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TRIPHODORUS AND THE POETICS OF IMPERIAL GREEK EPIC

Triphiodorus' *Sack of Troy* (Ἰλίου Ἐλωσις) is a short Greek epic poem (or, *epyllion*) of the Roman imperial period.¹ It narrates the events described in summary in the third song of Demodocus (Homer, *Odyssey* 8.499-520), namely the construction of the wooden horse and the sack of Troy which ensues.² It is also something of a contradiction. Its size (691 lines in total) marks it out as unlike its large-scale predecessors of the imperial period,³ such as the traditional third-century epics of Pisander of Laranda and Quintus of Smyrna, but its nature, its very Homeric language and style, places it in the same mould of those conservative Homeric-imitative poems written before the metrical and stylistic innovations of Nonnus (fifth century) and his successors.⁴ There has

¹ For Triphiodorus, I use the edition of Gerlaud (1982) and for the *Iliad* West (1998/2000) but with altered orthography. All translations are my own.

² For a full summary of the poem see Gerlaud 1982, 47-8, along with Miguélez-Cavero 2013, 10-11. On the poem's connection with Demodocus' third song, see Hunter 2012, 88.

³ The Sack of Troy can be dated, with some accuracy, to no later than the late third century: see Miguélez-Cavero 2013, 4-6 for detailed discussion and references, as well as Tomasso 2012, 372-3 and van Minnen 2016, 57. It is more problematic, however, to establish the *terminus post quem* for the poem, given a dearth of external evidence. The only available considerations are intertextual and therefore subjective, and depend above all on whether Quintus predates Triphiodorus (the majority, and most likely, position: the positions are summarised by Tomasso 2012, 373).

⁴ For recent discussion of Nonnus' poetic innovations, see Piccardi 2016.

been a marked increase of interest in Triphiodorus,⁵ and in imperial Greek epic,⁶ as a whole, in the last decade, but the *Sack of Troy* still lacks a thorough exegesis of its own self-advertised poetics.⁷ In this article I shall analyse Triphiodorus' poetic programme. I shall discuss, in particular, three key passages which have been largely un-discussed in relation to the poetic design of Triphiodorus' poem: the proem, the description of Odysseus the orator (103-19) and the poem's epilogue in which the narrator proclaims that his poetic journey has reached its end-point (664-7). Triphiodorus uses, above all, the idea of the horse-race and the representation of the wooden horse itself, in these passages, as a metaphor for his own poetry.⁸ He also deploys Callimachean allusions to point to the contrast between his poem and the ideals of Alexandrian poetics;

⁵ Triphiodorus received a very negative reception in modern scholarship until only recently, and was cited only for its relevance in comparisons with Vergil *Aeneid* 2 and the depiction of the ruse of the horse and the stratagems of Sinon. Recent, more favourable, interest culminated in the large-scale commentary of Miguélez-Cavero 2013.

⁶ See the bibliography compiled by Martine Cuypers for an overview of the volume of work done on these Greek poets: <https://sites.google.com/site/hellenisticbibliography/empire>.

⁷ Paschalis 2005 is an excellent study into the role Hesiod's Pandora plays in the characterisation and function of the wooden horse in Triphiodorus (an element which will not feature in this article).

⁸ I shall not attempt to define *epyllion* or assert that Triphiodorus was consciously aware of any ancient generic code of *epyllion*. By using the term I mean simply "short epic", with characteristics, on the Greek side of tradition, which go back to the principal exponents in the Alexandrian, Hellenistic period. For definitions and problems with the term, see Baumbach and Bär 2012, 9-16.

paradoxically, however, these same allusions challenge the reader to interpret this poem as an Alexandrian reader would, to be alert to complex intertextual possibilities within a poem that more broadly defies Alexandrian strictures. Triphiodorus articulates fully what his immediate predecessor Quintus only partially hints at of his *Posthomerica*,⁹ by highlighting, repeatedly, the bipolar nature of his own epic, as one that mixes a programme of anti-traditionalism with hyper-traditional poetics.

The *Sack of Troy* is very Homeric.¹⁰ Triphiodorus, according to the *Suda*, was a grammarian and poet who wrote, besides the *Iliou Halosis* (the *Sack of Troy* - the only extant work), three other epics, a *Marathoniaka*, *The story of Hippodameia* and a lipogrammatic version of the *Odyssey*, and according to another entry for him in the *Suda*, a *Paraphrase of Homer's Similes*.¹¹ Very little can be ascertained about his lost productions, but their nature is clear from the titles: mythological epics based in varying degrees of closeness to the Homeric poems. The same holds true for the *Sack of Troy*, despite its brevity. Quintus of Smyrna advertises the hyper-Homeric nature of his fourteen-book *Posthomerica*,¹² but this “Homericity” is something matched by Triphiodorus:

⁹ On this dynamic in the *Posthomerica*, cf. Maciver 2012a, 15-16, and esp. 16: ‘This difference in styles does not mean that there are not Callimachean aspects to the *Posthomerica*. The *Posthomerica* demands a wide breadth of reading and scholarly insight in much the same way as Alexandrian poetry.’

¹⁰ For a very detailed analysis of Triphiodorus’ appropriation of Homeric language, see Monaco 2007.

¹¹ Further discussion in Gerlaud 1982, 5-6.

¹² See the discussion of Quintus’ proem in Maciver 2012a, 27-38.

both poems derive 80% of their vocabulary from the Homeric poems, for example.¹³ In this respect, Triphiodorus contributed to the tradition of imperial, Homeric-imitative epics, exemplified above all by the large-scale (but lost) works of the two poets of Laranda, Nestor and his son Pisander (both third century A.D.), who wrote, the former, like Triphiodorus' *Odyssey*, a lipogrammatic *Iliad*, the latter the largest poem of antiquity at 60 books in length, the *Heroic Marriages of the Gods*, in essence an epic history of the world.

Triphiodorus does, however, innovate. Unlike Quintus' epic, for example, his poem concerns one single set of events rather than the whole of the war after the death of Hector, namely the construction of the wooden horse, the beguiling of the Trojans and the resultant fall of Troy (which he does not recount in full). He also carefully entwines within his overwhelmingly Homeric fabric an aesthetic of brevity which proclaims its poetics of difference. This is, indeed, traditional epic, and one which, like Quintus' *Posthomerica*, does not subscribe wholly to Callimachus' poetic agenda and polemics,¹⁴ but Triphiodorus in his most programmatic passages signals much more explicitly than his epic (imperial) predecessors his own "Callimachean" reception of Homer. It was nothing new for imperial poets to embed allusions to Callimachus. This was the common

¹³ Vian 1963, xli n. 1 and Gerlaud 1982, 51. Further discussion of Triphiodorus' Homeric vocabulary can be found in Tomasso 2012, 390.

¹⁴ This is not to imply that there is a uniform, simplistic set of principles which define the poetics proclaimed by Callimachus. See the careful relocation of the debate by Cameron 1995, 339-47, and the brief overview by Hunter 2006, 1-6. The reference to Callimachean, or even Alexandrian, poetics is often used to imply cleverness, innovation and subtlety, but there are degrees of subtlety and learning in poetic construction, even where Callimachus is concerned.

practice Apollonius onwards,¹⁵ and extensive engagement with the poet is especially evident in the works of Dionysius Periegetes and pseudo-Oppian.¹⁶ Among the writers of large-scale, and especially Trojan, epic, the intrinsic and thorough Homeric fabric of their poetry presented less opportunity for implementation of Callimachean poetics.¹⁷ Yet the stark contrast in poetic modes between traditional Homeric conservatism and Callimachean innovation, is especially apparent in the *Sack of Troy*. Triphiodorus signposts his creation's hybridity of traditional and innovative elements, a dual nature brought into the open for discourse in the poem's literary programme.

THE POETICS OF THE HORSE

Triphiodorus begins and ends his song with two programmatic passages: the proem (1-5) and the interruption of the story by the narrator near the end of the poem, at 664-7. Both passages are carefully linked together with vocabulary to signal the nature of this poem, namely one that is short, a snippet of a broader subject that has been treated before by others. The poet deploys, in particular, imagery of the horse and horse-racing to symbolise his poetic designs. The *Sack of Troy* has as its main focus the wooden horse and the events surrounding its construction and entrance into Troy, and it is this *particular* horse, I shall argue, which Triphiodorus, in his poetic persona,

¹⁵ Pfeiffer 1949-53 (vol. 2), xxxiii.

¹⁶ For further discussion see de Stefani-Magnelli 2011, 551-2.

¹⁷ A counter-example is the *Batrachomyomachia*, which is built almost entirely from Homeric phraseology but which contains a running engagement, too, with Callimachus. See de Stefani-Magnelli 2011, 545. Triphiodorus' engagement differs in that the *Sack of Troy* is not parodic or subversive of Homer.

drives to the finishing post; that is, the wooden horse itself is bound up in the extended metaphor of *poem as horse*.¹⁸

I shall focus, first, on the proem and the corresponding verses at the end of the epic.

Triphiodorus begins at the end (*Sack of Troy*, 1-5):

Τέρμα πολυκμήτοιο μεταχρόνιον πολέμοιο
 καὶ λόχον Ἀργείης ἱππήλατον ἔργον Ἀθήνης,
 αὐτίκα μοι σπεύδοντι πολὺν διὰ μῦθον ἀνεῖσα
 ἔννεπε, Καλλιόπεια, καὶ ἀρχαίην ἔριν ἀνδρῶν
 κεκριμένου πολέμοιο ταχείῃ λῦσον ἀοιδῆ. 5

Of the end, at last, of the war of much toil and of the ambush – the equine work of Argive Athena – tell me in my haste immediately, Calliope, pouring out copious speech, and release with swift song the ancient strife of men of the war that had already been decided.

The first word of the poem, *τέρμα*, underlines the limit of Triphiodorus' task. The end of the war that has taken so long (*μεταχρόνιον*) is his aim, and he is in haste to get there (*αὐτίκα μοι σπεύδοντι*, line 3, and *ταχείῃ*, line 5). The first two lines consist of three nouns in apposition, defined by two genitives: the *terma* is specifically the 'horse-driven' (*ἱππήλατον*) ambush (*λόχον*) that is the work (*ἔργον*) of Argive Athena. The means to get to the end of a war that has caused so

¹⁸ Cf. Paschalis 2005, 107-12 on the close parallel between the wooden horse and its parturition of the Greek warriors, and the metaphors for birthing in the poem. Paschalis identifies the *λόχον* of the proem (line 2) as a metaphor for birth.

much toil (πολυκμήτοιο, line 1) is the ruse of the wooden horse, the creation of Athena, the backer of the Argives. This theme, the object both of ἀνεῖσα (line 3) and ἔννεπε (line 4), will be related by the narrator, as helped by Calliope,¹⁹ after the manner of the Homeric poems.²⁰ The poet wishes Calliope to release to him what had already been released to Homer, but wants a lot of words (line 3) only within the compass of a swift poem (line 5). This, therefore, will be a Homeric type of poem, but un-Homeric in its brevity.

Beyond this initial reading of the proem, by which the Homeric allusions inserted within the text indicate a careful mapping of the poem's opening on to the proems of the Homeric poems, especially that of the *Odyssey*,²¹ the terms deployed by Triphiodorus suggest further metapoetic significations. The first word, τέρμα, denotes completion, but also the turning point (in a chariot

¹⁹ On Calliope as read in antiquity as the goddess / Muse invoked at the beginning of the Homeric poems, see Miguélez-Cavero 2013, 126. Tomasso 2012, 387 sees in this specific naming of the Muse an alignment by Triphiodorus with the 'para-Homeric scholarly tradition'.

²⁰ As Miguélez-Cavero 2013, 133 notes, Triphiodorus recalls with τέρμα... μοι... ἔννεπε, Καλλιόπεια the structure of the *Odyssey*'s opening line ἄνδρα μοι ἔννεπε, Μοῦσα, and with ἀρχαίην ἔριν ἀνδρῶν (line 4) the counsel of Zeus and the strife between Achilles and Agamemnon from the *Iliad*'s proem are brought to mind (*Iliad* 1.5-7). The proems of Books 3 and 4 of the *Argonautica* are similarly constructed. I discuss Apollonius, below, in connection with the end of the poem.

²¹ It is unsurprising that the *Odyssey* is so pointedly alluded to, given the poem's main theme of the wooden horse and the sack of Troy, both related in Menelaus' excursus in *Odyssey* 4.266-89 and Demodocus' third song in *Odyssey* 8.

race) and the highest point or goal which one can achieve.²² This third signification (the other two should also be read) is glossed by μεταχρόνιον (line 1).²³ Triphiodorus uses it in the sense of ‘after a long time’, or, ‘belated’.²⁴ The goal of all poetic endeavour on the Trojan War is now the task of Triphiodorus, happening after earlier poets have already dealt with the subject. This is a war that has already been decided (κεκριμένου, line 5), not only in its outcome but because it has been told by poets already.²⁵ The plot is essentially fixed.²⁶ Triphiodorus’ advertised belatedness is

²² I discuss below the definition ‘turning point’ in conjunction with analysis of the programmatic passage at the end of the poem. For this third meaning of τέρμα, see LSJ s.v. II 3.

²³ The adjective occurs only twice before in epic, at Hesiod *Theogony* 269 and at Apollonius *Argonautica* 2.300. In both those passages it is a synonym of μετέωρος, lofty or ‘up in the air’. Further discussion in Miguélez-Cavero 2013, 131.

²⁴ So Campbell 1985, *Lexicon*, s.v. Cf. Lucian *Alex.* 28 for the same meaning.

²⁵ Gerlaud 1982, 104, for κεκριμένου, compares *Iliad* 2.385 and 18.209 and *Odyssey* 18.264 but none of those instances have the sense found here of something already determined, completed. Pindar *Nem.* 4.1 (cited by Miguélez-Cavero 2013, 133, without further discussion) contains exactly the sense found here in Triphiodorus, but used of πόνοι.

²⁶ Demodocus’ *aidē* in *Odyssey* 8 also compresses the story into short compass in its retelling, and is brought to a halt by Alkinous. Miguélez-Cavero 2013, 128-9 sees the epilogue in Triphiodorus as reflecting primarily Alkinoos’ intervention at *Odyssey* 8.537-8.

contrasted with the Iliadic ancient strife of men (ἀρχαίην ἔριν ἀνδρῶν, line 4),²⁷ ancient in its literary as well as mythical sense, as a strife related long before Triphiodorus.²⁸

The poet contrasts his work implicitly, too, with a more recent epic. πολυκμήτοιο (line 1) is used of war only, previously, by Quintus, at *Posthomerica* 7.424, where Neoptolemus urges the Greeks into battle with him (ἴομεν ἐς πολέμοιο πολυκμήτοιο κυδοιμόν). Nonnus is the only other imperial poet to use the adjective of war (*Dionysiaca* 40.281). Similarly, the first word of the poem, τέρμα, is used by Quintus at 12.262 in Nestor's speech to the Trojans when he declares that the ambush from the wooden horse signals victory and an end of toil (τέρμα πόνοιο). This end of toil is the focus of Triphiodorus' work, and something he wants sung quickly, in contrast to Quintus who took fourteen books to relate the war. As Gerlaud suggests, Quintus may be the target of the poet's subtle polemic against large-scale epic.²⁹ The pointed placement of τέρμα and πολυκμήτοιο in the first line, both of which have similar uses in Quintus, is the first hint at the target of his contrast in the proem. He asks the Muse to grant him swift song in his eagerness to get

²⁷ Cf. Lycophron *Alex.* 1362 (so Gerlaud 1982, 104) where it similarly points to the ancient feud.

²⁸ For ἀρχαίος in the sense of ancient poets, see, e.g. Dio Chrys. 36.34. Early writers of tragedy, i.e. pre-Euripides, are termed *archaioi* (Dio Chrys. 18.7). Line 2, and especially λόγον and ἔργον Ἀθήνης, is a clear allusion to Euripides *Troades* 560-1 and the choral ode on the ruse of the wooden horse. Triphiodorus includes all previous genres, epic or tragic, in his term *archaios*.

²⁹ Gerlaud 1982, 103: 'Peut-être veut-il polémiquer contre l'oeuvre pesante de Quintus de Smyrne.' For a similar view, cf. Leone (1968) 64 and Koster (1970) 157. Contrast Tomasso 2012, 382, who states that 'there is nothing overtly polemic about the *Capture of Troy*'s proem as compared, say, to the prologue of Callimachus' *Aetia*'.

to the finishing-post, *unlike* the epics, such as the *Posthomerica* of Quintus, before him. This is a quest to end such poetic toil, with the salient points of the war's conclusion told quickly.³⁰

The epilogue is carefully constructed to correspond with the proem. It contains a series of verbal parallels which cause the reader to return and to re-read the initial proem in the light of the epilogue.³¹ What becomes especially clear is the metaphor of the horse as standing for the poem itself, and the narrator as the driver (*Sack of Troy*, 664-7):

πᾶσαν δ' οὐκ ἂν ἔγωγε μόθου χύσιν αἰείσαιμι
 κρινάμενος τὰ ἕκαστα καὶ ἄλγεα νυκτὸς ἐκεῖνης· 665
 Μουσάων ὄδε μόχθος, ἐγὼ δ' ἄπερ ἵππον ἐλάσσω
 τέρματος ἀμφιέλισσαν ἐπιψαύουσαν ἀοιδίην.

I for one would not sing the whole gushing forth of battle, judging each and every sorrow of that night; this is the burdensome task of the Muses, but I shall drive, like a horse, my wavering song as it touches the finishing post.

The *ego* of the proem asked Calliope to release the ancient strife of men by means of swift song (3-5). Taken with the parallel between *ἱπήλατον* (2) and *ἵππον ἐλάσσω* (666), *ἀνεῖσα* (3), together

³⁰ On the programmatic terms for swiftness, see the encompassing study of Tomasso 2012, 385-90, though he is surely incorrect in translating *πολὺν διὰ μῦθον ἀνεῖσα*, line 3, as 'and forego wordiness'.

³¹ The parallels are listed by Miguélez-Cavero 2013, 128, including the repetition of *τέρμα* (1, 667), *ἐλαύνειν* (2 *ἱπήλατον*, 666 *ἵππον ἐλάσσω*), *κρίνειν* (5, 665), and *ἀοιδή* (5, 667).

with λῦσον (5), can be read with the additional signification of relaxing the reins of a horse:³² the more explicit identification of the αἰοιδή as a horse in the epilogue clarifies what was latent in the preface, that the theme of the song, the wooden horse, the work (ἔργον) of Athena, is bound up too in a metaphor of a horse (that is, chariot) race. Now we know that Athena's work is not only physical but symbolised in the poem itself. The verbal correlations between the wooden horse and the poem establish this idea further. ἀνίημι is used in five other places in the poem, two of which are used of the wooden horse.³³ At 386 Athena herself, as midwife, and not mortal women, will deliver the pregnant horse of its contents (ἐπ' ὠδίνεσσι μογοστόκον ἵππον ἀνεῖσαι); and at 539 the Greeks release the bolts from the horse to allow them to pour out into the city (ὡς Δαναοὶ κρυφίῳ λόχου κληῖδας ἀνέντες). The recurrence of λόχος at 539, similarly, recalls its first use at line 2.³⁴ A further, implied connection between the song and the horse is found in the epilogue's ἀμφιέλισσαν qualifying the song (667). This epic adjective is in Homer used only of ships, and so its unusual attachment to *song* here, translatable as 'wavering' or 'doubtful',³⁵ is properly elucidated only if the single other occurrence of the adjective in the poem is taken into account. At line 63, in the narrative of the horse's construction, the horse's belly is compared in terms of size to a curved

³² See Gerlaud 1982, 104, on line 3, together with Miguélez-Cavero 2013, 134.

³³ At 191 the verb is used of the thawing of snow, in a simile which compares the entry of the Greeks into the wooden horse. The occurrence at 347 is of the removal of a lid from a wine-jar.

³⁴ λόχος symbolising the wooden horse is found elsewhere in the poem at 92, 120, 201, and 382. On the metaphor of child-birth and the wooden horse, see, further, Paschalis 2005, 98.

³⁵ Extended discussion of possible meanings can be found in Dubielzig 1996, 20.

ship: ὅπόσον νεὸς ἀμφιελίσσης.³⁶ This adjective, odd in register at the end of the epilogue, is placed there to recall the narrative of the construction of the horse, and to make further concrete the identity of the poem *as* the horse, and vice versa.

In addition to the sustained assimilation of the wooden horse to the poem, the metaphor of horse-racing to describe the function and *telos* of the subject is predicated upon Antilochus' participation in the chariot-race in Patroclus' funeral games in *Iliad* 23.³⁷ Antilochus receives instructions from his father Nestor on how to drive his chariot and manoeuvre around the course properly to win the prize, despite his youth. Connections between the epilogue and *Iliad* 23 have been observed,³⁸ especially between 666-7 and 23.338-40:

ἐγὼ δ' ἄπερ ἵππον ἐλάσσω
 τέρματος ἀμφιέλισσαν ἐπιψαύουσαν ἀοιδῆν.
 ~
 ἐν νύσση δέ τοι ἵππος ἀριστερὸς ἐγχριμφήτω,
 ὡς ἂν τοι πλήμνη γε δοάσσεται ἄκρον ἰκέσθαι
 κύκλου ποιητοῖο.

³⁶ Tomasso 2012, 394-5 compares, too, 114 where Odysseus' mind swirls (ἐλίσσων) with divine counsel, which he argues characterizes Triphiodorus' Odysseus in the language of the chief mode of transport in the *Odyssey*, namely the ship.

³⁷ The importance of this part of *Iliad* 23 has been stressed above all by Tomasso 2012, 389-90, who discusses, in particular, *Iliad* 23.334 with Triphiodorus 666-7.

³⁸ Esp. Gerlaud 1982, 169, Tomasso 2013, 389-90 and Miguélez-Cavero 2013, 463-5.

Bring the left horse close to the turning-post so that your crafted wheel's edge might seem to be touching it.

The impact of the exchange between Nestor and Antilochus on the reading of Triphiodorus' epilogue and his poem's wider poetic discourse, however, has only been lightly touched upon.³⁹ Antilochus is driving horses that are not his, and because of his youth requires instruction from his father: only thus can he successfully complete the race. So, too, does Triphiodorus bring his poem to its designated *terma*: but the connections do not simply stop there. There are further key intertexts, both in Nestor's advice to Antilochus, and in Antilochus' words during the race itself, which seem to be present in Triphiodorus' epilogue. At 23.309-14, Nestor tells Antilochus that his horses are slow and not accustomed to him as a driver. The only way for him to win the contest is to put all sorts of cunning in his heart (μητιν ἐμβάλλω θυμῷ / παντοίην, 313-14). Line 309, in particular, is recalled at Triphiodorus 667:

‘οἴσθα γὰρ εὖ περὶ τέρμαθ’ ἐλισσέμεν.’

‘For you know well how to skirt the course-markers.’

~

³⁹ Tomasso 2013, 389-90 brings out well the underlying stress in the Iliadic passages he cites from Book 23, the emphasis on the rivalry between strength and trickery. Miguélez-Cavero 2013, 464 emphasises the popularity of the Nestor-Antilochus passage in both Greek and Latin authors, and on its function in Triphiodorus she writes (464): ‘Triph. refers now to the final bend, where the race may be decided depending on how the contenders round the post.’

τέρματος ἀμφιέλισσαν.

On a treacherous course and in a difficult race, guile is needed. If one trusts in the horses and chariot alone (319), one will be whirled this way and that, thoughtlessly (320: ἀφραδέως ἐπὶ πολλὸν ἐλίσσεται ἔνθα καὶ ἔνθα). Speed, and success, can only be gained through artfulness.⁴⁰

Antilochus, nearing the end of the race, urges his father's horses on, and declares that he will achieve success and manoeuvre around the narrow part of the track by means of his skill and know-how (414-16):

‘σπεύδετον ὅτι τάχιστα

ταῦτα δ' ἐγὼν αὐτὸς τεχνήσομαι ἠδὲ νοήσω

στεινωπῶ ἐν ὁδῶ παραδύμεναι, οὐδέ με λήσει.’

‘Hurry as fast as you can! I myself will see to these things by my skill and know-how, to slip past in the narrowest part of the course. It will not escape me.’

This passage, and in particular *σπεύδετον ὅτι τάχιστα* (414), is alluded to first in Triphiodorus' preface with *σπεύδοντι... ταχείη ἀοιδῆ* (lines 3 and 5). The emphasis on *technē* and *noos* to “slip past” the narrowest part of the track (*στεινωπῶ ἐν ὁδῶ παραδύμεναι*) can be brought

⁴⁰ Triphiodorus perhaps hints at Callimachus *Aetia* 5-6 (ἔπος δ' ἐπὶ τυτθὸν ἐλίσσω / παῖς ἄτε) with ἄπερ ἵππον ἐλάσσω (666, verb in same metrical position) and ἀμφιέλισσαν (667). There is potentially another pun on *Aetia* 1.19 (ψοφέουσιν ἀοιδῆν) in ἐπιψαύουσιν ἀοιδῆν at Triphiodorus 667. I discuss the impact of allusion to Callimachus below.

to bear, too, on the epilogue's description of the poem, like a horse, driven so that it grazes the turning-post (666-7).⁴¹

Triphiodorus' insistence on speed to reach his goal is developed by the allusions in his programmatic passages to *Iliad* 23. The way to achieve speed, and reach one's goal, is through artifice and cunning.⁴² The fact that it is Nestor, the father figure, giving advice to the younger driver who is going to drive *his* horses, has obvious implications for the poet figure Triphiodorus, and the poetic *ego* he inscribes into the proem and epilogue.⁴³ Antilochus receives horses which are accustomed to a different master. Triphiodorus receives this ancient story, handled so often before, principally from Homer.⁴⁴ The only way for the son of Nestor to manage these *slow* horses is by cunning and know-how, for him to have any chance of winning a prize. Triphiodorus must also control these horses of Homer, his poetic father, and achieve speed through non-traditional means, to reach the completion of his narrative, the construction of the horse and the sack of Troy, as quickly as possible. Only thus can youth triumph, as exemplified, after the race, by Menelaus

⁴¹ Richardson 1993 ad loc. translates παραδύμεναι as 'slips past.'

⁴² Cf. Gagarin 1983, who proves that it is by following his father's instructions, and specifically by keeping close to the turning-post by means of guile, that Antilochus manages to get the better of Menelaus.

⁴³ On a metapoetical level within the *Iliad* itself, Nestor, who gives the advice, can be read as an emblem, or *mise-en-abîme* of Homer himself, fitting as he does the category of wise old-man figure who is trusted for this experience, speaking-prowess and wisdom in all things. For this category, see Dällenbach 1989, 52.

⁴⁴ Two important Latin adaptations exist, at Lucretius 6.92-5 and Ovid *Met.* 15.453-4. See Volk 2002, 82-93.

who, beaten by his younger competitor, is enraged that Antilochus got the better of him through guile (23.585). The metapoetics of succession, and in particular the anxieties inherent in receiving what has been done already, are similarly prevalent in early imperial Latin poetry.⁴⁵ Triphiodorus' successor, Nonnus, goes as far as to name Homer as his poetic father (25.265, πατὴρ Ὀμήρου), and expose the inevitability of Homer's presence in his 'new' Dionysiac poetics.⁴⁶

The poetics of the horse and the framework of *Iliad* 23's chariot race behind Triphiodorus' programme have an intermediary text which nuances the Homeric reception in Triphiodorus. Callimachus' *Aetia*, Fragment 1, similarly contains symbols of horse and chariot, and instructions to a poet-figure on how to shape their poetic craft. The driving of the horse / poem (also in line 2, in ἰπήλατον) recalls the double use of the same verb for drive (ἐλαύνω) at *Aetia* 26-8:

ἑτέρων ἵχνια μὴ καθ' ὁμά

δίφρον ἐλ]ῶν μηδ' οἴμον ἀνὰ πλατύν, ἀλλὰ κελεύθους

ἀτρίπτο]υς, εἰ καὶ στε[ι]γοτέραν ἐλάσεις.

Do not drive your chariot in the tracks

Of others nor on the broad way, but on the paths

Untrodden, even if you drive on a narrower path.

⁴⁵ See, above all, Hardie 1993, 88-119 on the poetic relationship of father and son, epic succession and the anxiety of influence.

⁴⁶ Cf. Hopkinson 1994, 12-14 and Shorrock 2001, 116-18, esp. 117: 'Nonnus owes his life as an epic poet to Homer, yet right from the start he demonstrates a desire to be different, mixing imitation with innovation in an attempt to surpass his predecessor.'

Triphiodorus' reading of *Iliad* 23, and in particular the allusions to Nestor's interaction with Antilochus on how to steer the horses to win the race, is mediated via Callimachus' programmatic passage in which Apollo encourages the inscribed poet figure to drive his chariot (that is, poem) on roads less travelled, even if that means driving on a narrow path. Implied in Triphiodorus' incorporation of this Callimachean passage is that he has taken another route to tell the story of the fall of Troy, in short compass, and in an allusive manner befitting those who, before, had read Callimachus and understood his strictures. Triphiodorus has written a Homeric-imitative poem with an ancient theme, but he appropriates something else that is also distant, Alexandrian poetics, to signify the type of poem that he asks the Muses to give him. One that is swift, of few lines and which marks his conservative poem as also an Alexandrian creature, one of refinement which stands out from those huge epics of Peisander and Quintus. This double-strand, of Homer and Callimachus, is symbolised in the two dominant intertexts in his proem and epilogue. The metaphor of the horse and driving it on to the end of the course posits Callimachus' image back, retrospectively, on to the interactions of *Iliad* 23. Just as Antilochus learned to drive the slower horses, used only to their aged master, by following Nestor's instructions to steer along the narrow path, so too does Callimachus, symbolised in that *Aetia* passage, receive a mandate to seek the way that is narrower. This is how Triphiodorus reads the Callimachus passage, as latent already in Homer. He reads Antilochus in *Iliad* 23 as a type of Callimachus learning to deal with traditional material differently, and this is how Triphiodorus' poetic *ego* models himself and his own *oidē*. This retrojection on to Homer of Callimachus' chariot metaphor is discovered in Triphiodorus'

self-styling of his own programme,⁴⁷ on the necessity of guile and the need of care on the narrow road.⁴⁸ Triphiodorus' poetic *persona* is to steer his horse to the end of its course: like Antilochus, by guile to achieve speed, but a Callimachean reading of Antilochus whose guile is poeticised as on a road less taken; Homeric succession, Nestor to Antilochus, Homer to Triphiodorus, but by way of Callimachus' road.

Triphiodorus can surpass his competitors by receiving Homer as an epic successor should, by guiding a subject, handed down to him, with his own artfulness and so excel other Homeric-imitative poets. He shapes a Homeric subject and form in his own innovative way, that is by choosing a single subject, the building of the wooden horse, and by relating the tale within short compass, and leaves to the Muses the whole gushing forth (*chusin*, 664) of events.⁴⁹ Triphiodorus

⁴⁷ On a similar type of poetic retrojection, see the study by Heerink 2007 on the Hylas episode in Valerius Flaccus, Propertius and Apollonius.

⁴⁸ Wimmel 1960, 107, taking his lead from the Byzantine commentator Eustathius, argues that Callimachus is constructing his metaphor from *Iliad* 23. Cf. Eustathius, in his *lemma* on *Iliad* 23.584 (4.787.9 van der Valk), who reads Antilochus as driving his chariot just as Callimachus depicts chariot-driving in the *Aetia*: Ἀντιλόχου δὲ ἄλλως ὁ νοῦς ἠγήσατο, παρακλιδὸν ἐλάσαντος καί, ὡς ἂν ὁ Καλλιμάχος εἶποι, δραμόντος “ἐτέρων ἵχνια μὴ καθ’ ὁμά”, “εἰ καίστεινότερη” ἤλασεν, ὡς εἰκός, καθὰ καὶ αὐτὸ ἐκεῖνος ἔφη. Cf. Asper 1997, 23-5 for further discussion and bibliography on the derivation of the metaphor from Homer.

⁴⁹ Triphiodorus may be hinting here towards the opening of Book 1 of the *Aetia* of Callimachus: insistence on brevity (πᾶσαν δ' οὐκ ἂν ἔγωγε μόθου χύσιν ἀείσοιμι, 664), recalls the continuous song of many thousands of lines which the narrator of the *Aetia* refused to sing: ἔν ᾄσιμα διηνεκές (3).

can thus be as *Homeric* as immediate predecessors such as Quintus, but opts for miniature scale.⁵⁰ Antilochus would have driven the horses thoughtlessly, and out of control, had he not heeded Nestor and driven the horses differently (23.309). The horses respond only to their original master, unless other techniques be used. But they are, nevertheless, the *same* horses.

ODYSSEUS AND THE HORSE

A substantial section of the poem is dedicated to the narration of the construction of the wooden horse (57-107), which includes an ecphrasis of the horse itself as it is being built (61-103). Great emphasis is placed on the lifelikeness of the horse: its teeth eagerly chomp at the bit (73-4); its ears are pricked, ready for the sound of the battle-trumpet (78-9); and its feet are set to run, but necessity alone holds it back (84-6). The ecphrasis concludes with a description of the completed horse as it stands flashing with awesome brightness (103-5):⁵¹

ὥς ὁ μὲν ἐξήστραπτε φόβῳ καὶ κάλλει πολλῷ
 εὐρύς θ' ὑψηλός τε· τὸν οὐδέ κεν ἀρνήσαιτο,
 εἴ μιν ζῶν ἔτετμεν, ἐλαυνέμεν ἵππιος Ἄρης.

⁵⁰ Cf. Maciver 2012a, 29 on the *Posthomerica* as “still” the *Iliad*.

⁵¹ On Triphiodorus and the tradition of ecphrasis-writing in Imperial Greek prose, see Gerlaud 1982, 49.

And so the horse, wide and high, flashed with terror and great beauty: even Ares himself would not have refused to drive it, had he found it alive.⁵²

The verb ἐξήστραπτε (103) is used typically of works of art that arouse awe in the onlooker.⁵³ ἐλαυνέμεν ἵππιος (105) is recalled later in the epilogue at 666 by ἵππον ἐλάσσω, and cements the notion that this horse-driven work of Athena (ἱππήλατον ἔργον, line 2) symbolises, too, the horse-driven work of Triphiodorus.⁵⁴ The lightning-flashes of the horse are answered by the thunderings of Odysseus, a description of whom, in the assembly, follows on immediately after the ecphrasis of the horse (111-19):

ἦ δὲ τανυφθόγγιο δέμας κήρυκος ἐλοῦσα
 συμφράδμων Ὀδυσῆι παρίστατο θοῦρις Ἀθήνη
 ἀνδρὸς ἐπιχρίουσα μελίχροϊ νέκταρι φωνήν.
 αὐτὰρ ὁ δαιμονίησι νόον βουλῆσιν ἐλίσσω
 πρῶτα μὲν εἰστήκει κενεόφρονι φωτὶ ἔοικῶς (115)

⁵² It is difficult to determine precisely why Ares as horseman is included here. Some useful discussion is provided by Miguélez-Cavero 2013, 189.

⁵³ For a list of references see Gerlaud 1982, 117 on 103 along with Miguélez-Cavero 2013, 188. The verb was commonly used, too, in the novel, with the same function. For the sense of awe created in the viewer, something that goes as far back as the reaction to Achilles' shield in *Iliad* 19, cf. Miguélez-Cavero 2013, 188.

⁵⁴ As Gerlaud 1982, 117, on line 105, shows, Quintus too emphasised the lifelikeness of the wooden horse, esp. with ὡς ἔτεδν ζῶοντος at *PH* 12.146.

ὄμματος ἀστρέπτοιο βολὴν ἐπὶ γαῖαν ἐρείσας,
 ἄφνω δ' ἀνάων ἐπέων ὠδῖνας ἀνοίξας
 δεινὸν ἀνεβρόντησε καὶ ἠερίης ἄτε πηγῆς
 ἐξέχεεν μέγα λαῖτμα μελισταγέος νιφετοῖο.

Battle-eager Athena, taking on the form of a clear-voiced herald, stood by Odysseus as his counsellor, anointing the man's voice with honeyed nectar. And he, turning around in his mind the persuasions of the goddess, stood there first like an empty-headed man, training down towards the ground the gaze of his eye rigidly, and suddenly giving birth to ever-flowing words, thundered terribly and poured out as though from a spring in the air a great torrent of honey-dropping snow.

The description of Odysseus, before he begins his speech to his fellow Greeks, contains intimations critical to the understanding of the poetics of Triphiodorus' poem. Its placement after the ecphrasis of the horse is no accident. I do not wish here to discuss the possibility that the ecphrasis of the horse acts a programmatic emblem of the poem's construction and identity.⁵⁵ What is of particular note for the current discussion, however, is the careful way in which parts of the horse are described in terms which recall Odysseus' construction of his own raft in *Odyssey* 5. For example, in lines 63-4 (especially 64: μέγεθος τορνώσατο τέκτων), the construction of the

⁵⁵ See Miguélez-Cavero 2013, 156-66 for sources and discussion of the rhetorical nature of the ecphrasis. A full analysis of the vocabulary and design of the horse in relation to the poem as a whole is still a scholarly *desideratum*.

horse is compared with shipbuilding in terms which recall a comparable simile at *Odyssey* 5.249-50:⁵⁶

ὅσσον τίς τ' ἔδαφος νηὸς τορνώσεται ἀνήρ
φορτίδος εὐρείης, ἐὺ εἰδὼς τεκτοσυνάων. . .

As wide as a man well skilled in carpentry
Would mark off the bottom of a wide freighter. . .

The wooden horse is described in terms which evoke Odysseus' own artifice, and whose identity, therefore, is all the more bound up with the personality of Odysseus. There are also particular correspondences within the poem which identify Odysseus as an extension of the metaphor of the horse as emblematic of the poem itself. Two expressions in particular have this function. ὁ δαιμονίησι νόον βουλῆσιν ἐλίσσω (line 114) describes the onset of Athena's influence, which results in his standing there like a witless man.⁵⁷ Ἐλίσσω is also used in the epilogue in ἀμφιέλισσαν. . . ἀοιδῆν at 667.⁵⁸ Odysseus is implicated into Triphiodorus' discourse on poetics. Odysseus unravels in his mind his plan as influenced by the goddess' counsel and mimics,

⁵⁶ Cf. Miguélez-Cavero 2013, 168-9.

⁵⁷ Cf. Miguélez-Cavero 2013, 194, on line 114, who shows that the expression is inspired by similar Homeric phrases for public speaking.

⁵⁸ Tomasso 2012, 394 makes the connection, highlighting 'Odysseus' pivotal role in the [poem]... [as] defined in part by his identification with the narrator's metapoetics'.

therefore, the status of an inspired poet-figure, that is, Triphiodorus' inscribed *I* in the programmatic passages.⁵⁹

This idea of poetic authority is further reinforced by two Apollonian parallels, both from the prefaces to *Argonautica* Books 3 and 4.⁶⁰ At 4.2-3 the poem's narrator verbalises his indecision on how to describe the story of Medea's flight from Colchis: ἤ γὰρ ἔμοιγε / ἀμφασίη νόος ἔνδον ἐλίσσεται ὀρμαίνοντι (for my own mind whirls within with speechlessness as I embark [on a theme]), a sentiment alluded to by Triphiodorus with νόον βουλήσιν ἐλίσσω.⁶¹ At *Argonautica* 4 the narrator has lost his earlier confidence and now asks the Muse to sing, herself, the theme of Medea's flight, as his mind is unsteady and unsure: 'the narrator in the *Argonautica* appears to subordinate himself further than even the Homeric narrator, who is inspired by the Muse to sing.'⁶² Odysseus, similarly, is reliant entirely on Athena to inspire him. He is described as standing there like a man who is empty-minded (κενέοφρονι, 115), that is, with a mind ready to be filled with the right words, and he trains his eye on the ground (ὄμματος ἀστρέπτοιο βολὴν ἐπὶ γαῖαν ἐρείσας, 116) in a gesture which bespeaks this emptiness. Similarly, Jason at *Argonautica* 3.422-3 fixes his eyes before his feet, in silence, speechless and at a loss what to do, when confronted with the task set him by Aeetes.⁶³ A further hint that Odysseus is like an epic poet inspired to sing a particular

⁵⁹ Ἐλίσσω alludes, too, to Callimachus *Aetia* 1.5-6 where the narrator turns around words like a child (ἔπος δ' ἐπὶ τυτθὸν ἐλίσσω / παῖς ἄτε) (cf. my discussion at footnote 40, above). The importance of embedded Callimachean allusion is discussed in the final section, below.

⁶⁰ On imitations of Apollonius in later Greek epic more generally, see Vian 2008.

⁶¹ A parallel seen by Gerlaud 1982, 118, on line 114, without further discussion.

⁶² Morrison 2009, 300, on the *Arg.* 4 proem. Cf. Hunter 2015, 83.

⁶³ On this expression and Jason's heroism, see Hunter 1989, 31.

theme is present in Ὀδυσῆι παρίστατο θοῦρις Ἀθήνη (112).⁶⁴ That verb is used in the opening line of *Argonautica* 3, in the invocation of Erato, where the narrator asks her to stand beside him and speak to him (παρά θ' ἴστασο, καί μοι ἔνισπε, 3.1).⁶⁵

Odysseus' act of speaking is configured in terms which evoke childbirth. He suddenly opens up the birth(-pangs) and produces ever-flowing words: ἄφνω δ' ἀενάων ἐπέων ὠδῖνας ἀνοίξας (117). The wooden horse, too, according to Cassandra's prophecy, gives birth to the warriors who hide in it, and Athena herself is the midwife.⁶⁶

οὐ γὰρ ἐπ' ὠδίνεσσι μογοστόκον ἵππον ἀνεῖσαι
 ἀνδράσι τικτομένοισιν ἐπισχῆσουσι γυναῖκες,
 αὐτὴ δ' Εἰλείθουα γενήσεται, ἥ μιν ἔτευξε·
 γαστέρα δὲ πλήθουσιν ἀνακλίνασα βοήσει
 μαῖα πολυκλαύτιο τόκου πτολίπορθος Ἀθήνη. (390)

⁶⁴ The line has important Iliadic heritage, too: e.g. at *Iliad* 2.278-80, as Miguélez-Cavero 2013, 193 notes, Athena stands beside Odysseus as he holds the sceptre in the assembly. *Iliad* 23 and the figure of the race is once again important, where Ajax, defeated by Odysseus in the foot-race, points to the intervention of Athena, who always stands by Odysseus like a mother: μήτηρ ὡς Ὀδυσῆι παρίσταται ἢ δ' ἐπαρήγει, 783 (Ὀδυσῆι παρίσταται is in the same metrical *sedes* as Triphiodorus 112). Gerlaud 1982, ad loc. makes the connection.

⁶⁵ Two type scenes from the *Odyssey* add to the overall picture here: at *Odyssey* 6.13-24, and esp. 21, where Athena stands above Nausicaa's head, and the scenes of transformation where Athena beautifies and vivifies the appearance of Odysseus, e.g. at 16.172-80

⁶⁶ Cf. Paschalis 2005, 110.

For it won't be women who deliver the horse as it groans in the pangs of birth, nor will they attend the men as they are born, but Eileithyia will be present, she who devised it. Athena the city-sacker, the midwife of a lamentable birth, will cry out as she undoes the pregnant belly.

Thus Odysseus is just as much the work of Athena as the horse itself: both are conceived by her as stratagems to achieve the fall of Troy. Odysseus is the extension of the horse, its mouthpiece, inspired by Athena, and delivered of his ever-flowing words, suddenly, just as the horse is delivered of its warrior-offspring. The horse, by extension, is the poetic craft of the poet, and Odysseus symbolises the poet pouring out his words. Odysseus validates this idea of the *ergon* of Athena (proem, line 2) shortly afterwards in his speech, where he states that they must accomplish, living, a deed worthy of song, as it is not right to grow old, toiling away.

οὐ γὰρ ἔοικε πολὺν χρόνον ἐνθάδ' ἔοντας
 μοχθίζειν ἀτέλεστα καὶ ἀχρέα γηράσκοντας, (125)
 ἀλλὰ χρὴ ζῶοντας ἀοίδιμον ἔργον ἀνύσσαι.⁶⁷

⁶⁷ Given the difficulty in ἀνεῖσα in line 3 (see, principally, the discussion of Gerlaud 1982, ad loc. and Campbell 1985, 207), the emendation ἀνύσσαι suggested by Pontani seems all the more plausible given this parallel at line 126, as it seems to pun on the *ergon* of Athena expressed at line 2. For a full account of the textual problems at line 3, see the *apparatus* of Dubielzig 1996, 54.

For it is not right for us to toil away here endlessly and grow old without accomplishing anything we aim for or gain profit from, but we need to accomplish something worthy of song while we yet live.

Odysseus embeds within his speech, in the same sequence of negative to positive, the proclamation of the narrator in the epilogue that the poem must be brought to its swift conclusion; to carry on without getting to the end is the toil of the Muses (Μουσάων ὄδε μόχθος, 666). The way to accomplish a deed worthy of song is the ruse of the horse; it would be unseemly to remain endlessly toiling away without achieving one's goal (μοχθίζειν ἀτέλεστα, 125). This *ergon* worthy of song which they should accomplish (ἀοίδιμον ἔργον ἀνόσσαι, 126, the same metrical *sedes* as line 2 of the proem, ἱππήλατον ἔργον Ἀθήνης) is realised within the poem Odysseus finds himself. The *ergon* of Athena is the horse / poem, with Odysseus himself as its verbal outlet.

The primary template for the description of Odysseus comes from the famous passage in *Iliad* 3, where Antenor describes the embassy of Odysseus and Menelaus, and the nature of Odysseus' speech-craft. Emphasised in that Homeric passage is the contrast between the (affected) appearance of the hero and the effect his words have on his hearers (*Iliad* 3.216-25):

‘ἀλλ' ὅτε δὴ πολύμητις ἀναΐξειεν Ὀδυσσεὺς
στάσκειν, ὑπαὶ δὲ ἴδεσκε κατὰ χθονὸς ὄμματα πήξας,
σκῆπτρον δ' οὔτ' ὀπίσω οὔτε προπρηγὲς ἐνώμα,
ἀλλ' ἀστεμφὲς ἔχεσκεν ἀΐδρεϊ φωτὶ ἐοικώς.
φαίης κεν ζάκοτόν τέ τιν' ἔμμεναι ἄφρονά τ' αὐτῶς. 220
ἀλλ' ὅτε δὴ ὅπα τε μέγαλιν ἐκ στήθεος εἶη

καὶ ἔπεα νιφάδεσσιν ἐοικότα χειμερίησιν,
 οὐκ ἂν ἔπειτ' Ὀδυσῆϊ γ' ἐρίσσειε βροτὸς ἄλλος.
 οὐ τότε γ' ᾗδ' Ὀδυσῆος ἀγασσάμεθ' εἶδος ἰδόντες.' 225

‘But whenever great-witted Odysseus got up, he stood and looked down, fixing his eyes on the ground, and moved the sceptre neither back nor forward, but held it firmly like a witless man; in fact, you would say that he was sullen as well as senseless. But whenever he let forth his great voice from his chest and words that fell like winter snowflakes, then no mortal could strive with Odysseus. Not then did we marvel as before when we looked upon Odysseus’ outward appearance.’

This is the *locus classicus* of ancient oratorical display, used as a *comparandum*, and imitated throughout Classical literature.⁶⁸ This performance by Odysseus is affected, and implied as

⁶⁸ See Hunter 1989, 99 for a list of parallels, along with the discussion of Muecke 1984, 108-9, who includes a full list of imitations in Apollonius and Vergil. Most interesting is the bT scholion on *Iliad* 3.212, where the three styles of oratory are categorised under the figures of Menelaus, Odysseus and Nestor as representing, respectively, the oratory of Lysias, Demosthenes and Isocrates, with the Odysseus-Demosthenes parallel characterised as the highest style (τὸν δὲ ὑψηλόν). On the ancient classifications on oratory and their roots in Homeric exegesis, see Kennedy 1957, esp. 26-7. Quintilian, too, appropriates this scene from *Iliad* 3 as an expression of ideal oratory, both in relation to posture (*Inst.* 11.3.158) and in relation to the highest form of public speaking (12.10.64: ‘[Homerus] summam expressurus in Ulixē facundiam et magnitudinem

habitual practice, given the frequentative optatives at 3.216 and 221.⁶⁹ Odysseus lulls his audience into a false expectation, and thus achieves the maximum effect when he speaks. This tendency is altered in Triphiodorus. There is no φαίης κεν to guide the reader as there is in the *Iliad* (3.220) and there are no frequentatives. Explicit instead is the role of Athena in shaping the words of Odysseus, and the description of how Odysseus appeared and sounded on speaking variegates the Homeric image to incorporate some pivotal Callimachean allusions, and thus testifies to the nature of this short epic. Triphiodorus creates an image of traditional epic eloquence, and the high style characterised by Odysseus' oratory, but kept within the strictures of non-traditional epic parameters.

THE IMPACT OF CALLIMACHUS

Triphiodorus inserts a near-quotation from Callimachus at 119, in his description of the pouring out of the stream of words from Odysseus:

ἄφνω δ' ἀνάων ἐπέων ὠδῖνας ἀνοίξας
 δεινὸν ἀνεβρόντησε καὶ ἠερίης ἄτε πηγῆς
 ἐξέχεεν μέγα λαῖτμα μελισταγέος νιφετοῖο.

illi vocis et vim orationis nivibus hibernis copia verborum atque impetu parem tribuit'). For Quintilian (12.10.65) Odysseus' oratory constitutes the truest variety.

⁶⁹ Cf. Willcock 1978, 219, on *Iliad* 3.216.

ἐξέχεεν μέγα λαῖτμα closely resembles Callimachus' *Hymn to Zeus* 32 (ἐκ δ' ἔχεεν μέγα χεῦμα),⁷⁰ but the context seems to be alluded to by Triphiodorus too:

‘Γαῖα φίλη, τέκε καὶ σύ· τεαὶ δ’ ὠδῖνες ἐλαφραί.’
 εἶπε καὶ ἀντανύσασα θεῆ μέγαν ὑψόθι πῆχυν (30)
 πληξεν ὄρος σκῆπτρω· τὸ δέ οἱ δίχα πουλὸν διέστη,
 ἐκ δ’ ἔχεεν μέγα χεῦμα.

‘Dear Earth, you give birth too! Your birth-pains are light.’ With those words the goddess lifted her great arm aloft and struck the mountain with her sceptre. A great double rent was made, and a mighty flood poured out.

Rhea, in search of water with which to wash her baby Zeus, by striking the Earth, causes a flood to pour out.⁷¹ Triphiodorus seems to point to the Callimachean passage too with his placement of ὠδῖνας at 117, in the same place in the line as Callimachus’ use at 29. Odysseus’ stream of words which he pours out from on high are as sudden and copious as the waters which flow from Callimachus’ mountain. What is the significance of the ‘mighty flood’? In Callimachus it is Rhea, etymologically connected with eloquence,⁷² who strikes the rock and causes the outpouring of water. Similarly, in Triphiodorus the eloquent Odysseus pours out a stream of words which keep flowing. In the proem the narrator asks for a release of much speech (πολὸν μῦθον, line

⁷⁰ So Gerlaud 1982, 119.

⁷¹ On the Homeric significance of these lines, see Hopkinson 1988, 125 and Stephens 2015, 61.

⁷² Hopkinson 1984.

3) but told within a short epic, given his hurry to tell the tale (σπεύδοντι, line 3). Triphiodorus wants grandiloquence, but the further allusion to Callimachus emphasizes the scale within which such abundance is to occur.

The description of Odysseus' words as a gushing stream also draws upon the epilogue to Callimachus' *Hymn to Apollo* (105-12):

ὁ Φθόνος Ἀπόλλωνος ἐπ' οὔατα λάθριος εἶπεν· (105)

‘οὐκ ἄγαμαι τὸν ἀοιδὸν ὃς οὐδ’ ὅσα πόντος ἀεΐδει.’

τὸν Φθόνον ὠπόλλων ποδί τ’ ἤλασεν ὧδέ τ’ εἶπεν·

‘Ἀσσυρίου ποταμοῖο μέγας ῥόος, ἀλλὰ τὰ πολλά

λύματα γῆς καὶ πολλὸν ἐφ’ ὕδατι συρφετὸν ἔλκει.

Δηοῖ δ’ οὐκ ἀπὸ παντὸς ὕδωρ φορέουσι μέλισσαι, (110)

ἀλλ’ ἦτις καθαρὴ τε καὶ ἀχράαντος ἀνέρπει

πίδακος ἐξ ἱερῆς ὀλίγη λιβὰς ἄκρον ἄωτον.’

Envy spoke secretly in Apollo's ear: 'I have no delight in the poet who does not sing as much as the sea.' Apollo drove Envy off with his foot and spoke these words: 'Great is the stream of the Assyrian river, but it drags so much filth of the earth and so much refuse in its waters. But the bees do not carry to Deo water from everywhere, but the pure, scant drops which spring up from the undefiled, holy fountain, the very height of quality.'

Envy criticises Apollo for not singing as much as an ocean in quantity. The πόντος of 106 is commonly understood to refer to Homer and Homeric-imitative poems.⁷³ Triphiodorus emphasises in his poem abundance, or the release of his song, not only in the proem (3), but also in describing Odysseus who poured out the ever-flowing stream of words (ἐξέχεεν, 119). These culminate in the epilogue where the narrator states that he would not sing the whole pouring of the battle-toil, 664: *πᾶσαν δ' οὐκ ἂν ἔγωγε μόθου χύσιν ἀείσαιμι*, an expression which recalls Callimachus' οὐδ' ὄσα πόντος ἀείδει (106). Only in the epilogue does Triphiodorus express explicit opposition to the *whole* pouring forth of epic by emphasising the short-compass of his poem in its haste to reach its finishing post.⁷⁴ The poet's earlier emphases on pouring out of song, signifying traditional epic, are qualified, however, by allusions to Callimachean strictures on poetics, as I discuss further below.⁷⁵

The pointed allusion to Callimachus alerts the reader to the possible presence of other Callimachean intrusion into what is essentially a Homeric picture. The words which pour from

⁷³ See, above all, Williams 1978, 98-9, but contrast Cameron 1995, 404-7.

⁷⁴ Cf. Paschalis 2005, 108: 'The Muses know *too much* to fulfil the poet's wish and in the Epilogue they appear eager to go on and tell *all* the events of the night of the capture of Troy; so the poet will take over the reins of the Muses.' I do not identify with this reading whereby the poet only takes control at the end. The careful patterning of the proem, and the poem's overall programme, set up alongside this epilogue, suggest that the poet is carefully using his craft throughout, in conjunction with the Muses' help. The Muses signify a tradition which the poet must keep in check.

⁷⁵ Cf. Hunter 2012, 156-7 on Dionysius of Halicarnassus 10.1.78 and ideas of purity in oratory connected with the epilogue of the *Hymn to Apollo*.

Odysseus are described as ἀενάων (117). This adjective, too, points back to the single instance of its use with water by Callimachus, in his sixth hymn (to Demeter), line 14, where the goddess is said to have three times crossed the ever-flowing rivers (ἀενάων ποταμῶν) of Achelous.⁷⁶

Triphiodorus is taking what is Homeric but inserting key indications of Alexandrian indebtedness, to illustrate by which route he receives Homer, and constructs his own words. Odysseus' words are ever-flowing, that is, Homer's Odysseus is still speaking in Triphiodorus, in the same Homeric language which the poet has been so careful to construct, but this version, and artistry, is also post-Alexandrian.⁷⁷ The ever-flowing words point to the unceasing continuum of Homeric poetry, realised now in the retelling by Triphiodorus, but coloured through this Alexandrian refraction.

Line 118, however, more specifically brings together two concepts from Callimachus' aesthetic polemics, that of the thundering of epic alongside the waters of poetic imitation.⁷⁸ δεινὸν ἀνεβρόντησε answers the lightning-flashes of the horse itself (ἐξήστραπτε, 103). Thunder,

⁷⁶ Given the metapoetical significance of *ever-flowing*, the plural use of *words* to describe Odysseus' effluence might contain a secondary significance, namely "epic poetry". For this sense for ἔπεα, see LSJ s.v. ἔπος IV.

⁷⁷ For recent discussion of the metaphor of the flowing of water as a standing for poetic tradition, see Farmer 2013, esp. 496-9. The adjective *ever-flowing* occurs just once in Homer, at *Odyssey* 13.109 (ὕδατ' ἀενάοντα), in the description of the water in the cave of the nymphs, where the Phaeacians deposit Odysseus' goods. It is interesting to note that bees are also described there (13.106) which has relevance for the discussion below, on the bee simile. The third century (A.D.) Neoplatonist Porphyry wrote an allegorising treatise on this cave, in which he relates the *locus* to Plato's cave from the *Republic*.

⁷⁸ For a brief but cogent overview of Callimachus' programme, see Bing 1988, 94-6.

however, is what Callimachus declares at *Aetia* 1.20 is not for him, but for Zeus. He will not produce a noisy song and his critics should not look for one (19-20):

‘Μηδ’ ἀπ’ ἐμεῦ διφᾶτε μέγα ψοφέουσιν ἀοιδίην

τίκτεσθαι. Βροντᾶν οὐκ ἐμόν, ἀλλὰ Διός.’

‘Do not search for a loudly resounding song born from me. Thundering isn’t my thing, but belongs to Zeus.’

Unlike the protestations of the *Aetia*’s poetics, Triphiodorus’ *Odysseus* thunders terribly. In the midst of such detailed allusion to Callimachus in this passage, Triphiodorus’ *Odysseus* gives birth (cf. Callimachus’ τίκτεσθαι, line 19) to the thunder of ever-flowing words. Triphiodorus is doing epic, and is in this sense contradicting the strictures of Callimachean aesthetics, where epic-thundering is to be avoided: the thundering of *Odysseus* is a clear metaphor of epic composition, along with the metaphor of the wooden horse. Triphiodorus is writing traditional epic, in traditional language on a traditional theme, and he makes recourse to this famous passage in the *Aetia* to advertise the fact.⁷⁹ Here he uses Callimachus to underline his distance from the Callimachean programme.⁸⁰

⁷⁹ At Nonnus *Dionysiaca* 1.310-20 Typhon attempts to wield the lightning bolts of Zeus, bolts which miss the presence of their true master, just as a horse resists a new and untrained rider, a passage which Shorrock 2001, 121-5 connects to Nonnus’ struggle to control the direction of his epic poem and back further to Callimachus’ polemic against traditional epic.

⁸⁰ There may be advertisement of another Callimachean target, though the verbal parallelism is less clear, in the placement of *spring* in the same line (ἠερίης ἄτε πηγῆς, line 120). Hesiod, at

The image of his un-Callimachean subject (activated by Callimachean allusion) is nuanced by another metaphor in this passage, that of honey, which has a similarly rich poetological heritage. Athena anoints Odysseus' voice with honey-coloured nectar (113), and the words which thunder from his mouth are a deluge of honey-dropping snow (or rain) (119).⁸¹ This flurry of honey-dropping snow (μελισταγέος νιφετοῖο, 119) falls because Athena has shed on Odysseus' voice this honey-like nectar (ἄνδρὸς ἐπιχρίουσα μελίχροϊ νέκταρι φωνήν, 113). Nestor's voice is described in similar terms at *Iliad* 1.247-9:

τοῖσι δὲ Νέστωρ

ἠδυεπῆς ἀνόρουσε λιγύς Πυλίων ἀγορητής,
τοῦ καὶ ἀπὸ γλώσσης μέλιτος γλυκίων ῥέεν αὐδή.

Works and Days 595, states that he offers water libations from an ever-flowing spring (κρήνης δ' αἰενάου) which is unpolluted, an image which is developed by Callimachus as a metaphor for his poetry in the epilogue to the *Hymn to Apollo* (discussed below) and in the famous epigram in which he declares that he shuns all common things and does not drink from the well others drink from, and hates the cyclical poem (*A.P.* 12.43). Triphiodorus posits the ever-flowing words of Odysseus alongside the torrent which pours as though from an ethereal spring.

⁸¹ On the definition of νιφετός, see the discussion of Miguélez-Cavero 2013, 196, where she argues that the term means, here, rain, not snow. I find it very unlikely, however, that given Triphiodorus' careful construction of the terms against the *Iliad* 3 description of Odysseus' words like snow-flakes, that this single use of the noun in the *Sack of Troy* would imply rain. Campbell, 1985, *lexicon* (ad loc.), translates, too, as 'falling, driving snow'.

And among them sweet-speaking Nestor rose up, the shrill speaker of Pylos, and from his tongue flowed a voice sweeter than honey.

By the imperial period, honey was deemed synonymous with elocution in oratory, as typified above all by this picture in Homer,⁸² and Nestor was himself identifiable as a bard-like figure on a level with those poets inspired by the Muses. He is thus a very suitable model of eloquence for Odysseus, who, too, is as much a poet-figure here as Nestor was received in antiquity.⁸³ Once again it is the figure of Nestor who is the model behind artful construction. Triphiodorus has carefully combined, in μελισταγέος νιφετοῖο (119) the Homeric symbol for oratory in the person of Odysseus, that is the snowflake, with the symbol of honey, the Homeric symbol for Nestor's oratory.⁸⁴

⁸² See the recent discussion of Hunter 2012, 161-3, with further references. Cf. too, Plutarch *Moralia* 788-90 (on Nestor as ideal of eloquence and wisdom) and esp. Dio Chrys. 57.8 (his discourse on Homer's treatment of Nestor), and further discussion in Schofield 2001, 221-2 and Whitmarsh 2001, 186-7. On the function of sweetness of speech in Homer, in the person of Nestor, see, above all, Roisman 2005, 28-30.

⁸³ On Nestor as a poet-figure, see the excellent discussion of Papaioannou 2005, 64, with further references, and Dickson 1995, 45-100.

⁸⁴ μελίχροϊ νέκταρι, 113, has been shown to derive primarily from Apollonides (*A.P.* 6.239.5-6, especially μελιχροῦ νέκταρος) – so Gerlaud 1982, 118. Cf. Callimachus *Aetia* 1.16 (ἀηδονίδες δ' ὄδε μελιχρότεραι) and Harder 2012, vol. 2, ad loc. (p. 49) on the adjective as a signifier of the 'connection between brevity and quality'.

An important development of this idea of sweet nectar is found in the description of the manufacture of honey, in a simile. When the Greeks leave the horse, they are compared to bees which pour from their hive (533-8):

οἱ δ' ἕτεροι γλαφυρῆς ἀπὸ γαστέρος ἔρρεον ἵππου,
 τευχησταὶ βασιλῆες, ἀπὸ δρυὸς οἷα μέλισσαι,
 αἴτ' ἐπεὶ οὖν ἔκαμον πολυχανδέος ἔνδοθι σίμβλου
 κηρὸν ὑφαίνουσαι μελιηδέα φωλάδι τέχνη⁸⁵
 ἐς νομὸν εὐγυάλιοιο κατ' ἄγγεος ἀμφιχυθεῖσαι
 νύγμασι πημαίνουσι παραστείχοντας ὀδίτας.

And the others poured out of the horse's hollow belly, armoured kings, like bees from an oak, which after they had long laboured inside the cavernous hive weaving with their skill the honey-sweet comb secretly, pour from their rounded cell to the pasture and harass passers-by with their stings.

The hive from which the bees pour forth is identified very closely with the wooden horse, especially in the application of πολυχανδής which is used in Triphiodorus (412) and in Quintus

⁸⁵ φωλάδι τέχνη is Neander's sensible correction of the MSS.' ποικιλοτέχνη. See the apparatus ad loc. in Gerlaud (1982) with his note, pp. 153-6.

(12.264 and 12.307) of the horse.⁸⁶ Given this close identification, the bees and their honey-making described in the simile relate back to the other honeyed work associated with the horse, namely the oratory of Odysseus. A poetological signification for epic bees' activity is first suggested in a scholion to *Iliad* 2.87a (from the bT exegetical scholia), which famously calls that bee simile in Homer the first simile in the *Iliad*.⁸⁷ It states that the bee is kindred with the poetic art itself, because of the toil, sweetness and production involved in the creation of the honeycomb.⁸⁸ Triphiodorus alludes to the original Homeric simile from *Iliad* 2 in his description of the princes who leave the horse (τευχησταὶ βασιλῆες, 534), which recalls σκηπτοῦχοι βασιλῆες in the same metrical position (*Iliad* 2.86).⁸⁹ Triphiodorus describes the bees as labouring to produce their honey-sweet comb with secret skill (κηρὸν ὑφαίνουσαι μελιθδέα φωλάδι τέχνη, 536). ὑφαίνειν is not used by either Quintus or Nonnus, and occurs in Triphiodorus only here and in the words of Cassandra, concerning Clytemnestra and the death she is designing for Agamemnon on his return (409). In Homer it is used either of weaving or of the construction of plans or cunning in a person's

⁸⁶ Cf. Campbell 1985, *lexicon* ad loc. 535, who states that the hive 'is compared implicitly to the horse'. See, too, Miguélez-Cavero 2013, 347-8 on this adjective as specifically late (i.e. imperial).

⁸⁷ See Nünlist 2009, 282 n. 2

⁸⁸ συγγενές δὲ ποιητικῆ τὸ ζῷον διὰ τὸν μόχθον καὶ τὸ γλυκὸ καὶ τὴν σύνθεσιν τοῦ κηρίου. μόχθος is the term Triphiodorus applies to the Muses in the epilogue (666).

⁸⁹ The Iliadic simile also describes bees pouring out from a hollow rock (πέτρης ἐκ γλαφυρῆς, 2.88), which is picked up in the narrative at Triphiodorus 533 where the Greeks are described as departing from the horse's hollow belly (γλαφυρῆς ἀπὸ γαστέρος ἔρρεον ἵππου). See Maciver 2012b for discussion of this Iliadic simile in Quintus' bee similes.

mind,⁹⁰ but in the poetic tradition this is the first instance that it is used of the manufacture of honey. Most importantly, in this connection, is the use of the verb at *Iliad* 3.212, of Menelaus and Odysseus and their weaving of speeches and plans for all (μύθους καὶ μήδεα πᾶσιν ὕφαινον), before the very Iliadic description of Odysseus' oratory on which Triphiodorus' own version is based.⁹¹ The honeycomb, therefore, can be closely connected with the ever-flowing words which pour from Odysseus, as described by Triphiodorus.

The skill involved in such production is hidden away, in the hive, or in the poetic metaphor of the horse, to be discovered and appreciated by the reader who has been challenged by this signification φωλάδι τέχνη.⁹² An important intertext for this description of honeyed, poetic production as symbolised by the activity of bees is found at Plato's *Ion* 534a7-534b6:

For the poets tell us that they bring songs from honeyed springs, culling them out of the gardens and glades of the Muses, acting just like the bees [ἀπὸ κρηνῶν μελιρρύτων ἐκ Μουσῶν κήπων τινῶν καὶ ναπῶν δρεπόμενοι τὰ μέλη ἡμῖν φέρουσιν ὥσπερ αἱ μέλιτται], who themselves fly just in the same way. And what they say is true. For the poet is a light and

⁹⁰ In the *Iliad* it occurs at 3.125, 3.212, 6.456 and 22.440, and in the *Odyssey* at 2.94, 2.104, 5.62, 13.108, 15.517, 19.139, 24.129 and 24.139.

⁹¹ On the connection between weaving and poetic construction, especially in the figure of Helen's weaving in *Iliad* 3, see, above all, Roisman 2006, 9-11, with Kennedy 1986, 8.

⁹² *Technē* (learning with artistry) is emphasised by Callimachus at *Aetia* Fr. 1.17-18, which, given the other Callimachean allusions in Triphiodorus, may be the particular intertextual emphasis in this simile.

winged and holy thing, and he is not able to compose until he has been inspired and is out of his senses, and the mind is no longer in him.

As in the description of Odysseus who pours forth his stream of words from his spring in the air (118-19), so in Plato's description poets, like bees, receive their songs from the Muses' honey-flowing springs (ἀπὸ κρηνῶν μελιρρύτων). In Triphiodorus' bee simile, his own poetic art is figured in the hard work of the bees within the hive, who construct their product with skill that is hidden away. This *technē* plays against the discussion in Plato's dialogue on the divine inspiration of poets and rhapsodes, and feeds into the age-old conflict between poetic inspiration and poetic, innate, artistry, a dichotomy such a feature in Latin poetry.⁹³ In the proem Triphiodorus asks the Muses to release the tale of Athena's *ergon*, but in the epilogue he refers to the *mochthos* of the Muses in contrast to his own poetic endeavour to drive his horse to skirt the goal, the end of his poetic designs. The contrast is clear in the syntax: the whole gushing forth is the toil of the Muses, but Triphiodorus will end the song here (Μουσάων ὄδε μόχθος· ἐγὼ δ', 666). The toil of the Muses represents large-scale Trojan epic, unlike his own race to finish his poem.⁹⁴ Like Antilochus with

⁹³ Cf. Horace *Ars Poetica* 408-10, for example, on the tension between *ars* and *ingenium*, with the discussion and references in Brink 1971, 394-7. For a detailed list of the authors who develop the metaphor of flowing speech and the connection between honey and eloquence as found here in Plato, see Murray 1996, 116-17, and esp. 117 for the poet as bee from Pindar to Horace.

⁹⁴ Implied in the contrast is a different type of poetic industry from the traditional, longer epic poems, one more closely aligned with the Alexandrian poetic *ponos / labor* characterised by Callimachus and later Latin poetic emulations. For the latter, see, e.g., the discussion by Spisak 1994, 296-306.

Nestor's horses in *Iliad* 23, he must control these horses of archaic epic with the guile of smaller-scale artistry, an element implied in the hidden skill of the bees' endeavour.

As mentioned, Triphiodorus is not unique among the imperial Greek epic poets to appropriate Callimachus. In fact, it is something akin to a cliché to highlight affinity with Callimachus by quoting or alluding to his poetic programme.⁹⁵ Quintus too, in his only programmatic statement in the *Posthomerica*, at 12.306-13, posits a key quotation from Callimachus *Aetia* Fr. 2.1-2, in a passage which draws primarily upon Homer's Muse-invocation in *Iliad* 2 (484-93) and Hesiod's poetic initiation on Helicon, at *Theogony* 22-8. Interpretations of this key moment in Quintus have tended to emphasise the metapoetical function of the Callimachean allusion, namely, that the insertion of Callimachus within strong Homeric and Hesiodic intertextuality represents, in miniature, the tendency of the epic as a whole, namely overt Homeric appropriation in language and theme, but featuring Alexandrian learning and allusiveness.⁹⁶ Triphiodorus' engagement with the Hellenistic poet is more profound.⁹⁷ In his decision to narrate a few events in epic *Kleinform*,

⁹⁵ Latin poets do the same, usually by alluding to a 'small number of "programmatic" passages in Callimachus with remarkable frequency' (Fantuzzi and Hunter 2004, 1-2).

⁹⁶ See, principally, the study of Bär 2007. Quintus in actual fact rarely alludes at all to Callimachus, and his epic represents the very type of poem against which Callimachus was so obviously opposed. For this more traditional scholarly view of Quintus, see above all Vian 1963, xl.

⁹⁷ The recent studies by de Stefani and Magnelli 2011, 553 and Miguélez-Cavero 2013 give all of the Callimachean intertexts they believe present in Triphiodorus, building on the findings of Gerlaud 1982 in his commentary. They find Callimachean phrasing at Triph. 78-79, 119, 221, 237, 310, 342, 354, 360-1, 386-7, 415, 420-1, 430, 450-1, 475, 503, 513, 557, 637, 643, 653, 656-

and with his repeated allusions to Callimachus, this is a poet who strikes a more careful balance between traditional Homericity and Callimachean artistry. His allusions to Callimachus are carefully posited in his programmatic sections to underline both what is like, and conversely, what is unlike Callimachean poetics. But even these allusions, like the Muse-invocation of Quintus, are embedded within more overt Homeric intertextuality.⁹⁸ That fact itself exemplifies above all the dual nature of Triphiodorus' poetic enterprise.

CONCLUSION

Triphiodorus' *Sack of Troy* is a poem of pointed paradoxes. Its size befits the Callimachean protestations against continuous, large-scale epic voiced in the epilogue, but its content, and above all, Homeric character, mark it out as the opposite of Callimachean. Throughout his epic, Triphiodorus puts side by side intertextual manifestations of what his project is. This is most clearly evident in the description of Odysseus' oratory, which is modelled chiefly on the corresponding passage in *Iliad* 3, which is constructed, too, with phraseology from Callimachus'

9, 666-7. On the influence of the *Hecale* in Triphiodorus, see Hollis 1990, 34 and 391. Whitby 1994, 119 has convincingly shown that Triphiodorus, in his metre, is much closer to the metrical tendencies of the Alexandrians, and especially of Callimachus, than Quintus or Nonnus are.

⁹⁸ Imperial Greek poets who do not write about the Trojan war tend to represent a type of Callimachean engagement that is more consistently Alexandrian, without the studied appropriation of all things Homeric. Nonnus is one of the most Callimachean of the imperial poets (see Hollis 1994), along with both Oppians. On Callimacheanism in the poetic programme of pseudo-Oppian's *Cynegetica*, see Constanza 1991, esp. 483-6.

polemical programme against slavish, Homeric-imitative epic, along with allusions to Callimachus' manifesto for a new poetics of refinement. Triphiodorus does not want his poem to be one or the other, but both: a collusion of the contradictory, a fusion of competing heritages, the cyclical with the Alexandrian. The means by which he manoeuvres his traditional epic apparatus within this small, more refined, template is shaped by the metaphor of horse-riding. The poet receives his material from Homer, but is to weave a song which gets to the finishing post quickly, by artistry and guile, just as Antilochus finished his race against his competitors by following Nestor's advice, in the use of cunning to make up for his inexperience. Triphiodorus posits on to Antilochus' individualism in *Iliad* 23 a Callimachean reading: he too can receive traditional epic, but can adapt it to travel his own (narrower) path, a song symbolised in his poem by the wooden horse itself. Triphiodorus' epic is both a continuation of the imperial trend of traditional epic construction, and a diversion from that trend, articulated through appropriation of the polemics and poetics of Alexandria.

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