READING HELEN'S EXCUSES IN QUINTUS SMYRNAEUS' POSTHOMERICA

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READING HELEN’S EXCUSES IN QUINTUS SMYRNAEUS’ POSTHOMERICA

At Posthomerica 14.149–78, Helen and Menelaus converse in bed (14.150: Ἀτρείδης ὀάριζε μετ’ ἠυκόμοιο γυναικός), together again now that Troy has been sacked. Aphrodite helps them to remember their love of old and to forget past grief (14.152–3).1 It is just then that Helen takes the opportunity to excuse her actions:

Πρώτη δ’ Ἑλένη τοῖον ποτὶ μῦθον ἔειπε·
Μή νύ μοι, ὦ Μενέλαε, χόλον ποτιβάλλεο θυμῷ
οὐ γὰρ ἐγὼν ἐθέλουσα λίπον σέο δῶμα καὶ εὐνήν,
ἀλλὰ μ’ Ἀλεξάνδροι βίη καὶ Τρώιοι υἷες
σεύ ἀπό γούσφα ἐκότους ἀνθρεῖάφαντο κάντες.

Καὶ μ’ ἄμοτον μεμαυῖαν ἀπολέσθαι
ἐνὶ μεγάροισι παρηγορέοντες ἔπεσσι
πόλεμοι ἐνεκ̓ ἀχνυμένην καὶ τηλυγέτοιο θυγατρός
τῆς νύ σε πρός τε γάμου πολυγηθέος ἠδὲ σεῦ αὐτοῦ
λίσσομαι ἀμφ̓ ἐμέθεν στυγερῆς λελαθέσθαι ἀνίης.

(PH 14.154–64)

In this article I will focus on Helen’s words at line 156: in her attempt to assuage her husband, she states that she left his home and bed unwillingly: οὐ γὰρ ἐγὼν ἐθέλουσα λίπον σέο δῶμα καὶ εὐνήν. This line evokes one of the most famous and complex of intertextual nexuses. Helen’s words mirror those of Aeneas to Dido at Aeneid 6.460, those of Medea at Argonautica 4.1021–2, those of the Coma Berenices at Catullus 66.39 and those of the Coma Berenices in Callimachus Fr. 110 (Pfeiffer).2 These passages, forming only part of the rich matrix from which Helen’s plea for leniency is constructed, are themselves in a controversial dialogue,3

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2 Surprisingly, the parallel with the Aeneid is not noted elsewhere, not even in U. Gärtner, Quintus Smyrnaeus und die Aeneis: Zur Nachwirkung Virgils in der griechischen Literatur der Kaiserzeit (Munich, 2005), the most detailed treatment of the relationship between the Posthomerica and the Aeneid.

3 One scholar (R.D. Griffith, ‘Catullus’ Coma Berenices and Aeneas’ farewell to Dido’, TAPhA 125 [1995], 47–59, at 47) has called this schema of parallels ‘a test case’ in studies of the nature of Virgilian intertextuality.
and their relationship has provoked many diverse opinions. In the first part of the article, I will set Helen’s words in their Homeric and Posthomic context and put them into dialogue with instances of other epic desertions and excuses, intertextuality that, in itself, contributes much to our understanding of Helen’s speech. My focus will then turn to Medea’s words to Arete at Argonautica 4 and to Aeneas’ words to Dido in Aeneid 6, and to their impact on our reading of Helen at Posthomerica 14. By discussing Helen’s plea and its intertextuality, I will enter an intertextual complex of scholarship, and show that the many texts alluded to have a vital impact on the interpretation of a text that demands a learned reader response.

In the twentieth century, there was one issue in particular that dominated the sparse scholarship on the Posthomerica: the ‘Latin question’, namely, whether or not Quintus had read the Aeneid (and Latin literature generally), and, if so, whether there were definitive allusions in the poem that pointed to and proved this. From Richard Heinze’s analysis (1903) to Ursula Gärtner’s detailed monograph (2005), scholars have attempted to provide an answer to this ‘question’. The approach used by these scholars, however, has frequently centred round a conception of the poetic abilities (or lack thereof) of the historical figure Quintus. Thus, the two foremost scholars who discussed the Latin question, Rudolf Keydell (for influence) and Francis Vian (against influence), in their sometimes polemical disputations on the subject, both grounded their discussions of Quintus’ possible use of Virgil not only on the minutiae of verbal parallels but also on the inferiority of Quintus (to Virgil). Keydell does argue convincingly, however, for direct influence, using an example of a minor passage in Virgil alluded to by Quintus to state the case that Quintus used the Aeneid carefully and did not just imitate the major episodes from the second book of the Aeneid for his own version of the sack of Troy. Vian, in

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5 This kind of learning exhibited in an epic text has more readily been acknowledged for the poetic capabilities of Virgil than Quintus; even Francis Vian, whose work dominated studies of the Posthomerica in the twentieth century, asserts that the poem’s ‘deficiencies’ are down to the author: ‘ces défauts trahissent un manque certain de personnalité chez l’auteur’ (F. Vian, Recherches sur les Posthomerica de Quintus de Smyrne [Paris, 1959], 250).
6 The Posthomerica’s relationship to the epic cycle has also received a considerable amount of attention in modern scholarship: for a list of scholars who dealt with this topic, see Gärtner (n. 2), 28, n. 10.
7 R. Heinze, Virgilis epische Technik (Leipzig and Berlin, 1915³), 63–78 (1st edition, Leipzig, Berlin, 1903); and Gärtner (n. 2). For a survey of the scholarship on the ‘Latin question’, see Gärtner (n. 2), 30–7, and esp. 30 for a detailed list of scholars (dating from 1783 onwards) for and against Virgilian influence; Gärtner (n. 2), 287, herself concludes that we cannot rule out direct influence, just as we cannot definitively prove it. See also, most recently, A. James, ‘Quintus of Smyrna and Virgil: a matter of prejudice’, in M. Baumbach and S. Bär (edd.), Quintus Smyrnaeus: Transforming Homer in Second Sophistic Epic (Berlin, 2007), 145–57.
his ground-breaking study on the Posthomerica, proves that the poem displays a thorough and wide-ranging learning, but stops short of including Latin poetry in this learning. Vian was reluctant to consider seriously close verbal parallels between Quintus and Virgil: he felt, contra Keydell, that Virgilian presence would be more pervasive in the Posthomerica had Quintus made use of Virgil so closely, which he felt was not the case, and argued that there were too many differences between the two narratives to allow for any idea that Quintus followed the Virgilian model. Instead, his overall key argument was that both Quintus and Virgil had recourse to a common (Greek) source, sometimes verifiable, and if not, then lost.

This article will avoid these historicising parameters associated with scholarship to date on the Latin question, and will instead illustrate what Latin (as well as Greek) intertexts actually do when we bring them into dialogue with the strategies of the Posthomerica. Intertextuality and the advanced studies on imitation that have been applied to other classical texts with such success are markedly absent, for example, from the recent book-length treatment by Gärtner. Thus, I will not try to provide the final answer to this arguably unanswerable question, but will tread a path less worn by scholarship on the Posthomerica, especially in respect to the poem’s relationship with the Aeneid. Virgil necessarily exists within the Homeric template that forms the mainframe of the Posthomerica, both as supplementary code model – since the Aeneid, too, forms part of the mass of epic material that feeds into our reading of the Posthomerica – and as exemplary model. There is no evidence beyond any doubt to suggest that Quintus did not use the Aeneid, and so on this basis, when an intertext, or allusion, lying latent in the text, is activated by the reader, because of that reader’s active role in giving the exemplary text (the text being read), there is an interaction between an implied author’s allusion to a part of another work with the reader’s memory of that work activated in the text being read. Thus, when I read an allusion to the Aeneid in the Posthomerica, I (as subjective reader) make

10 Vian (n. 5), passim and especially 250: ‘Quintus a beaucoup lu’.
11 See James (n. 7), 147–8, and Vian (n. 5), 95–101 and especially 98–9, where he also states that Quintus probably used a (Greek) mythological summary as a source (rather than Virgil directly). As James (n. 7), 149, points out, scholars such as Vian were reluctant to allow Quintus any originality in composition (and originality in imitation).
12 See also the methodology set out by Gärtner (n. 2), 38–40. When I use ‘allusion’ in this article, I follow the definition given by J. Pucci, The Full-knowing Reader: Allusion and the Power of the Reader in the Western Literary Tradition (New Haven, CT, 1998), 47: ‘The literary allusion is the verbal moment in a subsequent text of a specific and verifiable moment in a prior text, generated through the collusion of authorial and readerly intent, neither controlled nor limited by the language that constitutes it, in which a bundle of potential meanings obtains, retrievable at any given time only in part.’ An allusion is activated by the reader and depends on his/her reading background, and any notion of ‘author’ is a constructed, unnecessarily historical, one. Cf. S. Hinds, Allusion and Intertext: Dynamics of Appropriation in Roman Poetry (Cambridge, 1998), 50: ‘For us as critics, the alluding poet is ultimately and necessarily a figure whom we ourselves read out from the text.’
13 Cf. the approach of G.B. Conte, The Rhetoric of Imitation: Genre and Poetic Memory in Virgil and Other Latin Poets, trans. and ed. C. Segal (Ithaca and London, 1986), 28: ‘Even when the resemblances do not appear gratuitous – that is, even when some form of intentionality seems undeniable – my concern is with describing how such resemblances function within the literary text.’
14 Gärtner (n. 2).
15 I borrow the terminology of Conte (n. 13), 31, where he writes of Homer as both code and exemplary model of Virgil.
Quintus a poet who alludes to the *Aeneid*. With such a scheme, the poetic merits and richly interpretable intertextual heritage of the poem will become clear.  

II  

The scene of Helen’s appeal to Menelaus in *Posthomerica* 14 is constructed from the intertextuality of Helen herself in Homer and in all previous (and logically, but ahistorically, later) literature where she makes an appearance, from similar encounters between rejecters and those whom they rejected, but also from specific verbal moments in other texts alluded to in this text. Helen’s claim that she left Menelaus’ bed and home unwillingly concurs with her Homeric utterances. She makes clear at *Iliad* 3.173–4 that she wished death had been her pleasure when she followed Paris to Troy:

ὡς δὲ κακὸν μοι ὁππότε δεῦρο νικήσα σῷ ἑπόμην θάλαμον γνωτούς τε λιποῦσα.

As someone who must ensure that the Trojans, who fight because of her, keep her as much as possible in their favour, Helen’s words to Priam and the Trojan elders are also designed to portray her as the unwilling victim on enemy soil. Helen may indeed have been unwilling to follow Paris, but any interpretation of her statement before the Trojans must still be tempered with the knowledge that she is careful to say the right thing. Paris, later in the same book, speaks of having snatched Helen away from Sparta (*ἁρπάξας*, 3.444). Helen also emphasises divine influence. In *Iliad* 3 she blames Aphrodite for her predicament: she mocks her by asking (3.400–2) whether she will now carry her off to some other place to be with another man, now that Alexander (she presumes) has been killed by Menelaus. There she puts the blame for her separation from Menelaus squarely with Aphrodite, Aphrodite implied not merely as a (more nebulous) divine motivation but as a personal instigator. Similarly in *Iliad* 6, she explicitly states that the gods devised these ills for her in exactly the way they happened (*τάδε γ̓ θεοὶ κακὰ τεκμήραντο*, 6.349), and that Zeus sent an evil lot on both her and Paris (*κακὸν μόρον*, 6.357). She expresses similar sentiments, in retrospect, at *Odyssey*

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19 Compare Helen’s statement at *Iliad* 24.764 (marked as an interpolation by West [n. 1]) that Alexander brought her to Troy: against Paris’ statement we should assume that he did use force to an extent (*δὲ μ’ διανέκι Ἰταῖρες*).
4.259–64, where she speaks of the Ἁτη that Aphrodite gave her when she led her away from her homeland (4.261–2).20

This is the broader impression in Homer of Helen and her abduction: she is portrayed as unwilling and powerless. A more nuanced reading, however, is possible. Despite her constant upbraiding of Paris in the Ἰλιάδ, both in his presence and in the presence of others, there are indications that she was not completely unwilling to follow him. In the passage above from Ἰλιάδ 3, she tells Priam and the elders on the wall that she wished death had been her pleasure when she followed Paris. If death was not her pleasure, then what was? Ancient interpreters already read this statement as a sign that, conversely, it was her pleasure instead to follow Paris. When Helen meets Paris later in the same book, she scorns him for not fighting Menelaus, and exclaims that she wishes he had died, beaten by her former husband, the better man (3.428–30). Just as she taunts him to go and face Menelaus (3.432–3), she changes tack (3.433–6) and bids him to cease from fighting foolishly against Menelaus (ἀλλὰ σ’ ἐγὼ γε / παύεσθαι κέλομαι, 433–4), lest he be slain by him. Her wish that Paris cease from fighting has provoked varying opinions. Some critics have been unwilling to allow Helen any positive feelings towards Paris in her speech,21 but the point that she bids Paris now not to fight lest he die is a toning down of her initial (surely exaggerated) wish (3.428) that he had been slain by Menelaus. In the light of these passages, a more subtle portrait of Helen emerges. Beyond the self-deprecation and castigation of Paris, there are indications that Helen was not altogether unwilling in following Paris. Her statements in the Ποσθόμερικα are built upon, and refract, her statements in the Ἰλιάδ, and through the reader’s recollection of her Homeric portrayal, Helen’s words are interpreted in the light of the Ἰλιάδ; similarly, we read Quintus’ interpretation of the Homeric Helen in his presentation of Helen in the Ποσθόμερικα.

Any willingness on the part of Quintus’ Helen to blame the gods, or even to put all the blame on Paris, is read as part of an intertextual continuum between the Ἰλιάδ and the Ποσθόμερικα.24

20 Her praise for her husband’s looks and intelligence (4.264) suggests that her words are designed to please Menelaus. That her pro-Greek, anti-Trojan bias is not as straightforward as she expresses is suggested by Menelaus’ recollection of how she imitated the voices of the Greeks’ wives in an attempt to get the men inside the wooden horse to cry out. See W. Allan (ed.), Euripides: Helen (Cambridge, 2008), 11–12, on this scene in the Ὅδυσσεια as reflecting ‘the uneasy reunion of husband and wife’.  
22 E.g. G.S. Kirk, The Ἰλιάδ: A Commentary, Vol. 1: Books 1–4 (Cambridge, 1985), 327: ‘The truth is that the whole address is of a piece, bitterly sarcastic and hostile; what she actually feels is hard to divine.’ Most recently, Roisman (n. 18), 22, argues that the very fact that Helen orders Paris to stop reverses the normal hierarchy, shows disrespect and thus proves that she is being contemptuous. An order to stop, however, can still be a desire to see that Paris comes to no harm.  
24 The fact that the Ποσθομερικα begins exactly at the point in the Trojan story where the Ἰλιάδ ends can be understood as signifying the status of the new epic: Quintus is completing Homer, or is even ‘still’ Homer. Cf. S. Bär, ‘Quintus Smyrnaeus und die Tradition des episichen Musenrufs’, in Baumbach and Bär (n. 7), 29–64, at 32–3 and 61.
In the Posthomerica, Helen is mentioned 24 times but appears only five times: in these appearances, she speaks only once before her reconciliation with Menelaus, at 10.392–405 after the death of Paris. She states that she would rather have been snatched away by the Harpies than follow Paris:

\[ \text{Ὡς ὁφελόν μ' Ἀρταναι ἀπηρθώντα πάρωθεν,} \]
\[ \text{ὑπὲρτε οὐ} \text{ ἐπόμην ὅλος ὑπὸ Δαίμονος Αἴσῃ.} \]

Helen’s locution here alludes to her Iliadic pronouncement to Priam at Iliad 3.173–4, quoted above.27 Note that, as she states in the Iliad, Helen followed Paris, albeit here under the compulsion of a Daemot’s decree (396: ἐπόμην ὅλος ὑπὸ Δαίμονος Αἴσῃ). Her words are spoken to herself, and we are therefore invited to interpret them as truthful.28 The expression Δαίμονος Αἴσῃ occurs on three other occasions in the Posthomerica: all of the instances imply a force of fate that is irresistible, connected with death (by means of deception).29 Aisa in the Posthomerica broadly follows the role given to it in Homer, where it is a synonym for Moira.30 There are, however, specific instances where Aisa is described explicitly as the fundamental principle behind the transpiring of events. At Posthomerica 11.272–7, for example, the primary narrator summarises, in an extended gnome, the superiority of Aisa over the immortals, and the ineluctability of the thread that she spins for all mortals when they are born.31 The idea of the thread of destiny as fixed from the day of one’s birth is Homeric: it occurs, for example, times in Homer.32 In the passage in Posthomerica 11, however, there is a particular emphasis on Fate as more powerful than the gods, including Zeus. Helen’s fate was truly fixed,

26 In Book 6 (153–65), where Helen and Eurypylus exchange marvelling gazes; in Book 9 (143) – only the Trojan women and the old men are left on the walls looking down on battle, but Helen stays away; in Book 10 (389–405), where she ‘laments’ for Paris; and in Book 14, at 40–62, where she is led out from Troy by Menelaus, and here at 154–64 in her reconciliation with her husband.
27 The recurrent ἐπόμην is also in identical metrical sedes in each case.
28 Note 10.391: φίλον δ’ ἀνὰ θυμὸν ἔειπεν (‘she spoke secretly in her dear heart’). Of course the ‘truthfulness’ of Helen’s words is open to interpretation in the sense that she might be self-deceiving, or in the sense that the narrator constructs Helen’s words to point the reader in a particular textual direction.
29 So U. Gärtner, ‘Zur Rolle der Personifikationen des Schicksals in den Posthomerica des Quintus Smyrnaeus’, in Baumbach and Bär (n. 7), 211–40, at 216. The three other passages are PH 1.103–4 (Andromache to Penthesileia, where the former advises the latter of the stupidity of thinking success possible against Achilles), 3.374 (of the Trojan dead, brought about by Aisa) and 5.594 (of the madness of Ajax and its source, as discoursed upon by Odysseus). It is difficult to define what exactly is meant by Δαίμονος. Gärtner (n. 29), 216, n. 47, suggests a general divine influence, similar to the use of the generalised θεός in the Iliad. Cf. F.A. Wilford, ‘ΔΑΙΜΩΝ in Homer’, Numen 12 (1965), 217–32, at 222–4.
30 Cf. LSJ s.v. Μοῖρα: ‘Like Moira, the divinity who dispenses to everyone his lot or destiny.’ Gärtner (n. 29), 221, states that Moira, personified or un-personified, and Moirai ‘lassen sich ähnliche Beobachtungen machen wie zur Aisa’.
31 The same idea is reinforced at PH 14.97–100, where the primary narrator states that the gods who favoured Troy could not have changed the outcome of the war, since they (and even Zeus) cannot easily change fate.
and she soliloquises in Book 10 on the unavoidable path that she followed, laid down for her by Fate. Nevertheless, the influence of Fate, however irresistible, does not of course exclude the possibility that Helen might still have followed Paris willingly.

When she addresses Menelaus in Posthomerica 14, however, she states rather that she was seized by force by Paris and the Trojans (14.157–8):

\[ \text{καὶ Τρώων υἷς} \text{ αὐτὰ} \text{ λῦσα τέσσαρας ἀμηρεῖσαι κοῖνες.} \]

Why the change from blaming the gods to blaming Paris? Nowhere in the Homeric poems does Helen explicitly lay the blame on Paris for her abduction: here, though, she is careful to word her excuses in a way to reinforce the idea that she was his unwilling victim. She left Menelaus unwillingly, only because she was physically seized by Paris, not because of infatuation, which goes unmentioned. Helen is astute: in Book 13 she heard Agamemnon assuage his brother’s anger against her by explaining that Paris was to blame:

\[ \text{ὁ} \text{ γὰρ} \text{ Ἐλένη} \text{ πέλει} \text{ αἰτίη, ὡς σὺ γ’ ἔολπας,} \text{ αὐτὰ} \text{ Πάρις ξενίοιο Διὸς καὶ σεῖο τραπέζης λησάμενος τῷ} \text{ καὶ μν ς ἀγάσα τίσατο δαίμων. (PH 13.412–14)} \]

Menelaus listened to his brother’s persuasions (δ ὥς αἵσεις ἐπίθησε, 415), although little did either Agamemnon or Helen know that he had been prevented from killing his wife, visibly because of her beauty, invisibly through Aphrodite’s agency (PH 13.389–92: Aphrodite also knocks the sword out of his hand and checks him).

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33 At Eur. Tro. 962–4, Helen states that Paris forced her to marry him, and that she suffered slavery in Troy.
34 Cf. Vian (n. 1), 3.127.
35 Iliad 6.356 is the closest she comes to blaming Paris in this way: she mentions his Ate but only in reference to the pono it gives Hector (she also states that she herself is also the cause of Hector’s trouble).
36 That Helen in the Posthomerica was other than an unwilling victim is suggested cogently by a simile and its narrative context at PH 14.39–61: Helen is compared to Aphrodite caught with Ares in the bonds of Hephaestus (a reference to the song of Demodocus in Odyssey 8). The gnome in the simile that there is nothing worse than to be caught in the act of adultery before the eyes of a husband (14.53–4: δὲν ἄτην δὲ μετέστενόν ἡν μεθ᾽ ἀγάσατον εἰσοράασθαι ἐπ᾽ αἰσχεί θυγατέρας) transfers the guilt of adultery to the compared Helen as she is led out by Menelaus from Troy. The primary narrator elsewhere makes only one explicit statement on Helen’s guilt: at 13.400 it is stated that Menelaus, through Aphrodite’s power, forgot all Helen’s errors with respect to the marriage bed (ὅσσα οἱ ἐν λεχέσσι παρῆλιτα κουριδίοισι).
37 For further discussion of Helen in Book 14, see the recent commentary by K. Carvounis, ‘Transformations of Epic: Reading Quintus of Smyrna, Posthomerica XIV’ (Diss., University of Oxford, 2005).
38 Note how ἀμηρεῖσαι (14.158) is also used at 10.395: Helen has altered her wish into a fact. She now claims that she was seized, instead of indicating that she followed (under the compulsion of Fate, and perhaps willingly) Paris. Cf. Odyssey 4.261–2, where it is clear that the Ate she speaks of is infatuation, influenced by Aphrodite (ἀτην δὲ μετέστενον, ἡν ἄτην ἀμηρεῖσαι ἐπ᾽ αἰσχεί θητουτέρας): cf. A. Heubeck, S. West and J.B. Hainsworth, A Commentary on Homer’s Odyssey: Volume I: Introduction and Books I–VIII (Oxford, 1988), 210: ‘Helen is not disclaiming responsibility for her actions; she means that she acted under the influence of overwhelming passion.’
39 Cf. the Helen episode at Aen. 2.567–603, and especially 2.592–3, where Venus stops Aeneas by the hand as he contemplates killing Helen. The Helen episode may not be genuinely Virgilian: for a systematic and convincing article against Virgilian authorship, see G.P. Goold, ‘Servius
Helen noted her husband’s reaction to Agamemnon’s words, and reuses them in her reconciliation, even opening her speech with similar phrasing to that used by Agamemnon (Ἴσχεο νῦν, Μενέλαε, χολούμενος, 13.409 ~ Μή νῦ μοι, ὦ Μενέλαε, χόλον ποτιβάλλεο θημάτι, 14.155). Helen’s subtlety in recreating an excuse that has already proved successful reflects her Homeric ability to ‘cultivate the sympathy and good will of someone whose protection she needs’.

Her claims to have attempted suicide on several occasions for his sake and their daughter’s (14.159–62) give an exaggerated picture of a suffering woman estranged from her true husband. Intertextuality creates a different picture. Helen’s excuses echo the version in Euripides’ Troades: the blame that she places on Paris and the Trojans (PH 14.155–8) matches her excuses to Menelaus at Troades 919–94. However, her assertions that she attempted suicide (PH 14.159–62) are undercut by Hecuba’s accusation that the very absence of such actions highlighted Helen’s unwillingness to return to Menelaus (Iliad. 1012–13). The Euripidean account points to the insincerity of Posthomerican Helen’s suicide claims, and has a similar effect on how we read her ‘unwillingness’ to leave Menelaus.

Helen’s words also activate a series of statements by previous epic deserters bent on recapturing their former lover’s affections. In the Posthomerica, Paris’ plea to Oenone provides an ironic parallel. Injured mortally by Philoctetes’ arrow, Paris begs help of Oenone and her cures (PH 10.284–305). His speech to her follows a similar pattern to that of Helen to Menelaus: he begins with a plea for Oenone to ease her hatred against him (284–5) and states that he was compelled by the Fates to leave her unwillingly (285–7). He exclaims that he would rather have died in her arms than have slept with Helen. He then begs for Oenone to help him (289–97), pleads with her to forget any jealousy (298) and finally warns of the consequences of not paying heed to the Litai (300–5). It is Paris’ claim to have left Oenone unwillingly that receives a specific echo in Helen’s reconciliatory words; he asks Oenone not to hate him (10.284–5), since he left her against his will (285–6):

ἐπεὶ ἄρ σε πάρος λίπον ἐν μεγάροισιν
χήρην ὦς ἐθέλοι περὶ ἄγον δὲ με Κῆρες ἄφυκτοι …

The similarity to Helen’s words belies the insincerity in her speech, given that Paris uniformly did not want to give Helen up to the Greeks. The echo pairs Helen and Paris together as deserters, desperately and deceitfully trying to persuade those whom they deserted to accept them back, and to forgive them. The twin causes of the war are united intertextually in their pleas for acceptance against spurious
claims of innocence. In Paris’ case, Oenone rejects his pleas, but reneges after Paris’ death to die beside him on his funeral pyre. Menelaus has already accepted Helen back, through Aphrodite’s influence, and Helen’s words have all the desired effect. Her pleas of innocence and good conduct win him over through the agency of Aphrodite, but the reader is more powerful: we read Helen’s protests against her complex Homeric persona and a deceitful Posthomerica Paris.

The Apollonian Medea adds to this background. At *Argonautica* 4.1021–2, Medea explains to Arete that she left Colchis against her will:

\[
μη μὲν εγὼν έθέλουσα σὺν ἄνδρασιν ἀλλοδαποῖσι
\]

The verbal similarity (underlined) to Helen’s words is matched by the similarity of Medea’s status as one who has deserted her homeland (with the Argonauts, σὺν ἄνδρασιν ἀλλοδαποῖσιν, 4.1021). Her insistence that she left her homeland unwillingly must be interpreted against the earlier Apollonian narrative. Medea left primarily because of Hera, who put fear into her heart and caused her to flee with the Argonauts. Medea, addressing Arete, puts the reason for her actions as down to fear on account of her error in helping Jason in his quest:

\[
στυγερόν δέ με τάρβος έπεισε
τήδε φαγήτε μην ασθανάτη, ὅτι ἣλιτον.
\]

(Argon. 4.1022–3)

Medea openly acknowledges the wrong that she has caused, and the fear that she says is the cause of her flight can be vouched for by the reader. However, the underlying root of her error, and the resulting fear, is clear, despite the influence of Hera: as Hunter notes, ‘Medea tries to conceal her passion as one of those common human misdemeanours.’ The divine causation behind Medea’s behaviour in the *Argonautica*, from Eros in Book 3 to Hera in Book 4, engages our sympathy: she states simply that it was fear, not Hera-inspired fear, that caused her to leave her home, and shamefully tries to disguise her love for Jason, a love inflamed by the god Eros. A virginal innocence and ignorance of the causes of emotions, however, does not fit well with Helen. Her willingness to blame the gods openly, in Homer and in the *Posthomerica*, contrasts with her words to Menelaus: Helen

45 Vian (n. 1), 3.182, n. 4, indicates this passage as a parallel for Helen’s words to Menelaus, but does not discuss the implications of the allusion.
49 R.L. Hunter, ‘Medea’s flight: the fourth book of the *Argonautica*’, *CQ* 37 (1987), 129–39, at 139. Medea is quick to tell Arete that her virgin’s belt remains unstained and unpolluted (4.1024–5), proving that her affair with Jason, rather than her role in the recovery of the fleece, is at the forefront of her thoughts here.
50 Medea does not try to mislead Arete: she downplays her love, but still speaks truthfully about the fear that caused her to leave her home. For the view that Medea cunningly misleads Arete, and for examples of Medea’s deceit in the *Argonautica*, see I.E. Holmberg, ‘Μῆτις and gender in Apollonius Rhodius’ *Argonautica*’, *TAPA* 128 (1998), 135–59, at 146 (where she writes of Medea’s ability ‘to manipulate language or to lie’).
is aware of the divine activity in her story, but pleads a more human element, cunningly, to assuage Menelaus.

III

We have no reason to assume that Aeneas is being untruthful when he tells Dido, in *Aeneid* 6, that he left her shore unwillingly:

\[
\text{invitus, regina, tuo de litore cessi.}
\]

\[
\text{sed me iussa deum, quae nunc has ire per umbras, per loca senta situ cogunt noctemque profundam, imperitis egere suis.}
\]

Much has been written on these words. For the purposes of this article, what is of significance is the reunion of Aeneas and Dido, to which the reunion of Helen and Menelaus is bound by intertextuality. There is sufficient evidence to suggest that the *Posthomerica* alludes here to the words of Aeneas to Dido:

\[
\text{où γὰρ ἐγὼν ἔθελωσα λίπον σέο δῶμα καὶ εὔνην,}
\]

\[
\text{όλη μ᾽ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ βίη καὶ Τρώιοι υἷες}
\]

\[
\text{αὐτὸ νόσφιν ἐόντος ἀνηρείπαν κίοντες. (PH 14.156–8)}
\]

\[
\text{invitus, regina, tuo de litore cessi.}
\]

\[
\text{sed me iussa deum, quae nunc has ire per umbras, per loca senta situ cogunt noctemque profundam, imperitis egere suis. (Aen. 6.460–3)}
\]

This allusion has perhaps long been overlooked because of the dissimilarity of contexts. Aeneas is settled on a mission to found a city, and parts forever from Dido. Menelaus destroys a city to be reunited with Helen. The verbal parallelism builds similarities and points to the interpretable potentiality of differences. Both Aeneas and Helen speak again for the first time with the loved one whom they deserted. The allusion to *Aeneid* 6 conjures up Aeneas’ and Dido’s parting exchanges in *Aeneid* 4. There, Aeneas pleaded abstracts: duty, Fate, the gods, a founding destiny (Rome) gave him little choice but to leave Dido and Carthage.

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52 For a summary of scholarship on these lines, see Griffith (n. 3), 47–50, and Wills (n. 4), 287–91. One point that is undisputed in the varied scholarship is that *Aen*. 6.460 alludes to Catullus 66.39. The famous problem of this allusion is neatly summed up by R.G. Austin, *P. Virgili Maronis: Aeneidos Liber Sextus* (Oxford, 1977), 164: ‘Modern susceptibilities are pained by Virgil’s presumed indifference to the incongruity so produced [i.e. frivolous moment (Catullus) in high epic tension (Virgil)], and suggest that his line is an unconscious reminiscence: this is mere wishful thinking.’ More recent scholarship does not exhibit such pained susceptibilities.

53 It is not within the compass of this article to discuss the close correspondence between *Argon*. 4.1021–2 and *Aen*. 6.460, noticed first by Hunter (n. 49), 138–9.

By Book 6, he has still not changed his tune, unlike the alterations to her story made by Helen. She does not blame abstracts such as Fate or the gods, as in her other proclamations in Homer and elsewhere in the Posthomerica, but personality – Paris. This juxtaposition of excuses is exacerbated by the similarity of syntax but dissimilarity of reasons: the adversative conjunctions with emphatic personal pronouns (ἀλλά μ’ and σε μ’ me) are followed, in the case of Helen, by the violence of Paris and the Trojans (Ἀλεξάνδροι βίη καὶ Τρώιοι υἷες, 14.157), and, in the case of Aeneas, by the gods’ mandates (iusa deum, 6.460).

The allusion also summons up the circumstances of Dido’s death in Aeneid 4, since it is the ghost of Dido to whom Aeneas speaks. Dido died on a funeral pyre symbolically laden with the effigy and sword of the departing Aeneas: with Aeneas as good as dead, Dido seeks to join her former husband in death. Oenone, in Posthomerica 10, commits suicide by jumping onto the burning funeral pyre of Paris, deciding to die and be reunited with her former husband. Helen, linked as an epic female figure to both Dido and Oenone, on the other hand, claims to have tried to commit suicide, but lives on to meet her former husband in life, now that Paris is dead and Troy sacked. In her attempt to fit into the sequence of tragic heroines separated from their husbands and seeking death, she makes specious claims to her husband about suicide, reunited with him now in life.

The cost of Helen’s desertion of Menelaus is manifest: the destruction of Troy and the deaths of so many Greeks and Trojans fighting because of her. Yet in this Helen is much more an Aeneas-figure than a tragic heroine, a causer of tragic death, not herself among the tragic dead. Within the broader intertextual framework, a comparison between Helen, Oenone and Dido seems natural. Helen, however, is linked in her speech to Menelaus, not to Dido primarily but to Aeneas, who speaks to Dido. Their claims to have left their respective lovers unwillingly are spoken against a background of suffering and destruction. In Dido’s suicide is symbolised not only the tragic end of a love affair but also the Roman destruction of Carthage, brought about by Aeneas’ unavoidable quest to found the new Troy.

Yet again, Aeneas is ‘admirably aware of his fated historical mission yet insensitive to the emotional nuances of the situation in which he finds himself’ (S. Skulsky, ‘“Invitus, regina …”: Aeneas and the love of Rome’, AJPh 106 [1985], 447–55, at 448).

I follow T.E. Goud and J.C. Yardley, ‘Dido’s burning effigy: Aeneid 4.508’, RhM 131 (1988), 386–8, in that the effigy and weapons of Aeneas on the pyre are part of a symbolic funeral of Aeneas rather than items in a sympathetic magic ritual to restore Aeneas to Dido; Dido dies, symbolically at least, with Aeneas (cf. Aen. 4.651–62, and then especially nostrae at 662).

It is interesting that Dido seeks to join in death the one whom she betrayed by her love for Aeneas, which mirrors to an extent the Helen story, only that Helen meets her first husband alive. On Dido’s culpa, cf. N. Radd, ‘Dido’s culpa’, in S.J. Harrison (ed.), Oxford Readings in Vergil’s Aeneid (Oxford, 1990), 145–66, esp. 154.

Note also the echo between Helen’s repeated wish that she had died rather than followed Paris (Iliad 3.173–4 and PH 10.395–6, discussed above) and Oenone’s wish that she had died rather than rejected Paris’ pleas for her help (PH 10.428–9). The recurrence of ἀνηρείψαντο in Oenone’s words brings up the contrast with Helen’s wish: Oenone regrets rejecting Paris, while Helen regrets following him.

Aeneas sums this up neatly at Aeneid 2.581–2 [versus suspecti]. Cf. Helen’s portrayal in the epic cycle, where she is an instrument in the hands of the gods (Cypria fr. 1 Bernabé Δοῖς Μυκῆνας ἑρκετερο λῃστῆς; see the discussion by Allan [n. 20], 12).
Helen’s desertion of Menelaus causes the destruction of the old Troy and indeed initiates the story of the *Aeneid*. Her excuse puts personality (Paris) to the fore, in a way that comments on the *iussa* of Aeneas’ excuse. Verbal interplay works in retrospect, and Helen’s emphasis on individual responsibility instead of her typical referral to the gods’ workings in fate, in a *sedes* that evokes Virgil’s portrayal of Aeneas, subverts tradition, and, at the end of Trojan epic, realigns the blame for desertion onto the human plane.

Helen’s intertextual alignment with Aeneas is dissonant with a possible role as a tragic heroine in the mould of Oenone or Dido. The gender sequence of deserters and those they deserted has been reversed in her case: Aeneas left Dido, Paris left Oenone, but she is the woman who left Menelaus. Thus, it is rather Menelaus who takes the role of the deserted, echoing the places taken by Dido and Oenone. Intertextuality emasculates Menelaus, and puts Helen in a role that belongs, by rights, to the perfidious male. The switch brings about consequences that break a habit. Helen succeeds where Paris and Aeneas failed, and her reunion with Menelaus is a happy one, through the agency of Aphrodite, whose power brought help (Dido) to the mission of Aeneas with destructive consequences for Dido, and brought Helen to Paris with tragic consequences for Oenone. While Aeneas’ words to Dido in *Aeneid* 6 do not even receive a response, Helen’s words to Menelaus prove convincing, and the two, embraced in love, are compared to the intertwining leaves of ivy and vine:62

\[\begin{align*}
Arsinois δ’ ἀρα τῶ γε παρ’ ἄλληλοις κλιθέντε
\text{sφωιτέρου κατὰ θυμὸν ἀνεμνήσαντο γάμοι.}\\
Ξε δ’ ὥσ ποι νικήσα ἐκ ἀμβραδὼν ἀμφιβάλων
ἀλλήλοις περὶ τρέμω, τά δ’ οὐ ποτε ἐς ἀνέμου
σφών ἀπὸ νόσφι βελέσκε εἰποθήνει. ὡς ἀρα τῶ γε
ἀλλήλοις συνέχοντο λαλόμενοι φιλότητος.\\
\text{PH 14.173–8)}
\end{align*}\]

So Helen ‘plays’ Aeneas, and does not ‘play’ Aeneas. She succeeds in her aim of winning over Menelaus. But to an extent she also plays the *Coma Berenices*, to which I now turn as a brief epilogue to this article. Just as the *Posthomerica* alludes to the *Aeneid* in Helen’s words of exoneration, so too does it allude to Catullus 66.39 (~ Callimachus Fr. 110 [Pfeiffer]):

invita, o regina, tuo de vertice cessi.

οὐ γὰρ ἔτων ἔθελονα λίπον αὐχ δῶμα καὶ εὖνή.

Some of the significances adduced from the Catullan/Callimachean passages for the *Aeneid* could quite easily be reiterated, to an extent, for the *Posthomerica*.63

Carthage then these two lines.’ On the Dido story as a symbol of Rome’s wars with Carthage, see N.M. Horsfall, ‘Dido in the light of history’, in Harrison (n. 57), 127–44.

62 The reunion, involving as it does husband and wife separated by time and trials, also evokes that of Odysseus and Penelope at *Od*. 23.296 (the traditional *telos* of the *Odyssey*).

63 As summarised by Griffith (n. 3), 47–50.
One key factor is that of transference of atmosphere through intertext. The *coma* speaks in what is undoubtedly a mock-heroic poem: despite views to the contrary, a talking lock of hair is not to be taken seriously. The intertext adds to our impression that Helen is not entirely straightforward in her explanation to Menelaus; in a moment of high drama, the reader identifies an echo of the *Coma Berenices*, which stated that it left its queen’s head unwillingly. The hint of parody through intertext creates an incongruity of moods, and undercuts how seriously the reader takes Helen’s words and their ingenuousness. Helen also serves as a contrast to the *coma’s* addressee, Queen Berenice. Ptolemy III’s wife dedicated this lock of her hair for the safe return of her husband from war, as she herself stayed at home awaiting his return. Helen, on the other hand, was herself dedicated to Paris, the promised prize from a correctly judged beauty contest, a wife on whose account a husband went to war. Strictly speaking, Helen corresponds to the lock of hair (they are the speakers), and thus she is, by transference, the part of Menelaus that was shorn off, the part that was lost. The allusion also invites appropriation of context: the disapprobation of adultery spoken by the *coma* at Catullus 66.84–5 is particularly fitting for Helen. Ironically, the adulteress (Helen) echoes the scorners of adultery. Thus, as with Oenone, Dido and Medea, intertextuality provides examples of dedication, morals and love, against which Helen is read.

There was an opportunity for me, in this article, to wheel out the typical assertion that Quintus is more likely to have followed Greek sources than a Latin source, that the marked similarity between Virgil and Quintus here is accidental and explicable only by the fact that they both allude to the same Callimachean and Apollonian passages. Scholars’ reluctance to incorporate Virgilian intertexts into discussion of the *Posthomerica* was always on the basis of unempirical evidence. Critics such as Malcolm Campbell, for example, vehemently opposed any notion that Quintus used Virgil with the idea that the *Aeneid*’s influence would be much more widespread and easily identifiable if Quintus had in fact used him. Perhaps Quintus did only read the Callimachean passage, and was entirely unaware of the *Aeneid*. However, the comfortable intertextual fit between the situations of Aeneas and Helen can be discussed without the caution of the past. With the knowledge

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66 See Wills (n. 4), 288.
67 The *coma* exclaims (84–5): *sed quae se impuro dedit adulterio / illius a mala dona levis bibat irrita pulvis*.
68 The common-source theory: see note 11, above.
69 More often such reluctance was related to mere prejudice against the capabilities of Quintus as a poet, as discussed above.
70 M. Campbell, *A Commentary on Quintus Smyrnaeus Posthomerica XII* (Leiden, 1981), passim (following Vian [n. 5], 98–9): his ‘vehemence’ is evident in ‘it may be said at once that direct imitation is out of the question’ (117, my emphasis) and ‘it may be stated at the outset with absolute certainty that Quintus’ source or ultimate source was a Hellenistic poem [sc. and not Virgil]’ (133, my emphasis).
71 Callimachean influence has been noticed in the muse invocation at *PH* 12.310. See Bär (n. 24), 47–51.
that there is no evidence to suggest, with absolute certainty, that Quintus did not use Virgil, Helen can play Aeneas as well as the *Coma Berenices*, both in terms of historical allusion, and in terms of the modern reader’s engagement with texts.

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