φ 403-8). As will be seen, the *Posthomeric's* Theomachy avoids numerous details of its Homeric model, which like this incident, are unseemly. But here, in the secondary context of the simile, Quintus makes the allusion without comment.<sup>64</sup>

Unseemly divine behavior also figures in several similes which refer to Titanomachy or Gigantomachy. Comparison of mortals to Titans or Giants (a type of comparison not found in Homer) highlights the arrogance or hubris of the mortals so

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<sup>63</sup>Schol ad θ 326. Plato, *Rep* 3. 389a, 390c. Servius ad *Georg* 4 345-7

<sup>64</sup>Quintus also alludes to Athena's smiting of Ares at 11. 288-97, making it clear that the incident is unseemly

described.<sup>65</sup> The impiety of Locrian Ajax, killed when Poseidon crushes him with a rock, and compared to Enceladus, crushed by Zeus (14. 582-5) is obvious.<sup>66</sup> Quintus' emphasis on the hubristic behavior of Achilles contributes to his portrayal of the gods. With Ajax, Achilles is compared to the sons of Aloeus (the Giants Otus and Ephialtes; 1. 515-9), and dead, he is likened to Tityus (likewise slain by Apollo, 3. 392-8).<sup>67</sup>

Other similes which refer to Titanomachy and Gigantomachy compare mortals to the Olympians.<sup>68</sup> Penthesileia, marching into battle, is "like Tritonis, when she attacked the Giants" (. . . οἴη Τριτωνίς, ὅτ' ἤλυθεν ἅντα Γιγάντων, 1. 179). At 11. 415-9, Aeneas throws rocks onto the Greek *testudo* from the ramparts of the city:

Μάρνατο δ' ὡς ὀπότης Ὀλύμπιος οὐρανόθι Ζεὺς      415  
 ἀσχαλώων ἐδάϊζεν ὑπέρβια φῦλα Γιγάντων  
 σμερδαλέων, καὶ γαῖαν ἀπειρεσίην ἐτίνασσε  
 Τηθύν τ' Ὠκεανόν τε καὶ οὐρανόθι, ἀμφὶ δὲ πάντῃ  
 γυῖ' ἐλελίζετ' Ἀταλάντος ὑπ' ἀκαμάτου Διὸς ὀρμῆς.

He fought as did Olympian Zeus himself from heaven, when in anger he destroyed the overweening tribe of terrible Giants, and shook the immense earth, and Tethys and Ocean and heaven, and the knees of Atlas trembled under the onslaught of tireless Zeus.

These lines are Quintus' most explicit reference to the celestial combats which established Zeus' dominion. It is noteworthy that there is no extant parallel for the use of the image of

<sup>65</sup>Gigantomachic references are similarly used by Lucan (Feeney, 297), and (in so far as the story of Hercules and Caecus (*Aen.* 8. 190-267) and the related equation between Hercules and Aeneas exhibit Gigantomachic themes) by Virgil (Feeney, 159-60, and sources there cited). cf. Fränkel, 146, on Apollonius' comparison of Amycus to Typhoeus.

<sup>66</sup>The same comparison, with emphasis on burning, rather than crushing is applied to Telamonian Ajax on his pyre, at 5. 641-3; in his case, and also at 1. 515-9, the comparison may indicate strength, rather than excessive behavior: Ajax on his pyre is also compared to Heracles on his (5. 484-5). Quintus does, however, seem to emphasize Ajax' anger (see 5. 181-236, 291-305, 322-9) much as he does Achilles'

<sup>67</sup>King, 133-8 argues forcefully that these comparisons emphasize Achilles' hubris. Note that her reading of Achilles' character differs from other commentators on the *Posthomerica* (notably Mansur, 38), who tend to regard Quintus' heroes as idealized paragons of virtue.

<sup>68</sup>Vian (1954) 337-8 notes the distinction between the two types of Titanomachic/Gigantomachic simile

Zeus fighting to describe mortals; the Titanomachic and Gigantomachic passages in other authors whose phrasing the simile closely echoes<sup>69</sup> occur in primary narrative. Quintus' refers to these divine combats only in secondary contexts.

Two of the similes in the *Posthomerica* refer to the action of unspecified divine entities. At 7. 637-9, Phoenix greets Neoptolemus like a son returned after a long absence, as Eumaeus similarly welcomes Telemachus at π 17-9.<sup>70</sup> Quintus, however, adds the detail that the son returns "by the will of the gods" (θεῶν ἰότητι, 7. 638). Similar is 1. 76-83, where Priam's joy at the arrival of Penthesileia is compared to that of a man cured of blindness "by the work of an excellent physician or a god" (ἢ πόνω ἱητῆρος ἀμύμονος ἢ θεοῖο, 1. 78).<sup>71</sup> Both passages can be regarded as instances of "focalization:" the similes express not the point of view of the omniscient narrator, but of the ordinary mortals involved in the comparison. The alternate attribution of the healing in 1. 78 to a physician, however, is perhaps an example of Quintus' technique of evoking a specific model in order to comment on it in some fashion. The allusion here consists in the use of the phrase ἱητῆρος ἀμύμονος, the regular Homeric epithet of Asclepius. Homer does not refer to the divinity of the blameless physician, but the attainment of immortality, by Asclepius and others, is an important and recurring theme in the *Posthomerica*, and may be subtly reinforced here.

Also noteworthy is the fact that Quintus does not describe the gods in human terms, as Homer does by implication when he compares the gods watching the pursuit of Hector to spectators at a sporting competition (X 157-66) or as Virgil does in the simile

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<sup>69</sup>For parallels, see Niemayer (1884) 17 and Vian *Suite* III: 65, n. 5 and 172-3; the nearest model is Hesiod, *Theog.* 678-83, 695. The phrase ὑπέρβια φῦλα Γιγάντων appears at η 206, in much different context.

<sup>70</sup> Vian *Suite* II: 130, 215, n. 5.

<sup>71</sup> Vian (1954) 49, following Köchly, xliv-xlv, and Paschal, 38-9, regards the comparison as original to Quintus.

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comparing Neptune to a magistrate (*Aen.* 1. 148-52). Such comparisons may be construed as belittling the divine.<sup>72</sup>

### Other Comparisons Involving Divine Entities

Brief comparisons involving divine entities are also frequent in the *Posthomeric*, and merit more detailed discussion than they have received previously.<sup>73</sup> One such type of comparison, that of mortals to Titans or Giants, like the developed similes on the same theme, emphasizes the excessive behavior of the mortals so described.<sup>74</sup> These require no further comment, save to note that they have no Homeric precedent.<sup>75</sup>

Brief comparisons to unnamed deities or to the gods collectively, which emphasize the beauty or other excellence of the mortal in question, occur in Homer.<sup>76</sup> Quintus makes more frequent use of such comparisons, especially to unspecified deities, and varies Homeric phrasing.<sup>77</sup> Niemayer cites the Homeric δαίμονι ἴσος as a parallel for such

<sup>72</sup>Coleman, 162. X 157-66 is also a famous instance of the portrayal of the gods as heartless (Griffin (1978) esp. 7, 15).

<sup>73</sup>Köchly, 42, terms these [*breves*] *comparationes*; Niemayer (1884) 18, "kleinen Gleichnisse." Niemayer's list of these and their parallels is neither complete nor accurate. Discussion here, however, is limited to the types of comparison he mentions. Although comparison of mortals to gods may be implied by epithets such as ἀντιθεός, θεοεικελός, ἰσοθεός, and δῖος, these terms are not included in the present discussion: Quintus' use of them does not differ greatly from Homer's, although he avoids formulaic usages.

<sup>74</sup>Achilles, 2. 205, 3. 725; Achilles and Memnon, 2. 517-8; Telamonian Ajax in his madness, 5. 404; Lesser Ajax, 14. 550.

<sup>75</sup>Comparison of the Laestragonians to Giants (κ 120), cited by Niemayer (1884) 18, is not close

<sup>76</sup>Examples are cited by Niemayer (1884) 18: θεοῖς or ἀθανάτοισιν ἐπιείκελος are common, applied to Theseus (A 264), Acamas (Λ 60) and Maeon (Δ 394), and regularly to Achilles. Also Nestor's serving girl is described as εἰκῆα θεῆσιν (Λ 638). T 282 (Briseis compared to Aphrodite) and ρ 37, τ 54, (Penelope compared to Artemis or Aphrodite) parallel 6. 152. Comparison to the Charites is found at P 51, but the point is far different.

<sup>77</sup>Beauty: Penthesilea (1. 19, 56, 61, \*190, \*363-6, 662, 673-4; \*2. 19-21), Helen (14. 61-2), Hippolyta, depicted on Eurypylus' shield (6. 241-2), Eurypylus (6. 296), Nireus (6. 372); Priam (2. 131-2; 4. 430; \*6. 309); Strength or other prowess: Achilles and Memnon (2. 459-60), Eurypylus (\*6. 303), Achilles (\*7. 652), probably also Telamonian Ajax (3. 217), Diomedes and Telamonian Ajax (4. 219), and Podalireius (9. 463); appearance and prowess contrasted, Nireus (7. 7-8). All these are to unnamed deities or the gods

comparisons. The force of the phrase may permit it to be equated with Quintus' comparisons to the gods which suggest strength; it is, however, closer to comparisons which specifically emphasize ferocity.<sup>78</sup>

The majority of these comparisons are to Ares, and for them there is ample Homeric precedent.<sup>79</sup> Quintus once varies this theme, at 8. 258, where Helenus rallies the Trojans to face Neoptolemus, telling them that "his strength is not equal to Ares" (οὐδέ οἱ ἴσον Ἔρηι πέλει σθένος). Ruthless effectiveness of warriors is also conveyed by comparison to Ker or Aisa;<sup>80</sup> that is, to death itself.<sup>81</sup> Many editors are uncomfortable with these comparisons, emending κηρί to the easier θηρί, on the basis that the point of the comparison is not easily enough apparent.<sup>82</sup> There are, however, near parallels for such comparisons in Homer.<sup>83</sup> At Γ 454, the Trojans are said to hate Paris "like black Ker" (κηρί μελαίνῃ), and at ρ 500, Penelope uses the same phrase of Antinous. Note that both in these comparisons and in those of warriors to Ares, Quintus tends to vary Homeric

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collectively. Helen is also compared to the Charites (6. 152). Here and throughout this section, an asterisk (\*) preceding the citation indicates a comparison made in the speech of a mortal character.

<sup>78</sup>Niemayer (1884) 18; cf. Nagy, 293-4.

<sup>79</sup> Ἀρήϊος (Memnon, 2. 212); ἴσος Ἔρηι, (Achilles and Ajax, 1. 512-3; Eurypylos, 6. 294; Philoctetes, 10. 170); ἀτάλαντος . . . θυμὸν Ἔρηι, (Eurypylos, 7. 98). For parallels, see Niemayer (1884) 18. The theme is common; Griffin (1980) 35, regards the phrase ἐπιμίξῃ δέ τε μαινετ' Ἔρες ("Ares rages indiscriminately," Λ 537), as proverbial.

<sup>80</sup> κηρί βίην εἰκυῖα (Penthesileia, 1. 336); ἀνηλεῖ κηρί ἑοικώς (Eurymenes, 10. 101); κακῆ ἐναλιγκίος Αἴση (Memnon, 2. 236; Ajax, 3. 331).

<sup>81</sup>Köchly, 42, ad l. 336: *Kere . . . nihil est nisi violentae mortis notio in deae mortiferae personam translata*

<sup>82</sup>Köchly, 42, ad l. 336: *Eiusmodi comparationes petuntur ex rebus, quae sensibus subjectae vere cernuntur, aut ex fictis personis, quae fabularum constantia et nobilitate certam formam, qua praediti cogitentur, acceperunt.* The MSS readings are defended by Vian (1954) 235-6, who notes the common conflation of Ker and Aisa in the *Posthomeric*, on which see ch. 2, pp. 79-83.

<sup>83</sup>The parallels cited by Niemayer (1884) 18, are not close.

phrasing and makes explicit the point of the comparison through the use of an unambiguous adjective (2. 236; 3. 331) or accusative of respect (1. 336; 7. 98).

Several characters in the *Posthomerica* are said to be honored or regarded as gods.<sup>84</sup> When made by mortal characters such statements do not in general differ from their Homeric models.<sup>85</sup> Those which occur in the primary narrative are much different, and reinforce Quintus' departures from his Homeric and other traditional models. Three of the characters to whom Quintus applies such descriptions (Machaon, Neoptolemus, and Achilles) are said in the *Posthomerica* to attain immortality; at 14. 246, the statement that Greeks pray to Achilles as a god (ὡς θεῶν εὐχεταιὼντο) is literally true. The fourth is Calchas, who "like a god, sees all" (θεὸς δ' ὡς ἦδεε πάντα, 9. 332), for which reason, presumably, the Greeks "obey him, and regard him as a god (τοὶ δ' ἐπίθοντο καὶ ὡς θεὸν εισοράσκον, 13. 350). In contrast to Homer, Quintus likens the mental abilities of no other mortal to those of gods. Such description reinforces the importance attached to the prophecies of Calchas in the *Posthomerica*.<sup>86</sup>

Two brief comparisons to divine entities do not describe mortal characters. While there is no Homeric parallel for such comparisons, they are typical of Quintus. The likening of Eris and Enyo to the Erinyes (11. 9), is an instance of the frequent conflation of these entities in the *Posthomerica*.<sup>87</sup> At 4. 513, the speed of teams in the chariot race is

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<sup>84</sup>Machaon, 7. 14-5; Neoptolemus, 7. 686-7; Achilles, \*7. 206, 14. 246; Calchas, 9. 332, 13. 350-1, Hector, \*1. 108; Tecmessa, \*5. 563; Ajax, \*5. 555.

<sup>85</sup>Niemayer (1884) 18. Niemayer also cites Λ 638 (see n. 89), but the point of this comparison seems to be appearance, and the phrasing differs. As a parallel for Odysseus' statement (\*7. 206) that the Greeks honored Achilles like Zeus (τὸν ἴσον Διὶ τῶν Ἀχαιοί), Niemayer cites Λ 200, where Iris addresses Hector as "equal to Zeus in counsel" (Διὶ μῆτιν ἀτάλαντε). The point of the comparison, however, is quite different. It is likely that the comparison to Zeus is put into Odysseus' mouth in order to evoke Homer, who formulaically employs the same phrase as at Λ 200 to describe Odysseus (B 407. 636. K 137).

<sup>86</sup>On the importance of Calchas, see ch. 6, pp. 338-9.

<sup>87</sup>On the conflation of the Erinyes, Eris and Enyo, see ch. 2, p. 78.

likened to that of Harpies. This comparison is likely related to the regular appearance of the Harpies in equine genealogies.

### The Divine Ancestry of Mortal Characters

Reference to genealogical connections between mortal characters and the gods is a regular feature of epic. As might be expected, imputations of divine ancestry in the *Posthomerica* overlap to a considerable degree with those in the Homeric poems.<sup>88</sup>

Discussion here is limited to differences between Homer's and Quintus' references to the divine ancestry which affect the portrayal of the gods in the *Posthomerica*.

In some instances, it is obvious why characters said to be of divine ancestry in the *Iliad* are not so identified in the *Posthomerica*, or vice versa. Ascalaphus and Tlepolemus are killed in the *Iliad*,<sup>89</sup> and Homer has no cause to mention several who figure in the *Posthomerica*.<sup>90</sup> Some divinely-descended Homeric characters, however, survive the *Iliad* but do not figure in the *Posthomerica*,<sup>91</sup> and some are mentioned by Quintus but not said

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<sup>88</sup>The divine parentage of Aeneas, Achilles, and Heracles\*\*, Achilles' descent from Zeus, and Asteropaeus' from the River Axius, are stated in the *Posthomerica* and *Iliad*. Helen's divine birth is stated in the *Posthomerica* and *Odyssey*; that of the Dioscuri\*\* (13. 520) is stated in the *Posthomerica* and perhaps implied in the *Odyssey*. Neoptolemus, mentioned once in the *Iliad* (T 327), obviously shares the genealogy of Achilles, as Quintus frequently states. Dardanus' descent from Zeus is explicitly stated at Y 215, 304 and may be deduced in the *Posthomerica*, as may be the divine descent of the Trojan royal house in both poems. Quintus mentions sons of Zeus slain in the course of the war (1. 711-2; 3. 635-6), Homer the various υιέες ἀθανάτων fighting at Troy (Π 448). Here and throughout this section a double asterisk (\*\*) indicates an individual mentioned, but not participating as a character. A single asterisk (\*) indicates a reference in character speech.

<sup>89</sup>Ascalaphus, son of Ares, B 512; I 82; N 519. Tlepolemus, son of Heracles, B 658.

<sup>90</sup>Penthesileia, Memnon, and Eurypylus (not to be confused with the Thessalian Eurypylus and the Coan mentioned in the *Iliad*) arrive at Troy after the dramatic time span of the *Iliad*; the involvement of Nauplius in the story (for sources and parallels, see Vian, *Suite II*, 26, n. 2 and *III*: 174, n. 3, 4) also falls outside the *Iliad's* dramatic time span. Mention of Orpheus\*\* is connected with the appearance of Calliope as a character in the *Posthomerica*.

<sup>91</sup>Eudorus, son of Hermes (Π 173-8); Antiphus (not to be confused with the Mycenaean Antiphus slain by Eurypylus (6. 616) or the Ithacan consumed by the Cyclops (8. 115-23)) and Pheidippus, grandsons of Heracles (B 678); Deucalion\*\* (N 450), Perithous\*\* (Σ 318), Erectheus\*\* (B 547-8).

to be of divine ancestry.<sup>92</sup> Quintus also mentions divine ancestry in some cases where Homer does not.<sup>93</sup> Disparities between Homer's and Quintus' references to the divine ancestry of mortals exhibit a clear pattern: The Iliadic characters to whom Quintus does not attribute divine ancestry are, without exception, minor figures. Conversely, those to whom Quintus does, and Homer does not, attribute such ancestry are in the main important characters. Quintus' attribution of divine ancestry to them is likely a form of αὔξεισις, a means of "praising" the mortals in question. The departure from Homer is particularly noteworthy in the case of Odysseus. Not only is he an important character in both poems, but Quintus' attribution of divine ancestry to him contrasts with his usual mythological role as the archetypal mortal.

Homer clearly links divine ancestry to divine concern for and assistance to mortals.<sup>94</sup> This connection is far less clear in the *Posthomerica*. While Quintus' characters expect divine assistance on the basis of their descent from the gods, they rarely receive it. This may, however, be simply a function of the paucity of divine action in the *Posthomerica*; also when characters in the poem refer to the uselessness of divine ancestry, such statements are suitable to those who utter them.<sup>95</sup> Quintus does, however,

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<sup>92</sup>Almenus, the brother of Ascalaphus, hence son of Ares (B 512; I 82; 12. 322), Menestheus, son of Spercheus (Π 173-8; 12. 317), Polypoetes, grandson of Zeus (B 741; I. 291; 4. 503; 12. 318), Idomeneus, son of Deucalion, hence identifiable as grandson of Zeus (N 450), Perseus\*\* (Ξ 320, 10. 195), Eurystheus\*\* (T 116, 6. 222).

<sup>93</sup>Machaon and Podalireius, sons of Asclepius (6. 422-3; 7. 60, 90, 9. 464-5), Odysseus (claims descent from Zeus, 5. 290\*), Ajax (claim of kinship with Achilles, hence descent from Zeus, I. 502-3,\* 5. 235,\* an un-Homeric, but attested genealogy, Vian, *Suite I*: 31, n. 3, 42, n. 1)

<sup>94</sup>This is most clearly stated at Ω 56-63, 65-70, in the conversation of Hera and Apollo regarding Hector and Achilles. cf. Agamemnon's comment that Hector accomplishes great things, although not the son of a god or goddess (K 50). For discussion of the notion, see Adkins (1972) 13.

<sup>95</sup>Deidameia laments that Achilles died, though his mother was a goddess (7. 274) and Eurypylus vaunts to Machaon that Asclepius can not save him, even if he descend from Olympus to treat him with nectar and ambrosia (6. 422-4). Oenone's comments about Helen (see n. 114) are also in character.

connect divine ancestry to the attainment of immortality, and stress the importance of descent from Zeus.

The attainment of immortality is a matter in which the *Posthomeric* differs greatly from the *Iliad*. Several of the characters to whom Quintus attributes divine ancestry (Memnon, Achilles, Neoptolemus, Machaon, Aeneas) are said to attain immortality. The divine ancestry of Machaon, Aeneas, and Achilles is explicitly stated as the reason for their immortality.<sup>96</sup> Both the use divine ancestry for αὔξεισις and its connection with immortality are likely influenced by historical reality, specifically the cults of Hellenistic rulers and of the Emperors. Although not a criterion of such honors, divine ancestry is

<sup>96</sup>Memnon "perhaps" rejoices in Elysium (2. 651-2), where Neoptolemus also is fated to be taken (3. 761). Machaon "has ascended to the race of the gods by the will of [his] father," i.e. Asclepius (θεῶν δ' ἐς φύλον οἴω/κείνον ἀνελθέμεναι σφτέρου πατρός ἐννεσίησιν, 7. 91-2\*); Aeneas will "dwell with the immortals, because he is the child of Aphrodite of the beautiful hair" (. . . μετέμμεναι ἀθανάτοισιν./οὔνεκα δὴ πάσις ἐστὶν εὐπλοκάμου Ἀφροδίτης, 13. 342\*); and

Ἄτρεκέως γενεῆ μεγάλου Διὸς ἦεν Ἀχιλλεύς·  
τῶ καὶ νῦν θεὸς ἐστὶ, καὶ εἰ πάρος ἔσκε μεθ' ἡμῖν·  
οὐ γὰρ ἀμαλδύνει μακάρων γένος ἀμβροτος Αἰὼν.

"Truly, Achilles was descended from great Zeus, and therefore is now a god, although he once was with us. For time does not destroy the ambrosial race of the blessed ones" (14. 254-6\*).

Note also that Quintus alludes to, although he does not duplicate, the Odyssean notion that Menelaus will dwell after death in Elysium "because he has Helen as a wife, and is the son-in-law of Zeus" (οὔνεκ' ἔχεις Ἑλένην καὶ σφιν γαμβρὸς Διὸς ἐσσι, 8. 569\*). The reader may be expected to recall this famous passage when Oenone sarcastically recalls the rumor that Helen is immortal (10. 312) and asks the dying Paris if "mighty Zeus has forgotten his son-in-law?" (πῆ δὲ πέλει γαμβροῖο λελασμένος ἀκάματος Ζεὺς, 10. 319), and Menelaus rejoices to have slain Deiphobus "even though [he] claim[ed] to be the son-in-law of loud-thundering Zeus" (καὶ εἰ Διὸς εὐχεαὶ εἶναι/γαμβρὸς ἐρισμαράγοιο, 13. 361-2). Whether because Quintus does not deem this connection close enough, or whether only Menelaus' marriage is to be considered legitimate, at both 10. 319 and 13. 361-2 the reference is clearly ironic. The tradition surrounding Helen's later marriages pertains to the importance of descent from Zeus: According to Isocrates (*Pan. Helen*, 41-5), Paris chooses Helen over the gifts offered by Athena and Hera because marriage to her will ensure that his children are descended from Zeus on both sides, the finest possible posterity (43). J. Kakridis' dismissal of this as a sophistic conceit without mythological or theological basis (50-1 and n. 62), does not belie the possibility of its influence on Quintus. cf. also Pausanias (2. 31. 2), who, commenting on the place where Dionysus brought Semele back from the Underworld, wonders how a wife of Zeus could die.

normally imputed to their recipients, especially in Hellenistic contexts.<sup>97</sup> The *Posthomerica* reflects the notion that important men boast divine genealogies and may be divinized after death.

The emphasis which Quintus attaches to descent from Zeus contributes to his representation of a divine hierarchy in which Zeus is supreme. Quintus sometimes briefly states the importance of descent from Zeus,<sup>98</sup> but most clearly expresses it through various departures from Homer. The first such departure is that no mortal character in the *Posthomerica* is a son of Zeus. Quintus mentions Sarpedon (4. 290), but not his parentage. The absence of such references elevates Zeus above the other Olympians whose mortal offspring are characters in the *Posthomerica*.<sup>99</sup> A related point is the absence from the *Posthomerica* of the epithets Διογενής ("descended from Zeus") and Διοτρεφής ("nurtured by Zeus"); Quintus instead employs θεηγενής, which is found only in the *Posthomerica* and Orphic *Argonautica*.<sup>100</sup> Διογενής does not occur in the *Posthomerica*,<sup>101</sup> and Quintus uses Διοτρεφής, a common epithet of Iliadic characters.<sup>102</sup>

<sup>97</sup>On the Hellenistic period and the high Empire, see Taylor, 58, 232-3; on a later period, Chausson Slatkin, 26, n. 10, believes that literary references as early as δ 563 reflect the "religious and social phenomenon of the hero cult," and gives pertinent bibliography

<sup>98</sup>On the descent Heracles (6. 205-6) see p. 100; Memnon and Achilles are evenly matched, because "both boast descent from great Zeus (ἄμφω γὰρ μέγαλοιο Διὸς γένος εὐχετόωντο, 2. 524); so too Neoptolemus and Eurypylus: ἄμφω γὰρ μακάρων ἔσαν αἵματος (8. 194). Neoptolemus is especially strong and brave because he is descended from Zeus (οὐνεκ' ἔην Διὸς αἶμα, 7. 567).

<sup>99</sup>Calliope's statement that "even the sons of Zeus, the loud-thundering lord, have died, overcome by an evil ker" (καὶ γὰρ Ζηνὸς ἐριβρεμέταο ἄνακτος/υἱες ὁμῶς ἀπόλοντο κακῇ περὶ κηρὶ δαμέντες, 3. 635-6) recalls the reference to Heracles at Σ 117-8. In the *Posthomerica*, however, Heracles is deified (even more clearly than in the *Odyssey*), and this is probably Calliope's point.

<sup>100</sup>θεηγενής, of Priam (9. 14; 11. 338, 13. 301, 419, 502; 14. 140); Polydorus (4. 586), θεηγενέες βασιλέης (6. 9\*) echoes the formulaic Homeric and Hesiodic Διοτρεφής βασιλεύς, but minimizes the connection between kings and Zeus, on the importance of which see Thalmann, 87, 141

<sup>101</sup>In the *Iliad* Διογενής is a formulaic epithet of Patroclus, Ajax, Odysseus, and Laertes and is applied also to Eurypylus (Λ 810), Achilles (Φ 17) and Menelaus (Ψ 294).

<sup>102</sup>Formulaic of Ajax, Menelaus, and Phoenix; also of Achilles (I 229; Φ 75; Ω 553, 635; Nestor, Λ 652, Eurypylus, Λ 819; Antilochus, Π 685; Priam, E 464, Ω 803; Priam's sons, E 463, Troezenus, the father of

only once (6. 293), of Eurypylus, to whom it applies literally: exposed as an infant, he was suckled by a doe "by the will of Zeus" (6. 140-2)

The importance attached to descent from Zeus is especially apparent in the boasting which precedes the duel of Memnon and Achilles (2. 416-46). Memnon mentions his divine birth and up-bringing (2. 416-9),<sup>103</sup> and asserts at length the superiority of Dawn to Thetis, and therefore of his own divine ancestry to Achilles' (2. 420-9):

... σευ καὶ δῆριν ἀμείλιχον οὐκ ἀλεείνω 420  
 εἰδῶς μητέρα διὰν, ὅσσον προφερεστέρη ἐστὶ  
 Νηρείδος, τῆς αὐτὸς ἐπέυχεαι ἔκγονος εἶναι;  
 "Ἡμὲν γὰρ μακάρεσσι καὶ ἀνθρώποισι φαίνειν,  
 τῇ ἐπὶ πάντα τελεῖται ἀτείρεος ἔνδον Ὀλύμπου  
 ἐσθλά τε καὶ κλυτὰ ἔργα, τὰ τ' ἀνδράσι γίνετ' ὄνειαρ· 425  
 ἢ δ' ἐν ἀλὸς κευθμῶσι καθημένη ἀτρυγέτοισι  
 ναίει ὁμῶς κήτεσσι μετ' ἰχθύσι κυδιόωσα  
 ἀπρηκτος καὶ αἰστος· Ἐγὼ δέ μιν οὐκ ἀλεγίζω  
 οὐδέ μιν ἀθανάτησιν ἐπουρανίησιν εἰσκῶ."

"... I do not shrink from you and from cruel battle, seeing that my mother is divine, and how much stronger she is than a Nereid, whose offspring you boast to be. The one brings light to gods and men: she brings about all the fine and famous works in unending Olympus, and all that is a boon to men. The other is hidden in the barren waves of the sea, dwelling with monsters and glorying in fish, deedless and unseen. I do not honor her, nor reckon her among the immortal heavenly ones."

Achilles responds in kind (2. 433-46):

... σέο φέρτερός εἰμι βίη γενεῆ τε φυῆ τε  
 Ζηνὸς ὑπερθύμοιο λαχῶν ἀριδείκετον αἶμα 435  
 καὶ σθεναροῦ Νηρήος, ὃς εἰναλίας τέκε κούρας  
 Νηρείδας, τὰς δὴ ῥα θεοὶ τίουσ' ἐν Ὀλύμπῳ,  
 πασάων δὲ μάλιστα Θέτιν κλυτὰ μητιόωσαν.  
 ὄνεκα που Διόνυσον ἐοῖος ὑπέδεκτο μελάθροισ.

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Euphemus, B 847; Peteus, father of Menestheus, M 355; Aesytes, father of Alcathous, N 427; and unspecified warriors B 660

<sup>103</sup>Note that Quintus refers to the Hesperides only in secondary contexts, in character speech here, and in the ecphrasis of Eurypylus' shield at 6. 257.



ὄππότε δειμαίνεσκε βίην ὀλοοῖο Λυκούργου.  
 ἤδὲ καὶ ὡς Ἥφαιστον εὐφρονα χαλκεοτέχνην 440  
 δέξατο οἷσι δόμοισιν ἀπ' Οὐλύμποιο πεσόντα.  
 αὐτόν τ' Ἀργικέραυνον ὅπως ὑπελύσατο δεσμῶν·  
 τῶν μιμησκόμενοι πανδερκέες Οὐρανίωνες  
 μητέρ' ἐμὴν τίουσι Θέτιν ζαθέω ἐν Ὀλύμπῳ.  
 Γνώση δ' ὡς θεός ἐστιν, ἐπὴν δόρυ χάλκεον εἴσω 445  
 ἐς τεὸν ἦπαρ ἴκεται ἐμῇ βεβλημένον ἀλκῇ·

**I am mightier than you in strength, birth, and stature. My glorious blood is proud Zeus', and strong Nereus', who begot the Nereid maids. The gods on Olympus honor them, above all Thetis, famed for wisdom, because she received Dionysus in her halls, when he fled the might of destructive Lycurgus, and she received Hephaestus, the cunning bronze-smith, in her house when he fell from Olympus, and she released him of the flashing lightning from his bonds. The all-seeing Olympians remember these things, and honor my mother Thetis in holy Olympus. And you will know she is a god, when sped by my strength, the bronze spear reaches your vitals.**

Genealogical boasting is typical of epic,<sup>104</sup> but the emphasis upon Achilles' ancestry, especially his descent from Zeus, is original to Quintus. And this, as 2. 433-4 make clear, it is what makes him superior to Memnon. Comparison of the exchange between Achilles and Memnon to similar Iliadic exchanges, between Aeneas and Achilles in Y and between Achilles and Asteropaeus (Φ 153-60, 184-99), illustrates Quintus' emphasis on the importance of descent from Zeus. In the exchange with Aeneas, Achilles makes no mention of his divine ancestry (Y 178-98), and Aeneas too is descended from Zeus (Y 215). Aeneas' casual reference to Zeus at Y 242-3 (Ζεὺς δ' ἀρετὴν ἀνδρεσσιν ὀφέλλει τε μινύθει τε./ὄππως κεν ἐθέλησιν), moreover, contradicts the notion that Zeus' influence on martial prowess is hereditary. The exchange between Achilles and Asteropaeus more closely parallels that with Memnon. In both cases, divine ancestry is almost the sole subject of the speeches, and only Achilles is descended from Zeus. This

<sup>104</sup>Fenik *passim*; Kirk, V: 304, *ad* Y 105-7.

point is emphasized by its occurrence in Achilles' vaunting over his slain opponent, where it is clearly linked to his prowess (Φ 184-7, 190-1):

... χαλεπὸν τοι ἐρισθενέος Κρονίωνος  
 παισὶν ἐριζέμεναι ποταμοῖό περ ἐκγεγαῶτι. 185  
 φῆσθα σὺ μὲν ποταμοῦ γένος ἔμμεναι εὐρὺν ῥέοντος.  
 αὐτὰρ ἐγὼ γενεὴν μεγάλου Διὸς εὐχομαι εἶναι.  
 ...  
 τῶ κρείσσω μὲν Ζεὺς ποταμῶν ἀλιμυρηνέντων, 190  
 κρείσσω αὐτε Διὸς γενεὴ ποταμοῖο τέτυκται.

"It is hard to contend with the sons of strong Zeus, even for one descended from a river. You say that your descent is from a wide-flowing river, but I boast that my lineage is from great Zeus . . . and the offspring of Zeus are as much stronger than those of a river as Zeus is stronger than the rivers which flow to the sea."

The "extreme arrogance" of this speech has attracted comment.<sup>105</sup> Memnon's speech at 2. 420-9, however, is at least its equal in this regard, and its arrogance is the more remarkable given Memnon's self-effacement elsewhere.<sup>106</sup> Given the well-known parallelism between Memnon and Achilles and their goddess mothers, Achilles' descent from Zeus must be the reason for his genealogical superiority to Memnon. Memnon's strongly-worded claims of the superiority of his lineage implicitly challenge the primacy of Zeus. But the importance of descent from Zeus is stated by Achilles, and demonstrated by the outcome of the duel.

Quintus' treatment of the Iliadic stories of Thetis' aid to the Olympians should also be noted. As instances of divine conflict, violence done the gods by mortals, and divine deceit, they are patently unseemly, and were athetized by ancient commentators.<sup>107</sup>

Quintus will be seen consistently to minimize these episodes. The reference here, of course is in the speech of a mortal character. So, too is one of the Homeric passages in which the

<sup>105</sup> Kirk VI: 68 *ad* Φ 184-99, following A *ad* Φ 183.

<sup>106</sup> Vian, *Suite* I: 48, remarks on the contrast between 2. 415-29 and Memnon's other speeches

<sup>107</sup> A *ad* A 393-407; AbT *ad* Z 130-7; for comment, see Willcock (1964) 143-4, and Braswell, 19

story is recounted (Z 130-7, the exchange before the abortive duel of Diomedes and Glaucus). But elsewhere in the *Iliad*, Achilles recounts it to Thetis herself (A 393-407), whose presence validates it; even more authoritative is Hephaestus' reference to the story, also addressed to Thetis (Σ 395-405). The goddess is not present for its repetition here, and the story is further qualified by the πρου at 2. 438.

### Objects of Divine Origin

Reference to objects of divine origin is typical of epic, a means of illustrating the close connection between the human and divine which characterizes the genre. Several such objects in the *Posthomerica* are not only said to be of divine origin,<sup>108</sup> but also to be the gifts of deities to individual mortals, and some objects which figure in Achilles' funeral games are introduced into the action of the poem by Thetis. Many of the objects which Quintus mentions are identical with those mentioned by Homer, and almost all are of the same sort. Quintus, however, emphasizes somewhat more than Homer the fact that such objects are of limited use to their possessors,<sup>109</sup> and his references to them display his characteristic avoidance of allusion to unseemly divine behavior or to religious practice.

Objects of divine origin in *Posthomerica* include both civic and personal possessions. In the former category are the walls of Troy<sup>110</sup> and the Palladium. The latter

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<sup>108</sup>Quintus is scrupulous about the accuracy of such attributions. Nothing like \*K 440-1, where Rhesus' horses (magical, perhaps, but not said to be a gift of the gods) and panoply (presumably entirely mundane) are said to be like those of the gods, too fine for a mortal, is found in the *Posthomerica*

<sup>109</sup>On the limited utility of objects of divine origin in the *Iliad*, see Kirk V: 81, 139, and bibliography there cited.

<sup>110</sup>Note that Quintus does not mention the "wall of Heracles," built with Athena's assistance (Y 145-8). In the *Iliad* the wall serves as a convenient spot from which Poseidon, Hera and Athena can view the battle. Quintus does not, as will be seen, thus represent the gods observing action at the mundane level. The story of the Heracleian sack of Troy (for testimonia, see Apollodorus, *Bibl.* 2. 5.9 and Frazer's note *ad loc.*, Kirk VI: 91 *ad* Φ 444-57), too, involves the sort of divine behavior which Quintus normally does not mention. Poseidon's sending of the sea monster and Apollo's of a plague as punishment for Laomedon's ill-treatment of them. Quintus confines reference to the episode to a secondary context. The story, moreover, is criticized (Ge *ad* Φ 444) as making unlikely Poseidon's assistance to Aeneas at Y 318. Quintus avoids

includes the panoplies of Achilles, Philoctetes, and Penthesileia; the horses of Achilles, Penthesileia, and Sthenelus; a cup belonging to Priam; and various possessions of Achilles.

Quintus follows the version of the construction of the walls of Troy given at Φ 446-7, in which they are the work of Poseidon alone, referring to them as ἔργον . . . Ἐννοσιγαίου (8. 394). This is his only allusion to Poseidon's indenture to Laomedon.<sup>111</sup> Elsewhere, Quintus refers to the walls as "works constructed by the gods" (θεοῖσι τετεύχεται . . . ἔργα 10. 19), and, using a rare coinage, calls Troy a "god-built city" (θεοκμήτοιο πόλιος, 12. 514).<sup>112</sup> Quintus perhaps hints at the tradition that the walls, being of divine construction, are impregnable.<sup>113</sup> The notion is expressed quite explicitly at 10. 19: Being the work of the gods, the walls are ἀφθιτα and not weak (οὐ γὰρ ἀβληχρά). ἀβληχρά in this sense is rare. Its use in this context recalls Θ 178, where the word is applied to the Greek earthworks, which are of entirely mundane construction and easily passed. The walls' impregnability is not, of course put to the test in the *Posthomerica*; the trick of the wooden horse renders the issue moot. If Quintus does intend to evoke the traditional impregnability of the divinely constructed walls, his final reference to their divine origin (12. 514) is ironic. It occurs, after the horse has been brought inside the walls, and the destruction of the city is assured, in a lengthy catalogue

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this difficulty, mentioning only Apollo's servitude (3. 109-12, see ch. 5, p. 233) and that in order to make the point that Apollo's' partisanship of the Trojans is inexplicable.

<sup>111</sup>Vian, *Suite II*: 154, n. 4, cites as parallels both Φ 446-7 and H 452-3, where Poseidon says at that he and Apollo built them, and does not remark on the fact that Quintus ascribes their construction to Poseidon alone, stating, in fact (*Suite III*: 17, n. 1), that "...les remparts de Troie avaient été édifiés par Poséidon et par Apollon." Zenodotus, Aristarchus, and Aristophanes are (remarkably) unanimous in regarding H 443-64 as an interpolation (Did. A *ad loc.*); modern commentators are of the same opinion (Kirk II. 288-9 *ad loc.*).

<sup>112</sup>θεόκμητος is first attested in the *Posthomerica*; Quintus also uses it twice of Achilles' arms Tryphiodorus applies it to the city

<sup>113</sup>bT *ad Z* 438 (Andromache's advice to Hector to guard the walls near the fig-tree) maintains that this section of the wall was not of divine construction, and therefore susceptible to attack. For other references and discussion, see Kirk II: 217-8, *ad loc.*

of unheeded portents of disaster, including disappearance of the stars from above the "god-built city."

The other civic possession of divine origin mentioned in the *Posthomerica* is the Palladium, which Homer does not mention.<sup>114</sup> It figures in the summary of the conversation between Hera and the Horae as they observe the death throes of Paris. Hera is pleased, foreseeing the events which will follow from his death: The marriage of Helen to Deiphobus, Helenus' angry departure from the city, capture by the Greeks, and (10. 350-60):

ὥς τέ οἱ ἐννεσίησι κραταιοῦ Τυδέος υἱὸς	350
ἔσπομένου Ὀδυσῆος ὑπὲρ μέγα τεῖχος ὀρούσας	
Ἄλκαθῶ στυγέοντα φέρειν ἤμελλεν ὀλεθρον	
ἄρπάζας ἐθέλουσαν εὐφρονα Τριτογένειαν	
ἧ τ' ἔρυμα πτόλιός τε καὶ αὐτῶν ἔπλετο Τρώων·	
οὐδέ γάρ οὐδέ θεῶν τις ἀπειρέσιον χαλεπήνας	355
ἔσθενεν ὄλβιον ἄστρῳ διαπραθέειν Πριάμοιο	
ἀθανάτης ἔμπροσθεν ἀκηδέος ἐμβεβαυίης	
οὐδέ οἱ ἄμβροτον εἶδος ἔτεκῆναντο σιδήρῳ	
ἄνερές, ἀλλά μιν αὐτὸς ἀπ' Οὐλύμποιο Κρονίων	
κάββαλεν ἐς Πριάμοιο πολυχρύσοιο πόλῃα.	360

... how on his advice, the son of mighty Tydeus, with Odysseus following him, would scale the great wall, and bring sad destruction to Alcahous, having seized, by her will, gracious Tritogeneia, who was the bulwark of the city and of the Trojans themselves. For no god, though angry beyond measure, was mighty enough to destroy the rich town of Priam while the goddess was safe and secure within. Nor could men cut free her image with iron: Zeus himself hurled it down from heaven into the city of Priam rich in gold.

Obviously, something is amiss as the passage stands. The events foreseen as ensuing upon the death of Paris never take place or are flatly contradicted elsewhere in the poem:

Although Deiphobus is Helen's husband at 13. 354-6, Helenus plays a major role in the

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<sup>114</sup>For discussion of the tradition regarding the Palladium, see Huxley, 154-7, on the *Odyssey's* possible hints at the story, J. Kakridis, 27.

fighting narrated in Book 11, and is never said to be captured; Alcahous is said to die in battle at 3.158-9; of Odysseus' and Diomedes' raid, there is no trace.<sup>115</sup>

Very probably, Quintus at one stage intended to narrate the events foreshadowed in 10. 350-60, rejected this plan, and neglected to remove or alter the passage.<sup>116</sup> A likely reason for this change in plan is desire to suppress an instance of unseemly human behavior, Odysseus' attempted murder of Diomedes, which is a part of some versions of the rape of the Palladium.<sup>117</sup> The notion that the Palladium is a talisman ensuring the safety of the city is at odds with the representation of the divine in the *Posthomerica*. The paucity of reference in the *Iliad* to such magical objects (an easily recognized folkloric motif) has often been remarked.<sup>118</sup> They are mentioned even more rarely in the *Posthomerica*, which contains only this reference to the Palladium. Quintus' otherwise

<sup>115</sup> Vian, *Suite III*: 13, and Kehmptzow, 41, mention Deiphobus' marriage to Helen and Helenus' participation in battle in Book 11. Vian is incorrect in saying (*Suite III*: 30, 209, n. 10) that Alcahous is not mentioned elsewhere. Duckworth (1933) 44-5; (1936) 65, notes that the conversation constitutes the only instance of unfulfilled foreshadowing in the *Posthomerica*, and, excepting references to the deaths of minor warriors, the only instance in the epics of Homer, Apollonius, or Virgil.

<sup>116</sup>To be rejected are the suggestions that there is an immense lacuna, perhaps a missing book after Book 11 (Kehmptzow, 37-41; Köchly, xxxi postulates a lacuna of two books) or that Quintus fails to narrate these events because he lacks a source to copy (Keydell (*PII*: XXIV: 1286, sv "Quintus von Smyrna;" Kehmptzow, 41). The notion (which Vian, *Suite III*: 14, n. 5, attributes to J. Martin, without further specifying the source) that Books 12-14 of the *Posthomerica* were composed first is not incompatible with the explanation presented here. It does not, however, solve entirely the problem at hand, for the events foreshadowed at 10. 350-60 must precede Book 12. In support of Martin's theory, Vian notes the brief autobiographical statement in Book 12, and the paucity of reference in Books 1-11 to the warriors concealed in the horse. To these points may be added the facts that Books 12-14 alone constitute an *Ilioupersis*; that the first lines of Book 12 are a rather more acceptable opening for an independent poem than are those of Book 1; and that, as will be seen, there is a noticeably higher level of divine action in Books 12-14 than in earlier books. Demonstration of this theory, however, is beyond the scope of this dissertation.

<sup>117</sup>P. Kakridis, 89, and Vian, *Suite III*: 13, n. 1; 14: 30, 208-9, n. 9, incline to the belief that Quintus suppresses this story

<sup>118</sup>Those that appear are The automatic gates of Olympus, E 749, © 393; the cap of Hades, E 844-5. Poseidon's magical sword, Z 384-7. Hephaestus' miraculous tripods and robotic servants, Σ 373-7, 417-20; the spear of Peleus and Achilles, which none but they can wield (Π 140-4, T 388-9) perhaps also falls into this category. For general discussion, see Calhoun (1939). On the relative absence (especially in contrast to the Cyclic poems) of such items from the *Iliad*, see Griffin (1979) 39-40; (1980) 32.

complete avoidance of reference to such objects is likely intentional, as references to them in Homer troubled ancient commentators.<sup>119</sup>

The other objects of divine origin mentioned in the *Posthomeric* are personal possessions. The purple cloak, which Thetis gave Achilles upon his departure for Troy and in which his corpse is wrapped (3. 528-30), and the iron bar taken from Antaeus<sup>120</sup> by Heracles, and given by him to Peleus, which is a prize in Achilles' funeral games (4. 436-55), are of little interest.<sup>121</sup>

The vessel which serves as Achilles' cinerary urn requires some comment.

Describing Achilles' funeral, the Homeric *Odysseus* reports that (ω 73-6):

... δῶκε δὲ μήτηρ  
 χρύσειον ἀμφιφορῆα· Διονύσιοιο δὲ δῶρον  
 φάσκ' ἔμεναι, ἔργον δὲ περικλυτοῦ Ἥφαιστοιο      75  
 ἐν τῷ τοι κεῖται λευκ' ὀστέα . . .

... [Achilles'] mother gave a golden amphora, said to be a gift of Dionysus, the work of famous Hephaestus, in which the white bones were placed . . .

Quintus varies the diction of this *Odyssean* model only slightly (3. 736-39):

<sup>119</sup>A *ad* E 845 equates the cap with the clouds which are the more usual divine camouflage. Eustathius (612) regards it as a metaphor: To deceive (δολίως τι πράττειν) is to wear the cap of Hades (Ἰαίδου λέγεται παροιμιωσῶς κυνέην φορεῖν). Eustathius also (613) also treats the incident in terms of moral allegory, equating Athena with the "wisdom" which permits Diomedes to perceive Ares, and connecting her deception of Ares with that god's rashness. Eustathius (993 *ad* ζ 384-94) minimizes the supernatural characteristics of the sword, interpreting the statement (ζ 386-7) that it is οὐ θέμις for any one to face Poseidon as meaning simply that it is impossible (οὐ δυνατόν), and defends it as an appropriate ornament for the god (πρέπει δὲ προσώπῳ μεγάλῳ μακρὸν ξίφος), as does Fenik, 220. Kirk (II 147 *ad* E 844-5) similarly tries to explain away the cap of Hades, but it is well-known also to be employed by mortals, notably Perseus (*Aspis* 227; *Apollod. Bibl.* 2. 4. 2). The Scholia (*AbT ad* Σ 373, *A ad* Σ 376) attempt to dismiss the notion that Hephaestus' creations are truly automatic

<sup>120</sup>Note again that the reference to the Giant Antaeus is confined to this secondary context.

<sup>121</sup>Willis, 398, displays the typical dismissive attitude toward Quintus and is incorrect in maintaining that while "Homer (ω 85-6) states that the prizes [Thetis] offered [at Achilles' funeral games] came from the gods, no such prizes are mentioned in Quintus, though such a motif ought to have proved very tempting to a late poet, had he found it in his original."

... μήτηρ δέ οἱ ἀμφιφορῆα  
 ὤπασε. τόν ῥα πάροιθε Διώνυσος πόρε δῶρον  
 Ἑφαιστοῦ κλυτὸν ἔργον εὐφρονος. ὣ ἐνὶ θῆκαν  
 ὅστε' Ἀχιλλῆος μεγαλήτορος. . . .

[His] mother provided an amphora, which once upon a time was the gift of Dionysus, a famous work of clever Hephaestus, in which they put the bones of great-hearted Achilles.

The vessel is presumably the same golden amphora, given Achilles by his mother (χρῦσευς ἀμφιφορεύς, τόν τοι πόρε πότνια μήτηρ, Ψ 92), in which the shade of Patroclus requests that his bones be placed. The Scholia (AT ad Ψ 92)<sup>122</sup> equate the vessels, and add to the provenance the detail that:

τοῦτον φασὶ Διόνυσον παρὰ Ἑφαιστοῦ λάμβοντα ἐν  
 Νάξῳ Θέτιδι χαρίσασθαι, ἐπειδὴ διωκομένων ὑπὸ  
 Λυκοπύργου ἐδέξατο.

They say that Dionysus received it from Hephaestus in Naxos, and gave it in thanks to Thetis, when she sheltered him when he fled Lycurgus.

Both the joint burial of Achilles and Patroclus, and the stories of Thetis' aid to the Olympians were condemned as unseemly.<sup>123</sup> Quintus avoids all mention of the first, and here omits to specify how the urn comes into Thetis' possession, minimizing the second.

References to a pair of craters (another prize in the funeral games) and to a cup which is an heirloom of the Trojan royal house illustrate the manner in which Quintus utilizes material from other epics. The craters (4. 381-92) originated as Hephaestus' wedding gift to Dionysus and come into Achilles' possession as part of the ransom for Lycaon; thus Quintus connects their pedigree with an Iliadic incident (Φ 40-8). Their intermediate history (they are given by Dionysus to his son Thoas, and pass through the Lemnian royal family) is the same as that given by Apollonius (*Arg.* 4. 423-34) for the

<sup>122</sup>T ad Z 136 is also similar.

<sup>123</sup>On Thetis' aid to the Olympians see pp. 123-4. Eustathius (1249 ad Ψ 85-92) is at pains to explain Patroclus' request for joint burial; in the *Posthomerica* Patroclus and Achilles are interred separately.



robe upon which the marriage of Jason and Medea is consummated. The cup (2. 137-46) was made by Hephaestus as bride-price for Aphrodite, and given by Zeus to Dardanus; its subsequent pedigree is that of Priam's house. Here, Quintus utilizes reference to the object to trace this genealogy, in much the same way as Homer attaches the genealogy of the Tantalids to Agamemnon's scepter (B 101-8); Quintus also uses the genealogy to foreshadow the end of Priam's line: Laomedon left [the cup] to Priam, who was going to give it to his son, but god did not bring this to pass (αὐτὰρ ὁ Λαομέδων Πριάμῳ πόρεν, ὅς μιν ἔμελλεν/ υἱεὶ δωσέμεναι· τὸ δέ οἱ θεὸς οὐκ ἐτέλεσσε, 2. 144 -5)

The other objects of divine origin mentioned in the *Posthomerica* are arms and horses. Arms and armor of divine origin are a typical heroic adornment;<sup>124</sup> Achilles' arms are the paradigmatic example. Quintus' most detailed treatment of the arms occurs in connection with Ajax' and Odysseus' contest for them, where they are described at length. They are also mentioned when Neoptolemus arrives at Troy, and in passing, when used by Achilles and Neoptolemus.

Quintus frequently mentions the divine origin of Achilles' panoply,<sup>125</sup> presenting the arms as even more wonderful in appearance than does Homer. The Iliadic Hephaestus tells Thetis simply that they will be a marvel to men who behold them (. . . οἷα τις αὐτε/ ἀνθρώπων πολέον θαυμάσεται, ὅς κεν ἴδῃται, Σ 446-7). In the *Posthomerica*, their beauty is amazing even by celestial standards.<sup>126</sup> Quintus enumerates

<sup>124</sup>Kirk, IV: 409, V: 8; Calhoun (1937) 16; Edwards (1987) 264.

<sup>125</sup>The arms are said to be the work or gift of Hephaestus (1. 550; 2. 455; 5. 4, 97 f.; 7. 198-200, 446-7), given Achilles by Thetis (\*7. 210-1), δῶρα θεοῦ/θεοῖο (\*5. 228, 7. 598), θεοκμήτων ἔργον (5. 6), θεοδέα τεύχεα (\*5. 587), and ἄμβροτα τεύχεα (1. 550; 5. 2, 126, 319; 12. 303).

<sup>126</sup>The gods, says Thetis, rejoiced at the sight of them (. . . ἄμβροτα τεύχε' . . . / . . . ἃ καὶ μακάρεσσι μέγ' εὐάδεν ἀθανάτοισιν, 5. 126-7), a claim repeated by Odysseus (\*7. 195-200)

Οὐ γὰρ ἔοικε  
θητῶν τεύχεσι κείνα, θεοῦ δέ που Ἄρεος ὀπλοῖς  
ἴσα πέλει· πουλὺς δὲ περὶ σφίσι πάμπαν ἄρρη  
χρυσὸς δαιδαλέοισι κεκασμένος, οἷσι καὶ αὐτὸς  
Ἥφαιστος μέγα θυμὸν ἐν ἀθανάτοισιν ἰάνθη

the panoply at 5. 97-120. In addition to the Iliadic items, the spear, said to have been given to Peleus by Chiron (l. 593; Π 140-4; T 391-2), and the shield, corselet, greaves, and helmet made by Hephaestus in Σ, Quintus adds a sword, also presumably made by Hephaestus. The addition is noteworthy, answering the scholiast's objection to Homer's failure to mention the sword.<sup>127</sup> Quintus also avoids the objections raised against Y 268-72, where Aeneas' spear partially penetrates Achilles' shield. The lines were athetized and omitted on the grounds that an object of divine making can not be damaged;<sup>128</sup> in the *Posthomeric*, the shield turns Penthesileia's spear (l. 546-50), and missiles hurled at Neoptolemus (7. 595-8). It is to be noted that Virgil, whose response to scholiastic comments is well-documented, makes a similar correction: At *Aeneid* 12. 739-43, Turnus' sword breaks on Aeneas' shield.<sup>129</sup> But Quintus also minimizes fantastic details found elsewhere. When Neoptolemus receives Achilles' armor, (7. 446-8) it:

... ἀμφὶ δ' ἑλαφὰ  
Ἥφαιστου παλάμησι περὶ μελέεσσιν ἀρήρει.  
καὶ περ ἑόνθ' ἑτέροισι πελώρια· ...

... fits lightly on his limbs, thanks to Hephaestus' skill, though it would have been enormous for others.

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τεύχων ἄμβροτα κείνα ...

200

" ... [T]hey are not like the arms of mortals, but equal to the weapons of Ares. They are entirely plated with much gold, and covered in designs, such that even Hephaestus himself among the gods greatly rejoiced in his heart when he made these divine arms "

Note the emphasis on the objective worth of the armor (πουλύς ... χρυσός)

<sup>127</sup>T ad Σ 460. Eustathius (1090) also mentions the sword among Peleus' wedding gifts. The origin of the spear is that given by Homer. Quintus ignores the more detailed version of its making given in A ad Π 140, where it is a collaborative effort by Chiron, Athena, and Hephaestus

<sup>128</sup>AT and Kirk V. 323, *ad loc.*

<sup>129</sup>Vian, *Suite* I: 33, n. 2, cites both Y 260-72 and *Aeneid* 12. 739-43 as parallels to l. 546-50

This recalls P 210-2, where Hector dons the armor stripped from Patroclus. Quintus, however, avoids the explicit miracle of the model. Neoptolemus wears the armor comfortably because it is well made, Hector, because Zeus alters it to fit him. Quintus similarly handles the Homeric detail that none save Achilles can wield his spear (Π 140-4; Τ 388-9); Neoptolemus, on taking possession of it, "lifts it easily despite its size" (7. 450 - 1).

Philoctetes' quiver and belt, like the arms of Achilles, are the work of Hephaestus. Made originally for Heracles (10. 203-4), and passing on his death to Philoctetes, they are doubly of divine origin. Quintus' interest in Philoctetes' arms, however, lies almost entirely in describing their decoration. The bow of Heracles is mentioned only in passing; it is the presence of Philoctetes himself which is necessary to bring about the fall of the city (10. 325-31).<sup>130</sup>

Penthesileia's panoply is also of divine origin. Her armor is a gift from Ares (τεύχεα δαιδαλέοντα, τὰ οἱ θεὸς ὤπασεν Ἄρης, I. 141), and her battle-axe from Eris (ἀμφίτυπον βουπλήγα, τὸν οἱ Ἔρις ὤπασε δεινή, I. 159). These statements may be taken literally, as Penthesileia is, of course, Ares' daughter. Similar statements in the *Iliad*, however, (whatever their significance to Homer or his original audience) are accepted as figurative by both ancient and modern commentators, the gift being not the physical object, but aptitude in its use.<sup>131</sup> Penthesileia's panoply, especially the axe, may be a gift of this sort.

<sup>130</sup>Many sources (listed by Vian, *Suite II*: 174, n. 5) stress the importance of the bow, its necessity lying in the fact that it was originally the possession of Heracles, who previously sacked the city. These include the *Philoctetes* of Sophocles. Jebb, xxvi-xxvii, believes that on the balance, references in the play imply that Philoctetes himself must come; but great emphasis is laid on the bow at 113-115, and at 1055, when Odysseus has obtained it, he is perfectly ready to leave Philoctetes behind.

<sup>131</sup>The most famous case is the bow of Pandarus, given him by Apollo (B 827), whose mundane origin is also described (Δ 106-11). Teucer, also a skilled archer, received his bow from Apollo (\*O 441). Other objects given by the gods are Diomedes' breastplate, made by Hephaestus (Θ 195); Areithous' arms, given him by Ares (H 146); Hector's helmet, given him by Apollo, (Λ 353) and Andromache's veil, given her by Aphrodite (X 469-472).

Horses of divine pedigree, or which are divine gifts, are also common heroic possessions. In the *Posthomeric*, Achilles, Sthenelus, and Penthesileia are said own such horses; Quintus also mentions the horses of Eumelus (4. 522-3), which Homer says were bred by Apollo (B 763-7), but does not refer to their lineage.

Achilles' horses are the archetype.<sup>132</sup> Both Homer and Quintus state that they were the wedding present of Poseidon to Peleus (3. 755-62; Ψ 277-8), offspring of Zephyr and the Harpy Podarge, born at the ends of the earth (3. 750-1; 8. 154-5; Π 148-54). The lengthy passage recounting the horses' mourning for Achilles (3. 743-62) evokes various Homeric references to the horses:

<p>Οὐδὲ μὲν ἄμβροτοι ἵπποι ἀταρβέος Αἰακίδαο          μίμνον ἀδάκρυτοι παρὰ νήεσιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτοὶ          μύροντο σφετέροιο δαίκτημένου βασιλῆος.</p>	745
<p>οὐδ' ἔθελον μογεροῖσιν ἔτ' ἀνδράσιν οὐδὲ μὲν ἵπποις          μίσγεσθ' Ἀργείων ὀλοὸν περὶ πένθος ἔχοντες,          ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ Ὠκεανοῖο ῥοᾶς καὶ Τηθύος ἄντρα          ἀνθρώπων ἀπάτερθεν οἰζυρῶν φορέεσθαι.</p>	750
<p>ἦχί σφεας τὸ πάροιθεν ἐγείνατο δῖα Ποδάργη          ἄμφω ἀελλόποδας Ζεφύρω κελάδοντι μιγεῖσα.          Καὶ νύ κεν αἰψ' ἐτέλεσαν ὅσα σφίσι μῆδετο θυμός,          εἰ μὴ σφεας κατέρυξε θεῶν νόος, ὄφρ' Ἀχιλῆος          ἔλθοι ἀπὸ Σκύροιο θεὸς πάις, ὃν ῥα καὶ αὐτοὶ          δέχυνυθ', ὀππὸθ' ἴκοιτο ποτὶ στρατόν, οὐνεκ' ἄρα σφί          θέσφατα γεινιμένοισι Χάους ἱεροῖο θύγατρεις</p>	755

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Earlier commentators seem to distinguish between gifts of offensive weapons, which they take to denote skill in use (Ab ad B 827; AT ad O 441), and references to defensive weapons, which they take to indicate actual objects (A ad Θ 195). Note that twice gods are said to have taught a skill (horsemanship, \*Ψ 307-8; hunting, E 51-2; see also bT ad H 146; T ad Λ 353). Modern critics make no such distinction Kirk (III: 265, ad Λ 353.) calls such statements "idiomatic." Eustathius' comments are closer to those of modern commentators. He interprets figuratively both the gifts of bows ("Ἐθους δὲ ποιηταῖς ἱστορεῖν τοὺς παερὶ τινα τεχνην δεξιούς θεόθεν ἔχειν τὰ ὄργανα . . . 354 ad B 827-34; τοῦτο δὲ προσφυῶς, ἐπεὶ δαιμονίως ἐφίεται ἀπόλλειν τοὺς διαβαλλομένους) and other gifts (Θ 195 is ποιητικὴν μέθοδον, 707 ad Θ 193-9). For discussion of the convention and ancient commentary, see Willcock (1970) 3-4, and Van der Valk (1963-4) II: 96.

<sup>132</sup>Homer also mentions the horses of Aeneas, descended from the herd given the Trojan kings by Zeus (E 265-70) The discussion of Rhesus' horses is also pertinent: Nestor surmises that they are the gift of a god (K 545-53), while Odysseus maintains they are not fine enough to be (K 556-7).

Μοῖραι ἐπεκλώσαντο καὶ ἀθανάτοις περ ἑοῦσι  
 πρῶτα Ποσειδάωνι δαμήμεναι, αὐτὰρ ἔπειτα  
 θαρσαλέω Πηλῆι καὶ ἀκαμάτῳ Ἀχιλῆι  
 τέτρατον αὐτ' ἐπὶ τοῖσι Νεοπτολέμῳ μεγαθύμῳ,  
 τὸν καὶ ἐς Ἥλύσιον πεδῖον μετόπισθεν ἔμελλον  
 Ζηνὸς ὑπ' ἐννεσίησι φέρειν μακάρων ἐπὶ γαῖαν.

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The immortal horses of fearless Achilles did not remain tearless by the ships, but mourned their slain master. In their terrible grief, they did not wish to remain among men, or among the horses of the Argives, but wished to be taken beyond the streams of Ocean and the caves of Tethys, where once upon a time divine Podarge mated with and bore to whistling Zephyr the swift-footed pair. And they would have accomplished their heart's desire, had not the intention of the gods restrained them until Achilles' swift son, whom they would welcome, came from Scyros. For at their birth, the Moirae, daughters of holy Chaos fated them, immortal though they were, first to serve Poseidon, then brave Peleus and irresistible Achilles, and fourth, after them, great-hearted Neoptolemus, whom they would later bear, at Zeus' command, to the Elysian plain and the land of the blessed.

As does Homer, Quintus exploits the fact that Achilles' horses are not, strictly speaking, objects of divine origin but divine beings. Both their grief and the contrast between them and their mortal masters are drawn from the *Iliad*, but adapted by Quintus. The horses' desire to flee the mundane world and mortal suffering recalls the famous speech in which Zeus pities the animals' grief for Patroclus (P 443-7). But while for Homer the horses' grief provides opportunity to comment on the plight of mortals,<sup>133</sup> for Quintus their same reaction serves to introduce reference to Neoptolemus' attainment of immortality.<sup>134</sup>

Minimization of preternatural behavior is also typical of the *Posthomerica*. At P 437-9, Homer describes the horses' grief:

<sup>133</sup>On the "ever-present contrast between mortals and immortals," see Kirk V: 105, *ad P* 426-58, and sources there cited; also Whitman, 244.

<sup>134</sup>Vian, *Suite I*: 125, 174, n. 2, notes that only Quintus refers to this apotheosis of Neoptolemus: in other versions, he dies at Delphi, where he receives heroic honors. The point may be emphasized by reference to Poseidon at 3: 758: Kirk (V: 107 *ad P* 443-5) compares the plight of Achilles' horse to "the happy life of Poseidon's horses [N 23-38], whose master is immortal."

... δάκρυα δέ σφι  
θερμὰ κατὰ βλεφάρων χαμάδις ῥέε μυρομένοιισιν  
ἠνιόχοιο πόθῳ ...

... Hot tears streamed from their eyes to the ground as they  
mourned, longing for their driver.

This unnatural behavior troubled the ancient commentators,<sup>135</sup> and Quintus does not dwell on their tears, but merely states that they are οὐ . . . ἀδάκρυτοι (3. 743-4). Even more noteworthy is the divine restraint exerted upon the horses (3. 753-60). This restraint recalls the Erinyes' stopping of the horses' speech at T 418. But Quintus' version avoids the freakish exchange between Achilles and Xanthus, and the involvement of the Erinyes, which troubled ancient commentators.<sup>136</sup> Note also that the horses' mortal yoke-mate, Pedasus, killed in the *Iliad*, is not replaced. In the *Posthomerica*, the team is entirely immortal. This is typical of the separation of gods from mortals in the poem.<sup>137</sup>

Descent from winds and harpies appears to be the standard pedigree of wonderful horses:<sup>138</sup> Achilles' horses share it with Sthenelus' mount, which is descended from the

<sup>135</sup>Eustathius (114) *ad P* 438-47 regards the tears as metaphorical, but the language is quite literal.

<sup>136</sup>Modern commentators are on the whole accepting of the passage: Calhoun (1939) 9, classifies the exchange as folkloric element. Kirk V: 283, notes that Achilles' horses are remarkable in the "severely un-supernatural" *Iliad*, then blandly proceeds to discuss in some detail the mythological association between horses and death. Dietrich (1964), interprets the episode as reflecting actual religious practice. Ancient commentators, however, objected strenuously: The passage was atheized as over-fantastic or monstrous (τεριττός, A *ad T* 407); Did/A *ad T* 416 also object to the Erinyes' ending the speech, in that one god thwarts another, though bT *ad T* 418 regard this as appropriate to the goddesses' role. Eustathius (1190) regards the passage as "mythical and utterly fantastic" (μυθικός . . . καὶ παντῆ τερατώδης), but, following bT *ad T* 407, formulates an acceptable interpretation (ἐπιδιορθοῦται τοῦ τερασ τοῦτο τοῦ μύθου) on the basis of the equation of Hera with aer and the connection between αὐδή and aer. See also Friedlander, 57, and Van der Valk (1963-4) II: 408-9.

<sup>137</sup>On the mixed team as a link between the mundane and celestial, see Thalmann, 46, 48.

<sup>138</sup>cf. the horses of Erichthonius, sired by Boreas (Y 221-5). P Oxy. 1611 fr. 2 seems to give the same pedigree for Pelops' horses. The papyrus does not (*pace* Vian *Suite* I: 18, 163, n. 8) refer to the *Aethiopsis*, it discusses Ion's satyr-play *Omphale* (see the commentary of Grenfell and Hunt *ad loc.* 13, 145). The pedigree of the horses of Ares, the offspring of Boreas and the Erinyes (8. 241-4), seems to be a variant. Quintus also compares horses of entirely mundane blood to winds (4. 520-1) and Harpies (4. 513-4), emphasizing their speed.

famous horse of Adrastus, Arion, the foal of Zephyr and a Harpy (4. 568-73). Quintus follows no clear source regarding Arion's blood-lines. Homer states only that his pedigree is divine (ἐκ θεόφιν γένος, \*Ψ 347), but other sources name Poseidon and Demeter-Erinyes, or Poseidon and a harpy, as his sire and dam.<sup>139</sup> Quintus in general avoids references to zoomorphic avatars of the gods and exotic divine couplings. It is also worth noting that Quintus replicates the Homeric notion that such horses are particularly headstrong.<sup>140</sup> Sthenelus loses the horse race to Agamemnon because he can not, in modern parlance, hold his mount to the inside rail (4. 563-7).

Strictly speaking, Penthesileia's horse is a divine gift rather than a creature of divine ancestry (1. 167-9):

... τόν οἱ ἄλοχος Βορέας  
ὠπάσεν Ὀρείθυια πάρος Θρήκην δὲ κίουση  
ξείνιον, ὅς τε βοῆσι μετέπρεπεν Ἄρπυίησι·

... When [Penthesileia] visited Thrace, the wife of Boreas,  
Oreithyia, gave it as a gift of hospitality; it could match the swift  
Harpies.

Here, Quintus' varies the standard equine pedigree, mentioning winds and Harpies, but not in a genealogical context.

The mythological background of the *Posthomerica*, then, does not suggest significant alteration of the traditional portrayal of the gods. There are some hints of such alteration in the qualification of digressions and the emphasis laid upon descent from Zeus, but most of the passages discussed in this chapter are perfectly normal to the reader of Homer, Hesiod, or Apollonius. The mythological background of the *Posthomerica* teems with ecphrases and similes which mention the divine. Sometimes, Quintus increases the

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<sup>139</sup>Griffin (1976) 41; Vian, *Suite* I: 158, n. 2; Wathelet, 180. Note that for both Homer and Quintus, Arion is simply an archetypal fast horse: neither refers to his speaking ability

<sup>140</sup>The difficulty of handling Achilles' horses is mentioned at \*K 402-4; Eumelus also comes to grief in the chariot race (Ψ 375 -6).

level of reference to the divine over and above what is found in his models. adding, e. g., reference to Zeus when adapting a Homeric simile which mentions only a storm, or comparing mortals to gods in Titanomachic combat. But these passages will be seen to form a true background, against which the portrayal of the gods in the primary narrative of the *Posthomerica* stands out very sharply.



## Chapter Four: Allegory

Before turning to the narration and mimesis of divine action in the *Posthomerica*, it is useful to consider Quintus' use of allegory. The term here, as commonly, denotes three practices: moral allegory, the equation of the names of deities with human qualities (e.g.: reference to Athena symbolizing prudence or strategic thought); physical or cosmological allegory, the equation of gods with natural forces or elements (e.g.: Hera = aer); and personification allegory, the representation of abstract ideas as embodied with personal characteristics (e. g.: Ares = war).<sup>1</sup> Allegorical portrayal of the Olympian gods, reducing them to little more than embodiments of the qualities or forces with which they are associated, coupled with the increased personification of abstractions, is regarded as characteristic of late epics.<sup>2</sup> The poetic use of these devices is related to the use of allegorical interpretation as a tool of literary criticism. Allegorization was in antiquity "the basic way around . . . objections" to Homer's portrayal of the gods: <sup>3</sup> that is, of

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<sup>1</sup>For definitions, see Whitman, 4-5; on the various types of allegory in antiquity, see Reinhardt (1960) 7-40 (through Plato), and Feeney, 8-9, 21, 54.

<sup>2</sup>See Feeney's discussion of allegory in the *Aeneid* (132-3, 150, 175, 242), Ovid's *Metamorphoses* (243-9), Valerius Flaccus' *Argonautica* (328-30, 367), and Statius' *Thebaid* (367-91, esp 367-9), and sources there cited. These tendencies are regarded as especially pronounced in Statius, whose discussion by Lewis, 49-56, is extremely influential; *contra* Dominik, 3, who maintains that "every indication in the [*Thebaid*] points to [the] anthropomorphic corporeality [of the Olympians] "

<sup>3</sup>Feeney, 36. Feeney's first chapter (5-56, esp. 30-7) provides a good summary of the early history of allegorical interpretation of Homer, including the interpretations preserved in the Scholia, cf. Whitman.

formulating philosophically or theologically satisfactory readings of that portrayal. It is therefore worthwhile to determine the extent to which Quintus employs allegory.

**Metonymy** Both physical and moral allegory occur in the *Posthomerica*, but only in the limited form of simple metonymy, the substitution of the name of a god for a common noun. Such usage, of course, occurs in Homer, and was recognized and accepted by ancient commentators.<sup>4</sup> Quintus uses in this way the names of five deities, Amphitrite, Hades, Hephaestus, Aphrodite and Ares. The name of Hades is used only in this fashion, to denote the Underworld. Amphitrite's name is always synonymous with the sea, and she is personified only once, by the phrase πρόσσις Ἀμφιτρίτης, used to denote Poseidon.<sup>5</sup>

In most of its occurrences in the *Posthomerica* the name of Hephaestus is a synonym for "fire."<sup>6</sup> This contrasts strongly with the *Iliad*, where Hephaestus plays a considerable part in the action, and his name is used only once in metonymy.<sup>7</sup> The metonymic references to Hephaestus in the *Posthomerica* illustrate the way in which Quintus extends the use of metaphor while following Homeric models. At the simplest level, Quintus simply replaces the common noun with the name of the god, adapting Homer's ῥιπή ... πυρός ("the rush of fire," Φ 12) to ῥιπή ... Ἡφαίστοιο (3. 729). More

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14-57, especially 14-20. For more detailed discussions see above all Lamberton (1986); also Most, and the essay of Long in Lamberton and Keane; on the Scholia, Schmidt, 57-8 and Combella (1987)

<sup>4</sup>Plutarch, *de Aud. Poet.* 6.

<sup>5</sup>For occurrences of the names alone and in phrases, see Vian and Battegay, sv. Ἄϊδης, Ἄϊδονεύς, Ἀμφιτρίτη.

<sup>6</sup>The name Hephaestus occurs in metonymy alone (3. 729, 13. 446, 501) and in the phrases the "strength" and "breath" of Hephaestus: Ἡφαίστοιο βίηφι, 13. 492; μένος of Hephaestus: 1. 793-4 (in hendiadys with φλόξ); 7. 570, 589; ἀσπμή of Hephaestus: 3. 710-1, 13. 150, 329-30. The "hearth of Hephaestus" (ἑσχάρη Ἡφαίστοιο 5. 380) for a cooking fire is similar.

<sup>7</sup>At B 426. Metonymy is commoner in the *Odyssey*, whose μένος Ἡφαίστοιο (θ 359), though not the equivalent σθένος Ἡφαίστοιο (υ 36), Quintus adopts

subtle is the use of the adjective *μαλερός* ("raging"). In Homer, the word is always used with *πῦρ* (I 242; Y 316; Φ 375; also *Ep.* 4. 5); it occurs three times in the *Posthomerica*, always with metonymic uses of *Ἥφαιστος* (3. 711; 13. 150, 330). Further adaptation of Homer is apparent in the phrases *Ἥφαιστοιο βίηφι* and *ἀύτημ Ἥφαιστοιο*, the "might" and "breath" of Hephaestus.<sup>8</sup> The words occur together at Φ 366-7: ...τεῖρε δ' ἀύτημ/Ἥφαιστοιο βίηφι πολύφρονος ... ("by force, the breath of inventive Hephaestus wore out [Scamander]"). Quintus adapts a well-known Homeric passage, using in metonymy and at widely separated points, vocabulary which Homer uses in a single passage narrating the actions of the god as a character.

Quintus also similarly uses the names of Aphrodite and Ares. Quintus refers to Aphrodite in metonymy only twice: The Lesser Ajax does not heed the portentous activity of Athena which attends the rape of Cassandra, "because Cypris damaged his wits" ( ... ἐπεὶ ἧ φρένας ἄασε Κύπρις 13. 429). At 10. 449, Ker and Kupris impel (ἐπειγε) Oenone to immolate herself on Paris' pyre. The use of the goddess' name as a synonym for lust or passion is not Iliadic, but is very common.<sup>9</sup>

In both the *Iliad* and *Posthomerica*, the name of Ares denotes a wide variety of bellicose actions and attitudes.<sup>10</sup> Quintus' and Homer's use of the name in metonymy

<sup>8</sup>See n. 6. It is to be noted that at both Φ 367 and 13. 492, *Ἥφαιστοιο βίηφι* begins the line

<sup>9</sup>The phrasing of 13. 429, with its rare use of the active voice, echoes ψ 295-6, where wine is said to have deranged the centaurs. Explicit equation of Aphrodite with lust appears, perhaps for the first time, in Euripides (*Troiaides* 988-90), though δ 261 comes close. The closest Iliadic parallel is Σ 311 (which Dodds (1951) 20, n. 28, equates with δ 261), where Athena takes away the Trojans' wits (... φρένας ἔλετο Παλλὰς Ἀθήνη), so that they acclaim Hector's plan to fight Achilles. Note that Quintus avoids the attribution of such action to Athena. Similar also are the attributions of folly to Zeus (... φρένας ἐξέλετο Ζεὺς, \*I 377, Z 234, \*T 137; cf. also M 234; O 724), or to an unspecified deity (P 470), normally understood as denoting "chance" or circumstance. cf. also Λ 89, where similar delusion is attributed to the desire for food (σίτου ... περὶ φρένας ἴμερος αἰρεῖ). For instances in the *Posthomerica* in which the gods as characters affect men's mental processes see ch 5, pp. 289-95

<sup>10</sup>Vian and Battegay, sv. Ἄρης, indicate with an asterisk (\*) the occurrences of the name which they consider metonymy. Instances where it is possible to regard the Ares as a personification of war are discussed below.

overlap considerably, but Quintus uses the name in a broader range of situations,<sup>11</sup> and in some instances, while it is clear that Ares' name is used metonymically, more vividly personifies the god.

Quintus' usage of the name of Ares differs most from Homer's in those instances where "Ares" is a synonym for some aspect of war, especially battle-lust or fighting spirit. Unlike Homer, Quintus does not use the name alone with this force, but instead employs a variety of locutions,<sup>12</sup> which illustrate his expansion of Homeric models. The commonest of these phrases in the *Posthomerica*, "to long for Ares" (μεμαῶτες Ἄρηϊ), occurs once in the *Odyssey* (ν 50). Its relative frequency in the *Posthomerica* constitutes a departure from Homer. To "breathe Ares" (Ἄρη πνέω) is found in a prominent Aeschylean passage (*Ag.* 374-5); Quintus' "to breathe the might of Ares" combines this with the Homeric μένεα πνέω (B 536; Γ 8; Λ 508). Quintus' μιμνήσκω Ἄρεος conveys the same force as the Homeric μιμνήσκω χάρμης (O 477; χ 73), but, as when "Hephaestus" is used for "fire," substitutes the god's name for the common noun.<sup>13</sup>

Quintus also uses the name of Ares to denote death in battle. When Neoptolemus hurls stones from the Greek rampart onto the Trojans, they cower around Eurypylos. "for misery flew straight at them, and brought tearful Ares upon the heads of the enemy" (... ἐς ἰθὺ γὰρ ἔπτατο πῆμα/δυσμενέων κεφαλῆσι φέρον πολὺδακρυ Ἄρεα (7. 535-6)).<sup>14</sup> The phrase, φέρον πολὺδακρυ Ἄρεα, is Homeric,<sup>15</sup> but means "to wage war."

<sup>11</sup> An exception to this is that Quintus, perhaps avoiding reference to religious practice or belief, never uses the Homeric "sons" or "servants" of Ares (ὄζος Ἄρηος; θεράπων Ἄρηος) to denote warriors

<sup>12</sup> Warriors "long for" (ματιμάω, 2. 110, 3.20, 7. 478, 8. 46, 67-8, 9. 10; 11. 301) "pay heed to" (ἰσχανάω, 13. 159) or "breathe" Ares or "the strength of Ares" (μιμνήσκω, 12. 223, πνείω, 1. 340, μένος πνείω Ἄρεος, 13. 80). Throughout this section, the lexical form of verbs is used for consistency

<sup>13</sup> Campbell, 79, notes the exact metrical equivalence of μνησώμεθ' Ἄρηος (12. 233) and the Homeric μνησώμεθα χάρμης, and also calls attention to μνησώμεθα ...ύσμίνης (6. 607-8).

<sup>14</sup> Explanation of this passage has proved difficult. Vian (*Suite II*: 126), who does not comment on the lines, translates literally: "le désastre fond droit sur la tête des ennemis, en leur apportent Arès et son cortège de larmes." Combellack (1968) 156, replaces "Ares" with "war," but is otherwise similar

which is clearly not the sense at 7. 536. A parallel for the apparent sense of Quintus' phrase is found in Andromache's apostrophe to the newly-orphaned Astyanax, lamenting his fate "even should [he] escape the Achaeans' tearful war" (ἦν περ γὰρ πόλεμόν γε φύγη πολὺδακρυν Ἀχαιῶν, X 487), i. e. if he is not killed in the war. as Eurypylus' followers are at 7. 535-6. Here again, Quintus extends the range of meaning of a familiar Homeric phrase, adopting it out of context or slightly altering it.

Sometimes Ares is clearly personified, but equally clearly is not to be understood as taking part in the action of the poem. In three instances, Quintus adapts Iliadic models, using metaphorically diction which is literal in Homer. The funerals of Machaon and Nireus are conducted without truce, "while deadly Ares still raged on the field" (δὴ τότε ἄρ' ἐν πεδίῳ ἔτι μαίνεται λοίγιος Ἄρης, 7. 17),<sup>16</sup> and at 10.10, urging retreat to the citadel. Polydamas states that the war has turned against the Trojans: "no longer is Ares, raging, bearable for us" (... οὐκέτ' ἀνεκτὸς ἐφ' ἡμῖν μαίνεται Ἄρης). Here, the image of the raging Ares denotes battle, but the phrases echo E 717, and a simile (O 60-1), where Ares in fact rages on the field. Also similar is the statement at 2. 484-5 "Ares did not cease from dismal slaughter" (Ἄρης δ' οὐ λῆγε φόνοιο/λευγαλέου). At 13. 98-9, Quintus more vividly personifies Ares, though his name is used metaphorically. He describes a wound in the lower abdomen, "where the spear of tireless Ares is most painful" (... ἤχι μάλιστα/Ἄρεος ἀκαμάτοιο πέλει πολυώδυνος αἰχμή). The model is N 568-9, Homer's description of a similar wound, "where Ares is most painful to wretched mortals" (... ἐνθα μάλιστα/γίγνεται Ἄρης ἀλεγεινὸς οἰζυροῖσι

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"Calamity was flying straight on, bringing tearful war upon the heads of the enemy" Way, 335, suggests the sense of battle lust: "... for death rode upon all he cast, and bare his wrath straight rushing down ..."

<sup>15</sup>Γ 132, in the same position in the line as at 7. 537; also Θ 516, Τ 318, and Γ 165, with πόλεμος. All are fairly well-known passages: Γ 132, 165, the teichoscopia; Θ 516, Hector addressing the troops; Τ 318, Achilles mourning Patroclus.

<sup>16</sup>The combat implied by 7.17 is not narrated.

βροτοῖσιν). The use of the name as a synonym for wounding is identical in both passages, but Quintus adds the anthropomorphizing details of the spear and epithet.

In the metonymic use of the names of deities, then, Quintus tends to follow demonstrable Homeric models, but to alter them in one of three ways: by substituting the name of a god for a common noun; by using metaphorically diction used literally by Homer; and by adding anthropomorphic detail to passages in which Homer uses the god's name metaphorically. The effect is identical to that of Quintus' addition of reference to the divine to similes: It permits frequent reference to the gods, giving the *Posthomerica* epic flavor, without narration of divine action which is open to criticism as unseemly. The gods of the *Posthomerica* are not, however, easily rationalized. Although, as will be seen, their actions tend to be confined to their proper spheres, there is very little (far less than in Virgil, for example<sup>17</sup>) explicit or potential equation of them with physical or psychological phenomenon.

Personifications Although a large number of personified abstractions figure in the *Posthomerica*, references to only a few require discussion here.<sup>18</sup> These are: Arete, Mania, Themis, Oneiros, Ate and the Litae, and various entities associated with war.

Quintus' references to Arete (Excellence) approach, more nearly than does anything else in the *Posthomerica*, developed allegory linked with larger themes in the poem. Arete is mentioned first in the ecphrasis of Achilles' shield (5. 49-56):

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<sup>17</sup>Heinze, 238-9.

<sup>18</sup>Many are mentioned only in secondary contexts, or in the speech of characters. Others are fully personified: The actions of still others, such as Sleep, the Rivers of the Troad and Mt. Ida, are in no way allegorical; those of Selene, Dawn, and the entities associated with her, and the winds, tend to occur in these deities' proper spheres, but do not seem to be imbued with any cosmological significance; nor do those of the Horae, although Quintus refers to their cosmological role (see ch. 5, p. 213). It should not be thought that Quintus incorporates into his epic every personification he encountered in his reading. At 14-432, for example (as noted by Vian, *Suite* III: 193, 234, n. 4), he imitates Hesiod, *Opera* 197-200, but in contrast to Hesiod, does not personify αἰδώς.

Αἰπύτατον δ' ἐτέτυκτο θεοκμήτω ἐπὶ ἔργω  
καὶ τρηχὺ ζαθέης Ἀρετῆς ὄρος· ἐν δὲ καὶ αὐτῇ 50  
εἰστήκει φοῖνικος ἐπεμβεβαυῖα κατ' ἄκρης  
ὑψηλῆ, ψάφουσα πρὸς οὐρανόν· Ἀμφὶ δὲ πάντη  
ἀτραπιτοὶ θαμέεσσι διειργόμεναι σκολόπεσσι  
ἀνθρώπων ἀπέρυκτον ἐὼν πάτον, οὐνεκα πολλοὶ  
εἰσοπίσω χάζοντο τεθηπότες αἰπὰ κέλευθα.  
παῦροι δ' ἱερὸν οἶμον ἀνήιον ἰδρώοντες.

Steep on that divinely made piece of work rose the rugged  
mountain of holy Arete. She herself was on it, high in a palm tree, reaching  
to the heavens. All around, trails blocked by rocks hindered men from the  
noble path, for which reason many turned back, afraid of the steep trail,  
and few, sweating, ascended the holy route.

The point, that the way to excellence is difficult, but its attainment rewarding, is obvious,  
and the notion wide-spread. The difficult path to Arete appears in Hesiod (*Opera* 289-92):  
the contrast of the few who ascend with the many who turn back recalls the famous choice  
of Prodicus, mentioned first by Xenophon (*Mem.* 2. 1. 21-34), and in the *Tabula* of Cebes  
(15-8).<sup>19</sup> Quintus' association of Arete with a tree (5. 50-2) is found nowhere else.<sup>20</sup> At 5.  
59-56, the tree is, as it were, an extension of the path, another obstacle to the attainment  
of Arete.<sup>21</sup> In the advice given Neoptolemus by the shade of his father (14. 195-200), the  
tree entirely replaces the steep path, and is the only obstacle to reaching Arete:

Κεῖνος δ' οὐ ποτ' ἀνὴρ Ἀρετῆς ἐπὶ τέρμαθ' ἴκανε· 195  
ὧ τιμὴ μὴ νόος ἐστὶν ἐναίσιμος· οὐνεκ' ἄρ' αὐτῆς  
πρέμνον δύσβατόν ἐστι, μακροὶ δὲ οἱ ἄχρῖς ἐπ' αἶθρη  
ὄζοι ἀνῆξή(ν)θ'· ὅποσοι δὲ κάρτος ὀπηδεῖ  
καὶ πόνος, ἐκ καμάτου πολυγηθέα καρπὸν ἀμῶνται  
εἰς Ἀρετῆς ἀναβάντες εὐστεφάνου κλυτὸν ἔρνος.

<sup>19</sup>For discussion of these and other sources and parallels, see Vian, *Suite II* 19, 203-5, n. 3; also Bassett (1925b); P. Kakridis, 54-5; and Byre, 189-94. To Vian's list of parallels add Lucian, *Herm.* 3, where Arete is higher education

<sup>20</sup>Bassett (1925b) 416-7 suggests (probably wrongly, P. Kakridis, 54; Vian, *Suite II*, 204) that the tree derives from the *Tabula* of Cebes and representations in the sanctuary of Arete at Smyrna

<sup>21</sup>Cribbiore, 45, discusses the popularity of the image of the steep path to Arete in educational contexts. In conversation with the writer of the present study, she has surmised that Quintus' placement of Arete in the tree as a normal (and perhaps humorous) extension of the idea.

**The man whose mind is not honorable never reaches the goals of Arete.  
The trunk of her tree is hard to climb, and her branches reach to the aether.  
But those who are strong and who toil climb the famous tree of beautifully  
crowned Arete, and enjoy the fruit of their labor.**

**As those who climb are rewarded with the fruits of excellence, the image of the tree is apt.**

**In both 5. 49-56 and 14. 195-200, Arete is connected with Achilles. It is satisfactory to see no more profound significance in this association than that Achilles is for Quintus a paragon of virtue.<sup>22</sup> A more explicit connection, however, is suggested by Byre, who interprets the palm tree as a symbol of victory over death. While neither 5. 49-56 nor 14. 195-200 suggests that the rewards of virtue are to be enjoyed in the afterlife, rather than, or as well as, in earthly life, there is some reason to believe that Byre's interpretation is correct,<sup>23</sup> and that the personification of Arete is a developed allegory, connected with larger themes in the *Posthomerica*. This thematic connection may be deduced from two speeches of Nestor. Although there is no explicit reference to Arete, the image of the difficult and easy paths is found in Nestor's advice to Neoptolemus at 12. 292-6:**

**Ἄλγεα μὲν παρὰ ποσσὶ θεοὶ θέσαν ἀνθρώποισιν,  
ἔσθλα δὲ πολλὸν ἄπωθε· πόνον δ' ἐς μέσον ἔλασαν·  
τούνεκα ῥηιδίη μὲν ἐς ἀργαλήην κακότητα  
αἰζηοῖσι κέλευθος, ἀνιρῆ δ' ἐτι κῦδος.  
μέσφ' ὅτε τις στονόεντα πόνον διὰ ποσσὶ περήσῃ**

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**"The gods put troubles before men's feet, and good things far off:  
toil lies between. Therefore the path to woeful ruin is easy for men,  
and that to glory, where one must press his feet through painful toil,  
is hard."**

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<sup>22</sup>To which notion most critics subscribe, the case being put forcefully by Mansur. An exception is King, whose interpretation of Quintus' Achilles seems to be colored by contrast with more romantic portrayals. she, it is to be noted, discusses neither Quintus' description of Achilles' shield nor the dream of Neoptolemus.

<sup>23</sup>Byre, 191-5; his equation of the palm tree with the Pythagorean  $\Upsilon$ , however, is less convincing.



Another speech of Nestor, his consolation of Podalireius, perhaps hints at the nature of the rewards of Arete (7. 87-9):

... πέλει φάτις ἀνθρώποισιν  
 ἐσθλῶν μὲν νίσσεσθαι ἐς οὐρανὸν ἄφθιτον αἰεὶ  
 ψυχᾶς. ἀργαλέων δὲ ποτὶ ζόφον . . .

" . . . There is a saying among men that the souls of the good go to an everlasting heaven, and those of the bad to darkness."

The notion of a blessed afterlife for exceptional men, which is the reward of their excellence, is hardly novel, being expressed most famously in the *Somnium Scipionis*.<sup>24</sup> The emphasis placed on the possibility of such an afterlife, moreover, constitutes one of Quintus' greatest departures from Homeric sensibilities. Two who enjoy such an afterlife, of course, are Achilles and Neoptolemus, the deification of the former being clearly established in the *Posthomeric*, and that of the latter predicted. The notion of a blessed afterlife attained through merit is logically associated with these heroes, and this may well be why Quintus twice inserts idiosyncratic and detailed references to Arete into passages involving Achilles and Neoptolemus.

There is no question of allegorical significance in the case of Mania, Ate, the Litae, Oneiros and Themis. Quintus personifies these entities to differing degrees, by the use of epithets, or description indicating corporeality, or by attributing purposeful action to them.

Mania is not personified in Homer (the word does not occur), and her personification in the *Posthomeric* is limited and not particularly vivid. She is mentioned when Athena restores Ajax to his senses (5. 451-3):

καὶ τότε οἱ Τριτωνὶς ἀπὸ φρενὸς ἠδὲ καὶ ὄσσων  
 ἐκέδασσεν Μανίην βλοσυρὴν πνεύουσαν ὄλεθρον·  
 ἢ δὲ θοῶς ἵκανε ποτὶ Στυγὸς αἶπα ρέεθρα

<sup>24</sup>For discussion of the notion in the imperial period of the attainment of "divinity through virtue" (arete), see Bowersock, 190-1. Vian (*Suite I*: xvii) terms Nestor "the mouthpiece of [Quintus'] Stoic thought," which is true, but Stoic thoughts are common in the period in question, and Quintus labors them only in these passages. It is not possible to regard his portrayal of the gods, as a whole, as Stoic allegory.

Then Tritonis removed from his mind and eyes Mania, fearful-visaged and breathing destruction, who went swiftly to the steep banks of the Styx . . .

Here, personification is established most clearly by Mania's departure to her presumptive dwelling place in the underworld. The epithet βλοσυρός (occasionally used of humans (e.g.: H 214; O 608) but most commonly associated with Hesiodic monsters) and the description of Mania as πνείουσα ὄλεθρον, add little to the personification. Mania undertakes no independent action; she is an agent, little more than a tool, of Athena.<sup>25</sup>

Ate (Blind Folly) is very slightly personified, and the Litae (Prayers) slightly more, both in character speech. Ate is mentioned by an anonymous Greek, who comments on Achilles' killing of Thersites that "Ate punishes a shameless tongue" (. . . γλώσσαν ἀναιδέα τίνυται Ἄτη, I. 753). The action attributed to Ate suggests consciousness and intent, but this is the extent of the personification. The Litae are mentioned by Paris, begging Oenone to aid him. He claims that by refusing she (10. 300-2):

. . . Λιτῆς δ' ἀποθύμια ῥέξεις 300  
αἶ ῥα καὶ αὐταὶ Ζηνὸς ἐριγδούποιο θυγατρὲς  
εἰσί, καὶ ἀνθρώποισιν ὑπερφιάλοις κοτέουσσαι

. . . acts in a fashion offensive to the Litae, who are the very daughters of Zeus the thunderer, and who detest overweening human pride . . .

Description of the Litae as daughters of Zeus and the clear statement of their ability to take offense fully personifies them. The greatest interest of these passages lies in comparison of them to the personifications of the Litae and Ate at I 502-12, and of Ate at T 91-136.<sup>26</sup> While punishment must presume sentience, Quintus' reference to Ate would scarcely be regarded as a personification, but for the fame of the Homeric passage. Note also that while Quintus closely follows Homer in the roles he attributes to Ate and the

<sup>25</sup>At 5. 360, the onset of Ajax madness, the λύσσα which Athena inflicts is not personified

<sup>26</sup>For a recent and detailed discussion of the Homeric passages, see Wyatt.

Litae, he omits entirely the Homeric emphasis on their physical features.<sup>27</sup> Also absent are the patently unseemly references to Ate's blinding of Zeus (T 95-6), which suggests that she is out of his control;<sup>28</sup> the violent incident of his hurling her from heaven (T 125-9); and the relationship between Ate and Zeus, which, with its implication that Zeus may cause harm, troubled ancient commentators.<sup>29</sup>

Comparison to Homer is also of interest in the cases of Oneiros (Dream) and Themis (Justice or Right Action), who are characters taking part in the action of both the *Posthomerica* and the *Iliad*. Quintus does not imbue either with as much anthropomorphic "personality" as does Homer. The false dream which appears to Penthesileia (l. 123-37) is clearly modeled on the false dream of Agamemnon (B 5-41). But while Agamemnon's dream speaks directly to him and receives direct orders from Zeus (B 8-15), Penthesileia's simply comes "by Athena's request (Παλλάδος ἐννεσίησι. l. 125), and "urg[es] her to face and contend bravely with swift-footed Achilles" (. . . μιν ἐποτρύνεσκε ποδάρκεος ἄντ' Ἀχιλλῆος/θαρσαλέως μάρνασθαι ἐναντίον, l. 130-1).<sup>30</sup> This summary robs Quintus' version of the vividness of Homer's mimetic treatment of the incident.

<sup>27</sup> Ate's strength (σθεναρή, l. 505), light feet (ἄρτιπος, l. 505; ἀπαλοὶ πόδες, T 92), and "the shining hair of her head" (κεφαλῆς λιπαροπλοκάμοιο, T 126); the "contorted faces and down-cast eyes" (χωλαί τε ῥυσαί τε ὀπαραβλωπες τ' ὄφθαλμῶ, l. 503) of the Litae.

<sup>28</sup> Yamagata, 51.

<sup>29</sup> A *ad* T 90-1 characterizes as ψεῦδος the notion that Ate is Zeus' daughter. bT *ad* T 91 remark that the relationship may be interpreted as stating that Zeus causes harm, and that the description of Ate as πρέσβα has no genealogical import, but is euphemistic. T 96 calls attention the φασ' ἔμμεναι as qualifying the statement that Zeus is deceived.

<sup>30</sup> Quintus' avoidance of verbatim repetition of direct discourse is of course a matter of style; such avoidance, however does not preclude an interchange between Athena and the Dream. Quintus' use of the phrase μένος . . . Ὀνείρου (l. 125) to denote the dream appears to limit personification, but is a stylistic quirk; similar locutions with μένος denote: Achilles (l. 4), Aeneas (ll. 235, 393), Hector (l. 154), Odysseus (ll. 73), Penthesileia (l. 314) and Ajax (5. 363; 6. 282); with σθένος: Achilles (l. 508, 607, 4 183), Ajax (4. 99, 5 322, 424), Aeneas (10. 112), Heracles (3. 772; 6. 199, 222), Antaeus (6 286), Eurypylus (6. 541, 584; 7. 166; 8. 7, 171), Idomeneus (4. 284), and Polydamas (2. 63); with βίη: Achilles (l. 829), Ajax (l. 331; 4. 258; 5. 639), Eetion (4. 152), Patroclus (4. 289), Socus (7. 444), Neoptolemus (7 462; 8 40), Priam (9. 34), Phaethon (10. 192), and Paris (14. 157).

Themis in the *Iliad* is a sort of Olympian servitor, and fully anthropomorphic. In the *Posthomeric*, she lives up to her name, embodying the notion of right action.<sup>31</sup> Her most important appearance is at 12. 202-16, where she addresses the assembled gods, reminding them of Zeus' desire for proper behavior, aborting a Theomachy before divine combat is scarce begun.<sup>32</sup> At 13. 299, the Greeks are said to "respect Themis, who sees all" (Θέμιν ἀζόμενοι πανδερκέα) in sparing Antenor for his hospitality to Odysseus. Here, personification is conveyed only by the epithet, which is appropriate to Themis' role.<sup>33</sup>

**Personifications of War**      Passages in which entities associated with war or battle appear show the limits of Quintus' allegorical portrayal of the gods. Some such passages are "allegorical" in that they serve merely to indicate the fierceness of the fighting, but the same entities which figure in these "allegorical" scenes also sometimes clearly influence the events of the poem, and sometimes appear with Olympian gods.<sup>34</sup>

The depictions of battle on the shield of Achilles in the *Iliad*, the shield of Heracles in the *Aspis*, and the shield of Achilles in the *Posthomeric* are a useful starting point for discussion of the treatment of "allegorical" figures of war. In the *Iliadic* description (Σ 535-8) are:

... Ἔρις ἐν δὲ Κυδοιμὸς ὀμίλειον, ἐν δ' ὀλοῇ Κήρ      535  
 ἄλλον ζῶν ἔχουσα νεούταταον, ἄλλον ἄουτον.  
 ἄλλον τεθνηῶτα κατὰ μόθον ἔλκε ποδοῖν·

<sup>31</sup>Campbell, 50, regards such quasi-allegorical treatment of Themis as the norm and Homer's portrayal as the exception

<sup>32</sup>Themis is also personified in a simile at 8. 73, and in character speech at 13. 369-73

<sup>33</sup>So P. Kakridis, 177. Quintus uses this epithet only thrice: here, of Helios, to whom it is regularly applied (13. 229); and of the gods (θεοί, 2. 443); see ch. 2, p. 36

<sup>34</sup>Vian (*Suite III*, 48, n. 2) explicitly terms the following passages "allegorical tableaux": 1. 308-11, 5. 29-37; 6. 350-1; 8. 186-7, 191-2, 286-90, 324-8, 425-6; 9. 145-7; 10. 53-65, 11. 6-19, 151-3; and 13. 85. Also similar are 2. 460, 482-4, 486; 6. 359; 9. 323-4; 11. 161; 12. 437-9; 13. 126, 218-9.

εἶμα δ' ἔχ' ἀμφ' ὤμοισι δαφοινεὸν αἶματι φωτῶν.

... Eris and Tumult and destructive Ker, holding one man alive, newly wounded, another unwounded, and another dead, whom she dragged by the feet through the fray. The cloak around her shoulders was dyed red with the blood of men.

This is the only unambiguous personification of Ker in the *Iliad*,<sup>35</sup> and is remarkable for the vividly physical description of her action and the anthropomorphic detail that she is clothed. Even more vivid is the battle scene of the *Aspis* (248-57):

... αἱ δὲ μετ' αὐτοῦς  
 Κῆρες κυάνεαι. λευκοὺς ἀραβεῦσαι ὀδόντας,  
 δεινωπαὶ βλοσυραὶ τε δαφοναὶ τ' ἄπληταὶ τε 250  
 δῆριν ἔχον περὶ πιπτόντων· πᾶσαι δ' ἄρ' ἴεντο  
 αἶμα μέλανπιέειν· ὄν δὲ πρῶτον μεμάποιεν  
 κείμενον ἢ πίπτοντα νεούτατον, ἀμφὶ μὲν αὐτῶ  
 βάλλ' ὄνυχας μεγάλους, ψυχὴ δ' Ἄιδόσδε κατῆεν  
 Τάρταρον κρυόενθ'. αἱ δὲ φρένας εὐτ' ἀρέσαντο 255  
 αἶματος ἀνδρομέου, τὸν μὲν ῥιπτασκον ὀπίσσω,  
 ἄψ' δ' ὄμαδον καὶ μῶλον ἐθύνεον αὐτίς ἰοῦσαι.

Behind [the fighting men] were dark Keres. Their white fangs snarling, terrible-visaged, blood-stained, and unapproachable, they struggled over the fallen. They all longed to drink dark blood. And as soon as they could catch a man down, or falling wounded, they clasped their great claws around him, and his soul would go down to Hades or chilly Tartarus. And when they satisfied their hearts with human blood, they threw that one behind them, and returned immediately to the tumult and the fray.

Here, the physical description of the Keres is extremely detailed. And not only are their actions physical, but the motivation for these actions is specified.<sup>36</sup>

In the *Posthomerica*, there is a similar scene, certainly influenced by these passages, on Achilles' shield (5. 25-37):

Ἐν δ' ἄρα καὶ πόλεμοι φθισήνορες, ἐν δὲ κυδοίμοι 25

<sup>35</sup>Garland, 45. It is generally accepted the here Ker is not to be understood as physically present on the field (Dietrich (1983) 64).

<sup>36</sup>Vernant, 96

ἀργαλέοι ἐνέκειντο. Περικτείνοντο δὲ λαοὶ  
 μίγδα θοοῖς ἵπποισι· πέδον δ' ἅπαν αἵματι πολλῶ  
 δευομένῳ ἦικτο κατ' ἀσπίδος ἀκαμάτιο.  
 Ἐν δὲ Φόβος καὶ Δεῖμος ἔσαν στονόεσσα τ' Ἐνυώ,  
 αἵματι λευγαλέῳ πεπαλαγμένοι ἄψα πάντα· 30  
 ἐν δ' Ἔρις οὐλομένη καὶ Ἐριννύες ὀβριμόθυμοι,  
 ἧ μὲν ἐποτρύνουσα ποτὶ κλόνον ἄσχετον ἄνδρας  
 ἐλθέμεν, αἶ δ' ὀλοοῖο πυρὸς πνείουσαι αὐτμήν.  
 Ἀμφὶ δὲ Κῆρες ἔθνον ἀμείλιχοι, ἐν δ' ἄρα τῆσι  
 φοῖτα λευγαλέου Θανάτου μένος· ἀμφὶ δ' ἄρ' αὐτῶ 35  
 Ὑσμῖναι ἐνέκειντο δυσηχέες, ὧν περί πάντων  
 ἐκ μελέων εἰς οὐδας ἀπέρρειν αἶμα καὶ ἰδρώς.

On it were man-devouring wars and harsh tumults. Hosts lay dying,  
 together with swift horses, and the field depicted on that invincible  
 shield was streaming all over with blood. On it were Phobos and  
 Deimos and woeful Enyo, all their limbs smeared with awful blood.  
 On it was baneful Eris, rousing men to go to the merciless fight,  
 and the mighty-hearted Erinyes, breathing deadly fire. The  
 relentless Keres flitted about, and the dismal strength of Death was  
 also there. Around him were shrieking Battles, with blood and  
 sweat streaming from their limbs.

That more and different entities appear on Quintus' shield than on Homer's or in the *Aspis*,  
 is only to be expected, given the relatively large number of personifications which figure in  
 the *Posthomerica* as a whole. Quintus uses a wide range of devices to establish the  
 personification of the entities depicted on the shield: The mere statement of their presence  
 on the field (Death):<sup>37</sup> a suggestion of their corporeality (Phobos, Deimos, Enyo, the  
 Erinyes); or a suggestion of awareness and volition, conveyed either through the use of an  
 epithet (the Keres, Erinyes), or through the attribution of action (Eris). Note that πόλεμοι  
 and κυδοιμοί are not personified.

Quintus' description of these entities, however, is rather vague in comparison to his  
 models. While Eris' rousing the combatants is a purposeful action, Quintus imputes much  
 less volition to her than does the poet of the *Aspis*. While some figures are definitely  
 corporeal, dripping blood and sweat, unlike Homer's Ker they are not said to be clothed.

<sup>37</sup>On the phrase Θανάτου μένος, see, p. 150, n. 30.



Other passages of the *Posthomerica* seem to extend this device of signaling the fierceness of the fighting by reference to the reaction of deities associated with war. Homer provides a direct model only for reference to their pleasure in observing an evenly matched struggle, but instances in which these deities are present on the field and delight in the carnage of rout or impartially urge on both sides, are similar in that these actions have no effect on the battle.<sup>39</sup>

Entities associated with war are sometimes said to be present when battle is evenly balanced. At 1. 308-11, Kudoimos (Tumult) and the Keres circle the battle-lines, with Death hard by them ( ἐνεστρωφᾶτο Κυδοιμός/λαοῖς ἐν μέσσοισιν . . . εἰστήκει Θανάτοι τέλος, περὶ δέ σφισι Κῆρες . . . στρωφῶντο); Kudoimos is accompanied by Phonos on similar rounds at 6. 350-1 (Κυδοιμός/στρωφᾶτ' ἐν μέσσοισι μετ' . . . Φόνοιο); Enyo is present at 8. 186-7 (Ἐνυῶ ἰσταμένη).<sup>40</sup> In these cases, there is no more personification than what is implied by the entities' physical presence, and they undertake no action except movement.

The slaughter attendant on rout is marked by the same sort of references to deities associated with war either enjoying the spectacle, or merely present at it. Eris rejoices in the slaughter done by the inspired Aeneas and Eurymachus ( . . . Ἐρις δ' ἄρ' ἰαίνετο θυμῷ. 11. 161), as do the Keres over the Trojans slain in the sack (Κῆρες . . . ἐπεγήθειον, 13. 126); Enyo delights in and spurs on the pursuit of the Trojans after Eurypylos' death ( . . . ἐπετέρπετ' Ἐνυῶ/Δῆριν ἐπικλονέουσα κασιγνήτην

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<sup>39</sup>It is not simply Quintus' habit always to personify such entities: At 6. 359, for example, when battle is joined and "brazen strife falls upon both [sides]" (Ἐν γὰρ δὴ χάλκειος Ἐρις πέσεν ἀμφοτέροισι,) Eris is in no way personified. Although Vian's edition capitalizes Ἐρις, his earlier comment ((1959) 196, where in quotation he does not capitalize) in fact indicates that she is not personified: "Ἐμπίπτειν a toujours pour sujet un substantif abstrait, et non un nom de dieu, fût-il pris métaphoriquement "

<sup>40</sup>Cassandra's statement at 12. 547-9 that the Erinnyes and keres fly through the city ( . . . Ἐριννύες . . . καὶ Κῆρες ἀμειλιχοὶ ἀίσσουσι/πάντη ἀνά πτολίεθρον), is also similar



Πολέμοιο, 8. 425-6). At 13. 218-9, **Destruction accompanies Neoptolemus as he wreaks havoc in the city** (. . . πάντη δὲ μέλας ἀνεφαίνεται Ὀλεθρος/ ὄλλυμένων . . . ).

A higher degree of personification is apparent when deities associated with war urge on the combatants,<sup>41</sup> as at 8. 286-90:

. . . ὀλοή δ' ἀνά μέσσον Ἐνυῶ  
στρωφᾶτ' ἀλγινόεντι λύθρῳ πεπαλαγμένη ὦμους  
καὶ χέρας, ἐκ δὲ οἱ αἰνὸς ἀπὸ μελέων ῥέειν ἰδρῶς·  
οὐδ' ἑτέροισιν ἄμυνεν, ἴση δ' ἑπετέρπετο χάρμη  
ἄζομένη φρεσὶν ἧσι Θέτιν καὶ δῖον Ἄρηα. 290

Deadly Enyo circled amongst them, her shoulders and hands covered with grisly gore, dreadful sweat streaming from her limbs. She did not aid either side, but delighted in the equal struggle, respecting Thetis and splendid Ares.

Here, the physical description of Enyo is very detailed, mentioning body parts, blood, and sweat. In her delight in battle and her deference to Ares and Thetis, she is accorded a considerable degree of sentience. Her actions, however, have no net effect, while those of Thetis and Ares aid, respectively, Neoptolemus and the Trojans.<sup>42</sup> This impartial encouragement is common in the *Posthomerica*. At 2. 482-4 the general battle remains drawn as long as the duel between Achilles and Memnon is undecided: "On either side, the deadly Keres urged on the swift ranks to toil endlessly in the woeful fight" (ὀλοαὶ δὲ θεῶς φάλαγγας/Κῆρες ἐποτρύνεσκον ἀπειρέσιον πονέεσθαι/δῆριν ἀνά στονόεσσαν). At 8. 186-7, Enyo urges on both Neoptolemus and Eurypylus (. . . Τοὺς δ' αἰὲν ἐποτρύνεσκεν Ἐνυῶ/ἐγγύθεν ἰσταμένη . . . ), and at 9. 147 Eris' shouting (βοόωσα) is also apparently an exhortation of both sides. At 2. 482-4 and 8. 186-7 the verb ὀτρύνω (whose subject is always a human or a god, often the latter) personifies the Keres and Enyo, while Eris' shouting implies corporeality.

<sup>41</sup>In these instances, the encouragement is provided as the battle rages, on divine incitement to the joining of battle, see pp. 161-2.

<sup>42</sup>On the actions of Thetis and Ares, see ch. 5, pp. 242-8.

Elsewhere, however, their appearance with Olympian gods who participate as characters in the action of the *Posthomerica*, and the nature of some of their actions, precludes easy understanding of reference to entities associated with war as merely the poetic expression of the fierceness of battle.

There is considerable Homeric precedent for the appearance of entities associated with war in the company of Olympians. At Δ 439-45, Athena and Ares, accompanied by personifications, encourage the respective sides:

ὤρσε δὲ τοὺς μὲν Ἄρης, τοὺς δὲ γλαυκῶπις Ἀθήνη  
 Δεῖμός τ' ἠδὲ Φόβος καὶ Ἔρις ἄμοτον μεμαυῖα. 440  
 Ἄρεος ἀνδροφόνοιο κασιγνήτη ἑτάρη τε.  
 ἢ τ' ὀλίγη μὲν πρῶτα κορύσσεται, αὐτὰρ ἔπειτα  
 οὐρανῶ ἐστήριξε κάρη καὶ ἐπὶ χθονὶ βαίνει·  
 ἢ σφιν καὶ τότε νεῖκος ὁμοῖον ἔμβαλε μέσσω  
 ἐρχομένη καθ' ὄμιλον, ὀφέλλουσα στόνον ἀνδρῶν. 445

Ares urged on [the Trojans], flashing-eyed Athena [the Greeks], and Deimos and Phobos and Eris, incessantly raging, the sister and comrade of man-destroying Ares, who at first rears her crest but a little, then raises her head up to heaven as she walks the earth. She cast strife into their midst, going through the horde, causing the groaning of men to increase.

Υ 47-53 is very similar:

αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ μεθ' ὄμιλον Ὀλύμπιοι ἤλυθον ἀνδρῶν,  
 ὤρτο δ' Ἔρις κρατερὴ λαοσσόος, αὔε δ' Ἀθήνη,  
 στᾶς ὅτ' ἐμὲν παρὰ τάφον ὀρυκτὴν τεῖχος ἔκτος.  
 ἄλλοτ' ἐπ' ἀκτάων ἐριδούπων μακρὸν αὔτει. 50  
 αὔε δ' Ἄρης ἐτέρωθεν, ἐρεμνῆ λαίλαπι ἴσος,  
 ὄξυ κατ' ἀκροτάτης πόλιος Τρώεσσι κελεύων,  
 ἄλλοτε παρ Σιμόεντι θέων ἐπὶ Καλλικολώνη.

When the Olympians came into the midst of the horde of men, then arose mighty Eris, rouser of hosts, and Athena cried aloud, standing now by the trench dug outside the wall, now on the resounding sea shore, shouting loud. Ares, like a dark whirlwind shouted shrilly in response, encouraging the Trojans from the citadel, then speeding along the Simoeis to Callicone.

In these passages, Homer accords a greater degree of "real presence" to the Olympians than to the figures which accompany them. At Δ 439-45, the allegorical or symbolic character of Eris is especially blatant; she increases in sizes as the battle does in ferocity, and the νεῖκος she spreads is but a small step from ἔρις.<sup>43</sup> Note that her action, as opposed to that of Athena and Ares, is impartial.<sup>44</sup> At Υ 47-53 Eris is the battle itself<sup>45</sup> personified only by her epithet, and clearly distinguished from the Olympians; they enter the fray, she arises as it were spontaneously. At Ε 592-5, Ares is accompanied by Enyo:

... ἦρχε δ' ἄρα σφιν Ἄρης καὶ πότνι' Ἐνυώ,  
 ἡ μὲν ἔχουσα Κυδοιμὸν ἀναιδέα δηϊοτήτος,  
 Ἄρης δ' ἐν παλάμησι πελώριον ἔγχος ἐνώμα,  
 φοῖτα δ' ἄλλοτε μὲν πρόσθ' Ἑκτορος, ἄλλοτ' ὀπίσθε. 595

Ares and dread Enyo led [the Trojans], she bringing the ruthless tumult of battle; Ares wielded an enormous spear in his hands, and ranged now in front of Hector, now behind him.

There is no great difference here between the actions of Enyo and Ares. Yet there is reason (beyond the more vivid personification of Ares with his spear) to think that only Ares is "real." Diomedes, who (Ε 124-32) has been given the power to see the gods clearly, mentions only "Ares, [who] is at [Hector's] side, in the likeness of a mortal man" (καὶ νῦν οἱ πάρα κείνος Ἄρης, βροτῶ ἀνδρὶ εἰοικώς, Ε 604). Only once in the *Iliad* is there no clear distinction between Olympians and lesser, bellicose deities, at Ε 517-8, where the Trojans join in "the toil . . . which he of the silver bow aroused, and Ares, the bane of mortals, and Eris, raging incessantly" ( . . . πόνος . . . ὄν Ἀργυρότοξος ἔγειρεν/ Ἄρης τε βροτολοιγὸς Ἐρις τ' ἄμοτον μεμαυῖα).

<sup>43</sup>The scholiasts are agreed on the allegorical nature of Deimos, Phobos, and Eris. A *ad* Δ 439 regards Ares, too, as a possible personification; for discussion, see Feeney, 37. Whitman, 20, regards the treatment of Eris here as a true allegory: she is "nearly a model for the story [of the *Iliad*] as a whole "

<sup>44</sup>Kirk I 380-1 *ad* Δ 440-1: "The allegorical figures are to be understood as spreading the spirit of war among both sides equally." cf. also the simile at Ν 295-303 where Ares and Phobos inspire both sides

<sup>45</sup>So bT *ad* Υ 48, T compares Δ 439.

In the *Posthomeric*, when they appear together, the distinction between Ares and other deities associated with war is less clear. At 8. 324-8 the battle rages:

ἄλλος δ' ἄλλω τεύχε φόνον· κεχάροντο δὲ Κῆρες  
καὶ Μόρος, ἀλγινόεσσα δ' Ἔρις μέγα μαιμώωσα 325  
ἦυσε(ν) μάλα μακρόν, Ἄρης δὲ οἱ ἀντεβόησε  
σμερδαλέον. Τρῶεσσι δ' ἐμπνευσεν μέγα θάρσος,  
Ἄργείοισι δὲ φύζαν, ἄφαρ δ' ἐλέλιξε φάλαγγας.

There was slaughter everywhere. The Keres and Moros rejoiced. Grisly Eris shouted loud in her frenzy, and Ares cried awfully in answer, inspiring the Trojans with great courage, and putting the Argives to flight, shattering their lines.

Ares is certainly present here. He descends to the field at 8. 237, and does not depart until 8. 356. His presence seems to be recognized by the prophet Helenus (8. 263-5), and his shout, and its effect (note that here it has one), is repeated from 8. 247-52.<sup>46</sup> In contrast to Homeric passages in which Ares appears with personifications of battle, here the actions of Eris and Ares are identical; he in fact responds to her.

In other instances where Ares is associated with lesser war-gods, his behavior is of the same sort as that elsewhere attributed to them alone, to indicate the fierceness of the fighting. At 11. 8-15. Ares impartially arouses both sides:

Ἐν γὰρ δὴ μέσσοισιν Ἔρις στονόεσσα τ' Ἐνυώ  
στρωφῶντ', ἀγραλέησιν Ἐρινύσιν εἰκελαὶ ἀντην,  
ἄμφω ἀπὸ στομάτων ὀλοὸν πνεύουσαι ὀλεθρον· 10  
ἄμφ' αὐτοῖσι δὲ Κῆρες ἀναιδέα θυμὸν ἔχουσαι  
ἀργαλέως μαίνοντο. Φόβος δ' ἐτέρωθε καὶ Ἄρης  
λαοὺς ὀτρύνεσκον· ἐφέσπετο δὲ σφιφι Δεῖμος  
φοινῆεντι λύθρῳ πεπαλαγμένος, ὄφρα ἐφῶτες  
οἱ μὲν καρτύνωνται ὀρώμενοι, οἱ δὲ φέβωνται. 15

In [the Trojans'] midst circled woeful Eris and Enyo, like the harsh Erinyses, both breathing deadly destruction from their mouths. The Keres, pitiless at heart, raged fiercely around them. Panic and Ares roused the people on either side, and Fear, covered in the gore of

<sup>46</sup>On 8. 237-65, see ch 5, pp. 242-8.

slaughter, so that some mortals seeing him might be strong, and others put to flight.

Here, Ares is accorded no more personality than the entities who accompany him. A greater degree of volition is accorded to Deimos, whose blood-stained physical presence, like that of the fire-breathing Erinyes, is also more strongly emphasized than is Ares'. Somewhat later, at 11. 151-2, the Keres and Ares rejoice in the battle which has been aroused, and Enyo screams (. . . κεχάραντο δὲ Κῆρες . . . ἐγέλασσε δ' Ἄρης· ἰάχησε δ' Ἐνυώ/σμερδαλέον·). At 13. 85, Ares and Enyo are present among the Greeks as they enter the city, (μαίνετο δ' ἐν μέσσοισιν Ἄρης σπονόεσσά τ' Ἐνυώ). In all these instances, Ares is presented in very little anthropomorphic detail, often less than the deities who accompany him, and his actions are not different in type from theirs.

The majority of the passages in the *Posthomerica* in which Ares appears with lesser deities of war, then, can also be interpreted satisfactorily as serving simply to indicate the ferocity of the fighting; the actions described have no effect on the plot. Although there is much Homeric precedent for the association of Ares with these lesser deities, and some precedent even for his actions being indistinguishable from theirs, the god's status, in passages of this sort, is more ambiguous in the *Posthomerica* than in the *Iliad*. The equivalence of the actions of Ares and of the entities which accompany him in these passages, however, should probably not be understood as indicating that Quintus' Ares is the mere embodiment of war, who displays "allegorically obsessive patterns of behavior, and lack of affiliation or epic personality," rather than being "a divine character who participates for characterful reasons."<sup>47</sup> As will be seen, Quintus' Ares does elsewhere

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<sup>47</sup>The quotation is from Feeney, 367-8, describing Statius' Mars. If anything, Quintus' Ares, in his unwavering partisanship of the Trojans, is more "characterful" than Homer's, or Virgil's Mars. Whitman, 234, rightly points out Ares' switching of sides in the *Iliad* as a sign of the god's shading into an allegorical figure, although his attempts to see other Olympians as allegorical figures (230-7) are less convincing. Virgil's Mars seems to be saved from being an allegorical figure by virtue of his importance in Roman mythology as the father of Romulus and Remus. There is a strong tendency to view Virgil's gods as, in the phrase of Hunt, 27, "not so much agents as symbols of action." See also Hainsworth, 105-6, on Virgil's Juno.

display "affiliation" and "personality." The fact that the lesser gods of battle who accompany Ares engage in the same types of action as he does seems to indicate not his demotion to the status of a mere personification, but their elevation--in the context of the limited divine action of the *Posthomerica*--to that of "real" gods. This is indicated by the fact that it is not only Ares with whom these lesser entities associate in the *Posthomerica*. At 12. 437-9, Enyo, Hera, and Athena react identically when the wooden horse is brought into the city:

... 'Εγέλασσε δ' 'Ενυώ  
 δερκομένη πολέμοιο κακὸν τέλος· ὕψοθι δ' Ἥρη  
 τέρπετ'· Ἀθηναίη δ' ἐπεγήθεεν· ...

... Enyo laughed, seeing the unhappy end of the war. And on high,  
 Hera was delighted and Athena rejoiced.

Enyo's delight at the anticipation of carnage is but a short remove from the numerous aforementioned instances in which she and other bellicose deities, including Ares, enjoy the actuality. But Quintus makes far less than does Homer of Athena's bellicose attributes, and Hera certainly can not in any way be seen as a personification of war. There is no precedent for her association with Enyo, and it is difficult to understand the passage as suggesting anything other than that the three goddesses are equally "real."

The "reality" of deities associated with war in the *Posthomerica* is also suggested by their actions, specifically the rousing of armies prior to battle, which affect events at the mundane level. Such divine incitement of the armies is a regular feature of Iliadic battles,<sup>48</sup> and is almost always performed by Olympians, either alone, or accompanied by personifications of war.<sup>49</sup> Only once, at Λ 3-14, where Eris alone performs this function, are Olympians not involved:

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<sup>48</sup>Kirk, I 380, *ad* Δ 434.

<sup>49</sup>Accompanied: Δ 439-45; E 517-8, 592-5; Y 47-53. Alone: B 445-54, Athena: Θ 307-11, Apollo

Ζεύς δ' Ἐριδα προΐαλλε θοάς ἐπὶ νῆας Ἀχαιῶν  
ἀργαλέην, πολέμοιο τέρας μετὰ χερσὶν ἔχουσαν.

...

... ἤυσε θεὰ μέγα τε δεινόν τε  
ὄρθι', Ἀχαιοῖσιν δὲ μέγα σθένος ἔμβαλ' ἐκάστῳ  
καρδίη, ἄλληκτον πολεμίζειν ἠδὲ μάχεσθαι.  
τοῖσι δ' ἄφαρ πόλεμος γλυκίων γένετ' ἢ νέεσθαι  
ἐν νηυσὶ γλαφυρῆσι φίλην ἐς πατρίδα γαῖαν.

10

Zeus sent ruthless Eris to the swift ships of the Achaeans, bearing in her hands a portent of war. . . . The great goddess shouted loud, shrill and terribly, and in the heart of the Greeks she put great strength, to do battle and fight unceasingly. And immediately the war was sweeter to them than to return in the hollow ships to their native land.

There is, however, good reason why Eris here rouses the armies: Zeus has forbidden the Olympians to intervene in the battle, and she performs their normal role.<sup>50</sup>

Eris also once rouses the armies in the *Posthomerica* (10. 53-65):

Τοὺς δ' ἄγεν εἰς ἓνα χῶρον Ἐρις μεδέουσα κυδοιμοῦ  
οὐ τι φαινομένη· περὶ γὰρ νέφος ἄμπεχεν ὤμους  
αἱματόεν· φοῖτα δὲ μέγαν κλονέουσα κυδοιμόν  
ἄλλοτε μὲν Τρώων ἐς ὀμήγυριν, ἄλλοτ' Ἀχαιῶν·  
τὴν δὲ Φόβος καὶ Δεῖμος ἀταρβέες ἀμφεπένοντο  
πατροκασιγνήτην κρατερόφρονα κυδαίνοντες.  
Ἥ δὲ μέγ' ἐξ ὀλίγοιο κορύσσετο μαιμῶωσα  
τεύχεα δ' ἐξ ἀδάμαντος ἔχε(ν) πεπαλαγμένα λύθρῳ·  
πάλλε δὲ λοίγιον ἔγχος ἐς ἡέρα· τῆς δ' ὑπὸ ποσσὶ  
κίνυτο γαῖα μέλαινα· πυρὸς δ' ἄμπνυεν αὐτ(μ)ῆν  
σμερδαλέου· μέγα δ' αἰὲν αὐτεεν ὀτρύνουσα  
αἰζηούς. Οἱ δ' αἶψα συνήιον ἀρτύνοντες  
ὕσμίνην· δεινὴ γὰρ ἄγεν θεὸς ἐς μέγα ἔργον.

55

60

65

Eris, the ruler of tumult, brought [the armies] together. She was visible to none, for a bloody cloud covered her shoulders. Stirring up great tumult, she went now to the Trojan host, now to the Achaean. Panic and Fear, unflinching, followed her, glorifying the stout-hearted sister of their father. She increased in size, rearing

<sup>50</sup>Kirk, III, 229, *ad* Λ 73-75, V: 293 *ad* Υ 48-53. Other similarities between Eris here and the Olympians elsewhere are the πολέμοιο τέρας at Λ 4 and the aegis (Διὸς τέρας) wielded by Athena at Ε 742 and by Apollo at Θ 307-11, and the designation of Eris as θεὰ μέγα τε δεινόν τε

up in frenzy. Covered in gore, she had arms of adamant, and as she brandished her fatal spear in the air, the black earth moved under her feet. She breathed out a blast of awful fire, and continually shouted loud, urging on the men. They immediately came together, ready to fight, for the terrible god led them to the great task.

Divine incitement of battle is rare in the *Posthomericæ*,<sup>51</sup> and Eris can not here easily be regarded as an allegorical figure. As at Δ 442-3<sup>52</sup> Eris increases in size, but is not merely a symbol of the rising tide of battle. She is invisible not because she is not "real," as at E 592-595, but because she is concealed in cloud (10. 54-5).<sup>53</sup> She herself provokes this fight, and no ban on Olympian intervention like that which explains Eris' action at Λ 3-14 is in force in Quintus' poem. By attributing to Eris rather than the Olympians the rousing of the armies, Quintus limits the Olympians' participation in the action.

The following points, then are to be observed regarding Quintus' treatment of entities associated with war. A large number of passages in which these entities appear serve only to indicate the ferocity of the fighting. These passages, in which divine action has no effect upon events at the mundane level, give a superficial gloss of divine involvement and the epic grandeur such involvement entails. In describing gods of war, Quintus sometimes avoids the graphic, physical description found in his demonstrable models. In this he differs considerably from other late epic poets. If Quintus' descriptions of personified entities and those associated with war are less detailed than those of Homer, certainly his technique is minimalist in comparison to that of writers of Latin epic, or even of Apollonius.<sup>54</sup> On the other hand, in some instances, Quintus presents the entities

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<sup>51</sup>The other instance is 11. 8-15, quoted and discussed p. 159. The Olympians do on occasion provoke single combats, and shout in encouragement during the course of battle

<sup>52</sup>The blood in 10. 53-4, too, is drawn, as it were, from Ker's blood-stained cloak at Σ 537. The other parallels which Vian (*Suite III*: 18, 205, n. 4) cites, Apollonius *Arg.* 3. 294 and Theocritus 22. 112-3, involve verbal similarities, but are thematically much different.

<sup>53</sup>Such concealment, common in the *Iliad*, is quite rare in the *Posthomericæ*; see ch. 5, pp. 207

<sup>54</sup>Small, 423-6, identifies allegorical and "quasi-allegorical passages in the *Iliad*. Apollonius' use of allegory and personification is extremely limited (Feeney, 76). Although "Apollonius has Eros as a major character, . . . he does everything he can to make him a creature of epic mythology rather than the



associated with war as being every bit as "real" as the Olympian gods: this limits the participation of the Olympians in the action of the poem.

It is significant that Quintus does not allegorize the Olympians; Plato, in the midst of his strictures against this portrayal, specifically rejects allegorical interpretation as a means of rendering Homer's portrayal of the gods acceptable.<sup>55</sup> Quintus limits and alters the actions he attributes to both personifications and to Olympian gods. While the anthropomorphic gods of the *Posthomeric* are to a large extent removed from a "decisive guiding role in the action of the poem," "[t]he space vacated by the gods" is not, as generally in late epics, "occupied by allegorical personifications,"<sup>56</sup> nor are the Olympians allegorized.<sup>57</sup> Instead, both anthropomorphic and abstract deities participate in the action of the poem in very similar fashion, but, as will be seen their actions are limited, and have little effect at the mundane level.

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personification which he could easily have been" (Feeney, 242); i.e. he is highly personified, but his actions are so closely limited to his proper sphere of affairs that he must be considered as personification. On the description of personifications in Latin epic, see Williams, 263-6, on Virgil, Johnson, 145-6

<sup>55</sup>*Rep* 2 378d

<sup>56</sup>Quotations from Feeney, 375-6, discussing Statius.

<sup>57</sup>On such allegorization in Virgil, see Heinze, 242-3, 280, n. 59.

## Chapter Five: The Divine Machinery of the *Posthomerica*

The portrayal of the gods the *Posthomerica* is most clearly established through the so-called "divine machinery,"<sup>1</sup> the divine actions in the poem's primary narrative. The divine machinery is a defining feature of epic, and is the root of many philosophical criticisms of the genre. Quintus employs the divine machinery fully,<sup>2</sup> and corrects the traditional portrayal of the gods through it. Divine actions in the *Posthomerica* are here divided into four broad categories: Celestial actions, in which the gods do not interact directly with mortal characters, including divine councils, divine observation of events at the mundane level, and actions which, although they occur on earth, do not impinge

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<sup>1</sup>Scholars employ the terms "divine machinery" or *Götterapparat* variously. Some (notably of those cited in the present study, Feeney) discuss under this rubric any reference to the divine which they deem significant. Others (e. g. Bremer) limit it to the mimesis of divine action. Here, "divine machinery" denotes instances in primary narrative of what Block, 95, calls "divine manifestation." This term "usually refers to instances in which a fully imagined deity appears as a character in the poem." Block and the present study "extend the term to include all instances in which the power depicted or referred to is beyond the human . . . 'divine' refers to any power that is not mortal, 'manifestation' to any use or presence of that power." i. e.: the divine machinery is not limited to mimetic representation of action, nor to the actions of anthropomorphic gods, but includes e.g. statements of divine influence on the thoughts of mortals. Johnson, 162-3, n. 42 seems to employ, though he does not articulate, a similar definition

<sup>2</sup>Note, however, that relatively few speeches (which Griffin (1986) 36, maintains are particularly offensive to Plato), especially speeches by gods, figure in the *Posthomerica* (Elderkin, 6, 28, 30, presents comparative figures in tabular form). This tendency is already apparent in Apollonius' *Argonautica* (Couat, 306; Elderkin, 29). Elderkin is probably correct (36) to see the paucity of direct speech as the result of Alexandrian criticism of Homer. On Quintus' use of indirect discourse, see ch. 1, p. 6

directly on mortal characters; instances in which the gods descend to and act at the mundane level; instances in which the gods effect physical action at the mundane level, apparently without descending to that level; and divine influence on mundane events through the mental manipulation of mortal characters, including dreams.<sup>3</sup>

Celestial Scenes Several times in the *Posthomeric*, the gods are represented as, or said to be, engaged in action which has no immediate or direct effect upon mortal characters. In contrast to Homer, Quintus very rarely shows the gods discussing some plan of action, then descending to the mundane level to effect it, or discussing in retrospect such divine action.

Scenes of divine council are typical of epic,<sup>4</sup> and are a usual starting point for examinations of the divine machinery.<sup>5</sup> The one such scene in the *Posthomeric* (2. 164-82) is an example of Quintus' constant technique of evoking a Homeric passage, then departing from his model in such a way as to alter the portrayal of the gods. In this case, the differences center around the portrayal of Zeus and the representation of his relations with the other gods.

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<sup>3</sup>This schema adapts to the peculiarities of Quintus' poem that used by Kullmann (1956) 42-5, to examine divine action in the *Iliad*. Of the categories used in the present study, divine conferences and emotional reactions of the gods are as in Kullmann. Because divine descent to the mundane level is comparatively rare in the *Posthomeric*, Kullmann's separate categories of epiphany, divine actions among men, and departures of the gods are combined into this single category: the protection of men and "godly impulse" (here termed mental manipulation), which Kullmann divides between sub-types of divine action undertaken at the mundane level and actions from Olympus, are here categories in their own right, while the question of divine influence on destiny is treated as it arises. In some instances, when one action follows directly upon another, the discussion crosses divisions between these categories.

<sup>4</sup>Homeric councils are: A 533-611; Δ 1-69; Θ 1-40; Υ 4-32; Ω 31-76; α 22-95; ε 3-42. bT *ad* Θ 2 notes the regular occurrence and dramatic purpose of such scenes. cf. Griffin (1980) xv, who explicitly regards the divine council as a generic convention, a "conception vital to [epic] and alien to later Greek religion." Council scenes in other epics are discussed pp. 173-5.

<sup>5</sup>e. g., Kullmann (1956) 44; the alternative course, to deal with each reference to divine action as it occurs in the poem, is too unwieldy here, where all divine actions in the primary narrative are discussed.

Zeus has been glaringly absent from the poem until this point.<sup>6</sup> The absence of Zeus where it is expected constitutes a reaction to, and implicit comment upon, epic norms.<sup>7</sup> Certainly, the appearance of Zeus, when it finally comes, attracts the reader's attention, and this scene is of great importance to Quintus' portrayal of the gods.

The model for 2. 164-82 is the divine council which begins the eighth book of the *Iliad*.<sup>8</sup> Zeus forbids the other gods to interfere with his plan for the glorification of Achilles by assisting either side, threatening them with dire punishment if they disobey (Θ 7-13):

μήτε τις οὖν θήλεια θεὸς τό γε μήτε τις ἄρσιν  
πειράτω διακέρσαι ἐμὸν ἔπος, ἀλλ' ἅμα πάντες  
αἰνεῖτ', ὄφρα τάχιστα τελευτήσω τάδε ἔργα.  
ὄν δ' ἂν ἐγὼν ἀπάνευθε θεῶν ἐθέλοντα νοήσω  
ἐλθόντ' ἢ Τρώεσσιν ἀρηγέμεν ἢ Δαναοῖσι.  
πληγείς οὐ κατὰ κόσμον ἐλεύσεται Οὐλυμπόνδε.  
ἢ μιν ἐλῶν ρίψω ἐς Τάρταρον . . .

10

" . . . let no god or goddess attempt to thwart my word; rather, assent, that I may as quickly as possible accomplish this thing. He whom I find going apart from the gods to aid the Trojans or the Greeks will return to Olympus chastised in unseemly fashion. Or I will hurl him into Tartarus . . . "

Zeus then taunts the other gods, asserting his ability to carry out his threat (Θ 17-27):

γνώσεται ἔπειθ' ὅσον εἰμὶ θεῶν κάρτιστος ἀπάντων.  
εἰ δ' ἄγε πειρήσασθε, θεοί, ἵνα εἴδετε πάντες.  
σειρὴν χρυσεῖην ἐξ οὐρανόθεν κρεμάσαντες  
πάντες τ' ἐξάπτεσθε θεοὶ πᾶσαί τε θέαιναι  
ἀλλ' οὐκ ἂν ἐρύσαιτ' ἐξ οὐρανόθεν πεδίουδδε

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<sup>6</sup>Zeus is mentioned in a simile (l. 63), but not in connection with Penthesileia's dream (l. 123-137) or the response to Priam's prayer (l. 182-204) or in the prologue.

<sup>7</sup>Feeney, 58-65, discussing the *Argonautica*. In this respect the *Posthomerica* is very similar to the *Argonautica* as outlined by Feeney, although the purposes of the two poets seem quite different, as most of Apollonius' references to the god (purposely, according to Feeney, 65-9) involve unseemly behavior.

<sup>8</sup>Vian, *Suite* I. 62, n. 1, cites as an overall parallel Θ 1-37, and as a parallel for 2. 180-2, A 605-611. Θ 38-40 are also relevant.

Ζῆν' ὕπατον μῆστωρ', οὐδ' εἰ μάλα πολλὰ κάμοιτε.  
 ἀλλ' ὅτε δὴ καὶ ἐγὼ πρόφρων ἐβ'λοίμι ἐρύσαι.  
 αὐτῇ κεν γαίῃ ἐρύσαιμ' αὐτῇ τε θαλάσση·  
 σειρῆν μὲν κεν ἔπειτα περὶ ρίον Οὐλύμπιοιο  
 δησαίμην, τὰ δέ κ' αὐτε μετήορα πάντα γένοιτο.  
 τὸσσον ἐγὼ περὶ τ' εἰμι θεῶν περὶ τ' εἰμ ἀνθρώπων.

25

"... Then you will know how much the mightiest of all gods I am. Make a trial, gods, that you may see. Make fast to heaven a chain of gold, and all you gods and goddesses seize it, but you could not move Zeus, the counselor on high, from heaven to earth, even if you strain greatly. But if I decide to pull, I would draw up the earth and the sea, and tying the chain around a peak of Olympus, leave them hanging suspended, by so much am I superior to gods and men."

Initially, the assembled gods meet this speech with silence (. . . οἱ ἄρα πάντες ἀκὴν ἐγένετο σιωπῆ/μῦθον ἀγασσάμενοι· μάλα γὰρ κρατερῶς ἀγόρευσεν, Θ 28-9). Finally, however, Athena, while acknowledging Zeus' strength (Θ 31-2), declares that his command will be followed only to a degree: She and the other gods will leave the battle, but will continue to help the Greeks against the Trojans by giving advice (Θ 35-7). Zeus thereupon retreats from his earlier authoritative stance (Θ 38-40):

Τὴν δ' ἐπιμειδήσας προσέφη νεφεληγερέτα Ζεὺς·  
 'θάρσει, Τριτογένεια, φίλον τέκος· οὐ νύ τι θυμῶ  
 πρόφρονι μυθέομαι, ἐθέλω δέ τοι ἥπιος εἶναι.'

40

Smiling, Zeus the cloud-gatherer addressed her: "Be of good cheer, Tritogeneia, my dear child. I do not at all intend to command you, and indeed wish to be kind."

Whatever the exact implications of Zeus' final words here,<sup>9</sup> his prohibition, of physical action on the battle field, is repeatedly violated before he explicitly permits the other gods to aid the Trojans and Greeks at Y 23-5.

<sup>9</sup>Fenik's, 203, assessment is cautious: "Zeus does not, of course retract his command, but his tone does change from one of belligerence and irritation to kindness and gentleness." Wilson, 302, is surely wrong to state that "the Homeric councils end one and all with a clear and authoritative statement of intent from Zeus "

The relationship between Zeus and the other Olympians in the *Iliad*, and the basis and nature of his sovereignty over them, are, of course, extremely complex matters. While threats of divine violence<sup>10</sup> and disobedience to Zeus<sup>11</sup> are normal by Homeric standards, and while it may be the case that "the gods . . . [n]ever present a real threat to Zeus,"<sup>12</sup> and that such allusions are made "in order to show that [Zeus] always comes out easily on top,"<sup>13</sup> various features of Θ 1-40 are open to criticism as "unseemly." Chief among these is that the passage is one in which Zeus "has to exert his power forcibly and repeatedly in order to be obeyed at all;" this confrontational relationship between him and the other gods is one of the reasons for the philosophical hostility to Homer.<sup>14</sup> Plato condemns reference to divine violence (*Rep.* 2. 378d); the opposition of one god by another (*Rep.* 2. 378c); open dissent (*Rep.* 3. 390a), and also forbids the representation of suddenly shifting strong emotion, such as is seen in Zeus' response to Athena (*Rep.* 3. 388e-389a). Not surprisingly, the ancient commentary on Θ 1-40 is extensive. The Scholiasts are at pains to render numerous points acceptable.<sup>15</sup> Zeus' blunt declaration of strength, for which some fault Homer (*A ad* Θ 25), is not inappropriate, but an expression of Zeus'

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<sup>10</sup>Fenik, 219; Martin, 52; Kirk II: 296 *ad* Y 13 notes that "flinging disobedient deities out of Olympus is a favorite punishment;" and Rose, 11, that Zeus' will is "justifie[d] on no higher grounds than his own vastly superior might. Clearly similar are A 586-94; O 18-24; Σ 394-9; cf. *H. Apollo* 316-21.

<sup>11</sup>Martin, 55-6. Feeney, 125, remarks that opposition to Zeus (or Jupiter) is to be expected in a poem which is a continuation of Homer. The *Posthomeric* is much more obviously such a continuation than the *Annales* of Ennius, in discussion of which Feeney makes this statement. Θ 38-40, too, is normal, whether viewed as "affirm[ing] (by contest) Zeus' power" (Martin, 57) or as arriving at divine consensus (Fenik, 202; Feeney, 200).

<sup>12</sup>Rose, 11

<sup>13</sup>Kirk, I 93, *ad* A 396-406

<sup>14</sup>Grube, 64

<sup>15</sup>Θ 28-40 are athetized on the basis that the lines are interpolated (*A ad* Θ 28). But O 18-31, which is very similar to Θ 17-27, is omitted by Zenodotus (*Did/A ad loc.*), whose reason "must have been dislike of impropriety" (Kirk IV: 231, *ad loc.*); Van der Valk's view (1963-4) II: 406, is similar. Eustathius, 1002-3, allegorizes O 18-31

supremacy (AbT *ad* Θ 18). Zeus' threat conveys a salutary lesson, that those who disobey rulers are punished (bT *ad* Θ 12).<sup>16</sup> Athena's speech is regarded as more moderate (μετριώτερον) than the expression of similar dissent elsewhere in the *Iliad* (bT *ad* Θ 30), and Zeus' response is described as appropriate to one addressing children and women, rendering him not tyrannical, but nobly magnanimous (bT *ad* Θ 40). The cosmological allegorization of this and similar passages is of course very famous,<sup>17</sup> and Athena's request to advise Greeks is subjected to moral allegorization.<sup>18</sup>

The single divine council of the *Posthomeric* avoids all these objectionable features of the Homeric portrayal of the gods. Quintus "corrects" the Homeric scene, not, as do some other writers of late epic, by allegorizing it,<sup>19</sup> but simply by representing the gods as acting differently than they do in Homer. Quintus' council takes place on the eve of the meeting of Memnon and Achilles (2. 164-82):

... ἐνὶ μεγάροισι Διὸς στεροπηγερῆταο  
 ἀθάνατοι δαίνυντο· πατήρ δ' ἐν τοῖσι Κρονίων 165  
 εὖ εἰδὼς ἀγόρευε δυσηχέος ἔργα μῦθοιο·  
 ἴστε θεοὶ περὶ πάντες ἐπεσσύμενον βαρὺ πῆμα  
 αὔριον ἐν πολέμῳ· μάλα γὰρ πολέω(ν) μένος ἵππων  
 ὄφρα σθ' ἀμφ' ὄφρα σσι δαιζομένων ἐκάτερθεν  
 ἄνδρας τ' ὀλλυμένους. Τῶν καὶ περικηδόμενός τις 170  
 μιμνέτω ὑμείων μηδ' ἀμφ' ἐμὰ γούναθ' ἰκάνων  
 λισσέσθω· Κῆρες γὰρ ἀμείλιχοί εἰσι καὶ ἡμῖν·  
 ὣς ἔφατ' ἐν μέσσοισιν ἐπισταμένοιισι καὶ αὐτοῖς.  
 ὄφρα καὶ ἀσχαλῶν τις ἀπὸ πτολέμοιο τράπηται  
 μηδέ ἐλισσόμενος περὶ υἱέος ἠὲ φίλοιο 175  
 μασιδίως ἀφίκηται ἀτειρέος ἔνδον Ὀλύμπου.

<sup>16</sup>cf. Schlesinger, 22-3 and n. 17, who attempts to interpret Θ 23-7 in accordance with Plato's dictum that "no god thwarts another "

<sup>17</sup>Eustathius, 694-5, summarizes the cosmological allegories; on similar passages, see bT *ad* A 399-400, 400; Eustathius, 122-4, 157-9, 1149-50.

<sup>18</sup>bT *ad* Θ 39; Eustathius, 696. The view of Calhoun (1940) 264-5, is similar: "It will be very near the truth to say that the prohibition applies to the gods as *dramatis personae* only and not in their more general aspects."

<sup>19</sup>cf. Valerius Flaccus' use of the *catena aurea* allegory, discussed by Feeney, 328-9 and n. 51-3

Καὶ τὰ μὲν ὡς ἐσάκουσαν ἐριγδούπου Κρονίδαο.  
 τλήσαν ἐνὶ στέρνοισι καὶ οὐ βασιλῆος ἔναντα  
 μῦθον ἔφαν· μάλα γὰρ μιν ἀπειρέσιον τρομέεσκον.  
 Ἄχνύμενοι δ' ἴκανον ὅπη δόμος ἦεν ἐκάστου  
 καὶ λέχος· ἀμφὶ δὲ τοῖσι καὶ ἀθανάτοισι περ' εὐοῦσιν  
 ὕπνου βληχρὸν ὄνειρα ἐπὶ βλεφάροισι τανύσθη.

180

. . . In the halls of Zeus the lightning-gatherer the immortals feasted. In their midst, the father, son of Cronus, possessed of great knowledge, spoke of the works of war, hateful to hear. "Know, all you gods, the heavy sorrow hastening on in tomorrow's battle. For you will see the might of many horses destroyed beside their chariots on either side, and men dying. Each one of you, however concerned, must remember not to grasp my knees in supplication. For the Keres are relentless, even to us."

So, although they knew, he spoke in their midst, so that even one who was grieved would turn away from the battle and not come in vain to indestructible Olympus, begging for a son or favorite.

And when they heard the words of the loud-thundering son of Cronus, they resigned their hearts and said nothing in opposition to their king, for they feared him greatly. Saddened, they departed, each to his home and bed. And although they were immortal, the gentle boon of sleep was spread over their eyes.

The situation is similar to that of the Homeric council in that Zeus forbids the other gods to seek to influence events at the mundane level. Unlike Homer's Zeus, however, Quintus' makes no threat:<sup>20</sup> his request is in fact quite politely phrased, beginning as it does with the acknowledgment of the grief his audience will feel. Far from declaring his superiority to the other gods, Quintus' Zeus' associates himself with them, in opposition to Fate (2. 172). Also the divine action here (as often in the *Posthomeric*) is unnecessary: the gods are already aware of Zeus' wishes (2. 173).<sup>21</sup>

In both the short- and long-term, the gods of the *Posthomeric* respond to the commands of Zeus differently than do those of the *Iliad*. Immediately, the obvious

<sup>20</sup>It is possible, of course, to maintain (as P. Kakridis, 29, seems to) that the reference to the gods' fear of their king (2. 179), makes a declaration of Zeus' power unnecessary.

<sup>21</sup>In this instance, however, the innovation is not great: cf. Y 20, where Zeus remarks that Poseidon knows why the council has been summoned.



difference is that Quintus' gods accede silently to Zeus. This silence is typical; only once in the *Posthomeric* does one god reply to another.<sup>22</sup> This is not merely a stylistic quirk, as mortal characters deliver many paired speeches. Rather, it seems to be a way of avoiding the representation of unseemly divine behavior. Usually, as here, the instances where gods fail to respond to a speech are modeled on Iliadic passages in which there is a hostile and unseemly response. Homer's gods can say nothing nice; Quintus' say nothing at all. In contrast to  $\Theta$  8-10, Quintus' Zeus does not refer specifically to his intent. This lessens the possibility that the gods' silent acquiescence be interpreted as dumb insolence. Less is asked, too, of the gods in the *Posthomeric*: They are forbidden not from intervening in the coming battle as at  $\Theta$  10-1, but merely from requesting that Zeus spare a favorite (2. 170-1).

Unlike the gods in the *Iliad*, those of the *Posthomeric* obey. This matter requires discussion. Presumably on the basis of analogy to the council in  $\Theta$ . Vian regards the council as a step undertaken to prevent the outbreak of Olympian strife,<sup>23</sup> and interprets Zeus' commands as a prohibition on divine intervention in the morrow's battle.<sup>24</sup> Under this interpretation, Zeus' commands are in fact violated: Dawn deflects the spears of Thrasymedes and Phereus from Memnon (2. 289-90). It is possible to assert, as Vian does, that Quintus has, in a hundred lines, forgotten that he has invoked a moratorium on divine action at the mundane level.<sup>25</sup> But this is unlikely. The divine council (the only such assembly of the gods in the *Posthomeric*), and Zeus' first appearance in the poem, mark 2. 164-82 as important. Moreover, if all divine intervention is banned, Quintus makes

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<sup>22</sup>The exception is 14. 427-48, on which see pp. 182-6.

<sup>23</sup>Suite I: 49: "Zeus ... sent que la paix dans l'Olympe est menacée par le combat qui se prépare: il reunit un conseil la veille de la bataille ..."

<sup>24</sup>Suite I: 62, n. 2, *ad* 2. 171: "C'est-à-dire qu' il s'abstienne d' intervenir dans la bataille "

<sup>25</sup>Suite I: 66, 167, n. 7: "... Quintus n'a pas pris garde qu' Éos enfreint ainsi les ordres donnés par Zeus aux v. 170 ss."

more than a minor slip at 2. 289-90, for, in contrast to the *Iliad*, the prohibition is never lifted. Nor does Zeus' injunction prevent divine strife; it is forestalled by Zeus' exhibition of the *keres* of Memnon and Achilles at 2. 507-13.<sup>26</sup> There is good reason to presume that the prohibition is on supplication and is to be understood as applying primarily to Dawn and Thetis, whose pleading on behalf of their sons seems to have formed a major element of the story of Memnon's death.<sup>27</sup> It is probably best to take Zeus' command at face value. Thus Dawn's intervention at 2. 289-90 is not disobedience (which goes unnoticed and unpunished) but preserves Memnon until the appointed time of his death. This interpretation also renders the reference to the *keres* at 2. 172 more pertinent: As in the *Iliad*, the gods can not, or should not, seek to change the decisions of Fate regarding the appointed deaths of mortals. The notion of sparing warriors of course calls to mind Π 431-57. Quintus' reversal of the situation in that Homeric passage is noteworthy. There, Zeus must be reminded of the difficulties among the gods that would result should Sarpedon be spared; here, Quintus' Zeus holds other gods to the same standard.

The divine council of the *Posthomerica*, then, avoids the charges of unseemliness to which its Homeric model is open, and which the Scholiasts' comments suggest were indeed voiced. It is also necessary to consider the influence of contemporary society, specifically the etiquette of the court, upon Quintus' portrayal of the behavior of the gods in council. The divine councils of ancient epics are commonly seen as paralleling increasingly authoritarian imperial ceremonial: ". . . Ovid . . . discarded Virgil's picture of a Jupiter who acts like an Octavian amongst the other gods, a tactful orator who veils his

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<sup>26</sup>On 2. 507-13, see pp. 177-81.

<sup>27</sup>The goddesses supplicate Zeus in the *Psychostasia* of Aeschylus, and probably in the *Aethiopsis*. For testimonia, see P. Kakridis, 29; Vian, *Suite I*: 62, 166, n. 4, and add Pausanias' description (5. 22. 2) of a sculptural representation of the two goddesses entreating Zeus as their sons duel.

violence unless absolutely forced to act . . . Statius follows the development of power into his own generation, and gives us a Jupiter whose autocracy is even more naked . . ."28  
 Comparison with divine council scenes in Virgil, Ovid, and Statius,<sup>29</sup> indicates the degree to which contemporary reality influences 2. 164-82.

Like the *Posthomerica's*, the one divine council of the *Aeneid* (10. 1-117), whose subject is the eventual outcome of the war between the Trojans and Italians, evokes and departs from Homeric models, altering the characterization of the gods and the picture of relations among them.<sup>30</sup> Like Quintus' Zeus, Virgil's Jupiter addresses the gods politely (10. 6-15) regarding the fated course of events (10. 11-4). Also like Quintus, Virgil avoids the Homeric threats of violence, and subsequent disobedience to an absolute pronouncement by the supreme god.<sup>31</sup> Whether the passage as a whole is interpreted as

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<sup>28</sup>Feeney, 353. A recent and detailed discussion of the connection between political reality and the portrayal of the gods is that of Dominik, 130-80. The equation of the court and the gods is most developed in Lucan's *Bellum Civile*, in which, according to the recent study of Bartsch, the gods are ironically replaced by the Caesars (67, 111). Whether Lucan is interpreted, as traditionally, as "an example of ideological poetry at its most flagrant" or, as Bartsch would have it, a work which "despairingly proclaims the meaninglessness of life and works to deconstruct the viability of any linguistic and political [or theological] system" (7), in which "the divine . . . emerges as the ground on which the ironist can lay out his contradictory stance, enacting cynicism and belief-despite-itself in a single text" (108) in his apostrophes to the gods (110-2), the poem is not easily comparable to the *Posthomerica*: Quintus, with a few exceptions keeps himself out of his narrative, and we are utterly without information as to his ideology.

<sup>29</sup>Only councils convened by the king of the gods, are here discussed. Several others are petitions by a lesser deity: Venus (Silius, *Punica* 3. 557-629); Sol (Valerius Flaccus, *Arg.* 1. 498-573); Rome (Sidonius Apollinaris, *Pan. Avit. Aug.*); Rome and Africa (Claudian, *Bell. Gild.* 1. 17-207). With the exception of Valerius', these all deal with the fated glory of Rome: in Sidonius, Jupiter in fact speaks the panegyric of the emperor. Not surprisingly, all are dignified scenes, and their agendas go unchallenged. The council in Claudian's *de raptu Proserpinae* (3. 1-66) is convened by Jupiter, who is respected and obeyed. But Claudian can scarcely be seen as avoiding reference to unseemly divine behavior, as the council's purpose is to garner information leading to the apprehension of the abductor of Proserpina

<sup>30</sup>Wilson, 362 and n. 9. Virgil's innovation in the relationship between the gods and Fate is not pertinent to the present discussion; nor are the similarities between Quintus' and Virgil's councils which Duckworth (1936) 73, notes

<sup>31</sup>Wilson, 363-4 "Were [Jupiter] . . . in the style of [the Homeric] Zeus to impose his own solution, then this solution, in the style of Zeus' imposed solutions, would meet with the most modest and short-lived success "

augmenting or undermining Jupiter's authority,<sup>32</sup> however, the fact remains that Jupiter, unlike Quintus' Zeus, is challenged: Venus suggests that Jupiter reneges on his promises (10. 33-8); Juno claims that if he can aid the Trojans, she can do the same for the Rutulians (10. 81-4); the other gods murmur among themselves (10. 96-9); and Jupiter is dissuaded from his stated intention of stopping the war.

Two divine councils take place in Ovid's *Metamorphoses*. The first (1. 168-252) is notable for its explicit equation of Jupiter with Augustus (1. 200-5).<sup>33</sup> Superficially, it resembles the council of the *Posthomeric* in that the stated plan of Jupiter (the chastisement of human wickedness) is not challenged. But the situations are not analogous. In the *Posthomeric* there is no response, but at *Metamorphoses* 1. 244-5 some of the gods are said to speak in approval, while others merely applaud. This response probably does reflect contemporary behavior in the face of imperial power.<sup>34</sup> The second council (9. 418-41), regarding Argos, is similar to the council of the *Posthomeric* in that the issue of the various gods' intercession on behalf of their favorites arises. Far from averting divine conflict, however, this council creates it: "each god had a favorite, and mutinous disturbance arose in conjunction with their support" (. . . cui studeat, deus omnis habet, crescit favore/turba seditio . . . 9. 426-7).

The two divine councils of Statius' *Thebaid* (1. 197-302; 3. 218-54), are almost universally regarded as reflecting the behavior of the court of an authoritarian, indeed tyrannical, monarch.<sup>35</sup> Both deal with the fate of Thebes and its royal house, and both

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<sup>32</sup>For discussion, see Feeney, 144-5, and bibliography there cited

<sup>33</sup>Williams, 160

<sup>34</sup>Feeney, 200: "[T]imes have changed . . . now the only competition is in degrees of acquiescence "

<sup>35</sup>Feeney, 353, following Schubert, 77-8, remarks that despite Jupiter's "placid expression," "it is quite clear that the gods are terrified of him." Dominik, 2 and n. 7, regards Feeney and others as "sorely underestimat[ing]" the cruelty of Jupiter. Williams, 251, and Feeney, 353, however, are not necessarily right to find significance in the fact that the gods stand until Jupiter bids them be seated; they rise for Zeus at A 533-4.

have certain similarities to Quintus' council. In the first, Jupiter is described as "placid" (1. 202; cf. *Posthomerica* 2. 179); in the second Jupiter, like Quintus' Zeus, requests that the gods refrain from intercession, and asserts the inflexibility of Fate (3. 240-2; cf. *Posthomerica* 2. 172), and the gods do not respond, "holding in check both their speech and their emotions" (*vocemque animosque tenebant*, 3. 253; cf. *Posthomerica* 2. 178-9). Feeney, explicitly contrasts this "total and lasting silence" with Athena's speech at  $\Theta$  28-30, and sees no difference between the silence at *Thebaid* 3. 253 and the reaction of the assembled gods to Jupiter's pronouncements in the first council. "where, apart from Juno, no god reacts."<sup>36</sup> But Juno's reaction is significant. While she does not succeed in diverting Jupiter's wrath from Argos, her speech is hardly deferential. It plays upon Jupiter's complaints of men's *crimina deorum* ("crimes against the gods," 1. 231), and is an indictment of *crimina deorum* ("crimes of the gods"), specifically Zeus' rapes of Semele and Danae (1. 253-69).<sup>37</sup>

Avoidance of the undercurrent of divine conflict which marks the Homeric council then, is far more complete in the *Posthomerica* than in other epics, while some clearly "political" details of these are lacking. This does not mean that Quintus' portrayal of the gods is not at all colored by contemporary reality, or even specifically by court etiquette and ceremonial, the influence of which has been demonstrated to be very far reaching.<sup>38</sup>

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<sup>36</sup>Feeney, 354. Feeney's assessment of Statius closely follows Schubert, 94, who regards silence as the chief characteristic of Statius' gods ("Das Schweigen ist die Haupteigenschaft der Götter..."). Although his interest in the passage is much different, Williams, 251-2, in noting that, "[Statius'] council is pared down to a confrontation between Juppiter [*sic*] and Juno," does have a point (*pace* Feeney, 354, n. 136, who quotes the sentence of Williams which precedes this one).

<sup>37</sup>Feeney, 355. Dominik, 12 and n. 7, remarks that Juno's speech is "sarcastic rather than deferential." Statius certainly does not avoid reference to unseemly behavior: the river god Ismenus (9. 412-6) and Eteocles (11. 212-6) also refer to Jupiter's rapes. cf. also Foster, 126, who regards *Aen.* 12. 138-53 as a sarcastic allusion to Jupiter's rapes.

<sup>38</sup>See, for example, Williams, especially 160, for Greek poetic treatments of emperors as gods, and, in a different context, MacCormack. It must be borne in mind, however, that, in contrast to the close connections of Virgil and Ovid to the Julio-Claudian circle, to say nothing of Statius' and Claudian's more-or-less official status as court poets, nothing is known of the circumstances in which Quintus wrote.

But it does not seem likely that Quintus' flouting of ". . . the epic convention of the divine council [which] compels the participants to express their dissension openly against the king of the gods, when his will or the course of Fate runs counter to their interest"<sup>39</sup> is to be explained solely by the notion that his portrayal of the gods mirrors contemporary human behavior in the face of authority. The threats and confrontation that are a hallmark of Homeric councils also occur also in the Latin epics, which are certainly colored by the fact of the deference demanded by imperial authority. Their absence from the *Posthomeric* suggests that Quintus is engaged in "correction" of the traditional portrayal of the gods, at least as much as in commentary on the contemporary political system.

A small piece of external evidence supports the notion that others, like Quintus, may have re-written Homer to avoid the representation of unseemly divine behavior. A papyrus containing a summary of the end of the seventh and the eighth books of the *Iliad* omits any reference to divine action. The incidents omitted, of course, include the divine council on which Quintus' council is modeled. This passage is hardly "lack[ing] of importance to the narrative," and the papyrus' editor concludes that it is "likely that if [its writer] omitted [references to the gods] here he omitted them everywhere, possibly from philosophical or religious reasons."<sup>40</sup>

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There is also some reason to believe that the equation of gods and rulers was less well-entrenched in Greek-speaking areas (Lane Fox, 39-40, 157).

One feature of Quintus' portrayal of Zeus does in fact seem to reflect contemporary reality: The simple fact that only this one council is narrated. Zeus' other interactions are, as will be seen, private, and in them, too, he is obeyed and respected.

<sup>39</sup>Dominik, 6.

<sup>40</sup>O'Hara, 1-2. O'Hara admits the possibility that the hypothesizer merely tells the story as simply as possible, from a non-omniscient point of view, as do Dictys and Dares. This, however, discounts the fact that these tales consistently contradict the Homeric version of the story. cf., however, the theory (discussed and rejected by Chew, 203-5 and sources there cited) that Xenophon's *Ephesiaca* is an epitome, which rests on the novel's limited and inconsistent picture of divine providence. Chew, 212, concludes that the peculiarities of Xenophon's novel result from its author's manipulation of the genre's type scenes, something which Quintus appears to do also.

Finally, the council scene raises the issue of the relationship between the gods, especially Zeus, and Fate. Those who have commented on the issue regard Quintus as portraying the gods as subservient to Fate, differing in this from Homer and according with the popular Stoicism of his own day.<sup>41</sup> Zeus' statement at 2. 171, that "the Keres are relentless even to us [i.e. the gods or himself]" supports this view, but serves a rhetorical purpose, fostering amity between Zeus and the other gods. Certainly Quintus here articulates no clear statement of the relationship between Fate and the gods. Paschal is probably correct in stating that "it is not likely that Quintus thought his system [of the relationship between Fate and the gods] more than a consistent development of what he found in Homer."<sup>42</sup> But the relationship between Fate and the gods in Homer is notoriously complex.<sup>43</sup> It is no clearer in other ancient epics, except insofar as Fate can be defined as plot or history, in which case the gods are indeed the overseers of its decrees.<sup>44</sup> The present study will return to the question as it arises.

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<sup>41</sup>Duckworth (1936) 64; Paschal, 42: "The supreme power is with Quintus not Zeus, as in Homer, but Fate;" Vian, *Suite I*: xvi, terms Quintus' Zeus the "docile executor" of the decrees of Fate, as the Stoic conceive him; cf. Vian (1959) 27. Garcia Romero (1986) deduces subservience to Fate from Quintus' treatment of inspiration. cf. Ehnmark's (78-9) distinction between the "Hellenic" conception in which Fate is not a real power, and only the gods act, and the "Hellenistic" view that Fate is supreme.

<sup>42</sup>Paschal, 40. Campbell, 34, notes that the gods act more often, proportionally, to preserve to appointed course of Fate in the *Posthomerica* (twenty-four times) than in the *Iliad* (twenty-five times). This difference, however, is quantitative, not qualitative; it does not necessarily entail subservience to Fate

<sup>43</sup>The ancient commentators (summarized by Eustathius, 1686) maintain that Fate is -- in some inscrutable way -- identical with the will of Zeus. In the modern era, earlier commentators (Greene, Bassett (1930) 144; Grube, 63) regard Zeus as superior to Fate. Ehnmark, 84-5, maintains that the gods wish to act in accordance with Fate. More recent assessments are more cautious: Adkins regards Zeus as supreme (1960) 17-9, though only within narrow limits (1972) 1-3; Dietrich's (1967) detailed attempt to codify the relationship succeeds only when Fate is minutely subdivided; Rose, 40, maintains that in Homer fate can plausibly be "thought of as a power superior to the gods . . . identified with the gods . . . or a supreme god . . . or the collective will of the gods;" to these categories Yamagata, 105, adds the possibility that the gods and Fate are two separate systems, uncoordinated by the poet, though she also recognizes (99) that the gods of Homer sometimes "work for Moira against their personal feelings" (cf. Clay (1983) 156, who sees the relationship between Fate and the gods as "epistemological" rather than "hierarchical"). for further discussion and bibliography, see Yamagata, 105-20, 178-83.

<sup>44</sup>Conte, 161, regards the equation between Fate and history as the Latin poetic norm; on Virgil see Wilson, Coleman, 159; on Ennius, Hainsworth, 105; cf. Redfield, 133; Nagy, 40, 81-2; Schein, 64

At 2. 207-13 the gods watch the duel of Achilles and Memnon:

Καί νύ κε δὴ μακάρεσσιν ἀμείλικος ἔμπεσε δῆρις,  
εἰ μὴ ὑπ' ἐννεσίῃσι Διὸς μεγαλοβρεμέταο  
δοιαὶ ἄρ' ἀμφοτέροισι θεῶς ἐκάτερθε παρέσταν  
Κῆρες· ἐρεμναίη μὲν ἔβη ποτὶ Μέμνονος ἦτορ,  
φαιδρὴ δ' ἄμφ' Ἀχιλῆα δαίφρονα· τοὶ δ' εἰδόντες  
ἀθάνατοι μέγ' ἄυσαν, ἄφαρ δ' ἔλε τοὺς μὲν ἀνιη  
λευγαλή, τοὺς δ' ἠὺ καὶ ἀγλαὸν ἔλλαβε χάρμα.

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And now harsh strife would have fallen upon the blessed ones, had not, at the behest of loud-thundering Zeus, a pair of Keres immediately taken their stand behind either [warrior]. A dark one went to Memnon, and a bright one to warlike Achilles. Seeing this, the immortals shouted; cruel grief seized some of them, great and splendid joy others.

The heroes fight on for some time,<sup>45</sup> until "Eris tilted the cruel scale of battle and it was no longer equal" ( . . . "Ἐρις δ' ἴθυνε τάλαντα/ύσμίνης ἀλεγεινά, τὰ δ' οὐκ ἴσα πέλοντο. 2. 540-1).

The passage adapts Θ 68-77, where Zeus weighs two Keres in a balance to determine or indicate the outcome of the general battle, and Χ 209-13, where he similarly weighs the Keres of Hector and Achilles.<sup>46</sup> Such a weighing is a traditional element of the duel of Memnon and Achilles, well-attested in artistic representations, known to have figured in Aeschylus' lost *Psychostasia*, and presumed to have done so in the *Aethiopsis*.<sup>47</sup>

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Whitman, 228. Ovid (*Met.* 9. 418-44) and Statius (*Theb.* 3. 241-3) each say that Jupiter is bound by Fate, but he seems freer in the other councils in each poem; Dominick, 6, notes the inconsistency.

<sup>45</sup> . . . Οὐδέ τις αὐτῶν/χάζεο βαλλομένων, οὐδ' ἔτρεσαν. 2. 521-2; . . . σφίσι δῆριν ἐτάνουσσευ Ἐνυῶ. 2. 525; and the final inclination of the balance at 2. 540-1. Pace Duckworth (1936) 61

<sup>46</sup>Vian, *Suite I*: 51; P. Kakridis, 34, notes also the brief references to the balance at Π 658 and Τ 223-4 as parallels to 2. 540-1 and 8. 277, 282 (where there is no mention of the gods). cf. also the διχθάδια Κῆρας of Ι 411. On the connection between the psychostasia and Χ 213-4, the discussion of Bassett (1930) 142, although intended as a unitarian tract, is useful. Fenik, 219-20, considers psychostasia scenes typical, on *Aeneid* 12. 725-7, see n. 50.

<sup>47</sup>The Aeschylean play is attested by Schol. A ad Θ 70; AbT ad Χ 210. On its general influence, see Huxley, 140; Henle, 139-41; as an influence on the *Posthomeric*, Kehmptzow, 59-60; P. Kakridis, 34, and Vian, *Suite I*: 51-2.



Quintus departs from his models in that he illustrates the fates of Memnon and Achilles not by the weighing of their Keres, but by the Keres' brightness and darkness. Vian does not regard this as an important change,<sup>48</sup> but it avoids criticisms leveled against Quintus' models.<sup>49</sup> Quintus retains the Homeric Keres, whose replacement in Aeschylus by the warriors' ψυχᾶί is faulted by the Scholiast (bT *ad* X 210), but the manner of their apparition forestalls Zoilus' well-known sarcastic question as to whether the Keres sit or stand in the pans of the scale (fr. 35; T *ad* X 210).

To be sure, the scene at 2. 507-13, like the Iliadic psychostasia, marks a critical point in the action. This is indicated not only by the presence of the gods,<sup>50</sup> but also by the fact that it is an "if not scene," marked by use of the construction καὶ ὡὐ . . . εἰ μὴ. In the *Iliad* such scenes almost invariably involve divine action, usually to prevent violation of the course of "Fate" (i.e. the traditional plot).<sup>51</sup> Quintus uses the construction more frequently and somewhat less consistently, but in the majority of cases, as here, it has the same significance as in the *Iliad*.<sup>52</sup> In this case the critical situation is in heaven. Quintus is silent regarding the effect, if any, of Zeus' will on the duel. This passage is cited as another instance of Zeus' subservience to Fate,<sup>53</sup> but there is at least no great departure from the *Iliad*, where the scales are "always the sign of what is true." and "the concrete

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<sup>48</sup>Suite I: 52, n. 1.

<sup>49</sup>Plutarch, *de Aud. Poet.* 2 quite strongly defends X 210 and Aeschylus' psychostasia as φαντασία, maintaining that they are not the result of the poets' theological misconceptions.

<sup>50</sup>So Vermeule, 160

<sup>51</sup>The term is that of de Jong, 69. On such passages as markers of critical situations, see also Bassett (1938) 100-2, Kullmann (1956) 42-8, and Reinhardt (1961) 107-10. Lang (1989) lists such scenes in Homer, noting the tendency to "show gods . . . as guardians of fate and mythological fact," a tendency noted in antiquity (Richardson, 270). Generally, see Fenik, 39, 154, 175-6; de Jong, 68-81

<sup>52</sup>There are nine such passages in the *Iliad*, of which seven involve divine action and two human action. In the *Posthomerica*, twelve involve divine action, nine human, one a horse, and one natural phenomena

<sup>53</sup>Vian (1959) 27. Note that Vian regards Eris' inclination of the balance at 2. 540-1 as "meaningless"

symbol of decision," though not necessarily Zeus' decision.<sup>54</sup> The statement that Zeus causes the Keres to appear (2. 508), in fact, suggests some degree of control. What is most important, however, is that the appearance of the Keres prevents an outbreak of divine conflict (2. 507-8). Note that here, in a marked departure from artistic representations of this episode, and almost certainly from Aeschylus, Dawn and Thetis do not intercede for their sons,<sup>55</sup> as Zeus has forbidden them to do at 2. 170-3, and thus Quintus avoids the representation of unseemly strong emotion.<sup>56</sup>

Two scenes at the celestial level lead directly to divine action which impinges on mortals. At 8. 427-51 Zeus forestalls the fall of the city:

Καί νύ κε δὴ ῥήξαντο πύλας καὶ τείχεα Τροίης  
 Ἄργεῖοι, μάλα γάρ σφιν ἀάσπετον ἔπλετο κάρτος,  
 εἰ μὴ ἄρ' αἶψα βόησεν ἀγακλειτὸς Γανυμήδης  
 οὐρανοῦ ἐκ κατιδῶν· μάλα γὰρ περιδίδιδε πάτρης· 430  
 Ἴεὺ πάτερ, εἰ ἐτεόν γε τεῆς ἔξειμι γενέθλης.  
 σῆσι δ' ὑπ' ἐννεσίησι λιπῶν ἐρικυδέα Τροίην  
 εἰμί μετ' ἀθανάτοισι, πέλει δέ μοι ἄμβροτος αἰών,  
 τῷ μεν νῦν ἐσάκουσον ἀκηχεμένου μέγα θυμῷ·  
 οὐ γὰρ τλήσομαι ἄστυ καταιθόμενον προσιδέσθαι 435  
 οὐδ' ἄρ' ἀπολλυμένην γενὴν ἐν δημοτῆτι  
 λευγαλέῃ, τῆς οὐ τι χερείοτερον πέλει ἄλγος.  
 Σοὶ δὲ καὶ εἰ μέμονε(ν) καρδίῃ τάδε μηχανάσθαι,  
 ἔρξον ἐμεῦ ἀπὸ νόσφικ(ν)· ἐλαφρότερον δέ μοι ἄλγος  
 ἔσσεται, ἢν μὴ ἔγωγε μετ' ὄμμασιν οἴσιν ἴδομαι· 440  
 κείνο γὰρ οἴκτιστον καὶ κύντατον, ὅππότε πάτρην  
 δυσμενέων παλάμησιν ἐρειπομένην τις ἴδῃται.  
 ἼΗ ῥα μέγα στενάχων Γανυμήδεος ἀγλαὸν ἦτορ.  
 . . .  
 καὶ τότε ἄρα Ζεὺς αὐτὸς ἀπειρεσίους νεφέεσι

<sup>54</sup>Quotations from Whitman, 229 and Grube, 63, respectively. Fenik, 220, implies that the decision is not Zeus ("... after Zeus has seen the scales' message ...").

<sup>55</sup>For the typical schema of vase paintings, see Henle, 226. Describing the scene on the chest of Cypselus, Pausanias (5. 19. 1) mentions the goddesses, but not the weighing. A thorough discussion of artistic and literary treatments of the scene, with bibliography, is given by Slatkin, 23-5, nn. 6-7. It is difficult to imagine how the scene could be staged without Dawn and Thetis, unless perhaps as Quintus has it.

<sup>56</sup>Bremer, 42-3, discusses the representation of emotion in connection with the Psychostasia.

νωλεμέως ἐκάλυψε κλυτὴν Πριάμοιο πόλιν. 445  
 Ἴχλύνθη δὲ μάχη φθισίμβροτος· οὐδέ τις ἀνδρῶν  
 ἐξιδέειν ἐπὶ τεῖχος ἔτ' ἔσθενεν, ἦχι τέτυκτο·  
 ταρφέσι γὰρ νεφέεσσι διηνεκέως κεκάλυπτο.  
 Ἄμφι δ' ἄρα βρονταί τε καὶ ἀστεροπαὶ κτυπέοντο  
 οὐρανόθεν. Δαναοὶ δὲ Διὸς κτύπον εἰσαΐοντες 450  
 θάμβεον· . . .

Now the Argives would have broken through the gates and walls of Troy, for their strength was immense, had not famous Ganymede, looking down from the heavens, suddenly cried out: "Father Zeus, if indeed I am of your lineage, and if, having left glorious Troy at your behest, I live with the immortals and now have immortality, hear me now, when I am sore at heart. For I can not bear to see my city burned, nor my race destroyed in cruel war; there is no pain worse than this. If your heart is set on this plan, carry it out apart from me. My pain will be less, if I do not see it with my own eyes. It is a most pitiful and shameful thing to see one's country fall at the hands of the enemy." So spoke splendid Ganymede, groaning much . . . And then Zeus himself hid the famous city of Priam in immense, unbroken clouds. The murderous battle was shrouded in mist, and no man could see the top of the wall, for it was hidden by thick, impenetrable clouds. From the heavens thunder and lightning crashed, and the Danaans heard Zeus' thunderclap and were amazed

Here Quintus conflates the typical Homeric motifs of the obscuration of battle and the rescue of warriors by concealing them in mist.<sup>57</sup>

Ganymede's speech responds to Euripides' *Troïades* 820-38,<sup>58</sup> where the chorus reproach Ganymede for remaining idly in Olympus while Troy is destroyed. The pathetic

<sup>57</sup>Obscuring battle E 506-11; Π 567-8; P 268-70) is a typical motif (Fenik, 22, 52-4; Kirk II: 69 *ad* E 127-30; IV: 301 *ad* O 668-73; Z Kakridis, 89-103); note that Eustathius (576, 25-30) regards the action as identical regardless of whether the fight is obscured by mist, cloud, dust, or darkness. Vian, *Suite II* 161, n.4, cites as parallels Θ 133-6, 170-1; I 236-7; Π 567-8; P 268-70, 366-9; I 236-7 (a reference in character-speech to Zeus' lightning as a favorable omen) and P 366-9 (a reiteration that the fight over Patroclus takes place in the dark), are less good parallels than Ares' obscuring the fight at E 506-11, or the thunderbolt which panics the Greeks and returns initiative to the Trojans at M 251-4. 8. 427-84 also shows verbal reminiscences of P 593-6, which Kirk II: 309 *ad* Θ 133-6, sees as similar to Θ 75-6

<sup>58</sup>Kehmptzow, 12-8, 18-21, regards the Euripidean passage as a model for 8. 427-43, noting among other points (18) Euripides' suppression of the story's erotic elements. Vian, *Suite II*: 142, terms the passage "un simple expédient destiné à terminer le siège" (n. 4), but also (n. 6) states that "Quintus a pu vouloir prendre le contre-pied d'Euripide." *Contra* Paschal 75, and P. Kakridis 78, who, on the basis of the lack of verbal similarities, deny the influence of Euripides here; also Keydell (1965) 44, who considers the passage merely a plot device to introduce the narration of the return of Philoctetes. Vian, *Suite II*: 161, n.

effect of the contrast between the gods, living at ease, and human suffering is a widely recognized feature of much ancient literature. The pathetic effect (particularly in the *Iliad*) of the contrast between the gods, living at ease, and human suffering, is well known, and much praised on aesthetic grounds by modern commentators. "Ancient commentators," however, "were shocked by the apparent heartlessness" of the gods' lack of response to human tragedy.<sup>59</sup> Ganymede's impassioned reaction to the threatened destruction of his home town presents a counter example to the usual divine detachment and to the specific accusations leveled against him by Euripides' chorus. The passage is typical of the *Posthomerica* in that Quintus' gods, like Ganymede here, and unlike Homer's or Euripides', are consistently and explicitly represented as caring very much about the events they witness.<sup>60</sup> Note also that Quintus is silent regarding the erotic attachment between Zeus and Ganymede.

A celestial scene also leads to action affecting men at the end of the *Posthomerica*. Returning home, the Greeks are in sight of Euboea (14. 419-21), when Athena approaches asks Zeus' permission to punish their impiety (14. 427-48):

'Ζεῦ πάτερ, οὐκέτ' ἀνεκτὰ θεοῖς ἐπιμηχανόωνται  
ἀνέρες, οὐκ ἀλέγοντες ἀνὰ φρένας οὔτε σεῦ αὐτοῦ  
οὔτ' ἄλλων μακάρων, ἐπεὶ ἦ τίσις οὐκέτ' ὀπηδεῖ

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2. notes v 130 as a parallel for 8. 431; the similarities are only verbal. The situation at 8. 427-43, however, is more or less the reverse of that at P 645-50, where Ajax prays to Zeus, accepting possible destruction but requesting that the darkness over the battlefield be removed.

<sup>59</sup>Clay (1983) 176-7, who regards this divine detachment as the "paradigm" for relations between men and gods in Homer. Griffin (1980) 181-3 and (1978), esp. 4-6 and n. 10, cites and discusses instances in Homer, and Scholiastic criticism of them as unseemly, contradicting the "hopeful" interpretations of T *ad* Δ 4; T *ad* Φ 389; and Eustathius 1242. 48. Golden and Bremer, 42-3, incline even more strongly than Griffin to the view that the traditional gods are heartless. [Plutarch] 4, in contrast, maintains that Homer shows the gods interacting with men precisely to illustrate the fact that they are *not* indifferent.

<sup>60</sup>On petitions to the gods and their failure to see, "prevent or avenge" the terrible sights they witness, see Griffin (1978) 4. In the *Posthomerica*, the gods' failure to act is in most instances due to the constraints of the established plot (the city must fall, for instance, and Dawn can not prevent the death of Memnon), and, it seems, by Quintus' avoidance of representing divine behavior which is unseemly in other ways (excessive emotion, disobedience, etc.)

ἀνδράσι λευγαλέοισι, κακοῦ δ' ἄρα πολλάκις ἐσθλὸς 430  
 συμφέρετ' ἄλγεσι μᾶλλον, ἔχει δ' ἄλληκτον οἰζύν.  
 Τοῦνεκ' ἄρ' οὔτε δίκην τις ἔθ' ἄζεται, οὐδέ τις αἰδῶς  
 ἔστι παρ' ἀνθρώποισιν. Ἐγῶγε μὲν οὐτ' ἐν Ὀλύμπῳ  
 ἔσσομαι οὐτ' ἔτι σεῖο κεκλήσομαι, εἰ μὴ Ἀχαιῶν  
 τίσομ' ἀτασθαλίην, ἐπεὶ ἦ νῦ μοι ἔνδοθι νηοῦ 435  
 υἱὸς Ὀιλῆος μέγ' ἐνήλιτεν, οὐδ' ἐλέαιρε  
 Κασσάνδρην ὀρέγουσαν ἀκηδέας εἰς ἐμὲ χεῖρας  
 πολλάκις, οὐδ' ἔδδειςσεν ἐμὸν μένος, οὐδέ τι θυμῶ  
 ἠδέεσατ' ἀθανάτην, ἀλλ' ἄσχετον ἔργον ἔρεξε.  
 Τῶ νῦ μοι ἀμβροσίησι περὶ φρεσὶ μὴ τι μεγέρης 440  
 ῥέξαι ὅπως μοι θυμὸς ἐέλδεται, ὄφρα καὶ ἄλλοι  
 αἰζηοὶ τρομέωσι θεῶν ἀρίδηλον ὁμοκλήν.  
 Ὡς φαμένην προσέειπε <πατήρ> ἀγανοῖς ἐπέεσσιν·  
 Ὡ τέκος, οὐ τοι ἐγογ' ἀνθίσταμαι εἴνεκ' Ἀχαιῶν.  
 ἀλλὰ καὶ ἔντεα πάντα, τὰ μοι πάρος ἦρα φέροντες 445  
 χερσὶν ὑπ' ἀκαμάτοισιν ἐτεκτήναντο Κύκλωπες.  
 δώσω ἐέλδομένη· σὺ δὲ σῶ κρατερόφρονι θυμῶ  
 αὐτὴ χεῖμ' ἀλεγεινὸν ἐπ' Ἀργείοισιν ὄρινον.

"Father Zeus, evil deeds of men are no longer bearable for  
 the gods; they do not think of you nor of the other blessed ones,  
 because vengeance no longer pursues wicked men, and often a  
 good man, rather than a bad, suffers woe and has endless misery.  
 Therefore, no one any longer reveres justice, nor is there any shame  
 among men. I will not stay in Olympus nor any longer be called  
 yours, unless I take vengeance for the Achaeans' recklessness. For  
 in my own temple, the son of Oelius committed great sacrilege,  
 when he did not pity Cassandra, who stretched out her unregarded  
 hands to me; he did not fear my strength, nor did he revere a  
 goddess in his heart, but did a deed of immense wickedness.  
 Therefore, do not in your ambrosial mind begrudge me doing as my  
 heart desires, so that others may respect and fear the manifest wrath  
 of the gods."

Her father responded to her speech with kindly words:  
 "Child, I will not oppose you for the Argives' sake, but rather I will  
 give at your request all my weapons, which the Cyclopes made with  
 their tireless hands, to honor me. With your own strong heart, stir  
 up a terrible storm against the Argives."

This is the only instance in the *Posthomerica* in which Zeus converses with another  
 god. In contrast to the *Iliad* and other epic poems, the exchange is remarkable for its  
 amity. While the Homeric Athena quite regularly gets her way with her father, it is only

after she threatens disobedience, and his capitulations tend to smack of paternal indulgence.<sup>61</sup> This exchange, in contrast, is rational and dignified.

In addition to this alteration of the characterization of the two gods, Quintus departs from his sources in order to justify the notion of divine chastisement of mortals. Quintus' account of the death of Ajax follows the sequence of events given at δ 502-5. This brief note, however, does not deal with the arrangement of the storm, and only alludes to Athena's anger as its cause (ἐχθόμενός περ' Ἀθήνη, δ 502). The exchange between Athena and Zeus in the *Posthomeric* draws primarily upon the prologue of Euripides *Troïades* (especially lines 69-97), which deals with the same incident; ε 282-464, where Poseidon sinks Odysseus' raft, and μ 374-425 where at Helios' request Zeus sinks Odysseus' ships. killing his surviving followers are also probable sources.<sup>62</sup>

The Euripidean passage, a conversation between Athena and Poseidon, involves many of the points Quintus mentions: Athena's outrage at the rape of Cassandra and Greeks' failure to punish Ajax, the arrangement of the storm, and borrowing of Zeus' lightning. The motives of Euripides' Athena, however, are personal. She emphasizes the wrong done to herself. Asked by Poseidon why she would now punish the Greeks, whom she has given so much assistance, she replies, "Do you not know how I and my temple were outraged?" (οὐκ οἶσθ' ὑβρισθεῖσάν με καὶ ναοὺς ἐμούς, 69). Quintus' Athena

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<sup>61</sup>e.g.: Θ 35-40

<sup>62</sup>Vian notes (*Suite* III, 166 and n. 4) that Quintus' narration of the storm corresponds closely with what he terms the "vulgate tradition" represented by Apollodorus (*Epit.* 6 5-7), Lycophron (*Alex.* 361-6), Seneca (*Arg.* 528-32), and Hyginus, *Fab.* 116. (Other parallels, more remote, are listed by Heinze, 67, n. 126.) Quintus cannot, however, be shown to depend on any of these, and none emphasizes the notion that chastisement will promote general respect for the gods.

Vian (*Suite* III: 168, n. 7; 194, n. 2) sees verbal similarities between 14. 442 and Apollonius, *Arg.* 2. 250-1. The Apollonian passage, however, at the very least, undermines the notion of the justice and effectiveness of divine punishment. Apollonius states that Phineas' torment is the result of his failure sufficiently to honor (ὀπίζετο) Zeus (2. 181-2), and the Boreads suspect his punishment is justified (2. 244-53). Apollonius leaves entirely unresolved the issue of the justice of the prophet's punishment. Quintus admits of no such doubts: Ajax has been fairly warned, and will be fairly punished, and his behavior even on the point of death will justify his punishment.

emphasizes at least equally the wrong done herself and the detrimental effect of letting such impiety go unpunished (to say nothing of the outrage to Cassandra). For Euripides' Athena, it is, quite literally, an afterthought that the punishment should promote proper respect for all the gods; in her last words in the prologue, she says that the storm will ensure "that the Greeks learn to revere my temples highly and to revere the other gods" (ὡς ἂν τὸ λοιπὸν τὰ μὲν ἀνάκτορ' εὐσεβεῖν / εἰσδῶσ' Ἀχαιοὶ θεοὺς τε τοὺς ἄλλους σέβειν, 85-6).

Like Euripides' Athena, Poseidon at ε 282-464 and Helios at μ 374-425 "are solely concerned with their honor and prerogatives; they avenge themselves without regard for motives or causes. Their behavior does indeed fly in the face of divine justice as set forth by Zeus in the prologue [of the *Odyssey*],"<sup>63</sup> and may be regarded as unprovoked divine abuse. Quintus, in contrast, makes it clear that the storm is deserved punishment, chastisement for Ajax impiety and the Greeks' failure to condemn it; moreover, he attributes divine concern for justice not only to Zeus, but also to Athena.<sup>64</sup> The concern with justice is reinforced by 14. 432. The lines recall Hesiod *Op.* 197-201.<sup>65</sup> There Aidos and Nemesis depart the unjust world, as Quintus' Athena threatens depart Olympus if justice is not done.

It is clear then, that Quintus departs from his various models in emphasizing the exemplary effect of divine punishment, and this constitutes a significant alteration of the portrayal of the gods. Although it is not necessary to adduce a specific model for this "correction," the notion of exemplary punishment is expressed in Plato's *Laws*, where just

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<sup>63</sup>Friedrich, 381. The lines in question are α 32-4, the statement that men blame the gods for the sorrows which result from their own folly. See also Adkins (1972) 5-6, on Poseidon's and Helios' concern with τιμή, and its dependence on mortals' actions. Friedlander, 388-99, considers Zeus' fulfillment of Helios' request just retribution, but discusses ancient objections to μ 403-25

<sup>64</sup>The observation of Yamagata, 37, on the death of the suitors, that Athena is "not so concerned about justice in general as about *justice to Odysseus*" [ital. original], is relevant in this context.

<sup>65</sup>Vian, *Suite III*: 193, 234, n. 4.

and inevitable divine punishment of wickedness is cited as the pattern for the "corrective" punishments prescribed by the law-code of the ideal state (904c-905d).<sup>66</sup>

The storm itself is both a traditional part of the story and a popular epic theme.<sup>67</sup> Quintus' version is notable for the level of divine cooperation involved. Athena is given Zeus' thunder, lightning, thunderbolt, and aegis (14. 499-58)<sup>68</sup> and, as Quintus repeatedly states (14. 459-60, 530-1), performs his usual functions, gathering the clouds (14. 461-2), lightning (14. 509-10), and shattering Ajax' ship with the thunderbolt (14. 532-4). Iris serves as messenger, summoning the winds from Aeolia (14. 466-79); they are released by Aeolus (14. 480-3), and perform their essential function (14. 483-91, 504).<sup>69</sup> Poseidon tosses the sea (14. 507-8) and shakes Ajax from the rocks to which he clings with earthquake (14. 567-75) and waves (14. 578-9), and finally smashes him with a boulder (14. 580-1, 585-7). His actions suggest particular emphasis on divine cooperation. In some versions of the story,<sup>70</sup> Poseidon opposes Athena, wishing to save Ajax. Certainly the scene, with the drowning man clinging to the rocks, and addressing the gods (14. 565-7) recalls ε 282-464, but in contrast to their opposition in that passage (albeit that their positions are reversed), Athena and Poseidon cooperate here. Cooperation is also perhaps highlighted in the destruction of the Greek wall, which in the *Posthomeric* follows

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<sup>66</sup>The notion is also approached, though not articulated in the *Protagoras*' discussion of pleasure and pain, good and evil.

<sup>67</sup>Parallels are listed by Vian, *Suite III*: 169.

<sup>68</sup>There is reason to regard the aegis as an "offensive weapon" (Kirk IV: 260 *ad* O 310); its purpose, according to Aristarchus, is the causation of bad weather (Van der Valk (1963-4) II: 100, Kirk V 120 *ad* P 593-6; and Eustathius' etymological connection of aegis and aer, 119. 24-37). The Scholia (A *ad* O 310) and Eustathius (252. 10 *ad* B 447) explicitly state that the aegis is the possession of Zeus, not Athena (for general discussion of its purpose and ownership, see Kirk I: 162 *ad* B 446-51); Quintus, it is to be noted, does not associate the aegis with Athena.

<sup>69</sup>Vian, *Suite III*: 169 regards this scene as a "manifest addition" which "destroys the order" of the traditional story. The primary model is Ψ 194-230, on Quintus' adaptation of which, see pp. 287-8 on 3 698-718; for parallels of other details, see Vian, *Suite III*: 169 and notes 7-10.

<sup>70</sup>Cited by Kehmptzow, 36-7.



seamlessly upon the storm at sea. Zeus' rain (14. 637-8, 643), Poseidon's raising the tide (14. 632-5) and causing the earth to open beneath the wall (14. 646-7), and Apollo's channeling of the streams (14. 639-42) are all mentioned at M 24-34. The first time the wall is mentioned, however, the emphatic repetition of the second person (σέο, H 457; σόν, H 458), suggests that its destruction is the action of Poseidon alone.<sup>71</sup>

In several other passages Quintus' gods are a celestial audience for mundane events. The situation is not that of the *Iliad*, where the gods' blessed ease contrasts ironically with the labor, toil, and death of mortals. Only once are the gods of the *Posthomerica* disinterested: At 14. 552-3, as Ajax swims away from his sinking ship, "the gods" who soon will destroy him "watch him and marvel at his bravery and strength" (θεοὶ δέ μιν εισορόωντες/ήνορέην καὶ κάρτος ἐθάμβεον). Normally in the *Posthomerica*, the gods' emotional reaction to the events they witness is very strong. Such passages vary Homer's description of the gods as they return to Olympus after the Theomachy (Φ 519): "some angry and some greatly rejoicing" (οἱ μὲν χωόμενοι, οἱ δὲ μέγα κυδιόωντες).<sup>72</sup> But while Homer's gods are reacting to their own deeds on the field, in the *Posthomerica*, they respond to the deeds of men. The use of ἐθάμβεον at 14. 553 suggests the difference: Homer uses θάμβος and its derivatives only of men, never of divine emotion.

At 2. 492-502 the gods watch the duel of Memnon and Achilles:

δὴ τότε τοὺς γ' ἀπάνευθεν Ὀλύμπιοι εισορόωντες  
οἱ μὲν θυμὸν ἕτερπον ἀτειρεὶ Πηλείωνι,  
οἱ δ' ἄρα Τιθωνοῖο καὶ Ἡοῦς υἱεὶ δίω.  
Ἵψόθε δ' οὐρανὸς εὐρύς ἐπέβραχεν, ἀμφὶ δὲ πόντος      495  
ἴαχε, κυανέη δὲ πέριξ ἐλελίζετο γαῖα  
ἀμφοτέρων ὑπὸ ποσσὶ. Περιτρομέοντο δὲ πᾶσαι  
ἀμφὶ Θέτιν Νηρῆος ὑπερθύμοιο θυγατρὸς  
ὀβρίμου ἀμφ' Ἀχιλῆος ἰδ' ἄσπετα δειμαίνοντο.  
Δεῖδε δ' Ἡριγενεῖα φίλω περὶ παιδὶ καὶ αὐτῇ      500

<sup>71</sup>For discussion, see Adkins (1972) 3-4

<sup>72</sup>Vian, *Suite I*, pp. 99, 170, n. 6; the reminiscence of Hesiod *Op.* 13 is purely verbal.

ἵπποις ἐμβεβαυῖα δι' αἰθέρος· αἱ δέ οἱ ἄγχι  
Ἥελίοιο θύγατρῃς ἐθάμβεον ἐσσηυῖαι . . .

. . . Then from afar the Olympians looked on, some delighting in their hearts at the tireless son of Peleus, others in the godlike son of Tithonus and Eos. Broad heaven resounded on high, and roundabout the sea shrieked and the dark earth shook beneath the feet of them both. All the Nereids, the daughters of proud Nereus, trembled with Thetis, unspeakably frightened for mighty Achilles. And Erigeneia, borne through the air by her horses, feared for her dear child, and the daughters of Helius, standing beside her, marveled.

The placement of this scene, between the divine council and the Psychostasia, which respectively forbid the gods from interceding on behalf of their favorites, and make clear to the gods the outcome of the heroes' duel, reinforces what seems to be the norm for the poem: the gods watch events at the mundane level, especially important events, but do not often intervene in them. Here, mention of the natural phenomena which accompany the duel (2. 495-7) supports the notion that reference to the gods' observation of events signals the importance of those events. Such descriptions are quite common in epic, but in Homer and Hesiod are used only to describe divine combats, in which context ancient critics regarded them as contributing to the grandeur of the narration.<sup>73</sup>

Virtually identical divine response, in which all the gods,<sup>74</sup> or those favoring one side,<sup>75</sup> rejoice or are displeased according to their sympathies marks several other scenes.

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<sup>73</sup>On this, see p. 198.

<sup>74</sup>Upon Apollo's return to Olympus after wounding Achilles (3. 90-5); after Hera's speech reproaching Apollo for this action (3. 133-6); upon Achilles' funeral (4. 43-7); upon the duel of Neoptolemus and Eurypylos (8. 195-6), and upon the Greek victory celebration (14. 93-6). On 8. 195-6, Vian (*Suite II* 151, n. 4) notes that there is a lacuna between 8. 194 and 195, and compares 2. 492-4 for sense. P. Kakridis, 48, is not correct in saying that the gods' emotions at 4. 43-7 exactly parallel the those of mortals: the Greeks are distraught at the death of Achilles, but the Trojans are not equally delighted; their joy is tempered by sorrow over Glaucus (4. 1).

<sup>75</sup>When Athena confronts Ares (8. 345-6) the Nymphs fear for Priam's city; Thetis and her relatives exult in Neoptolemus as he sails from Scyros (7. 353-5), dons Achilles' armor (8. 24-5), and routs the Trojans (9. 182-3). Apollo watches Aeneas and Eurymachus, whom he has inspired (11. 168-79); Enyo, Hera, and Athena rejoice as the horse is brought into the city (12. 437-9); Athena is delighted to see the ships founder (14. 546-7).

A few such passages require comment as they illuminate Quintus' technique generally or his alteration of the traditional portrayal of the gods.

The divine response as the Greek ships are wrecked at Caphaerus (14.628-31) serves to link Quintus' narrative seamlessly with that of the Homeric poems:

... Αὐτὰρ Ἀθήνη  
 ἄλλοτε μὲν (θυμῶ) μέγ' ἐγήθεεν, ἄλλοτε δ' αὖτε  
 ἄχνητ' Ὀδυσσῆος πινυτόφρονος, οὐνεκ' ἔμελλε  
 πάσχειν ἄλγεα πολλὰ Ποσειδάωνος ὀμοκλή.  
 630

Athena rejoiced at heart, but was also distressed for clever  
 Odysseus, who was going to suffer many woes because of the  
 wrath of Poseidon

The alteration of Athena's emotions is necessary to square the goddess' characterization with that found in the *Odyssey*.

At 13. 415-9, as the city burns, Quintus both harks back to, and departs slightly from, the *Iliad*:

... Θεοὶ δ' ἐρικυδέα Τροίην  
 κυανέοις νεφέεσσι καλυψάμενοι γοάασκον,  
 νόσφιν εὐπλοκάμου Τριτωνίδος ἠδὲ καὶ Ἥρης  
 αἶ' μέγα κυδιάσκον ἀνὰ φρένας, εὖτ' ἐσίδοντο  
 περθόμενον κλυτὸν ἄστνυ θεηγενέος Πριάμοιο.  
 415

Hidden in dark clouds, the gods mourned famous Troy, except for  
 fair-haired Tritogeneia and Hera, who rejoiced greatly in their  
 hearts, when they saw the famous town of Priam, descended from  
 the gods, burning.

These lines recall Y 315-7,<sup>76</sup> where Hera's and Athena's oath:

μή ποτ' ἐπὶ Τρώεσσι ἀλεξήσεν κακὸν ἦμαρ.  
 μηδ' ὀπότε ἂν Τροίη μαλερῶ πυρὶ πᾶσα δάηται  
 καιομένη, καίωσι δ' ἀρήϊοι υἱὲς Ἀχαιῶν  
 315

<sup>76</sup>As noted by Vian, *Suite III*: 146, n. 1, who also (*Suite III*: 145, n. 6) compares Euripides, *Troades* 1320; there, however, the city is hidden by smoke and dust, rather than the gods being hidden in clouds

... never to ward off from the Trojans their evil day, not even when all Troy is destroyed, burned by the warlike sons of the Achaeans.

In the *Posthomerica*, however, none of the gods (with the exception of Aphrodite, who assists Aeneas and his family) takes any steps to defend the Trojans either at this point, or at any time after the construction of the wooden horse; no god tries to ward off the Trojan's destruction, and so thwart the two goddesses.

At 14. 71-4, 80-3,<sup>77</sup> the local deities mourn as the Greeks celebrate:

Καὶ τότε ἄρ' ὥς ἐνόησε φίλον δεδαϊγμένον ἄστυ,  
 Ζάνθος ἔθ' αἰματοέντος ἀναπνείων ὀρυμαγδοῦ  
 μύρετο σὺν Νύμφησιν, ἐπεὶ κακὸν ἔμπεσε Τροίῃ  
 ἔκποθε καὶ Πριάμοιο κατημάλδυνε πόλῃα

...

ὥς ἄρα καὶ Ζάνθοιο περὶ φρένας ἤλυθεν ἄλγος  
 Ἰλίου οἰωθέντος· ἔχεν δέ μιν αἰὲν ὀϊζὺς  
 ἀθάνατόν περ ἑόντα. Μακρὴ δ' ἀμφέστενεν Ἴδη  
 καὶ Σιμόεις· . . .

80

Then, when he knew that his beloved city was sacked, Xanthus, still recovering from the bloody slaughter, wept with his Nymphs, because of the evil which had befallen Troy and destroyed Priam's city . . . pain came upon Xanthus' heart when Troy was laid waste, and his misery was abiding, although he was immortal. Great Ida groaned, too, and Simoeis.

Line 72 recalls Xanthus' fight against Achilles, especially his complaint at Φ 218-20 about the choking of the river bed with corpses. Quintus, however, is far from explicit, and thus avoids troubling questions over the exact nature of Xanthus' interaction with Achilles.<sup>78</sup>

In some instances, then, Quintus' references to the "divine audience," evoke and alter specific Homeric models, pointedly avoiding reference to unseemly divine behavior. As a group such passages serve to show the gods as deeply concerned with mundane events. As divine action impinges very little upon these events, however, these passages

<sup>77</sup> 14. 75-9 is a simile comparing Xanthus' grief to that of a man whose crop is destroyed by hail

<sup>78</sup> For objections to Φ 218-20, see A *ad* Φ 213; Eustathius, 1232; Kirk VI: 71 *ad loc.*

may be viewed as serving simply to mark their importance;<sup>79</sup> these passages also, of course, significantly increase the frequency of reference to the divine in the *Posthomerica*.

Two passages in which the gods observe events at the mundane level pertain to the question of the relationship between Fate and the gods. As the dying Paris staggers away from Oenone, "Hera saw, and her immortal heart was cheered" ("Ἥρη τ' εἰσενόησε καὶ ἄμβροτον ἦτορ ἰάνθη, 10. 334). With her handmaidens, the Horae, she discusses the events, leading ultimately to the capture of the city, which Paris' death will set in train (10. 335-62). These events are said to be "things which baneful Aisa planned in her destructive heart" (ὄππ' ὅσα λοίγιος Αἴσα περὶ φρεσὶν οὐλομένησι/μήδετο, 10. 344-5). Thus the passage suggests that Fate, not the gods, controls men's lives and leads to such disasters. But Quintus does not consistently maintain the primacy of Fate. At 14. 93-100, the Greeks sing of their victory:

ἀθάνατοι τέρποντο κατ' οὐρανόν, ὅσσοι ἄρωγοὶ ἐκ θυμοῖο πέλοντο φιλοπτολέμων Ἀργείων·	
Ἄλλοι δ' αὖ χαλέπαινον, ὅσοι Τρώεσσιν ἄμυνον,	95
δερκόμενοι Πριάμοιο καταϊθόμενον πτολίεθρον· ἀλλ' οὐ μὰν ὑπὲρ Αἴσαν ἐελδόμενοί περ ἀμύνειν ἔσθενον· οὐδὲ γὰρ αὐτὸς ὑπὲρ μόρον οὐδὲ Κρονίων ῥηιδίως δύνατ' Αἴσαν ἀπωσέμεν, ὅς περὶ πάντων ἀθανάτων μένος ἐστὶ. Διὸς δ' ἐκ πάντα πέλονται	100

Those immortals who in their hearts supported the warlike Argives were pleased, while the others, who favored the Trojans, were grieved, when they saw the city of Priam burning. But though they desired to, they were not strong enough to defend it against Aisa. For the son of Cronus himself, though he is far stronger than the immortals, can not easily oppose Aisa, contrary to what is fated, yet all things are from Zeus.

<sup>79</sup>Such a function is an extension of what Calhoun (1940), terms the "divine entourage." Divine assistance or observation of their actions signals the importance of these actions, glorifying the hero, and adding dignity. On the matter generally see also Kirk V: 305, and Griffin (1980) 81; Fenik, 37, on the typicality of such scenes; and Feeney, 53-4, for references in the Scholia.

Here, a typical scene of the gods divided in their sympathies (14. 93-6) leads into authorial remarks on the relationship between Fate and the gods. After asserting the primacy of Fate (14. 97), Quintus equivocates. The gods might not have been strong enough to defend Troy against Fate. For Zeus, however, it is not easy to go against Fate (14. 99), but it is presumably possible. Quintus then retreats even further from the notion that Zeus is subservient to Fate, declaring that all things, including presumably Fate itself, are "from Zeus" (14. 100). The notion is not at all at odds with the picture of the relationship between Fate and the gods in the *Iliad*.<sup>80</sup> But Quintus' ambiguity helps to alter this portrayal of the gods. He asserts the supremacy of Zeus while simultaneously attributing to Fate harm done to men, thus disassociating the Olympians from the causation of harm.

#### Other Scenes among the Gods

Several scenes of divine action in the *Posthomerica* take place on earth, but without the knowledge of, and without immediately affecting, mortals. The divine response to the completion of the wooden horse (12. 160-218) is almost entirely divorced from human action:

δῆ τὸτ' ἐπ' Ὠκεανοῖο ῥοᾶς καὶ Τηθύος ἄντρα	160
Ζηνὸς ὑπερθύμοιο θεῶν ἀπάτερθε μολόντος	
ἔμπεσεν ἀθανάτοισιν ἔρις· δίχα δέ σφισι θυμὸς	
ἔπλετ' ὀρινομένων. Ἄνέμων δ' ἐπιβάντες ἀέλλαις	
οὐρανόθεν φορέοντο ποτὶ χθόνα· τοῖσι δ' ὑπ' αἰθήρ	
ἔβραχεν. Οἱ δ' μολόντες ἐπὶ Ζάνθοιο ρέεθρα	165
ἀλλήλων ἴσταντο καταντίον, οἱ μὲν Ἀχαιῶν,	
οἱ δ' ὑπὲρ Τρώων· πολέμου δ' ἔρος ἔμπεσε θυμῶ.	
Τοῖσι δ' ὁμῶς ἀγέροντο καὶ οἱ λάχον εὐρέα πόντο.	
Καί ῥ' οἱ μὲν δολόεντα κοτεσσάμενοι μενέαινον	
ἵππον ἀμαλδῦναι σὺν νήσιν, οἱ δ' ἐρατεινὴν	170
Ἴλιον· Αἴσα δ' ἔρυκε πολύτροπος, ἐς δὲ κυδοιμὸν	
τρέψε νόον μακάρεσσιν. Ἄρης δ' ἐξῆρχε μόθοιο,	
ἄλτο δ' Ἀθηναίης κατεναντίον· ὥς δὲ καὶ ἄλλοι	
σύμπεσον ἀλλήλοισι. Περὶ σφίσι δ' ἄμβροτα τεύχη	

<sup>80</sup>ὑπὲρ Διὸς αἴσαν occurs at P 321, suggesting the equation of Zeus' will with Fate. Quintus uses frequently, see ch. 2, p. 80

χρύσεια κινυμένοισι μέγ' ἴαχεν. ἀμφὶ δὲ πόντος 175  
 εὐρύς ὑπεσπαράγησε· κελαινὴ δ' ἔτρεμε γαῖα  
 ἀθανάτων ὑπὸ ποσσὶ. Μακρὸν δ' ἅμα πάντες ἄυσαν·  
 σμερδαλέη δ' ἐνοπὴ μέχρῃς οὐρανὸν εὐρύν ἴκανε,  
 μέχρῃς ἐπ' Ἀιδουῆος ὑπερθύμοιο βέρεθρον·  
 Τιτῆνες δ' ὑπένερθε μέγ' ἔτρεσαν· Ἀμφὶ δὲ μακρῆ 180  
 Ἴδη ὑπέστενε πᾶσα καὶ ἠχήμεντα ρέεθρα  
 ἀενάων ποταμῶν, δολιχαὶ δ' ἅμα τοῖσι χαράδαι  
 νῆες τ' Ἀργείων Πριάμοιο τε κύδιμον ἄστυ·  
 ἀλλ' οὐκ ἀνθρώποισι πέλεν δέος, οὐδ' ἐνόησαν  
 αὐτῶν ἐννεσίησι θεῶν ἔριν. Οἳ δὲ κολώνας 185  
 χερσὶν ἀπορρήξαντες ἀπ' οὐρεος Ἰδαίουο  
 βάλλον ἐπ' ἀλλήλους· αἷ δὲ ψαμάθοισιν ὁμοῖαι  
 ρεῖα διεσκίδναντο θεῶν περὶ ἄσχετα γυῖα  
 ῥηγνύμενα(ν) διὰ τυτθά. Διὸς δ' ἐπὶ πείρασι γαίης  
 οὐ λάθον ἠὲ νόημα· λιπῶν δ' ἄφαρ Ὠκεανοῖο 190  
 χεῦματ' ἐς οὐρανὸν εὐρύν ἀνήιε· τὸν δὲ φέρεσκον  
 Εὐρος καὶ Βορέης, Ζέφυρος δ' ἐπὶ ποῖσι Νότος τε,  
 τοὺς ὑπὸ θεσπέσιον ζυγὸν αἰόλος ἤγαγεν Ἴρις  
 ἄρματος αἰὲν ἐόντος ὃ οἱ κάμεν ἄμβροτος Αἰῶν  
 χερσὶν ὑπ' ἀκαμάτοισιν ἀτειρέος ἐξ ἀδάμαντος. 195  
 ἴκετο δ' Οὐλύμποιο ῥίον μέγα· σὺν δ' ἐτίναξεν  
 ἠέρα πᾶσαν ὑπερθε χολούμενος, ἄλλοθε δ' ἄλλαι βρονταὶ ὁμῶς  
 στεροπηῆσι μέγ' ἔκτυπον· ἐκ δὲ κεραυνοὶ<sup>81</sup>  
 ταρφέες ἐξεχέοντο ποτὶ χθόνα· καίετο δ' ἀήρ  
 ἄσπετον. Ἀθανάτοισι δ' ὑπὸ φρένας ἔμπεσε δεῖμα· 200  
 πάντων δ' ἔτρεμε γυῖα καὶ ἀθανάτων περ ἐόντων.  
 Τῶν δὲ περιδδείσασα κλυτὴ Θέμις εὔτε νόημα  
 ἄλτο διὰ νεφέων, τάχα δὲ σφέας εἰσαφίκανεν·  
 οἷη γὰρ στονόεντος ἀπόπροθι μίμνε μόθοιο·  
 τοῖον δ' ἔκφατο μῦθον ἐρυκανόωσα μάκεσθαι· 205  
 Ἴσχεο ἰωχμοῖο δυσηχέος· οὐ γὰρ ἔοικε  
 Ζηνὸς χωομένοιο μινυθαδίων ἐνεκ' ἀνδρῶν  
 μάρνασθ' αἰὲν ἐόντας, ἐπεὶ τάχα πάντες αἰστοὶ  
 ἔσσεσθ'· ἦ γὰρ ὑπερθεν ἐφ' ὑμέας οὐρεα πάντα  
 εἰς ἓν ἀναρρήξας οὐθ' υἰῶν οὔτε θυγατρῶν 210  
 φείσεται, ἀλλ' ἄρα πάντας ὁμῶς κ' ἀπὸ ὑπερθε καλύψει  
 γαίῃ ἀπειρεσίῃ· οὐδ' ἔσσεται ἄμμιν ἄλυξις  
 ἐς φάος· ἀργαλέος δὲ περὶ ζόφος αἰὲν ἐρύξει·  
 ὣς φάτο· τοὶ δ' ἐπίθοντο Διὸς τρομέοντες ὁμοκλήν·  
 ὑσμίνης δ' ἔσχοντο, χόλον δ' ἀπὸ νόσφι βάλοντο 215  
 ἀργαλέον, φιλότητα δ' ὁμήθεα ποιήσαντο.

<sup>81</sup>ἐκ δὲ is Vian's text; the MSS give either ἐν δέ or ἠδέ; emendation to οἱ δέ (West (1963) 62) does not change the sense.

Καί ῥ' οἱ μὲν νίσοντο πρὸς οὐρανόν. οἱ δ' ἄλὸς εἶσω,  
οἱ δ' ἀνὰ γαῖαν ἔμιμνον. . .

At this time, proud Zeus had gone away from the gods to the streams of Ocean and caves of Tethys, and strife beset the immortals; their hearts were agitated, and at odds with each other. Mounted on whirlwinds, they were borne from the heavens to the earth, and the aether resounded around them. Coming to the streams of Xanthus, they faced each other, some for the Greeks, others for the Trojans, and a lust for battle seized their hearts; and with them also gathered those who rule the wide sea. Some in their anger were eager to destroy the treacherous horse and the ships, others, lovely Ilium. But much-devising Aisa restrained them, and turned the minds of the blessed to tumult. Ares began the fray, and leapt to face Athena, and the rest set upon each other. Their ambrosial golden armor clashed as they moved, the broad sea echoed the noise, the dark earth shook beneath the immortals' feet. They all shouted loudly, and the terrible sound reached to the broad heavens and to the depths of haughty Hades; the Titans below were frightened. All lofty Ida groaned, and the thundering streams of her ever-flowing rivers, together with the long glens, and the ships of the Argives, and the famous city of Priam. But men were not afraid, being unaware of the gods' strife, by the gods' will. They ripped away the peaks of mount Ida with their hands, and threw them at each other. But these, broken on the gods' indestructible limbs, were scattered easily, like sand. This did not escape the mind of Zeus, at the ends of the earth. He immediately left the waves of Ocean, and went up to broad heaven. Eurus, Boreas, Zephyr and Notus carried him, whom bright Iris led under the wondrous yoke of the ever-lasting chariot which immortal Aion had made of indestructible adamant with his tireless hands. He came to the great peak of Olympus. All the air shook with his anger; thunder and lightning roared in all directions, thunderbolts fell thick and fast to earth, and the air burned unspeakably. Fear fell on the minds of the immortals; immortal though they were, their limbs trembled. Her mind afraid for them, famous Themis leapt through the clouds and quickly reached them. (she alone stayed out of the painful fray). And to stop them fighting, she spoke in this fashion:

"Cease this affray. It is not fitting, when Zeus is angry, for those who are forever to struggle on behalf of short-lived men. He will crush all the mountains into one up there, to use against you, and spare neither sons nor daughters; you will all be hidden under immeasurable earth, and you will have no escape into the light, but cruel darkness will always hold you."



So she spoke, and they obeyed, fearing the wrath of Zeus.  
They ceased their battle, cast away their cruel anger, and  
established internecine amity. And some departed to the heavens,  
some into the sea, and some stayed on the earth.

Functionally, this passage, like the Theomachy of the *Iliad*, its obvious model, immediately precedes, and, as it were, signals, the dramatic climax of the poem.<sup>82</sup> Although a mundane event, the completion of the wooden horse (12. 169-70), triggers the Theomachy, the battle has no effect on, and, despite the commotion attending the progress and conflict of the gods (12. 164-5, 174-85, 197-200),<sup>83</sup> is not even perceived by, men. That the celestial affray goes unnoticed is not particularly remarkable.<sup>84</sup> Even Achilles seems unaware of Hephaestus' combat with Xanthus in the Iliadic Theomachy; nor do mortals notice the Theomachy of Nonnus' *Dionysiaca* (36. 3-132), or the celestial combat of Silius' *Punica* (9. 288-309). That the Theomachy of the *Posthomerica* is so tenuously connected to human action (and immediately divorced from its putative trigger, the desire to destroy the wooden horse, 12. 172-3) is more remarkable, as the Theomachies of Homer, Nonnus, and Silius all parallel mundane battles. The first and last indeed overlap with them, Xanthus attacking Achilles (Φ 214) and Pallas and Mars coming to the aid of Scipio and Hannibal (9. 438-50).

As in the *Iliad* (Υ 30), the Theomachy of the *Posthomerica* serves to ensure the fate of Troy. The intervention of Aisa (12. 171-2) prevents the gods from either destroying the horse (12. 169-70), and so saving the city, or causing its fall too early (12. 170-1). The *Posthomerica's* Theomachy however, differs immediately from the *Iliad's* in

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<sup>82</sup>P. Kakridis, 98; bT ad Υ 4 (cf. Calhoun (1940) 275-6) notes this function of the Iliadic Theomachy

<sup>83</sup>The arrival of the gods on earth is discussed at pp. 257-9.

<sup>84</sup>Though note that if Knight, 182, is correct in presuming that Quintus' Theomachy and the storm at *Aeneid* 2. 112 derive from the same incident in a common source, it is likely that Quintus departs intentionally from it.

that Quintus' Zeus is not present at its beginning,<sup>85</sup> while Zeus gives permission for, if indeed he does not order, the battle (Y 23-7). This has the obvious effect of distancing their king from the gods' affray.

Although apparently all the gods save Zeus and Themis are to be understood as present and participating (12. 204), the Theomachy is reduced to a duel between Ares and Athena. Their confrontation is by far the most serious of the Iliadic Theomachy, and is also highlighted by Silius (*Pun.* 9. 438-50). By limiting the Theomachy to this duel alone, however, Quintus is able to avoid numerous objectionable features of the Homeric Theomachy, and to do so with no suggestion of allegory; comparison to other Theomachies highlights both points.

Besides the fight between Ares and Athena (of which more anon) and the surreal and much-allegorized combat of Hephaestus and Xanthus (Y 328-76), the other scenes of the Homeric Theomachy are inconsequential (the exchanges between Poseidon and Apollo, Φ 436-67, and Hermes and Leto, Φ 497-503), or insulting and violent (the attacks of Hera and Athena on Aphrodite, Φ 420-2, and of Hera on Artemis, Φ 481-96; insults also pass between Artemis and Apollo, Φ 472-7). All these, culminating with the return of Artemis to Olympus (Φ 503-13), are to some degree comic. Ancient commentators seem not to have been attuned to the notion of comic relief, and devote much attention to interpreting these exchanges in terms of cosmological allegory,<sup>86</sup> and even with these

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<sup>85</sup>Campbell, 61 *ad* 12. 160-1 remarks that the visit to Ocean and Tethys is unmotivated and that Quintus thus avoids any reference to their divine marital problems (Σ 200-1, 301-2; Ovid, *Met.* 2. 510-1, *Fast.* 5. 233); he also notes, but deems insignificant, that Zeus does not visit the Aethiopians. The visit to Ocean and Tethys may, however, recall the ἀπάτη, and hence Zeus' distraction, a notion which Quintus counters. Zeus never in the *Posthomerica* take the usual divine vacation among the Aethiopians, typically of the limited interaction between gods and any men in the poem.

<sup>86</sup>Mostly in the bT Scholia *ad* Y 68-73; for discussion, see Kirk V: 296 *ad loc.*, whose discussion (V1 85 *ad* Y 1-74) of the significance of the Theomachy and its comic elements is most informative, though the caveats of Grube, 73, should be borne in mind; Bremer, 39-40, and Whitman, 140, 235, discount the comic effect. Certain of the pairings are also criticized as inappropriate: Leto and Hermes: bT Ge *ad* Φ 498; Apollo and Poseidon, A *ad* Φ 475-7 (also see Willcock (1977) 49-50).

interpretations in place, the exchange between Hera and Artemis is condemned for impiety (*Ge ad*  $\Phi$  491). Quintus avoids both potential criticism and the need to interpret it away by completely omitting these paired exchanges. Such omission is unusual. Both Silius (*Pun.* 9. 290-9) and Nonnus (*Dion.* 36. 8-11) give catalogues of the participants in their Theomachies, and the latter duplicates exactly the pairings of the Iliadic Theomachy (*Y* 32-75). Nonnus, moreover, at different points both engages in detailed allegory and magnifies unseemly features of the Homeric exchanges.<sup>87</sup>

The one duel of Quintus' Theomachy, between Ares and Athena, is obviously based on the Homeric combat between the two ( $\Phi$  391-414). But here also, Quintus avoids details of the original which are open to criticism as unseemly or impious. Although Ares and Athena come to blows, no harm is done, and there can be no possibility of objections such as are raised against Homer's representation of gods suffering.<sup>88</sup> Ares remains unvanquished, with no suggestion of his famous felling at ( $\Phi$  403-6).<sup>89</sup> Unlike Homer, Quintus does not reveal Ares' "coarse character by his rudeness, and his vindictiveness by referring to his earlier defeat [by Athena and Diomedes], which he is not ashamed to mention" ( $\Phi$  394-9),<sup>90</sup> nor does he duplicate Athena's bragging ( $\Phi$  410-4). Also noteworthy is the fact that Quintus avoids reference to Athena's use of the aegis as a

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<sup>87</sup>The exchange between Apollo and Poseidon (36. 83-96) is presented as an elemental clash between fire and water. The exchange between Hera and Artemis (36. 28-78) is far more detailed than in Homer. Nonnus retains the details of Hera's physical and verbal abuse of the younger goddess, including the scattering of her arrows (36. 45-6), while his Hera (36. 28-45) inflicts violence more serious than the Homeric ear-boxing, and (36. 48-77) delivers far more pointed and impious insults, referring to Artemis' role as midwife and casting aspersions on her virginity.

<sup>88</sup>On such objections, see Van der Valk (1963-4) II. 24.

<sup>89</sup>Quintus does once refer to this event (II 196-7), in a context which makes plain he deems it an instance of improper divine behavior

<sup>90</sup>Kirk: VI. 87 *ad*  $\Phi$  394-9, following bT *ad*  $\Phi$  396

shield (Φ 400-2), a detail which seems to have raised considerable qualms among the ancient readers,<sup>91</sup> although it also appears in Nonnus (*Dion.* 36. 13-20).

Quintus retains those traditional elements of Theomachy or Titanomachy which are regularly regarded as grandiose, but omits those which were criticized.<sup>92</sup> The shaking of the earth (12. 176-7; Θ 199), praised by bT *ad* A 530, is retained, but the famous simile of the trumpet (Φ 388), which attracted criticism as diminishing the effect,<sup>93</sup> is avoided. Quintus' statement that the noise of the Theomachy penetrates to Hades (12. 179-80) is typical, and modifies the *Iliad's* hyperbolic suggestion of the Underworld being opened (Y 59-66),<sup>94</sup> avoiding criticisms leveled at that passage.<sup>95</sup>

That Quintus' Theomachy has no resolution is typical. Theomachies must "fizzle out." as any other result would entail disruption of the divine order.<sup>96</sup> Quintus' Theomachy, however, differs from Statius', which shades back into the mundane battle, and from that of Homer, which ends with a clear, if not (for the gods at least) very significant, victory of one side. Rather, it is halted purposefully by Zeus and Themis, and

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<sup>91</sup>A *ad* Φ 400 corrects to αἰγίδα to ἀσπίδα, a reading which is widely attested. Van der Valk, (1963-4) II. 26, 407, sees the notion of impiety as the rationale. cf. also Σ 204, which A terms φαντασία and T seems to interpret figuratively, stating that Achilles is not aware of Athena's wrapping him in the aegis. On the aegis, see also p. 186 and n. 68.

<sup>92</sup>For citations of Scholia and discussion, see Richardson (1980) 275-6, and nn. 35-6, more generally, Griffin (1980) 37-41, and Mondi 42-4. The elaborate description of Zeus' chariot (12. 191-5) probably also serves to increase the sense of grandeur. Despite the references to the Winds and Aion, no apparent or coherent cosmological significance attaches to such details, which are common in the *Posthomeric*. Marvelous chariots and winds, with their implication of supernatural speed, are also grandiose elements (Fenik, 115).

<sup>93</sup>For citations and discussion of ancient opinions, see Kirk V: 293-5 *ad* Y 54-66, VI: 86-7 *ad* Φ 388

<sup>94</sup>Campbell, 66, 69

<sup>95</sup>Plutarch, *de Aud. Poet.* 2 regards Y 59-66 as a poetic falsehood. Longinus (9. 6-7), as grotesquely hyperbolic. Innes, 169, n. 2, regards Virgil (*Aen.* 8. 243-6) as responding to such objections by representing the shades as trembling in fright—almost exactly what Quintus does.

<sup>96</sup>Campbell, 57. The point is made clearly by Nonnus, whose Hermes serves as peace-maker, fearing another Titanomachy (36. 109-21).

Quintus' account of their actions accords with the notion that he is engaged in a "correction" of the traditional portrayal of the gods. Themis appears as a character only here in the *Posthomerica*, and her role is in accord with her nature as the embodiment of right action.<sup>97</sup> In contrast to the end of the Iliadic theomachy, where some gods are pleased and others angry (Φ 515-9), at 12. 215-6, Quintus' gods disperse completely at peace amongst themselves. The reconciliation of angry deities, and the avoidance of divine strife are recurring themes in the *Posthomerica*; the Theomachy is the only instance in which such strife actually erupts, emphasizing the significance of Themis' role in stopping it. Themis' statement that gods ought not fight on behalf of mortals (12. 207-9), echoes the Iliadic Theomachy (Φ 379-80, 462-7),<sup>98</sup> where it is regarded as yet another instance of divine indifference to human suffering. It is expressed only here in the *Posthomerica*, in a context which renders it less open to criticism: Rather than being a general precept that men are not worth the bother, it is a specific prohibition of the present unseemly display of partisanship which angers Zeus (12. 206, 210-3).

This anger, made manifest at 12. 196-200, is chief among the reasons the gods desist from fighting. This contrasts markedly with the Theomachies of both Nonnus and Statius, to which Zeus and Jupiter do not respond at all, and especially with that of Homer, whose Zeus (clearly at Φ 505-13 and probably also at Υ 23 and Φ 389-90) is amused by the brawl. Zeus' lack of amusement in the *Posthomerica* perhaps reflects the concerns of ancient commentators who saw these Iliadic lines as suggesting a certain

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<sup>97</sup>On the appropriateness of Themis' behavior in the *Posthomerica*, see Campbell, 59. Quintus to some extent reverses the Iliadic scenario, where Themis, on Zeus' orders, assembles the gods prior to their conflict (Υ 4-5). This action caused ancient commentators some qualms, as evinced by their explanation of it by the assertion that Themis normally "presides at divine conclaves" (bT ad Υ 4; also Kirk IV 238 ad ○ 87-8, whence the quotation).

<sup>98</sup>The sentiment is also expressed at A 573-6 and Θ 427-31.

malevolence in Zeus.<sup>99</sup> At the same time, in accordance with the importance which philosophers attach to his omniscience,<sup>100</sup> Quintus is careful to note (12. 189-90) that even from afar, Zeus is aware of the other gods' actions.

Zeus' hurling of lightning bolts (12. 196-200) and the gods' fear (12. 200) might at first glance appear to belie the notion that Quintus alters the Homeric picture of hostility between Zeus and the other gods. Note, however, that while Quintus represents more violent action than does Homer (where references to the Zeus' use of the thunderbolt against the gods are always recollections and warnings, not narration),<sup>101</sup> in the *Posthomerica* the gods' compliance is relatively willing, and there are none of the grudging admissions of Zeus' superiority which are common in the *Iliad*.<sup>102</sup> Also, such warning shots are compatible with the fantastic grandeur of divine action, which the critics frequently praise, and contrast with the more objectionable punishments mentioned in the *Iliad*.<sup>103</sup> The thunderbolt is more in keeping with divine dignity than Homeric "hands-on" violence, even if this is only threatened.

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<sup>99</sup>Chamaeleon (Schol. ad  $\Phi$  390). For discussion of the scholion, see Friedlander, 55-7, Podlecki, 120-1, and Combellack (1987) 214; more generally, Kirk V: 289 ad  $\Upsilon$  20-30, who maintains that Zeus' amusement at the divine brawl is well-justified, and Griffin (1980) 16, 183, who like the ancient critics, sees it as "heartless "

<sup>100</sup>Zeus is distracted from the battle at  $\text{N}$  1-9, giving Poseidon the opportunity to intervene, and further distracted by the ἀπάτη. The scholiasts regard his distraction as necessary for the dramatic purpose of  $\text{N}$ - $\text{O}$ , but try to read it in such a fashion as to reinforce the notion of Zeus' universal divinity; Eustathius (916) discusses the matter in detail. On criticism of the Homeric Zeus' failures of omniscience, see Van der Valk (1963-4) II: 14-5. Vernant, 46, gives a picture rather like Quintus' of Zeus' omniscience, philosophically correct, and supported by Hesiod (*Theog* 793-804), but completely ignoring the ἀπάτη

<sup>101</sup>Campbell 59-60, notes that Zeus' lightning in the *Posthomerica* is always preventative (though the parallels he cites, 8. 451-2 (directed against mortals) and 9. 313-4 (where Poseidon confronts Apollo) are less apt than 1. 690-4 and 2. 640-1

<sup>102</sup>Prime examples are  $\Theta$  425-56;  $\text{O}$  14-33, 93-4; also similar are  $\Lambda$  74-9;  $\Pi$  429-57;  $\text{X}$  177-81

<sup>103</sup>The Iliadic Zeus uses the thunderbolt only to threaten, but his warnings (discussed by Griffin (1976) 47 and n. 47 and de Jong, 72-5) are far more forceful than those in the *Posthomerica*. Kirk IV: 243 ad  $\text{O}$  135-6 remarks "*Luckily for Zeus' dignity*, Athena's forecast of his rage is not put to the test. Homer relegates such traditional behavior to his character's speeches, rather than vouch for it himself." Note my italics, and the fact that Quintus further minimizes such behavior.

The inclusion of a Theomachy seems at odds with Quintus' postulated avoidance of the representation of unseemly divine behavior. Such divine conflicts are rejected as suitable poetic themes by Xenophanes (*DK B 1*), and Plato (378 a-d) criticizes stories of the gods fighting among themselves.<sup>104</sup> While the imitation by Quintus and Nonnus and adaptation by Silius of the Iliadic Theomachy indicate the continued popularity of such battles as an epic theme, the Scholia on the Homeric passage reveal concerns about its propriety.<sup>105</sup> These tend to be directed toward demonstrating that the Theomachy is in fact reverent (σέβει δὲ θεοῦς, *T ad Y 68*), and the allegorical interpretations of the passage to this end are among the best-known such exercises.<sup>106</sup> Quintus' Theomachy is remarkable because it avoids many features of its Homeric model which are open to criticism as "unseemly," and because it does so without recourse to allegory.

There are three other instances in the *Posthomerica* in which gods descend to earth, but do not impinge significantly upon events at that level. These are a series of divine reactions (those of Dawn and Thetis) to the deaths of mortal favorites (Memnon and Achilles). These form a recurring pattern in the *Posthomerica*, the return of a deity from anger to harmony with the rest of the gods. This in itself entails the avoidance of impropriety in the form of divine discord; other unseemly aspects of the traditional portrayal of the gods are avoided or minimized in individual passages.

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<sup>104</sup>Neither specifically mentions Theomachies. Xenophanes names Titanomachy, Gigantomachy, and Centaureomachy, which are similar (for discussion tailored to the *Posthomerica*, see Campbell, 57-9), and his objections are likely general, being consistent with his other criticisms of the poetic representation of the gods (Feeney, 7), though Bowra argues that these subject are unsuitable only for poetry performed in a sympotic context.

<sup>105</sup>Cribbiore, 194, notes that in antiquity  $\Upsilon$  and  $\Phi$  were among the least-read books of the *Iliad*, and were probably avoided for theological reasons.

<sup>106</sup>Moral allegories: *b ad Y 36*; *bT ad Y 38*; *T ad Y 39*; *T ad  $\Phi$  241*; *bT ad  $\Phi$  332, 343, 344, 354, 357, 366*; Eustathius, 1237; Cosmological allegories: *b ad Y 40*; Eustathius, 1238-9. For brief discussion, see Kirk V: 296 *ad Y 67-74*; Feeney, 8-11; for detailed treatment, Buffiere, 101-5, 549-52

The first, which is also the first appearance of an Olympian god as a character in the poem, occurs upon the death of Penthesileia (l. 675-6, 681-695, 703-714):<sup>107</sup>

Ἄρει δ' ἔμπεσε πένθος ὑπὸ φρένας ἀμφὶ θυγατρὸς 675  
 θυμὸν ἀκηχεμένου. Τάχα δ' ἔκθορεν Οὐλύμπιοιο,  
 σμερδαλέω ἀτάλαντος αἰεὶ κτυπέοντι κεραυνῶ  
 . . .  
 . . . ταναοῖο δι' ἠέρος ἀσχαλόων κῆρ  
 ἔσσυτο σὺν τεύχεσσι, ἐπεὶ μόρον αἰνὸν ἄκουσε  
 παιδὸς ἐῆς· τῶ γάρ ῥα κατ' οὐρανὸν εὐρὺν ἰόντι  
 Αὔραι μυθήσαντο θεαὶ Βορέαιο θυγατρὸς 685  
 κούρης αἰνὸν ὄλεθρον. Ὁ δ' ὡς κλύεν, ἴσος ἀέλλη  
 Ἰδαίων ὀρέων ἐπεβήσето· τοῦ δ' ὑπὸ ποσσὶν  
 ἄγχεα κίνυτο μακρὰ βαθύρρωχοί τε χαράδραι  
 καὶ ποταμοὶ καὶ πάντες ἀπειρέσιοι πόδες Ἰδης.  
 Καὶ νύ κε Μυρμιδόνεσσι πολύστονον ὥπασεν ἡμαρ.  
 εἰ μὴ μιν Ζεὺς αὐτὸς ἀπ' Οὐλύμπιοιο φόβησε 690  
 σμερδαλέης στεροπῆσι καὶ ἀργαλείοισι κεραυνοῖς  
 οἱ οἱ πρόσθε ποδῶν θαμέες ποτέοντο δι' αἰθρῆς  
 δεινὸν ἀπαιθόμενοι. Ὁ δ' ἄρ' εἰσορόων ἐνόησε  
 πατρὸς ἐριγδούποιο μέγα βρομέουσαν ὀμοκλήν.  
 ἔσση δ' ἔσσύμενός περ ἐπὶ πτολέμοιο κυδοιμόν. 695  
 . . . ἐπεὶ μακάρων μεδέοντι 703  
 πάντες ὁμῶς εἴκουσιν Ὀλύμπιοι, οὔνεκ' ἄρ' αὐτῶν  
 πολλὸν ὑπέρτατός ἐστι, πέλει δέ οἱ ἄσπετος ἀλκή. 705  
 Πολλὰ δὲ πορφύροντα θεὸς νόος ὀτρύνεσκεν  
 ἄλλοτε μὲν Κρονίδαο μέγ' ἀσχαλόωντος ἐνιπῆν  
 σμερδαλέην τρομέοντα πρὸς οὐρανὸν ἀπονέεσθαι.  
 ἄλλοτε δ' οὐκ ἀλέγειν σφετέρου πατρός, ἀλλ' Ἀχιλλῆι  
 μῖξαι ἐν αἵματι χεῖρας ἀτειρέας, Ὅψε δέ οἱ κῆρ 710  
 μνήσασθ' ὅσοι καὶ Ζηνὸς ἐνὶ πτολέμοισι δάμησαν  
 υἱέες οἷς οὐδ' αὐτὸς ἐπήρκεσαν ἦεν· ἦν γὰρ ἔμελλε  
 κεῖσθαι ὁμῶς Τιτῆσι δαμῆεις στονόεντι κεραυνῶ  
 εἰ Διδῶς ἀθανάτοιο παρ' ἐκ νόον ἄλλα μενοίνα.

Sorrow fell upon Ares' heart, and his spirit was grieved for his daughter. Immediately he leapt from Olympus . . . through thin air, sore at heart, he hastened with his arms, when he heard the sad fate of his child. The Aurae, goddesses and daughters of Boreas, had told him of his daughter's sad destruction, as he was going through the broad heavens. When he heard, quick as the wind his foot touched the peaks of Ida. Under

<sup>107</sup>l. 677-81 and 696-703 describe Ares' progress.



his feet the great glens moved, and the deep-cut ravines, the rivers and all the foothills of Ida. And now he had brought a day of woe to the Myrmidons, had not Zeus himself from Olympus affrighted him with terrible lightning and fearsome thunderbolts, which flew through the aether burning terribly before his feet. When [Ares] saw these, he recognized the great, resounding call of his loud-thundering father, and stopped, although he was hastening toward the din of battle . . . For all the Olympians yield to the ruler of the gods, because he is much stronger than them, and his strength is unspeakable. He was much troubled, his swift mind urging him now to return to the heavens, fearing the terrible rebuke of the angry son of Cronus, now not to heed his father but stain his tireless hands with Achilles' blood. Finally, his heart recalled how many sons of Zeus had died in the war, whom he did not help when they perished. Therefore, he went away from the Argives; for he would have lain like the Titans, overcome by the grievous thunderbolt, had he proposed contrary to the mind of Zeus.

This passage recalls Ares' reaction to the death of his son Ascalaphus (N 518-25; O 110-42).<sup>108</sup> Parallels between the two episodes are Ares' initial ignorance of his child's death (l. 682-3; N 523-5); the breaking of the news by a third party (l. 684-5; O 110-2); Ares' desire for revenge (l. 689, 709-10; O 113-20); and his abandonment of this intention lest he incur punishment by Zeus (l. 690-5, 703-9, 712-5; O 121-38). Quintus, however, differs from Homer regarding the other deities involved, the nature of the threatened punishment, and the other reasons for Ares' abandoning his revenge. These differences make Quintus' characterization of Ares and other Olympians, and his representation of relations between Zeus and the Olympians, significantly different from Homer's.

Ares' initial ignorance of the death of Penthesileia is a detail likely included in order to recall the Iliadic episode, where Ares is confined to Olympus by Zeus' command and prevented from viewing the battle by golden clouds (N 523-25). There is no such reason for his ignorance at l. 682-3, and Quintus elsewhere avoids inexplicable lapses of divine omniscience, which are criticized in Homer.<sup>109</sup> The *Aurae* (l. 683-5) are logical enough informants for Ares, as both he and the winds are, in the *Posthomeric* as generally.

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<sup>108</sup>Vian, *Suite I*, 39, n. 6.

<sup>109</sup>On omniscience, see p. 200. bT *ad* N 521 defends Ares' ignorance as anthropopathic

associated with Thrace.<sup>110</sup> More significant is the fact that Ares is informed of his bereavement by these scarcely personified entities. In the *Iliad*, he learns of Ascalaphus' death from Hera, who has been out and about in Ζ. After returning to Olympus, she speaks first to Themis (O 96-9), then to the assembled gods (O 104-12):

ἄταῦτα . . . ἀκούσεται . . . .  
οἷα Ζεὺς κακὰ ἔργα πιφάσκειται· οὐδέ τί φημι  
πᾶσιν ὁμῶς θυμὸν κεχαρησέμεν, οὔτε βροτοῖσιν  
οὔτε θεοῖς, εἴ πέρ τις ἔτι νῦν δαίνυται εὐφρων.'

. . .  
ἄνηπιοι, οἳ Ζηνὶ μεναίνομεν ἀφρονέοντες·  
ἦ ἔτι μιν μέμαμεν καταπαυσέμεν ἄσσον ἰόντες 105  
ἦ ἔπει ἠὲ βίη· ὁ δ' ἀφήμενος οὐκ ἀλεγίζει  
οὐδ' ὄθεται· φησὶν γάρ ἐν ἀθανάτοισι θεοῖσι  
καρτεῖ τ σθένει τε διακριδὸν εἶναι ἄριστος.  
τῷ ἔχεθ' ὅττι κεν ὑμμι κακὸν πέμπησιν ἐκάστω.  
ἦδη γάρ νῦν ἔλπομ' Ἄρηι γε πῆμα τετύχθαι· 110  
υἱὸς γάρ οἱ ὄλωλε μάχη ἐνι, φίλτατος ἀνδρῶν,  
Ἄσκάλαφος, τὸν φησὶν ὄν ἔμμεναι ὄβριμος Ἄρης.'

" . . . Hear the evil Zeus has made manifest; and what I say will not please the hearts of all, either mortals or gods, though one even now still feasts happily . . . We are stupid, foolishly contending against Zeus. We still try to approach him and restrain him by speech or force, but he sits apart and neither cares nor heeds, for he says that he is by far the greatest of the immortal gods in power and might. So you suffer whatever evil he sends each of you. Even now, I think a sorrow has befallen Ares, for his son has perished in battle. Ascalaphus, whom mighty Ares says is his favorite among men."

Hera seems to take a certain smug satisfaction in Ares' bereavement, slyly hinting at it at O 99, then delaying for some time before finally breaking the news at O 110-2. This conforms to the rather unpleasant traditional characterization of Hera, which Quintus avoids. Hera's speech also reflects the hostility between Zeus and the other Olympians.<sup>111</sup>

<sup>110</sup>For testimonia, see Lane Fox, 134, n. 35.

<sup>111</sup>Kirk IV: *ad* O 104-12, following Eustathius (1008), highlights the effect of this passage on the characterization of Hera, and relations among the gods: "Hera's addition, 'whom Ares says is his <son>' twists the knife in Ares' wound, since it casts doubt on whether he is Ascalaphus' father . . . To prove his paternity, she implies Ares will have to take revenge on Zeus."

which is the hallmark of their relationship in the *Iliad*, but has already, in the council scene, been seen to be suppressed in the *Posthomerica*.

Alteration of the Homeric portrayal of the gods is also apparent when the reasons why Ares avenges neither Ascalaphus nor Penthesileia are compared. In Homer, he is dissuaded by Athena (O 128-41):

ἴμαινόμενε, φρένας ἠλέ, διέφθορας· ἦ νύ τοι αὐτῶς οὐατ' ἀκούμεν ἐστί, νόος δ' ἀπόλωλε καὶ αἰδῶς.	
οὐκ αἶεις ἅ τέ φησι θεὰ λευκώλενος Ἥρη,	130
ἦ δὴ νῦν πὰρ Ζηνὸς Ὀλυμπίου εἰλήλουθεν·	
ἦ ἐθέλεις αὐτὸς μὲν ἀναπλήσας κακὰ πολλὰ	
ἅψ ἴμεν Οὐλυμπόνδε καὶ ἀχνύμενός περ ἀνάγκη.	
αὐτὰρ τοῖς ἄλλοισι κακὸν μέγα πᾶσι φυτεῦσαι·	
αὐτίκα γὰρ Τρῶας μὲν ὑπερθύμους καὶ Ἀχαιοὺς	135
λείψει, ὁ δ' ἡμέας εἰσι κυδοιμήσω ἐς Ὀλυμπον,	
μάρψει δ' ἐξείης ὅς τ' αἴτιος ὅς τε καὶ οὐκί.	
τῶ σ' αὖ νῦν κέλομαι μεθέμεν χόλον υἱὸς ἐῆος·	
ἦδη γάρ τις τοῦ γε βίην καὶ χειρὰς ἀμείνων	
ἦ πέφατ', ἦ καὶ ἔπειτα πεφήσεται· ἀργαλέον δὲ	140
πάντων ἀνθρώπων ρῦσθαι γενεήν τε τόκον τε.'	

"Raving wit-bereft lunatic, you have ears to hear, but your reason and sense of decency are gone. Do you not hear what the goddess white-armed Hera says, who has just returned from Olympian Zeus? Or do you desire, after suffering many evils yourself to return unwilling and under compulsion to Olympus and cause great evil for all us others? For he will leave the proud Trojans and the Achaeans and will go to Olympus, routing us, and he will catch each one, guilty or not.

Quintus avoids certain unseemly aspects of the Homeric passage.<sup>112</sup> Athena's insults are the most obvious.<sup>113</sup> In both poems, Ares abandons his intended vengeance for fear of punishment by Zeus. But in the *Posthomerica* the threat is directed at Ares alone. There is

<sup>112</sup>Eustathius (1008) allegorizes, Ares being ἀλόγιστος and Athena the embodiment of προνοία. So also Kirk IV: 241 ad O 121-4: "Athena checks Ares' rashness because she embodies realism and a sense of responsibility."

<sup>113</sup>The absence of an interlocutor at l. 675-714 is not merely a function of Quintus' tendency to limit any representation of divine action. Elsewhere in the *Posthomerica* (3. 361-5; 9. 30-23), gods do dissuade each other from rash and passionate action.

no mention of the gods' fear and resentment of Zeus, which in the *Iliad* is well founded, for should Ares act all will suffer (O 135-7). This departure from the Iliadic model is highlighted by the fact that Quintus does not mention in this context the various punishments of the Olympians by Zeus which Homer recalls, but the smiting of the Titans (l. 712-4). Thus Zeus is presented as the guarantor of order, rather than a tyrant among his near-equals, the Olympians.<sup>114</sup>

Quintus' Ares is far from being the madman of O 128-9. The simple fact that Quintus does not describe him in such terms renders his portrayal more seemly. That he is not so addressed by other gods in the *Posthomerica* also results in a more decorous picture of divine behavior generally. The fact that Ares abandons his revenge without being restrained by another god, and his empathy with Zeus' own bereavement (l. 710-2) is significant. This of course contributes to a picture of sympathetic relations among the gods. It also recalls the death of Sarpedon (Π 433-61). However, while Zeus there must be dissuaded by another god from acting inappropriately on behalf of his son, Quintus' Ares reaches this decision alone.

In his treatment of Ares' reaction to his daughter's death, Quintus evokes an obvious Homeric model in such a fashion that its numerous unseemly elements are eliminated or much lessened. His success, however, is far from unqualified. l. 675-714 is only the first of a large number of instances in the *Posthomerica* in which divine action is awkward and inconclusive. In the face of so obvious a Homeric parallel, Ares must react to his daughter's death; the absence of any divine reaction would violate the generic norm of the participation of the gods in the action of epic poetry. Moreover, Ares must be affected strongly by his bereavement, to avoid the charges of divine callousness toward mortality (as at O 140-1), which are leveled against the gods of the *Iliad*. Yet neither can Ares take any effective action: The demands of the traditional story, and hence of Fate,

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<sup>114</sup>Clay (1983) 175, notes O 140-1 in particular as giving this impression of Zeus.

would be violated were he to cause the death of Achilles as he desires (1. 709-10).<sup>115</sup>

Doing so would also violate the philosophical principle that a god must not be shown to inflict harm unjustly. The presence of an interlocutor might make Ares' abandonment of his intended revenge more satisfying dramatically, but this is incompatible with the manner in which Quintus alters the characterization of Ares and Hera. Thus while Quintus succeeds in "correcting" the traditional portrayal of the gods, this very success can be said with some justice to mar his poem aesthetically.

The mourning of Memnon also takes place on earth, but again the actions of the deities involved have no effect on, and are scarcely perceived by, mortal characters. Upon Memnon's fall, "Eos groaned, and hid herself in clouds, and the earth grew dark" (Ἡὼς δὲ στονάχησε καλυψαμένη νεφέεσσιν./ ἤχλύνθη δ' ἄρα γαῖα, 2. 549-50).<sup>116</sup> These clouds are not only emblematic of Dawn's grief, but the hiding of the sun also serves to conceal the Winds' removal of Memnon's corpse to the banks of the Aesepus (2. 550-69, 585-91) and the transportation thither of his Aethiopian troops (2. 570-82), concealed in divine mist (ἀχλύϊ θεσπεσίῃ κεκαλυμμένοι, 2. 582).<sup>117</sup> The divine action takes place by the Aesepus (2. 593-5, 603-27).<sup>118</sup>

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<sup>115</sup>Ares might well come closer to doing so than Quintus has it. Poseidon's reaction to the death of his grandson, Amphimachus (N 185-238, which Kirk, IV: 111-112, *ad* N 521-5 regards as a pointed contrast to Ares' reaction to the death of Ascalaphus) shows the possible course: Poseidon "causes woe to the Trojans by rousing the Greeks" (N 208-9), appearing, disguised as Thoas, to Idomeneus (N 210-38) and launching him into an *aristeia*, a type of interaction also found in the *Posthomerica*.

<sup>116</sup>Note that Dawn, logically, given her point of vantage, is immediately aware of her son's death

<sup>117</sup>*Pace* Vian, *Suite* I: 52-3 and n. 3: 76, n. 6, who regards Dawn's veiling herself in clouds not as a prodigious event, but as an expression of grief. At 13. 415-6 and 2. 626-7, Quintus' gods do veil themselves in grief (though the Nereids (3. 585) don mourning clothes), but normally in the *Posthomerica*, as in the *Iliad*, gods employ clouds or mist for concealment of their activities on earth. In Ovid's version of the story, too (*Met.* 13. 581-2) it is clear that the sky darkens. Grief and concealment are not necessarily to be separated: At  $\Pi$  567-8 and P 268-70, darkness caused by divine grief has also the purpose of causing slaughter (*AbT ad* P 268-70; Kirk IV: 386 *ad*  $\Pi$  567-8; V: 89 *ad* P 268-70; see also the discussion of J. Kakridis, 98-103).

<sup>118</sup>Lines 596-602 are a digression on the Heliads.

Δύσετο δ' ἡλίοιο φάος· κατὰ δ' ἤλυθεν Ἥως  
οὐρανόθεν κλαίουσα φίλον τέκος, ἀμφὶ δ' ἄρ' αὐτῇ  
κοῦραι ἐυπλόκαμοι δυσκαΐδεκα . . . 595

Ἄϊ δ' ὅτε δὴ κατέβησαν ἀπ' αἰθέρος ἠλιβάτοιο  
ἄσπετ' ὄδυρόμεναι περὶ Μέμνονα, σὺν δ' ἄρα τῆσι  
Πληιάδες μύροντο, περίαχε δ' οὔρεα μακρὰ 605  
καὶ ρόος Αἰσῆποιο, γόος δ' ἄλληκτος ὀρώρει.

Ἦ δ' ἄρ' ἐνὶ μέσσησιν ἐὼ περὶ παιδί χυθεῖσα  
μακρὸν ἀνεστονάχησε πολύστονος Ἥριγένεια·  
"Ὦλεό μοι, φίλε τέκνον, ἐῆ δ' ἄρα μητέρι πένθος  
ἀργαλέον περίθηκας. Ἐγὼ δ' οὐ σεῖο δαμέντος 610  
τλήσομαι ἀθανάτοισιν ἐπουρανίοισι φαείειν·

ἀλλὰ κακταχθονίων ἐσδύσομαι αἰνὰ βέρεθρα  
ψυχὴ ὅπου σέο νόσφιν ἀποφθιμένου <πε>πότηται,  
πάντ' ἐπικιδναμένου χάεος καὶ ἀεικέος ὄρφνης,  
ὄφρα τι καὶ Κρονίδαο περὶ φρένας ἄλγος ἴκεται. 615

Οὐ γὰρ ἀτιμότερη Νηρηίδος, ἐκ Διὸς αὐτοῦ  
πάντ' ἐπιδερκομένη, πάντ' ἐς τέλος ἄχρις ἄγουσα,  
μαψιδίως· ἦ γὰρ κεν ἐμὸν φάος ὠπίσατο Ζεὺς.  
Τοῦνεχ' ὑπὸ ζόφον εἶμι· Θέτιν δ' ἐς Ὀλυμπον ἀγέσθω  
ἐξ ἀλός, ὄφρα θεοῖσι καὶ ἀνθρώποισι φαείνη· 620  
αὐτὰρ ἐμοὶ στονόεσσα μετ' οὐρανὸν εὐαδεν ὄρφνη,  
μὴ δὴ σεῖο φονῆι φάος περὶ σῶμα βάλοιμι.'

"Ὦς φαμένης ῥέε δάκρυ κατ' ἀμβροσίοιο προσώπου  
ἀενάω ποταμῷ ἐναλίγκιον, ἀμφὶ δὲ νεκρῶ  
δεύετο γαῖα μέλαινα· συνάχνητο δ' ἀμβροσίη Νύξ 625  
παιδί φίλη, καὶ πάντα κατέκρυφεν Οὐρανὸς ἄστρα  
ἀχλύϊ καὶ νεφέεσσι φέρων χάριν Ἥριγενεΐη.

The light of the sun sank, and Eos came down from the heavens, bewailing her dear son. With her were twelve lovely-haired maidens [the Horae] . . . They came down from the high aether, unspeakably lamenting Memnon, and the Pleiades mourned with them; the great heavens resounded, and the streams of Aesepus, and an incessant wailing arose. In their midst, Erigeneia, much lamenting, embraced her son, and groaned aloud.

"My dear child, you are dead, and have brought your mother cruel sorrow. With you dead, I will not endure to bring light to the immortal heavenly ones. Instead, I will go into the dreadful depths below the earth, where your soul flits about, separated from your dead body, while chaos and ugly darkness spread over everything, so that some pain may come even to the heart of the son of Cronus. For I am not less deserving of honor than the Nereid; because of Zeus I see everything and bring

everything to its end--to no purpose, since Zeus has disdained my light. So I will go into darkness. Let him bring Thetis to Olympus from the sea, to bring light to gods and men. I prefer mournful darkness to heaven, lest I cast my light on your killer's body."

While she spoke, tears flowed down her ambrosial face, like an ever-flowing river, and around the corpse the black earth was wet. Ambrosial Night mourned with her dear child, and Uranus hid his stars with mist and clouds, showing his love for Erigeneia.

During the night, the Greeks and Trojans mourn (2. 628-34), and the lamentation for Memnon continues (2.634-45, 657-67).

Πανυχίη δ' ἀλεγεινὸν ἀνεστενάχιζε γοῶσα  
 Ἥως, ἀμφὶ δέ οἱ κέχυτο ζόφος· οὐδέ τι θυμῷ  
 ἀντολίης ἀλέγιζε, μέγαν δ' ἤχθρεν Ὀλυμπον. 635  
 Ἄγχι δέ οἱ μάλα πολλὰ ποδώκεες ἔστενον ἵπποι,  
 γαῖαν ἐπιστεῖβοντες ἀήθεα καὶ βασιλείαν  
 ἀχνυμένην ὀρόωντες, ἐελδόμενοι μέγα νόστου.  
 Ζεὺς δ' ἄμοτον βρόντησε χολούμενος, ἀμφὶ δέ γαῖα 640  
 κινήθη περὶ πᾶσα· τρόμος δ' ἔλεν ἄμβροτον Ἥω.  
 Τὸν δ' ἄρα καρπαλίμως μελανόχρους Αἰθιοπῆς  
 θάψαν ὀδυρόμενοι· τοὺς δ' Ἑριγένεια βοῶπις  
 πόλλ' ὀλοφυρομένους κρατεροῦ περὶ σήματι παιδὸς  
 οἰωνοὺς ποίησε καὶ ἠέρι δῶκε φέρεσθαι. 645  
 Τοὺς δὴ νῦν καλέουσι βροτῶν ἀπερείσια φύλα  
 μέμνονας" οἳ ῥ' ἐπὶ τύμβον ἔτι σφετέρου βασιλῆος  
 ἔσσύμενοι γοοῶσι κόνιν καθύπερθε χέοντες  
 σήματος· ἀλλήλοις δὲ περικλονέουσι κυδοιμὸν  
 Μέμνονι ἦρα φέροντες· ὁ δ' εἰν Ἀΐδαο δόμοισιν 650  
 ἠέ που ἐν μάκάρεσσι κατ' Ἠλύσιον πέδον αἴης  
 καγχαλάα· καὶ θυμὸν ἰαίνεται ἄμβροτος Ἥως  
 δερκομένη· τοῖσι(ν) δὲ πέλει πόνος ἄχρι καμόντες  
 εἷς ἓνα δηώσωνται ἀνὰ κλόνον, ἠὲ καὶ ἄμφω  
 πότμον ἀναπλήσωσι πονεύμενοι ἀμφὶς ἄνακτα. 655  
 Καὶ τὰ μὲν ἐννεσίησι φαεσφόρου Ἑριγενείης  
 οἰωνοὶ τελέουσι θοοί· τότε δ' ἄμβροτος Ἥως  
 οὐρανὸν εἰς ἀνόρουσ(εν), ὁμῶς πολυαλδέσιν Ὠραῖς,  
 αἳ ῥά μιν οὐκ ἐθέλουσαν ἀνήγαγον ἐς Διὸς οὐδας,  
 παρφάμεναι μύθοισιν ὅσοις βαρὺ πένθος ὑπέικει 660  
 καὶ περ ἔτ' ἀχνυμένην. Ἥ δ' οὐ λάθεθ' οἷο δρόμοιο·  
 δεΐδιε γὰρ <δὴ> Ζηνὸς ἄδην ἄλληκτον ἐνιπῆν,  
 ἔξ οὐ πάντα πέλονται ὅσ' Ὠκεανοῖο ῥέεθρα  
 ἐντος ἔχει καὶ γαῖα καὶ αἰθομένων ἔδος ἄστρων.  
 Τῆς <δ' ἄ>ρα Πληιάδες πρότεραι ἴσαν· ἦ δὲ καὶ αὐτὴ  
 αἰθερίας ὤϊξε πύλας, ἐκέδασσε δ' ἄρ' ἀχλύν.

All night Eos mourned, groaning terribly, wrapped in darkness. She cared not in her heart for rising, and hated great Olympus. The swift-footed horses at her side groaned much, pawing the unfamiliar earth, looking on their sorrowing mistress, and longing greatly to depart. Zeus was angry, and thundered unceasingly; all around the earth shook, and fear seized ambrosial Dawn. Swiftly, the dark-skinned Aethiopians sadly buried [Memnon], and soft-eyed Eos, as a memorial to her mighty child, made them, in their deep sorrow, birds, and granted them the power to fly in the air. The innumerable tribes of men still call them memmons. And they still dart around their king's tomb, wailing and scattering dust on his grave, and they call out to each other, honoring Memnon. And he, in the house of Hades, or perhaps in the Elysian fields, rejoices eternally, and ambrosial Eos is cheered at heart, seeing him. But [the birds] continue their struggle until tired out one is subdued in the strife, or both die struggling by their lord.

The swift birds do these things by the command of Erigeneia the bringer of light. But then, ambrosial Eos went up to the heavens with the fruitful Horae, who brought her, unwilling, to the floor of Zeus, speaking to her words suited to deep sorrow, although she still grieved. But she did not forget her course, for she feared the eternal rebuke of Zeus, from whom comes everything within the streams of Ocean, the earth, and the place of the blazing stars. The Pleiades went before her, and she herself opened the gates of the aether, and dispersed the shadows.

Although Dawn's grief-stricken outburst (2. 609-22) is seemingly at odds with divine decorum, this episode, both in itself and in conjunction with the mourning of Achilles, contributes to the seemly portrayal of the gods.

Quintus' treatment of the mourning of Memnon "corrects" two details of the traditional portrayal of the gods. The removal of Memnon's corpse from the field is reminiscent of the transportation of Sarpedon's corpse at Π 676-83.<sup>119</sup> The Iliadic passage is in fact thought to be modeled on the *Memnonis*, in which Sleep and Death bear off the body, which is perhaps washed by Dawn, as Sarpedon's is by Apollo.<sup>120</sup>

<sup>119</sup>Vian, *Suite I*: 54 and n. 1; 76, n. 7.

<sup>120</sup>Kirk IV: 372, who notes Quintus' version as a single variant from the normal pattern, involving Sleep, Death, and Apollo, which he traces to the *Memnonis*. See also Henle, 141, 339; Roussel, 363-4; and on Quintus, P. Kakridis, 37-8



whose participation in this mortuary task was deemed unseemly.<sup>121</sup> In Quintus' version, however, the Winds transport Memnon's body (2. 550-69, 585-91),<sup>122</sup> and the Aethiopians bury him (2. 642-5), thus avoiding potential criticism for depicting gods in contact with corpses.<sup>123</sup>

More important is the manner in which Dawn's grief-stricken outburst and Zeus' reaction to her grief evoke and alter their models. At 2. 610-5, Dawn makes substantially the same threat as does Helios, complaining of his slaughtered cattle:<sup>124</sup> δύσομαι εἰς Ἄϊδαο καὶ ἐν νεκύεσσι φαείνω ("I will go down to Hades and shine among the dead." μ 383).<sup>125</sup> Dawn, however, unlike Helios, does not explicitly demand vengeance. Nor (in contrast to Helios when Zeus wrecks Odysseus) does Dawn receive any satisfaction. Dawn's grief also recalls that of Demeter in her Homeric Hymn. When that goddess withdraws from the world, however, Zeus implores her first through Iris, then through all the other gods to fulfill her proper role (314-28); finally he takes steps to assuage her grief, arranging visitation with Persephone. Zeus' reaction to Dawn's threats in the *Posthomeric* seems very harsh when contrasted to these instances and to the treatment

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<sup>121</sup>Zenodotus athetized the passage, for its connection of a "pure god" with death and burial (Van der Valk (1963-4) II: 16-7). Nickau, 210-1 discusses the relevant scholion (Did/A ad Π 676-83), and adduces several passages to contradict Zenodotus' objections. Of these, however, Ψ 184-91 is allegorized (Eustathius, 1295), and Ω 18-21 faulted for bringing the aegis into contact with a corpse (A ad Ω 20-1; Eustathius, 1336); the actions involved, moreover, can be understood as being effected from afar, as can the slaying of Niobe (Ω 612, to which Zenodotus also objected, Van der Valk, *loc. cit.*). Thetis personally embalms Patroclus (T 28-9), but, as Clay (1974) 133, notes, the lesser goddesses interact more easily with mortals.

<sup>122</sup>The winds are logically connected to Memnon by kinship; for genealogy, see Vian, *Suite I*, 76, n. 7

<sup>123</sup>Quintus' widely separated references to the Aethiopians, who are transported from the field at 2. 570-4, and transformed into birds only at 2. 645-7, are usually thought to reflect dependence on different and poorly synthesized sources (P. Kakridis, 36; Vian, *Suite I*, 53-4). They must, however, presumably perform the burial in human form.

<sup>124</sup>Vian, *Suite I*, 79, n. 1

<sup>125</sup>There are also slight verbal similarities between Dawn's claims to honor (2. 616) and μ 382 (εἰ δέ μοι οὐ τίσοῦσι βοῶν ἐπειεῖκε' ἀμοιβήν, "If they do not grant me fit recompense for my cattle)

which Thetis (who soon will suffer much as Dawn does, and react in similar fashion) receives. Thetis' grief, however, profound though it be, has no ramifications, in Quintus' version, for men or gods. In the grand scheme of things, Dawn is more important than Thetis. For all to be right with the world, Dawn must return to the heavens, and lines 2. 666-7, the last of the book, effectively convey the majesty of a divinely supervised natural order. The return to this order, moreover, is achieved by the assertion of Zeus' will, undiluted by bargaining of the sort seen in the complaint of Helios in the *Odyssey* or in the *Hymn to Demeter*.<sup>126</sup>

A few further words must be said regarding this natural order. Because of the large number of astral deities who participate in this episode, and its reminiscences of scientific and philosophical works,<sup>127</sup> Vian regards Quintus as having transformed the story of Memnon into a "cosmological drama," imbued with "a philosophical resonance which it perhaps never had before [his version]."<sup>128</sup> Such an interpretation is in accord with well-documented tendencies of the period of the *Posthomerica's* composition. The cosmological details which abound in the final passages of Book Two, however, have little thematic significance. The Pleiades' accompaniment of Dawn as she rises (2. 665) is a simple astronomical observation; the association of Dawn and the Horae (2. 658) is not illogical, and leads neatly to the statement of Zeus' omnipotence at 2. 663-4, which by the standards of the poem is unusual for its elevated style, but not its import. The sympathetic actions of Night and Uranus (2. 625-7) are paralleled elsewhere in the *Posthomerica* in contexts which are not at all amenable to cosmological allegorization.<sup>129</sup>

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<sup>126</sup>Quintus' version of the episode is usefully compared to Ovid's (*Met.* 13. 581-99) in which Dawn confronts Zeus in person, and through the device of *praeteritio* calls attention to the importance of her role and demands honor, which Zeus confers through the miraculous transformation of the Aethiopians. In the *Posthomerica*, Dawn does this herself.

<sup>127</sup>Listed by Vian, *Suite I*: 74, n. 2 and 81, n. 1.

<sup>128</sup>Vian, *Suite I*: 53, 55.

<sup>129</sup>See pp. 283-6. Note that Nereus and the other sea-gods mourn in sympathy with Thetis at 3. 669-71.

The lengthy description of the daughters of Helios (2. 594-604) adds nothing. While Quintus certainly plays upon the double aspect of Dawn as a bereaved mother and a force of nature,<sup>130</sup> and the various cosmological details he includes may reinforce the reader's awareness of this latter role, it is not strongly emphasized. No coherent cosmological reading of the passage more complex than the notion that the natural world is under divine supervision can be extracted from it. Quintus also avoids at least one allegorical detail associated with the story, that the tears shed by Dawn, ever inconsolable, are dew.<sup>131</sup> Quintus makes much of the parallelism between Dawn and Thetis in their grief,<sup>132</sup> although the latter is treated at greater length. In this context, it is likely that the astral deities who accompany Dawn form for her an entourage balancing that of Thetis, and that the description of them is primarily ornamental, lending his treatment of Dawn's grief both dignity and bulk.

Thetis' mourning for Achilles is in many ways similar to that of Ares for Penthesileia and Dawn for Memnon.<sup>133</sup> Again, the scenes in question take place on earth, but the divine action is largely divorced from the human. Quintus' treatment of the funeral of Achilles is expanded, departing only in a few minor particulars, from the summary given at ω 47-96,<sup>134</sup> but Quintus takes no advantage of the opportunity to elaborate on the fantastic mingling of gods and men in this episode. Upon the arrival of the Nereids and Muses (3. 597-9):

Ζεὺς δὲ μέγ' Ἀργείοισι καὶ ἄτρομον ἔμβαλε θάρσος.

<sup>130</sup>See p. 283

<sup>131</sup>Servius *ad Aen* 1. 489; Vian, *Suite I*: 80, 168, n. 8.

<sup>132</sup>The *Iliad's* ignoring of this parallelism is unusual; on its history, see Slatkin, 26-30.

<sup>133</sup>The circumstances of Achilles' death (3. 26-85, 175-80) will be discussed in detail, pp. 224-31. The present discussion is concerned with Thetis' reaction.

<sup>134</sup>Some details are also drawn from Σ 35-72 (Vian *Suite I*: 118, 172, n. 4).

ὄφρα μὴ ἐσθλὸν ὄμιλον ὑποδδείσωσι θεάων  
ἀμφαδὸν ἀτρήσαντες ἀνὰ στρατόν.

Zeus put great and unflinching courage into the hearts of the Argives, so that they would not be afraid of the goddesses appearing in their camp.

Similar reassurance is given by Nestor at ω 47-56. Quintus' version is not illogical. Having less contact with the gods than in the Homeric poems, the characters of the *Posthomerica* perhaps require greater assurance. And certainly the involvement of Zeus contributes to the grandeur of the scene.<sup>135</sup> In their subsequent interactions with men, however, there is little to suggest the divinity of Thetis and her entourage. They behave, and are treated, as visiting dignitaries, more human than divine. The Nereids and Muses signify their grief with mourning clothes (Ἄμφι δὲ κυανέοισι καλυψάμεναι χροά πέπλοις, 3. 586);<sup>136</sup> their participation in the burial of Achilles (3. 733-9) is entirely normal by human standards, save that ambrosia is used in the embalming of the bones (3. 733);<sup>137</sup> and Thetis acts no differently in presiding over the funeral games than does any mortal in similar circumstances.<sup>138</sup> Mortals seem to be entirely unaware of the sympathetic response of nature to the Nereid's grief, the cries of sea creatures (3. 590-1) and the groaning of the sea itself (3. 585, 601, 668-9), and of the expressions of grief and outrage by Thetis and the other Nereids and the consolation of Thetis by Calliope and Poseidon; in the last instance, mortal ignorance is explicitly stated (οὐδέ μιν ἄνδρες/ἔδρακον, 3. 767-8).

Like Ares, Thetis is initially unaware of her child's death. Under the sea, she hears

<sup>135</sup>Quintus' attribution of this action to Zeus may be peculiar to him, for as noted by Vian, *Suite I* 119, n. 1, Tzetzes (*Posthomerica* 454-8) also attributes it to Nestor

<sup>136</sup>Slatkin (1991) 91-3 (who does not deal with any account of Achilles' funeral) maintains that the wearing of dark clothing by goddesses has deep theological significance. Her interpretation of Thetis' character, however, does not seem to be relevant to the *Posthomerica*

<sup>137</sup>Roussel, 377 and n. 134 notes that Quintus differs from ω 59, where the Nereids dress the corpse, again the representation of contact between gods and dead bodies is avoided.

<sup>138</sup>For comparison of Thetis' behavior to that of other givers of epic games, see the article of Willis

the Greeks' lamentations for Achilles (3. 582-3). Grief-stricken, she and the Nereids proceed to the camp (3. 583-94), where they are joined by the Muses (3. 594-6). Upon her arrival, Thetis laments (3. 606-30):

Μήτηρ δ' ἀφιχυθεῖσα κύσε στόμα Πηλείωνος  
 παιδὸς ἐοῦ καὶ τοῖον ἔπος φάτο δάκρυ χέουσα·  
 Ἐγθεῖτο ροδόπεπλος ἀν' οὐρανὸν Ἑριγένεια,  
 γηθεῖτο φρεσὶν ἧσι μεθεῖς χόλον Ἀστεροπαίου  
 Ἄξιός εὐκρυῶν ῥέεθρος ἰδὲ Πριάμοιο γενέθλη. 610  
 Αὐτὰρ ἐγὼ πρὸς Ὀλυμπον ἀφίξομαι. ἀμφὶ ποσσὶ  
 κείσομαι ἀθανάτοιο Διὸς μεγάλα στενάχουσα,  
 οὔνεκά μ' οὐκ ἐθέλουσαν ὑπ' ἀνερὶ δῶκε δαμῆναι,  
 ἀνερὶ ὄν τάχα γῆρας ἀμείλιχον ἀμφιμέμαρφε  
 Κῆρες τ' ἐγγύς ἔασι τέλος θανάτοιο φέρουσαι. 615  
 Ἄλλὰ μοι οὐ κείνοιο μέλει τόσον ὡς Ἀχιλλῆος,  
 ὄν μοι Ζεὺς κατένευσεν ἐν Αἰακίδαο δόμοισιν  
 ἴφθιμον θήσειν, ἐπεὶ οὐ τί μοι ἦνδανεν εὐνή,  
 ἀλλ' ὅτε μὲν ζαῆς ἀνεμος πέλον, ἄλλοτε δ' ὕδωρ,  
 ἄλλοτε δ' οἰνῶ ἐναλίγκιος ἢ πυρὸς ὀρμηῆ· 620  
 οὐδέ μοι θνητὸς ἀνὴρ δύσατο λεχέεσσι δαμάσσαι  
 γινομένην ὅσα γαῖα καὶ οὐρανὸς ἐντὸς ἔργει,  
 μέσφ' ὅτε μοι κατένευσεν Ὀλύμπιος υἷα δῖον  
 ἔκπαυλον θήσειν καὶ ἀρήιον. Ἄλλὰ τὸ μὲν που  
 ἀτρεκέως ἐτέλεσσαν· ὃ γὰρ πέλε φέρτατος ἀνδρῶν· 625  
 ἀλλὰ μιν ὠκύμορον ποιήσατο καὶ μ' ἀπάφησε.  
 Τοῦνεκ' ἐς οὐρανὸν εἶμι· Διὸς δ' ἐς δώματ' ἰοῦσα  
 κωκύσω φίλον υἷα, καὶ ὀππὸσα πρόσθ' ἐμόγησα  
 ἀμφ' αὐτῶ καὶ παισὶν ἀεικέα τειρομένοισι,  
 μνήσω ἀκηχεμένη, ἵνα οἱ σὺν θυμὸν ὀρίνω. 630

The mother of the son of Peleus embraced her child and kissed his mouth, and weeping spoke thus: "Let rosy-robed Erigeneia in the heavens rejoice, let broad-flowing Axius rejoice in his mind and put aside his anger for Asteropaeus, and Priam's race. I will go to Olympus, and lie at the feet of immortal Zeus, groaning loudly, because he gave me in marriage to a man, a man whom relentless old age quickly overtook, and near whom are the Keres, bringing the end of death. But I am not so much concerned with him as with Achilles; Zeus promised me in the halls of the son of Aeacus to make him mighty, because marriage was not pleasing to me, when I became a blowing wind, then water, then [changing] into the likeness of a bird or a blast of fire. The mortal man could not master me in the marriage bed, as I became whatever there is on

earth and in the heavens, until the Olympian promised to make my son surpassing splendid and warlike. In the strictest sense, he did this, for he was the mightiest of men. But he made him short-lived and bereft me. So I will go to the heavens, and I will go to the house of Zeus and bewail my dear son, and in my pain I will remind him of my trouble on behalf of his children when they were in unspeakable distress, to stir his heart."

This speech contains one of the few instances in which Quintus mentions unseemly divine behavior without in some way making it clear that he responds to potential criticism. Lines 619-22, more explicit than anything in the *Iliad*,<sup>139</sup> cannot be reconciled with Plato's condemnation of metamorphosis (*Rep.* 2. 380d-382a; Thetis is cited as a specific example at 381d). In attributing Thetis' eventual cooperation to Zeus' promise of Achilles' greatness (3. 623-5), however, rather than to her physical domination by Peleus, Quintus departs both from other versions of the story of Thetis' metamorphoses, and from the Odyssean account of Menelaus' wrestling with the shape-shifting Proteus (δ 417-22, 454-60), which influences 3. 619-22.<sup>140</sup> Thus, while Quintus refers to a well-known and unseemly incident in Thetis' past, he avoids the further impropriety of implying that a deity may be subdued by mortal force.

Thetis' attribution to Zeus of the promise of Achilles' greatness, and of the arrangement of her marriage (3. 613) is also problematic, in that it holds Zeus responsible for her grief. Quintus does not, however, so explicitly hold Zeus responsible as does Homer (ω 110-1). In the *Posthomerica* the promise of Achilles' greatness is also attributed to Fate, the Olympians collectively and Apollo in particular (3. 99-103, 107-9),<sup>141</sup> and, in the final reference to the subject, when at the conclusion of Achilles' funeral games the Nereids depart the mundane sphere, to Prometheus (5. 338-44):

<sup>139</sup>Σ 429-35 alludes to the metamorphoses of Thetis (Eustathius, 1152; Kirk V: 197 *ad loc.*), an episode which Griffin (1976) 41, feels that Homer suppresses as "monstrous," and which A *ad* Σ 434 allegorizes

<sup>140</sup>Vian identifies δ 417-22, 454-60 as Quintus' primary demonstrable model (*Suite* I: 99, n. 8) and lists other versions of the story of Thetis' metamorphoses (*Suite* I: 119, 172, n. 5). For sources and discussion of the metamorphoses, see also Reitzenstein, 74-7, Rousset, 48-9, 59-60

<sup>141</sup>See p. 235

Αἱ δὲ μέγα σκύοντο Προμηθεὶ μητιόντι  
 μνώμεναι ὡς κείνοιο θεοπροπίησι Κρονίων  
 δῶκε Θέτιν Πηληϊ καὶ οὐκ ἐθέλουσαν ἄγεσθαι. 340  
 Κυμοθόη δ' ἐν τῆσι μέγ' ἀσκαλόωσ' ἀγόρευεν·  
 "ὦ πόποι, ὡς ὅ γε λυγρὸς ἐπάξια πῆμαθ' ὑπέτλη  
 δεσμῶ ἐν ἀρρήκτῳ, ὅτε οἱ μέγας αἰετὸς ἦπαρ  
 κείρεν ἀεξόμενον κατὰ νηδύος ἐνδοθι δύνων.'

**[The Nereids] were very angry at wise Prometheus, recalling that the son of Cronus was led by his prophecy to give Thetis to Peleus, although she was unwilling. Cymothoe, greatly grieved, spoke among them: "The wretch suffered deservedly in his unbreakable bonds, when the great eagle plunged into his entrails and ate his ever-regrowing liver."**

Vian terms this passage "[un] maladroit hors-d'oeuvre mythologique."<sup>142</sup> The reference to Prometheus<sup>143</sup> is indeed jarring here, but as the last comment on the marriage, it serve to absolve the Olympians from responsibility for Thetis' grief. Note that Vian is not quite correct in stating that "Quintus has taken liberties with the legend in imagining that Prometheus was punished because of his prediction to Zeus."<sup>144</sup> Cymothoe says only that he made the prediction, and that she is glad that he suffered; she does not link the two.

In her anger and sorrow, Thetis threatens to confront Zeus (3. 611-2, 627-30).<sup>145</sup> reminding him of her efforts on behalf of his children (3. 628-30). This statement evokes the Iliadic passages which hint at Thetis' traditional role as "the effective protectress" of gods: The stories of her rescue of Dionysus from Lycurgus (Z 130-97), her succor of

<sup>142</sup>Vian *Suite* II. 31, n. 5. On possible sources, see P. Kakridis, 61, 199; Kehmptzow, 62; Reitzenstein, 74-7; Roussel, 51-63, and cf. Braswell, 23. Aeschylus is the most likely: Cymothoe's bitterness reverses the sympathy the Oceanids express for Prometheus in the first episode of the *Prometheus Bound*.

<sup>143</sup>Prometheus is mentioned elsewhere in the *Posthomeric* only in the ecphrases of Eurypylus' shield (ο 268-72) and Philoctetes' quiver (10. 199-202).

<sup>144</sup>Vian *Suite* II. 31, n. 5: "Quintus arrange librement la légende en imaginant que Prométhée a été châtié à cause de la prédiction qu'il a faite à Zeus "

<sup>145</sup>Thetis' threat is in fact the mirror-image of Dawn's. While Dawn threatens refusing to rise (2. 610-22), Thetis threatens to go up to Olympus (3. 611-2, 627-30).

Hephaestus when he was hurled from heaven by Hera (Σ 394-407) or Zeus (A 586-94), and her rescue of Zeus himself (A 396-405) come immediately to mind.<sup>146</sup> The last especially is recalled because what Thetis here says she will do, reminding Zeus of her services (μνήσω, 3. 630) and supplicating him (3. 611) echoes A 407 (τῶν νῦν μιν μνήσασα παρέζεο καὶ λαβὲ γούνων). This, however, is as close as Quintus comes in his primary narrative to alluding to these episodes, which as tales of divine violence, involving, in the case of A 396-405, the precarious nature of Zeus' sovereignty, are patently unseemly.<sup>147</sup> Thetis does in the *Posthomeric* have some claim on the Olympians, implicit in their promise of Achilles' greatness (3. 623-5). But rather than being rooted in an Olympian pre-history, this is a claim that the Olympians themselves have granted her.

Thetis' grief and anger, however, are in themselves unseemly, and like Ares and Dawn, she must be restored to amity with the other gods. To this end, Thetis is first consoled by Calliope (3. 631-8, 642-55):<sup>148</sup>

... ἢ δέ οἱ αὐτὴ  
Καλλιόπη φάτο μῦθον ἀρηρεμένη φρεσὶ θυμόν·

<sup>146</sup>On Thetis as "the effective protectress" of gods, see Lang (1983) 153-4, and Slatkin, 52, whence the phrase, who follows her. Vian (*Suite* I: 72, 167, n. 3; 120, n. 2) believes 3. 628-30 refer to Z 130-97, Σ 394-407, and A 586-94. The last is no less inappropriate to Thetis' purposes than A 396-405. On the stories and their essential impropriety, see ch. 3, pp. 124-5.

<sup>147</sup>These *Iliadic* episodes are interpreted by Slatkin, 72, as reflections of Thetis' "cosmic capacity." The ancient evidence for this understanding of Thetis' theological role (Slatkin, 61, n. 1, and works there cited) is limited to the etymological allegorization of her name to identify her as the force ordering the universe (τῆν θεσιν καὶ φύσιν τοῦ πάντος). The contrary view, to which Eustathius (122. 35-50) approaches, is that Homer's reference to Thetis' rescue of Zeus is invented by Homer to suit Achilles' momentary rhetorical purposes and hence is devoid of theological significance. (Willcock, 1964 and 1977, Braswell, 19-21; Kirk V: 193 *ad* Σ 394-409). Modern discussions, depending upon readings of the *Iliad* and Pindar, and comparison with Hesiod and the Homeric *Hymns* (e.g., that of Slatkin, 53-84), however, are fairly persuasive in their argument that Thetis is capable of wielding considerable power over the Olympian gods. A confrontation between Thetis and Zeus, such as is suggested by 3. 611-2, 627-30 might be very unpleasant indeed (for its possible nature, see Slatkin, 94-6). This confrontation, however, does not come so near to occurring as in the cases of Ares and Dawn. Later, in fact, Hera expresses forebodings of a confrontation between Thetis and the Olympians in terms which suggest that this would be merely an unpleasant and embarrassing scene

<sup>148</sup>3. 638-41 describe the effect of Orpheus' song on fauna and topography.



Ἴσχεο κωκυτοῖο, θεὰ Θέτι, μηδ' ἀλύουσα  
 εἶνεκα παιδὸς ἐοῖο θεῶν μεδέοντι καὶ ἀνδρῶν  
 σκύζεο. Καὶ γὰρ Ζηνὸς ἐριβρεμέταο ἀνακτος  
 υἱὲς ὁμῶς ἀπόλοντο κακῇ περὶ Κηρὶ δαμέντες. 635  
 Κάτθανε δ' υἱὸς ἐμεῖο καὶ αὐτῆς ἀθανάτοιο  
 Ὀρφεύς, . . .  
 ἀλλ' ἔτλην μέγα πένθος, ἐπεὶ θεὸν οὐ τι ἔοικε  
 πένθεσι λευγαλέοισι καὶ ἄλγεσι θυμὸν ἀχεύειν.  
 Τῷ σε καὶ ἀχνημένων μεθέτω γόος υἱέος ἐσθλοῦ  
 καὶ γὰρ οἱ κλέος αἰὲν ἐπιχθονίοισιν αἰδοὶ 645  
 καὶ μένος αἰείσουσιν ἐμῇ ἰότητι καὶ ἄλλων  
 Πιερίδων. Σὺ δὲ μὴ τι κελαινῶ πένθει θυμὸν  
 δάμνασο θηλυτέρησιν ἴσον γοόωσα γυναιξίν.  
 Ἦ οὐκ αἰεὶς ὅτι πάντας ὅσοι χθονὶ ναιετάουσιν  
 ἀνθρώπους ὅλοη περιπέπταται ἄσχετος Αἴσα 650  
 οὐδὲ θεῶν ἀλέγουσα, τόσον σθένος ἔλλαχε μούνη;  
 Ἦ καὶ νῦν Πριάμοιο πολυχρύσοιο πόλῃα  
 ἐκπέρσει Τρώων τε καὶ Ἀργείων ὀλέσασα  
 ἀνέρας, ὄν κ' ἐθέλησι θεῶν δ' οὐ τίς μιν ἐρύχει.  
 Ὡς φάτο Καλλιόπη πινυτά φρεσὶ μητιόωσα. 655

. . . Then Calliope herself calmly spoke to [Thetis]:

"Cease from wailing, goddess Thetis, and do not in your  
 frenzy for your child be angry with the ruler of gods and men. For  
 even the sons of the loud-thundering lord Zeus have perished,  
 overcome by an evil Ker. My son, Orpheus, died, even though I  
 am immortal . . . But I endured my great sorrow, because it is not  
 fitting that a god to suffer at heart from wretched sorrows and  
 pains. For your part, although you grieve, put aside your  
 lamentation for your noble son. Bards will ever sing to those on  
 earth of his glory and strength, at the command of me and the  
 other Pierides. Do not subject your heart to black sorrow, wailing  
 like mortal women. Do you not see that destructive, unrestrainable  
 Aisa hovers over all men who dwell on the earth? She does not  
 heed the gods, and alone has such strength. And she will sack the  
 city of Priam rich in gold, when she has destroyed whom she  
 wishes of the Trojan and Argive men, and none of the gods will  
 stop her." So spoke Calliope, wise in counsel.

Calliope's statement that Thetis should temper her grief, following the example of Zeus and Calliope herself, reminds Thetis of what Ares, similarly bereaved, recalls of his own accord (l. 710-2).<sup>149</sup> Calliope also articulates what has been suggested by the relatively

<sup>149</sup>Vian, *Suite I*: 39, n. 5, notes the parallel.

quick reconciliation of Ares and Dawn to the fate of their children: That divine grief is in and of itself unseemly. Calliope is careful to avoid attaching blame for Achilles' death, and hence Thetis' suffering, to Zeus or the other Olympians, but instead assigns responsibility for the course of the war, and the deaths it entails, to Aisa (3. 649-54). It is rhetorically consistent that Thetis blames Zeus, and Calliope Aisa, as they seek respectively to attack and exonerate Zeus and his divine order.<sup>150</sup>

Quintus' choice of Calliope to deliver this consolation merits discussion, as it casts some light on the nature of both the *Posthomeric* and much of the scholarship on the poem. Vian suggests that Calliope delivers this speech, because she "is the chief of the Muses," and cites Homeric parallels for the theme of the singing of Achilles' prowess.<sup>151</sup> This sort of searching for verbal parallels, which accounts for nearly all the scholarship on the *Posthomeric*, neglects the poem's more sophisticated aspects. Of the Muses and Nereids, who traditionally accompany Thetis, Calliope is the logical choice to deliver such a speech, as she, too, is well-known as the mother of a famously slain mortal son.<sup>152</sup> It is a bit of self-referential play, in an epic whose subject at this point is the glory and prowess of Achilles, for the Muse of Epic to state that bards will always sing of Achilles. This obvious instance of Quintus' weaving of his narrative into the mythological tradition has been overlooked in favor of the identification of parallels for the passage. The identification of parallels is a necessary first step, but the tendency of scholars to stop at this point reflects the low esteem in which the *Posthomeric* is held, and has misleadingly reinforced this assessment of the poem. This dissertation takes the next step, and points

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<sup>150</sup>Cymothoe's reference to Prometheus probably plays upon the *Prometheus Bound*.

<sup>151</sup>Vian *Suite* I: 120, 172, n. 3: "Calliope est la première des Muses selon Hésiode. *Theog* 79: c'est pourquoi Quintus emploie l'emphatique αὐτῆ." For singing of Achilles, Vian (*loc. cit.*, n. 5) cites l. 413 and ω 93-4.

<sup>152</sup>For evidence of the consolation of Thetis by Calliope as a popular theme, see ch. 1, p. 71

out Qunitus' alterations of his models, opening the way to discussion of more interesting and sophisticated discussion of the poem.

Thetis is not immediately reconciled to the fate of her son. She and her entourage continue their lamentation for several days (3. 668-71), until after the burial of Achilles, when she is visited by Poseidon (3. 766-87):

Καί τότ' ἐριγδούποιο λιπών ἀλὸς ὄβριμον οἶδμα  
 ἤλυθεν Ἐννοσίγαιος ἐπ' ἠόνας· οὐδέ μιν ἄνδρες  
 ἔδρακον, ἀλλὰ θεῆσι παρίστατο Νηρηϊνῆς·  
 καί ῥα Θέτιν προσέειπεν ἔτ' ἀχνυμένην Ἀχιλλῆος·  
 Ἴσχεο νῦν περὶ παιδὸς ἀπειρέσιον γοώωσα. 770  
 Οὐ γὰρ ὃ γε φθιμένοισι μετέσσειται ἀλλὰ θεοῖσιν,  
 ὡς ἤνυς Διόνυσος ἰδὲ σθένος Ἡρακλῆος·  
 οὐ γὰρ μιν μόρος αἶνος ὑπὸ ζόφον αἰὲν ἐρύχει  
 οὐδ' Ἀΐδης, ἀλλ' αἴψα καὶ ἐς Διὸς ἴξεται αὐγὰς·  
 καὶ οἱ δῶρον ἔγωγε θεοδέα νῆσον ὀπάσσω 775  
 Εὐξείνου κατὰ πόντον, ὅπῃ θεὸς ἔσσειται αἰεὶ  
 σὸς πάϊς· ἀμφὶ δὲ φῦλα περικτιόνων μέγα λαῶν  
 κείνου κυδαίνοντα θυηπολῆς ἐρατεινῆς  
 ἴσον ἐμοὶ τίουσι. Σὺ δ' ἴσχεο κωκύουσα  
 ἔσσυμένως καὶ μὴ τι χαλέπτεο πένθει θυμόν· 780  
 Ὡς εἰπὼν ἐπὶ πόντον ἀπήιεν εἴκελος αὖρη  
 παρφάμενος μύθοισι Θέτιν· τῆς δ' ἐν φρεσὶ θυμὸς  
 βαιὸν ἀνέπνευσε(ν)· τὰ δέ οἱ θεὸς ἐξετέλεσσαν.  
 Ἀργεῖοι δὲ γοῶντες ἀπήιον, ἦχι ἐκάστω  
 νῆες ἔσαν, τὰς ἦγον ἀφ' Ἑλλάδος· αἱ δ' Ἑλικῶνα 785  
 Πιερίδες νίσοντο, καὶ εἰς ἄλα Νηρηῖναι  
 δῦσαν ἀναστενάχουσαι εὐφρονα Πηλείωνα.

Then, leaving the mighty swell of the roaring sea, the Earth-Shaker came to the land. Men did not see him, but he stood before the Nereid goddesses, and he spoke to Thetis who still grieved for Achilles.

"Cease now your endless lamentation for your child. He will not be with the dead, but with the gods, like good Dionysus and the strength of Heracles. Neither dreadful fate nor Hades will keep him forever in darkness; rather he will go straight away to the light of Zeus. And I will give as a gift a holy island in the Euxine sea, where your son will always be a god; the local tribes will greatly glorify him with pleasing sacrifices, giving him honor equal to mine. But you immediately stop wailing, and do not distress your heart with grief."

**When he had thus addressed Thetis, he went away into the sea, like the wind, and the heart in her breast had some respite. And the god accomplished these things. The lamenting Argives departed to the ships that brought each from Hellas. The Pierides returned to Helicon, and the Nereids sank into the sea still groaning for the gracious son of Peleus.**

**These lines end Book Three of the *Posthomerica*. The similarity in structure to Book Two is apparent: Like Dawn, Thetis, even if she has not forgotten her grief, is restored to harmony with the other gods and returns to her proper abode; she displays no excessive grief when she presides over Achilles' funeral games in Books Four and Five. Considerably more divine concern and effort, however, is directed toward mollifying Thetis than Dawn. Both are consoled by the goddesses who accompany them, and both are to some degree comforted by the thought of their sons' enjoying a blessed afterlife. But while in the case of Thetis these consolations are expressed in the speeches of Poseidon and Calliope, in the case of Dawn, they are only reported (2. 650-2, 659-61), and Memnon's immortality is far more dubious than Achilles'.<sup>153</sup>**

**It is clear from Poseidon's speech that Quintus down-plays the notion that Thetis exercises any power of compulsion over the Olympians. The purpose of his address (sated at both its beginning and end), like Calliope's, is to urge Thetis to desist from her lamentation, and his final command that she do so is forcefully expressed ( $\Sigma\upsilon\delta'$  . . . ἔσσομένως, 3. 779-80). Evidence that Poseidon acts from generosity rather than compulsion is provided by Quintus' departures from tradition regarding the divinization of Achilles. The hero's immortality is of course a remarkable difference from Homer, but Achilles' transportation to the Black Sea, and his worship there as a god, are well-attested. In other versions of the story (Proclus' summary of the *Aethiopsis*: Pindar, *Nem.* 4. 49-50; Apollodorus, *Epit.* 5.5). Thetis performs this transportation herself: alternately**

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<sup>153</sup>Vian, *Suite* I: 49, overstates the case when he says "If [Zeus] must do violence to Eos' grief to safeguard the order of the universe, he accords the dead exceptional privileges." In the *Posthomerica*, there is no explicit mention of his granting any privilege.

(Philostratus, *Her.* 20. 32-40), she requests that Poseidon create the island. Quintus, alone of extant sources for the story, relegates Thetis to a purely passive role in her son's divinization.<sup>154</sup> This departure from tradition affects the portrayal both of Thetis, who appears as a pathetic and powerless figure, and of the other gods, whom Quintus represents as eager to restore celestial amity for its own sake.

In his treatment of the responses of Ares, Dawn, and Thetis to the deaths of their children, then, Quintus avoids two features of the traditional portrayal of the gods which are open to criticism as unseemly. He can not be faulted, as is Homer, for portraying the gods as distant from, and largely unmoved by, mortality; all three are gravely saddened and angered by the deaths of their offspring. But neither does Quintus show their grief as leading to unseemly divine strife; they do not carry out their threats, and all are reconciled to the fate of their offspring and restored to amity with the other gods. A clear pattern, moreover, is apparent in the process of reconciliation of each of the three. Ares, the only Olympian so bereaved, is the most easily reconciled; he has, as it were, internalized the norms of appropriate divine behavior, and his child receives no divine memorial. Dawn, whose role as a force of nature Quintus emphasizes, is compelled to fulfill this role, with minimal consolation, and her son's memorial is provided by the Nymphs and her own creation of the Memnon birds. Thetis, in contrast, is not jolted out of her stubborn grief by an admonitory thunderbolt, but cajoled with the promise of divine honors for her son. Rather than implying that Thetis has any hold over the Olympians, however, his treatment of her mourning and reconciliation suggests that Quintus conceives of a sort of *noblesse oblige* among the gods: Thetis is the object of solicitous concern on the part of the

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<sup>154</sup>Vian, *Suite I* 125, 174, n. 7, cites sources for the divinization of Achilles (also in Kehmptzow, 63), and notes Thetis' passive role. Roussel, 392-6, discusses Achilles' afterlife in detail; cf. the case of Dawn who in the *Posthomerica* does more to honor her son (and other gods less) than in other versions of the story

Olympians not because of any power of compulsion she exercises over them, but because they have promised her such regard.<sup>155</sup>

In two other passages, 3. 96-138 and 4. 48-61, the Olympians respond to the killing of Achilles, narrated at 3. 26-62. This episode is crucial to establishing Quintus' portrayal of the gods. The killing of Achilles is dramatically necessary and neither inexplicable nor unjustified, but it is nevertheless criticized at 3. 96-138 and 4. 48-61; the actual killing, which involves physical action by the gods on earth, must be discussed in conjunction with the Olympian response to it.

The circumstances of Achilles' death are to a large extent dictated by tradition. It is repeatedly stated in the *Iliad* that he will die, through the agency of Apollo, at Troy, before sacking the city. In later tradition Achilles' death is one of the long series of events which must occur in order for the city to fall. In the *Posthomerica*, the imminent prospect of Achilles taking the town sets in train the events leading to his death (3. 26-9):

Καί νύ κε πάντας ὄλεσσε, πύλας δ' εἰς οὐδας ἔρεισε  
 θαιρῶν ἐξερύσας, ἦ καὶ συνέαξεν ὀχῆας  
 δόχμιος ἐγχιρμφθεῖς, Δαναοῖσι δ' ἔθηκε κέλευθον  
 ἐς Πριάμοιο πόληα, διέπραθε δ' ὄλβιον ἄστυ.

And now he would have killed them all, and made a way into  
 Priam's city for the Greeks, pulling the gates from their hinges or  
 dashing against them, breaking their bars and dragging them to the  
 ground, and sacked the rich town . . .

This assault would have succeeded, but for the intervention of Apollo (3. 30- 42):

εἰ μὴ οἱ μέγα Φοῖβος ἀνηλεί χῶσατο θυμῶ  
 ὡς ἴδεν ἄσπετα φῦλα δαίκταμένων ἠρώων.  
 Αἴψα δ' ἀπ' Οὐλύμποιο κατήλυθε θηρὶ ἑοικῶς  
 ἰοδόκην ὦμοισιν ἔχειν καὶ ἀναλθέας ἰούς·  
 ἔστη δ' Ἀιακίδαο καταντίον· ἀμφὶ δ' ἄρ' αὐτῶ

<sup>155</sup>Note that Vian, *Suite I*: 48-9, draws a somewhat different conclusion from the same evidence "The attitude of the gods [toward Penthesileia] . . . is very different [than toward Memnon or Achilles] The gods are not interested in her fate: her father himself does not try very hard to avenge her."

γωρυτός καὶ τόξα μέγ' ἴαχεν, ἐκ δέ οἱ ὄσσων 35  
 πῦρ ἄμοτον μάρμαιρε, ποσὶν δ' ὑπὸ κίνυτο γαῖα.  
 Σμερδαλέον δ' ἦυσε μέγας θεός, ὄφρ' Ἀχιλῆα  
 τρέψῃ ἀπὸ πτολέμοιο θεοῦ ὅπα ταρβήσαντα  
 θεσπεσίην καὶ Τρώας ὑπ' ἐκ θανάτοιο σαώσῃ·  
 'Χάζεο, Πηλεΐαδη, Τρώων ἐκάς, οὐ γὰρ ἔοικεν 40  
 οὐ σ' ἔτι δυσμενέεσσι κακὰς ἐπὶ Κῆρας ἰᾶλλειν,  
 μή σε καὶ ἀθανάτων τις ἀπ' Οὐλυμπιοιο χαλέψῃ.'

. . . had not Phoebus been greatly angered in his pitiless heart when he saw the vast throngs of heroes being killed. Immediately he leapt down from Olympus like a wild beast, with his quiver and his lethal arrows on his shoulders. He stood before the son of Aeacus, his bow and quiver clashing, with fire blazing from his eyes, and the earth shook under his feet. The great god shouted terribly, to turn Achilles, frightened by this divine portent, away from battle, and to save the Trojans from death.

"Draw back from the Trojans, son of Peleus. It is no longer fitting that you bring evil Keres upon the enemy, lest one of the immortals from Olympus be angry with you."

Thus far, the scene is entirely in accord with Homeric norms. The development of the situation to the point that only by divine intervention can events return to the course dictated by Fate or the demands of a traditional plot (indicated by the formula Καὶ νῦν . . . εἰ μή, 3. 26, 30), and the warning which constitutes this intervention, are utterly typical.<sup>156</sup> Apollo delivers two similar warnings (note the repeated χάζεο, 3. 40; E 440; Π 707) in the *Iliad*. At E 440-2, he addresses Diomedes:

'φράζεο, Τυδείδη, καὶ χάζεο, μηδὲ θεοῖσιν  
 ἴσ' ἔθελε φρονέειν, ἐπεὶ οὐ ποτε φῦλον ὁμοῖον  
 ἀθανάτων τε θεῶν χαμαὶ ἐρχομένων τ' ἀνθρώπων.'

"Think, son of Tydeus, and draw back. Do not consider matching the gods, for the race of immortal gods is in no way like that of men who walk the earth."

Like Achilles in the *Posthomeric*, Diomedes here is suddenly confronted by a god, and the effect of Apollo's warning is to ensure the fated course of events, in this case, the

<sup>156</sup>On "if not" scenes, see p. 179. Fenik, 39, 154, 175-6, regards the confrontation of warriors by gods as a typical "if not" scene. The adjective ἀνηλῆς, 3. 30, is not Homeric, but Apollo's reaction is not unusual.

survival and posterity of Aeneas. Even more like 3. 40-2 is Apollo's warning to Patroclus as he attempts to scale the wall (Π 707-9):<sup>157</sup>

ἄχαζεο, διογενὲς Πατρόκλεες· οὐ νύ τοι αἴσα  
σῶ ὑπὸ δουρὶ πόλιν πέρθαι Τρώων ἀγερώχων,  
οὐδ' ὑπ' Ἀχιλλῆος, ὅς περ σέο πολλὸν ἀμείνων.'

"Draw back, noble Patroclus. It is not fated that the city of the proud Trojans fall to your spear, nor to that of Achilles, who is better by far than you."

The situations of Patroclus here and Achilles in the *Posthomerica* are virtually identical. Each threatens to take the city before its fated time, and the reader of Quintus' poem is surely expected to recall the Iliadic passage, with its mention of Achilles.

At this point, however, Quintus departs from the normal Homeric pattern of confrontations between man and god. Warned by Apollo, Patroclus and Diomedes retreat, formulaically, to safety:

ὣς φάτο, Τυδείδης δ' ἀνεχάζετο τυτθὸν ὀπίσσω,  
μῆνιν ἀλευάμενος ἑκατηβόλου Ἀπόλλωνος.

So spoke [Apollo]. And the son of Tydeus retreated a little way, avoiding the wrath of far-shooting Apollo (E 443-4).

ὣς φάτο, Πάτροκλος δ' ἀνεχάζετο πολλὸν ὀπίσσω,  
μῆνιν ἀλευάμενος ἑκατηβόλου Ἀπόλλωνος.

So spoke [Apollo]. And Patroclus retreated far, avoiding the wrath of far-shooting Apollo (Π 710-1).

Compliance with the divine warning, presumably, would secure Achilles' safety, at least momentarily, as it does Patroclus'. Achilles, however, does not obey (3. 43-53):

... ὁ δ' ἄρ' οὐ τι θεοῦ τρέσεν ἄμβροτον αὐδήν·  
ἦδη γάρ οἱ Κῆρες ἀμείλιχοι ἀμφεποτῶντο.  
Τοῦνεκ' ἄρ' οὐκ ἀλέγιζε θεοῦ, μέγα δ' ἴαχεν ἄντην·  
'Φοῖβε, τί ἦ με θεοῖσι καὶ οὐ μεμαῶτα μάχεσθαι

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<sup>157</sup>Kirk IV: 399 ad Π 698-701 and Willcock (1969) 151, n. 4, notes the parallel with the *Posthomerica*



ὀτρύνεις Τρώεσσιν ὑπερφιάλοισιν ἀμύνων:  
 Ἴδῃ γὰρ καὶ πρόσθε μ' ἀποστρέψας ὀρυμαγδοῦ  
 ἦπαφες, ὀππότε πρῶτον ὑπεξεσάωσας ὀλέθρου  
 Ἴκτορα τῶ μέγα Τρῶες ἀνὰ πτόλιν εὐχετόωντο. 50  
 Ἄλλ' ἀναχάζεο τῆλε καὶ ἐς μακάρων ἔδος ἄλλων  
 ἔρχεο, μὴ σε βάλωμι καὶ ἀθάνατόν περ ἔόντα.  
 Ὡς εἰπὼν ἀπάτερθε θεὸν λίπε, βῆ δ' ἐπὶ Τρῶας . . .

He did not fear the god's ambrosial voice, for already the pitiless  
 Keres were hovering around him. Therefore, he did not heed the  
 god, but shouted back at him. "Phoebus, why do you encourage me  
 to fight the gods against my will, by defending the proud Trojans?  
 Once before you deceived me and took me out of the battle, when  
 at first you saved Hector, for whom the Trojans in the city prayed.  
 You draw back and go to the seat of the other gods, lest I smite  
 you, though you are immortal." So he spoke, and turning away  
 from the god, went after the Trojans.

Comparison of Achilles' behavior here and in the *Iliad* is illuminating. In the  
 incident recalled at 3. 48-50, Achilles surmises that Hector has received the assistance of  
 Apollo, and recognizes the necessity of such assistance to himself if he to prevail "Surely I  
 will kill you when I meet you hereafter, if any god is my helper." (ἢ θῆν σ' ἐξανύω γε  
 καὶ ὕστερον ἀντιβολήσας./εἴ πού τις καὶ ἔμοιγε θεῶν ἐπιτάρροθός ἐστι. Υ 452-  
 3).<sup>158</sup> Achilles is angry when Apollo, disguised as Agenor, lures him away from the city (Φ  
 596-607). But here, Achilles' anger is not without provocation. In contrast to the god's  
 dignified command at 3. 40-2, at X 8-13, Apollo taunts Achilles:

τίπτε με, Πηλέος υἱέ, ποσὶν ταχέσσι διώκεις,  
 αὐτὸς θνητὸς ἐὼν θεὸν ἄμβροτον: οὐδὲ νῦ πῶ με  
 ἔγνωσ ὡς θεὸς εἰμι, σὺ δ' ἀσπερχές μεναίνεις. 10  
 ἢ νῦ τοι οὐ τι μέλει Τρῶων πόνος, οὗς ἐφόβησας.  
 οἱ δὴ τοι εἰς ἄστν ἄλεν, σὺ δὲ δεῦρο λιάσθης.  
 οὐ μὲν με κτενέεις, ἐπεὶ οὐ τοι μόρσιμός εἰμι.

"Why, son of Peleus, do you, a mortal, pursue me, a god, on swift  
 feet? You do not even know I am a god, but rage incessantly. Do  
 you not care at all for your labor against the Trojans, whom you

<sup>158</sup>The sentiment is typical: Kirk V: 388 *ad* Υ 449-54; Fenik, 94-5. cf. also Achilles' "notably mild"  
 reaction to Poseidon's rescue of Aeneas at Υ 344-52, which Combellack (1976) 51, notes.

have routed, who are now gathered in the city while you have been diverted here? You will not kill me, for I am not so fated."

Achilles is furious, but recognizes the impossibility of attacking Apollo (X 14-5, 18-20):<sup>159</sup>

Τὸν δὲ μέγ' ὀχθήσας προσέφη πόδας ὠκὺς Ἀχιλλεύς·  
ἔβλαψάς μ', ἐκάεργε, θεῶν ὀλοώτατε πάντων, . . .  
νῦν δ' ἐμὲ μὲν μέγα κῦδος ἀφείλεο, τοὺς δὲ σάωσας  
ρήιδίως, ἐπεὶ οὐ τι τίσιν γ' ἔδεισας ὀπίσσω.  
ἦ σ' ἂν τισαίμην, εἴ μοι δύναμις γε παρείη.'

Greatly angered, swift footed Achilles addressed [Apollo].  
"You have foiled me, Far-worker, cruelest of all the gods . . . You  
have deprived me of great glory, saving them easily, because you  
have no fear of revenge later. Indeed, I would revenge myself on  
you, if I had the ability."

Achilles' behavior at 3. 43-53, then, goes beyond that in the *Iliad*, which was itself criticized.<sup>160</sup> Quintus portrays him as a *theomachos*, matching himself against the god and replying to him in kind with an explicit threat (note the echoing of the χάζεο of Apollo's speech, 3. 40 in Achilles' ἀναχάζεο, 3. 51). Blaming Apollo for the confrontation (3. 46-7) only exacerbates the impiety. By his refusal to obey, and insulting behavior, Achilles, as portrayed by Quintus, is, in the colloquial phrase, asking to be killed.<sup>161</sup> The reference to the Keres, with its explanatory γάρ and τοῦνεκα (3. 44-5) suggests the link between

<sup>159</sup>Fenik, 40 and n. 33, regards this as only the third most presumptuous speech to a god by a mortal, after Diomedes' to Aphrodite in E and Helen's to Aphrodite at Γ 399. Kirk VI: 107 *ad* X 15-20 contrasts Achilles' behavior here to Diomedes' and Patroclus'.

<sup>160</sup>Plato (391a) faults Achilles' attitude at X 15-20; b *ad* X 20 feels compelled to defend his speech as showing him to be γενναῖος and μεγαλόφρων.

<sup>161</sup>*Contra* Vian, *Suite I*: 98-9, n. 3, who maintains that Apollo provokes Achilles (Roussel, 371, is similar, but less forceful). Vian's citation of E 445-59, 882 as a parallel is not convincing. Quintus' Achilles acts independently, while at E 445-59 Ares is standing in for Apollo, and Diomedes has the very present help of Athena. b *ad* E 405 is very clear that Ares is attacked not by the mortal Diomedes, but "by a god of equal strength." Kirk II: 103 *ad* E 406-9 discussing the theological implications of Diomedes' escape from punishment for this attack notes that "Athena is a powerful goddess" and that her "support was evidently crucial" in his escaping a violent death. Eustathius (569.1) makes the point that it is not acceptable for Diomedes to attack Apollo. It is to be noted that Quintus avoids an actual attack on a god, both Diomedes' behavior (bT *ad* E 392-400; Eustathius, 552) and the incidents related by Dione (E 381-402) were subjected to moral and physical allegory.

Achilles' behavior and his fated death. The characterization of Achilles as a *theomachos* has already been suggested at 2. 15, where Thymoetes opines that Achilles would fight even a god (καὶ θεὸν ἀντιάσαντα μάχη ἐν(ὶ) δηωθῆναι). Achilles is in Homeric terms, essentially a victim of ἄτη, but Quintus does not make use of this Homeric exculpation here. It is to be noted that the only other character in the *Posthomerica* whose death results directly from divine animus, the Lesser Ajax, behaves in a similarly presumptuous fashion.<sup>162</sup>

As in the *Iliad*, Apollo must prevent the taking of the city before the time appointed. If, however, Quintus is to avoid representing divine behavior of the sort open to criticism as unseemly, the means at the god's disposal are limited. He can not deceive Achilles with a ruse like that employed at Φ 596-607; Plato specifically criticizes (*Rep.* 381e-382a) both divine deception and disguise.<sup>163</sup> But unlike Patroclus and Diomedes, and in contrast to his own previous behavior, Achilles is not to be stayed by a word of divine command. Failing this, he is stayed by force. Before acting, Apollo delivers a brief soliloquy (3. 57-9):

ὦ πόποπι, ὡς ὅ γε μαινέτ' ἀνὰ φρένας · ἀλλὰ μιν οὐ τι  
οὔδ' αὐτὸς Κρονίδης ἔτ' ἀνέξεται οὔτε τις ἄλλος  
οὔτω μαργαίνοντα καὶ ἀντιόωντα θεοῖσιν.'

"He is deranged! Neither Zeus nor anyone else will tolerate him raging thus, and opposing the gods."<sup>164</sup>

<sup>162</sup>See ch. 6, p. 344.

<sup>163</sup>Note the pains Eustathius (569. 35-570) takes to explain the *eidolon* of Aeneas at E 449.

<sup>164</sup>At 3. 58 many editors change ἀνέξεται, the reading of all the MSS, to ἀλέξεται, "will defend him." Ultimately, the implications of the emendation for the present discussion are minimal. Note however, that there is here not even a suggestion that any god does defend Achilles, as Apollo does Hector (X 203-4). Doubtless the pathetic effect of Quintus' version is less than that of Homer's, but it does avoid an Olympian confrontation, or a desertion like that at X 213, which is open to criticism (Kirk VI: 130 *ad* X 213, who also notes Artemis' desertion of Hippolytus at Euripides *Hipp.* 1437-41). On the significance of Achilles acting alone, see n. 161.

The speech makes clear that the god considers his action justified, as it doubtless is.<sup>165</sup> Even in the *Iliad*, considerable emphasis is laid on the notion that the city is not to be sacked before the appointed time, or by Achilles, and it is regularly left to Apollo, acting as the agent of Zeus, to prevent this.<sup>166</sup> Here he does so by inflicting the famous fatal wound (3. 60-2):<sup>167</sup>

ὣς ἄρ' ἔφη καὶ ἄιστος ὁμοῦ νεφέεσσιν ἐτύχθη·  
 ἥερα δ' ἔσσάμενος στυγερὸν προέηκε βέλεμνον  
 καὶ ἐκατὰ σφυρόν . . .

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So he spoke, and vanished into the clouds; wrapped in aer, he shot a hateful arrow, and swiftly struck him in the ankle.

Achilles immediately suspects that it is Apollo who has wounded him, recalling his mother's prophecy that "[he] would die miserably, beside the Scaean gates because of [Apollo's] arrows" (κείνου ὑπὸ βελέεσσιν οἰζυρῶς ἀπολέσθαι/ Σκαιῆς ἀμφὶ πύλῃσι, 3. 81-2). Recollection of this prophecy emphasizes its literal fulfillment in the *Posthomeric*. "Dying miserably from the arrows of Apollo" could mean anything from death from disease in camp, through the god's assistance of a human warrior (the usual interpretation), or his assumption of a human form, to the version which Quintus in fact presents. Elsewhere, responsibility for Achilles' death is assigned variously, usually to

<sup>165</sup>The usual punishment for opposing gods is death (Ehnmarm, 20). On 3. 57-9, see Elderkin, 39, and Vian, *Suite I*: 138, n. 3, who maintains that while Apollo acts independently, Zeus, in so far as he is the guarantor of Destiny, has given him tacit approval. Eustathius (568-9) is very clear on Apollo acting as Zeus' agent in punishing improper human behavior: Δηλοῖ δὲ ὁ λόγος ὅτι καὶ ὑπὲρ τὸ εἰμαρμένον ἀνδρίζεται νῦν ὁ Διομήδης, εἰμαρμένην γὰρ τινα καὶ ὁ Ἀπόλλων δηλοῖ καθὰ καὶ ὁ Ζεὺς, ὡς καὶ προεῖρηται καὶ πολλαχοῦ φανήσεται.

<sup>166</sup>When Apollo checks Achilles at X 7-21 (Whitman, 141-2) and in the killing of Patroclus (*T ad Π* 844-5; Eustathius, 1082.25-30; Kirk IV: 413 *ad Π* 804-5; Van der Valk (1963-4) II: 29; de Jong, 73). On the Homeric Apollo as a "guarantor of *nomos*," see Redfield (1975) 213; Clay (1989) 94

<sup>167</sup>Kirk IV: 409 *ad Π* 777-867 regards Apollo's breaking of Patroclus' armor as resulting from the parallel of Patroclus' death to Achilles', reflecting the traditional impregnability of his armor or person. Note that while Quintus' Achilles is wounded in the traditional spot, the poet is silent regarding the magical reason for the location of the wound.

Paris, with the assistance of Apollo, as in the most explicit of the Iliadic prophecies (X 358-60), and in one instance (Hyginus, *Fab.* 113) to Apollo disguised as Paris. Sometimes the killing is attributed simply to Apollo, with no elaboration.<sup>168</sup> Only in the *Pasthomerica* is it clear that Apollo himself, alone and *in propria persona*,<sup>169</sup> descends to earth and inflicts the fatal wound.<sup>170</sup> By so handling the episode, Quintus simultaneously elevates the hero's status, and avoids divine deviousness, like the blow from behind by which Apollo stuns Patroclus (Π 788-822) or the masquerade of Athena which leads to Hector's death (X 214-305).<sup>171</sup>

While Apollo's use of deadly force is justified and necessary, his action is precisely the sort of thing for which Homer was criticized. The speech of Hera, who reproaches Apollo upon his return to Olympus (3. 96-101, 106-29),<sup>172</sup> casts Apollo's action in the worst possible light, and voices such criticism:

τὸν δ' ὀπίτ' εἰσενόησε Διὸς πινυτὴ παράκοιτις

<sup>168</sup>Roussel lists and discusses the various prophecies (359-60) and accounts (363-70) of the hero's death, also Kirk IV: 407-9, 414 *ad* Π 777-867, 808-11.

<sup>169</sup>Vian, *Suite* I: 97, n. 4, maintains that Apollo is manifest only as a disembodied voice. The description of the god, however (3. 32-6), Achilles' addressing him by name (3. 46), and the fact that he conceals himself only at 3. 60, all suggest that Apollo is as visible to Achilles as is Athena at A197-222, whence Quintus borrows the detail of the god's flashing eyes (A 200; 3. 35-6). Such undisguised descents are fairly common in the *Iliad*. In addition to those noted, cf.: E 120-37, 792-906; O 243-62; Y 325-37. In these instances the god is visible to the hero he addresses, not to bystanders (Eustathius, 445-6; Fenik, 75; Kirk III: 247 *ad* Λ 199, IV: 283 *ad* O 247-51). Quintus' vagueness regarding Achilles' position relative to the rest of the Greeks and the Trojans (3. 26-9) avoids the peculiarity of some of the Iliadic scenes.

<sup>170</sup>Willcock (1970) 6, 9, n. 21, notes how odd it would be for any Iliadic god save Ares to do just this

<sup>171</sup>βT *ad* X 227, 231 condemn Athena's role in Hector's death, and Apollo's in Patroclus' as ἄτοπον. Eustathius (1087. 42-5) minimizes Apollo's physical action in the killing of Patroclus. Plato's above-cited criticism of divine deception and disguise is of course relevant. For modern estimations of such actions as "repulsive" and "shock[ing]", see Willcock (1970) 2. The defense offered by Kirk VI. 130, that "the Homeric gods regularly use deception to bring doom, as in the case of ἄτη," does not satisfactorily account for the gods personally engaging in such deception. The view of Johnson, 116-7, that the divine deceptions of the *Iliad* are "part of the natural order" is over-stated to contrast with Juno's action at *Aen* 12. 620-36, which imitates X 214-305.

<sup>172</sup>3. 101-5 describe and summarize Apollo's song.

αὐτίκα μιν νείκεσεν ἀνηροῖς ἐπέεσι·  
 'Φοῖβε, τί ἦ τόδ' ἔρεξας ἀτάσθαλον ἡματι τῷδε.  
 λησάμενος κείνοιο, τὸν ἀθάνατοι γάμον αὐτοῖ  
 ἀντιθέω Πηλῆι συνήρσαμεν: σὺ δ' ἐνὶ μέσσοις 100  
 δαινυμένοις ἦειδες . . .  
 'Ἄλλὰ τὰ γ' ἐξελάθου καὶ ἀμείλιχον ἔργον ἔρεξας  
 κτείνας ἀνέρα διον ὄν ἀθανάτοισι σὺν ἄλλοις  
 νέκταρ ἀποσπένδων ἠρήσαο παῖδα γενέσθαι  
 ἐκ Θετίδος Πηλῆι. τεῆς δ' ἐπελήσαο ἀρῆς 110  
 ἦρα φέρων λαοῖσι κραταιοῦ Λαομέδοντος  
 ὧ πάρα βουκολέεσκε(ς)· ὃ δ' ἀθάνατόν περ ἔοντα  
 θνητὸς ἔων ἀκάχιζε· σὺ δ' ἀφρονέων ἐνὶ θυμῷ  
 ἦρα φέρεις Τρώεσσι λελασμένος ὅσσ' ἐμόγησας.  
 Σχέτλιε, οὐ νύ το οἶδας ἐνὶ φρεσὶ λευγαλέησιν 115  
 οὔθ' ὅ τις ἀργαλέος καὶ ἐπάξιος ἄλγεα πάσχειν  
 οὔθ' ὅ τις ἀθανάτοισι τετιμένος· ἦ γὰρ Ἀχιλλεὺς  
 ἦπιος ἄμμι τέτυκτο καὶ ἐξ ἡμέων γένος ἦεν.  
 'Ἄλλ' οὐ μὰν Τρώεσιν ἐλαφρότερον πόνον οἴω  
 ἔσσεσθ' Αἰακίδαο δεδουπότος, οὔνεκ' ἄρ' αὐτοῦ 120  
 υἱὸς ἀπὸ Σκύροιο θεῶς ἐς ἀπηνέα δῆριν  
 Ἀργείοις ἐπαρωγὸς ἐλεύσεται εἴκελος ἀλκῆν  
 πατρὶ ἐῷ, πολέσιν δὲ κακὸν δηίοισι πελάσσει.  
 Ἦ νυ σοὶ οὐ Τρώων ἐπιμέμβλεται, ἀλλ' Ἀχιλῆι  
 ἀμφ' ἀρετῆς κ' ἐμέγηρας, ἐπεὶ πέλε φέρτατος ἀνδρῶν.  
 Νήπιε, πῶς ἔτι σοῖσιν ἐν ὄμμασι Νηρηίνην 125  
 ὄψει ἐν ἀθανάτοισι Διὸς ποτὶ δώματ' ἰοῦσαν,  
 ἦ σε πάρος κύδαινε καὶ ὡς φίλον ἔδρακεν υἷα·  
 Ἦ μέγα νεικείουσα πολυσθενέος Διὸς υἷα  
 Ἦρη ἀκηχεμένη . . .

When the prudent wife of Zeus recognized [Apollo], she immediately reproached him with stinging words. "Phoebus, why have you done this reckless thing to-day, forgetting the marriage that we immortals ourselves arranged for godlike Peleus? You sang in the midst of the feasters . . . But you have forgotten, and done this pitiless deed, killing a godlike man. With the other immortals, you poured nectar and promised that he would be Thetis' son by Peleus. But you have forgotten your promise, and aided the people of mighty Laomedon, whom you served as a cowherd; although you were immortal, he, a mortal, brought you trouble. But you are deranged, and aid the Trojans, forgetting all you suffered. Wretch, you do not know, in your cruel heart, who is miserable, and deserves to suffer woes, and who [deserves] to be honored by the immortals. Achilles has been kind to us, and was of our race. But I do not think that the Trojans' toil will be the less with the son of

Aeacus dead, because soon his son will come to the harsh war from Scyros, to help the Argives. His strength is like his father's and he will bring evil upon many foes. You do not care for the Trojans, but begrudged Achilles his prowess, because he was the mightiest of men. Fool, how can you any longer look the Nereid in the eye, when she comes among the immortals to the house of Zeus, she who honored you, and looked on you as a son?"

So Hera in her grief greatly reproached the son of mighty Zeus.

The importance of this speech is suggested by its length: it is by far the longest speech by a god in the *Posthomerica*, and among the longest of any character.<sup>173</sup> The terms of abuse with which Hera addresses Apollo (ΣΧΈΤΛΙΕ, 3. 114; Νήπιε, 3. 125) are highly unusual in the *Posthomerica*, and signal the tone of the speech.<sup>174</sup>

Hera casts Apollo's action in the worst possible light, by referring to well-known material and by idiosyncratically adding or emphasizing certain points. Well-known are the fact that the killing of Achilles is ultimately useless, as Neoptolemus will adequately replace his father (3. 118-22), and that Apollo's very shabby treatment at the hands of Laomedon gives him good reason to hate, rather than help, the Trojans (3. 109-14). The latter is particularly noteworthy, as it is obviously unseemly. Quintus suppresses the fact that Poseidon was Apollo's companion in servitude. Hera's allusion to the matter<sup>175</sup> emphasizes that Apollo's partisanship of the Trojans is inexplicable: certainly Quintus does not express any of the justifications for Apollo's servitude which were advanced in antiquity.<sup>176</sup>

<sup>173</sup>On the length of speeches in the *Posthomerica*, see Elderkin 28.

<sup>174</sup>On the absence of such vocabulary, applied to the gods in the *Posthomerica*, see ch. 2, pp. 37, 48, 54-5. On the ramifications of such terms, see Edmunds esp. 77-8, 82.

<sup>175</sup>This allusion may be reinforced by Hera's addressing Apollo as Νήπιε, 3. 125. As Edmunds, 60, notes, in the *Iliad*, νήπιε and νηπίτιε are used only four times of gods, of which two (Φ 441, 474) occur in connection with Apollo's servitude to Laomedon.

<sup>176</sup>On Quintus' suppression of Poseidon's servitude, see ch. 3, pp. 126. *Ge ad* Φ 454, citing Zoilus, remarks on the oddity of Poseidon's assistance to Aeneas, given his ill-treatment by Laomedon. Various explanations are offered by *T ad* Φ 444.

Peculiar to the *Posthomeric* are the motive to which Hera does attribute the killing of Achilles, and the emphasis laid upon Apollo's participation in the wedding of Peleus and Thetis. Because Achilles' death will do the Trojans no good, Hera attributes Apollo's action not to support for them, but to envy of Achilles (3. 123-4). The notion of divine jealousy (not envy) of human prosperity is well known, and some modern scholars have suggested this as the cause of Apollo's opposition to Achilles; no extant ancient source other than Quintus does so, however.<sup>177</sup> The claim is rhetorical, Hera striving to cast Apollo's action in the worst possible light. Apollo's brief speech at 3. 57-9 makes his motivation and justification clear.<sup>178</sup>

The importance of Apollo's presence and actions at the wedding of Peleus and Thetis is highlighted by Hera's reference to them at the beginning of her speech (3. 96-109) and the renewed reference to Thetis at its end (3. 125-7). Quintus departs from other versions of the story of the marriage of Peleus and Thetis in several particulars. The most important is the representation of the promise implicit in Apollo's song (3. 101) as binding upon all the gods. The song itself is widely attested, but usually the promise is regarded as binding Apollo alone. The detail that this promise is solemnized with libations poured by

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<sup>177</sup>Vian, *Suite I*: 100, n. 4, calls the statement a "[s]ouvenir de l'ancienne conception de la jalousie des dieux". The view that Apollo is "Achilles' ritual antagonist and sibling rival", is expressed most recently by Stroud and Robertson, 187, n. 38 and 188, n. 39. There is, however, little apparent support for this in the sources they cite: Nagy, 142-3 discusses ritual antagonism in some detail, but gives no evidence for its explicit connection with Apollo's jealousy; see instead Rabel (1990) esp. 430, and works there cited. Roussel, 212-4, 372, lists ancient variants of the Trojan story which do explain Apollo's particular enmity toward Achilles, although not his partisanship of the Trojans. These explanations, however, are entirely at odds with Homer (though Davies, 61, believes that Homer knew and suppressed them), the Cyclic poems, and Quintus; nor do they involve jealousy.

<sup>178</sup>The application to Achilles, of ἥπιος (3. 117; also used of the dead hero by his comrades at 3. 424), the normal epithet of Patroclus in Homer, is jarring, but too much should not be made of it. Its use is likely the product of several tendencies of the *Posthomeric*: The transference of the Homeric epithet from one character to another; the seemingly portrayal of human, as well as divine, behavior (generally, see Mansur, and on this case, King, 137-8); alteration of Homeric models; and the minimization of reference to religious practice. Hera's mention of Achilles' "kindness" to the gods (3. 116-7) echoes Apollo at Ω 33-4, but Homer subsequently (Ω 68-70) specifies that this kindness consisted in sacrifice.



all the gods is peculiar to Quintus (3. 107-9).<sup>179</sup> Of a piece with this is the attribution of the arrangement of the marriage of Peleus and Thetis to all the gods, collectively and unanimously (3. 99-100), also an innovation. In Homer ( $\omega$  59-61) and Apollonius (*Arg.* 4. 793-816), Hera claims to have arranged the match herself; elsewhere (including elsewhere in the *Posthomeric*), it is attributed vaguely to "Zeus" or "the gods." In this passage, Hera's emphasis on the unanimous Olympian sanction of the marriage aggravates the charges against Apollo: he has forsworn not only himself, but all the gods.<sup>180</sup>

Quintus' emphasis on the promise is of especial interest, as it figures in an instance of divine (mis)behavior which Plato specifically criticizes. At *Republic* 383b he quotes, as an example of divine behavior whose representation he would prohibit, a passage from a tragedy of Aeschylus (otherwise lost) in which Thetis complains that at her wedding Apollo falsely prophesied the long life of her offspring:

... αὐτὸς ὕμνων, αὐτὸς ἐν θοίνῃ παρών,  
αὐτὸς τὰδ' εἰπών, αὐτὸς ἔστιν ὁ κτανὼν  
τὸν παῖδα τὸν ἐμόν.

... He himself sang, he himself was present at the feast.  
He himself said this, but it is he himself  
who killed my child.

This is exactly what Quintus represents Apollo as having done (note Aeschylus' emphasis the actions of Apollo "himself").<sup>181</sup>

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<sup>179</sup>Roussel 62-66 cites and discusses references to the promise, and believes Quintus lays particular emphasis on it (62-3). Scodel, 56, believes that Apollo's "falsity" is deliberately suppressed in the *Iliad*, and demonstrates that the tradition was well-established. Plutarch (*de Aud. Poet.* 2) cites the story of the promise as the sort of falsehood which is permitted by poetic license.

<sup>180</sup>A further aggravating factor is Thetis' previous fondness for Apollo (3. 125-7), which is mentioned in no other source. Vian, *Suite* I:101, n. 1, cites l 481 and Moschus, *Europa*, 26 as parallels for 3. 127, but the similarity is verbal: the passages do not refer to this relationship.

<sup>181</sup>Braswell, 24, and Roussel, 369 n. 75, note the similarity between Quintus and the Aeschylus fragment, but think that Quintus was probably inspired only by Hera in  $\omega$ . But see n. 179 on the wide-spread tradition of Apollo's perfidy.

Quintus' version of the death of Achilles involves and refers to much divine behavior which ancient commentators consider unseemly. Here (and only here) in the *Posthomeric*, such unseemly elements are not only present, but even exaggerated in comparison to other versions of the story. Hera's speech both points up some unseemly matters and condemns Apollo's behavior. Apollo is clearly justified, but Hera's speech articulates the sort of criticisms to which the portrayal of the god in epic is subject, and so forestalls them. The episode also emphasizes the divine concord which is the hallmark of the *Posthomeric*. This celestial amity is precisely what Apollo's action has jeopardized (3. 125-7), but the future unpleasantness between Thetis and the Olympians, which Hera envisages (3. 125-6) and Thetis threatens (3. 611-2, 627-30), never occurs.<sup>182</sup>

The reaction to Hera's speech (3. 129-38) reinforces both the *Posthomeric*'s picture of divine decorum and celestial hierarchy, and contributes to Quintus' alteration of the traditional portrayal of the goddess:

... Ὅ δ' ἄρ' οὐκ ἀπαμείβετο μύθῳ·  
 ἄζετο γὰρ παράκοιτιν ἑοῦ πατρός ἀκαμάτοιο, 130  
 οὐδέ οἱ ὀφθαλμοῖσι καταντίον εἰσοράσθαι  
 ἔσθενεν. ἀλλ' ἀπάνευθε θεῶν ἄλληκτον ἐόντων  
 ἦστο κατωπιόων. Ἄμοτον δέ οἱ ἐσκύζοντο  
 ἀθάνατοι κατ' Ὀλυμπον ὅσοι Δαναοῖσιν ἄμυνον·  
 ὅσοι δ' αὖ Τρώεσσι μενοίνεον εὐχος ὀρεξαι. 135  
 κείνοι μιν κύδαινον ἐνὶ φρεσὶ καγχαλόωντες  
 κρύβδ' Ἥρης· πάντες γὰρ ἐναντίον Οὐρανίωνες  
 ἄζοντ' ἀσχαλόων.

[Apollo] did not reply, for he respected the wife of his mighty father. Nor was he able to meet her eyes, but remained apart from the other gods, sitting with eyes down cast. Those immortals on Olympus who favored the Danaans were silently disapproving: those who would fulfill the Trojans' prayers praised him, and were glad at heart, though they hid this from Hera, for all the heavenly ones were respectful in the face of her angry grief.

<sup>182</sup>These lines might be imagined to suggest some sort of cosmic conflict, but likely imply nothing more than an embarrassing meeting between the Olympians and the grief-stricken Nereid; even before Achilles dies, the sorrowful Thetis is reluctant to go to Olympus (ω 90-1).

Hera's speech is the closest Quintus comes to representing open disagreement among the gods. The silence with which Apollo and the other gods react to her outburst is typical divine of behavior in the *Posthomerica*, with its clearly defined divine hierarchy.<sup>183</sup> Here, Quintus emphasizes the deference shown to Hera (3. 130, 138), suggesting (3. 130) that is accorded her on the basis of her status as Zeus' wife (3. 96).

Hera herself is decorously portrayed in this scene, her first appearance in the *Posthomerica*. While there is considerable mythological basis for Hera's role as Apollo's opponent, Quintus' choice of her to censure Apollo's action permits him to revise the traditional portrayal of the goddess. Here and elsewhere, Quintus carefully avoids Hera's usual "venomous mythological persona."<sup>184</sup> Much of the vocabulary of 3.96-138 recalls the querulous and contrary Hera of the *Iliad*. Most notable in this regard is the use of the verb *νεικεῖεν* (3. 128) to describe Hera's speech. In two-thirds of the Iliadic occurrences of *νεικεῖεν*/*νεῖκος* (when the allusion is to divine rather than mundane quarrels), Hera is involved in the dispute.<sup>185</sup> The goddess' use of terms of "emotional remonstrance" (*σχέτλιος*, *νήπυτιος*)<sup>186</sup> further evokes her familiar characterization. That Quintus alters this characterization is signaled by the application to the goddess (at the first reference to her in the *Posthomerica*) of the epithet *πινυτή* (3. 96); the word, needless to say, is not used of the goddess in the *Iliad*, where she is represented as singularly lacking in "prudence" or "discretion." While in 3. 96-128, Hera is certainly angry, Quintus presents

<sup>183</sup>The division of the gods (3. 133-8) is a Homeric trope (see pp. 187-90) which Quintus adapts to his modified portrayal of Hera.

<sup>184</sup>Although concerned primarily with the religious basis for Hera's character, O'Brien, 77-94, treats in considerable detail the goddess' mythological persona, as it is represented in literature. cf. Grube's, 67, discussion of the Iliadic Hera's hatred of the Trojans as unseemly divine behavior: "... not only selfish, [but] vicious," and "bad." See also Klein, 19-27, on Apollonius' modification of the traditional characterization of the goddess.

<sup>185</sup>Of 56 occurrences, thirteen refer to divine quarrels, of which eight (A 579; Δ 37, Ζ 205, 304, Υ 140, Φ 513; Ω 29, 107) involve Hera. On the precise meaning of *νεικεῖεν*, see Adkins (1969) 7-10.

<sup>186</sup>On such "emotional remonstrance," see Griffin (1986) 40.

her anger as righteous (if incorrect) and proportional to its provocation. This, too, is reinforced by comparison with the *Iliad*. Confrontation between Hera and Apollo regarding the treatment of a mortal recalls the exchange, between the same gods, regarding the abuse of Hector's corpse at Ω 33-63. Quintus incorporates into Hera's speech elements of both her speech (Ω 56-63) and Apollo's (Ω 33-54) in the *Iliad*.<sup>187</sup> He reverses, however, the gods' respective positions, making Hera the aggrieved party. Another role reversal is suggested by the use of the phrase κρύβδ' Ἥρης at 3. 137. This recalls the various machinations which the Iliadic Hera secretly undertakes, usually to thwart the intentions of Zeus. The wording is very close to Σ 168, where Hera dispatches Iris to rouse Achilles κρύβδα Διὸς ἄλλων τε θεῶν. Also noteworthy are points absent from Quintus' portrayal of Hera. In the *Iliad*, Hera's attitude toward Thetis sways between quasi-maternal fondness (Ω 59-61, 101-2) and hostile suspicion (A 536-70). Whatever the reasons for Homer's representation of the goddess' varying attitude, it is to be noted that Quintus avoids reference to the marital difficulties of Zeus and Hera, which frequently and clearly figure in other references to the arrangement of the marriage of Peleus and Thetis.<sup>188</sup>

The most apparent feature of the goddess' personality is not, as in the *Iliad*, lust for the destruction of the Trojans, and her concern is ostensibly for right action and celestial harmony. The alteration of the goddess' characterization makes Hera an appropriate spokesman for the criticisms of the killing of Achilles which she voices, and

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<sup>187</sup>Kehmptzow, 43, mentions only the reference to the wedding of Peleus and Thetis (Ω 59-61; 3. 99-101). Other shared elements are, in Hera's speech: Affection for Achilles generally; reference to his divine ancestry (Ω 59; 3. 116-7); in Apollo's speech: σκέτλιος (Ω 33, 3. 114); reference to the piety of the mortal in question (Ω 33-4; 3. 116-7).

<sup>188</sup>The discussion of Lang (1983) 154-5, challenges the "usual explanation" that Hera's ambivalent attitude toward Thetis results from "Homer's willingness to deal with one situation at a time and to ignore contradiction," citing both Thetis' assistance to Zeus and her attractiveness as "motiv[es for] an actual change in the relationship" between the goddess and the Nereid. See also Foster, 126-7, on Apollonius' treatment of the relationship between Hera and Thetis, and Virgil's adaptation of it.

helps avoid representation of unseemly divine behavior in her relations with other gods. This is reinforced at 4. 48-61, the only other instance in the *Posthomerica* where Hera undertakes substantial action:

Καὶ τότε δὴ Κρονίωνα κλυτὴ προσεφώνεεν Ἥρη·  
 Ἰεῦ πάτερ ἀργικέραυνε, τί ἡ Τρώεσσι ἀρήγεις  
 κούρης ἠυκόμοιο λελασμένος, ἦν ῥα πάροισθεν 50  
 ἀντιθέω Πηλῆι πόρες θυμῆ· ἄκοιτιν  
 Πηλίου ἐν βήσσησι· Γάμον δέ οἱ αὐτὸς ἔτευξας  
 ἄμβροτον, οἳ δέ νυ πάντες ἐδαινύμεθ' ἡματι κείνῳ  
 ἀθάνατοι καὶ πολλὰ δόμεν περικαλλέα δῶρα·  
 ἀλλὰ τὰ γ' ἐξελάθου, μέγα δ' Ἑλλάδι μήσαο πένθος.' 55  
 Ὡς ἄρ' ἔφη· τὴν δ' οὐ τι προσέειπεν ἀκάματος Ζεὺς.  
 Ἦστο γὰρ ἀχνύμενος κραδίην καὶ πολλὰ μενοινῶν,  
 οὔνεκεν ἡμελλον Πριάμου πόλιν ἐξαλαπάξειν  
 Ἄργεῖοι, τοῖς αἰνὸν ἐμήδετο λοιγὸν ὀπάσσαι  
 ἐν πολέμῳ στονόεντι καὶ ἐν βαρυηχεί πόντῳ· 60  
 καὶ τὰ μὲν ὧς ὥρμαινε τὰ δὴ μετόπισθε τέλεσσεν.

Then famous Hera addressed the son of Cronus: "Father Zeus of the splendid thunder-bolt, why do you help the Trojans, forgetting the fair-haired maid, whom once, in the glens of Pelion, you gave to godlike Peleus as his dear wife? You yourself arranged this ambrosial marriage, and all we immortals feasted that day, and gave many beautiful gifts. But you have forgotten these things, and have devised a great sorrow for Greece."

So she spoke. Invincible Zeus made no reply to her. He sat, sore at heart, thinking many things: The Greeks were going to sack Priam's city, and for them he devised a dreadful fate, in sad war and on the crashing sea. And these things he planned, he later brought to pass.

Here, as in her reprimand of Apollo at 3. 98-127,<sup>189</sup> Hera dwells upon the relationship between the Olympians and Thetis, and her marriage to Peleus. As she has Apollo, Hera accuses Zeus of "forgetting" (ἐξελάθου, 3. 106; λελασμένος, 4. 50) Thetis and her marriage. Where in her first speech, Hera stresses the unanimous Olympian

<sup>189</sup>Vian, *Suite I*: 138, n. 3, notes similarities of diction and theme.

sanction for the marriage, here, she states that Zeus himself was responsible for its arrangement (4. 53). Tailoring her address to its recipient, she there emphasizes celestial unanimity, but here stresses the supremacy of Zeus. Similarly, while she has maintained that Apollo's killing of Achilles ultimately will be of no assistance to the Trojans, here she accuses Zeus of helping the Trojans and harming the Greeks (4. 49, 55).

While this accusation recalls the numerous Iliadic confrontations between Hera and Zeus (the identical accusation figures in A 536-69 and E 757-63),<sup>190</sup> this scene between Hera and Zeus lacks their marked hostility.<sup>191</sup> Zeus' failure to rise to provocation underscores the difference. Zeus' response (or lack thereof) is typical of Quintus' portrayal of the gods. The statement that Zeus is grieved (4. 57) contradicts charges of "heartlessness." Note, also that here the future course of the war is specifically said to be determined by Zeus, not Fate (4. 60).

Divine Action on Earth      Ares' descent to avenge Penthesileia (1. 675-714) and Apollo's slaying of Achilles (3. 18-89), have, respectively, no impact and the greatest possible impact upon mortal characters. These scenes delineate the parameters of divine action on earth in the *Posthomerica*. Other instances fall between these two extremes. Like 1. 675-714 and 3. 18-89, other instances in which the gods descend to earth are interventions in battle, and like these passages, evoke, but depart from, Homeric scenes. In the *Posthomerica*, even this most direct sort of divine action is of limited effectiveness, and reference to or representation of unseemly divine behavior is avoided. Quintus' handling of divine motion generally is also discussed in this section.

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<sup>190</sup> Vian, *Suite I*: 138, n. 1, notes the general similarity. Other Iliadic confrontations between Hera and Zeus are: Δ 31-67; Θ 350-408; Ο 53-77; Π 429-57; Σ 356-67. Θ 198-211 is also similar

<sup>191</sup> Whitman, 225 and Adkins (1969) 18, minimize the hostility between Zeus and Hera, but it is a hallmark of the *Iliad*, sometimes perhaps gratuitous, as Kirk V: 167 *ad* Σ 168 maintains; see also the remarks of Van der Valk (1963-4) II: 391 on the falsity of Hera's apparent deference to Zeus at Δ 55-6

After the killing of Achilles, no god descends to earth until 7. 556-63, where Athena's intervention turns the drawn battle in favor of the Greeks:

Τῶν δ' ἄρ' Ἀθηναίη κρατερὸν πόνον εισορόωσα  
 κάλλιπεν Οὐλύμπιοι θυώδεος αἰπὰ μέλαθρα·  
 βῆ δ' ἄρ' ὑπὲρ κεφαλᾶς ὀρέων οὐδ' ἴχνησι γαίης  
 ψαῦε μέγ' ἔγκονέουσα· φέρεν δέ μιν ἱερὸς ἀήρ  
 εἰδομένην νεφέεσσιν, ἔλαφροτέρην δ' ἀνέμοιο. 560  
 Τροίην δ' αἰψ' ἀφίκανε, πόδας δ' ἐπέθηκε κολώνη  
 Σιγέου ἠνεμόεντος· ἐδέρκετο δ' ἔνθεν αὐτὴν  
 ἀγχεμάχων ἀνδρῶν· κύδαινε δὲ πολλὸν Ἀχαιοῦς.

Athena saw their mighty struggle and left the high palaces of sweet-smelling Olympus. She went over the mountain peaks. In her great haste, she did not touch the earth with her feet; divine aer in the form of clouds, swifter than the wind, bore her. Immediately, she reached Troy, and set her feet on the windy headland of Sigeum. Thence she looked upon the struggle of men fighting hand-to-hand, and greatly glorified the Achaeans.

This passage recalls various Iliadic instances in which a god descends to earth and there grants or denies glory by facilitating or hindering martial success.<sup>192</sup> In contrast to Quintus' brief statement that Athena assesses and remedies the Greeks' situation (7. 562-3),<sup>193</sup> only once in the *Iliad*, in a simile (N 298-303), are gods said simply to grant glory in battle. Elsewhere, Homer specifies the actions which gods undertake to grant glory. By limiting Athena's action to the unelaborated granting of glory Quintus conveys the essence of the

<sup>192</sup>In both the *Posthomerica* and the *Iliad*, the gods also grant or withhold glory without descending to the field. The same terminology is used for both remote and present glorification. In Homer, expression is normally with the accusative κῦδος and various verbs: δίδωμι, ὀρέγω, ὀπάζω, and ἐγγυαλίζω, are formulaic; κατανεύω and προσάπτω are used once each; κυδαίνω also thrice (out of a total of five occurrences) has this sense: N 348\*, 350, and O 612. In the *Posthomerica* κυδαίνω (which occurs roughly as frequently as κῦδος in any construction, and has a wide range of meaning) has this sense thrice (1. 390, 395; 8. 195) in addition to its occurrence at 7. 563, κῦδος ὀρέγω (8. 472\*) is used once, all in instances where the glorifying gods do not descend to the field. An allusive variation on the Homeric usage is also found at 12. 273\*.

<sup>193</sup>Vian, *Suite II*: 127, 215, n. 3. cf. also Π 726-31 and Ψ 400-6.

situation: The goddess' presence is almost shorthand for victory.<sup>194</sup> Note that many of the Iliadic passages in which the gods grant glory are open to criticism as unseemly.<sup>195</sup> Elsewhere, Quintus will be seen to evoke and alter two of these passages<sup>196</sup>

Twice in the *Posthomeric*, the Trojans are rallied by divine intervention. At 8.

237-49, the Trojans are leaderless after the death of Eurypylus:

Καί νύ κε Τρώιοι υἱὲς ἔσω πυλέων ἀφίκοντο,  
 πόρτιες εὔτε λέοντα φοβούμεναι ἢ σῦες ὄμβρον,  
 εἰ μὴ Ἄρης ἀλεγεινὸς ἀρηγέμεναι μεναίνων  
 Τρωσὶ φιλοπτολέμοισι κατήλυθεν Οὐλύμπιοι 240  
 κρύβδ' ἄλλων μακάρων. Φόρεον δέ μιν ἐς μόθον ἵπποι  
 Αἴθων καὶ Φλογίος, Κόναβος δ' ἐπὶ τοῖσι Φόβος τε,  
 τοὺς Βορῆη κελάδοντι τέκεν' βλοσυρῶπις Ἐρινυὺς  
 πῦρ ὀλοὸν πνείοντας· ὑπέστενε δ' αἰόλος αἰθήρ  
 ἔσσυμένων ποτὶ δῆριν. Ὅ δ' ὄτραλέως ἀφίκανεν 245  
 ἐς Τροίην· ὑπὸ δ' αἶα μέγ' ἔκτυπε θεσπεσίοισιν  
 ἵππων ἀμφὶ πόδεσσι· μολῶν δ' ἄγχιστα κυδοιμοῦ  
 πῆλε δόρυ βριαρόν, μέγα δ' ἴαχε Τρωσὶ κελεύων  
 ἀντιάαν δηίοισι κατὰ κλόνον. . .

Now the sons of the Trojans would have come inside the gates, like calves afraid of a lion, or hogs of a storm, had not baneful Ares, eager to help the war-loving Trojans, come down from Olympus, without the knowledge of the other blessed ones. His horses, Flame, Fire, Tumult and Fear, which fearful-visaged Erinys bore to icy Boreas, breathing destructive fire, carried him to the mêlée. The shuddering aether groaned as he hurried to the fight. He quickly reached Troy. The earth resounded under the divine feet of the

<sup>194</sup>So P. Kakridis, 74. This is in line with the interpretation of the Iliadic Athena as "the genius of Greek victory . . . when the Greeks suffer defeat, she is confined to Olympus" (Whitman, 231); cf. Willcock's (1970) 6, equation of Athena with "success."

<sup>195</sup>Apollo's glorification of Hector (O 306-27) involves questionable use of the aegis; the same god's withholding of glory by slaying of Patroclus (Σ 454-6; T 413-4) and luring Achilles away from the retreating Trojans (Φ 596-9) involve unseemly deception; Poseidon's glorification of the Greeks (Ξ 357-94) calls into question divine omniscience, and presents other minor problems (see pp 244-6). Athena's glorification of Diomedes in the chariot race (Ψ 389-406) is troubling both for its motives and its triviality. Unobjectionable are: Apollo's depriving the Greeks of glory by exhorting Hector, then descending to the field and sowing confusion among the Greeks (ΤΤ 715-30) and by exhorting Aeneas (P 319-33), and the Trojans' being deprived of glory when Iris bids Achilles arm and rally the Greeks to rescue the corpse of Patroclus (Σ 165-86).

<sup>196</sup>Poseidon's intervention in battle and Athena's in the chariot race.



**horses. He entered the press of battle brandishing his massive spear, and he shouted greatly, encouraging the Trojans to face the foe in battle.**

**At 8. 325-8, Ares shouts again, magnifying the effect of the onslaught:**

... ἀλγινόεσσα δ' Ἔρις μέγα μαιμώωσα 325  
 ἦυσε(ν) μάλα μακρόν, Ἄρης δέ οἱ ἀντεβόησε  
 σμερδαλέον, Τρώεσσι δ' ἐμπνευσεν μέγα θάρσος,  
 Ἄργείοισι δέ φύζαν, ἄφαρ δ' ἐλέλιξε φάλαγγας.

**There was slaughter everywhere. The Keres and Moros rejoiced. Grisly Eris shouted loud in her frenzy, and Ares cried awfully in answer, inspiring the Trojans with great courage, and putting the Argives to flight, shattering their lines.**

**In the next book, the Trojans are similarly rallied by Apollo (9. 291-300):**

Καὶ τότε δὴ Τρώεσσι ἀρηγέμενοι μενεαίων  
 ἔκθορον Οὐλύμπιοι καλυψάμενος νεφέεσσι  
 Λητοῖδης· τὸν δ' αἶψα θοαὶ φορέεσκον ἄλλαι  
 τεύχεσι χρυσείοισι κεκασμένον· ἀμφὶ δέ μακρὰι  
 μάρμαιρον κατιόντος ἴσον στεροπῆσι κέλευθοι 295  
 ἀμφοῖ δέ οἱ γωρυτὸς ἐπέκτυπεν. Ἔβραχε δ' αἰθῆρ  
 θεσπέσιον καὶ γαῖα μέγ' ἴαχεν. εὐτ' ἀκάμαντας  
 θῆκε παρὰ Ζάνθοιο ῥόον πόδας. Ἐκ δ' ἐβόησε  
 σμερδαλέον, Τρωσὶν δέ θράσος βάλε δεῖμα δ' Ἀχαιοῖς  
 μίμνειν αἱματόεντα κατὰ κλόνον. . . 300

**Then, eager to aid the Trojans, the son of Leto leapt down from Olympus hidden in clouds. Immediately the swift winds bore him, clad in golden armor; his path down shone like lightning. His quiver clanged, and the divine aether resounded and reechoed, when he set his tireless feet by the stream of Xanthus. He shouted terribly, putting courage into the Trojans, and into the Achaeans fear of remaining in the bloody battle.**

**The closest parallel is Ζ 147-52, where Poseidon's shouting encourages the Greeks:**

... μέγ' ἄυσεν, ἐπεσσύμενος πεδίοιο.  
 ὅσσον τ' ἐννεάχιλιοι ἐπίαχον ἢ δεκάχιλιοι  
 ἀνέρες ἐν πολέμῳ. ἔριδα ξυνάγοντες Ἄρης.  
 τόσσον ἐκ στήθεσφιν ὅπα κρείων ἐνοσίχθων 150  
 ἦκεν· Ἀχαιοῖσιν δέ μέγα σθένος ἔμβαλ' ἐκάστω  
 κραδίη, ἄλληκτον πολεμίζειν ἠδὲ μάχεσθαι.

**As he swept over the plain he shouted loud. As loud as nine  
or ten thousand men in battle, when they join in the strife of Ares  
was the shout the mighty Earth-shaker sent from his chest. And he  
put into each Achaean heart great strength, to do battle and fight  
unflinchingly.**

Instances of the gods shouting and so encouraging or terrifying warriors are fairly common in the *Iliad*.<sup>197</sup> In the *Posthomeric* Ares and Apollo only shout. In the *Iliad* Poseidon also exhorts Agamemnon  $\Sigma$  134-46. In another instance, Athena's shout reinforces that of Achilles, who acts on the advice of Iris ( $\Sigma$  167-202), and whom Athena has wrapped in the aegis and circled with a fiery cloud ( $\Sigma$  203-6).<sup>198</sup>

Quintus' handling of divine shouting addresses two related aspects of  $\Sigma$  147-52 which trouble both ancient and modern critics: recognition of divine intervention by the mortals affected and the fact that the shouting goes unnoticed by the gods. The psychological effect of a battle cry is fairly obvious, and the divine utterance of such a cry may logically enough be assumed to magnify this effect without the troops' being aware of its precise origin. The Scholiast, however, insists that they are aware of it at  $\Sigma$  147-52.<sup>199</sup> Quintus carefully clarifies the matter. The Trojans are at first only amazed by Ares' shout (8. 249-52):

... Οἱ δ' αἰόντες  
θεσπεσίην ὄπα πάντες ἐθάμβεον· οὐ γὰρ ἴδοντο  
ἄμβροτον ἀθανάτοιο θεοῦ δέμας οὐδὲ μὲν ἵππους·

250

<sup>197</sup>Other instances of divine shouting are likely rooted in the same theme. As parallels for 8. 237-49 Vian, *Suite II*: 154, n. 1, cites  $\Lambda$  [surely a misprint for  $\Sigma$ ] 147-52 and E 784-92, where Hera, in the disguise of the brazen-voiced Stentor, exhorts the Greeks; exhortation, however, is a distinct type of action in the *Posthomeric*, although Stentor's lung-power hints that divine shouting is a typical theme, as does the shout of the wounded Ares at E 859-61, to which Vian also compares 8. 237-49. Kirk (IV: 167, *ad loc.*) compares  $\Sigma$  147-52 to  $\Sigma$  217-8 and Eris' incitement of the Greeks at  $\Lambda$  10-12. Also similar is  $\Delta$  507-16, where Apollo's shouting prevents a Trojan retreat, and Athena in turn urges on the Greeks.

<sup>198</sup>de Jong, 71, notes the tendency for several actions to be combined in Iliadic descents

<sup>199</sup>T *ad*  $\Sigma$  147 claims Poseidon shouts precisely to reveal his presence ( $\mu\acute{\epsilon}\gamma' \acute{\alpha}\upsilon\sigma\epsilon\nu \iota\nu\alpha \delta\epsilon\acute{\iota}\xi\eta \acute{\omicron}\tau\iota \theta\epsilon\acute{\omicron}\varsigma \acute{\epsilon}\sigma\tau\iota\nu$ ). Kirk (IV: 167, *ad*  $\Sigma$  147-52) remarks that "Homer does not signal" that this is the god's intention, and faults modern scholars for following the Scholiast's interpretation. On the effect of the shout, Kirk comments: "A shout like nine or ten thousand men's lifts morale like reinforcements of that strength."

ἤερι <γάρ> κεκάλυπτο . . .

**They heard the divine voice and all marvelled. For they did not see the ambrosial form of the immortal god nor his horses, for he was veiled in mist.**

**Helenus, however, understands, and exhorts his comrades, who only then stand and face the foe (8. 252-67):**

. . . Νόησε δὲ θέσκελον αὐδὴν  
 ἔκποθεν αἰσσοῦσαν ἄδην εἰς οὐατα Τρώων  
 ἀντιθέου Ἐλένοιο κλυτὸς νόος· ἐν δ' ἄρα θυμῷ  
 γήθησε(ν) καὶ λαὸν ἀπεσσύμενον μέγ' αὐτεῖ· 255  
 Ἄ δειλοί, τί φόβεσθε φιλοπτολέμου Ἀχιλλῆος  
 υἷα θαρσαλέον· Θνητός νύ τίς ἐστί καὶ αὐτός,  
 οὐδέ οἱ ἴσον Ἄρηι πέλει σθένος ὃς μέγ' ἀρήγει  
 ἡμῖν ἐελδομένοισι· βοᾷ δ' ὃ γε μακρὰ κελεύων 260  
 μάρνασθ' Ἀργείοισι κατὰ κλόνον· Ἄλλ' ἄγε θυμῷ  
 τλήτε, φίλοι, καὶ θάρσος ἐνὶ στήθεσσι βάλεσθε·  
 οὐ γὰρ ἀμείνονα Τρωσὶν οἴομαι ἄλλον ἰκέσθαι  
 ἀλκτῆρα πτολέμοιο· τί γὰρ ποτὶ δῆριν Ἄρης  
 λώιον, εὔτε βροτοῖσι κορυσσομένοις ἐπαμύνη,  
 ὡς νῦν ἡμῖν ἴκανε ἐπίρροθος· Ἄλλὰ καὶ αὐτοὶ 265  
 μνήσασθε πτολέμοιο, δέος δ' ἀπὸ νόσφι βάλεσθε.  
 ὣς φάτο· τοῖ δ' ἴσταντο καταντίον Ἀργείοισιν·

**But the famous mind of godlike Helenus recognized whence came the divine voice to the ear of the Trojans. He was glad at heart, and shouted to the retreating army: "Cowards, why do you flee the bold son of war-loving Achilles? Even he is mortal, not equal in strength to Ares, who gives us the assistance we desire. He shouts loud, bidding us contend with the Argives in the fray. Be steadfast, friends, and put strength in your breasts. I do not think that any better champion will come for the Trojans, for what is better in battle than Ares, when he aids armed men, as he now [aids] us? Be mindful now of war, and cast away fear." So he spoke, and they stood and faced the Argives.**

**By adding the intervention of Helenus, Quintus answers a specific criticism leveled at his model. Helenus' role here harks back to his Iliadic claim to have heard the conversation of the gods (H 53). It also simultaneously helps to limit divine action in the *Posthomerica*.**

because the effect of his exhortation, that the Trojans "put strength in their hearts " (8. 261) is elsewhere the effect of divine inspiration.<sup>200</sup>

The matter of secret descent is an important question, especially given Zeus' ban on divine intervention in the battle in the *Iliad*. The difficulty is especially glaring in Ζ, where such great emphasis is laid on the noise of Poseidon's shout. Achilles, too, is advised to shout from the rampart by Iris, whom Hera has sent without the knowledge of Zeus and the other gods (Σ 168, 185-6). The Scholiast suggests that Poseidon's shouting passes unnoticed because of the din of the general battle,<sup>201</sup> an explanation which if anything further undermines the notion of divine omniscience. Σ 168 is defended on the basis that Zeus is fond of Patroclus (P 270-3) and would permit the rescue of his corpse, and that "Hera's constant mistrust of her husband," here expressed in her secrecy, "delineates her character as usual;"<sup>202</sup> this explanation, however, only substitutes one impropriety for another.

Both Ares and Apollo are prevented from undertaking any more direct action than encouragement. Neoptolemus is not infected by the panic provoked by Ares' shouting (8. 329-40), prompting the god to contemplate a more direct confrontation, but despite his attempts at secrecy (8. 241),<sup>203</sup> Ares' actions have not escaped the attention of the other gods (8. 340-56):

... Ἄρης δέ οἱ ἐμμεμαῶτι  
χῶετο καὶ οἱ ἐμελλεν ἐναντία δηριάσθαι

340

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<sup>200</sup>See pp. 250-2

<sup>201</sup>T *ad* Ζ 147: πῶς δὲ ὁ κλέπτων τὴν μάχην βοᾷ: ἐπεὶ εἶπεν. ἤχη δ' ἀμφοτέρων ἴκετ' αἰθέρα καὶ Διὸς ἀγῆας [N 837].

<sup>202</sup>Kirk V: 167 *ad* Σ 168; this seems also to be the point of bT *ad loc*. Eustathius (1136. 25-30) gives a cosmological allegory of Hera's secrecy.

<sup>203</sup>The statement that Apollo is concealed in cloud (9. 292) may also imply secrecy. Quintus does not make the Homeric distinction between dark clouds which hinder mortal sight and the golden clouds which screen the gods' vision.

αὐτὸς ἀπορρίψας ἱερὸν νέφος, εἰ μὴ Ἀθήνη  
 ἔκπροθεν Οὐλύμπιοιο θόρον ποτὶ δάσκιον Ἴδην.  
 Ἔτρεμε δὲ χθῶν διὰ καὶ ἠχήμεντα ρέεθρα  
 Ζάνθου, τόσσον ἔσεισε· δέος δ' ἀμφέκλασε θυμὸν 345  
 Νυμφάων, φοβέοντο δ' ὑπὲρ Πριάμοιο πόλης·  
 Τεύχεσι δ' ἀμβροσίοισι πέρι στεροπαὶ ποτέοντο,  
 σμερδλέοι δὲ δράκοντες ἀπ' ἀσπίδος ἀκαμάτοιο  
 πῦρ ἄμοτον πνεύσκον· ἄνω δ' ἔψαυε νέφεσσι  
 θεσπεσίη τρυφάλεια. Θοῶ δ' ἠμελλεν Ἄρῃ 350  
 μάρνασθ' ἔσσυμένως, εἰ μὴ Διὸς ἠὺ νόημα  
 ἀμφοτέρους ἐφόβησεν ἀπ' αἰθέρος αἰπεινοῖο  
 βροντήσας ἀλεγεινόν. Ἄρης δ' ἀπεχάζετο χάρμης·  
 δὴ γάρ οἱ μέγαλοιο Διὸς διεφαίνετο θυμός·  
 ἴκετο δ' ἔς Θρήκην δυσχείμερον, οὐδ' ἔτι Τρώων 355  
 μέμβλετό οἱ κατὰ θυμὸν ὑπέρβιον· οὐδὲ μὲν ἐσθλή  
 Παλλᾶς ἔτ' ἐν <πεδίῳ> Τρώων μένεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτὴ  
 ἴξεν Ἀθηνάων ἱερὸν πέδον. . .

Ares was angered by [Neoptolemus'] eagerness, and was ready to strip off his holy cloud and fight him face to face, but Athena leapt from Olympus to wooded Ida. The ground and the murmuring streams of Xanthus trembled, so much did she shake them. Terror seized the Nymphs, who feared for Priam's city. Lightning flashed from her ambrosial armor. Terrible serpents breathed irresistible fire from her indestructible shield. The wonderful crest of her helmet brushed the clouds above. She immediately would have fought swift Ares, had not the great mind of Zeus frightened them both, thundering terribly from the high aether. Ares drew back from the combat, for the anger of great Zeus was manifest. He went to wintry Thrace, no longer remembering the Trojans in his proud heart. Nor did noble Pallas longer remain in the Trojan plain, but went to the holy land of Athens.

This passage reinforces Quintus' portrayal of the gods as omniscient guarantors of Fate, and of the supremacy of Zeus, without undermining his generally favorable portrayal of the gods, in particular Ares.

The passage is doubly an "if not" scene. Athena's intervention prevents Ares from harming Neoptolemus (8. 342) and indicates that Ares' actions have not escaped notice. Zeus is also aware of what transpires, and his intervention prevents an unseemly affray between Ares and Athena (8. 351). Zeus' thundering and the immediate obedience it commands are typical of the *Posthomeric*. Note that action affecting mortals is limited to

# REGULATORY ALERT

**NATIONAL CREDIT UNION ADMINISTRATION  
1775 Duke Street, Alexandria, VA 22314**

**DATE: January 1999**

**No.: 99-RA-1**

**TO: ALL FEDERALLY INSURED CREDIT UNIONS**

**RE: Bank Secrecy Act Compliance  
Form for Designation of Exempt Person (Form TD F 90-22.53)**

The Financial Crimes Enforcement Network (FinCEN) has released a new form to be used by financial institutions to designate entities as exempt from the currency transaction reporting requirements of the Bank Secrecy Act (31 CFR 103.22). The form is effective January 1, 1999, and will replace the current method of making a single filing of Form 4789. The new form, which is attached, may be photocopied as needed. The form is also available on FinCEN's Web site at [www.treas.gov/fincen/forms.html](http://www.treas.gov/fincen/forms.html).

For additional information on the exemption process, NCUA Regulatory Alert No. 98-RA-7, issued October 1998, provides a "question and answer" discussion on the subject.

Additional questions should be directed to your NCUA regional office.

Sincerely,

*ISI*

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Norman E. D'Amours  
Chairman

Attachment

# Credit Union Notification Form

It is provided to allow submission of your credit union's contact information so the F.B.I. may notify you electronically or via fax with any updated lists of individuals identified by the F.B.I. in connection with the September 11<sup>th</sup> terrorist attacks.

Completion of this form and submission of this information is voluntary.

\_\_\_\_\_

Insurance Certificate Number: \_\_\_\_\_

Credit Union Name: \_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

Name: \_\_\_\_\_

Address of Contact: \_\_\_\_\_

Phone Number of Contact: \_\_\_\_\_

Fax Number of Contact: \_\_\_\_\_

Loan payments  
Guarantors and collateral owners  
Trust accounts  
Credit Cards

Large credit unions should have special software which can interdict prohibited transactions.

: A16

: Has the credit union identified any accounts or transactions which match the prohibited listing? If so did the credit union immediately block or reject the transaction as required?

: A17

: The credit union is required to report the following information to OFAC as soon as possible but no later than 10 days after the occurrence. The information required is: owner or account party, the property or amount of funds, the location, any existing or new account number or similar reference necessary to identify the property, actual value, the date it was blocked, a photocopy of the payment or transfer instructions, the name and address of the holder, the name, address and phone number of the contact person.

Reports on rejected funds also must be filed in 10 days and include: the name and address of the transferee financial institution, the date and amount of the transfer, a photocopy of th payment or transfer instructions received, the basis for the rejection, and the name and telephone number of a contact person.

: A18

: The annual report for the period ending June 30 should be submitted by September 30. OFAC form TDF 90-22.50 may be used.

: A19

: NCUA:  
Does the credit union internal audit staff or an outside auditor conduct an OFAC compliance audit annually?



## INSTRUCTIONS

### General Instructions

**Who Must File this Report:** Any bank (see definition) that wishes to designate a customer as an exempt person for purposes of CTR reporting must file this report. 31 CFR 103.22(d)(3)(i)

In addition, banks must file this form for the biennial renewal of the exempt person designation of eligible non-listed businesses and payroll customers. 31 CFR 103.22(d)(5)

A bank may, but is not required to, use this form to notify the Treasury that the bank has revoked the designation of a customer as an exempt person.

For further information, please refer to Title 31 of the Code of Federal Regulations, Part 103. See 31 CFR 103.11 for many definitions, and 31 CFR 103.22(d) for information on exemptions to CTR reporting.

**When and Where to File** - This report must be filed with the U.S. Department of the Treasury: Designation at P.O. Box 33112, Detroit MI 48232-0112. The report must be filed no later than 30 days after the first transaction to be exempted.

**Biennial Renewal (for eligible non-listed businesses and payroll customers only):** The report must be filed by March 15 of the second calendar year following the year in which the initial designation is made, and by every other March 15 thereafter.

### General Definitions

**Bank:** A domestic bank, savings association, thrift institution, or credit union. See 31 CFR 103.11(c). These may be exempted only to the extent of their domestic (i.e. US) operations.

**Biennial Renewal:** As provided for by 31 CFR 103.22(d)(5)(ii), the exemption status of all eligible non-listed businesses or payroll customers (see Item 10 e and f) must be updated once every two years, by March 15. This update is a biennial renewal of the exemption for these customers.

**Government Agency / Governmental Authority:** A department or agency of the United States, a State, or a political subdivision of a State, or (2) an entity established under the laws of the United States, of any State, or political subdivision of a State, or under interstate compact between 2 or more States, exercising governmental authority (i.e. the power to tax, police powers, or the power of eminent domain).

**Listed Company:** A business, other than a bank, whose common stock or analogous equity interests are listed on the New York Stock Exchange, the American Stock Exchange, or the National Association of Securities Dealers Automated Quotation System - National Market System.

See 31 CFR 103.22(d)(2) for the extent to which listed companies that are financial institutions may be exempted.

**Listed Company Subsidiary:** A subsidiary, other than a bank, which is owned at least 51%, and is controlled, by a Listed Company.

See 31 CFR 103.22(d)(2) for the extent to which listed companies' subsidiaries that are financial institutions may be exempted.

**Eligible Non-Listed business:** A business which (1) has had a transaction account at the bank for at least 12 months; (2) frequently engages in currency transactions greater than \$10,000; (3) is incorporated, or organized under the laws of the United States or a State, or is registered as and eligible to do business in the United States, and (4) is not an ineligible business.

Eligible non-listed businesses may be exempted only to the extent of their domestic (i.e. US) operations.

**Payroll Customers:** A business which (1) has had a transaction account at the bank for at least 12 months; (2) frequently withdraws more than \$10,000 in currency for payroll purposes in order to pay its employees in the US; (3) is incorporated or organized under the laws of the United States or a State, or is registered as and eligible to do business in the United States.

**Ineligible Businesses:** A business engaged primarily in one or more of the following activities: serving as financial institutions or agents of financial institutions of any type; purchase or sale to customers of motor vehicles of any kind, vessels, aircraft, farm equipment or mobile homes; the practice of law, accountancy, or medicine; auctioning of goods; chartering or operation of ships, buses, or aircraft; gaming of any kind (other than licensed pari-mutuel betting at race tracks); investment advisory services or investment banking services; real estate brokerage; pawn brokerage; title insurance and real estate closing; trade union activities; and any other activities that may be specified by FinCEN.

A business that engages in multiple business activities is not an ineligible business as long as no more than 50% of its gross revenues is derived from one or more ineligible business activities.

**United States:** The States of the United States, the District of Columbia, the Indian lands (as defined in the Indian Gaming Regulatory Act), and the Territories and Insular Possessions of the United States.

### EXPLANATIONS FOR SPECIFIC ITEMS

**Item 3 - Business Name or Last Name of Sole Proprietor:** List the full legal name of the business being exempted, or the complete last name of the person being exempted.

**Item 9 - Taxpayer Identification Number:** Generally, the Employer Identification Number of the Exempt Person.

**Item 14 - Primary Federal Regulator:** OCC = Office of the Comptroller of the Currency; OTS = Office of Thrift Supervision; FRS = Federal Reserve System; FDIC = Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation; NCUA = National Credit Union Administration.

**Item 23, 24, 25 - Contact:** The last and first name, and the telephone number of the person within the depository institution to be contacted for questions regarding this report.

- Added a check box for "Computer Intrusion" to Part III, "Suspicious Activity Information", in recognition of the need to obtain more specific information with regard to computer related suspicious activity. Along with the addition of the check box in Part III, a specific definition of "Computer Intrusion" has been added to the "When to Make a Report" instructions at number 2.
- Deleted the two sections requiring witness and preparer information and have replaced these sections with Part IV, "Contact for Assistance".
- Replaced the requirements to provide the name and address of any law enforcement authorities contacted with regard to the suspicious activity being reported with Part III, "Suspicious Activity Information", items 40 through 44, to include check boxes for the law enforcement agencies contacted and to list the names and telephone numbers of law enforcement personnel contacted.
- Deleted the requirement to identify whether a SAR is an "Initial Report", "Corrected Report", or "Supplemental Report". Instead, filers will only be required to identify when a SAR is being filed to correct a prior SAR. Specific instructions on filing a SAR to correct a prior report have been added in the "How to Make a Report" instructions at number 3.

Along with the issuance of the new SAR form, a copy of which is attached to this announcement, guidance for the preparation of SAR forms has been prepared and is being distributed with the new SAR form. The guidance provides valuable information on the preparation and filing of SAR forms.

In addition to the new SAR form, new software has been developed and is available to assist in the preparation and filing of SAR forms. The new SAR software, as well as the new SAR form, are available on the websites of the federal financial institutions supervisory agencies and FinCEN. The website addresses are: the Board of Governors of the Federal Reserve System, [www.federalreserve.gov](http://www.federalreserve.gov), the Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation, [www.fdic.gov](http://www.fdic.gov), the National Credit Union Administration, [www.ncua.gov](http://www.ncua.gov), the Office of the Comptroller of the Currency, [www.occ.treas.gov](http://www.occ.treas.gov), the Office of Thrift Supervision, [www.ots.treas.gov](http://www.ots.treas.gov), and FinCEN, [www.treas.gov/fincen](http://www.treas.gov/fincen). Each of these websites will have available the new SAR form, the guidance for the SAR form and the new SAR software or instructions on how to obtain these materials from other websites.

With the issuance of the new SAR form and SAR software, financial institutions and organizations will be able to file the new form by:

- Using the new SAR software to complete the SAR form, save it on a diskette and mailing it to the Detroit Computing Center, as set forth in the SAR instructions.

Re

PORT WASHINGTON FEDERAL CREDIT UNION  
BANK SECRECY ACT  
COMPLIANCE PROGRAM

I. Compliance Officer

The designated compliance officer is responsible for all matters pertaining to the Bank Secrecy Act. He/she is given broad authority to conduct both regular and unscheduled audits to test compliance. The duties and responsibilities of the compliance officer are:

Provide assistance and guidance to all employees regarding implementation and evaluation of Bank Secrecy Act and related regulations.

Review, mail and maintain file copy of all 4789s and 4790s.

Establish, maintain and update the Exemption List.

Recommend changes in compliance program as needed.

Implement changes in written operating procedures as needed.

Ensure that all employees are properly trained.

Report to the Board of Directors on Bank Secrecy Act compliance efforts at the April and September Board meetings.

~~Remain current on all Bank Secrecy Act matters.~~

II. Other Employees

Tellers are not the only individuals affected by the Bank Secrecy Act. Any employee who handles accounts or is responsible for credit union records may be affected. Affected individuals include:

Teller

New Account person

Compliance or Control Officer

## Suspicious Activity Information Explanation/Description

**Explanation/description of known or suspected violation of law or suspicious activity.**

This section of the report is critical. The care with which it is written may make the difference in whether or not the described conduct and its possible criminal nature are clearly understood. Provide below a chronological and complete account of the possible violation of law, including what is unusual, irregular or suspicious about the transaction, using the following checklist as you prepare your account. If necessary, continue the narrative on a duplicate of this page.

- e** Describe supporting documentation and retain for 5 years.
- b** Explain who benefited, financially or otherwise, from the transaction, how much, and how.
- c** Retain any confession, admission, or explanation of the transaction provided by the suspect and indicate to whom and when it was given.
- d** Retain any confession, admission, or explanation of the transaction provided by any other person and indicate to whom and when it was given.
- e** Retain any evidence of cover-up or evidence of an attempt to deceive federal or state examiners or others.

- f** Indicate where the possible violation took place (e.g., main office, branch, other).
- g** Indicate whether the possible violation is an isolated incident or relates to other transactions.
- h** Indicate whether there is any related litigation; if so, specify.
- i** Recommend any further investigation that might assist law enforcement authorities.
- j** Indicate whether any information has been excluded from this report; if so, why?
- k** If you are correcting a previously filed report, describe the changes that are being made.

For Bank Secrecy Act/Structuring/Money Laundering reports, include the following additional information:

- l** Indicate whether currency and/or monetary instruments were involved. If so, provide the amount and/or description of the instrument (for example, bank draft, letter of credit, domestic or international money order, stocks, bonds, traveler's checks, wire transfers sent or received, cash, etc.).
- m** Indicate any account number that may be involved or affected.

**Paperwork Reduction Act Notice:** The purpose of this form is to provide an effective and consistent means for financial institutions to notify appropriate law enforcement agencies of known or suspected criminal conduct or suspicious activities that take place at or were perpetrated against financial institutions. This report is required by law, pursuant to authority contained in the following statutes: Board of Governors of the Federal Reserve System, 12 U.S.C. 324, 324, 611a, 1844(b) and (c), 3105(c) (2) and 3108(a); Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation, 12 U.S.C. 63a, 1818, 1881-84, 3401-22; Office of the Comptroller of the Currency, 12 U.S.C. 63a, 1818, 1881-84, 3401-22; Office of Thrift Supervision, 12 U.S.C. 1463 and 1464; National Credit Union Administration, 12 U.S.C. 1788(e), 1788(f); Financial Crimes Enforcement Network, 31 U.S.C. 5318(g); information collected on this report is confidential (5 U.S.C. 552a)(7) and 552a(1)(2), and 31 U.S.C. 5318(g)). The Federal financial institutions' regulatory agencies and the U.S. Departments of Justice and Treasury may use and share the information. Public reporting and recordkeeping burden for this information collection is estimated to average 30 minutes per response, and includes time to gather and maintain data in the required report, review the instructions, and complete the information collection. Send comments regarding this burden estimate, including suggestions for reducing the burden, to the Office of Management and Budget, Paperwork Reduction Project, Washington, DC 20503 and, depending on your primary Federal regulatory agency, to Secretary, Board of Governors of the Federal Reserve System, Washington, DC 20361; or Assistant Executive Secretary, Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation, Washington, DC 20429; or Legislative and Regulatory Analysis Division, Office of the Comptroller of the Currency, Washington, DC 20219; or Office of Thrift Supervision, Enforcement Office, Washington, DC 20562; or National Credit Union Administration, 1775 Duke Street, Alexandria, VA 22314; or Office of the Director, Financial Crimes Enforcement Network, Department of the Treasury, 2570 Chain Bridge Road, Vienna, VA 22182. The agencies may not conduct or sponsor, and an organization (or a person) is not required to respond to, a collection of information unless it displays a currently valid OMB control number.

- h. Multiple transactions totaling more than \$10,000.00 in cash.

A program for step by step instructions for completing Form 4789 and 4790, specific instructions accompany each reporting form ordered,

filing deadlines,

where to file and with whom,

record retention requirements,

how to track multiple transactions,

procedures for handling 4789s or 4790s returned by the IRS or customs, and

sample forms will be developed by the compliance officer.

#### V. Exemption List

The Credit Union will not permit exemptions from the reporting requirements at this time.

#### IV Verification of Identification

~~The Credit Union must verify and record the name and address of individuals conducting reportable transactions and must also record the identity, account number, and tax identification number of the individual from whom the transaction was conducted.~~

#### VII Suspicious Activity

According to law, it is a crime to engage in a financial transaction if you have knowledge that the transaction is designed to conceal or disguise proceeds from illegal activity, or to avoid reporting requirements.

attempted by, at or through the financial institution and involving or aggregating \$5,000 or more in funds or other assets, if the financial institution knows, suspects, or has reason to suspect that:

- i. The transaction involves funds derived from illegal activities or is intended or conducted in order to hide or disguise funds or assets derived from illegal activities (including, without limitation, the ownership, nature, source, location, or control of such funds or assets) as part of a plan to violate or evade any law or regulation or to avoid any transaction reporting requirement under Federal law;
- ii. The transaction is designed to evade any regulations promulgated under the Bank Secrecy Act; or
- iii. The transaction has no business or apparent lawful purpose or is not the sort in which the particular customer would normally be expected to engage, and the financial institution knows of no reasonable explanation for the transaction after examining the available facts, including the background and possible purpose of the transaction.

The Bank Secrecy Act requires all financial institutions to file currency transaction reports (CTRs) in accordance with the Department of the Treasury's implementing regulations (31 CFR Part 103). These regulations require a financial institution to file a CTR whenever a currency transaction exceeds \$10,000. If a currency transaction exceeds \$10,000 and is suspicious, the institution must file both a CTR (reporting the currency transaction) and a suspicious activity report (reporting the suspicious or criminal aspects of the transaction). If a currency transaction equals or is below \$10,000 and is suspicious, the institution should only file a suspicious activity report.

2. **Computer intrusion.** For purposes of this report, "computer intrusion" is defined as gaining access to a computer system of a financial institution to:

- a. Remove, steal, procure or otherwise affect funds of the institution or the institution's customers;
- b. Remove, steal, procure or otherwise affect critical information of the institution including customer account information; or
- c. Damage, disable or otherwise affect critical systems of the institution.

For purposes of this reporting requirement, computer intrusion does not mean attempted intrusions of websites or other non-critical information systems of the institution that provide no access to institution or customer financial or other critical information.

3. A financial institution is required to file a suspicious activity report no later than 30 calendar days after the date of initial detection of facts that may constitute a basis for filing a suspicious activity report. If no suspect was identified on the date of detection of the incident requiring the filing, a financial institution may delay filing a suspicious activity report for an additional 30 calendar days to identify a suspect. In no case shall reporting be delayed more than 60 calendar days after the date of initial detection of a reportable transaction.

4. This suspicious activity report does not need to be filed for those robberies and burglaries that are reported to local authorities, or (except for savings associations and service corporations) for lost, missing, counterfeit or stolen securities that are reported pursuant to the requirements of 17 CFR 240.17f-1.

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#### HOW TO MAKE A REPORT:

1. Send each completed suspicious activity report to:

Detroit Computing Center, P.O. Box 33980, Detroit, MI 48232-0980

2. For items that do not apply or for which information is not available, leave blank.
3. If you are correcting a previously filed report, check the box at the top of the report (line 1). Complete the report in its entirety and include the corrected information in the applicable boxes. Then describe the changes that are being made in Part V (Description of Suspicious Activity), line k.
4. Do not include any supporting documentation with the suspicious activity report. Identify and retain a copy of the suspicious activity report and all original supporting documentation or business record equivalent for five (5) years from the date of the suspicious activity report. All supporting documentation must be made available to appropriate authorities upon request.
5. If more space is needed to report additional suspects, attach copies of page 1 to provide the additional information. If more space is needed to report additional branch addresses, include this information in the narrative, Part V.
6. Financial institutions are encouraged to provide copies of suspicious activity reports to state and local authorities, where appropriate.

is being followed. The compliance officer may:

Designate one or two individuals to handle all reportable transactions.

Limit record and storage responsibilities to a few individuals.

Periodically conduct random checks of teller's daily work.

Examine daily cash flow for unusual activity.

Number and log 4789s and 4790s.

Route report forms through several individuals to verify accuracy before mailing.

Periodically review the compliance program to assure that it is still accurate.

Verify that 4789s and 4790s are mailed.

#### X. Independent Audit

At least annually, an independent audit of the compliance program must be conducted to determine if transactions are being properly reported, and if recordkeeping and retrieval requirements are being met. This can be accomplished by reviewing:

~~The records and documents providing evidence~~  
of compliance.

~~The compliance officer's duties and responsibilities to assure that they are being carried out, and~~

staff training programs.

This audit will be conducted as part of the supervisory committee audit. Results must be in writing and made available to the NCUA examiner for review.



United States Department of the Treasury  
Financial Crimes Enforcement Network

# FinCEN Advisory

**Subject:**  
Reformed CTR  
Exemption  
Process:  
Questions &  
Answers

**Date:**  
October  
1998

**Advisory:**  
Issue 10

***This advisory provides answers to several questions concerning the process by which financial institutions may exempt retail and other businesses from the requirement to report currency transactions exceeding \$10,000.***

On September 21, the Treasury Department's Financial Crimes Enforcement Network (FinCEN) published a final rule which will substantially revise and simplify the manner in which banks and other depository institutions may be relieved of the obligation to file recurring Currency Transaction Reports (CTRs) on many of their customers. This rule represents the second part of FinCEN's effort to significantly reduce the number of times depository institutions must report large currency transactions. An earlier rule was aimed primarily at larger national and regional customers; this rule further simplifies the process for retail and other businesses.

Financial institutions have until July 1, 2000, to phase in compliance with the simplified procedures, although they may use the new procedures beginning on October 21, 1998.

## *Background*

### **Eliminating Paperwork**

The requirement that financial institutions report currency transactions in excess of \$10,000 by their customers is a cornerstone of the Bank Secrecy Act. The information provided on CTRs is often vital to investigators. At the same time, the reporting requirement includes recurring transactions by legitimate cash intensive businesses that generally are of little interest to investigators. The Money Laundering Suppression Act (MLSA) asked Treasury to study and implement new programs to encourage banks to take the steps necessary to significantly reduce repetitive currency reporting on these kinds of transactions.

More than 12 million CTRs were filed in 1997. It is anticipated that implementation of the procedures in the two regulations could lead banks to decrease their CTR filings by more than the 30 per cent reduction sought in the MLSA.





**BANK SECRECY ACT  
OFFICE OF FOREIGN ASSETS CONTROL**

**Policy Statement**

In compliance with Congress' attempt to impose reporting and record keeping requirements upon domestic financial institutions designed to detect the flow of funds obtained through illegal acts, the board of directors of the ~~XXXXXXXXXXXX~~ Credit Union has adopted the following Bank

**.. Secrecy policy..**

Further, it has mandated the implementation of controls, procedures, and training to assure compliance with the record-keeping and reporting requirements identified in the Bank Secrecy Act (BSA).

The President or their designee is responsible for the overall effectiveness of the BSA program to ensure full compliance.

The board of directors will review the Bank Secrecy Policy at least annually.

**Goals**

The specific goals of this policy are:

- \* To provide internal controls for ongoing compliance.
- \* To designate an individual who will be responsible for day-to-day monitoring of transactions affected by BSA requirements.
- \* To provide staff training to educate all personnel who may come in contact with or handle large currency transactions or who file suspicious activity reports.

**I. Internal Controls**

**A. Currency Transaction Report (CTR):**

The following cash transactions will be reported within 15 days of the date of the transaction by completing a CTR, using the directions and procedures specified on the form. CTRs must be retained for a period of 5-years.

\* All cash deposits, withdrawals, exchanges of currency, or other payments or transfers exceeding \$10,000 or multiples totaling more than \$10,000 made during the credit union's business day, including night deposits.

\* All transactions exceeding \$10,000 made by different individuals for the same account holder on any given business day.

A CTR will also be filed when currency over \$10,000 is used in any of the following instances:

- \* Deposits made to any share account or share certificate account(s)
- \* Loan payments
- \* Purchase of credit union official checks
- \* Wire transfers
- \* Purchase of traveler's checks
- \* Any other payments or deposits

When activity reported on the CTR is suspicious or there is reason to find it suspicious, a Suspicious Activity Report is also to be filed.

**B. Sale of Monetary Instruments:**

The credit union is required to collect and retain information on any sale of traveler's check for \$3,000 up to \$10,000 in currency. Purchases of the same or different types of instruments totaling \$3,000 or more should be treated as one purchase. In addition, the credit union must verify that the person purchasing the instrument(s) is an account holder or joint account owner at the credit union.

The credit union must verify the purchaser's name and address via an identification, which contains name and address, such as a state driver's license. This information must be collected and retained for a period of five years.

**C. Suspicious Activities Report (SAR):**

The credit union will file a suspicious activity report on all transactions conducted or attempted at or through the credit union if the credit union knows, suspects, or has reason to suspect that a wrongdoing has occurred or been attempted. The following are considered to be instances of suspicious activity and are to be reported within 30-calendar days after the activity is discovered. If no suspect is identified on the date of detection of an incident requiring a filing, the credit union may delay filing a SAR for an additional 30-calendar days to identify a suspect. In no case is reporting to be delayed for more than 60-calendar days after the date of the initial detection of a reportable transaction.

\* Insider abuse involving any amount. Exempted from this requirement are robberies or burglaries that have otherwise been immediately reported to law enforcement authorities.

\* Violations aggregating \$5,000 or more where a suspect can be identified, including any transaction involving funds from illegal activity or where an attempt is made to disguise funds from such activities. Any transaction where an attempt is made to evade BSA requirements and transactions that seem to have no business purpose or is at variance with normal activities of the party making the transaction.

\* Violations aggregating \$25,000 or more without regard to a potential suspect.

The following activities are considered suspicious and may require the filing of an SAR:

- \* Structuring/money laundering (as defined in the Bank Secrecy Act)
- \* Bribery or gratuity
- \* Check fraud
- \* Consumer lending fraud
- \* Check kiting
- \* Counterfeit checks
- \* Counterfeit credit or debit cards
- \* Other counterfeit instruments
- \* Credit Card fraud
- \* Debit Card fraud
- \* Defalcation or embezzlement
- \* False statements
- \* Misuse of position or self-dealing
- \* Mortgage loan fraud
- \* Mysterious disappearance
- \* Wire transfer fraud

•  
•  
• Completed SARs are electronically filed with the Financial Crimes Enforcement Network (FinCEN). A copy of the electronically filed SAR plus all documentation must be maintained for a period of 5-years from the date the report is filed.

• **D. Office of Foreign Assets Control (OFAC):**

• The U.S. Department of the Treasury's Office of Foreign Assets Control (OFAC) administers and enforces laws that impose economic and trade sanctions against hostile foreign countries to further U.S. foreign policy and national security objectives. OFAC also is responsible for issuing and enforcing regulations that restrict transactions by U.S. persons or entities (including banks and credit unions), located in the U.S. or abroad, with certain foreign countries, their nationals or "specialty-designated nationals". Violations of these laws can expose the credit union to substantial penalties.

• OFAC rules require the credit union to have an OFAC policy and procedures to identify transactions with prohibited entities. The rules may require the credit union to reject or freeze the funds involved in the transactions. In either event, the credit union shall notify OFAC when transactions with prohibited entities are attempted or completed, according to OFAC requirements. In order to comply with these requirements PSECU performs the following:

• **Ongoing Verification of Existing Membership:** The OFAC list is downloaded each month from the treasury website to a file, which runs against the existing membership. System parameters are set to ensure only those names appearing to be "excellent" matches are reported. Loss Prevention investigates the matches. The OFAC officer informs OFAC of matches, when applicable, in accordance with OFAC rules. OFAC makes the decision whether to freeze the account. The findings are forwarded to the BSA officer for retention by the 15th of the following month; Internal Audit Services and Loss Prevention are notified.

• **Ongoing Verification of New Membership:** New member names are processed through the OFAC list at the point of setup. Any "excellent" matches are reported to and investigated by Loss Prevention. The OFAC officer informs OFAC of matches, when applicable, in accordance with OFAC rules. OFAC makes the decision whether to freeze the account. The findings are forwarded to the President for retention by the 15th of the following month.

**F. Extension of Credit:**

A record of all extensions of credit in excess of \$10,000 not secured by real property must be kept by the credit union. The credit union must record the name and address of the person to whom the extension of credit was made, the amount, the date of the extension, and the nature or purpose for the credit. The BSA requires credit union members to provide a specific purpose for the loan (e.g., vacation, automobile, college tuition) rather than a generic reason for the money (e.g., personal loan, share loan)

## II. Day-to-Day Monitoring

The President, the Vice President of Office Operations and the Teller Supervisor will:

- Coordinate and monitor day-to-day operations related to BSA and OFAC issues.
- Review all completed reporting forms for accuracy and disposition.
- Supervise the retention of these forms for the five years required by the BSA.
- Assure that filing of regulatory forms is completed within the designated time frame.
- Perform ongoing research for any regulatory changes.
- Recommend changes to the BSA and OFAC policies when necessary.
- Assist in the development of an effective training program and monitor its progress for quality and effectiveness.
- Provide periodic training for appropriate personnel.
- Assure that records are available and in compliance with the record-keeping requirements on cash purchases of monetary instruments between \$3,000 and \$10,000, and that these records are readily accessible.

The Vice President of Lending is responsible for monitoring the credit union's compliance with the provisions of the BSA relating to a record of individual extensions of credit advances in excess of \$10,000 not secured by real property.

The vice president of Office Operations is responsible for monitoring the credit union's compliance with the provisions of the BSA relating to funds transfers.

The vice president of Office Operations is responsible for monitoring the credit union's compliance with the provisions of the BSA relating to cash deposits through the credit union's ATM delivery system.

The vice president of Office Operations is responsible for monitoring the credit union's compliance with the provisions of the BSA relating to suspicious activities and the reporting there of.

## IV. Staff Training

All credit union personnel who might, in the daily course of business, come in contact with or handle large currency transactions or who have contact with member account openings are to be given intensive training in the requirements of the BSA/OFAC. Part of the orientation for new hires to fill vacancies as tellers, member service branch managers or managers who support the branch system, MAC settlement managers, ATM settlement employees, employees who open new accounts and, employees who file suspicious activities reports will include BSA/OFAC training with a provision for follow-up training as needed. All employees will be given an overview of the BSA on an annual basis.

In addition to training credit union staff on the provisions of the BSA, staff will be trained on the need to "know their member" in order to detect suspicious activity by members of the credit union. By training employees to know their members, the credit union can decrease the likelihood that it will become a victim of illegal activities perpetrated by a member, but should not interfere with the relationship of the credit union with its good members.

#### Board Resolution

Whereas, The Your Credit Union is required to comply with certain monetary transaction reporting and record keeping requirements set out in 31 U.S.C. 5301, et seq. (Bank Secrecy Act), as amended and in 31 CFR Part 103 (Treasury Regulations), as amended, and

Whereas, this institution is subject to examination by certain federal regulatory agencies to determine the existence of a written compliance program and to examine for actual compliance with the federal laws and with the written compliance program, and

Whereas, the written compliance program, in order to be effective should include:

1. A system of internal controls to assure on-going compliance;
2. Designation of an individual responsible for coordinating and monitoring day-to-day compliance including implementing the procedures;
3. Training for appropriate credit union personnel, and

Whereas, such a program has been presented to the Board of Directors at its regular meeting which was duly noticed and convened pursuant to the by-laws and held on April 22, 2002 at CU address,

It is hereby resolved by the Board of Directors that:

1. The written program attached to this Resolution and setting out policies and procedures to assure Bank Secrecy Act compliance be adopted.
2. The Vice President of Office Operations is designated as the person responsible for coordinating and monitoring Your Credit Union day-to-day compliance in accordance with such policies and procedures, and President of is the person responsible for periodic review of policies and procedures to insure they are being applied as prescribed.

**[REDACTED] FEDERAL CREDIT UNION**

**Addendum to Bank Secrecy Act Compliance Policy**

**Office of Foreign Assets Control Regulatory Compliance**

**I. PURPOSE:**

The purpose of this addendum to the Bank Secrecy Act Policy Resolution is to set forth procedures for compliance with the requirements of the United States Department of the Treasury's Office of Foreign Assets Control (OFAC).

**II. GENERAL PROVISIONS:**

[REDACTED] FCU will maintain a current listing of prohibited accounts and countries according to that information provided on the website of the Office of Foreign Assets Control (OFAC). Our credit union will make sure that the listing of prohibited accounts maintained will be updated periodically by getting the updated information from the OFAC website.

[REDACTED] FCU will compare existing accounts to that current listing of prohibited accounts in an effort to ascertain whether the credit union has any prohibited accounts during the first week of each quarter.

[REDACTED] FCU will check any new accounts, prior to opening such accounts, to that current listing of prohibited accounts in an effort to ensure that the credit union will not open any prohibited accounts.

[REDACTED] FCU will compare account transactions to the current listing of prohibited accounts and countries, and block all accounts and transactions with the prohibited entities. The same procedures will be performed if the credit union has any wire transfers.

In the event that any prohibited accounts or transactions are discovered in the credit union's books and records or daily activity, the credit union will follow the guidelines for action as required by OFAC. This will include reporting any such activity to OFAC. Any relevant findings and subsequent action will be reported at the monthly board meetings.

Ares' encouragement of the troops. Divine action which goes beyond such encouragement tends to be preventative, and to ensure the fated course of events. This has already been observed in the case of Apollo's killing of Achilles, and will be seen also at 11. 405-14, where Ares' assistance to Aeneas prevents the storm of the city. But while the tide of battle may fluctuate, the plot demands that Neoptolemus not suffer his father's fate, and so Ares is checked. Differences between Quintus' and Homer's characterizations of Ares are also apparent here. The confrontation between Ares and Athena on the field recalls E 835-63,<sup>204</sup> but avoids that episode's unseemly humiliation of Ares. Despite his Iliadic drubbings, in the *Posthomeric* Ares is willing to face Athena, and in fact holds his own against her when the two actually come to blows in Quintus' *Theomachy*.

The scene in which Apollo rallies the Trojans (9. 291-300) develops in much the same fashion as has Ares' intervention in the previous Book. Poseidon immediately perceives what Apollo has done, and inspires the Greeks from a distance (9. 300-4). Then, Apollo like Ares, moves to intervene more decisively (9. 304-23):

... Κοτεσσάμενος δ' ἄρ' Ἀπόλλων  
 Ἄργείοις ὥρμαινε βαλεῖν θρασὺν υἷα Ἀχιλῆος 305  
 αὐτοῦ, ὅπου καὶ πρόσθεν Ἀχιλέα· τοῦ δ' ἄρα θυμὸν  
 οἰωνοὶ κατέρυκον ἀριστερὰ κεκλήγοντες  
 ἀλλὰ τε σήματα πολλὰ· χόλος δέ οἱ οὐκέτ' ἐμελλε  
 πείσθουσαι τεράεσσι. Τὸ δ' οὐ λάθε Κυανοχαίτην  
 ἤερι θεσπεσίῃ κεκαλυμμένον, ἀμφὶ δὲ ποσσὶ 310  
 νισσομένοιο ἄνακτος ἐρεμνὴ κίνυτο γαῖα·  
 τοῖον δ' ἔκφατο μῦθον ἐελδόμενός μιν ἐρύξαι·  
 Ἴσχε, τέκος, καὶ μὴ τι πελώριον υἷ' Ἀχιλῆος  
 κτείνῃς· οὐδὲ γὰρ αὐτὸς Ὀλύμπιος ὄλλυμένοιο 315  
 γηθήσει· μέγα δ' ἄλγος ἐμοὶ καὶ πᾶσι θεοῖσιν  
 ἔσσειται εἰναλίοισιν, ὅπως πάρος ἀμφ' Ἀχιλῆος.  
 Ἄλλ' ἀναχάζεο δῖον ἐς αἰθέρα, μὴ με χολώσης.  
 αἶψα δ' ἀναρρήξας μεγάλης χθονὸς εὐρὺ βέρεθρον  
 αὐτήν Ἴλιον εἶθαρ ἐοῖς ἅμα τείχεσι πᾶσαν  
 θήσω ὑπὸ ζόφον εὐρύν" ἄχος δέ τοι ἔσσειται αὐτῶ. 320  
 ὣς φάθ'· ὃ δ' ἀζόμενος μέγ' ἀδελφεὸν οἶο τοκῆος

<sup>204</sup>Vian, *Suite II*: 157, 218, n. 5.

δείσας τ' ἀμφὶ πόλῃος εὐσθενέων θ' ἅμα λαῶν  
χάσσαιτ' ἔς οὐρανὸν εὐρύν, ὃ δ' εἰς ἄλα. . .

Apollo was angry and intended to smite the brave son of Achilles, in the place where previously he [smote] Achilles. Birds cried out on the left, to check his fury, and there were many other signs. But his anger would no longer heed these portents. This did not escape the notice of the Blue-haired one, who was hidden in divine aether. The dark earth moved under the feet of the lord as he came. And, to stop Apollo, he said: "Stop, child. Do not kill the mighty son of Achilles. For the Olympian himself will be angry if he perishes, and it will be a great sorrow to me and all the other gods of the sea, just as before, with Achilles. Go back to the splendid aether, lest you anger me, and I open a deep chasm in the broad earth, and put Ilium and its walls into darkness, which would grieve you." So he spoke, and respecting his father's brother, and fearing for the city and its mighty people, [Apollo] withdrew to broad heaven, and [Poseidon] to the sea.

The confrontation between Apollo and Poseidon, and Apollo's refusal to fight, recall Φ 435-69.<sup>205</sup> Poseidon's attitude, however, and the stated reasons for Apollo's deference, are utterly different. In the Iliadic passage, Poseidon first tries to goad Apollo into what presumably would be another of the unseemly Olympian combats of the Homeric Theomachy (Φ 436-40); Poseidon's lengthy account of the wrongs done himself and Apollo by the Trojans (Φ 441-60) is both provocative, and, as these are instances of extreme impiety, unseemly. The subject is, as has been seen, largely suppressed in the *Posthomeric*, and there is no hint of the boastful hostility of Apollo toward Poseidon which Homer's Artemis mentions at (Φ 475-7).<sup>206</sup> Rather than trying to provoke an unseemly scrap, Quintus' Poseidon threatens the utter annihilation of the Trojans. His authoritative language contrasts sharply with his snide tone at Φ 436-40. Note also that his call for a halt (ἴσχε, 9. 313) echoes Apollo's confrontation of mortal warriors in the *Iliad* and *Posthomeric*. But Poseidon essentially replaces Zeus here. The statement at 9. 309 that Apollo's actions do not escape Poseidon's notice suggests this. The portents at 9.

<sup>205</sup>Vian, *Suite II*: 192, n. 4. Other parallels (*Suite II*: 192, n. 3) display verbal, not thematic similarities

<sup>206</sup>Which Aristarchus athetized (*A ad loc.*) and which Willcock (1977) 49, considers an invention.



306-8 constitute a check (albeit ineffective) on Apollo's action, and may suggest Zeus' awareness of it. The nature of Poseidon's threat, too, is akin to those expressed by Quintus' Zeus, eschewing unseemly personal violence in favor of destruction on a magnificent, cosmic scale. Certainly 9. 314 indicates Poseidon here is acting in accord with Zeus' will, as well as being a partisan of the Nereid's grandson. Apollo defers to Poseidon because he fears he can carry out his threat, and, (just as he has previously shown respect to Hera, because she is Zeus' wife; note the echo of ἄζετο, 3. 130 and ἀζόμενος, 9. 321) because he is Zeus' brother, a designation of Poseidon found only here in the *Posthomerica*.<sup>207</sup>

The only instances in the *Posthomerica* in which deities descend to render personal assistance to a mortal affect Aeneas, suggesting that for Quintus such action occurs only to ensure the fated course of events. Aeneas' survival of the war, of course is predicted in both the *Iliad* and the *Posthomerica*. This theme recurs throughout Book 11, first at 11. 129-45, where Apollo appears to Aeneas and Eurymachus:<sup>208</sup>

Καὶ τότε ἄρ' Αἰνεΐαο μόλε σχεδὸν ἧς Ἀπόλλων ἦδ' Ἀντηνορίδαο δαΐφρονος Εὐρυμάχοιο·	130
...	
... Τοῖς δ' αἶψα θεὸς ποτὶ μῦθον ἔειπε. μάντι ἐειδόμενος Πολυμήστορ, τὸν ποτε μήτηρ γείνατ' ἐπὶ Ζάνθοιο ῥοαῖς θεράπωνθ' Ἐκάτοιο·	135
Εὐρύμαχ' Αἰνεΐα τε, θεῶν γένος, οὐ τι ἔοικεν ὑμέας Ἀργείοισιν ὑπείκμεν· οὐδὲ γὰρ αὐτὸς ὑμῖν ὑπαντίαςας κεχαρήσεται ὄβριμος Ἴαρης, ἦν ἔβηλητε μάχεσθαι ἀνά κλόνον, οὐνεκα Μοῖραι	140
μακρὸν ἐπ' ἀμφοτέροισι βίου τέλος ἐκλώσαντο. Ὅς εἰπὼν ἀνέμοισι μίγη καὶ ἄιστος ἐτύχθη· οἱ δὲ νόω φράσσαντο θεοῦ μένος. Αἶψα δ' ἄρ' αὐτοῖς θάρσος ἀπειρέσιον κατεχεύατο, μαίνετο δὲ σφι θυμὸς ἐνὶ στήθεσσι· ...	145

<sup>207</sup>On this designation of Poseidon, which paraphrases Φ 469 and reinforces the allusion to the Iliadic passage, see ch. 2, p. 58.

<sup>208</sup>11. 131-4 are a simile describing Aeneas and Eurymachus.

Then great Apollo came to Aeneas and Eurymachus, the son of warlike Antenor . . . Immediately, the god addressed them, in the form of the prophet Polymestor, whom his mother bore as a servant of the Far-shooter by the banks of Xanthus: "Eurymachus and Aeneas, divinely born, it is not fitting that you give way to the Argives. Mighty Ares himself would not gladly face you in the tumult of battle, because the Moirae have spun a long life for you both." So he spoke, and vanished into the wind. Their minds recognized the god's strength, and immediately measureless courage filled them, and the hearts in their breasts raged.

This is the only example in the *Posthomerica* of the commonest type of divine action in the *Iliad*, the encouragement of mortal characters by god disguised as a mortal.<sup>209</sup> Virtually all the major features of the passage have Iliadic parallels: the visitation by Apollo, who most commonly performs this action in the *Iliad*; the statement of the heroes' destiny and hence safety; the encouragement of the mortals; and their recognition of its divine origin.<sup>210</sup> For the structure of the episode, the closest parallel is N 43-82, the apparition of Poseidon, in the guise of Calchas, to the two Ajaxes;<sup>211</sup> the only instance in which a god appears to a pair of warriors.<sup>212</sup> If N 43-82 is to be understood as Quintus' primary model, it is to be noted that he omits the detail that Poseidon inspires the two Ajaxes by striking them with his staff (N 59-61), avoiding reference to another of the

<sup>209</sup>Disguise is very much the norm: Fenik, 49-52; Clay (1983) 160.

<sup>210</sup>Visitation by Apollo, noted by Fenik, 49: P 71-81\*, 319-34\*, 582-90\*; Π 715-26\*; Y 79-111\*, statement of the heroes' destiny: Φ 283-300; encouragement: E 461-70, 784-92; N 43-82\*, 206-39; Π 715-26\*; P 71-81\*, 319-34\*, 582-90\*; Y 79-111\*; Φ 283-300; Ω 331-442\*; recognition of divinity: N 43-82; P 319-34\* (Φ 283-300 can not be counted as an instance of this, because Athena and Poseidon identify themselves as gods at Φ 288-9). Φ 582-X 13 is classed with the passages listed above by Lavoie, 18, but differs in that there Apollo's action is not encouragement, but deception: B 786-810; Δ 84-104; N 90-125; and Z 135-46, 367-34 also differ in certain particulars

<sup>211</sup>Vian, *Suite III*, 54, n. 2, regards N 43-82 as Quintus' primary model, and sees similarities between II 129-45 and the Iliadic passages marked with an asterisk (\*) in n. 233; he also notes the reminiscence of Poseidon's prophecy to Aeneas at Y 302-8.

<sup>212</sup>Vian, *Suite III*, 53, n. 6, notes that Eurymachus is mentioned only here in the *Posthomerica* and in Pausanias' description (10. 27. 3) of the painted Iliouperis of Polygnotus, where he appears among the survivors of the war.

magical items which are "largely suppressed" in the *Iliad*, but are still more completely absent from the *Posthomerica*.<sup>213</sup> Here, even inspiration is not presented as an action of Apollo, but as the consequence of his speech.<sup>214</sup> Aeneas and Eurymachus are brave because they have been informed that they will not be killed.

As an instance of divine metamorphosis, this is one of the few passages of the *Posthomerica* which can not be reconciled with philosophical criticisms of the traditional portrayal of the gods. The Scholia, however, do not note such criticisms in instances of the apparition of the gods in human guise. Quintus does seem to be attuned to the matter which most concerns the scholiasts, the suitability of the gods' disguises. Polymestor, whom only Quintus mentions,<sup>215</sup> has, as a prophet and priest of Apollo,<sup>216</sup> authority to be convincing to Aeneas and Eurymachus.

Apollo's exhortation spurs Aeneas to an *aristeia*, but its effect is limited. The Greeks are soon assisted by Athena (II. 284-7):

δὴ τότε ἄρ' Ἀργείοισιν ὑπέρτερον ὤρνυτο θάρσος  
 Παλλάδος ἐννεσίησι δαίφρονος ἢ ῥα μολοῦσα  
 ὑσμίνης ἄγχιστα μέγ' Ἀργείοισιν ἄμυνεν

285

<sup>213</sup>On Poseidon's "magic wand," and the suppression of reference to such objects by Homer, see Kirk IV 50, *ad* N 59-61, on Quintus' more complete suppression of references to magic, see ch. 4, pp. 128-9

<sup>214</sup>*Pace* Vian, (*Suite* III: 54, n. 1, 11. 143-5 need not imply that "le dieu, après avoir encouragé les héros par ses paroles, leur insuffle aussitôt une audace irrésistible;" they are encouraged by the fact and content of Apollo's exhortation, not by any other sort of inspiration.

<sup>215</sup>Vian, *Suite* III: 53, 214, n. 8

<sup>216</sup>Concern that the gods' mouthpiece be convincing to the mortals addressed is common. A *ad* B 791, T and Eustathius 447 *ad* Δ 87, T *ad* E 462; Eustathius, 607, *ad* E 784, bT *ad* N 45; T *ad* P 73; bT *ad* P 584, AT *ad* Ξ 136; bT *ad* O 717 (also Eustathius, 1083, 8-12). Kirk VI. 76-7 *ad* Y 290-2 so interprets the ancient comments *ad loc.*, and also (VI: 71 *ad* Φ 213) believes that Scamander's assumption of human form to address Achilles, which some MSS omit, "could have been added because it was thought that the river god could not address Achilles unless he was in human form." Modern commentators apply the same principles to explaining the disguises taken at N 216-8 and Ξ 363-77 (Kirk IV: 74, 208) Allegorization of such epiphanies are found only in Eustathius: 607, physical allegory of E 784 (although impropriety does not seem to be an issue here); 447, moral allegory of Δ 87, the sole instance in which a disguised god advocates an evil action. For the theological implications of the gods' disguises, see Lavoie

ἐκπέρσαι μεμαυῖα κλυτὴν Πριάμοιο πόλιν.

Then, finally, by the intention of warlike Pallas, the courage of the Argives waxed. She came into the press of battle to help the Argives much, eager to sack the famous city of Priam.

Two points regarding this instance of divine descent are to be noted. The first is the extremely limited description of Athena's action. Second, confrontation between Athena and the divinely favored and inspired Aeneas is avoided, as it has been that between Neoptolemus and Ares and Apollo. In this case, Aphrodite removes her son into the city (11. 286-97). As the *Iliad* explicitly states (E 428-30), Aphrodite is not suited for intervention in battle, and Quintus avoids representing a direct confrontation which must demean either her or Athena.

Aeneas, however, continues to receive special favor. In the last instance of divine action on earth, he is assisted by Ares, as he hurls rocks upon the Greek *testudo* from the wall (11. 405-14):

... Ἀχαιῶν υἱὲς ὑπέτρεσαν, οὔνεκ' ἄρ' αὐτῶν	405
Αἰνείας συνέχευε θεῶς ἔρυμα πτολέμοιο	
ἀσπίσιν ἀκαμάτοισι τετυγμένον, οὔνεκ' ἄρ' αὐτῶ	
θάρσος ἀπειρέσιον θεὸς ὤπασεν. Οὐδέ τις αὐτῶν	
ἔσθενέ οἱ κατὰ δῆριν ἐναντίον ὅσσε βαλέσθαι.	
οὔνεκά οἱ μάρμαιρε περὶ βριαροῖς μελέεσσι	410
τεύχεα θεσπεσίησιν ἐειδόμενα στεροπῆσιν·	
εἰσπτήκει δέ οἱ ἄγχι δέμας κεκαλυμμένος ὄρφνη	
δεινὸς Ἄρης καὶ πάντα κατιθύνεσκε βέλεμνα	
καὶ μόρον καὶ δέος αἰνὸν ἐπ' Ἀργείοισι φέροντα.	

The sons of the Achaeans trembled because Aeneas quickly confounded their bulwark of adamant shields, since a god gave him measureless courage.<sup>217</sup> None of them was strong enough to meet his eye in the fight, because the armor on his strong limbs shone like divine lightning. Near him stood dread Ares, his form hidden in darkness, and guided down upon the Argives every missile, bearing death or terrible fear.

<sup>217</sup>Köchly corrects MSS' θάρσος to κάρτος at line 408. Vian, *Suite* III: 60, n. 1 and 65, n. 1, defends the MSS reading. Strength in fact seems more relevant than courage. See also pp. 288-9.

Gods direct missiles fairly often in both the *Iliad* and the *Posthomerica*. Only here in Quintus' poem, however, do they descend to earth to do so.<sup>218</sup> There is no exact Homeric model for this scene, although the close cooperation between a deity and an individual warrior is reminiscent of Athena's assistance to her proteges, especially her cooperation with Diomedes in killing Pandarus (E 290-3).<sup>219</sup>

In the *Posthomerica*, then, gods descend to earth to aid one side or the other in battle, or to assure the fated course of events. The latter action is frequently a check on the former, although unseemly divine conflicts do not develop. It is a striking difference from the *Iliad* that Quintus does not represent the gods as arranging events, as Athena and Apollo do the duel between Hector and Ajax at H 17-42. Nor does he represent the gods as lingering on the field. The interventions of Ares and Apollo in Books Eight and Nine are extended, but unified, scenes. Quintus does not represent the gods as engaging first in exhortation of individuals, then shortly after participating in the general battle, as does Poseidon in Z or Athena at B 165-83, 446-54. Nor do the gods of the *Posthomerica* remain<sup>220</sup> to observe events, as do Athena and Apollo at H 58-62, and still less do they descend for that purpose, as do Athena, Hera, and Poseidon at Y 144-52.

These differences from the *Iliad* indicate only that Quintus limits divine participation in the action: there is nothing inherently improper in the gods' arrangement or observation of events. Other divine actions on earth might, however, be regarded as unseemly. One such is the gods' appearance "like" birds in the *Iliad*. Most such references

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<sup>218</sup>For other instances of the action in the *Posthomerica*, see pp. 263-7

<sup>219</sup>That Quintus has E 290-3 in mind is perhaps suggested by the fact that Ares assists Aeneas in hurling rocks down upon the Greeks. The Scholia (bT ad E 290-1) attribute the odd nature of Pandarus' wound, which runs from the eye-socket through the mouth, to Athena's assistance: The gods, with their great height, can only strike downward.

<sup>220</sup>Quintus is sometimes careless in returning the gods to the celestial level (Vian, *Suite* I: 127, 215, n. 3, ad 7. 556-63), but their descents to the mundane level are discrete incidents, comprising single actions, and their departures can be presumed.

are interpreted as similes, indicating the gods' swift and easy progress,<sup>221</sup> but the very fact that they are explained suggests that they are open to criticism. H 58-60, where Athena and Apollo assume the appearance of αἰγυπιοί is difficult to explain away, and γ 371-3, where Athena flies off as an osprey, is impossible.<sup>222</sup> While avian metamorphoses may reflect religious beliefs of the Bronze Age, there is no evidence for actual belief that the gods appeared on earth in such form in historical times.<sup>223</sup> Quintus avoids even the comparison of gods to birds.

Also significant, and more obvious, is the fact that Quintus generally does not represent the gods inflicting harm, either through deceptive appearance (Φ 591-607; X 226-47, 293-305) or more directly, as in the killings of Pandarus and Patroclus. The objections to such behavior have already been discussed in connection with Apollo's killing of Achilles, which is Quintus' only violation of the dictum that gods do no harm and one of the two instances in which he attributes deception to them.<sup>224</sup> The same incident also constitutes the most direct physical action undertaken at the mundane level by a god in the *Posthomeric*. Ares in Book Eight may be imagined to take part in the battle, but he does so far less clearly than does Poseidon at Ξ 384-91, and certainly less than Apollo, when at Ο 355-66 he leads the Trojan charge, bridging the ditch and kicking down the Greek

<sup>221</sup>e.g. bT ad Ο 237-8. Fenik, 116, considers bird metamorphoses "not unusual." Boraston lists and discusses all relevant passages of both the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*.

<sup>222</sup>It is not a satisfactory defense that these are relatively dignified types of bird as Boraston, 231, argues. Kirk, who discusses the matter in some detail (II: 239-40 ad H 59-60) regards only Ξ 286-91, where Sleep takes the form of an owl, as a certain instance of metamorphosis, because "movement is not in question" in that passage. The vultures, however, like the owl, are perched. Kirk does, however (II: 240 ad H 61-2) note that the passage is troubling, because Apollo and Athena are "in an incongruous form and . . . an incongruous place." bT ad H 58-61 remarks that the lines παιδεύει δέ πᾶν ζῶον ὀρώντας ὑπονοεῖν εἰσαθεόν (*contra* Kirk II: 239, who claims the Scholia do not comment) and b ad Ξ 289-90 regards the metamorphosis of Sleep as πιθανῶς. Bannert, 29, and Dirlmeir, 11, regard only γ 371-3 as certainly a metamorphosis.

<sup>223</sup>On evidence for belief in such epiphanies, see Lavoie 29-33; for the complete absence of such belief in later periods, Lane Fox, 106

<sup>224</sup>The other is Penthesileia's dream, on which see pp. 295-8

rampart.<sup>225</sup> Quintus completely avoids mention of direct physical contact between gods and mortals, instances of which in the *Iliad* are regularly athetized or allegorized.<sup>226</sup> The absence of the gods is particularly glaring in the account of the sack of the city, where the only divine actions mentioned are Hera's, Athena's and Enyo's observation and Aphrodite's assistance to Aeneas and Helen, which do not involve descent. This contrasts very strongly with Virgil's (*Aen.* 2. 608-18) and Triphiodorus' (330-9, 559-72) accounts of the sack, in which the gods participate extensively. Their accounts indicate that such participation is traditional, and it is likely that Quintus suppresses it purposefully. The types of divine action on earth which Quintus does represent, divine shouting, apparition in mortal guise, and imperceptible aid in time of stress, are psychologically plausible and attested in contemporary religious belief.<sup>227</sup>

Finally, a few points regarding the mechanics of descent and divine progress in the *Posthomerica* are to be noted. In describing divine descent to, arrival at, and departure from earth, Quintus apparently works through a series of variations, drawn from Homer

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<sup>225</sup>The comment of Aristarchus that it is better that the god not be shown stooping (*A ad* O 356) shows concern over the physical imagery, which Kirk IV: 267 *ad* O 362-7 shares: The simile "saves Homer from showing the rampart's minution in detail, which might be . . . too taxing to the imagination."

<sup>226</sup>The classic cases are Γ 423-6, where Aphrodite fetches Helen's chair, which Zenodotus athetized on the grounds that it is ἀπρεπές (*A ad* Γ 423, though Kirk I: 321 *ad loc.* notes that there are parallels), and E 838-9, where Diomedes' chariot groans under Athena's weight, which Aristarchus athetized as οὐκ ἀναγκαῖοι καὶ γελοῖοι καὶ τι ἐναντίον ἔχοντοῦνται (*A ad loc.*; Eustathius (547, 552) interprets Athena's aid to Diomedes in terms of moral allegory). Also troubling are: Aphrodite's sheltering Aeneas under her peplos (E 315), which the Scholia (*A ad* E 315; bT *ad* E 314-6) and Eustathius (551 10) interpret as signifying invisibility rather than protection (Eustathius also (551. 5) allegorizes Aphrodite as mother-love); and Zeus propelling Hector with his hand (O 695), which bT *ad loc.* maintains is figurative (λείπει τὸ ὤς); Poseidon picking up Aeneas in his hand (Y 327) is a similar case; and Eustathius minimizes Apollo's physical participation in the death of Patroclus (1087 42-5).

<sup>227</sup>On contemporary testimony, see Lane Fox, 102-67, specifically, shouting: 112; waking visions of gods in mortal guise: 103, 119 (in despite of Plato), 129 (in despite of allegorization of Homeric epiphanies), 138, 158 (in contrast to disbelief in other mythological stories); aid in battle: 120-1. The exhortation of Aeneas and Eurymachus is precisely the sort of experience, "looking back [on which] men may see that at certain important times in their lives the words of another person has a decisive influence . . . [and] would deduce from this the presence of the divine" (Chantraine (1952) 61; for elaboration, see Willcock (1970) 7-8).

and other sources.<sup>228</sup> As the poem progresses, these are exhausted, and the descriptions tend to become ever briefer. In the earlier instances, however, Quintus' descriptions of divine progress are lengthier and more detailed than the narration of their action upon arrival. Concentration on divine movement to earth, rather than upon action undertaken there, is yet another way in which Quintus is able to give his poem an epic flavor of divine involvement, while limiting representation of effective divine action.

Quintus' "corrects" his models for description of the movement of the gods consist by emphasizing the magnificent and avoiding potentially confusing (if not obviously unseemly) statements. Confusion is avoided primarily by Quintus' scrupulous placement of the gods in their proper milieu. Olympian and astral deities arrive from and depart to Olympus or the heavens (1. 676; 2. 593-4, 603, 665-6; 3. 32.90-1; 7. 557; 8. 240, 343; 9. 292). the Muses arrive from and depart to Helicon (3. 594, 785-6), and deities of the sea come from and return to their watery abode (3. 583, 766, 785-6; 4. 110; 5. 335-6); Poseidon is never in the *Posthomerica* on Olympus as he is at, e. g. Θ 198-211. This tendency is especially apparent in the Theomachy, where the arrival of the sea gods (12. 168) is separated from that of the deities who descend from the heavens (12. 163), and all the gods, including, presumably the minor, earth-bound ones, disperse as appropriate (12. 217-8). The sole exception to this pattern is the departure of Ares and Athena to Thrace and Athens at 8. 355-8; for this, however, there are Homeric parallels (η 80; θ 361), and the places in question are famously those associated with these gods.

What may be termed portentous descents of gods do not occur in the *Posthomerica*. The images of Athena descending to earth, visible as a shooting star (Δ 78-84), or as a rainbow (P 547-52); Thetis' arrival "like mist" (A 354) and Apollo's "like night" (A 46); and Ares rising to Olympus like a thunderhead (E 864), are confusing as to

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<sup>228</sup>For parallels, see the notes of Vian *ad loc*



what is visible to whom, and trouble commentators.<sup>229</sup> Quintus' gods are either not visible,<sup>230</sup> or, as in the case of Apollo's appearance to Aeneas and Eurymachus, their guise is clearly specified.

The consistent features of divine progress in the *Posthomerica* are its attendant noise and seismic effects and its speed.<sup>231</sup> Although he employs less vivid imagery in doing so, Quintus emphasizes these more than does Homer.<sup>232</sup> References to noise and seismic effect are intended to convey a sense of majesty,<sup>233</sup> and Quintus seems to intend that his references to the speed of divine progress have a similar effect. He magnifies by not only comparing the speed of the gods' progress to the winds, but by representing it as being effected by the winds: Athena is conveyed by cloud (7. 559-60),<sup>234</sup> the gods ride the winds

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<sup>229</sup>At Δ 78-84 the portent may be visible to all, the goddess herself only to Diomedes (Kirk I: 338-9 *ad loc.*, following Eustathius; T *ad* Δ 86 thinks that Athena assumes human form on arrival; AT *ad* Δ 75-9 offers a cosmological allegorization). Fenik, 182-3, believes that at P 547-52 Athena in fact does appear as a rainbow; Kirk V: 116 *ad loc.* is dubious; bT *ad* P 547 defends the phrase as πῖθανῶς, T comparing Δ 75. bT *ad* E 864-7, stress that this is Diomedes' perception, not a statement of the form actually assumed by the god, an interpretation de Jong, 134-5, extends to Δ 75-80 and P 547-52. Zenodotus and Aristarchus athetized A 46 as οὐ καλῶς (A *ad loc.*) and Eustathius (40. 35-40) allegorized it. bT gives a cosmological allegory of A 359, which it also terms φαντασία.

<sup>230</sup>9. 294-5 describes Apollo's armor, and need not imply that the path of his descent is visible.

<sup>231</sup>Seismic effects of divine progress: 1. 686-8; 3. 36; 8. 344-5; 9. 310-1; 12. 176-7. Statement of speed αἶψα, 3. 32; 4. 111; 7. 561; 9. 293; τάχα, 1. 676; ὀρταλέως, 8. 246; θεῶς, 3. 594; σεύω, 1. 682; 3. 587; 8. 245; speed suggested by comparison to wind: 1. 685; 3. 781; 4. 111; 9. 243; 11. 142; comparisons of Ares' progress to a thunderbolt (1. 677-80) and a rock-slide (1. 696-703) suggest both.

<sup>232</sup>Usually, and very frequently, the trembling and resounding of the earth describes the movement of bodies of troops. It is associated with divine progress only at N 17-19, where the earth trembles under Poseidon's feet and Ω 79, where Iris dives into the sea to summon Thetis; the strain placed by Athena on Diomedes' chariot (E 838-839), perhaps also is intended to convey the notion. In the *Iliad*, comparisons to the wind describe only the movement of mortals. Prime examples of Homer's vivid expression of divine speed are Poseidon's travel to the battle field, covering the considerable distance between Aegae and Samothrace in four paces (N 20-1), thence proceeding rapidly over the sea by chariot (N 30), and Hera's instantaneous progress (E 770-2); comparisons to birds have already been noted.

<sup>233</sup>On seismic effects see p. 198; on speed as a typical grandiose feature, see Fenik, 115, and Vernant, 46, who considers it a means of expressing omniscience.

<sup>234</sup>The passage is clearly modeled on Apollonius *Arg.* 2. 538-9, also describing Athena: αὐτίκα δ' ἔσσυμένως νεφέλης ἐπιβᾶσα πόδεσσιν/κούφης . . . Note, however, that Quintus does not duplicate

to earth at 12. 163, and at 12. 191-5, the four major winds are Zeus' chariot team. Note that only here and at 8. 241-4 do Quintus' gods employ the chariot, their normal means of transportation in Homer.

### Other Physical Intervention

The gods of the *Posthomerica* often intervene physically in human affairs without apparently descending to earth. Most such interventions occur on the battlefield, when the gods act to protect their favorites, or when death results from divine manipulation of weapons. Other instances are the transportation of the corpses of Memnon and Glaucus, and of Memnon's followers; the removal of the arrow with which Apollo wounds Achilles; the tripping of Teucer in the foot-race in the funeral games; and alteration of the appearance of people or mundane objects. While there are Iliadic parallels for most of these actions, Quintus differs from Homer in that he ascribes relatively few to Olympian gods, attributing them instead to Fate or an unspecified deity. Also, the gods of the *Posthomerica* often effect from afar actions which, in the *Iliad*, they perform while physically present on earth. Such differences reduce divine participation in the action of the *Posthomerica*, and often avoid improprieties in Quintus' Homeric models.

Instances of the removal of favorites from danger closely follow Homeric models. Two such rescues occur in the *Posthomerica*. In the first, Deiphobus leads the Trojans, enjoying considerable success until he meets Neoptolemus (9. 255-69):

Καί νύ κέ μιν τάχα δουρὶ σὺν ἠνιόχῳ κατέπεφνευ	255
εἰ μή οἱ μέλαν αἶψα νέφος κατέχευεν Ἄπόλλων	
ἔκποθεν Οὐλύμποιο καὶ ἐξ ὀλοοῖο μόθοιο	
ἤρπασε καὶ μιν ἔθηκε <κατὰ> πτόλιν, ἦχι καὶ ἄλλοι	
Τρῶες ἴσαν φεύγοντες. Ὁ δ' ἐς κενεὴν δόρυ τύψας	
ἤερα Πηλεΐδαο πάϊς ποτὶ μῦθον ἔειπεν·	260
Ἵω κύον, ἐξήλυξας ἐμὸν μένος· οὐδὲ σοι ἀλκῆ	
ἰεμένῳ περ ἄλαλκε, θεῶν δέ τις ὅς σ' ἐκάλυψε	
νύκτα βαλῶν καθύπερθε καὶ ἐκ κακότητος ἔρυσσεν·	
Ἵως ἄρ' ἔφη· δνοφερὸν δὲ νέφος καθύπερθε Κρονίων	

εὐτ' ὀμίχλην διέχευε· λύθη δ' εἰς ἡέρα μακρὴν. 265  
 Αὐτίκα δ' ἐξεφάνη παδίον καὶ πᾶσα περὶ χθῶν·  
 Τρῶας δ' εἰσενόησεν ἀπόπροθι πολλὸν ἔοντας  
 Σκαιῆς ἀμφὶ πύλῃσιν· ἔβη δ' ἄρα πατρὶ ἑοικῶς  
 ἀντία δυσμενέων οἷ μιν φοβέοντο κίοντα.

[Neoptolemus] soon would have slain him and his charioteer with his spear, had not Apollo immediately poured down a black cloud from Olympus, snatched him out of the deadly mêlée and put him down in the city, whither the other Trojans, routed, were going. Peleides' son struck thin air with his spear and said, "Dog, you have escaped my strength. Not your own courage, as you desired, but some god, defended you; he hid you, throwing night down on you and rescuing you from peril."

So he spoke. And from on high, the son of Cronus dispersed the dark cloud like a mist, and it dissolved into thin air. Immediately the plain and all the countryside were visible. [Neoptolemus] realized that the Trojans were far off, around the Scaean gates, and like his father, he pursued the enemy, who feared his approach.

This passage is closely modeled on Y 443-54,<sup>235</sup> where Apollo rescues Hector from Achilles; Quintus' emphasis on the likeness of Neoptolemus to his father (9. 268) reinforces the allusion. Quintus maintains the well-known distinction between the poet's narrative, where the god who acts is named (9. 256), and the human comment, where he is unspecified (9. 262). In the model, Achilles is quite certain that Hector has been rescued by his patron, Apollo (Y 450-1); Neoptolemus, however, remains vague. Here, as elsewhere in the *Posthomerica*, Quintus makes little of the notion of divine patronage.

At 11. 288-97, Aphrodite rescues Aeneas in similar fashion:

Καὶ τότε ἄρ' Αἰνεΐαν ἐρικυδέα δῖ' Ἀφροδίτη,  
 ἧ ῥα μέγα στενάχιζεν Ἀλεξάνδροιο δαμέντος,  
 αὐτὴ ἀπὸ πτολέμοιο καὶ οὐλομένης ὑσμίνης 290  
 ἤρπασεν ἐσσυμένως, περὶ δ' ἡέρα χεύατο πουλὴν·  
 οὐ γὰρ ἔτ' αἰσιμον ἦεν ἀνὰ μόθον ἀνέρι κείνω  
 μάρωασθ' Ἀργείοισι πρὸ τείχος αἰπεινοῖο.

<sup>235</sup>Vian, *Suite II*: 190, 220, n. 3, compares the passages line-by-line, and notes parallel details from other Iliadic passages; also, P. Kakridis, 80-1.

Τῶ καὶ ἄδην ἀλέεινε περίφρονα Τριτογένειαν  
 ἐκ θυμοῦ Δαναοῖσιν ἀρηγέμεναι μεμαυῖαν  
 μὴ καὶ ὑπὲρ Κῆράς μιν ἔλη θεός· οὐδὲ γὰρ αὐτοῦ  
 φείσατο πρόσθεν Ἄρης ὃ περ πολὺ φέρτερος ἦεν.

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**Then, greatly mourning slain Alexander, divine Aphrodite herself quickly snatched famous Aeneas out of the baneful tumult, and poured mist about him. For it was no longer fated for that man to contend with the Greeks in the mêlée before the high walls. [Aphrodite] also greatly feared wise Tritogeneia, eager in her heart to aid the Danaans, lest the goddess kill him even contrary to Fate. For previously she did not spare Ares himself, who was much mightier [than Aeneas].**

Here again, divine intervention is explicitly said to ensure the fated outcome of events (11. 292, 296).<sup>236</sup> Mention of Aphrodite's grief for Paris (11. 289) reinforces the point:

Aphrodite may mourn Paris, but she does nothing to help him when his time comes in the previous book of the *Posthomerica*. This rescue of Aeneas recalls his rescue from Diomedes in E, and the reminiscence is strengthened by reference to Ares (11. 296-7).

The context of the Iliadic passage abounds in unseemly divine behavior; because of her subsequent treatment at the hands of Athena and Diomedes, Aphrodite's rescue of her son there hardly contributes to a dignified portrayal of the goddess. In the *Posthomerica*, however, Aphrodite's rescue of Aeneas avoids, rather than provokes, a confrontation with Athena, who is aiding the Greeks (11. 284-7).

The rescues of Deiphobus and Aeneas exhibit several characteristic tendencies of Quintus' representation of the divine. The rescues are tied to instances in which gods descend to earth, that of Deiphobus precipitating Apollo's rallying of the Trojans at 9. 291-300, and that of Aeneas (who has been exhorted by Apollo at 11. 129-45) resulting

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<sup>236</sup>The idea of Aeneas' fated survival is found at Y 288-340; Quintus' substitution of Aphrodite for Poseidon in the preservation of Aeneas both is appropriate to her role as the hero's mother and reflects the goddess' increased prestige in the *Posthomerica*. cf. also Ab *ad* Y 443, and Eustathius 680. 40 *ad* H 272, which interpret Apollo's rescues of Hector as in keeping with Fate, and bT *ad* Γ 375, which uses the same rationale to explain Athena's failure to aid Menelaus; cf. Eustathius (911. 10 *ad* M 397-405) on Zeus' protection of Hector, who is fated to die not by the ships but in the plain.

from Athena's intervention in the battle at 11. 284-7. But Apollo and Aphrodite are not said to descend to earth to rescue their proteges. Rescues without descent do occur in the *Iliad*, but those effected by gods present on the field are equally numerous, treated at greater length, and more famous.<sup>237</sup> The rescues of the *Posthomerica* avoid difficulties posed by some of the Homeric examples. Apollo's rescue of the current Trojan champion and Aphrodite's of her son are perfectly logical. Both those rescued are also important characters; in contrast to Homer, Quintus never extends this saving grace to such relatively minor characters as Agenor (Φ 596-607), Idaeus (E 20-4), or Polydamas (Ο 520-3).<sup>238</sup> Nor does Quintus connect divine favor with religious practice, as does Homer, who attributes Hephaestus' rescue of Idaeus and Apollo's of Polydamas to the fact that both warriors' fathers are priests of the gods in question.<sup>239</sup> The rescues in the *Posthomerica* avoid aspects of similar Homeric passages, which were criticized as unseemly, such as physical contact (or imagery of physical contact) between god and man, or the use of decoys. Nor are rescues in the *Posthomerica* easily capable of allegorization, as, for instance is Tiber's rescue of Turnus at *Aen.* 8. 812-8.

In four cases, the gods of the *Posthomerica* intervene in battle to protect their favorites. At 13. 389-90, the vengeful Menelaus would have killed Helen. ". . . had not lovely Aphrodite restrained his strength: she dashed the sword from his hand, and stopped

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<sup>237</sup>Of rescues without descent, Y 443-54 has already been noted; others are: E 22-3, Hephaestus veils Idaeus in mist; H 272, Apollo puts Hector back on his feet. Gods are physically present in the cooperative rescue of Aeneas by Aphrodite and Apollo (E 311-17, 344-6, 432-53, 512-4); Poseidon's rescue of Aeneas (Y 318-29); and Apollo's rescue of Agenor (Φ 596-607). Aphrodite's rescue of Paris at Γ 380-2 is accomplished without her descending, though she does so at Γ 383.

Vian, *Suite III*, 60, 213, n. 2, regards E 311-17, 445-8 as the direct models of 11. 290-1. The greatest similarity, however, is the involvement of Aeneas and Aphrodite; both the veiling in mist and snatching up of the protege are elements of virtually all Homeric rescues.

<sup>238</sup>Compare the attribution of divine ancestry, ch. 3, pp. 118-21. On the incidental nature of Zeus' proposed rescue of Sarpedon, see Adkins (1972) 15.

<sup>239</sup>The Scholiasts approve such actions (bT *ad* E 23: πεπαιδευμεθα δε ημεις ευσεβειν), on the paucity of Quintus' reference to priests, etc., see ch. 6, p. 335.

his attack" (εἰ μὴ οἱ κατέρυξε βίην ἐρέεσσ' Ἀφροδίτη/ἢ ῥά οἱ ἐκ χειρῶν ἔβαλε ξίφος, ἔσχε δ' ἐρωήν). It is tempting to view Aphrodite here as an allegorical figure, and to interpret the lines as signifying only that Menelaus is overcome by lust at the sight of his wife.<sup>240</sup> In other versions of the story (Tzetzes, *Posthomeric* 601; Euripides, *Andromache*, 629; Aristophanes, *Lysistrata*, 155-6), Menelaus is moved by the sight of Helen's bared bosom, but this is not the case in the *Posthomeric*. Quintus' Aphrodite clearly affects Menelaus' hand as well as his mind; the verbal similarity with Ψ 384, where Apollo knocks Diomedes' whip from his hand (ἐκ χειρῶν ἔβαλεν μάστιγα), an unquestionably physical action, is striking.

Aphrodite also aids Aeneas' escape from the city (13. 326-32):

... Κύπρις δ' ὁδὸν ἡγεμόνευεν  
 υἱώνων καὶ παῖδα καὶ ἀνέρα πῆματος αἰνοῦ  
 πρόφρων ῥυομένη· τοῦ δ' ἔσσυμένου ὑπὸ ποσσὶ  
 πάντῃ πῦρ ὑπόεικε, περισχίζοντο δ' αὐτμαὶ  
 Ἥφαιστου μαλεροῖο, καὶ ἔγκεα καὶ βέλε' ἀνδρῶν  
 πῖπτον ἐτώσια πάντα κατὰ χθονὸς ὀππὸς Ἀχαιοὶ  
 κείνῳ ἐπέρριψαν πολέμῳ ἐνὶ δακρυόεντι.

330

Cypris showed the way, carefully saving from dreadful disaster her grandson, child and husband. As Aeneas hastened on, everywhere the fire gave way before his feet and the breath of raging Hephaestus parted, and the spears and arrows of men which the Achaeans hurled at him in the tearful battle fell uselessly to the ground.

Nothing has been said of Aphrodite's arrival at the mundane level, and Quintus certainly makes nothing of her presence, in contrast to other versions of the story, most notably Virgil's, in which she leads Aeneas through the streets.<sup>241</sup> ὁδὸν ἡγεμόνευεν (13. 326) can be understood to mean "made a path for."<sup>242</sup> The goddess' action seems to be the creation of a sort of safe corridor by turning aside fire and weapons (13. 328-32).

<sup>240</sup>Note that the goddess almost never appears in vase-paintings of the scene (Henle, 52-3, 239)

<sup>241</sup>For other versions see Vian, *Suite III*, pp. 142, 228, n. 2 and 3, and (1959) 56-7.

<sup>242</sup>Φ 258 ῥοόν ἡγεμονεύη (a channel for water) provides a parallel.

Twice, divine protection of favorites results in the deaths of others. At 11. 478-83.

**Aphrodite deflects an arrow which Philoctetes aims at Aeneas:**

... ἄλλ' οἱ οὐ τι δι' ἀσπίδος ἀκαμάτοιο  
 ἐς χροῶν καλὸν ἴκαν' (ἀπέτραπε γὰρ Κυθήρεια  
 καὶ σάκος), ἄλλ' ἄρα τυτθὸν ἐπέχραε δέρμα βοείης. 480  
 Οὐδ' ἄρα μαφιδίως χαμάδις πέσεν, ἀλλὰ Μίμαντα  
 μεσσηγὺς σάκεός τε καὶ ἵπποκόμου τρυφαλείης  
 τύψεν . . .

... it did not penetrate the strong shield to his beautiful flesh (for Cythereia and the shield turned it aside), but barely touched the oxhide. It did not fall to the earth in vain, but hit Mimas between his shield and the horsehair plume of his helmet.

This is an instance of double causation, the arrow being turned by Aphrodite and the shield. Dawn alone, but in similar fashion, (note the parallel wording of 11. 479 and 2.

290) turns the Greeks spears from Memnon (2. 289-94):

... ἀπέπλαγθεν γὰρ οἱ αἰχμαῖ  
 τῆλε χροός μάλα γὰρ που ἀπέτραπεν Ἥριγένεια. 290  
 Δούρατα δ' οὐχ ἀλίως χαμάδις πέσεν· ἄλλ' ὁ μὲν ὦκα  
 ἐμμεμαῶς κατέπεφε Πολύμνιον υἱὰ Μέγητος  
 Φηρεὺς ὄβριμόθυμος, ὃ δ' ἔκτανε Λαομέδοντα  
 Νέστορος ὄβριμος υἱός . . .

... [T]he points missed him, for Dawn turned them away from his skin. But the spears did not fall vainly to the ground: Mighty-hearted Phereus in his eager haste killed Meges' son Polymnius, and Nestor's mighty son slew Laomedon . . .

There is considerable Homeric precedent for gods protecting their favorites in this fashion, both with and without fatal consequences for bystanders. In some of these Homeric instances, the gods are clearly present on the field.<sup>243</sup> and some of these passages are open

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<sup>243</sup>Weapons deflected from afar: Δ 539-44, Athena is responsible for the Greeks escaping injury; M 402-3, Zeus protects Sarpedon from Teucer's arrow and Ajax' spear; Y 438-41, Athena diverts Hector's spear from Achilles. Also, at E 184-91, Pandarus suspects a god has deflected his arrow from Diomedes. Athena is aiding Diomedes, but is not said to have done this, though Zenodotus' athetization of the lines because the arrow misses, and Aristarchus' comparison of Δ 129 indicates that they saw divine action at work here. Kirk II: 79 ad E 187 regards this as the misuse of a common motif. Weapons deflected from afar





Ἔμπεσε δ' ἔγγυς ἔοντι δαίφρονι Δηϊκόφοντι

...

... οὐνεκα Μοῖραι  
ἀργαλέον βέλος ὥσαν ὅπη θέλον' ...

320

[H]e shot a sharp arrow, drawing straight at Agenor. But he did not hit his mark; [Agenor] barely avoided it. It struck warlike Deiphontes, who was near him . . . because the Moirae directed the cruel missile where they wished.

And the same pattern is found at 10. 210-21, Paris attempts to stop the rampaging

Philoctetes:

Ἦκε δ' ἀπὸ νευρῆφι θοὸν βέλος· . . . 210

. . . Ὅ δ' οὐχ ἄλιον φύγε χειρῶν·

καί ῥ' αὐτοῦ μὲν ἄμαρτεν ἀλευαμένου μάλα τυτθόν,

ἀλλ' ἔβαλε(ν) Κλεόδωρον ἀγακλειτόν περ ἔοντα

βαιὸν ὑπὲρ μαζοῖο, διήλασε δ' ἀχρὶς ἐς ὤμον.

Οὐ γὰρ ἔχεν σάχος εὐρύ, τό οἱ λυγρὸν ἔσχεν ὄλεθρον· 215

ἀλλ' ὅ γε γυμνὸς ἐὼν ἀνεχάζετο· τοῦ γὰρ ἀπ' ὤμων

Πολυδάμας ἀπάραξε σάκος πελαμῶνα δαίξας

βουπλήγι στιβαρῶ· ὁ δ' ἐχάσσατο μαρνάμενός περ

αἰχμῇ ἀνιηρῇ, στονόεις δέ οἱ ἔμπεσεν ἰὸς

ἄλλοθεν αἴξας· ὥς γὰρ νύ που ἤθελε δαίμων 220

θήσειν αἰνὸν ὄλεθρον εὐφρονος υἱεὶ Λέρνου

[Paris] sent a swift arrow from the bow-string . . . It did not leave his hands in vain, although it missed [Philoctetes] who barely avoided it. Instead it hit famous Cleodorus a bit above the breast, and went through to the shoulder. He did not have his broad shield to stop grim destruction, but was withdrawing unprotected, for Polydorus had cut through the baldric of the shield with a stroke of his massive axe; and he was withdrawing still fighting with his dreadful spear. But the woeful arrow speeding from another direction fell upon him. Thus in some way a god wished to bring dreadful destruction to the son of wise Lemus.

In these passages, the actions of unspecified divine entities have precisely the same effect as actions elsewhere performed by Olympians. Homer never attributes such actions to Fate or δαίμων. Quintus' doing so serves to limit Olympian participation to more important events.

This tendency is also apparent when the gods guide random shots to a mark or break. At 6. 558-9, 561-2, Alcimedon "sent a killing stone from his sling into the dreadful tumult of the enemy . . . Deadly Moira carried it to Hippasides, the brave charioteer of Pammon . . . (ἤκε . . . δηίων ἐς φύλοπιν αἰνήν /σφενδόνη ἀλγινόεντα λίθον . . . /Τὸν δ' ὀλοή φέρε μοῖρα ποτὶ θρασὺν ἠνιοχῆα/Πάμμονος Ἴππασίδην . . .). 11. 108-9, 118-20 is similar:

Εὐρύαλος δ' ἄρα πολλὸν ἀπὸ στιβατρῆς βάλε χειρὸς  
 λᾶα μέγαν. Τρώων δὲ θεὸς ἐλέλιξε φάλαγγας . . .  
 . . .  
 . . . τὸ δ' οὐχ ἄλιον φέρε δαίμων.  
 ἀλλ' ἄρα σὺν πῆληκι κάρη κερατεροιο Μέλητοες  
 θλάσσε περὶ πληγῆσι· μόρος δ' ἐκίχανεν ἀρητὸς

120

From afar Euryalus threw a great stone from his massive hand and shook the swift lines of the Trojans . . . A divine power guided it, not in vain: it struck and crushed the helmet and head of strong Meles, and unspeakable death overtook him.

And at 10.104-8 Eurymenes is killed:

. . . Καὶ νύ κεν ἔργον ἔρεξεν ἀπείριτον ἐν δαί κείνος.  
 εἰ μὴ οἱ χεῖρές τ' ἔκαμον καὶ δούρατος αἰχμῆ  
 πολλὸν ἀνεγνάμφθη· ξίφελος δὲ οἱ οὐκέτι κώπη  
 ἔσθενεν· ἀλλὰ μιν Αἴσα διέκλασε· <τὸν δ'> ὑπ' ἄκοντι  
 τύψε κατὰ στομάχοιο Μέγης· . . .

105

. . . He might have accomplished a measureless deed that day, had not his hands grown tired and the point of his spear been bent completely back. There was no longer strength in the hilt of his sword; Aisa broke it, and Meges hit him with a javelin, below the throat.

Here, the deaths of minor characters result from the intervention of Fate or δαίμων. In the *Iliad*, all instances of the manipulation of weapons, are performed by the Olympians.<sup>247</sup>

<sup>247</sup>Vian, *Suite III*: 21, n. 1, cites Π 801-4 as a parallel for 10. 104-8, noting the similarities between Eurymenes' and Patroclus' failing strength and broken arms. But Apollo is clearly present, and physically strikes Patroclus. The closest parallel, though with less lethal consequences, is Athena's breaking of the yoke of Eumeles' chariot (Ψ 391-2). In other instances, Zeus protects Hector (whom de Jong, 71, calls "the instrument of [Zeus'] will") by breaking Teucer's bow-string (Ο 461-70); Aphrodite breaks Paris' chin-

There are close verbal similarities to O 631-3, where Ajax remarks that Zeus is helping the Trojans because all their missiles find marks, while those of the Greeks drop uselessly to the ground, but there it is a mortal character,<sup>248</sup> not the poet who attributes this action to what may be regarded as an unspecified deity. A near parallel, however, is found in at *Aeneid* 12. 321-2, where of the wounding of Aeneas Virgil asks rhetorically "whether chance or god brought" (. . . *casusne deusne/ attulerit* . . .) the arrow to its mark. Virgil, like Quintus, avoids stating that a god causes this harm; also in the *Posthomeric* attribution of this action to Fate or δαίμων simply limits the participation of the Olympians.

Certain related actions mentioned in the *Iliad* are entirely absent from the *Posthomeric*. Twice Athena manipulates weapons to ensure that her favorites are only lightly wounded: thus while present on the field she protects Menelaus (Δ 126-40), and from afar Socus (Λ 435-8).<sup>249</sup> Also absent are rescues effected by the use of decoys (as at E 449-53 and Φ 599-605), and the return of weapons (Υ 324-5; Χ 275-7). Both types of action are open to criticism. Decoying involves deception; the return of weapons is connected with the deception of Hector (Χ 275-7) and with Poseidon's excessively physical rescue of Aeneas.<sup>250</sup>

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strap (Γ 373-5); Menelaus also suspects that his sword breaks as a result of divine intervention (Γ 360-8), although Homer has not yet mentioned any; Poseidon, present on the field, breaks Adamas' spear (Ν 560-5)

<sup>248</sup> Zeus is in fact helping the Trojans at this point, though the poet does not say how. In other instances mortal characters correctly attribute divine protection to other Olympians, but these are the likely patrons of those protected. T ad O 490-3 thinks Hector is truly under Zeus' protection; for good reason. Eustathius (1025. 15) ad O 461-2 notes that at O 254 Apollo has told Hector this.

<sup>249</sup> Similarly, at *Aeneid* 10. 330-2, Venus causes some weapons to be deflected by Aeneas' armor, and others only to graze him.

<sup>250</sup> On Φ 599-605 and Χ 275-7 see pp. 229-31; on Υ 324-5, p. 255. The manipulation of Aeneas' spear at *Aeneid* 12. 766-8 is more fantastic than similar action in the *Posthomeric*, but avoids these improprieties, separating the return of the weapon from, rather than linking it to, the aid of a disguised deity. The spear is held fast, in response to Turnus' prayer by Faunus, in a tree sacred to him which the Trojans have damaged. It is returned by Venus only when Juturna, disguised as Metiscus, comes to

Three instances of divine intervention, the transportation of Memnon's and Glaucus' corpses, and of Apollo's arrow, are scarcely or not at all perceived by mortal characters, and have little effect. The removal of Memnon's corpse by the winds at Dawn's command (2. 550-2, 567-9, 585-7) has already been discussed. The corpse of Glaucus is removed not from the battlefield, but from its funeral pyre (4. 4-6):

... Τὸν δ' αὐτὸς Ἀπόλλων  
 ἐκ πυρὸς αἰθομένοιο μάλ' ἔσσυμένως ἀναείρας 5  
 δῶκε θεοῖς Ἀνέμοισι φέρειν Λυκίης σχεδὸν αἴης·

... Apollo himself quickly lifted [Glaucus] from the blazing fire, and gave him to the winds to bear to Lycia.

In both cases, the transportation of the corpse is overseen by an appropriate deity. In both also, transportation is accomplished by the winds, for whose performance of this action there is little precedent.<sup>251</sup> The Winds' transportation of the bodies is, as has been noted, probably due to Quintus' desire to avoid unseemly contact between gods and corpses. Note that Virgil, too, alludes to and alters the Homeric model for both these passages (the removal of the Lycian Sarpedon's corpse from the field, Π 666-83), omitting not only the "morbid details of the cleansing of the corpse."<sup>252</sup> but the narration of the action itself: rather, Diana merely states proleptically that she will honor Camilla in this fashion.<sup>253</sup>

At 3. 86-9, after Achilles pulls it from his foot, the winds bear off the arrow with which Apollo has wounded him:

... τὸ δ' ἄρ' αἶψα κιοῦσαι

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Turnus' aid. cf. also Athena's return of Diomedes' whip (Ψ 388-90) a similar action also at odds with divine dignity, on which see p. 271.

<sup>251</sup>Vian, *Suite I*: 99, 170, n. 5, notes Quintus' innovation in attributing actions to the winds

<sup>252</sup>Schlunk, 12, though his discussion (12-14) is more concerned with the Diana's sentimentality than the notion of pollution.

<sup>253</sup>*Aen.* 11. 593-4: post ego nube cava miserandae corpus et arma  
 inspoliata feram tumulo patriae reponam.



fact that the scholiasts "did regard the interest of the gods as lending solemnity and distinction to the games,"<sup>256</sup> both Virgil and Quintus were troubled by the nature of the divine interventions in Patroclus' funeral games.<sup>257</sup> There, in addition to the tripping of Ajax, Apollo knocks away Diomedes' whip, Athena returns it, then breaks the yoke of Eumeles' chariot and breathes strength into Diomedes' horses, ensuring that he wins (Ψ 383-400); Apollo causes Teucer to miss the popinjay in the archery contest (Ψ 865); and Athena answers Odysseus' prayer for speed (Ψ 768-71). The funeral games of the *Aeneid* are marked by divine aid in the ship race (5. 235-43), and portentous events (5. 84-93; 485-515).<sup>258</sup> Virgil considerably reduces the level of divine involvement from the original and elevates the nature what he represents. Quintus effects much the same sort of changes at 4. 200-2, the only instance of divine involvement in the funeral games of the *Posthomeric*. Both Quintus and Virgil avoid the Homeric playing out of rivalries by Apollo and Athena. Nor, in contrast to the *Iliad*, does divine intervention in the games of the *Aeneid*<sup>259</sup> or the *Posthomeric* cause harm. Note also that the various rationales given by ancient commentators for the divine actions in the funeral games of the *Iliad* are themselves at odds with the norms of the *Posthomeric*. There can be no possibility in this poem of a god seeking retribution against a mortal who has attacked him (as bT *ad* Ψ 383 explains Apollo's initial attack on Diomedes). Quintus also limits references to magical objects, which figure in some explanations of Ψ 383;<sup>260</sup> to prayer and sacrifice, which

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<sup>256</sup>Schlunk, 14-5, citing bT *ad* Ψ 383; see also de Jong, 76.

<sup>257</sup>Heinze, 134-5. Schlunk, 14-5. The present assessment of Virgil's response to Homer is essentially Schlunk's.

<sup>258</sup> 485-515 occurs during the archery contest, and may modify Ψ 865, limiting and rendering more vague the divine action.

<sup>259</sup>As noted by Heinze, 135.

<sup>260</sup>Apollo's anger at Diomedes perhaps results from the fact that he races against the horses which Apollo nurtured (B 766); for discussion, see Yamagata, 96.

account for Ψ 865;<sup>261</sup> and the use of allegory, which is applied to Athena's actions.<sup>262</sup>

Quintus' treatment of divine involvement in the games, then, eliminates from his epic an undignified incident, and displays his tendency to ascribe divine involvement in minor incidents, especially harmful ones, to unspecified deities, limiting Olympian action to matters of greater import.

A less direct type of intervention is the divine alteration of appearance or condition. This occurs once in the *Iliad* (B 478-83), where Zeus makes Agamemnon extremely distinguished in appearance, like Zeus, Ares, or Poseidon, and frequently in the *Odyssey*, where Athena aids Odysseus, making him seem larger and neatly barbered (ζ 229-35; ψ 156-62), cleanly dressed and youthful (π 173-6) and more powerful (σ 68-9), and, for purposes of disguise, aged and filthy (ν 429-31). Quintus follows these models of Athena's beautification of Odysseus quite closely at 9. 483-4, where after Philoctetes returns to the army and is healed of his wound "noble Tritogeneia imbues him with size and radiance" (. . . οἱ μέγεθός τε καὶ ἀγλαΐην κατέχευεν/ἔσθλη Τριτογένεια).<sup>263</sup>

Several similar actions in the *Posthomerica* seem to be variations:<sup>264</sup> Aphrodite beautifies Penthesileia's corpse (. . . μιν ἔτευξε . . . ἀγητήν. I. 666); Zeus makes Memnon and Achilles "tireless and larger, like not men, but gods" (τεῦξε δ' ἄρ'

<sup>261</sup>bT *ad* Ψ 865 maintains that the incident promotes piety: Teucer misses, and Meriones hits, because the former has omitted, and the latter made, a vow to Apollo; for discussion, see de Jong, 65-6; Yamagata, 123

<sup>262</sup>Eustathius (1307 *ad* Ψ 388) minimizes divine intervention generally, equating it with luck, and interprets Athena's return of Diomedes' whip as signifying that he had the foresight to carry a spare. Kirk VI 225 *ad* Ψ 768-9, following bT *ad* Ψ 772, remarks that "Athena represents Odysseus' μητις, which allows him to know when to put on the spurt and this action distracts Ajax, who slips and falls "

<sup>263</sup>Vian, *Suite II*: 199, 222, n. 7 cites ζ 229-31, π 173-6, and σ 68-9 as parallels for 9. 483-4; p 63 is also similar. He faults the intervention of Athena here, maintaining that "une intervention d' Asclépios eût été plus logique, puis que c'est ce dieu qui opère la guérison proprement dite" at 9. 464-6 This, however, is not quite the case. Podalireus performs the treatment, says Quintus, "calling on his father" (9. 464-5), and Philoctetes is healed ἀθανάτων ἰότητι (9. 469).

<sup>264</sup>On the similarity of these passages, see P. Kakridis, 23.

ἀκαμάτους καὶ μείζονας, οὐδὲν ὁμοίους/ἀνδράσιν, ἀλλὰ θεοῖσιν, 2. 459-60);<sup>265</sup> Athena beautifies the corpse of Achilles with ambrosia (στάζε δ' ἄρ' ἀμβροσίην κατὰ κρέατος . . . θῆκε δ' ἄρ' ἐρσήεντα καὶ εἴκελον ἀμπνεῖοντι, 3. 534, 6),<sup>266</sup> gives him a fierce expression (σμερδαλέον δ' ἄρα τεύξεν ἐπισκύνιον περὶ νεκρῶ, 3. 537), and makes him appear larger and more war-like (βριθύτερον δ' ἄρα θῆκε δέμας καὶ ἄρειον ἰδέσθαι, 3. 540). Two other passages are less closely akin to the Homeric models, but still probably developed from them. At 8. 494-6, after the day's fighting, "Thetis removed the groaning weariness of [Neoptolemus'] limbs and made him seem tireless" (. . . οἱ στονόεντα Θέτις μελεδήματα γυῖων/ἐξέλετ', ἀκαμήτω δ' ἐναλίγκιον εἰσοράασθαι/τεύξεν . . .). And at 12. 155-6, Athena alters the appearance (or men's perception) of the wooden horse: "She made the work a wonder to all those on earth, who saw it or later learned of it" (καὶ ῥά οἱ ἔργον ἔτευξεν ἐπιχθονίοισιν ἀγητὸν/πᾶσιν, ὅσοι μιν ἴδοντο καὶ οἱ μετόπισθε πύθοντο).

The most obvious difference between Homer's and Quintus' references to the alteration of appearance is that while in the *Odyssey* Athena is clearly present in three cases (ν 429-31; π 172-6; σ 68-9) and accomplishes two through physical contact with a magic wand (ν 429; π 172). Quintus makes nothing of the gods' physical presence. Also, in the *Posthomerica* the changes accomplished are only generally stated. Quintus does not give the Homeric specifics of barbering, youthful appearance, and cleanliness (ζ 230; π 173-6).<sup>267</sup> The lack of detail and the possibility that the action is undertaken from afar are

<sup>265</sup>As Vian *Suite I*: 73, 127, n. 7 notes, the wording is borrowed from Apollonius *Arg.* 3. 1042-5, the effect of Medea's magical protective salve

<sup>266</sup>Roussel, 378 regards this as careless imitation of Homer. As Achilles is not long unburied, the preservative properties of ambrosia, applied to Patroclus by Thetis (Τ 38-9) and Hector by Aphrodite (Ψ 186-7), are not needed here. Ambrosia is used for the beautification of Penelope (σ 188-96), however, and as a deodorant (δ 444-6); on its properties, see Clay (1982) 116

<sup>267</sup>Description is most detailed at 3. 537-9, where Quintus says Achilles' expression is that which he wore when Patroclus died. This vagueness is not merely a stylistic quirk: 12. 138-45, e. g., the enumeration of the parts of the wooden horse, is very specific.



particularly significant in the case of 3. 534-40, permitting Quintus to avoid the issue of "unseemly" contact between gods and corpses. The representation of divine action from afar may also emphasize divine power.<sup>268</sup>

These alterations of appearance, like many other divine actions in the *Posthomerica*, tend to be unnecessary. Only the beautification of Penthesileia, undertaken "to grieve the blameless son of Peleus" (ὄφρα τε καὶ Πηλῆος ἀμύμονος υἱὶ ἀκαχίῃσιν, 1. 668), which eases the narrative transition to the killing of Thersites, and the finishing touches Athena puts on the wooden horse have any stated purpose. Neither, however, is as necessary to the plot as the beautification of Odysseus at ζ 229-31, prior to his meeting with Nausicaa. Like the Homeric passages upon which they are modeled, alterations of appearance in the *Posthomerica* signal the gods' concern for those who are affected, and are a form of αὐξήσις, highlighting their importance.<sup>269</sup> But such actions in the *Posthomerica* have little effect on the course events, and merely add to the gloss of divine involvement.

Divine Action and Natural Phenomena Several times in the *Posthomerica*, divine action is linked with various phenomena. These are here divided between portentous phenomena and events which though divinely caused, are not, and do not seem intended to be, perceived as such by mortal characters.

Two instances of portentous divine activity in the *Posthomerica* adhere closely to Homeric models. 8. 427-84, where at the request of Ganymede, Zeus conceals the city in mist and drives off the Greeks with thunderbolts to prevent its taking by storm, has

<sup>268</sup>So bT *ad* A 55 and Kirk I: 59 *ad loc.* Dietrich (1983) 60 notes that it is very unusual in Homer for any god save Zeus to act from afar.

<sup>269</sup>Kirk I: 166 *ad* B 482, following bT *ad loc.*, interprets the beautification of Agamemnon as a sign of especial favor to a king. Eustathius (258. 15-20) as an expression of his kingly characteristics. Eustathius interprets the beautification of Odysseus as a sign of divine favor (1798.50 *ad* π 172), and as a manifestation of his excellent φύσις (1561.10 *ad* ζ 231).

already been discussed. At 12. 93-100, Neoptolemus and Philoctetes are similarly prevented from storming the city:

Καί νύ κεν αἴψ' ἐτέλεσσαν, ὅσα σφισιν ἤθελε θυμός,  
 εἰ μὴ Ζεὺς νεμέσησεν ἀπ' αἴθερος, ἀμφὶ δὲ γαῖαν  
 Ἄργείων ἐλέλιξεν ὑπαι ποσί, σὺν δ' ἐτίναξεν 95  
 ἥερα πᾶσαν ὑπερθε, βάλεν δ' ἀκάμαντα κεραυνὸν  
 ἠρώων προπάροιθεν· ὑπεσμαργάγησε δὲ πᾶσα  
 Δαρδανίη· Τῶν δ' αἴψα μετετρέπετ' ἠὺ νόημα  
 ἐς φόβον· ἐκ δ' ἐλάθοντο βίης καὶ κάρτερος ἔσθλοῦ,  
 καὶ ῥα κλυτῷ Κάλχαντι καὶ οὐκ ἐθέλοντε πίθοντο. 100

And they would have done this immediately, had not Zeus shown displeasure from the aether. He shook the earth beneath the Argives' feet, and the air above, throwing his irresistible thunderbolt down before the heroes, and it echoed through all Dardania. And immediately he caused their bold minds to fear. They forgot their might and noble strength, and though unwilling heeded famous Calchas.

Like 8. 427-84, this passage is modeled closely on Θ 133-6,<sup>270</sup> employing the same motif of the admonitory thunderbolt. The passage requires no further discussion save to note that it is an archetypal "if not" scene, where Zeus himself prevents the taking of the city by storm, an action which would violate the fated course of events.

Other portentous divine actions have less clear or no Homeric models. All are, however, well-known elements of the traditional story of the fall of Troy. The first is the chastisement of Laocoon. In this episode, mortals are unquestionably injured by divine action, he being blinded by Athena (12. 401-14) and his sons devoured by the sea-serpents she sends (12. 447-78). Quintus can hardly avoid these traditional features of the story.<sup>271</sup> Quintus' narration of them, however, emphasizes their necessity to ensure the proper course of Fate.

<sup>270</sup>Vian, *Suite III*, 92, n. 4, notes line-by-line parallels between 12. 93-100 and Θ 130-8. For parallels in late sources, see Campbell, 34.

<sup>271</sup>Quintus' and Virgil's versions of the episode are compared in detail to each other and to what is known of others versions by Heinze, 9-14, 38-49. The present discussion accepts that Quintus does not know Virgil

By this point in the narrative, it has been established that Troy cannot be taken by storm, and that the wooden horse is the fated means of the city's fall. But Laocoon's declaration that the horse is a Greek trick and his exhortation to burn it (summarized in indirect discourse, 12. 391-4) are persuasive (12. 395-401):

Καί νύ κέ οἱ πεπίθοντο καὶ ἐξήλυξαν ὄλεθρον	395
εἰ μὴ Τριτογένεια κοτεσσαμένη περὶ θυμῷ	
αὐτῷ καὶ Τρώεσσι καὶ ἄστει γαῖαν ἔνερθε	
θεσπεσίην ἐλέλιξεν ὑπαὶ ποσὶ Λαοκόωντος.	
Τῷ δ' ἄφαρ ἔμπεσε δεῖμα, τρόμος δ' ἀμφέκλασε γυῖα	
ἄνδρὸς ὑπερθύμοιο· μέλαινα δέ οἱ περὶ κρατὶ	400
νύξ ἐχύθη· στυγερὸν δὲ κατὰ βλεφάρων πέσεν ἄλγος	

And [the Trojans] would have heeded him and escaped destruction, had not Tritogeneia, angry in her heart at him and the Trojans and their city, mysteriously shaken the earth beneath Laocoon's feet. Immediately, the presumptuous man was terror-stricken, and his knees trembled. Black night settled around his head, and loathsome pain fell upon his eyes . . .

Laocoon then, very nearly thwarts the fated fall of the city, and divine intervention is necessary to stop him, as the "if not" construction at 12. 394-5 makes clear.

Quintus so handles the episode as to suggest that Athena's action has a further purpose. It follows immediately on the speech of Sinon, which concludes with the statement that he escaped sacrifice by clinging as a suppliant to the horse (ostensibly a propitiatory offering to Athena, 12. 377-9), because of the Greeks' reverence for the goddess (ἀζόμενόι μεγάλοιο Διὸς κρατερόφρονα κούρην, 12. 386). The idea that the horse is sacred to Athena is thus clearly in the reader's as well as the Trojans' mind. The notion of sacrilege is reinforced by the application to Laocoon of the epithet "presumptuous (ὑπερθύμοιο, 12. 400). Certainly each stage of Laocoon's torment is prompted by his continued intransigence. Undaunted by the earthquake and painful dimming of his sight (12. 396-412), "still [Laocoon] exhorted the Trojans, and did not heed his pain" (. . . Καὶ ἔτι Τρώεσσι κέλευεν/οὐδ' ἀλέγιζε μόγοιο . . . 12. 412-3); it is at this point that he is permanently blinded (φάος δέ οἱ ἐσθλὸν ἄμερσε/δῖα θεή . . .

12. 413-4). Even in this state, after the horse is brought in to the city, he urges its burning (12. 444-5), and only then does "the great-hearted goddess Athena devised another torment for the unfortunate children of Laocoon" (τῶ δ' ἐπὶ κύντερον ἄλλο θεὰ μεγάθυμος Ἀθήνη/δυστήνοισ τεκέεσσιν ἐμήδετο Λαοκόωντος, 12. 447-8), who are eaten by the sea serpents she summons (12. 449-72). Each stage of Laocoon's punishment, then, responds to behavior of Laocoon which threatens the introduction of the horse into the city, jeopardizing the fated course of events. Note also that in contrast to other sources of the story, Quintus does not identify Laocoon as a priest;<sup>272</sup> he is introduced simply as one of the Trojans who are skeptical of Simon's story (12. 390-1). The changing reaction of the Trojans also highlights Laocoon's impiety. Although they recognize the earthquake and his blinding as signs of Athena's wrath (12. 415-20), they are at first sympathetic, pitying him and gently leading him into the city (12. 420-1). After he persists, however, only Laocoon and his wife mourn his sons (12. 484-8, 495-7).

Portentous activity also attends the rape of Cassandra. Athena, Hera and Enyo are delighted at the sack of the city (13. 420-9):

Ἄλλ' οὐ μὲν οὐδ' αὐτὴ εὐφρων Τριτογένεια	420
πάμπαν ἄδακρυς ἔην, ἐπεὶ ἦ ρά οἱ ἔνδοθι νηοῦ	
Κασσάνδρην ἤσχυεν Ὀϊλέος ὄβριμος υἱὸς	
θυμοῦ τ' ἠδὲ νόοιο βεβλαμμένος· Ἥ δέ οἱ αἰνὸν	
εἰσοπίσω βάλε πῆμα καὶ ἀνέρα τίσατο λώβης·	
Οὐδὲ οἱ ἔργον ἀεικὲς ἐσέδρακεν· ἀλλὰ οἱ αἰδῶς	425
καὶ χόλος ἀμφεχύνθη· βλοσυρὰς δ' ἔκστρεψεν ὀπωπᾶς	
νηὸν ἐς ὑπόροφον· περὶ δ' ἔβραχε θεῖον ἀγαλμα.	
καὶ δάπεδον νηοῖο μέγ' ἔτρεμεν· οὐδ' ὅ γε λυγρῆς	
λήγεν ἀτασθαλίας, ἐπεὶ ἦ φρένας ἄασε Κύπρις.	

But Tritogeneia of the great mind was not herself entirely without sorrow, for in her temple the bold son of Oileus, deranged in mind and spirit, defiled Cassandra. [Athena] hereafter avenged the insult, inflicting mortal suffering on the man. And she would not look upon his improper act; shame and anger enveloped her. She turned

<sup>272</sup>For testimonia, see Heinze, 40-1; Campbell, 177.

her eyes to her high-roofed temple, her divine image groaned aloud and the floor of the temple quaked greatly. But he did not desist from his evil recklessness, because lust deprived him of his wits.

Here, there is no question but that Ajax' predicted punishment is justified. More troubling is the apparent implication that Athena at this point is, or inhabits, her cult statue.<sup>273</sup>

Aversion of the statue's eyes is found in various late sources.<sup>274</sup> The closest Homeric parallel is the statement that Athena (presumably her statue) "throws back her head in denial" (ἀνένευε δὲ Παλλὰς Ἀθήνη, Z 311) of the Trojan women's petitions. The line is athetized, because, among other things, the ancient commentators found the physical gesture "ridiculous."<sup>275</sup> But the action is in accord with actual contemporary religious belief.<sup>276</sup>

The final instance of portentous divine action prompts the sacrifice of Polyxena. Appearing in a dream to Neoptolemus,<sup>277</sup> Achilles demands this sacrifice (14. 213-6) and threatens, unless he receives it (14. 216-20):

... ἀμφὶ δ' ἄρ' οἶδμα  
κινήσω πόντοιο, βαλῶ δ' ἐπὶ χεῖματι χεῖμα,  
ὄφρα καταφθινύθοντες ἀτασθαλίῃσιν ἔῃσι  
μίμνωσ' ἐνθάδε πολλὸν ἐπὶ χρόνον. εἰς ὃ κ' ἔμοιγε  
λοιβὰς ἀμφιχέωνται ἐελδόμενοι μέγα νόστου·

220

<sup>273</sup>The translation of Combellack (1968) 245, suggests that Athena observes from afar: "She turned her grim eyes to her high temple." Those of Way, 556, "she turned her stern eyes to the temple roof," and Vian, *Suite* III: 146, "elle détourne son terrible regard vers le haut faite de sa demeure," are ambiguous. Athena, however, can only avert her eyes from Ajax' impiety by turning her gaze to the temple roof if she is inside it; otherwise, she must observe the whole scene from on high.

<sup>274</sup>These are noted by Vian, *Suite* III: 46, 230, n. 4

<sup>275</sup>*Ad loc.* regards the inclination of the head as the prerogative of Zeus, rather than Athena, and the whole as "ridiculous." Van der Valk (1963-4) II: 407 and n. 157, and Kirk II: 200 *ad loc.*, maintain that it is the "actual physical gesture" that Aristarchus found ridiculous.

<sup>276</sup>For similar "real life" behavior, see Lane Fox, 117, 133-5, 137, 160. In view of speculation over Quintus' biography, it is worth noting that it is unlikely that the writer of 13. 420-9 subscribed to Christian opinion (Lane Fox, 137, 673-4, on cult statues).

<sup>277</sup>On Neoptolemus' dream, his report of it, and the Greeks' reaction, see pp. 300-2.

. . . [to] stir up the waves of the sea and cause storm after storm, so that through their folly [the Greeks] will remain here for a long time, wasting away, until they pour me libations, yearning greatly to return home.

A storm in fact arises when Neoptolemus tells of his dream (14. 246-51):

ὣς φαιμένοιο πίθοντο, καὶ ὡς θεῶν εὐχετόντο·  
 Καὶ γὰρ δὴ κατὰ βένθος ἀέξετο κῦμα θυέλλη  
 εὐρύτερον καὶ μᾶλλον ἐπήτριμον, ἢ πάρος ἦεν,  
 μαινομένου ἀνέμοιο· μέγας δ' ὀροθύνετο πόντος  
 χερσὶ Ποσειδάωνος· ὁ γὰρ κρατερῶν Ἀχιλλῆι  
 ἦρα φέρεν· . . .

250

So [Neoptolemus] spoke, and they obeyed, praying as to a god. For the swell of the deep was increased by a storm, larger and wider than it was before, and the wind raged. The great ocean was being agitated by the hands of Poseidon, for he honored mighty Achilles.

After the burial of Polyxena, the storm abates " . . . the waves stopped, and the frightful wind grew still, and the flood grew calm" (δὴ τότε παύσατο κῦμα, κατευνήθη δὲ θυέλλα/σμερδαλέη, καὶ χεῦμα κατεπρήνε γαλήνη, 14. 327-8). The storm is a traditional element of the story, and as handled by Quintus motivates the sacrifice of Polyxena without any debate.<sup>278</sup> Vian remarks that the attribution of the causation of the storm to Poseidon is "une plaisante naïveté du poète," whose effect is that "le héros semble . . . redoubter l'incrédulité des Grecs et croit devoir faire la preuve de son pouvoir surnaturel."<sup>279</sup> The attribution is certainly purposeful, as Quintus alone explicitly states its cause. The point, however, seems not to be the Greeks' credence, as they perform the sacrifice without discussion. Only the reader is aware that the storm is caused by Poseidon, not Achilles, and the detail accords well with tendencies observed in the

<sup>278</sup>*Pace* Vian, *Suite III*: 163, n. 3, the storm which "rendre plus impressionnante l'épiphane d' Achille" at Seneca *Troïades*, 169-77, 199-202, does not have "une toute autre signification:" both help ensure that Achilles receive his sacrifice.

<sup>279</sup>*Suite III*: 163. Vian's statement that "Achille souligne son ordre en déchainant une tempête," is simply incorrect: given the reference to Poseidon's hands, and his intention of honoring Achilles (14. 250-1), his name can not be interpreted as a metonymy for the sea.

*Posthomerica* in that Poseidon is logically the author of maritime phenomena, and such a gesture to honor Achilles contributes to the picture of harmonious relations among the gods.

In several other passages of the *Posthomerica*, mortals are entirely unaware of the divine causation of various phenomena, and in some instances, of the phenomena themselves. One such instance, the great storm which concludes the poem, has already been discussed. In addition, the gods thrice aid in navigation: Poseidon gives a good voyage to Odysseus, Diomedes, and Neoptolemus as they sail from Scyros to Troy (7. 374-5); Athena sends a favorable wind as Odysseus, Neoptolemus, and Philoctetes return from Lemnos (9. 436-7); and Thetis similarly aids the Greek fleet as it sails back to Troy after its deceptive withdrawal to Tenedos (13. 62-3). Similar actions are found in Homer: At A 479 Apollo grants the Greeks a favorable wind as they return from their propitiatory sacrifices on Chrysa, and Athena, once present (β 420) and once acting from afar (ο 292) does the same for Telemachus and Odysseus. Typically of the representation of relations between gods and men in the *Posthomerica*, Quintus does not connect this divine favor with human petition as at A 479, nor does he represent the gods as performing it in person as at β 420.

Twice, the gods dispel the "fog of war" which obscures the battle. At 2. 469-70, 478-81:

... κόνις δ' ὑπὸ ποσσὶν ὀρώρει  
ἄχρις ἔς οὐρανὸν εὐρύν. . . . 470

...  
ἢ ῥά τε καὶ φάος ἠὲ κατέκρυφεν ἠελίοιο  
αἰθέρ' ἐπισκιάουσα· κακῆ δ' ὑπεδάμνατ' οἰζὺς  
λαοὺς ἐν κονίῃ τε καὶ αἰνομόρῳ ὑσμίνῃ. 480  
Καὶ τὴν μὲν μακάρων τις ἀπώσατο δηιοτῆτος  
ἔσσυμένως. . .

The dust from their feet rose to the broad heavens . . . and hid the light of the sun, darkening the aether. And in the dust and deadly

**conflict, misery was overcoming the armies. And one of the blessed ones quickly swept it away from the battle.**

Similarly at 11. 247-9, 255-9:

... κόνιν δ' ἀκάμαντες ἀῆται  
 ὤρσεν ἀπειρεσίην· ἤχλυσε δὲ πᾶσαν ὑπερθεν  
 ἠέρα θεσπεσίην, ὥς τ' ἀπροτίοπτος ὀμίχλη  
 ...  
 Καί νύ κε μίγδ' ἐγένοντο καὶ ἀργαλέως ἀπόλοντο  
 πάντες ὁμῶς ὀλοοῖσι περὶ ξιφέεσσι πεσόντες  
 ἀλλήλων, εἰ μὴ σφιν ἀπ' Οὐλύμποιο Κρονίων  
 ἤρκεσε τειρομένοισι, κόνιν δ' ἀπάτερθεν ἔλασεν  
 ὑσμίνης, ὀλοᾶς δὲ κατεπρήυνεν ἀέλλας.

255

The tireless winds stirred up much dust, and on high all the divine aer was shadowed, so that the fight was hidden . . . and now they all would have become confused and perished horribly, falling to each others' swords, had not Cronion from Olympus helped them in their travail, and swept away the dust of the battle and calmed the destructive winds.

Again, the action is Homeric. At O 668-70, Athena clears away a confusing mist, and at P 645-50, in response to Ajax' prayer, Zeus clears the darkness he has caused as sign of grief and respect for Patroclus. That Quintus once attributes this action to an unspecified deity, and divorces it from human petition, is typical of tendencies already observed. It is also significant that in both instances, the cause of the obscurity which the gods clear is perfectly natural, and specified. O 668 troubled the ancient commentators because the imposition the νέφος ἀχλύος . . . θεσπέσιον is not mentioned.<sup>280</sup>

Several times, Quintus presents astral phenomena as divine actions. Dawn's reluctance to rise on the day of Memnon's death (2. 189) and joy in doing so on the day after Achilles' (3. 665), are slight elaborations of the normal Homeric announcement of sun rise as the ascension of Dawn to the heavens.<sup>281</sup> The behavior of Dawn and her

<sup>280</sup>A *ad loc*

<sup>281</sup>The unwillingness of the sun to set at Σ 203-6 is a different matter: see p. 286.



entourage in mourning Memnon, which has already been discussed, is similar, as is Selene's response when Oenone runs to Paris' pyre (10. 454-7):

Τὴν δὲ πού εἰσορόωσα τόθ' ὑπόθε δῖα Σελήνη  
 μηνσαμένη κατὰ θυμὸν ἀμύμονος Ἐνδυμίωνος 455  
 πολλὰ μάλ' ἔσσυμένην ὀλοφύρατο· καὶ οἱ ὑπερθε  
 λαμπρὸν παμφανόωσα μακρὰς ἀνέφαινε κελεύθους.

From on high divine Selene saw her as she went in great haste, it seems, and pitied her, remembering in her heart beautiful Endymion. And she shone forth above in all her brightness, and made the long paths visible.

Selene's sympathy for lovers is a topos of Hellenistic and Roman poetry;<sup>282</sup> note, however, the qualifying πού at 10. 454.

One announcement of the sunrise in the *Posthomerica*, however, constitutes a different and more significant sort of allusion to Homer. At 5. 395-403, the day on which Ajax will die dawns:

Καὶ τότ' ἀπ' Ὠκεανοῖο κίεν χρυσήνιος Ἥως· 395  
 Ὕπνος δ' οὐρανὸν εὐρὺν ἀνήιεν εἴκελος αὐρῆ.  
 Ἥρῃ δὲ ξύμβλητο νέον πρὸς Ὀλυμπον ἰούσῃ  
 Τηθύος ἐξ ἱερῆς, ὅθι πού προτέρῃ μόλεν ἡοῖ·  
 ἡ δὲ ἐκύσσειν ἐλοῦσ' ἐπεὶ ἦ πέλε γαμβρὸς ἀμύμων.  
 ἐξ οὐ οἱ Κρονίωνα κατεύνασεν ἐν λεχέεσσιν 400  
 Ἴδης ἀμφὶ κάρηνα χολούμενον Ἀργείοισιν·  
 αἴψα δ' ἄρ' ἦ μὲν ἔβη Ζηνὸς δόμον, ὅς ἐπὶ λέκτρα  
 Πασιθέης οἴμησεν· ἀνέγρετο δ' ἔθνεα φωτῶν.

And then, from Ocean came golden-reined Eos. Like a breeze. Sleep went up to the broad heavens and met Hera, returning to Olympus from holy Tethys, where, it seems, she had gone the previous day. She embraced and kissed him, because, since the time he put Zeus, who was angry at the Argives, to sleep in the bed on the peaks of Ida, he was her blameless son-in-law. She went immediately to the house of Zeus, and he swooped upon the bed of Pasithea.

<sup>282</sup>For parallels of Selene's sympathetic attitude, see Vian, *Suite III*, 34, 210, n. 4

The allusion to the Διὸς ἀπάτη is explicit. If the meeting of Hera and Sleep (5. 400-1) were not sufficient, the allusion is further strengthened by the verbal similarity of 5. 397 to Ξ 231, and by mention of Hera's visit to Tethys (5. 398), which is the excuse she offers for her movements in the ἀπάτη (Ξ 200-10, 301-6).<sup>283</sup> Note that the allusion is fitted skillfully into its context. Quintus departs slightly from the chronology of the Cyclic poems and Sophocles' *Ajax* in postponing the slaughter of the flocks and Ajax' suicide until the morning after the contest for the arms of Achilles.<sup>284</sup> These events thus follow the announcement of the sunrise at 5. 395-403, and the allusion gains further point, heightening the pathos of the hero's end, as it is Ajax who is preeminent in the Greek rally which the ἀπάτη makes possible (Ξ 509-19). Quintus however, suppresses numerous aspects of the ἀπάτη, and innovates in certain respects, greatly minimizing the unseemliness of the incident. Entirely absent are: Hera's hostility to Zeus (Ξ 158); her deliberate circumvention his wishes (Ξ 159-60); the physical coercion by which, in the ἀπάτη and its aftermath, Zeus is said to control the other gods (Ξ 256-9; Ο 16-25); Zeus' deference to Night (Ξ 258-61); the oaths of Hera (Ξ 271-4, 277-80. Ο 35-40); and Sleep's greed (Ξ 237-41, 243-70). There is only the slightest suggestion of other elements: The seduction of Zeus, which is treated at great length in the *Iliad* (Ξ 162-85, 214-21, 293-6, 312-51; Ο 32-4), and faulted by the ancient commentators,<sup>285</sup> is mentioned obliquely (5. 400-1); the only hint of the marital problems of Ocean and Tethys, also troublesome,<sup>286</sup> which are the purported reason for Hera's visit to them in the *Iliad* (Ξ

<sup>283</sup>Vian, *Suite II*, 34, n. 1, notes the general similarity of the passage to Ξ 231-351, and the close similarity of 5. 397 to Ξ 231.

<sup>284</sup>Vian, *Suite II*, 15 and n. 3

<sup>285</sup>Van der Valk (1963-4) II: 406. Cribbiore, 194, notes that Ξ was in antiquity one of the least-read books of the *Iliad* (the others being Τ-Φ), almost certainly because of theological objections to its portrayal of Zeus

<sup>286</sup>[Plutarch] 99-100, gives a cosmological allegory of both the reference to Ocean and Tethys and the behavior of Zeus and Hera.

205-10, 304-6), is Quintus' qualified statement (πουν, 5. 398) that this is whence the goddess returns; and if οἰμῶ at 5. 403 is intended to hint at either Sleep's lust for Pasithea (Σ 275-6) or his metamorphosis into a bird (Σ 289-91), the suggestion is very delicate indeed.

Quintus also innovates by referring to Sleep as Hera's "blameless son-in-law" (γαμβρὸς ἀμύμων, 5. 399).<sup>287</sup> This is the only extant statement that Sleep's marriage to Pasithea creates a bond of kinship between him and Hera.<sup>288</sup> This invented relationship significantly alters the picture of the behavior of Sleep and Hera from that presented in the Διὸς ἀπάτη. It elevates Hera's negotiations with Sleep, which in the *Iliad* are little better than bribery and pandering, to the formation of a familial connection: thus Quintus presents obligations of kinship, rather than greed or lust, as the motivation for Sleep's action. The fond greeting which the two exchange, a rarity in the *Posthomerica*, where reference to physical actions of the gods is limited, reinforces the notion of their friendly relationship. Both Apollonius and Virgil seem to have similarly re-written the Homeric scene. Virgil's Juno makes much the same offer as the Homeric Hera, promising Aeolus the nymph Deiopea for unleashing the winds to scatter Aeneas' fleet (*Aen.* 1. 69-75); in

<sup>287</sup>The epithet ἀμύμων is used by Homer in instances where its literal meaning, "blameless," is at odds with the context, troubling ancient commentators (Combella (1982) 363). Modern commentators regard it as an essentially meaningless formulaic epithet, denoting god-like physical perfection (Vivante, 107-8, Parry) or honored status (Chantraine (1968-80) sv. ἀμύμων). The attribution of either to a god is pointless, and certainly some of the epithets and descriptive terms which Quintus applies to the gods have been seen to be chosen with considerable concern as to their appropriateness in their context (ch. 2, pp 47-67 *passim*). It is thus reasonable to presume that Quintus may well intend the epithet to convey its literal force, and this passage, if it does not render Sleep utterly "blameless" at least very much mitigates the impropriety of his actions in the Διὸς ἀπάτη. Note that Parry, who is of the opinion (82) that "Quintus . . . imitates the Homeric use of ἀμύμων rather well, as he does in general all Homeric language," ignores 5. 399, omitting it from her list (272-4) of the word's occurrences in the *Posthomerica*. Nor does Combella (1977) esp. 171-2; (1982) 371, despite his familiarity with Quintus, refer to this passage, though, reacting to Parry, he argues that the epithet does indeed mean "blameless" when circumstances are considered.

<sup>288</sup>Kirk, IV: 193 *ad* Σ 267-70, believes that Hera arranges the match between Pasithea and Sleep in her role as marriage-goddess, but although he notes that no such genealogy of them exists, moots the possibility that Hera is to be understood as the mother of the Graces. In this case, Quintus is not inventing, but supporting an obscure tradition, with the same effect.

complying, however, Aeolus, states only that he owes his status among the gods to Juno (l. 76-80). The reminiscence of Homer is less clear at *Argonautica* 4. 782-832, but there Hera's negotiations with Thetis can be seen as contrasting with her deal with Sleep in the *Iliad*, with "quasi-familial obligations" replacing the materialism of the original.<sup>289</sup>

Divinely caused phenomena also occur in connection with funeral rites. At 3.696-718,<sup>290</sup> Zeus intervenes in the funeral of Achilles:

... Ὅ δ' ἔκποθεν Οὐλύμιοιο  
 Ζεὺς ψεκάδας κατέχευεν ὑπὲρ νέκυν Αἰακίδαο  
 ἀμβροσίας, δῖη δὲ φέρων Νηρηίδι τιμὴν  
 Ἑρμείην προέηκεν ἐς Αἴολον, ὄφρα καλέσση  
 λαιψηρῶν Ἀνέμων ἱερὸν μένος· ἦ γὰρ ἔμελλε  
 καίεσθ' Αἰακίδαο νέκυσ. Τοῦ δ' αἴψα μολόντος  
 Αἴολος οὐκ ἀπίθησε· καλεσσάμενος δ' ἀλεγεινὸν  
 καρπαλίμος Βορέην Ζεφύροιο τε λάβρον ἀήτην  
 ἐς Τροίην προέηκε βοῆ θύοντας ἀέλλη·  
 ...  
 Οἱ δὲ διὸς βουλήσι δαίκταμένου Ἀχιλλῆος  
 αἴψα πυρῆ ἐνόρουσαν ἀολλέες, ὦρτο δ' αὐτμῆ  
 Ἥφαιστου μαλεροῖο· ...  
 ...  
 ... Ἄνεμοι δὲ καὶ ἐσσύμενοί περ ἀέλλη  
 πᾶν ἡμᾶρ καὶ νύκτα νέκυν περιποιπνύοντες  
 καῖον εὐπνεῖοντες ὁμῶς· ...  
 ...  
 Οἱ δὲ μέγ' ἐκτελέσαντες ἀτειρέες ἔργον Ἀῆται  
 εἰς ἕον ἄντρον ἕκαστος ὁμοῦ νεφέεσσι φέροντο.

Then from somewhere on Olympus Zeus poured drops of ambrosia over the corpse of the Aeacid, and giving honor to the divine Nereid, he sent Hermes to Aeolia, to summon the holy might of the swift winds, for the Aeacid's corpse was going to be burned. He went immediately, and Aeolus did not refuse. He immediately called harsh Boreas and the furious blast of Zephyr and sent them to Troy speeding like a swift whirlwind . . . And by the will of Zeus, together they immediately swept onto the pyre of slain Achilles, and the raging breath of Hephaestus rose up . . . They sped in a whirlwind, and fanned the flames all day and night

<sup>289</sup> Webster, 76.

<sup>290</sup> 3. 705-8 describe the progress of the winds to Troy, 711-2, 714-6 the lamentations of the Myrmidons

. . . When they had completed their great work, the tireless winds were carried back to their cave together with the clouds.

Similarly, at 5. 637-9, at the cremation of Ajax, "a wind came from the sea, which the goddess Thetis sent, so that its force would consume great Ajax" (. . . ἦλθε δὲ πνοιή/ἔξ ἄλος, ἦν προέηκε θεὰ Θέτις, ὄφρα θέροιτο/Αἴαντος μεγάλοιο βίη). Both Zeus' raining of ambrosia and the sending of the winds have Homeric precedent, but Quintus avoids unseemly features of the originals.

The raining of ambrosia combines two Homeric themes, the bloody rain which signifies Zeus' grief for Sarpedon (Π 459-60)<sup>291</sup> and the use of ambrosia as a funeral unguent. By combining them, Quintus avoids some of the objections raised against these common motifs. There is no physical contact between the gods and the corpses, and no need to explain the portent of the rain.<sup>292</sup>

The summoning of the winds to Achilles' funeral pyre is modeled on Ψ 191-230, where they kindle Patroclus'.<sup>293</sup> The substitution of Hermes for Iris as Zeus' messenger is not a significant difference, but other departures from this model are typical of Quintus' alteration of the Homeric portrayal of the gods. First, the action is not necessary as it is at Ψ 192, where Patroclus' pyre will not catch fire.<sup>294</sup> There, Achilles prays, pouring libations, to summon the winds (Ψ 193-8); typically of Quintus' limited reference to prayer and sacrifice, and their efficacy, this is not the case in the *Posthomerica*.<sup>295</sup> The sending of

<sup>291</sup>Cited by Vian, *Suite I*: 122, 173, n. 7.

<sup>292</sup>6T *ad* Λ 54 give a cosmological explanation: the rain is bloody because the local rivers are; Eustathius (1070. 40-7) applies the same explanation to Π 459. See also Fenik, 203

<sup>293</sup>Vian, *Suite I*: 124, n. 1, who also cites parallels for other details. There is no exact model for Thetis' sending winds to Ajax' pyre; her purpose is apparently the same as Zeus', but the action is more akin to the sending of winds favorable to navigation

<sup>294</sup>Quintus does not say specifically that the pyre is ever lit, but it seems unlikely that it is to be understood as bursting into flames spontaneously, as he records no reaction which would suggest this

<sup>295</sup>Here, the absence of prayer is perhaps particularly striking, as it has been suggested by J. Kakridis (*Homeric Researches*, Lund (1949) 75-83, cited by Kirk VI: 191 *ad* Ψ 192-216) that the necessity of summoning the winds shows the influence of "a poem about Achilles' own funeral, where the winds might be unwilling to come because of their grief at the death of Memnon, their brother "

the winds seems to be a purely honorary gesture, as Quintus once explicitly states (3. 698). It is also typical of the *Posthomerica* that Quintus avoids the anthropomorphism of the Iliadic passage, in which the winds are portrayed as having human shape, feasting, and living in houses ( $\Psi$  300-3).

Quintus' references to the divine in connection with various phenomena, then, are either traditional elements of the Trojan story, or duplications or elaborations of Homeric references to similar phenomena. It is also to be noted that there are far fewer portentous phenomena in the *Posthomerica* than in the *Iliad*, and far more references to divinely caused phenomena which pass unnoticed by mortal characters. This, like many other references to the gods in the *Posthomerica*, creates an impression of divine involvement in the action, without significantly altering its course. Portentous phenomena, with the exception of Athena's behavior during the rape of Cassandra, are all necessary to ensure the fated course of events. Finally, it is to be noted that Quintus avoids duplicating the most bizarre of the divinely-caused phenomena mentioned in the *Iliad*. His modification of Zeus' bloody rain has already been noted; Other portents which troubled ancient commentators, and are absent from the *Posthomerica*, are the clothing of heroes in fire (E 4-7;  $\Sigma$  203-6), and serious violations of the natural order, such as Hera's forcing of the sunset ( $\Sigma$  239-40) and endowment of Xanthus with speech (T 407).<sup>296</sup> Nor is portentous behavior ever attributed to inappropriate deities, as at  $\Lambda$  45-6, when Hera and Athena thunder in honor of Agamemnon.

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<sup>296</sup>Fire signals divine honor, but T *ad*  $\Sigma$  204 and Eustathius, 1138. 45-50 regard this as φαντασία and A *ad*  $\Sigma$  206 wonders how Achilles is not burned; AT *ad loc.* suggests that the "fire" is actually a cloud. On E 4-7, see Apfel, 250. At  $\Sigma$  239-40, AbT explain the sun's unwillingness to set by identifying the astral body with the pro-Trojan Apollo; A *ad*  $\Sigma$  240 also allegorizes Hera. Athena's lengthening the night of Odysseus' and Penelope's reunion ( $\psi$  241-6) is easily explained in terms of moral allegory: they perceive the night to be longer. On T 407, see ch. 3, p. 136.

**The Manipulation of Mortal Characters**      The gods also affect the course of events at the mundane level by impelling mortals to various actions. This impulse is sometimes effected by dream visitations, which are discussed in the next section, but is more often direct, the god prompting some action on the part of a mortal who at most only vaguely senses the divine intervention.

The most common type of such manipulation is the inspiration of mortals to deeds of strength or bravery, almost always in battle.<sup>297</sup> This inspiration is sometimes literal, the gods being said to "breathe into" men courage or might; more commonly, these qualities are said to be "put into" men, "given" or "vouchsafed" or "roused" in them, or the men themselves are simply "roused" to perform great deeds.<sup>298</sup> This sort of divine action is only slightly less common in the *Posthomeric* than in the *Iliad*,<sup>299</sup> and differences in the vocabulary which Homer and Quintus use to denote this sort of action are minor. Nor does Quintus differ greatly from Homer in the human characters he names as recipients of

<sup>297</sup>The exceptions are: 3. 596-8 (inspiration by Zeus allows the Greeks to bear the sight of the Nereids and Muses); 4. 195 (Eris inspires foot-racers); 9. 80 (θεῶν τις inspires leadership, in the form of a speech, from Deiphobus). 12. 373 (Hera inspires Sinon to withstand torture); Ψ 390, 400, \*403 (Athena aids Diomedes' horses in the chariot race); Ω 442 (Hermes inspires Priam's team).

<sup>298</sup>ἐμπνεύω θάρσος/θράσος: 8. 327, ἐμπνεύω κάρτος/κράτος: 12. 373, ἐμπνεύω μένος: 9. 301, 14. 564; K 482; O 60, 262; P 456; \* 159; Y 110; Ω 442, βάλω θάρσος/θράσος: 1. 289; 3. 13-6, 596-8, 7. 193; 9. 80, \*229, βάλω κάρτος/κράτος: 2. 458-60; 7. 497, βάλω μένος: E 513-4; K 366; Π 529; P 45, βάλω σθένος: Λ 11; Ξ 151; Φ 304, 308, δίδωμι θάρσος: 1. 513-4, δίδωμι σθένος: \*12 244; E 2, δίδωμι κάρτος/κράτος: \*I 255; Λ 319; \*N 743; O 216; \*Π 524, \*562; Y 121; ὠπάζω κάρτος: 6. 370-1; 11. 40-8; ἐνίημι βίην: 8. 399-400; ἐνίημι μένος: E 125; Y 80; Ψ 390, 400, 403, ἐνίημι ἀνάλκιδα θυμόν: P 656, τίθημι μένος: Φ 145, τίθημι κάρτος: A 509; ἐγείρω μένος: O 232, 594; ὀρνύμι μένος: B 451; Θ 335; \*Y 92-3, ὀρνύμι: M 293; N 794, ὀτρύνω: 2. 483; 4. 195; 8. 186, 11 12-3; B 94; E 461; N 44, 90, 209; \*O 54, 695; Π 691; \*P 178, 329, 582; Y 54; Φ 299, ὀτρύνω σθένος 7. 165-6; ὀτρύνω μένος: E 563-4, 792, ἐγγυαλίξω κάρτος: Λ 192, 207, \*753, P 206. Also similar are κατεύατο θάρσος: 11. 144 and πλήτο ἀλκῆς καὶ σθένος: P 499. On the equivalence of these terms see ADT *ad* E 2, A *ad* Ω 442, and Kirk IV: 398 *ad* Π 691

<sup>299</sup>On this as a typical action see Fenik (1968) 10 and Kirk II: 53 *ad* E 2. It occurs once in 462 lines in the *Posthomeric*, and once in 357 lines in the *Iliad*; note that in Homer, several references may refer to the same incident (Λ 192, 207; N 44, 90, 209; O 54, 60, 232, 262; Π \*524, 529; Y 80, 110, Y 121, Φ 304, 308; Ψ 390, 400, \*403).

inspiration. The difference in the entities to whom Homer and Quintus ascribe inspiration,<sup>300</sup> is for the most part of minimal import. The ascription of literal inspiration to Ananke, whose intervention allows the ship-wrecked Lesser Ajax to swim to shore (μένος δ' ἐνέπνευσεν Ἀνάγκη, 14. 564), is interesting as Quintus' is the first epic personification of Ananke; the action by an abstract entity (though not the personifying verb) is paralleled by Ossa's urging on the Greeks at B 94. The much greater frequency of inspiration by Zeus, and, to a lesser extent by Apollo, in the *Iliad* is a result of plot differences, stemming from the divinely-wrought successes of Hector and the Trojans, which aggrandize Achilles.<sup>301</sup> It is, however, noteworthy that except at 14. 564, only major deities perform this action in the *Posthomeric*. This is in contrast to the *Iliad*, where both Thetis (T 37) and Xanthus (Φ 145-6), whose interventions troubled ancient commentators, inspire mortals.<sup>302</sup> But, like many other types of divine action, inspiration in the *Posthomeric* serves mainly as an epic adornment. Only Hera's aid to Simon in withstanding torture (12. 244) has any effect on the plot. This stands in marked contrast to the aid of Zeus and Apollo to the Trojans in the *Iliad*, which, as the means by which

<sup>300</sup>Inspiring deities and the frequency with which they act:

	<i>Posthomeric</i>	<i>Iliad</i>		<i>Posthomeric</i>	<i>Iliad</i>
Zeus	4	19	Ares and Phobos	1	0
unspecified deity	2	2	Hermes	0	1
Ares	2	2	Poseidon	1	4
Hera	2	1	Hera Athena or Poseidon	0	1
Athena	2	9	Hera and Athena	0	1
Apollo	2	10	Thetis	0	1
Eris	2	1	Athena and Poseidon	0	1
keres	2	0	Apollo and Athena	0	1
Ananke	1	0	Xanthus	0	1
Enyo	1	0			

Note that Garcia Romero (1986) employs a more limited definition of inspiration and (114) counts only 9 301 as an instance of inspiration by an Olympian.

<sup>301</sup>bT ad A 509 (followed by Kirk IV: 252 ad O 242-3) cites this as the reason for repeated references to such inspiration; interpreting these actions as reflecting Homer's philhellenism (b ad O 335) amounts to much the same thing.

<sup>302</sup>T ad T 37; bT ad Φ 145-6



Achilles is aggrandized, is the primary force moving the action for much of that poem, and which accentuates the pathos of Hector's eventual fall.<sup>303</sup>

In keeping with his representation of divine dignity, Quintus does not refer to the inspiration of animals, which occurs thrice in the *Iliad*,<sup>304</sup> nor, in contrast to  $\Phi$  299, where Athena's and Poseidon's inspiration of Achilles allows him to combat Xanthus,<sup>305</sup> does Quintus attribute any truly supernatural result to inspiration. Also noteworthy is the fact that while twice in the *Iliad* inspiration is the response to a mortal's prayer for divine assistance,<sup>306</sup> no such connection is ever made in the *Posthomerica*. In fact, as he does other divine actions, Quintus almost always represents inspiration as a discrete action, performed from afar. Only thrice in the *Posthomerica* are inspiring deities present on the field. In the *Iliad*, in contrast, the gods, except for Zeus, are almost always present.<sup>307</sup> a fact which commentators attempt to minimize when possible.<sup>308</sup>

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<sup>303</sup>Kirk III: 246 *ad*  $\Lambda$  192-4.

<sup>304</sup>P 456, Zeus inspires Hector's team;  $\Psi$  390, 400, \*403, Athena inspires Diomedes' team;  $\omega$  456. Hermes inspires Priam's team. Achilles' horses are also affected by divine action (3. 753), but this is not inspiration, nor are they ordinary horses.

<sup>305</sup>Kirk VI: 77 *ad*  $\Phi$  299 maintains that this is the purpose and result of this instance of inspiration.

<sup>306</sup> $\Gamma$  \*524, 529, Glaucus is inspired by Apollo; P 449, Aeneas is inspired by Zeus; \*P 562, a wish by Menelaus, is also similar.

<sup>307</sup>8 327, 11. 40-8, Ares inspires Aeneas; 11. 143-4 probably implies that Apollo inspires Aeneas and Eurymachus, but Quintus says only that the heroes "are filled with courage" ( $\alpha\upsilon\tau\omicron\iota\varsigma/\theta\acute{\alpha}\rho\omicron\varsigma$   $\acute{\alpha}\pi\epsilon\iota\rho\epsilon\sigma\iota\omicron\nu$   $\kappa\alpha\tau\epsilon\chi\epsilon\upsilon\acute{\alpha}\tau\omicron$ ). Present deities inspire in the *Iliad* at: B 94 (Ossa), 451 (Athena), 461. (Ares), E 2, 125 (Athena), 513-4 (Apollo), 792 (Hera); H 38-9 (Apollo and Athena),  $\Lambda$  11 (Eris); N 44, 90, 200. (Poseidon);  $\Xi$  151 (Poseidon);  $\omicron$  262 (Apollo); P 324, 582 (Apollo); T 37 (Thetis); Y 54 (Athena and Ares), 110 (Apollo);  $\Phi$  145 (Xanthus), 294 (Athena and Poseidon), 304, 308 (Athena)  $\omega$  442 (Hermes)

<sup>308</sup>A *ad* P 582 suggests that Zenodotus' re-writing of the line reinforces the mental and minimizes the physical effect of inspiration. Eustathius 252. 25-30 *ad* B 450-2 allegorizes Athena's inspiration of the Greeks as an expression of kingly leadership. Kirk I *ad loc.* cautiously states of the same passage that "[t]he divine inspiration is in one respect metaphorical, since Athena did not take human appearance, or say anything, nor did the troops actually see her, they just seem to have felt her presence . . . yet [the description of her has] a certain visual impact."

Once in the *Iliad* (E 563-4) an Olympian god (Ares) inspires a mortal (Menelaus), with the purpose of causing his death. This action and its purpose trouble commentators.<sup>309</sup> It is significant that Quintus does not attribute inspiration leading to death to the Olympians, but only to the Keres (3. 13-6; 8. 172). Both he (1. 171-3) and Homer (B 834; Θ 527-8; Λ 332) also attribute to the Keres the more general leading of men to their deaths. Simple statements that disaster results from divine action are more common in the *Posthomeric* than in the *Iliad*: Moira "deceives" Memnon, urging him into battle and to death (2. 361-2) and sends Eurymenes against the Greeks, to bring about both his death and theirs (10. 97-100); Aisa prevents the Greeks from heeding Calchas' prophecies of a storm (14. 360-7); the Keres cause the Trojans, not to heed the portents of the city's fall (12. 523); and Thersites claims that a daimon has "deceived" Achilles, causing him to regret the dead Penthesileia (\*1. 723-5). Twice, Quintus uses the names of Olympians in this context, at 10. 449, where Ker and Cypris are said to impel Oenone to immolate herself on Paris' pyre, and at 13. 429, where Ajax is said to be bereft of his wits by Cypris, causing him to ignore the portentous behavior of Athena's cult-statue from which he drags Cassandra. In both these instances, Cypris is easily and best interpreted as a metonymy for sexual passion, and in other instances, the divine entities which lead men to their doom are all personifications of Fate. Homer makes only one such brief reference to divinely caused confusion, resulting in disaster, but this is clearly the work of an Olympian, Poseidon, who at N 434-6 "bewitches" Alcahous, leaving him defenseless. More complex divine deceptions leading to disaster and attributed to Olympians, like

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<sup>309</sup>bT *ad* E 563 regards the action as an anthropomorphic expression of the madly raging Ares Kirk II 116 *ad* E 562-4, remarks that "[s]ome hesitation may be felt over" the action attributed to Ares, noting that (*contra* Fenik, 59) the explicit inspiration of a mortal to his own death is unique, but rather unconvincingly minimizes the matter by noting that the statement is "brief and off-hand."

those of Pandarus (Δ 84-104) and Hector (X 226-46) by Athena, which were criticized as unseemly,<sup>310</sup> are absent from the *Posthomerica*.

The other type of mental manipulation common to the *Iliad* and the *Posthomerica* is the diversion of a warrior from a particular opponent. This occurs once in each poem, at E 474-6, where Athena turns (τράπε θυμόν) Odysseus from Sarpedon,<sup>311</sup> and at II. 240-2, where, Thetis similarly diverts (τρέπε θυμόν, ἀπέτραπεν . . . θυμόν)<sup>312</sup> Neoptolemus from Aeneas. The virtually identical diction suggests that Quintus has in mind the Homeric passage, but the reasons for the diversion differ. Odysseus is diverted because it is not fated that he kill Sarpedon, while Thetis protects Aeneas out of deference to Aphrodite (ἄζομένη Κυθήριαν). This stated motive reinforces Quintus' consistent portrayal of harmony among the gods, and highlights their avoidance of conflict, contrasting markedly with the treatment of Aeneas in E.

The remaining instances of mental manipulation in the *Iliad* and the *Posthomerica* are entirely different from each other. Twice, the Iliadic Hera prompts a mortal to a specific action: At A 55, she puts into Achilles' mind (φρέσι θῆκε) the idea of calling the assembly, and at Θ 218, she gives Agamemnon the idea (again, φρέσι θῆκε) of rallying the troops. In both cases, the divine suggestion has an immediate and significant effect on action at the mundane level, especially in the former instance, as it is in this assembly that Agamemnon and Achilles come into conflict.

<sup>310</sup>On such destructive deceptions, see Fenik, 59, 133; Griffin (1980) 41, and Kirk IV: 102 *ad* N 434-6. Apollo's stunning of Patroclus (Π 792) may also be interpreted as an action of this type. On criticism of X 226-46, see p. 231, n. 171. The deception of Pandarus was interpreted as a negative example, for discussion of the Scholia (*ad* Δ 104), see de Jong, 12.

<sup>311</sup>At Ψ 185, Aphrodite similarly protects Hector's corpse by diverting the dogs from it

<sup>312</sup>West (1986) 148, finds the phrasing awkward, and conjectures τρέπεν ἔγχος. This is possible, but as Neoptolemus does not in fact attack Aeneas, the situation is not comparable to instances discussed above, in which the gods physically deflect weapons.

Hera is motivated by her favoritism for the Greeks, as is clearly stated at A 56. Several of the remaining instances of mental manipulation in the *Posthomerica* are also motivated by favoritism, but for individuals. Athena maddens (5. 360) and returns to sanity (5. 451-2) Ajax; dispels Philoctetes' anger (9. 404-5), preventing him shooting Odysseus and Diomedes on Lesbos;<sup>313</sup> and aids Epeius in the construction of the wooden horse (12. 146-7). Aphrodite aids her favorite, Helen, by dispelling Menelaus' (13. 398-402) and the Greeks' (14. 67-70) memory that she was the cause of their travail, and by reconciling Helen and Menelaus (14. 152-3). It is tempting to interpret these actions allegorically, but Aphrodite undertakes physical action at 13. 389-405,<sup>314</sup> and at 14. 70 is clearly more than a personification of sex appeal, as she is said to act "to honor bright-eyed Helen and her father Zeus" (ἤρα φέρουσ' Ἑλένη ἑλικώπιδι καὶ Διὶ πατρί). Nor is Athena merely a personification of mental processes. This is especially clear in her manipulation of Ajax, which she undertakes to protect Odysseus, and which is accomplished by her deployment of the personified Mania and Lyssa.

In both poems divine mental manipulation accounts for a few minor occurrences. During the Doloneia, Apollo wakes the Thracian Hippocoon, who in turn rouses his surviving companions (K 515-8). This action, which is "remarkably too little and too late," is a fine example of the Homeric tendency "to attribute no event, however, trivial, to chance."<sup>315</sup> In the *Posthomerica*, if divine causation is cited for similar occurrences, the responsible deity is always unspecified.<sup>316</sup> Thus at l. 380-5, "one of the blessed restrains"

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<sup>313</sup>Jebb, xii, who maintains that Quintus produces the effect of his postulated "old epic version" of the story, without divine intervention, is incorrect when he says that Quintus "represents the wrath of Philoctetes as immediately disarmed by the first soothing words of the Greek envoys."

<sup>314</sup>See pp. 261-3

<sup>315</sup>Kirk III: 205 *ad* K 515-22

<sup>316</sup>The sight of a severed hand clinging to the reins which terrifies the routed Greeks, "by Ares' will" (Ἄρεος ἐννεσίησι, 11. 198) seems (despite the potentially personifying ἐννεσίησι, which Quintus uses promiscuously) to be not an instance of this sort of action, but a poetic way of saying that the gory sight is a freak of battle.

(μακάρων τις . . . ἐρήτυε) Achilles and Ajax from battle until many Greeks are killed; divine purpose restrains (κατέρυξε θεῶν νοός, 3. 753) Achilles' horses from departing the mundane world in their grief; "one of the blessed leads" (μακάρων δέ τις ἠγενόνευειν, 13. 498-9) Aethra to her grandsons Demophoon and Acamas; and "an abatement of his anger or a god causes" (ἢ χόλου ἀμβολίη ἢ καὶ θεοῦ ὀτρύνοντος, 13. 187) Diomedes to cease his slaughter of the Trojans long enough for Ilioneus to deliver a dying speech.

Instances of mental manipulation in the *Posthomerica*, then, do not differ greatly from those in the *Iliad*. What differences there are, however, serve to distance the Olympians from harmful or insignificant actions, and suggest that Quintus avoids representing some actions which ancient commentators on Homer criticized.

**Dreams** Quintus refers five times to dreams, and each instance involves the divine to some degree, though this runs the gamut from the descent and appearance of an Olympian god to the most vaguely perceived portents.<sup>317</sup> The dreams of the *Posthomerica* are an excellent illustration of Quintus' use of and response to his models. The three longest dreams, those of Penthesileia (1. 124-37), Epeius (12. 106-16), and Neoptolemus (14. 180-229), are cited as evidence of Quintus' clumsy insertion of Homerizing episodes into, or, alternatively, as indicating his close dependence on, the traditional story.<sup>318</sup> The dreams of Penthesileia and Neoptolemus are found in other versions of the story, and there

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<sup>317</sup>Note that Quintus uses only the word ὄνειρος, which denotes a significant or prophetic dream, never ὄναρ or ἐνύπνιον, used only of non-significant dreams, to refer to dreams (on the terminology, see Kessels (1969) 392, 399 and (1978) 174-5). In all cases, the supernatural nature of the dream is stated or implied, and no dream in the *Posthomerica* is devoid of supernatural significance, as, for example the nightmare described in a simile at X 199-201 appears to be.

<sup>318</sup>Noak (1892) 769-70, cites the very close similarity of these scenes to Homeric passages as evidence that Quintus has inserted them into the narrative. Campbell, 37 n. 2 is right to point out that such "stock-scenes [are] the stuff of epic." It is almost certain that the episodes in question are traditional, occurring very probably in the Cyclic poems. The recent article of Guez provides a more sophisticated discussion.

is reason to suppose that Epeius' and Hecuba's (14. 275-9) dreams also had precedent. Quintus' version of these episodes departs significantly from those attested elsewhere, and the nature of his departures is such as to bring each dream into accord with the particular pattern of a Homeric dream or dreams, each of the five dreams in the *Posthomerica* corresponding to a specific Homeric type.<sup>319</sup> In most instances, Quintus evokes Homeric or other models in such a fashion as to comment upon them, this commentary extending in some cases to an alteration of the portrayal of the gods.

Penthesileia's dream (1. 124-37) occurs on the night her arrival at Troy:

... Μόλε δ' αἰθέρος ἐξ ὑπάτοιῳ  
 Παλλάδος ἐννεσίησι μένος δολόεντος Ὀνείρου, 125  
 ὄππως μιν λεύσσοι κακὸν Τρώεσσι γένηται  
 οἱ τ' αὐτῇ, μεμαυῖα ποτὶ πτολέμοιο φάλαγγας.  
 Καὶ τὰ μὲν ὦς ὤρμαινε δαίφρων Τριτογένεια·  
 τῇ δ' ἄρα λυγρὸς Ὀνειρὸς ἐφίστατο πατρὶ ἑοικῶς,  
 καὶ μιν ἐποτρύνεσκε ποδάρκος ἄντ' Ἀχλῆος 130  
 θαρσαλέως μάρνασθαι ἐναντίον. Ἥ δ' αἴουσα  
 γήθεεν ἐν φρεσὶ πάνπαν· οἴσατο γὰρ μέγα ἔργον  
 ἐκτελέειν αὐτῆμαρ ἀνὰ μόθον ὀκρυόεντα,  
 νηπίη, ἧ ῥ' ἐπίθησεν οἰζυρῶ περ Ὀνείρω  
 ἔσπερίῳ, ὃς φῦλα πολυτλήτων ἀνθρώπων 135  
 θέλγει ἐνὶ λεχέεσσιν ἄδην ἐπικέρτομα βάζων,  
 ὅς μιν ἄρ' ἐξαπάφησεν ἐποτρύνων πονέεσθαι.

... At Pallas' command, the might of a deceitful Dream came from the highest aether, so that [Penthesileia] might see it and become an evil to the Trojans and herself, raging in the battle-lines; thus Tritogeneia wise in war contrived. The deadly dream stood over [Penthesileia's] head in the likeness of her father, and urged her bravely to face swift-footed Achilles. Hearing, she was utterly delighted, for she thought that on the coming day she would accomplish a great deed in the dreadful fight. A fool, she trusted an unfortunate evening dream, such as bewitches the tribes of much-suffering men in their beds, speaking abundantly mocking taunts; it deceived her, urging her to fight.

<sup>319</sup>Guez, 86, 88, 92, 97, approaches, though he does not articulate, this conclusion. Nor does he discuss 13. 124-5, which makes it virtually certain.

Here, a traditional episode, probably found in the *Aethiopsis*, is recast in accordance with a Homeric model, Agamemnon's dream in the second book of the *Iliad*.<sup>320</sup>

The tradition of a dream appearing to Penthesileia is attested by Tzetzes' *Posthomerica*: On the night of the Amazon's third day of fighting at Troy (114), Hera (120) causes a dream to appear to her in the likeness of her mother (127); a simultaneous dream, in the likeness of Hector also visits Priam (121-2).<sup>321</sup> Quintus' substitution of Penthesileia's father violates the Homeric rule that the figures appearing in admonitory dreams are usually of the same sex as the dreamer, and are well known to him.<sup>322</sup> Quintus, however, seems not to recognize this rule, which he violates in both other instances where he specifies the likeness of a dream-visitation; Epeius is visited by Athena in the likeness of an unidentified maiden, and Achilles is unknown to Neoptolemus, who has never seen his father alive.<sup>323</sup> Other differences between Quintus' version of Penthesileia's dream and its Homeric model are more important. By its position early in the poem, the despatch of Oneiros by an Olympian, and its deceptive purpose, Penthesileia's dream immediately evokes Agamemnon's at the beginning of the second book of the *Iliad*. But even leaving aside the necessary circumstantial changes in its appearance and message, Penthesileia's dream differs significantly from Agamemnon's. In the first place, while Agamemnon's dream comes

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<sup>320</sup>Vian, *Suite I*, 17, n. 2; Guez, 82, considers only the Homeric parallel.

<sup>321</sup>Assuming that Tzetzes accurately reflects anything of an earlier tradition beyond the simple appearance of a dream. His statement (122) that Priam's dream takes the form of Hector "in the likeness of a girl" (κούρης δ' εἶδος ἔχειν) is peculiar, but is perhaps to be understood as a message that Penthesileia will take Hector's place as an effective champion.

<sup>322</sup>Kessels (1978) 44, 163, and earlier studies there cited; Guez, 86, notes the violation of the norm

<sup>323</sup>That Penthesileia's father is the god Ares, and thus a divinely sent dream assumes the likeness of an Olympian god, is more troubling, but Quintus seems simply to make the simple substitution of father for mother. The fact that Quintus, who mentions the relationship between Penthesileia and Ares eleven times in Book 1 does not do so here, may indicate that he attempts momentarily to suppress the troubling implications of the relationship in this context.

after a considerable portion of the night has elapsed, Quintus "corrects" Homer, carefully stating that Penthesileia's dream comes early in the night (ἔσπερίῳ, l. 135), as, in accordance with the standard canons of dream interpretation, is the wont of deceptive dreams.<sup>324</sup>

The most significant difference between Penthesileia's dream and Agamemnon's is its having been sent by Athena, rather than Zeus. As has been noted, the *Posthomerica* lacks a proem, and hence, any reference at its outset to Zeus or divine purpose. Here, in a context where the reader expects it, Quintus again foregoes reference to Zeus, an omission made the more startling by the fact that Penthesileia's dream is the first instance of divine action in the *Posthomerica*.<sup>325</sup> The sending of the dream by Athena, rather than Zeus as in the *Iliad*, or Hera as in Tzetzes, is perhaps made primarily for its own sake, to signal Quintus' project of allusion to and alteration of his models. Note that while Agamemnon's dream is the mechanism by which Zeus sets in motion his plan to glorify Achilles (B 3-4), Penthesileia's serves no dramatic purpose: her confidence and readiness to fight have been well-established.<sup>326</sup> This over-determination is a feature of many divine actions in the *Posthomerica*, but as Penthesileia requires no encouragement to fight, her dream is one of the very rare examples in the *Posthomerica* of a dirty trick played on a mortal by the gods. The substitution does respond to Zenodotus' criticism of the connection of Agamemnon's fallacious dream with Zeus.<sup>327</sup> Quintus' rehabilitation of the traditionally vicious and

<sup>324</sup>Having gone to bed at the end of A, at B 1-2 Zeus is awake, presumably after some interval: Guez, 83, 89; Vian, *Suite* l. 17 n. 4, also notes Quintus' departure from Homer, and cites testimony for the timing of truthful dreams, on which see also Lane Fox, 151.

<sup>325</sup>The announcements of the sunset (l. 118 -9) and sunrise (l. 138) which bracket this passage are, like almost all other such announcements in the *Posthomerica*, unremarkable by Homeric standards. Except in cases of innovation, such passages are not to be discussed. ὕπνος at l. 123-4 is not personified.

<sup>326</sup>*Pace* Guez, who (82) emphasizes the point that both Penthesileia's and Agamemnon's dreams lead to disaster, and states (83) that Penthesileia has come to Troy only to fight Achilles. The latter is not true. She is also to be purified of the killing of her sister (l. 21-32).

<sup>327</sup>A ad A 63. Van der Valk (1963-4) II: 14.





Again, the dream-type, the visitation of a mortal by a disguised Olympian, is Homeric,<sup>329</sup> and the appearance in a dream of Athena to Epeius seems to have occurred in earlier versions of the Trojan story. Virtually all of these, though usually in a "hurried or imprecise" fashion, involve Athena in the construction of the wooden horse; in some, she actually builds it.<sup>330</sup> One dream appearance (after the fact) of Athena to Epeius, in which she commands him to dedicate his tools, is attested.<sup>331</sup> Whether traditional or Quintus' innovation,<sup>332</sup> the dream dramatizes Athena's involvement in the making of the horse, but renders her role limited and vague.

Quintus' handling of this episode presents an interesting contrast to his account of the death of Achilles. There, other versions of the story, also mostly in similarly "hurried or imprecise" fashion, involve Apollo; Quintus departs from these significantly, removing all human agency from the killing, an event of obvious dramatic and fatal necessity. Here, divine involvement is limited, and unnecessary.<sup>333</sup> The whole familiar plan, including Epeius' role, has already been set forth by Odysseus (12. 25-45, 66-83), in response to Calchas' prophecy that the city must be taken by stratagem (12. 1-20), and these arrangements have received considerable divine confirmation (12. 46-60, 84-103).

There are numerous difficulties with the text of this passage, line 111 being particularly intractable.<sup>334</sup> Campbell regards as "the only feasible interpretation" of the text

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<sup>329</sup>The closest parallel is Athena's appearance to Nausicaa (ζ 15-50), discussed in considerable detail by Guez. 87; δ 794-841 and probably ω 677-95 are other examples.

<sup>330</sup>Campbell, 37, whence the quotation, gives a list of sources; Vian, *Suite III*: 92, 215 n. 6, gives a slightly different list, stressing the precedent of the *Odyssey* and *Little Iliad*.

<sup>331</sup>Campbell, 37 n. 22, citing H. Fränkel, *De Sima Rhodio*, Diss., Göttingen, 1915, 68.

<sup>332</sup>As P. Kakridis, 98, maintains.

<sup>333</sup>*Contra* Campbell, 37, who suggests that the dream confirms that Epeius is to build the wooden horse.

<sup>334</sup>Vian, *Suite III*: 93 n. 1; Campbell, 38-9, *ad* 111, whence citations relevant to that line, 40-42 for detailed discussion of other problems.

that "Q[uintus] must mean . . . that [Athena] will (a) work with Epeius by (b) getting *right inside* <him>." There are, as Campbell notes, parallels in Latin poetry for deities visiting men and endowing them with "the faculty or gift with which [the gods in question] are associated." In three of the four passages which Campbell cites, however, the deities are personified abstractions, *Fames*, *Fides*, and *Virtus*, and it is not really necessary, and probably misleading, to equate Athena with τέχνη; there is certainly no other hint in the poem of the allegorization of Athena.<sup>335</sup> The fourth, as Campbell comments "differs from the others" in that it involves "a personage of canonical myth [Hercules, who] fulfills his promise by taking part personally."

What Athena in fact later does supports the alternate interpretation of line 111, that Athena encourages Epeius by saying that she will "get inside" the horse, presumably upon its completion.<sup>336</sup> The goddess does not, of course, "get inside" the horse literally, or even literally place anything inside of it. She does, however, make the completed horse "a marvel to those who saw it, or later heard of it" (12. 155). The text is difficult, but it is reasonable to suppose that this action, which secures for Epeius his own particular kleos, would indeed encourage him.<sup>337</sup>

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<sup>335</sup>Feeney's discussion of the development of allegory (364-91) considerably illuminates the first three examples cited by Campbell, and adds others, notably Statius' allegorization of Mars. The parallels for 12. 112 which Campbell, 42, cites (Penthesileia's arrival encourages the Trojans to fight, 1. 162; Apollo is to encourage Hector to fight, by breathing strength into him, O 59-60) are both well within the normal range of action for the subjects.

<sup>336</sup>So Vian, *Suite III*: 92-3, translates: "[E]lle promet, s'il fait diligence, de aider elle-même dans sa tâche, de venir habiter elle-même le cheval, sitôt qu'il l'aura terminé." Note, however that Köchley's *apparatus* indicates that his ἀγχοῦθι occurs in the MS N, rather than being, as Vian states, an emendation; this, however, would if anything rather lead the reader to expect the goddess' present participation.

<sup>337</sup>This seems to be the sense in which Follet, 180-1, understands the lines: "On peut comprendre: 'elle promet . . . d'y montrer elle-même aussitôt,' c'est-à-dire de venir l'inaugurer, ce qui constitue un encouragement pour Epeios."

The last dream visitation is that of Achilles to Neoptolemus after the sack of the city.<sup>338</sup> The dead hero first greets and consoles his son (14. 180-8):

δὴ τότε ἼΑχιλλῆος κρατερὸν κῆρ ἰσοθέοιο	180
ἔσθη ὑπὲρ κεφαλῆς οὐ υἱέος, οἷος ἔην περ	
ζωὸς ἑὼν, ὅτε Τρωσὶν ἄχος πέλε, χάρμα δ' ἸΑχαιοῖς.	
Κύσσε δὲ οἱ δειρὴν καὶ φάεα μαρμαίροντα	
ἀσπασίως καὶ τοῖα παρηγορέω προσέειπε·	
ἸΑχῆρε, τέκος, καὶ τι δαίζω πένθει θυμὸν	185
εἶνεκ' ἐμεῖο θανόντος, ἐπεὶ μακάρεσσι θεοῖσιν	
ἤδη ὁμέστιός εἰμι· σὺ δ' ἴσχεο τειρόμενος κῆρ	
ἀμφ' ἐμέθεν, καὶ κάρτος ἄδην ἐμὸν ἔνθεο θυμῷ.	

Then the mighty soul of Achilles, equal to a god, stood above his son's head, just as he was when alive, when he was a bane to the Trojans and a blessing to the Greeks. He joyfully kissed his son's neck and flashing eyes, and addressed him thus:

"Greetings, child. Do not trouble your heart with sorrow because I am dead, for I now dwell with the blessed gods. Cease troubling your soul about me, and put my great strength in your heart.

After sententiously advising his son on proper conduct (14. 189-209), Achilles demands the sacrifice of Polyxena and departs (14. 209-27).

. . . Καὶ ἸΑργεῖοισιν ἔνισπε,	
ἸΑτρεΐδῃ δὲ μάλιστ' ἸΑγαμέμνονι· εἴ γέ τι θυμῷ	210
μέμνηθ' ὅσσ' ἐμόγησα περὶ Πριάμοιο πόλῃα	
ἢ δ' ὅσα ληισάμην πρὶν Τρώϊον οὐδας ἰκέσθαι	
τῷ μοι νῦν ποτὶ τύμβον ἐελδομένῳ περ ἀγόντων	
ληίδος ἐκ Πριάμοιο Πολυξείηνην εὐπεπλον,	
ὄφρα θοῶς ῥέξωσιν, ἐπεὶ σφισι χῶομαι ἔμπης	215
μᾶλλον ἔτ' ἢ τὸ πάρος βρισηίδος· ἀμφὶ δ' ἄρ' οἶδμα	
κινήσω πόντοιο, βαλῶ δ' ἐπὶ χεῖματι χεῖμα,	
ὄφρα καταφθινύθοντες ἀτασθαλίῃσιν ἐῆσι	
μίμνωσ' ἐνθάδε πολλὸν ἐπὶ χρόνον, εἰς ὃ κ' ἔμοιγε	
λοιβὸς ἀμφιχέωνται ἐελδόμενοι μέγα νόστου·	220
αὐτὴν δ' εἴ κ' ἐθέλωσιν, ἐπὴν ἀπὸ θυμὸν ἔλωνται,	
κούρην ταρχύσασθαι ἀπόπροθεν οὐ τι μεγαίρω·	
Ἵως εἰπὼν ἀπόρουσε θεῷ ἐναλίγκιος ἄυρη·	

<sup>338</sup>The portion of this passage pertaining to Arete is discussed in ch. 3 and the Greeks' response to Neoptolemus' report of the dream in ch. 6.

αἶψα δ' ἐς Ἥλύσιον πεδῖον κίεν), ἤχι τέτυκται  
 οὐρανοῦ ἐξ ὑπάτοιο καταβασίη ἀνοδός τε 225  
 ἀθανάτοις μακάρεσσιν. Ὁ δ', ὀππότε μιν λίπεν ὕπνος,  
 μνήσατο πατρὸς ἐοῖο, νόος δέ οἱ ἦς ἰάνθη.

And tell the Argives, especially Agamemnon the son of Atreus, if they remember in their hearts how I strove before the city of Priam, and how much booty I took before reaching Trojan soil, then let them bring to my tomb, as I desire, from the spoil of Priam, Polyxena of the lovely robe, and sacrifice her quickly. For I am angry with them, even more than before, over Briseis. And I will move the waves of the sea, and send storm after storm, so that they may long waste away here, because of their presumptuousness, until eager to return home they pour libations to me. I do not begrudge the girl separate burial, when they have killed her, if they wish."

So he spoke and departed like a swift breeze, and came immediately to the Elysian Fields, where there is a way up and down from the highest heavens for the blessed immortals. And when sleep left [Neoptolemus] he remembered his father, and his noble mind rejoiced.

Like the dream of Epeius, the apparition of Achilles to Neoptolemus is the re-casting of a traditional episode in accordance with the pattern of a Homeric dream type. Two separate apparitions of Achilles, in fact, seem to have figured in earlier versions of the story, one appearing to Neoptolemus when he first arrives at Troy, and a second appearance to the Greeks after the fall of the city. The combination of these two episodes into one may account for the rather peculiar combination of Achilles' consolation and advice to his son with the demand that Polyxena be sacrificed.<sup>339</sup>

If, as seems likely, Quintus shapes each of his references to dreams in accordance with a Homeric model, the reason for the combination of these two episodes is clear:

<sup>339</sup>Vian, *Suite III* 159-161, lists sources. A general apparition to the Greeks is recounted by Ovid, *Met* 13 344-7. Guez, 88, believes that the juxtaposition arises from the desire of Quintus "de corriger ce qui dans l'épopée homérique ne correspond pas à son univers moral . . . [il] ne pouvait éviter de traiter l'épisode du sacrifice de Polyxène . . . la seule solution fut de vouloir modifier une légende aussi fameuse consistait pour Quintus à occulter l'horreur du sacrifice en injectant, même moment, une forte dose de morale dans le discours d' Achille, peu comme un homme qui voudrait dissimuler une mauvaise odeur en recouvrant sous un parfum très violent." Such correction by assertion, as Guez notes (89), gives the passage "un caractère quasi monstrueux" and is not Quintus' usual method of correcting the unseemliness of his models

There is no Homeric precedent for an apparition to all the Greeks, still less, for one occurring in broad day-light.<sup>340</sup> Neoptolemus' dream, however, clearly recalls the apparition of the shade of Patroclus to Achilles. The point of greatest similarity is that both passages deal with the after-life of the deceased.<sup>341</sup> Both apparitions give what may be termed instructions for their funerals. Quintus, however, as he so often does when evoking a Homeric passage relevant to the representation of the divine, departs from his model in such a way as to significantly alter the Homeric picture. Here, he virtually reverses the situation. While the shade of Patroclus accuses Achilles of forgetting him, Neoptolemus is consoled. And while Patroclus is dead and unburied, Achilles is buried, and has, as this passage reveals for the first time to the mortal characters of the poem, become a god. The exact nature of Achilles' status is discussed elsewhere. It should be noted, however, in this context that the apparition is said to disappear "like a swift breeze" (θοῆ ἐναλίγκιος ἄυρη, 14. 223). Vian regards this as a simple parallel to the apparition of Patroclus, which vanishes "like smoke" Ψ 100-1. But in all instances in the *Posthomerica* in which movements are compared to the wind in primary narrative, the movements are those of gods.<sup>342</sup> Note also that the revelation of Achilles' divinization corrects the grim description of his afterlife in the katabasis of the *Odyssey*.<sup>343</sup>

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<sup>340</sup>Vian, *Suite III*: 161 n. 1, maintains that the description of Neoptolemus' eyes in line 183 as "brillants" indicates a direct borrowing from a source which places this occurrence in the daytime

<sup>341</sup>Vian, *Suite III*, pp. 183, 233, n. 7, notes the lifelike appearance, presumably a traditional detail: the standing of the apparition over the dreamer's head (*Suite III*, p. 183, n.6) is typical of all dreams: on the insubstantiality of the apparition, see below

<sup>342</sup>Vian, *Suite III*: 185 n. 1, draws parallels between 14. 223 and Ψ 100 -1, citing 3. 781, 4. 111, and 5 396, which describe respectively the movements of Poseidon, Thetis, and Sleep. Vian also cites 8 10, where the same phrase is applied to the shattering of Eurypylos' hopes, and 9. 525, which parallels the beginning of 14. 223, not the comparison of the departure to the wind

<sup>343</sup>Guez, 90-1

In the two remaining references to dreams in the *Posthomerica*, divine action is not explicitly mentioned. These are portentous dreams, where the focus is entirely on the perspective of the mortal characters involved. At 14. 272-9, as Polyxena is led to sacrifice:

Καὶ τότε λευγαλέοις ἐπὶ πένθεσι κύντερον ἄλγος  
 τλήμονος ἐς κραδίην Ἐκάβης πέσεν· ἐν δὲ οἱ ἦτορ  
 μνήσατ' οἰζυροῖο καὶ ἀλγινόεντος ὄνειρου  
 τὸν ῥ' ἶδεν ὑπνώουσα παροιχομένη ἐνὶ νυκτί· 275  
 ἧ γὰρ οἶετο τύμβον ἐπ' ἀντιθέου Ἀχιλλῆος  
 ἐστάμεναι γοόωσα· κόμαι δὲ ἄχρισ ἐπ' οὔδας  
 ἐκ κεφαλῆς ἐκέχυντο, καὶ ἀμφοτέρων ἀπὸ μαζῶν  
 ἔρρεε φοίνιον αἷμα ποτὶ χθόνα, δεῦε δὲ σῆμα.

Then a still sharper grief befell the heart of suffering Hecuba, added to her dismal sorrows. Her heart recalled the sad and painful dream she saw in her sleep the previous night. She thought she was standing, lamenting, at the tomb of godlike Achilles. Her hair reached from her head to the ground, and blood flowed from both her breasts to the earth, soaking the tomb.

Like the other dreams discussed so far, Hecuba's is a traditional element of the story of the fall of Troy,<sup>344</sup> and is an example of a Homeric type, the vision in a dream of a portentous scene.<sup>345</sup> It does not, however, have any ramifications for the portrayal of the gods in the *Posthomerica*. Recounted as Polyxena is being led to sacrifice, it is dramatically unnecessary:<sup>346</sup> like so many other passages it serves primarily to give a gloss of divine involvement to the event.

Also dramatically unnecessary is the one remaining reference to dreams in the *Posthomerica*. At 13. 124-5, Quintus describes the slaughter as the main Greek force enters the city: "One after another [the Trojans] breathed their last: they lay, seeing their fate together with their dreams" (ἄλλοι δ' ἀμφ' ἄλλοισιν ἀπέπνεον· οἱ δ' ἐκέχυντο/

<sup>344</sup>For discussion of sources, see Kehmptzow, 25. The most certain is Euripides *Hecuba* 90-7, discussed by Guez, 94-6.

<sup>345</sup>The closest parallel is τ 535-81, ξ 482-98 and υ 87-90 are also similar. Guez, 95, notes that the image of blood flowing from the mother's breasts if taken from Aeschylus, *Choe.* 524-30.

<sup>346</sup>Guez, 93-4, and n. 34.

πότμον ὁμῶς ὀρώωντες ὀνειράσιν . . . ). The lines echo K 496-7, where Diomedes kills Rhesus, who " . . . gasps, for an evil dream stood by his head that night, the son of Oeneus' son (i.e. Diomedes), by the devising of Athena" (ἀσθμαίνοντα· κακὸν γὰρ ὄναρ κεφαλῆφιν ἐπέστη/τὴν νύκτ', Οἰνεῖδαο πάϊς, διὰ μῆτιν Ἀθήνης). The situation of Quintus' Trojans, who "see their fate together with their dreams" as the Greeks attack them is remarkably similar to that of Rhesus, who sees Diomedes in a dream, at more or less the same time as Diomedes actually kills him.<sup>347</sup> In conjunction with the echo of ἀσθμαίνοντα (K 496) by ἀπέπνεον (13. 124), and the fact that each of the other references to dreams in the *Posthomerica* represents a type of Homeric dream, this similarity is sufficient to demonstrate an allusion to the *Iliad*. This is an interesting illustration of Quintus' technique of responding to Homer,<sup>348</sup> but adds nothing to his portrayal of the gods.

The dreams recounted in the *Posthomerica*, then, with the exception of Neoptolemus' which prompts the sacrifice of Polyxena, serve no dramatic purpose. Nor do

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<sup>347</sup>Thus A *ad* K 496

<sup>348</sup>Ancient commentators object to the connection of Athena with Rhesus' dream, and to the awkward syntax which places Οἰνεῖδαο πάϊς in apposition to κακὸν . . . ὄναρ, and athetized K 497 (A *ad loc.* for further discussion, see Kirk, III: 201-2 *ad loc.*). Attempting to reconcile Rhesus' dream with the Homeric pattern of an admonitory dream does nothing to alleviate the syntactical difficulties of the passage, and an apparition of Diomedes moreover violates the Homeric norm that dream visitations assume the appearance of an individual well-known to the dreamer. Moreover, the sending of such a warning by Athena would undo the considerable effort which Athena has devoted to the success of Odysseus' and Diomedes' raid. Under a second interpretation, Rhesus' dream is simply a nightmare, from which the Thracian awakens "gasping" in fright. This nightmare may be understood to have developed for some time, allowing τὴν νύκτ' to be construed as an accusative of extent of time. Thus, Rhesus, half-awake, panicked and confused, sees the real Diomedes in the act of, or on the point of, dealing him his death blow, in what he perceives to be a dream. The reference to Athena is thus satisfactorily explained. She is responsible, not for Rhesus' dream, but for the actual presence of Diomedes. In just the same way, Quintus' Trojans, waking from their drunken sleep, have a confused glimpse of their slayers. This interpretation of the Homeric passage is defended by the bT Scholia on the grounds of ethos: It is in accordance with normal speech to say of someone who "suffers some evil by night" that he "saw a bad dream." Given the tendency of Homeric phrases to attain proverbial force, this comment also suggests that the idea of a bad dream called to mind the Iliadic passage, adding to the likelihood that Quintus' mention of a similar situation is purposeful allusion. Quintus, however, has removed divine agency, which is in keeping neither with divine behavior in the *Posthomerica*, nor with his version of the sack of the city. Indicative of the attention paid the Iliadic passage in antiquity is its imitation by, Virgil (*Aen.* 9. 324-8), though his point seems to be ironic, an augur failing to foresee his own death.



they seem to be of particular import for Quintus' portrayal of the gods. While in these passages Quintus "corrects" some details of his Homeric models, these corrections are minor. Instead, the effect of these passages is primarily to evoke Homeric and tragic versions of the story, and to add to the veneer of divine involvement which adorns, but does not really influence, the events of the *Posthomerica*.

## Chapter Six: Mortals' Attitudes toward the Gods

The representation of the divine in the *Posthomerica* is accomplished not solely through mimesis and narration of divine action, but also through the statements of mortal characters and references to prayers, religious ritual, and prophecy.<sup>1</sup>

Appeals to the Gods It is in petitions to the gods, prayers and their accompanying rituals, that the characteristics of Quintus' representation of the divine, and its differences from that found in other epics, are most apparent. Differences between the treatment of petitions to the gods in the *Posthomerica* and other epics are qualitative, not quantitative.<sup>2</sup> Prayers occur about as frequently, proportionally, in the *Posthomerica* as in the Homeric poems or the *Argonautica*.<sup>3</sup> It should be noted at the outset, however, that petitions to

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<sup>1</sup>The importance of this mortal perspective on the divine is not to be underestimated. Homeric scholarship focuses on the disjunction between omniscient narration of divine action and character statements. The significance of the mortal perspective is most apparent in the case of works where the divine is represented only in this way, of which Lucan's *Bellum Civile*, studies on which significantly inform the present discussion, is the best-known.

<sup>2</sup>*contra* Vian, Suite I: xiv, who states that in the *Posthomerica* "men . . . do not often demonstrate need to confide in or appeal to the gods."

<sup>3</sup>Frequency is calculated by counting as separate petitions prayers quoted in direct discourse, but to count only once instances in which the poet mentions collective prayers then quotes the prayer of an individual (e.g.: ○ 367-77), or instances which involve elaborate preparation, such as the sacrifices to Apollo in A and the Trojan women's petition to Athena in Z.

certain deities and certain types of petitions are entirely absent from Quintus' poem. Homer alludes to the worship of Artemis (Π 182-3); Quintus never does, and scarcely refers to the goddess at all. Thetis is never petitioned in the *Posthomerica* as she is in the *Iliad* (A 348-61 or Σ 75); in Quintus' poem, Achilles while alive has no contact with his mother. Absence of reference to the worship of rivers (Λ 726-36; Φ 131; Ψ 141-9) or winds (Ψ 193-230) is in accordance with Quintus' limited characterization of these entities. Oaths or wishes by the gods figure only rarely in the *Posthomerica*: At 10. 289, Paris begs πρὸς . . . θεῶν that Oenone help him. At 13. 512, Aethra begs πρὸς μέγαλοιο Διός to be taken to kinsmen of Theseus. At 13. 80-1, Menelaus' thoughts after he kills Deiphobus are summarized: The Trojans provoked the war by violating oaths solemnized by sacrifice (. . . μέλαν αἷμα καὶ ἱρὰ/ἀθανάτων ἐλάθοντο παραιβασίησι νόοιο): his subsequent conversation with Agamemnon (13. 412-4) suggests that these sacrifices are, appropriately, to Zeus as guarantor of hospitality (Ζεῖνιος). In the *Iliad*, oaths figure prominently in the plot and are solemnized by elaborate sacrifices. The details of two funerals in the *Posthomerica*, Penthesileia's (1. 789-803) and Achilles' (3. 672-742) are common to epic funerals,<sup>4</sup> but Quintus' descriptions are far shorter than Homer's: they summarize the *Iliadic* passages which are their models. The only detail unique to the *Posthomerica* is the statement that Penthesileia's funeral honors both her and her father. Ares (ἦρα φέροντες Ἄρηι καὶ αὐτῇ Πενθεσιλείῃ, 1. 803), and this is likely simply yet another statement of the Amazon's parentage. The *Posthomerica* contains one reference to a type of religious ritual not found in Homer, the statement that Penthesileia came to Troy to be purified for the accidental killing of her sister (1. 27-32). This detail is traditional.<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>4</sup>For parallels, see Vian, *Suite I*: 43, n. 1 and 121, 173, n. 6

<sup>5</sup>For sources, see Vian, *Suite I*: 13, n. 2.

and may also be seen as responding to the ancient critics' commenting that in Homer homicides are not purified.<sup>6</sup>

Prayers in the *Posthomeric* in general are briefer, addressed to different deities, accompanied by less religious ritual, and imply or cite different reasons for the expectation of divine assistance than do prayers in other epics. The divine response to petitions is also different, and prayers have comparatively slight effect on subsequent action. These features are seen clearly in four of the longest prayers in the *Posthomeric*. The first is made at l. 182-204, as Penthesileia rides out to battle:

Καὶ τότε δὴ Κρονίωνι πολυτλήτους ἀναείρας  
 χεῖρας Λαομέδοντος εὖς γόνος ἀφνειοῖο  
 εὔχετ' ἐς ἱερόν αἰπὺ τετραμμένος Ἰδαίοιο  
 Ζηνός, ὃς Ἴλιον αἰὲν εἰς ἐπιδέρκεται ὄσσοις· 185  
 Ἴκλυθι, πάτερ, καὶ λαὸν Ἀχαιῶν ἡματι τῷδε  
 δὸς πεσέειν ὑπὸ χερσὶν Ἀρηιάδος Βασιλείης,  
 καὶ δὴ αὖ μιν παλίνορσον ἐμὸν ποτὶ δῶρα σάωσον  
 ἀζόμενος τεὸν υἱὰ πελώριον ὄβριμον Ἄρην,  
 αὐτὴν θ', οὐνεκ' εἴκειν ἐπουρανίησι θεῆσιν 190  
 ἐκπάγλως, καὶ σείο θεοῦ γένος ἐστὶ γενέθλης.  
 Αἰδέσσαι δ' ἐμὸν ἦτορ ἐπεὶ κακὰ πολλὰ τέτληκα  
 παίδων ὀλλυμένων, οὓς μοι περὶ Κῆρες ἔμαρψαν  
 Ἀργείων παλάμησι κατὰ στόμα δημοτῆτος·  
 αἶδεο δ' ἔως ἔτι παῦροι ἀφ' αἵματός εἰμεν ἀγανοῦ 195  
 Δαρδάνου, ἔως ἀδάικτος ἔτι πτόλις, ὄφρα καὶ ἡμεῖς  
 ἐκ φόνου ἀργαλέοιο καὶ Ἄρεος ἀμπνεύσωμεν.  
 Ἦ ῥα μέγ' εὐχόμενος. Τῷ δ' αἰετὸς ὄξυ κεληγῶς  
 ἦδη ἀποπνεύουσαν ἔχων ὀνύχεσσι πέλιαν 200  
 ἐσσυμένως οἴμησεν ἀριστερός· ἀμφὶ δὲ θυμῷ  
 τάρβησε(ν) Πριάμοιο νόος, φάτο δ' οὐκέτ' ἀθρήσειν  
 ζωὴν Πενθεσίλειαν ἀπὸ πτολέμοιο κιοῦσαν.  
 Καὶ τὸ μὲν ὥς ἡμελλον ἐτήτυμον ἡματι κείνῳ  
 Κῆρες ὑπεκτελέειν· ὁ δ' ἄχλυτο θυμὸν ἔαγῶς.

Then the great son of rich Laomedon raised his unfortunate hands to the son of Cronus, and, turning to the lofty temple of Idaean Zeus, who ever looks with his eyes upon Ilium, he prayed: "Hear, father, and grant today that the Achaean host fall to the hand

<sup>6</sup>For citation and discussion of these comments, see Griffin (1976) 48

of the queen, Ares' daughter, and bring her back safe to my halls, honoring your son, great, mighty Ares, and her, because she is very like the heavenly goddesses, and is born of your divine stock. And pity my heart, for I have endured much evil, because my sons have died, whom the Keres took from me at the hands of the Argives, in the forefront of the battle. Have pity, while a few of the blood of noble Dardanus remain, while the city is still undestroyed, so that we may have respite from cruel slaughter and from war."

So [Priam] fervently prayed. Crying shrilly, an eagle with a dying dove in its talons swiftly came up on his left. Priam was frightened, and thought that he would never see Penthesileia return alive from war. And this the Keres would bring about that day. And he grieved, heart-broken.

These lines show the influence of three Iliadic passages. The situation closely parallels  $\omega$  283-321: A prayer to Idaean Zeus ( $\omega$  290-1, 308; 1. 184-5) by Priam who bases his appeal on Zeus' affection for the Trojans ( $\omega$  309; 1. 192-6), an answering omen ( $\omega$  315-20; 1. 198-200), and a statement of the observer's response to the omen ( $\omega$  321; 1. 200-2, 204). The description and effect of the portent also draw upon M 200-9, and the substance of Priam's prayer upon Z 305-7.<sup>7</sup>

Priam's prayer, however, differs from these Homeric petitions. The lack of ritual accompanying it is immediately obvious. Only rarely in the *Iliad* does a petition made where there is opportunity for libation or sacrifice (i. e.: not inserted into a longer speech or made in the heat of battle) occur without accompanying ritual,<sup>8</sup> and such rituals are often described at great length. Quintus, however, consistently avoids such description. Thus Quintus' Priam merely looks toward the temple and raises his hands (1. 182-5), while in the Iliadic prayer which 1. 182-204 most nearly resembles, Priam not only looks toward the heavens ( $\omega$  307), but accompanies his petition with ritual hand-washing ( $\omega$  302-5)

<sup>7</sup>Vian, *Suite* I. 20, n. 3, cites  $\omega$  283-321, Z 305-7, and M 200-1. Z 297-311 and M 200-9 are also relevant; the latter is noted by P. Kakridis, 16

<sup>8</sup>At A 348-61, Achilles summons Thetis only lifting his hands. Chryses' first prayer (A 33-43) and Odysseus' prayer to Athena at  $\Psi$  768-71 are unaccompanied by any gesture. Only Achilles' prayer is made under truly leisured circumstances, however, and all three orants have special relationships with the gods they petition.

and libation (Ω 284-7, 305-6); another model for l. 182-204, Z 297-311, involves one of the most detailed Homeric rituals.

Also unusual for epic generally but typical of the *Posthomerica* are the grounds upon which Priam expects Zeus' assistance.<sup>9</sup> While Homer's Priam at most briefly alludes to Zeus' affection and pity for him (φίλον . . . ἐλεεινόν, Ω 309), Quintus' cites both his own (l. 195-6) and Penthesileia's descent from Zeus (l. 189, 191) as reasons the god should aid them. At l. 189 ἀζόμενος . . . Ἄρην recalls the frequent use of this verb to describe relations among the gods. But their regard for one another does not extend to special favors for each others' offspring. The importance which Quintus attaches to divine ancestry, especially to descent from Zeus constitutes one of the most obvious differences between the theologies of the *Posthomerica* and the *Iliad*.<sup>10</sup> But, as here, even the finest pedigree does not guarantee divine favor. It is worth noting that the close protective relationships between individual gods and men which are so much a part of Iliadic and indeed actual ancient religious practice in no way figure in the *Posthomerica*. Although Quintus twice mentions Athena's concern for Odysseus (at 5. 361-2, where she maddens Ajax to protect him, and at 14. 629, where she foresees the sufferings Poseidon will inflict upon him) he never seeks the goddess' assistance as he does so frequently in the *Iliad*, to say nothing of the *Odyssey*.

The most important difference between this passage and its Homeric models is the divine response to it. This is particularly significant here, as l. 182-204 is both the first prayer in the *Posthomerica* and constitutes the first reference to Zeus in the primary narrative.<sup>11</sup> Even here, the god's action is minimal. The eagle is unquestionably his bird.<sup>12</sup>

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<sup>9</sup>Religious ritual (vows and sacrifices) are a normal reason for the expectation of divine assistance, but do not figure in the models for l. 182-204

<sup>10</sup>See ch. 3, pp 121-4

<sup>11</sup>Zeus is mentioned in similes at l. 66 and l. 154

nor is it in this single case significant that the prayer is not granted. It is remarkable, however, that Penthesileia's death is brought about not by the Olympian god, but, as so often in the *Posthomerica*, by an agent of Fate, here, the Keres. The peculiarity is highlighted (the more so because of its occurrence early in a work which lacks a proem) by the use of the verb ὑπεκτελέω. In epic it is almost always Zeus who, as at A 5 (Διὸς δὲ τελείετο βουλή), brings to pass events or fulfills prayers; never, save here, in the *Posthomerica* or elsewhere, is it Fate.<sup>13</sup> As is the norm in Quintus' poem, the suggestion that Zeus directly works evil against men, in this case by bringing about the Amazon's death, is avoided.

The final and characteristic difference between l. 182-204 and its models is the fact that the passage is dramatically unnecessary. Forebodings of Penthesileia's death are already, if anything, over-determined,<sup>14</sup> and the omen in no way affects the action, as Penthesileia has already set out for battle. In contrast, in his Iliadic prayer, Priam specifically requests an omen (ω 309-12), which furthers the action because without it Priam will not venture into the Greek camp (ω 290-7, 312-3).

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<sup>12</sup>At M 209 it is unclear whether the identification of the eagle and snake as Διὸς τέρας is to be understood as an authorial comment or as summarizing the thoughts of the terrified Trojans. In ω, Zeus is clearly responsible: cf. also Θ 247-51, where both causation and response are explicitly stated. Similarly an eagle is sent by Zeus at β 146-7, and may be presumed to be sent by him at ο 160-4. On the logic of the attribution, see de Jong, 215

<sup>13</sup>Except in the (frequent) instances of mortals fulfilling requests made by other mortals, the subject of τελέω and its compounds is almost always Zeus, or, in the speech of mortal characters, an unspecified deity or the gods collectively. Exceptions are rare, and occur only in the speech of mortal characters (A 66, Apollo for Chryses; γ 226, θ 22, Athena for Odysseus; λ 280, the Erinyes are said to bring about Jocasta's suicide; ν 178, Poseidon punishes the Phaeacians; Apollonius, *Arg.* 4. 382, Hera for Medea). Even instances of gods fulfilling the requests of other gods are very rare (Ξ 195-6, Aphrodite for Hera; Ξ 262, Sleep for Hera, Σ 426-7, Hephaestus for Thetis; ε 90, Calypso for Hermes, Apollonius, *Arg.* 3. 131, Eros for Aphrodite, 4. 757, Iris for Hera).

<sup>14</sup>The Amazon's fate is predicted by the poet (l. 96-7, 134-7, 171-4) and by Andromache (l. 100-5)

Very similar to Priam's prayer<sup>15</sup> is 9. 8-31, which illustrates the demoralization of the Trojans after the death of Eurypylus:

Ἄντήνωρ δ' ἐν τοῖσι ἠρήσατ' ἀνακτι·  
 Ζεῦ, Ἰδῆς μεδέων ἠδ' οὐρανοῦ αἰγλήεντος,  
 κλυθι μὲν εὐχομένοιο, καὶ ὄβριμον ἄνδρα πόλης 10  
 τρέφον ἀφ' ἡμετέρης ὀλοᾶ φρεσὶ μητιόωντα,  
 εἴ θ' ὄ γ' Ἀχιλλεύς ἐστι καὶ οὐ κίε δῶμ' Αἴδαιο,  
 εἴ τί τις ἄλλος Ἀχαιοὺς ἀλίγκιος ἀνέρι κείνῳ·  
 λαοὶ γὰρ κατὰ ἄστυ θεηγενέος Πριάμοιο  
 πολλοὶ ἀποφθινύθουσι, κακοῦ δ' οὐ γίνετ' ἔρωή, 15  
 ἀλλὰ φόνος τε καὶ οἶτος ἐπὶ πλεόν αιὲν ἀέξει·  
 Ζεῦ πάτερ, οὐδέ νυ σοὶ τι δαίζομένων ὑπ' Ἀχαιοῖς  
 μέμβλεται, ἀλλ' ἄρα καὶ σὺ λελασμένος υἱὸς ἐοῖο  
 Δαρδάνου ἀντιθέοιο μέγ' Ἀργείοισιν ἀρήγεις.  
 Ἄλλὰ σοὶ εἰ τόδε θυμὸς ἐνὶ κραδίῃ μενεαίνει, 20  
 Τρῶας ὑπ' Ἀργείοισιν οἴζυρῶς ἀπολέσσαι,  
 ἔρξον ἄφαρ, μηδ' ἄμμι πολὺν χρόνον ἄλγεα τεῦχε·  
 Ἦ ῥα μέγ' εὐχόμενος τοῦ δ' ἔκλυεν οὐρανόθι Ζεὺς·  
 καὶ τὸ μὲν αἴψ' ἐτέλεσεν, ὃ δ' οὐκ ἤμελλε τελέσσειν, 25  
 Δὴ γὰρ οἱ κατένευσεν, ὅπως ἀπὸ πολλοὶ ὄλωνται  
 Τρῶες ὁμῶς τεκέεσσι, δαΐφρονα δ' υἱ' Ἀχιλλῆος  
 τρεψέμεν οὐ κατένευσεν ἀπ' εὐρυχόροιο πόλης,  
 ἀλλὰ ἐμᾶλλον ἔγειρεν, ἐπεὶ νῦν θυμὸς ἀνώγει  
 ἦρα φέρειν καὶ κῦδος εὐφροῖνι Νηρηίην, 30  
 Καὶ τὰ μὲν ὥς ὥρμαινε θεῶν μέγα φέρτατος ἄλλων.

Among them, Antenor cried out to the ruler of the gods. "Zeus, who rule Ida and the starry heavens, hear my prayer, and turn away from our city this terrible, destructive-minded man, whether he be Achilles still alive and not dead in the house of Hades, or some other Achaean like that man. For many people are perishing in the town of divinely descended Priam, and there is no respite from evil, but rather slaughter and ruin ever increase. Father Zeus, you do not care that we are destroyed by the Achaeans, but have forgotten your son, godlike Dardanus, and greatly help the Argives. If this is your heart's desire, that the Trojans perish miserably at the hands of the Argives, do it immediately, and do not continue our pain for a long time."

So he fervently prayed, and from heaven Zeus heard him. And he immediately brought about the latter, but would not bring

<sup>15</sup>As Vian, *Suite II*: 180, n. 3, notes.



about the former. For he assented that many Trojans and their children perish, but he did not assent to turn the son of Achilles away from the city of the broad streets. Rather, he roused him up the more, since now his heart urged him to give honor and fame to the gracious Nereid. These things he devised, by far stronger than the other gods.

Like Priam's prayer, Antenor's has clear Homeric models.<sup>16</sup> Formally,  $\Theta$  236-44, where Odysseus prays that Zeus permit the Greeks to escape Hector, even if he does not grant that they sack Troy, is an exact parallel, in that the petitioner presents the god with two alternatives. The overall tone is closer to  $\Pi$  233-52, where Zeus grants Achilles' prayer that Patroclus drive back the Trojans, but not that he return safely. Antenor's prayer diverges from its models in the same characteristic ways as does Priam's.

Like Priam, Antenor seems to base his appeal on the notion that Zeus will pity (9. 14-23) the royal house descended from him (9. 14, 18-9), and while the most minimal ritual gestures accompany Priam's prayer, Antenor makes none. This is in marked contrast to Odysseus, who, though he prays in the heat of battle and can undertake no ritual, cites his many sacrifices made to ensure the capture of Troy ( $\Theta$  238-41). Achilles' prayer is accompanied by libation and preceded by ritual hand-washing and the washing and fumigation of the libation vessel ( $\Pi$  225-31), and in his prayer, Achilles cites the assistance Zeus has previously given him ( $\Pi$  236-8). The response to the prayers of Odysseus and Achilles is both immediately and explicitly stated by the poet and rapidly apparent to the characters ( $\Theta$  245-52;  $\Pi$  249-51, 380-3, 644-51, 684-93;  $\Sigma$  1-21). Zeus' response to Antenor's prayer (9. 24-31), is immediately apparent only to the reader, not to the Trojans. Their terror at 9. 6-7 is abated by an exhortation from Deiphobus, and after a truce, they take the field again at 9. 110 and enjoy some success in Books 9-11. For this reason, Antenor's prayer is commonly regarded as an instance in which Quintus is led astray by

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<sup>16</sup>Cited by Vian, *Suite II*: 180, n. 3

too-close adherence to his sources.<sup>17</sup> But it is likely that 9. 25-31 is intended simply as foreshadowing,<sup>18</sup> and that Antenor's prayer, like Priam's, and like so much in the *Posthomerica*, does not affect subsequent events in any way discernible to mortal characters.

Two other prayers exhibit similar characteristics. At 11. 266-79, a drawn battle rages:

... Δέος δ' ἔχε μηλοβοτῆρας  
 ἔκποθεν Ἰδαίων ὀρέων ἄφοντας αὐτήν.<sup>19</sup>  
 καὶ τις ἐς αἰθέρα χεῖρας ἐπουρανίοισιν ἀείρων  
 εὔχετο, δυσμενέας μὲν ὑπ' Ἄρει πάντας ὀλέσθαι.  
 Τρῶας δὲ στονόεντας ἀναπνεῦσαι πολέμοιο, 270  
 ἦμαρ δ' εἰσιδέειν ποτ' ἐλεύθερον· Ἀλλὰ οἱ οὐ τι  
 ἔκλυον· Αἴσα γὰρ ἄλλα πολύστονος ὀρμαίνεσκεν·  
 ἄζετο δ' οὔτε Ζῆνα πελώριον οὔτε τιν' ἄλλον  
 ἀθανάτων· οὐ γάρ τι μετατρέπεται νόος αἰνὸς  
 κείνης, ὄντινα πότμον ἐπ' ἀνδράσι γεινομένοισιν, 275  
 ἀνδράσιν ἢ πολίεσιν ἐπικλώσεται ἀφύκτω  
 νήματι· τῆ δ' ὑπο πάντα τὰ μὲν φθινύθει, τὰ δ' ἀέξει·  
 Τῆς καὶ ὑπ' ἐννεσίησι πόνος καὶ δῆρις ὀρώρει  
 ἵππομάχοις Τρώεσσι καὶ ἀγχεμάχοισιν Ἀχαιοῖς.

From afar, fear seized the shepherds who heard the din of battle from the hills of Ida. And one raised his hands to the heavens and prayed to the heavenly ones that all their enemies would perish in battle, and that the Trojans would have a respite from sorrowful war, and see their day of freedom. But they did not hear. For cruel Aisa intended otherwise. She heeds neither mighty Zeus nor any other immortal. For her terrible mind does not care what fate she spins with her inalterable thread for men when they are born or for cities. Through her all things die and grow, and at her command the tumult and the struggle between the Trojan cavalry and the Achaeans who fought them at close quarters increased.

<sup>17</sup> He is thought to take the prayer from an account in which Philoctetes arrives prior to, or at the same time as, Neoptolemus, and to carelessly retain the link between the prayer and the immanent fall of the city while delaying this for two books in which he deals with Philoctetes (Vian, *Suite II*, 169). But while the *Posthomerica* shows some signs of careless composition or incomplete editing (see ch. 3, p. 128), Quintus' use of his sources is more sophisticated than this.

<sup>18</sup>So Duckworth (1936) 61

<sup>19</sup>ἄφοντας is the emendation of West (1963) 61, replacing the MSS' ὀρόωντας

The summary in indirect discourse of the prayer of an un-named individual to un-named gods obviously minimizes the importance of the petition. It also is accompanied only by the minimal ritual raising of hands (ll. 268), and is dramatically unnecessary except in so far as it varies the narration of the battle; as this continues (ll. 278-9), the prayer is entirely without effect.

The response to the prayer, however, and the authorial comment at ll. 272-7, is of considerable interest. These lines are the clearest statement in the *Posthomerica* of the notion that the outcome of events is determined by an inexorable and insensate Fate (ll. 274-7), separate from and not subject to the will of Zeus or the other gods (ll. 273-4).<sup>20</sup> The use of ἄζετο (ll. 273) contrasts the behavior of the gods who in the *Posthomerica* so often defer to each other, with that of Aisa. The notion of the inflexibility of Fate, however, is Homeric.<sup>21</sup> At Y 127-8 Aisa is said to spin human destiny. The situation in the shepherds' prayer is much the same as in many other instances where the divine causation of misfortune is specified: Quintus attributes it to Fate, exonerating the Olympian gods. Here, however, the result is to denigrate them vis-a-vis Fate.

Quintus' picture of the relationship between the gods and Fate is further developed in his account of the sack of the city at ll. 544-61:

Καὶ τότε που Πριάμοιο πολυτλήτοιο θύγατρα	
Λαοδίκην ἐνέπουσιν ἐς αἰθέρα χεῖρας ὀρέξαι	545
εὐχομένην μακάρεσσιν ἀτειρέσιν, ὄφρα ἔ γαῖα	
ἀμφιχάνη, πρὶν χεῖρα βαλεῖν ἐπὶ δούλια ἔργα.	
Τῆς δὲ θεῶν τις ἄκουσε καὶ αὐτίκα γαῖαν ἐνερθεν	
ῥῆξεν ἀπειρεσίην· ἧ δ' ἐννεσίησι θεοῖο	
κούρην δέξατο δῖαν ἔσω κοῖλοιο βερέθρου.	550

<sup>20</sup>Vian (*Suite III*: 59, n. 4) views this passage (presumably especially ll. 276) as an allusion to Τύχη πόλεως. But her very personification and attested cult indicate that she was thought to be susceptible to entreaty; quite the opposite of what is suggested by ll. 274-5. This is not to argue that the emergence and importance of Τύχη does not account for some of the difference between Quintus' and Homer's portrayals of the gods; it must influence Quintus' greater willingness to attribute conscious action to agents of Fate, and his less clear equation of Fate and Olympian will.

<sup>21</sup>The parallels discussed here are cited by Vian, *Suite III*: 59, n. 5

Ἰλίου ὀλλυμένης, ἧς εἵνεκά φασι καὶ αὐτὴν  
 Ἥλεκτρην βαθύπεπλον ἐὼν δέμας ἀμφικαλύψαι  
 ἀχλύϊ καὶ νεφέεσσιν ἀποικομένην χοροῦ ἄλλων  
 Πλειάδων. αἷ δὴ οἱ ἀδελφειαὶ γεγάασιν·  
 ἀλλ' αἷ μὲν μογεροῖσιν ἐπόψιαι ἀνθρώποισιν 555  
 ἱλαδὸν ἀντέλλουσιν ἐς οὐρανόν· ἦ δ' ἄρα μούνη  
 κεύθεται αἰὲν αἴστος, ἐπεὶ ρά οἱ υἱέος ἐσθλοῦ  
 Δαρδάνου ἱερὸν ἄστνυ κατήριπεν· ὁ δὲ οἱ αὐτὸς  
 Ζεὺς ὑπάτος χραίσμησεν ἀπ' αἰθέρος, οὐνεκα Μοίραις  
 εἵκει καὶ μέγαλοιο Διὸς μένος· Ἄλλὰ τὸ μὲν που 560  
 ἀθανάτων τάχ' ἔρεξεν εὐς νόος, ἧὲ καὶ οὐκί.<sup>22</sup>

At that time, they say, Laodice, the daughter of much-suffering Priam, raised her hands to the heavens and prayed to the mighty blessed ones that the earth swallow her before her hand was set to servile work. One of the gods heard her and immediately broke open the vast earth beneath her, and by the god's command, the earth received the lovely girl into a deep chasm, when Priam was destroyed. And they say that because of her, long-robed Electra herself hid her body in mist and clouds and left the chorus of the other Pleiades, her sisters. They go into the heavens to be seen by toiling men, but she alone is always hidden, ever since the holy city of her noble son, Dardanus, fell. Nor did most high Zeus himself give succor from the aether, because even the might of great Zeus yields to the Moirae. But perhaps the vast mind of the immortals somehow brought this to pass, or not.

As Laodice's prayer is made under pressing circumstances, it is not particularly significant that here again the only ritual gesture is the raising of hands (13. 545). Again, however, (although this does not form part of its substance) the response to the petition is closely connected with reference to divine ancestry (13. 557-8). And it is addressed to, and answered by, unspecified deities (13. 546, 598-50). The prayer itself, which is nowhere else attested, may be an invention to explain Laodice's prodigious disappearance, which figures in many accounts of the sack of Troy.<sup>23</sup> The relationship between Fate and the

<sup>22</sup>For the purposes of the present discussion, it makes little difference whether the MSS' οὐκί is retained at 13. 561 or Zimmermann's αὐτῶν is adopted. In the latter case, the translation is: "But perhaps the vast mind of the immortals somehow brought this about, or perhaps [the Moirae did] "

<sup>23</sup>Sources for the disappearance are cited by Vian, *Suite III*: 151, 231, n. 4). Note that Quintus qualifies the disappearance (φασί, 13. 551).

gods again figures in the authorial comment which concludes the passage. Coupled with the aetiology of Electra's disappearance, the statement of Zeus' powerlessness in the face of Fate (13. 558-60) recalls the numerous passages in which the Olympians grieve over events over which they seem to have no control.<sup>24</sup> The comment also, of course, recalls the similar conclusion of the shepherd's prayer. But here, Quintus retreats from the notion that Fate is entirely separated from, and superior to, divine will, concluding tentatively (13. 560-1) that, as in Homer, the two are in some unfathomable way identical. The mysteriousness of this divine purpose is emphasized by the placement of the statement. It is unclear whether the ἀθανάτων νόος determines the disappearance of Electra, of Laodice, or even the sack of the city which is the root cause of both.<sup>25</sup> In any case, occurring as it does two lines before the end of the climactic book of the *Posthomerica*, this can be taken as Quintus' final (though hardly definitive) statement on the relationship between Fate and the gods. He retreats from the definitive statements made earlier in the poem<sup>26</sup> and articulates the conclusion which can be drawn, and which ancient commentators did draw, from Homer: Fate and the will of Zeus are the same, however difficult it may be to fathom divine purpose.<sup>27</sup>

The tendency to for prayers to be addressed to the gods collectively, the basis of appeals on the petitioner's divine ancestry, minimal accompanying ritual, and limited divine response which characterize these four passages are typical of all the petitions mentioned in the *Posthomerica*. In addition to those of the shepherds and Laodice, eleven prayers, almost half of the total number in the poem and an overwhelming plurality, are addressed to the gods collectively (θεοί, ἀθάνατοι, μάκαρες), or have no stated addressee:

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<sup>24</sup>Ch. 5, pp 180-2.

<sup>25</sup>On the ambiguity, see Vian, *Suite* III, 151, 232, n. 8.

<sup>26</sup>On the authorial comment at 11. 272-7, see p.315; cf. also Nestor to Podalireus pp. 343-5.

<sup>27</sup>On the equation of Fate and the will of Zeus, see Eustathius, 1686.

Nestor's song concludes with a prayer that Neoptolemus come from Scyros (4. 169-70); at 6. 117-20 the gods are said to respond to the Trojans' prayers by bringing Eurypylos as a champion; Alcimedides' prays as he hurls a sling bolt (6. 568); the Scyrians pray for Neoptolemus' safety (7. 366-8); the gods do not fulfill the Trojans' prayers for victory (7. 482); the Greeks' pray to escape the inspired Aeneas and Eurymachus (11. 179-82);<sup>28</sup> the Trojans make premature thanksgiving (12. 503-7); and the Greeks' timely ones (14. 101-4); the Greek chiefs pour libations for a safe voyage (14. 378-80). The sheer number of such vaguely-addressed petitions is startling; only two and three prayers, respectively, are so addressed in the *Iliad* and *Argonautica*.<sup>29</sup> The difference almost certainly reflects the minimal importance of prayer in the *Posthomerica*.

Admittedly, these passages are brief, but Quintus could have expanded any of them. Their very brevity is striking, especially as the two-line description of the Greeks' libations and burnt offerings at 14. 102-3, and of the Trojans' ill-omened sacrifices at 12. 500-7, are among Quintus' most detailed descriptions of these ceremonies, and, as will be seen, they do not lack detailed models. In other instances, there is ample opportunity to specify the deity to whom petitions are addressed: Nestor's song specifically mentions Thetis, Themis, Hephaestus, Dawn, the Nereids, Horae, Nymphs, Graces, and Muses, and at 6. 117-20 reference to the Trojans' prayers occurs at a break in the narrative, introducing the resumption of fighting after the funeral of Achilles, and advances the plot, as the gods respond by bring Eurypylos as a champion. Four passages of the *Posthomerica*

<sup>28</sup>The response to 6. 568 and 11. 179-82 is provided not by the gods, but by Fate. The missile is guided to its target by Moira (6. 561) and one of the Greeks who does not escape is paralyzed by Fate (Μοιρης ιότητι, 11. 185).

<sup>29</sup>⊖ 345-7, Μ 6-9; *Arg.* 1. 888-902; 2. 155-6, and 4. 588-9. At Γ 318, ⊖ 177, ⊙ 367-9, and *Arg.* 1. 247-9, groups of people are said to pray "to the gods," but these prayers are focalized by the prayers of individuals, in direct discourse, to Zeus (Γ 319-32; ⊖ 178-80; ⊙ 370-8; *Arg.* 1. 240-6). Other references to individuals' prayers to the gods collectively occur in speeches of mortal characters (H 129-31, ω 425-6, *Arg.* 2. 335-9, 3. 1088-9). References to prayer "to the gods" in the *Argonautica* refer to the Olympians at 2. 531-2 and perhaps to Hera at 4. 1128-9.

which refer to petitions to the gods collectively closely resemble Iliadic passages in which a deity is named. The general prayers at 14. 102-3 parallel the elaborate sacrifices to Apollo at A 458-72, which are rewarded with a favorable wind; Alcimedes' prayer as he fires the sling bolt which will kill Pammon (ἔπευξάμενος, 6. 568) is very similar to Menelaus' prayer to Zeus (ἔπευξάμενος Διὶ πατρὶ, P 45-6) as he attacks Euphorbus; and 14. 378-80 parallels a sacrifice to Zeus at *Argonautica* 1. 525-41.<sup>30</sup>

In the *Iliad*, the overwhelming majority of prayers are addressed to Zeus. Besides the prayers of Priam and Antenor, there are only a few other references to petitions to him in the *Posthomerica*. One, an anonymous request that "Zeus grant a safe homecoming in answer to our prayers (Ζεῦ καὶ νόστον ἐέλδομένοις κατάνευσον, 14. 119), focalizes of the Greeks' celebration of the capture of the city. The direct statement of its non-fulfillment, "but the father did not grant a safe homecoming to all" (ἀλλ' οὐ πᾶσι πατὴρ ἐπὶ νόστον ἔνευσε, 14. 120) is one of the many foreshadowings of the subsequent events of Book 14, and the *Odyssey* and *Nastoi*.

Zeus is also apostrophized in Agamemnon's lament for Achilles (3. 499-502):

Ζεῦ πάτερ, ἦ ῥά τι καὶ σὺ βροτοῦς ψευδέσσι λόγοισι  
 θέλγεις, ὅς κατένευσας ἐμοὶ Πριάμοι ἄνακτος  
 ἄστν διαπραθέειν, νῦν δ' οὐ τελέεις ὅς' ὑπέτης.  
 ἀλλὰ λίην ἀπάφησας ἐμᾶς φρένας·

500

Father Zeus, you deceive mortals with false words. You granted that I would sack lord Priam's town; now, however, you do not fulfill your promise, but have cheated me.

This is a very close imitation of I 17-25, where Agamemnon complains that Achilles' withdrawal has cheated him of the promised sack of the city. Also similar is Θ 236-44, Ajax' prayer for escape, coupled with the reproach that Zeus slights the Greeks:<sup>31</sup> Ajax,

<sup>30</sup>Vian, *Suite III*, 180, 232, n. 3, draws parallels between 14. 101-4 and A 458-74 and (*Suite III* 191, n. 4) between 14. 378-80 and *Arg.* 1. 525-41.

<sup>31</sup>Vian, *Suite I*: 115, n. 1 cites I 17-25 and Θ 236-44, the false promise evokes Agamemnon's dream in E





Much of the interest of Quintus' references to petitions to Athena lies in the fact that only one is genuine, Epeius' prayer at 12. 151-6:<sup>33</sup>

Καὶ τότε δῖος Ἐπειὸς ὑπὲρ μεγακήτεος ἵππου  
 εὖχετ' ἐπ' ἀκαμάτῳ Τριτωνίδι χεῖρας ὀρέξας·  
 Ἴκλυθι, θεὰ μεγάθυμε, σάου δ' ἐμὲ καὶ τεὸν ἵππον.  
 Ὡς φάτο· τοῦ δ' ἐσάκουσε θεὰ πολύμητις Ἀθήνη,  
 καὶ ῥά οἱ ἔργον ἔτευξεν ἐπιχθονίοισιν ἀγητὸν  
 πᾶσιν, ὅσοι μιν ἴδοντο καὶ οἱ μετόπισθε πύθοντο. 155

And then noble Epeius prayed over the great horse, raising his hands to tireless Tritonis: "Hear, great-hearted goddess, and bless me and your horse." So he spoke. And the goddess of many counsels Athena heard him. And she did indeed make his work a marvel to all on earth who saw it or later heard of it.

Epeius' prayer is straight-forward,<sup>34</sup> and Athena's response is immediate and effective. It is not, however, so effective as it might be. Epeius does not, as might be expected, seek aid in constructing the horse; what Athena actually affects is Epeius' reputation and men's perception of his work. Like many other scenes in the *Posthomerica*, this one is over-determined. The prayer is unnecessary, as Athena has already, in a dream, promised Epeius that she will aid him. Vian regards Epeius' prayer as replacing the dedication to Athena which in numerous accounts is written on the horse.<sup>35</sup> But there is also, as has been noted, a version in which Epeius prays to Athena after completing the horse, dedicating his tools to the goddess. As a prayer made by Epeius, this is closer situationally to Quintus' version, and his failure to mention the dedication of tools is in accordance with his general avoidance of description of religious ritual.

Quintus does deal at length with the purported dedication of the horse to Athena. When the stratagem of the horse is first mentioned Odysseus proposes this "cover story:"

<sup>33</sup>At 13. 420-3. Cassandra is probably to be understood as supplicating Athena, but this is not stated

<sup>34</sup>Note that though the prayer is made at leisure, it is accompanied only by the lifting of hands (12. 152)

<sup>35</sup>Suite III 94, 215, n. 4.

An agent provocateur is to tell the Trojans that "[the Greeks] made [the horse] for Pallas because she was angry on behalf of the Trojans" (. . . τὸν ῥ' ἐκάμοντο/ Παλλάδι χωομένη Τρώων ὑπὲρ αἰχμητᾶων, 12. 37-8). After the horse is completed,

Odysseus outlines the plan. The fleet will remain at Tenedos "until the enemy drag [the horse] into the city, thinking they are bringing an offering to Tritonis" (. . . εἰς ὃ κεν ἄμμε ποτὶ πτόλιν εἰρύσσωσι/δήιοι ἐλπόμενοι Τριτωνίδι δῶρον ἄγεσθαι. 12. 236-7). The story is of course accepted, and an anonymous Trojan rebukes Cassandra, saying "It is not right insanely to destroy a gift pleasing to the gods" (. . . οὐ γὰρ ἔοικεν/ἀθανάτων φίλα δῶρα δαιζέμεν ἀφραδέοντα. 12. 560-1). The message is actually conveyed by Simon, who, under torture, tells the Trojans that the Greeks have departed (12. 377-86):

Κάλχαντος δ' ἰότητι δαίφρονι Τριτογενεΐη  
ἵππον ἔτεκτῆναντο. θεῆς χόλον ὄφρ' ἀλέωνται  
πάγχυ κοτεσσαμένης Τρώων ὑπερ. Ἀμφὶ δὲ νόστου  
ἐννεσίης) Ὀδυσῆος ἐμοὶ μενέαινον ὄλεθρον. 380  
ὄφρα με δηῶσωσι δυσηχέος ἄγχι θαλάσσης  
δαίμοσιν εἰναλίοις. Ἐμὲ δ' οὐ λάθον, ἀλλ' ἀλεγεινάς  
σπονδάς τ' οὐλοχύτας τε μάλ' ἐσσυμένως ὑπαλύξας  
ἀθανάτων βουλήσι παραί ποσὶ κάππεσον ἵππου·  
οἳ δὲ καὶ οὐκ ἐθέλοντες ἀναγκαίη μ' ἐλίποντο 385  
ἄζόμενοι μέγαλοιο Διὸς κρατερόφρονα κούρην.

On Calchas' order, they built the horse for destructive-minded Tritogeneia, to assuage the goddess' anger because she was very angry on the Trojans' behalf. And by Odysseus' counsel, for the sake of a safe home-coming, they devised my destruction, and were going to sacrifice me by the roaring ocean to the deities of sea. But I discovered them, and by the will of the immortals, I quickly fled their cruel libations and sprinklings of meal and threw myself at the feet of the horse. And though they did not want to, of necessity they left me there, out of reverence for the strong-minded daughter of great Zeus.

Although brief, this is one of Quintus' lengthiest descriptions of religious ritual. Epic references to the practice of sprinkling the sacrificial victim with meal are rare,<sup>36</sup> and Sinon's claim that he escaped sacrifice by clinging as a suppliant to the wooden horse is found only in the *Posthomerica*. It must be remembered, however, that Sinon's story is a complete fabrication and that this, the *Posthomerica's* most detailed description of religious ritual, is of human sacrifice. The situation is entirely unreal, and the effect is to further divorce religious practice from any effect on human events. Also to be noted is that this is yet another instance in which Quintus has been subjected to overly harsh criticism. Heinze faults the innovation of supplication, and complains that in failing to specify that the horse is a recompense for the stolen Palladium, Quintus fails to explain adequately why it should be brought into the city.<sup>37</sup> But Quintus' version is not ineffective. His characterization of Sinon is more detailed than Virgil's,<sup>38</sup> and his speech fits in well with it.<sup>39</sup> Moreover, as has already been discussed, Quintus suppresses the rape of the Palladium, and while Sinon's story of supplication plants in the Trojans' minds that the horse is a cult object, it is not until after the portentous death of Laocoon's sons and his blinding that the horse is actually brought into the city.<sup>40</sup>

Other named deities petitioned in the *Posthomerica* are Poseidon, Asclepius, and Achilles. The petitions addressed to them underscore the importance attached to divine ancestry in the poem, and Quintus' salient difference from Homer in referring to the

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<sup>36</sup>Instances are cited by Vian, *Suite III*: 103, 218, n. 11.

<sup>37</sup>Heinze, 39; Way, 491 (needlessly, as Basset (1925) 244-5, n. 1, notes) feels the need to take "some freedom, based on Virgil, with the text, to make the plan read intelligibly." adding to his translation of 12 37-8 that the horse is "... an image to appease/the wrath of Pallas for her image stolen "

<sup>38</sup>The other versions (see n. 36) are summaries.

<sup>39</sup>Campbell, 119-21, 125.

<sup>40</sup>Vian, *Suite III*: 75, notes that Sinon's speech is not the only reason for bringing the horse into the city, but (*Suite III*: 103, 218, n. 12) that the ostensible consecration of the horse to goddess renders it inviolable

divinization of mortals. The prayer to Poseidon is made by Nauplius, when he spies the Greek fleet (14. 616-20):

... οὐνεκ' ἄρ' αὐτῷ  
 δῶκε τίσιν θεὸς αἶψα καὶ ἔδρακεν ἐχθρὸν ὄμιλον  
 τειρόμενον κατὰ βένθος. Ἐῶ δ' ἄρα πολλὰ τοκῆι  
 εὐχεθ' ὁμῶς νήεσσιν ὑπόβρυχα πάντασ' ὀλέσθαι.  
 Τοῦ δὲ Ποσειδάων μὲν ἐπέκλυεν·

620

... because a god had granted him revenge in this moment when he saw the hated crowd swamped by the deep. He prayed to his father to utterly destroy the ships under water. And Poseidon heard him.<sup>41</sup>

Nauplius' prayer is unique in the *Posthomerica* as being answered immediately, effectively, and positively by the deity petitioned. The episode is traditional,<sup>42</sup> and explicitly links Quintus' narrative with that of the *Odyssey*, through the incident itself and by the verbal similarities of 14. 620 with δ 505;<sup>43</sup> there is also some similarity to the prayer of another son of Poseidon, the Cyclops, at ι 526-36. Though a god causes harm here, the storm has already been established as justified punishment.

There remain the prayers to Asclepius and Achilles. Quintus' presentation of mortals as attaining divine status has been noted as a major point of difference between the *Posthomerica* and *Iliad*, and some see this difference as accounting for much of the peculiarity of Quintus' representation of the divine. Paschal opines that "[p]erhaps the reason [that so little action is undertaken by the gods of the *Posthomerica* and religious practice is so rarely mentioned] is that Quintus regards only deified men as personal gods

<sup>41</sup>The text is corrupt, but there is nothing to support the conjectures (quoted and discussed by Vian, *Suite III* 201-n. 5) of Hermann and Zimmermann: μάλα μὲν κλύεν σι μάλ' ἐπέκλυεν σι μέγ' ἐπέκλυεν. "Poseidon indeed heard him."

<sup>42</sup>Nauplius prays in only one (Hyginus, *Fab.* 116) of the references to this incident listed by Vian, *Suite III* 174, n. 3, but the structure and context of the others would make reference to the prayer intrusive

<sup>43</sup>Vian, *Suite III*: 201, n. 5

with a direct interest in human affairs . . . the only really vital worship . . . it seems, is hero-worship."<sup>44</sup> This is simply not the case. Neither Asclepius nor Achilles is presented as an unambiguously effective patron. Asclepius is petitioned by Podalireius, who, treating Philoctetes, "carefully spread many drugs on the wound and properly evoked the name of his father" (εὖ μὲν ὑπερθε/πάσσων πολλά καθ' ἔλκεος. εὖ δὲ κικλήσκων/οὔνομα πατρὸς ἐοῖο, 9. 463-5). Asclepius has been identified as Podalireius' father (7. 38-92). But the response to Podalireius' prayer is ambiguous. Philoctetes is speedily healed (9. 465), but not by Asclepius. Athena restores his heroic beauty (9. 483-4), and, "[his] baneful gloom and pain were dissolved by the immortals' will" (ὀλοή δὲ κατηφείη καὶ οἴζυς/ἀθανάτων ἰότητι κατέφθιτο, 9. 468-9). Divine healings are relatively common in Homer, but are always performed by a named deity.<sup>45</sup>

Achilles' response to petitions is equally ambiguous. The reader has been aware of Achilles' deification since Poseidon's consolation of Thetis at 3. 774-9. Mortal characters become aware of it only after the fall of the city.<sup>46</sup> Appearing in a dream to Neoptolemus, Achilles' shade reveals his divinization (14. 186-7), and demands the sacrifice of Polyxena, threatening to prevent the Greeks' departure if he does not receive it (14. 213-20). Upon waking Neoptolemus tells the Greeks that Achilles is "among the everliving immortals" (ἀειγενέεσσι μετέμμεναι ἀθανάτοισιν, 14. 238), and relays his demand for sacrifice (14. 239-45). A storm instantly arises (14. 247-52), as if to underscore this demand, and the Greeks immediately accept the news of Achilles' apotheosis as true (14. 252-8):

. . . Δαναοὶ δὲ μέγ' εὐχόμενοι Ἀχιλῆι  
πάντες ὁμῶς μάλα τοῖα πρὸς ἀλλήλους ὀράιζον·

<sup>44</sup>Paschal, 42

<sup>45</sup>Fenik, 205 lists instances. In all but one the healing god is also physically present. The exception (Π 508-31) where the healing occurs in response to prayer, and not in the heat of the moment, is most nearly like the healing of Philoctetes.

<sup>46</sup>Agamemnon's statement at 7. 698 that Achilles is "with the gods" seems to be flattery of Neoptolemus, and at any rate passes without comment.

Ἄτρεκέως γενεῇ μεγάλου Διὸς ἦεν Ἀχιλλεύς·  
 τῶ καὶ νῦν θεὸς ἐστὶ, καὶ εἰ πάρος ἔσκε μεθ' ἡμῖν. 255  
 Οὐ γὰρ ἀμαλδύνει μακάρων γένος ἄμβροτος Αἰών·  
 ὣς φάμενοι ποτὶ τύμβον Ἀχιλλέος ἀπονέοντο·  
 τὴν δ' ἄγον . . .

**All the Danaans prayed mightily to Achilles and spoke thus to each other: "Surely Achilles was of the race of great Zeus, and he is now also a god, who before was among us, for everlasting time does not destroy the race of the blessed." So speaking they returned to Achilles' tomb, leading the girl . . .**

Quintus scarcely mentions the prayer (14. 252). The petition is presumably for a safe return, but the emphasis is on the recognition of Achilles' divinization. Here again, the reader, though not the characters, knows that the god petitioned is not the god who acts. The storm is in fact caused by Poseidon (14. 247-52). This ambiguity persists as even more explicit prayers and ritual are addressed to Achilles (14. 304-14):

Οἱ δ' ὅτ' ἔβαν ποτὶ τύμβον Ἀχιλλῆος ζαθέοιο.  
 δὴ τότε οἱ φίλος υἱὸς ἐρυσσάμενος θεὸν ἄορ 305  
 σκαιῇ μὲν κούρην κατερήτυε, δεξιτερῇ δὲ  
 τύμβῳ ἐπιψάυων τοῖον ποτὶ μῦθον ἔειπε·  
 Ἴκλυθι, πάτερ, σέο παιδὸς ἐπευχόμενοι καὶ ἄλλων  
 Ἀργείων, μηδ' ἡμῖν ἔτ' ἀργαλέως χαλέπαινε.  
 ἤδη γάρ τοι πάντα τελέσσομεν, ὅσσα μενοιῶς 310  
 σῆσιν ἐνὶ πατρίδεεσσι· σὺ δ' Ἴλαος ἄμμι γένοιο  
 τεύξας εὐχομένοισι θεῶς θυμηδέα νόστον·  
 ὣς εἰπὼν κούρης διὰ λοίγον ἤλασεν ἄορ  
 λευκανίης . . .

**And when they came to the tomb of holy Achilles, his dear son drew the swift sword, and seized the girl with his left hand, and placing his right hand on the tomb, spoke thus: "Hear, father, the prayer of your son and the other Argives, and be no longer cruelly angry. For now we have done everything that you desire in your heart. Become gracious to us, and grant a swift and pleasing home-coming to our prayers." So he spoke and drove the deadly sword into the girl's throat.**

After Polyxena is buried, the storm abates, and Achilles receives further cult (14. 327-32):

δὴ τότε παύσατο κῦμα, κατευνήθη δὴ θύελλα  
 σμερδαλέη, καὶ χεῦμα κατεπρήτυε γαλήνη.

Οἱ δὲ θεῶς ἐπὶ νῆας ἔβαν μέγα καρχαλόωντες  
 μέλποντες μακάρων ἱερὸν γένος ἠδ' Ἀχιλλῆα.  
 Αἶψα δὲ δαῖτ' ἐπάσαντο βοῶν ἀπὸ μῆρα ταμόντες  
 ἀθανάτοις· ἐρατὴ δὲ θυηπολίη πέλε πάντη·

330

**Then the waves ceased and the terrible wind stilled and the sea became calm. And they immediately went to the ships, rejoicing greatly, singing of the holy race of the blessed and of Achilles. And they made a feast, cutting the thighs of cattle for the immortals, and there were pleasing sacrifices everywhere.**

**Nestor finally comments (14. 341-3):**

... δὴ γάρ που Ἀχιλλέος ὄβριμον ἦτορ  
 παύσατ' ὀϊζυροῖο χόλου· κατέρυξε δὲ κῦμα  
 ὄβριμον Ἐννοσίγαιος· ...

**Achilles' mighty heart has ceased from destructive anger, and the mighty Earthshaker has stilled the waves.**

The sacrifice of Polyxena, like the ostensible sacrifice of Simon (13. 381-4) is a human sacrifice, and with that passage, is one of the *Posthomerica's* most detailed and lengthy accounts of religious practice, though it is very brief indeed. Throughout, it remains unclear whether Achilles takes, or is capable of taking, any action in response to the prayers and sacrifices directed at him. Only Poseidon is named, as the cause of the storm at 14. 250. The poet does not state by what agency the weather calms (14. 326-7), and Nestor makes only an inference, which in fact includes Poseidon (14. 342-3). It is to be remembered that Achilles' deification is the free gift of the Olympians to Thetis, and that the portrayal of Achilles as a *theomachos* casts some doubt on the likelihood of his deification.<sup>47</sup>

Quintus' limited description of sacrifice and other ritual accompanying petitions to the gods may be simply the result of his apparently limited interest in prayer generally. But, it is to be noted that he suppresses almost entirely the concept of *do ut des*. This has been seen in certain episodes of the divine machinery: Quintus' account of the funeral

<sup>47</sup>On these matters, see ch. 3, pp. 221-3, 226-8

games omits references to vows found in his Homeric model and in other epic games. And Hera's reference to Achilles' "kindness" to the gods (3. 116-7) omits the specification of its model (ω 68-70), that such kindness to the gods consists in generous sacrifice. This aspect of religious practice is much emphasized in Homer, where it does not always redound to the credit of the gods.<sup>48</sup> It is yet another matter which roused philosophical hostility, being famously condemned by Plato (*Ion* 13b-15d). At least one of Quintus' references to religious practice, moreover, undermines the notion of *do ut des*. Mention of the Greeks' sacrifices before embarkation (14. 378-80) removes the possibility suggested at δ 472-4, that omission of such sacrifices is the cause of Menelaus' difficulties in returning home.

Prophecy and Priesthood Prophecy has a greater effect on the course of events narrated in the *Posthomerica* than do prayers. One of the many criticisms leveled against Quintus' poem is that its action is artificially forced along by oracles and prophecies.<sup>49</sup> Very few predictions in the poem, however, prompt action,<sup>50</sup> and Quintus incorporates them into his narrative less awkwardly than the wide-spread notion that he is at any point slavishly following one or another source, flitting from one to another with no thought for the overall structure and effect of the poem, would have it. All the prophecies which motivate actions in the *Posthomerica* are well-attested traditional details of the Trojan story. While Quintus uses these to square his narrative with tradition, there is some

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<sup>48</sup>Adkins (1972) 8; also Braswell, 17.

<sup>49</sup>Mansur, 4

<sup>50</sup>For comparison, see Moore, who details prophecies in both Homeric poems. Apollonius, Virgil, Lucan, Silius Italicus, Valerius Flaccus, and Statius. Homer's use of prophecies and oracles is notably sparing (Kullman (1969) 36-7; Griffin (1976) 48; Morrison, 104), but many types of prophecy found in the *Iliad* (prophetic invocations by the poet, oaths, direct prophecy by gods, and prophecies by dying warriors), are entirely absent from, or are far more vague, in the *Posthomerica* (Duckworth (1936) 64-6), omens whose divine causation is not explicitly stated, which are common in other epic (Duckworth (1930) 18), are also absent from the *Posthomerica*.



indication that he suppresses their more outlandish elements. His references to prophecy also share with his treatment of prayers a minimization of ritual and vagueness regarding the source of prophetic knowledge.

Calchas' prophecy that Troy will fall in the tenth year of the war (B 324-32), underlies most of the prophecies which affect the action of the *Posthomerica*. The summoning of Neoptolemus and Philoctetes to Troy and the construction of the wooden horse are undertaken on Calchas' prophetic advice after the Greeks suffer reverses. After the deaths of Achilles and Ajax, the Greeks are demoralized, and in obvious imitation of similar Homeric situations, discuss abandoning the siege. Calchas reminds the assembly of his prophecy, and suggests bringing Neoptolemus from Scyros (6. 61-70):

Ἦδη μὲν καὶ πρόσθ' ἐφάμην δεκάτῳ λυκάβαντι  
 πέρσειν Ἴλιον αἰπύ· τὸ δὴ νῦν ἐκτελέουσιν  
 ἀθάνατοι· νίκη δὲ πέλει παρὰ ποσσὶν Ἀχαιῶν.  
 Ἄλλ' ἄγε, Τυδέος υἷα μενεπτόλεμόν τ' Ὀδυσῆα  
 πέμψωμεν Σκῦρον δὲ θοῶς ἐν νηὶ μελαίνῃ. 65  
 οἷ ῥα παραιπεπιθόντες Ἀχιλλέος ὄβριμον υἷα  
 ἄξουσιν· μέγα δ' ἄμμι φάος πάντεσσι πελάσσει.  
 Ὡς φάτο Θεστορος υἱὸς εὐφρονος· ἄμφι δὲ λαοὶ  
 γηθόσυνοι κελάδησαν, ἐπεὶ σφισιν ἦτορ ἐώλπει  
 Κάλκαντος φάτιν ἔμμεν ἐτήτυμον ὡς ἀγορευε.

"I have already said that you would sack lofty Ilium in the tenth year. Even now the gods are accomplishing this. Victory lies at the Achaeans' feet. So then, let us quickly despatch to Scyros in a black ship the son of Tydeus and stalwart Odysseus, who will persuade and bring the mighty son of Achilles: he will be a great light to us all." So spoke the wise son of Thestor, and the people roundabout expressed delight, because they believed in their hearts that Calchas' prophecy was true.

Lines 61-2 hark back to B 307-32. They make no reference to the portent on which Calchas bases his prophecy there. But there is no hint, either here or in Odysseus' and Neoptolemus' later discussion of the prophecy (7. 190, 220-1), of how Calchas becomes aware of the need for Neoptolemus' presence. The necessity of his presence at Troy is

traditional, appearing at least as early as Sophocles (*Philoctetes* 114-5, 344-7). Since Nestor's song at the funeral games concludes with a prayer for Neoptolemus' coming (4. 169-70), the actual prophecy may be presumed to be known to the Greeks prior to Calchas advice in Book 6.<sup>51</sup>

The summoning of Philoctetes is handled similarly. At 8. 427-50, the Greek attack on the city is thwarted by Zeus, who veils the city in cloud and thunders, driving off the attackers. Nestor, as he does occasionally in the *Iliad*, recognizes the nature of the portent, and in a lengthy speech (8. 452-77) advises retreat in obedience to it (8. 471-7):<sup>52</sup>

Ἄλλ' ἴομεν ποτὶ νῆας, ἐπὶ Τρώεσσιν ἀρήγει  
 σήμερον· αὐτὰρ ἔπειτα καὶ ἡμῖν κῦδος ὀρέξει·  
 ἄλλοτε γάρ τε φίλη πέλει ἠώς, ἄλλοτε δ' ἐχθρή.  
 Καὶ δ' οὐ <δῆ> πω μοῖρα διαπραθέειν κλυτὸν ἄστυ.  
 εἰ ἔτεόν Κάλχαντος ἐτήτυμος ἔπλετο μῦθος, 475  
 τὸν ῥα πάρος κατέλεξεν ὀμηγυρέεσσιν Ἀχαιοῖς  
 δηῶσαι Πριάμοιο πόλιν δεκάτῳ ἐνιαυτῷ.'

"Come, let us go to the ships, as [Zeus] is defending the Trojans this day. But later, he will give us glory; sometimes the day is favorable, sometimes hateful. Doubtless it is not yet the fated time to sack the famous city, if the words which Calchas previously spoke in the Achaean assembly are true, that we would destroy Priam's town in the tenth year."

This set-back would suffice to motivate the embassy to Lemnos. But the Greeks are still aware only of the prophecy that Troy is to be taken in the tenth year. Battle continues with no advantage to either side until the Greeks retreat to await Philoctetes (9. 323-36):

... Τοὶ δ' ἐμάχοντο  
 ἀλλήλους ὀλέκοντες. Ἔρις δ' ἐπετέρπετο χάρμη.  
 μέσφ' ὅτε δὴ Κάλκαντος ὑπ' ἐννεσίησιν Ἀχαιοὶ 325  
 ἐς νῆας χάσσαντο καὶ ἐξέλαθοντο μόθοιο·

<sup>51</sup>Duckworth (1936) 72, who also notes that Neoptolemus' coming is foretold by Hera at 3. 118-22 and by the poet at 3. 752-62

<sup>52</sup>The closest parallel, noted by P. Kakridis, 80-1, is Θ 133-44, where Zeus hurls a lightning bolt to stop Diomedes, and Nestor advises him to withdraw. The other passages Vian (*Suite II*: 162, 214, n.4) cites in connection with 8. 427-77 are instances of weather phenomena caused by Zeus.

οὐ γὰρ δὴ πέπρωτο δαμήμεναι Ἴλιου ἄστῃ  
 πρὶν γε Φιλοκτήταο βίην ἐς ὄμιλον Ἀχαιῶν  
 ἐλθέμεναι πολέμοιο δαήμονα δακρυόεντος·  
 καὶ τὸ μὲν ἡγαθείοισιν ἐπεφράσατ' οἰωνοῖσιν 330  
 ἢ καὶ ἐν σπλάγχθοισιν ἐσέδρακεν· οὐ γὰρ αἰδρις  
 μαντοσύνης ἐτέτυκτο, θεὸς δ' ὧς ἤδее πάντα.

Τῶ πίσῃνοι στονόεντος ἀποσχόμενοι πολέμοιο  
 Ἀτρεΐδαι προέηκαν ἐκτιμένην Λῆμνον  
 Τυδέος ὄβριμον υἷα μενεπτόλεμόν τ' Ὀδυσῆα 335  
 νηὶ θοῇ . . .

**They continued to fight, slaying each other, and Eris delighted in the battle, until on the advice of Calchas the Achaeans withdrew to the ships and abandoned the struggle. For the city of Ilium was not fated to be conquered before the might of Philoctetes, experienced in tearful war, came to the Achaean host. This he knew from bird omens or had seen in the entrails, for he was not ignorant of prophecy, but like a god knew all things.**

**Believing him, the Atreidae abandoned the sorrowful war and sent the mighty son of Tydeus and battle-biding Odysseus in a swift ship to well-founded Lemnos.**

Vian's statement that Calchas prompts the embassy at the moment of victory, when Apollo deserts the Trojans, is simply wrong. The battle has continued with no advantage to either side.<sup>53</sup> Both have been receiving divine assistance, and will again; the withdrawal of Apollo and Thetis (9. 321-3) only temporarily suspends divine intervention. In this context, Duckworth regards the summoning of Philoctetes as somewhat surprising, but in accord with what he sees as Quintus' striving for the sort of suspense which "arouses in the reader's mind not the questions 'when?' or 'how?' [as in Homer] but the question 'what?'"<sup>54</sup> This does indeed seem to be the case, but it also squares well with the lack of interest in the details of prophecy which has already been observed regarding Neoptolemus. This lack of interest is indicated by the report, rather than mimesis, of

<sup>53</sup>Vian, *Suite II*: 168-9: " C'est en pleine victoire, au moment même où Apollon abandonne les Troyens, que les Grecs battent en retraite pour se mettre en quête d'un autre champion." Books 6-9 are, as Vian notes (*Suite II*: 47-9) an imitation of the extended battles of the *Iliad*, fighting must continue, despite the demoralization of both sides.

<sup>54</sup>Duckworth (1936) 79-80.

Calchas' prophecy (9. 325-9) and especially by Quintus' vagueness regarding the proximate source of his information (9. 330-1). In Homer, Calchas is an augur; for Quintus, he is also a *haruspex*, but Quintus does not trouble to specify which method he has used.

The construction of the wooden horse is also prompted by prophecy, but this is better integrated into the narrative. Calchas assembles the chiefs (12. 3), and informs them that the city cannot be taken by storm, but only by stratagem (12. 11-20):

Ἦ γὰρ ἔγωγε χθιζὸν ἐσέδρακον ἐνθάδε σῆμα.  
 Ἴρεξ σεῦε πέλειαν· ἐπειγομένη δ' ἄρα κείνη  
 χηραμὸν ἐς πέτρης κατεδύσετο· τῇ δὲ χολωθεὶς  
 ἀργαλέως μάλα πολλὸν ἐπὶ χρόνον ἀγχόθι μίμνε  
 χηραμοῦ· ἦ δ' ἀλέειν· ὃ δ' ἐνθέμενος δόλον αἰνὸν  
 θάμνω ὑπεκρύφθη· ἦ δ' ἔκθορεν ἀφραδίησιν  
 ἔμμεναι ἐλπομένη μιν ἀπόπροθεν· ὃς δ' ἐπα(ε)ρθεὶς  
 δειλαίη τρήρωνι φόνον στονόεντ' ἔφεκε.  
 Τῶ νῦν μὴ τι βίη πειρώμεθα Τρώϊον ἄστυ  
 περσέμεν, ἀλλ' εἴ ποῦ τι δόλος καὶ μῆτις ἀνύσση.'

15

"Here, yesterday, I saw a sign. A hawk chased a dove, which hid in a hole in the rocks. The angry hawk waited a long time by the hole, but the dove was wary. Then the hawk devised a fatal trick, and hid in a bush. Foolishly, the dove rushed out, expecting that he was gone, but he seized the wretched dove, and painfully killed it. So let us not attempt to take Troy by force, but see whether some ruse or stratagem will attain the goal."

This is the only omen or portent in the *Posthomerica* whose divine causation is not explicitly stated, but is also the most carefully described. The passage recalls B 307-32, and possibly responds to criticism of the Homeric model as unclear and inadequately explaining the portent.<sup>55</sup> Quintus' portent fits the situation exactly (there is not only the besieged dove, but also the ruse of withdrawal), and is carefully explained. Calchas' role, however, is strictly limited. Ulysses outlines the plan for the wooden horse; Calchas only

<sup>55</sup>For citation and discussion, see Apfel, 256. A hawk and dove also figure in a portent (also explained) at O 525-34

identifies as favorable (12. 54-8) the omens (thunder and lightning, and birds on the right-hand) which greet this proposal. Philoctetes and Neoptolemus agree to stratagem only when compelled by Zeus' lightning bolts (12. 94-100).<sup>56</sup>

Quintus attributes three other prophecies to Calchas. All are to some extent digressive, foreshadowing events after those Quintus narrates and having little effect on events in the poem. At 13. 334-49, Calchas forbids the Greeks to harm Aeneas.

Ἴσχεσθ' Αἰνεῖαο κατ' ἰφθίμοιο καρῆνου  
 βάλλοντες στονόεντα βέλη καὶ λοίγια δοῦρα. 335  
 Τὸν γὰρ θέσφατόν ἐστι θεῶν ἐρικυδέι βουλή  
 Θύβριν ἐπ' εὐρυρέεθρον ἀπὸ Ξάνθοιο μολόντα  
 τευξέμεν ἱερόν ἄστν καὶ ἐσσομένοισιν ἀγῆτόν  
 ἀνθρώποις, αὐτόν δὲ πολυσπερέεσσι βροτοῖσι  
 κοιρανέειν· ἐκ τοῦ δὲ γένος μετόπισθεν ἀνάξειν 340  
 ἄχρῖς ἐπ' Ἀντολίην τε καὶ ἀκαμάτου Δύσιν ἠοῦς.  
 Καὶ γὰρ οἱ θέμις ἐστὶ μετέμμεναι ἀθανάτοισιν,  
 οὔνεκα δὴ πάϊς ἐστὶν ἐνπλοκάμου Ἀφροδίτης.  
 καὶ δ' ἄλλως τοῦδ' ἀνδρὸς ἕας ἀπεχώμεθα χεῖρας.  
 οὔνεκα καὶ χρυσοῖο καὶ ἄλοις ὅσα ἐν κτεατεσσίν. 345  
 ἀνδρα σαοῖ φεῦγοντα καὶ αλλοδαπὴν ἐπὶ γαῖαν.  
 τῶν πάντων προβέβουλεν εἶν πατέρ' ἠδὲ καὶ υἱά·  
 νύξ δὲ μί' ἡμῖν ἔφηνε καὶ υἱέα πατρὶ γέροντι  
 ἦπιον ἐκπάγλως καὶ ἀμεμφέα παιδὶ τοκῆα.

Cease from hurling grievous missiles and deadly spears at the head of mighty Aeneas. For he is fated by the glorious will of the gods to go from Xanthus to broad Tiber and to found a holy city which will be famous among men, and to be preeminent among far-flung mortals. And his line henceforth will hold sway from the rising to the tireless setting of the sun. And it is fitting that he will be among the immortals, because he is the son of Aphrodite of the lovely hair. And let us also not lay hands on this man, because to both gold and all other treasure which might aid a man fleeing to a strange land, he has preferred his father and his son. This one night has shown us both a son who completely cherishes his aged father and an irreproachable father to his son.

<sup>56</sup>Sinon's attribution of the plan to Calchas (12. 377-9) like the rest of his speech, is false.

The prophet's intervention, a detail found only in the *Posthomeric*, is unnecessary, as Aphrodite is already protecting Aeneas (12. 328-32); in other Hellenistic and later accounts of the fall of Troy, Aeneas is spared without divine or prophetic intervention, because of his piety, much as is Quintus' Antenor (13. 293-9).<sup>57</sup> The prophecy, however, provides Quintus the opportunity not only to recall the Iliadic preservation of Aeneas (Y 288-340), but also to link this to the tradition of the foundation of Rome (13. 336-9), Rome's dominion (13. 339-41), and Aeneas' apotheosis (13. 342-3).<sup>58</sup>

The prophecy of Calchas which results in the transportation of the petrified Hecuba across the Hellespont (14. 352-3), and his refusal to accompany the Greek fleet (14. 360-70) are blatantly digressive, serving primarily to square the details of Quintus' narrative with other versions.<sup>59</sup> Both are simply reported, in summary narration, and in neither case is anything whatsoever is said about how Calchas comes by his knowledge.

Many other passages of the *Posthomeric* pertaining to the interpretation of portents have already been discussed.<sup>60</sup> Those that remain are either traditional or, if details added by Quintus, hackneyed and unremarkable. Paris' knowledge that Oenone can heal him (10. 259-64, 293\*, 299\*) has the greatest impact on the action, prompting his going to her, and her death. The prophecy is well-attested in Hellenistic sources, and the bad omens which attend Paris' journey (birds on the left) are hardly an innovative

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<sup>57</sup>For other versions of Aeneas' escape, see Vian, *Suite III*: 142, 228, n. 3

<sup>58</sup>There is, however, no good reason to see the prophecy as evidence that Quintus knew the *Aeneid* (as does Kehmptzow, 53). Duckworth (1936) 69, is correct to remark that "we need not be surprised to find that a poet of the late Empire refers to Rome and the descendants of Aeneas in this way." On the early, wide, dissemination of various traditions regarding Aeneas' flight from Troy and his descendants, see Huxley, 131, 156-7; Kirk V: 300.

<sup>59</sup>For parallels, see Vian, (1959) 124, n. 3 on Hecuba, 141 on cities. The passages are discussed in ch. 3, pp. 102-5

<sup>60</sup>The blinding of Laocoon and death of his sons (12. 384-499); the portents attending the Rape of Cassandra (13. 425-9); the dream of Hecuba (14. 273-9); and the possibly portentous dreams of the Trojans (13. 124-5)

addition.<sup>61</sup> A lengthy catalogue of portents attends the Trojans' premature celebration of the end of the war (12. 503-20). All are elsewhere attested as harbingers of disaster.<sup>62</sup> At the time, these are apparent only to Cassandra, although they are bitterly recalled by the Trojan captives at 14. 360-70. The comprehensive list of ill-omens may serve to indicate, without specifically attributing disaster to the gods, the complete divine abandonment of the city.

Just as Quintus minimizes reference to religious ritual, he very rarely mentions characters' priestly or prophetic status. In the *Posthomeric* no special favor is shown to priests, whose sons the gods of the *Iliad* often protect, nor are there ironic references to the deaths of the sons of priests and prophets.<sup>63</sup> Only four men are identified as priests or prophets: Calchas, Amphilocheus who with him abandons the Greek expedition before it sails home (14. 365-6), Polymestor, the μάντις in whose form Apollo appears to Aeneas and Eurymachus (11. 135), and Polymestor's father (mentioned only to identify the son), Panthous, the priest of Apollo (11. 136); neither Polymestor nor Panthous has any other part in the poem. Quintus states in an aside that Cassandra's prophecies are always fulfilled though never believed (12. 527-8), but does not, as is usual after Homer, identify her as Apollo's priestess.<sup>64</sup> Laocoon, a priest in all other versions, is presented simply as a citizen of Troy, nor is Helenus identified as either a prophet or a priest.

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<sup>61</sup>For sources, see Vian, *Suite II* 7-10, 26, n. 2.

<sup>62</sup>Sacrifices do not burn: the smoke of sacrificial fires is blood red; meat falls from the altars; libations turn to blood; statues of gods weep; temples drip blood; groaning fills the city; the city walls shake and groan and the bolts of the gates slide open; there are bad bird omens; mist veils a cloudless sky; the myrtles at Apollo's temple wither; wolves and jackals howl in city; and there are "myriad other bad omens." For parallels, see Vian, *Recherches*, 69-70 and Campbell, 169-74.

<sup>63</sup>Homer comments on the deaths of sons of priests or prophets at E 76-8, Λ 329-32, N 663-70, and Γ 604-5. Both are epic tropes (Fenik, 11; Kirk II: 56, *ad* E 23-4).

<sup>64</sup>Cassandra is first called a prophet by Pindar (*Pyth.* 11. 33), and first stated to be the priestess of Apollo by Aeschylus (*Ag.* 1202-8, 1264-5).

Calchas' prophetic status is well-established in the *Iliad*. And at first, it seems that Quintus will take Calchas' credentials for granted. The Greeks, says Calchas, when he advises summoning Neoptolemus, know that he can interpret omens accurately (ἴστε γάρ, ὡς σάφα οἶδα θεοπροπίας ἀγορεύειν, 6. 60). Later, Quintus is more specific. At 9. 330-1, Calchas knows through bird omens or haruspicy that Philoctetes' presence is necessary. When Calchas tells the Greeks that the city must be taken by stratagem, more detail is added (12. 4-6):

εὖ εἰδὼς ἀνὰ θυμὸν ὑπ' ἐννεσίης Ἑκάτοιο  
 πτήσιας οἰωνῶν ἠδ' ἀστέρας ἄλλα τε πάντα       5  
 σήμαθ', ὅσ' ἀνθρώποισι θεῶν ἰότητι πέλονται.

... by the intention of the far-shooter he clearly understood the flights of birds, and the stars, and all other signs which come to men by the gods' command.

And at 12. 102-3, the possible sources of his knowledge are expanded, and Calchas is described as "a prophet, who spoke from Zeus or Phoebus" (μάντιν . . . τὸν ἄρ' ἐκ Διὸς ἔμμεν ἔφατο, ἢ Διὸς ἢ Φοῖβοιο). Quintus expands Calchas' credentials beyond those found in the *Iliad*. There, he is merely an augur. In the *Posthomerica*, he is also a haruspex and an astrologer, inspired by both Apollo and Zeus.

This augmentation of Calchas is likely connected with the fact that he is, for all intents and purposes the only prophet in the *Posthomerica*. Cassandra, of course, goes unheeded, and her mantic ability is unexplained. Neither the commonest story, explaining it as Apollo's gift to the girl who has caught his fancy but reneges on the offer of her favors and then is cursed by the god, nor the tradition in which Cassandra and Helenus receive the gift of prophecy when their ears are licked by snakes,<sup>65</sup> accords well with

<sup>65</sup>The story of Apollo's endowing Cassandra with the gift of prophecy is first found in Aeschylus, *Ag* 1203-8; the detail that the gift is conveyed by the god's kiss, and her never being believed by his spitting into her mouth, is particularly at odds with the limitation of the gods' physical activity in the *Posthomerica*. The version in which the snakes convey prophetic ability (attested by bT *ad H* 44 and Eustathius 663. 40) involves far more detail of cultic practice than is the norm in the poem



Quintus' overall portrayal of divine behavior. The absence of Helenus, whose role as the Trojans' spiritual leader is well-established in the *Iliad*, from the roll of priests and prophets in the *Posthomeric* is notable. Helenus' speech at 8. 252-4 suggests that he enjoys more than normal awareness of divine activity,<sup>66</sup> and 10. 346-52 is obviously influenced by the tradition in which his prophecies, not Calchas', lead to the summoning of Neoptolemus and Philoctetes to Troy, and the device of the wooden horse. The last, in fact, is attributed to Calchas only in the *Posthomeric*; in all other extant sources, the horse is devised by Odysseus, without any prophetic advice, or the prophecy is made by Helenus.<sup>67</sup> Quintus has gone to great lengths to suppress Helenus' prophetic role. This may be connected with his suppression of the story of the Rape of the Palladium, and his apparent desire to show human, as well as divine behavior in the best light. There is, however, an alternate tradition, in which Helenus prophesies the necessity of the wooden horse after an ominous meteor,<sup>68</sup> a type of portent which is absent from Quintus' poem.

#### Statements Made by Mortal Characters

Most statements of the *Posthomeric*'s human characters differ little from statements made by characters in the Homeric poems, though there is a relative paucity of reference to divine action, and some types of Homeric reference are avoided. The statements of characters in the *Posthomeric* display some tendencies which have been observed, such as the "correction" of specific "unseemly" models, and instances in which gratuitous reference to the divine is added to a model. In contrast to references to the divine in the primary narrative, in they are simultaneously more pious and more explicitly fatalistic.

<sup>66</sup>See ch. 5, pp. 245-6. On the absence of any suggestion of prophetic ability in 8. 252-4, see Duckworth (1936) 66, n. 33

<sup>67</sup>For discussion of Helenus' and Calchas' roles in these events, see P. Kakridis, 81; Vian, Suite II, 49-54, 192, 220, n. 5, and Suite III: 88, n. 1; Griffin (1976), 46.

<sup>68</sup>Tzetzes, *Posthomeric* 571-8

Mortal characters refer several times<sup>69</sup> to events which would be considered part of the "mythological background" of the primary narrative. Only a few of these require comment. Helen's wish that she had been snatched away by the Harpies when she first came to Troy with Paris (10. 395) adds to the Iliadic Helen's wishes she had died before leaving Sparta (Γ 173; Ω 764), or been swept away by a storm at birth (Z 345-8) a reference to the divine in the well-known equation of storms and harpies.<sup>70</sup> References to the Titanomachy (8. 461-9) and Deucalion's flood (14. 602-4) are pious and appropriate to their contexts. Other "background" references are also more immediately germane to their contexts, and appropriate to their speakers, than are similar references in the *Iliad*: Memnon's history is somewhat akin to Glaucus' story of Bellerophon (Z 156-205), but is of himself, rather than his grandfather; the story of Dionysus and Lycurgus is reserved to Achilles, in contrast to Z 128-41, where it is told by Diomedes; and extraneous mythological references, such as Achilles' to Niobe at Ω 605-7 are absent from the *Posthomerica*.

The mortal characters of the *Posthomerica* frequently assign divine causation to various events. As in Homer, such ascriptions are made, usually, to unspecified entities. There are, however, very few instances in which Quintus follows the normal Homeric pattern in which mortals attribute to unspecified divine entities or to Zeus actions whose causation by named deities the poet narrates. The clearest examples of this in the *Posthomerica* occur in conjunction with the madness of Ajax. This is caused by Athena (5. 360-4, 451-2), but men attribute it to the gods collectively (μάκαρες, 5. 458; ἄθάνατοι, 5. 465), or divinely sanctioned Fate (Δαίμονος Αἴσα, 5. 595). Divine action is also

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<sup>69</sup>In addition to the passages discussed below, Achilles boasts of Thetis' assistance to Dionysus and Hephaestus (2. 438-42); Memnon recounts his parentage and ancestry to Priam (2. 115-25), Nestor sings of the wedding of Peleus and Thetis (4. 128-70). These passages, like 12. 92; 13. 376-84, and 14. 565-7, discussed below, are in indirect discourse. This is a stylistic quirk of the *Posthomerica*, and does not seem to be significant; all other references to the divine made by mortals are in direct speech.

<sup>70</sup>The theme is relatively common. For other parallels, see Vernant, 103.

recognized by Nestor and Automedon. The former correctly surmises (not surprisingly, given the attendant meteorological effects) that Zeus is assisting the Trojans when the city is hidden from the Greeks' view (8. 451-60). The comment of an anonymous Trojan, who sees Zeus' assistance in the death of Achilles (4. 20-2), probably also is similar, though the human comment is far removed from the divine action. At 9. 229 Automedon states that "a god or δαίμων has put courage in the heart" of Deiphobus (ἢ θεὸς ἢ δαίμων τις ὑπὸ καρδίην βάλε θάρσος); here, as so often, the poet is not specific in his attribution of divine action, stating that Deiphobus is impelled by "some god" (θεῶν τις, 9. 80) or "his own spirit" (αὐτοῦ θυμός, 9. 82). The assertion of Philoctetes and Neoptolemus that they have come to Troy by divine will (βουλήσι θεῶν, 12. 92) seems similar, but both have been summoned by prophecies (7. 189-90, 220). Characters also impute divine action before it takes place. An anonymous Greek comments that "a god has given great courage" (τῷδε θεὸς μέγα θάρσος ἔδωκε, 12. 254) to Sinon, who has not previously displayed valor, and concludes that "δαίμων is stirring him up to work evil for the Trojans or [the Greeks]" (ἐ δαίμων/ὀτρύνει πάντεσσι κακὸν Τρώεσσι γενέσθαι/ ἢ νῶϊν, 12. 255-7). Hera will later inspire Sinon (12. 373), but there has as yet been no reference to divine action in the poet's narrative. Another incident in the same book is superficially similar. Athena will be involved in the construction of the wooden horse, but has done nothing yet at 12. 83, where Odysseus states that she taught Epeius his craft (δέδασεν δέ μιν ἔργον Ἀθήνη). Carpentry, however, is the goddess' proper sphere, and Odysseus may be presumed to speak generally.

Several passages echo the Homeric concept of ἄτη, although the word is not used. Achilles' statement that the gods deranged Penthesileia, causing her to face him (μάκαρες φρένας ἐξείλοντο/καὶ νόον, 1. 590-1) is somewhat similar to the statements regarding Ajax' derangement. Penthesileia has been falsely encouraged by the dream sent by Athena, but Achilles' words are as likely intended as insult. This is clearly the case at 5. 181, where Ajax says Odysseus is mad to consider himself Ajax' equal (τί τοι ὠόον

ἤπαφε δαίμων;), and at 6. 27, where Menelaus urges a return home, saying that Helen is mad (φρένας εἴλετο δαίμων) and not worth fighting over. These statements are not remarkable by Homeric standards. But it is to be noted that in the *Posthomeric*, the poet himself speaks in the primary narrative just as his characters do here, attributing destructive action to unspecified deities.

In Homer, characters attribute to ἄτη actions for which they are liable to criticism;<sup>71</sup> in Quintus, references to Fate or unspecified deities serve this exculpatory function. The reader is reminded of Aphrodite's role in Helen's coming to Troy by Oenone's bitterly scathing question to Paris, when he seeks her aid: "Where is fair-crowned Cythereia now?" (. . . ποῦ νύ τοί ἐστὶν εὐστέφανος Κυθήρεια, 10. 318). Neither Paris nor Helen, however, mentions the goddess. Paris tells Oenone "the inescapable Keres led [him] to Helen" (ἄγον δέ με Κῆρες ἄφυκτοι/εἰς Ἑλένην, 10. 286-7), and Helen, apostrophizing the dead Paris, says that Fate led her to him (σοὶ <γ> ἐπόμεν ὀλοῆ ὑπὸ δαίμονος Αἴση, 10. 396), and that the gods have given them both sorrow (πῆμα θεοὶ δόσαν, 10. 397). Menelaus' comments on the contest for the arms of Achilles are similar: The Greeks were divinely deranged (κακὸς δέ τις ἤπαφε δαίμων, 5. 422) so that the gods might destroy them (ἡμέων ἐξολέσουσι θεοὶ κακὰ νῶϊν ἄγοντες, 5. 425). And Odysseus attributes Ajax' death not to himself, but to τις Αἴσα (5. 581). The abandonment of Philoctetes is spoken of similarly. Sent to bring him to Troy, Odysseus tells him (9. 414-22):

. . . κακῶν δέ οἱ οὐ τιν' Ἀχαιῶν  
 αἴτιον ἔμμεν ἔφαντο κακὰ στρατόν, ἀλλ' ἀλεγεινάς 415  
 Μοίρας, ὧν ἑκάς οὐ τις ἀνὴρ ἐπινίσσεται αἴαν,  
 ἀλλ' αἰεὶ μογεροῖσιν ἐπ' ἀνδράσιν ἀπροτίπτοι  
 στρωφῶντ' ἤματα πάντα, βροτῶν μένος ἄλλοτε μὲν που  
 βλάπτουσαι κατὰ θυμὸν ἀμείλιχον, ἄλλοτε δ' αὖτε  
 ἔκποθε κυδαίνουσαι· ἐπεὶ μάλα πάντα βροτοῖσι 420  
 κείναι καὶ στονόνετα καὶ ἤπια μηχανόωνται

<sup>71</sup>Dodds (1951) 18.

αὐταὶ ὅπως ἐθέλουσιν.

**None of the Achaeans in the camp is responsible for your woes, but the cruel Moirae, whom no man can avoid as he walks the earth. They hover unseen beside toiling men, all their days, sometimes, pitiless at heart, harming the strength of mortals, and other times exalting them, for they devise everything woeful or pleasant to mortals, as they wish."**

At Troy, Agamemnon echoes this (9. 494-6, 499-506):

οὐ γὰρ ἄνευ μακάρων τάδ' ἐρέξαμεν, ἀλλὰ που αὐτοὶ  
ἤθελον ἀθάνατοι νῶϊν κακὰ πολλὰ βαλέσθαι 495  
σεῦ ἀπὸ νόσφιν ἐόντος . . .

...  
πᾶσαν ἀν' ἠπειρον πέλαγος τ' ἀνὰ μακρὸν ἄιστοι  
Μοιράων ἰότητι πολυσχιδέες τε πέλονται 500  
πυκναὶ τε σκολιαὶ τε τετραμμέναι ἄλλυδις ἄλλη·  
τῶν δὲ δι' αἰζηοὶ φορέονθ' ὑπὸ Δαίμονος Αἴση  
εἰδόμενοι φύλλοισιν ὑπὸ πνοιῆς ἀνέμοιο  
σευδομένοις· ἀγαθὸς δὲ κακῇ ἐνέκυρσε κελεύθῳ  
πολλάκις, οὐκ ἐσθλὸς δ' ἀγαθῇ· τὰς δ' οὔτ' ἀλέασθαι 505  
οὔτ' ἄρ' ἐκῶν τις ἐλέσθαι ἐπιχθονίος δύνατ' ἀνήρ.

**We did not do this without the gods: the immortals wished to bring many evils upon us through your absence . . . By the will of the Moirae, [our paths] through all the earth and the vast sea are hidden. They are branching and numerous, and crooked, turning in all directions. And for all our strength, we are carried along them by divine Aisa, like leaves swept up by a gust of wind. A good man often finds an unlucky path, and a bad one a fortunate one. No man on earth can avoid [the Moirae] nor choose [his path] at will.**

Such passages articulate, far more clearly than anything in the primary narrative, the notion that the world is controlled by an impersonal Fate. Note, however, that these exculpatory references to some extent "correct" the portrayal of human characters, particularly Odysseus and Agamemnon who are of course the villains of the tragedians' treatments of the story of Philoctetes.

As well as referring to Fate, rather than the gods, in accounting for actions of their own which are open to criticism, the characters of the *Posthomeric* ascribe harmful or capricious actions to these same entities, as Quintus does in the primary narrative.



Twice, Quintus adapts a model, holding Fate, rather than the gods, responsible for suffering. Achilles' famous speech concerning the *pithoi* from which Zeus dispenses men's fortunes ( $\omega$  527-33) is obviously altered in this fashion in Nestor's consolation of Podalireius (7. 54-5, 67-79):

... ἔοικε δὲ θνητὸν ἔόντα  
 πάντα φέρειν, ὅπῃ ἔσθλα διδοῖ θεὸς ἢ δ' ἀλεγείνα 55  
 ...  
 Πᾶσι μὲν ἀνθρώποισιν ἴσον κακὸν ὤπασε δαίμων  
 ὀρφανίην, πάντας δὲ καὶ ἡμέας αἶα καλύψει,  
 οὐ μὲν ἄρ' ἐκτελέσαντας ὁμῆν βιότοιο κέλευθον,  
 οὐδ' ὄϊην τις ἕκαστος ἐέλδεται, οὐνεχ' ὑπερθεν 70  
 ἔσθλα τε καὶ τὰ χέρεια θεῶν ἐν γούνασι κεῖται  
 μυρία, εἰς ἓν ἅπαντα μεμιγμένα· καὶ τὰ μὲν οὐ τις  
 δέρκεται ἀθανάτων, ἀλλ' ἀπροτίοπτα τέτυκται  
 ἀχλύι θεσπεσίη κεκαλυμμένα· τοῖς δ' ἐπὶ χειρᾶς  
 οἷη Μοῖρα τίθησι καὶ οὐχ ὀρόωσ' ἀπ' Ὀλύμπου 75  
 εἰς γαῖαν προίησι· τὰ δ' ἄλλυδις ἄλλα φέροναι  
 πνοιῆς ὡς ἀνέμοιο· καὶ ἀνέρι πολλάκις ἔσθλῳ  
 ἀμφεχύθη μέγα πῆμα, λυγρῷ δ' ἐπικάππεσεν ὄλβος  
 οὐ τι ἐκῶν.

It is fitting that one who is mortal bear everything god give, whether good or bad . . . To all men a divine power gives the same evil bereavement. And the earth will hide us all, though we do not travel the same path of life, nor that which each desires, because on high, myriad things, good and evil, are in the laps of the gods, mixed together into one. And none of the immortals sees them, but they have been made invisible, hidden in divine mist. Only Moira takes them in her hands, and without looking, throws them from Olympus to earth. They are carried here and there by gusts of wind, and often great sorrow overwhelms a good man, and prosperity unwillingly comes upon a bad man.

The theme of the dispensation of lots, and its inclusion in a speech of conciliation, recalls the Homeric passage. There, it is Zeus, repeatedly named ( $\omega$  527, 529, 531), who consciously determines good or ill fortune ( $\omega$  529-31). Quintus replaces Zeus with other entities, θεός (7. 55), δαίμων (7. 67), and Moira (7. 75), who act without the knowledge

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of the ἀθάνατοι (7. 73-4), and replaces divine purpose with chance (7. 76-9). These changes avoid the criticism leveled against the attribution of misfortune to Zeus in the Homeric passage (Plato, *Rep.* 2. 379; bT *ad* (ω) 527).<sup>75</sup> Replacing the references to Zeus with those to Fate makes explicit the device used by Plutarch (*de Aud. Poet.*, 6), the equation of Zeus and "fortune," to correct Homer's "most outrageous statements" regarding the gods, among which he lists Achilles' parable of the *pithoi*.<sup>76</sup> The revision allows for a far pessimistic outlook than in the original. In Nestor's speech, all men are bereaved (7. 67-8) and often unjustly (7. 77-9). The comments of those who from afar see Troy burning (13. 472-7) display a similar revision:

... οὐδὲ θεῶν τις ἐελδομένοισιν ἄμυνε.  
 Πάντα γὰρ ἄσχετος Αἴσα βροτῶν ἐπιδέρκεται ἔργα·  
 καὶ τὰ μὲν ἀκλέα πολλὰ καὶ οὐκ ἀρίδηλα γεγῶτα  
 κινδύηεντα τίθησι, τὰ δ' ὑψόθι μείονα θῆκε· 475  
 πολλάκι δ' ἐξ ἀγαθοῦ πέλει κακόν, ἐκ δὲ κακοῦ  
 ἐσθλὸν ἀμειβομένοιο πολυτλήνου βιότοιο.

No god defends them now, although they pray. For pitiless Aisa oversees the works of mortals, and makes many things which are without fame and obscure famous, and brings low those on high. And often evil comes out of good, and good from evil, as sorrowful life changes.

Here the model Hesiod, *Op.* 3-8,<sup>77</sup> and Hesiod's Zeus is replaced by Aisa.

Quintus' characters, then, are quite willing to attribute beneficial or neutral actions to the gods, but attribute harmful actions to Fate. The notion that the gods punish wrong-

<sup>75</sup>Vian, *Suite II* 96-8, who notes the Homeric model, sees the passage as reflecting the importance of Tyche. Vian also sees connections to Plato's myth of Er, but this is not convincing and, as he himself admits, the point of Plato's reference to Moira is quite different.

<sup>76</sup>The Neoplatonists' treatment of the same passage, in terms of almost Manichean dualism, discussed by Buffière, 553-5, is an example of the sort of interpretation of Homer which is lacking from the *Posthomerica*.

<sup>77</sup>Vian, *Suite III* 148, n. 4. The theme is common. A famous example, with no reference to the divine, is Herodotus, I. 5.



doing is also expressed repeatedly, most forcefully by Menelaus, when he kills Deiphobus (13. 369-73):

... Θέμιν οὐ ποτ' ἀλιτροὶ  
 ἀνέρες ἐξαλέονται ἀκήρατον, οὐνεκ' ἄρ' αὐτοῦς<sup>78</sup> 370  
 εἰσοράα νυκτός τε καὶ ἡματος, ἀμφὶ δὲ πάντη  
 ἀνθρώπων ἐπὶ φῦλα διηερίη πεπότηται  
 τινυμένη σὺν Ζηνὶ κακῶν ἐπίστρορας ἔργων

Wicked men do not escape pure Themis, because she watches night and day, and hovering everywhere above the tribes of men, with Zeus she punishes those who share in evil deeds.

Again, the notion of divine overseers is Hesiodic. And here, too, Quintus may be responding to criticism of Homer. The poet goes on to summarize Menelaus' thoughts (13. 376-84):

... καὶ πολλὰ περὶ φρεσὶ θαρσαλέησι  
 Τρωσὶ κακὰ φρονέεσκε, τὰ δὲ θεὸς ἐξετέλεσε  
 πρέσβα Δίκη· Κεῖνοι γὰρ ἀτάσθαλα πρῶτοι ἔρεξαν  
 ἀμφ' Ἑλένης, πρῶτοι δὲ καὶ ὄρκια πημήναντο,  
 σχέτλιοι, οἳ ποτε κεῖνο παρ' ἐκ μέλαν αἶμα καὶ ἱρὰ 380  
 ἀθανάτων ἐλάθοντο παραιβασίησι νόοιο·  
 τῷ καὶ σφιν μετόπισθεν Ἐριννύες ἄλγεα τεῦχον·  
 τῶνεκα ἄρ' οἳ μὲν ὄλοντο πρὸ τείχος, οἳ δ' ἀνά ἄστν  
 τερπόμενοι παρὰ δαιτὶ καὶ ἠυκόμοις ἀλόχοισιν.

In his bold mind he thought of evil for the Trojans, which the reverend goddess Justice now brought to pass. For they first did wrong concerning Helen, and they first broke oaths, the wretches, when they forgot and trampled upon the dark blood and sacrifices to the immortals. In time the Erinyes brought sorrow upon them for this, thus some died before the wall, and some in the town, while taking pleasure in feasting and their fair-haired wives.

This is perhaps a response to the somewhat circular comment of the Scholiast that the Trojans must have violated no oaths, because Paris was not killed.<sup>79</sup> In the *Posthomerica*,

<sup>78</sup> Although it does not significantly alter the sense of the passage, the emendation, proposed by West (1986) 148-9, of ἀκήρατον in line 370 to ἀκήρατοι, to give "sinners never escape Themis unharmed," may be a slip into the *lectio simplicior*, reinforcement of the notion that Themis' vengeance is just is not out of place

of course, he, and Deiphobus, and, as lines 383-4 make clear, the majority of the Trojans, are. Support is lent to the notion that Quintus is here emphasizing a point, as the passage is his only reference to oaths and their accompanying solemnities. Cassandra sees the matter in much the same light as Menelaus, stating that the Erinyes are angry because of Helen's marriage (12. 547-9). The notion that the Erinyes, again in association with Zeus, are concerned with human behavior is also expressed by Paris, as he begs Oenone not to refuse to help him (10. 300-4):

... Λιταῖς δ' ἀποθύμια ῥέξεις,  
αἶ ῥα αὐταὶ Ζηνὸς ἐριγδούποιο θύγατρῶν  
εἰσὶ, καὶ ἀνθρώποισιν ὑπερφιάλοις κοτέουσαι  
ἐξόπιθε στονόεσσαν ἐπιθύνουσιν Ἐριννῶν  
καὶ χόλον

Doing so would be an offense to the Litae, who are daughters of loud-thundering Zeus, and when they are angered against presumptuous men, they rouse a baneful Fury and her wrath against them.

Note that the role of the Litae is changed from that in the *Iliad*, where they undo the ill effects of ἄτη. Here, they, too, punish wrong-doing. In addition, Achilles (3. 168-9) and Ajax (5. 470-2) are confident that the Erinyes will take vengeance on their behalf, and Oenone states that Paris is a cause of grief to the blessed gods (μακάρεσσι, 10. 321). No such references are found in the primary narrative. The Greeks' credence in the divinization of Achilles and Asclepius (also ambiguous from the omniscient perspective), too, contributes to the depiction of human piety.

There is far less recognition by mortals of divine action in the *Posthomerica* than in the *Iliad*. This is most apparent in the statements of the dying. While Patroclus (Π 843-54) and Hector (Χ 297-303) explicitly refer to gods' role in their deaths, Quintus' Achilles only surmises, on the basis of Thetis' prophecies, Apollo's role in his. Nor do Quintus'

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<sup>79</sup> A ad Γ 276; cf. Eustathius, 423 ad Γ 351-4, who notes that Menelaus' request for Zeus' vengeance is appropriate, because his complaint involves the violation of hospitality

characters, in contrast to Homer's, recognize the actual presence of gods at the mundane level (Λ 713-57; Ν 68-72; Ρ 338-9; Ω 194-5), or divine action in rescue of their persons (Υ 92-7, 194), or attribute the thwarting of their efforts (ΤΤ 119-21, 658) or desires (Α 182) to specific divine action. Quintus' characters, unlike Homer's, (Λ 362-6; Υ 98, 191-4; Φ 192-3; Χ 270-1; Ψ 782-3), do not refer to the patronage of particular men by particular gods. Nor do Quintus' characters refer to theological roles irrelevant to the action, such as Artemis' in the causation of death (Ζ 203-5, 427-8); such unseemly sentiments as Hector's wish that he were immortal (Θ 538), or of divine parentage (Ν 825-7) and honored like Athena and Apollo;<sup>80</sup> or unseemly imagery such as the scourge of Zeus (Ν 812). The absence of reference in the primary narrative to all these matters has already been noted.

In his representation of the divine from the perspective of mortal characters, then, Quintus consistently avoids reference to unseemliness. But he is not entirely successful in presenting a favorable portrayal of the gods. On the one hand, because petitions to the gods are so briefly treated, at times it seems that the gods are almost irrelevant to the human characters of the *Posthomerica*. And because the most prominent petitions in the poem do not receive a favorable response, what faith mortals do evince seems in vain. While Quintus is careful to avoid any suggestion that the wicked prosper, for which Homer was criticized,<sup>81</sup> this results a sense of almost nihilistic futility. This, certainly does not seem to be the impression Quintus intends to convey. As the primary narrative of the *Posthomerica* makes clear, the gods of the poem do care very much what happens to men. Moreover, some prayers, like those of Nauplius and Laodice, which are dramatically

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<sup>80</sup> bT ad Θ 538-9 characterize the wish as a "barbarous boast," while Did'A ad Θ 535-7 athetizes the lines on the grounds that they are excessively boastful. Kirk IV: 49 ad Ν 54, 147 ad Ν 825-7, regards Hector's "dubious" and "presumptuous" boasting as the reason why Poseidon rouses the Aiantes against him

<sup>81</sup> Thus Yamagata, 239 "The gods' morality . . . has little to do with human behavior. However, human characters believe that the gods reward righteous and pious men and punish bad ones. As a result, the readers or audience see in the epics the ironical picture of pious men and indifferent gods, which was to become the object of criticism by many later Greeks."

necessary, are spectacularly effective. Positive response to most petitions, however, would entail the gods thwarting each other or the fated course of events, types of action which Quintus carefully avoids. The question of the relationship between Fate and the gods, too, is troublesome. In the traditional story Quintus narrates, many mortals suffer greatly. But the human characters of the *Posthomerica* are pious, and no more than does the poet do they characterize the gods as baneful. Thus, they attribute their sufferings not to anthropopathic deities who willfully harm them, but to blind Fate. The notion that Fate is the supreme power over the world is far more evident the statements of human characters about the gods than in Quintus' narration of or comment upon the action. In any given passage, Quintus minimizes unseemliness, but as a result of this, his overall portrayal of the gods is not entirely consistent.

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## Chapter Seven: Conclusion

The foregoing discussion shows that the portrayal of the gods in the *Posthomerica* is quite different from what may be termed their traditional portrayal. In Homer especially, but also in other canonical works, the gods are portrayed as quarrelsome, inscrutable, capricious, and callous to human suffering. In the *Posthomerica*, the gods are willingly subordinate to Zeus, concerned to maintain harmony among themselves, and to ensure the fated course of human events; Quintus represents them as deeply moved by human suffering, rarely harming men except to punish impious wickedness. Quintus effects this revision of the portrayal of the gods by avoiding, minimizing, or qualifying reference to matters which ancient commentators specifically criticized as unseemly or felt compelled to explain away, and by evoking specific passages, usually from Homer, which are not simply imitated, but altered in such a way as to present the gods more favorably than is the case in the passage evoked.

At the most basic level, Quintus avoids applying to the gods descriptive terminology which suggests their destructive power or which evokes such unseemly aspects of their mythology as the incestuous nature of the union of Zeus and Hera. While terms which suggest anything other than the supremacy of Zeus are absent from the *Posthomerica*, Quintus also avoids applying demeaning epithets and terms of abuse to any god save Apollo. These terms, used by Hera, are a special case, highlighting what might

appear to be an instance of unseemly divine behavior, and leading the reader to consider the action in question more closely.

The gods are portrayed most traditionally in those passages which make up the "mythological background" of the *Posthomeric*: Similes, authorial digressions, etc. Many of the incidents of unseemly divine behavior which Quintus does mention, such as the adultery of Ares and Aphrodite and Thetis' rescues of Zeus and Hephaestus, figure only in these background passages. Even here, however, Quintus seems to respond to criticism of Homer's portrayal of the gods. Digressive references to harm caused by the gods, or to inherently unlikely events, are frequently qualified. The quasi-magical nature of objects of divine origin, such as the Palladium, horses of divine pedigree, and arms of divine provenance, is minimized. Similarly, Quintus' ephrasis of the battle scene on the shield of Achilles is very restrained in comparison to the passages of the *Iliad* and *Scutum* on which it is modeled.

Reference to the divine is extremely frequent in the background passages of the *Posthomeric*. The gods figure in Quintus' similes, for example, far more often than they do in those of Homer or any of the intervening epic poets. There are in fact numerous instances in which Quintus demonstrably adds reference to the gods to Homeric similes he imitates. In contrast to this teeming mythological background, there is little divine action (in comparison to other epics) in the story that Quintus narrates, and this divine action does little to advance the plot. A veritable catalogue of types of divine action, objects, and events, which the ancient commentators condemned or struggled to explain satisfactorily is absent (glaringly so to any reader of Homer) from the primary narrative of the *Posthomeric*. Instances in which mortals are harmed by divine action are relatively rare in the *Posthomeric*, and these actions are very frequently attributed to Fate or unspecified deities, as are inherently improbable actions.

When Quintus does narrate divine action, he almost always evokes an easily identifiable model, usually, though not always, from Homer. But Quintus does not simply

imitate one or another model, producing a thoughtless pastiche. Quintus almost never simply duplicates, *mutatis mutandis*, an identifiable passage. He evokes a model, not only through verbal echoes, but also through similarities of circumstance. But then, he develops the scene quite differently than does his model. The differences are consistently such as to suggest that the changes are made in order to respond to ancient criticism of the portrayal of the gods. Sometimes, the Scholia preserve criticisms of a particular passage which is the demonstrable model of a passage of the *Posthomerica*; in these cases, the imitation alters the original in such a way that it is no longer open to criticism.

Quintus departs from the models he evokes in a few basic ways. In some instances, he simply omits or minimizes unseemly elements of typical epic scenes. An example is Ares' descent to avenge Penthesileia. This evokes the same god's rage at the death of his son Ascalaphus in the *Iliad*, but Quintus removes the element of Hera's hostility to Zeus and her taunting cruelty toward Ares. At other times, Quintus completely alters the nature of the divine behavior he represents. Of this, the clearest example is the colloquy between Athena and Zeus which results in the climactic storm at sea, modeled on the conversation between Athena and Poseidon in the prologue of Euripides' *Troades*. The circumstances are exactly the same, but Quintus substantially alters Athena's motives: She is moved not by the slight to her personal τιμή, but desires to make an exemplary punishment of impiety. In most cases, of course, there is a combination of omission and alteration; this is most apparent in the divine council and the Theomachy.

In some instances, the *Posthomerica* departs not only from identifiable models, but from the entire vulgate tradition of the Trojan story. In the brief scene between Hera and Sleep, Quintus not only omits many unseemly details of the Homeric model he evokes, but also apparently fabricates a kinship connection between the two, providing more seemly motivation for Sleep's action in the ἀπάτη. The most prominent example of Quintus' departures from tradition is the killing of Achilles. Apollo's killing of the hero is by far the most direct physical action of a god in the *Posthomerica*. It is more direct and more



explicitly physical than in any other extant version of the story: Only in Quintus' treatment of the incident does Apollo act alone and undisguised. In this one instance, Quintus magnifies, rather than minimizes, divine involvement in an unseemly, traditional incident. Quintus is very careful to present Apollo's action as justified. He evokes and alters the Iliadic confrontations between the god and Diomedes, Patroclus, and Achilles himself, to show the theomachic excess of the hero's behavior, and Apollo asserts that he is acting in accord with the will of Zeus. This justification answers potential criticism of divine behavior, which is articulated in Hera's speech, which recalls the complaint of the Aeschylean Thetis preserved in Plato's condemnation of the traditional portrayal of the gods.

In short, Quintus has been seen to respond consistently to criticism of the traditional portrayal of the gods, "correcting" unseemly features of the models he evokes. Two points should be made regarding this "correction." First, the hypothesis of "correction" does not account for every facet of the portrayal of the gods in the *Posthomerica*. Certain features of Quintus' portrayal of the gods are doubtless colored by the cultural climate of the period in which he wrote. The notion of deification, widespread in the Hellenistic and Imperial periods and the increasing elevation of the Emperor, very likely influenced Quintus' picture of a rigid divine hierarchy in which Zeus is elevated far above the other gods. Those gods obey him far more completely than do their Homeric counterparts, mirroring, respectively, the authoritarian, centralized government of late antiquity and the aristocracy of the Greek Dark Age. But such cultural influences do not seem to be the primary forces shaping Quintus' portrayal of the gods. Most of his references to divinization are digressive, and deified mortals undertake very little effective action in the poem. And Quintus certainly portrays Zeus in a far more dignified and elevated fashion than do the Latin poets who are known to have been connected with the Imperial court, and must have been influenced by its ceremonial. Second, there is no evidence that Quintus promulgates any specific theological or philosophical creed. His

apparently minimal interest in religious practice militates against the notion that he does, and the vaguely Stoic air that pervades the *Posthomerica* is typical of the period of its composition. Moreover, Quintus' "correction" of matters which Xenophanes and Plato, for example, criticized, is not complete. Some objectionable aspects of the traditional portrayal of the gods do remain in the *Posthomerica*, even if most are demanded by the plot or the norms of the epic genre, or are in accord with attested contemporary religious belief, or both. The preponderance of evidence suggests that Quintus responds to criticism of the traditional portrayal of the gods in an *ad hoc* manner, dealing with individual episodes as they arise in the course of the traditional story he narrates. This correction is not, to be sure, a complete aesthetic success. Quintus may be faulted justly on the grounds that taken as a whole his representation of divine action is rather flat and lifeless. These very flaws, however, seem to be symptomatic of *ad hoc* correction.

This sort of correction, in the context of the explicit evocation of well-known models, is, albeit at a less sophisticated or arcane level, precisely the sort of response to Homer which is the hallmark of the Alexandrian poets and their Latin followers. While the portrayal of the gods in most later epics is, if anything, more unseemly than in Homer, the Scholia and similar texts are concerned not only with such matters as usage, geography, and mythology (which Apollonius, for example, addressed), but also with Homer's portrayal of the gods. Moreover, it has been shown that Virgil does in fact on occasion alter Homeric passages (some of which, such as the foot race in the funeral games, Quintus also adapts) to remove their unseemly elements.

The present study, then, indicates that Quintus systematically portrays the gods in accordance with certain contemporary critical canons, but quite differently from their usual portrayal in literature. This conclusion constitutes a significant reassessment both of the nature of these canons and of the *Posthomerica*. The fact that Quintus consistently avoids or "corrects" aspects of Homer's portrayal of the gods which the Scholia and other critical texts regard as open to question or objection, indicates that the Aristotelian notion

of poetic license regarding the portrayal of the gods did not hold as complete sway as is sometimes supposed.

The present study has by no means exhausted the *Posthomerica*, but has touched in passing on a number of topics which would likely repay study. Quintus' portrayal of mortal characters seems to avoid unseemliness in much the same way as does his portrayal of the gods, and could be treated in much the same manner. The most obvious project is to expand the scope of inquiry from the portrayal of the gods to a more general investigation of Quintus' imitation of his models generally. A few instances of allusion and alteration of Homeric passages which do not pertain to the representation of the divine have been noted here. This and the fact that each of the dreams mentioned in the *Posthomerica* corresponds to a particular type of dream in Homer indicates that Quintus' project of allusion and correction may extend to other aspects of his poem; various type scenes, (battle scenes, similes, etc.). might be considered systematically. So, too, might the "rhetorical" passages of speeches, whose models are probably not Homeric.

And the *Posthomerica* is likely to repay serious consideration. A major contribution of the present study is the demonstration of the fact that Quintus is engaged in a sustained project of alteration of the traditional portrayal of the gods. This must radically alter commonly-held assessments of the *Posthomerica*. It is not a Homeric *cento* or a haphazard expansion of mythological epitomes, but rather the product of wide reading and no little scholarship, which merits far more serious study than it has received previously. Although, and perhaps because, the *Posthomerica* is not a work of poetic genius, the poem allows modern scholars insight into the way in which the "cultured readers," whom Vian identifies as Quintus' audience, read and responded to Homer and the literary tradition stemming from the Homeric poems.

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