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APOLLONIUS OF RHODES

ARGONAUTICA BOOK III

EDITED BY
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PREFACE

The format of *Cambridge Greek and Latin Classics* – to say nothing of the firm hands of the editors – imposes tight constraints on a commentator's freedom to indulge himself with so rich a text as *Argonautica* 3. Three particular areas where I have held back deserve special notice. One is *Nachleben* and reception, except where a later reworking sheds important light on a passage of the *Argonautica*; considerations of space are entirely responsible for this omission, as the subject ought not to be left – as it has been too often in the past – to those whose primary interest is not in the *Argonautica* itself; there is still much work to be done, even in such well-ploughed fields as Virgil and Ovid. Secondly, I have resisted the temptation to discuss the nature and sources of Apollonius' linguistic usage in the very full manner of Livrea's edition of Book 4. The subject is of fundamental importance, but this did not seem to be the proper place for it. Thirdly, this edition does little for the doxography of scholarship, and I have only rarely cited the names and detailed arguments of scholars from whom I have learned, borrowed and differed. To some readers of this commentary the extent of my debt to my predecessors – especially Ardizzoni, Campbell, Fränkel, Gillies, Livrea, Mooney and Vian – will be of no interest, to others it will be obvious; I hope that the latter will not think me ungrateful.

In preparing this edition I have been lucky enough to have friends (and editors) who were willing to be exploited and whose assistance it is a pleasure to acknowledge here. Prof. P. E. Easterling, Dr D. C. Feeney, Dr N. Hopkinson and Prof. E. J. Kenney read all or most of the work in earlier draft and improved it in many places. Prof. H. D. Jocelyn and Mr P. J. Parsons kindly checked papyri for me, Virginia Knight cheerfully helped with the proofs, and Susan Moore guided the book through the press with exemplary skill.

October 1988

Pembroke College, Cambridge

REFERENCES AND ABBREVIATIONS

1. The three volumes of F. Vian's Budé edition of *Arg.* (Paris 1974-81) are cited as Vian I, II and III, and his separate edition of Book 3 (Paris 1961) as Vian *ed.* 'Mooney 37' means p. 37 of the edition of *Arg.* by G. W. Mooney (Dublin 1912).

2. Unless otherwise specified, references to Callimachus are to the edition of R. Pfeiffer (Oxford 1953-9).

3. Lyric poets are cited in the continuous numeration of D. L. Page (ed.), *Poetae melici Graeci* (Oxford 1962), and the fragments of Hesiod in the numeration of R. Merkelbach and M. L. West, *Fragmenta Hesiodica* (Oxford 1967).

4. Abbreviations for periodicals usually follow the system of *L'Année Philologique*.

5. In the spelling of Greek names, ease of recognition rather than consistency has been the principal aim. Thus, familiar names are usually latinised, whereas less familiar ones may simply be transliterated.

6. Modern works cited by author and date only are listed in the Bibliography.

7. Collections of texts and works of reference are abbreviated as follows:

ARFVP ²	J. D. Beazley, <i>Attic red-figure vase-painters</i> (ed. 2, Oxford 1963)
CA	J. U. Powell (ed.), <i>Collectanea Alexandrina</i> (Oxford 1925)
Chantraine	P. Chantraine, <i>Grammaire homérique</i> (Paris 1948-53)
Chantraine, DE	P. Chantraine, <i>Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue grecque. Histoire des mots</i> (Paris 1968-80)
Denniston	J. D. Denniston, <i>The Greek particles</i> (ed. 2, Oxford 1954)
DK	H. Diels and W. Kranz (eds.), <i>Die Fragmente der Vorsokratiker</i> (ed. 6, Berlin 1952)

- D-S C. Daremberg and E. Saglio, *Dictionnaire des antiquités grecques et romaines* (Paris 1873-1919)
- Ebeling H. Ebeling (ed.), *Lexicon homericum* (Leipzig 1880-5)
- FGrHist F. Jacoby (ed.), *Die Fragmente der griechischen Historiker* (Berlin 1923-)
- GP A. S. F. Gow and D. L. Page (eds.), *The Garland of Philip and some contemporary epigrams* (Cambridge 1968)
- HE A. S. F. Gow and D. L. Page (eds.), *The Greek anthology: hellenistic epigrams* (Cambridge 1965)
- K-B R. Kühner and F. Blass, *Ausführliche Grammatik der griechischen Sprache. Erster Teil: Elementar- und Formenlehre* (ed. 3, Hanover 1890-2)
- K-G R. Kühner and B. Gerth, *Ausführliche Grammatik der griechischen Sprache. Zweiter Teil: Satzlehre* (ed. 3, Hanover/Leipzig 1898-1904)
- KRS G. S. Kirk, J. Raven and M. Schofield, *The Presocratic philosophers* (ed. 2, Cambridge 1983)
- LSJ *A Greek-English lexicon*, eds. H. G. Liddell, R. Scott, H. Stuart Jones, R. Mackenzie (ed. 9, Oxford 1968)
- LfgrE *Lexikon des frühgriechischen Epos*, eds. B. Snell et al. (Göttingen 1979-)
- LIMC *Lexicon iconographicum mythologiae classicae* (Zurich/Munich 1981-)
- MT² W. W. Goodwin, *Syntax of the moods and tenses of the Greek verb* (ed. 2, London 1889)
- PGM K. Preisendanz (ed.), *Papyri Graecae magicae* (ed. 2, Stuttgart 1973-4)
- PMG D. L. Page (ed.), *Poetae melici Graeci* (Oxford 1962)

- RE *Paulys Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft* (Stuttgart 1893-)
- Roscher W. H. Roscher (ed.), *Ausführliches Lexikon der griechischen und römischen Mythologie* (Leipzig 1884-1937)
- SH H. Lloyd-Jones and P. Parsons (eds.), *Supplementum hellenicum* (Berlin/New York 1983)
- SVF J. von Arnim (ed.), *Stoicorum ueterum fragmenta* (Stuttgart 1905-24)
- Thes. H. Stephanus, *Thesaurus graecae linguae* (ed. 3, Paris 1831-65)
- TrGF B. Snell, R. Kannicht and S. Radt (eds.), *Tragicorum Graecorum fragmenta* (Göttingen 1971-)

INTRODUCTION

I. THE POET

i. Life

Our main sources for A.'s life are (i) a fragmentary papyrus listing the librarians of the royal library at Alexandria, (ii) and (iii) two biographical notices transmitted with our manuscripts of the text, and (iv) an entry in the Byzantine lexicon known as the Suda.

(i) *P. Oxy.* 1241 (2nd century A.D., a miscellaneous handbook). Col. ii:

'Apollo]nius, son of Silleus, of Alexandria, the one called Rhodian, the follower (γνώριμος) of Callimachus. He was also teacher to the first¹ king. His successor was Eratosthenes, then came Aristophanes of Byzantium, son of Apelles, [and Aristarchus]. Then came Apollonius of Alexandria, the one called "the eidograph" [i.e. "classifier"]; after him came Aristarchus son of Aristarchus, of Alexandria, but originally from Samothrace.'

(ii) *Life A* (probably an epitome deriving from the work of Theon, a critic of the late first century B.C.):²

'Apollonius, the poet of the *Argonautica*, was by race an Alexandrian, of the Ptolemais tribe, the son of Silleus or, as some say, Illeus. He lived in the time of the third Ptolemy [i.e. Euergetes, who reigned 246–222],³ and was a pupil of Callimachus. He was at first associated with⁴ his own teacher, Callimachus; late in life he turned to poetic composition. It is

¹ Almost certainly an error for 'third', cf. below, p. 4.

² Cf. C. Wendel, *Die Überlieferung der Scholien zu Apollonios von Rhodos* (Abh. Göttingen 3, 1, 1932) 113.

³ Most MSS read 'he lived in the time of the Ptolemies', which is too obvious to need saying. Wendel's text, adopted here, produces the likely sense of what was intended, if not the actual words.

⁴ συνών; this verb may suggest a close working partnership, cf. LSJ s.v. II.3.

said that while he was still an ephebe he gave a reading (ἐπιδείξασθαι) of the *Argonautica* with no success at all; being unable to bear disgrace from the citizens and the reproaches and abuse of the other poets, he left his homeland and went off to Rhodes, where he polished and corrected the poem and won great critical acclaim after a reading. For this reason he calls himself Rhodian in his poems.⁵ In Rhodes he taught successfully and was rewarded with Rhodian citizenship and honours.'

(iii) *Life B* (probably the work of Sophocles, a commentator under the Empire, whose sources will have included Theon):⁶

'The poet Apollonius was by race an Alexandrian; his father was Silleus or Illeus, his mother Rhode. He was a pupil of Callimachus who was a scholar (γραμματοκός) in Alexandria, and he composed poetry which he read publicly. As he was very unsuccessful and felt ashamed, he moved to Rhodes where he took part in public life and taught rhetoric as a sophist;⁷ for this reason people even wish to call him a Rhodian. There he lived and polished his poems and won such acclaim after reading his poetry that he was thought worthy of the libraries of the Museum,⁸ and he was buried together with Callimachus himself.'

⁵ This is usually taken to mean merely that ancient copies of *Arg.* were entitled 'by Apollonius the Rhodian'; if so, the heading need have no authority behind it. Nevertheless, poets freely name themselves and their cities, and we can hardly discount the possibility that A. somewhere (for some reason) referred to himself as 'Rhodian', since 'in his poems' need not refer only to *Arg.* Relevant parallels include Theognis 22-3, Timotheus 791.229-36, Call. *Epigr.* 21 and Eratosthenes fr. 35.18 Powell. So too, no firm conclusions may be drawn from the verb ἀναγράφει, cf., e.g., Porphyry, *Life of Pythagoras* 2 Ἀπολλώνιος δ' ἐν τοῖς περὶ Πυθαγόρου καὶ μητέρα ἀναγράφει Πυθαΐδα.

⁶ Cf. Wendel loc. cit. (n. 2); H. Herter, *Rh.M.* 91 (1942) 310-26.

⁷ There may well be confusion here with either Apollonius of Alabanda in Caria, a rhetorician who taught in Rhodes in the late second century B.C. and who, in at least one source, is called Apollonius the Rhodian (Theon 2.61.29 Spengel), or with the slightly later Apollonius 'Molon', also a Carian who worked in Rhodes. It may also be relevant that Philostratus traced the beginning of 'the second sophistic' to Aeschines' period of exile in Caria and Rhodes (*Vit. Soph.* 1.481).

⁸ This *should* mean no more than that his poems were included in the Library, cf. Pfeiffer (1968) 142. The idea that literary quality determined inclusion

(iv) Suda α 3419

'Apollonius, an Alexandrian, epic poet, spent time in Rhodes, son of Silleus, pupil of Callimachus, contemporary of Eratosthenes and Euphoriion and Timarchus,⁹ flourished in the time of Ptolemy Euergetes, and was successor to Eratosthenes in the headship of the Library at Alexandria.'

The briefest glance will confirm that these reports, even where the text seems secure, present 'a labyrinth of self-contradictory statements',¹⁰ but a fitful light seems to appear around some of the corners.¹¹

The only reasons for rejecting the almost unanimous¹² biographical tradition that A. came from Alexandria are a belief that the label 'Rhodian' would not have stuck if he were not really a Rhodian, and the observation that the major poetic figures of third-century Alexandria tended to come from outside the city.¹³ This does not amount to very much. There is similarly no good reason to doubt the assertion of texts (i) and (iv) that A. served as Librarian in the library which was attached to the famous centre of scholarship and poetry

in the royal collection is unhistorical; the Ptolemies aimed at completeness. Nevertheless, the text is uncertain, and the biographer may have wished to imply that A. became head of the Library, cf. below p. 4.

⁹ Presumably the Timarchus who was involved in a revolt against Euergetes and was briefly tyrant of Miletos in 259/8, cf. *RE* VIA 1236-7.

¹⁰ Pfeiffer (1968) 141.

¹¹ This brief account may be amplified from Herter (1944/55) 221-36 and art. cit. (n. 6); Eichgrün (1961) *passim*; P. Händel, 'Die zwei Versionen der Viten des Apollonios Rhodios', *Hermes* 90 (1962) 429-43; Fraser (1972) 1 330-3; Blum (1977) 177-91; M. R. Lefkowitz, *The lives of the Greek poets* (London 1981) 117-20 and 128-35.

¹² Simple references in lexica etc. to 'Apollonius the Rhodian' are discounted. In introducing the same story from A.'s *Foundation of Naucratis* (below, pp. 10-11), Athenaeus and Aelian describe A. as 'from Rhodes or Naucratis'. This may simply be a specialised variant of the standard division of his life into Egyptian and Rhodian periods, and we should not conjure with the notion that he was given citizenship in return for his poem (Herter (1944/55) 222).

¹³ Thus, Praxiphanes of Mytilene is sometimes called 'Rhodian', presumably because he taught there, cf. K. O. Brink, *C.Q.* 40 (1946) 22. Callimachus and Eratosthenes came from Cyrene, Asclepiades from Samos, Philitas from Cos, Zenodotus from Ephesus, Lycophron from Chalcis etc.

which the Ptolemies created in Alexandria, the 'Museum' (lit. 'shrine of the Muses').¹⁴ The date of his period as Librarian has been the subject of intense debate, as the Suda seems to offer two quite different possibilities. The list on the papyrus, however, now allows us to be reasonably confident that Apollonius preceded Eratosthenes of Cyrene, who was summoned from Athens to the position by Ptolemy III Euergetes whose reign, together with that of his Cyrenean wife Berenice, began in 247/6. If A. did indeed serve as tutor to a future king, as the papyrus suggests, then this must have been Euergetes himself, as the reign of Ptolemy II Philadelphus lasted from 283 until 247/6. Euergetes will have been of an age to require a tutor in the 260s, and so it is a plausible hypothesis that A. held both the royal tutorship and the royal librarianship – posts which often went together – by that decade. If this reconstruction is correct, it leaves unanswered the question whether A. succeeded the great Homeric scholar Zenodotus of Ephesus, who seems to have been the first to hold the post of Librarian, or whether there was another figure between them. If there was, the obvious candidate is Callimachus of Cyrene, who compiled catalogues of both extant and lost literature, the *Pinakes*, a work which brings him very close to modern notions of the functions of the librarian of a major collection.¹⁵ Nevertheless, the silence of our sources¹⁶ about his Librarianship is at least as striking as would be the fact of Callimachus not having been Librarian, and, given our total ignorance of the criteria governing royal appointments, it is best not to rely upon appeals to what might seem 'natural'.¹⁷ We may thus tentatively conclude that A. held the position of Royal Librarian in the period c. 270–45. If so, the chronological confusion in the Suda, and possibly also the story in *Life B* of the return from Rhodes, is neatly explained as the result of confusion with a later 'Apollonius of Alexandria', the 'eidograph' who was also Librarian.

Stories of the exile of poets are too common in ancient biography to

¹⁴ On the organisation of the Museum and Library cf. Pfeiffer (1968) 96–104; Fraser (1972) 1 312–35; Blum (1977) 140–70.

¹⁵ The *Pinakes* were not actually catalogues of the Library's holdings, but must, to some extent, have been based upon them, and may well have been used rather like a catalogue, cf. Pfeiffer (1968) 127–32, Blum (1977) 224–44.

¹⁶ Callimachus might, of course, have been named before A. in the lost portion of *P. Oxy.* 1241.

¹⁷ Such an appeal seems to lie behind the discussion in Blum (1977) 177–91, however healthy his scepticism is.

allow us to treat the account in the two *Lives* with anything but the greatest suspicion. Nevertheless, some connection with Rhodes can hardly be denied: perhaps A.'s family came originally from Rhodes, or perhaps he did retire there when replaced in the library by Eratosthenes. The 'foundation poems' of which we know (below, pp. 10–12) seem to fit neatly into Egyptian (Alexandria, Naucratis) and Rhodian (Kaunos, Knidos, Rhodes) periods, but Ptolemaic interest in Rhodes and Caria was far too strong to make composition of poems celebrating these areas an unlikely undertaking in Alexandria itself.¹⁸ With the story of initial failure and ultimate success scholars have regularly linked the fact that, at six places in Book 1, the scholia cite textual variants which they attribute to the προέκδοσις, the 'preliminary edition'.¹⁹ These variants range from one to five verses and are, on the whole, more radical changes than the variants which we find transmitted by our manuscripts and the papyri.²⁰ Thus the scholars whose work underlies our scholia knew of a particular text which was thought to be earlier and preliminary to the vulgate. It is entirely plausible that different texts, perhaps of different parts of the poem, circulated during A.'s lifetime, as poets regularly gave readings of 'work in progress' or sent it to their friends for criticism. Whether or not the *proekdosis* was in fact such an 'unauthorised' early version we cannot say,²¹ but there is nothing in the character of the six preserved passages to suggest that the qualitative difference between the two

¹⁸ For Rhodes in the third century cf. the brief account by H. Heinen in *The Cambridge Ancient History* vii² 1 (Cambridge 1984) 432–3, and, more fully, R. M. Berthöld, *Rhodes in the hellenistic age* (Ithaca/London 1984). The Rhodian republic remained neutral and on good terms with the Ptolemies through most of the third century, bound to them by important commercial ties; nevertheless, Rhodes does seem to have joined the alliance against Philadelphus in the Second Syrian War (Berthöld 89–92). Kaunos was a member of the Ptolemaic alliance in the third century, and was then purchased by Rhodes early in the second century; Knidos was acquired by Rhodes through the Peace of Apamea (188).

¹⁹ 1.285–6, 516–23, 543, 726–7 (a very doubtful case), 788–9, 801–3.

²⁰ So rightly Haslam (1978) 65. The most recent study, M. Fantuzzi, 'Varianti d'autore nelle Argonautiche di Apollonio Rodio', *A. & A.* 29 (1983) 146–61, sees the major difference as the greater tragic pathos of the surviving (and presumably later) version, a result of A.'s increasing distance from the 'Homeric' voice.

²¹ For some speculations cf. Fränkel (1964) 7–11. The 'parallel' of Ovid's *Metamorphoses* should not be pushed too hard: we can hardly take *Tristia* 1.7.23–30 at face value, cf. S. Hinds, *P.C.P.S.* n.s. 31 (1985) 21–7.

versions was very great or that the 'later' version was likely to meet a quite different critical reception.²² Nevertheless, the undisputed fact that at some date scholars had access to a text which seems to have differed significantly from the vulgate may suggest an origin for the stories of youthful disgrace and mature success. This would not be the only known case where colourful invention has given life to dry facts of textual history.

That Callimachus was literally A.'s 'teacher' is not impossible, if there is any truth in the tradition²³ that the former was a schoolteacher in Eleusis, a suburb of Alexandria, before moving to the royal court. Ancient biographers, however, habitually express poetic influence or similarity in terms of a pupil-teacher relationship, a family tie or the like, and so we can have little confidence in this story. We also hear that later relations between the two men were less than cordial. Callimachus is said²⁴ to have written a riddling and abusive poem called *Ibis* against an opponent whom later scholarship identified as A., and a brief epigram attacking Callimachus is very tenuously ascribed to A.²⁵ This information, together with the stories in the *Lives* and the fact that certain Callimachean passages, most notably the conclusion of the *Hymn to Apollo*, can (with some effort) be imagined as attacks upon A., has led in the recent past to a romantic vision of scholarly warfare in which A. was finally driven out of Alexandria by a triumphant Callimachus. The rediscovery of the prologue to the *Aitia* (below, p. 37) did nothing to dampen these speculations, but an ancient commentary on the *Aitia*, in which A. does not seem to be listed among those whom one later scholar at least identified as Callimachus' literary opponents, brought both disappointment and consternation to modern critics.²⁶

Very little of value can be salvaged from these bits and pieces. Where *Arg.* fits in relation to Callimachean poetic principles will be considered

²² That Book 1 only is involved need not be significant, given the process of selection by which the extant scholia have survived. On the other hand, A. may have originally circulated only the first book; here, however, we enter even deeper into pure speculation.

²³ Suda κ 227 s.v. Καλλιμάχος.

²⁴ *Ibid.*; for other references cf. Pfeiffer on Call. fr. 382.

²⁵ *A.P.* 11.275 (= Apollonius fr. 13 Powell, Call. *testimonium* 25 Pfeiffer).

²⁶ *PSI* 1219, cf. Pfeiffer, *Callimachus* 13. The desire to find A.'s name somewhere in the text persists, cf. H. Herter, *RE* Suppl. xiii 197.

presently (below, pp. 34-8), but it may be observed here that the fact that Callimachus claims to have been criticised for not writing 'one continuous poem... in many thousands of verses' (fr. 1.3-4) tells us nothing of what he would actually have thought of A.'s poem. There may, of course, be fire behind the ancient and modern smoke. The Museum was an argumentative place,²⁷ and even in more recent times scholars have been known to feud irrationally. The pattern of mutual abuse is certainly suggestive: the 'Apollonian' epigram refers to Callimachus as 'filth' or 'refuse' (τὸ κάθαρμα), the ibis was an Egyptian bird which was notoriously unclean and willing to eat anything,²⁸ and the Callimachean Apollo rejects the 'much filth and refuse' carried by the Assyrian river (*h.* 2.108-9). What is unclear, however, is whether real progress in understanding A.'s life or his poem can be derived from these scraps.

Parallels between the works of Callimachus and *Arg.* are numerous and striking.²⁹ Of particular relevance are very clear parallels between passages in *Arg.* 4 and fragments of *Aitia* 1 dealing with the Argonauts' return to Greece; Callimachus also seems to have treated at least one episode from the Argonauts' outward journey in *Aitia* 4.³⁰ That *Aitia* 1 is earlier than *Arg.* seems all but certain,³¹ and Callimachean priority is also likely in the case of the parallels between *Arg.* and the *Hymns* and *Hecale*, but the chronology is too uncertain to allow us to assume this without further ado.³² In any case, the fluidity of ancient 'publication' and the nature of intellectual life in Alexandria suggest that we need

²⁷ Cf. Callimachus, *Iambus* 1 and, most famously, Timon, *SH* 786 'In teeming Egypt are fed many fenced-in pedants (βιβλιακοὶ χαρακίται), endlessly quarrelling in the Muses' birdcage.'

²⁸ Cf. Pfeiffer on Call. fr. 382.

²⁹ For possible echoes of Callimachus in *Arg.* 3 cf. nn. on 221-7, 276-7, 869-86, 932-3, 1306-25.

³⁰ For discussion cf. Pfeiffer, *Callimachus* ii xli-xlii; Herter (1944/55) 232-5; Eichgrün (1961) 119-39; Fraser (1972) 1 637-40; Vian iii 34-5. For Argonautic material in *Aitia* 4 cf. fr. 108-9 with the *diegesis*.

³¹ Call. fr. 12.6 is reworked at *Arg.* 4.1216 and repeated at *Arg.* 1.1309, cf. Pfeiffer on Call. fr. 18.9ff. It would be nice if Callimachus was one of the πρότεροι appealed to at *Arg.* 4.985; Vian iii 35, however, sees there a distinction between archaic and modern writers.

³² Cf. nn. on 869-86, 927-31, 932-3; Hunter (1986) 57-60. A. W. Bulloch, *A.J.P.* 98 (1977) 97-123, argues for the priority of *Arg.* 2.444-5 over Call. h. 5.103.

not envisage in every case a reworking by one poet of a finished and 'published' poem by the other. Poets constantly fed off each other's ideas in ways which defy simple analysis into original and imitation. If, however, it is true that *Arg.* owes a considerable debt to the *Aitia*, we may hope to establish a rough chronology for A.'s epic; unfortunately, the composition of Callimachus' great poem is one of the thorniest problems of Hellenistic poetic chronology.

The extant proem to the *Aitia* dates from late in Callimachus' career (fr. 1.6, 37-8), and two passages of Books 3 and 4 in honour of Euergetes' wife Berenice must be later than 247/6.³³ There are also tempting, if not strictly compelling, reasons for placing the *Hymn to Apollo*, which has striking correspondences with *Arg.*, in this late period.³⁴ The Callimachean parallels do not, however, necessarily fix a date for the 'final' version of *Arg.* in the 240s, as it is very likely that either individual elegies or a collected 'first edition' of the *Aitia* circulated in Alexandria well before this date, although there is no certain argument for the hypothesis.³⁵ A rather earlier date for *Arg.* is perhaps also suggested by the obvious correspondences between the Apollonian and Theocritean versions of the stories of Hylas and Amycus (Theocr. 13 and 22);³⁶ what little evidence there is for Theocritus' date points to the earlier, rather than the later, period of

³³ These are the so-called *Victoria Berenices* (SH 254-69) and the *Coma Berenices* (fr. 110, Catullus 66). For a possible echo of *Aitia* fr. 1 in *Arg.* cf. 874-5n., and an elaborate network of echoes between Callimachus, A., Catullus and Virgil perhaps suggests a connection between *Arg.* 4.1019-22 and the *Coma*, cf. Hunter (1987) 138-9.

³⁴ For the sceptical view cf. F. Williams, *Callimachus, Hymn to Apollo* (Oxford 1978) 2.

³⁵ Fr. 1.37-8 only suggests that Call. wrote poetry as a young man, and *Schol. Flor.* 17-18 (Pfeiffer 111) - Call. was ἀρτιγένης when he met the Muses - is a literary fancy which cannot be pressed very hard. It seems natural to assume that the Telchines must have had poems to complain about in order to prompt the extant reply; here too, however, we should not draw too many biographical conclusions from what may in part be a programmatic strategy familiar from poets as different as Pindar, for whom cf. Hopkinson (1988) 88-9, and Terence. For discussion of the composition of the *Aitia* cf. P. J. Parsons, *Z.P.E.* 25 (1977) 1-50; Bulloch (1985) 553-7; P. E. Knox, *G.R.B.S.* 26 (1985) 59-65; A. S. Hollis, *C.Q.* n.s. 36 (1986) 467-71.

³⁶ For possible echoes of Theocritus in *Arg.* 3 cf. nn. on 220-1, 347-8 and 640; for [Theocr.] 25 cf. 242-6n., 1306-25n.

Philadelphus' reign.³⁷ Finally, it must be stressed that imitation and reworking of the poetry of a contemporary is normally a mark, not of hostility, but of homage and affiliation.³⁸ Compelling reasons have yet to be found why this is not the case also with Callimachus, Theocritus and Apollonius.

ii. *Works other than Argonauticā*³⁹

About A.'s considerable output in both poetry and prose we are very poorly informed, but even scraps of information can help to place *Arg.* in its literary and intellectual context.

One late source⁴⁰ refers to A.'s epigrams, but none survive, if the problematic distich about Callimachus is excluded (above, p. 6). The citation is for a story of metamorphosis of a kind familiar both in *Arg.*⁴¹ and A.'s 'foundation poems' (below, pp. 10-12). The popularity of the epigram form with Alexandrian poets requires no illustration.⁴²

Three choliambic⁴³ verses survive from a poem called *Kanobos* (fr. 1-2 Powell), which must have been concerned with the Ptolemaic temple of Sarapis at Kanobos (modern Abukir) on the coast east of Alexandria. Both subject and metre⁴⁴ place this poem in the mainstream of Ptolemaic 'court poetry'. It is likely that the poem included the story of the eponymous Kanobos, Menelaus' steersman, who was killed by a snake as he slept on the Egyptian beach and gave his name to the place where he was buried. In some versions of this story he was loved with an unrequited passion by the Egyptian princess

³⁷ Cf. Gow's edition 1 xv-xviii, and the remarks of M. Campbell, *Hermes* 102 (1974) 41.

³⁸ For the general principles involved cf. D. A. Russell, 'De imitatione' in D. West and A. Woodman, eds., *Creative imitation and Latin literature* (Cambridge 1979) 1-16.

³⁹ The standard collection of poetic fragments is J. U. Powell, *Collectanea Alexandrina* (Oxford 1925) 4-8; cf. also J. Michaelis, *De Apollonii Rhodii fragmentis* (diss. Halle 1875).

⁴⁰ Antoninus Liberalis 23 (superscription, on the authority of Pamphilus).

⁴¹ Cf. 1.1063-9 (Cleite), 4.596-611 (the Heliades).

⁴² For a general survey cf. Fraser (1972) 1 553-617, Hopkinson (1988) 243-71.

⁴³ The 'choliamb' differs from the iambic trimeter in that the penultimate syllable of the verse is long.

⁴⁴ Cf. Herondas and Callimachus, *Iambi*.

Theonoe, a lady of magical powers; such a scenario brings us tantalisingly close to the story of Jason and Medea.⁴⁵

The other poems of which we know all concern the mythical foundations of cities. This subject for poetry was a very old one, but was much favoured by Alexandrian poets, in keeping with their deep interest in all aspects of Greek cult and history. Callimachus treated the foundation of the Sicilian cities in *Aitia* 2 and also wrote a prose work on 'Foundations'. To what extent poems of this kind might reflect Ptolemaic political concerns it is impossible to say, but it is not difficult to see a place for such poetry under royal patronage.⁴⁶

The *Foundation of Kaunos* (a city on the Carian coast opposite Rhodes) seems to have included the stories of Caunus, who left Miletus to escape the incestuous passion of his sister Byblis, and of Lycus, a tale of passion and recognition.⁴⁷ In many extant versions of the former tale Byblis is metamorphosed into a fountain after she has killed herself, a myth which resembles that of the tragic Cleite in the first book of *Arg.* It is noteworthy that Ovid's portrayal of Byblis (*Met.* 9.454-665) seems clearly indebted to A.'s *Medea*.⁴⁸ Of the *Foundation of Alexandria* we know only that it gave the same origin for Egyptian snakes as is found at *Arg.* 4.1513-17, but the poem clearly dealt primarily with the city's mythical origins, rather than its foundation by Alexander, although it may well have looked forward to contemporary history. The *Foundation of Naucratis* included the story of Pompilus, a Milesian boatman who

was turned into a fish by Apollo because he tried to save a Samian nymph from the god's attentions (fr. 7-9 Powell).⁴⁹ Naucratis was still an important commercial centre in Ptolemaic times, and the Ptolemies built or restored temples there;⁵⁰ the city had a very old Greek settlement, including temples built by the Samians and the Milesians (Hdt. 2.178),⁵¹ and it is presumably in this context that A. used the story of Pompilus.

The only certain fragment (10 Powell) of the *Foundation of Rhodes*, a reference to the 'Dotian plain' in Thessaly, suggests that this poem told the story of Thessalian settlement in Rhodes and Caria.⁵² One story connected with this migration was of the humble but generous hospitality offered to a shipwrecked couple on Rhodes which led to the establishment of a particular funeral rite:⁵³ this story is so like Callimachus' tales of humble people such as Hecale and Molochus (*SH* 254-69) that it is hard to believe that it was not used in a Hellenistic poem. There was, however, a large body of writing on Rhodian affairs from which A. could choose his material.⁵⁴ The same Thessalian migration may have formed the basis of the *Foundation of Knidos*, which probably treated the story of Triopas, father of Erysichthon, who fled to Caria after incurring Demeter's anger.⁵⁵

⁴⁹ Fr. 8 (nymph to Pompilus) 'you who know the swift depths of the grim-sounding sea' is presumably ominously prophetic: as a fish, his knowledge will be even greater. ⁵⁰ Cf. *RE* xvi 1958.

⁵¹ On the early history of the Greek settlement cf. M. M. Austin, *Greece and Egypt in the archaic age* (*P.C.P.S.* Suppl. 2, 1970) 22-33.

⁵² Cf. Diod. Sic. 5.58, Ath. 6.262e-3a (= *FGH Hist* 485 F 7 from Dieuchidas, an important Megarian historian of the late fourth century, and just the sort of source A. might have used); Schmid op. cit. 7-8, 73-8.

⁵³ Ath. 6.262f-3a.

⁵⁴ Cf. *FGH Hist* 507-28. To be noted also is the story from Polyzeios (Ath. 8.361c, *FGH Hist* 521 F 6) of how the Greeks gained Ialysos through the love of the local princess for the opposing commander: here is obvious material for poetry, cf. R. O. A. M. Lyne, *Ciris, a poem attributed to Vergil* (Cambridge 1978) 7. The motif, in fact, is found in an anonymous *Foundation of Lesbos*, from which 21 hexameters survive (= Apollonius fr. 12 Powell), which told how a princess of Methymna betrayed her city to Achilles, who rewarded her by having her stoned to death. The style of the preserved verses is not obviously Apollonian; for discussion cf. Wilamowitz (1924) 150 n. 3, D. N. Levin, *T.A.P.A.* 93 (1962) 154-9, Fränkel (1968) 48 n. 59b.

⁵⁵ Cf. Call. h. 6.24, 30; Diod. Sic. 5.61.2; Wyss on Antimachus fr. 72. In his encomium of Philadelphus, Theocritus mentions the shrine of Apollo in Caria which Triopas founded (17.68).

⁴⁵ The basic discussion is E. Maass, *Aratea* (Berlin 1892) 359-69, rejected on insufficient grounds by Wilamowitz (1924) II 255-6; cf. also D. A. van Krevelen, *Rh.M.* 104 (1961) 128-31. For A.'s interest in snakebite cf. *Arg.* 4.1502ff. (Mopsus) and fr. 4 Powell. It may be worth suggesting that 4.1516 ὄσσαι κνανέου στόργης ἀίματος οὐδ᾽ αἰκοντο, of the blood dripping from the Gorgon's head from which snakes were created, contains an alternative etymology for κνανόπος, the name of the snake which bit Kanobos; for the usual etymology, 'whose bite makes your blood flow', cf. Nic. *Ther.* 282-319, Lucan 9.806-14.

⁴⁶ On this genre cf. B. Schmid, *Studien zu griechischen Ktisisagen* (diss. Freiburg i.d. Schweiz 1947); Cairns (1979) 68-70; T. J. Cornell, 'Gründer', *Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum* XII 1107-45.

⁴⁷ Parthenius, *Erot. Path.* 1 and 11.

⁴⁸ *Arg.* 3.636 ~ *Met.* 9.474, *Arg.* 3.645-55 ~ *Met.* 9.522-7 (Ovid transfers Medea's hesitation on the threshold to Byblis' hesitations while writing). Clausen (1987) 8 discusses the apparent reworking of *Arg.* 1.1064-6 (Cleite) by Parthenius himself in verses on Byblis quoted in *Erot. Path.* 11; the *Foundation of Kaunos*, however, can hardly be left out of consideration.

Ptolemaic interest in Caria during the third century makes the loss of these poems particularly regrettable.

A.'s other poetic work is thus seen to have been concerned with rare myths, love, metamorphosis, and the origins of cities and cults, all themes which we recognise as common to the main poets of the Alexandrian *avant-garde* and their successors.

Like Callimachus, A. was a scholar as well as a poet, and a poet who used his scholarship in his poetry (cf. below, p. 36). The fragments of his many lost prose works show us the scholar at work on poetry and thus deserve a special mention here.⁵⁶ A. dealt with Homeric problems by taking issue with his predecessor Zenodotus in a work entitled Πρὸς Ζηνόδοτον; he wrote a work on Archilochus⁵⁷ and also one in at least three books on Hesiodic problems. Extant citations show him discussing major questions such as the authenticity of the *Shield of Heracles* and the ending of the *Works and Days*. Here we can see that A., like Callimachus, was not merely engaged with earlier poetry as all poets had to be, but also sought to impose order on it as scholarship demands.

2. THE MYTH BEFORE APOLLONIUS

The story of the voyage of the Argonauts is transmitted to us through a wide variety of literary and artistic sources covering several centuries. The broad outlines of the myth, however, remained fairly constant throughout antiquity and may be summarised as follows.⁵⁸

'Athamas, king of Boeotia, was a son of Aeolus (the eponymous ancestor of the Aeolians). His wife Nephele had two children, Phrixus and his sister Helle, but Athamas then married Ino, who also bore him two children. Ino, the very model of a cruel stepmother, plotted against her stepchildren by persuading the women of the country to sow burnt seed which would produce no crop, and by bribing the men whom Athamas sent to the Delphic oracle to ask about the crop-failure to report that the oracle commanded that Athamas sacrifice Phrixus to Zeus. This

⁵⁶ For more detailed discussion cf. Pfeiffer (1968) 144-8.

⁵⁷ For possible echoes of Archilochus cf. 296-8n., 583n.

⁵⁸ This summary is based on that of [Apollod.] *Bibl.* 1.9.

he reluctantly prepared to do, but both Phrixus and Helle were saved through the intervention of Hermes (and Zeus): they were given a magical ram with a golden fleece on whose back they flew away to the east. Helle fell off over the stretch of water later called "Hellespont", but Phrixus reached the city of Aia in Colchis on the extreme east of the Black Sea. There he was received by King Aietes, a son of Helios and brother of Circe, and he married Aietes' daughter, Chalcioppe, by whom he later had four sons. The ram he sacrificed to Zeus and the golden fleece was placed in a grove of Ares where it was guarded by an ever-watchful dragon.

Another son of Aeolus was Salmoneus, whose daughter Tyro was tricked by Poseidon into sleeping with him; she bore twin sons, Pelias and Neleus, whom she exposed but who survived. When they grew up, they traced their mother and killed her stepmother Sidero at an altar of Hera where she had taken refuge; after this, Pelias always acted insultingly towards Hera. After her liaison with Poseidon, Tyro had married Cretheus, another son of Aeolus and king of Iolcus in Thessaly, and by him she had three sons, including Jason's father, Aison. On Cretheus' death the throne passed not to Aison but to Pelias, either because he usurped it by force or simply because the priority of his claim was acknowledged. In the former case, the baby Jason was smuggled away to be brought up in the wild by the centaur Cheiron; in the latter, Jason grew up with his parents in Iolcus under Pelias' rule. Pelias had received an oracle that he should beware of a man wearing only one sandal, and one day Jason appeared just after he had lost a sandal when crossing a raging stream. To avert the threat, Pelias tricked Jason into an expedition to recover the golden fleece from Colchis; in some versions, Pelias tells Jason that he has been warned in a dream that he should recover the fleece in order to assuage Zeus's anger at the attempted sacrifice on his altars.

Jason collected together the greatest heroes of the generation before the Trojan War, and in a ship partly built by Athena and called *Argo* they reached Colchis after a long series of adventures. There Aietes offered them the fleece, but only if Jason could perform certain extraordinary feats, such as ploughing with fire-

breathing bulls of bronze and killing the armed warriors who sprung up from dragon's teeth sown into the ploughed earth. Jason accomplished these tasks with the help of the king's younger daughter Medea, who had fallen in love with him and who was an expert in magic and drugs. Also with her help he acquired the fleece, and they escaped together back to Greece. In order to delay their pursuers they murdered Medea's younger brother Apsyrtus and threw his body into the sea.⁵⁹ On their return to Colchis,[?] they punished Pelias by persuading his daughters to chop him up so that Medea could magically rejuvenate him by boiling him in a cauldron.'

This story was very likely the subject of much early epic poetry which is now lost to us. The *Iliad* knows of a son of Jason and the Lemnian queen Hypsipyle (7.468-9, 21.40-1, cf. *Arg.* 1.897-8), Odysseus sees Tyro in the Underworld (*Od.* 11.235-59), and a lost 'cyclic' epic, the *Nostoi*, knew of Medea's rejuvenation of Aison (fr. vi Allen). Homer's Circe tells Odysseus of the *Argo* in her account to him of the Wandering Rocks: 'the only sea-voyaging ship to have sailed by there is *Argo*, a matter of concern to all (πασσιέλουσα), on her voyage from Aietes. She too would have shattered on the great rocks, but Hera escorted her through, since Jason was dear to her' (*Od.* 12.69-72). Circe, 'sister of savage-minded Aietes', lives in the extreme east where the sun rises on an island called Αἰαίη, i.e. 'associated with' the land of Aia.⁶⁰ That the voyages of Jason and Odysseus were in some respects very similar was well known to scholars of the Hellenistic and Roman periods, and many modern scholars have accepted that Homer 'borrowed' extensively from the Argonautic saga - that, for example, the Homeric Circe is modelled on an Argonautic Medea.⁶¹

Many Argonautic stories are first attested in the fragments of Hesiod,⁶² and the *Theogony* has the following summary of the story (992-1002):

⁵⁹ A., however, makes Apsyrtus older than Medea, and he is killed far from Colchis while attempting to bring back his sister (4.445-81).

⁶⁰ *Od.* 10.135-7, 12.1-4; Lesky (1966) 26-62.

⁶¹ Cf. K. Meuli, *Odyssee und Argonautika* (Berlin 1921); A. Lesky, *RE Suppl.* xi 795-9; Vian I xxvii-iii.

⁶² Cf. fr. 40 (Cheiron), 68 (magic ram), 150-7 (Phineus and the Harpies); Vian I xxix.

'By the will of the immortal gods the son of Aison led⁶³ away from Aietes the daughter of Aietes, the divinely nurtured king, when he had completed the many grievous labours which the great king, the overbearing, violent and outrageous Pelias, doer of savage deeds, had imposed upon him. When he had finished them, the son of Aison came to Iolcus after many labours, bringing the lovely-eyed girl with him on the swift ship, and he made her his wedded wife. To Jason, the shepherd of the people, she bore a son, Medeios, whom Cheiron the son of Philyra reared in the mountains, and the intent of great Zeus was fulfilled.'

Another passage of the same poem, although one which is usually regarded as post-Hesiodic, places Circe on the west coast of Italy rather than in the extreme east of the world (*Theog.* 1011-16): A. made good use of this tradition.⁶⁴

Two archaic epics which deserve separate mention here are the *Corinthiaca* of Eumelus and the anonymous *Naupactia*. Eumelus of Corinth (c. 700)⁶⁵ wrote an epic poem on Corinthian 'history' which linked the city with the Argonauts by making Aietes king first of Corinth and then of Colchis. How extensive Eumelus' treatment of Argonautic matters was is unclear, but A. does seem to have known and used this poem, in Book 3 at least.⁶⁶ Eumelus is also the earliest witness to the localisation of Aia, the fabulous eastern kingdom of the sun, in Colchis beside the River Phasis (the modern Rioni), which traditionally marked the eastern boundary of the known world.⁶⁷ This identification points to the period of increasing exploration and colonisation, when a new world was fitted to old perceptions. The *Naupactia*⁶⁸ seems to have been a catalogue poem, part of which at least

⁶³ For the possible significance of this verb cf. 997-1004n.

⁶⁴ Cf. 311-13n.

⁶⁵ Cf. Huxley (1969) 60-79.

⁶⁶ Cf. 1354-6n.

⁶⁷ Cf. 678-80n., *RE* xix 1887. For the Colchian civilisation of classical and Hellenistic times cf. the surveys by O. Lordkipanidze in *Revue archéologique* 1971. 259-88 and *B.C.H.* 98 (1974) 897-948.

⁶⁸ Cf. Huxley (1969) 68-73. Wilamowitz (1924) II 230 was inclined to the view that A.'s knowledge of this poem came entirely through the intermediary of Herodorus (cf. below, p. 20).

dealt at length with the Argonauts. Extant fragments refer to the Harpies, Apsyrtus, the yoking of the bulls, the rôle of the prophet Idmon,⁶⁹ and the successful escape of the heroes: Aietes seems to have invited them to dinner, planning to set fire to their ship,⁷⁰ but Aphrodite filled him with desire to sleep with his wife and, while he was asleep, the heroes escaped and were joined by Medea, who brought the fleece along with her (fr. 7-9 Kinkel). A. clearly has his eye on these epics, as well presumably as on others now lost, throughout his poem.⁷¹

With the fifth century we meet at last a poetic treatment of the myth which is still extant and of which A. made extensive use. This is Pindar's Fourth Pythian Ode, composed in honour of the chariot victory in 462 of Arcesilas of Cyrene; the influence of this ode is seen also in Callimachus' poem celebrating the Nemean chariot victory of a later member of the Cyrenean ruling house, Queen Berenice II, wife of Ptolemy III Euergetes (*SH* 254-69). The foundation of Cyrene by the hero Battus is said by Pindar to have fulfilled a prophecy made by Medea after the Libyan wanderings of the Argonauts on their return from Colchis. From this, Pindar introduces an extensive retelling of aspects of the Argonautic story. Pelias had an oracle that he would die 'by the hands or unbending counsels of the sons of Aeolus' (vv. 71-2) and had been further advised by Delphi to be on his guard against 'the one-sandalled one'. Jason returns from his upbringing with Cheiron to reclaim the throne from the usurper Pelias, who agrees to yield it provided that Jason appeases 'the wrath of the nether gods' by bringing the fleece back to Iolcus. Jason agrees and, with Hera's help, the greatest heroes assemble for the expedition. Once in Colchis, the Argonauts 'joined battle with the dark-faced Colchians', but then Medea's love is given a central rôle:

⁶⁹ Cf. 540-4n., 914-15n.

⁷⁰ Cf. 581-2n.

⁷¹ *P. Oxy.* 3698 is a fragment of a probably archaic epic on the Argonautic theme. The scholia refer three times to Epimenides of Crete (? c. 600), and Diog. Laert. 1.111 ascribes to him a poem of 6,500 hexameters improbably entitled 'The building of the *Argo* and Jason's voyage to Colchis'. Nothing else is known of this poem, and it is most unlikely that Epimenides wrote it, cf. Huxley (1969) 80-4, M. L. West, *The Orphic poems* (Oxford 1983) 45-53. The title does, however, recall A.'s *praeteritio* at 1.18-19.

'The Cyprian lady, mistress of the sharpest arrows, then brought down from Olympus to men for the first time the coloured wryneck,⁷² the bird of madness, binding it stretched out on an unbreakable wheel, and she taught the supplications which enchant to the wise son of Aison, so that he might remove Medea's shame before her parents and longing for Greece should torment her burning heart with the whip of Persuasion. And soon she revealed how to accomplish the tasks her father had set. With oil she made a magic salve and gave it to him as antidote to the bitter pains, and they agreed to unite themselves in the common bond of sweet marriage'. (*Pyth.* 4.213-23)

After Jason's successful ploughing - Pindar does not introduce the 'earthborn warriors' - he kills the dragon which guards the fleece and escapes with Medea.

An extensive debt to Pindar's poetry is something which A. shares with both Callimachus and Theocritus; for these poets Pindar was far more than merely a model of successful poetry written under the eye of a wealthy patron. The linguistic and mythopoetic boldness of the Theban poet appealed strongly to the Alexandrian love of experimentation (cf. below, pp. 34-5), and the strongly personal voice of lyric poetry showed the way towards the handling of familiar tales in an intellectual and empathetic manner which could endow them with new life. Thus A.'s debt to Pindar is not merely the chance of shared subject-matter, but is itself a declaration of poetic stance.

The story of Jason and Medea was treated in some detail in the elegiac narrative poem called *Lyde* by Antimachus of Colophon (c. 400).⁷³ This poem recounted various unhappy love-stories, as parallels for the poet's own love of the dead Lyde, and Medea's story was told in Book 1. The surviving fragments cover the whole expedition from the making of the *Argo* to the return through Libya,⁷⁴ and the nature

⁷² For the use of this bird in love-magic cf. Gow on Theocr. 2.17, Hopkinson (1988) 158.

⁷³ Cf. B. Wyss, *Antimachi Colophonii reliquiae* (Berlin 1936); D. Del Corno, *Acme* 15 (1962) 57-95; Pfeiffer (1968) 93-4; Cairns (1979) 219-20; Hopkinson (1988) 8-9.

⁷⁴ Cf. fr. 56-65 Wyss; fr. 82 perhaps points to the earthborn warriors.

of the poem as a whole suggests that the erotic element was at least not neglected.⁷⁵ Antimachus' importance may, however, go beyond this, as the merits or otherwise of the *Lyde* seem to have been a weapon in Alexandrian literary debate,⁷⁶ and so for his contemporaries A.'s debt to this obviously innovative poet, as with his use of Pindar, probably carried programmatic resonance. The details, however, remain for us obscure.

It has long been apparent that A.'s debt to fifth-century Athenian tragedy went far beyond the enriching of the epic language by vocabulary drawn from drama (below, p. 38). Particularly in Books 3 and 4, it is clear that A. is heir to the tradition of debate and monologue familiar most of all from Sophocles and Euripides; more than once in Book 3, A. explicitly reminds us of tragedy in constructing the progress of Medea's love.⁷⁷ Many things are involved here: an acknowledgement of literary debt and of the fact that Medea had become above all a character of the stage; an innovative mixing of the genres of epic and tragedy; the 'tragic' nature of A.'s own presentation, and the fact that the events of the epic eventually led to a great 'tragic' action.

Euripides' *Medea* tells of events long after the Argonautic expedition, but A. assumes in his readers an intimate knowledge of this famous⁷⁸ play, and its action hangs over *Arg.* even when it is not specifically recalled. More significant than the actual foreshadowing of Jason's abandonment of Medea through the figure of Ariadne⁷⁹ and of

⁷⁵ Σ 4.1153 (= fr. 64 Wyss) reports that in the *Lyde* Jason and Medea made love (μιγῆναι) beside the River Phasis in Colchis (presumably before escaping). It is unlikely that the scholiast wishes to draw a firm distinction between marriage (γάμοι) in some sources and love-making in Antimachus, but we may be reminded of the stress in *Arg.* 4 on Medea's sexual status (cf. 4.1164 τὸτ' αὖ χρεὼ ἦγε μιγῆναι) and of the importance in *Aeneid* 4 of the different views of Dido's status with respect to Aeneas (cf. vv. 170-2, 192, 316, 337-9). The union of Dido and Aeneas in the cave (*Aen.* 4.160-72) owes much, of course, to the wedding of Jason and Medea at *Arg.* 4.1128-69. Cf. also Vian III 8.

⁷⁶ Cf. P. Knox, *H.S.C.P.* 89 (1985) 112-16 (with bibliography).

⁷⁷ Cf. nn. on 676-8, 766-9, 891-2, 903-4.

⁷⁸ Cf. D. L. Page's edition pp. lvii-lxviii; L. Séchan, *Études sur la tragédie grecque dans ses rapports avec la céramique* (Paris 1926) 396-422.

⁷⁹ Cf. 997-1004n.

Medea's infanticide⁸⁰ is the constant interplay between the arguments and gestures of the two texts;⁸¹ A. models his Jason and his Medea with an eye to their 'subsequent' history in Euripides' tragedy. The two texts become mutually explicative: *Arg.* shows us how the origins of the tragedy lay far back, and the tragedy lends deep resonance and 'tragic' irony to the events of the epic.

Both Aeschylus and Sophocles wrote plays dealing with various aspects of the Argonautic legend,⁸² but a particular loss for the appreciation of *Arg.* 3 is Sophocles' *Colchian Women* which concerned, at least in part, Medea's help to Jason against the earthborn warriors, perhaps in return for a promise of marriage.⁸³ The central scene of Book 3 between Medea and Chalciope is also strongly reminiscent of the confrontations between the heroines and their sisters in Sophocles' *Antigone* and *Electra*, and here too A. may have adapted a tragic situation to his epic.⁸⁴

A. is clearly also indebted to many, both much earlier and nearly contemporary, prose treatises on history, geography, ethnography and cult. This debt, which is often specifically noted by our scholia,⁸⁵ is part of the bookish side of A.'s poetry, and is also seen, for example, in Callimachus' aetiological poetry.⁸⁶ Almost any account of the Argonautic expedition is bound to recall the 'classics of Greek travel-writing', not only the *Odyssey*, but also Herodotus and early Ionian

⁸⁰ Cf. 747-8n., 4.460, 1108-9, Hunter (1987) 130-1.

⁸¹ Cf., e.g., 1105n., Hunter (1988) 440 on 4.190-205.

⁸² Aesch. *Argo*, *Lemnians*, *Hyppolyte*, *Cabeiroi* (a tetralogy?, cf. Radt's edition p. 118); Soph. *Athamas I and II*, *Phrixus*, *Lemnian Women*, *Amycus*, *Phineus I and II*, *Scythians* (the death of Apsyrtus?), *Rhizolomoi* (cf. nn. on 845, 858-9, 865, 1214-15). This last play may, like Euripides' *Peliades*, have concerned the death of Pelias.

⁸³ Cf. fr. 339, 341 Radt; Σ *Arg.* 3.1040c 'in *Colchian Women* Sophocles brings on Medea giving Jason instructions about the contest in a stichomythic exchange (δὲ ἀμοιβαίων)'.
⁸⁴ Cf. Campbell (1983) 41-2 with 111 n. 27; for other possible echoes of this play cf. 115-18n., 845n.

⁸⁵ Cf. 200-9n.

⁸⁶ Cf. *Aitia* fr. 75.54-5 citing Xenomedes of Ceos. The context of the famous assertion ἀμόρτυρον οὐδὲν αἶδω (Call. fr. 612) is unknown, and there is no reason to assume that it was a general statement of programmatic significance. Callimachus himself wrote a prose work *On barbarian customs* (fr. 405).

logography,⁸⁷ as well as Xenophon's *Anabasis*. Of pre-Hellenistic chroniclers, two deserve special mention here. Pherecydes of Athens (first half of the fifth century) is frequently cited in the Apollonian scholia and elsewhere both for the Theban parallel for Jason's contest and for episodes in the Argonautic story.⁸⁸ A. also clearly knew the rich ethnographical and mythographical work of Hellanicus of Lesbos (? late fifth century) which included a *History of the family of Deucalion* (cf. 1085-95) and works on 'foundations' and 'barbarian customs'.⁸⁹ No surviving fragment actually deals with the voyage of the *Argo*, although several concern events leading up to it.⁹⁰

Finally, two works which shared a rationalising approach to the myth deserve particular mention. The *Argonautica* of Herodorus (c. 400), from Heraclea on the Pontic coast, seems to have followed the *Naupactia*, and was an important source for the outward voyage of Books 1-2. The second work is the remarkable *Argonauts* of Dionysius 'Scytobrachion' (also called Dionysius of Mytilene or Dionysius of Miletus); the date of this work is uncertain, but it may well have been roughly contemporary with *Arg.*⁹¹ An outline of this work is preserved for us in the later compendious history of Diodorus Siculus (4.40-55). In Dionysius' strongly rationalistic account, Jason undertook the expedition merely in order to emulate the great heroes of the past, Heracles was chosen leader because of his supreme *andreia*, Medea was a beneficent worker in drugs who saved strangers from her father's cruelty, the fire-breathing bulls (ταῦροι) were really Taurian guards, Δράκων was the name of a guard, not a designation of the guarding serpent, the golden fleece was really the skin of a man called 'Ram', and so on. Nothing in what we know of this work demands a debt to A. or *vice versa*, but the possibility that one influenced the other can hardly be excluded.⁹²

⁸⁷ Cf. L. Pearson, 'Apollonius of Rhodes and the old geographers', *A.J.P.* 59 (1938) 443-59. For the Herodotean tradition in Hellenistic literature cf. O. Murray, 'Herodotus and Hellenistic culture', *C.Q.* n.s. 22 (1972) 200-13.

⁸⁸ Cf. *FGrHist* 3 F 22, 25a, 31-2, 99-100, 105-13a.

⁸⁹ For Hellanicus cf. L. Pearson, *Early Ionian historians* (Oxford 1939) 152-235.

⁹⁰ Cf. *FGrHist* 4 F 126-33.

⁹¹ Cf. Rusten (1982) 86-90; *P. Hibeh* 2.186 forbids a date much after c. 200.

⁹² Thus, for example, the Apollonian scene of Jason's election as leader (1.331-62) clearly draws our attention to other versions in which Heracles

From these and many other predecessors A. fashioned his tale. As part of the 'learned' approach to myth, A. makes visible the process of selection between variants, either by referring to a rejected version in the course of telling the selected one or by combining previously competing versions.⁹³ Thus, for example, the opening of Book 1 suggests that Jason has lived at Iolcus for some time before Pelias plots against him, but he also has a close, though undefined, relationship with Cheiron (1.32-4, 553-8). The proem says nothing of the excuse which Pelias uses to despatch Jason, but we may supply it - the need to appease Zeus's anger - from what Jason tells Argos at 2.1192-5. Argos, however, tells Aietes that Pelias is seeking to deprive Jason of his patrimony (3.333-4), and Jason himself allows Hypsipyle to understand this at 1.902-3. So too, A. explains why Phrixus and the Argonautic legend were associated both with Iolcus in Thessaly and 'Minyan Orchomenos' in Boeotia,⁹⁴ and why some writers placed Circe in the east and some put her in the west.⁹⁵ The geography of the return voyage in Book 4 is so constructed as to reconcile different and contradictory routes proposed by earlier writers,⁹⁶ and examples of these phenomena could be multiplied many times.⁹⁷ No single explanation will account for every case: some may be put down to sheer academic fun,⁹⁸ others (such as the geography of Book 4) to a desire to use as many poetically interesting situations as possible; many have a vital rôle to play in the poem. The lack of clarity about the reasons for the voyage, for example, isolates the expedition as a fearful undertaking for uncertain reward; successful completion of the task which has been imposed leaves the future no more certain than it was before the heroes set out.

led the expedition. So too, Jason's offer to Medea of the pleasures of Greek civilisation (1086n.) plays with the same general theme as Dionysius' presentation of her as an oasis of civilised values in a savage society (Rusten (1982) 20-1, 99).

⁹³ Cf. Fusillo (1985) *passim*.

⁹⁴ Cf. 265-7n., 1093-5, Vian 1 10-12.

⁹⁵ Cf. 311-13n.

⁹⁶ Cf. Vian III 16-20. The whole of Vian's introduction to Book 4 is a masterly survey of A.'s use of prose sources.

⁹⁷ Cf. nn. on 340-6, 375-6, 1071-4.

⁹⁸ For some mythological conundrums cf. 134n., 299-438n.

3. THE POEM

*i. A summary**Book 1*

- 1-22. Proem. Jason and Pelias.
 23-233. Catalogue of Argonauts.
 234-518. The eve of departure. Election of Jason as leader.
 519-608. Voyage to Lemnos.
 609-909. Stay on Lemnos. Jason and Hypsipyle. Description of figures on Jason's cloak.
 910-1152. Stay on Cyzicus. Battle with six-handed giants. Jason mistakenly kills Prince Cyzicus, and his young bride hangs herself.
 1153-1362. In Mysia, Heracles, Hylas and Polyphemus leave the expedition. The sea-god Glaucus calms the fierce quarrel which breaks out on board.

Book 2

- 1-163. Polydeuces beats Amycus, king of the Bebrycians, in a boxing match. The Argonauts rout the other Bebrycians.
 164-530. Prophecies of Phineus. The sons of Boreas chase the Harpies away.
 531-647. Voyage through the Clashing Rocks.
 648-719. Voyage along Black Sea coast. Epiphany of Apollo at island of Thynias.
 720-898. Stay among Mariandynoi. Deaths of Idmon and Tiphys.
 899-1029. Voyage continues towards Colchis.
 1030-1230. The island of Ares. Meeting with sons of Phrixus.
 1231-85. Voyage and arrival in Colchis.

Book 3

- 1-5. Invocation of Erato.
 6-166. Hera and Athena ask Aphrodite to persuade Eros to make Medea fall in love with Jason.
 167-438. Embassy to Aietes. Eros shoots at Medea.
 439-615. Aietes' anger, Medea's anguish, the Argonauts decide to ask Chalciope to secure Medea's help.

- 616-824. After great suffering, Medea decides to help Jason.
 825-947. Jason and Medea travel to their meeting at the temple of Hecate.
 948-1162. Meeting of Jason and Medea.
 1163-1277. Preparations for the contest.
 1278-1407. Jason's contest.

Book 4

- 1-5. Invocation of the Muse.
 6-210. Medea flees to the *Argo* and helps Jason to get the Fleece.
 211-302. Escape through central Europe. [A. imagines the Danube to link the Black Sea to the Adriatic.]
 303-502. Cut off by a Colchian force under Apsyrtus, Jason and Medea lure him to a meeting where Jason kills him.
 507-658. Voyage in Adriatic, and then back through rivers (the Po and the Rhône) which are imagined to link north-east Italy with the western Mediterranean.
 659-752. Jason and Medea are purified by Circe.
 753-981. Voyage to Drepane (Corfu) via the Sirens and the Wandering Rocks.
 982-1222. Stay on Drepane. Marriage of Jason and Medea.
 1223-1619. Driven to Libya by storms, the Argonauts are saved by nymphs who make them carry the *Argo* across the desert to Lake Triton. Deaths of Canthus and Mopsus.
 1620-88. Voyage to Crete. Medea destroys the bronze giant Talos.
 1689-1772. Return voyage. Apollo saves them from a thick, enveloping darkness.
 1773-81. Arrival and poet's farewell.

ii. The third book

The action of Book 3 covers three and a half days: 1-824, 828-1172, 1172-1224, 1225 to the end where night falls; dawn rises again at 4.183.⁹⁹ The long first day falls easily into three parts: events on

⁹⁹ At 823, 1172 and 1223 dawn arrives in mid-verse and with quite different language on each occasion; this is part of A.'s avoidance of the formulaic style (below, p. 39).

Olympus (6-166),¹⁰⁰ the confrontation of Aietes and the Argonauts and its aftermath (167-615), a section framed by the Greek and Colchian assemblies, and finally Medea's suffering and decision (616-827).¹⁰¹ The second and shorter half of the book may be divided into the meeting of Jason and Medea (828-1172) and the preparations for the contest and the contest itself (1172-1407); the history of the dragon's teeth at 1176-87 acts as a transition between the last two sections. Whereas the main organising principle of Books 1-2 and most of Book 4 is the alternation between travelling and the action at stops along the way, the events of 3.167-4.211 take place within a relatively small area, and narrative pace and rhythm derive from switching between characters and settings, rather than from the progressive linear movement of a voyage. In Book 3 A. describes simultaneous actions in a complex, non-Homeric web,¹⁰² and he takes pains to keep track of all his characters in a way that seems to foreshadow the concerns of some modern novelists.¹⁰³

The opening invocation of Erato marks off Books 1-2 as a group and sets a new direction for the poem, as also does the opening scene on Olympus. This is the first such divine scene in the poem, and the only one which seeks to capture the distinctly Homeric pattern of divine frivolity set against human suffering. The whole miserable set of events which will culminate in the killing of Medea's children can take place only because Aphrodite succeeds in bribing her awful son with the promise of a pretty ball. If, however, such a terrible irony - let alone the allegorical significance of the ball¹⁰⁴ and the game of knucklebones between Eros and Ganymede - seems rather un-Homeric, the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* do provide much of the Olympian geography which A. adopts,¹⁰⁵ many parallels for the deceit and suspicion which mark the behaviour of the goddesses, and, of course, the actual scenes which A. here reworks.¹⁰⁶ This opening scene, where the apparent 'humanising'

¹⁰⁰ Cf. 167-274n.

¹⁰¹ Cf. 616-824n., 823-4n.

¹⁰² Cf. nn. on 167-274, 471-2, 576, 825-7, 1246-67.

¹⁰³ Cf. Beye (1982) 124. This tendency is most noticeable at 825-7 which both mark a crucial transition and break up a description of the coming of dawn.

¹⁰⁴ Cf. 135n.

¹⁰⁵ Cf. nn. on 36-110, 159.

¹⁰⁶ Cf. 36-110n.

of the gods is so often cited as quintessentially 'Hellenistic',¹⁰⁷ shows that the 'Hellenistic voice' in fact concentrates and accentuates phenomena already clearly present in archaic and classical poetry.

Despite its obvious Homeric ancestry, the opening scene on Olympus has been criticised as an inorganic, though delightful, episode, out of keeping not only with the general tone, but specifically with the theology of the main body of the poem. Whether or not A. is concerned with 'organic unity' will be considered presently (below, p. 33), but it is in fact completely in keeping with A.'s regular technique to offer only one example of a common Homeric scene-type; just as, for example, there is only one extended example of a sacrifice followed by feasting, perhaps the most common of all Homeric scenes,¹⁰⁸ so there is only one full Olympian intrigue, although the setting itself recurs in Book 4 (4.753ff.). Here, as elsewhere, the starting-point for discussion of *Arg.* must be A.'s conscious attempt both to recall and avoid the Homeric, formulaic style. Elsewhere in the third book, divine intervention is either briefly related by the poet (250, 443-4, 540-54, 818, 919-23, 931) or suggested by the echo of divine sentiments in the mouth of a mortal character¹⁰⁹ or by significant juxtaposition or literary reminiscence.¹¹⁰

The reduced prominence of scenes on Olympus means that events confront us as they confront the characters themselves, and the virtual elimination of the easy Homeric contact between men and gods makes the human characters much less able to recognise the forces which control them.¹¹¹ To this extent they are more like the characters of a tragedy than the heroes of Homer. Nevertheless, the theology of *Arg.* remains basically Homeric, even if the rôle of the gods is less emphasised than in Homer. 'Never', says the poet when Jason and

¹⁰⁷ Even normally sober critics are fond of claiming that A. has turned the goddesses into 'middle-class Alexandrian housewives' (cf. Theocr. 15), 'ladies of the court' or something in between; this may perhaps hold for Aphrodite's coiffure, though even here the Homeric echo is crucial (43-7n.), but in fact we know almost nothing about how any of these categories of women behaved in each other's company.

¹⁰⁸ 1.402-59, cf. Fränkel (1968) 70-1.

¹⁰⁹ Cf. 476n., 697n. For another indication of divine forces at work cf. 443-5n.

¹¹⁰ Cf. 616-32n.

¹¹¹ Cf. 388-90n.

Medea finally marry, 'do the tribes of wretched mortals step along the path of happiness with a full foot, but always some bitter grief walks along with their happiness' (4.1165-7). The thought is much the same as Achilles' account to Priam in *Iliad* 24 of the jars of Zeus, from which (apparently) mortals never get an unmixing selection of blessings, even though the bitter irony of the setting in *Arg.* seems to strike a non-Homeric note of resignation. What is different is the secular language in which the later poem expresses itself; divine control of events is less prominent, but no less certain. Thus, for example, Hera intervenes to prevent Medea's suicide (818), although the emphasis of the scene is on Medea's very human fear of grim death. There is no contradiction, nor is Hera merely a perfunctory afterthought;¹¹² gods work through common human patterns of action and emotion, of which love and fear are important examples. There are, of course, differences between the divine order in Homer and that in A. Most noticeable perhaps is A.'s Zeus, who is a shadowy, wrathful force, working at a distance not only from men but also from the other gods.¹¹³ His plan to punish the sons of Aeolus for polluting his altar is left as uncertain and ambivalent to us as it is to the characters themselves.¹¹⁴ This again increases the feeling of human helplessness in face of the unknown.

The invocation of Erato signifies the importance of *eros* in Books 3 and 4, and the portrayal of the love-struck Medea is certainly the most widely read and admired part of *Arg.* Quite how innovative A. was in devoting so much space within the epic framework to this theme we cannot be sure. The scenes between Odysseus and Nausicaa are an obviously crucial model for A., although there is nothing in the *Odyssey* which corresponds to the lengthy descriptions of Medea's private suffering; once Nausicaa has seen Odysseus safely on his way to the city, she disappears from the poem but for a brief scene of farewell (*Od.* 8.457-68). Odysseus stays and sleeps with both Circe and Calypso, and the latter's bitterness when she is forced to give him up (*Od.* 5.118-44) certainly looks forward to Medea's suffering.¹¹⁵ There is, moreover, evidence that romantic themes had greater prominence in the lost poems of the epic cycle¹¹⁶ and in the Hesiodic poems than they do in

¹¹² For these various views cf., e.g., Klein (1931) 223-5, Faerber (1932) 84.

¹¹³ Cf. 4.576-7. ¹¹⁴ Cf. 336-9n. ¹¹⁵ Cf. 464-6n.

¹¹⁶ Cf. J. Griffin, 'The epic cycle and the uniqueness of Homer', *J.H.S.* 97 (1977) 43-5.

Homer, but there is no sign in archaic epic of the extended treatment of the psychopathology of female love,¹¹⁷ such as we find in *Arg.* 3, Theocritus 2,¹¹⁸ the 'Fragmentum Grenfellianum' and elsewhere in Hellenistic poetry. Closer in time to A., the *Hermes* of Philotas of Cos (late fourth century) told of Odysseus' stay with Aeolus, the ruler of the winds, and his account to the king of his adventures. During his stay, Odysseus secretly slept with one of Aeolus' daughters who had fallen in love with him; when this was discovered after Odysseus' departure, Aeolus' anger was only appeased by one of his sons, who himself loved the girl and eventually married her. This presumably short epic poem refocused a Homeric scene in a way that becomes familiar in the poetry of the third century, and the love of a king's daughter for the travelling Greek hero obviously suggests the events of *Arg.* 3.¹¹⁹ Unfortunately, however, no fragments from the relevant part of the poem survive.

By the third century, *eros* had long had an important rôle in lyric poetry, drama (both tragedy and comedy) and epigram. There was, moreover, an extensive prose literature on erotic subjects, ranging from the pornographic to the seriously philosophical; surviving examples include the *Symposium* and *Phaedrus* of Plato.¹²⁰ For subsequent poets, Sappho was established as the erotic poet *par excellence*, and her influence is as clear in *Arg.* 3 as elsewhere in Alexandrian love-poetry.¹²¹ The vocabulary in which A. describes Medea's mental and physical suffering can almost all be paralleled from the fragments of Alcman, Ibycus, Anacreon, Archilochus and Sappho, as well as from Alexandrian epigram. These shorter poetic forms, however, lacked the scope that epic narrative offered for exploring the development of a passion through action, gesture, simile and speech; it was here that A.

¹¹⁷ Thus, for example, Hesiod tells of the mutual love and metamorphosis of Ceyx and Alcyone (*P. Turner* 1, fr. 3 col. iii; fr. 16), but the verses are brief and 'factual' by comparison with the Alexandrian style.

¹¹⁸ Echoes of Theocr. 2 in *Arg.* 3 or vice versa cannot be conclusively demonstrated, although the poems have many points in common (cf. 964-5n., 976n.).

¹¹⁹ Cf. Bulloch (1985) 546.

¹²⁰ Cf. further W. Kroll, *Studien zum Verständnis der römischen Literatur* (Stuttgart 1924) 315-16; R. L. Hunter, *Eubulus: the fragments* (Cambridge 1983) 132.

¹²¹ Cf. 284n., 296-8n. For Sappho's reputation cf. Dioscorides, *AP* 7.407 (= *HE* 1565-74).

created a portrait which profoundly influenced the Greek and Roman poets who came after him.

A. explores with great subtlety the simple truth that pity may be a part of love (462, 761) or may be a trigger for love (1077-8). In 1077-8, Jason is affected by love at the sight of Medea's tears; this development in his feelings has been prepared for by the simile of the rustling trees at 967-72 and by the mutual gesture of coy affection at 1022-4, but there is an effective contrast between the single decisive shot with which Eros wounds Medea and the more gradual stirring within Jason. This contrast is the more striking as 'love at first sight' is a familiar convention of ancient imaginative literature.¹²² A. avoids this conventional phenomenon even in Medea's case, although her scream at the first sight of her nephews and the Argonauts (253) is a clear signal of what is to come. A second characteristic of love to which A. gives prominence is the loss of reason and judgement. Medea loses control of her *vóos*, her power to make considered judgements. This is manifested not only in authorial statements,¹²³ but also in the style of her speeches. Sudden switches of mood or direction, as powerful in their way as her hesitations on the threshold of her bedroom (648-55), reveal the powerful unclarity of her desires. The high point of this technique is reached as she ponders whether or not to kill herself:

'Let him perish in the contest, if it is his destiny to die in the ploughed field! For how could I devise drugs for him without my parents knowing? What could I say? What trick, what device to conceal my aid could there be? Shall I go to see him alone and speak to him apart from his comrades? Alas, even when he is dead, I do not think that I shall find relief from my suffering. Then, when he is no longer alive, would he be a cause of misfortune to me. Away with shame, away with honour! Let him go away unscathed wherever his heart desires, saved by my help.' (778-87)

¹²² Some critics write as though A. was the *πρώτος εὐεργής* of the literary portrait of a slowly developing love. Common sense would suggest that this was unlikely, even if we did not have texts such as Xen. *Cyr.* 5.1.16-18 where Araspas falls for Panthea after observing her kindness and nobility over a period of time. ¹²³ Cf. 286-90n., 298, 446-7.

The order (or disorder) in which things are said is as expressive as the sentiments themselves.

A.'s Medea reflects many aspects of Greek views of the female.¹²⁴ She is a young, freeborn virgin, like the traditional devotees of the virgin huntress Artemis;¹²⁵ as priestess of Hecate, she also knows Artemis' other side - a dangerous and malevolent force whose power is as destructive and irrational as *eros* itself. Moreover, just as the central scenes of her suffering - the arrow-shot, the dream, the sleeplessness, the ride to the temple - are modelled on Homeric scenes, so too the choice she faces, imposed upon her by the forces of shame and desire, is expressed by the polarity between a 'Penelope model' and a 'Helen model'.¹²⁶ Helen betrayed her family for a non-Greek ξένος, caused a great war between Europe and Asia, and brought horrible suffering to her adopted land. Medea is a barbarian princess whose arrival eventually brought great grief to her 'Paris', but the battle between Greece and Colchis, though foreshadowed a number of times, never arrives.¹²⁷ This partial reflection and reversal of the mythic and poetic model is not merely a game with the tradition. Penelope and Helen are not the two poles of a strict dichotomy: Homer shows us Helen living in 'married bliss' in Sparta, and Penelope's behaviour towards the suitors is at least in places ambiguous. Moreover, Penelope's faithfulness to her home and family involves as well a painful longing for an absent partner for her bed. She cannot, therefore, function as a simple model of virginal innocence. These ambiguities are reflected in A.'s transference of language used about Penelope to Medea's erotic suffering. 'Being Penelope' or 'being Helen' is not a simple, or even possible, choice: Medea's position inevitably involves elements of both. When she does finally choose to meet Jason and thus to betray her family, it is in the hope that she will preserve the joys of innocent girlhood;¹²⁸ the irony is very characteristic of A.

Book 3 contains a large-scale reworking of the Phaeacian scenes of

¹²⁴ Cf. in general Hunter (1987).

¹²⁵ Cf. 876-86n.

¹²⁶ For Penelope cf. nn. to 451-2, 616-32, 771, 804-5, 828-35; for Helen cf. nn. to 641-2 and 803, and Hunter (1987) 138.

¹²⁷ Cf. 1225-45n., 4.190-211, 338-40, 1101-3.

¹²⁸ Cf. 811-16n.

the *Odyssey*, with Medea substituted for Nausicaa, Jason for Odysseus and Aietes for Alcinoos. Thus, for example, the description of Aietes' palace at 215-41 is largely modelled on the description of Alcinoos' palace in *Odyssey* 7. The echo of these Homeric scenes draws our attention particularly to what is different. Just as the hospitable and generous Alcinoos is replaced by the deceitful and tyrannical Aietes, so Nausicaa's brief flirtation with life outside a young girl's world goes horribly wrong for Medea. The meeting of Jason and Medea, like that of Odysseus and Nausicaa, adapts the structures of an Iliadic martial duel to a scene of subtle, erotic testing,¹²⁹ but Medea's Greek stranger comes to her, not unexpected, naked and filthy like Nausicaa's, but by deliberate arrangement, 'gleaming with grace and beauty', like a bright star; but this is a star which presages burning heat and ultimate death.¹³⁰ Jason has no Penelope to go home to, and so Medea will accompany him to wreak vengeance, as Odysseus had done, on the usurpers of his throne (1133-6). The paradigm of the abandoned Ariadne, however, makes clear what Medea's ultimate fate will be.¹³¹ So too do echoes of Jason's relationship with Hypsipyle in Book 1,¹³² and four similes at crucial stages of Medea's story look forward to a woman alone, bereft of male support: 291-5 (a poor spinning-woman), 656-64 (the *nymphé* whose man has been killed), 4.35-40 (a slave-girl far from home), 1062-5 (a poor spinning-woman). We are thus presented in Books 3 and 4 with, quite literally, a tragedy 'waiting to happen'.

Jason also is young.¹³³ Just as in the course of the poem Medea finally crosses one of life's major thresholds, so too the expedition is for Jason akin to a *rite de passage*. The securing of the fleece and the securing of Medea are bound together in an elaborate image of change from one period of life to another. Jason is one of a number of young heroes in Greek myth whose stories reflect generational passage by means of tasks imposed and successfully accomplished: Bellerophon, Orestes and Theseus are parallel cases to which A. directs our attention.¹³⁴ This pattern is, however, only one element in A.'s Jason,

¹²⁹ The simile of 956-61 corresponds to the lion simile of *Od.* 6.130-6; cf. 956-61n.

¹³⁰ Cf. 956-61n.

¹³¹ Cf. 997-1004n.

¹³² Cf. 975n., 1069n.

¹³³ For what follows cf. Hunter (1988).

¹³⁴ Cf. 230-4n., 997-1004n.

a character who, perhaps more than any other, reveals A.'s concern for constant experiment with the possibilities of epic.

The pessimism and apparent despair which are prominent in the Jason of Books 1 and 2 are less strongly marked in Book 3.¹³⁵ Jason is overwhelmed at the task which Aietes commands him to perform (422-3), but this is hardly surprising, and the group as a whole reacts just as Jason does (502-4); no Homeric hero was ever called upon to do such a fantastic thing. Some other aspects of A.'s Jason are found already in earlier tradition. Jason's respect for (188-90) and skill in λόγοι, for example, are a feature of Pindar's portrait (*Pyth.* 4.136-8). He sensibly rejects the pointless use of verbal or physical βίη (382-5), but in the accomplishment of his tasks we see the successful linking of βίη and μῆτις, a pair whose interplay forms a major motif of the book.¹³⁶ His willingness to exploit Medea's help in the tasks he is called upon to perform does not devalue his achievements. Just as Homeric heroes were helped by protecting gods, so Jason, protected by Medea's magic, reveals courage and strength in the yoking and ploughing, and thus establishes his 'heroic status' which may naturally be questioned before the test (cf. 420-1, 464-5). The essential aim of A.'s heroes is success and the glory which will follow from success; for the heroes of the *Iliad* it is honour, if possible coupled with success.¹³⁷ Neither poet places the greatest stress upon adherence to a particular code of behaviour. The style of Iliadic fighting forges a link between such a code and the primary aim of the heroes, but in other circumstances, as already in the presentation of Odysseus in the *Odyssey*, the link may be broken or, at least, made problematic. This is particularly true in a setting as exotic and menacing as the court of Aietes, who combines the brutishness of the Cyclops¹³⁸ with a cruel despotism; clear parallels between Aietes and Pelias point to the apparent hopelessness of Jason's task.¹³⁹

The nature of 'heroism', as a particular form of behaviour, is not

¹³⁵ Cf. 422-3, 487-8, where the emphasis is on their desperate plight, rather than on the shame involved in accepting help from women.

¹³⁶ Cf. e.g. 79-86, 507, and the rôle of Idas.

¹³⁷ For the relation between these aims in Homer cf. M. Schofield, *C.Q.* n.s. 36 (1986) 15-16. Given the differences in plot, it is not surprising that 'honour' is much less prominent in *Arg.* than in the *Iliad*.

¹³⁸ Cf. 176-81n.

¹³⁹ Cf. 405-6n., 594n.

A.'s central concern. Actions such as the murder of Apsyrtus are dictated by 'evil necessity' (430) and are not to be examined in a fine ethical calculus. Moreover, the Homeric poems themselves offered examples of widely different 'heroic' responses: Agamemnon's despair, for example, can be just as deep as Jason's. In Homer A. found not a fixed, unquestioned pattern of heroism, but a set of complex incidents revealing just how uncertain was the status and nature of 'the hero'. One central difference, however, between *Arg.* and the *Iliad* in this respect lies not in how men behave, but in the social context in which they do so and the reasons why they act. A. leaves rather unclear the reward that lies in store for the Argonauts, and even obfuscates the very reasons for the expedition. The result (particularly in Book 4) is a series of actions without context, sometimes apparently without purpose, and varying greatly in tone and manner; the formal certainties which rule the process of battle in the *Iliad* have given way to a stream of encounters with the unknown like those faced by Odysseus, but not told with Odysseus' confidence, which is the confidence of a survivor.

iii. *The Argonautica and Hellenistic poetry*

Although *Arg.* is the only extant large-scale narrative poem in Greek from the centuries between Homer and the later Roman empire, we know that epic poetry was continually being written throughout classical antiquity, and *Arg.* was not the lonely phenomenon that it appears to us.¹⁴⁰ The post-classical period saw the production of epics on traditional mythological themes (like the Argonautic saga), as well as on the history of a period, city or region. When the latter kind dealt with contemporary history, epic became encomium; we know of such poems about Alexander the Great and the *epigoni*, although the Ptolemies do not seem to have favoured this genre. Theocritus' encomiastic *Idyll* 17 is rather in the shorter style in vogue in Alexandria

¹⁴⁰ Cf. *SH* 'Conspectus carminum' s.v. *epica*; Wilamowitz (1924) 1 104-8; K. Ziegler, *Das hellenistische Epos*² (Leipzig 1966); B. Otis, *Virgil, a study in civilized poetry* (Oxford 1964) 16-19, 396-8. Otis felt able to condemn lost Hellenistic epic as not 'intrinsically worthwhile'; others may feel that the state of the evidence hardly allows such confidence. In the context of *Arg.*, particularly regrettable losses are the *Thebaid* of Antimachus (above, p. 17), and two poems by contemporaries of A., the *Heraclea* of Rhianus of Crete and the *Thebaid* of Antagoras of Rhodes.

(below, p. 37). The loss of other epic means that we cannot place *Arg.* in a literary context by direct comparison, but are rather forced to rely on what we know of the major directions of contemporary criticism and poetic theory. The two most important figures in this regard are Aristotle and Callimachus.

It is uncertain whether or not A. would have had access in Alexandria to a copy of the *Poetics*, but the possibility seems likely enough.¹⁴¹ In any event, A. was obviously familiar with Peripatetic literary criticism as practised by Aristotle's followers and spiritual heirs. The chief tenet of the *Poetics* concerning epic is that poets should follow Homer in writing about a single action (*praxis*), complete in itself with beginning, middle and end, rather than about the multifarious life of a single hero or all the events of a single period, faults for which Aristotle censures the poets of the 'epic cycle'.¹⁴² Despite the fact that *Arg.* begins with the departure of the heroes to recover the fleece and ends with their successful return, it seems clear that the very episodic nature of the poem would not have satisfied Aristotle's requirement of τὸ εὐσύνοπτον ('that which can be seen readily as a whole') and his demand for a 'single and complete action'. We cannot, however, necessarily conclude that A. was consciously reacting against the Aristotelian position, as *Arg.* might represent an unsuccessful attempt to fulfil Aristotle's ideas.¹⁴³ Moreover, *Arg.*, which is some 5,835 verses in length, does apparently come close to Aristotle's rather obscure suggestion that the πλῆθος of an epic should be like that 'of tragedies performed at one hearing'.¹⁴⁴ The many features of the epic which strike us as quite contrary to Aristotelian ideals, most notably the succession of ethnographic and mythological 'digressions',¹⁴⁵ are all matters for judgement, and A.'s judgement may

¹⁴¹ It appears in the list of Aristotle's works (Diog. Laert. 5.24) which many scholars believe goes back to an inventory of Aristotelian books in the Ptolemaic library, cf. I. Düring, *Aristoteles* (Heidelberg 1966) 36-7, Blum (1977) 121-32.

¹⁴² Cf. *Poetics* 1451a16-35, 1459a17-59b16; S. Koster, *Antike Epötheorien* (Wiesbaden 1970) 42-80; S. Halliwell, *Aristotle's Poetics* (London 1986) 254-66.

¹⁴³ So, e.g., R. Heinze, *Virgils epische Technik*³ (Leipzig 1915) 436.

¹⁴⁴ *Poetics* 1459b21-2. For the various interpretations of this demand see the notes of Else and Lucas ad loc.

¹⁴⁵ Cf. Eichgrün (1961) 84-93; for the relevance of what Aristotle says about dramatic character to *Arg.* cf. Hunter (1988) 437-8.

have differed from ours. More important is his refusal to tell his tale from the very beginning, *ab ouo*, because other poets have been there before (1.18-19); this may be a conscious effort to distance his technique from that of the cyclic epics.

Certain aspects of A.'s epic may therefore reflect Peripatetic literary theory. If so, this does not of course make *Arg.* an 'Aristotelian epic'; a work of art, particularly one on the scale of *Arg.*, is likely to reflect more than one stream of current criticism, even if it is expressly created to illustrate a particular school or artistic view. Nevertheless, much in the epic points away from Aristotle towards the greatest figure of Alexandrian poetry and poetics.

Callimachus was acknowledged by later ages as the leader and guiding spirit of the *avant-garde* Alexandrian style in poetry. Our fullest source for the explicit principles of Callimachean poetry is, however, not even in Greek. This is the poetry of the Roman neoterics and Augustans who took up 'Callimachean' ideas and adapted them to their new situation;¹⁴⁶ precisely for this reason, however, their evidence is double-edged and has been left out of account in the present brief survey. Nowhere, however, in this body of Roman poetry is there a hint that *Arg.* is a 'non-Callimachean' poem or even of a biographical tradition which opposed Callimachus and A.; *Arg.* was translated into Latin by the neoteric Varro of Atax,¹⁴⁷ and is an important model in Catullus 64. and Virgil's *Aeneid*, facts which do not prove that these poets regarded it as 'ideologically sound', but which are certainly suggestive for its reputation.¹⁴⁸

The two most striking features of Callimachus' poetry are his constant experiments with both form and language, and his use of 'learning'. The metrical variety of the *Hymns* and *Iambi* is not, of course, replicated in A.'s narrative epic, although the fragments of other poems show that he did not limit himself to hexameters (above,

¹⁴⁶ For a brief survey cf. Hopkinson (1988) 98-101.

¹⁴⁷ For his neoteric credentials cf. esp. Prop. 2.34.85-6 and, in general, H. Bardon, *La littérature latine inconnue* (Paris 1952) 1368-70.

¹⁴⁸ The view taken by 'Longinus', that A. was a 'faultless' (ἀπταιστος) but uninspired poet (*De subl.* 33.4), may also point towards this as a 'Callimachean' work; the Ovidian *bon mot* about Callimachus, *quamvis ingenio non ualet, arte ualet* (*Am.* 1.15.14), which presumably echoes standard 'school' judgements, is along the same lines.

p. 9). Moreover, phenomena such as Aietes' unparalleled address in *oratio obliqua* plainly reveal A. as an experimenter with structure and technique.¹⁴⁹ Callimachus' linguistic and metrical practice is bolder and more innovative than is A.'s (below, pp. 40-2), but the difference is one of degree; both poets are moving in the same direction, but Callimachus' move is a more radical one. Similar observations may be made with regard to the material of poetry. Callimachus' *Hymns* have been described as 'a new, unpredictable sort of poetry, which eschews alike structural proportion and consistency of "emotion"'.¹⁵⁰ With the adjustments necessary for a long poem on a single subject, much the same could be said of *Arg.* Callimachus refocuses old stories by concentrating on their less usual aspects: humble characters such as Hecale and Molochus replace Theseus and Heracles as the centre of interest. The important rôle of *eros* in *Arg.*, the domesticity of Aphrodite and Eros, and the pillow-talk of Arete and Alcinous (4.1068-1110) seem to place *Arg.* in the same general tradition. Together with this new slant on old stories go the striking tone of irony and familiarity with which Callimachus tells his myths and a narrative technique which avoids the expected both in logic and chronology; it is a technique in many ways closer to that of lyric narrative, notably Pindar, than it is to Homer.¹⁵¹ Here too we find something similar, though less obvious, in A., whose shifting relationship with his Muse or Muses¹⁵² and occasional personal engagement with the myths he tells (cf. 4.1673-5) recall Callimachean techniques. So too, the mixture of hymnic and epic style with which *Arg.* opens and the allusive brevity with which the background is sketched are more in keeping with the technique of short narrative familiar from Callimachus and Theocritus than with a leisured 'cyclic' style.

Callimachean 'learning' is manifested in a dense texture of allusion to earlier literature, particularly Homer, a preference for unusual or recondite myths, often derived from local histories and prose chronicles, an interest in the origins of cities, cults and rituals, allusions to contemporary science and medicine, an interest in the nature of language, particularly as revealed in etymology, and reflections of

¹⁴⁹ Cf. 579-605n.

¹⁵⁰ N. Hopkinson, *C.Q.* n.s. 34 (1984) 147.

¹⁵¹ Cf. Cairns (1979) 117-20 on *Acontius and Cydippe*, Newman (1986) 96-101.

¹⁵² Cf. Hunter (1987) 134.

contemporary literary debate and scholarship, particularly concerning the text of Homer. All of these features, except perhaps the last, are obvious to any reader of *Arg.*, and to this extent it may be labelled a 'Callimachean poem'.¹⁵³ The question of Homeric scholarship requires, however, separate consideration.

The considerable differences in available Homeric texts, ranging from the inclusion or omission of whole passages to morphological differences in single words, were well known to Alexandrian scholars, and A.'s interest in these matters is revealed by his work Πρὸς Ζηῆδοτον (above, p. 12). A scholarly poet could add to the learned sophistication of his poem by echoing Homer in such a way as to allude to problems of text or interpretation. Such an allusion need not mean that the poet *qua* scholar accepted as correct for Homer the text or interpretation to which his own poem pointed; echoes of what was thought to be false or spurious, for example, might be just as welcome. Our detailed knowledge of Homeric scholarship in the mid-third century is, however, so scanty that very often we can merely note the possibility that A.'s text reflects a dispute found in the extant scholia and lexica which were compiled long after *Arg.* was written; in many cases there is considerable room for subjective disagreement.¹⁵⁴ That A. does reflect contemporary discussion of the Homeric text seems all but certain, but the relevant notes in the commentary must be read with these general remarks in mind.¹⁵⁵

Callimachus' literary criticism seems to have been fundamentally anti-Aristotelian,¹⁵⁶ although he apparently shared the philosopher's dislike of 'cyclic' poetry. 'I hate the cyclic poem' begins one of his epigrams (28). By κυκλικόν he probably meant not only 'belonging to,

or like, the non-Homeric epic cycle' but also 'inferior to Homer' and 'common, vulgar'.¹⁵⁷ The epigram ends with a piece of deflating self-mockery which throws an ironical light on its deliberately pompous (and banal?) opening; we can thus get very little serious literary criticism from this particular source. Would Callimachus have regarded *Arg.* as 'cyclic'? A long hexameter poem on a single subject and with a constant group of characters might well have seemed so, however carefully A. sought to avoid repeating scene-types or verses (below, p. 39). Unfortunately, the main supporting text, the prologue to the *Aitia* published late in Callimachus' life,¹⁵⁸ raises as many questions as answers.

The *Aitia* prologue (or, perhaps more accurately, 'The reply to the Telchines') seems to have been prefixed to a collected edition of Callimachus' poetry, and thus has a wider function than just introducing the lengthy collection (? 4,000–6,000 verses) of elegiac *aitia*. Nevertheless, it is anything but a straightforward statement of a poetics. In it Callimachus asserts that he has been accused of not writing 'one continuous poem in many thousands of verses on kings or heroes', not that such a poem would *per se* be a bad thing. He appeals to the criterion of *techné* over that of length, and describes a personal commission from Apollo to write 'fine' or 'lean' (λεπταλέος) poetry which does not follow the common herd but strikes out on its own path. If we were to expand this into a general poetic programme, partly with the help of other contemporary poetic texts,¹⁵⁹ we would find a preference for short, artful poems which were original in subject-matter and style and lacked internal unity or sameness. Because, however, Callimachus was being teasingly tendentious, the 'Callimachean' criteria for poetry turn out very largely to depend upon subjective judgement. 'Short', 'artful', 'cyclic', *διηλεκές*, *λεπταλέος*, *καθαρόν* are all words for which there can be no precise definition. If, as is likely, the general sense is dense, ostentatiously learned poetry in which every word counts, where nothing is there simply to fill up the

¹⁵³ For etymological interests in *Arg.* cf. Index s.v. 'etymology'; Hunter (1986).

¹⁵⁴ Cf. Erbse (1953) who rejects any large-scale use of Homeric scholarship in *Arg.*; Erbse also concluded that A. used a 'commentary' on Homer which was an early forerunner of the extant D-scholia. The use of poetry to express opinions about Homer certainly pre-dates Callimachus; Antimachus is here, as elsewhere, a key figure. Cf. the remarks of P. J. Parsons, *G. & R.* n.s. 29 (1982) 184–5.

¹⁵⁵ Cf. Index s.v. 'Homer, scholarship on'.

¹⁵⁶ Cf. K. O. Brink, 'Callimachus and Aristotle: an inquiry into Callimachus' ΠΡΟΣ ΠΡΑΞΙΦΑΝΗΝ', *C.Q.* 40 (1946) 11–26, and (*contra*) Koster (above, n. 142) 120–2 and Newman (1986) 44–7.

¹⁵⁷ Cf. Hor. *AP* 132 *circa uilem patulumque... orbem*; Pfeiffer (1968) 230. The interpretation of this epigram is hotly disputed; for a guide to the dispute see the discussions of R. F. Thomas and A. Henrichs in *H.S.C.P.* 83 (1979) 180–7 and 207–12.

¹⁵⁸ Cf. above, p. 8. For Call. fr. 1 cf. now Hopkinson (1988) 85–98.

¹⁵⁹ Theocr. 7 (esp. vv. 45–8) is the most famous.

verse, where surprises of both language and subject lurk around every page, then *Arg.* seems to fit most of the criteria admirably. What Callimachus actually did think of this mythological epic of many thousands of verses on a traditional subject of mythology and poetry we shall probably never know. That A.'s poem reflects the same tastes and trends in literature as does Callimachus' poetry, however, seems beyond question.¹⁶⁰

iv. *Language and metre*

A.'s language¹⁶¹ is based on that of Homer; this is true of morphology, vocabulary, dialect, syntax and prosody. A.'s phrasing constantly echoes that of the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*, even where there is no literary point to the echo.¹⁶² For A., however, the 'language of Homer' was not an immutably fixed body of material limited solely to those words which happened to appear in the Homeric poems, but rather the archaic, artificial language of most early Greek poetry, a language which was quite remote from the spoken Greek of third-century Alexandria. It was a language which could readily be extended by analogy¹⁶³ and by words from other, equally poetic, genres, notably lyric and tragedy. In many features – for example, the use of Homeric words in non-Homeric ways,¹⁶⁴ of dialect glosses,¹⁶⁵ and of third-person pronouns and adjectives for the first and second person¹⁶⁶ – A.

¹⁶⁰ *SH* 339A is a second-century A.D. papyrus text concerning an unknown poem on the Argonautic story; both A. and Dionysius Scytobrachion (above, p. 20) are cited for comparison. Some of the terminology is very reminiscent of the *Aitia* prologue (l.17 συνεχέει και πολυστιχούς), but it is unfortunately unclear how the author categorises *Arg.* For discussion cf. Rusten (1982) 53–63.

¹⁶¹ Cf. G. Boesch, *De Apollonii Rhodii elocutione* (diss. Berlin 1908); Marxer (1935); H. Fränkel, *Gnomon* 12 (1936) 470–6; Herter (1944/55) 314–24; G. Giangrande, 'Aspects of Apollonius Rhodius' language', *P.L.L.S.* 1 (1976) 271–91 (= *Scripta minora Alexandrina* 1 289–309); Fraser (1972) 1 635–7.

¹⁶² Cf. M. Campbell, *Echoes and imitations of early epic in Apollonius Rhodius* (Leiden 1981), and Livrea's commentary on Book 4 *passim*.

¹⁶³ A. is particularly rich in new noun-formations based on Homeric precedent, e.g. κηδοσύνη (462), σκαρθμός (1260).

¹⁶⁴ Cf., e.g. 340–6n., 1147n. on διέτμαγεν.

¹⁶⁵ Cf. 1322–4n. ¹⁶⁶ Cf. 98–9n., 186n.

continues and extends trends found in the fragments of earlier post-Homeric epic. Here, as elsewhere, the almost 'rococo' verbal style of Antimachus is a particularly important precedent.¹⁶⁷

A.'s style represents a self-conscious attempt to rework Homer in such a way as to make as clear as possible his difference from Homer. This is most striking with regard to the most obvious feature of Homeric style, namely repetition. A. does not repeat scene-types, such as feasting or arming: one example of each suffices.¹⁶⁸ Where such scenes do occur, the Homeric pattern is usually either abbreviated or broken up.¹⁶⁹ Homeric phrasing is constantly altered by grammatical variation or the use of synonyms.¹⁷⁰ There are no 'stock' epithets, and repetition or near repetition of verses is very limited.¹⁷¹ When the same thing has to be said twice – a situation which A. is at pains to avoid – ¹⁷² variety of expression is the guiding principle.¹⁷³ A good instance is 27–9 and 86–9:

κούρην Αἰήτεω πολυφάρμακον οἷσι βέλεσσι
θέλξαι οἰστεύσας ἐπ' Ἴήσωνι. τὸν δ' ἂν οἶω
κείνης ἐννεσίησιν ἐς Ἑλλάδα κῶας ἀνάξειν.

... παρθένον Αἰήτεω θέλξαι πόθωι Αἰσονίδαο.
εἰ γάρ οἱ κείνη συμφράσσεται εὐμενέουσα,
ῥηιδίως μιν ἐλόντα δέρος χρύσειον οἶω
νοστήσειν ἐς Ἴωλκόν, ἐπεὶ δολόεσσα τέτυκται.

In the second passage, παρθένον replaces κούρην, δολόεσσα replaces πολυφάρμακον (both are Homeric epithets of Circe), the construction after θέλξαι is varied, the whole of v. 87 replaces κείνης ἐννεσίησιν, 'Iolcus' replaces the more general 'Greece'; δέρος χρύσειον is substituted for κῶας, and ἐλόντα νοστήσειν for ἀνάξειν. On a larger

¹⁶⁷ Cf. above, pp. 17–18. For Antimachus' language cf. Wyss, *op. cit.* xxxi–xxxiv and, for probable borrowings by A., xlviii–xlix.

¹⁶⁸ Cf. above, p. 25.

¹⁶⁹ Cf. nn. on 270–4, 1225–45, 1327–9. For a fairly close reproduction of a Homeric pattern cf. 492–539n.

¹⁷⁰ A good example in 36–7n.

¹⁷¹ Cf. G. W. Elderkin, *A.J.P.* 34 (1913) 198–201; Herter (1944/55) 325; M. G. Ciani, *B.I.F.G.* 2 (1975) 191–208.

¹⁷² Cf. 477–8n.

¹⁷³ Cf. Index s.v. 'repetition, avoidance of'.

scale, the description of Jason's summoning of Hecate (1191-1224) is carefully differentiated from Medea's instructions as to how to do it (1029-41), whereas the Homeric model - Circe's instructions to Odysseus for consulting Teiresias and the subsequent ritual - relies on repetition.

Book 3 contains a rare and instructive instance of 'Homeric' repetition. The description of the terrible bulls in Jason's report of Aietes' challenge (495-6) is largely repeated from Aietes' own speech (409-10), although the following verses differ substantially from the earlier ones (412-16 ~ 497-500). This unusual repetition is introduced by a remark which calls attention to the difference from Homeric technique:

ἕκαστα γὰρ οὐδὲ νύ τι τέκμων
οὔτ' ἔμοι οὔτε κεν ἕμμι διειρομένοισι πέλοιτο.

The partial 'Homeric' repetition in a reported speech¹⁷⁴ reinforces the programmatic force of these verses by playfully suggesting what the poem would look like if it were written in Homeric style.

It is relevant to the consideration of *Arg.*'s place in the literary world of third-century Alexandria to note that A.'s avoidance of too Homeric a language is less radical than that of Callimachus.¹⁷⁵ Whereas Callimachus strives at every turn to produce a strikingly novel linguistic effect, A. avoids radical 'Callimachean' experiments with the poetic lexicon, and quite lengthy passages of the epic could, if taken out of context, be readily mistaken for an attempt to write in the Homeric manner. Particularly interesting in this regard is the final section of Book 3 describing Jason's battle with the earthborn warriors. A succession of similes, each Homeric in origin and style, creates a total effect which is quite unlike Homer in its rapid intensity,¹⁷⁶ but which approximates to the Homeric style in a manner which it is difficult to imagine in Callimachus. Generic differences¹⁷⁷ between what survives of the two poets cannot entirely account for the dissimilarity.

¹⁷⁴ This is also the context of the other principal examples of repetition, 1.705-7 ~ 1.714-16 (with an amusing variation in 716), 4.1107 ~ 4.1119, 4.1325-9 ~ 4.1353-6 (with varied order of verses).

¹⁷⁵ Cf. esp. A. W. Bulloch's edition of *Call. h.* 5, pp. 29-31.

¹⁷⁶ Cf. nn. on 1278-1407, 1374-6.

¹⁷⁷ An interesting passage to compare with Jason's battle is the 'Homeric' fighting at Theocr. 22.181-204.

The hexameter unit plays a much smaller rôle in the organisation of ideas in *Arg.* than it does in Homer. There are in *Arg.* complex, subordinated sentences in a style quite foreign to Homer; in Homeric oral epic 'a fundamental rule... is that thought together with expression is always or for the most part *linear* and *progressive*; it does not turn back on itself or delay, or artificially rearrange, important elements of meaning'.¹⁷⁸ A very rough, but revealing, measure of the difference between Homer and A. is the comparative frequency of 'necessary enjambment', that is when syntax forbids any strong pause or punctuation at the end of the verse.¹⁷⁹ Various scholars have assessed *Arg.* at between 45% and 50%, whereas the Homeric poems are put somewhat below 30%.¹⁸⁰ Enjambment can itself have a literary purpose - at 253-9, for example, it serves to indicate universal rush and excitement, and the concentrated enjambment of Aietes' speech at 576-605 reinforces the experimental nature of the protracted *oratio obliqua*.¹⁸¹ As a persistent stylistic feature, however, it distinguishes the written epic from the oral poem, in which neither poet nor audience can stop to go back and consider things again. A. also uses unusual word-order to emphasise or reflect the sense of the verse,¹⁸² and here enjambment plays a part. In this, however, as also with such stylistic features as alliteration¹⁸³ and ring-composition (which is very common in *Arg.*),¹⁸⁴ A. is following techniques which Homer had bequeathed to all subsequent poets.

As with language, so with metre. The Apollonian hexameter¹⁸⁵ shows much the same kind of development from Homeric verse as do

¹⁷⁸ G. S. Kirk, *The Iliad: a commentary* 1 (Cambridge 1985) 31.

¹⁷⁹ An element of subjectivity cannot, of course, be eliminated from any such investigation. For discussion and bibliography cf. Kirk op. cit. 31-4; R. Janko, *Homer, Hesiod and the Hymns* (Cambridge 1982) 30-3; H. C. R. Vella, *Enjambement and some metrical technicalities in Apollonius of Rhodes* (diss. University of Zimbabwe, Harare, 1982).

¹⁸⁰ Cf. Janko op. cit. 32. My own (possibly rather conservative) count for *Arg.* 3 is 43.2%.

¹⁸¹ Cf. above, p. 35. For an effective use of a different kind of enjambment cf. 649-53n.

¹⁸² Cf. Index s.v. 'word-order'. ¹⁸³ Cf. 71n.

¹⁸⁴ Cf. Index s.v. 'ring-composition'.

¹⁸⁵ What follows is derived from Mooney 411-28; Faerber (1932) 66-8; Herter (1944/55) 311-14; West (1982) 35-9, 152-7. See also N. Hopkinson's edition of *Call. h.* 6, pp. 52-5.

the hexameters of Callimachus and Theocritus, but it has not moved quite as far as they have from the oral poet. *Arg.* is in general more dactylic than Homer,¹⁸⁶ and both the 'feminine' caesura, i.e. word-break after the first short of a third-foot dactyl, and the 'bucolic diaeresis', i.e. word-break after a fourth-foot dactyl, are more prominent than in Homer (67% v. 57% and 57% v. 47%). Verses, and particularly a successive pair of verses, with fifth-foot spondees are a favoured Hellenistic mannerism. Some 8% of *Arg.* shows this feature, as against 5% for Homer; in the majority of cases the last two feet are occupied by a single word-unit, and in all cases the fourth foot is dactylic.¹⁸⁷ As with word-order, powerful poetic effects can be created by unusual metrical sequences¹⁸⁸ or by using the natural breaks of the verse to emphasise what is important.¹⁸⁹ In recognising the literariness of *Arg.*, we must not forget that this was poetry designed to be read aloud.

v. *The text*¹⁹⁰

The total of known medieval and Renaissance manuscripts of *Arg.* is 52. Their evidence is supplemented by more than 30 papyri of the Roman period and many citations in preserved works of Byzantine scholarship, notably the so-called *Etymologicum Genuinum* and the *Etymologicum Magnum*. Both this 'indirect' tradition and the papyri preserve many good readings where some or all of the manuscripts have been corrupted, and they attest to the large number of variants already in texts of the poem in antiquity.

The most important manuscripts fall into three groups:

- (i) Group *m*: The two principal members of this group are L, the oldest manuscript of *Arg.* (A.D. 960–80), which also contains

¹⁸⁶ 21.9% of A.'s verses are purely dactylic, as against 19.1% for the *Iliad*, 18.6% for the *Odyssey* and 22.3% for Callimachus. The figures are more striking for verses with not more than one spondee: 61.3% *Il.*, 58.9% *Od.*, 67.4% *Arg.*, 73.1% Call. I derive these figures from B. A. van Groningen, *La Poésie verbale grecque* (Amsterdam 1953) 202. The percentages for Callimachus will require adjustment to take account of recent discoveries.

¹⁸⁷ For the meaningful use of this metrical effect cf. 670n.

¹⁸⁸ Cf. nn. on 3–4, 146–8, 284, 746, 750.

¹⁸⁹ Cf. 253n.

¹⁹⁰ Cf. Fränkel (1964), Vian I xl–lxvii, II ix–xi, Haslam (1978). All information about MSS readings is taken from Vian's edition.

the fullest body of scholia and a rich selection of variant readings and interlinear glosses, and A (early fifteenth century).

- (ii) Group *w*: S, written in A.D. 1280 for Maximus Planudes, and G (early fourteenth century).
- (iii) Group *k*: The chief manuscript of this so-called 'Cretan' group, is E (late fifteenth century). This group, notably P, also carries a very valuable collection of scholia. One class of E.'s descendants (CDQR) is the work of Demetrius Moschus and sometimes preserves good readings which have been lost elsewhere, perhaps more because of Moschus' eclectic consultation of manuscripts than his gift for conjecture.

The apparatus which accompanies the text is extremely selective. Silence should never be interpreted as a sign that the tradition is unanimous, although it is hoped that all places where there is real doubt about what A. wrote have been clearly signalled.

ADDENDA (1998)

The opportunity offered by a reprinting has been taken to make a few bibliographical addenda. Considerations of space mean that it has not been possible to do justice to the explosion of critical writing about *Arg.* during the past decade.

- (i) The first volume (vv. 1–471) of Malcolm Campbell's large-scale commentary on *Arg.* 3 was published by Brill in 1994. Two annotated English translations of the whole poem have appeared:

R. Hunter, *Apollonius of Rhodes. Jason and the Golden Fleece (The Argonautica)* (Oxford 1993, paperback 1995)

P. Green, *The Argonautika by Apollonius Rhodios* (Berkeley 1997).

- (ii) Many of the issues raised in this book may be pursued further in R. Hunter, *The Argonautica of Apollonius. Literary Studies* (Cambridge 1993).

- (iii) Miscellaneous

pp. 1–9 On the *Lives* cf. A. Rengakos, *Wiener Studien* 105 (1992) 39–67.

pp. 12–21 On the myth cf. P. Dräger, *Argo Pasimelousa: der Argonautenmythos in der griechischen und römischen Literatur* (Stuttgart 1993).

p. 14 On the *Odyssey* and the Argonautic myth cf. G. Crane, *Classical Antiquity* 6 (1987) 11–37.

p. 29 On Medea cf. S.A. Natzel, Κλέα γυναικῶν. *Frauen in den 'Argonautika' des Apollonios Rhodios* (Bochum 1992).

p. 30 On Apollonius' use of Homer cf. V. Knight, *The Renewal of Epic* (Leiden 1995).

p. 36 On Apollonius and the interpretation of Homer cf. A. Rengakos, *Apollonios Rhodios und die antike Homererklärung* (Munich 1994).

SIGLA

1. *Papyri*

- Π¹ *P. Oxy.* 2699 (saec. III)
 Π² *P. Argentorat.* 173 (saec. VIII–IX)
 Π³ *P. Oxy.* 874 (saec. II–III)
 Π⁴ *P. Oxy.* 690 (saec. III)
 Π⁵ *P. Oxy.* 691 (saec. II)
 Π⁶ *P. Oxy.* 2693 (saec. II in.)
 Π⁷ *P. Oxy.* 1243 (saec. II)
 Π⁸ *P. Berol.* 17020 (saec. VII–VIII)
 Π⁹ *P. Mil.* 121 (saec. IV)
 Π¹⁰ *P. Berol.* 13248 (saec. V)

2. *Manuscripts*

- (i) codd. consensus codicum omnium
 Ω consensus codicum plurimorum
 Σ scholiasta, scholia
- (ii) L Laurentianus gr. 32, 9 (A.D. 960–80)
 A Ambrosianus gr. 120 (saec. XV in.)
 S Laurentianus gr. 32, 16 (A.D. 1280)
 G Guelferbytanus Aug. 4^o 10.2 (saec. XIV)
 E Scorialensis gr. Σ III 3 (saec. XV ex.)
 m codex deperditus e quo LA descripti sunt
 w codex deperditus e quo SG descripti sunt
- (iii) I Matritensis gr. 4691 (A.D. 1465), ex cod. S descriptus
 V Vaticanus Pal. gr. 186 (saec. XV), ex cod. L descriptus
 Y Vaticanus gr. 36 (saec. XV)
- (iv) B Bruxellensis 18170–73 (A.D. 1489)
 H Parisinus gr. 2728 (saec. XV ex.)
 J Estensis gr. 112 (saec. XV ex.)
 O Parisinus gr. 2845 (saec. XV ex. – XVI)

- (v) C Casanatensis gr. 408 (saec. xv ex. – xvi in.)
 D Parisinus gr. 2729 (saec. xv ex. – xvi in.)
 Q Vaticanus gr. 37 (saec. xv ex. – xvi in.)
 R Vaticanus gr. 1358 (saec. xvi in.)
 d consensus codicum CDQR
- (vi) F Parisinus gr. 2846 (saec. xv ex.)
 N Ambrosianus gr. 477 (saec. xv ex.)
 W Vratislavis Rehdigeranus 35 (A.D. 1488)
 Z Parisinus gr. 2844 (saec. xv ex.)
- (vii) Flor. *editio princeps* of *Arg.* by J. Lascaris, Florence 1496

3. *Abbreviations*

- L^{sl} L supra lineam
 L^{mg} L in margine
 L^{ac} L ante correctionem
 L^{pc} L post correctionem
 L^{v.l.} uaria lectio in L
 L² manus secunda in L
 L^{gl} glossema in L
 Σ^{lem} lemma scholiastae

ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΙΟΥ ΡΟΔΙΟΥ
ΑΡΓΟΝΑΥΤΙΚΩΝ Γ

εἰ δ' ἄγε νῦν, Ἐρατώ, παρά θ' ἴστασο καί μοι ἔνισπε
ἔνθεν ὅπως ἐς Ἴωλκὸν ἀνήγαγε κῶας Ἰήσων
Μηδείης ὑπ' ἔρωτι. σὺ γάρ καὶ Κύπριδος αἴσαν
ἔμμορες, ἀδμήτας δὲ τεοῖς μελεδήμασι θέλγεις
παρθενικάς· τῷ καὶ τοι ἐπήρατον οὖνομ' ἀνήπται.

5

ὡς οἱ μὲν πυκνοῖσιν ἀνωῖστως δονάκεσσι
μίμνον ἀριστῆες λελοχημένοι· αἱ δ' ἐνόησαν
Ἥρη Ἀθηναίη τε, Διὸς δ' αὐτοῖο καὶ ἄλλων
ἀθανάτων ἀπονόσφι θεῶν θάλαμόνδε κιοῦσαι
βούλευον. πείραζε δ' Ἀθηναίην πάρος Ἥρη·

10

“αὐτὴ νῦν προτέρη, θύγατερ Διός, ἄρχεο βουλήσ.
τί χρέος; ἦε δόλον τινὰ μήσεαι ὧι κεν ἐλόντες
χρῦσεον Αἰήταο μεθ' Ἑλλάδα κῶας ἄγοιντο;
οὐκ ἄρ τόν γ' ἐπέεσσι παραιφάμενοι πεπίθοιεν
μειλιχίοις· ἦτοι μὲν ὑπερφίαλος πέλει αἰνώσ,
ἔμπης δ' οὐ τίνα πείραν ἀποτρωπάσθαι ἔοικεν.”

15

ὡς φάτο· τὴν δὲ παρᾶσσον Ἀθηναίη προσέειπε·
“καὶ δ' αὐτὴν ἐμὲ τοῖα μετὰ φρεσίν ὀρμαίνουσας,
Ἥρη, ἀπηλεγέως ἐξείρειαι. ἀλλὰ τοι οὐ πω
φράσσασθαι νοέω τοῦτον δόλον ὅς τις ὀνήσει
θυμὸν ἀριστήων· πολέας δ' ἐπεδοίασα βουλάς.”

20

ἦ· καὶ ἐπ' οὐδεὸς αἶ γε ποδῶν πάρος ὄμματ' ἔπηξαν,
ἄνδιχα πορφύρουσαι ἐνὶ σφίσιν· αὐτίκα δ' Ἥρη
τοῖον μητιόωσα παροιτέρη ἔκφατο μῦθον·

“δεῦρ' ἴομεν μετὰ Κύπριν· ἐπιπλόμεναι δέ μιν ἄμφω
παιδί ἑῷ εἰπεῖν ὀτρύνομεν, αἶ κε πίθηται

25

1 παρ' ἔμ' Choeroboscus 1312.27 (codd. NV) et n 403.13 Hilgard 3 σὺ γάρ
δη Hunter 14 οὐκ ἄρ Π¹: ἦ καὶ codd.: οὐκ ἄν Lloyd-Jones: οὐ γάρ
Hunter 15 ἦτοι μὲν Π¹: ἦ [ἦ G εἰ Gst] γὰρ ὁ μὲν Ω: ἦ γάρ δδ' E
26 αἶ κε πίθηται codd.:]νετε[Π¹, sed lectio incerta

κούρην Αιήτεω πολυφάρμακον οἶσι βέλεσσι
θέλξαι οἰστεύσας ἐπ' Ἴησони. τὸν δ' ἄν οἶω
κείνης ἐννεσίησιν ἐς Ἑλλάδα κῶας ἀνάξειν.”

ὥς ἄρ' ἔφη· πυκινὴ δὲ συνεύαδε μῆτις Ἀθήνηι,
καὶ μιν ἔπειτ' ἐξαυτίς ἀμείβετο μελιχίοισιν·

“Ἥρη, νῆιδα μὲν με πατήρ τέκε τοῖο βολάων,
οὐδέ τινα χρεῖω θελκτῆριον οἶδα πόθοιο·
εἰ δὲ σοὶ αὐτῇ μῦθος ἐφάνδανει, ἧ τ' ἄν ἔγωγε
ἔσποίμην, σὺ δὲ κεν φαίης ἔπος ἀντιόωσα.”

ἦ, καὶ ἀναΐξασαι ἐπὶ μέγα δῶμα νέοντο
Κύπριδος, ὃ ρά τέ οἱ δεῖμεν πόσις ἀμφιγυήεις,
ὀππότε μιν τὰ πρῶτα παραί Διὸς ἦγεν ἄκοιτιν.
ἔρκεα δ' εἰσελθοῦσαι, ὑπ' αἰθούσῃι θαλάμιοι
ἔσαν, ἴν' ἐντύνεσκε θεὰ λέχος Ἥφαιστοιο.
ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν ἐς χαλκῶνα καὶ ἄκμονας ἦρι βεβῆκει,
νῆσοιο Πλαγκτῆς εὐρύν μυχόν, ὧι ἐνὶ πάντα
δαίδαλα χάλκευεν ῥιπῆι πυρός· ἧ δ' ἄρα μούνη
ἦστο δόμωι δινωτόν ἀνὰ θρόνον ἄντα θυράων.
λευκοῖσιν δ' ἐκάτερθε κόμας ἐπιειμένη ὤμοις
κόσμηι χρυσεῖι διὰ κερκίδι, μέλλε δὲ μακροῦς
πλέξασθαι πλοκάμους· τὰς δὲ προπάροισιν ἰδοῦσα
ἔσχεθεν εἴσω τέ σφε κάλει, καὶ ἀπὸ θρόνου ὤρτο
εἰσέ τ' ἐνὶ κλισμοῖσιν· ἀτὰρ μετέπειτα καὶ αὐτῇ
ἴζανεν, ἀψήκτους δὲ χεροῖν ἀνεδήσατο χαίτας.
τοῖα δὲ μειδιόωσα προσέννεπεν αἰμυλίοισιν·

“ἠθεῖαι, τίς δεῦρο νόος χρεῖω τε κοιμίζει
δηναϊὰς αὐτως; τί δ' ἰκάνετον, οὐ τι πάρος γε
λίην φοιτίζουσαι, ἐπεὶ περίεστε θεάων;”

τὴν δ' Ἥρη τοίοισιν ἀμειβομένη προσέειπε·

“κερτομέεις, νῶϊν δὲ κέαρ συνορίνεται ἄτηι.
ἦδη γὰρ ποταμῶι ἐνὶ Φάσιδι νῆα κατίσχει
Αἰσονίδης ἡδ' ἄλλοι ὅσοι μετὰ κῶας ἔπονται·
τῶν ἦτοι πάντων μὲν, ἐπεὶ πέλας ἔργον ὄρωρε,

δεῖδιμεν ἐκπάγλως, περὶ δ' Αἰσονίδαο μάλιστα.

τὸν μὲν ἐγών, εἰ καὶ περ ἐς Ἄϊδα ναυτίλληται
λυσόμενος χαλκῶν Ἴζιονα νεῖοθι δεσμῶν,
ῥύσομαι, ὅσσον ἐμοῖσιν ἐνὶ σθένος ἔπλετο γυίοις,
ᾄφρα μὴ ἐγγελάσῃ Πελήϊς κακὸν οἶτον ἀλύξας,
ὅς μ' ὑπερηνορέηι θυέων ἀγέραστον ἔθηκε.

καὶ δ' ἄλλως ἔτι καὶ πρὶν ἐμοὶ μέγα φίλατ' Ἴησων,
ἐξότ' ἐπὶ προχοῆσιν ἄλις πλήθοντος Ἀναῦρου
ἀνδρῶν εὐνομῆς πειρωμένηι ἀντεβόλησε,
θήρης ἐξανιών· νιφετῶι δ' ἐπαλύνετο πάντα
οὔρεα καὶ σκοπιαὶ περιμήκεες, οἱ δὲ κατ' αὐτῶν
χείμαρροι καναχηδὰ κυλινδόμενοι φορέοντο.
γρηὶ δὲ μ' εἰσαμένην ὀλοφύρατο, καὶ μ' ἀναείρας
αὐτὸς ἐοῖς ὤμοισι διέκ προαλὲς φέρεν ὕδωρ.
τῶ νύ μοι ἄλληκτον περιτίεται· οὐδέ κε λῶβην
τίσειεν Πελήϊς, εἰ μὴ σύ γε νόστον ὀπάσσεις.”

ὥς ἡῦδα· Κύπριν δ' ἐνεοστασίη λάβε μύθων.

ἄζετο δ' ἀντομένην Ἥρην ἔθεν εἰσορόωσα,
καὶ μιν ἔπειτ' ἀγανοῖσι προσέννεπεν ἧ γ' ἐπέεσι·

“πότνα θεά, μὴ τοί τι κακώτερον ἄλλο πέλοιτο
Κύπριδος, εἰ δὴ σείο λιλαιομένης ἀθερίζω
ἧ ἔπος ἦέ τι ἔργον ὃ κεν χέρες αἶδε κάμοιεν
ἠπεδαναί· καὶ μὴ τις ἀμοιβαίη χάρις ἔστω.”

ὥς ἔφασθ'· Ἥρη δ' αὐτίς ἐπιφραδέως ἀγόρευσεν·

“οὐ τι βίης χατέουσαι ἰκάνομεν οὐδέ τι χειρῶν·
ἀλλ' αὐτως ἀκέουσα τεῶι ἐπικέκλεο παιδί
παρθένον Αἰήτεω θέλξαι πόθωι Αἰσονίδαο.

εἰ γὰρ οἱ κείνη συμφράσσεται εὐμένεουσα,
ῥηιδίως μιν ἐλόντα δέρος χρύσειον οἶω
νοστήσειν ἐς Ἴωλκόν, ἐπεὶ δολόεσσα τέτυκται.”

ὥς ἄρ' ἔφη· Κύπρις δὲ μετ' ἀμφοτέρησιν ἔειπεν·

“Ἥρη Ἀθηναίη τε, πίθοιτό κεν ὕμμι μάλιστα

42 Πλαγκτῆς Hölzlin: πλ- codd. ὧι Ω: ἦι E

74 νύ B²: νῦν Ω 75 ὀπάσσεις w: -σσης m 76 δ' ἐνεο- (uel δ' ἀνεο-)
Bigot, Ruhnken: δὲ νεο- codd. 81 χέρες Sd: χείρες Ω αἶδε D: αἶγε Ω

ἢ ἔμοι. ὑμείων γὰρ ἀναιδήτῳ περ ἔοντι
 τυτθὴ γ' αἰδῶς ἔσσει· ἐν ὄμμασιν· αὐτὰρ ἔμεϊο
 οὐκ ὄθεται, μάλα δ' αἰὲν ἐριδιμαίνων ἀθερίζει.
 καὶ δὴ οἱ μενέηνα, περισχομένη κακότητι,
 αὐτοῖσιν τόξοισι δυσηχέας ἄξαι ὀιστοῦς
 ἀμφαδίην. τοῖον γὰρ ἐπηπέιλησε χαλεφθεῖς·
 εἰ μὴ τηλόθι χεῖρας, ἕως ἔτι θυμὸν ἐρύκει,
 ἔξω ἑμάς, μετέπειτ' αὖ ἀτεμβοίμην εἰοῖ αὐτῆι.”
 ὣς φάτο· μείδησαν δὲ θεαὶ καὶ ἐσέδρακον ἄντην
 ἀλλήλαις. ἢ δ' αὐτίς ἀκηχεμένη προσέειπεν·
 “ἄλλοις ἄλγεα τὰμὰ γέλωσ πέλει, οὐδέ τί με χρὴ
 μυθεῖσθαι πάντεσσιν· ἄλις εἰδύια καὶ αὐτῆ.
 νῦν δ' ἐπεὶ ὕμμι φίλον τόδε δὴ πέλει ἀμφοτέρησι,
 πειρήσω καὶ μιν μελίζομαι, οὐδ' ἀπιθήσει.”
 ὣς φάτο· τὴν δ' Ἥρη ῥαδινῆς ἐπεμάσασατο χειρὸς,
 ἦκα δὲ μειδιόωσα παραβλήδην προσέειπεν·
 “οὕτω νῦν, Κυθέρεια, τόδε χρέος, ὡς ἀγορεύεις,
 ἔρξον ἄφαρ· καὶ μὴ τι χαλέπτεο μηδ' ἐρίδαινε
 χωρομένη σῶι παιδί· μεταλλάξει γὰρ ὀπίσσω.”
 ἢ ῥα καὶ ἔλλιπε θῶκον, ἐφωμάρτησε δ' Ἀθήνη·
 ἐκ δ' ἴσαν ἄμφω ταῖ γε παλίσσυτοι. ἢ δὲ καὶ αὐτῆ
 βῆ ῥ' ἴμεν Οὐλύμποιο κατὰ πτύχας, εἴ μιν ἐφεύροι.
 εὔρε δὲ τόν γ' ἀπάνευθε, Διὸς θαλερῆι ἐν ἄλωγι,
 οὐκ οἶον, μετὰ καὶ Γανυμήδεα, τόν ῥα ποτε Ζεὺς
 οὐρανῶι ἐγκατένασεν ἐφέστιον ἀθανάτοισι,
 κάλλεος ἱμερθεῖς. ἀμφ' ἀστραγάλοισι δὲ τῷ γε
 χρυσείοις, ἅ τε κοῦροι ὀμήθεες, ἐψιόνωντο.
 καὶ ῥ' ὁ μὲν ἤδη πάμπαν ἐνίπλεον ὦι ὑπὸ μαζῶι
 μάργος Ἔρωσ λαίης ὑποῖσχανε χειρὸς ἀγοστόν,
 ὀρθὸς ἐφεστηώς· γλυκερόν δὲ οἱ ἀμφὶ παρειᾶς
 χροίης θάλλεν ἔρευθος. ὁ δ' ἐγγύθεν ὀκλαδὸν ἦστο

95 περίσχομένη Vian
 110 μεταλλάξει Madvig
 E: -ῆι Ω

99 γ' codd.: κ' Madvig 101 ἀλλήλας Ziegler
 120 ἀγοστόν E: -στῶι Ω 122 χροίης

σῖγα κατηφίῳν· δοιῶ δ' ἔχεν, ἄλλον ἔτ' αὐτως
 ἄλλωι ἐπιπροΐεις, κεχόλωτο δὲ καγχαλόωντι.
 καὶ μὴν τοὺς γε παρᾶσσον ἐπὶ προτέροισιν ὀλέσσας,
 βῆ κενεαῖς σὺν χερσὶν ἀμήχανος, οὐδ' ἐνόησε
 Κύπριν ἐπιπλομένην. ἢ δ' ἀντὶ ἴστατο παιδὸς,
 καὶ μιν ἄφαρ γναθμοῖο κατασχομένη προσέειπε·
 “τίπτ' ἐπιμειδιάαις, ἄφατον κακόν; ἦέ μιν αὐτως
 ἦπαφες οὐδὲ δίκη περιέπλεο, νῆιν ἔοντα;
 εἰ δ' ἄγε μοι πρόφρων τέλεσον χρέος ὅττι κεν εἴπω,
 καὶ κέν τοι ὀπάσαιμι Διὸς περικαλλῆς ἄθυρμα
 κείνο τό οἱ ποίησε φίλη τροφὸς Ἀδρήστεια
 ἄντρωι ἐν Ἰδαίωι ἐτι νήπια κουρίζοντι,
 σφαῖραν εὐτρόχαλον, τῆς οὐ σύ γε μείλιον ἄλλο
 χειρῶν Ἠφαίστοιο κατακτεατίσσηι ἄρειον.
 χρύσεια μὲν οἱ κύκλα τετεύχεται, ἀμφὶ δ' ἐκάστωι
 διπλόαι ἀψίδες περιηγέες εἰλίσσονται·
 κρυπταὶ δὲ ῥαφαὶ εἰσιν, ἕλιξ δ' ἐπιδέδρομε πάσαις
 κυανῆ· ἀτὰρ εἴ μιν ἑαῖς ἐνὶ χερσὶ βάλοιο,
 ἀστήρ ὡς φλεγέθοντα δι' ἠέρος ὀλκὸν ἴησι.
 τὴν τοι ἐγὼν ὀπάσω· σὺ δὲ παρθένον Αἰήταο
 θέλξον ὀιστεύσας ἐπ' Ἰήσωνι· μηδέ τις ἔστω
 ἀμβολίη, δὴ γὰρ κεν ἀφαιροτέρη χάρις εἴη.”
 ὣς φάτο· τῶι δ' ἀσπαστόν ἔπος γένετ' εἰσαῖοντι.
 μείλια δ' ἔκβαλε πάντα καὶ ἀμφοτέρησι χιτῶνος
 νωλεμές ἔνθα καὶ ἔνθα θεᾶν ἔχεν ἀμφιμεμαρπώς·
 λίσσετο δ' αἶψα πορεῖν, αὐτοσχεδόν. ἢ δ' ἀγανοῖσιν
 ἄντομένη μύθοισιν ἐπειρύσασα παρειᾶς
 κύσσε ποτισχομένη, καὶ ἀμείβετο μειδιόωσα·
 “ἴστω νῦν τόδε σεῖο φίλον κάρη ἢδ' ἐμόν αὐτῆς·
 ἦ μὲν τοι δῶρόν γε παρέξομαι οὐδ' ἀπατήσω,
 εἴ κεν ἐνισκίμψῃς κούρηι βέλος Αἰήταο.”
 φῆ' ὁ δ' ἄρ' ἀστραγάλους συναμήσατο, κὰδ δὲ φαινῶι

147 θεᾶν Fränkel: θεᾶς codd. ἔχετ' Brunck 149 ἐπειρύσασα Brunck:
 -ρύσασα uel -ρείσασα codd.

μητρὸς ἑῆς, εὖ πάντας ἀριθμήσας, βάλε κόλπῳι.
 αὐτίκα δ' ἰοδόκην χρυσέην περικάτθετο μήτρι
 πρέμνῳι κεκλιμένην, ἀνά δ' ἀγκύλον εἶλετο τόξον.
 βῆ δὲ διέκ μεγάλοιο θεοῦ πάγκαρπον ἀλωήν,
 αὐτὰρ ἔπειτα πύλας ἐξήλυθεν Οὐλύμποιο
 αἰθερίας. ἔνθεν δὲ καταιβάτις ἐστὶ κέλευθος
 οὐρανίη· δοιῶ δὲ πόλον ἀνέχουσι κάρηνα
 οὐρέων ἠλιβάτων, κορυφαὶ χθονός, ἥχι τ' ἀερθεῖς
 ἠέλιος πρώτησιν ἐρεύθεται ἀκτίνεσσι.
 νεϊόθι δ' ἄλλοτε γαῖα φερέσβιος ἄστέα τ' ἀνδρῶν
 φαίνετο καὶ ποταμῶν ἱεροὶ ῥόοι, ἄλλοτε δ' αὐτε
 ἄκριες, ἀμφὶ δὲ πόντος, ἀν' αἰθέρα πολλὸν ἰόντι.
 ἦρωες δ' ἀπάνευθεν ἑῆς ἐπὶ σέλμασι νηὸς
 ἐν ποταμῶι καθ' ἔλος λελοχημένοι ἠγορόωντο.
 αὐτὸς δ' Αἰσονίδης μετεφώνεεν· οἱ δ' ὑπάκουον
 ἠρέμα ἦ ἐνὶ χώρῃι ἐπισχερῶ ἐδριόωντες·
 “ὦ φίλοι, ἦτοι ἐγὼ μὲν ὁ μοι ἐπιανδάνει αὐτῶι
 ἐξερέω, τοῦ δ' ὕμμι τέλος κρηθῆναι ἔοικε.
 ξυνή γὰρ χρειῶ, ξυνοὶ δέ τε μῦθοι ἔασι
 πᾶσιν ὁμῶς· ὁ δὲ σῖγα νόον βουλήν τ' ἀπερύκων
 ἴστω καὶ νόστου τόνδε στόλον οἶος ἀπούρας.
 ὦλλοι μὲν κατὰ νῆα σὺν ἔντεσι μίμνεθ' ἔκηλοι·
 αὐτὰρ ἐγὼν ἐς δώματ' ἐλεύσομαι Αἰήταο,
 υἱᾶς ἐλών Φρίξοιο δῦω τ' ἐπὶ τοῖσιν ἐταίρους.
 πειρήσω δ' ἐπέεσσι παροίτερον ἀντιβολήσας,
 εἴ κ' ἐθέλοι φιλότῃτι δέρος χρύσειον ὀπάσσαι,
 ἦε καὶ οὐ, πῖσυνος δὲ βίηι μετιόντας ἀτίσσει.
 ὦδε γὰρ ἐξ αὐτοῖο πάρος κακότητα δαέντες
 φρασσόμεθ' εἴ τ' Ἄρηϊ συνοισόμεθ' εἴ τέ τις ἄλλη
 μῆτις ἐπίρροθος ἔσται ἔεργοιμένοισιν αὐτῆς.
 μηδ' αὐτῶς ἀλκῆι, πρὶν ἔπεσσί γε πειρηθῆναι,

158 μεγάλοιο θ[Π², suppl. Wifstrand: μεγάλοιο Διὸς codd. 161 πόλον Platt:
 πόλοιο codd.: πόλονδ' Fränkel 164 ἄλλοτε E: -οθι Ω 166 αἰθέρα E²: -ερι Ω
 185 ἔπεσσι E: ἐπέεσσι Ω

τόνδ' ἀπαμείρωμεν σφέτερον κτέρας· ἀλλὰ πάροιθεν
 λωίτερον μύθῳι μιν ἀρῆσασθαί μετιόντας.
 πολλακί τοι ῥέα μῦθος, ὁ κεν μόλις ἐξανύσειεν
 ἠγορέη, τόδ' ἔρεξε κατὰ χρέος, ἦι περ ἐώικει
 πρηῦνας. ὁ δὲ καὶ ποτ' ἀμύμονα Φρίξον ἔδεκτο
 μητρουῖης φεύγοντα δόλον πατρός τε θυηλάς,
 πάντες ἐπεὶ πάντηι, καὶ ὁ τις μάλα κύντατος ἀνδρῶν,
 Ξεινίου αἰδεῖται Ζηνὸς θέμιν ἠδ' ἀλεγίζει.”
 ὡς φάτ'· ἐπήνησαν δὲ νέοι ἔπος Αἰσονίδαο
 πασσυδίηι, οὐδ' ἔσκε παρέξ ὁ τις ἄλλο κελεύοι.
 καὶ τότε ἄρ' υἱῆας Φρίξου Τελαμῶνά θ' ἔπεσθαί
 ὤρσε καὶ Ἀυγείην· αὐτὸς δ' ἔλεν Ἑρμείαο
 σκῆπτρον. ἄφαρ δ' ἄρα νηὸς ὑπὲρ δόνακάς τε καὶ ὕδωρ
 χέρσονδ' ἐξαπέβησαν ἐπὶ θρωσμοῦ πεδίοιο.
 Κίρκαιον τό γε δὴ κικλήσκειται· ἔνθα δὲ πολλαὶ
 ἐξείης πρόμαλοι τε καὶ ἰτέαι ἔμπεφύασι,
 τῶν καὶ ἐπ' ἀκροτάτων νέκυες σειρήησι κρέμανται
 δέσμοιοι. εἰσέτι νῦν γὰρ ἄγος Κόλχοισιν ὄρωρεν
 ἀνέρας οἰχομένους πυρὶ καιέμεν· οὐδ' ἐνὶ γαίῃ
 ἔστι θέμις στείλαντας ὕπερθ' ἐπὶ σῆμα χέεσθαι,
 ἀλλ' ἐν ἀδεψήτοισι κατειλύσαντε βοεαῖς
 δενδρέων ἐξάπτειν ἐκάς ἄσπεος. ἠέρι δ' ἴσην
 καὶ χθῶν ἔμμορεν αἶσαν, ἐπεὶ χθονὶ ταρχύουσι
 θηλυτέρας· ἠ γὰρ τε δίκη θεσμοῖο τέτυκται.
 τοῖσι δὲ νισομένοις Ἥρη φίλα μητιώωσα
 ἠέρα πουλύν ἐφῆκε δι' ἄσπεος, ὄφρα λάθοιεν
 Κόλχων μυρίον ἔθνος ἐς Αἰήταο κίοντες.
 ὦκα δ' ὅτ' ἐκ πεδίοιο πόλιν καὶ δώμαθ' ἴκοντο
 Αἰήτεω, τότε δ' αὐτίς ἀπεσκέδασεν νέφος Ἥρη.

198 ἄρα E: ἀνά Ω 200 τόγε [τότε Etym. Mag.] δὴ Σ¹, Etym. Gen.^B et Etym.
 Mag. s.u. Κίρκαιον, Etym. Gen.^A s.u. κίρκον: τόδε που codd. 201 πρό-
 μαλοὶ Etym. Gen.^A loc. cit., Etym. Gen.^{AB} s.u. πρόμαλοι: πρόμαδοὶ codd.
 ἔμπεφύασι D, Etym. Gen.^{AB} s.u. πρόμαλοι et (A) s.u. κίρκον: ἐκπε- Ω
 206 κατειλύσαντε m: -σαντες ωD 209 τε Brunck: κε codd.
 211 ἄργεος Campbell

ἔσταν δ' ἐν προμολῆσι, τεθηπότες ἔρκε' ἄνακτος
 εὐρείας τε πύλας καὶ κίονας οἱ περὶ τοίχους
 ἐξείης ἀνεχον· θριγκὸς δ' ἐφύπερθε δόμοιο
 λαΐνεος χαλκήσιον ἐπὶ γλυφίδεσσιν ἀρήρει.
 εὐκῆλοι δ' ὑπὲρ οὐδὸν ἔπειτ' ἔβαν. ἄγχι δὲ τοῖο
 ἡμερίδες χλοεροῖσι καταστεφείες πετάλοισιν
 ὑψοῦ ἀειρόμεναι μέγ' ἐθήλεον, αἱ δ' ὑπὸ τῆσι
 ἀνάοι κρῆναι πίσυρες ῥέον, ἃς ἐλάχηνεν
 Ἥφαιστος· καὶ ῥ' ἡ μὲν ἀναβλύσκε γάλακτι,
 ἡ δ' οἴνωι, τριτάτη δὲ θυώδει νᾶεν ἀλοιοφῆι·
 ἡ δ' ἄρ' ὕδωρ προρέεσκε, τὸ μὲν ποθι δυομένησι
 θερμετο Πληιάδεσσιν, ἀμοιβηδὶς δ' ἀνιούσαις
 κρυστάλλωι ἴκελον κοίλης ἀνεκῆκιε πέτρης.
 τοῖ' ἄρ' ἐνὶ μεγάροισι Κυταίεος Αἰήταο
 τεχνῆεις Ἥφαιστος ἐμήσατο θέσκελα ἔργα·
 καὶ οἱ χαλκόποδας ταύρους κάμε, χάλκεα δὲ σφρων
 ἦν στόματ', ἐκ δὲ πυρὸς δεινὸν σέλας ἀμπνέεσκον·
 πρὸς δὲ καὶ αὐτόγυον στιβαροῦ ἀδάμαντος ἄροτρον
 ἤλασεν, Ἥελίωι τίνων χάριν, ὃς ῥά μιν ἵπποις
 δέξατο Φλεγραΐηι κεκμηότα δημοτῆτι.
 ἔνθα δὲ καὶ μέσσαυλος ἐλήλατο, τῆι δ' ἐπὶ πολλὰι
 δικλίδες εὐπηγεῖς θάλαμοί τ' ἔσαν ἔνθα καὶ ἔνθα·
 δαιδαλέη δ' αἶθουσα παρέξ ἐκάτερθε τέτυκτο.
 λέχρις δ' αἰπύτεροι δόμοι ἔστασαν ἀμφοτέρωθεν·
 τῶν ἦτοι ἄλλον μὲν, ὃ τις καὶ ὑπείροχος ἦεν,
 κρείων Αἰήτης σὺν ἔῃι ναίσκε δάμαρτι,
 ἄλλον δ' Ἄψυρτος ναῖεν πάσις Αἰήταο.
 τὸν μὲν Καυκασίη Νύμφη τέκεν Ἄστερόδεια
 πρὶν περ κουριδίην θέσθαι Εἴδουαν ἄκοιτιν,
 Τηθύος Ὠκεανοῦ τε πανοπλοτάτην γεγαῖαν·
 καὶ μιν Κόλχων υἱῆς ἐπωνυμίην Φαέθοντα

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218 χαλκήσιον E: -είας Ω 225 προρέεσκε L²AG: προέσκε LSE:
 προέσκε Vian, Fränkel 239 ἄλλον SE: -ων LAGD 241 ἄλλον wD:
 -ωι m 243 Εἴδουαν Vian: -ῖαν codd.

ἔκλεον, οὐνεκα πᾶσι μετέπρεπεν ἡθέοισι.
 τοὺς δ' ἔχον ἀμφίπολοι τε καὶ Αἰήταο θύγατραι
 ἄμφω, Χαλκίοπη Μήδειά τε. τῆι μὲν ἄρ' οἱ γε
 <.....>
 ἐκ θαλάμου θάλαμόνδε κασιγνήτην μετιούσαν.
 Ἥρη γάρ μιν ἔρυκε δόμωι· πρὶν δ' οὐ τι θάμιζεν
 ἐν μεγάροισι, Ἐκάτης δὲ πανήμερος ἀμπεπονείτο
 νηόν, ἐπεὶ ῥα θεῆς αὐτῆ πέλεν ἀρήτειρα.
 καὶ σφειας ὡς ἴδεν ἄσσον, ἀνίαχεν. ὄξυ δ' ἄκουσε
 Χαλκίοπη· δμῶαί δὲ <ποδῶν> προπάροιθε βαλοῦσαι
 νήματα καὶ κλωστήρας ἀολλέες ἔκτοθι πᾶσαι
 ἔδραμον. ἡ δ' ἄμα τῆσι ἐοὺς υἱῆς ἰδοῦσα
 ὑψοῦ χάσματι χεῖρας ἀνέσχεθεν· ὡς δὲ καὶ αὐτοὶ
 μητέρα δεξιῶντο καὶ ἀμφαγάπαζον ἰδόντες
 γηθόσυνοι· τοῖον δὲ κινυρομένη φάτο μῦθον·
 “ἔμπης οὐκ ἄρ' ἐμέλλετ' ἀκηδεῖη με λιπόντες
 τηλόθι πλάγξασθαι, μετὰ δ' ὑμέας ἔτραπεν αἴσα.
 δειλῆ ἐγώ, οἶον πόθον Ἑλλάδος ἔκποθεν ἄτης
 λευγαλέης Φρίξιοιο ἐφημοσύνησι ἐθεσθε
 πατρός. ὁ μὲν θνήσκων στυγεράς ἐπετέλλετ' ἀνίας
 ἡμετέρηι κραδίηι· τί δὲ κεν πόλιν Ὀρχομενοῖο,
 ὃς τις ὄδ' Ὀρχομενός, κτεάνων Ἀθάμαντος ἔκητι
 μητέρ' ἐὴν ἀχέουσαν ἀποπρολιπόντες ἴκοισθε;”
 ὡς ἔφατ'· Αἰήτης δὲ πανύστατος ὦρτο θύραζε,
 ἐκ δ' αὐτῆ Εἴδουα δάμαρ κίεν Αἰήταο,
 Χαλκίοπης αἰούσα. τὸ δ' αὐτίκα πᾶν ὀμάδοιο
 ἔρκος ἐπεπλήθει· τοὶ μὲν μέγαν ἀμπεπένοντο
 ταῦρον ἄλις δμῶες, τοὶ δὲ ξύλα κάγκανα χαλκῶι
 κόπτον, τοὶ δὲ λοετρά πυρὶ ζέον· οὐδέ τις ἦεν

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248 τῆι Lw: τῆν AS²: ἡ E οἴγε Ω: ἡε E post hunc uersum lacunam
 statuit Madvig 249 κασιγνήτης I²E μετιούσα E 254 <ποδῶν>
 Chrestien 263 -ησι ἐθεσθε Fränkel: -ησι νέσθαι mG: -ησι νέσθε SD:
 -η[σι]μενεσ[θε] P²: -ησι ἐθεσθε, quod in P² Grenfell-Hunt dispexerunt,
 coniecit Huet 264 ἐπετέλλετ' P²RQ: -τείλατ' Ω 269 Εἴδουα Vian:
 -ῖα codd. 269-70 uariam lectionem habuit P²ms

ὄς καμάτου μεθίεσκεν ὑποδρήσων βασιλῆι.

τόφρα δ' Ἔρωσ πολιοῖο δι' ἠέρος ἴξεν ἄφαντος,
 τερτηχῶς, οἷόν τε νέαις ἐπὶ φορβάσιν οἴστρος
 τέλλεται, ὄν τε μύωπα βοῶν κλείουσι νομῆς.

ᾧκα δ' ὑπὸ φλίην προδόμωι ἐνὶ τόξα τανύσσας
 ἰοδόκης ἀβλήτα πολύστονον ἐξέλετ' ἰόν.

ἐκ δ' ὁ γε καρπαλίμοισι λαθῶν ποσὶν οὐδὸν ἄμειψεν
 ὄξέα δενδίλλων· αὐτῶι δ' ὑπὸ βαιὸς ἔλυσθεῖς

Αἰσονίδηι, γλυφίδας μέσσηι ἐνικάτθετο νευρῆι,

ἰθὺς δ' ἀμφοτέρησι διασχόμενος παλάμησιν

ἦκ' ἐπὶ Μηδείηι· τῆν δ' ἀμφασίη λάβε θυμόν.

αὐτὸς δ' ὑπορόφοιο παλιμπτετὲς ἐκ μεγάρωιο

καγχαλῶν ἦιξε· βέλος δ' ἐνεδαίετο κούρηι

νέρθεν ὑπὸ κραδίηι, φλογὶ εἴκελον· ἀντία δ' αἰεὶ

βάλλεν ἐπ' Αἰσονίδην ἀμαρύγματά, καὶ οἱ ἄηντο

στηθέων ἐκ πυκιναὶ καμάτωι φρένες· οὐδέ τιν' ἄλλην

μνηστὶν ἔχεν, γλυκερῆι δὲ κατείβετο θυμὸν ἀνίηι.

ὡς δὲ γυνὴ μαλερῶι περὶ κάρφρα χεύετο δαλῶι

χερνητῆις, τῆι περ ταλασῆια ἔργα μέμηλεν,

ὡς κεν ὑπωρόφιον νύκτωρ σέλας ἐντύναιτο,

ἄγχι μάλ' ἐζομένη· τὸ δ' ἀθέσφατον ἐξ ὀλίγοιο

δαλοῦ ἀνεγρόμενον σὺν κάρφρα πάντ' ἀμαθύνει·

τοῖος ὑπὸ κραδίηι εἰλυμένος αἶθετο λάθρηι

οὐλος ἔρωσ· ἀπαλὰς δὲ μετετρωπάτο παρειὰς

ἐς χλόον, ἄλλοτ' ἔρευθος, ἀκηδείησι νόοιο.

δμῶς δ' ὀππότε δὴ σφιν ἐπαρτέα θῆκαν ἔδωδῆν,

αὐτοῖ τε λιανοῖσιν ἐφαιδρύναντο λοετροῖς,

ἀσπασίως δόρπωι τε ποτῆτῆι τε θυμὸν ἄρεσσαν.

ἐκ δὲ τοῦ Αἰήτης σφετέρης ἐρέεινε θυγατρὸς

υἱῆας τοίοισι παρηγορέων ἐπέεσσι·

“ παιδὸς ἐμῆς κούροι Φρίξιοί τε, τὸν περὶ πάντων

278 προδόμου D, Etym. Gen.^h s.u. φλιά

291 χεύετο QC

codd.: πῦρ Fränkel

294 ἐζομένη Hemsterhuis: ἐγρομένη Ω

300 ἐφαιδρύνοντο LAG

290 θυμὸς Fitch

295 σὺν

ξείνων ἡμετέροισιν ἐνὶ μεγάρωισιν ἔτισα,
 πῶς Αἰῖανδε νέεσθε παλίσσυτοι; ἦέ τις ἄτη
 σωομένοις μεσσηγὺς ἐνέκλασεν; οὐ μὲν ἐμεῖο
 πείθεσθε προφέροντος ἀπείρονα μέτρα κελεύθου.

ἦιδειν γάρ ποτε πατρὸς ἐν ἄρμασιν Ἥελίοιο
 δινεύσας, ὅτ' ἐμεῖο κασιγνήτην ἐκόμιζεν

Κίρκην ἐσπερίης εἴσω χθονός, ἐκ δ' ἰκόμεσθα
 ἀκτὴν ἠπείρου Τυρσηνίδος, ἐνθ' ἔτι νῦν περ
 ναιετάει, μάλα πολλὸν ἀπόπροθι Κολχίδος Αἴης.

ἀλλὰ τί μύθων ἦδος; ἃ δ' ἐν ποσὶν ὑμῖν ὄρωρεν,
 εἶπατ' ἀριφραδέως, ἦ δ' οἱ τινες οἶδ' ἐφέπονται
 ἀνέρες, ὅππηι τε γλαφυρῆς ἐκ νηὸς ἔβητε.”

τοῖά μιν ἐξερέοντα κασιγνήτων προπάραιθεν
 Ἄργος, ὑποδδείσας ἀμφὶ στόλωι Αἰσονίδας,
 μελιχίως προσέειπεν, ἐπεὶ προγενέστερος ἦεν·

“ Αἰήτη, κείνην μὲν ἄφαρ διέχευαν ἄελλαι

ζαχρηεῖς, αὐτοὺς δ' ὑπὸ δούρατι πεπτηῶτας

νήσου Ἐνυαλίοιο ποτὶ ξερὸν ἔκβαλε κῦμα

λυγαίηι ὑπὸ νυκτί. θεὸς δὲ τις ἄμμ' ἐσάωσεν·

οὐδὲ γὰρ αἶ τὸ πάροιθεν ἐρημαίην κατὰ νῆσον

ηὐλίζοντ' ὄρνιθες Ἀρήϊαι, οὐδ' ἔτι κείνας

εὐρομεν, ἀλλ' οἶδ' ἄνδρες ἀπήλασαν, ἐξαποβάντες

νηὸς ἐῆς προτέρωι ἐνὶ ἡματι. καὶ σφ' ἀπέρυκεν

ἡμέας οἰκτεῖρων Ζηνὸς νόος ἠέ τις αἴσα·

αὐτίκ' ἐπεὶ καὶ βρῶσιν ἄλις καὶ εἶματ' ἔδωκαν,

οὐνομά τε Φρίξιοιο περικλεῆς εἰσαῖοντες

ἦδ' αὐτοῖο σέθεν· μετὰ γὰρ τεδὸν ἄστνυ νέονται.

χρειῶ δ' ἦν ἐθέληις ἐξίδμεναι, οὐ σ' ἐπικεύσω.

τόνδε τις ἰέμενος πάτρης ἀπάνευθεν ἐλάσσαι

καὶ κτεάνων βασιλεύς, περιώσιον οὐνεκεν ἀλκῆι

σφωιτέρηι πάντεσσι μετέπρεπεν Αἰολίδησι,

πέμπει δεῦρο νέεσθαι, ἀμήχανον· οὐδ' ὑπαλύξειν

316 ὅππηι τε S²NRF: ὅπηι τε E: ὀππότε Ω
 Ardizzoni: -ασι codd. 326 οἶδ' S: οἶγ' Ω

321 ἐπὶ Bigot

δούρατι

στεύται ἀμειλίκτιο Διὸς θυμαλγέα μῆιν
καὶ χόλον οὐδ' ἄτλητον ἄγος Φρίξιοί τε ποιναῖς
Αἰολιδέων γενεήν, πρὶν ἐς Ἑλλάδα κῶας ἰκέσθαι.
νῆα δ' Ἀθηναίη Παλλὰς κάμεν, οὐ μάλα τοίην
οἶαί περ Κόλχοισι μετ' ἀνδράσι νῆες ἕασι,
340 τῶων αἰνοτάτης ἐπεκύρσαμεν· ἤλιθα γάρ μιν
λάβρον ὕδωρ πνοιή τε διέτμαγεν. ἡ δ' ἐνὶ γόμοφιοι
ἴσχεται, ἦν καὶ πᾶσαι ἐπιβρίσωσιν ἄελλαι·
ἴσον δ' ἐξ ἀνέμοιο θέει καὶ ὄτ' ἀνέρες αὐτοὶ
345 νωλεμέως χεῖρεσσιν ἐπισπέρχωσιν ἐρετμά.
τῆι δ' ἐναγειράμενος Παναχαΐδης εἶ τι φέριστον
ἠρώων, τεὸν ἄστυ μετήλυθε, πόλλ' ἐπαληθεῖς
ἄστεα καὶ πελάγη στυγερῆς ἁλός, εἴ οἱ ὀπάσσαις.
αὐτῶι δ' ὥς κεν ἄδηι, τῶς ἕσσεται· οὐ γὰρ ἰκάνει
350 χερσὶ βηησόμενος, μέμονεν δέ τοι ἄξια τίσειν
δωτίνης, αἶων ἐμέθεν μέγα δυσμενέοντας
Σαυρομάτας, τοὺς σοῖσιν ὑπὸ σκῆπτροισι δαμάσσει.
εἰ δέ καὶ οὐνομα δῆθεν ἐπιθύεις γενεήν τε
ἴδμεναι οἱ τινές εἰσιν, ἕκαστά γε μυθησαίμην.
355 τόνδε μὲν, οἷό περ οὐνεκ' ἀφ' Ἑλλάδος ὄλλοι ἄγερθεν,
κλείουσ' Αἴσωνος υἱὸν Ἰήσωνα Κρηθεΐδα·
εἰ δ' αὐτοῦ Κρηθῆος ἐτήτυμόν ἐστι γενέθλης,
οὕτω κεν γνωτὸς πατρῷος ἄμμι πέλοιτο·
ἄμφω γὰρ Κρηθεὺς Ἀθάμας τ' ἔσαν Αἰόλου υἱες,
360 Φρίξος δ' αὐτ' Ἀθάμαντος ἔην πάϊς Αἰολίδαο.
τόνδε δ' ἄρ', Ἥελίου γόνον ἐμμεναι εἶ τιν' ἀκούεις
δέρκεαι Αὐγείην· Τελαμῶν δ' ὄδε, κυδίστοιο
Αἰακοῦ ἐκεγεγάς, Ζεὺς δ' Αἰακὸν αὐτὸς ἔτικτεν.
ὥς δέ καὶ ὄλλοι πάντες ὅσοι συνέπονται ἐταῖροι
365 ἀθανάτων υἱές τε καὶ υἰώνοι γεγάασι."
τοῖα παρέννεπεν Ἄργος· ἄναξ δ' ἐπεχῶσατο μύθοις

342 αἰνοτάτης m: -τη (i.e. -τη) w
351 βηησόμενος Y: βηησάμ- Ω
363 ὄδε Campbell: ὄγε codd.

346 ἐρετμά O: -μοῖς Ω: -μούς E
355 κε Brunck 360 υἱε E

εἰσαΐων, ὑψοῦ δὲ χόλωι φρένες ἠερέθοντο.
φῆ δ' ἐπαλαστήσας – μενέαινε δὲ παισὶ μάλιστα
Χαλκιόπης, τῶν γὰρ σφε μετελθέμεν οὐνεκ' ἐώλπει –
370 ἐκ δέ οἱ ὄμματ' ἔλαμψεν ὑπ' ὄφρυσιν ἰεμένοιο·
“οὐκ ἄφαρ ὄφθαλμῶν μοι ἀπόπροθι, λωβητῆρες,
νεῖσθ' αὐτοῖσι δόλοισι παλίσσυτοι ἔκτοθι γαίης,
πρὶν τινα λευγαλέον τε δέρος καὶ Φρίξον ἰδέσθαι;
375 αὐτίχ' ὀμαρτήσαντες ἀφ' Ἑλλάδος, οὐδ' ἐπὶ κῶας,
σκῆπτρα δὲ καὶ τιμὴν βασιληίδα, δεῦρο νέεσθε.
εἰ δέ κε μὴ προπάροιθεν ἐμῆς ἤψασθε τραπέζης,
ἦ τ' ἂν ἀπὸ γλώσσας τε ταμῶν καὶ χεῖρε κεάσσας
ἀμφοτέρας, οἷοισιν ἐπιπροέηκα πόδεσσιν,
ὥς κεν ἐρητύοισθε καὶ ὕστερον ὀρηθῆναι,
380 οἶα δὲ καὶ μακάρεσσιν ἐπεψεύσασθε θεοῖσι.”
φῆ ῥα χαλεπόμενος· μέγα δὲ φρένες Αἰακίδαο
νειόθεν οἰδαινέσκον, ἐέλδετο δ' ἔνδοθι θυμὸς
ἀντιβίην ὀλοὸν φάσθαι ἔπος· ἀλλ' ἀπέρυκεν
Αἰσονίδης, πρὸ γὰρ αὐτὸς ἀμείψατο μελιχίοισιν·
385 “Αἰήτη, σχέο μοι· τῶιδε στόλωι οὐ τι γὰρ αὐτως
ἄστυ τεὸν καὶ δώμαθ' ἰκάνομεν, ὥς που ἔολπας,
οὐδὲ μὲν ἰεμένοι. τίς δ' ἂν τόσον οἶδμα περῆσαι
τλαίη ἐκὼν ὀθνεῖον ἐπὶ κτέρας; ἀλλὰ με δαίμων
390 καὶ κρυερὴ βασιλῆος ἀτασθάλου ὤρσεν ἐφετμή.
δὸς χάριν ἀντομένοισι· σέθεν δ' ἐγὼ Ἑλλάδι πάσῃ
θεσπεσίην οἶσω κληθδὼνα. καὶ δέ τοι ἦδη
πρόφρονές εἰμεν Ἀρηϊ θοῆν ἀποτίσαι ἀμοιβήν,
εἴ τ' οὖν Σαυρομάτας γε λιλαΐεαι εἴ τέ τιν' ἄλλον
395 δῆμον σφωιτέροισιν ὑπὸ σκῆπτροισι δαμάσσαι.”
ἴσκεν ὑποσσαίνων ἀγανῆι ὀπί· τοῖο δὲ θυμὸς
διχθαδίην πόρφυρεν ἐνὶ στήθεσσι μενοιήν,

369 μενέαινε G: -έηνε L^{pc} ASE: -έεινε L^{ac} 370 σφε E: σφι Ω ἐώλπει I² E:
ἐώλπει Ω 374 post hunc uersum lacunam statuit Wilamowitz
375-6 ualde incerti ἐφ' Ἑλλάδα οὐκ E δὲ E: τε Ω νέεσθε I² E Σ¹: -σθαι Ω
379 ἀποπροέηκα D 397 ἐνὶ E: ἐπὶ Ω

ἢ σφεας ὄρηθεις αὐτοσχεδὸν ἐξεναρίζοι,
 ἧ ὅ γε πειρήσαιτο βίης· τό οἱ εἴσατ' ἄρειον
 φραζομένωι, καὶ δὴ μιν ὑποβλήθην προσέειπε·
 400 “ξείνε, τί κεν τὰ ἕκαστα διηνεκέως ἀγορεύοις;
 εἰ γὰρ ἐτήτυμόν ἐστε θεῶν γένος, ἧ καὶ ἄλλως
 οὐδὲν ἐμεῖο χέρηες ἐπ' ὀθνείοισιν ἔβητε,
 δώσω τοι χρύσειον ἄγειν δέρος, ἦν κ' ἐθέλησθα,
 405 πειρηθεῖς· ἐσθλοῖς γὰρ ἐπ' ἀνδράσιν οὐ τι μεγαίρω
 ὡς αὐτοὶ μυθεῖσθε τὸν Ἑλλάδι κοιρανέοντα.
 πείρα δέ τοι μένεός τε καὶ ἀλκῆς ἔσσειτ' ἄεθλος
 τὸν ῥ' αὐτὸς περιέμι χερσῶν, ὀλοόν περ ἔοντα.
 410 δοῖώ μοι πεδίον τὸ Ἀρήιον ἀμφιμένοντα
 ταύρω χαλκόποδε, στόματι φλόγα φυσιόωντες·
 τοὺς ἐλάω ζεύξας στυφελὴν κατὰ νεῖον Ἄρηος
 τετράγυον, τὴν αἴψα ταμών ἐπὶ τέλσον ἀρότρῳ,
 οὐ σπόρον ὀλοκοῖσιν Δηοῦς ἐνιβάλλομαι ἄκτῆς,
 415 ἀλλ' ὄφιός δεινοῖο μεταλδήσκοντας ὀδόντας
 ἀνδράσι τευχηστήσι δέμας· τοὺς δ' αὖθι δαΐζω
 κείρω ἐμῶι ὑπὸ δουρὶ περισταδὸν ἀντιόωντας.
 ἠέριος ζεύγνυμι βόας, καὶ δειλὸν ὤρην
 παύομαι ἀμήτιο. σὺ δ', εἰ τάδε τοῖα τελέσσεις,
 420 αὐτῆμαρ τότε κῶας ἀποίσειαι εἰς βασιλῆος·
 πρὶν δέ κεν οὐ δοίην, μηδ' ἔλπεο. δὴ γὰρ ἀεικὲς
 ἄνδρ' ἀγαθὸν γεγαῶτα κακωτέρωι ἀνέρι εἶξαι.”
 ὡς ἄρ' ἔφη· ὁ δὲ σίγα ποδῶν πάρος ὄμματα πήξας
 ἦστ' αὐτως ἀφθογγος, ἀμηχανέων κακότητι.
 425 βουλὴν δ' ἀμφὶ πολὺν στρώφα χρόνον, οὐδέ πη εἶχε
 θαρσαλέως ὑποδέχθαι, ἐπεὶ μέγα φαίνετο ἔργον.
 ὅψε δ' ἀμειβόμενος προσελέξατο † κερδαλέοισιν·
 “Αἰήτη, μάλα τοί με δίκη περιπολλὸν ἔργεις.
 τῷ καὶ ἐγὼ τὸν ἄεθλον ὑπερφιάλῳν περ ἔοντα

401 ἀγορεύοις FNQ: -εις Ω 404 ἦν Ω: αἶ D 410 φυσιόωντε GE
 413 ἀκτῆς West: -τήι Ω: -τήν E 414 post hunc uersum lacunam statuit
 Fränkel 418 τάδε τοῖα damnauit Fränkel 419 τότε Fränkel: τόδε codd.

τλήσομαι, εἰ καὶ μοι θανέειν μόρος. οὐ γὰρ ἔτ' ἄλλο
 ῥίγιον ἀνθρώποισι κακῆς ἐπικέεται ἀνάγκης,
 430 ἧ με καὶ ἐνθάδε νεῖσθαι ἐπέχραεν ἐκ βασιλῆος.”
 ὡς φάτ' ἀμηχανίηι βεβολημένος· αὐτὰρ ὁ τὸν γε
 σμερδαλέοις ἐπέεσσι προσέννεπεν ἀσχαλῶντα·
 “ἔρχεο νῦν μεθ' ὄμιλον, ἐπεὶ μέμονάς γε πόνοιο·
 εἰ δὲ σὺ γε ζυγὰ βουσῖν ὑποδδείσαις ἐπαείραι,
 435 ἧ καὶ οὐλομένου μεταχάσσει ἀμήτιο,
 αὐτῶι κεν τὰ ἕκαστα μέλοιτό μοι, ὄφρα καὶ ἄλλος
 ἀνὴρ ἐρρίγησιν ἀρείονα φῶτα μετελθεῖν.”
 ἴσκεν ἀπηλεγέως· ὁ δ' ἀπὸ θρόνου ὦρνυτ' ἰήσων,
 Αὐγείης Τελαμών τε παρασχεδόν· εἶπετο δ' Ἄργος
 440 οἶος, ἐπεὶ μεσσηγὺς ἔτ' αὐτόθι νεῦσε λιπέσθαι
 αὐτοκασιγνήτοις. οἱ δ' ἦσαν ἐκ μεγάρου.
 θεσπέσιον δ' ἐν πᾶσι μετέπρεπεν Αἴσσονος υἱὸς
 κάλλει καὶ χαρίτεσσιν· ἐπ' αὐτῶι δ' ὄμματα κούρη
 445 λοξὰ παρὰ λιπαρὴν σχομένη θηεῖτο καλύπτρην,
 κῆρ ἄχει σμύχουσα, νόος δέ οἱ ἦτ' ὄνειρος
 ἐρπύζων πεπότητο μετ' ἵχνια νισομένοιο.
 καὶ ῥ' οἱ μὲν ῥα δόμων ἐξήλυθον ἀσχαλῶντες·
 Χαλκιόπη δὲ χόλον πεφυλαγμένη Αἰήταο
 450 καρπαλίμως θάλαμόνδε σὺν υἰάσιν οἴσι βεβήκει,
 αὐτως δ' αὖ Μῆδεια μετέστιχε. πολλὰ δὲ θυμῶι
 ὤρμαιν' ὄσσα τ' Ἔρωτες ἐποτρύνουσι μέλεσθαι·
 προπρὸ δ' ἄρ' ὀφθαλμῶν ἔτι οἱ ἰνδάλλετο πάντα,
 αὐτὸς θ' οἶος ἔην, οἴοισί τε φάρεσιν ἦστο,
 455 οἶα τ' ἔειφ', ὡς θ' ἔζετ' ἐπὶ θρόνου, ὡς τε θύραζε
 ἦεν· οὐδέ τιν' ἄλλον οἴσασατο πορφύρουσα
 ἔμμεναι ἀνέρα τοῖον· ἐν οὐασί δ' αἰὲν ὀρώρει
 αὐδὴ τε μῦθοί τε μελίφρονες οὖς ἀγόρευσε.
 τάρβει δ' ἀμφ' αὐτῶι, μὴ μιν βόες ἧ καὶ αὐτὸς

430 ἐπικέεται Lloyd-Jones: ἐπικέισετ' Ω: ἐπικέεται Z 435 ὑποδδείσαις
 Vian 436 οὐλομένου S^{ac}E: -οιο Ω 442 ἦσαν Rzsch: ἦσαν uel
 ἦσαν codd. 454 εἶτο E: ἔστο D

Αιήτης φθείσειεν, ὀδύρετο δ' ἠύτε πάμπαν
 ἤδη τεθνεῖωτα· τέρεν δέ οἱ ἄμφι παρειᾶς
 δάκρυον αἰνοτάτωι ἔλεωι ῥέε κηδοσύνησιν.
 ἦκα δὲ μυρομένη, λιγέως ἀνευείκατο μῦθον·
 “τίπτε με δειλαίην τόδ' ἔχει ἄχος; εἴ θ' ὄ γε πάντων
 φθείσεται ἠρώων προφερέστατος εἴ τε χερείων,
 ἔρρέτω... ἦ μὲν ὄφελλεν ἀκήριος ἐξαλέασθαι.
 ναὶ δὴ τοῦτό γε, πότνα θεᾶ Περσῆι, πέλοιτο,
 οἴκαδε νοστήσειε φυγῶν μόρον· εἴ δέ μιν αἴσα
 δημηθῆναι ὑπὸ βουσί, τόδε προπάροιθε δαείη,
 οὐνεκεν οὐ οἱ ἔγωγε κακῆι ἐπαγαίομαι ἄτη.”
 ἦ μὲν ἄρ' ὧς ἐόλητο νόον μελεδήμασι κούρη.
 οἱ δ' ἐπεὶ οὖν δήμου τε καὶ ἄστεος ἐκτὸς ἔβησαν
 τὴν ὁδὸν ἦν τὸ πάροιθεν ἀνήλυθον ἐκ πεδίοιο,
 δὴ τότε Ἰήσωνα τοῖσδε προσέννεπεν Ἄργος ἔπασσιν·
 “Αἰσονίδη, μήτιν μὲν ὀνόσσειαι ἦν τιν' ἐνίψω,
 πείρης δ' οὐ μάλ' ἔοικε μεθιέμεν ἐν κακότητι.
 κούρην δὴ τίνα πρόσθεν ἐπέκλυες αὐτὸς ἐμεῖο
 φαρμάσσειν Ἐκάτης Περσηίδος ἐννεσίησι·
 τὴν εἴ κεν πεπίθοιμεν, οἴομαι, οὐκέτι τάρβος
 ἔσσειτ' ἀεθλεύοντι δαμήμεναι· ἀλλὰ μάλ' αἰνῶς
 δεῖδω μὴ πως οὐ μοι ὑποσταίη τό γε μήτηρ.
 ἔμπης δ' ἐξαῦτις μετελεύσομαι ἀντιβολήσων,
 ξυνὸς ἐπεὶ πάντεσσιν ἐπικρέμαθ' ἦμιν ὄλεθρος.”
 ἴσκεν ἐνφρονέων· ὁ δ' ἀμείβετο τοῖσδ' ἐπέεσσιν·
 “ὦ πέπον, εἴ νύ τοι αὐτῶι ἐφανδάνει, οὐ τι μεγαίρω.
 βᾶσκ' ἴθι καὶ πυκινόισι τεῖν παρὰ μητέρα μῦθοις
 ὄρνυθι λισσόμενος. μελέη γε μὲν ἦμιν ὄρωρεν
 ἔλπωρή, ὅτε νόστον ἐπετραπόμεσθα γυναιξίν.”
 ὧς ἔφατ'· ὦκα δ' ἔλος μετεκίαθον. αὐτὰρ ἑταῖροι
 γηθόσσυνοι ἐρέεινον, ὅπως παρεόντας ἴδοντο·
 τοῖσιν δ' Αἰσονίδης τετιημένος ἔκφατο μῦθον·

477 ἐπέκλυες *w*: ὑπ- *m*481 ὑποστήτη *Mooney*τό γε *m*: τόδε *w*489 μετεκίαθον *m*: -θεν *wD*

“ὦ φίλοι, Αἰήταο ἀπηνέος ἄμμι φίλον κῆρ
 ἀντικρὺ κεχόλωται· ἕκαστα γὰρ οὐ νύ τι τέκμωρ
 οὐτ' ἐμοὶ οὔτε κεν ὕμμι διειρομένοισι πέλοιτο.
 φῆ δὲ δῦω πεδίου τὸ Ἀρήιον ἀμφινέμεσθαι
 ταύρῳ χαλκόποδε, στόματι φλόγα φυσιόωντας·
 τετράγυον δ' ὑπὸ τοῖσιν ἐφίετο νεῖον ἀρόσσαι·
 δώσειν δ' ἐξ ὄφιος γενύων σπόρον, ὅς ῥ' ἀνίησι
 γηγενέας χαλκίοις σὺν τεύχεσιν· ἦματι δ' αὐτῶι
 χρεῖω τούς γε δαΐξαι. ὁ δὴ νύ οἱ – οὐ τι γὰρ ἄλλο
 βέλτερον ἦν φράσσασθαι – ἀπηλεγέως ὑπέοστην.”
 ὧς ἄρ' ἔφη, πάντεσσι δ' ἀνήνυτος εἶσατ' ἄεθλος·
 δὴν δ' ἄνωι καὶ ἄναυδοι ἐς ἀλλήλους ὀρόωντο,
 ἄτηι ἀμηχανίηι τε κατηφές· ὄψε δὲ Πηλεὺς
 θαρσαλέως μετὰ πᾶσιν ἀριστήεσσιν ἔειπεν·
 “ὦρη μητιάσθαι ὁ κ' ἔρξομεν. οὐ μὲν ἔολπα
 βουλῆς εἶναι ὄνειαρ ὅσον τ' ἐνὶ κάρτεϊ χειρῶν.
 εἰ μὲν νυν τύνη ζεῦξαι βόας Αἰήταο,
 ἦρως Αἰσονίδη, φρονέεις μέμονάς τε πόνοιο,
 ἦ τ' ἂν ὑποσχεσίην πεφυλαγμένους ἐντύναιο·
 εἰ δ' οὐ τοι μάλ' αὖτις ἐπὶ πάγχυ πέποιθεν
 ἠνορέη, μήτ' αὐτὸς ἐπέιγεο μήτε τιν' ἄλλον
 τῶνδ' ἀνδρῶν πάπταινε παρήμενος. οὐ γὰρ ἔγωγε
 σχήσομ', ἐπεὶ θάνατός γε τὸ κύντατον ἔσσειται ἄλγος.”
 ὧς ἔφατ' Αἰακίδης· Τελαμῶνι δὲ θυμὸς ὀρίθη,
 σπερχόμενος δ' ἀνόρουσε θεῶς· ἐπὶ δὲ τρίτος Ἴδας
 ὦρτο μέγα φρονέων, ἐπὶ δ' υἱέε Τυνδαρέοιο·
 σὺν δὲ καὶ Οἰνείδης ἐναρίθμιος αἰζηοῖσιν
 ἀνδράσιν, οὐδέ περ ὅσσον ἐπανθιόωντας ἰούλους
 ἀντέλλων· τοίωι οἱ ἀείρετο κάρτεϊ θυμός.
 οἱ δ' ἄλλοι εἷξαντες ἀκὴν ἔχον. αὐτίκα δ' Ἄργος

495 δὲ δῦω *codd.*: δὲ δοῖω *L^{ac}*: δοῖω *Fränkel* 496 φυσιόωντας *m*: -ντε *wd*
 497 ὑπὸ Samuelsson: ἐπὶ *codd.* 498 ἀνίησιν *L* 507 ἐνὶ *Fränkel*:
 ἐπὶ *codd.* 511 sic *Brubach*: μάλ' αὖτις ἐπὶ πάγχυ θυμὸς ἐπὶ πέποιθεν *codd.*
 513 πάπταινε *Brunck*: -τηνε *codd.* 517 υἱέε *Merkel*: υἱέε *codd.*

τοῖον ἔπος μετέειπεν ἑλδομένοισιν ἀέθλου·

“ὦ φίλοι, ἦτοι μὲν τόδε λοίσθιον. ἀλλὰ τιν’ οἶω
μητρὸς ἐμῆς ἔσσεσθαι ἐναίσιμον ὕμιν ἀρωγὴν.
τῷ, καὶ περ μεμαῶτες, ἐρητύσιθ’ ἐνὶ νηὶ
525 τυτθὸν ἔθ’ ὡς τὸ πάροιθεν, ἐπεὶ καὶ ἐπισχέμεν ἔμπτῃς
λώιον ἢ κακὸν οἶτον ἀφειδήσαντας ἐλέσθαι.

κούρη τις μεγάροισιν ἐνιτρέφετ’ Αἰήταο,
τὴν Ἐκάτη περίαλλα θεὰ δάε τεχνήσασθαι
φάρμαχ’ ὅσ’ ἠπειρὸς τε φύει καὶ νήχυτον ὕδωρ·
530 τοῖσι καὶ ἀκαμάτοιο πυρὸς μελίσσετ’ ἀυτμήν,
καὶ ποταμούς ἴσθησιν ἄφαρ κελαδεῖνὰ ῥέοντας,
ἄστρα τε καὶ μήνης ἱεράς ἐπέδησε κελεύθους.

τῆς μὲν ἀπὸ μεγάροιο κατὰ στίβον ἐνθάδ’ ἰόντες
535 μνησάμεθ’; εἴ κε δύναίτο, κασιγνήτη γεγαυῖα,
μήτηρ ἡμετέρη πεπιθεῖν ἐπαρῆξι ἀέθλωι.
εἰ δὲ καὶ αὐτοῖσιν τόδ’ ἐφاندάνει, ἦ τ’ ἂν ἰκοίμην
ἡματι τῶιδ’ αὐτῶι πάλιν εἰς δόμον Αἰήταο
πειρήσων· τάχα δ’ ἂν σὺν δαίμονι πειρηθείην.”

ὡς φάτο· τοῖσι δὲ σῆμα θεοῖ δόσαν εὐμένεοντες.
540 τρήρων μὲν φεύγουσα βίην κίρκοιο πελειὰς
ὑψόθεν Αἰσονίδεω πεφοβημένη ἔμπεσε κόλποις·
κίρκος δ’ ἀφλάστωι περικάπτεσεν. ὦκα δὲ Μόψος
τοῖον ἔπος μετὰ πᾶσι θεοπροπέων ἀγόρευσεν·

“ὕμμι, φίλοι, τόδε σῆμα θεῶν ἰότητι τέτυκται·
545 οὐδέ πη ἄλλως ἔστιν ὑποκρίνασθαι ἄρειον,
παρθενικὴν δ’ ἐπέεσσι μετελθόμεν ἀμφιέποντας
μήτι παντοίηι. δοκέω δὲ μιν οὐκ ἀθερίζειν,
εἰ ἔτεόν Φινεύς γε θεῆι ἐνὶ Κύπριδι νόστον
πέφραδεν ἔσσεσθαι· κείνης δ’ ὄ γε μείλιχος ὄρνις
550 πότημον ὑπεξήλυξε. κέαρ δὲ μοι ὡς ἐνὶ θυμῶι
τόνδε κατ’ οἰωνὸν προτιόσσεται, ὡς δὲ πέλοιο.

527 ὀλέσθαι Fränkel 531 ἀυτμήν E: -μή Ω 533 ἱεράς Wifstrand:
-ης codd. 542 Αἰσονίδεω Flor.: -ἰδαο codd. κόλποις LE: -παι L¹Aw
544 ἀγόρευσεν AE 548 ἀθερίζειν D 551 πότημον m: οἶτον S: μόρον G

ἀλλά, φίλοι, Κυθήρειαν ἐπικλείοντες ἀμύνειν,
ἤδη νῦν Ἄργιοιο παραιφασίησι πίθεσθε.”
ἴσκεν· ἐπήνησαν δὲ νέοι, Φινῆος ἐφετμὰς
555 μνησάμενοι. μούνος δ’ Ἀφαρήϊος ἀνθορεν Ἴδαο,
δεῖν’ ἐπαλαστήσας μεγάλην ὀπί, φώνησέν τε·

“ὦ πόπποι, ἦ ῥα γυναιξιν ὁμόστολοι ἐνθάδ’ ἔβημεν,
οἱ Κύπριν καλέουσιν ἐπίρροθον ἄμμι πέλεσθαι·
οὐκέτ’ Ἐυναλίοιο μέγα σθένος, ἐς δὲ πελειὰς
560 καὶ κίρκους λεύσσοντες ἐρητύεσθε ἀέθλων.
ἔρρετε, μηδ’ ὕμιν πολεμῆια ἔργα μέλοιο,
παρθενικὰς δὲ λιτήισιν ἀνάγκιδας ἠπεροπτεύειν.”

ὡς ηὔδα μεμαῶς· πολέες δ’ ὁμάδησαν ἐταῖροι
ἦκα μάλ’, οὐδ’ ἄρα τίς οἱ ἐναντίον ἔκφατο μῦθον.
565 χωόμενος δ’ ὁ γ’ ἔπειτα καθέζετο· τοῖσι δ’ Ἰήσων
αὐτίκ’ ἐποτρύνων τὸν ἐὸν νόον ὦδ’ ἀγόρευεν·

“Ἄργος μὲν παρὰ νηός, ἐπεὶ τόδε πᾶσιν ἔαδε,
στελλέσθω. ἀτὰρ αὐτοὶ ἐπὶ χθονὸς ἐκ ποταμοῖο
ἀμφαδὸν ἤδη πείσματ’ ἀνάψομεν· ἦ γὰρ ἔοικε
570 μηκέτι δὴν κρύπτεσθαι, <ἄτε> πτήσσοντας αὐτήν.”

ὡς ἄρ’ ἔφη· καὶ τὸν μὲν ἄφαρ προῖαλλε νέεσθαι
καρπαλίμως ἐξαῦτις ἀνὰ πτόλιν· οἱ δ’ ἐπὶ νηὸς
εὐναίας ἐρύσαντες ἐφετμαῖς Αἰσονίδεω
575 τυτθὸν ὑπὲς ἔλεος χέρσωι ἐπέκελσαν ἐρετμοῖς.

αὐτίκα δ’ Αἰήτης ἀγορὴν ποιήσατο Κόλχων
νόσφιν ἐοῖο δόμου, τόθι περ καὶ πρόσθε κάθιζον,
ἀτλήτους Μινύαισι δόλους καὶ κήδεα τεύχων.
στεῦτο δ’, ἐπεὶ κεν πρῶτα βόες διαδηλήσονται
580 ἄνδρα τὸν ὅς ῥ’ ὑπέδεκτο βαρὺν καμέεσθαι ἄεθλον,
δρυμὸν ἀναρρήξας λασίης καθύπερθε κολώνης
αὐτανδρον φλέξειν δόρυ νήιον, ὄφρ’ ἄλεγεινήν
ὕβριν ἀποφλύξωσιν ὑπέρβια μηχανώοντες.

554 ἀρήγειν D 561 ἐρητύονται Fränkel 567 ἀγόρευσεν G
568 ἔαδε OF: ἔ- Ω 571 <ἄτε> Fränkel: <ὑπο-> Pierson
579 διαδηλήσονται E

οὐδὲ γὰρ Αἰολίδην Φρίξον μάλα περ χατέοντα
 δέχθαι ἐνὶ μεγάροισιν ἐφέστιον, ὃς περὶ πάντων
 ξειῶν μελιχίη τε θεουδείη τ' ἐκέκαστο,
 εἴ μὴ οἱ Ζεὺς αὐτὸς ἀπ' οὐρανοῦ ἄγγελον ἦκεν
 Ἑρμείαν, ὥς κεν προσκηδέος ἀντιάσειε·
 μὴ καὶ ληϊστήρας ἔην ἐς γαῖαν ἰόντας
 ἔσσεσθαι δηναῖον ἀπήμονας, οἷσι μέμηλεν
 ὀθνεῖοις ἐπὶ χεῖρα ἔην κτεάτεσσιν ἀείρειν,
 κρυπταδίους τε δόλους τεκταίνεμεν, ἠδὲ βοτήρων
 αὖλια δυσκελάδοισιν ἐπιδρομίησι δαΐξαι.
 νόσφι δὲ οἱ αὐτῶι φάτ' εὐοικότα μέλια τίσειν
 υἱῆας Φρίξοιο, κακορρέκτησιν ὀπηδοὺς
 ἀνδράσι νοστήσαντας ὀμιλαδόν, ὄφρα ἔ τιμῆς
 καὶ σκήπτρων ἐλάσειαν ἀκηδέες, ὥς ποτε βάξιιν
 λευγαλέην οὐ πατρὸς ἐπέκλυεν Ἥελίοιο,
 χρεῖώ μιν πυκινόν τε δόλον βουλᾶς τε γενέθλης
 σφωιτέρης ἄτην τε πολύτροπον ἐξαλέασθαι·
 τῶ καὶ ἐελδομένους πέμπεν ἐς Ἀχαιίδα γαῖαν
 πατρὸς ἐφημοσύνηι, δολιχὴν ὁδόν· οὐδὲ θυγατρῶν
 εἶναι οἱ τυτθὸν γε δέος, μὴ πού τινα μῆτιν
 φράσσωνται στυγερὴν, οὐδ' υἱέος Ἀψύρτοιο,
 ἀλλ' ἐνὶ Χαλκιόπης γενεῆι τάδε λυγρὰ τετύχθαι.
 καὶ ῥ' ὁ μὲν ἄσχετα ἔργα πιφαύσκετο δημοτέροισι
 χωόμενος, μέγα δὲ σφιν ἀπέειλε νῆα τ' ἔρυσθαι
 ἠδ' αὐτούς, ἵνα μὴ τις ὑπέκ κακότητος ἀλύξῃ.
 τόφρα δὲ μητέρ' ἔην, μετιῶν δόμον Αἰήταο,
 Ἄργος παντοίοισι παρηγορέεσκεν ἔπεσσι
 Μήδειαν λίσσεσθαι ἀμυνέμεν. ἠ δὲ καὶ αὐτὴ
 πρόσθεν μητιάσσκε· δέος δὲ μιν ἴσχανε θυμὸν
 μὴ πῶς ἡὲ παρ' αἴσαν ἐτώσια μελίσσοιτο
 πατρὸς ἀτυζομένην ὀλοὸν χόλον, ἠὲ λιτῆσιιν

590 ἔσσεσθαι Fränkel: ἔσσ- codd. 594 νόσφι E: -iv Ω δὲ οἱ Brunck:
 δ' οἱ codd. 599 χρεῖώ L^{v.1}.A: χρῆναί LwE 601 κε καὶ LAG Σ^{10m}
 πέμπεν V² Stephanus 608 ὑπέκ Bigot: ὑπ' ἐκ E: ὑπὲρ uel ὑπερ Ω
 613 μελίσσοιτο Herwerden: -σσετο uel -σσαιτο codd.

ἔσπομένης ἀρίδηλα καὶ ἀμφαδὰ ἔργα πέλοιτο.
 κούρην δ' ἐξ ἀχέων ἀδινὸς κατελώφειεν ὕπνος
 λέκτρῳ ἀνακλινθεῖσαν. ἄφαρ δὲ μιν ἠπεροπῆες,
 οἷά τ' ἀκηχέμενην, ὀλοοὶ ἐρέθεσκον ὄνειροι·
 τὸν ξεῖνον δ' ἐδόκησεν ὑφεστάμεναι τὸν ἄεθλον,
 οὐ τι μάλ' ὀρμαίνοντα δέρος κριοῖο κομίσσαι,
 οὐδέ τι τοῖο ἔκητι μετὰ πτόλιν Αἰήταο
 ἐλθέμεν, ὄφρα δὲ μιν σφέτερον δόμον εἰσαγάγοιτο
 κουριδίην παράκοιτιν. οἴετο δ' ἀμφὶ βόεσσι
 αὐτὴ ἀεθλεύουσα μάλ' εὐμαρέως πονέεσθαι·
 σφωιτέρους δὲ τοκῆς ὑποσχεσῆς ἀθερίζειν,
 οὐνεκεν οὐ κούρηι ζεῦξαι βόας, ἀλλὰ οἱ αὐτῶι
 προὔθεσαν· ἐκ δ' ἄρα τοῦ νεῖκος πέλεν ἀμφήριστον
 πατρί τε καὶ ξεῖνοισ· αὐτῇ δ' ἐπιέτρεπον ἀμφῶ
 τῶς ἔμεν ὥς κεν ἐῆσι μετὰ φρεσὶν ἰθύσειεν·
 ἠ δ' ἄφνω τὸν ξεῖνον, ἀφειδήσασα τοκῆων,
 εἶλετο· τοὺς δ' ἀμέγαρτον ἄχος λάβεν, ἐκ δ' ἐβόησαν
 χωόμενοι. τὴν δ' ὕπνος ἅμα κλαγγῆι μεθέηκε·
 παλλομένη δ' ἀνόρουσε φόβῳ, περὶ τ' ἀμφὶ τε τοίχους
 πᾶπτηνεν θαλάμοιο· μόλις δ' ἐσαγείρατο θυμὸν
 ὥς πάρος ἐν στέρνοισ, ἀδινὴν δ' ἀνευείκατο φωνήν·
 “δειλὴ ἐγὼν, οἷόν με βαρεῖς ἐφόβησαν ὄνειροι.
 δεῖδια μὴ μέγα δὴ τι φέρηι κακὸν ἦδε κέλευθος
 ἠρώων· περὶ μοι ξεῖνωι φρένες ἠερέθονται.
 μνάσθω ἐὸν κατὰ δῆμον Ἀχαιίδα τηλόθι κούρην,
 ἄμμι δὲ παρθενήη τε μέλοι καὶ δῶμα τοκῆων.
 ἔμπα γε μὴν, θεμένη κύνεον κέαρ, οὐκέτ' ἀνευθεν
 αὐτοκασιγνήτης πειρήσομαι, εἴ κέ μ' ἀέθλωι
 χραισμεῖν ἀντιάσησιν, ἐπὶ σφετέροισ ἀχέουσα
 παισί· τό κέν μοι λυγρὸν ἐνὶ κραδίηι σβέσοι ἄλγος.”
 ἦ ῥα, καὶ ὀρθωθεῖσα θύρας ὦιξε δόμοιο
 νήλιπτος οἰάανος· καὶ δὴ λελίητο νέεσθαι

637 φέρηι SG³¹: -ρεῖ LAG: -ροῖ E 641 post hunc uersum lacunam
 statuit Fränkel 644 σβέσαι Madvig: σβέσαι Wifstrand

αὐτοκασιγνήτηνδε καὶ ἔρκεος οὐδὸν ἀμείψαι.
 δὴν δὲ καταυτόθι μίμνεν ἐνὶ προδόμῳι θαλάμοιο
 αἰδοῖ ἔεργομένη· μετὰ δ' ἐτράπετ' αὐτὶς ὅπισσω
 στρεφθεῖσ'· ἐκ δὲ πάλιν κίεν ἔνδοθεν, ἅψ τ' ἀλέεινεν
 εἴσω· τῆύσιοι δὲ πόδες φέρον ἔνθα καὶ ἔνθα.
 ἦτοι ὄτ' ἰθύσειεν, ἔρुकέ μιν ἔνδοθεν αἰδῶς·
 αἰδοῖ δ' ἔργομένην θρασὺς ἴμερος ὀτρύνεσκε.
 τρὶς μὲν ἐπειρήθη, τρὶς δ' ἔσχετο· τέτρατον αὐτὶς
 λέκτροισιν πρηγῆς ἐνικάππεσεν εἰλιχθεῖσα.
 ὡς δ' ὅτε τις νύμφη θαλερὸν πόσιν ἐν θαλάμοιοι
 μύρεται, ὦι μιν ὄπασσαν ἀδελφοὶ ἠδὲ τοκῆς,
 οὐδέ τί πω πάσαις ἐπιμίσηται ἀμφιπόλοισιν
 αἰδοῖ ἐπιφροσύνη τε, μυχῶι δ' ἀχέουσα θαάσσει·
 τὸν δὲ τις ὤλεσε μοῖρα, πάρος ταρπήμενοι ἄμφω
 δῆνεσιν ἀλλήλων· ἦ δ' ἔνδοθι δαιομένη περ
 σίγα μάλα κλαίει χῆρον λέχος εἰσορόωσα,
 μὴ μιν κερτομέουσαι ἐπιστοβέωσι γυναῖκες·
 τῆι ἰκέλη Μήδεια κινύρετο. τὴν δὲ τις ἄφνω
 μυρομένη μεσσηγὺς ἐπιπρομολοῦσ' ἐνόησε
 δμῶάων, ἦ οἱ ἐπέτις πέλε κουρίζουσα·
 Χαλκιόπτη δ' ἠγγεῖλε παρασχεδόν· ἦ δ' ἐνὶ παισίν
 ἦστ' ἐπιμητιόωσα κασιγνήτην ἀρέσσασθαι.
 ἀλλ' οὐδ' ὡς ἀπίθησεν, ὄτ' ἔκλυεν ἀμφιπόλοιο
 μῦθον ἀνώιστον· διὰ δ' ἔσσυτο θαμβήσασα
 ἐκ θαλάμου θάλαμόνδε διαμπερές, ὦι ἐνὶ κούρη
 κέκλιτ' ἀκηχεμένη, δρῦψεν δ' ἐκάτερθε παρειάς.
 ὡς δ' ἴδε δάκρυσιν ὄσσε πεφυρμένα, φώνησέν μιν·
 “ὦ μοι ἐγώ, Μήδεια, τί δὴ τάδε δάκρυα λείβεις;
 τίπτ' ἔπαθες; τί τοι αἰνὸν ὑπὸ φρένας ἴκετο πένθος;
 ἦ νύ σε θευμορίη περιδέδρομεν ἄψα νοῦσος,

647 ἀμείψαι Fränkel: ἀμειψε codd. 651 τῆύσιοι V²OF²: τῆσιοι LA:
 τῆυσίην w 658-9 post 662 transposuit Fränkel 661 ἔνδοθι wd: -θεν m
 671 θάλαμον διαμ- LAG 672 δρῦπτεν Platt: κρύψεν Ardizzoni
 674 λείβεις w: καταλείβεις LA: μὴν καταλ- E 676 θευμορίη Stephanus

ἦε τιν' οὐλομένην ἐδάης ἐκ πατρὸς ἐνιπήν
 ἀμφί τ' ἐμοὶ καὶ παισίν; ὄφελλέ με μήτε τοκῆων
 δῶμα τόδ' εἰσοράαν μηδὲ πτόλιν, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ γαίης
 πείρασι ναιετάειν, ἵνα μηδὲ περ οὔνομα Κόλχων.”
 ὡς φάτο· τῆς δ' ἐρύθηνε παρήϊα· δὴν δὲ μιν αἰδῶς
 παρθενῆ κατέρυκεν ἀμείψασθαι μεμαυῖαν.
 μῦθος δ' ἄλλοτε μὲν οἱ ἐπ' ἀκροτάτης ἀνέτελλε
 γλώσσης, ἄλλοτ' ἔνευθε κατὰ στήθος πεπότῃτο·
 πολλάκι δ' ἱμερόεν μὲν ἀνὰ στόμα θυῖεν ἐνισπείν,
 φθογγῆι δ' οὐ προύβαινε παροιτέρω. ὄψε δ' ἔειπε
 τοῖα δόλωι· θρασέες γὰρ ἐπικλονέεσκον Ἔρωτες·
 “Χαλκιόπτη, περὶ μοι παίδων σέο θυμὸς ἄηται,
 μὴ σφε πατήρ ξεῖνοισι σὺν ἀνδράσιν αὐτίκ' ὀλέσσηι·
 τοῖα κατακνώσσουσα μινυθαδίωι νέον ὕπνωι
 λεύσσω ὄνειρατα λυγρά, τά τις θεὸς ἀκράαντα
 θεῖη, μηδ' ἀλεγεινὸν ἐφ' υἰάσι κῆδος ἔλοιο.”
 φῆ ῥα κασιγνήτης πειρωμένη, εἴ κέ μιν αὐτῆ
 ἀντιάσειε πάροιθεν ἐοῖς τεκέεσσιν ἀμύνειν.
 τὴν δ' αἰνῶς ἄτλητος ἐπέκλυσε θυμὸν ἀνιή
 δείματι, τοῖ ἑσάκουσεν· ἀμείβετο δ' ὦδ' ἐπέεσσι·
 “καὶ δ' αὐτῆ τάδε πᾶντα μετῆλυθον ὀρμαίνουσα,
 εἴ τινα συμφράσσαιο καὶ ἀρτύνειας ἀρωγῆν.
 ἀλλ' ὄμοσον Γαῖάν τε καὶ Οὐρανόν, ὅττι τοι εἶπω
 σχήσειν ἐν θυμῶι σὺν τε δρήστειρα πέλεσθαι.
 λίσσομ' ὑπὲρ μακάρων σέο τ' αὐτῆς ἠδὲ τοκῆων,
 μὴ σφε κακῆι ὑπὸ κηρὶ διαρραισθέντας ἰδέσθαι
 λευγαλέως· ἦ σοὶ γε φίλοις σὺν παισὶ θανοῦσα
 εἶην ἐξ Ἄιδεω στυγερῆ μετόπισθεν Ἐρινύς.”
 ὡς ἄρ' ἔφη, τὸ δὲ πολλὸν ὑπεξέχυτ' αὐτίκα δάκρυ,
 νεοῖθι δ' ἀμφοτέρηισι περισχέτο γούνατα χερσὶ·
 σὺν δὲ κάρη κόλποισι περικάββαλεν. ἐνθ' ἔλεεινὸν

685 θυῖεν L: θυεν ASE 686 φθογγῆ GIE 687 ἐπικλ- GD: ἐπεκλ- mS
 691 λεύσσω Brunck 695 τὴν m: τῆς w 707 περικάββαλεν wE: -λον
 LA: ἐνικάββαλεν Campbell

ἄμφω ἐπ' ἀλλήλησι θέσαν γόον· ὦρτο δ' ἰωὴ
 λεπταλή διὰ δώματ' ὄδυρομένων ἀχέεσσι.
 τὴν δὲ πάρος Μήδεια προσέννεπεν ἀσχαλόωσαν·
 “δαιμονίη, τί νύ τοι ῥέξω ἄκος, οἷ' ἀγορεύεις,
 ἀράς τε στυγεράς καὶ Ἐρινύας; αἶ γὰρ ὄφελεν
 ἔμπεδον εἶναι ἐπ' ἄμμι τεοὺς υἱῆς ἔρυσθαι.
 ἴστω Κόλχων ὄρκος ὑπέρβιος, ὃν τιν' ὀμόσσαι
 αὐτῇ ἐποτρύνεις, μέγας Οὐρανὸς ἦδ' ὑπένερθεν
 Γαῖα, θεῶν μήτηρ, ὅσσον σθένος ἐστὶν ἐμεῖο,
 μή σ' ἐπιδευήσεσθαι, ἀνυστά περ ἀντιόωσαν.”
 φῆ ἄρα· Χαλκιόπη δ' ἠμείβετο τοῖσδ' ἐπέεσσιν·
 “οὐκ ἂν δὴ ξείνῳ τλαίης χατέοντι καὶ αὐτῶι
 ἢ δόλον ἢ τινα μῆτιν ἐπιφράσσασθαι ἀέθλου,
 παίδων εἶνεκ' ἐμεῖο; καὶ ἐκ κείνου τόδ' ἰκάνει
 Ἄργος ἐποτρύνων με τεῆς πειρήσαι ἀργωγῆς·
 μεσηγύς μὲν τόν γε δόμῳ λίπον ἐνθάδ' ἰοῦσα.”
 ὡς φάτο· τῆι δ' ἔντοσθεν ἀνέπτατο χάρματι θυμὸς·
 φοινίχθη δ' ἄμυδις καλὸν χρῶς, καὶ δὲ μιν ἀχλὺς
 εἶλεν ἰαινομένην. τοῖον δ' ἐπὶ μῦθον ἔειπε·
 “Χαλκιόπη, ὡς ὕμμι φίλον τερπνὸν τε τέτυκται,
 ὡς ἔρξω. μὴ γάρ μοι ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖσι φαινοί
 ἤως μηδὲ με δηρὸν ἔτι ζώουσαν ἴδοιο,
 εἴ κέ τι σῆς ψυχῆς προφερέστερον ἢ ἐτι παίδων
 σῶν θείην, οἷ δὴ μοι ἀδελφείοι γεγάασι
 κηδεμόνες τε φίλοι καὶ ὀμῆλικες· ὡς δὲ καὶ αὐτὴν
 φημι κασιγνήτην τε σέθεν κούρην τε πέλεσθαι,
 ἴσον ἐπεὶ κείνοις με τεῶι ἐπαίειραο μαζῶι
 νηπυτίην, ὡς αἰὲν ἐγὼ ποτε μητρὸς ἄκουον.
 ἀλλ' ἴθι, κεῦθε δ' ἐμήν σιγῆι χάριν, ὄφρα τοκῆας
 λήσομαι ἐντύνουσα ὑπόσχεσιν· ἦρι δὲ νηὸν

710 ἀσχαλόωσαν Fränkel: -σα codd. 721 κείνου τόδ' Fränkel: -οιο δ' Ω:
 -ου δδ' E 723 τόν γε LA: τόνδε ωE: τώνδε I^{ac} δόμῳ H: δόμον Ω:
 δόμων SE^{sl} 730 εἴ κέ τι Wellauer: εἰέτι LAS²G: ἢ ἐτι S^{ac}: ἢ ἐτι G^{sl}E: εἴ γέ τι
 Huert 732 αὐτὴν m: -τῆ w 733 κασιγνήτην P⁴ m: -τη w κούρην
 AE: -ρη Lw

εἶσομαι εἰς Ἐκάτης, θελκτῆρια φάρμακα ταύρων
 οἴσομένη ξείνῳ ὑπὲρ οὗ τόδε νεῖκος ὄρωρεν.”
 ὡς ἦ γ' ἐκ θαλάμοιο πάλιν κίε παισί τ' ἀργωγῆν
 αὐτοκασιγνήτης διεπέφραδε. † τὴν δὲ μιν † αὐτὶς
 αἰδῶς τε στυγερόν τε δέος λάβε μουνωθεῖσαν,
 τοῖα παρέξ οὐ πατρός ἐπ' ἀνέρι μητιάσθαι.
 νύξ μὲν ἐπειτ' ἐπὶ γαῖαν ἄγεν κνέφας· οἱ δ' ἐνὶ πόντῳ
 ναυτίλοι εἰς Ἐλικὴν τε καὶ ἀστέρας Ὠρίωνος
 ἔδρακον ἐκ νηῶν, ὕπνοιο δὲ καὶ τις ὀδίτης
 ἦδη καὶ πυλαωρὸς ἐέλδετο, καὶ τινα παίδων
 μητέρα τεθνεώτων ἀδινὸν περὶ κῶμ' ἐκάλυπτεν·
 οὐδὲ κυνῶν ὑλακὴ ἔτ' ἀνὰ πτόλιον, οὐ θρόος ἦεν
 ἠχῆεις· σιγῆ δὲ μελαινομένην ἔχεν ὄρφνην.
 ἀλλὰ μάλ' οὐ Μήδειαν ἐπὶ γλυκερὸς λάβεν ὕπνος·
 πολλὰ γὰρ Αἰσονίδαο πτόθῳ μελεδήματ' ἔγειρε
 δειδυῖαν ταύρων κρατερόν μένος, οἷσιν ἔμελλε
 φθεῖσθαι ἀεικελίη μοίρηι κατὰ νεῖον Ἄρηος.
 πυκνὰ δὲ οἱ κραδίη στηθέων ἔντοσθεν ἔθυιεν·
 ἠελίου ὡς τίς τε δόμοις ἐνιπάλλεται αἴγλη,
 ὕδατος ἐξανιούσα τὸ δὴ νέον ἠὲ λέβητι
 ἠὲ πού ἐν γαυλῶι κέχυται, ἠ δ' ἔνθα καὶ ἔνθα
 ὠκείηι στροφάλιγγι τινάσσεται αἰίσουσα·
 ὡς δὲ καὶ ἐν στήθεσσι κέαρ ἐλελίζετο κούρης.
 δάκρυ δ' ἀπ' ὀφθαλμῶν ἐλέωι ῥέεν· ἔνδοθι δ' αἰεὶ
 τεῖρ' ὀδύνη, σμύχουσα διὰ χροὸς ἀμφί τ' ἀραιὰς
 ἴνας καὶ κεφαλῆς ὑπὸ νεῖατον ἰνίου ἄχρισ,
 ἐνθ' ἀλεγεινότατον δύνει ἄχος, ὀππότην ἀνίας
 ἀκάματοι πρατίδουσιν ἐνισκίμφωσιν Ἐρωτες.
 φῆ δὲ οἱ ἄλλοτε μὲν θελκτῆρια φάρμακα ταύρων

738 εἶσομαι L^{2sl}E^{ac}: οἴσ- LAwE²d 739 post hunc uersum, quem habent
 solum Σ^{LA}, lacunam statuit Fränkel ὑπὲρ οὗ Flor.: εἶπερ Σ^{LA} 741 τὴν
 γε μὲν Platt: τὴν δὲ μεταῦτις Köchly 745 ναυτίλοι P⁴: ναῦται codd.
 748 τεθνεώτων E: -θνεῖω- Ω: -θναό- Rzach 752 Αἰσονίδαο S²: -δεω Ω
 755-60 post 765 transposuit Fränkel 755 ἔθυιεν L: ἔθυεν AwE
 765 ἐνισκίμφωσιν m: -χρίμφω- w

δωσέμεν· ἄλλοτε δ' οὐ τι, καταφθεῖσθαι δὲ καὶ αὐτῆ·
αὐτίκα δ' οὐτ' αὐτῆ θανέειν, οὐ φάρμακα δώσειν,
ἀλλ' αὐτως εὐκηλος ἔην ὀτλησέμεν ἄτην.
ἐξομένη δῆπειτα δοάσατο φώνησέν τε·

770 "δειλὴ ἐγώ, νῦν ἔνθα κακῶν ἢ ἔνθα γένωμαι;
πάντη μοι φρένες εἰσὶν ἀμήχανοι, οὐδέ τις ἀλκή
πήματος, ἀλλ' αὐτως φλέγει ἔμπεδον. ὡς ὄφελόν γε
Ἄρτέμιδος κραιπνοῖσι πάρος βελέεσσι δαμῆναι,
πρὶν τὸν γ' εἰσιδέειν, πρὶν Ἄχαιίδα γαῖαν ἰκέσθαι
775 Χαλκιοῦ πης υἱᾶς· τοὺς μὲν θεὸς ἢ τις Ἐρινὺς
ἄμμι πολυκλαύτους δεῦρ' ἤγαγε κείθεν ἀνίας.
φθεῖσθω ἀεθλεύων, εἴ οἱ κατὰ νεῖον ὀλέσθαι
μοῖρα πέλει· πῶς γὰρ κεν ἐμοὺς λελάθοιμι τοκῆς
φάρμακα μησαμένη; ποῖον δ' ἐπὶ μῦθον ἐνίψω;
780 τίς δὲ δόλος, τίς μήτις ἐπὶ κλοπος ἔσσειτ' ἀρωγῆς;
ἢ μιν ἄνευθ' ἐτάρων προσπτύξομαι οἶον ἰοῦσα;
δύσμορος, οὐ μὲν ἔολπα καταφθιμένοιό περ ἔμπης
λωφῆσειν ἀχέων· τότε δ' ἂν κακὸν ἄμμι πέλοιτο
κείνος, ὅτε ζωῆς ἀπαμείρεται. ἔρρέτω αἰδῶς,
785 ἔρρέτω ἀγλαῖη· ὁ δ' ἐμῆι ἰότητι σαωθεῖς
ἀσκηθῆς, ἵνα οἱ θυμῶι φίλον, ἔνθα νέοιτο·
αὐτὰρ ἐγὼν αὐτῆμαρ, ὅτ' ἐξανύσειεν ἀεθλον,
τεθναίην, ἢ λαιμὸν ἀναρτήσασα μελάθρῳι
ἢ καὶ πασσαμένη ραιστήρια φάρμακα θυμοῦ.
790 ἀλλὰ καὶ ὡς φθιμένη μοι ἐπιλλίξουσιν ὀπίσσω
κερτομίας· τηλοῦ δὲ πόλις περὶ πᾶσα βοήσει
πότμον ἐμὸν· καὶ κέν με διὰ στόματος φορέουσαι
Κολχίδες ἄλλυδις ἄλλαι ἀεικέα μωμήσονται·
ἢ τις κηδομένη τόσον ἀνέρος ἄλλοδαποῖο
795 κάτθανεν, ἢ τις δῶμα καὶ οὐς ἤισχυε τοκῆς,
μαργοσύνη εἴξασα· τί δ' οὐκ ἐμὸν ἔσσεται αἴσχος;

775 γαῖαν ἰκέσθαι codd.: γαῖαν κομίσσαι Σ^{L(v.1)}: νῆα κομίσσαι Fränkel
782 ἐτάρων Gillies ἰοῦσα Platt: ἰδοῦσα codd. 791 ἐπιλλίξουσιν I²:
-ίζουσιν Ω 792 κερτομίοις Struve: -αἰς Vian

ὦ μοι ἐμῆς ἄτης. ἢ τ' ἂν πολὺ κέρδιον εἴη
τῆιδ' αὐτῆι ἐν νυκτὶ λιπεῖν βίον ἐν θαλάμοισι,
800 πτόμῳι ἀνωίστῳι, κάκ' ἐλέγχεα πάντα φυγοῦσαν,
πρὶν τάδε λωβήεντα καὶ οὐκ ὀνομαστὰ τελέσσαι."

ἢ, καὶ φωριαμὸν μετεκίασεν ἢ ἐνὶ πολλὰ
φάρμακά οἱ, τὰ μὲν ἐσθλά, τὰ δὲ ραιστήρι', ἔκειτο.
ἐνθεμένη δ' ἐπὶ γούνατ' ὀδύρετο, δεῦτε δὲ κόλπους
805 ἄλληκτον δακρῦοισι, τὰ δ' ἔρρειεν ἀσταγῆς αὐτῶς,
αἶν' ὀλοφυρομένης τὸν ἐὸν μόρον. ἔετο δ' ἢ γε
φάρμακα λέξασθαι θυμοφθόρα, τόφρα πάσαιτο·
ἤδη καὶ δεσμούς ἀνελύετο φωριαμοῖο
ἐξελέειν μεμαυῖα, δυσάμμορος. ἀλλὰ οἱ ἄφνω
810 δεῖμ' ὀλοὸν στυγεροῖο κατὰ φρένας ἦλθ' Ἀίδαο·
ἔσχετο δ' ἀμφασίηι δηρὸν χρόνον. ἀμφὶ δὲ πᾶσαι
θυμηδεῖς βιότοιο μεληδόνες ἰνδάλλοντο·
μνήσατο μὲν τερπνῶν ὅσ' ἐνὶ ζωοῖσι πέλονται,
μνήσαθ' ὀμηλικῆς περιγηθέος, οἷά τε κούρη·
815 καὶ τέ οἱ ἠέλιος γλυκίων γένετ' εἰσοράσασθαι
ἢ πάρος, εἰ ἔτεόν γε νόμι ἐπεμαίεθ' ἔκαστα.
καὶ τὴν μὲν ῥα πάλιν σφετέρων ἀποκάτθετο γούνων,
Ἥρης ἐννεσίηισι μετὰ τροπος, οὐδ' ἔτι βουλάς
ἄλληι δοιάζεσκεν· ἐέλδετο δ' αἶψα φανῆναι
820 ἠῶ τελλομένην, ἵνα οἱ θελκτῆρια δοίη
φάρμακα συνθεσίηισι καὶ ἀντήσειεν ἐς ὤπην.
πυκνὰ δ' ἀνά κληῖδας ἐὼν λύεσκε θυράων,
αἴγλην σκεπτομένη· τῆι δ' ἀσπάσιον βάλε φέγγος
Ἥριγενῆς, κίνυντο δ' ἀνά πτολίεθρον ἕκαστοι.
825 ἔνθα κασιγνήτους μὲν ἔτ' αὐτόθι μῆναι ἀνώγει
Ἄργος, ἵνα φράζοιντο νόον καὶ μήδεα κούρης·
αὐτὸς δ' αὐτ' ἐπὶ νῆα κίεν προπάροιθε λιασθεῖς.
ἢ δ' ἐπεὶ οὖν τὰ πρῶτα φαεινομένην ἴδεν ἠῶ
παρθενική, ξανθὰς μὲν ἀνήψατο χερσὶν ἐθείρας,
830 αἰ οἱ ἀτημελίηι καταειμέναι ἠερέβοντο,

805 ἀσταγῆς Σ⁸¹: ἀστεγῆς codd. 816 εἰ E: ἢ Ω

αὐσταλέας δ' ἔψηχε παρηίδας. αὐτὰρ ἀλοιφῆι
 νεκταρέηι φαιδρύνετ' ἐπι χροά· δῦνε δὲ πέπλον
 καλόν, ἐυγνάμπτοισιν ἀρηρέμενον περόνησιν,
 ἀμβροσίωι δ' ἐφύπερθε καρήατι βάλλαε καλύπτρην
 ἀργυφέην. αὐτοῦ δὲ δόμοις ἐνι δινεύουσα
 στεΐβη πέδον λήθηι ἀχέων, τά οἱ ἐν ποσὶν ἦεν
 θεσπέσι', ἄλλα τ' ἔμελλεν ἀεξήσασθαι ὀπίσσω.
 κέκλετο δ' ἀμφιπόλοισιν, αἶ οἱ δυσκαίδεκα πᾶσαι
 ἐν προδόμωι θαλάμοιο θυώδεος ἠυλίζοντο
 ἤλικες, οὗ πω λέκτρα σὺν ἀνδράσι πορσύνουσαι,
 ἔσσυμένως οὐρῆας ὑποζεύξασθαι ἀπήνηι,
 οἷ κέ μιν εἰς Ἑκάτης περικαλλέα νηὸν ἄγοιεν.
 ἔνθ' αὐτ' ἀμφίπολοι μὲν ἐφοπλίζεσκον ἀπήνην·
 ἡ δὲ τέως γλαφυρῆς ἐξείλετο φωριαμοῖο
 φάρμακον ὃ ῥά τέ φασι Προμηθεῖον καλέεσθαι.
 τῶι εἴ κ' ἐννυχίοισιν ἀρεσσάμενος θύεσσι
 Δαΐραν μουνογένειαν ἐὸν δέμας ἰκαίνοιτο,
 ἦ τ' ἂν ὃ γ' οὔτε ῥηκτὸς ἔοι χαλκοῖο τυπήσιον
 οὔτε κεν αἰθομένωι πυρὶ εἰκάθοι, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἄλκῃι
 λωίτερος κείν' ἦμαρ ὁμῶς κάρτει τε πέλοιτο.
 πρωτοφυῆς τό γ' ἀνέσχε καταστάξαντος ἔραζε
 αἶετοῦ ὠμηστέω κνημοῖς ἐνὶ Καυκασίοισιν
 αἱματόεντ' ἰχώρα Προμηθῆος μογεροῖο.
 τοῦ δ' ἦτοι ἄνθος μὲν ὅσον πήχχιον ὑπερθεν
 χροίῃι Κωρυκίωι ἴκελον κρόκωι ἐξεφάνθη,
 καυλοῖσιν διδύμοισιν ἐπήρορον· ἡ δ' ἐνὶ γαίῃι
 σαρκὶ νεοτμήτωι ἐναλιγκίῃ ἔπλετο ῥίζα.
 τῆς οἴην τ' ἐν ὄρεσσι κελαινήν ἰκμάδα φηγοῦ
 Κασπίῃι ἐν κόχλωι ἀμήσατο φαρμάσσασθαι,
 ἑπτὰ μὲν ἀενάοισι λοεσσαμένη ὑδάτεσσιν,

835

840

845

850

855

860

ἑπτὰκι δὲ Βριμῶ κουροτρόφον ἀγκαλέσασα,
 Βριμῶ νυκτιπόλον, χθονίην, ἐνέροισιν ἄνασσαν,
 λυγαίῃι ἐνὶ νυκτὶ σὺν ὄρφναίοις φαρέεσσι·
 μυκηθμῶι δ' ὑπένερθεν ἐρεμνὴ σείετο γαῖα,
 ῥίζης τεμνομένης Τιτηνίδος· ἔστενε δ' αὐτὸς
 Ἰαπετοῖο πᾶις ὀδύνηι περί θυμὸν ἁλύων.
 τό ρ' ἢ γ' ἐξανελούσα θυώδεϊ κάτθετο μίτρηι
 ἢ τέ οἱ ἀμβροσίοισι περὶ στήθεσσι ἐέρτο.
 ἐκ δὲ θύραζε κιοῦσα θεῆς ἐπεβήσατ' ἀπήνης,
 σὺν δὲ οἱ ἀμφίπολοι δοικαὶ ἐκάτερθεν ἔβησαν.
 αὐτῇ δ' ἠνί' ἔδεκτο καὶ εὐποίητον ἰμάσθλην
 δεξιτερῆι, ἔλαεν δὲ δι' ἄστεος· αἶ δὲ δὴ ἄλλα
 ἀμφίπολοι, πείρινοθος ἐφαπτόμενοι μετόπισθεν,
 τρώχων εὐρεῖαν κατ' ἀμαξιτόν, ἂν δὲ χιτῶνας
 λεπταλέους λευκῆς ἐπιγουνίδος ἄχρις ἄειρον.
 οἴῃ δὲ λιανοῖσιν ἐφ' ὕδασι Παρθενίοιο,
 ἦε καὶ Ἀμνισοῖο λοεσσαμένη ποταμοῖο,
 χρυσείοις Λητωῖς ἐφ' ἄρμασιν ἐστήνηα
 ὠκείαις κεμάδεσσι διεξελάησι κολῶνας,
 τηλόθεν ἀντιώουσα πολυκνίσου ἐκατόμβης·
 τῆι δ' ἄμα νύμφαι ἔπονται ἀμορβάδες, αἶ μὲν ἀπ' αὐτῆς
 ἀγρόμεναι πηγῆς Ἀμνισίδος, αἶ δὲ λιποῦσαι
 ἄλσεα καὶ σκοπιὰς πολυπίδακας· ἀμφὶ δὲ θῆρες
 κνυζηθμῶι σαινουσιν ὑποτρομέοντες ἰοῦσαν·
 ὡς αἶ γ' ἐσσεύοντο δι' ἄστεος, ἀμφὶ δὲ λαοὶ
 εἶκον ἀλευάμενοι βασιληίδος ὄμματα κούρης.
 αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ πόλιος μὲν ἐυδητήτους λίπ' ἀγυαῖας,
 νηὸν δ' εἰσαφίκανε διἑκ πεδίων ἐλάουσα,
 δὴ τότε ἔυτροχάλοιο κατ' αὐτόθι βήσατ' ἀπήνης
 ἰέμενη, καὶ τοῖα μετὰ δμωῆσιον ἔειπεν·

865

870

875

880

885

890

“ὦ φίλοι, ἦ μέγα δὴ τι παρήλιτον, οὐδ' ἐνόησα

831 ἔψηχε Etym. Gen.^{AB} et Etym. Mag. s.u. αὐσταλέας: ἔψησε codd.
 832 φαίδρυνε peri Etym. Gen.^A loc. cit. 846 κ' ἐννυχίοισιν m: κεν νυχ- w
 847 Δαΐραν w: κούρηn m δέμας w: μένος m 856 μετήρορον Etym. Gen.^{AB}
 et Etym. Mag. s.u. Κωρύκιον 860 ἀενάοισι E: -άοις Ω

867 τό ρ' K (τόρρ' E): τόν ρ' Ω 876 ἐν Fränkel 879 διεξελάησι
 RQCZ: -άσησι Ω 881 ἀπ' Fränkel: ἐπ' codd. 882 Ἀμνισίδες
 Fränkel λιποῦσαι Struve: δὴ ἄλλα codd.

μή ἴμεν ἀλλοδαποῖσι μετ' ἀνδράσιν οἳ τ' ἐπὶ γαῖαν
 ἡμετέρην στρωφῶσιν· ἀμηχανίη βεβόληται
 πᾶσα πόλις· τὸ καὶ οὐ τις ἀνήλυθε δεῦρο γυναικῶν
 τᾶων αἰ τὸ πάροιθεν ἐπημάτιαι ἀγέρονται. 895
 ἀλλ' ἐπεὶ οὖν ἰκόμεσθα καὶ οὐ νύ τις ἄλλος ἔπεισιν,
 εἰ δ' ἄγε μολπῆι θυμὸν ἀφειδείως κορέσωμεν
 μειλίχῃη, τὰ δὲ καλὰ τερείνης ἄνθεα ποίης
 λεξάμεναι, τότε ἔπειτ' αὐτὴν ἀπονισόμεθ' ὦρην.
 καὶ δέ κε σὺν πολέεσσιν ὄνεισιν οἴκαδ' ἴκοισθε 900
 ἦματι τῶιδ', εἴ μοι συναρέσσετε τήνδε μενοιήν.
 Ἄργος γάρ μ' ἐπέεσσι παρατρέπει, ὥς δὲ καὶ αὐτὴ
 Χαλκίοπη – τὰ δὲ σίγα νόωι ἔχετ' εἰσαῖουσαι
 ἐξ ἐμέθεν, μή πατρός ἐς οὐατα μῦθος ἴκηται –
 τὸν ξεῖνόν με κέλονται ὃ τις περὶ βουσὶν ὑπέστη, 905
 δῶρ' ἀποδεξαμένην, ὀλοῶν ῥύσασθαι ἀέθλων.
 αὐτὰρ ἐγὼ τὸν μῦθον ἐπήνειον ἠδὲ καὶ αὐτὸν
 κέκλομαι εἰς ὦπὴν ἐτάρων ἄπο μούνον ἰκέσθαι,
 ὄφρα τὰ μὲν δασόμεσθα μετὰ σφίσι, εἴ κεν ὀπάσσηι
 δῶρα φέρων, τῶι δ' αὐτε κακώτερον ἄλλο πόρωμεν 910
 φάρμακον. ἀλλ' ἀπονόσφι πέλεσθέ μοι, εὐτ' ἂν ἴκηται.”
 ὣς ἠὔδα· πάσσησι δ' ἐπίκλοπος ἦνδανε μῆτις.
 αὐτίκα δ' Αἰσονίδην ἐτάρων ἄπο μούνον ἐρύσσας
 Ἄργος, ὅτ' ἦδη τὴν γε κασιγνήτων ἐσάκουσεν
 ἠερίην Ἐκάτης ἱερὸν μετὰ νηὸν ἰούσαν, 915
 ἦγε διέκ πεδίου· ἄμα δὲ σφισιν εἶπετο Μόψος
 Ἄμπυκίδης, ἐσθλὸς μὲν ἐπιπροφανέντας ἐνισπεῖν
 οἰωνούς, ἐσθλὸς δὲ σὺν εὖ φράσασσθαι ἰούσιν.
 εὖθ' οὐ πῶ τις τοῖος ἐπὶ προτέρων γένετ' ἀνδρῶν,
 οὐθ' ὅσοι ἐξ αὐτοῖο Διὸς γένος οὐθ' ὅσοι ἄλλων 920
 ἀθανάτων ἦρωες ἀφ' αἵματος ἐβλάστησαν,
 οἷον Ἰήσωνα θῆκε Διὸς δάμαρ ἦματι κείνωι

901 τῶιδ' Platt: τῶι codd.
 909 μ[ετὰ Π^oD: κατὰ Ω
 τήνδε Ω

τήνδε m: τῆδε S: ἠδὲ G
 913 μούνον m: νόσφιν w

μενοιήν m: -νῆ w
 914 τήνγε S:

ἡμὲν ἐσάντα ἰδεῖν ἠδὲ προτιμυθῆσασθαι·
 τὸν καὶ παπταίνοντες ἐθάμβεον αὐτοὶ ἐταῖροι
 λαμπόμενον χαρίτεσσιν, ἐγήθησεν δὲ κελεύθωι 925
 Ἄμπυκίδης, ἦδη που οἰσάμενος τὰ ἕκαστα.
 ἔστι δὲ τις πεδίοιο κατὰ στίβον ἐγγύθι νηοῦ
 αἴγειρος φύλλοισιν ἀπειρεσίοις κομώσασ·
 τῆι θαμὰ δὴ λακέρυζαι ἐπηυλίζοντο κορῶναι,
 τᾶων τις μεσσηγύς ἀνὰ πτερὰ κινήσασα 930
 ὑψοῦ ἐπ' ἀκρεμόνων Ἥρης ἠνίπαπε βουλαῖς·
 “ἀκλειῆς ὄδε μάντις, ὃς οὐδ' ὄσα παῖδες ἴσασιν
 οἶδε νόωι φράσασσθαι, ὀθούνεκεν οὔτε τι λαρόν
 οὔτ' ἐρατὸν κούρη κεν ἔπος προτιμυθῆσαιτο
 ἠθέωι, εὐτ' ἂν σφιν ἐπήλυδες ἄλλοι ἔπωνται. 935
 ἔρροις, ὦ κακόμαντι, κακοφραδὲς· οὐδέ σε Κύπρις
 οὔτ' ἄγανοὶ φιλέοντες ἐπιπνεύουσιν Ἐρωτες.”
 ἴσκεν ἀτεμβομένη· μείδησε δὲ Μόψος ἀκούσας
 ὀμφὴν οἰωνοῖο θεήλατον ὦδέ τ' εἶπε·
 “τύνη μὲν νηόνδε θεᾶς ἴθι, τῶι ἐνὶ κούρην 940
 δῆεις, Αἰσονίδη· μάλα δ' ἠπίηι ἀντιβολήσεις
 Κύπριδος ἐννεσίηις, ἦ τοι συνέριθος ἀέθλων
 ἔσσεται, ὥς δὴ καὶ πρὶν Ἀγηνωρίδης φάτο Φινεύς.
 νῶι δ', ἐγὼν Ἄργος τε, δεδεγμένοι ἔστ' ἂν ἴκηαι,
 τῶιδ' αὐτῶι ἐνὶ χώρῳι ἀπεσσομέθ'· οἰόθι δ' αὐτός 945
 λίσσεό μιν πυκνιοῖσι παρατροπέων ἐπέεσσιν.”
 ἦ ῥα περιφραδέως, ἐπὶ δὲ σχεδὸν ἦνεον ἄμφω.
 οὐδ' ἄρα Μηδείης θυμὸς τράπετ' ἄλλα νοῆσαι,
 μελπομένης περ ὅμως. πᾶσαι δὲ οἶ, ἦν τιν' ἀθύροι
 μολπὴν, οὐκ ἐπὶ δηρὸν ἐφήνδανεν ἐψιάσθαι, 950
 ἀλλὰ μεταλλήγεσκεν ἀμήχανος· οὐδέ ποτ' ὄσσε
 ἀμφιπόλων μεθ' ὀμιλον ἔχ' ἀτρέμας, ἐς δὲ κελεύθου
 τηλόσε παπταίνεσκε παρακλίνουσα παρειάς.

927 ἔσκε Schneider
 Seaton 944 ἔστ' Π^o: εὐτ' codd.
 Π^o codd.: -θον Π⁶⁸¹

931 βουλαῖς Chrestien: -λάς codd.
 950 ἐφήνδανον E

936 οὔτε
 952 κελεύθου

ἦ θαμὰ δὴ στηθέων ἔαγη κέαρ, ὀππότε δοῦπον
 ἦ ποδὸς ἦ ἀνέμοιο παραθρέξαντα δοάσσαι.
 αὐτὰρ ὃ γ' οὐ μετὰ δηρὸν ἐελδομένηι ἐφανάθη,
 ὑφὸς' ἀναθρώσκων ἅ τε Σείριος Ἰσκανοῖο,
 ὃς δ' ἦτοι καλὸς μὲν ἀρίζηλός τ' ἐσιδέσθαι
 ἀντέλλει, μήλοισι δ' ἐν ἄσπετον ἦκεν οἰζύν·
 ὡς ἄρα τῆι καλὸς μὲν ἐπήλυθεν εἰσοράασθαι
 Αἰσονίδης, κάματον δὲ δυσίμερον ὥρσε φανυθείς.
 ἐκ δ' ἄρα οἱ κραδίη στηθέων πέσεν, ὄμματα δ' αὐτως
 ἤχλυσαν, θερμὸν δὲ παρηίδας εἶλεν ἔρευθος·
 γούνατα δ' οὔτ' ὀπίσω οὔτε προπάροιθεν ἀείραι
 ἔσθενεν, ἀλλ' ὑπένερθε πάγη πόδας. αἰ δ' ἄρα τείως
 ἀμφίπολοι μάλα πάσαι ἀπὸ σφείων ἐλίασθεν.
 τῷ δ' ἄνεωι καὶ ἄναυδοι ἐφέστασαν ἀλλήλοισιν,
 ἦ δρυσὶν ἦ μακρῆσιον ἐειδόμενοι ἐλάτησιν,
 αἶ τε παρᾶσσον ἐκηλοι ἐν οὔρεσιν ἐρρίζωνται
 νηνεμίηι, μετὰ δ' αὐτίς ὑπὸ ῥιπῆς ἀνέμοιο
 κινύμεναι ὁμάδησαν ἀπείριτον· ὡς ἄρα τῷ γε
 μέλλον ἄλις φθέγξασθαι ὑπὸ πνοιῆσιον ἔρωτος.
 γυνῶ δέ μιν Αἰσονίδης ἄτηι ἐνιπεπτηυῖαν
 θευμορίηι, καὶ τοῖον ὑποσσαίνων φάτο μῦθον·
 “τίπτε με, παρθενική, τόσον ἄζειαι οἶον ἐόντα;
 οὐ τοι ἐγὼν οἰοί τε δυσσαυχέες ἄλλοι ἔασιν
 ἄνδρες, οὐδ' ὅτε περ πάτρηι ἐνι ναιετάασκον,
 ἦα πάρος. τῷ μὴ με λίην ὑπεραῖδεο, κούρη,
 ἦ τι παρέξ ἐρέεσθαι ὃ τοι φίλον ἦέ τι φάσθαι·
 ἀλλ' ἐπεὶ ἀλλήλοισιν ἰκάνομεν εὐμενέοντες,
 χῶρωι ἐν ἠγαθέωι, ἵνα τ' οὐ θέμις ἔστ' ἀλιτέσθαι,
 ἀμφαδίην ἀγόρευε καὶ εἴρεο· μηδέ με τερπνοῖς
 φηλώσηις ἐπέεσσιν, ἐπεὶ τὸ πρῶτον ὑπέστης
 αὐτοκασιγνήτηι μενοεικέα φάρμακα δώσειν.
 πρὸς σ' αὐτῆς Ἐκάτης μείλισσομαι ἠδὲ τοκῶν

963 ἤχλυσαν *m*: -σεν L²⁵¹w
 985 σ' LAG: τ' SE

979 παρέξ ἐρ- Vian: παρεξερ- codd.

καὶ Διός, ὃς ξείνοισι ἰκέτησί τε χεῖρ' ὑπερίσχει·
 ἀμφοτέρων δ' ἰκέτης ξεινός τέ τοι ἐνθάδ' ἰκάνω,
 χρειοῖ ἀναγκαίηι γουνούμενος· οὐ γὰρ ἄνευθεν
 ὑμείων στονόνετος ὑπέρτερος ἔσσομ' ἀέθλου.
 σοὶ δ' ἂν ἐγὼ τίσαιμι χάριν μετόπισθεν ἀρωγῆς,
 ἦ θέμις, ὡς ἐπέοικε διάνδιχα ναιετάοντας,
 οὔνομα καὶ καλὸν τεύχων κλέος· ὡς δὲ καὶ ὄλλοι
 ἦρωες κλήισουσιν ἐς Ἑλλάδα νοστήσαντες
 ἠρώων τ' ἄλοχοι καὶ μητέρες, αἶ νύ που ἦδη
 ἡμέας ἠιόνεσσιν ἐφεζόμεναι γοάουσι·
 τῶν ἀργαλέας κεν ἀποσκεδάσειας ἀνίας.
 δὴ ποτε καὶ Θησῆα κακῶν ὑπελύσατ' ἀέθλων
 παρθενική Μινωῖς εὐφρονέουσ' Ἀριάδνη,
 ἦν ῥά τε Πασιπάη κούρη τέκεν Ἡελίοιο·
 ἀλλ' ἦ μὲν καὶ νηὸς, ἐπεὶ χόλον εὔνασε Μίνως,
 σὺν τῷ ἐφεζομένη πάτρηι λίπε· τὴν δὲ καὶ αὐτοὶ
 ἀθάνατοι φίλαντο, μέσσωι δὲ οἱ αἰθήρι τέκμαρ
 ἀστερόεις στέφανος, τόν τε κλείουσ' Ἀριάδνης,
 πάννυχος οὐρανόισι ἐνελίσσεται εἰδῶλοισιν.
 ὡς καὶ σοὶ θεόθεν χάρις ἔσσεται, εἴ κε σαώσεις
 τόσσον ἀριατήων ἀνδρῶν στόλον. ἦ γὰρ ἔοικας
 ἐκ μορφῆς ἀγανῆσιον ἐπητείησι κεκάσθαι.”
 ὡς φάτο κυδαίνων· ἦ δ' ἐγκλιδὸν ὄσσε βαλοῦσα
 νεκτάρειον μείδησε· χύθη δὲ οἱ ἐνδοθι θυμὸς
 αἰνώι ἀειρομένης, καὶ ἀνέδρακεν ὄμμασιν ἄντην.
 οὐδ' ἔχεν ὅτι πάροιθεν ἔπος προτιμυθήσαιτο,
 ἀλλ' ἄμυδις μενέαινεν ἀολλέα πάντ' ἀγορευῖαι.
 προπρὸ δ' ἀφειδήσασα θυώδεος ἔξελε μίτρης
 φάρμακον· αὐτὰρ ὃ γ' αἶψα χεροῖν ὑπέδεκτο γεγηθῶς.
 καὶ νύ κέ οἱ καὶ πᾶσαν ἀπὸ στηθέων ἀρύσασα

992 ἄλλοι AE 994 που *w*: ποτ' *m* 997 ὑπελύσατ' *m*: -νευ *w*
 1001 λίπευ' οἱ L⁸⁰ 1002 τέκμαρ *m*: -μωρ *w* 1004 οὐρανόισι ἐνελ-
 Merkel: -οισιν ἐλ- codd. 1005 σαώσεις *m*: -σης *w* 1009 μείδησε· χύθη
 Fränkel: μείδησ' ἐχύθη codd. 1011 προτι- *d*: ποτι- Ω

ψυχὴν ἐγγυάλιξεν ἀγαιομένη χατέοντι·
τοῖος ἀπὸ ξανθοῖο καρήατος Αἰσονίδαο
στράπτειν Ἔρωσ ἠδεῖαν ἀπὸ φλόγα, τῆς δ' ἀμαρυγὰς
ὀφθαλμῶν ἤρπαζεν· ἰαίνετο δὲ φρένας εἰσώ
τηκομένη, οἷόν τε περὶ ῥοδέεσσιν ἔερση

1020

τήκεται ἠώιοισιν ἰαινομένη φαέεσσιν.
ἄμφω δ' ἄλλοτε μὲν τε κατ' οὐδεὸς ὄμματ' ἔρειδον
αἰδόμενοι, ὅτε δ' αὖτις ἐπὶ σφίσι βάλλον ὀπωπιάς,
ἰμερόεν φαιδρήισιν ὑπ' ὀφρύσι μειδιῶντες.

ὄψε δὲ δὴ τοίοισι μόλις προσπτύξατο κούρη·

1025

“φράζεο νῦν ὥς κέν τοι ἐγὼ μητίσοιμ' ἄρωγῆν.

εὖτ' ἂν δὴ μετιόντι πατὴρ ἐμός ἐγγυαλίξῃ
ἔξ ὄφιος γενύων ὄλοους σπείρασθαι ὀδόντας,
δὴ τότε, μέσσην νύκτα διαμμοιρηδὰ φυλάξας,
ἀκαμάτιο ῥοῆισι λοεσσάμενος ποταμοῖο,

1030

οἷος ἀνευθ' ἄλλων ἐνὶ φάρεσι κυανέοισι
βόθρον ὀρύξασθαι περιηγέα· τῷ δ' ἐπι θῆλυν
ἄρνεϊὸν σφάζειν καὶ ἀδαίετον ὠμοθετῆσαι
αὐτῷ πυρκαϊῆν εὖ νηήσας ἐπὶ βόθρωι·

1035

μουνογενῆ δ' Ἐκάτην Περσηίδα μειλίσσοιο,
λείβων ἐκ δέπας σιμβλήγια ἔργα μελισσέων.

ἔνθα δ' ἐπεὶ κε θεὰν μεμνημένος ἰλάσσηαι,
ἄψ ἀπὸ πυρκαϊῆς ἀναχάξεο· μηδέ σε δοῦπος
ἡὲ ποδῶν ὄρησι μεταστρεφθῆναι ὀπίσσω
ἡὲ κυνῶν ὑλακῆ, μὴ πῶς τὰ ἕκαστα κολούσας
οὐδ' αὐτὸς κατὰ κόσμον εἰὸς ἐτάροισι πελάσσηαι.

1040

ἦρι δὲ μυθήνας τότε φάρμακον, ἦντ' ἀλοιφήι
γυμνωθεῖς φαίδρυνε τεὸν δέμας· ἐν δὲ οἱ ἀλκῆ
ἔσσετ' ἀπειρεσίη μέγα τε σθένος, οὐδέ κε φαίης
ἀνδράσιν, ἀλλὰ θεοῖσιν ἰσαζέμεν ἀθανάτοισι·

1045

1016 ἀγαλλομένη E 1020 ῥοδέεσσιν wE: -έοισιν LA: -έηισιν Brunck
1032 ἐπι (ἐπι) Campbell: ἐνὶ Ω 1034 ἐνὶ D 1036 μελισσέων Rzach:
-σῶν codd. 1037 ἐπεὶ κε W²: ἐπειτα Ω 1038 ἄψ Brunck: ἄψ δ'
codd. 1043 οἱ Ω: τοι E

πρὸς δὲ καὶ αὐτῷ δουρὶ σάκος πεπαλαγμένον ἔστω
καὶ ξίφος. ἔνθ' οὐκ ἂν σε διατμήξειαν ἀκκακαὶ
γηγενέων ἀνδρῶν οὐδ' ἄσχετος αἴσσουσα
φλὸς ὄλων ταύρων. τοῖος γε μὲν οὐκ ἐπὶ δηρὸν
ἔσσειαι, ἀλλ' αὐτῆμαρ· ὁμως σύ γε μὴ ποτ' ἀέθλου
χάζεο. καὶ δὲ τοι ἄλλο παρεξ ὑποθήσοιμ' ὄνειαρ.
αὐτίκ' ἐπὴν κρατεροὺς ζεύξεαι βόας, ὦκα δὲ πᾶσαν
χερσὶ καὶ ἠνορέηι στυφελῆν διὰ νεῖον ἀρόσσηαι,
οἱ δ' ἦδη κατὰ ὠλας ἀνασταχύωσι γίγαντες
σπειρομένων ὄφιος δνοφερῆν ἐπὶ βῶλον ὀδόντων,
αἶ κεν ὀρινομένους πολέας νεοῖο δοκεύσσηαι,
λάθρηι λᾶαν ἄφες στιβαρῶτερον· οἱ δ' ἂν ἐπ' αὐτῷ,
καρχαλέοι κύνες ὡς τε περὶ βρώμης, ὀλέκοιεν
ἀλλήλους· καὶ δ' αὐτὸς ἐπέιγγο δηιοτήτος
ἰθῦσαι. τὸ δὲ κῶας ἐς Ἑλλάδα τοῖό γ' ἔκητι
οἶσαι ἐξ Αἴης, τηλοῦ ποθι· νῖσσο δ' ἔμπης
ἦ φίλον, ἦι τοι ἔαδεν ἀφορμηθέντι νέεσθαι.”

1050

1055

1060

ὡς ἄρ' ἔφη, καὶ σῖγα ποδῶν πάρος ὄσσο βαλοῦσα,
θεσπέσιον λιαροῖσι παρηίδα δάκρυσαι δεῦε
μυρομένη, ὅ τ' ἔμελλεν ἀπόπροθι πολλὸν εἰὸ
πόντον ἐπιπλάγξασθαι. ἀνηρώϊ δὲ μιν ἄντην
ἐξαῦτις μύθωι προσεφώνεεν, εἰλέ τε χειρὸς
δεξιτερῆς· δὴ γὰρ οἱ ἀπ' ὀφθαλμοῦς λίπεν αἰδῶς·

1065

“μνώσο δ', ἦν ἄρα δὴ ποθ' ὑπότροπος οἴκαδ' ἴκηαι,
οὔνομα Μηδείης· ὡς δ' αὐτ' ἐγὼ ἀμφὶς ἐόντος
μνήσομαι. εἰπέ δὲ μοι πρόφρων τόδε· πῆι τοι ἔασαι
δώματα; πῆι νῦν ἔνθεν ὑπεῖρ ἄλα νηὶ περήσεις;
ἦ νύ που ἀφνειοῦ σχεδὸν ἴξσαι Ὀρχομενοῖο
ἦε καὶ Αἰαίης νήσου πέλας; εἰπέ δὲ κούρην
ἦν τινα τήνδ' ὀνόμηναι ἀριγνώτην γεγαυῖαν

1070

1075

1048 ἄσπετος E 1050 αὐτῆμαρ ὁμως· σύ δὲ Fränkel 1054 post 1055
transposuit Fränkel ἀνασταχύωσι FN: -ούσοι Ω 1058 καρχαλέαι
Π' fortasse recte: καρχαροῖ Etyrn. Mag. s.u. καρχαρέος κύων 1062 ἦ τοι E²:
ἦ τοι Π' m: εἰ τοι w 1066 ἐπιπλάγξασθαι E
ἔαδεν Π' S: ἔα- Ω

Πασιφάης, ἢ πατρὸς ὁμόγνιός ἐστιν ἐμεῖο.”

ὡς φάτο· τὸν δὲ καὶ αὐτὸν ὑπήϊε δάκρυσι κούρησιν
οὔλος ἔρωσ, τοῖον δὲ παραβλήθηδην ἔπος ἠὔδα·

“καὶ λίην οὐ νύκτας ὀίομαι οὐδέ ποτ’ ἤμαρ
σεῦ ἐπιλήσασθαι, προφυγῶν μόρον, εἰ ἔτεόν γε
φεύξομαι ἀσκηθῆς ἐς Ἀχαιίδα μηδέ τιν’ ἄλλον
Αἰήτης προβάλησι κακώτερον ἄμμιν ἄεθλον.

εἰ δέ τοι ἡμετέρην ἐξίδμεναι εὔαδε πάτρην,
ἐξερέω· μάλα γάρ με καὶ αὐτὸν θυμὸς ἀνώγει.
ἔστι τις αἰπεινοῖσι περιδρομος οὔρεσι γαῖα,
πάμπαν ἐύρρηνός τε καὶ εὔβοτος, ἔνθα Προμηθεύς
Ἰαπετιονίδης ἀγαθὸν τέκε Δευκαλίωνα,

ὃς πρῶτος ποίησε πόλεις καὶ ἐδεῖματο νηοὺς
ἀθανάτοις, πρῶτος δὲ καὶ ἀνθρώπων βασιλεύσεν·
Αἰμονίην δὴ τὴν γε περικτίονες καλέουσιν.

ἐν δ’ αὐτῇ Ἰαωλκός, ἐμὴ πόλις, ἐν δὲ καὶ ἄλλαι
πολλαὶ ναιετάουσιν, ἴν’ οὐδέ περ οὔνομ’ ἀκοῦσαι
Αἰαίης νήσου· Μινύην γε μὲν ὀρηθέντα,

Αἰολίδην Μινύην, ἔνθεν φάτις Ὀρχομενοῖο
δὴ ποτε Καδμείοισιν ὁμοῦριον ἄστνυ πολίσσαι.

ἀλλὰ τίη τάδε τοι μεταμῶνια πάντ’ ἀγορεύω,
ἡμετέρους τε δόμους τηλεκλειτὴν τ’ Ἀριάδην,
κούρησιν Μίνωσ, τό περ ἀγλαὸν οὔνομα κείνην
παρθενικὴν καλέεσκον ἐπήρατον ἦν μ’ ἐρεείνεις;
αἴθε γάρ, ὡς Θησῆι τότε ξυναρέσσατο Μίνωσ
ἀμφ’ αὐτῆς, ὡς ἄμμι πατὴρ τεὸς ἄρθμιος εἶη.”

ὡς φάτο μελιχίοισι καταψήχων ὄραοισι·
τῆς δ’ ἀλεγεινόταται κραδίην ἐρέθεσκον ἀνῖαι,
καὶ μιν ἀκηχεμένη ἀδινῶι προσπτύξατο μύθωι·

“Ἐλλάδι που τάδε καλά, συνημοσύνας ἀλεγύνειν·
Αἰήτης δ’ οὐ τοῖος ἐν ἀνδράσιν οἶον ἔειπας

1076 Πασιφάης E: -άνη Ω
ἐύρρητός E: ἐύρρειτός d
1091 αὐτῆ LG: -τῆ ASE

1084 αὐτοῦ Fränkel 1086 ἐύρρητός Ω:
1089 βασιλεύσεν SE: ἐβ- LA: ἐμβ- G: βασιλευεν D
Ἰαωλκός Brunck: Ἰωλ- Ω: Ἰαολ- G

Μίνω Πασιφάης πόσιν ἔμμεναι, οὐδ’ Ἀριάδην
ἰσοῦμαι. τῷ μὴ τι φιλοξενίην ἀγόρευε·

ἀλλ’ οἶον τύνη μὲν ἐμεῦ, ὅτ’ Ἰωλκὸν ἴκηται,
μνώσο, σεῖο δ’ ἐγὼ καὶ ἐμῶν ἀέκητι τοκῶν
μνήσομαι. ἔλθοι δ’ ἡμῖν ἀπόπροθεν ἢ τις ὄσσα
ἢ τις ἄγγελος ὄρνις, ὅτ’ ἐκλελάθοιο ἐμεῖο·
ἢ αὐτὴν με ταχεῖαι ὑπὲρ πόντοιο φέροιεν
ἐνθένδ’ εἰς Ἰαωλκὸν ἀναρπάξασαι ἄελλαι,
ᾧφρα σ’ ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖσιν ἐλεγχείας προφέρουσα
μνήσω ἐμῆι ἰότητι πεφυγμένον. αἴθε γὰρ εἶην
ἀπροφάτως τότε σοῖσιν ἐφέστιος ἐν μεγάροισιν.”

ὡς ἄρ’ ἔφη, ἔλεεινὰ καταπροχέουσα παρεῖων
δάκρυα· τὴν δ’ ὅ γε δῆθεν ὑποβλήθηδην προσέειπε·

“δαιμονίη, κενεὰς μὲν ἔα πλάζεσθαι ἀέλλας,
ὡς δὲ καὶ ἄγγελον ὄρνιν, ἐπεὶ μεταμῶνια βάζεις.

εἰ δέ κεν ἦθεα κείνα καὶ Ἑλλάδα γαῖαν ἴκηται,
τιμῆσσα γυναιξὶ καὶ ἀνδράσιν αἰδοίη τε
ἔσσει· οἱ δὲ σε πάγχυ θεὸν ὡς πορσανέουσιν,
οὔνεκα τῶν μὲν παῖδες ὑπότροποι οἴκαδ’ ἴκοντο
σῆι βουλήι, τῶν δ’ αὐτε κασίγνητοὶ τε ἔται τε
καὶ θαλεροὶ κακότητος ἄδην ἐσάωθεν ἀκοῖται.

ἡμέτερον δὲ λέχος θαλάμοις ἐνὶ κουριδίοισι
πορσανεῖς· οὐδ’ ἄμμε διακρινεῖαι φιλότητος
ἄλλο, πάρος θανάτον γε μεμορμένον ἀμφικαλύψαι.”

ὡς φάτο· τῆι δ’ ἐντοσθε κατεῖβετο θυμὸς ἀκουήι,
ἐμπης δ’ ἔργ’ αἰδέηλα κατερρίγησεν ιδέσθαι.
σχετλίη, οὐ μὲν δηρὸν ἀπαρνήσεσθαι ἐμελλεν
Ἑλλάδα ναιετάειν· ὡς γὰρ τότε μῆδετο Ἥρη,
ᾧφρα κακὸν Πελῆιι ἱερὴν ἐς Ἰωλκὸν ἴκηται
Αἰαίη Μῆδεια, λιποῦσ’ ἄ(πο) πατρίδα γαῖαν.

1114 Ἰαωλκὸν Brunck: Ἰωλ- codd. 1121 ἄγγελον m: ἄλλον G: ἄλλον S
1129 πορσανεῖς wEΣ²: -σανεῖς Σ^{LP}: -συνεῖς LA 1132 ἀρίδηλα FN
1133 ἀπαρνήσασθαι wE 1134 τότε m: τότε w 1136 λιποῦσ’ ἄ(πο)
Köchly: λιποῦσα Ω: -οῦσά γε S

ἦδη δ' ἀμφίπολοι μὲν ὀπιπεύουσαι ἄπρωθεν
 σιγῇ ἀνιάζεσκον· ἔδεύετο δ' ἤματος ὥρη
 ἄψ οἰκόνδε νέεσθαι ἔην μετὰ μητέρα κούρην·
 ἦ δ' οὐ πω κομιδῆς μιμησέκετο, τέρπετο γάρ οἱ
 1140 θυμὸς ὁμῶς μορφῇ τε καὶ αἰμυλίοισι λόγοισιν,
 εἰ μὴ ἄρ' Αἰσονίδης πεφυλαγμένος ὄψε περ ἠύδα·
 “ὥρη ἀποβλώσκειν, μὴ πρὶν φάος ἡλίοιο
 δῦναι ὑποφθάμενον καὶ τις τὰ ἕκαστα νοήσῃ
 ὀθνεῖων· αὐτίς δ' ἄβολήσομεν ἐνθάδ' ἰόντες.”
 1145 ὥς τῷ γ' ἀλλήλων ἀγανοῖς ἐπὶ τόσσον ἔπεσσι
 πείρηθεν· μετὰ δ' αὐτε διέτμαγον. ἦτοι Ἰήσων
 εἰς ἐτάρους καὶ νῆα κεχαρμένος ὥρτο νέεσθαι,
 ἦ δὲ μετ' ἀμφιπόλους. αἱ δὲ σχεδὸν ἀντεβόλησαν
 1150 πᾶσαι ὁμοῦ, τὰς δ' οὐ τι περιπλομένης ἐνόησε·
 ψυχὴ γὰρ νεφέεσσι μεταχρονίη πεπότητο.
 αὐτομάτοις δὲ πόδεσσι θοῆς ἐπεβῆσατ' ἀπήνης,
 καὶ ῥ' ἐτέρη· μὲν χειρὶ λάβ' ἠνία, τῇ δ' ἄρ' ἰμάσθην
 δαιδαλέην οὐρήας ἐλαννέμεν· οἱ δὲ πόλινδε
 1155 θῦνον ἐπειγόμενοι ποτὶ δώματα. τὴν δ' ἀνιοῦσαν
 Χαλκιοῖον περὶ παισὶν ἀκηχεμένη ἐρέεινεν·
 ἦ δὲ παλιντροπήησιν ἀμήχανος οὔτε τι μῦθος
 ἔκλυεν οὔτ' αὐδῆσαι ἀνειρομένη λελίητο.
 ἴξε δ' ἐπὶ χθαμαλῶι σφέλαϊ κλιντήηρος ἐνερθεν
 1160 λέχρῃς ἐρεισαμένη λαιῇ ἐπὶ χειρὶ παρειῇ·
 ὑγρά δ' ἐνὶ βλεφάροις ἔχεν ὄμματα, πορφύρουσα
 οἶον ἔῃ κακὸν ἔργον ἐπιξυνώσατο βουλήη.
 Αἰσονίδης δ' ὅτε δὴ ἐτάρους ἐξαυτίς ἔμικτο
 ἐν χώρῃ ὅθι τοὺς γε καταπρολιπῶν ἐλιάσθη,
 1165 ὥρτ' ἰέναι σὺν τοῖσι, πιφασκόμενος τὰ ἕκαστα,
 ἠρώων ἐς ὄμιλον. ὁμοῦ δ' ἐπὶ νῆα πέλασσαν·
 οἱ δὲ μιν ἀμφαγάπαζον, ὅπως ἴδον, ἔκ τ' ἐρέοντο·
 αὐτὰρ ὁ τοῖς πάντεσσι μετέννεπε δῆνεα κούρης

1155 ἀνιοῦσαν D: ἄρ' ἰοῦσαν Ω

ἠρώων ἐς ἕκαστα L: οἱ δ' ἐκλυον ἕκαστα E

1166 ἠρώων ἐς ὄμιλον AwE²DL²:

δεῖξέ τε φάρμακον αἰνόν· ὁ δ' οἴοθεν οἶος ἑταίρων
 ἴδας ἦστ' ἀπάνευθε δακῶν χόλον. οἱ δὲ δὴ ἄλλοι
 1170 γηθόσυνοι, τῆμος μὲν, ἐπεὶ κνέφας ἔργαθε νυκτός,
 εὐκηλοὶ ἐμέλοντο περὶ σφίσιν· αὐτὰρ ἄμ' ἠοῖ
 πέμπον ἐς Αἰήτην ἰέναι σπόρον αἰτήσουτας
 ἄνδρ' εὐά, πρὸ μὲν αὐτὸν ἀρηίφιλον Τελαμῶνα,
 1175 σὺν δὲ καὶ Αἰθαλίδην, υἷα κλυτὸν Ἑρμείαο.
 βᾶν δ' ἴμεν, οὐδ' ἀλίωσαν ὁδόν· πόρε δὲ σφιν ἰοῦσι
 κρείων Αἰήτης χαλεπούς ἐς ἄεθλον ὁδόντας
 Ἄονίοιο δράκοντος, ὃν Ὀλυγυγίη ἐνὶ Θήβῃ
 Κάδμος, ὅτ' Εὐρώπην διζήμενος εἰσαφίκανε,
 1180 πέφνευ Ἀρητιάδι κρήνη ἐπίουρον ἐόντα·
 ἔνθα καὶ ἐννάσθη πομπῇ βοῶς ἦν οἱ Ἀπόλλων
 ὦπασε μαντοσύνησι προηγῆταιραν ὁδοῖο.
 τοὺς δὲ θεὰ Τριτωνὶς ὑπέκ γενύων ἐλάσασα
 Αἰήτητι πόρε δῶρον ὁμῶς αὐτῶι τε φονῆι·
 1185 καὶ ῥ' ὁ μὲν Ἄονίοισιν ἐνισπείρας πεδίοισι
 Κάδμος Ἀγηνορίδης γαιηγενῆ εἴσατο λαόν,
 Ἄρεος ἀμῶντος ὅσοι ὑπὸ δουρὶ λίποντο·
 τοὺς δὲ τότε Αἰήτης ἔπορεν μετὰ νῆα φέρεσθαι
 προφρονέως, ἐπεὶ οὐ μιν οἴσαστο πείρατ' ἀέθλου
 1190 ἐξανύσειν, εἰ καὶ περ ἐπὶ ζυγὰ βουσί βάλοιτο.
 ἦέλιος μὲν ἄπρωθεν ἐρεμνὴν δῦετο γαῖαν
 ἐσπερίων νεάτας ὑπὲρ ἄκριας Αἰθιοπῶν,
 νύξ δ' ἵπποισιν ἐβαλλεν ἐπὶ ζυγὰ· τοῖ δὲ χαμεύνας
 ἐντυον ἠρώες παρὰ πείσμασιν. αὐτὰρ Ἰήσων,
 1195 αὐτίκ' ἐπεὶ ῥ' Ἑλίκης εὐφεγγέες ἀστέρες Ἄρκτου
 ἐκλίθεν, οὐρανόθεν δὲ πανεύκηλος γένετ' αἰθήρ,
 βῆ ῥ' ἐς ἐρημαῖην, κλωπήϊος ἤυτε τις φῶρ,
 σὺν πᾶσιν χρήεσσι. πρὸ γάρ τ' ἀλέγυεν ἕκαστα

1172 ἐμέλοντο DΣ^{31em}: μέλλοντο Ω: μέλοντο E: μίμοντο S

1180 Ἀρητιάδι E: ἀδης Ω

1186 γαιηγενῆ G: γειη- LAS: ἐπὶ γη- E

1192 ἐσπερίων Fränkel: ἐσπέριος codd.

1177 ἐπ' E
1195 εὐφεγγέες S: -έως LAG

ἡμάτιος· θήλυν μὲν οἶν γάλα τ' ἔκτοθι ποίμνης
 Ἄργος ἰὼν ἤνευκε, τὰ δ' ἐξ αὐτῆς ἔλε νηός.
 ἀλλ' ὅτε δὴ ἶδε χῶρον ὃ τις πάτου ἔκτοθεν ἦεν
 ἀνθρώπων, καθαρῆσιν ὑπεύδιος εἰαμενησίην,
 ἔνθ' ἦτοι πάμπρωτα λοέσσατο μὲν ποταμοῖο
 εὐαγέως θείοιο τέρεν δέμας, ἀμφὶ δὲ φᾶρος
 ἔσσατο κυάνεον, τὸ μὲν οἱ πάρος ἐγγυάλιξε
 Λημνιάς Ὑψιπύλη, ἀδινῆς μνημηῖον εὐνῆς.
 πῆχυιόν δ' ἄρ' ἔπειτα πέδωι ἐνὶ βόθρον ὀρύξας,
 νήησεν σχίζας, ἐπὶ δ' ἀρνειοῦ τάμε λαιμόν,
 αὐτόν τ' εὖ καθύπερθε ταυύσσατο· δαΐε δὲ φिटροῦς
 πῦρ ὑπέπερθε ἐίεις, ἐπὶ δὲ μιγάδας χέε λοιβᾶς,
 Βριμῶ κικλήσκων Ἐκάτην ἔπαρωγὸν ἀέθλων.
 καὶ ῥ' ὁ μὲν ἀγκαλέσας πάλιν ἔστιχεν· ἢ δ' αἰούσα
 κευθμῶν ἐξ ὑπάτων δεινὴ θεὸς ἀντεβόλησεν
 ἱροῖς Αἰσονίδαο· πέριξ δὲ μιν ἔστεφάνωντο
 σμερδαλέοι δρυῖνοισι μετὰ πτόρθοισι δράκοντες,
 στράπτε δ' ἀπειρέσιον δαΐδων σέλας· ἀμφὶ δὲ τήν γε
 ὄξειήϊ ὑλακῆϊ χθόνιοι κύνες ἐφθέγγοντο.
 πίσαα δ' ἔτρεμε πάντα κατὰ στίβον· αἶ δ' ὀλόλυξαν
 νύμφαι ἐλειονόμοι ποταμηίδες, αἶ περὶ κείνην
 Φάσιδος εἰαμενὴν Ἀμαραντίου εἰλίσσονται.
 Αἰσονίδην δ' ἦτοι μὲν ἔλεν δέος, ἀλλὰ μιν οὐδ' ὥς
 ἐντροπαλιζόμενον πόδες ἔκφερον, ὄφρ' ἐτάροισι
 μίκτο κίων. ἦδη δὲ φῶως νιφόντος ὑπερθεν
 Καυκάσου ἠριγενῆς Ἡῶς βάλεν ἀντέλλουσα.
 καὶ τότε ἄρ' Αἰήτης περὶ μὲν στήθεσσιεν ἔεστο
 θώρηκα στάδιον, τὸν οἱ πόρεν ἐξεναρῖξας
 σφωιτέρηρις Φλεγραῖον Ἄρης ὑπὸ χερσὶ Μίμαντα·
 χρυσεῖην δ' ἐπὶ κρατὶ κόρυν θέτο τετραφάληρον
 λαμπομένην, οἷόν τε περιτροχὸν ἔπλετο φέγγος

1199 ἔκτοθι *m*: ἔκτοθι *w* 1204 εὐαγέως *LA*: -έως *w* 1209 αὐτήν
 Fränkel 1214 ἱροῖς *P⁶LS*: ἱερ- *Ω* 1219 ποταμηίδες *Sd*: -μητιδες *Ω*
 1220 εἰλίσσοντο *P⁶* 1225 ἔεστο *codd.*: ...]σεν *P⁶*

Ἡελίου, ὅτε πρῶτον ἀνέρχεται Ὠκεανοῖο.
 ἂν δὲ πολύρρινον νῶμα σάκος, ἂν δὲ καὶ ἔγχος
 δεινόν, ἀμαιμάκετον· τὸ μὲν οὐ κέ τις ἄλλος ὑπέστη
 ἀνδρῶν ἠρώων, ὅτε κάλλιπον Ἡρακλῆα
 τῆλε παρέξ, ὃ κεν οἶος ἐναντίβιον πτολέμιζε.
 τῶι δὲ καὶ ὠκυπόδων ἵππων εὐπηγέα δίφρον
 ἔσχε πέλας Φαέθων ἐπιβήμεναι· ἂν δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς
 βήσατο, ῥυτῆρας δὲ χεροῖν ἔλεν. ἐκ δὲ πόλης
 ἤλασεν εὐρεΐαν κατ' ἀμαξιτόν, ὡς κεν ἀέθλωι
 παρσαίη· σὺν δὲ σφιν ἀπειρίτος ἔεσυτο λαός.
 οἶος δ' Ἰσθμίων εἷσι Ποσειδάων ἐς ἀγῶνα
 ἄρμασιν ἐμβεβαῶς, ἢ Ταίναρον, ἢ ὃ γε Λέρνης
 ὕδωρ, ἢ καὶ ἄλσος Ὑαντίου Ὀρχησταῖο,
 καὶ τε Καλαύρειαν μετὰ δὴ θαμὰ νίσεται ἵπποις,
 Πέτρην θ' Αἰμονίην, ἢ δεινρῆντα Γεραιστόν·
 τοῖος ἄρ' Αἰήτης Κόλχων ἀγὸς ἦεν ἰδέσθαι.
 τόφρα δὲ Μηδείης ὑποθημοσύνησιν Ἰήσων
 φάρμακα μυδῆνας ἡμὲν σάκος ἀμφεπάλυνεν
 ἠδὲ δόρυ βριαρόν, περὶ δὲ ξίφος. ἀμφὶ δ' ἑταῖροι
 πείρησαν τευχέων βεβημένοι, οὐδ' ἐδύναντο
 κείνο δόρυ γνάμψαι τυτθὸν γέ περ, ἀλλὰ μάλ' αὐτως
 ἀαγὲς κρατερῆσιν ἐνεσκήκει παλάμησιν.
 αὐτὰρ ὁ τοῖς ἄμοτον κοτέων Ἀφαρήϊος Ἴδας
 κόψε παρ' οὐρίαχον μεγάλωι ξίφει· ἄλτο δ' ἀκωκῆ
 ῥαιστήρ ἄκμονος ὡς τε παλιντυπές, οἱ δ' ὀμάθησαν
 γηθόσυνοι ἦρωες ἐπ' ἐλπρωρῆσιν ἀέθλου.
 καὶ δ' αὐτὸς μετέπειτα παλύνετο· δῦ δὲ μιν ἀλκῆ
 σμερδαλέη ἀφατὸς τε καὶ ἄτρομος, αἶ δ' ἐκάτερθεν
 χεῖρες ἐπερρώσαντο περὶ σθένει σφριγώσσαι.
 ὡς δ' ὅτ' ἀρήϊος ἵππος, ἐελδόμενος πολέμοιο,
 σκαρθμῶι ἐπιχρεμέθων κρούει πέδον, αὐτὰρ ὑπερθε

1234 πτολέμιζε *w*: πολέμιζε *S* 1237 ἔλεν *Brunck*: ἔχεν *codd.*
 1238 ἀέθλωι *S*: -ων *Ω* 1242 καὶ *w*: κατ' *m* 1245 ἦεν *Fränkel*:
 ἦεν *codd.* 1251 ἀαγὲς *m*: εὐα- *w*

κυδιόων ὀρθοῖσιν ἐπ' οὐασιν αὐχέν' αἶρει,
 τοῖος ἄρ' Αἰσονίδης ἐπαγαίετο κάρτεϊ γυίων·
 πολλὰ δ' ἄρ' ἔνθα καὶ ἔνθα μετάρσιον ἴχνος ἔπαλλεν,
 ἀσπίδα χαλκείην μελίην τ' ἐν χερσὶ τινάσσω.
 φαίης κεν ζοφεροῖο κατ' αἰθέρος αἰσσοῦσαν
 1265 χειμερίην στεροπὴν θαμινὸν μεταπαιφάσσεσθαι
 ἐκ νεφέων, ἴδ' ἔπειτα τ' μελάντατον ὄμβρον ἄγωνται.
 καὶ τότε ἔπειτ' οὐ δηρὸν ἔτι σχήσεσθαι ἀέθλων
 μέλλον· ἀτὰρ κληῖσιν ἐπισχερῶ ἰδρυθέντες
 1270 ρίμφα μάλ' ἐς πεδίον τὸ Ἀρήιον ἠπείγοντο.
 τόσσον δὲ προτέρω πέλεν ἄστεος ἀντιπέρηθεν
 ὅσσον τ' ἐκ βαλβίδος ἐπήβολος ἄρματι νύσσα
 γίνεται, ὅππότε ἄεθλα καταφθιμένοιο ἄνακτος
 κηδεμόνες πεζοῖσι καὶ ἱππῆεσσι τίθενται.
 1275 τέτμον δ' Αἰήτην τε καὶ ἄλλων ἔθνεα Κόλχων,
 τοὺς μὲν Καυκασίοισιν ἐφισταότας σκοπέλοισι,
 τὸν δ' αὐτοῦ παρὰ χεῖλος ἐλισσόμενον ποταμοῖο.

Αἰσονίδης δ', ὅτε δὴ πρυμνήσια δῆσαν ἑταῖροι,
 δὴ ῥα τότε ξὺν δουρὶ καὶ ἀσπίδι βαῖν' ἐς ἄεθλον,
 νηὸς ἀποπροθορών, ἄμυδις δ' ἔλε παμφανώσων
 1280 χαλκείην πῆληκα θοῶν ἔμπλειον ὀδόντων
 καὶ ξίφος ἄμφ' ὤμοις, γυμνὸς δέμας, ἄλλα μὲν Ἄρει
 εἶκελος, ἄλλα δὲ πού χρυσαόρωι Ἀπόλλωνι.
 παπτήνας δ' ἀνὰ νεῖον ἴδε ζυγὰ χάλκεα ταύρων
 αὐτόγυόν τ' ἐπὶ τοῖς στιβαροῦ ἀδάμαντος ἄροτρον.
 1285 χρίμψε δ' ἔπειτα κίων, παρὰ δ' ὄβριμον ἔγχος ἔπηξεν
 ὀρθὸν ἐπ' οὐριάχῳ, κυνέην δ' ἀποκάτθετ' ἐρείσας·
 βῆ δ' αὐτῇ προτέρωσε σὺν ἀσπίδι νῆριτα ταύρων
 ἴχνια μαστεύων. οἱ δ' ἔκποθεν ἀφράστοιο
 1290 κευθμῶνος χθονίου, ἵνα τέ σφισιν ἔσκε βόαυλα
 καρτερὰ λιγνυόεντι περίξ ἐιλυμένα καπνώι,

1267 ὅτε πέρ τε Ziegler: ἄ τ' ἔπειτα Bigot: ἄ τ' ἔπεισι... ἄγοντα Fränkel
 1277 ἐλισσόμενου Herwerden 1285 τοῖς GE: τοῖσι LAS

ἄμφω ὁμοῦ προγένοντο πυρὸς σέλας ἀμπνείοντες.
 ἔδδεισαν δ' ἠρώες ὅπως ἴδον· αὐτὰρ ὁ τοὺς γε,
 εὖ διαβάς, ἐπιόντας, ἅ τε σπιλάς εἰν ἀλί πέτρῃ
 1295 μίμνει ἀπειρεσίησι δονούμενα κύματ' ἀέλλαις.
 πρόσθε δὲ οἱ σάκος ἔσχεν ἐναντίον· οἱ δὲ μιν ἄμφω
 μκηθμῶι κρατεροῖσιν ἐνέπληξαν κεράεσσιν,
 οὐδ' ἄρα μιν τυτθὸν περ ἀνώχλισαν ἀντιόωντες.
 ὡς δ' ὅτ' ἐνὶ τρητοῖσιν ἐύρρινοι χοάνοισι
 1300 φῦσαι χαλκῆων ὅτε μὲν τ' ἀναμαρμαίρουσι
 πῦρ ὀλοὸν πιμπρᾶσαι, ὅτ' αὖ λήγουσιν αὐτμῆς,
 δεινὸς δ' ἐξ αὐτοῦ πέλεται βρόμος, ὅππότε αἴξι
 νειόθεν· ὡς ἄρα τῷ γε θοῖν φλόγα φυσιόωντες
 ἐκ στομάτων ὁμάδων, τὸν δ' ἄμφεπε δῆϊον αἶθος
 βάλλον ἅ τε στεροπὴ· κούρης δὲ ἔ φάρμακ' ἔρυτο.
 1305

καὶ ῥ' ὁ γε δεξιτεροῖο βοὸς κέρας ἄκρον ἐρύσσας
 εἶλκεν ἐπικρατέως παντὶ σθῆνει, ὄφρα πέλασσε
 ζεύγλη χαλκείη· τὸν δ' ἐν χθονὶ κάββαλεν ὀκλάξ,
 ρίμφα ποδὶ κρούσας πόδα χάλκεον· ὡς δὲ καὶ ἄλλον
 1310 σφῆλε γνύξ ἐριπόντα, μιῆι βεβολημένον ὀρμῆι.
 εὐρύ δ' ἀποπροβαλὼν χαμάδις σάκος, ἔνθα καὶ ἔνθα,
 τῆι καὶ τῆι βεβαῶς, ἄμφω ἔχε πεπτηῶτας
 γούνασιν ἐν προτέροισι, διὰ φλογὸς εἴθαρ ἔλυσθείς·
 θαύμασε δ' Αἰήτης σθένος ἀνέρος. οἱ δ' ἄρα τείως
 Τυνδαρίδαι – δὴ γάρ σφι πάλαι προπεφραδμένον ἦεν –
 1315 ἀγχιμόλον ζυγὰ οἱ πεδόθεν δόσαν ἀμφιβαλέσθαι.
 αὐτὰρ ὁ εὖ ἐνέδησε λόφοις· μεσσηγῶ δ' αἶερας
 χάλκεον ἴστοβοῆα θοῆι συνάρασσε κορώνηι

1292 ἀμπνείοντες G^v·¹: -πνεόωντε S: -πνεῖοντε Vian 1295 μίμνει
 Merkel 1299 ἐύρρινοι Tour: ἐύρρηνοι OP²: ἐύρρινοι Ω 1300 ἀνα-
 μαρμύρουσι Π⁹: ἀναμορμύρουσι Ruhnkens 1302 post hunc uersum trium
 uersuum alibi ignotorum uestigia habet Π⁹ αὐτῶν E 1304 ὁμάδων C:
 -δω(ι) Ω: -δων S^{ac}E ἄμφεπε Merkel: ἀμφί τε codd. 1305 βάλλον Merkel:
 -λλεν codd.: βάλλε θ' Ziegler 1307 πέλασσε E: πελάσση Ω
 1310 ἐριπόντα L^{ac}D: ἐπιόντα Ω 1317 λόφοις E: λόφος Ω

ζεύγηθεν. καὶ τῷ μὲν ὑπέκ πυρὸς ἄψ ἐπὶ νῆα
 χαζέσθη· ὁ δ' ἄρ' αὖτις ἔλών σάκος ἔνθετο νώτῳ 1320
 ἐξόπιθεν, καὶ γέντο θοῶν ἔμπλειον ὀδόντων
 πήληκα βριαρῆν δόρυ τ' ἄσχετον, ὦι β' ὑπὸ μέσσαις
 ἐργατίνης ὡς τίς τε Πελασγίδι νύσσειν ἀκαίνην
 οὐτάζων λαγόνας· μάλα δ' ἔμπεδον εὖ ἀραρυῖαν
 τυκτὴν ἐξ ἀδάμαντος ἐπιθύνεσκον ἐχέτην. 1325

οἱ δ' ἦτοι φείως μὲν δὴ† περιώσια θυμαίνεσκον,
 λάβρον ἐπιπνεῖντε πυρὸς σέλας· ὦρτο δ' ἀυτμη
 ἦυτε βυκτῶν ἀνέμων βρόμος, οὓς τε μάλιστα
 δειδιότες μέγα λαῖφος ἀλίπλοοι ἐστείλαντο.

δηρὸν δ' οὐ μετέπειτα κελυόμενοι ὑπὸ δουρι
 ἦσαν. ὀκριόεσσα δ' ἐρείκετο νειὸς ὀπίσσω,

σχιζομένη ταύρων τε βίηι κρατερῶι τ' ἀροτῆρι·
 δεινὸν δ' ἐσμαράγευν ἀμυδις κατὰ ὤλκας ἀρότρῳ
 βῶλακες ἀγνύμεναι ἀνδραχθέες. εἶπετο δ' αὐτὸς
 λαῖον ἐπὶ στιβαρῶι πῖσας ποδί· τῆλε δ' εἴοιο
 βάλλεν ἀρηρομένην αἰεὶ κατὰ βῶλον ὀδόντας 1335

ἐντροπαλιζόμενος, μή οἱ πάρος ἀντιάσειε
 γηγενέων ἀνδρῶν ὀλοὸς στάχυσ· οἱ δ' ἄρ' ἐπιπρὸ
 χαλκείηις χηλήηισιν ἐρειδόμενοι πονέοντο.

ἦμος δὲ τρίτατον λάχος ἤματος ἀνομένοιο
 λείπεται ἐξ ἠοῦς, καλέουσι δὲ κεκμηῶτες

ἐργατῖναι γλυκερόν σφιν ἄφαρ βουλυτὸν ἰκέσθαι,
 τῆμος ἀρήροτο νειὸς ὑπ' ἀκαμάτῳ ἀροτῆρι,
 τετραγυὸς περ ἑοῦσα, βοῶν τ' ἀπελύετ' ἀροτρα.

καὶ τοὺς μὲν πεδίονδε διεπτοίησε φέβεσθαι·
 αὐτὰρ ὁ ἄψ ἐπὶ νῆα πάλιν κίεν, ὄφρ' ἔτι κεινὰς
 γηγενέων ἀνδρῶν ἴδεν αὖλακας· ἀμφὶ δ' ἑταῖροι
 θάρσυνον μῦθοισιν. ὁ δ' ἐκ ποταμοῖο ῥοάων
 αὐτῆι ἀφυσσάμενος κυνέηι σβέσειεν ὕδατι δίψαν· 1345

1319 ὑπέκ E: ὑπέρ Ω 1326 δὴ τείως μὲν SE: δ' ἦτοι τείως μὲν Fränkel:
 alii alia 1331 ὀκριόεσσα m 1333 ἀρότρῳ Damsté 1335 λαῖον
 Wellauer: λαῖον Lw: βαθμὸν L^{2v.1}.AE 1344 τ' Ω: δ' ZF

γνάμψε δὲ γούνατ' ἐλαφρά, μέγαν δ' ἐμπλήσατο θυμὸν 1350
 ἀλκῆς, μαιμῶων συὶ εἴκελος ὅς ῥά τ' ὀδόντας
 θῆγει θήρευτῆηισιν ἐπ' ἀνδράσιν, ἀμφὶ δὲ πολλὸς
 ἀφρὸς ἀπὸ στόματος χαμάδις ῥέει χλωμένοιο.

οἱ δ' ἦδη κατὰ πᾶσαν ἀνασταχέουσκον ἄρουραν
 γηγενέες· φρίξεν δὲ περὶ στιβαροῖς σακέεσσι 1355
 δούρασι τ' ἀμφιγυοῖς κορύθεσσι τε λαμπομένηισιν
 Ἄρηος τέμενος φθισιμβρότου· ἴκετο δ' αἰγλή
 νειόθεν Οὐλυμπόνδε δι' ἠέρος ἀστράπτουσα.

ὡς δ' ὀπότης, ἐς γαῖαν πολέος νιφετοῖο πεσόντος,
 αἶψ' ἀπὸ χειμερίας νεφέλας ἐκέδασσαν ἄελλαι 1360

λυγαίηι ὑπὸ νυκτί, τὰ δ' ἀθρόα πάντα φαάνθη
 τείρεα λαμπετόωντα διὰ κνέφας· ὡς ἄρα τοῖ γε
 λάμπον ἀναλδήσκοντες ὑπὲρ χθονός. αὐτὰρ ἴησαν

μνήσατο Μηδείης πολυκερδέος ἐνεσιάων.
 λάζετο δ' ἐκ πεδίοιο μέγαν περιηγέα πέτρον, 1365

δεινὸν Ἐνυαλίου σόλον Ἄρεος· οὐ κέ μιν ἄνδρες
 αἰζηοὶ πῖσυρες γαίης ἀπο τυτθὸν ἄειραν·

τόν ῥ' ἀνὰ ῥεῖα λαβῶν, μάλα τηλόθεν ἔμβαλε μέσσοις
 αἰξας· αὐτὸς δ' ὑφ' ἔδον σάκος ἔζετο λάθρηι 1370

θαρσαλέος. Κόλχοι δὲ μέγ' ἴαχον, ὡς ὅτε πόντος
 ἴαχεν ὀξείηισιν ἐπιβρομέων σπιλάδεσσι·

τόν δ' ἔλεν ἀμφασίη ῥιπῆι στιβαροῖο σόλοιο
 Αἰήτην. οἱ δ' ὡς τε θοοὶ κύνας ἀμφιθορόντες

ἀλλήλους βρυχηδὸν ἐδήϊον· οἱ δ' ἐπὶ γαῖαν
 μητέρα πίπτον εἰὸς ὑπὸ δούρασιν, ἦυτε πεῦκαι 1375

ἢ δρυές ἄς τ' ἀνέμοιο κατὰϊκες δονέουσιν.
 οἶος δ' οὐρανόθεν πυρροῖς ἀναπάλλεται ἀστῆρ

ὄλκον ὑπαυγάζων, τέρας ἀνδράσιν οἱ μιν ἴδωνται

1353 ῥεῖ Samuelsson 1355 φρίξεν w: φρίξαν LAE² 1360 αἶψ' L^{ac}:
 ἄψ Ω ἄηται L^{v.1}.E^{v.1} 1361 πάντ' ἐφαάνθη Brunck 1363 ὑπὸ χθόνα
 Etyim. Gen.^B et Etyim. Mag. s.u. ἀλδήσκω 1368 ῥεῖα Fränkel: χεῖρα codd.:
 χειρὶ Richards 1370 θαρσαλέος Fränkel: -έως codd. 1374 οἱ δ' codd.:
 ἦδ' noluit Faerber 1377 ἀπολάμπεται Σ^{1Jv.1}.Etyim. Gen.^{AB} et Etyim. Mag.
 s.u. πυρροῖς

μαρμαρυγῆι σκοτίοιο δι' ἠέρος αίξαντα,
 τοῖος ἄρ' Αἴσωνος υἱὸς ἐπέσσυτο γηγενέεσσι, 1380
 γυμνὸν δ' ἐκ κολεοῖο φέρεν ξίφος. οὔτα δὲ μίγδην
 ἀμῶων, πολέας μὲν ἔτ' ἐς νηδῦν λαγόνας τε
 <.....>
 ἡμίσεας δ' ἀνέχοντας ἐς ἠέρα, τοὺς δὲ καὶ ἄχρισ
 †ῶμων† τελλομένους, τοὺς δὲ νέον ἐστηῶτας,
 τοὺς δ' ἤδη καὶ ποσσὶν ἐπειγομένους ἐς Ἄρην. 1385
 ὡς δ' ὀπότη', ἀγχοῦροισιν ἐγειρομένου πολέμοιο,
 δείσας γειομόρος μὴ οἱ προτάμωνται ἀρούρας,
 ἄρπην εὐκαμπῆ νεοθηγέα χερσὶ μεμαρπῶς
 ὦμὸν ἐπισπεύδων κείρει στάχυν, οὐδὲ βολῆσι
 μίμνει ἐς ὠραίην τερσήμεναι ἠελίοιο, 1390
 ὡς τότε γηγενέων κείρειν στάχυν· αἵματι δ' ὄλκοι
 ἤυτε κρηναίαις ἀμάραι πλήθοντο ῥοῆσι.
 πῖπτον δ', οἱ μὲν ὀδάξ τετρηχότα βῶλον ὀδοῦσι
 λαζόμενοι πρηνεῖς, οἱ δ' ἔμπαλιν, οἱ δ' ἐπ' ἀγοστῶι
 καὶ πλευροῖς, κήτεσσι δομῆν ἀτάλαντοι ἰδέσθαι· 1395
 πολλοὶ δ', οὐτάμενοι πρὶν ὑπὸ χθονὸς ἴχνος ἀεῖραι,
 ὄσσον ἄνω προύτυψαν ἐς ἠέρα, τόσσον ἔραζε
 βριθόμενοι πλαδαροῖσι καρῆασιν ἠρήρειντο.
 ἔρνεά που τοίως, Διὸς ἄσπετον ὀμβρήσαντας,
 φυταλιῆι νεόθρεπτα κατημύουσιν ἔραζε 1400
 κλασθέντα ῥίζηθεν, ἀλώηων πόνος ἀνδρῶν,
 τὸν δὲ κατηφείη τε καὶ οὐλοὸν ἄλγος ἰκάνει
 κλήρου σημαντῆρα φυτοτρόφον· ὡς τότε ἄνακτος
 Αἰήταο βαρεῖαι ὑπὸ φρένας ἤλθον ἀνῖαι.
 ἦτε δ' ἐς πτολίεθρον ὑπότροπος ἄμμιγα Κόλχοις, 1405
 πορφύρων ἦι κέ σφι θεώτερον ἀντιόωιτο.
 ἦμαρ ἔδου, καὶ τῶι τετελεσμένος ἦεν ἀέθλος.

1382 post hunc uersum lacunam statuit Fränkel 1384 δὲ Ω: δ' αὐ Z
 1386 ἀμφ' οὔροισι m 1391 τότε codd.: ὄγε Köchly 1392 κρηναίαις
 Fränkel: ναῖαι Ω 1393 ὀδοῦσι codd.: ἀρούρης Hermann 1396 ἀπό
 RQC: ὑπὲρ Fränkel 1397 προύκυψαν I² 1399 τοίως P¹⁰E: τοίως
 δὲ Ω 1401 κληθέντα E

COMMENTARY

1-5 *Invocation of Erato*. The tripartite structure of the story, outward journey – Colchis – return journey, is marked by invocations at the head of Books 1, 3 and 4. The start of Book 3 also marks, however, a central division of the poem into two halves. Just as 1.1-4 introduces Books 1-2 (as well as the poem as a whole), so 3.1-5 introduces Books 3-4; Virgil borrowed both the language and the structural function of 3.1 for the invocation which opens the second, 'Iliadic', half of the *Aeneid* (*Aen.* 7:37). The unnamed Muse invoked in Book 4 is certainly Erato, and this binds the last two books together. The two openings are also similarly structured: Muse – explanation for invocation – narrative (with μὲν...δέ). The invocation of a single Muse at the start of the central book is a self-conscious marker of A.'s difference from Homer; in the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* only the first book begins with an invocation.

Erato appears in Hesiod's list of the Muses (*Theog.* 76-9) and Callimachus addresses questions to her in the *Aitia* (*SH* 238a.8, cf. Ovid, *Fasti* 4.195-6). Here she is addressed as the Muse of τὰ ἐρωτικά (cf. 3-5, Pl. *Phdr.* 259d), but A. also exploits a traditional connection between *eros* and poetic creation, cf. Eur. fr. 663 N² ποιητῆν δ' ἄρα | Ἔρως διδάσκει κἄν ἄμουσος ἦι τὸ πρὶν, Pl. *Symp.* 196e. The παιθῶ of Eros and the παιθῶ of poetry had always been closely associated, and the invocation thus points to the poetic quality, as well as the subject, which the Muse is to bring to the poet. In Hesiod Erato seems to be connected with the 'loveliness' of the Muses' song (cf. *Theog.* 65, 67, 70), Alcman (*PMG* 27) asks Calliope for 'lovely words' and for 'desire' (ἡμερος) and 'grace' (χάρις) in his poetry, Archilochus speaks of the 'lovely (ἐρατῶν) gift of the Muses' (fr. 1.2 West), and Callimachus asks the Graces 'to wipe their hands, rich with oil, upon [his] elegies, so that they will last for many years' (fr. 7.13-14).

1 Ἐρατῶ: nominative for vocative (Ἐρατοῖ), as often in poetry of all periods, cf. vocative Ἰνώ at Pind. *Pyth.* 11.2, Κλωθῶ *PMG* 1018(b)1, Campbell (1983) 2-3.

παρά θ' ἴστασο: the poet allots an 'equal' role to his Muse, in contrast to the proemia of Books 1 and 4, cf. Hunter (1987) 134. Both the poet and his Muse are envisaged as rhapsodes, who performed

standing, cf. Juvenal 4.34-5, *incipit, Calliope. licet et considerare: non est cantandum, res uera agitur*. In view of the importance of Pindar's *Fourth Pythian* for *Arg.* 3, A. may here be echoing and varying the opening of that poem, 'Today, Muse, you must stand beside a dear man...'

2 **ἐνθεν**: the primary sense is '[brought] from there' (i.e. Colchis), but '[tell me] from that point' is also felt; for the former cf. Mimnermus, fr. 11 West οὐδέ κοτ' ἄν μέγα κῶας ἀνήγαγεν αὐτὸς Ἰήσων | ἐξ Αἴης κτλ., and for the latter *Od.* 8.500 (Demodocus sang) ἐνθεν ἔλῳν ὡς οἱ μὲν κτλ. The former interpretation is supported by the similar ἐνθα in 2.1, and links the start of Book 3 closely with the end of Book 2 (the arrival in Colchis). An echo of Mimnermus at the start of an Alexandrian erotic narrative has programmatic significance: this epic book will have an 'elegiac' flavour, cf. Call. fr. 1.11 (with Hopkinson (1988) 93-4), Prop. 1.9.11 (with Fedeli's note).

3-4 **Μηδείης**: three long syllables, following two purely dactylic verses, and the triplet κῶας Ἰήσων Μηδείης announce the entry of a major character and the story which is to follow.

οὐ γὰρ καὶ Κύπριδος αἴσαν | ἔμμορες '[I invoke you] because you have a share also in Cyprus' field of influence'; for this 'anticipatory' γὰρ in prayers cf. 1.1-5 'I begin with Apollo... because Pelias heard [Apollo's] oracle', Denniston 69, and for the position of καὶ cf. 4.1199. The meaning is that Erato is both a Muse and knowledgeable about love; the phrasing seems, however, slightly awkward, and οὐ γὰρ δὴ, found elsewhere in invocatory opening verses (Men. *Mis.* A1, Eur. fr. 674a Snell) may be worth suggesting. αἴσα and μοῖρα (the noun of μείρομαι) are synonymous, as A.'s phrase makes clear, cf. 208, D. J. N. Lee, *Glotta* 39 (1961) 195-7. The apportionment of different spheres of influence to different gods is a standard feature of polytheistic systems, cf. Aesch. *Suppl.* 1041 δέδοται δ' Ἀρμονία μοῖρ' Ἀφροδίτας and Burkert (1985) 248.

4-5 To Erato are ascribed powers more usually associated with Aphrodite.

ἀδμητας 'not broken-in' i.e. virgin. Ancient poetry regularly applies to young girls words properly used of fillies or heifers, cf. Anacreon 417, Hor. *C.* 3.11.9-12, J. Gould, *J.H.S.* 100 (1980) 53. Nausicaa is the only Homeric character designated παρθένος ἀδμής (*Od.* 6.109, 228), and she functions as an important model for Medea throughout the book, cf. above, p. 30.

μελεδήμασι 'cares caused by lovesickness', cf. 471, 752, Lat. *curae*. θέλγεις: very common of the power of *eros* (Barrett on Eur. *Hipp.* 1274), but here particularly appropriate as the story of Medea is the story of 'the bewitcher bewitched', cf. 28, 86, 143, 4.147-50.

τῷ καὶ τοι: probably 'and therefore to you...' (with postponed καὶ) rather than 'to you also [as well as to Cyprus], therefore...' , cf. 1.113, 2.15 etc. τῷ is an old instrumental form from ὁ, ἡ, τό.

ἐπήρατον οὐνομ': the echo of Ἐρατώ in 1 closes a ring around the invocation, and the etymology of the Muse's name reinforces her fitness for the job she has been summoned to do, cf. Ovid, *Ars am.* 2.15-16 *nunc mihi, si quando, puer et Cytherea, fauete: | nunc Erato, nam tu nomen Amoris habes*.

ἀνήπται 'attached to' (ἀνάπτω). A. uses this verb with a variety of abstract objects - gratitude (2.214), troubles (2.245), fear (2.642-3).

6-35 The conversation of two gods has many Homeric precedents (cf. especially Athena and Apollo at *Il.* 7.17-43), and Hera and Athena are a familiar pair of plotters in the *Iliad* (cf., e.g., 2.156-65, 8.350-80); here, however, A.'s portrayal of Hera's mastery of the situation and Athena's coy reticence about sex is remarkably vivid. *Iliad* 4, 8, 15 and 20 and *Odyssey* 1 and 5 begin with divine consultations; this, however, is the first such Olympian scene in *Arg.* and marks a new direction, and a new tone, for the story: the gods must now intervene directly, in the Homeric fashion, to secure the heroes' success, cf. above, pp. 24-5.

6-7 A continuation from the conclusion of Book 2, ἡὼς δ' οὐ μετὰ δηρὸν ἐελδομένοισι φαάνθη, in imitation of a Homeric structure, cf. *Il.* 9.1, 20.1, M. Campbell, *Mnem.*⁴ 36 (1983) 154-5. In particular, the pattern of the conclusion of *Od.* 4 (μένον λοχόωντες) and the start of *Od.* 5 (ἡὼς δ' ἐκ λεχέων κτλ.) is reversed. In *Od.* 5 Hermes is despatched to Calypso (cf. 43-7n.) to secure Odysseus' release and return home; here Eros is to be sent to provide the means for Jason's successful return.

πυκνοῖσιν 'thick', of the reeds, but also suggestive of cunning and deception; hence πυκινὸς λόχος at 4.464 (the murder of Apsyrtus). The heroes, as well as the goddesses, are laying plans.

ἀνωϊστῶς 'out of sight', with a suggestion that no one was expecting their arrival, cf. 800; as this word was thought to be connected with νοεῖν (Livrea on 4.255), ἐνόησαν has special point: gods see everything.

8-10 A realistic touch typical of A.; at 4.352-3 Medea calls Jason

away from his companions to deliver her rebuke. At *Il.* 14.188-9 Hera calls Aphrodite away from possible witnesses in order to deceive her and Zeus, but here there are no gods who would seek to block Hera's plans.

θάλαμόνδε: in the *Iliad*, Hera has a special θάλαμος built by Hephaestus to which she retires to prepare herself to deceive Zeus (14.166-8); here, too, Hera is to plot deception through erotic power.

πείραζε: here with the accusative, rather than the Homeric genitive, on the analogy of πειρατίζειν with the accusative at *Il.* 12.47. πειράν frequently has a sexual sense, and here πειράζειν is amusingly used of an 'attempt' on a virgin goddess. The notions of 'trial' and 'testing' are recurrent throughout this book, which is to conclude with Jason's great πείρα, cf. 16, 68, 105, 179 etc.

11-12 θύγατερ Διός: an honorific address which is double-edged in the mouth of Zeus's wife, who had no part in Athena's birth, cf. 32n. The irony is reinforced both by μήσαι (see below) and by the tone of invocation in 11: Hera begins, not like Athena's 'superior', but like a mortal making a request of a god, cf. 4.1-2 αὐτῆ νῦν κάματόν γε θεά... ἔννεπε Μοῦσα, Διός τέκος, *Od.* 1.10 τῶν ἀμόθην γε θεά, θύγατερ Διός, εἰπέ καὶ ἡμῖν.

τί χρέος; 'What must we do?'

ἦε: introducing a question not involving an alternative, cf. 129, 306, 1.464 etc.

δόλον τινὰ μήσαι: Athena was the goddess *par excellence* of δόλος and μῆτις (cf. *Od.* 13.298-9), and in Hesiod she is the daughter of Metis (*Theog.* 886-900); cf. M. Detienne and J.-P. Vernant, *Cunning intelligence in Greek culture and society* (Hassocks 1978) 175ff. Here, however, she is out of her depth, and the μῆτις will come from Hera (cf. 30).

14-15 At 2.1279-80 Ancaeus had raised the question of whether the Argonauts should approach Aietes μελιχίηι or in some other way; Hera now provides the answer. The echo again links this scene closely to the end of the preceding book. Lines 14-16 amusingly suggest that Hera is afraid of Aietes. We are also reminded in 64-5 that Hera has more than just Jason's fate in mind, and it is primarily her plans for Pelias which dictate Medea's rôle in the book.

οὐκ ἄρ: A. follows Homer in using the potential optative without ἄν, cf. Chantraine II 217. The corrupt ἦ καὶ probably arose from misunderstanding of ἦε in 12.

παραϊφάμενοι: this verb may imply deceit (4.442, *Od.* 16.286-7 μαλακοῖς ἐπέεσσι | παρφάσθαι), but need be no more than 'calm', 'win over'.

μελιχίοις 'soothing', cf. *Il.* 9.113 of the approach to the angry Achilles. In 31 it indicates Athena's willingness to go along with Hera's plan.

17 παρᾶσσον 'next', i.e. 'straightaway', cf. 125, 967-72n. For the form cf. παραντικά, παραχρήμα, παρασχεδόν.

18-19 'While I myself, no less than you, am turning these things over in my mind, Hera, you ask me openly about them.' Athena's stress on how hard she has been thinking (cf. 20) underlines her helplessness. ἀπηλεγέως is used of speech which does not 'beat about the bush' cf. 439, 501, Livrea on 4.689. καὶ δέ (cf. 66, Denniston 199) stresses that both goddesses are engaged on the problem.

20-1 ὀνήσει | θυμὸν ἀριστήων 'will benefit the heroes'. For this epic circumlocution cf. *Il.* 1.395, 7.173.

πολέας δ' ἐπεδοίασα βουλᾶς 'I have weighed up [and rejected] many plans', which is no more than we would expect from Athena πολύβουλος (cf. *Il.* 5.260, *Od.* 16.282). βουλᾶς at the end of Athena's answer picks up βουλής (11) at the end of the first verse of Hera's question; A. is very fond of such ring-composition over a relatively short space. ἐπιδοιάζειν is found only here (the simple verb at 819 and Bacchyl. 11.87); in Homer ἐν δοίῃι means 'in uncertainty'. In 770 δοάσσαστο means 'was in doubt' and must have been connected by A. with δο(1)άζειν.

πολέας: Hellenistic poetry extends apparent Homeric examples of masculine πολῦς with a feminine noun, cf. *Il.* 5.776, 10.27, Call. *h.* 3.42, 4.28, Chantraine I 255-6. Here and in the two Callimachean examples this usage allows the poet the preferred dactylic rhythm (above, p. 42).

22 This gesture here conveys deep thought, cf. 422-3, Eur. *Ion* 582-3; elsewhere it conveys other forms of preoccupation - sorrow (cf. 1063, Richardson on *h. Dem.* 194) or various shades of amatory emotion (cf. 1008, 1022-3, 1.790, *h. Aphr.* 156, Kost on Musaeus 160). For a survey of this gesture in A. cf. F. Muecke, *B.I.C.S.* 31 (1984) 108-9.

23 ἀνδιχα πορφύρουσαι 'each separately contemplating'.

αὐτίκα 'presently', cf. 521, Bühler (1960) 202, Campbell (1983) 97 n. 13.

25 An amusing variation of *Il.* 14.128 (Diomedes just before the Διὸς ἀπάτη) δεῦτ' ἴομεν πόλεμόνδε καὶ οὐτάμενοι παρ' ἀνάγκη; so too βέλεσσι in 27 picks up ἐκ βελέων at *Il.* 14.130. Martial combat has given way to the warfare of the boudoir, as so often in Hellenistic and Roman poetry, cf. A. Spies, *Militat omnis amans* (Tübingen 1930). ἴομεν and ὀτρύνομεν are subjunctives with a short thematic vowel, cf. Chantraine 1 454-5.

ἐπιπλόμεναι 'approaching'; the word suggests that they will make a concerted 'attack' upon Aphrodite.

26-8 θέλξαι is governed by πίθηται 'in the hope that he can be persuaded to bewitch...', cf. *Od.* 22.316, M. Campbell, *C.Q.* n.s. 21 (1971) 403-4. αἶ κε πίθηται may alternatively be taken as an independent parenthesis, but εἰπεῖν seems too weak a word to govern θέλξαι, cf. 535-6. Π¹ may have had a different text from that of the MSS, but]νεπ[may really be]κεπ[or the scribe may have changed one to the other (information from P. J. Parsons). Cf. further J. D. Thomas, *C.R.* n.s. 20 (1970) 393.

ἐπ' Ἰήσωνι '[to bewitch Medea with love] for Jason'; for ἐπί cf. 1.612-13 ἔχον δ' ἐπὶ ληϊάδεσσι | τρηχύν ἔρον, fr. 12.6 Powell, D. L. Page, *Sappho and Alcaeus* (Oxford 1955) 276.

πολυφάρμακον: a Homeric epithet of Medea's aunt Circe (*Od.* 10.276); at Pind. *Pyth.* 4.233 Medea is the παμφάρμακος ξείνα. Cf. L. Belloni, 'Medea πολυφάρμακος', *Civiltà classica e cristiana* 2 (1981) 117-33.

βέλεσσι: the theme occurs already in Euripides' tragedy, cf. *Med.* 530-1 (Jason) Ἔρωσ σ' ἠνάγκασεν | τόξοις ἀφύκτοις τοῦμόν ἐκσῶσαι δέμας.

29 An echo of 2-3 suggests that the goddesses have now reached the conclusion which the poet stated in those verses.

ἐννεσίησιον 'with the help of', 'through the counsels of', a noun glossed in antiquity as βουλαί or ἔννοια (*LfggrE* s.v.), cf. 478. The word seems to be connected with ἐνίημι (cf. W. F. Wyatt, *Metrical lengthening in Homer* (Rome 1969) 94), and in 818 Ἥρης ἐννεσίησιον may be translated 'through thoughts implanted in her mind by Hera'.

30 μῆτις: cf. 11-12n.

32 νήιδα 'ignorant of', a word common in amatory contexts, cf. Bacchyl. 5.174, Call. fr. 75.49. For Athena's rejection of *eros* cf. especially *h. Aphr.* 8-15.

τέκε: epic uses τίκειν regularly of the father's rôle in conception (cf. 1087), but the verb has a special significance for Athena who was 'born' from Zeus's head; for the conceit cf. *h. Ap.* 314, 323-4, Ibycus 298.3-4, Call. *h.* 5.134-5.

33 'I do not know anything which can induce desire by bewitchment', cf. Eur. *Hērōp.* 509-10 φίλτρα θελκτήρια ἔρωτος which exploits the ambiguity of θελκτήριος, both 'inducing by bewitchment' and 'bewitching away'. In 738 and 4.1080 θελκτήρια φάρμακα ταύρων are 'drugs which act as charms against the bulls'.

35 For κεν with the optative in a polite request or exhortation cf. *MT*² §237.

ἀντιώσωα 'when you make your request', a sense of ἀντιῶν found first in the Hellenistic period (Livrea on 4.405); classical Greek uses ἀντιάζειν.

36-110 This famous scene has a rich literary background. The primary model is Thetis' visit to Hephaestus to acquire new arms for Achilles in *Il.* 18, a scene whose influence on the Alexandrians is clear from Theocritus 15 and Herondas 1, but A. has borrowed also from Demodocus' song of the love of Ares and Aphrodite in *Od.* 8 and Hera's deception of both Aphrodite and Zeus in *Il.* 14. Hephaestus' story of how he was removed from heaven and saved by Thetis and her sisters (*Il.* 18.394-405) becomes Hera's tale of Jason's kindness to her (67, 71 ~ *Il.* 18.402-3), and the god's ablutions (*Il.* 18.414-16) become his wife's morning toilet. The object of the visit is not armour but sexual power, a shift signalled already in the first book in the substitution of a description of Jason's beautiful cloak for Homer's description of Achilles' shield (1.721-67). For further discussion of this scene cf. Lennox (1980) and Campbell (1983) 10-18. On the standard motifs of 'epic visiting' cf. Richardson (1974) 205.

36-7 A reworking of *Il.* 18.369-71, Ἥραιστος δ' ἴκανε δόμον Θέτις ἀργυροπέξα | ἄφθιτον ἄστερόεντα, μεταπρεπέ' ἀθανάτοισι | χάλκεον, ὃν ῥ' αὐτὸς ποιήσατο κυλλοποδίων. For ἴκανε δόμον is substituted ἐπὶ μέγα δῶμα νέοντο, δέϊμεν replaces ποιήσατο, ἀμφιγυήεις replaces κυλλοποδίων, and there is no equivalent for v. 370.

ἀναιξασαί: the goddesses have been sitting down to talk to each other (cf. Theocr. 15.2-3). It is characteristic of A. that he has not given this information earlier; for another such example cf. 155n.

ἀμφιγυήεις 'lame in both feet' (as the gloss at Hesychius α 3969

explains), cf. 1.204 where this disability afflicts Hephaestus' son Palaemonius.

38-42 Echoes of *Od.* 8 arouse expectations that Aphrodite will be found in an embarrassing position; far from it, as neither Hephaestus nor Ares is in sight. Line 38 recalls *Od.* 8.318-20 (Zeus giving Aphrodite to Hephaestus), 39-40 pick up *Od.* 8.269-70 λέχος δ' ἤισχυνε καὶ εὐνήν | 'Ἡφαίστοιο ἄνακτος and 277 θάλαμον ὅθι οἱ φίλα δέμνι' ἔκειτο, and 41 echoes *Od.* 8.273-4 βῆ ῥ' ἴμεν ἐς χαλκεῶνα... μέγαν ἄκμονα. ἄλλ' at the start of 41 plays on the suspicion excited by the previous verse. A. places Hephaestus' workshop not, as in Homer, in heaven, but on one of the Planktai ('Wandering Islands'), the modern Aeolian (or Lipari) islands off the north-east coast of Sicily; A. probably has in mind Hiera (modern Vulcano), the southernmost of the chain, cf. 4.761-2, Virg. *Aen.* 8.416-22, Pfeiffer on Call. fr. 115.11-12, Vian III 43-4.

πάντα | δαίδαλα: cf. *Il.* 18.400 χάλκεον δαίδαλα πολλά [πάντα Zenodotus, Ar. Byz.] in Hephaestus' account of his exile from heaven.

43-7 The image of Aphrodite doing her hair may be indebted to art, as well as to the Homeric Hera (*Il.* 14.176-7); the theme of 'Aphrodite at her toilet' is common in art from the late fourth century on, cf. *LIMC* II 1.59-62. In his account of the Judgement of Paris (*h.* 5.18-22), Callimachus contrasts Aphrodite's excessive concern with prettying herself ('often she twice rearranged the same lock') with the rejection of cosmetic aids by Hera and Athena. An interest in the poetic description of ordinary activities is one of the many features which Hellenistic poetry shares with Euripides; for brushing the hair cf. *Hecuba* 923-6. Ovid has this scene in mind at *Mel.* 4.453 where Hera visits the Underworld to ask for the Furies' assistance and finds them brushing the snakes which they have for hair.

ἀνά with the accusative in the sense 'upon' is without true parallel and seems to be an example of linguistic experiment. δινωτῶι... θρόνοντ is an obvious emendation, but would introduce a double correction unique in A. (M. Campbell, *R.Ph.*³ 47 (1973) 86) and is unattractive after δόμοι.

δινωτόν 'embossed', cf. *Od.* 19.55-6 κλισίην... δινωτὴν ἔλεφαντι καὶ ἀργύρωι. A. may have in mind Sappho's description of Aphrodite as ποικιλόθρονος (*fr.* 1.1 LP-V), a word which many modern scholars connect rather with θρόνα, 'flowers'.

ἐπικειμένη 'having let down', a perfect middle participle of ἐπίμημι; in Homer εἰμένος is from ἐννυμι (cf. 830n.), and A. here seems to exploit *Il.* 15.308 (Apollo) εἰμένος ὤμοισιν νεφέλην. Cf. further Ardizzoni on 1.939 and Livrea on 4.179. The verse is framed by 'white...shoulders' to suggest the hair balancing evenly on the shoulders; for this stylistic device cf. McLennan on Call. *h.* 1.60.

κόσμηι... διὰ: the separation reflects what Aphrodite is doing to her hair, cf. Σ^{BT} *Il.* 14.176 πεξαμένη· διακρίνασα καὶ διαχωρίσασα; formally, διὰ may be thought of as adverbial or as in 'anastrophe tmesis' with κόσμηι (K-B I 334-5).

κερκίδι 'comb', properly 'shuttle'; the phrase echoes *Od.* 5.62 where Hermes finds Calypso working at the loom χρυσαίηι κερκίδι. For the importance of *Od.* 5 for this scene cf. 6-7n. Golden combs were in fact dedicated in the temples of goddesses (cf. *D-S* s.v. *pecten*), and at Call. *h.* 5.31 Athena's attendants are exhorted to bring her 'a comb all of gold'.

πλέξασθαι πλοκάμους: an echo of Hera's preparations to seduce Zeus, cf. *Il.* 14.176.

49 κλισμοῖσιν: often synonymous with θρόνοι, although κλισμοί are said to have had shoulder-rests (*Σ Od.* 1.145).

50 Instead of making plaits, Aphrodite ties up her hair in a knot as a temporary measure.

ἀψήκτους: as ψῆχειν is normally used of currying horses, the adjective is somewhat piquant when applied to Aphrodite's hair.

51 αἰμυλοῖσιν: the word may denote cunning flattery (Hes. *WD* 374, Cratinus, fr. 407 K-A) in which the speaker is after something, cf. 1.141, 1.792 (Hypsipyle to Jason). Here Aphrodite is on her guard and gently mocks her visitors; her habitual smile (cf. the epithet φιλομειδής) points to the insincere deference of her greeting.

52 ἡθεῖαι: in Homer this form of address is used to an older or more senior person and, although later poetry extended the range of the word (cf. Antimachus, fr. 52 Wyss), there is more than a tinge of sarcasm in Aphrodite's choice of greeting.

53-4 A standard question (e.g. *Il.* 18.385-7, 424-5, *Od.* 4.312-14, Theocr. 15.1-2) with a barb in its tail, as Hera recognises (56). Aphrodite's ironic politeness is coloured by her victory over Hera and Athena in the Judgement of Paris. Chronologically, of course, the Judgement is an event later in 'history' than the Argonautic expedition, but A. uses his readers' knowledge of subsequent

mythology, just as he uses their knowledge of Homeric poetry. Moreover, at *Il.* 21.416-33 Aphrodite had been mocked and humiliated by Hera and Athena; here perhaps is a chance for revenge.

56 κερτομέεις: the verse points to an etymology from κέρω and τέμνειν, cf. Σ 1.486, Σ^A *Il.* 1.539.

59-60 περί is placed with the second of the two genitives which it governs (cf. 560, 757-8); this device allows a suggestion of περί = 'chiefly', 'above all', reinforcing μάλιστα. Cf. further Clausen (1987) 151 n. 3.

61-2 Ixion was a prime example of ingratitude (cf. Pind. *Pyth.* 2.21-4). He received special favours from the gods, but conceived a passion for Hera; Zeus fooled him by making a cloud in the shape of Hera, and afterwards he was bound for eternity to a fiery wheel. Hera's choice of example points to the depth of her devotion to Jason (66-75n.). In the archaic and classical periods Ixion's wheel is thought of as whirling through the air; here it is in the Underworld, cf. *Trag. Adesp.* 680a.9 K-S (probably post-classical), Fedeli on Prop. 1.9.20.

δεσμῶν: Pindar calls the wheel πετρόκναμος δεσμός (*Pyth.* 2.40), cf. Eur. *HF* 1298 ἴξιόν ἐν δεσμοῖσιν ἐκμιήσομαι, Prop. 1.9.20 *infernae uincula...rotae*.

63 ῥύσομαι: for the vivid future in the apodosis cf. *MT*² §453-4.

σθένος: Hera's physical language misleads Aphrodite as to the kind of assistance required, cf. 81-2.

64-5 The repetition of this information from the proem to Book 1 (1.12-14) helps to mark the start of Book 3 as a new direction for the poem. Hera's vindictiveness was already a subject for comment by Zeus at *Il.* 4.31-6; her husband's sarcastic suggestion there that she would only be satisfied when she had eaten all the Trojans alive is not so far from what she is actually planning for Pelias - butchery followed by boiling. A. never explains why Pelias slighted Hera, who was the greatest of all Thessalian gods, but he expects us to remember the stories of Tyro and Sidero (above, p. 13). This myth was very likely the subject of at least one of Sophocles' two plays called *Tyro* (fr. 648-69 R). It is significant that Aphrodite had punished the Lemnians for a similar slight to her (1.614-15), as this reinforces the justice of Hera's claim.

ὑπερηνόρηι: Hesiod describes Pelias as μέγας βασιλεύς ὑπερήνωρ | ὕβριστής (*Theog.* 995-6).

66-75 Hera explains her special affection for Jason, who becomes an example of how the gods reward kindness, just as Ixion illustrates the grim fate of those who abuse divine kindness. Hera's story is very like a legend (Roscher III 2272-4) concerning Aphrodite and a boatman called Phaon. Aphrodite disguised herself as an old woman and Phaon ferried her across from Lesbos to the mainland; in return, he was rewarded with superhuman beauty and (like Jason) great sexual attractiveness. Here too then, as in 65, Hera appeals to Aphrodite from the latter's own experience.

In the *Odyssey* Hera aided the Argonauts because Jason was φίλος to her (*Od.* 12.72), but no reason is given; she is behind the expedition in both Pindar (*Pyth.* 4.184) and Pherecydes (*FGH Hist* 3 F 105, cf. 1135n.), but this passage is our earliest source for this story, which may suggest that it has been shaped, at least in part, to fit the Aphrodite-Phaon pattern. Nevertheless, the story is strikingly like the story of how Jason lost his sandal in the Anauros (above, p. 13), and echoes of the proem to Book 1 direct our attention to that story (67 ~ 1.11, 68 ~ 1.12, 71 ~ 1.9). Later versions combine the two crossings into one, but A. seems to have thought of them as separate incidents: here Jason is returning from a hunt, not answering Pelias' invitation to a sacrifice. The juxtaposition, however, of the stories of Pelias and Jason and the echoes of Book 1 stress the interconnection of their fates and force us to ask about the relation between the stories. Does just anybody meet a disguised god, or only someone whom the god has decided to put to the test and perhaps use in the future? Such considerations seem to lie behind the version of Hyginus (*fab.* 13) in which the two crossings are one, and the loss of the sandal a deliberate part of Hera's campaign against Pelias. Hera's ἐτι καὶ πρὶν seems designed to settle any chronological doubts we (and Aphrodite) may have, but in fact the phrase calls our attention to the problematic connection between the stories and thus to the difficulty of sorting out one divine motive from another. A.'s tendency towards mythological completeness (above, p. 21) has here a clear poetic function.

66 φίλατ': aorist middle with passive force; the initial iota is lengthened to compensate for the loss of the sigma. This form is transitive in 1002 and 4.990; for discussion cf. Chantraine 1 173, Bulloch on Call. *h.* 5.58.

67 ἐπὶ προχοῆσιν 'beside the course of' rather than 'by the mouth

of', cf. Bühler (1960) 79-81, Livrea on 4.132, West on Hes. *WD* 757. The Anauros flowed into the Gulf of Pagasae not far from Iolcus; the strength of its winter torrent is cited as early as [Hes.] *Sc.* 477-8.

68 That gods wander the earth in disguise testing men is a common idea in ancient poetry. A. has in mind especially *Od.* 17.485-7 (the warning to Antinous) θεοὶ ξείνοισιν ἑοικότες ἄλλοδαποῖσι, | παντοῖοι τελέθοντες, ἐπιστροφῶσι πόληας, | ἀνθρώπων ὕβριν τε καὶ εὐνομίην ἐφορῶντες; the suitors however, like Pelias, are ὑπερηνορέοντες (*Od.* 17.482).

71 For the alliteration expressive of a crashing torrent cf. 2.566-70, 4.214-15, *Il.* 11.492-5, Theocr. 22.49-50. For other alliterative effects in *Arg.* cf. 410 (matched in 496 and 1303), 792-3, 953, 1328, 2.552, 942-3, 1189, 4.1109, 1661-2. Cf. also 852n.

72 The verse begins like *Il.* 3.386 where Aphrodite disguises herself as an old woman to lure Helen into Paris' bed; here again Hera draws on Aphrodite's experience. For the motif in general cf. Richardson on *h. Dem.* 101.

73 προαλῆς: once in Homer of sloping ground over which water rushes (*Il.* 21.262); A. transfers it to the water itself. ἄλις in 67 perhaps points to an etymology for this word ('moving forward in great quantity'), cf. Σ^β *Il.* 21.262 (land) καθ' ὃν τὸ ὕδωρ ἔρχεται ἄλις.

74 τῶ: cf. 5n.

75 An echo of Odysseus' plea to Achilles, ἐν δοίῃ δὲ σαωσέμεν ἢ ἀπολέσθαι | νῆας εὐσσελμούς, εἰ μὴ σύ γε δύσαι ἀλκήν (*Il.* 9.230-1).

76 ἐνεοστασίη 'speechlessness', a form based on ἐνεός; Hesychius α 4908, however, preserves the form ἀνεοστασίη glossed as θάμβος. The ending -στασίη, 'the state of not moving', has particular point as speech was often described as 'flowing' (ρεῖν). ἐνεοστασίη λάβε μύθων reworks the Homeric phrase ἀμφασίη ἐπέων λάβε.

78 ἀγανοῖσι 'pleasing', conveying a sense of submission (cf. 396) and so in keeping with ἄζετο and πόντα θεά; Aphrodite is almost reduced to mortal status before Zeus's wife.

79-82 A reworking of Aphrodite's reply to Hera's request for sexual power at *Il.* 14.194-6. Here Aphrodite is not yet sure what sort of help Hera wants: she may even want Aphrodite's notoriously feeble (*Il.* 5.331-2, 428-30) martial prowess.

τοὶ 'to you', 'in your eyes'.

σεῖο λιλαιομένης: probably object of ἀθερίζω (cf. 1.123, 2.477), with

81 as an accusative of respect. Others understand 81 as object of ἀθερίζω (cf. 4.1101), with σεῖο λιλ. as a genitive absolute, or even 81 as object of λιλαιομένης, a construction which LSJ do not otherwise record before Nonnus (fifth cent. A.D.).

χάρις: perhaps an amusing echo of *Il.* 14.267-79 where Hera promises to give one of the Graces in marriage to Sleep in return for his assistance in deceiving Zeus.

83 ἐπιφραδέως: Hera has her wits about her. If she already knows about Aphrodite's troubles with her son (cf. αἰ κε πίθηται in 26), ἐπιφραδέως foreshadows the irony of 85: Aphrodite is in no position to approach her son αὐτως ἀκέουσα.

86-9 The careful variation of the language of 27-9 illustrates A.'s concern to differentiate his style from the Homeric 'formulaic' style, cf. above, p. 39.

ῥηιδίως: an answer to Argos' pessimism at 2.1207-8, οὐ μὴν οὐδ' ἀπάνευθεν ἐλεῖν δέρος Αἰήταο | ῥηιδιον.

δολόεσσα: an echo of Phineus' advice to the Argonauts, ἀλλὰ φίλοι φράζεσθε θεῶς δολόεσσαν ἀρωγὴν | Κύπριδος (2.423-4).

91-2 ὅμμι μάλιστα | ἢ ἐμοί: a combination of 'you most of all' and 'you more than me', perhaps under the influence of such Homeric idioms as ὠκυμορώτατος ἄλλων and πανύστατος ἄλλων (*Il.* 1.505, 23.532). At *Od.* 11.482-3 most MSS offer σεῖο... μακάρτατος. Other examples of this construction are either very late (*P. Oxy.* 1015.21) or doubtful (*Hdt.* 2.35.1, *Eur. Andr.* 7, *Philemon fr.* 283 K).

93 ἐν ὄμμασιν: for shame associated with the eyes cf. 1068, 2.407, *Theocr.* 27.70, *Call. SH* 239.7, Richardson on *h. Dem.* 214-15.

94 ἐριδμαίνων: once in Homer, of boys irritating wasps (*Il.* 16.260); it perhaps hints at a link between ἔρωσ and ἔρις, cf. 4.445-6 σχέτλι' Ἔρωσ... ἐκ σέθεν οὐλόμεναι τ' ἔριδες κτλ., *Eur. IA* 585-7.

95 περισχομένη 'beset on all sides by', an intensification of the Homeric ἔχεσθαι κακότητι (*Od.* 8.182, 17.318).

96 αὐτοῖσιν τόξοισι 'bow and all', cf. 373, K-G 1 433-4.

δυσηχέας: either 'which make an evil sound' or 'whose sound signifies evil'.

98-9 Aphrodite's angry frustration is reflected in the intertwined clauses of her utterance. Eros is presumably threatening her with a disgraceful passion; cf. her chagrin at her love-making with Anchises (*h. Aphr.* 244-55).

γ': emphatic in the apodosis, cf. 355, Denniston 126. Unless Madvig's κ' is correct, A. follows Homeric precedent in the omission of ἄν, cf. *Il.* 23.151.

ἐοῖ αὐτῆι 'myself'. A., in common with all later epic poets, is very free in using pronouns in non-Homeric genders and persons, cf. 186n., Marxer (1935) 61-4, Erbse (1953) 165-6.

100-1 Cf. 106-7n.

ἀλλήλας: the dative is echoed by Quintus Smyrnaeus (4.300) and may have arisen from such constructions as *Il.* 9.372-3 οὐδ' ἄν ἔμοιγε | τετραίη... εἰς ὄπτα ιδέσθαι; ἀλλήλας is, however, a very easy correction, and the error could have arisen from ἄλλοις immediately below.

103 ἄλις κτλ. 'It is enough that I myself know about them'; for the construction cf. Soph. *OT* 1061 ἄλις νοσοῦσ' ἐγώ, *Trag. Adesp.* *76 K-S.

106-7 ῥαδινῆς emphasises Hera's control, as does her smile in 107 (cf. 2.61); normally, it is Aphrodite who does the smiling (51n.). Hera's gesture here marks friendly reconciliation (cf. 1.1330-1), cf. Grajew (1934) 44-5.

παραβλήδην: the meaning may be simply 'in reply', cf. Campbell (1983) 16-17. παρα-, however, often implies deceit (cf. 14-15n.), and Σ^{BF} show that some critics interpreted παραβλήδην at *Il.* 4.6 as 'deceitfully'; this may well be the sense also at 1078 (where see n.) and 2.621 (cf. Hunter (1988) 446-7). Hera's promise may be not quite what it seems; at *Il.* 14.222-3 she smiles after deceiving Aphrodite. Moreover, the idea of an Eros who will grow up and cease from his tricks is, at least, improbable. Hera thus deceives Aphrodite, as Aphrodite is to deceive Eros. Cf. 152n.

109-10 Hera tells Aphrodite not herself to act like a spoiled child, cf. χαλεφθεῖς (97), ἐριδμαίνων (94).

μεταλλήξει 'he will cease' (from his present behaviour), a blunt statement which is just what Aphrodite wanted to hear. For the absolute use of the verb cf. 951. Σ glosses as μεταστρέψει 'he will change' and Madvig proposed μεταλλάξει (a verb not found in *Arg.*); the gloss does not, however, necessarily point to a reading other than that of the MSS.

112 παλίσυτοι: from σέω and properly indicative of quick movement (cf. 306, 373, 4.24), but that nuance is felt only weakly here and at 4.879. At 1.1206 παλίσυτος ὄρω νέεσθαι is an amusing

description of Heracles, who is carrying a tree as well as his usual equipment.

113-14 Cf. *Il.* 4.88-9 (Athena looking for Pandarus to make him shoot his bow) διζημένη, εἴ που ἐφεύροι. | εὔρε Λυκάονος υἴον κτλ., 5.167-9 βῆ δ' ἴμεν... εἴ που ἐφεύροι | εὔρε Λυκάονος υἴον κτλ. In 4.88-9 Zenodotus adopted a text with εἴ που ἐφεύροι for εὔρε δὲ τόνδε and the omission of 89, cf. S. West (1967) 68 n. 44, Pfeiffer (1968) 114, above, p. 36. The conditional force of εἴ μιν ἐφεύροι should here be given its full weight, as it is appropriate that a mother should only have an uncertain chance of finding her naughty son when he is out playing.

ἄλωῆι: an echo of *Od.* 24.226 where Odysseus finds his father ἐκτιμένηι ἐν ἄλωῆι; here it is a mother looking for her son. Zeus's flourishing orchard is a natural place to find Eros; in Plato's *Symposium*, Diotima says that Eros was conceived in 'Zeus's garden' (203b) and Agathon notes that the god spends his life among flowers (196a-b), as he indeed does in many vase paintings, cf. A. Greifenhagen, *Griechische Erosen* (Berlin 1957) 7-33, *LIMC* III 1.864-5. His presence helps to explain why the orchard is flourishing; in Longus' *Daphnis & Chloe*, Eros tells an old gardener 'I come into your garden and play amidst the flowers and the plants and I wash in these streams. That is why the flowers and the plants are beautiful, watered by my bath' (2.5.4).

115-18 Aphrodite finds Eros and Ganymede playing knucklebones. According to Homer (*Il.* 20.232-5), Ganymede was the most beautiful of mortals (cf. 117) and for this reason the gods took him to heaven to be Zeus's wine-pourer. In Homer the relationship between Zeus and Ganymede is not explicitly sexual, cf. K. J. Dover, *Greek homosexuality* (London 1978) 196-7, but from the archaic period on it was generally assumed to be so: Ganymede's presence here is a reminder of Eros' power which is to be so crucial in Book 3. In Sophocles' *Colchian Women* (above, p. 19) Ganymede's sexual attractiveness for Zeus was also mentioned, presumably as an example of the universal power of Eros (fr. 345 R). In Anacreon 398 μανίαί τε καὶ κυδομοί are said to be the knucklebones of Eros; that striking metaphor is here given concrete expression. For other instances of Eros' knucklebones cf. Asclepiades, *AP* 12.46 (= *HE* 876-9), Meleager, *AP* 12.47 (= *HE* 4076-7). In Herondas 3 a mother has to deal with a naughty child who has graduated from knucklebones to more serious gambling. In art, the subject was a popular one, and a preserved Roman gem (presumably

deriving from a Hellenistic original) shows two Erotes (or Eros and Ganymede) in almost precisely the same attitudes as A.'s children in 119-24, cf. B. Neutsch, 'Spiel mit dem Astragal', in R. Herbig, ed., *Ganymed* (Heidelberg 1949) and R. Hampe, *Die Stele aus Pharsalos im Louvre* (Berlin 1951). Whether or not A. had any particular representation in mind, the carefully envisaged detail of a scene on Olympus offers an excellent example of pictorial vividness; cf. G. Zanker, *Realism in Alexandrian poetry* (London 1987).

καὶ Γανυμήδεα: it is very unusual for a proclitic such as καὶ to come immediately before the central caesura of the verse, cf. 2.1203, Bulloch on Call. *h.* 5.103. The strong breaks in the second foot and at the bucolic diaeresis (cf. above, p. 42), however, mitigate the break between καὶ and Γανυμήδεα.

ἐγκατένασσαν: A. seems to have borrowed from Moero, a poetess of the late fourth or early third century, who wrote of the eagle which had brought nectar to the young Zeus εὐρύσπα Ζεὺς | ἀθάνατον ποίησε καὶ οὐρανῶι ἐγκατένασσαν (fr. 1.7-8 Powell). A. transfers these words to Ganymede, who was brought to heaven by another eagle.

ἀμφ' ἀστραγάλοις: an echo of *Il.* 23.85-8, where Patroclus' ghost recalls how he killed the son of Amphidamas ἀμφ' ἀστραγάλοις χολωθεῖς. The echo, reinforced by κεχόλωτο in 124, amusingly suggests that the present game might have dire consequences. This Iliadic story was the subject of the *Astragalistai* of the Alexandrian poet Alexander Aetolus, a poem or play which probably pre-dated *Arg.* For ἀμφί here cf. 623-4, and for the verb G. Caggia, *R.F.I.C.* 100 (1972) 25-8 and Hopkinson on Call. *h.* 6.38.

χρυσείοις: as befits immortals, cf. 46, 878n.

119-20 'And greedy Eros was already holding the palm of his left hand, quite full [of knucklebones] up against his chest.'

μάργος: cf. Alcman 58 Ἀφροδίτα μὲν οὐκ ἔστι, μάργος δ' Ἔρωσ οἶα <παῖς> παῖσδε κτλ. For A.'s use of lyric poetry cf. above, p. 27.

ἀγοστόν 'palm', cf. 1394n.

121-2 'a sweet flush of complexion bloomed on his cheeks'. Eros in his delight resembles the triumphant Jason after he has got hold of the fleece, cf. 4.172-3. The text here must be regarded as uncertain; most MSS have χροῖη, and Fränkel suggested some word such as χάμματι 'with joy'.

123-4 **κατηφιόνων**: the word suggests both emotional depression

and, to contrast with Eros who is 'standing up straight', the lowering of the head which accompanies it; κατήφεια was etymologised as that which makes us turn our eyes (φάνη) down (Plut. *Mor.* 528e, Erbse on *Σ Il.* 17.556).

δοῖώ κτλ.: either 'he had two left which he kept throwing one after another...' or 'he had two left, as he was continually throwing away one after the other...' The present tense of ἐπιπροίεις suits the former better, and this too seems to fit both with the scene on the Roman gem (115-18n.) and a second-century A.D. paraphrase of this passage (Philostratus 'the younger', *Imag.* 8). Decision would be easier if we knew which game was being played: in the game called πλειστοβολίνδα the sides of the bones were each given a value, and only one throw would have been sufficient to lose each bone, cf. Hampe op. cit. (115-18n.), S. Laser, *Sport und Spiel (Archaeologia Homerica T, Göttingen 1987)* 118-21.

ἐτ' αὐτως 'continually to no good effect', cf. LSJ s.v. αὐτως 1.2, 129n. In Homer (*Il.* 23.268) this phrase means 'still in the same way'.

κεχόλωτο κτλ.: Eros' cackling laughter is expressed alliteratively (71n.), cf. *Il.* 3.43 ἧ που καγχαλώωσι κάρη κομόωντες Ἀχαιοί. This verb is applied to Eros also in 286 and *Anacreontea* 33.29 West.

125 **παρᾶσσαν**: cf. 17n.

126 **ἀμήχανος** 'depressed' and hence oblivious to the happenings around him, cf. 1157.

128 In touching her son's jaw, in itself a natural motherly gesture, Aphrodite places herself in the position of a suppliant, as Virgil makes explicit in the parallel scene at *Aen.* 1.666 *ad te confugio et supplex tua numina posco*.

κατασχομένη: an intensified form of ἐχομένη 'holding on to'.

129 **ἄφατον** 'unspeakable', cf. Bulloch on Call. *h.* 5.77.

αὐτως: usually taken as 'in the same way [sc. as you usually do]', but *Σ* glosses as μετρίως (cf. 123) and this would give good sense, '[you have deceived him] to no real purpose, i.e. what you have done is no great achievement', a sentiment which suits νῆιν ἔοντα.

131-44 Aphrodite resorts to bribery, like so many other parents faced with a difficult child. In *Il.* 14 Hera bribed Sleep with a lucky marriage (cf. 79-82n.) and a golden throne made by Hephaestus (14.238-41); Aphrodite goes one better by offering a gift that not even

Hephaestus could surpass. It is unfortunate that we do not know the context of Call. fr. 676 where someone offers to give a young boy five knucklebones; it is an attractive speculation that that fragment is somehow connected with our passage. The poet does not tell us how Aphrodite acquired (or hoped to acquire) the marvellous ball with which the baby Zeus played – through Hera? – and it is perhaps better not to enquire (cf. 152n.). The fact that Medea's bitter tragedy is to be for Eros merely a matter of a new toy emphasises the gulf which separates mortals from the divine (cf. Fusillo (1985) 297-8); here A.'s theology is essentially the same as Homer's, cf. above, pp. 25-6.

The precise description of imaginary works of art is common in Hellenistic and Roman poetry, cf. Theocr. 1.27-56, Moschus, *Eurota* 37-62 etc. The Homeric origin of the briefer examples should probably be sought not in the shield of *Il.* 18, despite an echo of *Il.* 18.375 in 137, but rather in a passage such as the description of Agamemnon's breastplate at *Il.* 11.24-8, 'now there were ten circles of deep cobalt (κύκλος, cf. 140) upon it, and twelve of gold [cf. 137] and twenty of tin. And toward the opening at the throat there were rearing up three serpents of cobalt on either side, like rainbows [cf. 141], which the son of Kronos has marked upon the clouds, to be a portent to mortals' (trans. R. Lattimore), or the description of Hera's marvellous chariot at *Il.* 5.722-32. A. has in mind also *Od.* 8.372-6 where two sons of Alcinous put on a display with 'a lovely, purple ball which wise Polybus had made'.

133 Adrasteia also appears at Call. *h.* 1.47 as one of the attendants of the baby Zeus in Crete. Adrasteia, also called Nemesis, was an Asian mother-goddess who became connected at an early date with the legend of the birth of Zeus. Typically, Hellenistic poets turned her into the great god's nurse and later scholars sought to distinguish two characters of this name.

134 The Cretan version of the birth of Zeus identified the place as either Mt Dicte or Mt Ida (cf. Frazer on Apollod. 1.1.6), but poets did not necessarily distinguish the two, or exploited the uncertainty (cf. Call. *h.* 1.4-6, Arat. *Phaen.* 30-5). In 1.509 A. places the birth of Zeus Δικταϊόν ὑπὸ σπέος, and the first half of 134 is a linguistic and mythological variation on this, just as the second half of the verse varies 1.508, Ζεὺς ἔτι κοῦρος, ἔτι φρεσὶ νήπιος εἰδώς. Mt Ida in the Troad also had a claim to be the site of the god's birth (cf. McLennan on Call. *h.*

1.4-6), and A. here acknowledges the problem of the homonymous mountains, without attempting to solve it, cf. above, p. 21. For the special sanctity of caves in the Greek world cf. Burkert (1985) 24-6.

κοιρίζοντι 'babbling'. This verb is used of baby Zeus also at Call. *h.* 1.54; in 666 it refers to a young girl before marriage.

135 σφαῖραν: as with knucklebones, Eros' ball has a parallel in Anacreon who describes the god as playing σφαίρη... πορφυρέη (358); for the later period cf. Meleager, *AP* 5.214 (= *HE* 4268-71). Eros and Cupid are also represented in art playing with a ball, cf. *LIMC* III 1.914, 987. Here, however, the ball symbolises Eros' universal power (cf. 164-6, Eur. *Hipp.* 1268-81 etc.). Parmenides compared reality to 'the bulk of a ball well-rounded on every side (πάντοθεν εὐκύκλου σφαίρης)' (fr. 8.43, trans. KRS 252), and Empedocles, whose influence on A. is clear (Livrea on 4.672, Campbell (1983) 129), held that the cosmos assumed spherical shape when ordered by φιλία rather than νεῖκος (fr. 27-31, cf. KRS 294-6). The notion that the world was a sphere was familiar in learned circles well before A., and both Eudoxus and Aristotle envisaged a universe composed of concentric spheres, cf. Thomson (1948) 110-22. In a poem called *Hermes*, Eratosthenes (fr. 16 Powell) represented Hermes gazing upon the spheres of the cosmos and the five zones (κύκλα) of the world. From the Roman period survive representations of Cupid with a symbolic globe, cf. R. Stuveras, *Le putto dans l'art romain* (Brussels 1969) 109.

μείλιον 'toy', picking up μείλιζομαι from 105.

136 Hephaestus and Aphrodite are married (38), but the poet leaves vague the relationship between Hephaestus and Eros. The parentage of Eros was a notorious conundrum for which poets devised many various solutions (cf. Antagoras, fr. 1 Powell, Σ Theocr. 13.2, F. Lasserre, *La Figure d'Eros dans la poésie grecque* (Lausanne 1946) 130-49), and A. refuses to supply an answer for us, cf. 134n.

137-40 'Golden are its zones (κύκλα), and two circular joins (ἀμφίδες) curve around each; the seams [between the zones] are concealed, as a twisting dark-blue pattern plays over all of them.' This is a tentative translation of a very difficult passage. The boundaries of the zones are concealed by surface ornamentation. δέ in 137 is continuative ('and'), the first δέ in 139 picks up μέν of 137 and the second is explanatory ('for'). To the commentators add O. Lendle, *Hermes* 107 (1979) 493-5 and Livrea (1982) 19-20.

μέν is scanned long in imitation of Homer where the digamma of *φοι had metrical value.

περιηγέες ειλίσσονται ends a hexameter at Arat. *Phaen.* 401, an echo which confirms the 'cosmic' significance of the ball.

κουανή: for a full study of this and related words cf. E. Irwin, *Colour terms in Greek poetry* (Toronto 1974) 79-110.

141 Stars were thought to be spherical, cf. Arist. *De caelo* 2 *passim*. It may also be relevant that the game in which a ball was thrown into the air was called οὐρανία (Hesychius ο 1830).

δλκόν: for the image cf. 1378, 4.296, Arat. *Phaen.* 749 (ὄγμος), Virg. *Aen.* 2.697.

146-8 The speed of the boy's reaction is marked by pure dactyls which are broken by the first syllable of the emphatic αὐτοσχεδόν. ἔχεν governs both χιτῶνος and θεάν, 'he held on to the goddess by the tunic... grasping her on both sides'; as ἔνθα is an anagram of θεάν, the verse may represent verbally the jolting which Aphrodite receives. If the transmitted θεῆς is retained, it may depend upon χιτῶνος or upon either verb or participle, but some change seems necessary; Brunck proposed ἔχετ', which would naturally govern a genitive, and Erbsе χιτῶνα (*Gnomon* 35 (1963) 27). Virgil adapts 147 in his description of Venus wheedling her husband at *Aen.* 8.387-8, *niueis hinc atque hinc diua lacertis | cunctantem amplexu molli fouet*.

ωλεμέες 'vigorously', 'firmly', cf. Vian 1 274.

148-50 Three participial phrases in asyndeton point to different acts of affection by Aphrodite; the 'soft words' are not 151-3 but rather unreported blandishments which preceded the oath.

κύσσε: more erotic is Apuleius' description of a similar scene, *osculis hiantibus filium diu ac pressule sauiata* [sc. *Venus*], *Met.* 4.31.

152 The model for this oath is Apollo's promise to the young Hermes at *h. Herm.* 462 δώσω τ' ἀγλαὰ δῶρα καὶ ἐς τέλος οὐκ ἀπατήσω. A. does not describe the fulfilment of Aphrodite's promise, and as she is notoriously δολοπλόκος and dangerous when smiling (cf. Sappho, fr. 1 LP-V), we may suspect that the mother has for once tricked the naughty son. Oaths from the goddess of love may be regarded as sceptically as those of lovers traditionally were (Gow-Page on *HE* 1093-4). It would be a terrible irony that Eros should cause so much suffering for no reward at all. In *Iliad* 4 (cf. 113-14n.) Athena tricks Pandarus by promising χάριν καὶ κῦδος and ἀγλαὰ δῶρα (vv. 95, 97).

154-5 φαεινῶι 'bright', 'clean'; the knucklebones come straight from the ground and Eros' action, like his careful counting, reveals the playful malice of the naughty child.

κόλπωι 'lap'. Aphrodite has naturally squatted down to caress her young son (149-50); for representations of similar scenes cf. *LIMC* II 1.120. Others interpret κόλπωι as 'pocket', actually a fold in the chiton made by pulling the robe up through the belt (4.24, Gow on Theocr. 16.16), but this does not suit the forceful verb κάδ... βάλε.

156 περικάθητο: the quiver hangs down while supported by a band around the body, cf. D-S s.v. *pharetra*.

158 Cf. 114. Ring-composition marks the conclusion of the scene in the garden: θεοῦ replaces Διός and πάγκαρπον is a synonym of θαλερῆι. The text of the MSS has been badly corrupted: the gloss Διός has ousted θεοῦ, and μεγάροιο is a memory of the common Homeric διὲκ μεγάροιο, cf. D. N. Levin, *C.P.* 58 (1963) 107-9.

Σ^{lmp} 158 (= Σ 114-17b Wendel) reports that 'in these [which?] verses A. reworks (παραγράφει) Ibycus' account of the rape of Ganymede (*PMG* 289)'. We do not know whether Ibycus' panorama was part of the eagle's descent or Ganymede's ascent, but cf. Bacchyl. 5.24-6 (Zeus's eagle) οὐ νιν κορυφαὶ μεγάλας ἴσχυοναι γαίως, | οὐδ' ἄλός ἀκαμάτας | δυσπαίπαλα κύματα κτλ. A. also uses a panorama at 1.1112-16 (the view from Mt Dindymum), and the extent of his debt to Ibycus is quite unclear; for discussion cf. Richardson (1974) 279-81, J. P. Barron, *B.I.C.S.* 31 (1984) 16-19.

159 The accusative after ἐξέρχομαι may be paralleled (LSJ s.v. 1. 1.b, K-G 1 300), but the meaning here may be 'came out [of the orchard] to the gates of Olympus'. ἐνθεν 'from there' well suits such an interpretation. For the gates of Olympus cf. *Il.* 5.749-51, 8.393-6.

161-2 'Two peaks of lofty mountains hold up the sky, heights of the earth, where the risen sun blushes red with its first rays.' Platt (*J.P.* 33 (1914) 26-7) suggested that A. was thinking of two great eastern mountains (Arist. *Meteor.* 1.350a 18-33) holding up the sky, as Atlas did in the west (cf. Virg. *Aen.* 4.246-7 which may be indebted to this passage).

πόλον: the second syllable is scanned long 'in ictus', cf. 1.289, Mooney 424. The transmitted πόλοι can hardly be right, even if κορυφαὶ is changed to κορυφάς, as the two poles of the cosmic axis cannot be said to support the mountains. As an alternative to πόλον, Fränkel's πόλονδ' deserves consideration, 'two peaks rise up [cf. 217,

851, 1.501] to the sky'; for further discussion cf. Campbell (1983) 20-1.

ἡλιβάτων: here etymologised as ὅπου πρῶτον ὁ ἥλιος βραίνει or something similar, cf. Hesychius η 352, Σ^Α *Il.* 15.273, 619. Ancient grammarians who connected the word with ἥλιος thought it should be aspirated.

164-6 The panorama, like the marvellous ball, stresses Eros' universal control, cf. Eur. *Hipp.* 447-50 (Eros in the air, the sea and as giver of life, i.e. φερέσβιος), 1272-81.

ἱεροί marks divine control of the rivers, and is far from being 'purely ornamental' (Fedeli on Prop. 1.18.27); further examples at 1203-4, 1.1208 (Hylas), 2.515 (Aristaeus), 4.1417 (a prayer), Nisbet-Hubbard on Hor. *C.* 1.1.22.

πάντας hints at Πόντος, cf. Barrett on Eur. *Hipp.* 3-6.

167-274 A., unlike Homer, depicts different actions as happening simultaneously, and here he returns to the Argonauts (ἥρωες emphatic in 167) as Eros flies down to earth. 167-8 rework 6-7 (ἀριστῆες ~ ἥρωες, δονάκεσσι ~ ἔλος, λελοχημένοι), thus marking events in heaven as a separate episode. Cf. further 576n. The Argonauts' meeting takes place early on the morning following their arrival in Colchis (cf. 2.1285).

168 ἡγορόωντο 'held an assembly', as at *Il.* 4.1 οἱ δὲ θεοὶ παρ Ζηνὶ καθήμενοι ἡγορόωντο.

169-70 An echo of the divine assembly (also held at dawn) which opens *Il.* 8 stresses Jason's authority, cf. *Il.* 8.4 αὐτὸς [sc. Ζεὺς] δὲ σφ' ἀγόρευε, θεοὶ δ' ὑπὸ πάντες ἄκουον. Whereas, however, Zeus demands obedience (*Il.* 8.7-9), Jason submits the matter to the decision of the group. A. here avoids the 'formulaic' Homeric speech-introductions in which a verb of speaking is regularly placed before the speech, cf. M. Fantuzzi, *Materiali e Discussioni* 13 (1984) 67-105.

171-2 'Friends, I shall tell you the plan I myself favour, but it is for you to give it your assent.' τέλος here is 'ratification' and κρηῖναι (from κραίνω) is 'to make valid', cf. Fraenkel on Aesch. *Ag.* 369. In the *Iliad* a distinction between a speech or plan and the τέλος or τελευτή ('carrying-out') is common (9.100-1, 625-6, 19.107); A. borrows the language of that motif but alters the sense. At *Il.* 8.9 (cf. 169-70n.) Zeus asserts that he himself 'will bring [his] intention to completion'. Jason, on the other hand, acts by consensus and under the watchword

πολέων δέ τε μήτις ἀρείων (4.1336); in this he differs from both Zeus and the Homeric Odysseus, cf. Hunter (1988) 441-2.

173-5 Cf. 1.336-7 (Jason, immediately before the leader of the expedition is chosen) ἀλλά, φίλοι, ξυνὸς γὰρ ἐς Ἑλλάδα νόστος ὀπίσσω, | ξυνοὶ δ' ἄμμι πέλονται ἐς Αἰήταο κέλευθοι. The echo shows that, having completed the outward voyage, the Argonauts now stand before new dangers. For other echoes of the early part of Book 1 cf. 64-5n.

χρειώ: probably 'need' rather than 'undertaking', cf. 12.

ἀπερύκων 'holding back'. The ἀπο- compounds which conclude 174-5 and the juxtaposition of στόλον and οἶος stress the opposition between the collective good and an individual's action.

ἀπούρας 'depriving', a Homeric aorist of uncertain etymology. The construction with the accusative of the person deprived and the genitive of the thing taken away is very rare (4.1433-4, cf. LSJ s.v. ἀφαιρέω 11.1). The three other examples of ἀπούρας or ἀπηύρων (1.1212, 4.344, 916) are followed by three different constructions; such variety well illustrates the richness of A.'s language.

176-81 A reworking of Odysseus' words to his men at the start of the adventure with the Cyclops, ἄλλοι μὲν νῦν μίμνεν, ἐμοὶ ἐρίηρες ἐταῖροι | αὐτὰρ ἐγὼ σὺν νηϊ τ' ἐμῆι καὶ ἐμοῖς ἐτάροισιν | ἐλθὼν τῶνδ' ἀνδρῶν πειρήσομαι, οἳ τινὲς εἰσιν, | ἦ ῥ' οἱ γ' ὕβρισται τε καὶ ἄγριοι οὐδὲ δίκαιοι, | ἦε φιλόξενοι, καὶ σφιν νόος ἐστὶ θεουδῆς (*Od.* 9.172-6). The suggestion that Aietes is like the terrible Cyclops is not without a certain humour; Aietes will lose both a fleece and a daughter through the *metis* of the heroes. For further such echoes of *Od.* 9 cf. 192-3n., 316n., 592-3n. A. also uses echoes of the Cyclops in his descriptions of Amycus (2.79-82 ~ *Od.* 9.384-6) and Talos (4.1638-40 ~ *Od.* 9.481-6).

υἱας: Cytisorus, Phrontis, Melas and Argos (2.1155-6) who were returning to Orchomenos to claim their heritage when shipwrecked and then saved by the Argonauts (2.1093-1225).

ἐπέεσσι: we already know from Hera that only δόλος will work, cf. 14-15n.

ἀντιβολήσας 'going to meet him'; at 482 the meaning 'supplicate', 'make a request' is probable, but in the other ten cases in *Arg.* only 'go to meet' is possible.

ἀτίσσει 'will show no honour to' (ἀτίζειν). The future, as opposed

to the optative ὀπίσσοι, might indicate that Jason actually knows that mere words will not succeed (cf. 185n., K-G II 538), but it may simply be the less palatable of two alternatives expressed in vividly graphic terms.

182 **δαέντες** 'learning' (from *δάω). διδάσκω is a causative form of this verb, cf. 529 δάε 'taught'.

183 **Ἄρηϊ συνοισόμεθ'**: a variation on the Homeric (*Il.* 11.736) συμφέρεσθαι μάχηι. For the scansion of Ἄρηϊ (- - -) cf. 2.991, McLennan on *Call. h.* 1.77.

184 **ἐεργόμενοισιν αὐτῆς** 'refraining from battle'.

185 **αὐτως** 'straight off', 'without further ado'. M. Campbell, *Studi in onore di Anthos Ardiczoni* (Rome 1978) I 124, suggests that the end of this verse is an improvement on ἐπέσσιον πειρηθῆναι at the end of *Od.* 24.240 which breaches 'Wernicke's Law' (cf. 515-20n., 1084n.). In any event, γε shows that Jason is not entirely sanguine about the prospects.

186 **σφέτερον** 'his'. Post-Homeric epic is very free with the number and person of pronominal adjectives; at 4.1353 μητέρι σφετέρηι 'to our mother' is a variation of 4.1327 σφετέρηι μητέρι 'to your mother'. Cf. 98-9n., Livrea on 4.1327, Marxer (1935) 61-4.

187 Behind Jason's words lies Nestor's rebuke to Agamemnon at *Il.* 9.109-13 as the Greeks consider how best to approach Achilles. There Achilles' prize had already been taken away; here the Argonauts are hoping for a voluntary surrender.

188-90 Praise of *muthos* marks Jason as a leader with some Odyssean characteristics. His rhetorical skill is already part of the Pindaric portrayal (*Pyth.* 4.136-8, above, p. 31). Cf. Polydamas' praise of νόος at *Il.* 13.722-4.

τοί introduces a general statement, cf. Denniston 542-3.

κατὰ χρέος 'as was necessary', cf. 4.889, *h. Herm.* 138.

ἦι περ ἑώικει 'in a proper way'.

190-1 For the myth cf. above, p. 13.

ὁ δέ: i.e. Aietes, the μιν of 187. The intervening sentence is an explanatory parenthesis.

ἀμόμωνα: only here in A., who probably understood it as 'blameless', 'morally good' (cf. *Lfgre* s.v.). The point is that the Argonauts too are ἀμόμωνα, and just as Aietes seemed to have shown goodwill in marrying his daughter to Phrixus (cf. 304-5n., 584-8n.), so they too may hope for a friendly reception.

μητρειῆς: stepmothers, like Ino, were proverbially malicious to their stepchildren.

192-3 For the emphatic repetition cf. Arat. *Phaen.* 4 πάντηι δέ Διὸς κεχρήμεθα πάντες.

κύντατος 'most shameless'; the connection with κύων, a shameless animal (cf. 641-2n.), was still strongly felt.

Ξεινίου... Ζηγός: we are again (cf. 176-81n.) reminded of Odysseus and the Cyclops, cf. *Od.* 9.269-71 'Show respect (αἰδέο), good sir, to the gods, for we are your suppliants. Zeus exacts punishment on behalf of suppliants and guests, Zeus the god of guests, who walks together with respectful (αἰδοίσιον) guests.' Jason's words also recall the plea of the shipwrecked sons of Phrixus to the Argonauts themselves (2.1131-3). The singular verbs of 193 are influenced by the intervening ὁ τις clause, cf. 949-50, Chantraine II 21.

195 **πασσυδίηι**: here both parts (πᾶν, σέω) of the compound are felt, 'quickly - all together', but elsewhere one of the two halves may provide the primary sense. Cf. παλίσσυτοι in 112.

παρέξ... ἄλλο 'something different'; contrast 1051.

196-9 Jason and Telamon quarrelled after the loss of Heracles, but then made their peace with each other (1.1329-43) and fought side by side against the Bebrycians (2.121-2). Augeias is chosen because he, like Aietes, is a child of Helios (362-3, 1.172-5). Jason himself acts as herald in place of Hermes' son Aithalides who normally performs this function (1.175n., 1.51-6, 640-51).

ἄφαρ δ' ἄρα νηός: ἄρα strengthens the preceding adverb, cf. LSJ s.v. A 1. The text is, however, uncertain. Most MSS have ἀνὰ νηός, which occurs in Homer in connection with boarding, rather than leaving, ships (cf. S. West on *Od.* 2.416), but νηός ἐξαποβαίνειν requires no further preposition, cf. 326-7, 1280.

θρωσμοῦ 'a rising', always of land near water.

200-9 The Plain of Circe was a famous Colchian landmark (cf. 2.400, Timaeus, *FGH Hist* 566 F 84) which here marks the Argonauts' entry to the strange kingdom of Aietes, as it later (4.51) marks Medea's abandonment of that kingdom. A. writes in the Herodotean tradition of ethnography which examines foreign practices in terms of their difference from Greek customs; Σ^{LP} gives A.'s source here (and in three other places) as 'Nymphodorus', probably Nymphodorus of Amphipolis who seems to have been roughly contemporary with A. and wrote a work *On barbarian customs*, cf. *RE* xvii 1623-5, Fusillo (1985)

180 n.18. The collection of such material was a feature also of Peripatetic research and was conducted avidly by Alexandrian scholars, cf. above, p. 19; Callimachus also wrote a prose work on 'Barbarian customs' (fr. 405). The burial practice here described has many parallels in ancient and modern societies; it illustrates the fact that each of the four sacred elements - earth, air, fire, water - may receive a corpse and protect the living from the danger posed by it. The distinction between the treatment of male and female corpses may reflect a belief (cf. 715-16) that the sky was male (cf. Ouranos) and the earth female (cf. Ge). For discussion and comparative material cf. Teufel (1939) 236-53, M. Marconi, *R.I.L.* 76 (1942/3) 309-20, Fusillo (1985) 166-7.

πρόμαλοι: this tree cannot be securely identified, and it is not improbable that different poets assigned different meanings to the name. ἰτέαι are willows which, together with poplars (αἴγυιροι), grew in the Underworld (*Od.* 10.510) and are thus appropriately funereal for the present setting. A. may have intended πρόμαλοι to be 'elms'. Theophrastus cites elms (πτελέαι) and willows as two examples of trees which seem to have no fruit but in fact reproduce (*HP* 3.1.2-3), and elms are elsewhere found in connection with death and the Underworld (*Il.* 6.419 with Eustathius' note, *Virg. Aen.* 6.283). Hesychius glosses πρόμαλος as μυρική ('tamarisk') ἢ ἄγνος ('withy'); cf. *Il.* 21.350 πτελέαι τε καὶ ἰτέαι ἥδὲ μυρῖκαι.

ἄγος 'a sacrilegious act'; ἄγος may be used both for the act and the pollution arising from it, cf. Parker (1983) 5-12.

στείλαντας: Homer uses περιστέλλειν as 'bury' or 'prepare for burial', and A. extends this sense to the simple verb.

κατελύσαντε: dual for plural in imitation of apparent examples in Homer, cf. 1.384, *Arat. Phaen.* 968, 1023, Chantraine II 28-9, West on Hes. *WD* 186. The immediate model is *h. Ap.* 487 ἰστία μὲν πρῶτον κάθετον λύσαντε βοείας. Zenodotus allowed this usage in Homer, but others did not (cf. *Σ^A Il.* 3.459, 6.112).

ἐκάς ἄστεος: cf. *Od.* 3.260 κείμενον ἐν πεδίῳ ἐκάς ἄστεος, of the treatment which Menelaus would have given to Aegisthus' corpse.

αἴσαν: 'the earth has a share equal to the air' is an illogical but perfectly natural expression, cf. *Il.* 1.163 οὐ μὲν σοὶ ποτε ἴσον ἔχω γέρας, K-G II 310-11. The implied explanation for the Colchian burial

custom is a typically Greek attempt at balance between opposing forces.

δίκη θέσμοιο 'the manner of their custom', cf. 2.1018 ἀλλοίη δὲ δίκη καὶ θέσμια τοῖσι τέτυκται. τε is an emendation for the meaningless κε of the MSS; γάρ τε has generalising force, cf. Denniston 528, Ruijgh (1971) 720-4.

210-14 As at 4.646-8, Hera protects the Argonauts with a covering mist. The Homeric model is *Od.* 7.14-15 where Athena conceals Odysseus in mist as he approaches Alcinous' palace. Lines 213-14 most naturally suggest that the mist was operative only while Jason and his men were in the plain, but ἐφῆκε δι' ἄστεος is then very awkward. To construe δι' ἄστεος with νισομένοις is barely possible and leaves 213 unexplained. Either, therefore, 211 is corrupt (M. Campbell, *Hermes* 102 (1974) 42-4, proposed δι' ἄργεος 'through the plain'), or 213 is, or the passage is incoherent. The Homeric mist was debated in antiquity (cf. *Σ Od.* 7.15, 41), and A. may be making a scholarly point which is now lost on us.

Ἥρη... ἡέρα: A. has in mind an etymological link between the two words which is made playfully by Plato (*Crat.* 404c), was ascribed to both Homer (*Σ^I Il.* 21.6-7) and Empedocles (DK, *Register* s.v. 'Hera'), and is common in the rationalising interpretations of Homer (*RE VIII* 398).

τότε δ': the δέ is 'apodotic', i.e. it emphasises the connection (causal, temporal etc.) between two clauses, cf. 552, 760, Denniston 178.

215-41 The description of Aietes' palace is modelled largely on Odysseus' inspection of Alcinous' palace at *Od.* 7.81-135, though A. draws also upon Hermes' visit to Calypso at *Od.* 5.43-148; there is also an amusing suggestion of the description of Eumaeus' hut and pigsty at *Od.* 14.5-20. Odysseus sees both the inside and the outside of Alcinous' palace complex from outside the main gate (*Od.* 7.133-5); A. offers a realistic correction of this by describing the outside of the palace while the men are outside (215-18) and the inside after they have entered (219-41). The lengthy description creates tension by delaying the confrontation between Jason and Aietes and emphasises that the Argonauts have now reached the object of their voyage.

215 τεθηπότες: stronger than Homer's θηήσατο (*Od.* 5.76, 7.134), cf. *Virg. Aen.* 1.495 (Aeneas at the temple doors) *dum stupet obtutuque haeret defixus in uno*.

216-17 κίονας: these are imagined either set into the façade of the building or as forming an external colonnade. Throughout this description there is an exotic blending of Homeric and Hellenistic architecture.

ἀνεχον 'rose up', intransitive.

217-18 'Above the house a stone entablature rested on bronze capitals.' θριγκός is not a technical term of architecture, but was used in poetry to describe anything in the decoration of a building above the capitals. γλυφίδες probably refers to elaborately wrought Corinthian capitals such as would have been very familiar to A.'s audience. The use of bronze looks back to Alcinoüs' palace (*Od.* 7.83-6, West on Hes. *WD* 150), but perhaps associates the dread Aietes with the arrogant violence of the Hesiodic bronze age (*WD* 143-55), like the bronze giant Talos (cf. 4.1641-2); the Argonauts, like Homer's heroes, belong to the following race of ἡμίθεοι (*WD* 156-73, cf. *Arg.* 1.348).

219 εὐκηλοί: probably 'without hindrance'; no one tried to prevent them from entering. Alcinoüs' orchard was 'near the doors, outside the court' (*Od.* 7.112), but Aietes has a pleasure garden inside the enclosure.

220-1 Cf. Theocr. 7.8-9 αἴγειροι πετέλεαι τε εὐσκιον ἄλσος ὕφαινον | χλωροῖσιν πετάλοισι κατηρέφεις κομώωσαι. It is likely that one poet has his eye on the other. The vine derives from *Od.* 5.69 ἡμερίς ἠβώωσα, τεθήλει δὲ σταφυλῆσι.

221-7 Streams of milk and wine are among the traditional Bacchic miracles (Eur. *Ba.* 704-11, Nisbet-Hubbard on Hor. *C.* 2.19.10) and, together with rivers of perfume, are commonplace in the fantastic landscapes of Lucian's *True histories*; for a Theocritean character, however, rivers of milk, wine and honey are simple impossibilities (5.124-7). The fourth stream has a more complex history. Calypso's cave had four streams of clear water, Alcinoüs' palace had two streams, one for the orchard and one for the palace, and at *Il.* 22.147-52 (a passage whose meaning was disputed in antiquity) the Scamander is said to have two springs, of which one is hot in winter and the other icy in summer. Aietes, however, has a single stream of water which changes temperature according to season. Given Aietes' ancestry, it is likely that A. has in mind 'the spring of Helios' in North Africa described by Herodotus at 4.181 (cf. Lucr. 6.848-78). This volcanic spring was said to move between icy coldness at midday and boiling

heat at midnight. By recalling this famous natural wonder, A. can keep his description within the bounds of traditional geography and ethnography, as he had in describing the Plain of Circe. For scientific interest in hot springs and related phenomena cf. Arist. *Meteor.* 1.348b3-9a12, Cic. *ND* 2.25, Sen. *NQ* 4.2.26, 6.13.2-4. The connection between 'the palace of the sun' and Hephaestus the god of fire is a natural one, and parallels Hephaestus' rôle in producing the marvels of Alcinoüs' palace (*Od.* 7.92); in *Nanno*, a poem clearly known to A., Mimnermus made Hephaestus the creator of Helios' golden bed which transports him at night from the west back to the east (fr. 12 West, cf. 2n.).

ῥῥωρ προρέεσκε 'flowed forth water', a variation on intransitive προρέει at *Il.* 22.151. The sequence ἀναβλύσκε... νᾶεν... προρέεσκε... ἀνεκήκτε would be spoiled by reading προῖεσκε with Vian and Fränkel.

ποθι 'it is said', more commonly expressed by που, cf. 926n. τὸ μὲν ποθι occurs in this position in the verse at Call. *h.* 1.38 in a context concerned with flowing water.

Πηλιάδεσσιν: the rising of the Pleiades (roughly late May) marked the beginning of summer and their setting the start of the cold season (roughly mid-November), cf. *RE* vi 2427-8, West on Hes. *WD* 383-4 with Excursus II.

κρυστάλλωι: Σ^{BT} on *Il.* 22.151-2, 'the other stream flowed in summer like hail or cold snow or ice (κρυστάλλωι) from water', observes that that passage is in ascending order of coldness: A. has chosen the coldest.

228-9 Cyta was thought to be a town in Colchis (cf. modern Kutaisi in Georgia), and poets used 'Cytæan' as a synonym for 'Colchian', cf. Delage (1930) 186-7. The verses have an air of finality (cf. 1.768, *Od.* 7.132) but A. moves to the fields outside the palace before resuming the narrative.

230-4 Cf. Pind. *Pyth.* 4.224-6 ἄλλ' ὅτ' Αἰήτας ἀδαμάντινον ἐν μέσσοις ἄροτρον σκίμψατο | καὶ βόας, οἱ φλόγ' ἀπὸ ξαν-|θᾶν γενύων πνέον καιομένοιο πυρός, | χαλκείας δ' ὄπλαϊς ἀράσσεσκον χθόν' ἀμειβόμενοι. Antimachus (above, pp. 17-18) too made Hephaestus the maker of the bulls (fr. 62 Wyss), and there may be echoes of that poet in 228-31.

231 echoes Homer's description of the Chimaera, δεινὸν ἄπο-

πνείουσα πρὸς μένος αἰθόμενοιο (*Il.* 6.182). In the myth of Bellerophon as told in *Il.* 6, Proetus sent the very handsome Bellerophon, who, like Jason, was a descendant of Aeolus, to his father-in-law, the king of Lycia, together with letters which would ensure the young man's destruction. Proetus' motive, like Pelias' with Jason, was to remove a better man from the kingdom, as well as to punish him for an alleged outrage against his wife. The father-in-law received Bellerophon hospitably (cf. Aietes), but after reading the letters sent him against the Chimaera, assuming that this would be the end of him, as Aietes assumes that the bulls will finish off Jason. When, however, Bellerophon successfully completed the task, he received half the kingdom and one of the king's daughters in marriage. Jason will also acquire the king's daughter, but not by consent. Cf. further 351-3 n., Hunter (1988) 448.

ἐκ: adverbial, '[breathed] forth'.

αὐτόγυον: the shaft (γύης) of the plough was fashioned from the same piece of wood (or, in A.'s poetic vision, metal) as the stock or blade (ἔλυμα), cf. A. S. F. Gow, *J.H.S.* 34 (1914) 267, West on Hes. *WD* 427. Such a plough would be particularly strong, as there would be no artificial joint at a point of very great stress. The opposite of αὐτόγυον is πηκτόν.

ἀδάμαντος: poets used 'adamant' to refer to a wondrously hard metal like steel; implements of gods, in particular, are made from it, cf. H. Troxler, *Sprache und Wortschatz Hesiods* (Zurich 1964) 19-21, West on Hes. *Theog.* 161.

ἤλασεν 'forged'.

Φλεγραιή: Phlegra, the site of the battle of the gods and the giants, was usually placed near Pallene in Thrace, cf. Hdt. 7.123.1, F. Vian, *La Guerre des géants* (Paris 1952) 189-91. In the representation of this battle on the Parthenon metope Helios and Hephaestus were beside each other, and it is not unlikely that A. has a work of art in mind here.

κεκμηότα 'wearied'. The echo of κάμε (230) not only closes a ring around 230-4 but also stresses the reciprocity: Hephaestus 'fashioned' because he had been 'wearied'. Although Helios is often called ἀκάμας, it is difficult not to associate (as does Σ^{LP}) Hephaestus' weariness with his lameness (36-7n.).

235-48 Behind the description of Aietes' domestic arrangements lies

the account of Priam's palace at *Il.* 6.242-50 which introduces the reunion of Hector and his mother; here too we are to witness such a meeting.

235 μέσσαυλος: sc. θύρα, 'a central door' between the courtyard and the main building, cf. E. Gardner, *J.H.S.* 21 (1901) 300-2. In Homer this word designates an inner court where cattle were stalled.

236 εὐπηγεῖς: the smaller doors were made of wood, whereas the central door was metal (ἐλήλατο).

237 παρέξ ἐκάτερθε 'along the length of both sides [of the court]'.

238 αἰπύτεροι: a detail from contemporary rather than legendary architecture. South-facing buildings would catch the sun if tall, north-facing ones avoid cold winds if low, cf. Xen. *Mem.* 3.8.9.

242-6 Asterodeia, 'Star Lady', is a suitable name for the mother of Phaethon, 'Shining One'. It may be relevant that 'Ρόδεια (for which 'Ἀσπερόδεια may be a by-form or learned variant) and 'Ιδυσία (a variant of Εἰδυσία) appear in the same position in consecutive verses in a list of the daughters of Ocean and Tethys in Hesiod (*Theog.* 351-2). Elsewhere Apsyrtus is usually thought of as the son of a Nereid and younger than Medea; A. has chosen (or moulded?) the genealogy most suited to Apsyrtus' later rôle in the poem, cf. Pearson on Soph. fr. 546. Eidusia, 'Knowing One', has a suitable name as the mother of Medea, 'the Lady of Wiles' (825-7n.), cf. *Nostoi* fr. 6 Allen (Medea rejuvenated Aison) ἰδυίησι προπιδεσσι. Aietes married a half-sister, as he himself is the son of an Oceanid (*Od.* 10.135-9, Hes. *Theog.* 956-60); Ocean figures in Aietes' family because poets placed Helios' kingdom in the extreme east beside Ocean (cf. above, p. 15, 859n., *Od.* 12.3-4). For other 'meaningful' names in *Arg.* cf. 1133-6n., 1.133-8, 2.955-6, 2.1156 (the sons of Phrixus, Melas ('black') and Argos ('white')).

In Homer φαέθων is an epithet of the sun, and later the name of a son, not as here grandson, of Helios, who drove and crashed his father's flaming chariot, cf. 4.598, J. Diggles, *Euripides: Phaethon* (Cambridge 1970) 4-9; Phaethon is also the name of one of the horses of Dawn (*Od.* 23.246) and Phaethousa is Helios' youngest daughter and the shepherdess of his flocks (4.971, *Od.* 12.132). The application of the name 'Phaethon' to Apsyrtus is not original to A. (cf. Timonax, *FGrHist* 842 F 3), but in 1235-6 and 4.224-5 Apsyrtus acts as his father's charioteer in contexts where Aietes' links with Helios are important. The Homeric model is Hector's son Scamandros-Astyanax

who is likened to a bright star at *Il.* 6.401; 245-6 echo *Il.* 22.506 'Ἀστύναος, ὃν Τρῶες ἐπὶ κλησὶν καλέουσι. Lines 245-6 are also curiously like a passage about a bull called Phaethon at [Theocr.] 25.139-41 Φαίθων μέγας, ὃν ῥα βοτῆρες ἀστέρι πάντες ἔισκον, ὀθούνεκα πολλὸν ἐν ἄλλοις | βουσὶν ἰὼν λάμπεσκεν, ἀρίζηλος δ' ἐτέτυκτο.

Εἴδουαν: the accent is that advised by John Philoponos (sixth cent. A.D.), cf. M. Petschenig, *W.S.* 3 (1881) 295.

ἐπωνυμίην 'by name', 'as a title', an 'adverbial accusative', cf. *Il.* 22.506 (cited above), *Hdt.* 5.92.ε'.

248-9 A lacuna seems almost certain: 'the men (μετ) Medea (τῆι) as she was going from her room to her sister's room looking for her ...' It is tempting to read τῆν or μετιούση, but it would be unwise as we do not know what was in the missing verse. E's text is a deliberate attempt to mend the broken syntax.

250 Hera has said nothing about this earlier in the book, whereas Athena at the opening of *Od.* 6 makes elaborate preparations to ensure that Nausicaa meets Odysseus. Nevertheless, the technique is not un-Homeric, cf. *Il.* 1.55-6, 194-6, 17.544-6. The lack of preparation does, however, increase tension and make the meeting of Jason and Medea very dramatic, cf. Klein (1931) 227-8. Whereas Nausicaa had to be sent out in order to meet Odysseus, Medea has to be kept at home for Jason's arrival.

θάμιζεν 'spend much time'.

252 ἀρήτειρα 'priestess', cf. Hopkinson on *Call. h.* 6.42. For the rites of Hecate in Colchis cf. [Plut.] *De fluviis* 5.2.

253 ἀνίαχεν: framed by the central caesura and the 'bucolic diaeresis', this word marks the suddenness and sharpness of Medea's reaction. At one level she is surprised to see her nephews again, at another her passion for Jason is foreshadowed.

254-6 When Andromache heard the lamentation for Hector 'her limbs quaked and the shuttle fell from her to the ground' (*Il.* 22.447-8); here, in contrast, we are to have a family reunion.

κλωστήρας: probably 'spindles', as also at 4.1062 (where 'distaffs', the translation proposed by Gow on Theocr. 24.70, is impossible) and in various ancient glosses (*Σ*^{18P} 4.1062, *Suda* κ 1837). The usual sense, 'threads', is ruled out here by νήματα.

ἔκτοθι for ἔκτοσε or ἐκτός is typical of the freedom of later epic.

260-1 οὐκ ἄρ' ἐμέλλετ' 'You were not then, as it has turned out, destined ...', cf. Denniston 36.

ἀκηδέημι 'through indifference', rather than '[leaving me] to lack of care', cf. 2.219-20.

262 ἔκποθεν: a lengthened and indefinite form of ἐκ, here chosen to produce a scornful jingle with πόθοσ and to express Chalciopē's bewilderment, 'from some grievous folly or other'. The form is not found before A.

263 ἔθεσθε 'you conceived', cf. *Il.* 8.449 κότον αἰνὸν ἔθεσθε, *LSJ* s.v. A π.6. The text is, however, very uncertain. ἔλεσθε, as a reversal of the more usual πόθοσ εἶλε, is an attractive alternative. ἔνεσθε (aorist middle of ἐνήμι), the probable reading of the papyrus, would be very strained even in the mouth of the emotional Chalciopē.

264 πατρός is emphatically placed to contrast with μητέρ' in 267: the boys cared more for him than for her. Chalciopē's overwrought state is reflected in the forced expression, 'he ordered grievous pain to my heart'.

265-7 Orchomenos was usually thought to have been the son of Mínyas and eponymous founder of Orchomenos in Boeotia (*RE* xviii 905-6); some versions, however, made him Mínyas' father (Roscher s.v. 'Orchomenos' 940) and Chalciopē's 'whoever this O. is' clearly alludes to a mythographical puzzle, cf. above, p. 21, *Virg. Aen.* 5.83. Moreover, A. uses a version (578n., 1093-5n.) which explains how the title 'Mínyan' comes to be associated with both Boeotia and Thessaly. In so doing, he makes Mínyas the founder of the Boeotian city, and Orchomenos becomes a shadowy individual (2.1093, 1186) of no stated parentage; we may thus see also in Chalciopē's remark an observation by the poet on his own mythological choices.

ἐήν 'your', cf. 186n.

269 αὐτή: the emergence of the queen marks the occasion as particularly special. There is no significant difference between ὄρω and κίεν: the queen is merely an appendage to her husband and his entry is the last (πανύστατος) of any important character.

270-4 A.'s version of the standard scene of reception and banqueting in Homer (W. Arend, *Die typischen Szenen bei Homer* (Berlin 1933) 71). As in Homer, the meal precedes the questioning of new arrivals, but A. elides the usual instructions from the host and breaks up the scene of banqueting by 275-99, thus emphasising how his use of time differs from Homer's (cf. 167-274n.); for another such example cf. 1246n. The lack of verbal elaboration marks the busy concentration of the household.

ἐπεπλήθει: as in Homer, the pluperfect signifies that the rapid action of a verb has already taken place, cf. 1.1329, Chantraine II 199-200, *MT*² §52.

ξύλα κάγκανα 'wood for a fire [on which dinner may be prepared]'. The etymology of the adjective is uncertain.

ζέον: the transitive use of the uncompounded verb is first found here.

275-98 *Eros shoots Medea*. Eros' stealthy attack suggests the view of Love which Plato puts into Agathon's mouth in the *Symposium*: 'If Eros were not a supple being, he would be unable completely to enfold one's whole soul and both to enter and leave one without being noticed' (196a). For an interesting discussion of this passage, cf. W. R. Johnson, *Darkness visible* (Berkeley 1976) 41-5.

275 τόφρα: cf. 167-274n.

πολιοῖο 'clear', 'bright', cf. West on Hes. *WD* 477. In later poetry the word may describe concealing mist, but here the divine Eros can move unseen in conditions of excellent visibility.

276-7 τετρηχώς 'aroused', from ταρασσω, cf. LSJ s.v. III, Erbse (1953) 173-4, Livrea on 4.447. The word indicates the busy speed of the gadfly. Elsewhere (cf. 1393) this word is used in ways which suggest a link with τρηχώς, and Virgil may be thinking of the present passage when he describes the *asilus* or *oestrus* as *asper* (*Georg.* 3.149, quoted below).

οἰστρος 'gadfly'. A. gives concrete form to the metaphorical 'frenzy' of love found in earlier literature, cf. *PMG* 541.10, Pl. *Phdr.* 240d, LSJ s.v. II.2; behind the simile may lie *Il.* 4.130-1 where Athene keeps Pandarus' arrow away from Menelaus 'as a mother keeps a fly off her child'. For echoes of that scene cf. 113-14n., 278-84n. On the identity of this biting insect which attacks cattle cf. L. G. Pocock, *C.R.* n.s. 8 (1958) 109-11, M. Davies and J. Kathirithamby, *Greek insects* (London 1986) 159-64. The simile is tied closely to the main narrative by the easy identification of Medea with a young heifer (4n.), cf. the story of Io, Hor. *C.* 2.5.5-6 *circa uirentis est animus tuae | campos iuuencae*. So too Heracles, in a lover's frenzy, is compared to a bull bitten by the gadfly. 1.1265-9.

ἐπί...τέλλεται 'attacks', cf. Campbell (1983) 102 n. 8.

μύωπα: classical and Hellenistic poets did not distinguish between οἰστρος and μύωψ (1.1265-9, Aesch. *Suppl.* 307-8, where οἰστρος is

specifically the name used in Egypt), although later technical sources, taking their cue from Aristotle, did, cf. M. Wellmann, *Hermes* 26 (1891) 344-6, Pfeiffer on Call. fr. 301. That fragment of Callimachus, probably from *Hecale*, βουσόον ὄν τε μύωπα βοῶν καλέουσιν ἀμορβοί, is very like 277, and many have seen here a borrowing by A.; cf. also Virg. *Georg.* 3.147-9 (a fly) *cui nomen asilo | Romanum est, oestrum Grai uertere uocantes, | asper, acerba sonans*, with R. F. Thomas, *H.S.C.P.* 86 (1982) 81-5, and note on *Georg.* 3.147-8.

278-84 The model is Pandarus' shot at Menelaus (*Il.* 4.116-26), thus picking up the pattern of 112-14, cf. Lennox (1980) 66-8.

278 ὑπὸ φλιγῆν 'at the foot of the door-post'; the accusative depends upon the idea of Eros' movement to this position.

279 πολύστονον: A. substitutes another Homeric epithet of an arrow (*Il.* 15.451) for the difficult μελαινέων ἔρμ' ὀδυνάων of *Il.* 4.117 (where see Σ^{ABT}); πολύστονον may be intended to gloss that phrase.

280 ἐκ δ' 'and from there', a rare adverbial use, cf. Campbell (1983) 103 n.16; possibly, however, it is temporal 'and then', like ἐκ δέ τοῦ in 302 and perhaps ἐκ δέ in 869.

281 ὀξεᾶ δενδύλλων 'casting sharp glances around', like a hunter looking for his prey, cf. [Theocr.] 25.214-15.

ἐλυσθείς 'crouching', cf. 296n.

282 γλυφίδας 'notch'; the plural, found also in Homer, may indicate two notches at right angles to each other on the arrow, cf. W. McLeod, *C.R.* n.s. 14 (1964) 140-1.

284 The monosyllabic verb after a lengthy preparation (278-83) and the central punctuation 'dividing' two references to Medea mark the speed and stunning effect of the shot.

ἀμφοσίη 'speechlessness' (cf. Sappho, fr. 31.7-8 LP-V, Theocr. 2.108-9 in similar situations), but also 'numbness', affecting not only Medea's tongue; ἀμφοσίη is used by A. as a synonym of ἀμηχανίη, cf. 811.

285 παλιμπετές 'flying back', as at 2.1250; elsewhere connected with πίπτειν (4.1315, Σ^{BT} *Il.* 16.395).

286 καρχαλόων: cf. 123-4n.

286-90 Cf. Cat. 64.91-3 (Ariadne's first sight of Theseus) *non prius ex illo flagrantia declinauit | lumina, quam cuncto concepit corpore flammam | funditus atque imis exarsit tota medullis*. In *Il.* 4 Menelaus receives only a flesh wound, but Medea's 'wound' is incurable. The βέλος came from

Eros who was crouching right beside Jason; Medea now fires back (βάλλεν) her own weapons. ἀντία thus suggests 'opposite', 'in return', as well as the primary sense 'open', 'direct'; the late placing of ἀμαρύγματα assists this nuance.

ἀμαρύγματα 'bright glances', cf. 1018, Sappho, fr. 16.17-18 LP-V 'I would rather see her lovely step and the bright gleam (ἀμαρύγμα λάμπρον) of her face...'

ἄηνητο 'fluttered', cf. 688, Sappho, fr. 31.5-6 LP-V; in fr. 47 Sappho compares love to a strong wind, cf. 967-72n.

πυκιναί: love takes away Medea's better judgement, as the word-order - κάματωι, 'love-sickness', coming between noun and adjective - makes clear, cf. 4.1018, Hes. *Theog.* 122 (love) δάμναται ἐν στήθεσσι νόον [cf. 298] καὶ ἐπίφρονα βουλήν, *Il.* 14.217, 294 (Zeus and Hera), *h. Aphr.* 38, above, p. 28.

κατείβετο 'was flooded'; love is often conceived as a liquid or its effect as liquefying, cf. 1020 (Medea melts), Hes. *Theog.* 910 ἀπὸ βλεφάρων ἔρος εἴβετο δερκομενάων | Λυσιμελής, M. Davies, *Hermes* 111 (1983) 496-7.

291-5 The effect on Medea is compared to the sudden flaring-up of a smouldering fire when new wood is thrown on top; the simile expresses the sense that in a young girl like Medea love is always waiting to appear - all that is needed is the right 'fuel'. There is perhaps also a suggestion that both the fire and Medea's love will die away after a short, fierce blaze. The simile forms a pair with 4.1061-5 where the anguished Medea is compared to a grieving widow at work; neither suggests a happy outcome for her, cf. Hunter (1987) 133. The origin of both similes is the description of a working woman at *Il.* 12.433-5, but an interest in the lives of humble people is a feature of Hellenistic and Roman poetry and painting (*HE* 2411-20, [Virg.] *Moretum* 8-15 etc.) and this is one of the charges which comic poetry made against Euripides (*Ar. Frogs* 1346-51). The comparison of love to a smouldering fire is common in later poetry, cf. Call. *Epigr.* 44, Headlam on Herondas 1.38.

μαλερώι: the word, an epithet of destructive fire in Homer, hints at the powerful forces to be released, cf. 4.393, M. S. Silk, *C.Q.* n.s. 33 (1983) 322.

ὑπωρόφιον: pointed contrast with ὑπορόφοιο of 285; Medea lives in a palace, the spinning-woman in an ordinary house.

νόκτωρ: this more naturally suggests that the woman is working late at night (cf. 4.1063 ἐννυχίη) than that she has woken up early in order to work, but the latter is not impossible, even if ἐξομένη is read in 294. The darkness of early morning may be called νύξ (cf. the opening of Eur. *El.*), the reference to a brand (δαλός) which has preserved the fire would suit this interpretation, and the 'dawn lamps' are a mark of very early morning in a famous passage of Call. *Hecale* (fr. 260.65).

ἄγχι μάλ' ἐξομένη 'sitting very close'; the transmitted ἐγρομένη demands the apparently impossible sense for ἄγχι μάλ' of 'very early' and is awkward before ἀνεγρόμενον (which was presumably the source of the error), cf. Campbell (1983) 28-9. One of the two Homeric examples of ἄγχι μάλ' in the sense 'very close' (*Il.* 23.760) occurs immediately before a simile describing a woman at work.

σύν... ἀμαθύνει 'consumes everything together'; σύν is more likely to be adverbial, or in tmesis with ἀμαθύνει, than to belong with πάντ', but such analysis merely obscures the interaction of all parts of the phrase. On ἀμαθύνει cf. D. A. Hester, *L.C.M.* 11 (1986) 53-4.

296-8 Cf. Hor. *C.* 1.13.5-8 (an attack of jealousy) *tum nec mens mihi nec color | certa sede manet, amor et in genas | furtim labitur, arguens | quam lentis penitus macerer ignibus* (with Nisbet-Hubbard on v. 5).

εἰλυμένος: the echo of 281 binds the simile to the narrative; Ἔρωσ has become ἔρωσ. Behind these verses lies Archilochus, fr. 191 West τοῖος γὰρ φιλότητος ἔρωσ ὑπὸ καρδίην ἐλυσθείς | πολλήν κατ' ἄχλυν ὀμμάτων ἔχευεν, | κλέψας ἐκ στήθεων ἀπαλὰς φρένας (cf. M. S. Silk, *Interaction in poetic imagery* (Cambridge 1974) 131-2).

χλόον 'paleness', a word with a medical flavour; A. has in mind Sappho's χλωροτέρα δὲ ποῖας | ἔμμι (fr. 31.14-15). For further examples cf. Smith on Tib. 1.8.52.

ἄλλοτ': i.e. 'sometimes to paleness, sometimes to a blush', cf. Soph. *Tr.* 11-12, LSJ s.v.

ἀκηδείησι νόοιο: i.e. her *nous* has lost control of her body's behaviour. ἀκηδία was a medical term for 'weariness', 'torpor', and so this strengthens the suggestion that the verse gives a 'clinical' description of Medea's symptoms; for A. and contemporary medicine cf. 762-3n. The phrase as a whole seems to have been borrowed from Empedocles, fr. 136.2 DK (KRS 319) where the sense is rather different, cf. 135n., A. Ardizzoni, *R.F.I.C.* n.s. 34 (1956) 372-5.

299-438 *The interview with Aieles*. Behind this scene lies the

unexpected return of Odysseus and his men to the island of Aeolus in *Od.* 10 (cf. 304-8 ~ 10.64-6, 372-4 ~ 10.72), where they receive a less than warm welcome. In this scene the descent of both Jason and Argos from another Aeolus is important (335, 339, 360-1), and various mythographic traditions had confused or combined the ruler of the winds with his Thessalian namesake (cf. Roscher s.v.); A.'s technique here derives not from ignorance, but from a creative exploitation of the large and various mythological tradition, cf. above, p. 21.

301 A verbal and syntactical variation on the common Homeric verse αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ πρόσιος καὶ ἐδητύος ἐξ ἔρον ἔντο.

ἄρεσσαν: this form of the aorist of ἀρέσκων is found only here, and the sense 'satisfy' is post-Homeric. A. recalls the Homeric (*Od.* 5.95, 14.111) ἤραρε θυμὸν ἐδώδῃι where ἤραρε is from ἀραρίσκω.

302 σφετέρης 'his', cf. 186n.

303 παρηγορέων 'encouraging them [to speak]'.

304-5 Aietes' opening words pick up the theme of hospitality from the end of Jason's speech to his crew (190-3) and might, therefore, augur well. He did indeed honour Phrixus by giving Chalciopie to him in marriage, but we learn later that his hospitality on that occasion was offered only on the prompting of a message from Zeus (584-8). Moreover, he had been glad to be rid of Phrixus' sons as he feared a threat to his throne from them (597-602). There is, therefore, dissimulation in his speech, but not untruth; it is typical of A. that the information needed to interpret the speech is not supplied with it. We hear the speech just as Jason and his comrades do; our uncertainty mirrors theirs, cf. Hunter (1988) 443-4. The oracle of 597-602 is a necessary precondition for interpreting Aietes' behaviour in this scene and for appreciating the effect that the words of others (particularly Argos) have on him.

περί 'above', 'more than', cf. LSJ s.v. A III.

306 παλίσσυτοι: cf. 112n. Aietes is surprised at the unexpectedly quick return.

306-7 'Did some disaster frustrate you in mid-ocean as you were returning?'

σωμένοις: A. uses this verb with the meanings of σεύομαι (2.296, 10.10) and σώιζομαι (2.610, 4.197). The form is hard to explain, but cf. σοῦ, σοῦσθε, and some evidence suggests that σω- was considered a Doric form, cf. Bulloch on Call. *h.* 5.4.

μεσσηγύς: cf. *Od.* 7.195 (Alcinous about Odysseus) μηδέ τι μεσσηγύς γε κακὸν καὶ πῆμα πάθησι (with Σ).

οὐ μὲν ἐμεῖο: the μὲν is emphatic (Denniston 362), and for the genitive cf. LSJ s.v. πείθω B 1.3, Headlam on Herondas 1.66.

310 Helios took Aietes along for the ride. The Homeric model for Aietes' knowledge of the world is *Od.* 7.321-4 (cf. 313 ~ *Od.* 7.321), in which Alcinous shows off his (second-hand) knowledge of Euboea 'the most distant of lands'.

311-13 Although Homer placed Circe's island in the extreme east (*Od.* 12.3-4), where one would expect to find the kingdom of the sun, a widespread and early tradition placed her and Odysseus' wanderings in the west, cf. Hes. *Theog.* 1011-16 (with West's note), Lesky (1966) 26-62. Circe's western home was identified as the modern Monte Circeo, roughly half-way between Rome and Naples (cf. Virg. *Aen.* 7.10-24 with Fordyce's note on v. 10). A.'s version is a witty compromise between the two accounts: Circe is indeed from the east, but she moved! Behind this passage lies the sort of scholarly argument about Homeric geography which Eratosthenes mocked when he remarked that the site of Odysseus' wanderings would be established when the cobbler who had made the bag of winds was found (Strabo 1.2.15, Pfeiffer (1968) 167-8). Despite her kinship to Aietes, there is no certain evidence that Circe had a rôle in poetic versions of the Argonautic saga before A., but the *Argo* makes its only Homeric appearance in one of her speeches (*Od.* 12.70) and it would be unwise to attribute too much to A.'s invention here, cf. above, p. 14. Circe is introduced here to impress Aietes' visitors, to foreshadow a central scene of Book 4, and to introduce the theme of departure from the Colchian land, a theme which will become very important to Medea.

A. chooses not to tell us why Circe lives so far away. According to Diod. Sic. 4.45.4-5, she went into exile after poisoning her husband, the king of the Sarmatians (351-3n.), and ruling cruelly over that people; that story seems hardly suitable here. Line 313 echoes a phrase from *Od.* 4.811 about Penelope's sister who moved away after marriage, and this would fit well with 309-10 which might suggest conveyance to a husband's home in a chariot, although there is no sign in Book 4 that Circe is married. Nevertheless, legend knew of a number of such marriages (West on Hes. *Theog.* 1011) - early epic even knew

a version in which Telemachus married her (*Nastoi* fr. 9 Allen) – and A. could have some such story in mind here. The motif would make Circe an even stronger ‘rôle model’ for Medea who will also leave Colchis for marriage with a foreigner. Roman poets tell the story of a husband (or beloved) of Circe called Picus, whom she eventually transformed into a bird (Virg. *Aen.* 7.189–91, Roscher s.v. ‘Kirke’ 1202); there are no Greek sources for the story, but we can hardly assume that A. did not know it.

Αἴης: the name of the city gives new point to a standard Homeric verse-ending, ἀπὸ πατρίδος αἴης; we should perhaps also understand that the western Circe lives far from her Homeric home of Αἰαίη.

314 ἀλλὰ τί μύθων ἡδός: both ‘but what is the point [lit. ‘pleasure’] of a long speech’ (cf. 1.1294) and ‘but why waste time with stories/fables’; the poet takes a detached attitude to mythography. There is the same joke at Eur. *Hel.* 143.

ἐν ποσὶν ‘in your way’, a variation of ἐμποδῶν. Others understand the whole phrase as ‘the present matter’, ‘what is relevant’, cf. 836, LSJ s.v. ποὺς 1.4.c.

316 As his visitors have arrived almost magically (210–14), Aietes’ question is a natural one. Nevertheless, an echo of Polyphemus’ words to Odysseus, ‘tell me where you have beached your well-built ship’ (*Od.* 9.279), suggests Jason’s peril (cf. 176–81n.), and soon Aietes will have a plan to set fire to the boat (579–83). Neither Argos nor Jason chooses to answer this question, although Argos begins, like Odysseus (*Od.* 9.283–6), with a narrative of escape from shipwreck.

γλαφυρής: the Homeric epithet is polite and formal; Aietes is on his guard.

317 προπάροιθεν as a temporal preposition ‘before’ is very rare, although ancient grammarians acknowledged the use (cf. Σ^π *Il.* 2.92); the meaning here is more likely ‘on behalf of’, like πρὸ at Soph. *OT* 10 πρὸ τῶνδε φωνεῖν and cf. LSJ s.v. πρὸ A 1.3. Σ^π *Il.* 15.746 glosses προπάροιθε νεῶν as ὑπὲρ νεῶν.

319 μειλιχίως: like 385, an ironic echo of Hera’s words at 14–15 ‘the Argonauts could not win Aietes over ἐπέεσσι μειλιχίοις’.

320–66 Argos is under no illusions about the magnitude of his task (cf. 2.1200–8), and his embarrassment reveals itself more than once (cf. notes on 321–3, 333–4, 336–9, 340–6, 362–3). In trying to make the best of a bad job, he succeeds only in completely enraging Aietes. Utterances such as 330 or 358 can only serve to inflame the king’s

suspicious and fears, of which Argos knows nothing. For differing assessments of Argos’ rhetorical skill cf. Faerber (1932) 97, Campbell (1983) 29–31.

321–3 Comparison with 2.1118–20, τοὺς δ’ ἄμυδις κρατερῶι σὺν δούρατι κύματος ὄρη | νίηας Φορίξοιο μετ’ ἠϊόνας βάλε νήσου | νύχθ’ ὑπὸ λυγαίην, shows A.’s desire to avoid a ‘formulaic’ style, cf. above, p. 39.

ὑπὸ δούρατι: i.e. only their heads showed above the water as they floated under the plank, cf. Giangrande (1973) 22; others accept emendation to ἐπί, which is more naturally suggested by πεπτηῶτος ‘huddled’ (from πτήσσω). That the brothers were saved on a single plank (cf. 2.1110–20) indicates divine help and protection.

Ἐνναλίοιο: an old name for Ares, found also in 560 (in the mouth of the brash Idas) and in 1366 (Jason’s heroic achievements); the title contrasts with Ἀρήϊα in 325.

θεός... τις: the uncertainty is a ‘natural’ way to speak of being saved from a shipwreck, cf. *Od.* 7.248 (δαίμων).

324–7 For this scene cf. 2.1068–89.

σφ’ ἀπέρυκεν ‘detained them’; the compound has here the force of the simple verb, cf. 250, Hesychius α 6029 ἀπερύκεν· κατέχειν, κωλύειν.

328 Zeus’s rôle in events on the Island of Ares was repeatedly stressed, both by the narrator (2.1098, 1120) and by Jason (2.1179–84). **τις αἴσα** is ‘some stroke of Fate’ rather than ‘pure chance’; it expresses natural uncertainty, rather than scepticism, about the religious forces involved. Thus Odysseus reports that Calypso urged him to leave ‘because of a message from Zeus or because she changed her mind’ (*Od.* 7.263).

329 Cf. 2.1166–77.

332 χρεῖώ ‘[the reason for] their expedition’.

333–9 A very brief and obscure account of the background to the expedition, cf. above, p. 13.

333–4 This is the only explicit reference in the poem to Pelias’ desire to rob Jason of his patrimony, although elsewhere this story may be thought to be presupposed (cf. 1.902–3); the theme plays a major rôle in Pindar (cf. *Pyth.* 4.104–68). Jason certainly did not tell Argos about this in Book 2, but we can imagine, if we wish to, that he had done so during the subsequent voyage to Colchis.

τις... βασιλεύς ‘a certain person... a king’. Argos is reluctant to

reveal that Jason is a political outcast, perhaps in need of new land; rightly reluctant, as it turns out, cf. 375-6.

335 σφωιτέρηι 'his', cf. 395 ('your'), 600, 625 ('her'), 1227, 186n., Livrea on 4.274.

336 'sent him here on a hopeless quest'; ἀμήχανον (neuter) is an 'internal' accusative, cf. 602. It might, however, be masculine, agreeing with τόνδε (in which case the comma before it will go), 'sent him here and he is in a hopeless position', cf. 4.1047-9 οὐδ' ἐνὶ θυμῶι | αἰδέϊσθε εἰνῆς μ' ἐπὶ γούνασι χεῖρας ἀνάσσης | δερκόμενοι τείνουσαν ἀμήχανον.

336-9 'And he claims that the family of the sons of Aeolus will not escape from the bitter wrath of implacable Zeus, from his anger and from the unendurable pollution and punishment [caused by what was done] to Phrixus until the fleece comes to Greece.' This extraordinary sentence, which Σ^{LP} felt obliged to paraphrase, is very expressive of Argos' embarrassment; all the nouns refer to the attempt by Athamas to sacrifice Phrixus (above, pp. 12-13). Jason had been content to tell Argos of Φρίξιοι θηλάς... Ζηνὸς χόλον Αἰολίδησι (2.1194-5). In Pindar, Pelias pleads the 'wrath of the gods' in persuading Jason to undertake the voyage (*Pyth.* 4.159). Argos' use of indirect speech allows both the reader and Aietes to suspect that Pelias' motives may not be quite as they are claimed to be, thus confirming Aietes' suspicion that what he is really witnessing is an attempt on his throne. The subject of στεῦται is generally assumed to be τις... βασιλεύς, and this is probably correct: elsewhere the verb is only used of the arrogant Aietes (579, 2.1204). Nevertheless, given Argos' awkward style, we can hardly rule out that Jason is intended as the subject: it is from Jason that Argos has heard the story. In either case, the effect of the indirect speech on Aietes will be the same.

ἄγος: cf. 200-9n.

340-6 A tradition which certainly preceded A. made *Argo* the very first ship, cf. Eur. *Andr.* 865, [Eratosth.] *Catast.* 35, Pease on Cic. *ND* 2.89, H. Herter, *Rh.M.* 91 (1942) 244-9; A. cannot follow this tradition, though he does plainly allude to it at 1.547-52 (cf. *Cat.* 64.14-18) and 4.316-22. Here, instead, the divine powers of the ship are stressed. Argos chooses to ignore his namesake's rôle in its construction (1.19, 111-14, 2.612-14, 1187-9), about which he had been told, in order to concentrate on the immortal craftsman. There

may also be a further point. Argos himself, the son of Phrixus, is often said to have built the *Argo* (e.g. Pherecydes, *FGH Hist.* 3 F 106), and Argos the son of Arestor is a much more shadowy figure whom some scholars believe to be an invention of A. himself (cf. 375-6n., Wilamowitz (1924) II 246). Argos' silence about his namesake is in part, therefore, a piece of mythographical discretion by the poet.

Ἄθηναίη Παλλάς: this order is not found elsewhere; for other epithets of Athena in second position cf. 1.551, 4.1691. It may signify Argos' nervousness rather than his 'utter pretentiousness' (Campbell (1983) 105 n. 4); cf., however, the rare (though Homeric) Ἀπόλλων Φοῖβος at 1.759.

αἰνοτάτης: at 2.1126 Argos called the broken ship ἀεικέλιη, and both words have a wide semantic range (Livrea on 4.1619). αἰνός here is probably a pejorative and emotional word of quite general meaning, 'terrible', rather than 'ill-fated' (Fränkel). Despite 601-2, we are probably not to understand that Aietes had deliberately given the brothers an unseaworthy vessel. Argos' denigration of Colchian ships, which is a theme he has elaborated from Jason's own remarks at 2.1187-91, may not be very tactful, but it does mark the Colchians as strikingly different from Homer's Phaeacians of whom there are so many other reminders. It was Phaeacian seamanship that got Odysseus home; that Colchian ships are not up to much suggests that Jason and his men will enjoy a reception quite unlike that which the Phaeacians gave to Odysseus.

ἤλιθα 'completely', cf. Livrea on 4.177.

διέτμαγεν 'split it apart', active aorist of διατμήγω; the singular shows that 'rain and wind' is thought of as a single concept (K-G 179).

γόμοις: wooden bolts holding the planks together; for their crucial importance cf. 1.369, 2.613-14, Casson (1971) *Glossary* s.v. The γόμοι of Odysseus' raft were not sufficient to withstand πάσας... ἀέλλας | παντοίων ἀνέμων (*Od.* 5.292-3), and this contrast prepares for the specific suggestion in 348-9 that Jason is another Odysseus.

ἐξ ἀνέμοιο θέει 'runs with [i.e. through the agency of] the wind', an unusual extension of a common use (LSJ s.v. ἐκ III.6); more regular is 1.600 πνοιῆι ἀνέμοιο θέοντες.

ἐπισπέρχωνιν ἑρετμά 'urge on their oars', cf. 1.552 ἦρωας χεῖρεσσι | ἐπικραδῶντας ἑρετμά, *Od.* 12.205 οὐκέτ' ἑρετμά προήκεα χερσῖν

ἐπαινον. The better attested ἐρετμοῖς perhaps arose from a memory of the end of *Od.* 13.22 σπερχοῖσ' ἐρετμοῖς; if the dative is retained (cf. *Soph. Aj.* 229-31 for the resulting double dative), νῆα must be supplied as the object of the verb.

348-8 'Gathering in it all the best heroes of the whole Achaean land'; for the neuter cf. *Theocr.* 7.4-5 εἴ τί περ ἔσθλόν | χαῶν κτλ. (with Gow's note). The verses are rather like the description of the Argonauts at *Theocr.* 13.17-18 οἱ δ' αὐτῶι ἀριστῆς συνέποντο | πασῶν ἐκ πολλῶν προλελεγμένοι ὧν ὄφελός τι.

348-9 An echo of Homeric descriptions of Odysseus, cf. *Od.* 15.176, 492, 19.170.

ὀπάσσαις : sc. τὸ κῶσας.

350 αὐτῶι : i.e. σοῖ αὐτῶι, cf. 537, Chantraine II 157.

351-3 Argos' offer of a *quid pro quo* is a good example of how A. places his readers in the same position of ignorance as those to whom a speech is addressed : is this a sudden rhetorical ploy or have Jason and Argos really discussed the matter? A. refuses to offer the authorial certainty that often results from Homeric technique; in Homer we might have seen the two men preparing what they were going to say to Aietes, then saying it. The Sauromatae were a Scythian tribe living near Lake Maiotis (the Sea of Azov) on Aietes' northern border; a story in *Diod. Sic.* 4.45.4-5 (cf. 311-13n.) presupposes relations between the two peoples, but other evidence is lacking. In some versions of the saga, Aietes himself may have imposed defeat of this tribe as one of Jason's tasks; in *Val. Fl.* 6 this tribe fights along with the other Scythians against the Greeks and Colchians. In the story of Bellerophon (cf. 230-4n.), the hero is required to defeat the Solymoi and the Amazons, and it is perhaps relevant that the Sauromatae were said to be descended from the Amazons and their women had the same characteristics as Amazons (*Hdt.* 4.110-17, *Hippocr. Aer.* 17, *Pl. Laws* 7.804e-5a). On this tribe in general cf. *RE* IA 2542-50, III 1-12, J. Harmatta, *Studies in the history and language of the Sarmatians* (Szeged 1970).

354 Argos uses much the same verse in his speech to Jason at 2.1154; he is fond of such mannerisms, cf. 332.

δῆθεν 'as you obviously do'.

356-61 Argos reworks Jason's account to him at 2.1160-4, to stress that Aietes has particular duties towards his visitors. Argos' father Phrixus and Jason's father Aison were cousins, cf. above, p. 13.

358 Argos' formula does not imply any real doubt on his part as to Jason's ancestry, but its effect on Aietes (together with the optative in 359) may be quite other, cf. *Val. Fl.* 7.50-1 (Aietes charging the Argonauts with being stateless pirates) *uobisne domos, uobisne parentes | esse putem...?*

362-3 'If you have heard of a son of Helios [called Augeias], this is Augeias you are looking at.' The construction is compressed but regular; nevertheless, it may be thought a strange choice of expression when addressing another son of Helios. εἴ τι ν' ἀκούεις concludes a hexameter at *Call. fr.* 64.5.

365-6 Cf. 401-21n.

367 τοῖα παρέννεπεν 'sought to win Aietes over with such words'.

368 ἠερέθοντο : his heart 'rises' with anger, cf. 638 (fear), *Aesch. Sept.* 214 (fear), *Soph. OT* 914-15 (grief). More common with anger is 'swelling', as in 383.

369 φῆ : the separation of this verb from the speech it introduces is un-Homeric, cf. 169-70n.

370 '...for he thought that the Argonauts (σφε) had come because of them [τῶν, i.e. Chalciope's sons]'.

371 A standard epic accompaniment of strong and violent emotion, cf. 1.1297, 4.16-17, 1543-4, *Faerber* (1932) 39-40, *L. Graz, Le Feu dans l'Iliade et l'Odyssee* (Paris 1965) 240-7; here it is particularly appropriate for a son of Helios (cf. 4.727-9).

ἰεμένιοι : the apparent agreement of a genitive participle and an enclitic personal pronoun in the dative is common, cf. 1009-10, *Fränkel* (1968) 354-5. Such pronouns were possibly considered to be archaic genitives as well as datives.

372 Cf. Od. 10.72 (Aeolus to Odysseus) ἔρρ' ἐκ νήσου θάσσον, ἐλέγχιστε ζώντων.

λωβητῆρες : a general term of abuse, cf. *Il.* 24.239 (Priam to the restraining Trojans) ἔρρετε, λωβητῆρες ἐλεγχέες.

373 Cf. 306; in his anger Aietes perverts the language of his opening speech of welcome.

374 A common idiom of threat: the speaker picks up words or ideas from a preceding speech (δέρος καὶ Φριζόν) and repeats them with a menacing adjective (usually πικρός) and a verb of seeing, cf. *Od.* 17.448 (Antinous to Odysseus) μὴ τάχα πικρὴν Αἴγυπτον καὶ Κύπρον ἴδηαι, *Ar. Thesm.* 853 πικρὰν Ἑλένην ὄψει τάχ', εἰ μὴ κοσμίως κτλ., *LSJ* s.v.

πικρός III.1. Aietes increases the menace by substituting τις for 'you'; for the use of the indefinite in threats cf. LSJ s.v. A II.3, K-G I 662. That Phrixus is dead does not affect the use of the idiom, and there is no need to understand 'the fleece and the expiation for the murder of Phrixus' or (with hendiadys) 'Phrixus' fleece'.

375-6 'Acting in concert [with these men] straight from Greece, not for the fleece, but for my throne and royal position, do you come here.' The text is very uncertain, and Wilamowitz's lacuna after 374 may be correct. The infinitive of most MSS could be exclamatory (*MT*² §787, K-G II 23) 'to think that...', but grammar would then require the participle to be accusative; 'from Greece' could also be construed with *véεσθε*, if the hyperbaton is ascribed to Aietes' anger. *δέ* for *τε* in 376 seems inevitable, and *οὐκ* for *οὐδ'* is attractive, although 'not even' is possible sense. That the sons of Phrixus have not had time to get to Greece and back hardly matters, when the speaker is in a fury and those with the young men certainly have come from Greece. In fact, however, the sons did return successfully to Greece in versions of the myth before A. (cf. Hdt. 7.197, Herodorus, *FGrHist* 31 F 47), and the shipwreck and meeting with the Argonauts on the Island of Ares may be A.'s invention. It would be typical of a Hellenistic poet to make Aietes' false suspicions reflect a version of the myth which the poet has rejected. Cf. further 775-6n., above, p. 21.

377 This seems to be addressed to both the Argonauts and the sons of Phrixus. Those who have eaten at your table are under the protection of Zeus Hikesios (e.g. *Il.* 21.75-9) or Xenios (e.g. Xen. *Anab.* 3.2.4); Aietes shows his respect for the latter - in this, at least, he differs from the Cyclops, cf. 176-81n., 304-5n., 401n.

378 *ἄν* in the apodosis with *κε* in the protasis of an unreal condition is justified by *κε...κε* at *Il.* 23.526-7, cf. R. H. Howarth, *C.Q.* n.s. 5 (1955) 87-8.

κέασσας: normally of splitting wood, and hence a very vivid term for 'cutting off' hands; *ἀπό* colours both participles. Aietes' threat marks him as a tyrant who treats other people as though they were servants or of no account, cf. *Il.* 21.453-5 (Laomedon's threats), *Od.* 18.86-7 (Irus), 22.475-7 (Melanthius) and, more generally, Headlam on Herondas 6.41.

379 *ἐπιπροέηκα* 'I would have sent you out'; if *ἐπι-* has particular force, it may be that Aietes would dismiss them 'back to' their comrades to serve as a warning.

380-1 There are two possible interpretations. (i) 'To prevent you from making any subsequent attempt, and because you have told such lies about the blessed gods.' In an elaborate chiasmus, 380 gives the reason for cutting off their hands and 381 explains why their tongues would suffer; on this reading *οἶα* = *οἶτι τοῖα*, as often, cf. LSJ s.v. *οἶος* II.2-3, K-G II 370-1. (ii) Line 380 gives the reason for the violent actions of 378-9, and 381 is an explanatory exclamation (cf. 711), like *οἶα ἔσργας* at *Il.* 22.347; for exclamatory *δέ* cf. Denniston 172. With either interpretation, *καί* (381) is best taken as 'even'. At 4.1090-2 two exclamatory clauses are introduced by *οἶα μὲν* and *οἶα δέ*, but there seems no reason to postulate a lacuna here. Interpretation (i) assumes the greater strain in Aietes' language, but seems on balance preferable.

ἐπεψεύσασθε 'attributed falsely to', probably referring both to Argos' report of Jason's mission (336-46) and his assertion of the divine parentage of the Argonauts (362-6).

382-4 Telamon's quick temper has been seen at 1.1289ff. after the loss of Heracles, and the present scene was foreshadowed by 1.1340-3 where Jason expresses the hope that Telamon would fight on his behalf as he had fought for Heracles.

ὀλοὺν... ἔπος: both 'a speech threatening destruction [to Aietes]', (cf. 4.410), and 'a speech which would have brought about the destruction [of the Argonauts]'.

385 Cf. 319n. Jason's 'gentle speech' is in character, cf. above, p. 31 and Eur. *Med.* 455-6 (Jason claims to have tried to soothe 'angry kings').

386 *μοι*: 'ethic' dative, 'for my sake, please'.

γάρ: relatively, but not impossibly, late in its clause, cf. Soph. *Phil.* 1450-1, *HE* 1238, Denniston 96-7. The traditional punctuation after *στόλωι* ('calm yourself as far as this expedition is concerned') places a great strain upon a simple dative, cf. A. Svensson, *Der Gebrauch des bestimmten Artikels in der nachklassischen gr. Epik* (Lund 1937) 6-10.

αὐτως 'for that reason', looking forward to *ὡς* in 387.

388 *οὐδέ μὲν ἰέμενοι* 'nor yet out of desire', i.e. 'not of our own volition', cf. Denniston 362; the phrase is explained by *ἐκῶν* in 389.

388-90 Cf. *Od.* 5.100-1 (Hermes to Calypso) *τίς δ' ἂν ἐκῶν τοσσόνδε διαδράμοι ἄλμυρον ὕδωρ | ἄσπετον*;

δαίμων: 'the ordinary man sees only what happens to him, unpredictable and not of his own enacting, and he calls the driving power *daimon*, something like fate, but without any person who plans

and ordains being visible' Burkert (1985) 180-1, cf. G. François, *Le Polythéisme et l'emploi au singulier des mots* ΘΕΟΣ, ΔΑΙΜΟΝ dans la littérature grecque d'Homère à Platon (Paris 1957); this indefinite *daimon* or *theos* is found both in Homer, especially in Odysseus' narrative of his adventures, (*Od.* 7.248, *Il.* 15.468, cf. E. R. Dodds, *The Greeks and the irrational* (Berkeley 1951) 12-13), and elsewhere in *Arg.* (2.249, 421). In a similar context at 430 Jason refers to the 'evil necessity' which is upon him. Less probably, Jason may mean his own 'personal destiny', as the idea of a personal *daimon* who accompanies one through life was long established before the Hellenistic age, cf. Pl. *Phaedo* 107d, *Men.* fr. 714.1-3 K-T, K. J. Dover, *Greek popular morality in the time of Plato and Aristotle* (Oxford 1974) 138-41.

κρυερή... ἐφετιμή: cf. 2.210. κρυερός has a wide semantic range (Hesychius κ 4248), but there seems to be no earlier example of 'chill command'.

392 θεσπεσίην: as a suppliant (ἀντιμύνοισι), Jason offers to reward Aietes as though the latter were a god, cf. the promise to Medea at 1124. It seems a natural idea that a great benefactor should be so honoured, cf. *Od.* 8.467-8 (Odysseus to Nausicaa) 'in Ithaca I shall pray to you as to a god for all time to come [because you saved me]', *Il.* 9.603 (Phoenix to Achilles), Aesch. *Suppl.* 980-2 (with Friis Johansen-Whittle's note), I. M. Le M. DuQuesnay, *Papers of the Liverpool Latin Seminar* 3 (1981) 102-13. The fact that θεσπέσιος, like Eng. 'divine', may express purely secular approbation should not conceal Jason's strategy here; for further examples cf. 443-5n., 836-7n.

395 σφωιτέροισιν: cf. 335n.

396 ἴσκεν 'he spoke', a sense common in Hellenistic poetry, and derived from two disputed passages of Homer (*Od.* 19.203, 22.31); cf. Livrea on 4.92.

ὑποσσαίων: this compound is used only of Jason (974, 4.410, both of speeches to Medea). It need not carry the pejorative tone of Eng. 'fawn' or 'flatter'; here the meaning is 'trying to soothe'.

396-400 A reworking of a standard Homeric description of making a decision, seen in *Il.* 13.455-9, ὡς φάτο, Δηϊφοβος δὲ διάνδιχα μερμήριξεν, | ἧ τινά που Τρώων ἐταρίσσαιτο μεγαθύμων | ἀπ' ἀναχωρήσας, | ἧ πειρήσαιτο καὶ οἶος. | ὦδε δὲ οἱ φρονέοντι δοάσσατο κέρδιον εἶναι, | βῆναι ἐπ' Αἰνείαν, cf. *Il.* 1.188-92, 14.20-2, 16.435-8.

This is the only example in *Arg.*, and it marks Aietes as a grim 'warrior' figure. The variation between present and aorist optatives, for the deliberative subjunctives of direct speech (*MT*² § 116, 124), is characteristic of A.'s rich style.

τό 'the latter course'.

ὑποβλήδην: cf. 1119, 1.699. The meaning is quite uncertain: an ancient interpretation as 'interrupting' (Σ^{BT} *Il.* 1.292 etc.) might just suit here and 1119, but not 1.699. Poets may have used the word simply for 'in answer', cf. παραβλήδην (106-7n.). For discussion cf. G. Hermann, *Opuscula* v (Leipzig 1834) 300-11, L. Belloni, *Aevum* 43 (1979) 66-8.

401-21 In a common mythic pattern, Aietes imposes a test on the heroes, cf. Bacchylides 17 where another descendant of Helios, Minos, sets Theseus a test of divinity: for Theseus and Jason cf. 997-1004n. It is an irony of Jason's position that, unlike his colleagues (cf. 365-6), he is not of divine parentage, and so comes under Aietes' second condition (ἄλλως 402-3).

401 ξεῖνε: Aietes respects Zeus Xenios (cf. 377n.), but after his own fashion.

403 ὀνείοισιν: Aietes scornfully picks up Jason's word from 389.

404 The singulars show that Aietes has now focused on Jason, the leader of the expedition.

ἦν κ': as ἦν is itself εἰ + ἄν, ἦν κε makes no philological sense; when it appears in Homer, it does so (with the exception of *Od.* 18.318) with the variant αἰ κε, and modern editors give it no place in Homer's text, cf. Chantraine II 282. As the chronology of such linguistic change is very uncertain, it remains possible that A. found ἦν κε in his text of Homer (cf. A. Platt, *J.Ph.* 33 (1914) 31); it is, however, noteworthy that a late papyrus has ἦν κε as an interlinear variant for αἰ κε at 1.706 and 715.

405 πειρηθείς: Aietes' offer has a sting in the tail.

405-6 'For in the case of noble men, I am not grudging, as you say the ruler in Greece [is grudging].' In fact, of course, both Aietes and Pelias set Jason tasks which they have no expectation he will survive. Valerius Flaccus makes this point rather more obviously at the same stage of the narrative, 7.92 (Jason) *alium hic Pelian, alia aequora cerno.*

408 τόν ῥ': accusative of respect, 'a task, in which...'

409 ἀμφινέμονται: both 'inhabit', the usual sense of this verb for

gods or men, and 'graze in', cf. LSJ s.v. νέμω B 2. There is perhaps a similar equivocation at Arat. *Phaen.* 282-3 τὸν δὲ μετὰ σκαίροντα δὴ ἰχθύες ἀμφινέμονται | ἵππων.

410 The alliteration of φ is perhaps imitative of the 'whoosh' of erupting fire, cf. Pind. *Pyth.* 1.21-4 (description of Mt Etna), 71n.

412 τετράγυον 'measuring four γύαι'. At *Od.* 18.374 a τετράγυον is the area where Odysseus and Eurymachus would compete against each other in ploughing; clearly, therefore, we must imagine a very large field suitable for ploughmen of the 'heroic age' doing a long day's work (cf. *Od.* 18.367). In the event, Jason completes the ploughing in two-thirds of a day (1340-1). Pherecydes had made Jason plough a πεντηκοντόγυον (*FGrHist* 3 F 30).

τέλσον 'the end of the field', cf. Chantraine, *DE* s.v., V. Pisani, *Athenaeum* n.s. 18 (1940) 3-10.

413-15 'Into the furrows I throw not the seed of the grain (ἀκτῆς) of Demeter, but the teeth of a terrible serpent which grow like in body to warrior men.' The text is uncertain, and Fränkel's lacuna after 414 is a tempting solution. ἀκτῆι 'seed for the grain [of Demeter]' is possible Greek (Gow on Theocr. 28.10), but is unattractive beside ὀλοκοῖσιν. The dative after μεταλδήσκοντας ('growing and changing'), with δέμας as accusative of respect (cf. 4.673), is modelled on verbs of likeness; thus Σ¹⁸ glosses as ἐξισουμένους. Unfortunately, the paraphrase in 498-9 does not help with the text here.

415-16 In Pindar Jason merely has to plough the field, but the earth-born warriors figured in both Pherecydes and Sophocles' *Colchian Women* (fr. 341 R, cf. Eur. *Med.* 479). For the myth cf. 1176-90 and above, pp. 13-14.

ἐμῶι ὑπὸ δουρί: both common sense and the image of reaping (κείρω, ἀμήτοιο) suggest that a sword would be better in such a combat than a spear (presumably for thrusting rather than throwing). When he faces the warriors, Jason is armed with both, but is described as using only his sword like a sickle (1381-91) against the warriors who themselves have spears (1356). When Homer compares combat to reaping (*Il.* 11.67-9, 19.223), the type of weapon is not germane to the comparison, and we have no other evidence as to how Aietes went about his task (cf. 1057-60n.). This phrase could be interpreted as 'in combat' or 'through my power' (LSJ s.v. δόρυ II 2), but there may rather be a slightly blurred detail in the poem.

417 ἡέριος... δείελον ὤρην: the variation of expression is characteristic of mannered, literary poetry.

418 τάδε τοῖα 'these things under these conditions'; there is no true parallel to the phrase and Fränkel entertained reasonable doubts about the text.

420-1 The speech concludes with a general statement, the γνώμη or ἐπιφώνημα recommended by professional rhetoricians, cf. H. Lausberg, *Handbuch der literarischen Rhetorik* (Munich 1960) 434. Aietes conceals his desire to destroy Jason behind the mask of a high 'heroic code'.

422-5 For Jason's behaviour here cf. above, p. 31; for the gesture of looking down cf. 22n. Very similar is Call. *h.* 5.82-4, ἄ μὲν ἔφα, παιδὸς δ' ὄμματα λυξ ἔλαβεν. | ἔστάκη δ' ἄφθογγος, ἐκόλλασαν γὰρ ἀνῖαι | γώνατα καὶ φωνᾶν ἔσχεν ἀμοχανία (cf. Bulloch on 83-4).

αὐτως 'like that, just as he was [i.e. looking at the ground]'. G. Giangrande, *C.Q.* n.s. 12 (1962) 212-13, understands it as a simple intensive 'very [speechless]'.
κακότητι 'wretched plight' (cf. 476), rather than 'cowardice', despite κακωτέρωι immediately above.

ἀμφί: in tmesis with στρώφα; the word-order imitates the twisting of Jason's thoughts.

426 No attempt to explain κερδαλέοισιν as 'tactful', 'helpful [to his cause]', 'avisé' is satisfactory. M. Campbell, *C.Q.* n.s. 21 (1971) 417, suggested μειλιχίοισιν.

427 Jason's concern with justice is found already in Pindar, cf. *Pyth.* 4.139-41 (addressing Pelias) 'there are minds of men quick to praise deceitful profit before justice, men who nevertheless come to the harsh day of reckoning'.

429-31 Like Aietes, Jason ends with a general statement, but one which makes its appeal to a much broader range of humanity than Aietes'. The transmitted future (ἐπικείσεται) is less good with the generalising ἀνθρώποισι and may have arisen from a memory of *Il.* 6.458 κρατερῆ δ' ἐπικείσεται ἀνάγκη.

ἐπέχραεν 'forced'; A. may have connected this rare verb with χρή, cf. *Od.* 5.396 στυγερὸς δὲ οἱ ἔχραε δαίμων, Livrea on 4.508.

434 Not for Aietes the Homeric courtesy of offering his guests a bed for the night.

435-6 Line 435 provides the only example of an optative in -αις or -αι other than at verse end; a mixture of optative and subjunctive does

occur in other types of parallel clauses (K-G II 387-8), but seems unlikely here. Vian, therefore, proposed the subjunctive ὑποδδείσῃς. A. may, however, have regarded μεταχάσσει (from μεταχάζομαι) as a future indicative rather than an aorist subjunctive (cf. Chantraine II 284). A future would, moreover, give a more explicitly warning tone (MT² §447) – followed by the menacing vagueness of 437 – and so ὑποδδείσῃς may be considered, although an active future for δειδῶ is not otherwise attested before Quintus Smyrnaeus.

437-8 Menelaus in his duel with Paris prays to Zeus for victory 'so that a man of later generations may shrink from (ἐπρίγησι) outraging his host who offers friendship' (*Il.* 3.353-4); Aietes too is a host who sees himself as wronged, but he lacks the moral justice of Menelaus' case, and his claim to be 'the better man' is to prove an empty boast. For the exemplary rôle of violent death cf. also *Il.* 8.515-16.

439 ἴσκειν: cf. 396n.

ἀπηλεγέως 'frankly', lit. 'without care or circumspection (ἀλέγω)', i.e. without concealing the threat, cf. 18-19n.

440 παρασχεδόν: normally 'straightaway' (as in 667) but at 1.1091, 2.10 and 2.859 a local sense is possible, and here there is a clear implication that Augeias and Telamon jumped up 'alongside', 'together with' their leader.

441-2 'after making a sign to his brothers to stay behind there in the mean time (μεσσηγύς ἔτι)', cf. 825, rather than 'had signalled in the mean time to his brothers to remain there longer (ἔτι)'. The brothers will keep an eye on Jason's interests and comfort their mother; A. sees no need to spell this out for us.

ἦισαν: the standard Homeric form, transmitted at 1331; ἦισαν of the MSS is used in Attic prose from the fourth century on, and perhaps earlier (K-B II 217). Certainty as to what A. wrote is hardly possible.

443-5 Cf. *Od.* 6.236-7 (Odysseus and Nausicaa) ἔζετ' ἔπειτ' ἀπάνευθε κίων ἐπὶ θίνα θαλάσσης, | κάλλιε καὶ χάρισι στίλβων· θηεῖτο δὲ κόρη, 924-5n.

θεσπέσιον: cf. 392n. Hera is at work here, as (more explicitly) in 919-25; just so had Athena made Odysseus marvellously beautiful (*Od.* 6.229-35).

ἐπ' αὐτῷ κτλ. 'keeping her eyes fixed on him at an angle at the side of her shining veil, she wondered at him'. The intricate word-order

perhaps suggests Medea's attempts at concealment. Her natural modesty has now recovered its composure: ὄμματ' ἀπορύγμ' (cf. Anacreon 417.1) replace ἀντὶ ἀμοργύμ' (287-8), and she conceals her glances, as a young girl should, with her veil; to look at what lies outside this barrier is a gesture marking the erotic temptation which she now experiences for the first time. On the veil as a poetic symbol – marriage was marked by a ritual 'unveiling' – cf. D. Armstrong and E. A. Ratchford, *B.I.C.S.* 32 (1985) 5-6 (with bibliography).

λιπαρὴν... καλύπτρην: a draped linen veil worn over the head and shoulders. Its gleam, possibly a result of the use of oil to produce a glossy finish (*Od.* 7.107, Lorimer (1950) 371-2), matches Jason's brightness, and the two stand out from those around them; the detail is a good illustration of A.'s pictorial imagination.

446-7 σμύχουσα 'smouldering', cf. 762, Theocr. 3.17, 8.90, Pease on Virg. *Aen.* 4.2. When we last saw Medea, love was 'burning secretly' within her (296), and this echo, together with νόος picking up νόοιο from 298, gives continuity and structure to the narrative.

νόος κτλ. 'her mind, creeping like a dream, fluttered after his departing footsteps'. The oxymoron expresses both the wearying pain (κάματος) and the emotional 'high' of passion. Two Homeric passages are relevant: (i) *Od.* 11.222 (the soul after the destruction of the body by real fire) ψυχὴ δ' ἦντ' ὄνειρος ἀποπταμένη πεπότηται (cf. 1151), and (ii) *Il.* 22.199 (Achilles pursuing Hector) ὡς δ' ἐν ὄνειρῳ οὐ δύναται φεύγοντα διώκειν. Medea longs to 'catch' the retreating Jason, but her laboured heart cannot; for other echoes of the confrontation of Achilles and Hector cf. 956-61n.

450 βεβήκει: cf. 271n.

451 αὐτως 'likewise'.

451-2 Cf. *Od.* 19.516-17 (Penelope) 'I lie in my bed, and many sharp cares (μελεδῶναι) stir me (ἐρέθουσιν) as I grieve'; for Medea and Penelope cf. above, p. 29.

Ἔρωτες 'forces of love', who do their work after Eros has done his, cf. 687, 765; the plural is common in Hellenistic and later poetry, and in other contexts hardly distinguishable from the singular, cf. Headlam on Herondas 7.94, Pease on Cic. *ND* 3.60, Campbell (1983) 130-1.

μέλεσθαι: epexegetic, '[stir up] to be a care'; for the word cf. 4-5n.

453-8 This later became a common topos (Chariton 2.43, 6.7.1, Virg. *Aen.* 4.3-5 etc.), but it is not stale for A. or his readers. Its literary seeds are perhaps to be found in a slightly different idea: in a difficult passage of Aesch. *Ag.*, Menelaus is apparently said to see φάσματα of his departed wife (v. 415), cf. Lucr. 4.1061-2 *nam si abest quod ames, praesto simulacra tamen sunt | illius et nomen dulce obuersatur ad auris.*

προπόρῶ: the doubled preposition here marks the vividness and persistence of her fantasy, as at 1013 the willingness and forwardness of Medea's offer.

ἦστο 'he was dressed', a 'false' analogical pluperfect passive of ἐννυμι, instead of the usual ἔστο which is in the linguistic model (*Od.* 19.218-19). The correct reading here must remain in doubt; εἶτο would be an imitation of εἶται at *Od.* 11.191, where Zenodotus read ἦστοι and Aristarchus ἦστο. One consideration does perhaps tell in favour of ἦστο: the form could be derived from ἦμαι, and 'in what clothes he sat' is a possible rendering, then made impossible by the subsequent ἔξετ'; such a linguistic game would be very much in the Hellenistic manner.

ἔειφ: Medea 'sees' Jason speaking, as well as 'hearing' what he said (458). The passage may be an expansion of *Il.* 24.631-2 αὐτὰρ ὁ Δαρδανίδην Πριάμον θαύμαζεν Ἀχιλλεύς, | εἰσορῶν ὄψιν τ' ἀγαθὴν καὶ μῦθον ἀκούων.

ὀρώρει: singular, because the nouns of 458 form a single concept, cf. 340-6n.

459 τάρβει: unaugmented imperfect.

460-1 This idea is expanded in 656-64.

462 Of the two datives, ἐλέωι gives the cause of the tears and κηδοσύνησι (in her anguish for him) describes Medea's state. The expression is hard to parallel, but unlikely to be corrupt (Schneider proposed κηδοσύνη τε).

463 λιγέως ἀνενείκατο μῦθον 'brought out her words in a sad voice'. The exact sense is doubtful. λιγύς usually occurs in contexts of lamentation, and here it is likely to be synonymous with ἄδινός, cf. 635, 616n., *Il.* 19.314 (Achilles lamenting Patroclus) ἄδινῶς ἀνενείκατο φώνησέν τε, M. Kaimio, *Characterisation of sound in early Greek literature* (Helsinki 1977) 42-7. The verb, which is also usually connected with sad utterance (Livrea on 4.1748), seems to have been understood of 'bringing the voice up from deep within the chest'.

464-6 A 'polar' expression denoting 'whoever he is, I shouldn't have anything to do with him', although it is clear how Medea regards him (cf. K-G II 173 on γέ denoting the preferable of two alternatives). Some may see here an acknowledgement by A. that Jason's 'heroic status' is a central issue of the poem, cf. above, pp. 31-2.

ἔρρέτω: cf. *Od.* 5.139-40 (a bitter Calypso about Odysseus) ἔρρέτω... πόντον ἐπ' ἀτρύγετον.

ἦ μὲν: strongly emphatic, cf. Denniston 389.

ὄφελλεν: the past tense shows that she imagines him already dead (or his death as certain); her regret leads her (illogically but quite naturally) to pray for him.

467 A. follows the Hesiodic genealogy which made Hecate the daughter of the Titan Perses and a daughter of Leto called Asteria (*Theog.* 409-11). The prayer to Hecate foreshadows the means by which Jason will 'escape doom' and begins to prepare Medea to offer that help; it is, of course, precisely when Jason has got back safely to Greece that the power which Hecate gives Medea brings him real harm.

469 δαείη 'may he learn', cf. 182n.

470 οἱ: to be construed with ἄτηι, 'his terrible fate', cf. 371n.

ἔωγε: Medea is starting to divorce herself from the general feelings of her people.

471 ἐόλητο: a word whose derivation and original meaning are uncertain, cf. Bühler on Moschus 2.74. Ancient glosses explain as 'was disturbed', 'was anguished', and this is clearly what is intended here; cf. perhaps *excrucior* at Cat. 85.2.

μελεδήμασι: cf. 4n.

471-2 The careful μὲν...δέ articulation stresses the simultaneity of the two actions: Medea's wish for Jason's safety is the first step on her side towards a meeting between the two of them, and Argos' suggestion to Jason is the first step on the 'male' side. The point is reinforced by Argos' reference to 'the daughter of Perses' following so soon after 467; action within and without the house is leading to the same end. It may not be fanciful to see divine forces at work in these 'coincidences', cf. 476n.

475 ὀνόσσαι 'you will find fault with' (ὄνομαι). Argos assumes that Jason's reaction will be like Idas' outburst at 558-63; the actual reply (485-8) does indeed express regret that their situation is so desperate

that female help is necessary, cf. above, p. 31. Some construe the verse as a question (cf. *Il.* 5.421, *Od.* 1.158), but μέν...δέ is then very awkward.

ἐνίψω 'I will say', a meaning found three times in Homer, although this form seems to be the future of ἐνίπτω 'reproach'. A. may have regarded it as the future of ἐνέπω, cf. Chantraine 1 442-3, Fränkel (1968) 405.

476 An echo of 16 suggests that Hera's plan is working through Argos.

477-8 In contrast to Homer, A. prefers to say things only once (cf. 351-3n., above, p. 39); the present verse draws attention to its difference from the older epic, because we have heard nothing previously from Argos about Medea, cf. Fusillo (1985) 25-7. On the nature of Medea's magic cf. 531-3n.

Περσηίδος: cf. 467n.

ἐννεσίησαι: cf. 29n.

480-1 Cf. *Il.* 10.38-9 (Menelaus conferring with Agamemnon) ἀλλὰ μάλ' αἰνῶς | δεῖδω μὴ οὐ τις ὑπόσχηται τόδε ἔργον. An echo of the *Doloneia* (cf. 492-539n.) suggests the need for cunning rather than brawn.

ὑποσταίη: the optative after a verb of fearing in the present tense is not classical (K-G II 394), but there is an apparent example at *Il.* 9.245, and the construction recurs in Quintus Smyrnaeus. μοι ὑποσταίη occurs in this position in the verse in *Il.* 9.445.

482 ἀντιβολήσων 'to make a request', cf. πειρήσων in 539, 176-81n.

483 Cf. Simonides 520.4 ὁ δ' ἄφυκτος ὁμῶς ἐπικρέμαται θάνατος, LSJ s.v. ἐπικρεμάνυμι II.

484 εὐφρονέων 'with kindly intention'.

485-8 Cf. 4.419-20 (Medea agreeing to the killing of Apsyrus) ἐνθ' εἶ τοι τόδε ἔργον ἐφανδάνει, οὔτι μεγαίρω, | κτεῖνε κτλ.

ὦ πέπον: an affectionate address; elsewhere only 1.1337 (Jason making up to Telamon).

Why does Argos not go straight back to the palace? Jason and he both understand that major decisions lie with the group, and 483 has just stressed that all face the same danger. Lines 486-7, therefore, give Jason's assent to the plan, but general agreement is required, cf. 171-2. In Homer βάσκ' ἴθι is used only by Zeus to an inferior god, who immediately carries out his will; Jason is not that kind of leader.

παρὰ... ὄρνυθι: tmesis. The compound is not found elsewhere, and is perhaps influenced by βάσκ', 'go to your mother and stir her to action...'

ἐπετραπόμεσθα: middle, 'we have entrusted our return to women'.

492-539 reproduce a common Homeric pattern of speech - silence - speech. Two examples seem particularly relevant: (i) *Il.* 9.16-79. A despondent speech from Agamemnon is followed first by a long silence and then by a bold speech from Diomedes which encourages others; finally a wiser and more cautious counsel is offered by Nestor in the rôle here taken by Argos. Idas (515-20n.) owes something to Diomedes. (ii) *Il.* 10.203-26 (the *Doloneia*, cf. 480-1n.). Nestor's suggestion that a spy be sent to the Trojan camp is followed by silence and then by a bold offer from (again) Diomedes; there then follows a catalogue of the other Greeks who volunteered (cf. 515-20).

492-3 Jason's first words reveal the hollowness of his confident departure (192-3). Aietes' true sentiments (φίλον κῆρ, with more than a hint of irony) are opposed to them.

ἀντικρῦ 'completely', 'irrevocably', cf. 4.1334, 1612.

493-4 A. draws attention again (cf. 477-8n.) to his departure from the techniques of Homeric epic in verses reminiscent of Eur. *Phoen.* 751-2, which self-consciously mark a departure from Aeschylus, cf. above, p. 40. Lines 495-6 repeat 409-10 and lines 497-500 briefly summarise 411-19.

τέκμωρ 'useful purpose', 'achievement in', a synonym for πρῆξις in *Il.* 24.524 οὐ γάρ τις πρῆξις πέλεται κρευροῖο γόοιο.

ἔμοι: sc. λέγοντι, by a very easy ellipse.

497 ὑπὸ τοῖσιν 'by means of the bulls', cf. LSJ s.v. ὑπὸ B II.1. The transmitted ἐπί gives no good sense, and the text must be considered uncertain.

499 χαλκείος: Aietes did not say this (cf. 415), but it is a reasonable supposition (cf. 218, 230).

ἤματι δ' αὐτῶι: a variation of αὐτῆμαρ (419).

500 χρεῖω: sc. εἶναι, cf. 599.

δῆ νυ 'therefore', explained by the following γάρ clause.

501 ἀπηλεγέως 'outright', 'without hesitation', cf. 18-19n.

502-4 That the other Argonauts react as Jason had done (422-5), and as the whole group had done when it first heard of Aietes' character and the task in front of them (2.1216-18), shows that this

reaction is not 'unheroic' and emphasises the enormity of the challenge, cf. above, p. 31.

ἄνεωι καὶ ἄναυδοι: an emphatic doubling (cf. 615), found again at 967 and 4.693. Ancient grammarians sought to distinguish ἄνεωι (nominative plural) from ἄνεω (adverb), cf. Σ^{DA} *Il.* 2.323, Ebeling s.v.; A. clearly uses the word as an adjective, whereas modern scholarship regards it as a Homeric adverb.

Πηλεΐδης: a prominent Argonaut, seen to advantage in moments of crisis (2.868-84, 1216-25, 1368-79). His skill as a fighter is displayed at 1.1042, 2.121-2 and 2.829. At 382-4 Peleus' brother, Telamon, had wished to react angrily to Aietes' proposition; here, Peleus' 'late' response is a mark of his greater prudence, cf. G. Lawall *T.C.S.* 19 (1966) 139.

506 ἔρξομεν: imitation of Homeric forms which may be future indicative (Chantraine II 225-6, *MT*² §196-7) rather than aorist subjunctive with a short thematic vowel (like ἀνάφομεν 570).

μὲν 'however', cf. Denniston 368-9.

507 ἐνί for the transmitted ἐπί seems likely, cf. 2.334-5; ἐπί 'depending upon' (LSJ s.v. B 1.1.g) would be very strained.

509 The honorific address, ἦρωϊς Αἰσονίδη, suggests that Jason will be worthy of the title if he accepts the challenge. An echo of Aietes' words (434) at the end of the verse makes the point that 511-12 is a polite version of 435-6, where Aietes raised the possibility of fear and cowardice on Jason's part.

510 'then you should keep your promise (πεφυλαγμένος, middle) and get yourself ready'. This is preferable to 'you should be on your guard and make ready [the accomplishment] of your promise [cf. 737]'.
511-13 'If your heart does not have very full confidence (ἐπι... πέπειθεν tmesis) in its warrior ability, neither act in haste yourself nor sit here searching around for someone else among these men.'

514 στήσομαι: i.e. ἀφέξομαι, cf. 1268.

515-20 Cf. *Il.* 7.161-9, 10.227-32 and 23.288-300 where the greatest heroes respond to a challenge. Those who offer themselves here were also prominent in the battle with the Doliones (1.1040-7).

Τελαμώνι: cf. 196-9n.; his readiness to confront Aietes has already been seen in 382-5.

Ἴδας: Homer's Phoenix knew him as the strongest man of a previous

generation (*Il.* 9.558-9); in *Arg.* he is introduced as ὑπέρβιος and μεγάλην περιθαρσῆς ἀλκῆι (1.151-2), and at 1.460-91 he disturbs the harmony of the group with his drunken bragging. Various stories had him quarrelling over girls with Apollo or the Dioscuri (cf. *Il.* 9.558-64; Gow, *Theocritus* II 383-4), and this is of a piece with his 'blasphemy' at 1.470 and his rejection of a divine omen at 556-67. In *Arg.* he has something, but certainly not everything, in common with Heracles, who had stayed aloof from the female attractions of Lemnos (1.854-75). For further discussion cf. Wilamowitz (1924) II 216 n.1, H. Fränkel, 'Ein Don Quijote unter den Argonauten des Apollonios', *M.H.* 17 (1960) 1-20.

οἴεε: the transmitted οἴεσ means that the fourth foot of the verse is a spondee created by position and followed by word-division (a breach of 'Wernicke's Law'). Line 1084 seems to be the only Apollonian example which cannot be easily corrected. For examples from archaic epic cf. Leaf's edition of the *Iliad*, vol. II, pp. 631-9; from the high period of Hellenistic poetry the only other examples are Theocr. 15.42 (in the mouth of a 'low' character) and 22.88. Both tragedy and Hellenistic poetry (with this one exception) seem to refer to Castor and Polydeuces as Τυνδαρίδαι or by similar circumlocutions, but never as 'the sons (οἰοί) of Tyndareus'; their paternity was, of course, a matter of dispute, and at 2.41-3 A. seems to refer directly to the rival claims of Tyndareus and Zeus (cf. also Call. fr. 18.1-2). The present exception stresses their mortal origins and, hence, the bravery of their offer; no one would be surprised if the glorious 'sons of Zeus' offered to take on the bulls.

Οἰνείδης: Meleager. At 1.190-8 A. says that if he had been only one year older, he would have been second only to Heracles among the Argonauts.

αἰζηοῖσιν 'in their prime', i.e. strong and youthful, a synonym of ἀκμάζων, cf. 1367, *LfggE* s.v.

οὐδέ... | ἀντέλλων 'sprouting not even a little [Headlam on Herondas 7.33] down flowering [on his cheeks]'. Very similar is Call. h. 2.36-7 οὐποτε Φοῖβου | θηλείους οὐδ' ὄσον ἐπὶ χυόος ἤλαθε παρειαίς, but no direct link between the two passages need be postulated (cf. *Od.* 11.319-20, Aesch. *Sept.* 534-5).

521 ἀκῆν ἔχον 'kept silence'. At 2.1086 and in Homer ἀκῆν is an adverb, but Hellenistic poets also seemed to have used a noun ἀκῆ, cf.

Pfeiffer on Call. fr. 238.9. ἀκὴν ἔχον does, however, appear on a papyrus roughly contemporary with A. in a Homeric verse not found in our manuscripts (*Od.* 20.58a), and so it is possible that he and Callimachus found the expression in their texts of Homer, cf. S. West (1967) 276.

523 τῶδε: probably 'this [is the last resort]', i.e. to undertake the task in the knowledge of certain death, rather than 'death (θάνατος from 514) is the last resort'.

525 The optative expresses polite advice, cf. 1035, Chantraine II 216.

527 ἀφειδήσαντας 'recklessly', 'without caring', cf. 630, Livrea on 4.1252.

ἐλέσθαι 'choose'. Fränkel proposed ὀλέσθαι, which may be right, cf. 2.326-7 μηδ' αὐτως αὐτάγρετον οἶτον ὀλέσθαι [Hözl: ὀλησθε] | ἀφραδέως ἴθυετ' ἐπισπόμενοι νεότητι. ἐλέσθαι, however, conveys the same rhetorical point as αὐτάγρετον 'self-chosen'.

528-30 A variation and expansion of 477-8.

κούρη τις: the impersonal references to Medea, ironic in view of her importance, heighten the mystery which surrounds her.

δάε 'taught', cf. 182n.

φάρμακ' κτλ.: cf. *Il.* 11.740-1 ξανθὴν Ἀγαμήδην | ἦ τόσα φάρμακα ἦιδε ὅσα τρέφει εὐρεῖα χθών. Agamede and Medea were both granddaughters of Helios, have similar names, and some connection between them seems to have been made in antiquity (Gow on Theocr. 2.15-16). Σ^{AT} *Il.* 11.741 tells a story which makes Medea responsible for the reputation of Agamede's home, Elis, as being rich in drugs.

ἠπειρος: the echo of *Il.* 11.741 (εὐρεῖα χθών) perhaps points to the etymology α + πέρας, cf. *El. Mag.* 433-55.

νήχυτον 'abundant', from a supposed intensive force of νη- and χέω, cf. Philitas, fr. 21 Powell, Call. fr. 236.3, Livrea on 4.1367.

531-3 The powers over nature which Argos ascribes to Medea are already in the fifth century associated with women who worked with magic (Hippocr. *Morb. sacr.* 4, G. E. R. Lloyd, *Magic, reason and experience* (Cambridge 1979) 15-32), and are fully illustrated in a large body of 'magical papyri' mostly dating from the early Christian period, but certainly preserving much material from Ptolemaic Egypt, cf. Betz (1986), G. Luck, *Arcana mundi* (Baltimore 1985). A high standard of literary education and an interest in 'serious science' are

not incompatible with an interest or belief in magic, and we should not too hastily assume that the scholars and poets of the Museum and Library, which held a rich collection of magical texts, regarded the powers claimed in these verses as pure poetic fantasy or barbarian ignorance, cf. R. Gordon in M. Whitby, P. Hardie, M. Whitby (eds.), *Homo viator* (Bristol 1987) 236-7. At 4.1673-7 the poet expresses his 'amazement' at the power of Medea's evil eye, but this amazement is neither necessarily sceptical nor intended to provoke scepticism. It is true that Simaitha's magic in Theocritus 2 is probably meant to make us smile, but this is primarily because of Simaitha's character and situation, not because magic *per se* is ridiculous. No gods are more prominent in the magical papyri than Helios and Hecate, and Medea, being linked to both of them, is 'naturally' a powerful sorceress.

In Roman literature descriptions of magical power become common, and these verses were to prove influential, cf. Teufel (1939) 1-15, Fedeli on Prop. 1.1.19-24, Pease on Virg. *Aen.* 4.487-91, A.-M. Tupet, *La Magie dans la poésie latine 1* (Paris 1976).

ἀκαμάτιο: this Homeric epithet of fire is commonly found in the magical papyri, cf. *PGM* IV.2528, 2825.

μελίσσειε: middle, not passive; the point is Medea's power, rather than that of the drugs which would be emphasised by the nominative αὐτημή.

κελαδινά: adverbial neuter plural. Homer uses κελάδων to describe water, and ποταμοὶ κελαδοῦντες is a standard phrase in the magical papyri (cf. *PGM* III 556, IV 2540).

ιεράς: the emendation seems certain; Leonidas (*HE* 2147) speaks of the 'holy orbits of Selene'.

ἐπέδησε: aorist of repeated action (*MT*² § 156-7). A. may have thought of this form either as from πεδάω or from ἐπίδέω; so Homer uses both καταδεῖν κελεύθους (*Od.* 5.383) and the verse ὅς τις μ' ἀθανάτων πεδάαι καὶ ἔδησε κελεύθου (*Od.* 4.380, 469). 'Witches' are often said to 'draw down' the moon or cause eclipses (Ar. *Clouds* 750, Pease on Virg. *Aen.* 4.489, C. Mugler, *R.E.A.* 61 (1959) 48-56), but here it seems that Medea makes time stand still by checking the course of the moon, as Jupiter delays the constellations in Plautus' *Amphitruo* (cf. vv. 273-6). The idea is found in the magical papyri, cf. *PGM* IV 2326-30 (= Betz (1986) 80), addressed to the moon, 'I've bound (ἔδησα) your pole with Kronos' chains...tomorrow does not come

unless my will is done.' Textual corruption obscures the substance of the moon's protest about Medea's treatment of her at 4.59-60.

534-6 'As we were coming here..., we thought of her, in the hope that her sister, my mother, could persuade her...' For the syntax cf. 25-7; these two passages show that the success of the expedition depends upon two acts of persuasion, Aphrodite on Eros and Jason on Medea.

537 αὐτοῖσιν: cf. 350n.

539 σὺν δαίμονι 'with divine favour'.

540-4 On the cue of Argos' σὺν δαίμονι, a divine omen confirms the wisdom of his proposal (cf. 4.294-7, where a shooting star confirms Argos' proposal as to the route to be taken). Unlike Homer, A. does not specify which gods send the omen because we see things with the eyes of the Argonauts themselves; things become clearer once Mopsus has spoken. Three complementary interpretations of the omen present themselves: (i) Aphrodite's help is legitimate and assured because it was her bird (*RE* IVA 2496-8) which escaped. (ii) That the dove took refuge in Jason's lap foreshadows Medea's flight and her relationship with Jason, as Valerius Flaccus realised (cf. 8.32-5). (iii) As the successful escape of a dove from the Clashing Rocks signalled survival for the Argonauts (2.555-73), so here their escape from Aietes' grim plans is foreshadowed. The death of the hawk does not, however, necessarily either foreshadow the death of Apsyrtus while pursuing Medea in Book 4 or come from a version of the story in which Aietes was killed, as various modern scholars have suggested. The detail of the omen has struck some readers as funny or absurd, but omens must be out of the ordinary to be noticed.

The hawk and the dove are traditional enemies in poetic simile (cf. 1.1049-50, 4.485-6, Nisbet-Hubbard on *Hor. C.* 1.37.17), and two Homeric passages are important here. (i) *Il.* 22.139-42, Achilles pursuing Hector compared to a hawk pursuing a dove. (ii) *Il.* 23.877-81. The target for the archery competition is a dove which, after being hit, came to rest on the ship's mast before plunging to its death. Here the dove escapes and the hawk comes to grief.

βίην κίρκαιο: the archaic periphrasis (cf. 1.122 of Heracles) marks the hawk as an aggressive warrior; here, however, βίη will give way before βουλή (cf. 507).

κόλποις: either singular or plural may be used in the sense 'lap', cf.

155. In *Daphnis & Chloe*, a cicada takes refuge from a swallow in Chloe's κόλπος and is extracted from there by a very willing Daphnis (1.26); so here the erotic significance of the dove's refuge should not be overlooked.

ἀφλάστωι: the 'sternpost' or ornamental wood projecting upwards from the stern, often in the shape of a fan, cf. Casson (1971) *Glossary* s.v.

περικάππεσεν 'impaled itself', cf. 2.831 (a boar) θοῶι περικάππεσε δουρί.

Μόφος: in the *Naupactia* (above, pp. 15-16) 'Idmon stood up and ordered Jason to undertake the task' (fr. 6 Kinkel). This suggests that here, as perhaps elsewhere (cf. 914-15n.), the seer Mopsus performs the same structural rôle as Idmon did in the earlier epic; in *Arg.* Idmon is killed by a boar before Colchis is reached (2.815-35), and Mopsus is the only seer on the expedition in *Pythian* 4.

ἀγόρευσεν: choice between aorist and imperfect is not easy, as Homer regularly introduces speeches with the imperfect, cf. Chantraine II 192-3; the same problem arises in 567. On the archaic models for the seer's speech cf. R. Führer, *Formproblem-Untersuchungen zu den Reden in der frühgriechischen Lyrik*, *Zetemata* 44 (Munich 1967) 112-16.

546-8 'It is not possible to interpret this omen otherwise in a better way but <that we should> approach the maiden with our request (ἐπέεσσι μετελθέμεν), busying ourselves with every device.'

ἀθερίζειν: verbs of thinking are frequently followed by a present infinitive with future reference (K-G I 195-6), but this instance may be a 'prophetic present', such as frequently occur in the utterances of seers or oracles (Fraenkel on Aesch. *Ag.* 126); in any case, the present tense has a meaning for the reader who is well aware that Medea is already far from unconcerned with the Argonauts' situation.

549-50 Cf. 2.423-4 (Phineus) 'take heed, friends, for cunning help from the Cyprian goddess, for on her depends the glorious accomplishment of your tasks'.

εἰ ἔτεόν: no real doubt is expressed, 'as surely as'.

552 κατ' 'concerning'.

δέ: cf. 210-14n.

553 φίλοι: Mopsus closes a ring around his speech (cf. 545) and stresses the goodwill and concern which lie behind his advice.

ἐπικλείοντες: as we do not see what the Argonauts do after 575, this

cannot be dismissed as a purely metaphorical use of the verb (Vian 115). It would not be out of keeping with the religious element of the poem if the heroes did actually invoke Aphrodite in hymns or prayers (cf. 2.694-719 of Apollo), but the poet's interest shifts once the group has decided how to act. For the characters the gods are not 'simple allegories' (Vian loc. cit.), cf. above, p. 26.

556 Ἰδας: cf. 515-20n. The pattern of the present scene has several Homeric forebears. (i) *Od.* 2.146-207. A bird omen is interpreted by a prophet, and then the omen and the prophet are mocked by a 'villain' (Eurymachus). (ii) *Il.* 5.347-51. Diomedes mocks Aphrodite for being out of place in a war; 349 is echoed by 563 here. (iii) *Il.* 12.230-50. Hector attacks Polydamas' cowardice and rejects his interpretation of a bird omen - and all bird omens in general - as meaning that the Trojans should refrain from fighting. Idas' attitude is very like that of Hector, cf. *Il.* 12.243 εἰς οἰωνὸς ἄριστος ἀμύνεσθαι περὶ πάτρης.

558 Cf. the Homeric Ἀχαιῖδες, οὐκετ' Ἀχαιοί, *Il.* 2.235 (Thersites), 7.96 (Menelaus); further examples of such abuse in Fraenkel's note on Aesch. *Ag.* 1625ff.

559 οἷ: masculine, although the antecedent is γυναιξίν.

560-1 'With your eyes no longer on the great strength of Enyalios, but on doves and hawks, you avoid a contest'; for the preposition placed with the second of two nouns governed by it cf. 59-60n. There is a doubt about the text. Hiatus in the fifth foot is rare (cf. 1112, 2.779 where the reading is disputed, 606-7n.), and even rarer when the syllable in hiatus could be elided; cf., however, *Od.* 24.209 ἦδ' ἔαυον at verse-end, and Quint. Smyrn. 4.297 seems to echo what our MSS read here. Without strong punctuation at the end of 559, Fränkel emended to ἐρητύονται, '... with women who call upon Cypris, no longer on the great strength of Enyalios, and who keep their eyes on doves and hawks and avoid the contest'.

πελείας: the jingle with πέλασθαι in 559 expresses Idas' scorn.

562 A. perhaps has in mind Hector's words to a real woman at *Il.* 6.492 πόλεμος δ' ἀνδρεσσι μελήσει. For Hector and Idas cf. 556n.

564-5 A comparison with 194-5, ὡς φάτ' ἐπήνησαν δὲ νέοι ἔπος Αἰσονίδαο | πασσοῦδ' ἠ, οὐδ' ἔσκε παρ᾽ ὅ τις ἄλλο κελύοι, reveals A.'s concern to avoid a 'formulaic' style.

ὀμάδησαν... | ἦκα μάλ' 'muttered in a very low voice', contrasted with ἔκφατο. Grammarians derived ὀμαδεῖν from ὀμοῦ αἰδειν or αὐδῶν

(cf. 1.474-5, Σ¹ *Il.* 9.573). The muttering expresses disapproval of Idas' abuse, cf. 1.474-5, not of Jason's plan; contrast the loud θρόος of approval uttered by the Lemnian women at 1.697-8.

567 ἀγόρευεν: cf. 540-4n.

568 πᾶσιν: this is at best a half-truth, as Idas is hardly 'pleased' (ἔαδε perfect of ἀνδάνω), even if he has not explicitly suggested an alternative plan.

569 ἐκ ποταμοῖο 'away from the river', i.e. leaving the marshy part of the river for open country; they will still be on the ποταμός.

570 ἀνάψομεν: cf. 506n.

573 ἀνά πτόλιν 'up to the city', rather than the more usual sense (e.g. 749) 'throughout the city'.

574 εὐναίαις 'anchor stones', attached by cable to the prow; Homer uses the form εὐναί. These were obsolete in A.'s day (Casson (1971) 252-6), but form part of his imaginative recreation of the epic world.

Αἰσονίδαο: Jason takes navigational charge now that Argos, who possesses local knowledge (2.1260-83), has gone to the city.

576 αὐτίκα: Aietes' assembly follows straight on from his dismissal of the embassy in 438. Three simultaneous actions are described: Medea's emotions (443-71), planning by the Argonauts (472-575) and Aietes' plans (576-608). Such complexity is quite un-Homeric, cf. 167-274n., Fusillo (1985) 282 n. 32, above, p. 24.

577 The Argonauts, and later Medea, are to face the concerted, public opposition of the whole Colchian people; hence the need to stress that the matter is discussed in a regular assembly. Contrast 4.6-8 where Aietes and his inner council confer in the palace. The model for this verse may be *Od.* 3.408-9 where Nestor holds an assembly of his sons sitting on some polished stones 'where Neleus used to sit in former times'.

578 Μινύαισι: cf. 265-7n. Long before A., 'descendants of Minyas' had been established as a title for the Argonauts from Iolcus; A. makes Jason Minyas' great-grandson, cf. 1.228-33, Vian 110-12, Roscher 2.3016-22.

579-605 Aietes' speech is framed by two sections of three verses (576-8, 606-8) and falls into two roughly equal parts: 579-93 report in indirect speech his words to the assembly (cf. 4.228-35), and 594-605 give, again in indirect speech, his private and concealed

motives (cf. 594n.). The total effect is quite unlike anything in Homer, perhaps anything else in Greek poetry, and excellently illustrates Hellenistic love of experiment with poetic technique. It is not, however, empty experiment. The use of indirect speech and the elaborate syntax with frequent enjambment (above, p. 41) reveal Aietes' deceit and show that 'straight talking' is not his natural mode; what he says is neither simple truth nor simply expressed, but distorted and in need of interpretation. That the scene for this poetic *tour de force* is an assembly is particularly significant: the Argonauts (or the Lemnian women of Book 1) exchange views openly, whereas Aietes is a ruthless tyrant who uses misrepresentation even in front of his own people (cf. 592-3). For further discussion cf. Fusillo (1985) 231-2. Dr Feeney suggests that we should see here an experiment with a 'historiographical' style, cf. K. Gries, *A.J.P.* 70 (1949) 139-41.

580 τόν: demonstrative, cf. 4.1655, LSJ s.v. ὁ Α III.

581-2 'Breaking up the clump of trees on the top of the wooded hillside, he would burn the boat, men and all.' He apparently intends to throw flaming brands down onto the *Argo* from a vantage point above, but the text is far from lucid; it may be worth noting that 581 could be omitted without any damage to the syntax, and this would fit with 4.223 where Aietes carries a torch to fire the ship. Aietes' intention to burn the *Argo* occurred already in the *Naupactia* (Σ 4.86), and Medea herself later contemplates this action (4.392). There is perhaps an ironic reminiscence of 1.244-5, where the people of Iolcus say that the expedition would set fire to Aietes' palace if he did not give them the fleece.

δρυμόν: probably of pine (cf. 4.223, 1682-6) which was very good for making torches, despite a popular etymology of δρυμός from δρῦς, cf. J. Wackernagel, *Sprachliche Untersuchungen zu Homer* (Göttingen 1916) 184-7.

αὐτανδρον...νήιον: both words have been plausibly restored in consecutive verses of Callimachus' version of Aietes' threats (fr. 7.32-3); for the relation between *Arg.* and the *Aitia* cf. above, p. 7.

δέρυ νήιον 'the ship'; at 2.597, as in Homer, this phrase means 'a ship's plank'.

583 ἀποφλύξωσιν 'splutter forth', like a hot frying-pan, cf. Archilochus, fr. 45 West κύψαντες ὕβριν ἄθρόην ἀπέφλυσαν [Schleusner: ἀπέφλοσαν]. This ghastly image is reinforced by φλεξ- and -φλυξ- in the same position in successive verses.

584-8 Aietes tells his people that he did not receive Phrixus ἐυφροσύνησι νόοιο as Argos claimed (2.1149), but under divine compulsion; there are thus clear limits to his respect for the laws of hospitality (cf. 304-5n.). We are probably to accept this version as true, given Zeus' role in Phrixus' escape from Greece (2.1140-84), although it is in Aietes' 'political' interest to seek to avoid responsibility for establishing Phrixus' family in the land, as he is now depicting them as in league with a band of brigands. The verses, moreover, parade Aietes' obedience to divine command (contrast the wicked Aegisthus at *Od.* 1.37-9) and advertise the fact that he receives personal messages from Olympus; the Colchians were, no doubt, very impressed.

δέχθαι: ἄν is omitted, as often with the infinitive, cf. 1.197, Chantaine II 311.

ἐφέστιον 'guest', lit. 'person at the hearth', from where the most compelling supplications were made, such as that of Odysseus to Arete (*Od.* 7.153-4, 248), cf. J. Gould, 'Hiketeia', *J.H.S.* 93 (1973) 74-103, esp. 97-8.

ὄς περι κτλ.: an echo of 304-5 lays bare the deceit in Aietes' earlier speech.

Ἑρμείαν: it was Hermes who had provided the golden ram (2.1144-5) and who had told Phrixus to sacrifice it to Zeus on arrival (4.121); cf. further Vian 1 282-3.

ὡς...ἀντιάσειε 'so that Phrixus might find him [Aietes] welcoming'. ἀντιᾶν might mean 'make a request of' (cf. 35n.), but the Homeric sense is perhaps more likely here. προσκηδέος (glossed by Σ^{LP} as εὐμενοῦς) is of uncertain meaning: Homer has it once as an epithet of ξεινοσύνη (*Od.* 21.35). A. may wish to hint at κῆδος 'marriage-tie', as Phrixus was to become Aietes' son-in-law; at 4.717 προσκηδέες is suggestively placed beside ἐμφύλωι.

589 μῆ καί 'much less...'; 'let alone...'; more usual is μῆ ὅτι (K-G II 260).

590 ἔσσεσθαι 'would sit secure' (future of ἕζομαι). This seems more forceful than ἔσσεσθαι, 'would be secure', but either may be right. The same problem occurs at 4.389-90.

591 ὀθνείοις ἐπὶ...κτεάτεσσιν: cf. 403; the repetition marks the king's obsession.

592-3 Aietes portrays the Argonauts as stateless brigands living off the land, cf. Virg. *Aen.* 1.527-8; his inflammatory exaggeration seems to have had an effect, cf. 893-5n. We ought perhaps again (cf.

176-81n.) to think of the Cyclops: Odysseus' men suggest a bit of sheep-stealing and a quick getaway, and the Cyclops asks them if they are brigands (ληϊστῆρες) who bring trouble on others (*Od.* 9.225-7, 253-5).

δυσκελάδοισιν 'wretched'. Early epic connects this word with panic or rout (*Lfgre* s.v.), and Aietes may suggest that the Argonauts' approach is a cowardly one (cf. δόλους). It is ironic, given Aietes' plan, that he should accuse the Argonauts of 'hatching secret plots'.

594 νόσφι 'apart', 'in secret'. Lines 594-605 describe Aietes' thoughts and motives; the passage is set off as a unit by ring-composition (νίης Φρίξοιο ~ Χαλκίοπης γενεῆι). After his public castigation of the foreigners in 579-93, we learn that an oracle foretelling danger from his own family caused him to encourage the sons of Phrixus to leave. Being half-Greek, the young men are naturally suspected, whereas Aietes' own children escape suspicion (602-5). The motif of the unrevealed oracle marks Aietes as a frightened despot, like the Paphlagonian slave (Cleon) in Aristophanes' *Knights*. In particular, it is a clear link with Pelias (cf. 405-6n.) who also sought to circumvent a threat to his rule, as foretold in an oracle (1.5-8, *Pind. Pyth.* 4.71-8), by despatching the danger (Jason) overseas. For further discussion cf. Fusillo (1985) 36. Others understand νόσφι as 'in particular', 'as a separate part of his speech', which produces a less complex structure, but weakens the impact of the considerations adduced above; the real truth is something which Aietes tells to no one.

μείλια 'retribution', cf. Erbse (1953) 175-6.

595-7 Cf. 375-6.

ἀκηδέες 'without being troubled themselves', i.e. the Argonauts do the dirty work for the sons of Phrixus; for this sense cf. *Il.* 24.526, of the gods. Added colour is given by echoes of *Il.* 21.123, where ἀκηδέες (in the same *sedes*) describes the fish who will eat Lycaon's corpse, and of προσκηδέος in 588, thus marking Aietes' belief in the young men's ingratitude.

597-602 βάξιν: the oracle to Aietes figured already in Herodorus (*FGrHist* 31 F 9) and probably elsewhere also.

ἄτην... πολύτροπον 'destruction coming in many guises'. As πολύτροπος is naturally associated with Odysseus (cf. *Od.* 1.1) and Jason is 'the Odysseus' of the poem, the reader might see here the riddling language of an oracle which Aietes has been unable to interpret.

601 πέμπεν: apparently an authorial explanation for the sake of variety within the indirect speech; the second syllable is scanned long in imitation of certain Homeric examples, cf. 1.289, Mooney 424, West (1982) 38. πέμπεν would make good sense (cf. *MT*² §119), but the metrical oddity in πέμπεν is unlikely to be corrupt.

602 πατρός: i.e. Phrixus, cf. 262-7.

δολιχὴν ὁδόν: either an 'accusative in apposition to the sentence' (Hunter on Eubulus fr. 75.13), i.e. 'he sent them... to Greece, a long trip', or a 'cognate' accusative with πέμπεν (cf. *Soph. Aj.* 738-9), 'he sent them on a long trip...'; word-order and rhythm suggest the former. Aietes' intentions are made clear by an echo of *Od.* 17.425-6 'he sent me with some far-roaming brigands to Egypt, a long journey, so that I might be destroyed'.

606-7 'In his anger he revealed to the people his terrible plans [i.e. 580-2].' Others understand 'told his people of [the Greeks'] intolerable deeds', but cf. *Il.* 15.97 οἶα Ζεὺς κακὰ ἔργα πιφαύσκειται.

ἀπέιλεε 'ordered them with threats'; there is no certain classical or Hellenistic parallel for this construction (*Theocr.* 24.16 is disputed).

νῆά τ' ἔρυσθαι: the verse-ending νῆα ἔρυσθαι occurs four times in Homer, 'watch over', 'protect the ship', and A. here alters the sense, 'keep an eye on the ship', and 'corrects' the Homeric fifth-foot hiatus (cf. 561n.). Nothing further is heard of this watch.

611-12 For this narrative technique cf. 477-8n., Fusillo (1985) 25-7.

θυμόν: accusative of respect.

613-15 '... lest perhaps inappropriately [cf. *Il.* 3.59] and in vain she should try to win over [her sister], who was terrified of the awful anger of their father, or their deeds might become open and manifest, if [her sister] complied with her entreaties'.

ἀρίδηλα καὶ ἀμφοδὰ: cf. 502-4n. The forceful doublet, which marks the strength of Chalciope's fears, may suggest that A. interpreted ἀμφοδὰ in *Od.* 19.391 ἀμφοδὰ ἔργα γένοιτο as an adjective rather than an adverb (cf. *Lfgre* s.v.).

616-824 The central section of the book shows how Medea reached her decision to help the expedition. It falls into two parts with a clear break at 743 (cf. 823-4n.). In the confrontation between the two sisters the loss of Sophocles' *Colchian Women* is keenly felt, as *Electra* and *Antigone* show that poet's interest in such family relationships.

616-32 Medea's afternoon sleep is troubled by dreams. Those in

love were proverbial dreamers (Theocr. 30.22, Virg. *Ecl.* 8.108); the dreams may be simple wish-fulfilment in which the dreamer's *pathos* for the beloved takes over (cf. Theocr. 11.22-4, Hor. *C.* 4.1.37-8, E. Vermeule, *Aspects of death in early Greek art and poetry* (Berkeley 1979) 154-6), but poets could create more complex situations as well, and A. has strikingly recreated the uncertainty and unclarity of dreams (cf. 619n., 620-3n.). In the main Homeric structural model for this passage, Nausicaa dreams of suitors, marriage and the loss of virginity (*Od.* 6.25-40), and 'symbolic' dreams are familiar from tragedy (cf., e.g., Eur. *IT* 44-55). The sexual symbolism of Medea's struggle with bulls is clear; cf. Phaedra's wish to tame horses (Eur. *Hipp.* 230-1). As well as Nausicaa, A. has Penelope in mind here (cf. above, p. 29): 616-18 are a reworking of *Od.* 18.188-9 κούρηι Ἰκαρίοιο κατὰ γλυκύν ὕπνον ἔχευεν [sc. ἡ Ἀθήνη], | εὔδε δ' ἀνακλιθεῖσα and 19.516-17 κέμαι ἐνι λέκτρῳ, πυκινὰ δέ μοι ἄμφ' ἄδινόν κ' ἦρ | ὄξεια μελεδῶναι ὄδυσρομένην ἐρέθουσιν. The latter passage is followed by Penelope's account of a symbolic dream portending Odysseus' return: like Medea, Penelope longs for a man (cf. *Od.* 18.204-5) and is tempted to be disloyal to her family (cf. *Od.* 19.524-9), and like Medea (cf. 459-61) she fears that the man may already be dead. Penelope's dream, unlike Nausicaa's, is not sent by any specific divinity, but it is not difficult to see Athena behind it; just so, A. has no need to spell out Hera's probable rôle in Medea's dream, cf. Campbell (1983) 37-8.

As well as the poetic tradition, there was a long history of technical writing about dreams upon which A. could draw. Theophrastus and Demetrius of Phaleron, who settled in Alexandria, had both written on the subject, and Hippocratic (*De victu* 4) and Aristotelian (*On dreams, On prophecy in sleep*) treatises survive. The great Alexandrian doctor Herophilus recognised categories of 'god-sent' dreams and dreams of erotic wish-fulfilment (Aetius, *Placita* 5.2.3 = Diels, *Doxographi graeci* 416), and 617-18 perhaps have a 'medical' flavour. On dream interpretation in general cf. *RE* VIA 2233-45, E. R. Dodds, *The Greeks and the irrational* (Berkeley 1951) ch. IV, C. A. Behr, *Aelius Aristides and the Sacred Tales* (Amsterdam 1968) 171-95.

616 κούρην picks up the last word of 471, our last glimpse of Medea, to mark a continuous sequence of narrative. Medea's dreams occur at the same time as the Colchian assembly.

ἄδινός: a word regularly found in contexts of lamentation (cf. 635,

1104), but it may also be purely intensive (cf. 1206, 1.1083 of sleep). Here Medea has fallen asleep while grieving (459-71), like the woman of 748 (ἄδινόν... κῶμ'). For further discussion cf. M. S. Silk, *C.Q.* n.s. 33 (1983) 323-4.

617 ἡπεροπῆες 'deceitful', because giving a false picture of reality.

618 It is a familiar doctrine of ancient dream-interpretation that the mental and physical state of the dreamer is crucial.

ὄλοοί: the dream is a part of Medea's οὔλος ἔρωτος (297) and pertains to the possible destruction of the stranger. The dream which Zeus sent to deceive Agamemnon was οὔλος (*Il.* 2.6).

619 It is left unclear whether the sowing and slaying of the warriors formed part of the dream - 623-5 does not settle the matter - but the struggle with the bulls carries the symbolic weight.

620-3 Whether the fleece had any rôle in the dream is left deliberately vague (cf. 616-32n.): Medea may have dreamed that Jason came overtly for her, or that he came overtly for the fleece but really for her, or that he asked Aietes for both. In any event, these verses help to establish a 'quasi-identification' between Medea and the fleece which is to have an important rôle later in the poem, culminating in 4.1141-69 where the couple spend their wedding-night on the fleece. Ovid makes the point more explicitly, *spoliisque superbus, | muneris auctorem secum, spolia altera, portans, | victor Iolciacos tetigit cum coniuge portus* (*Met.* 7.156-8). It is possible that A. knew of versions of the myth in which Jason was an open suitor for Medea's hand, cf. Rusten (1982) 62-3.

σφέτερον 'his', cf. 186n.

εἰσαγάγοιτο: almost a technical term for 'taking a bride to her new home', cf. Hdt. 5.40.2, 6.63.1, LSJ s.v. ἄγω B 2.

623-4 ἀμφί... ἀεθλεύουσα 'competing with the bulls'; there is no exact parallel for this use of the preposition, but cf. 117, 1.747, and Homer uses ἀμφί of what one fights over.

πονέεσθαι 'completed the task', cf. 1.1347-8.

625 ὑποσχέσις: Medea apparently dreams that her parents had promised her to Jason, if he successfully completed the test.

627 νεῖκος... ἀμφήριστον 'a hotly contested quarrel', cf. 4.345 where Medea is again the point of dispute.

628-9 'Both parties turned the decision over to her for the matter to be however she desired in her heart.'

ἐπιτρέπον: Medea is appointed arbitrator (ἐπιτροπος) of her own fate. There seems to be a close parallel to this procedure in both language and subject in Hesiod's story of Mestra (fr. 43(a).35-43).

ἰθύσαιεν: intransitive here and in 652, governing the genitive in 1060 and transitive in 2.950. A. does not reproduce the Homeric use with the infinitive ('be eager to'). Others, less plausibly, suggest that A. has here 'confused' ἰθύω and ἰθύνω.

630 ἀπειδήσασα 'scorning', cf. 527n.

632 It is a common experience that dreaming of a loud sound often wakes the dreamer; contrast Clytemnestra who screams, herself, as she awakes after a frightening dream (Aesch. *Ch.* 535).

633-5 The thought of betraying her parents causes Medea to panic like the suitors after the death of Antinous, ἐκ δὲ θρόνων ἀνόρουσαν ὀριθθέντες κατὰ δῶμα, | πάντοσε παπταίνοντες ἐνδημήτους ποτὶ τοίχους (*Od.* 22.23-4). The suitors face death for trying to break up a family; Medea is to be tempted by suicide to avoid the events suggested by her dream. These verses and the subsequent monologue influenced similar scenes in Moschus (*Europa* 16-27), Virgil (*Aen.* 4.8-30) and Ovid (*Met.* 9.472-517).

περὶ τ' ἀμφὶ τε: the doublet expresses Medea's wild searching, cf. 2.1208 (the winding serpent), Hes. *Theog.* 848 (the raging sea).

ἀδινῆν: cf. 616n. The word closes a ring around the description of the dream.

637 μέγα δὴ τι: strongly intensive, cf. Bulloch on Call. *h.* 5.58.

638 'My mind has been very much (περὶ) disturbed (cf. 368n.) by the stranger.' For the quasi-instrumental dative cf. K-G 1 439; the asyndeton expresses Medea's wildly leaping thoughts. The primary sense is not (cf. 637) 'my mind is excited [by fear] for the stranger', but the ambiguous wording and echoes of her earlier speech at 464-70 (cf. δειλαίην ~ δειλή, ἠρώων ~ ἠρώων) invite us to read her words in this way as well.

639 μνάσθω: so far, the only wooing Jason has done has been inside Medea's head. Ovid reverses the topic at *Her.* 6.107-8 (Hypsipyle to Jason) *illa* [sc. Medea] *sibi Tanai Scythiaequae paludibus udae* | *quaerat et a patria Phasidis usque uirum*.

640 ἄμμι: 'poetic' plural, cf. 713, 784, K-G 1 83-4. Many have wished to see here a reference to the necessity for a priestess of Hecate to remain chaste, but all Medea means is 'I'm still a young girl'. In

Book 4 she leaves behind both παρθενίη and the δῶμα τοκῆων (4.26-49). There is in fact no evidence that Medea's office imposed any such duty; on the subject in general cf. Parker (1983) 86-94 (with bibliography). Theocr. 7.126, ἄμμιν δ' ἄσυχία τε μέλοι, is a curiously similar phrase in a similar context (the renunciation of love).

641-2 'All the same, however [Denniston 348], making my heart shameless, I shall make trial of my sister, no longer keeping apart...'
θεμένη: cf. Livrea on 4.1669.

κύνεον: dogs were proverbially shameless (cf. *Il.* 9.372-3, LSJ s.v. κύων II), and Medea here echoes a common self-reproach of the Homeric Helen, cf. *Il.* 3.180, 6.344, 356, *Od.* 4.145, L. L. Clader, *Helen* (Leiden 1976) 17-18. Medea will abandon her 'Penelope' rôle (cf. 616-32n.) in order to become a 'Helen', cf. James (1981) 67, above, p. 29.

ἄνευθεν: sc. ἔουσα, but the ellipse is awkward, and Fränkel may have been right to assume a lacuna of one verse after 641. Others construe the genitive with both ἄνευθεν and περιήσομαι.

643 ἀντιάσησιν: cf. 35n.

644 σβέσοι: if correct, this is a sigmatic aorist optative with a 'strong' ending, apparently in imitation of certain forms found in archaic epic, cf. K-B II 103.

646 νήλιπος 'barefoot', because in a hurry and distracted, cf. Theocr. 24.36; indoors, Greeks usually went shoeless. When Medea finally does leave her chamber for good, she goes shoeless in order to travel noiselessly (4.43); this detail is one of many echoes and contrasts between the scenes (cf. Hunter (1987) 136).

οἰεανος 'wearing only her dress', a 'female' variant of Homeric οιοχίτων (*Od.* 14.489); when leaving her room, she would normally put on a πέπλος (cf. 832), but her emotions are not calm enough for that.

647 ἀμείψαι: Medea stops in the vestibule (cf. 839) which separated her room from the court; as she did not actually enter the court, we should accept Fränkel's infinitive after λελίητο (cf. 1158) for the transmitted ἀμειψε. The symbolic significance of Medea's desire to enter 'the outside world' is obvious; her chamber represents the secure and chaste world of the young girl (cf. esp. 4.26-9).

649-53 ἐκ... ἔνδοθεν... εἴσω mark Medea's indecisiveness and rapid changes of plan, while the careful patterning and chiasmus of 652-3

mark the difficulty of her dilemma; αἰδώς and ἡμερος are equally strong. The enjambment (above, p. 41) of 649-50 and 650-1 is particularly expressive. στρεφθεῖς and εἶσω are not syntactically necessary to the sense, and so the clauses stop at verse-end, only to start and stop again in rapid succession. This pattern evokes Medea's movements.

ἰθύσειεν: cf. 628-9n. The optative marks repeated action in past time (*MT*² §462-3).

ἐνδοθεν 'inside the vestibule' = ἐνδοθι, a variation in meaning on the ἐνδοθεν of 650. Others understand 'shame from within', but this breaks the careful patterning of the verses.

θρασύς: cf. 687n.

654 The pattern 'three times...three times...the fourth time' is common in poetry (Hopkinson on Call. *h.* 6.13-15), but compression into a single verse is perhaps without parallel; it marks the rapidity of Medea's changes.

655 εἰλιχθείσα 'whirling around', but there is also a suggestion that Medea writhes on the bed (cf. *Od.* 20.24-8).

656-64 Medea is compared to a girl grieving for her man who has been killed in battle; the girl grieves silently so that the married women will not mock her for her passion which is unsatisfied and may remain so for ever; she has missed her chance. Just so, Medea has dreamed of marriage with Jason, but is afraid that death awaits him.

Two interpretations of the detail of the simile are current. (i) The girl has been pledged to the young man, but the marriage has not taken place. In this case, 660-1 means, at least in part, that the couple have never made love. Medea thinks of herself as 'married' to Jason (cf. πόσιw 'husband'), but it is a marriage which will never be consummated; she is a widow (cf. 662) without ever having been a real wife. The simile, like Medea's indecision in leaving her room, expresses the indeterminate and transitional nature of her state. She is neither one thing nor the other. At 1.774-81 Jason, as he approaches Hypsipyle's palace, is compared to the bright star (Hesperus) which brings joy both to νύμφαι and a virgin (παρθένος) 'who longs for the young man far away for whom her parents are keeping her to be his wife', cf. Carspecken (1952) 97-8. (ii) The young man has been killed after a brief period of marriage (cf. *Il.* 17.36). *Il.* 11.221-47 tells the story of Iphidamas who married and then went straight to war ἐκ

θαλάμοιο, 'out of the bridal chamber' (cf. 655 νύμφη...θαλάμοισι); he is killed by Agamemnon 'far from the wife he had wooed and wed, from whom he had known no delight (χάρις) [cf. 660-1], though he had given much for her' (*Il.* 11.242-3). Σ^{PT} on 243 interpret ἦς οὐ τι χάριw ἴδε to mean that Iphidamas did not have the good fortune to have children by his wife and to enjoy a life together (συμβίωσις) with her. Very similar is A.'s story of Cyzicus and Cleite in Book 1; Cyzicus is killed by Jason during the 'honeymoon' period while his wife 'still knew nothing of the pains of child-bearing' (1.974-5). On this reading, 660-1 might refer to marital συμβίωσις, but may still be interpreted physically, as the idea that a little sexual experience merely increases the longing for more is common; cf. in particular the fate of Laodamia whose husband, Protesilaus, was killed at Troy [*antequam*] *ueniens una atque altera rursus hiems | noctibus in longis auidam saturassel amorem, | possel ut abrupto uiuere coniugio* (Cat. 68.82-4), and see 672n.

On either interpretation, the juridical status of the girl is not a question of crucial significance: she suffers from an erotic longing which cannot be satisfied, and her relationship with her man has not had the chance to run its natural course. Certain details of vocabulary (νύμφη, πόσιw, χῆρw), the contrast between 657 and 1.780 ὦ κέν μιν μνηστῆρ κομέωσι τοκῆς, and the stories of Iphidamas and Cyzicus seem to favour (ii). To the standard commentaries add A. Ardizzoni, *G.I.F.* n.s. 7 (1976) 233-40 and *Studi in onore di A. Colonna* (Perugia 1982) 7-9.

Comparison with the story of Iphidamas reveals a typical refocusing of a brief passage of Homer, and an echo of *Il.* 19.291-2 (Briseis lamenting Patroclus) ἄνδρα μὲν ὦι ἔδοσαν με πατῆρ καὶ ποτνία μήτηρ [cf. 657] | εἶδον πρὸ πτόλιος δεδαῖγμένον ὄξει χαλκῶι, adds pathos and texture. Like Briseis the slave-girl, the νύμφη, who is surrounded by her own servants, feels totally bereft. Regardless of status, the girl of marriageable age loses one family (cf. 657, 733n.) and depends entirely on her 'man'; if that man is a warrior, her state is parlous indeed.

656 θαλερόν emphasises the man's role as sexual partner, a meaning reinforced by the echo in θαλάμοισι, cf. 1127-8, Campbell (1983) 40.

657 Just as the girl's whole family has 'given her away' and is effectively lost to her, so Medea's grief and love for Jason set her against the wishes of all her family, except Chalchiope (cf. 731-5), and will

eventually cause her to lose her family. ἡδέ has been emended to ἡέ to comply with the realities of Greek law, but poets are free to blur the edges of strict legalism.

658-9 Fränkel transposed these verses to follow 662 in accordance with a paraphrase in Σ^b. The transposition, however, disturbs the causal link between 662 (σῖγα) and 663, although 659 (μυχῶι) could also introduce 663, and brings ἀμφιπόλοισιν into awkward proximity both with γυναῖκες and with the servant of 664-6; cf. H. Erbse, *Gnomon* 35 (1963) 26-7 and A. Hurst, *M.H.* 23 (1966) 107-10.

πάσαις: there is a contrast with the trusted maid of 666.

ἐπιφροσύνῃ 'thoughtful reserve', cf. Livrea on 4.1115.

μυχῶι: the most secluded part of the house, reserved for women; in poetry the μυχός is a powerful symbol of the separation and loneliness of female life, cf. J. Gould, *J.H.S.* 100 (1980) 48, R. Padel in A. Cameron and A. Kuhrt (eds.), *Images of women in antiquity* (London/Sydney 1983) 8-12.

661 δήναιεν: a word with a wide semantic field, 'plans', 'counsels', 'arts', cf. μήδεα; its vagueness is suited to the pathos of the simile (contrast μιγῆναι at 4.1164), but has also contributed to the critical uncertainty about how to interpret the passage.

δαιομένη περ 'through burning', cf. Medea's suffering at 286-7. Others understand 'tortured' from δαίω (β) 'I split', but it is natural to see the fire of love here.

662 σῖγα: Greek grief was usually loud and overt, cf. M. Alexiou, *The ritual lament in Greek tradition* (Cambridge 1974).

χῆρον λέχος: the detail looks forward to Medea's farewell to her maiden's bed at 4.26.

663 γυναῖκες 'married women', cf. Eur. *El.* 311 (Electra, another girl of ambiguous marital status) ἀνάινομαι γυναῖκας [Barnes: δὲ γυναῖκας Tr²: δὲ γυνῆς L] οὔσα παρθένος.

666 ἐπέτις 'attendant'; A. avoids ἀμφίπολος (cf. 658, 669) which would give too mechanical a correspondence with the simile.

κουρίζουσα: cf. 134n.

667 παρασχεδόν: cf. 440n.

669 οὐδ' ὤς: this seems strange, as Chalciope might have been expected to be only too keen to seize such an opportunity. The phrase, however, stresses how totally involved she was in her planning. Gillies's suggestion that the phrase looks forward, 'even though the message was from a casual slave girl', is ingenious but unconvincing.

670 ἀνώιστον 'unexpected', cf. 6-7n.

θαμβήσασα: the weighty spondaic ending (cf. 456, 969, above, p. 42, Faerber (1932) 68) stresses Chalciope's amazement.

671 Cf. 249. The end of the verse echoes *Od.* 6.15 (Athena, μητιόωσα - cf. 668 - visiting Nausicaa); so too, Chalciope's visit to her sister marks a crucial stage in bringing Jason and Medea together.

672 δρύψεν 'had scratched' (cf. *MT*² §58). This was a traditional gesture of mourning, which reinforces the correspondence between Medea and the νύμφη of 656-64. Cf. *Il.* 2.700 (Protesilaus) τοῦ δὲ καὶ ἀμφιδρυφῆς ['with scratches on both cheeks'] ἄλοχος Φυλάκῃ ἐλέλειπτο. For the relevance of the story of Protesilaus and Laodamia cf. 656-64n.; *Il.* 2.700-1 is cited by Σ^T *Il.* 11.243 to illustrate the same kind of pathos as is found in the story of Iphidamas. There is no need to see here a reaction by Medea to her discovery by the serving-girl (Campbell (1983) 41); it is a normal part of grieving, and does not contradict 662 where what is at issue is the noise, rather than the gestures, of grief. In a tantalising scrap of Erinna's lament for Baucis (cf. 811-16n.) αἰδῶς and δρύπτει are juxtaposed (*SH* 401.34-5).

674-80 The main model is Achilles' series of questions to the weeping Patroclus (*Il.* 16.7-19, esp. 16.13 ἦέ τιν' ἄγγελίην Φθίης ἐξ ἔκλυς οἶος;), corresponding to 677-8), but this type of scene is familiar also in tragedy (cf. Phaedra and her nurse in Eur. *Hipp.*), and the influence of Sophocles might well be suspected here.

674-5 The emotional tricolon is of a kind common in post-classical poetry, cf. Bulloch on Call. *h.* 5.89-90.

τίπτ' ἔπαθες; : a question often asked of those in love (cf. Sappho, fr. 1.15, Asclepiades, *HE* 880); Chalciope does not know the answer (cf. Theocr. 1.81, 10.1), but we do.

τί... πένθος; : twice Thetis must ask Achilles τί δέ σε φρένας ἵκετο πένθος; (*Il.* 1.362, 18.73); Chalciope is like a mother to Medea (cf. 733).

676-8 Chalciope raises different possibilities, like a tragic chorus wondering what has caused the sad state of a great character, cf. Soph. *Aj.* 172-86, Eur. *Hipp.* 141-60 (where there is the same movement from divine to human, and the same cause of distress).

θευμορίη: cf. 974. The suggestion θευμορίη, 'by divine wish', is tempting (cf. Call. *Epiigr.* 30.4), but νοῦσος seems to require an adjective.

νοῦσος: this again (cf. 674-5n.) means more to us than to Chalciope,

as the description of love as a disease is very common at all periods (cf. Eur. *Hipp.* 476-7, Pease on Virg. *Aen.* 4.1).

οὐλομένην: she has seen the scratches on Medea's cheeks which suggest grieving over a (coming) death.

ἔδάγς: cf. 182n.

678-80 From the point of view of a Greek, Chalciopé already lives 'at the ends of the earth', like Homer's Phaeacians (*Od.* 6.205), cf. 2.417-18, Eur. *Med.* 540-1 (Jason to Medea) 'if you had continued to live at the furthest boundaries of the earth, no one would have heard of you', Thomson (1948) 59. This is not simply an ironic reversal of the 'natural' way of looking at things: these verses help to plant the seed of flight in Medea's mind, cf. 311-13n.

ἵνα κτλ.: sc. εἴη or εἴη ἀκοῦσαι, cf. 1092-3.

684 '...at other times it flew deep down into her chest'; the pluperfect stresses the speed of movement (cf. 270-4n.). This is a vivid reversal of traditional language: 'winged words' are here unspoken and suppressed.

685-6 '...often it (μῦθος) rushed up to her lovely mouth for speech [epexegetic infinitive], but did not issue further in articulate speech (φθογγῆι)'.

ἱμερόεν: lit. 'full of desire'. In the battle between αἰδώς and ἱμερος, speech is a function of the latter, silence of the former.

687 δόλωι: Medea allows Chalciopé to understand that her dream foretold the destruction of the latter's sons. Medea has inherited some of her father's deviousness.

θρασέες: the 'bold' Loves make Medea herself bold and reckless, cf. 653 where θρασύς ἱμερος opposes αἰδώς.

ἐπικλονέσκον: the simple verb is often used of winds (LSJ s.v.), cf. ἄηται in 688, 967-72n.

Ἔρωτες: cf. 451-2n.

688 ἄηται: cf. 286-90n.

690 κατακνώσσουσα: cf. *Od.* 4.809 (Penelope) ἡδὺ μάλᾳ κνώσσουσ' ἐν ὄνειρείησι πύλησιν.

691-2 λεύσσω: adverbs meaning 'recently' often join a verb in the present tense, but here λεύσσω also marks the vividness of the dream.

θεός... | θεΐη: the jingle may reflect an etymology of θεός from τίθημι (Hdt. 2.52.1).

695 τήν... ἐπέκλυσε θυμόν: lit. 'washed over her in her heart' (acc. of respect). Like other emotions (286-90n.), pain can be thought of as a flooding or melting of the heart, cf. Ovid, *Epist. Pont.* 1.2.55 *sic mea perpetuis liquefiunt pectora curis*, Onians (1954) 33-7.

696 τοῖ': i.e. ὅτι τοῖα, cf. 380-1n.

697 An echo of 18 suggests that this scene is a human counterpart of the opening consultation between Hera and Athena; Hera is working through Chalciopé, as she is through Argos (cf. 476n.).

699 Earth and Heaven are suitably primordial (Hes. *Theog.* 116-28) to act as the most awesome deities for a race ruled by descendants of the Titan Hyperion. At *Il.* 15.36-7 Hera swears to Zeus by Earth, Heaven and the water of the Styx.

700 Spondaic rhythm lends solemnity to Chalciopé's charge.

701-3 Cf. *Il.* 22.338-9 (the dying Hector to Achilles) λίσσομ' ὑπὲρ ψυχῆς καὶ γούνων σῶν τε τοκῆων, | μή με ἔα παρὰ νηυσὶ κύνας καταδάσαι Ἀχαιῶν. Chalciopé, however, is asking Medea to betray her parents.

703-4 Chalciopé threatens to commit suicide if her sons are killed and then to pursue Medea as a Fury, as though Medea herself had been her murderer. Medea herself uses a very similar threat to Jason at 4.385-7.

706-7 Two interpretations are possible. (i) Chalciopé is kneeling before Medea who is on her bed (672), and she (Chalciopé) embraces her sister's knees in an urgent gesture of supplication (J. Gould, *J.H.S.* 93 (1973) 96-7) and drops her head into Medea's lap. (ii) Chalciopé remains apart from Medea, clasps her own knees and lets her head droop in a gesture of grief. Both actions would be meaningful in the context (cf. Chariton 7.6.5 for (i), Theocr. 16.11, Chariton 1.8.3 for (ii)), and the textual uncertainty in 707 makes decision difficult; the emotional pressure of supplication is, however, something which Chalciopé is unlikely to have omitted, and this favours (i), as perhaps also does ἐπ' ἀλλήλησι.

σὺν δέ 'as well', 'at the same time'.

περικάββαλεν: the better attested plural is hard to accept, although both sisters are grieving. περι- presumably means that Chalciopé covers Medea's lap, but ἐνι- (Campbell) is tempting, particularly with περίσχετο immediately above.

708-9 ἐπ' ἀλλήλησι 'beside/over each other'. It is tempting to see

also a suggestion of 'for each other', although ἐπί is not normally used with verbs of lamentation.

ἰωή | λεπταλέη 'a high-pitched cry of lamentation'. In this context, A. might be thinking of a link between ἰωή and the cry ἰώ. Contrast the similar scene of Priam and Achilles weeping (cf. 701-3n.), τῶν δὲ στοναχὴ κατὰ δώματ' ὀρώρει (*Il.* 24.512).

711 δαιμονίη here marks a mild and friendly rebuke, cf. 1120, although in other contexts it may be somewhat stronger (cf. 1.476, 865).

οἱ ἄγορεύεις: cf. 380-1n.

712 A variation on the language of 704 which also echoes *Od.* 2.135-6 (Telemachus about Penelope) μήτηρ στυγερὰς ἀρήσεται ἔρινυς | οἴκου ἀπερχομένη. For Chalcioppe as Medea's 'mother' cf. 733n.; there is a similar effect in 716-17.

712-13 'Would that it were securely in my power to protect your sons.'

714 ὑπέρβιος 'of great strength', the μέγιστος | ὄρκος δεινότητος τε of *Il.* 15.37-8. A. perhaps wishes to suggest the literal sense 'beyond violence', i.e. 'to which no violence can be done'.

716-17 A reworking of Telemachus' pledge to Odysseus at *Od.* 23.127-8 οὐδέ τί φημι | ἀλκῆς δευήσασθαι, ὅση δύναμις γε πάρεστιν. As in 712, this echo suggests that Chalcioppe stands *in loco parentis* for Medea.

θεῶν μήτηρ: Gaia bore Ouranos and then mated with him to produce the other gods and the natural world, cf. Hes. *Theog.* 126ff. Earth's motherhood is particularly relevant in an oath to protect someone's sons.

ἀνυστά περ ἀντιώσαν 'provided that what you ask is possible', cf. Denniston 483.

719 ξείνῳ: the crucial word for Medea comes with powerful effect at the head of her sister's speech.

720 μῆτιν... ἀέθλου 'a ruse for accomplishing the test', objective genitive.

721 τόδ' ἰκάνει 'has come for this purpose', cf. *Il.* 14.309, Chantraine II 44.

723 'In coming here, I left him for the moment (cf. 441-2n.) in my room.' The text has suffered in transmission, but we need a reference to Argos, and the fact that he has just been with Chalcioppe serves to

confirm the truth of her assertion in 722. There may be an echo of *Il.* 6.221 καί μιν ἐγὼ κατέλειπον ἰδὼν ἐν δώμασ' ἔμοισι.

725-6 ἄμυδις: not merely 'at the same time': Medea blushed 'all over', cf. 1012.

ἀχλὺς... ἱαινομένην: cf. 1019-21. The Homeric mist which attends the death of a warrior (*Il.* 5.696, 16.344) is here transferred to amatory passion, cf. D. L. Page, *Sappho and Alcaeus* (Oxford 1955) 29; the 'mist of love' is found as early as Archilochus, fr. 191 West (quoted in 296-8n.).

727 ὕμμι: a neat touch. ἄμμι would be just as accurate.

730-2 The chiasmus framed by 'your' and enjambment of σὼν mark the strength of Medea's undertaking. Medea, of course, has other, unspoken, thoughts as well. As with her flight in Book 4, her motives are complex: in clinging to her sister's family, her devotion to which we are given no reason to doubt, she can hope to betray her own family without seeming (to herself or others) to do this solely out of lust for a man. While deceiving Chalcioppe (cf. 687), she is also trying to deceive herself; she is as confused as she is hypocritical.

ἀδελφείοι: technically, they were her nephews, but Greek often uses 'brother' beyond its strict application, and she has clearly grown up with them (734-5). Her own brothers would certainly not support her (cf. 657n.).

κηδεμόνες 'close relations'. The literal sense 'someone who cares for' is important in Medea's use of the word here.

733 Greek sometimes uses the accusative in indirect speech where the nominative would be expected, to give particular prominence to the speaker's claim (K-G II 30-1); the nom. is metrically guaranteed in the parallel passage at 4.368-9, and may be right here, but the acc. is better attested and also *lectio difficilior*. Behind Medea's claim lies Andromache's famous declaration to Hector that he is 'father, mother, brother and husband' to her (*Il.* 6.429-30), because her own family is dead. Medea's family will be 'dead' to her after her secret help.

734 It is common today in various parts of the world to see teenage girls suckling their young brothers or sisters as well as their own children. This detail suggests that the relationship between Medea and Chalcioppe is not merely like that between a pair of Sophoclean sisters, but also resembles a tragic heroine (e.g. Phaedra) and her nurse-confidante.

735 αἰὲν... ποτε 'constantly... in former times'.

737 λήσομαι: the future indicative with ὄφρα imitates a Homeric rarity, cf. Chantraine II 273.

738 εἶσομαι 'I will go', although the form – only here certainly in *Arg.* – seems to be connected with ἴεμαι.

Θελεκτήρια κτλ.: cf. 33n.

739 This verse is preserved only in the scholia; it was lost from the MSS because of the similarity of εἶσομαι and οἶσομένη. The loss was made good by changing the former to οἶσομαι.

Ξείνωι: cf. 719n.; Chalciope's request and Medea's answer are ringed by the crucial word.

νεῖκος: an echo of Medea's dream (627), as well as of *Il.* 7.374 'Ἀλεξάνδροιο, τοῦ εἵνεκα νεῖκος ὄρωρε; just as Medea is to have much of Helen about her (cf. 641-2n.), so Jason is a beautiful 'Paris' whose girl, stolen from far away, will bring enormous grief into his house.

740 The lack of any 'so she spoke' formula is unusual, as is the absence of any indication that ἦ γε is not the speaker who has just finished; no good parallel has been adduced. If the text is sound – Fränkel proposed a lacuna after 739, created at the same time as that verse dropped out – this unusual technique must lay particular stress on the speed with which Chalciope moved (ῖθι, 736 ~ κίε, 740).

741 † τὴν δέ μιν †: if sound, this would be a remarkable extension of the Homeric αὐτὴν μιν (*Il.* 11.117), and cf. οὗ ἔθεν 'of him' (1.362, 4.1471). τὴν γε μὲν is good for sense, marking a contrast between the emotions of the two sisters (cf. Denniston 387), but is unattractive after ἦ γε.

743 The infinitive depends on the verbal content of 742, 'she was ashamed and afraid...'

παρέξ: probably 'without the knowledge of', 'λάθρηι', as at *Il.* 24.434 (a passage which may have been in A.'s mind, cf. 24.435 ~ 742). The genitive would then be a simple variation on Homer's accusative. For this theme cf. 615, 4.14-15. Others understand 'in defiance of', as at 2.344.

ἐπ' ἀνέρι 'for a man', but the sense 'for her husband' (as she has already dreamed) is not far away.

744-51 As night draws on, Medea's restlessness – in other contexts a standard symptom of love (Theocr. 10.10 etc.) – is contrasted with the movement towards sleep throughout the world, cf. 4.1058-67. A.'s

picture of the world at evening moves from alert watchfulness (sailors) to exhausted sleep (a mother whose children have died), from the expansive seas to the narrower land, from the male world of exchange and communication (sailors, travellers, a gate-keeper) to the most private female grief, from one sphere of activity controlled by Hermes (commercial travel) to another (sleep and death); for this organising pattern cf. J.-P. Vernant, *Myth and thought among the Greeks* (London 1983) 127-75, esp. 129-30. Although 750 returns to the idea of the approach of darkness, the passage as a whole seems to move from early evening (744-7) to the deadest part of the night (749-50), thus suggesting the length of time through which Medea suffered, cf. J. Carrière, *Euphrosyne* 2 (1959) 51-3, Beye (1982) 67-8.

Scenes of worried sleeplessness open *Il.* 2 (Zeus) and 10 (Agamemnon) and *Od.* 15 (Telemachus worried about Odysseus, cf. 752n.). Particularly important are echoes of the scene from *Il.* 10 where the cares of leadership keep the Greek general awake; the transference of such a scene from the military sphere to that of personal emotion is a characteristic technique of later amatory poetry. Homer compares Agamemnon's troubled spirit to the flash of lightning; this is here replaced by the more domestic image of sunlight on a pail of water (756-60), thus completing the 'rewriting' of martial epic. Cf. also Hopkinson (1988) 188.

745 'Ελίκην 'The Great Bear' (cf. 1195-6n.) which revolved (ἐλίσσειν) around the Pole. Cf. Aratus, *Phaen.* 37-41 'By Helice Greek sailors calculate where they must steer their ships... being bright and easy to observe, it appears large at the beginning of the night.'

Ἠρίωνος: Aratus notes the importance of Orion to sailors; like the Bear, it is very bright, cf. *Phaen.* 323-5, 730-1.

746 The spondaic centre of the verse contrasts with the dactyls of 744-5 to suggest the weight of sleep (ὑπνοιο).

ἔδρακον: an archaic aorist which should mean 'had [already] turned their eyes to...' (*MT*² §58), but A. may have used this form as an imperfect.

τις ὀδίτης: travellers think of finding an inn as dusk approaches, cf. Aesch. *Ch.* 660-2 'the dark chariot of night is hastening, and it is time for travellers to drop anchor in a house which receives all guests'. τίς here generalises, cf. LSJ s.v. Α II.1-2.

747-8 The gate-keeper acts as the point of transition between one

kind of world and another. 'The mother of dead children' suggests Medea's desire to protect Jason and her fear that she will fail; like the mother, Medea has only an eternity of hopeless longing and regret in front of her. So too at 4.136-8, when Jason and Medea confront the dragon which guards the fleece, a reference to mothers protecting their frightened children suggests Medea's protection of Jason. A foreshadowing of the death of Medea's own children also links the beginning and end of her life with Jason.

τεθνεώτων: scanned as three long syllables, with synizesis of -εω-. Elsewhere in *Arg.*, a spondee is formed by synizesis only in the first or last foot, and Rzach's τεθναότων (cf. ἐφασταότας in 1276) would remove this anomaly.

ἀδινόν: cf. 616n.

κῶμ': Homer uses κῶμα of a god-sent sleep (*Il.* 14.359, *Od.* 18.201 (Penelope)), and in earlier poetry generally it is associated with the supernatural, cf. Campbell (1983) 112 n. 5. There is a suggestion that the gods have relieved the mother's suffering with sleep, but there is no divinity to soothe Medea (see next note).

749 The remarkable absence of barking dogs indicates the very quietest part of the night, cf. *h. Herm.* 145. In particular, barking dogs may mark the presence of Hecate (cf. 1040, 1217, Theocr. 2.35-6, S. Karouzou, *J.H.S.* 92 (1972) 64-73), and so even her own goddess is not there to help Medea.

750 ἤχῆεις: three long syllables, emphasised by enjambment, match sound to sense.

ἔχεν: κατέχειν is more usual in such contexts, but cf. Call. *h.* 5.72 μεσαμβρινὰ δ' εἶχ' ὄρος ἀσυχία (with Bulloch's note).

752 μελεδήματ': cf. 4-5n. The end of the verse echoes *Od.* 15.8 where 'worries about his father' keep Telemachus awake: as 747-8 suggested Medea's 'maternal' care for Jason, so this verse also expresses her worry and love in terms of a family relationship; for examples of this idea in other genres cf. C. Macleod, *Collected essays* (Oxford 1983) 17.

753 δειδιῶν: the expected form would be δειδιῶν, but loss of iota before another vowel or diphthong is common, and εἰδιῶν supplies an obvious model. Cf. further Hunter on Eubulus fr. 143.

755-65 Fränkel transposed 761-5 to follow 754 so that the tears of pity follow immediately after the reason for them and the simile of light

dancing on water introduces the indecision of 766-70. As transmitted, the simile does not refer primarily to indecision but rather to Medea's jumping heart and physical restlessness, although the two cannot be firmly separated. Virgil indeed uses a light simile derived from this passage precisely to describe indecision (*Aen.* 8.18-25), but his passage is a virtuoso reworking of Apollonian elements - night, for example, comes at the end, rather than the beginning, of the scene - and is unreliable evidence for his text of *Arg.* Fränkel's suggestion is tempting, but the transmitted order should be retained: the water of the simile effectively turns into Medea's tears, and the text closely reproduces the pattern of the Homeric model in the opening of *Il.* 10 (cf. 744-51n.). The parallel passage at 4.1058-67 also moves from night to worried sleeplessness to a simile and finally to Medea's tears. With or without the transposition, it is clear that for Medea thoughts of Jason represent a light in the blackest night.

The comparison of Medea's palpitating heart to a ray of sunlight reflected off swirling water probably has both Homeric (*Od.* 4.45-6, 7.82-5) and non-Homeric origins. The comparison of atoms or the soul to dust particles in a ray of light may be traced at least as early as Democritus (Arist. *De anima* 1.404a1-5, Bailey on Lucr. 2.112-24), and the fact that A.'s image recurs in the philosophical prose of the Empire (Epictetus 3.3.20-2, cf. Dio Chrys. 21.14) suggests a classical, perhaps philosophical, source; there is, however, no reason to associate the image with a particular school of philosophy.

755 ἔθουεν 'raged wildly'.

756 ὡς τίς τε: cf. 1323. A. imitates a Homeric usage, cf. Ruijgh (1971) 952-3.

757-8 The alternative receptacles and πῶν suggest that the phenomenon is observable in a number of different circumstances, both formal (λέβητι, suggesting cooking or washing) and informal (γυαλῶν); alternatives are a common feature of Homeric similes also, cf. Carspecken (1952) 80-1 who notes that the alternatives do not touch the central point of the simile.

λέβητι 'a roughly hemispherical bowl often provided with a tripod or other stand', D. A. Amyx, *Hesperia* 27 (1958) 199-200.

ἐν: placed with the second of two nouns, cf. 59-60n.

760 δέ: cf. 210-14n.

762-3 The pain homes in on a progressively smaller area (χρῶς

...ἴνας...ἰνίον, reinforced by sound echo) and finds every way to get in (διὰ...ἀμφί...ὑπό). The language is Homeric and is again transferred from war to love; in particular, A. imitates the Iliadic interest in anatomical precision, cf. *Il.* 13.567-9 'he struck him between the genitals and the navel, where battle is most grievous (ἀλεγεινός) of all for wretched mortals', 14.465-6 'he struck him at the join of the head and neck, the topmost (βεῖατον) vertebra...'; 5.305-7, 8.83-4 (horses), 11.381, 16.314-15, N. E. Collinge, *B.I.C.S.* 9 (1962) 43. A. also has his eye on contemporary medicine. The rôle of the brain in bodily sensation was a subject of considerable debate, and the Alexandrian doctors Erasistratus and Herophilus had discovered the body's nervous system; ἀραιὰς ἴνας are most plausibly interpreted as 'nerves' (νεῦρα), cf. F. Solmsen, *M.H.* 18 (1961) 196, Fraser (1972) 1 352, II 512-13. What, if any, rôle had been assigned to the 'lowest part of the occiput' (βεῖατον ἰνίον, cf. Gow on Theocr. 25.264) is not known. The juxtaposition of contemporary science and the poetic image of the Loves shooting their painful arrows is a mixed effect typical of Hellenistic poetry.

σμήχουσα : cf. 446-7n.

765 **πραπίδεσσι** : in Homer, the 'diaphragm' may be a seat of pain or intelligence, and poets used this word in both physical and emotional contexts, like Eng. 'heart'. Cf. S. D. Sullivan, *Glotta* 65 (1987) 182-93.

ἐνισκίμψωσιν : cf. 153. The pains of love are like arrows piercing the flesh.

Ἔρωτες : cf. 451-2n.

766-9 Medea considers helping Jason, or not helping him (thereby ensuring his death) and killing herself (to ease the pain and escape disgrace), or doing nothing and trying to be strong. The verses are very reminiscent of the Euripidean Phaedra's account of her struggle to overcome her love for Hippolytus (*Hipp.* 392-402, cf. 811-16n.).

φῆ 'she thought'.

καταφθεῖσθαι...θανέειν : for these aorists, where futures might have been expected, cf. Chantraine II 307, *MT*² § 127.

αὐτίκα 'presently', introducing a third option.

οὔτ'...οὐ : an emphatic anacoluthon, cf. K-G II 289.

αὐτως 'just as she was'.

770 **δοάσατο** : cf. 21n.

771 'Alas, am I to be in this trouble or that?' κακῶν depends upon ἔνθα, cf. Eur. *Tr.* 685 διδάσκεις μ' ἔνθα πημάτων κυρῶ. Medea's indecision echoes that of Penelope at *Od.* 19.524, just as the death-wish of 773-4 picks up Penelope's words at *Od.* 18.202-3, cf. above, p. 29.

772 The asyndeton and series of short clauses, as in 636-8, characterise Medea's despair.

773 **πήματος** : enjambment marks the continuity of pain; there is no pause from it.

774 Artemis is traditionally responsible for the sudden death of women, but here there is a special point derived from this goddess's general oversight over virgins and Medea's close connection with Artemis-Hecate. Very different, however, is the arrow which really has struck Medea (284).

775-6 These verses find a bitter echo at 4.32-3 as Medea finally takes leave of her home, αἴθε σε πόντος, | ξεῖνε, διέρραισεν πρὶν Κολχίδα γαῖαν ἰκέσθαι. 'Achaean land' is also part of the slowly developing idea that Medea will one day leave Colchis for Greece.

Although Medea listened to Argos' narrative, she is made to forget it, as she has got the idea that her nephews actually reached Greece, cf. 1071-4n.; whether or not her father shares this view is unclear, cf. 375-6n. To obviate this apparent inconsistency, Fränkel proposed replacing γαῖαν ἰκέσθαι with νῆα κομίσσαι, 'before the Achaean ship brought the sons of Chalciopé', on the basis of an unmetrical and nonsensical variant, γαῖαν κομίσσαι, in Σ^{Lm}. This change would make the reference of τοὺς μὲν to the Argonauts - understood from 'Achaean ship' - much clearer than at present and pick up Argos' extravagant praise of the Greek ship (340-6); in its favour might also be adduced *Virg. Aen.* 4.657-8 *felix, heu nimium felix, si litora tantum | numquam Dardaniae tetigissent nostra carinae*. With Fränkel's change, however, κείθεν in 777 is obscure: 'from there' after 'Greek ship' would still naturally mean 'from Greece' (cf. 375) rather than 'from the Island of Ares'.

776-7 Vian suggests that Medea sees the Argonauts as a divine punishment for Aietes' treatment of Phrixus and his sons, but she seems to be worried only about her own problem (ἀμμι 'for me', cf. 784, 640n.).

779-80 The sudden shift from a dismissal of Jason to thoughts of deceiving her parents, mediated by a 'for' which is psychologically

rather than logically appropriate, marks the strength of Medea's desires.

ἐνίψω: cf. 475n. The force of ἐπί is 'over', 'on top of [my action]'.
781 μῆτις ἐπικόπος... ἄρωγῆς 'crafty plan of help', suggesting also 'a plan which can conceal my help', cf. 720, 912n.

782 A meeting with an unaccompanied Jason would satisfy the need for concealment (cf. 736-9), but there is in reality little threat from his companions; Medea's passion thus shows through her planning. Gillies removed this awkwardness by reading ἐταρῶν, 'without my female companions', cf. 910-11 where an ἐπικόπος μῆτις makes the maids leave Medea and Jason alone. ἐτάρω, however, is a mark of Medea's confusion and foreshadows an important motif of the later scene (cf. 908, 913).

προσπύξομαι 'greet', 'address', cf. 1025, 1104; the word is partly chosen so that we feel its other sense, 'embrace', 'enfold'.

ιοῦσα: the transmitted ἰδοῦσα matches ἐς ὥπην in 821, but the aorist makes no sense. οἷη ἰοῦσα would suit Medea's desires (cf. Gillies's ἐταρῶν), but fifth-foot correction is rare (136, 1395, M. Campbell, *R.Ph.*³ 47 (1973) 89).

785-6 In 466 ἐρέτω was said of Jason: things have changed somewhat.

ἀγλαΐη: a general word denoting respect and good fortune, cf. Livrea on 4.1041. The cost of helping Jason will be the loss of all the advantages of being a princess. Medea uses the word again bitterly at 4.357 when she accuses Jason of becoming forgetful because of his success (ἀγλαΐαι): her loss is his gain.

787 Cf. 1.888-90 (Hypsipyle to Jason) νίσεο... αὐτως ὡς ἐθέλεις καί τοι φίλον. These passages find a sad echo in 1061-2 νίσεο δ' ἔμπης | ἦ φίλον, ἦ τοι ἔαδεν ἀφορμηθέντι νέεσθαι. This verse has a close formal parallel in Call. *h.* 2.113 ὁ δὲ Μῶμος, ἴν' ὁ Φθόος, ἐνθα νέοιτο, cf. above, p. 7.

788 ἐξανύσειεν: the mood is attracted to the optative of the main verb, cf. 1112, K-G 1 255-6.

789 μελάθρωι: the 'ridge-beam' in the centre of a wooden roof; according to *Od.* 11.278, Oedipus' wife hanged herself from this structure.

790 πασσαμένη: in Homer φάρμακα πάσσειν is 'to sprinkle medicines' (*Il.* 5.401, 900, 11.515); A. produces a typical variation of this by using πατέομαι 'I taste', cf. L. Belloni, *Aevum* 53 (1979) 69. The faint echo of θελακτήρια φάρμακα ταύρων (738) in the second half of the verse indicates that Medea's 'reward' for giving Jason the magic drugs will be to take poisonous drugs herself.

791-2 ἐπιλλίξουσιν... κερτομίας 'people will wink reproaches at me', a vivid extension of the Homeric κερτομίας μυθήσασθαι. Cf. 1.486 καί μιν ἐπιλλίξων ἡμείβετο κερτομίοισιν.

792-3 'The whole city will scream my fate far off.' Medea's vehemence is expressed through the alliteration of π and its voiced equivalent β; cf. 71n., W. S. Allen *Vox graeca*³ (Cambridge 1987) 31. Others understand 'every city far away will ring with my fate', but Medea's concern is with the reaction of her own people.

τηλοῦ: used here with the sense of τηλόσε, cf. ἐκτοθι in 255.

793-4 διὰ στόματος 'on their lips', cf. Gow on Theocr. 12.20-1.

μωμήσονται: cf. 506n. Medea's words cast her again (cf. 641-2n.) in the rôle of Helen, '[If I go to bed with Paris], all the women of Troy will abuse (μωμήσονται) me afterwards' (*Il.* 3.411-12).

795-7 Medea imagines the direct words of her detractors, like Hector at *Il.* 22.104-10 and, in particular, Nausicaa at *Od.* 6.275-85 who imagines that she will be accused of dishonouring her own people by marrying an ἄνθρωπος τηλεδαπός (cf. 795).

ἄλλοδαποῖο: the idea that it is folly to seek things far away has almost proverbial status in Greek literature, cf. Pind. *Pyth.* 3.20-3 (love), Eur. *Hipp.* 184-5 (Phaedra's desire for τὸ ἄπόν), Thucyd. 6.13.1, 6.24.3.

μαργουσύνη 'lust', the lack of *sophrosyne* in sexual matters; it is the condition induced by μάργος 'Eros' (120). In her later despair, Medea reproaches herself for μαργουσύναι (4.375).

797 τί... αἰσχος: 'What reproach will not be mine?' Others understand 'What [can I do which] will not bring shame to me?', but the former seems better suited to her fear of popular reaction.

800 ἀνωίστωι: both 'unexpected' and 'not understood', cf. 6-7n. A death-wish closes the speech, as one had opened it (773-4).

803 Cf. *Od.* 4.230 (about Egypt, the source of Helen's drugs) φάρμακα, πολλὰ μὲν ἔσθλα μεμιγμένα, πολλὰ δὲ λυγρά.

804-5 Cf. *Od.* 21.55-6 (Penelope and the bow of Odysseus) ἐζομένη δὲ κατ' αὐθι, φίλοις ἐπὶ γούνασι θεῖσα, | κλαῖε μάλα λιγέως, ἐκ δ' ἦιρε τόσον ὄνακτος.

ἄσταγές 'not in drops', i.e. 'in floods', an adverbial neuter.

807 τόφρα instead of ὄφρα is first found in Antimachus, fr. 3.2 Wyss, cf. Livrea on 4.1487; euphony and metre will have been the guiding factors in its use.

πάσαιτο: cf. 790n.

811 'For a long time she sat numb and unmoving', cf. 284n.

811-16 In being tempted to renounce suicide in favour of the pleasures of a young girl's life, Medea sets in train a series of actions which destroys those pleasures, as she later realises (4.1036-7). By offering aid to a strange man behind her parents' backs, she leaves behind the innocent pleasures of the κόρη.

A contrast between the delights of life and the grimness of death is a standard poetic theme (cf. Nisbet-Hubbard on *Hor. C.* 1.4.18). Of particular relevance may be the fragmentary remains of Erinna's description of the games she played with her now dead friend Baucis, if the standard interpretation of those verses is correct (*SH* 401.1-27). In Euripides' *Hippolytus*, Phaedra, who has decided to kill herself, argues that people do not do what they know to be right, in part because of 'the many pleasures of life' (vv. 382-5), cf. 766-9n. Ovid transfers Phaedra's view to his Medea, *uideo meliora proboque, | deteriora sequor* (*Met.* 7.20-1).

μνήσατο μὲν κτλ. 'She remembered her happy friends, as you would expect a young girl to.' μὲν, if it is answered at all, is so by non-adversative καί in 817, cf. Denniston 374; 814 explains and gives detail to 813.

πέλονται: the plural stresses the number of different pleasures, cf. K-G 1 65-6.

ἠέλιος: in the darkness of night, the thought of the sun gives Medea something to live for; the appearance of the sun is indeed going to mark her emergence from worried doubt into action.

εἰ ἐτεόν κτλ. '... as in truth she began to ponder [lit. 'lay hold of'] everything in her mind'. ἐπεμαίεθ' is a striking extension of the Homeric θυμός ἐπεμαίετο (*Il.* 10.401), but cf. already *h. Herm.* 108 πυρός δ' ἐπεμαίετο τέχνην. In 2.546 A. uses this verb of visual 'grasping'.

818 As at other crucial moments (250, 4.11, 510, 1199-1200), Hera intervenes directly: 811-16 represent only one side of Medea's dilemma - for her the doubt and torment is to continue (cf. 828-35n., 1132, 1157-62) - and the divine intervention marks the difficulty and importance of Medea's action, cf. Campbell (1983) 50-6. There is no necessary inconsistency between 818 and what has gone before, and the nature of divine psychic intervention here remains basically Homeric, cf. E. R. Dodds, *The Greeks and the irrational* (Berkeley 1951) 1-14, W. R. Johnson, *Darkness visible* (Berkeley 1976) 161-3, above, p. 26. Less Homeric (but cf. 250n.) is the technique which postpones the revelation of Hera's rôle; there is a close parallel at 4.1199-1200 where Hera's rôle in making Arete plead for Medea to her husband is only revealed *post factum*.

ἐννεσίησι: cf. 29n.

818-19 '... nor did she any longer hesitate over [cf. 20-1n.] counsels [which would lead her] in any other way'.

ἐέλδετο: an echo of 747 closes the passage: as the gate-keeper had longed for sleep, so Medea longs for the dawn.

821 ἐς ὠπὴν 'face to face'.

822 ἀνὰ... λύεσκε contrasts by echo with the despair of 808.

823-4 Cf. the longer description of dawn at 4.1170-5 which also marks a crucial boundary for Medea (Aicinus' announcement of his decision). Here, Medea's 'long night' is over: night (744) gives way to dawn, stillness (749-50) to busy movement.

Ἠριγενής: here and at 2.450 a noun or proper name, at 1224 an epithet of ἠώς; A. does not use the Homeric ἠριγένεια.

κίνοντο: the stirring city at dawn is the subject of a famous passage of Callimachus' *Hecale* (fr. 260.63-9 = *SH* 288.63-9), cf. 927-31n.

ἕκαστοι: the singular is regular, but cf. 1.872, *Od.* 9.164, LSJ s.v. II.

825-7 A. is at pains to chart the movements of all the important characters: Argos will have returned to the ship immediately after learning from his mother of Medea's promise (740-1, immediately before the description of Medea's νύξ), and his brothers return on the following day when they have some news (914-15).

μήδεα κούρης: cf. 1133-6n. Pindar too had punned on Medea's name (*Pyth.* 4.27); here it marks the men's complete dependence upon the young girl's μῆτις. For other 'significant names' in A. cf. 242-6n.

λιασθείς 'returning', cf. 966, 1164. The aorist shows that κίεω ... λιασθείς are a single action (*MT*² §150).

828-35 The appearance of dawn marks Medea's decision to help both Jason and her sister (cf. 728-9); the disastrous consequences of that decision will soon be foreshadowed in another image of powerful brightness, cf. 956-61n. For the moment, however, she gives herself a brightness to match that of the dawn. Three archaic models suggest the importance of Medea's toilet: (i) *Il.* 14.170-86. Hera prepares herself to arouse Zeus's sexual desire. This scene had been used in the description of Aphrodite at 45-50 (cf. 43-7n.), and 829 rewrites 50; the echo stresses Medea's beauty and suggests that both Hera and the power of Aphrodite, for which Hera had pleaded, will work through her. (ii) In the *Homeric Hymn to Aphrodite* Aphrodite makes herself up and dresses in a beautiful *peplos* before going to meet Anchises with whom Zeus has made her fall in love (vv. 61-4, 86-7); this hymn is again an important model at 883-4 (Artemis' effect on the animals). (iii) *Od.* 18.292-4. Antinous presents Penelope with a beautiful robe, περικαλλέα πέπλον, | ποικίλον· ἐν δ' ἄρ' ἔσαν περόναι δυσκαίδεκα πᾶσαι [cf. 838] | χρύσειαι, κληῖσιν ἐγνᾶμπτοις ἀραρυῖαι. The fusion of models referring to Aphrodite, seduction and Penelope points to the crisis in Medea's life; Hera has determined that the young girl will help Jason, but she herself still faces a terrible dilemma.

829 ξανθός: Medea has hair of the same colour as Jason himself (1017n.); so too, the ladies of Roman love-elegy are typically *flavae*. This detail conflicts with the standard Greek picture of the Colchians as a dark-skinned race (Pind. *Pyth.* 4.213, *Hdt.* 2.104.2).

830 The hiatus in the first foot imitates Homeric practice in which the digamma of φοι was operative, cf. 1226; contrast the corruption of αῖ in 838 and μέν scanned short before οἱ in 1205. For Hellenistic practice in general cf. Gow on Theocr. 15.112, Pfeiffer on Call. fr. 2.3.

καταειμένοι 'falling down', from καθίημι, cf. ἐπιειμένη in 45.

831 ἔψηχε 'she rubbed', a further echo of Aphrodite's toilet, cf. ἀνήκτους in 50; Callimachus uses this verb of 'rubbing down' animals, in a passage which is soon to be very relevant (*h.* 3.163, cf. 869-86n.). ἔψησε of the MSS, 'she wiped', would be much less unusual, and corruption to ἔψηχε hard to explain.

832 νεκταρέη 'fragrant', a variation on *Il.* 14.170-2 where Hera

cleanses herself with 'ambrosia' and 'ambrosial' oil; ἀμβροσίωι in 834 makes the variation clear. 'Ambrosia' and 'nectar' are used almost interchangeably by later poets or are taken to refer respectively to the drink and food of the gods, although Homer's conception is quite different and 'nectarous ointment' is not in keeping with it, cf. Onians (1954) 292-9.

φαιδρύνει ἔπι: reversed or anastrophe, cf. 43-7n., 1018, 1136, 1193, Bühler (1960) 221-8.

833 ἀρηρέμενον: perfect passive participle from ἀραρίσκω. The recessive accent imitates Homeric forms such as ἀκηχήμενος.

834-5 The model for Medea's veiling is three Homeric verses used of Calypso and Circe (*Od.* 5.230-2, 10.543-5); Medea thus has something of all Odysseus' women, although the poet is about to concentrate on the debt to Nausicaa.

836-7 An authorial observation (cf. 1133-4, 2.65-6 etc.) qualifies Medea's temporary happiness. The troubles 'at her feet', i.e. 'present', 'of immediate concern', are most naturally interpreted as the fearful flight which she is soon to make, the 'future troubles' as the disastrous later history of her relationship with Jason.

στειβε πέδον gives life to the metaphor in ἐν ποσί; it is as though she tramples on her ὄχη as she moves excitedly about.

θεσπέσι: the literal sense is again (cf. 392n.) plainly felt; Hera has caused these troubles.

838-43 Many echoes of Nausicaa's preparations at the opening of *Od.* 6 (esp. vv. 16-19 and 69-74) lead into the more extensive use of this Homeric text in 869ff.

840 That Medea's maids are still too young to have husbands points to the dangerous position in which Medea is placing herself by having a rendezvous with the handsome stranger.

845 φασι: a common trick of style in epic, cf. 2.976-7, *Il.* 17.674, 19.415-16, Hopkinson on Call. *h.* 6.52. The device may be used to prevent the poet or one of his characters from making a false assertion, but Hellenistic and Roman poets use φασι, φάτις, *fertur* etc. to acknowledge, rather than to conceal, their use of a written source, or to pretend that they have authority for what they are reporting. Σ^{LP} 854-9b asserts that A. has no source for his account here, and there are indeed no certain earlier references to the drug Prometheion, although a very late source attaches a story about it to the third-century Stoic

Cleanthes (*SVF* 1 595). Two possible sources are, however, worth considering. (i) The *Colchian Women* and *Rhizotomoi* ('root-cutters') of Sophocles. The former included an account of the sufferings of Prometheus (*hypoth.* Aesch. *PV*, cf. Pearson on Soph. fr. 340), and 858 and 865 seem indebted to the latter (see nn. on those verses); for another possible tragic source cf. 851-3n. (ii) Contemporary pharmacological and magical writing, of which a great deal was produced in Alexandria. It is perhaps particularly unfortunate that we do not have more of the work of Bolus 'the Democritean', a paradoxographer with a special interest in pharmacology whom we know to have been interested in 'sympathy' in nature, an idea of some relevance to Prometheus' suffering at 865-6; for Bolus see Fraser (1972) 1 440-2.

Greek myth knew of many plants which grew from blood (cf. Teufel (1939) 25-38) - the hyacinth and the anemone, for example - and scholars have sought a real plant lying behind A.'s description. The most likely candidate is mandrake, around which there was an extensive folklore, cf. C. Lacombrade, *Pallas* 10 (1961) 19-30 and R. J. Clark, *Folklore* 79 (1968) 227-31. A. has probably also borrowed from descriptions of a poisonous plant called κολχικόν. Dioscorides (4.83) says that this plant, which is abundant in Colchis, has a white flower 'like crocus' (cf. 855) and that the inside of the root is 'white, soft and sweet and contains a lot of juice', a description which would also do for 'freshly cut flesh' (857). There is, however, also a clear debt to Homer's description of *moly*, 'black in root, flower like milk' (*Od.* 10.304), which Hermes gave to Odysseus to protect him against Circe's magic and which is said by a late source to have grown from the blood of a giant killed by Helios on Circe's island (Alexander of Paphos *ap. Eustathius*, *Hom.* 1658.48-54). A. has thus created a mixture of the 'mythical' and the 'scientific', typical of his whole picture of Colchis.

847 Δαίραν: here a cult name for Hecate, cf. 1035. Elsewhere Daira (or Daeira) is a chthonic deity associated with Eleusis and often identified with Persephone (hence the gloss κούρη). This name is, therefore, one element in the extensive syncretism of Persephone, Hecate and Artemis found in the latter part of this book.

μουνυγένειαν: cf. 1035, i.e. she has no siblings; this epithet is also applied to Hecate by Hesiod (*Theog.* 426, 448), and to Persephone by late 'Orphic' texts (fr. 190 Kern, *h.* 29.2).

848 οὔτε: the second syllable is lengthened before initial ρ in imitation of Homer, cf. Mooney 421.

849-50 '...for that day he would be invincible in might and strength [cf. 1043-4] equally'. Fränkel understands 'equally [i.e. without lessening] throughout that day', and Vian-Delage adopt this; but this does not seem a natural way to interpret $\delta\mu\omega\varsigma$. Cf. further 1050n.

851-3 Prometheus' suffering is described at 2.1247-59, which prepares for the crucial rôle of 'Prometheion' in the poem. Here four noun-adjective phrases covering two verbless verses tell the story in all necessary detail; for a related stylistic mannerism cf. the close matching of nouns and adjectives in the opening invocation (1.1-4). The exotic nature of the drug is marked by three alliterative pairs of noun and geographical epithet (852, 855, 859).

πρωτοφυές: i.e. it did not arise from another plant.

καταστάξαντος 'let drop'. Cicero quotes his own translation of a speech by Prometheus in the lost *Prometheus Lyomenos* of Aeschylus (*Tusc. disp.* 2.23-5 = Aesch. fr. *193 Radt, cf. M. Griffith, *Aeschylus: Prometheus Bound* (Cambridge 1983) 291-5) which has a number of ideas in common with the description of Prometheus and the eagle at 2.1247-59. The end of the speech, *clades nostro infixae est corpori, | e quo liquatae solis ardore excidunt | guttae, quae saxa adsidue instillant Caucasi*, has similarities (as well as differences) with 851-3 which are noteworthy and harden the suspicion that there is much lost poetry behind the present passage.

ὠμηστῆω: scanned as three long syllables, with synizesis of - $\sigma\omega$.

αἱματόεντ' ἰχώρα: this phrase has a double appropriateness. (i) Ichor is what flows in the veins of the 'bloodless' Homeric gods, the $\delta\mu\beta\rho\tau\omicron\nu\alpha\iota$ αἶμα (*Il.* 5.339-42), and in the bronze giant Talos (4.1679). Prometheus has 'bloody ichor' because he occupies a middle position between man and god, cf. Ar. *Birds* 1494-1552 etc. (ii) ἰχώρ also has the medical sense 'pus' (LSJ s.v. ii), and 'blood-filled pus' aptly describes what one imagines filled Prometheus' constantly reopened wounds.

854 ἦτοι emphasises the truth of the account, cf. Denniston 553-4.

ὄσον πήχυιον 'a cubit high', cf. LSJ s.v. ὄσος 1.6.

855 Cilicia (southern Turkey), and particularly a mountain cave near the coastal town of Corycus, was a famous source of saffron, cf. L. Robert, *R.E.A.* 62 (1960) 334-5. Saffron was associated with Demeter and Persephone (Richardson on *h. Dem.* 6), and so it may have a particular appropriateness in this description of chthonic magic.

856-7 Reference to two 'technical' words of botany, δίκουλεῖν 'to have two stems' and σαρκώδης 'fleshy' (Theophr. *HP* 6.6.8-10), adds an air of science to the description; in the latter case, A. gives a gruesomely literal meaning to the expressive term.

858-9 'Like the dark moisture from a mountain oak, she had gathered its [dark sap] in a Caspian shell to work her magic.' A dark and sticky extract from certain kinds of oak (ἰξός) was used in a number of colouring processes and to trap birds.

κελαινήν: the colour of death and menace, cf. 4.1508, Nisbet-Hubbard on *Hor. C.* 1.37.27.

Κασπίη: the Caspian was often thought of as a gulf of Ocean, although some later scholars disputed this, cf. Thomson (1948) 127-9, *RE* x 2275-90, Vian III 16-17; little was in fact known about this sea. A. imagines a system of three rivers which linked the Caspian to the Black Sea - the Araxes, the Lycos and the Phasis (4.131-5, Delage (1930) 182-4) - thus accounting for Medea's possession of the shell; the epithet is part of the ethnographic and geographic detail with which A. fills out the kingdom of Colchis. The use of a shell (a common talisman) in this dangerous magic may have been to ward off malevolent powers, cf. Teufel (1939) 27.

ἀμύσατο 'gathered', possibly a variation on Sophocles' description (fr. 534 Radt) of how Medea 'cut' (ἤμα) her magic roots.

860-1 Seven is a magical number in many cultures, cf. J. Gwyn Griffiths on *Apul. Met.* 11.1 (p. 266, 22). Medea either bathes in seven different streams, cf. Ovid, *Met.* 13.953 (100 streams), E. K. Borthwick, *Eranos* 64 (1966) 106-8, or seven times in (possibly the same) water; in the latter case ἑπτὰ stands for ἑπτάκι.

ἀενάοισι 'ever-flowing', and hence sacral and purifying, cf. *Soph. OC* 469, Parker (1983) 18-21, 226-7.

Βριμῶ 'the roarer', i.e. Hecate, cf. 1211; the cult name is appropriate to her noisy appearances (cf. 1038-40, 1217). Elsewhere, this title is applied to Persephone and, in the magical papyri, to the

syncretised Selene-Hecate-Artemis-Persephone (cf. *PGM* iv 2270, Betz (1986) 78 and *Glossary* s.v.).

κουροτρόφον: already an epithet of Hecate in Hesiod, cf. *Theog.* 450 with West's note.

862 The narrative imitates the piled epithets of an actual prayer, cf. 1.1125-6, 4.147-8 (which varies this present passage). All of the epithets may be amply attested both from literature (cf. Livrea on 4.147) and from the magical papyri.

ἐνέροισιν ἄνασσαν makes plain a syncretism with Persephone, which is already visible in the classical period, cf. *Eur. Ion* 1048-50 εἰνοδία θύγατερ Δάματρος, ἃ τῶν | νυκτιπόλων ἐρόδων ἀνάσσεις, Diggle on *Eur. Phaethon* 268, Pfeiffer on *Call. fr.* 466. ἄνασσα is an early cult title of Hecate: already at *h. Dem.* 440 she is Persephone's πρόπολος καὶ ὀπάων... ἄνασσα (cf. Richardson ad loc.).

863 Both the night and the magician are dark; Hecate herself may be dressed in black robes, cf. *PGM* iv 2553.

λυγαίη: probably 'moonless'; at 1362 and 2.1120 the word is used of a stormy night (cf. 2.1104-5), and at 4.59-61, in an unfortunately corrupt passage, the moon claims that she allowed Medea to practise her magic 'in the gloom of night'. In other contexts moonlight is necessary for the efficacy of magic, cf. *Virg. Aen.* 4.513-14 *falcibus et messae ad lunam quaeruntur... herbae*.

865 This verse perhaps acknowledges a debt to the *Rhizotomoi* of Sophocles, which may have told the story of Medea's destruction of Pelias. Real 'root-cutters' were a familiar group on the fringes of ancient medicine and were much more prosaic than A.'s Medea, cf. G. E. R. Lloyd, *Science, folklore and ideology* (Cambridge 1983) 119-35.

Τιτηνίδος: Prometheus was the son of the Titan Iapetus, and Medea the great-granddaughter of the Titan Hyperion, who stands next to Iapetus in Hesiod's list of Titans (*Theog.* 134); so too, Hecate's grandfather was the Titan Kreios (*Hes. Theog.* 375). These various connections identify Colchis as a place where pre-Olympian, 'non-Greek' practices are the norm, cf. 1122-4n. On Titans in general cf. West on *Hes. Theog.* 133.

866 **πέρι** governs ὀδύνη (cf. *LSJ* s.v. περί B II.3), and θυμόν is an accusative of respect.

867-8 The description of Prometheion is enclosed by chiasmus and ring-composition, ἐξείλετο... Προμήθειον in 844-5 is answered by

ἴαπετοῖο πάϊς... ἔξανελουσα. The long 'digression' allows the bizarre contrast of 867-8 to come with particular force; cf. perhaps 4.1405-7 where the beautiful Hesperides lament over a rotting serpent. These verses tell us much about the different aspects of the Apollonian Medea, cf. Hunter (1987) 130.

μίτρηι 'breast-band', supporting the breasts under the tunic.

ἔεργτο 'was wound', pluperfect passive of εἶρω.

869-86 As well as the clear debt to the opening scenes of *Odyssey* 6, the description of Medea's ride to the temple has a number of parallels in the extant works of Callimachus, particularly the *Hymn to Artemis* (cf. nn. to 869-72, 876-7, 878, 879, 881-3, Eichgrün (1961) 111-18); a Homeric framework with Callimachean elaboration points to Apollonius as the borrower from Callimachus, not vice versa. The passage as a whole is marked by 'the subtle evocation of a wedding atmosphere' (Campbell (1983) 58): the cosmetic preparations, the reference to bathing, a chariot-ride and attendant virgins all find some counterpart in the ritual of a Greek wedding. These hints are distributed between the simile and the main narrative, and are suggested rather than made explicit. Medea is going to meet a man whom she has already dreamed to be her husband; Nausicaa's mind too was on marriage when she set out. A series of pointed contrasts between this passage and Medea's flight in the first scene of Book 4 paints the disappointment of her dreams with stark clarity, cf. Hunter (1987) 136.

869-72 Cf. *Od.* 6.78, 81-4 κούρη δ' ἐπεβήσετ' ἀπήνης. | ... | ἡ δ' ἔλαβεν μάστιγα καὶ ἡνία σιγαλόεντα, | μάστιξεν δ' ἔλασαν· καναχῆ δ' ἦν ἡμιόνοιν· | αἱ δ' ἄμωτον τανύοντο, φέρον δ' ἔσθητα καὶ αὐτήν. | οὐκ οἶην, ἅμα τῆι γε καὶ ἀμφίπολοι κίον ἄλλα.

ἐκ δέ: ἐκ is either in tmesis with κιοῦσα or adverbial, 'and then', cf. 280n.

θοῆς: all of Medea's movements are quick and urgent. At Call. *h.* 3.106 Artemis has a θοὸν ἄρμα.

δοιαὶ ἐκάτερθεν: both 'one on each side' (cf. *Od.* 11.578) and 'two on each side' (cf. *Il.* 11.27) are possible translations, but at *Od.* 6.18-19 (which was obviously in A.'s mind) δύο... ἐκάτερθε is 'one on each side', as is δοιαὶ... ἐκάτερθεν at *Orph. Arg.* 815 which probably echoes this verse. Three people in the chariot is in keeping with the suggestions of wedding-ritual (cf. 869-86n.).

ἔβησαν: the simple verb picks up the compound of 869, and the active varies the earlier middle.

873 πείρινοθος: the detachable 'car' or 'basket' which was placed on the ἄμαξα.

874-5 A pictorial detail common in both literature and art, cf. 4.45-6 (with Livrea's note), 940-9, Richardson on *h. Dem.* 176. A.'s immediate model seems to be *h. Dem.* 174-7 (of the daughters of Keleos going back to fetch Demeter) 'like deer or heifers in the spring who leap through the meadow, having eaten to their heart's content, so did they dart along the hollow [κοίλην, which A.'s εὐρέϊον may try to explain as well as vary] waggon-road, holding up the folds of their lovely robes'. The echo hints at a similarity between Demeter and Medea and an association of Hecate and Hecate's priestess, Medea, with Demeter's daughter, Persephone. In the *Homeric Hymn*, Demeter is searching for her daughter who has been carried off by a man: Medea is to try to arrange such an event behind her parents' back (cf. 876-86n.). These verses also irresistibly call to mind the proem to Callimachus' *Aitia*, 'poet, feed the victim to be as fat as possible; but, my friend, keep the Muse slender (λεπτολέην). This too I bid you: tread a path which carriages (ἄμαξαι) do not trample; do not drive your chariot upon the common tracks of others, nor along a wide road (οἶμον ἀνὰ πλατύν), but on unworn paths, though your course be more narrow' (fr. 1.23-8, trans. Trypanis). The relative chronology of *Arg.* and Call. fr. 1 is a very difficult problem (cf. above, p. 8), but A. was certainly familiar with the critical idiom represented by the prologue, and many may see here a programmatic acknowledgement that the present passage is a modern (λεπτολέος) reworking of a famous Homeric scene.

ἐπιγουνίδος: the thigh just above the knee. 'White thigh' is an explicitly erotic detail, in keeping with the purpose of Medea's trip; for such sensual detail cf. G. Huber, *Lebensschilderung und Kleinmalerei im hellenistischen Epos* (diss. Basel 1926) 59-63.

876-86 Homer had compared Nausicaa playing with her friends to Artemis out hunting with the nymphs (*Od.* 6.102-9); the point of the Homeric simile is the superiority of Artemis and Nausicaa respectively to the girls around them. A. changes the position and point of the simile, which now precedes the girls' arrival at their destination, thus

creating a more obviously close parity between simile and main narrative: the washing, the chariot, the movement towards the temple, and the fear inspired by the procession are all common to both simile and narrative. In Homer, Nausicaa's mother had taken a leading part in the preparations for the trip and in the simile Leto rejoices to see her daughter, but Medea's parents would take no joy in her excursion; the omission of Homeric detail is here as important as what is included. In making some of these changes A. may reflect ancient criticism of Homeric practice, cf., e.g., Σ^Α *Il.* 10.5, A. Clausen, *Kritik und Exegese der homerischen Gleichnisse im Altertum* (diss. Freiburg 1913) 31-2.

There are a number of reasons why Artemis is an appropriate goddess in this context. Hecate was sometimes identified with her (cf. Friis-Johansen and Whittle on Aesch. *Suppl.* 676), increasingly so as the Hellenistic period went on, and the fear which Medea inspires (879n., 885-6) derives from her magic powers and association with that dread goddess. Artemis was also closely connected with the crucial transitional stages of a woman's life - puberty, marriage, childbirth, death - and it is just such a transition that this ride represents for Medea; cf. Burkert (1985) 150-1, H. King, 'Bound to bleed: Artemis and Greek women' in A. Cameron and A. Kuhrt (eds.), *Images of women in antiquity* (London/Sydney 1983) 109-27, H. Lloyd-Jones, *J.H.S.* 103 (1983) 87-102. A. names two cult places, one of 'the Virgin' and one connected with childbirth, which make the point clearly: between the two must come contact with the male world and marriage.

876-7 'Like Artemis, having washed at the sweet streams of Parthenos or in the river Amnisos...' The variation of construction after *λοσσοσμένη* - ἐπί with the dative and then the simple genitive (cf. 1203) - is typical of Hellenistic poetry in general, and the mannerism favours this interpretation over making both genitives depend upon ὕδασι (with no punctuation after 876). Fränkel's ἐν for ἐφ' would make the construction easier, but Call. fr. 37.1 (about the birth of another virgin goddess) οἷη τε...ἐφ' ὕδασι (in the same *sedes*), apparently imitated by A. at 4.1311, seems a clear warning against change. An alternative interpretation, 'at the streams of Parthenos, or having washed in...', gives a more regular sense to ἐπί, but 876 is then hard to reconcile with 878-80. The Parthenos flowed into the Black Sea near Sesamos in Paphlagonia (northern Turkey), and the ancients

naturally associated its name with Artemis' fondness for it, cf. 2.936-9. The Amnisos flowed near Knossos in Crete; at the town of Amnisos, Eileithyia, the goddess of childbirth, had an ancient shrine, cf. *Od.* 19.188, Call. fr. 202.1, *h.* 3.15, 162. Eileithyia came to be identified with Artemis Λοχία (Roscher 1 572-3), and it is tempting to suppose that Artemis has been bathing in the river to cleanse herself of stains and pollution arising from her attendance at a birth (cf. Parker (1983) 49-50), just as the Parthenos refreshes her after hunting (2.937-9, Call. fr. 75.24-5). The giving of alternative locations for the goddess imitates the Homeric model (cf. *Od.* 6.103), but also adds 'a tone of religious formalism' (Bullock on Call. *h.* 5.60-5) as it is predominantly a stylistic feature of prayers, here taken over into narrative.

λαροῖσιν: normally 'warm', but at 2.939 Artemis cools herself in the Parthenos; the meaning may therefore be 'pleasant', 'sweet', cf. Hesychius λ 927 where the list of glosses includes ὕγρόν, καθαρόν, ἡδύ.

878 Cf. Call. *h.* 3.110-12 'Artemis, Virgin, Slayer of Tityos, golden were your weapons and your belt, golden was the chariot you yoked, and on your deer you threw golden reins.' Gold is *par excellence* the metal and colour of the gods, cf. 46, Williams on Call. *h.* 2.32.

879 In the Homeric model, Artemis 'takes delight in the boars and swift deer'; A. has put this detail to a quite different use. The deer is the animal most closely associated with Artemis (*RE* VIII 1945-8) and Callimachus too has Artemis drive such a chariot (*h.* 3.98-112). At a festival of Artemis Λαφρία in Patrai the priestess rode on a waggon pulled by deer (Pausanias 7.18.12). A. may well have this rite in mind, as another feature of it was that wild animals were thrown alive into the sacrificial fire, and this would certainly suit the animals' fear in 884; for discussion of this festival cf. G. Piccaluga, 'L'olocausto di Patrai', *Entretiens Fondation Hardt* 27 (1981) 243-87. κείως here is simply 'deer', not 'young deer'; contrast 4.12.

881-3 Cf. *Od.* 6.105-6 τῆι δέ θ' ἄμα νύμφαι, κοῦραι Διὸς αἰγιόχοιο, | ἄγρονόμοι [v.l. ἀγρόμεναι] παίζουσι. A.'s division of nymphs (cf. 1.1222-9, 4.1149-51) is already in Homer (*Od.* 6.123-4, *Il.* 20.8-9, *RE* XVII 1532-3); it may be relevant that Callimachus wrote a monograph Περὶ νυμφῶν (fr. 413).

ἄμορβάδες 'companions', cf. Call. *h.* 3.45 θυγατέρας Λητωίδι πέμπτον ἄμορβούς.

ἀγρόμεναι: the openings of 881-2 reproduce those of *Od.* 6.105-6; A.'s verse suggests that he knew the reading ἀγρόμεναι in Homer, not necessarily that he approved of it, if he knew another as well, cf. above, p. 36.

882 Ἀμνισίδος: Fränkel's Ἀμνισίδες is tempting as it gives better internal balance to the clause and more point to αὐτῆς, but the resulting rhyme with ἄμορβόδες in the previous line may be thought to produce an undesirable sameness in the verses. Unfortunately, Virgil's imitation of this passage at *Aen.* 1.498-502 does not help with this detail, cf. Clausen (1987) 21.

λιπούσαι: the transmitted δὴ ἄλλαι clearly arises from 872. No proposal can be considered certain, but Nonnus has αἱ δὲ λιπούσαι | ἄλσαα of nymphs (14.210-11).

883-4 Two epic models are important here. (i) At *Il.* 13.27-8 the creatures of the sea leap for joy around Poseidon's chariot. The passage as a whole has much in common with the opening of *Od.* 6, and so, as often, A. has taken an idea from one Homeric passage and used it in his reworking of a parallel piece of Homer. The contrast between joy and fear increases the menace of Medea's appearance. (ii) In *h. Aphr.* the wild beasts fawn around Aphrodite as she goes to visit Anchises and she instils in them the desire to mate, unlike the huntress Artemis who fills them with fear (vv. 69-74); the echo of that scene shows that there is more to Medea than just virginal beauty. The transition from Artemis to Aphrodite is skilfully made by two details in the Homeric hymn immediately before the passage just described: Aphrodite goes to *Ida πολυπίδακα* (v. 68, cf. 883 in the same *sedes*) which is described as μητέρα θηρῶν; it is Artemis of the fields who is πότνια θηρῶν (*Il.* 21.470).

885-6 The people avoid Medea's gaze not just out of deference to a princess, but for fear of the magical powers she carries in her eyes (cf. 4.145, 1669-72); at 4.727-9 the poet says that the descendants of Helios are recognisable by the brilliant gleam in their eyes.

889 αὐτόθι 'immediately', emphasising Medea's eagerness, cf. *LfggrE* s.v. 3. Others understand 'there', which is colourless.

891-2 ὦ φίλοι: Medea speaks like a tragic heroine to her chorus, cf., e.g., *Eur. Med.* 227, 765, 1236.

οὐδ' ἐνόησα | μὴ ἴμεν 'I did not realise that I should not go...'; for the construction cf. *Od.* 11.62-3, and for the hiatus in the first foot cf.

718, *Il.* 15.46 τῆι ἴμεν. Only gradually does Medea reveal to her maids that she has actually made a rendezvous with Jason; she begins as if her feelings are just the same as those of all the Colchians.

μετ' 'among'.

893-5 Medea explains why there is no one else at the temple, and therefore nothing for them to do; normally they would be much concerned with the requests of the women of the town who would gather at Hecate's temple for a variety of social and religious reasons. That Medea left early in the morning to go to the temple will have seemed to the maids merely part of the normal routine (cf. 251-2). On this day, however, no one has come, for fear of the strangers who are roaming around.

ἀμηχανίη: i.e. the townspeople have no idea how to get rid of these unwanted strangers.

τὸ καί 'and therefore', cf. LSJ s.v. ὁ Α VIII.3.

ἀγέρονται: Hellenistic poets use both ἀγείρ- and ἀγερ- as the present stem of this verb, cf. Marxer (1935) 12-13, Gow on Theocr. 17.94.

896 ἄλλος: the generalising masculine (K-G 1 82-3), but Medea has a very particular male in mind.

897-9 Nausicaa and her servants played ball on the beach while their washing dried. Here Medea suggests a similar pastime, but in particular she reveals her desire by creating 'the circumstances in which rape regularly occurs' (Campbell (1983) 61). Persephone, Creusa (*Eur. Ion* 888-90) and Europa are merely three examples of the many virgins in Greek myth who were raped (in either sense) while picking flowers; in particular, groups of young girls engaged in the worship of Artemis were especially vulnerable (cf. Burkert (1985) 150), and thus the simile of 876-84 has prepared for this nuance here. The corresponding simile in Valerius Flaccus in fact has Persephone dancing with Athena and Artemis (5.343-9).

μολπή 'games', not merely 'singing', cf. 949-50, *Od.* 6.101. The meaning of μολπή in Homer was much discussed in antiquity (*Livrea* on 4.894).

αὐτήν... ὥρην 'at the same hour [as usual]', cf. 417.

900 ἴκοισθε: the potential optative avoids a straightforward untruth. Medea's stress throughout this speech on the gifts she is supposed to be receiving (906, 909-10) is not merely an attempt to persuade her servants by bribery; it is also designed to make her μήτις

(912) believable. The gifts would be a visible sign to the maids that she is telling the truth, but, more importantly, a proof of her cunning and intellectual superiority over the Greek stranger; they would also be sufficient reason by themselves to engage in this deception. Cf. the stress on gifts throughout the *Odyssey*, and, particularly, Penelope's deceitful eliciting of gifts from the suitors (18.250-303).

902 **παρατρέπει** 'seeks to corrupt'.

903-4 The parenthesis seeks to reproduce the excited syntax of young girls conspiring together. The request for secrecy is again (cf. 891n.) reminiscent of a tragic heroine and her chorus, cf. Eur. *Med.* 259-70, 822-3.

905 **ὁ τις**: the indefinite suggests Medea's ignorance and lack of personal interest in the stranger.

περί: cf. ἀμφί in 823. In Homer, περί with the dative expresses what one fights *for*, not *with*.

907 **ἐπήνεον**: deliberately ambiguous. 'Praised' can, but need not, mean 'approved', 'agreed to'.

908 This is not strictly true (cf. 738-9, 782), but Medea is finding it increasingly difficult to separate reality from her desires. In fact, it will require the intervention of Hera to bring this situation about (cf. 931). Medea's words also reassure her maids that they will not have to deal with a large gang of strange men.

909 **δασόμεσθα**: either a future (cf. 737n.) or a short-vowel aorist subjunctive in parallel with πρόρωμεν.

μετὰ σφίσιον 'among ourselves'.

911 **μοι** 'please', the so-called 'ethic dative' (K-G I 423).

912 **ἐπίκλοπος...μητις**: cf. 781n. The maids have, of course, themselves been deceived by the 'crafty plan'. ἐπίκλοπος here also suggests 'thieving': Medea's scheme is going to trick gifts out of Jason.

913 The echo of 908 shows that the Greek side too is now moving towards the rendezvous.

914-15 Cf. 825-7n.

ὄτ' ἤδη 'as soon as'.

ιερόν: for the stress on the temple's sanctity cf. 981. The epithet helps to justify Mopsus' rôle in the expedition. He had been instrumental in getting the Argonauts to seek Medea's help (543-54), and he may come in useful at the temple; in fact, A. needs him to interpret the speech of a crow. It is quite probable that Idmon had an analogous

function in Eumelus' *Corinthiaca* (cf. 1354-6a n., above, p. 15) and in the *Naupactia* (cf. 540-4n., fr. 6-8 Kinkel), although no actual reference to him as a go-between for Jason and Medea survives from those poems. If so, A. acknowledges his debt to the tradition, and then surprises us by pulling Mopsus (and Argos) out of the way.

917-18 Mopsus can interpret bird omens (cf. 540-4, 1.1084-1102), but also give good advice to those going on a journey. For the importance of omens (which may not be obvious to an untrained observer) at the start of a journey, cf., e.g., Theocr. 18.16-17, Hor. *C.* 3.27.15-16. For the anaphoric ἐσθλός cf. 1.106-7 (of another man with special foreknowledge, Tiphys the steersman), Hes. *Theog.* 435-9, Tyrtaeus, fr. 5.3 West.

ἐνισπεῖν 'tell of', 'name', hence 'interpret'.

919-25 Just as Medea on her approach to the temple was compared to Artemis, so here Jason approaches in a special glow: the two passages focus attention on the principals whose meeting will be the climax of the two journeys. The beautification of a hero by a god is familiar from Homer, cf. Zeus and Agamemnon at *Il.* 2.482 (echoed here in 922). Particularly important is *Od.* 6.229-37 where Athena makes Odysseus especially handsome for Nausicaa. Whereas, however, Odysseus had first approached Nausicaa naked and filthy, Jason will approach in a brilliant gleam.

923 'both to look directly at and to [hear] speaking'. The awkward change of subject is eased by the idea of two-way communication in προτιμυθήσασθαι.

924-5 Cf. 1.1230 (Hylas) κάλλει καὶ γλυκερῆσιον ἐρευθόμενον χαρίτεσσιν, *Od.* 6.237 (Odysseus after beautification by Athena) κάλλει καὶ χάρισι στίλβων' θηεῖτο δὲ κούρη, *Il.* 3.392 (Paris waiting for Helen). *Od.* 6.237 was also echoed (with typical differences) when Medea last saw Jason at 443-4, and this links the two meetings together.

αὐτοὶ ἐταῖροι: what then will be the effect on Medea!

926 **που**: A. frequently distances himself from his narrative in this way, as though he were reporting events of which he himself was not the author and for whose veracity he takes no responsibility, cf. Fränkel (1968) 502. Here, where the που refers to unexpressed thoughts (cf. 1.1037), the device is particularly piquant: the poet does not know for certain whether his seer had certain foreknowledge.

927-31 A narrative style of a very common type, cf. 4.982, *Il.*

2.811-15 (a tree), Hopkinson on Call. *h.* 6.37. Schneider's ἔσκε for ἔστι is adopted by Fränkel and may find support in Call. *h.* 6.37-8, 'there was a poplar (αἴγειρος), a tall tree reaching the sky, | near which (τῷ ἐπι, though the text is uncertain)...'; for Callimachean echoes in the present passage cf. below. The present tense is, however, regular in such descriptions in Homer, and A. here displays his knowledge of Colchian geography, cf. 200-9. Ovid possibly had this passage in mind at *Her.* 12.67-9 (Medea to Jason), *est nemus et piceis et frondibus ilicis atrum; | uix illuc radiis solis adire licet. | sunt in eo - fuerant certe - delubra Dianae*, which plays with the temporal problems raised by this narrative form.

πεδίοιο κατὰ στίβον 'along their path in the plain'; others understand πεδίοιο as a separate locative genitive (K-G 1 384-5).

κομώσσα: cf. Theocr. 7.8-9 αἴγειροι πετέλαι τε... χλωροῖσιν πετάλοισι κατηρέφεις κομώσσαι.

κορώναι: two passages of Callimachus introduce talking crows (*Iambus* 4 = fr. 194, and *Hecale* fr. 260 = *SH* 288); A. may well owe a further debt to Callimachus here (cf. 932-3, 937nn.), but its precise nature can no longer be established. Later literature associates crows with weddings and marriage (Aelian, *NA* 3.9, D'A. W. Thompson, *A glossary of Greek birds*² (London 1936) 170-1), and this may be an element in A.'s choice. They are familiar as birds of omen and prophecy in Roman literature, but not in Greek before A.; cf., however, the crow's rôle in informing Apollo, the god of prophecy, of the unfaithfulness of Coronis (Pind. *Pyth.* 3. etc.).

βουλαῖς 'chided [him] through the will of Hera'; the transmitted βουλάς 'spoke [cf. 475n.] the will of Hera' is awkward, and for the absence of an object with ἠνάπατε cf. *Od.* 18.78.

932-3 The similarity between these verses and Call. *h.* 2.106, (Envy to Apollo) οὐκ ἄγαμαι τὸν αἰοῖδὸν ὃς οὐδ' ὅσα πόντος αἰδεῖ, has given rise to a vast discussion; there is a useful summary by E. L. Bundy, *C.S.C.A.* 5 (1972) 40-1. Some link between the two passages is not improbable, given the many signs of Callimachean influence in this part of the book, but we have no way of telling the nature of the link.

οἶδε νόωι φράσσασθαι 'knows how to conceive in his mind'; this curious phrase mockingly picks up 918 and prepares for κακοφραδῆς 936 and περιφραδέως 947. The origin of the phrase may be *Il.* 10.247 (Odysseus) ἔπει περίοιδε νοῆσαι.

934 ἔρατὸν... ἔπος 'a word of love'.

936 The two κακο- compounds pick up, respectively, 917 and 918; Mopsus is not ἑσθλός in either of the claimed spheres.

κακόμαντι: i.e. κακός μάντις, not μάντις κακῶν which is the meaning of the word at Aesch. *Pers.* 10 and *Sept.* 722; it appears from the scholia that the meaning of μάντι κακῶν at *Il.* 1.106 was disputed.

937 ἐπιπνεύουσιν 'inspire [as a prophet]', cf. Call. fr. 260.50 ('how the Thiriae inspire (ἐπιπνεύουσι) the old crow'), and 'inspire with love or knowledge of love', cf. Theocr. 12.10 (with Gow's note), Richardson on *h. Dem.* 238. For the conception of love as a breath of air cf. 967-72n.

941 δῆεις 'you will find'; this verb always has a future sense.

ἀντιβολήσεις: cf. 176-81n.

942 Dr Feeney suggests that Mopsus, truly a κακόμαντις, mistakes where responsibility lies, in thinking that Aphrodite is behind the whole matter: 'one prophet has been misled by another (Phineus)'. Rather, however, Hera and Aphrodite are working together in the one divine force which controls the destiny of Jason and Medea; Aphrodite has given herself over completely into Hera's service, and fine distinctions of responsibility are not maintained.

ἐννεσίηις: cf. 29n.

943 Cf. 548-51, 2.423-4.

946 παρατροπέων: this verb may be morally neutral, 'persuade', but the pejorative sense 'corrupt' is clearly felt here, especially after παρατρέπει in 902.

947 Both Jason and Medea have now shed their companions. Lines 913-47 do not break the temporal sequence, and 948 follows directly in time from 912.

σχεδόν 'immediately'.

949-51 μελπομένης: cf. 897-9n.

πᾶσαι... ἀμήχανος 'All games, whichever one she played, it did not please her to amuse herself with for long, but she kept stopping, quite distracted.' For this 'broken' syntax cf. 192-3n.; Campbell (1983) 66 suggests that it reflects Medea's state of mind.

952 κελεύθους: the plural, if correct, marks Medea's uncertainty as to the direction from which Jason will approach and increases the pathos of her situation.

953 Alliteration (cf. 71n.) suggests the quickness and emotional excitement of her furtive glances.

954-5 Literally, 'often indeed her heart was broken out of her chest, whenever she doubted [18-19n.] the sound [i.e. the origin of the sound] of a foot or wind hurrying past'.

στηθέων: i.e. ἐκ στηθέων, cf. 962, *Il.* 10.94-5 κραδίη δέ μοι ἔξω | στηθέων ἐκθρόωσκει, G. Giangrande, *C.Q.* n.s. 17 (1967) 96-7; others understand a locative 'in the chest' (K-G 1 384-5). The verb seems to have been taken over from a strictly physical use such as *Od.* 10.559-60 (Eīpenor) ἐκ δέ οἱ αὐχὴν | ἀστραγάλων ἕαγη, perhaps under the influence of the Homeric ἦτορ κατεκλάσθη. It is very unlikely to be corrupt, cf. *HE* 622-3, Quint. Smyrn. 1.204. For the aorist of repeated action cf. *Il.* 3.232, Bulloch on Call. *h.* 5.65.

δοάσαι: Σ glosses as ἔδοξεν ἀκούειν, and there is certainly an element of this: she is unsure not only what sounds mean, but also whether she has actually heard anything at all. The motif is a common one, cf. Nisbet-Hubbard on Hor. *C.* 1.23.4, Campbell (1983) 68.

956-61 A reworking of *Il.* 22.25-32, 'Old Priam was the first to see Achilles with his eyes, gleaming like a star as he hurried over the plain, a star which comes at harvest time and its rays shine brightly (ἀρίζηλοι) amidst the many other stars at the dead of night. This star men call by the name of "Orion's dog" [i.e. Sirius, one star of *Canis maior*]. It is the brightest star, but it is an evil sign, and brings great fever upon wretched mortals.' For the meeting of Medea and Jason likened to that of Achilles and Hector cf. 964-5n., 1105n.; a further echo of Diomedes' entry into battle at *Il.* 5.5-6 also marks the rewriting of martial epic into quite new patterns, cf. Beye (1982) 64. For Priam, the appearance of Achilles portends the imminent death of his dearest son. For Medea, the appearance of her beloved (also coming over a plain) brings a fierce intensification of love's burning heat and foreshadows the ruin to come: like a poor sheep, she can do nothing to protect herself from the heat which powers beyond her control drive down upon her; contrast Theocr. 12.8-9 where the appearance of the beloved brings cool relief from the burning heat. This passage forms a counterpart to 1.774-81 where Jason is compared to the Evening Star, the star of marriage and fertility, as he approaches Hypsipyle's palace; here the simile is much less promising. Sirius' rising near the end of July marked the onset of the hottest days of the year when men were most exposed to sickness (Hippocr. *Aer.* 11, West on Hes. *WD* 417); Hesiod says that women are 'most wanton' (μαχλόταται) during this period

(*WD* 586), which has an obvious relevance to Medea's situation. The damage which the appearance of the star portends for flocks links the simile with the corresponding simile in *Od.* 6, where Odysseus approaching Nausicaa and her maids is compared to a hungry lion ravaging flocks (vv. 130-4); Homer too had there used the language of an Iliadic duel to describe an erotic encounter, cf. above, p. 30.

ἐλδομένην ἐφράνθη: an echo of 819 makes clear that Jason's brightness is the brightness for which Medea has waited during her 'long night'.

ὑψός' ἀναθρόωσκων: cf. *Il.* 22.34 ὑψός' ἀνασχόμενος (of Priam in his grief); the echo stresses that Jason's appearance will have disastrous consequences. The participle refers not merely to Sirius' rising, but also to Jason's manly step, cf. *Il.* 22.24 (Achilles immediately before the Sirius simile) λαιψηρά πόδας καὶ γούνατ' ἐνώμα, 3.22 μακρὰ βιβάντα, 13.371 ὑπὶ βιβάντα.

ἔσπετον: it may be relevant that this word seems to have been connected or confused with ἄσπε(σ)τος (*Lfgre* s.vv.), as 'unquenchable' would be very appropriate in the context of the terrible heat which both sheep and Medea feel.

κάματον...δυσίμερον 'the sickening distress of desire'. κάματος, which is virtually synonymous with οἰζύς (cf. 4.1374, *Il.* 15.365) and recalls the onset of Medea's love (289), denotes both physical and emotional distress, and the epithet also looks forward to the unhappy end of her passion. Both words are picked up in the proem to Book 4 to mark the progressive stages of her story, cf. Hunter (1987) 134.

962-3 A careful reworking of 724-6. The three crucial stages of Medea's love - the first sight of Jason, Chalciope's request for assistance and Jason's appearance at the temple - are linked by three variations on a description of her physical reaction, 288-90, 724-6, 962-3.

αὐτως 'of their own accord', 'without more ado'.

964-5 Temporary paralysis is a common symptom of erotic passion, as of other strong emotions, cf. Theocr. 2.110 (Simaita's reaction as Delphis enters her house) ἐπάγην δαγῦδι καλὸν χροῶ πάντοθεν ἴσα, *HE* 3214-17 (where it is again connected with burning heat from the beloved), Bulloch on Call. *h.* 5.83-4. The motif prepares for 967-72, where Jason and Medea are compared to tall trees, by suggesting that Medea's feet take root in the ground, cf. Ovid, *Met.* 1.548 (Daphne turning into a tree) *torpor grauis occupat artus*. At *Il.* 22.451-3

Andromache describes her reaction to the wailing which she fears signals Hector's death, ἐν δ' ἐμοὶ αὐτῆι | στήθεσι πάλλεται ἦτορ ἀνά στόμα, νέρθε δὲ γούνα | πῆγνυται, cf. 956-61n. The same scene was echoed at the very first appearance of the Argonauts in the palace (254-6n.): the deadly combat of Achilles and Hector has become what Hector said it could not be (*Il.* 22.126-8), an exchange of words of love between a young man and a girl.

γούνατα: Sirius burns 'the head and the knees' (*Hes. WD* 587), and at *Od.* 18.212 the suitors' 'knees are loosed' as they are overcome with desire for Penelope; the knees were once thought of as a seat of sexual and generative power, cf. Onians (1954) 174-86, B. Gladigow, *Rh.M.* 111 (1968) 357-74.

967-72 The comparison of people to trees is a common one (Pease on *Virg. Aen.* 4.441). Of particular relevance is *Il.* 12.131-4 '[Leonteus and Polypoites] stood in front of the tall gates like lofty oaks in the mountains, which constantly endure the wind and the rain, fixed by the great, long roots'; the two warriors are compared to trees unmoved in the face of a fierce storm, but Medea and Jason will soon move in the breaths of love - strength gives way to delicacy and sensitivity. The simile also stresses the beauty of Jason and Medea; cf. *Od.* 6.107 (Artemis' height) and Odysseus' comparison of Nausicaa to a tall palm-tree at *Od.* 6.162-7. The idea of love as a wind is found already in archaic poetry (Sappho, fr. 47 LP-V, Ibycus 286) and has been foreshadowed in 687 and 937; in Plato's *Symposium*, Pausanias speaks of those 'inspired' (ἐπιπνοὶ) by love (181c5). The prospective nature of the simile (μέλλον) is highly unusual: we follow the conversation in the knowledge of where it is leading, cf. Carspecken (1952) 86-7.

ἄνεωι καὶ ἄναυδοι: cf. 502-4n. The phrase occurs again with bitter irony at 4.693 as Medea and Jason await Circe's purification for the murder of Apsyrtus.

ἦ...ἦ: cf. 757-8n.

παρᾶσσον: the meaning is uncertain. 'Immediately' (cf. 17n.) is impossible, but 'side by side' (cf. ἄσσον) would stress the trees' common stillness which is soon to be disturbed by the wind. Others understand 'at first', a possible, even if not certainly attested, meaning for this word, cf. Fraenkel on *Aesch. Ag.* 737.

ἐρρίζωνται: the strong spondaic ending may be intended to represent the firm hold of the roots, cf. 670n.

ὀμάδησαν 'rustle'; the verb may refer to any indistinct or confused sound (cf. 564-5n.), and there is no need to imagine a violent storm, as in the Homeric model. The idea is close to that of [*Theocr.*] 27.58 (Daphnis to the girl he is seducing) 'the cypresses are telling each other of your marriage'. For the aorist in a simile cf. 1329, 1371, *MT*² §§ 158, 547-8.

973-4 Jason realises from Medea's demeanour that she is not entirely in control of her actions and he senses the hand of the divine, of which Mopsus has already given him warning; cf. *Ovid, Her.* 12.37 (Medea to Jason) *perfidie, sensisti - quis enim bene celat amorem?* In Book 4 both Medea herself (4.412-13) and others (4.1080-2) claim that forces beyond her control 'took away her wits' when she gave Jason the drug; for this sense of ἄτη, basic to the Homeric poems, cf. E. R. Dodds, *The Greeks and the irrational* (Berkeley 1951) 5.

ἐνιπεπτηγυῖαν: here and at 1312 this form is from πίπτω, at 321 from πτήσσω, cf. *Livrea* on 4.93.

ὑποσσαιίνων: cf. 396n. Like κυδαίνων in 1008, ὑποσσαιίνων stresses how Jason's words both please Medea and flatter her sense of her own importance; the participle also calls attention to the questionable truth of what he has to say.

975 ἄζειαι: elsewhere in *Arg.* only of religious feelings: it picks up θευμορίη to suggest the extent of Medea's apparent awe. This situation reverses that of *Od.* 6.168-9 where Odysseus pretends (?) to feel awe in front of Nausicaa in order to win her over. The opening of Jason's speech reverses the pattern of his meeting with Hypsipyle in Book 1: there, despite her *aidos*, she had encouraged him μῦθοισι... αἰμυλίοισι with an initial question and the observation that he had nothing to fear (1.792-6), and it was Hypsipyle who misled Jason about recent 'history', as Jason is to do here (997-1004).

976 δυσουχέες 'insolent and boastful'. The precise nuance is uncertain, but in the context it is difficult not to think of the arrogant Delphis in *Theocr.* 2 (esp. vv. 114-25, cf. 964-5n.); Homer uses *κενεαυχής* of those whose deeds do not match their words (*Il.* 8.230). Perhaps Jason means that he is not going to relay to others whatever passes between them, and therefore Medea should speak freely (979); in particular he will not boast of his relationship with a foreign princess, cf. Beye (1982) 138. Campbell (1983) 71 understands 'too busy singing his own praises to listen' to what she has to say. It seems

likely that Jason is also referring to standard characteristics of the two sexes: 'I am not a braggart, as men usually are; therefore, don't you (κούρη) be like other women who use sweet but deceitful words.'

977 πάτηρη: this reference to Greece is a further (cf. 678-80n.) preparation for Medea's flight.

979 παρέξ: whether this is treated as an adverb or as a prefix with the following infinitive, the meaning is doubtful. There is no clear example of the expected sense 'of your own accord', 'without prompting'. 'To speak παρέξ' in Homer was interpreted as 'to speak wrongly', 'speak inappropriately' (*Σ^{PT} Il.* 12.213), which is clearly impossible here. Campbell understands 'in passing', 'incidentally'.

981 To be read with 980 rather than 982; for the pregnant sense of *ἐν*, which is best translated as 'into', cf. LSJ s.v. 1.8.

ἵνα τ' 'where', cf. 1290, Ruijgh (1971) 469-75.

982-3 The idea that 'sweet' words are also deceptive is very common, cf. Aesch. *Ag.* 492 *τερπνὸν τὸδ' ἔλθὸν φῶς ἐφήλωσεν φρένας*. Jason's words are full of irony: it is he who is deceiving with sweet words and he who does not speak ἀφοσίη. His appeal to the sanctity of the temple enclosure is double-edged in these circumstances.

984 μενοεικέα 'providing [lit. 'suited to'] μένος'. This sense would also fit some Homeric passages where the word is usually understood to describe food as 'pleasant', 'agreeable'.

985 τοκήων: highly ironic in the circumstances, cf. 701-3n.

986-7 Jason uses the same plea to Medea (and the same chiasmus, though with the terms differently arranged) as Argos had used to him at 2.1131-3. Medea's Homeric model, Nausicaa, understood the potent force of this plea (*Od.* 6.207-8), and Medea is later to throw this back at Jason, cf. 4.358-9 *ποῦ τοι Διὸς ἴκεσίοιο | ὄρκια*; The *figura etymologica* in *ικέτης... ικάνω* also occurs in the main Homeric model, the plea of Odysseus to the Cyclops at *Od.* 9.266-71. The reference to Zeus's protection of strangers and suppliants foreshadows the god's wrath at the treacherous murder of Apsyrtus.

988 χρεοῖ ἀναγκαίη: this very strong phrase, taken from *Il.* 8.57 of the Trojans fighting for their women and children (cf. 994-5), piles the pressure on Medea - she has promised, he is a suppliant, a stranger and in the very greatest need. This is a further motif shared between this passage and *Od.* 6 (cf. Odysseus' 'need' at 136); Medea reworks the same Homeric passage in her plea to Arete (4.1014-28).

989 ὑμείων: plural for singular, cf. 640n.; *τοί* (987) ... *ὑμείων... σοί* (990) form an elegant pattern of variation. Others understand 'you and Chalciopé' or 'you and the gods' (cf. 985-6).

990-2 Cf. Jason's corresponding promise to Aietes at 391-2. *θέμις* is human custom sanctioned and, at least in part, laid down by the gods, cf. H. Lloyd-Jones, *The justice of Zeus*² (Berkeley 1983) 186-7; *ἐπιείκεια* appeals to a more purely human standard of 'fairness'. 'Those living apart' and 'when they have returned to Greece' (993) will obviously have a powerful effect on Medea's emotions.

993 κλήισουσιν 'will celebrate [you]', a contracted future of *κληρίζειν*. The emphatic anaphora at the head of 993-4 stresses the heroic status of the men whose safety depends upon Medea.

994-5 που: this need not express any real doubt nor cause us to doubt Jason's assertion, cf. *Il.* 2.136-7 (admittedly a speech of deception), 9.628. Jason's own parents showed extravagant grief at his departure (1.247-305, where *γούασκεν* and *ἀνίας* at the ends of 264-5 are picked up in 995-6). The detail does, however, foreshadow that part of the myth of Ariadne which Jason is going to omit, as the echo in *ἐφεζομένη* (1001) makes clear, cf. Campbell (1983) 72.

997-1004 Jason uses a *παράδειγμα* or *exemplum* drawn from 'recent history' to strengthen his case. Tradition told that after she had come to Athens to live with Aegeus, Medea tried various ways to kill Aegeus' son Theseus, whom she perceived as a threat to her (cf. Call. *Hecale* fr. 230-3); these events preceded Theseus' trip to Crete which resulted in Ariadne's elopement with him. Jason, however, tells Medea the story of Theseus and Ariadne as an event of history; A. marks this chronological innovation by the disingenuous *δή ποτε*. Some versions had made Theseus himself an Argonaut, and A. takes pains in the Catalogue to explain his absence from the expedition (1.101-3). Jason's manipulation of both story and chronology mark his manipulation of Medea, cf. C. Weber, *T.A.P.A.* 113 (1983) 263-71. For Homeric precedent for this technique cf. M. M. Willcock, *C.Q.* n.s. 14 (1964) 141-54.

The story of Theseus and Ariadne is A.'s equivalent of Odysseus' wish of a happy marriage for Nausicaa (*Od.* 6.180-5); in both passages, the male speaker exploits the disturbed feelings of a young girl by allowing her to conclude or hope for more than he has actually said. Theseus (*RE* Suppl. XIII 1045-1238) is an important 'rôle-model' for

Jason. Like Jason, Theseus returned to his native city (Athens) after an upbringing somewhere else, passed a test of cunning and daring which involved a fierce bull (the Minotaur), and had to prove himself against a descendant of Helios, Minos (cf. the story of Theseus' descent to the ocean floor in Bacchylides 17); for further parallels cf. Hunter (1988) 449-50. Ariadne, like Medea, was a granddaughter of Helios, and eloped with Theseus after helping him to survive the test of the labyrinth, a test which involved her, as Medea was similarly to be involved, in the death of her 'brother', the Minotaur (cf. Cat. 64.150, 181); Theseus then abandoned her (cf. 1069n.) on the island of Dia (Naxos) where she was found and loved by Dionysus. Jason's words in 1000 and 1100 hint at a version in which Minos formally gave Ariadne to Theseus, as Hes. *Theog.* 992-4 suggests that Aietes gave Medea to Jason (cf. 620-3n.); it is probable that A. had (? Cretan) sources for such a version (cf. *FGH Hist* 328 F 17a with Jacoby's commentary, 1106-7n., H. Herter, *Rh.M.* 91 (1942) 228-37), but, in any event, the poetic strategy is clear. Hypsipyle was the granddaughter of Ariadne and Dionysus, and so Hypsipyle-Jason, Medea-Jason, Ariadne-Theseus and Ariadne-Dionysus are all seen to be part of the same pattern and thus mutually illustrative. Jason performs his magic in a robe that was given to him by Hypsipyle (1204-6), Apsyrtus is lured to his death by a robe which the Graces had made for Dionysus on Dia and on which he and Ariadne had made love (4.424-34), just as Jason and Medea make love on the fleece (4.1141-2; for the parallelism cf. 4.184-6, 428-9). For further discussion cf. Bulloch (1985) 594-5, Fusillo (1985) 69-71, 307-10.

The Ptolemies claimed a blood relationship to Dionysus, and this god was very important in the royal cults of Alexandria (Fraser (1972) 1 201-7, E. E. Rice, *The grand procession of Ptolemy Philadelphus* (Oxford 1983)); one of the demes of the tribe 'Dionysia' was 'the deme of Ariadne', although the name may not antedate Ptolemy Philopator (c. 244-205). Ariadne makes frequent appearances in the remains of Hellenistic poetry, and Herter loc. cit. suggested that poetry written under royal patronage cleared her of 'immoral' conduct. It is, however, doubtful that the Ptolemies would have been much put out by the elopement of one of their gods with a Greek hero or with the traditional account of events on Dia.

997-8 The appropriateness of the *exemplum* is stressed by verbal echo, ἀέθλων (cf. 989), παρθενική (cf. 975), ἔσφρονέουσ' (cf. 980).

ὑπελύσασ': Campbell (1983) 73 notes the possibility of 'released secretly', a common nuance of ὑπο- compounds.

999 Πασσιφάη κούρη... Ἡελίοιο both stresses Medea's family connection with this story, and points to the appropriateness of Pasiphae, 'Brightness everywhere', as the name for a daughter of the sun; cf. the name 'Phaethon' (245).

1000-4 μὲν... δέ referring to the same person has good parallels in both archaic and later epic (cf. G. R. McLennan, *Glotta* 53 (1975) 76-8), but here the device calls our attention to the lack of information about Theseus' behaviour: we would normally have expected him to be the subject of the δέ clause. The bridal crown which Dionysus gave to Ariadne was later catasterised as *Corona borealis*, cf. Arat. *Phaen.* 71-2, Call. fr. 110.59-61, Nisbet-Hubbard on Hor. *C.* 2.19.13; in some versions, Ariadne herself became immortal (Hes. *Theog.* 949, Fedeli on Prop. 3.17.7-8). Jason allows Medea to understand that the crown, whose origin he omits, was set in the heavens as the result of divine gratitude to Ariadne for saving Theseus.

νηός: the genitive after ἐπεζομένη varies the construction of 995.

ἀθάνατοι φίλαντο: pointedly ambiguous. The phrase may be understood of non-sexual affection, cf. 66, 4.990, Call. *h.* 3.185. There is a witty reworking of these verses (and of the Ariadne-motif as a whole) at Ovid, *Met.* 7.60-1 (Medea's monologue) *quo [sc. Iason] coniuge felix | et dis cara ferar et uertice sidera tangam.*

πάννυχος: the *Corona* is not in fact normally visible all night (cf. Newman (1986) 89), but the detail magnifies Ariadne's reward.

εἰδώλοισιν 'constellations'.

1007 ἐκ 'to judge from', LSJ s.v. III.7.

ἐπητήϊοι: the semantic field of this and related words covers both intelligence (*Od.* 13.332, 18.128) and 'friendliness' or 'good will' (2.987, *Od.* 21.306). The latter is more appropriate here. Jason's words call attention to the possible differences between appearance and substance. This theme is important for judging Jason's own speech and as a warning of what is to come: later history showed that 'lovely friendliness' was not always Medea's most striking characteristic.

κεκάσθαι (< κείνυμι) 'be equipped with' more probably than 'surpass in', but firm choice is hardly possible.

1008 κυδαίνων: cf. 973-4n.

ἐγκλιδὸν ὄσσε βαλοῦσα: cf. 22n. Here the gesture marks Medea's pleasure that Jason both needs her help and is not entirely indifferent

to her (1007); there is a clear echo of Hypsipyle's reaction to her first sight of Jason, 1.790-1 ἡ δ' ἐγκλιδὸν ὄσσε βαλοῦσα | παρθενικὴ ἐρύθημε παρηίδας.

1009-10 νεκτάρεον: cf. 832n. This prepares for the image of liquid in χύθη.

χύθη 'dissolved into liquid', cf. 286-90n., 1020-1, Onians (1954) 33-8, 202.

ἀειρομένης: cf. 371n.

1012 ἄμυδις: cf. 725-6n.

1013 προπρό: adverbial, 'eagerly', cf. 453-8n.

μίτρης: cf. 867-8n. The repetition of the 'formula' θυώδεος...μίτρης marks the completion of her purpose.

1014 For Jason's joy on similar occasions, cf. 4.93, 170-1, Hunter (1987) 132.

1015-16 ἀρύσσαα 'drawing off [like a liquid]', a continuation of the imagery of 1009. The phrase may be a further (cf. 135n.) reminiscence of Empedocles, cf. fr. 138 D-K χαλκῶι ἀπὸ ψυχῆν ἀρύσσας, but *Il.* 16.505 (Patroclus killing Sarpedon) was very probably influential in the development of the image, τοῖο δ' ἄμα ψυχῆν τε καὶ ἔγχεος ἐξέρυσ' αἰχμῆν. The Iliadic verse suggests Jason's baneful effect upon Medea - she would happily die for him.

ἀγαιομένη χατέοντι 'exulting in his need for her'. Others understand 'would have given it to him exultingly, if he had asked for it'.

1017 ξανθοῖο: cf. 829n., 1.1084, Ovid, *Her.* 12.11 *flavi...capilli* of Jason. Relevant is [Arist.] *Physiog.* 812a16 'Those with sandy hair (ξανθοί) are brave; the model is the lion.'

1018 στράπτεν...ἀπό 'flashed forth'. Such a separation of verb and prefix (which retains its normal accent) in anastrophe (832n.) is very rare. The verse continues the notion of Jason's special gleam (925, 956-61), and repeats in a different form the arrow-shot of 281-4: there Eros shot Medea from beside Jason, here the flame (which is like an arrow) comes from his head. Hence we should print Ἔρωσ, rather than ἔρωσ. Here, however, the effect is more powerful, as Jason has come specially to see her - contrast 287-8 with 1018-19. For the flash or 'lightning' of love cf. Soph. fr. *474 Radt, Gow-Page on *HE* 4604ff.

ἡδεῖαν...φλόγα: the oxymoron expresses what Sappho meant by

calling Eros a γλυκύτερον ἀμάχανον ὄριπτον (fr. 130.2). Plutarch explained that Eros was always represented with a torch because 'the brightness of fire is the sweetest thing, but its power to burn the most painful' (fr. *135 Sandbach).

τῆς δ'...ἠρπαζεν 'snatched the bright glances [cf. 288] of her eyes', cf. Ovid, *Am.* 2.19.19 *tu quoque, quae nostros rapuisti nuper ocellos* etc. This is a reversal of the common idea that one is caught by the beloved's eyes, cf. Pind. fr. *123.2-4, 10-12 S-M, which also has the image of liquid, 'whoever, seeing the sparkling rays (ἀκτῖνας...μαρμαρυζοίσας) from the eyes of Theoxenus, does not drown on a wave of desire... but I melt away (τάκομαι, cf. 1020-1)...'

1019-21 The model is a much discussed simile at *Il.* 23.597-9 which describes Menelaus' joy when Antilochus cedes the prize of a horse to him, τοῖο δὲ θυμὸς | ἰάνθη ὡς εἴ τε περὶ σταχέσσιν ἔερση | ληίου ἀλδήσκοντος, ὅτε φρίσσουσιν ἄρουραι, cf. G. E. R. Lloyd, *Polarity and analogy* (Cambridge 1966) 188-9. A.'s simile may seek to explain, as well as to echo, the Homeric text (cf. Erbse on Σ ad loc.). Homeric concision has been replaced by an elegant chiasmus of vocabulary set into matching verbal phrases (ἰαίνετο...τηκομένη, τήκεται...ἰαινομένη), and the Homeric picture of nature's bounty by a picture of the non-utilitarian beauty of nature, cf. Carspecken (1952) 70. The image looks conventional (cf. Sappho, fr. 96.12-13 LP-V), but may not be: it is primarily later erotic literature which gave the rose such a prominent position in poetic simile, cf. Nisbet-Hubbard on Hor. *C.* 1.5.1, Bulloch on Call. *h.* 5.28. These verses may well have been in Ovid's mind at *Met.* 3.487-90 (Narcissus) *ut intabescere flavae | igne leui cereae matulinaeque pruinae | sole tepente solent, sic attenuatus amore | liquitur et tecto paulatim carpitur igni.*

ἰαίνετο: the 'fire of love' is working, cf. Alcman 59a ἔρωσ...καρδίαν ἰαίνει.

τηκομένη: dew 'melts' when it evaporates. Medea's emotional turmoil has now passed beyond mere 'liquefaction'.

ῥοδέεσσιν: if correct, this will be formed by analogy and extension from the third declension datives of such words as δένδρον, cf. K-B 1 505-6. Brunck's ῥοδήσιον, 'rose-bushes', is an attractive proposal.

φράεσσιν 'rays of light'.

1022-3 Cf. 22n.

σφίσι 'each other'.

1024 The conjunction of a smile with 'bright brows' (cf. Richardson on *h. Dem.* 357-8) marks the mutual feeling (emphatic ὄμφω in 1022; contrast 1009), and prepares for the working of love on Jason at 1077-8. ἰμερόεν should be given its full force, as at 685. The phrase may echo Sappho, fr. 31.5 LP-V γελαιίσας ἰμερόεν.

1026-62 Σ informs us that in Sophocles' *Colchian Women* there was a scene of stichomythia in which Medea gave Jason instructions for the coming trial with the bulls.

1026 'Observe now how I shall devise a help for you' (μητίσομαι subjunctive, cf. *h. Ap.* 325a). Others understand 'take heed in order that I may...', but Medea seems to be stating the fact of her help.

1027 The 'unnecessary' ἔμός emphasises her betrayal.

1028 σπείρασθαι 'for sowing', epexegetic, cf. 1177.

1029-51 The main model for Medea's instructions is the necromantic scene in the *Odyssey* (10.516-40, 11.23-50). As in Homer, the hero first receives instructions and then carries them out (1191-1224), but A. is at pains to avoid the Homeric formula-style, cf. above, pp. 39-40.

1029 'wait for midnight which divides the night in two'. Chthonic sacrifice was naturally a nocturnal activity; for the specification of midnight cf. *PGM* vii 436, xia 4-5.

1030 ἀκαμάτοιο: a variation for ἀένσας (cf. 860-1n.).

1031 κυανέοισι: cf. 137-40n. Medea wore dark clothes to cut the Prometheus (863); Jason's choice of robe at 1205-6 comes as a surprise.

1032-4 βόθρον: a pit into which the blood of sacrificed animals drained and thus reached the nether world was a standard feature of chthonic ritual, cf. *Od.* 11.35-6, *Hor. Sat.* 1.8.28, Burkert (1985) 55-9. A.'s 'circular' pit is probably intended as an explanation of ἔνθα καὶ ἔνθα in the description of the Homeric pit (*Od.* 10.517, 11.25), cf. 1207n.

ὀρύξασθαι: imperatival infinitive, as in the Homeric model (*Od.* 10.517), but with the middle replacing the active, cf. *MT*² §784.

τῶι δ' ἐπι κτλ. 'Over the pit slit the throat of a female sheep and burn it whole, heaping up high a pyre on the very edge of the pit.' Such holocausts were particularly associated with chthonic ritual, cf. Burkert (1985) 63, although they have no place (except prospectively, cf. *Od.* 11.30-3) in Odysseus' dealings with the Underworld. In Homer ὠμοθετεῖν denotes the custom of placing on the altar or on the bones to

be burnt pieces of raw flesh from each limb of the animal as part of the gods' portion (cf. *Il.* 1.457-61, W. Burkert, *Homo necans* (Eng. trans., Berkeley 1983) 6); this practice was almost certainly obsolete in A.'s day, but he has changed the meaning of the verb to 'sacrifice', 'burn', and ἀδαίετον, 'unbroken', calls attention to the innovation.

τῶι δ' ἐπι: as the blood has to drain into the pit, the sacrifice is probably imagined to take place at its edge: this sense can be extracted from the transmitted ἐνι (cf. LSJ s.v. ἐν 1.8), but ἐπι is some improvement, even with the repetition in 1034. With either preposition, however, the reprise is clearly felt, and it may be that the effect, introduced by περιηγέα, is intended to mark the circularity of the pit: the description of the sacrifice begins and ends with it. There is a valuable discussion of this passage by M. Campbell, *C.Q.* n.s. 19 (1969) 280-1.

θῆλυν | ἀρνειόν: A. uses ἀρνειός, lit. 'ram', for 'sheep', thus varying *Od.* 10.527 οἶν ἀρνειόν ῥέζειν θῆλυν τε μέλαιναν, and creating a witty verbal effect with θῆλυς. The sex of the animal was an important consideration in sacrificial ritual, cf. P. Stengel, *Die griechischen Kultusaltertümer*⁸ (Munich 1920) 152-3.

ἀδαίετον 'unbroken', but the context hints at another (inappropriate) meaning, 'unburnt'.

εὖ: cf. 1209n.

1035-6 Ritual is frequently described in an ornate, highly poetic style, cf. Hunter on Eubulus fr. 75 (introduction); for such descriptions of honey cf. Aesch. *Pers.* 612 (a necromancy) τῆς τ' ἀνθεμουργοῦ στάγμα, παμφαῆς μέλι, Eur. *IT* 165 (libation to the dead) ζουθᾶν τε πόνημα μελισσᾶν. Here there is circumlocution, assonance (Περσηίδα... σιμβλήια), and *figura etymologica* (μελίσσοιο... μελισσέων). μουνουγενῆ: cf. 847n.

μελίσσοιο: cf. 525n. This word is *uox propria* for dealings with chthonic deities, although A. does not restrict it to that use. For the etymological link with μέλι cf. Σ Soph. *OC* 159, Chantraine, *DE* s.v. μέλιαι.

σιμβλήια ἔργα: cf. 4.1132-3 μελισσέων | ἔργα. κάματος, πόνος and ἔργον are frequently used for both honey and the labour that goes into it, cf. Hes. *WD* 305-6, *Theog.* 599 etc.; bees were proverbially hard-working, cf. Hor. *C.* 4.2.29-30 (Horace as a poetic bee) *per laborem* | plurimum.

1037 μεμνημένος 'remembering my instructions'.

1038-41 An interdiction on looking or turning around is a common feature of ritual or magic involving dangerous powers, cf. Soph. *OC* 490, Gow on Theocr. 24.96, Teufel (1939) 188-204. The word-order is elegantly poetic for the prosaic μηδέ σε ἡ δοῦπος ποδῶν ἢ ὑλάκη κυνῶν κτλ.

κυνῶν: cf. 749n.

κατὰ κόσμον 'in good order', a powerful understatement.

1043-5 Cf. 849-50.

οἱ: choice between two interpretations is difficult: (i) = σοι, cf. 1256 where ἀλήκη enters Jason. There is no good parallel for this, but post-Homeric epic is very free with its use of pronouns (cf. 98-9n.). Fränkel cut this knot by adopting E's τοι. (ii) = 'it', i.e. 'your body'. With either interpretation, ἰσαζέμεν will be intransitive, 'you would say that you are equal ...' The verses have a strong formal similarity to 1.158-9 where οἱ = 'to him'.

1046 πεπαλαγμένον 'sprinkled' (παλάσσω); in the parallel passage (1247, 1256) A. uses παλύνω for the sake of variety. For Jason's weapons cf. 415-16n., 1279-82.

1048 ἄσχετος '[otherwise] irresistible'.

1050 αὐτῆμαρ ὅμως σὺ γε: an ingenious variation on 850 κείνῃμαρ ὅμως: the sense is 'you won't be strong enough for very long, but only for that single day; [but don't worry about that], get on with it'. Vian adopts Fränkel's αὐτῆμαρ ὅμως: σὺ δέ 'for that one day equally', i.e. throughout the day.

1051 παρέξ 'further', cf. 195n.

1052-3 Word-order reinforces meaning: Jason's might (χερσὶ καὶ ἡνορέῃ) splits 'the whole field' and he ploughs 'through' the 'hard field'. There is a similar effect at 1331, and cf. Lucretius 1.451-2 with S. Hinds, *C.Q.* n.s. 37 (1987) 450-3. Others understand δία as 'completely'.

1054-5 Fränkel transposed the order of these verses because the warriors spring up after, not during, the sowing (1346-7, 1354-5); 1337-8 mark Jason's prudence in this matter. The point is well taken, and the present tense of σπείρομένων is difficult, whether 1055 is considered to be a genitive absolute or, as seems preferable, to depend upon ἀνασταχύωσι 'spring up from the dragon's teeth which are sown' (cf. 227, 957). Medea does not, however, give a full account (cf., e.g., 1345-53), and A. is at pains to preserve some information for the actual

scene of combat, as part of his avoidance of a 'formulaic' style. In these circumstances, it seems unwise to seek to remove this slight discrepancy.

γίγαντες: only here of the 'earthborn warriors', who, however, have much in common with the earthborn Giants of Greek myth, cf. Hes. *Theog.* 185-6, F. Vian in J.-P. Vernant (ed.), *Problèmes de la guerre en Grèce ancienne* (Paris 1968) 61-2. The parallel passage at 1355 uses γηγενέες, and the derivation of γίγας from γῆ was current in antiquity, cf. Soph. *Tr.* 1058-9, Eur. *Ph.* 128, *RE Suppl.* III 666.

1056 αἶ κεν: as often, the use of a conditional form does not imply that the matter is in doubt, cf. 2.1066.

1057-60 In Pherecydes' account of Cadmus, the frightened hero pelts the warriors with stones, and they kill each other, thinking that their brothers are attacking them (*FGH Hist* 3 F 22), and in Apollodorus, Jason is told by Medea to pelt the warriors from a hidden position (1.9.23, cf. 1057) and they then fight each other. Jason's deed is truly heroic (1365-9), but no reason is given why the warriors fight over the stone. It may be that, as the comparison to dogs suggests, the warriors believe the stone to contain nourishment, or they may fight over it because it is a piece of their mother (cf. Ovid, *Mét.* 1.393-4). In any case, the trick proves Jason's cunning (cf. ἄσχητος), and thus complements the ploughing which was rather a test of strength (1053).

καρχαλέοι 'fierce [with hunger]', cf. 4.1442 δίψῃ καρχαλέος of Heracles (the image is again of a dog, cf. 4.1393-5).

1059-60 'hasten to head straight for the battle', cf. 628-9n.

τοῖο γ' ἔκητι 'as far at any rate as the test is concerned [whatever else may occur afterwards]'.

1061-2 τηλοῦ ποθι is effectively placed at the end of the utterance to mark Medea's regret at this outcome.

νίσειο: an echo of Hypsipyle's speech of farewell (1.888), as are 1062 (cf. 1.890, 787n.), 1067-8 (cf. 1.886-7) and 1069 (cf. 1.896-7).

ἔαδεν: cf. 568n.

1063 Cf. 22n. Medea has not finished what she has to say (δέ in 1069), but as tears get the better of her, she tries to hide her face from Jason.

1065 ὅ τ' 'because', cf. Chantraine II 285-6.

1067-8 Cf. 1061-2n. This open gesture of affection, normally a male action, suggests an intimacy which no young girl should have

with a man who is not her husband (cf. 1068); so Odysseus takes Penelope's right wrist at *Od.* 18.258 as he gives her his parting advice. At 4.99-100 Jason seals his promise of marriage to Medea by returning the gesture.

ὀφθαλμούς: cf. 93n. Here the rôle of the eyes is strengthened by ἄντην.

1069 μνώεο 'remember', an imperatival form from μνάομαι, here exceptionally constructed with the accusative. Medea's plea, in itself a quite natural thing to say when parting (cf. Sappho, fr. 94.7-8 LP-V), both looks back to the farewells of Hypsipyle (cf. 1061-2n.) and Nausicaa (*Od.* 8.461-2) and forward to Medea's future history (cf. 4.383). The considerable stress in this scene on remembering and forgetting, however natural, is noteworthy (cf. 1079-80, 1109-17), and is to be connected with the *exemplum* of Ariadne. The reasons for Theseus' abandonment of her on Dia are not stated at 4.434, and are variously given in the tradition - unfaithfulness, a warning from the gods, loss by armed force, bad weather. Relevant is Σ Theocr. 2.45 which ascribes it to forgetfulness (sent by Dionysus), and this seems to be the version which Catullus adopts in Poem 64. A. exploits our knowledge of this story to lend a peculiar poignancy to Jason's promises. Virgil seems to have used the same idea in his reworking of 1079-80, *dum memor ipse mei* etc. (*Aen.* 4.336).

1071-4 Medea's questions about Jason's home and those parts of the world with which she has family connections prepare again (cf. 678-80n.) for her eventual flight to Greece.

πῆι... πῆι 'where... to where'.

ἐνθεν 'from here'; in 1094 the sense is 'from there'.

ἀφνειοῦ: cf. 2.1186. Minyas, the founder of Orchomenos (1093-5, 265-7n.), possessed legendary wealth; Pausanias records that he was the first man known to have built a treasury to store his money (9.36.7).

νήσου: Circe lives on the Italian coast (cf. 311-13n.), as Medea might have been expected to know, whereas Homer had placed her on an island; Jason seems to repeat the 'mistake' in picking up Medea's words in 1093. A. may be alluding to a belief that the 'Mountain of Circe' was originally an island separated from the mainland (cf. *RE* III 2566-7), but Medea's ignorance is characterised by making her adhere to a piece of Homeric geography which her own poet has rejected; in

particular, it is amusing that Medea asks about a place where she herself might easily live, as the distinction which A. draws between Αἴη and Αἰαίη νῆσος was far from universal, cf. above, p. 21. In 775 also, Medea seemed unaware of the details of the meeting between Aietes and the Argonauts at which she was present; this may be intended to reflect the distraction of her mind and senses (cf. 284-90, 444-8).

1075 ἀριγνώτην 'famous', with a suggestion of 'bright', like the constellation of which Medea has heard. This word (and cf. also τηλεκλειτήν and ἄγλαόν in 1097-8) may be designed as an explanation of the name Ἀριάδνη, which modern scholars derive from ἀδνή, a Cretan form of ἄγνή. In both passages the stress on 'naming' calls attention to the etymology, and here the juxtaposed Πασιφάης has already been explained (999n.). Hesychius α 7201 reports that there was a Cretan name Ἀριδήλα ('Very clear') for Ἀριάδνη, but Lobel's correction of Ἀριδήλα to Ἀριήδα seems certain, cf. Pfeiffer on Call. fr. 67.13.

1077-8 Echoes of 296-7 mark the fact that Jason now returns Medea's affection, and the repetition of 'destructive love' reminds us of the awful future in front of them. The situation has much in common with the disguised Odysseus' pity for the weeping Penelope (*Od.* 19.204-12).

ὑπήιτε 'stole over', cf. λάθρη in 296, Prop. 1.9.26 *acrius illa subit, Pontice, si qua tua est*.

παραβλήδην: cf. 106-7n., Hunter (1988) 446-7. To the reader, at least, Jason speaks 'deceitfully'.

1079 Jason's opening verse picks up Odysseus' promise to honour Nausicaa 'for all days' in his last words to her (*Od.* 8.467-8), just as Medea had begun with an echo of Nausicaa's last speech (1069).

1080 ἐπιλήσεισθαι: cf. 1069n.

1083 εὐάδε 'it pleases' (ἀνδάνω), cf. 568n.

1084 This verse infringes 'Wernicke's Law' (515-20n.), as does its Homeric model, *Il.* 10.389.

1085-95 A faint echo of Odysseus' false tale involving 'Deucalion' (*Od.* 19.171-80), which makes Penelope weep, suggests both the powerful emotional effect of Jason's account and his continuing exploitation of Medea's state of mind.

1085 Cf. 927-31n. Herodotus describes Thessaly as 'shut in on all sides by very high mountains' (7.129.1). This afforded protection

against wind and enemy attack, and was thought a very desirable location, cf. Eur. fr. 1083 N² (Laconia), Men. Rhet. 345.10-12; Jason thus paints a tempting picture of both the geography and the culture (1088-9) of his homeland.

1086 A variant of the Homeric εὔβοτος εὐμηλος (*Od.* 15.406); at *Od.* 11.256-7 Pelias of Iolcus is described as πολύρρημος. The variant ἑρρητος would make good geographical (Hdt. 7.129.2) and rhetorical sense, but the Homeric echo favours ἑρρημος.

Προμηθεύς: Jason appeals again to what is already within Medea's sphere of interest. Prometheus, as both Titan and civiliser, forms a link between Colchis and Greece. In return for Medea's gift of Prometheion, Jason's words hold out hope of the gift of Greek civilization, which in one sense at least was also the product of Prometheus; cf. Eur. *Med.* 536-8 where Jason claims that he gave Medea the chance to enjoy 'justice and laws' in a Greek city. So too, it is tempting to see in Αἰμονίη (1090), which could mean 'the land of blood', a proffered return for the blood of Prometheus which Medea has given to him; cf. the equivocation with ξύναϊμος and Αἴμων in Sophocles' *Antigone* (e.g. v. 794).

1087-9 Deucalion was credited with establishing civilisation after the flood, and was particularly, though not exclusively, connected with Thessaly (cf. Σ 4.265, *RE* v 262-5). Line 1088, where the alliteration is a stylistic device to increase the grandeur of what is described, recalls the claims of Prometheus himself at Aesch. *PV* 447-58. Formally, the verse echoes *Od.* 6.9-10, describing the work of the founder of Scheria.

Ἰαπετιονίδης: the grand patronymic is designed to impress.

νηός: Deucalion was credited, *inter alia*, with an altar to the Twelve Gods in Thessaly (Hellanicus, *FGrHist* 4 F 6), the oracle of Zeus at Dodona (*Et. Mag.* 293.2-11) and the temple of Olympian Zeus at Athens (Pausanias 1.18.8), cf. *RE* v 261-76.

1090 Αἰμονίην 'the land of Haimon', a son of Pelasgos or Ares; this is a common name for Thessaly in Hellenistic poetry. Haimon's son, Thessalos, gave the area its definitive name. Cf. 1086n.

1091 Ἰαωλκός: this, ἰωλκός and ἰαολκός are all current in Greek poetry, cf. M. L. West, *Glotta* 41 (1963) 278-82.

1092 ἀκούσαι: sc. ἔστι, cf. 680.

1093-5 Cf. p. 21, 265-7n. Minyas, from whom most of the

Argonauts were descended (1.229-33), was a son of Poseidon and, on his mother's side, a descendant of Aeolus, the son of Deucalion, and thus again within Medea's sphere of interest. The repetition of his name is not merely to make a mythological point, but marks again the glorious history of Jason's homeland. For this technique cf. 861-2, 1.87-8, 4.827-8, Faerber (1932) 74.

γε μὲν 'moreover', cf. Denniston 387.

φάτις: cf. 845n. In Jason's mouth the device prepares for his abandonment of 'mythology' in the following verse, and also reminds us of the uncertain truth of his speech (cf. 1077-8n.).

1096-9 By breaking off ('aposiopesis') his account of Minyas, Jason avoids answering Medea's second question in which he might be compelled to give awkward details about Ariadne.

τηλεκλειτήν 'far-famed', cf. 1075n. For readers who know more than Medea does, the epithet is very pointed: the abandonment of Ariadne was indeed notorious.

τό... οὐνομα 'by which glorious [lit. 'bright', cf. 1075n.] name', an accusative of relation with καλέσκον. The epithet looks to *Od.* 11.568 Μίνωα ἴδον, Διὸς ἀγλαὸν υἱόν.

παρθενικὴν... ἐπήρατον: a further sign that Medea is to have much in common with Ariadne, cf. 1007.

1100-1 Jason now delicately brings the possibility (or lack of it) of marriage between them into the open. The situation is a complete reversal of that of the *Odyssey*, where Alcinous has no sooner met Odysseus (whose identity he does not know) than he is expressing the wish to have the hero for a son-in-law (*Od.* 7.311-15, verses for which Homer was much criticised, and much defended, in antiquity). For the version of the story of Ariadne hinted at here cf. 997-1004n.

ξυναρέσσατο 'reached an agreement with'; this verb is found in extant marriage-contracts, cf. F. Preisigke, *Wörterbuch der griechischen Papyrusurkunden* s.v.

ἄρθμιος: the context hints at an etymological link with ἀρέσκειν; the word in fact seems to be connected with ἀραρίσκειν.

1102 καταψήχων 'caressing', 'stroking' (properly of a horse); the sense is roughly the same as ὑποσσαίνων (974), cf. Hunter (1988) 447.

1104 ἄδινῶι: cf. 616n.

1105 συνημοσύνας 'pacts', picking up ξυναρέσσατο. Future events

are to make this verse bitterly ironical and to lend more colour than Medea would have wished to her cautious πού. Apsyrtus is killed by a deceitful συνθεσίη (4.437), and in Greece Jason is to suffer horribly for his betrayal, cf. 4.1042 δείσατε συνθεσίας τε καὶ ὄρκια, Eur. *Med.* 439-40. Further echoes (cf. 956-61n., 964-5n.) of the meeting of Achilles and Hector prophesy an evil outcome; cf. *Il.* 22.261 Ἔκτορ, μή μοι, ἄλαστε, συνημοσύνας ἀγορεύε, 22.265 ὡς οὐκ ἔστ' ἐμὲ καὶ σὲ φιλήμεναι (cf. 1108). Where Achilles speaks in bitter anger and hatred, Medea is sorrowful and regretful; she would love to 'make a pact' with Jason, but the Iliadic echoes show how disastrous that will turn out to be.

1107-8 Despite the irony of the verses, it is important that Medea is not yet ready to leave with Jason - this will happen, through Hera's agency, at the opening of Book 4. Aietes was certainly not like the Minos who was famed for his wisdom and justice, but another (particularly Athenian) view of the Cretan king saw him as a cruel and bloodthirsty tyrant, and it is this tradition which creates the powerful irony here. Both Aietes and Minos controlled savage bulls, and Jason's test has much in common with the clash between Minos and Theseus best known from Bacchylides 17. Already in Homer, the 'good' Minos shares with Aietes the epithet ὀλοόφρων (*Od.* 10.137, 11.322), and the ancients were well aware of the great discrepancies in accounts of Minos' character, cf. Strabo 10.4.8, Plut. *Theseus* 16.3, *RE* xv 1890-1927.

φιλοξενίη: marriage between Medea and Jason would establish φιλοξενίη between Aietes and Jason; Aietes' xenophobia (584-93) makes this an unlikely event. This is the only occurrence of either this noun or its adjective in *Arg.* and there may be an echo of the formulaic verses spoken by Odysseus before meeting both Nausicaa and Polyphemus, 'do the inhabitants commit outrages and are they savage and unjust, or are they hospitable (φιλόξενοι) and have they a god-fearing mind?' (*Od.* 6.120-1, 9.175-6); Jason has found both his Nausicaa and his Cyclops (cf. 176-81n.). The theme of hospitality is recurrent throughout the Odyssean episode of the Cyclops.

1109-12 Cf. 1069n.

τοκήων: Medea lets Jason know the price she is paying to help him.

ὄσσα: a prophetic or divinely inspired voice or rumour; it is personified as the messenger of Zeus at *Il.* 2.93-4.

ἀγγελος ὄρνις: birds are obvious carriers of messages over a long

distance, cf., e.g., Eur. *Hel.* 1487-94; we may think again (cf. 927-31n.) of the crow which reported Coronis' infidelity to Apollo.

ἐκλεάθοιο: cf. 788n.

1113-14 A reversal of *Od.* 20.63-5 where the despairing Penelope wishes that a storm-wind would carry her off to Ocean; Medea's wish is to travel from the extreme east to Greece. Helen too expresses the wish that on the day she was born 'a terrible storm-wind had carried me off to the mountains or the waves of the roaring sea, where a wave would have swept me away before all this had happened' (*Il.* 6.346-8). Literature and art both commonly represent the sudden death of young girls as the work of storm-winds which carry them away, and so these verses may mean that, if Jason forgets her, Medea will kill herself and her ghost will haunt him, cf. E. Vermeule, *Aspects of death in early Greek art and poetry* (Berkeley 1979) 167-71. More probably, however, Medea imagines herself suddenly materialising on the other side of the world, a fantasy which her magical powers make frighteningly real.

Ἰαωλκόν: cf. 1091n.

1115-17 These verses suggest a famous scene of Euripides' *Medea* (446-626).

μνήσω picks up 1111-12, 'remember me... or I shall come to remind you'.

ἐφέστιος: cf. 584-8n. Medea threatens to appear unexpectedly as a suppliant, just as Jason has appeared unexpectedly 'at her hearth'.

1119 ὑποβλήδην: cf. 396-400n.

1120 δαιμονίη: cf. 711n.

κενεάς 'to no purpose', predicative.

1121 μεταμώνια: various explanations (cf. Ebeling s.v.) connected this word with the 'raising aloft' of a bird in flight (*PMG* 516) or with ἄνεμος (cf. the 'pun' at 4.1483-4, the two sons of Boreas described as μεταμώνια μοχθήσαντες); it is, therefore, particularly appropriate here.

1122-4 Cf. 392n., *Od.* 8.467-8 (Odysseus' promise to Nausicaa), *Il.* 9.297, 603 (the Greeks' offers to Achilles).

ἦθεα: both 'customs' and 'land', the double sense suggesting again that Jason is offering her 'civilisation' (1085-92), as well as a change of home.

πορσανέουσιν 'will honour', cf. 2.719, 4.897 (divine honours), LSJ s.v. πορσύνω III.

1126 κασίγνητοί τε ἔται τε 'brothers and kinsmen', although ἔται

could be used for a wide range of social and family relationships (cf. 1.305, Σ^{VT} *Il.* 6.239).

1127 θαλεροί: cf. 656n. The verse prepares for Jason's offer of marriage, conditional on Medea's arrival in Greece (cf. 4.95-8), in the following verses.

ἄδην: treated as an indeclinable adjective with κακότητος, cf. ἄλις in 272.

1128-30 πορσανέεις: the echo of 1124 marks marriage as her particular reward from Jason, as opposed to the general thanks of the whole people.

φιλότητος 'from our [state of] love', a genitive of separation. Lines 1129-30 rework *Od.* 4.178-80 where Menelaus imagines the jolly life he and Odysseus would have had together after the Trojan War. We should remember how his account continues (v. 181) 'but these things god was to begrudge us'. The Homeric context colours A.'s promise of a 'happy ever after'.

1131 Cf. 286-90n. Here A. varies the construction by making θυμός the subject of a passive verb.

1132 'But she shuddered to contemplate the terrible things [she had done].' Both the meaning of ἔργ' ἄδηλα and the *figura etymologica* are taken from *Il.* 5.872 (cf. the echo of βίγιστα from the following Homeric verse in κατεργίγησεν), where Σ^T glosses the adjective as φθοροποιά, cf. Hes. fr. 30.17, 60.2 (Coronis' infidelity), Tyrtaeus, fr. 11.7 West. The other sense (Livrea on 4.47) of this adjective is 'obscure', 'unclear', and many have wished to see here a vague foreshadowing of the terrible events portrayed by Euripides; the immediate context, however, is concerned rather with Medea's betrayal of her parents and the coming death of Pelias.

1133-6 Cf. 4.242-3. For such foreshadowing cf. 1.78-9, 595-6, 1302, 2.65-6, 137-8, 1028. The technique was derived from Homer (e.g. *Il.* 10.336) and discussed by grammarians, cf. G. E. Duckworth, 'Προαναφώνησις in the scholia to Homer', *A.J.P.* 52 (1931) 320-38. Here, the point is pathetic: what Medea most wants will bring only misery.

σχετλίη 'unhappy', 'wretched' (cf. 2.1028, 4.1524), without any necessary reproof. Homer does not use this word in such formulations (preferring νήπιος), cf. J. Griffin, *J.H.S.* 106 (1986) 40.

ὤς... τότε: for the apparent pleonasm cf. *Il.* 6.349 ἐπει τάδε γ' ὦδε θεοὶ κακὰ τεκμήραοντο. The etymology of Medea's name in μήδετο (cf.

825-7n.) is here used in a new way: Medea herself is merely an instrument of Hera's μήδεα.

κακόν 'as an evil'. These verses are very like a surviving quotation from Pherecydes' account, 'Hera put these things into Jason's mind, so that Medea should come as a disaster for Pelias (τῶι Πελίοι κακόν)', *FGHHist* 3 F 105.

ἱερήν: Iolcos was no doubt the site of several major temples (*RE* ix 1853), but the story of Pelias' neglect may point to the existence of a shrine of the Thessalian or 'Pelasgian' Hera.

Αἰαίη: elsewhere of Medea only in the parallel passage at 4.243, and A. may be suggesting a link with αἰαῖ; for this etymology cf. [Plut.] *De vita et poesi Homeri* 126, and cf. the equivocation with the name Αἰός at *Soph. Aj.* 430-3. The word emphasises Medea's 'foreignness': when she comes to Greece, she will bring barbarian horror with her.

1138-9 'The time of the day was failing for the maiden to return home to her mother', i.e. the amount of daylight left for getting back to the city was running out (cf. 1143-4). In other circumstances, of course, Medea roamed the countryside at night with great freedom (863, 4.60).

1140-2 Line 1142 makes clear that 1140 is the apodosis of a conditional sentence, but A. omits ἄν and presents 1140 as a fact, thus stressing how absorbed Medea really was.

αἰμυλίοισι: cf. 51n.

ὀψέ περ: a long silence followed 1130.

1143-5 In the *Odyssey*, it was Nausicaa whose scruples did not allow her to be seen with a strange man (6.273-96). Here it is Jason who is cautious (πεφυλαγμένος).

τις... | ὀθνείων 'some outsider', i.e. someone not concerned in our business. It is, however, precisely with 'some outsider' that Medea is dealing to betray her family and city.

ἄβολήσομεν: probably 'we will meet' (future) rather than 'let us meet' (short vowel aorist subjunctive). This is best seen neither as a meaningless formality (cf. *au revoir* etc.), nor as a firm promise of another meeting at the temple. Jason recognises their relationship (symbolised by the temple), and offers hope (of an unspecified kind) for the future.

1146 ἐπὶ τόσσον 'as far as this', i.e. this is the point which their relationship had reached. Others understand 'up to this moment'.

1147 διέτμαγον 'they parted'. In this sense Homer uses the aorist

passive διέτμαγεν [v.l. -ον], but A. transfers the form to that of an intransitive aorist active. For A.'s use of διέτμαγεν cf. 340-6n.

1148-62 Jason and Medea react very differently to their meeting, Jason with joy and Medea with a kind of dazed depression.

1149 σχεδὸν ἀντεβόλησαν 'drew near to meet her'.

1151 Cf. *Od.* 11.222, quoted in 446-7n. which describe Medea's very similar feelings after her previous sight of Jason. That her soul, flying with love (cf. *PMG* 378), is with the clouds suggests a divorce from reality like that of a day-dream (cf. *GP* 2054-6 of a dream of wealth). She will never get what she wants, or, when she gets it, it will not be as she had imagined.

μεταχρονίη 'raised aloft', cf. West on Hes. *Theog.* 269.

1152-4 Cf. 869-72: Medea's trip to the temple is enclosed by ring-composition. The Homeric model is Nausicaa's return to her city (*Od.* 6.253, 316-18, 7.3-6). For the motif in these verses cf. Theocr. 2.83-5 (Simaitha's return from the expedition on which she had seen Delphis), 'I had no more thought for that festival, nor do I know how I got home again.'

τῆι δ': sc. ἐτέρῃ.

δαιδαλέην: a variation on εὐποίητον of 871.

1157 παλιντροπήσιον ἀμήχανος 'stunned by reversal'. The noun is both literal, 'the turning back [i.e. coming home]', and metaphorical: the emotional 'high' of 1151 has given way to depression. Medea now realises what she has done, cf. 1162, Fränkel (1968) 430-1. For the use of the plural cf. ἀκηδείσι in 297.

1160 The attitude described matches that of some women in preserved funerary sculpture, cf. M. Collignon, *Les Statues funéraires dans l'art grec* (Paris 1911) 203-14, esp. fig. 135, G. Neumann, *Gesten und Gebärden in der griechischen Kunst* (Berlin 1965) 136-50. Over-fine distinctions of meaning in the poetic description of gesture are dangerous, but here the verse clearly conveys fear and bewilderment; in Medea's relations with Jason, thoughts of death are never far away (788-824, 4.27-33).

1161 'The eyes in her eyelids were moist [with tears]'; this does not necessarily mean that her eyes were closed (cf. 4.698), but we should rather think of the stunned, staring (ἔχεν) expression so common in funerary sculpture.

1162 A difficult verse. In 4.435 ἐπιξυνόμοι means 'make known

to', 'share with', hence perhaps 'pondering what an evil deed she had shared with her will'. Such a separation of a person from their *boule* would not be unparalleled, but it seems better to understand 'pondering in what an evil deed she had become a partner by her own counsels'. The verb stresses that Medea has joined forces with those outside her family.

This is the last we see of Medea until the panic at the start of Book 4, and her despair here prepares for that scene.

1163-6 In contrast to Medea's lonely despair, Jason is embraced by the support and solidarity of his comrades, cf. Fusillo (1985) 259, Hunter (1987) 132.

καταπρολιπών: the double prefix suggests 'leaving them behind as he went on'.

ἄμιλον· ὁμοῦ: the juxtaposition points to an etymology of the noun, cf. *Thest.* s.v. 1949. The echo of 1150 marks the difference between Jason and Medea: the latter was alone, though surrounded by her maids.

1168 δήνεα 'plans', 'wiles'. This is a reversal of *Od.* 10.289 where Hermes gives Odysseus a magic drug to protect him *against* the δήνεα Κίρκης. It is characteristic that Jason explains everything to the other Argonauts, whereas Odysseus does not tell his men about the *moly*.

1169-70 οἴοθεν οἴος ἐταίρων 'quite alone of the Argonauts', a stronger form of οἴος ἐταίρων (1.1240, 4.912). Others take the genitive with ἀπάνευθε, but word-order makes this unlikely. For Idas cf. 515-20n.

δακῶν χόλον 'biting back his anger', cf. *Od.* 10.378-9 (the angry Odysseus eating his θυμός, rather than Circe's food), Dover on *Ar. Clouds* 1369.

1171-2 'Happy, they quietly took their ease for the moment (τῆμος), because night's darkness prevented them [from doing anything further].'

γηθόσυνοι: cf. Jason's reaction at 1014; the parallelism marks the solidarity of all the group except for Idas.

περὶ σφίσιον: this construction is not paralleled in *Arg.*, but cf. Leonidas, *HE* 2295 οἱ δ' οὐκ ἄμφ' αἰγῶν μεμελημένοι ἀλλὰ περὶ σφέων.

ἄμ' ἦοι: dawn rises, un-Homerically, at the end of the verse.

1174 πρὸ μέν: Telamon (196-9n.) is the leader of the embassy; the

choice is a natural one as he accompanied Jason on his trip to the palace. The 'heroic' epithet ἀρήφιλος not only marks Telamon's virtues, but is also part of the switch from the romance of the previous episode to the martial events to come. That one 'dear to Ares' should collect the teeth is appropriate in view of their history.

1175-90 The story of Cadmus bridges the meeting of Medea and Jason and the account of Jason's trials, and covers a period of daylight in which nothing much happens. Such versified mythography is very common in post-classical poetry.

1175 κλυτός: after his death Aithalides divided his time between the Underworld and the upper air and preserved his memory (1.640-8, with Vian's note). It is thus significant that, with the exception of 2.1139, A. uses κλυτός only of immortals.

1178 Ἀονίοιο 'of Aonia'. The Aones were pre-Cadmean inhabitants of Boeotia (Pausanias 9.5.1, Pfeiffer on Call. fr. 572), and so the learned epithet is correctly applied to the dragon. A. avoids Βοιωτός and related words, perhaps because some connected the name with the βούς which guided Cadmus, thus making it anachronistic for the time of the dragon (cf. Σ Eur. Ph. 638).

Ὀγυγίη: Ogygos was said to have been the first king of what was later Thebes (Pausanias 9.5.1); poets use the adjective both of Thebes (e.g. Aesch. Pers. 37, Soph. OC 1770) and, more generally, to mean 'ancient', 'revered'. The actual etymology is quite obscure.

1179-82 Cadmus and his brothers were sent out from Phoenicia by their father to search for their sister Europa, who had been abducted by Zeus. When he reached Delphi, Cadmus was told by Apollo to abandon the search and instead to follow a particular cow and to found a city on the spot where it lay down to rest. It is unlikely that 1179 is intended to reflect a version different from the usual one, and 'while he was searching for Europa' should thus not be interpreted too strictly. After reaching what became Thebes, Cadmus wished to draw water at a spring sacred to Ares in order to sacrifice the cow; the spring was, however, guarded by a dragon (which in some versions was an offspring of Ares). Cadmus' trials - in a place sacred to Ares against first a dragon and then the offspring of its magical teeth - parallel in reverse order the testing of Jason; of the two heroes found, however, very different ways of dealing with their dragons. For these myths cf. Eur. Ph. 638-75, Apollodorus 3.1.1-4.2, F. Vian, *Les Origines de Thèbes: Cadmos et les Spartes* (Paris 1963).

The 'spring of Ares' is the modern Παραπόρτι, at the south-west of the city walls, cf. Vian op. cit. 84-5, *RE* VA 1426.

κρήνη ἐπίουρον: an echo of a Homeric verse about Minos, Cadmus' nephew, cf. *Il.* 13.449-50 (Idomeneus) Ζηρός γόνος ἐνάδ' ἰκάνω [cf. 1179] | ὃς πρῶτον Μίνωα τέκε Κρήτηι ἐπίουρον. The meaning of the last phrase was much disputed, and A.'s 'watcher', 'guardian over the spring' points to an etymology from ἐπι-δράω (cf. Eur. Ph. 661 ἐπισκοπῶν, Σ^A *Il.* 13.450). Elsewhere in *Arg.* ἐπίουρος is followed by the genitive.

1183 The 'Tritonian goddess' is Athena, who was associated with several lakes or rivers called Triton, but here A. is clearly thinking of a Lake Triton in Boeotia, cf. 1.109-11, 4.260, Livrea on 4.269.

ἐλάσσα 'having knocked them out'; the verb depicts Athena dealing with the dragon as one boxer deals with another, cf. 2.785 (Heracles), *Od.* 18.28-9 (Iros and Odysseus). In some other versions, Cadmus himself or Ares took out the teeth, cf. Eur. *HF* 252-3 Ἄρης... λάβρον δράκοντος ἐξερημώσας γένυ. Either we are to imagine a goodly supply of teeth (cf. Ovid, *Met.* 3.34 *triplici stant ordine dentes*), as from his half Aietes seems to perform his feat quite regularly (409-18), or else the corpses of the dead warriors magically revert to being teeth; perhaps, however, A. did not bother himself about this, cf. Herter (1973) 43.

1186 Ἀγγορίδης: the patronymic is appropriate in a foundation legend, and Cadmus' paternity was in fact a matter of some debate (cf. Σ 1177-87 (f), Frazer on Apollodorus 3.1.1).

εἶσατο 'settled', the aorist middle of ἴζω.

1187 Tradition usually told of five survivors who founded the Theban race: Echion, Oudaios, Chthonios, Hyperenor and Peloros, cf. Jacoby on *FGrHist* 4 F 1. Interpretation of the verse poses two problems. (i) ὑπὸ δούρι may be construed either with λίποντο 'spared by the spear' or with ἀμώντος 'reaping with the spear'; for the latter cf. 416n. In either case, the verse looks like a reworking of *Il.* 19.230 ὄσσοι δ' ἄν πολέμοιο περὶ στυγεροῖο λίπονται. (ii) In Pherecydes' version, which A. has in general followed, the warriors kill each other (cf. 1057-60n.); if that is what is assumed here, 'Ares' is a metonymy for 'war', as *Il.* 19.230 might suggest. Nevertheless, the various versions that we possess differ so much in the assignment of rôles to Cadmus, Ares and Athena that the poet may envisage an actual slaughter by the god of war. Pherecydes (*FGrHist* 3 F 22) made both gods responsible for

the division of teeth, whereas A. mentions only Athena. In some other accounts of the myth, also, it is doubtful whether or not 'Ares' is used in metonymy, cf. Aesch. *Sept.* 412, Eur. *HF* 5-6.

1189 μιν: i.e. Jason.

πείρατ' ἀέθλου 'the completion of the task', cf. 2.424 'upon Cyprus depends the πείρατ' ἀέθλου', Pind. *Pyth.* 4.220 'Medea showed Jason the πείρατ' ἀέθλων', Livrea on 4.1201.

1190 Jason's work, unlike that of his Pindaric forebear, will not be finished after the yoking and ploughing, cf. 415-16n.

1191-1224 The description of Jason's magic ritual forms a self-contained unit bounded by the setting of the sun and the first appearance of dawn (1223-4n.); for similar narrative structures cf. 1.1172-1279, 4.109-84, A. Köhnken, *Apollonios Rhodios und Theokrit* (Göttingen 1965) 17-25.

1191-4 Cf. *h. Herm.* 68-9 (Hermes setting out to steal - cf. 1197 - Apollo's cattle), 'the sun disappeared beneath the earth into Ocean, with its horses and chariot; but Hermes...' The chariot of Night, which is first found in tragedy (Aesch. *Ch.* 660-1, Eur. *Ion* 1150-1), varies the epic model.

ἄπωθεν: Colchis is in the extreme east.

ἔσπεριον: Homer divided the Ethiopians into those who lived in the extreme west and those in the extreme east (*Od.* 1.22-4, cf. Hopkinson on Call. *h.* 6.11). Mimnermus had placed Helios' stables 'in the land of the [eastern] Ethiopians' (fr. 12.9 West), but A. leaves open the vexed question of where the sun spends the night and is concerned only with its setting. The epithet is here particularly pointed as Aia, where Jason is now, is in or near the land of the 'eastern Ethiopians', cf. Lesky (1966) 29-32, 410-21, Diggle on Eur. *Phaethon* 1. The transmitted ἔσπεριος makes good sense, but lacks the point of Fränkel's emendation; ἔσπεριων... Αἰθιοπῶν framing the verse suggests how the eastern and western Ethiopians frame the world. Much ancient discussion of Homer's Ethiopians has filtered through into Strabo 1.2.24-35.

χαμύνας: the heroes go about their normal tasks with confidence.

1195-6 Cf. 745n. In antiquity the Bear did not actually set (*Od.* 5.275 with Stanford and Hainsworth ad loc.), but its approach to the horizon could mark the middle of the night (cf. 1029), cf. Gow on Theocr. 24.11-12, H. White, *Mnem.* 4 30 (1977) 138-9.

οὐρανόθεν κτλ.: an echo of part of the famous simile describing the

Trojan campfires at *Il.* 8.555-8 (cf. 16.299-300), 'as when the stars in the heaven shine clearly around the bright moon, when the air is windless (ἠνήμεος); all the high places and peaks and valleys stand out, and the limitless (ἄσπετος) air comes down from heaven'. A. may have been led to echo this scene by the reference in 1193 to the Greek camp. Zenodotus omitted vv. 557-8, and it is natural to look in A.'s text for a grammatical, as well as a poetical, point. πανεύκηλος is best taken as a variation on ἠνήμεος in 556, which implies a Homeric text including the doubtful verses; this does not, of course, necessarily mean that A. supported the retention of those verses, cf. above, p. 36.

1197 Cf. 1191-4n. Thieves prefer murky nights (*Il.* 3.10-12); on a clear night they go to a lonely spot to avoid being seen. Secrecy and theft are well suited to the pattern of Jason as 'ephebe', cf. above, p. 30, Hunter (1988) 450-2. In Book 4 Jason 'steals' Aietes' fleece and runs away.

1198 σὺν πᾶσιν χρήεσσι 'with all necessary things', cf. Chantraine 170.

πρὸ γὰρ κτλ.: this realistic detail, like the explicit provenance of the sheep in 1199-1200, is typical of A.; Homer usually dispenses with such explanations.

1199 θῆλυν... ὄιν: a variation on 1032-3.

γάλα: cf. 1210n. Medea had said nothing about milk, but A. is at pains to avoid a formulaic style; contrast *Od.* 10.517-25 ~ 11.25-33. For offerings of milk to chthonic powers cf. Aesch. *Pers.* 611, Eur. *Or.* 115, K. Wyss, *Die Milch im Kultus der Griechen und Römer* (Giessen 1914) 25-32.

ἔκτοθι ποίμνης 'from a flock'. Possible also is ἔκποθε 'from some flock or other'; A. uses ἔκποθεν with the genitive (262, 1289), and Quintus Smyrnaeus has adverbial ἔκποθε.

1201-2 A variation on Medea's οἶος ὄνευθ' ἄλλων (1031).

καθαρήσιον 'clear [of trees]' and '[ritually] pure', cf. Theocr. 26.5 (the Bacchantes) ἐν καθαρῶι λειμῶνι. The clear sky, unobscured by trees, is required as a purifier against the pollution which Hecate will bring, cf. 200-9n., Parker (1983) 222-4.

εἰαμενήσιον 'meadows [by a river]', 'marshes', cf. R. E. Glanville Downey, *C.P.* 26 (1931) 94-7.

1203-6 ποταμοῖο: the genitive after λοίσσατο (cf. 876-7n.) varies the construction of 1030.

θείοιο: cf. 164-6n.

τέρεν: Jason is very vulnerable before he has applied the magic drug.

φᾶρος: it is characteristic of A. that we heard nothing of this gift in Book 1; for such gifts cf. 2.30-2, *Od.* 5.264 (Calypso dresses Odysseus in fragrant robes, which Plutarch, at least, thought were μνημόσυνα τῆς φιλίας, *Mor.* 831d). In following Medea's advice, Jason dresses himself in an advertisement of his tendency to leave women behind, cf. Fusillo (1985) 308, A. Rose, 'Clothing imagery in Apollonius's *Argonautika*', *Q.U.C.C.* n.s. 21 (1985) 29-44. In 4.424-34 another robe which Hypsipyle had given to Jason and on which Dionysus had slept with Ariadne is used to lure Apsyrtus to his death; these similarities are part of the complex relations between these various stories (997-1004n.). It is very probable that we are to understand that Hypsipyle and Jason had slept together on or under this robe (cf. H. Fränkel, *T.A.P.A.* 83 (1952) 153 n. 31).

μέν: emphatic after a relative pronoun, cf. Denniston 361. For the scansion cf. 830n.

ἀδινῆς: cf. 616n. Here either 'sweet' (cf. Erbse (1953) 194-5) or 'frequent', 'intense' (cf. Σ^b *Il.* 22.430 πυκνοῦ καὶ συνεχοῦς). Σ interprets as 'sad', because Jason left Hypsipyle, but this seems less likely.

1207 πήχυιον 'a cubit long', a variation and explanation of πυγούσιον in the Homeric model (*Od.* 10.517 = 11.25), cf. Σ 10.517 πυγούσιον· πηχυαῖον, 1032-4n.

1208 ἐπί 'over [the pit]', cf. 1032-4n.

ἀρνειοῦ: cf. 1032-4n.

1209 αὐτόν: Fränkel's αὐτήν would extract a little more linguistic humour from the sex of the sheep, but seems an unnecessary refinement. εὖ 'skilfully' or perhaps 'as was required', a variation on both the context and the meaning of the adverb in 1034.

φίτρούς: i.e. the σχίξαι of 1208, although φῆτροί are usually more solid than 'kindling'; there is the same alternation at 1.405 ~ 435.

1210 μιγάδας: a mixture of honey (1036) and milk (1199). Odysseus had offered μελίκρητον, wine and water, and A. interprets the first of these as honey and milk, cf. Eur. *Or.* 115 μελίκρατ' ἄφες γάλακτος οἰνωπὸν τ' ἄχνην, LSJ s.v. μελίκρητον.

1211 Βριμῶ: cf. 860-1n.

1212 ἀγκαλέσας 'having called her up', cf. 861.

1213 ὑπάτων 'furthest', 'lowest'; there is no certain parallel (cf. Vian on 2.207), and corruption has been widely suspected. The superlative may, however, convey extremity in a direction other than height (cf. 4.282 ὑπατων κέρας Ὠκεανοῖο), and cf. Lat. *altus*, both 'high' and 'deep'.

1214-15 In the *Rhizotomoi* (cf. 845n.) Sophocles depicted Hecate as having snakes and oak leaves in her hair (fr. 535 R). The snakes occur elsewhere in literature (Ar. fr. 515 K-A, Lucian, *Philops.* (34 Macleod) 22) and the magical papyri (*PGM* iv 2800-1, Betz (1986) 91), and are a standard feature in the descriptions of Furies and witches in Roman poetry, but there is no other reference to Hecate's association with the oak. It may be relevant that Dido constructs her magic pyre out of pine and *ilex* (*Aen.* 4.505) and that the necromantic scene in Seneca's *Oedipus* (530-658) is set in an oak-grove. The word-order, with σμερδαλέοι... δράκοντες framing the verse, enacts the meaning: there is a garland of snakes around her head.

1216 Torches are standard equipment for Hecate, and a common title for her is φωσφόρος, cf. Richardson on *h. Dem.* 52. The epic model for these verses is *h. Ap.* 445-7, describing the god's brilliant epiphany at Delphi, the *ololyge* of the women who saw it, and the universal fear.

1217 Cf. 749n. Hecate's dogs may here be envisaged as a pack of Cerberuses, also with snakes in their hair, cf. perhaps Hor. *Sat.* 1.8.34-5 *serpentes atque uideres | infernas errare canes*, W. Burkert, *Entretiens Fondation Hardt* 27 (1981) 118.

1218 Nature trembles at the approach of the dread goddess, cf. *PGM* iv 2537-42 'when they hear your cry, all the immortal gods, all the mortal men, the starry mountains, the valleys, all the trees, the crashing rivers, the wide sea... shudder', Virg. *Aen.* 6.256-7, Sen. *Oed.* 575-6 *totum nemus | concussit horror*. Imagination creates a magical reason for a common occurrence, an earth tremor; so Lucian's character (34.22) speaks of a σεισμός. The epic model is the reaction of nature to the passage of Poseidon at *Il.* 13.18-19 τρέμε δ' οὐρεα μακρὰ καὶ ὕλη | ποσσὶν ὑπ' ἄθανάτοισι Ποσειδάωνος ἰόντος, and cf. 2.679-80 (the passage of Apollo).

πίσσα 'watery meadows', the εἰαμενοί of 1202. Homer uses this word only in connection with nymphs (*Il.* 20.9, *Od.* 6.124, *h. Aphr.* 99).

δολύξαν: the *ololyge* was a loud female cry uttered at various cultic occasions, such as a sacrifice. Here it marks the epiphany of a god, cf. *h. Ap.* 119, *Ar. Knights* 1327, *Call. h.* 4.258, and signals awe and terror. Cf. L. Deubner, *Ololyge und Verwandtes* (Abh. Berlin, 1941), Fraenkel on Aesch. *Ag.* 597.

1219 Cf. 881-3n. 'Marsh-dwelling river nymphs' conflates two of the Homeric categories.

1220 εἰαμενήν: cf. 1201-2n. A. has used three synonyms in three verses, πίσεια, ἔλειο-, εἰαμενή.

'Αμαραντίου: A. places the source of the Phasis in the 'Amarantian Mountains' in Colchis; Aristotle placed it in the Caucasus (*Meteor.* 1.350a28) and Eratosthenes in Armenia, cf. Σ 2.399-401, Σ 4.257-62, *RE* xix 1888.

εἰλίσσονται: probably 'dance' (cf. 1.1135, 4.1198) rather than 'gather', 'mill around'. There is also an equivocation with εἰλίσσασθαι used of a 'winding' river: the nymphs are identified with their rivers (cf. 1.501-2), just as νύμφη is commonly used by metonymy for 'water'. The imperfect εἰλίσσοντο may be correct (cf. 1.1222-5), but the present tense identifies the nymphs more closely with their particular meadow, and such precise erudition is very much in the Hellenistic manner.

1221-2 Cf. 1038-41n.

1223-4 The sudden appearance of dawn in mid-verse marks the end of Jason's encounter with the 'powers of darkness' and the start of the day of the contest, which will fill the remainder of the book, cf. Faerber (1932) 75-6, M. Campbell, *C.Q.* n.s. 19 (1969) 281. The focus moves from the 'dark earth' of the far west (1192-3) to the snowy Caucasus in the east; dawn 'casts' her light to replace the yoke 'cast' (1193) over Night's horses. Dawn is immediately followed by the appearance of Aietes like the risen sun, from whom he descends.

ἠριγενής: cf. 823-4n.

ἀντέλλουσα: the spondaic close (above, p. 42) gives an air of finality to the verse.

1225-45 Aietes arms himself, apparently for the battle he foresaw in 581-3, and which in some versions did actually take place. This description divides into two the account of Jason's obedience to Medea's instructions, as part of the avoidance of a formulaic style. The arming of a hero is a standard motif of the *Iliad*, but A. avoids both the

full Homeric panoply and the set order of the arming, cf. *Il.* 3.328-38 (Paris), 11.16-46 (Agamemnon), 16.130-44 (Patroclus and Automedon, the charioteer), 19.364-91 (Achilles and Automedon), J. I. Armstrong, 'The arming motif in the *Iliad*', *A.J.P.* 79 (1958) 337-54, Fränkel (1968) 469-72, James (1981) 74-5. Fränkel notes that, except for the rather unusual case of 1246-67, Apollonian arming-scenes are not followed by battles; this is a further break with the Homeric pattern. Comparison of this passage with the description of Aietes in his chariot at 4.219-25 shows a careful concern to vary both the epithets and the details.

1225-7 **περὶ... ἔεστο**: cf. *Il.* 12.464 of the raging Hector (with 1232-3 ~ 12.465-6), *Call. fr.* 293 **στάδιον δ' ὑφέεστο χιτῶνα**.

στάδιον 'rigid', i.e. made of fixed pieces of metal, as opposed to a scale-corselet (a θώραξ ἄλυσιδωτός), cf. Lorimer (1950) 196-210, A. M. Snodgrass, *Early Greek armour and weapons* (Edinburgh 1964) 72-86.

Φλεγραῖον: cf. 230-4n.

Μίμαντα: that it was Ares who killed the giant Mimas is not otherwise attested in literature before Claudian (*fl. c. A.D.* 400) - contrast Eur. *Ion* 215 (Zeus), Apollodorus 1.6.2 (Hephaistos) - but this version is found on a red-figure cup by Aristophanes (*ARFVP*² 1318-19). Mimas figured in the Gigantomachy on the north frieze of the Siphnian treasury at Delphi and in the second-century frieze of the altar of Zeus at Pergamum, but in neither case is the opposing Olympian known, cf. V. Brinkmann, *B.C.H.* 109 (1985) 98 with fig. 93, E. Simon, *Pergamon und Hesiod* (Mainz 1975) 41. The possession of this marvel confirms the similarities between Aietes and the harsh god of war (cf. 2.1205-6) and marks Aietes' own mastery over 'the earthborn'; for the warriors and the Giants cf. 1054-5n.

1228-30 A number of Homeric passages may have contributed to these verses, cf. *Il.* 5.743-4 (Athena's golden helmet), 19.381-3 (Achilles' helmet with golden plumes), 22.134-5 (Achilles' armour gleaming 'like fire or the rising sun').

τετραφάληρον: this Homeric epithet probably refers to four small disks which strengthened the front of some helmets, cf. Lorimer (1950) 240-1, but we cannot be sure how A. understood it. He may refer to the four bolts where the cheek-piece joined the head-piece (cf. Σ² *Il.* 5.743).

περίτροχον 'circling' and 'circular'. Increasingly from the fifth century on, Helios was represented with a halo or crown of brilliant rays, cf. Roscher s.v. 2003-5, F. W. Goethart and H. Schleif, *Der Athenatempel von Ilios* (Berlin 1962) figs. 34-40. At Virg. *Aen.* 12.161-4, another descendant of Helios, Latinus, is crowned with twelve golden rays.

Ἰκεανοῖο: Helios is at his brightest when he emerges, newly washed, from Ocean. This detail is also appropriate to the setting of the story in Colchis in the extreme east near Ocean.

1231-2 **ἄν δὲ...νόμα** 'he brandished in the air' or 'he picked up and brandished'. **ἄν** = **ἀνά** (cf. 1236).

πολύρρινον 'covered with many layers of hide', cf. Lorimer (1950) 183.

ἀμαιμάκετον 'irresistible', as 1232-3 make clear, cf. *Et. Mag.* 76.8-19, M. S. Silk, *C.Q.* n.s. 33 (1983) 328-9. In view of 1240-5, it may be relevant that Pindar uses this epithet of Poseidon's trident (*Isthm.* 8.38).

1232-4 Cf. *Il.* 12.465-6 (only a god could have stopped Hector), 16.141-4 = 19.388-91 (no other Greek could lift Achilles' spear). As often, Heracles exemplifies a physical power not attainable by any other Argonaut, cf. 2.145-53, D. Feeney, *P.V.S.* 18 (1986) 47-85, Fusillo (1985) 44-54. The resort to magic was thus entirely necessary, once Heracles had been lost to the expedition.

1235-6 'For him Phaethon brought near [cf. LSJ s.v. ἔχω A II.8] the stout chariot and swift horses for him to mount.' The horses, we learn at 4.220-1, were a gift from his father Helios. For Phaethon cf. 242-6n.

1236-9 Aietes (αὐτός) drives (contrast 4.224-5), and Phaethon rides with him; σφιν may, therefore, have its regular plural sense, although a singular sense is possible (cf. Jebb on Soph. *OC* 1490).

εὐρείαν κατ' ἀμαξιτόν: cf. 874. Medea's earlier trip along the same route has prepared Jason to confront the test to which Aietes is now travelling. The echo calls attention to the parallelism of the similes of Artemis (876-84) and Poseidon (1240-4).

ἀπείριτος...λαός: the contrast with 885-6 shows that Aietes has his people behind him; Medea was an outsider in her own society, even before she betrayed it.

1240-5 Aietes is compared to Poseidon travelling to witness his cult

at one of his major temples. The alternative destinations suggest Poseidon's (and Aietes') pleasure in such performances, and invest the simile with a religious solemnity, as this style is very like the listing of alternative divine abodes in a prayer, cf. 876-7, 1.307-9 (Jason compared to Apollo), 1.536-8, Bulloch on Call. *h.* 5.60-5.

Poseidon is chosen here for a number of complementary reasons. A famous scene in the *Iliad* depicts Poseidon's passage in his chariot over the waters (*Il.* 13.23-31, cf. 1218n.). Aietes' family has strong links with marine divinities (242-6n.), and Pelias was Poseidon's son (1.13, *Od.* 11.254-7); Jason's opponents have, therefore, many links with the god of the sea. Mythology told of disputes between Poseidon and the two gods most closely concerned with the success of the Argonautic expedition, with Athena over the fate of Odysseus (the most important epic prototype for Jason) and for supremacy in Athens, and with Hera over the fate of Troy and for supremacy in Argos (cf. Eur. *Tr.* 24, Pausanias 2.15.5 etc.). So too, Poseidon was very closely associated with bulls (*Il.* 20.403-5, Eur. *Hipp.* 1213-33 etc.), and throughout Greece he had strong associations with the earth and with fertility, which made him an appropriate god to 'watch over' the sowing of the dragon's teeth, cf. N. Robertson, *C.Q.* n.s. 34 (1984) 1-16. Beyond all this, however, Poseidon was a brooding, difficult god, cf. Burkert (1985) 139: '[Poseidon is] always decidedly a member of the older generation...an embodiment of elemental force...clarity and illumination does not proceed from [such a power] - this must come from Athena or Apollo...' This then is the force against which the Apolline Jason (cf. 1283, 1.307-9) will have to contend.

1240 The Isthmian games were held in Poseidon's precinct in Corinth, cf. L. Farnell, *Cults of the Greek states* (Oxford 1907) iv 81-3.

1241 **Ταίναρον**: the southernmost part of the Peloponnese, site of a famous temple of Poseidon and an entrance to the Underworld, cf. Pind. *Pyth.* 4.44-5, *RE* IVA 2030-49; the *Tainaria* games in Poseidon's honour were held either there or at Sparta, cf. M. P. Nilsson, *Griechische Feste von religiöser Bedeutung* (Stuttgart 1906) 67-9.

Λέρνης | ὕδωρ: at Lerna in the Argolid were springs sacred to Poseidon Genesios, which the god is said to have revealed as a gift to Amydone, after he had made love to her, cf. Pausanias 2.38.4, Frazer on Apollodorus 2.1.4.

1242 Onchestus, beside Lake Copais in Boeotia, was a special seat of the god (*Il.* 2.506, *h. Ap.* 230-8, *RE* xviii 412-17), and Amphictyonic games were held there in his honour (Pind. *Parth.* 2.41-6). The Hyantes, like the Aones (1178n.), were pre-Cadmean inhabitants of Boeotia (Pausanias 9.5.1, *RE* ix 22), and so the epithet associates Aietes with the grim history of the teeth.

1243-4 A change of syntax produces a mannered anacoluthon and avoids monotony. There may be an echo of Pind. *Nem.* 5.37 Ποσειδάωνα... ὃς Αἰγῶθεν ποτὶ κλειτὰν θαμὰ νίσεται Ἴσθμόν Δωρίαν.

Καλαύρειαν: Poros, in the Saronic Gulf opposite Troezen. The temple of Poseidon on the island was the seat of an important archaic Amphictyony, cf. Farnell, *Cults* iv 83, A. M. Snodgrass, *The dark age of Greece* (Edinburgh 1971) 402.

δή: emphatic after a prefix in tmesis, cf. 4.1040, 1267, F. Vian, *R.Ph.*³ 36 (1962) 43.

Πέτρην: Petra, near Mt Olympus, was probably not the site of the *Petraia* in Poseidon's honour (cf. Σ, Bacchyl. 14.20-2), but this celebration is clearly meant here. Poseidon Petraios was worshipped throughout Thessaly, and the title was taken to refer to his striking the rock with his trident to create the first horse or, in other versions, the valley through which the Peneios flowed, cf. Hdt. 7.129.4, Farnell, *Cults* iv 76. At Pind. *Pyth.* 4.138 Jason addresses Pelias as 'son of Poseidon Petraios'.

Αἰμονίην 'Thessalian', cf. 1090n.

Γεραιστόν: a promontory in southern Euboea with a famous temple to Poseidon (*Od.* 3.177-9, Farnell, *Cults* iv 79); according to Σ Pind. *Ol.* 13.112, *Geraistia* were held there in the god's honour. The whole of Euboea was an important source of timber (*RE* vi 855), but there is no other evidence which singles out Geraistos.

1245 ἦεν ἰδέσθαι: the infinitive expands and completes the idea of the verb, cf. K-G II 14-15. ἦεν makes good sense, but ἦεν picks up εἶσι in 1240 and stresses the processional aspect of Aietes' approach to the games, cf. Campbell (1983) 94.

1246-67 Jason's preparations are simultaneous with Aietes'. Jason anoints his weapon before himself, thus reversing the order of Medea's instructions (1042-7) and avoiding a formulaic style of narrative.

1247-8 ἀμφεπάλυνεν: a variation for πολάσσειν (1046n.).

βριαρόν: not of spears in Homer, cf. 1321-2n.

περὶ δέ 'and particularly', cf. 415-16n. Others understand it as a second prefix with πάλυνεν, 'he sprinkled around...'

1249 βεβημένοι 'using all their force'.

1250-1 'but, unbroken as before, it remained hard in their mighty hands'.

ἀαγές: elsewhere (except Quint. Smyrn. 6.596 which imitates this passage) the first syllable is short, as one would expect. A. may be imitating a lost source for this prosodic rarity.

ἐνεσκήκει: pluperfect of ἐνσκέλλω, a verb which indicates the hardness which results from drying, cf. 2.53 of boxing-thongs.

1252 ἄμοτον 'insatiably', i.e. Idas has never ceased from his anger of 556-64, cf. 1169-70. Others understand 'violently', cf. Livrea on 4.923, *LfggrE* s.v.

1253 οὐρίαχον: the end of the spear, often pointed so that it could be stuck in the ground (cf. 1286-7).

1253-4 'the sword-edge leapt back like a hammer from an anvil'.

ἀκωκή: here the edge of the sword, rather than the point, cf. Lat. *acies*.

ῥαιστήρ: once in Homer, during the making of Achilles' divine armour (*Il.* 18.477); the echo points to the magical power of Jason's weapons.

παλιντυπές: adverbial neuter. The genitive of separation is more likely to follow the verb without a preposition (K-G I 394-5) than to depend upon παλιντυπές (LSJ s.v. πάλιν 1).

ἰμάδησαν: the sense of togetherness (ἰμοῦ) in this verb, cf. 564-5n., stresses the solitary opposition of Idas, who now disappears altogether from the poem. Jason's success in the trials that await him proves an effective silencer.

1258 ἐπερρώσαντο 'moved swiftly', from ἐπιρρώομαι; the form could, however, derive from ἐπιρρώνυμι 'strengthen', and the second half of the verse, which suggests a connection with ῥώμη, allows both possible meanings of ἐπερρώσαντο to be felt.

περί: probably adverbial, 'exceedingly', rather than governing σθένει, or being in tmesis with the verb.

1259-62 A.'s model for this simile is a Homeric passage over which the ancient interpreters puzzled greatly; it describes Paris after he has left Helen and donned his armour and Hector in his terrible power after he has been cured and given new strength by Apollo (*Il.*

6.506-11, 15.263-8): 'as when a stabled horse, having fed his fill at the trough, breaks his bond and runs stamping (κροαίνων) and exulting (κυδιόων) over the plain, accustomed to bathe in the broad river. He holds his head aloft, and his mane plays around his shoulders; trusting in his prowess, he swiftly plies his knees towards the fields where the horses graze.' A. has reduced the scope of the model, and perhaps combined it with Aesch. *Sept.* 392-4 (Tydeus) μάχης ἔρων [cf. ἐελδόμενος πολέμοιο], | ἵππος χαλινῶν ὡς κατασθμαίων μῆνει, | ὅστις βοῆν σάλπιγγος ὀρμαίνει κλύων. In Homer the simile is complex and problematic, not least because of its application to both Hector and Paris; A. has simplified it to emphasise Jason's readiness to confront truly heroic tasks, but the war-horse perhaps suggests the cavalry tactics of the Hellenistic age. As the horse was the animal most closely associated with Poseidon, the simile also suggests that Aietes has found a worthy opponent. For the subsequent history of this simile in Roman poetry, cf. Ennius, *Ann.* 535-9 Skutsch, *Virg. Aen.* 11.492-7, M. von Albrecht, *Hermes* 97 (1969) 333-45.

σκαρθμῶι κτλ. 'strikes the ground as he prances and neighs'. κρούει πέδον interprets the Homeric κροαίνων, which some ancient scholars derived, probably rightly, from κρούειν, cf. Ebeling s.v., Chantraine, *DE* s.v. κρούω.

ὀρθοῖσιν ἐπ' οὐασιν 'its ears upright', i.e. keen and attentive, cf. *Soph. El.* 27 (the *paidagogos* compared to a noble horse) ὀρθὸν οὐς ἴστησιν, *LSJ* s.v. ἐπί B 1.1. A. chooses parts of the horse (ears and neck) which Homer omitted.

1263-4 Jason 'warms up'; cf. *Il.* 19.384-5 where Achilles checks his physical preparedness after he has donned his new armour. Both these verses and the simile of the horse are reminiscent of a dance. The Greeks knew many dances by men in armour or carrying weapons, but most relevant is the πυρρίχη, which seems to have been performed at least partly naked (cf. 1282), carrying a spear and a shield (cf. 1279), and wearing a helmet (cf. 1281); its function was largely as part of the training for war. This dance was associated with Athena, and one version made its origin the goddess' celebration of the victory over the Titans (*Dion. Hal. AR* 7.72.7); this would make it particularly appropriate for Jason before his clash with the 'earthborn warriors'. ἔπαλλεν (1263) may signal this connection, as 'Pallas' was often derived from this verb (*Pl. Crat.* 406c-7a etc.). For the πυρρίχη cf.

K. Latte, *De saltationibus Graecorum* (Giessen 1913) 27-63, J.-C. Poursat, *B.C.H.* 92 (1968) 550-615, E. K. Borthwick, *Hermes* 98 (1970) 318-31, and for its possible significance Hunter (1988) 450-1.

μετάρσιον ἴχνος ἔπαλλεν: rather 'he leaped an airborne step' (cognate accusative) than 'he wielded his step in the air' (predicative adjective).

1265-7 The flashing and rapid movement of the shield and spear is compared, but not by direct simile, to the flash of lightning from a stormy sky, cf. 1377-80, *Il.* 13.242-5. The comparison suggests Zeus's success with the thunderbolt against the Titans (*Hes. Theog.* 687-99), thus foreshadowing Jason's success in the coming contest. Fränkel transposed these verses to follow 1292 to make them describe the fiery breath of the bulls, and this is certainly how Valerius Flaccus uses this passage (7.567-72). The transposition is ingenious, but to be rejected, cf. M. Campbell, *S.I.F.C.* n.s. 46 (1974) 148-50, who notes the preparation here for the simile describing the destruction of the warriors at 1399-1403.

μεταπαιφάσσεσθαι 'was flashing in different directions', picking up ἔσθα καὶ ἔσθα in Jason's movements. This verb was thought to be connected with φαίνειν, cf. *Στ Il.* 2.450, L. Belloni, *Aevum* 53 (1979) 70-1, *Livrea* on 4.1442.

The text of 1267 is uncertain, as the repetition of ἔπειτα is barely tolerable. Ziegler's ὅτε πέπ τε is very attractive, cf. *Il.* 4.259-60, 10.7 (a storm from Zeus), Ruijgh (1971) 496-7.

1269 ἐπισχερώ 'in order', cf. 170; for the allotment of rowing positions cf. 1.394-401.

1270-7 The Plain of Ares was on the south bank of the river opposite the city (2.1266-9). The Argonauts now row a little way further (προτέρω) upstream and cross the river to moor beside the Plain. The Colchians watch from the northern bank of the river, taking advantage of the higher ground there (1276).

1271 ἄστεος ἀντιπέρηθεν 'opposite the city', cf. *Livrea* on 4.68.

1272 '... as is the winning-post, which a chariot must reach, from the starting-gate...' The use of this measurement of distance increases the sense that Aietes, like Poseidon, has come to watch sport in his honour. Both here and at 1.1060 (the funeral of Cyzicus) A. reminds us that he has chosen to omit a scene of funeral games such as Homer had bequeathed to the epic tradition. We should, however, remember

Il. 22.162-4 (Achilles pursuing Hector): 'as when prize-winning horses with their single hooves run very swiftly around the boundaries; at stake is a great prize, a tripod or a woman, when a man has died'. Part of Jason's prize will indeed be a woman. The fusion in this passage of contemporary reality and epic reference is characteristic of Hellenistic poetry.

ἐπήβολος 'to be reached', a passive sense found only here.

νύσσα: the mark (Lat. *meta*) at one end of a hippodrome, which served as a turning-post (καμπτήρ) and, if the race was of an odd number of lengths, the winning-post, cf. H. A. Harris, *Sport in Greece and Rome* (London 1972) 151-83. The length of race courses varied greatly, but most were between two and four hundred metres. This seems a very short distance, but the Greek cannot mean 'the distance of an entire race', e.g. twelve laps (nearly ten kilometres).

1273-4 Jason's contest (ἄεθλον) will lead to victory and a prize (ἄεθλον).

κηδεμόνες: cf. 730-2n. Funeral games in Homer are arranged by the deceased's family (*Il.* 23.631, *Od.* 24.85-92) or by those closest to them (Achilles for Patroclus). At *Il.* 23.163 the κηδεμόνες light Patroclus' funeral pyre ('kindred mourners' Leaf).

1275-7 ἄλλων 'as well', cf. LSJ s.v. π.8.

σκοπέλοισι: A. has in mind the word's connection with σκοπεῖν, cf. ΣΤ *Il.* 2.396; σκοπέλοι were high watch-places, cf. Ovid, *Met.* 7.101-2 *conueniunt populi sacrum Mauortis in aruum | consistuntque iugis*.

ἔλισσόμενον: Aietes is 'roaming up and down' in angry impatience, cf. *Il.* 18.372 τὸν δ' εὖρ' ἰδρώοντα ἔλισσόμενον περὶ φύσας. Placed between χεῖλος and ποταμοῖο, however, the word also hints at ἔλισσασθαι of rivers, cf. 1220n., and some editors adopt the conjecture ἔλισσομένου, which sacrifices the pointed ambivalence of the transmitted text.

1278-1407 The description of the contest falls into two sections: 1278-1353 (the bulls) and 1354 *ad fin.* (the warriors); 1346-53 forms a transitional passage. A. portrays Jason's deed largely by means of simile; the result is an extended passage unlike anything else in the poem - closest is the boxing-match of 2.67-97 - and, through the dense clustering of similes, also unlike normal Homeric battle-narrative (though cf. 1327-9n.). A. has compressed a whole *Iliad* into this final section. For further discussion cf. Faerber (1932) 49-59, Carspecken (1952) 91ff., Fusillo (1985) 330-4.

1278 The echo of 1163 marks the conclusion of preparations and the beginning of the contest proper.

1279 ξὺν δουρὶ καὶ ἀσπίδι: cf. 416n. These arms mark Jason's heroic status, cf. *Il.* 5.297, 20.407. They are also the traditional arms of the hoplite - Jason now faces his real test after the long preparation, cf. above, p. 31, Hunter (1988) 452. The phrase has a long history in Greek literature (Fraenkel on Aesch. *Ag.* 111), but there is no reason to think that A. is quoting a particular text.

1280 ἄμυδις 'also', 'at the same time'.

ἔλε: there is a slight zeugma with ξίφος ἀμφ' ὤμοις ('took up'... 'placed'), but Fränkel's ἔχε is unnecessary.

1280-7 Several noun-epithet pairs give the passage a pronounced 'epic' flavour, but A. avoids actual Homeric phrases.

1281 In Homer helmets are used for purposes other than protecting the head (cf. *Il.* 3.316, drawing lots). Here the helmet will serve as a sowing-sack, as Jason's head is protected by the magic drug.

θεῶν 'sharp'.

1282-3 γυμνός: cf. 1263-4n. Hesiod recommends ploughing and sowing γυμνός (*WD* 391 with West's note), but we should here rather think of the nakedness of gods and heroes in Greek art. In Pindar, Jason throws off his κρόκοεν εἶμα before ploughing (*Pyth.* 4.232).

At *Il.* 2.478-9 different parts of Agamemnon are compared to Zeus, Ares and Poseidon. Here, Jason's likeness to Ares foreshadows his triumph in 'the Plain of Ares' and marks him as a worthy rival for Aietes (cf. 1227). In beauty and stature he is like Apollo (cf. 1.307-11), a god who is closely linked to the success of the expedition, cf. Hunter (1986). At Pind. *Pyth.* 4.87-8 Apollo and Ares are two of the possibilities considered by the crowd at the wondrous sight of Jason; Ares is there signified by χαλκάρματος... πόσις Ἀφροδίτας, which by itself could be taken to refer to Hephaestus, and so the present passage may interpret as well as reflect Pindar.

χρυσασόρωι: a word of debated meaning, but ξίφος points to 'with the golden sword'. For Apollo and gold cf. Call. *h.* 2.32-4, 878n.

1284 χάλκεα: this is new, but unsurprising, information, cf. 230-1.

1285 Cf. 232n.

1286 χρίμψε... κίων 'he approached'.

1287 οὐριάχωι: cf. 1253n.

κυνέην: a variation on πήληκα (1281). Jason rests the helmet

containing the teeth against his upright spear so that nothing is spilled.

1288-90 *νήριτα* κτλ. 'following (μαστεύων) the countless tracks of the bulls'. The sense is, however, uncertain. *νήριτος* was interpreted in antiquity as either 'large' or 'countless' (Livrea on 4.158); as the bulls have been in the field for some time, the latter seems preferable. If so, *μαστεύων* will be 'following' rather than 'tracking'.

ἔκποθεν κτλ. 'from some hidden underground cave'. *ἔκποθεν* (cf. 262n.) probably governs all three following words, despite *ἔκποθεν ἀφράστοιο* at 2.224, 824. Others take *κευθμῶνος χθονίου* as a 'local' genitive.

ἴνα τε: cf. 981n.

1293 Cf. *Od.* 10.219 (the sailors surrounded by Circe's animals) τοῖ δ' ἔδδεισαν, ἐπεὶ ἴδον αἰνὰ πέλωρα.

1293-5 The Homeric model is *Il.* 15.618-21, which describes the Greek battle-line as it faces Hector and the Trojans: 'like a great tall rock, which stands near the grey sea and endures the swift passage of the keen winds and the huge waves which batter against it'; Hector, like the bulls, 'gleams everywhere with fire'. A. has altered the image so that a single rock applies to a single hero, rather than to the solid unity of a battle-line. The image has a long history (Virg. *Aen.* 7.586-90, Bömer on Ovid, *Met.* 9.40), but particularly noteworthy is Virg. *Georg.* 3.237-41 where a charging bull is compared to a crashing wave. For the connection (through Poseidon) of bulls and the sea cf. 1240-5n. Cf. further 1327-9n.

εὖ διαβάς 'planting his legs firmly apart', cf. 1.1199, C. Brown, *A.J.P.* 106 (1985) 356-9. Word-order here reinforces the fact that Jason puts a firm obstacle in the path of the bulls.

μίμνει: unusually, the verb is attached to the subject of the simile rather than to the main subject, and *μίμνει* must be supplied with *ὁ*; for other possible instances cf. J. Vahlen, *Opuscula academica* II (Leipzig 1908) 187-92, Gow on Theocr. 5.28, 7.76, and for *ἄ τε* followed by a finite verb cf. 2.70-1.

1296 *ἐναντίον* 'in their path'.

1298 '...but with their charge they could not heave up the shield even a little'. A charging bull will throw obstacles into the air (*ἀν*-).

1299-1305 The fiery breath of the bulls is compared to the blast from bellows which fire a furnace, cf. Ovid, *Met.* 7.104-11. The epic starting-point is the description of Hephaestus' bellows at *Il.* 18.470-3.

τρητοῖσιν... χροάνοισι: furnaces or smelting-vats had openings in the side to let flame and molten metal out and air and the bellows in, cf. Hes. *Theog.* 863, D. Müller, *Handwerk und Sprache* (Meisenheim am Glan 1974) 128-40, J. Charbonneaux, *Greek bronzes* (London 1962) 24-6.

ἑύρρινοι 'made of tough hides', cf. R. J. Forbes, *Metallurgy in antiquity* (Leiden 1950) 114-15. For the mannered arrangement of nouns and adjectives cf. 1366.

ἀναμαρμαίρουσι κτλ. 'cause sparks to dash out as they [i.e. the bellows] activate the deadly fire'. The verb occurs only here; *μαρμαίρειν* means to 'quiver' or 'flash'. A. has in mind Charybdis, who, compared to a seething cauldron, *ἀναμορμύρασκε* (*Od.* 12.238). Just as Odysseus was saved from this danger by Circe's advice, so Medea's drug saves Jason. Many editors therefore read *ἀναμορμύρουσι* here, but this seems inappropriate to bellows - A. uses *μορμύρω* of water at 1.543 and 4.287 - and produces an unhappy anticipation of 1302. The text must, however, be considered doubtful, cf. Livrea (1982) 23, M. Campbell, *C.R.* n.s. 32 (1982) 16.

αὐτοῦ: i.e. 'the fire', the subject of *αἰζήη*. If *αὐτῶν* is adopted, this will probably be the furnace, rather than the bellows.

A papyrus of the fourth century A.D. seems to have had three verses after 1302 which do not correspond to our 1303-5; the papyrus does not continue after the 'extra' verses, so that we cannot say whether they are an addition or a substitute for 1303-5. Our text is, however, not obviously lacunose. For a similar case cf. 2.944-6 and, in general, above, p. 42.

νειόθεν 'from the bottom', where the bellows would be applied.

φλόγα φυσιόωντες: the alliteration expresses the hiss of fire, cf. the alliteration of p-sounds in the description of Etna at Pind. *Pyth.* 1.21-4.

ὀμάδευον κτλ.: the verse has been seriously corrupted, but is restored with some plausibility, cf. 4.1145 *πάσας δὲ πυρὸς ὡς ἀμφεπεν αἴγλη*, Hes. *Theog.* 696 (the battle with the Titans) *τοὺς δ' ἀμφεπε θερμὸς αὐτμή*.

δῆιον 'burning', cf. *LfggE* s.v.

ἔρυτο: a non-thematic imperfect of *ἐρύομαι*.

1306-25 The description of the triumph over the bulls may be indebted not only to Pindar, but also to Callimachus' *Hecale* in which Theseus' victory over the bull of Marathon was described; cf. *Hecale* fr.

258 θηρὸς ἐρωήσας ὀλοὸν κέρας, and for Jason and Theseus cf. 997-1004n., Hunter (1988) 449-50. Relevant also is [Theocr.] 25.145-52 where Heracles deals with the charging bull called Phaethon (cf. 242-6n.), 'as he came the prince grasped the left horn in his strong hand and bent the neck for all its mass down to the ground, and thrust the beast back with the weight of his shoulder; and all the muscle on his upper arm stood braced and bunched over the sinews. And the King himself, and Phyleus, his wise son, and the herdsmen that tended the horned kine, marvelled to see the tremendous strength of Amphitryon's son' (trans. A. S. F. Gow).

1307 **πέλασσαν** 'until he had brought it to the yoke'; for ὄφρα with the aorist indicative cf. 4.1448-9, *MT*² §615. πελάσσει would mean 'until the bull came near to...' The model is Pind. *Pyth.* 4.227 (Aietes) τοὺς ἀγαγῶν ζεύγλαι πέλασσαν μῦνος, but this cannot decide the correct reading in A.

1310 **σφῆλε γνύξ ἐριπόντα** 'brought it down, falling to its knees'. Even with the slight tautology, ἐριπόντα is to be preferred to ἐπιόντα: it is Jason who is now doing the attacking. Vian argues that, as Jason was occupied with the first bull, the second had to charge before he could grab it; in fact, however, both bulls are right in front of Jason, one at each side (cf. 1306).

1311-13 'With his feet firmly planted right and left, he held them down, one on each side of him (ἔνθα καὶ ἔνθα), fallen on their front knees, while he bent down straight ahead (εἶθαρ) through the flames.' Jason takes the full blast of the fire as the bulls kneel in front of him. The interwoven word-order and the juxtaposition ἔνθα καὶ ἔνθα - τῆι καὶ τῆι emphasise the doubleness of the task.

1314 Cf. Pind. *Pyth.* 4.237-8 (quoted in 1372n.), [Theocr.] 25.150-2 (quoted in 1306-25n.).

1316 **ἀγγίμολον** '[coming] close'; the suggestion of μολεῖν eases the ellipse of a verb.

1317 **λόφοις** 'on the backs of their necks', where the yoke sits.

μεσσηγύ 'between [the two bulls]'.

1318-19 The ἰστοβοεὺς, the pole which connected the yoke to the plough (cf. West's edition of Hes. *WD* p. 266), could be joined to the yoke in a number of ways. Sometimes there was a ring (κρίκος) on the yoke through which a peg was passed and then placed in a hole in the pole, cf. Leaf, *Iliad*² II 623-5; some take κορώνη here to refer to that

ring. However, the lexicographer Pollux (2nd cent. A.D.), whose account goes back to Eratosthenes, takes κορώνη to be the end of the pole which joined the yoke. Homer calls this the πείζη (*Il.* 24.272) and it 'runs up to an almost sharp point' (Leaf), cf. θοῆι. How A. envisaged Jason making the connection between the two - by tying the pole to the yoke with straps? - must remain unclear. For further discussion cf. A. S. F. Gow, *J.H.S.* 34 (1914) 269-71.

συνάρασσε... | ζεύγληθεν 'attached the pole to the yoke'. συν-ἀράσσω is a synonym of συναρμόζω also at 2.614; behind this usage seems to lie *Od.* 5.248 where ἀρασσειν and ἀρηρειν are variants and the sense must be 'fitted together', cf. *LfggE* s.v. ἀράσσω.

1321-2 **γέντο** 'he seized'; no part of this verb other than this aorist occurs in extant literature, cf. Livrea on 4.225.

δόρυ... ἄσχετον: a variation on ὄβριμον ἔγχος (1286).

1322-4 '... with which he pricked (ὑπὸ... νόσσειν) the centre of their flanks, as a labourer [pricks his cattle] with a Pelasgian goad'. The mannered word-order and interlacing of main subject and comparison strongly differentiate these verses from the style of archaic epic.

ὥς τις τε: cf. 756n.

Πελασγίδι... ἀκαίνη: 'Pelasgian' is a poetic word for 'Thessalian', from an eponymous King Pelasgus; here the epithet identifies the dialect source of the gloss ἀκαίνη (which is also used at Call. fr. 24.6). For such a poetic technique cf. Theocr. 2.156 τὰν Δωριδα... ὄλπαν.

λαγόνας: this seems to pick up ἐριπλευρωί φουῖ of the bulls in the Pindaric model (*Pyth.* 4.235).

1324-5 Cf. 230-4n.

ἔμπεδον 'firmly', 'securely'.

ἐχέτην 'the handle of the plough, which was fitted, in this case presumably by welding, to the cutting blade.

1326 should refer to the bulls' initial resistance, but the text is very uncertain. 2.132 and 4.285 argue for the retention of οἱ δ' ἦτοι, and τείως or τείως is attractive, despite the Homeric examples of εἰως in this sense (LSJ s.v. εἰως B); for the ancient debate cf. Σ^{BT} *Il.* 15.277. Cf. further Livrea (1982) 23.

1327-9 Cf. 231, 1292, 2.665-6 (strenuous rowing compared to oxen pulling the plough) ἀντημῆ | ἀσάλῃ στομάτων ὄμστον βρέμει. An echo of 1301-2 makes clear that, even when they are yoked, the bulls are a frightening proposition, cf. Hurst (1967) 100. A. has in mind *Il.*

15.624-8 which describes Hector charging the Greek battle-line and which follows immediately upon the rock-simile which is reworked at 1293-5: 'as when a wave falls on a swift ship, a fierce (λάβρον) wave stirred up by the winds and the clouds; the whole ship is hidden in foam, and the terrible blast of the wind roars (ἐμβρέμεται) against the mast, and all the sailors (ναῦται, replaced in *Arg.* by the Hellenistic ἀλίπλοοι) tremble in their hearts, afraid (δειδιότες, at start of verse), for they have only just escaped death'. A. has thus broken up the cluster of Homeric similes, cf. also 1351-3n. Sailing and rowing, in which the boat cuts a 'furrow' through the water, were often likened to ploughing, cf. 1.1167, 2.662-8, Pfeiffer on Call. fr. 572, Nisbet-Hubbard on Hor. *C.* 1.7.32.

βυκτάων: cf. *Od.* 10.20 (Aeolus) βυκτάων ἀνέμων κατέδησε κέλευθα. βύκτης must mean something like 'blustery', the kind of wind which was threatening to sailors. The alliteration suggests the blast of a roaring gale.

λαῖφος: the large mainsail would expose too much canvas to flap wildly in a storm, cf. *PMG* 999, Casson (1971) 275-6. Ordinary mortals are afraid, but Jason has magical assistance.

ἔστείλαντο: the 'gnomic' aorist common in similes, cf. 967-72n.

1331-4 These verses, 'full of harsh rasping sounds, describe the rending of the fallow land and the din made by the clods as the plough forges through the furrows' (Campbell (1983) 85).

ὀκρίεσσα 'hard'.

ἔρείκετο 'was broken up', cf. [Hes.] *Scut.* 286-7 οἱ δ' ἄροτῆρες | ἤρεικον χθόνα δῖον. σχίζειν was the regular ancient gloss for this verb, cf. Ebeling s.v.

ὠλακας ἀρότρου 'furrows made by the plough'; the emendation ἀρότρωι would be a dative of the agent after ἀγνύμεναι.

βώλακες... ἀνδραχθέες 'fragments of earth as big as a man could carry'; for this interpretation cf. *Σ Od.* 10.121. D. E. Gerber, *M.Cr.* 10/12 (1975/7) 177-9, suggests a second meaning, 'heavy/pregnant with men'.

1335 **λαῖον**: if this is the right reading, it may refer to the end of the ploughshare on which the ploughman treads to push it into the earth, cf. A. S. F. Gow, *J.H.S.* 34 (1914) 251, and (*de*)*primere aratrum* at Virg. *Georg.* 1.45, Ovid, *Trist.* 3.10.68 and *Met.* 3.104 (Cadmus), but the text and the sense are obscure.

1336-9 Jason must sow as he ploughs; ancient farmers sometimes used an assistant to do the former task, cf. West on Hes. *WD* 445.

ἀρηρομένην: the perfect passive of ἀρώω, cf. *Il.* 18.548 (the ploughing scene on the shield of Achilles).

βῶλον: the verse perhaps hints at an etymological link with βάλλειν.

πάρως 'before he was ready', i.e. after the ploughing, cf. 1054-5n.

οἱ δ' ἄρ' ἐπιπρό 'the bulls in front of him'; others understand the adverb with the verb, 'laboured forward', cf. 1.1156, 2.1244 (both of rowing).

χαλκείης κτλ.: cf. 2.666-7 οἱ δ' ἐνὶ γαίῃ | χηλὰς σκηρίπτοντε πανημέριοι πονέονται. Lines 2.665-6 had been 'reused' at 1327-8: A. has broken up his earlier passage, and avoided any suggestion of a 'formulaic' repetition.

1340-5 One of a number of such elaborate indications of time, cf. 1.1172-8 (the end of the day marked by the return home of the digger and the ploughman), Bühler (1960) 210-11, Hunter (1986) 54-5. The device was much favoured in Hellenistic poetry (cf., e.g., Call. fr. 177.5-9, 238.19-21), but has clear archaic roots, cf. *Il.* 11.86-91 (midday marked by the woodcutter having his lunch), *h. Aphr.* 168-71 (cattle return to their stall). As these examples show, this device is often used to set heroic events against the background of the 'real' world. Here Jason's marvellous deed is contrasted with the eagerness of ordinary ploughmen for the day to end (κεκμηῶτες ~ ἀκαμάτωι); ploughing was notoriously hard work which lasted all day (4.1630, *Od.* 13.31-5), and here ploughmen who are nearing the end, but not yet finished, are contrasted with Jason who has already done 'a full day's work', but who has another major task in front of him. The passage has several points of contact with Call. *h.* 3.175-80, and some link between the two is probable, cf. P. Bing, *Z.P.E.* 54 (1984) 7.

τρίτατον: Homer established a tripartite division of both the night (1.1082, *Il.* 10.251-3, which is in A.'s mind here, *Od.* 12.312) and the day (*Il.* 21.111), cf. M. Schmidt, *Die Erklärungen zum Weltbild Homers und zur Kultur der Heroenzeit in den bT-Scholien zur Ilias* (Munich 1976) 198-202.

ἀνομένοιο | ... ἔξ ἡοῦς 'closing from dawn', 'waning from dawn'. The slight redundancy stresses that the ploughmen have been working since dawn. It can hardly be chance that 1340-1 is in fact

almost exactly two-thirds of the way between the start of the day at 1223-4 and its end at 1407; ἡοῦς here picks up ἡώς in 1224.

καλέουσι: the tired men express aloud their desire for the end of the day.

τετράγυος: cf. 412n. The matter-of-fact verse-ending suggests that Jason has so tamed the bulls that unyoking them requires no special effort; in 1346 he shoos them away like a couple of sheep.

1346 κεινός 'empty', an Ionic form found only here in *Arg.*, but four times in the *Iliad*.

1348-9 The ploughmen on Achilles' shield were able to have a drink of wine at the end of each row (*Il.* 18.545-6). That the helmet which had just held the magical teeth is put to this homely use (cf. Smith on Tib. 2.6.8) is an effect typical of Hellenistic poetry.

σβέσεν... δίψαν: the image is not found before A., although thirst is frequently associated with fire.

1350-1 ἐλαφρά: predicative, 'to keep them supple'.

μέγαν κτλ.: cf. *Il.* 22.312-13 (Achilles in the final assault on Hector) μένεος δ' ἐμπλήσαστο θυμὸν | ὄγριου.

1351-3 A vivid 'epic' simile marks Jason as a martial hero, cf. *Il.* 13.471-5 '[Idomeneus] waited, like a boar in the mountains, trusting in his valour, who waits for a great mass of attackers in a lonely spot and his whole back bristles up; his eyes blaze with fire, and he whets his teeth, raging to defend himself against dogs and men', 17.281-3, [Hes.] *Scut.* 386-92. This is the third in a series of similes: first the rock, then the storm, and now a boar. The first two reworked *Il.* 15.618-28; immediately afterwards, at 630-6, Homer has a lion-simile for Hector. It is thus noteworthy that Σ⁷ comments on the boar-simile at *Il.* 13.471-5, which was clearly in A.'s mind, that the poet has chosen to compare Idomeneus to a boar, rather than to a lion, because this suits his situation 'lying in wait for his attackers'. So too, Jason's stratagem suggests the hunted boar rather than the reckless lion, and it is tempting to believe that this pattern of similes in *Arg.* reflects contemporary discussion of the Homeric text.

ὀδόντας: Jason has 'teeth' with which to fight the men born from teeth.

ῥέε: an imperfect referring exceptionally to the boar of the simile, rather than to Jason. A. may have wished to imitate the transmitted εἰκτην, in parallel with λείβεται, in the boar-simile at [Hes.] *Scut.* 390.

The emendation ῥέε produces a much more usual verbal sequence, but a rare rhythm (word-division after a fourth-foot spondee, the second half of which is a monosyllable), cf. 771, Mooney 413, West (1982) 154. Cf. further 1370-1n.

1354-6 To these verses Wendel attaches a scholion, found as Σ 1372, which identifies A.'s source as a conversation between Medea and Idmon in a poem (probably the *Corinthiaca*) of the early epic poet Eumelus. Σ also cites a fragment of Sophocles' *Colchian Women* in which a messenger tells Aietes of the growth of the warriors (fr. 341 Radt). For discussion cf. Huxley (1969) 66-7, F. Michelazzo, *Prometheus* 1 (1975) 38-48, Campbell (1983) 88-9.

1354 Cf. 1054.

1355-8 A.'s primary model is the description of the battlefield ablaze with shining armour at *Il.* 13.339-43, and this passage is a good example of how A. redistributes elements from his model to create a new picture: ἔφριξεν δὲ μάχη φησίμβροτος ἐγχείησι [cf. δούρασι] | μακρῆς, ἃς εἶχον ταμείχρους ὅσσε δ' ἄμερδεν | αὐγῇ [cf. αἴγλη] χαλκείη κορύθων ἄπο λαμπομενάων | θωρήκων τε νεοσημήκτων σκαέων τε φαινῶν | ἐρχομένων ἄμυδις. As often, full appreciation of the Apollonian passage depends on knowledge of the continuation of the Homeric model which has not been directly reworked: 'very bold-hearted would be the man who would rejoice at the sight of that struggle (πόνος) and would not be terrified'. Just such a one is Jason. For other passages describing the gleam of armour which reaches the heavens cf. *Il.* 2.457-8, 19.362-3 (χαλκοῦ ὑπὸ στεροπῆς, cf. 1359-63n.).

φριξεν 'bristled' like a real grain-field; the image, which is already in Homer, had a long history in Latin poetry, cf. Skutsch on Enn. *Ann.* 267. The word forms a link with what has immediately preceded, as both the Homeric and the Hesiodic boars 'bristle' (*Il.* 13.473, *Scut.* 391).

ἀμφιγύοις: a Homeric gloss of uncertain meaning, found as an epithet of spears in contexts of menace. One ancient interpretation was 'sharpened at both ends' (*LfggE* s.v.), but we cannot say what A. thought the word meant.

νειόθεν 'from below' and (?) 'from the νεῖός'.

ἀστράπτουσα: a common image (LSJ s.v. II), and Campbell (1983) 86 denies that the sense 'lightning' is still felt here; the following simile

of further astral phenomena, however, suggests that the original force of the participle is important here.

1359-63 A number of Iliadic passages have contributed to this image: 8.555-9 (the Trojan campfires), 12.278-87 (heavy snow reduces visibility), 19.357-64. In this last passage, gleaming arms are compared (in point of quantity alone) to a thick snowstorm, and A. has changed the order of the comparison and multiplied the points of contact: it is not merely quantity (πολέος) which is relevant here, but the gleam of lying snow at night and the sudden (αἴψ') appearance of the stars after a winter storm is also like the gleam of the arms against the dark earth of the ploughed field (cf. 1055, *Il.* 18.548). It is as though a harvest has suddenly sprung up in the middle of winter.

λυγαίη: cf. 863n.

ἀναλδήσκοντες: cf. 413-15n.

1365-7 A heroic action worthy of Hector (*Il.* 7.264-5) or even Athena (*Il.* 21.403-4). A number of Homeric passages refer to stones which two modern men, or one very strong modern man, could not carry (*Il.* 5.302-4, 12.380-3, 447-50, 20.285-7). A. 'out-Homers' Homer: he doubles the number, but omits the reference to 'modern men', as the emphasis is on Jason's magical strength, not on the distinction between a heroic and a degenerate age.

δεινόν κτλ. 'a terrible disc of Arcs Enyalios'. Set against the grand title for the god and the mannered word-order is the idea that Ares amuses himself by tossing this mighty stone about; σόλοι could be discusses or shots used in athletic games, cf. 4.851, Livrea on 4.657. The phrase stresses Jason's likeness to the god (cf. 1282). The description of the stone as περιγηγής is perhaps to be connected with the dictum of Σ^A *Il.* 23.826 that σόλοι are spherical and δίσκοι flat and round, although other ancient texts see no difference between the two.

αἰζηοί: cf. 515-20n.

1368 ῥεῖα: the transmitted χεῖρα is impossible, and either ῥεῖα or χεῖρι could find support in the Homeric models; the former, however, makes Jason's feat all the more remarkable and helps to prepare for the amazement of the onlookers.

1369 αἶξας 'darting forward'.

λάθρη: cf. 1057-60n.

1370 θαρσαλέος 'confident [in the outcome of his trick]'. The transmitted adverb seems less effective in juxtaposition with λάθρη.

1370-1 The Colchians, watching in a natural amphitheatre (1276), roar like a crowd at a sporting contest (*Il.* 23.847, 869); for them, Jason's ἀεθλος ('trial') is really an ἀεθλος ('sporting contest'). Echoes of earlier sea and storm imagery in 1294 and 1328 suggest that the terror which the bulls inspired has turned into a sporting triumph. The Homeric model is *Il.* 2.394-6 where Achaean acclamation for a speech by Agamemnon is compared to the roar of a wave against a tall rock; here there is an effective contrast between the crowd's roar and Aietes' grim silence.

ιαχεν: an aorist form (cf. 967-72n.) found also in Homeric similes (*Il.* 5.860, 18.219). Ardizzoni (on 1353) argued that A. understood such forms as imperfects, but in fact he uses this form with both aorist (4.581) and imperfect (1.552, 4.130) sense. The unusual (but cf. 1019-21) repetition of the verb may be designed in part to explain the ellipse of a verb in the Homeric model (*Il.* 2.394-6).

1372 Cf. 1354-6n. In *Od.* 8 Odysseus throws a discus which is στιβαρώτερον οὐκ ὀλίγον περ much further than the young men of Scheria (v. 187). This verse combines that passage with Pindar's description of Aietes' response to Jason's success at yoking the bulls, ἴνυξεν δ' ἀφωνήτῳ περ ἔμπας ἄχει | δύνασιν Αἰήτας ἀγασθεῖς (*Pyth.* 4.237-8); the scholia to the Pindaric passage debate whether it means that Aietes cried out loud or groaned inwardly, and ἀμφοσίη may give A.'s answer.

1373-4 A careful variation on 1057-9.

θοοί 'fierce'.

βρυχηδόν 'with a roar'; the dog-simile, however, allows us to sense also a connection with βρύχω/βρῦκω of tearing or gnashing of teeth, and hence the adverb colours both simile and main narrative.

ἐδήιον: this form is found only here; elsewhere A. uses δηῖω or the Homeric δηῖω, cf. J. Wackernagel, *Sprachliche Untersuchungen zu Homer* (Göttingen 1916) 170-1.

1374-6 The pathos of this and the subsequent similes is of a kind familiar both in Homer, cf. J. Griffin, *Homer on life and death* (Oxford 1980) Chap. iv, and elsewhere in *Arg.*, cf. 1.1003-11 (the Giants, who have much in common with the warriors) and 4.1682-8 (Talos), but here it is so heavy and the situation so unusual that the result is quite unlike Homer, cf. Fränkel (1968) 449-50. The primary epic models for the death of a warrior compared to a falling tree are *Il.* 4.482-7, 5.560,

13.389-91 (= 16.482-4) and, particularly, 17.53-8 (the death of Euphorbus compared to the destruction of a carefully tended olive-tree by a sudden strong wind).

οἱ δ': an emphatic repetition, cf. 2.92-4; 'some...some' is not possible here. For similar uses cf. 1001-2, F. Vian, *R.E.A.* 75 (1973) 85 (where, however, the examples are a very mixed bag).

δρύες: for the alternatives in a simile cf. 757-8n. These verses may suggest an etymological connection, such as modern scholarship accepts, between δόρυ and δρύς.

κατάικες 'squalls', cf. Pfeiffer on Call. fr. 238.29.

1377-9 Just as the warriors are like stars (1360-1), so Jason has his own astral gleam (cf. 957-60). The simile continues that of 1265-7 where his weapons flashed like lightning; here the suggestion is that his sword swoops like a shooting star. The main Homeric model is the description of Athena's brilliant descent to earth, like a shooting star, at *Il.* 4.75-8.

οἴος... ὑπαυγάζων '... as a fiery star quivers upward in the heaven trailing a furrow of light behind it...' Cf. Campbell (1983) 126-7, 'The star is not, initially at any rate, seen to trace a straight path through the sky... but suddenly to burst forth from the height of heaven with a trail of light in its wake, which gives the impression at that moment of a "quivering" upward movement.'

πυρόεις: Σ notes that ὁ Πυρόεις was a name for the planet Ares (Mars), and A. may hint at this, without of course actually meaning the planet. This name is not, however, certainly attested before the first century B.C., as [Arist.] *De mundo* 399a9 is of uncertain date.

ἀίξαντα: (δι-)αἴσσω is virtually a technical term for the movement of shooting stars, cf. Σ^b *Il.* 4.75-9, Arat. *Phaen.* 926 (perhaps reworked by A. in 1379), LSJ s.v. διαίσσω.

1381 μίγδην 'at random'. Jason has to strike wherever a warrior appears: there can be no system to the slaughter.

1382-3 As there is no meaningful distinction between 1382 and 1383, either the δ' of 1383 must be removed, creating a short syllable lengthened 'in ictus' (Mooney 424) and an awkward use of ἔς in two different senses, or a lacuna placed after 1382 along the lines of 'many were visible to the waist (but half of them was still hidden) as they rose to the air...'

1384 The transmitted ὦμων both disturbs the sequence down the

body - contrast Ovid, *Met.* 3.109 *mox umeri pectusque onerataque brachia telis* - and the progression in ἀνέχοντος - τελλομένους - ἐστηώτας - ἐπειγομένους (cf. next note), and is also awkward with καὶ 'actually'. Something from the lower part of the leg seems required: γούνων (Struve), κνημών (Platt) and παρσῶν (Campbell) have all been suggested. The error may have arisen because the opening of either 1382 (ἄμων) or 1389 (ὠμόν) caught a scribe's eye.

τελλομένους 'growing', a word often used of plants. The suggestion of 'coming to completion (τέλος)' marks it as an advance on ἀνέχοντος.

1386-91 Jason's frantic reaping is compared to that of a farmer cutting his unripe crop to prevent an invading army destroying it. This is a quite different point from that of the primary model, *Il.* 11.67-71, where the two armies in battle are compared to reapers harvesting; cf. also Cat. 64.353-5 (Achilles) *namque uelut densas praecerpens messor aristas | sole sub ardenti flauentia demetit arua, | Troiugenum infesto prosternit corpora ferro.*

ἀγχούροιον 'between neighbouring peoples', which will give the farmer very little time to work. The alternative reading ἀμφ' οὐροισι, 'concerning boundaries', also makes good sense (cf. *Il.* 12.421), but is more likely to have arisen accidentally as a memory of Homer; at 1.1222, however, ἀγχίγυοι and ἀμφίγυοι are variants.

προτάμωνται 'cut before [the farmer has had a chance to harvest]', rather than (cf. *Od.* 18.375) 'cut in front [of their advance]'. The subject is οἱ πολέμοιοι understood from πολέμοιο.

εὐκαμπῆ νεοθηγέα: the two epithets mark the savagery and desperation of the farmer's act, as well as the destructive power of the sickle.

ὠμόν 'unripe', but in the context of the main narrative we hear also 'cruel', 'savage' (LSJ s.v. II).

οὐδέ βολῆμι κτλ. 'nor does he wait until harvest-time (LSJ s.v. ὠραῖος 1.3) for the crop to be dried by the rays of the sun'.

1392 Like the unripe crop, the warriors have not 'dried up' or matured, and so their blood flows freely.

ἀμάραι 'irrigation-channels', cf. Hopkinson on Call. *h.* 6.29.

1393-8 Cf. 1.1003-11 where the other γηγενεῖς are likened, as they lie in different positions on the beach with different bits of them in the water or out of it, to the logs which woodcutters arrange in a line on the shore.

τετραχότα : either 'rough' (τρηχύν) or 'disturbed' (τεταραγμένον), cf. 276-7n.

όδοῦσι : if the text is sound, this will be an explanatory and etymologising addition to όδάξ, on the model of the Homeric λάξ ποδί (cf. 2.106, 4.1446); όδάξ was derived by some from όδοῦς and by others from δάκνω (Ebeling s.v.). This case is, however, much more obvious than λάξ ποδί, and no true parallel has been adduced. It may be, therefore, that όδοῦσι has a second function as well: not just 'with their teeth', but 'the earth which had been disturbed for [or 'was rough with'] *the dragon's teeth*'. If so, the language of the verse will have been designed as deliberately problematic.

άγοστῶι : in the *Iliad* only in the formula ἔλε γοῖσιν άγοστῶι, where it was variously interpreted as 'palm' (cf. 120), 'forearm' or 'elbow' (*LfgGE* s.v., Livrea on 4.1734). A. may here have intended any of these, or he may have thought of the word as a synonym for (and hence explained by) πλευροῖς.

δομήν 'in form' = δέμας.

ὑπό 'from under'; for representations of this in art cf. F. Vian, *La Guerre des géants* (Paris 1952) 186.

προύτυψαν 'shot up'; there is no real parallel for this vivid use, and προύκυψαν, 'emerged', is a tempting alternative.

πλαδαροῖσι 'weak', 'soft', the image is of plants bending under the weight of their flowers, cf. *Il.* 8.306-8, Theocr. 7.146. Vian suggests that there is a further nuance: the warriors are like young babies whose heads are too heavy for their necks.

ἠρήρειντο 'leaned down', pluperfect of ἔρειδομαι.

1399-1404 Here the warriors of 1396-8 are compared to young vines destroyed by a storm before they have reached maturity, cf. 1374-6n., Faerber (1932) 35-6.

που τοίως 'in a similar way, I imagine'. που (cf. 926n.) distances the poet from the grief felt by the owner of the vineyard, and calls attention also to the literariness of the device of the simile.

φυταλιῆι νεόθρεπτα 'young nurselings in the vineyard'; the common comparison of children to young vines or shoots (Gow on Theocr. 7.44) is here taken a stage further.

ἔραζε : the repetition from 1397 stresses the likeness of the warriors to broken vines.

πόνος : both vines 'on which farmers have toiled' and vines '[whose destruction] causes grief to farmers'.

1405 ἄμμιγα 'together with'; the word suggests again the great number of Aietes' supporters, the ἀπείριτος λαός of 1239.

1406 θωώτερον 'with all speed'. When we next see Aietes (4.6-10), he is spending all of the night immediately after the contest plotting revenge with his counsellors.

1407 The preparations for and the conduct of the contest have taken one full day, cf. 6-7n., 417-18, 1223-4. The book ends with the end of the ἄεθλος, but neither the poem nor the ἀεθλοι are over.

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