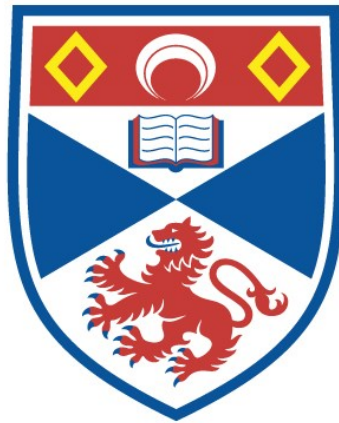


HOSPITALITY IN APOLLONIUS RHODIUS'
ÀRGONAUTICA', BOOKS I AND II

Mirjam Greteke Plantinga

A Thesis Submitted for the Degree of PhD
at the
University of St Andrews



1999

Full metadata for this item is available in
St Andrews Research Repository
at:

<http://research-repository.st-andrews.ac.uk/>

Please use this identifier to cite or link to this item:

<http://hdl.handle.net/10023/15447>

This item is protected by original copyright

University of St Andrews

Hospitality in Apollonius Rhodius' Argonautica Books I and II

Name: Mirjam Greteke Plantinga

Degree: Ph.D.

Date of Submission: Sept. 1998



ProQuest Number: 10170735

All rights reserved

INFORMATION TO ALL USERS

The quality of this reproduction is dependent upon the quality of the copy submitted.

In the unlikely event that the author did not send a complete manuscript and there are missing pages, these will be noted. Also, if material had to be removed, a note will indicate the deletion.



ProQuest 10170735

Published by ProQuest LLC (2017). Copyright of the Dissertation is held by the Author.

All rights reserved.

This work is protected against unauthorized copying under Title 17, United States Code
Microform Edition © ProQuest LLC.

ProQuest LLC.
789 East Eisenhower Parkway
P.O. Box 1346
Ann Arbor, MI 48106 – 1346

Tu 268

DECLARATIONS

In submitting this thesis to the University of St. Andrews I understand that I am giving permission for it to be made available for use in accordance with the regulations of the University Library for the time being in force, subject to any copyright vested in the work not being affected thereby. I also understand that the title and the abstract will be published, and that a copy of the work may be made and supplied to any bona fide library or research worker.

date 20/9/98..... signature of candidate

I, Mirjam Greteke Plantinga, hereby certify that this thesis, which is approximately 105,000 words in length, has been written by me, that it is the record of work carried out by me and that it has not been submitted in any previous application for a higher degree.

date 20/9/98..... signature of candidate .

I was admitted as a research student in October 1994 and as a candidate for the degree of Ph.D. in October 1994; the higher study for which this is a record was carried out in the University of St. Andrews between 1994 and 1998.

date 20/9/98..... signature of candidate

I hereby certify that the candidate has fulfilled the condition of the Resolution and Regulations appropriate for the degree of Ph.D. in the University of St. Andrews and that the candidate is qualified to submit this thesis in application for that degree.

date 5/3/99 signature of supervisor

CONTENTS

Declarations	i-ii
Contents	iii-v
Abstract	vi
Preface	vii
 I Introduction	 1-8
 II Lemnian Episode	 9-65
a) Introduction	9-10
b) The arrival of the Argonauts (1.608-8)	10-3
c) The first encounter between the Argonauts and the Lemnian women (1.609-52)	 13-26
d) The assembly of the women of Lemnos (1.653-708)	26-34
e) The encounter between Jason and Hypsipyle (1.721-843)	34-53
f) Entertainment provided by the women (1.842-60)	53-6
g) The intervention by Heracles and farewell of the women of Lemnos (1.861-913)	 57-65
 III Doliones Episode	 66-100
a) Introduction	66-7
b) The arrival of the Argonauts (1.936-60)	67-74
c) The Earthborn Monsters (1.942-6)	74-8
d) The reception by the Doliones (1.961-85)	78-86
e) The attack of the Earthborn Monsters (1.986-1011)	86-91
f) The battle between the Argonauts and the Doliones (1.1012-53)	 91-100
 IV Hylas Episode	 101-6
 V Amycus Episode	 107-19

	a) Introduction	107–8
	b) The arrival of the Argonauts and narrator's introduction (1.1359ff.)	108–15
	c) Amycus' speech and Polydeuces' reply (2.11ff.)	115–9
VI	Phineus Episode	120–67
	a) Introduction	120–1
	b) Introduction of the prophet and his encounter with the Argonauts (2.178–208)	121–32
	c) Phineus' speech and the reaction of the Boreads (2.209–61) ...	132–8
	d) The preparations for dinner and Phineus' prophecy (2.301–407)	138–60
	e) The return of the Boreads and exchange of speeches during the rest of the night (2.408–50)	160–2
	f) The arrival of the neighbours, introduction of Paraebius and sacrifice (2.450–97)	162–5
	g) Etesian winds prevent the Argonauts from sailing (2.498–536)	165–7
VII	Lycus Episode	168–214
	a) Introduction	168
	b) The arrival of the heroes (2.720–8).....	168–72
	c) The description of the landscape (2.729–51)	172–9
	d) Friendship established between the Mariandyni and the Argonauts (2.752–60)	179–83
	e) The κλέος motif	183–92
	f) The stories told by Jason and Lycus (2.761–811)	192–6
	g) Jason's speech (2.762–71)	196–201
	h) Lycus' reaction (2.771–3)	202–5
	i) Lycus' speech (2.774–810)	205–11
	j) Departure (2.812–900)	211–4

VIII	Argus Episode	215–82
	a) Introduction	215
	b) Arrival (2.1030–1120)	216–23
	c) Argus' speech (2.1122–33)	223–45
	d) Jason's speech (2.1134–9)	245–9
	e) Argus' speech (2.1140–56)	249–54
	f) The reaction of the Argonauts and Jason's speech (2.1158–68)	254–60
	g) Sacrifice and Meal (2.1168–78)	260–65
	h) Jason's speech (2.1178–95)	266–71
	i) The reaction to Jason's speech and Argus' speech (2.1196–1215)	272–6
	j) Peleus' speech (2.1217–25)	276–81
	k) Departure (2.1226–30)	282
IX	Conclusion	283–4
	Abbreviations and Bibliography	285–99

ABSTRACT

In this thesis, *Hospitality in Apollonius Rhodius' Argonautica Books One and Two*, I offer a detailed and systematic analysis of the epic motifs used by Apollonius Rhodius. Careful comparison with its principal models, the Homeric epics, shows the poet's sophisticated manipulation of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, and reveals much of his narrative technique. Read in the context of its sources, it is possible to focus with more precision on Apollonius' innovations.

For this study, I have selected the major hospitality scenes of the first two books, which are concerned with the outward journey to Colchis. Reference is, however, made throughout to the hospitality scenes in Books Three and Four. The hospitality theme is one of the most important in an epic concerning the voyage heroes make in order to retrieve the Golden Fleece. Hospitality scenes are characterised by a certain repetition of motifs: e.g. arrival, reception, meal, storytelling and exchange of gifts. These elements are always adapted according to the particular poetic context and purpose of a scene. With their elaborate structure hospitality scenes provide fascinating material for the study of the reworking of the Homeric epics, crucial for the understanding of Apollonius' work.

PREFACE

Five and a half years ago I was first introduced to Apollonius Rhodius' *Argonautica* during my undergraduate exchange at the University of St Andrews. This thesis is the result of a continuing fascination with this complex, extremely interesting epic.

I would first of all like to thank my supervisor, Dr Malcolm Campbell, for his encouragement and stimulating discussions. During the past four years I have benefited enormously from his knowledge on all things Apollonian, his advice, helpful suggestions and detailed comments on my work. I would also like to thank the School of Latin, Greek and Ancient History of the University of St Andrews for all the opportunities they have provided during my postgraduate studies. I have been very fortunate in being taught by many excellent teachers, and here I would in particular like to mention Mrs F. Bremer-van Katwijk and Prof J. M. Bremer, who taught me at school and the University of Amsterdam respectively.

I am very grateful to Katie Hawks and Chris Shipley for reading the drafts, correcting my English, making me clarify my thoughts and listening to my ideas. Writing a thesis on hospitality has certainly made me even more appreciative of the kindness I have encountered in so many ways while being abroad myself.

Completing this PhD would not have been possible without the financial support of the VSB bank, the Netherlands, and the University Hall St Andrews Graduates Association.

My greatest debt, however, is to my parents for their support and love, and it is to them that I would like to dedicate this study.

I INTRODUCTION

Αἶψα δὲ τὸν γ' ἐσιδὼν ἐφράσσατο καὶ οἱ ἄεθλον
 ἔντυε ναυτιλίας πολυκηδέος, ὅφρ' ἐνὶ πόντῳ
 ἦε καὶ ἄλλοδαποῖσι μετ' ἀνδράσι νόστον ὀλέσσει (1.15-7)

The theme of hospitality is one of the most important in Apollonius' great epic. The journey made by the Argonauts in search of the Golden Fleece necessarily entails encounters with other people, relying on their hospitality for provisions, rest from hard work, and help and information for the next stage of the journey.¹

The importance of this theme is indicated immediately in the programmatic prologue to the epic, where Pelias' ulterior motives for imposing this dangerous task upon Jason are revealed: the heroes are deliberately sent away in the hope that they will never return. The use of the adjective ἄλλοδαπός (1.17), which stresses a foreign, alien aspect and the absence of any ties of guest-friendship, makes clear that, as far as the king is concerned, no relationships will be established between the Argonauts and the peoples they will encounter on their journey. Whether at sea or on land the heroes will be in hostile territory.

Jason, however, presents his fellow-comrades with a much more optimistic view. Although he acknowledges possible disputes and difficulties along the way, in his speech before the election of the Argonauts' leader he deliberately uses ξείνοισι (1.340) to emphasise also the opportunities offered during their expedition for the establishment of relations of guest-friendship: ξείνοισι, of course, can mean both 'stranger' and 'guest.'

τοῦνεκα νῦν τὸν ἄριστον ἀφειδήσαντες ἔλεσθε
 ὄρχαμον ὑμείων, ᾧ κεν τὰ ἕκαστα μέλοιτο,
 νεῖκεα συνθεσίας τε μετὰ ξείνοισι βαλέσθαι.² (1.338-40)

¹Cf., for example, Triton's words in 4.1556-8: Εἰ δέ τι τῆσδε πόρους μαίεσθ' ἄλός, οἷά τε πολλὰ / ἄνθρωποι χατέουσιν ἐπ' ἄλλοδαπῇ περόωντες, / ἐξερέω.

²Cf. 4.338-40.

Pelias' intentions are again recalled when, just after their safe passage through the Symplegades, Jason addresses his comrades in a speech designed to elicit their support (2.638–9: “Ὡς φάτ’ ἀριστήων πειρώμενος· οἱ δ’ ὁμάδησαν / θαρσαλέοις ἐπέεσσιν). Dangers surround them everywhere, both at sea and on land, and fear seems to be their dominant feeling. Despondent, Jason now calls the people they meet ἀνάρσιοι, meaning not just 'hostile' but also '(men) not conforming, or ill-adapted, to the rules (of society/of decent warfare).³ Exaggerating their situation, Jason asserts that no friendly welcome can be expected anywhere.

Νῦν δὲ περισσὸν δεῖμα καὶ ἀτλήτους μελεδῶνας
 ἄγκειμαι, στυγέων μὲν ἄλλος κρυόεντα κέλευθα
 νηὶ διαπλώειν, στυγέων δ’ ὅτ’ ἐπ’ ἡπίριοιο
 βαίνωμεν· πάντα γὰρ ἀνάρσιοι ἄνδρες ἔασιν. (2.627–30)

In Book Three, the situation again changes. Just before their visit to Aeetes, in order to persuade the Argonauts to try a diplomatic approach first before resorting to violence, Jason (rather ominously and ironically) uses the argument that everyone everywhere respects Zeus Xenios, the protector of Guests.

πάντες ἐπεὶ πάντα, καὶ ὃ τις μάλα κύντατος ἀνδρῶν,
 Ξεινίου αἰδεῖται Ζηνὸς θέμιν ἢ δ’ ἀλεγίζει. (3.192–3)

Hospitality thus permeates the whole epic: the first two books of the *Argonautica* are concerned with the outward voyage to Colchis, the third book with the Argonauts' stay there and the fourth book with their return journey. In contrast with Book Four where only two extended hospitality scenes are found (possibly

³See Hoekstra ad *Od.* 14.85. Ἀνάρσιος occurs in several passages in the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* where someone is faced and confronted with hostile people while being on foreign ground. Again, the world in general, both sea and land, is perceived to be full of dangers threatening the hero. For example, in *Od.* 10.459ff., Circe recommends to Odysseus, dispirited by all the sufferings he has undergone so far, food, wine and rest to restore his spirits; in *Od.* 11.401, Odysseus asks Agamemnon in the Underworld whether he died at sea or on the land, at the hands of hostile men; and in *Il.* 24.365, Hermes uses the word to Priam on his way to face the Achaeans in order to retrieve the body of his son.

because of the Colchians' pursuit of the Argonauts), the greatest concentration of these scenes is found in Books One and Two.⁴ For this thesis I have therefore selected the major hospitality scenes of the first half of the epic; the Lemnos, Doliones, Hylas, Amycus, Phineus, Lycus and Argus episodes are each discussed in separate chapters. However, a comparison is invited, and is undoubtedly *meant* to be made, between all the hospitality scenes of the epic, and reference is made throughout this study to the three major scenes in Book Three and Four, namely the visits of the Argonauts to Aeetes, Circe and the Phaeacians, to illustrate further specific topoi belonging to the hospitality theme. Comparison with similar scenes in the *Argonautica*, Homer and the Homeric Hymns reveals the special, unusual features of each scene and the ingenuity of the poet.⁵

In his important book on Homer, W. Arend was the first to pay systematic attention to typical scenes, such as arrival, sleep, sacrifice and assembly. Others, such as M. Edwards, B. Fenik and N. Richardson, followed in his wake, and recently V. Knight in her study *The Renewal of Epic* analysed several typical scenes in the *Argonautica*.⁶

The term typical scene (or type-scene) is used to describe an action or set of actions which is repeated several times within an epic.⁷ As a result of the repetition of motifs within such a scene, the general sequence of elements expected in the episode can be predicted. In a hospitality scene, for instance, certain conventions would be expected to be observed by both guest and host from the visitor's arrival till his departure. To mention a well-known Homeric example: a guest is, in theory at least, allowed to stay incognito till after he has been given a meal. Of course, this does not mean that all these motifs invariably occur in each (hospitality) scene; different topoi can be emphasised, omitted and

⁴The Phaeacian episode, for example, begins rather atypically because of the arrival of two contending parties at the same time.

⁵See Edwards (1991), 14–5.

⁶Armstrong (1958); Bannert (1987) and (1988); Edwards (1975), (1986), (1987a and b) and (1991); Fenik (1968), (1974) and (1978); Richardson (1974); Sowa (1984). Knight (1995), 49–81: The Homeric 'Recurrent Scene.'

⁷Knight (1995), 23.

adapted from scene to scene.⁸ Amplification, for instance, often signifies the importance of a topos within a scene, or of a scene within the work as a whole. Certain typical scenes may even borrow characteristics from other types.

The variety of and *variatio* within typical scenes in Homer has often been noted, and one commentator observed neatly in his analysis of sacrifices that "no two such descriptions are exactly alike."⁹ *Variatio* is also a fundamental principle of Apollonius' work and his imitation of Homer is characterised by careful variation and avoidance of exact repetition. Being a learned poet himself and, as a result, well-acquainted with the conventions of the epic genre, Apollonius is able to play with the reader's familiarity with and knowledge of these motifs. In addition, the Homeric phraseology and vocabulary of the *Argonautica* often helps to establish allusions to specific topoi and scenes which are used as a model. The somewhat formal order of these scenes naturally influences the reader's expectations and thus provides the poet with ample scope to create the literary effects of false expectations, pathos, suspense and irony. In his short section on Apollonius, Arend notes that Apollonius only includes one extended example of each typical scene in order to demonstrate simultaneously his dependence on and independence from Homer.¹⁰ There is certainly more than one hospitality scene in the *Argonautica*, but, as we shall see, within these scenes *variatio* is again a guiding principle. By inspecting these variations on themes in context we can gain better understanding of the *Argonautica* as part of both the epic tradition and Hellenistic poetry.

With regard to Apollonius' hospitality scenes in particular, a study of the variations on topoi within these scenes proves fascinating. In hospitality scenes, peoples are presented, pictures created of societies, individual characters sketched and important heroic values, such as τιμή, αἰδώς, ἔλεος and κλέος, tested.¹¹

⁸See e.g. Tsagarakis (1982), 52 & 64. For a discussion of typical scenes see Edwards (1991), 11–5; Fenik (1968), 66; Knight (1995), 23f; Reece (1993), 1f.; Sowa (1984), 14ff.

⁹Edwards (1991), 13.

¹⁰Arend (1933), 127.

¹¹For the importance of these values see also Richardson (1993), 15; Griffin (1980), 91.

The exchange of information after dinner gives the reader the chance to see the events explicitly from the characters' perspective. The etiquette surrounding the arrival of a stranger is well-known.¹² The observance of the laws of hospitality, shown, for example, in the respect paid to a visitor during the reception and the generous provision of presents at his departure, gives a good indication of the level of civilisation on the part of the host.¹³ Breaches of hospitality deserve severe moral condemnation, especially as a stranger is believed to be under the protection of Zeus himself, whose help a visitor could invoke to reinforce his request. A host must accord his guest the honour he deserves, and both honour and identity (for how can one properly honour someone whose status one does not know?) are central to these scenes in particular, and epic in general.¹⁴

S. Reece identified thirty-eight possible motifs for his model of hospitality scenes, combining several of the smaller typical scenes identified by Arend.¹⁵ His definition of a hospitality scene, from the moment the heroes arrive until they depart, provides a good basis from which to work, and, like Reece, I will also include other typical scenes such as messenger and supplication scenes, when they occur within and form part of the wider hospitality scene. Thus, rather than discussing exclusively those motifs which belong to a reception scene (cf. VII: Reception), I have also taken into account the motifs preceding and following.

- I Maiden at the Well/Youth on the Road
- II Arrival at Destination
- III Description of the surroundings
 - a. Of the residence

¹²See West ad *Od.* 1.113f.

¹³See Griffin (1980), 20; Van Wees (1992), 230ff.; West ad *Od.* 1.113f.

¹⁴Although, of course, every guest would be entitled to a bed and meal, the actual treatment would differ according to status. For the idea of hierarchy within hospitality see Van Wees (1992), 235–6; and for the importance of the question of identity see Bannert (1988), 91. Although Knight (1995: 12) has argued that, in comparison with the *Iliad*, in the *Argonautica* the concern of characters with τιμή is not important, τιμή, or rather its absence, certainly plays a role in the Amycus episode (cf. 2.9).

¹⁵See Reece (1992), 5ff. and see also 12–39 for a short description of each motif.

- b. Of (the activities of) the person sought
 - c. Of (the activities of) the others
- IV Dog at the door
- V Waiting at the threshold
- VI Supplication
- VII Reception
 - a. Host catches sight of the visitor
 - b. Host hesitates to offer hospitality
 - c. Host rises from his seat
 - d. Host approaches the visitor
 - e. Host attends to the visitor's horses
 - f. Host takes the visitor by the hand
 - g. Host bids the visitor welcome
 - h. Host takes the visitor's spear
 - i. Host leads the visitor in
- VIII Seat
- IX Feast
 - a. Preparation
 - b. Consumption
 - c. Conclusion
- X After-dinner drink
- XI Identification
 - a. Host questions the visitor
 - b. Visitor reveals his identity
- XII Exchange of Information
- XIII Entertainment
- XIV Visitor pronounces a blessing on the host
- XV Visitor shares in a libation or sacrifice
- XVI Visitor asks to be allowed to sleep

- XVII Bed
- XVIII Bath
- XIX Host detains the visitor
- XX Guest-gifts
- XXI Departure meal
- XXII Departure libation
- XXIII Farewell Blessing
- XXIV Departure omen and interpretation
- XXV Escort to visitor's next destination

Some of the motifs identified by Reece, such as the 'After-dinner drink' motif, are not found in the *Argonautica*, and we should not necessarily attach equal weight to each of these motifs; some of them nearly always occur and have great symbolic value (e.g. XI and XII), whereas others are only occasionally used and are in themselves of lesser importance (e.g. XXI–III). The complex structure of most hospitality scenes makes these particularly suitable for an analysis of Apollonius' poetic craft. Sometimes, though, as in the Hylas and Amycus episodes, the hospitality theme only serves as a prelude and here I have chosen to concentrate on the beginning of the episode.

As this major travel theme is shared with the *Odyssey*, comparison with this epic in particular seems obvious. The *Argonautica* has often been studied in relation to its principal models, the Homeric epics, and it is widely acknowledged that the study of Apollonius' reworking and manipulation of these works is crucial for the understanding of his poetic craft and narrative technique.¹⁶ A study of this type requires both a literary and a linguistic approach, and I shall look at the scenes from the perspective of themes and motifs, but, more specifically, also pay

¹⁶See e.g. Hunter, *Literary Studies*, 7; Knight's excellent introduction, 1f. For this study, I am greatly indebted to the work of many other Apollonian scholars: Campbell's *Echoes, Studies and Commentary on III 1–471*; Hunter's *Literary Studies*; Knight's *The Renewal of Epic*; Lennox' article on 3.1ff.; Rose's article on the first episode of Book Two.

attention to the vocabulary associated with hospitality and the connotations of individual words.¹⁷

The latter can be briefly illustrated in this introduction by Medea's clever use of the language of hospitality to stress or deny alternately the existence of ties of guest-friendship. In Book Three, she emphasises this relationship and the obligations towards Jason in order to defend her choice to help him (3.905: ξείνων; cf. 3.985–8). Her dreams, however, reveal her fear for the reaction of the neighbours and loss of her reputation (3.795: ἀνέρος ἄλλοδαποῖο; cf. 3.892). Having fled her father's palace, she again calls upon these bonds, which are, after all, based on reciprocity — an important concept within the conventions of hospitality — to secure her place on the Argo (4.83: φίλοι).¹⁸ Finally, during the climactic visit to the Phaeacians, when a desperate Medea tries to arrange a more formal status for herself, she stresses the absence of any relationship in her speech to Queen Arete (cf. 4.1021; 4.1041: στυγερὴ δὲ σὺν ὀθνείοις ἀλλάγημαι). As was also shown in the opening paragraphs, according to circumstances characters and poet skilfully vary the vocabulary used to denote a 'stranger'.

¹⁷Also useful are parallels with tragedy, but although I shall occasionally mention these, this is not my main focus in this study.

¹⁸For the importance of reciprocity see Fisher (1992), 164; Gill *et al.* (edd.) (1998).

II LEMNIAN EPISODE (1.601–914)¹

a) Introduction

...während die spannungsvolle Begegnung Jasons mit der Königin weit über die Typik homerischer Ankunfts- und Besuchsszenen hinausgeht.

So Herter comments upon the encounter between Hypsipyle and Jason, the climax of this episode with its erotic and seductive atmosphere.² In this analysis, it is argued that it is the very play with these conventional hospitality motifs that achieves the effect mentioned by Herter. The elaborate structure of the scene is apparent from a brief summary of the content of this meeting between the Argonauts and the Lemnian women.

After the arrival of the heroes on the island of Lemnos (1.601–8), the heroes are met on the beach by an army of women. Fortunately, this does not end in bloodshed and the Argonauts manage to secure a stay for the night via their messenger Aethalides (1.609–52). The next day, an assembly is held by Queen Hypsipyle and the other women in which it is decided to grant the men a hospitable welcome in order to entice them to settle on the island. Again, a messenger is employed to summon the leader of the expedition to the palace (1.653–718). Jason, dressed impressively in an embroidered purple cloak made by Athena herself, makes his way to the palace surrounded by excited virgins. In answer to a lengthy speech by the queen, Jason explicitly accepts only the offer of hospitality (1.719–848). Scenes of feasting, sacrifices and dancing abound (1.849–60) and as a result the Argonauts' voyage is continually delayed until Heracles, who decided to remain at the ship, calls the men together (1.861–76). His speech, which scolds his comrades for forgetting their mission by their stay

¹Beye (1982), 90–3; Blumberg (1931), 14–20; Clauss (1993), 106–47; Fränkel, *Noten*, 89–123; George (1972), 47–63; Hunter, *Literary Studies*, 46–59; Ibscher (1939), 14–22; Jackson (1993), 59–73; Knight (1995), 162ff.; Levin (1971), 59–86; Natzel (1992), 179–80; Nyberg (1992), 121–5; Stoessl (1941), 26–52; Williams (1991), 217–9, 280–1, 286–7. For a survey of all the different versions of the Lemnian episode before the *Argonautica* see Vian i, 19–28.

²Herter (1944–55), 347.

with foreign women, is highly successful and a hasty departure follows. The episode ends with the farewell speeches of Hypsipyle and Jason (1.877–913).

From this synopsis, it is clear that the complex situation on the island of Lemnos is matched by an equally complicated sequence of hospitality motifs. The encounters of Odysseus with women such as Calypso, Nausicaa and Circe provide powerful role models for this episode.³ Parallels with all these women also suggest that Hypsipyle will not be successful in her attempts to keep Jason on Lemnos. Ironically, the Lemnian women threaten the Argonauts more once they resume their traditional female roles and offer the men hospitality than at the beginning of this episode when they make an unsuccessful attempt at battle, dressed in the armour of men. As will be seen, previous versions of the 'Lemnian crime' written by comedians and tragedians alike seem to have influenced the reader's expectations,⁴ especially with respect to the first encounter of women and Argonauts. The attraction of this episode, apart from its being the first encounter of the Argonauts with others during their journey, its portrayal of the interesting roles played by Jason and Heracles,⁵ and the intriguing questions about the reworking of much material concerning the Lemnian women to suit this epic, is the way in which it foreshadows the relationship between Medea and Jason.⁶ Prefiguring important future developments, it is not surprising that Apollonius chooses to situate the meeting at this outward stage of their journey rather than on their voyage back home as was done by Pindar (Pind. *P.* 4.225ff.).

b) The arrival of the Argonauts (1.601–8)

Ἦρι δὲ νισομένοισιν Ἄθω ἀνέτελλε κολώνη
 Θρηκίη, ἣ τόσσον ἀπόπροθι Λῆμνον ἐοῦσαν
 ὅσσον ἐς ἐνδιόν κεν εὐστολος ὀλκάς ἀνύσσαι
 ἀκροτάτῃ κορυφῇ σκιάει καὶ ἐσάχρῃ Μυρίνης. (1.601–4)

³Clauss (1993), 106.

⁴Vian i, 21–3. Also Hdt. 6.137ff.

⁵Clauss (1993), 107.

⁶Hunter, *Literary Studies*, 47; Levin (1971), 71; Nyberg (1992), 121; Vian i, 24; Williams (1991), 281.

The actual arrival of the Argonauts at the island is only indicated by the conventional verb ἵκοντο (1.608).⁷ Before this, however, the progress of the Argonauts throughout the day is followed with precision. The journey is seen from their perspective:⁸ in the morning, the imposing Mount Athos rises up before their eyes (1.601: νισομένοισιν ... ἀνέτελλε) and in the evening, the island of Lemnos is reached just as was predicted.⁹ This route, also for example taken by Hera when visiting Sleep on Lemnos, is the most natural one for a sailor to take.¹⁰ The information given in 1.601–4 echoes *Od.* 4.356–7 (τόσσον ἄνευθ' ὅσσον τε πανημερίη γλαφυρὴ νηὺς / ἦνυσεν, ἧ λιγὺς οὖρος ἐπιπνείησιν ὀπισθεν).¹¹ Embedded in the latter case in a traditional Homeric topographic introduction in which an introductory τις ἔστι (*Od.* 4.354) is followed by ἔνθα... (*Od.* 4.360) when the narrative is resumed again,¹² here this detail is specifically used to focus all our attention on the short distance between the mainland of Thrace and the island of Lemnos, in preference to a more conventional introduction. Athos, a landmark dominating the surroundings, casts its shadow over the whole prologue.¹³ In other words, the journey of the Argonauts itself functions as an indirect introduction to the Lemnian Episode. As a result, not many details are given about the island itself (1.608: κραναήν Σιντηίδα).¹⁴ The epithet κραναός, 'rocky,' seems to cast some doubt upon

⁷Reece (1993), 13.

⁸Cf. this with the travel descriptions in 2.721ff. (δερχόμενοι παράμειβον) and 4.891–2 (ἐσέδρακον).

⁹Clauss (1993), 102; Fränkel, *Noten*, 89; Vian i, ad 1.608, 256.

¹⁰See Janko ad *Il.* 14.225–30; *Il.* 14.229–30: ἐξ Ἀθόω δ' ἐπὶ πόντον ἐβήσετο κυμαίνοντα, / Λήμνον δ' εἰσαφίκανε, πόλιν θείου Θόαντος. Also *Il.* 14.227: Θρηκῶν ὄρεα νιφόντα ~ 1.826: Θρηκίης ἄροσιν χιονώδεα.

¹¹It is not unusual to be given details of the relative position of one site with regard to the other (e.g. *Od.* 4.845).

¹²See West ad *Od.* 3.293.

¹³A well-established fact: see Herter (1944–55), 344; Hunter (1993b), notes ad 17; Vian i, 78–9, n. 3., quoting *Soph. fr.* 776 (Pearson).

¹⁴Σιντηίδα (1.608), a learned allusion, recalls *Od.* 8.292–4 and *Il.* 1.592–4, and thereby the special relationship between Hephaestus and Lemnos. See also Clauss (1993), 102–4 for parallels between the Iliadic passage and 1.601ff.; Levin (1971), 59.

Hypsipyle's rosy portrayal of the island as βαθυλήϊος, 'very fruitful'.¹⁵ Williams considers the fact that "nature is completely absent and no landscape is described" as "indicative of the 'unbalanced' social structure of the Lemnian women."¹⁶ On the whole, however, not much attention is paid in the *Argonautica* to geographical descriptions in introductions to major hospitality episodes and, in this case in particular, the mention of one feature to the exclusion of almost any other details serves a very clear purpose. The proximity to Thrace not only justifies the women's fear of revenge from the mainland, but, first and foremost, adds a sinister touch for readers with knowledge of the background of the 'Lemnian crime'.¹⁷ The (prospective) function of the topographical introduction, introducing a new stage in the narrative,¹⁸ is even more apparent here and becomes clearer as the narrative proceeds (1.613–4: ἀντιπέρηθεν / Θρηκίην; 1.799: οἷτ' ἀντία ναιετάουσιν): how will the women react now that a ship comes from the direction from which retribution is feared?

Although all day long the ship is carried by a strong wind, when night falls, the wind drops and the Argonauts have to row their ship to the nearest possible location to spend the night.

Τοῖσιν δ' αὐτῆμαρ μὲν ἄεν καὶ ἐπὶ κνέφας οὖρος
πάγχυ μάλ' ἀκραής, τετάνυστο δὲ λαίφεα νηός.
Αὐτὰρ ἄμ' ἡελίοιο βολαῖς ἀνέμοιο λιπόντος
εἰρεσίῃ κραναὴν Σιντηίδα Λήμνον ἵκοντο. (1.605–8)

Weather conditions are repeatedly used as a device to motivate and justify all stages of the Argonauts' stay at a certain place. Here, winds are absent both at arrival and departure; the Argonauts reach Lemnos in the evening by oars and leave without waiting for a favourable wind (1.911ff.), desperate to depart as quickly as possible. Although no formal indication of the involvement of gods is

¹⁵In 1.826, χιονώδης is used of the Thracian in an unfavourable comparison with the Lemnian soil.

¹⁶Williams (1991), 208.

¹⁷See also Blumberg (1931), 14.

¹⁸See Hoekstra ad *Od.* 13.96.

given, often their hand is seen behind these events by scholars.¹⁹ Williams regards the arrival of the Argonauts at dusk (and the accompanying failure of the wind in itself) as an ominous sign because of the widespread association of night with fear.²⁰ Certainly, potentially dangerous conditions are created by their arrival after dark with all the risks of a battle owing to mistaken identities (as is indeed shown in the next episode); but also, from a hospitality point of view, although an arrival at this time is not at all unusual, a somewhat uneasy situation is forced on the Lemnian women. One cannot really send visitors who arrive at this time of the day away and thus shelter for the night is granted (time is explicitly emphasised twice: cf. 1.607 and 1.650–1).²¹

c) The first encounter between the Argonauts and the Lemnian women (1.609–52)

The combination of ἵκοντο in 1.608 and ἔνθ' in 1.609 leads one to expect the topoi belonging to a visit type-scene. Usually, the visitor finds the inhabitants of the land engaged in some way, proceeds towards them and, standing next to the future host, begins the conversation.²² Here, the perspective changes quite drastically to that of the Lemnian women, and a digression follows (1.609–32) in which the background information is provided about the terrible deed and subsequent unusual situation on the island. Consequently, we have more information about the situation than both the women and the Argonauts. Foreknowledge on the part of the reader, who possesses more knowledge than the characters within the story, is a common and very effective literary device employed to create suspense, irony and pathos. At the same time, the reader's interpretation and perception of future events are influenced. In this short passage, the basic ingredients of the story, such as hatred, jealousy, murder,

¹⁹Clauss (1993), 105; Fränkel, *Noten*, 90.

²⁰Williams (1991), 35: "The night-time sets the mood for the tale of the murder of the Lemnian men which immediately follows." Ibid. 217–9.

²¹See Vian i, 18, n. 2 for this interpretation of ἐπὶ κνέφας (1.605) and ἄμ' ἡελίοιο βολαῖς (1.607). Cf. on the other hand Stoessl (1941), 26–7, who argues for an arrival in the morning.

²²See Edwards (1975), 63.

neglect and wrath of a goddess, are given, thereby characterising the women before the action starts with the help of highly emotional and expressive language. The queen's own accounts of their deed, first to the assembled women and later at greater length to Jason, have often been compared with the version given in these lines.²³

The women of Lemnos, motivated by resentment over the crimes committed by their husbands in the previous year, killed the *entire* male population of the island. "Ἀμυδις πᾶς δῆμος (1.609) is deliberately placed at the beginning of the verse as this constitutes the women's 'true crime' (cf. again πᾶν and ὁμοῦ in 1.618).²⁴ The behaviour of the *women* (1.609: γυναικῶν) is immediately condemned as criminal by the narrator. A description of their crime is repeated at the beginning and the end of Apollonius' version of the causes of the murder (1.609–10 ~ 1.616–9). The first verb to describe the women's action, δέδμητο (1.610), from δαμάζειν, 'subdue,' cleverly focuses the attention upon the extraordinariness of the fact that *women* are here the perpetrators of the slaughter by its connotations of 'taming' and 'subduing a maiden to her husband' (cf. 1.671–2: παρθενικὰ ... / ... ἄδμητες).²⁵ When the killing is described again in 1.617, ἔρραισαν, 'pulverise,' is used, a strong verb carrying the notion of violent (physical) destruction.²⁶

Ἐνθ' ἄμυδις πᾶς δῆμος ὑπερβασίησι γυναικῶν
νηλειῶς δέδμητο παροιχομένῳ λυκάβαντι. (1.609–10)

ὦ μέλεαι ζήλοιο τ' ἐπισμυγερῶς ἀκόρητοι,

²³Blumberg (1931), 15–6; Fränkel, *Noten*, 111–2; George (1972), 59; Hunter, *Literary Studies*, 111; DeForest (1981), 43–4.

²⁴Vian i, 79, n. 1. An interesting parallel can be drawn with tragedy. Hall (1997), 109 writes: "Play after play, therefore, portrays the disastrous results on the larger community of divinely inspired madness, anger, sexual desire, or jealousy in women unsupervised by men."

²⁵Cf. *Il.* 18.432; Campbell ad 3.4–5 comments that "δαμάζειν and cognate terms compare the effect of sexual drives to the external force that tames wild animals, rendering them helpless. The implicit metaphor is essentially that of enslavement." See also Campbell ad Mosch. *Eur.* 75–6. For another, less attractive interpretation of the implications of the use of this verb see George (1972), 52: "πᾶς δῆμος δέδμητο — the expression means directly that all the *men* were *killed*, but the words imply ruin for their town; the city was broken, the city was reduced."

²⁶Cf. 1.1034; *Od.* 9.459. Usually of shipwreck: cf. 2.1112; *Od.* 5.221; *Od.* 13.177. George (1972), 53 sees the verb as symbolising the "treatment the women rendered their pirate-husbands."

οὐκ οἶον σὺν τῇσιν ἐοὺς ἔρραισαν ἀκοίτας
 ἀμφ' εὐνῇ, πᾶν δ' ἄρσεν ὁμοῦ γένος, ὥς κεν ὀπίσσω
 μή τινα λευγαλέοιο φόνου τίσειαν ἀμοιβήν. (1.616–9)

Ὑπερβασίησι, as νηλειῶς,²⁷ is a strong word, used for moral condemnation; the *hybris* displayed by the women cannot go without ultimate punishment. Paradoxically, it is the realisation of this fact that drives the women to slaughter all the men (1.619: τίσειαν ἀμοιβήν ~ 1.615: ἄτισσαν). Similar language specifically associated with *hybris* is for example used in the *Odyssey* of the suitors (e.g. *Od.* 1.368: ὑπέρβιον ὕβριν ἔχοντες)²⁸ and the Cyclopes (e.g. *Od.* 9.275: οὐ γὰρ Κύκλωπες Διὸς αἰγιόχου ἀλέγουσιν), both committing crimes against hospitality, and in the *Argonautica* of the Earthborn Monsters (1.942: Καὶ τὸ μὲν ὑβρισταί τε καὶ ἄγριοι ἐνναΐεσκον) and the Berbycians (2.128–9: ὥς ἄρα τοί γε / λευγαλέως Βέβρυκας ὑπερφιάλους ἐφόβησαν). Suspense and anxiety about the coming confrontation is created by these parallels and by the portrayal of the Lemnian women as ruthless females who pitilessly commit their crimes (cf. 1.609–10). Hypsipyle's own words, ambiguous as they are in themselves (1.820: εἰσόκε τις θεὸς ἄμμιν ὑπέρβιον ἔμβαλε θάρσος), implicitly admit guilt by the use of the adjective ὑπέρβιον, recalling and echoing ὑπερβασίησι in 1.609.

The queen's own limited human perception does not allow her to identify the god responsible. Likewise in the narrator's account, the reference to Aphrodite in 1.615 is equally puzzling. Although in this case there is no question about the deity involved, it is not immediately clear whether the anger of the goddess is directed against the Lemnian men or women. As Blumberg has argued, the phrasing seems to suggest that it is the men rather than the women against whom the wrath of the goddess is directed.²⁹ The grave consequences of

²⁷See Hainsworth ad *Od.* 9.632. The adverb as such is not found in Homer, where the adjective is used as an epithet of ἥτορ ('hard,' 'relentless') and χαλκός (e.g. *Il.* 3.292). See for νηλειῶς also 1.1214 and 2.262.

²⁸See Garvie ad *Od.* 6.120.

²⁹Cf. Levin (1971), 62 and Natzel (1992), 170, who both want to apply this statement to the women.

the neglect of a god are in this epic also exemplified by Pelias (3.65: ὅς μ' ὑπερηνορέη θυέων ἀγέραςτον ἔθηκεν).³⁰

ἐπεὶ χόλος αἰνὸς ὄπαζε
Κύπριδος, οὐνεκά μιν γεράων ἐπὶ δηρὸν ἄτισσαν.
(1.614–5)

In the highly emotional exclamation,³¹ the women are called ἀκόρητοι, 'insatiable,' because they jealously killed not only their husbands and the slave-girls (1.617: σὺν τῇσιν ... ἀκοίτας), but the entire male population to eliminate the risk of retaliation.³² The adjective is applied here in an unusual, new combination. Ἀκόρητος is in the *Iliad* used in the formulas ἀκόρητος αὐτῆς and μάχης ἀκόρητος (cf. *Il.* 20.2; *Il.* 13.621; *Il.* 13.639) and suits, therefore, the warlike image sketched of the Lemnian women.³³ Ἐπισμυγερός, 'sadly,' 'to one's cost,' also hints at the fact that the women will suffer the consequences of their behaviour. Similarly in *Od.* 3.195 (κεῖνος μὲν ἐπισμυγερός ἀπέτισεν), Aegisthus is said to be punished for murdering Agamemnon. Although at first sight conflicting ideas seem to be joined together in one verse, the interjection sums up explicitly the narrator's attitude towards the Lemnian women.³⁴ The women's jealousy is judged to be legitimate and understandable, but their excessive reaction is not, and is instead reprehensible.³⁵ The causes of the women's *hybris* are explained and at least partially legitimised by the unlawful behaviour of their husbands (1.611–2: Δὴ γὰρ κουριδίας μὲν ἀπηνήναντο γυναῖκας / ἄνδρες ἐχθήραντες). As we shall see, the importance of status (especially married) for women is illustrated throughout this

³⁰See Campbell ad 3.64–5; Vian ii, ad 3.65, 112; Richardson ad *HyDem* 311f.: "Deprivation or absence of his τιμή is detrimental to a god." Cf. 1.14: Ἥρης δὲ Πελασγίδος οὐκ ἀλέγιζεν (~ *Od.* 9.275).

³¹For μέλαινα, 'unhappy,' 'miserable,' see also 2.341.

³²Vian i, 79, n. 1.

³³Similarly in *HyAphr.* 71 the word is used of leopards ravenous for deer.

³⁴De Jong, *Narrators*, 18 & 136–45.

³⁵See George (1972), 53: "Once again the attention is divided, this time between the odiousness of the women's crime and that of the men's pursuits which led to the crime." Cf. Natzel (1992), 170, who argues that the attention is mostly directed towards the crimes of the men.

episode. Similar concerns are later echoed by Medea with respect to her so far illegal relationship with Jason. The overall dramatic style in this section, as exemplified by the apostrophe,³⁶ clearly reveals the tragedy of the past events. The ambiguous nature of the power of love is apparent in its alternate description as *τρηχὺν ἔρπον* (1.612) in the case of the fierce passion conceived by the Lemnian men for the Thracian slave-girls, and the familiar *γλυκὺν ἥμερον* (1.850) of the desire of the Lemnian women for the Argonauts; both are perceived to be the result of the intervention of Cypris herself.³⁷ Sympathy for the plight of the women is generated by this focus on the men's responsibility, but the fearful expectation of the reader for the imminent confrontation is even more emphasised. The separation between men and women (cf. the juxtaposition in 1.611–2: *γυναικάς / ἄνδρες*) is continued throughout the prologue to create suspense for the coming encounter between the Lemnian women and Argonauts.

Hypsipyle, daughter of King Thoas and present queen, is singled out from the other women by allowing her father to escape to Thrace (1.620: *οἷη δ' ἐκ πασέων γεραροῦ περιφείσατο πατρός*).³⁸ Responsibility for the massacre is thus removed from the maiden. The fact that people in Thrace must know about the Lemnian crime because of Thoas' escape to the mainland is the cause of the great anxiety for the women and keeps them wary of any strangers visiting their island.³⁹ The tense and mood used in 1.632 (*ὅποτε ... ἴασι*) indicate that the coming of the Thracians is perceived by them as a certain fact. For the women, the only question left is the exact time of the enemy's arrival.

Ἄλλὰ γὰρ ἔμψης
ἦ θαμὰ δὴ πάπταινον ἐπὶ πλατὺν ὄμμασι πόντον
δείματι λευγαλέω, ὅποτε Θρήικες ἴασιν. (1.630–2)

³⁶De Jong, *Narrators*, 60–1.

³⁷Cf. also 1.773: *ἀργαλέας ἔριδας*; 1.802–3: *οὐλομένης ... θεᾶς ... / ... θυμοφθόρον ... ἄτην*. These two aspects of Love are combined in Medea's truly bitter-sweet experience in the third and fourth books: 3.290: *γλυκερῇ ... ἄνιη* (see Campbell ad loc.); 4.446: *οὐλόμενά τ' ἔριδες*. For *γλυκὺς ἥμερος* see for example *HyAph* 143; *Il.* 3.446; *Il.* 3.139.

³⁸For the favourable portraiture of Hypsipyle see Blumberg (1931), 16; Herter (1944–55), 345; Fränkel, *Noten*, 111. See Clauss (1993), 112–3 on the importance of the fact that Hypsipyle sent her father away in a *λάρναξ*.

³⁹See also Clauss (1993), 112–3.

Both the verb *πάπταινον* (1.631) and the noun phrase *δείματι λευγαλέω* (1.632) are indicative of the nervousness and anxiety on the side of the women. *Λευγαλέω*, echoing *λευγαλέοιο φόνου* (1.619), reminds the reader again of the cause of their distress.⁴⁰ *Λευγαλέος* seems to have an intensifying force, stressing the enormity of their fear, a direct result of the murder they have committed. In Homer, the adjective is associated with death and war,⁴¹ and has thus an appropriate association with the destructive capabilities of the women. The vocabulary in this episode is frequently taken from that of war; applied to the women who behave as warriors prepared and ready for battle, it highlights the reversal of roles. *Πάπταινον* (1.631), 'to watch with sharp, searching glance,' is often associated with anxiety and nervousness.⁴² Like warriors observing enemy positions, the frightened women carefully scan the wide sea (1.631: *ἐπὶ πλατὺν ... πόντον*) for invaders.⁴³ It is a very appropriate and effective verb as it carries not only the connotation of panic and fear (e.g. *Od.* 22.24–5; *Od.* 22.223; *Od.* 22.380) but also of vigilance (e.g. *Od.* 17.330; *Od.* 11.608), describing vividly and with precision both aspects of the women's mental state.⁴⁴ This reference to visual perception, i.e. the habit of the women of being vigilant and permanently watching the sea, is followed by their sighting of the Argonauts and immediate reaction (1.634: *αὐτίκα*), and thus a smooth transition from exposition to account of the first encounter between men and women is achieved. Unusually, the confrontation is seen from the viewpoint of the Lemnian women (1.633:

⁴⁰Campbell ad 3.374 and 3.263: "My own choice for this example is 'pernicious,' which suits the overwrought tone, and which is in accord with interpreters of *Il.* 9.119 cited above."

⁴¹See Janko ad *Il.* 13.97–8.

⁴²Hainsworth ad *Od.* 12.332: "*παπταίνειν* is always a symptom of fear, as explicitly at *Od.* 11.546." Cf. also *Il.* 17.674, where Menelaus' searching among the mass of people to see whether Nestor's son is still alive is compared with the watching of an eagle. In the twelve occurrences of the verb in the *Argonautica*, an element of fear can also be recognised in 2.608 (the heroes scanning the sea after just having escaped the Clashing Rocks); 3.953 (Medea anxiously waiting for Jason); 3.634 (Medea gazing around her room full of fear after a nightmare [cf. *Od.* 19.552!]); 3.1284 (Jason seeing the bull's yoke and the plough in the field); 4.1332 (Jason in despair).

⁴³See Heubeck ad *Od.* 11.608 on usage of the verb in the *Iliad*. *Πλατὺς*, drawing attention to the vastness of the sea, further complements this picture. Cf. *Il.* 17.432; 2.579.

⁴⁴See Fernandez-Galiano ad *Od.* 22.380.

ἶδον).⁴⁵ Apollonius' penchant for consecutively narrating two parallel events in time (e.g. 1.640: *τείως*) is well-known. The handling of time here is quite special, as what takes place in 1.633 (*Τῷ καὶ ὅτ' ἐγγύθι νήσου ἐρεσσομένην ἶδον Ἀργῷ*) strictly speaking precedes 1.608 (*εἰρεσίη ... ἴκοντο*). The skilful manipulation of perspective and time reveals the atypical elements surrounding this 'arrival at destination.'

As soon as the Lemnian women catch sight of a ship being rowed near their island,⁴⁶ they swarm through the gates out to the seashore in full armour in the conviction (1.636: *φᾶν γάρ που*; cf. 1.632) that the Thracians have finally come.

Τῷ καὶ ὅτ' ἐγγύθι νήσου ἐρεσσομένην ἶδον Ἀργῷ,
αὐτίκα πασσυδίη πυλέων ἔκτοσθε Μυρίνης
δήια τεύχεα δῦσαι ἐς αἰγιαλὸν προχέοντο,
Θυάσιν ὠμοβόροις ἴκελαι· φᾶν γάρ που ἰκάνειν
Θρήικας. (1.633–7)

Προχέοντο, 'poured forth,' vividly emphasises the sheer multitude of Lemnian women rushing to the shore. The verb *προχέεσθαι* is used in the *Iliad* (cf. *Il.* 2.465; *Il.* 15.360; *Il.* 21.6) of large bodies of warriors going to battle.⁴⁷ *Πασσυδίη* recalls *Il.* 11.709 (*πανσυδίη· μετὰ δέ σφι ... θωρήσσοντο*) and *Il.* 11.725 (*ἔνθεν πανσυδίη σὺν τεύχεσι θωρηχθέντες*), in both cases used in a battle context, and could denote either 'with all speed' or alternatively 'with full strength,' i.e. 'all together,' as in 1.1162; 2.795; 2.1063; 3.195, thereby merely strengthening and intensifying the notion already apparent in the verb.⁴⁸ The first suggestion is preferred here, not only because of the Homeric echoes mentioned

⁴⁵See also Janko ad *Il.* 14.294. The reaction of the women is the reverse of that of Nestor and his compatriots: *Od.* 3.34–5: οἱ δ' ὥς οὖν ξείνους ἶδον, ἄθροοι ἦλθον ἅπαντες, / χερσὶν τ' ἡσπάζοντο καὶ ἐδριάζασθαι ἄνωγον.

⁴⁶Contrary to Aeschylus' version in which the Argonauts arrive at the Lemnian beach in a violent gale. See Vian i, 25 and Fränkel, *Noten*, 90.

⁴⁷The emphasis on the sheer number of the women returns throughout the episode: e.g. 1.655: ὀμιλαδὸν (cf. *Il.* 12.3; *Il.* 15.277) and 1.630 (οἷς αἰεὶ τὸ πάροιθεν ὀμίλεον; cf. *Il.* 16.641: οἱ δ' αἰεὶ περὶ νεκρὸν ὀμίλεον, ὥς ὅτε μυῖαι). See also Campbell ad 3.212.

⁴⁸See also Campbell ad 3.195.

above,⁴⁹ but also because of the embedding within the comparison with Bacchantes. Above all, the haste with which the women rush down to the shore is emphasised. Their armour is explicitly called δῆϊα, 'the armour of war' (cf. 2.139) this time (cf. 1.627–8 and 1.638: τεύχεσι πατρός) — an epithet in the *Iliad* of war itself (e.g. *Il.* 7.119; *Il.* 4.281) — 'destructive,' 'deadly,' and is therefore indicative of their intentions. The women have been said to enjoy war, the work of Ares, and have been capable of slaughter before.⁵⁰ The whole section, including the reference to the armour, prepares one for a coming battle. The suspense is heightened by the conflicting accounts of the first confrontation given by the tragedians, and speculations about the course of events in Apollonius' epic are naturally invited and played upon.⁵¹ In Sophocles' *Lemnians*, a fight is said to have taken place between the Argonauts and the women, whereas in Aeschylus, perhaps Apollonius' primary source, a battle is only avoided because the men agree to share the women's beds.⁵² Even then, doubts about their safety remain, as according to Euripides' *Hypsipyle* the women would have killed their own husbands in bed and a repetition of this act remains a possibility.⁵³

It is stressed that the existing situation on the island is an extraordinary and unnatural one: the women do not pursue their usual female tasks and even find their present occupations easier (1.627–30).⁵⁴ This is reminiscent of the Amazons and, despite the fact that for these women warfare is a natural pursuit, suspense is created as further speculations are offered concerning the reaction of the Lemnian women to the arrival of the Argonauts.⁵⁵ Have they become φιλοπτόλεμοι as well (cf. 2.991)? Hypsipyle, who is explicitly said to dress

⁴⁹See Hainsworth ad *Il.* 11.709, 725: "'with all speed' satisfies the Homeric occurrences. The sense 'in full force' is not attested before Xenophon." Cf. Rengakos (1994), 25.

⁵⁰Pind. *P.* 4.252: γυναικῶν ἀνδροφόνων. See Clauss (1993), 106.

⁵¹Vian i, 24.

⁵²Vian i, 21, 26 & 28; Levin (1971), 63.

⁵³Cf. also Hermes' warning of Circe's intentions once she has lured Odysseus into her bed (*Od.* 10.296f.).

⁵⁴1.628: Ἀθηναίης ... ἔργων; cf. 1.722–3: τὴν οἱ ὄπασσεν Παλλὰς. For the sentiment see also Eur. *Med.* 250–1 (ὥς τρίς ἂν παρ' ἀσπίδα / στήναι θέλοιμ' ἂν μᾶλλον ἢ τεκεῖν ἄπαξ).

⁵⁵A view rejected by Natzel (1992), 172, who argues that no parallel with the Amazons is intended "as the Lemnian women are forced into male occupations."

herself in the armour of her father (1.637–8: Ἡ δ' ἄμα τῇσι Θεοαντιάς Ὑψιπύλεια / δῶν' ἐνὶ τεύχεσι πατρός), is often mentioned in relation to her father or his possessions and seems to derive her present authority and status mainly from her position as the daughter of the former king, often mentioning him herself (1.667–8: Ὡς ἄρ' ἔφη καὶ θῶκον ἐφίζανε πατρός ἐοῖο / λάινον). Levin observes on 60–1: "Except in the case of Hypsipyle, who, not being a widow, avails herself of τεύχεα which had belonged originally to her father (1.637f.), Apollonius does not specify previous ownership." Previous ownership is not specified because of the consistent presentation of the women as an anonymous mass. In the case of the *virgin* Hypsipyle, the fact that the weapons belonged to her father and were therefore part of the royal status symbols, serves to emphasise her present, but for a maiden unnatural, position as queen of the Lemnians. All the other women — with the exception of Iphinoe, the messenger, and Polyxo, the nurse, who both fulfil specific roles — remain unnamed and never become individuals. When, for example, Polydeuces' cloak is described before the boxing match with Amycus, it is only said that *one* of the Lemnian women gave it to him as a ξεινήιον (2.31–2: τις ... Λημνιάδων). As a result, the entire focus in this episode is on the drama between Jason and Hypsipyle.

The short and ominous comparison of the Lemnian women with Bacchantes, eating raw flesh, serves several purposes. Whereas the primary function of this simile is to illustrate vividly the frenzy with which the women rush to the shore,⁵⁶ the secondary function, on the other hand, is not only to add pathos to the story but also to call attention to the reversal of the traditional roles by this reference to maenads and thereby to support and reinforce the characterisation of the Lemnian women as mad, irrational and highly emotional females, who will not recoil from anything.⁵⁷ This is accomplished particularly

⁵⁶See Herter (1944–55), 345; Vian i, ad 1.636, 257: "La comparaison porte uniquement sur la fougue avec laquelle les Lemniennes accourent." For a definition of primary and secondary function see De Jong, *Narrators*, 124.

⁵⁷See Fränkel, *Noten*, 92. For an opposite view see Jackson (1993), 74, n. 4: "A. says only that the women were ἵκελαι — 'like' — ravening Thyiads, and he at once qualifies his words

by the epithet ὁμοβόροις, highly appropriate in this context with the slaughter of all the men on the island in the previous year. The adjective is used of the Cyclopes in Eur. *Tr.* 436,⁵⁸ notorious for their lack of hospitality. Once again the women are characterised as utterly ruthless and dangerous, leaving thereby the reader, well aware of the examples of Pentheus and Orpheus, in anxious anticipation of the events to come. The simile is reminiscent of *Il.* 6.389 (cf. *Il.* 6.372) and *Il.* 22.460–1 (διέσσυτο μαινάδι ἴση, / παλλομένη), both passages in which Andromache is compared with a maenad when she hurries in despair out of the house to the city tower, fearing for the life of her husband (*Il.* 22.463: ἔσθη παπτήνοσ' ἐπὶ τείχεϊ). Her fears come true in *Il.* 22.460ff., when she sees the body of Hector being dragged around in front of the city.⁵⁹ Both Andromache and the Lemnian women react similarly after their arrival at the city walls and the beach respectively.⁶⁰ The resemblance between the characters in these passages emphasises the frantic state of mind, the strong emotions and the fear on the side of the Lemnian women.

Even though δέιματι in 1.632 foreshadowed their fright here, the reaction from the women of helplessness and speechlessness (1.639–40: Ἀμηχανίη δ' ἐχέοντο / ἄφθογγοι, τοῖόν σφιν ἐπὶ δέος ἠωρεῖτο) still comes as a surprise after the careful preparation of the reader's expectations for a battle.⁶¹ Dumbstruck (1.639: ἄφθογγοι),⁶² no battle cry is emitted which would normally have accompanied any fighting (cf. 2.1063; 4.1000; e.g. *Il.* 12.338; *Il.* 20.374). As Hutchinson comments: "The Lemnian women are shown at first paradoxically taking the roles of man and warriors (1.627ff.); but this reversal is soon to

(employing the argumentative γάρ) by stating that the women acted so because they thought that the Thracians had come to take revenge. Perhaps, though, we see here a hint of Apollonian irony."

⁵⁸See Eur. *Bacch.* 138; σπαραγμός: 734ff.; 1125ff. See Dodds (1960), 16–7; Levin (1971), 61; Nyberg (1992), 122.

⁵⁹See also *HyDem* 386 of Demeter running towards Persephone as soon as she sees her; Eur. *Hipp.* 550; Eur. *Hel.* 543.

⁶⁰Initially, of course, the Lemnian women go one step further in leaving the city.

⁶¹On thwarted battle in the *Argonautica* see Campbell ad 3.6–7; Herter (1944–55), 299–300; Knight (1995), 114–21.

⁶²For ἄφθογγος see Campbell ad 3.423 (ἄφθογγος, ἀμηχανέων κακότητι).

disintegrate, and even now we see them gripped by unmanly terror."⁶³ The terrifying women become terrified themselves now that their own expectations of an invasion by Thracians are not met. Ironically, a situation is created in which both parties are afraid of each other. Encounters with strangers always entail dangers and inevitably engender feelings of apprehension. The women's petrified reaction echoes that of Nausicaa's maidens when they are suddenly confronted with (a naked) Odysseus, and is thereby, as is also shown by Andromache, a typically female response despite the macho appearance of the Lemnian women.⁶⁴ Whereas Nausicaa can assure her attendants that chances of a foreign invasion are very slim,⁶⁵ such comfort is not granted to the Lemnian women (*Od.* 6.199–200: *στῆτέ μοι, ἀμφίπολοι· πόσε φεύγετε φῶτα ἰδοῦσαι; / ἧ μή πού τινα δυσμενέων φάσθ' ἔμμεναι ἀνδρῶν;*). The situation thus exactly mirrors Medea's predicament in *Eur. Med.* 263–6: murderous strength possessed the women when they took their revenge on their husbands (1.618: *ἀμφ' εὐνῇ*), whereas now they are full of fear when faced with the possibility of battle.⁶⁶ Images of the women as Bacchantes and Amazons henceforth gradually give way and paradoxically turn into something much more dangerous.

The perspective now changes briefly to that of the heroes (1.640–52). No direct mention is made of what takes place between Aethalides and the women⁶⁷ or whether the men have indeed actually seen the women in full armour, although the use of the verb *μειλίξατο* (1.650), used in 1.860 of propitiating the angry goddess Cypris, surely indicates an awareness of the delicate situation.⁶⁸ The epithet of the herald, *θοόν* (1.641), seems to emphasise the Argonauts' haste to

⁶³Hutchinson (1988), 142.

⁶⁴See Blumberg (1931), 15; Fränkel, *Noten*, 92 ad 1.630b–9; Herter (1944–55), 345; Hübscher (1940), 91; Jackson (1993), 62. Clauss' suggestion (1993: 119) "that the Argonauts are in danger of becoming less than men because of their association with the *masculine* women of Lemnos (my italics)" is unconvincing.

⁶⁵See Garvie (1994), 132–3 and Hainsworth ad *Od.* 6.199.

⁶⁶*Eur. Med.* 263–6: *γυνή γάρ τ' ἄλλα μὲν φόβου πλέα / κακή τ' ἐς ἀλκὴν καὶ σίδηρον εἰσορᾶν / ὅταν δ' ἐς εὐνὴν ἡδικομένη κυρῇ, / οὐκ ἔστιν ἄλλη φρήν μυαιφονωτέρα.*

⁶⁷Levin (1971), 64.

⁶⁸Diplomacy is needed; cf. the use of the verb in supplicatory contexts: 3.985, 4.1011. Cf also *Od.* 3.96 ('use soothing words,' 'mince one's words') and Campbell ad 3.105.

stress their peaceful intentions. This whole passage is rather vague and consists only of three statements, while eight lines are taken up by biographical information about the messenger until this is interrupted by the narrator himself (1.648–9: Ἀλλὰ τί μύθους / Αἰθαλίδew χρεῖώ με διηνεκέως ἄγορεύειν;).⁶⁹ One of the functions of this digression seems to be a temporary break of suspense. The anticlimax is heightened by the aetiology. As Vian states, the employment of messengers is strongly reminiscent of the theatre context of previous versions.⁷⁰ At the same time, though, this use is also emblematic of the sensitive situation. In terms of hospitality, an uncertain and explosive situation has been created which accounts for the tentative motions on both sides with its emphasis on diplomatic movements and ample use of messengers to establish contact. There are obviously several dilemmas and strategic reasons for the women that considerably delay a formal and official reception in the palace of Hypsipyle. The women have a crime to hide and are not too eager to have visitors at all as this presents them with the problem of what to admit and what to conceal.

This episode clearly illustrates the influence of the context upon the ultimate shape of a certain hospitality scene. As a result of the extraordinary circumstances, the emphasis in this scene is on the preliminary stages of hospitality *before* any invitations for guest-friendship are made and accepted, and *before* an actual welcome. On the other hand, not many verses are spent on a description of the meal and feasting in the city. In any case, a cautious approach is chosen and the messenger Aethalides, son of Hermes, is sent to beseech Queen Hypsipyle to allow them to stay there during the night. Knight compares Hermes at *Od.* 10.277–308 with Aethalides and asserts that they both function "in a similar capacity ... since both convey a message to the Greek leader from or about the woman in charge of the island."⁷¹ If any comparison is intended at all, then it is surely to emphasise above all the differences between both episodes: unlike

⁶⁹On Aethalides see Clauss (1993), 114, n. 12; Vian i, 80, n. 3.

⁷⁰Vian i, 26. For the strong influence of tragedy on the structure of this episode see Vian i, 25.

⁷¹Knight (1995), 164.

Odysseus, the Argonauts are neither instructed by the gods how to approach the Lemnian women, nor at all informed about the women's crime.

Ὅς ῥα τόθ' Ὑψιπύλην μειλίξατο⁷² δέχθαι ἰόντας
ἥματος ἀνομένοιο διὰ κνέφας. (1.650–1)

Ἰόντας, 'those who come,' i.e. 'travellers,' is a neutral word.⁷³ It seems to indicate that they do not immediately claim the status of ξεῖνοι. The bare minimum is asked for and granted: to be allowed to stay there during the night. In Odyssean usage, δέχεσθαι seems to entail some sort of recognition of the visitor's status (e.g. *Od.* 14.28; *Od.* 17.110; *Od.* 19.316) and more is granted than to the Argonauts here. In this passage, the focus remains primarily on the women.⁷⁴ Almost no details are given about the two messenger scenes, and this lack of detail emphasises the importance of the encounter between Jason and Hypsipyle. This meeting takes place *before* the other comrades are welcomed in the city, and it is accentuated even further by its being the first real contact between the men and women.

The next day, the Argonauts do not leave the island at dawn despite, or because of, the North Wind (1.651–2: Οὐδὲ μὲν ἥοι / πείσματα νηὸς ἔλυσαν ἐπὶ πνοιῇ Βορέαο). A strong wind normally signals that the heroes are going to continue their voyage, but in this case the heroes seem deliberately, for an unknown reason (provisions?; cf. 1.837), to have made the decision to prolong their visit.⁷⁵ Whatever interpretation is given to these verses, serious problems now arise for the Lemnian women as it is the continuance of the Argo's stay which forces the women to consider whether they want to receive them in

⁷²A similar use of this verb can be found in 4.1209–10: δὴ τότε μιν, βασιλῆος ἑοῦ τρομέοντος ἐνιπὰς / δέχθαι μειλίξαντο συνήμονας.

⁷³Cf. 4.994–6: Οἱ δ' ἀγανῆσιν / Ἀλκίνοος λαοί τε θυηπολίησιν ἰόντας / δειδέχατ' ἀσπασίως; 1.1179–80: τοὺς μὲν ἐυξείνως Μυσοὶ φιλότῃτι κιόντας / δειδέχατ'.

⁷⁴Herter (1944–55), 345.

⁷⁵Ibid. Vian (i, ad 1.652, 257) argues that the Argonauts simply cannot depart as the wind needed is a southern or western rather than a northern wind. See also Clauss (1993), 114; Fränkel, *Noten*, 471; Ibscher (1939), 15.

hospitality at all, and if so, what form that welcome should take.⁷⁶ It is then that Hypsipyle calls an assembly together to discuss the complex situation.

d) The assembly of the women of Lemnos (1.653–708)

Assemblies, the strict domain of men in normal circumstances, are an important epic device for initiating new developments within the narrative.⁷⁷ Here, this function of the assembly is retained as the women consider among themselves how to handle successfully the difficult situation. Although in Homer, as Arend admits, there is not a very strict set of *topoi* concerning assemblies, a general pattern is nevertheless discernible.⁷⁸ Usually, the meeting is held in the morning⁷⁹ and the people or army, having been called together (usually by a herald), sit themselves down to listen to the speeches. An opening speech delivered by the king or hero who has gathered the assembly is followed by other speeches in reply, after which the approval of the people for the plan is indicated. The end of the assembly is described briefly in one verse. A similar structure can be detected here: the assembly takes place in the morning,⁸⁰ is summoned by the queen *herself* (1.654: αὐτή) and the verses describing the gathering of the women recall, albeit in a somewhat compressed form and without using in full any of the specific Homeric formulas, the corresponding Homeric movements.⁸¹ Apart from Hypsipyle who is said to sit on her father's throne (1.667–8: καὶ θώκον ἐφίζανε πατρός ἐοῖο / λάνινον),⁸² the seats of the others are not

⁷⁶Not so much Aethalides' proposals, see Levin (1971), 63.

⁷⁷Hainsworth ad *Il.* 9.78. Dawn in itself of course often indicates a new stage in the narrative.

⁷⁸See Arend (1933), 116–21; Garvie ad *Od.* 8.6; Hainsworth ad *Od.* 8.1–61 and ad *Il.* 9.78; Finley (1956), 87–9. This scene could be seen as an inversion of *Od.* 8: there, the Phaeacians decide in their assembly to send Odysseus home; here, the Lemnian women eventually decide to welcome the men and entice them to stay forever.

⁷⁹E.g. *Od.* 8.1; *Il.* 1 and *Il.* 2.

⁸⁰See Knight (1995), 254.

⁸¹*Il.* 1.54: τῇ δεκάτῃ δ' ἀγορὴν δὲ καλέσσατο λαὸν / Ἀχιλλεύς ~ 1.666: κάλεσσα; 1.655 ~ *Il.* 1.57: οἱ δ' ἐπεὶ οὖν ἤγερθεν ὁμηγερέες τ' ἐγένοντο.

⁸²Cf. *Od.* 2.14: ἔζετο δ' ἐν πατρός θώκῳ. Telemachus is in a similar position although significantly not presiding over the assembly. See West ad *Od.* 2.15ff.

described.⁸³ The first speech is given by the queen, addressing the assembled women with the standard *ὦ φίλοι* (1.657).⁸⁴

Λημνιάδες δὲ γυναῖκες ἀνὰ πτόλιν ἴζον ἰοῦσαι
εἰς ἀγορήν· αὐτὴ γὰρ ἐπέφραδεν Ὑψιπύλεια.
Καὶ ῥ' ὅτε δὴ μάλα πᾶσαι ὁμιλαδὸν ἠγερέθοντο,
αὐτίκ' ὅρ' ἦ γ' ἐνὶ τῇσιν ἐποτρύνουσ' ἀγόρευεν·
(1.653–6)

Polyxo next addresses the assembly and her proposal receives general approval (1.697–8: ἐν δ' ἀγορῇ πλῆτο θρόου· εὔαδε γάρ σφι / μῦθος).⁸⁵ As a result, Hypsipyle sends the messenger Iphinoe to the Argonauts to convey their decision and the assembly is subsequently brought to an end (1.708: Ἡ καὶ ἔλυσ' ἀγορήν· μετὰ δ' εἰς ἐὸν ὥρτο νέεσθαι).

As previously said, the first speech in the assembly is delivered by Hypsipyle who tries to encourage the frightened women and tells them of her plans designed to keep the Argonauts ignorant of their secrets, so that no news of the wicked deed will be spread. Now that force is ruled out, the general direction of her plans, using cunning intelligence and deception, becomes clear by the repetition of *μητις* (1.664) and *μητίσεται* (1.665) in her speech, and the classification of her plan as *μητις* (1.677) by Polyxo.⁸⁶ By supplying the Argonauts with the necessary provisions, Hypsipyle hopes to solve the problematic task of keeping the men content and at the same time at a safe distance outside the city wall. Looking in detail at the various words they employ when they speak about the Argonauts reveals much about their personal convictions and intentions. In her attempt to avoid the duties of hospitality, the

⁸³ *Il.* 9.13: ἴζον δ' εἰν ἀγορῇ; *Il.* 19.50: καδ' δὲ μετὰ πρώτῃ ἀγορῇ ἴζοντο κιόντες ~ 1.653: ἴζον ἰοῦσαι.

⁸⁴ See Hainsworth ad *Il.* 9.11–2.

⁸⁵ See Finley (1956), 88: "The assembly neither voted nor decided. Its function was twofold: to mobilize the arguments pro and con, and to show the king or field commander how sentiment lay. The sole measure of opinion was by acclamation." See also Hainsworth ad *Od.* 8.1–61. For θρόος see 4.1173 and Kirk ad *Il.* 4.437–8: "a poetical word denoting the cries or shouts from many people."

⁸⁶ See Campbell ad 3.12. Athena and Medea are associated with *μητις*, as are the Argonauts themselves. See Pratt (1993), 67, on *μητις* in Homer.

queen deliberately does not use the official term ξείνος, but simply talks about them as men in general. For the readers her use of the word ἀνδράσιν ironically foreshadows the change in attitude; from men with whom the women do not want to be acquainted in any way, the heroes suddenly become desired *husbands*, which could also be indicated by the same noun.⁸⁷

ὦ φίλοι, εἰ δ' ἄγε δὴ μενοεικέα δῶρα πόρωμεν
ἀνδράσιν, οἷά τ' ἔοικεν ἄγειν ἐπὶ νηὸς ἔχοντας
ἦια καὶ μέθυ λαρόν (1.657–9)

The omission of all the preceding stages of hospitality and immediate progression to an element usually belonging to the last part of the hospitality scheme — supplies and gifts were traditionally granted as a symbol of the friendship just before the guest's departure —⁸⁸ are also indicative of her determination to get rid of the visitors as soon as possible. These gifts are clearly not the usual gifts of honour in acknowledgement of the status of the guests but are, on the contrary, used as a device by the queen to eliminate all the reasons for the heroes to continue their stay, and gifts are thus given for the highly unusual reason of preventing the establishment of any reciprocal relationship (1.659–60: ἵν' ἔμπεδον ἔκτοθι πύργων / μίμνοιεν).⁸⁹ That these gifts consist of provisions is already indicated by the adjective, μενοεικής, 'satisfying,' 'suited to the desires,' which is in Homer mostly used of food and drink (e.g. *Il.* 9.90; *Od.* 5.166; *HyAphr* 267), and is further confirmed by ἦια καὶ μέθυ λαρόν (1.659). By anticipating and fulfilling their primary needs and thus ostensibly doing her duty in that respect (cf. *Od.* 6.136), even though her actions as a whole are in breach of any conventions of hospitality, Hypsipyle hopes that there is no *need* for them to come and visit them (1.660: ἄμμε κατὰ χρεῖω μεθέποντες).⁹⁰

⁸⁷E.g. *Il.* 19.219; *Od.* 24.196.

⁸⁸Cf. *Od.* 8.543–5: ἐπεὶ πολὺ κάλλιον οὕτως / εἵνεκα γὰρ ξείνοιο τὰδ' αἰδοίοιο τέτυκται, / πομπὴ καὶ φίλα δῶρα, τὰ οἱ δίδομεν φιλέοντες.

⁸⁹For the reciprocal character of gifts see Finley (1956), 86; Lateiner (1992), 72ff. See also 3.351ff.; 3.908–11.

⁹⁰Cf. George (1972), 62, who argues that the women are "unable to interpret the visitors' interests except in terms of their own needs and values."

Ironically, Jason will echo her words when he politely declines her offer of the sovereignty of the island and asks her only to fulfil his immediate needs as a traveller (1.836–7: μάλα κεν θυμηδέος ἀντιάσαιμεν / χρημοσύνης ἦν ἅμμι σέθεν χατέουσιν ὀπάξεις). In this speech, the queen presents the other women with two alternatives: they either keep the men outside and suppress the truth with an honourable silence by avoiding any contact with the men, or the heroes are admitted to the city and as a result will inevitably discover the women's μέγα ἔργον.⁹¹

μηδ' ἅμμε κατὰ χρεῖῳ μεθέποντες
ἀτρεκέως γνῶωσι, κακὴ δ' ἐπὶ πολλὸν ἵκηται
βάξις, ἐπεὶ μέγα ἔργον ἐρέξαμεν· οὐδέ τι πάμπαν
θυμηδὲς καὶ τοῖσι τό γ' ἔσσεται, εἴ κε δαείην. (1.660–3)

Negating ideas common in a hospitality context, the extraordinariness of her proposals is emphasised.⁹² For example, in questions and answers with respect to information about the identity of the visitors, the importance of the accuracy and truthfulness of the answer is often stressed.⁹³ Here, on the other hand, the hosts are terrified that the guests might get to know them too well (1.660–1: μηδ' ... / ἀτρεκέως γνῶωσι). Normally, as Penelope mentions in *Od.* 19.333–4 (τοῦ μέν τε κλέος εὐρὺ διὰ ξεῖνοι φορέουσιν / πάντας ἐπ' ἀνθρώπους), ξεῖνοι spread the fame of men; in this case, visitors would undoubtedly spread a κακὴ ... βάξις (1.661–2).⁹⁴ Θυμηδὲς in 1.663 picks up μενοεικέα of 1.657 and reinforces the queen's message that food should be given to keep the men outside the walls, a plan which would please both men and women (1.663: θυμηδὲς καὶ τοῖσι). In fact, a third possibility is available and, as Hypsipyle's speech to Jason with its skilful mixture of truth and deliberate falsehoods shows, the contrast

⁹¹See Pratt (1993), 89 on this choice between truth and silence. Cf. *Od.* 11.442. On μέγα ἔργον (1.662), here significantly not called a κακὸν ἔργον, see George (1972), 55, who comments that "euphemism and indirection pervade her remarks."

⁹²See also West ad *Od.* 2.30 on this principle.

⁹³See Reece (1993), 26–7. Cf. *Od.* 4.312–4: Τίπτε δέ σε χρεῖῳ δεῦρ' ἤγαγε, Τηλέμαχ' ἥρως / ... τόδε μοι νημερτὲς ἐνίσπες; *Od.* 1.69; *Od.* 1.179; *Od.* 8.572; *Od.* 14.192 etc.

⁹⁴An argument strengthened by hyperbaton and enjambement. Cf. also *Od.* 17.418.

initially stated is not the only solution. Μῆτις, announced by the queen in her first speech, is subsequently employed in her speech to Jason. It is telling that in her speech Polyxo does not even discuss the difficulties created by their history. The gifts will eventually still be given very early and technically still function as bribes but then with the opposite intention of luring the men *into* their city.⁹⁵ As we shall see, it is important in this case for both sides to preserve their κλέος (1.661–2: κακὴ ... βάξις ~ 1.874: μεγάλη τέ ἐ βάξις ἴκηται).⁹⁶ Having expounded her own views, Hypsipyle asks the assembled women to give their ideas.

Because of her special position of authority based on position and age, the nurse Polyxo (1.668: φίλη τροφός) is the correct person to challenge Hypsipyle's views.⁹⁷ The elaborate introduction emphasises above all her age and that of the virgins surrounding her,⁹⁸ a fact used in the speech itself by Polyxo to give further urgency to her powerful and eager message (1.670: μενέαιν' ἀγορεῦσαι; 1.700: μενοινή).⁹⁹ Hateful old age (1.684: στυγερὸν ... γῆρας; 1.690–2) is already exemplified by the nurse. Above all, the nurse is concerned to give the impression that this speech, directed at the younger women (1.684; 1.693), is made for the good of the community and not out of self-interest; after all, she is likely to die soon (1.679–82). Her use of language indicates from the outset that her intentions are completely different even though she apparently picks up Hypsipyle's words (1.665: ὑμέων δ' εἴ τις ἄρειον ἔπος μητίσεται ἄλλη ~ 1.675–6: Ἀῶρα μὲν, ὥς αὐτῇ περ ἐφανδάνει Ὑπιπυλείη / πέμπωμεν ξείνοισιν, ἐπεὶ καὶ ἄρειον ὀπάσσαι). This pattern in which initial hesitation to offer hospitality is followed by a quick reprimand, owing to

⁹⁵Cf. 4.422–4.

⁹⁶See also George (1972), 55; 60, n. 2; 62.

⁹⁷See Garvie ad *Od.* 7.153–66 (Echeneus): "In Homer, as in later Greek poetry, the old are the conventional repositories of sound advice." See also Edwards ad *Il.* 18.251–2. Cf. *Od.* 2.15–6 (Aegyptius) and *Od.* 23.69 (Eurycleia); Diomedes, on the other hand, apologises first for his youth before challenging Agamemnon's views (*Il.* 14.107f.). See also Clauss (1993), 117; George (1972), 55, n. 2; Levin (1971), 64–5; Nelis (1991), 97.

⁹⁸Contrast, for example, with *Il.* 1.68: ἦτοι ὄγ' ὧς εἰπὼν κατ' ἄρ' ἔξετο· τοῖσι δ' ἀνέστη. See George (1972), 56.

⁹⁹Cf. also 1.894. See Campbell ad 3.95 on μενεαίνειν.

circumstances, is also encountered in *Od.* 4.26ff. and *Od.* 7.153ff. (οὐ μὲν τοι τόδε κάλλιον οὐδὲ ἔοικε).¹⁰⁰ In fact, Polyxo does not so much appeal to θέμις (cf. also ἔοικεν in 1.658) in order to remind the queen of her obligations towards guests, as point out the advantages of her plan for the Lemnian women themselves (1.677: ἐπαυρέσθαι). In effect, she is emphasising more what is pleasing than what is right. According to Polyxo, gift giving as proposed by the queen is good as a general principle, but in the end offers only a short-term solution. It is the small change of ἀνδράσιν into ξείνοισιν which is above all indicative of the turn her plans will take after this apparent approval of the queen's ideas.

Vividly and above all realistically, Polyxo proceeds to sketch the dangers that will undoubtedly await the women in future. The chance of an attack by an enemy, Thracian or otherwise, is first of all, as she argues, more than plausible as this unexpected arrival of a band of heroes proved (1.680: ὥς καὶ νῦν ὄδ' ὄμιλος ἀνώϊστος ἐφίκονεν). Even though they were continually watching, this gang (1.680: ὄμιλος)¹⁰¹ has managed to arrive ἀνώϊστος, 'unexpectedly,' an adverb often associated with "stealth and concealment."¹⁰² The aggression involved in any future attacks is further emphasised by ἐπιβρίση (1.678), used in battles of throngs pressing heavily upon one.¹⁰³ In this pragmatic speech, Polyxo is careful to turn the possibility of an attack into a general risk, not one which particularly faces them because they are women as 1.679 proves (1.679: ἃ τε πολλὰ μετ' ἀνθρώποισι πέλονται). Stressing that, from a military point of view, retribution from Thrace is not their only worry, the nurse manages to convey the image of a great battle surely awaiting them.

Cleverly, Polyxo next warns them that a battle is not the worst that could happen and that even greater evils (1.682: μυρία δειοτήτος ὑπέρτερα

¹⁰⁰Reece (1993), 18–9, and West ad *Od.* 4.20ff.

¹⁰¹On the "uncomplimentary colouring" of ὄμιλος in 1.680, 3.434 and 3.598 see Campbell ad 3.434. See also 2.15 and 4.1156–7: μὴ πρὶν ἐς ἄλκην / δυσμενέων αἰδηλος ἐπιβρίσειεν ὄμιλος.

¹⁰²Campbell ad 3.6–7.

¹⁰³E.g. *Il.* 7.343; *Theoc.* 22.93; cf. 4.1175.

πήματα) are awaiting them in future because they will not have any children to care for them and work the land. The immense toil involved in the working of the land is emphasised by the *hyperbaton* of βαθείαις (1.685) and ἀρούραις (1.686). An escape from this desperate situation is *now* (1.694: νῦν γὰρ δὴ) provided for them by the arrival of this group of men. This is the first time the detention theme occurs in this episode which is, as previously mentioned, reminiscent of Calypso's, Circe's and Nausicaa's intentions,¹⁰⁴ and the treatment of Telemachus by Menelaus in *Od.* 4 and 15.¹⁰⁵ Polyxo concludes her speech with the following words:

εἴ κεν ἐπιτρέψητε δόμους καὶ ληίδα πᾶσαν
 ὑμετέρην ξείνοισι καὶ ἀγλαὸν ἄστὺ μέλεσθαι.¹⁰⁶
 (1.695–6)

Her final words are a good example of ring composition in which the juxtaposition of ὑμετέρην and ξείνοισι in 1.696 is effectively combined with πᾶσαν at the end of 1.695. Not only their own possessions should be given to the Argonauts but also all the booty brought by the men from Thrace (cf. 1.613–4; 1.801: ἀπείρονα ληίδα). Referring back to the start of her speech, it is now apparent that Polyxo's δῶρα entail much more than the conventional gifts of hospitality.¹⁰⁷ The women move from one extreme to the other and it is clear that the Argonauts are meant to become more than just ξεῖνοι.

As the women's reaction to this speech is enthusiastic, Hypsipyle does not hesitate and gives Iphinoe instructions to tell the leader of the expedition (1.703–4: τοῦδ' ἀνέρος ἀντιόωσα, / ... ὅστις στόλου ἡγεμονεύει) to come to the

¹⁰⁴*Od.* 6.244–5: αἱ γὰρ ἐμοὶ τοιόσδε πόσις κεκλημένος εἶη / ἐνθάδε ναιετάων, καὶ οἱ ἄδοι αὐτόθι μίμναιν.

¹⁰⁵Reece (1993), 34–5; Garvie ad *Od.* 6.244–5. See Knight (1995), 162ff. and Clauss (1993), 130–7 for parallels between Hypsipyle and Circe.

¹⁰⁶Hypsipyle will use the verb thrice to depict the disastrous consequences of the behaviour of the Lemnian men (e.g. 1.817: μέλε). When Jason subsequently declines Hypsipyle's offer and refuses the government of the island, the same verb is used (1.839: μελέσθω).

¹⁰⁷The importance of balance is well-illustrated by Menelaus' farewell speech to Telemachus: *Od.* 15.69–73: νεμεσσῶμαι δὲ καὶ ἄλλω / ἀνδρὶ ξεινοδόκῳ, ὅς κ' ἔξοχα μὲν φιλέησιν, / ἔξοχα δ' ἐχθαίρῃσιν· ἀμείνω δ' αἴσιμα πάντα / ἴσόν τοι κακὸν ἐσθ', ὅς τ' οὐκ ἐθέλοντα νέεσθαι / ξείνον ἐποτρύνει καὶ ὅς ἐσσυμένον κατερύκει.

palace to be informed of their decision. Polyxo's plan, rather than Hypsipyle's (cf. 1.675), indeed initially pleases both parties (1.697–8: εὖαδε γάρ σφι / μῦθος; 1.700: ἐφ'ανδάνει ἥδε μενοινῇ ~ 1.717: πάντεσσι δ' ἐναΐσιμος ἦνδανε μῦθος). The phrasing in 1.703–4 seems to suggest either that Hypsipyle, despite the contact with Aethalides, does not yet know who they are, only who they are not, or alternatively (and in my opinion more likely), that the plans have changed completely (cf. also 1.660–3 ~ 1.896: Μνώεο μῆν).¹⁰⁸ It is certain that the visitors have come with no hostile intentions;¹⁰⁹ their identity does in fact not matter any longer, only that they are *men*. The remembrance motif, expressed in 1.896f., forms a poignant contrast with the beginning of the episode when contact was to be avoided at all costs. Hypsipyle's words are significantly replaced by Iphinoe with the more neutral νηὸς πρόμον ὅς τις ὄρωρεν (1.713). Although the crew is allowed to disembark in the meantime, a very formal and cautious approach is still chosen. Hypsipyle feels that elaborate diplomatic and strategic movements are needed especially now they have decided not only to receive the men but also to try to induce them to stay on Lemnos. Like Circe in the *Odyssey*, Hypsipyle prefers to have an encounter with Jason on her own (cf. *Od.* 10.480; *Od.* 12.33). The women would have felt it important that contact with the heroes be established as soon as possible (1.698: παρασχεδὸν; 1.710: ὦκα; 1.711: πασσυδίῃ; 1.716: αὐτίκα νῦν; 1.719: ὦκα; 1.789: ἐσσυμένως). Further delay would only increase the Argonauts' suspicions.

Although Iphinoe does not reveal any of the secrets of the women to the Argonauts, the beginning of her message with the emphasis on Hypsipyle's status as a *κούρη* has again a hidden meaning for the reader who, as a result of this assembly and thus unlike the Argonauts themselves, knows the women's ultimate plans. The men's ignorance of the real situation is shown in 1.718–9:

¹⁰⁸See Reece (1993), 35 for the relationship between the giving of gifts and the wish of the host to be remembered.

¹⁰⁹Cf. εὐμενέοντες (1.707), the condition for a friendly reception. Θαρσαλέως (1.707), 'with good confidence,' 'without fear,' shows an awareness of the terrifying image initially projected by the women.

Ὑψιπύλην δ' εἶσαντο καταφθιμένοιο Θόαντος / τηλυγέτην γεγαυῖαν ἀνασέμεν.¹¹⁰ The almost verbatim repetition of the queen's message by the messenger, showing Hypsipyle's authority, is a well-known Homeric but rare Apollonian phenomenon.¹¹¹ Deception, reinforced by the confidence-inspiring traditional introduction of the queen with a patronymic (1.712: Θοαντιάς; cf. 1.621), is intended by the presentation of their official decision as that of the δῆμος, usually describing the whole male body of citizens (1.705; 1.714; cf. 1.609; 1.620). The epithet τηλυγέτην, 'dearly beloved',¹¹² has again ironic overtones for the readers who know what she has actually done to her father. The Argonauts now send Jason away to the palace (1.719–20: τόνγε / πέμπον ἔμεν), confident of the success of his mission (1.720: καὶ δ' αὐτοὶ ἐπεντύνοντο νέεσθαι).

e) The encounter between Jason and Hypsipyle (1.721–843)

As Jason sets off to the palace, a long, detailed and symbolic description (1.721–68) follows of his cloak, a present from Athena while he was building the Argo under her supervision. Likewise, the spear which he takes with him is a present from the maiden Atalante, who was desperate to join Jason on his expedition (1.769–73). On the whole, the function of the *ekphrasis*, complemented by a star simile in 1.774–81, seems clear in that suspense is created for the meeting between Hypsipyle and Jason, who is significantly called ἥρως in 1.781 (ἀνὰ στίβον ἦεν ἥρως; cf. also 1.774: βῆ δ' ἔμεναι ~ 1.843: βῆ ῥ' ἔμεν).¹¹³ As gifts of clothing, given by the Lemnian women, play an important role later in the *Argonautica*, it is little wonder that a cloak is now described elaborately.¹¹⁴ The

¹¹⁰See Ibscher (1939), 16.

¹¹¹See Clauss (1993), 115; Fränkel, *Noten*, 98, n. 188; George (1972), 57 ("emphasise mindless, nervous quality of the women's overture"); Knight (1995), 165; Levin (1971), 67–8.

¹¹²See West ad *Od.* 4.11; Richardson ad *HyDem* 164; Hainsworth ad *Il.* 9.143. The epithet, 'much-desired,' 'much-loved,' is used of a special or favourite child. See also 1.99 and 1.149.

¹¹³See Herter (1944–55), 346; Ibscher (1939), 15.

¹¹⁴No attention is paid in this episode to Pindar's version that games were held on the island with garments as prizes. See Vian i, 20, n. 2.

beautiful and valuable purple cloak with its complicated design (1.729: δαίδαλα) and the spear itself both serve to underline Jason's status as leader of the expedition.¹¹⁵ Attention is drawn by all these devices to the appearance of Jason, not only to accentuate his heroism, but also to mark the importance of the occasion by their very elaborateness. Much scholarly attention has been devoted to the interpretation of the scenes depicted on this cloak, which has often been seen as emblematic of the nature of Jason's heroism in the *Argonautica*.¹¹⁶ As we shall see, the marvellous Apollonian creation draws on several epic motifs. The scene which follows this one has frequently been compared to the arming scene of an Iliadic warrior.¹¹⁷ Because of the assumptions of the reader's expectations made on the basis of this comparison, namely that everything seems to lead up to a fight or that this could be seen as yet another instance in which martial language is transferred to the erotic,¹¹⁸ it is important to stress that the scene seems to be more indebted to the various dressing scenes and scenes in which "a civilian prepares himself to go out"¹¹⁹ than to the great ἀρπυγῆαι of the *Iliad*. Arend in his study also draws distinctions between 'Rüstung,' 'Ankleiden,' and 'Ausgehsszenen,'¹²⁰ and more components are shared with the latter two than with the first category. For example in the *Odyssey*, Telemachus' and Athena's

¹¹⁵See Hainsworth ad *Il.* 10.21–4: "The weapons are a badge of rank or a claim to rank (cf. Telemachus, *Od.* 2.10)."

¹¹⁶Blumberg (1931), 17–8; Clauss (1993), 120–9; Fränkel, *Noten*, 100–3; George (1972), 48–52; Gummert (1992), 102–9; Hunter, *Literary Studies*, 52–9; Fowler, (1989) 15–7; Lawall (1966), 154–9; Levin (1971), 68–9; Natzel (1992), 174–7; Newman (1986), 77–81; Rose (1985), 29–44; Shapiro, (1980), 263–87; Thiel (1993), 36–89.

¹¹⁷Vian i, 86, n. 1 notes that the scene takes the form of an arming scene in the *Iliad* (*Il.* 11.15–46 [1.721 ~ *Il.* 11.29; 1.770 ~ *Il.* 11.20]). Also Fränkel, *Noten*, 100; Clauss (1993), 120. Cf. 3.1225: the arming scene before the battle.

¹¹⁸Hunter, *Literary Studies*, 48 calls it an "erotic rewriting of a Homeric warrior's preparations for a duel." Clauss (1993), 122 similarly comments that "Apollonius has thus set the scene for the meeting between Jason and Hypsipyle in such a way that the reader envisages a military clash between opposing warriors." See also Beye (1982), 91; Thiel (1993), 49. On this general point: Hutchinson (1988), 116: "Apollonius often distorts Iliadic imagery and language to apply to love rather than war." Hopkinson ad 4.774; Effe (1996), 308.

¹¹⁹Lawall (1966), 158 notes that "the cloak clothes a civilized man on what promises to be a peaceful mission to a city and palace," but then continues to draw a comparison between the heroic Achilles and anti-heroic Jason. See Janko ad *Il.* 15.479–82; West ad *Od.* 1.96–101; Hoekstra ad *Od.* 15.551. Cf. *Od.* 1.96ff.; *Od.* 15.550ff.; *Od.* 17.2ff. The taking of the spear is usually described as εἴλετο δ' ἄλκιμον ἔγχος, ἀκοχμέον (*Od.* 1.99 = *Od.* 15.482). Cf. also *Od.* 4.306–10.

¹²⁰Arend (1933), 92–8.

departures are described in much the same terms specifying sandals and spear, and in *Il.* 10 Menelaus, Nestor and Diomedes in the morning before an assembly all put on a cloak or hide of an animal and take either a spear or sword with them as a standard heroic attribute.¹²¹ Also, when a hero or god prepares himself for battle, he is often specifically said to take his cloak off.¹²² Αὐτὰρ ὃ γ' ἄμφ' ὦμοισι (1.721) is in itself not enough to justify comparing this scene with an arming scene (cf. *Il.* 3.328; *Il.* 15.479: followed by armour); this formula is also used, for example, in *Il.* 10.177 (ὁ δ' ἄμφ' ὦμοισιν ἔέσματο δέρμα λέοντος), in which case, as previously said, dressing before an assembly is described. In an attempt to prove Jason's anti-heroic character, Thiel mentions the fact that the δίπλαξ is also worn by the old Nestor (*Il.* 10.133–4).¹²³ Apart from the fact that in this scene Nestor is explicitly said to be ready for battle despite his age (*Il.* 10.75f.),¹²⁴ the δίπλαξ is also part of a standard gift of cloak, sword and tunic given to Odysseus on his travels (*Od.* 19.241–2) as Odysseus himself asserts in one of his Cretan Tales.

As Shapiro has noted, the scenes described on the cloak here belong to a long literary tradition of descriptions of textiles with patterns woven into them (cf. 4.427–8: πολέσιν ... / γλήνεσιν εὐεργέξ ξεινήιον).¹²⁵ In the *Odyssey*, for example, both Helen and Andromache weave purple garments with general scenes of war in the former and decorative flower arrangements in the latter case.¹²⁶

¹²¹*Il.* 10.177–8; *Il.* 10.21–4. See Hainsworth ad *Il.* 10.21–4: "It is natural on going outdoors to put something over the χίτων ... not fully dressed without a weapon." Cf., on the other hand, Levin (1971), 69, who argues that it is a 'more or less non-utilitarian spear' and Clauss (1993), 135, who, noting a parallel between this passage and *Od.* 10.281–301, suggests that Jason takes a spear with him out of fear of being unmanned and comments: "Weapons are phallic in nature: armed for erotic battle against women who make threatening sexual advances."

¹²²See Kirk ad *Il.* 5.734–7. See *Il.* 5.734–5: Athena's peplos: ποικίλον, ὃν ῥ' αὐτὴ ποιήσατο καὶ κάμει χερσίν and 2.30–2: εὐστειπτον θέτο φᾶρος / λεπταλέον, τό ῥά σ' τις ἐὼν ξεινήιον εἶναι / ὥπασε Λημνιάδων. Cf. Rose (1985), 31, who uses this point, however, to elucidate the different nature of Jason and Heracles (cf. 1.1195), commenting that "unless putting on armor, the classical hero normally strips for physical exertion."

¹²³Thiel (1993), 52.

¹²⁴See also Hainsworth ad *Il.* 10.74.

¹²⁵Shapiro (1980), 266ff. Not embroidered on it: see Richardson ad *Il.* 2.441 and Kirk ad *Il.* 3.125–7.

¹²⁶*Il.* 3.126, *Il.* 22.441: δίπλακα πορφυρέην. Cf. *Il.* 10.133–4: χλαῖναν ... φοινικοέσσαν / διπλήν. Both Knight (1995), 165–6 and Nyberg (1992), 121 compare the description of the scenes on the cloak with *Od.* 11.225–380.

However, such a description of a piece of clothing has never been as detailed as we find here, and the *ekphrasis* is therefore immediately reminiscent of the extensive description of armour, such as Achilles' shield in *Il.* 18.478ff., Heracles' shield in (pseudo) Hesiod's *Scutum* and Agamemnon's corselet in *Il.* 11.15–46.¹²⁷ The connection between garments and Cypris is interesting in view of the erotic atmosphere of seduction created here.¹²⁸ In *Il.* 14.214–7, the elaborately ornamented strap (*Il.* 14.215: ποικίλον) which Aphrodite wears round her breasts and gives as a love-charm to Hera — already wearing a robe made by Athena (*Il.* 14.178–9)¹²⁹ — (*Il.* 14.215: θελκτήρια) is associated with φιλότης and ἥμερος.¹³⁰ In *HyAphr* 83ff., Aphrodite's stunning appearance with her shining garments immediately arouses desire in Anchises (*HyAphr* 91: Ἀγχίσην δ' ἔρος εἶλεν).¹³¹ Likewise, the seductive atmosphere at the court and the effect of Jason's appearance on the Lemnian women in general and Hypsipyle in particular is anticipated by the references to visual impact within the cloak description by means of apostrophe.¹³² The stress on the impact of his impressive appearance is continued in the star simile in which the effect of the star upon a maiden is described.¹³³ Similarly in one of his tales, Odysseus himself tells of an imaginary cloak and explicitly refers to the effect this has on women (*Od.*

¹²⁷ Examples in Hellenistic poetry are Thyrsis' cup in Theoc. *Id.* 1 and the flower basket in Moschus' *Europa*. See also Blumberg (1931), 18.

¹²⁸ See Sappho 54. On the "erotic element in all the garments in the *Argonautica*" see Shapiro (1980), 271.

¹²⁹ *Il.* 14.178–9: ἀμφὶ δ' ἄρ' ἀμβρόσιον ἑανὸν ἔσαθ', ὃν οἱ Ἀθήνη / ἔξυσ' ἀσκήσασα, τίθει δ' ἐνὶ δαΐδαλα πολλά.

¹³⁰ See Janko ad loc. on the "magical powers present in the object."

¹³¹ *HyAphr* 84–90: θαύμαινέν τε /... σιγαλόεντα / πέπλον μὲν γὰρ ἔεστο φαεινότερον πυρὸς αὐγῆς, / καλόν, χρύσειον, παμποίκιον· ὥς δὲ σελήνη / στήθεσιν ἀμφ' ἀπαλοῖσιν ἐλάμπετο, θαῦμα ἰδέσθαι.

¹³² These references frame the description of the cloak: 1.725–6: Τῆς μὲν ῥητέρον κεν ἔς ἡέλιον ἀνιόντα / ὅσσε βάλοις ἢ κείνο μεταβλέψειας ἔρευθος; 1.765–7: Κείνους κ' εἰσορόων ἀκέοις ψεύδοιό τε θυμόν, / ἐλπόμενος πυκινὴν τιν' ἀπὸ σφείων ἔσακούσαι / βάζιν, ὅτεν καὶ δηρὸν ἐπ' ἐλπίδι θηήσαιο. See also 1.765 and 4.428–9 (Οὐ μιν ἀφάσσων / οὔτε κεν εἰσορόων γλυκὺν ἥμερον ἐμπλήσειας ~ 1.850). In the latter case, referring to touch, smell and sight, the response of the beholder is included (see also Shapiro (1980), 271). It has often been noted that such direct addresses are not found in Homer or Hesiod (e.g. George (1972), 48f.). The same technique is also found in the ἐκφράσις in Theocritus' first *Idyll* (42: φαίης κεν). Cf. *Il.* 18.548–8 and see Edwards (1991), 207 on the importance of colour and the contrast between light and dark in Achilles' shield.

¹³³ Natzel (1992), 177.

19.225ff.).¹³⁴ In 3.918–26, before the crucial meeting between Jason and Medea near the temple of Hecate when she gives him the drug, the effect of Jason's appearance after his beautification by Hera on his own comrades is mentioned in order to foreshadow Medea's reaction.¹³⁵ No god is directly involved as such in Book One, although the wondrous creation has, of course, been made by the goddess of weaving herself (cf. *Il.* 5.60–1; *Il.* 14.178–9).

The history of the spear, juxtaposed as it is between the description of the cloak and the star simile, serves as a warning and anticipates with precision Jason's reaction in 1.784–5 (ὁ δ' ἐπὶ χθονὸς ὄμματ' ἐρείσας / νίσσετ' ἀπηλεγέως).¹³⁶

ὁ ῥ' Ἀταλάντῃ
Μαινάλω ἔν ποτέ οἱ ξεινήιον ἐγγυάλιξε,
πρόφρων ἀντομένη· πέρι γὰρ μενέαινεν ἔπεσθαι
τὴν ὁδόν. Ἀλλὰ γὰρ αὐτὸς ἐκὼν ἀπερήτυε κούρην,
δείσεν δ' ἀργαλέας ἐριδας φιλότητος ἔκητι. (1.769–73)

Not so much detail is given about the spear itself apart from the unusual epithet ἐκηβόλον (1.769) and the elaborate description of the history of the ξεινήιον which already indicates in itself its value and importance.¹³⁷ The epithet, exclusively used of Apollo (e.g. *Il.* 1.14), recalls the beginning of Book One, where Jason is compared to Apollo and specific attention is drawn to the *effect* of his appearance upon other people (cf. 1.310–1: τοῖος ἀνὰ πληθὺν δήμου κίεν, ὥρτο δ' αὐτὴ / κεκλομένων ἄμυδις).¹³⁸ It is significant that he received the weapon from the virgin Atalante who, in her love for him, desperately wanted to join the expedition.¹³⁹ However, evidently realising the potentially dangerous and destructive powers of love, Jason refused to take her

¹³⁴Hunter, *Literary Studies*, 53; Shapiro (1980), 270.

¹³⁵3.924–5: Τὸν καὶ παπταίνοντες ἐθάμβεον αὐτοὶ ἑταῖροι / λαμπόμενον χαρίτεσσιν. On beautification see West ad *Od.* 2.12; Garvie ad *Od.* 6.223–37; Vian ii, 139, ad 3.923.

¹³⁶See Campbell ad 3.19 and 3.22: "simple coyness is surely not in question here!" See also Herter (1944–55), 347; Levin (1971), 74 (however, "relaxed as soon as he arrives there"?). Cf. Beye (1982), 90; Clauss (1993), 130; Fränkel, *Noten*, 105; Nyberg (1992), 122; Stoessl (1941), 40.

¹³⁷Cf. *Od.* 4.615f. See also Campbell, Mosch. *Eur.* 38–42.

¹³⁸See also Lawall (1966), 148; Levin (1971), 70.

¹³⁹For a spear as a gift of guest-friendship see *Od.* 21.34.

with them for fear of the consequences (1.773: ἀργαλέας ἔριδας φιλόητος ἔκητι),¹⁴⁰ fears which are not unfounded as is shown in 4.446 (ἐκ σέθεν οὐλόμενά τ' ἔριδες στοναχαί τε πόνοι τε). Κούρην in 1.772 deliberately recalls Iphinoe's words in 1.712, creating suspense with respect to Jason's response (1.772: αὐτὸς ἐκὼν). Despite all his intentions, this time the ultimate decision to leave Lemnos is suprisingly not taken by Jason on his own initiative, but only after he has been admonished by Heracles. If Jason has inspired passionate desire in a female before (1.771: μενέαινε),¹⁴¹ it is to be expected that the same will happen when he meets other women.

Just as Achilles was compared with a star because of his gleaming armour (*Il.* 22.320: ὧς αἰχμῆς ἀπέλαμπ' εὐήκεος),¹⁴² so Jason's shining clothes and spear make a comparison with a star particularly appropriate (1.774–85).¹⁴³ In Homer, not only armour but also clothing is compared with the light of a star; both the robe made by Helen herself as a present for Telemachus' future wife and the valuable Sidonian robe chosen by Hecabe as an offering to Athena are likened to a star (*Il.* 6.294–5 = *Od.* 15.107–8: ὃς κάλλιστος ἔην ποικίλμασιν ἡδὲ μέγιστος, / ἀστὴρ δ' ὧς ἀπέλαμπεν).¹⁴⁴ The primary function of this simile is therefore to focus on the dazzling and heroic appearance of Jason (cf. 1.239–40: οἱ δὲ φαεινοὶ / ἀστέρες ὧς νεφέεσσι μετέτρεπον).¹⁴⁵ Often in star similes attention is drawn to the beauty of the star (e.g. *Il.* 22.318: κάλλιστος; *Il.* 6.401: ἀλίγκιον ἀστέρι καλῶ; 3.958: ὃς δ' ἦτοι καλὸς μὲν ἀρίζηλός τ'

¹⁴⁰See Hunter, *Literary Studies*, 59.

¹⁴¹Usually, the Lemnian episode is regarded as the start of Jason's sexual awakening see Lawall (1966), 150; Jackson (1993), 59: "Here, Jason was to experience his sexual awakening, and to discover the natural attraction he held for the opposite sex."

¹⁴²Edwards ad *Il.* 19.365–8; De Jong, *Narrators*, 126.

¹⁴³On the star simile: Broeniman, 92–112; Clauss (1993), 120; Faerber (1932), 11; Fränkel, *Noten*, 105; George (1972), 58; Hunter, *Literary Studies*, 48; Levin (1971), 70–1; Nyberg (1992), 122; Vian i, 24, n. 4.

¹⁴⁴See also Blumberg (1931), 19, n. 17; Kirk ad *Il.* 6.401–2.

¹⁴⁵See De Jong, *Narrators*, 126; Effe (1996), 309: "Akzentuierung der heldenhaften Größe, die sich glänzend im Kampf bewährt und die Gegern Unheil bringt." Contrary to Faerber (1932, 11), who, while rightly pointing at the fact that Apollonius has further developed the idea of beauty already present in the Homeric star similes, concludes that in this simile "die kriegerische Note fehlt," I would like to stress that the simile still stresses Jason's heroic character. See also Broeniman (1992), 97, who commenting on the function of the star as symbol of love, observes: "Earlier when applied to all the heroes the star primarily suggested heroic and traditional epic associations to the reader."

ἔσιδέσθαι), conspicuously shining amidst the dark clouds.¹⁴⁶ Likewise in this simile, the stark contrast between the brilliant red of the star (1.774: φοεινῷ ἀστέρι; 1.778: καλὸν ἐρευθόμενος), corresponding with the purple of his cloak, and the darkness of the night (1.777: κυανέοιο δι' ἥερος) is emphasised.¹⁴⁷ Like a star in the night and, as a result of the comparison, like Achilles, Hector and Diomedes among their fellow-warriors on the battlefield, so Jason will stand out among the crowd of women (cf. Diomedes' entry onto the battlefield: *Il.* 5.8: ὦρσε δέ μιν κατὰ μέσσον, ὅθι πλεῖστοι κλονέοντο). As the focus is often on the destructive effect of the star, in many star similes a sinister aspect is detected¹⁴⁸ and the discussion here concentrates itself on the question whether the simile in 1.774–85 therefore also constitutes a κακὸν σῆμα (*Il.* 22.30–1; cf. 3.959–61).¹⁴⁹ Above all, however, attention is drawn to the powerful magic effect the hero will have on the women and Hypsipyle in particular.¹⁵⁰ Ingeniously, *Il.* 22.25–6 (Τὸν δ' ὁ γέρων Πρίαμος πρῶτος ἶδεν ὀφθαλμοῖσι, / παμφαίνονθ' ὥς τ' ἀστέρ') is reworked twice in the *Argonautica*: in 3.956–7, the effect of the appearance of Jason on Medea is stressed, but adapted from *Il.* 22.25f. in a much more straightforward way, in that before, after and within the simile itself reference is made to visual impact (3.956: ἐελδομένη ἐφάσθη; 3.958: ἀρίζηλος τ' ἔσιδέσθαι; 3.960: εἰσοράσθαι; 3.961: φαανθείς). In Book One, the reference to the effect of the star's appearance on the *eyes* of the girl anticipates the spell cast on the women by Jason's appearance (1.776: θηήσαντο; 1.777: ὄμματα θέλγει). This link is, however, less direct than in the simile in Book Three and it is the corresponding situation that allows expectation of a similar reaction in the Lemnian women. In

¹⁴⁶See Richardson ad *Il.* 22.317–20. Cf. *Il.* 5.2–3 (ἴν' ἐκδηλος μετὰ πᾶσιν / Ἀργεῖοισι γένοιτο); *Il.* 11.62–3; *Il.* 22.27–8 (ἀρίζηλοι ... νυκτὸς ἀμολγῷ); *Il.* 22.30 (λαμπρότατος); *Il.* 22.317 (νυκτὸς ... ἀμολγῷ).

¹⁴⁷On ἐρευθός / ἐρεύθεται in connection with the erotic see Campbell, ad 3.163; Fowler (1989), 17; Clauss (1993), 128–9; Lawall (1966), 158; Newman (1986), 74–6, also n.4; Rose (1985), 38–9.

¹⁴⁸See Hainsworth ad *Il.* 11.62; Kirk ad *Il.* 6.401–2; Richardson ad *Il.* 317–20.

¹⁴⁹See, for example, Beye (1982), 91, who argues that the power of the star is both dangerous and pleasing.

¹⁵⁰Faerber (1932), 11; Broeniman (1992), 51–2.

3.4–5 (ἀδμήτας δὲ τεοῖς μελεδήμασι θέλγεις / παρθενικάς), the same association between ἔρωσ, θέλξις and virgins as the prime target is made.¹⁵¹ It is well-established that love is thought to enter through the eyes (cf. 3.1018–9: τῆς δ' ἀμαρυγὰς / ὀφθαλμῶν ἥρπαζεν).¹⁵²

γάνυται δέ τε ἡιθέοιο
παρθένος ἱμείρουσα μετ' ἄλλοδαποῖσιν ἔόντος
ἀνδράσιν, ᾧ καὶ μιν μνηστὴν κομέουσι τοκῆες.
(1.778–80)

Ἄλλοδαποῖσιν seems to be a neutral word here, mainly emphasising distance. Just as a girl (1.779: παρθένος ἱμείρουσα; 1.776: νύμφαι) yearns for her absent lover (1.778: ἡιθέοιο), so Hypsipyle (1.791: παρθενικάς ... παρηΐδας) desires a foreigner to be her future husband (1.780: μνηστὴν). In the simile, the parents keep the girl for her lover; in reality Jason will not yield to the proposal, even though the evening star is the 'star of marriage and fertility',¹⁵³ the unattainability of the lover is evident in both cases.¹⁵⁴ It is this aspect that fills the reader with a sense of foreboding about the coming encounter.

Instead of arriving and finding the inhabitants in pursuit of their daily activities, Jason discovers them all waiting for him, full of excitement and curiosity just like the virgin in the simile.¹⁵⁵ Δημότεροι ... γυναικες (1.783) refers back to 1.714, in which Iphinoe described the women's decree as coming from the δῆμος. Now, Jason is confronted with the fact that the Lemnian δῆμος only consists of women (cf. 1.675). The repetition of γάνυται (1.778) and γηθόσυναι (1.784) stresses the similarity in experience between the girl in the

¹⁵¹See Campbell ad loc.; cf. 3.27 (κούρην ... θέλξαι); Mosch. *Eur.* 94; Garvie ad *Od.* 6.109. In *Od.* 18.212 (ἔρω δ' ἄρα θυμὸν ἔθελχθεν), the suitors are similarly charmed by Penelope's appearance.

¹⁵²See Janko ad *Il.* 14.294; West ad Hes. *Th.* 910, quoting Alc. 1.20–1; Sappho 138.2; Eur. *Hipp.* 325.

¹⁵³Hunter ad 3.956–61, remarking that in Book Three "the simile is much less promising."

¹⁵⁴See also Effe (1996), 309.

¹⁵⁵Hunter, *Literary Studies*, 49 compares the arrival of Jason at the city gates with the unexpected arrival of Hector among the women at Troy in *Il.* 6. Again, the comparison seems above all to accentuate the differences between both scenes. The erotic element is not present at all in *Il.* 6 and, as previously said, the Lemnian women are not at all interested in any news from their expected guest and would rather conceal their own background as much as possible.

simile and the Lemnian women. This motif of joy is repeated throughout the episode: 1.844: κεχαρμέναι ; 1.857: γεγήθει ; 1.881 (simile): γάνυται. Henceforth, although the initial crime had been committed by the *married* women whilst affecting the *unmarried* girls in particular, the focus will be on the latter category (cf. 1.843: νεήνιδες). Ξείνω (1.784) confirms Polyxo's ξείνοισιν in 1.676 and foreshadows Hypsipyle's address in 1.793.

Καί ρ' ὅτε δὴ πυλέων τε καὶ ἄστεος ἐντὸς ἔβησαν,
δημότεραι μὲν ὅπισθεν ἐπεκλονέοντο γυναικες
γηθόσυναι ξείνω. (1.782–4)

The powerful effect of Jason's appearance is immediately visible through their reaction, described with the strong verb ἐπεκλονέοντο (cf. 3.687: θρασέες γὰρ ἐπεκλονέεσκον Ἑρώτες).¹⁵⁶ The verb with its aggressive connotations symbolises the eagerness of the crowd of women swarming around them.¹⁵⁷ Clauss and Nyberg both discuss the idea that Jason is portrayed in this episode as an essentially passive hero with the Lemnian women playing what is for women an unusually aggressive role.¹⁵⁸ However, in comedy and tragedy alike, the notion of women as sex deprived, passionate creatures is not uncommon. Jason is in this episode not so much indifferent as, like Odysseus when faced with various women during his νόστος, focused on the mission to be completed.

With women crowding behind him, Jason reaches the palace of Hypsipyle (1.785–6: ὄφρ' ἀγλαὰ δώμαθ' ἵκανε / Ὑψιπύλης). There is hardly any description of the surroundings, although the splendour of the buildings is mentioned in general terms, echoing Polyxo's description in 1.696 (1.785: ἀγλαὰ δώμαθ'; 1.789: καλῆς ... παστάδος).

¹⁵⁶See also Stoessl (1941), 40. In the *Iliad* used of driving a foe into confusion and striking him with panic: *Il.* 14.14; *Il.* 15.7; cf. 2.133; 4.487; 4.908.

¹⁵⁷Levin (1971), 73 suggests that this verb has been chosen to reflect the point that "the response of the spectators is spontaneous and unorganised." On the whole, though, the meeting between Jason and the queen is well-orchestrated by the women. Full of expectations, the women are waiting at the gates for the coming of the leader of the expedition.

¹⁵⁸Clauss (1993), 130; Nyberg (1992), 122 & 124; Rose (1985), 135. Clauss' suggestion *ibid.* that the women's unnatural behaviour resembles that of 'the wild animals outside Circe's hut (*Od.* 10.212–9) seems improbable.

ἤνεσαν δὲ θύρας προφανέντι θεράπναι
 δικλίδας, εὐτύκτοισιν ἄρηρεμένας σανίδεσσιν·
 ἔνθα μιν Ἰφινόη κλισμῷ ἐνὶ παμφανόωντι
 ἔσσυμένως καλῆς διὰ παστάδος εἶσεν ἄγουσα
 ἀντία δεσποίνης. (1.786–90)

In this passage, images of Calypso, Nausicaa and Circe are evoked one after another.¹⁵⁹ Role models abound and the reader wonders which role Hypsipyle is going to play, which approach will be chosen and how Jason will in turn react to the queen's proposal. As Reece has pointed out in his section on Homeric reception, the following sequence of motifs would be possible:¹⁶⁰ after catching sight of the visitor, the host rises from his seat, approaches the visitor, grasps his hand and, bidding him welcome, leads him into the house, where a seat is offered and a banquet prepared in honour of the guest.

Here, a formal welcome has been prepared as Jason's arrival at the palace is expected and foreseen. Like Circe, Hypsipyle has many servants, but unlike the goddess, who opens her doors herself as soon as she hears Odysseus (*Od.* 10.312–3), here the servants eagerly open the palace gate for Jason as soon as they see him (1.786: προφανέντι) while the queen waits for him to come to her. Having passed the city gates (1.782), Jason now passes the gates of the palace,¹⁶¹ is then led through a παστιάς and *finally* meets the queen herself. The association of a παστάδος (1.789) with a bridal chamber, an image also conjured up by the simile in 1.775, seems deliberate.¹⁶² However, rather than seduce the men as they had planned, the women are going to be seduced themselves.¹⁶³ The use of servants for the various tasks within the household is not only indicative of the splendour and majesty of the court but also very effectively creates distance. The absence of

¹⁵⁹See also Clauss (1993), 131.

¹⁶⁰Reece (1993), 17–21.

¹⁶¹The reading of Ω, πύλας, is preferred to θύρας. The palace gates, not the θύραι θαλάμοιο, are needed here (cf. 1.785). See the discussion by Campbell ad 3.216 and Edwards ad *Il.* 18.274–6 on σανίδες: "closing a large opening in a palace- or city-wall." For the erotic play on 'gates' see Beye (1982), 92.

¹⁶²See Vian i., 87, n. 1.

¹⁶³See also Janko ad *Il.* 14.294.

any physical contact between host and guest at this point is remarkable. Jason is not taken by the hand and led into the palace by the host, but by her servants; Hypsipyle merely blushes and looks away (1.790–1), both features ostensibly reminiscent of the virgin in the simile (1.791: παρθενικῶς ... παρηίδας).

The atmosphere of seduction is continued in the offering of a κλισμός as Jason's seat.¹⁶⁴ The designation of a seat to a guest was one of the ways in which one could express respect for the guest, but could also be used as a subtle means by the host for power-play.¹⁶⁵ It is to be expected that special attention will be paid to seating in those instances in which questions of hierarchy are of the highest importance. For example, in the Circe episode in Book Four, Jason and Medea at first refuse the seats offered to them because of their lowly status as suppliants (cf. 4.691ff.; 4.720).

A κλισμός is a light chair, without arms and "with a reclined back, used by men when feasting or relaxing and by women,"¹⁶⁶ whereas a θρόνος, for example, implies dignity and authority.¹⁶⁷ Although these two nouns are sometimes interchangeable,¹⁶⁸ there is nonetheless a distinction between them, so in Book Three, Cypris, uneasy about the yet uncertain purpose of the visit of the two goddesses, deliberately seats Athena and Hera on κλισμοί while remaining on a θρόνος herself.¹⁶⁹ In order to create the best opportunities for her plans to be successful, it is important for Hypsipyle to put her guest into a relaxed mood. The choice of seat seems to imply seduction and point to the fact that this is a woman's society.

Hypsipyle clearly desires to keep in control of the situation and this is exemplified by her leaving it to her servant to seat her guest, by the choice of seat

¹⁶⁴See also Clauss (1983), 209–10, n. 46.

¹⁶⁵On seating see Reece (1993), 21–2. Cf. 4.782: Ἡ δέ μιν ἄσπον ἐοῖτο παρῆισε. Hera, seating Thetis near her when asking her for her help, uses intimacy implied by the seating as a means of persuasion.

¹⁶⁶Reece (1993), 22, quoting *Od.* 17.90; *Il.* 9.200; *Il.* 11.623; *Il.* 24.597 and *Od.* 4.136; *Od.* 7.97; *HyDem* 191; *ibid.* 193. See also West ad *Od.* 1.130; Hainsworth ad *Il.* 9.200.

¹⁶⁷See West ad *Od.* 1.130; Richardson ad *HyDem* 191.

¹⁶⁸Richardson ad *Il.* 24.596–8.

¹⁶⁹See Campbell ad 3.47–50; also *Studies*, 98, n. 20.

and the seating of her guest opposite her (1.790: ἀντία δεσποίνης). In Homer, as is done at Pylos, Sparta and Scheria, the guests are usually seated next to their hosts. The initial distance and formality here express a wish for authority, something especially important for a κούρη, and is at the same time sexually laden; the two protagonists finally meet face to face in what is literally designed to be an intimate tête-à-tête. As Hunter has noted, Helen is, much against her will, seated opposite Paris by Aphrodite herself (*Il.* 3.425: ἀντί' Ἀλεξάνδροιο θεὰ κατέθηκε φέρουσα).¹⁷⁰ It is remarkable that in the Lemnian episode the influence of this goddess is only first explicitly acknowledged *after* this encounter, affecting all the women equally as they each lead a man to their homes (1.850). Thrice more in Homer, two main characters are explicitly said to be sitting opposite each other: Achilles and Priam (*Il.* 24.596–8), Achilles and Odysseus (*Il.* 9.218–9), and Odysseus and Penelope (*Od.* 23.89–90) are all seated facing each other. In each case, formality and the maintaining of eye contact is important (cf. also 4.720!).¹⁷¹ Continuing the imagery of the star and cloak with their emphasis on brilliance, the chair is qualified by the epithet παμφανόωντι (1.788), 'shining,' 'gleaming,' which again emphasises the splendour of Hypsipyle's palace (cf. 1.785).¹⁷² This scene has often been compared to the seating of Odysseus by Circe herself in *Od.* 10.366–7 (εἶσε δέ μ' εἰσαγαγούσα ἐπὶ θρόνου ἀργυροήλου, / καλοῦ δαιδαλέου);¹⁷³ it should also be compared with *Od.* 5.86, in which Calypso seats Hermes on a shining chair (ἐν θρόνῳ ἰδρύσασα φαεινῷ, σιγαλόεντι).

Ἥ δ' ἐγκλιδὸν ὅσσε βαλοῦσα
παρθενικὰς ἐρύθηνε παρηίδας· ἔμπα δὲ τὸν γε
αἰδομένη μύθοισι προσέννεπεν αἰμυλίοισι· (1.790–2)

¹⁷⁰Hunter, *Literary Studies*, 49.

¹⁷¹See Richardson ad *Il.* 24.596–8; Hainsworth ad *Il.* 9.218–9.

¹⁷²Not used of chairs in Homer, but see Kirk ad *Il.* 8.320–2: "παμφανόων is an all-purpose decorative epithet."

¹⁷³Clauss (1993), 131; Knight (1995), 197.

The introduction to her speech gives us an exact impression of its actual content.¹⁷⁴ Αἰμυλίοισι, an epithet always used in connection with deceitful flattery, crafty lies and cunning words,¹⁷⁵ is found only once in Homer and characterises Calypso's words when she tries to make Odysseus forget his own country (*Od.* 1.56–7: αἰεὶ δὲ μαλακοῖσι καὶ αἰμυλίοισι λόγοισι / θέλγει ὅπως Ἰθάκης ἐπιλήσεται).¹⁷⁶ A comparison with the opening scene of Book Three is also interesting as a similar pattern can be detected there.¹⁷⁷ Just as Cypris vainly tries to outwit Hera and Athena but is finally forced to do something she does not want to do (3.51), and as Calypso vainly tries to keep Odysseus with her forever, so Hypsipyle does not succeed in persuading Jason to accept her offer to govern the island although hospitality is gracefully accepted. Unfortunately, the queen is confronted with someone who will show himself to be capable of using a similarly flattering and seductive approach (3.1140–1: τέρπετο ... / ... αἰμυλίοισι λόγοισιν).¹⁷⁸ Hypsipyle's display of αἰδώς (cf. 3.93: αἰδώς ἔσσετ' ἐν ὄμμασιν), characteristic of a young girl, is feigned but at the same time very appropriate considering the content of her speech. As Pratt observes, citing Pind. *N.* 5.14–8 (cf. αἰδέομαι), a sense of αἰδώς can also prevent one from speaking the truth (cf. 4.736: Φόνον δ' ἄλλεινεν ἐνισπείν).¹⁷⁹ Shyness and embarrassment *seemingly* influence her behaviour equally.¹⁸⁰ When Medea finally yields to shameless Love (3.92: ἀναίδητω), shame is said to have left her eyes (3.1068: δὴ γὰρ οἱ ἅπ' ὀφθαλμοὺς λίπεν αἰδώς). In *Il.* 3.427, Helen, although for slightly different reasons, as she is forced by Aphrodite herself to make love to Paris, averts her eyes before speaking

¹⁷⁴See Nyberg (1992), 124.

¹⁷⁵Hes. *Th.* 890; Hes. *Op.* 78; Hes. *Op.* 374; Hes. *Op.* 789; 3.51; 3.1141.

¹⁷⁶Cf. West ad *Od.* 1.56–7; Clauss (1993), 131; Knight (1995), 163, n. 106.

¹⁷⁷See Campbell ad 3.51 and ad 107.

¹⁷⁸For more parallels between Hypsipyle's behaviour here and Jason's in Book Three see Hunter, *Literary Studies*, 50.

¹⁷⁹Pratt (1993), 88. See also Cairns (1993), 135: "Anything of which others disapprove, then, may arouse *aidos* in those who are sensitive to that emotion."

¹⁸⁰Like Natzel (1992: 177), Levin (1971), 73 emphasises Hypsipyle's virginal nature and points out that, despite this, the maiden speaks out first. It is only natural that as the host Hypsipyle would open the conversation. Furthermore, I consider her character rather devious and her actions towards him calculated.

to him.¹⁸¹ Jason's and Hypsipyle's eye movements here contrast poignantly with those of Jason and Medea in 3.1022–3 (Ἄμφω δ' ἄλλοτε μὲν τε κατ' οὐδὲος ὄμματ' ἔρειδον / αἰδόμενοι).

Although Hypsipyle immediately formally acknowledges Jason's status as her guest by addressing him with ξεῖνε (1.793), the speech is not a welcoming one in the strict sense of the word.¹⁸² Echoing in these lines her address to the Lemnian women that same morning, the complete change of plan is emphasised (1.659–61 ~ 1.793–7).¹⁸³ Simultaneously, suspense is created: how is Hypsipyle going to resolve the problems she sketches in her first speech, and how is Jason going to react?

Ξεῖνε, τίη μίμνοντες ἐπὶ χρόνον ἔκτοθι πύργων
ἦσθ' αὐτως, ἐπεὶ οὐ μὲν ὑπ' ἀνδράσι νοίεταί ἄστυ,
ἀλλὰ Θρηκίης ἐπινάστιοι ἠπεῖροιο
πυροφόρους ἀρόωσι γύας; (1.793–6)

Her address of Jason as ξεῖνος creates expectations about the content of her speech; a meal, bath and bed, the traditional elements of a hospitable reception, are expected to be offered to Jason and his crew. What follows, however, is a rather reproachful sentence on the principle that 'attack is the best form of defence,' asking Jason why it has taken them so long to come to the palace even though in fact the women themselves have been the cause of all the delays. The explanatory clause of 1.794 seems to suggest that it was the *Argonauts* who had been afraid to come to the palace because of the possibility of an attack by the Lemnian *men* (cf. 1.707: θαρσαλέως). At the end of her speech, this urgent message is repeated once more (cf. *Od.* 10.401ff.).

¹⁸¹Kirk ad *Il.* 3.427 observes that "the aversion of her eyes somehow suggests her own indirectness and probable confusion." See Hunter, *Literary Studies*, 49, n. 17.

¹⁸²Rather than following Levin (1971), 72, n. 1, who argues that the address with ξεῖνε in 1.793 stresses the "dual status" of Jason as stranger and welcome guest, I suggest that the greeting signifies the acknowledgement of and wish for a relationship between the Lemnian women and the Argonauts, symbolising effectively the move from initial hostility. This is supported by similar findings in prose (see Dickey [1996: 148–9]).

996

¹⁸³See George (1972), 53; Levin (1971), 72.

Ἄλλ' ἄγε νῦν ἐπὶ νῆα κιῶν ἐτάροισιν ἐνίσπες
μύθους ἡμετέρους, μηδ' ἔκτοθι μίμνε πόληος. (1.832–3)

The exchange of information comes thus rather early and not, as customary, after a banquet. A feast will first be held after Jason has brought his comrades to the city. It is not unusual for a host to tell stories: in the *Odyssey*, Nestor (*Od.* 3), Menelaus (*Od.* 4) and Eumaeus (*Od.* 15) all tell stories, but never to the exclusion of any account given by the guest. Also, the journey to the first two hosts was deliberately undertaken by Telemachus in order to gain information about his father, and storytelling from Nestor and Menelaus would thus be expected.¹⁸⁴ Here, the queen does not even ask the visitor to give information about his identity or intentions, but, voluntarily, not at the request of Jason himself, insists on giving the Argonauts a *true* account of their story. Her account which explains the curious absence of men on the island forms a prerequisite for the offer she is going to make Jason at the end of her speech. Hypsipyle's remark in 1.888–91 (ἀπηρέσιν αὖτις ἐταίροις / χρύσειον βασιλῆϊ δέρος κομίσειαν ἄγοντα / αὖτως) shows an awareness of the nature of Jason's mission — information that the hero must have given at some stage during his stay. However, the focus is far more on the exciting story of the Lemnian women themselves and the poet's treatment of previous versions. The mission of the Argonauts only becomes important when it becomes clear that their sense of duty is going to interfere with the plan of the Lemnians. Thus more interested in *her* reputation than in his, the attention she directs towards herself reveals her own uncertainty.

Not admitting the exact nature of their crime, but at the same time indirectly justifying it, Hypsipyle presents a cleverly constructed version of what happened.¹⁸⁵ It is easy to admire her skill as a liar because of the narrator's introduction to this episode and the comments framing her speech (1.790–2;

¹⁸⁴Cf. *Od.* 3.19–20.

¹⁸⁵See Fränkel, *Noten*, 111; Levin (1971), 76–7.

1.834: ἀμαλδύνουσα φόνου).¹⁸⁶ Obviously, this is not a time for honesty. Instead of asking her guest to answer her questions accurately, Hypsipyle uses the familiar claim herself to preface her detailed account of the Lemnian deed (1.796: ἐξερέω). Using similar tactics, Odysseus claims to speak accurately before telling Eumaeus the first of the so-called Cretan tales (*Od.* 14.192: τοιγὰρ ἐγὼ τοι ταῦτα μάλ' ἀτρεκέως ἀγορεύσω).¹⁸⁷

Κακότητα δὲ πᾶσαν
ἐξερέω νημερτές, ἵν' εὖ γνοίητε καὶ αὐτοί. (1.796–7)

The terms κακότητα ... πᾶσαν (1.796), θυμοφθόρον (1.803) and ὑπέρβιον θάρσος (1.820) all indicate the ambiguous nature of her speech.¹⁸⁸ Hypsipyle understandably wants to concentrate on the cause of the women's behaviour, painting vividly (1.814: ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖσι ... ὁρόωτο; 1.815: χερσίν) and emotionally (1.802: οὐλομένης δὲ θεᾶς; 1.815: ἀτασθάλου) how the men's criminal deeds influenced the whole fabric of their society (1.812: ἀτημελές; 1.817: μέλε θυμῷ; 1.819: μέλοντο).¹⁸⁹ Displaying αἰδώς herself, the condemnatory vocabulary she uses to describe the men's behaviour is cleverly associated with a lack of αἰδώς (1.815: ἀτασθάλου; 1.815–6: λώβην ... ἀεικέα).¹⁹⁰ As Fisher comments:

Hybris language denotes the moral and social offensiveness of an act of deliberate, major, public humiliation, committed explicitly to increase the agent's sense of his own superiority; there is a clear implication that an act of such *hybris* rightly produces great anger and the desire for revenge.¹⁹¹

¹⁸⁶See George (1972), 59; Blumberg (1931), 15.

¹⁸⁷Cf. *Od.* 19.203: Ἴσκει ψεύδεα πολλὰ λέγων ἐτύμοισιν ὁμοῖα.

¹⁸⁸See Campbell ad 3.95; Hunter, *Literary Studies*, 51; Vian i, 88, n. 2.

¹⁸⁹See Blumberg (1931), 16; Campbell ad 3.390; Fränkel, *Noten*, 107–8; Hunter, *Literary Studies*, 112; Ibscher (1939), 17.

¹⁹⁰See Cairns (1993), 60, 110 & 131: "A lack of *aidos*, then, may lead to or be accompanied by acts of *hybris* and *atasthalie*, and, indeed, these two vices, implying lack of inhibition and failure to respect the *time* of others, operate as rough antonyms of *aidos*."

¹⁹¹Fisher (1992), 153. See also West's comments ad *Od.* 1.7 with regard to ἀτάσθαλος, which is in the *Odyssey* mainly used with reference to the suitors, that "it denotes behaviour for which men not only suffer but deserve to suffer, culpable recklessness, implying a selfish disregard for the decencies of social life."

Thus, by showing the far-reaching repercussions on, for example, their offspring by the creation of a bastard race (cf. 1.808–10), and appealing now to θέμις (1.822), the queen cleverly draws the attention away from self-interest or jealousy (cf. 1.616) as the root cause of their actions, which she claimed consisted of refusing to receive them in their city again (1.822: δέχθαι).¹⁹²

At the end of her speech, she finally offers him the government of the island which is presented as being in *his*, rather than her, interest (cf. also 1.801: ἀπείρονα ληίδα). She does not ask him to share her bed and only implies that he will govern the island with her by his side. Certainly not as direct as Circe's invitation (*Od.* 10.333–5: νῶϊ δ' ἔπειτα / εὐνῆς ἡμετέρης ἐπιβήομεν, ὄφρα μιγέντε / εὐνῇ καὶ φιλότῃ πεποιθόμεν ἀλλήλοισιν), Hypsipyle seductively offers her guest power, status and honour.¹⁹³

Τῷ ὑμεῖς στρωφᾶσθ' ἐπιδήμιοι. Εἰ δέ κεν αὖθι
 ναιετάειν ἐθέλοις καὶ τοι ἄδοι, ἧ τ' ἂν ἔπειτα
 πατρός ἐμεῖο Θόαντος ἔχοις γέρας. Οὐδέ σ' οἶω
 γαῖαν ὀνόσσεσθαι. (1.827–30)

It is ἐπιδήμιοι which makes στρωφᾶσθ' assume the unusual meaning of 'move freely in a place,' 'abide there' (e.g. *Il.* 9.463; 3.893) instead of the more usual and probably expected sense of 'visit,' 'roam about,' 'wander.' Fränkel notes that the queen here suddenly changes to the second person singular in a direct and personal address to him as she finally tells him of her intentions.¹⁹⁴ By using the word γέρας, usually applied to a gift of honour, a reward or privilege, the throne is presented by her as not only something involving honour, but also as her ultimate gift to him. A refusal, though courteously and politely phrased (1.828: ἐθέλοις καὶ τοι ἄδοι),¹⁹⁵ would mean that their land, and thus they themselves,

¹⁹²Hall (1997), 110 interestingly points out that "every man who attempts it (i.e. the instalment of a concubine in the marital home) in tragedy suffers death shortly thereafter."

¹⁹³On ἐπιβήομεν see Knight (1995), 165.

¹⁹⁴Fränkel, *Noten*, 112.

¹⁹⁵Cf. *Od.* 6.244–5 (οἶ γὰρ ἐμοὶ τοιόσδε πόσις κεκλημένος εἴη / ἐνθάδε ναιετάων, καὶ οἱ ἄδοι αὐτόθι μῖμνεν) and *Od.* 7.314–5 (οἶκον δέ κ' ἐγὼ καὶ καὶ κτήματα δοίην, / εἴ κ' ἐθέλων γε μένοις· ἀέκοντα δέ σ' οὐ τις ἐρύξει). See also Clauss (1993), 133; Hunter, *Literary Studies*, 51.

would be scorned (1.829–30: Οὐδέ σ' οἶω / γαῖαν ὀνόσσεσθαι), an argument which Jason is quick to disprove (1.840: οὐκ ἄθερίζων). Hypsipyle's tactic, well as it serves her to defend the women's actions, is far less suited to convince the Argonauts to stay by creating, perhaps unwittingly, a situation exactly parallel to the previously disastrous circumstances. The idea therefore that staying on the island is an honourable option is easily attacked by Heracles in his speech to his comrades. Not scorning Hypsipyle's offer would entail scorning their own women (1.867: ὀνοσσάμενοι πολιήτιδας).

Ὑψιπύλῃ, μάλα κεν θυμηδέος ἀντιάσαιμεν
 χρησιμοσύνης, ἣν ἄμμι σέθεν χατέουσιν ὀπάξεις
 (1.836–7)

Jason's reply is very tactful. While gracefully accepting the help and hospitality offered to him, he firmly declines the offer of a permanent stay because of his mission. Now that the queen has decided to offer everything, Jason decides only to accept what he needs for his travels. The introduction to Jason's speech is echoed that of Hera's speech in 3.106–7 (1.835: αὐτὰρ ὁ τὴν γε παραβλήδην προσέειπεν ~ 3.106–7: τὴν δ' Ἥρῃ ῥαδινῆς ἐπεμάσσαστο χειρός. / ἦκα δὲ μειδιώσα παραβλήδην προσέειπεν). The exact meaning of παραβλήδην is disputed: it denotes either just 'in reply' or 'with intent to deceive'.¹⁹⁶ The parallel with the situation in Book Three would seem to suggest that the connotation of deceit is at least hinted at; both Hera and Jason cunningly bend their opponents to their will.

εἴμι δ' ὑπότροπος αὖτις ἀνὰ πτόλιν, εὖτ' ἂν ἕκαστα
 ἐξείπω κατὰ κόσμον. Ἀνακτορίῃ δὲ μελέσθω
 σοί γ' αὐτῇ καὶ νῆσος· ἔγωγε μὲν οὐκ ἄθερίζων
 χάζομαι, ἀλλὰ με λυγροὶ ἐπισπέρχουσιν ἄεθλοι.
 (1.838–41)

¹⁹⁶Cf. *Il.* 4.6 and discussion by Kirk ad loc. suggesting 'deviously.' See Campbell ad 3.107 observing Apollonius' deliberate use of ambiguous glosses. Cf. Natzel (1992), 178, n. 86: "only in reply."

The wording of his promise to tell his fellow-Argonauts every single detail of the maiden's speech κατὰ κόσμον (cf. 1.838–9: ἕκαστα / ἐξείπω), once again, by the very conventionality of the phrase, ironically focuses the attention on the nature of Hypsipyle's speech. Deliberately, it would seem, no verdict is given by Jason about the truthfulness of the queen's speech; κατὰ κόσμον only refers to the appropriateness and orderliness of Jason's speech.¹⁹⁷ Such benefit of the doubt is not granted to Medea when neglecting to tell Circe about the murder of Apsyrtus (4.737: τὴν δ' οὐ τι νόῳ λάθην). Similarly in 1.847 (μῦθον ὅτ' ἤδη πάντα διηνεκέως ἀγόρευσε), διηνεκέως only indicates that Jason, as promised and very like Iphinoe, tells his comrades exactly everything the queen told him (cf. 3.401; e.g. *Od.* 4.836), thus not revealing again whether Hypsipyle's version is regarded by him as ἀληθείη or not.¹⁹⁸ In this respect, her speech can be considered as a success. However, no words are repeated for us; Iphinoe's speech very much remains the exception. In this episode, we see that Apollonius plays with the device of messenger speeches: in the first instance, despite the fact that the messenger possesses perfect memory, only the act of sending is mentioned and any results of Aethalides' mission have to be inferred from subsequent events. In the case of Iphinoe, a rare instance of literal transmission of a message is recorded; now, when *we* would like to know whether Jason has seen through the queen's lies, someone who is not a messenger voluntarily seems to act like one.

Ἦ καὶ δεξιτερῆς χειρὸς θίγεν. (1.842)

Physical contact, by the guest rather than the host (cf. *Od.* 20.197: Ἦ καὶ δεξιτερῇ δειδίσκετο χειρὶ παραστάς), is first established after Jason has politely declined her offer to rule over the island. A consoling gesture (cf.

¹⁹⁷See Pratt (1993), 65 & 69; George (1972), 60: "Jason sees only that part of the surface which he wishes to see;" Stoessl (1941), 43: "Jason glaubt ihr oder tut wenigstens so."

¹⁹⁸See also George (1972), 60.

3.106),¹⁹⁹ it nevertheless shows Jason's control of the situation and seems to symbolise that agreement has been reached in more than one respect, in Jason's opinion at least.²⁰⁰ At the same time, the *touching* of Hypsipyle's hand by Jason so soon before sharing her bed is also a gesture with erotic connotations, revealing again the strong sexual undercurrents in this atmosphere of seduction. For example in *HyAphr* 155–7 ("Ως εἰπὼν λάβε χεῖρα· φιλομμειδῆς δ' Ἀφροδίτη / ἔρπε μεταστρεφθεῖσα κατ' ὄμματα καλὰ βαλοῦσα / ἐς λέχος εὖστρωτον), Aphrodite, playfully displaying the αἰδώς expected of a maiden, is led to bed by Anchises (cf. *Od.* 8.291ff.).²⁰¹ It is very much a light, fleeting gesture, but comparison with 4.99–100 ("Ως ἡῦδα, καὶ χεῖρα παρασχεδὼν ἥραρε χεῖρὶ / δεξιτερήν), where Jason joins hands with Medea to strengthen his oath to marry her, reveals Jason's intentions here.²⁰² In Book Three, when Medea finally yields to love, it is her grasping of Jason's hand, unconventional for a maiden, which symbolises the decision she has taken (3.1067–8: εἶλέ τε χεῖρὸς / δεξιτερῆς· δὴ γάρ οἱ ἄπ' ὀφθαλμοῦς λίπεν αἰδώς).²⁰³

f) Entertainment provided by the women: feasts, dancing and sacrifices (1.842–60)

When Jason leaves the queen to deliver her message to his comrades, he is again surrounded by women, as during his arrival at the city and palace. Foreshadowing the next stage in the narrative, i.e. the sharing of their beds with the men, the women thronging around Jason are significantly called νεήνιδες (1.843).

ἀμφὶ δὲ τὸν γε νεήνιδες ἄλλοθεν ἄλλαι

¹⁹⁹See Campbell ad 3.106; Fränkel, *Noten*, 113 ad 1.836–42 characterises it as a "vertraulichen Geste."

²⁰⁰Herter (1944–55), 347; Stoessl (1941), 43. Cf. George (1972), 60: "temporary female-over-male predominance that characterizes the meeting on Lemnos."

²⁰¹See Reece (1993), 20. Cf. *Od.* 18.258.

²⁰²See Vian iii, 151 ad 4.100.

²⁰³See also Hunter ad 3.1067.

μυρίαι εἰλίσσοντο κεχαρμέναι, ὄφρα πυλάων
ἐξέμολεν. (1.843–5)

Εἰλίσσοντο vividly portrays the vast multitude of virgins surrounding him completely (1.843–4: ἄλλοθεν ἄλλαι / μυρίαι), swirling and dancing in circles around him (1.843: ἀμφὶ ... τόν).²⁰⁴

Μετέπειτα δ' ἑυτροχάλοισιν ἀμάξαις
ἀκτὴν εἰσανέβαν ξεινήια πολλὰ φέρουσαι (1.845–6)

Ἑυτροχάλοισιν ἀμάξαις (1.845) recalls the mule-wagon mentioned in *Il.* 24.150 (cf. also *Il.* 24.189), in which Priam is said to take presents to Achilles to soften his heart in order to receive Hector's body, and also in *Od.* 6.72f., when Nausicaa is loading her wagon with food, clothing and oil in preparation for her departure to the beach. Whereas in Hypsipyle's initial proposal the gifts were meant to be used as an incentive to keep the men outside the walls, they are now ironically used in order to seduce them to stay with them forever. No indication of the exact nature of these gifts is given; it is the quantity that counts here (1.846: πολλὰ; cf. 4.422: πολλὰ πόρον ξεινήια δῶρα). It brings our attention again to the sheer number of women involved and to their enthusiasm and eagerness. It suits the women to give the gifts now rather than at the more conventional moment, prior to the immediate departure of the guests; after all, they do not intend their guests ever to leave. At the departure of the Argonauts, on the other hand, no gift giving is mentioned because of the haste which all of a sudden seizes the Argonauts after their assembly (1.877: αὐτως ἀγορήθεν).

It appears from their mention thrice more in the *Argonautica* that these gifts comprise clothing, as well, presumably, as the usual and necessary provisions (cf. 1.837: χρημοσύνης) to facilitate the rest of their journey. Paradoxically, the women who were said to prefer the work of men to the works

²⁰⁴Cf. 3.1220 (nymphs dancing); 4.937 (Nereids); 4.934 (dolphins); 4.1198 (nymphs). Cf. also the reference to dancing in 1.857 (χοροῖσι), a typical female activity during feasts.

of Athena (1.629: Ἀθηναίης ... ἔργων; cf. *Il.* 6.289; *Od.* 7.96: ἔργα γυναικῶν) nevertheless seem to give them these traditional female gifts rather than armour. After all, it is with the ultimate goal of children in mind and a restoration of the old situation that the men are all individually invited to each of the women's houses, instead of being all guests of Hypsipyle (i.e. as a collective) (1.853–4: βασιλήιον ἐς δόμον). It is part of Apollonius' narrative technique to reveal some facts later, which results in a carefully constructed and skilfully interwoven epic. The splendid and valuable cloaks given by the Lemnian women are all mentioned at decisive instances in the narrative; before the fight with Amycus (2.30–2: εὐστιπτον ... φᾶρος / λεπταλέον ... ξεινήιον), before Jason's battle (3.1204–6: ᾠδινῆς μνημήιον εὐνῆς; cf. 1.896: μνώεο)²⁰⁵ and before the murder of Apsyrtus (4.422–8: ξεινήιον). The last two presents of purple πέπλος and black φᾶρος, both given by Hypsipyle, reveal in retrospect again her love for Jason. The details given about the origin of the πέπλος — it was made by the Charites as a present for Dionysus who lay upon it with Ariadne after she had been abandoned by Theseus — indicate its importance. At the crucial moment when Medea is going to bribe her own brother in order to lure him to the temple where he will be murdered, reminiscences of Hypsipyle and Ariadne ominously foreshadow Medea's own fate.²⁰⁶ Θέλξις, traditionally characterising Medea's words and deeds (cf. 4.435: θελγέμεν; 4.442: θελκτήρια φάρμακ'), is helped by the cloak.

Καὶ δ' αὐτοὺς ξεινοῦσθαι ἐπὶ σφεὰ δώματ' ἄγεσκον
ῥηιδίως (1.849–50)

²⁰⁵See for the relationship between gift giving and remembrance *Od.* 15.126: μνήμ' Ἑλένης χειρῶν. Cf. also *Od.* 4.592; *Od.* 8.430–2; *Od.* 15.54–5: τοῦ γάρ τε ξείνος μιμνήσκειται ἡμᾶτα πάντα / ἀνδρὸς ξεινοδόκου, ὃς κεν φιλότητα παράσχη. See Reece (1993), 35. As Garvie observes ad *Od.* 8. 430–2 this is "the ultimate purpose of giving, that the recipient should remember the donor."

²⁰⁶For Ariadne and Theseus see Duckworth (1933), 59; Fusillo (1985), 69–73; Levin (1971), 69, n. 2; Nyberg (1992), 121; Rose (1985), 40.

Very friendly relationships are indeed established: ξεινοῦσθαι euphemistically hints at the (sexual) intercourse between the Argonauts and Lemnian women as though it were a normal part of the hospitality offered to a guest (cf. 1.874: ἔσανδρώση).²⁰⁷ Cypris, striving to free Lemnos from its untouched 'virgin status' (1.852: ἀκήρατος), is explicitly said here to be responsible for the women's actions at this stage, instilling sweet love in them.

Αὐτίκα δ' ἄστν χοροῖσι καὶ εἰλαπίνησι γεγήθει
καπνῷ κνισήεντι περίπλεον· ἔξοχα δ' ἄλλων
ἀθανάτων Ἥρης υἱὰ κλυτὸν ἠδὲ καὶ αὐτὴν
Κύπριν ἀοιδῆσιν θυέσσιν τε μελίσσοντο. (1.857–60)

Rather than telling detailed stories about the preparation of feasts and sacrifices, the dancing or indeed the lovemaking itself, a general impression of gaiety is created. Εἰλαπίνησι, denoting a 'solemn feast' or 'banquet,' corresponds with the general splendour encountered by the heroes on the island. Meals and sacrifices are a vital part of the welcome ceremonies and are indicative of the respect in which the heroes are held. Here, as in 1.13 and 4.1421,²⁰⁸ the banquet is combined with a sacrifice offered to Cypris and Hephaestus, the patron god of Lemnos. (1.858: καπνῷ κνισήεντι). Ironically, the same words are used here in 1.875 to describe the feasts the Argonauts are celebrating with the Lemnian women as Hypsipyle used in her account to Jason about the deeds committed by the Lemnian men with the Thracian girls (see 1.819). Whereas in 1.819 the fact that the men dared to commit adultery openly and everywhere is emphasised, in 1.857 it is rather the involvement of the whole city which is stressed.

²⁰⁷See Blumberg (1931), 19; Fränkel, *Noten*, 115, n. 234; *ibid.* 114; Levin (1971), 78–9; George (1972), 57. The delicacy, however, is not specifically Apollonian: see Janko ad *Il.* 14.346–53. More than just a brothel as Lawall (1966), 151 asserts.

²⁰⁸Livrea ad 4.1421 observes that this particular aspect is not found in Homer.

g) *The intervention by Heracles and farewell of the women of Lemnos (1.861–913)*

Despite the alleged haste of the men (cf. 1.841: ἐπισπέρχουσιν), the women have so far been successful in detaining the Argonauts. Just as Odysseus' stay at Circe's is prolonged continually (cf. *Od.* 10.236: ἵνα πάγχυ λαθοίαιτο πατρίδος αἴης; *Od.* 10.467–71; cf. also *Od.* 4.594–8), so departure is ever postponed by Jason and his comrades. The exact duration of their stay is never given.²⁰⁹

Ἀμβολίη δ' εἰς ἡμαρ αἰεὶ ἐξ ἡματος ἦεν
ναυτιλίας· δηρὸν δ' ἂν ἐλίνυον αὖθι μένοντες,
εἰ μὴ ἀολλίσσας ἐτάρους ἀπάνευθε γυναικῶν
Ἡρακλῆς τοίοισιν ἐνιπτάζων μετέειπε· (1.861–4)

Heracles' action, which eventually manages to free the men from the spell cast by the *women*, echoes the very similar intervention by Odysseus' comrades in the Circe episode.²¹⁰ As a result, their suggestions, playing on Odysseus' sense of honour (*Od.* 10.475: ἀγῆνωρ), are accepted without further discussion.

Δαιμόνι', ἤδη νῦν μιμνήσκειο πατρίδος αἴης,
εἴ τοι θέσφατόν ἐστι σωθῆναι καὶ ἰκέσθαι
οἶκον ἑυκτίμενον καὶ σὴν ἐς πατρίδα γαῖαν.
Ὡς ἔφην, αὐτὰρ ἐμοί γ' ἐπεπείθετο θυμὸς ἀγῆνωρ.
(*Od.* 10.472–5)

In an assembly paralleling that of the women at the beginning of this episode, Heracles urges his companions to continue their voyage. Restoring the separation of the sexes, the gathering of the men apart from the women and outside their sphere of influence is the first indication of the turn his speech is going to take (1.863: ἀπάνευθε γυναικῶν). Of his own free will (1.856: ἐκῶν ~ 1.772: ἐκῶν), this hero stayed behind at their ship together with some other men and

²⁰⁹Herter (1944–55), 348.

²¹⁰See also Clauss (1993), 137.

refused to take any part in the festivities. Whereas in the Doliones episode Heracles stays behind to guard the ship, defending it successfully against the sudden attack of the Earthborn Monsters (1.992–3: Ἀλλὰ γὰρ αὖθι λέλειπτο σὺν ἀνδράσιν ὀπλοτέροισιν / Ἡρακλέης; cf. *Od.* 9.172ff.; *Od.* 10.271f.), here no reasons are given for Heracles' stay. However, a strong impression is created of a fundamental disagreement with the actions of the rest of the crew.²¹¹ In the Odyssean Circe episode on which this passage in the Lemnian episode is closely modelled, Eurylochus, although preferring to stay behind near the ship for a second time, in the end nevertheless follows Odysseus out of fear for his temper (*Od.* 10.447: παρὰ νηὶ λέλειπτο).²¹² Thus, two elements from the Homeric Circe episode are here combined: Heracles does in fact stay behind and, like the unnamed comrades, effectively rebukes Jason and the rest of his comrades. The speech introduction (1.864: ἐνιπτάζων), closure (1.875: Ὡς νείκεσεν ὄμιλον) and Heracles' address of the assembled comrades with δαιμόνιοι (1.865)²¹³ leave no doubt about the actual content of his words; the whole crew is criticised, but special attention is paid to Jason, the leader of the men.

Δαιμόνιοι, πάτρης ἐμφύλιον αἶμ' ἀποέργει
 ἡμέας; Ἦε γάμων ἐπιδευέες ἐνθάδ' ἔβημεν
 κείθεν, ὀνοσσάμενοι πολιήτιδας; (1.865–7)

In this sarcastic speech full of innuendo,²¹⁴ Heracles, frequently echoing words spoken by Polyxo and Hypsipyle when arguing their case, continually turns these around to reveal a diametrically opposite perspective. The Lemnian soil, expertly 'ploughed' so far by the heroes (cf. Pind. *P.* 4.254–5: ἐν ἄλλοδαπαῖς / σπέρμ' ὀρούραις), is 'rich,' 'fat' (1.868: λιπαρήν), as was already claimed by Hypsipyle (1.830: βαθυλήϊος), and provides the heroes, easily led astray by the Lemnian

²¹¹See also Knight (1995), 167.

²¹²See also Clauss (1993), 136; Knight (1995), 167; Green ad 1.865–73.

²¹³See West ad *Od.* 4.774–5.

²¹⁴See Vian i, 91; Clauss (1993), 136–40; Fusillo (1985), 220; As Hutchinson (1988), 111 remarked, 1.869–70 are recalled in Idas' words in 3.558–63, when it becomes clear that a foreign woman is not, as is to be expected, holding a hero back from his mission but instrumental in his obtaining κῦδος.

women (1.850), with an easy and comfortable life (cf. *Od.* 11.136; *Od.* 19.368). Polyxo pointed out in 1.686 (αὐτόματοι) that the oxen will not yoke themselves to plough the land and similarly Heracles now claims that the heroes will not obtain the Golden Fleece without any effort (1.871: αὐτόματον).

Οὐ μὲν εὐκλειεῖς γε σὺν ὀθνεῖησι γυναιξὶν
ἔσσομεθ' ὧδ' ἐπὶ δηρὸν ἐελμένοι· (1.869–70)

Exploiting the well-known aversion to intimate relationships with foreigners,²¹⁵ Heracles, who acts here as 'the exponent of φρόνησις and σωφροσύνη',²¹⁶ appeals to traditional heroic feelings of honour and concern for reputation.²¹⁷ Just as Hypsipyle considered it the greatest crime of the Lemnian men to scorn their own legitimate women and children in favour of foreign slave-girls, thereby creating a bastard race at the expense of the own people (1.809–12), so Heracles says that they should not stay with the Lemnian women as this would entail preferring *foreign* women — note the effective use of the derogatory ὀθνεῖησι (1.869) — to their own women (1.865: ἐμφύλιον; 1.867: πολιήτιδας). Easily refuting Hypsipyle's claim that the government of the island could possibly be described as a γέρας (1.869: εὐκλειεῖς), Heracles touches upon this theme of honour again in the last line of his speech in which he says that Jason shall certainly win great glory by filling Lemnos with sons (1.873–4: εἰσόκε Λῆμνον / παισὶν ἐπανδρώσῃ μεγάλη τέ ἐ βόξις ἴκηται ~ 1.661–2: κακὴ / βόξις). After they have finally managed to obtain the fleece, Jason uses similar patriotic words to urge his comrades on and remind them of their own responsibility for failure and success, referring particularly again to the plight of

²¹⁵Cf. the concerns for the opinions of others expressed by Nausicaa in *Od.* 6.276ff., Helen in *Il.* 3.410 and Medea in, for example, 3.795: κηδομένη τόσον ἀνέρος ἄλλοδαποῖο.

²¹⁶Feeney (1986), 54–5, also 51: "He is physical strength incarnate, and also a philosopher's paradigm of intellectual resource and self-control." On Heracles' contradictory character see also Nelis (1992), 164.

²¹⁷Ibscher (1939), 41.

their children and elderly parents at home (4.202–5: ἥ ἐ κατηφείην ἢ καὶ μέγα κῦδος ἀρέσθαι).²¹⁸

It is often mentioned that Thersites' words in *Il.* 2.236–8 are recalled.²¹⁹ The completely different purpose of these two speeches (cf. *Il.* 2.236: οἴκαδ' ἐπερ σὺν νηυσὶ νεώμεθα) is illustrated by the reaction of the crowd to Heracles' words which urge them to continue their expedition.²²⁰ Ashamed as a result of his reproaches, they immediately start to break up, not daring to utter a word in reply or even look at him (1.875–6: ἐναντία δ' οὐ νύ τις ἔτλη / ὄμματ' ἀνασχεθέειν οὐδὲ προτιμυθήσασθαι).²²¹

ἀλλ' αὖτως ἀγορήθεν ἐπαρτίζοντο νέεσθαι
σπερχόμενοι. Ταῖ δέ σφιν ἐπέδραμον, εὖτ' ἐδάησαν.
(1.877–8)

The now familiar concept of the women as a mass returns in the final scene in which the women run towards them as soon as they hear the news that the Argonauts have decided to leave the island, swarming out around them (1.881: ἄλλοτε ἄλλον; 1.883: ἀνέρας ἀμφί) like bees out of a hive (1.879–85).²²² Embedded within a departure scene and recalling because of its language the two previous sightings of the Argonauts by the women, attention is again focused on the women's experience. As has often been noted, the simile is closely modelled on *Il.* 2.87–90, in which the marching of the Achaian troops from their ships is compared with the movement of swarms of bees out of their hive.²²³ Echoing the opening scene (cf. 1.635),²²⁴ προχέοντο (1.883), commonly used of crowds marching to battle, reinforces this idea. This and the potential aggression of bees

²¹⁸See also Idas' words in 1.466–7: περιώσιον ἄλλων / κῦδος. On Jason's concern for his parents see Hübscher (1940), 5.

²¹⁹Clauss (1993), 139; Vian i, 91, n. 2.

²²⁰See Herter (1944–55), 347.

²²¹Noting the similarity between 1.875–6 and *Od.* 11.142–3, Clauss' conclusion (1993: 145) that the name of Odysseus' mother Anticleia would remind us that the heroes become ἀντίκλειαι themselves seems somewhat exaggerated.

²²²Hainsworth ad *Il.* 12.171: "Wasps or bees are a natural comparison for a crowd."

²²³E.g. Campbell, *Echoes*; Kofler (1992), 314; Vian i, 91, n. 3. Cf. *Il.* 2.86: ἐπεσσεύοντο δὲ λαοί; *Il.* 2.90: αἱ μὲν τ' ἔνθα ἄλις πεποτήγεται, αἱ δέ τε ἔνθα ~ 1.881–2.

²²⁴See Fränkel, *Noten*, 117 ad 1.879–85.

(1.883: ἔνδυκέες ~ 1.636: ὠμοβόροις) create suspense regarding the nature of the women's response on this occasion.²²⁵ The droning of the bees (1.879: περιβορέουσιν) and the weeping and speaking of the women (1.883: κινυρόμεναι; 1.884: μύθοισιν ἔδεικνύνοντο) form another point of similarity.²²⁶ These two aspects of mass and noise are repeated in the bee simile in 2.130–7, in which the Berbycians are compared with bees smoked out of their hives by shepherds (i.e. the Argonauts).²²⁷ There, the relation between simile and surrounding text is straightforward; here, despite the correspondences mentioned above, the link is more problematic and it is principally the incongruity of the sadness of the women at the departure of the men and the joy of the bees, echoing the happiness of the women at Jason's arrival at the city, that has attracted much attention from scholars.²²⁸ It seems that the only way of explaining this discrepancy is to assume that the women obtain in the end at least partly what they want.²²⁹ Clauss and Kofler have recently suggested that the simile, with its clear erotic connotations, echoes contemporary theories about the reproduction of bees in which the bees are thought to collect their young from flowers.²³⁰

As is to be expected after the image created of the women as highly emotional creatures and the pressure exerted on the men by Heracles, only the women's emotions are shown openly in this final scene.²³¹ Their emotional farewells recall the crying of Alcimede and the other women when the Argo set off on its journey (1.292: κινύρετο).²³² The omission of the description of several possible elements of a departure scene, e.g. meal, omen and libation,²³³

²²⁵ ἔνδυκέες: 'greedily,' 'ravenously.' Cf. *Od.* 14.109; [Hes.] *Sc.* 427.

²²⁶ George (1972), 61; Ibscher (1941), 18.

²²⁷ Cf. 2.130: σμήνος μέγα; 2.133: βομβηδὸν κλονέονται.

²²⁸ E.g. Effe (1996), 311: "noch einmal summierend zurück auf das Glück der lemnische Liebesidylle."

²²⁹ See also George (1972), 62.

²³⁰ Clauss (1993), 142; Kofler (1992), 313 & 318.

²³¹ Fränkel, *Noten*, 120 ad 1.910–4.

²³² See Herter (1944–55), 348.

²³³ See Reece (1993), 36–8.

shows clearly the haste (1.878: σπερχόμενοι) with which the Argonauts have to leave the island following the harsh words from Heracles.²³⁴

χερσὶ τε καὶ μύθοισιν ἐδεικνύοντο ἕκαστον,
εὐχόμεναι μακάρεσσιν ἀπήμονα νόστον ὀπάσσαι.
(1.884–5)

In 1.884–5, the departure rituals are described; δεικνύσθαι seems to denote a formal farewell, which is accompanied by the traditional prayers for a safe journey.²³⁵ After the general farewell of the body of women, our attention is once again focused on the drama between the queen and Jason.²³⁶ Hypsipyle's farewell blessing is somehow exemplary for what happens to all the other couples.²³⁷ As said, the queen shows in her speech that she is well aware of the circumstances of the voyage of the Argonauts.²³⁸ The courteous offer of her first speech (1.890: ὥς ἐθέλεις καὶ τοι φίλον; 1.892: ποτε ... ἐθέλῃς) is repeated in 1.890–1 (σκήπτρά τε πατρὸς ἐμῆιο).²³⁹ Similarly, Circe does not attempt to detain Odysseus and his comrades once they have expressed the wish to depart (*Od.* 10.489: μηκέτι νῦν ἀέκοντες ἐμῷ ἐνὶ μίμνετε οἴκῳ). Hypsipyle's wish for a safe return is a traditional element in such a farewell speech (cf. *Od.* 15.112; *Od.* 15.128–9). Although she cannot refrain from wishing him to come back to Lemnos accompanied by even more men (1.893–4), as indicated by the very first word of her speech (1.888: νίσσο), her words show an awareness and acceptance of the situation; it is highly unlikely that Jason will come back to Lemnos.²⁴⁰ It is this pragmatic approach — a surprise after the introductory lines — which seems to gain Jason's admiration for her (cf. 1.899: ἀγαίόμενος; 1.900–1: ἀρείῳ). Now clasping Jason's hand (1.886–7: ἡρήσατο χεῖρας ἐλοῦσα / Αἰσονίδεω,

²³⁴I.e. more than just the avoidance of another lengthy departure scene as Ibscher suggested (1939: 18).

²³⁵See Russo ad *Od.* 18.121. Cf. *Il.* 15.86; *Od.* 18.111; *Od.* 24.410.

²³⁶Herter (1944–55), 348; 1.899: ἀγαίόμενος, apparently used here *in bonam partem*; cf. 3.1016.

²³⁷1.886: ὥς δὲ καί. See Ibscher (1939), 19; Stoessl (1941), 45.

²³⁸See Vian i, 260 ad 1.901–2.

²³⁹Ibscher (1939), 20: "König die sich in höfischer Zucht beherrscht."

²⁴⁰See also Herter (1944–55), 348; George (1972), 61.

τὰ δέ οἱ ῥέε δάκρυα χήτει ἰόντος), Hypsipyle's tearful entreaties and seeking of physical contact betray her real feelings while simultaneously the distancing ἰόντος (1.887), in marked contrast with the seductive atmosphere at the palace, signifies a return to the situation existing at the beginning of the episode (1.650: ἰόντας).

Χαῖρε, ξεῖν', ἵνα καὶ ποτ' ἐὼν ἐν πατρίδι γαίῃ
μνήσῃ ἐμεῖ', ὅτι μοι πρώτη ζῳάγρι' ὀφέλλεις.
(*Od.* 8.461–2)

Calling Jason's mission a μενοινήν in 1.894, Hypsipyle's identical characterisation of Polyxo's plan as a μενοινή in 1.700 is recalled, highlighting the clash between the equally passionate and irreconcilable desires of both groups. In contrast, when the remembrance motif returns in Medea's speech to Jason, the differences in temperament between Hypsipyle and Medea become all too clear.²⁴¹ Medea does not just ask Jason to remember her, but also threatens to come to his home in case he would ever forget her (cf. 3.1109–17; also 3.1069–71).²⁴² Instead of their child going to visit Iolcus to console grieving grandparents, Medea warns that she will immediately come herself as an unexpected guest to reproach him (3.1116–7: Αἴθε γὰρ εἶην / ἀπροφάτως τότε σοῖσιν ἐφέστιος ἐν μεγάροισιν ~ 1.908: ἐφέστιοι ἐν μεγάροισιν).

Mentioning duty in his first speech to Hypsipyle as a reason not to stay on the island, the important theme of devotion to the fatherland and wish to return (cf. 1.892: νοστήσας) home as soon as possible is resumed with more urgency by Jason in his final speech (1.902–3: ἐπεὶ πάτρην μοι ἄλλῃς Πελῖαο ἔκητι / νοιετόειν), even if that would entail living under the rule of Pelias.²⁴³ Fully aware of the realities at home (cf. 1.907: ἄνδιχα τοῖο ἀνακτος), Jason, like Odysseus in his reply to Nausicaa, above all longs to complete his journey.²⁴⁴

²⁴¹ See Fusillo (1985), 220.

²⁴² See also Hunter, *Literary Studies*, 51; Green ad 1.886–97.

²⁴³ On the νόστος theme see Hutchinson (1988), 98; Campbell ad 3.175.

²⁴⁴ I hereby follow Vian's interpretation when he comments that Apollonius ignores Pindar's version (*P.* 4.165–7), in which the government of Iolcus is offered to Jason upon successful

οἴκαδ' εἴ τι ἐλθέμενοι καὶ νόστιμον ἡμᾶρ ἰδέσθαι·
 τῷ κέν τοι καὶ κείθι θεῶ ὥς εὐχετοφύμην
 αἰεὶ ἡμᾶτα πάντα· (Od. 8.466–8)

Temptations to stay at various stages of the journey and abandon the trials and sufferings are all countered by an immense devotion to the fatherland. Like Jason, Odysseus expresses a great love for his fatherland to Circe (Od. 10.483–6), to the Phaeacians (Od. 9.27–8; Od. 7.135f.) and to Calypso (Od. 5.203–13; Od. 5.55: τηλόθ' ἐοῦσαν).²⁴⁵

Εἰ δ' οὐ μοι πέπρωται ἐς Ἑλλάδα γαῖον ἰκέσθαι
 τηλοῦ ἀναπλώνοντι (1.904–5)

On the whole, Jason's speech has often been regarded as cold and insincere.²⁴⁶ However, his concern for his parents, using the hearth as the symbol of home (1.908: ἐφέστιοι), echoes the emotions expressed in the Iliadic obituaries, in which the effect of his death on his parents who have now lost someone to care for them in old age fully conveys the pathos of the death of a young warrior (e.g. Il. 4.477–8: οὐδὲ τοκεῦσι / θρέπτρα φίλοις ἀπέδωκε, μινυνθάδιος δέ οἱ αἰῶν).²⁴⁷ Reference is again made to Alcimede's words in her farewell speech to Jason (cf. 1.281ff.). Rather surprisingly after the sole concentration on the Lemnian women's wish for children, now Jason suddenly expresses his need for a child. Even more poignancy is given to these verses when Il. 7.468–9 is remembered in which Euneus, child of Hypsipyle and Jason and ruler of Lemnos is mentioned; Hypsipyle's wish is thus fulfilled.²⁴⁸

completion of his task. Green ad 1.900–9 takes this version into account and as a result characterises Jason as "slyly self-seeking."

²⁴⁵Cf. Od. 9.34–6: ὥς οὐδὲν γλύκιον ἤς πατρίδος οὐδὲ τοκῆων / γίγνεται, εἴ περ καὶ τῇ ἀπόπροθι πίονα οἶκον / γαίῃ ἐν ἀλλοδαπῇ ναίει ἀπάνευθε τοκῆων; Od. 5.219–20; Od. 5.152–3: κατεῖβeto δὲ γλυκὺς αἰὼν / νόστον ὀδυρομένῳ, ἐπεὶ οὐκέτι ἦνδανε νόμῳ. On the topos see also Od. 11.489–91. See also 2.413 and 2.856.

²⁴⁶Fränkel, *Noten*, 120; George (1972), 61; Green ad 1.900–1; Natzel (1992), 177–9. More positively Blumberg (1931), 20.

²⁴⁷See Kirk ad Il. 7.477–9; De Jong, *Narrators*, 18; Griffin (1980), 103–43.

²⁴⁸See Vian i, 93, n. 1.

᾿Η καὶ ἔβαιν' ἐπὶ νῆα παροίτατος· ὥς δὲ καὶ ἄλλοι
 βαῖνον ἀριστῆες. Λάζοντο δὲ χερσὶν ἑρετμὰ
 ἐνσχερῶ ἐζόμενοι· (1.910–2)

Firmly in the role of leader of the expedition once again, Jason is the first to embark, rehabilitated after the jeering remarks from Heracles. Not waiting for a favourable wind, the attention drawn to their rowing emphasises again their eagerness to leave the island.

III DOLIONES EPISODE (1.936–1152)¹

a) Introduction

The episode on Cyzicus' island shows a skilful use of the narrative devices of retardation, suspense, irony, pathos and allusion. The complex structure of the episode² with its deliberate juxtaposition of the encounters that the heroes have with both inhabitants of the island, the Earthborn Monsters and the Doliones, and the manipulation of the various conventions of the hospitality theme are designed to create these effects. Several motifs associated with this theme can be discerned in this episode: for example, the recognition motif, *hybris* motif, motif of fear and of exchange of information. As we shall see, elements from the three main models of this episode, those of the Cyclopes, Aeolus and Laestrygones episodes, told consecutively by Odysseus in his tale to the Phaeacians, are here combined and adapted to great effect.³

The arrival of the Argonauts at the land of the Doliones is preceded by a description of the geography of the isthmus and the island, and its two groups of inhabitants (1.936–60). Immediately upon their arrival, the Argonauts are met on the beach by the Doliones and, being persuaded by their hosts to row the Argo to the city harbour, they spend the evening and night in their city (1.961–85). The next day, when the heroes decide to climb Mount Dindymum, they are attacked by the Γηγενέες (1.986–1011). After slaughtering these monsters, the Argonauts sail away, but, inadvertently, due to fierce winds, return to the same island in the middle of the night. As a result, a battle between the Doliones and Argonauts

¹Clauss (1993), 151 argues that the episode starts at 1.910, in which case it would be framed by the mysteries of Electra and the establishment of the cult of Rhea. The episode proper can nevertheless, in my opinion, be considered to start at 1.936 as is clearly indicated by the formula ἔσσι δὲ τις. See also Blumberg (1931), 21.

²See Hurst (1964), 232–3; Knight (1995), 84, n. 8; Levin (1971), 87–91; Vian i, 29. Clauss (1993), 48–53 also discusses the earlier versions of the story found in Deiochus and Herodorus, and changes made by Apollonius. See also Blumberg (1931), 21; Dufner (1988), 285–310; Green ad 1.961ff.; Stoessl (1941), 25; Williams (1991), 196, n. 21.

³See also Dufner (1988), 254ff.

takes place in which King Cyzicus is killed by Jason (1.1012–53). At dawn, the tragic mistake is discovered, and the funeral of the king and suicide of his young wife Cleite follow (1.1053–77). Prevented from departing for twelve days by strong winds, the Argonauts offer sacrifices on top of Mount Dindymum in order to propitiate Rhea as Mospsus has ordered them to do (1.1078–52). The winds then finally drop and the Argonauts row away the next day.

b) The arrival of the Argonauts (1.936–60)

The beginning of this major episode is clearly marked by the well-known Homeric device of ἔστι δέ τις (1.936), introducing a passage of topographical information about the island (1.936–41).⁴ This new start is so effective because of the sharp contrast it forms with the previous rapid and conventional mention, without much detail, of a number of geographical points in the landscape where the heroes do *not* disembark (1.922–35); the focus in the latter passage is entirely on the progress of their journey and act of sailing. Considering these two sections from the point of view of rhythm, an acceleration of the narrative is accomplished before a new retardation.

Ἔστι δέ τις αἰπεῖα Προποντίδος ἔνδοθι νῆσος,
 τυτθὸν ἀπὸ Φρυγίης πολυλήϊου ἡπείροιο
 εἰς ἄλλα κεκλιμένη ὅσσον τ' ἐπιμύρεται ἰσθμός,
 χέρσῳ ἔπι πρηνῆς καταειμένη· ἐν δέ οἱ ἄκται
 ἀμφίδυμοι· κείται δ' ὑπὲρ ὕδατος Αἰσήποιο·
 Ἄρκτων μιν καλέουσιν Ὀρος περιναϊετᾶοντες.
 (1.936–41)

The cluster of information provided in 1.936–41 concentrates on those unusual features of the island which act as a landmark and determine its position in

⁴See also 1.592–608. Janko ad *Il.* 13.32–8: "The 'topographical introduction,' marked by the ancient usage 'there is,' breaks the narrative flow to fix attention on what follows." See also West ad *Od.* 3.293; Hoekstra ad *Od.* 13.96. Cf. also 2.360 (a new phase in their journey described by Phineus); 3.927; 4.982 (a rapid travel description is followed by a more extensive description of Drepane introducing the Phaeacian episode).

relation to the surroundings.⁵ Three main characteristics are emphasised: the unusual position of the island, the fact that the coast provides the opportunity for several harbours, and the presence of the steep mountain Dindymum (1.936: αἰπεῖα). The plain sloping down towards the sea (1.939: πρηνής) is so low that it is washed over by the waves (1.938: ἐπιμύρεται); in contrast to this, the height of Mount Dindymum is continually stressed in order to emphasise its possible use as a point of observation (1.985: μέγα Δίνδυμον; 1.936: αἰπεῖα; 1.999: σκοπὴν; 1.1108: αἰπεινήν ... οὐρεὸς ἄκρην). The importance of this latter detail becomes evident only later when the Argonauts decide to climb Dindymum to see for themselves the course they have to take for the next stage of their journey. These details thus set the scene for this episode and direct the reader's attention towards those elements which will play an important role. In general, those geographical features are selected and adapted by the poet to suit his artistic and poetic purpose;⁶ and, here, the introduction thus simultaneously highlights a new and significant stage in the narrative, and anticipates new developments.

Although the amount and nature of the information given already indicate that we can expect the heroes to disembark here, the actual reference to the coming ashore of the Argo and the accompanying weather circumstances comes relatively late, after the information is given about the peninsula and its inhabitants. As a result of this, the introduction remains an uninterrupted block of general facts provided by the narrator. In the Lemnian episode, on the other hand, where the focus is very much on the experiences of the women, the reference to the landing of the Argo on the island is followed by background information about the women's deed. When information is finally given about the Argo, the emphasis is on the speed with which the Argonauts are travelling because of the fierce Thracian winds (1.953: ἐπειγομένη). Προύτῳπεν (1.953) is in the *Iliad*

⁵Vian, *REG* 91 (1978), 96–106 discusses this topographical introduction in great detail.

⁶A similar device can be encountered in Homer. See West ad *Od.* 4.844 ff. and Williams (1991), 249.

always used of the Trojans advancing to battle en masse,⁷ but here applied to the Argo pushing forward to the shore, driven on by the winds.

Ἐνθ' Ἀργὸν προύτουσεν ἐπειγομένη ἄνέμοισι
Θρηκίοις (1.953–4)

Reading this episode, one naturally wonders why the Argonauts move around so much, and the number of harbours has been the subject of fierce debate. The various stages within the episode are indicated each time by references to the progress of time (cf. 1.985; 1.1012–4; 1.1015–9; 1.1053; 1.1080; 1.1151) and every new stage in the narrative in fact even coincides with a move of the Argonauts to yet another harbour (see 1.955; 1.986–7; 1.1019–20; 1.1109–10). These descriptions of the whole process of travelling, i.e. details about departure, arrival and other manoeuvres of the heroes, in combination with references to weather conditions and time (day/night), are functional to the plot in that, reinforcing and supporting the geographical elements, they clearly mark not only the beginning and end of an episode, but also the other significant stages within the narrative; they offer an explanation for and justification of the movements of the Argonauts.⁸ Clarifying the intricate twofold structure of the episode, attention is drawn to the complex set of parallels and contrasts existing between the various scenes.⁹

Further comments are made about the remarkable position of the island with its contrasting mountain and plain (1.947–8), when information is given about the two groups of inhabitants. The stark contrast in which they are placed in relation towards each other is reflected in and reinforced by the very different places in which they live. The Earthborn Monsters, as is appropriate for such

⁷E.g. *Il.* 13.136; *Il.* 15.306; *Il.* 17.262.

⁸On the transitional function of winds in the first and second books see Williams (1991), 216.

⁹The structure of this episode is characterised by the fact that there are two of everything: i.e. two sacrifices (framing the episode in a nice example of ring composition), two battles, two mountain-climbs.

wild creatures,¹⁰ are said to live on the rocky (i.e. infertile) mountain (1.1093: Δινδύμου ὀκρίοντος),¹¹ whereas the isthmus or plain (1.1061: Λειμώνιον), commonly a symbol of civilisation but also often used for holding battles on, is inhabited by the Doliones. Neither in this section nor in the rest of the episode are any details given about human settlements; no epithets are, for example, used to describe the buildings or splendour of the palace. The Doliones have a harbour in their ἄστυ (1.965; 1.1052: πόλις; 1.1029: δῆμῳ), which is indicative of their pursuits and again of some level at least of civilisation, and there is a palace (1.974: δώματ') containing the θάλαμον (1.978) of the king. In preparation for the drama of the death of the king and the queen, the emphasis in this introductory passage is far more on the background of the newly-wed couple than on detailed descriptions of the surroundings.

Ἴσθμὸν δ' αὖ πεδίον τε Δολίονες ἀμφενέμοντο
 ἄνδρες· ἐν δ' ἥρως Αἰνῆϊος υἱὸς ἄνασσε
 Κύζικος ὃν κούρη δίου τέκεν Εὐσώροιο
 Αἰνῆτη. (1.947–50)

Throughout the episode, the heroic nature of the Doliones and their king is emphasised. The hospitable behaviour of the Doliones is anticipated by the reference to their background and ancestry. Cyzicus himself is introduced as a ἥρως (1.948) with noble ancestry (1.949: δίου ... Εὐσώροιο),¹² and later the fallen warriors of the Doliones are — admittedly by their own people — regarded as heroes. Although ἥρως is in this epic almost exclusively, and mainly in the plural, used of the Argonauts, it is also used of Apsyrtus when he dies in the trap laid for him by Jason and Medea (4.471–3). There, the denomination similarly underlines Apsyrtus' nobility and consequently the injustice of his killing. The

¹⁰Buxton (1994), 82. The Mossynoeci, remarkable above all for their unusual and outrageous manners (or, in other words, the absence of any 'normal' customs) are also said to live in the mountains (2.1016–7). A different account is given by Phineus in 2.379–80.

¹¹One of the wonders caused by Rhea (1.1145ff.) is the creation of a spring on Dindymum: ἐπεὶ οὐτι παρόιτερον ὕδατι νῆεν / Δίνδυμον (1.1146–7).

¹²Levin (1971), 94 remarks that the introduction of both the king and his wife is phrased in traditional Homeric terms.

way in which Cyzicus is introduced with full genealogy¹³ and emphasis on his youth (he is the same age as Jason, his beard has only just started to grow, and he and his young bride have not yet had any children) is reminiscent of the biographical information given in the Homeric vignettes introducing young warriors who are going to die on the battlefield, and thus warns us of the tragedy which will befall him.

In the case of the Earthborn Monsters, the absence of any real contact with the heroes and the lack of any information about their activities only further emphasise their bestial nature. No information is given about the way in which they spend the night of the Argonauts' arrival, nor indeed how they live; they do not become individuals at any point, as Polyphemus or even the Laestrygonians in the *Odyssey* clearly do, are never given a name and always treated as an anonymous mass.¹⁴ Of course, their inhumanity can easily be stressed since any encounter with the monsters or exploration of their land can initially be avoided precisely because of the presence of the Doliones. No indication is given that the Argonauts know of the existence of the monsters when they undertake their expedition the next morning.

The fact that the Earthborn Monsters are introduced first and the allusions evoked by the emphasis on certain characteristics create firm expectations of an ensuing fight between the beasts and the heroes. Such expectations had already been raised by the description of the harbour in 1.940 (ἀμφίδυμοι) which evokes *Od.* 4.844–7 (ἔστι δέ τις νῆσος μέσση ἄλλι πετρήεσσα, / ... λιμένες δ' ἐνὶ ναύλοχοι αὐτῇ / ἀμφίδυμοι· τῇ τὸν γε μένον λοχόωντες Ἀχαιοί). In this passage at the end of *Od.* 4, the suitors lie in wait for Telemachus, who is to come back from his travels to Nestor and Menelaus (cf. also *Od.* 4.843: Τηλεμάχῳ φόνον αἰπὸν ἐνὶ φρεσὶν ὀρμαίνοντες). Similar anticipations of an ambush in the Apollonian passage seem at first to be going to be confirmed

¹³Garvie ad *Od.* 7.59–66.

¹⁴See also Knight (1995), 149.

when the hybristic Earthborn Monsters are introduced, are then disappointed by the friendly reception of the Argonauts by the Doliones, and finally come true when the Argonauts are ambushed by monsters the next day.¹⁵ At the same time, the tragic character of the erroneous and disastrous encounter with the Doliones is emphasised even further by the complex structure of the episode and its actual placement *after* the successful slaughter of the monsters at a time when both the heroes and the Doliones consider themselves to be safe and therefore cherish a false sense of security. It is from the exploitation of the reader's expectations of the behaviour of these two contrasting groups that the episode derives its force.

A similar contrast between two groups of inhabitants can be found in *Od.* 6, where we are informed that the Phaeacians are even forced to migrate by the Cyclopes (*Od.* 6.4–6). The parallel in situation is strengthened by a verbal echo; the verb σίνοντο, 'harm,' 'hurt' (1.951), echoes *Od.* 6.6, where the verb is used to describe how the Cyclopes used to harass the Phaeacians. Garvie comments on the effective use of the contrast between the Phaeacians and the Cyclopes:

The Cyclopes live in a lawless society beyond the pale of civilisation (*Od.* 9.106–15; cf. 276). Thus, at the very outset of the Phaeacian episode, Homer stresses the civilised nature of Phaeacian society by contrasting it with the inhuman, barbarous Cyclopes from whom they have distanced themselves.¹⁶

Throughout the Doliones episode, various links are established between the Earthborn Monsters and the Cyclopes on the one hand, and the Doliones and the Phaeacians on the other. In the *Argonautica*, it is the immediate and *actual* proximity that accentuates the contrasts between both groups of inhabitants. Williams explains the unusual coexistence of both groups by referring to the barrier the topography places between them.¹⁷ However, an additional explanation is provided by the text itself:

¹⁵See also Clauss (1993), 157.

¹⁶Garvie ad *Od.* 6.4–6.

¹⁷Williams (1991), 83.

Τοὺς δ' οὐ τι, καὶ ἔκπαγλοί περ ἑόντες
Γηγενέες σίνοντο, Ποσειδάωνος ἀρωγῇ· (1.950–1)

The Doliones are also protected by the divine patronage of Poseidon, well-known for his association with and control over monsters (cf. *Od.* 9.528ff.).¹⁸ However, this special protection ominously seems to imply that there is a risk of attack for others (see 1.950: τοὺς δ' οὐ τι) and, indeed, this is precisely what happens as soon as the Argonauts intrude upon the monsters' territory.

οἱ πρὶν μὲν ποτε ναῖον ἐν εὐρυχόρῳ Ὑπερείῃ,
ἀγχοῦ Κυκλώπων, ἀνδρῶν ὑπερηνορέοντων,
οἱ σφεας σινέσκοντο, βίηφι δὲ φέρτεροι ἦσαν. (Od. 6.4–6)

The contrast between the monsters and the Doliones is continued in the introduction of the monsters as ὑβριστοί τε καὶ ἄγριοι (1.942), recalling *Od.* 6.119–21, *Od.* 8.575–6, *Od.* 9.175–6 and *Od.* 13.201–2.

ὦ μοι ἐγώ, τέων αὖτε βροτῶν ἐς γαῖαν ἰκάνω;
ἦ ῥ' οἱ γ' ὑβριστοί τε καὶ ἄγριοι οὐδὲ δίκαιοι,
ἦε φιλόξεينوι, καὶ σφιν νόος ἐστὶ θεοῦδής; (Od. 6.119–21)

These words of Odysseus are repeated when he arrives at the islands of the Phaeacians, the Cyclopes and his own people of Ithaca respectively, and can be regarded as a leitmotif in the *Odyssey*. Clearly marking a new stage in the narrative, they draw attention to the fear and permanent anxiety that accompanies potentially dangerous encounters with strangers in a foreign country.¹⁹ In the Doliones episode we are in fact presented with examples of both types, the good host and the enemy, within one episode. The allusion to these famous lines from

¹⁸See also Dufner (1988), 252–4.

¹⁹A similar twofold option is expressed by Jason in his speech before the election of the leader of the expedition (1.339–40: ᾧ κεν τὰ ἑκάστα μέλοιτο, / νείκεα συνθεσίας τε μετὰ ξείνοισι βαλέσθαι).

the *Odyssey* once more highlights the deliberate and stark contrasts created between the two groups; for, whereas the Earthborn Monsters are indeed wild, savage beasts, bent on destruction of their opponents without any good reason, Cyzicus will display all the features of a good host and is shown to be god-fearing, as is indicated not only by his help with the sacrifice through the provision of wine and sheep, but also by his observance of the oracle which warned him to receive his guest. In other words, the kind and hospitable behaviour of the king and his people is further emphasised because of the implicit comparison with the Earthborn Monsters.

c) *The Earthborn Monsters* (1.942–6):

Καὶ τὸ μὲν ὕβρισταί τε καὶ ἄγριοι ἐνναΐεσκον
Γηγενέες, μέγα θαῦμα περικτιόνεσσιν ἰδέσθαι·
ἔξ γὰρ ἑκάστῳ χεῖρες ὑπέρβιοι ἠερέθοντο,
αἱ μὲν ἀπὸ στιβαρῶν ὤμων δύο, ταὶ δ' ὑπένερθεν
τέσσαρες αἰνοτάτησιν ἐπὶ πλευρῆς ἀραρυῖαι.

(1.942–6)

The Earthborn Monsters, their name thrice emphatically placed at the beginning of the verse (1.943; 1.951; 1.989), are children of Gaia. This fact immediately likens them to the Titans and Giants, who were proverbial for their anarchy, great ambitions and violence.²⁰ The description of their remarkable physique on its own would suffice to associate them with fabulous creatures like the Hundred-Armed in Hesiod's *Theogony* or Scylla in the *Odyssey* (*Od.* 12.86ff.: twelve legs and six heads). Closer examination of the short introduction in which the monsters' physical appearance and character are described (1.942ff.) confirms this picture and reveals a highly significant choice of epithets. The allusions made by these adjectives to the descriptions of monsters in the *Odyssey* (e.g. Cyclopes [*Od.* 9.105ff.]; Laestrygonians [*Od.* 10.87–124]; Scylla [*Od.* 12.85ff.]) and Hesiod's

²⁰The Laestrygonians are explicitly said to resemble Giants instead of men: *Od.* 10.119–20: ἴφθιμοι Λαιστρυγόνες, ἄλλοθεν ἄλλος, / μυρίοι, οὐκ ἄνδρεσσιν ἑοικότες, ἀλλὰ Γίγασιν.

Theogony and *Works* all assist in influencing the reader's perception of these creatures and expectation of their future behaviour. The epithets carry a strong connotation of moral condemnation and tell us not only about their physique but also about the absence of any norms and values belonging to a civilised society. The connection with *hybris* is, for example, explicitly made twice in the portrayal of the monsters (1.942; 1.944).

The picture created of the monsters belongs to a long tradition and, in my opinion, no one single model can be detected as their source. Rather, typical elements from several literary antecedents are combined to portray them as the archetypal monsters (1.996: αἰνὰ πέλωρα).²¹ In all these passages in which descriptions of such monsters occur the same features are emphasised again and again: their enormous strength,²² fearsome appearance, and excessive love of violence and aggressiveness. Knight concludes in her comparison of this story with the encounter between Odysseus and the Laestrygonians that

...it is not possible to make a complete identification of the Earthborn and the Laestrygonians. The Earthborn are monstrous, like the Laestrygonians, but in a different way; they have extra arms (1.945–6), but are not apparently giant-size (contrast *Od.* 10.120). Nor do they appear to have the social organisation which the Laestrygonians are reported to possess (*Od.* 10.103–11).²³

The main debt, with regard to the physical side at least, seems to be to Hesiod. A similar vocabulary is encountered and the epithets all stress the three key aspects of might, excess and arrogance to which their character is inclined. This is specifically underlined by the frequent use of epithets with the prefix ὑπερ- ('exceeding,' 'surpassing,' 'outdoing').²⁴ As has been noted by several scholars,

²¹*Od.* 9.187 (Cyclops): πελώριος; *Od.* 12.87 (Scylla): πέλωρ κακόν.

²²Cf. Cyclopes, *Od.* 9.446: κρατερὸς Πολύφημος; Hes. *Th.* 153: ἰσχύς δ' ἄπλητος κρατερὴ μεγάλῳ ἐπὶ εἶδει; Hes. *Th.* 185: μεγάλους Γίγαντας; Hes. *Th.* 670: δεινοί τε κρατεροί τε βίην ὑπέροπλον ἔχοντες; Hes. *Th.* 619–20: ἡνωρέην ὑπέροπλον ἀγώμενος ἡδὲ καὶ εἶδος / καὶ μέγεθος.

²³Knight (1995), 149. West ad Hes. *Th.* 186, however, remarks that "great size is not a prominent feature of Giants in Greek myth."

²⁴1.942: ὑβριστάι; 1.944: ὑπέρβιοι; Hes. *Th.* 149: ὑπερήφανα τέκνα; Hes. *Th.* 670: δεινοί τε κρατεροί τε βίην ὑπέροπλον ἔχοντες; Hes. *Th.* 139: Γείνατο δ' αὖ Κύκλωπας ὑπέρβιον ἦτορ ἔχοντας; *Od.* 9.106: ὑπερφιάλων ἀθεμίστων.

their actual physical appearance closely matches the description in Hes. *Th.* 148–53:²⁵

τρεῖς παῖδες μεγάλοι <τε> καὶ ὄβριμοι, οὐκ ὀνομαστοί,
 Κόττος τε Βριάρεώς τε Γύγης θ', ὑπερήφανα τέκνα.
 τῶν ἑκατὸν μὲν χεῖρες ἅπ' ὤμων αἴσسونτο,
 ἄπλαστοι, κεφαλὰὶ δὲ ἑκάστω πεντήκοντα
 ἐξ ὤμων ἐπέφυκον ἐπὶ στιβαροῖσι μέλεσσιν·
 ἰσχυρὸς δ' ἄπλητος κρατερὴ μεγάλῳ ἐπὶ εἶδει.
 (Hes. *Th.* 148–53)

The lines Hes. *Th.* 150–3, describing the fight between the Titans and the Hundred-Handers, are also found in Hes. *Th.* 670–3 with only the slight variation of πᾶσιν ὁμῶς (Hes. *Th.* 672) instead of ἄπλαστοι (Hes. *Th.* 151). The emphasis on the number of arms of the Γηγενέες (with ἕξ emphatically placed at the beginning of 1.944) is understandable considering the nature of their action the next day; with their powerful hands the monsters will carry out their arrogant actions and throw the innumerable rocks (1.990). The slightly unusual and certainly ominous combination of ὑπέρβιοι with χεῖρες (1.944) again draws attention to the fact that their hands will be the instruments with which they carry out their hybristic intentions.²⁶

The wild and savage nature of these beasts (cf. 1.942: ἄγριοι; *Od.* 9.215: ἄγριον) is further accentuated by the explicit emphasis on the fearsome aspects of their appearance; adjectives such as αἰνός, ἔκπαγλος and δεινός are often found in these descriptions.²⁷ In this passage for example, the sides of the monsters are called αἰνοτάτησιν in 1.946 (cf. also 1.996: αἰνὰ πέλωρα). This epithet, in *Od.* 10.219 similarly used of Circe's beasts (αἰνὰ πέλωρα),²⁸ is

²⁵Vian i, 94, n. 1. See also Campbell, *Echoes*; Clauss (1993), 164–5.

²⁶The adjective is in the *Odyssey* found in the formula with ὕβριν, describing the behaviour of the suitors (*Od.* 1.386; *Od.* 4.321; *Od.* 16.410), in *Il.* 18.262 of θυμός, and in Hes. *Th.* 139 of ἥτορ. In Hesiod's *Theogony*, the combination of ἡγορέην ὑπέροπλον (Hes. *Th.* 516 & 619) and βίην ὑπέροπλον (Hes. *Th.* 670) can be found.

²⁷Cf. Hes. *Th.* 670: δεινοί τε κρατεροί; Hes. *Th.* 155: δεινότατοι παίδων; *Od.* 12.85: δεινὸν λελακυῖα; *Od.* 12.91: σμερδαλέη κεφαλὴ.

²⁸The perception of Odysseus' crew: τοὶ δ' ἔδδισαν, ἐπεὶ ἶδον αἰνὰ πέλωρα. Cf. Theoc. 25.252 (λίς).

frequently combined with words describing feelings (e.g. ἄχος, χόλος, κόμοτος) and is therefore particularly appropriate to depict and draw attention to the emotions evoked by these monsters. This is strengthened by the reference to visual perception in 1.943 (μέγα θαῦμα περικτιόνεσσιν ἰδέσθαι), which specifically captures the attention of the reader and focuses on their frightening appearance. This is a topos in descriptions of monsters: *Od.* 9.190: θαῦμ' ἐτέτυκτο πελώριον; *Od.* 10.113: κατὰ δ' ἔστυγον αὐτήν; *Od.* 12.87–8: οὐδέ κέ τίς μιν γηθήσειεν ἰδὼν, οὐδ' εἰ θεὸς ἀντιάσειε.²⁹ Frequently attested with the infinitive ἰδέσθαι, περικτιόνεσσι and μέγα are here added to the usual formula to emphasise the extraordinary nature of their physical appearance.³⁰ The dative of reference explicitly directs the readers to the effect of their physique and likely response of the Argonauts, and, at the same time, prepares us for the introduction of the Doliones.

Ἐκπαγλοὶ (1.950: καὶ ἑκπαγλοὶ περ ἑόντες), used for example in connection with creatures similar to the Earthborn Monsters such as Lapiths and Centaurs, is rich in meaning.³¹ All three basic nuances of the adjective can be detected here: the connotation of 'violent,' 'terrible,' strengthens the image sketched so far, but the epithet also refers to the astonishing nature of their appearance (cf. also 1.943: θαῦμα), and emphasises the notion of excess.³² In Hes. *Op.* 154–5, where the formula is used of the Brazen Race, the notion of excessive violence and, interestingly, inevitable punishment is clearly present.³³

θάνατος δὲ καὶ ἐκπάγλους περ ἑόντας
εἶλε μέλας, λαμπρὸν δ' ἔλιπον φάος ἡελίοιο.
(Hes. *Op.* 154–5)

²⁹See also: 2.404: δράκων, τέρας αἰνὸν ἰδέσθαι and 4.1618–9 (Triton): οἱ δ' ὁμάδησαν / ἦρωες, τέρας αἰνὸν ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖσιν ἰδόντες.

³⁰Cf. *Il.* 5.725; *HgAphr* 205; [Hes.] *Sc.* 348; Eur. *Bacch.* 693.

³¹Cf. *Il.* 2.742–4 (Typhoeus); *Od.* 21.295–304 (Centaurs).

³²Kirk ad *Il.* 1.145–6.

³³Cf. also Hes. *Op.* 145–6: οἷσιν Ἄρης / ἔργ' ἔμελεν στονόεντα καὶ ὕβριες.

In conclusion, the vocabulary anticipates not only the sort of violent and aggressive action these monsters are capable of, but also seemingly predicts the outcome of the battle. As we know from the tales about the Brazen Race, Gigantes, Hundred-Handers, Titans and Cyclopes, the monsters always meet their ultimate defeat and receive a well-deserved punishment for their behaviour.³⁴ The Laestrygonians are an exception in that they manage to destroy the entire fleet apart from Odysseus' ship. As a result of the close links between the Laestrygonian and Doliones episode, the outcome of this battle suddenly seems far less predictable and suspense is certainly created.

d) The reception by the Doliones (1.961–85)

Even though we are prepared for the existence of other people by 1.942 (τὸ μὲν) — answered by ἰσθμὸν δ' (1.947) — and περικτιόνεσσιν in 1.943, the introduction of the king and Doliones with their hospitable and civilised nature comes as a surprise after the fearsome description of the Earthborn Monsters. Their welcome of the Argonauts is anticipated by the phrasing of 1.954.

Καλὸς δὲ Λιμὴν ὑπέδεκτο θεούσαν. (1.954)

Καλὸς ... Λιμὴν echoes Nausicaa's words in *Od.* 6.263: καλὸς δὲ λιμὴν ἐκάτερθε πόλῃος. The recalling of the Phaeacian harbour at this stage reinforces the resemblance between the (Odyssean) Phaeacians and the Doliones, and foreshadows the hospitable reception of the Argonauts. This is further underlined by the use of ὑπέδεκτο; although generally used of a host welcoming a guest into one's house, here the verb is applied to the harbour receiving the ship as if it were its guest.³⁵ As is clearly marked by ἔνθ' in 1.953, a smooth transition

³⁴Hes. *Th.* 209–10: φάσκε δὲ τιταίνοντας ἀτασθαλίῃ μέγα ῥέξαι / ἔργον, τοιο δ' ἔπειτα τίσιν μετόπισθεν ἔσεσθαι. Cf. also Hes. *Op.* 154–5.

³⁵Cf. *Il.* 9.480; *Il.* 18.59; *Od.* 16.70; *Od.* 19.25; 1.120 and 2.653 (ὑπέδεκτο δόμοισιν, in a traditional hospitality context).

from the previous passage is made by creating the more passive image of the harbour receiving the heroes, instead of using, more conventionally, a form of ἱκνέομαι.³⁶

The actual meeting with the Doliones is delayed by the fact that the Argonauts first, at the instigation of Tiphys, change their anchor stone for a bigger one and leave the old anchor stone under the fountain Artacie (1.955–60). A larger stone may be needed now that the Argonauts enter unknown country with all its dangers. Although no sacrificial importance seems to be attached to the action of the heroes as such, the well maintains its traditional function as a "focus for cult" by the mention of the aetiological details, which, as often, serve as an ethnographical explanation for the local cults established after a visit by the Argonauts (1.959–60: μετόπισθεν Ἰάονες ἰδρύσαντο / ἱερὸν, ἧ θέμις ἦεν, Ἰησονίης ἐν Ἀθήνῃς).³⁷ The status of the Argonauts is, significantly now they are about to meet yet another group of people, emphasised by this tale of honour paid to them in later days; as Cyzicus is told by the oracle, the heroes do belong to an ἀνδρῶν ἡρώων θεῖος στόλος (1.970).

The presence of a well, traditionally the place outside the city walls for women to collect water, makes one suspect the presence of a town (i.e. civilisation) nearby.³⁸ The spring still functions as a meeting-place but, surprisingly, becomes the place where the Argonauts meet the king and his people themselves (1.962: ἀντήσαντες: 'meet face to face,' 'come opposite to'). The allusions to the well-known epic motif, which had caused one to expect the traditional sequence — i.e. an encounter with a local inhabitant, often a maiden, who would act as a guide, give information about the coming encounter and lead them to the city — establish a complex play with the reader's expectations. The

³⁶However, a parallel construction is encountered in 4.1635–6: Ὑπέδεκτο δ' ἀπόπροθι παιπαλόεσσα / Κάρπαθος. Vian iii, 204 ad 4.1636 notes the resemblance with 1.954: "Le sens d' ὑπέδεκτο ressort de 1.954. Les Argonautes *atteignent* au matin Karpáthos; mais, constatant qu' ils ont dévié de leur route (ἀπόπροθι) et que l' île est d' accès difficile (παιπαλόεσσα), ils décident (ἐμελλον), malgré leur fatigue, d' effectuer de là la traversée (ἐνθεν ... περαιώεσθαι) jusqu' à la Crète voisine."

³⁷Buxton (1994), 110. See for a discussion of the *aitia* Vian i, 34.

³⁸Richardson ad *HyDem* 98 ff.

motif can be encountered several times in the *Odyssey*, both with a fortunate and an unfortunate outcome.³⁹ Alerted even more by the epithet ἀμφίδυμοι in 1.940, the name of the well in 1.957, and the mention of the Earthborn Monsters in the preceding lines, one expects a course of events similar to that in *Od.* 10.105–11, where Odysseus meets the daughter of the king of the Laestrygonians.⁴⁰ Contrary to these expectations, however, the spring motif is not further developed in its conventional way.

Τοὺς δ' ἄμυδις φιλότῃτι Δολίονες ἡδὲ καὶ αὐτὸς
Κύζικος ἀντήσαντες, ὅτε στόλον ἡδὲ γενέθλην
ἔκλυον οἳ τινες εἶεν, ἐυξείνως ἀρέσαντο.⁴¹ (1.961–3)

Somehow, in a way not specified, the Doliones must have caught sight of the Argonauts and instead of being guided by a girl to the city, followed by all the conventional protocol at the king's palace, the Argonauts immediately encounter the king and his people, and are welcomed, invited and persuaded to row their ship to the city harbour (1.964–5).⁴² Once again, as in the Amycus episode, the host comes to the visitors through fear of aggressive intentions. Vian has shown that this detail was taken over by Apollonius from earlier literary sources;⁴³ and one could argue that it acts as a sign of the foreign, hostile world with strange customs in which the Doliones live and the Argonauts have moved into, where there is no place for uncomplicated hospitality. Their immediate uncomplicated and generous hospitality is further defined and turns out to be not their natural reaction, which would be rather to make war with the invaders as an attack is always perceived to be imminent (1.971: μηδὲ πτολέμοιο μέλεσθαι). Their

³⁹Cf. *Od.* 6.110–322; *Od.* 7.81–91; *Od.* 10.103–11; *Od.* 14.317–19; *Od.* 13.221; *Od.* 15.415–81; *Od.* 17.204ff.; *HyDem* 98. See Reece (1995), 12–3; Fenik (1974), 33; Richardson ad *HyDem* 98ff. Clauss (1993), 160: "The point of contact between the two passages to which Apollonius alludes ... thus parallels and to a certain extent foreshadows the two very different receptions that the Argonauts encounter on Oros Arcton."

⁴⁰Knight (1995), 149.

⁴¹As Vian i, 95, n. 4, has noted, the vocabulary of these lines can also be found in 1.1179–81, in which the visit of the Argonauts to the Mysians is described.

⁴²See also 3.821. Often a hostile sense seems to be present.

⁴³Vian i, 95, n. 4.

guarded reaction turns out to be a necessary precaution because of savage neighbours, a reality of living in these environments. Surprisingly, fear is not felt by the Doliones for the Earthborn Monsters, as one might think at first, but for the Macrians.

ἀλλά που ἀνδρῶν
Μακρίεων εἶσαντο Πελασγικὸν Ἄρεα κέλσαι·
(1.1023–4)

We are meant to understand that, according to the narrator,⁴⁴ this fear governed their behaviour when they attacked the Argonauts immediately upon their unexpected return in the middle of the night, but we may safely infer that it must have influenced their conduct before.

Φιλότητι ... ἀντήσαντες (1.961–2) indicates that the king complies with the instructions given by the oracle (1.970–1: αὐτίκα τὸν γε / μείλιχον ἀντιάαν μηδὲ πτολέμοιο μέλεσθαι). This motif can also be encountered in Book Three, when the villainy of Aeetes is emphasised by the fact that he has to be told by Zeus, via his messenger Hermes, to receive hospitably a stranger and, moreover, a suppliant. Although both welcome their guest because they have been told to do so by an oracle, Cyzicus' action is presented in a far more positive light than Aeetes' reception of Phrixus, portrayed throughout as a model ξεῖνος. Firmly marking the contrast between Phrixus and the Argonauts (cf. 3.585–6; 3.589: ληιστῆρας; 3.595: κακορρέκτησιν),⁴⁵ Phrixus' example is used by Aeetes to stress why no hospitality should be granted to the Argonauts. He admits himself that he would not have provided hospitality to Phrixus, had not Zeus exhorted him to do this. In the Doliones episode, however, a picture is painted of a traditional and civilised society which is under threat because of violent, aggressive neighbours and for this reason wary of unexpected visitors.

⁴⁴Που makes it clear that this is his assumption. See Vian i, 98, n. 3: "s' oppose à ἐπιφραδέως (1021) et à νημεπρές (1023)."

⁴⁵Cf. *Od.* 14.82–92 and *Od.* 14.262–5.

Elaborate welcoming and greeting ceremonies at the palace are made redundant by this action of the king who, albeit *after* establishing their identity, immediately invites them to come to his city. As Knight comments: "The Argonauts receive a typical 'heroic' welcome from their hosts though it is tempered with caution."⁴⁶ The choice of the verb ἀρέσσαντο (1.963), 'appease,' 'conciliate,'⁴⁷ seems to reflect the need for a very hospitable welcome in order to compensate for the somewhat rude behaviour so far.⁴⁸ By taking the important question of identity out of its usual Homeric context of a banquet⁴⁹ and ignoring the practice of not asking a guest for his identity until after the provision of a meal, our attention is focused on the fear of the host and his desperate need to make an immediate and correct identification. The recognition motif receives its full tragic force only after the fatal mistakes are made on both sides. Part of the irony is that, although the identity of the visitors is immediately carefully established the first time, negligence and mistaken identity in the end prove to be the king's undoing. Similarly ἐυξείνοισι, used ironically in 1.1018 to describe the Doliones just before they attack the Argonauts, tragically recalls this first visit (1.963: ἐυξείνως).⁵⁰ This whole first scene can therefore be considered to build up to this climax of the episode: the battle between the Argonauts and Doliones.

Because of Cyzicus' hospitable behaviour so far, the tragic mistake later on gains further poignancy. There is no use of direct speech, no conventional description of the consumption of food, nor of any form of entertainment nor, interestingly enough, of any bed rituals, as that would presumably belittle the sacrifice made by Cyzicus in leaving his wife and devoting time to his guests.⁵¹

⁴⁶Knight (1995), 85.

⁴⁷Here constructed with an adverb rather than a dative modi.

⁴⁸Cf. also 3.187; *Od.* 8.402, *Il.* 9.112.

⁴⁹Levin (1971), 92 mentions that this is "against Homeric practice." See Fenik (1974), 20. However, as Vian (1974), 350 rightly points out, this is standard practice in the *Argonautica*. See also Campbell ad 3.299–303.

⁵⁰Levin (1971), 92–3: "...is a foreshadowing of the paradoxical turn of events which will culminate in the slaughter of Cyzicus and the Doliones in the hands of the very persons whom they had befriended."

⁵¹The sheep, given by the king for the sacrifice, also provide the Argonauts with skins to sleep upon (1.1090: τὸν δ' ὃ γε κεκλιμένον μαλακοῖς ἐνὶ κώεσιν οἴδων).

Attention is again drawn to this when the king leaves the bedchamber before meeting the Argonauts in battle (1.1031: νυμφιδίους θαλάμους καὶ λέκτρον ἱκέσθαι ~ 1.978: θάλαμόν τε λιπὼν καὶ δέμνια νύμφης). It is unusual that there is no indication that Cleite joins in with the celebrations at any time.⁵² The banquet is essentially seen as an occasion which prevents the king from spending the night with his bride, thereby once again emphasising his fear and the noble, self-sacrificing element of his character. Cyzicus has got to shake his fear off (1.979: βάλεν δ' ἀπὸ δαίματα θυμοῦ) in order to convince himself, even after their identity has been established.⁵³ The reference to the fear shows how deep-seated this emotion is and emphasises once more the motif of the 'good host,' who certainly does not deserve to die after fulfilling all his obligations.

Ἔνθ' οἳ γ' Ἐκβασίῳ βωμὸν θέσαν Ἀπόλλωνι
εἰσάμενοι παρὰ θίνα θυηπολίας τ' ἐμέλοντο.
Δῶκεν δ' αὐτὸς ἄναξ λαρὸν μέθυ δευομένοισι
μῆλ' ἄ θ' ὁμοῦ· δὴ γάρ οἱ ἔην φάτις, εὖτ' ἂν ἴκωνται
ἀνδρῶν ἡρώων θεῖος στόλος, αὐτίκα τὸν γε
μείλιχον ἀντιάαν μηδὲ πτολέμοιο μέλεσθαι. (1.966–71)

The piety of the Argonauts is stressed by the fact that they themselves sacrifice to the gods upon arrival instead of merely participating in a sacrifice initiated by the host. The idea of a combined effort is nevertheless established by the personal contribution of the king, supplying the Argonauts in their need with wine and sheep (1.968: δευομένοισι).⁵⁴ This sacrifice to the gods, a traditional motif on arrival at a place, is not described in any detail. The king is here called ἄναξ (1.968) and acts as head of his people while fulfilling his duties as host. His personal involvement is accentuated even further by the fact that no servants or

⁵²Edwards (1987b: 58) notes that "it is conventional to mention that the host retires to bed together with his wife; so Nestor (*Od.* 3.402–3), Menelaus (*Od.* 4.304–5), Alcinous (*Od.* 7.346–7), and Achilles and Patroclus (*Il.* 9.663–8)."

⁵³Levin (1971), 95: "Yet the very mention of fear — even fear dispelled — reechoes the ominous note sounded earlier." Cf. also Circe's reaction to her nightmares just before the arrival of Jason and Medea (4.669: λήξεν δ' ὄλοοιο φόβοιο).

⁵⁴For Cyzicus' wealth see also 1.977: θεσπεσίους ἔδνοισιν (cf. *Il.* 2.670: πλοῦτος).

other Doliones are mentioned at all (cf. 1.961–2: αὐτὸς Κύζικος; 1.968: αὐτὸς; 1.979: δαῖτ' ἄλέγυνε).

Whereas in the Lemnian episode the gifts and supply of all the necessary provisions were emphasised, in this episode the main function of this visit, even though gifts are provided by the king, seems to be to obtain information for the rest of their voyage. The role of the gifts played in each episode is also different: the guest-gifts in the Lemnian episode functioned as a means for the women either to attract or ward the men off, whereas the gifts here serve to emphasise the generosity of King Cyzicus.

Ἀλλήλους δ' ἐρέεινον ἀμοιβαδὶς· ἦτοι ὁ μὲν σφεων
 πεύθετο ναυτιλίας ἄνυσιν Πελῖάο τ' ἐφετμάς·
 οἱ δὲ περικτιόνων πόλιας καὶ κόλπον ἅπαντα
 εὐρείης πεύθοντο Προποντίδος· οὐ μὲν ἐπιπρὸ
 ἡίδει καταλέξαι ἐλδομένοισι δαῖναι. (1.980–4)

In this episode, the exchange of information takes place in the traditional context of a banquet organised for the guests by the host. The fact that the king is not able to give them all the information they need and can only provide them with a limited account underlines the relative isolation of the Doliones and stresses the enormity and the dangers of the Argonauts' journey. The gathering of information for the next stage of their voyage obviously becomes increasingly important as they enter lesser known territory; they are, after all, travelling to the edge of the world (cf. 2.417–8). As in the Aeolus episode, no detailed account is given of the content of Jason's speech to Cyzicus. Like Odysseus, Jason also asks about the route, but, whereas Odysseus apparently does not receive an answer to the first half of his question and is given the bag of winds by the god in response to his request for a πομπή, Cyzicus' help is limited to information about the journey.

μῆνα δὲ πάντα φίλει με καὶ ἐξερέεινεν ἕκαστα,
 Ἴλιον Ἀργείων τε νέας καὶ νόστον Ἀχαιῶν·
 καὶ μὲν ἐγὼ τῷ πάντα κατὰ μοῖραν κατέλεξα.
 ἀλλ' ὅτε δὴ καὶ ἐγὼ ὁδὸν ἦτεον ἡδ' ἐκέλευον

πεμπέμεν, οὐδέ τι κείνος ἀνήνατο, τεῦχε δὲ πομπήν.
(*Od.* 10.14–8)

An effective parallel and contrast can also be drawn between King Cyzicus and the seer Phineus (2.178ff.).⁵⁵ Despite the fact that both provide the Argonauts with much needed information, neither fully reveals to the Argonauts what awaits them in future. Although Phineus received full knowledge from Zeus and should therefore, in theory at least, be able to give the Argonauts a detailed account of their future adventures and the powers behind their journey, the seer is not allowed to reveal everything, while Cyzicus, not favoured by the gods with any divine knowledge, necessarily bases his facts on his own experience and only possesses an essentially limited amount of factual knowledge. Although in 1.982–3 the extent of the information still given is emphasised (κόλπον ἅπαντα / εὐρείης Π.), in 1.983b–4 Cyzicus concedes that this is all he can tell them.

After Cyzicus' account the heroes' climbing of Mount Dindymum seems somewhat superfluous at first sight. Although, of course, it acts as provocation for the Earthborn Monsters and is therefore a necessary next step in the narrative, the heroes' action has to be further motivated by the poet. Williams, associating mountains with vision and knowledge, connects the occurrence of several verbs of perception in this passage with this particular aspect of mountains.⁵⁶ I agree with this observation, but would also stress the importance of the contrast of visual perception after oral information. After *hearing* about the next stages of their journey, the Argonauts also want to see the route for themselves (1.985: καὶ αὐτοὶ; 1.986: θηήσαιντο).⁵⁷

The unexpected attack by the Earthborn Monsters prevents the Argonauts from obtaining the information they desire and the mountain has to be climbed

⁵⁵Vian i, 96, n. 4: "Argô utilise pour sa navigation une chaîne d'informateurs et c'est Phinée qui prend le relais de Kyzikos. Cf. Fränkel, *Noten*, 180–5; F. Vian, *Gnomon* 46 (1974), 438s."

⁵⁶Williams (1991), 87.

⁵⁷Clauss (1993), 162, n. 31 emphasises the ignorance of the king and mentions the parallels with *Od.* 10.14–8: "Cyzicus' ignorance contrasts with the knowledge of model Aeolus." Deforest (1981: 60–1) similarly argues that "the Argonauts ask about the area, but he can tell them nothing."

twice. However, this second attempt (1.1108ff.) is not primarily undertaken to gather knowledge about their voyage, but in order to try to appease the goddess Rhea (1.1092–1102). The magnificent panoramic views then indeed complement and verify the information given to them by the king (1.1112–6; cf. 1.1114: ἡρόεν στόμα Βοσπόρου; confirming 1.983–4). The view has often been compared with the descriptions of the landscape given when Eros (3.158ff.) comes down from Olympus and, on the basis of this comparison, Williams even argues that the "heroes have similarities to, and have gained some knowledge of the gods."⁵⁸ However, I think that it is important not to forget the influence of another epic motif found in both the Circe and Laestrygon episodes (respectively *Od.* 10.97ff. and *Od.* 10.148ff.), and I suggest that Apollonius has again combined two motifs to create something new. In these two episodes, Odysseus climbs a rock *prior* to his visit in order to see whether there are any signs of civilisation. The outcome of these investigations determines the exact shape of his next step. Unfortunately for Odysseus, in both cases, whether smoke is seen or not, his visit proves to be dangerous.

e) The attack of the Earthborn Monsters (1.1012–53)

The two literary models for this scene are the actions of the Laestrygon and Cyclopes who both throw rocks at the ship from a similar position. In view of these examples, a hasty departure and lucky escape, rather than a fight, is expected. The function of the encounter with the monsters seems to be to emphasise the heroism of the Argonauts — especially Heracles — and to throw extra relief on the battle with the Doliones. An implicit (and favourable) comparison is made with Odysseus who chose to flee on both occasions. Odysseus' heroic status is only restored after his visit to the Phaeacians. The Earthborn monsters apparently attack the heroes for an intrusion upon their

⁵⁸Williams (1991), 87.

territory, but this is essentially speculative, as their motives are never clearly stated by the narrator; in fact, we never even see the actions from their point of view. In comparison with the slaughter of the Doliones, it is worth noting that the Doliones are also treated as a mass, but receive at least some fame and thus individuality by the inclusion of a catalogue of slain heroes.⁵⁹ As no words are ever exchanged between the monsters themselves or between them and the heroes, even more emphasis is given to blind violence and aggression. That the monsters' attack is intentional, however, can be deduced from the simile that accompanies the description of the attack.

πόντιον οἶά τε θῆρα λοχώμενοι ἔνδον ἔοντα. (1.991)

Λοχώμενοι, 'lying in wait for,' 'ambushing,' underlines the subsequent portrayal of the monsters as the aggressors (cf. *Od.* 4.847; also *Il.* 6.187–90) and is suggestive of the activities of the monsters after the arrival of the Argonauts.⁶⁰ Ironically, the Γηγενέες, themselves wild beasts, attack the Argo as if it were a wild beast from the sea. Their method of fighting with rocks instead of spears and shields is also typical of monsters who are completely cut off from civilised society and is also employed by the Laestrygonians (*Od.* 10.121), the Cyclopes (*Od.* 9.481ff.; *Od.* 9.537ff.), the Hundred-Handers and Talos (4.1638–9: ἀπὸ στιβαροῦ σκοπέλοιο / ῥηγνύμενος πέτρας).⁶¹

Τοὶ δὲ καὶ αὐτοὶ
πέτρας ἀμφιρῶγας ἀερτάζοντες ἔβαλλον. (1.994–5)

Their action recalls *Od.* 9.481 (ἦκε δ' ἀπορρήξας κορυφὴν ὄρεος μεγάλιοι), where Polyphemus is said to break off the top of a mountain to throw at Odysseus and his companions. The three hundred rocks thrown by the Hundred-Handers

⁵⁹See also Hunter, *Literary Studies*, 41.

⁶⁰A similar logic underlies the deeds of Amycus and Aetes.

⁶¹See also West ad Hes. *Th.* 675.

(Hes. *Th.* 715–7) are surpassed here by the innumerable rocks of the Earthborn Monsters (to be inferred from 1.990: ἀπειρεσίοιο). The heroes, however, are explicitly said to fight with the conventional weapons of bow, arrows and spears (cf. 1.993–4; 1.1000–1).⁶² Deliberately, no mention seems to be made of Heracles' customary club to sustain the contrast between both groups.

It is little wonder that of the heroes it is Heracles who immediately faces the monsters (1.993: αἰψα). The fact that he is left near the ship, together with some younger heroes as a safeguard, echoes the situation of the Lemnian episode where Heracles also stayed behind near the ship (cf. 1.992: αὐθι).⁶³ But, whereas in the latter episode it was a deliberate act of defiance of Heracles not to join his fellow-comrades, here the reaction is presented as a considered decision and, as it turns out, a necessary precaution. The situation echoes Odysseus' prudence in, for example, the Laestrygonian episode and the Circe episode when the group is similarly split up in order to minimise the risks.

Ἡρακλῆος ἀνευθεν, ὃ γὰρ παρὰ νηὶ λέλλειπτο
αὐτὸς ἐκὼν παῦροί τε διακρινθέντες ἑταῖροι. (1.855–6)

In both the Lemnian and Doliones episodes, the heroes are able to continue their voyage because of Heracles' crucial intervention. In the Lemnian episode the loss of the complete crew is avoided, in the case of the Earthborn Monsters the loss of the ship. These two instances in which Heracles shows how indispensable he is for the journey prepare for his disappearance in the final episode of Book One. Heracles' importance then also becomes clear from the description of Jason's distraught state of mind just after the incident (1.1286–9), Glaucus' prophecy (1.1315–20) and the statements made by one of the crew after the Bebrycian

⁶²See also Williams (1991), 263.

⁶³Rose (1984), 117–8, Lawall (1966), 152 and Clauss (1993), 157, n. 22 mention the fact that this episode can be considered to be an inversion of the Lemnian episode. Although the Lemnian women initially decide to attack the Argonauts, they soon change their minds and try to keep the men on the island; the Doliones, on the other hand, at first welcome the heroes, but later, through a tragic mistake, become engaged in a disastrous battle with them. Cf. also Vian i, 28–38: "par sa tonalité générale, l'épisode de Cyzique contraste avec l'épisode lemniens."

episode, which express the opinion that if only Heracles had been there things would not have come to this (2.145–53).

ἀλλὰ γὰρ αὖθι λέλειπτο σὺν ἀνδράσιν ὀπλοτέροισιν
 Ἡρακλῆς, ὃς δὴ σφι παλίντονον αἶψα τανύσσας
 τόξον, ἐπασσυτέρους πέλασε χθονί. (1.992–4)

Well-known as the archetypal slayer of creatures such as these, Heracles has the physique and the cunning that enable him to face the Earthborn monsters.⁶⁴ In this respect, it is worth noting that Heracles' physique is described in [Hes.] *Sc.* 75–6 in exactly the same terms as the Hundred-Handers (Hes. *Th.* 152; Hes. *Th.* 673), who, as previously discussed, also acted as a model for the Earthborn Monsters. The battle is considered to be an ἄεθλος (1.1012) for all the heroes; but, as Heracles is the only hero explicitly mentioned by name in the fight with the Earthborn Monsters, it is very much presented as *his* fight.⁶⁵ Although this action does not belong to the canon of twelve labours traditionally ascribed to Heracles, it is obviously of a similar order and nature, and thus the slaughter of the Earthborn Monsters is still presented as such a task (1.997: ἄέθλιον).⁶⁶ It seems a logical assumption of the narrator (1.996: δὴ γὰρ πού) that Hera, his arch-enemy, is the goddess ultimately behind this trial (1.996–7). However, nothing is stated with absolute certainty and no speculations by any of the characters are included.⁶⁷ In 1.994 (ἐπασσυτέρους πέλασε χθονί), Heracles' successful action is graphically described by ἐπασσυτέρους (cf. *Il.* 8.277: πάντας ἐπασσυτέρους πέλασε χθονὶ πούλυβοτείρη). Heracles' status is further reinforced by the fact that he is mentioned first in the catalogue in 1.1040–

⁶⁴See Feeney (1991), 95 for the paradoxical nature of Heracles with restrained wisdom on the one side and physical violence on the other. Θρασύς, 'bold' (in the sense of: 'full of confidence'), is frequently found in the sense 'overbold,' 'arrogant,' 'insolent.' This epithet is also used for Heracles by Glaucus (1.1316). In the catalogue already Heracles is called κρατερόφρονος (1.121), which immediately calls attention to his amazing strength (cf. also 1.531–2).

⁶⁵Deforest's remarks (1981: 60–1), however, exaggerate the situation: "while he fights the giants singlehandedly in glorious egoistical combat, his comrades return from the mountain to ruin his exploit with their unnecessary, unwanted assistance. The story is spoiled by too many heroes."

⁶⁶Hunter, *Literary Studies*, 41.

⁶⁷On πού see Hunter, *Literary Studies*, 108; Vian i, 98, n. 3.

7 while, nevertheless, the honour of slaying the king himself is given to Jason, the official leader of the expedition (1.1040–1: Ἡρακλῆς μὲν ἐνήρατο Τηλεκλῆα / ἡδὲ Μεγαβρόντην).

Σὺν δὲ καὶ ὄλλοι δῆθεν, ὑπότροποι ἀντιόωντες
πρὶν περ ἀνελθέμεναι σκοπὴν, ἥπτοντο φόνοιο
Γηγενέων ἥρωες ἀρήιοι, ἡμὲν οἰστοῖς
ἡδὲ καὶ ἐγχείησι δεδεγμένοι, εἰσόκε πάντας
ἀντιβίην ἀσπερχὲς ὀρινομένους ἐδάϊξαν. (1.998–1002)

With the return of the rest of the heroes, the balance is firmly shifted in the favour of the Argonauts and the *martial* heroes (1.1000: ἀρήιοι) who receive the attack of the monsters with their spears and arrows.⁶⁸ Likewise in 2.121, Jason is called ἀρήιος the moment he enters the fight (ῶρνυτο).⁶⁹ Δέχεσθαι is here used in the more unusual sense of 'waiting the attack of' (cf. *Il.* 5.283; *Il.* 15.748). This same concept is encountered in ἀντιόωντες (1.998), euphemistically denoting in battle contexts the 'meeting,' 'receiving' (with deadly power) of an enemy in battle, but again like δέχεσθαι, more commonly found within a hospitality context.

The heroes gain the upper hand and at that moment the battle becomes simply a slaughter (1.999: φόνοιο). Their control of the situation is effectively reflected by the focus laid on the actions of the heroes in 1.998–1002.⁷⁰ While in the preceding lines action and reaction of both parties were alternately shown, now the Argonauts are the subject of each verb and the monsters no more than their passive object. Ἐδάϊξαν (1.1002) marks the violence of the action of the Argonauts: the monsters are all ruthlessly slain by them and end up as prey for the birds and fish alike (i.e. no funeral and games for them as there are for Cyzicus). Two of the Homeric ways to mutilate a corpse — another being by the actions of dogs — are found in true combination owing to the unique position of

⁶⁸ Cf. *Il.* 11.800.

⁶⁹ The Colchians are called ἀρήιοι (2.397) by Phineus in his prophecy, thus effectively raising suspense before the actual encounter.

⁷⁰ Note the deliberate juxtaposition in 1.1000: Γηγενέων ἥρωες.

the monsters (cf. *Od.* 14.132ff.; *Od.* 15.480; *Il.* 1.4–5; *Il.* 21.126–7).⁷¹ This final picture also recalls the simile at the beginning of the scene in which the monsters attacked the Argo as if it was their prey, and thus again draws attention to the fact that the roles are now completely reversed.

f) The battle between the Argonauts and the Doliones (1.1012–53)

The fear motif is one of the poetic devices in this episode which provide tragic irony, pathos and suspense.⁷² The motif connects various scenes with each other and imparts the necessary structure to the episode. The king thinks that he is safe now that he has fulfilled all his duties as a host, and the Argonauts equally think that they are safe now that they have successfully defeated the monsters (Argonauts: 1.1012: ὅτε δὴ σφιν ἄταρβῆς ἔπλετ' ἄεθλος; Cyzicus: 1.1037–9; 1.979). Both assumptions turn out to be untrue. Thus the king, assuming that he has escaped the dangers of an attack (1.1037–9), is nevertheless killed by the same men whom he hospitably welcomed the night before. In general, fear is often experienced by both sides within hospitality contexts and examples of this can be found throughout the *Argonautica*, but it is nowhere as clear as in this particular episode. Not only does the guest experience it, but the whole occasion is also very hazardous for the host. For hosts, there is always a certain risk attached to the entertainment of unknown guests. For the visitors, the reception underlines the dangers of travelling and especially of arriving somewhere in darkness without having a clear indication of the exact location. The people the Argonauts visit fear their visitors for different reasons: the Lemnians fear retribution from Thrace because of their past; the Doliones fear visitors because of threatening neighbours; Aeetes, out of fear for his power and possessions, presents the Argonauts to the Colchians as a band of thieves and pirates; and

⁷¹See also Williams (1991), 264. Clauss (1993), 160 notes the connection with *Od.* 10.124 in which the Laestrygonians are said to spear their victims like fish.

⁷²See also Knight (1995), 89.

Amycus does not even uphold the pretence of hospitality but imposes his trials on every visitor without any consideration for their identity. Their ways of dealing with the threatening situation are therefore different: the Lemnians, after an initial aggressive approach, opt for lengthy diplomatic deliberations, whereas the Doliones also meet their visitors on the beach, but almost immediately decide to welcome them.

The similarities to the Aeolus episode are obvious:⁷³ like Odysseus, who returns to his host twice and, in contrast to the previous enjoyable visit, is angrily dismissed by the god the second time he visits the island, the Argonauts also visit their host twice, but with much more disastrous consequences. While the first night was filled with the pleasant, traditional activities of storytelling, eating and drinking, this second night will be spent fighting and will bring death. There are also differences in motivation of the two stories. Although both parties in the Doliones episode are clearly equally blamed for not recognising each other, the actual return is due to the winds and not, as in the *Odyssey*, to the stupidity of the crew itself or disobedience to the gods. The atmosphere in both episodes is completely different; Aeolus' happy family of six daughters and sons is poignantly contrasted with the as yet childless marriage of Cyzicus and Cleite. The absence of any children is emphasised twice in this episode, both in relation to Cyzicus (1.973) and Cleite (1.974–5: ἀκήρατος ... ὠδίνων).⁷⁴

οὐ μὲν ἰούσης
 νυκτὸς ἔτι ῥιπὴ μένεν ἔμπεδον, ἀλλὰ θύελλαι
 ἀντίαι ἄρπαγδην ὀπίσω φέρον, ὅφρ' ἐπέλασσαν
 αὐτίς ἐυξείνοισι Δολίοσιν. (1.1015–8)

The darkness and the hurry resulting from the severe weather conditions (cf. 1.1018–9; 1.1020: ἦ περὶ πείσματα νηὸς ἐπεσσύμενοι ἐβάλλοντο; 1.1022;

⁷³Clauss (1993), 162; Knight (1995), 144–5 & 149.

⁷⁴Note the tragic force of πῶ in 1.973 and the explicit references in 1.978 and 1.1031 to the bedchamber and the activities of newly-weds.

1.1023: νημερτές) are responsible for the mistakes made on both sides.⁷⁵ Again the Argonauts are immediately met on the beach and, crucially, no time is given to the heroes to plan their actions.⁷⁶ In comparison with the battle with the Γηγενέες, a totally different picture emerges in this second battle. Μελίας τε καὶ ὀσπίδας (1.1026) firmly contrasts the Doliones with the monsters who were fighting with rocks. Also, here the responsibility of *both* parties for this tragic battle, resulting from human mistakes and carelessness on both sides, is emphasised.⁷⁷

οὐδέ τις αὐτὴν νῆσον ἐπιφραδέως ἐνόησεν
 ἔμμεναι· οὐδ' ὑπὸ νυκτὶ Δολίονες ἄψ ἄνιοντας
 ἥρωας νημερτές ἐπήισαν (1.1021–3)

The darkness of the night and resulting confusion are mentioned as the sole reasons for their failing to recognise each other. The middle of the night is not the time to expect friendly visitors and hence this unusual condition is particularly stressed (cf. 1.1016; 1.1019; 1.1022; 1.1038). As is to be expected, realisation of their disastrous mistakes comes only in the morning when it is too late and nothing can be done (cf. 1.053: ἡῶθεν; 1.1054: Ἀμήχανον). In 1.1055, as soon as the Argonauts realise what they have done, they are overcome by bitter grief; initially their emotions are described, rather than those of the Doliones, who are first mentioned in 1.1058 (αὐτοὶ ὁμῶς λαοὶ τε Δολίονες).

Ἡῶθεν δ' ὅλοῃν καὶ ἀμήχανον εἰσενόησαν
 ἀμπλακίην ἄμφω (1.1053–4)

The verbs of perception (cf. 1.1021; 1.1023; 1.1053) which frame the scene underline the focus on human error and simultaneously highlight the crucial

⁷⁵Levin (1971), 93: "inasmuch also as darkness both prevents ready recognition of the Argonauts as friends and multiplies the fear and suspicion to which the Doliones are understandably prey."

⁷⁶When, for example, Odysseus arrives at night at the dwellings of the Cyclopes, he first spends the night on the beach and waits for dawn till any decisions are made and explorations are started.

⁷⁷See also Fränkel, *Noten*, ad 1.1018.

importance of perception in the whole episode, as we already saw in the (first) climbing of Dindymum. The use of ἀμπλακίη in 1.1054 underlines the fact that it is also the Argonauts' failure of judgement which is responsible for this battle. Interestingly, Jason uses a very neutral phrasing in his own account of this adventure to King Lycus, implying thereby that Jason, like Hypsipyle, wants to gloss over the past.⁷⁸ In the other six instances in the *Argonautica*, ἀμπλακίη is used in direct speech in which the characters emotionally either take the blame for their own actions, or speak about the actions of someone else in these terms, as Phineus does in 2.476 about his father who felled a tree, or Arete about Medea's deed in her speech to her husband (4.1082) after Medea has used this word several times herself to describe her desertion of her father, family and fatherland. Phineus uses the noun of his error in revealing too much of the will of Zeus (2.484: ἔγωγε μὲν ... ἀμπλακίην ἔγνων); Telamon to apologise to Jason about his accusations with regard to the disappearance of Heracles (1.1335); and, as mentioned before, Medea to both Circe and Arete.⁷⁹ This insight into one's mistakes and condemnation of one's behaviour is often accompanied by verbs and adverbs which further accentuate this concept.⁸⁰

The failure of judgement and shared responsibility, visible in the fact that there is not clearly one aggressor, are reflected in the first simile in which both are compared with fire falling upon dry wood. A fire simile is often found in a battle context⁸¹ and the simile here, illustrating the ferocity of their attacks and its disastrous and destructive consequences, effectively marks the beginning of the

⁷⁸Cf. 2.765: ὅσσα τε Κύζικον ἀμφὶ Δολιονίην ἐτέλεσσαν; ἐτέλεσσαν: 'fulfil,' 'accomplish,' 'bring to an end.'

⁷⁹In these last two cases, because of her position as a suppliant, it is important for Medea to take some of the responsibility for her actions in order to win their sympathy, although she is quick to emphasise that it was not out of mad passion that she undertook to do this (4.1019). Cf. 4.412–3: to Circe, which provides us with a good example of *doppelte Motivation*: ἐπεὶ τὸ πρῶτον ἀάσθην ἀμπλακίη / θεόθεν δὲ κακὰς ἦνυσσα μενοινάς; 4.1017 to Arete.

⁸⁰Cf. 2.481: ἀφραδέως, 'senselessly,' 'recklessly' (1.1021: οὐδέ ... ἐπαφραδέως); 2.481: ἀγνηορίη; 4.413: ἀάσθη; 1.1332–3: ἀφραδίησιν, ἀασάμην; 4.1023: ὃ τ' ἦλιτον.

⁸¹See 4.488–9: πάντα δ' ὄμιλον / πῦρ ἅτε δηιόντες ἐπέδρομον. The participle explicitly emphasises the destructive quality. Campbell similarly comments ad 3.287 in relation to φλογὶ εἴκελον that this Iliadic expression is "applied to warriors about to launch (i.e. effective at the beginning of a battle) or in the act of launching a ferocious attack on the field of battle." Cf. *Il.* 11.595; *Il.* 13.53.

episode. The second brief simile marks the decisive moment when the Argonauts manage to gain the upper hand in battle and the Doliones yield, fleeing in terror. The Argonauts' destructive power is illustrated again against the Colchians in 4.485–7 (kites ~ pigeons) and 4.488–9 (fire), where the two similes are repeated in reverse order.⁸² The slaughter of the Earthborn Monsters and Doliones in this episode foreshadows the successful actions of the Argonauts against the pursuing Colchians.

Σὺν δ' ἔλασαν μελίας τε καὶ ἀσπίδας ἀλλήλοισιν
ὄξειν ἵκελοι ῥιπῇ πυρός, ἥ τ' ἐνὶ θάμνοισι
αὐαλέοισι πεσοῦσα κορύσσεται. (1.1026–8)

The destructive power of the fire is emphasised in several ways:⁸³ the blast of the fire is called ὄξειν (1.1027),⁸⁴ 'fierce,' the wood is dry (1.1028: αὐαλέοισι), fuelling the fire and reinforcing its strength, and κορύσσεται (1.1028), commonly used of a wave, here vividly portrays the fire surmounting the dry bush.⁸⁵ Imagery of various powers of nature (storm, wind, waves and fire), all well-known from the *Iliad*, are combined to depict the ferocity of war and fierceness of the warriors.⁸⁶ The simile is firmly embedded in the narrative: the blast of fire (1.1027: ῥιπῇ πυρός) hints at the speed of the attack, which is reinforced by the adverse weather conditions (cf. 1.1015–7: ῥιπή ... θύελλαι). Although it is explicitly stated that both parties attack each other in this fierce way (1.1026: ἀλλήλοισιν), the superiority of the Argonauts and inevitable defeat of the Doliones already become clear in the next verse.

⁸²Nyberg (1992), 41; Rose (1985), 133.

⁸³An aspect well-known from Homer: *Od.* 12.68: πυρός τ' ὀλοοῖτο θύελλαι; *Od.* 2.455: πῦρ αἰδηλόν (of a destroying forest fire); *Il.* 15.605–6: ὀλοὸν πῦρ ... μαίνεται.

⁸⁴Cf. *Il.* 21.12, of Achilles when he gains the upper hand and the Trojans are in a state of panic; usually of the attack of winds (*Il.* 15.171; *Il.* 19.358).

⁸⁵Cf. *Il.* 21.306; *Il.* 4.424; 2.70–1: ἄτε κύμα θαλάσσης / τρηχὺ θοῆν ἐπὶ νῆα κορύσσεται.

⁸⁶See also Knight (1995), 93 for Apollonius' experimentation with and manipulation of the elements of the battle narrative.

ἐν δὲ κυδοιμός
δεινός τε ζαμενής τε Δολιονίῳ πέσε δῆμῳ· (1.1028–9)

Herter and Blumberg rightly argue that more attention is paid to the mourning of both parties and Cleite's fate than to the battle itself. This emphasis is, in my opinion, already foreshadowed by the way in which the clash is described.⁸⁷ For example, πέσε (1.1029), echoing πεσοῦσα in the preceding line, naturally makes one associate the dry wood with the Doliones and the fire with the Argonauts, and once again ominously predicts the disastrous outcome of this battle. The epithets used to describe the battle also stress its catastrophic nature; its disastrous consequences are for example stressed in 1.1052 (στονόεντος ... πολέμοιο), 1.1053–4 (ὄλοῃν καὶ ἀμήχανον ... ἀμπλακίην) and 1.1037 (ἀδευκέος ... ἄτης).⁸⁸ The inability of the warriors to see their opponents clearly and the confusion resulting from the fighting in the dark add further poignancy to the two references to the traditional noise of battle: κυδοιμός in 1.1028, 'din of battle,' 'uproar,' calls attention to the clamour of the clashing of spears and shields (1.1026),⁸⁹ and in 1.1051 ὄμαδος is found, a noun commonly used to express the sound of a confused number of men on the battlefield (cf. also: 1.1051: ἄτης; 1.1057: γόων).

The recalling of descent at the moment of death in particular is a topos within battles, adding pathos to the death of the no longer anonymous warrior.⁹⁰ The circle is complete with the death of the king, whose noble birth is significantly recalled both at the beginning (1.948: Αἰνῆϊος υἱός) and at the end of this episode when realisation dawns on the Argonauts that they have actually killed King Cyzicus (1.1055–6: Αἰνῆϊον υἱά).

⁸⁷Herter (1944–55), 352; Blumberg (1931), 22.

⁸⁸See also 4.1503: ἀδευκέα ... ἄσαν (in relation to the death of Mopsus).

⁸⁹Cf. *Il.* 10.523; *Il.* 18.218, *Theoc.* 22.72.

⁹⁰See also Janko ad *Il.* 15.610–4: "A warrior's short life is a standard pathetic motif (*Il.* 1.352; *Il.* 1.505; *Il.* 4.478 = *Il.* 17.302; *Il.* 21.84f.)."

Ἄρμοι που κάκείνω ὑποσταχέσκον ἱουλοι·
οὐδέ νύ πω παίδεσσιν ἀγαλλόμενος μεμόρητο (1.972–3)

The fact that Cyzicus has no children *yet* is connected with μοῖρα, a concept encountered again at his death (1.1030–1: οὐδ' ὃ γε δημοτῆτος ὑπὲρ μόνον αὐτίς ἔμελλεν / οἴκαδε νυμφιδίους θαλάμους καὶ λέκτρον ἱκέσθαι). Even though human mistakes are emphasised at the beginning and end of the battle, the death of the king is attributed to Fate (cf. 1.1030–1; 1.1035–9), just as the death of the steersman Tiphys (cf. 2.815–7) and the two prophets Idmon and Mopsus (cf. 2.854–5; 4.1502–4).⁹¹ Similarly, even though the Argonauts still blame themselves for leaving Heracles behind (cf. 2.151),⁹² his disappearance is ultimately associated with Fate (1.1317: Glaucus) and the grand scheme and will of Zeus (1.1345: narrator) rather than human failure.

μοῖραν ἀνέπλησεν. Τὴν γὰρ θέμις οὐ ποτ' ἀλύξαι
θνητοῖσιν, πάντα δὲ περὶ μέγα πέπταται ἔρκος.
ὥς τὸν οἰόμενόν που ἀδευκέος ἔκτοθεν ἄτης
εἶναι ἀριστήων αὐτῇ ὑπὸ νυκτὶ πέδησε
μαρνώμενον κείνοισι. (1.1035–9)

The king's death is then generalised into a philosophical statement about all mortals and death (1.1035–6: τὴν ... ἔρκος).⁹³ A similar sequence is found in 4.1504, when the death of the seer Mopsus is described: οὐ γὰρ τις ἀποτροπὴ θανάτοιο. Likewise, after the death of Cleite, even though no explicit references can be found to any interventions made by Zeus (cf. also 1.1315–6; 1.1345), this catastrophic day is said to have come from the supreme god, who here seems to be identified with Fate.

⁹¹See Nyberg (1992), 69. Vian i, 33 also comments on the similarities between the king's fate and that of the two prophets: "Grâce à son hospitalité, Kyzicos se croit hors de danger (v.979); mais nul ne peut échapper au destin (v.1035–9): victime de la fatalité, comme Pélias, Idmon et Mopsus, comme l' Oedipe de Sophocle, il sera tué par ses hôtes eux-mêmes, *tragico more*, malgré ses précautions."

⁹²See also Campbell (1990), 119.

⁹³Note the string of nouns denoting fate: 1.1030–31: ὑπὲρ μόνον ... ἔμελλεν; 1.1035: μοῖραν, θέμις.

Αἰνότατον δὴ κείνο Δολιονίησι γυναιξὶν
ἀνδράσι τ' ἐκ Διὸς ἦμαρ ἐπήλυθεν· (1.1071–2)

The simile of hawks and doves (1.1049–50), well-known in battle contexts, signals the end of the battle. The Argonauts, the hawks, are presented as the aggressors; the Doliones, the doves, as the victims. In the *Iliad*, the hawk's speed in pursuit of its prey is usually the point of comparison⁹⁴ and, likewise, ὠκυπέτας, 'swift-flying',⁹⁵ which derives its emphasis from its position at the beginning of the line, marks here the deadly speed of the hawks and their superiority over their easy, terrified victims.⁹⁶ Both Campbell and Vian mention the parallel with *Il.* 22.139–41, where Achilles pursues Hector, fleeing away in terror under the walls of Troy. Symbolising in the *Iliad* the final victory of Achilles over Hector, the simile here marks the important and decisive moment at which the Doliones flee back to their city and the Argonauts can be said to be the victors.

Οἱ δ' ἄλλοι εἷξαντες ὑπετρέσαν, ἥύτε κίρκους
ὠκυπέτας ἀγέληδὸν ὑποτρέσσωσι πέλειαι. (1.1049–50)

The comparison signals the climax of the fear motif present throughout the episode and vividly illustrates that all the worst fears of the Doliones have come true. After the individual heroes, slain in the battle, we now encounter the fleeing anonymous crowd (1.1050: ἀγέληδόν; 1.1051: ὁμάδῳ πέσον ἄθροοι). The simile, recalling and continuing the fire simile, focuses on the flight, fear, panic and confusion of the remaining Doliones (1.1051: ἄθροοι).⁹⁷ This main point of comparison is further marked by the verbal echoes of ὑπέτρεσαν (1.1049),

⁹⁴Edwards ad *Il.* 17.755–9. See also *Il.* 15.237–8; *Il.* 16.582–3; *Il.* 22.139–41.

⁹⁵In Homer only used of 'swift-running' horses (*Il.* 8.42; *Il.* 13.24), but in Hes. *Op.* 212 of an ἵρηξ.

⁹⁶See Janko ad *Il.* 16.582–3. Cf. *Il.* 22.141: φοβεῖται; also found in other 'hawk' similes: *Il.* 17.756: οὖλον κεκλήγοντες; *Il.* 16.583: ἐφόβησε.

⁹⁷See Campbell ad 3.270–1.

ὑποτρέσσωσι (1.1050)⁹⁸ and ὑποτροπίῃ (1.1052), which are all associated with fear. No more warriors are killed, though; the deadly power of the Argonauts has been sufficiently demonstrated in the catalogue.

Contrary to their king and queen, the Doliones retain a rather vague identity and are treated as an anonymous mass throughout the episode. As previously said, no mention is made of any tasks performed by them, either at their first encounter or later in the palace when preparations are made for the sacrifice and dinner. The exchange of information also takes place exclusively between the king (1.980: ὁ μὲν) and the Argonauts. No description is included of any of the duels other than that between Jason and Cyzicus, and only after the king is slain are the names of the fallen warriors, but nothing more, given. In the battle, the other Doliones are mere ἐπαρηγόνες (1.1039), 'helpers,' 'those who come to aid.' The heroic status of the other Doliones, attributed to them by their compatriots who could hardly regard them as anything else, is accentuated by the phrasing of 1.1047–8.

οὐδ' ἔτι πάντας
ἐννοᾶται τιμαῖς ἡρώϊσι κυδαίνουσιν (1.1047–8)

The honour given to them is emphasised in τιμαῖς, κυδαίνουσιν and ἡρώϊσι itself. In the short catalogue, only Gephyrus (1.1042: ἀρίθουν), Itymoneus (1.1046: θρασύν) and Artacaeus (1.1047: πρόμον ἀνδρῶν) receive epithets, and even these are rather conventional. Contrary to expectation, here the slain are honoured as heroes. Everything, however, serves to emphasise the drama of the king: the amount of detail spent on the account of his death,⁹⁹ the fact that his death is related first — which also symbolises the courage of the king — and that he is slain by Jason, with whom in anticipation of this duel a connection was

⁹⁸Used with the association of fear in *Il.* 17.586–7.

⁹⁹See Knight (1995), 87.

already established in 1.972. Receiving at least a noble death, our expectations of Cyzicus are not disappointed.

In the aftermath of the battle, the queen's tragedy is given more attention than the funeral of the king himself.¹⁰⁰ The only other reference to Cyzicus in the rest of the episode is in 1.1064, when he is referred to as πόσιος in relation to the death of Cleite.¹⁰¹ Her suicide, which by its very method of hanging places her among the heroines of tragedy, results from the loss of her status as wife of Cyzicus; the few times in this episode Cleite is mentioned, she is always referred to as such.¹⁰² Her death draws attention to the distressing consequences of war for women (cf. also 1.1071: γυναιξίν: the women are mentioned first). Cleite is very appropriately mourned herself by nymphs whose tears even form a fountain and thus provide her also with at least some kind of immortality and fame.

The whole departure scene is remarkably unconventional; no mention is made of the Doliones any more, which is hardly surprising after the death of both their king and queen. A sacrifice and omen as such are traditional *topoi* within a departure scene; here, however, they are performed by the Argonauts to propitiate Rhea¹⁰³ while the Doliones are still mourning the death of their king and queen (cf. 1.1136–8).

¹⁰⁰Knight (1995), 87: "motif of the warrior not coming back to his home."

¹⁰¹For the ominous overtones in her descent see Clauss (1993), 154–5.

¹⁰²Cf. 1.974: ἄκοιτις; 1.978: δέμνια νόμφης, which emphasises also his youth and is echoed in 1.1031: νυμφιδίους θαλάμους; 1.1063: ἄλοχος; 1.1069: δυστήνοιο περικλεές σῶνομα νόμφης.

¹⁰³Clauss (1993), 166 suggests that the Argonauts have to stay for twelve days as a sort of punishment for the twelve Doliones they have killed.

IV HYLAS EPISODE (1.1172 ff.)

Ἦμος δ' ἀγρόθεν εἴσι φυτοσκάφος ἢ τις ἀροτρεὺς
 ἀσπασίως εἰς αὐλιν ἔην, δόρποιο χατίζων,
 αὐτοῦ δ' ἐν προμολῇ τετρυμένα γούνατ' ἔκαμψεν
 αὐσταλέος κονίησι, περιτριβέας δέ τε χεῖρας
 εἰσορόων κακὰ πολλὰ ἔη ἡρήσατο γαστρί·
 τῆμος ἄρ' οἱ γ' ἀφίκοντο Κιανίδος ἡθεα γαίης
 ἄμφ' Ἀργανθώνειον ὄρος προχοάς τε Κίοιο.
 Τοὺς μὲν ἐυξείνως Μυσοὶ φιλότῃτι κiónτας
 δειδέχαι· ἐνναέται κείνης χθονός, ἥϊά τε σφι
 μῆλ' αὖτε δευόμενοις μέθυ τ' ἄσπετον ἐγγυάλιξαν.
 Ἔνθα δ' ἔπειθ' οἱ μὲν ξύλα κάγκανα, τοὶ δὲ λεχαίην
 φυλλάδα λειμώνων φέρον ἄσπετον ἀμήσαντες
 στόρνυσθαι· τοὶ δ' ἄμφι πυρήϊα δινεύεσκον·
 οἱ δ' οἶνον κρητῆρσι κέρων πονέοντό τε δαῖτα,
 Ἐκβασίῳ ῥέξαντες ὑπὸ κνέφας Ἀπόλλωνι.
 Αὐτὰρ ὁ δαίνυσθαι ἐτάροις εὖ ἐπιτείλας,
 βῆ ῥ' ἵμεν εἰς ὕλην υἱὸς Διός

(1.1172–88)

The Hylas episode has been extensively studied by scholars. Much attention has, for example, been paid to the abduction of Hylas; Heracles' reaction to the loss of the boy and the nature of their relationship; the quarrel among the Argonauts after the discovery that they have left Heracles behind; the heroism of Heracles and Jason; and, in particular, the relation between this episode and Theocritus' *Idyll* 13.¹ The verses particularly discussed here, 1.1172–88, form only the prelude to this long episode; but they merit their own, short chapter, as they somewhat surprisingly situate the whole scene within a hospitality context.²

Although no specific reference to hospitality is included in Theocritus' *Idyll* 13, a brief comparison will be made with Theoc. 13.30–3, in which the same stage prior to Hylas' disappearance is described in very similar terms.³ In the *Idyll*, the Ciani are mentioned, but they do not offer any hospitality and the heroes are simply said to prepare their meal and beds upon their arrival on the beach.

εἴσω δ' ὄρμον ἔθεντο Προποντίδος, ἔνθα Κιανῶν

¹Blumberg (1931), 24; Vian i, 40; Nyberg (1992), 71 all emphasise in this respect the crucial influence of genre.

²See Vian i, 41–2.

³See also Köhnken (1965), 34–9.

αὔλακας εὐρύνοντι βόες τρίβοντες ἄροτρα.
 ἐκβάντες δ' ἐπὶ θίνα κατὰ ζυγὰ δοῖτα πένοντο
 δειελinoί, πολλοὶ δὲ μίαν στορέσαντο χαμεύναν.

Theoc. 13.30–3

Scholars have often commented on the fact that in the Hylas episode the Mysians welcome the Argonauts, but after that seem to be totally forgotten.⁴ The same could, of course, be said about the Argonauts; we are not given any information about their activities till they decide to leave the land early the next morning (1.1273: αὐτίκα). The whole episode is solely concerned with the drama of Hylas and Heracles, whose value for the expedition is stressed once again just before he disappears.⁵ The presence of the Mysians is intriguing and it has been suggested that their inclusion in the story is the result of the blending of various different versions (cf. 1.1251–9; 1321–3; 1345–57).⁶

The Argonauts arrive at the land of the Mysians in the evening (1.1160: ὑπὸ δειέλον; 1.1185: ὑπὸ κνέφας). The day has been spent in a rowing competition (1.1153ff.) and when the other Argonauts were too exhausted to continue with their efforts, Heracles singlehandedly rowed the boat, but had to abandon the attempt when his oar breaks.⁷ The Argonauts have then not yet reached the Mysian land (1.1166: παρεμέτρεον εἰσορόωντες), but nothing is told about the final stages of their arrival (do the Argonauts sail into a harbour or take up rowing again?). Clauss has argued that the *Zeitangabe* beginning the episode focuses on Heracles rather than the Argonauts;⁸ but the exhaustion of the gardener and ploughman, weary after a day's work on the fields, is not shared with Heracles, who only had to abandon his rowing because of failing material and is

⁴E.g. Campbell (1990), 116; Köhnken (1965), 36.

⁵See also Hunter, *Literary Studies*, 37.

⁶See Blumberg (1931), 25; Campbell (1990), 116; Herter (1944–55), 353; Vian i, 44. Köhnken (1965: 36) and Vian (i: 44) both raise the question why Hylas should be sent away to fetch water when this has apparently already been supplied by the Mysians (cf. 1.1185).

⁷DeForest's suggestion (1981: 62) that "Heracles' attempt to row the boat alone may arise from frustration at his comrades' interference in his battle with the giants" is unfounded.

⁸Clauss (1993), 185, who sees Heracles as the "maritime plowman" (190). Focus on the Argonauts: Blumberg (1931), 27, n. 31; Fränkel, *Noten*, 142.

explicitly said not to like being idle, but with the Argonauts (1.1161: *τειρόμενοι καμάτῳ*; 1.1162: *μογέοντα*). The connection between the heroes and the workers is explicitly made in the text (1.1172: *ἦμος*; 1.1177: *τῆμος ἄρ' οἷ γ'*) and, apart from the exhaustion, the gladness on reaching respectively harbour and home, and hunger are also shared (1.1164: *λελιτημένοι ἡπίριοι*; 1.1173: *ἀσπασίως*).⁹ As has often been noted, the *Zeitangabe* in this episode is based on similar time indications in *Il.* 11.86–9 and *Od.* 13.31–4.¹⁰

The welcome extended by the Mysians is phrased in language similar to that used in the Doliones episode (1.961: *φιλότητι*; 1.963: *ἐυξείνως*; 1.968–9: *Δῶκεν δ' αὐτὸς ἄναξ λαρὸν μέθυ δευομένοισι / μῆλ' ἄ θ' ὁμοῦ*; 1.966 ~ 1.1186; cf. also the Lemnian episode: 1.659: *ἦια καὶ μέθυ λαρόν*).¹¹ Initially, as is continually underlined by the vocabulary used, the episode seems to promise a conventional hospitality scene: the heroes arrive in the evening at a time appropriate for dinner — a connection which, as we saw, was further stressed in the *Zeitangabe* — and are subsequently welcomed by the Mysians, who immediately and generously provide the travellers with the provisions they need (1.1181: *μῆλ' ἄ τε δευομένοις μέθυ τ' ἄσπετον ἐγγυάλιξαν*; cf. 1.1173: *δόρποιο χατίζων*). These expectations of the reader are not met, and, after the disappearance of Hylas, the hospitable Mysians (1.1179: *ἐυξείνως Μυσοὶ φιλότητι*) are even threatened with pillage of their land by the distraught Heracles if they do not promise to continue the search for the boy (1.1348–50).

Immediately after the provision of wine and sheep, the Mysians disappear from the scene and all the preparations seem to be done by the Argonauts themselves, rather than by servants as would be expected. In Book Three, for example, Aeetes' servants prepare a banquet and sacrifice for the heroes (3.271–3: *τοὶ μὲν μέγαν ὀμφεπένοντο / ταῦρον ἄλις δμῶες, τοὶ δὲ ξύλα κάγκκανα*

⁹For the demands made by the belly see *Od.* 17.286–7.

¹⁰Campbell, *Echoes*; Clauss (1993), 183; Green ad 1.1172–6; Köhnken (1965), 37; Vian i, 105, n. 4. On 'Stundenbilder' see also Fränkel, *Noten*, 141f. See also *Od.* 12.439–41.

¹¹Vian i, 106, n. 2. He also mentions the parallel between 1.1184: *πυρῆια δινεύεσκον* ~ Theoc. 22.33: *πυρεῖα τε χερσὶν ἐνώμων* (Vian i, 39, n. 6).

χαλκῷ / κόπτον, τοὶ δὲ λοετρὰ πυρὶ ζέον). A comparison with similar scenes in the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* would show that these preparations for a banquet, which always involve servants, are often described with much more precision: more details of the actual preparations of the meal are given, such as the setting of the table, water for handwashing, the provision of bread, meat and other food, and the pouring of wine.¹²

At the same time as the preparations for the meal and sacrifice, sleeping arrangements are made, whereas these are usually made after the meal.¹³ The nature of the beds, no more than bivouac beds made by cutting grass from the meadow, also seems to ignore the hospitable welcome given by the Mysians. Likewise in *Idyll* 13, the Argonauts prepare their beds prior to their evening meal (Theoc. 13.34: λειμών ~ 1.1183: λειμώνων). The preparations echo more Odysseus' impromptu preparation of a bed of leaves when he arrived on the island of Scheria than those of the standard scenes of the preparation of beds in the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*. In these latter works, maids are asked to make a bed with blankets and other soft coverings (e.g. *Od.* 5.482–3: ἄφαρ δ' εὐνήν ἐπαμήσατο χερσὶ φίλησιν / εὐρεῖαν· φύλλων γὰρ ἔην χύσις ἥλιθα πολλή).¹⁴ Στορνύσθαι (1.1184), the standard verb found in these Homeric descriptions (e.g. *Od.* 4.301; *Od.* 7.340), is in the Hylas episode used of the spreading of the grass. The Argonauts similarly prepare beds for themselves on the night before they start the expedition (1.453–55: τῆμος ἄρ' ἤδη πάντες ἐπὶ ψαμάθοισι βαθεῖαν / φυλλάδα χευάμενοι πολιοῦ πρόπαρ αἰγιαλοῖο / κέκλινθ' ἐξείης), before Jason arms himself in Book Three (3.1193–4: τοὶ δὲ χαμεύνας / ἔντυον ἥρωες παρὰ πείσμασιν), and after Thetis' speech to Peleus before the passing of the Wandering Rocks the next day (4.883: δόρπον τε χαμεύνας τ' ἀμφεπένοντο).

¹²E.g. *Od.* 1.109ff; *Od.* 4.52ff.; *Od.* 10.352ff.; *Od.* 14.418ff. On the preparations of a feast see Reece (1993), 23ff.; Campbell ad 3.270–4.

¹³See, for example, Richardson *Il.* 24.633–76.

¹⁴Cf. *Od.* 4.295ff.; *Od.* 7.335ff.; *Od.* 23.290; *Il.* 9.658ff.; *Il.* 24.643ff.

Fränkel connects the absence of any information about the eating and drinking itself with the general restraint shown by Apollonius in this respect.¹⁵ One could, however, argue that the initial focus on the preparatory stage of a dinner, when everyone is busily occupied with their own tasks, allows Hylas to go away to the well on his own (1.1207: νόσφιν ὁμίλου). Hylas, faithfully doing as his master has told him (1.1210: ὁτραλέως), makes his contribution to the dinner by going to the sacred well to collect water.¹⁶ This task, usually performed by women, has ominous overtones: wells are common places of abduction and love.¹⁷ For the time being, however, it is stressed how everything is done as it should be and that all is well: the hunger and exhaustion of the Argonauts is such as to be expected after a day's hard work, the Mysians provide the Argonauts with the customary provisions, a sacrifice is made to Apollo Ecbasius, Heracles carefully instructs his comrades not to wait till he has returned but to start their meal (1.1187: εὖ ἐπιτείλας), and Hylas obeys Heracles' instructions to prepare a meal κατὰ κόσμον (1.1210). Heracles' action is certainly a surprise as, with his reputation for gluttony, it is rather remarkable that he forsakes dinner and decides instead to make himself a new oar first. This is again the Heracles we know from the Lemnian episode where he similarly stressed duty above more earthly pleasures.¹⁸ His strength displayed in the uprooting of the tree serves as a reminder of the other side of his character.

No mention is made of the Mysians in the departure scene. The heroes, hastily departing at the break of dawn, do not discover that they have lost two of

¹⁵Fränkel, *Noten*, 142.

¹⁶See also Köhnken (1965), 38.

¹⁷See Richardson ad *HyDem.* 98ff. Wells are often associated with nymphs and considered to be sacred (cf. 1.1208: κρήνης ἱερὸν ῥόον).

¹⁸See Blumberg (1931), 27; Fränkel, *Noten*, 143. His suggestion that Heracles would even prefer water to wine is somewhat unconvincing. On Heracles' contradictory character see also Feeney (1991), 95; Hunter, *Literary Studies*, 38, 41. Clauss' remark (1993: 185) that Heracles' "enormous appetite" is "the source of imminent trouble" is not true. He compares Heracles with the labourer in the simile and argues that the comparison seems to suggest that Heracles is not pleased about having to give up his dinner. No indication, however, is given of this in the text itself and Heracles' action is portrayed in a positive light by the narrator (1.1187: εὖ). Kyriakou (1995a: 90) maintains that attention is drawn once again to Heracles' gluttony by subsequent allusions to the Cyclops when Heracles makes himself a new oar.

their companions until they are well underway and it is too late to turn back. This action has often been deemed implausible,¹⁹ although it is understandable that the heroes would want to take advantage of the favourable winds after their exhaustion on the previous day (1.1279: γηθόσυνοι φορέοντο).²⁰

¹⁹E.g. Green ad 1.1280ff.; Hutchinson (1988), 193.

²⁰See Campbell (1990), 116.

V AMYCUS EPISODE (2.1ff.)

a) Introduction

The outrage of Amycus' behaviour first and foremost consists in his infringement of the Zeus-protected laws of ξεινίη, the laws regulating behaviour towards strangers.¹

In an episode in which ὕβρις is the central theme, Amycus, like the Cyclops and the suitors in the *Odyssey*,² shows his arrogance in his treatment of strangers.³ However, as in the Hylas episode, the elements which strictly speaking belong to a hospitality scene only occupy the beginning of the episode and the main part is devoted to a description of the boxing-match between the king and Polydeuces. This fight has attracted much attention and a comparison has often been made with Theocritus' *Idyll* 22⁴ and the boxing-matches in Homer (*Il.* 23.667–75; *Od.* 18).⁵ The motif of *hybris* also connects Amycus with the tyrants Pelias and Aeetes; the three, who share many traits, all impose a πείρα upon the Argonauts (cf. 2.6: πειρήσασθαι; 1.15; 2.883; 3.407).⁶ In this chapter, I shall concentrate my analysis on the manipulation of the hospitality motifs at the beginning of the episode.

The episode can be briefly summarised. The Argonauts arrive at the land of the Bebrycians in the morning and are met on the beach by Amycus (1.1359–2.9). The king immediately imposes a fight on the Argonauts and, after the disappearance of Heracles at the end of Book One, it is Polydeuces who takes up

¹Cuypers (1997), 3.

²See Fisher (1992), 161.

³Campbell (1974), 40; Cuypers ad 2.1–29; Green ad 2.5–9; Herter (1944–55), 138; Ibscher (1939), 31ff.; Knight (1995), 69; Köhnken (1965), 196. The same, but this time positive, connection between *hybris* and hospitality is made in 2.652–7.

⁴E.g. Campbell (1974), 38–41; Cuypers (1997), 13–28; Köhnken (1965), 85ff.; Sens (1997), 24–36; Vian i, 136.

⁵Cuypers (1997), 9; Knight (1995), 62–73; Köhnken (1965), 108ff.; Rose (1984), 122ff.; Thiel (1993), 181–94.

⁶Campbell ad 3.407 & 422 (who rightly argues that the nature of the tasks can be contrasted); Cuypers (1997), 4; Hunter, *Literary Studies*, 160; Knight (1995), 69; Rose (1984), 120–21.

the challenge (2.10–25).⁷ A fight ensues in which Amycus is killed (2.26–97). The Bebrycians, who in another part of the country are simultaneously attacked by Lycus and his people, are then defeated by the Argonauts in battle (2.98–154). Celebrations follow the battle and the next day the Argonauts continue their voyage (2.155–67).⁸

b) The arrival of the Argonauts and narrator's introduction (1.1359ff.)

Οἱ δὲ χθονὸς εἰσανέχουσιν
ἄκτῃν ἐκ κόλποιο μάλ' εὐρείην ἐσιδέσθαι
φρασσάμενοι κώπησιν ἅμ' ἡελίῳ ἐπέκελσαν. (1.1360–2)

Book One finishes with the arrival, seen through their eyes, of the heroes at Amycus' country, the broad beach of which seems to provide an ideal harbour. In the opening line of Book Two, there is a switch of perspective and Amycus is formally introduced by the narrator (2.1: "Ἐνθα δ' ἔσαν σταθμοὶ τε βοῶν αὖλῖς τ' Ἀμύκοιο).⁹ Their arrival at dawn here ensures that the beginning of Book Two coincides with the beginning of a new day and a new stage in the narrative.¹⁰ The conventional Homeric,¹¹ but rather vague topographical introduction can be contrasted with the detailed descriptions of the landscape in Theocritus *Idyll* 22.¹² The absence of a residence, a palace of the king, is remarkable and only the king's cowsheds and folds are mentioned.¹³ Cuypers has argued that "the king's presence is accidental: he is here to inspect his livestock,

⁷Cf. *Il.* 3.237: πῶς ἀγαθὸν Πολυδεύκεα; 1.146: κρατερὸν Πολυδεύκεα.

⁸The motif of absence of sleep during a banquet is found in 2.157–8: οὐδέ τι ν' ὕπνος / εἶλε παρὰ κρητῆρι καὶ αἰθομένοις ἱεροῖσι. Cf. *Od.* 11.373–4; *Od.* 15.309–401.

⁹Despite the rowing, Polydeuces is still in good shape after the long journey (2.47).

¹⁰See Campbell, (1983a), 154–55 and West ad *Od.* 2.434 (cf. *Od.* 2.434: μέν ... *Od.* 3.1: δέ); Williams (1991: 37) argues that dawn's appearance looks ahead to the beginning of the new book. In her discussion of the function of night and day in Book Two (38–9), she does not consider the effect of the arrival of the Argonauts in the morning in relation to the visit to Amycus. Dawn seems here to be ominous rather than propitious (cf. Odysseus' visits to the Cyclopes, Circe and the Laestrygonians).

¹¹Blumberg (1931), 31. Cf. *Od.* 12.318: ἔνθα δ' ἔσαν Νυμφέων καλοὶ χοροὶ ἡδὲ θόωκοι. See Campbell (1983a), 156, n. 7. See in this respect also the genealogical introduction.

¹²A similar contrast can be found in the description of the spring in the Hylas episode in Theocritus' *Idyll* 13 and 1.1221ff.

¹³On the meaning of αὖλῖς see Cuypers ad 2.1–2; Vian i, 132.

whereas his residence is on the coast of the Euxine."¹⁴ However, even when the pillaging by the Myriandyni is described, no royal residence (or even a πόλις) is specifically mentioned (cf. 2.138–9: Πέρθοντο γὰρ ἡμὲν ἄλωαί / ἢ δ' οἶαι; 2.142: οἱ δ' ἤδη σταθμούς τε καὶ αὐλίας δηιάσκον); and, following Vian's observations, it is tempting to assume that attention seems to be drawn to the king's lack of civilisation (which would foreshadow his behaviour)¹⁵ and the discrepancy between the king's rather humble dwellings and his pretensions.¹⁶ Also, the impression created in these opening lines is not so much that this is just an accidental visit, as that Amycus, as a folk-tale type of habitual killer, is always on the look-out for new victims (2.8: καὶ δὲ τότε). Like the Lemnian women and the Doliones, Amycus immediately takes the initiative by going to the ship himself to meet the Argonauts.

Καὶ δὲ τότε, προτὶ νῆα κιών, χρεὶώ μὲν ἐρέσθαι
ναυτιλῆς οἳ τ' εἶεν ὑπερβασίησιν ἄτισσε,
τοῖον δ' ἐν πάντεσσι παρὰσχεδὸν ἔκφατο μῦθον·

(2.8–10)

The structure of arrival followed by an introduction by the narrator and finally the entrance of the protagonist was also adopted in the Lemnian episode. The results are similar: in the Lemnian episode, we were informed in advance about the women's crime and accordingly regarded the women's actions with suspicion; and, when in this episode Amycus is introduced by the narrator in no less condemnatory terms,¹⁷ suspense is similarly created for the coming encounter between the heroes and the king. Amycus' descent from Poseidon, known to be the father of strong, violent and arrogant men, reinforces this picture (2.2–4).¹⁸ A

¹⁴Cuypers ad 2.1–2.

¹⁵Vian i, 138, n. 1. Cf. 2.33–4: καλαύροπα τε τρηχεῖαν / κάββαλε τὴν φορέεσκεν ὀριτρεφέος κοτίνιοι. Compare and contrast with Alcinous' golden sceptre (4.1177–8: ἐν δ' ὃ γε χεῖρὶ / σκῆπτρον ἔχεν χρυσοῖο δικασπόλον).

¹⁶See for example the grand-sounding ἀνδρῶν ὀθνείων (2.13), πρὶν χεῖρεσσιν ἐμῆσιν ἐὰς ἀνὰ χεῖρας ἀεῖραι (2.14) and ἡ κέν τις στυγερώς κρατερὴ ἐπέψεν ἄνάγκη (2.17).

¹⁷E.g. Hunter, *Literary Studies*, 111.

¹⁸E.g. Polyphemus (*Od.* 1.68–73); Otus and Ephialtes (*Od.* 11.305–20); Neleus and Pelias (*Od.* 11.235–57); Antaeus (*Apollod.* 2.115). See also Knight (1995), 131–2.

connection is again established between Amycus, Pelias and Aeetes: Poseidon is also Pelias' father (cf. 1.13–4) and Aeetes is compared to the god when he sets off to witness Jason's ἀεθλος (3.1240–5). As in the Doliones episode, the king is undoubtedly the main character and all the information given concerns him; it is not until 2.36 that any of his companions are mentioned (2.36: ἴζον ἑοῦς δίχα πάντας ἐνὶ ψαμάθοισιν ἑταίρους). Ἑοῦς and δίχα (2.36) make it clear that it is not only the Argonauts who are referred to. Although the Bebrycians must have accompanied their king to the ship, no mention is made of this in 2.8 (πρὸτὶ νῆα κιών).

Whereas in *Idyll* 22 Amycus' portrait is mainly painted by the description of his appearance,¹⁹ in the *Argonautica* all attention is drawn to Amycus' moral flaws and a description of his physique is postponed until 2.38, when he and Polydeuces have taken off their mantles in preparation for the fight and the two competitors' postures are compared. Different words are chosen by the narrator to describe and define the main flaw of Amycus' character: the arrogance which causes him to ignore every law of hospitality. Amycus' character is painted in black and white, with no explanation of his motives at any time; and, as a result, he is very much the caricature of the archetypal 'bad guy.'²⁰ A string of words with strongly condemnatory force characterise the behaviour of the king as an act of *hybris*: 2.2: ἀγήνορος; 2.4: ὑπεροπλήεστατον; 2.5: ἀεικέα θεσμόν; 2.9: ὑπερβασίησιν ἄτισσε; 2.19: μέγα φρονέων; 2.54: ἐπέεσσιν ὑπερφιάλοισι.²¹ This characterisation by the narrator is confirmed by the words of one of the Argonauts after the battle (2.150: ἀγηνορίη)²² and of Lycus in his

¹⁹Campbell (1974), 40–1.

²⁰See Campbell (1974), 40 & ad 3.171–95; Cuypers (1997), 4; Knight (1995), 133; Köhnken (1965), 96; Vian i, 134. This sharp contrast is continued in the boxing-match, which has therefore often been likened to a victory of "gods over giants, civilization over barbarism" (Deforest [1981: 72]). See also Fränkel (1952), 146; Green ad 2.30–4; Hunter, *Literary Studies*, 28; Rose (1984), 124f.

²¹Köhnken (1965), 95f. Similarly used in relation to Aeetes: 3.15: ὑπερφίαλος; 3.428: Aeetes' ἀεθλον: ὑπερφιάλόν περ ἑόντα; 3.492–3; 3.517: μέγα φρονέων; 4.212: Αἰήτη ὑπερήνορι; 4.1051; 4.1083. For ὑπερφίαλος see Campbell ad 3.14–5: "One who is ὑπερφίαλος oversteps the bounds of μέτρον, 'due measure' in the field of human conduct."

²²See on the nature of these speeches De Jong, 'The Voice of Anonymity: *Tis*-speeches in the *Iliad*,' *Eranos* 85 (1987), 69–84.

after-dinner speech to the Argonauts (2.792: ὑπερβασία). As we see here, the concept of *hybris* is often strengthened by the use of a specific vocabulary, expressing the arrogance and excess to which those characters are inclined. For example, many ὑπερ-compounds, epithets such as ἀτάσθαλος,²³ and verbs expressing the infringement of someone else's τιμή (ἀτιμάζειν; ἀτίζειν) are found.²⁴ Ἀγήνορος (2.2)²⁵ here receives a negative connotation in the light of the presence of other words such as ὑπεροπλήεστατον, which combines notions of violence, overbearing strength and arrogance.²⁶

Hybris, or the *deliberate* infliction of dishonour on others, not only strangers, but also family, friends or kinsfolk, was traditionally, in the works of, for example, Homer and Hesiod, associated with Giants, Centaurs, Amazons, Men of the Bronze and Iron Ages, Monsters slain by Heracles, and Barbarians.²⁷ Similarly in the *Argonautica*, we see that *hybris* is displayed by the Lemnian women (cf. 1.609), the Amazons,²⁸ the Earthborn Monsters, the Mossynoeci (cf. 2.1117) and the tyrants the Argonauts encounter (i.e. Pelias, Amycus and Aeetes). The arrogant and reckless behaviour characteristic of *hybris* reveals itself in a love of violence, a failure to respect the laws, customs and rights of others, and a transgression of both human and divine laws. In general, because of the nature of the *Argonautica* and the *Odyssey*, which are both concerned with travelling, the concept of *hybris* is inextricably linked with the hospitality theme; in the *Odyssey*, for example, *hybris* is specifically applied to the behaviour of the suitors and the

²³E.g. 1.1317–8 (Eurystheus); 3.389–90 (Aeetes); 4.1092–3 (Echetus).

²⁴Cf. Fisher (1992), 176. Consider, for example, the characterisation of Idas. The connection with *hybris* is emphasised again and again: 1.151: ὑπέρβιος; 1.478: θεοὺς δ' ἀνέηκεν ἀτίζειν; 1.480: σὺ δ' ἀτάσθαλα πάμπαν ξειπας. See also Campbell ad 3.390 quoting Hes. *Th.* 995–6, in which Pelias is called βασιλεὺς ὑπερήνωρ, ὕβριστής Πελῆης and ἀτάσθαλος.

²⁵See Köhnken (1965), 95f.

²⁶In Homer used of Thersites (*Il.* 2.276) and the suitors (*Od.* 1.106; *Od.* 1.144); in Hes. *Th.* 641 of the Titans.

²⁷See, for example, the discussions in Cairns (1993); Fisher (1992); Hall (1989).

²⁸Cf. 2.987–9: οὐδὲ θέμιστας / τίουσai πεδῖον Δοιάνπιον ἀμφενέμοντο· / ἀλλ' ὕβρις στονόεσσα καὶ Ἄρεος ἔργα μεμήλει.

Cyclops.²⁹ As Fisher observes, it concerns "behaviour essentially antithetical to, and threatening the fundamental bases of, civilised living in communities."³⁰

It is clear, not only from the narrator's introduction but also from the king's own words, that Amycus deliberately transgresses these conventions.³¹ ἄτισσε (2.9) is a strong verb, often associated with dishonour towards the gods.³² The verb is used in a similar context in 3.180–1, when Jason describes Aeetes' possible reaction to their request of the Golden Fleece in the traditional terms of the provision of denial of hospitality (3.180–1: εἴ κ' ἐθέλοι φιλότῃτι δέρος χρύσειον ὀπάσσαι, / ἦε καὶ οὐ, πῖσυνος δὲ βίῃ μετιόντας ἀτίσσει).³³ Both instances echo Eumaeus' words to Odysseus in which he persuasively explains the behaviour expected of a good host in very similar terms (*Od.* 14.56–7: ξεῖν', οὐ μοι θέμις ἔστ', οὐδ' εἰ κακίων σέθεν ἔλθοι, / ξεῖνον ἀτιμῆσαι).³⁴

The violation of all the laws of hospitality is already foreshadowed in verse 5 where the addition of καί to ξείνοισιν underlines the severity of a crime committed against the laws of hospitality.³⁵ Strangers are traditionally protected by Zeus and, although the god is not explicitly mentioned here, the narrator's words in 2.154 (τὰ δὲ πάντα Διὸς βουλῇσι τέτυκτο) seem to refer not only to the disappearance of Heracles, but indirectly also to the victory of Polydeuces over Amycus and of the Argonauts over the Bebrycians.³⁶

²⁹See e.g. for the suitors *Od.* 1.368; *Od.* 14.92; *Od.* 14.95. See also Fisher (1992), 151 & 165. See for the Cyclopes *Od.* 9.275–6: οὐ γὰρ Κύκλωπες Διὸς αἰγιόχου ἀλέγουσιν / οὐδὲ θεῶν μακάρων, ἐπεὶ ἦ πολὺ φέρτεροί εἰμεν.

³⁰Fisher (1992), 500.

³¹See also Rose (1984), 118; Köhnken (1965), 96.

³²Towards the gods: 1.478; 1.614–5; 3.64–5; 3.74–5; 4.1100. Interestingly, in his speech to the assembled Colchians, Aeetes, the displayer of *hybris* par excellence, accuses the Argonauts of the behaviour he is himself guilty of (3.582–7).

³³Cf. 2.23. See Campbell ad 3.181.

³⁴See also *Od.* 15.543; *Od.* 17.56.

³⁵See also Cuypers ad 2.5–7; Köhnken (1965), 98. Rose (1984), 118 comments that "his total disregard of the conventions protecting the welfare of strangers marks the Argonauts' entry into a world where they can no longer safely rely on the observance of familiar customs." Considering, for example, their visit to Lycus and previous visits to the Lemnians and Doliones, this seems an exaggeration.

³⁶Köhnken (1965), 96.

ὅς τ' ἐπὶ καὶ ξείνοισιν ἀεικέα θεσμόν ἔθηκε,
μή τιν' ἀποστείχειν πρὶν πειρήσασθαι ἑοῖο
πυγμαχίης, πολέας δὲ περικτιόνων ἐδάξε. (2.5–7)

Throughout the introduction, comparison is invited between the Cyclopes and the Bebrycians. But whereas the Cyclopes are in fact devoid of any civilisation (cf. *Od.* 9.106ff.; especially: *Od.* 9.106: Κυκλώπων ... ὑπερφιάλων ἀθεμίστων; *Od.* 9.112: τοῖσιν δ' οὔτ' ἀγοραὶ βουλευφόροι οὔτε θέμιστες; *Od.* 9.114–5: θεμιστεύει δὲ ἕκαστος / παίδων ἢδ' ἀλόχων, οὐδ' ἀλλήλων ἀλέγουσι), the Bebrycians do have laws and neighbours (even though they continually fight them).³⁷ The Cyclopes are in this respect more like the Amazons who are also explicitly said not to honour any laws (2.987–8: οὐδὲ θέμιστας / τίουσιν).³⁸ Amycus, on the other hand, will emphasise again and again that his actions are based on his *own* laws (2.5: θεσμόν; 2.11: ἔοικεν; 2.12: θέσμιόν ἐστιν; 2.17: ἐμᾶς ... θέμιστας; cf. 2.23; 2.148–50).³⁹ Considering their nature, these are appropriately labelled as ἀεικέα by the narrator. This adjective, "associated with discredit in the social and military sphere,"⁴⁰ implies moral judgement and shows the personal engagement of the narrator, steering the reader towards condemnation of the law.⁴¹

It is little wonder that Amycus chooses to compete with strangers in boxing, one of the more violent and aggressive games. We may safely infer from 2.7 that Amycus has so far only killed neighbours. This is the first — and last — time that a true foreigner, a real challenge, is encountered.⁴² During his visit to the Phaeacians, Odysseus recognises the dangers of competing with one's host and

³⁷See Heubeck ad *Od.* 9.106–15. See also Knight (1995), 132: "both of them contravene the normal standards of Greek hospitality."

³⁸See Rose (1984) 118–9.

³⁹See Campbell ad 3.209, who comments that θέσμινα refer to "established codes of behaviour and institutions." Contrast with Alcinous' just laws (cf. 4.1200ff.; 4.1207: θέμιστας ἑᾶς).

⁴⁰Campbell ad 3.420.

⁴¹One of the so-called evaluative and affective words, see De Jong, *Narrators*, 208 & 218–9. In the *Argonautica*, the adjective is otherwise always found in direct speech (cf. 1.816; 3.420; 4.91; 4.739; 4.748).

⁴²See also Fränkel, *Noten*, 155.

is therefore extremely cautious, as a defeat would entail the loss of ἀρετή for the loser.

ξείνος γάρ μοι ὄδ' ἐστί· τίς ἄν φιλέοντι μάχοιτο;
 ἄφρων δὴ κείνός γε καὶ οὐτιδανὸς πέλει ἀνὴρ,
 ὅς τις ξεινοδόκῳ ἔριδα προφέρηται ἀέθλων
 δῆμῳ ἐν ἄλλοδαπῷ. (Od. 8.208–11)

The incompatibility of πυγμαχίης with ἐδάξε, effectively placed at the beginning and the end of the verse (2.7), indicates that there is something wrong: it will be a contest of life and death, rather than for a prize and honour.⁴³ The rarity of the construction (πειρήσασθαι ἐοῖο / πυγμαχίης) and the predominantly spondaic rhythm of line 6 ensure that all the emphasis is laid upon ἐοῖο, which thus receives its full ominous force.⁴⁴ 'To test *his* boxing' (i.e. his style of boxing) implies that the contest will be fought according to Amycus' rules, not those one would normally expect in a fist fight. Unlike Aeetes who promises at least the Golden Fleece in return for the completion of the task (even though he is certain that Jason will not succeed), Amycus does not mention any reward given in return.⁴⁵ The repetition of this verb in 2.768 (ἐδάξον), where Jason tells King Lycus of the slaughtering of the Bebrycians by the Argonauts, illustrates the total reversal of the situation. While δαίξειν, commonly used in Homeric battle context, implies violent death, δηρινθῆναι, on the other hand, used in Amycus' speech in exactly the same position of the verse (2.16), emphasises a competitive element.⁴⁶ According to Amycus at least, they will be contending on traditional terms. For the reader, the information given in the short

⁴³The verb is used of brutal and relentless slaying: 1.62; 1.814; 1.1002; 2.432; 3.415. On the nature of this battle see also Knight (1995), 69. Cf. 2.50. Odysseus, on the other hand, only briefly contemplated and immediately dismissed the possibility of killing Irus in the fight (Od. 18.90–2).

⁴⁴See Vian (1973), 82 [citing Campbell]. Cuypers (1997), 39, n. 10 has argued that ἐοῖο rather receives emphasis through enjambement of πυγμαχίης in 2.7.

⁴⁵See also Rose (1984), 121.

⁴⁶Cf. 1.1343; 4.16; Theoc. 22.70.

and provocative speech at first seems mainly superfluous and the speech's main interest lies in the exposure of Amycus' insincerity and true character.⁴⁷

c) Amycus' speech and Polydeuces' reply (2.11ff.)

Amycus' aggressive approach is clear from the fact that he starts his speech immediately (2.10: *παρασχεδόν*).⁴⁸ The speech contains both elements which manipulate *topoi* belonging to a conventional speech of welcome and those typical of the boasting before a boxing-match.⁴⁹ This establishes another link between the characters of the tyrants Pelias, Aeetes and Amycus: they are all perceived as boasters.⁵⁰ Amycus' aggression, arrogance and eagerness are clearly shown by the use of the imperative (2.11: *κέκλυθ'*; 2.16: *στήσασθ'*) and by the fact that he is not willing to wait but wishes to start the fight immediately (2.16: *καταυτόθι*). From a position of authority and imagined superiority, the king assures himself of the attention of the listeners.⁵¹

Κέκλυθ', ἀλίπλαγκτοι, τὰ περ ἴδμεναι ὕμιν ἔοικεν.
 Οὐ τίνα θέσμιόν ἐστιν ἀφορμηθέντα νέεσθαι
 ἀνδρῶν ὀθνείων ὃς κεν Βέβρυξι πελάσση,
 πρὶν χεῖρεσσιν ἐμῇσιν ἑὰς ἀνὰ χεῖρας ἀεῖραι.
 Τῷ καὶ μοι τὸν ἄριστον ἀποκριδὼν οἷον ὁμίλου
 πυγμαχίῃ στήσασθε καταυτόθι δηρινθῆναι.
 Εἰ δ' ἂν ἀπηλεγέοντες ἐμὰς πατέοιτε θέμιστας,
 ἧ κέν τις στυγερῶς κρατερῇ ἐπιέσσετ' ἀνάγκη.
 Ὡς ῥα μέγα φρονέων. (2.11–9)

The question of identity is usually of crucial importance in a hospitality scene, and, although in principle each visitor has a right to a meal and bed, the status of a

⁴⁷Fränkel (1952), 144, n. 2 points out that it was "probably meant as a refinement on the Homeric verbatim iteration of entire lines." See on Amycus' insincerity also Cuypers (1997), 43 and Knight's comments (1995: 63) ad 2.57. Amycus' hypocrisy is again emphasised by the narrator in 2.49–50: *καὶ οἱ ὀρέχθαι / θυμὸς ἐελδομένῳ στήθεων ἐξ αἵμα κεδάσσαι*.

⁴⁸See Campbell ad 3.440.

⁴⁹See Knight (1995), 63.

⁵⁰Amycus: 2.22: ὃ τις εὖχεαι and 2.58; Aeetes: 2.1204: *στεῦται*; 3.579: *στεῦτο*; 3.408; Pelias: 3.337.

⁵¹Cf. 2.209; 2.311; 4.1347; 4.1645.

guest does determine to a certain extent how well he will be treated. In this case, however, Amycus shows his contempt for the τιμή of his visitors by his blatant rejection of the whole question of their identity. Irrespective of this and for no apparent reason (and thus not like Cyzicus, but like the Amazons), the king seeks to engage in battle whoever visits his shores. When the Argonauts approach the country of the Amazons, it is only Zeus' intervention which prevents a seemingly inevitable, and certainly disastrous, encounter (2.993–4).⁵²

Amycus' haughtiness reveals itself in his scornful address of the Argonauts as ἀλίπλαγκτοι, 'sea-wanderers' (cf. also 2.15: ὁμίλου). Like Aeetes who later more explicitly accuses the Argonauts of being pirates, Amycus implies this in his address, echoing the familiar concerns voiced in *Od.* 3.71–4; *Od.* 8.161–4; *Od.* 9.252–5. But, although Polyphemus strongly suspects Odysseus and his companions of being pirates, he still asks them who they are and gives an alternative option. As was predicted in 2.8–9, the king immediately makes clear that he is not interested in any information and, showing his need for control, that he will rather dictate to them than listen to their adventures (2.11: τὰ περ ἴδμενοι ὕμιν ἔοικεν).

The small, but significant change in 2.13 is revealing: Amycus deliberately does not refer to them as ξεῖνοι but ὄθνεῖοι. Whereas ξεῖνος is used to denote both stranger and guest-friend (sometimes simultaneously), and each time derives its specific nuance from the context in which it is used, ὄθνεῖος is less flexible and invariably used with the pejorative meaning of 'hostile outsider/alien,' someone with whom no relations are entertained at all.⁵³ Amycus' contempt can be contrasted with Aeetes' initial concern for the identity of his guest. Aeetes asks Argus who his companions are (3.315–6: εἶπατ' ἀριφραδέως, ἥδ' οἳ τινες οἶδ' ἐφέπονται / ἄνδρες), but then quickly decides that he knows enough and, unlike most hosts, does not desire to hear anymore about his guest's backgrounds (3.401: Ξεῖνε, τί κεν τὰ ἕκαστα διηγεκέως

⁵²Cf. also 2.985–6; 2.989; 2.995.

⁵³See Campbell ad 3.388–9. Cf. 1.869–70; 2.234–7; 3.401–5; 3.589–93; 4.713–7; 4.1040–1.

ἀγορεύουσιν).⁵⁴ When Argus told his story, he naturally assumed that Aeetes would want to know this (3.332: Χρειώ δ' ἦν ἐθέλης ἐξίδμεναι, οὐ σ' ἐπικεύσω).⁵⁵ Likewise, Circe immediately asks Medea these questions after completing the rituals of purification (4.720–1: Αἶψα δὲ μύθῳ / χρειῶ ναυτιλίην τε διακριδὼν ἐξερέεινεν).

The slightly pleonastic expression ἀφορμηθέντα νέεσθαι (2.12) emphasises that it is now too late for them to go away without taking up the challenge. Πλατέοιτε (2.17), a strong verb used mainly in tragedy of the criminal infraction of laws and oaths,⁵⁶ here vividly illustrates that their ignoring of his laws would constitute a serious offence. The verb, a *hapax legomenon* in the *Argonautica*, is especially effective here: if they do not obey his orders and fight with their *hands*, they are trampling on his laws with their *feet*. Amycus had emphasised in 2.14 (χείρεσσιν ἐμῇσιν ἑὰς ... χεῖρας) that they will have to face the king himself (cf. also 2.15: μοι).⁵⁷ The speech is completed with a rather pompous and pretentious, but nevertheless vague (2.18: τις), threat of total battle in case they choose not to obey his orders.⁵⁸ The conditional in 2.17–8 emphasises that, although it is all in their own hands whether there will be a war or not, Amycus has certainly no other choice than to inflict this upon them in the event that they choose to ignore his orders. Ironically, the Argonauts will honour the address given to them by Amycus in the opening verse of his speech; like the feared pirates, they will defeat the Bebrycians in battle, raid the land and take for themselves the necessary provisions, usually given to a visitor by the host (2.167: ληίδα τ' εἰσβήσαντες ὅσῃν χρεὼ ἦεν ἄγεσθαι).⁵⁹

After Amycus' speech and Polydeuces' reply, the rest of the episode, as previously said, is taken up with the boxing-match and battle. Polydeuces' reply

⁵⁴See Campbell ad 3.401. In Theoc. 22.54, it is the guest rather than the host who asks this question: χαῖρε, ξέν', ὅπως ἐσσι. τίνας βροτοὶ ὧν ὅδε χώρος.

⁵⁵See Campbell ad 3.332.

⁵⁶Cf. *Il.* 4.157; *S. Ant.* 745; *Aesch. Eum.* 110; *Aesch. Ch.* 644.

⁵⁷For the emphasis of hands see also 2.68–9; 2.78 and 2.91–2 and Knight (1995), 63.

⁵⁸I follow here Vian's reading (1973: 83).

⁵⁹Rose (1984), 118.

highlights the slight done to them by Amycus when he emphasises that they also do not even know who their host claims to be. Although Polydeuces seemingly complies with the king's orders (but note the emphatic position of θεσμοῖς in 2.23 and the imperative starting his speech), the echo of ἀπηλεγέοντες (2.17) in 2.25 (ἀπηλεγέως) and Amycus' irate reaction show the true nature of the speech.⁶⁰ Amycus' actions rightly engender among the Argonauts the wish to take revenge and thus demonstrate, as was indeed also the case for the Cyclops and suitors, the dangers, for tyrant and people alike (2.110; 2.129: ὑπερφιάλους; 2.758: ὑπερφιάλοις), of violating the τιμή of the heroes.

"Ἴσχεο νῦν, μηδ' ἄμμι κακὴν, ὃ τις εὔχεαι εἶναι,
φαῖνε βίην· θεσμοῖς γὰρ ὑπεῖξομεν, ὥς ἀγορεύεις.
Αὐτὸς ἐκὼν ἤδη τοι ὑπὶσχομαι ἀντιτάσθαι.
Ὡς φάτ' ἀπηλεγέως. (2.22–5)

There are a few more references to the hospitality theme in the rest of the episode. Each time, as in the introduction, these underline the absence of normal procedures. When Amycus and Polydeuces take off their mantles prior to the fight, Polydeuces' finely woven one (contrasting with Amycus' dark and coarse garment) was given to him as a ξεινήτιον by one of the Lemnian women (cf. *Od.* 21.40).⁶¹ Although the hospitality given by the women can by no means be considered exemplary, the mention of a guest-gift in this context emphasises again the absence of any gifts. In his second speech, Amycus again deliberately transgresses the conventions of hospitality by his perverse distortion of some common motifs. In 2.55, he ironically uses the verb ἐγγυαλίζειν, commonly found of the granting of gifts in a hospitality context,⁶² when he 'generously' grants Polydeuces the choice of gauntlet so that he will not be able to blame the

⁶⁰Cuyppers' distinction seems somewhat artificial (1997 ad 2.25): "The adverb echoes Amycus' earlier εἰ δ' ἂν ἀπηλεγέοντες, κτλ., which, in a sense, is answered here, not by Polydeuces, but by the narrator."

⁶¹See Rose (1984), 122–3.

⁶²E.g. 1.245; 1.770; 2.1148–9; 3.1205–6; 4.1554–5; 4.1752.

king for losing the contest.⁶³ The king, unshaken in his belief that he will win this fight, somewhat naively expects the Argonauts to tell others about *his* victory (and *their* defeat). This concern for his κλέος, as expressed in 2.57, is traditional for an epic hero (cf. *Od.* 8.101–3; *Od.* 8.241ff.).⁶⁴ It is not enough just to win a match; ὄρετή has to be gained and sustained in the eyes of others.

Τῶνδ' εἰ τοι ὄν κ' ἐθέλησθα πάλου ἄτερ ἐγγυαλίξω
 αὐτὸς ἐκὼν, ἵνα μὴ μοι ἀτέμβηαι μετόπισθεν.
 Ἄλλ' ἀβόλεον περὶ χειρὶ· δαεῖς δέ κεν ἄλλω ἐνίσποις
 ὅσσοι ἐγὼ ῥινοῦς τε βοῶν περίεμι ταμέσθαι
 ἄζαλέας ἀνδρῶν τε παρηίδας αἵματι φύρσαι. (2.55–9)

Amycus' bragging naturally backfires: when the heroes visit Lycus' palace, it will be Polydeuces' victory and Amycus' defeat that are celebrated. The κλέος of the Argonauts has preceded the heroes and Amycus is branded an hybristic tyrant.

⁶³Cf. *Od.* 9.369–70. Knight (1995), 69 also mentions *Od.* 20.292–8, in which the suitor Ctesippus similarly "parodies the language of hospitality."

⁶⁴See also Cuypers (1997), 57–9.

VI PHINEUS EPISODE (2.176–536)

a) *Introduction*

The visit of the Argonauts to the residence of the aged prophet Phineus, punished with blindness and hunger as a result of revealing too much of the will of Zeus, has attracted much attention from scholars;¹ particularly with regard to the information this episode provides about the nature of prophecy and the role of the gods in the *Argonautica*. Rich in allusions to Homeric models and adaptations of epic motifs and formulas, this episode certainly merits close analysis. The relation between host and guest, Phineus' prophecy to the Argonauts and various hospitality motifs will be studied in particular.

After a lengthy introduction concerning the seer (2.178–93), an encounter between Phineus and the Argonauts follows (2.194–208). As a result of his plea for help (2.209–39), the sons of Boreas agree to chase the Harpies away after receiving confirmation from the prophet himself that they are not acting against the will of the gods by their actions (2.240–61). While the brothers acquit themselves of this task (2.262–300), the traditional evening preparations of sacrifice, bath and dinner take place (2.301–9). Waiting for the Boreads to return, Phineus tells the heroes about their voyage to Colchis in a prophecy (2.310–407). Two other sets of speeches and an account in indirect speech by Zetes of their successful defeat of the Harpies take up the entire rest of the night (2.408–50). The following day the neighbours arrive as usual with their customary gifts for Phineus and while his favourite, Paraebius, fetches a sheep for a sacrifice, the seer tells the story of the shepherd's life (2.450–97). The Argonauts are prevented from sailing away for forty days by Etesian winds which have been sent by Zeus, as explained in an extensive aetiology (2.498–536). At the end of this long

¹Cuyppers (1997), 193ff.; DeForest (1981), 74–8; Hunter, *Literary Studies*, 90–5; Knight (1995), 169–76; Levin (1971), 150–68; Nyberg (1992), 82–6; Vian i, 142–9.

period, the Argonauts row way from this land. A detailed account is given only of the crucial first two days of their visit.

b) Introduction of the prophet and his encounter with the Argonauts (2.178–208)

A short description of the journey of the heroes through the dangerous waters of the Bosphorus (yet another experience with turbulent, tempestuous waters; cf. esp. 2.271–2)² and their actual arrival at the Bithynian land (2.176–7: Ἡματι δ' ἄλλω / ἀντιπέρην γαίῃ Θυνηίδι πείσματο' ἀνῆψαν) is followed by an evocative introduction of the seer by the narrator (2.178–193). In a nice example of ring composition, the Argonauts finally leave again by loosening their hawsers from the land (cf. 2.536). The introductory verses concentrate fully on the torments sent upon Phineus by Zeus himself because of his gross offence; hardly any details are given about the house itself or the nature of the land. Information given in these lines as background information for the readers is repeated by the seer in his speeches to the Argonauts. During this section in which the seer is above all depicted as a tragic figure of pity, expectations are raised for the first encounter of the Argonauts with the prophet. The emphasis is on the implications of the punishment and its effects on the senses: not only can the seer not *touch* food, but the whole enjoyment of food is being taken away (2.184: γάνυσθαι; 2.196: ἀπόνυσθαι). Similarly, the blindness has taken away 'sweet' light (2.184: γλυκερὸν φῶς). As part of the punishment, the Harpies leave an awful smell on the food that they do leave behind for the seer, thereby effectively cutting the prophet off from any human contact.³ The Harpies are said to snatch the food away from the seer's mouth, creating each time the cruel illusion that the seer might be able to eat the food this time. Suffering himself from many troubles, he

²Fowler (1989), 174 points in her discussion of 2.164–77 to the combination of *skenographia* and *skiagraphia*, together producing a "baroque effect."

³See West ad *Od.* 4.441–2 on the rarity of the mention of smell in epic.

nevertheless relieves many others of their miseries by his prophetic art, which is further emphasised by the verbal repetition of *πήματ'* in 2.179 and 2.454.

The enormity of Phineus' crime is expressed clearly by the severity of a threefold punishment. That the gift of prophecy does not safeguard one against Fate is also shown by the lives of Mopsus and Idmon (cf. 1.80; 2.817). The crucial difference is that, whereas we are informed that Phineus' fate was a punishment for his own reckless behaviour,⁴ no such information is given in the case of the other two prophets. Of the three punishments, blindness (2.184: *ἐκ δ' ἔλετ' ὀφθαλμῶν γλυκερὸν φάος*) was to be expected because of the common connection between blindness, prophecy and singing.⁵ In the *Odyssey*, the prophet Teiresias and singer Demodocus are both blind (*Od.* 10.493, *Od.* 12.267 (Teiresias): *μάντιος ἄλαοῦ*; *Od.* 8.62–4 (Demodocus): *ἐρίηρον ἀοιδόν, / τὸν περὶ Μοῦσ' ἐφίλησε, δίδου δ' ἀγαθὸν τε κακὸν τε· / ὀφθαλμῶν μὲν ἄμερσε, δίδου δ' ἠδεῖαν ἀοιδήν*). Nevertheless, tragedy seems to be the most likely source for the description.⁶ Odysseus' sceptre (*Od.* 13.437: *δῶκε δέ οἱ σκῆπτρον*), an attribute also carried by the prophet Teiresias (*Od.* 11.91: *χρῦσεον σκῆπτρον ἔχων*) and King Nestor (*Od.* 3.412), is recalled in 2.198 (*βάκτρῳ σκηπτόμενος*).⁷ The specific mention here of a *βάκτρον*, a stick used especially by the old and the blind,⁸ focuses the attention again on the sufferings of the prophet.

The verbal parallellism between the description of Polyxo, one of the Lemnian women, and Phineus has been noted by several scholars (1.669–70: *γῆροί δὴ ῥικνοῖσιν ἐπισκάζουσα πόδεσσι, / βάκτρῳ ἐρειδομένη, περὶ δὲ μενέαιν' ἀγορεῦσαι*).⁹ Both Polyxo and Phineus derive authority from their

⁴His crime, however, of telling too much of the will of Zeus in order to help others is presented in an honourable light. Cf. Levin (1971), 152; see for divine punishment of human sins also Heubeck ad *Od.* 12.260–402.

⁵Buxton, (1980), 27–30; Cuypers (1997), 225.

⁶Hunter, *Literary Studies*, 91 mentions Odysseus' transformation into a beggar by Athena as a possible source (*Od.* 13.429ff.: old age and blindness).

⁷Cf. *Od.* 17.202–3: *πτωχῷ λευγαλέῳ ἐναλίγκιον ἠδὲ γέροντι, / σκηπτόμενον*.

⁸Cf. Bulloch ad Call. *h.* 5.127 (*δωσὼ καὶ μέγα βάκτρον*), who also comments on the magical powers of the staff carried by prophets.

⁹Campbell, *Echoes* ad loc; Levin (1971), 150–1.

age, a theme developed subsequently throughout this whole episode;¹⁰ Polyxo also does so from her position of trust as Hypsipyle's old nurse and Phineus clearly from the divine origin of his prophecies, which were a gift from the god Apollo.¹¹ Even Phineus' first speech is said to be uttered in prophecy (2.208: *μαντοσύνησι*). Authority is for example shown in the fact that his first three speeches all start with an imperative (2.209: *Κλῦτε*; 2.256: *Σίγα*; 2.311: *Κλῦτε*; cf. also 2.425: *καὶ δέ με μηκέτι τῶνδε περαιτέρω ἐξερέεσθε*).

The episode shows therefore a more positive side of old age (i.e. the possession of wisdom based on knowledge and experience, available to counsel proverbially reckless young men: 2.326–7; 2.256: *τέκνον*; 2.420: *ὦ τέκος*),¹² as well as the negative connotations and limitations of old age (2.183 [narrator's words]: *Τῷ καὶ οἱ γῆρας μὲν ἐπὶ δηναιὸν ἴαλλεν*; 2.199–201; 2.446–7; 2.221 [Phineus' words]: *καὶ γῆρας ἀμήρυτον ἐς τέλος ἔλκω*).¹³ Phineus portrays himself as literally dragging out old age. This ambivalent attitude towards old age already exists in the Homeric epics. Long life, which could be an honour in itself and serve as a compensation for other punishments as claimed by a version of the Phineus myth given in [Hes.] *Catalogue* ([Hes.] *fr.* 157, MW) and

¹⁰Cf. 2.254; 2.256; 2.263; 2.266; 2.301; 2.309; 2.411; 2.419; 2.453; 2.463; 2.495. See also 2.769 (Jason's story to Lycus): *θεοπροπίας*.

¹¹See for references to the divine origin of his prophecies: 2.180–1; 2.195–6; 2.213–4; 2.234–5; 2.247; 2.257–8; 2.294; 2.311–6; 2.421–5; 2.458–61.

¹²Cf. 1.693 (Polyxo): *Ὀπλοτέρησι δὲ πάγχυ τάδε φράζεσθαι ἄνωγα*; *Od.* 2.16; *Od.* 7.294 (*αἰεὶ γάρ τε νεώτεροι ἀφραδέουσιν*); *Il.* 1.259–61 (*ἀλλὰ πίθεσθ' ἄμφω δὲ νεωτέρω ἔστων ἐμεῖο .. καὶ οὐ ποτέ μ' οἷ γ' ἀθέριζον*); *Il.* 1.272–4; *Il.* 4.318–23; *Il.* 9.52ff. (Nestor ~ Diomedes); *Il.* 23.306–48; *Il.* 23.587–90. In the case of Halitherses the same connection between old age and good counsel is made (*Od.* 2.157ff.; *Od.* 24.451ff., see 454: *κέκλυτε*). Heubeck therefore comments ad *Od.* 24.451–4: "he is not credited with supernatural mantic powers but with wisdom and clear understanding which enable him to draw conclusions about the future from the past." See also Garvie ad *Od.* 7.293–4 and Janko ad *Il.* 14.136–7, who points out that the weight of the words of the old can also be inferred from the fact that in Homer gods take explicitly the appearances of old men in order to make their counsel listened to. The affectionate address of *τέκος/τέκνον* by an elder to someone younger is well-known: e.g. *Il.* 9.437; *Il.* 23.626; *Il.* 24.425; *Od.* 4.611; *Od.* 7.22. Dickey's interesting observation (1996: 68) that if in prose speakers other than parents use *τέκνον*, they are "usually in some sense *in loco parentis* for the addressees: tutors, old nurses, friends of their family" also seems to be appropriate here. Phineus uses this form of address to assert his authority again. The only other instance of this vocative in the *Argonautica* is in 1.282, when Alcimedede addresses her son.

¹³Negative images of old age are also given in 1.263–4 (*σὺν δέ σφι πατὴρ ὅλοφ' ὑπὸ γῆραι / ἐντυπὰς ἐν λεχέεσσι καλυψάμενος γοάσκειν*) and 1.684 (*κουρότερα δ' ἄγονοι στυγερόν ποτὶ γῆρας ἴκησθε*). See also Lateiner (1995), 180 and Falkner (1989), 27 (*γῆρας* is for example called *χαλεπόν*, *λυγρόν*, *όλοόν* and *στυγερόν* in the *Iliad*).

Teiresias' fate in Callimachus' fifth *Hymn* (Call. *h.* 5.128: δωσῶ καὶ βιότῳ τέρμα πολυχρόνιον),¹⁴ is here clearly part of Phineus' punishment.¹⁵ As the episode progresses, one sees a move from the initial figure modelled principally on both Priam and the beggar Odysseus, to one modelled more on the hospitable Eumaeus and the elderly Nestor, kindly entertaining the young Telemachus in the *Odyssey* and admonishing Diomedes not to be too reckless in the *Iliad*.¹⁶ The contrast between the old and young is continued in the implicit comparison of the causes of the breathlessness of the Boreads, eager to bring their message (2.436: ἀγγελίῃ) to the Argonauts as soon as possible (2.430–1: ἔτ' ἄσπετον ἐκ καμάτοιο / ἄσθμ' ἀναφυσιόων),¹⁷ and Phineus' fainting and gasping for breath after only walking from his bed to the door.

Αὐτίκα δ' εἰσαΐων ἐνοπὴν καὶ δοῦπον ὁμίλου
τούσδ' αὐτοὺς παριόντας ἐπήισεν ὧν οἱ ἰόντων
θέσφατον ἐκ Διὸς ἦεν ἐῆς ἀπόνασθαι ἐδωδῆς. (2.194–6)

From a dramatic point of view, αὐτίκα δ' (2.194) forms an effective transition from the characterisation of the prophet to his actions, marking the suddenness of the arrival of the Argonauts for the seer and his immediate and frantic reaction. Contrary to most hosts, who, when they see visitors reach their country, are busily engaged in activities or rise from their seats in their palaces, Phineus is stirred from his bed by the arrival of the strangers (2.197: Ὀρθωθείς δ' εὐνῆθεν). This seems to be caused by his weakness, rather than to result solely from the heroes' arrival early in the morning (2.199–200: τρέμε δ' ἄψα νισομένοιο /

¹⁴As is in this case the gift of prophecy itself (Call. *h.* 5.120).

¹⁵Cf. *HyAphr* 218ff. (Tithonus' case). See for the different conflicting versions of the cause of Phineus' blindness Buxton (1980), 28–9; Hunter, *Literary Studies*, 92; Knight (1995), 169–70 & 176; Levin (1971), 152–5; Nyberg (1992), 84; Vian i, 142ff.

¹⁶A sympathetic portrait is painted of the basic goodness of the seer, determined to help others despite his own sufferings without thinking of private advantage (2.185–6; 2.453–5: τοῖς ὁ γέρον πάντεσσιν, ὃ τις καὶ ἀφαιρὸς ἴκοιτο, ἔχραεν ἐνδυκέως, πολέων δ' ἀπὸ πῆματ' ἔλυσεν / μαντοσύνη; 2.467: μελιχίως ... μετηύδα; 2.469–70: ὧς καὶ ὅδ' ἀνὴρ / τοῖος ἐὼν δεῦρ' ἦλθεν, ἐὼν μόρον ὄφρα δαίη).

¹⁷The breathlessness of the Boreads reinforces the notion of the simultaneity of action, as expressed in 2.301. For this narrative technique in the *Argonautica* see Campbell ad 3.275 and Vian i, 149. At the same time, it stresses again the eagerness with which they have taken up this task.

ἀδρανίῃ γήρῳι τε). Poignantly, because of his blindness, the old man is said to *hear* the Argonauts come *past*.¹⁸ The detail given in 2.178 that Phineus' house is ἐπάκτιον, 'built upon the shore',¹⁹ explains why the seer is able to hear the Argonauts as soon as they reach the land. The touching of the walls of the house for orientation once again highlights the blindness of the seer (2.199). Ποριόντως (2.195), as defended by Vian,²⁰ emphasises (and voices) the fear of the seer that the Argonauts might leave again without having met and helped him, as was promised to him by Zeus in an oracle. These worries are not imaginary, as is shown by the fate of Iphias, the old priestess, who, desperate to say farewell to Jason as he leaves home, does not get the chance to do so because of her age (1.313–6).

Several episodes in the Homeric epics are recalled by verse 2.194. Odysseus' first explorations of what turns out to be Circe's island are to see εἴ πως ἔργα ἴδοιμι βροτῶν ἐνοπήν τε πυθοίμην (*Od.* 10.147). In *Od.* 16.6–10, the thud of the footsteps (*Od.* 16.10: ποδῶν δ' ὑπὸ δοῦπον ἀκούω)²¹ and, moreover, the friendly behaviour of the dogs alert Odysseus that someone (familiar) has arrived. In *Il.* 23, Achilles through exhaustion finally falls asleep at dawn, but is soon woken by the noise of the Greeks in assembly (*Il.* 23.233–5: οἱ δ' ἄμφ' Ἀτρεΐωνα ἀολλέες ἠγερέθοντο / τῶν μιν ἐπερχομένων ὄμαδος καὶ δοῦπος ἔγειρεν, / ἔξετο δ' ὀρθωθείς καὶ σφεας πρὸς μῦθον ἔειπεν). Elpenor, woken by the noise of his comrades (*Od.* 10.556: ἐτάρων ὄμαδον καὶ δοῦπον ἀκούσας), falls to his death from the roof of the building. In the Phineus episode, the results are less dramatic, although the description of the collapse of Phineus, resulting from his supreme effort to get to the door, is described in terms often applied to people dying. The dream simile (2.197: ἀκήριον ἥύτ' ὄνειρον), recalling *Od.* 11.222, in which the soul of the dead one

¹⁸See *Od.* 10.147 (Circe episode): εἴ πως ἔργα ἴδοιμι βροτῶν ἐνοπήν τε πυθοίμην.

¹⁹The adjective is usually used in the *Argonautica* of altars erected on the shore: e.g. 1.359, 1.403; 2.689.

²⁰Vian i, 185, n. 3.

²¹*Od.* 16.6: περί τε κτύπος ἦλθε ποδοῖν. See also *Il.* 10.354: ὁ δ' ἄρ' ἔστη δοῦπον ἀκούσας.

is compared to a dream, reinforces this connection with death (cf. *Od.* 11.222).²² This latter image contrasts with the heaviness of the limbs described in 2.202.

Here we have another host who has heard beforehand, through an oracle of the gods, of a visit by the Argonauts to his country. The situation thus created recalls the two visits of the Argonauts to the Doliones. Unlike Cyzicus, Phineus does not need first to assert the information given by the oracle, as is proven later by him in his first speech. Likewise, the fatal mistake made by the Doliones when the Argonauts visit them a second time in the middle of the night is not to be made by the prophet (2.195: *παριόντας ἐπήισεν* ~ 1.1022-3: *οὐδ' ... ἀνιόντας ... νημερτὲς ἐπήισαν*).²³ Phineus' case can also be contrasted with that of the Cyclops (*Od.* 9.507ff.), of Alcinous (*Od.* 13.172-8) and even of Circe (*Od.* 10.330-1: *ἦ σύ γ' Ὀδυσσεύς ἐσσι πολύτροπος, ὃν τέ μοι αἰεὶ / φάσκεν ἐλεύσεσθαι χρυσόρραπις ἀργειφόντης, / ἐκ Τροίης ἀνιόντα θοῇ σὺν νηϊ μελαίνῃ*),²⁴ who all remember *afterwards* the oracles given to them in the past. Similarly, Aeetes has been given a warning by an oracle, but suspects solely the sons of Phrixus and never his own daughter (3.597-600).²⁵

The ability to tell with precision the sacred will of Zeus (2.180: *οὐδ' ὅσσον ὀπίζετο καὶ Διὸς αὐτοῦ / χρείων ἀτρεκέως ἱερὸν νόον ἀνθρώποισι*)²⁶ has not yet (2.212: *ἔτι*) left Phineus as a result of his harsh punishment,²⁷ as his own identification of the Argonauts shows, mentioning Pelias and Jason, leader of the men, by their names (2.212-3: *ὕμεις ἀτρεκέως ἔτι μοι νόος οἶδεν ἕκαστα / ἦσι θεοπροπίησι*). The parenthesis in 2.211-4 explicitly focuses the attention on this capacity. Finally, proof of Phineus' skills is also given by Paraebius' immediate recognition of the Argonauts because of

²²See Campbell ad 3.446-7.

²³Vian i, 185, n. 3.

²⁴But see *Od.* 10.456-7: *οἶδα καὶ αὐτὴ / ἤμην ὅς' ἐν πόντῳ πάθετ' ἄλγεα ἰχθυόεντι, / ἦδ' ὅς' ἀνῆρσι τοῖσιν ἀνδρες ἐδηλήσαντ' ἐπὶ χέρσου.*

²⁵Pelias: 1.5-7.

²⁶Contrast with Circe's impeccable behaviour (4.700: *Τῷ καὶ ὀπιζομένη Ζηνὸς θέμιν ἴκεσίῳ*).

²⁷In the Lemnian episode this was, on the contrary, to be avoided at all costs (1.660-1: *μηδ' ἄμμε κατὰ χρεῖω μεθέποντες / ἀτρεκέως γνῶωσι*).

Phineus' prophecies about their crucial visit (2.457ff.: τούς γ' ἐνόησε· / πρὶν γὰρ δὴ νύ ποτ' ... μυθήσατο). Similarly in Teiresias' case, it is important to stress that *death* has not taken away his capacity to prophesy (cf. *Od.* 10.493–5).²⁸ Ἀτρεκέως and ἕκαστα are, as we shall see, keywords in this episode. The very brevity of this assertive identification (note the repetition of ὑμεῖς in 2.210 and 2.212) is all the more impressive if one realises that he, not able to see the heroes, initiated the conversation himself. Confidence in this ability was already expressed by the seer in using εἰ ἔτεδ' ὁ δὴ in 2.209.²⁹ In his introduction of Paraebius, Phineus refers again to this ability (2.483–4: Ἔγωγε μὲν, εἴτ' ἀφίκανεν, / ἀμπλακίην ἔγνων). Teiresias also knows who Odysseus is without having been told, but does not need to focus the attention of Odysseus explicitly on this in his speech (*Od.* 11.92: Διογενὲς Λαερτιάδη, πολυμήχαν' Ὀδυσσεύ).³⁰ It is only brought to our attention and to that of the Phaeacians by Odysseus' introduction of the prophet's words (*Od.* 11.91: ἐμὲ δ' ἔγνω καὶ προσέειπε). Being an important theme in this episode, Phineus draws the attention explicitly to this process by posing the question and immediately answering it himself. Verse 2.196 already foreshadows the point that it will not be possible to undo the punishment of the gods entirely: the sons of Boreas are able (and expected) only to chase the Harpies away; the fact that the blindness and old age are apparently irreversible points again to the enormity of his offence.

Ἐκ δ' ἐλθὼν μεγάροιο καθέζετο γούνα βαρυνθεὶς
 οὐδοῦ ἐπ' αὐλείοιο· κάρος δέ μιν ἀμφεκάλυψε
 πορφύρεος, γαῖαν δὲ πέριξ ἐδόκησε φέρεσθαι
 νειόθεν, ἀβληχρῶ δ' ἐπὶ κώματι κέκλιτ' ἄναυδος.
 (2.202–5)

²⁸Hunter, *Literary Studies*, 91.

²⁹Cf. *Il.* 13.375; *Od.* 23.107; 4.292.

³⁰Interestingly, the seer knows Odysseus' identity straightaway, but needs to drink from the sacrificial blood to know the exact reason of his visit to the Underworld (*Od.* 11.100ff.). Cf. West ad *Od.* 4.561, who ignores this drinking of the blood.

In a hospitality scene, the way in which a guest approaches the doorstep of a house, the symbolic border between the in- and outside, is indicative of his imagined status, while the subsequent response by the host immediately reveals both his attitudes and the degree of hospitality offered.³¹ Usually, a visitor proceeds to the threshold and waits to be noticed by the host in order to be led in and asked the routine questions.³² It is thought highly improper to let a visitor linger at the door and a correct host will therefore approach his guest quickly. Odysseus, at first beggar and suppliant alike in his own palace, sits at the doorway as a powerful symbol of "his submission and helplessness."³³ In Book Three, when the Argonauts arrive at the palace of King Aeetes, they cross the entrance of the palace in silence, heightening the surprise of the (chance) encounter between Chalciope, Medea and the Phrixids (3.219).³⁴ In the Phineus episode, it is the host himself who struggles to get to the threshold as soon as possible to meet his guests (2.197: *θύραζε*; 2.202: *Ἐκ δ' ἐλθὼν μεγάροιο*); the moment he reaches the doorstep, Phineus sits down and collapses. In general, when a ruler is said to go out of his door in the morning, he is about to attend an assembly.³⁵ In *Il.* 19.162ff., Odysseus describes to Achilles in the same terms the extreme exhaustion expected to overwhelm the *hungry* fighter (*Il.* 19.165–6: *ἀλλά τε λάθρη γυῖα βαρύνεται*,³⁶ *ἥδ' ἐκίχάνει / δίψα τε καὶ λιμός, βλάβεται δέ τε γούνατ' ἰόντι*).³⁷

The reversal of roles between host and guests is already indicated by the position taken up by the seer at the door, and then later also by the direct involvement of the heroes in the washing of the old seer, the preparation of the

³¹See also Lateiner (1995), 122ff.

³²Cf. *Od.* 1.104–5; *Od.* 4.680; *Od.* 17.575; *Od.* 18.17; *Il.* 9.581–3; *Od.* 22.2 (Odysseus finally reclaims his rights in his own palace).

³³Reece (1993), 16, quoting *Od.* 14.31–2 and *Od.* 17.339–40. See also *Od.* 10.62–3 (the return of Odysseus and his crew to the palace of Aeolus): *ἐλθόντες δ' ἐς δῶμα παρὰ σταθοῖσιν ἐπ' οὐδοῦ / ἐξόμεθ'* οἱ δ' ἀνὰ θυμὸν ἐθάμβεον ἔκ τ' ἐρέοντο.

³⁴Echoing *Od.* 7.134ff.; See also 3.280 (ominously Eros).

³⁵Cf. *Od.* 2.2; *Od.* 3.405–6 (Nestor): *ὄρνυτ' ἄρ' ἐξ εὐνῆφι ... ἐκ δ' ἐλθὼν...*; *Od.* 6.54; *Od.* 8.2; *Od.* 16.343–4.

³⁶*Il.* 20.480 of the death of a soldier (*χεῖρα βαρυνθείς*).

³⁷Cf. *Od.* 13.34 (in a simile describing the hunger of a farmer after a day's work in the fields): *βλάβεται δέ τε γούνατ' ἰόντι*.

meal, and the provision of sheep for a sacrifice from booty taken from the Bebrycians. By the time the sons of Boreas return from their mission, the return to normality is further symbolised by the mention of their conventional arrival at the door and the subsequent reaction of the Argonauts. To rise at the arrival of others is a common sign of respect for the coming party (2.428–9: οὐδῶ ἔπικραιπνοὺς ἔβαλον πόδας· οἱ δ' ἀνόρουσαν / ἐξ ἐδέων ἥρωες, ὅπως παρεόντας ἴδοντο).³⁸ Here the Argonauts do not just rise from their seats, but jump up in excitement, eager to greet finally the long-awaited Boreads (2.403: ἱεμένοιισιν).³⁹ Honour is well-deserved by the sons of Boreas after their successful action against the Harpies; a task which was itself already considered by Zetes as a γέρας (2.249).

A somewhat ironical situation is created in the initial arrival scene. The seer is said to be rendered speechless by his supreme effort to get to the door in order to be noticed by the Argonauts. However, when the heroes see this filthy bundle of skin and bones,⁴⁰ they are so stupified by the sight that they do not utter any words either, and it is eventually Phineus who manages to get sufficient breath to address the Argonauts first, as befits his position and lowly status of suppliant. The pattern known from Homer, in which fainting and speechlessness is followed by a return of strength and speaking itself, leads one to expect a similar order here.⁴¹ A very dramatic reaction like this occurs at moments of great emotion: Laertes loses consciousness when he finally recognises his son (*Od.* 24.345: τοῦ δ' αὐτοῦ λύτο γούνατα καὶ φίλον ἦτορ; *Od.* 24.349–50: αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ ῥ' ἔμπνυτο καὶ ἐς φρένα θυμὸς ἀγέρθη, / ἐξαῦτις μύθοισιν

³⁸See Lateiner (1995), 96: "Rising, that is non-sitting, shows graciousness to an equal (*Od.* 1.118–20; *Od.* 3.32–5; *Od.* 16.41–5)." E.g. *Il.* 9.195: ὣς δ' αὐτως Πάτροκλος, ἐπεὶ ἴδε φῶτας, ἀνέστη. As is to be expected, it is naturally done towards a superior (e.g. *Il.* 1.533–4: ἐξ ἐδέων; see also Kirk ad loc.).

³⁹*Od.* 22.22–3: ὅπως ἴδον ἄνδρα πεσόντα, / ἐκ δὲ θρόνων ἀνόρουσαν ὀρινθέντες κατὰ δῶμα).

⁴⁰2.201: ῥῖνοι δὲ σὺν ὅστέα μῶνον ἔργον ~ *Call. h.* 6.93: ἱνὲς τε καὶ ὅστέα μῶνον ἔλειφθεν. In Callimachus' sixth hymn, hunger is sent as a divine punishment upon Erysichthon for the felling of a tree (cf. esp. *Call. h.* 6.66–8). Cf. DeForest (1981), 75.

⁴¹Cf. Heubeck ad *Od.* 24.345–50; Edwards observes ad *Il.* 17.695–6 that "silence is rare for epic personages."

ἀμειβόμενος προσέειπε), as does Andromache when she sees her husband being dragged behind Achilles' chariot in front of the city (*Il.* 22.466: τὴν δὲ κατ' ὀφθαλμῶν ἐρεβεννὴ νύξ ἐκάλυψεν; *Il.* 22.475: ἡ δ' ἐπεὶ οὖν ἔμπνυτο καὶ ἐς φρένα θυμὸς ἀγέρθη). In this passage, the same sequence of fainting followed eventually by speaking is found with the addition of a much more detailed description of the physical symptoms of the process of gathering just enough breath to speak (2.207–8). The precision here is matched in the marvellous description of the process of fainting with νειόθεν (2.205), placed with great effect at the beginning of the verse, reflecting the spinning of the earth round the seer, immediately followed by an inevitable loss of balance and fall to the ground (2.204–5: γαῖαν δὲ περίξ ἐδόκησε φέρεσθαι / νειόθεν). Although the excitement undoubtedly caused by the arrival of the Argonauts could have contributed to the seer's condition, the fainting seems to be caused above all by sheer exhaustion, which also rendered Odysseus speechless after finally reaching the shore following his shipwreck (*Od.* 5.456–8: ὁ δ' ἄρ' ἄπνευστος καὶ ἄναυδος / κεῖτ' ὀλιγηπελέων, κάματος δέ μιν αἰνὸς ἵκανε. / ἄλλ' ὅτε δὴ ῥ' ἔμπνυτο καὶ ἐς φρένα θυμὸς ἀγέρθη).⁴² The close connection in Homer between descriptions of death and the losing of consciousness (the same formulas are used to describe both) is reinforced here by the use of the adjective πορφύρεος (2.204) and the choice of the verb ἀμφεκάλυψε (2.203). The epithet, πορφύρεος, recalls the Homeric formula found in *Il.* 5.82–3 (= *Il.* 16.334 = *Il.* 20.436), where reference is made to a 'purple death over the eyes' (τὸν δὲ κατ' ὅσσε / ἔλλαβε πορφύρεος θάνατος καὶ).⁴³ Similarly the verb ἀμφικαλύπτειν is also used to describe the κῶμα

⁴²Odysseus, however, managed to utter just a prayer to the river god before collapsing. See also the description of punishment by the gods in Hes. *Th.* 797–8 (κεῖται ἀνάπνευστος καὶ ἄναυδος / ... κακὸν δ' ἐπὶ κῶμα καλύπτει). After his comrades have been turned into swine by Circe, Eurylochus is so overcome by emotion that he is unable at first to utter any words when he reaches the ship again (*Od.* 10.246–7: οὐδέ τι ἐκφάσθαι δύνατο ἔπος, ἰεμένός περ, / κῆρ ἄχρ' ἔμεγαλ' ἔβρολημένους; *Od.* 10.249–50: ἀλλ' ὅτε δὴ μιν πάντες ἀγασσάμεθ' ἐξερέοντες, / ... κατέλεξεν ὄλεθρον).

⁴³Cf. Kirk ad *Il.* 5.696: "The four main descriptions in the *Iliad* of losing consciousness ... draw in different ways on a formulaic technology primarily designed for describing death."

engulfing one after death *Il.* 20.417–8; *Il.* 5.68 (θάνατος δέ μιν ἀμφεκάλυψε). Ἀβληχρῶ (2.205), a *hapax legomenon* in the *Argonautica*, evokes *Od.* 11.135 (= *Od.* 23.282), in which case the adjective is used in connection with θάνατος, foreshadowing the manner of death of Odysseus himself. These echoes all underline the extreme weakness of the seer. The description of his fainting evokes the Homeric models, without literal repetition of any particular Homeric formulas.

Οἱ δέ μιν ὥς εἶδοντο, περισταδὸν ἡγερέθοντο
καὶ τάφον. Αὐτὰρ ὁ τοῖσι μάλα μόλις ἐξ ὑπάτοιο
στήθεος ἀμπνεύσας μετεφώνεε μαντοσύνησι· (2.206–8)

The Argonauts are, as previously said, dumbstruck at the sight of the seer at their feet. Τάφον (2.207) is a strong verb, aptly describing the stupefaction of the heroes.⁴⁴ The related noun is used similarly in *Od.* 23.93, when Penelope, finally reunited with her husband, is lost for words (*Od.* 23.93: ἡ δ' ἄνεω δὴν ἦστο, τάφος δέ οἱ ἦτορ ἴκανε; cf. *Od.* 23.105 [her own words]: θυμός μοι ἐνὶ στήθεσσι τέθηπεν). Here, the focus is only momentarily on the reaction of the Argonauts. Everything so far has been seen from the perspective of the seer (cf. especially 2.204: ἐδόκησε). In arrival scenes, it is usually the host who, when he sees the guests coming, springs up in amazement at their arrival (*Il.* 11.777: ταφὼν δ' ἀνόρουσεν Ἀχιλλεύς, / ἐς δ' ἄγε χειρὸς ἐλών; *Od.* 16.12: ταφὼν δ' ἀνόρουσε συβώτης). Marvel is also expressed, not at the buildings (another conventional motif in hospitality scenes; see, for example, 3.215), but at the remarkable sight of the seer himself.⁴⁵

The sight of the Argonauts (2.206: Οἱ δέ μιν ὥς εἶδοντο) is in sharp contrast with the hearing of Phineus. During his speech the Argonauts literally look down upon the old man at their feet. This prostration, caused by physical

⁴⁴See Campbell ad 3.215, Heubeck ad *Od.* 23.91–3 ('wonder,' 'bewilderment,' 'numbness') and Lateiner (1995), 45–6.

⁴⁵4.682 (seeing Circe): ἥρωας δ' ἔλε θάμβος ἀπείριτον.

weakness and old age, nevertheless effectively conveys the humility expected from someone beseeching others to help him.⁴⁶ Surrounded thus by the Argonauts, the seer begins his speech (2.206: περισταδόν; 2.208: μετεφώνεε).

c) Phineus' speech and the reaction of the Boreads (2.209–61)

In this speech, the prophet seeks to assure himself of the help from the sons of Boreas that he has been promised. As Phineus concedes himself, indifference (2.219: ἀκηδείησιν) which would leave him permanently in his present state is to be avoided at all costs. Strong emotional words⁴⁷ and various literary and rhetorical devices are employed to achieve maximum effect on his listeners.⁴⁸ Alliteration, for example, can be seen in 2.219 (μηδέ μ' ἀκηδείησιν ἀφορμηθήτε) and 2.222 (πρὸς δ' ἐπὶ πικρότατον κρέμαται κακὸν ... κακοῖσιν). The repetition of the superlative πικρότατον in 2.232 (πικρή) accentuates the piercing aspect of the acute pain torturing the seer. In 2.231 (οὐδ' εἴ οἱ ἀδάμαντος ἐληλάμενον κέαρ εἶη), the iron of the common metaphor is effectively replaced by adamant, the hardest of all metals.⁴⁹ The central part of his speech is concerned with the invocation of the gods (2.213–20) and the description of his worst torment: the snatching away of the food by the Harpies (2.220–35). Having begun his speech with an identification of the Argonauts, the seer finishes with his own name, descent and former status. Although Phineus claims in 2.225 (ἴσχω δ' οὐ τίνα μῆτιν ἐπίρροθον) not to have a plan to release him from his troubles, he does state the solution to his plight in 2.234 (θέσφατόν ἐστι...; cf. also: 2.294: ἐπεὶ καὶ μόρσιμον ἦεν).

⁴⁶Lateiner (1995), 66: "The party that approaches, prostrates himself or herself, and initiates conversation often is demonstrating social inferiority by postures, orientation, and gestures."

⁴⁷2.210: κρυερῇ; 2.214: ἀργαλέοισιν ... καμάτοισιν; 2.218: δυσάμιμον ... λύμης; 2.221: ἀμήρυτον; 2.222: πικρότατον ... κακὸν; 2.224: ἀφράστοιο ... ὀλέθρου; 2.229: πνέει μυδαλέον ... μένος ὀδμῆς; 2.232: πικρή ... καὶ ἄατος ... ἀνάγκη.

⁴⁸Vian i, 186 comments on the combination of agitation with precision of identification; Hunter, *Literary Studies*, 91–2 on the contrast between his physical weakness and intellect displayed in the speech.

⁴⁹E.g. *Il.* 20.372; *Il.* 22.357; *Il.* 24.205; *Od.* 4.293; *Od.* 5.191; *Od.* 12.280. See also 2.340: οὐδ' εἴ κε σιδηρεῖ πέλαι Ἀργῶ. For ἀδάμαντος see Hes. *Th.* 239 and Hes. *Op.* 147.

Phineus shows immediately that he is on the Argonauts' side by addressing them as Πανελλήνων προφερέστατοι (2.209) and referring to Pelias in 2.210 as κρυερῇ⁵⁰ βασιλῆος.⁵¹ Although flattery perhaps above all, it also recalls the characterisation of the Argo in Book One and expresses his confidence in their ability to help him (1.113–4: τῷ καὶ πασάων προφερεστάτῃ ἔπλετο νηῶν / ὅσσαι ὑπ' εἰρεσίησιν ἐπειρήσαντο θαλάσσης). The step from this identification to an emotional description of his miseries is small via the magnanimous invocation of Apollo for the gift of prophecy.⁵² The absence of any resentment on the side of the prophet towards the gods is stressed (cf. also 2.257–8: Ἴστω Λητοῦς υἱός, ὃ με πρόφρων ἐδίδαξε / μαντοσύνας); but it is nevertheless implied that the prophet should have honoured the gods all the more because of what he received from them. Experiencing troubles themselves, the heroes are expected to be able to sympathise with the fate of the seer (2.214: ἀργαλέοισιν ... καμάτοισιν). They are both in a miserable position and are driven by necessity (2.232; 3.430: ῥίγιον ... κακῆς ... ἀνάγκης): the Argonauts are on this expedition, an ἄεθλος, at the command of Pelias (cf. 1.242), and Phineus is punished by Zeus. Their fates are deliberately linked with each other by Phineus by the choice of epithets from the same sphere as for Zeus and Pelias; e.g. the same physical effect of cold shiver caused by extreme fear (2.210: κρυερῇ; 2.215: ῥίγιστος).⁵³ Furthermore, his address of them in his prophecy with ὦ μέλαιοι (2.341) echoes Zetes' address of Phineus in 2.244 (ὦ δαίλ'). Any possible objections to this concept of shared misery are countered by the prophet himself in his warning in 2.342–3.

⁵⁰Cf. Campbell ad 3.390 (κρυερῇ βασιλῆος ἀτασθάλου).

⁵¹Compare with Medea's supplication of the Argonauts (4.1031: ὦ πέρι δὴ μέγα φέρτατοι; 2.225: ἴσχω δ' οὐ τινα μῆτιν ἐπύρροθον ~ 4.1045–6: Οὐ νηούς, οὐ πύργον ἐπύρροθον, οὐκ ἄλεωρην / ἄλλην, οἶόθι δὲ προτιβάλλομαι ὑμέας αὐτούς).

⁵²Cf. Garvie ad *Od.* 8.44–5 on human skills as gifts of the gods. What seems to be a paradox at first sight (2.180–1: εἵνεκα μαντοσύνης τῇν οἱ πάρος ἐγγυάλιξε / Λητοΐδης) is immediately explained by the narrator.

⁵³The epithet is repeated in 2.292 in connection with the oath to the Underworld. It is a strong term: see Campbell ad 3.429–30 and Kirk ad *Il.* 5.872–4. For the combination of κρυερός and fear see *Il.* 13.48 and 2.607 (ὀκρυόεντος ... φόβοιο).

Not being able to offer them hospitality himself, the host resorts to invoking Zeus, in the capacity of the god of suppliants, to receive protection for himself.⁵⁴ Language conventional for supplications is found clustered together (2.215: Ἰκέσιου; 2.218: χραΐσμετέ μοι, ῥύσασθε δυσάμμορον ἀνέρα λύμης).⁵⁵ The invocation of three gods is matched by the three imperatives in 2.218–9, forming a rising tricolon. Phineus' confidence in the success of his supplication becomes clear in 2.235 (οὐδ' ὀθνεῖοι ἀλαλκήσουσιν ἐόντες), where he simply states (on the basis of this same prophecy) that the Harpies will not be chased away by complete strangers and, therefore, that bonds of friendship will be established among them.⁵⁶

Ἰκεσίου πρὸς Ζηνός, ὃ τις ῥίγιστος ἀλιτροῖς
ἀνδράσι (2.215–6)

Phineus' plea (2.217: λίσσομαι) not to leave him thus (cf. also 2.233: μῖμνεν ... μῖμνοντα)⁵⁷ is reinforced by the pleonastic combination of verbs and the emphatic placement of the adverb in enjambement at the beginning of the next verse (2.219–20: ἀφορμηθῆτε λιπόντες / αὐτως). His statement is strengthened by and derives its authority from the mention of the gods (2.234–5: Τὰς μὲν θέσφατόν ἐστιν ἐρητῦσαι Βορέαο / υἱέας). As a result, a negative response from the brothers seems almost impossible. Comparing this appeal to Zeus' protection of suppliants with similar words spoken by Theoclymenus and Odysseus (*Od.* 17.155–6 (= *Od.* 20.230–1): ἴστω νῦν Ζεὺς πρῶτα θεῶν ξενίη τε τράπεζα / ἰστίη τ' Ὀδυσῆος ἀμύμονος, ἦν ἀφίκωνω),⁵⁸ the emphasis laid by the seer on the avenging power of the god becomes clear; an element of threat, for example, which is also made explicit by Telemachus when he warns the suitors of the disastrous consequences of their

⁵⁴See also Cuypers (1997), 240.

⁵⁵*Od.* 14.279 (Egyptian king ~ Odysseus): ὁ δ' ἐρύσατο καὶ μ' ἐλέησεν.

⁵⁶See also Cuypers (1997), 254.

⁵⁷See Vian (1973), 89–90.

⁵⁸Cf. also 2.1131–3; 3.985–7; *Od.* 7.164; *Od.* 6.207–8.

behaviour (*Od.* 2.66–7: θεῶν δ' ὑποδείσατε μῆνιν, / μή τι μεταστρέψωσιν ἀγασσάμενοι κακὰ ἔργα). Zeus is depicted here as a god to be feared by those who do not give him his due regard (2.215: ῥίγιστος). The implicit threat is continued even more in the extremely powerful, unusual and vivid image of the blinding of Phineus by the vicious, pitiless Erinys, the executer of Zeus' wrath, stamping in her fury with her foot on the seer's eyes as if upon a corpse lying on the battlefield (2.220–1: Οὐ γὰρ μοῦνον ἐπ' ὀφθαλμοῖσιν Ἑρινὺς / λάξ ἐπέβη).⁵⁹ Although Phineus is undoubtedly a living example of the dangers of disobedience towards the gods, as is recognised without any hesitation by Zetes (2.246: Ἦ ῥα θεοὺς ὀλοῇσι παρήλιτες ἀφραδίησι;⁶⁰ 2.250–1: ἀρίζηλοι γὰρ ἐπιχθονίοισιν ἐνιπαὶ / ἀθανάτων) and Jason himself in 2.438–9 (Ἦ ἄρα δὴ τις ἔην, Φινεῦ, θεὸς ὃς σέθεν ἄτης / κήδετο λευγαλέης), the prophet does not yet state in this first speech the exact reasons for his punishment. The destructive power of the gods in Phineus' case is acknowledged by all (2.179 [narrator]: ὀλοώτατα; 2.218 [Phineus]: λύμης; 2.224 [Phineus]: ἀφράστοιο ... ὀλέθρου; 2.245 [Zetes]: ὀλοῇσι). Phineus emphasises this theme of destruction and death to stress his extreme misery, a connection already established in several ways by the portrayal of his actions so far. Witnessing the terrible results of the wrath of Zeus with their own eyes, the Boreads are extremely concerned not to call down his anger upon themselves (2.247 [Zetes]: τῷ τοι μέγα μηνιώωσιν; 2.261 [Phineus]: ὥς οὐ τις θεόθεν χόλος ἔσσεται εἵνεκ' ἀρωγῆς; 2.253: μὴ μὲν τοῖό γ' ἔκητι θεοῖς...;⁶¹ 2.433: ὄρκια τ' εὐμενέουσα θεὰ πόρην). This motif is later resumed in the description of the actual action of the Boreads and Iris' words during her intervention (2.284: καὶ νύ κε δὴ σφ' ἀέκητι θεῶν διεδηλήσαντο; 2.288: οὐ θέμις).⁶² Their caution is thus for all the right reasons: their desire to

⁵⁹E.g. *Il.* 5.620; *Il.* 6.65.

⁶⁰See Vian (1973), 90.

⁶¹Cf. Campbell (1973), 71.

⁶²Likewise, Odysseus insisted, as instructed by Hermes, on an oath from Circe in order that she would not do him any harm (*Od.* 10.299–301; *Od.* 10.343–4). See also Knight (1995), 171.

undertake this mission is beyond question (2.248: ἱεμένοισιν; 2.252: μάλα περ λελιημένοι; 2.262: ἀλαλκόμεναι μενέαινον).

εἰ δὴ ἐγὼν ὁ πρὶν ποτ' ἐπικλυτὸς ἀνδράσι Φινεὺς
 ὄλβω μαντοσύνη τε, πατήρ δέ με γείνατ' Ἀγήνωρ,
 τῶν δὲ κασιγνήτην, ὅτ' ἐνὶ Θρήκεσσιν ἄνασσον,
 Κλειοπάτρην ἔδνοισιν ἔμον δόμον ἦγον ἄκοιτιν.
 (2.236–9)

In this dire and desperate position, Phineus is anxious to restore his authority and status despite his wretched appearance by pointing to the quality of his prophecies and his previous wealth and power.⁶³ Similarly, both Eumaeus in his speech to Odysseus (*Od.* 15.403ff.) and Odysseus himself in his supplication of the Cyclops (*Od.* 9.263–6) emphasise their former wealth and positions. In fact, however, more questions are raised by these lines than solved. References are made to different versions of the myth without any clear indications of the precise background of the seer.

ἄδινόν δ' ἔλε κῆδος ἕκαστον
 ἥρώων, πέρι δ' αὖτε δύω υἱὰς Βορέαο.
 Δάκρυ δ' ὁμορξαμένω σχεδὸν ἤλυθον, ὧδέ τ' ἔειπε
 Ζήτης, ἀσχαλόντος ἑλὼν χερὶ χεῖρα γέροντος·
 (2.240–3)

Combined with such a considerable visual impact, it is not a surprise that Phineus should succeed in engendering pity for his cause, as is shown by the tears of the Boreads. As was to be expected, their reaction is singled out (2.241). The fact that they come near the seer (a topos in itself) indicates that they are going to take up the challenge.⁶⁴ Before this, the Harpies were the only ones who came near the seer (2.187: πέλας), and Phineus' isolation is stressed both by the narrator (2.191–3) and by the prophet himself (2.230–1). However, it is significant that Phineus does not mention in this emotional speech the respect and ineffective aid

⁶³See also Odysseus in his Cretan tales: *Od.* 19.183: ἐμοὶ δ' ὄνομα κλυτὸν Αἴθων.

⁶⁴Σχεδὸν ἤλυθον is a Homeric combination used in battle contexts (*Il.* 5.607; *Il.* 13.402).

given to him by his neighbours on a daily basis as told by the narrator in the introduction, thus reinforcing himself even more the image of a lone, miserable figure suffering and struggling in solitude.

οὐδέ τις ἔτλη
μὴ καὶ λευκανίην δὲ φορεύμενος, ἀλλ' ἀποτηλοῦ
ἔστηώς, τοῖόν οἱ ἀπέπνεε λείψανα δαιτός. (2.191–3)

Οὐ κέ τις οὐδὲ μίνυνθα βροτῶν ἄνσχοιτο πελάσσας,
οὐδ' εἴ οἱ ἀδάμαντος ἔληγλάμενον κέαρ εἴη. (2.230–1)

Instead of the host taking his guest by the right hand to seal bonds of guest-friendship (a topos in hospitality scenes),⁶⁵ the Boreads take the hand of the seer and actually touch the filthy skin of the old man (2.200–1: πίνω δέ οἱ αὐστολέος χρώς / ἐσκήκει, ῥινοὶ δὲ σὺν ὀστέα μούνον ἔργον). The taking of the right hand (usually to raise the suppliant) is a topos in supplication scenes (e.g. *Od.* 7.168–9: χειρὸς ἔλὼν Ὀδυσῆα δαΐφρονα ποικιλομήτην / ὥρσεν ἅπ' ἐσχαρόφιν καὶ ἐπὶ θρόνου εἶσε φαεινοῦ). The echoes of Achilles' response to Priam's supplication in which the latter tries to persuade the hero to release the body of his son Hector underline even further the reversal of the roles of host and guest in this episode (*Il.* 24.515–6: γέροντα δὲ χειρὸς ἀνίστη, / οἰκτίρων πολίον τε κάρη πολίον τε γένειον).⁶⁶ It is a consoling and here very symbolic gesture reassuring the old man that they will do whatever they can, thus foreshadowing the content of Zetes' speech.⁶⁷ In this speech, the reassuring tone is continued by the well-known device of repetition of words from the suppliant's speech to ensure that everything will be done exactly according to his pleas (2.249: χροαισμεῖν). At the same time, the gesture implies superiority⁶⁸

⁶⁵See *Od.* 1.120–1 (ἐγγύθι δὲ στάς / χεῖρ' ἔλε δεξιτερήν); *Od.* 3.36–7 (πρῶτος Νεστορίδης Πεισίστρατος ἐγγύθεν / ἀμφοτέρων ἔλε χεῖρα); *Od.* 19.414–5; *Od.* 20.197 (ἦ καὶ δεξιτερῇ δειδίσκετο χεῖρι παραστάς).

⁶⁶See also *Il.* 24.671–2: Ὡς ἄρα φωνήσας ἐπὶ καρπῷ χεῖρα γέροντος / ἔλλαβε δεξιτερήν, μὴ πως δείσει' ἐνὶ θυμῷ; *Il.* 24.360–1: αὐτὸς δ' ἐριούνιος ἐγγύθεν ἐλθὼν, / χεῖρα γέροντος ἔλὼν ἐξείρετο καὶ προσέειπε.

⁶⁷Cf. Janko ad *Il.* 14.136–7.

⁶⁸Cf. Couch (1937), 139.

and poignantly shows the misfortune of Phineus, who has to rely on the help of younger heroes. Likewise, in the final book of the *Iliad*, the contrast between old and young is emphasised continually. Just as Achilles' speech, full of sympathy with Priam's misfortune, starts with the emotional address of ἄ δείλ' (*Il.* 24.518), so Zetes begins his speech to Phineus (2.244: ἄ δείλ').⁶⁹ The intensity of the address matches the nonverbal demonstrations of pity as expressed by the tears and gesture of the hand.

"Ως φάτο· τοῦ δ' ἰθὺς κενεᾶς ὁ γεραιὸς ἀνέσχε
γλήνῃας ἀμπετάσας καὶ ἀμείψατο τοῖσδ' ἐπέεσσι·
(2.254–5)

Thus encouraged, Phineus dares immediately to abandon the traditionally downcast look of the suppliant. This topos, also fully exploited in the Circe episode, gains extra poignancy here because of Phineus' blindness. The empty gaze of the blind whose eyes spread wide open in vain is described in detail. The graphic noun γλήνῃας, 'eyeballs,' is used in 2.255 and κενεᾶς is very effectively placed prominently in the sentence (2.254).⁷⁰ This instance of hope is recalled in 2.443, when Phineus, in response to Jason's optimistic wish, answers despondently, in stark contrast to the joy experienced just before (2.443: αὐτὰρ ὁ τὸν γε κατηφῆσας προσέειπεν), that the blindness cannot be reversed (2.445: κενεαὶ γὰρ ὑποσμήχονται ὀπωπαί).⁷¹

d) The preparations for dinner and Phineus' prophecy (2.301–407)

Before the seer starts his prophecy, the traditional sequence of bath, sacrifice and banquet follows. Not much detail is spent on the elements individually; their significance lies above all in the symbolic value of these rituals, indicating clearly

⁶⁹Cf. Richardson ad *Il.* 24.518 ("opening of a speech of pity"); Macleod ad *Il.* 24.518 ("sign of strong feeling").

⁷⁰For the proleptic value of κενεαὶ see Vian i, 198, n. 2.

⁷¹Cf. 2.888; 1.267; 3.504; 4.1344; *Il.* 22.293; *Od.* 16.342.

the establishment of bonds of friendship, and above all that an ordinary pattern of life is resumed and that as such at least part of the punishment is reversed.⁷² The neighbours also resume their everyday visits after their unusual absence on the day of the heroes' arrival.⁷³ Repetition, for example, of the meals prepared by the younger heroes leads to a comparison of the different circumstances surrounding each occasion. Whereas the first meal was prepared by the younger heroes as a prey for the Harpies (2.263–4: Αἶψα δὲ κουρότεροι πεπονθήατο δαῖτα γέροντι, / λοίσθιον Ἀρπυίησιν ἐλώριον),⁷⁴ this second meal is prepared for the heroes and especially the hungry prophet himself. A third meal is again prepared by the younger heroes on the second day of their stay (2.495–6: κουρότεροι δ' ἐτάρων μενοεικέα δαῖτ' ἀλέγυνον. / Ἔνθ' εὖ δαισάμενοι).⁷⁵

The farewell dinner in the morning at the court of Nestor displays the same sequence of bath, sacrifice, meal and speech as we find here in Book Two.

Οἱ δ' ἐπεὶ ὤπτησαν κρέ' ὑπέρτερα καὶ ἐρύσαντο,
δαίνυνθ' ἐζόμενοι· ἐπὶ δ' ἄνδρες ἐσθλοὶ ὄροντο
οἶνον οἰνοχοεῦντες ἐνὶ χρυσεῖς δεπάεσσιν.
αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ πόσιος καὶ ἐδητύος ἐξ ἔρον ἔντο,
τοῖσι δὲ μύθων ἦρχε Γερήνιος ἱππότα Νέστωρ·
(*Od.* 3.470–4)

Comparison between these two typical scenes highlights the difference in emphasis within this standard repeated pattern. In the passage from *Od.* 3, much attention is paid to the splendour of the palace, the preparations of the meal itself

⁷²See also Macleod (1982), 47 on this effect of accounts of everyday formulae and ritual actions.

⁷³The faithfulness of those dwelling around is emphasised: 2.185: αἰεὶ; 2.451–2: οἱ καὶ πρόσθεν ἐπ' ἡματι κείσε θάμιζον / αἰὲν ὁμῶς φορέοντες ἑῆς ἀπὸ μοῖραν ἐδωδή; 2.455: τῷ καὶ μιν ἐποιχόμενοι κομέεσκον. *Od.* 14.105–8 is deliberately echoed in order to focus even more on the contrast between the voluntary daily contributions by the neighbours around Phineus and the best animals provided day by day to the suitors (τῶν αἰεὶ σφιν ἕκαστος ἐπ' ἡματι μῆλον ἀγινεῖ, / ζατρεφέων αἰγῶν ὅς τις φαίνεται ἄριστος ... καὶ σφι συὼν τὸν ἄριστον εὖ κρίνας ἀποπέμπω).

⁷⁴Cf. for πονεῖσθαι in connection with the preparation of meals *Od.* 17.258 (τῷ πάρα μὲν κρειῶν μοῖραν θέσαν οἱ πονέοντο) and *Od.* 20.281.

⁷⁵2.495–6 is a combination of several Homeric verses: *Il.* 9.90: παρὰ δὲ σφι τίθει μενοεικέα δαῖτα; *Od.* 5.267; *Od.* 6.76: μενοεικέ' ἐδωδήν; *Od.* 13.23: δαῖτ' ἀλέγυνον; *Od.* 18.408: ἀλλ' εὖ δαισάμενοι κατακείετε; *Od.* 3.460: νέοι δὲ παρ' αὐτὸν ἔχον πεμπώβολα χερσίν.

and detailed description of the sacrifice preceding it; all in accordance with the religious observation stressed throughout this book in relation to the pious Nestor.⁷⁶ In the Phineus episode, as indicated, the various preparations and rituals of sacrifice are not mentioned at all. The fact that a sacrifice is made is important as it underlines the piety of the Argonauts and attention is drawn specifically to the care with which the sacrifice is made (2.302–3: ἐπικριδὸν ἱρεύσαντο / μῆλα τά τ' ἐξ Ἀμύκοιο λεηλασίης ἐκόμισσαν). This is an important detail in an episode with its constant stress on θέμις. Significantly, the heroes supply the animals to be slaughtered from the booty they took with them after their victory over the Bebrycians, thus providing a link with a previous episode.⁷⁷ Even more important in this case is the reaction of the starved Phineus to his first proper (vast!) meal.⁷⁸ As such, his ravenous delight in the meal can be compared with Odysseus' first enjoyment of food after his shipwreck or as a beggar at Eumaeus' hut.

Αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ μέγα δόρπον ἐνὶ μέγαροισιν ἔθεντο,
δαίνυνθ' ἐζόμενοι· σὺν δέ σφισι δαίνυτο Φινεύς
ἄρπαλέως, οἷόν τ' ἐν ὀνείρασι, θυμὸν ἰαίνων.
Ἔνθα δ', ἐπεὶ δόρποιο κορέσσαντ' ἡδὲ ποτῆτος
(2.304–7)

ἦ τοι ὁ πῖνε καὶ ἦσθε πολύτλας διὸς Ὀδυσσεὺς
ἄρπαλέως· δηρὸν γὰρ ἐδητύος ἦεν ἄπαστος.
(*Od.* 6.249–50)

ὁ δ' ἐνδυκέως κρέα τ' ἦσθιε πῖνέ τε οἶνον
ἄρπαλέως ἀκέων, κακὰ δὲ μνηστῆρι φύτευεν.
αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ δεῖπνησε καὶ ἥραρε θυμὸν ἔδωδῃ⁷⁹
(*Od.* 14.109–11)

⁷⁶See West ad *Od.* 3.5ff. and on 158.

⁷⁷See also DeForest (1981), 74, n. 10.

⁷⁸2.156–7 (after their defeat of the Bebrycians): καὶ ἀθανάτοισι θνητῶς / ῥέξαντες μέγα δόρπον ἐφώπλισαν.

⁷⁹*Od.* 14.113: ὁ δ' ἐδέξατο, χαῖρε δὲ θυμῷ.

Instead of the Harpies snatching away his food (2.189: ἥρπαζον ; 2.223: ὀφαρπάζουσιν),⁸⁰ the seer himself now eats voraciously (2.306: ἀρπαλέως). The same wordplay was also found in Phineus' speech (2.223: "Ἀρπυιαί ... ὀφαρπάζουσιν).⁸¹ Θυμὸν ἰαίνων (2.306) corresponds with ἥραρε θυμὸν (*Od.* 14.111). In *Od.* 7.216–7, Odysseus phrases the incessant and urgent demands of his belly as follows: οὐ γάρ τι στυγερῇ ἐπὶ γαστέρι κύντερον ἄλλο / ἔπλετο, ἢ τ' ἐκέλευσεν ἔο μνήσασθαι ἀνάγκη.⁸² This Odyssean motif of hunger as a compelling force,⁸³ started in 2.232–3 (ἀλλά με πικρὴ δῆτα καὶ ἄατος ἴσχει ἀνάγκη / μῖμνειν καὶ μίμνοντα κακῇ ἐν γαστέρι θέσθαι), is here brought to its conclusion. Verse 2.307 (ἐπεὶ δόρποιο κορέσσαντ' ἡδὲ ποτῆτος) is a variation on *Il.* 19.167 (ὃς δέ κ' ἀνὴρ οἴνοιο κορεσσάμενος καὶ ἐδωδῆς) and *Il.* 11.562 (ἐπεὶ τ' ἐκορέσσατο φορβῆς).⁸⁴ Again, we see that no Homeric formula is copied literally. "Ἀατος (2.232), 'insatiate,' used in Homer in the context of war,⁸⁵ is a striking and very appropriate adjective to describe the effects of hunger. It is therefore little wonder that now this torment has been ended, attention is drawn explicitly to the satisfaction derived from the meal (2.307: κορέσσαντ'). Reference to the fact that, for Phineus, this is all still like a dream reminds one of the description of his desperate state that same morning (2.197: ἀκήριον ἡύτ' ὄνειρον) and focuses thereby on the enormous change achieved in just one day.

⁸⁰The Harpies match Phineus' craving for food: 2.269: μαιμώωσαι ἐδητύος; 2.271: πάντα καταβρόξασα.

⁸¹Vian i, 191.

⁸²As Garvie ad *Od.* 7.216–7 observes: "Hunger is shameless because of its importunity and the insatiability of its demands." See also Garvie ad *Od.* 7.215–21 and Lateiner (1995), 189. Cf. *Od.* 15.344 (οὐλομένης γαστρὸς); *Od.* 17.286–9; *Od.* 17.473–4 (γαστέρος ... λυγρῆς).

⁸³Cf. Dover (1973), 65; Schreckenberg (1964), 61–5 also mentions in connection with this theme *Od.* 12.330, *Od.* 15.311 and *Od.* 19.73. The Homeric combination ἴσχει ἀνάγκη is here used in a different context: in the *Odyssey*, it is always used of Calypso being unwilling to let Odysseus go (Schreckenberg [1964], 14–5). Hunter, *Literary Studies*, 92 observes that the Odyssean topos is "reused" and not just "repeated;" Odysseus is "deprived even of the chance to starve himself to death." Hunger here does not force him to remember his belly, but to stay.

⁸⁴Other formulas found in Homer to indicate the completion of a meal include for example *Od.* 9.87 = *Od.* 10.58 (αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ σίτοιο τ' ἐπασσάμεθ' ἡδὲ ποτῆτος), *Od.* 5.201–2 (αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ τάρπησαν ἐδητύος ἡδὲ ποτῆτος, / τοῖς ἄρα μύθων ἦρχε Καλυψώ, διὰ θεάων) and *Od.* 8.72 (αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ πόσιος καὶ ἐδητύος ἐξ ἔρον ἔντο).

⁸⁵*Il.* 5.388; *Il.* 22.218.

The concise mention of the bath, a conventional motif prior to a meal in hospitality scenes,⁸⁶ is phrased here in unconventional language.

Τόφρα δ' ἀριστῆες, πινόεν περὶ δέρμα γέροντος
πάντη φοιβήσαντες, ἐπικριδὸν ἱρεύσαντο
μῆλα τὰ τ' ἐξ Ἀμύκοιο λεηλασίης ἐκόμισσαν. (2.301–3)

Only the act of washing itself is referred to: nothing is said again about any preparations.⁸⁷ Φοιβήσαντες (2.302) is an un-Homeric word⁸⁸ and instead of the usual mention of a *person* being washed, anointed with oil and clothed,⁸⁹ it is just said that the greasy *skin* of the old man is being cleansed.⁹⁰ Πινόεν περὶ δέρμα γέροντος (2.301) recalls the introduction of the seer, where attention was also centered on his skin (2.200–1: πίνω δέ οἱ αὐσταλέος χρώς / ἐσκήλει, ῥινοὶ δὲ σὺν ὀστέα μοῦνον ἔργον). Cleansing seems to be the primary purpose of this bath and no attention is paid to the effect or transformation achieved by the bath either, this being a standard element of the major bathing scenes in the *Odyssey*. The whole act gives the impression rather of a necessary medical act of care for an invalid than of an enjoyable bath.⁹¹ In *Od.* 19.327–8 (εἴ κεν αὐσταλέος κακὰ εἰμένος ἐν μέγαροισι / δαινύη), Penelope naturally suggests to Odysseus, still in his disguise as a beggar, that he should have a bath and some clean clothing before the banquet. The washing of strangers is usually the task of the women or slaves of a household.⁹² As these are not present (and Phineus is presumably too weak to wash himself), the task is taken over by the

⁸⁶Cf. West ad *Od.* 3.464ff.: "...they do not normally bathe unless they intend to eat."

⁸⁷This is a hospitality motif not often used in the *Argonautica*. The only other instance in which a bath is mentioned (in connection with a meal) is in the hospitality scene at Colchis. Two brief references, effectively separated from each other by Eros' simultaneous action and suggesting the actual time involved in the organisation of the bath, mention the preparation by servants (3.273: τοὶ δὲ λοετρά πυρὶ ζέον) and the enjoyment of the Argonauts in bathing *themselves* in the 'pleasantly/refreshingly warm water' (cf. Campbell ad 3.300: αὐτοὶ τε λιαροῖσιν ἑφαῖδρύναντο λοετροῖς; cf. also *Od.* 8.449–50). The effect of the bath is only hinted at in ἑφαῖδρύναντο (3.300).

⁸⁸Cf. Theoc. 17.34; Call. *h.* 5.11.

⁸⁹E.g. *Od.* 3.464; *Od.* 4.49; *Od.* 10.364; *Od.* 23.153–4; *Od.* 24.365–6.

⁹⁰*Od.* 13.431–2 (Odysseus' transformation into a beggar by Athene): ἀμφὶ δὲ δέρμα / πάντεσσιν μελέεσσι παλαιοῦ θῆκε γέροντος.

⁹¹Contrast for example with *Od.* 8.450–1.

⁹²See West ad *Od.* 3.464ff.

Argonauts who are, of course, themselves the guests. Γέροντος (2.301) focuses the attention once again on the age of the seer.

The process of the reversal of his misfortune, started by the Boreads by taking on the task symbolised by the touching of the extremely dirty skin of the seer, is here completed by the restorative cleansing of Phineus by the Argonauts.⁹³ As such, it marks the end of at least one of the seer's trials, even though the heroes do not yet know (as we, the audience, do owing to the explicit statement that these events take place at the same time) that the mission of the Boreads has been a success. This bath compares best to Odysseus' bath in the river after his shipwreck to wash all the salt from his skin. Here also the particularly filthy condition of the skin and the need of a good scrub all over the body is stressed.⁹⁴

αὐτὰρ ὁ ἐκ ποταμοῦ χροά νίζετο διος Ὀδυσσεὺς
(*Od.* 6.224)

αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ δὴ πάντα λοέσσατο καὶ λίπ' ἄλειψεν
(*Od.* 6.227)

Phineus' prophecy comes at the traditional time after dinner, a setting shared with that of the Circe episode.⁹⁵ This prophecy, apparently taking place during the greater part of the night and being arguably the most important event of that night, is, however, only presented as a sort of intermezzo during their necessary all-night vigil until the sons of Boreas return with their exciting news.⁹⁶

Ἐνθα δ', ἐπεὶ δόρποιο κορέσσαντ' ἠδὲ ποτῆτος,
παννύχιοι Βορέω μένον υἱέας ἐγρήσσοντες· (2.307–8)

⁹³Tracy (1990), 370: "Baths cleanse; the act of bathing then can easily take on symbolic meaning, e.g. renewal and purification." Afterwards, food is said to cheer and warm the the heart (2.306: θυμὸν ἰαίνων).

⁹⁴See Hainsworth ad *Od.* 6.217–22 and Garvie ad *Od.* 6.224–5. Also *Il.* 10.574ff., where sweat is washed off the skin in the sea before a proper bath is taken).

⁹⁵Cf. *Il.* 11.778–81: κατὰ δ' ἐδριάσθαι ἄνωγε, / ξείνιά τ' εὖ παρέθηκεν, ἅ τε ξείνους θέμις ἐστίν. / αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ τάρπημεν ἐδητύος ἠδὲ ποτῆτος, / ἦρχον ἐγὼ μύθοιο. Williams (1991), 38 suggests that it is not a surprise, considering the negative associations of night, that the Argonauts hear about the trials awaiting them at this particular time. However, in a hospitality setting the evening is above all the traditional time for the exchange of stories, whatever their content might be.

⁹⁶See also Knight (1995), 172.

In the end, the account of the Boreads, which takes the place of the traditional contribution of a guest to the evening, is only told in indirect speech.⁹⁷ It is convenient for the reader and is another example of the use of *variatio* in this episode. The number of verbal echoes between the narrator's version of their action and that given by Zetes himself points to the faithfulness of their account.⁹⁸ Likewise, Odysseus' account to Circe of his adventures in the Underworld is summarised in only one line (*Od.* 12.35: αὐτὰρ ἐγὼ τῇ πάντα κατὰ μοῖραν κατέλεξα); there the complex embedding of one story within another is another factor contributing to its very brevity. With the detailed knowledge of the seer, there seems to be no need for Jason to tell Phineus of his own adventures. In the end, the whole night is spent talking. Similarly, in the Circe episode, dawn arrives immediately upon the completion of the conversation (*Od.* 12.142: "Ὡς ἔφατ', αὐτίκα δὲ χρυσόθρονος ἦλυθεν Ἥως).

"Ὡς τῷ γ' ἀλλήλοισι παραβλήδην ἀγόρευον.⁹⁹
 Αὐτίκα δ' οὐ μετὰ δηρὸν ἀμειβομένων¹⁰⁰ ἔφαάνθη
 Ἥριγενής. (2.448–50)

A totally different situation is created thereby from *Od.* 11.373ff. and *Od.* 15.392ff., where the hosts Alcinous and Eumaeus, arguing that they would willingly sacrifice sleep in order to hear more about his adventures, both urge Odysseus to continue with his enthralling stories. In contrast, here an element of necessity is present as they wait for the sons of Boreas to return. The description of the sleeping arrangements on the second night, even though they are unusual,

⁹⁷This device is used several times in the epic: e.g. 1.499ff. (ἦδ' ὥς...). See the detailed discussion in the Lycus episode.

⁹⁸No verbatim repetition, of course, in Apollonius of Iris' speech to the Boreads. See Levin (1971), 165.

⁹⁹E.g. *Il.* 5.274: "Ὡς οἱ μὲν τοιαῦτα πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἀγόρευον. Παραβλήδην, 'in reply,' is uncommon in Homer and used eight times in the *Argonautica*. See for an extensive discussion Campbell ad 3.107.

¹⁰⁰See Vian i, 198, n. 3.

once again symbolises that a normal pattern of life is resumed;¹⁰¹ their wakefulness on the first night is clearly the abnormal situation.

Just like the singer Demodocus, Phineus is said to sit in the middle of the heroes,¹⁰² near the hearth (*Od.* 8.65–6: τῷ δ' ἄρα Ποντόνοος θῆκε θρόνον ἀργυρόηλον / μέσσω δαιτυμόνων; *Od.* 8.262: ὁ δ' ἔπειτα κί' ἐς μέσον; *Od.* 17.572–3 [in the position of a suppliant and beggar]: ἀσσοτέρω καθίσασα παρὰ πυρί· εἴματα γάρ τοι / λύγρ' ἔχω; *Od.* 19.388).¹⁰³ His position in the midst of them underlines the intimate relations between them, which have by now been firmly established. This is also shown by his addressing of them with ὦ φίλοι in 2.468, which emphatically involves all the heroes, and not just their leader Jason, in his counsels. This is in contrast with Circe's prophecy to Odysseus alone, away from the other heroes who go to sleep near their ship after a whole day of feasting (*Od.* 12.32–4). The instructions given by the prophet about the route they have to take is not in response to any questions asked by Jason.¹⁰⁴

αὐτὸς δ' ἐν μέσσοισι παρ' ἐσχάρῃ ἦσθ' ὁ γεραιός,
πεῖρατα ναυτιλίας ἐνέπων ἄνυσίν τε κελεύθου.¹⁰⁵
(2.309–10)

This prophecy recalls Jason's prayer to Apollo before the beginning of the voyage (1.412–3: ὅς μοι ὑπέστης / Πυθοῖ χρειομένῳ ἄνυσιν καὶ πεῖραθ' ὁδοῖο). Asked to show the end and completion of the expedition, Apollo's omen, as interpreted by Idmon, is not very detailed, specifying only that the Golden Fleece would be obtained after suffering countless trials on both outward and

¹⁰¹*Od.* 23.299: αὐτοὶ δ' ἐνᾶζοντο κατὰ μέγαρα σκιάοντα; *Od.* 14.455–6: οἱ δ' ἐπὶ κοῖτον / σίτου καὶ κραιῶν κεκορημένοι ἐσσεύοντο; *Od.* 18.408: ἀλλ' εὖ δαυσάμενοι κατακείμετε οἴκαδ' ἰόντες.

¹⁰²1.673 (Polyxo): Στῇ δ' ἄρ' ἐνὶ μέσσει ἀγορῇ; 1.342; 3.667–8; *Il.* 4.211; *Il.* 24.162; *Od.* 4.280; *Od.* 12.20.

¹⁰³Garvie ad *Od.* 8.66: "It is both central and a place of honour." See also *Od.* 6.305–7 (Arete).

¹⁰⁴In *Od.* 4.561ff., Proteus also starts his prophecy without being asked a specific question to reveal his knowledge. The difference here is that in this case the god was visited with this purpose in mind (as was Teiresias). No such information is given in connection with the Argonauts.

¹⁰⁵Cf. 2.314: ἐς τέλος. At the end of the epic the promise made in 2.424 (ἐν γὰρ τῇ κλυτῷ πεῖρατι κείται ἀέθλων) becomes true: 4.1775–6: "Ἦδη γὰρ ἐπὶ κλυτῷ πεῖρατι ἰκάνω / ὑμετέρων καμάτων...

home journeys. Despite the introduction to his speech in 2.310, Phineus' first speech only covers the journey as far as Colchis (cf. also Jason's words in 2.411–2: ἤδη μὲν τε δῖκεο πεῖρατ' ἀέθλων / ναυτιλίας). In response to Jason's anxious questions, the second speech will give some vague and very general remarks about their journey back to Greece.

The prophecy itself is in the tradition of similar prophecies given in the *Odyssey* to Odysseus by Circe (*Od.* 10.488ff. and *Od.* 12.37ff.) and the prophet Teiresias (*Od.* 11.100ff.), and to a lesser extent of the short prophecy given to Menelaus by Proteus (*Od.* 4.472–80).¹⁰⁶ The itinerary information given here by Phineus resembles most Circe's description of the route Odysseus has got to take (*Od.* 10.539–40: ὅς κέν τοι εἴπησιν ὁδὸν καὶ μέτρα κελεύθου / νόστον θ', ὥς ἐπὶ πόντον ἐλεύσεαι ἰχθυόεντα). These models lead the reader to have certain expectations concerning the content of Phineus' speech here. Suspense is created and false anticipations are raised. Phineus concentrates on the adventures they will experience on the sea, omitting any details about ventures on dry land.¹⁰⁷ In fact, many important events in Book Two, such as their stay with Lycus or the encounter with Apollo on the island of Thynias, are left out by the seer. Considering the setting of Teiresias' prophecy in the Underworld and the detailed description of the entrance to the Underworld (2.353–6), a visit of the heroes to Hades is to be expected. Verse 2.353 in particular (Ἐνθα μὲν εἰς Ἀΐδαο καταιβάτις ἐστὶ κέλευθος) raises expectations of an ensuing κατάβασις. Instead, the first adventure that we are presented with, the passing of the Clashing Rocks, is for the Argonauts as bad an experience as going to the

¹⁰⁶See also Knight (1995), 172 on the combination of elements belonging to both Teiresias' and Circe's speeches; see 174 ad 2.400 (πεδίοιό τε Κιρκάιοιο). Knight (1995), 170; Levin (1971), 160; Nyberg (1992), 84–5; Vian i, 146–7, all explore the parallels with the account of Io's travels in Aeschylus' (?) *Prometheus*.

¹⁰⁷In contrast with Circe's words in *Od.* 12.25–7: αὐτὰρ ἐγὼ δείξω ὁδὸν ἠδὲ ἕκαστα / σημανέω, ἵνα μὴ τι κακορραφίη ἀλεγεινῇ / ἢ ἄλός ἢ ἐπὶ γῆς ἀλγήσετε πῆμα παθόντες. A similar exposition is expected by the reader in this prophecy. See for the perils expected to be experienced on both the sea and dry land during a long journey: e.g. *Od.* 10.457–9; *Od.* 11.399ff.; *Od.* 24.111.

Underworld itself (2.609–10: δὴ γὰρ φάσαν ἐξ Ἀΐδαο / σώεσθαι).¹⁰⁸ In other cases, more juicy details about certain peoples will be revealed when the Argonauts travel past them.¹⁰⁹ The Mossynoeci, for example, subject of Phineus' respectable attention for speculation on the origin of their name, appear to exhibit some unusual sexual habits (2.1018ff.). Whereas the epithet given to the Geneteian Cape (2.378: Ζηνὸς Ἐυξείνιοι Γενηταίων ὑπὲρ ἄκρην) and the Tibareni (2.377: πολύρρηγες) leads one to expect the heroes to anchor their ship there (2.1009: Τοὺς δὲ μετ' αὐτίκ' ἔπειτα Γενηταίου Διὸς ἄκρην), the detailed description of the reality of their world in 2.1011–4 makes one feel glad that the heroes manage just to sail past (2.1010: σώοντο παρὲς Τιβαρηνίδα γαίαν). One important element is missing when this prophecy is compared with the versions encountered in the *Odyssey*: Phineus' prophecy really only gives detailed travel information about the journey to Colchis and later in a second speech some veiled, encouraging remarks about their return journey to Hellas. But at no stage, as in Teiresias' prophecy, is anything told or hinted at about the more distant future (outside this narrative).

The parallels in situation make this prophecy thus reminiscent of these Homeric models, but it is at the same time, as detailed comparison shows, unmistakably a product of Hellenistic poetry.¹¹⁰ Instead of a description of the world seen by the Boreads on their flight,¹¹¹ an elaborate account of all the landmarks to be encountered on their journey is given by the prophet in his after-dinner speech. The erudition displayed by the poet throughout this episode, and indeed the whole epic, is echoed here by the prophet on a small-scale.¹¹² Learning is, for example, shown in the reference to sources (2.361: καὶ μιν

¹⁰⁸On the chthonic colouring of this passage see Beye (1982), 113; Knight (1995), 175; Kyriakou (1995b), 257f.; Vian i, 125–6.

¹⁰⁹See Hunter, *Literary Studies*, 94–5.

¹¹⁰Hunter, *Literary Studies*, 94–5. For speculations on the Stoic background see Beye (1982) 118; Hunter, *Literary Studies*, 93.

¹¹¹A short description is given instead in Book Three, describing Eros' flight from Olympus to Aeetes' palace in which cities, sacred streams of rivers, mountains and the sea are named (3.164–6). Hunter, *Literary Studies*, 95 mentions the geographical account given in [Hes.] (*fr.* 150–60, MW) to describe the pursuit of the Harpies by the Boreads.

¹¹²See also DeForest (1981), 76.

καλέουσι Κόραμβιν),¹¹³ the attention to mythological detail (2.358–9: τοῖσιν τ' Ἐνετήιος ἔμβασίλευσε / πρῶτα Πέλοψ, τοῦ καὶ περ ἄφ' αἵματος εὐχετόωνται), the aetiological explanation of the name of the Mossynoeci (2.382–3: οὓς καλέουσι / μόσσυνας, καὶ δ' αὐτοὶ ἐπώνυμοι ἔνθεν ἔασι), and the interest in ethnography (2.374–7) and the history of a building (2.385–7: τῇ μὲν τ' ἐνὶ νηὸν Ἄρης / λαΐνεον ποίησαν Ἀμαζονίδων βασίλειαι / Ὀτρηρὴ τε καὶ Ἀντιόπη, ὁπότε στρατόωντο). Poetic skill is also displayed in the description of the geographical details. Thus, all rivers are described in a different manner, using a variety of epithets and verbs to illustrate vividly their flow: 2.349 (Rhebas): Ῥήβαν ὠκυρόην ποταμὸν; 2.355 (Acheron): δινῆεις τ' Ἀχέρων; 2.367 (Halys): δεινὸν ἐρεύγονται; 2.367–8 (Iris): ἀγχίρροος ... / μειότερος λευκῆσιν ἐλίσσεται εἰς ἄλα δίναις; 2.370–2 (Thermodon): Ἐπὶ δὲ στόμα Θερμώδοντος / κόλπῳ ἐν εὐδιόωντι Θερμίσκुरιον ὑπ' ἄκρην / μύρεται, εὐρείης διαειμένος ἡπείροιο; 2.401 (Phasis): Φᾶσις δινῆεις εὐρὺν ῥόον εἰς ἄλα βάλλει. This rapid succession of rivers is followed by a catalogue of peoples, a standard feature of epic.

In the prophecy given by Teiresias in the Underworld, the veracity of his account is emphasised several times (*Od.* 11.96: τοι νημερτέα εἶπω; *Od.* 11.99: μάντις ἀμύμων; *Od.* 11.137: τὰ δέ τοι νημερτέα εἴρω).¹¹⁴ Phineus, however, makes it clear in the introduction to his speech that, despite the still remarkable qualities he shows in the prompt identification of the heroes, he is not going to tell them everything in exact detail. The prophet evidently feels the need to spell this out (despite the expected enigmatic quality of prophecies)¹¹⁵ in order

¹¹³See the introduction to the aetiological explanation of the Etesian winds (2.500–1: πέφαται τις ... προτέρωσι παρ' ἀνδράσιν; 2.526–8: Κέω δ' ἔτι νῦν ἱερῆς / ἀντολέων προπάροιθε Κυνὸς ῥέζουσι θυηλάς. / καὶ τὰ μὲν ὥς ὑδέονται). Apollonius' poetic craft has been well-recognised in this episode (cf. Vian i, 149): both Phineus' speech and the aetiology, variations in themselves, are not mere digressions from the main narrative, but stress the underlying themes of this episode.

¹¹⁴Proteus: *Od.* 4.384; *Od.* 4.401; *Od.* 4.542: γέρων ὄλιος νημερτής.

¹¹⁵Heubeck ad *Od.* 10.539–40: "Prophets do not conventionally give detailed answers to petitioners; it is therefore not surprising that Teiresias does not give Odysseus a detailed route for his journey home."

to show that he has learned his lesson (2.215–6: ὁ τις ῥίγιστος ἀλιτροῖς / ἀνδράσι ~ 2.390: πάλιν χρεῖω ἀλιτέσθαι).

Τῶ νῦν ἡμετέρησι παραιφασίησι πίθεσθε,
εἰ ἔτεδ' οὐκ ἐν νόῳ μακάρων τ' ἄλ' ἔγοντες
παίρετε, μηδ' αὐτῶς αὐτάγρετον οἶτον ὀλέσθαι
ἄφραδέως ἰθύετ' ἐπισπόμενοι νεότητι. (2.324–7)

An important secondary function of the prophecy is to provide the Argonauts with guidelines for future behaviour.¹¹⁶ The heroes are in particular urged to adopt Phineus' new, flawless behaviour. This is, for example, achieved by the repetition of keywords throughout the episode. After the heroes have been told to heed the blessed gods (2.325: μακάρων), the episode is finished with the dutiful sacrifice and construction of an altar on the coast to all the twelve blessed gods (2.531: μακάρεσσι δωδέκα).¹¹⁷ No god is slighted or neglected as was done by Pelias (1.13–4). The value of sacrifice is also shown by Aristaeus (2.519–26) and Paraebius who both build an altar and offer a sacrifice as a solution to their problems (e.g. 2.523: εὖ ἔρρεξεν). The importance of always obeying the gods is highlighted in the aetiology by the repetition of reference to Apollo's command in 2.518 and 2.519 (ἐφημοσύναις Ἑκάτοιο; πατρὸς ἐφετμή), and in Phineus' speech concerning Paraebius specifically by the repetition of ἀθήριξε in 2.477 and ἀθήρισσε in 2.488.¹¹⁸ Exemplary pious behaviour is adopted by the prophet in all his dealings, and the gods are invoked by the seer in his first two speeches.¹¹⁹ Phineus' mighty oath to the Underworld (2.262), modelled on Hes. *Th.* 784ff., *Il.* 14.271, *Il.* 15.37–8 and *Od.* 5.184ff.,¹²⁰ is matched by the oath of

¹¹⁶See Vian i, 141–2; Levin (1971), 166.

¹¹⁷In contrast with *Od.* 4.472ff. and *Od.* 11.132–3, no explicit order is given to offer a sacrifice to the gods (2.336: πρὶν δ' οὐ τι θεοὺς λίσσεσθαι ἐρύκω). The pious attitude of the Argonauts can be contrasted with the disregard of prophecy expressed by the suitors (cf. West ad *Od.* 2.177–207). On altars in the *Argonautica* see Williams (1991), 194–203.

¹¹⁸*Il.* 4.408–9: πειθόμενοι τεράεσσι θεῶν καὶ Ζηνὸς ἀρωγῇ / κείνοι δὲ σφετέρησιν ἀτασθαλίησιν ὄλοντο.

¹¹⁹Phineus deliberately echoes Iris' words (2.288: οὐ θέμις) in 2.311: οὐ ... θέμις. Cf. Vian i, 148.

¹²⁰Cf. Odysseus' insistence on an oath in *Od.* 5.173ff.

the goddess Iris in 2.289–90.¹²¹ At the same time, on the other hand, a distinctly pragmatic approach is chosen (2.333–4: ἐπεὶ φάος οὐ νύ τι τόσσον / ἔσσετ' ἐν εὐχολῆσιν, ὅσον τ' ἐνὶ κάρτεϊ χεῖρων), even though, in the end, sheer effort alone turns out not to be enough, and a direct intervention by Athena is necessary to help them.¹²² Πυκινῶ ... νόῳ (2.325), an essential quality for the Argonauts to possess, is later repeated with reference to Phineus' words to his neighbours (2.462: ἐπέεσσιν ... πυκινοῖσιν).¹²³ The fatal consequences of youthful recklessness, a major theme in this episode, are emphasised by the old seer both in this prophecy and in his condemnation of Paraebius' father's behaviour in a cautionary tale. Here the frightening repercussions of a crime committed against the gods by one individual in an act of *hybris* and youthful arrogance on subsequent generations are exposed (2.327: ἀφραδέως ἰθύετ' ἐπισπόμενοι νεότητι; 2.480–1: αὐτὰρ ὁ τὴν γε / ἀφραδέως ἔτμηξεν ἀγνορίῃ νεότητος).¹²⁴ The punishment of the father is not described at all: the focus is entirely on the grave consequences of his act for his son. The prophet's own behaviour was also characterised as foolish by Zetes (2.246–7: Ἦ ῥα θεοὺς ὀλοῇσι παρήλιτες ἀφραδίῃσι, / μαντοσύνας δεδαώς).¹²⁵ Phineus' prophecy and warnings are able to gain a maximum effect because of his own paradigmatic fate.

ᾠ μέλεοι, μὴ τλήτε παρὲξ ἐμὰ θέσφατα βῆναι,
εἰ καὶ με τρὶς τόσσον οἴεσθ' Οὐρανίδησιν
ὅσσον ἀνάρσιός εἰμι, καὶ εἰ πλεῖον στυγέεσθαι·

(2.341–3)

¹²¹Iris, the traditional messenger of Zeus, seems to act here on her own initiative.

¹²²See Feeney (1991), 74.

¹²³Jason urges Argus to use such words to persuade Chalciope (3.486) and is himself pushed by Mopsus to employ these on Medea (3.946). Cf. Alcinous' judgement: 4.1111; 4.1200.

¹²⁴See also Kirk's comments on Nestor's words ad *Il.* 4.301–9; Beye (1982), 111–2. The theme of *hybris* is immediately made clear by Phineus' opening words (2.468–9: ᾠ φίλοι, οὐκ ἄρα πάντες ὑπέρβιοι ἄνδρες ἔασιν / οὐδ' εὐεργεσῆς ἀμνήμονες). His encouraging words are in sharp contrast with Jason's testing and deliberately gloomy words to his crew after they have managed to pass the Clashing Rocks (2.630: πάντα γὰρ ἀνάρσιοι ἄνδρες ἔασιν).

¹²⁵See also 1.1332–3 (Telamon to Jason): ἀφραδίῃσιν / εἴ τί περ ἀασάμην; 1.92: folly of murder.

His apparent complete knowledge of the will of the gods and perfection of the art of prophecy explains the essentially cryptic nature of prophecy in general. Rather than taking the traditional stance of blaming human fallibility for the misinterpretation of oracles,¹²⁶ Phineus goes one step further here by saying that it is *Zeus'* will that incomplete oracles be given to men: full knowledge is possible, but undesirable from the gods' point of view. A subtle variation is given upon Peisistratus' maxim when he urges Telemachus to sacrifice to Poseidon (*Od.* 3.48: πάντες δὲ θεῶν χατέουσ' ἄνθρωποι).

Κλυτέ νυν· οὐ μὲν πάντα πέλει θέμις ὕμμι δαῖναι
 ἀτρεκές· ὅσσα δ' ὄρωρε θεοῖς φίλον οὐκ ἐπικεύσω.
 Ἄασάμην καὶ πρόσθε Διὸς νόον ἀφραδίησι
 χρεῖων ἐξείης τε καὶ ἐς τέλος· ὧδε γὰρ αὐτὸς
 βούλεται ἄνθρώποις ἐπιδευέα θέσφατα φαίνειν
 μαντοσύνης, ἵνα καὶ τι θεῶν χατέωσι νόοιο. (2.311–6)

The tension created between the proven full, detailed knowledge on the one hand and the partial revelation of this truth on the other is highlighted by the repetition of ἀτρεκέως.¹²⁷ Phineus' opening words are in complete contrast with the conventional beginning of a speech in which the speaker announces his intention to tell the whole truth (even if this is clearly not the case).¹²⁸ The use of this adverb with its allusions to the well-known Homeric formulas underlines the enigmatic nature of Phineus' prophecy. Defining the limits of their questions, the prophet also finishes his prophecies with a firm reference to the boundaries of prophecy (2.425: Καὶ δὲ με μηκέτι τῶνδε παροιτέρω ἐξερέεσθε). It is therefore also not necessary or possible for Jason to demand a complete and accurate answer in his request for more information about the return journey.¹²⁹

¹²⁶[Hes.] *fr.* 303 (MW): μάντις οὐδ' εἰς ἐστὶν ἐπιχθονίων ἀνθρώπων / ὅστις ἂν εἰδείη Ζηνὸς νόον αἰγιόχοιο; See Buxton (1980), 36; Macleod ad *Il.* 24.220–2; Feeney (1991), 60–1.

¹²⁷Hunter, *Literary Studies*, 94; Knight (1995), 173.

¹²⁸E.g. *Od.* 1.179 (τοιγὰρ ἐγὼ τοι ταῦτα μάλ' ἀτρεκέως ἀγορεύσω); *Od.* 1.214; *Od.* 24.123; *Od.* 24.303; *Il.* 10.413; *Il.* 10.427.

¹²⁹Cf. Odysseus to Teiresias in *Od.* 11.140 concerning information about his mother (ἀλλ' ἄγε μοι τόδε εἰπὲ καὶ ἀτρεκέως κατὰλεξον); *Od.* 12.112 (εἰ δ' ἄγε δὴ μοι τοῦτο, θεά, νημερτὲς ἐνίσπες); *Od.* 1.169; *Od.* 4.268; *Il.* 10.384; *Il.* 10.405; *Il.* 24.380; *Il.* 24.656. See also Knight (1995), 175 ad *Od.* 12.112.

Phineus' words especially contrast with the words spoken by the prophet Theoclymenus to Penelope in an attempt to strengthen his supplication (*Od.* 17.154: ἀτρεκέως γάρ τοι μαντεύσομαι οὐδ' ἐπικεύσω).¹³⁰ Suspense might well be added by the reader's knowledge — not referred to in any way in this episode — of the version given by Hesiod: that Phineus was blinded because of showing none other than Phrixus the way to Colchis.¹³¹

The divine origin of Phineus' prophecy is stressed and, as such, can be contrasted with the information about their route given to the Argonauts by Cyzicus, Lycus and Argus. The first two of these admit to possessing only a limited amount of knowledge based on experience, whereas Argus in true Hellenistic style refers to pillars inscribed with travelling details as his source of information (4.279–81: οἱ δὲ τοι γραπτῶς πατέρων ἔθεν εἰρύνονται, / κύβιας οἷς ἔνι πᾶσαι ὁδοὶ καὶ πείρατ' ἔασιν / ὕγρῆς τε τραφερῆς τε πέριξ ἐπινισομένοισιν).¹³² His words are followed by a favourable portent given by Hera which strengthens and authorises his message (4.294–7).

Frequent reference is made later by the Argonauts to the words of the seer in order to defend a certain course of action.¹³³ These instances (2.617–8; 2.647; 2.1051; 2.1090–2; 2.1135; 3.549–50; 3.555; 3.943; 4.253–6) mark with hindsight the important points in Phineus' prophecy and his authority: the passing of the Clashing Rocks, the stay on the island of Ares, the help of the goddess Cypris and the question of which route to take on their return journey. His recurrent comments concerning the very nature of his prophecy also mark these events out as especially important for the mission of the Argonauts. For example, his explicit reluctance to speak about the events on the island of Ares hints at the

¹³⁰Also Telemachus' words to Penelope (*Od.* 17.138–41, esp. 141: τῶν οὐδέν τοι ἐγὼ κρύψω ἔπος οὐδ' ἐπικεύσω); *Od.* 3.187 (Nestor): ἢ θέμις ἐστὶ, δαήσεαι, οὐδέ σε κεύσω; *Od.* 4.744 (Eurycleia): μῦθον δέ τοι οὐκ ἐπικεύσω. Consider, on the other hand, the reluctance of Proteus expressed in *Od.* 4.492–3 before telling Menelaus what he needs to know: Ἀτρεΐδη, τί με ταῦτα διείρεαι οὐδέ τί σε χρὴ / ἴδμενα, οὐδέ δαήναι ἐμὸν νόον.

¹³¹[Hes.] *fr.* 254 (MW).

¹³²On Argus' role see Beye (1982), 145–7; Hunter, *Literary Studies*, 94.

¹³³See for example *Od.* 12.271–6. These references provide unity to the plot: cf. Knight (1995), 176; Levin (1971), 168.

great significance of a stay on this island which is, at first sight, not very attractive. This motif of reluctance to reveal a prophecy fully, also found in *Od.* 12.56–8, is developed here in much more detail because of the seer's background.¹³⁴ Circe at least announced she would tell him everything in detail (*Od.* 12.25–6: αὐτὰρ ἐγὼ δείξω ὁδὸν ἥδ' ἕκαστα / σημανέω); whereas Phineus, though in the possession of this knowledge, never did promise the same (2.212: οἶδεν ἕκαστα; 2.391: τὰ ἕκαστα).¹³⁵ Even Athena herself does not reveal everything to Penelope (*Od.* 4.836–7: οὐ μὲν τοι κείνον γε διηνεκέως ἀγορεύσω, / ζῶει ὃ γ' ἦ τέθνηκε· κακὸν δ' ἀνεμώλια βάζειν).

Τῷ καὶ τε φίλα φρονέων ἀγορεύω
ἰσχέμεν· ἀλλὰ τίη με πάλιν χρεῖῶ ἀλιτέσθαι
μαντοσύνη τὰ ἕκαστα διηνεκὲς ἐξενέποντα;¹³⁶
(2.389–91)

ἐνθα τοι οὐκέτ' ἔπειτα διηνεκέως ἀγορεύσω
ὅποτέρη δὴ τοι ὁδὸς ἔσσεται, ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτὸς
θυμῷ βουλευεῖν·
(*Od.* 12.56–8)

Involving the Argonauts more closely in his prophecy, references to visual perception frame his account: ὄψεσθε (2.318), in relation to the Clashing Rocks, and εἰσόψεσθε (2.403), at the very end of his speech, mark the importance of these two episodes. Apart from these two verbs, the seer only uses nautical terms to describe the progress of their journey (2.347–8; 2.352: ἐπικέλσετε; 2.357: ἀγχίμολον ... παρανεῖσθε; 2.384: παραμειβόμενοι ... ἐπικέλσετε). The conventional phrase to describe the dragon (2.405: τέρας αἰνὸν ἰδέσθαι) gives an alarming ring to the use of the verb εἰσόψεσθε two lines before. This dreaded monster will be watching them with unblinking eyes (2.406–7: οὐδέ οἱ ἦμαρ, /

¹³⁴In fact, Circe advises Odysseus to take the second route as is shown in *Od.* 12.81–2 (ἡ περ ἂν ... παρὰ ... ἰθύνετε). Cf. Heubeck ad loc.

¹³⁵4.730 (Medea to Circe): ἡ δ' ἄρα τῇ τὰ ἕκαστα διειρομένη κατέλεξε.

¹³⁶As a poignant reminder of Aetes' true character, the king, in contrast to the usual host and Alcinous in the *Odyssey* in particular, immediately stresses that he is not interested at all in hearing everything in detail from his guest (3.401: Ξεῖνε, τί κεν τὰ ἕκαστα διηνεκέως ἀγορεύεις;). Cf. Campbell ad 3.401. See for a different 'Callimachean' interpretation of διηνεκέως in these passages and especially 1.648–9: Beye (1982), 15–8; DeForest (1981), 75–6.

οὐ κνέφας ἥδυμος ὕπνος ἀναιδέα δάμναται ὅσσε),¹³⁷ just as they watch it. How are they ever going to retrieve the fleece from a beast which is not even mastered by sleep itself? In contrast to the detailed instructions about the passing of the Clashing Rocks, no further information is given to the Argonauts about how they should try to obtain the fleece from King Aeetes or conquer the fierce dragon living in a shady grove, a location which in itself also points towards the presence of supernatural powers (2.404: ἄλσος σκιάειν).¹³⁸ The only help given by the prophet is that they should steer their ship to the innermost corner of the mouth of the river (2.397–8: Ἀλλ' ἐνὶ νηὶ / πεῖρεθ', ἕως μυχάτῃ κεν ἐνιχρίμψετε θαλάσση; 2.402: Κείνου νῆ' ἐλάοντες ἐπὶ προχοᾶς ποταμοῖο), thereby ominously indicating the necessity of an initial hiding-place. The epithet given to the Colchians (2.397: ἀρήϊοι) and the mention of Aeetes' *fortified* walls (2.403: πύργους) reinforce this bleak picture.

πύργους εἰσόψεσθε Κυταιέος Αἰήταο
 ἄλσος τε σκιάειν Ἄρεος, τόθι κῶας ἐπ' ἄκρης
 πεπτάμενον φηγοῖο δράκων, τέρας αἶνόν ἰδέσθαι,
 ἀμφὶς ὁπιπεύει δεδοκημένος· (2.403–6)

As previously said, most attention is given to the passing of the Clashing Rocks, the first obstacle to be faced by the Argonauts. This particular adventure, set apart from the rest of his prophecy by the general warning in 2.341–3, is presented as the crucial stage in their voyage (2.414: προφυγοῦσιν ; 2.339: ἐξαλέαισθε; 2.345–6: Ἦν δὲ φύγητε / σύνδρομα πετράων ἀσκηθέες ἔνδοθι Πόντου; cf. 1.1–4).¹³⁹ In addition, this is emphasised by Phineus' urgent message, repeated twice, that the Argonauts must not attempt to sail any further should the bird perish (2.337f.; 2.344).¹⁴⁰ Impressed, Jason characterises the rocks

¹³⁷ The birds of Ares, called ἀναιδέας in 2.383, will be defeated by the Argonauts, as will the dragon guarding the fleece. The associations of the epithet with *hybris* make this only to be expected.

¹³⁸ 4.1715: ἄλσει ἐνὶ σκιερῷ. See also 2.1268–9: ἱερά τ' ἄλσῃ / τοῖο θεοῦ.

¹³⁹ Theoc. 22.27: προφυγοῦσα.

¹⁴⁰ Campbell (1973), 72.

subsequently as *στυγεράς ... πέτρας* (2.412). The Helios episode enjoys the same status in the *Odyssey* (*Od.* 12.137–8: τὰς εἰ μὲν κ' ἀσινέας ἑάας νόστου τε μέδηναι, / ἦ τ' ἄν ἔτ' εἰς Ἰθάκην κακὰ περ πάσχοντες ἴκοισθε; cf. *Od.* 1. 6–9).¹⁴¹ The awesome reputation of these rocks is confirmed in Phineus' second speech, when the encouraging *θάρσει* (2.421), often used in instances of (usually divine) reassurance,¹⁴² is not only followed by the expected explanatory *ἐπεὶ*-clause, but also preceded by a conditional clause (2.420–1: εἴτ' ἄν πρῶτα φύγῃς ὁλοῶς διὰ πέτρας, / θάρσει). Successful conquering of these rocks becomes proof of the abilities that they will have to display on the whole of their journey in order to succeed. Courage (2.336) will not only have to be employed in order to overcome the Clashing Rocks, but also to fulfil the task set by Aeetes (3.425; 3.505). However, no definite course of action is given; room is left for Fate and the actions of the immortals (2.345: Καὶ τὰ μὲν ὥς κε πέλῃ, τὼς ἔσσεται).

The necessity of hard labour, anticipated here by Phineus and by the unusual reference to the Argonauts as rowers in the narrator text of 2.467 (*ἐρέτησιν ὀμηγερέεσσι*), becomes reality in the following episode (2.540; 2.557–8; 2.573–4; 2.584–8; 2.590; 2.649). As Vian points out,¹⁴³ this term is never used of the Argonauts elsewhere in the *Argonautica* if they are not engaged in the actual process of rowing. Vian defends the reading of the MSS, arguing that, there not being a better alternative, it adds a realistic and 'anti-heroic' note in accordance with Apollonius' art. An alternative interpretation of this could be made, viewing it instead as a foreshadowing of all the hard work ahead. When the winds have dropped and the Argonauts are finally able to leave, it seems paradoxical that they are said to embark on their *swift* ship (2.533: νῆα θοὴν εἰσβαίνον ἐρεσσέμεν). This following period of intense rowing is finished with

¹⁴¹Cf. also *Od.* 11.104: ἀλλ' ἔτι ... ἴκοισθε; *Od.* 11.111: καὶ κεν ἔτ' ... ἴκοισθε; Heubeck ad *Od.* 10.539.

¹⁴²E.g. *Od.* 4.825–8; *Od.* 22.372 (Odysseus from a superior position); *Il.* 15.254–7; cf. Richardson ad *Il.* 24.152–4.

¹⁴³Vian i, 199, n. 2.

a simile in which their labour is compared with the daily toil of oxen (2.662–8). Comparing the account by Phineus with the actual passing of the Argonauts through the Clashing Rocks, the most striking aspect is the focus on the emotions of the crew and the spectacular sound effects.¹⁴⁴ Their tremendous fear matches that of the trembling dove.¹⁴⁵

The mention of so many topographical landmarks such as imposing rivers and headlands gives one the illusion of completeness. In fact, Phineus offers them not much more than a fairly detailed map, beginning and ending his tale with particularly frightening adventures.

“Ὡς ἄρ’ ἔφη· τοὺς δ’ εἶθαρ ἔλεν δέος εἰσαΐοντας.¹⁴⁶
Δὴν δ’ ἔσαν ἀμφασίῃ βεβολημένοι· ὅπῃ δ’ ἔειπεν
ἥρως Αἴσονος υἱὸς ἀμηχανέων κακότητι· (2.408–10)

The prophecy very effectively conveys the idea of a very long voyage,¹⁴⁷ as is expressed by the despairing Jason in 2.416–8. This is also implicitly expressed in 2.400 (τηλόθεν): they have already travelled a considerable distance and still have a long way to go.

Πῶς ἔρδω; Πῶς αὖτε τόσῃν ἁλὸς εἴμι κέλευθον,
νῆις ἑὸν ἐτάροις ἅμα νήισιν — Αἶα δὲ Κολχίς
πόντου καὶ γαίης ἐπικέκλιται ἐσχατιῇσιν —;¹⁴⁸
(2.416–8)

¹⁴⁴2.553–4; 2.565–69. See for a discussion of the passing of the Symplegades Williams (1991), 135–45.

¹⁴⁵See for descriptions of the fear of the heroes: 2.552; 2.575 (τρόμος); 2.577–8; 2.561; 2.582; 2.607–10. Very effectively, the traditional association between doves and fear (2.533–5) is employed for the first time, when the heroes embark on the ship (i.e. not in Phineus' prophecy). Τρήρων is the conventional Homeric epithet of doves (*Il.* 5.778; *Il.* 22.140; *HyAp* 114; 3.541).

¹⁴⁶Compare the phrasing with 4.484 (τοὺς δ’ ὅλοδν μεσσηγὺν δέος λάβεν εἰσαΐοντας), 4.960 (τοῖον μιν ἔχεν δέος εἰσορόωσαν). *Od.* 24.450 (Ὡς φάτο, τοὺς δ’ ἄρα πάντας ὑπὸ χλωρὸν δέος ἦρει) and *Od.* 24.533 (Ὡς φάτ’ Ἀθηναίη, τοὺς δὲ χλωρὸν δέος εἶλε).

¹⁴⁷Cf. also *Od.* 4.480–3.

¹⁴⁸Cf. 2.1260–1: ἴκοντο / Φᾶσιν τ’ εὐρὺν ρέοντα καὶ ἔσχατα πείρατα Πόντου. Jason's words receive an ironic ring in 3.678–80, where Chalcioppe wishes herself to live at the ends of the earth where no one would know the Colchians (3.679–80: ἀλλ’ ἐπὶ γαίης / πείρασι νοαετᾶιν, ἵνα μηδέ περ οὔνομα Κόλχων).

As a result, the Argonauts are immediately speechless for the second time since meeting Phineus. Speechlessness is a common epic reaction to fear, as is also shown by the Lemnian women in 1.638–9 (Ἀμυχανίη δ' ἐχέοντο / ἄφθογγοι, τοῖόν σφιν ἐπὶ δέος ἡωρεῖτο) and by the reaction of Gaia's children to her plans (Hes. *Th.* 167–9: "Ὡς φάτο· τοὺς δ' ἄρα πάντας ἔλεν δέος, οὐδέ τις αὐτῶν / φθέγγετο ... / αἶψ' αὐτίς μύθοισι προσηύδα).¹⁴⁹ In 3.422ff., the same reaction is displayed by Jason in response to the challenge imposed upon him by Aeetes (cf. esp. 3.423: ἦστ' αὐτως ἄφθογγος, ἀμυχανέων κακότητι; 3.426: Ὀψέ δ' ἀμειβόμενος...), and by the crew when told the news by their leader (3.503–4: δὴν δ' ἄνεω καὶ ἄναυδοι ἐς ἀλλήλους ὁρόωντο, / ἄτη ἀμυχανίη τε κατηφέες· ὄψε δέ).¹⁵⁰ The pattern of stunned silence followed by speaking after a considerable time is well-known in the Homeric epics: e.g. *Il.* 9.29–31; *Il.* 9.693ff.; *Il.* 9.430–2 (οἱ δ' ἄρα πάντες ἀκὴν ἐγένοντο σιωπῇ / ... ὄψε δέ δὴ μετέειπε). In *O d.* 4.703–6, Penelope's shocked reaction to Telemachus' secret departure is described in similar terms (δὴν δέ μιν ἀμφοσίνη ἐπέων λάβε ... ὄψε δέ δὴ μιν ἔπεσιν ἀμειβομένη προσέειπε).

The frightening picture painted by Phineus greatly scares the Argonauts. Forgotten is the fact that they managed to pass through the Bosphorus safely thanks to the skill of Tiphys who is going to demonstrate the same skills shortly again when they have to sail past the Clashing Rocks (2.174–5: εἴ κ' ἐσθλοῖο κυβερνητῆρος ἐπαύρη. / Τῷ καὶ Τίφυος οἶδε δαημοσύνησι νέοντο).¹⁵¹ The vividness of the account in 2.168–76, with its graphic description of the wave literally covering the terrified Argonauts and its use of the literary device of the second person address with the formula οὐδέ κε φαίης (2.171)¹⁵² to turn the

¹⁴⁹See also 2.859ff; *HyDem* 198 (ἄφθογγος). West ad Hes. *Th.* 167; Richardson *HyDem* 197–201; Bulloch ad Call. *h.* 5.83–4 (ἐστάκη δ' ἄφθογγος, ἐκόλλασαν γὰρ ἀνῖαι / γνώματα καὶ φωνὰν ἔσχεν ἀμυχανία).

¹⁵⁰The combination of ἀμυχανέων κακότητι is also found in 2.1140 (Argus) and 4.1259 (Ancaeus). Cf. Campbell ad 3.422f.

¹⁵¹*Il.* 23.316–7: μήτι δ' αὐτε κυβερνήτης ἐνὶ οἴνοπι πόντῳ / νῆα θοὴν ἰθύνει ἐρεχθομένην ἀνέμοισι. Cf. also: 4.1273–4 (Ancaeus in despair): Δαημοσύνην δέ τις ἄλλος / φαίνοι ἐγὼ; simile 2.70–3.

¹⁵²See also 2.284; 3.1044; 4.238.

readers "temporarily into eye-witnesses,"¹⁵³ emphasises the narrow escape of the Argonauts (2.172: κακὸν οἶτον) and the impressive rescue by Tiphys (2.176: ἀσκηθεῖς μὲν, ἀτὰρ πεφοβημένοι). This instance, introducing ἀσκηθής, one of the leitmotifs in this passage, gains momentum precisely because of the obstacle which the heroes face before long.¹⁵⁴

In his second short prophecy, Phineus specifically answers the fears expressed by Jason about their journey back to Hellas. Parallel situations can be found in *Od.* 10.501ff. and *Od.* 4.820ff. In the Circe episode in the *Odyssey*, a desperate Odysseus asks who will be their guide on their journey to the Underworld, ironically not wanting to live any longer now he is ordered to visit Hades.¹⁵⁵ Circe responds that in his case no guide at all will be necessary (*Od.* 10.505: μή τί τοι ἡγεμόνος γε ποθὴ παρὰ νηὶ μελέσθω).

ᾠ Κίρκη, τίς γὰρ ταύτην ὁδὸν ἡγεμονεύσει;
εἰς Ἄϊδος δ' οὐ πῶ τις ἀφίκετο νηὶ μελαίνῃ.
(*Od.* 10.501–2)

When Penelope expresses her fears for Telemachus' safety now that he will have to face so many dangers on land and sea (*Od.* 4.821: ἐνὶ δήμῳ ... ἐνὶ πόντῳ), she is specifically assured in a dream that her son is accompanied by the goddess Athena as his escort (*Od.* 4.825–6: θάρσει, μηδέ τι πάγχυ μετὰ φρεσὶ δειδῖθαι λίην / τοίη γάρ οἱ πομπὸς ἅμ' ἔρχεται).¹⁵⁶ Phineus' reply is also comforting but nonetheless more vague, not specifying any guide in particular and only mentioning Aphrodite as an afterthought in such an ambiguous way that it is not clear whether or not this goddess will provide the Argonauts with any practical help on their route.

¹⁵³De Jong, *Narrators*, 53–60.

¹⁵⁴See 2.176; 2.346; 2.573; 2.603 (Vian i, 204, n. 1). As Vian i, 129 observes (cf. esp. n. 2 for the verbal echoes between both passages): "des répétitions de termes et de motifs soulignent l'effet de symétrie."

¹⁵⁵Cf. Heubeck ad *Od.* 10.496–9.

¹⁵⁶See for example also Zeus' words to Iris (*Il.* 24.152–3: μηδέ τί οἱ θάνατος μελέτω φρεσὶ μηδέ τι τάρβος / τοῖον γάρ οἱ πομπὸν ὁπάσσομεν Ἀργειφόντην).

θάρσει· ἐπεὶ δαίμων ἕτερον πλόον ἡγεμονεύσει
ἐξ Αἴης, μετὰ δ' Αἴαν ἄλις πομπῆς ἔσονται. (2.421–2)

The first mention of Hera's all-important role in the expedition in 2.216–7 (αὐτῆς εἵνεκεν Ἥρης / λίσσομαι, ἧ περιάλλα θεῶν μέμβλεσθε κιόντες) reminds one of Circe's words in *Od.* 12.69–72, in which Hera is credited with helping the Argonauts past the Clashing Rocks:

οἷη δὴ κείνη γε παρέπλω ποντοπόρος νηὺς
Ἄργῳ πασιμέλουσα, παρ' Αἰήταο πλέουσα·
καί νύ κε τὴν ἔνθ' ὤκα βάλεν μεγάλας ποτὶ πέτρας,
ἀλλ' Ἥρη παρέπεμψεν, ἐπεὶ φίλος ἦεν Ἰήσων.
(*Od.* 12.69–72)

The echo establishes that the suspense, carefully and successfully built up by the seer for the Argonauts in relation to this next challenge, is not shared by the readers. (2.319: τάων οὗ τινά φημι διαμπερὲς ἐξαλέασθαι; 2.339–40: οὐ γάρ κε κακὸν μόρον ἐξαλέαισθε / πετράων, οὐδ' εἴ κε σιδηρεῖη πέλοι Ἄργῳ).¹⁵⁷ A similar technique is used in Circe's and Teiresias' prophecies in the *Odyssey*, where the audience already knows that the cattle of Helios will prove to be the stumbling-block for Odysseus' crew (*Od.* 1.6–9). For us, who already know the important role Hera will play from Book Three onwards, the invocation of Hera by Phineus foreshadows her influence there. At the same time, it is typical and expected of a prophet to reveal the involvement of the gods in a mission (2.217: ἧ περιάλλα θεῶν μέμβλεσθε κιόντες; cf. also 2.424).¹⁵⁸ Circe's words in *Od.* 12.72 and the fact that Pelias did not pay any respect to this goddess in particular (1.14) would of course lead one to expect Hera to assume the role of patron goddess of the Argonauts. In Book Four, however, Hera does play a crucial role in guiding the heroes past the Wandering Rocks with the help

¹⁵⁷*Od.* 12.66: τῇ δ' οὐ πῶ τις νηὺς φύγεν ἀνδρῶν. See also Hunter, *Literary Studies*, 93.

¹⁵⁸In *Od.* 11.101ff. Teiresias tells about the grudge held by Poseidon against Odysseus. See also Heubeck ad *Od.* 11.121–37: "As befits his role as a prophet Tiresias places human experience in the context of the divine order."

of several gods. The actual help given here to the Argonauts by Athena, the builder of the Argo, will therefore be quite unexpected, especially following Phineus' remarks about the necessity of relying exclusively on their own strength. The choice of goddess is even more surprising considering the method of the dove¹⁵⁹ and Phineus' cryptic allusion to the vital part played by Cypris in the expedition (2.423: δολόεσσαν ἀρωγήν)¹⁶⁰ which seemed to indicate the direction of help from this goddess.

e) The return of the Boreads and exchange of speeches during the rest of the night
(2.408–50)

ἐπὶ δὲ σχεδὸν νύξε δοιῶ
Θρηικίου Βορέαο κατ' αἰθέρος ἀίξαντε¹⁶¹
οὐδῶ ἐπὶ κραιπνοὺς ἔβαλον πόδας· (2.426–8)

εἰ δὲ καὶ ὀφθαλμοῖσι φάως πόροι, ἦ τ' ἂν οἶω
γηθήσειν ὅσον εἴ περ ὑπότροπος οἴκαδ' ἰκοίμην. (2.440–1)

The same motif of the imagined sweetness of homecoming to express exuberant joy is used poignantly in *Od.* 10.415–20, when Odysseus is reunited with his crew after visiting Circe for the first time. These thoughts are later expressed literally in their speech (*Od.* 10.415–7: δόκησε δ' ἄρα σφίσι θυμὸς / ὧς ἔμεν ὡς εἰ πατρίδ' ἰκοίατο καὶ πόλιν αὐτὴν / τρηχέης Ἰθάκης, ἵνα τ' ἔτραφεν ἡδ' ἐγένοντο; *Od.* 10.420: ὡς εἴ τ' εἰς Ἰθάκην ἀφικοίμεθα πατρίδα γαῖαν). A clever and totally unexpected variation on this motif is found in the simile 2.541–8 to illustrate the swiftness and efficiency of Athena's travelling

¹⁵⁹Cf. *Od.* 12.62–3: τῇ μὲν τ' οὐδὲ ποτητὰ παρέρχεται οὐδὲ πέλειαι / τρήρωνες.

¹⁶⁰See Nyberg (1992), 83–4. A further explanation of Phineus' words here will be given by Mopsus, interpreting a bird sign sent by Hera (3.942–3). Cf. Campbell (1973), 75.

¹⁶¹Verbal echoes with 2.224 (καταΐσσουσαι), 2.187 (αἰσσουσαι) and 2.282 (αἰσσοντες) show the aptness of the Boreads as pursuers of the Harpies whose speed is also emphasised in their introduction in the catalogue in Book One (1.539: κραιπνοῖσι ... πόδεσσιν) and in 2.267 (στεροπαί), 2.265 (ἐπεσσυμέναι) and in 2.225–7 (ἀλλά κε ῥεῖα / αὐτὸς ἐὼν λελάθοιμι νόον δόρποιο μεμηλὼς / ἦ κείνας, ὧδ' αἴψα διηέριαι ποτέονται). Despite their speed, their chase after Heracles in Book Four is not successful (cf. 4.1484f.).

down from Olympus to come to the rescue of the Argonauts. Γηθήσειν in 2.441 picks up their present joy as expressed in 2.435 (γηθόσυνοι) and 2.437 (περιπολλὸν εὐφρονέων προσέειπεν).¹⁶²

The very specific wish for the removal of the blindness can be considered as part of the motif of the visitor pronouncing a blessing on the host. As such, this wish can be contrasted with the more general wishes for the well-being of the host found, for example, in *Od.* 14.53–4, *Od.* 17.354–5 and *Od.* 20.199–200.¹⁶³ Phineus knows that this punishment can unfortunately not be undone (cf. *Od.* 8.64ff.).

Throughout the episode, Phineus emphasised the gift of prophecy he received from Apollo. Confident that his sufferings will not persist after death, he now asks a further unspecified god to grant him death (2.446: θάνατος; 2.447: θανών).

'Αντὶ δὲ τοῦ θάνατόν μοι ἄφαρ θεὸς ἐγγυαλίξαι,
καὶ τε θανὼν πάσῃσι μετέσσομαι ἀγλαΐῃσιν. (2.446–7)

Verses 2.446–7 are again an adaptation of a common epic motif in which someone emphasises the strength of his wish by expressing willingness to die after obtaining what one desires.¹⁶⁴ In *Od.* 7.224–5 (ἰδόντα με καὶ λίποι αἰὼν / κτῆσιν ἐμὴν δμῳάς τε καὶ ὑπερεφές μέγα δῶμα) and *HyAphr* 153–4 for instance, this conventional wish is used metaphorically to reveal intense longing. In *Il.* 24.226–7 (αὐτίκα γάρ με κατακτείνειεν Ἀχιλλεὺς / ἀγκὰς ἐλόντ' ἐμὸν υἱόν, ἐπὴν γόου ἐξ ἔρον εἶην), the wish for death may well be real, but there is still something to wish for, namely to be able to mourn Hector properly. Once these funeral rituals have been completed, indeed, there is nothing else for the old man to live for. Here, the wish is explicitly for an immediate death (2.446:

¹⁶²2.437 is a variation on a Homeric formula of speech introduction (*Il.* 1.73 = *Od.* 2.155: σφιν εὐφρονέων ἀγορήσατο καὶ μετέειπε[ν]), intensified by περιπολλὸν to stress Jason's kindness. Cf. also 1.331: τοῖσιν δ' Αἴσωνος υἱὸς εὐφρονέων μετέειπεν.

¹⁶³See Russo ad *Od.* 20.199–200.

¹⁶⁴See Garvie ad *Od.* 7.224–5; Macleod ad *Il.* 24.26–7.

ἄφαρ); there is nothing else for Phineus to wish for anymore now. The echoes with these conventional types of wish serve to emphasise further Phineus' desperate situation.

f) The arrival of the neighbours , introduction of Paraebius and sacrifice (2.450–97)

On the second day, once again the familiar sequence of the rituals of sacrifice, meal and sleeping arrangements unfolds. Further echoes are established with the Homeric hospitality scenes, particularly at Nestor's palace and Eumaeus' hut. The introductory verses to Phineus' speech to the Argonauts (cf. esp. ὀμηγερέεσσι) situate his speech in the traditional framework of an assembly held in the morning, as can be seen in the openings of *Od.* 2 and 8, for example.¹⁶⁵ In contrast to the first day, no mention is made this time of any difficulties experienced by the seer in leaving his house.

τοῦ δ' ἐκ μέγαροιο κiónτος,
μειλιχίως ἐρέτησιν ὀμηγερέεσσι μετηύδα· (2.466–7)

In *Od.* 19.194–8, Odysseus, in an attempt to win hospitality himself, illustrates the desired behaviour of a host in general by his (fictitious) story about the entertainment he offered to Odysseus and his crew on Crete. To receive your guest with a warm welcome evidently entails abundance, a good meal and a contribution for a sacrifice.

τὸν μὲν ἐγὼ πρὸς δώματ' ἄγων ἐὺ ἐξείνισσα,
ἐνδυκέως φιλέων, πολλῶν κατὰ οἶκον ἐόντων·
καὶ οἱ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἐτάροις, οἳ ἅμ' αὐτῷ ἔποντο,
δημόθεν ἄλφιστα δῶκα καὶ αἶθοπα οἶνον ἀγείρας

¹⁶⁵E.g. *Od.* 2.1 = *Od.* 8.1: indication of dawn; *Od.* 2.5: βῆ δ' ἵμεν ἐκ θαλάμοιο; *Od.* 2.9 = *Od.* 8.24: αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ ῥ' ἦγερθεν ὀμηγερέες τ' ἐγένοντο; *Od.* 8.25: τοῖσιν δ' Ἀλκίνοος ἀγορήσατο καὶ μετέειπε. See Garvie ad *Od.* 8.24. A more extensive treatment of this motif can be seen in 4.1170ff., when Alcinous delivers his judgement concerning Medea.

sacrifice itself is made upon the hearth, thereby recalling Eumaeus' sacrifice of a pig on his fireplace (*Od.* 14.420: τὸν μὲν ἔπειτ' ἔστησαν ἐπ' ἐσχάρῃ).

The structure of 2.494–8 (ἦματος ἀνομένοιο ... τοὶ μὲν παρὰ πείσμασι νηός ... Ἡρι δ') recalls the basic sequence of three common Homeric formulas of nightfall, sleeping — varied according to the actual location — and breaking of dawn.¹⁶⁸ These verses usually follow a description of a sacrifice and banquet.

ἦμος δ' ἥελιος κατέδυ καὶ ἐπὶ κνέφας ἦλθεν
 δὴ τότε κοιμήσαντο παρὰ πρυμνήσια νηός·
 ἦμος δ' ἡριγένεια φάνη ῥοδοδάκτυλος Ἥως (Il. 1.475–7)

Παρὰ πρυμνήσια νηός is only found twice in the Homeric epics: in the example cited above, the reference follows a fairly elaborate description of a sacrifice to Apollo and ensuing banquet; in *Od.* 12.32, the crew is said to go to sleep next to their ship (οἱ μὲν...), while Circe, in a sexually loaded gesture, takes Odysseus by the hand to lead him away from the others before delivering her prophecy (*Od.* 12.33: ἡ δ' ἐμὲ...). This is almost an exact repetition of the situation in *Od.* 10.479–80 (οἱ μὲν κοιμήσαντο κατὰ μέγαρα σκιάοντα / αὐτὰρ ἐγὼ...), in which, with the crew asleep throughout the palace, Circe gives Odysseus instructions for his visit to the Underworld on her own bed.

τοὶ μὲν παρὰ πείσμασι νηός,
 τοὶ δ' αὐτοῦ κατὰ δώματ' ἀολλέες εὐνάζοντο. (2.496–7)

The two locations mentioned in the Circe episode in the *Odyssey* are here combined. Thus, although often a contrast between two groups is emphasised¹⁶⁹ and usually the host is said to sleep separately from his guests in his own private chambers, here, it is worth remarking that these two groups are not further

¹⁶⁸Cf. for example *Od.* 9.588–60; *Od.* 10.183–5. See Arend (1933), 99.

¹⁶⁹A variation on this is another epic motif in which everyone is said to be fast asleep, while the protagonist, tossing and turning about on the bed, and plagued by nightmares, cannot fall asleep (cf. 3.751; *Il.* 2.1ff.; *Il.* 10.1ff.).

specified (τοὶ μὲν ... τοὶ δ'). Ἀολλέες, 'in a throng,' 'huddled together,' further reinforced by κατὰ, 'throughout,' suggests that no more people could be fitted into Phineus' (small) house, which seems to imply that it is primarily for this reason, rather than as a measure of security, that the party has split up into two groups with one sleeping next to the Argo.¹⁷⁰

In his commentary on *Il.* 1.475–87, Kirk suggests that the crew is sleeping as near to the ship as possible in order to be able to sail away immediately the next day. Here, a similar effect could also be pursued: the mention of the cables recalls the very beginning of the Argonauts' visit and thereby creates expectations, albeit false, of an immediate departure at dawn. These anticipations are further raised by ἦρι δ' in 2.498; the morning being the traditional time for departure and more generally a new start within a narrative. As a result, the onset of the Etesian winds comes as a surprise. However, the delay is turned into an opportunity to bestow even more honour upon the Argonauts.

g) Etesian winds prevent the Argonauts from sailing (2.498–536)

The delay caused by the fierce Etesian winds (2.498: ἐπέχραον)¹⁷¹ builds up suspense for the next major task of the Argonauts: the navigation through the Clashing Rocks. The aetiology (2.500–28) explains the (positive) natural origin of these winds; they are not to be regarded as a punishment from the god for misbehaviour by the Argonauts. This would have been a logical conclusion; after all, winds prevented the Argonauts from sailing away for twelve days after the massacre of the Doliones and when Odysseus tells of how he and his crew were prevented from sailing for twelve days by a storm in one of his Cretan Tales, the assertion is added that a daemon must surely be responsible for the winds (*Od.* 19.201: χαλεπὸς δέ τις ἄρορε δαίμων). The length of this aetiology literally

¹⁷⁰Vian i, 147.

¹⁷¹See Campbell ad 3.431.

arrests the progress of the narrative and is therefore an effective literary device to convey to the reader something of the long wait experienced by the Argonauts. The very presence of the neighbours, providing the Argonauts with gifts and presumably also provisions, prevents a situation similar to that on the island of Helios arising when Odysseus' crew, driven by hunger because of a shortness of supplies, recklessly slaughtered the god's cattle (*Od.* 1.7: αὐτῶν γὰρ σφετέρησιν ἀτασθαλίησιν ὄλοντο).¹⁷² In the latter case, the delay also resulted from a storm raised by Zeus for a whole month (*Od.* 12.325: μῆνα δὲ πάντ' ἄλληκτος ἄη Νότος).¹⁷³ The recollection of those ominous antecedents, especially in an episode with the punishments of Zeus for human transgressions as its major theme, is perhaps designed to trigger false expectations from the audience in the present passage.

Just as Phineus was visited every day by his neighbours, so these people now provide the Argonauts with countless ξείνια *out of gratitude towards Phineus* every day of their delay.

ξεινήια δ' ἄσπετα Θυνοὶ
πᾶν ἡμᾶρ Φινῆι χαριζόμενοι προΐαλλον. (2.529–30)

The conventional motif of gift giving at the end of a visitor's stay is here twisted. The gesture in itself together with the sheer quantity of their gifts (no detail is given at all about them) shows the depth of their respect for the seer. The extravagant amount of gifts, a sign of honour towards a guest, is foreshadowed in 2.185 (ἀπειρεσίοισιν ὀνείασιν).¹⁷⁴ These acts illustrate the important

¹⁷²Heubeck ad *Od.* 24.461–2: "The prophet here expresses a thought which is particularly dear to the author of the *Odyssey*: some misfortune is the result of fate, but some is self-incurred (*Od.* 1.32–4; *Od.* 22.416; *Od.* 23.67)." Cf. *Od.* 24.455: ὑμετέρη κακότητι; *Od.* 24.458: ἀτασθαλίησι κακῆσι. See also West ad *Od.* 1.7–9.

¹⁷³See also *Od.* 9.74–5: ἔνθα δ'ὡν νύκτας δύο τ' ἡμέατα συνεχὲς αἰεὶ / κείμεθ' ὁμοῦ καμάτῳ τε καὶ ἄλγεσι θυμὸν ἔδοντες.

¹⁷⁴Abundance is often mentioned specifically in connection with banquets (*Od.* 9.162 = *Od.* 12.30: ἡμεθα δαινύμενοι κρέα τ' ἄσπετα καὶ μέθυ ἡδύ; in general: *Od.* 4.75: ὅσσα τάδ' ἄσπετα πολλά).

principle of reciprocity felt by the neighbours towards the prophet who 'pleases,' 'satisfies' them with his prophecies,¹⁷⁵ and by Phineus towards the Argonauts.¹⁷⁶

¹⁷⁵2.462: τοὺς ... ἐπέεσσιν ἀρεσσάμενος πυκινότησιν. Cf. Campbell ad 3.301.

¹⁷⁶Gifts are important to obtain for a traveller as these determine in their turn the esteem in which he will be held at home (*Od.* 11.355–61).

VII LYCUS EPISODE (2.720–900)

a) Introduction

In this episode, the Argonauts visit the land of the Mariandyni which is situated near the entrance to the Underworld. After a description of the surroundings and an account of the actual arrival of the heroes (2.720–50), they are welcomed hospitably by King Lycus who has heard the news of their slaying of Amycus (2.752ff.). A pleasant day is spent at Lycus' palace (2.760) and stories are exchanged between host and guest (2.762–810). The next morning, just when the heroes are about to leave again, suddenly Idmon and then Tiphys die (2.812–57). As a result, the Argonauts despair of their ability to continue their voyage, but, thanks to the intervention of Hera, Ancaeus volunteers to be their new steersman and thereby manages to restore their confidence (2.858–98). The heroes finally depart on the twelfth day of their stay (2.899–900).

In this chapter, I shall analyse first the geographical introduction, then the various hospitality motifs encountered in this episode (arrival, welcome, stay at the palace, departure), the way in which the king and his people are portrayed, the role of Heracles, and the connection between this episode and the Amycus episode. In a detailed analysis of the speeches made by Jason and Lycus, special attention will be paid to the role of κλέος and the story motif.

b) The arrival of the heroes at the land of the Mariandyni (2.720–8)

Ἔνθεν δ' ἀντιπέρην ποταμοῦ στόμα Σαγγαρίοιο
καὶ Μαριανδυνῶν ἀνδρῶν ἐριθηλέα γαῖαν
ἦδ' Ἀλκυόιο ῥέεθρα καὶ Ἀνθεμοεισίδα λίμνην
δερκόμενοι παράμειβον· (2.722–5)

After their stay on the deserted island of Thynias where Apollo appears to them in the first light of the morning,¹ the Argonauts arrive at the land of the Mariandyni, just as the seer Phineus predicted (2.351–2: κείθεν δ' οὐ μάλα πούλ' διέξ ἄλ'ος ἀντιπέραια / γῆν Μαριανδυνῶν ἐπικέλσετε νοστήσαντες). It therefore comes as a surprise that because of the strong wind the heroes are at first unable to come ashore although they have come tantalisingly near land and are already able to see it (2.725: δερκόμενοι παράμειβον). The specific reference to 'seeing' makes one aware of the fact that we see the landscape through the eyes of the Argonauts. Pointing out the frequency of verbs of 'seeing' in passages like these, Harder concludes in her article that in passages of quiet travelling landscape merely is as something seen by the Argonauts.² Here, however, an Odyssean echo renders this poetic device more poignant. The dramatic motif of being so close to land that one is able to see it but not reach it owing to adverse weather conditions (the 'so near, yet so far' motif) can also be encountered in *Od.* 5.278ff., where Odysseus sees the mountains of the Phaeacians before Poseidon comes into action again (*Od.* 5.279–81: ἐφάνη ὄρεα σκιδόντα / γαίης Φαιήκων, ὅθι τ' ἄγχιστον πέλεν αὐτῷ / εἶσατο δ' ὥς ὅτε ῥινὸν ἐν ἡεροειδέι πόντῳ). It can be seen again in *Od.* 5.392ff., where Odysseus believes that he has finally made it to land, only to be swept away again by the waves when he discovers that there is no possibility of coming ashore on this rocky coast (*Od.* 5.392–3: ὁ δ' ἄρα σχεδὸν εἴσιδε γαῖαν, / ὅξ' ὃ μάλα προιδῶν).

In the description of the actual landing, reference is made to the wind and the time of day, but no nautical details are given at all. Using the conventional verb of arrival (2.729: ἵκοντο), the simple statement of fact allows the attention

¹Levin (1971), 182 suspects the hand of the gods behind the transit from Thynias although this is never mentioned explicitly.

²Harder (1994), 17; cf. also n. 4 ("quiet travel:" 1.592–609; 1.922–35; 2.345–407; 2.720–51; 2.1241–70; 4.562–76; 4.1778–81) and n.6 (verbs of seeing: 1.598; 1.1166; 2.725; 1.601; 1.1113; 1.1114). The rhythm of the narrative is here important: "quiet travel" is usually found before the start of a new major episode and the verbs of 'seeing' bring about that the focus is firmly on the Argonauts and their experiences.

in 2.728 to be on ἀσπασίως, i.e. on the emotion of the heroes upon arrival.³ No description is given of any activities undertaken by the crew in order to strengthen the fact that in 2.752–3 King Lycus is said to have noticed their arrival not long afterwards. There is no elaborate description of arrival in the aetiology either (2.746–8).

Ἡῶθεν δ', ἀνέμοιο διὰ κνέφας εὐνηθέντος,
ἀσπασίως ἄκρης Ἀχερουσίδος ὄρμον ἵκοντο.⁴ (2.728–9)

The gladness of the Argonauts at eventually managing to land (2.729: ἀσπασίως) after having been on the Argo all night echoes the gladness of Odysseus at seeing land in *Od.* 5.398 (ὥς Ὀδυσῆ' ἀσπαστὸν εἰσάτο γαῖα καὶ ὕλη).⁵ However, of equal importance is the simile in *Od.* 23.233–9 (in itself evidently a continuation of *Od.* 5.394), where *Penelope's* joy at finally being reunited with her dear husband (*Od.* 23.239: ὥς ἄρα τῇ ἀσπαστὸς ἔην πόσις εἰσοροώση) is compared to the delight of sailors at seeing and reaching the shore after being shipwrecked (*Od.* 23.233: ὥς δ' ὅτ' ἂν ἀσπάσιος γῆ νηχομένοισι φανήη; *Od.* 23.238: ἀσπάσιοι δ' ἐπέβαν γαίης).⁶

In 1.1172ff., the ploughman and gardener are said to arrive home glad (ἀσπασίως) and hungry after a day of hard work in the fields. Similarly, the exhausted Argonauts are pleased to arrive at the land of the Mysians after a full day of rowing as there have been no winds at all that day (cf. 1.1152–63; esp. 1.1161: τειρόμενοι καμάτῳ). Their joy is anticipated by 1.1164, which emphasises their eagerness to go there: Μυσῶν λελιημένοι ἡπείριοι.

³A traditional verb of arrival at some place (e.g. 1.925). The formula ὄρμον ἵκεσθαι is also encountered in 2.350 and 4.1678.

⁴A parallel for this use of εὐνᾶν can be encountered in *Od.* 5.384, where the winds are ordered to go to sleep by Athena (παύσασθαι δ' ἐκέλευσε καὶ εὐνηθῆναι ἅπαντας). Cf. also *Il.* 23.229–30, where the winds are said to go home in the morning. Note here the position of Ἡῶθεν and εὐνηθέντος at respectively the beginning and end of the verse. The winds have gone to sleep during the night, the Argonauts were not able to do so. Levin (1971), 182, n. 4 mentions the similarity in language with "the second Argonautic departure from Dolionia;" See 1.1086; 1.1094f.; 1.1152.

⁵It is not until *Od.* 5.462 that Odysseus staggers completely exhausted onto the riverbank.

⁶Cf. also Heubeck ad *Od.* 23.233–9.

Similarly in Book Three, the Argonauts are said to look forward to the food and drink prepared for them by Aeetes (3.301: ἀσπασίως δόρπῳ τε ποτῆτί τε θυμὸν ἄρεσσον) and, at the end of the epic, to be glad to have finished their expedition (4.1781: ἀσπασίως ... εἰσαπέβητε).⁷ The simile in 1.1172–8 echoes *Od.* 13.28–35, where a similar situation is used to illustrate Odysseus' emotions. The gladness of the tired farmer at being able to go home for dinner (*Od.* 13.33: ἀσπασίως) after finishing a hard day's work with his oxen is compared with the delight experienced by Odysseus, desperate to go home now that the sun has gone down, as this will bring his departure nearer (*Od.* 13.35: ὥς 'Οδυσῆ' ἀσπαστὸν ἔδου φάος ἡέλιοιο). The main point of comparison there lies in the fact that to both the arrival of the night is very welcome. The hunger of the farmer, however, does not correspond with Odysseus' situation, as he has just been entertained with a lavish banquet by the Phaeacians. A final *Zeitangabe* from the same sphere of ploughing can be encountered in 3.1340–4. Here, Jason, this time *unlike* the wearied farmers (3.1341: κεκμηῶτες) who understandably look forward to unyoking their oxen at the end of the day, is not at all tired (3.1343: ἀκαμάτῳ) despite the time of the day, and continues to slay the Earthborn men after unyoking his oxen (having completed that particular part of his labour).

The situation in the Mysian episode of arrival at dusk and departure in the morning presents the standard situation (cf. 2.720–1: Ἥμος δὲ τρίτατον φάος ἦλυθε, δὴ τότ' ἔπειτα / ἀκραεῖ Ζεφύρῳ νῆσον λίπον αἰπήεσσον).⁸ In the Lycus episode, the heroes arrive in the morning, having had to travel all night because of the stormy winds. Although the heroes travel several times throughout the night on their voyage, this is usually, as is to be expected, accompanied by references to winds.⁹ The only time they are forced to *row* all through the night

⁷ See Campbell ad 3.301.

⁸ In the Mysian episode, however, their leaving is hurried and without a proper farewell, as they are urged by Tiphys to depart because of the fair winds. Both De Jong (1996), 29 and Hunter (1993b), xxiii comment upon the importance of the marking of time on sea journeys.

⁹ E.g. 1.600: ἦνυσσαν ἐννύχιοι πνοιῇ ἀνέμοιο θέοντες; their passing through the Hellespont, which takes two days and nights to complete (without any breaks), is accompanied by references

because of a lack of winds is when they have just managed to pass the Clashing Rocks — a place which they would obviously want to leave behind them as soon as possible, regardless of the presence of favourable winds (2.660–1: Ὀμῶς δ' ἐπὶ ἥματι νύκτα / νήνεμον ἀκαμάτησιν ἐπερρώνοντ' ἐλάττησιν).¹⁰ Attention is drawn to this exceptional action by the vivid simile in which the Argonauts, pulling their oars like ploughs through the sea (2.668: εἶλκον ἑρετμό), are compared to oxen toiling all day long in the field (2.662–8).¹¹ While their rowing all day resulted in their comparison to a ploughman (1.1172: ἄροτρεύς), now, when they have been at the oars all night — presumably a worse ordeal — they are compared to the oxen themselves. Together these instances form a series of similes which all take their metaphor from the sphere of ploughing and all indicate time, or, to be more precise, the beginning of the evening and end of labour.¹²

c) The description of the landscape (2.729–51)

Although Phineus told the Argonauts that they would come ashore here, he did not give them any details about the nature of the visit or the peoples themselves; there are, for example, no epithets characterising and thereby foreshadowing the behaviour of the Mariandyni in his speech. Far more attention was paid (2.353–6; 2.353: ἔνθα) to the unusual position of the land near the entrance of Hades.

to Thracian winds which are blowing: 1.924–6: Νέον γε μὲν ἡέλιιο / δυομένου Χερώνησον ἐπὶ προύχουσιν ἴκοντο. / ἔνθα σφιν λαιψηρὸς ἄη Νότος, ἰστία δ' οὖρον...; 2.940; 2.1231; 4.1232–4: καὶ τότε ἀναρπάγδην ὅλοη Βορέας θύελλα / μεσσηγὺς πέλαγος δὲ Λιβυστικὸν ἐννέα πάσας / νύκτας ὁμῶς καὶ τόσσα φέρ' ἥματα. The position of νύκτας at the very beginning of the verse especially stresses this detail.

¹⁰ Ἀκαμάτησιν: i.e. they do not notice the effects of their labour at first.

¹¹ The emphasis is very much on the struggle of both the Argonauts (2.673: καμάτω πολυπήμονι) and the cattle (2.662: πλαδῶσαν ἄρουραν; 2.663: μογέουσι ... ἄσπετος ἰδρώς; 2.665–6: ἀντμή / αὐαλέη ... βρέμει; 2.667: πανημέριοι πονέοντα). The whole simile is modelled on *Il.* 13.703ff., in which Aias, son of Oileus, and Aias, son of Telamon, fight together just as two oxen stay together under the yoke. Here also the effort and toiling (sweat) is emphasised (*Il.* 13.704–5). Hunter (1986), 52, n. 14 mentions ad 2.673 that this is in itself an elaboration of a common metaphor (cf. *Il.* 7.4–6).

¹² In 1.451 (οἱ δὲ νέον σκοπέλοισιν ὑποσκιδόντων ἄρουρα), the heroes are said to spread out their beds at that time of the day when the ploughlands are being overshadowed by rocks. No activity in the fields is mentioned in this case, which coincides with the fact that the Argonauts have not yet started their voyage.

Likewise in the passage introducing the Lycus episode, the description of the surroundings mostly concerns the entrance of Hades (2.729–45). The mainland itself is just called γῆν Μαριανδυνῶν (2.352; 2.748), ἡπειρον (2.734; 2.752) and Μαριανδυνῶν ἀνδρῶν ἐριθηλέα γαῖαν (2.723).¹³ Ἐριθηλέα, 'very fertile,' a *hapax legomenon* in the *Argonautica*, points to the richness of the area which is probably due to its situation near a river (cf. 2.809–10: πίονας εὐαρότοιο γύας πεδίοιο).¹⁴ The position of the land so near Hades certainly serves to create suspense, as one naturally wonders — with the example of the *Odyssey* in mind — whether an actual visit to the Underworld will take place in this episode.¹⁵

The *excursus*, emphasising in particular those features which create difficult sailing conditions there, is followed by an aetiology in which we are told of yet another group nearly suffering shipwreck (2.746–51).¹⁶ It is little wonder that the Argonauts get caught up in a storm here. The primary function of this aetiology is to explain a name later given to the river Acheron, one of the rivers of the Underworld. It is the only river mentioned by Phineus, who significantly, as it now appears, called it δινῆεις, 'swirling,' 'turbulent' (2.355). At the same time, however, a clear structure of ring composition is created (with the *excursus* in the middle); and, as a result of this, the landing of the Argonauts is as it were recapitulated by the landing of the Megarians who came to this area in order to settle themselves here. So ἀνέμοιο διὰ κνέφας εὐνηθέντος (2.727) corresponds with ἀνέμοιο νέον λήγοντος (2.751) and Ἀχερουσίδος ὄρμον ἔκοντο (2.728) with ἔκελσαν, placed at the very end of the verse (2.751). A

¹³The land is inhabited by the Mariandyni instead of the Homeric Cimmerians, a change which, according to Kyriakou (1995b: 257), was "ingenious and easy, because the historical Cimmerians were associated with the Mariandyni and the latter's eponymous hero was believed to have been the son of the former's eponymous hero."

¹⁴Cf. *Il.* 5.90: ἀλωάων ἐριθηλέων.

¹⁵See also Feeney (1986), 59. Kyriakou (1995b: 264) concludes in her article: "Apollonius nowhere describes a formal κατάβασις but he stresses one aspect of the Homeric Nekyia in every major episode that echoes it. In the land of the Mariandynoi he focused on the geography and landscape of Hades with its imposing rivers and fog."

¹⁶We are explicitly told that the Megarians survive αὐτῇσιν νήεσσι (2.749). That this is an aetiology is immediately made clear by the words ἐν ὀπιγόνουσι (2.746). On this aetiology see also Harder (1994), 22–3.

smooth transition is thereby realised with 2.752ff., in which we are told about the reception of the Argonauts by King Lycus. More importantly, the comparison of the Argonauts with the Nisaeian Megarians, renowned for their sailing abilities, implicitly also raises the status of the heroes.¹⁷

The stories of both groups thus prove the frequency of storms around there. As previously said, these features are therefore particularly emphasised in the description of the surroundings. Several elements used in the description of the weather conditions are matched by the vivid and graphic description of the steep and fearsome (2.740: βλοσυρήν: literally 'hair-raising') cape with its stormy conditions.¹⁸ The nautical vocabulary of the whole passage is drawn from the storm scenes within the *Odyssey* (e.g. *Od.* 5.382ff.) and the various 'wave' similes in the *Iliad*, where they are used to describe vividly the power and sound of attacks on the battlefield (e.g. *Il.* 2.209ff.; *Il.* 2.394–7; *Il.* 4.222ff.). It also shares characteristics with the description of the storm at the end of Book Two and the passages of the Clashing Rocks and Symplegades.¹⁹ The Argonauts are said to be driven forth by an ἀκραῖ Ζεφύρῳ (2.721), whose blasts (2.725: πνοιῇ) cause all the tackle of the ship to shake.²⁰ Ὑπὸ πνοιῇ ... τινάσσετο (2.725–6) is echoed in 2.742 (φύλλων τε πνοιῇσι τινασσομένων).²¹ The Megarians are saved by the river Acheron, just as Odysseus is ultimately saved by a river (*Od.* 5.441ff.).²² Interestingly, they are said to have touched upon a

¹⁷Cf. Theoc. 12.27: ἀριστεύοντες ἔρετμοῖς.

¹⁸Fear is, of course, a topos in relation to both descriptions of storm scenes (e.g. *Od.* 5.297ff.) and Hades: cf. *Il.* 20.64–5. Hes. *Th.* 739 & 775 mention that this fear is even experienced by the immortals.

¹⁹For a discussion of the storm scenes in the *Argonautica* see Knight (1995), 77ff. The present passage is not included in her analysis.

²⁰See West ad *Od.* 2.421 and Hes. *Op.* 594. Zephyrus, traditionally a storm wind (*Od.* 5.295, *Od.* 12.408), is in the *Argonautica* a strong wind, speeding the Argo on: 2.276: ζεφύροιο ... ἀέλλας; 2.900: ζεφύρου μέγας οὖρος ἤητο; 4.1624: πνοιῇ ζεφύροιο θέεσκον; 4.768; 4.837; 4.886: λαιψηροῖο ... ζεφύροιο. Λαιψηρός, 'swift,' in the *Iliad* always used in the formula ἀνέμων λαιψηρὰ κέλευθα (*Il.* 14.17; *Il.* 15.620), is here used of the wind itself (cf. 1.926). Not only known as a storm wind, but also as the wind blowing in the Elysian Fields (*Od.* 4.567–8), the choice of Zephyrus is here particularly appropriate (see also Kyriakou [1995b] 258). The Argonauts eventually leave the land of the Mariandyni driven forth by the same wind (2.900).

²¹The verb is used several times in the *Argonautica* of winds: 1.521; 2.1100; 2.1109; 2.1253.

²²2.748: ἐξεσάωσεν ~ *Od.* 4.501: ἐξεσάωσε θαλάσσης.

malicious wind (2.749: κακῇ χρίμψαντες ἀέλλῃ).²³ As far as I can see there are no exact parallels for this use of the verb with a wind although the verb is several times encountered in the combination with land, the very place the Megarians would like to reach but are prevented from doing so by this gale.²⁴ Kyriakou's remark on that "in both accounts (*Od.* 10.507; 11.10–1 ~ A.R. 2.721 and 727) a favourable wind brings the ship to the entrance" is not entirely true; the Argonauts are not able to come ashore until the wind has stopped blowing.²⁵

Several *topoi* in the descriptions of the Underworld and caves in general are found here as well. For example, the presence of trees is a conventional element in the description of caves (see also 2.736: ὕλη καὶ πέτρησιν ἐπηρεφές).²⁶ Overhanging rocks can also be found in the description by Circe of the fearsome and, for sailors, dangerous surroundings of Scylla who, after all, lives in a cave situated near Erebus (*Od.* 12.59–60: ἔνθεν μὲν γὰρ πέτραι ἐπηρεφές, προτὶ δ' αὐτὰς / κῦμα μέγα ῥοχθεῖ κυανώπιδος Ἀμφιτρίτης; cf. also *Od.* 12.80–1: σπέος ἡρωειδές / πρὸς ζόφον εἰς Ἑρεβος τετραμμένον). The traditional darkness within the cave is established through the overhanging rocks and the presence of wide-spreading plane-trees (2.733: ἀμφιλαφεῖς πλατάνιστοι), ideal for creating a shady cave.²⁷ The position near the entrance of Hades is also accentuated by the recurrent contrast between the

²³ἀέλλῃ: 'whirling stormy wind' (cf. *Il.* 13.795; *Od.* 5.292; *Od.* 5.304).

²⁴4.1566–7: ἀλλὰ βαρείαις / χρίμψαντες γαίης ἐπὶ πείρασι τῆσδε θυέλλαις; cf. also 2.1081; 2.290; *Hdt.* 2.60; *HyAp* 439.

²⁵Kyriakou (1995b), 257.

²⁶Elements are taken from various cave descriptions:

—The cave of Persephone: *Od.* 10.509–10: ἔνθ' ἄκτῃ τε λάχεια καὶ ἄλσεα Περσεφονείης, / μακροὶ τ' αἴγαιοι καὶ ἰτέαι ὠλεσίκαρποι. Here, the funereal poplars and willows are mentioned.

—The cave of the Cyclops: *Od.* 9.182–3: ἔνθα δ' ἐπ' ἐσχατιῇ σπέος εἶδομεν ἄγχι θαλάσσης, / σπέος ... δάφνησι κατηρεφές. Note not only the presence of the trees, laurels this time (*Od.* 9.186 also notes oaks and pines), but also the position of the cave near the sea at the edge of land.

—The cave of Phorcys and the Nymphs: *Od.* 13.346–9: ἦδε δ' ἐπὶ κρατὸς λιμένος τανύφυλλος ἐλαίῃ / ἀγχόθι δ' αὐτῆς ἄντρον ἐπήρατον, ἡρωειδές, / ἱρὸν Νυμφῶων, αἱ Νηιάδες καλέονται / τοῦτο δέ τοι σπέος εὐρύ, κατηρεφές. The grove is shady and overhanging, and a wild olive can be found there. Cf. also *Od.* 10.131 (ἐπηρεφέας φύγε πέτρας νηὸς ἐμή) and *Od.* 12.301.

²⁷Cf. Pl. *Phdr.* 230b: πλατάνος μάλ' ἀμφιλαφῆς καὶ ὕψηλή. Theocritus also emphasises this aspect of the plane-tree: Theoc. 22.76: σκιερὰς πλατανίστους (cf. also Theoc. 18.44 & 46).

height of the headland and the depths of the Underworld (e.g. 2.354–5: ὑψόθι and νειόθι placed at the same position in the verse; 2.356: φάραγος; 2.735: σπέος ... 'Αίδαο; 2.737: μυχοῖο; 2.742: μυχήησιν; 2.745: κοίλη δὲ φάραγξ κατὰγει μιν ἄνωθεν).

ἔνθεν αὐτμῇ
πηγυλῖς, ὀκρυόεντος ἀναπνείουσα μυχοῖο
συνεχές, ἀργινόεσσαν αἰεὶ περιτέτροφε πάχνην,
ἥ τε μεσημβριόωντος ἰαίνεται ἡέλιόιο.²⁸ (2.736–9)

In the *excursus*, all senses are appealed to in order to convey an idea of the awesome surroundings that the heroes have come to. In addition to sight, touch and sound are emphasised: the winds blowing there are ice-cold and chilling,²⁹ the sea roars and the leaves rustle in the wind.³⁰ Williams specifies that "since in the *Argonautica* sounds frequently occur at moments of great excitement or emotion and act as a manifestation of danger, the noise of the sea and rocks in this passage may be considered ominous."³¹ Kyriakou, who also draws attention to this feature of the passage, mentions that the emphasis on the thunder of the sea is an element in which this passage differs from Homer's description of Hades;³² as shown above, however, elements are not exclusively borrowed from those passages in the *Odyssey* in which the Underworld is described. The stress on the sound of the sea, using a vocabulary borrowed from maritime passages within the

²⁸The house of Hades is traditionally the house of Night (cf. Hes. *Th.* 744–5; *Od.* 11.14–5); both Hes. *Th.* 760–1 and *Od.* 11.15–9 mention that Helios never breaks through in either the morning or the evening (see also Kyriakou [1995b], 257). Here, at least, the sun is said to be present at noon. The permanent presence of a dark cloud and absence of any sunlight is also stressed in (again) the description of Scylla's rock (*Od.* 12.74–6). Darkness can therefore be considered a topos in both Underworld and storm scenes, ideal for creating a sinister atmosphere.

²⁹Cf. Hes. *Th.* 742–3; *Od.* 14.476–7.

³⁰Sound is also emphasised several times in the episode of the Clashing Rocks (cf. 2.552–3; 2.556–7: αἶε δὲ πόντος / σμερδαλέον· πάντη δὲ περὶ μέγας ἔβρεμεν αἰθήρ; 2.597), where it similarly underlines the dangerous and fearsome circumstances of the sea. Cf. also 2.551: δινῆεις (ρόος). The emphasis on the sound of the sea can, for example, also be encountered in *Il.* 17.263–5 (ὥς δ' ὅτ' ἐπὶ προχοῇσι διπτεῖος ποταμοῖο / βέβρυχεν μέγα κῦμα ποτὶ ῥόον, ἀμφὶ δέ τ' ἄκραι / ἥϊόνες βοόωσιν ἐρευγομένης ἁλὸς ἕξω) and *Il.* 2.209–10 (ὥς ὅτε κῦμα πολυφλοίσβοιο θαλάσσης / αἰγιαλῷ μεγάλῳ βρέμεται, σμαραγεῖ δέ τε πόντος). See also Williams (1989), 109 & 119.

³¹Williams (1989), 119.

³²Kyriakou (1995b), 257.

Odyssey (and especially the storm scene in *Od.* 5), serves to underline the difficult sailing conditions here.

Σιγή δ' οὐ ποτε τήνδε κατὰ βλοσυρήν ἔχει ἄκρην,
 ἀλλ' ἄμυδις πόντοιο θ' ὑπὸ στένει³³ ἠχηέντος³⁴
 φύλλων τε πνοιῇσι τινασσομένων μυχίησιν. (2.740–2)

There might be another reference to sound in 2.744–5: ὅστε δι᾽ ἄκρης ἀνερεύγεται εἰς ἄλλα βάλλων / ἠφῆν. The verb ἀνερεύγεσθαι is used of a river discharging itself ('throw up,' 'disgorge') and conjures up a vivid and slightly unpleasant image of a river spewing its water into the sea with force (reinforced here by βάλλων) and inevitably therefore also some noise.³⁵ In his discussion of δεινὸν ἐρευγόμενος (*Od.* 5.403), Hainsworth prefers a translation of 'roar' to 'spew' on the grounds that Homer frequently seeks to emphasise the noise of the sea (LSJ mention also *Il.* 17.265 (another 'wave simile') and *Od.* 5.438).³⁶ Is the notion of 'roaring' perhaps present here as well?

The permanent storm conditions are illustrated by the ceaseless activity of the rolling, thundering waves (2.732: κῶμα κυλινδόμενον μέγала βρέμει)³⁷ which are so powerful that they have beaten the rocks smooth (2.730–1: πέτραι λισσάδες ... ὀλίβροχοι).³⁸ The rocks, dangerous and difficult for a ship to moor to, are 'immovably rooted' (2.731: ἐρρίζωνται) in contrast with the ever moving waves and also (implicitly) with ships easily tossed about by waves (cf. also 2.320).³⁹ The repeated emphasis on the stormy conditions therefore serves a definite purpose, and the comments by Fränkel that "innerhalb des so eingekapselten Exkurses herrscht eine seltsame Unordnung" and "unwilkürlich denkt man an irgend eine Störung bei der Textredaktion, aber der Verdacht läßt

³³Cf. *Il.* 23.230; Aesch. *Pr.* 432; S. *Aj.* 675. Cf. also 2.554: βόων δ' ὀλυμυρέες ἄκται.

³⁴Cf. *Il.* 4.422: πολυηχέϊ κῶμα θαλάσσης.

³⁵Cf. Arist. *Mu.* 392b16; ἐρεύγομαι: App. *Mith.* 103; Alc. *Supp.* 113; P. *fr.* 130.8 (the rivers of Hell). See also Williams (1989), 119.

³⁶Cf. also *Il.* 17.265; *Od.* 5.438.

³⁷Cf. *Il.* 4.425: χέρσῳ ῥηγνύμενον μέγала βρέμει.

³⁸*Od.* 12.79: πέτρη γὰρ λῖς ἐστὶ, περιξέστη εἰκυῖα.

³⁹Cf. *Od.* 13.63 and 2.605. See also Williams (1989), 119.

sich nicht des Genaueren substantiieren" are, in my opinion, not justified.⁴⁰ Harder also does not acknowledge the full effect of the dangerous sailing conditions and writes:

If a description is a little more elaborate, like that of Cyzicus or the river Thermodon, it is still limited to geographical or topographical details presented without any suggestion of danger or strangeness. Even the Acherusian headland, though grim, is not seen in all its grimness by the Argonauts, because the entrance to Hades is on a slope *behind* the cape, and the reader is comforted by the mention of the Megarians, who later called the mouth of the Acheron Σωοναύτης (2.729–48).⁴¹

By the description of the arrival of the Argonauts, the depiction of the landscape is firmly embedded within the story of their stay with King Lycus.⁴² The inhospitable and dangerous surroundings contrast with the very hospitable welcome they receive from its inhabitants. Dangerous, though, as the surroundings have proven to be for the Argonauts, they do not play a significant part in the rest of the episode. The reedy river is mentioned again: while it will save the Megarians in the future, at present it turns out to be the ideal λόχος for a boar to attack the seer Idmon (2.835ff.).⁴³ Considering the importance of the visibility of tombs and temples in order to be able to act as a σῆμα, the height of the Acherusian headland makes this an ideal point for both the sanctuary of the Dioscuri (2.806–7: ὑπόθεν ἀκτῆς / εἴσομαι ἱερὸν αἰπύ) and, apparently, even the tombs of Idmon and Tiphys (cf. 2.842; 2.844: ἄκρης τυτθὸν ἔνερθ' Ἀχερουσίδος). As we shall see, the importance for a hero of a proper burial and the crucial role of public recognition are emphasised in this episode. Although there is not a formal Underworld scene here, the theme of death is certainly present and connected questions of immortality are raised in several ways.

⁴⁰Fränkel, *Noten*, ad 2.727–51.

⁴¹Harder (1994), 19–20.

⁴²Williams (1989), 116, however, commenting on the integration of this landscape description into the wider context of the episode, calls it only an "interlude in the action" and "a scenic digression," and remarks that "since the landscape has no action which takes place within it, its purpose in the epic is questionable."

⁴³The attack of the boar is unexpected just as the ambush of the Earthborn Monsters.

Williams mentions that the sinister atmosphere, created by the similarities between this episode and that of the Clashing Rocks, foreshadows the death of Idmon.⁴⁴ In this respect, it is interesting to note that the Argonauts experienced the passing of the Clashing Rocks as if they were literally saved from Hades (2.609–10: δὴ γὰρ φάσαν ἐξ 'Αΐδαο / σώεσθαι). The deaths in this episode of not only Idmon and Tiphys, but also Priolas, the brother of King Lycus, allow the poet to mention various funeral rituals, such as games, sacrifices, dirges and the erection of tombs.⁴⁵ All three deaths are caused by different circumstances: Priolas is killed on the battlefield, Idmon by a wild beast and Tiphys by illness. Issues of immortality and glory are also raised with respect to Polydeuces and Heracles. The appearance of the ghost of Sthenelus immediately after the Argonauts' departure continues and further exemplifies themes discussed in the Lycus episode.

d) Friendship established between the Mariandyni and the Argonauts (2.752–60)

Οὐδ' ἄρα δηθὰ Λύκον, κείνης πρόμον ἡπίροιο,
καὶ Μαριανδυνοὺς λάθον ἄνδρες ὀρμισθέντες
αὐθένται Ἀμύκοιο κατὰ κλέος ὃ πρὶν ἄκουον· (2.752–4)

It is not long before their arrival is noticed by Lycus, the πρόμος of that land. Πρόμος, a title of honour, is always used in Homeric Greek as a singular of πρόμοχοι ('the foremost fighter,' 'champion')⁴⁶ and is later in tragedy attested in the more general sense of 'chief.' Here, the word seems to retain that specific Homeric military association (cf. the translation by Vian, i, 212: 'le chef de cette contrée'). In the other three instances in which the word is used in the *Argonautica* this connotation is also clearly present: Artacaeus, the last fallen

⁴⁴Williams (1989), 119.

⁴⁵Kyriakou (1995b), 259–60 mentions the similarities between this scene and the Libyan scene in 4.1232ff. (in both cases two comrades are killed by beasts or disease) and comments that "a basic component of a κατάβασις is thus poignantly echoed and altered."

⁴⁶See also A. Edwards (1984), 63, n. 7 & 71.

warrior of the Doliones, is called a πρόμος in the short catalogue (1.1047), Polydeuces just before he challenges Amycus (2.21: αἶψα δ' ἑὼν ἑτάρων πρόμος ἵστατο φώνησέν τε),⁴⁷ and Jason by Iphinoe, Hypsipyle's messenger, when she summons the commander of the ship to go to the queen (1.713: καλέειν νηὸς πρόμον ὃς τις ὄρωρεν). The use of πρόμος in this last instance again seems to betray the concept the Lemnian women have of the men as primarily a group of fighters, ready to attack them.

Considering the countless and continuous battles fought by both Lycus and his father, it is very appropriate in this passage that the ruler of this area, the head of a well-organised and civilised patriarchy (Dascylus ~ Lycus ~ Dascylus), should be called 'commander.' The strong military associations of this noun reveal the realities of life in a hostile environment (cf. also 2.780–1; 2.786ff.; 2.796–8). This picture seems to be reinforced by the fact that the Argonauts are said to go up to the πτολίεθρον (2.760), the citadel of Lycus. In the *Argonautica*, this word is otherwise mainly used for the strongholds of Pelias and Aeetes.⁴⁸ There is no description of the palace at all; they are just said to spend the day within Lycus' μεγάρα (2.759; cf. also 2.776; 2.814: δόμων).⁴⁹ The only other title used of Lycus in this episode is βασιλεύς in 2.839, when both king (in his ceremonial function) and people join the Argonauts in the funeral rites for the seer Idmon. Then and throughout the episode Lycus is depicted as the good host.

ἀλλὰ καὶ ἄρθμον ἔθεντο μετὰ σφίσι τοῖο ἔκητι,
αὐτὸν δ' ὥς τε θεὸν Πολυδεύκεα δεξιόωντο,
πάντοθεν ἄγρόμενοι, ἐπεὶ ἦ μάλα τοί γ' ἐπὶ δηρὸν
ἀντιβίην Βέβρυξιν ὑπερφιάλοις πολέμιζον. (2.755–8)

⁴⁷In this case, the denomination is another sign that Polydeuces is going to win the fight. Cf. *Il.* 15.293; *Il.* 7.136; *Il.* 22.85.

⁴⁸Pelias: 1.812; 825; Aeetes: 1.1316; 2.1143; 3.824; 3.1405; and twice in the catalogue: 1.186; 1.398.

⁴⁹Harder (1994: 16, n. 3) also comments on the general paucity of details in the descriptions of towns and palaces in the *Argonautica*.

A similar pattern emerges here to those found in the Lemnian, Doliones and Amycus episodes, when the host is also seen to come to the shore with a retinue as soon as the Argonauts arrive. This time, however, this action is not motivated by fear of an attack, but by their joy at the slaughter of King Amycus. The Mariandyni's early welcome (2.752: οὐδ' ... δηθά) expresses their eagerness to meet them and the gratitude they feel towards the Argonauts for slaying their arch-enemy (cf. also 2.142). Their action, which is presented as spontaneous and devoid of any aggressive intentions (2.757), can be contrasted with that of the Lemnian women, where the combination of adverb and verb (1.634–5: πασσυδίη ... προχέοντο) is suggestive of a coordinated military action (= πανστρατιᾷ). This particular version seems to be Apollonius' innovation; no other source mentions this as the reason for their hospitable welcome. The hospitality offered now by the Mariandyni was already foreshadowed in the first episode of Book Two, when we were told what happened to the Bebrycians after Polydeuces had defeated their king in the boxing-match.

νήπιοι, οὐδ' ἐνόησαν ὃ δὴ σφισιν ἐγγύθεν ἄλλο
πῆμ' αἰδέηλον ἔην. Πέρθοντο γὰρ ἡμὲν ἄλωαί
ἦδ' οἶαι τῆμος δηΐῳ ὑπὸ δουρὶ Λύκοιο
καὶ Μαριανδυνῶν ἀνδρῶν, ἀπεόντος ἀνακτος·
αἰεὶ γὰρ μάρναντο σιδηροφόρου περὶ γαίης. (2.137–42)

The debt of the Mariandyni towards the Argonauts is clear, as it is precisely the death of Amycus which finally gives King Lycus and his people the opportunity to launch a successful attack against the Bebrycians. It is this double blow, each administered independently of the other, that destroys the Bebrycians.⁵⁰

Καὶ δὴ πασσυδίη μεγάρων ἔντοσθε Λύκοιο
κεῖν' ἡμᾶρ φιλότῃτι, μετὰ πτολίεθρον ἰόντες... (2.759–60)

⁵⁰Levin's (1971: 183, n. 4) comments that the information given in 2.138ff. is not repeated in this episode are not true. Lycus acknowledges the decisive influence of the Argonauts, but does not completely ignore his own contribution.(cf. 2.796ff.)

Πάντοθεν ἄγρόμενοι (2.757) aptly describes how the Mariandyni come from all sides to meet the Argonauts, presumably leaving behind their pursuits of the time. Πασσυδίη (2.759) symbolises the unity and ties of guest-friendship, formally concluded by means of a treaty (2.755: ἄρθμόν ἔθεντο μετὰ σφίσι).⁵¹ This concept is further underlined by φιλότῃτι (2.760), which does not just indicate friendship in general, but also has the specific connotation of guest-friendship.⁵² Their close relationship is confirmed in 2.774, when Lycus addresses the Argonauts as ὦ φίλοι in the opening line of his speech. Used within a hospitality context, the address by a host of his guests as φίλοι is indicative of the intimate relation between host and guest, and of the esteem in which they are held by the host. The traditional combination of ἄρθμός and φιλότης recalls Jason's prediction that they would both quarrel and make treaties with strangers on their voyage (1.340: νείκεα συνθεσίας τε μετὰ ξείνοισι βαλέσθαι).⁵³ This treaty is made with the strangers even before they have come to the palace and any formal speeches of welcome and further offers of hospitality have been made. A similar use of πασσυδίη is found in 2.1169–70, where the sacrifice itself formally confirms the friendship established between the Phrixids and the Argonauts, but the use of πασσυδίη also characterises their going to the temple as an act symbolising their unity.⁵⁴

In *Od.* 3, when Telemachus visits Nestor to obtain information about his father, the initial meeting between host and guest unusually also takes place on the beach.⁵⁵ The reception of Telemachus there by the whole community of Pylos

⁵¹Campbell ad 3.195 (ἐπήνησαν ... πασσυδίη) comments that πασσυδίη should be interpreted as "unanimously," a stronger version of the standard πάντες in comparable routines." Cf. also 2.1063–4 (πασσυδίη ... ἄρθοι), in which the absolute necessity of unity in order to be able to survive the birds of Ares is underlined twice; and 1.1162, in which Heracles is said to unite the Argonauts, weary from rowing. Cf. also Livrea ad 4.895, who discerns the meaning 'with all speed' only in 1.323, 1.710–1.

⁵²Cf. Campbell ad 3.180 and Garvie ad *Od.* 8.208. See also Reece (1993), 109 on the range of ξείνος from non-φίλος to φίλος. Phineus similarly uses the address in 2.423 (ἀλλά, φίλοι, φράζεσθε) to reassure the Argonauts about their return voyage. Mark also πολέμιζον in 2.758.

⁵³Cf. *Il.* 7.302: ἐν φιλότῃτι διέτμαγεν ἄρθμήσαντε; *HyHerm* 524: ἐπ' ἄρθμῳ καὶ φιλότῃτι; *A. Pr.* 193: ἄρθμόν ... καὶ φιλότῃτα; *Call. fr.* 80.19 (Pf.).

⁵⁴2.1169–70: Πασσυδίη δῆπαιτα κίον μετὰ νηὸν Ἄρηος / μῆλ' ἱερευσόμενοι.

⁵⁵See West ad *Od.* 3.4ff.

parallels the welcome the Argonauts receive here from Lycus and his people.⁵⁶ However, in *Od.* 3 the meeting takes place there because of the sacrifice Nestor and his people are making on the shore. In contrast with the Mariandyni, they do not specifically come to the beach in order to meet their visitors. In addition, although they also go en masse to their visitors as soon as they see them (*Od.* 3.34: οἱ δ' ὥς οὖν ξείνους ἴδον, ἄθροοι ἦλθον ἅπαντες), Telemachus is explicitly said to go to them as well in order to establish guest-friendship (*Od.* 3.31: ἴξον δ' ἐς Πυλίων ἀνδρῶν ἄγυριν τε καὶ ἔδρας).

e) The κλέος motif

To be more specific: Lycus' reason for coming to the Argonauts is the κλέος he has heard about them.⁵⁷ As previously said, this version can be considered to be an innovation on the part of Apollonius, as, according to the Schol., there are versions in which Lycus welcomed the Argonauts hospitably out of respect for Pelops.⁵⁸ Vian concludes: "Apollonios a transformé la légende afin de relier l'épisode d'Amycus à celui d'Héraclée et de mieux justifier l'escale chez Lycos."⁵⁹ The way in which the story is told by Apollonius therefore raises the status of the heroes and invites a comparison between Heracles and Polydeuces.⁶⁰ A dramatic effect is achieved when Jason unwittingly causes Lycus to grieve by telling him the news about Heracles.

⁵⁶The immediate welcome by the whole community of Pylos is of course in sharp contrast to the reception of Mentès at Ithaca.

⁵⁷Κλέος can, for example, be won through warfare, victory in games or the completion of a particularly difficult task. See also A. Edwards (1985), 73. As Redfield (1994), 33 comments, it "is thus parallel to the material reward given in the form of a prize or a share of booty (*Il.* 10.212–3; *Il.* 17.231–2)."

⁵⁸Cf. Schol. ad 2.752.

⁵⁹See Vian i, 161. For speculations about possible relations to contemporary situations see *ibid* 160ff.

⁶⁰This is further reinforced by the innovation of a sanctuary for the Dioscuri (cf. Vian i, 162–3). See also Feeney (1986), 57.

In the use of κλέος here both the traditional connotations of 'report' or 'rumour' and 'fame' or 'reputation' are combined.⁶¹ It is on the basis of this rumour that the king receives them immediately on the shore with what could be called a welcoming committee (2.755: τοῖο ἔκητι); but, at the same time, rumour also ensures the reputation that the Argonauts have gained by defeating King Amycus and the Bebrycians. Of course, a person can obtain glory only if other people hear and talk about one (2.754: ὃ πρὶν ἄκουον).⁶² It is therefore little wonder that the medium is stressed, since, as Hoekstra notes, "κλέος still denotes the result of hearing."⁶³ The very episode with the Bebrycians, where hospitality was denied to them from the outset, now grants them a welcome and immediate exchange of friendship (2.758). Being welcomed on the basis of their reputation as killers (2.755: τοῖο ἔκητι), attention is immediately directed to their κλέος (and κῦδος) by the story told by Jason about their journey so far. The Argonauts, who set out on this journey specifically to gain κῦδος, have already achieved this on their outward voyage.⁶⁴ Κῦδος seems to be the distinction or prestige gained on the basis of a heroic deeds, whereas in case of κλέος there always is the close relation between fame and rumour.⁶⁵ Although Williams argues that "the voyage of the Argonauts is not motivated by a desire for glory and honour, but is instead a quest for a valuable object, the Golden Fleece," there are nonetheless several

⁶¹A. Edwards (1985), 71, n. 2 recognises that the distinction between the two connotations of κλέος is not always very clear. See also 3.330 (σύννομα ... περικλεές), where, in a clear attempt to flatter him, Argus tells Aeetes that the κλέος of Phrixus and Aeetes himself secured them a hospitable welcome by Jason on the island of Ares (cf. *Il.* 20.203–4: πρόκλυτ' ἀκούοντες ἔπεα; and see M. Edwards ad *Il.* 20.200–58). Another example of the presence of both connotations in a single context can be found in 1.154–5: εἰ ἐτέον γε πέλει κλέος ἀνέρα κείνον / ῥηιδίως καὶ νέρθε κατὰ χθονὸς ἀγάζεσθαι. By adding the conditional to his statement, the poet draws attention not only to the extraordinary nature of Lynceus' eyesight, but also to the possible fallibility of his sources (and thus implicitly again to his own activities as a poet).

⁶²Cf. Telemachus' words when he finally meets his father: ὦ πάτερ, ἦτοι σεῖο μέγα κλέος αἰὲν ἄκουον (*Od.* 16.241)

⁶³Hoekstra ad *Od.* 13.415. See also Goldhill (1991), 94; Redfield (1994), 32; Van Wees (1992), 125.

⁶⁴Redfield (1994), 33, describing Homeric practice, comments: "*Kudos* is specifically personal, a man may be a *kudos* to others ... but a man does not win *kudos* for another." In the *Argonautica*, where the expedition is far more seen as a collective undertaking, men are explicitly said to be able to do this. Palaemonius, for example, specifically joins the expedition to gain κῦδος for Jason (1.206: Τήσωνι κῦδος ἀέξων).

⁶⁵Redfield (1994), 34 comments that "their *kudos* dies with them, but their *kleos* survives in the memory of men."

passages in the *Argonautica* in which honour can clearly be seen as a factor motivating the Argonauts to continue their voyage.⁶⁶ Jason, for example, defines in 4.204–5 the success of the expedition in terms of disgrace and prestige (ἡμετέρη δ' ἐπερείδεται Ἑλλάς ἐφορμῇ / ἥε κατηφείην ἢ καὶ μέγα κῦδος ἀρέσθαι).⁶⁷ Glory is obtained as a result of the acquisition of the fleece and the two issues, in my opinion, cannot be detached from each other.

Fame has travelled before the Argonauts, which necessarily implies that other people are travelling as well, although we are not told about any exchange of information between other peoples. There are in fact only a few occasions in the first two books where the focus is not on the heroes themselves, namely the deliberations among the Lemnian women whether or not to receive them in Book One and the storm suffered by Argus and his brothers at the end of Book Two. The Argonauts thus undergo an experience similar to that of Odysseus when Demodocus sings twice about Odysseus' role in the Trojan war in *Od.* 8.⁶⁸ But, whereas Odysseus remains incognito during the first part of his visit, the Argonauts are immediately recognised. In the Doliones episode, we saw that the anchor stone, discarded by the Argonauts in the spring, gained sacred status in later days (1.958–60). In this episode, the Argonauts are already said to have gained such a reputation; indeed, Polydeuces is welcomed as a god. Immortality is said to be granted to him during his lifetime, and δεξιόωντο (2.756), a verb traditionally used of welcoming someone as a guest, is used to describe their reception. The reputation that a hero gains is inevitably always the result of someone else's defeat and loss of position, and so here their reputation is gained by the defeat of Amycus (2.754: αὐθένται Ἀμύκοιο).

The Argonauts are collectively called killers although, strictly speaking, Polydeuces killed the king on his own.⁶⁹ The Mariandyni implicitly acknowledge

⁶⁶Williams (1989), 157; cf. also 156.

⁶⁷See also Campbell ad 3.347. The leadership of the expedition is considered a κῦδος (cf. 1.345; 1.351). Cf. also 1.1292.

⁶⁸See Garvie ad *Od.* 8.74.

⁶⁹Cf. Schol. ad 2.754a.

this by welcoming Polydeuces as a god. The Argonauts did, however, all partake in the slaughter of the Bebrycians after the defeat of Amycus. *Αὐθένται* (2.754), used only twice in the *Argonautica*, is not found in Homer, but is attested in tragedy (Aeschylus and Euripides) and prose (e.g. Herodotus and Thucydides). Although the noun can be used to denote killers in general, it also seems to be used specifically of someone committing a murder with his own hands.⁷⁰ Considering the fact that Polydeuces killed Amycus in a fist fight, and also the emphasis given by Amycus himself in that passage to hands as the instrument of killing (2.14: *πρὶν χεῖρεσσιν ἐμῇσιν ἐὰς ἀνὰ χεῖρας ἀεῖραι*), the term used here to describe the reputation of the Argonauts is particularly well-chosen. The same connotation is also clearly present in 4.479 (*ἢ θέμις αὐθέντησι δολοκτασίας ἰλάεσθαι*): having killed Apsyrtus with his own hands, Jason now has to undergo the necessary purifying rituals.

Just as the motif of fear was an important thematic factor in the Doliones episode, so the *κλέος* motif is here. The victory of the Argonauts gains even more glory when we hear from Lycus himself what a formidable power the Bebrycians held in this neighbourhood. As a reward for valour, Polydeuces is not only immediately honoured by them as a god (2.756), but also promised a sanctuary by Lycus, one of the other ways to be remembered by posterity (cf. also: 4.650–3; 4.651: *βωμοί τε καὶ ἱερά*).⁷¹ When Odysseus describes his reception by the Phaeacians, he says that they honoured him *in their hearts* as if he were a god (*Od.* 23.339: *οἱ δὲ μιν περὶ κῆρι θεὸν ὥς τιμήσαντο*). The

⁷⁰Among scholars there is a discussion about the precise connotations of this term. Some reserve the term for murder committed by blood-relations (cf. Bond ad Eur. *Heracl.* 1359 [Euripides' *Heracles*, Oxford 1981]; Fränkel [Aeschylus' *Agamemnon*, Oxford 1950] ad Aesch. *Ag.* 1573; Parker (1983), 68 and n. 69; Sommerstein ad Aesch. *Eu.* 212 [Aeschylus' *Eumenides*, Cambridge 1989]). Others have argued that the specific connotation of 'slaying someone with his own hands' is present (cf. Jebb ad S. *Ant.* 55f.; Kamerbeek ad S. *OT.* 107; Kretschmer *Glotta* 3 (1912), 292; Porter [*The Rhesus of Euripides*, Cambridge, 1916] ad [Eur.] *Rh.* 873; Verrall ad Aesch. *Eum.* 212). This interpretation also seems to be applicable in the following cases: [Eur.] *Rh.* 873: *καὶ πῶς με κηδεύουσιν αὐθεντῶν χεῖρες*; Eur. *HF* 1359; Eur. *Andr.* 172; Hdt. 1.117; Th. 3.58.

⁷¹Vian i, 215, n. 2.

reception of Polydeuces by the Mariandyni goes one step further in the actual promise of a temple built as for gods.⁷²

Νόσφι δὲ Τυνδαρίδαις Ἀχερουσίδος ὑπόθεν ἄκτῃς
εἴσομαι ἱερὸν αἶψυ, τὸ μὲν μάλα τηλόθι πάντες
ναυτίλοι ὅμ πελάγος θηεύμενοι ἰλάσσονται.⁷³
καὶ κέ σφιν μετέπειτα πρὸ ἄστεος, οἷα θεοῖσι,
πίονας εὐαρότοιο γύας πεδίοιο ταμοίμην. (2.806–10)

Lycus therefore promises to build them a temple and offers them a τέμενος in front of the city.⁷⁴ Apollonius' emphasis on the inseparability of the brothers in myth is shown in the fact that King Lycus promises to build a shrine for both brothers and instead of for Polydeuces only.⁷⁵ What follows, however, is not the building of a temple for the Dioscuri, but the building of a tomb for Idmon, who is unexpectedly — yet in accordance with Fate — killed by a boar. After traditional funeral games are held for the seer by both the Argonauts and the Mariandyni, a tomb is set up in honour of him. The situation resembles very much the aftermath of the fight between the Doliones and Argonauts, when similarly funeral games were held for King Cyzicus.⁷⁶

Καὶ δὴ τοι κέχυται τοῦδ' ἀνέρος ἐν χθονὶ κείνῃ
τύμβος· σῆμα δ' ἔπεστι καὶ ὀψιγόνοισιν ἰδέσθαι,
(2.841–2)

By his death, Idmon seems to receive the κλέος he deserves, were it not that the local people mistakenly honour Agamestor instead of him.⁷⁷ A complex game is

⁷²In the Phaeacian episode in Book Four, the heroes are welcomed by the Phaeacians as if they were their own sons (4.997: φαίης κεν ἑοῖς ἐπὶ παῖσι γάνυσθαι). Cf. *Od.* 8.546–7: ἀντὶ κασιγνήτου ξείνός θ' ἱκέτης τε τέτυκται / ἀνέρι, ὅς τ' ὀλίγον περ ἐπαψαύη πραπίδεςσι.

⁷³Cf. 2.847: ἐπὶρρήδην ἰλάσσεσθαι.

⁷⁴Hainsworth comments ad *Od.* 6.293 that a τέμενος "appears to describe a wholly secular institution. In later days τέμενος denotes a precinct set aside for a god or hero." Cf. *Il.* 12.310–21 and especially *Il.* 12.312–3: πάντες δὲ θεοὺς ὥς εἰσορόωσι / καὶ τέμενος νεμόμεσθα.

⁷⁵See also Feeney (1986), 59.

⁷⁶Vian i, 215, n. 3 also notes these similarities: 2.837 ~ 1.1057; 2.838–9 ~ 1.1058–60; 2.840 ~ 1.1016; 2.842 ~ 1.1062.

⁷⁷2.850 (κυδαίνουσιν) ~ 1.1048 (κυδαίνουσιν).

thus played with the κλέος motif: we are twice misled by the narrator about who is going to be honoured. Finally, Idmon receives his fame and thereby immortality by the very fact that his story is told by the narrator in this poem.⁷⁸ Both storytelling (i.e. the spoken word) and visual means, such as the building of temples and tombs, play a crucial role in the creation and preservation of the κλέος of a hero.⁷⁹ This is here also illustrated in Lycus' own speech: Lycus' brother Priolas, killed by the Mysians in the land where Heracles himself disappeared, is still remembered by his people in *songs* of mourning: ὄν τινα λαὸς / οἰκτίστοις ἐλέγοισιν ὀδύρεται ἐξέτι κείνου (2.781–2). The tomb, a σῆμα or landmark for passing sailors and local inhabitants, acts as a visual aid to trigger off the memories of a hero. In all these passages in which tombs or temples are described, emphasis is laid on this visual aspect via different verbs of seeing: 2.808: θηεύμενοι; 2.842: ἰδέσθαι; 2.911: ἔδρακον; 1.1062: τόδε σῆμα καὶ ὀψιγόνοισιν ἰδέσθαι.⁸⁰ The idea that a tomb can function as a means of preserving someone's κλέος can also be seen in *Od.* 4.584: χεὺ' Ἀγαμέμνονι τύμβον, ἔν' ἄσβεστον κλέος εἶη.⁸¹ The important role of the future generations is emphasised in *Od.* 11.76 (καὶ ἔσσομένοισι πυθέσθαι) and *Od.* 24.82–4 (in which case the tomb is also positioned near the sea ἀκτῇ ἐπὶ προὔχούσῃ): ὥς κεν τηλεφανῆς ἐκ ποντόφιν ἀνδράσιν εἶη / τοῖς οἱ νῦν γεγάασι καὶ οἱ μετόπισθεν ἔσσονται. The passage here also echoes *Il.* 7.87–91, in which Hector tells of his hope to be remembered by posterity for killing his opponent in the fight. An indirect and more complicated tactic for achieving immortality is expressed there. These Iliadic verses explicitly and vividly express the hope that future generations of sailors will see the tomb, acting

⁷⁸Goldhill (1991), 324 similarly writes: "The aetiology here, together with the discourse of erudite precision, is to reaffirm the *kleos* buried in the confused history of names and memorial." See also A. Edwards (1985), 91.

⁷⁹See also Williams (1989), 282 and Harder (1994), 22.

⁸⁰This motif is not mentioned in relation to the tomb erected after the death of the seer Mopsus (4.1502ff.).

⁸¹See West ad *Od.* 4.584, quoting as examples *Od.* 11.75ff.; 24.80ff.; *Il.* 2.813–4; *Il.* 4.176ff.; *Il.* 7.87ff. See also Redfield (1994), 34 and A. Edwards (1985), 73ff.

as a sign from the sea (*Il.* 7.86: σῆμα),⁸² and as a result will talk about the hero killed by Hector (an imaginary conversation is included), thereby ensuring that *Hector's* κλέος will not perish (*Il.* 7.91: τὸ δ' ἐμὸν κλέος οὐ ποτ' ὀλεῖται). A similar strategy is used by Apollonius in the Doliones episode: the inclusion of a catalogue of slain warriors of the defeated Doliones indirectly contributes to the glory of the Argonauts' victory.

To be seen by sailors from afar is understandably of special importance for those who die during an expedition, far away from their fatherland. This topos is repeatedly found in connection with the deaths of several heroes during the expedition and serves to emphasise their drama: 1.81(Mopsus):⁸³ Λιβύης ἐνὶ πείρασι; 1.84–5; 2.841 (Idmon): ἐν χθονὶ κείνη; 2.855–6 (Tiphys): ἀλλὰ νυ καὶ τὸν / αὖθι μινυνθαδίη πάτρης ἐκὰς εὔνασε νοῦσος; cf. also *Od.* 24.37 (Achilles): ὃς θάνες ἐν Τροίῃ ἐκὰς Ἄργεος. Foreseeing his own death, Idmon had already stressed this miserable fact in 1.443–4 (θανέειν στυγερῇ ὑπὸ δαίμονος αἴσῃ / τηλόθι πον) and 1.446 (πάτρης ἐξήιον). In order to preserve his reputation among his own people at home and to ensure himself a noble death (a prerequisite for the acquiring of κλέος), the seer did not have any other option than to join the expedition (1.141: μὴ οἱ δῆμος εὐκλείης ἀγάσαιτο; 1.447: εὐκλείη δὲ δόμοις ἐπιβάντι λίπηται). In the descriptions of these deaths in the Lycus episode, the caring of the Argonauts for their deceased comrades is repeatedly stressed (2.828: ἄθροοι; 2.833–4: ἔταροι ... ἑταίρων; 2.857: κτερείξεν ὄμιλος).

The connection between the undesirability of death in a foreign country and the perception of the expedition in terms of κλέος can also be seen in the words uttered by a desperate Jason, immediately following the deaths of these two comrades.

καταυτόθι δ' ἄμμε καλύψει

⁸²Goldhill (1991), 232.

⁸³No mention is made of tombs in relation to either his or Canthus' death (cf. Harder (1994), 27).

ἀκλειῶς κακὸς οἶτος, ἐτώσια γηράσκοντας.⁸⁴ (2.892–3)

The same idea was also expressed just before by Ancaeus, who, when he was stirred into action by Hera, asked his comrades how καλόν ('honourable,' 'noble') it would be to abandon their labour and stay in a *strange* country.

Αἰακίδη, πῶς καλὸν ἀφειδήσαντες ἀέθλων
γαίῃ ἐν ἄλλοδαπῇ δὴν ἔμμεναι; (2.869–70)

Ἀλλοδαπός is used with negative connotations several times in this epic: Medea uses it three times when, admitting her sins, she focuses on the disgrace she has called upon herself by running away with foreigners (3.795; 3.892; 4.1021); and, as was shown in the introduction, Pelias is said to have sent the Argonauts away in the hope that they would die among strangers (1.17). A similar concern for reputation can also be recognised in the words spoken by Heracles when he scolds his comrades for spending too much time with the women on the island of Lemnos.⁸⁵

Οὐ μὲν εὐκλειεῖς γε σὺν ὀθνεῖησι γυναῖξιν
ἔσσομεθ' ὧδ' ἐπὶ δηρὸν ἐελμένοι· (1.869–70)

His final words, which once again illustrate the close connection between βάξις and κλέος, refer back to 1.661–2 (κακὴ δ' ἐπὶ πολλὸν ἵκηται / βάξις, ἐπεὶ μέγα ἔργον ἐρέξαμεν) and, as a result, receive part of their biting sarcasm.

εἰσόκε Λῆμον
παισὶν ἐπανδρώσῃ μεγάλῃ τέ ἐ βάξις ἵκηται. (1.874–5)

⁸⁴Cf. also: 2.891: αὐτίς ἐς Ἑλλάδα γαῖαν ἱκέσθαι.

⁸⁵Cf. Vian i, 218, n. 3. Numerous articles and studies pay attention to Heracles and especially to the questions of the concept of heroism within the *Argonautica*. See Feeney (1991), 95–8; Goldhill (1991), 314–5; Hunter, *Literary Studies*, 25–36.

To beget children by foreign women is not very heroic in any situation, let alone by women who are known for their infamy (and realise this themselves). However, the men do not just wait for glory to come to them. More is implied: the alternative selected by the heroes and their actual choice of partner could not have been more unfortunate.⁸⁶

It seems no coincidence that in this passage with its emphasis on the fundamental importance and power of song the poet specifically draws attention to his own activity as a poet by an invocation of the Muses just before he tells us about Idmon's fate.⁸⁷ It is significant that when the poet rectifies the mistake made by the local inhabitants, the act of singing should be accentuated together with its source.

Εἰ δέ με καὶ τὸ
χρεῖώ ἀπηλεγέως Μουσέων ὑπο γηρύσασθαι, (2.844–5)

The invocation of the Muses here, just before an aetiology, resembles 4.1381–2, in which the poet mentions the Muses as figures of authority in order to render credibility to the extraordinary tale that the Argonauts should have taken their ship on their own shoulders in order to carry it through the Libyan desert (Μουσάων ὅδε μῦθος, ἐγὼ δ' ὑπακουὸς αἰίδω / Πιερίδων. Καὶ τήνδε πανατρεκὲς ἔκλυον ὁμφὴν).⁸⁸ There, the poet declares that he sings in obedience to the Muses, whereas here he says that he is compelled to sing openly about the mistake made by the Boeotians and Nisaeans in worshipping Agamestor instead of Idmon (2.844–5: εἰ δέ με καὶ τὸ / χρεῖώ ἀπηλεγέως Μουσέων ὑπο γηρύσασθαι).⁸⁹ The latter invocation draws even more attention to the failure of these people to obey Apollo, thereby giving the death of god-fearing

⁸⁶Cf. Medea's concern for her reputation (e.g. 4.379: ἔυκλειής).

⁸⁷Cf. Williams (1989), 282.

⁸⁸Vian iii, ad 4.1382, 194.

⁸⁹A similar compulsion is found in 4.984–5 (ἴλατε Μοῦσαι, / οὐκ ἐθέλων ἐνέπω προτέρων ἔπος), where the poet asks the Muses to pardon him for telling this tale, as he is not telling this *of his own free will*.

seer Idmon extra poignancy (2.849: θεουδέος; cf. 1.439).⁹⁰ Another interruption by the poet can be found in the expressive rhetorical question in 2.851 (Τίς γὰρ δὴ θάνεν ἄλλος;), preceding the account of the death of the steersman Tiphys. Referring specifically to the (further unspecified) source of his information (2.854: Ἀγνιάδην Τίφυν θανέειν φάτις),⁹¹ the poet relates the cause of the death of Tiphys. The tomb, still visible, causes Tiphys' story to be told and remembered

f) The stories told by Jason and Lycus (2.761–811)

The rumour which Lycus heard about his visitors here ensures the Argonauts an early recognition, and, at first sight, there seems to be no need for any explanation of their identity after dinner. Although on the surface this episode seems to have much in common with the Phaeacian episode in the *Odyssey*, there are also significant differences.⁹² In the *Odyssey*, the fact that the stories about the Trojan War, and indeed Odysseus himself, are told in the presence of this hero who has not yet revealed his identity adds to the pathos. While the sensitivity of the host is shown, Alcinous being the only one to notice his guest's grief, a wonderful portrait is also painted of Odysseus himself. In the Lycus episode, the parallel with this story in the *Odyssey* (the sorrowful reaction to a story triggers another story to be told) seems to be deliberately created. The order is reversed here: in the *Odyssey*, Demodocus' songs cause the tale of Odysseus' wanderings to be told, whereas here the story of the adventures of the Argonauts precedes the king's account.

⁹⁰Other invocations to the Muses are found in the proemia to the various books, indicating the various (major) new stages in the narrative: the start of the expedition (and indeed the whole epic) in Book One, their stay in Colchis and the drama between Jason and Medea in Book Three, and the flight of Medea and the return journey of the Argonauts to Hellas in Book Four.

⁹¹E.g. 1.18; 1.59; 1.217; 1.357–8; 1.987; 2.977.

⁹²For similarities between these two episodes see also Knight (1995), 223.

References to the banquet which provides the setting for the exchange of these stories, and to the pleasure that accompanies these conversations are found both before Jason's words and after Lycus' speech.

δοίτην ἀμφίεπον τέρποντό τε θυμὸν ἔπεσιν. (2.761)

Ὡς τότε μὲν δαῖτ' ἀμφὶ πανήμεροι ἐψιόωντο. (2.811)

Ἐψιόωντο (2.811), 'to amuse oneself,' here of 'pleasant conversation at table,'⁹³ is matched by τέρποντό τε θυμὸν ἔπεσιν in 2.761. The references to the delight taken in the banquet frame the two stories of Jason and King Lycus and very effectively symbolise the beginning and end of the day they spent together. The speeches are given at the expected place in a hospitality scene, immediately after the mention of a meal. Δαῖς (2.761; 2.811) refers to the feast as a whole, including after-dinner entertainment, not just the meal.⁹⁴ This banquet takes place all day (2.811: πανήμεροι) and presumably also part of the night, as the next reference is to their intended departure in the morning (2.812: ἦρι).

A combination of both ἐψιόομαι and τέρπομαι in a similar context is found in 1.457–9, where the enjoyment of all the heroes (except Jason) during the last night before they set off on their expedition is compared to the standard, but idealised, situation during meals (1.459: τερπνῶς ἐψιόωντο). Delight in food can also be found in *Il.* 11.780 and *Od.* 5.201 (αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ τάρπησαν ἐδητύος ἡδὲ ποτήτος). There are no descriptions here of any preparations for the meal; all the attention is directed this time to the two stories. The combination of δοίτην ἀμφίεπον (2.761) is unusual. Usually found in relation to the meat being prepared for the meal (e.g. *Od.* 8.61: τοὺς δέρον ἀμφὶ θ' ἔπον, τετύκοντό τε δαῖτ' ἐρατεινήν), the verb is here combined with the meal itself.⁹⁵ It seems as if

⁹³Campbell ad 3.118.

⁹⁴Cf. *Od.* 21.428–30.

⁹⁵Cf. also *Od.* 19.421; *Il.* 7.316; *Il.* 23.166–7; *Il.* 24.622. Garvie ad *Od.* 8.61 translates: "these they flayed and dressed (lit. 'attended to')."

the preparation and organisation necessary for a meal are somehow condensed in this verb.⁹⁶

The verb *τέρπεσθαι* is used in various ways in the *Argonautica*: in an erotic context (cf. 3.660), in relation to speech (3.1140–1: *τέρπετο γάρ οἱ / θυμὸς ὁμῶς μορφῇ τε καὶ αἰμυλίοισι λόγοισιν*)⁹⁷ and the games played by the heroes during their pastime (cf. 4.851–2: *σὸλῳ ῥιπῆσί τ' οἰστῶν / τερπομένου;* cf. also 1.459). Line 2.761 echoes in particular *Od.* 8.91: *ἐπεὶ τέρποντ' ἐπέεσσιν*. The connection between poetry and pleasure is a traditional Homeric concept.⁹⁸ Even when emotions are stirred by song, as by Demodocus' song in *Od.* 8.91ff., or Menelaus' emotional speech in Sparta when all break down in weeping and Telemachus is seen to display the same emotion for which he blamed his mother so harshly (*Od.* 4.183ff.), it is made very clear that this is not the desired reaction to poetry. Helen immediately prepares a cocktail with wine and a special drug to make them forget their sorrows (wine, of course, being the other great antidote to cares),⁹⁹ and the story she tells them then is, as she intimates at the outset, designed to delight them (*Od.* 4.239: *τέρπεσθε*);¹⁰⁰ Alcinous, the thoughtful, sensitive host, first tries to distract his guest with games instead of immediately trying to ascertain his identity. Penelope, in tears after hearing about the return of the Greeks, asks the singer to sing something else (*Od.* 1.337: *βροτῶν θελκτήρια οἶδας*). Only when Odysseus displays the same reaction a second time (*Od.* 8.521ff.) does Alcinous finally ask his guest to reveal his identity, but also explicitly order Demodocus to stop singing in order that they can all enjoy themselves (*Od.* 8.541: *ἴν' ὁμῶς τερπόμεθα πάντες*). The pleasure the Phaeacians take in the stories told to them by Demodocus (cf. *Od.* 8.91) is contrasted with the sorrow of Odysseus (who *is* emotionally involved in

⁹⁶Cf. *Il.* 24.804: 'to be busy about,' 'look after' (*τάφον*).

⁹⁷The words have a definite erotic undertone.

⁹⁸Cf. *Od.* 1.347; *Od.* 1.421–3; *Od.* 8.44–5: (Demodocus) *τῷ γὰρ ῥα θεὸς περὶ δῶκεν ἀοιδὴν / τέρπειν...*; *Od.* 8.368f.; also *Il.* 9.190f. (cf. esp. *Il.* 9.186: *φρένα τερπόμενον*; *Il.* 9.189: *θυμὸν ἔτερπε*). Garvie ad *Od.* 8.44–5 rightly argues that "for Homer the principle purpose of poetry is to give pleasure, not to instruct."

⁹⁹Cf. Eur. *Bacch.* 282f.; *Od.* 15.392–3.

¹⁰⁰Reece (1993), 85.

these stories: e.g. *Od.* 8.541: *μόλα πού μιν ὄχος φρένας ἀμφιβέβηκεν*; cf. 2.772: *ὄχος δ' ἔλεν*). We shall see that in the reaction of King Lycus these two opposite reactions are combined: on the one hand the stories charm him, yet on the other they cause grief. At the same time, the roles are reversed here and it is the host who experiences sorrow as a result of his guest's story.

Both guest and host contribute stories which are almost exclusively concerned with the past. In Jason's speech, there is no anticipation of the final encounter with Aeetes. Only at the very end of Lycus' speech, as a natural conclusion on the basis of the past events, a guide is promised for the next stage of their journey together with a sanctuary for the Dioscuri. The principal function of this speech is therefore different to the Cyzicus' speech in the Doliones episode where mainly practical information was exchanged.

Along with the comparative lengths of both speeches, the fact that Jason's speech is rendered in indirect and Lycus' speech in direct form makes it clear that the king's speech is considered to be the more important of the two. Jason's words function as a preparation for Lycus' speech. It is an ironic paradox that after Jason's speech the reaction of Lycus is given in full detail (in order, of course, to justify his speech), whereas after the king's speech no reaction other than a general expression of delight in the banquet as a whole is mentioned.¹⁰¹ In the *Odyssey*, the hosts tell stories about the Trojan War and its aftermath, the return of the heroes to Hellas; here, as is to be expected, the story is about Heracles, and once again this hero is at the centre of attention. Both groups have had to manage without Heracles, but, unlike the Argonauts who kill Amycus, help Phineus and successfully pass the Clashing Rocks following the disappearance of Heracles, the Mariandyni are shown to be truly lost without him; after he has left they lose their (newly won) territory to the Bebrycians. It is worth remembering that when Heracles arrived, they were just burying Priolas who is killed on the battlefield. It

¹⁰¹See also Campbell ad 3.4–5.

is only thanks to the slaying of Amycus that their attack, coinciding with that of the Argonauts, succeeds.

g) Jason's speech (2.762–71)

Αἰσονίδης μὲν οἱ γενεὴν καὶ οὔνομ' ἐκάστου
σφωιτέρων μυθεῖθ' ἐτάρων (2.762–3)

Having gained their reputation among the Mariandyni on the basis of just one heroic deed, Jason gives King Lycus the exact identity of the heroes and a recapitulation of the events so far. As previously the general, collective term of 'murderers' was used, there is still room for a proper and detailed account of their identity. In contrast with Circe's eager request in 4.720–3, immediately after the completion of the rituals, here no formal request for this information is said to be made by the host.¹⁰² These lines (2.762–3: γενεὴν καὶ οὔνομ' ... μυθεῖθ') echo 1.20–2, where the poet's words mark the end of the prologue to the epic.¹⁰³

Νῦν δ' ἂν ἐγὼ γενεὴν τε καὶ οὔνομα μυθησαίμην
ἡρώων δολιχῆς τε πόρους ἄλδος ὅσσα τ' ἔρεξαν
πλαζόμενοι (1.20–2)

In Book One, these words are followed by a catalogue (mentioning the singer Orpheus as the first participant), but here, in 2.762–3, a catalogue is only implied and unnecessary repetition for the reader is avoided. The activities of the poet, who in his epic tells us about the κλέα φωτῶν (1.1), and, as a result, firmly establishes the κλέος of the Argonauts, are mirrored (on a small-scale) *within* the

¹⁰²Since Circe immediately recognises Medea as a descendant of Helios, there seems to be no need to ask for her identity. The goddess is, of course, puzzled to see a kinswoman in this company. The unusual situation in the Phaeacian episode is reflected in the absence of any questions about the identity of the visitors. Background information is here given by Medea in her supplicatory speech to Queen Arete and subsequently by Arete to Alcinous in the conjugal bed.

¹⁰³Cf. also 3.354–5: Εἰ δὲ καὶ οὔνομα δῆθεν ἐπιθύεις γενεὴν τε / ἴδμεναι, οἳ τινὲς εἰσιν, ἕκαστα γε μυθησαίμην.

epic by Jason's recitation of his adventures to King Lycus.¹⁰⁴ Jason's story indeed affirms and reinforces the κλέος they have already gained for the achievements against the Bebrycians. The κλέος of the Argonauts in general and Heracles' κῶδος in particular are enhanced by the tales of both Jason and Lycus. The Argonauts, of course, do not know about the special and traditional relationship between Lycus and Heracles.¹⁰⁵ It is significant that Jason tells the king the name and descent of every Argonaut instead of just his own name and ancestry; once again the collective unity of the Argonauts is underlined.

Levin tries to explain the "deviation from chronological order otherwise strictly kept" *metri causa* (i.e. why Pelias' orders are mentioned by Jason *after* the genealogy even though the order in Book One is exactly opposite and Jason is, moreover, said in 2.771 to have spoken ἐξείης).¹⁰⁶ In fact, Jason gives the king all the conventional details in the traditional order usually requested of a guest by his host: name, parentage and business. Indeed, the well-known formula from the *Odyssey* asks: τίς, πόθεν εἰς ἀνδρῶν, πόθι τοι πόλις ἡδὲ τοκῆες;¹⁰⁷ Likewise, when Odysseus finally reveals his identity at the court of the Phaeacians, he first (according to the actual order of Alcinous' questions) mentions his name and descent (*Od.* 9.16: νῦν δ' ὄνομα πρῶτον μυθήσομαι), and only afterwards starts the account of his adventures (*Od.* 9.37).¹⁰⁸ In 1.962–3, in the Doliones episode, the conventional order is abandoned although both name and genealogy are mentioned again (στόλον ἡδὲ γενέθλην / ἔκλυον οὔτινες εἶεν). As we saw there, the correct establishment of identity is of paramount importance for Cyzicus, fearing an attack of his neighbours and

¹⁰⁴Cf. also: *Il.* 9.189; *Il.* 9.524; *Od.* 8.73–4 (κλέος οὐρανὸν εὐρὺν ἵκανε); Hes. *Th.* 100; 4.1773–4: αἶδε δ' αἰοῖδα / εἰς ἔτος ἐξ ἔτους γλυκερώτεραι εἶεν αἰεῖν; *Od.* 12.70: Ἀργῶ πασιμέλουσα.

¹⁰⁵See Schol. ad 2.780–3; Fränkel, *Noten*, ad 2.795; Feeney (1986), 50.

¹⁰⁶Levin (1971), 185, n. 2.

¹⁰⁷Cf. *Od.* 1.170; *Od.* 7.237–8; *Od.* 9.252–5; *Od.* 10.325; *Od.* 19.104–5; cf. also *Od.* 17.368 (τίς εἶη καὶ πόθεν ἔλθοι); *Od.* 15.264; *HyAp* 452ff. The formula, in the *Odyssey* used in a hospitality context, is found in the *Iliad* "when warriors on the battlefield recount their family history." (West ad *Od.* 1.169–70). See also Campbell ad 3.354–5; e.g. *Il.* 6.123ff. (esp. *Il.* 6.150–1); *Il.* 20.213ff.; *Il.* 21.150ff.

¹⁰⁸Answering first *Od.* 8.550f. (εἶπ' ὄνομ', ὅττι σε κείθι κάλεον μήτηρ τε πατήρ τε) and then *Od.* 8.572ff.

warned by an oracle to welcome the Argonauts. In 3.354–5, Argus, anxious to persuade Aeetes of the goodwill of the Argonauts, offers to tell the king the name and descent of the heroes.

εἰ δὲ καὶ οὐνομα δῆθεν ἐπιθύεις γενεήν τε
ἴδμεναι οἳ τινὲς εἰσιν, ἕκαστά γε μυθησαίμην.¹⁰⁹
(3.354–5)

The elaborate construction here is illustrative of Argus' submissive position and used to assure Aeetes that the Argonauts can in fact be trusted. The offer to disclose their identity thus serves as a credential to support their request.¹¹⁰

The speech made by Jason is, as previously said, reported in *oratio obliqua*. Attention is drawn to this aspect by the use of three different verbs of speaking (cf. 2.763: μυθεῖθ'; 2.767: πέφραδε; 2.769: ἔειπε; summarised in 2.771: ἐξείης ἐνέποντος). Completeness is feigned by the repetition of ὥς (2.764), ὅσσα (2.765), ὥς (2.766), ὅπως (2.786), ὥς (2.769), ὥς (2.770).¹¹¹ This device very effectively also underlines the sheer number of adventures experienced by the heroes. The same procedure can also be encountered in *Od.* 23.310ff., where completeness is stressed even more in *Od.* 23.307–9. The same technique of indirect speech is used in Orpheus' song in the first book (1.496–511; cf. esp. 1.496: ὥς; 1.499: ὥς etc.)¹¹² and Medea's speech to Circe in the fourth book (4.730–7; cf. esp. 4.733: ὅσα; 4.734: ὥς; 4.735: ὥς).¹¹³ In the latter case, Medea gives a similar and, as Hunter points out, rather sketchy account of the adventures of the Argonauts.¹¹⁴ A full account by a character who has not herself experienced these adventures would be inappropriate (although this is, of course, not unknown in the case of professional singers such as Demodocus). Only

¹⁰⁹2.1154: Εἰ δὲ καὶ οὐνομα δῆθεν ἐπιθύεις δεδαῖσθαι.

¹¹⁰See also Campbell ad 3.356f.

¹¹¹Cf. *Od.* 23.312: ὅσα Κύκλων ἔρξε.

¹¹²See for a detailed analysis of the way in which this song is embedded in its context Nelis (1992), 159ff.; Busch (1993), 318ff and n.317.

¹¹³Busch (1993), 317: "Apollonios deutet so ein 'Epos im Epos' an, um die Leser die Assoziation einer längeren Erzählung hervor zu rufen. Dies ist ein für Epos typischer Kunstgriff."

¹¹⁴Hunter (1986), 50, n. 5.

giving the standard, conventionally phrased information concerning the heroes' journey (4.732: στόλον ἥδ' ἐκέλευθους), Medea emphasises the struggles the heroes have gone through (4.733: ὅσα τ' ἀμφὶ θεοῖς ἐμόγησαν ἀέθλοις) before she concentrates on her own precarious position, blaming her father and sister.¹¹⁵ Interestingly, the standard introduction of this indirect speech is misleading (4.730: τὰ ἕκαστα ... κατέλεξε): although, like Odysseus in *Od.* 23.309, Medea is said to have told Circe everything in detail, in reality the maiden seeks in vain to conceal the murder of her brother Apsyrtus.¹¹⁶ No answer is given to the second part of the goddess' question (4.722–3: ἥδ' ὁπόθεν μετὰ γαῖαν ἔην καὶ δώματ' ἰόντες / αὖτως ἰδρύθησαν ἐφέστιοι).

As Fränkel notes,¹¹⁷ a Homeric model for the passage here can be found in *Od.* 23.310–43 (story proper: *Od.* 23.310–41), when Odysseus, finally reunited with his wife, tells his Penelope about all his wanderings just before they go to sleep.¹¹⁸ The same technique of recapitulation and indirect discourse is used. From the point of view of the audience, there is here no need for a recapitulation of these facts in direct discourse, as an account has already been given by Odysseus himself in Books 9–12.¹¹⁹ It is, however, interesting to note that Penelope, now that all her fears about Odysseus' well-being are dispelled, is this time delighted to listen to her husband's adventures (*Od.* 23.308: ἦ δ' ἄρ' ἐτέρπετ' ἀκούουσα), just as was predicted by Eumaeus in *Od.* 15.399–401.¹²⁰ More details are given in these thirty lines than in the résumé given of Jason's speech which only encompasses ten verses (2.761–71). Retrospection, a "thoroughly Homeric technique,"¹²¹ in *Od.* 23 delays the narrative by dwelling on

¹¹⁵Cf. *Od.* 23.307: ὅσα τ' αὐτὸς ... ἐμόγησε (see also *Od.* 23.338); *Od.* 8.490 (Odysseus to Demodocus): ὅσσ' ἔρξαν τ' ἔπαθόν τε καὶ ὅσσ' ἐμόγησαν Ἀχαιοί; 1.1318 (about Heracles): ἐκπλήσσει μογέοντα δωῶδεκα πάντα ἀέθλους.

¹¹⁶Cf. *Od.* 23.309: καταλέξει ἅπαντα. The same words are used here to reassure the reader that the speaker will tell everything.

¹¹⁷Fränkel, *Noten*, ad 2.761–2.

¹¹⁸There is much debate about the authenticity of these lines: see the bibliography given by Heubeck ad *Od.* 23.310–41.

¹¹⁹See Levin (1971), 185.

¹²⁰*Od.* 15.399–401: κήδεσιν ἀλλήλων τερπόμεθα λευγαλέοισι / μνωμένω μετὰ γάρ τε καὶ ἄλγεσι τέρπεται ἀνὴρ, / ὅς τις δὴ μάλα πολλὰ πάθη καὶ πόλλ' ἐπαληθῆ.

¹²¹Heubeck ad *Od.* 23.310–43.

what has been achieved so far, marking the end of the *Odyssey* and the completion of the wanderings. Jason's words are summarised by the poet, as direct speech would presumably be repeating everything mentioned so far. The readers receive here only a summary of the content and no indication at all of the actual form, except for the fact that apparently the required effect on the audience is achieved. For us, readers, the result is very dry; for once our knowledge is less than that of the characters within the epic.¹²²

Throughout his report, the collective achievements of the Argonauts are emphasised. So the third person plural is always used (2.764: ἐπεξεينوῦντο; 2.765: ἐτέλεσαν; 2.766: ἀφίκοντο ... κάλλιπον; 2.768: ἐδάξαν; 2.770: φύγον ... ἀβόλησαν); and no mention is, for example, made of the crucial roles of individual heroes in the various adventures, such as Heracles' slaying of the Earthborn Monsters, Tiphys' steering of the ship past the Clashing Rocks or Polydeuces' killing of Amycus. The emphasis is very much on their achievements in relation to other people who *are* mentioned by name. Within this hospitality context, reference is made to the hospitality enjoyed at Lemnos (2.764: ἐπεξεينوῦντο). The attention given by Jason in his speech to Heracles (two lines, instead of the usual one, and a slightly more complicated construction) reflects the loss felt by his disappearance. Heracles' valuable contribution to the expedition so far is acknowledged by the fact that he is called a ἥρως in 2.766.¹²³ The only individual hero mentioned, he is also the only one who is no longer part of the expedition.

An example of *doppelte Motivation* can be encountered when Jason not only mentions the prophecy given by Glaucus,¹²⁴ but also blames himself and his fellow Argonauts for leaving Heracles behind. Immediately, though, the

¹²²See De Jong, *Narrators*, 115.

¹²³Levin's explanation (1971: 186–7) that Polyphemus and Hylas receive no attention in Jason's speech because they do not have "any profound after-effect on the expedition" seems unlikely. The focus is clearly meant to be on Heracles alone and the prophecy is included to counterweight the responsibility of the Argonauts themselves.

¹²⁴Parallels for the use of βᾶξις, a word found in particular in tragedy, as 'oracular saying' in the *Argonautica*: 1.8; 3.597. In the other instances (1.662; 1.874; 1.124; 1.767; 4.611; 4.1154), it denotes 'report,' 'rumour.'

apologetic ἀέκοντι νόῳ (2.767) is added to this statement; the only occasion on which some emotion is felt in this statement of bare facts. The same verb καταλείπειν is used again in 3.1233, when, just before the final contest between Aeetes and the Colchian king, the narrator says that none of the Argonauts is able to fight Aeetes now that they have left behind Heracles.¹²⁵ The same sentiment is also expressed in the Amycus episode when, after the victory over the Bebrycians, one of the Argonauts reflects that all this would not have been necessary had Heracles been there (2.145 ff.). Lycus, on the other hand, uses the same verb as Glaucus to describe Heracles' disappearance: cf. 2.774: ἀποπλογχθέντες ~ 1.1325: ἀποπλογχθέντες ἔλειφθεν.

When considered in the wider context of the poem as a whole, this speech made by Jason effectively rounds off the first stage of the epic.¹²⁶ After all, the encounter between the Argonauts and the sons of Phrixus, the next and last major episode of the Book Two, looks forward to the inevitable final encounter with King Aeetes. As previously said, the only time the task ahead is mentioned in Jason's speech is when Pelias' tasks are referred to (2.763). In Jason's retrospective account, no feeling of suspense for the future encounter with King Aeetes is created. The transition to the coming encounter is made in 2.889ff., when Jason doubts their abilities to continue the voyage after the death of two companions and contemplates their bleak future. By the use of a similar (strong) vocabulary, the suggestion is made that, disaster being near at hand, they will suffer the same fate as their two comrades (2.820: ὅλοὸν τέρας; 2.893: κακὸς οἶτος).

Τῷ καὶ ὁμοῦ φθιμένοισι κακὴν προτιόσσομαι ἄτην,
εἰ δὴ μήτ' ὅλοοιό μετὰ πτόλιν Αἰήταο (2.889–90)

¹²⁵The verb is also used in similar circumstances in 4.434 of Theseus leaving Ariadne behind on the island of Naxos.

¹²⁶See also Levin (1971), 184.

h) *Lycus' reaction* (2.771–3)

Ὅ δ' ἐξείης ἐνέποντος
 θέλγεται ἄκουη θυμόν· ἄχος δ' ἔλεν Ἡρακλῆι
 λειπομένῳ καὶ τοῖον ἔπος πάντεσσι μετηύδα· (2.771–3)

The song is said to charm Lycus, a function of song which is stressed throughout the *Argonautica*. Orpheus, Circe, Medea and Jason are all associated with θέλξις, 'enchantment'.¹²⁷ Several times in this epic it is said that Orpheus' singing possesses this magic quality, which is of such a power that even nature around him is affected (1.26–7: θέλξαι; 1.31: θελγομένας; 2.161ff.). It is a very appropriate verb here in this passage with its emphasis on the power of poetry as a means of ensuring immortality for the heroes.¹²⁸ That Lycus is spellbound after Jason's song does not only say something about the power of song in general, but also about Jason's quality as a singer. By achieving the same effect on his audience as Orpheus, the only professional singer of this expedition, Jason is implicitly ranked among the very best singers.

Jason tells his adventures to Lycus as they occurred, or 'in due order' (2.771: ἐξείης ἐνέποντος), another indication of the quality of the song. Again, the relation between order, truthfulness and completeness becomes clear.¹²⁹ The same adverb is found describing the influence Orpheus exerts on nature (1.28: σήματα), in which case the magical qualities of his song cause oaks to be in ordered rows (1.28–30). It is also used by Phineus when he admits his fatal mistake to tell everything he knew (2.313–4: Ἀσάμην καὶ πρόσθε Διὸς νόον ἀφραδίησι / χρείων ἐξείης τε καὶ ἐς τέλος). In the *Odyssey*, the expression used for this much appreciated quality of song is κατὰ κόσμον: e.g. *Od.* 8.489 (Odysseus praising Demodocus): λίην γὰρ κατὰ κόσμον Ἀχαιῶν

¹²⁷Campbell (ad 3.4–5) mentions the capacity of the Muses to bewitch their audience, stressing the fact that in this epic Orpheus (1.27) and the Sirens (4.893 ff.) are both children of the Muses and both wield this power.

¹²⁸Garvie ad *Od.* 8.44–5 writes: "It is poetry that preserves the great deeds (κλέα) of men for posterity, the only kind of immortality for which the Homeric man can normally hope; cf. *Od.* 1.337–8, 3.204, 24.196–202, *Il.* 9.189."

¹²⁹See Walsh (1984), 107.

οἶτον ἀείδεις.¹³⁰ Garvie writes ad *Od.* 8.489–90 that "as with social life in general, a good song is expected to observe the principle of order."

Jason's excellence with words is displayed again in Book Three, when he persuades Medea to help him with his task (3.975ff.; cf. Medea's reaction: 3.1008ff.). Medea is then, of course, herself ironically bewitched by Eros.¹³¹ This time, however, unlike the Sirens and Medea who in Book Four wield this particular (and in their case, literally magic) power of song to achieve their own ends (i.e. in order to bewitch/persuade their victim to do something),¹³² the enchantment felt by Lycus is simply the result of an apparently well-told, fascinating story of exciting adventures. As Russo comments ad *Od.* 17.514 (θέλγοιτό κέ τοι φίλον ἦτορ): "the word θέλγειν, 'to charm,' reveals the Greek view of verbal performance as a kind of magic spell, holding its listeners by a power that in part derives from the sheer pleasurableness of the sound itself."¹³³

It is in this respect interesting to look at 1.513–5, in which the reaction of the Argonauts to Orpheus' song about the cosmos is given. By the power of his song the singer manages to restore harmony among the comrades.

τοὶ δ' ἄμοτον λήξαντος ἔτι προύχοντο κάρηνα
πάντες ὁμῶς ὀρθοῖσιν ἐπ' οὐᾶσιν ἡρεμέοντες
κηληθμῷ, τοῖόν σφιν ἐνέλλιπε θελκτὸν ἀοιδῆς.
(1.513–5)

As Busch noted,¹³⁴ the reaction of the Argonauts mirrors the spellbound reaction of the Phaeacians to Odysseus' singing of his wanderings (*Od.* 11.333–4 = *Od.* 13.1–2: οἱ δ' ἄρα πάντες ἀκὴν ἐγένοντο σιωπῇ / κηληθμῷ δ' ἔσχοντο

¹³⁰A similar expression found in the *Odyssey* is κατὰ μοῖραν, 'giving each part its due,' 'appropriately' (cf. *Od.* 8.496; *Od.* 10.16; *Od.* 12.35).

¹³¹See Campbell ad 3.27.

¹³²Medea and the Sirens (4.893–4) stand in a tradition of females associated with θέλξις: Circe, Calypso (*Od.* 1.56–7) and the Sirens (*Od.* 12.40; *Od.* 12.44). Medea uses her gift in Book Four to bewitch the snake and to lure Apsyrtus into the temple (cf. 4.146–7; 4.150; 4.435–6).

¹³³For the distinction between male bards and female singers see Parry (1992), 29 & 89 and Walsh (1984), 14.

¹³⁴Busch (1993), 304.

κατὰ μέγαρα σκιδόεντα) and Eumaeus' reaction to Odysseus' Cretan tales (*Od.* 17.518–21; compare with 1.513: ἄμωτον). Just as Odysseus is explicitly compared to a bard by Alcinous and Eumaeus,¹³⁵ so Jason is implicitly compared to a professional singer by the reaction of the audience, phrased in words rich in echoes.¹³⁶ The shared vocabulary establishes the parallel between Jason and professional singers such as Phemius, Demodocus, Orpheus and also Odysseus himself.¹³⁷ Thus, Jason and Odysseus are compared in their capacity as singers, but, at the same time, a comparison is also made between Lycus and Odysseus through the reaction they both display as listeners.

Harder writes that "the way in which Lycus reacts may be thought to suggest the reactions of the ideal reader of epic: he is much pleased by the eventful story, and mourns the loss of Heracles."¹³⁸ It is important to note that this is unusual and can be considered an innovation on the part of Apollonius, because, as Walsh points out, the *Odyssey* "contains at least two distinct kinds of audience — too deeply touched or too serenely pleased," whereas "no third kind of audience is expressly or implicitly indicated."¹³⁹ Eumaeus and the Phaeacians are only charmed, not personally touched by Odysseus' story. Only Odysseus experiences an overwhelming grief, the Phaeacians merely take pleasure from listening to Demodocus' story. Here, however, a combination of the two emotions is found within one person. Lycus' reaction portrays him once again as a kind, sensitive host who shows his personal involvement by this mixed reaction to Jason's song. As we have seen, Lycus' grief echoes the sadness experienced by Penelope, Telemachus and Odysseus himself. However, the speech which then follows sets him apart from the former two. Instead of asking for something more pleasant (that he did simultaneously enjoy himself was already indicated) as

¹³⁵Russo ad *Od.* 17.518 mentions *Od.* 11.367–8, *Od.* 14.387; *Od.* 19.203. Cf. also *Od.* 21.404; see Parry (1992), 153; Walsh (1984), 19.

¹³⁶See also Hunter (1986), 50–1.

¹³⁷DeForest (1981), 52, who emphasises Jason's unheroic qualities throughout her study, claims that "Odysseus' ability to fascinate an audience contrasts sharply with Jason's silence (1.460–1)." As we see here, however, Jason clearly does possess these qualities.

¹³⁸Harder (1994), 19.

¹³⁹Walsh (1984), 4–5 & 15.

Penelope, Helen and Alcinous do, his reaction is more like that of Odysseus who also gives an explanation of why the story touches him so deeply. Lycus' story strengthens the bond between guest and host.

i) Lycus' speech (2.774–810)

Lycus' speech explains his emotional involvement with Heracles, the misfortune experienced by the Mariandyni after this hero left, and their gratitude towards the Argonauts. In the reception of Heracles by the father of Lycus we find an example of a hospitality scene embedded within another hospitality scene. The claim from Lycus that he has witnessed Heracles' stay with his own eyes (i.e. tells this from his own experience) explains his emotional involvement. Lycus was then the same age as Jason is now, as ἐμὲ δ' εὔρε νέον χνοόοντα παρειάς (2.779) proves.

Εὖ γὰρ ἐγὼ μιν
 Δασκύλου ἐν μεγάροισι καταυτόθι πατρὸς ἐμεῖο
 οἶδ' ἐσιδών, (2.775–7)

The good relations between host and guest then provide another reason for a hospitable welcome now. The fact that Heracles happens to interrupt funeral games held for Lycus' brother Priolas is a variation on a traditional topos in hospitality scenes: often the host is busily occupied in some activity when the visitor arrives. In the *Odyssey*, for example, sacrifices are being made by Nestor and his people, and the Spartans are in the midst of wedding celebrations when Telemachus comes to visit them in order to hear news about his father.

Like the games held in honour of Patroclus in *Il.* 23 and Cyzicus in Book One, these games are also held as part of a funeral (cf. also *Od.* 24.87–8).¹⁴⁰ They provide Heracles, who obviously defeats the best of the Mariandyni, with an

¹⁴⁰See also Garvie ad *Od.* 8.104–32.

excellent opportunity to display his ἀρετή.¹⁴¹ It is an established fact that only the best (young) men partake in these games (cf. *Il.* 23.660). Heracles' victory gains even more glory by the fact that his *opponent* is described as καρτερόν, ὃς πάντεσσι μετέπρεπεν ἡιθέοισιν / εἰδός τ' ἡδὲ βίην (2.784–5).¹⁴² In contrast, Euryalus' description in *Od.* 8.116–7 (ἄριστος ἔην εἰδός τε δέμας τε / πάντων Φαιήκων) foreshadows his later victory in wrestling (cf. *Od.* 8.127: ἀπεκαίνυτο πάντας ἀρίστους).¹⁴³ The fact that of all activities boxing is chosen, one of the most dangerous and painful of all games for which βίη (2.785) is needed, particularly suits a hero like Heracles (cf. 1.222; also 1.505).¹⁴⁴

While Heracles' excellence in these games, especially recalled at this moment, emphasises again the enormous loss his disappearance signifies for the expedition, the fairness of these games, which are held for sporting glory (cf. 2.783: ἀθλεύων), also contrasts with the boxing-match in the Amycus episode, where life is at stake. Both Heracles and Polydeuces are champions at boxing and both are (or will be) worshipped as gods. Polydeuces already achieves immortality here, whereas Heracles is said to gain this if he completes his labours (1.1318–20). Polydeuces clearly takes over the role of Heracles after his disappearance, which is confirmed by similar language used of both heroes. When the Argonauts discover that Heracles is no longer among them after they have left the Mysians, quarrels break out as they wonder whether they have left behind the bravest of all the comrades (1.1285–6: εἰ τὸν ἄριστον ἀποπρολιπόντες ἔβησαν / σφωτέρων ἑτάρων). In the opening episode of Book Two, when Amycus conventionally challenges the best man to come forward and fight with him (2.15: Τῷ καί μοι τὸν ἄριστον ἀποκριδὸν οἶον

¹⁴¹Cf. *Od.* 8.146ff.

¹⁴²Cf. *Il.* 16.194.

¹⁴³Ἀποκαίνυσθαι, 'to excell,' 'surpass,' a *hapax legomenon* in the *Argonautica*, is twice used in a similar agonistic context in *Od.* 8.127 and *Od.* 8.219.

¹⁴⁴Cf. *Il.* 23.653: πυγμαχίης ὀλεγεινῆς, an epithet used in *Il.* 23.701 of wrestling. See also Feeney (1986), 52–3, who discusses in detail the words βίην καρτερόφρονος Ἡρακλῆος (1.222) in the light of Heracles' role in the *Argonautica*.

ὀμίλου),¹⁴⁵ it is Polydeuces who accepts this challenge and defeats the king in the resulting fist fight.¹⁴⁶ The only other time that the singular is used in this epic is in 1.338 (τὸν ἄριστον ... ἔλεσθε), when the question of leadership arises. Heracles is unanimously chosen and it is only after he has politely declined the offer that Jason — at Heracles' suggestion — is elected as the leader of the expedition.¹⁴⁷

ἀθλεύων, Τιτίην ἀπεκαίνυτο πυγμαχέοντα
καρτερόν, ὃς πάντεσσι μετέπρεπεν ἡιθέοισιν
εἰδός τ' ἠδὲ βίην, χαμάδις δέ οἱ ἥλασ' ὀδόντας.
(2.783–5)

Verse 2.785 echoes the threat made by the beggar Irus to Odysseus: χαμαὶ δέ κε πάντας ὀδόντας / γναθμῶν ἐξελάσσαιμι συὸς ὡς ληιβοτείρης (*Od.* 18.28–9). A serious blow is intended, as this formula is used elsewhere in Homer only of a mortally wounded animal.¹⁴⁸ It is clear from the very beginning that Irus will not be able to defeat Odysseus in a fist fight — he is explicitly said not to have much strength (*Od.* 18.3–4: οὐ δέ οἱ ἦν ἰς / οὐδὲ βίη, εἰδος δὲ μάλα μέγας ἦν ὀράασθαι) — and his boasting is subsequently turned against him when the fighting starts (*Od.* 18.98–9: σὺν δ' ἥλασ' ὀδόντας / λακτίζων ποσὶ γοῖον). Heracles, on the other hand, certainly does have enough might to defeat his opponent (2.785: ὀδόντας).¹⁴⁹ Ἐπεφνες (2.798), 'slay' or 'kill,' from θείνειν, is used in relation to a boxing-match in *Od.* 18.63 and *Theoc.* 22.66 (Amycus and Polydeuces). Considering this background, it is an appropriate verb to use of Polydeuces' slaying of Amycus.

¹⁴⁵Cf. Helenus' words, urging Hector to challenge the best of the Achaeans: *Il.* 7.50–1: αὐτὸς δὲ προκάλεσσαι Ἀχαιῶν ὃς τις ἄριστος / ἀντίβιον μαχέσασθαι ἐν αἰνῇ δηϊοτήτι; *Il.* 7.73–6. See Nagy (1990), 138–9, n. 66.

¹⁴⁶Cf. also Cuypers ad 2.15–6.

¹⁴⁷Elsewhere only the (general) plural is found: 1.231; 1.548; 1.1351; 4.6; 4.1181; 4.1307.

¹⁴⁸See Russo ad *Od.* 18.98. Cf. *Od.* 10.163; *Od.* 19.454; *Il.* 16.469.

¹⁴⁹Cf. 2.83–4: βρυχή δ' ὑπετέλλετ' ὀδόντων / ἄσπετος. This is another similarity between both fights. The description in the Amycus episode, however, is much more elaborate.

The reference to the battle once more draws attention to the hostile surroundings. According to Vian, the death of Priolas on the battlefield can undoubtedly be regarded as an innovation by Apollonius.¹⁵⁰ It was a well-established fact that the Mariandyni only achieved considerable military successes because of Heracles' help. Reference to the traditional association between Heracles and the Mariandyni is made in 2.786–91, when brief mention is made of the military victories gained due to Heracles.¹⁵¹ Apollonius, however, further complicates the story by adding the link with the Bebrycians, whose story (referred to by narrator and both characters) acts as a leitmotif throughout this episode (2.757–8; 2.768; 2.792–4; 2.796–8). The hybristic image sketched of the Bebrycians in the first episode of this book is confirmed: 2.758: Βέβρυξιν ὑπερφιάλοις (narrator); 2.792: ὑπερβασίη τ' Ἀμύκοιο (Lycus).

οὐδὲ ἔφημι
ἤματι τῷδ' ἀέκητι θεῶν ἐπελάσσαι ἄρηα,
Τυνδαρίδῃ, Βέβρυξιν, ὅτ' ἄνέρα κείνον ἐπεφνες.¹⁵²
(2.796–8)

Divine justification is used by Lycus to explain the remarkable coincidence that just on the day that Polydeuces slayed their common enemy Amycus (2.798: ἄνέρα κείνον), the Mariandyni should also decide to wage war against the Bebrycians. Many have commented on the fact that although Lycus attributes Amycus' defeat to the gods, this is never confirmed by the narrator.¹⁵³ It is always important to note who voices these beliefs, and why. In other words, what insight does the statement give into a character? Here this belief is expressed by Lycus himself, a host who is portrayed throughout the episode as devoted to θέμις, i.e. the proper conduct in hospitality matters, sacrifices and funeral rituals,

¹⁵⁰Vian i, 159.

¹⁵¹See also Vian i, 159 for Apollonius' technique of incorporating many earlier versions in his own epic.

¹⁵²The emotional apostrophe in 2.798 shows the gratitude Lycus feels to Polydeuces.

¹⁵³Knight (1995), 286; cf. Rose (1984) 123–6. Various Homeric precedents have been suggested: cf. e.g. *Od.* 9.339; Fränkel, *Noten*, 233, n. 220 mentions *Od.* 3.27; Levin (1971), 187, n. 4 also mentions *Od.* 6.240 and *Od.* 24.443f. and comments that the "acknowledgement of divine support is normal in the *Argonautica*."

which are performed in grand style as befits a king (2.838: *τάρχυν μεγαλωστί*).¹⁵⁴ 'befitting a great man,' 'magnificent,' cf. also 2.839: the sacrifice of *ἄσπετα μῆλα*, 'innumerable sheep').¹⁵⁵ The activities that have been described so far (feasting, music, storytelling and athletics) are in fact "the traditional entertainments of a civilised aristocratic society."¹⁵⁶ Lycus knows what is expected of him and his inference to attribute their fortunate attack to the gods is thus entirely in his style (cf. 2.800–1: *ἡ γὰρ θέμις ἡπεδοανοῖσιν / ἀνδράσιν, εὖτ' ἄρξωσιν ἀρείονες ἄλλοι ὀφέλλειν*; 2.840: *ἡ θέμις οἰχομένοισι*).¹⁵⁷ The picture of the Mariandyni as aggressors, created by the unusual combination of *ἐπελάσσαι ἄρηα* (2.797), 'force war upon one,' is hereby reduced to its proper proportions.¹⁵⁸ Attention is drawn away from any claims to their own strength and victory is attributed to the gods and the Argonauts.

The reference to the acquisition of the girdle of Hippolyte is perhaps not the labour one would expect considering the location of the kingdom of the Mariandyni near the Underworld.¹⁵⁹ However, the Argonauts have been told by Phineus that they will pass the Amazons on their way to Colchis and thus expectations of an inevitable fight between the Amazons and the Argonauts are raised, if only by the epithet given to the queen: *φιλοποτόλεμοιο* (2.778). Foreshadowing coming adventures of the Argonauts and creating suspense, the mention of this particular labour serves a definite purpose within the narrative.

¹⁵⁴Campbell (ad 3.208) argues that *ταρχύνειν* means in the *Argonautica* just 'to bury.' Considering the addition of *μεγαλωστί*, it is tempting, though, to adopt the connotation of solemn burial, as is suggested by Kirk ad *Il.* 7.85. See also Nagy (1990), 137.

¹⁵⁵Cf. *Od.* 24.63ff., in which the rituals for Achilles are described: *Od.* 24.66: slaughter of many fat sheep and cattle; *Od.* 24.63–4: mourning; *Od.* 24.82ff.: erection of a tomb; *Od.* 24.87ff.: games.

¹⁵⁶Garvie ad *Od.* 8.104–32.

¹⁵⁷West ad *Od.* 2.68: "*Themis* stands for the traditional order of things, whether it depends merely on human convention (as, for instance the proper treatment of strangers), or on nature." Cf. *Od.* 24.286 (*ἡ γὰρ θέμις, ὅς τις ὑπόρξῃ*), where Laertes, considering the principle of reciprocity in the giving of gifts, indicates the proper and expected behaviour of the host.

¹⁵⁸See Fränkel, *Noten*, for a detailed analysis of 2.769–98.

¹⁵⁹See Kyriakou (1995b: 258) for the suggestion that the omission of an Underworld scene "is perhaps due to the fact that this was Herakles' last and most difficult labour, which had not yet taken place within the dramatic time of the *Argonautica*."

Attention is drawn to the same labour (this time with even more stress on the possible fatal consequences of an encounter with the Amazons) when the Argonauts immediately afterwards pass the tomb of Sthenelus, who, while accompanying Heracles on his quest, was killed by an Amazon's arrow. Πολυθαρσής, a *hapax legomenon* in the *Argonautica*, tells not only something about the nature of the war in general but also something of Sthenelus' heroism, which is further reinforced by the description of him in all his former (military) glory.¹⁶⁰

Ἔνθεν δὲ Σθενέλου τάφον ἔδρακον Ἀκτορίδαο,
ὅς ῥά τ' Ἀμαζονίδων πολυθαρσέος ἐκ πολέμοιο
ἄψ ἄνιόν — δὴ γὰρ συνανήλυθεν Ἡρακλῆι —,
βλήμενος ἰὼ κείθεν, ἐπ' ἀγχιάλου θάνεν ἄκτῆς.
(2.911–4)

It seems to be no coincidence that here, so near the Underworld, a ghost is sent up from Hades by Persephone herself in order to enable Sthenelus merely to see his fellow-countrymen for a very short time (2.915–7). There may not have been an actual κατάβασις, but here is at least an encounter with a ghost of the dead. Visual perception (cf. 2.911: ἔδρακον) and the motif of the undesirability of a hero's death and burial in a foreign country are emphasised again (2.916: ψυχὴν πολυδάκρυον).¹⁶¹ After a brief appearance during which no word is spoken, Sthenelus disappears again into the dark (2.921: αὐτίς ἔδω μέλανα ζόφον), leaving the Argonauts in amazement.¹⁶² Told immediately after the story of the erection of two tombs for fellow-comrades and the promise made by Lycus to build a sanctuary for the Dioscuri, the rituals that the heroes subsequently observe at Sthenelus' tomb (even if caused by the spooky appearance of the ghost) exemplify the piety of the Argonauts and serve to indicate the form that cults

¹⁶⁰Πολυθαρσής is in Homer only used of μένος (*Il.* 17.156; *Od.* 13.387). The individual quality is here transferred to the battle as a whole. Cf. Eëtion (*Il.* 6.417–20), Elpenor (*Od.* 11.74–8). See Heubeck ad *Od.* 11.74–8.

¹⁶¹In Homer, this *hapax legomenon* in the *Argonautica* is used as an epithet of war: e.g. *Il.* 3.132; *Il.* 8.516 etc.

¹⁶²The same reaction is displayed by the Argonauts after the appearance of Apollo on the island of Thynias (2.681).

established at such places take. The same sacrifice of sheep was also made by the Argonauts at the tomb of Dolops (1.587–8).¹⁶³

ἐκ δὲ βαλόντες
 πείσματ' ἐν αἰγιαλῷ Σθενέλου τάφον ἀμφεπένοντο,
 χύτλα τέ οἱ χεύοντο καὶ ἤγνισαν ἔντομα μήλων.
 (2.924–6)

j) Departure (2.812–900)

Once again, as in the Doliones episode, the Argonauts' departure is delayed through unexpected circumstances. This time they are fully prepared for departure, which coincides, as was to be expected, with the arrival of dawn (2.811: ἦρι γε μὴν ἐπὶ νῆα κατήισαν ἐγκονέοντες). Expectations of an impending departure are hereby raised, but not met. In accordance with convention, it is also in the morning when they eventually manage to continue their voyage on the twelfth day.

Ἥῳι δῆπειτα δωδεκάτῳ ἐπέβαινον
 ἥματι· δὴ γάρ σφιν Ζεφύρου μέγας οὔρος ἄητο.
 (2.899–900)

Subsequently forced to stay because of the deaths of two comrades, their initial haste to depart adds to the drama (2.812: ἐγκονέοντες).¹⁶⁴ The delight the Argonauts experience at the court of King Lycus is soon turned into sorrow when the Argonauts despair about their abilities to continue their voyage after both the seer Idmon and steersman Tiphys have died. Their eating and drinking during the night is in sharp contrast with the overwhelming grief experienced by them after the second death (2.861–2: οὔτε τι σίτου / μνώοντ' οὔτε ποτοῖο; cf. also 2.834; 2.837–9; 2.858ff.).

¹⁶³Vian i, 220, n. 1.

¹⁶⁴See also 4.66. The verb ἐγκοῦν is in Homer only used in the context of the swift making of beds for guests (*Il.* 24.648; *Od.* 7.340).

καὶ δ' αὐτὸς σὺν τοῖσι Λύκος κίε, μυρί' ὀπάσσας
 δῶρα φέρειν· ἅμα δ' υἷα δόμων ἔκπεμπε νέεσθαι.
 (2.813–4)

As a good host, Lycus accompanies his guests to their ship, provides them with countless gifts, and also sends his son with them. The gifts are here not described in any detail, but the sheer quantity (2.813–4: μυρί' ... / δῶρα)¹⁶⁵ sufficiently indicates the esteem in which they are held by their host and the gratitude felt towards them.¹⁶⁶ This is the only time in the *Argonautica* that a host offers a personal guide to his guests to guarantee them a friendly reception among other people. However, this guide is not mentioned in further descriptions of the voyage of the Argonauts. As Fränkel points out, nothing at all is heard from Dascylus until 4.298 (γηθόσυνοι δὲ Λύκοιο κατ' αὐτόθι παῖδα λιπόντες), when the Argonauts leave Lycus' son behind, as the heroes now follow the path pointed out to them by Hera.¹⁶⁷ The detail of the guide stresses again the generosity of Lycus, who is keen to fulfil all his obligations. As appears from these lines, the king's sphere of influence is limited: just like Cyzicus, Lycus can only offer help for the immediate next stage of the voyage. A similar situation is encountered in *Od.* 3.325–6 (πὰρ δέ τοι υἷες ἐμοί, οἳ τοι πομπῆς ἔσονται / ἐς Λακεδαίμονα διαν, ὅθι ξανθὸς Μενέλαος), where Nestor sends his sons with Telemachus to guide him safely to Menelaus. Elsewhere, Eumaeus himself guides Odysseus to the city (*Od.* 17.194ff.) and the Phaeacians send a whole ship with crew to accompany Odysseus (e.g. *Od.* 13.70ff.).¹⁶⁸

¹⁶⁵1.419: ἀπερείσια δῶρα (prayer to Apollo); 4.1420: μυρία δῶρα (Orpheus' promise to the Hesperides to give them countless gifts, if only they do what he prays them to); 3.909–10. Cf. also *Od.* 24.238, in which case, however, a description of the gifts has been given just before, thus avoiding needless repetition.

¹⁶⁶The provision of gifts and guide as an expression of guest-friendship can also specifically be encountered in *Od.* 8.544–5: εἵνεκα γὰρ ξείνοιο τάδ' αἰδοίοιο τέτυκτα, / πομπὴ καὶ φίλα δῶρα, τὰ οἱ δίδομεν φιλέοντες.

¹⁶⁷Cf. Fränkel, *Noten*, ad 2.804; Levin (1971), 188, n. 3.

¹⁶⁸The various possible variations of the motif can clearly be seen in the *Odyssey*: whereas Odysseus himself asks Aeolus for a guide (*Od.* 10.17–8), Menelaus offers a guide to Telemachus in *Od.* 15.81–5. See also West ad *Od.* 3.324.

Lycus thus fulfils the promise made in his speech (2.799–800: *Τῷ νῦν ἦν τιν' ἐγὼ τίσαι χάριν ἄρκιός εἰμι, / τίσω προφρονέως*). The Bebrycians, however, have paid the well-deserved penalty for their hybriatic behaviour (2.796: *ἔμπης δ' ἐξ ὑμέων ἔδοσαν τίσιν*).¹⁶⁹ The important principle of reciprocity, crucial in a hospitality context, can also be encountered in 3.392 ff., when Jason offers Aeetes fame (cf. 1.391–2) and the defeat of some of his enemies in exchange for the favour (3.391: *χάριν*) of the granting of the fleece (cf. especially 3.393: *πρόφρονές εἰμεν ἄρηι θοὴν ἀποτίσαι ἀμοιβήν*; 3.351–2 (Argus' speech): *μέμονεν δέ τοι ἄξια τίσειν / δωτίνης*). Heracles similarly defeated Dascylus' enemies when he visited the king's courts. Likewise, Jason promises Medea fame (3.992: *καλὸν κλέος*)¹⁷⁰ among the people of Hellas in return for her help (3.990–1: *σοὶ δ' ἂν ἐγὼ τίσαιμι χάριν μετόπισθεν ἀρωγῆς, / ἥ θέμις*).¹⁷¹ The heroes and even all the women, mothers and wives, will spread her fame throughout Greece after their safe return home, thereby fulfilling the essential condition for the acquisition of κλέος: that other people talk about one (3.992–4; cf. especially 3.993: *κλήσουσιν* and 3.1008: *Ὡς φάτο κυδαίνων*).

Εὐνῇ μὲν πάντεσσιν ὁμόστολον ὕμιν ἔπεσθαι
 Δάσκυλον ὀτρυνέω ἐμὸν υἱέα· τοῖο δ' ἰόντος,
 ἥ τ' ἂν ἐυξείνοισι διεξ ἄλλος ἀντιάοιτε
 ἀνδράσιν ὄφρ' αὐτοῖο ποτὶ στόμα Θερμώδοντος.
 (2.802–5)

After the death of Tiphys, worries about the future of their expedition are naturally raised. The Mariandyni are at this stage totally forgotten and no mention is made of any involvement of them with the Argonauts' final departure. Indeed, the last time reference is made to them is in relation to the burial customs

¹⁶⁹Cf. Levin (1971), 187. Cf. also *Od.* 23.312 (*ἀπετίσατο ποινήν*).

¹⁷⁰If κλέος can be combined with a qualitative adjective such as καλός, it can be given both a positive and a negative connotation (i.e. not by definition positive). It was well-known that an inglorious death could destroy one's κλέος (cf. *Il.* 22.304–5). See A. Edwards (1985), 74.

¹⁷¹Medea bitterly refers back to these words in 4.360–1, when she considers what she has sacrificed in order to help the Argonauts (4.361: *κλέα τε μεγάρων*).

for Idmon. Instead, the Argonauts deliberate amongst themselves, and then Hera makes her first intervention.

VIII ARGUS EPISODE (2.1093–1230)

a) Introduction

In these lines, the meeting between the Argonauts and the sons of Phrixus on the desert island of Ares (cf. 2.385: νῆσον ἑρημαίην, and later at 3.324) is described.¹ The island, inhabited by the aggressive birds of Ares, houses a sanctuary dedicated to this god by the warlike Amazons. The account of this encounter takes mainly the form of an exchange of speeches between Argus, Phrixus' eldest son, and Jason (Argus: 2.1122–33; Jason: 2.1134–9; Argus 2.1140–56; Jason: 2.1158–68; after-dinner: Jason: 2.1178–95; Argus: 2.1198–1215; Peleus: 2.1217–25). As we shall see, this hospitality scene contains some unconventional elements, for which important models are the Nausicaa episode in *Od.* 6 and Cyclops episode in *Od.* 9. The meeting of the two groups will turn out to be crucial in Book Three in the dealings of the Argonauts with both King Aeetes and Medea: owing to his special position as son of Phrixus and Chalciope, Argus is able to give the Argonauts a unique insight into the character of Aeetes.² Foreshadowing events in Books Three and Four, suspense is created in this episode for the inevitable encounter between the king and the Argonauts.

The greater part of this chapter will be devoted to a detailed analysis of these speeches by Argus, Jason and Peleus. Special attention will be paid to the supplication and sacrifice motifs in this and other hospitality scenes in the *Argonautica*, notably in Books Three and Four (the encounters with Aeetes, Circe and the Phaeacians).

¹Cf. 2.385–7: τῇ μὲν τ' ἐν νηὶν Ἄρης / λαΐνεον ποίησαν Ἀμαζονίδων βασίλειαι / Ὀτρηνή τε καὶ Ἀντιόπη, ὅπότε στρατόωντο.

²Cf. 2.1150: τῶν ἑξ ἀμφοτέρων εἰμὲν γένος; 3.304: παιδὸς ἐμῆς κοῦροι Φρίξιοί τε; 3.330–1: οὐνομά τε Φρίξιοι περικλᾶες εἰσαΐοντες / ἢ δ' αὐτοῖο σέθεν.

b) Arrival (2.1030–1120)

This scene is preceded by tales of the adventures and hardship endured by both groups on reaching the island: the heroes defeat the birds of Ares (2.1030–89); the Phrixids are shipwrecked by a storm raised at Zeus' command (2.1093–1120), but, because of the Argonauts' victory, do not have to face these birds (cf. 3.324–7).³ The unusual fact that an encounter will take place between two groups who are both new to the island is reflected by the elaborateness of the stories of their arrival, which is in itself also indicative of the importance of this episode. The two experiences are connected by the simile in 2.1083–8, in which the effect of the attack of the birds on the raised shields of the Argonauts is compared with the noise of hail rattling on the roofs of people, well-prepared for the *storm* stirred up by Zeus (2.1086–7: οὐ ... ἀπροφάτως; 2.1073–5).⁴ In the case of the Phrixids, the storm starts suddenly and unexpectedly, at night after a day with only a little wind rustling the leaves of the trees (2.1101: τυτθὸν ... ἀήσυρος).⁵ Countless birds are encountered by the Argonauts (2.1082: μυρίοι), 'countless' rain by the sons of Phrixus (2.1120: μυρίον ἐκ Διὸς ὕδωρ).

Despite the similarity of the two adventures, they are contrasted with each other, which explains the position of each group when they finally meet on the beach. In both scenes the noise is stressed: in the case of the Argonauts this is raised by the heroes *themselves*, first by their shouting, then by the clamour resulting from the clashing of their shields (e.g. 2.1066–7: Εἰ δέ κεν αὐτὴν νῆσον ἰκώμεθα, δὴ τότε ἔπειτα / σὺν κέλαδω σακέεσσι πελώριον ὄρσετε δοῦπον; 2.1076–9; 2.1081). In the case of the sons of Phrixus the 'monstrous' *storm* (2.1102: πελώριος; cf. *Od.* 3.290) causes a terrible uproar (e.g.

³Zeus' influence: 2.1098; 2.1120.

⁴Williams (1989), 187: "Many of the words used within it to describe the actions of the storm, particularly of the winds, are found in Homer in martial contexts." This is little wonder viewing the possible similarities between both situations: in the *Iliad*, for example, the reaction of the Greeks to a powerful attack of Hector on the battlefield is compared to the fear of sailors in a storm (*Il.* 15.627–8: τρομέουσι δέ τε φρένα ναῦται / δειδιότες τυτθὸν γὰρ ὑπὲρ θανάτοιο φέρονται).

⁵Cf. 2.1097: Καὶ δὴ ἔσαν νήσοιο μάλα σχεδὸν ἥματι κείνῳ.

2.1102–3: ὥρσε δὲ κύμα / κεκληγῶς πνοιῇσι; 2.1115: αὐτίκα δ' ἐρράγη ὄμβρος ἀθέσφατος).⁶ Whereas in relation to the Argonauts, as we shall see, numerous references to sight are made, the sons of Phrixus are unable to see anything at all in the dark night (in itself a topos in storm scenes: cf. 2.1103–5: Κελαινὴ δ' οὐρανὸν ἀχλὺς / ἄμπεχεν, οὐδέ πη ἄστρον διαυγέα φαίνεται ἰδέσθαι / ἐκ νεφέων, σκοτόεις δὲ περὶ ζόφος ἡρήρειστο). On the one hand, the Argonauts, in control of the situation, reach the island through their own strength (i.e. rowing) and cunning intellect, with which they successfully scare the attacking birds away (cf. 2.1064: ὄφρα κολῶν ἀηθείη φοβέωνται; cf. also 2.1056–7; 2.1082: πεφυζότες); and on the other hand the Phrixids, full of fear (2.1106: στυγερὸν τρομέοντες ὄλεθρον; also: 2.1113–4), are subject to the elements and at the mercy of the gods (2.1107: φέρονθ' ... αὖτως; 2.1109: τινασσομένην ῥοθίοισιν; 2.1110: ὑπ' ἐννεσίῃσι θεῶν πίσυρές περ ἑόντες; 2.1118–9: κύματος ὁρμὴ / ... μετ' ἡιόνας βάλε νήσου).⁷ The screaming of the Argonauts themselves (2.1076–9) is contrasted with the screaming of the wind in 2.1103. These contrasts are further emphasised in the exchange of speeches on the beach and later in the palace of Aetes (e.g. in the contrasts between the two ships). Argus, clearly frightened himself of Aetes, tries to scare the Argonauts so much with his portrayal of the king that they will abandon their mission; Peleus, however, shows his usual fearless side and ensures the continuance of their journey.

The stories of the arrival of both groups on this island are separated by two rhetorical questions asked by the narrator.

Τίς γὰρ δὴ Φινῆος ἔην νόος,⁸ ἐνθάδε κέλσαι

⁶For an analysis of the storm (2.1098–1121) see Fränkel, *Noten*, 279ff.; Knight (1995), 73–81; Williams (1989), 183–91.

⁷Williams (1989), 185 observation that "active verbs of motion are almost exclusively used of the wind and the waves" supports this argument.

⁸1.242–3: Ζεὺς ἄνα, τίς Πελῖαο νόος; Πόθι τόσσον ὄμιλον / ἡρώων γαίης Παναχαΐδος ἔκτοθι βάλλει; 3.52: Ἥθεϊα, τίς δεῦρο νόος; χρεῖά τε κομίζει / δηναῖος αὖτως; *Il.* 24.367: τίς ἄν δὴ τοι νόος εἴη;

ἀνδρῶν ἡρώων θεῖον στόλον;⁹ Ἥ καὶ ἔπειτα
 ποῖον ὄνειαρ ἔμελλεν ἐελδομένοισιν ἰκέσθαι; (2.1090–2)

Phineus' prophecy is recalled by the direct reference to the seer in 2.1090 and the echo of ὄνειαρ (2.388; 2.1092).¹⁰ Ὀνειαρ, a deliberately vague term, is often used in Homer to describe help given by the gods¹¹ and foreshadows the role of Zeus in arranging the meeting with Argus, reinforced by Phineus' explicit assertion that he, knowing full well the disastrous consequences of telling in every detail the will of Zeus, is not allowed to tell the exact nature of the help (2.389: ἄρρητον; 2.390–1). The very reluctance of Phineus at this moment also suggests Zeus' role in the storm, as it was Zeus who punished him.¹² The seer exploits the paradox that the 'bitter,' 'cruel,' or even 'malicious' sea (2.388: ἀδευκέος),¹³ well-known for its dangers, might bring something beneficial.¹⁴ The enormous hazards of seafaring, also inevitably experienced by the Argonauts during their long voyage, will on this occasion, however, be experienced by the sons of Phrixus. Curiosity is raised by this remark from Phineus:¹⁵ why would it ever benefit the Argonauts to disembark on a desolate island *inhabited* (2.1034: ἐννοάτην) only

⁹Cf. 1.970: ἀνδρῶν ἡρώων θεῖος στόλος. In the Doliones episode, it is used of the Argonauts in connection with the oracle heard by King Cyzicus to remind him to give hospitality to these heroes. It seems no coincidence that in both instances (in 1.970 in relation to an oracle and in this instance just before the intervention of Zeus himself on their behalf) attention is drawn to the divine background of their expedition. It also foreshadows here the importance of (divine) descent in this episode.

¹⁰Fränkel, *Noten*, 277; Levin (1971), 203.

¹¹See Richardson ad *Il.* 24.433. He comments ad *Il.* 24.366–7 that "ὄνειατα in the plural elsewhere always refers to food, but ὄνειαρ is used of anything beneficial." See also the wide range in the *Argonautica* (2.185: food; 4.1432: Heracles; 3.507: benefit of counsel or hands; 3.1051: advice given by Medea; 3.900: presents).

¹²Cf. also 2.425: Καὶ δέ με μηκέτι τῶνδε παροιτέρῳ ἐξερέεσθε.

¹³The precise meaning of this Odyssean epithet is unclear (Cf. West ad *Od.* 4.489; Hainsworth and Garvie ad *Od.* 6.273). In the *Argonautica*, it is used of the ἄελλα with which the Harpies are compared (2.267), of Telamon's wrath (1.1339) and Cyzicus' and Mopsus' death (resp. 1.1037: ἄτης; 4.1503: αἰσάν), recalling *Od.* 4.489 and *Od.* 10.245 (ὀλέθρῳ; πότμον). It seems to be this connection with destruction and fate that enables the specific combination here.

¹⁴4.191–2 (Jason): ἤδη γὰρ χρειῶ τῆς εἵνεκα τήνδ' ἄλεγεινῆν / ναυτιλίην ἔτλημεν, οἷζ' οἱ μοχθίζοντες; 4.586 (prophecy of Zeus): πόνους δολιχῆς ἄλδος; 1.246: Ἄλλ' οὐ φυκτὰ κέλευθα, πόνος δ' ἀπρηκτος ἰοῦσιν.

¹⁵The same sentiment is found in Calypso's words to Hermes in *Od.* 5.100–3: τίς δ' ἂν ἐκὼν τοσσόνδε διαδράμοι Ὀλυμπὸν ὕδωρ / ἄσπετον; οὐδέ τις ἄγχι βροτῶν πόλις, οἱ τε θεοῖσιν / ἱερά τε ῥέζουσι καὶ ἐξαίτους ἐκατόμβας.

by innumerable¹⁶ shameless birds (2.383–4: ἀναιδέας ... οἰωνούς), even though help is said to come *from* the sea?¹⁷

Ἐνθα γὰρ ὕμιν ὄνειαρ ἀδευκέος ἐξ ἁλὸς εἴσιν,
ἄρρητον. Τῷ καὶ τε φίλα φρονέων ἀγορεύω
ἰσχύμεν· ἀλλὰ τί με πάλιν χρεῖω ὀλιτέσθαι
μαντοσύνη τὰ ἕκαστα διηγεκέες ἐξενέποντα; (2.388–91)

The suspense created by the seer for both the Argonauts and the reader is for a moment continued by the two questions asked by the narrator about the purpose of the arrival of the Argonauts here and the nature of the help promised. Another intriguing element that is going to be clarified is why the Argonauts would be described as being in need (2.1090: ἐελδομένοισιν), just after their successful landing on the island. This will prove to be prospective. At the same time, these questions function as a device to introduce the story of the storm, announcing to the reader that the mystery is finally about to be solved (cf. also 2.851, in which case the question of the narrator [who was the next of the Argonauts to die?] immediately preceded the account of the death of Tiphys).¹⁸ It is therefore a sign of major new (and interesting) developments, and this, together with the amount of detail spent on the storm and thereby the introduction of the sons of Phrixus, is indicative of the important role the brothers will play in Book Three. Phineus' words are also recalled by Amphidamas who, inspired by the example of Heracles' defeating the Stymphalian birds, suggests to his fellow-comrades what action should be taken in order to defeat the birds and disembark on the island of Ares, as the seer had told them to (2.1051: ἐπέτελλεν).¹⁹ The condition, expressing

¹⁶Cf. 2.1082: μυρίοι.

¹⁷Cf. 2.407 about the eyes of the dragon guarding the fleece. See also Gould (1973), 88, n. 74, citing Eur. *IA*. 378ff.; Ar. *V*. 446f., "where ἀναιδεία is reflected in the unflinching gaze of the eyes." Consider also what is said about the desolate beach on the island Hippuris (4.1719): ῥέζον δ' οἷά κεν ἄνδρες ἐρημαίῃ ἐνὶ ῥέξειν / ἀκτῇ ἐφοπλίσσειαν. Argus refers also to the island of Ares as ἐρημαίην κατὰ νῆσον in 3.324, when telling about his experiences to Aeetes.

¹⁸Cf. Kirk ad *Il*. 1.8. De Jong, *Narrators*, 91 prefers to call this (after Ameis-H.) "eine Frage aus der Seele des Hörers."

¹⁹Cf. also 3.555–6: Φινῆος ἐφετμὰς / μνησάμενοι; 2.1135; 4.253–5. See also Levin (1971), 199–200, who mentions the verbal parallelism between 2.382–5 and 2.1049–51.

present intention ('if you are about to beach <the ship> now'), is given urgency by the specific reference to Phineus' command.²⁰

Νῆσος μὲν πέλας ἦμιν Ἀρητιᾶς — ἴστε καὶ αὐτοὶ
τοῦσδ' ὄρνιθας ἰδόντες — ἐγὼ δ' οὐκ ἔλπομαι ἰοῦς
τόσσον ἐπαρκέσσειν εἰς ἔκβασιν· ἀλλὰ τιν' ἄλλην
μῆτιν πορσύνωμεν ἐπίρροθον, εἴ κ' ἐπικέλσαι
μέλλετε Φινῆος μεμνημένοι ὥς ἐπέτελλεν. (2.1047–51)

As previously said, the two groups arrive independently on the island and references to their actual arrival are therefore found in different places. The episode starts when the Argonauts have come near the island by rowing, as there is no wind (not even a breeze).²¹ After a day of rowing, a stop on the nearby island at this appropriate time of the day is expected (cf. 2.1097).

Τοὺς παραινισόμενοι καὶ δὴ σχεδὸν ἀντιπέρηθεν
νήσου Ἀρητιάδος τέμνον πλόον εἰρεσίησιν
ἡμάτιοι· λιαρὴ γὰρ ὑπὸ κνέφας ἔλλιπεν αὖρη.
(2.1030–2)

Having decided upon a method to conquer the birds, a successful battle (no direct contact, however) is fought the moment they touch upon the island (cf. 2.1077–9, in which their shouting is explicitly compared with the noise arising on the battlefield).²²

Οὐδέ τιν' οἰωνῶν ἔτ' ἐσέδρακον· ἀλλ' ὅτε νήσω
χρίμψαντες σακέεσσιν ἐπέκτυπον, αὐτίκ' ἄρ' οἱ γε
μυρίοι ἔνθα καὶ ἔνθα πεφυζότες ἠερέθοντο. (2.1080–2)

Until they reach the island, no bird is seen by the heroes (2.1080: Οὐδέ ... ἐσέδρακον).²³ Throughout this account of the arrival of the Argonauts on the

²⁰Goodwin (1897), 407–8.

²¹Williams (1989), 181 comments on the ominous atmosphere created by a lack of wind.

²²Cf. also the description of their fearsome helmets (2.1069–71). Vian (i, 228, n. 2) remarks: "Tout le passage (v. 1060–5, 1069–80), où abondent les épithètes ornantes, se présente comme un pastiche amusé des préliminaires de combat homériques." Cf. Fränkel, *Noten*, 267ff.

²³As Vian (i, 227, n. 5) comments, the instructions given by Amphidamas are strictly observed.

island visual perception is emphasised. In 2.1034 (ἴδοντο), the heroes are said to see one of the birds darting down upon them in an attempt to scare them off as soon as they come near the island; an action which causes wonder among the heroes (2.1038: οἱ δὲ τάφον πετρόεν βέλος εἰσορόωντες). Amphidamas, on the principle of 'to see is to believe' (2.1047–8: ἴστε καὶ αὐτοὶ / τοῦσδ' ὄρνιθας ἰδόντες), proposes a plan to frighten the birds, defending this scheme by referring to the fact that this is not only *Heracles'* method, but also one, which he, Amphidamas, saw with his own eyes (2.1054: τὸ μὲν τ' ἐγὼ αὐτὸς ὄπωπα). The effectiveness of their scheme can only be inferred from the fact that the birds are said to fly away as far as possible.

ὥς πυκινὰ πτερὰ τοῖσιν ἐφίεσαν αἴσσοντες
ὑπὶ μάλ' ἄμ πέλαγος περάτης εἰς οὐρεα γαίης.
(2.1088–9)

In each of the three cases in which the landing of the Argonauts is mentioned, a different verb is used: ἰκώμεθα (2.1062); χρίμψαντες (2.1081); κέλσαι (2.1090).²⁴ The sons of Phrixus on the other hand are, as mentioned before, simply thrown upon the beach by a wave (2.1118–20).

Τὸ δὲ μυρίον ἐκ Διὸς ὕδωρ
λῆξεν ἄμ' ἡελίῳ· τάχα δ' ἐγγύθεν ἀντεβόλησαν
ἀλλήλοισι· Ἄργος δὲ παροίτατος ἔκφατο μῦθον·
(2.1120–2)

The rain stops at dawn and the two groups immediately meet each other on the beach. The beginning of another day after a murky night (2.1120: νύχθ' ὑπὸ λυγαίην)²⁵ coincides with new developments in the narrative.²⁶ Vian comments

²⁴Phineus used ἰσχύμεν (2.390).

²⁵An adjective not used by Homer, but common in tragedy (LSJ give S. fr. 525; Eur. *Hclid.* 855 and Eur. *IT* 110). Argus, when telling his story to Aeetes, uses the same word (3.323: λυγαίη ὑπὸ νυκτί). In all instances in the *Argonautica* the adjective is used in relation to the night, except for 1.218, where the epithet is combined with νεφέεσσι. Here, it calls attention again to the darkness of this stormy night (cf. 2.1103–5).

²⁶Williams (1989), 18 emphasises that night is a time of emotion and fear, treachery, murder, theft, mistakes and foreboding and its arrival signals imminent misfortune."

on the abruptness of these lines: "La rencontre des Argonautes et des fils de Phrixos est en effet présentée d'une façon très elliptique, puisque les Argonautes ne sont mentionnés qu' implicitement par le moyen d' ἄλλήλοις."²⁷ Rather than assume a lacuna here, as Fränkel proposes, Vian prefers to point to the fact that the interjection by the narrator interrupted the narrative in a similar fashion and that now, after a long digression, the story of the adventures of the Argonauts is resumed again. They could not have met anyone else on this desert island; no case of mistaken identity is possible. The story of the sons of Phrixus also omits any account of the activities of the Argonauts on the island before the arrival of Argus and his brothers on the island. Argus himself tells Aeetes that they did not have to encounter the birds because the latter had already been defeated by the Argonauts (3.324–6). The deceptively simple phrase τάχα δ' ἐγγύθεν ἀντεβόλησαν / ἄλλήλοις (2.1121–2; see also 2.1157: συνβολίη), concluding the long descriptions of the arrival of both groups and starting off the account of their meeting, gives the impression that they happen to meet by chance on this desert island or, in other words, just 'bump into' each other.²⁸ The meeting is in reality of course carefully orchestrated by Zeus himself.²⁹

The first time Argus is called by his proper name is when he, the eldest of the brothers, starts his speech of supplication to the Argonauts.³⁰ The content of this first speech makes it immediately clear that this is not the Argonaut Argus who speaks.³¹ Before, Argus and his brothers were always collectively called the sons of Phrixus (2.1093; 2.1107; 2.1119), underlining thereby the importance of this tie in relation to the Argonauts. Phrixus, depicted with the ram on the cloak given to Jason by Queen Hypsipyle (1.763), is seen by Jason's mother Alcimede

²⁷Vian, *REA* 75 (1973), 99.

²⁸Campbell uses this expression in his commentary on 3.68: "Hera casually gives the impression that Jason just happened to 'bump into' her (see on this nuance F-G on *Od.* 22.360)." He also mentions in his commentary ad 3.179 that "this verb is commonly applied to a direct encounter, a bold, no-holds-barred confrontation."

²⁹Levin (1971), 203.

³⁰The same reason is given in 3.319 (ἐπεὶ προγενέστερος ἦεν), when Argus acts again as a spokesman. Cf. Eur. *Cycl.* 101: χαίρειν προσεῖπον πρῶτα τὸν γεραίτατον.

³¹Fränkel, *Noten*, 290. Argus, the builder of the Argo, is mentioned in this epic for the last time in 2.1188.

and the other women as the ultimate cause of the hardship the heroes have to endure (1.256; 1.291). The relationship Argus and his brothers have with Aeetes, who is after all their grandfather since Phrixus married the king's eldest daughter Chalciope, is only later emphasised. The sons of Phrixus are, as we shall see, in a unique position: they are blood relations of the Argonauts — and thereby even more entitled to receive help from the Argonauts than was due just to their position as supplicants — and are at the same time able to give an authoritative account of Colchis and King Aeetes. Their status will give them the role of diplomats on behalf of the Argonauts, first in respect to Aeetes and then to Chalciope to entreat her for the magic help of her sister Medea.

c) Argus' speech (2.1122–33)

Ἀντόμεθα πρὸς Ζηνὸς Ἐποψίου, οἳ τινὲς ἔστε
ἀνδρῶν, εὐμενέειν³² τε καὶ ἀρκέσσαι χατέουσι.
(2.1123–4)

The opening verb of his speech, ἀντόμεθα, 'to entreat,' makes it immediately clear that this is the speech of a suppliant.³³ This is acknowledged by Jason in λίσσεσθ' (2.1161), a verb, denoting the beseeching tone of a speech, commonly used in supplications and petitions and often combined with γούνων.³⁴ Just as Odysseus does in his encounters with Nausicaa and Arete, so in this encounter Argus takes the initiative (2.1122: παροίτατος), as is often done by suppliants. References to Zeus, the protector of suppliants and strangers alike, frame his speech (2.1123; 2.1131–3). It is appropriate that the combined function of Zeus as guardian of suppliants and strangers should be used here: their demands befit both categories alike. The verbs used to describe his requests have strong associations with a hospitality context. Hospitality is what they ultimately want to

³²Hdt. 7.237: ξείνος δὲ ξείνῳ εὖ πρήσσοντί ἐστι εὐμενέστατον πάντων.

³³The verb is used in this way in tragedy (cf. Campbell ad 3.77): e.g. Eur. Alc. 1098: πρὸς σε ... ἄντομαι Διός; Eur. Supp. 279: πρὸς σε γενειάδος ... ἄντομαι.

³⁴Il. 6.45; Il. 9.451; Il. 20.469; Il. 21.71; Od. 6.142; Od. 22.337. See Corlu (1996), 293.

achieve; they are not in a position to approach the Argonauts otherwise. Because of their superior position, the Argonauts are suddenly on this island of Ares (a neutral setting) cast in the role of host, providing hospitality and help to others on their journey. The role of guest, the natural part of the Argonauts throughout the whole epic, is taken up by the Phrixids.³⁵ Cairns mentions that "the boundary between suppliant and stranger is difficult to define."³⁶ Although Argus does not attempt to make the distinction by applying both epithets to Zeus, there is no question of hospitality in the strict (orthodox) sense of the word: after all, the Argonauts do not live here. So, although the supplication shares many of the characteristics of the encounter of Odysseus with Nausicaa (e.g. setting, position and needs of the suppliant, motifs used), the scene in the *Odyssey* acts very much as just a prelude to the long hospitality scene at the palace of Alcinous, whereas here the initial act of supplication merges into a conventional scene of hospitality with sacrifice, meal followed by an exchange of speeches and departure. Considering their desperate position (cf. also 2.1140: ἀμηχανέων κακότητι) the sons of Phrixus do not really have any other choice but to adopt the behaviour of suppliants. They have lost their ship, have just escaped death (2.1106: στυγερόν τρομέοντες ὄλεθρον;³⁷ 2.1113: παρὲξ ὀλίγον θανάτοιο; 2.1114: ἀσχαλόωντας), and are soaked to the skin (2.1106: μυδαλέοι).³⁸ Not only would Zeus be likely to protect them, he would also look upon the Argonauts to see if they acknowledged the rightful demands. Argus also tries to move the Argonauts by referring explicitly to the fact that they are contemporaries (2.1130: ἀνέρας ... ὁμήλικας).³⁹ These two arguments will soon be strengthened by the

³⁵Levin (1971), 209.

³⁶Cairns (1993), 113–4; Thornton (1984), 131: "The two institutions of 'supplication' (ἱκετεία) and 'guest-friendship' (ξενία) are closely parallel in the ceremonial actions expected from the suppliant and the stranger who becomes a guest, and host of either." Cf. Gould (1973), 93.

³⁷*Od.* 9.286 (Odysseus claiming that they have just escaped destruction): αὐτὰρ ἐγὼ σὺν τοῖσδε ἐπέκφυγον αἶπὺν ὄλεθρον.

³⁸Μυδαλέος is a Homeric *hapax legomenon*, used in *Il.* 11.54 of the rain of blood sent by Zeus as a symbol of the coming destruction on the battlefield. Here, the adjective is used to describe literally how drenched they are and as a result in the need of clothing. See Williams (1989), 191, n. 21 ad ἀθέσφατος (2.1115).

³⁹See for this sentiment *Od.* 15.196–8 and *Od.* 22.209.

even more powerful motif of kinship. Medea will use the same combination in her argument in 3.731–2 (οἱ δὴ μοι ἀδελφείοι γεγάασι / κηδεμόνες τε φίλοι καὶ ὁμήλικες) to justify why her help should be given by her to the sons of Phrixus (concealing of course her love for Jason).

The epithet used of Zeus in his opening words and repeated in the last line of his speech, draws specific attention to the fact that Zeus is all-seeing, and it is implied that any transgression of the conventions of supplication will be certainly punished by him (2.1123: Ζηνὸς Ἐποψίου; 2.1133: ἐπόπιος).⁴⁰ Argus' modestly phrased request (2.1133: ὁ δέ που καὶ ἐπόπιος ἄμμι τέτυκται), seemingly in accordance with his humble position, in fact strengthens his claim. In his article on *Hiketeia*, Gould mentions that

the significance of the ritual increases in direct proportion to the sanction to be imposed on the breach of it: the greater the sanction, the more awesome the authority which stands behind that sanction, the greater the anxieties involved over the proper performance of ritual requirement.⁴¹

The closing lines of the speech are modelled on Odysseus' appeal to the Cyclops.⁴² To reinforce his request for a ξεινῆιον Odysseus appeals to this dual

⁴⁰Here only implied by the omniscience of Zeus, punishment is explicitly referred to in *Od.* 9.270 (ἐπιτιμήτωρ ἱκετάων τε ξείνων τε) and *Od.* 14.284 (ὅς τε μάλιστα νεμεσσάται κακὰ ἔργα). Knight (1995), 134 suggests that ἐπιτιμήτωρ is changed to the "less aggressive ἐπόπιος 'watcher over all,'" as "confronted with another group of sailors of his own age, Argus feels more confident than Odysseus does before Polyphemus, and also hints at the greater passivity of Zeus in Apollonius." In the Phineus episode, where the roles are once again reversed and the host himself adopts in his misery (2.214: ἀργαλέοισιν ... ἐν καμάτοισιν) the position of suppliant, an urgent appeal (Cf. esp. 2.218: χραίσμετέ μοι, ῥύσασθε δυσάμμορον ἄνδρα λύμης) is also made to Zeus Hikesios (2.215: ὁ τις ῥίγιστος ἀλιτροῖς / ἀνδράσι). The revenge motif referred to here receives further poignancy because of the sins committed against Zeus by the seer himself. ῥίγιστος, vividly expressing the effect of the wrath of Zeus (ῥίγω: 'shudder,' 'bristle with fear or horror') on the offender, has therefore a double function and is not only applied to those supplicated. The tearful reaction of the sons of Boreas shows the success of the emotional (traditionally phrased) request for pity (2.240–3). The status of the Argonauts as ξεῖνοι is important as it is not by ὀθνεῖοι that he will be saved from all his ills (2.235: οὐδ' ὀθνεῖοι ἀλαλήσουσιν ἔόντες).

⁴¹Gould (1973), 91; Cf. also Garvie ad *Od.* 6.207–8: "In Homeric society a ξεῖνος, until he has been formally accepted into the status of guest-friend, is peculiarly defenceless, and the notion of Zeus ξείνιος was doubtless developed to provide him with some protection."

⁴²Fränkel, *Noten*, 291.

function of Zeus.⁴³ Similarly we find here the conventional combination of *ἰκέτας* and *ξείνους* (2.1131) and the verb *αἰδεῖσθαι*.

Ἄλλ' ἰκέτας ξείνους Διὸς εἵνεκεν αἰδέσασσασθε
 Ξεινίου Ἰκεσίου τε· Διὸς δ' ἄμφω ἰκέται τε
 καὶ ξεῖνοι, ὃ δέ που καὶ ἐπόπιος ἄμμι τέτυκται.
 (2.1131–3)

ἄλλ' αἰδεῖο, φέριστε, θεοῦς· ἰκέται δέ τοί εἰμεν.
 Ζεὺς δ' ἐπιτιμήτωρ ἰκετάων τε ξείνων τε,
 ξείνιος, ὃς ξείνοισιν ἄμ' αἰδοίοισιν ὀπηδεῖ.
 (Od. 9.269–71)

Jason's response to Argus' plea quickly dispels the remote possibility that he might react as the Cyclops did in his utter rejection of this appeal to Zeus. In complete contrast, Jason will act as the perfect host, immediately granting the brothers all their wishes. This passage from the *Odyssey* also serves as a model for 3.192–3, in which Jason, referring to Zeus' protection of the *ξεῖνος*, tries to encourage his comrades just before their meeting with King Aetes himself (3.192–3: πάντες ἐπεὶ πάντη, καὶ ὃ τις μάλα κύντατος ἀνδρῶν, / Ξεινίου αἰδεῖται Ζηνὸς θέμιν ἢδ' ὀλεγίζει).⁴⁴ The futility of this appeal to the concept of a universal *θέμις* in the case of Aetes is exposed immediately by the following description of the unusual burial practice of the Colchians (i.e. a custom peculiar to them alone: 3.209: ἦ γὰρ τε δίκη θεσμοῖο τέτυκται).⁴⁵

The same combination of *ἰκέτης* and *ξεῖνος* is used by Jason twice chiastically to describe his position at the palace of Aetes to Medea when he implores her for her help.⁴⁶

⁴³Cf. Od. 9.268: ἦ τε ξείνων θέμις ἐστίν; Cf. Nausicaa's words, which signify clearly the obligation felt on the side of the host (Od. 6.207–8): τὸν νῦν χρή κομέειν· πρὸς γὰρ Διὸς εἰσιν ἅπαντες / ξεῖνοί τε πτωχοί τε, δόσις δ' ὀλίγη τε φίλη τε.

⁴⁴Cf. Campbell ad 3.192: "Apollonius strikingly, and with some considerable irony, evokes an image of a world far removed from the harshness of heroic existence, a world presided over by a benevolent, protective god whom 'all of us everywhere' heed."

⁴⁵Cf. Campbell ad 3.193: "On Apollonius' use of *θέμις* in the sense divine ordinance or ruling — VDB 3.162–3; Hoekstra Od. 14.56; Gould 91.n. 90."

⁴⁶Cf. 4.358–9. See Hunter ad 3.986–7.

Πρὸς σ' αὐτῆς Ἑκάτης μελίσσομαι ἡδὲ τοκῆων
καὶ Διός, ὃς ξείνοισι ἰκέτησί τε χεῖρ' ὑπερίσχει·
ἀμφοτέρων δ' ἰκέτης ξείνός τέ τοι ἐνθάδ' ἰκάνω,
χρηιοῖ ἀναγκαίῃ γουνούμενος· (3.985–8)

This reference to Zeus' authority and Jason's position of both (3.987: ἀμφοτέρων) ξείνος and suppliant again strengthens Jason's request:⁴⁷ if Zeus himself supports strangers and suppliants, who is she to refuse this plea for help? It is as if the meeting between Jason and Medea re-enacts a new hospitality scene, even though Medea, whose help is desperately needed, is not in the position to be a proper hostess. The charm asked for by Jason from Medea can be seen as a ξεινήιον.⁴⁸ The order of the *Odyssey* is reversed: there the meeting between Odysseus and Nausicaa preceded the encounter with the Phaeacians, here the rendezvous between Jason and Medea comes after the encounter with Aeetes.⁴⁹ The Nausicaa episode acts thus as model for both encounters. The site chosen for the meeting between Jason and Medea, a temple *outside* town (i.e. on neutral ground) foreshadows the encounter and killing of Apsyrtus near a temple in Book Four.⁵⁰ Just like Odysseus, Jason emphasises the desperate position he is in by presenting his mission as a necessity (3.988: χρηιοῖ ἀναγκαίῃ γουνούμενος; 3.989: στονόεντος ... ἄέθλου). Flattery, used to support and strengthen his supplication, takes the form of an elaborate version of the remembrance motif to fulfil the obligation of reciprocity and of praise of her beauty, which is cunningly connected with an assumed willingness to help him (cf. 3.1006–7: Ἦ γὰρ ἔοικας / ἐκ μορφῆς ἀγανῆσιν ἐπητείησι κεκάσθαι). To reassure Medea of his good intentions Jason uses the word εὐμενέοντες, the very thing asked for by Argus (3.980–1: ἀλλ' ἐπεὶ ἀλλήλοισιν ἰκάνομεν εὐμενέοντες, / χώρῳ ἐν

⁴⁷Cf. also 3.563 (Idas' words): παρθενικὰς δὲ λιτῆσιν ἀνάλκιδας ἡπεροπεύειν.

⁴⁸The verb ἐγγουλίζειν is often associated with such gifts: 1.245 (Aeetes); 1.770 (Atalanta); 1.1181 (Mysians); 2.55 (Amycus); 2.968 (Hippolyte); 3.1205 (Hypsipyle); 3.1027 (Aeetes); 4.1554/1752 (Triton).

⁴⁹Cf. Campbell, *Studies*, 60ff.; Clauss (1997), 165.

⁵⁰As does the appeal to Zeus, cf. Hunter ad 3.986–7.

ἡγαθέω, ἵνα τ' οὐ θέμις ἔστ' ἀλιτέσθαι).⁵¹ This verb εὐμενεῖν acts as a leitmotif throughout this episode in Book Two and is used twice by Jason (again echoing in every detail Argus' own words) to assure the brothers of their friendly intentions. It is crucial for the Argonauts that a firm friendship be established now, before an appeal made to the principle of reciprocity (cf. 2.1136: Ταῦτα μὲν αὐτίκα πάντα παρέξομεν εὐμενέοντες; 2.1161: λίσσεσθ' εὐμενέοντας ἐπαρκέσσαι κακότητα). The verb is also used in a hospitality context in the Lemnian episode by Hypsipyle (and later repeated by her messenger to the Argonauts themselves) to tell the heroes that they are welcome, provided they come with friendly intentions.⁵²

It is striking that no form of address is used by Argus, this emphasising the urgency of his request. Instead of asking about their identity (or including any speculations upon it) he makes it clear that it is their duty to help them regardless of their status (2.1123: οἳ τινές ἐστε). Argus' approach confirms Cairns' remarks that

where the suppliant is genuinely a 'comer' in that he is unknown to the recipient of his appeal, and where guest-friendship and supplication almost coincide, his position seems to be rather stronger ... and the impression created is that the use of violence in such situations would deserve the severest condemnation.⁵³

Garvie (ad *Od.* 8.546) comments similarly that "the status of guest and suppliant is said here to imply a relationship as close and binding as that between members of the same family." The lack of address echoes Odysseus' supplication of the river in *Od.* 5.445: Κλυθι, ἄναξ, ὅτις ἐσσί· πολὺλλιστον δέ σ' ἱκάνω.⁵⁴ The

⁵¹Echoing 3.87, in which Hera states her intentions in relation to Medea (εἰ γὰρ οἱ κείνη συμφράσsetαι εὐμενέουσα).

⁵²Cf. 1.707: κέκλεο θαρσαλέως ἐπβαινέμεν εὐμενέοντας; 1.716: κέκλεται αὐτίκα νῦν ἐπβαινέμεν εὐμενέοντας. Also used in 1.1334–5 (ἀλλ' ἀνέμοισιν / δώομεν ἀμπλακίην, ὥς καὶ πάρος εὐμενέοντες) in relation to the renewal of friendship between Telamon and Jason. In all the other instances the verb is used of gods well-disposed towards men.

⁵³Cairns (1993), 118; Knight (1995), 134. Cf. for ἱκάνω in relation to supplications Hunter ad 3.986–7; Hainsworth ad *Od.* 5.445.

⁵⁴The lengthy speculations by Odysseus about the identity of the princess all serve to flatter Nausicaa, so that she will be willing to grant his requests (*Od.* 6.149ff.) Hainsworth ad *Od.* 5.445 remarks: "The preamble of a prayer would normally specify the god's titles or prerogatives."

phrase οἱ τινές ἐστε / ἀνδρῶν (2.1123–4) echoes Menelaus' words in *Od.* 4.61–2 and refers to the traditional ideas of hospitality.⁵⁵ As a proper and good host, Menelaus emphasises that the all-important question of identity should not (and indeed will not) be addressed until after the guest has been honoured with a dinner and bath as his welcome. Any exchange of information has to wait till that moment. Strictly speaking, the phrase is used in the *Odyssey* of the guest and here of the prospective host, but rather than interpreting these words as merely apologetic, they could be seen as an expression of Argus' confidence. Referring to well-known customs, Argus uses this stock phrase to his own advantage to confirm again his *rights* as a suppliant and the *duties* of the supplicated. Regardless of identity (on *both* sides), basic help should be provided.

No mention is thus made by Argus about their own identity or status; the only thing he mentions about their intention is that they are on some sort of business (2.1127: κατὰ χρέος).⁵⁶ Jason will ask Argus in his reply to specify the business he mentioned (2.1138: χρέος οἶον). The same word is used about the expedition of the Argonauts: 1.235–6: ὅσσα περ ἐντύνονται ἐπήρεες ἔνδοθι νῆες, / εὖτ' ἂν ἄγῃ χρέος ἄνδρας ὑπεῖρ ἄλλα ναυτίλλεσθαι; 4.530: Αἰσονίδῃ περόωντι κατὰ χρέος.⁵⁷ The fact that they are also *sent* on their journey supplies another parallel to the situation of the Argonauts (2.1096: ὁ γὰρ θνήσκων ἐπετείλατο τήνδε κέλευθον. Argus emphasises this from the very beginning in order to assure them that they are no pirates. The angry, insolent questions asked by the Cyclops when he finds Odysseus and his mates in his cave, also voice this concern:⁵⁸

ᾧ ξεῖνοι, τίνες ἐστέ; πόθεν πλεῖθ' ὕγρὰ κέλευθα;⁵⁹
ἦ τι κατὰ πρῆξιν ἦ μασιδίως ἀλάλησθε

⁵⁵Cf. also Nestor's words in *Od.* 3.71–3: Νῦν δὲ κάλλιον ἐστὶ μεταλλῆσαι καὶ ἐρέσθαι / ξείνους, οἱ τινές εἰσιν, ἐπεὶ τάρπησαν ἐδωδῆς / ᾧ ξεῖνοι, τίνες ἐστε; πόθεν πλεῖθ' ὕγρὰ κέλευθα;

⁵⁶Likewise, Circe asks Jason and Medea: χρειῶ ναυτιλίην τε διακριδὸν ἐξερέεινεν, / ἥδ' ὁπόθεν μετὰ γοῶν ἔην καὶ δώματ' ἰόντες... (4.721–3).

⁵⁷Campbell ad 3.189: "in execution of a project, on business;" 2.1138: χρέος ... ὑπεῖρ ἄλλα.

⁵⁸Cf. also *Od.* 3.69–74 (Nestor's questions to Telemachus).

⁵⁹Cf. *HyAphr* 453–5.

οἷά τε ληϊστῆρες ὑπεῖρ ἄλλα, τοί τ' ἀλόωνται
 ψυχὰς παρθέμενοι, κακὸν ἄλλοδαποῖσι φέροντες;
 (Od. 9.252–5)

Likewise, Aeetes assumes that the Argonauts have come to his palace to rob him (3.589–93; cf. also 3.375–6; 3.386–9; 3.402–3: ἤε καὶ ἄλλως / οὐδὲν ἐμεῖο χέρηες ἐπ' ὀθνεῖοισιν ἔβητε). When Jason is accused by Aeetes of having come to Colchis in order to seize Aeetes' royal power, he is at pains to assure the king immediately that the expedition is undertaken out of necessity (3.389–90: Ἀλλὰ με δαίμων / καὶ κρυερὴ βασιλῆος ἀτασθάλου ὥρσεν ἐφετμή).⁶⁰ Who would after all undertake such a dangerous journey (3.388: τόσον οἶδμα) just for the goods of mere strangers (3.389: ὀθνεῖον ἐπὶ κτέρας)?⁶¹ Instead of asking for clothing and food as Argus had done, Jason, not unlike Odysseus in his request for a ξεινῆιον from the Cyclops, asks the king to grant the *suppliants* the specific favour of the fleece (3.391: Δὸς χάριν ἄντομένοισι).⁶² Recognising the need for compensation in the event that the king complied with his request (reciprocity is acknowledged: ἀποτίσαι ἀμοιβήν, 3.393), Jason then promises fame to the king throughout the whole of Greece and immediate help in the subjection of particularly troublesome neighbours (3.391–5). References to their status as suppliants are kept to a minimum in this speech by Jason. The fact that he does refer to the heroes as *suppliants*, however, makes it even more difficult for Aeetes to refuse this politely phrased request.⁶³ The basic needs of strangers of food, drink and a bath have already been satisfied (3.300–1: αὐτοί τε λιαροῖσιν ἐφαιδρύναντο λοετροῖς, / ἀσπασίως δόρπῳ τε ποτῇτι τε θυμὸν ἄρεσσαν) and Jason seems above all to be concerned to rectify any wrong impressions created by the speech of Argus on their behalf.⁶⁴ Aeetes' reply

⁶⁰Argus already stressed this in 3.336 (πέμπει δεῦρο νέεσθαι ἀμήχανον).

⁶¹Cf. also Argus' words 3.336: πέμπει δεῦρο νέεσθαι, ἀμήχανον.

⁶²Campbell ad 3.391 points out that δὸς χάριν is often used in respectful addresses to gods.

⁶³Campbell *ibid.*: "At long last, a direct request, on behalf of suppliants. Aeetes will either oblige, or put himself in the wrong: that is the idea anyway."

⁶⁴3.377 (εἰ δέ κε μὴ προπάρειθεν ἐμῆς ἥψασθε τραπέζης) also shows the importance of the table as a symbol of the relationship of guest-friendship.

also shows that they have more or less been accepted as his ξεῖνοι (3.401: ξεῖνε), although he is still suspicious about their real intentions as 3.402–3 prove; he still speaks of them as being after the goods of strangers (3.403: ἐπ' ὀθνείοισιν).

The general demands for help and benevolence are later changed into the more specific request for clothes and hospitality in general (2.1128–9: αἶ κε πίθησθε / δοῦναι ὅσον τ' εἴλυμα περὶ χροὸς ἡδὲ κομίσσαι). That clothing is considered to be a basic need is also shown by the passage in the *Odyssey*, in which Eumaeus orders Telemachus to provide the beggar (i.e. Odysseus) at least with this, as they are by circumstances unfortunately prevented from doing more. Clothing is considered to be a sign of dignity (*Il.* 2.261ff.).⁶⁵

ἀλλ' ἦ τοι τὸν ξεῖνον, ἐπεὶ τεὸν ἵκετο δῶμα,
ἔσσω μιν χλαῖνάν τε χιτῶνά τε, εἵματα καλά,
δώσω δὲ ξίφος ἄμφηκες καὶ ποσσὶ πέδιλα
(*Od.* 16.78–80)

Clothing was also asked for by Odysseus from Nausicaa upon his arrival on the island of Scheria.⁶⁶ The use of the noun εἴλυμα, a *hapax legomenon* in both the *Odyssey* and the *Argonautica*, indicates the positions of Odysseus and Argus as suppliants. Just like Odysseus, Argus only asks for a 'wrapping'.⁶⁷ In both epics, the modest request of an εἴλυμα is followed by the statement that clothes (termed εἵματα, the general word) have been given (*Od.* 6.214: φᾶρός τε χιτῶνά τε εἵματα δῶναι; 2.1168: ἐκ νηὸς δῶκέ σφισιν εἵματα δῶναι). This points to the respect given to the guests.

ἄστνυ δέ μοι δεῖξον, δὸς δὲ ῥάκος ἀμφιβαλέσθαι,
εἴ τί που εἴλυμα σπείρων ἔχες ἐνθάδ' ἰοῦσα.
(*Od.* 6.178–9)

⁶⁵Cf. also Kirk ad *Il.* 2.261–4.

⁶⁶Garvie ad *Od.* 6.178: "Odysseus' request is cunningly (cf. 148) modest, and he does not even ask for food."

⁶⁷See Garvie ad *Od.* 6.179.

Whereas Odysseus also asks to be shown the way to town (cf. also *Od.* 6.144),⁶⁸ the sons of Phrixus ask for hospitality in general. This motif, omitted by Argus, will be used by Jason in 2.1192, when he asks for 'helpers' (ἐπίρροθοι). Argus and Odysseus are in much the same situation: both have barely survived a shipwreck, have to entreat strangers on the beach for help, and blame a storm for their misfortune.

τόφρα δέ μ' αἰεὶ κῦμ' ἐφόρει κραιπναὶ τε θύελλαι
νήσου ἅπ' Ὠγυγίης· νῦν δ' ἐνθάδε κάββαλε δαίμων
(*Od.* 6.171–2)

Πόντῳ γὰρ τρηχεῖαι ἐπιβρίσασαι ἄελλαι
νηὸς ἀεικελῆς διὰ δούρατα πάντ' ἐκέδασσαν,
ἣ ἔνι πείρομεν οἶδμα κατὰ χρέος ἐμβεβαῶτες.
(2.1125–7)

Odysseus' words to Nausicaa⁶⁹ are echoed in 2.1118–9 (κύματος ὁρμὴ / μετ' ἡιόνας βάλε νήσου) and later in Argus' account of the storm to Aeetes (3.320–34; esp. 334: Θεὸς δέ τις ἄμμ' ἐσάωσεν).⁷⁰ In this encounter with Jason, Argus does not attribute their arrival on the island to gods, although Jason himself, once he has heard who these strangers are, deems that this for him so fortunate meeting must have been arranged by the gods.

Ὑπ' ἐννεσίησι δ' οἴω
ἀθανάτων ἐς χεῖρας ἐμὰς χατέοντας ἰκέσθαι. (2.1166–7)

⁶⁸Odysseus' account to Alcinoos of the events on the beach shows that not only clothes have been given by Nausicaa, but also food, wine and a bath in the river. Cf. *Od.* 7.295–6: ἦ μοι σῖτον δῶκεν ἄλις ἡδ' αἶθοπα οἶνον, / καὶ λουσ' ἐν ποταμῷ, καὶ μοι τάδε εἴματ' ἔδωκε.

⁶⁹It is interesting to note that Odysseus emphasises his swimming in his speech to Alcinoos in order to stress his own (truly heroic) contribution. In *Od.* 7.280–3, Odysseus claims to choose himself the place to come ashore, whereas helplessness and the favour of the gods is stressed when speaking to Nausicaa to engender as much pathos as possible. We see that different versions are given according to the purpose of the speech, the circumstances and the addressee.

⁷⁰Campbell ad 3.323: "Argus' account to Aeetes does not refer to a particular god until the all-important topic of the Argonauts' contribution is broached." Cf. 3.327–8: Καὶ σφ' ἀπέρυκεν / ἡμέας οἰκτείρων Ζηνὸς νόος, ἥε τις αἴσα. The line is carefully phrased and still adds ἥε τις αἴσα, even though Jason has pointed out Zeus' hand behind all events. Campbell, however, comments ad 3.328: "Argos reports it as a fact, with no softening πον."

It is remarkable that Argus does not at all refer to the gods in this speech, either specifically to Zeus, or more vaguely to the role of 'some god,' as is done in *Od.* 6.172. The winds (2.1125: τρηχεῖαι ... ἄελλαι) and the poor quality of the boat are blamed for their disaster. Argus calls the boat, shattered to pieces by the storm, ἀεικελίη ('of poor quality,' 'shoddy').

Πόντῳ γὰρ τρηχεῖαι ἐπιβρίσασαι ἄελλαι⁷¹
 νηὸς ἀεικελῆς διὰ δούρατα πάντ' ἐκέδασσαν,
 ἣ ἔνι πείρομεν οἶδμα κατὰ χρέος ἐμβεβαῶτες.
 (2.1125–7)

In his speech to Aeetes in Book Three, Argus calls the ship οἰνοτάτης (3.342),⁷² in an unfavourable comparison with the Argo, built with the help of Athena. Campbell remarks ad 3.342 that "in 2.1126 he complained of his νηὸς ἀεικελῆς, in a passage where he had no reason to exercise constraint: 'disreputable,' i.e. 'shabby,' 'shoddy,' 'of indifferent quality,' εὐτελής, κακός, φαῦλος." One could perhaps even say that Argus has every reason *not* to be constrained in his criticism and disappointment about their boat if he wants to succeed in the main purpose of his supplication: to arouse pathos among the Argonauts for their cause. At the same time, of course, it is indicative of Argus' temperament. An allusion to the role of Zeus could easily have been included in order to strengthen the claim for the protection of Zeus, just as Odysseus did when he appealed to the Cyclops to render hospitality (*Od.* 9.262: οὕτω που Ζεὺς ἤθελε μητίσασθαι).⁷³ As it is, it is left to the god-fearing Jason to see the hand of the supreme god behind everything. By then, they have made such remarkable discoveries about each other's background that it is virtually impossible to consider their encounter on this desert island to be mere coincidence.

⁷¹Cf. 3.1113–4 (τραχεῖαι ὑπὲρ πόντοιο ... ἀναρπάξασαι ἄελλαι), in which Medea wishes swift blasts to carry her over the sea in case Jason would not remember her.

⁷²See also Campbell, *Studies*, 30.

⁷³Cf. Heubeck ad *Od.* 9.259–71: "The observation that they have been driven off course by the will of Zeus prepares the way for 266–71; that they are οἰδοῖοι, and so deserve respectful treatment (οἰδεῖο 269) ... conscious of his status as a hero he does not ask for pity (Cf. his very different attitude at 6.175). He comes as a suppliant but emphasises the status and rights of the ἱκέτης; in fact he claims the right to hospitality and a gift."

ὥς δὲ καὶ ὑμέας αὐτίς ἀπήμονας ἐξεσάωσε
χείματος οὐλομένοιο (2.1183–4)

Only after hearing the full story from Argus is Jason able to see and state confidently the pattern behind all these seemingly unrelated events. Alerted by Phineus' prophecy, it is not difficult for Jason to make this assertion. Already in 2.1135, before he utters his first speech, Jason is described as μαντοσύνας Φινῆος οἰσσύμενος τελέεσθαι. Once more this places him in a position of superiority over the sons of Phrixus. In complete contrast to the Cyclops who rejected not only Odysseus' supplication but even the gods themselves, Jason immediately recognises the power of Zeus by giving the suppliants all the help they need, even pointing out the part of Zeus in all this.⁷⁴ As previously said, Jason's speeches will repeat many words from Argus' speech, thus reassuring the castaways that everything will indeed be done according to their needs. His remark in 2.1179, confirming the power of Zeus to a greater degree than ever envisaged by Argus, gives 2.1123 and 2.1133 an unexpected (and positive) twist. Argus' appeal to the all-seeing Zeus,⁷⁵ used as a veiled but nevertheless present threat, is conventional and it is this trait that is taken up by Jason to affirm primarily the care of this god for the sons of Phrixus (2.1181: γὰρ) but ultimately of course also for himself and his fellow Argonauts. After all, they have by their actions (i.e. the granting of hospitality, sacrifice) proven to be θεουδέες and δίκαιοι (2.1180). It is important for Jason to portray himself as such before he announces his exact plans to the sons of Phrixus. His choice of adjectives here refers back to Odysseus' anxious words immediately before he meets strangers.

ἐλθὼν τῶνδ' ἀνδρῶν πειρήσομαι, οἳ τινές εἰσιν,
ἧ ῥ' οἱ γ' ὕβρισταί τε καὶ ἄγριοι οὐδὲ δίκαιοι,
ἦε φιλόξεينوι, καὶ σφιν νόος ἐστὶ θεουδής.
(*Od.* 9.174–6)

⁷⁴Nausicaa (*Od.* 6.188–90) refers in her reply to another aspect of Zeus' power: his ability to apportion fortune at random. Cf. also Garvie ad *Od.* 6.188.

⁷⁵*S. Ph.* 1040; *S. El.* 175.

Being put into the unusual position of host on an island where they are strangers themselves, the Argonauts have so far displayed the behaviour expected from a good host, conforming to all the laws of hospitality.⁷⁶ They have, just like Nausicaa, given the suppliants the clothing that is their due.⁷⁷ This is later confirmed by Argus in his speech recommending the Argonauts to Aeetes. It is of course important for him to sketch as positive an image as possible of the heroes in order to make the chosen diplomatic approach successful.

αὐτίκ' ἐπεὶ καὶ βρώσιν ἄλις καὶ εἶματ' ἔδωκαν,
οὐνομά τε Φρίξιοιο περικλεῆς εἰσαΐοντες
ἦδ' αὐτοῖο σέθεν· (3.329–31)

Argus' statement is not entirely true, as Jason promised them all this immediately before he had heard their name. Argus, however, is concerned that the relation between their name — and especially Aeetes' name, as the enjambement shows — and the receiving of hospitality is established. This is all the more ironic if one considers, as shown, the emphasis put by Argus in his initial speech to Jason on the insignificance of identity.

The very fact that these adjectives (2.1180) clearly echo these lines from the *Odyssey* means that they are applied to the Argonauts themselves.⁷⁸ To be god-fearing (revealing the implicit threat again) is an admired quality in kings.⁷⁹ The Phrixids could have encountered here the Amazons, who used the island to sacrifice horses to Ares (2.1173: ποτε). The mention of the Amazons, women extensively associated with *hybris* and savagery, as previously shown, is a learned allusion explaining the presence of a temple there, while at the same time

⁷⁶Unlike the suitors in the *Odyssey* who are therefore called οὐ τι νοήμονες οὐδὲ δίκαιοι (*Od.* 2.282).

⁷⁷*Od.* 6.191–3: νῦν δ' ἐπεὶ ἡμετέρην τε πόλιν καὶ γαῖαν ἱκάνεις, / οὐτ' οὖν ἐσθῆτος δευήσαι οὔτε τευ ἄλλου, / ὧν ἐπέοιχ' ἱκέτην ταλαπείριον ἀντιάσαντα.

⁷⁸Cf. Campbell ad 3.190.

⁷⁹For example Alcinous (4.1100: Ἀλλὰ Διὸς δεῖδοικα δίκην ἰθεῖαν ἀτίσσαι; Cf. also 4.1009–10; 4.1123: θεουδέης). Cf. Knight (1995), 247: "no longer 'god-like' (*Od.* 7.231: θεοειδέης), but rather 'god-fearing'." Phrixus: 3.586 (θεουδείη).

contrasting the behaviour of the civilised Argonauts with that of the wild Amazons, who are *not* φιλόξεينوι or δίκαιοι and quite definitely ἄγριοι, as proven here by their barbaric sacrifice of horses.⁸⁰ The two possibilities mentioned by Odysseus are thus exemplified here by the Amazons and the Argonauts.⁸¹ The qualities mentioned in 2.1180 are above all those displayed by the Argonauts rather than the sons of Phrixus who can only rely on the power of Zeus to help them out of their misery and are in no position to choose to act either justly or unjustly. The words οὐδέ ... λήθομεν (2.1179–80) continue in a triumphant conclusion the image of the all-seeing Zeus (2.1179: Ζεὺς ἔτεδ' ὅν τ' ἔκαστ' ἐπιδέρεται; 2.1133: πού).

Τούνεκα νῦν ὑμέας γούναζόμεθ', αἳ κε πίθησθε
δοῦναι ὅσον τ' εἴλυμα περὶ χροὸς ἡδὲ κομίσσαι,
ἀνέρας οἰκτεῖραντες⁸² ὁμήλικας ἐν κακότητι.
(2.1128–30)

Τούνεκα νῦν (2.1128) signifies formally that Argus, having given the reason for his miserable position, will now proceed to the specific request for clothing and hospitality, the appeal in the first line of his speech only being a general cry for help. The same transitional device is used by Thetis in her supplication of Hephaestus to receive new weaponry for her son Achilles, when after her initial explanation of the circumstances leading her to this request, she continues to phrase her concrete demand (*Il.* 18.457).⁸³ The elaborate construction of αἳ κε

⁸⁰In her discussion of Book Two, Blok (1995: 274) mentions that in the characterisation of the Amazons "many elements can be recognised as typically 'Thracian': the descent from and cult of Ares; the possession of horses; martial spirit; blood sacrifices of the kind known from the Thracian cult of Artemis; the lack of central [polis] and their lack of [themis]." Richardson ad *Il.* 21.130–2 remarks that the custom of horse sacrifices was not typically Greek and was "common among the Scythians (Hdt. 4.61), Massagetai (Hdt. 1.216) and Parthians (Tac. *Ann.* 637)."

⁸¹No birds, Amazons (or other Cyclops-like creature) but nevertheless, as Campbell comments ad 3.325–6: "These birds were gone for good — but the newcomers have found somebody just as dangerous as the Cyclops 'at home'."

⁸²In 3.328 this idea is transferred by Argus from the Argonauts to Zeus himself. It was Zeus' power and mercy which moved the heroes to feel compassion for the brothers. Cf. Campbell ad 3.328.

⁸³Cf. also 1.338, where the train of thought is as follows: everything is in order, all preparations for our ship have been completed, let us therefore now formally choose a leader.

πίθησθε + inf. and ptc. (2.1128–9) is a deviation from Homeric usage⁸⁴ and does seem to be a mere polite phrasing of the request, emphasizing the humbleness of their position. They are, after all, ἐν κακότητι (2.1130) — a topos in the supplication motif (cf. 2.1140: κακότητι). The roles are soon to be reversed and in 3.476 Argus characterises the situation of the Argonauts as such, when, having escaped the perils of shipwreck, he sees once again the doom of destruction hanging over both of them as their fates have become intertwined (3.483: ξυνὸς ἐπεὶ πάντεσσιν ἐπικρέμαθ' ἡμιν ὄλεθρος).

Γουναζόμεθ' (2.1128), οἰκτεῖραντες (2.1130) and αἰδέσασθαι (2.1131) all continue the supplication theme.⁸⁵ These words can be found in several speeches of supplication in the *Argonautica* and *Odyssey*.⁸⁶ The grasping of the knees, whether this is accompanied by the actual gesture or, as here, meant only metaphorically, symbolises the humility on the side of the suppliant.⁸⁷ At the same time, the suppliant generally claims the protection of the gods (usually of Zeus himself), stresses his right to αἰδώς,⁸⁸ tries to move the addressee to feel compassion for him because of his misfortune, and often promises fame for the

⁸⁴Cf. Campbell ad 3.26–8.

⁸⁵ Cf. also 2.217: λίσσομαι. I look here at the supplication of mortals among one another. In formal supplications by humans of gods similar language is used: e.g. the supplication of the goddess Rhea (1.1133: γουνάζετ'; 1.1139: ἰλάσκονται; 1.1093: ἰλάξασθαι) and Talos (4.1668: γουναζομένη). When Hera asks Aphrodite for her help, or rather bullies her into agreeing with her plans, Hera as ever operates very much out of a position of superiority (3.25: ἐπιπλόμεναι δέ μιν ἄμφω). Her plea is, however, clearly *perceived* as a supplication by a rather surprised and awed Cypris.

⁸⁶ Examples in the *Odyssey* in which guest-friendship is requested by choosing the position of suppliant: Odysseus' supplication of the river in *Od.* 5.444–50; his supplication of Nausicaa in *Od.* 14.1ff. (Cf. Odysseus' account of this entreaty reported to Alcinous later in the palace: *Od.* 7.292ff.), Arete in *Od.* 7.145ff., the Cyclops in *Od.* 9.259ff. and the king of Egypt (part of his Cretan tales to Eumaios) in *Od.* 14.279–84. The supplication of the defeated on the battlefield, frequent in the *Iliad*, is not found in the *Argonautica*. In the few battles described in the epic, killing occurs without an exchange of words between the killer and his victim. A good example of the topoi associated with the supplication theme is Odysseus' supplication to the river, just after he has finally reached the shore: *Od.* 5.447–50: αἰδοῖός μ' ἐστὶ καὶ ἀθανάτοισι θεοῖσιν / ἀνδρῶν ὅς τις ἱκῆται ἀλώμενος, ὥς καὶ ἐγὼ νῦν / σὸν τε ῥόον σά τε γούναθ' ἱκάνω / πολλὰ μογήσας. / ἀλλ' ἐλέαρε, ἄναξ· ἱκέτης δέ τοι εὐχομαι εἶναι. It shows the use of the same vocabulary and topoi as mentioned above: the appeal to αἰδώς and pity, the mention of the knees and emphasis on the severity of the suffering.

⁸⁷ Cairns (1993), 116 calls this the distinction between "real and figurative supplication."

⁸⁸ Cf. Cairns (1993), 105–19 (especially 113–9).

host in return for help given now.⁸⁹ Slight variations in *topoi*, or the absence of them, and the presence of additional reasons all indicate the exact position of the suppliant. It is dependent upon the context and the urgency of the circumstances which specific form any scene of supplication takes.⁹⁰ For example, the *topos* of reference to past favours can only be used when the suppliant actually *knows* the person he entreats.⁹¹ Cairns comments that

aideisthai 'means' 'to accept supplication' — it refers to the behaviour of one who receives a suppliant in the proper way. No doubt the word is so used because the occurrence of the emotion *aidos* is considered appropriate and normal in this context.⁹²

In this whole scene in Book Two, however, there is no reference, either explicitly by the narrator or implicitly in the words of any of the characters, to any accompanying (supporting) gestures of supplication, such as the stretching out of hands, kneeling down or touching of knees. Nothing can be inferred either from the speech introduction (2.1122: Ἄργος δὲ παροίτατος ἔκφατο μῦθον) and the act of supplication is, rather atypically, confined to the speech itself.⁹³ In this case, the absence of references to any body language marks the strength of Argus' case: hospitality should normally be granted without any problems and clearly in Argus' opinion this is a straightforward case in which no special favours seem to be needed. In the case of Medea's supplication of Queen Arete where the speech

⁸⁹This element is not present in Argus' speech, but see *Od.* 6.180–5; *Od.* 7.333 (ἄσβεστον κλέος εἶη, ἐγὼ δὲ κε πατρίδ' ἰκοίμην); 3.391–5 (Jason to Aeetes); 3.990–1006 (Jason to Medea); 4.1026–8 (Medea to Arete).

⁹⁰See Pedrick (1982), 135.

⁹¹An element used by Hera extensively when she entreats Thetis for her help in guiding the Argo through the Planctae (4.805; 4.808).

⁹²Cairns (1993), 115.

⁹³Thornton (1984), 117: "In its most explicit and 'complete' form, supplication finds expression in pleading words and ritual action." Gould (1973), 77 calls this 'figurative' supplication and argues that such acts are "without the full ritual significance of the completed act." However, I do not think that in order to be a ritually significant supplication, it is essential that a physical as well as a verbal side is present (see also Garvie ad *Od.* 6.141–8). It is clear that Apollonius sometimes deliberately omits physical contact in order to describe and emphasise the condition or situation of the suppliant. I would therefore like to argue for a broad interpretation of supplication: when supplicatory language is present, I prefer to call the speech a supplication, rather than just a diplomatic, urgent appeal or humble request (with supplicatory character).

is said to be accompanied by weeping and the actual touching of the knees, the request is for something more than just food and clothing (4.1014–5).

It is interesting in this respect to consider several speeches of supplication delivered by Medea in Book Four. Having given the help Jason needed in order to fulfil his task, she has now left behind her fatherland and parents and is forced to adopt the language and behaviour of suppliant several times in order to safeguard her position among the Argonauts. The first speech is delivered by Medea upon her arrival at the ship in the middle of the night and is characterised more as a speech of supplication by the gestures employed by Medea and the reaction of Jason afterwards, than by any formal elements in the speech itself.

‘Η δ’ ἄρα τούς γε
γούνων ἀμφοτέρησι περισχομένη προσέειπεν· (4.81–2)

Αἶψα δέ μιν περὶ γούνασι πεπτηῦϊαν
ἦκ’ ἀναειρόμενος, προσπτύξατο θάρσυνέν τε· (4.93–4)

Medea, in the traditional gesture of supplication, grasps the knees of Jason and is, in acknowledgement of her supplication, immediately raised to her feet afterwards.⁹⁴ The Argonauts are significantly called φίλοι (4.83), people closer than ordinary ξεῖνοι when Medea begs them to save her in a traditional appeal for protection (4.83: ῥύσασθε δυσάμμορον).⁹⁵ In her second speech when the Argonauts contemplate returning her to her father as part of a deal, she refers bitterly to the promises made to her by Jason in response to her supplication with specific reference to Zeus, the protector of suppliants like herself.⁹⁶ In the same speech, she addresses Jason as ξεῖνε (4.89) as she obviously wants to remind him of the obligations connected with the formal relationship existing between them.

⁹⁴Medea's state of mind is said to be ἀκηχεμένη (4.92).

⁹⁵See also 4.1073 (Arete): ῥύεο; *Od.* 14.279: ἐρύσατο καὶ μ' ἐλέησεν.

⁹⁶Cf. 4.95–6.

The tone of her speech is much more reproachful than plaintive, as she points out the precarious social position she is in, now that she has left everything behind.⁹⁷

Ποῦ τοι Διὸς Ἰκεσίοιο
ὄρκια, ποῦ δὲ μελιχραὶ ὑποσχεσίοιαι βεβάασιν;⁹⁸
(4.358–9)

Although Medea and Jason are referred to repeatedly as suppliants when they visit Circe,⁹⁹ the epithets accompanying ἰκέτης make clear that they fall into the special category of suppliants atoning for murder who have no claim on αἰδώς (4.694: λυγροῖς ἰκέτησι; 4.703: νηλητεῖς ἰκέται). They are no longer to be classed as ordinary suppliants (cf. *Od.* 7.165: ὅς θ' ἰκέτησιν ἅμ' αἰδοίοισιν ὀπηδεῖ).¹⁰⁰ In complete contrast to Argus, in whose case the act of supplication is expressed only in the speech, Jason and Medea are too ashamed to utter any words and it is the complex of their body language,¹⁰¹ their urgency (4.693: ἐστίη ὀίξαντε), preference for the sanctity of the hearth over the seats offered to them by Circe as a normal act of hospitality,¹⁰² and the placement of the sword in the ground by Jason, which indicate to the goddess what needs to be done. Zeus is

⁹⁷Cf. 4.91: ὄνοτ' ἔναι καὶ αἰεκέα; 4.360–1: Ἦς ἐγὼ οὐ κατὰ κόσμον ἀναιδήτω ἰότητι / πάτρην τε κλέα τε μεγάρων αὐτοῦς τε τοκῆας (νοσφισάμην); 4.367–8: κατὰ δ' οὐλοῦν αἰσχρὸς ἔχευα / θηλυτέραις.

⁹⁸Cf. also 4.372–3: δίκη δέ τοι ἔμπεδος ἔστω / καὶ θέμις ἦν ἅμφω συναρέσσαμεν; *Od.* 6.193 = *Od.* 14.511: ὦν ἐπέοιχ' ἰκέτην ταλαπείριον ἀντιάσαντα.

⁹⁹Knight (1995), 190–244.

¹⁰⁰A traditional combination with ξείνοι: e.g. *Od.* 8.544; *Od.* 9.271; *Od.* 19.191. See Cairns (1993), 105, n. 173.

¹⁰¹4.693: ἄνεω καὶ ἄναυδοι; 4.695: ἢ μὲν ἐπ' ἀμφοτέραις θεμένη χεῖρεσσι μέτωπα; 4.697–8: οὐδέ ποτ' ὄσσε / ἰθὺς ἐνὶ βλεφάροισιν ἀνέσχεθον; 4.720: καὶ δ' αὐτὴ πέλας ἴζεν ἐνωπαδὶς. See for the importance of gestures, silence and glances in this episode Knight (1995), 192. The detail of the eyes here is significant. The role of the eyes is emphasised in this episode because they serve as a means of identification before they have identified themselves. As soon as Circe has seated them facing herself, and Medea has dared to look up, any questions concerning their identity are superfluous. The whole concept of guest-friendship becomes even more complicated because of the already existing relationship based on kinship.

¹⁰²Cf. 4.693; also 4.703: ὅτ' ἐφέσποι ἀντιόωσιν; 4.723: αὐτὰς ἰδρύνθησαν ἐφέσποι. See for the importance of the hearth in this context *Od.* 7.153–4 (κατ' ἄρ' ἔζ' ἐπ' ἐσχάρῃ ἐν κοίνῃσι / παρ πυρί) and Gould (1973), 78, n. 23. Cf. 3.584–5 (Phrixus): οὐδὲ γὰρ Αἰολίδην φρίζον μάλα περ χατέοντα / δέχθαι ἐνὶ μεγάροισιν ἐφέσποιον; 3.1116–7 (Medea): αἶθε γὰρ εἴην / ἀποφάτως τότε σοῖσιν ἐφέσποις ἐν μεγάροισιν. Cf. Gould (1973), 90 ad *Il.* 9.63, in which the man who fights among his own brothers is characterised as ἀφρήτωρ, ἀθέμιστος, ἀνέστιος.

therefore invoked by Circe as: Καθάρσιον ἀγκαλέουσα / Ζῆνα,
Παλαμναῖον, Τιμήορον ἱκεσίουων (4.708–9).¹⁰³

Αὐτίκα δ' ἔγνω
Κίρκη φύξιον οἶτον ἀλιτροσύνας τε φόνοιο.
Τῷ καὶ ὀπιζομένη Ζηνὸς θέμιν Ἴκεσίοιο,¹⁰⁴
ὃς μέγα μὲν κοτέει, μέγα δ' ἀνδροφόνοισιν ἀρήγει,
ῥέζε θυηπολίην οἷη τ' ἀπολυμαίνονται
νηλητεῖς ἱκέται, ὅτ' ἐφέστιοι ἀντιόωσι. (4.698–703)

Only after the completion of all the correct and complicated rituals of purification¹⁰⁵ does Circe raise Jason and Medea up to sit on a chair facing her and ask them all the customary questions of hospitality.¹⁰⁶ After Medea has answered the questions (admitting that she has sinned but at the same time blaming her sister for it),¹⁰⁷ although Circe is said to feel pity for Medea's tears (4.737–8: ἀλλὰ καὶ ἔμψης / μυρομένην ἐλέαιρεν) and the supplication has at least been successful in this respect,¹⁰⁸ the goddess is, interestingly enough, able to refuse to receive them as guests. Whereas it was apparently her duty to cleanse them from the murder they have committed and she has to content herself with just sending them away from her house because of their status as suppliants and the added motive of her blood relationship with Medea (4.743: ἱκέτης καὶ ὁμόγγιος), their position — in this case at least — does not automatically entail a hospitable welcome. In her speech of rejection, she speaks with contempt about the fact that Medea has chosen to run away with a stranger, someone she does not know anything about (4.745–6: ἔρχεο δ' ἐκ μεγάρων, ξείνῳ συνοπηδὸς ἐοῦσα / ὃν τινα τοῦτον αἰστον ἀείραο πατρὸς ἀνευθεν)¹⁰⁹ She calls

¹⁰³4.716–7: εἴ τ' οὖν ὀθνεῖω μεμιασμένοι αἵματι χεῖρας / εἴ τε καὶ ἐμφύλω προσκηδέες ἀντιόωσιν.

¹⁰⁴Cf. Campbell ad 3.193.

¹⁰⁵Note the words δίκη (4.694) and θέμιν (4.700): all parties act according to their allotted roles.

¹⁰⁶See Knight (1995), 190–1.

¹⁰⁷Cf. 4.734.

¹⁰⁸This verb is traditionally found in supplication contexts, as it is the purpose of suppliants to arouse compassion for their case. Here, this is apparently not enough.

¹⁰⁹Something feared also by Nausicaa (*Od.* 6.278–9): ἥ τινά που πλαγχθέντα κομίσσατο ἧς ἀπὸ νηὸς / ἀνδρῶν τηλεδαπῶν.

Medea's flight contemptuously *ἀεικέα*, 'shameful' (4.748; 4.739: *ἀεικέα ... νόστον*); Medea has in other words forfeited her right to *αἰδώς*, as was already shown in the unusual epithets of *ἰκέται*. In 4.747–8 (*Μηδέ με γουνάσσηται ἐφέστιος· οὐ γὰρ ἔγωγε / αἰνήσω βουλὰς τε σέθεν καὶ ἀεικέα φύξιν*), Circe makes it very clear that any new act of supplication in order to achieve a welcome will not be successful, as this would imply approval of Medea's deed, something she will never be able to do.

The last episode in which the supplication motif plays a major part is the Phaeacian episode. A complex of supplication speeches is found here which reflects the urgency of the situation and marks this crucial moment in the epic. The wedding of Jason and Medea gives the maiden an official status among the Argonauts and puts an end to the pursuit of the Colchians. Two speeches by Medea are followed by a supplication by Arete of her husband Alcinous, clearly marked as such by the poet (4.1096: *Ὡς ἔφατ' ἄντομένη*). Finally, Jason is warned by Arete *not* to supplicate Alcinous (4.1116–7: *μηδ' Ἀλκίνοον βασιλῆα / λίσσεσθαι*). Medea first of all supplicates Queen Arete as a means of conciliating Alcinous himself,¹¹⁰ just as Odysseus did on the advice of Nausicaa (*Od.* 6.310–2), when visiting the Phaeacians (*Od.* 7.146–52),¹¹¹ and only secondly the leaders of the Argonauts themselves, stressing in the latter case the disgrace experienced by her of having to entreat a *foreign* queen for help (emphasising that they are in fact the only ones able to help her; 4.1045–6). Showing her manipulative skills, Medea uses this first supplication in order to strengthen her second supplication. Her desperation is illustrated by the multiple references to the gestures accompanying her pleas (4.1012–3; 4.1014; 4.1029; 4.1048; 4.1053: *Ὡς φάτο λισσομένη· τῶν δ' ὃν τινα γουνάζοιτο*), her mood and tears (4.1029; 4.1064–5), and by the fact that the chieftains (not Jason this time!) are all approached individually (4.1030: *τοῖα δ' ἀριστῆων*

¹¹⁰ Arete characterises the speech as such in 4.1077–8: *Ἦδε δὲ κόρη / αἰνοπαθῆς κατὰ μοι νόον ἔκλασεν ἀντιόωσα*.

¹¹¹ Also noted by Knight (1995), 249.

ἐναμοιβαδίς ἄνδρα ἕκαστον; 4.1053: τῶν δ' ὃν τινα γουνάζοιτο), as was also done by Nestor to encourage his men (*Il.* 15.660: λίσσεσθ' ὑπὲρ τοκέων γουνούμενος ἄνδρα ἕκαστον).¹¹²

Κούρη δ' οὐλομένῳ ὑπὸ δείματι πολλὰ μὲν αὐτοῦς
 Αἰσονίδεω ἐτάρους μειλίσσετο, πολλὰ δὲ χερσὶν
 Ἀρήτης γούνων ἄλόχου θίγεν Ἀλκινόοιο·
 Γουνόυμαι, βασίλεια· σὺ δ' ἴλαθι, (4.1011–4)

Fear and anxiety, emotions often experienced by supplicants, are said to trigger Medea's double action.¹¹³ Even though the heroes try to encourage her by assuring her of their help and her plea can to that extent be called successful, Medea is still full of anxiety (4.1054: ἀχέουσιν).¹¹⁴ In her speech to the queen, appealing to the gods to strengthen her assertions, she admits that she has made a small mistake (4.1017: κούφησι ... ἀμπλακίησιν),¹¹⁵ as all mortals do, but claims not to have had any other choice (4.1021–2: μὴ μὲν ἐγὼν ἐθέλουσα σὺν ἀνδράσιν ἄλλοδαποῖσι / κείθεν ἀφωρμήθην).¹¹⁶

Σχέτλιοι ἀτροπίας καὶ ἀνηλές, οὐδ' ἐνὶ θυμῷ
 αἰδεῖσθε ξείνης μ' ἐπὶ γούνασι χεῖρας ἀνάσσης
 δερκόμενοι τείνουσαν ἀμήχανον· (4.1047–9)

Trying to arrange a formal status for herself as Jason's wife, Medea stresses the fact that these men are mere strangers.¹¹⁷ She finishes her speech as she had started it, with a conventional appeal to the queen to show compassion.

¹¹²Pedrick (1982), 135, n. 41.

¹¹³Fear is used frequently by Medea to defend the decision she has made; 4.1022: στυγερὸν ... τάρβος; 4.735: ὑπέρβια δείματα πατρὸς.

¹¹⁴Cf. 4.1061; 4.1066–7; Arete's interpretation: 4.1073; 4.1077–8 (Ἦδε δὲ κούρη / αἰνοπαθῆς κατὰ μοι νόον ἔκλασεν ἀντιόωσα. Cf. *Od.* 7.293: ἀντιάσαντα.

¹¹⁵See Knight (1995), 255.

¹¹⁶Cf. 3.795–6 (Medea considering public opinion concerning her reputation): ἢ τις κηδομένη τόσον ἀνέρος ἄλλοδαποῖο / κάτθανεν, ἢ τις δῶμα καὶ οὗς ἦσχυνε τοκῆας (Cf. also 3.630–1: ἢ δ' ἄφνω τὸν ξεῖνον, ἀφειδήσασα τοκῆων / εἴλετο· 3.640; 3.785–6; 3.1067–8; 3.1122–4; esp. 1123: τιμήσσω γυναῖξιν καὶ ἀνδράσιν αἰδοίη τε. Cf. for the sentiment in general *Od.* 9.34–6 (γάτῃ ἐν ἄλλοδαπῇ). See also Clauss (1997), 161–4 for the distinction between αἰδώς (internal) and ἀγλαΐη (external).

¹¹⁷See for the negative connotations of ἄλλοδαποῖσι *Il.* 3.48–9, when Hector rebukes Paris for his behaviour (μυχθεῖς ἄλλοδαποῖσι γυναικ' εὖειδέ' ἀνήγες / ἐξ ἀπίης γαίης).

Ἄλλ' ἐλέαιρε,
 πότνα, τεόν τε πόσιν μιλίσσεο· (4.1025–6)

No reply is given by the queen to this supplication, and only when Arete, prompted by Hera (4.1199–1200), speaks to her husband Alcinous in the privacy of their bed at night does the reader know that Medea's plea has been successful. When Odysseus supplicates Arete, no response at all from the queen is given. The speech to the Argonauts, however, is completely different in tone and even more reproachful than the previous time she spoke to Jason. The seemingly respectful address of them as ὦ πέρι δὴ μέγα φέρτατοι (4.1031)¹¹⁸ certainly has a sarcastic undertone, as is proven by the last line of her speech (4.1051–2: νῦν δὲ λάθεσθε / ἡνορέης).¹¹⁹ Again Medea fights for her reputation (nicely summarised in 4.1041: στυγερὴ δὲ σὺν ὀθνείοις ἀλάλημαι)¹²⁰ and emphasises the incongruity between her present misery and their fortune as a result of all *her* efforts. Again and again she reminds them of past favours. Medea deliberately uses ὀθνείοις here, emphatically denying thereby any relationship with them as she would have implied, had she used ξεῖνοι. Her words recall her father's words, when he classified the Argonauts as pirates after the goods of mere strangers (3.403: ὀθνείοισιν). The Argonauts are threatened with the avenging power of the Erinyes and the wrath of the gods (4.1043: νέμεσιν τε θεῶν), as they have transgressed the conventions of supplication not only by the violation of oaths sworn to the gods,¹²¹ but also by their lack of pity and compassion (4.1047: ...ἄτροπίας καὶ ἀνηλέες)¹²² which should have been given to her because of her previous entreaties. In Medea's opinion it is no more than right that they should be confronted with the Erinyes, instrument of Zeus, just

¹¹⁸ Similarly, Odysseus addresses the Cyclops with φέριστε (*Od.* 9.269).

¹¹⁹ Remember Jason's words in 3.1006: τόσον ἀριστήων ἀνδρῶν στόλον.

¹²⁰ In 1.812, this verb is used by Hypsipyle to characterise the situation of the women without any male protection on the island of Lemnos before the murder of all men (ὄμ πολίεθρον ἀτημελέως ἀλάληντο).

¹²¹ Cf. also 4.1083–5 and 4.1100.

¹²² Likewise, Odysseus' speech to the Cyclops fails to rouse compassion for his cause, and the Cyclops is said to speak νηλεῖ θυμῷ (*Od.* 9.272).

experienced by them after the murder of Apsyrtus and aptly called νηλειής in 4.476. Her speech here is very much a culmination of her speeches in Book Four after her flight from the palace (compare for example the appeal to Zeus in 4.358–9).

d) Jason's speech (2.1134–9)

The introduction of Jason's reply indicates with precision the skilful diplomacy with which Jason is going to handle this encounter.

Τὸν δ' αὖτ' Αἴσονος υἱὸς ἐπιφραδέως ἔρέεινε,
μαντοσύνας Φινῆος οἰσάμενος τελέεσθαι. (2.1134–5)

As Vian phrases it: "Les caractères y sont peints avec finesse et humour. Jason fait preuve de son humanité et de sa diplomatie coutumières, mais aussi d'une fermeté nouvelle."¹²³ Jason, recognising that the prophecy of Phineus has come true and that more is at stake than the simple provision of hospitality, phrases his reply carefully (2.1134: ἐπιφραδέως).¹²⁴ An immediate promise that everything will be done as it should be, is followed — in a deviation from the standard Homeric practice,¹²⁵ but often encountered in the *Argonautica* — by a series of specific questions about their identity at this unconventional stage before any dinner or clothing have actually been provided.¹²⁶ This assurance can be seen as a mark of honour and mitigates the effect of the questions.¹²⁷ Curiosity about their identity is further raised since Phineus' prophecy is one of the reasons for Jason's

¹²³Cf. Campbell ad 3.320–66: "He (i.e. Argus) shows none of the adroitness exhibited by Jason in his dealings with the Phrixids, in the course of which Argos had been portrayed (good-humouredly) in a none too flattering light."

¹²⁴Cf. Campbell ad 3.83 translates in relation to Hera's prearranged plan 'in a considered fashion.' Jason's speech in which he accepts Telamon's excuses and successfully (1.1344: ἄρθμηθέντες) restores harmony among the Argonauts, is also characterised as such (1.1336).

¹²⁵Cf. West ad *Od.* 1.169–70.

¹²⁶Fränkel, *Noten*, 291.

¹²⁷Just as Agamemnon, in an attempt to conciliate Achilles, offers abundant gifts as a mark of respect (*Il.* 9.135 & 277: ταῦτα μὲν αὐτίκα πάντα παρέσσεται; *Il.* 9.140: πάντα παρασχέμεν).

questions. What help is he to expect from strangers who are in desperate need of help themselves? Jason needs to know his exact position in order to determine future behaviour and action. The questions are introduced by the phrase ἄλλ' ἄγε μοι κατάλεξον ἐτήτυμον (2.1137),¹²⁸ which is a combination of the well-known Homeric formula ἄλλ' ἄγε μοι τόδε εἰπὲ καὶ ἀτρεκέως κατάλεξον (e.g. *Od.* 1.169; *Od.* 11.457)¹²⁹ and (μοι) ἀγόρευσον ἐτήτυμον (*Od.* 1.174).¹³⁰ Καταλέγειν is used to refer to the fact that a detailed and systematic answer to all the questions is expected. The questions, conventional as they are in themselves, are nevertheless phrased in an unconventional way, displaying subtle variations from Homeric formulas. In the examples given above from *Od.* 1 Telemachus asks Athene (in disguise) these questions (*Od.* 1.170: τίς πόθεν εἰς ἀνδρῶν; πόθι τοι πόλις ἡδὲ τοκῆς;).

The question χρέος οἶον ὑπεῖρ ἄλλα νεῖσθαι ἀνώγει (2.1138) refers back to Argus' own words in 2.1127. Ἀνώγει shows that Jason believes that the voyage is not undertaken of their own free will (i.e. that they are pirates), but that an element of compulsion is present. The most important question of the three is the last question, in which Jason asks specifically their name and descent. This is confirmed by the verb of 'naming' and repetition of οὔνομα in Argus' reply when he tells them his brothers' and his own name at the end of his speech.

Εἰ δὲ καὶ οὔνομα δῆθεν ἐπιθύεις δεδαῆσθαι,
τῷδε Κυτίσσωρος πέλει οὔνομα, τῷδὲ τε Φρόντις,
τῷ δὲ Μέλαις· ἐμὲ δ' αὐτὸν ἐπικλείοιτέ κεν Ἄργον.
(2.1154–6)

¹²⁸ Ἄλλ' ἄγε marks this transition.

¹²⁹ Cf. Hainsworth ad *Il.* 10.384.

¹³⁰ Cf. the related construction of πᾶσαν ἀληθείην κατάλεξον (*Il.* 24.407; *Od.* 16.226 = *Od.* 22.420; *Od.* 7.297). The question in 1.174 is used to introduce the unusual question about the possibility of an existing guest-friendship with his father Odysseus (*Od.* 1.174–5: πατρώϊος ... / ξείνος).

The combination of ὄνομα with γενέθλην is a usual one, as this constitutes the most important basic biographical information given about a person.¹³¹ It is unusual for a host to ask the name directly and most of the time the common formula of τίς πόθεν εἰς ἀνδρῶν (e.g. *Od.* 7.238) is used.¹³² Alcinous, for example, only asks after Odysseus' name (*Od.* 8.550: εἴπ' ὄνομ' ὅττι σε κεῖθι κάλεον μήτηρ τε πατήρ τε; cf. also *Od.* 9.16: νῦν δ' ὄνομα πρῶτον μυθήσομαι) — adding the elaborate apology that no one is nameless as everyone has been given a name at their birth — since Odysseus himself did not answer Arete's question (cf. *Od.* 7.238) the first time questions were asked about his identity. As Garvie remarks ad *Od.* 8.552–4: "Alcinous speaks flippantly, as do others when they are asking similar personal questions, perhaps to mitigate any suggestion of rudeness or importunity." The addition of κλυτόν seems to be included here by Jason for exactly the same reasons: i.e. to excuse himself for asking these questions at this importune moment and at the same time to coax the addressee to answer the questions fully. Flattery is an important and, in Argus' case, very successful tool for Jason to try to obtain the help he hopes for. The combination also echoes Odysseus' answer to the Cyclops (*Od.* 9.364: ὄνομα κλυτόν) just before he tricks Polyphemus by giving his name as Nobody.¹³³ Apart from *Od.* 8.552–4, this is the only other instance in the *Odyssey* in which specifically the visitor's name is asked¹³⁴ and again this is done in a second round of questions.

The same phrase is later echoed in Book Three, when Argus tells Aeetes that they were given hospitality immediately because of Phrixus' and Aeetes' famous names.

¹³¹Cf. 1.20 (beginning of the catalogue: νῦν δ' ἄν ἐγὼ γενεὴν τε καὶ οὔνομα μυθήσοίμην) and 2.762–3 (Lycus' episode: Αἰσονίδης μὲν οἱ γενεὴν καὶ οὔνομ' ἐκάστου / σφαιτέρων μυθεῖθ' ἐτάρων).

¹³²Cf. Garvie ad *Od.* 7.237–8: "The same formula is found in six other places in *Od.*, always followed by πόθι τοι πόλις ἡδὲ τοκῆς; (e.g. 1.170, 10.325)."

¹³³Levin (1971), 204.

¹³⁴Cf. Heubeck ad *Od.* 9.355. *Od.* 9.355–6: καὶ μοι τεὸν οὔνομα εἶπε / αὐτίκα νῦν, ἵνα τοι δῶ ξείνιον, ᾧ κε σὺ χαίρης.

οὔνομα τε Φρίξοιο περικλεές εισαίοντες
 ἥδ' αὐτοῖο σέθεν (3.330-1)

Περικλέες, 'far-famed,' suits the purpose of the speech (i.e. to flatter the king and thus put him in a good mood with the Argonauts) and indirectly confirms Argus' words in 2.1142 (ἀτρεκέως δοκέω που ἀκούετε καὶ πάρος αὐτοί). The importance of the name motif in Book Two foreshadows therefore its significant role in Book Three,¹³⁵ when the roles are reversed and Argus proceeds to introduce the Argonauts to Aeetes (3.354-5: Εἰ δὲ καὶ οὔνομα δῆθεν ἐπιθύεις γενεήν τε / ἴδμεναι οἳ τινές εἰσιν, ἕκαστά γε μυθησαίμην), relying thereby on the same argument of kinship to convince the king of his obligations towards the heroes both as a host and as a relative.¹³⁶

εἰ δ' αὐτοῦ Κρηθῆος ἐτήτυμόν ἐστι γενέθλης (3.358)

Ἐτήτυμον, used by Jason to request a truthful account to questions about identity and purpose of travelling,¹³⁷ seems to be added here to call attention to the necessary consequences of the hypothesis.¹³⁸

Εἰ γὰρ ἐτήτυμόν ἐστε θεῶν γένος (3.402)

Aeetes, however, did not ask for this information in the first place and ignoring the strangers completely, centres all his questions solely on the sons of his daughter.¹³⁹ The king is not fooled by Argus' words, and the approach, so successful in Book Two, is in vain. The traditional elements belonging to a scene of arrival are changed because of the company they are in, and instead of a conventional arrival scene in which strangers arrive at a palace and are

¹³⁵This motif also occurs in 3.992, 3.1070 and 3.1098, when Jason promises Medea fame and Medea still only asks to be remembered by name.

¹³⁶See also Campbell ad 3.320-66.

¹³⁷Cf. also 1.142 and Campbell ad 3.358.

¹³⁸Campbell argues ad 3.358 that εἰ ἐτήτυμον "does not carry the slightest suggestion of discourtesy, nor does it cast any doubt whatsoever on the veracity of the account."

¹³⁹Cf. Campbell ad 3.332.

interrogated by the local king, first a reunion scene between mother and sons follows, then between king and grandsons, all carefully orchestrated by Hera herself.¹⁴⁰

e) Argus' speech (2.1140–56)

'Ατρεκέως (2.1142) is not found here in the traditional Homeric formula reinforcing κατάλεξον, but in Argus' reply just a few lines later in the un-Homeric combination with ἀκούετε.¹⁴¹ Argus does not even announce that he is going to give an accurate account of his descent, but simply assumes (2.1142: δοκέω) that the Argonauts will have heard everything in great detail about Phrixus beforehand. It is the adverb more than anything else that shows the self-importance of Argus, who is clearly inspired by Jason's ὄνομα κλυτόν (2.1139). In his certainty that they must have heard about him, Argus is, for example, much more assertive than the god Triton, who by using the conditional (reinforced by δῆ) and by the admission that they live far away, leaves room for a denial (4.1559–61).¹⁴² Argus' words echo *Od.* 3.193ff., when Nestor telling Telemachus about the fates of the Trojan warriors, emphasising thus that he has got this all from hearsay (cf. *Od.* 3.186–7), states it as a simple fact that Telemachus has heard all about Agamemnon, using the story principally to draw the parallel between Orestes and Telemachus (*Od.* 3.193: 'Ατρείδην δὲ καὶ αὐτοὶ ἀκούετε νόσφιν ἑόντες).¹⁴³ There is nevertheless one crucial difference:

¹⁴⁰The actual arrival is seen through the eyes of the newcomers and this is one of the few elaborate descriptions in the *Argonautica*, marking thus the importance of this episode and conveying a sense of climax now the Argonauts have arrived finally at their destination.

¹⁴¹In Homer mostly combined with verbs of speaking, the adverb is in the *Argonautica* found with γνώωσι (1.661; Cf. *Hdt.* 7.10: ἐκμαθεῖν; *Hdt.* 1.209: εἰδέναι; *Hdt.* 2.49: ἐπίστασθαι), χρείων (2.182) and even ὑμεῖς ἀτρεκέως (2.212).

¹⁴²But see Campbell ad 3.362–3 (Τόνδε δ' ἄρ', Ἡελίου γόνον ἔμμεναι εἴ τι ν' ἀκούεις / δέρκεαι Αὐγείην): "It may be that, despite the extraordinary productivity of a number of Greek gods, Argos considers that Aeetes *must* have heard of such a close relative. If he does, he is not prepared to speak with total assurance; he had been similarly tentative with the Argonauts at ii.1142." In Book Three, however, just as in 4.1559–61, a conditional is used.

¹⁴³Likewise, Agamemnon asks Odysseus in the Underworld whether he has heard somewhere something about his son Orestes (combined with the formula asking for an accurate answer, *Od.* 11.458: εἴ που ἔτι ζώντος ἀκούετε παῖδος ἐμοῖο). Penelope infers from the behaviour of

Nestor can do this because of the information given by Telemachus himself (*Od.* 3.86–7: ἄλλους μὲν γὰρ πάντας, ὅσοι Τρῶσιν πολέμιζον, / πευθόμεθ', ἧχι ἕκαστος ἀπώλετο λυγρὸν ὄλεθρον), whereas Argus does not possess such knowledge when making his assumption. In both cases, the statement, referring to common knowledge and implicitly denying the need to tell anything at all, is followed by a summary of the most important facts suiting the specific purpose of the speech.¹⁴⁴

In this speech, Argus answers all the questions, although not in the order in which they were asked by Jason; he begins and ends his speech with a reply to the last question. Γενέθλην (2.1139), the last word of Jason's speech, is picked up immediately by Αἰολίδην (2.1141),¹⁴⁵ which receives its emphasis not only by occupying the first place in the verse and speech, but also by the slightly unusual combination of patronymic followed by a proper name. In the catalogue of heroes in Book One, the patronymic generally *follows* the first name (e.g. 1.41; 1.46; 1.47; 1.58; 1.72; 1.105; 1.112; 1.207; exceptions: 1.151 and 1.190). The tale of his famous descent dominates his whole reply and the answers to the first and second question (i.e. city and purpose of the voyage) are interwoven with the long story of Phrixus and his position of honour at the court of Aeetes.¹⁴⁶ Argus incorporates, just like Odysseus in his tale to Eumaeus, a story exemplifying the correct behaviour towards suppliants and ξεῖνοι at a moment, when they themselves appeal to these institutions (Cf. *Od.* 14.276–84).¹⁴⁷ Αἰολίδην, a keyword, announces the theme of Argus' speech and foreshadows the important role of the kinship motif (cf. for example the first line of Jason's reply: 2.1160: Ἦ ἄρα δὴ γνωτοὶ πατρώιοι ἄμμιν ἰόντες). Argus' speech, told

the suitors that they have not listened to what they must have heard about Odysseus from their fathers (*Od.* 4.687–8: οὐδέ τι πατρῶν / ὑμετέρων τὸ πρόσθεν ἀκούετε, παῖδες ἔόντες).

¹⁴⁴Although καταλέγειν, as Heubeck states (ad *Od.* 23.308–9), refers to the thoroughness and completeness of the accounts.

¹⁴⁵Cf. also 3.584.

¹⁴⁶Confirmed by the poet in the catalogue, when Idmon is said to be counted among the glorious Aeolids (1.143: κυδαλίμοις ... Αἰολίδησιν). There is, of course, irony inherent in Jason's ὄνομα κλυτόν (2.1139): he does not know yet that he is in fact talking to someone of his own house.

¹⁴⁷See Pedrick (1982), 137.

ἀμηχανέων κακότητι (2.1140), is reminiscent of the frightened Odysseus (*Od.* 9.257) boasting to the Cyclops similarly about his link with Agamenon, the leader of the Greeks (*Od.* 9.263–7; esp. 264: τοῦ δὲ νῦν γε μέγιστον ὑπουράνιον κλέος ἐστί). Referring to the glorious deeds of ancestors or those he is associated with, the suppliant tries to raise his own image.¹⁴⁸ As Vian phrases it: "mais, naïvement, il l'embellit pour faire impression. Il insiste sur le caractère merveilleux de l'aventure arrivée à Phrixos, tout en multipliant les preuves de sa véracité (v. 1142, 1145–45a)." There is irony in the phrase κῶας δὲ καὶ εἰσέτι νῦν κεν ἴδοισθε (2.1145), in which Argus, pointing out as a guide the interesting things to see for outsiders, uses language appropriate to aetiologies (εἰσέτι νῦν).¹⁴⁹ Little could Argus know that this fleece is the purpose of the Argonauts' whole journey, not just an object to look and marvel at. Aeetes' menacing words in 3.374 (πρίν τινα λευγαλέον τε δέρος καὶ Φρίξον ἰδέσθαι;) expose clearly Argus' naivety. Argus' boasting is also shown the moment he discovers that the Argonauts are on their way to Colchis to obtain the Golden Fleece. The highly favourable image sketched of the king in his first speech (2.1148–9: κούρην τέ οἱ ἐγγυάλιξε / Χαλκιόπην ἀνάεδνον ἐυφροσύνησι νόοιο)¹⁵⁰ is then replaced by a profoundly negative picture emphasising the terrifying aspects of his character and appearance and it is this image which will prove to be true. Compare for example 2.1202: ἄλλ' αἰνῶς ὀλοῇσιν ἀπηνείησιν ἄρηρεν with 3.492 (in which Jason reports to his comrades about his first encounter with Aeetes): Αἰήταο ἀπηνέος ἄμμι φίλον κῆρ.

The information Argus gives here repeats for the reader the facts told about the sons of Phrixus when they were introduced by the narrator (2.1093–6). In those lines, the purpose of their voyage and especially the fact that they, the

¹⁴⁸As Edwards comments ad *Il.* 20.200–58: "It is common for Homeric warriors to recount their pedigree with pride, because the glory of the father is reflected upon their sons."

¹⁴⁹Cf. 1.1354; 2.717; 2.850; 3.203; 4.534; 4.1153 (all narrator text). Argus does this still in 2.1214 (ἔτι νῦν). See also Levin (1971), 205.

¹⁵⁰Associated with the merriment during banquets and festivals (4.69; *Od.* 9.6).

sons of Phrixus, (2.1093: υἱῆς Φρίξοιο) come from Colchis are emphasised (2.1094–5: ἐξ Αἴης ... παρ' Αἰήταο Κυταίου / Κολχίδα νῆ') which foreshadows the importance of the brothers for the Argonauts. The boundless wealth (ἄσπετον ὄλβον) mentioned in 2.1095 becomes the possessions of Athamas, κτεάνων Ἀθάμαντος (2.1153), in the account given by Argus. In 2.1096, Phrixus' command is stressed (2.1096: ὁ γὰρ θνήσκων ἐπετείλατο τήνδε κέλευθον), whereas in 2.1150–2 (Ἄλλ' ὁ μὲν ἤδη / γηραιὸς θάνε Φρίξος ἐν Αἰήταο δόμοισιν· / ἡμεῖς δ' αὐτίκα πατρὸς ἐφετμάων ἀλέγοντες) Argus, picturing himself and his brothers as dutiful sons, centres upon his response to the command of their father. Argus is still positive about their chances of continuing their voyage (2.1153: νεύμεθ').

The pious obedience of Phrixus, described later by Aeetes — for entirely different purposes — as a model guest,¹⁵¹ is underlined by his sacrifice of the ram to Zeus in order to strengthen his claims on hospitality. His welcome by the king is mentioned immediately after the sacrifice. Although Argus tells the Argonauts that it was Hermes who gilded the ram's fleece (2.1144–5), he does not acknowledge Hermes' involvement here. Argus maintains that the sacrifice was made at the prompting of the ram *itself* (2.1146: ἐῆς ὑποθημοσύνησιν), although the poet gives a slightly different version in 4.118–22 and tells that Phrixus was urged to offer the ram by Hermes.¹⁵² The words of the poet, indicating the involvement of Zeus via his messenger Hermes at every stage in Phrixus' life (and here especially in relation to Phrixus' encounter with Aeetes, just like Hera's involvement in the meeting between Jason and Aeetes) in retrospect lend more credibility to Aeetes' story that he was ordered by the same god to welcome Phrixus as his guest. The question remains why Argus chooses to stress the role of the ram itself. It would seem to suggest that he either does not know

¹⁵¹ 3.585–6: ὃς περὶ πάντων / ξείνων μιλίχῃ τε θεουδείῃ τ' ἐκέκαστο; Cf. Jason's characterisation in 3.190: ἀμύνονα Φρίξον.

¹⁵² 4.118–22: Ἐγγύθι δ' αἰθαλόεντα πέλεν βωμοῖο θέμεθλα, / ὃν ῥά ποτ' Αἰολίδης Διὶ Φυξίῳ εἶσατο Φρίξος, / ῥέζων κείνο τέρας παγχρύσεον, ὥς οἱ ἔειπεν / Ἑρμείας πρόφρων ξυμβλήμενος. Ἐνθ' ἄρα τοὺς γε / Ἀργου φραδομοσύνησιν ἀριστῆς μεθέηκαν.

the full story or deliberately disguises these facts in order to centre the attention on the magic qualities of the ram. Considering the fact that Argus also does not recognise and acknowledge the hand of Zeus in the storm, the former interpretation seems to be more likely. Phrixus' position of honour is confirmed by Aeetes' gift of his own daughter without any bridal price (2.1149: ἀνόμενον).¹⁵³ Aeetes literally hands his daughter over as a gift (2.1148: ἐγγυάλιξεν). This is the only case in the *Argonautica* in which a person is the object of the verb.¹⁵⁴ Argus therefore deliberately ignores the fact that the *Golden Fleece* can rightly be considered as a very costly bridal gift for the ruler.¹⁵⁵

It is this exemplum of Phrixus' reception by Aeetes in his palace that returns repeatedly in relation to the hospitality to be expected, hoped for or relied on in Jason's case and it seems to function as a test case for his character. Argus, Jason and Aeetes himself all use this instance of hospitality for different reasons and adapt the basic ingredients of the story according to the circumstances, addressee and purpose of the speech. Jason uses the instance in 3.190–3 to calm the nerves of his comrades (and himself) before he is going to face the king.

'Ο δὲ καί ποτ' ἀμύμονα Φρίξον ἔδεκτο
μητρυιῆς φεύγοντα δόλον πατρός τε θυηλάς,
πάντες ἐπεὶ πάντη, καὶ ὃ τις μάλα κύντατος ἀνδρῶν,
Ξεινίου αἰδεῖται Ζηνὸς θέμιν ἡδ' ὀλεγίζει. (3.190–3)

Hoping against hope, Aeetes' welcoming of Phrixus confirms Jason's positive, if not naïve, assumption of the universality of Zeus' power.¹⁵⁶ Again, the words remind us of Odysseus' confident speech to the Cyclops (*Od.* 9.268–71) and

¹⁵³Janko ad *Il.* 13.365–7 notes: "As a mark of honour Agamemnon offers Achilles his daughter ἀνόμενον (*Il.* 9.146)." Bellerophon receives his bride on the basis of his divine ancestry, admittedly after the completion of the three tasks the king has set him (Cf. Kirk ad *Il.* 6.179–86). No mention is made of any bridal price in this instance.

¹⁵⁴Cf. *Od.* 16.66. *Od.* 8.318–9 (εἰς ὃ κέ μοι μάλα πάντα πατὴρ ἀποδῶσιν ἔδνα, / ὅσσα οἱ ἐγγυάλιξα κυνώπιδος εἵνεκα κόρης) reflects the normal situation in which the suitor gives gifts to the prospective father-in-law to win the hand of his daughter.

¹⁵⁵Fränkel, *Noten*, 299; Williams (1997), 466 comments that the Argus' third speech "suggests that Aeetes' gentle welcome of Phrixus was motivated by the simple desire for gold and the power which the possession of the fleece might bestow."

¹⁵⁶See also Campbell ad 3.171–95.

Polyphemus' indifferent reply (*Od.* 9.275; *Od.* 9.115). Even if one would doubt Aeetes' qualities as a host, then one could always cherish hopes, remembering this particular example.¹⁵⁷ In 3.304–5, Aeetes refers to this instance in his address to the sons of Phrixus when questioning them instead of the strangers, after the banquet (3.299: ἐδωδήν), bath (3.300: λοετροῖς) and drinks (3.301: ἀσπασίως δόρπῳ τε ποτῆτί τε θυμὸν ἄρεσσον) have been prepared for them. When in 3.584–8 the king tells the assembled Colchians that he only welcomed Phrixus in his house because of explicit instructions from Hermes, he uses this example to maintain his harsh image among the Colchians.

f) The reaction of the Argonauts and Jason's speech (2. 1158–68)

ἀριστῆες δὲ συνηβολίῃ κεχάροντο
καὶ σφεας ἀμφίεπον περιθαμβέες. (2.1157–8)

The traditional motif of amazement at the visitor's unexpected arrival is found here with slight variation. In Homer, this motif is almost always found when it is the visit itself that is unexpected and the host is said to recognise his guests as soon as he *sees* them (e.g. *Il.* 9.193; *Il.* 11.777; *Od.* 10.63; *Od.* 16.12–4; *Od.* 24.394).¹⁵⁸ Here, surprise is expressed not so much at the time of the actual first encounter, but later, after the heroes have been informed about the identity of the brothers. In περιθαμβέες the extent of their astonishment is captured: the wonder present in the noun,θάμβος, and verb, θαμβεῖν, already strong words in themselves,¹⁵⁹ is here even reinforced by the addition of the intensifying prefix

¹⁵⁷Campbell, *Studies*, 29–30; Hunter ad 3.176–81; Hunter (1989), 91–2; Williams (1997), 469.

¹⁵⁸Cf. Richardson ad *Il.* 24.482. In *Od.* 7.144–5, the Phaeacians do not yet know who Odysseus is and their wonder arises from the fact that the (magical, supernatural: θέσφατος !) cloud of mist surrounding and concealing him all of sudden disappears, revealing the hero in their midst (Cf. Garvie ad *Od.* 7.140 and cf. also *Od.* 16.178). Another exception is *Od.* 17.367, in which the suitors wonder about the identity of the beggar. This motif is used in the arrival of the Argonauts at the palace of Aeetes in Book Three (3.210–4). In 4.74, the heroes, hearing and recognising the voice of Medea, wonder at the reason for this unexpected visit (4.73–4: σίγα δ' ἑτοῖροι / θάμβεον, εὖτ' ἐνόησαν ὃ δὴ καὶ ἐτήτυμον ἦεν). As Garvie points out ad *Od.* 7.140 "silence is often a mark of astonishment."

¹⁵⁹Cf. Richardson ad *Il.* 23.815 and *Il.* 24.482.

περι.¹⁶⁰ The Argonauts can literally not believe their eyes after they have been told the astonishing news. Joy, resulting here from their good fortune at meeting these strangers on the desert island, is also experienced by the Argonauts at the warm welcome given to them by the Phaeacians (4.998–1000: Καὶ δ' αὐτοὶ ἥρωες ἀνὰ πληθὺν κεχάροντο, / τῷ ἵκελοι οἶόν τε μεσαιτάτη ἐμβεβαῶτες / Αἰμονίῃ).¹⁶¹

It is not quite clear what precise actions are implied by the words σφεας ἀμφίεπον (2.1158). It would seem that clothing is now handed to the brothers, were it not for Jason's words in 2.1166 (νῦν δ' ἔσσασθε πάροιθεν; cf. also: 2.1168: ἐκ νηὸς δῶκέ σφισιν εἴματα δῦναι). Ἀμφίεπον therefore appears to denote here nothing more than a vague 'took care of them.'

Αὐτὰρ Ἴησων
ἔξαῦτις¹⁶² κατὰ μοῖραν ἀμείψατο τοῖσδ' ἐπέεσσιν·
(2.1158–9)

Jason then replies κατὰ μοῖραν (2.1159), 'rightly,' 'suitably.' This combination, a common formula in Homer, mainly with verbs of speaking such as ἔειπε(ς) or κατελέξας, but not ἀμείψατο,¹⁶³ is found only here in the *Argonautica*. In Homer, it seems often used to refer to a judgement made retrospectively, and not so much, as it is used here, to announce that a speech is going to confirm the

¹⁶⁰Θάμβος and θαμβεῖν are used in the *Argonautica*, as in Homer (Cf. Fernandez-Galiano ad *Od.* 21.354), when the Argonauts encounter the divine (1.550; 2.681; 2.922; 4.682; 4.1430; 4.1363 (comrades hearing the news from Jason); 4.1673; 4.184 (fleece). It is also found in connection with the heroes themselves (1.550; 1.220; 1.322), in which case 3.924 and 4.1192 are worth mentioning. In 3.924 (Cf. *Od.* 16.178), Jason has just been beautified by Hera before his crucial meeting with Medea and is admired by his comrades in anticipation of Medea's reaction. In 4.1192, the Phaeacian women, bringing the traditional gifts for a bride to celebrate the marriage between Jason and Medea, are astonished by the dazzling appearance of the heroes (4.1192–3: Θάμβεν δ' εἰσορόωσα ἀριπρεπέων ἥρων / εἶδεα καὶ μορφάς).

¹⁶¹Similarly, delight is expressed by the Lemnian women when hospitality has been accepted by Jason (1.843–5: ἀμφὶ δὲ τὸν γε νεήνιδες ἄλλοθεν ἄλλαι / μυρία εἰλίσσοντο κεχαρμέναι, ὄφρα πυλάων / ἐξέμολεν). Cf. also 3.1147–8.

¹⁶²Cf. Campbell ad 3.31.

¹⁶³Cf. Fernandez-Galiano ad *Od.* 22.486 and Garvie ad *Od.* 7.227. When found in combination with κατελέξα(ς) it always refers to the act of storytelling (*Od.* 3.331; *Od.* 8.496; *Od.* 10.16; *Od.* 12.35) and signifies that the story has been told as it happened, 'properly' (Cf. Garvie ad *Od.* 8.496–8).

expectations (e.g. *Od.* 7.227 = *Od.* 13.48; *Od.* 4.266; *Od.* 8.397). These lines echo in particular *Od.* 14.509–11.¹⁶⁴

οὐδέ τί πω παρὰ μοῖραν ἔπος νηκερδὲς ἔειπες·
τῷ οὐτ' ἐσθῆτος δευήσεαι οὔτε τευ ἄλλου,
ὣν ἐπέοιχ' ἱκέτην ταλαπεῖριον ἀντιάσαντα.
(*Od.* 14.509–11)

The swineherd Eumaeus grants Odysseus everything a supplicant should be given, but especially and first of all clothes, because, as he says himself, the petition has been made appropriately. Similarly, Jason tells the brothers that their first concern should be to receive clothing, before any more talking is done.¹⁶⁵

Ἄλλὰ τὰ μὲν καὶ ἐσαυτίς ἐνίψομεν ἀλλήλοισι
νῦν δ' ἔσασθε πάροιθεν.
(2.1165–6)

Having gained for himself enough information for the moment, Jason behaves here again as the good host,¹⁶⁶ delaying talks till their proper time after the provision of clothes, a sacrifice and meal (2.1177–8: Αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ ῥέξαντες ἐπαρτέα δαῖτα πᾶσαντο, / δὴ τότε ἄρ' Αἰσονίδης μετεφώνεεν ἥρχε τε μύθων). Using the same device as Agamemnon in his speech to Achilles (*Il.* 1.140–1: ἀλλ' ἦτοι μὲν ταῦτα μεταφρασόμεσθα καὶ αὐτίς, / νῦν δ' ἄγε νῆα μέλαιναν ἐρύσσομεν εἰς ἄλα διῶν), Jason shows himself to be in full control of the situation. The future, reflecting the certainty of the promise, is followed by an imperative indicating which course of action should be taken, whereas ἀλλήλοισι (2.1165) adds a note of intimacy to his words. The fact that they are said to gather round the hearth hastily (2.1170–1: Περὶ δ' ἐσχάρη ἐστήσαντο / ἐσσυμένως) also seems to point to the fact that they have spent

¹⁶⁴*Od.* 14.510–1 = *Od.* 6.192–3.

¹⁶⁵Cf. the promise made in 2.1136: ταῦτα μὲν αὐτίκα πάντα παρέξομεν εὐμενέοντες. Ἐνίπτειν, 'tell,' a meaning not attested in Homer, is common in the *Argonautica* (e.g. 1.1257; 3.475; 780; 4.810).

¹⁶⁶Compare this with Odysseus' words to the Cyclops in *Od.* 9.351–2: σχέτλιε, πῶς κέν τίς σε καὶ ὕστερον ἄλλος ἴκοιτο / ἀνθρώπων πολέων; ἐπεὶ οὐ κατὰ μοῖραν ἔρεξας.

time talking which, according to the conventions, should have been used for a sacrifice and preparations for a meal.¹⁶⁷

Both at the beginning and at the end of his speech, Jason acknowledges the difficult circumstances the brothers are in (2.1161: λίσσεσθ' ... κακότητα; 2.1167: χατέοντα; cf. 2.1124: εὐμενέειν τε καὶ ἀρκέσσαι χατέουσι). Because of the very meaning of the word, the verb χατεῖν, 'to be in urgent need,' 'to have urgent need of,' is frequently used in the *Argonautica* in hospitality contexts. It can refer to the various basic needs of travellers in foreign, unknown and potentially hostile countries (4.1557: ἐπ' ἄλλοδαπῇ) for e.g. water (cf. 4.1430–1) or directions (4.1556–8).¹⁶⁸

Εἰ δέ τι τῆσδε πόρους μαίεσθ' ἄλός, οἷά τε πολλὰ
ἄνθρωποι χατέουσιν ἐπ' ἄλλοδαπῇ περόωντες,
ἐξερέω. (4.1556–8)

More than an ordinary visitor, Phrixus is in a special position of need because of his position as a fugitive.

οὐδὲ γὰρ Αἰολίδην Φρίξον μάλα περ χατέοντα
δέχθαι ἐνὶ μεγάροισιν ἐφέστιον, (3.584–5)

In his graceful acceptance of the offer of hospitality from Queen Hypsipyle, Jason gratefully emphasises her role in the provision of all their needs.¹⁶⁹

Υψιπύλῃ, μάλα κεν θυμηδέος ἀντιάσαιμεν
χρημοσύνης ἣν ἄμμι σέθεν χατέουσιν ὀπάξεις· (1.836–7)

Finally, Chalciope uses the undesirability of refusing a relative and above all a ξείνος all what he requires (note the position of τλαίης in 3.719) to convince

¹⁶⁷Speed in a sacrifice is also emphasised in 4.1593–6 and 1.432 (σφάζαν τε θοῶς δειρᾶν τε βοείας).

¹⁶⁸Cf. also 3.84 (οὗτι βίης χατέουσαι ἱκάνομεν, οὐδέ τι χειρῶν), in which Hera tells Aphrodite that they have come to her for reasons other than those she assumes.

¹⁶⁹Levin (1971), 208.

Medea to give Jason her help.¹⁷⁰ Not dwelling on the fact that Jason's needs exceed the basic necessities of a traveller, she presents this particular request cleverly as part of the normal obligations of a host towards his guest.

Οὐκ ἂν δὴ ξείνῳ τλαίης χατέοντι καὶ αὐτῷ
ἢ δόλον ἢ τινα μῆτιν ἐπιφράσσασθαι ἀέθλου,
παίδων εἵνεκ' ἐμείο; (3.719–21)

Jason leaves the purpose of his voyage to Colchis tantalisingly unclear for the Phrixids, revealing only his own descent, his provenance and destination (note that he mentions Aeetes at the very end of line 2.1164, before he breaks off his speech). As 2.1164 demonstrates, the two parties are each heading in opposite directions (2.1164: νέοι', ominously echoing Argus' words in 2.1153: νεύμεθ'),¹⁷¹ The general reference to the gods in 2.1167 (ἄθανάτων) indicates already that some benefit is going to be gained from this encounter. Hinting at what Jason will ask from them in the next speech, the specific wording of ἐς χεῖρας ἐμάς (2.1167) has a definite sinister undertone. The idea that once one has fallen into the hands of someone else it is no longer possible to escape is also present in 4.415–6 (αὐτὰρ ἐγὼ κείνόν γε τεὰς ἐς χεῖρας ἰκέσθαι / μειλίξω), where Medea promises Jason to lure her brother Apsyrtus into his hands, in 4.1043–4, where Medea speaks of her fear of falling into her father's hands (εἰς χεῖρας ἰούσης / Αἰήτεω λώβῃ πολυπήμενι δηωθῆναι), and in *Il.* 10.447–8 (μὴ δὴ μοι φύξιν γε, Δόλων, ἐμβάλλεο θυμῷ, / ἐσθλά περ ἀγγείλας, ἐπεὶ ἴκεο χεῖρας ἐς ἑμέας), where Diomedes refuses to let Dolon go out of fear that he may spy on them. In 1.491 (ὅπως χεῖρας ἐμὰς σός ἐξαλέοιο), Idas uses in his quarrel with Idmon the same threat with specific reference to his personal safety in order to scare him. Even though there is of course not a direct threat of death in the case of the brothers, now that Jason has

¹⁷⁰See also 3.1015–6.

¹⁷¹Just as Odysseus can confidently say that he is on his way home in his farewell speech to the Phaeacians (*Od.* 13.61: αὐτὰρ ἐγὼ νέομαι).

met them on this island he will not let them go and it is as a result of their encounter with the Argonauts that the Phrixids will become involved in the quest for the Golden Fleece.

Jason stresses the kinship existing between them in the emphatic and surprised beginning of his speech with ἦ ἄρα δὴ in 2.1160.¹⁷² He calls them γνωτοὶ πατρώιοι (2.1160), blood-relatives from the father's side, hinting at the closeness of the relationship by using the noun γνωτός, which, although also used of kinsmen in general, is especially used of the relationship between *brothers* (cf. 1.35; 1.165; *Il.* 17.35 and *Il.* 22.234).¹⁷³ The fact that their grandfathers were *brothers* (2.1162: κασίγνητοι; 2.1163: Κρηθῆος δ' υἱωνός) is used as the reason why help is rightfully requested and given to the brothers in their difficult circumstances. Argus will repeat this information in reversed order (2.1162 = 3.360; 2.1163 = 3.357) and slightly more elaborate form for the sake of Aeetes in 3.358–6 (cf. 3.359: οὕτω κεν γνωτὸς πατρώιος ἄμμι πέλοιτο), adding the link with Aeolus (cf. 3.361: Φρίξος ... Αἰολίδαο)¹⁷⁴ and the famous descent of some other comrades in order to impress Aeetes and to try to convince him that it is his moral obligation to help the Argonauts. *Il.* 6.211–5 serves as a model for both Jason's speech in Book Two and Argus' words in Book Three. Glaucus and Diomedes meet on the battlefield and in the customary speeches before the actual duel discover that their fathers have been guest-friends,¹⁷⁵ which effectively puts an end to any intentions of fighting each other (*Il.* 6.215: ἦ ῥά νύ μοι ξεῖνος πατρώϊός ἐσσι παλαιός ~ 2.1160: ἦ ἄρα δὴ γνωτοὶ πατρώιοι ἄμμιν ἰόντες). In Book Three, this specific instance is recalled by Argus to strengthen his argument; just as Glaucus and Diomedes did not fight against each other, once they discovered the bonds between them, so should Aeetes help the Argonauts in

¹⁷²Cf. Kirk ad *Il.* 3.183 and also Jason's conclusion in 2.438: ἦ ἄρα δὴ.

¹⁷³Cf. Richardson ad *Il.* 22.234 and Campbell ad 3.359. Bremmer (1997), 89 discusses the traditional closeness and unanimity between brothers.

¹⁷⁴Phrixus is mentioned at the end of the exposition because of the link he provides with Aeetes via his daughter Chalciope.

¹⁷⁵Cf. Edwards ad *Il.* 20.178–98.

every respect.¹⁷⁶ The theme of genealogy dominates Glaucus' speech and the pattern in *Il.* 6 of unfolding of ancestry, followed by a reaction of delight and an explanatory speech, is matched here in Book Two.

ταύτης τοι γενεῆς τε καὶ αἵματος εὖχομαι εἶναι.
 "Ὡς φάτο, γήθησεν δὲ βοὴν ἀγαθὸς Διομήδης·
 (*Il.* 6.211–2)

ἐμὲ δ' αὐτὸν ἐπικλείοιτέ κεν Ἄργον.
 "Ὡς φάτ'· ἀριστῆες δὲ συνηβολίῃ κεχάροντο
 (2.1156–7)

g) *Sacrifice and meal* (2.1168–78)

Together, the Argonauts and the brothers now make a sacrifice in the temple of Ares, thereby symbolising their unity (a fact reinforced by *πασσυδίῃ* in 2.1169).¹⁷⁷ It seems no coincidence that the Argonauts make a sacrifice on this island of Ares, the god of war, just before the final encounter with Aeetes.¹⁷⁸ No description is given here in the *Argonautica* of any of the rituals of the sacrifice itself and although the offering is presumably made to Ares, as it is his sanctuary, this is not specifically stated and no mention is made of any prayers or any response of the god himself (cf. e.g. 1.1133–44). Sacrifice and meal are usually closely connected in that the meat left from the sacrifice is roasted and eaten by the participants afterwards (e.g. *Od.* 3.461–3; *Od.* 3.470–2; *Il.* 1.464–8; *Il.* 2.427–31).¹⁷⁹ The most elaborate example of a description of a sacrifice leading to a meal in the *Argonautica* can be found in 1.402–518, in which the activities of the Argonauts on the evening before departure are described. There an account of the actual sacrifice, the preparation for cooking and roasting itself is included. This

¹⁷⁶See also Campbell ad 3.359. *Il.* 6.224–5 (τῷ νῦν σοὶ μὲν ἐγὼ ξείνος φίλος Ἄργεϊ μέσσω / εἰμί, σὺ δ' ἐν Λυκίῃ, ὅτε κεν τῶν δῆμον ἴκωμαι) sums up the implications of the institution of guest-friendship.

¹⁷⁷See Gould (1973), 79 for the bond of solidarity created by ritual acts.

¹⁷⁸Jason will sow the dragon's teeth on the field of Ares and the fleece is to be found in Ares' grove. Of course, the Argonauts also need to make this sacrifice after they have killed Ares' birds. See also Fränkel, *Noten*, 300.

¹⁷⁹See Kirk ad *Il.* 1.447–68.

stage is not described at all in this passage; the dinner is simply said to be ready (2.1177: *Αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ ῥέξαντες ἐπαρτέα δαῖτα πᾶσαντο*),¹⁸⁰ partly using a formula traditionally found in such a context (e.g. *Il.* 1.464; *Od.* 3.461: *αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ κατὰ μῆρε κἀν καὶ σπλάγχχνα πᾶσαντο*).¹⁸¹ By the construction with the accusative *ἐπαρτέα δαῖτα* and the position in the verse, *πᾶσαντο*, otherwise in Homer constructed with a partitive genitive,¹⁸² deliberately recalls the formula mentioned above. In the previous line, the Amazons are said to carve their horses (2.1176: *ἵππους δαίτρευνον*), referring to the specific stage in the ritual when the meat is made ready for roasting, and so an indirect reference to the different phases is given (cf. *Od.* 14.432–3: *ἄν δὲ συμβώτης / ἵστατο δαιτρεύσων · περὶ γὰρ φρεσὶν αἴσιμα ἦδη*).¹⁸³ No detailed account is given of the act of eating and drinking itself either. The conventional sequence of sacrifice and meal, leading into the conversation held after dinner, is maintained.¹⁸⁴ Verse 2.1178 (*δὴ τότε ἄρ' Αἰσονίδης μετεφώνεεν ἥρχε τε μύθων*) echoes the sequence found in *Il.* 2.432–3: *αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ πόσιος καὶ ἐδητύος ἐξ ἔρον ἔντο / τοῖς ἄρα μύθων ἥρχε Γεήνιος ἱππῶτα Νέστωρ*.¹⁸⁵ The same combination of particles (2.1178: *δὴ τότε ἄρ'*), clearly marking a new stage in the narrative can also be found in *Od.* 8.381 (*δὴ τότε ἄρ' Ἀλκίνοον προσεφώνεε διος Ὀδυσσεύς*), when Odysseus speaks after the interlude filled with singing and

¹⁸⁰Cf. 3.299: *Δμῶες δ' ὅππότε δὴ σφιν ἐπαρτέα θῆκαν ἐδωδήν*; Campbell ad loc. comments: "as so often in this poem, we are offered a glimpse (but only a glimpse) of possible 'alternative' systems. In *Od.* *ἐπαρτής* is applied to persons." Cf. also 1.1210: *ἄλλα τε πάντα / ὀτρυνέως κατὰ κόσμον ἐπαρτίσσειεν ἰόντι*. In 1.234, 1.333 and 1.877 used in relation to their ship.

¹⁸¹Even shorter than *Od.* 8.61: *τοὺς δέρον ἄμφι θ' ἔπον, τετύκοντό τε δαῖτ' ἐρατεινήν*. See Arend (1933), 67.

¹⁸²*Od.* 9.87, *Od.* 10.58: *αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ σίτοιό τ' ἐπασσάμεθ' ἡδὲ ποτήτος*; *Od.* 1.124: *δείπνου πασσάμενος*; *Od.* 4.61: *δείπνου πασσαμένω*; 1.1072: *πάσσασθαι ἐδητύος*; 3.790 (Cf. 4.21): *πασσαμένη ... φάρμακα*.

¹⁸³See also *Od.* 15.323: *δαιτρεύσαι τε καὶ ὀπτήσαι καὶ οἰνοχοῆσαι*; 1.432–3: *Τοὺς δ' ἔταροι σφάξαν τε θοῶς δειράν τε βοείας, / κόπτον δαίτρευνόν τε καὶ ἱερὰ μῆρ' ἐτάμοντο*.

¹⁸⁴West mentions (ad *Od.* 3.445ff.) the different sections found in the descriptions of sacrificial banquets: (1) preliminary offering and prayer, (2) killing of victim and preparations for cooking, (3) cooking, (4) meal, (5) conversation. Cf. also Arend (1933), 'Opfer und Mahl,' 64–79. Another extensive description of the rituals of a sacrifice is given in 1.1103ff., when the Argonauts make offerings to Rhea (a meal finishing the rites is mentioned in 1.1150: *Καὶ τότε μὲν δαῖτ' ἄμφι θεῶς θέσαν οὖρεσιν Ἀρκτῶν*). No mention is made of how the oxen (1.1107–8) are slaughtered for the sacrifice. Cf. Knight (1995), 50–62 for a detailed analysis of 1.402–518.

¹⁸⁵Cf. also 2.610: *Τῖφος δὲ παροίτατος ἥρχετο μύθων*.

dancing. Contrary to practice in Homeric formulas, in 2.1178 no addressee, not even a general one, is mentioned.

οὐδέ σφιν θέμις ἦεν,¹⁸⁶ ὅτ' ἀντιπέρηθεν ἵκοιντο,
μήλων τ' ἡδὲ βοῶν τῇδ' ἐσχάρη ἱερὰ καίειν. (2.1174–5)

The emphasis in these lines in Book Two is more on the description of the temple itself with its remarkable black stone and the contrast between the animals sacrificed by the Amazons and those by Greeks. The description of the temple reveals the primitiveness of the Amazons: the temple is roofless (2.1171: ἀνηρεφέος) and the burnt sacrifice (2.1175: καίειν) is made on the ἐσχάρη (2.1170; 2.1175), a sacrificial hearth, positioned outside the temple (2.1171: ἐκτός ... νηοῦ), rather than on a βωμός, a structural altar.¹⁸⁷ Again we are reminded of the words of Phineus who told the heroes about the presence of the temple of Ares on the island (2.385–7).

τῇ μὲν τ' ἐνὶ νηὸν Ἄρης
λαΐνεον ποίησαν Ἀμαζονίδων βασιλῆαι
Ὀτρηρή τε καὶ Ἀντιόπη, ὅποτε στρατόωντο. (2.385–7)

This is the only time that the Argonauts are said to sacrifice on an ἐσχάρη; as a sign of their piety they usually erect themselves an altar on arrival at a new place, in which case the word βωμός is invariably used (e.g. 1.359; 1.408; 1.966).¹⁸⁸ These altars often function as σήματα in the landscape, signifying that the Argonauts have visited a place.¹⁸⁹ In *Od.* 14.420, Eumaeus, the swineherd, offers a pig on his fireplace upon the arrival of Odysseus at his hut (τὸν μὲν ἔπειτ'

¹⁸⁶The same expression is found in relation to the ritual in 1.958–60, which is explicitly said to be made in obedience to Apollo: ἀτὰρ κείνόν γε θεοπροπίαις Ἐκάτοιο / Νηλεΐδαι μετόπισθεν Ἰάονες ἰδρύσαντο / ἱερὸν, ἧ θέμις ἦεν. Ἰησονίης ἐν Ἀθήνῃς. Cf. also 1.516.

¹⁸⁷The temple is made of pebbles (2.1172: στιάων) which can presumably be found on the beach. 2.695 (temple of Apollo on Thynias) χερμασίν; 1.402: λάγγας.

¹⁸⁸LSJ point out that the ἐσχάρη is used to denote a "sacrificial hearth hollowed out in the ground so distinct from βωμός" and is "frequently used generally, 'altar of burnt offering'" (esp. in tragedy, for examples see LSJ).

¹⁸⁹Cf. 4.651 and 4.1620–2: Ἐνθα μὲν Ἀργῶς τε λιμὴν καὶ σήματα νηὸς / ἡδὲ Ποσειδάωνος ἰδὲ Τρίτωνος ἔασι / βωμοί, ἐπεὶ κείν' ἡμᾶρ ἐπέσχεθον.

ἔστησαν ἐπ' ἑσχάρῃ).¹⁹⁰ In that case, the fireplace, a sacred place and powerful symbol of supplication and hospitality, functions as a makeshift altar.¹⁹¹

Here, the Argonauts offer sheep (2.1170: μῆλ' ἱερευσόμενοι). A normal sacrifice is said to consist of either sheep or cows (2.1175) which corresponds with the offerings made by the heroes throughout the *Argonautica*. There are only a few exceptions. The Argonauts sacrifice wild goats and possibly fawns (2.699: ἄγρην; 2.691: κεραῶν ἐπὶ μηρία θήσομεν αἰγῶν) on an altar erected in honour of Apollo upon their arrival on the desert island of Thynias (i.e. not in a hospitality context). In that case it is emphasised by Orpheus that they sacrifice what they *can* considering the circumstances (2.688–9: τὰ δὲ ῥέξομεν οἷα πάρεστι, / βωμόν ἀναστήσαντες ἐπάκτιον). The oath to Concord in 2.714ff. explicitly illustrates the important function of these sacrifices as a means of ensuring unity among the comrades and among Argonauts and other groups of people with whom they have entered into a relationship of guest-friendship. The only sacrifice of a pig is made by Circe in the complicated, elaborate and deliberately bloody rituals designed to cleanse Jason's and Medea's bloodstained hands (4.716: μεμιασμένοι αἷματι χεῖρας).¹⁹² Sheep in particular are offered on arrival and sometimes departure from a place (2.531–2), at the tomb of heroes (Dolops: 1.585–9; Sthenelus: 2.928), in funeral rituals (2.839) and at the appearance of gods (Apollo: 2.686ff.; 4.1719–20). In contrast with the *Odyssey* in which the scenes of sacrifices are all made within hospitality scenes (with the

¹⁹⁰Garvie ad *Od.* 7.153: "It is not clear whether for H. the hearth was already in itself invested with the idea of sanctity or sanctuary, as it is later ... But 14.159 may suggest that it was." Cf. also Hainsworth ad *Od.* 7.153. No formal altar is found in Agamemnon's hut (*Il.* 2.425). Compare also with 1.448: ἐξείης ἔστησαν ἐϋδμητον περὶ βωμόν.

¹⁹¹Cf. Arend (1933), 66–7. Cf. *Od.* 14.158–60: ἴστω νῦν Ζεὺς πρῶτα θεῶν ξενίη τε τράπεζα, / ἴστίη τ' Ὀδυσῆος ἀμύμονος, ἦν ἀφικάνω / ἣ μὲν τοι τάδε πάντα τελείεται ὡς ἀγορεύω.

¹⁹²Cf. Knight (1995), 191: "a common victim in this kind of purification." Interestingly, the murder of Apsyrtus is compared with the slaughter of a bull, underling the sacrificial character of the killing near a sanctuary (4.468–70: Τὸν δ' ὃ γε, βουτύπος ὥς τε μέγαν κερεαλκέα ταῦρον / πλῆξεν ὀπιπύσας νηοῦ σχεδὸν ὃν ποτ' ἔδειμαν / Ἀρτέμιδι βρυγοὶ περὶναιέται ἀντιπέρθηεν). Blood is emphasised throughout in relation to the murder: from the blood that is said to flow from Apsyrtus the moment he dies, staining Medea's veil and dress red, to the moistening of the hands with the blood of this special young of a sow (4.706–7: αἷματι χεῖρας / τέγγεν) and the blood dripping from the walls of Circe's palace. Cf. Knight (1995), 59 for the "serious bloodlessness of the first two books."

exception of the sacrifice during the Helios episode),¹⁹³ sacrifices are made in a variety of situations in the *Argonautica*. In hospitality contexts, the Argonauts are either provided with these animals by their host, symbolising the generosity of the host and his piety by his cooperation in the sacrifice (e.g. 1.1181), or they sacrifice animals stolen from them and used at a later expedient time, as is the case with the sheep they have seized from the Bebrycians (2.143–4: ἤδη δ' ἄσπετα μῆλα περιτροπάδην ἐτάμοντο / ἦρωες; 2.301–5). These sheep are offered by the Argonauts in the Phineus episode, illustrating in addition the dependency of the host upon his guests, as the seer himself is clearly not in a position to provide them with this, although he does in his piety bid them build an altar and sacrifice (2.484).

Sacrifices of cattle are relatively rare, as are extensive and precise descriptions of all rituals associated with a sacrifice; the Argonauts offer as promised (1.417–8: ἀγλαὰ ταύρων / ἱρὰ πάλιν βομῶ ἐπιθήσομεν) two oxen before their departure to Apollo, the god who receives most of the offerings made throughout their voyage.¹⁹⁴ All the provisions are then still available. The Phaeacians bring a ram (4.1185–6: ἔκκριτον ... ἄρνειόν) and a heifer (4.1186: ἀεργηλὴν ἔτι πόρτιν) to be sacrificed after learning of the marriage between Medea and Jason. The sacrifice made upon their arrival at Scheria was only referred to by θυηπολίησιν in 4.995.¹⁹⁵ In that case, the very fact that a sacrifice is made is important, not what is sacrificed or how the rituals are completed.¹⁹⁶ This sacrifice marks the welcome extended to the Argonauts and the basic piety of the Phaeacians which is important for the events to come. There is no place for an elaborate sacrifice here, as the two contending parties arrive, and the absence of an

¹⁹³Cf. Arend (1933), 66.

¹⁹⁴Cf. West ad *Od.* 4.353 about the importance of sacrifice before a major undertaking; Knight (1995), 50.

¹⁹⁵Cf. also the sacrifice in the Lemnian episode, in which the fact that there is a sacrifice of some sort is only referred to by καπνῶ κνισθέντι περίπλεον and θυέεσσι (1.858–60). A general image of festivity is given with the mention of banquets, singing, dancing and sacrifices all in honour of Hephaestus and Cypris. The small detail of περίπλεον effectively sketches the abundance of the offerings, the smoke from which fills the town completely. Oxen (1.696) are mentioned in relation to ploughing, not in relation to sacrifice.

¹⁹⁶Vian iii, ad 4.1129, 186 comments on the conciseness of the passage.

extensive description also ensures that the emphasis is given to the second, more significant sacrifice to celebrate the marriage between Jason and Medea. In this second instance, the rituals of sacrifice are again not described in any detail (4.1189: *θυέων δ' ἀπὸ τηλόθι κήκιε λιγνύς*) although reference is made to altars built by Medea and the annual sacrifices which still take place there (4.1216–9). The details given here about the animals that are to be sacrificed, together with the other fine gifts bestowed, mark the importance of the occasion and the honour given to Medea and Jason, and are indicative of the proverbial wealth of the Phaeacians.¹⁹⁷ The hilarity of the twelve maidens, given to Medea as a special bridal gift, when the Argonauts have to be content with water instead of wine, shows the abundance they have been used to all their lives (4.1723–4: *οἷα θαμειᾶς / αἰὲν ἐν Ἀλκινόοιο βοοκτασίας ὀρόωσαι*).¹⁹⁸ Amid the busy preparations for dinner at the splendid court of Aeetes a mighty bull is led forward (3.271–2: *τοὶ μὲν μέγαν ἀμφιπένοντο / ταῦρον ἄλις δμῶες*), but no mention is made of a subsequent sacrifice.¹⁹⁹ In the case of all the kings associated with *hybris*, the attitude towards sacrifice is chosen to illustrate this particular vice. Pelias does not sacrifice to all the gods, but deliberately excludes Hera from his offering (1.14), Amycus is not involved in any rituals (despite the fact that there are *σταθμοί τε βοῶν αὐλὶς τ'*, 2.1.) and the Argonauts are only able to sacrifice after their defeat of all the Bebrycians (2.156–7: *καὶ ἀθανάτοισι θυηλᾶς / ῥέξαντες μέγα δόρπον ἐφώπλισαν*).²⁰⁰

¹⁹⁷Cf. also 4.1140: *καὶ πόρεν ὄλβον ἀθέσφατον ἐνναέτησιν*; 4.1146: *χρυσέων θυσάνων*; 4.1178: *σκήπτρον ... χρυσοῖο*; 4.1190–1: *μεῖλιά τε χρυσοῖο καὶ ἀλλοίων ἐπὶ τοῖσιν / ἀγλαῖην*; *Od.* 8.59–60: *τοῖσιν δ' Ἀλκίνοος δυοκαίδεκα μῆλ' ἱέρευσεν, / ὀκτὼ δ' ἀργιόδοντας ὕας, δύο δ' εἰλίποδας βοῦς*; cf. also *Od.* 14.251; *Od.* 17.180–2; *Od.* 20.250–7; Cf. Garvie ad *Od.* 8.59–60; Knight (1995), 247 argues, however, that no great stress is laid "on the idyllic life of the Phaeacians."

¹⁹⁸Cf. *Od.* 12.362–3 (Helios episode): *Οὐδ' εἶχον μέθυ λειψαὶ ἐπ' αἰθομένοις ἱεροῖσιν, / ἄλλ' ὕδατι σπένδοντες ἐπώπτων ἔγκατα πάντα*.

¹⁹⁹Knight (1995), 50, n. 4.

²⁰⁰In contrast with Pelias, the Argonauts not only here but also in 2.531–2 are said to offer to all gods (*Ἐκ δὲ τόθεν μακάρεσσι δωῶδεκα δαμήσαντες / βαμὼν ἄλῳς ῥηγμῖνι πέρην καὶ ἐφ' ἱερὰ θέντες*).

h) Jason's speech (2.1178–95)

After the sacrifice and meal Jason finally reveals his plans (2.1178: δὴ τότ' ἄρ' Αἰσονίδης μετεφώνεεν ἥρχέ τε μύθων). In this crucial speech, he expounds his plans so that it is impossible for Argus to refuse help. References to Zeus frame his words (2.1179–80: Ζεὺς ἔτεδ' ἅ τ' ἕκαστ' ἐπιδέρεται, οὐδέ μιν ἄνδρες / λήθομεν ἔμπεδον οἳ τε θεοῦδέες οὐδὲ δίκαιοι). The first two lines not only look back to Argus' words in 2.1123 and 2.1131–3 (e.g. 2.1133: ἐπόπιος),²⁰¹ but also foreshadow the theme of the appeasement of Zeus' wrath as their motive for undertaking this dangerous voyage (2.1180: θεοῦδέες).²⁰² The threat uttered by Argus to warn the heroes of their duty to provide hospitality is used by Jason to serve his own purposes. If Argus appeals to Zeus as the protector of suppliants and strangers, then he must understand the urgency of Jason's mission. The brothers have, of course, just experienced Zeus' power in the storm caused by the god himself.

ἐπεὶ Φρίξιοι θυηλάς
στέλλομαι ἀμπλήσων, Ζηνὸς χόλον Αἰολίδησιν.
(2.1194–5)

Stressing their similar background (age, descent) in his first speech, Jason portrays himself also as someone who, just like Argus, is sent on a voyage (2.1195: στέλλομαι). Although both journeys are undertaken out of necessity, the motive of the Argonauts is far superior to that of the sons of Phrixus. Whereas the latter are after the possessions of Athamas in wealthy Orchomenus,²⁰³ Jason and his comrades fulfil their mission not out of personal gain but to atone for the sacrifice of Phrixus, the father of the four, on behalf of all the Aeolids (note the position of

²⁰¹Recalling *Od.* 9.174–6. Cf. Fränkel, *Noten*, 302.

²⁰²See also ἔμπεδον (2.1180), which reflects the certainty of Zeus' anger and subsequent punishment.

3.192–3: πάντες ἐπεὶ πάντη, καὶ ὃ τις μάλα κύντατος ἀνδρῶν, / Ξεινίου αἰδεῖται Ζηνὸς θέμιν ἢ δ' ἀλεγίζει.

²⁰³Cf. 3.266 (Chalciope): κτεάνων Ἀθάμαντος ἔκητι.

Αἰολίδῃσιν as the very last word of his speech).²⁰⁴ To contrast both motives even further wealth is emphasised twice in this speech (2.1182: ἀπειρέσιον ὄλβον; 2.1186: μετ' ἀφνειὴν θείου πόλιν Ὀρχομενοῖο). The enormous affluence of Phrixus, given to him by Zeus,²⁰⁵ and Orchomenus is proverbial and mentioned by the poet in his introduction of the sons of Phrixus (2.1095–6: ἴν' ἄσπετον ὄλβον ἄρωνται / πατρός) and by Medea in 3.1072–3 (ἧ νύ που ἀφνειοῦ σχεδὸν ἵξεαι Ὀρχομενοῖο, / ἧ καὶ Αἰαΐης νήσου πέλας).

This is the first time that the sacrifice of Phrixus²⁰⁶ is mentioned in the *Argonautica* (it is not even mentioned in the prologue or by Jason's mother in her speech before the departure) and it seems therefore highly likely that this story, a variant version of the myth, is used here by Jason in a skilful adaptation for these specific circumstances in order to reinforce his arguments and convince the Phrixids of the need for their cooperation.²⁰⁷ At the same time, Jason proves to Argus his claim about his descent by showing this detailed knowledge about their shared history. The account seems to be included to convince the brothers that going back to Aeetes, which must feel at first like a defeat or failure — apart from the fact that a very dangerous mission is suggested — is a necessary next step. Argus cannot but help him, having been led to believe for a second that it would still be possible to continue their voyage. Without a ship Argus is obviously not in the position to continue his voyage on his own. The only other time the intended sacrifice is mentioned is in 3.333–9, when Argus introduces the Argonauts to Aeetes and, further embellishing the story heard from Jason in order to elicit pathos for the cause of the Aeolids,²⁰⁸ tries to persuade the king to hand the fleece over to the heroes.

²⁰⁴See also Vian i, 283.

²⁰⁵Cf. also 4.529; 4.653; 4.1643; 4.1745.

²⁰⁶Fränkel, *Noten*, 304ff.

²⁰⁷Cf. Vian i, 283; Campbell ad 3.336–9. As Campbell, *Studies*, 32 notes: "The presentation of variant versions in speeches is wholly typical of Apollonius."

²⁰⁸Cf. Campbell ad 3.336–9: "Here the motif of Zeus' wrath is pulled to the forefront for effect, and χόλον is stepped up to μῆνιν / καὶ χόλον (see 337–8n)." 3.336–9: οὐδ' ὑπαλύξειν / στεῦται ἀμειλίκτοιο Διὸς θυμαλγέα μῆνιν / καὶ χόλον οὐδ' ἄτλητον ἄγος Φρίξιοιό τε ποινὰς / Αἰολιδέων γενεῇν, πρὶν ἐς Ἑλλάδα κῶας ἰκέσθαι.

Their superior motive is coupled with a superior ship, as Jason points out subtly.²⁰⁹ The divine patronage of their ship is in sharp contrast with the wrecked boat of the Phrixids, before they even came near the Planctae, so successfully mastered by the Argonauts (2.1190–1: πρὶν καὶ πετράων σχεδὸν ἐλθεῖν αἱ τ' ἐνὶ Πόντῳ / στεινωπῷ συνίασι πανήμεροι ἀλλήλησιν). The pleonastic wording of verse 2.1191 and the enjambement of στεινωπῷ in 2.1191 expresses effectively the difficulty in passing these rocks. Jason indirectly praises his own major achievement. The whole speech is permeated by the awareness of the hands of the gods working in all stages of the adventures of Phrixus and his descendants. The fate of the father is connected with that of the sons. To accentuate the sheer power of the gods it is emphasised that both Phrixus and his sons have been saved from death (2.1181: ὑπεξείρυστο φόνοιο / μητρυῆς; 2.1183: αὐτίς; 2.1184: χείματος οὐλομένοιο; 2.1189: κακὸν διὰ κῦμ' ἐκέδασσε).²¹⁰ Strong language is used in 2.1181 with ὑπεξείρυστο (a *hapax legomenon* in the *Argonautica*): in Hdt. 7.225, this verb is used of a body being dragged away from the battlefield, and something of a struggle is here also conveyed in the verb. When Jason, stressing in the exposition of his plans the similarities in the backgrounds of Phrixus and themselves, repeats these facts to his comrades in the beginning of Book Three, the more neutral δόλος is used instead of φόνος (Lemnian episode: 1.619, 1.834; murder of Apsyrtus: 4.467; 4.478; 4.699; 4.704; 4.736; 4.742; Earthborn Monsters: 1.999; Heracles' murder of his children: 4.541). Φόνοιο / μητρυῆς (2.1181–2) foreshadows Φρίξοιο θυηλὰς (2.1194). Using the motif of the malicious stepmother, the second wife of Athamas is solely blamed for this intended sacrifice.²¹¹

²⁰⁹This is already announced in the catalogue: 1.113–4: τῷ καὶ πασάων προφερεστάτῃ ἔπλετο νηῶν / ὅσσα ὑπ' εἰρεσίῃσιν ἐπειρήσαντο θαλάσσης. Cf. also 1.625 and 2.613. The Argonauts are, after all, the θεῖος στόλος (1.970; 2.1091).

²¹⁰An interpretation confirmed in 2.1106 (reflecting the viewpoint of the brothers) and 2.1113 (poet).

²¹¹This motif can also be found in the Lemnian episode (1.814–5: εἰ καὶ ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖσι δαίζομένην ὀρόφω / μητρυῆς ὑπὸ χερσὶν ἀτασθάλου). Cf. Campbell ad 3.390 (βασιλῆος ἀτασθάλου) pointing to another parallel between Jason and Phrixus.

‘Ο δὲ καὶ ποτ’ ἀμύμονα Φρίξον ἔδεκτο
μητρυιῆς φεύγοντα δόλον πατρός τε θυηλάς (3.190–1)

So, in reality therefore they are not just saved unharmed from the storm, but, it is implied, the reason why they have been saved unharmed (2.1183: ἀπήμονας) is to help the Argonauts to accomplish their task, which is presented by Jason as their concern as well. The relatively straightforward argument of reciprocity is strengthened and further complicated by the unexpected relationship between them.

Πάρεστι δὲ τῇσδ’ ἐπὶ νηὸς
ἔνθα καὶ ἔνθα νέεσθαι ὅπη φίλον, εἴ τε μετ’ Αἴαν
εἴ τε μετ’ ἄφνειήν θείου πόλιν Ὀρχομενοῖο. (2.1184–6)

The mention of two alternatives and the freedom apparently implied in πάρεστι (2.1184), further reinforced by ὅπη φίλον (2.1184) and ἔνθα καὶ ἔνθα (2.1185), which is often used when no firm direction has been established,²¹² momentarily creates the illusion of choice for Argus. Πάρεστι indicates, however, that this is nothing more than a theoretical possibility considering the excellence of the Argo (2.1187: γάρ). The role of Athena in the building of the ship (in a joint effort with Argus, the human builder of the ship, who is mentioned here for the last time in the epic) is acknowledged again,²¹³ although her role in guiding the ship past the Clashing Rocks is not referred to. Information about the building of the Argo is scattered throughout the first two books of the *Argonautica*, even though the poet announced in the prologue that he would omit this part of the myth (1.18–9: Νῆα μὲν οὖν οἱ πρόσθεν ἔτι κλείουσιν

²¹²Cf. for example: 2.1082; 3.651; 3.758; *Il.* 2.397; *Il.* 2.462; *Od.* 5.327.

²¹³2.1187–8: τάμε χαλκῷ / δοῦρατα ~ *Od.* 5.162–3 (Calypso about Odysseus’ ship): ἀλλ’ ἄγε δοῦρατα μακρὰ ταμὼν ἀρμόζω χαλκῷ / εὐρεῖαν σχεδίην. 2.1187: Ἀθηναίη τεχνήσατο ~ *Od.* 5.259: εὖ τεχνήσατο καὶ τά.

ἄοιδοι / Ἄργον Ἀθηναίης καμέειν ὑποθημοσύνησι).²¹⁴ The 'generous' offer, given from a position of power, is withdrawn in 2.1192–4.

'Ἄλλ' ἄγεθ', ὧδε καὶ αὐτοὶ ἐς Ἑλλάδα μοιομένοισι
κῶας ἄγειν χρύσειον ἐπίρροθοι ἄμμι πέλεσθε
καὶ πλόου ἡγεμονῆες (2.1192–4)

The transition to Jason's real plans is signified by the combination ἄλλ' ἄγεθ' ... πέλεσθε. The imperative πέλεσθε turns it into an urgent appeal.²¹⁵ A similar pattern is used in 1.832 by Hypsipyle (ἄλλ' ἄγε νῦν ... ἐνίσπες) when, after recounting everything about the past and plans for the more distant future, she tells Jason which course of action should be taken now. In 4.810 (ἄλλ' ἄγε ... ἐνίψω), Hera proceeds to explain her plans in detail after a lengthy exposition of everything she has done for Thetis in order to ensure her cooperation.²¹⁶ Jason makes a formal request here for a πομπή, an escort to the next destination. The situation thus created recalls Odysseus' words in *Od.* 14.313–20, when he tells Eumaeus the false story about his identity.²¹⁷ The similarity in situation (shipwreck owing to storm [*Od.* 14.313–5]; supplication [*Od.* 14.319]; guiding [*Od.* 14.314–5]; welcome and handing over of clothing [*Od.* 14.316–7, 320]) is supported by the many verbal echoes. The guiding of a stranger to the palace is a well-known motif in a hospitality scene;²¹⁸ Nausicaa similarly directs Odysseus to the palace of her father. As we have already seen, the episode in the *Odyssey* is one of the main underlying models for this scene. Jason's request shows the complex way in which this model is used, corresponding to the respective roles of

²¹⁴Cf. 1.111–4; 1.126; 1.526; 2.612–4 (Tiphys after they have passed the the Rocks): οὐδέ τις ἄλλος ἐπαίτιος ὅσσον Ἀθήνη, / ἥ οἱ ἐνέπνευσεν θεῖον μένος, εὐτέ μιν Ἄργος / γόμφουσιν συνάρασσε. Each time a different verb is used to describe the act of building.

²¹⁵Similarly at the end of a speech: *Od.* 4.294; *Od.* 10.460; *Od.* 21.134; *Od.* 22.252; *Il.* 7.139.

²¹⁶Contrast with εἰ δ' ἄγε in 4.758, when Hera gives her order to her messenger Iris in a much more straightforward fashion.

²¹⁷*Od.* 14.314–20: τῷ ῥα περιπλεχθεὶς φερόμην ὀλοοῖς ἀνέμοισιν / ἐννήμαρ φερόμην, δεκάτῃ δέ με νυκτὶ μελαίνῃ / γαίῃ Θεσπρωτῶν πέλασεν μέγα κῦμα κυλίνδον. / ἐνθα με Θεσπρωτῶν βασιλεὺς ἐκομίσσατο Φεῖδων / ἥρως ἀπριάτην· τοῦ γὰρ φίλος υἱὸς ἐπελθὼν / αἴθρῳ καὶ καμάτῳ δεδμημένον ἦγεν ἐς οἶκον, / χειρὸς ἀναστήσας, ὄφρ' ἔκετο δάματα πατρός· / ἀμφὶ δέ με χλαῖνάν τε χιτῶνά τε εἵματα ἔσσαν.

²¹⁸Reece (1993), 12–3 calls this the 'Maiden at the Well/Youth on the Road' motif.

the brothers and heroes in the episode: at the beginning of the encounter the situation of the brothers after the shipwreck resembles Odysseus' part, and that of the Argonauts, handing out the clothing, that of Nausicaa. Now the roles are reversed and the brothers are given the role of Nausicaa, Jason that of Odysseus. As 2.1260 (Ἄργοιο δαημοσύνησιν), 2.1281 (Ἄργου ... παρηγορήσιν) and 4.256ff. show, Argus fulfils this role well on the journey to Colchis and that back to Greece again.²¹⁹ Jason urges them to be not only their guides,²²⁰ but (also rather unusually) their helpers; the choice of words indicates the dangerous situations expected.²²¹ In 3.183–4 (εἴ τέ τις ἄλλη / μῆτις ἐπίρροθος ἔσται ἐεργομένοισιν αὐτῆς), Jason sketches out the two alternatives for his comrades: a battle or some unspecified other plan. The adjective ἐπίρροθος echoes ἐπίρροθοι (2.1193) here and a connection is meant to be made.²²² In the end another plan will indeed be needed and the solution will come from the sons of Phrixus, who, remembering Medea's magic powers, establish the contact between her and the Argonauts via their mother Chalcioppe. In this episode, Argus and his brothers are very much the sons of Phrixus rather than the sons of Chalcioppe, who is in this episode only called Aetes' daughter (2.1148). The link with Phrixus (and thereby the Argonauts themselves) is of greater importance in this episode.²²³ In Book Three they establish the first contacts between the Argonauts and the king, and also act as intermediaries between the heroes and Chalcioppe and Medea.²²⁴

²¹⁹Fränkel, *Noten*, 304–5; Vian iii, ad 4.257, 156–7.

²²⁰Cf. also 2.421–2 (Phineus): ἐπεὶ δοίμων ἕτερον πλόνον ἡγεμονεύσει / ἔξ Αἴης.

²²¹Campbell ad 3.184 points out that the adjective is used as 'affording succour' or 'protection' in dangerous situations. Cf. also 2.1050, 2.1058 and 2.1068 (in relation to the plan against the birds of Ares, an action in which they relied more on μῆτις than on pure force). Their actions here foreshadow their strategies in Books Three and Four.

²²²Επίρροθος, only used as a noun in 3.559 (of Cypris) and 2.1193, is in the *Argonautica* not exclusively applied to help coming from the gods, as it was in Homer (Cf. Heubeck ad *Od.* 24.182).

²²³See also Levin (1971), 206.

²²⁴Cf. 3.523–4: Ἀλλά τιν' οἶω / μητρὸς ἐμῆς ἔσσεσθαι ἐναΐσιμον ὄμιν ἀρωγήν.

i) *The reaction to Jason's speech and Argus' speech (2.1196–1215)*

Ἰσκε παρηγορέων. Οἱ δ' ἔστυγον εἰσαίοντες
οὐ γὰρ ἔφον τεύξεσθαι ἐννήεος Αἰήταο
κῶας ἄγειν κριοῖο μεμαότας. (2.1196–8)

Jason speaks παρηγορέων (2.1196), urging, pressing them to help him on his mission.²²⁵ The impression of eagerness the brothers get themselves confirms this interpretation of παρηγορέων (2.1197–8: ἔφον ... μεμαότας).²²⁶ The more neutral μοιομένοισι of Jason in 2.1192 is changed into something which reflects the mood of his speech much more accurately. In reaction to this news, the brothers literally shrink back with horror (2.1196: ἔστυγον).²²⁷ The fears of the brothers which are voiced by Argus in his speech foreshadow the events in Book Three and build up suspense. Verse 2.1199 (ἀτεμβόμενος τοῖον στόλον ἀμφιπένεσθαι),²²⁸ which introduces the speech, hints at the deception felt by Argus, who now has to give up his own mission after what seemed to be a promise from Jason's side (cf. 2.1194–5). Owing to Jason's strong position and arguments, it is virtually impossible for Argus to mutter any objections or to try to back out of this adventure. His tactics of trying to scare the Argonauts away by concentrating on the terrifying and impossible nature of the expedition are bound to fail. Unlike Odysseus who found in Athena (in disguise) a friendly companion among the Phaeacians after the provocation by Laodamas (*Od.* 8.200: χαίρων οὔνεχ' ἑτοῖρον ἐννήέα λεῦσσε' ἐν ἀγῶνι), Jason will not be that fortunate in his encounter with Aeetes.²²⁹

²²⁵Cf. Campbell ad 3.303.

²²⁶Cf. also Medea's words in 4.1049–51: ἀλλὰ κε πᾶσι, / κῶας ἔλιν μεμαῶτες, ἐμίξατε δούρατα Κόλχοις / αὐτῷ τ' Αἰήτη ὑπερήνορι (Cf. Vian i, ad 2.1226, 235, n. 1; Fränkel, *Noten*, 315ff.); 3.434; 3.509; 4.490; 3.525: καὶ περ μεμαῶτες. In the latter case, Argus attempts to restrain them from choosing an open confrontation with Aeetes (also 3.522: ἐλδομένοισιν ἀέθλου).

²²⁷A common and instinctive reaction to Aeetes — but not one that should be given in to — as 3.16 shows: ἔμπης δ' οὐ τίνα πείραν ἀποτρωπᾶσθαι ἔοικεν.

²²⁸Cf. Fränkel, *Noten*, 310 ("synonym mit μέμψεσθαι"); Campbell ad 3.99.

²²⁹In the *Iliad* (*Il.* 23.252; *Il.* 17.204; *Il.* 21.96), the adjective is used of Patroclus after his death to show the intensity of the Greeks' feelings for their comrade. See also Williams (1997), 467.

Terror dominates Argus' s nervous reply (2.1202: αἰνῶς; 2.1202: ὀλοήσιν; 2.1203: περιδείδια).²³⁰ Αἰνῶς (2.1202) is often found in connection with verbs or nouns of fearing (3.480–1: ἀλλὰ μάλ' αἰνῶς / δίδω μή πως οὗ μοι ὑποσταίη τό γε μήτηρ; 3.695–6: Τὴν δ' αἰνῶς ἄτλητος ἐπέκλυσε θυμὸν ἀνίη / δείματι; *Il.* 10.538: ἀλλ' αἰνῶς δείδοικα κατὰ φρένα).²³¹ Using many emotional adjectives, Argus concentrates his speech on one main issue (how difficult a task the Argonauts have got in front of them) and tries to dash any hope of a hospitable welcome and diplomatic solution — which were, after all, raised by himself — and secondly of a victory in battle, indicating the nature of the king and his quality on the battlefield, further supported by the sheer numbers of the Colchians. The focus is very much on the king, who will later single out Jason. As a final threat, clearly marked as a new element by the combination of particles in οὐ μὲν οὐδ',²³² he sketches a terrifying picture of the snake, guarding the fleece day and night, remarking that it will not be possible to take the fleece away without the king's knowledge (2.1207–8: Οὐ μὲν οὐδ' ἀπάνευθεν ἐλεῖν δέρος Αἰήταο / ῥηίδιον).²³³ If the awesome description of Aeetes had not been enough in itself to frighten the Argonauts, then the vivid and detailed portrayal of the dangerous snake would certainly achieve this. The apparent success of his attempt is shown by the reaction from the Argonauts (2.1216–7: πολέεσσι δ' ἐπὶ χλόος εἶλε παρειάς / αὐτίκα, τοῖον ἄεθλον ὅτ' ἔκλυον).²³⁴ These lines once again confirm the truth of Phineus' prophecy, which strengthens in turn his own words.²³⁵ The seer told the Argonauts about the snake in 2.404–7, continuously guarding the fleece (cf. their shocked reaction

²³⁰3.318: ὑποδδείσας ἀμφὶ στόλῳ Αἰσονίδαο.

²³¹Cf. Kirk ad *Il.* 3.158 and Campbell ad 3.15.

²³²Cf. Kirk ad *Il.* 4.512–3 (οὐ μὲν οὐδέ).

²³³A negative variation of this construction is found in *Il.* 4.390 and *Il.* 5.808.

²³⁴See also 4.149 (Εἶπετο δ' Αἰσονίδης πεφοβημένος). A similar physical reaction of fear is displayed by the crew to the words spoken by Ancaeus in despair (4.1279: χύτο δὲ χλόος ἀμφὶ παρειάς). Medea's cheeks turn alternately red and pale in reaction to the intense emotion of love 3.297–8 (ἀπαλάς δὲ μετετρωπᾶτο παρειάς / ἐς χλόον). Cf. Campbell ad 3.297–8.

²³⁵Williams (1997), 468.

in 2.408–9: τοὺς δ' εἶθαρ ἔλεν δέος εἰσαΐοντας. / Δὴν δ' ἔσαν ἀμφασίῃ
βεβολημένοι· ὃψ' δ' ἔειπεν).

τόθι κῶας ἐπ' ἄκρης
πεπτάμενον φηγοῖο δράκων, τέρας αἰνὸν ἰδέσθαι,
ἀμφὶς ὀπιπεύει δεδοκῆμένος· οὐδέ οἱ ἦμαρ,
οὐ κνέφας ἦδυμος ὕπνος ἀναιδέα δάμναται ὅσσε.
(2.404–7)

Information already given by Phineus is summarised in ἀμφί τ' ἔρυνται (2.1208) and ὕπνος (2.1209).²³⁶ Additional cause for worry is given to the Argonauts by the details that the snake is ἀθάνατος (2.1209) and one of Gaia's children, like the Earthborn Monsters defeated by Heracles in Book One and Typhaon here (2.1209: ὃν αὐτὴ Γαῖ' ἀνέφυσε; cf. also ἀναιδέα in 2.407).²³⁷ In the description of the serpent in Book Four, the same adjectives are used of this creature as they were of Aeetes in this speech by Argus (4.153–5: ἀλλὰ καὶ ἔμψης / ὕψοῦ σμερδαλέην κεφαλὴν μενέαινεν αἰείρας / ἀμφοτέρους ὀλοῇσι περιπτύξαι γενύεσσιν).²³⁸ The monster and Aeetes present a similar danger to Jason.

The description of their own feeble, inadequate strength (2.1200–1: ἡμέτερον μὲν ὅσον σθένος οὗ ποτ' ἀρωγῆς / σχήσεται οὐδ' ἡβαιόν, ὅτε χρεῖώ τις ἵκηται)²³⁹ is contrasted with the evocative portrayal of Aeetes' might (2.1206: μέγα σθένος). The characterisation of him in 2.1202 (Ἄλλ' αἰνῶς ὀλοῇσιν ἀπηνείησιν ἄρηνεν)²⁴⁰ is echoed in Jason's words in 3.492–3 (Αἰήταο ἀπηνέος ἄμμι φίλον κῆρ / ἀντικρὺ κεχόλωται) and in Hera's words in 3.15 (ἦ γὰρ ὄγ' ὑπερφίαλος πέλει αἰνῶς).²⁴¹ Ἀπηνείησιν

²³⁶Cf. 4.129: ὀύπνοισιν ... ὀφθαλμοῖσιν; this element is repeated in all the descriptions of the snake to foreshadow the fact that Medea does manage to put the monster to sleep by her charms (4.146ff.).

²³⁷Cf. Levin (1971), 210.

²³⁸Note the skilful variation in denomination: 4.142 (πέλωρον); 4.147 (τέρας); 4.151 (γῆγενέος σπείρης) and 4.164 (θηρὸς).

²³⁹Cf. Cypris' doubts about her own strength in 3.81–2. In the end this is not what is required from her by the two goddesses, just as this will not be needed from the brothers.

²⁴⁰Ὀλοῇσιν (2.1202) confirms the fear voiced by Jason in 2.890 (ὀλοοῖτο ... Αἰτήταο).

²⁴¹The verbal echo in 2.76–7 (Ἀπηνέα δ' αἶψα νοήσας / πυγμαχίην) establishes another link with the portrayal of the tyrant Amycus. Also 1.87. Cf. *Il.* 23.611 and *Il.* 15.94: ὑπερφίαλος

(2.1202) warns that a diplomatic approach will not be successful.²⁴² The fact that Aeetes is said to *boast* — an effective characterisation in itself —²⁴³ (2.1204: *Στεῦται δ' Ἡελίου γόνος ἔμμενοι*) about being descendant of Helios shows that the Argonauts are not the only ones with divine origins.²⁴⁴ There is no reason to reject this claim, as is shown by Circe's observations in relation to Medea (4.725ff.; also 4.221). It is nevertheless important for Argus to show the king in an unfavourable light.

καὶ δέ κεν Ἄρει
 σμερδαλέην ἔνοπην μέγα τε σθένος ἰσοφαρίζοι.
 (2.1205–6)

Aeetes is portrayed by Argus primarily as a hero, strong and aggressive on the battlefield, who could even contend with the god of war himself in battle cry and might.²⁴⁵ The Cochians were already described as such by Phineus (2.397: *Κόλχοι ... ὀρήιοι*). Argus' description of Aeetes carries Helenus' characterisation of Achilles, in which he says that no human can rival the hero in strength, one step further (*Il.* 6.100–1: *ἀλλ' ὅδε λίην / μαίνεται, οὐδέ τις οἱ δύνανται μένος ἰσοφαρίζειν*). In *Il.* 16.784–5, the same qualities are attributed to Patroclus as to Aeetes here: *τρὶς μὲν ἔπειτ' ἐπόρουσε θεῶ ἀτάλαντος Ἄρηϊ, / σμερδαλέα ἰάχων, τρὶς δ' ἐννέα φῶτας ἔπεφνεν*.²⁴⁶ Again the

καὶ ὀπηνής. Expectations are created that Aeetes will react in a similar way to the foreigners as Amycus (Cf. 2.38–40: *Ἄλλ' ὁ μὲν ἦ ὀλοοῖο Τυφώος ἥε καὶ αὐτῆς / Γαίης εἶναι ἔκτο πέλωρ τέκος*).

²⁴²Cf. Campbell ad 3.14–5.

²⁴³Cf. Williams (1997), 467 mentions that boasts are "commonly expressed by warriors in the *Iliad*' before they engage in combat." Again characterising Aeetes' speech in 3.579 (*στεῦτο δ'*) and 3.309–14, in which he boasts about his descent, mentioning casually a ride in his father's chariot. Campbell ad 3.337 (*στεῦται*), in which the verb is used of the tyrant Pelias, comments: "not a colourless 'claims' or the like. *στεῦμαι* means 'declare, insist, pronounce in solemn, super-confident, forceful, boastful, aggressive, threatening language'." Cf. also Russo ad *Od.* 17.525.

²⁴⁴Cf. also 3.362 ff., where Argus uses this fact again; this time for the entirely different purpose of an appeal to the obligation to help relatives. The approach, so successful in this episode, does not achieve the same results in the case of Aeetes. See also Campbell ad 3.362–3. Cf. 3.309; 3.598.

²⁴⁵Heracles, who no longer partakes in the expedition, was described thus in 1.531 (*Μέσσω δ' Ἀγκαῖος μέγα τε σθένος Ἡρακλῆος*). The snake guarding the Hesperides is killed by him (4.1433–5).

²⁴⁶Williams (1997: 467) mentions *Il.* 17.210–3 (Hector) and on 477 *Il.* 19.399 (Achilles). However, I do not agree with her conclusion (476) that "echoes of Iliadic warriors categorize him as out of date: part of a bygone time."

portrait painted by Argus here comes true in Book Three, when Aeetes is said to speak to the Argonauts *σμερδαλέοις ἐπέεσσι* (3.433) and to wear the corselet of Ares (3.1226–7: *τόν οἱ πόρεν ἔξεναρίξας / σφωιτέρης Φλεγραῖον Ἕρης ὑπὸ χερσὶ μίμναντα*).²⁴⁷ The Argonauts will, however, be worthy opponents, as their very action against the birds of Ares has just shown (2.1077–9).²⁴⁸

The aetiology, which finishes his speech (2.1211–5), demonstrates the avenging power of Zeus once again.²⁴⁹ The consequences of hybriatic behaviour are brought into consideration (2.1212: *ὁπότε οἱ στιβαράς ἐπορέξατο χεῖρας*) and it is also clear from this story that Argus, himself appealing to Zeus' power just before, will submit to Jason's suggestion.²⁵⁰ The very address Argus used in this speech showed an awareness of his obligations towards the Argonauts (2.1200: *ᾧ φίλοι*).²⁵¹

j) Peleus' speech (2.1217–25)

Μὴ δ' οὕτως, ἡθεῖε, λίην δειδίσσεο μύθῳ.
 Οὔτε γὰρ ᾧδ' ἄλκην ἐπιδευόμεθ' ὥς τε χερεῖους
 ἔμμεναι Αἰήταο σὺν ἔντεσι πειρηθῆναι.
 ἀλλὰ καὶ ἡμέας οἷω ἐπισταμένους πολέμοιο
 κεῖσε μολεῖν μακάρων σχεδὸν αἵματος ἐκγεγαῶτας.
 Τῷ, εἰ μὴ φιλότῃτι δέρος χρύσειον ὀπάσσει,
 οὐ οἱ χραισμήσειν ἐπιέλομαι ἔθνεα Κόλχων.
 (2.1219–25)

Argus' speech is not answered by Jason, but by Peleus. In the *Argonautica*, Peleus is often the hero who breaks the silence and takes the initiative; his actions always

²⁴⁷Also used of sound in 4.874–5 (Peleus: *αὐτὴν σμερδαλέην*) and 1.524 (harbour); 2.567 (Planctae); in the *Iliad* used in battle contexts: e.g. *σμερδαλέα ἰάχων* *Il.* 5.302; *Il.* 8.321; *Il.* 20.285; *Il.* 20.382; *Il.* 20.443 also *Od.* 22.81; *Od.* 24.537 (ἐβόησε). Cf. also Garvie ad *Od.* 8.305.

²⁴⁸Cf. 2.1056; 2.1063 (*περιώσιον ... αὐτὴν*); 2.1067 (*πελώριον ... δοῦπον*).

²⁴⁹See for the sentiment *Il.* 21.193–9 (*Il.* 21.193–5: *ἀλλ' οὐκ ἔστι Διὶ Κρονίωνι μάχεσθαι, / τῷ οὐδὲ κρείων Ἀχελῷος ἰσοφαρίζει, / οὐδὲ βαθυρρεῖται μέγα σθένος Ὠκεανοῖο*).

²⁵⁰Also 1.482ff. Typhaon is known in Hes. *Th.* 307 as *δεινόν θ' ὕβριστήν τ' ἄνομόν*. See also *Il.* 2.782ff. and Hes. *Th.* 819ff. The aetiology adverts to the speculations about the region in which this confrontation between Zeus and Typhaon took place (Cf. West ad Hes. *Th.* 859).

²⁵¹Likewise in 3.523 (*ᾧ φίλοι*). Gould (1973), 79: "from *ξένος* in the sense of 'outsider' to *ξένος* in the sense of 'guest,' one who in the future may be addressed as *φίλος*." The transition from one category to another is here very quickly established because of their relationship of kinship.

have a positive, action inspiring influence.²⁵² As his behaviour throughout the *Argonautica* demonstrates, Peleus is useful in times of crisis.²⁵³ The content of his speech here is already foreshadowed and its main theme announced by the fact that he is said to speak θαρσαλέως (2.1218).²⁵⁴ To inspire his comrades with courage at crucial moments seems to be Peleus' trade mark. In 2.876–7, Ancaeus, himself given courage by Hera to volunteer to become the new steersman after the death of Tiphys (2.865–6: εἰ μὴ ἄρ' Ἀγκαΐω περιώσιον ἔμβαλεν Ἥρη / θάρσος), asks Peleus to inform his comrades of this and to remind them not to give up their task out of grief (2.876–7: Ἄλλ' ὦκα παραιφόμενος τάδε πάντα / θαρσαλέως ὀρόθουνον ἐπιμνήσασθαι ἀέθλου).²⁵⁵ In 1.479–80, Peleus proves the truth of what Idmon tells the insolent Idas (Ἄλλοι μῦθοι ἔασι παρήγοροι οἷσί περ ἄνῆρ / θαρσύνοι ἔταρον). Peleus' conventional muscular message is a positive variation of Idas' words in 1.462–71. In his aggressive, attacking style, Idas, who throughout the *Argonautica* is associated with the negative emotions of fury,²⁵⁶ tells Jason in 1.464–5: ῥῆέ σε δαμνῶ / τάρβος ἐπιπλόμενον, τό τ' ἀνάγκιδας ἄνδρας ἀτύζει; in his arrogance Idas makes the mistake of insulting the gods and threatening the unity of and concord among the Argonauts.²⁵⁷

²⁵²Cf. 4.1368–9 (Αἶψα δὲ Πηλεὺς / γηθήσας ἐτάροισιν ὀμηγερέεσσι μετηύδα) and the reaction (4.1380: Ὡς ἡῦδα: πάντεσσι δ' ἐπήβολος ἦνδανε μήτις). Peleus, interpreting the portent, appeals again to their strength (4.1375: ἀστεμφεῖ τε βίῃ καὶ ἀτειρέσιν ὤμοις). Another example can be found in 4.494 (Πηλεὺς δὲ παροίτατος ἔκφατο μῦθον) and in the following positive reaction of 4.502 (ἦνυσαν δὲ νέοι ἔπος Αἰακίδαο). Cf. also 4.880–4.

²⁵³Levin (1971), 211 calls him a "restorer of morale;" Fränkel, *Noten*, 309 refers to the "immer optimistische Peleus." A more positive interpretation is chosen than the one given by the latter on 317: "Peleus, der in unserer Stelle so hochgemut auftrumpft." Peleus is also mentioned in the catalogue in the Doliones episode (1.1042). He is, for example, the first to take action when Idmon is attacked by the wild boar (2.828–30: ὀρέξατο δ' αἰψ' ...).

²⁵⁴In 2.638–9 (οἱ δ' ὁμάδησαν / θαρσαλέοις ἐπέεσσιν), this reaction is deliberately (2.638: ἀριστήων πειρώμενος) evoked by Jason after another speech in which the danger and difficulties of their journey are emphasised after they have just passed the Clashing Rocks.

²⁵⁵Cf. also 2.883–4.

²⁵⁶1.466 (δόρυ θοῦρον); 1.486; 1.492; 3.557; 3.1170; 3.1252.

²⁵⁷1.466–7: περιώσιον ἄλλων / κῦδος; 1.477: θαρσαλέον κῆρ (in malam partem!); 3.517: μέγα φρονέων; 1.472–4; Abuse of the gods is found in 1.469–70, in which he stresses again his own value, 1.478 (θεοὺς δ' ἀνέηκεν ἀτίζειν) and 3.559. Idas shares with Aeetes the loud voice (3.557: δεῖν' ἐπαλαστήσας μεγάλη ὀπί, φώνησέν τε) and the association with Ares (3.560: οὐκέτ' Ἐνυαλίῳ μέγα σθένος). The killing of the boar is Idas' only positive action (2.830f.). For Idas' character see also Vian ii, ad 3.557, 127.

By this encouraging speech addressed to Argus, Peleus manages to restore confidence among his comrades and the brothers. It is not a speech considering all possibilities. Jason's diplomacy of 3.177–90 has no place here. No formal, explicit reaction is given at the end of the speech, which makes an exact interpretation of the first line in particular more difficult; but one can deduce from the fact that they all go to sleep at the end of his words and leave the island early the next morning that his speech does achieve the desired effect (2.1226–7: “Ὡς οἱ γ’ ἀλλήλοισιν ἀμοιβαδὸν ἡγορόωντο, / μέσφ’ αὖτις δόρποιο κορεσσάμενοι κατέδαρθεν). In his speech, Peleus does not address the issue of the snake,²⁵⁸ but argues that they, trusting their own strength, must not fear open battle (2.1222: πολέμοιο), if hospitality were to be denied to them, even if the king were helped by his subjects. The Argonauts will in the end be helped by Medea (3.642–3: εἴ κέ μ’ ἄεθλω / χραισμεῖν ἀντιάσῃσιν) and consequently are able to defeat the king and his subjects. Argus' emphasis on the sheer numbers of the Colchians supporting their king (2.1205: ἔθνεα ... ἀπείρονα) is changed into a mere ἔθνεα Κόλχων (2.1225).²⁵⁹ Emphasising the closeness of the (blood) relation between the Argonauts and the gods (2.1223: μακάρων σχεδὸν αἵματος ἐκγεγαῶτας), Peleus reiterates the divine descent of the Argonauts, thereby answering Argus' words about the king's ancestry (2.1204).

In 3.502–5, again in a situation of helplessness and despondency, Peleus repeats this message of confidence in their own strength (3.506–7: Οὐ μὲν ἔολπα / βουλῆς εἶναι ὄνειαρ ὅσον τ’ ἐνὶ κάρτει χεῖρων).²⁶⁰ When Aeetes informed Jason of the seemingly impossible task, thus rejecting a diplomatic solution based on the institutions of guest-friendship, Jason was said

²⁵⁸See Fränkel, *Noten*, 309, n. 410.

²⁵⁹Cf. Campbell ad 3.171–95. Their enormous number is also vividly stressed at the start of their pursuit of the Argonauts in Book Four in order to stress the danger the heroes are exposed to (cf. 4.214ff. (simile); 4.218 (ἀπειρέσιοι) and 4.240).

²⁶⁰A similar sentiment is expressed by Phineus — stressing the necessity of courage (2.335) — in relation to the strategy to be adopted to pass the Cyanean Rocks (2.333–4: ἐπεὶ φάος οὐ νό τι τόσσον / ἔσσετ’ ἐν εὐχολῇσιν ὅσον τ’ ἐνὶ κάρτει χειρῶν).

not to have enough courage to take the trial upon him (3.424–5: οὐδέ πη εἶχεν / θαρσαλέως ὑποδέχθαι).

Πάντεσσι δ' ἀνήνυτος εἶσατ' ἄεθλος·
 δὴν δ' ἄνεω καὶ ἄναυδοι ἐς ἀλλήλους ὀρόωντο,
 ἅττη ἀμηχανίη τε κατηφές· ὅψ' δὲ Πηλεὺς
 θαρσαλέως μετὰ πᾶσιν ἀριστήεσσιν ἔειπεν· (3.502–5)

As a result of his speech, several of the Argonauts volunteer for the labour and this plan is only abandoned by the intervention of Argus who suggests the unexpected alternative of enlisting the help of Medea.

Maintaining friendly relations with Argus, Peleus performs the same role as Hector in *Il.* 3.38, when the latter rebukes Paris who is gripped by a paralysing fear at the sight of Menelaos. Paris' terror is compared with the intense fear caused by the sudden encounter with a snake in the mountains (note the similar physical reaction in *Il.* 3.35: ὠχρός τέ μιν εἶλε παρειάς). The address of Argus with ἡθεῖε (2.1219), elsewhere used only by Cypris to address Hera and Athena (3.52), sets the tone of the speech. The term, much discussed by Homeric scholars, seems to be used to denote the affection between brothers or those in a 'brotherly' relationship and the respect for "a senior or one of superior status."²⁶¹ The form of address is here particularly appropriate because of the nature of the relationship between the brothers and the Argonauts. The relation of guest-friendship (cf. 2.1200: ὦ φίλοι), reinforced even more by the bonds of kinship, suggests a tie as close as that between brothers (*Od.* 8.546–7: ἀντὶ κασιγνήτου ξείνός θ' ἱκέτης τε τέτυκται / ἀνέρι, ὅς τ' ὀλίγον περ ἐπιψαύη προπίδεσσι). No information has been given about their respective ages. The address therefore shows respect for Argus as a person and his account and mitigates the imperative that follows (2.1219: Μῆ δ' οὕτως ... λίην δειδίσσεο μύθῳ). Peleus does not deny the truthfulness of his words, but at the same time

²⁶¹Cf. Campbell ad 3.51f.; Hainsworth ad *Il.* 10.37; Hoekstra ad *Od.* 14.147; Richardson ad *Il.* 22.229–31; Kirk ad *Il.* 6.518–9 (no more than 'familiar friend').

refuses to let Argus' terrifying story destroy their confidence so that they will abandon their mission out of fear. Campbell notes that: "In 2.1219 Peleus addresses Argos (son of Phrixus) with ἡθεῖε evidently in a tone of polite remonstrance (as δαιμόνιε): that is to say ἡθεῖε is interpreted as θεῖε i.q. (Schol. Ap. 2.1219–21a) θαυμάσιε."²⁶²

There is a textual problem in the first line of Peleus' speech (2.1219: Μὴ δ' οὕτως ... λίην δειδίσσεο μύθῳ / θυμῷ). Fränkel argues in favour of μύθῳ,²⁶³ reading δειδίσσεο, a *hapax legomenon* in the *Argonautica*, as a causative, even though there is no object expressed and one has to supply a ἡμῶς. In all the transitive usages in the *Iliad* the object is invariably expressed. The line is, as Fränkel points out as well, rich in Homeric echoes. In *Il.* 20.200–1, δειδίξεσθαι is used in the same way (Πηλεΐδῃ, μὴ δὲ ἐπέεσσίν με νηπύτιον ὥς / ἔλπεο δειδίξεσθαι). Similarly, 2.1218–9 are reminiscent of Menelaus' words in *Il.* 4.183–4 (τὸν δ' ἐπιθαρσύνων προσέφη ξανθὸς Μενέλαος / θάρσει, μηδέ τί πω δειδίσσεο λαὸν Ἀχαιῶν). The same sequence of argument is used in 2.1219–20 (2.1220: Οὐτε γὰρ ὧδ' ἄλκῃν ἐπιδευόμεθ' ὥς τε χερσίους) as in *Il.* 13.810–1, in which Ajax tells Hector that it is useless to try to frighten them (τίη δειδίσσεαι αὐτῶς / Ἀργείους; οὐ τοί τι μάχης ἀδαήμονές εἰμεν). An intransitive reading with θυμῷ would be in imitation of in *Od.* 4.825 (θάρσει, μηδέ τι πάγχυ μετὰ φρεσὶ δειδίθι λίην) and *HyAphr* 193 (θάρσει, μηδέ τι σῆσι μετὰ φρεσὶ δειδίθι λίην). In both cases, these words are spoken by a goddess to a human, giving the advice to take courage from their superior position. Peleus' heroic message²⁶⁴ is a conventional one for times of war and is found several times in the *Iliad*,²⁶⁵ exploiting the contrast between

²⁶²Campbell ad 3.51f. See also Vian i, 173, n. 4.

²⁶³Fränkel, *Noten*, 314–5.

²⁶⁴Peleus envisages a total war as against the Colchians to strengthen his words (cf. 2.122–2; 2.1225; 2.1222: ἐπιστάμενους πολέμοιο ~ *Il.* 2.611: ἐπιστάμενοι πολεμίζειν). See also Campbell ad 3.184, who points out that "the blunt πόλεμος is totally avoided by Jason."

²⁶⁵Edwards ad *Il.* 20.200–58 comments: "The theme of 'weapons, not words' is conventional, eloquently championed by Hektor (7.234–43) and epigrammatically expressed at 16.630–1; it reappears on Hektor's lips at 367–8 and 431–3." Cf. also Janko ad *Il.* 16.630–1 (ἐν γὰρ χερσὶ τέλος πολέμου, ἐπέων δ' ἐνὶ βουλῇ / τῷ οὐ τι χρὴ μῦθον ὀφέλλειν, ἀλλὰ μάχεσθαι).

words and hands; in other words, war and counsel. In the *Iliad*, a strong preference for action above words is generally expressed and often a transition from speeches to proper battle is accomplished. Here the Iliadic material is slightly adapted and Peleus does not so much state an actual preference for fighting above diplomacy, as tell his comrades in a convincing manner not to be afraid at all of entering into combat with the king, *if* (2.1224: εἰ μὴ) arrangements with the king on the basis of guest-friendship should not work out.²⁶⁶ It is a specific answer to Argus' speech, which, completely despairing when considering the purpose of their journey, utterly disregards the possibility of a diplomatic solution. In *Il.* 5.218–22, Aeneas tells Pandarus similarly that there should be no more talking, as the time for action has come, echoing 2.1221 (cf. esp. *Il.* 5.220: σὺν ἔντεσι πειρηθῆναι). Peleus gives the confident message that they are a match for Aeetes in every respect, and the phrase οὔτε γὰρ ὧδ' ἄλκην ἐπιδευόμεθ' (2.1220) is not followed by any phrase diminishing this bold statement, as is the case in 2.1200–1, 3.716–7 (ὅσσον σθένος ἐστὶν ἐμεῖο, / μὴ σ' ἐπιδευήσεσθαι) and *Il.* 13.785–6 (= *Od.* 23.127–8: ἡμεῖς δ' ἐμμεμαῶτες ἅμ' ἐψόμεθ', οὐδέ τί φημι / ἄλκης δευήσεσθαι, ὅση δύνάμεις γε πάρεσσι).²⁶⁷ Things do not turn exactly out as they are envisaged by Peleus (2.1221: Αἰήταο σὺν ἔντεσι πειρηθῆναι); the Argonauts will soon have to fulfil a *πείρα*, 'trial,' set by Aeetes.

In 3.177–90 in his speech just before he sets off for Aeetes' palace, Jason finally reviews himself the various possibilities open to the Argonauts to obtain the Golden Fleece. He argues strongly, but subtly, in favour of negotiations first, recalling Peleus' words in this episode (3.185: Μηδ' αὐτως ἄλκῃ, πρὶν ἔπεσσί γε πειρηθῆναι; 3.188–90: μύθῳ ... ἡνωρέη). Contrary to Peleus, as said before, Jason leaves a third, as yet not specified option open, should diplomacy fail (3.183–4).²⁶⁸

²⁶⁶See Levin (1971), 211. Cf. 1.244–6: Αὐτημάρ κε δόμονς ὅλοφ πυρὶ δηώσειαν / Αἰήτεω, ὅτε μὴ σφιν ἐκὼν δέρος ἐγγυαλίξῃ.

²⁶⁷*Il.* 13.785–6 (Hector ~ Paris); *Od.* 23.127–8 (Telemachus to Odysseus).

²⁶⁸Cf. Campbell ad 3.171–95.

k) *Departure* (2.1226–30)

Ὡς οἱ γ' ἀλλήλοισιν ἀμοιβαδὸν ἡγορόωντο,
 μέσφ' αὖτις δόρπιοι κορεσσάμενοι κατέδαρθεν.
 Ἦρι δ' ἀνεγρομένοισιν εὐκραῆς ἄεν οὔρος·
 ἴστία δ' ἤειραν, τὰ δ' ὑπαὶ ῥιπῆς ἀνέμοιο
 τείνετο. Ῥίμφα δὲ νῆσον ἀποπροέλειπον Ἄρηος.
 (2.1226–30)

Now that the speeches have been delivered, the episode hurries to its conventional end. Speed is emphasised in 2.1228 (εὐκραῆς), 2.1229 (ῥιπῆς) and the detail of the sails, 2.1230 (ῥίμφα), 2.1244–5 (ἐπιπρὸ γὰρ αἶεν ἔτεμνον / ἐσσυμένως, λιοροῖο φορεύμενοι ἐξ ἀνέμοιο).²⁶⁹ As is often seen, an acceleration of the narrative pace takes place after this episode on the island of Ares. They are now on their way to Colchis and no other stops are made in between. The sails are not taken down until their arrival there (2.1262–4). The elaborateness of the nautical details there — the mast is lowered and the sails are taken down and stowed away — marks the importance of the arrival at their final destination. Δόρπιοι κορεσσάμενοι (2.1227) comes in an unusual place: in the *Odyssey*, the reference to contentment which marks the end of the meal is given *before* speeches are held.²⁷⁰ Comparison with 1.980 (Ἀλλήλους δ' ἐρέεινον ἀμοιβαδίς) and 1.457–8 (Μετέπειτα δ' ἀμοιβαδίς ἀλλήλοισι / μηθεῖνθ') shows the skillful variation Apollonius has given to these formulas to introduce or conclude after-dinner speeches. Each time a different verb of speaking is used. The same order of events is found in *Od.* 15.493–5: Ὡς οἱ μὲν τοιαῦτα πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἀγόρευον, / καδδραθέτην δ' οὐ πολλὸν ἐπὶ χρόνον, ἀλλὰ μίνυνθα· / αἶψα γὰρ Ἥως ἦλθεν ἐϋθρονος.²⁷¹ Ἦρι (2.1228) is emphatically placed at the beginning of the line and indicates a new stage in their journey.

²⁶⁹ Compare with the beginning of the episode: 2.1032: λιαρὴ γὰρ ὑπὸ κνέφας ἔλλιπεν αὔρη. Cf. Williams (1989), 181–2 for "The Winds as Framers of Episodes."

²⁷⁰ *Od.* 14.45–7 (ὄφρα καὶ αὐτὸς / σίτου καὶ οἴνοιο κορεσσάμενος κατὰ θυμὸν / εἵπης ὀππόθεν ἐσσι καὶ ὀππόσα κήδε' ἀνέτλης); *Od.* 14.455–6, followed by another speech by Odysseus (οἱ δ' ἐπὶ κοῖτον / σίτου καὶ κρειῶν κεκορημένοι ἐσσεύοντο).

²⁷¹ Καδδραθέτην (*Od.* 15.494): Cf. also *Od.* 5.471; *Od.* 7.285; *Od.* 8.296; *Od.* 23.18.

IX CONCLUSION

Those laws [of hospitality] are in turn based on ambivalence, in the full sense of "power on both sides." Hostility might always lurk in the background, either existing before the event or arising out of it.¹

Epitomised in the dramatic sequence of events in the Doliones episode, fear is visible on both sides, host's and guest's, in almost every hospitality scene in the *Argonautica*. Risks are evidently taken when relations of guest-friendship are initiated, and the ambivalence of the term ξείνοϛ symbolises the essential nature of the guest-host relationship. Although a factor common to most episodes, this fear is each time caused by different motives. The principle of *variatio* also ensures that different motifs are accentuated in each episode, such as the gift motif in the Lemnian episode and the story motif in the Lycus episode. The elaboration of certain conventional elements, or, on the contrary, their complete absence are important signs of the particular emphasis within a certain episode. Time and again the crucial influence of the context and requirements of the plot in determining the exact form of an episode becomes clear. Despite this variety, the standard pattern of hospitality is still clear, and together these hospitality scenes, linked by a common theme, provide the structural framework of the epic.

Considering all the hospitality scenes, it is remarkable that often little attention is paid to the departure scenes. For instance, in the Doliones and Hylas episodes the local inhabitants are completely out of sight when it comes to the departure of the Argonauts. Other interesting developments have taken over, and, on the whole, the initial scenes of arrival and reception attract much more attention in the *Argonautica*.

As in the Homeric epics, paradigms of good and bad hosts are contrasted with each other. In the *Odyssey*, we found the suitors and Cyclops opposite the Phaeacians and Eumaeus; here, we have the Doliones, Mariandyni and Phaeacians

¹Visser (1991), 91.

opposite the Colchians and Berbycians. Sometimes, as in the Phineus and Argus episodes, the roles are even reversed and the Argonauts themselves fulfil the role of host. Many of the hospitality scenes in the first half of the epic foreshadow later developments in Books Three and Four. As a result, in the case of Aeetes allusions are made to not only the suitors and Cyclops, but also tyrants, such as Pelias and Amycus, within the *Argonautica* itself. Echoes from other scenes in- and outside the *Argonautica* are a rich source for the literary effects of irony, pathos and suspense, and Apollonius exploits these devices to the full.

The complexity of Apollonius' text is shown in the fact that often not one single model, but several, are evoked in a scene. Frequently several Homeric motifs are combined and standard hospitality motifs are entwined with other, smaller motifs to create a complex, multi-layered text. By studying these typical scenes Apollonius' creativity in his approach towards Homer becomes much clearer and for this reason alone these episodes merit close attention. In addition, detailed reading of these episodes provides us with important information about the behaviour and nature of the main characters. As Knight concluded in her chapter on typical scenes, the framework of the Homeric typical scene is for Apollonius no constraint, but rather "allowed Apollonius to make particular points by diverging from his main models, in details which might have been swamped in a more overtly original scene."²

²Knight (1995), 59.

ABBREVIATIONS

1. References to ancient authors and texts generally follow the abbreviations of LSJ (exceptions: Aesch. rather than A. and Bacch. rather than B.).
2. Homeric Hymns: *HyDem*, *HyAp*, *HyHerm*, *HyAphr*, the rest *HyHom*.
3. Callimachus' Hymns: Call. *h.* 1–6.
4. Periodical abbreviations follow the system of *L'année philologique*.
5. In the footnotes all modern works are cited by author and date only. Full bibliographical details can be found in the bibliography.

Campbell, *Echoes* = Campbell, M. *Echoes and Imitations of Early Epic in Apollonius Rhodius*, Leiden 1981.

Campbell, *Studies* = Campbell, M. *Studies in the Third Book of Apollonius Rhodius' Argonautica*, Hildesheim 1983.

De Jong, *Narrators* = De Jong, I. J. F. *Narrators and Focalizers: The Presentation of the Story in the Iliad*, Amsterdam 1987.

Fränkel, *Noten* = Fränkel, H. *Noten zu den Argonautika des Apollonios*, Munich 1968.

Hunter, *Literary Studies* = Hunter, R. L. *The Argonautica of Apollonius: Literary Studies*, Cambridge 1993.

LSJ = Liddell, H. G., Scott, R., Stuart Jones, H., Mackenzie, R. (eds.), *A Greek-English Lexicon* (9th ed.), Oxford 1940; Supplement, Oxford 1968.

Vian i, ii, iii = Vian, F. (ed.) *Apollonios de Rhodes: Argonautiques*, vols 1–3, Paris 1976–96.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

TEXT

Vian, F. (ed.) *Apollonios de Rhodes: Argonautiques*, vols. 1–3, Paris 1976–96.

COMMENTARIES, EDITIONS OF OTHER AUTHORS AND SECONDARY LITERATURE

Adkins, A. W. H. *Merit and Responsibility: A Study in Greek Values*, Oxford 1960.

Albis, R. V. 'Jason's Prayers to Apollo in *Aetia* 1 and the *Argonautica*,' *Phoenix* 49 (1995), 104–9.

Albis, R.V. *Poet and Audience in the Argonautica of Apollonius*, Lanham, Maryland 1996.

Allen, T. W. (ed.) *Homeri Opera*, 5 vols., Oxford 1912.

Ardizzoni, A. 'Note critiche ed esegetiche sul testo di Apollonio Rodio,' *RFIC* 84 (1956), 364–88.

Ardizzoni, A. 'Cleite, ovvero la fonte delle lacrime,' in *Mythos: Scripta in honorem Marii Untersteiner*, Genoa 1970, 37–42.

Arend, W. *Die typische Szenen bei Homer*, Berlin 1933.

Armstrong, J. I. 'The Arming Motif in the *Iliad*,' *AJP* 79 (1958), 337–54.

Bal, M. *Narratology: Introduction to the Theory of Narrative*, Toronto, Buffalo & London 1985.

Bannert, H. 'Versammlungsszenen bei Homer,' in Bremer, J. M. et al. (eds.) *Homer: Beyond Oral Poetry*, Amsterdam 1987, 15–29.

Bannert, H. *Formen des Wiederholens bei Homer: Beispiele für eine Poetik des Epos*, Vienna 1988.

Barret, W. S. (ed.) *Euripides Hippolytos*, Oxford 1964.

Beck, G. 'Beobachtungen zur Kirke-Episode in der *Odyssee*,' *Phil.* 109 (1956), 1–29.

Belloni, L. 'Medea Πολυφάρμακος,' *CCC* 2 (1981), 117–33.

Beye, C. R. 'Jason as Love-hero in Apollonius' *Argonautika*,' *GRBS* 10 (1969), 31–55.

Beye, C. R. *Epic and Romance in the Argonautica of Apollonius*, Carbondale 1982.

Beye, C. R. *Ancient Epic Poetry: Homer, Apollonius, Vergil*, Ithaca & London 1993.

- Bing, P. *The Well-Read Muse: Present and Past in Callimachus and the Hellenistic Poets*, Göttingen 1988.
- Block, E. 'The Narrator Speaks: Apostrophe in Homer and Vergil,' *TAPhA* 112 (1982), 7–22.
- Block, E. 'Clothing makes the Man: A Pattern in the *Odyssey*,' *TAPhA* 115 (1985), 1–11.
- Blok, J. H. *The Early Amazons: Modern and Ancient Perspectives on a Persistent Myth*, Leiden 1995.
- Blumberg, K. *Untersuchungen zur epischen Technik des Apollonius von Rhodos*, Diss. Leipzig 1931.
- Braswell, B. K. 'Mythological Innovation in the *Iliad*,' *CQ* 21 (1971), 16–26.
- Bremer, J. M., de Jong, I. J. F., and Kalff, J. (eds.) *Homer: Beyond Oral Poetry*, Amsterdam 1987.
- Bremer, J. M. 'Full Moon and Marriage in Apollonius' *Argonautica*,' *CQ* 37 (1987), 423–6.
- Bremmer, J. N. 'Why Did Medea Kill her Brother Apsyrtus?,' in Clauss, J. J and Johnston, S.I (eds.) *Medea: Essays on Medea in Myth, Literature, Philosophy and Art*, Princeton 1997, 83–100.
- Broeniman, C. S. *Thematic Patterns in the 'Argonautica' of Apollonius Rhodius: A Study in the Imagery of Similes*, Ann Arbor 1992.
- Bulloch, A.W. 'Callimachus' Erysichthon, Homer, and Apollonius Rhodius,' *AJP* 98 (1977), 97–123.
- Bulloch, A.W. 'The Future of a Hellenistic Illusion: Some Observations on Callimachus and Religion,' *MH* 41 (1984), 20–30.
- Bulloch, A. W. 'Hellenistic Poetry,' in *The Cambridge History of Classical Literature I*, Cambridge 1985, 541–621.
- Bulloch, A. W., Gruen, E. S., Long, A. A and Stewart, A. (eds.) *Images and Ideologies: Self-definition in the Hellenistic World*, Berkeley 1993.
- Bulloch, A. W. (ed.) *Callimachus: The Fifth Hymn*, Cambridge 1985.
- Busch, S. 'Orpheus bei Apollonios Rhodios,' *Hermes* 121 (1993), 301–24.
- Burkert, W. 'Jason, Hypsipyle and New Fire at Lemnos: A Study in Myth and Ritual,' *CQ* 20 (1970), 1–16.
- Burkert, W. *Greek Religion*, Oxford 1985.
- Buxton, R. G. A. 'Blindness and Limits: Sophokles and the Logic of Myth,' *JHS* 100 (1980), 22–37.
- Buxton, R.G.A. *Persuasion in Greek Tragedy: A Study of Peitho*, Cambridge 1982.
- Buxton, R. G. A. *Imaginary Greece: The Context of Mythology*, Cambridge 1994.

- Byre, C. S. 'The Narrator's Addresses to the Narratee in Apollonius Rhodius' *Argonautica*, *TAPhA* 121 (1991), 215–27.
- Byre, C. S. 'Distant Encounters: the Prometheus and Phaeton Episodes in the *Argonautica* of Apollonius Rhodius,' *AJPh* 117 (1996), 275–83.
- Byre, C. S. 'The Killing of Apsyrtus in Apollonius Rhodius' *Argonautica*, *Phoenix* 50 (1996), 3–16.
- Cairns, D. L. *Aidos: The Psychology and Ethics of Honour and Shame in Ancient Greek Literature*, Oxford 1993.
- Cameron, A. *Callimachus and his Critics*, Princeton 1995.
- Campbell, M. 'Critical Notes on Apollonius Rhodius,' *CQ* 19 (1969), 269–84.
- Campbell, M. 'Further Notes on Alexandrine Poetry,' *CQ* 21 (1971), 402–23.
- Campbell, M. 'Some Methodological Problems in Hellenistic Poetry,' *CQ* 22 (1972), 100–12.
- Campbell, M. 'Notes on Apollonius Rhodius' *Argonautica* II,' *RPh* 47 (1973), 68–90.
- Campbell, M. 'Three Notes on Alexandrine Poetry,' *Hermes* 102 (1974), 38–46.
- Campbell, M. 'ΔΩΔΕΚΑ ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΙΟΥ,' in *Studi in onore di A. Ardigizoni*, Rome 1978, 119–25.
- Campbell, M. *Echoes and Imitations of Early Epic in Apollonius Rhodius*, Leiden 1981.
- Campbell, M. 'Apollonian and Homeric Book-division,' *Mnemosyne* 4.36 (1983), 154–6 (=1983a).
- Campbell, M. *Index Verborum in Apollonium Rhodium*, Hildesheim 1983 (=1983b).
- Campbell, M. *Studies in the Third Book of Apollonius Rhodius' Argonautica*, Hildesheim 1983 (=1983c).
- Campbell, M. 'Theocritus 13,' in Craik, E. M. (ed.) 'Owls to Athens:' *Essays on Classical Subjects Presented to Sir Kenneth Dover*, Oxford 1990, 113–9.
- Campbell, M. (ed.) *Moschus Europa*, Hildesheim 1991.
- Campbell, M. (ed.) *A Commentary on Apollonius Rhodius Argonautica III 1–471*, Leiden 1994.
- Carspecken, J. F. 'Apollonius Rhodius and the Homeric Epic,' *YCS* 13 (1952), 33–143.
- Cartledge, P. *The Greeks: A Portrait of Self and Others*, Oxford 1993.
- Chantraine, P. *Grammaire homérique*, Paris 1958–63.
- Ciani, M. G. 'Ripetizione "formulare" in Apollonio Rodio,' *Bolletino dell' Istituto di Filologia Greca* 2 (1975), 191–208.
- Clausen, W. *Vergil's Aeneid and the Tradition of Hellenistic Poetry*, Berkeley 1987.

- Clauss, J. J. *Allusion and the Narrative Style of Apollonius Rhodius: A Detailed Study of Book I of the Argonautica*, Diss. Berkeley 1983.
- Clauss, J. J. *The Best of the Argonauts*, Berkeley 1993.
- Clauss, J. J. 'Conquest of the Mephistophelian Nausicaa: Medea's Role in Apollonius' Redefinition of the Epic Hero,' in Clauss, J. J and Johnston, S. I. (eds.) *Medea: Essays on Medea in Myth, Literature, Philosophy and Art*, Princeton 1997, 149–77.
- Clay, J. S. *The Wrath of Athena*, Princeton 1983.
- Coffey, M. 'The Function of the Homeric Simile,' *AJP* 78 (1957), 113–32.
- Collins, J. F. *Studies in Book One of the Argonautica of Apollonius Rhodius*, Diss. Columbia 1967.
- Corlu, A. *Recherches sur les mots relatifs à l'idée de prière, d'Homère aux Tragiques*, Paris 1966.
- Couch, H.N. 'A Prelude to Speech in Homer,' *TAPhA* 68 (1937), 129–40.
- Crane, G. *Calypso: Background and Conventions of the Odyssey*, Athenäum Monografien, Bd. 191, Frankfurt 1988.
- Cuypers, M. P. (ed.) *Apollonius Rhodius Argonautica 2.1–130: A Commentary*, Diss. Leiden 1997.
- Cunliffe, R. J. *A Lexicon of the Homeric Dialect*, London 1924.
- DeForest, M. J. Margolies. *Apollonius' Argonautica: A Callimachean Epic*, Diss. Colorado 1981.
- DeForest, M. J. Margolies. *Apollonius' Argonautica: A Callimachean Epic*, Mnem. Suppl. 142, Leiden 1994.
- De Jong, I. J. F. *Narrators and Focalizers: The Presentation of the Story in the Iliad*, Amsterdam 1987.
- De Jong, I. J. F. 'The Subjective Style in Odysseus' Wanderings,' *CQ* 42 (1992), 1–11.
- De Jong, I. J. F. 'Studies in Homeric Denomination,' *Mnemosyne* 4.46 (1993), 286–306.
- De Jong, I. J. F. 'Sunsets and Sunrises in Homer and Apollonius of Rhodes: Book-divisions and Beyond,' *Dialogos* (Hellenistic Studies Review, London) 3 (1996), 20–35.
- Delage, É. *La Géographie dans les Argonautiques d'Apollonios de Rhodes*, Bordeaux 1930.
- Denniston, J. D. *The Greek Particles*, 2nd ed., Oxford 1954.
- De Vries, G. J. 'Phaeacian Manners,' *Mnemosyne* 4 (1977), 113–21.
- Dickey, E. *Greek Forms of Address: From Herodotus to Lucian*, Oxford 1996.
- Dodds, E. R. (ed.) *Euripides: Bacchae*, Oxford 1960.
- Donlan, W. 'Reciprocities in Homer,' *CW* 75 (1982), 137–75.

- Dover, K. 'Some Neglected Aspects of Agamemnon's dilemma,' *JHS* (1973), 58–69.
- Dräger, P. *Argo Pasimelousa: Argonautenmythos in der griechischen und römischen Literatur*, Teil 1, Stuttgart 1993.
- Duckworth, G. E. *Foreshadowing and Suspense in the Epics of Homer, Apollonius and Vergil*, Princeton 1933.
- Dufner, C. M. *The Odyssey in the Argonautica: Reminiscence, Revision, Reconstruction*, Diss. Princeton 1988.
- Dyck, A. R. 'On the Way from Colchis to Corinth: Medea in Book 4 of the *Argonautica*,' *Hermes* 117 (1989), 455–70.
- Edwards, A. T. 'Dramatic Structure in the *Iliad*,' *QUCC* 16 (1984), 61–81.
- Edwards, M. W. 'Type-Scenes and Homeric Hospitality,' *TAPhA* 105 (1975), 51–72.
- Edwards, M.W. 'The Conventions of a Homeric Funeral,' in *Studies in Honour of T. B. L. Webster* I, Betts, J. H., Hooker, J.T., and Green, J. R. (eds.), Bristol 1986, 84–92.
- Edwards, M. W. *Homer: Poet of the Iliad*, Baltimore 1987a.
- Edwards, M.W. 'Topos and Transformation,' in Bremer et al. (eds.) *Homer: Beyond Oral Poetry*, Amsterdam 1987 (=1987b).
- Edwards, M.W. (ed.) *The Iliad: A Commentary, Volume V: Books 17–20*, Cambridge 1991.
- Effe, B. 'Die Hylas-Geschichte bei Theokrit und Apollonios Rhodios: Bemerkungen zur Prioritätsfrage,' *Hermes* 120 (1992), 299–309.
- Effe, B. 'Tradition und Innovation: zur Funktion der Gleichnisse des Apollonios Rhodios,' *Hermes* 124 (1996), 290–312.
- Erbse, H. *Untersuchungen zur Funktion der Götter im homerischen Epos*, Berlin 1986.
- Faerber, H. *Zur dichterischen Kunst in Apollonios Rhodios' Argonautica (Die Gleichnisse)*, Diss. Berlin 1932.
- Falkner, T.M., and de Luce, J. (eds.) *Old Age in Greek and Latin Literature*, Albany & New York 1989.
- Falkner, T.M. *The Poetics of Old Age in Greek Epic, Lyric and Tragedy*, Oklahoma 1995.
- Feeney, D. 'Following after Hercules in Virgil and Apollonius,' *PVS* 18 (1986), 47–85.
- Feeney, D. *The Gods in Epic*, Oxford 1991.
- Fenik, B.C. *Typical Battle Scenes in the Iliad: Studies in the Narrative Techniques of Homeric Battle Description*, Wiesbaden 1968.
- Fenik, B.C. *Studies in the Odyssey*, Wiesbaden 1974.

- Fenik, B.C. (ed.) *Homer: Tradition and Invention*, Leiden 1978.
- Finley, M. I. *The World of Odysseus*, New York 1956.
- Fisher, N. R. E. *Hybris*, London 1992.
- Fitch, E. 'Apollonius Rhodius and Cyzicus,' *AJP* 33 (1912), 43–56.
- Ford, A.L. *Homer: The Poetry of the Past*, 1992.
- Fowler, B. H. *The Hellenistic Aesthetic*, Bristol 1989.
- Fowler, B. H. *Hellenistic Poetry: An Anthology*, Wisconsin 1990.
- Fraser, P. M. *Ptolemaic Alexandria*, vols. 1–3, Oxford 1972.
- Fränkel, H. 'Problems of Text and Interpretation in Apollonius' *Argonautica*,' *AJPh* 71 (1950), 113–33.
- Fränkel, H. 'Apollonius Rhodius as a Narrator in *Argonautica* II 1–140,' *TAPhA* 83 (1952), 144–55.
- Fränkel, H. 'Ein Don Quijote unter den Argonauten des Apollonios,' *MH* 17 (1960), 1–20.
- Fränkel, H. *Noten zu den Argonautika des Apollonios*, Munich 1968.
- Fusillo, M. *Il tempo delle Argonautiche*, Rome 1985.
- Galinsky, G. K. *The Herakles Theme*, Oxford 1972.
- Garson, R. W. 'Homeric Echoes in Apollonius Rhodius' *Argonautica*,' *CPh* 67 (1972), 1–9.
- Garvie, A.F. (ed.) *Homer Odyssey, Books VI–VIII*, Cambridge 1994.
- Gaunt, D. M. 'Argo and the Gods in Apollonius Rhodius' *Argonautica*,' *G&R* 19 (1972), 117–26.
- George, E. V. 'Poet and Characters in Apollonius Rhodius' Lemnian Episode,' *Hermes* 100 (1972), 47–63.
- George, E. V. 'Apollonius' *Argonautica* IV 984–5: Apology for a Shameful Tale,' *RSC* 25 (1977), 360–4.
- Giangrande, G. '"Arte allusiva" and Alexandrian Epic Poetry,' *CQ* 17 (1967), 85–97.
- Giangrande, G. 'Hellenistic Poetry and Homer,' *AC* 39 (1970), 46–77.
- Giangrande, G. 'Zu Sprachgebrauch, Technik und Text des Apollonios Rhodios,' *Classical and Byzantine Monographs* 1, Amsterdam 1973.
- Giangrande, G. 'Aspects of Apollonius Rhodius' Language,' *Arca* 2 (1976), 271–91.
- Gill, C., Postlethwaite, N., and Seaford, R. (eds.) *Reciprocity in Ancient Greece*, Oxford 1998.
- Goldhill, S. *Reading Greek Tragedy*, Cambridge 1986 (=1986a).
- Goldhill, S. 'Framing and Polyphony: Readings in Hellenistic Poetry,' *Proceedings of the Cambridge Philological Society* 32 (1986), 25–52 (=1986b).

- Goldhill, S. *The Poet's Voice: Essays on Poetika and Greek Literature*, Cambridge 1991.
- Goldhill, S. 'The Naive and the Knowing Eye: Ecphrasis and the Culture of Viewing in the Hellenistic World,' in Goldhill, S. & Osborne, R. (eds.), *Art and Text in Ancient Greek Culture*, Cambridge 1994, 197–223.
- Goodwin, W. W. *Syntax of the Moods and Tenses of the Greek Verb*, 2nd ed., London 1889.
- Gould, J. P. 'Hiketeia,' *JHS* 93 (1973), 74–103.
- Gow, A. S. F. and Page, D. L. (eds.) *Theocritus*, vols. 1–2, Cambridge 1950.
- Green, P. (ed.) *The Argonautika by Apollonios Rhodios*, Berkeley, Los Angeles & London 1997.
- Griffin, J. *Homer on Life and Death*, Oxford 1980.
- Gummert, P. H. *Die Erzählstruktur in den Argonautika des Apollonios Rhodios*, Frankfurt 1992.
- Hainsworth, J. B. *The Idea of Epic*, Berkeley & Los Angeles 1991.
- Hainsworth, J. B. (ed.) *The Iliad: A Commentary, Volume III: Books 9–12*, Cambridge 1993.
- Hagopian, D. *Pollux' Faustkampf mit Amykos: Theokrits Darstellung von demselben verglichen mit derjenigen des Apollonius Rhodius*, Vienna 1955.
- Hall, E. *Inventing the Barbarian*, Oxford 1989.
- Hall, E. 'The Sociology of Athenian Tragedy,' in Easterling, P. E. (ed.) *The Cambridge Companion to Greek Tragedy*, Cambridge & New York 1997, 93–126.
- Halverson, J. 'Social Order in the *Odyssey*,' *Hermes* 120 (1985), 129–45.
- Händel, P. *Beobachtungen zur epischen Technik des Apollonios Rhodios*, Munich 1954.
- Hankey, R. 'Evil in the *Odyssey*,' in Craik, E. (ed.) *Owls to Athens: Essays on Classical Subjects for Sir Kenneth Dover*, Oxford 1990, 87–95.
- Harder, M. A. 'Untrodden Paths, Where Do They Lead,' *HSCP* 93 (1990), 287–309.
- Harder, M. A. 'Is er nog epos na Homerus?,' *Lampas* 23 (1990), 406–18.
- Harder, M. A. 'Travel Descriptions in the *Argonautica* of Apollonius Rhodius,' in von Martels, Z. (ed.) *Travel Fact and Travel Fiction*, Leiden 1994, 16–29.
- Harrison, S. J. (ed.) *Oxford Readings in Virgil's Aeneid*, Oxford 1990.
- Harvey, A. E. 'Homeric Epithets and Greek Lyric Poetry,' *CQ* 27 (1957), 206–23.
- Heath, M. *Unity in Greek Poetics*, Oxford 1991.

- Herter, H. 'Bericht über die Literatur zur Hellenistischen Dichtung seit dem Jahre 1921 II: Apollonios von Rhodos,' *Bursian Jahresbericht* 285 (1944–55), 213–410.
- Heubeck, A., West, S., and Hainsworth, J. B. (eds.) *A Commentary on Homer's Odyssey*, vol. 1, Oxford 1988.
- Heubeck, A., Hoekstra, A. (eds.) *A Commentary on Homer's Odyssey*, vol. 2, Oxford 1989.
- Hollis, A. S. (ed.) *Callimachus: Hecale*, Oxford 1990.
- Holoka, J. P. "'Looking Darkly" (ΥΠΙΟΔΡΑ ΙΔΩΝ): Reflections on Status and Decorum in Homer,' *TAPhA* 113 (1983), 1–16.
- Hooker, J. T. 'Gifts in Homer,' *BICS* 36 (1989), 79–90.
- Hopkinson, N. (ed.) *Callimachus: Hymn to Demeter*, Cambridge 1984.
- Hopkinson, N. (ed.) *A Hellenistic Anthology*, Cambridge 1988.
- Hübscher, A. *Die Charakteristik der Personen im Apollonios' Argonautika*, Diss. Freiburg 1940.
- Hunter, R. L. 'Apollo and the Argonauts: Two Notes on A.R. II. 669–719,' *MH* 43 (1986), 50–60.
- Hunter, R. L. 'Medea's Flight: the Fourth Book of the *Argonautica*,' *CQ* 37 (1987), 129–39.
- Hunter, R. L. "'Short on Heroics:" Jason in the *Argonautica*,' *CQ* 38 (1988), 436–53.
- Hunter, R. L. 'Bulls and Boxers in Apollonius and Vergil,' *CQ* 39 (1989), 557–61 (=1989a).
- Hunter, R. L. (ed.) *Apollonius of Rhodes: Argonautica Book 3*, Cambridge 1989 (=1989b).
- Hunter, R. L. 'Greek and Non-Greek in the *Argonautica* of Apollonius,' in *Ἑλληνισμός: quelques jalons pour une histoire de l'identité grecque*, Said, S. (ed.), Leiden 1991, 81–99.
- Hunter, R. L. *The Argonautica of Apollonius: Literary Studies*, Cambridge 1993 (=1993a).
- Hunter, R. L. (tr., intr. & ann.) *Apollonius of Rhodes, Jason and the Golden Fleece (The Argonautica)*, Oxford 1993 (=1993b).
- Hunter, R. L. *Theocritus and the Archeology of Greek Poetry*, Cambridge 1996.
- Hurst, A. 'Le Retour nocturne des Argonautes,' *MH* 21 (1964), 232–7.
- Hurst, A. *Apollonios de Rhodes, manière et cohérence: contribution à l'étude de l'esthétique alexandrine*, Rome 1967.
- Hutchinson, G. O. *Hellenistic Poetry*, Oxford 1988.
- Ibscher, R. *Gestalt der Szene und Form der Rede in den Argonautika des Apollonios Rhodios*, Diss. Berlin 1939.

- Jackson, S. 'Apollonius' Jason: Human Being in an Epic Scenario,' *G&R* 39 (1992), 155–62.
- Jackson, S. *Creative Selectivity in Apollonius' Argonautica*, Amsterdam 1993.
- Jacoby, F. (ed.) *Die Fragmente der griechischen Historiker*, Berlin 1923–.
- Janko, R. (ed.) *The Iliad: A Commentary, Volume IV: Books 13–16*, Cambridge 1992.
- Jebb, R.C. (ed.) *The Antigone of Sophocles*, Cambridge 1902.
- Kaiser, E. 'Odyssee-Szenen als Topoi,' *MH* 21 (1964), 109–36 and 197–224.
- Kakridis, H. J. *La Notion de l'amitié et de l'hospitalité chez Homère*, Thessaloniki 1963.
- Kamerbeek, J.C. (ed.) *The Plays of Sophocles. Commentaries IV: The Oedipus Tyrannus*, Leiden 1967.
- Kirk, G. S. (ed.) *The Iliad: A Commentary, Volume II: Books 5–8*, Cambridge 1990.
- Klein, L. 'Die Göttertechnik in den *Argonautika* des Apollonios Rhodios,' *Phil.* 86 (1930), 18–51; 215–57.
- Knauer, G. N. *Die Aeneis und Homer*, Göttingen 1964.
- Knight, V. H. *The Renewal of Epic: Responses to Homer in the Argonautica of Apollonius*, Leiden 1995.
- Knox, M. O. 'Huts and Farmbuildings in Homer,' *CQ* 21 (1971), 27–31.
- Kofler, W. 'Bienen, Männer und Lemnos: Beobachtungen zu einem epischen Gleichnis bei Apollonios Rhodios (Arg. 1.878–85),' *Hermes* 120 (1992), 310–9.
- Kofler, W. 'Nachtrag zu Apollonios Rhodios 1.878–85,' *Hermes* 122 (1994), 120–2.
- Köhnken, A. *Apollonios Rhodios und Theokrit*, Göttingen 1965.
- Krevans, N. 'Geography and the Literary Tradition,' *TAPhA* 113 (1983), 201–20.
- Krischer, T. 'Phäaken und Odyssee,' *Hermes* 113 (1985), 9–21.
- Kyriakou, P. *Homeric Hapax Legomena in the Argonautica of Apollonius Rhodius: A Literary Study*, Palingenesia 54, Stuttgart 1995 (=1995a).
- Kyriakou, P. 'Katabasis and the Underworld in the *Argonautica* of Apollonius Rhodius,' *Phil.* 139 (1995), 256–64 (=1995b).
- Lateiner, D. 'Heroic Proxemics: Social Space and Distance in the *Odyssey*,' *TAPhA* 122 (1992), 133–63.
- Lateiner, D. *Sardonic Smile: Nonverbal Behavior in Homeric Epic*, Ann Arbor, Michigan 1995.
- Lawall, G. 'Apollonius' *Argonautica*: Jason as Anti-hero,' *YCS* 19 (1966), 119–69.

- Lenk, 'Der Faustkampf zwischen Polydeuces und Amykos in den *Argonautika*,' *WZ Halle* 33.6 (1984), 22–32.
- Lennox, P. G. 'Apollonius, *Argonautica* 3.1ff. and Homer,' *Hermes* 108 (1980), 45–73.
- Levin, D. N. *Apollonius' Argonautica Re-examined I: The Neglected First and Second Books*, Leiden 1971.
- Livrea, E. (ed.) *Apollonii Rhodii Argonauticon liber quartus*, Florence 1973.
- Livrea, E. 'L'Épos philologique: Apollonios de Rhodes et quelques homérismes méconnus,' *AC* 49 (1980), 146–60.
- Lonsdale, S. H. *Creatures of Speech: Lion Herding and Hunting Similes in the Iliad*, Stuttgart 1990.
- Loraux, N., trans. Forster, A. *Tragic Ways of Killing a Woman*, Cambridge Mass. 1987.
- Lyne, R. O. A. M., *Further Voices in Vergil's Aeneid*, Oxford 1987.
- Lyne, R. O. A. M. *Words and the Poet: Characteristic Techniques of Style in Vergil's Aeneid*, Oxford 1989.
- Macleod, C. W. (ed.) *Homer: Iliad Book XXIV*, Cambridge 1982.
- Mawet, F. 'Évolution d'une structure sémantique: le vocabulaire de la douleur Apollonius de Rhodes et Homère,' *AC* 50 (1981), 499–516.
- Mondi, R. 'The Homeric Cyclopes: Folktale, Tradition, and Theme,' *TAPhA* 113 (1983), 17–38.
- Morris, I. and Powell, B. (eds.) *A New Companion to Homer*, Leiden 1997.
- Moulton, C. *Similes in the Homeric Poems*, Göttingen 1977.
- Mügler, Ch. 'Sur quelques particularités de la diction épique chez Homère et chez Apollonius de Rhodes,' *REG* 54 (1941), 1–18.
- Nagy, G. *Greek Mythology and Poetics*, Ithaca & New York 1990.
- Natzel, S. A. *Κλέα γυναικῶν: Frauen in den Argonautika des Apollonios Rhodios*, Trier 1992.
- Nelis, D. P. 'Two Notes on the *Argonautica* of Apollonius Rhodius,' *REA* 92 (1990), 141–43.
- Nelis, D. P. 'Iphias: Apollonius Rhodius, *Argonautica* 1.311–16,' *CQ* 41 (1991), 96–105.
- Nelis, D.P. 'Demodocus and the Song of Orpheus: Ap. Rhod. Arg. 1.496–511,' *MH* 49 (1992), 153–70.
- Newman, J.K. *The Classical Epic Tradition*, Maddison 1986.
- Nyberg, L. *Unity and Coherence: Studies in Apollonius Rhodius' Argonautica and the Alexandrian Epic Tradition*, Lund 1992.
- Parker, R. *Miasma: Pollution and Purification in Early Greek Religion*, Oxford 1983.

- Parry, H. *Thelxis: Magic and Imagination in Greek Myth and Poetry*, Lanham, New York & London 1992.
- Pavlock, B. *Eros, Imitation and the Epic Tradition*, Ithaca & London 1990.
- Pearson, A. C (ed.) *The Fragments of Sophocles*, vols. 1–3, Cambridge 1911–7.
- Pedrick, V. 'Supplication in the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*,' *TAPhA* 112 (1982), 125–40.
- Pelling, C. (ed.) *Characterization and Individuality in Greek Literature*, Oxford 1990.
- Pfeiffer, R. (ed.) *Callimachus*, vols. 1–2, Oxford 1949.
- Pike, D. L. 'Jason's Departure: Apollonius Rhodius and Heroism,' *AClass* 36 (1993), 27–38.
- Pratt, L. H. *Lying and Poetry from Homer to Pindar: Falsehood and Deception in Archaic Greek Poetics*, Michigan 1993.
- Redfield, J. M. *Nature and Culture in the Iliad: The Tragedy of Hector*, Chicago 1975.
- Redfield, J.M. *Nature and Culture in the Iliad: The Tragedy of Hector*, expanded version, Chicago 1994.
- Reece, S. *The Stranger's Welcome: Oral Theory and the Aesthetics of the Homeric Hospitality Scene*, Michigan 1993.
- Rengakos, A. *Apollonius und die antike Homererklärung*, *Zetemata* Heft 92, München 1994.
- Richardson, N. J. (ed.) *The Homeric Hymn to Demeter*, Oxford 1974.
- Richardson, N. J. (ed.) *The Iliad: A Commentary, Volume VI: Books 21–24*, Cambridge 1993.
- Riggsby, A. M. 'Homeric Speech Introductions and the Theory of Homeric Composition,' *TAPhA* 122 (1992), 99–114.
- Rissman, L. *Love as War: Homeric Allusion in the Poetry of Sappho*, Hain 1983.
- Romm, J. S. *The Edges of the Earth in Ancient Thought*, Princeton 1992.
- Rose, A. R. 'Three Narrative Themes in Apollonios' Bebrykian Episode (*Argonautika* 2, 1–163),' *WS* 18 (1984), 115–35.
- Rose, A. R. 'Clothing Imagery in Apollonios' *Argonautika*,' *QUCC* 19 (1985), 29–44.
- Rose, G. P. 'The Unfriendly Phaeacians,' *TAPhA* 100 (1969), 387–406.
- Rose, P. W. 'Class Ambivalence in the *Odyssey*,' *Historia* 24 (1975), 129–49.
- Russell, D. A. 'De imitatione,' in West, D. and Woodman, T. (eds.) *Creative Imitation and Latin Literature*, Cambridge 1979, 1–16.
- Russo, J., Fernandez-Galiano, M. and Heubeck, A. (eds.) *A Commentary on Homer's Odyssey*, Vol. 3, Oxford 1992.

- Rutherford, R. B. 'At Home and Abroad: Aspects of the Structure of the *Odyssey*,' *Proceedings of the Cambridge Philological Society* 31 (1985), 133–50.
- Schreckenbergh, H. *Ananke* ('*Untersuchungen zur Geschichte des Wortgebrauchs*'), *Zetemata* 36 (1964), Munich.
- Scott, M. 'Philos, Philotes and Xenia,' *AC* 25 (1982), 1–19.
- Seaford, R. *Reciprocity and Ritual: Homer and Tragedy in the Developing City-State*, Oxford 1994.
- Seaton, R. C. 'On the Imitation of Homer by Apollonius Rhodius,' *JPh* 19 (1891), 1–13.
- Segal, C. 'Eros and Incantation: Sappho and Oral Poetry,' *Arethusa* 7 (1974), 139–60 (=1974a).
- Segal, C. 'Death by Water: A Narrative Pattern in Theocritus (Idylls 1, 13, 22, 23),' *Hermes* 102 (1974), 20–38 (=1974b).
- Segal, C. *Orpheus: The Myth of the Poet*, Baltimore 1989.
- Sens, A. 'Theocritus, Homer, and the Dioscuri: *Idyll* 22.137–223,' *TAPhA* 122 (1992), 335–50.
- Sens, A. (ed.) *Theocritus: Dioscuri (Idyll 22)*, *Hypomnemata* 114, Göttingen 1997.
- Shapiro, H. A. 'Jason's Cloak,' *TAPhA* 110 (1980), 263–86.
- Sowa, C. A. *Traditional Themes and the Homeric Hymns*, Chicago 1984.
- Stephens, V. G. 'Like a Wolf on the Fold: Animal Imagery in Vergil,' *ICS* 15 (1990), 107–30.
- Stoessl, F. *Apollonios Rhodios*, Bern 1941.
- Taaffe, L. K. 'There Is No Place Like Home: ὁσπᾶσιος and Related Words in the *Odyssey*,' *CJ* 86 (1990), 131–8.
- Taplin, O. *Homeric Soundings*, Oxford 1992.
- Thalmann, W. G. *Conventions of Form and Thought in Early Greek Epic*, Baltimore 1984.
- Thalmann, W. G. 'Thersites: Comedy, Scapegoats, and Heroic Ideology in the *Iliad*,' *TAPhA* 118 (1988), 1–28.
- Theodorakopoulos, E-M, 'What's Love Got to Do with It? Epic and Romance and the Problem of Closure in Apollonius' *Argonautica*,' in Harder, M. A. (ed.) *Hellenistica Groningana III*, Groningen (forthcoming).
- Thiel, K. *Erzählung und Beschreibung in den Argonautika des Apollonios Rhodios*, Stuttgart 1993.
- Thierstein, P. *Bau der Szenen in den Argonautika des Apollonios Rhodios*, Bern & Frankfurt 1971.
- Thornton, A. *People and Themes in Homer's Odyssey*, London 1970.

- Thornton, A. *Homer's Iliad: Its Composition and the Motif of Supplication*, Göttingen 1984.
- Toohy, P. *Reading Greek Epic: An Introduction to the Ancient Narratives*, London & New York 1992.
- Tracy, S.V. *The Story of the Odyssey*, Princeton 1990.
- Tsagarakis, O. *Form and Content in Homer*, Wiesbaden 1982.
- Van Nortwick, T. 'Penelope and Nausicaa,' *TAPhA* 109 (1979), 269–76.
- Van Nortwick, T. *Somewhere I Have Never Travelled: The Second Self and the Hero's Journey in Ancient Epic*, New York & Oxford 1992.
- Van Wees, H. *Status Warriors: War, Violence, and Society in Homer and History*, Amsterdam 1992.
- Vermeule, E. *Aspects of Death in Early Greek Art and Poetry*, Berkeley 1979.
- Vian, F. 'Les Γηγέμεναι de Cyzique et la grande mère des dieux,' *REA* 37 (1951), 14–25.
- Vian, F. 'Apollonios de Rhodes et le renouveau de la poésie épique,' *Il.* 15 (1963), 25–30.
- Vian, F. 'Notes critiques au chant I des *Argonautiques* d'Apollonios de Rhodes,' *REA* 72 (1970), 80–96.
- Vian, F. 'Notes critiques au chant II des *Argonautiques* d'Apollonios de Rhodes,' *REA* 75 (1973), 82–102.
- Vian, F. 'Review of Levin, D.M. Apollonius' *Argonautica* Re-examined: The Neglected First and Second books,' *Gnomon* 46 (1974), 346–53.
- Vian, F. 'L'Isthme de Cyzique d'après Apollonios de Rhodes (1.936–41),' *REG* 91 (1978), 96–106.
- Visser, M. *The Rituals of Dinner: The Origins, Evolutions, Eccentricities, and Meaning of Table Manners*, Toronto 1991.
- Walsh, G. *Varieties of Enchantment: Early Greek Views of the Function and Nature of Poetry*, Chapel Hill 1984.
- Wankel, H. '"Alle Menschen müssen sterben:" Variationen eines Topos der griechischen Literatur,' *Hermes* 111 (1983), 129–54.
- Webber, A. 'The Hero Tells his Name: Formula and Variation in the Phaeacian Episode of the *Odyssey*,' *TAPhA* 119 (1989), 1–13.
- Webster, T. B. L. *Hellenistic poetry and Art*, London 1964.
- Wendel, C. (ed.) *Scholia in Apollonium Rhodium Vetera*, Berlin 1935.
- West, D. 'Multiple-correspondence Similes in the *Aeneid*,' *JRS* 59 (1969), 40–9.
- West, M. L. (ed.) *Hesiod: Theogony*, Oxford 1966.
- West, M. L. (ed.) *Hesiod: Work and Days*, Oxford 1978.
- West, M.L., Merkelbach, R. (eds.) *Hesiodi Theogonia, Opera et Dies, Scutum*, Oxford 1990³.

- Willcock, M. M. 'Battle scenes in the *Aeneid*,' *Proceedings of the Cambridge Philological Society* 29 (1983), 87–99.
- Williams, F. 'Odysseus' Homecoming as a Parody of Homeric Formal Welcome,' *CW* 79.6 (1986), 395–7.
- Williams, M. F. *Landscape in the Argonautica of Apollonius Rhodius*, Diss. Austin, Texas 1989.
- Williams, M. F. *Landscape in the Argonautica of Apollonius Rhodius*, Frankfurt 1991.
- Williams, M. F. 'The Character of Aeetes in the *Argonautica* of Apollonius Rhodius,' *Hermes* 124 (1996), 463–79.
- Zanker, G. 'The Love Theme in Apollonius Rhodius' *Argonautica*,' *WS* 13 (1979), 52–75.
- Zanker, G. *Realism in Alexandrian Poetry*, London 1987.
- Zanker, G. 'Kallopizein pithekon? Elevating the Low in Hellenistic Epic,' in Harder, M.A. (ed.) *Hellenistica Groningana III*, Groningen (forthcoming).
- Ziegler, K. *Das hellenistische Epos*, Leipzig 1966.