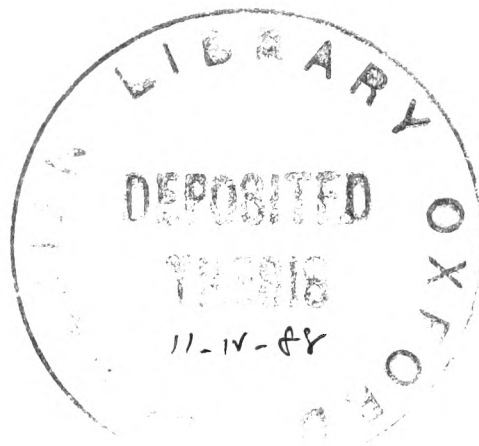


A Commentary on
Valerius Flaccus' Argonautica II

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Abstract

A Commentary on Valerius Flaccus' Argonautica II by Alison Harper Smith, St Hilda's College, Oxford. Submitted for the degree of D.Phil. in the Faculty of Literae Humaniores, Trinity Term 1987.

The text used throughout is that of W. W. Ehlers (Stuttgart 1980) and a separate version is not established, though I have occasionally disagreed with Ehlers' choice of reading.

The commentary deals with questions of interest as they arise, both textual and syntactical, literary and mythological. It seeks to show that Valerius was no unskilled versifier, and that problems of interpretation may be due to misunderstanding as much as to poor workmanship on the part of the poet. The introduction to each episode includes a detailed discussion of the mythological tradition, which reveals the limited extent of innovation by Valerius.

The preliminary section on Valerius' literary qualities seeks to analyse questions of language and style that have emerged from the investigation in the commentary, concentrating in particular on the close relationship with Virgil's Aeneid. It concludes that Valerius was mistaken to concentrate on the long mythological epic as his talents clearly lay in the field of short descriptive poetry. The section on Valerius' use of his sources rejects the claim that he makes allusive use of Virgil, and briefly examines his debt to Apollonius, and the chronological relationship with Statius' Thebaid.

The section on the manuscript tradition provides brief reasons for the acceptance of Ehlers' stemma (rather than Courtney's), differing only in acknowledging the existence of a separate French tradition and in placing greater weight on the authority of Carrio's old manuscript. The section concludes with a rapid survey of Valerius' influence on Medieval literature.

An excursus is appended that traces the close relationship between the pictorial and literary versions of the Hesione story from the earliest examples until the time of Valerius and beyond.

Throughout the research and writing of this thesis I have incurred more debts than I can hope to repay. First and foremost I would like to thank my supervisors: Professor R.G.M. Nisbet for his continual guidance, encouragement and criticism throughout the past five years; Mr. A.S. Hollis for extending my acquaintance with the Hellenistic poets; Mr. L.D. Reynolds for initiating me into the mysteries of insular script. Ms. L. Littlehailes has converted my manuscript into readable form with great care and efficiency. The Reid Trust for the Higher Education of Women and St. Hilda's College have given generously towards the cost of producing this thesis in its final form. Above all I wish to thank my parents to whom this volume is dedicated. They have contributed far more than they can realise.

The faults of the work are mine alone.

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Introduction

Valerius' qualities as a poet have always been much underrated, though Quintilian (10.1.90 'multum in Valerio Flacco nuper amisimus') speaks of his death as a loss, and Statius in particular was greatly influenced by him. He deserves a better fate, for though the Argonautica as a whole is best described as mediocre, there are some attractive passages that reveal a poet who could be both skilled and sensitive.

Little is known about Valerius himself. 1.5ff. imply that he was a quindecimvir (cf. R. Syme Tacitus (Oxford 1958) App. 22), and this position perhaps accounts for the excessive interest shown in foreign cults like those of Bacchus, Cybele and Priapus in Book 2, for the duties of a quindecimvir included the superintending of such cults (Syme op. cit. p.65). He was therefore of senatorial family, but is not the same as Martial's Flaccus (Howell on 1.57.1), though the two have much in common, especially their association with L. Arruntius Stella. Valerius then is known only through his poem, which by convention reveals almost nothing about its author. He seems to have been neither a youthful Lucan nor a long-lived Silius. The probably lengthy period of composition (p.xvii) indicates that poetry was not the main interest of his life, and suggests that he was middle-aged when he died.

The Argonautica has been the subject of many studies during the last century, but virtually none has achieved the depth possible in a commentary. Recent studies of Valerius that concentrate exclusively on one aspect of style or on 'adversaria' alone, reveal the need for a stylistic treatment that is combined with a closer consideration of the text, for only by such a combination can Valerius' poem be fully appreciated. Similarly lists of verbal parallels in the works of Virgil and other authors are of minimal use unless an attempt is made to interpret them and to seek the reason for their inclusion. This commentary is intended to remedy these defects by combining stylistic, linguistic and textual matters with problems of interpretation, with the text always as the starting point.

I have not produced my own text; the lemmata are from the recent Teubner edition of W.W Ehlers (Stuttgart 1980). Where the conclusion reached in the commentary seems to require the adoption of a different

reading this is indicated. Ehlers' stemma has also been adopted in view of conclusive evidence for the authority of L, though greater emphasis is placed upon the value of Carrio's old manuscript C as representative of a separate French tradition. Such limited knowledge as was available to the west before the discovery of the main tradition in the early fifteenth century is entirely due to the existence of this French tradition. The sigla for all manuscripts and early editions are those of Ehlers' edition (praef. pp.viff.).

It will become clear from the commentary that the relationship of Valerius to his predecessors, Apollonius of Rhodes and Virgil in particular, is the subject of close examination and for this reason they are the authors most frequently quoted. My policy towards the quotation of other authors has been to give the earliest instance, where this is relevant, and then those of the greatest relevance or significance in the context. I have concentrated less on Valerius' (limited) influence on later classical literature unless this seemed particularly important, except in the case of Statius, where priority is not always easy to assign.

The episode dealing with the Lemnian women and the murder of their husbands raises important anthropological issues. Presumably some prehistoric ritual lies behind the legend. I have not pursued this matter, however, as I can claim no competence in this field and could only repeat the speculations of others (cf. Burkert). In any case a Silver Age poet is not the best starting-place for such an investigation, for he is too remote from the society he describes, and the myth has become little more than a melodramatic story.

The sections dealing with Valerius' influence on the Middle Ages, and the Hesione story in Art and Literature, are products of purely personal interest, and I am far from being a specialist in either the field of Medieval literature or that of Classical art. They must be accepted as rough sketches and not as definitive studies.

I have generally used the standard abbreviations of Classical authors and texts found in Liddell and Scott (Jones), Lewis and Short, and the Oxford Latin Dictionary, and those of modern periodicals for the most part according to *l'Année Philologique*. Other abbreviations are listed in the bibliography.

Valerius Flaccus' literary qualities

'Impress on your class that many Greeks and most Romans were frightfully stupid, and if they disbelieve you, read ... Valerius Flaccus with them'.

E.M. Forster, The Longest Journey (1907).

1. Theme, Structure and Narrative Technique

Valerius Flaccus' choice of theme was determined by his desire to tell a tale of adventure, of strange, exotic places and peoples, a 'romantic' story in the original sense of the word. He chose a mythological subject that enabled him to avoid all reference to contemporary politics, but one that could also be interpreted as a compliment to the late Emperor, with its emphasis on the opening up of new seas that Vespasian claimed as one of his achievements (cf. 1.4ff.). The disadvantage of such a theme in the first century A.D. was its remoteness from real life. The Argonautic story is among the hackneyed themes of which contemporary poets complained (Juv. Sat. 1.1ff.; Pers. 5.1). Valerius however was not alone in attempting such themes; in their different ways Lucan, Statius and Silius too tried to emulate the epic masterpiece of Virgil, itself an anachronistic achievement. Valerius in particular lacked the ability to make his mythological theme relevant, and his poem lacks the appeal of the Aeneid, or even the Thebaid.

The structure of Valerius' poem is loose. Its framework is provided by the theme of the periplus, visibly shorter than the equivalent passages in Apollonius, which forms the thread that links together the incidents on the voyage. Such episodic writing was a feature of Silver Age poetry, generally attributed to the custom of producing short pieces for recitation, though much deplored by Aristotle (Poet. 1451 a 8). (See G. Williams Change and Decline (California 1978) pp.246ff.). The lack of abrupt book divisions aids the flow of the narrative, but means that there is little internal unity in each book. Individual scenes are, with some exceptions, based on Apollonius' version, but there is evidence of some patterning and foreshadowing within them that is wholly absent from their source, by which Valerius attempts to create a more unified whole.

Hypsipyle forms an antithesis to Medea (Ov. H. 6.135-7 drew the same contrast). Her 'pietas' towards her father prompts her to save him from death by contriving his escape in a boat. He is replaced in her affections by Jason (404), and she does not stand in the way of his departure. Medea, however, allows Jason to replace her father in her affections (though cf. 8.12f.) to the latter's detriment, and betrays him. She is the reverse of 'dutiful' towards him. Furthermore she proves a hindrance to Jason on his voyage home. Thus the Lemnos episode anticipates events at Colchis. It also contrasts with the visit to Cyzicus. The Argonauts' stay restores to normality the perverted society of Lemnos, but it destroys the peaceful society of Cyzicus. Jason's association with Hypsipyle brings new life; his friendship with Cyzicus ends in death. Other instances could be cited. There is, however, no evidence for formal patterning of the complexity of Virgil's Aeneid or Statius' Thebaid, and the Argonautica is structurally closer to Ovid's Metamorphoses, a series of episodes linked by their theme.

Within the loose episodic structure of the Argonautica, there are many examples of the elliptical narrative technique that finds its counterpart in Valerius' compressed style of writing, as he hurries over, or omits, details of the story that are outside his main concern. This is particularly true of details of the periplus, but can also be seen within the main episodes. For instance he is more interested in describing what happens to the Lemnian men after their return to Lemnos than in providing an account of the return which is implied in 'viris venientibus' (189). Jason's meeting with Hypsipyle, and the revival of the worship of Venus, is treated at greater length than the Argonauts' arrival (326ff.); compare Apollonius' extensive account at 1.774ff. The liaison between Hypsipyle and Jason is implied by the Virgilian parallel, but referred to only elliptically (354-6; 404; 424). The shepherds (539), who are said to leave the safety of their hiding places after the sea-monster is killed by Hercules, have not previously been mentioned. The manner is Virgilian (cf. VA. 6.410-416; how does the Sibyl enter the boat? cf. K. Quinn Virgil's Aeneid: a critical description (RKP 1968) pp.81-2), but whereas Virgil employs this technique in a subtle way, in order to concentrate on a series of visual images, Valerius' use of it is less integrated and sometimes misleading (Schenkl posited a lacuna after 328).

Many other aspects of Valerius' narrative style have a Virgilian precedent. The suggestion of simultaneous action (n.82-430, v) is a Virgilian device. There are a few instances of the subjective style (Brooks Otis: Virgil, a study in civilised poetry (OUP 1961) ch. 3), by which things are seen through the eyes of a character, as Dido is first seen through Aeneas' eyes. To the Lemnian men, the vengeful women seem like Furies (227f.), perhaps an indication of the men's guilt. At 43ff. the fears of a night traveller are vividly brought to life. The image of the victorious bull (543ff.) is perhaps in Hercules' mind, as that of the trembling dove flying for safety into a man's hand (8.32ff.) is present in the imagination of the terrified Medea, as she seeks refuge with Jason.

2. Language - choice and arrangement

Virgilian influence on the language of the Argonautica is extensive. Valerius has adopted from him the common store of epic formulae and diction (e.g. 'haec ubi dicta' (dedit) 69, 384; 'vade age' 127), complete with archaisms ('ollis' 5.126; 'faxo' 5.654; 'ilicet' 2.186 cf. Fordyce A. 7.583); neotericisms (474; the Greek spellings 'Pelian' 4 etc.) and Homericisms ('nutritum missile ventis' 6.340 from ἀνεμοστρεφὲς ἔγχοις Il. 11. 256), although he uses such language sparingly. Even in Virgil's time such language was far removed from everyday speech. Valerius uses Virgilian favourites extensively; 'remurmurat' (453); 'sedet' (383); 'forsan' (151); 'regificus' (652); 'soporiferus' (295); 'ingens' (70 times); the Virgilian compounds 'congemino' (535, 5 times); 'ingemino', a Virgilian coinage (169, 3 times); 'adglomerio' (171, 197, 499, 3.87); 'superaddo' (1.129), and other super- compounds formed by analogy; 'superincendo' (126); 'superemineo' (1.317; 5.367); 'superfugio' (3.554); 'vulnus' for 'hasta' (3.197) cf. VA. 2.529; Virgil's sailing terminology (13, 71, 77, 579, 627f.). Virgil is the source for most (non-Argonautic) proper names (n.136), and Valerius follows his practice with metonymy (n.69), the postponement of connectives (n.23, 150), synchysis (n.437), in avoiding 'vinum' (n.610) and so on. Apart from these Virgilian borrowings, however, Valerius' vocabulary is relatively unimaginative, and he can be said to have developed few distinctive expressions of his own. A few ἀπαξ λεγόμενα, and words first attested in Valerius (e.g. 'honoro' 199) are listed by Summers pp.42ff.

In his choice and positioning of words, Valerius is far from reaching the heights achieved by Virgil, and his poem contains much unnecessary and graceless repetition. Like Virgil (Austin *A.* 2.505) he does not hesitate to repeat a word in a different sense within a few lines (e.g. 'pater' 250, 256; 'metus' 16, 21; 'arma' 545, 547, 554; 'preces' 326, 336) but he shows less restraint in doing so. Much inelegant repetition is found particularly in the context of the speeches, both Hesione's, where the repetition of 'sortes', 'sortita' and 'sorte' (482-6) is graceless, and also Hypsipyle's (especially 249ff; 403ff.). Here, a case could be made for seeing the repetition of certain words as deliberate and effective. Words like 'fuge', 'pater', 'tacitus' and 'miserere' (249ff.) are of central importance to her speech, and their repetition, combined with a terseness of style (cf. n.249-253) helps to convey the urgency of her message. The repetition of 'pias' 249, 'piorum' 256, 'piis' 264, effectively emphasizes Hypsipyle's sense of duty. Much of the effect, however, is lost in a context where so many words are repeated.

Outside the speeches there are many instances of graceless repetition: 'urbem' (163, 165); 'certa', 'certi' (455, 457); 'ruentum' (504, 532), and six instances of different cases of 'scopulus' (472-542) with 'scopulosa' (518). Had Valerius shown more restraint, this last instance could have been effective, with its comparison between the creature's rocky back and the sea-shore.

Occasionally Valerius repeats words effectively. The use of 'vox', 'vocis iter' and 'vocabat' (451f.) stresses that Hesione's voice was heard for some time before anyone could be seen. At 28-32 in 'mole', 'molem', Typhoeus is seen to resemble the rock that confines him. At 544f. 'superbis', 'superabat', Hercules' arrogance is revealed in his gait. Generally, however, Valerius fails to make full use of the possibilities offered him by a thoughtful use and repetition of vocabulary. Although a certain insensitivity to repetition was characteristic of all ancient authors (Austin on *A.* 2.505; NH H. *C.* 1.29.16; Housman *Lucan* p.xxxiii), Valerius shows an exceptional disregard for variety.

In the arranging of words, Valerius follows patterns familiar from Virgil. There are 10 examples in book 2 of the leonine line, where an adjective placed before the caesura modifies a noun at the end of the line, originally a neoteric pattern: 'ausus et inducto cratem defendere

tergo' (109); also 139, 140, 200, 295, 350, 515, 516, 517, 615. (See C. Conrad Traditional patterns of word order in Latin epic from Ennius to Virgil in HSCP 69 (1965) pp.212-3). The framing of whole lines by two verbs ('abscidit ... relinquit' 161, also 162, 169, 170, 175, 446), or by an adjective and its noun ('terrigenum ... Gigantum' 18, also 24, 93 123, 269, 474) were also originally neoteric (there are 23 examples of the latter in Catullus 64). Valerius makes little use of the favourite neoteric patterning of nouns and adjectives (abAB) cf. 272f. 'acri ... validas stridore fores', also 42, 499f, 599f, 652f. and 593f. 'fatis ... simillima nostris fata' where the rearrangement (AbaB) emphasizes 'fatis ... fata' which frame the line. He prefers (abBA), as at 32 'iniectam fesso dum pectore molem' also 3, 6, 173, 364, 433, 480f., 515, and 545-6 'ovanti litora tuta gradu', where again noun and adjective are reversed (aBbA). A true 'Silver' line (abVBA) (for the term cf. L.P. Wilkinson Golden Latin Artistry (CUP 1963) pp.215ff.) occurs only at 93 (based on VA. 12.386) and 645, but cf. 644 'nam licet hinc saevas tellus alat horrida gentes'. The 'Golden' line (abVAB) appears at 248 and 56, and similar arrangements at 35-6 'evectae pronolaxantur habenae || aethere', and 430 'spumea subsequitur fugientis semita clavi'. Finally, the arrangement of successive lines with enjambement, 'longa recessit || Sepias' (8-9) and 'superbis || arma umeris' (544-5) (63 examples in book 2) follow patterns familiar from Virgil (e.g. A. 8.95-6 'variisque teguntur || arboribus' and 8.668-9 'et te, Catilina, minaci || pendentem scopulo', cf. Conrad pp.249ff.). Such patterning serves to draw attention to particular phrases or to emphasize a word ('superbis' at 544 above). See further T.E.V. Pearce Enclosing word order in the Latin hexameter in CQ ns. 16 (1966) 140ff; E. Norden Aeneis 6 Abhang 3, pp.391-8.) For other, less regular, examples of word-patterning in Valerius, cf. notes on 393f.; 532ff.; 153.

3. Architectonics

The periodic structure of Valerius' hexameter is slightly looser than that of Virgil; end-stopped lines appear infrequently and enjambement is common (21 instances in the first 33 lines). The rambling effect thereby created is not disguised by the paratactic style, in which few relative clauses are found, and sentences often linked by 'and'. The four sentences linked by '-que', and the repetition of the accusative participle, at 25-30, make the lines

monotonous and dull. The same dullness is found in metrical matters (for details of which see Kösters), as a potentially interesting effect is often marred by its use in several consecutive lines (cf. n.646; 601). Metrical rarities have parallels in Virgil: the pause after the spondaic 'audet' (283), the absence of a third foot caesura (391), the elision of 'intremere Ide' (519), 'rati' (374), and the two conjectures 'iam avertere' (571) and 'belua in' (535). The frequency of elision, on average 28 instances in 100 lines (Garson (1968) p.379), is closest to Virgil's Eclogues (29); compare the Aeneid (54), and Ovid Met. (20) (J. Soubiran l'élision dans la poésie latine (1966) pp.598ff).

4. Style

Valerius' literary style is hard to characterize as it has few distinctive qualities of its own. Virgil's style proved too complicated to imitate consistently, and Valerius developed no strong style of his own with which to replace it. In a society in which literary success lay not in the originality of what was said, but in the individuality of the way in which it was said, Valerius was at a serious disadvantage. A discussion of his style is best approached by isolating some of its distinguishing features, in the hope that a clearer picture can be obtained.

Valerius can be obscure through brevity (Hor. AP. 25f), with an obscurity often aggravated by carelessness or confusion (178f.; 368f.). He does not, however, achieve the intentional obscurity which would make his poem more arresting. His terseness of style involves both the compression of ideas (above) and of words. The latter is well illustrated by the many occasions when a change of subject is not explicitly stated, e.g. 'putant' (10), 'vident' (17), the Argonauts; 'movebant' (110), 'aderunt' (147), 'agitent' (164), 'silent' (183), the Lemnian men; 'gliscit' (278), Hypsipyle; 'vidit' (496), 'proicit' (527), Hercules. This suppression of the subject provides additional support for reading 'monstrat' (Pallas) at 61, and for taking Hypsipyle as the subject of 'deicit' (329).

A further illustration of Valerius' terse style is provided by the omission of the verb (e.g. 'tunc tenuis Lemnos' 431; also 475, 477, 525 etc.), and by the compression of thought at 50 and 315 (notes ad loc.). However, the extreme compression of 'famulas ... fatigat litoribus' (138f.) is unacceptable. Valerius' practice of attaching

several clauses onto one verb, where the verb may have a different sense in each case, provides further evidence of economy in the use of words; see notes on 'sensit' (83), 'stupet' (510), 'vidit' (401), 'pendet' (427), 'memorat' (66).

A contrasting characteristic of Valerius' style is his tendency to repeat the contents of a phrase in different words, or to particularise a general remark, within one line or in two consecutive lines, a Virgilian device also found frequently in the Psalms (cf. C.S. Lewis Reflections on the Psalms (London 1958) pp.3ff). See for instance 'dum vires utero maternaque sufficit aetas' (325) and 'quaecumque faces timuisse iugales creditur nec dominae sanctum tetigisse cubile' (344f.). A similar tendency can be observed in the case of individual nouns, e.g. 'pura ... nec gravido cornu' (the moon, 56); 'picta manus ustoque ... mento' (150); 'integer et in uno auro' (58); Venus 212f; Hercules 547; and in pleonasms such as 'tecta', 'thalamos' (170); 'antra', 'domos' (335f.); 'scopulos', 'saxa' (527); 'terras', 'arva' (616); 'agit', 'quatit' (122).

The more formal poetic or rhetorical devices are used sparingly and sometimes well. There are several effective examples of zeugma and syllepsis: syllepsis at 141 'dea cum lacrimis et nota veste Neaerae' and 220f 'invadunt aditus et quondam cara suorum corpora', and zeugma at 398f 'thalamos induere'; 492 'umeros pharetramque gerebat Apollo' and 538 'e scopulis et opaca valle resurgunt'. Chiasmus occurs at 41 'quies rerum mundique silentia' and 343 'atavos reges regesque maritos'.

However, the extensive and exaggerated use of hyperbaton is not always well-handled. Many examples could be cited; the following are a selection. Within one line: in 'ipse ... Phasis' (597) the proper name is positioned emphatically and elegantly, but 'hoc ... in antro' (337) is misleading, with 'hoc' immediately preceding 'factum'. Over two or more lines: 'victor ... taurus' (546-8) places the emphasis on 'victor', and 'celeri ... manu' (604-5) neatly frames the description of the falling girl's rescue. However, 'longus ... metus' (368-9) is inelegant, with the awkwardly positioned 'qui' (369), and 'ulla ... saecula' (244-5) is unparalleled in that 'saecula' appears in an unrelated phrase, if Sandstrom's 'Latii ... fasti' is read.

Instances of tricolon are rare, though when it occurs it is effective, as at 201-2, 296-7. Striking examples of alliteration too

are hard to find, and appear particularly in the short descriptive passages e.g. 429-30, 498 (below), and in the similes, as at 459-60, where the 'r' and 'm' sounds represent the roaring lion and the bellowing bull, with the repeated 'c' sounds suiting the shouts of the helpless herdsmen. Valerius does not make the best use of this device; the excessive 'me mox merita morituram' (7.484) recalls the ante-Classical alliteration of Ennius.

It is, however, possible to find some instances of words used with sensitivity and imagination to produce an exciting phrase. Examples of μετάληψις αἰσθήσεως, such as 'luce fragosa' (198) and 'fulmineus fragor' (501), both describing thunder and lightning, and 'caeco clamore' (461), of the herdsmen's ineffectual cries, are among the most exciting phrases Valerius wrote. 'Ardentes tenebras' (7.566), of the fire-breathing bulls, and 'igneus aether' (1.616) of the storm, create a malevolent picture of light and colour while 'piceo ... caelo' (517) adds an element of touch to that of colour. 'Saevas ... dapes' (194), as Tisiphone tortures her victims, and 'pavidas auras' (200), where even the air trembles in terror at Venus' cry, are both fine expressive phrases. With 'tumor arduus undae' (54), Valerius combines the metaphorical and the physical to produce a rare and striking phrase. He is not always so successful. The potentially exciting 'stellatus aether' (42) is spoiled by a plethora of shooting stars in 'effusis crinibus', and the extreme compression of the Sun's daily journey into 'evectae prono laxantur habenae aethere' (35f.) disguises the effectiveness of the juxtaposition 'evectae prono'.

The three instances of what Postgate termed 'disjunctiveness' (n.67f.) in book 2 at 67f, 333 and 357, together with several others in the *Argonautica* (e.g. 'nigro Nessus equo' 1.147; 'madido gravis unda sinu' 1.653) also make effective pleonasms. Valerius however, takes no delight in playing with words, and there is little evidence of Ovidian wit. The contrast between Jason's fiery nature (ardens) and the waves (undis) (3) is a rare example. Valerius does not fail to exploit the paradox of lovers enslaved by love of their own slave-women at 146; 'armis' (547) hints that the bull's shoulders are his weapons ('arma' 545); 'Phrixea ... aequora' may suggest φορῖσσω i.e. 'horrida' (585f.). All are poor examples, but the best Valerius produced. The paucity of examples of homoeoteleuton ('novant. donant' 309; 271f;

3.79; 3.495f.) and assonance ('singultantia gestans' 211) suggest that Valerius' ear was not very sensitive to such matters.

As might be expected of a poet so closely dependent on Virgil, Valerius makes good use of the epic devices for stepping outside his narrative and providing variety by addressing his characters (apostrophe), by calling on the Muses or the gods for assistance, or by the sudden interjection of rhetorical questions (n. on 456). Such sudden changes of focus, when well used, combine to increase the poem's vividness and immediacy.

Valerius uses apostrophe with restraint but not always to best effect. Instances in the catalogue of heroes (1.353ff; e.g. 391, 433, 438) are numerous and not significant. However, the apostrophe of Hypsipyle (242ff.) when she first appears, of Medea (8.312) at the first sight of pursuit, and of Thoas (303-5) as he departs, are dramatic, though this last instance is marred by the additional address to Diana at 302. This apostrophe of Diana, as well as that of Vulcan (79), reinforces the reading 'te, maxima Tethy' (317) where a third divinity is in question.

There is a conventional appeal to Apollo (1.5-7) for inspiration and guidance, followed by a more unexpected and flattering request for approval from Vespasian (11), who is regarded as a hero ('namque potes' 13) or even a god (16ff.) and was surely dead when Valerius wrote this (cf. Lefèvre). Appeals to the Muses occur before the battle scenes in book 6 (33-41), together with the conventional 'even if I had a thousand tongues I could not name them all' (6.37; cf. Austin on A. 6.625ff.), as well as during the battle (6.516). In book 2, Valerius appeals to an unnamed god to rid him of his unpleasant task (216ff.).

See further S.E. Bassett The Poetry of Homer (California 1938) ch. 4; R. Heinze Virgils epische Technik (Teubner 1957) 370-3; E. Block The Narrator Speaks; apostrophe in Homer and Virgil in TAPA 112 (1982) 7-22.

5. Imagery

Valerius' imagery is heavily epic and generally unexciting. His similes tend to be a little too long, of doubtful relevance (515ff.) or simply inappropriate (458ff.). They reveal a fondness for stock epic themes like the bellowing of a bull (458ff.), and an insufficient use of imagination. Valerius can be sensitive in his positioning of

similes; several are concentrated in the description of Hercules' battle with the sea monster and illustrate the difficulty of his task, the huge size and apparent invincibility of the foe, and the hero's exultation in victory (508ff.; 515ff.; 546ff.). The recurrent image of the Furies in connection with the Lemnian women is also effective (106; 192ff.; 226ff.). Valerius is most successful in the evocative simile at 43ff. The Argonauts facing their first night at sea are likened to a traveller making his way through the night. The route is unfamiliar ('ignotā'), as the sailors are journeying on an unfamiliar medium. The importance of their path through the sea is stressed throughout the poem, but here 'viarum' is ironic, as the sea is pathless. The archaic adjective 'noctivagum' is applied unusually to the journey itself and its use adds colour and mystery. Like the traveller, the Argonauts must pick their way with care ('carpit') for the route is unfamiliar. Terror is the predominant emotion; the traveller jumps at every snapping twig and sees imaginary terrors (44f.). Trees looming up in the darkness aggravate his fear (46). By creating a comprehensive picture of a journey by night, Valerius has successfully evoked the atmosphere of the scene at sea, and it is this that makes it the most successful in Book Two.

6. Speeches

Valerius devotes a considerable part of his poem to speeches, for they were an integral part of Silver Age epic as a result of the poet's extensive rhetorical training, though to our ears they may seem unattractive. The characters are not developed sufficiently for them to make powerful utterances, so their speeches are often without emotional appeal. Their construction with short paratactic phrases (275, 322, 484) and brief, uninspiring 'sententiae' (156, 184) makes for dull reading. Hesione's speech (471-92) may strike the reader as unrealistic (cf. Vessey (1982) pp.584ff.) given its context, but it is part of the epic convention whereby the victim informs his would-be rescuer of the reasons for his plight (cf. Andromeda in Ov. *M.* 686ff.), and serves also to reveal Hesione's character. Here alone does she play an active part in the scene; elsewhere she is merely a passive victim and spectator. Even so she remains a fairly colourless figure.

7. Characterization

The same might be said of the other characters in the book. Jason is hardly characterized at all, except in his shame-faced reaction to Hercules' rebuke (385ff.); and in the rest of the poem he fails to acquire the dashing qualities we might expect of the hero of an adventure story. Hypsipyle is the most human figure in Book Two, no doubt a result of the amount of space devoted to her. She acquires a moral dignity, in contrast to Dido, on whom she is largely modelled, and Apollonius' deceitful heroine. She is spoken of in terms of the highest praise (242ff.), and characterized throughout by her 'pietas' (249, 264, 310). Her brief speeches show her to be determined and emotionally restrained. Hercules too comes across as a forceful character in his rebuke to Jason and in the Hesione episode. In the former his bluntness is suggested by the abrupt 'non tulit' (374). He launches at once into indirect speech, which effectively depicts his angry mutterings before he speaks out at 378. He is fully conscious of his own worth, and speaks egotistically in the first person (380ff.) of his desire for action, in particular for another dragon to despoil (382). This wish is fulfilled at Troy, where his confidence in his own worth (512) is again emphasized, as well as his superhuman strength and size (509ff.; cf. 489ff.). His reaction to the girl's plight, 'miseratus' (496) is unusual, for he is not usually associated with the softer virtues. His initial failure causes feelings of shame (525), but when victory comes he exults excessively (544; 545ff.) and somewhat boorishly.

8. Pictorial and descriptive passages

In two respects Valerius excels; he has a good eye for the pictorial, and his standard of workmanship in certain short, descriptive passages is especially high.

The legend of the Argonauts was a good choice for a man with a keen visual sense. The theme is picturesque with a constant succession of exotic places and peoples to describe. Valerius was obviously aware of the visual dimension of his work; the frequency with which he describes the sights from the sailors' points of view is evidence of this (6-12, 431, 442f. etc.). In Book Two, the Hesione episode is particularly rich in colourful detail and scene-painting (cf. on 451-578). Valerius' visual sense is less impressionistic than Virgil's, and he concentrates more on conveying what he sees than on the language

he uses, though occasionally he hits on a very happy turn of phrase. 'Tyrio vibrat torus igneus ostro' (342) well describes the shimmering iridescent quality of the rich purple covering.

Valerius is perhaps at his best in the short descriptive passages, where he combines his preference for concise writing with some effective turns of phrase. For instance, 428-30 comprises all we are told of the Argonauts' departure from Lemnos. The anchor is 'piger', like the war-horse (387), and reflects the men's own reluctance to leave the island. The alliteration of 429 'remi rapuere ratem', the anaphora of 'iam', 'iam', and the metre, combine to suggest the boat's gathering speed and the beating of the oars upon the water. In 430 the alliteration changes to as 's' sound, conveying the swishing of the boat through the water. The image of the foamy wake is from ARh. 1.545f. to which Valerius adds the descriptive 'fugientis'; the rudder flees from the pursuing wake. This short description is intensely vivid, full of accurate observation and imaginative interpretation. Comparable is the description of the mundane activities of setting up camp, grinding corn, and fire-lighting (447-50), rendered in a few brief, pithy and exciting phrases, especially 'obtendit foliis' (450). 'Had (he) written often thus, it had been vain to blame, and useless to praise him' (Johnson on Gray).

Valerius then is at his best when he concentrates on these vignettes. Had he been more aware of his skill in this respect he would perhaps have chosen to concentrate on the smaller scale poem and could have achieved greater success, though he wrote at a time when personal poetry as well as epic was in decline. There are some superb moments in the Argonautica, but Valerius tends to let himself become overwhelmed by the magnitude of his task. There is too little of himself and too much of others. He cannot maintain the high level of some of the shorter passages, and the parts that are good are not enough to compensate for the rest. He successfully avoids the sensational favoured by other Silver Age poets (e.g. the battle scenes of Statius and Silius) but there is little human interest, and the Argonautica does not have the universal, timeless appeal of the Aeneid. 'Mediocribus esse poetis non homines, non di, non concessere columnae' (Hor. AP. 372f.).

Valerius Flaccus' use of his sources

(i) Virgil

As was said above, Virgilian influence pervades the Argonautica. Vocabulary, details of style and prosody, and other devices, are often closely adapted from Virgil. It is now necessary to consider the question of Valerius as an allusive author, and whether his echoes of Virgilian phrases and situations serve any meaningful purpose.

An extensive examination of such echoes in book 2 reveals that the majority have no special significance, and the context of the original does not need to be remembered; 'arma viros' (392) is a striking echo (A. 1.1.) that serves no purpose; the framing of 484 by 'corpora ... urna' as at VA 6.22 is a conscious imitation but the context is unimportant; 525f. Turnus' conflicting emotions, though recalled by the language, are not intended to be compared to Hercules' (525f.); the reminiscence of Juturna (608f.) is not intended to be significant. The same can be said for the following; 1, 2, 8, 87, 93, 103, 105, 117, 134, 149, 152, 155, 157, 158, 190, 197, 204, 216, 219, 235, 261, 269, 287, 334, 386, 391, 433, 449f; 453; 456, 466, 470, 473, 490, 505, 515, 522f, 527, 535, 555, 562, 567, 593f, 596, 598f, 603, 610, 612. 618f, 625. The echo at 137ff. of the simile of the hard-working housewife (A. 8.408ff.), while intended to bring to mind all details of that simile, does not allude to Vulcan, the object of the simile. At 142, 'nuntius' used of a female messenger is not a misunderstanding of, nor a reference to, VA. 11.897 (Courtney CR 15 (1965) 151f.). 'Obnubit' at 254 is the usual word for 'veiling the head' (note ad loc.), and is not a failure to appreciate the subtlety of VA 11.77. At 48f. 'non hanc ... sine numine pinum derigimus' (VA. 2.777) and 366 'intonat Aegeao tenditque ad litora pontus' (VA. 12.366), 93 (VA 12.386), also 1.723f. (VA 1.461f.) Valerius is deliberately varying familiar lines of Virgil, with no intention of parody.

In a few instances, however, Valerius is clearly being allusive, and intends his reader to recall the specific episode or situation that underlies the Virgilian echo. Through the recognition of its context, Valerius is able to guide his readers' response to a particular scene or character. The parallel drawn between the fall of Troy and the Lemnian massacre, which adds effectively to the horrific nature of the episode, is discussed n.220-241. A sympathetic response to Jason's

liaison with Hypsipyle is ensured by frequent references to that between Aeneas and Dido (340f., 342, 346, 347, the tour of the city and the banquet; 353f. Hypsipyle's reaction to Jason; perhaps the terms 'regina' 261 of Hypsipyle and 'hospes' 339 of Jason are significant). Echoes of the banquet recur at 649, 651 of Cyzicus' reception of Jason, and there is another echo of Aeneid 4 at 131ff., but neither is significant. However, the affinity between Allecto and Fama (n.116ff., also 'fatigat' 120), as she drives the Lemnian women to murder, and that between Venus and Virgil's Juno (n.186f.), as the Lemnian women's reaction resembles that of the Trojan women to Iris before the burning of the ships, are both intended to be allusive references to the Aeneid.

Valerius then is for the most part not an allusive author, and echoes of Virgil generally have no great significance. This however does not mean that they are always merely mechanical borrowings, and indeed there are a few instances of creative and imaginative adaptations of Virgil. 'Arsere rogis certantibus agri' (476) is based on 'tunc undique vasti certatim crebris conlucent ignibus agri' (VA. 11.208f.); 'ostro scopulos auroque frequentes' (472), rocks draped with many gold and purple cloths, comes from 'frequens herbis ... campus' (VG. 2.185), a field abounding with grass; 'iamque sub Eoae dubios Atlantidis ignes' (72), the fading light of the Pleiades at dawn, caps Virgil's 'ante tibi Eoae Atlantides abscondantur' (G. 1.221); 'silentia ... saeva' (397f.), the cruel silence of an empty house, probably arose from 'amica silentia' (VA. 2.255); 'adglomerat tenebras' (197) and 'adglomerare fretum' (499) are both instances of a favourite Virgilian word applied not to gathering people as in Virgil but the physical heaping up of waves, and the metaphorical piling up of darkness.

(ii) Apollonius

Apollonius' Argonautica 1.580-984 is Valerius's main source for three episodes in Book Two, the visits to Lemnos, Samothrace and Cyzicus. His adaptation in some parts is extremely close (particularly the periplus 6-16, cf. ARh. 1.591-8; also 439-40, cf. ARh. 1.919f.), though generally he deliberately varies the episodes he includes (e.g. expanding the account of the Lemnian massacre), or he introduces others (e.g. the Argonauts' first night at sea 34ff; the rescue of Hesione 451ff.).

In addition to the main episodes, Valerius has incorporated echoes of scenes and phrases from elsewhere in Apollonius, revealing his familiarity with the whole of the Argonautica. In some passages it is hard to tell whether Valerius has gone straight back to Apollonius, or has used Virgil's adaptation of him. 'Oscula iamque toris atque oscula postibus ipsis ingeminant', (168f.), comes from ARh. 4.26 via VA. 2.490, and the similarity of the situation in Valerius and Virgil indicates that here Virgil's influence was predominant. By contrast, Valerius 2.201ff. comes from ARh. 4.131ff., used by Virgil at A. 7.514ff. Virgil's adherence to Apollonius is close (ἔκλυον, 'audii'; the natural action of the mother; the full geographical description), but it is clear that Val, too used Apollonius. In both versions the event occurs during the night (ἐξέγροντο, 'toris'), a detail not in Virgil.

There are, however, several instances of direct borrowing from other parts of Apollonius. The image of the ship's wake at 430 is from ARh. 1.545f. The snake's body slackening in death at 535 'resoluta', is from ARh. 4.150ff. (especially ἀνελύετ'), where Medea puts the serpent to sleep, though the vocabulary is Virgilian (A. 6.422f.).

Furthermore, Valerius has redeveloped ideas or hints he has found in Apollonius. The reference to a stepmother's treatment of her stepdaughter (1.815f.) perhaps suggested the thought of 153ff., though again the language is Virgilian. Apollonius' influence then is extensive, and is not confined to mythological details.

The relationship between the Argonautica and Statius' Thebaid

Statius' Thebaid was completed by c.91 A.D., and written over a period of years at the rate of one book a year (Th. 12.811), i.e. roughly 79-90, during the reigns of Titus and Domitian (1.17ff.). Parts were ready for recitation by 83 A.D. when Paris was executed (Juv. 7.82ff.; cf. Cassius Dio 67. 3; St. Th. 12.812ff.). The period of composition of Valerius' Argonautica is less certain as there are no contemporary references to him by fellow poets (Martial's 'Flaccus' is not our poet, cf. p.i). The references in the prologue to Vespasian (1.7ff.) arise naturally out of the nautical theme of the poem (his voyage to Britain perhaps suggested the subject) and cannot be used for purposes of dating. In spite of the reference to the fall of Jerusalem (1.12-13) the prologue seems to have been written retrospectively

during Domitian's reign (Lefèvre pp.60ff.). The references to the temple of the Flavian Gens built by Domitian c.92 A.D. and to Vespasian's deification (1.15-20), reveal that suggestions of Vespasian's continuing reign are a pretence. There is no reason to suppose that Valerius began writing any earlier than Statius, and composition during Domitian's reign is consistent not only with the references to Alba, Domitian's favourite residence (2.304), and possibly his escape from the Capitol in 69 A.D. (2.265ff.), but also to Roman activities in the Danube area in 89-92 (6.162, 231ff. the Sarmatian 'contus' (Syme pp.129-137); 6.402 Saturninus' revolt (Plut. Aemil. 25.3); also 7.645; 8.228). The poet's early death (Quint. 10.1.90 c.96 A.D.) prevented the completion of the poem, and his slower rate of composition reinforces what is evident from the poem itself, that he lacked Statius' facility of versification.

The two poems, then, were composed roughly contemporaneously. Statius is generally assumed to have known the Argonautica and to be dependent on it in places where style or content show some similarity. The two poems are, however, so close in time that there is likely to have been influence both ways, although it is extremely difficult to decide who influenced whom. The answer is sought in a close comparison of the two poems. The investigation comprises both purely verbal echoes, and places where similarity of context is reinforced by verbal echo. The former are of limited use in determining the question of priority, for they may be accidental. However, an examination of places where a verbal echo is found in a similar context may be of greater value, for the passage may be demonstrably more relevant to one poem than the other, or it may be felt that one poet is improving, or failing to improve, upon the work of his predecessor. Other indications may be chronological (e.g. it is likely that the early books of the Argonautica predate the later books of the Thebaid), or revealed by the use of sources. Valerius is more likely to have borrowed directly from Apollonius, given the context of his poem, than via Statius. This is particularly relevant in the Lemnos episode. Any conclusions drawn from these considerations are bound to be tentative, but it is hoped that a restatement of some of the evidence will be of value.

An examination of purely verbal echoes reveals that some are poetic clichés (like Valerius 7.314, St. Th 1.659 'demittere leto'),

and others are variations on Virgilian phrases. A few that are too similar to be merely coincidental are worthy of mention.

i) Valerius 2.514 'celsi spatiosa volumina monstri'; St. Th. 1.562 'caerulei sinuosa volumina monstri'. Statius' description is the more conventional (cf. VA. 11.753); Valerius may have capped it with the striking 'spatiosa'.

ii) Valerius 3.523 'undarum nemorumque decus' (the Nymphs); St. Th. 9.383, the same phrase of Creneus. Possibly the fact that the phrase occurs in Th. 9. means that it is later than Valerius.

iii) Valerius 1.132 'deiecta in lumina palla'; St. Th. 11.495 'deiectam in lumina pallam'; Valerius 3.718, St. Th. 12.469 'obtenta lumina palla'. The same point about the later books of the Thebaid arises.

Echoes that are not purely verbal indicate conscious borrowing or adaptation on the part of one poet. The following selection is taken from the whole of the Argonautica and Thebaid.

i) Polyneices' journey to Argos takes place on a dark, stormy night. The turbulence of the elements reflects his mood as he travels through the darkness, uncertain of his way (1.346ff.). Every sound he hears causes terror: 'aure pavens' (336). The situation recalls the simile at Valerius 2.43ff.; a traveller, unsure of his route and overtaken by night, 'non aure quiescit, non oculis' (44f.). Here there is no storm, but nevertheless the traveller starts at every sound. 'Aure pavens' is a neat and effective phrase that is clearly more striking than Valerius. Statius has perhaps used and improved upon a phrase he found in Valerius.

(ii) The combination of the Homeric based 'matre cadentem' (πέση μετὰ ποσσὶ γυναικός Il. 19.110) with the verb 'fovere' at Valerius 1.355, St. 1.60f. is unusual. The combination may be peculiarly Statian (cf. S. 1.2.109f., 5.5.69) but it could be argued that Valerius was less likely to adopt Statius' passage with its more sinister tone (Tisiphone nurtured Oedipus) for use in a much more conventional context (Piresius' birth). Possibly Statius liked Valerius' phrase and repeated it.

(iii) Adrastus' reception of Polyneices and Tydeus owes much to V.A. 1.723ff. The king feasts his guests, and, their hunger satisfied, passes round an embossed goblet - 'postquam ordine mensae victa fames ... pateram ... poposcit' (1.539ff.). The cup appears in Valerius 2.654ff. in Cyzicus' hands, but the situation occurs earlier, during

Hypsipyle's entertaining of Jason 'dum ... vincitur ... fames circum pateris it Bacchus' (347-8). The verbal echo 'vincitur ... fames', 'victa fames' makes it likely that one poet is borrowing from the other rather than that both are looking back to Virgil. Here priority is hard to establish.

(iv) At Th. 3.140ff. Statius compares Ide's search for her dead sons to that of a Thessalian witch for a corpse upon which to practise her black arts. Thessalian witches were proverbial for such malpractices. Statius' 'cui gentile nefas hominem renovare canendo' (141) recalls in phrase and context Valerius 1.779f. 'hunc sibi praecipuum gentis de more nefandae Thessalis in seros Ditis servaverat usus'. Lucan's account of Erichtho in Book 6 probably lies behind whichever of the two is the earlier, possibly Valerius'.

(v) Echoes of a simile from ARh. (3.1265) are found in both Valerius and Statius. In Valerius the context is the same 'ac velut ex una siquando nube corusci ira Iovis torsit geminos mortalibus ignes' (7.567f. of the two bulls). Statius uses the same image of Bacchus' tigers 'ceu duo diverso pariter si fulmina caelo rupta cadant longumque trahant per nubila crinem' (7.582-3). Statius probably borrowed the image from Valerius, who is more likely to have found the original in Apollonius.

(vi) Some further images where chronologically Valerius' is probably the earlier are the halcyon similes Arg. 4.44ff.; Th. 9.360ff.; the African lion at Arg. 2.458ff. 'caeco clamore coloni' and Th. 9.189ff. 'magno subeunt clamore coloni'; the tigress and her cubs Arg. 3.737ff. and Th. 10.820ff., though her anger takes a different form in the two accounts.

To conclude, priority is not always easy to assign, but must be decided in every individual instance. In the above examples, the priority of Valerius has often been established on chronological grounds, but generally it must be a question of interrelation between the poets whose work was contemporary (cf. Steele).

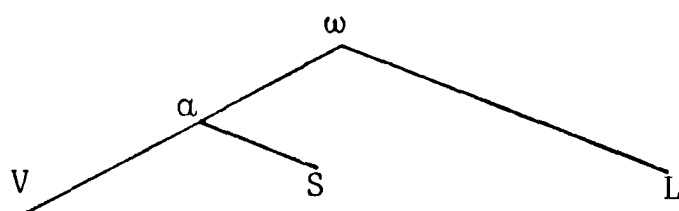
The priority of Valerius in the Lemnos episode has been established in the commentary (82-430). Apollonius lies closely behind Valerius through most of the Argonautica, and it seems probable that Valerius preferred to apply directly to his source rather than through Statius as intermediary. Statius may have used Apollonius too, but his

use is more selective and he may have preferred to rely for convenience on Valerius' version.

One clear sign of Statius' influence on Valerius is found in the war between Aeetes and Perses (5.265ff.), which is not in Apollonius. Though Perses has not been driven from the throne, the fight is like that between Eteocles and Polyneices, with a similar distinction drawn between their characters.

The Manuscript Tradition of Valerius Flaccus

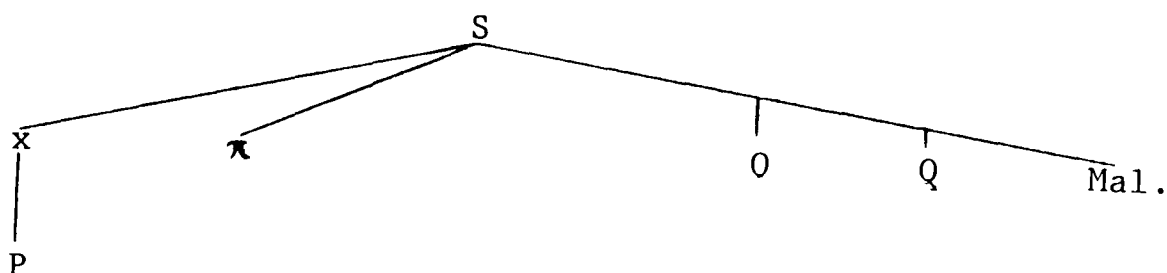
The stemma I propose to accept is that of Ehlers (praef. p.xix):



V. Vatican Latinus 3277, written at Fulda during the second quarter of the ninth century (P. Lehmann in Aus Fuldas Geistesleben ed. J. Theele (Fulda 1928) p.19; B. Bischoff in Ehlers p.19), in Carolingian minuscule (E. Chatelain Paléographie des classiques latins (1884-1900), vol. 2. pl. 165) by several scribes. It contains lines 1.1 - 8.467 on 140 leaves, with 19-23 verses per side. Five leaves are now lost (3.146-185; 6.439-476; 7.322-359; 8.88-125; 366-385 and 136-153). Errors in the text reveal that V's parent was probably written in insular script.

S. Codex Sangallensis, a manuscript probably of the ninth century, found in 1416 by Poggio Bracciolini, together with Cincio Rustici and Bartolomeo Montepulciano, at the monastery of S. Gall. It is now lost, but its readings can be reconstructed by collating its descendants. It contained lines 1.1 - 4.317.

The probable stemma of S's descendants has been established by R.J. Getty (pp.1-23) cf. Ehlers praef. p.ix:



X. Madrid 8514 (formerly X. 81), written by Poggio in 1416.

P. Vatican Latinus 1613, a fifteenth century copy of X.

π. Vatican Latinus 1614, probably a fifteenth century copy of a copy of S made by Cincio Rustici.

O. Vatican Ottobonianus 1258

Q. Queen's College Oxford 314.

Mal. Cesena, Bibl. Malatestiana XII. 3 (of 1464-5).

OQ Mal. are all fifteenth century copies of a third copy of S, made perhaps by Bartolomeo Montepulciano (Getty p.8; A.C. Clark pp.123-4).

L Laurentianus Plut. 39, 38 containing 113 leaves, was written before 1429 by Niccolo Niccoli, the Florentine humanist. It contains lines 1.1 - 8.467, including five verses not found in V. All fifteenth century manuscripts except those in the S tradition are descendants of L. Courtney (praef. p.ix) derives all manuscripts from V, but this cannot be the case as I shall endeavour to show below. For a full list of the descendants of L and their sigla cf. Ehlers praef. pp.x-xiv.

The Archetype

After the comparative obscurity of the Middle Ages, Valerius Flaccus, together with the texts of many other classical authors, was rediscovered in the early fifteenth century. In 1416, Poggio found the incomplete manuscript S at the monastery of S. Gall near Lake Constance,¹ and three copies were made before it disappeared. No one claimed the credit for finding the more complete text that became the basis of subsequent copies, but some time before 1429 Niccolo Niccoli saw and copied the full text²; in 1429 Antonio di Mario made and dated his copy of L (Laur. 39. 35 = D). The identity of the full text that Niccoli used, found probably between 1416 and 1429, is the subject of this investigation.

Three pieces of evidence point to the existence of an old manuscript in the fifteenth century. First we must posit the exemplar of L. Secondly, Politian's Miscellaneorum Centuria Prima of 1489³ reveals that an old manuscript of Valerius was shown to him by Ugoletto who had bought it from the library of Francesco Sassetti⁴ for the Hungarian king, Mattheus Corvinus, perhaps in 1485.⁵ Thirdly, Bartolomeo della Fonte, who made marginal notes in his copy of the first edition of 1474, between 1476 and 1504, refers to three manuscripts; Nic. (L); Pog. (Poggio's copy of S, X) and vetus(tus).⁶ This was perhaps Ugoletto's manuscript; as well as being a colleague of Politian at the University of Florence, della Fonte was a friend of Ugoletto's, and a fellow-member of Corvinus' household. He produced a commentary on Valerius for the king, perhaps to accompany the manuscript.⁷ He also proposed the emendation of 5.74 'Callirhoan' to 'Callichorum' (ARh. 2 904) apparently in 1481.⁸

It used to be thought that the old manuscript seen by Politian (and della Fonte) was V, now the oldest surviving manuscript. Thus Courtney (praef. p.xxix) argues that V is the parent of L and hence the source of all fifteenth century manuscripts (praef. pp.vi-vii). However, there is no evidence for the presence of V in Italy until J.B. Pio clearly refers to it in his Bologna edition of 1519, and says that 'Iacobus Orodryinus scriptor apostolicus', otherwise unknown, brought it 'ex Germania',⁹ perhaps from Fulda itself. He refers to it as 'codex Dacicus', which Courtney used to support his identification of V with the manuscript bought for the Hungarian king.¹⁰ But it is clearly not the same, as I shall proceed to show.¹¹

In both L and V, the same fifty lines, 8.136-185, are displaced, and are found exactly 200 lines later following 385. This suggests either that one is the source of the other, or that both have a common parent, a manuscript in which there were exactly 50 lines on each leaf. The leaf containing 8.136-185 will have fallen out and been misplaced four leaves further on. Politian's recently published Miscellaneorum Centuria Secunda¹² reveals that Ugoletto's manuscript had these fifty lines misplaced to follow 385, and that they occurred on a single leaf. This manuscript was written with fifty lines per leaf, and an error in binding accounted for the misplacement.¹³ Furthermore, he reports that this manuscript contained marginalia by Niccoli.¹⁴ It is therefore clearly the parent of L.

The value of Politian's identification of Ugoletto's manuscript is far-reaching. It was clearly the archetype of all the fifteenth century manuscripts as he himself remarks¹⁵ and also the ancestor of V. Courtney's argument that Politian saw V is clearly refuted. L can therefore stand with V and S as the closest surviving copies of Ugoletto's lost manuscript, and all must be taken into account in reconstructing the text of Valerius. If Ehlers' stemma is correct and V (and S) are not direct copies of ω , but rather of α , itself a copy of ω , then L is the only direct copy of ω to have survived.

Both Ehlers and Schmidt¹⁶ tentatively identify Ugoletto's manuscript with the copy of 'Valerii Flacci Liber 1' recorded in the ninth century catalogue of the library at Bobbio, a monastery in N. Italy.¹⁷ Schmidt further suggests that ω itself can be dated to the fifth or sixth century, for three other Bobbio manuscripts with 50 verses per leaf survive from this period.¹⁸ Ehlers' collation of L,

however, reveals few signs of its having been copied from a manuscript of that date. Errors in word division, which are easy when copying from continuous script are rare - only 1.78 'ripas' (for 'ripa' followed by 'stantem'); 523 'videt te' (for 'videt e'); 828 'tartareis' (for 'tartarei sedet'); 6.531 'novare abula' (for 'nova stabula'). At 5.460 the error is also in V ('bellator ostum' V; 'bellator ortum' L for 'bella toros tum'). For errors of this sort in V, attributed by Courtney to **haplography**, cf. Courtney p.xxxvii.

V, the grandchild of ω , was copied from α at Fulda,¹⁹ some three centuries after ω , by an unscholarly scribe, who may have introduced careless mistakes into the text but few if any conjectures.²⁰ Thus V is a faithful or sincere record of ω . The copyist of L was the humanist Niccolo Niccoli, who is generally agreed to have been concerned to establish a good readable text, based upon an old manuscript, but making use of conjectures. B.L. Ullman writes 'he was anxious to present a good text, copied from an old manuscript and emended by himself. His copies served as exemplars for many fine manuscripts, but he himself strove only for legibility'.²¹ These remarks, I would argue, suggest that both L and V must be used to establish a text of Valerius, for a good reading found in L but not in V may be due to conjecture, and an unintelligible reading in V may preserve something closer to the reading of the archetype. Ehlers tends to place too much weight upon the readings of L without admitting the possibility that they may be due to conjecture (cf. 2.572, 631).

The Authority of L

Before the publication of Politian's Miscellaneorum Centuria Secunda provided independent evidence of L's authority, Ehlers put forward four arguments based on textual considerations for the independence of L, and the existence of a common archetype ω .²² In the preface to his edition (p.xviii) he summarises these.

- a) L is unaffected by the corruptions of V and S or α .
- b) L preserves genuine verses which α or V omitted (1.45; 2.565 A; 7.579-80; 8.463 A).
- c) Verses which had been transposed in α or V are found in the right order in L.
- d) L has a much smaller number of corrupt readings than V or S.

As the independence of L has been fully established by other, more satisfactory, means, these points, some of which are weak, are no longer needed for their original purpose; but an examination in detail may help to determine whether the differences between V and L are due to the preservation of a genuine reading, or line, in L, or to the conjectures of Niccoli, and will help to resolve the question of L's authority.

a) L is generally unaffected by the corrupt readings of V and S, and in the few instances that can be adduced, the errors of both may be due to the scribe's misunderstanding the reading of the archetype. At 2.427, V reads 'acasto rependet' for 'a Castore pendet' by misdividing the words. L has apparently reversed V's order 'rependet acasto'. However, it is possible that Niccoli deliberately transposed the two words in a mistaken attempt to rectify the metre, cf. 6.128 ambo miseri VL², miseri ambo L. At 2.439, V reads 'vates amothra cadicām'. In L this phrase reads 'vates amothraca diem'. Both are metrically incomplete; in both the words are misdivided ('Samothraca' or 'Samothracia' should be read). Here again it looks at first sight as though V has influenced L, but in fact both may have repeated an error from ω. At 2.464 V reads 'flumina', L 'fulmina' for 'lumina'. The transposition of u and l is an easy one (cf. 2.501) but the change from 'lumina' to 'fulmina' is less easy, though perhaps ω may have read flumina here, which V faithfully repeats.

b) If the additional verses²³ preserved by L are not genuine, they must be interpolations by Niccoli designed to complete the sense. With the exception of 2.565 A, they occur at obvious gaps in the text, perform easily intelligible functions, and could be interpolations. However, the Valerian language and appropriate sense of the lines seem to weigh strongly in favour of their authenticity, and Niccoli was no Politian.

There can be little doubt that 1.45 and 7.579-80 at least are Valerian. The lacuna in V at 1.45 is filled admirably by L's 'inter et attonitae mactat sollemnia mensae'. The language is Valerian. The postponement and position of 'inter' can be paralleled from Virgil (G. 2.345) though not from Valerius (though cf. 2.481), and the meaning is acceptable (Liv. 39. 43. 4 'inter pocula atque epulas ... mactatam

humanam victimam'). 'Sollemnia' balances 'hospita' - the outrage ('attonitae') is the greater in that the murder took place while Phrixus was a guest. For 'mactat' cf. 2.230. The word has an appropriate religious overtone - Phrixus escaped sacrifice at Athamas' altar (42) only to meet the same fate later. The falsity of Pelias' story here (Phrixus died of old age cf. 5.224) has no bearing on the authenticity of the line.

The two lines at 7.579-80 supply a subject for 'cunctatus' and a pair to balance 'alium' (596). Jason deals with one bull and then the other (contra ARh. 3.1292ff.). 'Arma' is perhaps not right for 'galeam' (577) but this is a small point. 'Respexit' makes a nice pair with 'flexit' - the bull turns round and looks round at Jason. C's 'torto lumine' for 'torvo lumine' (for which cf. 8. 60) is not entirely impossible in this context of turning round. The author may have had V.A. 9.389 in mind while composing these lines - 'ut stetit (Nisus) et frustra absentem respexit amicum', and the situation is similar; Euryalus' flashing helmet had given him away to the enemy.

The line at 2.565 A is less convincing. The function of 'ut tibi servata statui quae munera prole' is twofold. First, it explains what the 'biiuges' are that Hercules is to see the following morning. They are the reward promised to Hesione's rescuer (for 'munera statui' cf. 'pretium statuere', OLD sv. statuo, 9 c, - fix a reward), though we already know this from 2.487-8. Indeed, the words look like an echo or adaptation of 2.487 'nostrae stata dona salutis'. Secondly, the line explains the subjunctive 'ostendat' (V) by supplying 'ut'. Otherwise Lemaire's 'ostendet' must be read. There is a certain difficulty in 'servata prole', which must mean 'si proles servata esset' and not 'when she had been saved' (cf. 2.298 'servato genitore'). KS 1.776 lists some instances (including Cic. Tusc. 3.23 'nam ut medici causa morbi inventa curationem esse inventam putant, sic nos, causa aegritudinis reperta, medendi facultatem reperiemus') of the ablative absolute used where we would begin a clause with 'if ...'. In fact, at Valerius 2.565 A, 'when', and 'if' are not clearly differentiated; the arrival of a rescuer has been predicted (488ff.) and the horses already promised to him (481). The line then could be an interpolation designed to explain the subjunctive, filled out with an echo of a previous phrase, and the slightly ambiguous ablative absolute, but,

taken in conjunction with the three previously mentioned, it has every appearance of being genuine.

The weakest of the five additional verses is 8.463 A. The subject of 'haeret' (464 cf. 7.79) is Jason, and the situation is clearly intended to recall Aeneas' reaction to Dido's hysterical outbursts (A. 4.305ff, 365ff.) and the conflict between Aeneas' desire to comfort her (4.393ff.) and the command of Jupiter (4.331ff.) is paralleled here by the conflict between the decision of the Argonauts (464) and Jason's 'pudor' (441, 464) as he recognizes that he is in the wrong. The two problems raised by the line 'maestus at ille minis et nota (noto L) Colchidos ira' are Medea's 'nota ira'²⁴ and Jason's reaction. As yet, Medea has shown little anger (453-4) and uttered only the threatening line 425 (in fact it is she who is under threat 413, 460), unlike Apollonius' heroine whose speech (4.355-390), which balances Medea's here (8.415-444), is full of threats and reveals her 'deep anger' (391). Thus her 'only too well known' anger has little point. Possibly Ehlers' conjecture 'mota'²⁵ (cf. Ov. M. 8.355) should be considered. The threats are those of the Minyae, and, as in the Aeneid, Jason is caught between the conflicting wishes of his followers and his wife. Secondly, Jason's reaction to both is grief 'maestus', which is surely inappropriate with 'minis' and 'ira'. Grief is more likely to be the result of witnessing Medea's distress.

In conclusion, there is little reason to doubt the authenticity of these lines, though fault may be found with 8.463 A and perhaps with 2.565 A. Furthermore, if the lines occurred in C, as did 7.579 at least, and if C was part of a tradition separate from L (see below), it seems clear that they were written by Valerius.

c) Seven verses that are clearly in the wrong place in V appear in the right place in L. They are 1.56; 2.273-5; 3. 404-5; 6.228. The transpositions are accepted without comment by Courtney. (8.460, however, which ought to follow 8.440 is only returned to its rightful place by Lemaire.) Either L preserves the true order, which had become inverted by the scribe of α , or the transpositions are the result of Niccoli's competence. An informative instance is 2.273-5 where the error is either that of V, and Courtney (praef. p.xxiif.) argues that the omission marks in V reveal that the scribe realised and corrected his mistake, or V is repeating the order of α , and perhaps ω , and L

restored the lines to the right order. It seems likely that the order was wrong in α if not in ω (see below), and Niccoli was perfectly capable of transposing where the sense demanded it.

d) Ehlers' fourth point is his weakest, the places where L may preserve a genuine reading that has become corrupt in V. Many of the places where L preserves an apparently correct reading may be due to conjecture, the result of Niccoli's desire to produce an accurate text. Of the variant readings in book 2 listed by Ehlers (pp.71-2)²⁶ where L is correct, most can be put down to necessary corrections. Two places, however, need further discussion. One of these is 2.572, the passage discussed in Politian's Miscellaneorum Centuria Prima ch. 5 'quid sit apud Lucretium (1.476-7) durateus equus, quodque legendum apud Valerium Flaccum, non quidem nox dorica, sed durica, vel duria potius, in liber Argonauticon secundo'. Here VS read 'turica'; L 'durica'; the fifteenth century copies of L have 'dorica' (as apparently did Carrio's old manuscript - see below). Politian's conjecture 'duria' adopted by Ehlers is unacceptable (see below on 572) and L's reading is likely to be a conjecture.

Secondly, at 2.631, L has 'longoque sub aequora dorso'; S 'longoque per aequora dorso'. V omits the preposition. If 'per' is the correct reading (cf. n. on 631), and if Ehlers' appraisal of the manuscripts is correct, we can perhaps work out the probable readings of α and ω . V has faithfully reproduced the reading of α and ω , which both omitted 'per'. S and L fill the unmetrical gap in different ways, one of which is what Valerius wrote. Both readings are therefore conjectural.

In conclusion then, a discussion of Ehlers' individual points suggests that for the most part his judgement is correct. Conjecture may account for many of the accurate readings of L rather than the preservation of an original reading, but L retains five verses that have every appearance of being genuine, and as an independent authority L is certainly to be used in conjunction with V in establishing the text of Valerius.

The relationship between V and S

V and S share a large number of identical errors and omissions and clearly belong to the same line of the tradition. Their exact

relationship, however, is a matter for debate, one make more difficult by the loss of S. Ehlers repeats Getty's view that S is a gemellus of V rather than a copy.²⁷ Both are copies of a lost archetype α , itself a copy of ω , the old manuscript seen by Politian. On the other hand, Courtney follows Kramer in believing S to be a copy of V.²⁸ I shall proceed to examine some of the arguments put forward by each side.

a) S is a gemellus of V

In addition to reiterating Getty's refutation of Kramer's eleven 'certissima argumenta' for the descent of S from V, Ehlers makes an important new point.²⁹ Both manuscripts show signs of derivation from an exemplar that had fifty verses per leaf. V. repeats 2.213-62, as if the scribe of V forgot to turn over the page, and S omits 1.393-442, perhaps because a page of the exemplar was missing when S copied it. V itself has between 19 and 23 verses per leaf; the number S had is unknown.

It may be argued that the loss of 1.393-442 in S. could have been the result of a loose leaf in S. In answer to this point, Getty quotes B.L. Ullman's valid objection that S is unlikely to have had the same number of verses per leaf as its grandparent while not having the same number as its parent.³⁰

One objection to positing the existence of a common archetype with 50 verses per leaf might be that it would be a great coincidence if it had the same number of verses per leaf as its parent, but this seems to have been a common practice in the Middle Ages.³¹

However, α was not an exact copy of ω in all respects. According to Ehlers' stemma,³² α is the source of some of the errors common to VS, especially the omission of the five additional verses found in L. In order for α to have been an exact copy of ω in all other respects, the pages on which 1.45 and 2.565 A were omitted must have contained only 24 verses. The scribe of α copied ω blindly, turning over the pages of both manuscripts at the same time, while being sufficiently negligent not to notice when he had omitted a verse. α then was an exact copy of ω , apart from some untraceable errors of copying, and the exclusion of L's additional verses.

Both V and S then seem to have been copies of a manuscript that was written with fifty verses per leaf. Ehlers and Getty point the way towards a further argument for the derivation of V and S from a common parent based on indications that both are derived from a manuscript

written in insular script.³³ Insular parentage is revealed by traces of insular letter forms, and errors arising from a misunderstanding of such forms, though in the case of both V and S, they may instead reflect the provenance of the manuscripts from monasteries with a strong insular tradition (Fulda and S. Gall).³⁴

i) V and probably S were written in Carolingian minuscule, though in two places in V the insular form of the letter g (ȝ) appears (6.37; 6.289).³⁵ Here the scribe of V has faithfully reproduced the exact form he saw in his exemplar.

ii) Confusion arising from the misunderstanding of insular letter forms is detectable in both V and S. Getty (p.31) lists several instances where a wrong reading is attributable to such confusion. His best examples are 1.483 cursus V; currus S; 4.70 ambusta V; amurta S. The confusion of r (ʀ) with s (ʃ) is easy.³⁶ Less convincing are 2.64 vetitis V; ventis S; 4.201 taciti V; tanti S; 2.560 donantis V; tonantis S; 3.504 sponde V; sponte S. The confusion of d and t is unlikely unless the d is uncial (ð); that of ti and n, or ci and n, is possible.³⁷

In addition there are errors based on the misinterpretation of insular forms of contraction. At 3.599, V reads aeq', π(S) equi; OQ Mal. et qui; L aeque. Kramer (praef, pp.xli-xlii) thought that S misread V's abbreviation here. V however is reproducing the reading of its parent. The insular and continental abbreviation for 'que' was q. or q.,³⁸ Sometimes, however, this abbreviation was also used for qui. The scribe of S may have read aeq. in his exemplar, and understood and copied aequi.³⁹

Taken in isolation, this final example remains unconvincing. However, when all the signs of an insular hand are added together the argument for an insular parent for both V and S remains plausible, though there are insufficient examples to prove the question beyond doubt. Now that the independence of L has been established and more is known about ω, the insular part of the tradition has been reduced to a side issue. The insular parentage of V and S however is not inconsistent with their derivation from the common archetype α discussed above. α must have been copied from ω before c.825 when V was copied, and the copying probably took place at Bobbio. At this time the insular script was in use at Bobbio.⁴⁰ Before a final conclusion concerning the relationship of V and S can be reached,

however, some of the arguments put forward by Kramer and Courtney in favour of S's descent from V must be examined.

b) S is a copy of V

In V, as mentioned above, the passage 2.213-262 is repeated, but the first time 240 has been omitted (Va), the second time 241 (Vb). S has the same passage only once but has omitted 240. The simplest explanation is that the scribe realised V's mistake and did not repeat the passage, but failed to notice the omission of 240. He copied V's first version (Va).⁴¹

If this were the case, we would expect the readings of S to tally with those of Va. As far as can be judged, however, S does not always agree with Va in this passage but occasionally agrees with Vb,⁴² though this may be the result of a conjecture. Getty (p.24) concludes that S copied not Va but a common parent; 'whereas S transcribed what was in the manuscript, the scribe of V forgot to turn the page'. This does not explain the missing line, though in a footnote he appears to accept Ullman's suggestion that 240 had been omitted by the writer of the common parent and added at the bottom of the page. Both S and Va failed to notice the omission marks, but Vb saw them and interpreted them as an indication that 240 was to be substituted for 241. Getty's explanation is ingenious, relying heavily on an extremely alert scribe in one instance and two negligent scribes in the other. It is, however, not inconsistent with the view that V and S were copies of the same parent in which 240 was misplaced.

Kramer put forward eleven arguments for the dependence of S on V which have been satisfactorily countered by Getty and Ehlers. I shall deal with some in book 2.

1) At 2.275⁴³ V has fēda tūmte, S feda tumente. The correct reading is 'foedatum te'. Kramer argues that the scribe of S misunderstood the cross stroke above the u in V's text as an abbreviation, and wrote out in full what he thought was the correct reading. However, S may have misunderstood his exemplar, whose reading V has reproduced. At some point, it read foedatū te. An 'm' was then added, thus obviating the need for the cross stroke, but V, in typical fashion, reproduced both the cross stroke and the m. The misdivision of the words in the exemplar confused the scribes of both V and S.

2) In V, lines 272-5 are written in the order 272, 274, 273, 275; in S 272, 275, 274, 273. Courtney⁴⁴ argues that the omission

marks in V indicate that the scribe immediately realised his error, and recognised that 273 should precede 274; the lines were in the right order in the exemplar. However, the second omission mark appears to have been added in a later hand, perhaps to correct the order of lines to that found in S (i.e. to move 275 so that it preceded 274). Ehlers argues that here S faithfully reproduces the order of its exemplar and that V made a mistake that was later corrected.⁴⁵ It is however more common for V rather than S to reproduce its parent.⁴⁶ The most that can be said is that the order in α was clearly wrong. V probably repeated the order of lines in α and S perhaps attempted to correct. The hand that added the omission marks in V wished to make the order conform to that found in S or one of its copies.

3) At 2.277 V reads $\overset{u}{f}erendam$; S furendam; verendam is correct. Kramer argues that after writing ferendam, the scribe of V realised his mistake and corrected the f to v, writing it not above the tall letter f but over the e. The scribe of S misunderstood V's correction and wrote furendam. 'This is Kramer's strongest and most convincing example' (Getty p.28). However, the scribe of V may again have reproduced the reading of its exemplar, either 'ferendam', which is corrected, or ' $\overset{u}{f}erendam$ ' and S's error has arisen from misunderstanding this.

Conclusion

The weight of evidence produced above points to the derivation of V and S from a common parent. This, however, does not mean that their value in establishing a text of Valerius is the same. V is the more valuable as being in most places closer to the archetype and in preserving its readings more accurately even if they are wrong. In a discussion of the relationship of V and S, there is little use in comparing readings which are correct only in S, especially where VL agree in sharing a wrong reading, as S may be right by conjecture only.⁴⁷ The value of S lies in providing a source of conjecture and as a comparison to V.

One final point: if α , the common parent of V and S, were identical in respect of arrangement to ω , then, according to Ehlers' scheme, α like ω will have ended fol. 52v with 4.324. Therefore the incompleteness of S is due not to the loss of part of α (Ehlers praef. xx) but to damage to S itself.

The French Tradition

Two strands in the manuscript history of Valerius that have not yet been considered are the florilegia, the collections of extracts of our poet, and Carrio's old manuscript C. There are very slight traces of agreement between them in places where LVS are wrong, and these have led editors to suggest that they are representatives of a tradition separate from LVS, known as 'the French tradition'.

The florilegia of the *Argonautica* have been extensively examined by B.L. Ullman.⁴⁸ In all, 72 lines of Valerius have been preserved in four related manuscripts, the earliest of which dates from the late twelfth century,⁴⁹ and comes from the northern part of France.⁵⁰ The passages quoted often differ from VSL, and this is generally the result of adaptation to suit the different context. Link words may be altered,⁵¹ the sentiment of the passage made universal; or the compiler may be quoting from memory.⁵² In a very few places the florilegia improve on the readings of VSL, as I shall demonstrate below.

Less can be said with certainty about C. In his edition of 1565, the Belgian scholar Ludovicus Carrio⁵³ claimed to have consulted an old manuscript, 'ante sexcentos annos conscriptum',⁵⁴ and in the 1566 edition he further claimed that this was the only manuscript of Valerius he had been able to find in Belgium.⁵⁵ In it he found some lines not in VLS, as well as some variant readings which he incorporated in his text or its commentary (see below). Generally, however, the manuscript seems to have been very faulty. Carrio's dating is often questioned, for in addition to his youthful years (he was about 18 years old) and lack of scholarly experience, it was at that time not a straightforward matter to date a manuscript accurately. Politian did not attempt to date Ugoletto's copy of Valerius, but refers to it as 'pervetus'.⁵⁶ 'Sexcentos annos' is therefore used in the classical sense to mean an indefinitely large number. Carrio would have been able to recognize and distinguish a fifteenth century manuscript by its script, and is unlikely to have mistaken such a manuscript for one written 'over 600 years ago'.

Carrio's reliability as a scholar has been emphasized by M.D. Reeve in relation to his work on Silius Italicus.⁵⁷ In his edition of 1576 he incorporated some of the readings of an old manuscript he saw in the library of Cologne Cathedral. The same manuscript was seen and

used by a subsequent editor, Franciscus Modius. Carrio's old manuscript of Valerius was seen by him alone, but otherwise the two cases are similar. Apart from some dishonesty about the source of conjectures,⁵⁸ Carrio was a reliable editor, and there is therefore no obvious reason to doubt his dating of C.

In addition to a common origin, Carrio's manuscript shares with the florilegia four correct readings that are not in VSL.⁵⁹ The most important is 1. 331 where V reads 'potumque cretamque'; SL 'pontumque cretamque'; f and C 'pontumque polumque', which is undoubtedly right ('polumque' has been lost after 'pōtumque'). It is unlikely to be an interpolation from 1.586 (thus Ehlers⁶⁰), and the occurrence of the same phrase at St. Th, 11.67 (cf. S. 3. 2.10) is no reason for doubting its correctness here. The coincidence of these four readings gives independent evidence for the value of Carrio's manuscript and the question of the common origin needs further investigation.

Ehlers doubts the existence of a separate French tradition.⁶¹ However, P.L. Schmidt, who sees no reason to doubt Carrio's veracity, makes a case for three lines of transmission: the German (V), the Italian (ω and L) and the French.⁶² Partial confirmation has since been provided by the publication of a catalogue of books in the library of the monastery at Lobbes, near Liege (Belgium) c.1049-1160.⁶³ Entry no. 303 reads 'Gaii Valerii Flacci Sethini Balbi argonauticon lib. VIII vol. I'. The title resembles the superscription of L's first book 'C. Valerii Flacci Setini Balbi Argonauticon liber primus'. V and X reverse the order of the last two names.⁶⁴

The presence of a copy of Valerius in Belgium at this date reveals that there was at that time a separate tradition out of which the florilegia may have arisen. Greater weight must therefore be placed upon the readings of f and C. The value of the florilegia is extremely limited in constructing a text of Valerius. However, Carrio's two editions and their commentaries reveal that his old manuscript contained some readings not found in the other traditions, the value of which I shall now consider.⁶⁵

Carrio used C to provide a check on the readings of the 'vulgati', mainly the fifteenth century copies of L. In the brief commentaries that he appends to both editions, he refers by name to the work of earlier scholars including Pius, Sabellicus, Pomponius Laetus, Politian (on 2.572), Turnebus, Maserius, L. Parrhasius (cf. Ed. 1565 p.188), and

to several editions including the Lugdunensis (1.41) (ap. Seb. Gryphium, 1545, 1548); Parisiensis (vetustus and recentior cf. 2.368, perhaps the editions of Maserius in 1517, Eugentino in 1532); the Argentoratensis (2.58) (1525 ap. P. Eugentino); the Aldine (Venice 1523) etc.⁶⁶ Thus the works of a wide range of scholars, and several editions, as well as the manuscripts, were available to him, and his commentary does not always make the source of his readings clear. Generally, however, he remarks upon a reading of C where it differs from that of the established text, and the following is an attempt to isolate these differences.

a) Readings in C that are clearly right

[I use the following symbols: C = Carrio's old manuscript; Carr¹ Carr². are the texts of the 1565, 1566 editions; Ed. 1565, 1566 refer to Carrio's remarks in the commentaries that follow the texts.]

2.6 fretis C; fretiω'cum vetus codex habeat fretis' (Ed. 1566).

2.368 arcet CT₂ Bon. 1498, arcent ω. 'Vet. cod. longus coeptis et fluctibus arcet quem metus quod aperte verum est' (Ed. 1565). 'quem' is probably correct also.

2.467 aut liquidi referunt C, Bon. 1498; aliquid ire ferunt LV, aliquid referunt (S). 'ita vet. cod. alii aut aliqui' (Edd. 1565, 1566).

2.477 Idaea C. M² V 1523. 'fluctus venere. Sic omnes vulgati, vet. cod. fluctus Idaea bene'. (Edd. 1565, 1566).

2.502 passosque sinus C, Carr²; passusque sinuα; passusque sinus L. 'Vet. cod. passosque sinus, vulgati passusque sinu.' (Ed. 1565).

b) Readings in C that have some plausibility

2.277 metu C, VSL om. <viri> B 1474. 'oculos pressere metu. Ita vet. cod.' (Ed. 1565).

2.271 ut pater et C Bon. 1498; <e> Kramer. VSL om. utque PMT. 'Ut pater et ita vet. cod.' (Edd. 1565, 1566).

2.318 sed maxima Coete, Proteaque ambiguum Pharii se patris ab antris. C. Carr². taetae ω; patris om. α. 'Vulgati, sed maxima Tethym, Proteuque ambiguum, Phariis referebat ab antris. vet. cod. sed maxima coete Proteaque ambiguum Pharii se patris ab antris'. (Ed. 1565, where Carr. reads 'Phariis referebant ab antris'. Ehlers adopts the reading of C.)

2.322 haec hospita credite puppis C. Carr². (Carr¹. ait nobis haec) VSL

ait haec credite puppis. <fatis> Summers. 'Vet. cod. haec hospita credite puppis'. (Ed. 1565).

2.411 pressit acu C B 1474. pressit ac L, praesita α (Carrio Ed. 1566 on 409) 'clamidenque ita scriptum invenio in vetust. cod. in quo etiam secundo ab hoc versu pro vulgata lectione pinxit acu, legitur pressit acu'.

2.439 vates Samothraca diemque C Carr². (Carr¹. divum). vates amothraca- ; diem L, dicam α, <que> B. 1474. 'Vet. cod. Hactenus in populos vates Samothraca diemque'. (Ed. 1565). Ehlers accepts this reading,

2.535 fluctus defertur belua C Carr². <praeceps> Vat. B 1474 Carr¹.; om. VSL. 'Vet cod. defertur bellua' (Ed. 1565).

c) Correct readings in Carrio's texts which he does not attribute to C

2.86 poenamque Carr²., sic meliores codices' (Ed. 1566) poenaeque LV.

2.136 ac ω, ad Carrio. This verse was missing in C: 'hunc versum liber calamo exaratus ignorat. Libentius legerim ad proxima quam ut vulgati libri habent, ac proxima' (Ed. 1565).

2.239 furoris Carrio, furorem ω, furorum Vat. B. 1474.

2.292 credere Carr.1, Carr.2; reddere ω. 'Ita hic legi debet, non te reddere, ut vulgaris editio habet' (Ed. 1566).

2.590 tum Carrio; dum ω. Carrio prints 'tum' in both editions without comment, and editors often adopt it.

d) Errors clearly attributed by Carrio to his old manuscript C

2.26 in alto (Ed. 1566).

2.57 orbe (Ed. 1566, though in Ed. 1565 Carrio attributes the reading 'in ore' to C).

2.64 nunquam conditur (Ed. 1565, 1566).

2.156 scis sumus ut similes flammis, genus adde cruentis quod patrum servire dabis (Ed. 1565, though C may have read 'patrium saevire' Ed. 1566).

2.166 retrahitque auditque (Edd. 1565, 1566).

2.176 fortuna dedisses (Ed. 1566).

2.179 fulmen (Edd. 1565, 1566)

2.181 urbem ut fugiens (Ed. 1565).

2.196 turbine pontum (Edd. 1565, 1566).

2.253 miserae retine (Edd. 1565, 1566).

- 2.274 linque o mi (Ed. 1566).
 2.283 non patrios bustis accendere saltus (Ed. 1565; patriis Ed. 1566).
 2.294 solvimus heu miserum (Ed. 1565).
 2.362 tortor agit (Ed. 1566).
 2.398 saevit amor (Ed. 1565).
 2.464 surgentia flumina fluctus (Ed. 1566).
 2.547 artus (Ed. 1565).
 2.586 sine numine (Ed. 1565).
 2.594 fortuna penates (as 474) (Edd. 1565, 1566).
 2.599 celeres hic prima piacula Phryxo (Ed. 1565).

Some of these instances (e.g. 283, 599) look less like careless copying than faulty conjecture. Their presence may be thought to cast doubt upon the accuracy of the manuscript as a whole, for the good readings too could be due to conjecture, and this possibility cannot be ignored.

e) The extra lines in C⁶⁷

Carr.^{1.2} includes four lines not found in LVS, in places where there are obvious lacunae in the text. These are less convincing than the extra lines in L, but must be considered in the light of our added knowledge of Carrio's reliability. Ehlers prints none of them.

a) 1.829 'Iuppiter et primae velit omnia reddere massae' supplies the much needed subject, and 'velit' to govern 'volvere'. 'Massae' however is unusual in the sense 'primaeval chaos' (OLD sv. massa 2).

b) 3.77 'hostis et exciti dent obvia praelia Colchi' again supplies a noun for 'pervigil armis' (76), but 'Colchi' anticipates 'Colchos' (82), and the pattern of the line is curiously similar to that of 1.829. Both 1.829 and 3.77 were not in the text of C but in the margin (Ed. 1565), and are probably conjectures, though not by Carrio.

c) 7.633 'infectam dederat ususque armarat in illos' may supply the sense of the original but the fault in scansion reveals the presence of a conjecture. Carrio reports the line as being in C (Edd. 1565, 1566) but the metrical error suggests Carrio himself or another interpolator as the author (cf. 2.427).

d) 4.196 is the most convincing line: 'taurus aquis qui primus init spernitque tumentum', supplying a subject, a noun with 'ignotis' (195) and 'primus' to balance 'mox' (197). The simile recalls St. Th.

7.438f., 'ast ubi ductor taurus init fecitque vadum, tunc mollior unda'. Either the line is genuine and Statius used it, or, less probably, it is a conjecture based on Statius. 4.196 appeared in C (Edd. 1565, 1566).

Carrio's printed texts tend to follow the tradition of L, which was 'the vulgate' at the time. Thus he includes the five extra verses absent from V. Furthermore, it is clear that one of these lines at least must have been present in C.⁶⁸ At 7.579 Carrio's commentary (Edd. 1565, 1566) states '& torvo. vet. cod. & torto'. If Carrio's reporting is trustworthy and accurate, C. must have included 7.579. It is hardly possible that C's version of 7.579 was different from that of L (ω) and was a conjecture. As I argued above, the five extra lines have every appearance of being Valerian, and their presence in C would be conclusive proof of their authenticity, if C belonged to a separate tradition.

Carrio's texts also agree with L in reading 'sub' at 2.631, though there is no indication of C's reading here, and 'durica' at 2.572 in Ed. 1565. The note here reveals that Carrio knew Politian's conjecture 'duria'. However, in Ed. 1566 he changed his mind and read 'Dorica', apparently the reading of C.⁶⁹ If Carrio's reporting is accurate, then C provides additional support for reading 'Dorica' here at this controversial place.

In conclusion, therefore, if the existence of a French tradition separate from VSL be agreed, then the authority of C in establishing a text of Valerius must be recognised, and greater weight placed on the readings listed above (section b), though ultimately the sense of the passage alone should be the criterion for acceptance or rejection.

Knowledge of Valerius in the Middle Ages

As we should expect from this survey of the manuscripts of Valerius there are few, if any, clear signs of his influence upon the poets of the Middle Ages. After the fifth century, when Claudian,⁷⁰ Claudius Marius Victor⁷¹ and Dracontius⁷² show signs of having known Valerius there is silence. An allusion to Valerius in the 8th century book of Armagh, the Tripartite Life of St Patrick, was alleged by W. Stokes,⁷³ but has recently been refuted by Courtney.⁷⁴

A more substantial echo of Valerius is found in the tenth century Waltharius. This was probably written by Ekkehard I (d. 973), dean and

abbot of the monastery at St. Gall⁷⁵, the same monastery where Poggio found a ninth century manuscript of Valerius. It is possible that the author knew Valerius, though K. Strecher in his edition of Waltharius is sceptical.⁷⁶ Lines 1136f. run 'utrum sub tuto per densa silentia castro sisteret' (v. l. vasta). The only parallel for the phrase 'densa silentia' is Valerius 3.604f. 'excelsi ... densa silentia montis'.⁷⁷ In both cases the silence is that of night (Valerius 3.575ff. especially 'densam ... noctem', Waltharius 1130ff). Hercules has vanished and there is neither sight nor sound of him from the land. In Waltharius, the 'satelles' is plotting whether to remain in the safety of the camp. 'Densa' in both cases may suggest the overpowering silence felt in the absence of people (compare 'fremitu denso' VG. 4.213 of the roaring of a crowd). The echo is more convincing than the other suggested by Strecher on 196-7 (obvia quaeque metus) and Valerius 3.583 (cf. VA. 10.513f. for the whole phrase) though the close proximity of the two possible Valerius references is striking.

To move into the thirteenth century⁷⁸, Guido Billanovich has found a number of echoes of Valerius in the works of two Paduan poets, Lovato Lovati (d. 1309) and Albertino Mussato (d. 1329).⁷⁹ Some of these are very convincing, especially Lovato-Mussato De prole 28 'hec infixā (v.l. inserta) meae talis sententia menti est' and Valerius 1.548-9 'nulla magis sententia menti fixa meae' (only Valerius cf. TLL 6. 1. 718. 6 c). These echoes of Valerius in association with some from Lucretius (pp.165-8), though these are less convincing, point to Bobbio as the source of knowledge of these poets, and may be additional evidence for the identification of ω with the manuscript in the ninth century Bobbio catalogue⁸⁰ rather than for the presence of α in Padua in the thirteenth century.⁸¹

It has been suggested that some of the Troy poems of the Middle Ages, of which there are a number, show knowledge of Valerius. These stories open with a brief account of the Argonauts' voyage to Troy,⁸² concentrating on Laomedon's perfidy and the first sack of Troy. Most striking is the Bellum Troianum of Joseph of Exeter (c.1183), indebted mainly to Dares' De Excidio Troiae Historiae, but with traces of Valerian influence.⁸³ Joseph visited France at the time of composition,⁸⁴ and could have encountered the French tradition then.

In conclusion, Valerius shows little sign of having influenced the poetry of the Middle Ages, except during the thirteenth century and

later when there may have been a copy of the Argonautica in circulation in N. Italy. The findings of this brief survey are consistent with the history of the manuscripts of Valerius posited above.

Finally there is the question of Valerius's influence on Chaucer,⁸⁵ which must be looked at afresh in the light of our more exact knowledge of the manuscript history of Valerius. Chaucer tells the story of Hypsipyle and Jason in The Legend of Good Women 1396ff. (c.1385), naming specifically Ovid (H. 6, at 1465, cf. 1564ff.) as his source, but also showing the influence of Statius (cf. 1558 'th'origynal') and Virgil. In addition there are two possible references to Valerius' Argonautica.

At 1456-7 Chaucer refers the reader who wants a more complete list of Argonauts to an 'Argonautycon'. 'But whoso axeth who is with hym gon, lat hym go rede Argonautycon'. He is perhaps thinking of Dares' 'demonstrare eos qui cum Iasone profecti sunt non videtur nostrum esse; sed qui volunt eos cognoscere, Argonautas legant' (ch. 1), but the form of the name is not the same. There is no reference to the 'Argonauticon' in Latin literature, and the Bobbio catalogue too mentions no title. However the name appears as the title in the florilegia, 'Gaius in argonauticon'⁸⁶ and both the catalogue at Lobbes and L itself use this same name. This is the strongest point in the argument for Chaucer's knowledge of Valerius. Chaucer's Argonauts include Philoctetes, found only at Valerius 1.391-3 (also Hyginus Fab. 14) though this may have become part of the medieval tradition (see Dares ch. 15, Guido's Historia Destructionis Troiae ch. 1).

Less convincing is a reference to a 'Valerius' in the prologue to LGW 280-1 ... 'what seith Valerye, Titus or Claudyan? What seith Jerome agayns Jovynyan?' Here Titus is Livy, mentioned as an authority on Lucretia 1683; Claudyan refers to Claudian's Laus Serenae and at 281 to Jerome's celebrated attack on marriage (Migne 23.211ff.). The identity of Valerye is harder to determine. Three suggestions are put forward:

(i) The Dissuasio Valerii ad Rufinum philosophum ne uxorem ducat included among Jerome's works but now ascribed to Walter Map (Migne 30.254ff.) (referred to in the Wife of Bath's prologue 671 etc.). It refers to various 'good Women' including Penelope and Lucretia.⁸⁷

(ii) Valerius Maximus' Facta et Dicta Memorabilia, well known in the Middle Ages when such morally edifying tales were especially popular.⁸⁸

He is used by Chaucer several times (Hinckley pp.134, 137, 153), and it is likely that even if the widely-read Chaucer had knowledge of Valerius' *Argonautica*, his audience would understand 'Valerye' to refer to Valerius Maximus, though he used historical rather than mythological examples as Chaucer does here.

(iii) A reference to Valerius Flaccus would link up with 'Argonautycon' above, though it would be preferable for all Chaucer's references to Valerius to mean the same person. It seems more probable that Chaucer meant Valerius Maximus.

To turn to the narrative itself, Chaucer's version is unlike any Classical account, with its deliberately deceitful Jason (1545ff. 1556), an emphasis which is particularly appropriate in the context. Chaucer has perhaps embroidered Statius' picture of Jason ... 'etsi blandus Iason virginibus dare vincla novis' (*Th* 5.456f.). The appearance of Hercules is surprising (1480 etc.) since in Valerius he is left behind with the boat (2.374) and in Statius does not appear. As Hypsipyle walks by the shore, Jason and Hercules, alone of the Argonauts, land in a small boat (1469ff.) and later they plot together to beguile Hypsipyle (1543ff.).

There are however two striking similarities with Valerius' version. First, Hypsipyle sends a messenger to welcome the strangers (1479ff.). In Val, Iphinoe is sent, but in Chaucer the messenger is male (1479, 1485). Commentators pounce upon this as a curious error, but Chaucer never refers to the massacre (though Hypsipyle's rescue of her father would have fitted with his theme) and the presence of a man on the island is not unexpected. Chaucer must have omitted the massacre from choice (Thoas is mentioned as the former king at 1468 but no hint is given of his fate) for it was known to Boccaccio⁸⁹ (whose brief account of Jason's visit can have influenced Chaucer very little) and appears in Statius.

Secondly, Hypsipyle entertains Jason and questions him about his adventures (1507-10) as in Valerius' account (2.351-2), though Chaucer may, like Valerius, have had Virgil's account of Aeneas' reception by Dido in mind here (*A.* 1.697ff.).

In conclusion, then, there are slight indications that Chaucer had a limited knowledge of Valerius, certainly of the title of his 'Argonauticon', and possibly of details of his narrative too. He could have known the title from a collection of florilegia, but there is no

sign that he knew any other authors included in the florilegia except those he was otherwise acquainted with. He must therefore have seen a manuscript of Valerius, not in England as Shannon thought (pp.349f.) but during his travels abroad in France or Italy,⁹⁰ probably a representative of the French tradition rather than the Italian. Chaucer's library was extensive, but did not include a manuscript copy of Valerius Flaccus. If he did know Valerius, he was acquainted with what by normal standards was a rare text at the time.

A Tentative Conclusion

Valerius Flaccus' Argonautica 1.1-8.467, probably all that he wrote, survived the Dark Ages in two manuscripts. One gave rise to the French tradition, the manuscript in the library at Lobbes (if this is not the original survivor), which may be the manuscript seen and used by Carrio, and the florilegia.

The other manuscript became the source of the main branch of the tradition. Written probably in the fifth or sixth century, it had reached the library at Bobbio by the ninth century. At some time in the second quarter of the ninth century, V was copied at Fulda from an intermediary α , itself copied from ω at Bobbio. Both ω and α were written with fifty verses per leaf; that containing 8.136-185 in ω became loose before α was copied. A copy of α was made at St. Gall in the ninth century, where Ekkehard I, dean and abbot of that monastery was perhaps influenced by it. α was subsequently lost.

The early part of S came to light at the monastery of its origin in 1416. A few years later ω was brought to the attention of the Florentine humanists, and before 1429 was copied by Niccoli, who admitted considerable alterations to the text. If ω was the source of the fourteenth century Paduan poets' knowledge of Valerius, it is likely to have come to light considerably earlier. It was shown to Politian by Ugoletto in c.1489 who perhaps sent it into Hungary where it was lost. Niccoli's copy, L, then became the source of all fifteenth century copies. V surfaced sometime before 1519, when as a result of the loss of ω it became the oldest surviving manuscript and consequently the basis for all texts until the recent investigations of Ehlers and Schmidt, and the discovery of Politian's Miscellaneorum Centuria Secunda have reaffirmed the independent value of L.

1. Poggii Epistolae ed. T. de Tonellis (Florence 1832 repr. 1963) Ep. 1.5 (p.29) (18 Jan. 1417) 'reperimus praeterea libros tres primos, et dimidiam quarti C. Valerii Flacci Argonauticon'. cf. also the letter from Cincius Rusticus to Francesco de Fiana quoted by A.C. Clark in Asconius OCT (1904) praef. pp.xi-xii.
2. G. Cambier Attribution du Manuscrit de Florence Laur. 39. 38 à Niccolo Niccoli in Scriptorium 19 (1965) 236-43.
3. Miscellaneorum Centuria Prima ch. 5. (p.230) in A. Politianus: Opera Omnia ed. I. Maier (Turin 1971) vol. 1 'sed et codicem proxime nobis Argonauticon Valerii Flacci perveterem Tadeus Ugoletus Parmensis Matthiae Pannoniorum sapientissimi et invictissimi regis aulicus homo litteratissimus ostendite quo fluxisse opinor et ceteros qui sunt in manibus'.
4. Laur. 39. 36 (A) was copied by della Fonte for Sasseti (cf. C. Trinkhaus in Stud. in the Renaissance 7 (1960) p.92 n.11) perhaps as a replacement.
5. Courtney praef. vii.
6. Ehlers praef p.x (A); Reeve p.426 n.5.
7. Cf. C. Trinkhaus in Stud. in the Renaissance 13 (1966) p.45 n.20; p.53.
8. Cf. Courtney ad 5.75 'Fontius in dialogo Tadeus (Ugoletus) ad Matthiam Corvinum'. Ehlers ad loc. 'Fontius B (ed. Bon.) 1498.' cf. R. Sabbadini Le scoperte dei codici latini e greci ne secoli xiv e xv (Florence 1905) p.151; (1914) p.257. A manuscript of Apollonius (Laur. 32.9.) reached Italy in 1423, sent from Constantinople by the Sicilian Aurispa to Niccoli cf. Sandys 2. p.36.
9. Pio, praef. p.4; cf. Ehlers pp.104-6; Schmidt (1974) p.262; Reeve p.426.
10. Courtney (1972) p.217, but cf. Ehlers Gnomon 48 (1976) p.256 n.9. The term was intended to be uncomplimentary.
11. A similar problem arose over the identity of the old manuscript of Statius' Silvae seen by Politian, though it is clear to me that the 'Poggianus liber' was Poggio's own copy, Matritensis 1731, and not its parent cf. Miscellaneorum Centuria Secunda ch. 49; M.D. Reeve in SIFC 49 (1977) pp.285-6; M.P. Stocchi in Atti di Istituto Veneto 125 (1966-7) 40ff.; A.J. Dunston BICS 14 (1967) 96-101, contra E. Courtney BICS 13 (1966) 94ff.; J.S. Phillimore praef. pp.xiiiiff. Politian must have been in error about the reading of S 1.4.86a.
12. Miscellaneorum Centuria Secunda ed. V. Branca e M.P. Stocchi (Florence 1972).
13. Miscellaneorum Centuria Secunda vol. 4 ch. 2 (p.6f.). 'Sed quid hoc est quod nunc L versus discrimen faciunt, nunc ex L producti, nunc ducenti scilicet, nunc rursus cc. et L? nempe quia liber unicus ex quo, puto, reliqui emanaverunt, quinquaginta versuum singulas habuit

paginas, quas videlicet praeposteras indiligens bibliopola conglutinavit. Eumque mihi librum, tunc quoque sic perversum, Taddeus Ugoletus parmensis olim commodavit, cuius in marginibus Nicolai Nicoli Florentini manus agnoscitur. Qui tamen ita deceptus in exscribendo est, sicut codex ipsius ostendit qui nunc in florentina divi Marci bibliotheca conspicitur (L). Atque in omnibus codicibus idem hactenus erratum reperies.' Cf. P.L. Schmidt (1976) p.248. Ehlers' reconstruction of the pagination of Ugoleto's manuscript as shown in Schmidt (1976) pp.249-50 reveals that fol. 113 contained only 8. 461-7, and fol. 114 was blank. Thus either the end portion of the book or poem was lost before it was copied (Ehlers praef. p.xvi) or it was never completed.

14. See above, n.13.

15. See above, n.n. 3, 13.

16. Ehlers (1970) p.106; Schmidt (1976) p.251; Reeve p.427.

17. G. Becker Catalogi Bibliothecam Antiqui (1885) p.70 num. 32, 477; G. Mercati M. Tulli Ciceronis De Re Publica Libri, Prolegomena (Vatican 1934) pp.27ff.

18. Schmidt (1976) pl 251 n.3. These are Vatic. 5750 and Milan E 147 sup. (Fronto), fifth century uncial; Milan Ambr. C 105 inf. (Hegesippus), half-uncial, sixth cent.; Vienna 16 (Part II now in Naples) (Acts), half-uncial, fifth or sixth century.

19. Bischoff p.150. The Abbot from 822-42 was the scholar Hrbanus Maurus (Sandys 1.469-70). Perhaps the copying of V was done at his instigation.

20. Getty p.32.

21. In Origin and Development of Humanistic Script (Rome 1960) p.73; cf. G. Cambier (n.2) pp.240, 242.

22. Ehlers (1970) pp.44-83.

23. Ehlers (1970) pp.47-66.

24. Courtney (1972) p.217.

25. Gnomon 48 (1976) p.255 n.4.

26. 2.30 adesi; 70 corpora; 105 tereti; 135 illa abit et; 154 exanimat; 202 pariterque; 275 pontus; 275 sine foedatum te; 286 Thetidi; 309 novant donant; 331 Veneris; 374 invigilans; 411 pressit ac (acu C); 424 vela; 495 nemees iter aut erymanthi; also 31 omnis; 80 furiis; 94 reduci; 108 puppes; 116 umbra; 130 fingis; 163 Thressaeque; 197 adglomerant; 210 cadentum; 260 tigres; 268 famularibus; 277 medios; 301. Taurorumque; 303 dato; 305 Aricia; 318 patris; 334 Aesonides; 335 antra; 352 Hypsipyle; 359 dei; 366 pontus; 376 segni; 387 iuvat; 426 tristis; 464 fletus; 501 fulmineus; 502 sinus; 585 aurae; 594 Aeolios; 638 haerens; 654 bellorum ... recentum (Ehlers' apparatus).

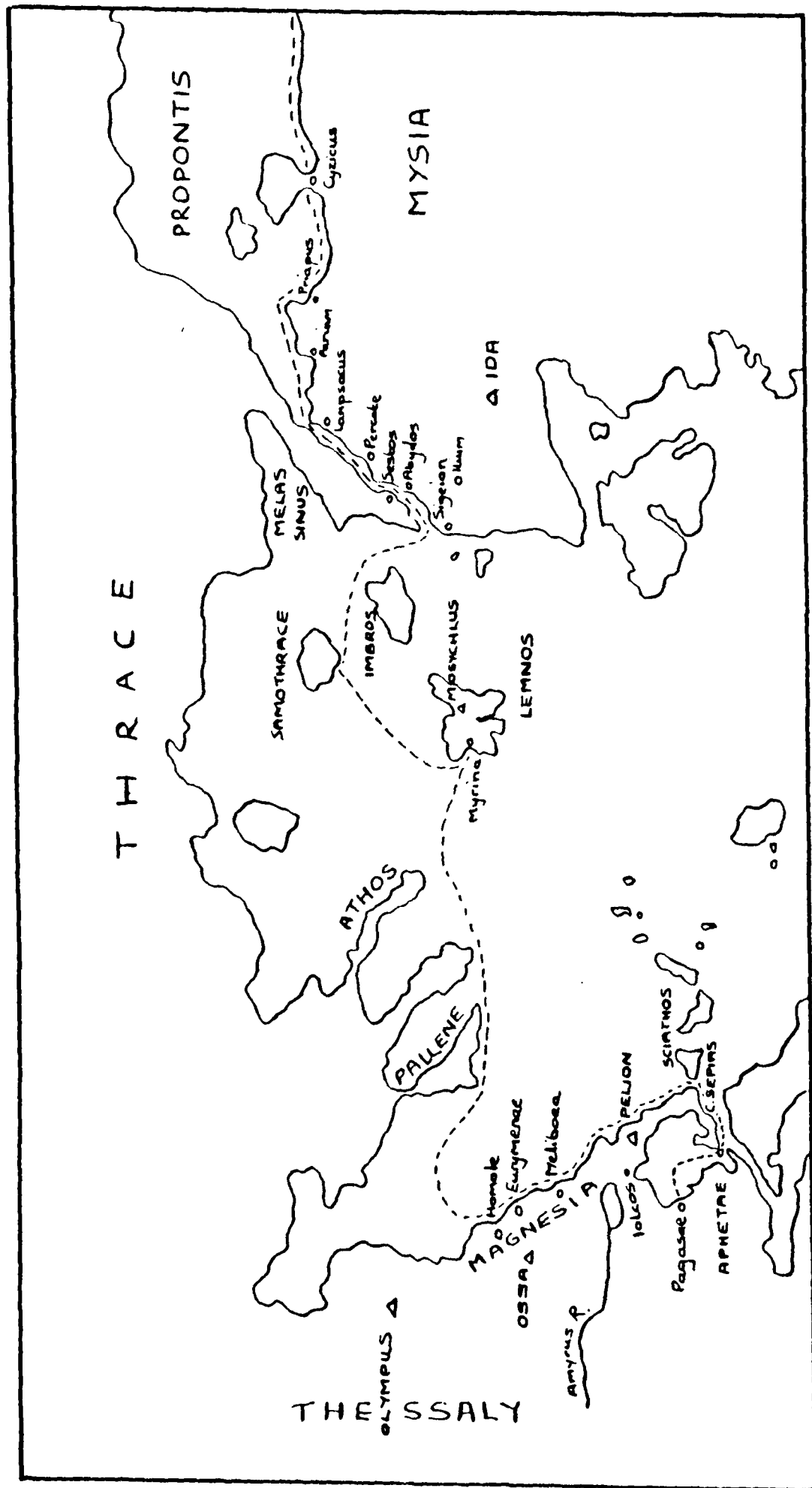
27. Ehlers (1970) pp.32-40; Getty pp.23-33; Schmidt (1976) pp.245-8.

28. Courtney, praef. p.xx-xiv; Kramer praef. pp.xxxviii. ff..
29. Ehlers (1970) p.38; Getty p.26.
30. Getty, p.26.
31. Schmidt (1976) p.246 'eine seiten- und zeilengleiche Kopie von wwar. Eine solche Möglichkeit wurde in der mittelalterlichen Schreibpraxis immer wieder wahrgenommen'. Also p.246 n.4; add the ninth century manuscripts B and A of Seneca's letters (L.D. Reynolds The Medieval Manuscript Tradition of Seneca's Letters (OUP 1965) p.33).
32. Ehlers (1970) p.114.
33. Getty p.31; Ehlers (1970) p.36; Courtney praef. pp.xii-xiii.
34. Courtney praef. p.xii (ignoring traces in S).
35. Courtney praef. xii; cf. examples in E.A. Lowe Codices Latini Antiquiores vol. 2 passim.
36. Bischoff p.109.
37. See further A. Souter Pelagius' Expositions of Thirteen Epistles of St Paul: Introduction (CUP 1922) pp.215-20, 236-7.
38. W.M. Lindsay Notae Latinae (Cambridge 1915 repr. Hildesheim 1965) p.228 (que); pp.236 and 242 (qui). None of the examples quoted are from St. Gall.
39. Cf. Ehlers (1970) p.36.
40. Bischoff p.131 and passim.
41. Thus Kramer praef. xxxix, contra Getty p.24, Ehlers (1970) p.38.
42. (Getty p.24). 2.226 maior* SVb, magior Va; 247 inruerant* S (except 0), inruerent Vb, inrueant OVa; 255 rapit* SVb, rabit Vaπ, cf. 219 sista Va, sistat* Vb, sistet S. The correct readings of S may be conjectures. (* indicates the correct reading).
43. Kramer praef. pp.xl-xlii; Getty pp.27-30; Ehlers (1970) pp.32-7.
44. Praef. pp.xxii-xxiii.
45. Ehlers (1970) pp.32-4, cf. Getty p.28.
46. Getty p.32 quoting Giarratano p.xxxviii.
47. S is correct against VL at 2. 32 iniectam; 75 primus; 81 fugat; 109 defendere; 117 canentem; 390 -que om. VL; 419 mediaeque; 455 sonat; 528 adiuta; 551 phrygum; 557 petentem; 565 infer; 600 ferte; 628 orbe; cf. Ehlers p.39; Getty p.25; Ehlers' apparatus. 'V is still our better guide, not only because it is safer to rely upon an extant ms. than a lost one, but also because its mistakes are due to nothing more than the ignorance of copyists' (Getty p.33).

48. Ullman pp.21-30; Ehlers (1970) pp.107-113.
49. Paris Bibl. Nat. 7647 12th or 13th century (p); Escoria Q. 1.14 13th or 14th century (e); Arras 64 13th century (a); Paris Bibl. Nat. 8089 15th century (c), including 2.43-6; 59-60; 117-122; 263-4. Also Oxford Bodleian Addit. A 208 13th century (o), cf. A. Gagner Florilegium Gallicum (Lund 1936) pp.35ff.
50. R.H. Rowse in Viator 10 (1979) pp.135ff. places its origin at Orleans.
51. 2.117 'quem pater omnipotens' becomes 'rex superum famam'. 263 'stabilem quando optima facta' becomes 'stabilem certe optima fata'.
52. 2.43f has 'timidus' for 'captus'.
53. Cf. Biographie Nationale (Brussels 1870) sv. Carrion. He was born at Bruges in 1547 (?).
54. In the introduction to his 1565 commentary p. 188 'quae (variantes lectiones) colligi potuerunt tam ex vulgatis libris, quos in progressu nominabo, quam ex veteri manuscripto codice; quem ante sexcentos annos conscriptum fuisse gravissima multorum indicia confirmarunt, quibus quantum hac in re tribuendum sit, tum demum lector agnosces, cum suam de antiquitate censuram ... in lucem prodite patientur'.
55. In the preface to his 1566 commentary his remark 'quos certe in toto hoc nostro Belgio praeter illum meum (=C) reperire adhuc potui nullos' is interpreted to mean that he found C in Belgium.
56. Cf. n.3.
57. Reeve p.390; cf. G. Pasquali Storia della Tradizione (Florence 1952) pp.68-71.
58. A Grafton Joseph Scaliger - a Study in the History of Classical Scholarship (Oxford 1983) pp.191ff.; 332f.
59. 1.330 raucos; 1.331 polumque; 7.229 redit itque; 7.513 dulces totiens f; totiens dulces C. There is insufficient material in the florilegia for a worthwhile comparison of their errors with those of C.
60. Ehlers praef. p.xviii.
61. Ehlers (1970) p.112.
62. Schmidt (1974) p.263 cf. Schmidt (1976) p.251 n.1.
63. F. Dolbeau Recherches Augustiniennes 13 (1978) 10-11; 33 no. 303; id. 14 (1979) 227 n.303.
64. Ehlers (1970) p.11 (L); p.19 (V). The subscription to book 5 in V reads 'C. Valeri Flacci Setini Balbi Argonauticon ...' cf. Ehlers edition p.133. X reads 'Gagi Valerii flacci balbi setini (Ehlers (1970) p.22).

65. On Carrio's manuscript cf. Ehlers (1970) pp.86-8; Courtney praef. pp.xxvi-xxviii; Kramer praef. pp.xlvi. ff.; Krenkel passim (now rather outdated).
66. Krenkel p.25.
67. Ehlers (1970) p.121-4.
68. Schmidt (1974) p.263 thinks all the additional verses were in C.
69. malim et ego praesertim cum veteris libri, quem Angelus (Politian) se vidisse testatur, auctoritate nitatur, legere unica littera immutata, Durica quam Dorica tametsi vet. cod. meus et omnes ali repugnent (Ed. 1565).
70. K Schenkl Stud (1871) p.306 n.12; M. Manilius Philol 48 (1889) p.253.
71. K. Schenkl (above) p.306 n.12.
72. Ehlers in Lustrum 16 (1971-2) p.127.
73. In The Academy 27 (no. 661, 1885) p.11.
74. In CRIS (1965) p.151. The possibility of an Irish connection is interesting in view of V's insular parentage (see above). Both Bobbio and St. Gall had links with Ireland through their founders.
75. F.J.E. Raby Christian Latin Poetry (Oxford 1953) p.206-7; Sandys 1. p.507.
76. K. Strecher Waltharius (Berlin 1947), on 197 'ich bin nicht davor überzeugt, dass hier ein Zusammenhang vorliegt, ebensowenig v. 1136'.
77. O. Schumann Lateinisches Hexameter-Lexicon (Munich 1979-1983) vol. 2 p.37 lists only these two instances.
78. M. Manitius Philol 48 (1889) p.253 mentions the ninth century poets Moduinus Naso and Ermoldus Nigellus for possible echoes of Val. but in neither are the echoes extensive or convincing.
79. In IMU 1 (1958) pp.178-9; parallels conveniently in Courtney praef. p.viii.
80. Reeve p.427 n.6, cf. Schmidt (1974) p.263.
81. Schmidt (1976) p.252.
82. Cf. Dares De Excidio Troiae Historia (ed. Meister 1873), sixth century; RE sv. Dares 2213-5 (O. Rossbach) contra C. Wagener in Philol. 38 (1879) p.97; Dictys Cretensis 'Ephemeridos Belli Troiani Libri' ed. W. Eisenhut (Teubner 1973); Guido delle Colonne Historia Destructionis Troiae (1287).
83. W.W. Ehlers Lustrum 16 (1971-2) p.140; E.R. Curtius Das Schiff der Argonauten in Kritische Essays zur europäischen Literatur (Bern 1950) p.414 n.1.

84. Dictionary of National Biography sv. Joseph of Exeter.
85. Courtney praef. p.viii cf. W.W. Skeat Chaucer (Oxford 1894-7); F.N. Robinson The Complete Works of Geoffrey Chaucer (Oxford 1957); W.B. Hinckley Notes on Chaucer (Northampton, Mass., 1907); E.F. Shannon Chaucer and the Roman Poets (Cambr. Mass. 1929); B.A. Wise The Influence of Statius upon Chaucer (Baltimore 1911).
86. Ullman p.21.
87. Skeat p.302; Robinson p.844.
88. Cf. D.M. Schullian A revised List of Manuscripts of Valerius Maximus, Medioevo e Umanismo 44-5 (Padua 1981) 695-728.
89. De claris mulieribus ch. 15 De Ysiphile Regina Lemni.
90. Robinson praef. pp.xxi.f.; to Florence and Genoa 1372-3; Flanders and Paris 1376-81.



Sketch map to show the route taken by the Argonauts from Pagasae to Cyzicus according to Valerius Flaccus and Apollonius.

1-5 The Voyage Continues

The narrative of the voyage is resumed from 1.699, after a digression dealing with events in Iolcos after Jason's departure, in particular Aeson's suicide. This digression is neatly framed by references to Jason, though nothing is said at the start of Book 2 about the misgivings he felt at 1.693-9; indeed 'ignarus' belies them.

1. Interea: both transitional, marking a change of subject and situation, and also used to mark the passage of time. Jason's voyage has continued 'all this time' (Mozley), contemporaneously with the digression. In a linear narrative such linkwords are frequently used to make the flow continuous, cf. 4.529; 8.134; 3.332. Homer's narrative is far less continuous, cf. Il. 16.1-2; 18.1-2. Valerius has in mind VA. 5.1-2 'interea medium Aeneas iam classe tenebat certus iter fluctusque atros Aquilone secabat', which mark a return to Aeneas' voyage, last mentioned in A. 4. 583. There is a similar break in the narrative caused by the account of Dido's suicide (4. 584-705) and a comparable situation: Aeneas is ignorant of events ('causa latet' 5.5).

ignarus: Valerius appears to be inconsistent in treating of Jason's ignorance. At 7.494 he speaks as though he thought Aeson were still alive (cf. 5.48); but at 3.302f. he mentions a prophecy foretelling his father's death. This, however, may have been couched in terms too general for Jason to have realised the exact manner of its fulfilment. (See Summers p.3.)

2. patrios: this use of the adjective rather than the genitive originally belonged to the spoken language both in Greek (eg. Ἀπειος πᾶγος) and Latin ('campus Martius'): this one may note in comedy, 'erilis' (Pl. Ba. 233); 'patrius' (Pl. Merc. 73). Ciceronian prose avoided the construction, but it was retained in poetry. See further Fordyce on VA. 7.1 with literature there cited.

For a probable echo cf. St. Th. 5. 626 'dum patrios casus ... retracto' (Hypsipyle's account of the Lemnian massacre). Valerius may have in mind the Virgilian phrases A. 2.10 'sed si tantus amor casus cognoscere nostros'; 3.299 'casus cognoscere tantos'.

3. Juno: with a short final vowel. The practice originated in spoken Latin, with the shortening of the final 'o' of an iambic dissyllable (except in the dative and ablative of second declension nouns) - first egō (TLL 5.2. 252.7ff.); modō (Plaut.); duō (Lucilius); homō (Lucr. 6.652); volō (Cat. 6.16). The metrical convenience of the short final vowel resulted in its extension to non-iambic words, e.g. nesciō (Cat. 80. 5 etc); the shortening of a spondee to a trochee is found first in Prop. 3. 9. 35 findō (cf. A.E. Housman in The Classical Papers (Cambridge 1972) p.276) and was taken up by Ovid (ergō, nemō, credō, and some proper names). Juvenal carried the practice to extremes in writing vigilandō (3.232).

Valerius prefers virgō (21x) to virgō (7x cf. 2.127); Junō (14x) to Junō (5x); leō (3x) to leō (1.757 only); but has only Argō, Dotō, Iō. He has sciō (1.196), credō (5.379); orō (7.477); linquō (8.46); sperō (8.108); incusō (8.158); quaesō (7.478); spectabō (7.479); servabō (8.77). See further Kösters pp.83ff.; R. Hartenberger de o finale apud poetas latinos ab Ennio usque ad Iuvenalem (Bonn 1911) p.103; and in general L. Müller De re metrica poetarum latinorum (Leipzig 1894) pp.413ff; KS 1.112ff.

4.f. adhuc obstantia regis fata: 'in' must be understood from the previous phrase. The phrase refers to the destiny that as yet prevented Jason from killing Pelias - his death now is not part of the divine plan, for he is destined to die at Medea's hands (1.810ff.). Valerius probably did not intend to include this episode in his poem any more than he planned to relate Medea's revenge mentioned 1.224; 4.14f. etc. These references to future events help to keep Jason's ultimate goal in view, and bind the poem together.

5. que ... ne: 'ne' is Burman's correction of ω's 'neu'. 'Que ... ne' stands in place of 'neu' as at 7.80f.. Courtney's 'placitos divis neu' involves unnecessary change. Virgil always prefers 'neu' to 'que ... ne' (VA. 2.188, and frequently).

actus: a variant for 'acta', confined to the Silver Age (cf. TLL 1.453.3ff. cf. Valerius 5.507 etc.). The word implies a series of exploits, (like the labours of Hercules, 'Herculis actis' St. Th. 4.826), culminating in the death of Pelias.

6-16: The Argonauts' northward voyage along the east coast of Thessaly from Pagasae to Pallene. (see map p. xlx)

Valerius adheres very closely to Apollonius' account (l. 580-600). All the places mentioned, except perhaps the tomb of Dolops, are historical rather than mythological (cf. ps.-Scylax ch. 65; Strabo 9. p. 442; Mela passim; Plin. NH 4. 32) though Valerius' tendency to abbreviate causes him to select only the best known landmarks (Pelion and Ossa, Pallene and Athos etc.) and to omit the little-known towns found in Apollonius, though he includes Eurymenae. Capes Sepias and Sciathos were familiar from Herodotus (7. 183) as the site of the violent storm that wrecked part of the Persian fleet in 480 B.C. See further Delage pp. 76 ff.

Valerius' account of the voyage is written in the tradition of the periplus (cf. RE sv. περιπλους), with its list of prominent landmarks visible from the ship; headlands, islands, mountains, temples, towns and tombs; as well as details about the wind (12) and indications of time (34 ff.; 75 f.). Both Valerius and Apollonius include some mythological details (e.g. the Clashing Rocks) but on the outward voyage at least the adventures are set firmly within a geographical setting.

The geographical details are entirely from Apollonius. Valerius abbreviates his source considerably, in respect of both the time of the voyage and the number of places mentioned, as he does later in relating the voyage from C. Carambis to the Chalybes (5. 107 ff.). His reasons are twofold; he wishes to emphasize the speed of the voyage by reducing the length of the narrative, and he favours the episodic method of composition, and therefore places greater emphasis on the visits to Lemnos, Cyzicus, etc, than on the voyage itself.

(a) The time of the voyage. Valerius' Argonauts spend about twelve hours, including the storm, reaching Pallene; they pass the night at sea and reach Lemnos on the following day (1.494 - 2.80). In Apollonius they spend the first day sailing from Colchos to Magnesia and pass the night and following two days on Aphetæ (l. 585-591). A further day (594) and night (600) takes them to Athos (601), and they reach Lemnos on the evening of that day, the fifth (607 f.).

(b) The places mentioned. Valerius omits Meliboea and Homole and also the delay at Aphetæ, introduced by Apollonius for its aetiological detail (cf. Hdt. 7. 193.2, contra Hes. fr. 59 MW). He

incorporates the reference to Tisaeum from earlier in Apollonius (l. 568), thus concentrating the whole voyage in one place.

The treatment of the voyage by the two poets is different in other ways too. Valerius concentrates on rapid movement - 'iamque' (6), 'iam' (8) - all single moments of time, aided by anaphora (8) and asyndeton - 'attollit', 'vidisse' (9-10). The absence of major pauses at the line ends furthers the impression of speed. Line 13, an echo of Virgil, is particularly effective metrically (see below). Valerius has used the pauses for maximum effect, to suggest the speed of the voyage and the variety of places that pass by. He concentrates on single individual events. Places vanish almost before they have appeared (6-8), and the two perfect tenses ('subsedit', 'recessit', 8) in a passage where the tenses are otherwise present increases the feeling of rapid movement.

In contrast, Apollonius' narrative is more continuous and flowing. He uses the imperfect tense, and double compound verbs (παρεξήμειβον , ἐπικπροθέοντες , παρεξέθεον) to indicate the continuous progress from place to place. Valerius' use of verbs (especially the Virgilian topic 'recessit') is far more lively. (See further Mehmel pp. 5 ff.; Barnes pp. 2 ff., 30).

A closer comparison of the two versions reveals that Valerius' language is often exceedingly close to that of his source. Valerius uses a number of words that appear in Apollonius either in the same part of the line e.g. 'iamque' (6), - αὐτίκα (l. 580); 'Ossa' (16), - Ὀσσης (l. 598); or in the same part of the narrative e.g. 'inde' (13), - κεῖθεν (l. 597); or that are similar in some other respect - 'Dolopeia busta' (10), τύμβος Δολοπήιος (l. 585); 'mergunt' (7) ἔδυνε (l. 582), see below. He keeps proper names in the form in which he finds them, except 'Magnes campus' (9 f.). In one instance he makes a phrase fit the same part of the hexameter line as in Apollonius: 'iam Sciathos subsedit aquis' (8); φαίνεται δ' εἰσαλιή Σκίαθος (l. 583).

Valerius shares this feature with another poet whom he may have used as a source. He must have had access to the translation of Apollonius produced by Varro Atacinus (Quint. 10. 87; Probus on VG. 2.122; Ov. Am. l. 15. 21) in the first century B.C. The few fragments of Varro that remain (Morel FPL pp. 93-6) suggest that his translation was extremely close to the original, like Catullus' translation of

Callimachus fr. 110 Pf. He has attempted to retain the exact wording and position of words of the original and where possible to repeat their sound. This is especially true of proper names, which occur in the same part of the line in both Varro and Apollonius: 'Laerni' (fr. 1. 2), 'Λέρνου' (ARh. 1.135); 'Amymone' (fr. 1. 4), (1. 137); 'Tiphyn' (fr. 2. 1), (1. 401); 'Coryciae' (fr. 5. 1), (2. 711); also in phrases, especially 'ieie conclamarunt' (fr. 5. 2) and 'ἰήιε κεκληγυῖαι' (2. 712) (notice the similar sound of the verbs); 'feta feris Libye' (fr. 12), 'Λιβύη θηροτρόφω' (4. 1561) attempts to reproduce the Greek compound adjective.

Valerius has a few instances of this technique (above), but prefers his references to Apollonius to be more subtle. If the whole of Varro's translation exhibited such a tendency, there is little indication that Valerius used it extensively, though it is ⁱⁿ passages like that under discussion that any resemblance lies.

6. fretis summas aequatum: an effective juxtaposition indicative of contrasting heights. As the mountain recedes into the distance it appears to become level with the waves. For the idea in reverse cf. 1.496 'donec iam celsior arbore pontus'; to the watchers on the shore the sea appears to overtop the boat as it sails away. 'Aequatum Pelion' is framed by 'summas ornos', the lofty trees that encircle the mountain.

'Summas ornos' is a retained accusative after the passive participle 'aequatum', where prose would use an active verb (see further on 103-4 'subnectitur').

summas Pelion ornos: Peleus' great ash spear traditionally came from the summit of Mt. Pelion, cf. Valerius 1.406 'quantum Peliacas in vertice vicerat ornos' from Il. 16.143f. Πηλιάδα μέλινον ... Πηλίου ἔκ κορυφῆς. The wood of the Argo too came from Mt. Pelion (Cat. 64. 1; Valerius 1.95) though this was pine.

7. Tisaeae: cf. ARh. 1.568 'Τισαίην εἴκηλοι ὑπὲρ δολιχὴν θέον ἄκρην' Artemis saviour of ships has a temple here (1.569ff.). The position of Tisaeum is unclear. Apollonius refers to a promontory in Magnesia, at the entrance to the Gulf of Pagasae (Schol. 1.568) cf. Orph. Arg. 462. A Mt. Tisaeum is mentioned by Livy 28. 5. 17; Polyb. 10. 42. 7 (Walbank ad loc.) Possibly Titanus, part of Eurypylus' domain in Il. 2.735, a

city (Leaf ad loc.), or mountain (Strabo 9 p.438-9), is the same. Scylax ch. 65 Ἰσαί λιμήν should perhaps be corrected to read Τισαί λιμήν (Müller). The exact position of Tisaeum, however, was of no interest to Valerius who was content to adopt Apollonius here.

mergunt: intransitive; the temples 'sink'. This use of 'mergere' is rare (TLL 8.835. 55ff.) but not unparalleled; Aetna 181 'hinc vasti terrent aditus merguntque profundo' (Goodyear ad loc.). (L. Feltenius Intransitivizations in Latin (Uppsala 1977) p.61f.) Valerius may have in mind Apollonius 1.582 ἔδυνε δὲ Σηπιδᾶς ἄκρη '. Samuelsson's introduction of the reflexive 'se' is unnecessary. The alternative explanation, which makes 'mergunt' transitive, is difficult, in view of 'Sciathos subsedit' in the next line.

obliqua: 'abeam' (Mozley). In contrast to the rest of this passage, the movement implied in 'obliqua' is a slanting sideways one. Its juxtaposition with 'mergunt' is thus emphatic.

8. longa recessit: the juxtaposition is emphatic. In spite of its length, the Cape recedes into the distance. The direction of movement here is backwards rather than downwards as in 'aequatum', 'mergunt', 'subsedit'.

The motif of land appearing to move or recede is familiar from Virgil, cf. VA. 3.72 'terraeque urbesque recedunt'; Ov. M. 8.139 (Hollis ad loc.); 11.466; Valerius 5.51; St. Th. 1.549; Sil. 3.157; Rut. Nam. 1.223. Similar ideas are expressed by Virgil at 3.536 'refugitque ab litore templum'; cf. notes on Valerius 2.431, 443, 580. Apollonius has φαίνεται δ' εἰναλὴν Σκίαθος , φαίνοντο δ' ἄπωθεν Πειρεσιαὶ (1.583) cf. VA. 3.192-3 'apparent terrae' etc. The effectiveness of the motif stems from the transference of the idea of motion from the person or ship on the move to the places passed, thus personifying the places that are passed on the voyage. The optical illusion implied is discussed by Lucr. 'qua vehimur navi, fertur, cum stare videtur; quae manet in statione, ea praeter creditur ire. Et fugere ad puppim colles campique videntur quos agimus praeter navem velisque volamus' (4.387ff.) and Cic. Acad. 2.81 'videsne navem illam? stare nobis videtur, at iis qui in navi sunt moveri haec villa'; also De Div. 2. 120; Sextus Empiricus PH 1.103, AM 1.414; Sen. Nat. Qu. 7.25.7 makes the reverse observation.

9. attollit: 'the Magnesian plain raises up its horses'. Again the place is personified, and here the direction of movement is upwards, the opposite of 'subsedit' (8). Cf. VA. 3.205-6 'quarto terra die primum se attollere tandem visa'; 3.552 'attollit se diva Lacinia contra' (both reflexive), and Sil. 1.585f. 'Herculei ponto coepere existere colles et nebula iugis attollere saxa Monoeci'. Comparable is ARh. 1.601 f. Ἄθω ἀνέτελλε κολώνη Θρηικίη - Athos rises above the horizon; cf. 78 'surgit'.

tondentes pabula ... equos; possibly a translation of the Greek epithet ἰκρόβοτος which is often used of Thessaly, specifically with reference to Argos (Il. 2.287 etc. - not the town in the Peloponnese) cf. Eur. Andr. 1229 (Phthia). For Magnesian horses, cf. Pind. P. 2.45 ἰκποισι Μαγνητιδεσσιν; Luc. 6.385 Magnetes equis ... gens cognita.'

10. Dolopeia busta: mentioned only in Apollonius (1.585), Orph. Arg. 463 (from Apollonius). Apollonius probably obtained the detail from Cleon (Schol. 1.587). Possibly the tomb was a notable landmark, like that of Achilles at Sigeum, and as such would be mentioned in a periplus. Cf. also 2.580f, the tombs of Ilus and Dardanus; 5.88 Sthenelus' barrow (ARh. 2.911). More probably, however, it is a poetic creation to house the eponymous ancestor of the Dolopes. Valerius repeats the detail from Apollonius, converting the singular τῦμβος Δολοπῆτιος into a dignified plural.

vidisse putant: Langen notes the omission of 'se' as at 372f. 'zephyrosque audire ... dissimulant'. The phrase recalls VA. 6.454 'aut videt aut vidisse putat' from ARh. 4. 1480 ἧ ἴδεν , ἧ ἐδόκησεν ἐπαχλύουσιν ἰδέσθαι. The Argonauts think they can make out the tomb and river mouth in the distance, but are not quite sure.

11. Amyron: Valerius repeats Apollonius' geographical error (1.596). The outflow of the river Amyrus is not the sea but Lake Boebeis (Delage pp.81, 292). Valerius however is not concerned with geographical accuracy. The convolutions of the Latin resemble the windings of the river.

12. flumineo ... vento: this detail is not in Apollonius, but compare the adverse winds that force the Argonauts to land at Aphetæ (1.585-6) ἐνθ' ἄρα τοίγε ἐσπέριοι ἀνέμοιο παλιμπνοίῃσιν ἔχελσαν and their

enforced delay there. The ships are blown off course (cf. 'redeuntia') by the river breeze.

13. vela legunt: 'they furl the sails', TLL 7.2.2 1124.4 'usu plus minusve technico'. The phrase occurs VG. 1.373; A. 3.532 'vela legunt socii'; (Ov) H. 15.216; Claud. 15.481, and may be a poetic variant for the more technical 'contrahere vela', 'to shorten sail' or 'make a reef' (OLD); cf. Cic. ad Att. 1.16.2 (metaph.); Liv. 36.44.2; the Greek equivalent is ἱστία στέλλειν Od. 3.11 etc.; cf. L. Casson, Ships and Seamanship in the Roman World (Princeton, 1971) pp. 273-8, especially p.275 n.21.

remis insurgitur: the phrase is clearly meant as an echo of VA. 3.207 'vela cadunt, remis insurgimus'; cf. also A. 3.560, 5.189 'insurgite remis'. Echoes of Aeneid 3, Aeneas' journey from Troy to Carthage, are hardly unexpected in Valerius' account of Jason's voyage, but there is little significance in them.

The rhythm reflects the sense, with an abrupt jerk as the sailors take to the oars. The strong pause at the bucolic diaeresis suggests the effort put by the sailors into rowing the ship back on course. This pause is used rarely by the Latin poets. Virgil's Aen. has less than one instance per hundred lines; Valerius has 12 instances in Book 2. See further Winbolt pp.45-9; J. Perret REL 34 (1956) pp.146ff.

salutant: either 'they greet' Eurymenae (as it appears), as VA. 3.524 'Italiam laeto socii clamore salutant', or 'they bid farewell to' as St. Th. 4.18f. 'rorant clipeique iubaeque triste salutantum'. Perhaps both meanings are implied; it is a case of 'hail and farewell'.

14. Eurymenas: a town in Magnesia, the position of which is not known exactly (Delage p.81). Valerius has obtained the name from Apollonius (1.597); cf. Hecateus fr. 136J; Steph. Byz. s.v.; Livy 39.25.3; Strabo 9 p.443. Pliny's spelling 'Erymnae' (NH. 4.32) may have arisen from the reading Ἐρυμέναι for Ἐόρυμέναι in Scylax 65. (em. Vossius).

recipit: with both 'velum' and 'fretum' by syllepsis: the returning south wind fills the sail again and dominates the sea after the cross wind caused by the outfall of the Amyrus. 'Recipit', 'reversus' and 'repetentibus' together indicate the effort of steering the ship back on course; Apollonius' repetition of the prefix καρ- or καρεξ- (1.581, 592, 595) may have given Valerius the idea, though in

Apollonius it emphasises the continuity of the voyage. 'Repetentibus' has a definite meaning and it is unnecessary to argue that the compound word has been used in place of the simple 'petentibus'. The sailors are once again making for the deep after being blown off course.

15. Minyis: Argonauts, cf. Bömer Ov. M. 6.720. Apollonius (1.229ff) claims that most of the Argonauts were descended from the daughters of Minyas. A more likely explanation for the name is that the inhabitants of Iolcos were believed to be descendants of emigrants from 'Minyan' Orchomenos (Il. 2.511 etc), and archaeological evidence suggests a migratory movement from south to north (cf. J.R. Bacon The Voyage of the Argonauts (Methuen 1925) p.141) though legend tells of the reverse (ARh. 3.1093ff.). 'Minyae' was therefore a comprehensive term for the inhabitants of Iolchos, and is applied by extension to the Argonauts. in nubem ... Ossa redit: Ossa retires into the cloud. The movement is either backwards (cf. on 'recessit' 8) as Ossa vanishes into the distance as if hidden in cloud, cf. 431 'tunc tenuis Lemnos', or upwards; Ossa's peak is swathed in cloud, cf. 6.612 'Caucasus ... summas abiit hibernus in Arctos'; Luc. 2.626 'in nubes abiit Ceraunia'; Sil. 3.493, 'abeunt ... in nubila montes'. The parallels make the second interpretation more likely; the context favours the first, and a bit of both may be intended.

16-33. Valerius diverges from Apollonius and embarks on a brief account of Pallene, site of the battle between the gods and the giants, and the fate of the giants. He keeps within the context of the narrative until the unduly lengthy digression concerning Typhoeus (23-33) that would usually accompany an account of the eruption of Aetna.

His reasons for digressing here are not immediately obvious. A gigantomachia usually serves an allegorical purpose, frequently appearing as a symbol of the victory of civilisation over barbarity, and as such was a useful political image (cf. Pind. P. 1.15ff.; Luc. 1.33ff., NH on H.C 2.12.7, etc). Here the battle may be intended as a paradigm for Jason and the other heroes, and its inclusion at the start of the voyage reinforces this possibility. Success can only be achieved through labour; cf. 1.561ff., where Jupiter likens his victory over the giants to the labours of Castor, Pollux and Hercules, necessary for attaining a place in heaven. Though Jason is not fated

to reach such heights, the katasterismos of the Argo, hence the glorification of the whole expedition, is frequently promised (1.4 etc). The episode may also specifically prefigure Pollux' victory over Amycus, the prime example in Valerius of barbarity (cf. 2.647-8; 4.102ff.). Furthermore, its position before the arrival at Lemnos may be significant. Not only does the incident of the massacre reveal that opposition to the gods must receive its due punishment, but also the attractions of the island almost cause the expedition to be abandoned, thus casting doubt on the promise of a glorious future.

In fact, however, the allusion to the battle itself is slight, and Valerius prefers to concentrate on the metamorphosis of the giants and the fate of Typhoeus. An explanation for the inclusion of this passage should perhaps be sought elsewhere. Valerius may be replying to the 'recusationes' of poets not intending to write epic (examples with gigantomachia references are collected at NH HC 2.12.1). Valerius is writing epic, and thus includes one of the stock epic themes. However, he emphasises that the battle belongs in the distant past; the giants are very much dead.

The mythological gigantomachy seems to have originated relatively late, probably duplicating the story of the Titans (Hes. Th. 617ff.). Homer refers at Od. 7.56-60 to the presumptuous behaviour of Eurymedon, king of the giants, without revealing any details, and the only reference to the giants in Hesiod (Th. 954, West ad loc.) is probably a post-Hesiodic interpolation (though cf. Catalogue fr. 19-20 MW). The gigantomachy appears first in both art and literature in the second quarter of the sixth century (cf. Vian pp.1, 20). Xenophanes (fr. 1.21f.) and perhaps Alcman's Partheneion 22-34 are the earliest literary references; however Pindar's brief account in N. 1 presupposes a familiarity with the story. Later the basic account was expanded to encompass the exploits of Hercules and individual gods against the giants, and the mythological site of the battle identified with Pallene or Campania. Apollodorus' comprehensive version reflects the story at a late stage of its development (1.6.1-2).

Valerius alludes to the fight only in general terms, emphasizing one feature that is virtually unique in the metamorphosis of the giants into mountains, possibly adapted from Lucan, but related in the Ovidian manner.

16. metus ... deum: 'Metus' is substantive; Pallene was 'an object of fear to the gods'. A stock phrase is given a paradoxical twist. 'Metus' in this sense is confined to Silver Age poetry; cf. TLL 8.912 36ff.; Sen. Med. 467 (Costa ad loc.); St. Th. 3.641 'hominum divumque metus'; Sil. 3.70 'Aeneadum ... metus'; compare Valerius 4.320 'pavor' of Amycus. Generally the object of fear is a person, and here 'Pallene' suggests the giants. Meynckes' conjecture 'vetus' would spoil Valerius' striking phrase and is unnecessary.

damnataque bello: 'made accursed by war'. That the place is accursed is revealed later (22-3); Jupiter punishes the place with violent thunderstorms. 'Bello' is ablative; cf. Luc. 1.249 'o tristi damnata loco' (moenia) Housman ad loc; Strand p.44. The gigantomachia took place in the past; thus comparison with such phrases as St. Th. 7. 239 'damnatus bellis' (campus), the site of the battle to be, where 'bellis' is dative, is not helpful. The war is a cause of punishment (OLD sv. damno 1b) not the punishment itself, as 2.153 'damnata ... paelice proles'.

17. Pallene: Apollonius differentiates between Pallene (1.599) in his account of the voyage and Phlegra when referring to the battle (3.234, 1227), thus removing the mythological element from the periplus. Valerius does not so distinguish ('Pallene' here, 'Phlegraeas pugnas' 5.692 cf. 1.564).

immania monstra: cf. Ov. F. 5.35 'Terra feros partus, immania monstra, Gigantas'. Valerius also has in mind VA. 3.583f. 'noctem illam tecti silvis immania monstra perferimus' (of Enceladus' restless movements that cause Etna to erupt). The Argonauts see not the monsters themselves but the 'monstrous forms' (Mozley) that were once the giants. 'Immania' encapsulates the giants' huge size; cf. Claud. de Rapt. Pros 2.158; 3.341; Vian p.187 n.10. With 'monstra' compare the Greek use of τέρας, especially Aes. PV. 352, Pind. P. 1.26 (Typhoeus).

18. terrigenum: the adjective recalls the Greek γηγενής (Aes. PV. 351 of Typhoeus). It appears first in Lucr. (5.1411, 1427). Cf. also Ov. M. 5.325 (Typhoeus); Sil. 9.306; Claud. de Rapt. Pros. 3.351 (giants). The giants were originally thought of as autochthonous inhabitants of Trinacria (Od. 7.59 etc.); Hesiod makes them sons of Gaia and Uranus

(Th. 185 West ad loc.); cf. Naev. Bell. Pun. 19.3.M; VG. 1.278ff.; H.C. 2.12.7 etc. The shortened form of the genitive plural has been coined by analogy with that of second declension nouns e.g. 'deum' (16) like θεῶν, and is not the result of contraction (cf. also 'caelicolum' (83); 'Phrygum' (551); 'Graiugenum' (557); N.W. 1.31-2). It adds to the archaic tone of the passage, reaffirming that the giants belong to the distant past.

The juxtaposition of 'terrigenum' and 'caelo' reflects the giants' parentage and recalls their attempt to bring the sky within reach of the earth by piling up mountains. The whole line is symmetrically framed by adjective and noun, cf. p.vii.

19. scopulis trabibusque ... iugisque: 'scopulis' and 'iugis' are tautologous (cf. 4.65f. 'montes ... iuga'); Meyncke's conjecture 'saxisque' for 'trabibusque', intended to remove all reference to 'woods', is unnecessary. 'Trabibusque' is a realistic touch, and the combination of 'cliffs' and 'forests' reflects the giants' weapons, sticks and stones (Hermipp. 31; Plat. Soph. 246A; Apld. 1.6.1 cf. Alcman's Partheneion 31), emphasizing the appropriateness of their fate. The giants return whence they came cf. HC. 3.4.73 f. 'iniecta monstros Terra dolet suis'. Valerius' version of their transformation is unusual, and perhaps based on Luc. 9.655ff. 'caeloque timente olim Phlegraeo stantes serpente gigantas erexit montes, bellumque immane deorum Pallados e medio confecit pectore Gorgon' (cf. Claud. Gigant. 91ff.). The motif may be Hellenistic - the scholiast on ARh. 1.501 reveals that in one version the stones hurled by the giants were transformed into islands or mountains cf. Nisyrus (Strabo 10 p.489; Apld. 1.6.2); Alcman's Partheneion 31 (D. Page ad loc.).

miserata: pity is a common motif in transformation poetry cf. Hollis on Ov. M. 8.251-9, quoting M. 11. 784-6.

20. induit: an instance of the clothing metaphor often found in transformations; Ciris 484 'squamis vestire puellam'; 503 'vestivit tegmine corpus' (Lyne ad loc.); Ov. M. 2.582f.; 5.546; 8.253. 'Scopulis' is thus ablative and not dative as the parallel with VA. 7.19f 'quos ... induerat Circe in vultus ac terga ferarum' might suggest. (Cf. Strand p.47). The verb is also an extension of a metaphor for death, cf Il. 3.56f. ἦ τέ κεν ἤδη λάϊνον ἔσσο χιτῶνα ;

Pind. Nem. 11.16 καὶ τελευτὰν ... γὰρ ἐπιεσσόμενος ; Aes. Ag. 872, Fraenkel ad loc.; ARh. 1.691 γαῖαν ἐφέσσεσθαι . Earth puts on her children 'the garment of death'.

versos ... montes; 'montes' is predicative with 'versos' and by its position is unexpected and effective, conveying an excellent picture of the giants' final transformation into mountains. Valerius is borrowing from Luc. 9.656 f. 'gigantas erexit montes'. 'Extruxit montes' echoes VG. 1.283 'ter pater exstructos disiecit fulmine montis'. The giants' fate thus echoes their attempt to reach heaven.

21. metusque: possibly 'each preserves his terrifying stance' but more probably 'each maintains his attitude of fear' (Mozley 'or cowers'). 'Metus' forms the third element of the progression 'minas', 'pugnam, metus' - first they threaten, then they fight, then they fear.

servat: the giants maintain their former attitude after transformation. The retention of appearance, habits or attitude (as well as name) after metamorphosis was probably a regular feature of Hellenistic metamorphosis poetry, cf. Hollis on Ov. M. 8.236-59 and M. 1.237 'fit lupus et veteris servat vestigia formae' (Lycaeon); M. 4.270; 9.227, etc. The motif is clearly Ovidian, and 'servat' the usual verb in such passages.

22. quatit hiemes: cf. 1.82 'quateret cum Iuppiter imbrem'. The verb depicts the crashing of the storm and is an instance of Valerius' vivid use of vocabulary. Mozley's 'wields his storms' loses something of the effect, though the implication is right in suggesting the hurling of thunderbolts that causes the crashing storm (22-3). The word includes the buffeting of the wind, the crashing of waves, and the violent upheaval on land. Jupiter punishes the place for its role as battlefield (cf. 16). Compare Il. 2.782-3 where Zeus continues to hurl thunderbolts at the place where Typhoeus' body lies.

ipse ... pater: Jupiter, as is usual cf. TLL 7.2.1 342.7ff; Valerius 1.498; 2.94 (pater); but 2.705 'pater ipse profundus'; 4.571 'pater ipse maris' are Neptune'.

23-4. For Typhoeus' confinement beneath Aetna, Valerius is indebted to the account of Enceladus' fate in VA. 3.578 ff. and particularly that of Typhoeus in Ov. M. 5.346ff. He also echoes another Virgilian

passage, Hercules' defeat of Cacus in A. 8. 193-267 (cf. 'revomentem pectore flammis' (25) and A. 8.199, 255; 'mole resurgentem' (28) and A. 8.199). Cacus, like Typhoeus, is a fire-breathing monster.

Valerius has followed Ovid in placing Typhoeus beneath Aetna, and not Enceladus, as Virgil did, following the more recherché Callimachean tradition. A close examination of Valerius' use of Virgil and Ovid (in the commentary) reveals that he has selected and rearranged ideas and phrases that appealed to him and has avoided wholesale adaptation.

The end result, however, is disappointing. The additional details of Neptune conveying Typhoeus to Aetna are confusing and result in some repetition. Nevertheless, there are some good moments. The movement of the passage from the rapidity of 25, with emphatic elision 'profugum et' and the enjambement of 'abstulit', as Neptune puts a stop to the giant's flight, is effective. Neptune's quick movements in 27 (-que-que) contrast with the spondaic sounds and assonance of the accusative participles in 28 as Typhoeus endeavours to escape. He is finally imprisoned (30), and the next few lines represent his attempt to shift the heavy mass of Aetna from his chest, brought out in the '-em' sounds, the spondees in 32, rising to a peak at 'experiens', and then sinking downwards to the short staccato final phrase, with the false ending at 'reponit', and the thus doubly effective final word 'inani' stressing Typhoeus' baffled, ineffectual attempt.

The whole passage is comparable to Ciris 32 ff. 'additur Typhon', where the account forms a digression 'beyond the usual events of a gigantomachy' (Lyne ad loc.). In Valerius the description is totally extraneous - Typhoeus is not even there, 'abest'. Why, then, has Valerius incorporated a description of Typhoeus' fate? One function may be to link together various episodes of the poem. The episode foreshadows Pollux' victory over Amycus (4.133-343); the parallel is explicit (4.236ff.; ARh. 2.38-40). Valerius refers to Typhoeus twice more in the poem. At 3.130 the Cyzicenes are identified with the giant, and at 6.169 a simile links Aeetes' opponents with Typhoeus. Thus several of Jason's foes take on the role of Typhoeus, and by implication he and his followers represent the gods, the opponents of barbarism.

Furthermore, the episode may look forward to the coming narrative of Vulcan's fall from heaven (2.87-91). One tradition made Typhoeus a son of Hera (Hom. Hymn. Ap. 305-55; Stesich. PMG. 239) as was Vulcan,

and like Vulcan, his opposition to Jupiter receives a fitting punishment.

See further; F. Vian pp.12-16; J. Schmidt in Roscher 5 (1924) 1436-54; M.L. West, Hes. Th. 820-80; J. Fontenrose Python (California U.P. 1959) pp. 70-93; S.M. Vaquero Tifoeo, el cautivo del Etna (Valerius 2.24) in Helmantica 31 (1980) 245ff.

23. sed: second word as at 2.280, 571; cf. 'nam' 2.278 (fourth); 'nec' 2.84, 355 (second); 'aut' 2.181 (second); 'et' 2.53, 74, 414, (second). Valerius follows the Virgilian licence (cf. A. 1.353 'sed'; 1.333 'et'; 4.33 'nec'; 4.187 'aut'; Norden Abh. 3.B.3). The postponement of connectives was originally a neoteric mannerism introduced by Catullus in imitation of Hellenistic usage. Apollonius has only one instance, at 3.203 ' εἰς ἐτλ νῦν γὰρ '. See further HSz p.506; note on 150 'sed'.

24. horror ... Typhoeus: the two nouns frame the line (cf. p.vii above). Typhoeus appears in literature from Homer onwards as an opponent of Zeus, created to challenge his newly-won supremacy after the defeat of the Titans (Hes. Th. 820ff.). Valerius has associated him with the giants, the post-Hesiodic tradition. (Vian pp.171ff.; cf. Pind. P. 8.15-18; Eur. HF. 1272; VG. 1.278f.; H.C. 3.4.53f.; Valerius 4.236; Roscher 5.1440. 20ff.etc.).

abest: An Ovidian formula (e.g. Ov. M. 1.583 'Inachus unus abest'), often introducing a transition to a story only slightly related to the main episode (cf. Bömer on M. 1.568ff.; 2.340ff.). Here the transition is made to a digression. Typhoeus is not linked with the area and there is no need to describe his fate, or to explain the cause of Etna's eruptions, but Valerius uses the opportunity to extend his narrative about the giants with some colourful description.

Sicula ... tellure: Apollonius placed Typhoeus beneath the Serbonian lake (2.1210ff. cf. Hdt. 3.5). Valerius following Ovid adopts the tradition that places him beneath Mt. Aetna in Sicily (Pind. P. 1.15f.; Aes. PV 351ff.; Ov. M. 5.352 etc.; Sil. 14.196ff.). The alternative tradition that banished him to Inarime seems to have arisen from a misunderstanding of Il. 2.782-3. Inarime was identified with Pithecussae (Ischia) near Cumae, the alternative battle site, cf. Pherecydes (Schol. ARh. 2.1209-15a); Lyc. Alex. 688-9; VA. 9.716; Luc.

5.101; Sen. HO. 1156; Sil. 8.540 etc. After Call. Aet. fr. 1.36 Pf. (Eur. HF. 638-40, 907) Enceladus too was associated with Aetna (VA. 3.578 ff.; Luc. 6.294; St. Th. 3.595 etc.; Sil. 14.579; Sen. HO. 1157 ff. etc.). The Roman poets follow either or both traditions (cf. Vaquero).

25. hunc ... flammis: Typhoeus has already been struck by a thunderbolt from Jupiter, and the flames he belches forth are those of the bolt cf. VA. 1.44 'illum (Ajax) exspirantem transfixo pectore flammis'. Again, the punishment is appropriate. Typhoeus, the fire-breathing, earthborn monster is hit by a bolt and confined beneath the earth. For 'revomentem' cf. Ov. M. 5.353 'flammas ... ferox vomit ore Typhoeus'. West on Hes. Th. 845 suggests that the traditional exhalation of fire by Typhoeus is a mistaken inference from 'the fire that burst from his body as the thunderbolt struck home'. But his association with the volcanic regions of Aetna and Inarime make the attribution a natural one. The flames are sacred (sacras) because they are caused by Jupiter's bolt. There may be an echo of Pind. P 1.21f. τὰς ἐρεβγόνται μὲν ἀπλάτου πυρὸς ὀγνόταται ἐκ μυχῶν παγαί.

26. ut memorant: the neoteric hallmark, an acknowledgement of authority in the Roman Callimachean manner. The words indicate not scepticism but an appeal to tradition, suggesting that others might prefer a variant version (cf. NH H.C 1.7.23). Here the variant would be Typhoeus' association with Inarime, or Enceladus' with Aetna (VA. 3.578 'fama est'). The phrase occurs only here in Valerius.

prensum ... comis: cf. 3.131f. 'Typhon ... Iuppiter alte crine tenet'. At Nonnus 1.208ff. Typhoeus does this to one of Poseidon's horses. See further Bömer Ov. Met. 2.476.

Neptunus: traditionally Neptune's opponent was the giant Polybotes. Typhoeus was struck by a bolt from Jupiter (Hes. Th. 853ff.; Aes. PV. 358ff. etc.). There is evidence for the collaboration of the two gods in Claud. 38. 55-7: ἀλλὰ Τυφωεύς ὦρτο Ποσειδάωνος ἐναντία· τοῦ δὲ τριαλὴν σιέρνα Ποσειδάων, Ζεὺς δ' ἤλασε κράτα κεραυνῷ cf. Steph. Byz. s.v. 'Nisyrus' for their collaboration in killing Polybotes, an earlier version of which perhaps inspired Valerius (Vian pp.202-3).

27. implicuit ... vadis: 'entangled him in the waters'. The metaphor, a net or wrestling hold, is a striking one to use of water. Compare Ov. M. 3.342f. 'quam ... flumine curvo implicuit ... Cephisos' ('embraced' as Valerius 1.264); St. Th. 4.814 'implicitos fluvio ... reges', again 'entangled'. Here it is particularly appropriate, suggesting the writhing of Typhoeus' snaky limbs in the churning water.

28. mole resurgentem: Typhoeus is trying to elude Neptune's grasp, though the phrase apparently reduplicates 32-3 and echoes Ov. M. 5.349 'nititur ille quidem pugnatque resurgere saepe'. 'Mole' depicts Typhoeus' bulk, and his sluggish attempts to move. It looks forward to 'molem' (32), where Sicily's 'bulk' proves too much for the giant.

torquentem ... undas: a colourful image, more commonly found in the context of rowing (cf. 1.362; VA. 3.208; Sil. 14.360 etc.) which reinforces the idea expressed in 'implicuit ... vadis' (27), and confirms that 'anguibus' is the right reading ('unguibus' Bon. R.T.; 'ignibus' Carr.).

anguibus: Typhoeus' snakes' feet were traditional (Pind. P. 1.25; Ov. M. 5.346; Apld. 1.6.3 etc). Hes. Th. 824 πόδες ἀχάματοι may suggest the unceasing movement of snakes. 'His fantastic appearance is derived from some Eastern mythological creature, which made its first appearance in Greece in the mid-seventh century B.C.' (Vian pp.12-16). The earliest giants were distinguished by size and strength rather than any peculiarity of limb, and Naevius' 'bicorpores Gigantes' (Bell. Pun. fr. 19.3. M) is the earliest literary reference to their bipartite form, probably an intrusion from Typhoeus'.

29. Sicanium dedit usque fretum: if 'dedit' is correct it must be taken as the equivalent of the Greek τίθημι, 'place' or 'put'; for this sense (more common with compounds) cf. Valerius 5.147f 'Tibarenum dant virides post terga lacus'; Luc. 8.194 'in laevum puppim dedit'. But in our passage, 'dedit' would be very weak for 'carried' and the difficulty is accentuated by 'usque', which when used as a preposition leads one to look for a clear-cut verb of motion. The best solution is perhaps to read 'vehit' (Ph. Wagner); the sea carries Typhoeus to Sicily; 'tulit' (Ellis) is unattractive between 'abstulit' (27) and 'intulit' (30).

30. intulit ora premens: 'intulit', 'places on', is strangely weak before the forceful participle 'premens'. There is no direct parallel for this phrase, and the conjectures are no improvement. Ellis' 'indidit', meaning 'dragged on', like a muzzle, (TLL 7.1. 1215.37ff), synonymous with 'imponere' is not epic.

Typhoeus is thought of as lying beneath the whole of Sicily with Aetna over his head; cf. Ov. F. 4.491 'alta iacet vasti super ora Typhoeos Aetna'; M. 5.350ff., especially 352 'degravat Aetna caput' (where the pause in the third foot suggests that Valerius had this phrase in mind); also Pind. P. 1.19.

30-33. The lines refer to the volcanic activity of Aetna, and are more suited to the context of a periplus round Sicily. Valerius builds up a complex metaphor identifying Typhoeus with Aetna by using words to describe the volcano that could also be applied to human activities.

eiectat: the metaphor is introduced by likening the emission of lava from the volcano to the giant spewing forth his half-eaten ('adesi') meal. 'Eiectare' is used in this double sense elsewhere, cf. Ov. M. 5.352f. 'harenas eiectat ... Typhoeus'; Sil. 12.149f. 'Iapetum flammas ... rebelli ore eiectantem'. Sabellicus' 'eructat' can also be used in this double sense, as VA. 3.575f. 'interdum scopulos avulsaque viscera montis erigit eructans', but the parallel with 'eiectat' in Ov. M. 5.352f. makes any change unnecessary.

31. anhelat: the verb continues the metaphor, here balancing 'fesso pectore'. As Typhoeus strives to shift the burden from his head, he gasps for breath, breathing out fire. 'Anhelare' is used of volcanic exhalations, especially fire; Ov. F. 4.492 'anhelatis ignibus'; Luc. 6.92 'antra ... letiferi rabiem Typhonis anhelant'; Val. 3.208f. Valerius has therefore embroidered upon the accounts of Virgil and Ovid who refer simply to the quaking of the earth (A. 3.581; M. 5.356). For the association between Typhoeus' breathing and the volcano cf. Ov. F. 1.573f. 'spirare Typhoeus credas et rapidum Aetnaeo fulgur ab igni iaci'; Aetna 73.

32. iniectam ... molem: the verbal patterning of this phrase represents Typhoeus' chest crushed under the mountain's weight. For Aetna as 'moles' cf. VA. 3.579; Ov. M. 5.347 'magnis subiectum molibus'.

33. commovet experiens: the use of the finite verb and participle here is effective. Typhoeus does not struggle to shift the mass, but moves it, tries again and fails. Valerius adopts the traditional motif that attributed the eruption of a volcano to the movements of the giant confined beneath it. It appears first in Callim. Hy. 4.141-3 ὥς δ', δπότ' Αἰτναίου ὄρεος πυρὶ τυφομένοιο σείονται μυχὰ πάντα, κατουδαίοιο γίγαντος εἰς ἑτέρην Βριαρήος ἐπωμίδα κινυμένοιο ; cf. VA. 3.581; Ov. M. 5.349, 354; St. Th. 3.594f. 'temptat Enceladus mutare latus'; Aetna 72-3; Claud. de Rapt. Pros. 1.157f. etc.

reponit (molem): 'lets it fall again' (Mozley), or 'puts it back'. 'Reponere' is always transitive. The trochaic caesurae in both fourth and fifth feet give the impression of a false ending after 'reponit' (cf. 14 'fretumque'). Here it helps the movement of the line as in VA. 2.465 'ea lapsa repente ruinam' (possibly Ennian, cf. Ann. 47 V).

34-71. The Argonauts' first night at sea and the fear aroused in them by the darkness. Tiphys the helmsman comforts and encourages them.

Apollonius makes nothing of the Argonauts' first night at sea (1.600), and this section is therefore entirely Valerius' own creation, forming a realistic account of the feelings and apprehensions of sailors alone on the sea.

34-37. A periphrasis for sunset (cf. Quint. 8.6.60), part of the epic convention for describing times of day or seasons of the year, and used for its decorative effect. Its origins lie in Homer (e.g. ἥμος δ' ἥρι-γένεια φάνη βοδὸδ' ἀχτυλος ἥως Il. 1.477 etc.) but by the first century A.D. it was being overdone; cf. the parodies in H.S. 1.5.9; 2.6.100f; Sen. Apocol. 2. (Weinreich pp.30ff.); Sen. Ep. 122.11 (of the poet Montanus) 'ortus et occasus libentissime inserebat'.

Valerius' periphrases for nightfall and dawn (cf. 72ff.) like those of Virgil are varied and aim to avoid the formulaic. Nevertheless they have become rather stereotyped, being heavily based on Virgilian models. Valerius' source for these lines, however, is Ov. M. 2.63-73, a description of the journey of the sun's chariot.

iamque ... cum: part of the language of the periphrasis. 'Iam' or 'iamque' is often found introducing them cf. VA. 3.521; 7.25 etc.; Valerius 2.72; 3.417; St. Th. 1.336 (iamque); Sen. Apocol. 2.

Hyperionius ... currus: the chariot of the sun appears first in Mimnermus (10.9f.) and the Homeric Hymns (cf. Diggle Eur. Phaethon line 2). It became a commonplace in both literature and art, receiving its fullest description in Ov. M. 2.106ff., and frequently features in periphrases of the dawn or sunset; cf. Eur. Phaethon 2; Ion 82; etc.; VG. 3.359; HC. 3.6.44, and n.75. For the sun's chariot in art cf. Roscher sv. Helios, 2005-6; Diggle Phaethon p.137; RE 8.88.

The sun is often called Hyperion (cf. Il. 19.398; Od. 1.24; not in Virgil; Ov. M. 8.565; Sil. 15.214 etc.) from the patronymic 'Υπεριονίδης used of Helios (Od. 12.176; Hes. Th. 1011), cf. Hes. Th. 371-4 for Helios' parentage.

metas maris ... Hiberi: its turning point (plural for singular) in the Spanish sea. The sun's journey across the sky is envisaged as a race course, cf. Ov. M. 3.145 'Sol ex aequo meta distabat utraque'. Here, the westernmost point of the sun's journey is the Atlantic Ocean ('mare Hiberum') cf. VA. 11.913f. 'ni roseus fessos iam gurgite Phoebus Hiberotingat equos'.

35. evectae ... laxantur habenae: 'the reins that had ascended are loosened (now)'. 'Evectae' refers to the ascent of the chariot, and is transferred from 'currus', for which 'habenae' stands. Peerlkamp proposed 'emeritae' (cf. Ov. F. 4.688 'emeritis ... equis') but this is no improvement with 'habenae', and the idiomatic 'evectae' and its subtle juxtaposition with 'prono' (referring to the whole journey upwards and downwards) seem unlikely to be accidental. For 'evehor' of the Sun's upward journey cf. Ov. M. 2.73; Sen. HF. 132f. (cf. p. x).

prono aethere: referring not to the air rushing past the descending chariot, for its direction would appear to be upward, but rather to the 'downhill' part of the sky as the sun sets; cf. Ov. M. 2.67 'ultima prona via est'; VA. 5.212 'prona ... maria' (the part nearest the shore); Luc. 4.28 'prono ... Olympo' (at evening). 'Pronus' is often used of the setting sun; St. Th. 3.408 'sol pronus'; S. 2.7.25-7 etc.; and by extension Luc. 2.412, St. Th. 2.41 etc 'prona dies'.

36. Tethys: as Oceanus' wife she receives the setting sun in her embrace, as Oceanus himself receives the Moon and stars: Argentarius in AP 5.16 ὁδλοποις 'Ὠκεανὸς δέχεται. 'Sinus' here, like ὁδλος (Gow and Page ad loc.), may have erotic overtones, though 'grandaeva' makes

this less probable. For Tethys' role cf. also Ov. M. 2.68-9; Val. 5.431f.; St. Th. 3.34.

37. sonuit: a reference not to the sun hissing as it sinks into the water (cf. 63 'stridet'), but rather to the sound (plop) as it hits the water like a stone, and sunders the water ('rupto ... aequore' cf. Ov. M. 11.569). Valerius uses 'sonitus' and 'sonare' (like 'insonuit' 91) of clanging, crashing sounds, often of metal (5.142; 2.339), the sharp thud of a blow (3.166; 4.283, 307) or the creaking of a hinge (7.322), and never of a hissing sound. He abruptly changes the imagery and the sun is envisaged as a stone hitting the sea.

sacer ... Titan: the son of the Titan Hyperion (34). The name is found first in Cic. Arat. 60, 343; cf. VA. 4.119 (in a dawn periphrasis, cf. Pease ad loc.); frequently in Ov. St. Sil. In Valerius only here and 2.57. The Greek instances listed in Roscher (p.148) are later except perhaps Anacreontea 44.7 (Bergk). The epithet 'sacer' is found nowhere else of the Sun (cf. Roscher Epitheta Deorum (1893) p.94); Valerius is emphasizing his divinity. 'Titan' looks back to 'Hyperionius' in 34 and together they neatly frame the section.

38-47: The fall of night causes terror among the Argonauts

The tone of Valerius' description of nightfall reflects well the anxieties of the sailors as darkness falls and they can no longer see their path ahead. The solitude of the empty ocean causes them to despair. The simile not only illustrates their anxiety and uncertainty, but provides a deeper insight into their feelings, as the turmoil and the darkness of the storm at 1.608-656 reflect the sailors' fears of trespassing on the unknown.

This interrelation between cosmic events and human mood is a feature found in both Virgil and Ovid but this passage corresponds particularly to the description of Polyneices' journey in Statius Th. 1.336ff. (Vessey p.93), where the silent night and the storm mirror Polyneices' apprehensions. Statius too begins his account with a periphrasis for nightfall: 'iamque per emeriti surgens confinia Phoebi Titanis late, mundo subvecta silenti, rorifera gelidum tenuaverat aera biga' (336-8). Everywhere there is silence 'iam pecudes volucresque tacent' (339). The shadows fade 'rarescentibus umbris' (343) until all

is dark 'densior a terris ... subtextit nox atra polos' (345-6). Then follows the description of the storm. Polyneices, like the traveller in Valerius, wanders through the night unsure of his way 'incertus ... viae per nigra silentia vastum haurit iter' (368-9), his senses alert 'aure pavens' (366) and afraid (369). Finally, he is compared to a sailor caught in a storm at sea (370-75), the reverse of Valerius' simile.

The close similarities between the two accounts together with the numerous verbal echoes reveal that one poet had the other in mind, and the reversal of the image and other indications suggest that Statius is the borrower here.

Descriptions of nightfall are often used to offset the wakefulness and sleepless anxiety of heroines in love, of commanders in war, and of sailors. Pease (A. 4.522) collects such passages which all stress the calmness and peace of the night (cf. 'quies', 'silentia'), and the silence of nature at rest. In Valerius however the silence is malignant; fear is the predominant emotion, and sleep and forgetfulness are replaced by a vigil of anxiety, until Tiphys' reassuring words bring sleep (71).

38. se vertentis Olympi: 'vertere' indicates movement about a central point, 'spin', used often of the heavenly bodies, cf. VG 1.239, 'obliquus qua se signorum verteret ordo' (also reflexive). The 'vertex caeli' (88) is the centre about which the heavens spin (Cic. Arat. 297; Lucr. 2.210 etc.).

faciem: no personification is intended, so not 'face' but 'appearance' as St. S. 4.8.30 'caeli ... facies' (of the beauty of the heavens).

39-40: raptos ... ex oculis: cf. VA 1.88f. 'eripiunt subito nubes caelumque diemque Teucrorum ex oculis' (prior to the storm). Valerius clearly had these lines in mind. He has substituted the participle of the simple verb (raptos¹) for V's compound 'eripiunt'.

montesque locosque: the familiar landmarks vanish before their eyes. The accusative plural 'locosque' is rare in poetry and 'loca' is the only plural in Ov. Luc. Stat. among the epic poets (cf. TLL 7.2.2. 1576.4f.). V. uses 'locos' five times; 'loca' fourteen times; Valerius has 'loca' seven times and 'locos' seven times.

40. graves videre tenebras: there is tension between 'graves' and the noun it qualifies as 'darkness' is not usually described as 'heavy'. Mozley's 'thick' loses the full force of the epithet as well as the oxymoron. Translate 'oppressive', of the broadening darkness, the 'pall' of night, cf. Sen. Thy. 826 'non luna graves digerit umbras' and compare 'densus'; St. Th. 1.345f. ('nox'); Gell. 18.1.16 ('tenebrae'). 'Videre' and 'tenebras' are placed together in a paradoxical juxtaposition. Darkness normally implies the absence of sight ('videre' picks up 'ex oculis' in 40). Milton PL 1.63 'darkness visible' of the malignancy of flames is different; cf. Job. 10.22; Valerius 7.566 'ardentes tenebras' of the fiery bulls. The phrase looks forward to 44f. 'quiescit non oculis'; the sailors imagine terrors concealed in the darkness.

41. mundi: deliberately ambiguous. It forms a pair with 'rerum' and suggests the meaning 'cosmos'. In a neatly balanced chiasmus, Valerius summarises the silence of the entire universe where other poets provide a more extensive list. However 'astraque' in 42 suggests the meaning 'sky' (frequent in Lucr.), cf. VA. 10.102 'silet arduus aether'; Enn. Varia 9 (V) 'mundus caeli vastus constitit silentio' - the silence of 'the void' where there is nothing to make a sound.

For the chiasmus cf. 343, but here it is used to greater effect in encompassing all things in silence.

silentia terrent: for the terrifying nature of silence cf. VA. 2.755 'simul ipsa silentia terrent' (Aeneas' search for Creusa) which Valerius has in mind; also Quint. decl. 2.8; Tac. Hist. 3.84.4 'terret solitudo et tacentes loci' (Vitellius' palace). Again an oxymoron.

42. effusis ... aether: a colourful phrase, expanding 'astraque' for 'stellatus' with the ablative 'effusis crinibus' implies 'stella'. It occurs here only with 'aether', though for the sense cf Man. 1.679 'stellatus balteus' (the Zodiac); Claud. RP. 3.8 'stellata domus'. 'Crinis' is frequently used of shooting stars and comets, from the Greek κομμήτης (δομήτης) (Arist. Mete. 3432.3 etc) cf. TLL 4.1204.70ff, especially Plin. NH 2.89 'cometas Graeci vocant, nostri crinitas'; VA. 5.528; Sil. 1.358; Manil. 1.838 'facies dispersis crinibus'. 'Effusis crinibus' suggesting streaming hair (TLL 5.2.221.72ff) adds the colourful detail of the comets' streaming light.

Such an apparition in the heavens would cause fear as a sign of impending disaster (e.g. Luc. 1.528f; Sil. 8.637). See p.x above.

43f. In this simile Valerius compares the anxieties of the sailors during their first night at sea to those of a traveller making his way on foot along an unfamiliar path by night. The many points of correspondence with the simile are reinforced by close verbal echoes; cf. 'noctis ... metus ... auget' (45) and 'auxerat hora metus' (38); 'non aure quiescit, non oculis' (44f.) and 'ex oculis' (40), 'videre' (40), 'silentia' (41); 'graves ... tenebras' (40) and 'noctis ... metus niger' (45); 'utrimque' (45) and 'circumque' (40). The situations are closely parallel. The sailors are truly 'ignota captus regione' (43); as the familiar sight of land vanishes into the darkness they lose their only hope of safety. Their 'noctivagum iter' (44) is in fact, as Tiphys is shortly to inform them, guided by the stars, but they live in expectation of disaster, collision with a hidden reef or unexpected rock (cf. 'carpit' (44), and the tree in 46). The sea stretches away into the darkness like the plain ('niger utrimque campus' 45f).

Valerius is at his best in this simile, though he tends to be unadventurous in his imagery. The subjects of his similes are usually Virgilian or Homeric motifs from nature or mythology, apart from the eruption of Vesuvius in 4.507ff. He follows V. in preferring the multiple correspondence simile (cf. D. West in *JRS* 59 (1969) pp. 40-9) with a complex series of associations, but also likes the Homeric extended simile, where irrelevant details may be included. There is little evidence of developing symbolism in the *Argonautica*, though occasionally he uses related images (e.g. the bull in 2.458ff.; 546ff.) which can lead to inappropriate comparisons (458ff). He favours the accumulation of similes in certain episodes (e.g. Hercules' battle with the sea-monster, 2.497ff., the battle in Book 6) for the relief they afford, and often uses them to end a section of narrative (495-6; 546-9).

The most outstanding quality of his similes is their visual aspect; all are dramatic and pictorial, appealing easily to the imagination. This quality can be seen to its full advantage in the following lines.

43. captus: 'caught'. Mozley's 'overtaken' is not strong enough. The traveller is almost physically caught unawares by the unfamiliarity of the place. Valerius has in mind VA. 2.384 'ignaros ... loci passim et formidine captos' ('handicapped', Austin). TLL 3.340.84 compares 'errore captus' (e.g. Liv. 8.6.15); cf. VG. 1.426, 'neque insidiis noctis capiere serenae'. It can be used of sailors caught in a storm cf. Valerius 4.269 'Pliade capta ratis'; compare 'deprehensus' NH on HC. 2.16.1; 'καταλαμβάνω' ARh. 2.1086. It serves therefore to link the simile more closely with the situation of the sailors at sea. Heinsius' 'cautus', though perhaps reinforced by the reading 'timidus' of the florilegia, is far less vivid and the change is unnecessary.

ignota ... regione: idiomatic for 'the unfamiliarity of the route', or 'his ignorance of the direction'. 'Regio' means 'route', the direction of his way, as Lucr. 2.249; VA. 2.737 'nota excedo regione viarum', and again brings home the comparison with the Argonauts who likewise do not know their route.

44. noctivagum: transferred here from 'qui' to 'iter', thus making the traveller totally anonymous and emphasizing that the main point of comparison is the journey by night. This compound adjective occurs first in Egnatius fr. 2 (Morel) 'noctivagis astris labentibus' cf. Lucr. 4.582 'noctivago strepitu' etc.; VA. 10.216; St. Th. 3.420 etc. Valerius alone applies it to the journey and not the traveller. Compare the Greek νυκτιπλανος (rare) and νυκτιπόλος (ARh. 3.862, 4.1020; Eur. Ion 718), again used of the traveller, not the journey.

carpit iter: first Hor. Serm. 1.5.95 (cf. Lejay); NH on HC. 2.17.11; Bömer on Ov. M. 2.549; cf. 'carpere viam', possibly Ennian (Norden p.294), VA. 6.629 etc.; TLL 3.493.74ff. The verb means 'picking one's way along the road', and implies the difficulty of the journey and the persistent plodding onwards. Cf. Luc. 6.572 (also a night journey).

non aure ... oculis: the traveller stays alert and starts at every sound and any sudden movement. The collocation of ears and eyes is familiar, cf. Liv. 21.58.5 'capti auribus et oculis metu omnes torpere' (fear of a thunderstorm). For similar expressions of fear by night cf. VA. 2.728ff. 'nunc omnes terrent aurae, sonus excitat omnis suspensum' and Luc. 8.5f.; Juv. 10.21; Sil. 6.58f.; Sen. Ben. 4.27.1; Quint. decl.

2.18; and for the anaphora Valerius 4.664 'pavor ora virum, pavor occupat artus' (of a thunderstorm).

The combination of 'quiescit with 'aure' is striking in implying the fear conveyed by sounds. Comparable is St. Th. 1.366 'aure pavens' ('ire' Lachmann but cf. 12.222 'nil corde nec aure pavescens'). The Statian phrase is the more exciting, and perhaps reveals a borrowing from Valerius (n.38-47 above).

45f. niger ... campus: not 'darkening' (Mozley) but 'black', the colour of fear, here caused by the traveller's inability to see his way and to discern obstacles in his path. Fear is traditionally black; Lucr. 4.173 'atrae formidinis ore'; VA. 12.335; 9.719; Valerius 3.404f (the Underworld).

46. umbris maioribus: apparently 'lengthening shadows'; as the sun sets the shadows grow longer (VE. 1.83). But 'noctivagum' reveals that it is already night, and that Valerius does not intend to revert to the scene at sundown. The 'shadows' therefore are threatening, and Mozley's 'strangely huge' conveys the right meaning. Statius' fine phrase 'rarescentibus umbris' belongs earlier in the evening when the shadows merge into the gathering darkness (Th. 1.343).

47. trepidare: usually of physical excitement, 'tremble', rather than mental dread, and rarely the equivalent of 'timeo'. Cf. Valerius 1.621 'Minyis trepidantibus'; again the Argonauts tremble at a natural phenomenon. The descriptive infinitive is equivalent to the imperfect 'trepidabant'. It acts as a verbal noun and is used for visual effect and to create atmosphere. Here it denotes the point of application of the simile. Such infinitives were originally part of colloquial speech (Plaut. Ter.), but disappeared in late Latin, though remaining part of the stock epic syntax. They are frequent in V. and St., but occur in only four places in Lucan. (cf. KS 1. p.136; HSz. pp.367f.). J.J. Schlicher The Historical Infinitive 3 in CPh 10 (1915) 54-74 notes that Valerius tends to use these infinitives in the same part of the line as V, cf. 'trepidare' VA. 2.685 etc.; 'consurgere' (478), VA. 10.299; 'mugire' (498), VA. 8.215.

47-65. Tiphys the helmsman encourages the Argonauts by reminding them that the gods are behind them, and that they have already weathered one storm (48-54). He reveals his knowledge of the weather signs, and explains how the ship is to be steered by the stars (55-65). The lines are an expansion of ARh. 1.107-8.

This exhortatory 'pep-talk' or parakeleusis has several features in common with other examples of its kind (especially VA. 1.198ff.; HC. 1.7.25ff.; Valerius 4.649ff.); the appeal to the speaker's comrades in misfortune ('o socii' 55 cf. 1.242; VA. 1.198; HC. 1.7.26); a reminder that they are not unused to suffering (52-3, cf. VA. 1.198f.; HC. 1.7.30; Valerius 4.651f.) and that a god is on their side (49-50; VA. 1.199; HC. 1.7.28; Valerius 4.652). Other characteristic features include the rhetorical questions, 'an non experti ...?'; the exclamations 'quantis ...'; 'quanta quotiens ...'; the exhortatory 'quin agite' and the rhetorical exaggeration 'quantis Austris'. In each case (except Valerius 4.649ff.) the speech is followed by refreshment and rest.

The ultimate source for the parakeleusis is Odysseus' address to his crew just before their encounter with Scylla and Charybdis (Od. 12.208ff.) though he relies not upon a god but his own cunning to escape the danger. For the parakeleusis in military situations cf. VA. 12.565ff.; Luc. 7.250ff.; frequ. Hdt.; Thuc.; Xen.; Ogilvie on Livy 3.60.11.

47. pectora firmans: the expression combines the Virgilian 'dictis maerentia pectora mulcet' (A. 1.197) and 'animum firmat' (A. 3.611). 'Pectora' indicates the breast as the seat of the emotions. Contrast Hom. Il. 2.142 ὡς φάτο , τοῖσι δὲ θυμὸν ἐνὶ στήθεσσιν ὄρινε (Agamemnon stirs up the emotions of the assembly).

48. Hagniades: found here and at 1.482 where Tiphys' skill at navigation, particularly steering by the stars, is in question; cf. ARh. 1.105, though in Apollonius the patronymic is not confined to this context, and cf. Valerius 2.368 'Thespiades', where Tiphys predicts the weather. Valerius' use of antonomasia is infrequent, though not without effect; cf. 'Cretheia virgo' (2.611), Helle is related to Jason; 'Aetis' (6.481; 7.445; 8.233) to recall Medea's dilemma; note on 'Aesonides' 334.

non ... derigimus: the phrase clearly recalls VA. 2.777f. 'non haec sine numine divum eveniunt'. The words are spoken by Creusa to Aeneas after his search for her through the darkness, (cf. above on 43; 44f.), but the echo is purely verbal.

non ... sine numine: 'not without the assent of the gods'. Numen is linked with 'nuere', especially Jupiter's nod of assent (cf. 94 'adnuat'). Cf. Varro LL. 7.85 'numen dicunt esse, imperium dictum ab nutu'; C. Bailey Religion in Virgil (Oxford 1935) p.60; Ernout-Meillet p.452. The phrase is common in religious contexts cf. NH on HC. 1.26.9, and is modelled on the Greek οὐκ ἀέχνητι θεῶν (Od. 18.353; ARh. 2.796 etc.); οὐκ ἀνεύθε θεοῦ (Il. 5.185 etc). The double negative makes an emphatic positive, cf. J. Wackernagel Vorlesungen über Syntax (Basel 1924) pp.297ff..

pinum: 'ship', an archaic use of the word intended to recall the Argo's origin, and perhaps to suggest the paradoxical association of trees and the sea. The metonymy is Virgilian (e.g. A. 10.206) and came to be used frequently of the Argo in particular after Cat. 64.1, cf. H. Ep. 16.57; St. Th. 3.518; Valerius 1.457; 5.435 etc.

49. Tritonia: an Apollonian 'title' for Athene (4 times in Virgil) and an allusion to her birth near Lake Triton in Libya (ARh. 4.1309ff.; Call. fr. 37 Pf. etc.). Lake Triton is the site of one of the later Argonautic adventures (ARh. 4.1391) so the name here has a certain relevance. The name occurs also at 1.93 (building the Argo); 7.442.

50. erudiit: here with a double accusative, the construction extended from that of 'doceo' (cf. Hollis on Met. 8.215; Merone p.19); St. Th. 10.506f. The verb is chosen to emphasize Tiphys' inexperience on the sea. He is still a novice ('rudis') and Athene must act as his instructor. Here the verb refers to the tradition that the Argo was the first ship. Valerius may have in mind Cat. 64.11 'illa (Athene) rudem cursu prima imbuit Amphitriten'.

saepe ... est: 'often has she thought the ship worthy of her (helping) hand'. The compression is characteristic of Valerius; 'impellere' is understood. The motif of a goddess guiding the ship with her hand is Hellenistic, e.g. ARh. 2.598f. (Athene guides the Argo between the Clashing Rocks), 4.948ff., 1609; VA. 1.144f; 5.241; 10.246f; Ov. M.

14.559ff; Prop. 3.7.69. Tiphys' words look back to 1.657f., where Nereus and Thetis rather than Athene support the ship.

carinam: like 'pinum', the word adds an archaic touch to the passage. The synecdoche occurs in Varro Atacinus (fr. 2 Morel) 'celeris ... carinae', translating the compound epithet εὐστελής (ARh. 1.401). Valerius however adopts the word from the stock vocabulary of epic (cf. Cat. 64.10 etc.).

51. an non experti: the Argonauts have already experienced Athene's help in the past and can therefore be confident of future assistance. This is related to the prayer convention by which an appeal for help now is based upon help given previously, cf. HC. 1.32.1ff. (NH ad loc.); Cat. 34.22ff. etc. The omission of 'sumus' deliberately recalls VA. 1.201f. 'vos et Cyclopi^asaxa experti'.

subitus: the application of this adjective to 'dies' transferred from 'imbre' is puzzling, and the use of the phrase 'subitus dies' for the sudden fall of darkness ('luce fugata') irrational. Heinsius' 'subito' is preferable, though ambiguous; if an adverb, it is tame; if an adjective with 'imbre' it is separated from its noun by the ablative phrase 'luce fugata'.

52. horruit: 'the day grew rough with storm'. The verb is instrumental in suggesting the cold of the storm and the shivering caused. 'Dies' is almost personified. 'Horruit' may also suggest the rain falling in shafts. Cf. Ov. F. 1.495 'nec fera tempestas toto tamen horret in anno'; Sil. 1.134f. 'heu quatenam subitis horrescit turbida nimbis tempestas'.

53. quanta quotiens et: 'et' is postponed to follow the word it governs (cf. 74; Austin on A. 2.383). Heinsius' 'quotiens et quanta' recognises the uncertainty. Mozley has 'en' here, which seems to have no manuscript authority.

Pallados: Courtney's conjecture for 'Palladis' (ω) adopted by Ehlers. 'Pallados' (the Greek genitive), is the older genitive form in Latin, though the Latin poets use both. Virgil and Lucretius use only 'Palladis'; Ov. uses 'Palladis' ten times, 'Pallados' only once in the first foot; Lucan also has 'Pallados' once in the first foot, 'Palladis' not at all. Valerius uses 'Pallados' elsewhere (4.555;

5.345; 8.224) and the reading here is to be corrected to 'Pallados'. The error may have arisen from the similarity between this line and VA. 2.15 'divina Palladis arte'. Cf. NW 1. pp.450, 454.

54. decimae ... undae: the 'tenth wave' was proverbially of great size and particular danger. The motif appears first in Ovid, cf. M. 11.530 'vastius insurgens decimae ruit impetus undae' (Bömer ad loc.); Tr. 1.2.50 'posterior nono est undecimoque prior'; cf. Luc. 5.672 (a reversal of the usual image); Sen. Ag. 502 (Tarrant ad loc.); Sil. 14.122. The Greek equivalent is τρίκυβα (Pl. Resp. 472 A; Aes. PV. 1015; Eur. Tro. 83, Hipp. 1213; Menander fr. 536.8K); cf. Pind. 01. 1.60 μετὰ τριῶν τέταρτον πόνον ; the fourth is worse than the proverbial third.

tumor arduus: the adjective has both a literal sense 'lofty' and metaphorically conveys the physical difficulty involved in weathering the storm; cf. Valerius 5.336f. (Medea's nightmare) 'stetit arduus inter pontus'. There is a certain tension in the phrase as 'arduus' is usually applied to something more permanent than the shifting waves.

55-58. Tiphys encourages the Argonauts to have confidence in the good weather by appealing to well-known weather signs, the appearance of the sky, the moon and the setting sun. The literary origins of the piece lie in Virgil (G. 1.424ff.; 450-7), himself indebted to Aratus' Phaenomena (778ff.; 825-7), but it is not simply a poetic motif. Such folklore must have been familiar to many, especially farmers and sailors who relied upon the weather. Aratus' signs occur in the context of sailing (765ff); Virgil makes them appropriate to the farmer also.

55. o socii: 'comrades', emphasizing the loyalty and togetherness required of the sailors, cf. VA. 1.195; HC. 1.7.26 'o socii comitesque'. The use of 'o' with the vocative is not normal as it is in Greek, but originally colloquial and now a literary device, it is used here for its emotional appeal (Fordyce Cat. 46.9; HSz p.26). The whole phrase recalls Prop. 3.21.11 'nunc agite o socii'. Echoes of Propertius are rare in Valerius; other possible instances are 296-7; 407-8; not 464; but generally the resemblance is so slight as to be accidental. Cf. R.E. Colton The Influence of Propertius on Valerius

Flaccus in CB 40 (1964) 35ff.; D.R. Shackleton Bailey in Mnem. 5.(1957) 313-4.

micat: the verb refers to the stars twinkling in the clear sky. It can apply to any intermittent rapid movement, and here creates a slight oxymoron with 'immutabile' which suggests the static, unchanging appearance of the heavens. 'Immutabile' is archaic in tone (cf. TLL 7.1. 509.75ff.), avoided by Virgil and the Augustan poets, but found in Lucretius (1.591) and the Silver Age prose authors. The phrase may hint at the constancy of the heavens, for 'caelum' can be a synonym for 'deos' (as 2.18) cf. TLL 2.94.

56ff. A description of the moon with reference to the three important weather signs that it can reveal. If the moon was clear ('pura', cf. VG. 1.432-7, καθαρή Aratus Phaen. 783-4) good, settled weather was prognosticated. If the points of the crescent moon were blunted or shrouded in mist ('gravido'; cf. VG. 1.428-9 'obscurio ... cornu', 433 'obtunsis ... cornibus'; Aratus 785-7 παχίων δὲ καὶ ἀμβλεῖσι κεραίοις) rain was predicted. Wind was due if the moon appeared to be tinged with red ('rubor', cf. VG. 1.430-1 'ruborem'; Theophr. de nat. vent. 2.27 ἐρυθρόν; Aratus 784-5 εὖ μάλ' ἐρευθής; also Luc. 5.549). The signs were well known, cf. Pliny NH. 18.347ff. quoting Varro.

gravido cornu: Valerius repeats Lucan's phraseology 'tertia iam gravido pluvialis Cynthia cornu' (1.218) which refers to the phenomenon of earth-shine (Getty on Lucan 1.217-219), 'the new moon 'wi' the auld moon in her arm' (Sir Patrick Spens 49-50), early in the month ('tertia Cynthia'); cf. Aristotle Mete. 372b. It is not clear that Valerius has the same phenomenon in mind, though he adopts Lucan's language, and he may use the phrase by analogy with 'gravidae nubes' (Lucr. 6.440; Ov. Tr. 1.2.107; St. Th. 5.362f.) with reference to the threat of rain. He does not specify a night early in the month. For these pregnancy connotations of 'gravidus' cf. NH HC. 1.22.3.

57. nullus in ore rubor: an adaptation of VG. 1.430 'at si virgineum suffuderit ore ruborem'. The phrase occurs also at Ciris 180 of Scylla in love. On stylistic grounds, Ciris must antedate Valerius, though Valerius' echo of Ciris here might be thought coincidental were it not for other possible echoes identified by R.O.A.M. Lyne (CQ 21 (1971) p.250); 2.69f. 'fessus ... vires' and Ciris 448 'fessae vires'; 3.302

'exitium crudele' and Ciris 292. (F. Munari Studi sulla 'Ciris' in Real. Acad. d'Italia ser. 7.4 (1944) p.248 adds other examples. certusque: this sign is irrefutable. VG. 1.463 'solem quis dicere falsum audeat'; 439 'solem certissima signa sequentur'.

58. integer ... et in uno ... Euro: Ehlers and Courtney print ω 's 'Euro' which is explained by citing Luc. 4.61 (Cynthia) 'flammas ... accepit in Euro' - 'while the East wind blew'. Valerius' 'in uno ... Euro' must then mean 'while the East wind alone blew' (Langen), as opposed to any other wind or even to the battle of the winds encountered during the storm (1.610ff.). This fails to relate 'integer' to 'uno' and contradicts Virgil G. 1.453, where the East wind is indicated by the fiery appearance of the sun and not its purity ('integer'). It seems that 'Euro' must be an error, either from Luc. 4.61 or from familiarity with Valerius' Virgilian source, and I would prefer to read 'in uno ... auro', with T. Phaedrus (compare 5.369). The alteration is an easy one.

'Integer' and 'in uno auro' are then two balancing ideas, referring both to the shape of the setting sun and to its appearance. Mozley's 'one blaze of gold' should be emended to read 'one round blaze of gold', in reference to the shape, a pure circle. 'Uno' then means 'complete', 'whole'. 'Integer' can also mean 'whole'. 'Auro' refers to the colour, pure unblemished gold, as opposed to Virgil's 'caeruleus' and 'igneus' (G. 1.453). 'Integer' also means 'unblemished in appearance', cf. Aratus Ph. 825 καθαρὸς.

59-60. Tiphys adds that at night the wind blows more strongly and the ship will therefore travel faster. Changes of wind at dawn or sunset are a familiar motif. The wind blows off the land at night (cf. ARh. 1.1159-60) and rises again at dawn (ARh. 1.520-1; 1273; 4.886). Sailors usually preferred to land in the evening and spend the night on the shore. Valerius' lines are based on VA. 7.8 'aspirant aurae in noctem' and he is thinking of the favourable breeze that will drive the ship. The apparent contradiction with the previous section, where wind was not predicted, is resolved if that was thought to refer to a storm. in noctem: 'at nightfall'; cf. VA. 7.8 (Fordyce ad loc.); G 4.190; Luc. 4.28f.

60. incumbunt: the verb is onomatopoeic and the spondees reinforce the sense. It is usually applied to the winds with reference to a storm; VA. 1.84; G. 2.310f.; Luc. 3.409 etc., though here it implies rather the forceful, driving action of the wind.

et ω, 'it' ed. Bon. and Ald. 'Et' is queried because if adopted the phrase lacks a verb. 'It' supplies this (the error is common) but the asyndeton is then too abrupt. 'Et' makes good sense and there is no need for unnecessary change. A verb is easily supplied for 'tacitis ... horis'.

ocior: comparative from 'ocis', the Greek ὤκιστος, generally found with an ablative of comparison (e.g. 'ocior alis' VA. 5.319 etc.). Here the comparative refers to the speed of the boat during the day (swifter in the silent hours than during the day) or perhaps 'swifter than you think'.

61ff. Steering by the stars

Before the invention of compasses, ships had to rely during the day on whatever landmarks were visible to guide their course. At night they turned to the stars, particularly to those closest to the pole, the Bears. The Greeks usually steered by the Great Bear, as it was larger and more clearly visible, while the Phoenicians preferred the Little Bear, which, though less bright, lay closer to the pole. This distinction was preserved as a poetic topos after it had ceased to be true in practice, cf. Aratus 37-9, 44; Call. fr. 191. 54f. (Pf.); Cic. ND. 2.106 (Pease); Ov. F. 3.107f. etc.; Manil. 1.298; Luc. 3.218f.; Sen. Med. 697 (Costa); Valerius 1.17f. The Argonauts choose to rely on 'Serpens', which, like the Bears, remains above the horizon. This is a poetic variant of a standard topic unique to Valerius, like Perseus' hissing (63).

Valerius' model for this passage was Luc. 8.172ff.: 'signifero quaecumque fluunt labentia caelo numquam stante polo miseros fallentia nautas, sidera non sequimur; sed, qui non mergitur undis axis in occiduus gemina clarissimus Arcto, ille regit puppes'; as the close similarity of vocabulary and phraseology reveal (cf. 'sidera sequi' 61; 'delapsa polo' 62).

See further: RE sv. Schiffahrt pp.408-9 (W. Kroll, 1921); A. le Boeuffle Les noms latins d'astres et de constellations (Paris 1977).

61. mens stat: Heinsius' conjecture, adopted by Ehlers, is unsatisfactory, for it places too much emphasis on Tiphys' own resolve and determination. The phrase is unparalleled, being a combination of the more usual 'mens est' (cf. VA. 8.400) with 'stat', 'I am resolved' (VA. 2.750).

Voss' 'monstrat' is an easy change from 'monstrant' (MSS) but the absence of a stated subject, which must be Pallas, presents a difficulty. Tiphys is inexperienced (50), and continues to speak of the goddess' help. Pallas, however, has not been subject since 'dignata ... est' (50) and has not been mentioned since 53. 'Illa' cannot refer to Pallas as it must by its proximity qualify 'sidera'. Attempts to introduce a subject into the early part of the line (Jacobs' 'arsque adeo ... monstrat'; Langen's 'atque dei ... monstrant') are unacceptable in breaking up 'atque adeo' which introduces a new strand in the argument. The subject of 'monstrat' must therefore be inferred from the context. Valerius' carelessness in noting a change of subject is discussed above p.viii.

62. delapsa polo: the stars that set before daybreak; Luc. 8.172 'labentia'; 173 'numquam stante polo'. These are unreliable guides for the sailor. 'Polo' here refers to the whole heavens, as 1.17 'ab omni parte poli', and not just to the pole.

reficit mare: the stars were thought to recover their strength and brightness from their immersion in the sea, cf. Luc. 10.258 'nec non Oceano pasci Phoebumque polosque credimus'; Sil. 7.639; 12.247f.; Claud. cm. 30.52f. For many parallels in Greek philosophy see Pease on Cicero ND 2.40.

tantus Orion: even mighty Orion sets. A vivid use of vocabulary. 'Cedit' has been chosen for its ambiguity; the verb is used of setting stars (OLD sv. 6; cf. VA. 2.9) and of death in battle (OLD sv.9).

Orion is scanned with the first syllable short as always at the end of a hexameter line in Latin (Valerius 4.123; VA. 1.535, 4.52 etc.). In Greek the initial syllable is always long, and this is often retained in Latin (VA. 7.719; Ov. F. 5.493, cf. Bömer ad loc.).

63. irato ... aequore: probably an allusion to Perseus' victory over the sea-monster. 'Irato' may also refer to the seething of the waves as the red-hot constellation plunges in (cf. 'stridet').

stridet: often used of the sun's hissing as it plunges into the sea, by analogy with red-hot metal (as VG. 4.172; A. 8.420); cf. Luc. 9.866 'coeunt ignes stridentibus undis'; St. S. 2.7.27ff. 'stridoremque rotae'; Juv. 14.280 'stridentem gurgite solem'; Dracont. 8.371; 10.91; Auson. Epist. 19.2. Courtney (on Juv. 14.280) traces the motif back to Epicurus (fr. 346.6, Usener p.354) thus refuting McKay Antichthon 10 (1926) p.41, who argues that it is a motif of Spanish folklore. Valerius' originality lies in applying a familiar motif to an unusual subject, one of the constellations, (cf. also Valerius 1.373 'nato stridente' (Ajax)), as with 'Serpens' below.

64. vetitis ... undis: this motif is common with reference to the two Bears, cf. Pease Cic. ND. 2.105 and especially Ov. M. 2.172 'vetito frustra temptarunt aequore tingui'; Sen. HQ. 1584f. 'ursae ponto ... vetito fruetur'; Med. 758-9; St. Th. 7.8-9; Claud. RP 2.189. It stems from Il. 18.489, Od. 5.275 οἷη δ' ἄμμορος ἐστὶ λοετρῶν Ὀχeanοῖο.

Val. has again transferred a familiar motif to a different constellation. The lines remain ambiguous, and the motif leads the reader to think that the Bears are designated until the subject is emphatically stated in 65. Valerius is alone in applying this motif to Draco though Cic. ND. 2.108 states 'reliquum ... corpus Draconis totis noctibus cernimus' (Pease ad loc). Most of Draco lies just within the circle of perpetual visibility.

65. axe nitet: Valerius has already used 'polo' (62) for the whole sky, so uses 'axe' here to mean specifically 'the pole'. For Draco's proximity to the pole cf. Hipparchus 1.4.8; two stars in Draco (α, κ) and β of Ursa Minor form a rough square with the pole as the fourth point. Cf. Ov. M. 2.173 'quaeque polo posita est glaciali proxima serpens'; Vitruv. 9.4.6 '(serpens) e qua stella quae dicitur polus elucet'.

Serpens: the constellation known to the Romans as Draco (Cic. ND. 2.108 etc); Anguis (VG. 1.244 etc.); and Serpens (first Vitruvius) cf. le Boeuffle pp.98-9. The noun was formed from the participle of 'serpere', and is appropriate here with 'implicat', 'twines about', like a snake, cf. VA. 2.213ff. 'parva duorum corpora natorum serpens amplexus uterque implicat'. Draco lies between the two Bears and appears to encircle the little Bear: cf. Arat. 45ff. (ἐλκεῖται); Cic.

ND. 2.106 'has (Ursas) inter ... torvus Draco serpit subter superaue revolvens sese conficiensque sinus e corpore flexos'; VG. 1.244f.; Germ. Arat. 54; Sen. Med. 694ff. Costa; Thy. 869-70; Sil. 3.192-3.

septenos ... ignes: the seven stars of the Bears, the 'septem stellae' (Acc. frag. 571-2; Manil. 1.297; Sen. Tro. 439 etc.), or 'septentriones' Cic. ND 2.109 (Pease ad loc.). 'Septenos' refers to seven things that together form a set, cf. Ov. M. 2.682 'septenis fistula cannis' etc. 'Ignes' contrasts forcibly with 'undis' at the end of the previous line.

66. sic ait: after direct speech also 425, 663, corresponding to the Greek ὡς ἔφατ' . Valerius also uses 'dixerat' (300, 608); 'dixerat haec' (567); 'sic memorat' (649); 'sic fata' (160); 'dixit' (408); 'haec ubi dicta' (384). Such phrases have become virtually formulaic - all are Virgilian - but do not necessarily follow after every instance of direct speech. None follows Polyxo's speech (326), Hesiones' (493), or Cyzicus' (659).

memorat: the verb is followed by three indirect questions introduced by 'qui', 'quo' (a certain correction of ω's 'quos'), and 'qua', and the accusative 'locos' which interrupts them. Such variety is characteristic of Valerius (cf. p. ix), though here may be due to VA. 10.149ff. 'regi memorat nomenque genusque quidve petat quidve ipse ferat, Mezentius arma quae sibi conciliet'.

qui vultus: 'how clear was the appearance of the sky'. 'Vultus Olympi' picks up 'Olympi ... faciem' in 38f; 'certi' looks back to 'certus' in 57. 'Certi' is emphatic by position and here means 'reliable' with the surety of fair weather (cf. 'immutabile' 55). Like 'caelum' in 55 there is in 'Olympi' a hint of divine goodwill as well as the physical appearance of the sky.

67. Pleiones: a Greek genitive, with 'locos' for the Pleiades, here designated by the name of their mother (Hyg. Astr. 2.21, cf. le Boeuffle p.199). Langen writes Pleiades, following Heinsius' Pleiadas (though cf. A.E. Housman Collected Papers 2. pp.836-7) as VG. 1.138 'Pleiadas, Hyadas'; Ov. M. 13.293, but the genitive is better here, making a pair with 'Hyadumque', and such an abstruse mythological reference, though more characteristic of the neoteric poets, is not shunned by Valerius.

quo sidere vibret Ensis: i.e., where Orion was; 'with what constellation the Sword flashed'. This is an instance of what Postgate called disjunctiveness - 'Ensis' is part of the constellation ('sidere') which is Orion; cf. Juv. 6.569f 'haec tamen ignorat ... quo laeta Venus se proferat astro'. This stylistic feature is frequent with proper names, cf. Valerius 4.658 'Cyaneae iuga praecipites inlisa remittunt'; Sil. 5.395ff. 'Oceanus ... pelagus ... ingerit'; St. Th. 1.330f. 'Cithaeron ... inclinat ... montem'; Housman on Manilius 1.330f.; D.R. Shackleton Bailey Propertiana (1956) pp.33; J.P. Postgate Selected Elegies of Propertius (1885) pp.lxvii-lxix; p.x above.

vibret: the meaning is deliberately ambiguous, designating both the twinkling of the stars (cf. micat 55) and the flash of a golden sword, cf. Ov. M. 13.294 'nitidum ... Orionis ensem'; Luc. 1.665 'ensiferi nimium fulget latus Orionis'. It suggests the Greek compound adjective χρυσόωπ frequently used of Apollo. The verb is also used of brandished weapons; VA. 9.769 'vibranti gladio'; Valerius 6.518 etc.; and there is a hint of menace as Ov. M. 8.207 'strictum ... Orionis ensem'.

68. Actaeus ... Bootes: the constellation Bootes (Cic. ND 2.110) is here called 'Actaeus', 'Attic', because it was sometimes identified with the Athenian Icarius murdered by shepherds and translated to the sky as a star (Hyg. Astr. 2.2; Fab. 130). His daughter Erigone became Virgo and is the subject of Eratosthenes' poem. Compare Sen. Med. 315 'Arctica Bootes' (P) 'Attica Bootes' (E) (Costa prefers the former). Callimachus popularised 'Actaeus' as a poetic epithet in Hecate (fr. 230) 'Ἀκταΐη τις ἔναϊεν Ἐρεχθεός ἐν ποτε γουνῷ' (the opening line); cf. Lyc. Alex. 504; Ov. M. 2.554 (Bömer); Plin. NH. 4.23 'Attice antiquitus Acte vocata'; Valerius 1.394; 4.465; 6.217; (le Boeuffle pp.190-2).

69. haec ubi dicta dedit: an epic formula, perhaps originally Ennian (cf. Lucilius' parody fr. 18), popularised by Virgil. Usually direct speech precedes, though here the phrase refers back to 'memorat', and the following indirect speech. For the phrase after oratio obliqua cf. VA. 7.471; compare Hes. Op. 69 ὥς ἔφαθ' ; ARh. 4.1121.

Cereris ... munere: Ceres and Bacchus are used by metonymy for bread and wine, a feature of high epic style. Valerius here has in mind

particularly VA. 1, both 177-8 'tum Cererem corruptam ... expediunt' and 214f, 'tum victu revocant viris ... implentur veteris Bacchi'. Valerius' practice is similar to that of Virgil (cf. Austin on A. 1.177); personifications of food and drink occur both in the informal contexts of a 'scratch meal' as here, and more formal banquets (4.533); also a libation (2.348). Metonymy occurs also in 'Venerem' (2.625); 'Vulcanius ardor' (4.686); 'Marte' (1.810) etc.

70. 'Vires' and 'corpora' are to be taken with both Ceres and Bacchus, though they appear in an unexpected order (we expect 'corpora' with the more solid bread, though cf. VA. 1.214). α reads 'corioro' for L's 'corpora', which, whether a conjecture by Niccoli or the original reading of ω , is clearly right. 'Parco' means 'just a little' like VG. 3.404 'parco sale' a pinch of salt, and indicates the sailors' moderate intake of wine. Perhaps a paradox is intended, as wine is not usually so described, whereas sobriety is (Ter. Ad. 95 'parcum ac sobrium').

71. somno cessere: the trochaic caesura in the third foot combined with a clear break in sense gives a very strong pause. Though very common in Homer, this is rare in Latin poetry. There are only 30 instances in Virgil's Aeneid (e.g. VA. 4.486); 25 in Ovid's Met. (Hardie pp.8f). In Valerius cf. 3.732 'flumina conticuere'; 1.445; 4.552; cf. Kösters pp.9, 27; Winbolt p.33. This caesura often occurs in contexts that are peaceful and evocative of sleep, though the soporific effect here is lessened by the second and stronger caesura after 'regunt'. The presence of a second caesura, though not Homeric, is regular in Latin. regunt sua sidera puppim: modelled on VA. 5.832 'ferunt sua flamina classem'. 'Suus' is used frequently in verse, (VA. 1.461; Valerius 2.625) and occasionally in prose (Cic. pro Sest. 142 'hunc sui cives e civitate eiecerunt') to refer to a prominent word that is not the subject of the sentence. Here 'sua' refers to 'puppim' and means 'its own', hence 'favourable'; cf. Ov. M. 13.195 'orba suis essent etiam nunc lintea ventis'; H. Ep. 9.30 'ventis iturus non suis'; VA. 1.461. Cf. HSz p.175.

72-81. As the new day dawns, Lemnos appears above the horizon. In a few words the scene is set for the following account of Vulcan's fall and the massacre of the Lemnian men. Valerius adheres loosely to

Apollonius' account here (1.601-608 cf. ἦρι δὲ ... and εἰρεσίῃ κραναῇν Σιντηίδα Ἀἴμονον ἔκοντο) though he omits to mention the passing of a whole day (ἅμ' ἡελίοιο βολαῖς) before Lemnos is finally reached.

72-76. A periphrasis for dawn (cf. on 34ff.). In the space of five lines Valerius has accumulated several traditional details - the fading stars (cf. Luc. 2.721-5; St. Th. 7.470-1); the whiteness of the light at dawn, here applied to the land (below); the cessation of the nocturnal activity of wild animals (cf. Il. 11.173ff.; VG. 3.537f.); the activity of birds at dawn (VA. 8.456; Ov. Am. 1.13.8); the sun rising above a mountain (ARh. 1.519-20; Cat. 66.43 (below); VA. 2.801 'iamque iugis summae surgebat Lucifer Idae'; Valerius 5.410ff (Atlas) etc.); finally the light reflected on the waters (Cat. 63.40 'lustravit ... mare ferum'; VA. 7.25 'rubescebat radiis mare' etc.). It is unusual to find quite so many details in one periphrasis, and Valerius has perhaps overdone the epic touch here.

72. sub Eoae dubios Atlantidis ignes: 'dubios' refers to the fading light of the stars at dawn cf. Juv. 5.22 'sideribus dubiis'. This is a fresh application of the more common expression of the faint light of dawn, cf. Sen. Oed. 1 'Titan dubius'; Ph. 41 'dubia lux est'; Plin. Ep. 6.20.6 etc, or dusk; Ov. M. 4.401 'dubiae confinia noctis'; Luc. 4.473 etc. This use is not found in Virgil. By 'Atlantidis' we must understand the Pleiades, singular for plural as at Luc. 5.4 'Atlantis'. The Pleiades were mythologically daughters of Atlas (le Boeuffle p.199). The whole phrase is based on VG. 1.221. 'ante tibi Eoae Atlantides abscondantur'. The fading of the Pleiades at dawn is a literary topic found first in Eur.; cf. Phaethon 66 Πλειάδ[ων πέφενυε χορός] (Diggle ad loc.); Fraenkel on Aes. Ag. 826; Hes. Op. 383 (West); Luc. 2.722 'Pleias hebet'. The Pleiades here represent the stars in general and the adjective has nothing to do with their proverbial faintness (Arat. Ph.256).

Madvig proposed 'Pallantidis', Aurora, called Pallantis or Pallantias by Ovid alone (Bömer F. 6.567, cf. M. 15.700 'sextae Pallantidos ortu'). The genitive in Valerius should be spelt 'Pallantidos' (Bury) cf. on 'Pallados' 53 above. 'Dubios' then refers to the dim light of dawn before the sun rises (cf. Sen. Oed. 1; Ph. 41

above), and there is no reference to a familiar dawn topic. 'Eoae', 'Eastern', is a suitable epithet for Aurora, but the Virgilian parallel quoted above is sufficient justification for its use with 'Atlantidis'. Since Madvig's conjecture was the result of misunderstanding the meaning of 'Atlantidis' there is no reason to read 'Pallantidis' here.

The conjecture 'sub dubio ... igne' (Baehrens) is attractive as 'sub' with the accusative tends to mean 'about the time of' (e.g. VG. 1.67f. 'sub ipsum Arcturum'), whereas the ablative is more continuous and could also refer to place rather than just the time (KS 1.570-1) cf. Valerius 1.774 'veteris sub nocte cupressi'. 'Sub dubio', however, must be followed by 'Pallantidos' as a hiatus with 'Atlantidis' is unacceptable. There is, as said above, no good reason for changing the manuscript reading here, and the first reference to the rising sun is at 75 'primus'.

The phrase refers only to the time of day, and not to the time of year (as J.D.P. Bolton, CR 7 (1957) 104f.).

73. albet ager: clearly a reference to the white light of dawn. This must be the meaning in view of line 72. Compare the phrase 'albente caelo' (Sisenna Hist. 103; Caes. BC. 1.68.1; Bell Afr. 80.3), and Valerius 3.258 'notae ... albescere turre'. Though the phrase could refer to frost, a reference to white dew is not clearly paralleled elsewhere. At Claud. RP. 3.232f. Hall follows the manuscripts in reading 'cum rore serenus alget ager' ('albet', Parrhasius).

motisque: for the compound 'commotis' - thrown into confusion by the ravages of the bears. The conjecture 'mutis' deserves consideration, for the sheepfolds are at last quiet after the commotion of the night, though 'motis' forms a better contrast to 'tuta'.

74. tuta domosque: hendiadys for 'tuta domorum' or 'tutas domos'. For 'tuta' cf. Ov. M. 10.714 'trepidum et tuta petentem trux aper insequitur': the boar's victim seeks a place of safety. The word is used paradoxically here of the lairs of the beasts. It is the sheepfolds that become safe when the bears depart.

raras: it is very early in the morning and there are as yet few birds about. Balbus' 'raucas' would refer to the dawn chorus (especially VA. 8.456 'matutini volucrum sub culmine cantus'), but a reference to

birdsong here is out of place. What is relevant is the absence of most living creatures.

75. equis erexit anhelis: the sun's horses are usually breathless at dusk, though 'anhelus' can be used of breath visible in the cold air of dawn; VG. 1.250 'nos ... ubi primus equis Oriens adflavit anhelis'; St. Th. 7.473 etc. Here the adjective also suggests the effort of surmounting Athos, 1935m. high (Delage p.83) and looking higher because it rises out of the sea; Cat. 66.43f. 'mons quem maximum in oris progenies Thiae clara supervehitur'. (If Valerius had these lines in mind he took 'Thia's offspring' as meaning Helios (thus Quinn; Hes. Th. 371-4); Pfeiffer on Call. fr. 110. 44 however suggests that Boreas is meant, cf. Fordyce ad loc.).

The manuscript's 'exegit' must mean 'surmounted', 'passed over completely', with emphasis on Athos' height and the difficulty of rising above it (with 'anhelis'), cf. Ov. M. 2.63-4 'ardua prima via est'. The parallel at Plin. NH. 12.87 ('Troglodytae) 'hiberum mare exigunt circa brumam', 'cross the sea' (cf. Iul. Val. 2.24) reinforces the sense of completing a journey, though the verb is easier with 'mare' than with 'Athos'. Bury's conjecture 'erexit', adopted by Ehlers and favoured by Delz, makes little sense, and the parallel cited from St. Th. 11.555f. 'clamore Cithaeron erigitur' 'Cithaeron is startled by a shout' is obscure. 'Erexit' loses the full force of the collocation with 'anhelis'.

The Argonauts are now due west of Athos, thus the rising sun is hidden from them until it has risen above the mountain. Valerius ignores the poetic conceit of Athos' shadow found in Apollonius 1.602-4; cf. A.C. Pearson The Fragments of Sophocles vol. 3 (1917) fr. 776.

76. dispersit: something of a paradox. Usually water is scattered. Here the day is scattered on the waters. The phrase is a variation of VA. 4.584f. 'prima novo spargebat lumine terras Aurora'; cf. Valerius 3.257f. 'ecce levi primos iam spargere lumine portus orta dies'. The 'scattering' brought about by dawn was proverbial; Sapph. 120D Ἐσπερε πάντα φέρων ὅσα φαίνολις ἐσχέδασ' αὔτως .

77. certatim remis agitur mare: cf. VA. 3.290 'certatim socii feriunt mare et aequora verrunt', and Luc. 9.319f. 'primum remis actum mare

propulit omne classis onus'. Valerius repeats the rhythm of Lucan, with a pause after 'mare' suggesting the turmoil of the waves. The motion is transferred from the oars to the sea itself, 'stirred up' by the rowers.

rostraque ... prima: the beak at the front of the ship not 'the prow's point' (Mozley). As in the phrase 'prima initia' the adjective is otiose, merely emphasizing that the rostrum is the first part of the ship.

78f. summis ... surgit ... aquis: as they approach, Lemnos appears to rise up out of the water cf. ARh. 1.601 'Ἀθω ἀνέτελλε κολώνη and for the perspective see 'mergunt' (7); 'crescitque Electria tellus' (431). 'Summis' suggests that the line of the horizon appears higher than the boat, or perhaps contrasts the appearance of Lemnos with that of the islands that rose from the depths of the sea (Rhodes in Pind. Ol. 7.69-70). Valerius may have in mind VA. 6.357 'prospexi Italiam summa sublimis ab unda' where the speaker and not the land is aloft. 'Aquis' contrasts with the fiery element of 'Vulcania'.

Vulcania ... Lemnos: Valerius varies Apollonius' Σιντήιδα Ἀἴμνον (1.608) with the more apposite reference to Vulcan. For the phrase cf. 4.440; Ov. M. 13.313. The god's connection with the island is as old as Homer - Od. 8.283f. ἐς Ἀἴμνον ἐϋκτιμενον πολλέεθρον, ἧ οἱ γαῖδων πολὺ φιλοῖσσι ἐστὶν ἀπασέων and is accounted for by the presence of an earth fire (Burkert p.5. n.4) and reports of volcanic activity (cf. on 332ff.). Lemnos was regarded as the site of his forge (cf. 335f.; Cic. ND. 3.55 (Pease)) like Etna and the Lipari Islands, and tradition claimed it as the place where the god landed after his fall (cf. 89ff; Il. 1.593f.; Apld. 1.3.5; Cic. ND. 3.55 (Pease); RE sv. Hephaistus 8.315-6; Roscher sv. Hephaistus p.2071; A.B. Cook Zeus 3.1 (1940) pp.232-4).

79. tibi: dative of agent with 'defleta', cf. 2.158f.; 434f., HSz 96f. Its position is emphatic, and the sudden apostrophe unexpected, adding a subjective tone and enabling the reader to participate in the feelings of Vulcan (cf. G. Williams T.O.R.P. p.723; p.xi above). There is no need to emend 'defleta' (thus Delz). Van Lennep's 'dilecta', which picks up 'cara' (95), would have to mean 'beloved in spite of various troubles', which is difficult to extract from 'per'. Kramer's 'dilecta favores', 'beloved on account of various favours' will not do,

as Vulcan has only one particular reason, the islanders' care of him, and not many 'favores'. 'Defleta labores' refers to the troubles, 'trials', of the island (not Mozley's 'sufferings') which are 'many and varied', in particular those connected with 'furiis et crimine matrum', which might be expected to alienate the god (fugat). τὰ Λήμνια ἔργα (labores) were proverbial (cf. Hdt. 6.138; Aes. Cho. 631ff. etc.).

Lines 79-81 provide an introduction to the following sections of narrative. 'Labores', partly explained in 'furiis et crimine matrum', refers forward to 'nefas' (101) and the account of the massacre. Enclosed in this frame is 'meritque ... prioris' (81), and the description of this former good turn (82-98).

80. Ignipotens: a Virgilian coinage (A. 8.414 etc.), adopted by Valerius here and at 5.452, for Vulcan. There is no direct Greek equivalent; πυρ(ι)πνοος and πυρδεις are found only in Nonnus. furiis: Valerius introduces an important feature of the massacre and hints at the role of the Furies (cf. 106; 194; 227f.). 'Furiis' refers to the mad frenzy of the women incited by Venus and Fama (cf. 102, 163, 191, 200, 239, 314). Apollonius' first version mentioned δάστος λῶσσα (Schol. 1.801-03a) as one cause of the massacre, and 'furor' plays a major part in Statius' account also (Th. 5.30, 33, 74, 91, 148, 281, 298, 454).

81. piget meminisse: the phrase appears to echo VA. 4.335 'nec me meminisse pigebit Elissae' - Aeneas will not forget Dido's care for him. Here Vulcan feels no revulsion for Lemnos in spite of subsequent events. The situation is rather different from that in Aeneid 4 and the echo is not intended to be meaningful.

82-430. The Lemnos Episode.

(i) The story in earlier versions.

The earliest reference to Jason's visit to Lemnos is implied by Il. 7.468-9 (cf. 21.41; 23.747) - Euneus is Jason's son by Hypsipyle. At Il. 14.230 Thoas is king of the island. Homer appears not to know of the massacre.

The earliest story connected with the Argonauts' visit involves the funeral games of Thoas and the victory of Erginus in one of the contests: Simonides 6 (566 B.C.); Schol. Pind. P. 4.450; Pindar P.

4.252ff (c.462 B.C.); Ol. 4.23ff. (452 B.C.). The visit occurs during the return voyage to Greece. The story recurs in Call. fr. 668 Pf.

Herodotus' brief reference to the massacre at 6.138 assumes that the story was familiar to his readers. It was probably related in detail in the Hypsipyles of Aeschylus and Euripides, and Sophocles' Lemniai, though Aeschylus and Sophocles were primarily concerned with the Argonauts' visit to the island, and the massacre will have been described only incidentally to explain the availability of the women (Nauck pp.79, 215). Aeschylus' Cabeiroi may have told the same story (Schol. Pind. P. 4.303). Euripides' Hypsipyle was composed after 412^{sc} (Page), perhaps 406-5^{sc} (Bond), certainly later than Pindar's version. The massacre was probably described in Hypsipyle's prologue speech (Bond pp.7ff.) and is mentioned later (fr. 64.72ff.).

Apollonius then had access to several brief versions from the Greek tragedians in addition to several comic plays, Aristophanes' Lemniai (fr. 356-75 Kock); Nicochares (fr. 11-14); Antiphanes (fr. 114-5); Alexis (fr. 134); Diphilos (fr. 54). Versions of the story are found in some Hellenistic authors who are roughly contemporary with Apollonius. Cleon of Kourion (Schol. ARh. 1.623-26a) mentioned Thoas' flight to Oenoe, as did Theolytus, and perhaps related the whole episode. Herodotus of Herakleia certainly included the story (Schol. ARh. 1.769) in his Argonautica, and the Lesbian chronicler Myrsilus placed the visit on the return voyage and attributed the foul smell of the Lemnian women to Medea's magic (Schol. ARh. 1.609-19e). It is not always easy to tell from the Scholiast's brief remarks whether the whole episode or a reference only was included in the work he cites. Callimachus mentioned Thoas' funeral games (fr. 668) and has a reference to Lemnos (fr. 226 Pf.) but there is no indication of how extensively he treated the episode, though he does relate at length another episode on the Argonauts' return journey (fr. 7.19-21 Pf.).

(ii) Valerius' Sources.

Valerius' main source for the Lemnos episode is clearly Apollonius, though the two versions differ considerably in parts. The main difference lies in Valerius' lengthy account of the massacre, which he has expanded from ARh's 18 lines using Virgilian themes and language. Hypsipyle is very much a Dido figure, and the similarity occasionally causes Valerius to fall into error (e.g. 355). He uses

the expanded episode as a means of developing the character of Hypsipyle, who is no longer the stateswoman of ARh. but sympathetic and loving, a dutiful daughter and wife. As such she makes a strong contrast to the Medea of Book 8. The fabricated explanation of ARh. 1.793ff. would not fit well into her mouth and is therefore omitted.

(iii) The chronological relationship to Statius Th. 5.

Editors generally assume that Valerius' Argonautica has priority over Statius' Thebaid, and such evidence as there is seems to bear this out. A strong argument for Statius' priority in this episode, however, has been put forward by Barnes (pp.132ff.). He asserts that Valerius has elaborated his account of the massacre for its own sake, without reference to the larger structure of the poem (p.142), and beyond the importance of events in relation to the rest of the episode (p.147). He suggests that the lines were intended for separate publication in emulation of Statius' version, which perhaps drew on an earlier and briefer version by Valerius. Barnes points to the disproportionate length of the massacre (82-310, two thirds of the whole episode), though the whole episode is not unduly long (the delay at Cyzicus occupies 493 lines), and far from being excessive in length, Book 2 is one of the shortest, and would be extremely short without the massacre. Furthermore, the joining of the account of the massacre on to the main narrative (311) is less abrupt than Barnes seems to think. He sees here further evidence for the separate composition of the episode, with the two assemblies (307ff.; 313) and the absence of any indication of time (p.161). This however is supplied at 327, and 'ecce procul' (311) emphasizes the unexpected and almost immediate arrival of the Argonauts. The 'concilium' (313) reflects Apollonius' council (1.653ff.) and may suggest the summoning of the Imperial conciliar body (concilium); the first assembly (307ff.) explains how Hypsipyle became queen. Valerius' workmanship is not usually sloppy, and this is no exception. Finally the episode is more relevant in Valerius as an expansion of Apollonius and as a study of Hypsipyle, than in Statius' Thebaid where Hypsipyle's appearance (cf. Eur. Hyps.) but not her narrative was traditional. Statius clearly included it in his version with Valerius in mind to restate themes and provide parallels with and contrasts to the rest of the poem (see Vessey pp.170ff.).

One detail reinforces the argument for Valerian priority. The storm that confines the Argonauts to Lemnos appears in Valerius alone (357ff.). In Statius' version a storm occurs prior to the Argonauts' landing (Th. 5.361ff.). However, at 5.468-9 we read 'detumuerē animi maris et clementior Auster vela vocat' immediately before the Argonauts depart. The phraseology recalls Valerius 2.372f. 'zephyros ... audire vocantes dissimulant'. 'Detumuerē animi maris' implies that the sea is now calm enough for sailing after a period of bad weather. It cannot refer back to the winter storms (459f.) because the mention of these does not immediately precede. The language suggests a storm on the lines of Valerius 2.357-69 which prevented sailing, and reveals that Statius had Valerius' account in front of him, and unintentionally used a phrase that recalled Valerius' storm, though such a storm plays no part in his version.

There are considerable differences between the two versions. Statius expands Bacchus' role, perhaps with Valerius in mind (Vessey p.176), for Bacchus had caused the drought (4.680ff.); Thoas succeeds his brother on Chios, an intentional contrast to the enmity of Polyneices and Eteocles; Statius described Thoas' mock funeral, thereby introducing a realistic detail; he omits the slave women (except 5.142), and also the council of the women, implying that law and order cannot exist in a perverted society; Jason is portrayed as a deceitful charmer of women (456f.; 463), perhaps from Ov. H. 6.63; 109; 124.

(iv) Anthropology.

The story of Hypsipyle raises important anthropological issues, though Valerius is not the place to seek details of these. It is misleading—to see in the story the memory of a matriarchal society (cf. G. Dumezil Le Crime des Lemniennes (Paris 1924) for at no time do the women have authority over men. The massacre has been linked with the annual fire festival described by Philostratus in the third century A.D. (Burkert p.2, n.3), and the connection seems likely, though Burkert is wrong to connect the Argonauts' arrival by ship with that of the fire-bringing boat from Delos (pp.4ff.), for the two episodes were originally separate. Burkert assumes that the entire story is pre-Homeric, complete in every detail including the *δυσσοφία* of Myrsilus and others (Schol. ARh. 1.609-19e), and that Apollonius' is a more developed form. It seems more likely that the Argonauts' visit only is

Homeric, and that the massacre in the form in which it most closely reflects the festival belongs to local legend (Myrsilus and Theolytus were both local chroniclers), and can therefore reflect a local custom, though the priority of one over the other cannot easily be ascertained.

(v) Chronology.

The massacre occurred only a short time (cf. 327 'recentis') before the Argonauts' arrival, yet the abrupt introduction to the episode (82ff.) suggests that events are taking place simultaneously with the main narrative. Valerius has deliberately kept the chronology vague to accommodate the inclusion of the digression (82-310); the main narrative is resumed at 311. Such chronological vagueness with the suggestion of simultaneity is characteristic of epic, cf. R. Heinze Virgils Epische Technik (1957) pp.386-9; E. Auerbach Mimesis (tr. W.R. Trask Princeton 1946) ch. 1, Odysseus' scar.

82-92: Vulcan's fall from heaven.

Juno's suspension from heaven is not usually associated with the gods' revolt; at Il. 1.399ff. no reference is made to her punishment. Her suspension in Il. 15.18ff is a punishment for sending a storm against Heracles (cf. Apld. 1.3.5; 2.7.1); any god who tried to rescue her was to be thrown mercilessly out of heaven (Il. 15.22f.). As a variant, Hyginus (Fab. 166) makes Vulcan hang Juno in the air because she had thrown him out of heaven at birth (Paus. 1.20.3; Serv. VE. 4.62; etc; Stith Thompson D 1413).

Valerius is apparently the first to link Juno's suspension with the revolt of the gods. In his account of Vulcan's fall, however, he is dependent on one of Homer's two versions. He follows Il. 1.590f. where Hephaestus is thrown by Zeus as a punishment for trying to rescue his mother (we are not told from what), cf. also Il. 15.18-22; Apld. 1.3.5; Lucian de sacrif. 6. His lameness was the result of his fall. The alternative version relates that Hera herself threw her son from heaven in disgust at his lameness (Il. 18.394ff.; Hom. Hymn. Ap. 317ff.; Paus. 1.20.3).

The story of Vulcan's fall from heaven was designed to explain his lameness, for smith gods are traditionally lame (Völunder (Norse); Wieland (Teutonic); Weyland). Valerius includes it here as background to the Lemnos episode. Vulcan's attempt to help his mother like a

dutiful son may also in some ways prefigure Hypsipyle's rescue of her father, though the manner is very different. The episode is elaborated for its own sake, like the gigantomachia above.

82. Tempore quo: a formulaic phrase, like 'once upon a time', used to introduce the idea of remoteness in time, and perhaps the fictional nature of the narrative. The device may be neoteric, cf. Cat. 64.73; VA. 9.80; Gow Theoc. 7.1.

Valerius' chronology is deliberately vague (cf. 'mox etiam', 'inde', 'hinc', 'postquam'). Present tenses throughout (except 'insonuit') bring the events before our eyes, but dispel the illusion of remoteness. It is appropriate that Valerius should turn to Homer for details of events that belong to the past.

fremitus: 'grumblings'. 'Fremitus' is used for any dull, constant sound, as opposed to a short, sharp, decisive one - the murmur of the sea (1.629); roar of lions (3.237), the murmuring of crowds in approval (VA. 5.148) or dissent, as here, where indignation (Cic. Att. 2.13.2; Luc. 10.11; Val. 6.626f.; 8.386) and anger (Valerius 2.525; 3.638; Sil. 5.446 etc.) are combined. There is tension between 'fremitus' and 'opertos', for the latter is visual, the former aural. 'Insurgere' often has connotations of rebellion; cf. Ov. M. 9.445 'credens... suis insurgere regnis'; TLL 7.1.2062 72ff.

83. sensit: with both accusative and infinitive, and participle, in a typical Valerian construction; (compare 'stupet' 510; p.ix above). It is used as a blanket term with three specific meanings: (i) with 'fremitus insurgere opertos'; a sense word, both aural and visual meaning 'perceived'; (ii) with 'tumentes', visual in a metaphorical sense meaning 'felt'; (iii) with 'stare', 'realized', as a result of (i) and (ii).

regni...novitate: 'the change of rule', the phrase from VA. 1.563 of Dido's new kingdom but with overtones of revolution; cf. OLD sv. 'novare' 10, 'res novae'; Aes. PV. 35 ὅστις ἄν νέον κρᾶτῆ, cf. 149; also Timotheus PMG fr. 796.3 νέος ὁ Ζεὺς βασιλεύει, also of Zeus' new kingship.

tumentes: with 'caelicolas' understood as the word is not appropriate to noise ('fremitus'). The gods are swelling with indignation, cf. OLD sv. 'tumeo' 3. This meaning can be made explicit with a qualifying word

e.g. 'ira tumentibus' (Liv. 31.8.11), but the verb often stands on its own as here; 6.1f. 'Gradivus ... acri corde tumet'; Sen. Tro. 1096; St. Th. 3.600 etc. Compare 'tumor' (OLD sv. 3) in the same sense e.g. Cic. Tusc. 3.76 'tumor animi'; VA. 8.40, again linked with 'ira'.

84. stare silentia pacis: a striking phrase. 'Silentia' refers both literally to 'fremitus' and metaphorically to peaceful conditions, slightly tautologous with 'pacis', though each word reinforces the other. The phrase refers to the 'pax deorum' rather than the peace that follows war, with perhaps a hint of the 'pax Romana', the Roman Empire. Jupiter's Empire is not yet firmly established ('nec stare'), cf. 'res publica staret' (Cic. Phil. 2.10.24). There is tension between 'stare' and 'silentia', for silence is an intangible quality, and 'stare' implies a more concrete object.

85. volucris: 'the wheeling sky' (Mozley). The adjective implies rapid movement like a bird's, VA. 11.795 'volucris ... auras' (of the breezes), particularly movement in a straight line, though here 'rolling' or 'circling' would be more appropriate. Valerius' application of 'volucer' to Olympus here is novel but not entirely satisfactory; 'vertentis Olympi' (38) is better.

86. chaos, barathri: both are words of Greek origin, meaning in general a chasm or abyss. They could refer to the underworld, thought of as an abyss at Il. 8.14. ἡχὶ βάθιστον ὅπδ' ἡθονός ἐστι βέρεθρον (Tartarus); for βέρεθρον cf. ARh. 2.642; χάος only ps. Plat. Ax. 371e; Quint. Smyrn. 2.614; cf. RE 3.2112-3; 'barathrum' meaning Tartarus, the place of punishment, in Lucr. 3.966; 6.606; VA. 8.245; Valerius 2.192; 'chaos' first in this sense in Ov. M. 10.30 (Bömer), Luc. 9.101; Valerius 1.830; 7.402.

Here, Valerius means the abyss that separates heaven and earth; using 'chaos' of the void and 'barathrum' with reference to the abyss-like height. See further West on Hes. Th. 116.

poenasque: S's reading should be eliminated by the consensus of VL ('poenaque') and recognised as a conjecture. VL have misunderstood ω's contracted form 'poenāque' for 'poenamque' which must be read here (as Carr.²). Juno's punishment alone and not 'penalties' in general are meant. The 'penalty of the abyss' is that of falling into it.

88-91. Vulcan's fall is described in terms of a large boulder rolling down a mountain side. Olympus is envisaged as the lofty Thessalian mountain with 'vertice' (88) suggesting its summit, and 'praerupti' the steep descent of its precipitous sides (VA. 1.105 'praeruptus ... mons') with a reference back to the chasm imagery of 86. 'Caeli', however, makes it clear that the description is only a metaphor. Vulcan falls with violence ('ruit'), a word rarely used in this sense of people (7.642 of falling to the ground in death), but compare Lucr. 5.313 'ruere avulsos silices a montibus altis'. The comparison with 'turbo' suggests both rapid movement and continuous rotation (VA. 12.923 'volat atri turbinis instar' of a spear; Valerius 3.243), though the direction is vertical ('praerupti', 'ruit') rather than horizontal. The comparison suggests Vulcan's helplessness as he spins downwards through the air. 'Turbo' here means a 'whirlwind' rather than a 'top', which, though rotatory, does not move from the spot. 'Devolvitur' introduces the idea of rotation; cf. Valerius 2.235; Caes. BC. 2.11.1 ('saxa') 'in musciculum devolvunt'. The loud sound produced on impact is encapsulated in 'insonuit', 'fell with a thud', an abrupt use of the perfect tense suggesting the boulder crashing as it reaches the ground.

89. noctemque diemque: Virgilian (A. 5.766; 8.94); Valerius has exaggerated Homer's $\pi\acute{\alpha}\nu\ \delta'\ \eta\mu\epsilon\tau\epsilon\alpha$ (Il. 1.592). The Titans' fall from heaven to earth lasted nine days and nights, and another nine more into Tartarus (Hes. Th. 717ff.); Satan's fall for 'nine times the space that measures day and night' (Milton PL. 1.50f.).

90. dum: Schenkl's correction of ω 's 'cum', for the sense requires 'until'.

91. repens: sudden, 'unexpected'. 'Repens' is preferred in verse to the more usual prose form 'repentinus', though found only in the nominative (as here), and ablative (Lucr.). Valerius prefers the adjective 'subitus' (32x) to 'repens' (twice only, also 2.478 'repens belua') a preference which reflects the general tendency among poets to write 'subito' for 'repente' (16:6; in Valerius) cf. Axelson pp.32f.
perculit: his voice 'struck the city with consternation' (from 'percello'). The phrase is paralleled at Cic. Ver. 2.3.132 'haec te

vox non perculit, non perturbavit' (syn. 'perturbavit'); (Sen.) Oct. 72 'vox en nostras perculit aures'. Burman's 'percutit' is no improvement, though the parallels are more extensive (Sen. Ag. 635; St. Th. 4.807f. 'percussa reclamation terra'; Valerius 3.529 etc.), for the sense of 'consternation' is lacking, and the authenticity of 'perculit' is confirmed by the subject 'vox' in the two parallels above.

92. miserentque: an archaic use of the personal verb 'they had pity on him'. TLL 8.1115.61ff. cites Enn. Ann. 171 'cogebant hostes lacrimantes ut misererent'; sc. 197; Lucr. 3.881; Ter. Hec. 64; cf. NW 3 pp.63-4.

foventque: a physical and personal word, which combines the idea of 'comfort' with that of warmth and includes 'ministering' to the sick (OLD 5.b). Cf. Il. 18.398 (Thetis) ἠπεδέξατο κόλπῳ (of Hephaestus). No subject is mentioned and 'Lemni cives' must be understood from 90 'Lemni ... litore'. The assonance (cf. 4.47 'audetque pavetque') and repeated -que, where prose would have only one, has the effect of forcing the movement of the line on after the slow 'adclinem scopulo', itself emphasizing Vulcan's shock after the fall.

93. 'Hesitating over each alternate step with a painful knee (hamstring)'. The line echoes the language of VA. 12.386 'alternos longa nitentem cuspidē gressus', of the wounded Aeneas. Such a close adaptation of a whole line of Virgil is rare in Valerius and accounts for the presence of a 'Silver' line here (L.P. Wilkinson Golden Latin Artistry (CUP 1963) pp.215ff.), though he rarely uses them elsewhere. Cf. p.vii above.

'Alternos ... gressus' is a direct accusative with 'cunctantem' as OLD sv. 'cunctor' 2c, (unnoticed by TLL 4.1394.77ff.), in a physical sense. Statius uses 'cunctor' with the accusative to mean 'hesitate over', in an abstract sense, cf. Th. 3.719 'magnum cunctamur ... paratus'. Aeneas has been wounded in one leg only ('alternos ... gressus'), , therefore leans every other step on his spear. 'Alternos' here suggests lameness in one leg (with 'aegro ... poplite'). Valerius reveals his interpretation of the obscure Homeric epithet ἀμφιγυῖς used of Hephaestus at Il. 1.607 etc., of uncertain derivation but probably meaning lame (γυῖτης) in both feet (ἀμφι) (thus Leaf Il.

1.607; Mooney ARh. 3.37). On the limping Vulcan see W. Burkert Griechische Religion (1977) p.261.

The metre is dilatory, with a molossus in the third and fourth foot, emphasizing Vulcan's slow pace and hesitant steps, an effect enhanced by the interlacing of the words.

94. reduci: L is clearly right against the reading of α 'rudici'. 'Redux' refers to one recalled from exile (frequ. Cic.) and is appropriate to the recall of an outcast from heaven. Valerius uses the language of the Emperor's gracious permission in allowing an exile to return home, emphasized in the collocation of 'reduci', 'pater', 'adnuat', 'arces' (cf. 'nec stare silentia pacis'). Baehrens' 'rursus' destroys the force of this idea.

pater: an oblique allusion to Vulcan's parentage. Though Homer clearly makes Hephaestus a son of Zeus by Hera (Il. 1.578f. etc.), most later versions agree in making him Hera's son born in response to Athene's birth from Zeus' head (Hes. Th. 924ff.; West on 927; Apld. 1.3.5).

adnuat: 'assent', with reference to Jupiter's nod that shakes the heavens (Il. 1.528ff. etc.). For the construction with direct object cf. VA. 1.250 'caeli quibus adnuis arcem'.

arces: the 'citadel' of the heavens, the dwelling-place of the gods (separate from 'arces' (444) of the 'heights of the sky') and suggesting the autocratic power of its ruler, as Valerius 1.498, St. S. 3.3.138, of Jupiter's abode. The idea of the heavens as a citadel arose from the association of the heavenly Olympus with Mt. Olympus.

95. Lemnos is introduced as Vulcan's favourite haunt, in words that are extremely close to St. Th. 5.49-56., cf. particularly the framing of line 95 by 'Lemnos ... Aetne', as at St. Th. 5.50. Vulcan's role is extraneous to Statius' account, and these lines are surely modelled on Valerius. Compare further 'nec fama notior Aetne aut Lipares domus' (95f.) and S. Th. 5.55f. 'nec illa Samo fama Delove sonanti peior'.

Lemnos cara deo: the initial spondee is emphatic (Winbolt pp.106-110). Lemnos is Vulcan's favourite haunt when relaxing from his labours (cf. Hom. Od. 8.284 γαῖῶν πολὺ φιλότατη... ἀπασέων). The motif of a deity's favourite haunt is familiar. Statius mentions Samos and Delos, islands particularly favoured by Juno and Apollo respectively. Cf. NH on HC. 1.35.1 'gratum ... Antium'. It is particularly common of the

minor deities; Jupiter is ubiquitous and not associated with any one place in particular.

The references to Etna and Lipara as well as Lemnos are reminiscent of the prayer convention whereby the suppliant mentions all the places where the deity could possibly be. 'Aut' belongs to this convention cf. NH C. 1.12.5, 30.1.

fama notior: from VA. 2.21 'notissima fama' (Tenedos), cf. Sen. Tro. 224 'nota fama Tenedos'; VA. 1.379 'fama ... notus' (Aeneas). Statius adapts and reverses Valerius' phrase (Th. 5.55f. above).

96. has ... haec: emphatically first, as VA. 1.16ff. 'hic illius arma, hic currus fuit; hoc regnum dea gentibus esse ... iam tum tenditque fovetque' (of Juno's Carthage).

templa: there are no surviving remains of a temple of Hephaestus on Lemnos. His association with the earth fire at Mosychlus and the fire festival suggests a temple at or near the mountain (Valerius 2.332ff.), where traditionally he landed after his fall, cf. Acc. frag. (Phil). 533-5 'Volcania iam templa sub ipsis collibus, in quos delatus locos dicitur alto ab limine caeli', or, more specifically, at the place from which Lemnian earth was obtained, modern Kokkino (Fredrich p.255). Lemnos was the second cult centre of Hephaestus after Athens.

97. horrifici: a Lucretian word (3.906, cf. 2.609), adopted by Virgil (A. 3.225 etc.) and the Silver Age Epic poets, and found in Valerius also at 2.518; 3.423. It is equivalent to the Greek φοβώδης, and is appropriate of the shuddering fear caused by a thunderbolt; Valerius uses 'horror' of the bolt itself at 4.661. For adjectives of this type cf. 'regifico' (651).

fulminis alis: a thunderbolt, thought of as winged from the speed of its flight (Lucr. 6.383 'volans ignis'). DS 2.2 pp.1357-8 traces the development of pictorial representations of the thunderbolt, from the three-pronged trident to the winged bolt illustrated p.1358. The idea appears in literature first Ar. Av. 1714 πτεροφόρον Διὸς βέλος (cf. 576), cf. VA. 5.319 'fulminis ocior alis'; Val. 6.55f. 'nec primus radios ... corusci fulminis et rutilas scutis diffuderis alas'; Claud. RP. 2.229 'paciferas rubri ... fulminis alas'. The 'radii' or rays of the bolt (as VA. 8.429) belong to a different conception (cf. ἀκτῖνες Pind. P. 4.198; Soph. Tr. 1086).

98. laetus: frequently of a god's approach to a cult centre cf. VA. 1.415f. 'sedes ... revisit laeta suis' (Venus); HC. 1.2.46 NH. It suggests the deity's pleasure at the receipt of sacrifices, as well as at the place (cf. 'cara' 95).

98-106. Venus' hostility to the Lemnian people is explained. Since her adultery with Mars her worship has been neglected by the islanders who naturally sympathized with Vulcan. The well-known story of the detection of Mars and Venus by Helios (Hom. Od. 8.267ff. cf. Ov. M. 4.171ff.) is linked to the Lemnian massacre only by Valerius, and Myth. Vat. 2.141 and the Scholiast on St. Th. 5.59, both probably following Valerius' account. Venus' anger with the race of Helios (including Ariadne, Pasiphae and Phaedra, cf. Sen. Ph. 124f.; as well as Medea and Aeetes, cf. Valerius 6.467-8, P.Mich. inv. 1316 verso 23) is however better known and may have suggested its incorporation here.

Valerius departs from Apollonius' account in which Aphrodite's anger is directed against the Lemnians simply because they have neglected her worship, a truly Homeric reason (1.615 οὐνεχά μιν γερῶν ἐπὶ δῆρδν ἄρισσαν ; cf. 802f.). The men desert their wives, preferring the attractions of their Thracian captives (1.611ff). Statius prefers a more psychological explanation: 'dis visum turbare domos, nec pectora culpa nostra vacant' (Th. 5.57f.). They had neglected to pay Venus her due offerings 'nullos Veneri sacravimus ignes, nulla deae sedes' (58f.). The gods of love and marriage flee as the Lemnian men depart on a three year expedition to Thrace.

Statius then provides a double explanation, both human and divine. By stressing the mythological background to events, Valerius removes the massacre even further from reality than Apollonius, who is content to attribute it to divine retribution. Valerius' version however assures us that, as with the giants and Typhoeus, the punishment is appropriate. Venus' anger is the result of her public exposure by Vulcan. The anger she rouses in the women is provoked by the supposed infidelity of their husbands, and is therefore a ghastly parody of the situation in heaven.

98. frigida: appropriate both to the altar no longer warmed by sacrifice (cf. 'calet' 331) and to the lack of warmth in human

relations, as St. Th. 5.71f. 'frigida iusti cura tori'. Valerius' references to the desolation of the women are however less explicit than those of Statius (cf. 137ff.; St. Th. 5.104ff.). The phrase 'stat frigida ... loco' must be taken closely together: 'stands cold in its place', that is 'remains standing cold'. All the emphasis lies with 'frigida'. 'Stat' belongs with 'loco' in a physical sense, 'in its place' (not 'there', 'ibi') as 3.121 'stat ... loco torus'; VG. 3.84 etc., but also with frigida, 'remains cold', as 7.354 'nec notis stabat contenta venenis', 'remains content' etc. The altar is neglected and unused but has not been moved.

99. ara: the only evidence for the worship of Aphrodite on Lemnos is literary (ARh. 1.858-60; Valerius 2.331) and not historical. She may be related to the Greek Goddess associated with the Cabeiroi, and Burkert (p.3 n.5) refers to an inscription from the Kabeirion which may read 'Α]φροδίτει Θρα[κίαι (ASSA 3/5 (1941-3) 91 nr.12) (cf. Aristophanes Lemnīai fr. 365 κρατίστη δαίμων). If the goddess was worshipped on Lemnos as 'Thracian Aphrodite', her involvement of Thracian captive women in the massacre is appropriate.

100. tacitae ... catenae: an oxymoron, as clanking chains are far from silent. From meaning something 'unheard' by the ears, 'tacitae' comes to mean 'hidden', concealed from the eyes. 'Catenae' suggests heavy metal chains, appropriate as the handiwork of the smith god but with magical properties of invisibility: Od. 8.280 τὰ γ'οὐ κέ τις οὐδέ ἴδοιτο ; Ov. M. 4.177'(catenas) quae lumina fallere possent'. In the Odyssey Hephaestus devises an elaborate net like a spider's web (8.280). Valerius' description here is striking and imaginative.

Martem: Mars entangled in the chains became synonymous with the adulterer caught in the act, as Juv. 10.311ff. 'fiet adulter publicus et poenas metuet quascumque mariti†irati†debet, nec erit felicior astro Martis, ut in laqueos numquam incidat'. Roman law permitted summary punishment to be taken by the irate husband on his wife's seducer.

tenuere: for the perfect 'tenuerunt', sometimes called 'the perfect of instantaneous action', as at 604 'subiere'; 609 'rediere'. The form is archaic, found in Cato and early inscriptions, adopted possibly by Ennius and certainly by Virgil for its metrical advantages. Prose

authors use it to convey an archaic or epic tone. Cf. NW 3.190ff. (p.197 for Valerius).

101. quocirca: only here in Valerius. The word is rare in poetry, in Virgil only A. 1.673, cf. Axelson p.80 n.67.

struit: cf. inc. trag. 240 'struunt sorores Atticae dirum nefas'. The verb means 'construct', either literally (VA. 5.811, of the walls of Troy), or metaphorically, of devising a plan or trap; cf. VA. 2.60 'hoc ipsum ut strueret' (Sinon); 'struere insidias' Cic. Clu. 190; Sen. HO. 1468 'Nessus hos struxit dolos'. The element of deceit and treachery is strong. This metaphorical sense was perhaps originally colloquial (OLD sv. struo 6).

nefas: of something that is contrary to moral law cf. Cat. 64.405 'omnia ... nefanda'; VA. 4.306 (Aeneas' desertion); Sen. Ph. 913; Valerius 2.568 (Laomedon's intended murder of a guest). The Lemnian massacre is 'nefas' (cf. 2.210; St. Th. 5.32, 46, 202, 328) because it violated the sanctity of the marriage bond.

merenti: 'guilty', in Venus' opinion, of neglecting her worship. The word is used in its negative sense as at 2.213f. 'meritos ... toros', cf. VA. 2.229f. 'scelus expendisse merentem Laocoonta ferunt'; Valerius 1.726 'Bistonas ad meritos'; 4.754 'merito ... sanguine' etc. (TLL 8.813.21).

102. furiale: an adjective with 'exitium', 'fury-like destruction', rather than adverbial as St. Th. 6.429f. 'furiale minatur efferus'. Here 'worthy of a fury' with a hint of vengeance. The word looks forward to 'virginibus Stygiis' (106) and is explained by 104-6. 'Enim' (102) is then clearly right, contra Langen.

alma videri: 'gracious to look upon'. The infinitive is epexegetic after the adjective, a construction based on the Greek, e.g. Aes. Pers. 27 φοβεροὶ μὲν ἰδεῖν ...; Pind. P. 1.26 θαυμάσιον προσ-
ιδέσθαι. Compare St. Th. 5.135f. 'videri clara' (Venus). 'Alma' is often used of Venus, cf. Plaut. Rud. 694; Lucr. 1.2; VA. 1.618 etc.; HC. 4.15.31; Ov. M. 13.759; St. S. 1.2.52 etc. Valerius may have particularly in mind the Virgilian 'alma parens, confessa deam qualisque videri caelicolis' (A. 2.591f.). He contrasts the goddess' customary benign aspect with her more sinister side, likening her to a fury (104-6). Statius has a similar contrast in mind at Th. 5.62ff.

'nec vultu nec crine prior' etc. For Venus' surprising double aspect cf. n.208 where she takes on attributes of the warrior Mars, and compare the cult of Aphrodite in armour at Sparta, mentioned by Leonidas 24.103 (Gow,Page); Quint. 2.4.26. For other divinities with a double aspect cf. HC. 2.10.19, Prop. 4.6.31ff. (Apollo); St. Th. 5.268f. and NH HC. 2.19.27 (Bacchus); St. Th. 11.459f. (Pietas).

102f. The manuscripts read 'neque enim alma videri iam tum ea cum tereti (L, reti α) crinem subnectitur auro'. The best and easiest attempt to make sense of these puzzling lines is Madvig's 'neque enim alma videri tantum ea, cum ...', provided there is a definite pause before 'eadem'. 'Tantum' must be taken closely with 'alma' in contrast to 'effera'; she is not only gracious but she is also fierce (eadem effera). 'Cum ... sinus' provides details of Venus in her gracious aspect: 'for she is not only gracious to look upon, as she is when her hair is bound ...'. 'Eadem' is used as often, to point the contrast.

Sudhaus' suggestion 'neque enim alma videri tantum: eadem ... eadem', adopted by Ehlers, is less satisfactory, and would be easier if the word 'alma' were incorporated in the description following the first 'eadem', or if this concept were more easily understandable from the description. The repetition of 'eadem' overemphasizes the fact that it is the same goddess who is meant, whereas the contrast should rightly lie between 'alma' and 'effera'. The strong pause that follows 'tantum' in Ehlers' text does not make this clear.

103-4. Venus is presented here as a respectable Roman matron; her hair pinned up and her dress (stola) long and flowing. Her hair-style contrasts with that of the Furies, who have loose, snake-like hair at Sen. Med. 13f.; Oct. 262 etc.

tereti ... auro: the phrase has several Virgilian parallels; VA. 5.313 'tereti subnectit fibula gemma' (a belt); 7.815f. 'fibula crinem auro internectat'; 10.138' (crinis) molli subnectens circulus auro'; cf. R.O.A.M. Lyne on Ciris 127-8. Valerius has deliberately rephrased his source. 'Tereti ... auro' refers to a smooth, gold fibula, a pin or 'clip' (DS 2.2.1101ff.) used both to fasten one's dress (VA. 4.139) and for keeping the hair in position. 'Tereti' contrasts with 'subnectitur', itself a biting word, suggesting something more jagged and secure than a smooth pin. 'Crinem' is a retained accusative after

the passive verb 'subnectitur' like 'aequatum ...ornos' (6); 'diffusa sinus' (104). Here the construction occurs with the passive verb rather than a passive participle, and 'subnectitur' is middle in tone, cf. 'induor' TLL 7.1.1267.69ff.; VA. 7.640 'loricam induitur'; Ov. M. 2.425 'induitur faciem cultusque Dianae'.

104. sidereos ... sinus: the phrase conveys Venus' graceful and matronly beauty. The adjective 'sidereos' makes a strong contrast with 'nigram' (106), stressing Venus' divinity, in contrast to the blackness of the underworld. 'Sidereus' is often applied to the divine inhabitants of the heavens cf. St. S. 1.2.141 'sidereos artus' (Venus); Sen. Oed. 410 'vultu sidereo' (Bacchus).

diffusa: Gellius 6.12.2 'vestem longe lateque diffusam' reveals that Valerius refers here to the full-flowing garment thought suitable for a respectable woman, totally concealing her arms and legs. A short dress was a sign of immodesty (Ov. exp. 3.3.52 of a prostitute), and one was 'succincta' for action, as Ov. M. 8.660 (Baucis). This meaning is confirmed by 'sinus', used of clothing draped in folds.

The alternative explanation offered by TLL 5.1.1112.75ff. (comparing 'solutus', 'disertus', 'laxatus'), and Langen (ad loc. 'sinus laxus'), is less satisfactory in suggesting that the robe is hanging loosely, indicating an occasion of informality and pleasure (HC. 1.30.5f. 'solutis zonis' of the Graces). Venus' dress must be formal and correct in contrast to the abandoned style of the Furies.

105. maculis suffecta genas: Valerius has in mind the description of 'effera Dido' at VA. 4.643f. 'maculis...tremetis interfusa genas'. 'Suffecta' means 'marred' with blotches, disfiguring marks on the skin, cf. 1.820f. 'suffecta ... leto lumina' and its model VA. 2.210 'ardentis oculos suffecti sanguine et igni'. 'Genas' are her cheeks, as at 142, 205, though at 8.164 'genae' clearly refers to eyes.

pinum: for the traditional torch of the furies cf. Luc. 1.573; Sen. Med. 15 etc; Roscher p.1335 sv. Erinyes. 'Sonantem' suggests the crackling of the burning brand; 5.33 'rapidae sonuere faces'. For the idea cf. St. Th. 5.65 'divam alios ignes ... gerentem'.

106. pallam: the furies wore black robes: Aes. Cho. 1049 φαλοχίτωνες . The 'palla' was a rectangular garment worn over the stola like a cloak

for use out of doors. For Tisiphone's 'palla' cf. VA. 6.555 (cruenta); Ov. M. 4.482f.; St. Th.1.110.

'Pinum' and 'pallam' are accusatives of respect with 'simillima' as VA. 1.589 'os umerosque deo similis'. The construction is Greek, cf. Hom. Il. 2.478 ὄμματα καὶ κεφαλὴν Ἰχέλος Διὶ περικεραυνῷ

, introduced by Plautus (KS 1.pp.285-7). -que (105) therefore connects this clause with 'maculis suffecta genas' and does not make a pair with -que (106).

107-114. The Lemnian men return from fighting on the Thracian mainland with their booty, including captive slave-women. Valerius here departs completely from Apollonius' account, expanding the hints found in 1.612f.

107. Punctuate with Ehlers. 'Iamque dies aderat' is a separate introductory phrase, cf. VA. 2.132 'iamque dies infanda aderat' (though here the adjective makes the sense easier). The day in question is that of the Lemnian men's return. In spite of its unusual position, 'qui ... armis' is best taken with 'dux Lemni' that follows, as the verb 'fuderat' suits a human subject better, and the pluperfect tense makes no sense with 'dies'. The Lemnian men's departure did not presumably occur on the same day as their victory. Burman's 'quo' (for 'qui') fails to resolve this difficulty.

108. dux Lemni: the use of the genitive singular 'Lemni' here for the adjective 'Lemnius' (cf. VA. 8.120 'Dardanidae ... duces') or genitive plural 'Lemniorum' (cf. TLL 5.1 2329.5ff.) is unexpected. No more is said of this Lemnian general. He is presumably not the same as Thoas the king, who is an old man (279).

puppes: the Argo was traditionally the first warship to be built of wood (Bömer Ov. M. 6.721; Pease ND 2.89). Valerius therefore describes the Lemnian vessels in different terms (for an inconsistency cf. 285). They are similar to coracles, made of reeds woven and entwined together (contexere), covered on the outside with a bull's hide (109). Similar vessels are described by Herodotus 1.194 (Babylon); Caes. BC 1.54 (Britain) 'carinae ac prima statumina ex levi materia fiebant. reliquum corpus navium viminibus contextum coriis integebatur'; cf. Plin. NH. 7.56 (Britain and the Nile); L. Casson Ships and Seamanship

in the Ancient World (Princeton UP 1971) pp.5ff. (to be distinguished from the 'sewn boats' pp.9ff.; VA. 6.414).

Valerius has in mind particularly Lucan's description 4.131ff. 'primum cana salix madefacto vimine parvam textitur in puppim caesoque inducta iuvenco vectoris patiens tumidum super emicat amnem'. He varies Lucan by writing 'canna', a small thin reed, in comparison to the 'harundo' (cf. Ov. M. 8.337) used on the Nile (Plin. NH. 7.56) for 'cana salix', 'madefacto vimine'. He uses the compound 'contexere' (as VA. 2.112 of the wooden horse) for Lucan's simple 'textitur'. He echoes Lucan's 'inducta' in 109 'inducto ... defendere tergo', but avoids repeating 'iuvenco' and leaves the reader to infer from 'tergo' which animal he had in mind (Markland's 'tauro' is unimaginative.) Valerius states what Lucan implies, that the hide protects the craft ('defendere') and keeps it waterproof. The arrangement of words in 109 suits the theme; the bull's hide surrounds and protects the wicker framework ('cratem').

109. ausus: a reference to a familiar topic, the audacity of sea-faring, especially appropriate of the Argo as the first ship (cf. Cat. 64.6 'ausi sunt'; Valerius 1.2f.; 7.18; Sen. Med. 301f., 318;) thus doubly appropriate, if not slightly ironic, of these pre-Argo rafts. The topic is common; cf. Antiphilus of Byzantium AP 9.29 τόλμα ; St. S. 3.2.1, 64; Claud. RP. 1. praef. 3, 9, etc. 'Audere' is used elsewhere of the audacity of inventors - VG. 3.112f. 'primus Erichthonius currus et quattuor ausus iungere equos' and other innovators (e.g. poets).

110. signa: the returning expedition is envisaged as a victorious Roman army. Courtney understood 'signa' to mean 'maniple' (the contingent of soldiers which followed each standard, cf. Varro LL. 5.88), but Valerius uses the word to imply victory. The loss of the standard in battle was considered a deep disgrace (e.g. Crassus' defeat in 53BC; Varro's in AD9, Tac. Ann. 1.61). 'Laeta' often refers to a joyful homecoming cf. 1.170f. 'laeta ... ratis'; Sen. Tro. 203 'laeta vela'; compare Cic. Sest. 131 'domus laetissima' (after his exile). Roman terminology intrudes also at 6.48 'legio', and possibly at 5.251 where 'excubias Gradive, tene' suggests the watchword 'Mars, vigila'.

refert, movebant: the subject of the former is still 'dux Lemni', who stands in 108 for the whole expedition; the subject of 'movebant' must be the Lemnian men, who individually utter the shouts of 113-4. Valerius' meaning is clear, and the failure to state a change of subject can be paralleled from elsewhere cf. p.viii above. The change of tense is intentional. 'Refert' is a historic present relating an action; 'movebant' provides a pictorial description of the scene.

111. nuribusque: generally young married women as opposed to the more senior 'matres' cf. OLD sv. nurus 2; Ov. M. 3.529; Valerius 8.141. The word may refer to the married status of the women (at 343 they mourn their royal husbands), but it may also suggest that the relationship of the victors to their captives is more than a fabrication by rumour (cf. 160). At 1.745f. 'mox Scythiae spoliis nuribusque superbus adveniet' Jason's abduction of Medea is meant. Women were a regular part of the spoils of war; cf. ARh. 1.612 ληϊάδεσσιν. This is Valerius' first reference to the Lemnian women's main point of contention. In Statius it occurs only in Polyxo's speculative speech (Th. 5.142).

et (Mss); 'his' (Baehrens); 'it' (edd. Bon, Ald). The manuscripts' 'et' is acceptable here, if the phrase is bracketed as in Ehlers' text. It then forms a parenthetical description of the women, and falls into two parallel parts, each introduced by 'et'. 'Vestis' balances 'torques', and the adjective 'barbara' balances and reinforces 'insigne loci'. The women were thoroughly barbarian; both clothes and jewellery proclaim this fact. Baehrens' 'his' is unsatisfactory, as it cannot refer back to 'nuribus' without also referring to 'armentis'. The two items of booty are closely associated. 'It' is clearly wrong, as there is no adequate subject. The clothing is part of the women's attire as the nominatives stress, rather than a separate part of the booty.

112. torques: a characteristic item of Thracian jewellery, cf. The Catalogue of Thracian Treasures from Bulgaria, British Museum Jan.-Mar. 1976, nos. 165, 253, 254, 446; though associated by the Roman poets more generally with any barbarian race cf. DS. 5. pp.375-8.

insigne loci: 'insigne' means 'a distinctive emblem', an indication of identity, status or race; cf. VA. 2.389f. 'mutemus clipeos Danaumque insignia nobis aptemus' (the weapons or armour characteristic of the Greeks); St. Th. 5.447 'pulchrae... insignia gentis'.

113. o patria: the first act of a man returning to his native land is often an address to it in the vocative as Aes. Ag. 503 (the herald) ὦ πατρίων οὔδας Ἀργείας χθονός (Fraenkel ad loc. lists other instances in tragedy). See F. Cairns Generic Composition in Greek and Roman Poetry (Edinburgh 1972) p.212.

anxia curis: cf. 137 'exesam curis'. The wives are anxious for the safety of their husbands, ironically so in view of the following episode.

114. famulas: the men refer to their captives as 'serving women'. At Sen. HO. 409 Hercules presents his wife Deianeira with his mistress Iole as a maid ('famula'). This parallel reinforces earlier hints of the men's infidelity (cf. 111). 'Longi ... praemia belli' echoes Luc. 1.341f. 'his saltem longi non cum duce praemia belli reddantur' (of Caesar's veterans).

115. cum: Valerius favours such inverted 'cum' clauses to indicate simultaneity of action (e.g. 4.680). Such 'cum' clauses are loosely attached to the end of a lengthy sentence, hence a semi-colon at the end of 114 can be justified, though a comma might make the construction clearer.

115-134. Venus persuades 'Fama' to act as her accomplice and to instigate her revenge.

piceo ... nimbo: the phrase implies a storm-cloud (VG. 2.309; Ov. M. 11.549; Valerius 2.517 etc.) and therefore suggests the turbulent effect Venus will have on earth. The motif of a goddess travelling to earth in a cloud is common - VA. 12.416, 10.634; HC. 1.2.31 (NH ad loc.), from Homer Il. 5.186; 15.308 etc. The cloud serves both as a disguise and a means of transport (Ov. M. passim). Here it resembles pitch in being both murky and thick. 'Turbida' suggests the confusion of Venus' injured feelings, the whirling movement of the cloud as she hurls herself to earth in its folds, and the confusion she is about to cause on the earth. The adjective is often used of a storm; Lucr. 4.169; VA. 5.696. 'Per sudum' is a Virgilian expression (VA. 8.529) for a clear, cloudless sky. It contrasts both with the pitchy blackness of the rain-cloud, and with 'turbida'. The peacefulness of

the heavens belies the confusion of feelings and movement of the goddess.

116ff. Famam: the personification of Fama, Rumour, begins with Homer's Ὀοοῦ (Il. 2.93, Od. 24.413) though her role is very limited and she is given no particular characteristics. Hesiod's Φήμη (Op. 761-4) is a goddess, and, like Eris in Il. 4.442f. she grows in size as her reports are heeded and passed on φήμη γάρ τε κακὴ πέλεται κόρυς μὲν δεῖραι βεῖα μάλ', ἀργαλέη δὲ φέρειν, χαλεπὴ δ' ἀποθέσθαι (761f.).

Valerius' main debt in this description of Fama is to VA. 4.173ff. with some reference to Ov. M. 12.39ff., an account of Fama's dwelling, and it consists of some very close adaptation as well as some differences. The main difference lies in the apparent falsity of Fama's story here ('confingis' 130), whereas in Virgil, where she tells of Aeneas' liaison with Dido, her report is based on fact. A closer comparison of the passages will reveal Valerius' debt more precisely. (See further Roscher 1.1442-3; RE 6 (1909) 1977-9; Pease A. 4 pp.211-3; M.B. Ogle Dame Gossip's Role in Epic and Drama TAPA 55 (1924) 90-119).

Fama's propensity to confuse truth with falsehood is referred to in 117 'digna atque indigna canentem' a phrase based on VA. 4.190 'facta atque infecta canebat', and an elaboration of A. 4.188 'tam ficti pravique tenax quam nuntia veri'; cf. St. Th. 3.430 'facta infecta loqui'; Sil. 6.554 'vera ac ficta simul spargebat Fama per urbem'; Ov. M. 9.138-9; 12.54-5 'mixta... cum veris passim commenta vagantur milia rumorum'. Rumour spreads her news indiscriminately: 'spargentem ... metus' (118) reinforces the idea present in 'vagam', 'shifting' (116); compare Ov. M. 8.267f. 'sparserat Argolicas nomen vaga fama per urbes Theseos'; Sil. 6.554 above. Fama's muttering ('fremens') suggests the low indistinguishable murmur of people gossiping in a whisper, like the house in Ov. M. 12.47 which 'tota fremit vocesque refert iteratque quod audit'. Virgil's Fama hisses 'stridens' (185). Compare Phaedrus 5.7.20f. 'rumor de tibicine fremit in theatro'.

Venus searches for Fama 'in umbra' (116). She has been forbidden the heavens and shuns the clear light of day, dwelling 'sub nubibus imis' (119). In Virgil's account she has no fixed dwelling place (184ff.), whereas Ovid places her dwelling midway between earth, sea, and sky (M. 12.39ff.). Here 'sub nubibus imis' probably means 'in the

thick of the clouds' rather than 'beneath' them. She keeps to the clouds so that she may not be recognised for what she is. As she grows stronger and gains credibility she grows in size until 'caput inter nubila condit' (VA. 4.177); cf. Valerius 6.9f. 'ingens fama'. The motif of Fama increasing in size is hinted at in 121-2f 'auditam primi ... mox omnes agit', adapted from Virgil A. 4.176f., and derived ultimately from Hes. Op. 761f. above. Cf. Ov. M. 9.139 'e minimo sua per mendacia crescit'; 12.58 'crescit'. Her activity is concentrated on the towns, where there are a great number of potential targets. 'Quatit oppida' (122) recalls VA. 4.173 'magnas it Fama per urbes' cf. 7.104, 8.554; Ov. M. 8.267; St. Th. 2.205; Sil. 6.554; cf. Valerius 2.163.

Virgil's conception of Fama is of some sort of bird, covered in feathers (181) with an equal number of vigilant eyes, tongues and ears (183). Nothing escapes her notice, and nothing passes without comment from her. Valerius refers to this in 'motis ... linguis', her wagging tongues (122), but he perhaps envisaged her also as a dog (cf. on 125).

Fama is only too keen ('gaudens' 135) to carry out Venus' command (cf. VA. 4.190; Ov. M. 9.139) for she enjoys spreading rumours, and she hastens to obey.

Venus uses Fama as her agent much as Juno makes use of Allecto to provoke war in A. 7. This similarity of situation is reinforced by verbal echoes of A. 7. cf. notes on 118, 129-30, 133, 134, 184f, 200-3. Unlike Allecto, who works on feelings and inclinations already present in her human victims, Fama persuades the women to carry out an action totally foreign to their nature and intentions.

116. vaga: Ehlers reads 'vaga' (R; Heinsius) with 'umbra' and this certainly gives a more expected word order, but 'vaga' is a more natural adjective for 'fama', cf. Bömer Ov. M. 8.267; St. Th. 9.32; Claud. in Eutrop 2.462f; Cic. Arat. 419 'per terras fama vagatur'. 'Vagus' is used of 'reports not assignable to a definite source' (OLD sv 7a) e.g. Ov. M. 11.667 'vagis rumoribus', Sen. Phoen. 361; Tac. Hist. 3.25, Ann. 2.39. It could be argued that the shadows shift to suit Rumour's own quality; on the other hand 'vagant' makes a sharper contrast with 'vestigat'. 'Shifting Rumour' is difficult to track down.

117. pater omnipotens: 'omnipotens' may be a calque of the Greek παγκρατής (of Zeus) found in the tragedians (Aes. Eum. 918 etc.) and Aristophanes (Thes. 368f.) meaning 'all-powerful'. Both words are confined to poetry, whence 'omnipotens' found its way into the Christian writers, though it is absent from the sacral language of pagans. παντοκρατωρ is never used of Zeus (cf. H.D. Jocelyn The Tragedies of Ennius (CUP 1967) p.292). The compound is Ennian formed by analogy with the Greek -μεδων with reference to the god's power in a particular sphere or place, compare 'armipotens' (Minerva, Acc. fr. 127; Mars, Lucr. 1.33); 'ignipotens' (Vulcan, Valerius 2.80 etc.) etc. Cf. E. Fraenkel, Aes. Ag. 1648; Plautinisches im Plautus (Berlin 1922) p.208.

'Pater' is used extensively of any of the Roman gods; 'pater omnipotens' of Jupiter, Lucr. 5.399; VA. 1.60 etc.; Ov. M. 1.154; St. Th. 1.248; Apollo, VA. 11.790; Valerius 5.18; Bacchus, St. Th. 4.383. Πατήρ is rarely used of the Greek gods unless with specific reference to the son of a god, except Zeus Il. 4.235 etc. See 'ipse ... pater' 22f.

digna atque indigna: a polar expression of the sort found frequently in classical poetry. Such expressions range from the simple 'land and sea', 'day and night', to those in which one half is not strictly applicable (as here 'digna' is irrelevant if Fama's report consists entirely of fabrication), or even nonsensical, as Soph. Ant. 1109 οἷ τ' ὄντες οἷ τ' ἀπόντες (i.e. 'one and all'); Plaut. Trin. 360 'comedit quod fuit, quod non fuit'. See E. Kemmer Die polare Ausdrucksweise in der griechischen literatur (Wurzburg 1903).

For the phrase compare VA. 9.595 'digna atque indigna relatu', with similar assonance, and A. 12.811 'digna indigna pati'; Ciris 247.

118. spargentemque metus: a striking phrase in giving 'metus' the tangible quality of something that can be scattered (compare 'diem dispersit' 76). Fama scatters the seeds that will grow and produce fear in her hearers. The phrase may echo Virgil's 'spargam arma per agros' (A. 7.551; also 339) of Allecto sowing the seeds of war.

placidis regionibus ... aetheris: 'placidis' contrasts with the turbulent activity of Fama ('fatigat'), as 'sudum' above contrasted with Venus' turbulence. The phrase may refer to the Lucretian conception of

the peaceful heavens (contrast 84), the 'sedes quietae' (3.18-22; Tennyson Lucretius) from Od. 6.42f. θεῶν ἔδος ἀσφαλὲς οἶετ'.

119. fremens: not 'in wrath' (Mozley), but 'muttering' (above) or even 'growling' like a dog cf. Lucr. 5.1063f. 'irritata canum ... ricta fremunt diros nudantia dentes'. Valerius sees Fama partly as a dog (on 125).

120. fatigat: 'plagues continually', from VA. 1.279f. 'aspera Iuno quae mare nunc terrasque metu caelumque fatigat'. Fama is permitted to harass the earth alone (understand 'fatigare' with 'quas datur'). Valerius varies Virgil's tripartite division of land, sea and sky, replacing the sea with 'Erebi', the underworld. 'Fama' is a creature of neither heaven nor hell (like Iris and Allecto respectively) and is therefore neither wholly good nor evil.

121. The reading 'audentem', 'as she boldly assails them', though found in all the manuscripts, is doubtful, for when Fama first assails men (primi) she is weak and timid (VA. 4.176 'parva metu primo') and far from bold. Baehrens' 'augentem', which refers to Rumour's propensity to exaggerate, can be rejected on the same grounds. Thilo's 'auditam', 'when they first hear her', is preferable, and is picked up by 'linguis' in the next line. The confusion is easy (compare VA. 2.349).

spernuntque foveantque: 'they spurn her and yet cherish her'. The two verbs are polar opposites, and the repeated '-que' emphasizes man's paradoxical behaviour in rejecting, and yet nurturing, rumours by passing them on. Compare Ov. M. 8.636 'parentque iubentque' (Philemon and Baucis are both masters and servants). The second '-que' is adversative in force, as is 'et' in Juv. 1.74 'probitas laudatur et alget'; cf. Courtney on 1.93; HSz. 481; KS 2.27f. Both verbs suit the personified Fama as well as the more abstract rumour. The line should be punctuated with a colon after 'foventque' to mark the change of subject in 122.

122. agit: The verb implies a goad (Valerius 2.215; 6.591; Luc. 6.731); cf. VA. 7.405 'reginam Allecto stimulis agit'. Fama's many tongues are her goad, so the verb is to be taken closely with 'motis ... linguis',

her wagging tongues. The countless tongues that pass on the rumour (Luc. 1.472 'innumeras ... linguas') are all attributed to Rumour. The phrase recalls VA. 9.608 'quatit oppida bello', and after 'motis' we might expect a weapon of war. 'Linguis' is emphatically last and unexpected; tongues are Fama's most effective weapon. 'Quatit' then is metaphorical as 5.272 (Perses) 'omnem ... quatit rumoribus Arcton', and reinforces the idea of movement in 'motis'.

123. ministram: the temple attendant of a goddess, especially an accomplice in an evil undertaking, 'scelerisque dolique'. This phrase is used of Cacus at VA. 8.206 'scelerive dolive', and the words are almost tautologous, though 'dolus' has an additional element of cunning. For the enclosing word-order 'talem ... ministram' cf. p.vii above.

124. avens: 'eagerly', synonymous with 'cupiens'. The verb has an archaic note, and occurs rarely in poetry (Ennius, but never in Plautus, Terence or Virgil, and only occasionally in the later poets) though frequently in Cicero. It is used absolutely only here, Ennius sc. 47f. 'iam dudum ab ludis animus atque aures avent avide expectantes nuntium', and Aur. Vict. Caes. 31 'aventibus cunctis'. The other instances of the verb in Valerius (1.485 avens; ovans Heins, Ehlers; cf. 1.100 avet C, F.1481; habet ω ; 7.151 avens Baehr.) are uncertain, but the parallels given above for sense and absolute use confirm the reading here.

videt illa prior: cf. Valerius 7.397 'vidit ... prior conterrita virgo' (Medea); both phrases recall VE. 9.54 'lupi Moerim videre priores', but here the phrase lacks the ill-omened tone of the Virgilian parallel. The anaphora emphasizes Fama's eagerness to find further scope for her talents.

124f. iamque ... iamque ... iam: within this tricolon, Fama prepares herself eagerly to receive information from Venus. The phrases attempt to characterise her: she is like a bird ('advolat'), the Virgilian conception, but also resembles a dog ('suscitat aures'). She assumes a stance of deferential expectancy.

125. impatiens: 'impatiently', again a suitable description of Rumour. The adjective is not found before the Augustan authors, and generally takes a genitive (VA. 11.639 'vulneris impatiens'). Here it is closer to an adverb in sense, as at Ov. M. 14.716 'non tulit impatiens longi tormenta doloris' where the verb duplicates the meaning of the adjective.

ora parat: 'ora' balances 'aures'; Fama's ears are ready to receive information, and her mouths to spread it. She 'prepares her mouths' for action. The alternative 'she makes ready her countenance', i.e. pays attention cf. 'intenti ... ora tenebant' at VA. 2.1, is less relevant. Applied to Fama, the phrase must refer to her many mouths (VA. 4.183).

suscitat aures: she 'pricks up her ears', a variation of 'subrigit' at VA. 4.183; found only here and Sen. de ira 2.2.6; 'aures ... suscitāt' (a warrior) (TLL 2.1510.5ff). The motif is applied both to eager animals (Luc. 4.752, a war horse), and metaphorically to humans when paying attention; VA. 12.618 'arrectas ... aures'; Ciris 210; Plin. NH. 8.114 'erexere aures', etc. as in English. We most naturally think of a dog pricking up its ears, and Valerius perhaps had this image in mind here.

126. If 'super incendit' is read here, 'super' is adverbial ('insuper') as at VA. 2.71f. 'et super ipsi Dardanidae infensi poenas cum sanguine poscunt'. Venus inflames her over and above her natural eagerness. Editors generally prefer to write as two words, though this would be more natural if they were separated by another word, as at 348 'circum pateris it Bacchus'. I prefer to write 'superincendit', an attractive compound unique to Valerius (cf. OLD sv.) who favours such unusual compounds e.g. 'superfugit' (3.554); 'supereminet' (1.317; 5.367); also 'protonat' (4.205), a feature also characteristic of Virgil (cf. p.v above).

his vocibus implet: the phrase combines two uses of 'implere': (i) metaphorically of filling a man with courage as VA. 7.475 'dum Turnus Rutulos animis audacibus implet'; Valerius 6.630; from Il. 17.573 τοῖου μιν θάρσευς πλῆρε φρένας ἀμφὶ μελαίνας; (ii) of filling an area with sound, as VG. 4.515 ('loca') 'questibus implet'; A. 11.274; Valerius 6.726 etc. By extension the ears can be filled with sound as Ov. M. 12.56 'e quibus hi vacuas implent sermonibus aures'.

Here a person is said to be filled with sound, as 2.167 '(deos) questibus implent'; 4.81 '(eum) hortatibus implet'. Venus incites Fama to action by her entreaties.

127. vade age: A Virgilian exhortation (A. 4.223 of Jupiter to Mercury; 3.462, 5.548) adopted by Valerius here and Silius 13.413, meaning 'come now', with a lively and conversational tone. Fama, like Allecto ('agit' n.122), is to goad the women to action.

aequoream: 'sea-girt' Lemnos, cf. Eur. Hyps. fr. 1.ii.26ff. τῷς ἀγχιύλοις Ἀθήνων τὰν' Αἰγαῖος ἐλλίσσων κομοκτόπος ἄχεϊ. The adjective, perhaps a neoteric coinage (Cat. 64.15; VG. 3.243), is a favourite with Ovid (e.g. M. 8.603), generally meaning 'belonging to the sea', but cf. M. 15.752, 'aequoreos Britannos' (sea-girt) and Mart. 13.21.1 'aequorea Ravenna'; 10.58.1 'Anxuris aequorei ... recessus'. The closest equivalent in Apollonius is 1.913 πέτρης ἄλιμυρέος.

128. verte: Fama is to 'upset' the homes as Allecto is said to do at VA. 7.336 'odiis versare domos'. Her object is successful; the women abandon their houses (170).

128-130. Venus flatters Fama by mentioning her powers in anticipating and magnifying wars. Compare Juno's words to Allecto VA. 7.335 'tu potes unanimos armare in proelia fratres'.

praecurrere: the prefix prae- emphasizes Fama's role as the precursor of war, as Caes. BC. 3.80 'Fama iam praecurrerat de proelio Dyrrhacino'; cf. VA. 11.139, Ov. M. 15.3 'praenuntia'; Ov. M. 9.137 'Fama loquax praecessit ad aures'. She always anticipates and exaggerates events.

mille, innumerum: numerical adjectives with 'tubas', 'equorum'. We might expect a similar adjective with 'agmina', but the transmitted reading is 'armataque'. Damsté proposed 'densataque' to reinforce the idea of mixed ranks, but closer to the manuscript is Nisbet's suggestion 'artataque' in tension with 'campis' (an army that is confined by the broad plain must be truly vast), cf. Corip. Ioh. 2.214f. 'ipsis artatur ab hastis campus'.

130. cum fingis: L's reading for 'cum fringis' (f) which is clearly wrong, cf. 1.662 'cum fingeret'. Thilo's 'confingis' was formerly

preferred and is attractive, though the compound is 'largely unpoetical' cf. R.O.A.M. Lyne on Ciris 362f and not found in Virgil. Both 'fingere' and 'confingere' mean 'to invent' something that is untrue, especially a story, or information, as Fama does here. 'Confingis' is preferable as the less common verb, because a 'cum' in 130 spoils the tricolon of 129-130. 'Flatus' refers literally to the panting breath of exhausted horses, and more specifically the sound of horses panting cf. VA. 11.911, 'flatus... audivit equorum'. 'Innumerum flatus ... equorum' is a poeticism for 'innumeros equos flantes'.

131ff. Venus instructs Fama about the content of her speech. Latin epic avoided the wholesale repetition by a messenger of his instructions in the Homeric style, because such repetition was felt to be superfluous. See for instance Mercury's variation of Jupiter's message at VA. 4.223ff. and 265ff.. Here Fama incorporates elements of her instructions into her speech: 'adfore' (131) is picked up by 'aderunt' (147); 'turpi... cupidine captos' (131) by 'captae indigno famulatur amore' (146); 132 by 147; cf. H.C. Lipscomb Aspects of the Speech in the Later Roman Empire (Baltimore 1909) p.23. Here, where the messenger is Fama herself, it is appropriate that the whole of her speech should be related.

The lines echo VA. 4.193-4, the rumours concerning Dido and Aeneas; 'nunc hiemem inter se luxu quam longa fovere, regnorum immemores turpique cupidine captos'; though 'luxu', 'debauchery', is a word more appropriate to the Virgilian parallel than to a group of warriors who have just finished a campaign. 'Turpi cupidine captos', however, is equally appropriate here. The men are enthralled by their passion. 'Captos' looks forward to the paradox of men enslaved by their love for women who are themselves captives, brought out more clearly at 146. The participle hints at the common elegiac motif of the 'servitium amoris', thought degrading ('turpi') when applied to men, and here doubly degrading when the women are themselves slaves.

132. Thressas: emphatically placed at the end of the line as the climax of the sentence. There is a slight paradox with 'caras'. These savage, barbarian, women are nevertheless dear to the men. Valerius has 'Thressa' here, 165, 239; 'Threissa' (from the Greek Θρήσσα) at 147 cf. VA. 11.858.

133. principia: these are to be Fama's 'starting points', and she is to weave her tale around them. She is to carry out the preliminary campaign against the women, and, once she has sown the first seeds, Venus herself will follow and complete the work, as Juno follows and completes the work begun by Allecto.

rabidas: proleptic. The women are to be driven mad by the story Fama will spread. Compare Polyxo's frenzy at St. Th. 5.90ff., especially 96 'rabidis ... clamoribus', and the madness of Amata at A. 7.376ff.

134. instimulet: implying a goad (cf. on 'agit' 122), a 'stimulus', appropriate particularly of a creature associated with the powers of hell, with perhaps an ironic hint of Venus' goad of love. Compare VA. 4.574ff. 'deus ... festinare fugam tortosque incidere funis ecce iterum instimulat' (of Mercury); Ov. M. 14.494f 'Venerem ... Acmon instimulat verbis'. Polyxo herself provides the goad; compare St. Th. 5.143 'hinc stimuli ingentes'.

adereo: threatening in tone as VA. 4.386 'omnibus umbra locis adero' (Dido's threat to haunt Aeneas).

135-160. Fama carries out Venus' instructions by spreading the fictitious story she had outlined and inciting the women. Valerius has in mind particularly the episode in VA. 5.604ff. where Iris in the guise of Beroe (619-20) incites the Trojan women to burn the boats, as the echoes at 141, 149, make clear. Statius has no comparable episode, for there the aged Polyxo is inspired by madness to incite the women (Th. 5.90ff.). He prefers the more subtle psychological motivation to Valerius' use of human disguise (141).

136. Eurynomen: The name is Greek, from Il. 18.398; Od. 18.164; or ARh. 1.503. Valerius may have borrowed it from Ov. M. 4.218f 'thalamos deus (Sol) intrat amatos, versus in Eurynomes faciem genetricis'. Valerius' proper names tend to have Virgilian sources. Codrus (136), the famous Athenian king (HC. 3.19.2 etc), appears as a poet in VE. 5.11 etc. Neaera (141), from Od. 12.133, cf. Schol. ARh. 3.240, appears in VE 3.3, and Doryclus (149) from Il. 11.489, cf. Schol. ARh. 2.178-82a, in VA. 5.620. Iphinoe (162) is from ARh. 1.702; Amythaon (162) from Od. 11.259; Schol. ARh. 1.118; (VG. 3.550); Ov. M. 15.325; Olenius (163)

from ARh 1.202 cf. Ov. M. 10.69; Tac. Ann. 4.72; Dryope (174), though a Greek name, from VA. 10.551; Ov. M. 9.331, cf. Valerius 3.529.

ad proxima limina: 'ad' is Carrio's conjecture for the manuscripts' 'ac' and is clearly right; 'at Codrus' house close at hand'. This house was the first 'Fama' came to when she reached the city. 'Ac' must be rejected, for it divides 'exesam' from its point of reference, 'Eurynomen', and disrupts the sense. Sudhaus' conjecture 'qua' is accepted by Courtney, quoting VA. 8.594f. 'olli per dumos, qua proxima meta viarum, armati tendunt' and Valerius 5.327f. 'inde viam, qua Circaeii plaga proxima campi, corripiunt'. However, in both of these examples, 'qua' refers to the way ('viam', 'per dumos') by which the object of the journey is nearest, i.e. the most direct route to it. Here there is no reference to a route, so 'qua' too must be rejected. Eurynome is perhaps sitting weaving in her doorway ('limina').

137. occupat: Fama 'buttonholes' Eurynome; the immediacy of her action is well conveyed. 'Occupare' is used colloquially to mean 'accost', often followed by direct speech, as Hor. Serm. 1.9.6; Epist. 1.7.66; cf. Valerius 1.39, 8.413; St. Th. 7.538. A secondary meaning here suggests the spreading of the impersonal rumour, cf. VA. 3.294 'hic incredibilis rerum fama occupat auris'; H. Serm. 2.2.94ff. 'das aliquid famae, quae carmine gratior aurem occupet humanam'.

137ff. Valerius has in mind here VA. 8.408ff., the simile of the hard-working woman who gets up before daybreak to start work, especially 411ff. 'famulas... ad limina longo exercet penso, castum ut servare cubile coniugis'. The simile itself is Homeric (Il. 12.433f.) with Apollonian echoes (3.291ff.; 4.1062) to which Virgil has added the Roman ideal of the faithful wife, and the necessity of wool-working. Although Virgil had used this simile to describe Vulcan's early morning activity, it does not seem likely that Valerius meant to allude to this here, though all the details of the simile are intended to be in the reader's mind.

exesam curis: from Cat. 66.23 'maestas exedit cura medullas' (Berenice's feelings in her husband's absence). Echoes of Catullus and the Latin love elegists are rare in Valerius though several occur here in the space of a few lines. The situation is an appropriate one for such treatment; the image of the beloved sitting at home, remaining

faithful and getting on with her spinning, is a favourite one in love elegy.

castumque cubile: directly from VA. 8.412, but cf. Cat. 66.83 'casto colitis quae iura cubile'; Sil. 3.28; Claud. RP. 3.163; 276.

138. manet illa viro: she 'remains faithful' to her husband, or she 'remains his', as Prop. 2.20.17 'me tibi ad extremas mansurum, vita, tenebras'. The dative is one of advantage, as Valerius 3.667f. 'at tibi Pollux ... Castorque manent'; Prud. Psych. 84. 'sibi mansit'.

litoribus: if the reading of the manuscripts is accepted, the sense must be that Eurynome exhausts her maids with frequent journeys to the shore to watch for the return of her husband. Usually however, the lonely wife herself watches from the seashore as Valerius 2.187-8, cf. ARh. 3.995; Cat. 64.52 (Ariadne) 'fluentisono prospectans litore Diae'; HC. 4.5.14 'curvo nec faciem litore dimovet'; St. Th. 5.84; etc., and the idea of sending her maidservants is strange. In addition, 'fatigare litoribus' literally 'to tire with shores' does not mean 'to tire with journeys', and the phrase is unparalleled (p.viii above). 'Litoribus' should therefore be obelized. Courtney accepts 'velleribus' (Ald): she 'exhausts them with spinning', comparing 1.419 'adsidua Tiphys vultum lassatus ab Arcto' (i.e. from watching the Bear). The parallel justifies the construction but not the sense, for 'velleribus' repeats the thought of 140 'longo ... penso', but is separated from it by the clause 'tardi ... torum', which disturbs the sense. Better would be a word meaning 'complaints', which would concur with Valerius' usual practice; cf. 4.69f; 7.311; 8.386. 'Lamentis' is at least a possibility, for although it does not occur elsewhere in Valerius it is found occasionally in the other poets cf. Lyne Ciris 400n; once in Virgil, Lucr. Lucan; 10 times in St; 4 times in Sil.

139. reputant: they 'reckon up', 'calculate' the days, as Tac. Hist. 2.50 'tempora reputantibus'.

140. torum: the first mention of what is to become the focal point both of Fama's speech (132) and Venus' action (214).

longo ... penso: the Roman epitome of the faithful wife was the woman who spent much of her time at the loom. A tombstone of 135-120 B.C. (Warmington Remains of Old Latin 4.18) records the merits of a wife who

'lanam fecit', cf. also Laud. Tur. 1.30; Carm. Epig. 52.8; Suet. Aug. 64.2. The ideal appears also in literature, of Lucretia (Liv. 1.57.9, Ogilvie ad loc.) 'nocte sera deditam lanae inter lucubrantēs ancillas'; also Ov. F. 2.741ff.; and in the love elegists, Tib. 1.3.86; Prop. 4.3.18. Spinning featured too in the Greek picture of a faithful wife; cf. ARh. 3.254ff. (Chalciope and her maids), and Penelope (Od. 1.356ff.).

mulcent insomnia: they 'soothe her sleeplessness', the reverse of the more familiar idea of the soothing power of sleep. For 'insomnia', sleeplessness, cf. Austin on A. 6.896; TLL 7.1 1936 47ff; first apparently in Prop. 2.25.47, and then only Valerius (3x) of the poets.

141f. Fama adopts the guise of Neaera. The name suggests a young girl (cf. HC. 3.14.21; Tib. 3.1.6), contrasting with the aged Polyxo in Statius (Th. 5.90). The motif of a deity appearing to mortals in the guise of someone familiar to them is familiar from Homer (Od. 2.268, Athene as Mentor etc.). It is frequent in Virgil, especially VA. 5.619f. 'faciemque deae vestemque reponit; fit Beroe'. Statius bases his Polyxo on Iris/Beroe; cf. VA. 5.636ff., where she claims to have seen a vision of Cassandra. Also relevant to this passage is Sil. 2.558-9, where the Fury disguised as Tiburna, wife of Murrus, incites the Saguntine women to mass suicide. Cf. also Valerius 6.479 (Juno as Chalciope); 7.211f. (Venus as Circe).

141. cum lacrimis: 'lacrimans', as Cic. Sest. 68 'cum lacrimis gemituque'; Ov. M. 6.523; St. Th. 3.687; TLL 7.2.2 842.60ff). The phrase is more common with an adjective (i.e. 'multis') cf. KS 1.509. nota veste: this could be taken as an ablative of description were it not for the presence of the qualifying 'Neaerae' and the preceding 'cum' which goes with it by syllepsis 'in tears and Neaera's well-known dress' cf. Cic. Ver. 5.40 'cum tunica pulla et pallio'. Courtney's conjecture 'nota in veste' is therefore unnecessary.

Schenkl's 'nota voce' is attractive as Fama's voice is more important than her clothing. Again, however, it is difficult with 'cum' as 'vox' is not separate from the person as is clothing, and 'veste' is more acceptable in the context of disguise (as VA. 5.619; Valerius 7.212).

142. icta genas: 'her cheeks jabbed' (retained accusative), from the habit of hitting the cheeks when mourning ('planctus'). The verb 'icere' (TLL 7.1.158.70ff) suggests a sharp blow, as Caes. Bell. Afr. 78.10 'graviter pilo per cassidem caput ictus', or sharp knock, Ov. Am. 1.12.4 'ad limen digitos restitit icta Nape' (stubbing her toe). Here the participle suggests the action of her fingernails which scratch the skin. Compare Sil. 2.560 'maestas lacerata genas' (of the Fury disguised as Tiburna). There is no need to replace 'icta' by conjecture as it reinforces the idea present in 'lacrimis' of deep lamentation, which is more important than her appearance.

142-160. Fama's speech has antecedents in both literature and oratorical practice. It resembles closely the 'false messenger speech' in Greek tragedy (e.g. Soph. Tr. 248ff.) as well as Sinon's speech in A. 2.77f. where he makes full use of various rhetorical devices to persuade the Trojans to believe him. The aspect of persuasion is particularly important, and Sinon's speech, like Fama's, resembles the 'suasoriae' practised in schools of rhetoric at the time (cf. G. Kennedy The Art of Rhetoric in the Ancient World (Princeton 1972) p.393). The insincerity of both Sinon's and Fama's speech also has its roots in rhetorical practice.

Here Fama intends to persuade Eurynome to take revenge. The speech is constructed with the greatest care, working up the feelings of the hearer, and, by its pathos, aiming to produce an emotional reaction. Its import is only gradually revealed. Fama starts with her own distress (142) and a veiled reference to 'dolores', causes of grief, (143) which do not become clear until 'coniunx' (144) and the more specific statement of 146. Here the first sentence of her speech ends and she pauses to let her words have their full impact. After dwelling on the slave-women (147-50) she turns to consider Eurynome's position, and particularly the fate of her children (153ff.). The use of children as a means of evoking emotion is familiar from Socrates' refusal to produce his at his trial (Pl. Apol. 34 D). Fama magnifies the threat to Eurynome's children, and the Thracian woman's barbarity, with rhetorical exaggeration in 157-8 'iam lacte ferino, iam veniet durata gelu'.

The speech has its required effect, with Eurynome's anxiety and

tears (161), and the agitation of the whole city as the rumour spreads and is believed (163ff.).

142. nuntius: only here of a female messenger, but the regular word for a messenger. Heinsius' 'nuntia adessem' based on VA. 4.188 of Fama, is unnecessary.

143f. Fama wishes that the sea would overwhelm their troubles. For the motif cf. Eur. IT. 1193 θάλασσα κλύζει πάντα τάνθρώπων κακά ; Dirae 64 'fluminibus tu nostros trade dolores'; compare the wish to be swallowed up oneself in the earth before troubles appear; Il. 4.182; 8.150; VA. 4.24 'sed mihi vel tellus optem prius ima dehiscat' (Pease). 'Fama' expresses the wish that the waves would drown her and her sorrows, cf. 8.13 'tumidis utinam simul obruar undis' (Medea). 'Prius' implies 'before I become the bearer of such news' (after 142). 'Tibi ... merita' is probably an ethic dative (n.274); 'since you who have done so much for him see your husband'.

144. in tali ... tempore: now, the moment of their homecoming, the least appropriate time they could have chosen for such behaviour.

145. votis: Eurynome makes vows for her husband's safe return as HC. 4.5.13 'votis ominibusque et precibus vocat'; Tib. 1.3.29; Prop. 4.3.17. 'Requiris' means 'seek after' with your vows and tears, rather than 'miss'.

146. furit: madness is often the result of the intervention of a god (VA. 7.392; Valerius 2.80), and suggests irrational behaviour uncharacteristic of the victim. Here, however, the qualifying phrase 'captae ... amore' reveals that 'furit' is the equivalent of μᾶλινεται, out of his mind with love, as 5.425 'amore furens'; Hor. Ep. 11.6. captae ... amore: 'famulatur', 'enslaved' by love of a slave-woman, plays on 'famulas' (114). The verb is not common in Classical Latin (TLL 6.1.262.16ff) though cf. Cat. 64.161 'quae tibi iucundo famularer serva labore' (Ariadne to Theseus). Reading 'amore', the men are enslaved by a degrading passion and are slaves to a slave-woman ('captae' is dative). A simpler construction is obtained by reading 'amori' (dative) - the men are slaves to the degrading love of a slave-

woman ('captae' is genitive). 'Indigno' reveals the degradation felt for men who admitted to being the slave of a woman, particularly a slave-woman. The paradox of being the slave of a slave is a familiar topic cf. Sen. Ag. 175 'amore captae captus'; HO 335f. 'nec meos paelex toros captiva capiet'; Culex 300 (Telamon) 'rapuit serva'. Cf. R.O.A.M. Lyne Servitium Amoris in CQ 29 (1979) 117ff. quoting Men. Misoumenos fr. 2; AP. 5.302 (Agathias Scholasticus). 'Capta' is less common than 'captiva' (cf. TLL 3.335.23ff.; 3.373.8ff.).

indigno ... amore: the concept is particularly Roman. The men's love is unbecoming and shameful because the slave-women are unsuitable objects of it, and also because it does not befit the Lemnians as married men to fall in love elsewhere. The phrase echoes VE. 8.18; 10.10, though the context is not the same. 'Amore' is placed emphatically last in the sentence as its climax. Apollonius' τηνὸν ἔργον (1.613), 'harsh', has no comment on its suitability.

147. thalamis: the slave-women are a threat to the Lemnian women both because they will oust them from their beds (147) and also because they will break up the family and destroy the home (152ff.). A similar point is made in Soph. Tr. 545f., where Iole's appearance threatens Deianeira as both wife and housekeeper. 'Thalamis ... penates' (152) makes the same point. The subject of 'aderunt' is 'your husband and his new bride', unexpressed, but clear from the context (see p.viii above).

148f. non forma pudoris: in a neat tricolon with epanaphora (as 296) Fama denigrates the attractions of the Thracian women. Valerius' model here is Il. 1.115 (of Briseis' superior attractions) οὐ δέμας οὐδὲ φῆνιν, οὐτ' ἄρ' φρένας οὐτέ τι ἔργα. 'Forma', Sabellicus' conjecture for the manuscripts' 'fama', refers to her 'stately beauty' (cf. 'formosus') cf. HC. 2.4.6. 'forma captivae ... Tecmessae'; Epist. 1.4.6f. 'di tibi formam ... dederant'. 'Fama' unnecessarily reduplicates 'laude pudoris', her reputation for chastity. (At 1.100 ω has 'forma' for 'spectata ... fama' of the Argonauts). Hypsipyle denigrates Medea at Ov. H. 6.81ff. 'barbara paelex ... nec facie meritisque placet, sed carmina novit'. Fama implicitly contrasts the Thracian woman with Eurynome herself, her spinning (140) and chastity (137). For 'arte colus' cf. ἔργα (Il. 1.115 above).

149. proles praeclara: Valerius has in mind VA. 12.347 'antiqui proles bello praeclara Dolonis'. The name, Doryclus, is from VA. 5.620, 647, the husband of Beroe. The phrase is deliberately lofty to contrast with the following line (150).

150. sed: here fifth word, as at VA. 2.163f. 'impius ex quo Tydides sed enim scelerumque inventor Ulixes'; fourth at Valerius 6.653, 4.484; third at 3.194, 4.544 etc. The practice is neoteric (cf. n. on 23), from Call. e.g. fr. 110. 61 φάεσ]ιν ἐν πολέεσσιν ἀρ[θμιος ἀλλ[ὰ γένωμαι ; Pfeiffer's note on fr. 260.55.

picta ... mento: free-born Thracian women, even in the first century A.D., used to tattoo their bodies, the number of tattoos reflecting their standing in society (Dio Chrys. 14.19f.). Herodotus remarks on the practice (5.6). For the variatio cf. p.ix above.

The Romans failed to understand the social significance of the tattoo, and regarded such marking of the body as branding, the sign of slavery. Runaway slaves were branded on their foreheads (Mart. 10.56; Petron. 103.2; 105.11; DS sv. stigmata p.1510). So the Thracian women were not only barbarians with their tattooed hands, but slaves, bearing the brand of slavery on their chins ('mento').

151. forsan: for 'fors sit an'. In prose 'forsan' is generally followed by a verb in the subjunctive. Virgil was the first author to use it parenthetically with the indicative, by analogy with 'fortasse', as VA. 1.203 'forsan et haec olim meminisse iuvabit', (also 4.19, 12.153). Valerius uses 'forsan' five times in this way, and twice with a subjunctive (3.653; 8.423).

aliis: Heinsius' conjecture for 'tales' (ω). If 'tales' is read 'thalamis' is left without qualification, whereas 'aliis' with 'thalamis' contrasts strongly with 'hos ... casus'. Eurynome is to seek consolation for her present misfortunes by a second marriage cf. St. Th. 5.138 'ipsa faces alias melioraque foedera iungam' (Venus' promise to Polyxo).

152. fato ... meliore: an echo of the phraseology of VA. 6.546 'melioribus utere fatis', though Deiphobus here means 'may your destiny

be better than mine'. Here the sense is 'with a better destiny than your last'.

153f. me ... exanimat: notice the careful construction of the lines, with 'me ... exanimat' framing 'tua ... proles', which itself frames the descriptive 'matris ... paelice' cf. p.vii above. 'Tua' and 'matris' are juxtaposed and both have the same point of reference; 'matris' is separated from 'paelice' and the two words strongly contrasted. The alliterated 'p' reveals the speaker's hostility towards the 'paelex'.

matris egens: 'egere' implies needing something they are unable to do without; 'carere', as in HC. 3.24.17 'matre carentibus' (the Scythian woman's stepchildren) just 'being without', 'missing'. The stronger form has a special point here; in their mother's absence the children will be defenceless.

damnataque paelice: Valerius magnifies the hint found at ARh. 1.814f. εἰ καὶ ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖσι δαΐζομένην ὀρόωτο μητρυνῆς ὑπὸ χερσὶν ἁπασθάνον. A 'paelex' is particularly the mistress of a married man. For its use as a term of abuse cf. I. Opelt Die lateinischen Schimpfwörter und verwandte sprachliche Erscheinung (1965) p.48. Here the 'paelex' is equated with the 'noverca', the stepmother who is proverbially hostile to her stepchildren (West Hes. Op. 825). Valerius has no need to refer to her as 'noverca', though the word is not unpoetic (six times in V), for the situation and the echo of VG. 2.128 (155) provide all the essential details. She appears here in her role as poisoner: cf. Eur. fr. 4 (possibly Medea); Call. fr. 374 Pf. (Medea); VG. 2.128 'pocula si quando saevae infecere novercae'; Ov. M. 1.147 'lurida terribiles miscent aconita novercae'; (Tib.) 3.5.9; cf. Courtney on Juv. 6.627; Opelt p.202, and in real life St. S. 5.2.77ff. 'tibine illa nefanda pocula letalesque manu componere sucos evaluit'.

For the construction comparable to 'damnatus morte', 'condemned to death' cf. OLD sv. damno lc. The children are condemned to the tender mercies of the 'paelex'.

154. me ... exanimat: 'makes me half dead' with fear and apprehension, like Ter. And. 251 'exanimavit metu' but without the word for fear: cf. Cic. Att. 11.6.4 'Tulliae meae morbus me exanimat'. 'Exanimare' in this sense is not common in poetry: cf. TLL 5.1.1176.14ff.

transversa tuentem: she looks at them out of the corners of her eyes, a glance of hatred and jealousy. A stepmother's glance was proverbial, cf. H. Epod. 5.9. 'quid ut noverca me intueris?'; Sen. Con. 4.6 'quid alterum (fratrem) novercalibus oculis intueris'. The phrase is from VE. 3.8 'transversa tuentibus hircis' (cf. ARh. 2.664f.) but with the added idea of giving someone the evil eye ('fascinare', Cat. 7.12; VE. 3.103). 'Transversa' is neuter plural accusative used adverbially by analogy with the Greek construction: Hom. Hy. Pan. 14 ὄξεια δερχόμενος ; Il. 3.342 etc. δεινὸν δερχόμενοι ; Gow on (Theoc.) 20.13. It is frequent in Latin literature: Lucr. 5.33 'acerba tuens'; VA. 6.467 'torva tuentem'; cf. HSz. p.40; Lofstedt 2.420f.

156. scis ... genus: 'simus' appears to suggest that the phrase applies to the Lemnian women only, who might well be thought to be 'fiery' from the island's connection with Vulcan. Ἀήμνιον βλέπειν was a proverbial expression, cf. Powell on Eratosth. 17c. (Coll. Alex.). A conflict is bound to occur; they are fiery, the Thracian women bloodthirsty. However 'genus' makes it clear that the whole of womankind is meant, especially the Thracians. 'Adde' amplifies the statement. 'You know how we are, a fiery race. Moreover ...'. For 'scio' and 'ut', 'how', cf. HC. 3.4.42 and compare 567f. 'volutat ut'; 7.159 'sum memor ut'; VG. 1.56 'nonne vides ... ut'; Cic. de Fin. 5.48 'videmusne ... ut'. It corresponds to ὥς (HSz. p.632). The comparison to the flickering of flames refers to woman's fiery temperament, quick to change and destructive. Compare Aes. Ag. 485f. πιθανὸς ἄγαν ὁ θῆλυς ὄρος ἐπινέμεται ταχύπορος , where ἐπινέμεται perhaps refers to the spreading of fire. The line resembles the pithy, gnomic expressions of Euripides' and Seneca's tragedies.

157. patrium (est): is innate, a trait of their race, cf. St. Th. 11.32f. 'Eurymedon, cui patrium agitare tumultus'; ('patrium' at 9.844 is an emendation). Statius must have had Valerius' example in mind here as there is no earlier instance of 'patrium' used impersonally. Dahae: a Scythian tribe which lived beyond the Caspian Sea (Hdt. 1.125; Plin. 6.50). Valerius obtained the name from VA. 8.728 'indomiti Dahae' and uses it to mean any Scythian tribe, and by poetical conflation, the Thracians, like 'Sarmaticas' (176). The 'Dahae' themselves were hardly known to the Romans who invested them with all

the characteristics of the Scythian tribes. Fama takes the view that the Thracians are primitive and unfortunate, in contrast to the alternative view prevalent in Rome of the noble savage (e.g. *HC.* 3.24; cf. A.O. Lovejoy and G. Boas *Primitivism and Related Ideas* (Baltimore 1935) ch. 11, 12). They are endowed with all the characteristics of the Scythian tribes, who lived a nomadic life in wagons (160, 178). Their drinking of the milk of wild animals was proverbial (157), cf. *Hom. Il.* 13.5-6; *Strabo* 7.300-1; *Hes. fr.* 151 MW γάλακτοφάγων ; *Aes. fr.* 198. For the cold of Scythia cf. *VG.* 3.349ff.; *Ov. Tr.* 3.10. lacte ferino: from *VA.* 11.571f. 'armentalis equae mammis et lacte ferino nutribat' (Camilla). The drinker of animals' milk was supposed to imbibe the fierce qualities of the animal, cf. *P.* 2.6.19f. 'tu criminis auctor nutritus duro, Romule, lacte lupae' and *Sil.* 5.145.

158. durata gelu: toughened by the frost as 6.336f. 'saevo duravimus amne progeniem' from *VA.* 9.604 ('natos') 'saevo ... gelu duramus et undis'; *St. Ach.* 2.107f. 'durat... multo sole geluque cutis' (Achilles).

me quoque: the speaker identifies herself with her addressee, part of the established rhetorical technique; *VA.* 1.628f. 'me quoque per multos similis fortuna labores iactatam' (Dido to Aeneas); *St. S.* 3.3.40 (in an Epicedion to create a bond of sympathy).

159. fama: Valerius' use of this word is heavily ironic as Fama is the speaker, and the fabricator of the story.

virgata: Mozley's 'tattooed' is unparalleled, and Fama has already mentioned this point (150). The alternative meaning 'in striped garments' (tartans) is preferable cf. *VA.* 8.660 'virgatis lucent sagulis'; *Sil.* 4.155, and especially *P.* 4.10.43 'virgatis ... braxis' (of a Gaul). This would be easier if 'virgata' qualified not the woman('nurus') but another noun, for 'a striped woman' suggests stripes on her body rather than her clothes, though cf. *Hor. C.* 1.35.12 'purpurei ... tyranni', purple-clad tyrants, and *Ov. AA.* 3.269 'pallida purpureis tangat sua corpora virgis' (of garments).

160. derepta: Voss' correction of the manuscripts' 'directa'. Fama uses the expression scornfully to emphasize the nomadic, unsettled life

of the women, who are almost vagrants. 'Nurus', the final word of the speech, is pointed and emphatic (cf. 111 'nuribus').

160-173. The women react hysterically to Fama's speech, though as yet no definite solution has presented itself to them. Fama has successfully carried out her mission (133f.).

161. curis ... relinquit: 'curis' and 'lacrimis' are dative with 'relinquit'; 'she left her to anxieties and tears', rather than ablatives with 'pavidam', for though VG. 3.372 'pavidos formidine' could mean 'trembling with fear', 'pavidus' with the ablative usually means 'afraid of', as Liv. 30.34.8 'pavido fuga vulneribusque milite'; VA. 7.780 '(equi) monstribus pavidi ... marinis'.

163f. totam ... personat: 'she proclaimed throughout the whole city how ...'. 'Personare' is often used collectively, as Liv. 43.10.5 'multitudo ... variis vocibus ... personabat', and here 'totam' reinforces the idea of the many purveyors of rumour. This is the last reference to Fama, who becomes gradually more impersonal as more women come to hear and believe her story. The repetition of 'per' suggests Fama's ringing tones. She loves to work in cities, cf. 'quatit oppida' (122).

164. agitent: 'they are plotting', as Tac. Hist. 4.86 'bellum adversus patrem agitaverit'. The frequentative conveys the notion of eagerness (OLD sv. 'agito' (16.6)) and suggests that the Thracian women are urging the men to expel their rivals. 'Expellere' has political overtones; Cicero speaks of his exile in this way (Fam. 6.6.2) cf. VA. 1.620 'finibus expulsum patriis'. In view of the women's lack of political status, Fama is exaggerating, though to the women themselves expulsion from their rightful place, the home, is as serious as political banishment.

165. regant: B 1474 for 'regnant' (ω), which does not scan. The men are ruling the city with the Thracian women's help. Again, the threatened takeover is talked of in political terms. The verb is coordinate with 'agitent'; the Lemnian men and their new wives are already in control and are plotting to expel their former wives.

dolor iraque surgit: Fama's message causes a surge of emotion. 'Surgit' suggests the swelling waves of a stormy sea (VA. 3.196f.; Ov. M. 14.711). The metaphor is Virgilian, cf. A. 10.813f. 'saevae iamque altius irae Dardanio surgunt ductori'; 12.494; Sen. Thy. 944 'nulla surgens dolor ex causa' (grief). 'Dolor' picks up 133f. ('dolor ... instimulet') and means 'resentment' (with 'ira') as VA. 2.594 'quis indomitas tantus dolor excitat iras?' 'Dolor' is used of the wronged wife's feelings at Sen. HQ. 284f. 'iratae dolor nuptae'; Ag. 142 (with 'ira'); St. Th. 5.104, Apul. Met. 8.22. Here 'dolor' and 'ira' are almost personified, as 8.290 'quid dolor et veterum potuit non ira virorum'.

166. A line with three elisions (also 1.709; 3.472; 4.128, 295; 8.102, 396; cf. Kusters p.30), here conveying the rapid passing of rumour through the city.

traditque auditque: an instance of 'hysteron proteron', where the logical sequence of events demands the reverse (see A.J. Bell The Latin Dual and Poetic Diction (OUP 1923)^{p.271}). Here the figure reinforces the idea of speed - the rumour is passed on almost before it is heard. 'Traditque' is Pio's correction of 'trahitque' (ω), necessary both for metrical reasons and on the grounds of sense.

neque ... vana fides: 'vana' (F 1503) for 'una' (ω) (as 7.539) cf. VA. 4.12 'credo equidem, nec vana fides, genus esse deorum'; Luc. 10.219f.; Valerius 5.75; St. Th. 11.215. In each of these examples 'nec vana' refers to a story or belief that is true, whereas Fama's story here is blatantly false. To argue that the story was true as far as the women were concerned, for everyone confirmed its veracity, is straining the meaning of 'vana'. By keeping 'una' and extending the meaning of 'fides', one can translate 'nor was there one reason for belief'. With everyone passing on the same message ('obvia quaeque eadem') the rumour received confirmation from all sides. For 'fides' in the sense of 'a piece of evidence for a statement' cf. OLD sv. fides 4, quoting VA. 11.511ff 'ut fama fidem missique reportant exploratores'; TLL 6.1.672.56ff, and compare Virgil's 'manifesta fides' (Austin on A. 2.309).

167. implent: the verb conveys the notion of satiety, and of the continuous nature of the women's complaints. 'Voce' hints at the

unanimity of their complaints; 'vocibus' (as at 126) would merely indicate the multiplicity of their cries. 'Tum' must be read here after 'deos' (as X; om. LV; cum S), for the repeated 'tum' emphasizes the urgency of the women's anxieties, and S's 'cum' is revealed as a conjecture by the consensus of LV.

168f. oscula ... ingeminant: the women 'rain kisses on their beds, kisses on the doors'. The repeated 'oscula' reinforces the idea of redoubling present in 'ingeminant' as VA. 2.769f. 'maestus... Creusam nequiquam ingeminans iterumque iterumque vocavi'. The phrase is based on VA. 2.490 'amplexae... tenent postes atque oscula figunt' (of Priam's womenfolk), but the action is characteristic of women taking their leave of a place, cf. Eur. Alc. 183 κυνεῖ δὲ προσπίτνουσα, πᾶν δὲ δέμνιον...δεύεται ; ARh. 4.26f. κῦσσε δ'έόν τε λέχος καὶ διχλίδας ἀμφοτέρωθεν σταθμούς (Medea, a significant parallel); also VA. 4.659 'os impressa toro'; Valerius 4.373 (Io); and of men Soph. Phil. 1408.

Here 'postibus' are the 'door-posts', as VA. 2.490 (above). The women kiss their beds, and the doors of their houses, saying farewell to both marriage and home. The scene perhaps reverses the image of the 'exclusus amator' who kisses the doors or doorposts of the house of his beloved (with the Virgilian 'postibus' for the expected 'limen' or 'ianua'). Cf. Call. Ep. 42. 5-6 (Pf.) ἐφιλήσα τὴν φλὴν ; Lucr. 4.1179 'foribus miser oscula figit'; P. 1.16.42.

The verb 'ingemino' is entirely confined to poetry until Tertullian, and is a Virgilian coinage (TLL 7.1.1517 46ff) cf. p.v above. Statius echoes this passage at Th. 5.594f. 'ingeminat miser oscula tantum incumbens' (Hypsipyle and the infant Opheltes).

169. morantur: 'they tarry to weep and look back'. The phrase is based on VA. 4.649 (Dido) 'paulum lacrimis et mente morata', where the ablatives may be modal rather than causal (thus Conington contra Austin), as they must be here. Heinsius' 'moratae', necessitating the removal of the full-stop after 169, destroys the effective asyndeton and abrupt impact of 'prosiliunt', and is unnecessary. For a similarly abrupt verb, compare 'desiliunt' (447); 'haud mora. prosiliunt ...' (5.558) Here the abruptness conveys something of the hastiness of the

women's decision, as well as the speed with which they abandoned their homes.

171. adglomerant sese: 'they huddle together'. The verb occurs only once before Virgil, in an unidentified tragic writer (Fest. p.24. 6L), and is used only by Virgil, Valerius and Silius of the classical poets. Virgil, with whom the word is a favourite, generally uses it with the dative, as VA. 2.341 (se) 'lateri adglomerant nostro', but at 12.457f. 'densi cuneis se quisque coactis adglomerant', 'cuneis coactis' could be either dative or ablative absolute. Valerius and Silius omit the dative object, as here; 2.197 'adglomerant tenebras'; 499; Sil. 5.238 'tunc alacres arma adglomerant'.

nudis ... sub astris: from VA. 2.512 'nudo... sub aetheris axe', cf. St. Th. 3.112; Claud. in Eutrop. 2.413. The stars are clearly visible; the sky is bare of clouds, and affords no protection to the women (OLD sv. 'nudus' 5.b 'providing no shelter') in comparison to the homes 'tecta', which they have just left. Valerius' chronology is vague; it is night here, though the night of the men's return begins at 197.

172. condensae: 'pressed close together', repeating the 'huddling' of 'adglomerant' (171). Here the word is intended to recall VA. 2.515ff.; 'hic Hecuba et natae nequiquam altaria circum, praecipites atra ceu tempestate columbae, condensae et divum amplexae simulacra sedebant'. Virgil's women are compared to frightened doves, and the same idea may be present in Valerius. He has the whole Virgilian scene in mind throughout this passage (cf. 168f.), though the plight of the women in each case is not the same, and indeed the position of the Lemnian women is at present self-inflicted.

fletus acuunt: 'they utter ever more piercing wails'. The phrase combines two ideas; 'fletus' refers particularly to the sound of weeping, and 'acuunt' to the pitch; they 'make more shrill', an extension of the participial phrases 'vox acuta' (HC. 3.4.2), 'sonitus acutus' (Enn. Ann. 530, a trumpet) etc. 'Acuo' is also used of the intensifying of emotions cf. TLL 1.462.4ff., particularly anger (VA. 9.464) and fear (VA. 12.850). Valerius alone uses it with 'fletus'.

172f. The Lemnian women pray that their husbands' liaison with their Thracian captives be ill-omened and disastrous. The two phrases are

complementary - 'dira ... coniugia' frames 'precantur', 'Stygias... taedas' frames 'infanda ad foedera', with the pointed juxtapositions of 'Stygias, infanda' and 'foedera taedas'.

precantur: 'they pray for disastrous unions for them'. 'Precari' is rarely used to mean 'curse', except with 'mala'.

173. Stygias: the word is paradoxical with 'taedas', suggesting the torches of the Furies (105); Sen. HO. 1014 'Stygias faces'; but in a context where the torches of the marriage ceremony are clearly meant. Ill-fated unions are often described in these terms - Ov. H. 6.45-6 'tristis Erinys praetulit infaustas sanguinolenta faces' (of Hypsipyle's marriage to Jason); Ov. M. 6.430, Bömer ad loc.; (Sen.) Oct. 23ff. 'illa, illa meis tristis Erinys thalamis Stygios praetulit ignes' cf. 594; St. Th. 3.691f. 'movit... infausta sinistram Iuno facem' (Argia). The adjective reinforces the connection with the Furies (cf. 80, 106), also St. Th. 5.156f 'Stygiae ... deae'; 198 'rore madens Stygio'.

foedera taedas: both are synonyms for 'marriage' frequent in Catullus. For 'foedera' of the bond of marriage cf. Cat. 64. 335; 76.3; R.O.A.M. Lyne The Latin Love Poets (OUP 1980) pp. 33-8 etc.; and for 'taedas' Cat. 64.25, 302; VA. 4.18 etc.

174-195. Venus appears in the guise of Dryope and incites the women to have their revenge by killing their husbands. The women put on a show of rejoicing for their returning menfolk.

174. Has inter medias: an echo of VA. 5.618 'ergo inter medias' (Iris Beroe) and 7.397 'ipsa inter medias' (the frenzied Amata). 'In their midst ...'.

in imagine: 'in the guise of'. The more usual construction is 'sub imagine' as at Ov. M. 1.213 'deus humana ... sub imagine'. 'In imagine' can mean 'in fancy', as St. Th. 3.528 'has rere in imagine Thebas' though Valerius here and at 4.391f. 'in imagine prisca ibat agris Io' uses 'in' for 'sub'. Compare Ov. Am. 1.10.4 'callidus in fulsa lusit adulter ave' (Jupiter); St. S. 5.3.289 'somni... in imagine', 'in the likeness of a dream'. ω has 'maestae'; Mozley's 'maesta' has no manuscript authority (like 'en' 53). Notice the poignant juxtaposition of 'maestae' and 'flet'.

175. saevis ... instat: the phrase contrasts forcibly with the previous picture of Venus weeping somewhat passively. Here the goddess appears in her true form, fiery and forcefully determined. 'Planctibus' means literally a beating of the breast (as Sen. Thy. 1045f. 'pectora inlisonent contusa planctu') as a sign of the mourning and lamentation with which the word became synonymous. Here 'saevis' and 'instat' clearly signify brutal beatings. She 'sets to', 'instat', with savage blows like a boxer.

For the synchysis of 'Venus ... dea' cf. note on 437 'sacerdos ... Thyotes'.

176-184. Venus' speech, a short and passionate appeal for action, begins by expressing the wish ('utinam') that she had lived elsewhere, thus escaping her present troubles, a motif familiar in the choruses of Greek tragedy, cf. Barrett Hipp. 732-4; 1290-93; or that she had at least witnessed the destruction of her city, for she has suffered all other misfortunes of war. She proposes a remedy, to be achieved with a sword and fire when the men are asleep. Her meaning is clear, though she expresses herself in veiled terms. Compare Iris' hints at VA 5.636ff.

176. Sarmaticas: again (cf. 157) a specific Scythian tribe is named in place of the general term 'Scythian'. Here the Sarmatians are literary figures, representative of the fierce northern tribes, hardy nomads, wagon-dwellers and barbarians. Venus' unrealistically rosy view of them coheres with the Roman view of the noble savage (cf. n. on 157), epitomised at HC. 3.24.9-24, where family life is conducted in a civilised manner.

The Sarmatians, who lived on the north bank of the Danube, were continually on the move southwards, and in AD 89 and 92 made incursions into Roman territory. In 92 Domitian took the field in person and inflicted defeat (A Garzetti From Tiberius to the Antonines (Methuen 1974) 287-292). R. Syme (CQ 23 (1929) 129ff) argues that at 6.162, 231f, Valerius is the first Roman poet to distinguish between the true Sarmatians and the conventional figures of poetry found in Ovid and Lucan. Here however, Valerius is thinking of their conventional attributes.

177. insedissee domos: the verb 'to have dwelt in' suggests the Scythian wagons, cf. Pindar fr. 105.6; Hdt. 4.46; Aes. Prom. 709f; Luc. 2.641 etc., and of the Sarmatians in particular Ov. Tr. 3.10.34; Plin. 4.80; Tac. Germ. 46; St. S. 5.2.135f. etc. The 'aba' sequence of thought is odd with 'plaustra sequi' returning to the subject of 'insedissee domos', and the abrupt asyndeton and change of tense suggest corruption. In a passage where the tenses are all otherwise perfect, the present tense of 'sequi' can have no special point. The phrase should therefore be daggered. The words could be a gloss to explain 'domos', not the obvious word for a wagon, (except Luc. 1.253 'errantes ... domos'), though there are no other instances in Valerius of corruptions due to glossing. The emphasis in this line is on 'inhabiting', and the security of life.

tristes... pruinas: 'the grim frosts' (as 7.358). 'Tristis' means 'grim' in appearance, compared to 'maestus', 'sad' (as 174). Cf. Ov. Tr. 3.10.9 'tristis hiems' of the Scythian winter, which was proverbial (Ov. exP. 2.7.72; Sen. HQ. 158; St. 5.1.128 etc).

178. There is an abrupt change of subject at 'vel', so either a strong pause must be incorporated, or Langen's 'plaustraque, quin etiam ...' adopted. However, if 'plaustra sequi' is an interpolation as I suggested above, the pause can come after 'pruinas'. Courtney's suggestion of a lacuna after 'sequi' does not solve the problem of the tense.

patriae ... agi: with reference to the destruction of her city by fire, the ultimate disaster. There is clearly some corruption here. If the transmitted reading is accepted, it is natural to take 'per' with 'ignes', qualified by 'patriae', 'through the flames of my country', a vivid phrase balancing the stark 'stragem ... deum', 'the overthrowing of the temples'. Her whole way of life is destroyed. 'Culmen agi' is then the object of 'vidisse'. If 'culmen' could mean 'a pillar' ('columen'), it could refer here to a 'column of fire', like 'vertex' e.g. VA. 12.673, though there is no parallel. A significant parallel for 'agi' is Sen. Med. 148f. 'videbit atrum verticem flammis agi Malea' (Costa) 'a black column driven by flames', i.e. a pillar of fire. If the double reference to flames in Valerius is felt to be difficult, the same can be observed in the parallel from Seneca. Burman's 'per arces'

is attractive, but would remove all obvious references to fire. The proposed lacuna caused by the removal of 'plaustra sequi' could be filled with an adjective qualifying 'culmen', perhaps 'fumosum' or 'flammiiferum' (four times in Valerius).

The alternative explanation, accepted by Ehlers and Courtney, is Zinzerling's 'ignes agi per culmen', quoted by Housman on Man. 1.245 (p.105); compare VA. 4.670f. 'flammae ... furentes culmina perque hominum volvantur perque deorum', a passage remarkably similar to this. The unusual position of 'per' is justified by Housman with numerous examples, (e.g. Valerius 3.6-7) though in none is its position so misleading as it is here, where it seems naturally to go with 'ignes'. Furthermore, Valerius never uses 'culmen' in the singular for 'culmina', rooftops, (hence Parrhasius proposed 'culmina'). 'Patriae' must in this case qualify 'culmen' in the sense of the 'acropolis' (Courtney), the metaphorical 'head' of the city, or the phrase must be equivalent to 'domos patriae', 'the houses of the city', where 'urbis' would be more natural.

In the absence of a clear solution, 'culmen agi' should be daggered.

179. cetera belli: the other (misfortunes) of war, i.e. loss of husband, children and home, the threat of slavery, everything except seeing the city burnt to the ground. The phrase is based on the Greek neuter adjective used as a noun, τ'ἄλλα τοῦ πολέμου like 3.212 'omnia noctis', 6.301 'belli diversa'.

180. mene ... me: emphatic by position. 'Does he think to enslave me?' For the palillogia cf. 7.63f. 'me quoque ...'; 8.441f. 'mene ... me' and for the separation of 'novis ... servitiis' cf. Cat. 64.24 'vos ego saepe meo, vos carmine compellabo'.

destinat: 'does he intend me for unaccustomed slavery?' The earliest example of 'destinare' and dative is VA. 2.129 'me destinat arae' (Sinon); cf. Valerius 2.484; Quint. 2.8.8 'qui foro destinabitur'. Valerius is perhaps playing on the original meaning of 'destinare', 'to tie up'. 'Novis' means 'strange', 'unfamiliar', as St. Th. 5.423 'nova litora'. Slavery will be a new experience for her.

amens: she can only attribute her husband's behaviour to madness,

though the word may be intentionally ambiguous; both 'out of his mind' and 'mad with love' (as 'furit' 146).

181. aut fugiens: the reading of ω . Dryope is in a genuine dilemma, whether to stay and face servitude, or flee the city. 'Aut' is necessary here as a connective. Its postponement to second place is not unusual: cf. Valerius 4.103, 448; 5.453 etc.; Norden p.407 collects examples in Virgil. The device is neoteric (cf. n. on 23). 'Aufugiens', the reading of some editors (Arntzen, Baehrens), is not possible. Though found once in Tacitus (Hist. 2.8) it is otherwise confined to comedy and Cicero (six times), and absent from all the epic poets (cf. TLL 2.1341.45ff.).

182. ense: poetic for the prose 'gladius', cf. TLL 5.2.608.40ff.; Axelson p.51. Valerius uses 'gladius' twice (1.438; 6.249), 'ensis' 34 times, a similar proportion to Virgil (5:64).

ense ... igne: a variation of the proverbial 'ferrum et ignis', see Otto, p.170; VA. 10.232f. 'ferro ... flammaque premebat'; Ov. M. 3.550; St. Th. 2.455 etc. The women are urged to assume a masculine role and resort to arms.

183. silent: the following phrase makes it clear that the 'silence' of night and sleep is meant, cf. St. Th. 10.154 'iam cuncta silent'. For 'ducunt ... somnos' compare VA. 4.560 'ducere somnos', suggesting the length and depth of the men's sleep. The men are slaughtered while they sleep (220ff).

184. magnum ... amor?: something of a paradox, for love is not usually associated with the 'mighty deed' implied in 'ense' and 'rapto ... igne'. 'Amor' comes as the triumphant finale of Venus' speech, ironic in view of her identity, though what she has in mind is not love but a ghastly perversion of it. Translate 'will not love breathe (be full of the spirit of) some mighty deed?', not 'love will inspire us...', and cf. Lucr. 5.392 'tantum spirantes aequo certamine bellum' from Aes. Ag. 376 Ἄρη πνέοντων ; Eur. Ba. 640 ἄν πνέων ἔλθῃ μέγα ; Andr. 189 οἱ γὰρ πνέοντες μεγάλα . Deeds of war are the predominant meaning underlying Venus' somewhat ambiguous remark; 'magnum aliquid' means 'some mighty deed', especially of war, as VA. 9.186f. 'aut pugnam

aut aliquid iamdudum invadere magnum mens agitat mihi'; Sen. Med. 908f. 'quid manus poterant rudes audere magnum'.

ignea torquens lumina: from VA. 7.448 'tunc flammea torquens lumina' (of Allecto). Valerius uses 'lumina' for 'oculos' (as 464; 500) (cf. Luke 11.34 'the light of the body is the eye') to make a pair with 'ignea', suggesting a visual flash of anger. 'Ignea' looks back to 'ardens' (175) and the fire of Venus' fury, cf. Ov. M. 9.541 'furor igneus' etc. Her mad frenzy is implied in 'torquens', the rolling of her eyes, as VA. 7.399 'sanguineam torquens aciem' (the maddened Amata).

185. praecipites: proleptic. She 'dashed her children headlong from her breast' ^{(Moly).} Polyxo too uses her children for their emotional appeal (St. Th. 5.125ff.). Compare Lady Macbeth's 'I have given suck, and know how tender 'tis to love the babe that milks me: I would, while it was smiling in my face, have pluck'd my nipple from his boneless gums, and dash'd the brains out, had I so sworn as you have done to this' (Macbeth 1.7.54ff.). For the near formulaic 'ab ubere natos' cf. VA. 3.392 'ubera nati'; 5.285; Valerius 2.203 'ubere nati'; St. Th. 5.205; Sil. 3.63. The children at the breast here and at 203 do not confirm the long period of absence implied at 139 'tardi ... tempora belli'; 140 'longo ... penso'. For 'excutio', a word that may originally have been felt to be unsuited to the highest styles and which was made acceptable by Virgil (22x), cf. R.O.A.M. Lyne 'Diction and Poetry in Virgils Aeneid' p.71 in Atti del Convegno mondiale scientifico di Studi su Virgilio (1984). There are seven instances in Valerius including 2.398.

186f. The women's reaction is based on VA. 5.643f. 'arrectae mentes stupefactaque corda Iliadum' (after the speech of Iris/Beroe). The speech has both emotional ('corda') and intellectual ('mentes') appeal. Their minds are roused, and then, unlike the Trojan women, whom Iris leaves 'ancipites' 'hesitant' (654), they are totally convinced ('evicta') by Venus' rhetoric following on from Fama's preparatory story. The heavily spondaic line 186 is followed by the lighter 187, as the women give in to Venus' suggestion and are carried away ('rapit') by her appeal.

evictaque: the compound is Virgilian, as VA. 4.474 'evicta dolore' (Dido), 548; 2.630 (TLL 5.2.1041.73ff.) though generally qualified by an ablative (fears, grief, etc.). Valerius leaves this to be implied.

187. sacer ... rapit: a reference to Venus' grief-laden speech, though the primary meaning of 'gemitus' is an inarticulate groaning noise. 'Questus' might be preferable, as being more active and vivid. Compare Luc. 8.87 'tales gemitu rumpente querellas' where the inarticulate 'gemitu' is contrasted to the complaints that follow. For 'rapit', similar to the English expression 'carried away' cf. 1.798f. 'sacer effera raptet corda pavor'; Sil. 14.299 'omnes ... ira rapit'. 'Sacer' here means 'accursed', 'execrable', VA. 3.57 'auri sacra fames'. 'Sacer' is first used in this sense with an impersonal object by Catullus (14.12; 71.1).

188. prospiciunt: the women gaze out across the sea and watch for their husbands' return (cf. n. on 139 'litoribus'), in a reversal of the usual situation, for their eagerness to see the men again is the result of their recently made decision.

festas fronde: from VA. 2.248f. 'nos delubra deum miseri, quibus ultimus esset ille dies, festa velamus fronde per urbem' (of the Trojans' celebration of their apparent victory). In Valerius as in Virgil the reader is aware that there is no real cause for rejoicing, though here only the men are deceived (simulant). 'Festa' and 'laetae' are thus used ironically, of the show of welcome the women deceitfully put on for their husbands.

189. viris venientibus: on the elliptical style cf. p.iv above.

190. discumbitur: The Lemnian men sit down to a meal in their own homes. 'Discumbere' means specifically 'to recline' for the purpose of eating (Lucr. 3.912; Cic. Ver. 1.66 VA. 1.708; Ov. M. 8.566 etc), like 'adcubat' (193). Here the impersonal passive is intentionally striking in failing to particularize, and the subject of the action must be inferred. Valerius has in mind VA. 1.699f. 'iam pater Aeneas et iam Troiana iuventus conveniunt, stratoque super discumbitur ostro', though here the people referred to in 'discumbitur' are clearly distinguished.

The meal takes place in the colonnaded porches of the houses 'altis porticibus', cf. VA. 3.353, where Helenus entertains the Trojans 'porticibus ... in amplis'.

191. furens infestaque: the words make an appropriate pair, and the picture suggested is enlarged by the simile (192ff.). 'Infesta' is Parrhasius' conjecture for 'festina' (ω), an easy change. 'Festina' would mean 'impatient', 'eager for action', rarely used absolutely though cf. VA. 9.488f. 'tibi quam (vestem) noctes festina diesque urgebam'; Valerius 3.341 '(vestes) quae rapuit telis festina vocantibus austris Hypsipyle'; St Th. 9.716 (virtus). There is, however, no pejorative tone in 'festina', and 'infesta' is preferable in supplying this. The word creates a paradox with 'coniunx'; normally the last person to show hostility is a man's wife. Schenkl's 'funesta' (St. Th. 5.281 'funesta Venus') involves unnecessary change.

192. adiacet: not suggestive of reclining at a banquet, but found rather in sexual contexts; Colum. 12.1.2 'complexibus adiacentem (vilicem) feminae'; Apul. Met. 10.4, though cf. St. Th. 5.192, where the simple verb 'iacent' is used in the context of a meal.

192-195. In a simile the Lemnian women are compared to Tisiphone reclining next to Phlegyas and Theseus in the underworld and spoiling their meal. This is a simile of multiple correspondence in Virgilian style: 'adcubat' (193) picks up 'adiacet' (192); 'saevas ... dapes' (194) 'mensas' (190). The comparison with Tisiphone makes explicit the parallel that has up to now been only implicit in 'furiis' (80), 'furens' (191). 'Amplectitur' (195) refers to the women's embrace ('adiacet' 192), though Tisiphone's snakes do not directly correspond. Compare St. Th. 5.74 'medio recubat Discordia lecto'.

Valerius' simile is reminiscent of the scenes in the underworld cf. VA. 6.601ff. especially 'Furiarum maxima iuxta accubat et manibus prohibet contingere mensas, exsurgitque facem attollens atque intonat ore' (605ff.) with the verbal echoes revealing that this was in Valerius' mind. Statius has the same scene at Th. 1.712ff. 'ultrix tibi torva Megaera ieiunum Phlegyan subter cava saxa iacentem aeterno premit accubitu dapibusque profanis instimulat, sed mixta famem fastidia vincunt'. The lines in Virgil apparently refer to Ixion and

Pirithous (601) though the situation described is that usually associated with Tantalus. Valerius refers to Phlegyas and Theseus, the former Ixion's father, the latter associated with Pirithous in his attempt to capture Proserpine. The two are associated by Virgil at A. 6.618. Statius also associated the torment with Phlegyas.

The similarity of the three passages has led editors to suggest that Valerius and Statius possessed a text of Virgil in which 6.602-7 followed 620, so that Phlegyas and Theseus or Phlegyas alone if 'quo' is read in 602 are the objects of the Fury's persecution. (Thus L. Havet Le supplice de Phlegyas in Rev. de Phil. 12 (1888) 145ff.) In spite of Austin's objections (on 6.601), Havet's rearrangement is attractive, and would account for the parallels in Valerius and Statius. The passage seems to lack revision ('radiis ... rotarum' (616) repeats 'Ixiona' (601)); perhaps Virgil did not complete his rearrangement.

193. attonitum: literally 'thunderstruck' (Serv. VA. 3.172), so perhaps 'paralysed with fear' Compare the Greek ἐμβρόντητος (Ar. Ec. 793, Demosth. 18.243), used of madness. The word is perhaps Ennian cf. Fordyce A. 7.580, popular with the poets (17 times in Valerius) but less common in prose.

Thesea: in Valerius the chronological relationship of Theseus' adventures to those of the Argonauts is never made clear, though in Apollonius (1.101-4) Theseus' absence is attributed to his imprisonment in the Underworld. According to most chronologies, Theseus' adventures are later; indeed Medea attempts to poison him in Aegeus' palace.

194. saevas ... dapes: The feast is 'cruel' because it is a form of torture (the adjective balances 'tormenti genus'). The cruelty consists in not letting them eat it. See p.x above.

libat: she 'touches with her lips', just tastes. Valerius may intend the reader to think of VA. 5.91f. 'inter pateras et levia pocula serpens libavitque dapes'. Tisiphone's snakes make the scene more horrible. She does not behave like the Harpies, who befoul all they touch (Valerius 4.454-5; VA. 3.277-8), or the Fury at VA. 6.606. By merely tasting the banquet she spoils it, and makes a ghastly mockery of the libation that preceded a meal (VA. 3.354ff., etc.),

195. tormenti genus: 'her kind of torment', from VA. 8.487, of Mezentius' habit of tying living prisoners to corpses. Here as in V. the phrase is accusative in apposition.

196-215. Venus appears in her furious aspect and initiates the massacre by seeming to strike the first blow. Without Venus' intervention, there would have been no massacre; compare Iris/Beroe in VA. 5.643f. and Juno's manipulation of Medea, Valerius 6.477ff.

196. quassans ... pinum: 'brandishing a pine-torch, billowing with a swirl of flame'. 'Quassans', 'undantem', and 'turbine' suggest a rapid, swirling movement. The image concealed in 'undantem' is in tension with the flame implied in 'pinum'. 'Undare' is used of billowing smoke at VA. 2.609 'undantem ... fumum'; Sen. Tro. 20, and of surging flames at VA. 12.673 'undabat vertex'; Sil. 9.446. The image implied by 'turbine' is both that of the whirlwind (with 'fumum' understood) and the whirlpool (with 'undantem') and is more complex than either of the parallels, Lucr. 6.629f. 'Aetnae expirent ignes interdum turbine tanto' and VA. 3.572f. 'atram prorumpit ad aethera nubem turbine fumantem piceo et candente favilla'. The phrase is a colourful and evocative description of the swirling flames of the torch. 'Quatio' was generally preferred by the epic poets to 'quasso' perhaps because the latter was felt to be more vigorous - Lucr. 5:4, V. 19:11; Ov. M. 10:0; Luc. 12:2; Valerius 10:8; St. 15:6; Sil. 48:17. Petronius uses 'quasso' 3x (prose), 'quatio' 6x verse, 1x prose.

197. adglomerat tenebras: the phrase is striking in suggesting the tangibility of darkness. Valerius is particularly imaginative in his conception of darkness, cf. 40 'graves videre tenebras'; 7.566 'ardentes ... tenebras'. 'Adglomerat' means 'heaped up' in a pile ('glomus' is a ball-shaped mass, like wool) cf. VG. 1.473 'flammarum ... globos'. Compare St. Th. 1.351 (Auster) 'inglomerat noctem', possibly echoing Valerius (p.v above).

pugnae ... accincta: 'girt up for battle', from VA. 11.707 'pugnae... accinge pedestri' (Camilla), in both a metaphorical sense 'all ready for it', as VA. 2.235 'accingunt omnes operi', Valerius 4.593 'animos accinge futuris', from the girding up of one's dress for action, and also in the literal sense 'girt with a weapon', as VA. 2.614 'ferro

accincta' (Juno); St. Th. 5.281 'Venus ferro accincta'. 'Pugnae' is unexpected here, but the massacre is spoken of in terms of a battle, cf. 'signum ... dedit' (208); 'inrumpit' (211); 'invadunt' (220); 'conferre manus' (222); 'temptare fugam' (224); 'obsidet' (238).

tremementem: literally of the shaking of the earth and metaphorically of trembling with fear at the advent of a deity. The motif is common in classical poetry, and is Homeric in origin (Il. 13.18-19 $\tauρέμε$ $\delta'οὔρεα μακρὰ καὶ ὄλη$ etc), though receiving fuller treatment by the Hellenistic poets; Call. Hy. Ap. 1f; ARh. 2.679-80; cf. VA. 3.90 'tremere omnia visa repente'; St. Th. 7.65; Sil. 4.442ff.; Claud. RP. 1.7ff. etc (cf. RE Suppl. 4. p.319 Epiphany).

198. luce fragosa: the 'crashing light' of lightning. An extremely vivid instance of $μετάληψις αἰσθήσεως$ for 'fragosus' refers primarily to a sound, the roaring of a torrent in VA. 7.566 'medio ... fragosus dat sonitum saxis et torto vertice torrens'; cf. Prud. Cath. 7.94f. 'nimbos crepitantes et fragosos turbines'. The phrase is evocative and imaginative, cf. Garson in CQ 20 (1970) p.183.

199. prosequitur: Venus is 'seen off' from heaven, sent on her way with the clouds and lightning as gifts to accompany her, as Statius sent his poem (S. 3.2) with Maecius Celer when he left for Syria (3 prol. 'sic prosecutus sim'); cf. n.504.

honoro: poet. for 'honorificus', the more usual prose-word, for 'that which confers honour'. Tac. has 'honorus' (A. 1.10.7), where in Dial. and Hist. he would have used 'honorificus' (Löfstedt 2.277). 'Honorus' is first found in Valerius (here and 4.342) and Statius (Th. 5.40; 2.629). Statius (Th. 3.567) and Pliny (NH) have 'inhonorus'. The adjective reinforces 'auget', 'magnifies', with its religious overtones. Venus' descent to the earth is seen in terms of a triumphal procession.

200-3. Venus' battle-cry causes the surrounding area to re-echo to the sound. The motif is from VA. 7.514ff. where Allecto sounds the trumpet of war 'qua protinus omne contremuit nemus et silvae insonuere profundae; audiit et Triviae longe lacus ... et trepidae matres pressere ad pectora natos'. Here the situation is similar; a goddess is rousing to war an unwilling enemy. Virgil obtained the motif from

Apollonius' description of the snakes' hiss (4.127ff). The three passages share with each other and with St. Th. 1.114ff. the list of places that heard, trembled at and re-echoed the sound, and the picture of the mother clutching her terrified child close to her breast. Statius may echo Valerius (cf. 'congeminat' Th. 1.116); Valerius has Virgil particularly in mind but has also obtained some details from Apollonius (cf. ἑξέγροντο (4.136); 'toris' (202)), and this is a good example of Valerius making use of a passage in Apollonius that does not come from the section he has particularly in mind here (p.xvii above).

200. novam ... vocem: for a supernatural sound preceding a battle cf. 3.43-4 'dant aethere longo signa tubae, vox et mediis emissa tenebris'; 6.32; also VA. 7.514 'Tartaream ... vocem'. The cry is 'novam', strange, compare VA. 5.670 ('furor'); Valerius 3.29 ('funera'); LSJ sv. νέος 2.2.

pavidas: usually of persons, hence its application here to the breezes is striking (p.x above). 'Aures' (F 1503, 1517) is not possible for not only humans but Athos and Thrace are affected by the cry. An inanimate subject is necessary, and one that is extensive.

furibunda: 'raging' with a hint of madness; the adjective is applied to Catiline (Cic. Sest. 15; 117), and Dido (VA. 4.646); Amata (7.348); Attis (Cat. 63.31). Often it is the action of a god that causes such madness, but here Venus herself is affected by her own schemes.

201. congeminat: 'redoubles', usually with a more concrete object, like 'blows' (VA. 12.714, Valerius 2.535). Silver Age poets extended the word to apply to sounds; 'sibila' (St. Th. 1.116); 'fragorem' (Valerius 4.71; St. Th. 6.42); 'sonitus' (Sil. 3.196) etc. with perhaps a hint of a false etymology (gemere). Venus utters her strange cry 'again and again'. The word is first attested in Plautus Amph. 786, and is a favourite with Virgil cf. p.v above.

qua: first the air (200), then Athos, the sea (not 'Pontus') and Thrace are affected by the sound. Venus seems to be approaching from the East. The places are chosen for their proximity to Lemnos, not for any Argonautic associations, though the reference to Thrace is pointed. 'Palus' is likely to be corrupt, for Thrace was not renowned for its marsh but for its mountains. 'Ingens' is important in emphasizing the extent of Thrace, and 'Thraca' can stand either as a noun (Cic. Rep.

2.9; VA. 12.335 etc.) or an adjective (instances are later cf. Aul. Gell. 10.25.4; Apul. Apol. 26 etc.), but such words are interchangeable.

If 'palus' is corrupt, 'ingens Thraca' makes perfect sense, meaning the whole huge area of Thrace, and the tricolon, Athos, the sea, and Thrace is effective. The phrase needs a word meaning 'tremble' or 'fear', forming the first and weakest member of the tricolon with 'exhorruit' and 'riguerunt'. Pierson's 'pavet' is an easy change, and the proximity of 'pavidae' (200) and 'Pavor' (204) is no objection and may indeed account for the corruption (cf. p.vi above). Throughout this passage (198ff) fear is a key word, and the repetition is intentional. Compare 3.584f. 'pavet omnis conscia late silva, pavent montes' (at Hercules grief).

A further problem is posed by the point of reference of 'primus' (201); first Athos, the sea and Thrace, secondly the mother, or first Athos, then the sea. Courtney's 'tum' for the first 'et' is attractive in making clear the second element, but the examples he cites from 3.10-12, 4.529-30 make a clear distinction between the two parts and are not true parallels. Here it is less clear that 'tum' is necessary, and the contrast lies between the inanimate and animate reactions to Venus' cry. 'Pariterque' provides all the necessary contrast.

202-3. This picture of mother and child is partly conventional cf. Eur. Tro. 555ff. φοινία δ' ὀνὼ πτόλιν βοᾷ κατεῖχε Περγᾶμων

ἔδρας· βρέφη δὲ φίλια περὶ πέκλους ἔβασσε ματρὶ χεῖρας ἐπτοημένας;

ARh. 4.136ff.; VA. 7.518 (above). Here however the details of embracing and comforting the children are lacking, reflecting the hostility of the Lemnian women. 'Toris' too is particularly relevant to their situation.

adstricto ubere: the image conveyed is that of the chilling effect of fear; the mother's milk congeals, a dramatic illustration of the image, and an extension of Il. 17.111f. τοῦ δ' ἐν φρεσὶν ἄλχιμον ἦτορ παχνοῦται ; ARh. 4.1279 παχνώθη κραδίη ; Ov. H. 15.112 'astrictum gelido frigore pectus'. The children are also terrified and become rigid with fear cf. Il. 15.436 Αἴας δὲ ῥίγησε ; cf. Luc. 1.246 'deriguere metu, gelidos pavor occupat artus'. The notions of fear and chill which Valerius omits are conveyed by the context. The

loosening of the limbs in terror is also a familiar topic, as Od. 5.297
 λύτο γούνατα ; VA. 3.29-30; Valerius 3.236.

204-7. Venus' companions are personified emotions, states of mind and other abstractions. Valerius is thinking partly of the inhabitants of the entrance to Hades (VA. 6.278ff.), though the particular examples he chooses are those associated with the passions of war, and hence often thought of as the attendants (Il. 4.440) or horses (from a misunderstanding of Il. 15.119) of Mars. Valerius too associates them with Mars (204f., 208). Such personifications are Homeric, but are absent from Hellenistic poetry. The Latin poets adopt the idea and use it frequently. (See further West, Theogony prol. 33-4; Norden p.278ff.).

Here 'Pavor' (cf. 200, 202) and 'Discordia' belong to the whole situation ('Metus' would be more appropriate of the men's fear cf. 225, 227); 'Irae' and 'Rabies' represent the women's feelings (165, 191) which result in treachery (188) and death, 'Dolus' and 'Letum'.

Pavor: Fear, the Greek ἄετμος or φόβος (Il. 4.440 etc), often associated with Mars; cf. Valerius 3.89f. 'Terror ... Pavorque Martis equi'; St. Th. 3.425, 7.108; Claud. de laud. Stil. 2.373. Like φόβος (Plut. Cleom. 8.9; Alex. 31.9) Pavor was worshipped as a deity (Liv. 1.27.7).

204. Geticis ... e stabulis: Mars was particularly associated with Thrace (VA. 3.35 'Gradivum ... patrem, Geticis qui praesidet arvis'; St. S. 1.2.53) where he traditionally stabled his horses. The phrase makes it clear that in Valerius' eyes, Venus' attendants here are Mars' horses.

Discordia demens: From VA. 6.280, based on the Greek Ἐρις (Il. 4.440 etc). Discordia apparently played a major role in Ennius (Ann. 266). Also VA. 8.702; St. Th. 7.50; Claud. in Ruf. 1.30. Virgil gives her the attributes of a Fury (281 'vipereum crinem vittis innexa cruentis') and associates her with the Furies. She is thus a suitable attendant for the furious Venus here.

205. atrae ... Irae: from VA. 12.335f. 'circum... atrae Formidinis ora Iraeque Insidiaeque' (of Mars' chariot); also St. Th. 3.424, 9.833; Sil. 4.437. Valerius has adopted Ira's blackness from Virgil, though

it is less easily explicable here. St. Th. 7.48 has 'Irae... rubentes' - the redness of flame as one becomes heated in anger. 'Atrae' refers to the black robes of Anger, who is like a Fury, and 'genis pallentibus' to the ghastly countenance, a truly horrific apparition. (Mozley's 'dark-browed' is wrong.) The juxtaposition of the two colour words is emphatic.

206. Dolus: Treachery, cf. Cic. ND. 3.44, from Hesiod's 'Ἀπάτη' (Th. 224). Cf. Virgil's 'Insidiae', A. 12.336; and St. Th. 7.50. 'Dolus' is more appropriate in the present context, for 'insidiae' implies a background of war.

Rabies: Frenzy, not usually personified, but perhaps a variation on 'Furor' (St. Th. 3.424, 7.52; Sil. 4.325).

Leti maior imago: Death, like 'Mors', from the Greek Θάνατος (Hes. Th. 211ff); cf. VA. 6.277; Sil. 4.437; HC. 1.4.13 (NH ad loc.). The phrasing is Virgilian cf. A. 2.369 'ubique pavor et plurima mortis imago'; 2.773 'nota maior imago'. Valerius refers not to the many different forms of death but to its size; the apparition of death is greater than that of the others, a reference to the magnitude of the massacre.

207. visa ... manus: a difficult phrase. 'Visa' is generally taken with 'maior', larger in appearance, where 'videri' would be more usual (cf. 102). 'Exsertus' means literally 'projecting' and is used of any part of the body that is uncovered by clothing, cf. VA. 11.649 'unum exserta latus' and especially St. Ach. 1.769 'exsertas ... manus'; cf. Claud. RP. 3.377; St. Th. 10.283 'exserta ... dextra'. Death's hands are bared for action. 'Truces' is an appropriate adjective for death's hands but if there is corruption present in 'visa', this may have affected 'truces' also. Nisbet proposes 'victrices', referring to the victory of death (cf. NH HC. 2.14.4 'indomitae ... morti'). More appropriate perhaps is 'ultrices' (Hollis), often used of the Furies (Valerius 1.796 'ultrices ... deae'; Luc. 10.337 etc) and appropriate here (cf. 214 'ulta toros').

vocatu intonuit: 'when first (primum) she summoned them in thunderous tones'. The summons ('vocatu') is the 'vocem' of 100. 'Vocatus' used as a noun is rare. Valerius found it at VA. 12.95; cf. also Cic. de Orat. 3.2 'vocatu Drusi'. For 'intonuere' with the ablative cf. Plin. NH.

8.150 ('canis') 'ingenti ... latratu intonuit'; Sen. Dial. 11.11.6 'lege, quanto spiritu ingentibus intonueris verbis'. Valerius may still have in mind the Fury at VA. 6.607 'exsurgit ... facem attollens atque intonat ore'.

208. signum ... dedit: a military term for the trumpet signal that preceded a battle (Caes. BG. 2.21.3 etc.) cf. VA. 7.513 'pastoreale canit signum' (of Allecto).

Mavortia coniunx: Venus is in fact Vulcan's wife (97ff). The epithet here recalls her reason for hating Lemnos, and also explains her somewhat unusual role as the bringer of death and destruction: usually she is contrasted with Mars as the bringer of love and peace (Lucr. 1.31-2), and is associated with the warfare of love. Mavors is the old name for Mars 'the turner of battle', cf. CIL 1.991; Cic. ND. 3.62 'Mavors, quia magna vertit'; Roscher 2. p.2437. Compare St. Th. 5.282f. 'Mavortia divae pectora' (Venus).

209f. Hic ... nefas: the phrase is constructed from two Virgilian models; VA. 2.199f. 'hic aliud maius miseris multoque tremendum obicitur magis' (Laocoon episode), and 7.386 'maius adorta nefas maioremque orsa furorem' (Amata). The tone of these lines is lofty and solemn (Austin A. 2.199f) and reminiscent of the messenger manner: cf. Eur. Phoen. 1427 ἄκουε δὴ νῦν καὶ τὰ πρὸς τοῦτοις κακὰ and serves as an introduction to the massacre. For 'nefas' cf. n.101.

210. gemitus: the inarticulate groans of dying men (compare 187). 'Voces' refers to their articulate cries.

211. singultantia: the word is applied to the convulsive gasps of the dying, although the head has already been severed from the body. Such gruesome delight in scenes of slaughter is characteristic of the Silver Age poets, though instances can be found earlier, in Ennius (472 V); VA. 10.396. See also 233-4. For the phrase cf. St. Th. 8.752f 'singultantia vidit ora'; Sil. 1.388 'ora... dum calcat iam singultantia leto'. Valerius applies to a recently severed head the Virgilian 'tum caput ipsi aufert domino truncumque relinquit sanguine singultantem' (A. 9.332f) and reverses the situation; Venus abandons the body and carries away the head.

213. arrectasque comas: the reading of ω , the accusative balancing 'sinus'; 'drenched as to the robe and hair'. Bloodstained hair however is not a very necessary or dramatic image here, and a separate phrase indicating terror is better. Either Baehrens' descriptive ablative 'arrecta ... coma', or Peerlkamp's 'arrectis ... comis' are possible. As the latter retains the 's' of ω 's reading, it should perhaps be preferred.

meritos ... toros: 'Look, I am the first to return as the avenger of a guilty bed'. For 'ulta toros' cf. St. Th. 5.122 'ulta manu thalamos' (Procne), probably an echo of this passage; also Luc. 8.103 'nostros ulta toros'. 'Meritos' is almost 'noxios', deserving of such a punishment: cf. 101 'merenti'; TLL 8.813.15ff. For 'prima' cf. VA. 5.641 (Iris throws the first torch).

214. premit ecce dies: day is at hand, and as night is more appropriate for such deeds they must hurry and get them done before dawn (at 261). Compare St. Ach. 1.242 'iam premit astra dies'; Sen. Tro. 1142 'premitur ... dubius nocte vicina dies'. For this intransitive use of 'premere' cf. Sen. Nat. 3.2 'premit a tergo senectus', though perhaps 'me' should be understood here. Venus usually prefers the night for her activities, though her intentions here are unlike her usual occupation (cf. 'amor' 184).

verbere victas: not Venus' familiar lash of love (Eur. Hipp. 39; HC. 3.26.11-12; Mart. 6.21.9 etc) but the goad she carries as a Fury (Val. 8.20; VA. 7.405; Sen. Med. 962 etc.) cf. 'instimulet' (134).

215. cunctantibus ingerit enses: 'she thrusts swords into the hands of those who hold back'. 'Invenit' (ω) would mean 'she finds swords for those who hesitated', i.e. they 'came across' swords she had placed in their path. It is however unexciting and weak in view of Venus' positive role, and more attractive is the stronger 'ingerit' (Heinsius). The sense of presenting something to an unwilling recipient is paralleled at 7.651f. 'si ipse sibi terga ingerat ultro qui pepigit', and Sen. Ben. 6.41.2 'merita amicorum ... offerre non ingerere'. Valerius however tends to use 'ingerere ensem' meaning 'to thrust a sword into the body' as 6.230 'viris ... ingerit ensem': cf. VA. 9.763, TLL 7.1.1549.73ff and the parallel at St. Th. 5.230 'ingerit

ensem' would be more convincing were it not a conjecture. 'Ingerit' then is attractive, but can be accepted only with reservations.

216-219. Valerius interrupts the narrative and exclaims at the horror of his task.

The intrusion of the poet into the narrative tends to occur either in 'exordia' (e.g. Hom. Il. 2.484ff.) or in passages of high emotional content, as here, where Valerius exaggerates his revulsion in order to avoid a lengthy account of the massacre. Statius makes a more restrained refusal; 'quos tibi nam dubito scelerum de mille figuris expediam casus' (Th. 5.206f.). See p.xi above.

216f. Unde ... exsequar: 'how', 'in what manner shall I relate ...' ('unde', also at 4.707). For the verb cf. VG. 4.1f. 'protinus aerii mellis caelestia dona exsequar'; Cic. Fam. 11.27.6 'vix verbis exsequi possum'.

scelerum facies: 'forms of wickedness', referring to the many different forms of death. The phrase is Virgilian, cf. .G. 1.506 'tam multae scelerum facies' (of civil war); A. 6.560 (Tartarus); also Valerius 8.312 (Medea's crimes).

217. heu: an interjection found both in spoken language (Plautus, and Petron.42, Seleucus' speech) and epic. Valerius, like Virgil, prefers 'heu' (45 times) to 'eheu', which is generally shunned by the poets (R.O.A.M. Lyne on Ciris 264).

vatem: originally the seer who prophesied in verse (Varro LL 7.36), the Augustan poets applied the word to the inspired poet (e.g. VE. 9.33f) cf. HC. 1.1.35 (NH); the Greek προφήτης (Pind. Pae. 6.6; Bacch. 8.3). Here 'vatem' is effectively juxtaposed with 'monstris', the 'monstrous deeds' (cf. 2.248; 3.29, 261) of which he can scarcely bring himself to speak. 'Monstris' also has a religious overtone, being originally the 'omens' that provided a warning (moneo). For the unusual word order cf. 4.438 'novimus et divis geniti quibus'.

ordo: the 'succession of events' cf. VA. 7.44 'maior rerum mihi nascitur ordo'; Valerius 5.680; here with 'rerum' understood, with reference to the sequence of subject matter, as Lucr. 5.64 'nunc huc rationis detulit ordo' (the echo of 'detulit' suggests that Valerius had this passage in mind). 'Series' (218) is similar, meaning a series

of events, as VA. 1.641 'series longissima rerum'; St. Th. 1.7 'longa retro series' (without 'rerum').

218. se: elided also at 1.701; 8.387; 'me' elided at 2.603 (9 other instances). The elision of monosyllables is a feature of a more informal style, occurring frequently in Lucilius, Catullus, Horace Sat., and less often in epic. 'Me', 'te', and 'se' are the most commonly elided monosyllables (Kösters p37); Valerius also elides 'iam', 'ne', 'qui', 'si'. Generally Valerius is closer to Ovid in metrical matters, but the Argonautica contains a similar proportion of monosyllabic elisions to the Aeneid. Cf. J. Soubiran L'elision dans la poesie latine (Études et comm. 63. 1966) p.395.

vera canentem: the claim is conventional, cf. Hes. Th. 28 ἴδμεν δ' εἴτ' ἐθέλωμεν ἀληθέα γηρύσασθαι (West ad loc.); Pindar Ol. 1.28-34; Call. fr. 612 Pf. ἀμάρτυρον οὐδὲν αἰέδω ; ARh. 4.1381-2. Nevertheless poets were often accused of lying, cf. Solon's πόλλα ψεύδονται ἁοιδοὶ (fr. 21 D).

219. sistat: echoing VG. 2.488f. 'o qui me gelidis convallibus Haemi sistat' where 'sistat' is used in a different sense. The poet is forced to continue his narrative but wishes that someone would restrain him. He refers to a topic familiar from Hellenistic poetry whereby the poet restrains himself before uttering something disgraceful, normally about a god cf. Call. Aet. fr. 75.4-5. Pf. κύον, κύον, ἴσχεο, λαιδρὲ θυμέ . Compare ARh. 4.984-5 Ἰλατε Μοῦσαι, οὐκ ἐθέλων ἐνέκω προτέρων ἔπος ; Luc. 7.552 'hanc fuge, mens, partem belli tenebrisque relinque'.

hac ... noctes: Valerius' horror at his task has caused him to suffer from nightmares. The detail is exaggerated and overdone. 'Hac ... imagine' then refers to the apparition he saw in his dream cf. 3.362f. 'at non inde dies nec quae magis aspera curis nox Minyas tanta caesorum ab imagine solvit'; the Argonauts see the dead Cyzicenes in their sleep as Valerius sees visions of the massacre. His nightmares contrast with the more traditional wakefulness of the poet during the process of composition, hinted at in 'nostras noctes', cf. Lucr. 1.142 'noctes vigilare serenas'; Ciris 46 (Lyne ad loc) etc. Attempts to emend 'noctes' are bound to fail, for they would remove the reference to this apposite motif.

220-241. The massacre is described in terms that bring to mind Virgil's account of the fall of Troy in A. 2. The echoes which run throughout the Lemnos episode, are concentrated in this description of the massacre, and reveal that Valerius intended a comparison to be drawn between the two episodes (p.xv above).

Fama instigates the massacre by spreading a fictitious story (142ff.) about the Thracian captives, as Sinon's fabricated tale (A. 2.77ff.) persuades the Trojans to admit into their city the horse which brings about the fall.

The mood of the Lemnian men on their return resembles that of the Trojans on their last night. Unaware that death is in store for them, both enjoy their false security. The triumphant Lemnians enter a city that bears every sign of rejoicing, though this is feigned (188-9). The Trojans too share the delusion of victory (A. 2.248f.). Events continue to follow a similar pattern as the Lemnian men are royally entertained by their wives and fall into an alcoholic sleep (190-1). The Trojans too relax all vigilance and sleep (A. 2.252f.). To both death comes from where they least expected it.

The implicit comparison between the massacre and the fall of Troy leads Valerius to use terms suggestive of an attack on a city: 'invadunt aditus' (220) cf. VA. 2.265, 494. The men are asleep (221) as are the Trojans (A. 2.265), a motif that was proverbial of Troy's fall (cf. VA. 6.520; Petron. 89.56). The massacre is indiscriminate, as are the sounds of grief (240-1), like VA. 2.298, 486.

The women set the buildings on fire (235f.), a somewhat unnecessary detail that reinforces the parallel with Troy: 'ignis edax summa ad fastigia vento volvitur' (A. 2.758f.).

Valerius' comment on the men's fate takes the form of a familiar topic (231f.), reiterating that found at A. 2.195ff. The Lemnians are the victims of treachery ('simulatque' 188, 'Dolus' 206), and the women's action is a crime ('facinus' 251, 'scelus' 216, 256). In the Aeneid the Greeks' trickery is their most distinctive characteristic ('dolus' A. 2.62; 'Danaum insidias et crimine' 2.65, cf. 106, 152, 196, 535). Valerius' choice of vocabulary and the analogy with the proverbially perfidious Greeks condemns the Lemnian women. In contrast, they are implicitly compared at 171-2 with the women of Priam's household who, prostrate with fear and grief, seek sanctuary at

the altar (A. 512f., 517). Like them (A. 2.490) the Lemnian women are reluctant to leave their homes and the familiar life (168-9) but for rather a different reason. They prefer an active role to the passive one of the Trojan women, and the contrast between them emphasizes their unnatural and unfeminine behaviour in assuming the masculine role of warriors.

Valerius' intention in constructing this complex series of echoes and comparisons was to stress that the massacre was as devastating to Lemnos as war is to a city, causing the extinction of its whole life. Secondly, he intended his account of the massacre to take the place of Aeneas' adventures in A. 2-3. The massacre precedes the Argonauts' arrival on Lemnos and their kindly reception by Hypsipyle that recalls that of Aeneas by Dido. Like Dido, Hypsipyle presses Jason to relate his adventures ('casus', 351), though Lemnos is in fact his first stop on the voyage, and the only adventure he has had has been the storm at sea (1.608ff.). Hypsipyle's 'casus' then replace those of Aeneas.

Statius uses the same device, a series of echoes from VA. 2, in his account of the massacre (Th. 5), where the parallel is made more explicit by placing the narrative in the mouth of Hypsipyle, the protagonist of the episode. (See further Vessey p.176 n.1).

220. Invadunt aditus: military language. The women occupy the doorways to prevent escape. 'Invadunt' is also to be taken with 'corpora' in a striking syllepsis, which has led editors to favour Meyncke's 'artus'. This however unnecessarily reduplicates 'corpora'. 'Invadere corpus' can have the connotation of rape (Bömer on Ov. M 11.260) but this is subordinate to its military use (TLL 7.2.2 109.43ff).

221ff. pars: two groups of women (pars ... pars) attack two groups of men (soporos, insomnes). The first group of women (221) who are unarmed ('ut erant') attack the men who are drowsy with wine. The second group (222) who are armed with swords (implied in 'conferre manus') and burning torches (223f.) assail those (quosdam) who are wakeful and thus have warning of attack. Ehlers is right to omit the comma often put in after 'facibus'. The verb for these lines must be inferred from 'invadunt' (220).

The sense of these lines then is not difficult. 'Ut erant' recalls the Ovidian 'sicut erat', which usually has a descriptive

phrase attached (e.g. M. 13.584f. 'crine soluto sicut erat'; 5.601 'sicut eram fugio sine vestibus'; Valerius 7.211; also Soph. Ant. 1108 'ὥς ἐχῶ'). Here the descriptive phrase ('soporos') refers to the men, and 'ut erant' used of the women must mean 'unarmed' to balance 'paratae ...' (222). The plural 'paratae' with 'pars' has good parallels; e.g. VA. 5.108 'pars et certare parati'. 'Paratae' governs both the infinitive (VA. 5.108 (above)) and the ablative 'magnis cum facibus' by zeugma. 'Magnis' is not to be taken with 'paratae' substantively meaning 'ready for great deeds', for its proximity to 'facibus' reveals that it must qualify this. It is appropriate that the women should be armed with torches in view of their likeness to the Furies (227f.) and that these should be 'magnis' 'enormous' (cf. 'ingentes' 225).

soporos: 'drowsy with feasting and wine'. 'Soporos', not attested before Virgil (see Norden on A. 6.390), means 'something that makes one drowsy', e.g. the night (Virgil); the wings of sleep (Sil. 10.354), Lethe (Sil. 13.856). Valerius uses it as if it were a participle like 'sopitus' (e.g. V.M. 2.5.4 'mero somnoque sopitos'). By using 'soporos' Valerius has been able to vary the more usual phrase 'buried in wine and sleep', for sleep is implicit in the adjective.

The phrase is designed to recall VA. 2.265 'invadunt urbem somno vinoque sepultam', for the situation is similar (above). The motif of an attack on sleeping men by night is widespread - VA. 9.189, 236 of the sleeping Rutulians; Claud. 6 cons. Hon. 472 (Rhesus); Livy 25.24.6 (Syracusans); Enn. Ann. 294 (Gauls in 207 B.C.). Cf. P.J. Miniconi Études des Thèmes 'Guerriers' de la Poésie Épique Gréco-Romaine (Algiers 1951) p.159. The women's attack is described in military terminology as an assault on a city. Compare Liv. 25.39.3 'pars semisomnos hostes caedunt, pars ignes casis stramento arido tectis iniciunt, pars portas occupant, ut fugam intercludant'.

223. insomnes ... tuentes: like Rhoetus in VA. 9.345, killed 'vigilantem ac cuncta videntem' and Elymus in St. Th. 5.212 'oculis vigilantibus'.

224. prohibetque: -que is disjunctive, 'or', cf. Valerius 6.607, 7.25; Austin on VA. 2.37; Cat. 45.6; the device may be neoteric. 'Prohibet' belongs ἀπὸ κοινοῦ with both infinitives as -que indicates; cf.

1.847f. 'has pater in sedes aeternaque moenia natum inducitque nurum';
3.561; see Leo p.226.

225. metus: though the following word begins with a vowel, the final syllable is lengthened. Such prosody is often found before a strong pause, as here; 2.50 'erudiit'; 5.164 'impulerit', but also where there is no strong pause, as 3.234 'sanguis'; 4.188 'subiit'; 6.152 'saevus'; 305 'genitor'; 571 'brevibus'; 612 'abiit'; 8.259 'impediit'. In the majority of cases (e.g. 'subiit'), the lengthening reflects the early Latin prosody, but this is not the case with 'metus', cf. VA. 2.563 'domus'; 3.112 'nemus'. The subject is discussed by R.G. Kent A Problem of Latin Prosody in Mélanges de philologie ed. J. Marouzeau (Paris 1948) 303ff.; who relates it to pronunciation. Cf. also Kösters pp. 88-9.

ingentes: visions or apparitions conventionally appear 'larger than life' cf. 'maiorque videri nec mortale sonans' (VA. 6.49f., the priestess); μέζονας ἢ κατὰ ἀνθρώπων φέσιν ἔόντας (Hdt. 8.38) etc. This quality is often conveyed by using the word 'maior' which Valerius applies to the women's voices (226). Here he uses the simple adjective 'ingentes' as 5.232f. 'effigie vasta ... ingens ... vox' (of Phrixus), compare St. Th. 5.395 'ingentes patuere in fulmine nautae'.

226. dabat: (sc. 'videri') 'she make them appear huge'. For 'dare' with the infinitive cf. VA. 1.65f. 'tibi divum pater ... mulcere dedit fluctus' (Austin); HSz. p.345; TLL 5.1.1688.59ff.

nota ... maior: a compendious comparison; 'nota ... coniuge' stands for 'nota voce coniugis' as 4.126f. 'maiora ... sanguine nostro ... fata' for 'maiora quam fata sanguinis nostri'. This kind of ellipse is found in Homer; cf. Il. 17.51 κόμαι Χαρίτεσσιν ὁμοῖαι and is a common device in poetry (KS 2.500f; HSz. 826).

227. oculos pressere: 'they could only press their eyes shut'. After 'pressere' ω has omitted an iambic word. If Carrio's old manuscript was genuine, then C's 'metu' is the most authentic reading. Valerius uses 'metu' on its own to mean 'from fear', as 3.254 'dant terga metu', 268f.; cf. St. Th. 4.141f. 'pecudesque ferae procubuere metu', but possibly the proximity of 'metus' in 225 precludes reading 'metu' here. Ehlers mentions 'viri' (B1474) in his apparatus, a reading which

coheres well with the tone of the passage where the men are sharply distinguished from the women (231). Ehlers however should also have mentioned C's 'metu', and Burman's 'manu', which completes the sense of the phrase. 'Oculos pressere' suggests the closing of the eyes in death, as VA. 9.486f. 'nec ... mater ... pressi ... oculos'. Here the terrified men press their eyes shut with their own hands, anticipating their own death. The proximity of 'manus' in 232 is no objection to reading 'manu' here (cf. p.vi above), and the word itself would be less otiose than at 527 'proicit arma manu', cf. 599f. For the instantaneous perfect cf. Austin on VA. 2.53 'insonuere'.

agmina ... Eumenidum: the phrase is Virgilian; 'Eumenidum veluti demens videt agmina Pentheus' A. 4.469; 6.572 'agmina saeva sororum'; cf. Sen. Thy. 78 'dira Furiarum agmina'. 'Agmina', suggesting the massed ranks of the women, is again a military term. The image continues that of 192f. (Tisiphone), cf. Eur. Hyps. 64.77f. οἶδ' τε Γοργάδες ἐν λέκτροις ἔχανον εὐνέτας for a different image. The similarity may lie in the brandishing of torches, but the image suggests that the men were guilty and feared retribution from their wives. If so, this is a rare instance of the more typically Virgilian 'subjective style' cf. p.v above.

228. Bellona: originally Duellona (Varro LL. 5.73, 49), Sabine goddess of war, conflated with the Homeric Enyo (Il. 5.333 etc.). In Latin poetry she is associated with the Furies as Mars' attendant (Sil. 4.436ff.; Amm. Marc. 31.1.1; cf. Petron. 124. 256), with Pavor and Formido (Claud. in Ruf. 1.342f.). Often she brandishes a whip (VA. 8.703; Luc. 7.567 etc.) but here she has a sword; cf. Sen. HO 1311f. 'me stricto petat Bellona ferro'.

coruscet: the verb refers primarily to quick movement, 'brandishes', but, like 'micare', the meaning can be extended to cover the quick movement of light, so she brandishes her sword in such a way that light is reflected off the surface, a sinister picture.

229f. hoc ... valet: 'this they had the hardihood to do'. 'Valet', meaning 'has power to do', with the juxtaposition of 'saeva', emphasizes the incongruity of the women's action in assailing their menfolk ('mactatque trahitque' 230). For the epanaphora, marred by the position of 'propiorque', cf. VA. 5.73f. 'hoc Helymus facit, hoc ...

Acestes, hoc puer Ascanius'. The list of the different female relatives, encompassed in 'femineum genus' (231), adds to the horror and frames the line of action (230).

propiorque: a daughter or mother (parens) is more closely related than a sister or wife. Cf. Ov. H. 3.28 'ille gradu propior sanguinis' (Phoenix), St. Th. 2.437f. 'propior... fluat de sanguine iuncto Iuppiter' (Tydeus). Valerius includes all four close degrees of relation, though only the 'coniunx' was directly affected. 'Furor' has affected all the women, so they act irrationally. ARh. attributes their action to the fear of retribution (1.618-9).

230. mactatque trahitque: though the order should logically be reversed (cf. on 166 'traditque auditque') the actions are almost contemporaneous, and Valerius has put the most important one first. 'Mactat' has sacrificial overtones, for the word was originally a religious term for a ritual sacrifice (e.g. VA. 2.202; 4.57), and Valerius follows Virgil in exploiting this tone cf. particularly VA. 10.413 'hic mactat Ladona Pheretaque Demodocumque' (on a battlefield); Valerius 1.45 (as restored by L). Compare $\theta\acute{o}\mu\alpha$ used metaphorically by Aeschylus at Ag. 1118 (Denniston Page ad loc).

231. femineum genus: the meaning differs from VA. 9.141f. 'genus omne ... femineum' (also Sen. Ph. 687; Valerius 2.156; cf. Il. 9.130) where 'womankind' in general is meant. Here the phrase designates a particular group of women (229), though the idea of the universality of their action is present. They all behave ('hoc ... valet') in a way uncharacteristic of the weaker sex, with single-mindedness and determination.

231f. A topic, from VA. 2.198 'quos neque Tydides nec Larisaeus Achilles, non anni domuere decem, non mille carinae'; 12.544-5 'occidis, Argivae quem non potuere phalanges sternere nec Priami regnorum eversor Achilles'; Hor. Ep. 16.3ff. (of Rome). The formulaic element 'quos nec ... nec' is evident in these examples. Valerius varies the construction ('quos sternere ...nec potuere ... aut'), and 'nec' must be taken with both subjects. This use is rare but possible, cf. KS 2.562f. with examples from Cicero, Livy, Val. Max. This is the only example in poetry he cites, but cf. 6.518f. 'cuius vibrantem

comminus hastam cernere nec galeam gentes potuere minantem'. For 'nec ... aut', used for 'nec ... nec', compare 1.17-18 'neque erit Tyriae Cynosura carinae certior aut Graeis Helice servanda magistris'; 4.399; Prop. 2.28.57 'nec forma aeterna aut cuiquam est fortuna perennis'; Löfstedt 1.344; TLL 2.1567.84ff.

Bessi ... Geticae ... manus: Valerius uses particular names to designate the Thracians in general. These tribes are linked by Ovid (Tr. 3.10.5 'Sauromatae cingunt fera gens Bessique Getaeque'; 4.1.67). The Bessi (Hdt. 7.111; Plin. 4.40; Strabo 7. p.318) inhabited N.E. Thrace near Mt. Haemus and the Hebrus. They were proverbially a savage and marauding race ('immanes'). They were defeated by L. Lucullus in 73 B.C. (Amm. Marc. 27.4.11), and supported Pompey in the civil war (Caes. B.C. 3.4.6). The Getae (Hdt. 4.93) are probably to be identified with the Dacians (Plin. NH. 4.80 'Getae, Daci Romanis dicti'; Sil. 1.324-6), and originally inhabited the Lower Danube, before they were driven into what became the province of Dacia. If Valerius intended to make a topical reference here to Domitian's triumph over the Dacians in 89 A.D. (Suet. Dom. 6; St. S. 1.1.7) he could have done so more explicitly, though VA. 7.604 may be a subtle compliment to M. Licinius Crassus who made an expedition against the Dacians in 29 B.C. (CAH 10. pp.117-8).

232. aequoris irae: a vestige of the formulaic expression 'neither A. on land nor B. by sea' as Ov. AA. 1.333f. 'qui Martem terra, Neptunum effugit in undis, coniugis Atrides victima dira fuit'; also (Sen.) Oct. 43f. (Claudius); St. Th. 5.172ff., cf. 307. In all these instances the victim fell to a woman. The phrase suggests a storm at sea, cf. VA. 1.57 (Aeolus) ... 'temperat iras'; H. Ep. 2.6 'iratum mare'; Valerius 1.37 'ira maris'; 1.673 'truces consurgere in iras' (of the storm). Ehlers is right to punctuate with a full stop after 'irae'; 'quos' belongs closely with 'prensosque'. 'Sternere' is dramatic with 'aequoris irae', with its connotations of battle and death (VA. 5.481).

233. his cruor in thalamis: it is natural to take 'his' with 'thalamis', but the introduction of 'these bedchambers' is abrupt, and the position of 'his' at the beginning of a line looks like a reference back to 'quos'. 'Their blood (flowed) in the rooms'. However, the phrase is difficult without a verb, and Sabellicus' 'it cruor' is a

convincing conjecture, being a Virgilian phrase A. 9.433f. 'pulchros ... per artus it cruor', used by Valerius at 6.723f. 'largusque cadentum it cruor' (it B1474, et ω). The asyndeton is effective, and the impersonal tone continued in the following phrase 'anhela ... vulnera', with the singular 'pectore'.

anhela ... vulnera: a horrifying picture of dying men; 'gasping wounds steam in every breast'. Heinsius would write 'anhelo' with 'in pectore' (VA. 6.48 of the inspired priestess) but Valerius has effectively transferred the adjective from the men to their wounds. 'Anhela' literally 'breathing with difficulty' reinforces the idea of 'breath' in 'fumant', and refers to the intermittent spurting of blood from the wound by analogy with shortness of breath. As the blood spurts from the wound so the breath of life ebbs. The expression is gruesome but not overdone. 'Anhela' also suggests a pierced lung, as VA. 4.689 'infixum stridit sub pectore vulnus'. This parallel supports the reading 'anhela' referring to the sound made by the wound; cf. also VA. 4.67 'tacitum ... vulnus'.

fumant: of the steaming of warm blood, cf. VA. 8.106 'tepidus... cruor fumabat ad aras'; or of things reeking with blood, St. Th. 10.300 'fumat humus'. 'Fumare' of the steaming of blood is first attested in Virgil (TLL 6.1.1538.50ff.).

234. misero luctamine: 'in wretched struggling'. The word occurs only VA. 8.89; Aetna 375; Valerius here and 3.39 in Classical Latin (TLL 7.2.2. 1226.45f.). A Lucretian-type word (Bailey prol. pp.134-5), it was perhaps coined by Virgil. Ovid also favours such coinages (Hollis on Met. 8.729). Valerius has 'adspiramina' (6.465), 'lustramina' (3.409, 442) (both ἀπαξ λεγόμενα); 'conamina' (4.40), 'solamen' (5.56 cf. 4.443); 'stramina' (4.497); 'gestamine' (6.72) 'molimine' (6.34).

se ... trunci devolvunt: a grim detail, from Ov. M. 7.574 'corpora devolvunt in humum' (of the plague victims). 'Truncus' suggests decapitation, cf. St. Th. 5.236f. 'ut vero Alcimedon etiamnum in murmure truncos ferre patris vultus', and Eur. Hyps. 64.74 πολλὸν ὅτι κατέρος οὐκ ἔτεμον χάρα. The Danaids also used decapitation (Paus. 2.24.2).

235. diras ... taedas: a reference to the Furies' torches. The phrase has a Virgilian origin: cf. VA. 8.491 'ignem ad fastigia iactant'; 9.568

'ardentis taedas alii ad fastigia iactant', but Valerius prefers the compound 'iniciunt' to the simple verb used by Virgil; (cf. Liv. 25.39.3. 'pars ignes casis stramento arido tectis iniciunt'), which is unusual but not difficult with 'ad'.

236. adduntque domos: 'They add their houses' to the conflagration. The phrase is difficult. Valerius must mean 'they set fire to the houses'. Damsté's 'ardentque domos' must be rejected, for there are no instances of this verb used transitively. Possibly 'uruntque' (Nisbet) should be read. 'Addunt' should certainly be daggered. Other conjectures like Bury's 'clauduntque' favoured by Langen and Delz, and Baehrens' 'adstantque', are wrong to introduce the notion of a blockade, thus anticipating 237f..

ignibus atris: the fire is 'black', suggesting the malevolent darkness of death and the Underworld. Compare VA. 4.384 (Dido's threat); 7.456f. (Allecto's torch): HC. 4.12.26 'nigrorum ... ignium'; St. Th. 5.175f. The oxymoron is striking; not flames but smoke is black. 'Black flames' are thus a perversion of nature. One manuscript (X) reads 'acti' here, but 'effugiunt' can take the ablative, as Pl. Merc. 660 'patria hac effugiam'; St. Th. 10.96 'vallibus effugiens', so 'acti' is unnecessary. 'Effugiunt' here lacks the implication of success which it often has (OLD sv. 1).

237. propere: frequent in comedy but rare in the poets (Axelson p.62); once in Lucr. (6.149); and perhaps Ovid (M. 6.201 Bömer); twice in Lucan and Valerius (also 5.426), three times in Virgil; five times in Statius. Only in Silius is it frequent (31x).

dura ... coniunx: 'dura' at first suggests the heartless behaviour of a woman to her lover (HC. 3.7.32; Tib. 2.6.28; Prop. 2.22.43), and both 'limine' and 'obsidet' could have connotations of the 'exclusus amator'; e.g. Ov. Am. 1.9.19f. 'hic durae limen amicae obsidet', but the military force of 'obsidet' prevails (cf. n.220). The women bar the way with drawn swords (viso ... ferro).

238. repetunt: the men prefer death by burning to perishing by their wives' swords. For the choice implied cf. Luc. 3.681ff. where death by drowning or burning are the alternatives.

239. ast: an archaic word found in legal formulae (the Twelve Tables) and parodies of such formulae (Plaut. Capt. 683). It was used like 'autem' to continue a conditional or relative clause. Virgil and Horace both use it as a substitute for 'at' with which it had no connection (Fordyce A. 7.308). In Virgil 'ast' always precedes a vowel except 10.743 'ast de me', which should perhaps be emended. Valerius follows Virgil's practice as do St. (except Th. 2.668 'ast tamen') and Sil. Here 'ast' recalls the Greek $\delta\acute{\epsilon}$ (TLL 2.942ff.). Its tone is lively and arresting.

Thressas: Valerius has expanded ARh. 1.617f. οὐκ οἶον σὺν τῆσιν ἑοῦς ἑρπαισαν ἀχολίας ἀμφ' ἐβνῆ. The end of the massacre thus looks back to its introduction (110-12) where the captive women were first mentioned, and these two passages frame the rest.

labem ... causam: Valerius pairs these words here and at 3.377, perhaps with VA. 2.97 in mind; 'huic mihi prima mali labes', where 'labes' means 'the first step towards disaster'. Valerius however may have understood it in the sense of 'taint', 'infection', as Livy 39.9.1 'huius mali labes ex Etruria Romam velut contagione morbi penetravit'. The Thracian women caused the infection which they passed on to the Lemnian men and which affected the Lemnian women.

furorum: the reading of Vat. B1747 for ω 's meaningless 'furorem'. Carrio here has 'furoris', which he does not explicitly attribute to his old manuscript, but which may be the most authentic reading.

240. diripiunt: a σκαπαγμός as with Pentheus (Eur. Ba. 1135; Ov. M. 3.731), Hippolytus (Ov. F. 5.310, AA. 1.338), and Orpheus. The Lemnian women assume the barbaric characteristics of their Thracian victims.

240f. Valerius creates a vivid aural impression of the confused cries and shouts that fill the air. 'Gemitus' are the groans of the dying (cf. 210); the barbarian women cry out for mercy ('clamor ... precantum') in an unknown language ('ignotae ... voces'). Compare Aes. Ag. 321ff.

242-305: Hypsipyle's rescue of her father Thoas.

This episode is dealt with only briefly by Apollonius, who confines himself to the bare outlines of the tale; the rescue, and Thoas' escape in a hollow chest to Oenoe (1.620-626). It is not

essential to his conception of the whole Lemnos episode, and he concentrates on the aetiological detail of Oenoe-Sicinus (624-6). Valerius however has devoted to his version about a fifth of the whole episode (64 lines out of 321), and he is followed in this by Statius (Th. 5.236ff.) who owes much to him both in general outline and in detail.

The details here are all Valerius' own, developed perhaps from a hint in Ovid M. 6.587ff. (Procne) especially 590f. 'dei ... ritibus instruitur furialiaque accipit arma; 596 'Bacche, tuas (furias) simulat'. It is not an ancient alternative version. There is a strong similarity to the story of the Danaids, and in particular, Hypermestra's refusal to kill her husband who became the sole survivor, like Thoas here. The story will have been familiar to the Roman reader, as the passing references in Prop. 4.7.67f., Ov. M. 4.462 suggest, and the presence of statues of the Danaids in the portico of the Palatine Temple of Apollo (Prop. 2.314; Ov. Tr. 3.1.61f; Platner-Ashby p.17) confirms. Valerius may have in mind Horace's treatment of the story at C. 3.11 (cf. notes on 243, 249-53).

242-6. Valerius in his own person as poet (as 216ff.) addresses Hypsipyle, and promises that her story in his verses will endure as long as the institutions of Rome, a motif adopted from Virgil A. 9.446ff. 'fortunati ambo! Si quid mea carmina possunt, nulla dies unquam memori vos eximet aevo, dum domus Aeneae Capitoli immobile saxum accolet imperiumque pater Romanus habebit' (of Nisus and Euryalus). In Valerius the Roman twist is not particularly appropriate. Valerius combines the motif of immortality conferred by the poet (Sappho fr. 55 L-P; Theog. 237ff.; Pind. Nem. 7.21 etc) with that of the eternity of Rome (Liv. 4.4.4 (Ogilvie); Tib. 2.5.23, Ov. F. 3.72 (Bömer)).

242. tibi: the apostrophe creates a sense of immediacy and personal involvement in Hypsipyle's story; cf. p.xi above.

tuis ingentibus ausis: compare VA. 9.296 'sponde digna tuis ingentibus omnia coeptis' (again Nisus and Euryalus). Hypsipyle's daring is emphasized also at 264, 280. 'Ausum' is a Virgilian invention (Servius on A. 12.351), and is frequent in Silver Age poetry, though in Classical prose only Tacitus and both Plinys use it (TLL 2.1258.66).

For the phrase cf. 4.295 'ingentis conscius ausi' (Pollux); Ov. M. 7.178 (Medea); St. Th. 10.384.

digna ... orsa feram: 'what undertaking worthy of your great daring shall I bring?' 'Orsa', the poet's undertaking (cf. 1.20f. 'nunc nostra serenus orsa iuves') balances 'ausis', Hypsipyle's daring undertaking. 'Digna ... orsa' then is the 'dignum carmen' of Lucr. 5.1; Gallus frag. 1.7; VE. 8.10; Ov. M. 5.345; St. Th. 3.102 etc., and refers to the following account. For 'orsa' used substantively to mean undertakings cf. TLL 9.2.950.68ff, possibly VA. 10.632 'in melius tua ... orsa reflectas', but not again until Valerius (1.21 above; 5.195, 291), St. Th. 6.358. 'Orsa' in Virgil generally means 'words' A. 7.453f; 11.124; Valerius 5.470.

'Orsa' is Heinsius' conjecture for ω 's 'ora': 'what mouths shall I bring?' This is nonsense, unless it is a reference to the familiar topic 'if I had many mouths' e.g. Enn. Ann. 561f.; Valerius 6.37. However the reference is not straightforward and 'orsa' seems preferable.

243. decus ... ruentis: 'the one glory and renown of a tottering country'. 'Decus' and 'laus' are often paired, cf. Cic. de Fin. 2.44; Tusc. 2.16; 46; Eleg. in Maec. 18; Sil. 13.821ff. etc. For such abstract nouns used in a concrete way and applied to a person cf. KS 1.81f.; HSz. p.746; also VG. 2.40 (Maecenas); HC. 1.1.2. (NH); Valerius 1.114 etc. 'Decus' has sacral associations, and is often applied to a benefactor. For 'una', the 'one and only', cf. ARh. 1.620 οἷη δ' ἐκ πασέων and compare Hypermestra 'una de multis face nuptiali digna' (HC. 3.11.33f). 'Ruere' here applies to the metaphorical breakdown of law and order in the city as well as the literal collapse of the buildings (236) cf. HC. 1.2.25-6 'ruentis imperi' (NH); Luc. 9.385; Sen. Oed. 73 etc.

244. ulla (saecula): the hyperbaton is extreme, with considerable emphasis thrown on to 'non ulla' (cf. HC. 2.8.1f 'ulla ... poena' NH). The difficulty is minimised if we follow Ehlers in taking 'saecula' also with the following clause: 'as long as the 'saecula' endure for the Latian annals', with 'Latiis ... fastis' dative, to make the phrase cohere (not instrumental ablative). 'Saecula' then makes a third member with 'Iliaci ... lares' and 'palatia', both Roman institutions,

though it is itself a time-word, 'generations'. However, though 'durent' is appropriate with 246, 'as long as the Trojan Lares and the palaces endure', it is difficult to take it with 'saecula'. Courtney is perhaps right to accept Sandström's 'Latii ... fasti', which makes a suitable pair with 246, and makes excellent sense with 'durent', and to put commas round 'saecula' which goes with 'non ulla' only, in spite of the extreme hyperbaton. On hyperbaton in general cf. Housman Manil. 1.429; L.P. Wilkinson Golden Latin Artistry (Cambridge, 1963) pp. 213ff.; and in Valerius, p.ix above.

245. abstulerint: 'shall blot you out' as if by death, as Lucr. 1.468 'irrevocabilis abstulerit iam praeterita aetas'; VA. 6.429 etc.

246. Iliacique lares: public deities, protectors of the state, the 'lares praestites' (cf. P.3.3.11; Ov. F. 5.129; Tac. Ann. 12.24 etc), to whom Augusta dedicated a temple (Anc. 4,7). The adjective identifies them with the Penates (VA. 3.603 'Iliacos ... Penates', cf. Luc. 9.992 'Lares' for 'Penates'; St. S. 4.5.2) rescued from Troy, and emphasizes their continuity with the past, as 'durent' looks to the future.

palatia: 'Palatium' originally designated one of the Seven Hills of Rome, traditionally the residence of Romulus. It became the site of the Imperial residence when Augustus purchased a house there. Dio 53.16.5-6 discusses the shift in meaning from the hill to the Imperial Palace itself, a shift noticeable in the Augustan poets (Ov. M. 1.175f.; AA. 3.119; Tr. 3.1.31f.). Domitian's Palace, the 'Domus Flavia' was situated here. The plural form here indicates that Valerius was referring to the Palace cf. St. S. 1.1.34; 4.1.8 etc.; F. Millar The Emperor in the Roman World (Duckworth 1977) pp. 19-21.

247. inruerant: the change to the pluperfect tense (like 'exarserat' 248) is abrupt, and emphasizes that the massacre had been going on for some time. The asyndeton and position of the verb are emphatic. The women act under one impulse 'actae pariter', echoing 'agit' (215).

248. A Golden line (cf. p.vii above). 'The whole island had been set ablaze by scattered deeds of horror'. 'Exarserat' refers both to the blazing homes (235) and also to the inflamed passions of the women.

The verb often occurs of the 'flaring up' of war or civil strife Cic. Lig. 3 ('bellum'); Tac. Hist. 2.27 ('seditio'), so here is metaphorical with 'monstris'. For 'monstris', the 'monstrous deeds of the women, being committed all over the island ('tota ... sparsis') cf. n.217.

249. pias manus: 'pias' contrasts strongly with 'armata'. Hypsipyle, like the other women, had been affected by 'furor' and intended to use her sword on her father, but a moment of doubt (252) assailed her. Her 'pietas' here and 264 (cf. 256) together with her rescue of her father, suggests a comparison with Aeneas, but little is made of this. For the sword, compare Hypermestra's $\mu\omicron\nu\acute{o}\psi\alpha\phi\omicron\nu \xi\acute{\iota}\phi\omicron\varsigma$ at Pind. Nem. 10.7.

249-253. The urgency of Hypsipyle's message is conveyed in several ways, by the anaphora ('non ... non', 'iam ... iam'), by the high proportion of dactyls, by the short sentences, and by the extent of repeated words both in her speeches and in the surrounding narrative ('manus', 'fuge', 'pater', 'miserere', 'tacitum'). Compare Hypermestra's anguished 'surge ... surge' in Hor. C. 3.11.37f.

250. meque: emphatic by position. Hypsipyle herself represents a potential source of danger to her father.

moenia ... habent: 'have possession of the city'. 'Moenia', which originally meant the city walls, was extended to cover the whole area enclosed by the walls, hence the buildings of the city itself (VA. 6.549 etc.). Valerius must mean the latter, but the phrase is strongly reminiscent of 'hostis habet muros' (VA. 2.290). The capture of a city was the most dreadful scene imaginable to the ancients (Austin on VA. 4.669), but here there is the added horror that no enemy but the women themselves are responsible.

laesi: (ω); laeti (Baehrens). 'Laeti' is more appropriate of a victorious enemy than 'laesi', 'injured' or 'conquered', which looks too much to the past. Compare 'laeta ... signa' (110).

251. facinus: frequent in comedy, also Enn., Acc., Cato, but avoided by Lucr. Virgil and Prop. Ovid reintroduced it (M. 1.242 etc.). In the epic poets it occurs mainly in the nom. sing. for metrical reasons (TLL 6.1 77 74ff). Hypsipyle alone recognises the criminal nature of the massacre.

auctor: 'don't ask who the author of the deed is'. Hypsipyle acknowledges the corporate (nostrum) responsibility of the women. In her eyes, the 'auctor' must be 'one of us', and it will be too horrific to have to admit this. She cannot know that Venus is the true 'auctor', though at ARh. 1.802-3 she acknowledges Cypris' responsibility. This, however, is perhaps merely a form of speech.

252. dubiae ... mentis: Hypsipyle's vacillating heart. Its gift (donum) is her father's safety. Editors who seek to emend 'mentis' refuse to acknowledge any hesitation on Hypsipyle's part, but her appearance with a sword (249) is enough to counter their objections.

253. miser oro: Heinsius' conjecture for the manuscripts' 'miserere'. Heinsius objected to the proximity of 'miserere' in 256, but in a passage containing frequent repetition this is not a forceful argument, and he misunderstands the paradoxical nature of the word. It will be an act of pity to take the sword from her hands. She is the one who needs pity at the moment, and not her father. The prosody of 'oro' is acceptable (see 7.477 'miser, oro, mei'; 8.103, also on Juno 3) but 'miserere' is preferable on grounds of sense. Valerius may have in mind VA. 12.777 'Faune, precor, miserere', inquit, 'tuque optima ferrum Terra tene'.

excipit artus: 'she supports his limbs'. Thoas is an old man (279), and terror adds to his need for support. There is in the phrase an element of protection cf. VA. 4.391 'suscipiunt famulae' (the fainting Dido); Ov. M. 10.186 'conlapsos ... excipit artus' (of the wounded Hyacinthus); 12.423.

254. obnubique caput: as a means of disguise, a typical feature in this sort of escape (cf. ARh. 4.44). The verb is rare and was originally used in a religious formula, cf. Cic. Rab. Perd. 13 'caput obnubito'; Valerius 5.97; also of punishment, Liv. 1.26; Sil. 11.257f; Pallas' funeral VA. 11.77 (p.xv above). Valerius refers to the cowl (cucullus) used as a disguise, often for illicit purposes: cf. Juv. 8.145 'tempora Santonico velas adoperta cucullo' (Courtney); also Juv. 6.118ff. (Messallina); Hor. Sat. 2.7.55; Cic. Phil. 2.77 (Antony); Ov. M. 4.94 (Thisbe); DS 1. p.1578. The paratactic construction (repeated '-que') gives the impression of haste and urgency.

ad conscia Bacchi templa: the deity is appropriate as Bacchus was Thoas' father (ARh. 4.426; St. Th. 5.266) though Valerius does not make this clear. 'Conscia' is proleptic. The temple becomes 'in the know' when Thoas is concealed inside it. 'Conscius' means 'sharing in the same knowledge', and is frequent in Ovid, cf. M 2.438 'conscia silva' (of the nymph's guilty secret); 6.547, 7.385 etc; also Valerius 2.280f. 'conscius ausi ... pavor'; 410 'conscia sacra'.

Bacchus' temple is situated in the town (273 etc). There is no evidence for a temple of Bacchus on Lemnos, though wine vessels (canthari) found in the sanctuary of the Cabeiroi at Hephaestia suggest that the god's worship was connected with the cult of the Cabeiroi as at Thebes (Boeotia) (Burkert p.9 n.53). Lemnos produced wine in Homeric times (Il. 7.467f) and later (Ar. Pax. 1162 τὰς Λημνίας ἀμπέλ- λους) so the worship of Bacchus would be appropriate.

Bacchus apparently intervened in person in Eur. Hyps. cf. fr. 64.106 Βα[κ]χ[ίου] γε μηχαναῖς as he does in Statius Th. 5.265ff.

255. rapit: used for 'raptim ducit' 'she hurried him away'. The sense appears to be colloquial, cf. Ter. Phorm. 882 'quin ergo rape me'; Hor. Sat. 1.5.86; and was adopted by Virgil (e.g. A. 7.725; 10.308) and the Silver Age poets; cf. Valerius 2.273; 289; 649 etc.

primo ... a limine: pleonastic, like 'prima initia' (Liv. 3.54.9 etc); 'prima ... ab origine' (VA. 1.372; Ov. M. 1.3). Compare VA. 2.485; 6.427; Valerius 1.709; 3.679; St. Th. 2.314 etc. Löfstedt 2 pp.179ff.

tendens: the conventional attitude of prayer, particularly of supplication for mercy: VA. 3.176f.; Ov. M. 8.849; Valerius 1.80; cf. C. Sittl Die Gebärden der Griechen und Römer (Leipzig 1890) pp.174, 186ff. From the threshold Hypsipyle stretches her hands out towards the image of the god. These same hands grasped the sword in 249.

256f. Clearly an address to Bacchus ('pater' at A. 4.58; H.C. 1.18.6 (NH); Ov. M. 13.669) and not Thoas. 'Piorum' refers to Hypsipyle and her father, Bacchus' faithful votaries.

exime nos sceleri: 'scelus' refers to the women's crime, the massacre (as 216, 327): 'acquit me of their crime'. She prays to escape the womens' corporate guilt. Not 'free me from this crime' (the potential murder of her father). 'Scelus' is too strong a word to refer ahead to Hypsipyle's possible sacrilege in dressing her father up as Bacchus

(265ff). 'Exime' is uncommon in verse and unparalleled in epic (DWT Vessey in C.J. April-May 1985, Vol. 80 no. 4 p.336).

257. rursus: 'have pity on our votaries again'. This seems to imply some previous occasion on which Bacchus had helped them. This is an instance of the convention whereby one appeals to the past favours of a god as justification for asking his help now. Hypsipyle means pity us once again, as you have in the past (on this topic cf. NH HC. 1.32.1); perhaps specifically the rescue of Ariadne, Thoas' mother (Burman). There is no need for Langen's 'pronus', 'favourable' (Ov. Tr. 1.2.88; Luc. 5.501; St. Th. 3.454 etc).

tacita ... sede: the adjective emphasizes the temple's effectiveness as a place of concealment cf. 279f. 'tacitis ... silvis'. The shrine is 'in the know' (254) but will not give the secret away. The phrase echoes VA. 2.525 'sacra longaevum in sede locavit' (Priam). 'Tacita ... sede' is amplified in 'sub pedibus dei', 'beneath the feet and right hand of the god' (with its connotations of protection) i.e. behind and beneath the statue, concealing him in the sacred robe (259). The statue hides him from sight, and he is placed literally under the god's protection. The image referred to is that imitated by Hypsipyle 265ff. The phrase echoes VA. 2.227 'sub pedibus ... deae clipeique sub orbe teguntur' (of the snakes).

258. receptus: Thoas is 'received into the safety of the robe', as one is received into the shelter of a house or town (Pl. Rud. 276 'ut tuo recipias tecto'), or a suppliant is received into safety (Luc. 8.510).

259f. The shrine emits mysterious, supernatural sounds to scare off any intruders; the sacred cymbals clash and even the stone tigers roar. The alliterative 't' and 'l' sounds emphasize the diversity of noise. If correct, 'chorus' would refer to Bacchus' attendants; cf. 'Nysaeis ... choris' Prop. 3.17.22; 'femineos ... choros' Ov. F. 3.764; M. 11.86; St. Th. 9.479, cf. 'chorus' at Valerius 2.536f. of Cybele's attendants. 'Chorus' implies orgiastic dancing but no doubt ritual cries were involved too. A living chorus is out of place here, however, and there is no indication that a piece of statuary is involved (as with 'fixae ... tigres') as Renkema argues, and the conjecture 'tholus' (Waarenburg Stud. Vindob. 5.140) is attractive,

adding to the supernatural nature of the sounds. The shrine itself emits voices in the absence of human authors. This is a familiar topic, cf. VA. 4.460 'hinc exaudiri voces' (Pease); Liv. 29.18.16 'noctu audita ex delubro vox est'; St. Th. 7.407 'terrificae ... adytis voces'; Claud. RP. 1.10 'templum ... remugit'; ARh. 4.1285. The 'voces' are indistinct human sounds as compared to 'verba', distinguishable speech, and are appropriate with the impersonal 'tholus'. 'Tholus' is not particularly appropriate of a temple of Bacchus (usually of the shrines of female deities, Diana, Cybele, etc. cf. VA. 9.408; Mart. 1.70.10 etc). Here it means the innermost part of the temple where the statue was, cf. 'adytis' in St. Th. 7.407 (above) and compare OLD sv. tholus c, 'the innermost part where spoils were hung'; Valerius 1.56f. 'Graio ... tholo'. Perhaps the shrine had mysterious resonances.

trieterica ... aera: bronze cymbals were a regular accompaniment to orgiastic celebrations (of Cybele as well as Bacchus), cf. 5.78; Ov. M. 4.30. 'Trieterica' refers to the biennial festival of Dionysus celebrated on the top of Parnassus. For the phrase cf. 2.623f. 'trieterica Bacchi sacra'; VA. 4.302 (Pease); Hom. Hymn. 1.11f. 'Sonum' here designates the 'clashing' of cymbals, a harsh metallic sound; cf. note on 37 'sonuit'.

260. fixae ... tigres: the juxtaposition and alliteration of 'fixae' and 'fremunt' emphasizes the solidity and immovability of the statues which roar nonetheless in rumbling agitation. For 'fremere' of roaring animals cf. VA. 9.341, Sil. 17.41 (lions); St. Th. 7.584f. (tigers). Tigers are associated with Bacchus, often drawing his chariot, at VE. 5.29; A. 6.805; HC. 3.3.14; St. Th. 7.564, combined with lynxes at Ov. M. 3.668f.; St. Th. 4.658; Claud. de cos. Stil. 3.369. Schmiedeberg's 'lynxes' is unnecessary (though cf. VG. 3.264; P. 3.17.8; Ov. M. 4.25). These animals, representatives of savage barbarity, symbolize his power to tame and civilise. For representations in art cf. JMC Toynbee Animals in Roman Art and Literature (London 1973) pp.70, 84ff.

261. regina: Hypsipyle is as yet only the daughter of a king, and is not invested with royal power until 309f. Virgil uses 'regina' for Rhea Silvia (A. 1.273) and Ariadne (6.28), cf. Valerius 5.373 (Medea), all 'princesses' rather than 'queens' (cf. Servius on A. 1.273 'regis

filia: abusive dicit more poetica'), and Dido A. 4.586f. 'regina e speculis ut primam albescere lucem vidit' in a similar situation.

roseis ... bigis: another dawn periphrasis (cf. on 72ff.). Aurora's pair of horses are a commonplace cf. VA. 7.26 'Aurora in roseis fulgebat lutea bigis'; St. S. 1.2.45 etc. As a lesser female deity she ranks with Phoebe, Luna (cf. 295) or nox (VA. 5.721) whose chariots all have two horses, here perhaps a reference to the weaker light of the sun at dawn. Sometimes she shares the Sun's four-horsed chariot: VA. 6.535. The pink light of early morning is suggested by 'roseis', like ῥοδοδάκτυλος 'Hῶς Il. 1.477 etc, cf. Theoc. 2.147; Lucr. 5.656; Tib. 1.3.94; Ov. F. 4.714 etc.

262. insomni ... domos: 'that the houses, spent with sleepless turmoil, were at last quiet'. The city falls silent as the frenzy of the night is replaced by the calm of dawn (compare Attis regaining sanity at dawn in Cat. 63.39ff). 'Domos' are almost personified; compare Aes. fr. 88 (Edoni) ἐνθουσιᾷ δὴ δῶμα, βακχεύει στέγη. They had been affected by the night's activity. 'Turbine' suggesting a twisting, rushing movement, is not just 'tumult' (Langen), but a confused 'turmoil' (cf. Sil. 2.4 'turbine Martis' of war) itself 'unsleeping' and causing the city to remain wakeful ('insomni'). Apart from a tragic fragment, 'lassare' is attested first in the Augustan period (Tib, Prop. Ovid etc); it is first attested in prose in Seneca Rhetor (cf. TLL 7.2.2 989.39ff).

263f. stabilem ... coeptis: such 'sententiae' are rare to Valerius (compare 1.76f. 'tu sola animos mentemque peruris, Gloria'). 'Since good deeds make a spirit firm and daring is greater when the undertaking is dutiful'. 'Optima ... facta' is Virgilian (A. 10.791); 'stabilem ... animum' is Ciceronian (de Fin. 3.29). 'Stabilem' contrasts with 'turbine'; Hypsipyle shows singlemindedness as against the women's confused frenzy. Her dutiful undertaking is the rescue of her father. The juxtaposition of 'piis' and 'audacia' is striking, for 'audacia' often has a pejorative sense, and as such is not associated with the noble quality of 'pietas'. 'Coeptum' is a strong word, found in Virgil with adjectives like 'audax' (G. 1.40); 'immanis' (A. 4.642), 'ingens' (A. 9.296). Hypsipyle belies the judgement passed by Fama on women at 156.

265-272. Thoas' escape: an analogy can be found between Thoas and the youthful Domitian who escaped from the Vitellian forces on the Capitol in 69 A.D. by adopting the disguise of a priest or initiate of Isis (cf. Tac. Hist. 3.74; Suet. Dom. 1; also Jos. BJ. 4.11.4). He wore the linen robe ('lineo amictu' Tac.; 'Isiaci celatus habitu' Suet.) and mingled with a crowd of worshippers, but it is not stated that he adopted all the accoutrements of the cult including the shaven head (cf. Thoas' 'iuvenis ... comam'). It is possible that 'cornua' (271) is meant to suggest Isis, the horned goddess; one illustration (R.E. Witt Isis (Thames and Hudson 1971) pl. 30), depicts a participant wearing a horned cap.

The analogy is reinforced by Valerius' reference to Thoas' accession (304-5) as a result of his successful escape, though the description of the priest-king is hardly flattering. Alba, however, was the site of Domitian's favourite residence.

Valerius does not press the analogy. The two men are of different ages; Domitian was a young man; Thoas is a 'senex' (279) disguised as a youth. Domitian did not disguise himself as the goddess Isis but as one of her worshippers. But it seems likely that the reader would have this event of recent history in mind. Domitian was not ashamed of his escape, but publicised it, consecrating a temple to Jupiter Conservator after his father's accession and 'aram posuit casus suos in marmore expressam' (Tac. Hist. 3.74). See further J. Wellesley in CQ 6 (1956) 211-4. Similar escapes were effected by Piso (Tac. Hist. 1.43.2); Volusius, in the civil war 43 B.C. (App. B.C. 4.47; Val. Max. 7.3.8). Compare Pisistratus' ruse in Hdt. 1.60, and Iphigenia's in Eur. IT. 1033ff.

265. iuvenis ... comam: in the late fifth century B.C. representations of Dionysus as an old, bearded man were replaced by those showing him as a beardless effeminate youth, as he appears in Eur. Bacchae (235f., 455ff.; cf. Ar. Thesm. 134ff. cf. Roscher 1.1089ff.). Compare Ov. F. 3.773; M. 4.18. This 'wig' must have been available in the temple as was the rest of Bacchus' attire.

Lyaei: one of Bacchus' names from the power of wine to release men from care (Λυαῖος from λυεῖν). Compare the pun at H. Ep. 9.38 'Lyaeo

solvere'. Valerius uses the name here perhaps to suggest Bacchus' ability to free Thoas from danger.

266. medium curru locat: she put him in a chariot. 'Medium' (with 'eum' understood) does not mean that she placed her father in the centre of the chariot, merely that she put him in it. The construction is similar to VA. 1.698 (regina) 'aurea composuit sponda mediamque locavit'; cf. Valerius 2.346. 'Locat' is a little pedestrian after 'locavit' in 257.

267. plenas ... cistas: The 'cista' was the box or basket containing the sacred emblems which were an integral part of all mystery religions. That of Bacchus apparently contained two snakes ('dracones' 276). 'Tacita' refers to the silence enjoined on the initiate (as 433, 440), cf. Cat. 64. 259f. 'pars obscura cavis celebrabant orgia cistis, orgia quae frustra cupiunt audire profani'; Tib. 1.7.48 'levis occultis conscia cista sacris'; Apul. Met. 11.11.9 (J. Gwyn Griffiths ad loc.), and 6.2 'tacita secreta cistarum'. The expression is striking; after 'plenas' we would expect something substantial, whereas 'formidine' expresses the initiate's reaction to the contents which Valerius avoids naming, here 'religious awe' cf. VA. 7.608 'saevi formidine Martis', etc.

268f. Hypsipyle dresses herself up as a Maenad, one of Bacchus' attendants.

hederis ... famularibus: ivy was one of the plants particularly associated with the worship of Bacchus, cf. E.R. Dodds on Eur. Bac. 81; Ov. F. 3.767 'hedera est gratissima Baccho'. The Maenads were 'famulae dei', slaves of Bacchus, like Teiresias and Cadmus (Eur. Ba. 366), Silenus (Hor. AP. 239), cf. Ov. M. 3.574; St. Th. 9.478, a term also used of the followers of Cybele (Cat. 63.68; Cic. leg. 2.22; Germ. Arat 38; Valerius 3.20). Hence the ivy they wore was 'famularis', belonging to a slave.

269. pampineam ... hastam: Valerius refers to the thyrsus as a spear, compare Eur. Ba. 25 $\chi\lambda\sigma\iota\nu\omicron\nu\omicron\ \beta\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\omicron\varsigma$; also 762, 1097; VE. 5.31 'foliis lentas intexere mollibus hastas'; and for this phrase VA. 7.396; Ov. H. 13.33 etc.; also Sen. Ph. 755 'pampinea cuspidē'.

'Quatit', 'brandishes' continues the image, here corresponding to Eur. Ba. 80 ἀνὰ θόρον τε τινάσσων, but the thyrsus delivers only 'empty blows'. 'Ventosis ictibus' refers to the proverbial phrase 'to beat the air', used of a) ineffectual blows made in boxing Call. fr. 732; VA. 5.377 'verberat ictibus auras'; Valerius 1.421f. 'in vacuos ut bracchia ventos spargat'; cf. 4.302f.; St. Th. 6.791; Sen. NQ. 7.14.1 'solvere ista quid aliud est quam manum exercere et in ventum iactare bracchia'; 1. Cor. 9.26; b) the ineffectual showering of missiles in warfare: Claud. Mamert. 3.16.10 p.187.19 Eng. 'in auras tela iacere et sine hoste pugnare'; c) of animals, often of bulls tossing their horns; Cat. 64.111 'nequiquam vanis iactantem cornua ventis'; Cic. Att. 8.5.1; VG. 3.233f.; A. 12.105f. etc.; St. Th. 11.255 (cf. Otto sv. 'aer', and the Greek σιγαμαχεῖν Pl. Apol. 18 D etc.). Here 'ventosis' refers not to the ineffectual nature of the blows so much as to the identity of the 'hasta'.

270. respiciens ut: a final clause, 'looking to see that ...' not an indirect question (OLD) as at 4.184, 6.661.

virides ... habenas: not 'leaf-decked' reins (Mozley), for the reins were ivy tendrils, as VA. 6.804 'pampineis habenis'; cf. Sen. Oed. 425 'vite cum longa regeres leones' (veste MSS; vite Koetschau). 'Virides' alludes to Bacchus' vitality, suggesting 'full of the sap of life' as VA. 6.304 'viridis ... senectus'. Compare the Greek χλωρός; St. Ach. 1.617 'thyrsu[m]que virentem'.

velatus: referring back to 'vestes' (265), but such a descriptive word is out of place here. Heinsius' 'elatus', prominent, high on the chariot (cf. 532 'mediis elatus aquis'), hence 'conspicuous', is an excellent conjecture.

271f. ut pater ... et sacer: such assonances are more common in Latin poetry than is sometimes realised, though they tend to occur at the end of two lines (VA. 4.189f) or within a line (VA. 4.505), though cf VA. 4.523f. 'corpora ... aequora'. Sometimes such rhymes are due to the demands of an inflected language, but more often they must be deliberate. Here, however, the effect seems to be accidental.

<e> nivea ... mitra: 'e' Kramer; ω omits, 'et' Carrio; in Burman. A preposition is needed here to correct the metre and to complete the

sense. Ehlers is right to adopt Kramer's 'e'; the horns swell 'from' or 'out of' the 'mitra', and not 'in' it.

Bacchus' 'mitra', an eastern cap with flaps that tied under the chin (DS sv 'mitra' 1954ff.) appears from the fifth century onwards (Soph. OT. 209 χρυσομίτρης ; Eur. Ba. 833; Prop. 3.17.30 etc.; Sen. Oed. 414; Ph. 756; St. Ach. 1.617 etc. Both the mitra and horns reveal Bacchus' eastern origin. His horns represent his bestiality (Eur. Ba. 100) and he was often worshipped in the guise of a bull (Plut. Quaest. Gr. 36.299 BC) and portrayed as a horned man or with a bull's body (Athen. 476 A; Roscher 1.1149ff.) cf. TLL 4.966.52ff.; HC. 2.19.29 NH; Valerius 1.726; 5.79. For 'tumere' of the swelling of horns on a young animal cf. Sen. HO 552 'cum frontem subita tumuit' (Europa); Nemes. Eccl. 3.36 'flava... maturo tumuerunt tempora cornu' (Pan).

272. Bacchum referat: 'may bring Bacchus before men's eyes', or 'recall to their minds'. Thoas, dressed as the god and holding the sacred cup, will convince men that he is Bacchus, cf. Ov. H. 13.152 'quae referat vultus est mihi cera tuos'.

sacer ... scyphus: a drinking cup shaped like a bowl with two small handles protruding from the rim (W. Hilgers Lateinische Gefäßnamen (Düsseldorf 1969) p.76f.; 274ff.). Usually the scyphus was associated with Hercules (VA. 8.278; HC. 1.27.1 NH; Sen. Ep. 83.23; Plin. NH. 35.111); the cantharus was Bacchus' goblet (Hilgers p.137; HC. 1.20.2; Sil. 7.197; Plin. NH. 33.150 etc.). Both names are poetic, but only the scyphus appears at Trimalchio's feast (Petr. Sat. 54, 56, 65). Perhaps Valerius here is using the most familiar word.

impulit: Hypsipyle 'struck the doors'; the blow causes them to burst open. The diaeresis after 'scyphus' and the asyndeton convey the sudden impact of the blow. The phrase is from VA. 7.621f. (Juno) 'impulit ipsa manu portas, et cardine verso Belli ferratos rumpit ... postis', considerably conflated. 'Fores' are the folding double doors at the entrance to the cella of a temple, inside which the image was kept (TLL 6.1.1061.68ff.; VA. 1.505). 'Acri ... stridore' refers to the high-pitched squeak made by the door turning on its hinge (cf. P. Howell Postis in Phil. 112 (1968) p.135); VA. 1.449 'foribus cardo stridebat aenis'; Ciris 221f. 'sonitum nam fecerat illi marmoreo aeratus stridens in limine cardo'; Luc. 3.155 etc. 'Acri' with 'stridore' occurs only here, cf. TLL 1.360.40ff. The presence of the

adjective removes the need for 'cum', as 307 'rauco fremitu' ('sonitu' at 1.818 is rare without 'cum'). 'Impulit' implies either brute force or in this instance supernatural strength (the doors are 'validas') cf. Sil. 3.693f. 'subito stridore tremendum impulsae patuere fores'. For the word patterning cf. p.vii above.

273. rapitur: she is hurried away by the god himself. The passive voice reaffirms the supernatural element introduced at 'impulit'. Cf. Ov. H. 4.47 'nunc feror, ut Bacchi furiis Eleleides actae'.

274. mihi: possibly ethic dative, 'please', 'I ask you', representing a conversational tone or gesture, and stressing the speaker's personal concern in the request; compare VA. 5.162 'quo tantum mihi dexter abis?'; Hor. Epist. 1.3.15 'quid mihi Celsus agit?'; HSz. pp.93f. ~~However~~, the presence of the imperative suggests that Hypsipyle is more closely involved in the sentence and that the dative is one of interest; 'leave for me'. However, any attempt to enforce an artificial distinction between the two datives will not help to clarify the sense.

caede madentem: 'drenched with slaughter'. 'Madentem' is literally 'wet' and implies 'caede' in the sense of 'blood', as Cat. 64.368 'alta Polyxenia madefient caede sepulcra'; VA. 9.818; HC. 2.1.35. 'Caede' also balances 'funere' and means 'slaughter' as St. Th. 5.249 'ingentem nocturnae caedis acervum'. The temple was not literally stained with blood. For the phrase cf. Ov. M. 1.149f. 'caede madentis ... terras'; 13.389; 14.199; Luc. 2.103f; (Sen) Oct. 823; Valerius 1.225. Bacchus' image has been polluted by the proximity of the massacre 'foedatum ... funere'.

275f. sine ... expiet: the expression is colloquial, as Plaut. Mil. 1084 'sinite abeam', cf. VE. 9.43 'insani feriant sine litora fluctus'; St. Th. 9.634; Sil. 13.735; in prose Liv. 2.40.5; Plin. Ep. 2.10.2 (OLD 6b). The statue is to be cleansed from its pollution cf. Sen. HF. 918f. 'nate, manantes prius manus cruenta caede et hostili expia'.

pontus: the sea washes away pollution by its expanse and saltiness, cf. Il. 1.312ff.; Soph. Ai. 654f.; Eur. IT. 1193 θάλασσα κλύζει πάντα τάνθρώπων κακά ; Cat. 88.5f.; Cic. Rosc. Am. 71; Sen. Ph. 715ff.; Claud. in Eutr. 2.22, cf. R. Parker Miasma (Oxford 1983) pp.226f.

276. The ritual purification of a statue was often a regular feature of worship. A yearly festival with a parade carrying the image down to the sea or local river symbolized the purification of the god's worship. Instances occur all over the ancient world. Callimachus' Fifth Hymn was composed for the annual purification of Athene at Argos (schol.). Commentators refer to the Plynteria at Athens (Xen. Hell. 1.4.12; Plut. Alc. 34); the λουτροφόρος of Artemis at Sicyon (Paus. 2.10.4); a German festival (Tac. Germ. 40); Iuno at Samos (Call. fr. 599). In Rome, the image of Cybele was regularly washed (Ov. F. 4.337ff.; Luc. 1.600; Val. 8.239f. etc). Statues were also purified on occasions of great need; cf. Dio 48. 43. 4-6, the statue of 'Virtus' in 38 B.C.; Tac. Ann. 15.44, the statue of Iuno after Nero's great fire.

277. sic medios egressa metus: 'thus she surmounted the terrors that lay in her path' (not 'passed through the midst of terrors', as Valerius omits 'per'). The objects of terror lay not on either side of her as she travelled, but between her and her goal (compare St. Th. 7.438 'late medius timor' of a river). 'Metus' here acquire an existence and concreteness of their own in the objects and places she passes. For 'metus' in this sense compare 16 'metus ... deum'; Ov. M. 4.111 'loca plena metus' etc.

verendam: Bacchus (deus) causes Hypsipyle to become 'an object of reverence', ensuring that people will keep away. For 'verendus' used of a human who acquires the status of a deity cf. Luc. 10.46 (Alexander) 'Partho ... verendus'. 'Nam' is postponed (cf. on 23) and placed emphatically next to 'deus'.

278. flatu ... anhelu: with 'gliscit' there is an abrupt change of subject (cf. p.viii above). Hypsipyle is possessed by the god with Bacchic frenzy, cf. HC. 3.25.1f. 'quo me, Bacche, rapis tui plenum?'; Sen. HO. 243f. 'conceptum ... Lyaeum'; Sil. 4.777. This possession is not simulated (Langen) but god given (deus ... facit), and Hypsipyle is aware of his presence ('non inscia' like 'consciis', aware of divine presence). 'Anhelu' refers to the breathlessness of approaching ecstasy (cf. Tarrant on Sen. Ag. 713; also VA. 6.48ff. 'pectus anhelum ... adflata est numine quando iam propiore dei'. There is an oxymoron with 'flatu', the god's breath, used synonymously with 'afflatus', ἐνθουσιασμός often of poetic inspiration; Man. 2.137; Cic. ND. 2.167

'adflatu ... divino' (Pease)). 'Gliscit' continues the wind image of 'flatu' (cf. Sall. Hist. 3.56 'vento gliscente'). It does not mean 'glowed' (Mozley), but increased in confidence and awesomeness. The verb has an archaic note; it is attested mainly in Plautus, hexameter poets (Lucr. Virgil), and historians (Livy, Tacitus); the latter uses it in preference to 'cresco' (Löfstedt 2.277). It is rarely found with a human subject cf. TLL 6.2.2048.27ff; St. Th. 8.755 (Tydeus) 'gliscit ... tepentis lumina torva videns'; 12.639. In this compact phrase, Valerius conveys well the state of Hypsipyle's mind as she rescues her father.

non inscia: the double negative makes a forceful positive. For similar litotes cf. Ov. M. 8.66 'non inscius', VA. 10.907, St. Th. 3.387f. etc. 'haud inscius'; Cic. Fin. 5.51 'nec vero sum nescius'.

279. Notice the interweaving of adjectives, nouns and the participle in this phrase, and the juxtaposition of 'tacitus saeva' emphasizing the calm and safety of the forest in comparison to the cruelty and danger of the city.

procul urbe remotum: the phrase is to be taken closely together cf. Sall. Hist. 2.107 'ad paludem haud procul remotam'. 'Urbe' is ablative with 'procul' as Ov. ex P. 1.5.73 'procul urbe' etc.

280. occulerat:(ω). If genuine, this reading provides the earliest instance of the syncopated form of the pluperfect cf. TLL 9.2.316.17ff.; NW 3 p.396; Arnob. 5.33 'occulerunt'; Schol. Caes. Germ. Arat. 324 'occulisset'. The meaning 'had concealed' is clearly right and Langen's conjecture 'contulerat' 'had conveyed' omits the vital fact of concealment. Compare St. Th. 5.35f. 'illa ... raptum quae sola parentem occului' (Hypsipyle conceals her father). Ehlers mentions with approval Thilo's 'occuluit', but the pluperfect seems necessary here; 'and now she had concealed her father ... but fear and the Erinyes haunt her'. The form is not in itself objectionable and should be retained.

280f. conscius ... Erinys: the phrase is striking. 'Pavor' is almost personified (as 204), and as it makes a pair with 'Erinys' should perhaps be spelt with a capital 'P'. Like 'metus' (277), fear is felt to be external. Both 'Pavor' and the Fury are 'conscius ausi', not

accomplices (as 254) but sharers in her guilty secret. They therefore torment ('turbat') her. Paradoxically, Hypsipyle is said to undergo the guilty fears and feelings normally associated with one who has committed a murder. The Fury would have haunted her after she had murdered her father, but she alone of the women has defrauded it ('fraudata') of its victim (cf. 294). She had rejected the Fury's role before (cf. 193-5, 228) and yet is tormented now. 'Ausi' refers to her daring (242, 264, 283) rescue of her father, 'pius' (264) from most points of view, but audacious to the Fury. It does not refer to her sacrilege in dressing up her father as Bacchus. She may however be affected by the corporate guilt of the women.

282-3. For 283, Ehlers has 'non paribus furiis accendere saltus'; 'paribus' (Shackleton Bailey), 'patrios' (ω); 'furiis' (Courtney), 'furtis' (ω); 'accedere' (Bon. 1474). 'Nor did she dare to set the woods ablaze with Bacchic revels'. 'Paribus furiis' picks up 'similes ... choros', which does not mean 'the dances of her companions' (Mozley) but refers back to the Bacchic revels of 268ff. Hypsipyle is concerned to rescue her father, but dares not repeat the ruse she had used previously. 'Ferre choros' then is equivalent to χορεύειν, as 'ferre preces' (4.547) to 'precari'; 'ferre fugam' (4.664) to 'fugere'. 'Furiis' refers in particular to Hypsipyle's journey to the forest (277f.) when she was possessed by the god. 'Accendere' then is metaphorical; the inanimate surroundings share the human excitement.

Shackleton Bailey's objections to 'patrios' are valid. The natural sense 'native forests' is meaningless and 'the woods that concealed her father' is hard to obtain from the adjective. 'Furtis' cannot here mean 'by tricks' as at Ov. M. 13.104, 'furtis incautum decipit hostem' and there are no parallels for its use as an adjective like 'furto' 'furtim'. Bon. 1474's 'accedere' presupposed that this sense was possible, meaning 'approach by stealth', but it cannot be. C's 'non patriis bustis accendere saltus' has misunderstood 'accedere' as literally 'to set on fire', and introduces the reference to a feigned funeral from St. Th. 5.313ff.

'Semel orgia fallunt' gives the reason for Hypsipyle's inaction at 283-4. Such a ruse can only work once. Literally Bacchus' nocturnal festival (VA. 4.303 etc.), 'orgia' is a word with specific application

to one aspect of Bacchic worship, used generally with reference to 265ff., like 'choros', 'furiis'.

audet: the first foot is seldom occupied by a single, spondaic word (cf. 95), and a pause after the spondee, as here, is rarer still (p.viii above). cf. VA. 4.185 'stridens', Winbolt 16-21. The pause is effective in emphasizing 'audet', as Hypsipyle's courage now fails her.

284. With 'et' the line fails to connect satisfactorily with 283. 'Diversas' contrasts with 'similes' and 'paribus', and suggests that an adversative is needed here. 'Et' cannot mean 'but' after a negative as '-que' can (VA. 4.76; 7.50f). Sabellicus' 'at' is attractive but perhaps not strong enough. 'Sed' would be better.

285. ratis: Thoas escapes in a boat. In Apollonius' account, Thoas escapes in a chest (1.622), like those used for exposing infants: Perseus (Sim. 37.1); Rhoeo (Diod. 8.5.62); Dionysios (Paus. 3.24.3); Osiris (Plut. De Iside et Osiride 356c). See the red-figure cup, Berlin 2300 = ARV² 409.43, illustrated in GMA Richter Ancient Furniture (Oxford 1926) fig. 224. Statius follows Valerius rather than Apollonius cf. 'curvo robore' (Th. 5.287). Attempts to argue that Valerius means a 'raft' (cf. n.108) are contradicted by 'puppi' (292). defecta: 'worn out', like 'confectus', is only post-Augustan (e.g. Ov. F. 3.674; Plin. NH. 2.28). 'Laboribus' is ablative of cause as Apul. Met. 4.4 'viae spatio defectus'; Phraedr. 1.21.3 'defectus annis ... leo', and refers to the physical action of the seas on the boat. Contrast 'pelagi ... laborem' at VA. 5.617, which like Sen. Med. 611 means more specifically the trials endured by voyaging at sea.

285-7. The three lines describing the boat have the colouring of a Hellenistic dedicatory epigram in which a ship, worn out after long voyages, is dedicated to an appropriate deity. This passage shares three features with these epigrams: i) the dedicatee is usually a sea-god (286), cf. Cat. 4.25ff. (the Dioscuri); Macedonius in AP. 6.69 and 70 (Poseidon); ii) emphasis on the length of the voyaging (286 'longinqua dies'); πολυπλόνοτος (AP. 6.69); iii) the battering of the sea and the elements (285, 287); AP. 69.3; 70.3,5.

286. longinqua dies: not 'a far distant day' but 'a long-lasting period of time' (with the imperfect 'urebat'; the plural 'solibus') cf. Enn. Ann. 413 'postremo longinqua dies confecerit aetas'; Lucr. 2.69; VA. 3.415. The boat has long been abandoned, and after prolonged exposure to the elements nothing remains but the hull (300).

Glaucoque repostam: 'set aside' for the gods, here not as a formal offering but simply 'abandoned'. For Glaucus, the fisherman from Anthedon who was transformed into a sea-deity, cf. Ov. M. 13.906ff.; he was the subject of Aeschylus' 'Glaucos Pontios' (Nauck pp.11ff.); the 'Ἀλιεύς' of Alexander of Aetolia (J.U. Powell Coll. Alex. (Oxford, 1925) p.121) and Cornificius' 'Glaucus'. 'Repostam' stands for the unmetrical 'repositam'. This contracted form occurs first in Ennius inc. 23 'repostus'; cf. Lucil. 84 'compostae'; VA. 1.26, 249; 6.24 etc., but is rare in post-Virgilian poetry, though cf. Hor. Ep. 9.1 'repostum'; Prop. 4.2.29 'imposta corona'.

287. The phrase is unbalanced with the plural 'solibus' and singular 'luna', unlike the Psalmist's 'the sun shall not smite thee by day nor the moon by night' (121.6). 'Urebat' refers both to the scorching heat of the sun (Ov. M. 6.339 'cum sol gravis ureret arva; 4.194 etc.) and the nipping of cold (Ov. Tr. 3.2.8 'ustus ab assiduo frigore Pontus habet'; Luc. 4.5 'urebant montana nives'). The plural 'solibus' implies the 'heat of many suns' cf. VG. 1.65f. 'glaebas ... iacentis pulverulenta coquat maturis solibus aestas'; Lucr. 5.251f. 'pars terrai ... perusta solibus assiduis'; St. Th. 3.259 etc.

canis ... pruinis: from VG. 2.376 cf. HC. 1.4.4. The moon was regarded as the source of the dew, which generally had a beneficial effect (VG. 3.337 'saltus reficit iam roscida luna'; Pease on Cic. ND. 2.50). Here, however, the moon's moisture in the form of white hoarfrost is harmful to the boat. The Psalmist believed the moon to foster disease (91.6).

288. altae per opaca silentia noctis: 'through the dark silences of the deep night'. The silence of the night attains an almost visual quality with 'opaca' (cf. Valerius 7.389, Sedul. pasc. carm. 4.219), an adjective often found of 'nox' itself (VA. 4.123, 8.658 etc.). This mixing of auditory and visual terms is an instance of μεταλήψις αἰσθησεως. Compare St. Th. 1.368 'per nigra silentia'. The night is so

dark that it is difficult to see very far ahead. 'Altae', perhaps 'fathomless', is more appropriate of the darkness itself ('profound'), though its transference to 'nox' here is effective. Virgil uses 'alta silentia' (A. 10.63 cf. Ov. M. 1.349; Quint. 10.3.22); Valerius reverses the two adjectives to create an original and evocative description of the conventional silence of night (cf. 41ff.).

289. profatur: an Ennian compound (Ann. 563 etc), with an archaic overtone, though used by all the epic poets and Ovid. It occurs once in Horace (Sat. 1.6.56f.) in a passage where the tone is deliberately archaic.

290f. inanes pube domos: the 'domos' were the focal point of the massacre (e.g. 236). 'Inanes' is Pius' correction of 'inani' (ω); the word must agree with 'domos'. Schenkl wrote 'inanis' and indeed the '-is' ending seems to have been the usual spelling of the accusative plural at Valerius' time. There is no rhyme in 'linquis inanis', so Schenkl's spelling can stand. 'Pube' refers to the adult male population of the island which the women have destroyed (ARh. 1.618: πᾶν δ' ἄρσεν ὁμοῦ γένος) not simply the 'young warriors' (Cat. 64.4; VA. 8.518), though the absence of these is revealed at 313f. 'Pubes' is rare in prose, where its tone is generally archaic or heroic (Fordyce A. 7.105). 'Modo' is to be taken closely with 'quantas': 'homes but lately so great, and now void of men'.

The repetition of 'patriam' (290 cf. 297) and 'genitor' (290 cf. 298) emphasize the risk Thoas runs if he stays (being a man) and all that he is losing (his country).

291. pro dira lues: the interjection 'pro' expresses grief and horror: 'oh the ghastly plague', cf. Sen. Suas. 7.11 'pro facinus indignum'; Luc. 4.96 'pro lucri pallida tabes'; St. Th. 2.92; Sil. 14.505 (no examples in Virgil). 'Lues' looks back to 'labem' (239): the massacre is seen in terms of a contagion, like a plague. Compare Tac. Hist. 3.15 'immensam belli lue' ; Sil. 16.622 'dira illa lues' (Hannibal). pro noctis acerbae exitium: 'Oh, the destruction of one bitter night'. 'Acerbae' refers to the bitterness of untimely death, as VA. 6.429 'abstulit atra dies et funere mersit acerbo'.

292f. Hypsipyle is faced with the choice of two equally ghastly alternatives ('talin ... possum'; 'possum tantis'). She can either cast her father adrift in the boat, entrusting him to the wind and waves, or she can keep him on the island. Either choice involves probable death. Both city (279) and the sea (285) are cruel. For a list of heroines facing similar dilemmas cf. Pease on VA. 4.534, including Medea (Eur. Med. 502-5); Medea (ARh. 3.772-801); Ariadne (Cat. 64.177-201), and cf. Valerius 2.180f. 'mene ille novis, me destinat amens servitiis? urbem aut fugiens ...'.

talin: for 'taline', cf. VA. 12.874 'talin possum me opponere monstro'; A. 10.668 'tanton'; 12.797 'mortalin'. The abbreviation is colloquial (though 'talin' itself does not occur in Plautus). 'Periclis' (293) is also a colloquial abbreviation cf. Plaut. Au. 450, Tr. 1087, and frequently. The elision of 'quando ego' has a Virgilian parallel at A. 9.497 'quando aliter'.

credere: the conjecture of Carrio, B. 1498 for 'reddere' (ω). The two words are easily confused (cf. 8.437 'credidit' A, B.1498; 'reddidit' ω) and 'credere' makes better sense here. Hypsipyle is to 'entrust' her father to the boat, cf. St. Th. 5.288f. 'dis pelagi Ventisque et Cycladas Aegaeoni amplexo commendo patrem'. See further HC. 1.3.5f. 'navis quae tibi creditum debes Vergilium' (NH ad loc.).

294. solvimus heu serum Furiis scelus: 'Furiis' (Pius) for 'furtis' (ω); 'furti' (Thilo). Either choice (292f.) may prove fatal, and Hypsipyle fears that, in spite of all, she will be the cause of her father's death. 'Alas, I am paying, though belatedly, the crime I owe to the Furies'. 'Solvimus' (plural for singular) is used in the sense of paying a debt (OLD sv. 'solvo' 18). Attempts to take 'scelus' to refer to her 'crime of cunning' (Mozley with 'furti') i.e. her rescue of her father, must be wrong, for Valerius consistently uses 'scelus' to refer to the massacre (216, 256, 327). (At Ov. H. 14.5f. Hypermestra's refraining from murder is paradoxically a 'scelus', but the context is not the same.) Here 'scelus' means her father's death of which the Furies had so far been defrauded (the phrase echoes 'fraudata ... Erinyes' 281). 'Furtis' is clearly wrong here as at 283. Hypsipyle's payment is late ('serum') but apparently inevitable. 'Serum' is an adverb as VG. 1.251; Valerius 4.705; Sil. 2.253, a rare use, confined to poetry. C's 'miserum' is necessary neither to express the

speaker's feelings, fully revealed in 'heu', nor to improve on 'serum', which is very much in place here, though the collocation 'heu serum' appears misleadingly to mean 'alas, too late'.

294ff. Hypsipyle addresses her prayer to Luna. The goddess is not named, for 'diva' like 'dea' can be used on its own to address a female deity (see NH on HC. 1.35.1). Hypsipyle chooses Luna because she alone of the gods is aware of what is going on. Compare incert. frag. 11 (Morel) 'Luna, deum quae sola vides periuria volgi'. At ARh. 4.54ff. the moon alone observes Medea's flight. Hypsipyle's prayer is answered in a roundabout way, by Diana (cf. 301).

295. soporiferas ... bigas: like Aurora (261) the moon drives a pair of horses (Lyne on Ciris 38). The moon's light in comparison to that of her brother the sun is weak, and as a female deity she needs fewer horses to draw her chariot (Valerius 5.413 'rota brevior soror'). The adjective 'sleep-bringing' occurs nowhere else of the moon's horses, but cf. VA. 4.486 ('papaver'); Ov. M. 11.586 'soporiferam Somni ... aulam'; Luc. 3.8 ('somno'); St. Th. 12.291 ('umbras'); Sil. 7.287 ('noctis'). It is emphatic here; only Hypsipyle and her father are awake. 'Trahis' perhaps suggests that the night is protracted. 'Aequore' is difficult without a preposition ('across', 'above', 'out of'). From where Hypsipyle is standing on the shore, the moon appears to be travelling over the sea.

296f. The tricolon is emphasised by the repeated 'non', and the slight hyperbaton 'non ulla ... regna' throws emphasis back on to 'ulla'. For Valerius' use of rhetorical devices cf. p.ix above.

dite solum: 'dite' is the neuter accusative singular of 'dis', a contracted form of 'dives' found in comedy (Plaut; Ter.) but not prose before the Augustan period. Generally the poets prefer 'dives'; (Virgil 'dis' 1; 'dives' 20; Ovid 3:17; St. 9:5; Sil. 10:17); the prose authors 'dis' cf. TLL 5.1.1558. Valerius like Lucan (3:4) uses the two indiscriminately (6:7) cf. 2.635 'rex divitis agri' (Cyzicus), perhaps influenced by the prose authors. The phrase refers to the richness of the soil, as 4.100 'pingue solum'.

non ulla ... regna: the phrase echoes Prop. 1.14.23-4 'quae mihi dum placata aderit, non ulla verebor regna vel Alcinoi munera despicere'.

To Propertius, Cynthia's love is preferable to kingdoms; to Hypsipyle, her father's safety is worth more.

298. quando: Hypsipyle cannot believe that her father will reach safety, and this exclamation must imply that she fears such a day will never come. In Statius' version (Th. 5.486ff.) rumours of Thoas' survival on Chios result in Hypsipyle's flight from the island, cf. Eur. Hyps. 64.72ff. 'Servato ... genitore' is ablative with 'laeta' 'happy in my father's safety'. 'Laeta ferar' implies a triumphal procession.

299. quando ... videbo: Hypsipyle anticipates the guilt and mourning of the Lemnian women (cf. St. Th. 5.326ff.). The phrase is paradoxical in looking forward to an active expression of grief, something not usually anticipated. There is μετάληψις αίσθήσεως in 'planctus ... videbo', for 'planctus' is essentially an aural word, 'beatings', cf. HC. 1.14.3-6 'vides ut ... gemant'; 2.13.22-4 'vidimus ... querentem'.

300. trunca ... alno: 'alnus' is used frequently by metonymy for a ship of alder wood cf. TLL 1.1705.77ff.; compare 'pinum' (48). 'Trunca' means 'mutilated', dismembered of some of its parts, hence 'without oars' cf. Ov. M. 11.559f. 'alii partes et membra carinae trunca tenent; Sen. Ag. 506 'trunca puppis' (Tarrant ad loc.).

anxius: the frailty of the boat causes Thoas considerable anxiety. He may also have learned for the first time in Hypsipyle's prayer of the events in the city, and is fearful for his own safety and that of his daughter.

301. Taurorum... locos: Here Valerius conflates Hypsipyle's father Thoas with Thoas, King of the Tauri (Eur. IT. 30ff) and ruler over Artemis' shrine. Hyginus follows Valerius (Fab. 15). A similar conflation concerning Scylla is recorded at VE. 6.74ff, where 'fama secuta est' perhaps reflects a Hellenistic polemic against the conflation, and is elaborated at Ciris 54ff. Apollonius' Thoas reached the island of Oenoe, near Euboea (1.623ff), which changed its name to Sicinus after Thoas' son by Oenoe (Schol. ARh. 1.623-60 lists Apollonius' sources). In Statius, Thoas later appears as King of Chios in succession to his brother Oenopion. Valerius probably chose this,

seemingly original, destination for Thoas, because of the opportunity it provided of introducing the Roman references in 304-5.

delubra ... saeva Dianae: here, strangers were sacrificed to Artemis (Eur. IT. 38-9, 53, 72; Ov. Tr. 4.4.63ff etc). 'Advenit' is thus pointed, stressing that Thoas is a stranger to the land but that he does not suffer the usual fate.

302f. hic ... dato: Valerius attributes to the worship of Tauric Artemis both the priest-king ('praeficis') and his killing of the previous incumbent ('ense dato') that were customary at Aricia. The apostrophe of the goddess is vivid, and Zinzerling's 'praeficit' removes this personal element from the phrase. 'Praeficere' is often used of someone put in charge of religious rites cf. VA. 6.117f. 'nec te nequiquam lucis Hecate praefecit Avernis' (Sibyl); Ov. H. 12.87; St. S. 5.1.114. 'Ense dato' is ironic, for Thoas has escaped death by the sword (252f.) by receiving it from his daughter's hands. The phrase is echoed at 6.127, of the Iazyges, where fathers die at their children's hands. The accumulation of adjectives ('saeva', 'tristi', 'cruentis') stresses the barbarity of the place.

303. mora ... cruentis: 'but there was no long lingering for you in those bloodthirsty lands'. 'Nec' is used adversatively. In a brief digression Valerius introduces a Roman element, itself foreign to the subject matter of the poem, but fully in the tradition of Virgil and the Hellenistic poets, who loved such aetiological details.

304f. Valerius associates the worship of Diana at Aricia with that of Tauric Artemis, and attributes the foundation of the former to the removal of the cult from the land of the Tauri to Italy. He is not the first, cf. Call. Hy. 3.173f. (to Diana) ἡ ὕνα δαίμων, Ἀλὰς Ἀρασηνίδας οἰκῆσουσα ἦλθεσ ἀπὸ Σκυθίας, ἀπὸ δ' εἶπας τέθμισ Ταύρων ; Ov. M. 14.331; Luc. 3.86; RE 18.1. 998.62ff.; 1002.54ff. (1939); Roscher 5.817.51ff.

Diana Nemorensis was originally worshipped in the grove at Aricia as the goddess of hunting, wild animals, and protector of fugitives. She was also a patron deity of the Latin towns, and her worship was adopted by Rome at the time of their treaty with the Latins (Ogilvie on Livy 1.45). Probably at the same time she became identified with the

Greek Artemis, and because of affinities in the worship of the goddesses, it was believed that the cult had originally come from Scythia. Its foundation is variously associated with Orestes (thus Serv. VA. 2.116; 6.136; Strabo 5.139; Hyg. Fab. 261, cf. Eur. IT), and Hippolytus (Call. fr. 190 Pf.; VA. 7.761ff.; Ov. F. 3.263ff; 6.735ff.; M. 15.497ff.; Paus. 2.27.4; Roscher 1.1008f.). Valerius is unique in introducing Thoas to Italy, though he is not the cruel tyrant of Eur. IT. but Hypsipyle's aged, pacific father.

nemus Egeriae: Diana traditionally shared her sacred grove with Egeria, the nymph who was Numa's wife and instructor: Ov. M. 15.482ff.; F. 3.261ff.; Plut. Num. 4 etc.; Roscher 1216f. Livy is more sceptical (1.19.21).

altus ab Alba Iuppiter: the worship of Jupiter Latiaris whose temple stood on the 'Mons Albanus' was taken over by Rome at the same time as that of Diana Nemorensis. 'Alba' here is the 'mons Albanus' (cf. Luc. 1.198 'residens celsa Latiaris Iuppiter Alba') rather than Alba Longa, the town traditionally founded by Ascanius (VA. 1.271; 8.48), which was destroyed by Tullus Hostilius. 'Altus' refers as much to the lofty position of the temple as it does to Jupiter's pre-eminence among the gods (e.g. VA. 12.140 'rex aetheris altus'). Valerius may have intended the phrase as a delicate compliment to Domitian, whose favourite residence, both before his accession (Cassius Dio 65.3.4; 9.3f) and after (Dio 67.1.2; Mart. 5.1.1; Juv. 4.145 Mayor) was situated here. There is some evidence of Domitian's identification with Jupiter during his reign: cf. K. Scott The Imperial Cult under the Flavians (Stuttgart/Berlin, 1936) pp.133ff and St. S. 5.2.168ff.; 1.6.25-7; 3.4.17; Mart. 4.8.12; 5.6.9. Here, 'ciet' has the tone of an imperial summons.

305. solī non mitis Aricia regi: the worship of Diana was presided over by the 'rex Nemorensis', traditionally a fugitive slave, in memory of its founder the fugitive Orestes who slew the previous incumbent, cf. Ov. F. 3.271f.; AA. 1.259f.; St. S. 3.1.55; Suet. Calig. 35. Strabo 5.239 reveals that this was still the practice in his day. Compare Sil. 4.367 'Egeriae ... immitis Aricia lucis'; 8.362 'immitte nemus Triviae'. The Latins however did not go in for human sacrifice, VA. 7.764 'pinguis ... et placabilis ara Dianae'. 'Regi' is ironic after 297, but forms an effective climax to the account of Thoas' escape and

looks forward to Hypsipyle's assumption of power (309-10). (See further J.G. Frazer The Golden Bough (1922) ch. 6).

306-10. The aftermath of the massacre. The women form a government and Hypsipyle is chosen queen in her father's place (as at ARh. 1.667, 718-9). The women maintain their masculine roles (compare ARh. 1.627ff.). Statius (Th. 5.320ff.) follows Valerius closely here.

306. nata, matrum: heavy stress is laid on family relationships: cf. 'parentum', 'natorum', 'paternis'. Here 'nata' suggests Hypsipyle's devotion to her father, whereas 'matrum' recalls the perverted behaviour of these mothers (229). 'Matrum' is also intended as an ironic alternative for 'patres', the senators (OLD sv. 'patres' 7). They are 'horrida', not 'unkempt', but closer to our 'horrid', with perhaps a shade of the sense 'bedraggled'. Perhaps 'motley crew'.

307. congruerat: 'they had gathered together', converged from different directions. There is an ironic hint of the more technical term for gathering at an assembly 'convenerat' as Tac. Ann. 2.38 'cum ... convenerint patres'. The verb is rare (TLL 4.298.39ff.) and Valerius is the first to use it of a human subject (compare 6.58f. '(serpens) linguis ... adversus utrimque congruit' (of the emblem on a shield)). This however is not an adequate reason for rejecting the verb; Burmann's 'conruerat' is dull. 'Arcem' is used of the assembly place also at St. Th. 5.100, an epic touch. The presence of women in the assembly, very much a male conclave, was the subject of much mockery in antiquity, particularly by Aristophanes.

rauco fremitu: 'fremitu' suggests the low continuous murmuring of a crowd (Plaut. Am. 233; Liv. 9.45.15 etc.). Here 'fremitu' distinguishes the tone, 'rauco' the pitch. Feminine voices sound harsh and raucous, like the quarrelsome women transformed into frogs 'vox quoque iam rauca est' (Ov. M. 6.377), or chattering birds ('cornices' Lucr. 6.751).

308. vacuae ... urbis: Here 'empty of men', as at 290, almost 'widowed', as Ov. M. 14.831 'vacuae' (Hersilia); Tac. Ann. 13.44 'mulier vacua'. Compare Il. 5.642 $\chi\eta\rho\omega\sigma\epsilon\ \delta'\ \delta\gamma\upsilon\iota\alpha\varsigma$; Lamentations 1.1 'How doth the city sit solitary ... How is she become as a widow',

and Dante Purg. 6.113 'Roma vedova e sola'. 'Vacuae' also suggests 'lacking government', as Sall. Cat. 52.23 (Rome); Liv. 23.2.7 (Capua); Tac. Agr. 40.1 (a vacant province) or in particular lacking a king; Curt. 6.3.12 'vacuum regnum'. 'Moenibus urbis' is formulaic (O. Schumann, Lateinisches Lexicon 3. pp.403f.) after VA. 12.116 'magnae sub moenibus urbis'; compare St. Th. 5.311. It refers to the city as a whole, the buildings enclosed by the city wall.

309. iura novant: 'they make new laws' (Mozley). 'Novare' means more than 'alter', for there is a sense of 'revolution'. Changing an existing constitution was often thought of as revolutionary, especially here where the rule of women replaces that of men. Cf. on 83 'regni novitate'.

novant ... donant: homoeoteleuton, like 3.79 'insonuit monuitque', rare and probably accidental (see p.x above).

solio sceptrisque: visible symbols of royal power (compare the English 'ascends the throne'). The phrase is based on VA. 10.852 (Mezentius) 'pulsus ob invidiam solio sceptrisque paternis'; cf. also Lucr. 5.1137 'pristina maiestas soliorum et sceptris superba'; Ov. H. 14.113 'soliis sceptroque potitur'; Psalm 45.6.

310. ut meritam: the women give Hypsipyle the throne because she, as the king's daughter, and presumably his murderer, is the most deserving. To the reader, her merit lies in her 'piae ... menti', her devotion to her father. Thus 'meritam' is deliberately ambiguous. In St. Th. 5.320 'his ... pro meritis' refers directly to the mock funeral.

redeuntque: 'and fitting rewards for her filial devotion are duly given her'. 'Sua' (n. pl.) refers to the dative 'piae ... menti' as at VA. 1.461 'sunt hic etiam sua praemia laudi' (even here honour has its due reward) where 'sua' refers to 'laudi'. The construction is rare but sound. 'Redeunt' here acts as the passive of 'reddere' (to give something that is deserved OLD sv. reddo 9). The reading of some minor manuscripts, 'redduntque', is a poor alternative, and would mean 'the women give to her the due rewards of her dutiful mind', with 'sua' losing its point.

311-331. After a digression of over 200 lines the narrative returns to the Argonauts. Valerius' account of their visit is brief in comparison to his description of the massacre, though the Argonauts and not the Lemnian women are the principal characters. When the Argo appears, the women panic (312) and Hypsipyle summons an assembly (313). Valerius does not relate in detail what happened here (Polyxo prophesies on the sea-shore), but the women decide to defend their shore (313ff.). The detail of the arming is from ARh. 1.633f., where the women mistake the approaching sailors for their Thracian enemies. There, the assembly takes place after the arrival of Aethalides the herald (1.653ff.). In Statius, who follows Aeschylus and Sophocles (Schol. ARh. 1.769) the women fight to defend their country, and a storm keeps the Argo from landing until peace is made (Th. 5.350ff.).

311. Ecce procul: 'ecce' introduces a sudden interruption to the narrative (VA. 2.203 etc). Statius begins this episode with 'ecce autem' (Th. 5.335). After its appearance in comedy to mark the unexpected arrival of a new character (e.g. Plaut Aul. 177, 471 (eccum) etc; Petron. 16, 40 etc), its frequent use by Virgil (44x) made 'ecce' acceptable in epic; cf. R.O.A.M. Lyne Diction and Poetry in Vergil's Aeneid p.79 in Atti del Convegno mondiale scientifico di Studi su Virgilio (1984). Valerius uses 'ecce' 38x (also 478, 587). Like 'recentis' (327), 'ecce' suggests that only a short interval of time has elapsed between 310 and 311. Here Valerius differs from ARh., who dates the massacre to the previous year (1.610), and Statius, who implies the passing of time as guilt and mourning increase among the women (Th. 5.326-34).

validis ... remis: echoes VA. 5.15, 10.294, as does St. Th. 5.141f. 'en validis spumant eversa lacertis aequora' (of the Lemnian men). For the construction 'Lemnon tendentia' cf. Hor. Sat. 1.5.71 'tendimus ... Beneventum'. Lemnos as a small island can admit the construction.

312. arma notant: 'they observe armed men'; 'notant' like 'conspiciunt', with an additional mental element, perhaps 'mark'. 'Arma' meaning armed men occurs frequently in military contexts; Valerius 6.582; Ov. M. 5.91; St. Th. 3.708 etc. In these instances, 'arma' refers to the men's weapons which play a vital part in the action. Here 'arma' may refer more specifically to the shields set

round the boat: Valerius 1.339 'primus in aeratis posuisssem puppibus arma'; 496; 3.28f.; cf. 2.636 'nova signa'; in true Viking style.

tumultu: not 'in sudden alarm' (Mozley) but 'by the women's commotion' cf. St. Th. 5.347f: 'nos Thracia visu bella ratae vario tecta incursare tumultu'. The queen is carried along ('rapitur') with the rest. 'Subito' is an adjective with 'tumultu'. Compare ARh. 1.638f. (the women are speechless with terror).

314. furor: the last outburst of the women's frenzied madness (cf. 191, 239), here 'improbis', 'reckless', implying something contrary to what is right and fair, indicating that the women are behaving out of character in continuing to assume the masculine role of warriors. For the last time the women behave like men. For 'furor' (est) and the infinitive cf. 4.562 'furor his medio concurrere ponto'; St. Th. 8.595f. 'Derat' is written for 'deerat' by synizesis. Such contraction is common, cf. TLL 5.778.50ff.

315. There is some compression of thought here: 'furor was not lacking ... (and there would have been a fight) had not Vulcan intervened'. Compare VA. 12.731ff. 'at perfidus ensis frangitur in medioque ardentem deserit ictu, ni fuga subsidio subeat'. 'Ni' and 'nisi' often imply divine intervention, especially the sudden diversion of a blow or weapon from its target, as HC. 2.17.27ff. 'me truncus illapsus cerebro sustulerat, nisi Faunus ictum dextra levasset'. Compare εἰ μὴ (Hom. Il. 3.374 etc).

Mulciber: from 'mulceo', because fire softens hard metals (thus Festus 144). The name appears first in Accius fr. 562-3; Egnatius fr. 1 (Morel). There is a contrast in 'fregisset Mulciber' which is not conveyed in Mozley's 'had not Vulcan quelled ...'. Perhaps 'had Mulciber not crushed ...'. 'Mulcere iras' occurs at VA. 7.755 etc; 'frangere iras' at St. Th. 8.534f; Quint. 6.3.9. Venus herself is often said to soothe Mars (Lucr. 1.29ff; Sen. Med. 62f); here her role is reversed.

316. Polyxo comes from ARh. 1.668ff. where she is Hypsipyle's aged nurse, and advises the women to receive the Argonauts. Statius makes her the aged wife of one of the Lemnian men and the instigator of the massacre (Th. 5.90ff). Valerius makes her a prophet ('vates'), beloved

of Apollo (like Cassandra, and Iapyx VA. 12.391). He connects her with Egypt (318), and her prophetic powers with the sea. She thus has affinities with Eidothea, Proteus' daughter in Hom. *Od.* 4.365 (below). Her status adds divine sanction to her advice to receive the Argonauts.

317-9. The lines form a digression describing Polyxo's parentage and prophetic powers. They answer 'non patriam, non certa genus', in chiasmus, with 'Phariis' picking up 'patriam', and 'Tethy Proteaque' defining 'genus'. The verb lost in 318 will have made a pair with 'certa'. The digression is fully in the tradition of epic, but the obscure genealogy is more reminiscent of the Hellenistic poets pouring their learned doubt on the parentage of Erichthonius (Call. fr. 260); Virgo (Aratus 97ff); Eros (Antagoras in Powell p.120).

The passage is fraught with problems:

i) 317 reads ... 'sed maximae taetae' (ω). The best solution is to read 'Tethy' for 'taetae' (as B1474) with reference to Polyxo's mother. For 'maxima Tethys' cf. St. *Th.* 3.34; *Ach.* 1.222; Claud. *RP.* 2 praef. 45. According to Hyginus (*Fab.* 6) Polyxo's parents were Oceanus and Tethys. Here 'Tethy' is vocative, therefore Heinsius' 'te' must be read for ω's 'sed'. It is hard to see why Ceto (Heinsius from C's 'coete') should be 'maxima'; the epithet is more appropriate of the sea. Similarly Ehlers' 'maxima cete' (Thilo) from VA. 5.822 'immania cete', an escort of sea creatures, is a grotesque image.

Tethys' connection with Proteus is not otherwise known, but is consistent with the Hellenistic instances above. Perhaps they used Lemnos as a secret rendezvous for their affair, as Zeus and Hera used Samos (Call. fr. 48). Courtney's introduction of 'Fama' to supply a noun with 'maxima' is unacceptable and the extreme hyperbaton throws too much emphasis on to the conventional 'maxima'.

ii) 318 reads 'Proteaque ambiguum pharisse ab antris' (ω), which is unmetrical. A verb must be supplied meaning 'she claims' or 'it is affirmed'. 'Effatur' (Burman) is usually preferred as being appropriate with its prophetic overtones, but it is perhaps too strong. Better is the impersonal 'fert rumor' (Baehrens) etc. cf. Hom. *Od.* 4.387 τὸν δέ τ' ἑμὸν φασιν πατέρ' ἔμμεναι ἠδὲ τελέσθαι (Eidothea).

Ehlers' 'Pharii se patris ab antris' has good manuscript authority ('patris' L, C) but should be rejected on grounds of sense (contra Ehlers in *Lustrum* 16 (1971-4) 127-8).

iii) At 319 a line is needed stating that Tethys and Proteus brought Polyxo from Egypt (Phariis ... ab antris) to Lemnos, on the lines of Baehrens' 'huc vexisse suam' (though 'suam' is confusing after 'te', 'Protea'). Alternatively, perhaps a line has fallen out before 319: she claims that Tethys bore her on the Lemnian shore to an unknown father and rumour reports Proteus' visit to the island, with the implication that he fathered her. From her father, Polyxo gained her prophetic powers.

318. Proteaque ambiguum: from Ov. M. 2.9. Proteus was one of the prophetic sea-gods with power to change his shape, hence 'shifting' (VG. 4.406ff; Ov. M. 8.731; F. 1.369; St. S. 3.2.35; Sil. 7.423ff; also Od. 4.417f; 456f). Here there is slight tension with 'certa'. For Proteus' Egyptian connection cf. Od. 4.385, though in Virgil he comes from Emathia (G. 4.390).

319. iunctis ... phocis: 'iunctis' (S) is a necessary correction of the unmetrical 'iniunctis' of L and V. Valerius envisages Proteus driving a chariot drawn by the seals with which he is associated (VG. 4.394-5). Compare VG. 4.388f. 'magnum qui piscibus aequor et iuncto bipedum curru metitur equorum'; Ciris 394f. 'iunctis magnum quae piscibus aequor et glauco bipedum metitur equorum'. 'Rexisse vias', if right, would refer to steering the chariot towards Lemnos.

320. Polyxo's method of prophesying is unorthodox; she communes with her father Proteus beneath the waves ('auditas ... voces'). Seagods are frequently prophetic, and are often able to change shape. This power reflects the restless movement of the sea; the former may originate in the extent of the sea, comparable to the breadth of knowledge. These deities were also believed to have extensive knowledge of the sea itself as Od. 4.385f. θαλάσσης πάσης βένθεα οἶδε (Proteus), and Hdt. 1.47 οἶδα δ' ἐγὼ ψάμμου τ' ἀριθμὸν καὶ μέτρα θαλάσσης ; and hence of everything.

321. ut auditas ... voces: 'as one reporting words heard in the depths'. Koestlin's 'et' (l. p.248) is attractive.

322. ω omits a word. Summers' 'fatis' is clearly right. It fits the context with its emphasis on destiny (appropriate in view of the speaker) and makes a pair with 'deus' (323). Compare 445f. 'Thessala ... tunc primum puppis ... fatis Sigeo litore sedit'; 559 'adpulit his Fors ipsa locis'; also 3.63f; 4.741. A word beginning with a consonant is needed after 'ait', of which the final syllable is naturally short. So read '... ait 'fatis haec credite puppis''.

C's 'hospita' ('haec hospita credite puppis') is difficult. The women are aware that the ship is 'foreign' (compare Ov. F. 1.340; ;Tr. 3.12.32 of a ship recently arrived from foreign parts) and there is no point in saying so. St. Th. 5.335ff. 'ecce autem aerata dispellens aequora prora Pelias intacti late subit hospita ponti pinus' is not a good parallel, for 'hospita' with 'intacti ... ponti' emphasizes that the voyage is made on uncharted seas.

323. levior ... deus: 'the god' is not Venus (cf. 324) in spite of 369 'divae ... melioris', but 'god' in general making a pair with 'fatis' (322). $\theta\acute{\epsilon}\omicron\varsigma$ is used in this way at Theoc. 25.50; Call. fr. 298. 'Levior' (ω) means 'more inconstant', 'more changeable' (cf. Tarrant Sen. Ag. 606 'all gods are 'leves' in that their favour cannot be relied upon'). But what is wanted here is a reference not to the changeability of the gods but to a return of their favour (cf. 'volens') a requirement admirably filled by Heinsius 'melior', with the impersonal 'deus' meaning 'more favourable' (than before): cf. VA. 12.179 'iam melior, iam, diva, precor'; HC. 1.7.25 (Fortuna); Sen. Ph. 821; Valerius 1.675.

324. Minyas: Polyxo's prophetic powers reveal the correct identity of the sailors, though the poet might have assumed such knowledge for poetic convenience (as 640); cf. Il. 10.447 where Diomedes knows Dolon's name.

volens: with a sacral sense as Plaut. Capt. 195 'si di immortales id voluerunt'; VA. 1.303 'volente deo'; Ov. ex P. 4.6.3; Valerius 1.246. Such a wish is always authoritative.

ω reads 'Venus ipsa volens dat tempora iungi': 'a time for mating', with the emphasis on time appropriate with 'dum'. 'Iungi' used absolutely to mean 'to be joined in love' is rare but acceptable e.g. Ov. Ars 1.453 'hoc opus, hic labor est, primo sine munere iungi';

3.650 ('iungitur'). However, the construction of 'tempora' is difficult. For 'tempus' and an infinitive cf. 4.448f. 'amissas aut flere domos aut dulcia tempus lumina'; 3.249f; VA. 9.12; always 'tempus (est)' in the singular. The plural then is unparalleled, and Castiglione's 'tempore', 'in time' is a feeble change. Far better is Burman's 'corpora iungi', which makes clear sense. Polyxo is outspokenly blunt on the subject (as 325) (at ARh. 1.693ff. she is more subtle). For the easy confusion of 'tempora'/'corpora' cf. 3.333; Housman on Manil. 1.416. For 'corpora iungi' compare Ov. M. 10.464 'devota ... corpora iunxit' (Cinyras and Myrrha); Lucr. 4.1193; Ov. H. 9.134.

325. The women must have sons before they become too old: 'while our wombs have strength and the age for childbearing remains'. With 'materna ... aetas' compare Luc. 2.338 'vis materna'. 'Sufficit' is absolute: 'suffices'. Cf. Caes. BG. 7.20.11 'nec iam vires sufficere cuiusquam'.

326f. Iphinoe's name and role come from ARh. 1.702ff. where she conveys the assembly's decision to the Argonauts. In Hyg. Fab. 15 she is the 'custos portae' who reports the strangers' arrival to the queen. 'Preces' refers to the women's 'invitation' of welcome, in contrast to the oath extracted from the men in Aeschylus' Hypsipyle (Schol. ARh. 1.769). The alliteration of the phrase implies speedy, decisive action.

327f. 'The crowd of guilty women and the evidence of the recent crime did not perturb them, for Cytherea removes the terror from the place'. 'Timorem' refers to the terrifying nature of the place before Venus' intervention. The Argonauts were unaware of the crime (compare Hypsipyle's elaborate fiction at ARh. 1.793ff) and the women's confession of guilt at St. Th. 5.452 'fatentes'). '-que' (328) adds a causal nuance. 'Cytherea' is used deliberately to conjure up thoughts of love, cf. HC. 3.12.4. This is not just a manner of speech; Venus relents, her anger pacified by Vulcan (315), and she reverts to her former aspect (102). Apollonius' Κόπρις γὰρ ἐπὶ γλυκὺν ἡμέρον ὤρσεν

(1.850) is less pointed, for he has omitted the quarrel between the deities.

329. dux: the lines lack a subject unless Pierson's 'dux' is read for ω's 'sub'. Jason may be the most fitting subject; he offers sacrifice on behalf of his crew on arrival at a new place, like Aeneas in VA. 3.20f., compare ARh. 1.966f, 1185f. On the other hand, it may be felt more courteous for Hypsipyle to offer sacrifice on behalf of her guests ('procerum' thus includes Jason) and more appropriate for her to revive the neglected worship of Venus. If Hypsipyle is the subject, as I think is more likely, 'sub' can be retained and the change of subject implied as so often in Valerius (p.viii above). The lines 329-31 are complete in themselves and the need to posit a lacuna (Schenkl) arises from a failure to appreciate Valerius' excessively elliptical style.

procerum ... nomine: 'in the name of the princes', cf. Tac. Hist. 1.5 'sub nomine Galbae'. The phrase is more usual without 'sub', cf. OLD sv. 'nomen' 14, so it could be replaced by 'dux' here.

330. deicit: 'slaughter for sacrifice' (TLL 5.1.396.29) here and 1.190f. 'Zephyris Glaucoque bovem Thetidique iuvencam deicit Ancaeus' only.

330-1. The symbolic renewal of the worship of Venus is paralleled by the union of the women with the Argonauts. Compare ARh. 1.858ff., sacrifices to Hephaistus and Cypris. The two phrases beginning 'insuetis ...' and 'hac prima', with reference to Venus' altar, neglected since her adultery (98f. 'frigida ... ara'), form a pair and there should be no comma after 'reddit'. Compare St. Th. 5.449f. 'tunc primus in aris ignis'. 'Calet' (Vat. B 1474) for ω's colourless 'caret' is undoubtedly right, in recalling 'frigida'. The altar 'grows warm' with the blood of sacrifice. Compare Valerius. 8.260 'sacra calentia'; St. Th. 7.577f. 'omnia sacris templa calent'. The bull is sacrificed to Vulcan, the heifer to Venus, by the usual convention of offering a male animal to a god and a female one to a goddess, as at 1.190f. (above); Ov. M. 4.755f. 'mactatur vacca Minervae, alipedi vitulus, taurus tibi, summe deorum'; Sen. Med. 59ff. Blood sacrifices to Venus are rare, though examples can be found: cf. HC. 1.19.16 NH. Here 'pia munera' includes wine and incense, as well as 'hac prima iuvenca'. Compare Mart. 9.90.16f. 'cum ture meroque victimaque libetur tibi ... secta plurima quadra de placenta'.

332-356. The Argonauts' arrival is celebrated with sacrifice and feasting, and the queen falls in love as she questions Jason about his travels.

332ff. Valerius adheres to the tradition that Vulcan's forge lay beneath Lemnos, an honour shared with Aetna and Lipara, where an active volcano provided proof of the fire god's presence. Ancient writers believed that Mt. Mosychlus on Lemnos was volcanic, a belief shared by commentators on Homer (Munro on Od. 8.283) and Soph. Phil. until the nineteenth century. See Soph. Phil. 800f. τῷ Λημνίῳ τῷδ' ὀναχαλουμένῳ πυρὶ ἔμπερον ; 986 ὦ Λημνία χθὼν καὶ τὸ παγκρατὲς σέλας ; Nic. Ther. 472 and Schol. quoting Antimachus (fr. 46 Wyss) Ἡφαίστου πυρὶ εἵκελον, ἣν ῥα τιτύσκει δαίμων ἀκροτάτης ὄρεος κορυφαῖσι Μοσύχλου ; Eratosthenes fr. 17 (Powell); Lyc. Alex. 227; Sen HO 1362 'Lemnos ardens'; Nonn. Dion. 14.17 etc. Geographical investigations have however revealed that there has never been an active volcano on the island. The belief may have arisen from the presence of an earth-fire (cf. C. Neumann J. Partsch Physikalische Geographie von Griechenland (Breslau 1885) 314-8; Burkert p.5; Tozer, p.269ff.), or volcanic activity in the area (Jebb on Soph. Phil. 242-3). See further RE sv. Mosychlus 16 (1933) 380; Pease on Cic. ND. 3.55; Friedrich p.74-5.

332. ventum erat: the impersonal passive records the action with the agent unexpressed but clearly Jason and Hypsipyle in particular (334). The idiom belongs both to the spoken language and the higher style, convenient where the person need not be stressed; cf. 'ventum erat ad Vestae' Hor. Sat. 1.9.35; (Fraenkel Horace (Oxford, 1957) p.115 n.1), like 'itur' (Val. 5.563), 'discumbitur' (2.190, 8.255). See Austin on VA. 4.416; J. Wackernagel Vorlesungen über Syntax (1926) 1.144ff.

pendentia ... iugis: 'whose rocks overhanging with black ridges were smoking'. The ablative is descriptive with 'pendentia', as VG. 4.374f. 'postquam est in thalami pendentia pumice tecta perventum'; Ov. H. 15.141; Luc. 1.435 'cana pendentes rupe Cebennas'. 'Iugis', however, is harder than 'pumice' and 'rupe', because it means specifically a ridge of rock, and there is a contradiction inherent in 'pendentia' (hanging down) and 'iugis' (ridges in an upward direction). The phrase is an instance of Postgate's disjunctiveness, with 'iugis' and 'saxa'

being essentially the same (cf. on 67f.). An ablative with 'fumant' would be easier, e.g. 'streaming with black smoke'.

333. coquitur ... vaporibus aer: 'the air was warmed with mounting heat' (Mozley). Valerius refers to hot air rising from the furnaces beneath. 'Coquere' is often used of something metal: Luc. 6.405 'immensis coxit fornacibus aera'; Pers. 5.10; Juv. 15.167; implying high temperatures.

334ff. Valerius has developed the hints given by Apollonius of the growth in the relationship between Jason and Hypsipyle, and gives his account a strong Virgilian colour. Echoes of A. 1 in the feast and conversation that follows it are strongly marked, and are intended to recall the situation of Aeneas after his arrival at Carthage, and suggest that a similar outcome is in store for Jason. The relationship, however, seems less serious and there is no crisis of conscience when Jason leaves; indeed his feelings of guilt seem excessive. Valerius' close adherence to Virgil results in his exaggerated reference to Jason's 'casus' at 351, echoing VA. 1.754, though unlike Aeneas he has as yet had little opportunity for adventure.

The episode also recalls that in Sibyl's cave in A. 6, particularly 'cessas in vota precesque?' (51), as well as the familiar topic of arriving in a strange place where a festival is in progress. As with Aeneas in VA. 8 and Polyneices and Tydeus in St. Th. 1.557ff., the reasons ('causas' 335, cf. 'quibus ... causis' St. Th. 1.557-8) for the islanders' worship of Vulcan are revealed by Hypsipyle.

334. substitit Aesonides: familiar from VA. 11.95; 12.491 'substitit Aeneas', though here little use is made of such a weighty beginning. Jason stands still in amazement at the sight. Hypsipyle echoes this with 'mirabere' (339). The patronymic too is weighty in tone. It occurs four times in this episode (also 346, 380, 385) and only once elsewhere in book 2 (659). Perhaps it is intended to remind the reader of Jason's parentage and the fate of his father (1.730ff.) in contrast to that of Hypsipyle's father. Valerius may be thinking of the pointed use of Anchisiades at VA. 10.822 (reinforced at 824) of Aeneas after

Pallas' death. However, though Valerius uses the patronymic 54 times, he rarely does so with effect except perhaps at 1.161; 3.339.

335f. haec ... domos: 'Vulcanique' goes ὁπδ κοινοῦ with both 'antra' and 'domos', though by convention it is placed with the second noun (cf. HC. 2.19.27f. 'sed idem pacis eras mediusque belli'). The 'cave' and 'home' of Vulcan are one and the same. 'Ecce' is exclamatory, and this needs to be indicated in the punctuation, by commas, dashes or an exclamation mark.

The site of Vulcan's forge was a familiar topic in ancient literature and Juvenal complains 'nota magis nulli domus est sua quam mihi lucus Martis et Aeoliis vicinum rupibus antrum Vulcani' (1.7ff.).

337. Hypsipyle speculates that a completed thunderbolt is even now lying silent in the cave. 'Taceat' (ω) is clearly right in contrast to the noises of 338-9. Her speculation arises from the silence, in contrast to the proof ('fidem') to be provided later. Heinsius' 'iaceat' and Thilo's 'lateat' are meaningless in comparison. 'Hoc' should be taken with 'antro', 'in this very cave', for this suits the shape of the sentence better though the hyperbaton is extreme (cf. p.ix above). If 'hoc' is taken with 'factum fulmen', the point of reference is not clear (which completed bolt?), though this would be the more natural way. Fr. Reuss' 'hoc facto' (after 'vina precesque') is attractive in itself, but makes no sense with 'iam' and the sense of the sentence.

338. nox dabit ipsa fidem: 'night itself will provide the evidence' of Vulcan's continued activity. For 'fides' meaning 'proof' cf. OLD sv. 'fides' 4. Night will provide proof of the bolt's construction in the sounds and noises of the volcano. There may be an allusion to the familiar seeing - hearing controversy (cf. Otto p.251). Generally the eyes were thought to be more reliable than the ears (Hdt. 1.8; Heraclitus Vorsokr. 5.22B.101 a (fr. 15); Hor. AP. 180, Sen. ep. 65). Valerius' preference for the auditory follows Call. fr. 282; (Empedocles Vorsokr. 5.81 B.3, 9). Compare the Chalybes' activities at 5.140ff.

clausae ... murmura flammae: the rumble of flames confined in a furnace or a volcano. The sound is low pitched and indistinct, like the 'murmure caeco' of bees in VA. 12.591. For 'murmur' of the sound

emitted by a volcano cf. Lucr. 1.722f. 'Aetnaea ... murmura'; VA. 3.582f.; Aetna 463; Sil. 14.60; Suet. Calig. 51, and Pers. 5.11 'nec clauso murmure raucus' (a forge).

339. incussae sonitum ... massae: 'the clang of hammered metal'. For 'sonitum' of the clanging sound of metalworking cf. on 'sonum' 260; 5.142 'sonat'. The repeated double 's' sounds and harder 'm's make this one of the most auditory lines of the book, and is fully in keeping with the meaning.

'Incussae' is an alternative form of the past participle of 'incudo' cf. TLL 7.1 1064.35ff; the reading of some manuscripts at VG. 1.275; Pers 2.52; 'to hammer out', and is not from 'incutio'. See Housman on Luc. 5.209, quoting this passage and 5.550 'crebrior incussit mentem pavor'. For the form compare Apul. Apol. 14 (quod) 'lapide incussum' (est) (Butler ad loc.).

Valerius refers to the process of iron forging, with the metal first brought to a high temperature in the furnace, then beaten out with a hammer. His main literary precedent was VG. 4.170-5 (A. 8.445ff.), though cf. ARh. 1.730f. (in each case a bolt is being forged). See further R.J. Forbes Metalworking in Antiquity (Leiden, 1950).

340f. Hypsipyle takes Jason on a tour of the city, as Dido shows Aeneas round Carthage: 'nunc media Aenean secum per moenia ducit Sidoniasque ostentat opes urbemque paratam' (A. 4.74f.). 'Moenia' and 'vires ... loci' are tautologous. The walls are themselves the city's defences. 'Veteres', 'parentum' are also tautologous, emphasizing that the island's wealth, unlike that of Carthage, is long-established. 'Parentum' may have a touch of irony in view of the massacre.

341. iactat: Hypsipyle boasts of the wealth of her ancestors cf. HC. 1.14.13 'iactes et genus et nomen?'; P. 2.13.10; Ov. H. 17.51. The strong pause after 'opes' in the second foot, like 'expedient' (342), 'aula silet' (349) lays stress on the word or words that precede it. Here an abrupt change of subject follows the pause as attention is focussed on the banquet. The pause after 'expediunt' is a preliminary to the statement 'Tyrio ... ostro', itself a high point in the passage.

mediis ... expediunt: the phrase is modelled on VA. 1.637f. 'at domus interior regali splendida luxu instruitur, mediisque parant convivia tectis'. Valerius has introduced variety by writing not 'parant' but 'expediunt', itself a Virgilian word (1.701f.; 177f.). Valerius alludes briefly to the preparations for the banquet. Apollonius (1.857f.) and Statius (Th. 5.451) refer only briefly to the Argonauts' reception in the city.

342. Tyrio ... ostro: 'the couches shimmer in the fiery sheen of Tyrian purple'. The phrase describes the shimmering of the coverings before the guests are seated. Dido and Aeneas also recline on purple coverings at 1.700 'strato... super discumbitur ostro'. 'Tyrio ... ostro' suggests wealth and opulence. 'Tyrio' is a conventional epithet, for the purple originally came from Tyre, but it brings to mind Dido who also came from Tyre (VA. 1.12). Compare St. Th. 6.62; Tib. 1.2.75 'Tyrio recubare toro'. 'Igneus' applies both to the fiery sparkle of the material and to the red colour (here applied to 'purple'), cf. 1.427f. 'illis Taenario pariter tremit ignea fuco purpura'; St. Th. 4.265 'igneus ante omnes auro micat, igneus ostro' (Luc. 10.125 'pars ignea cocco' (nitet) of the red of scarlet) cf. J. Andre Étude sur les termes de couleur dans la langue latine (Paris 1949). The image is that of flames reflected in water ('vibrat ... igneus'), as 8.306f. 'vibrata... flammis aequora'; Sil. 2.664 'in tremulo vibrant incendia ponto'; 14.566. This metaphorical use of 'vibrare' is Ciceronian, cf. Ac. 2.105 'mare ... a sole collucet, albescit et vibrat', of the sea at dawn; not found in Virgil or Ovid, but cf. Luc. 5.446 (sunlight). Valerius seems to be the first to use 'vibrare' of shimmering material: cf. Claud. de 6. cons. Hon. 576f. 'vibrata ... rubra ... serica'; in Ruf. 2.356f. '(alii) tremulos umeris gaudent vibrare colores'.

343f. Some of the Thracian women survived the massacre (239ff.) and they are introduced here as a timely reminder of the absence of men on the island. These women were believed ('credita' 345) guiltless of intercourse with the men, but Valerius never makes it clear whether the women's suspicions had any foundation. For royal captives cf. Euripides' Hecuba, Trojan Women; Sophocles' Iole (Tr); Virgil's Andromache (A. 3.325ff).

atavos reges regesque maritos: The Thracian women are royal through and through, in striking contrast to their present position. The phrase echoes H.C. 1.1.1 'Maecenas atavis edite regibus'; cf. VA. 7.56 'Turnus avis atavisque potens', and compare Arcedice in Simonides Ep. 85

ἡ πατὴρ τε καὶ ἀνδρὸς ἀδελφῶν τ' οὔσα τυράννων. Again the reference to parents is pointed. For the chiasmus cf. VA. 8.17 'Turno regi aut regi ... Latino'; Ov. Am. 3.4.40 'Romulus Iliades Iliadesque Remus'.

344. faces ... iugales: here of the chaste marriages of the Lemnian women, an intentional contrast to 'Stygias taedas' (173).

345. tetigisse: 'had defiled', more commonly used with a male subject, like Eur. Hipp. 885 'Ἰππόλυτος ἐβνῆς τῆς ἐμῆς ἔτλη θιγεῖν (Barrett ad loc.); St. Th. 7.758f. 'conatus... toris vittam attingere Manto Lampus', but cf. VA. 3.324 'nec victoris heri tetigit captiva cubile' (Cassandra). Here 'tetigisse' implies that some women played the active role in the affair.

346. The sentence is modelled on VA. 1.697ff. 'cum venit, auleis iam se regina superbis aurea composuit sponda mediamque locavit, iam pater Aeneas et iam Troiana iuventus'. Ehlers reads 'medio' (L) where V has 'medi', S 'media'. However Heinsius' 'medium' is clearly right, agreeing with 'se' (understood) as at VA. 1.698 above ('mediamque'). Jason places himself not in the middle of the couch but in the centre of the gathering (Austin on A. 1.698).

347. post alii procures: from VA. 1.740. Valerius has lifted a whole phrase from Virgil, a rare occurrence. 'Proceres' covers all the Argonauts (cf. 329) who are suitably anonymous as all attention is concentrated on the two main figures.

347f. Valerius distinguishes the preliminary sacrifices ('sacris ... extis') and libation (348) from the feast itself (349). These stages are not so separated in Virgil where the passing round of the wine cup takes place after the meal (A. 1. 723ff.). Compare Hom. Od. 3, Nestor's reception of Telemachus, where the portion of entrails and cup of wine (40ff.) precede the feast proper (65f.).

vincitur: the edge is taken off their hunger by the sacrificial meats. The verb is strong and Valerius who is the first to use it in this sense is followed by Statius at Th. 1.539f. 'postquam ordine mensae victa fames'; compare VA. 1.216 'postquam exempta fames'. With 'sacris ... extis' compare Hom. Od. 3.40 σπλάγχνων μόρας.

348. circum pateris it Bacchus: for the metonymy (Bacchus) cf. n. on 70. Here, the effect of the verb ('circum ... it') is almost to personify the wine as it travels around the diners. The patera, a broad, flat dish, like a saucer, used for libations, (VG. 2.192; Ov. M. 9.160; DS 4.1.341) is passed from hand to hand around the hall as at VA. 1.729ff. 'Circum' goes by tmesis with 'it', as at 5.694 'fert ... gravem Phrygius circum cratera minister'; 3.418 'circum ... volitabant'; 4.488 'circum... iacent', also VG. 1.345 'ter... novas circum felix eat hostia fruges'. The passing round of a cup is a Hellenistic topic, cf. Call. Aet. fr. 178.13 Pf. περιστείχοντος ἀλείσου; Lyc. fr. 3. (TGF²) ἡ βαίᾱ κύλιξ αὐτοῖς κυκλεῖται.

349. aula silet: the strong pause in the second foot echoes the silence that falls in the hall, a religious hush when libations are poured (VA. 1.730), though the thought recalls VA. 2.1 'conticuere omnes' after Dido's cup has circulated.

dapibus: the banquet itself begins. Virgil and the epic poets generally prefer 'dapes' to the more prosaic 'cena', which does not occur at all in Lucr., Virgil, Luc., Val., St. Th., Sil. (TLL 3.775.57f.; Axelson p.107). The questioning of a guest after he has been fed is a topic familiar from Homer Od. 3.69ff.; 4.60ff.; cf. ARh. 3.299ff.

350. 'durant' is intransitive, like Lucr. 3.605 'omnem durare per aevum'; 5.356; VG. 2.100, where the verb means 'to endure'. Here they 'persevere' in their conversation, with reference to Hypsipyle's persistent questioning (cf. VA. 1.748ff.). However, the tone of 'fallunt', 'they while away the night' with pleasant talk, causing it not to be felt (cf. Ov. M. 8.651 'medias fallunt sermonibus horas'; H. 1.9 'spatiosam fallere noctem') is contradicted by the sense of 'holding out' against something unpleasant, present in 'durant'. Damste's 'ducunt' taken with 'tempora noctis' as suggested by VA. 1.748

'nec non et vario noctem sermone trahebat' is attractive; 'they while away the night and spend it in conversation until the small hours'; cf. VA. 6.539; Sen. Ph. 370.

351. praecipueque: Ehlers is right to omit the stop after 'umbras';-'que' indicates that 351 should follow straight on from 350, qualifying 'sermonibus'.

mirata: the typical reaction of those with whom the Argonauts have contact, as 554 (the Trojans); 638 (Cyzicus), cf. ARh. 1.550 ἐθαύμαζον ; Cat. 64.15 'admirantes'; Ov. Am. 2.11.1 'mirantibus aequoris undis'.

352. quae fata trahant: 'what destiny draws him on', echoing VA. 5.709, 'nate dea, quo fata trahunt retrahuntque sequamur'; Ov. H. 6.51 'me mala fata trahebant'; Sen. HO. 1986; Valerius 3.717 etc.

quae ... ratis: as the text stands 'what power of the king impels him and whence (comes) the great Haemonian ship'. 'Quae', (feminine singular) here, following 'quae' (neuter plural) is not unexpected in Valerius (p.vi above), but is difficult with 'vis'. Hypsipyle would more naturally frame her question 'cuius regis vis agat?' 'Unde Haemoniae molem ratis' is something of a nonsense, unless she means 'where is Haemonia'. The ellipse of a verb here with the accusative 'molem' is unacceptable. Heinsius' 'quo' for 'quae' is an excellent conjecture, and the sentence will read 'quo aut unde vis regis agat molem Haemoniae ratis'. By 'quo' Hypsipyle means 'what is your destination (is it Lemnos)?' 'Unde' is still difficult with 'Haemoniae' and the question assumes that Hypsipyle already knows the identity (cf. 324) of her guests but not the purpose of their voyage.

vis: one of only two instances of a monosyllabic ending in book 2 (also 405) (unless 61 'mens stat' is accepted). 'Vis' and 'vi' are common in this position in Lucr. (e.g. 1.485); also Enn. Ann. 161 V; VA. 4.132; cf. Valerius 6.236; 7.355. A monosyllabic ending disturbs the rhythm of the line, so that accent and ictus fail to coincide, and the effect is one of agitation. Here it conveys Hypsipyle's excitement as she fires questions at Jason.

353. Haemoniae: Haemonia is a frequent poetic variant for 'Thessaly' from Haemus father of Thessalus (RE 7.2219f.). See Pind. N. 4.56 Αἰμό-

νεοστυ ; popularised by the Hellenistic poets; Call. fr. 7.26; 304.15; ARh. 2.504 etc.

molem ratis: 'moles' suggests bulk and massive size, 'the mighty hulk of a ship', compared to the rafts with which Hypsipyle was familiar (108f.). See Valerius 1.127; 599.

unius haeret adloquio: 'she hung on his words alone'. 'Haereo' is often used in the sense 'to fasten onto with the senses', especially of avidity in seeing as 6.658 'oculis ... ardentibus haeret', cf. VA. 1.495; Prop. 1.3.19. Valerius however has in mind VA. 1.717f. 'haec oculis, haec pectore toto haeret', but makes the application auditory and not visual. Hypsipyle is entranced by Jason's story. 'Adloquium' is not found in Virgil, though the later epic poets use it (Luc. 10.174; Valerius 1.251; St. Th. 11.612; Sil. 13.396 etc.).

354. blandos ... colligit ignes: 'gradually she gathers the enticing fires' as little by little she falls in love with her guest. 'Blandos ignes' is an oxymoron; she 'catches' the alluring flame, with a hint of deception, as 'blandus Iason' at St. Th. 5.456 entices young girls by flattery to love him. The former sense of 'blandus' generally prevails in the context of love (e.g. Lucr. 1.19) or Venus (Prop. 4.1.137), but the ambivalence is felt at Ov. Ars. 1.362 'blanda ... subit arte Venus'.

355. dura toris: a curious remark more appropriate to the Lemnian women, for as yet Hypsipyle has shown neither interest in nor disinclination for marriage. Valerius has Dido in mind. In Statius' account, Hypsipyle's betrothed was killed (Th. 5.222ff.), and she married Jason only under compulsion (463 'thalami ... coacti', cf. 455ff.). 'Dura' is often used of the unwilling mistress, as HC. 3.7.32; Tib. 2.6.28 etc.

Veneri ... reversae: 'Veneri' is a correction of 'Veneris' (V), a mistake due to dittography with 'toris' or the result of the postponed 'nec' (cf. VA. 4.33); the scribe assumed that the genitive qualified the previous phrase. If 'Veneri' is taken to mean 'love' personified, the phrase is inappropriate of Hypsipyle, and more suited to the Lemnian women. It is better taken as Venus, the goddess, the return of whose favour is stated at 324.

356. 'The god himself grants a delay and time for love'. Valerius refers tactfully to the men's liaison with the Lemnian women. 'Deus ipse' must be Jupiter (358) despite the echo of 323. 'Spatium' is the 'opportunity' for something as Ter. Hec. 684 'spatium amandi'; VA. 4.433 'spatium ... furori' etc. Compare VA. 10.400 'hoc spatium tantumque morae fuit Ilo' for the collocation of 'spatium' and 'moras'. For 'indulget' meaning 'grants one's desire', a post-Augustan usage, cf. TLL 7.1.1253.23ff., and particularly Sil. 12.559 'indulsit publi noctem'; Mart. 10.38.1ff. 'o molles tibi quindecim ... iugales indulsit deus'. The collocation 'indulget amori' suggests that the Argonauts gave themselves up to love, cf. Plin. Ep. 1.14.10 'tu fortasse me putes indulsisse amori meo'.

357-392. Stormy weather detains the Argonauts on Lemnos, but the return of favourable winds is ignored until a timely rebuke from Hercules causes preparations to be made for departure.

Apollonius does not mention a storm, though Valerius has borrowed from him the reproachful speech of Hercules (1.861ff.). In Statius' account the storm precedes the landing on Lemnos (Th. 5.361ff.), though there is a hint of one later (Th. 5.468f.): see n.82-430 (iii). Aeneas' stay at Carthage coincides with the winter (VA. 4.193).

357. Pliada ... moverat: Jupiter 'had set the Pleiades in motion', i.e. he had caused a storm to arise. Compare 5.305 'Pliadas ille movens'. The Pleiades were closely associated with stormy weather and Valerius used 'Plias' almost synonymously for 'storm' here and 405f. 'aspera ... Plias'; 4.269 'Pliade capta ratis'. Compare VA. 12.451 'abrupto sidere' ('upon the breaking of a storm'). The phrase does not refer to the setting of the Pleiades in early November (Aratus 266f.) in spite of Ζεὺς δ' ἄλκιος (265). The Argonauts do not winter on Lemnos.

nimboso ... astro: the ablative is descriptive with 'Pliada', and is an instance of disjunctiveness: cf. 3.91f. 'caeruleo veluti cum Iuppiter agmine nubem constituit'; 6.745 'haec dicens atro nebulam diffundit amictu'; p.x above. Slothouwer's 'nimbosum ... astrum' and Heinsius' 'nimbose ... Austro' are no improvement.

lege poli: the law of the heavens, that regulates the changing seasons, the movement of the stars etc.: cf. Ov. M. 15.71 'qua sidera lege

mearent'; Sen. Med. 364f. 'nunc iam cessit pontus et omnes patitur leges'. Here the 'law' is that which governs the outbreak of a storm.

358. aeternum volvens opus: the phrase refers to the revolution of the heavens, the changing seasons and years, and is a conflation of 'performing his eternal task' (e.g. Ov. F. 3.833 (Pallas) 'mille dea est operum') and 'revolving the firmament eternally'. With 'volvens' compare VG. 2.402 'in se sua per vestigia volvitur annus'; A. 1.234; Ov. M. 5.565; HC. 4.6.40. The phrase amplifies 'lege poli' by which stormy weather follows on fair.

undis cuncta ruunt: 'at once everything streamed with water'. 'Ruunt' suggests the sudden violence of a storm as at VG. 1.324 'ruit arduus aether'; Mart. 3.100.3 'imbribus immodicis caelum nam forte ruebat'; the downward rushing of torrential rain. 'Undis' is not normally applied to a rain-storm, and suggests a deluge (cf. 'formidine' 360; 361f.).

359. uno ... sub ictu: 'at one single blow'. 'Ictu' suggests the blow of a trident as at VA. 1.81f. (Aeolus causes a storm.). 'Dei', however, is Jupiter. The phrase is almost equivalent to 'statim' (TLL 7.1.168.24).

Pangaea: a Thracian mountain (now Pilac Tepeh) on the border of Macedonia (Plin. NH. 4.40). Gargara is the upper part of Mt. Ida in the Troad (Plin. NH. 5.122; Strabo 13. p.583). Valerius emphasizes the extent of the storm, which affected both Thrace and the Troad by using specific proper names for the more general mountains and woods, a tendency familiar in Latin poetry.

360. ω reads 'maestis et erant'. An adjective is needed with 'luci' and Ehlers adopts Pio's 'maesti'. 'Maestus' is found with 'formidine' cf. 5.188; but the personification of 'luci' is extreme and a reference to a particular wood is called for after Pangaea, Gargara. Howard's 'Mysi' is the best, for the Mysian forests are known from 3.484; cf. ARh. 1.1114f.; they are the site of one of the Argonauts' adventures, and they are close to Gargara (cf. VG. 1.102f.). Baehrens' 'Moesi' is more difficult, for the adjective does not occur elsewhere ('Moesus' subst. at 6.162).

Editors vary between 'steterant' (B 1474), closer to ω's reading, and 'steterunt' (Pio), perfect like 'ruunt'. The perfect tense is preferable after 'uno ... sub ictu' and 'simul' but the irregular prosody occurs nowhere else in Valerius. It is however Virgilian: cf. Austin on VA. 2.774; 'steterunt' twice, and four other examples; Housman shows how easily the corruption can occur (Classical Papers pp.298, 631, 1068f, the same doubt at P. 2.31.7; Ov. H. 7.166). There is an element of personification in the verb, for the trees 'stand on end' with fear like the hair of a frightened man; 'steterunt ... comae' VA. 2.774.

361f. 'At no other time does a more savage terror torment mankind', again a reference to the fear of a deluge ('undis' 358). 'Mortales ... gentes' (ω) conveys the impact of fear on all mankind - 'gentes' makes the statement universal. Compare HC. 1.2.5 'terrui gentis' (in a similar context). 'Mentes' (Heinsius) is interesting in view of the belief expressed 362ff., and as being the place where fear is likely to strike, and deserves at least a mention in Ehlers' apparatus.

haud: to be taken closely with 'alio' as Cat. 64.16 'illa atque haud alia luce' (haud Bergk); VA. 5.592 'haud alio ... cursu'; Ov. M. 9.237 'haud alio vultu'. For the variant spellings 'haud, 'haut' cf. NW 2.664ff.

362. urget: she 'importunes': cf. St. Th. 10.667 'hoc urget Apollo'. Here 'urget' is intransitive; it cannot take two accusatives like 'flagitat' and the position of 'iras' prevents it being taken with 'Iovem'. 'Flagitat' is a strong frequentative, she 'keeps on asking' him, often governing two accusatives as HC. 2.18.13 'nec potentem amicum largiora flagito'; OLD sv. flagito 2.

363. Astraea is often identified with Δίκη, Iustitia, the goddess who left the earth at the end of the Golden Age (Arat. Phaen. 96ff.; VG. 2.474; Ov. M. 1.150; Juv. 6.19; (Sen.) Oct. 423ff.) Here she urges Jupiter to punish men's impiety by overwhelming them once again with a flood (compare Il. 16.384ff.).

terris... relictis: not ablative, for Astraeas' departure took place ages earlier, but dative with 'invocat' - she invokes 'for' or 'upon the earth which she left'. 'Adsiduo ... questu' reinforces 'urget' and

'flagitat' - she goes on and on at Saturn; like Ilia 'nimium querenti' (HC. 1.2.17) her pleas are excessive.

364. Saturnia sidera: Astraea was associated with the rule of Saturn (VE. 4.6), and appeals to him here as an authority more malignant than Jupiter. The planet Saturn was thought to be cold in view of its great distance from the earth, and a bringer of storms and disease cf. VG. 1.336 'frigida Saturni ... stella'; Prop. 4.1.84; Luc. 1.651f.; Manil. 4.501; Plin. Nat. 2.106; Aetna 243; Juv. 6.569f.; also Dante Purg. 19.3.

365ff. Astraea's entreaties are granted, and with the help of the winds she gets her revenge. Here the winds are thought of as her brothers ('magnis cum fratribus'), being children of Astraeus and Eos (Hes. Th. 378ff.; Ov. M. 14.545 'fratres Astraiei'; Hyg. praef.; Apollod. 1.2.2), as Astraea is daughter of Astraeus (Arat. Ph. 96ff.).

The battle of the winds is a regular feature of descriptions of storms; Juv. 1.9 reveals that 'quid agant venti' is a literary commonplace. The motif becomes much more plausible if the winds are given names, as here (cf. Tarrant on Sen. Ag. 476). See NH on HC. 1.3.13. The motif is Homeric in origin (Il. 16.765; Od. 5.295f.), and appears first in Latin in Ennius Ann. 443ff. V. Valerius must also have in mind the storm that brought Dido and Aeneas together at A. 4.160ff.

insequitur: the tense changes from the generalising present ('agit', 'urget', 'flagitat', 'invocat') to the historic present. The asyndeton is typically Virgilian: cf. VA. 4.161 'insequitur commixta grandine nimbus'; 1.87 'insequitur clamorque virum stridorque rudentum'.

niger ... Euris: the blackness of the storm is attributed to the wind. Compare Hor. Ep. 10.5; also 'Auster' VG. 3.278; HC. 1.5.7 (NH); Luc. 5.608; St. Th. 5.705; 'Boreas' St. Th. 8.411. The idea is Homeric - ἑρμυῖ λάλλακι Il. 12.375. 'Eurus' is the oldest Greek name for the East wind, known to Homer (Od. 5.295f. etc) and is one of the four cardinal winds. Etymologically it was connected with 'Hús the dawn (RE 6 (1909) p.1131.41ff.). Cf. Sen. NQ. 5.164 it rises 'ab oriente hiberno'; Plin. NH. 2.119.

366. intonat Aegaeo: Valerius has in mind VA. 12.366 (Boreae spiritus) 'insonat Aegaeo sequiturque ad litora fluctus'. 'Sequiturque' has been changed to 'tenditque' after 'insequitur' in 365, and the resounding ('insonat') to a thundering ('intonat') noise. Valerius' use of 'pontus' for 'fluctus' makes the picture more exaggerated, as the whole sea appears to be shifting towards the land. The Aegean was connected with αἰγῆς (a storm) by a false etymology (RE 1 p.948.3ff.) so its use here is appropriate. See NH on HC. 2.16.1f. Storms in the Aegean were proverbial: cf. St. S. 1.3.95; Ach. 1.390; Valerius 1.629.

tenditque: 'the sea reaches out for the shore'. The wind drives the waves towards the shore in huge billows so that the whole sea appears to be moving towards the land.

367f. Tiphys observes the moon on the fourth day after the new moon and sees that the stormy weather will continue. The practice of consulting the moon on this particular day, thought to be the decisive point for telling the month's weather, was perhaps Egyptian (Pliny NH. 18.347, quoting Varro), and became a literary motif (Aratus Phaen. 785ff., cf. 806f; VG. 1.432 'ortu quarto').

lunam ... densam ... imbribus: a conflation of the moon as the prognosticator of stormy weather obscured by rain-clouds (VG. 1.428f), and the rain clouds themselves (Ov. M. 1.269 'densi ... nimbi'). TLL 5.1.546.68ff gives no parallel for 'lunam ... densam'. Compare 'gravido cornu' (56).

368f. longus ... metus: Tiphys' protracted fear (cf. 1.325 'longum ... timorem') indicates the length of the Argonauts' stay. The extreme hyperbaton 'longus ... metus' seems typical of Valerius' style cf. p.ix above, but the position of 'qui', apparently referring back to Tiphys, makes the line difficult. 'Quem' (C, B 1474) makes the sense easier: Tiphys' fear contrasts with the Argonauts' happy dalliance (370); or 'dum' (Baehrens) taken with the following 'usque ... ad' (dum postponed 1.425; 5.300 etc.), though this is less good as the fear of voyaging should clearly be Tiphys'. 'Arcet' is C's reading for 'arcent' (ω). 'Coeptis et fluctibus' must be taken with 'arcet' by syllepsis: 'from their tasks and the waves', i.e. prevents them continuing their expedition and the voyage.

369. novos ... ignes: until the moon shines brightly once more. The fires are 'new' after the rain and do not refer to the new moon. 'Divae melioris' recalls 323, though here the goddess in question is the moon.

370-73. After 'usque Minyae' the construction is paratactic (-que, -que, -nec, -que) until 'donec'. Valerius concentrates the main elements of the Argonauts' stay into the space of a few lines. Ehlers is right not to put a semi-colon after 'thalamis'.

370. vacantes: 'at leisure', unoccupied with the business of sailing. (Compare 8.231, 'vacat' of Hercules). 'Vacare' with the dative can mean 'to have the leisure for' as at 6.14 'consiliis dum nox vacat alta movendis', and here 'viduis ... thalamis' perhaps goes ἀπὸ κοινοῦ with 'vacantes' as well as with 'indulgent'.

viduis... indulgent thalamis: 'they abandon themselves to the delights of the marriage bed'. 'Indulgent', like 'luxu' (cf. VA. 4.193) suggests the irresponsible abandoning of duty for pleasure. Compare VG. 4.198f. 'neque concubitu indulgent, nec corpora segnes in Venerem solvunt' (the bees). 'Viduis ... thalamis' is almost an oxymoron, though 'viduis' can refer to an unmarried girl (Juv. 4.4; St. S. 1.2.168; Sen. Med. 214f.). 'Thalamus' is used as a synonym for marriage as VA. 4.550 'thalami expertem ... vitam degere' or a bride as VA. 6.93f. 'causa mali tanti coniunx iterum hospita Teucris externique iterum thalami'; Ov. M. 6.700. Compare the Greek ἐβνή , λέκτρον , and cf. Eur. Hipp. 652, 885.

371. nimbos... educere luxu: 'they pass the time of the storm in wantonness'. For 'educere' cf. 1.251 'ludo... educite noctem'; St. Th. 2.74; P. 2.9.47 'pius eduximus annos'; Sil. 11.403 'sub hiberno somnos educere caelo'. Here a word expressing a period of time must be understood from 'nimbosque', the time that the storm lasted. 'Educere', 'velle', are both descriptive infinitives. 'Velle' like 'optare' takes a simple accusative, as 1.67f. 'nunc aerii plantaria vellet Perseos'; OLD sv. volo 14.

372. Zephyros... vocantes: the Zephyr is often a favourable sailing wind, as VA. 4.562 'nec Zephyros audis spirare secundos', which

Valerius has in mind (Mercury's rebuke to Aeneas). 'Vocantes', like 'secundos', reinforces the idea of favourableness, as 3.364 'bis Zephyri iam vela vocant' (after Cyzicus' murder); compare St. Th. 5.468f. 'clementior Auster vela vocat'. 'Zephyr' was the Greek name for the west wind, generally called 'Favonius' by the Romans (Sen. NQ. 16.5; Plin. NH. 2.122). Valerius omits the accusative 'se' with the infinitive after 'dissimulant' (cf. n.10); he uses the full construction at 7.484f. 'an me mox merita morituram patris ab ira dissimulas?'

373. donec: Hercules' rebuke, taken from ARh. 1.865ff. cf. Hyg. Fab. 15, is an old element of the story. A fifth century Attic crater from Orvieto (ARV² 601.22) shows Hercules surrounded by the Argonauts with Athene. The scene has been plausibly interpreted as depicting Hercules at the moment of rebuking the Argonauts; cf. T.B.L. Webster Der Niobidenmaler (Leipzig, 1935) pp.15-16. Hercules' role is similar to that of Mercury in VA. 4.265ff., hence verbal echoes of A. 4 are particularly apt here.

Valerius does not specify how long the Argonauts spent on Lemnos, though 409, 424 may suggest a period of at least several weeks. Apollonius' Argonauts stay for a few days only (1.861f.), cf. Hyg. Fab. 15. Statius prolongs the stay to the following summer (Th. 5.459f.) and Ovid to a couple of years (H. 6.56).

Tirynthius heros: an Ovidian phrase (M. 7.410; F. 2.349 etc.) with high epic tone suitable for the introduction of a paragon of Roman virtue. Hercules had been left behind to guard the ship and was therefore untainted by the vices of the city. The details are from ARh. 1.854f.

374. non tulit: the expression is almost formulaic (Schumann 3.561-2), first in Propertius and VE. For 'non tulit Alcides' cf. VA. 8.256, also Valerius 7.576. Hercules 'could no longer tolerate the men's reluctance to depart' ('resides' is accusative plural).

rati invigilans: there are 18 instances of the elision of an iambic word in Valerius (Kösters p.39), generally followed by 'et', 'atque' or 'ac', but cf. 3.82 'viri, optatos'; 3.613 'morae impatiens'; 6.23 'loco, abstineant'. See further J. Soubiran L'élision dans la poésie latine (1966) pp. 437ff.

integer urbis: 'untainted by the city', contrasting with 'indulgent luxu'. The corrupting effect of cities was commonplace. 'Urbis' is genitive of separation with 'integer', constructed like 'solutus', 'vacuus': HC. 3.17.16 'famulis operum solutis'; Ov. Ars. 1.642 'vacuas caedis habete manus'; cf. NH on HC. 1.22.1 'scelerisque purus'; KS 1.441ff. The genitive with 'integer' itself is unparalleled. 'Integer' is a typically Stoic moral description, often coupled with 'purus' (HC. 1.22.1; Cic. Tusc. 1.41); or 'castus' (Cic. Tusc. 1.72).

375-7. A problem arises over the relation of the two parts of the sentence. 'Invidisse ... adortis' is acceptable as oratio obliqua, but 'desertasque domos' and 'fraudata ... vota' need a verb. They are not dependent on 'invidisse deos', nor can a verb of speech be easily extracted from 'non tulit', which is separated from 376 by 375. Thilo and Courtney are right to posit a lacuna after 375, which contained the necessary verb (e.g. 'queritur') though we can only guess at the contents of the rest of the line.

375. invidisse deos: φθόνος or divine jealousy is a common idea, promoted to account for the otherwise inexplicable workings of divine will. See Hom. Od. 5.118; Hdt. 1.32 τὸ θεῖον κἄν ἔὼν φθονερόν τε καὶ παραχῶδες; 3.40; 7.46; Luc. 9.66 etc. Here the gods resent the Argonauts' trespass on the sea, as at 1.196f.; 598ff.; see 3.306f. maris aequor adortis: 'that the Argonauts were braving the hazards of the sea'. 'Adorior' has the particular sense of 'penetrate a place that is dangerous or difficult' (TLL 1.816.48ff). Compare 4.541 (nec numine vano) 'tantum aequor adorti tendimus'; St. Th. 3.540; Sen. HF. 239. 'Maris aequor' is literally the 'level surface of the sea', used simply to mean 'the sea' (as VA. 2.780; HC. 4.5.10; Claud. RP. 2.295), an extension of the Grecism 'aequor' (cf. Pind. P. 1.24 πόντον πλάκα) introduced by Ennius (e.g. 478 V): cf. Lucr. 1.718, VA. 4.524 etc. 'Tantum' goes closely with 'maris aequor' (as at 4.541 above) and Damsté is wrong to see in 'maris' a suitable place to introduce a much-needed verb of speech.

376. (He complained that) their homes had been deserted and their fathers' vows cheated by the period of idleness. Hercules' reference to the 'deserted homes', a commonplace of soldiers away on campaign,

cf. Luc. 9.321, is pointless unless 'fraudata' is understood with 'domos', though this impedes the flow of the sentence, or 'frustra' (thus Schenkl) is understood in the line lost before 376. Hercules means that they did not abandon their homes in Thessaly merely for the purpose of occupying the vacant houses on Lemnos. They might as well have stayed at home.

tempore segni: 'days of idleness' (Mozley). The adjective reinforces 'resides' (373), and 'cunctantibus' (377), though 'segnis' is rarely applied to time words, being transferred here from the men who are themselves idle.

377. quid ... adsit: the phrase well reveals Hercules' arrogant egotism. 'Et' emphasizes 'ipse', expressed by a tone of voice 'why should I?'. Meleager uses Hercules' remark against him at 3.654ff. 'nos patriae immemores ... ad medium cunctamur iter' (after his disappearance in Mysia).

378-84. Apollonius' Heracles is less self-centred, being concerned for the renown of all (1.869) and the successful completion of the expedition (870-1). Valerius' hero thinks only of his own glory and exploits ('ipse' 377, 'me' 380, 'mihi' 381, 'mecum' 384), and is anxious not to lose another chance of revealing his bravery (382). He addresses Jason on his own behalf (380), thus recalling Mercury's address to Aeneas (VA. 4.265ff.), and 'o miseri' (378) is exclamatory, unlike *δαίμονες* (ARh. 1.865).

The change from oratio obliqua to oratio recta in mid-flow is not uncommon and is perhaps a historian's technique cf. Livy 1.26.9-11; VA. 1.750ff.; 8.288ff.; St. Th. 6.316ff.; 11.462ff.; Sil. 12.668ff.; Claud. RP. 3.33ff.

378. tuis accessimus actis: 'accedere' expresses both the attaching of the Argonauts to Jason's side and their 'joining' in his expedition. Compare Ov. M. 13.297 'incepto serum accessisse labori'; Luc. 8.531 'nullis accessimus armis'. Hercules uses 'actis' with slight irony, for 'Herculeis actis' (St. Th. 4.826) refers to his own 'labours'. For 'actis', Jason's expedition, see 'actus' (5).

379. Phasin et Aeeten (Ald 1523) for 'Phasine tamen' (ω); 'Phasin et Oeten' (L); 'Phasin etaen' (L¹); but proper names are easily corrupted. The use of proper names here for less specific words makes the meaning more emphatic, as at 3.306-7.

Scythici... pericula ponti: a general reference to the hazardous voyage, as St. S. 3.2.2 'saeva ... ventosi mulcere pericula ponti' and not the Clashing Rocks in particular (381f.). Valerius uses 'Scythicus' in a general sense for anything connected with the goal of the voyage as 1.2 'Scythici ... Phasidis oras'; 503 'Scythici ... nati' (Aeetes); 2.595 'Scythicum ... amnem'. The 'Scythian Sea' is 'Pontus', the Euxine, as 1.59; 331; Luc. 2.580; Sen. HF. 1210; St. Th. 11.437.

380. redde: 'restore to me' (what is my due). Hercules explains that love of adventure alone enticed him to join the expedition ('rerum amor'). Hercules is the first Argonaut to receive a mention (1.107f) and comes 'of his own accord' (ultro). Mozley's translation of 380f. is inaccurate; not 'naught but the love of deeds drew me to thy side', but 'love of deeds alone drew me to sea with you' ('me' is emphatic by position).

381. spes: 'spes' with the infinitive is a poetic construction (VA. 5.183f.; St. Th. 6.691f; Sil. 16.298). For 'spes' with a gerundive, the construction preferred in prose cf. Valerius 5.551 'patriam spes ulla videndi'. See Page on VA. 2.10 'amor cognoscere' for examples in Virgil; KS 1. pp.743f; Valerius does not seem to use this construction elsewhere. English would say 'the hope of stopping'.

sistere: a reference to Hercules' brute strength. He will cause the Clashing Rocks to remain still. This is usually taken as an instance of Valerius' inconsistency; Hercules knew of the prophecy that the rocks were to remain fixed after the passage of a boat (see Phineas' prophecy at 4.582ff) but the other Argonauts remained ignorant (4.708; 8.195f). The story is traditional (Luc. 2.715ff. etc) but it is wrong to see a reference to it here.

montes Cyaneos: the Symplegades or Clashing Rocks, based on Hom. Od. 12.61, the Planktai, themselves ultimately drawn from the clashing rocks of an earlier Argonautic story (K. Meuli Odyssee und Argonautika (Berlin, 1921) pp.87-9). They are called 'Cyanei' from the Greek Κυόνηται meaning 'dark', 'menacing'. Valerius calls them 'mountains'

here and 4.645; 677; cf. Ov. M. 7.63; St. Th. 11.438; Valerius 4.647 'iuga'.

382. vigilem ... draconem: Hercules refers to the theft ('spoliare') of the Golden Fleece from the dragon that guarded it, cf. 8.64 'vigilanti hostemque videnti'. This allusion to the Fleece keeps the goal of the voyage in view. Hercules' previous labours had included various encounters with serpents; 'alium' means 'another' in addition to the snake that guarded the Golden Apples of the Hesperides (Apld. 2.5.11; Eur. HF. 397ff. etc.). It looks forward to the Hesione episode, and is ironic in view of Hercules' failure to reach Colchis.

383. sedet: for 'sedet' used of a fixed resolve cf. OLD sv. 'sedeo' 11. Virgil uses the verb without an infinitive e.g. A. 2.660 'sedet hoc animo'; 7.611 'certa sedet patribus sententia'. Valerius has the infinitive ('habitare') loosely attached to the impersonal verb, as St. Th. 1.324ff. 'tunc sedet Inachias urbes ... ferre iter impavidum'; cf. 3.459; Sen. Phoen. 141 'hoc animo sedet effundere hanc animam' forms an intermediate stage.

Aegaei scopulos ... profundum: i.e. Lemnos. Hercules dismisses the island as 'rocks' in comparison to 'montes Cyaneos'. 'Aegaei... profundum' is based on the Greek Αἰγαῖον πέλαγος; πόντος Αἰγαῖος (Xen. Oec. 20.27); 'profundum' is the noun. Compare 'Aegaeus gorges' (Cic. Arat. 422) but 'profundum Danuvium' (HC. 4.15.21); 'profundum pontum' (VA. 5.614).

384. Hercules' threat is comparable to that of Diomedes in Il. 9.46ff. εἰ δὲ καὶ αὐτοὶ φευγόντων σὺν νηυσὶ φίλην ἐς πατρίδα γαῖαν· νῦν δ', ἐγὼ Σθένελός τε, μαχησόμεθ' εἰς ὃ κε τέκμων Ἰλίου εὕρωμεν ; also St. Th. 10.218 (Tydeus will go alone). The association of Telamon with Hercules is traditional, and not invented by Valerius to provide a 'Sthenelus' for Hercules. At Valerius 1.353f. they sit together in the Argo; at 2.451 they are both involved in Hesione's rescue; at 3.637ff. Telamon chides the Argonauts for abandoning Hercules (based on ARh. 1.1290ff). The two are associated in Hercules' expedition against the Amazons and Troy, and in the slaying of Alkyoneus (Pind. N. 4.25; I. 6.27; Isoc. 9.16; Theoc. 13.37; St. S. 4.4.102; Th. 9.68).

peraget: Telamon will 'see it through'. The verb implies a task for the successful accomplishing of which great effort is needed, as VA. 4.452 'inceptum peragat'; Valerius 7.518, 8.108 (Medea's help).

384ff. Hercules' rebuke recalls Jason to a sense of duty and realisation of the importance of the expedition. The absence of a reply is not due to Jason's inability to communicate, but to Valerius' elliptical narrative technique (p.iv above), and the shame that spurs him to action is well conveyed in the simile.

haec ubi dicta: a formulaic phrase after the Greek-sounding bucolic diaeresis, as at St. Th. 8.338. The omission of 'sunt' points to an early origin for the phrase; see Lucil. 18 (Marx) 'haec ubi dicta, dedit pausam ore loquendi'. Virgil adopted it both in this form (VA. 1.81 etc.) and with 'dedit' (see on 69), always in the first two feet of the line. It generally follows direct speech, (VA. 5.32, 8.175; Valerius 7.511).

385. monitis accensus amaris: Jason is 'inflamed' by Hercules' bitter admonitions and roused to action. Valerius echoes VA. 4.203 'isque amens animi et rumore accensus amaro'; 10.368 'nunc dictis virtutem accendit amaris', but 'monitis' recalls Mercury's admonition to Aeneas at VA. 4.331. 'Monitus', generally divine warnings, is less common in this sense (TLL 8.1422.23ff.).

386. Jason is compared to a war horse left out to graze during a period of peace, and aroused from its torpor by the sounds of war. The points of comparison between the horse and Jason are obvious. The indolent horse ('piger') represents the idle men ('resides', 'cunctantibus') who have been enjoying ('iuvat') the pleasures of the land ('terra') like the horse. 'Martius clamor' and 'fragor aeris' are Hercules' bitter admonitions, and the horse's desire for bit and master (388) are picked up by 390f. 'vocat', 'magister'.

The simile is a development of ARh. 3.1259-62, where Jason is compared to a war horse, eager for war, with its ears pricked up. See VG. 3.83ff. 'tum, si qua sonum procul arma dedere, stare loco nescit, micat auribus et tremit artus' (cf. Aes. Sept. 393f.; Sen de ira 2.2.6 'sic enim militaris viri in media pace iam togati aures tuba suscitāt

equosque castrenses erigit crepitus armorum'). For the reverse situation see Luc. 4.750ff.

bellator equus: appropriate of Jason the warrior. The phrase occurs VG. 2.145; A. 10.891 etc.; Ov. M. 15.368; Sil. 2.411; Tac. Germ. 14.2; cf. ARh. 3.1259 ἀρηλος ἵππος .

387. terra iuvat: 'terra' is appropriate of Jason, for the alternative is the sea. But it is not specific enough for the horse. Perhaps 'rura' would be better. ('Prata' is odd with 'frigida'.) 'Frigida' refers to the long absence of war, as 4, 214f. 'frigida raris dentibus aret humus' (of Amycus' lack of a victim). For the 'warmth' of warfare see Luc. 5.245 'frigidus ensis' (a temporary abatement of the war); St. Th. 4.356 'bellator nulli caluit deus', cf. Ach. 1.881f.; S. 1.6.56 'Thermodontiacas calere turmas'.

vix in laevos piger angitur orbes: the horse is tethered by a rope to a stake and is able to wander only as far as the rope permits ('orbes'). It resembles Jason in its sluggishness ('piger') and confinement ('angitur'). The verb is surprising, meaning 'throttled' (TLL 1.48.14, syn. στενοχωρεῖ) and suggests that the horse has been brutally tied. 'Brevis' (ω) is wrong if nominative with 'equus', and 'vix' (Thilo) is preferable, reinforcing 'piger'. 'Laevos' is also dubious, for 'in laevos ... orbes' suggests a military manoeuvre, as Sil. 4.317-8, cf. TLL 9.2.910.37. 'Brevis in laevos' should be daggered or Baehrens' 'brevis in flexus' read, with 'brevis ... orbis' genitive, 'in the turnings of a narrow circuit', implying limited room for movement and reinforcing 'angitur'.

388. frena ... dominumque velit: Valerius intends a slight paradox here for the spirited horse tends to refuse the bit and a master, as Hor. Epist. 1.10.38 'non equitem dorso, non frenum depulit ore'; St. Ach. 1.277ff. especially 280-2 'gavisus non colla iugo, non aspera praebet ora lupis dominique fremit captivus inire imperia atque alios miratur discere cursus'. For a description of the Roman bit see DS 2.2.1334ff. Martius ... clamor: the 'battle-cry', in contrast to 'fragor aeris', the clash of weapons. (TLL 3.1255.14ff.). However, the proximity of 'clamore' in 391 suggests that 'clamor' is wrong here. Perhaps Valerius had in mind VG. 4.71 'Martius ... aeris rauci canor' and wrote 'clangor' (Burman), the blast of a trumpet. See 7.610f. 'Martius ...

'clangor' (made by a horn). A reference to the trumpet blast signalling the start of the battle is expected, and 'aeris' with 'fragor' cannot mean 'trumpet' (Enn. Ann. 520; VA. 6.165; Juv. 2.118 etc.), but bronze weapons or armour. 'Fragor' is a crashing sound (3.218 'armorum fragor'; St. Th. 6.218 etc.) rather than that of a trumpet. For 'clangor' see TLL 3.1262.68ff.

390f. pelagoque parari praecipitat: the alliteration, continued in 'petit' (391), suggests the sudden burst of activity on the shore, as does the caesura after 'praecipitat'. Jason impelled them to hurry to prepare for the voyage. The construction with the infinitive is rare, see OLD sv. 'praecipito' 6b; VA. 11.2f. 'sociis dare tempus humandis praecipitant curae'; St. Th. 1.679.

The passage recalls Aeneas' behaviour after Mercury's visit; 'Mnesthea Sergestumque vocat fortemque Serestum, classem aptent taciti sociosque ad litora cogant, arma parent' (A. 4.288ff.). The use of 'vocat' and the naming of individual members of the crew reinforce the similarity of the passages, though in Aeneas' case the need for secrecy is also emphasized.

391. ingenti clamore: from VG. 3.43; A. 9.38. The omission of a caesura in the third foot is a Virgilian characteristic, as VA. 6.40 'talibus adfata Aenean'; also Lucr. 5.856. A pause in the 2nd and 4th foot caesurae compensates for the lack of caesura here, as at 2.86; 231; 275; 572; 633. See p.viii above.

392. arma viros pariter: 'pariter' takes the place of a connective '-que'; Tiphys sought both tackle and crew simultaneously. The absence of a connective has the effect of hastening the flow of the passage, suggesting the speed of preparations. 'Arma' here is the ship's tackle, as VA. 4.290 (above); Valerius 3.462; 4.647; cf. OLD sv. arma 10c; the Greek ὄπλα, Hom. Od. 2.423; Gow on Theoc. 13.52; though it is perhaps wrong to distinguish it from 'weapons'. The phrase echoes the first line of the Aeneid, and to a Roman reader would have had a strong epic ring (E. Norden Ennius und Vergilius (1915) pp.171-2), but its use here in the mundane context of a ships' tackle and crew is not intended to be meaningful.

sparsos ... in litore remos: oars 'scattered on the shore' suggests a ship-wreck; 'spargere' means to scatter at random, not the orderly rows of oars drying out. Each man looked after his own oar; Hercules breaks his (3.477) and is responsible for making a new one (3.485).

393-427. Valerius concentrates on the universal grief and reproaches of the women before focussing on Hypsipyle's personal loss, perhaps with thoughts of Dido's tearful reaction in the Aeneid. Apollonius' women offer prayers for the Argonauts' safe return (1.882ff.) and Statius plays down the grief (but see Th. 5.478 'heu iterum gemitus, iterumque novissima nox est', suggesting this passage).

393f. A well-constructed sentence. 'Dolor' balances 'planctusque', and 'urbe' balances 'per omnes domos'. 'Novus' contrasts with 'antiqua': their grief is new but its cause, the loss of their menfolk, is an old one (see 'dolor' (165); 'lacrimis' (169); 'fletus' (172); 'planctibus' (175)). The line answers Hypsipyle's question of 299 'quando hic lacrimas planctusque videbo'. 'Dolor' is the feeling of grief, contrasted with 'planctus', its outward manifestation (see 3.371). For 'exoritur' with sound words cf. Ov. Tr. 1.3.77; Sen. Oed. 62. 'Facies' is odd here after 'dolor' and 'planctus', and the zeugma with 'exoritur' is extreme, but the meaning must be that the houses resumed their former aspect, i.e. became void of men (as 290f.). Attempts to emend 'facies' are unconvincing and to read 'it' for 'et' (F 1503) with 'planctus' (genitive) dependent on 'facies' is an unlikely arrangement. So the manuscript reading should be retained.

394f. The women complain that the men are leaving before the birth of their children (see 324), who will re-establish the race and take over the government. They break abruptly into oratio obliqua, dependent on 393f.

395. en iterum: the tone is ironic, for previously the women had caused the city to be void of men, and it was they who talked of leaving (181).

et quando natorum tempora: the indirect question follows badly on after the accusative and infinitive ('sibi ... iterum'), and there should be a stronger pause after 'iterum', with 'et quando' perhaps emended to

'ecquando' (Bon. 1498) 'whether at any time ...'; compare Cic. Agr. 2.17. 'Ecquando' is often written 'et quando' in manuscripts (as here). 'Tempora' (ω) unnecessarily reduplicates 'ecquando' 'whether at any time there would be a time of children'. Heinsius' 'pignora' is preferable: 'a pledge consisting in children', a pledge not only of affection (Prop. 4.11.73; Ov. M. 3.134; St. Th. 5.473) but also of the continuance of the race ('qui ... qui').

396. recolant: the children will 're-establish' the race; cf. 7.68 'nostros recole ... agros'; Liv. 27.5.5 'desertam recolli terram'; Tac. Ann. 3.72 'avitum decus recoluit'.

triste nefandae: the two adjectives are intentionally juxtaposed to emphasize the full horror of the women's deed. 'Now grim seemed the work of that execrable night'. 'Nefandae' recalls 'nefas' (101, 210). Only now (nunc) do the women realise the monstrosity of their deed. 'Nunc' recalls VA. 4.596f. 'infelix Dido, nunc te facta impia tangunt? Tum decuit, cum sceptrā dabas'. 'Magis' (398) should be understood ἄλλοτε with this phrase, as the repeated 'nunc' emphasizes. 'Vidui ... tecti' echoes 'viduis ... thalamis' (370) and makes the point that the women are once again to be widowed, this time unwillingly.

397. silentia ... saeva: an oxymoron; the silence of the empty homes is not just terrifying (41) but 'fierce' in a more aggressive way, as the women had been (230). Valerius' phrase perhaps has its origin in VA. 2.255 'amica silentia'.

398f. The thought is odd, for the women rejected not marriage but their former husbands. Valerius is still thinking of Dido (as at 355). Here the departure of the Argonauts brings home to the women what they lost when they murdered their husbands. 'Induere atque' (E Ha) is the necessary correction of 'imbueratque' (ω). The zeugma ('thalamos ... induere') is striking (p.ix above). 'Vincla' here are the bonds of marriage, as at VA. 4.16; the image occurs more frequently of lifelong devotion (Bömer on Ov. M. 4.679). It is the natural concomitant of the literary motif of 'servitium amoris' (see F. Copley TAPA 78 (1947) 285; R.O.A.M. Lyne CQ 29 (1979) 117ff.). By an ironic reversal the women find themselves slaves of love, as they had believed their husbands to be (131; 146).

399. curas: the anxieties of a lover, as frequently TLL 4.1474.80ff and in particular VA. 4.550f. 'non licuit ... talis nec tangere curas', which Valerius has in mind ('admittere' for 'tangere').

400ff. Attention is now concentrated on Hypsipyle, whose reaction differs from that of the women and contrasts with Dido's emotional tirade. She reproaches Jason briefly for his hasty departure (403-8), and, after presenting her gifts, bids him remember and return to her (419-24). She makes an oblique reference to the child she is expecting. Apollonius' Hypsipyle is more realistic about the likelihood of Jason's return (1.888ff.) and asks for instructions in the event of her producing a son. Statius' version is totally different; Hypsipyle's unwilling marriage means that she has few regrets (cf. Th. 5.472-4). This is the only explicit reference to Jason's liaison with the queen (on Valerius' elliptical narrative technique cf. p.iv above), and little indication of their feelings is given. Hypsipyle shows the same sensible attitude she revealed towards her father - she knows when to say goodbye.

The lines recall VA. 4.409ff, 416f. when Dido notices the Trojans preparing to depart. 'Cursus' (from 'currere') 'goings to and fro', is less picturesque than Virgil's 'properari' (A. 4.416) or 'fervere' (409). 'Per litora' means 'all along the shore', as Liv. 22.19.12 'instructam per litus aciem'.

401. vidit: followed by the accusative 'cursus' (400) and the accusative and infinitive (401). This mixture of constructions is not unusual in Valerius; see p.ix above. 'Vidit' is used here in two different senses: Hypsipyle 'notices' the movement and 'realises' that departure is imminent. The pause after 'vidit' reflects her sudden realisation, and that after 'ingemit' her sudden outburst of feelings. tota ... Lemno: Ehlers does not like 'totaque', but the exaggeration is intentional. Wherever she looks, Hypsipyle sees signs of departure. Valerius has in mind 'toto ... litore' (VA. 4.416); 'totum ... aequor' (410f.).

402. tali compellat ... questu: the phrase is of a type much favoured by Virgil, though there is no exact parallel (cf. Austin on A. 2.280).

The verb is found in Plautus and Ennius; in later writers it is particularly common where a formal or slightly archaic note is appropriate, as at Valerius 2.591 'placidis compellat Iasona dictis'; cf. 7.451. Austin sees in the Virgilian examples 'a nuance of affection or reverent feeling', but here the verb takes its tone from 'questu' and means 'reproaches'.

403-408. Hypsipyle's speech, like 249ff, 256f, 290ff, is marked by the frequent repetition of several words, often with a different meaning, within a few lines (e.g. 'cursus', 'cursumque'; 'litora', 'litore'; 'tenuisset', 'tenentibus'; 'carius', 'caro'). The effect could be one of urgency and emotional disturbance, were it not for the frequent occurrence of meaningless repetition in the Argonautica cf. p.vi above.

403. primo ... sereno: Hypsipyle exaggerates. Conditions have been favourable for some time (372f). 'Serenum' here used substantively comes from the adjective 'serenus' (cf. 'caelo ... sereno' VG. 1.260, 487 etc), meaning a 'clear sky', hence fair weather. The noun first occurs in Varro R. 3.10.4; cf. VG. 1.393 etc. Cicero does not use the noun.

404. carius o mihi patre caput: 'o head, dearer to me than my father'. The expression is Greek, cf. Il. 8.281; Od. 1.343; Soph. Ant. 1 etc, found in Latin VA. 4.354 'capitis ... iniuria cari'; HC. 1.24.2 'tam cari capitis' (NH), where English would say 'soul', or simply omit. Similar words used of Medea 'ne crede, pater, non carior ille est quem sequimur' (8.12f.) and Scylla 'o patriae praelate meae, praelate parenti' (Ov. M. 8.109) carry the unfortunate implication that here too the heroine has literally preferred her beloved to her father. Hypsipyle however means that Jason has come to replace her father in her affections, as her gifts (409ff, 418) reveal.

quierunt: the perfect (first V1523) is preferable to 'quierant' (ω). Hypsipyle is not describing the placidity of the waves, as VA. 4.523f. 'silvae... et saeva quierant aequora' (this may account for the error), but stressing that they have only just ('modo') grown quiet. See VA. 7.6f 'postquam alta quierunt aequora' (perfect after 'postquam').

405f. Hypsipyle contrasts hospitable Lemnos to unfriendly Thrace; 'you would have been in this sort of hurry to leave Thrace' (i.e. you might have thought we were Thracians, you are in such a hurry to go).

aspera: 'harsh', i.e. 'stormy'. 'Asper' is used of a severe winter or bad storm, cf. VA. 2.110f. 'aspera ponti ... hiems'; Sal.. Jug. 37.3 'hieme aspera'.

406. adversae ... Thraces: 'adversae' refers either to the geographical position of Thrace, as ARh. 1.799 Θρηικην, οἷτ' ἀντία ναυαγδουσιν ; St. Th. 5.53 'Thraces arant contra' (cf. VA. 1.13 'Italiam contra'); 75 'adversa Thracas in ora'; though Thrace is some distance north of Lemnos, or to the traditional hostility of the Thracians (107f; ARh. 1.632, 678; St. Th. 5.347f), if there is not a hint of both.

407. Hypsipyle implies that the stormy weather alone had detained them on Lemnos, though 'moras' unconsciously echoes 'deus ipse moras ... indulget' (356). The sentiment occurs also in Prop. 1.6.17 'oscula ... opposito dicat sibi debita vento' (a contrary wind prevents Propertius from putting to sea). The verbal echo 'debita', 'debuimus' makes this Valerius' likely source (see note on 55).

caelo: contrasts with 'sereno' (403), and is therefore virtually synonymous with 'hieme'. 'Cursum tenentibus', i.e. 'the waves that impede your journey', is paralleled at Ov. H. 2.14 'nec tenuit cursus forsitan ille tuos', though 'cursum tenere' can also mean 'to continue on course' (Cic. Planc. 94; Liv. 22.31.5).

408-417. Hypsipyle's cloak has no precedent in Apollonius (except 3.1204ff. where Jason wears a dark robe, her gift, cf. 4.423; 3.340), though a robe was a traditional gift (VA. 3.484ff. above); Dido's gift to Aeneas (A. 11.74); Helen's to Telemachus (Od. 15.125ff.). Here it replaces the description of Jason's cloak (ARh. 1.721ff.), itself the work of Athene. Such ekphrasis are common in ancient poetry and are not necessarily confined to epic. The first occurs in Il. 18 (Achilles' shield); see Heracles' Shield (Hesiod); Theoc. 1.27ff. (an embossed goblet) etc. Two epyllia, Moschus' Europa and Catullus 64, include a description of this sort, where the effect is not merely pictorial. Europa's basket, with the story of Io, provides a warning

of her own fate, and Ariadne's desertion by Theseus may prefigure Thetis' desertion of Peleus.

Valerius chooses two scenes which relate to the plot of his poem. The first series of scenes looks back to Hypsipyle's rescue of her father. She alone knows of this episode, for the women suppose him to be dead, and her work resembles that done by Philomela (Ov. M. 6.576ff), for it informs Jason of the fate of her father. Thoas' appearance on the robe reveals Hypsipyle's affection for Jason.

The other group shows the rape of Ganymede, a subject familiar from other literary artefacts (VA. 5.252ff; St. Th. 1.548ff.; Sil. 15.425ff; Nonnus 25.430ff), and Valerius has Virgil's account particularly in mind. However the subject anticipates an episode later in book 2. Ganymede was the son of Tros (Il. 20.231ff), grandfather of Laomedon. The horses which Laomedon has promised to Hesione's rescuer (487f; 552f) were given to Tros by Zeus in return for Ganymede (Il. 5.265; Hom. Hymn Aph. 210f., 217; Apld. 2.5.9; Paus. 5.24.5). So the scene clearly helps bind together the events of book 2, in looking forward to the Hesione episode, and perhaps hinting at the loss of Hylas (3.545ff).

408f. haesura ... dona: gifts that would 'remain' with Jason ('haerere' syn. 'manere' TLL 6.3.2498.81) and literally 'cling' to his body. Compare Sen. Ben. 1.12.2 (munus meum) 'exstet, haereat amico meo, convivat'. 'Haerere' often means 'embrace' (TLL 6.3.2495.45ff); the gift will be able to do what Hypsipyle herself cannot. The topos is familiar from love poetry; the lover wishes he were an object belonging to the beloved, the rose she wears, the breeze that fans her cheek (AP. 5.83, 84; Ov. Am. 2.15; M. 8.36f. (Hollis)).

409. promit: she brings it out from its place of keeping, as 8.17 'condita letiferis promit medicamina cistis', like wine from the cellar (HC. 1.36.11).

chlamydem textosque labores: a hendiadys. See VA. 3.483ff. 'fert ... chlamydem ... textilibusque onerat donis' (Andromache's gift to Ascanius). 'Labor' went into the weaving of it; see ἔργα γυναικῶν (Il. 6.289; Od. 7.97 etc); VA. 7.248 'Iliadum... labor vestes'; Valerius 5.514 'haec materni texta laboris'; St. Th. 12.313; Juv. 8.104. The 'chlamys' was a cloak or cape worn by the Greeks that came

to be equated with the Roman 'paludamentum'. Its appearance here is accounted for by its Greekness; it was part of an epic poet's vocabulary. (On the chlamys see DS 1.2.1115ff.).

410. 'Illic' introduces the ekphrasis, and together with 'pars et' indicates the position of the two main scenes in an intentionally vague manner. Compare Il. 18.483ff. ἐν μὲν, ἐν δὲ etc), also ARh. 1.730ff.; VA. 8.626ff. 'illic ... illic'. We must imagine two composite scenes, where the main character can appear several times in the same picture. Thus Ganymede appears twice, once being carried off from Ida, once as Jupiter's cup-bearer (as Nonnus 25.430ff.).

The description of the first scene intentionally echoes the account of Thoas' rescue; 'servato genitore' (298); and 'conscia Bacchi templa' (254); 'anxius' (300). 'Sacra' and 'currusque pios' refer back to 265ff.; 'pios' picks up 249, 264. 'Servati genitoris' is genitive with 'conscia', the rites that 'conspired' in his rescue.

411. pressit acu: (C); 'praesita' (ω); 'pressit ac' (L). C's reading seems the most authentic though it is difficult. 'Premere' meaning 'to embroider' is unparalleled, though cf. 'expresserat' (414), itself only found at Claud. Don. on VA. 11.75 (p.418.4) (textura) 'pictura, non potest exprimi'; 11.775 (p.529.10). The perfect tense of 'pressit' is wrong with the pluperfect 'expresserat'. 'Pressit ac' (L) should be obelized, and 'pinxit acu'; (T, B 1471) at least mentioned (see VA. 9.582, 11.777 'pictus acu'; Ov. M. 6.23 'pingebat acu'), though the problem of the tense remains. 'Pingere' is a more authentic verb; 'pressit' implies a more definite mark than a line of embroidery (St. Th. 8.568, gold plating). Other possibilities with 'acu' are 'distinguere' Sen. HO. 665; 'facere' Plin. NH. 8.196; 'variare' Mart. 8.28.18; 'insignire' Claud. RP. 1.249; 'signare' id. cm. 28.87, but none is an improvement on 'pingere'.

saeva paventum agmina: Valerius has not previously mentioned Thoas' passage through crowds of fearful women ('paventum' is feminine) though perhaps it is implied in 'medios egressa metus' (277). The women are terrified at Hypsipyle's divine aura (cf. 277f). 'Saeva ... agmina' recalls 'agmina Eumenidum' (227f); 'saeva' (230).

412. viridi ... tela: 'viridi' (Barth on St. Th. 5.496); 'viridis' (ω). 'Horrida ... silva' is from VA. 9.381f; both 'horrida' ('bristling') and 'tremet' refer to the apparent reality of the scene, a regular feature of an ekphrasis. 'Viridi ... tela' means 'on the green web', i.e. 'woven in green' (as Mozley, though his text has 'late'). Meyncke's 'late' is otiose with 'circum', and 'tela' is clearly right, meaning 'web', hence 'woven cloth' (OLD sv. 'tela' 1; HC. 3.12.4; Ov. M. 6.69 'vetus in tela deducitur argumentum'; St. Th. 11.402. 'Viridis' would be prosaic and redundant with 'horrida', and 'viridi' qualifying 'tela' is better. This emphasis on colour is a feature of ekphrasis (compare Aeneas' shield, VA. 8). 'Circum', 'about them' (i.e. the crowd of women) is adverbial as VA. 3.91f 'totus... moveri mons circum' (i.e. 'circum nos') like περί, Il. 19.362 γέλασσε δὲ πᾶσα περί χθών. The woods form a 'border' around the scene.

413. refugit: 'flee for protection' (like 'confugere'; Cic. Deiot. 32; Liv. 26.46.8), more easily used of Thoas' flight into the woods, as VA. 6.472f 'refugit in nemus umbriferum'; Vell. 2.27.2. Otherwise 'refugit' must mean 'shrinks away' as Ov. Am. 1.13.37 'illum dum refugis', here easier with the accusative. Baehrens' 'mediis ... undis' is attractive, and the scene would show the final instalment of Thoas' escape, though 'fugit' would have to be read (Ch. Wagner), and this might involve too many changes. 'Mediis' refers to the depth of the wood (or mid-sea).

414. pars et (ω): Postgate's 'pars haec' corresponds better to 'illic' (410), and the change is easy ('haec', 'hēc', 'et'). The pluperfect tense of 'expresserat' is difficult with 'pars', the natural subject being Hypsipyle (compare VA. 8.628 'fecerat' etc), and Baehrens' 'contra et' is a conjecture on the right lines and may be preferable.

frondosae raptus ... Idae: 'raptus' is plural, the rapes of Ida, cf. Ov. F. 4.417 'raptus ut virginis edam'. The genitive with 'raptus' is usually the victim's name e.g. Cic. Tusc. 4.71 'de Ganymedi raptu'; Cat. 68.87 'Helenae raptu'; Plin. NH. 34.69 'Proserpinae raptum'; here 'Idae' describes where the snatching took place, and there is no need to emend 'raptus' to 'saltus' (Eyssenhardt, favoured by Delz). Ganymede was traditionally snatched while hunting (Bury's 'pastus' i.e. 'pastor', itself dubious, suggests Paris). 'Raptus' however is an

essential part of the scene; cf. VA. 5.255 'rapuit'; Ov. M. 10.160 'abripit'; Luc. 9.972, Mart. 10.19.9; Sil. 15.425 etc. and must be retained. 'Frendosae ... Idae' is Virgilian (A. 5.252), though the adjective itself is Ennian (Ann. 191 V). 'Idae' is sufficient to identify the boy as Ganymede, and the allusive reference to him is part of the Hellenistic technique that attributes to the reader a basic knowledge of the story.

415. fugam: his 'rapid departure'. Mozley's 'flight' is ill-chosen. 'Fugam' refers neither to Ganymede's 'fleeing' (his departure was not deliberate), nor to the 'flight of the eagle' ('volatus'). It suggests rapid movement (OLD sv. fuga 5; VA. 1.317; Luc. 9.543) and also his 'exile' from home. There is an oxymoron with 'inlustrem'; flight is usually ignominious.

aethere laetus: 'delighting in heaven'; 'aethere' is ablative with 'laetus', as 'laetum equino sanguine' (HC. 3.4.34); 'laetus Eois Euris equis' (VA. 2.417f.); cf. n.298. The phrase recalls 'in caelo esse', proverbial for 'the seventh heaven', blissfully happy (Otto p.62). Ganymede's happiness contrasts dramatically with Thoas' fear in the previous scene, though it is wrong to seek any deeper significance from this contrast.

416. quin: introduces a statement that corroborates and amplifies what has preceded: 'and what is more ...'.

Iovis armiger: as at VA. 5.255; Ov. M. 15.386; Valerius 1.156; St. Th. 3.532 etc. Jupiter's eagle carries the thunderbolt (Ov. M. 12.560-1). Pliny (NH. 2.146) records the belief that eagles cannot be struck by lightning. 'Armiger' occurs first in Plaut. (Men. 852 etc.) of a squire; Ovid coined the less technical epithet 'armifer' (armed), often of Minerva (Am. 2.6.35 etc). In many versions of the story the eagle (Plaut. Men. 143; VA. 5.254; Apld. 3.12.2) or Jupiter himself disguised as an eagle (Ov. M. 10.155ff.etc) carries off the boy from Ida.

417. pocula blanda: the 'beguiling draught', i.e. nectar, (Claud. Sixth Cons. Hon. praef. 9f.), that appeals to the senses ('blandus'). Compare Lucr. 2.847 'amaracini blandum stactaeque liquorem' (a medicinal draught). 'Pocula' can refer both to the cup itself and its contents; here the latter predominates (as Ov. M. 10.160).

Valerius alone of the poets incorporates this detail in his description. He was perhaps influenced by a visual representation of the scene, for the drinking eagle appears frequently in art, though it is less popular than the scene of the abduction. The eagle drinks from a bowl held out by Ganymede. Earlier than Valerius is the fresco from Pompeii (V. Helbig Wandgemalde der vom Vesuv verschütteten Städte Campaniens (Leipzig, 1868) n.158); later the scene appears on several funerary sculptures, chosen for its allegorical significance (JMC Toynbee Greek Myths in Roman Stone, Latomus 36 (1977) pp.361ff.; J. Overbeck Griechische Kunstmythologie (Leipzig, 1871) 515ff.; Croisille 335ff.). Valerius' account is very vivid, and 'Phrygio ... ministro' suggests the further visual detail of the Phrygian cap often used to distinguish Ganymede.

418ff. Hypsipyle presents Jason with her father's sword which like the cloak serves to link the two characters. Valerius may have got the idea from ARh. 1.769ff. where the description of Jason's cloak is followed by a reference to his spear, Atalanta's gift. The gift of the sword here recalls its earlier appearance (252f.). Contrast Aeneas' sword, left behind by him and used by Dido (A. 4.507, 646ff.).

notum ... insigne: in hendiadys with 'ensem', 'the sword with its familiar emblem'; probably some carving or decoration on the hilt as in the examples quoted by Langen (Sen. Ph. 899; Valerius Max. 1.8 ext. 9). The device is distinctive ('notum') to enable its owner to be recognised. Compare the distinctive hilts of the swords belonging to Hypsipyle's sons 'signa Argoa relictis ensibus' (St. Th. 5.725f) which lead to their recognition. Statius may have adapted Valerius' idea here. 'Thoantis' (Vat. B 1474), a necessary correction of 'tonantis' (ω) is the only reference to Thoas by name.

419f. bellis ... comes: 'that I may be your companion in war and in the dust of battle's heat'. 'Bellis' and 'pulvere pugnae' are tautologous, though the second amplifies the first. For the vivid motif of the dust of battle cf. St. Th. 4.261 'pulvere belli'; Mart.8.65.3, and without 'belli', HC. 1.6.14; 2.1.22; Juv. 11.200; Valerius 1.13. Editors object to 'sim' because Hypsipyle herself will not accompany Jason and propose 'sit', or 'sint comites (Aetnae)', but this makes Hypispyle's words merely a prosaic statement of fact, and destroys the poignancy of

the thought that through her gifts, Hypsipyle herself will be able to accompany Jason. 'Haesura' makes the same point.

420f. Aetnaei ... dei: Vulcan, cf. Eur. Cycl. 599 Ἡφαίστος ἄναξ .

'Aetnaeus' does not appear in Röscher Suppl. as an epithet for Vulcan, though it is reported of the Cyclopes and Polyphemus. It forms an appropriate reminder of Vulcan's association with the island and the original cause of the massacre. A sword made by Vulcan was by definition 'invincible', as Sil. 9.458f. 'ensem ... Aetnaeum'.

flammea ... dona: 'flammea' probably refers to the brilliance of the metal from which the sword is made, though if it refers to the colour it must mean 'gold', as St. Th. 4.132 'flammeus orbis' (shield); Apul. Met. 9.19 'auri splendor flammeus'. Possibly it hints at the manufacture of the sword in the flames of Aetna.

421. digna: Jason has succeeded Thoas in Hypsipyle's affections, and has become a worthy recipient of his sword. 'Digna' is transferred from Jason (he, not the sword, is worthy). For 'dignus' with the infinitive cf. Cat. 68.131 'concedere digna' (the earliest instance); VE. 5.54 'cantari dignus'; HSz. 350f; KS 2.1.685.

adiungier: the archaic form of the passive infinitive, rare in Silver Age poetry (never in Luc., St., but Sil. 8.199 'adfarier'). The form occurs first in the Twelve Tables and legal formulae; also Cic. Caec. 95; Cato; Plaut.; Ter.; it was made acceptable by Ennius and Accius and is popular with Lucr. Virgil uses this archaic form seven times: cf. NW 3.225ff.

422. i, memor i terrae: such appeals are often uttered on the departure of a loved one; see F. Cairns Generic Composition (Edinburgh 1972) p.306, the 'memor sis' topic; p.246, n.29; compare Sappho fr. 94 (LP) 7-8; ARh. 1.896; Tib. 1.3.2; HC. 3.27.14; Ov. Am. 2.11.37; Val. 4.37; St. Ach. 1.931ff. 'i' is literally 'go', as VA. 6.546 'i decus, i, nostrum' (which Valerius has in mind); Hor. Epist. 2.2.37; Valerius 1.56; 7.162, 240; HSz p.471. For 'memor' with the genitive, 'mindful of', cf. 1.46 etc; HC. 4.5.36; HSz. p.78; KS 2.1.437b. Medea's words at 7.477 'sis memor, oro, mei' recall this line.

423. sinu: literally the curving harbour which 'received' the Argo, but taken metaphorically the word personifies the island: 'the land that first folded you to its peaceful bosom' (Mozley). Compare VA. 8.711ff. 'contra autem magno maerentem corpore Nilum pandentemque sinus et tota veste vocantem caeruleum in gremium latebrosaue flumina victos'.

424. Editors find fault with 'per hunc ... Iasona' because there is no verb of swearing. However, 'per' is found on its own at VA. 10.369ff. 'per vos et fortia facta' etc; also 597f., so this objection is invalid. Hypsipyle is reinforcing her entreaty that Jason return by appealing to her unborn child. The imperative 'refer' takes the place of the verb of swearing here. The introduction of 'vellera ad' ('hunc ... Iasona') by Ph. Wagner is therefore unnecessary, with the intrusion of the fleece, itself of no interest to Hypsipyle. 'Refer ... vela', by analogy with 'referre pedes' means 'return'; compare 403 'deducere vela'.

Hypsipyle traditionally gave birth to twins. The Iliad knows of Euneus (7.468 etc); later authors name the other twin as Thoas (Pindar Schol. Nem. ARh. 2; Eur. Hyps. passim; St. Th. 6.342); Deiphilus (Hyg. fab. 15); Nebrophorus (Apld. 1.8.17). 'Hunc ... Iasona' suggests that she intends to call her unborn son after its father; Valerius has in mind VA. 4.328f. ('parvulus Aeneas').

426f. In a highly compressed sentence Valerius relates the reactions of all the Lemnian women, referred to collectively as 'tristis coniunx' as they embrace their husbands for the last time. Three of the most familiar Argonauts are singled out for mention; Orpheus, Castor and Peleus ('Aeacides'). The impact of the apostrophe ('tuaque') is immediate and personal.

427. pendet: another instance of a double construction with one verb (cf. p.ix). 'Cervice pendet' is modelled on such phrases as Prop. 4.1.43 'pater in nati trepidus cervice pependit'; St. S. 1.2.103; cf. VA. 1.715, (Tib.) 3.6.45, Prop. 3.12.22 'collo pendere'. The construction 'a Castore pendet' is harder; Valerius means 'Castorea cervice pendet'.

gemino ... Castore: 'Castor the twin', hinting perhaps at the participation of Pollux. Compare 'geminus ... Pollux', Hor. C.

3.29.64; 'gemino sub duce' (Romulus and Remus) Ov. F. 4.810; 'geminus Cupido' Sen. Ph. 275.

428-30. The Argonauts depart. The tone of these lines is impersonal ('legitur', 'remi rapuere' etc), unlike ARh. 1.910ff. on which they are modelled. Compare the departure of Aeneas at VA. 4.579ff. The lines reach a far higher poetic standard than the scenes that have preceded.

legitur: 'anchor is weighed', as Sen. Tro. 759 'ancoras classis legit'. Compare 'sublatis anchoris' (Caes. BC. 1.31) and 'ancora soluta' (Cic. Att. 1.13.1, 'sublata' vl.). The Greek equivalent is ἀλρεῖν τὰς ἀγκύρας (e.g. Polyb. 31.14.13), so 'tollere' was perhaps the most usual term. 'Legere' tends to be used of 'furling the sails' (cf. 'vela legunt' 13) or hauling in ropes (cf. 1.314 'prora funem legit Argus ab alta'). 'Ancoras legere' is a good example of how the verbs in such expressions can be interchanged. Cicero's 'ancora soluta' recalls the more familiar 'nave soluta'.

piger uncus: literally the hook at the end of the anchor, here meaning the whole. Only here in Valerius, and first attested in Lucan 5.460 'lapsa Palaestinas uncis confixit harenis'; 2.693f., 3.699. The anchor is post-Homeric; Homer's ships use stones, (Il. 1.436; Od. 9.137 etc); warships would often be hauled on to the beach rather than left to ride at anchor (4.446 'sedit'). Numerous instances of the anchor have been recovered from the sea-bed; both stone, iron, and wood; cf. L. Casson Ships and Seamanship in the Ancient World (Princeton, 1971) pp.183ff.; DS 1.266f. The Argo is a composite boat, light enough to be carried (1.185), but with the anchor, and ram (1.688) of later ships. 'Piger' refers to the Argonauts' reluctance to leave as well as the effort of hauling in the anchor.

429-30. The alliteration is extreme, and conveys the exertions of the oarsmen (r), and the sea lashed into foam by the oars (s). The assonance (u,i) in 430, also of the sea, calls to mind VA. 2.209 'fit sonitus spumante salo' which Valerius may be imitating.

429. rapuere: Valerius has in mind phrases like VA. 10.660 (Juno) 'rapit ... per aequora navem'; Luc. 3.46 'venti rapuere carinas'. Here

the oars themselves are said to 'hasten the boat on its way', as if independently of the rowers.

flamina portant: 'portare' suits larger loads than 'ferre' (VA. 5.832 'ferunt sua flamina classem') and is the more vigorous and popular word, but is not avoided by the epic poets (7 instances in Valerius; 18 in Virgil; cf. Axelson 30; Löfstedt 2.338). There is slight tension with the insubstantial 'breeze'.

430. spumea ... semita: 'a path of foam', a vivid description of the ship's wake, from ARh. 1.545f. μακρὰ δ' αἰὲν ἐλευθαίνοντο κέλευθοι, ἀτραπὸς ὥς χλοεροῖο διειδομένη πεδίονο. The more usual image is taken from ploughing, cf. 3.32 'canebant aequora sulco'; NH on HC. 1.7.32. 'Fugientis' is genitive with 'clavi' (not accusative plural), as the patterning of the line reveals. 'The wake of the fleeing rudder' (literally 'the tiller', Serv. VA. 5.177) 'follows on behind'. The juxtaposition of 'subsequitur fugientis' suggests that the wake is trying to catch up with the rudder as it flees (from it, not from Lemnos).

431-442. After Lemnos the boat makes a slight deviation to the north and reaches Samothrace.

Valerius' source for this episode is ARh. 1.915ff. to which his account is extremely close. It was first incorporated into the Argonautic adventures by Apollonius and Dionysios Skytobrachion (Rusten p.93), and reflects contemporary interest in the cult as a result of the patronage of Arsinoe II (Justin 24.3.9; cf. Plut. Alex. 2; Curt 8.3.26). The account in Diodorus 42.1 (cf. 4.43, 48) shows traces of Orphic influence. Valerius differs from ARh. in omitting Orpheus' role in the episode, over-emphasized in the Orphic Argonautica, and also the reason for initiation, to obtain immunity from danger at sea (compare Call. Ep. 47 (Pf.); Theophr. Charact. 25.29; AP. 6.164).

A visit to Samothrace and initiation into the mysteries was popular among the Roman upper class cf. H. Bloch in AJA 44 (1940) pp.488f.

431. tenuis Lemnos: an extreme ellipse ('facta est') cf. 2.525f. 'Tenuis' means not merely 'faint' (Mozley) but 'low on the horizon'. Photographs of Lemnos taken from a distance reveal that it is very low-

lying in comparison to Samothrace (see Tozer p.235). Valerius speaks from the sailor's point of view.

transitque: (B 1474) for 'transitaeque' (ω), 'is in the process of passing by', for 'passes by' (as 5.120 'transit Halys' cf. 8.208, 214) which is inappropriate in view of the stop. If 'transitque' is felt to be unacceptable, 'crescitque' (E) is good in balancing 'tenuis'; Samothrace grows higher as Lemnos becomes lower. For the convention cf. 'mergunt' (7); 'surgit' (78). Samothrace is one of the loftiest Aegean islands (1,598m compared to Athos 1,935m), cf. 'Samothracia alta' Priscian Pereg. 547 (GGM 2.195); Eustathon Il. 13.12f. The name may be connected etymologically with σάμωι ; 'heights', cf. RE Samothrace 2224 21ff.

Electria tellus: from ARh. 1.916 νῆσον 'Ηλέκτρης 'Ατλαντίδος , so called after its connection with Electra, Atlas' daughter, mother of Dardanus and Iasion by Jupiter. One or other was traditionally regarded as the founder of the mystery cult (see Frazer on Apld. 3.12.1; Diod. 5.48). Samothrace was sometimes called 'Electris' (Dion. Per. 524; GGM. 2.450).

432. Threiciis arcana sacris: not 'guarding the secret of Thracian rites' (Mozley), for 'arcana' means 'mysterious' or 'hallowed' as 598 'nemus arcanum'; 624 'arcanis ... antris'. The idea of secrecy is present, as Ov. H. 9.40, St. S. 1.3.71 'arcana nocte' is the night that keeps secrets, but 'mysterious with the secrets' is better.

'Threiciis' refers to the name of the island. The mystery cult of the Cabeiroi was not in fact of Thracian origin; modern opinion inclines to view it as Phrygian, like the similar cults of the Great Mother and Dionysus. Samothrace was one of the two main cult centres, the other being Boeotian Thebes. Archaeological remains date the origin of the cult to before the seventh century BC; it attained great popularity during the Hellenistic period and lasted well into Imperial Roman times, rivalled only by Eleusis. See Roscher 2.2522f; Pease Cic. ND. 1.119; B. Hemberg Die Kabiren (Uppsala 1950) 49ff.

numinis ingens horror: 'horror' is not just 'awe' but a physical sensation, 'shivering', or 'fear and trembling'; cf. Orph. Arg. 469 ὄργια φοβεῖται θεῶν . 'Ingens' is striking with 'horror' which is too insubstantial to be physically 'huge'. 'Numen', drawn from the old Italian nuministic religion, signifies the god visualised as a vaguely

felt 'divine presence' (C. Bailey Religion in Virgil (Oxford 1953) p.69). Compare '(lucus) quo posses viso dicere numen inest' Ov. F. 3.296; Am. 3.1.2; 'metum numenque loco saevamque quietem addidit' Valerius 3.428f.

433. incautis ... linguis: for those who do not guard their tongues sufficiently, and reveal the secret of the mysteries. Compare Call. fr. 75 (Pf.) 8-9 ἀχαρτεῖ γλώσσης . The mysteries are not to be talked about, ἀρρήτους θέμιστας (ARh. 1.917); OA 467 etc. This is perhaps a warning that Valerius is unable to speak freely about them, anticipating 439f. The 'decreta piacula' are both the punishment for transgression and the means of putting it right, or restoring a right relationship with the god, as Liv. 29.18.18 (deā) 'a violatoribus gravia piacula exegit'.

434. The island is immune from storms sent by Jupiter, a variation of a literary topic used of particularly sacred places: the altar of Aphrodite at Paphos is not subject to rain: Eratosthenes (Suppl. Hell. p.184); cf. Plin. NH 2.210; Serv. VA. 1.415 mentioning Varro; Tac. Hist. 2.3; also Luc. 3.408ff. of a sacred grove. The island is under the particular protection of its deity ('deus') and Jupiter does not dare ('audet') to interfere. In this respect, Samothrace contrasts with Lemnos, where Jupiter sent a storm (357ff); compare 'fluctu' with 'undis' (358).

435f. Samothrace is notoriously stormy (Nic. Ther. 459 δυσχελμερον ; Tac. Ann. 2.54; Tozer p.343) and Valerius explains that it can only be approached by the faithful (compare the sanctity of Delos, Thuc. 2.8). 'Vetat' here has a religious tone. The gods will only associate with those who are fit to receive them, in either a moral (Christian) or religious sense; cf. Call. Hy. Ap. 9-10 (Williams); Cat. 64.384ff. Valerius refers only in general terms to the island's deities ('deus').

436. infidos ... tangere: the collocation suggests the touch of sacrilege, cf. 'non tangenda' HC. 1.3.24 NH etc., though 'tangere litora' is a common phrase for reaching land; Plut. Am. 203; VA. 4.612; Ov. Ars. 3.748 etc.

437. at: the conjunction stresses that the Argonauts are not 'infidi' and can be welcomed ('excipit') to the island. For the construction ('excipere aliquem' + ablative) compare VA. 7.233 'nec Troiam Ausonios gremio excepisse pigebit'; Ov. H. 16.129; Tac. Germ. 21. The use of 'excipere' in preference to 'recipere' implies that the sailors needed comfort and a welcome. 'Adytis' was popularly derived from δῶν, meaning 'not to be entered'. There is thus something of a paradox in 'adytis ... excipit'.

sacerdos ... Thyotes: the name is not otherwise known, and must be the transliteration of a Greek word θυώτης meaning 'one who sacrifices'. 'Sacerdos' is therefore a translation as well as a description, a feature related to the 'figura etymologica', like 'immota Atropos' (St. Th. 1.327f; Heuvel), though Valerius does not do this elsewhere. For the hyperbaton cf. 1.755f. 'sacerdos ... Aeson', 2.24 'horror ... Typhoeus'; 175 'Venus ... dea'; 540 'nuntius Telamon'; 3.25f. 'coniunx ... Clite'; 1.503f. 'genitor ... Sol'; 6.429f. 'Iuno ... regina' etc., an extremely common mannerism which Valerius found in Virgil e.g. VA. 1.195-6 'Acestes ... heros' (at line ends); 411-2 'Venus ... dea' (within the line). See Courtney on 5.35 'Aesonides ... ductor'; G. Williams Tradition and Originality in Roman Poetry (O.U.P. 1966) p.729.

438. reserans secreta: 'disclosing the mysteries', literally 'unlocking', as if the mysteries were kept in a strong box (arca). But the sense is not literal here; cf. St. S. 2.2.38 'reseret... arcana' (Pytho); Ov. M. 15.145, Sil. 7.436 (of prophecy). 'Secreta' is less common in the senses of 'mysteries' than 'sacra' (OCD sv. 'secreta' 4b).

439f. ω has 'hactenus in populos vates amothra cadicām (diem L) missa mane', which is unmetrical nonsense. 'Samothraca' or 'Samothracia' (which are used interchangeably) must be introduced where ω has misdivided the words. Ehlers' text reads 'hactenus in populos vati, Samothraca, diem<que> (-que C, B 1474) missa mane', a possible solution. For 'missa in populos', i.e. 'released' to the people compare Sil. 6.711 'haec mitte in populos', 'show these sights to the people'. 'Missa in diem', 'into the light of day', is less easy, though the light imagery is effective with 'opertis' (440). 'Mane' is difficult; 'there stay', i.e. 'enough has been said on the subject'.

More satisfactory is Kramer's 'hactenus in populos vates, Samothracia, dicam'; with a colon after 'dicam'; a minimal change and close to ARh. 1.921 τὰ μὲν οὐ θέμις ἄμμιν δαίδειν . 'Dicere in populos', 'proclaim in public' contrasts with 'opertis', though 'ad populos' might be easier. 'Vates' 'I, the bard', is picked up by the personal 'servemus' (440). Another possibility is Hollis' 'vati, Samothraca, canendum', closer to the Greek (thus far must the bard sing). 'Missa mane' is clearly separate from 439 and corrupt. 'Missa' is perhaps 'dimissa', 'passed over', repeating 'hactenus', cf. OLD sv. mitto 5; Cic. Att. 15.20.3 'sed acta missa'. Schrader's 'vale' is preferable to 'mane', from ARh. 1.920 νῆρος δμῶς κεχᾶποιτο , a valedictory formula.

With 'hactenus' compare VG. 2.1f, 'hactenus arborum cultus et sidera caeli; nunc te, Bacche, canam', Prop. 4.1.119.

440. Valerius adds 'let us preserve our respect for the hidden mysteries'. 'Metus' is not 'fear' but awed respect for things divine. The remark is general; 'sacris ... opertis' refers to all such cults, and 'opertis' is emphatic by position, both 'hidden in darkness', in contrast to the light imagery of 441, and 'ineffable' with a reference back to 433.

441. sole novo laeti: 'happy in the light of the new sun' of the intellectual and spiritual illumination of initiation, the result of, and effective contrast to, 'sacris ... opertis'. The phrase forms a pair with 'pleni ... deorum'. 'Sol medius' (444) suggests the secondary meaning of the literal light of a new day, as VG. 1.288 'cum sole novo terras inrorat Eous'. The light of the new day is a symbolic reflection of the Argonauts' new state of mind.

pleni ... deorum: ἔνθεος , of the initiate. For 'plenus' + genitive, compare 'Iovis omnia plena' VE. 3.60; 'plena dei', Ov. F. 6.538 (Bömer); 'plenus deum' Sil. 5.80. The phrase is the equivalent of 'plenus deo', which according to Seneca (Suas. 3.5.7) was first invented by Virgil, though it does not occur in our texts (Austin on A. 6.50f.). It is certainly found in Horace, C. 2.19.6; 3.25.1f., see Fraenkel Horace p.199 n.1.

442-450. The voyage continues from Samothrace in a south-easterly direction between Imbros and the Thracian Chersonese

442. quas praeviderat urbes: the cities are those of the Thracian Chersonese. 'Praeviderat' (B 1498) 'which they had seen in the distance ahead' is a rare use of this verb which usually means 'foresee' but cf. VA. 5.445; Ov. F. 1.327 etc. 'Providerat' (ω) is not possible in this sense. 'Praeviderat' contrasts with 'condere', and the movement of the cities from ahead of to behind the ship conveys the forward movement of the boat, as does 'iam', here and at 2.6; 8; 34; 72; 429; 621. ARh's passage is less effective in this respect with its description of places passed on either side (1.922ff.).

443. navita: the uncontracted form of 'nauta', but less common and confined in Classical Latin to poetry; Ennius 'navita' 0, 'nauta' 1; Lucr. 1:3; Virgil 3:17; Ov. M. 6:6; Luc. 5:19; Valerius 1:5; Stat. 1:5; Stat. 1:10; Sil. 0:22. Here 'navita' is singular for the plural 'crew'.

condebat: compare 4.636 'abscedunt terris et litora condunt'; 5.106. The sailors 'cause them to sink' by the forward movement of the boat. The sense is more active than Mozley's 'the cities ... sank out of sight' (thus TLL 4.152.17ff). The expression is unique to Valerius, based on VA. 3.291 'protinus aerias Phaeacum abscondimus arces' (Servius claims that this is 'nauticus sermo'), and perhaps E. 9.52 'cantando condere soles'. Compare the Greek ἀποκρύπτειν γῆν (Plat. Prot. 338 A; Orph. Arg. 462), though κρύπτειν is not used in this way. See 'mergunt' (7). The echo of Aeneid 3 here and in 'considunt transtris' (442 cf. VA. 3.289) suggests that Valerius had this passage in mind.

444. sol ... medius: 'the midday sun' as Man. 4.592; St. Th. 5.85. The Argo left Samothrace at dawn (441), and beaches at Sigeum after midday. It is night when they depart after the rescue of Hesione (579).

445. Thessala Dardaniis: the juxtaposition emphasizes the distance between the two places, separated by the Aegean, and is also intended to bring to mind the Thessalian ships of the Trojan war, which were beached near Sigeum (cf. on 446) and the Trojan enemy, the Dardani. 'Tunc primum' refers to the same event, the subsequent Greek landing at

Sigeum. Valerius refers to the Trojan war also at 571f.; 8.395ff. and it traditionally took place one generation after the voyage of the Argo (see 1.380ff.). The events related 451ff. form the first instalment of the story.

Dardania was a region and town of the Troad traditionally founded by Electra's son Dardanus after his departure from Samothrace. The adjective thus looks back to 'Electria tellus' (431) and the previous episode. It is Virgilian, like 'Sigeo' (446); 'Sigeum' is not known to Homer, unlike Dardania Il. 20.216; cf. ARh. 1.931.

446. adpulit: 'put into land', intransitive with the dative, unlike Tac. Ann. 2.24 'sola Germanici triremis Chaucorum terram adpulit'; 4.27; Suet. Galba 10.

Sigeo litore: the shore of Sigeum, a promontory in the Troad, at the entrance to the Hellespont. Apollonius mentions no stop here. The naval camp of the Greeks was nearby at the time of the Trojan war (Strabo 13. p.595; Mela 1.18; Plin. 5.33) and the phrase recalls this, echoing Ov. M. 12.71; 13.3f. For 'sedit' of a stationary ship see VA. 7.201 'fluminis intrastis ripas portuque sedetis'. The verb suggests that the Argo is beached on shore rather than anchored offshore.

447. desiliunt: 'they leap down', disembark (Caes. BG 4.24.2). This one word suggests a sudden and decisive movement, in marked contrast to the lengthy and detailed activities of 447-50 below. The passage is based on ARh. 1.1182ff.

ἔνθα δ' ἔπειθ' οἱ μὲν ξύλα κάγκανα, τοὶ δὲ λεχαίνην
φυλλάδα λειμώνων φέρον ἄσπετον ἀμήσαντες
στόρνυσθαι· τοὶ δ' ἄμφ' ἐκ πυρήια δινέβησκον,
οἱ δ' οἶνον χρητῆρσι κέρων, πονέοντό τε δαῖτα.

Valerius' Argonauts however have all the modern conveniences of the Roman army; tents (cf. 8.380); flints and sulphur. This pause for the midday meal is unparalleled in the Odyssey, Apollonius and elsewhere in Valerius; the sailors have no need to erect tents unless the midday sun is particularly hot, and the scene is intended to prefigure the Greek camp of the Trojan war. The lines follow the prosaic priorities of a Roman army; milling, fire-lighting and cooking.

pars ... pars ... alius: 'alius' is a variation on 'pars' and means

'several others'; cf. VA. 1.212f. 'pars ... alii'; 424ff; both with plural verbs.

448. castra levat: clearly an echo of Luc. 4.17f. 'nec Caesar colle minore castra levat', where 'levat' refers to the erecting of tents and not to the fact that they are pitched on an incline (thus Courtney CR 15 (1965) p.152). But 'levibus ... levat' is an unattractive jingle, and 'levat' may be corrupt, by confusion with 'levibus' and the echo of Lucan. 'Castra locat' is the more usual phrase (Heins) cf. Liv. 1.14.6. The tents were made of sails slung over an oar; they are light, therefore temporary, and hastily put up.

frangit ... saxo: the process of grinding grain as Lucr. 1.882; VA. 1.179; cf. G. 1.267 (TLL 6.1.1242:63ff). The Roman mill in its simplest form was the saddle-quern, 'mola trusatilis' (Cato Agr. 10.4). The worker knelt behind a sloping slab of stone, perhaps part of the landscape, and ground the grain by rubbing a small stone up and down the lower one. Possibly this small stone was small enough to be carried on board ship. 'Trusare' means to 'push to and fro', so a circular pushing movement ('tracto') is appropriate here. Heinsius' 'trito' is less good, for with 'saxo' it suggests a polished stone and would be more appropriate of the grain after grinding.

adorea ... farra: spelt or emmer-wheat, husked wheat, which could not be used for bread because the husk had to be removed by roasting. It was ground and made into a porridge (Plin. 6.83) or shaped into flat cakes (VA. 7.109ff). See further L.A. Moritz Grain Mills and Flour in Classical Antiquity (Oxford 1965) 62ff; N. Jasny The Wheats of Classical Antiquity (Baltimore 1944).

449-50. A brief epic description of fire-lighting, based on ARh. 1.1182ff. (above); VA. 1.174ff. 'at primum silici scintillam excudit Achates suscepitque ignem foliis atque arida circum nutrimenta dedit rapuitque in fomite flammam'.

The ancients knew of at least three methods of obtaining fire. The first involved rubbing two pieces of wood together, usually in the form of a fire-drill (ARh. 1.1184; Theoc. 22.33). The advantage of this method was that the wood, being combustible, could be used to start the fire. When stone was used, the spark had to be conveyed to a pile of kindling, dry leaves or fungus (VA. 1.176f; Valerius 2.449f).

A spark could be obtained by rubbing a stone, generally 'pyrites' or 'silex' with another stone or an iron bar. Valerius describes the former method here; cf. Soph. Phil. 296 πέτροισι πέτρον ἔκτριβων ; Theoph. De Igne 1; 63; Lucr. 6.160f; Ov. F. 4.795f; Sen. NQ 2.22. See further M.H. Morgan De ignis eliciendi modis apud antiquos Harv. Stud. 1 (1890) 19ff. (wood); 35ff. (stone).

citum ... ignem: 'citum' is not an adjective ('swift') but a participle from 'cieo', set in motion, as Tac. Ann. 15.38 ('ignis') 'validus ac vento citus', or 'struck'. So 'citum ... ignem' is one phrase and 'strictis' ought to qualify 'cautibus' ('strictis ... foliis', 'leaves recently picked', would not be good fuel). 'Stringere' signifies a gentle grazing movement (OLD 'stringo' 6) which is not strong enough. Perhaps Heinsius' 'tritis' is right, cf. 'tritu' Cic. ND. 2.25. 'Cautibus' are the flints ('silicibus'), though the word usually refers to a cliff or rock-face rather than a piece of rock. 'Cautes' is not always distinguished from 'cotes', a whetstone (at Luc. 7.139 'cautibus' is written for 'cotibus'), which meaning is perhaps better here.

450. obtendit: Madvig's conjecture for 'ostendit' (ω). Madvig takes 'obtendere' to mean 'to cover over' with leaves. His interpretation is right; the leaves are the kindling. However, it is more natural to take 'foliis' as dative, and 'obtendit' as the action of holding the flame out to the leaves, 'stretches out'. 'Ostendit' suggests the ancient belief that the spark was concealed inside the stone and revealed by rubbing (Pease on Cic. ND 2.25 'elici'), but it has less point here.

sulphure pascit amico: the metaphor is widespread, cf. 658; Sil. 7.370 'indomitos pasci ... ignes'; 9.603 etc (OLD sv. pasco 4c); also 'alere' (TLL 1.1709.75ff). Compare VA. 1.176 'nutrimenta dedit'. The flammable properties of sulphur were known to the Greeks (e.g. at the siege of Plataea, Thuc. 2.77 ; cf. Plin. NH. 36.137ff.) and to the Roman army, though its use is not customary in epic scenes. For 'amico' i.e. 'amico igni' cf. Col. 3.11.8 'vineis amicus silex'; St. Th. 6.106 'alnus amica fretis'.

451-578. The rescue of Hesione.

The exposure of Hesione, daughter of the Trojan king Laomedon, was the result of her father's defaulting on the payment of wages to Apollo

and Poseidon for building the wall round Troy (Il. 7.452f; 21.441-57). Valerius refers to this only obliquely (490-2). A brief version of the rescue appears in Ov. M. 11.211ff., but Valerius is indebted rather to the accounts of Perseus' rescue of Andromeda in Ov. M. 4.668ff; Man. 5.540ff., as revealed in the commentary. The structure of the episode is particularly close to Ovid's (cf. E. Burck, 1976).

Valerius includes the episode for a number of reasons. As it is not part of the Apollonian tradition its appearance here is unexpected, and reveals Valerius' desire to surprise his readers and to avoid too close an adherence to his source. It is one incident in the Trojan cycle, and therefore of particular interest to the Romans (cf. 572f). In its immediate context it satisfies Hercules' desire for adventure (382). Finally it is the most pictorial, and hence perhaps the most charming, episode of the book. There are other visual scenes, particularly the rape of Ganymede (2.414ff.), but none receives such extended treatment.

Hercules first sees Hesione high above him on a rock, fettered and weeping (462ff.). He notices in particular her pallor and beauty, conveyed in a beautiful simile taken from the world of art, hinting at the influence pictorial representations may have had on Valerius (465-7). He has viewed the story in a series of pictorial scenes; in one part the weeping and fettered girl, with the monster approaching; then Hercules killing the monster; finally Hesione's release, the city with women watching from the walls and the king with his retinue leaving to welcome the victorious hero. Examples of all three scenes can be found in art (cf. appendix).

The story contains several elements common to many folk-tales of differing origin; the exposure of the princess to a sea-monster; her rescue by a hero, concluding usually with their marriage (Stith Thompson Motif-Index of Folk Literature (Copenhagen 1955-8); B. 11.10, 11; S. 262; Frazer on Paus. 9.26.7). The sea-monster is archetypal and seems to have been a feature of Mediterranean mythology from an early date (cf. K. Coleman Hermes 111 (1983) p.228; A. Lesky Herakles und das Ketos AAWW 104 (1967) p.2).

The episode is usually found included with the Trojan cycle or among the adventures of Hercules. Valerius' source of inspiration may have been Diodorus (4.42), though as he is the only surviving author before Valerius to have included the episode in an Argonautic context,

the argument cannot be decisive. Indeed there are great differences between the two accounts; in Diodorus the Argonauts are driven by a storm to land in the Troad; Telamon's role is ignored (except his marriage 4.32.5); there is no mention of Apollo's anger; the king is forced to consult the oracle by an assembly of the people (cf. Lyc. Alex. 470); Hercules frees Hesione before asking for a reward, and is promised the horses before he kills the serpent; Hesione is offered the choice of following Hercules or staying in Troy; there is no reference to Laomedon's treachery towards Hercules (except 4.32.1-5). Valerius perhaps obtained from Diodorus only the idea of incorporating the episode in his Argonautica and took all the details from Ovid and Manilius. A similar point could be made about Valerius' account of Aeson's suicide 1.730ff, suggested by Diod. 4.50.1-2.

Diodorus omits the Lemnos episode as he concentrates on Hercules' role; the rescue of Hesione is really part of a Hercules-based version. But Valerius was not the first to include both Lemnos and Hesione. Diodorus' source was probably Dionysios Skytobrachion (c.270-220 B.C., cf. Rusten; RE sv. Dionysios, 109), though he does not acknowledge his debt here (cf. however 3.66.5-6; 52). The precise chronology of Dionysios' prose 'Argonautica' or 'Argonauts' (Suda) in relation to Apollonius is unknown, but it is referred to frequently by the scholiast on Apollonius. It seems to have had a bias in favour of Hercules, as had Diodorus, and did not include the Lemnos episode.

Dionysios' name occurs in P. Mich. inv. 1316 verso (cf. Rusten ch. 3), apparently a comparison of one Argonautica to several others. Apollonius, Dionysius and Kleon of Kurion (RE sv. Kleon 9) are named (33, 6, 3). Lines 5-8 are relevant:

] . "Ιλιον αὐτοῦς ἀγαγὼν ἀχολου-
 θ-] . Διονυσίῳ 'Ησιόνην τὴν Ἀσ-
 μέδοντος] . . . χεϊμένην τῷ κήτει ἰδῶν
] . αὐτῆς σὺν Τελαμῶνι βουλευ- (Rusten pp. 59 ff.).

Hercules sees Hesione, Laomedon's daughter, offered as a sacrifice to the monster, and with Telamon's help goes to the rescue (cf. Rusten's introduction, ch. 3, 7). The fragment is perhaps a brief summary of Dionysius' version, or more probably a comparison between Dionysius and another author, also compared to Apollonius at 33. Hesione's story occurred then in at least one other account. If the subject of the papyrus fragment is Kleon (3), then he was the first poet we know of to

have included both the Hesione episode and the Lemnos story (cf. Schol. ARh. 1.623-26a).

The relationship between the Hesione story and the legend of Perseus and Andromeda

The Hesione story is usually said to be a variant of the far more popular legend of Andromeda, and the two certainly show great similarity. Andromeda is a princess, daughter of the Ethiopian king Cepheus; the sea-monster is sent by Poseidon to punish the land because the Nereids are angry at Cassiepia's boastful remarks concerning her own or her daughter's beauty. Perseus rescues Andromeda in return for her hand in marriage (Ov. M. 4.668ff; Manil. 5.540ff; Apld. 2.4.3; Hyg. 64).

The earliest evidence for the story is a Corinthian black-figure amphora of 575-50 B.C. (Berlin 1652) where Perseus, Andromeda and Cetus are named, though the earliest literary references are a century later, Herodotus 7.61, 150 and Pherecydes (FGH 3 F 12 = Schol. ARh. 4.1091). The first full treatments were Sophocles' and Euripides' Andromedas (of 442, 412 B.C. respectively). Eratosthenes attributed the catastrophism of Andromeda and her parents to Sophocles (fr. 16 Nauck pp.157ff), who may have popularized a little-known legend or even invented parts of it.

The origins of the story are perhaps to be sought in local legend. Originally Ethiopian, the setting was moved to the Mediterranean, (cf. Bömer on M. 4.669; Fontenrose pp.276, 279) where it shares locality and affinities with Jonah and the Whale at Joppa, and St. George and the Dragon at Lydda (earliest reference is twelfth century). Or it may be the result of the association of unnamed constellations, the seated woman, the king and the princess, in the fifth century (see G.P. Goold Proc. Afr. Class. Assoc. 2 (1959) 10f). As the Hesione story was probably known to Homer, and is certainly older than that of Andromeda, Goold's explanation is very plausible. Notice that at Lyc. Alex. 836ff. Perseus is consumed by the monster as Hercules is at 476ff., and in Hellanicus (Fontenrose pp.347-50).

451. Telamon... comes: for the association of the two heroes cf. on 384. Telamon married Hesione after Hercules sacked Troy (cf. Soph. Ai. 1302; Lyc. Alex. 467f.; Ov. H. 20.69; Hyg. fab. 89 etc). Pap. Mich.

inv. 1316 v. (above) also links the two heroes in this adventure. 'Comes' suggests Telamon's secondary role, and is a Virgilian word, cf. VA. 9.179 'iuxta comes Euryalus', 12.385 'Ascaniusque comes'; Valerius 5.187.

litora blando anfractu sinuosa legunt: 'Legunt' means 'they wend their way', or 'pick their way', and suggests that the going is difficult and that they follow the shoreline as ships 'hug' the coast (OLD sv. 'lego' 7b). Compare Prop. 1.20.7 'leges umbrosae flumina silvae'; St. Th. 1.376 'opaca legens nemorum'. The bay curves (sinuosa), in a way that anticipates the coiling serpent of 502. Compare Valerius 3.277 'sinuosa per aequora'; Apul. Mun. 4. '(terra) sinuosis inflexa litoribus'. 'Anfractus' is an inlet, with a more angular notion than the gently curving shore, as Liv. 38.7.3 'quacumque se classis circumegerat per litorum anfractus'; cf. VA. 11.522 'curvo anfractu valles' (a similar pleonasm). The scene is immensely visual and pleasant, enticing the senses (blando) like 'blandissima litora, Baias' (St. S. 3.5.96). Heinsius' 'pando', though adding to the curving notion, is unnecessary. It tends to be used of more solid objects (the hull of a boat, an arch) in a convex or concave curve. Here the curving is linear.

452. vox accidit aures: 'a cry reached their ears'. The phrase is rare but not unparalleled, cf. Plaut. Stich. 88 'paternae vocis sonitus auris accidit'; Anth. Lat. 2.227.3 'meas quoque auris Memnonis vox accidit'; CIL 3.47. 'Accidit ad aures' is the more common expression (TLL 1.290.83ff.). The conjecture 'attigit' (T) is no improvement, in spite of parallels at Sil. 13.153 'vox attigit aures'; Claud. Bell. Goth. 412.

453. flebile succedens: 'flebile', a necessary correction of 'flebili' (ω), is adverbial, and echoes Man. 5.566 'aura per extremas resonavit flebile rupes'. Compare also Ov. Rem. 36; M. 11.52f.; Valerius 7.215. The cry follows upon the murmuring of the waves as they break on the shore. The continuous alternation of the two sounds, as the noise of the waves dies down and the girl's cry becomes faintly audible, is well conveyed by the use of 'succedens', implying a successive noise, and 'remurmurat', 'murmurs in response'.

fracta remurmurat unda: from VA. 10.291. The waves are 'broken' on the rocky shore (cf. TLL 6.1.1244.30ff). The 'murmur' here is the roar of the breakers, a continuous monotone, and onomatopoeic. 'Murmur' can be both the gentle lapping of waves (Ov. M. 2.455 Bömer, part of the 'locus amoenus' topic) and the more violent roaring of the sea in a storm, with a variety of adjectives indicating pitch; 'magno' VA. 1.124; 'saeva' Valerius 5.121. Compare the Greek $\mu\omicron\rho\mu\upsilon\rho\omega$ Il. 5.599; ARh. 1.543 etc.

454. pressere gradum: they stop to listen and then make off in the direction of the sound ('secuntur ... iter'). Compare VA. 6.197ff. 'sic effatus vestigia pressit observans quae signa ferant, quo tendere pergant. Pascentes illae tantum prodire volando quantum acie possent oculi servare sequentum', where 'sequentum' refers to following with the eye, as Sil. 17.55ff.; Valerius 1.495. Here 'secuntur' is more literal, though there may be a hint of following the sound with the ear, as Plin. Ep. 8.1.2 'quem aures meae sic sequentur?' The heroes' pace quickens ('acrius hoc') when the sound becomes clearer.

vacuum ... vocis iter: 'vocis' goes closely with 'iter'; the heroes' path follows the metaphorical track of sound through the air. The path is 'vacuum' because there is no one yet in sight. Compare 3.661 'vacuos ... visus'. The phrase also suggests the familiar 'vacuus aer'; the heroes have nothing but the sound to guide them. The phrase is vivid and there is no need to emend.

455. iam certa sonat ('vox'): the cries become more intelligible, in contrast to 'flebile succedens'. 'Certa' could be neuter plural, the voice uttered intelligible sounds as Ov. M. 5.296 'linguae ... tam certa loquentes'. The effect on the men is revealed in 'certi', with an intentional echo of this line.

deserta ... virgo: Hesione is named only at 4.164. As the episode is not a traditional part of the Argonautica, the reader would have to guess her identity from the situation, and later her parentage (473f). For 'deserta' with the dative cf. VA. 4.323 'cui me moribundam deseris?'; TLL 5.1.674.44ff. 'Durus' means 'hard to bear', 'intolerable', as 4.486 'durae ... poenae' (Phineus).

456. quem non ... vocabat?: from VA. 2.745 'quem non incusavi ... hominumque deorumque', where Aeneas himself is speaking. Such sudden rhetorical questions are of a type associated particularly with Ovid e.g. M. 2.436f. 'illa quidem pugnat sed quem superare puella, quisve Iovem poterat?'; generally referring to the victim's fate. See R.O.A.M. Lyne Ciris p.29, and other examples in Valerius at 3.355f; 5.171f; 6.219f; 8.241f., 259f..

457. acrius: non-poetic, cf. Axelson p.62; 5.101 'acrius' (Baehrens), for 'altius' (ω). Valerius alone of the poets does not avoid adverbs in '-o', '-e', '-iter', and their comparatives.

succurrere certi: 'determined to help'; combined with the notion of 'running'. For 'succurrere', 'to hasten to someone's assistance' cf. VA. 1.630; OLD sv. 'succurro' 3. The infinitive is almost epexegetic, indicating the sphere of action of the adjective. The construction of 'certus' with the infinitive arose by analogy with the impersonal 'certum est', cf. HSz. p.350, as the poets found it metrically convenient; cf. VA. 4.564 'certa mori'; Ov. M. 9.43; Valerius 4.47; 8.316; Tac. Ann. 4.57 etc.

458-61. Bull similes are extremely common in epic poetry, and the antecedents of this one are Homeric (Il. 17.61ff.). The specific points of application are the noise (465ff. supplies the visual imagery) and the desire to help. However, the simile as a whole is inappropriate to the situation; the comparison of the gentle girl to a bull is grotesque (at 545ff. the bull is far more appropriate of Hercules), and 'gemitu ... acerbo' is exaggerated in comparison to 'flebile'. Valerius may have incorporated the simile into the episode with little regard for the context, though this is contrary to his normal practice. Although the bull-lion combination is conventional (St. Th. 5.330 etc) a more gentle creature, like a deer, would be more appropriate, a combination which appears not in epic but on a 7th century Cycladic jug (GR 1873.8.20.385). Perhaps 458 should read 'gemitu cum cervus acerbo'. 'Gemitu' is appropriate to the bellowing of a bull (VG. 3.223. A. 12.722), but with 'cervus' it becomes a more human cry of distress; cf. 'gemens' VA. 7.501 of Sylvia's wounded stag. The helplessness of the farmers (460f) anticipates Hercules' initial inability to help the girl (522ff.).

459. avia: used substantively, first attested in Virgil (VA. 2.736 etc) meaning a pathless place, or 'wilderness', cf. TLL 2.1448.10ff.

frangentem morsu: 'rending the bull apart with his jaws'; cf. HC. 1.23.9f. 'non ego te, tigris ut aspera Gaetulusve leo frangere persequor' NH; add Mart. 1.22.2 (Citroni); Valerius 3.589; St. Th. 5.330 (perhaps with Valerius in mind). The lion leaps upon the back of his intended victim and tears him apart (459f.); Valerius is describing a recognised mode of attack, cf. Il. 5.161f; St. Th. 8.596; Sil. 11.244ff. 'Morsu' is used for 'hiatu', cf. St. Th. 11.28 'armenti reges magno leo fregit hiatu'. The repeated 'r' sounds give the passage a savage tone.

460. e sparso ... mapali: 'mapalia' were the distinctive African huts, cf. Sall. BJ. 18.8 'aedificia Numidarum agrestium, quae mapalia illi vocant, oblonga incurvis lateribus tecta, quasi navium carinae sunt'. The word is not strictly part of the vocabulary of epic, but it adds an exotic touch to the simile, and sets the scene firmly in Africa, as Sil. 4.372ff., a function often performed by a geographical epithet, cf. St. Th. 5.332 'Massylo ... sub hoste', 11.27; VA. 12.4; Valerius 3.587. Here 'sparso mapali' is singular for plural, a collective usage with the adjective rather than the noun indicating that more than one hut is meant.

461. caeco clamore: an instance of μετάληψις αίσθήσεως. 'Caeco' conveys the ineffectual action of the men in the absence of a definite plan. It must also imply that the screaming animal is out of sight, as Hesione still is. The alliteration of 'c' is effective: 'their inarticulate cries stick in their throats' (Garson CQ 20 (1970) p.186). The simile ends on a striking aural note, immediately before the visual 'visu', 'cernit'. Note the echo at St. Th. 9.192 (p.xx above).

462. constitit Alcides: the abruptness of this resumptive phrase well conveys the sudden nature of the stop, and suggests an element of wonder, as VA. 6.331; 559; Valerius 2.334 'substitit Aesonides'.

visu ... enisus: 'straining his gaze', implying that it is an effort for Hercules to see the girl; either she is still far off, or she is very high up (but close enough for conversation). There is tension

between the words, for 'enissus' usually implies something more substantial than 'gazing'. However, the phrase is vivid and there is no need to emend.

463. truces manicas: the adjective is transferred from the person who put on the shackles, the 'pitiless' executioner. Applied to the handcuffs it means cruel, 'galling' (Mozley).

defecta ... ora: her faintness and pallor, picked up in the following simile.

464. ω reads 'et ad primos surgentia flumina (fulmina L) flectus' ('flectus' V), which is nonsense. A reference to the sea-serpent here ('flectus', or 'flexus' Sudhaus) anticipates its effective introduction at 479. The line must refer to the girl. 'Flumina' is an easy error for 'lumina' (F 1503), and it is natural to mention the girl's tearful eyes after 463, cf. Ov. M. 4.674 'tepedo manabant lumina fletu'. Ehlers prints 'ad primos surgentia lumina fluctus' (CM); the girl watches the waves for the first sign of the serpent. But 'ad primos ... fluctus' means 'the edge of the shore' (cf. 2.637; 7.496) and Hesione would naturally be gazing 'out to sea'.

Editors read 'ad primos turgentia lumina fletus' comparing Prop. 1.21.3 'quid nostro gemitu turgentia lumina torques', but the phrase in Propertius probably refers to the swelling eyes of anger (Fedeli) and 'turgentia' conflicts with 'ad primos ... fletus'. These cannot be her first tears (cf. 'flebile' 453), and 'turgentia' implies eyes swollen with continuous weeping. Koch's 'adsiduo turgentia lumina fletu' would make sense, cf. Cat. 68.55 'neque adsiduo turgentia lumina fletu'; St. Th. 12.49.

465-7. The comparison of a human figure to a statue or other work of art is Homeric (Od. 23.159ff.; cf. Cat. 64.61; VA. 1.592f.), but this particular instance is a development of Ov. M. 4.673-5 'nisi quod aura capillos moverat et tepido manabant lumina fletu, marmoreum ratus esset opus'. Ovid may have had in mind the comparison of Eur. Andr. (fr. 125 N) παρθένου τ' εἰκὼ τινα ἐξ ἀντομόρφων λαίων τυχισμάτων, σοφῆς ἄγαλμα χειρός. The simile is strikingly visual, with its emphasis on colour.

465. exanimus ... ebur: 'exanimus' usually refers to the lifelessness (n.154) of a human, and thus implies a living subject. Its application to 'ebur' here reminds us that ivory was once part of a living animal (cf. Lucr. 1.774 'exanimo ... corpore' of a tree-trunk). It also underlines the parallel with Hesione and reinforces the paradox in 'maeret'. For statues with human emotions cf. 5.187ff. (Helle's fear). The whiteness of ivory emphasizes Hesione's pallor and lifelessness (defecta) that provoked the comparison. There may be a playful allusion here to the controversy regarding the colour of Ethiopian Andromeda's skin, white in Man. 5.554; Philostr. Im. 1.29.3; Ach. Tat. 3.7; but black in Ov. H. 15.36.

'Tamen' draws a contrast with 'exanimus': the statue is lifeless but nevertheless it weeps. 'Coactum' here means 'forced to take on a shape' by the skill of the sculptor. With 'maeret' cf. Call. Hy. 2.22
 ὁ δακρυόεις... πέτρος (Niobe).

466. Parius ... lapis: here the point of comparison is Hesione's beauty, a literary motif, as VA. 1.592f. 'quale manus addunt ebori decus, aut ubi flavo argentum Pariusve lapis circumdatur auro'; HC. 1.19.5f (NH); Ov. M. 3.419 (Narcissus), Petron. 126.17. Parian marble is dazzlingly white.

notas et nomina: it takes on 'the features and identity of' a man. The phrase is based on VG. 3.158; A. 3.444, though placed in a different context. Here 'notas' are the features of a man that distinguish him, cf. Luc. 2.166f. 'cum iam tabe fluunt confusaque tempore multo amisere notas'; St. Th. 7.302 'traxit... notas et miscuit annos'. 'Nomina', like the singular 'nomen' refers to the individuality of the figure (as 5.119; 7.275; 8.463), the consequence of taking on particular 'notas'. Valerius refers to the characteristics appropriate to a particular hero, cf. 'sit Medea ferox' etc Hor. AP. 123.

'Sumit' is present with 'maeret', 'referunt', for it is a continuous process. Baehrens' 'sumpsit' misunderstands the point of comparison (in taking 'maeret' with this phrase too).

467. liquidi ... colores: from Hor. C. 4.8.6ff. 'quas aut Parhasius protulit aut Scopas, hic saxo, liquidis ille coloribus sollers nunc hominem ponere, nunc deum', cf. also Prud. Perist. 9.93 'liquidis expressa coloribus'. Allusions to Horace are rare in Valerius, but

this is a clear instance. Translate 'flowing colours', the point being that they are paints. 'Liquidus' contrasts with 'coactum', the rigid line of sculpture. The point of comparison lies in 'miranda', 'wonders', cf. VA. 1.494, of the scenes on the temple at Carthage. Here Hercules wonders at the sight of Hesione. He does not fall in love (Ov. M. 4.675f., 679). For 'referunt', 'bring before men's eyes' (cf. n.272).

468. ductor: cf. 1.164 etc, where it is used more appropriately of Jason. Here Hercules is 'ductor', the 'hero' without the connotations of leadership, cf. ἡγεμών Xen. Anab. 6.2.15; 'ductores Danaum delecti' Lucr. 1.86; VA. 1.235 etc. Compare 'ducem' (509), less colourful than 'ductor'. Valerius does not allude to the contest for leadership mentioned 3.702: cf. ARh. 1.341ff; Diod. 4.41 etc.

quod ... doce: the tone is lively and conversational with some affinities to the language of comedy, cf. Plaut. Ps. 866 'quaeso qui possum, doce'; 'ne doce' An. 434 etc. In contrast, 'nomenque genusque' is high epic, as VA. 10.149.

469. quae sors ista: 'sors' (Heins.) for 'mors' (ω). A reference here to death would be premature, whereas 'sors', 'lot' or 'fortune', is appropriate and ironic in view of 482ff.

tendunt ... palmas: Hesione's hands are bound to the rock by a pair of fetters that leave her arms extended ('tendunt'); cf. Man. 5.550ff. 'mollia per duras panduntur brachia cautes; astrinxere pedes scopulis, iniectaue vincla, et cruce virginea moritura puella pependit' (Andromeda); Ach. Tat. 3.7.4. The constellation too shows a maiden with outstretched arms: cf. Aratus 202 διωλεν ἡ τετάνυσται ; Eratosth. 17 διατεταμένη τὰς χεῖρας ; also Evanthes' Andromeda; Ach. Tat. 3.7 τὰς δὲ χεῖρας εἰς τὴν πέτρην ἐξεπέτασεν.

Valerius may have obtained the detail from Manilius, cf. on 531 'inhiat'.

470-492. The motif of questioning a victim about her plight is familiar, and perhaps related to the Homeric convention whereby a warrior ascertains from his opponent his name and origin before attacking him. Compare Ov. M. 4.680f.; Man. 5.574. More frequently

this questioning takes place after the rescue - Achaemenides (VA. 3.613ff.); Dymas (Valerius 4.140ff.).

Hesione answers Hercules' questions, though she does not reveal her name (468). She trembles ('tremens') with fear at her danger, yet speaks with modesty ('pudor'), the natural reaction of a young girl when addressed by a stranger (cf. Ov. M. 4.682f; 'modestos vultus').

470. oculos deicta: 'with her eyes on the ground' for the retained accusative cf. 'aequatum ornos' (6); from VA. 11.480 'oculos deicta decoros' (Lavinia); TLL 5.1.396.74.

471. non ego digna malis: she is anxious to explain that her plight is due to no fault of her own, cf. Ov. M. 4.685f. 'sua ne delicta fateri nolle videretur'. 'Non ego' is placed emphatically first and contrasts with 'parentum', which refers elliptically to her father's guilt.

suprema ... dona: explained by 'ostro ... frequentes'; literally the final offerings made to the dead, as Cat. 101.2f. 'advenio ... ut te postremo donarem munere mortis'; VA. 11.25, 61; Sen. Ph. 1273. For the funeral image cf. Man. 5.548; the bridal image is perhaps more common; Man. 5.545 'hic hymenaeus erat'; Ach. Tat. 3.7; possibly Eur. Andr. included a lament similar to Antigone's in Sophocles' play (Fontenrose p.304).

472. ostro ... auroque frequentes: an unusual use of 'frequentes'. Originally meaning 'thronging' or 'thronged' (OLD; as at Valerius 1.184 'Minyae ... frequentes'), it came to mean 'abounding with', as VG. 2.185 'frequens herbis campus'; Liv. 1.9.9 'frequentem tectis urbem'; Ov. M. 4.620; Sen. HF. 1233f. Here Valerius means that the rocks are draped with an abundant collection of garments. This is a bold use of the word in an original and exciting way, and there is no need to emend. Baehrens 'recentes' (as VA. 6.674 'prata recentia rivis' cf. 9.455f.; Valerius 6.455) is less exciting. 'Ostro auroque' are used by synecdoche for 'gold and purple garments' cf. VA. 4.134 'ostro... insignis et auro'.

scopulos: Hesione's rocks were a notable landmark (Luc. 9.970) and the promontory was traditionally named after her ('Αγαμέλας Hesych.; 'Αγαμ-μεῖα Steph. Byz.); cf. W. Leaf Strabo and the Troad (Cambridge 1923) p.167; J.M. Cook The Troad (Oxford 1973) pp.168ff.

473. nos Ili felix quondam genus: 'felix' is Slothouwer's conjecture for 'veteris' (ω) which makes no sense and must have come in from 580. For the phrase cf. VE. 1.74 'ite meae, felix quondam pecus, ite capellae'. 'Quondam' goes closely with 'felix' in contrast to 'donec'. 'Felix' is needed to contrast with 473f. Hesione is still the grandchild of Ilus, but the family is no longer fortunate.

invida ... fortuna: the goddess 'Fortuna' should be spelt with a capital letter. Fortune, like the gods (375), is often hostile to those who are prosperous or successful: cf. St. Th. 10.384f. 'invida fata piis et fors ingentibus ausis rara comes'; Claud. in Ruf. 2.194 etc, and the Greek ἡ φθονερὰ Τύχη. Hesione suggests that her father is not to blame for the vicissitudes of fortune, though he is the cause of her present misfortune.

474. Laomedonteos: the adjective and the four word hexameter are Hellenistic features of a pattern introduced into Latin by the neoteric poets (e.g. Cat. 64.77). Compare Call. Aet. fr. 21.4 Λαομεδοντε(ω) παιδὶ χροισσαμ[ένῃ; VG. 1.502 'Laomedontae luimus periuria Troiae'; A. 4.542; Ov. M. 11.196; Sil. 1.543; also VA. 8.214; Valerius 1.375, 635; 3.733 'Amphytrioniades ...'. The weighty adjective emphasizes the majesty of the royal house before trouble hit it, and this device is all the more effective for its infrequent occurrence.

fugeret: an example of the subjunctive encroaching into a construction mainly confined to the indicative in Golden Age poetry, because there is some idea of purpose or cause. For 'donec' with the subjunctive cf. Lucr. 4.997 Bailey; Liv. 21.28.11; in Valerius also at 1.842; 5.685; 8.87, 190, 383.

475. principio ... tum: (477) is Ph. Wagner's conjecture, for 'cum' (ω).

'Principio' goes better with a temporal word following; cf. 'principio ... deinde' Liv. 22.28.10; 'principio ... postea' Cic. Div. 2.75. The confusion with 'cum' will have arisen from 'cum' in 478.

morbi: 'then plagues' (broke out). The omission of the verb (not 'sunt') is unusual, but occurs later with 'fragor' (477). Traditionally the plague was sent by Apollo, and the sea-monster by Poseidon (Hellan. 4. F 26.6; Nicander P. Oxy. 2812.19ff; Diod. 4.42; Apld. 2.5.9; Hyg. Fab. 89; Serv. VA. 1.550).

476. temperies: a pair with 'caelo ... sereno', the healthy mildness of the climate was driven out by an unhealthy heat. 'Temperies' is first attested in Hor. Epist. 1.16.8 (cf. Bömer on Ov. M. 1.51) in preference to the unmetrical 'temperatio' (Cic. Tusc. 4.30). For 'temperies caeli' cf. Ov. P. 2.7.71 (Scythia); Curt. 9.1.11 (India). The word often distinguishes the temperate zones (Ov. M. 1.51).

arsere rogis certantibus agri: in just four words Valerius encapsulates the extent of the devastating effect of the plague. Its victims are burnt on pyres in the fields. The phrase is based on VA. 11.208f. 'tunc undique vasti certatim crebris conlucent ignibus agri'; cf. Valerius 3.333f. The pyres appear to rival one another in their brightness and size, and in number; 'certantibus' combines Virgil's 'certatim' and 'crebris'. Valerius has made creative and effective use of a Virgilian phrase (p.xvi above).

477. subitus fragor: the use of the adjective 'subitus' reflects the general preference among poets for adjectives over adverbs; cf. 312 'subito ... tumultu'; 400 'subitus ... cursus'. For the phrase cf. VA. 2.692 'subito fragore' of crashing thunder. Here Valerius refers to the crashing of the waves, cf. VA. 1.154 'pelagi ... fragor'; Plin. Ep. 6.31.17. The arrival of the monster is sudden and unexpected (cf. 'ecce repens') in contrast to the plague which continued for some time. moventes: the crashing of the billows upon the shore causes Mt. Ida to quake. 'Moveri' is often used of an earthquake (Lucr. 6.667; VA. 3.91 etc); TLL 8.1542.19ff.

Idaea ... cum stabulis nemora: 'Ida's groves with their lairs'. The phrase is based on the topic found at VG. 1.482f; A. 2.498f. (of rivers) 'camposque per omnes cum stabulis armenta trahit', cf. Luc. 4.100. The statement is hyperbolic, cf. 479f., though compare 519 'intremere Ide' of the monster's approach. At its highest point, Ida is 1418m high.

The elision of 'nemora' at the end of the sentence is effective, in hurrying on the sentence to the next stage. As the crashing of the waves had arisen suddenly, so even more sudden is the monster's arrival.

478. ecce: marks a sudden interruption (cf. on 311). Its use here

suggests the messenger style of speech, as Hesione fills in background details for Hercules.

repens ... belua: the beast's arrival is sudden, compare in prose 'hostis ... repentinus' (Liv. 39.1.6), though 'repens' is easier with 'vox' (91). 'Belua' is emphatically first word of the hexameter line, for its appearance is startling and dramatic. 'Belua monstrum ingens' recalls Polyphemus 'monstrum horrendum, informe, ingens' (VA. 3.658). 'Monstrum' is here used like the English 'monster', as 17 of the Giants; 4.155, 188 (Amycus); 2.489, 514 and 3.512 of this sea monster; also Cacus VA. 8.198. 'Consurgere' well conveys the creature's 'rearing up' in all its voluminous bulk. It is often used of a multitude (OLD sv. 'consurgo'1) or something of vast extent like the sea.

479f. 'metire' is imperative; for 'metior' with the ablative meaning 'to measure one thing in comparison to another' cf. Cic. Fam. 7.12.2. 'omnia voluptate sua metiuntur'; Quint. 12.11.29 'si quis haec studia utilitate sola metiatur'. 'Nostro ... mari' is the Mediterranean Sea.

Ehlers' explanation 'montes belua montium ut mare belua maris' is unexciting (contra Leo p.228). Hesione means to make this hyperbolic comparison of the serpent to the mountains and the sea; cf. VA. 8.691f. 'pelago credas innare revulsas Cycladas aut montis concurrere montibus altos' (of the ships at Actium). This comparison of the monster to the mountains for bulk and height (cf. VA. 2.15, the Trojan horse; 12.701ff), and the sea for extent, is extremely effective. Compare 522f. 'non illa magis quam sede movetur magnus Eryx'.

480f. primaeva ... manus: traditionally Hesione is the only girl exposed (as Hellan. Schol. Il. 20.146; Ov. M. 11.211; Diod. 4.42; Apld. 2.5.9) not one of several (Hyg. Fab. 89; Myth. Vat. 1.137; 2.193). One might argue that there was a preliminary short-list, ('deditur' offered) followed by the choice by lot of a single victim' (484). For a comparable procedure cf. Hom. Il. 7.171ff.. But 563 naturally points to several victims, as 'amplexus planctusque parentum' (481) confirms, and Pio's 'nurus' must be rejected as it fails to solve this difficulty. So Hesione is the latest of several victims. The collocation of 'primaeva' and 'furenti' is striking; the youthfulness of the young girls contrasts with the maddened monster. Hercules takes on this quality of his opponent at 509 'furiis crude-scere'.

481. amplexus inter planctusque parentum: the alliteration and position of 'inter' (as 6.595; 7.358) hints at the pathos of an old Latin tragedy; cf. also Lucr. 1.99 'mactatu maesta parentis'.

482. hoc ... imperat: 'damnare' explains 'hoc'. The construction of 'imperare' with the infinitive is regular after Cic. and Caes.; cf. VA. 7.168f. 'ille intra tecta vocari imperat', Luc. 4.32ff.; Valerius 3.437, 460. 'Animam' is tautologous with 'corpora' (the English 'body and soul'), though 'virgineam' defines 'who' and 'sortita' explains 'how' the choice is to be made.

sortes: there is no reference here to the oracle of Apollo in Lycia ('Lyciae ... sortes' VA. 4.346, St. Th. 3.477) but 'sortes' is synonymous with 'Ammon'. Compare Luc. 9.512f. 'sortiger ... Iuppiter' (the oracle of Zeus Ammon). 'Sortes' refers to the method of declaring the oracle; an affirmative or negative response was revealed by a movement of the god's statue. The use of the 'lot' proper as at Dodona, was not practised here, but Valerius is not precise. He has in mind Ov. M. 4.671 'Andromedan poenas iniustus iusserat Ammon', where the appearance of a Libyan god is not out of place, and is not thinking of other versions of the Hesione story which made Laomedon consult Apollo's oracle (as Hyg. Fab. 89), though this was closer to Troy.

Ammon was the Egyptian god Amon-Ra, identified with Zeus. The oracle was known to the Greeks by the time of Pindar (Pyth. 4.16) and Herodotus (1.47ff). Zeus Ammon was worshipped as a man with ram's horns, and 'corniger Ammon' first occurs Ov. M. 5.17 (Bömer) etc. cf. H.W. Parke The Oracle of Zeus (Oxford 1967) 233ff.

483. animam: ἡ ψυχή, the life-giving part of a person, which came to be used with a qualifying adjective for the whole person, cf. VA. 11.24 'egregias animas'; Hor. Sat. 1.5.41 'animae quales neque candidiores'. Oracles often prefer virgins, cf. Lucr. 1.84, VA. 2.116 (Iphigenia) etc. sortita... Lethen: 'receiving Lethe as its lot'. Lethe is used loosely for the underworld, referring specifically to the river of forgetfulness (VA. 6.749 etc). Fr. Reuss' 'letum' is far less colourful and exciting and should be rejected. For the construction cf. VA. 9.174 '(legio) sortita periculum'.

484. corpora ... urna: the same words frame VA. 6.22. Emphasis lies on 'crudelis', first word in its sentence, though 'me' is not unemphatic: 'tis I whom the cruel urn condemns to the rocks' (Mozley). Compare VA. 2.129 'me destinat arae', on which the line is also based. In 'destinat' there is a hint of the original meaning 'fasten down' or 'tie up' (synonymous with 'alligare'), as Hesione is fastened to the rocks by chains. Contrast 1.417 'e clausis quem (ventum) destinet Aeolus antris', 'intends to let loose'. For 'destinare' with the dative, first VA. 12.129, cf. TLL 5.1.757.47ff.

485. verum ... si: 'verum' is used to contradict or negate the previous sentence by introducing a further consideration (OLD sv. 'verum' 3). Here there is an additional element of doubt as Hesione is not convinced of the identity of her questioner. Compare 4.587 'verum inter medias dabitur si currere cautes'.

redeunt: Hesione has already reported Fortuna's departure (473f). The departure of the gods is a familiar motif; their return is less common. It indicates that a new era of prosperity and success is at hand, as Sil. 8.234f. 'placavimus iras caelicolum; redeunt divi'; VE. 4.6 'iam redit et Virgo, redeunt Saturnia regni' (of the new Golden Age). 'Numina' means the gods in general, Fortune in particular. 'Iam' is a necessary correction for 'tam' (ω) which makes no sense.

tuque ille ades: 'if you are he'. 'Ille' is predicative as in the colloquial Greek expression οὗτος ἐκεῖνος, cf. Hdt. 1.32; Eur. Hel. 622. etc. Compare VA. 1.617 'tunc ille Aeneas ...'; Valerius 4.467 'tunc ille ...'; Petron. 126 'numquid ille ... tu es'; also Ov. H. 14.95ff, 15.78. 'Ades' resembles the almost formulaic appeal for the appearance of a god as Sapph. fr. 1.5 ἀλλὰ τυλδ' ἔλθ' ; VG. 2.39 'tuque ades' (Maecenas); Valerius 8.74.

486. auguriis ... et sorte deorum: the oracle promised the arrival of a deliverer, and commanded that the horses be kept as his reward (cf. 'iam' 487; 488; 565 A) so 'sorte deorum' refers back to 482 and the occasion on which Laomedon consulted the oracle.

promisse: the word has sacral associations, 'the promised one'; cf. 6.730f. 'omina poenas promissere mihi'. On the attraction of the predicative participle to the vocative cf. VA. 2.283 'expectate venis' (Austin ad loc); 10.811; 12.947; Valerius 1.391f. 'tu quoque ... bis

Lemnon visure petis'; 4.468. The construction shows Greek influence: Soph. Phil. 759f. $\lambda\acute{\omega}$, $\lambda\acute{\omega}$ δόσσηνε σὺ, δόσσηνε δῆπιδιὰ πόνων πάντων φανεῖς; and was metrically useful as well as creating an effect both vivid and immediate.

487f. candentes ... cornipedes: the horses given to Laomedon's father by Zeus as reparation for the theft of Ganymede (Il. 5.265ff; Hom. Hy. Aph. 210ff; Call. frag. 537 Pf; Paus. 5.24.5 etc). 'Candentes' has sacral associations, more so than 'albus', cf. VA. 4.61; 9.628; Sen. Oed. 299; Med. 59f. for white animals used for sacrifice; Valerius 3.432 'candenti veste', a priest's robe. See J. Andre Étude sur les termes de couleur dans la langue latine (Paris 1949) 31ff; 388. 'Candentes' is a participle from 'candere' used adjectivally, for 'candidi', to mean glowing, dazzlingly white; first Enn. sc. 280 V. Their colour distinguishes the horses from mortal breeds (compare 6.206). 'Cornipedes' is an adjective (as VA. 6.591 etc) used substantively for 'horses' as Luc. 8.3; St. Th. 7.137; Sil. 3.361 etc. It is almost a kenning ('horn-hoofed ones'). The Greek $\kappa\epsilon\rho\alpha\tau\acute{o}\pi\omicron\upsilon\varsigma$ occurs only as a Gloss 2.348.7.

votivo in gramine: 'votivus' means something promised or offered in fulfilment of a vow (Hor. Ep. 1.3.36). Here the horses are promised in return for Hesione's rescue. The epithet is not merely transferred from the horses but refers to Laomedon's promise to keep the horses until Hesione's deliverer appears, in what becomes a 'votive meadow', land aside for that particular purpose.

488. nostrae stata dona salutis: 'the appointed reward for my safety'. Heinsius proposed 'saluti', the 'reward appointed for my safety', and the dative is more natural after 'stata' cf. Tac. Hist. 4.81.1 'statos aestivis flatibus dies'. The reward is already 'fixed', cf. 552f. 'debita ... dona'; 565 A 'statui quae munera'. Valerius alone, apart from Hellanicus (Schol. Il. 20.145), states that the reward is fixed before the arrival of Hercules. Usually a hiatus is caused by the hero's negotiations with the king over the question of reward. Valerius probably introduced this detail to facilitate the speed of the narrative, and was not consciously reverting to Hellanicus' version.

489. adnue ... precor: in both words the underlying assumption is that Hercules has the ability to carry out Hesione's request (cf. 'namque potes' 490) by virtue of his heroic status. 'Adnue', the nod of assent, is often used of deities (VA. 4.128; 9.625), especially in requests for divine favour (OLD sv. adnuo 6). 'Pecor', 'I beseech you', also implies that a god is addressed (as VA. 12.179).

defecta ... Pergama: the adjective intentionally echoes 'defecta ... virginis ora' (463), coming in the same metrical position. The city too is enfeebled by the ravages of the monster. 'Monstris' is dative with 'eripe' but its position ensures that the sense 'wasted by the monster' is felt too (cf. 'ratis ... defecta laboribus undae' 285). 'Pergama' is neuter plural as Liv. Andr. 2 W; Enn. Ann. 358, sc. 77 V; Lucr. 1.476; VA. 1.651 etc. It originally referred to the citadel of the city, as Πέργαμα Τροίας (Stesich. 62 LGS) but is used from Homer onwards for Troy; ἡ Πέργαμος Il. 5.446 etc; τὰ Πέργαμα Soph. Phil. 347.

490. namque potes: an appeal to Hercules' strength, again a common feature of the prayer form. 'Deliver me, for you have the power ...'. The phrase is modelled on VA. 6.365f. 'eripe me his, invicte, malis; aut tu mihi terram inice, namque potes, portusque require Velinos' (Palinurus' request to Aeneas); cf. also VA. 6.117. 'Potes' alludes to the divine power because of which a particular deity or hero is invoked for help; cf. Il. 16.515, Od. 5.25 δύνασαι γὰρ ; Call. hymn 4.226; HC. 1.28.28 (NH); Valerius 1.13 'namque potes' (of the divine Vespasian); 7.241.

neque enim: Hercules' power lies in his strength, his huge stature and mighty quiver. Hesione enlarges on 'namque potes'. On 'neque enim' cf. Austin VA. 6.52.

491. Neptunus ... Apollo: the comparison is apposite, for these were the two gods involved in building the wall of Troy (above), the cause of the trouble. This is Valerius' only allusion to this episode. The phraseology suggests that Neptune alone built the wall (as Il. 21.441ff).

muros cum iungeret astris: 'when he was raising the walls to meet the stars'. The hyperbolic phrase conveys both the wall's height and the immensity of the task. Compare Sil. 3.624 'iunget nostro templorum

culmina caelo'. Valerius prefers 'astris' to 'caelo' for its connotations of difficult achievement, as VA. 9.641 'sic itur ad astra'. Cf. also VA. 2.460f '(turrim) sub astra eductam'; Ov. M. 1.316 'mons ibi verticibus petit arduus astra duobus'. Compare the heights of the crane (VA. 4.89); Amycus (Valerius 4.149).

lata pectora, tales umeros: Hercules was traditionally portrayed with the broad shoulders and huge build (cf. 1.435) that were much admired (cf. Jason at 7.108). His quiver is less conventional, being traditionally associated with Apollo (cf. Il. 1.46 etc; also HC. 1.10.12 (NH); Call. Hy. 2.33 etc). In the first century A.D. the lion-skin and club were Hercules' customary accoutrements, though the bow is Homeric (Od. 11.608 etc) and the club a later acquisition (Pind. Ol. 9.30 etc). The bow is mentioned here both for its role in the attack on the monster (521f.) and for the part it played in the fall of Troy (cf. 570). Cf. also 3.607; 663. Representations of Hercules and Hesione often show the hero wielding a club, for this weapon serves to identify the hero.

492. gerebat: the verb is often found with 'arma' or more specific weapons, as VA. 7.816 'ut gerat ipsa pharetram'; 11.844 'aut nostras umero gessisse pharetras', but it is less common with parts of the body (cf. TLL 6.2.1932.9ff.) unless they are qualified by an adjective, as Ov. M. 2.585 'nec pectora nuda gerebam' (Bömer); Valerius 3.590, 674; though cf. VA. 12.472 'cuncta gerens, vocemque et corpus et arma Metisci'; 1.315; Ov. M. 5.455f. 'quae modo bracchia gessit, crura gerit'. The use of 'umeros' with 'gerebat' therefore involves a slight zeugma, a figure of which Valerius is fond (cf. p.ix above).

493. auxerat: the emotional effect of Hesione's words is enhanced by her surroundings. 'Augere' here is a rhetorical term (cf. OLD sv. 'augeo' 11; Cic. de orat. 1.94; Quint. 10.5.11), not usually found in poetry, meaning to emphasize or magnify the import of a speech, or increase its urgency.

facies maestissima: the phrase suggests the sadness of a prisoner of war ('capti'). 'Facies' here is the external appearance, or 'look' of a place, cf. Sall. Cat. 31.3 'immutata urbis facies'; VA. 5.768 'maris facies'; Plin. NH 6.58 'caeli facies'. The shore is almost personified; it is 'captive', occupied by the monster ('capti' with

military implications). Courtney's 'rapti' 'plundered', cannot be right (compare Valerius 6.119; St. Ach. 1.153). For the personification compare 'trepididis... litoribus' (504-5); 'litora tuta' (546). 'Tumuli' refers back to 476.

494. caelum ... quod incubat urbi: 'the sky that broods over the city'; cf. VA. 1.89 'ponto nox incubat atra'; Curt. 9.4.18 'noctem profundo incubantem mari'. The sky is oppressive and overcast (cf. 475) as with the dullness of an approaching storm. The absence of an adjective with 'caelum' is fully accounted for by the verb which implies 'atrum' or something similar. There is tension between 'caelum', usually 'vacuum', and weightless, and the oppressive weight of 'incubat'. See also Valerius 1.683f; Sen. Oed. 47f; Man. 5.541f.

495f. Valerius mentions three of the twelve labours of Hercules; the killing of the Nemean lion, the Lernaean hydra and the Erymanthian boar. The first two form a pair, appearing first in art in the eighth century BC, in literature in Hes. Theog. 313, 327 in the seventh. The third is a later addition, first in art in the sixth century, and the earliest literary references Hecateus fr. 344; Soph. Tr. 1097. (See F. Brommer Herakles: Die zwölf Taten des Helden in Antiker Kunst und Literatur (Darmstadt ed. 2, 1972) p.54). The three are linked by geographical position in the Peloponnese (Nemea is a valley in the Argolid; Erymanthus a mountain on the borders of Arcadia, Achaia and Elis; Lerna a marshy area in the Argive plain), and by being exaggerated versions of the killing of a familiar animal (lion, snake, boar) rather than a fantastic adventure.

Here Valerius is concerned with the difficulty of the labours ('laborantis'; 'infectae') and he implies that another is imminent. laborantis Nemees iter: 'Nemees' is genitive of destination or objective with 'iter', the way to Nemea, 'Nemean way' as VA. 2.359 'mediae ... tenemus urbis iter' (Austin); Valerius 1.793 'placidae mihi sedis iter'. Hercules probably refers to his own journey to Nemea, rather than a particular 'road', though cf. Paus. 2.15.2. 'Laborantis' means 'troubled', 'plagued', and makes a pair with 'infectae'. The polysyllabic ending, the Greek names and Greek genitive emphasize the epic tone of this line.

496. infectae: 'infected', i.e. 'poisoned'; cf. 155; Aetna 394 ('fontes') 'infectae aquae'.

miseratus: as Hercules felt compassion when he gazed on these places, so now he pities Hesione when he looks at the shore of Sigeum. Pity is an unheroic emotion not usually associated with Hercules, being perhaps too feminine, and compassion is lacking in his behaviour in Soph. Trach. as in Apollonius, though cf. Sen. HO 361 'misericors'.

497-505. The arrival of the sea-monster which proves to be a serpent, a purely mythical creature with no factual basis (cf. K. Coleman Manilius' Monster in Hermes 111 (1983) 226ff.), but a synthesis of monstrous features from VA. 2.203ff; Ov. M. 4.706ff.; Man. 5.579ff. It is a composite fish-serpent of huge size, with coils (502, 514), a long neck (502) 'as well as a tail (502). Its back is encrusted with rocks (518), a motif intended to add horror. It has a huge gaping mouth (531) open to receive its prey (Ov. M. 4.724; Man. 5.601f) and three rows of teeth (500). An additional detail (501) might suggest the fire-breathing dragon of later mythology.

497. Its arrival is preceded by a roar, as VA. 2.209 'fit sonitus', Ov. M. 4.688f. 'unda insonuit'; Man. 5.585 'sonat undique Phorcys'. 'Dare signum' is the military term for giving the signal for battle (cf. 208; 4.670), a preliminary to Hercules' battle with the monster. Neptune here is both the god responsible for the creature's appearance and, by metonymy, the sea which roars at its approach (498).

498. monstriferi mugire sinus: 'the monster-bearing gulf bellows'. Compare Luc. 5.620 'monstriferos agit unda sinus'. The adjective occurs first in Lucan (also 2.3; Sen. Ph. 688 is usually deleted; compare μεγαχήτεος ARh. 4.318; κητοτρόφος Eust. 294.16). 'Mugire' is onomatopoeic for the bellowing of a bull, and seems to recall the arrival of the bull from the sea in Eur. Hipp. 1213ff. The passage is full of alliteration and assonance; the 'm' sounds, the long 'u's in 'mugire' and 'sinus' and the hissing 's' sounds well convey the bellowing of the water and the monster's passage through the waves. Sigea ... pestis: 'the bane of Sigeum'. 'Pestis' is used of anything that causes death or destruction, including snakes (VG. 3.419); the

Hydra (Lucr. 5.26), the Harpies (VA. 3.215). Gronovius' 'pistris' is more specific (cf. 531) but is not needed here.

499. adglomerare fretum: a flood accompanies the monster, a traditional part of the tale (Fontenrose p.348), and forming the literal threat to the land: cf. Man. 5.579ff. 'gravidus iam surgere pontus coeperat ac longo fugiebant agmine fluctus impellentis onus monstri'. 'Adglomerare' (n.171), like 'glomerare', and 'glomus' suggests something heaped together which coheres. Here there is tension with 'fretum' which is too fluid to cohere. Mozley's 'on a heap' has the right tone. Compare Ov. M. 15.251 'tellus glomerata cogitur unda'; St. Ach. 1.59; cf. on 197.

cuius stellantia glauca lumina nube tremunt: 'whose eyes flicker like stars through a cloud of spray'. The image is of stars ('stellantia lumina') flickering faintly behind a cloud ('nube'). For 'stellantia' cf. 3.98f. 'stellantia ... tegmina'; Ov. M. 1.723 'gemmis caudam stellantibus implet' (a peacock). 'Glaucanube' must refer to the spray cast up by the creature. 'Glaucus' is particularly associated with the sea, as Lucr. 1.719 'glaucis ab undis'; Ciris 452; J. Andre Étude sur les termes de couleur dans la langue latine (Paris 1949) pp.175-8. The ablative is then local.

Others make 'glaucanube' instrumental ablative with 'tremunt' and explain it as a 'blue-grey film' (Mozley) over the eyes, like νεφέλη, νεφέλιον, (Gal. 19.534) (not blindness as at St. Th. 4.512f). 'Glaucus' can apply to the eyes (Col. 7.12.4; Plin. 11.148) cf. 'glaucoma' and the effect here is intended to be sinister, though the end result is perhaps too clinical to be convincing. Others compare such phrases as 'deme supercilio nubem' (Hor. Epist. 1.18.94) and Soph. Ant. 528 νεφέλη δ' ὀφρῶν ὑπερ αἵματόεν ῥέθος αἰσχροῖς, but the creature is neither frowning nor sorrowful.

'Tremere' seems primarily to refer to 'quaking' (e.g. earthquakes Lucr. 6.287; persons shaking from cold or illness) not necessarily within a context of fear. Here 'tremere' means 'to flicker', cf. 5.108 'magnae pelago tremunt umbra Sinopes'; compare Lucr. 4.77 '(vela) trementia flutant'.

500ff. In these lines an underlying comparison of the monster to a ship, suggested by Ov. M. 4.706 'velut navis', is developed

extensively. A similar metaphor occurs at Petron. 89 (angues) 'tumida quorum pectora rates ut altae lateribus spumas agunt'; Philostr. Im. 12.4. The comparison is achieved by the use of words of ambiguous meaning, with reference primarily to the sea-monster, that could also be applied to a ship. This is most obvious at 'passosque sinus' (502) the extended coils of the snake, but also the outstretched sails of a ship (Cic. Tusc. 1.119 'velis passis'; Prop. 3.9.30 'plenos ... sinus' etc). The sails are borne aloft by the mast as here the serpent's 'ardua cervix' hastens the coils along (502). 'Incumbentem' (503) also suggests a ship in motion. Compare VA. 10.294 'validis incumbite remis'. The motion of the creature resembles that of a boat driven forward by its oarsmen. 'Pontus ... lateri adsultans' (503f.) suggests the dashing of the sea against the boat ('latus' at 1.124); cf. 1.619 'puppis in obliquum resonos latus accipit ictus'; Ov. M. 11.529; Germ. Arat. 298f. 'aspera sed cum adsultat lateri deprensae spuma carinae'.

Less convincing is 'ordine ... trisulco' (500). Although 'ordo' can be used of a bank of oars, as VA. 5.120 'terno consurgunt ordine remi'; Luc. 3.534; Valerius 1.387, 443; etc, and 'sulcare' is a naval metaphor (VA. 5.158; 10.197; Valerius 3.32 etc), 'trisulco ordine' is never used for three banks of oars. However, cf. Valerius 1.687f. 'volat immissis cava pinus habenis infinditque salum et spumas vomit aere tridenti' (the three-pronged bronze prow). 'Molem' (518), while implying a monster of horrific stature, can also be used of a ship, as Acc. 381ff; 392 (Argo); VA. 5.118 'ingenti mole Chimaeram'. Finally 'pistris' (531) can mean a small fast boat (Non. 535.26; Liv. 35.26.1; Polyb. 17.1.1). 'Belua' is usually preferred to 'pistris', in the sense of a sea-creature and Valerius may use the latter intentionally here to bring the nautical metaphor to a fitting conclusion.

500. ordine ... trisulco: ablative of description with 'curva', acting as a compound adjective. It refers to the serpent's three rows of teeth, a curious detail with no factual basis, from Od. 12.91 τριστόχου ὀδόντες (Scylla); Ov. M. 3.34 'tres... micant linguae, triplici stant ordine dentes' (Bömer). An exaggeration of the conventional three tongues: cf. VA. 2.475; Servius on VA. 2.211; Ov. M. 3.34 (above); St. Th. 5.509f. 'ter lingua vibrat, terna agmina adunci dentis'. 'Trisulcus' meaning with three furrows or forks, is used of lightning (Ov. Ib. 469), a comet (St. Th. 3.322), a snake's tongue (VA. 2.475;

St. Th. 1.565 etc), and was extended to cover three rows of seats, or three folding doors (Var. Men. 577). It initiates the storm metaphor continued in 501.

501. fulmineus ... fragor: 'flumineus' (α) will not do for a reference to the thunderous noise made by a river in the context of the sea is inept, and 'fulmineus' follows well after 'trisolco' and continues the storm metaphor. There is μετάληψις αίσθησεως , as 'fragor', a 'crash', is a sound word, with 'fulmineus' referring primarily to the speed and brilliance of a flash of lightning; cf. 'fulmineis ... flatibus' (7.583) for the μετάληψις αίσθησεως and for the speed of the bolt ('fulmen') cf. VA. 5.319; Ov. Am. 3.4.14. Compare Petron. 89 'fulmineum iubar incendit aequor' for the use of 'fulmineus'. Statius may echo the phrase ironically at Th. 12.790 'femineus quatit astra fragor'. 'Quatit' is used paradoxically with 'fragor' as the subject, though cf. Sil. 3.221 'castra quatit clamor'.

pelago... remenso cauda redit: the serpent's movements are similar to those of a snake on land. The tail ('cauda') and hind parts contract towards the front which remains motionless, and then the hind parts stay still while the head and front ('sinus rapit ardua cervix') move forward until the body is extended ('passos'). Valerius is aware of the separate movements of front and back, but in 'remenso', 'redit', ^{he}conveys the apparent backward movement of the hind parts as the snake becomes extended and the tail returns to its former position. 'Pelagoque remenso' is from VA. 2.181 (the Greeks return to Troy); cf. 3.143f. 'remenso mari' (of ships). Ph. Wagner would like to write 'Pelagusque remensum' here but Valerius uses the participle in the passive voice as does Virgil, who chose not to write 'pelagusque remensi' (Austin on A. 2.181).

502. passos... sinus (C) for 'passusque sinu' (α), 'passusque sinus' (L), of the snake's extended coils cf. 'picta pandat spectacula cauda' (pavo) Hor. Sat. 2.2.26. 'Sinus' are undulating curves; 'volumina' suggests coils in a spiral shape.

ardua cervix: from VG. 3.79; Hor. Sat. 1.2.89 (of a horse). The adjective may mean 'proud' (Mozley) but is also literally applied to physical height, as VA. 2.219 'cervicibus altis'; ARh. 4.127 κερτμήχεα... δειρήν ; Culex 171 'sublimi cervice caput'.

503. illam incumbentem: ('pestem,' from 498). The sense is obvious and any ambiguity ('cervix' has immediately preceded) must be attributed to Valerius' terse style. The participle implies weight and effort. The serpent's body is 'a burden' (Mozley) on the waves. Valerius has VA. 2.204f. 'immensis orbibus angues incumbunt pelago' in mind. The ponderous spondaic metre is effective.

per mille volumina: with 'incumbentem', referring to the countless coils ('sinus' 502) of the snake. The unusual 'per' is paralleled at Ov. M. 15.721 'perque sinus crebros et magna volumina labens'. This is better than taking the phrase with reference to the sea (cf. Luc. 5.565f. 'longo per multa volumina tractu aestuat unda minax') for 'volumina' is so clearly a snake word (514).

504. prosequitur: 'follow as an escort' (cf. 199); cf. VA. 3.130, 5.777 'prosequitur surgens a puppi ventus euntis'. The tidal wave created by the creature's movement accompanies it to the shore; compare Man. 5.580-1; 591 'pelagusque ferentem'; Ov. M. 4.690 'latum sub pectore possidet aequor'; Sen. Ph. 1033f 'pontus ... suum ... monstrum sequitur'.

lateri adsultans: the elision is harsh (cf. VA. 2.341 'lateri adglomerant') and represents the dashing of the waves against the serpent's side; cf. Germ. Arat. 299 (above); also Sen. De Ira 3.25.3 'sic inritus ingenti scopulo fluctus assultat'; St. Th. 9.465. The phrase recalls the dog in Hor. Sat. 2.6.33f. 'aliena negotia centum per caput et circa saliunt latus'.

trepididis ... litoribus: a dative of direction with 'cogit' where 'in' with the accusative might be expected, cf. 1.545 'pelago misere'; 2.523 'deferre ... vallibus'; 5.10 'portant arae'. Compare VA. 5.451 'it clamor caelo'; Luc. 9.972 'puer raptus caelo'; also HSz.pp.100f. Löfstedt 1.180ff. (with Greek parallels); Austin on VA. 2.186.

505. sua cogit hiems: there is some confusion between the motion imparted by the monster to the waves (499, 503f) and that of the sea which forces the creature onward. 'Cogit' here implies a forced movement as 'ruentem' (cf. Man. 5.586) suggests momentum. Compare Cic. de inv. 2.98 'vis ventorum in Rhodiorum portum navem coegit'. The forward motion of the sea appears to drive the creature forward, as

Luc. 9.319f. 'ut primum remis actum mare propulit omne classis onus'. 'Cogit hiems' echoes VG. 4.36; cf. St. Th. 5.13. 'Hiems' is the swell caused by the serpent's forward motion; compare St. Ach. 1, 444f. 'suas ... hiemes classis promota suosque attollit fluctus'. It continues the storm imagery of the 'fulmineus fragor'. For 'sua', its own swell, cf. on 71.

505-8. non fluctibus aequis: this refers directly to 'hiems' and indicates that the point of comparison is the magnitude of the turbulence created by the monster's advance. Three examples are given in a tricolon, two related instances of the wind's activity, and the final example of Orion. 'Aequis' is preferred to 'tantis' as it can also mean 'level' (as in 'aequor', the sea), and there is some tension between 'aequis' and 'hiems' the swelling waves.

506. nubiferi ... unda Noti: the south wind (also Auster) was wet and stormy, cf. Ov. M. 1.264 'madidis Notus alis'; Hor. Epod. 10.19f. 'udo ... Noto'. 'Nubifer' occurs first in Ov. M. 2.226 of Appenninus, meaning 'cloud-capped', but at H. 3.58 'nubiferis Notis'; and St. Th. 1.193, Sil. 10.322, of Eurus, 'cloud-carrying' i.e. 'bringer of storms' is meant'. The Greek νεφελοφόρος occurs only in the sixth century A.D. 'Unda Noti' is an acceptable way of saying 'the wave stirred up by the south wind', as Soph. Trach. 112f. ἀκάμαντος ἢ νότου ἢ βορέα ... χόματ' ; Valerius 8.355 'virginis undam', the waves caused by Medea, and there is no need to emend 'fluctibus' to 'flatibus' (Lennep).

Africus alto ...ovat: the SW wind, also wet and stormy, cf. Austin on VA. 1.86. It 'exults over the deep', rejoicing to be let loose as 1.610f. 'fundunt se carcere laeti Thraces equi'.

507-8. The lines imply a story about Orion like Phaethon driving his father's chariot. Orion is usually the son of Hyrieus (Ov. F. 5.493ff), but an alternative version makes him the son of Poseidon, cf. Valerius 1.647; 4.123; from Hesiod fr. 148 a (MW) cf. Hyg. Astr. 2.34; also Eratosth. Cat. 32; Apld. 1.4.3; Roscher 3.1 pp. 1033ff. The lines must also be taken metaphorically of the sudden coming of a storm, Orion being the stormy constellation whose setting in November

coincided with the onset of bad weather (VA. 4.52 Austin; HC. 1.28.21 NH).

manus ... plenus: a Greek-type accusative of respect after an adjective, 'his hands full ...' cf. 1.298 'pleni oculos' (sc. lacrimis). The phrase is acceptable, though not common, and there is no need to emend 'manus' to 'minax' (Baehrens). The whole phrase 'patriisque ... habenis' is well-written and compact. 'Plenus habenis' suggests a run-away team which Orion is trying to restrain. Hippolytus in a similar situation wound the reins round his body (Eur. Hipp. 1220ff) '-Que' is used disjunctively where '-ve' would be more usual after 'non ... non'. This is not uncommon, cf. Lucr. 2.825 Munro; Cat. 45.6 Fordyce; VA. 2.37 Austin. Schenkl's 'patriisque' is not necessary.

508. bipedum ... equorum: hippocamps, horses with their rear parts in the form of fish tails. Valerius has in mind VG. 4.389 'iuncto bipedum curru metitur equorum', cf. Ciris 395; St. Th. 2.45ff.; Ach. 1.59f. The name occurs first in Menander fr. 831 Kock, then in Laevius fr. 2 (M), cf. Plin. NH. 36.26, but they first appear in art on Cretan seals (cf. K. Shepard The Fish-Tailed Monster in Greek and Etruscan Art (New York 1940) p.25; Roscher 1 (1899) pp.2673ff.).

Poseidon's chariot skims over the surface of the sea without getting wet (Il. 13.27ff.), and his horses whip up the sea with their breath ('flatu'). Compare St. S. 1.1.20f. 'nec tardo raptus prope flumina cursu fumat et ingenti propellit Strymona flatu' (Domitian's horse). 'Flatu' is ambiguous here for it can also refer to a breath of wind, hence it looks back to 505f.

509-537. Hercules' battle with the sea-serpent. Many of the details are derived from Ov. M. 4.706ff., though the difficulty Hercules experienced in slaying the Nemean lion in Theoc. 25.227ff. is recalled by 521ff, and may be Valerius' source for this detail. Notice the concentration of descriptive infinitives in the account of the battle, and the two similes (515ff; 522f.). There is a high concentration of similes in the Hesione episode.

509f. stupet: 'is struck with amazement', here with three different constructions (cf. p.ix); the accusative and infinitive ('ducem ... crudescere') the regular construction (VA. 12.707 etc); with 'ut' and

the subjunctive; with the accusatives 'surgentem', 'immanem' (sc. 'ducem'), the transitive use that appears first in Virgil, cf. A. 2.31 'pars stupet innuptae donum exitiale Minervae' (Austin ad loc.); cf. Valerius 4.549f.; KS 1.260ff.. Statius uses this construction frequently but it is rare in prose.

crudescere: literally 'become crudus', that is, 'grow fiercer'. Valerius ignores the etymological connection with blood (Ernout-Meillet p.152) made much of by other poets (VA. 7.788 'effuso crudescunt sanguine pugnae'; St. Th. 2.717; Sil. 4.449; compare ὀμός) and concentrates on his hero's mental state, 'furiis', the frenzy of battle. Hercules takes on this quality which is also shown by his opponent (480) as he does when fighting Cacus (VA. 8.205 Cacus; 219 Hercules). There is a slight oxymoron in 'placitae ... pugnae'.

510. surgentem ... toris: 'bulging with muscles'. 'Torus' is literally a bulge, and it suits 'surgentem' well here. Compare St. Th. 8.565 'surgentis ... umeros'; Sil. 5.313 'surgentes ... toros' (a bull). 'Toris' is a further reference to Hercules' heroic stature (cf. 490ff.); his muscles are also mentioned at Cic. Tusc. 2.22; Sen. Ph. 807; compare 'lacertosus', Priap. 36.2 (PLM 1,69).

immanem ... paratu: 'paratu' is ablative of respect 'huge in his armour'; Greek would use a compound adjective. 'Paratus' is comprehensive meaning equipment and accoutrements ('apparatus' in prose before Tacitus), cf. Ov. F. 3.627 'Tyrios induta paratus' (clothing). 'Immanis' has the connotation of exceptional size, as 1.208 'Mopsus immanis visu'. Notice the metrical and alliterative patterning of 510-12; 'paratu', 'pharetrae', 'precatus'.

511. pharetrae: plural to include 'quiver and contents' as St. Th. 6.931; 9.581 etc; Ach. 2.106. 'Graves' implies 'heavily laden' with arrows like 'gravidae' (full of arrows) at HC. 1.22.3f. 'gravida sagittis ... pharetra' (NH), where, as here, the tone is threatening. For the familiar motif of a quiver banging against the back ('pulsent'), suggestive of Apollo, cf. Il. 1.46 ἔκλαγξαν δ' ἄρ' ὀϊστοὶ ἐπ' ὤμων χρομένοιο; VA. 4.149 'tela sonant umeris'; Ov. M. 8.320; Valerius 3.61; St. Th. 4.268.

512. Hercules directs his prayer not only to the gods but to his own weapons, a motif foreign to Homer (though the prayer that precedes battle is Homeric), but evident in Aeschylus Th. 529 (Caeneus) and ARh. 1.466-70 (Idas), familiar from Virgil A. 10.773f. 'dextra mihi deus et telum, quod missile libro, nunc adsint' Mezentius; 12.95f. Turnus; cf. St. Th. 9.548; Sil. 6., 138ff.

513. insiluit scopulo: he 'leapt upon a rock' (not Hesione's, cf. 542). The verb is found with both accusative (as 4.683 'insiliunt ... scopulos'; 8.133; Luc. 3.626), and dative (Ov. Tr. 1.4.8 'puppi... recurvae insilit'; Luc. 9.252, etc), so the manuscripts' 'scopulo' is acceptable, though Valerius' practice elsewhere is to use the accusative (e.g. 4.683 'insiliunt ... scopulos') and Heinsius proposed 'scopulos' here.

514. horruit: the subject could be either Hercules (Mozley) though a reference to his terror here, after 509ff. is inappropriate, or preferably 'aequor', 'volumina' (sc. 'horruerunt'), of the trembling of the waves and the shuddering of the serpent, in fearful reaction to Hercules (509ff.). The monster and the sea from which it came are repeatedly linked. This interpretation is appropriate in view of the simile (515ff.) with its foreboding anticipation of the battle. 'Horruit' then is literally the roughened sea, stirred up from the depths ('motum'), in stark contrast to 'aequor', the 'level' expanse of the sea. For 'horror' of a rough sea cf. Cic. Rep. 1.63 'horrescere'; Luc. 5.446; St. Th. 5.364 etc. For the metaphorical use cf. St. Th. 11.256 'horret ager, trepidaeque expectant proelia valles'. The serpent 'bristles' at the sight of Hercules and arches its back like an angry lion, as Theoc. 25.243ff.

celsi spatiosa volumina monstri: the serpent rears aloft and reveals its extensive coils. The phrase is a variation on VA. 2.208 'sinuat ... immensa volumine terga', cf. 11.753 'sinuosa volumina'. The adjective is from Lucan 3.505 'consequitur nigri spatiosa volumina fumi' (clouds of smoke), and refers to the extent and bulk of the monster, again in an exaggerated manner (479f.). Compare 'ingentes umeros spatiosaque pectoris ossa' of Amycus (4.244).

515-17. The simile conveys the feeling of foreboding and suspense before a storm breaks. The point of comparison is the sea-monster; as there are patches of blue sky still visible before a storm breaks, after the wind has arisen, so the monster causes some agitation to the waves but does not yet have the mastery. 'Tollitur' refers to 'celsi'; 'ingenti ... umbra' (519) is appropriate after 'piceo ... caelo'.

515. a gelidi ... convallibus Hebri: from VA. 12.331 'qualis apud gelidi cum flumina concitus Hebri', though a closer parallel at G. 2.488f. 'o qui me gelidis convallibus Haemi sistat' led Burman to propose 'Haemi' here. The Hebrus is a Thracian river, often frozen in winter (Sil. 17.487 'gelidum ... Hebrum'). 'Convallibus' means 'ravines' as at Plin. NH. 4.30 'Peneus ... nemorosa convalle defluens', and belongs equally with 'Hebrus' the river or 'Haemus' the mountain range in Thrace (HC. 1.12.6 'gelidove in Haemo'; Ov. M. 6.87f.;), though elsewhere Valerius thinks it is in Thessaly; 1.24f. (Pelias) 'Othryn et Haemum atque imum felix versabat vomere Olympum'. The north wind would more naturally arise in the mountains, and Boreas is associated with Haemus by Call., cf. Hy. 3.114f. Ἀῖμω ἐπὶ Θρήϊκι, τόθεν βορέας κατὰ ἕξ ἔρχεται, cf. 4.63ff. So 'Haemi' is perhaps preferable here.

516. volucres ... nubes: 'flying clouds' (Mozley). The adjective suggests the flight of birds, and was applied to the winds (St. S. 3.1.156 etc) and hence to things carried by the winds, like clouds, as Ov. M. 1.602 'nebulas ... volucres'.

Rhipaea per ardua: a fabulous mountain range that marked the northern limit of the known world; cf. Alcman 35 LGS; Hellanicus fr. 187 (6) J; Soph. OC. 1248 (Jebb) etc; Strabo 7.295. Valerius probably envisaged them as Scythian (5.558, 602; 6.33 cf. Mela 1.19.13; 2.1.1; Luc. 2.640 etc). They were named from ῥίπαι, the chill blasts of Boreas (Il. 15.171; 19.358 etc) which was thought to rise here; cf. ARh. 4.286f. especially 'Ῥιπαίοις ἐν ὄρεσσιν'; Valerius 7.562f; St. Th. 11.114f. The spelling varies between Ripaeus (Plin. NH. 4.78 etc) and Rhipaeus (VG. 1.240 etc) though 'Rhipaea' is a more correct Latinized form of the Greek. See Vahlen Enn. Sat. lib. incert. 8; Hall on Claudian RP. 3.231; RE sv. 'Ῥίπαια ὄρη pp.846ff.

517. ω reads 'piceo nec dum tenet omnia caelo'; 'but not yet does it (Boreas) cover the world with pitchy sky'. Thilo's 'nox tum' for 'nec dum', accepted by Ehlers, and supported by Od. 5.292ff. $\kappa\acute{\alpha}\sigma\alpha\varsigma$ $\delta'\delta\rho\acute{o}\theta\upsilon\nu\epsilon\nu$ $\acute{\alpha}\epsilon\lambda\lambda\alpha\varsigma$ $\kappa\alpha\nu\tau\omicron\iota\omega\nu$ $\acute{\alpha}\nu\acute{\epsilon}\mu\omega\nu$, $\sigma\upsilon\nu$ $\delta\acute{\epsilon}$ $\nu\epsilon\phi\acute{\epsilon}\epsilon\sigma\sigma\iota$ $\chi\acute{\alpha}\lambda\upsilon\psi\epsilon$ $\gamma\alpha\tilde{\iota}\alpha\nu$ $\delta\mu\omicron\upsilon$ $\kappa\alpha\iota$ $\kappa\acute{o}\nu\tau\omicron\nu$. $\delta\rho\acute{\omega}\rho\epsilon\iota$ δ' $\omicron\upsilon\rho\alpha\nu\acute{o}\theta\epsilon\nu$ $\nu\acute{\upsilon}\xi$ is more appropriate to 1.617 when a storm is in progress. This simile describes the build-up to a storm; the 'nox piceus' is the final stage.

518. simul: for 'simulac' (HSz. p.638) belongs with 519f. 'The monster moves and at the same time Ida shakes'; cf. Ter. Phorm. 823 'hic simul argentum repperit, cura sese expedit'; VA. 11.908ff; a development of the adverbial use of 'simul' (Housman Manil. 5.549). 'Simul' cannot be taken with the previous action (513), for a three-line simile intervenes.

scopulosaque terga: 'rugged back', conveying the feel and look rather than size (as Mozley's 'mountainous'). The phrase is Valerius' own, though cf. Enn. sc. 115 (V) 'scrupeo investita saxo, atque ostreis $\dagger$ quam excrabrent $\dagger$ '; Ov. M. 4.725 'terga cavis super obsita conchis' (Bömer); Sen. Ph. 1045; also Plat. Rep. 10.611 d (Glaucus). The parallel at St. Ach. 1.55 'scopulosaque cete' confirms the reading here.

519. ingenti ... umbra subit: the bucolic diaeresis creates a heavy and menacing tone. Valerius has in mind VA. 10.541 'immolat ingentique umbra tegit', where the metrical patterning is identical. The phraseology is also menacing; 'subit' means 'approaches in a hostile manner' (OLD sv. 'subeo' 6b) cf. Man. 5.595; 'ingenti', Virgil's favourite adjective, exaggerates. The spondaic metre is low and alarming. A massive shadow often causes alarm, as 3.99 'ingentem Corythi umbram'; 5.175 etc. Baehrens' 'unda' detracts from the threatening tone of the line and unnecessarily repeats the idea found 499 etc.

intremere Ide ('idem' ω ; 'Ide' R, B 1498), inlidique $\dagger$ rates $\dagger$ pronaque resurgere turres. The movement of the snake causes commotion on land and sea. The verbs are descriptive infinitives (with 'pronaque' nominative). If 'putes' is read for 'rates' (Loebach with 'Iden' and 'pronasque') cf. Claud. RP. 1.257 'credas inlidi cautibus algam'; St. Th. 5.145 'lunatum ... putes agmen descendere', the lines become a

simile, but they are not metaphorical. Ida really does shake (477f.). The elision echoes VA. 3.581 'intremere omnem' (as Enceladus shakes Sicily).

Valerius has in mind Il. 20.59f. πάντες δ' ἔσσελοντο πόδες πολυπιδάκτος Ἰδης καὶ κορυφαί, Τρώων τε πόλιν καὶ νῆες Ἀχαιῶν ; Ida shakes, ships are dashed together, and even the towers on the walls of Troy are moved. 'Rates' is acceptable here, even though the Argo is the only ship in the vicinity, for Valerius has Homer's 'Achean ships' in mind. The movement as of an earthquake causes the towers to rock and then come to rest. For 'prona' cf. Claud. RP. 2.152f. 'ecce repens mugire fragor, conflare turres pronaque vibratis radicibus oppida verti'. 'Resurgere' is an effective contrast with 'prona'; 'totter and rise again'. 'Recumbere' (Fr. Reuss) suggests that they settle to rest in ruins, as VA. 9.712ff. '(pila) sic illa ruinam prona trahit penitusque vadis inlisa recumbit'; Ov. Tr. 2.83f. 'cum coepit quassata domus subsidere, partes in proclinas omne recumbit onus'.

521. occupat ... arcu: Hercules gets in first with his bow. 'Occupare' means 'to assail someone in such a way as to forestall him'. Columbus' 'arcu' is better than 'arcum' (ω) ('seizes hold of his bow') because an object is needed with 'premit' as well as 'occupat' and it is easier to supply 'beluam' with both. Compare VA. 9.768ff. 'Lyncea ... vibranti gladio ... occupat'; TLL 9.2.385.81ff.

totaque pharetrae nube premit: compare 'telis premere' VA. 8.249f.; 9.792f. etc. Valerius uses 'nube' where a prose writer might have written 'onere' for the shower of arrows that are so many in number ('tota') that they block out the sun ('nube') as at Thermopylae (Hdt. 7.226); cf. Liv. 38.26.7 'velut nubes levium telorum'; Luc. 2.262 'caeca telorum in nube'; Sil. 2.37; (OLD sv. 'nubes' 5a). Compare VA. 12.578 'obumbrant aethera telis'. Homer's νέφος πολέμοιο (Il. 17.243), and 'nubem belli' (VA. 10.809), are different. If 'beluam' (above) is understood, Castiglioni's 'totamque' is unnecessary.

522f. Hercules' arrows prove useless against the serpent, and they do as little damage as does rain to a mountain.

non illa magis ... movetur: a vague echo of VA. 6.470f. 'nec magis incepto vultum sermone movetur quam si dura silex ...'. 'Movetur' is

an easy correction (F 1481) of 'moventi' (ω). The collocation of 'sede' and 'movetur' is effective; the solidity of the mountain renders any motion impossible. Eryx is not particularly tall (666m) but its situation makes it conspicuous. A reference to Eryx and Athos occurs in the simile in VA. 12.701ff., shortly after the simile Valerius has in mind here (below). The sea-creature is hyperbolically said to be as tall as a mountain (479).

523. imbres: the rain may wear away small rocks but will leave the mountain itself untouched. Compare VA. 12.684ff. (quoted on 528f), particularly 685f. 'seu turbidus imber proluit', though the emphasis in this Virgilian simile is on Turnus' inexorable onslaught. 'Imbres' echoes 'nube' (522) and reveals Valerius' reason for choosing that image there. 'Vallibus' is dative of direction (cf. 504f), rare with 'deferre' which usually takes 'in' with the accusative, but cf. Lucr. 6.821 'quo ... pennis delata sit ales'; Liv. 36.20.6 'si forte eo deferret fuga regem'. Heinsius' 'differre' has a different emphasis (bring down and scatter in all directions) but the prefix 'de-' is stronger, referring to the overthrowing of the mountain. 'Velint' is a potential subjunctive; 'volo' can be used like 'nolo' and 'malo' cf. S.A. Handford The Latin Subjunctive (Methuen 1947) p.101 (usually with a subjunctive following). Possibly 'si' should be read for 'quem' here.

524ff. Hercules is unable to use his bow and must find another weapon. The motif is perhaps from Theoc. 25.229ff., where arrows have no effect so Hercules resorts to his club (255ff. cf. 534 below) and then casting his weapons aside (265, as 527 below) he strangles the lion (266ff.).

524. 'The space is short and useless for the winged arrow'. 'Aer' is used loosely for 'spatium' (TLL 1.1049.41ff.), though its use suggests the immensity of the space, as St. Th. 8.412f. 'stant ferrea caelo nubila, nec iaculis artatus sufficit aer', though this is contradicted by 'brevis', a striking adjective, for air is too insubstantial to be confined by a limiting description.

525f. tum vero: the phrase marks a crisis (Austin on VA. 2.105) cf. 576, here one of apparent failure. Hercules' conflicting emotions

recall those of Turnus at VA. 12.666ff. with some verbal echoes; 'aestuatur ingens uno in corde pavor mixtoque insania luctu, et furiis agitata amor et conscia virtus'. 'Fremitus' are curses muttered under the breath; 'insania' the realisation of the madness of the attempt. (The phrase has suffered from compression and has nothing to do with Turnus' insane lust for battle). 'Pudor', shame at failure, is a truly Homeric reaction. (Turnus is ashamed at failing to play a full part in the battle). 'Tacitus' reinforces 'fremitus' and suggests that shame is a feeling that one tries to conceal i.e. 'not outwardly expressed', as Ov. M. 6.623 'tacita ... aestuatur ira'; Sil. 10.544f. 'tacitus ... pudor'. 'Pallescere' is not often used of the pallor of emotion or death (usually 'pallere', VA. 8.709; Ov. M. 2.180), but of guilt (Hor. Ep. 1.1.61); care (Prop. 1.13.7). The change of subject at 'pallescere' from Hercules to the girl is abrupt but made clear by 'virgo'.

527. proicit arma manu: 'he flings down his weapons', i.e. his bow from his hand. The phrase echoes VA. 6.835 'proice tela manu'; cf. St. Th. 3.643 'proicite arma manu'. 'Proicere arma' is a technical phrase used of prisoners (Caes. BC 3.98) and fugitives (OLD sv. 'proicio' 6b). 'Manu' here means 'from his hand', the same sense as at VA. 6.835 (above). There may also be a slight sense of the meaning 'forcibly'. scopulos vicinaque saxa: tautologous, as 542 'in scopulos crudique cacumina saxi'; VA. 3.559 'scopulos ... saxa'. Here 'scopulos' are the cliffs, 'saxa' are large fragments of rock. Hercules searches the cliffs for boulders that have worn loose. The weapon is appropriate—the creature with a rocky back (518) is vanquished by the rock which was destined to cause the death of Hesione (484).

528. respicit: the force of the prefix is not merely 'looks back', as VA. 6.548, but 'takes his attention away from what he is doing and looks round'. The process is both visual and mental.

528-30. The idea is adapted from VA. 12.684ff. 'ac veluti montis saxum de vertice praeceps cum ruit avulsum vento, seu turbidus imber proluit aut annis solvit sublapsa vetustas'. The eroding action of the sea (529) replaces that of the rain on the mountain (685f.).

ventis adiuta vetustas: the phrase is from Luc. 3.470f. '(rupes) quam vertice montis abscidit impulsu ventorum adiuta vetustas', which combines 'vento' and 'vetustas' from the Virgilian simile. 'Vetustas' is the longevity that brings decay, as VA. 3.415; Ov. P. 4.8.49 etc.

529. impulerat: Ehlers adopts Thilo's conjecture: 'the amount that time had loosened'. However, 528f. is more appropriately taken almost as a simile. Hercules breaks off a piece of rock about the size of one that the elements might have broken off. 'Impulerit' (ω) then is acceptable.

pontive ... fragor: 'fragor' can refer to the sound of crashing breakers, or waves in a storm (VA. 1.54). Here it is used for the eroding action of the sea, a vivid use of a sound word.

abscidit: 'that much he wrenched off'. Hercules breaks off a chunk of rock (533). The verb is often used of a part of the mainland breaking off from the rest, cf. 616ff; VA. 3.417f. 'venit medio vi pontus et undis Hesperium Siculo latus abscidit'. It emphasizes Hercules' superhuman strength. Sen. Nat. 6.22.3 uses the verb in describing the eroding action of water on rocks.

530. concutiens: usually 'shaking' or 'striking' in such a way that it shakes. Valerius means that Hercules wrenched the fragment of rock away by pulling and pushing until it broke. 'Concutiens' then precedes 'abscidit' in time (hysteron proteron).

sede maris: with 'abscidit'. The sea's foundation is the bed of rock at the bottom of the sea, cf. VA. 1.84, Valerius 2.513. Such hyperbole is conventional in speaking of the stones thrown by heroes, which are larger and heavier than a man can manage; cf. Il. 12.445ff; VA. 12.899ff.

agmine toto: 'agmine' refers to the column of the snake's body that it trails behind it; cf. VA. 5.90 'agmine longo'. 'Toto' makes it clear that the whole 'agmen' of the snake, all its coils, are making for the target; cf. VA. 2.212 'agmine certo', which suggests a definite target (Laocoon) as here.

531. pistris: a sea-creature, perhaps more accurately 'pristis' from *πρίστις*, a type of sawfish, or a whale; cf. VA. 3.427 (Scylla); 10.211 (Triton); Ciris 451; Sen. Ph. 1049 (the sea creature).

'Pistris' designates the constellation 'Cetus' (the serpent in the Perseus Andromeda group) at Germ, Arat. 360; Man. 1.356.

inhiat: 'gapes' (Mozley), with wide-open jaws. The constellation Cetus is depicted with gaping jaws at Man. 1.356 'vastos metuentem Pristis hiatus', and many representations of this scene show the same detail. 'Iam proxima', 'now closer than ever' (Mozley) adds a sense of urgency, as Valerius' repetition of 'iam', 'iamque' create a feeling of suspense.

532ff. The arrangement of words is a careful piece of patterning, with the monosyllabic 'stat' standing boldly first to indicate the firmness of Hercules' stance. His actions 'stat', 'obruit' frame the sentence, with his name positioned effectively in the centre. 'Alcides' has a ponderous sound and reinforces the feeling of immovability. Valerius has used the pauses effectively; the enjambement of both 'Alcides' and 'obruit' indicates that there is no hesitation. The pause after 'obruit' is dramatic and full of suspense; the moment is one of life or death.

532. mediis elatus aquis: 'mediis' indicates not the open sea (584) but the 'intervening' waves, between Hesione and the monster, a protective position. 'Elatus' is 'prominent', if not 'upon a rock' as with Perseus in Ov. M. 4.731ff., then like 'sublimis' (VA. 12.788 etc) 'drawn up to his full height' as he is poised for action. He is high above the waves like a rock projecting from the sea, cf. 'elata mari ... Cnosia tellus' (VA. 6.23).

recipitque ruentem: 'awaits its onslaught', echoing VA. 9.727f. 'ast alios secum includit recipitque ruentis'. 'Ruentum' balances 'stat'; Hercules is motionless awaiting attack. Notice the contrasting directions of movement in 'elatus', an upward position; 'ruentem', rushing toward Hercules; 'surgentia' rising up to the attack; 'obruit', a downward movement. 'Recipit', like 'excipit', suggests lying in wait, as in an ambush (OLD sv 'excipio' 13).

533. saxoque: not 'a rock' (Mozley) but 'the rock' of 529f. This unusual weapon recalls Cadmus' ineffectual blow against the snake at Eur. Ph. 662ff.; Ov. M. 3.59ff. This weapon appears in representations from Pompeii, from where, or from similar pictures, Valerius may have

got the idea; cf. also a marble funerary relief from Gaul (J.M.C. Toynbee Latomus 36 (1977) p.383, ix); see further the appendix.

prior ... obruit: 'prior' is an adjective with adverbial force, meaning 'in anticipation' of the serpent, like $\phi\theta\acute{o}\nu\omega\nu$, as VA. 10.458 'ire prior Pallas'. Hercules crushes the serpent before it can raise its head and attack. The juxtaposition of 'prior' and 'surgentia' show how nearly Hercules was unsuccessful. He 'crushes it' ('obruit') beneath the weight of the rock; cf. Cic. de off. 3.48 'Cyrtilum quendam ... lapidibus obruerunt'; Curt. 6.11.38 'saxis obruti sunt', and metaphorically of other weapons; VA. 2.410f. 'telis nostrorum obruimur'; TLL 9.2.151.55ff.

534ff. vastos nodosi roboris ictus congeminat: cf. VA. 12.714 'tum crebros ensibus ictus congeminant'. Hercules rains blows upon the serpent with his club. 'Nodosi roboris' is a periphrasis for his 'club'; 'robur' indicates that it is made of oak, a hard wood (at Sen. HF. 800, Valerius 1.634, St. S. 4.6.42, 'robur' means 'club'); 'nodosi' that it is 'gnarled' or knotted ('nodus' = club at Sen. HQ. 1661). Hercules often carried such a weapon cf. VA. 8.220f. 'nodis... gravatum robur'. 'Robur' is a characteristic of Hercules (as 1.561f. 'robur Herculeum') and here his 'strength' lies in his club. 'Vastos ... ictus' with 'congeminat' suggest mighty and ponderous blows, transferred from the huge figure of Hercules and his powerful club, but with no reference to the monster's size. Compare VA. 5.198 'vastis tremit ictibus aera puppis' (rowing); Luc. 3.655; Sen. nat. 2.20.3. Baehrens' 'validos' is less attractive as being the more ordinary phrase (Cic. Arat. 431; VA. 8.419; Luc. 3.678 etc), though it makes an effective pair with 'roboris', emphasizing the strength of the blows and Hercules' brute force. Compare Ov. M. 3.63f. 'atrae duritia pellis validos cute reppulit ictus' (the snake under Cadmus' attack).

'Congeminat' (cf. p. v above) is rare in classical Latin and poetic only (once in Plautus, twice in each of V, St. Th., Sil, five times in Valerius: cf. TLL 4.273.80ff.) until Apuleius. 'Ingeminare', (169) with which it is interchangeable, is only slightly more common. The pause after the verb slows the line down so that greater emphasis is placed upon the verb. Valerius like Virgil favours this type of pause, with a dactylic first foot (14 examples in book 2) where

Lucretius would have a spondee. (Also at Valerius 2.89 'devoluit'; 138 'servantem'; 235 'devolvunt').

535. fluctus (≡—) deferitur in imos: ω's reading is unmetrical. C has 'belua' after 'deferitur', which is attractive if the elision is acceptable. Courtney refers to 5.198 'condita inani', cf. also VA. 11.154 'gloria in armis', though usually the second word begins with a short 'a' or 'et' (Kösters pp.41-2). 'Belua' is preferable to 'pistris' (Parrhasius) because this has occurred in 531. Sudhaus' 'donec' is also attractive (for its postponement cf. 1.591).

'Deferitur' means submerged; literally 'is brought down from a height', and echoes 522f. The mighty monster is at last overcome. 'Fluctus in imos' is a curious phrase, for 'fluctus' seems to refer to the waves on the surface or where the sea is shallow (cf. 'vadis') and 'imos' implies the bottom of a deep sea, though 'fluctus' can be used for 'mare'. Valerius has in mind VA. 5.239 'imis sub fluctibus' of the deep sea. Here the waves are not deep and 'imos' is exaggerated, as is the monster's size.

536. totis resoluta vadis: of the loosening effect of death. Valerius may have in mind VA. 6.422f. 'immania terga resolvit fusus humi totoque ingens extenditur antro' (of Cerberus asleep), or ARh. 4.150f. οἴμη θελγόμενος δολιχὴν ἀνέλβει ἄχανθαν γηγενέος σπείρης (see Valerius 8.107f). The idea is familiar from Homer's λύντο δὲ γυῖα (Il. 7.16); cf. VA. 4.695 'nexos ... resolveret artus' (Dido) etc. See also Prop. 4.6.35f. (Pytho); St. Th. 1.568f; Sil. 6.280. 'Totis' is hyperbolic; the dead serpent occupies the whole of the deep.

537. ulularunt: the ritual lamentation uttered by women at a death or funeral: see Pease on VA. 4.168; M. Alexiou The ritual lament in Greek tradition (C.U.P. 1974) pp.102f. Nature utters the ritual response to the snake's death as at St Th. 5.579ff., where places connected with the snake mourn its death; Sil. 6.284f. In Valerius the cries mark the death of an enemy and are uttered by Cybele 'Idaea ... mater' who was worshipped locally (cf. 582), by her attendants (cf. VA. 9.112 'Idaei ... chori' etc) (contra Strand pp.83ff), and the more difficult 'amnes'. 'Summis ... collibus' suggests the springs or nymphs of the rivers, recalling VA. 4.168 'summo... ulularunt vertice Nymphae'.

Damsté tried 'summis ululavit collibus Ammon' as being more appropriate; and 'cornibus' like 1.106 'elatis cornibus Amnes', where 'elatis' is easier than 'summis', but these are not needed. The alternative explanation that 'ulularunt' refers to cries of ecstatic joy, (Langen) is less likely, though 'ululare', like ὀλολύζειν, can be used of ritual cries in orgiastic worship like Cybele's, as at Valerius 3.232; Mart. 5.41.3; St. Th. 4.292 etc. Cybele and her followers rejoice that the plague is lifted from the land (like the shepherds 538f; cf. 581f) while the rivers rejoice that the sea has lost its taint.

538. scopulis: the word occurs six times in this episode, a fact that has led editors to doubt its authenticity here. It is indeed less satisfactory with 'resurgere' than is 'opaca valle', which is a natural hiding place, with 'resurgere' meaning 'rise up' from a recumbent position or place of concealment. 'Scopulis' suggests a vantage point (as St. Th. 5.481; Sil. 16.10), clearer with Castiglioni's 'speculis' (cf. VA. 11.877), but naturally high up, so difficult with 'resurgere'. Valerius however is probably combining the idea of watching with that of concealment, and it is right to keep 'scopulis' in spite of the difficult zeugma with the verb. Delz' 'stabulis' seems singularly meaningless.

539. pastores: the shepherds who had hidden on the monster's approach. In his usual elliptical manner, Valerius refers to them here for the first time.

540. nuntius ... Telamon: for the hyperbaton cf. n.437-8 'sacerdos ... Thyotes'. This is a favourite device of Valerius', but usually the noun indicates a permanent function or attribute of the person. Here Telamon is only temporarily a messenger. See 546-8 'victor ... taurus'. 'Nuntius' has almost verbal force here; 'Telamon brought the news ...'. 'Hinc' means 'then' (deinde) as 447, 534; TLL 6.3.2795.61ff., not 'ex urbe'. Telamon's message coincides with the moment in which the Argonauts are horrified to observe blood on the sea ('simul'). ('Vident' precedes 'horrescunt' in time (hysteron proteron)), though '-que ... vident' has a causal nuance (see 'tollitque' 328).

541. sanguine: the blood of the dead serpent. Valerius adds the detail of the ship floating on bloody waves (for which there is no room in Ovid), and thereby calls to mind a detail from descriptions of sea battles; cf. HC. 2.1.35 (NH); Luc. 3.572f.

542ff. Hercules frees Hesione; a detail omitted by Ovid (implied at M. 4.738f.) but familiar from representations in art; see further the appendix.

542. nec minus: a conventional transition formula, with connective function, familiar from Virgil, as A. 1.633. Its precise meaning depends on the context; here it looks back to 'protinus' (538); 'straightway too' (Mozley).

scopulos ... saxi: tautologous, like 527, but indicative also of Hercules' clambering progress over the rocks and boulders to reach the girl, bound high up on the cliff (462). 'Cacumen' is the peak of something that tapers to a point like a mountain (Lucr. 6.459 etc), a tree (Lucr. 1.898), or a cliff, as here, Sen. Ph. 1027; Tro. 1080. Here the effect of its use is to exaggerate the height of the cliff and Hercules' achievement. 'Crudi' is 'harsh'; because responsible for the girl's harsh fate (484) but also perhaps 'rough', literally 'unfashioned by human hand' (OLD sv. 'crudus' 2).

543. emicat: a quick darting movement, often of the flickering of a flame, though Virgil usually follows up the flame metaphor with 'ardens' (A. 6.5f; 12.326) as does Valerius at 3.429, 582. Here Valerius uses it more literally; 'he springs up', with perhaps a hint of the metaphorical sense 'be conspicuous', by virtue of his distinction in victory. The verb is a curious echo of Man. 5.597 'alte emicat ac toto sublimis corpore fertur' (the serpent).

vinclis... manus: 'vinclis ... tenentibus' goes with 'aufert' by position; 'he frees her hands from the chains that bind them'. The juxtaposition of 'rupe' and 'manus' is effective in stressing the close proximity of Hesione's hands to the rock before her release. 'De rupe' must be taken with 'tenentibus'; Hercules releases her from the chains 'that bind her to the rock'. 'In rupe' would be easier, and possibly the proximity of 'aufert' caused 'de' to be written for 'in'. Or

perhaps Valerius was influenced by Man. 5.614 'solvit... haerentem vinclis de rupe puellam', where 'de rupe' is easier with 'haerentem'.

544. aptat: 'he fastens his quiver onto his exultant shoulders'. 'Arma' clearly refers back to 527, and Mozley's 'armour' is wrong. 'Umeris' again indicates Hercules superb physique (490ff; 510f.). 'Superbis' combined with 'superbat' (545) produces a picture of Hercules exulting in his victory, stepping out triumphantly towards the city. Both are derived from 'super' and refer to Hercules' increased moral status, the result of his victory, and not to his great might or 'superhuman' qualities. For 'superbis' meaning 'proud in victory' cf. VA. 8.202 'spoliis... superbus Alcides'. 'Superare' usually implies difficult terrain as 'Campaniam superare nequisse, saeptam hostium praesidiis' (Liv. 23.34.5) but here the shore is safe ('tuta'). Mozley's 'passes' is not a good translation; 'surpass' or 'surmount' would be better.

545. ovanti: (Pio) undoubtedly correct, for 'ovant' (LV); 'ovantem' (S). The adjective is not merely transferred (thus Langen), for the hero's very gait is 'exultant'; cf. 3.441 'tacitos ... gradus' (of soundless steps). Exultation is a heroic reaction; cf. 4.342 (Pollux) 'laetus ovat'. The framing of 'litora tuta' by 'ovanti ... gradu' emphasises that Hercules' victory lies in making the shores safe.

546-549. The simile of the victorious bull is not wholly relevant to Hercules' situation in spite of the many correspondences found in the first two lines. Hercules is likened to a victorious bull (546ff.) passing triumphantly through the pastureland ('per pascua ... ingreditur'; 'superabat litora tuta'), where he struts exultant in his victory ('colla tumens', 'celsior armis'; 'superbis umeris'). The situation however is in no way comparable. The bull had been fighting another bull that ^{had} challenged his supremacy in the herd (e.g. VG. 3.219ff., cf. Valerius 5.67ff.). The victor gains the mastery in his ancestral home, and the heifers' love (549). Hercules gains neither supremacy nor love (there is no suggestion of this), nor is he fighting on native soil or even familiar land, so 'adsueti' and 'patrium' are applicable only in the context of a simile. Nevertheless, the comparison of Hercules to a bull is apt, for both rely on 'brute

force', and both rejoice in their victory. 'Revisit' (548) perhaps implies the initial defeat characteristic of many similes of this type (cf. 'redit' at Luc. 2.604; St. Th. 2.327; 3.331), which recalls Hercules' set-back at 522ff.

546. victor: an epithet used of Hercules, cf. 'Alcides victor' VA. 8.203; 362f; Ov. H. 9.70 etc; Sen. HO. 1476 etc; 'victor Tirynthius' VA. 7.662; also HC. 3.14.4; cf. καλλίνικος Archil. 119; Eur. HF. 180.

547. colla tumens, celsior armis: an instance of 'variatio' with the Greek accusative of respect after a participle, and an ablative after a comparative adjective (p.ix above). There is no reason to adopt Heinsius' 'armos', as the alteration does not result in a fully balanced phrase. Both 'colla' (neck and shoulders) and 'armis' (the fore-quarters of an animal OLD sv. 'armus' 1) parallel 'umeris' (545). The bull's neck is 'puffed up' with pride, though a thick neck was also thought to be a sign of strength, and is a frequent detail in accounts of bulls fighting. Cf. Luc. 2.604f. 'nec redit in pastus, nisi cum cervice recepta excussi placuere tori'; St. Th. 2.326 'cervix... recepto sanguine magna redit'. Compare 'laxa cervice' of an old bull at St. Th. 4.70. 'Celsior' recalls 'superis' and 'superabat' used of Hercules. For 'celsus' with the ablative cf. Sil. 16.187 'celsus mente Syphax'. 'Armis' recalls 'arma umeris'; the bull's weapons are his own brute strength.

548. stabula alta: the stables of domestic animals (with 'pecoris'). The phrase is familiar from Virgil onwards (A. 9.388), and from Od. 14.4f. ἔνθα οἱ ἀβλή ὀψήλη δέδμητο, περισκέπτῳ ἐνὶ χώρῳ (cf. Bömer on Ov. M. 6.521), incorporated without much thought for its meaning. 'Alta' may imply 'high up' on the hillside, but it is probably just conventional. 'Stabula ... revisit' perhaps prefigures Hercules' proposed visit to the stables (566).

549. A close echo of VG. 3.226ff. 'gemens ... quos amisit inultus amores, et stabula aspectans regnis excessit avitis' (the defeated bull). In V, 'amores' refers to the heifer who was perhaps the cause of the fight, first lost and then won back. The victorious bull

revisits the places from which he had been banished by defeat; 'patrium nemus' balances 'regnis avitis', and means 'woods of his home' (Mozley). The ellipse of 'est' with 'ultus' in the relative clause is unusual, but cf. KS 1. p.12 for further instances including Plaut. Amph. 575 'optas quae facta'.

There is only one reference to Hercules' love for Hesione in classical literature, at Sen. HQ. 363f. 'dilecta Priami nempe Dardanii soror concessa famula est' (in a list of Hercules' loves). Seneca perhaps invented the detail himself.

550-578. Hercules is received by Laomedon but refuses his treacherous offer of hospitality.

550. obvia cui contra: a conventional phrase, cf. VA. 11.498f. 'obvia cui ... Camilla occurit'. A reference to ἀπάντησις, the ceremony of receiving an exile (Cic. Att. 4.1.5) or victor (Liv. 24.16.14ff; Plut. Pomp. 57.1 etc) outside the gates of a city by the entire population (cf. S. Weinstock Divus Iulius (Oxford 1971) pp.289f; S. MacCormack Art and Ceremony in Late Antiquity (Berkeley 1981) pp.17ff). longis emissa tenebris: 'tenebris' picks up 'caelum ... quod incubat urbi' (494), and perhaps 475f. It has then an additional metaphorical sense, the darkness of fear and despair. The metaphor occurs frequently in Cicero (Ver. 2.3.177, Flacc. 102, Dom. 24 etc), also HC. 4.4.40; Val. Max. 5.2.1. The phrase is from VG. 3.551 cf. St. Th. 8.376 'Stygiis emissa tenebris', and 'emissa', meaning 'released from' is undoubtedly right here. Heinsius' 'emersa', 'come forth from' as (Sen.) Oct. 134 'emergere umbris', is ingenious but not right. 'Emergere' can be used of the stars rising above the horizon (e.g. Cic. Arat. 460; Sen. Nat. 7.17.2) but the point of the metaphor here is not the heavenly bodies but the appearance of the Trojans like pallid ghosts from the Underworld.

551. parvum ... natum: Podarces or Priam. His inclusion here looks forward to the coming prophecy 571ff. 'Trahens' conjures up a vivid picture of the king dragging his unwilling son behind him, as VA. 2.457 'avo puerum Astyanacta trahebat' (Andromache), on a visit to his grandparents. For the variant traditions regarding Laomedon's wife cf. Frazer on Apld. 3.12.3.

552. Laomedon: a perfidious tyrant like Pelias and Aeetes; Virgil regards him as the origin of Rome's troubles (G. 1.502, cf. HC. 2.3.22). Valerius draws a strong picture of his character here, which contrasts with Hercules' heroic virtue and benevolence.

553. gemit: 'gemere' with the accusative and infinitive construction occurs occasionally in both prose and verse, first Cic. Phil. 13.23 'gemas hostem. Dolabellam iudicatum a senatu'; cf. TLL 6.2.1762.91ff. The passive 'posci' is intentionally impersonal; Hercules has not 'demanded' his reward.

553-4. A variation on the τειχοσκοπία where non-combatants watch the battle from the safety of the city walls (Il. 3.146ff.; hence VA. 2.461f. etc; HC. 3.2.6ff.; Valerius 6.490ff. etc). Here the citizens watch Hercules' arrival, as at VA. 8.592f. they observe the departure of Aeneas and Pallas; cf. ARh. 4.1182; P.J. Miniconi Étude des Thèmes Guerrières de la Poésie Épique Gréco-Romaine (Algiers 1951) p.168. Their usual reaction is wonder (mirantur), cf. Val. 6.720; Il. 3.181. See also on 351 'mirata'.

pars: some of the citizens, particularly the women and children. 'Pars' is collective so can take a plural verb (KS 2 p.23; cf. on 222), but not usually both singular and plural verbs at the same time, though Valerius has in mind 'pars stupet ... et mirantur' (VA. 2.31); cf. also Valerius 3.278f. 'pars ... prensat, pars ... componunt'. 'Cingit', literally 'surround', refers to spectators on 'the circuit of the walls' (Mozley), not to the manning of the walls by soldiers as VA. 10.121f. 'miseri ... muros cinxere'; cf. Liv. 4.27.7; Valerius 4.101 etc.

aerii fastigia muri: the 'fastigia' of the walls are its battlements as Curt. 9.4.30; St. Th. 11.356; TLL 6.1.320.73ff. The walls 'reach the sky' ('aerii') as VA. 3.291 'aerias ... arces'; Ciris 173 'aerias ... turris'. The adjective is rare in prose (once in Cicero's philosophical works; Apul.; Tert; cf. TLL 1.1001.83ff.).

554. ignotis: Hercules' weapons and attire are strange in Trojan eyes. The adjective may also refer ironically to a time when the bow will be all too familiar (570f). 'Ignotus' has a particular sense in the poem; in many of the places which the Argonauts visit the sight of a Greek is

unfamiliar, and the lands and seas are unfamiliar to them. See 2.43, 592; 4.255; 5.319, 376; 6.25, 482, 678; 7.320. See Bömer Ovid. M. 6.721 for the topic 'ignotum mare' of the sea before the building of the Argo.

555. torvo tuens: from VA. 6.467 (Dido). 'With grim look' (Mozley), or 'fierce' like the glance of wild animals (7.579; 8.60). The neuter plural adjective used in place of an adverb with a verb of looking occurs widely in Latin from Lucretius onwards; cf. Lucr. 5.33, VA. 9.794 'asper, acerba tuens'; from the Greek ἄγρια δερχομένω Hes. Sc. 236; HSz. p.40; Löfstedt Synt. 2 pp.420f.; Austin on VA. 6.467. 'Illum' is placed emphatically first, for Hercules dominates the scene. acri lubricus astu: Laomedon is a 'slippery' character. 'Lubricus' occurs also VA. 11.716 'nequiquam patrias temptasti lubricus artis', and calls to mind a snake ('lubrica serpens' at Lucr. 4.60; VA. 2.474; Ov. M. 4.599 etc) as do 'acri' and 'subit' (cf. 519). 'Acri ... astu' must be taken closely with 'lubricus'. 'Astus' in the ablative usually occurs on its own with adverbial force, as Sen. Ph. 153; Prop. 4.5.15 etc; though cf. Ov. M. 4.776 'sollerti ... astu'; Valerius 1.492 'astu ... pavido' etc. The word is echoed at 5.222 (of Aeetes). 'Acri' means 'keen', 'subtle', like the biting poison of a snake, 'acre venenum' (Lucr. 4.637).

556. subit: a purely verbal echo of VA. 10.552 'ille astu subit' ('ducked'). Here Valerius means 'accost' as St. Th. 9.510 'tandem precibus commota Tonantem Iuno subit'; 10.406; OLD sv. 'subeo' 7; with the notion of concealed (sub) cunning.

male laetus: not 'half-hearted in his joy' (Mozley) but 'distinctly unhappy', merely putting on a pretence of joy. Compare 'male sobrius' (Tib. 1.10.51); 'male fortis' (Ov. F. 1.571). The appearance of happiness is intended to deceive Hercules, though revealed to the reader by 'maestus' (552); 'gemit' (553). For this use of 'male' with negative force cf. Austin on VA. 2.23. It was a colloquialism promoted by Virgil to epic status. It occurs only here in Valerius and is rare in the poets (Axelson p.62). Compare the Greek κακόδοξος Eur. Andr. 778 ; κακῶς εἰδότες Xen. Cyr. 2.3.13 etc. 'Patrio ... amore' is ablative with 'laetus'. The effect of 'male' continues to be

felt here. Laomedon's fatherly love does not outweigh his desire to keep the horses, and, like his joy, is feigned.

557-566. Laomedon's speech is entirely courteous, and his duplicity kept well-hidden, though the flowery repetition (557f; 559f; 561; 562) and flattering tone are overdone. The language is grandiloquent with excessive emphasis on Hercules' ancestry, and 557-562 is one long and involved sentence with lengthy relative and conditional clauses; enjambement (558, 560, 562), and the ugly echo 'petentem', 'parentem' (557, 559).

557. maxime Graiugenum: cf. VA. 8.127 'optime Graiugenum', introducing Aeneas' appeal to Evander for help on the grounds of kinship (they have a common ancestor Atlas). The search for a point of personal contact in a common ancestor (Pind. Pyth. 4.142f; 167; ARh. 2.1161ff), a mutual friend (VA. 1.619ff; 8.157ff; cf. Il. 6.216ff) or similar misfortune (592ff. cf. VA. 1.628f) are among the usual courtesies exchanged on the arrival of a stranger.

558. funera Troiae: familiar from Lucr. 5.326, HC. 1.8.15, Prop. 2.6.16, where 'funera' refers to the destruction of Troy by the Greeks. Laomedon unconsciously uses the same words of the havoc wrought by the plague.

559. adpulit: 'Destiny herself drove you to these shores'. The words echo 445f. 'puppis ... adpulit et fatis Sigeo litore sedit'. 'Appellere' can be used not only with a ship as subject or object (cf. 446) but in contexts where the ship is only implied, as VA. 3.715 'hinc me digressum vestris deus appulit oris'; Valerius 5.277; OLD sv. appello 4. Ehlers is right to print 'Fors' with a capital letter, as 'ipsa' and the analogy with VA. 8.127f. 'me Fortuna precari ... voluit' make clear. 'Fors' used generally of 'chance' is not always easily distinguishable from the goddess 'Fors Fortuna'. Elsewhere Valerius has 'fors' in the general sense (3.392; 6.265). Generally 'Iovis fata' govern the Argonauts' movements as 1.323; 3.184, 620 (Hylas); 4.121, 127, 252, 741 (Amycus); 4.432 (cf. 483f) (Phineus); 5.65 etc.

vera ... fama: Laomedon is not expressing doubt or disbelief (though an element of doubt is implied in the same phrase at VA. 3.551f, an

allusion to the variety of the tradition). The utterance is conventional, as at VA. 8.140f. 'at Maïam, auditis si quicquam credimus, Atlas ... generat'; ARh. 2.209; 3.402; cf. TCW Stinton Si credere dignum est in PCPS 22 (1976) 60ff. Laomedon has not met Hercules before, though he knows of him and of his ancestry through the reports of Fama, and, if these are true, then he and Hercules are indirectly related.

560. summi ... Tonantis: Valerius follows Homer in treating Laomedon as a Greek, and makes him refer to the Greek king of the gods by some of his cult titles. For 'Tonans', the Thunderer, cf. Fast. Amit (CIL 1. p.244); Ov. M. 1.170; F. 2.69 etc; Augustus dedicated a temple to Jupiter Tonans on the Capitol in 22 B.C. cf. Aug. Anc. 4.5. For 'summus' 'the Most High' cf. Naev. Poet. 15 'summe deum regnator'; Pl. Amph. 780; Luc. 2.34 'summi ... Tonantis'.

561. noster: 'our kinsman'. 'Noster' in the singular tends to mean 'our friend' (e.g. Ter. Ad. 885) and in the plural 'kinsmen' (e.g. Pl. Epid. 340 etc) though a rigid distinction between the two meanings is unhelpful.

iunctis: substantive only at Plin. Ep. 2.17.2 (of two yoked horses). The use here comes from phrases like 'sanguine iunctus' (Ov. M. 2.368; F. 2.788); 'propinqua cognatione iunctus' (Liv. 23.41.2); i.e. 'iunctis' is synonymous with 'cognatis' here. Compare the English 'connection'. Maser's 'iunctus' deserves consideration; the corruption is easy with 'venis' following and the singular is perhaps better after 'noster', though the plural 'iunctis' emphasizes that Laomedon's whole family are his kinsmen. If 'iunctis' is retained it must be dative of motion (cf. 504) with 'venis', or dative of interest.

sator: again a cult title of Jupiter, the begetter of gods and men. First found in Pacuv. Trag. 295; cf. Cic. Tusc. 2.21 (poet.); VA. 1.254 etc. Here Laomedon means specifically 'ancestor'; who by chance is Jupiter. Laomedon is descended from the king of the gods through Dardanus.

unus et idem: the phrase occurs in Latin as in English (cf. Hor. Ep. 2.2.200, Brink ad loc; Cic. Ver. 3.179 etc), though here 'unus' qualifies 'sator' and 'idem' 'honos'. Nevertheless the collocation of

the two words has the effect of bringing them together in the familiar phrase 'one and the same' and it is not out of place here.

562. stirpis honos: 'stirps' is a botanical image; Jupiter is the root from which both men stem, cf. Liv. 2.50.11 'stirpem genti Fabiae', the ancestor of all future Fabii. 'Honos' is the archaic form of 'honor'; cf. 'labos' at 6.352, 361.

quamquam: the phrase belongs with 'noster ... venis', as the echo 'iunctis' 'disiungimur' makes clear, and 'quamquam' makes no sense with Ehlers' punctuation. The stop after 'venis' should be removed and dashes put round 'sator ... honos'. The phrase echoes VA. 1.252 'Italīs longē disiungimur oris'; for 'disiungere' with the simple ablative cf. Cic. Ver. 2.4.117 'pars oppidi ... mari disiuncta angusto'. 'Longis' here is 'distant', as Sil. 6.628.

563. quot: a rhetorical exclamation like VA. 2.282ff. 'quae tantae tenuere morae ... ut te post multa tuorum funera, post varios hominumque urbisque labores defessi aspiciamus', which Valerius has at the back of his mind.

piacula patrum: 'Patrum' refers to the fathers of the girls chosen to be offered to the sea-monster (481f) before the lot fell on Hesione. The 'piacula' are then the girls themselves.

564. serus ades: the words contain a hint of reproach, for, although it is not Hercules' fault that his arrival was late, 'serus' emphasizes the length of avoidable suffering, as do 'quot', 'quanta'. 'Now at last you are here'.

quam parva ... gloria: 'how meagre now is the glory of your deeds'. Laomedon must mean that the delay has cost Hercules his reputation. However, as the text stands, 'parva ... gloria' is too offensive and Shackleton Bailey's 'gratia' is a possible alteration; (the two words are often confused because their contracted forms are similar: cf. TLL 6.2.2061.67) though his explanation ('Hercules' services had been not only fortuitous but belated; he could not expect much gratitude') will not do. It is too soon for a hint that Hercules is to be deprived of his reward; Laomedon is not so candid (565ff.). Perhaps 'how small the recompense we can give you for your deeds'; in comparison with such a great achievement the reward is bound to be small. Compare VA. 1.600f.

'grates persolvere dignas non opis est nostrae'; St. Th. 11.223f. There is an additional note of ambiguity; 'your reward will be small'.

565. verum age: a transition formula familiar from Virgil, e.g. A. 11.587; 12.832) indicating a change of subject, and often a command or decision. 'Nunc' contrasts with 'crastina lux' in 566.

fraternis moenibus: dramatic irony as the walls were the original cause of Hesione's exposure. Furthermore Hercules will destroy them when he sacks the city. 'Fraternis' again refers to mutual descent from Jupiter, used loosely for 'consanguineis'. The juxtaposition of 'socios fraternis' is effective, for Laomedon overdoes the kinship theme to conceal his hostility. On 565 A see p.xxvii above.

566. crastina lux: 'tomorrow's light', as VA. 8.170; St. Th. 10.21; Claud. RP. 1.222. The use of 'ostendere' with 'lux' as its subject is particularly apt for light indeed 'reveals', cf. Liv. 7.12.3 'prima lux mediocrem multitudinem ... ostendit'; Valerius 5.177f. 'extremaque fessis coeperat optatos iam lux ostendere Colchos'; compare Luc. 8.202 'ostendit terras Titan'; Sen. Ag. 578 'damna noctis tristis ostendit dies'. 'Ostendat' is subjunctive with 'ut' (565 A).

apertis: the sun's light will not only reveal the stables but also open them to view. The adjective implies that Hercules has free access to the horses. 'Apertis' is the emphatic last word of the speech, immediately preceding a reference to Laomedon's concealed treacherous intention (567ff.).

567f. tacitus ... dolos dirumque volutat corde nefas: the language is Virgilian: A. 4.563 'illa dolos dirumque nefas in pectore versat' (Dido) and 533 'secum ... ita corde volutat'. 'Tacitusque' (ω) contrasts with 'dixerat haec'; 'he spoke like this but silently he pondered ...', i.e. he did not say what he really thought. In the parallel from Virgil, 'dolos' stands alone as it would here; cf. also VE. 9.37 'id ... tacitus ...mecum ipse voluto'. Heinsius' 'tacitosque' is less attractive, though it supplies an adjective for 'dolos' to balance 'dirum', and helps the run of the sentence. The combination occurs at Mart. 3.91.6; Sil. 15.327. For 'dirum nefas' cf. Sil. 8.177. The ancients may have connected 'nefas' etymologically with 'fare' (Ernout-Meillet p.217), and 'nefas' picks up 'tacitus'; Laomedon's

thoughts are unvoiced because they are unutterable. See St. S. 3.3.14 'nefas tacitum'. His action would be 'nefas' because it involves not only murder, but murder of a guest. For 'ut' meaning 'how' cf. n.156. Ehlers is right to omit the punctuation after 'haec'; there should be no pause here.

568. clausum ... thalamis: Mozley fails to translate 'clausum', 'confined' in his chamber, as in prison or by a siege. 'Somno ... gravatum' is from VA. 6.520 (Deiphobus) and Valerius must have this scene in mind. The phrase again prefigures the fall of Troy (cf. on 221). The sense is 'weighed down with sleep'; the expression is used both of sleep and death, as Ov. M. 4.145 'oculos a morte gravatos', for the two states are not dissimilar. Here sleep provides the opportunity for death.

Laomedon's intended crime has much in common with the Lemnian massacre. The king plans to attack Hercules while asleep (cf. 221) and to trap him in his bedroom (cf. 237f). 'Immolet' recalls 'mactat' (230) with overtones of sacrifice; the women's crime is 'nefas' (101) and treachery plays its part (206).

569. immolet: 'slay'. Originally applied to the process of sprinkling a victim with sacrificial meal ('mola salsa'), the verb came to be used of the sacrifice itself, and was extended to cover slaughter of any kind, often with sacrificial overtones, as VA. 10.541 (the victim is a priest); 12.949; Sen. Thy. 714. It occurs frequently in Christian contexts of martyrs (ep. Prud. Perist. 12.27). Here, Hercules' death may be regarded as a propitiatory sacrifice.

Valerius confuses two issues here. Laomedon's initial grievance was the loss of the horses, and this is reflected in his speech. 'Responsa' introduces a second grievance against Hercules in the oracle that had decreed Troy's fall. Laomedon was determined to prevent this by killing Hercules and taking his bow.

ereptaque luat: 'ereptaque' (P B 1474); 'eraptaque' (ω). 'Luat' is difficult with 'responsa', for it must mean 'avert' the oracle, i.e. 'what the oracle said', by stealing the quiver and killing Hercules. For 'luere' meaning 'avert' by propitiatory sacrifice cf. Liv. 10.28.13 'ut luendis periculis publicis piacula simus'; Valerius Max. 1.7.3 'ut is capite suo fata patriae lueret' (of P. Decius in 285 B.C.). Here

'erepta ... pharetra' is ablative absolute; the prefix adds an element of violence to the simple verb.

Baehrens' 'et rapta ludat' is far easier; 'baffle the oracle by the theft of the bow'; cf. 3.555 'pueri spes lusa'; Sen. Ag. 17 'irritus redeunte totiens luditur saxo labor', and is undoubtedly right. The change is small.

570. bis: Troy is fated to fall twice to Hercules' bow, once at his hands, once at those of Philoctetes (cf. 1.393). See Sen. Tro. 136ff. (Troia) 'bis ... pharetras passa Herculeas'; Sil. 1.43; Soph. Phil. 1439f..

deberi: 'twice doomed to fall to Hercules' bow'; cf. VA. 8.374f. 'Pergama ... debita'. Troy's fall was fated. Valerius allows Laomedon rather more foresight than is usual so that he can refer ominously to the coming fall of Troy.

571f. quis iam vertere ... fata: a familiar expression of fate's inevitability; no mortal can alter what is decreed. 'Priami ... regnis' is an allusion to the sacking of Troy, the prelude to the rise of Rome. 'Vertere' means 'alter', 'turn aside' in a specific sense. Laomedon tries to alter the course of fate by taking the bow (cf. 'ludat' 569). 'Regnis' then is dative with 'vertere'; 'alter for Priam's kingdom'. 'Avertere' (Gronov.) is attractive in the more general sense of 'avert' as Sil. 9.481f. 'sed Pallade pulsa num fata avertat' with 'regnis' ablative, from Priam's kingdom, though the remark should not be general, and the more specific 'vertere' is better. Heinsius' 'quisnam' similarly makes the tone too general. The elision of 'iam' with the long initial syllable of 'avertere' is possible; cf. 1.52 'Colchida iam et regis caput', 782; 4.282; 6.756; 7.408; VA. 8.557 'iam apparet'; 11.564.

572. ω reads 'manet immotis nox turica lustris' ('durica' L). Both 'turica' and 'durica' are obviously corrupt, and Ehlers adopts Politian's 'duria' (p. xxix above), a reference to the Trojan Horse cf. Aur. Vict. Orig. 1.7 'equo durio'; Auson Per. 8; Don.ad Ter. Ad. 752. These instances, though late, would form suitable parallels to Politian's reading here if the reference were to the Wooden Horse itself, and not to 'the night of the Wooden Horse' (cf. Ehlers on 2.572

'nox qua Graeci durio equo usi Troiam invadunt'; Politian Miscellaneorum Centuria Prima ch.5). The reading is ingenious but unacceptable. Editors usually prefer C's (also in KTM) 'Dorica', i.e. the night when the Dorians (Greeks) sacked the city, and a proper name is appropriate with 573. But the adjective is inadequate in spite of Sidon. Apoll. 5.195f. 'cum Graecia Troiae noctem habuit', for the emphasis is wrong (a reference to the Greeks is out of place) and disturbs the progression of thought (a tricolon) (i) Troy's last night; (ii) Aeneas' escape; (iii) a better Troy. The line refers to Troy's fall at night (e.g. St. S. 2.7.48 'nocturnas ... Phrygum ruinas') and 'ultima', of Troy's final night, is a possibility, continuing the notion of time present in 'lustris'. Other suggestions are less satisfactory. 'Manet' i.e. 'remains fixed' reinforces 'immotis', as VA. 1.257 'manent immota tuorum fata tibi'; 7.314; Valerius 5.87. Valerius has in mind VA. 1.283 'veniet lustris latibus'. There is tension between 'immotis' implying immovability, and 'lustris', possibly connected with 'lustrare', of motion (also purification cf. Ernout-Meillet p.371). The use of Roman terminology here looks forward to the establishment of Rome (573).

573. genus Aeneadum: from VA. 1.565; the line is intended to recall all the events of the Aeneid. For 'Troiae melioris', Rome, the better Troy, cf. Sil. 13.61.

574. ait ... Tirynthius: the positioning of these words disturbs the flow of the sentence and emphasizes their conciseness; Hercules has no time to make a formal speech. The effect is colloquial and the type Ovidian, as M. 2.818 'stemus' ait 'pacto' velox Cyllenius 'isto'; 8.405; though cf. VA. 11.459f. 'immo', ait 'o cives', arrepto tempore Turnus, 'cogite concilium'. See J. Marouzeau in N.I. Herescu Ovidiana (Paris 1958) p.103, with examples from Cicero, Caesar and Livy.

575. (nos) raptat iter: a striking phrase; 'our journey forces us onward', with a strong element of compulsion, as if there were no choice. The combination is unique; TLL 7.2.1.544.7ff. lists 'iter' with 'est' (VA. 11.17; 6.542), 'pateat', 'ferebat', 'ducet' but not 'raptat'. revehemur: passive with a middle sense, 'we will return'; cf. OLD sv. 'revehor' 1b, Valerius 3.654 'revectos' of the returning Argonauts.

Hercules' promise is more in the nature of a threat in Laomedon's eyes, and in view of future events.

576. tum vero plura ... adnuit: 'then indeed he promises many other gifts'. 'Adnuit' contrasts with the consent he will withhold on Hercules' return. Baehrens proposed but did not put in his text 'tunc ultro plura ... adnuit', with 'ultro' emphasizing his apparent eagerness in contrast to his later refusal. The thought is good but there is no reason to change the established text, and 'tum vero' is a recognized formulaic phrase. 'Vocatis ... deis' means 'having called the gods to witness', thereby making worse his intended perjury. For 'vocare' of invoking the gods cf. VA. 6.506; HC. 1.2.25; Ov. F. 5.527 'huic ego iuratus, vobis in verba vocatis'.

577. promissa ... tyranni: the phrase is echoed at 4.58f. 'iamque iter ad Teucros atque hospita moenia Troiae flexerat Iliaci repetens promissa tyranni' (Hercules returns to claim his reward). Compare 6.22f. of Aeetes reneging on a promise. Valerius refers to both Pelias (1.30, 71; 5.659) and Aeetes (5.264; 6.16; 7.78) as 'tyrannus', i.e. 'ruler', not necessarily with a pejorative sense (as VA. 7.266 of Aeneas; 342 of Latinus) though this sense is prominent here.

578. flebant: The Trojans were even now ('iam') lamenting Troy's misfortunes. 'Troiae', the last word in this episode, is emphatic by position.

discrimina: sc. 'casus', as Cic. Dom. 24 'rei publicae discrimina'; VA. 1.204; Valerius 1.503; 3.75 etc. Like 'cardo', 'discrimen' is literally the turning point from good to bad fortune, though it is used generally for 'misfortunes'. The Trojans have already experienced the plague and the sea-monster that resulted from their king's earlier perjury, and can infer from this what is the likely outcome of his present behaviour. This is not poetic licence (Langen) but good psychology.

579-612. The appearance of Helle, her prophecy of success, and her request that a message be conveyed to Phrixus.

The episode is unique to Valerius, though in the familiar tradition of apparitions at sea; compare ARh. 1.1310ff. Glaucus, cf.

Diod. 4.48.6; HC. 1.15 Neptune to Paris, St. Ach. 1.251ff. Thetis. It looks forward to the Argo's arrival at Phasis (5.184ff), though Valerius makes no mention of Jason obeying Helle's instructions there; it may also look back to Cretheus' appearance at 1.738ff., with his prophecy of success. The details provide the sequel to the story of Phrixus and Helle at 1.278ff.

579. panditur ... carbasus: Valerius reverts to Apollonius here cf. 1.926f. ἔνθα σφιν λαιψηρὸς ἄη νότος, ἱστία δ' οὖρον στησάμενοι ; though the phraseology is a variation on a Virgilian expression, A. 3.520 'velorum pandimus alas'. 'Pandere vela' was a regular term for unfurling the sails (Naev. Trag. 16 'passo velo'; Prop. 2.21.14; Valerius 7.474; OLD sv. pando 2a), and also for stretching the wings of a bird (Plin. NH. 6.122; OLD sv. pando 1a). 'Alis', technically the reefs of the sail (Sall. Hist. inc. 12; Serv. VA. 3.520 etc) reinforces the metaphor, which is found extensively in ancient literature, cf. Hesiod WD 628 νηὸς πτερὰ , West ad loc; and on 'volucrum' (587). Prop. 4.6.47 uses 'alae' of the oars, but the metaphor is the same. For the image in reverse cf. Aes. Ag. 52 πτερύγων ἐρετμοῖσιν ἐρεσσύμενοι (a bird); ARh. 2.1255; VA. 1.301. 'Carbasus' is the sail, literally the canvas sail-cloth (L. Casson Ships and Seamanship in the Ancient World (Princeton, 1971) p.234 n.43), as Cat. 64.227; VA. 4.417; Valerius 5.423; TLL 3.429.1ff.

in noctem: 'as night comes on', as VA. 7.8 'aspirant aurae in noctem' (Valerius probably has this passage in mind here). See Tarrant on Sen. Ag. 576 'in lucem'.

580f. ω reads 'litoraue et veteres tumulos praelabatur Ili Dardaniumque patrem'. The subject of 'praelabatur' then is 'carbasus', i.e. the boat (hence Peerlkamp proposed 'ratis' for 'patrem'); the ship glides past the shore and Ilus' tomb and the Dardanian father. The line contains a reminiscence of Il. 11.166 Ἴλου σῆμα παλαιοῦ Δαρδανίδαο ; cf. 371f, and editors generally accept Maser's 'veteris' for 'veteres', 'Ilus of old'. 'Dardaniumque patrem' either refers elliptically to a separate tomb, that of Dardanus, Ilus' father, or it is corrupt, perhaps for 'Dardaniique patris' (Schenkl), not 'Dardanus' but Ilus' 'Dardanian father' Tros (Ilus son of Tros was the great-grandson of Dardanus). A more attractive solution is to take 'litora'

and 'tumulus' (Baehrens) as the subjects of 'praelabatur', giving the verb a more vivid application, and reading 'Dardaniusque pater' (Baehrens). Compare 'longa recessit Sepias' (8).

The two names would be familiar to the Roman reader, for Ilus was believed to have given his name to the gens Iulia (Ogilvie on Livy 1.3.2 cf. VA. 1.267f) and Dardanus came originally from Italy (Serv. VA. 3.167f). The tomb of Ilus was a landmark on the Trojan battlefield although it is not spoken of by Strabo (13.593) though he mentions the tombs of Hecabe and Aias and the monuments of Achilles, Patroclus and Antilochus in the Troad, all of which postdate the Argonauts. For Dardanus' tomb cf. Lyc. Alex. 72f.

581f. vigili simul omnia ludo festa vident: the land rejoices at its deliverance from the sea-monster; cf. 'ulularunt' (n.537). 'Vigili' shows that the celebrations take place at night; the participants are 'vigiles', cf. HC. 3.8.14 'vigiles lucernas'; Sen. HO. 647 'vigiles ... trahit purpura noctes'; Juv. 3.275 'vigiles ... fenestrae'. 'Ludi' suggests the rites of the Magna Mater celebrated by night on Mt. Ida (cf. 'sacris ... ignibus', 'buxo') like the 'Ludi Megalenses' at Rome (Ov. F. 4.357 Bömer).

582f. vident ... respondent: the lines successfully evoke the mood and atmosphere of a night at sea, where the lights from the land are reflected on the waves, and the sounds of the shore are gradually replaced by the silence of the open sea and the noise of the wind in the rigging.

hinc ... hic: 'on one side, on the other'. The boat coasts along the NW shore so the sea lies to the left, and the land to the right as ARh. 1.929f. τὸ δ' ἐννύχιοι 'Ροιτειάδος ἔνδοθεν ἀκτῆς μέτρεον, Ἰδαίην ἐπὶ δεξιὰ γαῖαν ἔχοντες.

583. vibrat: the holy flames flicker intermittently on the hillside and their fitful gleams are reflected in the waves. 'Vibrare' refers to a quick movement back and forth, and is often applied to flickering flames, especially those reflected in the water, as Valerius 8.306 'vibrata ... flammis aequora'; Sil. 2.664 'in tremulo vibrant incendia ponto' (cf. n. on 342).

horrisonae ... buxo: the shrill-sounding pipes of boxwood associated with the rites of Cybele and Bacchus, as VA. 9.619 'buxus ... Berecynthia Matris Idaeae'; St. Th. 5.93f. 'Horrisonae' is a Lucretian adjective (5.109), used by Virgil A. 6.573, 9.55), but with an archaic ring. The sound of these pipes was particularly shrill; cf. Lucr. 2.619; Cat. 64.264; 'rauco ... buxo' Sen. Ag. 689; 'Bacchica mugit buxus' St. Th. 9.479f; 'Mygdonio buxus circumsonat horrida cantu' Claud. RP. 2.268. The assonance of 'r' sounds helps to evoke this.

584. medii ... silentia ponti: the silence of the open sea, in contrast to noisy Ida; cf. Luc. 1.260 'medius ... tacet sine murmure pontus'; Tennyson In Mem. 123 'the stillness of the central sea'. 'Medius ... pontus' is often 'mid-sea' (cf. 3; 4.82f; VE. 8.58; Luc. 3.538f) though here it could mean the 'intervening sea' between the Thracian Chersonnese and the coast of Phrygia as the boat enters the Hellespont (585f) cf. HC. 3.3.46 'qua medius liquor secernit Europen ab Afro' (straits of Gibraltar); Man. 4.628 'medium pontum' (the Mediterranean); St. Th. 5.173 'medii inclementia ponti' (between Thrace and Lemnos). For 'tenuere' cf. VA. 3.192 'postquam altum tenuere rates', which Valerius varies by having 'silentia' as the object.

585. stridentes ... aurae: a slight oxymoron. 'Aurae' are the breezes, more gentle than 'stridentes' implies. The sound is the creaking of the rigging and sails in the wind as VA. 1.87 'stridor ... rudentum'; cf. Luc. 9.113 'stridens ... rudentibus Euris'; compare Non. 2.181
ἐν νυχλαῖς πτερύγεσσι μέλος σβρίζον ἄηται.

Phrixea ... aequora: a periphrasis for the Hellespont: cf. Luc. 6.56; Sen. HO. 776; Ag. 565; St. Th. 6.542f; like 'Phrixae stagna sororis' Ov. F. 4.278; κοῦρης 'Ἀθμαντίδος αἰὶα ῥέεθρα ARh. 1.927; cf. Prop. 1.20.19. This is an instance of the poet putting one of a famous pair when he means the other, like 'magnanimi (magnanimos Voss) Remi nepotes' Cat. 58.5. Hence there may be a play on 'Phrixea', perhaps derived from φρίσσω, i.e. 'horrida'.

586. quondam sine nomine: 'nomine' has an aetiological tinge (as Prop. 4.1.69 'cognomina prisca locorum'. Not 'sine fama' (sic Caussin, cf. Langen) but 'once nameless', before Helle gave her name to the straits; cf. Hdt. 4.45 πρότερον δὲ ἦν ἄρα ἀνώνυμος ὥσπερ αἱ ἕτεραι

(Europe); VA. 12.135 'tum neque nomen erat' (Alban Mt.); 6.776ff. The Hellespont was probably 'the sea of the Hellenes' before an alternative etymology was sought and Helle became the eponymous deity. Homer knows of the Hellespont (Il. 9.360 etc) but not of Helle. The motif of naming a sea after a mortal who perished there is familiar from Icarus (Ov. M. 8.230); Ino (Valerius 2.607); the Aegean (St. Th. 12.625f; Hyg. fab. 43; Serv. VA. 3.74); the Saronic Gulf (Paus. 2.30.7).

angustas ... fauces: 'fauces', literally 'gullet', here designates the narrow entrance to the straits, as VG. 1.207 'ostriferi fauces ... Abydi'; Sen. Phoen. 611 'fauces ... Abydo Sestos opposita premit'; Avien. 3.968 'fauces rapidi ... Hellesponti'. 'Angustae' reinforces the primary notion of constriction, cf. 3.7 'per angustae ... freta ... Helles'; St. Ach. 1.29 'angustum ... aequor'. The combination is found first in Livy 32.21.26 'angustis Isthmi faucibus'; cf. VA. 11.525 (a narrow pass); Ciris 463 (the Isthmus cf. Lyne ad loc).

587. ecce autem: an Ennian combination (sc. 182f), used as a transition formula by Virgil (A. 2.203 etc) and Valerius to indicate a sudden interruption of the action, here Helle's unexpected appearance. For the colloquial tone of the phrase cf. n.311. Its appearance (10x) in Virgil makes Valerius' frequent use of it (5x) acceptable, though Ovid and Lucan avoid it.

prima ... sub luce: 'at first light'; for 'sub' and the ablative meaning 'at the approach of' cf. Ov. M. 1.494 'sub luce'; H. 19.195 'sub aurora'; OLD sv. 'sub' 8.

volucrem: the adjective continues the bird metaphor, cf. Ov. M. 7.460 'volucris freta classe pererrat'. The ship speeds like a bird ('volare') as 1.687; 8.175; 291; Enn. Ann. 386 'labitur uncta carina, volat super impetus undas; VA. 3.124 'pelago ... volamus'.

dehiscens: the sea 'yawns open' for Helle to emerge. The verb is vivid when applied to the sea, for it implies something more solid like the earth yawning to emit a ghost. Virgil uses the phrase of a storm (A. 1.106). The position of 'dehiscens' emphasizes that this and not the wave itself caused terror. The personification of the Argo here ('terrui') is different from other instances (1.99 'poscere'; 5.65 'vocat'; 6.318 'flevit'; 8.129f. 'gaudens promovet') for the action is involuntary and the terror is literally that of the crew.

588. vittata: Helle appears clothed as she was at death, cf. Hector VA. 2.270ff. She wears the fillet (the woollen band that tied the 'infula' of twisted wool around the head) that indicates her status as sacrificial victim, cf. 7.57; 1.278f. 'steterit redimitus tempora vittis Phrixus'; also VA. 2.133 (Sinon); Lucr. 1.87 (Iphigenia); Ov. Ex P. 3.2.73ff; Tr. 4.4.78 (Pylades and Orestes). The adjective is formed from 'vitta', itself almost entirely poetic. See Austin on VA. 2.133; DS 5.950; compare the Greek στέμμα, στέφη (Eur. IA. 1512) or στέφανος (Ar. Clouds 256). Usually Phrixus and not Helle was intended for sacrifice to appease his stepmother's wrath.

constitit: a feature of the 'epiphany' of a god (cf. Pfister RE Suppl. 4.279ff) is that he is not often seen to arrive but suddenly appears 'standing' there, as Hdt. 2.141 ἐπιστῆναι ; cf. VA. 2.279f. 'Hector visus adesse'.

589. soror: Helle becomes a Nereid, sister of Panope and Thetis, daughters of Nereus (Il. 18.45; Hes. Th. 244, 250). See Bömer on Ov. F. 6.499 'Panope centumque sorores'; Valerius 1.134 'Panope Dotoque soror'; VG. 4.341; Ciris 393.

aurea sceptra: this indicates Helle's sovereignty over the Hellespont, like Aeolus' sceptre at VA. 1.56f. The repeated 'iam' contrasts her present state, after metamorphosis, to her former state (vittata).

590. dum: 'holding the sceptre' (which gives her the mastery over the sea) as she calms the waves. '-que', '-que' then means 'both ... and' like the Homeric τε τε, first attested in Ennius, though he did not create the idiom (cf. Skutsch on Ann. 170).

sternit: Helle smooths the waves. 'Sternere' means 'to make level', and its use is modelled on the Greek στορέννυμι e.g. Hom. Ody. 3.158 ἐστόρεσεν δὲ θεὸς μεγαλήτεα πόντον ; Theoc. 7.57 χάλκυνες στορεσεῦντι τὰ κύματα τάν τε θάλασσαν ; ARh. 1.1154f. In Latin poetry it occurs first in VE. 9.57 'nunc omne tibi stratum silet aequor', cf. A. 5.763 'straverunt aequora venti', though Valerius avoids the pleonasm 'stratum ... aequor'.

591. placidis: Helle's mood reflects that of the waves over which she rules implied in 'sternit'. 'Placidis ... dictis' is a frequent combination, cf. Ov. M. 1.390; Luc. 10.175; St. Ach. 2.31; but here

Helle's words have a calming effect on the terrified men, as she had calmed the yawning waves. For 'placidus' of a calm sea cf. Lucr. 2.559; 5.1004; VE. 2.26; St. Ach. 1.230 etc. For 'compellat' cf. n.402.

592ff. Helle emphasizes that Jason's sufferings are similar to her own (cf. on 557); 'te quoque', 'simillima', 'iterum'; cf. also 5.194 'per genus atque pares tecum mihi, Phrixus, labores'. Dido makes a similar claim at VA. 1.628 'me quoque per multos similis fortuna labores iactatam'. ω reads 'tu quoque', but 'te' is obviously correct as an object must be supplied. The patterning of these lines is noteworthy; 'Haemoniis' contrasts strongly with 'ignota', and 'aequora' with 'terris', contrasts emphasized by juxtaposition. The dangers of the unknown are summed up in 'ignota', a word that occurs frequently of the Argonauts' travels (cf. 554).

593. regna infesta domus: these words belong naturally together as the caesura after 'domus' and the position of '-que' (cf. Courtney CR 11 (1961) pp.106-7) reveal. So sense must be made of them without taking 'domus' as genitive with 'fatis' (thus Leo p.226). The sense requires 'a hostile kingdom back at home' reading 'domi' with Renkema, a locative form of 'domus' that is rare but possible in classical poetry TLL 5.1.1956.22ff., cf. St. Th. 8.256; 11.479. Heinsius' 'domo' is without support.

fatisque ... ferunt: Valerius echoes a line of Virgil, 'heu stirpem invisam et fatis contraria nostris fata Phrygum' (A. 7.293f.), cf. 1.239 'fatis contraria fata rependens' (though both passages refer to the destinies of one individual or group being set against those of another). Pelias' hostility to Jason recalls that of the royal house to Phrixus and Helle. For the combination of a hostile king and destiny as the forces behind Jason's journey cf. 352f.

594. Aeolios ... nepotes: Valerius uses 'nepotes' in the general sense of descendants, cf. VA. 8.731 (Aeneas' descendants); Luc. 9.995f. 'gentis Iuleae ... clarissimus ... nepos' (Caesar). Jason is Aeolus' great grandson by Cretheus. Valerius uses 'Aeolides' only of Phrixus (1.286 cf. 6.542), Aeolus' grandson by Athamas, or of Phrixus' sons

(5.461; 6.548), and Helle uses the name intentionally to stress their common descent.

595. spargit: not 'disperses', as VA. 1.602, but 'sends one person to numerous places in turn', cf. Valerius 5.487f. 'suus ut magnum rex spargit ab Argis Alciden'; Sen. HQ. 979 'alias in urbes sparge (me)'. Scythicum ... amnem: the river Phasis, at the extreme eastern end of the Black Sea, was proverbially used for 'the ends of the earth' (like 'ultima Thule'); cf. HC. 2.20.17 (Colchus), NH ad loc.; ARh. 2.417f; Aetna 17 'ultima ... certamina Colchos'; J. Péron, Les images maritimes de Pindare (Klincksieck 1974) 85-7.

596. vasta super tellus: the sense of 'desolation' or 'emptiness' is often stronger in 'vastus' than the feeling of extent (cf. Fordyce on Cat. 64.156), though here both senses are suggested. Helle means that a large and alien part of the world must be traversed before the Argonauts reach their goal. Compare VA. 10.57 'tot ... maris vastaeque exhausta pericula terrae'. In this respect the situation of the Argonauts is comparable to that of Aeneas. 'Super' is the shortened form of 'superest', 'is still ahead of you'.

longum aequor: the adjective refers to the journeying over the sea ('iter'), though it also emphasizes the element of extent in 'vasta'. 'Longum' and 'aequor' operate in the same dimension; 'aequor', the level sea, is 'long' as well as 'flat'. Compare 'dum longus inter saeviat Ilion Romamque pontus' HC. 3.3.37f; St. Th. 4.24 'viris longum super aequora ituris'.

ne defice coeptis: 'do not grow fainthearted in your enterprise'. The phrase is based on VA. 6.196 'dubiis ne defice rebus'; cf. Ov. M. 8.492 'deficiunt ad coepta manus' (Althaea). 'Coeptis' is dative, cf. TLL 5.1.336.55ff; contra Langen.

597. ipse ... Phasis: the hyperbaton is extreme, for 'Phasis' is the main word of the line in which Helle makes a veiled prophecy of success. 'Ostia', the river-mouth, has connotations of safety and rest.

598f. geminae ... virentibus arae stant tumulis: 'twin altars consisting in green mounds'; the altars are made of turf and are to be

identified closely with the mounds. For this use of 'stare' cf. HQ. 1.9.1f. 'vides ut alta stet nive candidum Soracte' where 'candidum' makes the sense easier; Prop. 4.11.4 'non exorato stant adamante viae'. This is easier than taking 'virentibus ... tumulis' as ablative of description, as Mozley's 'twin altars piled of turf' or as a local ablative 'altars standing on mounds', for the mounds are the altars. The twin altars are those of Phrixus' tomb. Valerius has in mind VA. 3.303ff. 'libabat cineri Andromache manisque vocabat Hectoreum ad tumulum, viridi quem caespite inanem et geminas ... sacraverat aras' (of Hector's cenotaph). Williams (on 305) notes that double offerings are made to the dead (A. 5.77f.). 'Virentibus' with its suggestion of life contrasts with 'tumulis', mounds of death. On turf altars cf. HQ. 1.19.13 NH; DS 1.347.

599f. prima pia sollemnia ... manu: Helle seems to refer to the first offerings made to a dead man by a member of his family. He has in mind VA. 6.153 'duc nigras pecudes; ea prima piacula sunt' (Misenus), and 379f. 'ossa piabunt et statuent tumulum et tumulo sollemnia mittent' (to Palinurus). However, Jason is unlikely to be the first blood relative to visit the tomb, for Phrixus' sons were still in the vicinity (cf. 5.460ff; 6.542), so 'prima' stands for 'primo': first make the offerings, then repeat my message. The order of words in this phrase, with adjectives preceding the nouns, is excellent, and C's 'celeres hic prima piacula Phrixi' must be rejected, for the word order is disturbed, 'celeres' is redundant (at 604f. 'celeri ... manu' refers to the swiftness of rescue), and 'piacula' tends to have a tone of appeasement (as VA. 6.153 above). The line is a conjecture by an editor who failed to notice 'manu' in 600. 'Sollemnia' echoes 1.45 ironically, and comes from VA. 6.380.

601-7. Helle's message is reminiscent of the language of epitaphs, often addressed by the dead man to the passer-by e.g. Anth. Pal. 7.419 (Meleager); 525 (Callimachus), and many others. Here the theme is given an unusual twist. We are not intended to ask why Helle has waited until now to inform her brother of her transformation (Langen); the episode is included for dramatic purposes at the expense of realism. For a similar consolation compare that uttered by Hercules' ghost to his mother Sen. HO. 1963ff.

601. Stygiae ... silentia ripae: Helle is not one of the crowd of unburied dead (VA. 6.325). The silence of death is traditional, cf. 1.750; 7.402; VA. 6.264; Ov. M. 15.797; Sen. Med. 740 Costa etc. The element of compulsion in the passive 'agor' is strong. Virgil uses 'errare' of the souls of the unburied dead (A. 6.329), but all souls are said to 'wander' as part of their insubstantiality (TLL 5.2.807.19ff.) and 'agor' is much stronger. The pause after 'agor' is used to striking effect, though it is rendered less exciting by the use of the same pause in 604. This is a common fault in Valerius' metre.

602. frustra ... scrutaris: 'in vain do you search'. 'Scrutor' comes from 'scruta', rags, and means 'to pick through', hence 'search out'. Ennius brought the verb into poetry (sc. 244) and it occurs once in Ov. M. 15.137 (not in Virgil) before Silver Epic, particularly Lucan (6), Statius (13) and Sen. trag. Here it contrasts with 'frustra' implying considerable effort as Phrixus 'leaves no stone unturned' in his futile ('vacui') search. Compare St. Th. 1.6 'scrutantem ... aequora Cadmum' (searching for Europa). Valerius like Virgil prefers 'nequiquam' to 'frustra' (14:10); 'frustra' is more colloquial and more frequent in prose; cf. TLL 6.1.1429-1430; Axelson p.128. n.22; Austin on VA. 2.770. vacui ... Averni: the Underworld is 'empty' of Helle, for she is elsewhere. 'Vacui' is also a general reference to the insubstantiality of the underworld; cf. VA. 6.269; Claud. RP 1.20f.

603. scopulis ... et fluctibus actam: based on VA. 1.333 'erramus vento huc vastis et fluctibus acti'; 7.213 'fluctibus actos'. Valerius seems to be using 'scopulis' and 'fluctibus' as ablatives, 'buffeted by the rocks and waves' as in Virgil, rather than as datives as Mozley implies in 'no storm bruises me tossed upon rocks and waves'. The inclusion of 'scopulis' is striking for 'actam' implies the active idea of motion (the rocks tossed me) and not the passive 'battered on the rocks'. Helle escaped the fate of Leander $\delta\rho\upsilon\pi\tau\acute{o}\mu\epsilon\nu\omicron\nu\sigma\iota\lambda\acute{o}\delta\epsilon\sigma\sigma\iota\nu$, Musaeus Hero and Leander 339, and Pompey 'pulsatur harenis, carpitur in scopulis' Luc. 8.708f.

604. frangit hiems: editors have proposed 'fregit', as Helle's fall happened in the past. But Helle is conjuring up a picture of her

lifeless body bruised by a storm, and the present tense is far more vivid here, as well as implying that it would have been a long process. 'Frangit' then contrasts with the perfect 'subiere', the instantaneous action of rescue. 'Frangere' is often applied to ships suffering shipwreck (TLL 6.1.1241.78ff.), like 'actam' of a ship driven by storm (above).

extemplo: seven times in Valerius, often second word. It was originally an augural term (Serv. on VA. 2.699 'verbum augurium qui visis auspiciis surgebant e templo'; cf. Ernout-Meillet p.681, though OLD links it with 'tempus'). Plautus is the earliest poet to use it, followed by Ennius, Accius and Lucretius before Virgil (TLL sv.). Livy alone of the prose writers has it frequently; and it is absent from lyric and elegy, cf. Axelson p.26.

celeri ... manu: reinforces 'extemplo' to emphasize the speed of rescue, as well as the personal intervention of the gods (for 'celeriter'). The extreme hyperbaton indicates the length of Helle's fall, as 89-91 'ruit ... insonuit', that of Vulcan. 'Subiere ruentem' are significantly juxtaposed. 'Subiere' means both 'to come to the assistance of' generally (VA. 10.338) and literally 'to support', as VA. 4.599 'subiisse umeris confectum aetate parentem'. The motif of the supporting god is familiar from Prop. 3.7.69 'vos decuit lasso supponere bracchia mento' (of drowning Paetus), and Ov. M. 11.784ff. (Tethys receives Aesacus).

605. pater ipse profundi: Neptune, cf. 4.571 'pater ipse maris'. 'Pater' is used for 'dominus', cf. NH on HC. 1.3.3; compare Juv. 13.81 'pater Aegaei Neptune'. Neptune, like all other male gods, can be addressed as 'pater' (cf. n.117); VA. 5.14; Roscher Suppl. p.75 (Neptune); p.198; the epithets *πατήρ* and *κόντιος* never occur together. 'Profundi' indicates the sphere of his rule.

606. sedes, regna: Helle's 'province', her 'realm' is to be the Hellespont. 'Sedes' is used regularly of the dwelling-place of a god or a centre of worship, as VA. 5.759f. 'Erycino in vertice sedes fundatur Veneri'; Liv. 5.39.12 'arx Capitolium ... sedes deorum'; St. Th. 5.59 'nulla deae sedes'. The word implies something more solid than water. For Helle's kingdom cf. St. Ach. 1.23f. 'qua condita ponto fluctibus invisus iam Nereis imperat Helle'; compare S. 3.2.14 (of the

Nereids); Valerius 7.234f. (Circe). Helle gains not only sovereignty but divinity, in contradiction to the more familiar tradition, possibly based on the better known story of Ino, mentioned at 607.

numine ... aequo: Mozley's 'willing justly' is unclear. Perhaps 'with impartial will' (for this meaning of 'numen' cf. 48). Helle means that Neptune has shown no bias in favour of Ino, but has granted to both stepmother and daughter sovereignty over the waters into which they fell. Compare VA. 1.479 'templum non aequae Palladis' (she is biased). 'Aequo' then looks forward to 'invidet', with the suggestion of rivalry between Ino and Helle, like that between Ariadne and Berenice over the catasterism of their hair (Call. fr. 110.59f.; Cat. 66.59ff.). Neptune is as impartial as Venus. The tone is Hellenistic. Ino's sea is a less familiar appellation than the Hellespont, so 'invidet' is particularly appropriate, cf. Porph. on HC. 2.6.18 'invidet enim tantum qui inferior est'. Helle's realm is in fact superior to Ino's.

607. Inois ... undis: a bay near the Isthmus of Corinth (Ov. F. 6.495f; St. S. 4.3.60; Paus. 1.44.7f.). Ino, daughter of Cadmus, and stepmother of Phrixus and Helle, threw herself into the sea with her son Melicertes after Phrixus' escape. She was transformed into the sea-goddess Leucothea, and her son into Palaemon (Od. 5.333f; Hes. fr. 70.1-7; Pind. Pyth. 11.3; Ov. M. 4.481ff. etc), later identified with the old Italian deities Matuta and Portunus (Roscher 2.2.2462ff; 3.2785ff. etc).

608-9. Helle vanishes beneath the waves. The lines recall VA. 12.885f. 'tantum effata caput glauco contexit amictu multa gemens et se fluvio dea condidit alto', of Juturna. Both Juturna and Helle are devoted to their mortal brother from whom they are separated by their divinity; both are water goddesses. The parallel is, however, not significant.

Helle's mood (maestos ... vultus) now contrasts with that of the sea (tranquilla), calm now, after 'sternit' (590). This contrast is emphasized by the juxtaposition.

609. The pause after 'tulit' at the second foot diaeresis is rare in Latin poetry (VA. 2.29 Austin ad loc.) and unknown to the Iliad. Its effect is arresting. The jerky rhythm emphasizes the suddenness of

Helle's disappearance. 'Patrii ... dolores' refers to the sufferings of her father Athamas, recalled by her reference to Ino (607).

610. vina invergens: 'tipping' or 'pouring' the wine from a flat dish ('patera'). The verb occurs in this sense only at VA. 6.244 'fronti ... invergit vina'; Ov. M. 7.246f; in both instances of offerings to Hecate. 'Vergere' has a similar sense at St. Th. 6.211 'spumantes ... mero pateras verguntur'. Helle is not one of the 'infern', but she has vanished beneath the waves and is therefore 'below' in some way. Valerius follows Virgil in avoiding the nominative and accusative singular of 'vinum' (Williams on A. 5.98). The ablative singular 'vino' occurs only at 2.221. See Löfstedt 1.48.

The custom of pouring libations into the sea to ensure a calm voyage is common, both in life (Thuc. 6.32) and literature: ARh. 1.534; VA. 3.525ff; St. Ach. 1.680. Valerius has in mind Aeneas' prayer at A. 3.528f.; 'di maris et terrae tempestatumque potentes, ferte viam vento facilem et spirate secundi'.

talibus inquit: from VA. 10.860; cf. Valerius 1.666; 8.414. 'Inquit' is found only in the third person singular, and can take an infinitive (e.g. Plaut. Bacch. 265; VA. 11.242) but is more common with direct speech. The tone is archaic and solemn; 'Jason began to speak'. The verb is poetic, introduced by Ennius (A. 394) to Virgil; Livy alone of prose authors before Apuleius has it (Ogilvie on 1.23.7).

611. decus: 'ornament', 'glory' (as 243), as 'decus innuptarum' Cat. 64.78; 'decus Argolicum' Cic. fr. 29.1; 'nympha, decus fluviorum' VA. 12.142 (Juturna); also 9.18, 405; St. Th. 9.383; Valerius 3.523. Compare μέγα κῆδος Ἀχαιῶν (Odysseus), Od. 12.184. A traditional feature of the prayer style was the combination of a vocative ('Cretheia virgo') with the god's attributes in apposition; cf. NH on HC. 1.10.1. The attributes usually, but not necessarily, follow the vocative.

Cretheia virgo: Helle was the daughter of Cretheus' brother Athamas (Cretheus was Jason's grandfather), and the epithet must refer to the consanguinity of Jason and Helle, for she was not a direct descendant, cf. 1.41f. 'nostri de sanguine Phrixus Cretheos'; 5.477f; the patronymic can be extended to include less direct relatives; e.g. 'Phaethontiad' (VE. 6.62) are Phaethon's sisters. Burman's 'Nepheleia' (cf. 1.56; Luc. 9.956) is more accurate but not necessary. For the

combination 'Cretheia virgo', cf. VA. 2.403 'Priameia virgo'; Ov. M. 8.35 'Niseia virgo'; R. Helm in Hermes 72 (1937) p.102; and for similar epic periphrases, W. Kroll Studien zum Verständnis der römischen Literatur (Stuttgart, 1924) p.267.

612. pande viam: 'open our path'. Jason asks for her assistance through the Hellespont. The motif of opening the seas to ships is important in Valerius; cf. 1.7f. 'pelagi cui maior aperti fama' (Vespasian), and the phrase 'open sea' (4.710, 678; 7.541) acquires a deeper significance. Compare 1.526; 556; 4.713 (with 'pandere').

613-626. The voyage continues. The boat passes between Sestos and Abydos (613) and hugs the East coast of the Hellespont, with a brief periplus of the cities in N.W. Phrygia.

613. immittit ... ratem: Jason 'let the ship go'; 'gave it its head'. The metaphor is from horse-racing, cf. Lucr. 5.787 'magnum immissis certamen habenis', when slackly held reins encourage greater speed. Compare VA. 6.1 'classi ... immittit habenas'; Valerius 1.687; 8.139. Here and at Luc. 8.457 'habenas' is omitted, perhaps 'let the sails out to their fullest extent to encourage speed'. '-que' links the boat's speed with the prayer that has immediately preceded.

medias ... intervalat urbes: 'medias' is transferred; 'the cities on either hand' (Mozley), i.e. 'those cities, equidistant from the boat that is between them' meaning Sestos and Abydos. Compare Ov. Ars. 1.291 'taurus erat signatus tenui media inter cornua nigro' (Hollis), where the black spot is situated between the horns. 'Intervalare', a rare verb (TLL sv. 'intervolo') recalls the bird metaphor of 579, 587, cf. Col. 8.10.1. The metaphor itself is Ennian cf. A. 386 'labitur uncta carina, volat super impetus undas'; sc 67 'velivolantibus ... navibus'.

614. brevibus furit aestus aquis: 'Brevibus' means 'narrow' rather than 'shallow'. The use is familiar, cf. Ov. H. 19.142 'seducit terras haec brevis unda duas'; Luc. 9.957f. 'non Asiam brevioris aquae disternat usquam fluctus ab Europa' (also of the Hellespont at this point). 'Brevibus ... aquis' is an instrumental ablative with 'furit aestus' 'where the sea-surge rages with its narrow waters', or ablative of

place, 'where its waters were narrow'. The currents of the Hellespont were notorious, cf. Il. 2.845; 12.30; ARh. 1.927; Delage p.87. For the phrase cf. VA. 1.107 'furit aestus harenis'; Pacuv. ap. Cic. de Or. 3.157; Ov. M. 14.48.

614-5. The flight of Europe appears literally true as the Argonauts hug the coast of Asia, and the continents draw further apart. Valerius is also thinking of the tradition that the continents were once one (618f); 'abruptis' combines 'precipitous' (as Cat. 68.108 'abruptum in barathrum') with 'broken off' as St. Th. 3.597 'sperat tellus abrupta reverti' (Sicily). Compare 'Rhegium' from ῥηγύναι. 'Prementem' is a military term for the 'pursuit', as VA. 1.467 'has fugerent Grai, premeret Troiana iuventus'; 'effugit' has the implication of successful escape. The prosopopoeia is vivid; 'Europa' suggests the girl fleeing from her captor, until 'immanior' makes this comparison unlikely. 'Immanis' suggests exceptional size, with a hint of menace, hence Mozley's 'grimmer', and cf. its use at 17, 231, 510. Valerius' geographical facts here are correct; cf. W. Leaf Strabo and the Troad (Cambridge 1923) pp.117, 119; Tozer p.234; the European coast is far loftier than its Asiatic counterpart; but the lines would be equally effective if this were not the case. 'Oris', the sea shore, is used loosely for the cliffs that form the edge of the land.

616. conserta ... gentibus arva: 'fields with their once-linked peoples' (Mozley). Valerius refers to the former unity of Europe and Asia, both their peoples and their lands, before the continents were sundered. 'Conserta' is literally 'interwoven' (as VA. 3.468 'loricam consertam hamis'), and the word is more exciting than TLL's 'continuo habitata' (4.416.5) implies. 'Gentibus' is unexpected where a word referring to the land might be expected, but intentionally emphasizes the unity of race as well as land.

617. pelago pulsante: the battering, eroding action, of the sea, as Ov. F. 6.496 'una ... pulsatur terra duabus aquis', with 'Neptunia cuspis' and 'labor ... aevi' providing alternative explanations, one mythological (Neptune the Earthshaker), one more scientific (the slow workings of time). The offering of alternative explanations is a feature found elsewhere, e.g. Ov. Am. 1.13.29f. 'optavi quotiens aut

ventus frangeret axem aut caderet spissa nube retentus equus' (mythological chariot of sun and meteorological 'thick cloud'). Sil. alone apart from Valerius applies the motif to this context (14.11ff.) 'Ausoniae pars magna iacet Trinacria tellus, ut semel expugnante Noto et vastantibus undis accepit freta, caeruleo propulsa tridente'. For the interest in 'scientific' explanations for the separation of Sicily from Italy cf. Justin 4.1; Ov. M. 15.290ff.; Luc. 2.435f; Valerius 1.588f; Strabo 6.258; Diod. 4.85.3; and for Neptune's role in creating the islands Call. Hy. 4.30ff. 'Reor' here is unemphatic, like $\kappa\omicron\upsilon\varsigma$, $\kappa\acute{o}\tau\epsilon$.

618. adversi longus labor ... aevi: 'the continuous activity of hostile age'. 'Longus' here is 'longinquus', of long duration, as Lucr. 2.69 'longinquo ... aevo'. 'Labor' is the physical activity of the sea that causes erosion; cf. Lucr. 5.1213f. 'quoad, moenia mundi solliciti motus hunc possint fere laborem'; VA. 11.425f. 'multa dies varique labor mutabilis aevi rettulit in melius'. For the destruction wrought by time cf. Ov. M. 15.234f; 'tempus edax rerum tuque invidiosa vetustas omnia destruitis'; also 'vetustas' (528).

abscidit ... ut Siculum Libycumque latus: Valerius has in mind Virgil's description at A. 3.414ff. 'haec loca vi quondam et vasta convulsa ruina (tantum aevi longinqua valet mutare vetustas) dissiluisse ferunt, cum protinus utraque tellus una foret: venit medio vi pontus et undis Hesperium Siculo latus abscidit, arvaeque et urbes litore diductas angusto interluit aestu'. Valerius draws an analogy with the separation of Sicily from Italy (above; also St. S. 1.3.32f; Th. 3.597; Claud. RP. 1.142ff; cf. Sen. HO. 80) and Calpe from Libya (HC. 2.2.11; Luc. 9.415; Sen. NQ. 6.30; Plin. 6.1). The sundering of Europe and Asia at the Hellespont or Bosphorus is less common than the other instances; Lucr. 4.397ff. tries to rationalize the belief; cf. Plin. 5.141, 61; Strabo 1.50; Diod. 5.47. There seems to be some truth in the story (cf. J.L. Myres Geographical History in Greek Lands (Oxford 1953) pp.224ff.

619. stupuit ... fragore: 'stupere' with the ablative of cause means 'to be paralysed by', or 'struck aghast at the crash' (Mozley). C's 'fragorem' makes the phrase far less emphatic, 'wonders at' the crash.

620. Atlans: the mountain in Libya (Juv. 11.24ff. etc) was sometimes confused with the Rock of Gibraltar, as Atlas was thought of as closer to the straits than in fact it is, and was often described as situated at the ends of the earth (VA. 4.481). See VA. 4.480ff.; HC. 1.34.11 NH. Atlas witnessed the sundering of Libya and Calpe as Janus did the separation of Sicily from Italy. The two figures are chosen for their antiquity (Atlas was one of the Titans), their royalty ('regnator'; for Janus cf. Macrob. 1.7.19) and location. There is no need to replace 'Ianus', the old Italian deity, with the name of a mountain, as editors have tried.

621-6. A geographical periplus of the NW coast of Phrygia

Valerius' account is slightly different from Apollonius, (1.931ff.); Parium and Lampsacus are not in ARh. but are two of the best known towns in the area. Valerius' order is confused (Lampsacus precedes Parium) unless he confuses Lampsacus with Priapus; Apollonius prefers the old names for Lampsacus (Abarnis, Pityeia). See Strabo 13.588ff; Plin. 5.141; Hdt. 5.117; Ov. Tr. 1.10; Ps. Scylax 94 (GGM 1.50f) for other tours of the coast.

621. iuga Percotes: 'the ridge of Percote'. The town is mentioned at Il. 2.835; Hdt. 5.117; Xen. Hell. 5.1.25. Strabo can find no trace of it (13.590) and concludes that it has changed its name. Valerius follows Apollonius here.

Parium: a colony founded by Milesians, Erythraeans and Parians (Strabo 13.588). Pliny records that its former name was Adrasteia (NH 5.141, cf. Il. 2.828).

infame fragosis ... vadis: the coastline between Parium and Pitya; the phrase cannot be exclusively taken with either as it is interwoven with both. The shallows are 'fragosis' 'interspersed with rocks', and therefore 'booming' (Mozley), as VA. 7.566f. 'medio... fragosus dat sonitum saxis et torto vertice torrens'. The detail is not accurate; Strabo reports a harbour at Parium (13.588). However, the phrase is appropriate with 'exsuperant', suggesting the successful surpassing of difficult terrain, as VA. 11.905 'exsuperat ... iugum' (cf. 'iuga Percotes'); 3.698 in Valerius only here. 'Infamis' is generally avoided by the poets; never in Virgil; only here in Valerius; once in Luc.; five times in St. (TLL sv. 'infamis').

622. Pityam: Valerius like Strabo (13.588) mentions both Pitya and Lampsacus. Apollonius has Πιτυεῖαν (cf. Il. 2.829) which the scholiast (1.932-936) tells us is the old name for Lampsacus. ARh. also has 'Abarnis', apparently a part of Lampsacus (Schol. 1.932-3 a). A variant form was Πίτυονσα, which must have been a common name in an area covered with pine-trees (Leaf op. cit. p.87f) cf. Plin. 5.141; RE sv. Pitya, Pityeia. Here, Valerius takes the name from Apollonius, and, perhaps unaware of its true application, adds the more familiar Lampsacus.

transmissa ... puppi: Lampsacus 'is sent on its way astern', i.e. 'passes by'. 'Transmittere' is more commonly used of crossing a river, but cf. Curt. 10.2.1 'triginti navibus Sunium transmittunt'; Sil. 15.165f. 'Ligurum ... citatis litora transmittunt proris'; 1.472. Lampsacus was known for its wine (εἰδός Steph. Byz) and given to Themistocles 'for his wine' (Th. 1.138.5) but it was not associated with the worship of Bacchus.

623. Ogygii ... Bacchi: Bacchus was 'Theban' as his mother Semele was Cadmus' daughter. For the adjective cf. Ov. H. 10.48; Sen. Oed. 437; Luc. 1.675. The story that it is derived from the first ruler Ogygos (Roscher sc. 684ff) comes from Paus. 9.5.1. For 'trieterica sacra' cf. VA. 4.302f. (Pease); Ov. M. 6.587 (Bömer).

624. Phrygius furor: the adjective is used of Cybele herself or objects pertaining to her cult (VA. 7.139; Ov. F. 2.55; Luc. 9.288 etc). 'Furor' is the frenzy characteristic of her worship, exemplified in the story of Attis: cf. NH HC. 1.16.5; an extreme instance is Cat. 63.4,31,38. See T.P. Wiseman Catullus and his world (1985) 201-6 for remarks on the toning down of Cybele's worship by the Romans. Cybele was particularly associated with Mt. Ida (580ff) and Mt. Dindymon near Cyzicus (3.19ff). 'Invehit' is a rare poetic usage of this word, as it is used literally, but with an abstract subject ('furor'). At Prud. perist. 10.404, 'quis hos sophistas error invexit novus', the verb is not literal. 'Arcanis' is transferred; not the 'caves' themselves but the mysteries which they conceal are 'hidden'; cf. 431f; 'arcana sacra' 3.419; Ov. M. 10.436 etc.

625. in Venerem raptat: 'hales them to Venus' (Mozley), cf. VG. 3.292; Sil. 13.720 'amor raptat'. The verb implies an element of 'furor' in the worship of Priapus.

suus ...deus: Priapus, the fertility god. Valerius introduces a detail of the local cult not found in Apollonius but familiar to him as a Hellenistic trait from other parts of Apollonius. Priapus was associated in particular with this part of Phrygia (cf. the town named after him); cf. Cat. frag. 1; VG. 4.111 'Hellespontiaci ... Priapi'; Ov. F. 1.440; 6.341 (Bömer ad loc.); Ov. Tr. 1.10.26 'et te, ruricola, Lampsace, tuta deo'. The god is unknown to Homer and Hesiod, though Xenarchos' Priapus (Kock CAF 2.472) indicates that his existence was known by the end of the fifth century B.C. H. Herter (de Priapo RGVV 23 1932) refers to a fifth century vase painting depicting a herm of Priapus (p.504 A 5, Pl. 33, 1). The Hellenistic poets Theocritus (1.21) and Euphronius (Coll. Alex. 176f) know of him, but he only achieved popularity in Roman times. See 'Priapos', Roscher 3.2.

illius aras: an echo of VE. 1.7f. No traces now survive of ancient Lampsacus, but these words suggest that Valerius envisaged the temple of Priapus as built upon a hill ('celsi') overlooking the city ('urbe super'), visible from the sea, cf. St. Ach. 1.696f. 'placidi ... super Tritonia custos litoris' (Scyros). The detail is credible: many promontories were crowned with temples.

626. urbe super: 'high over the city'. For the postponed 'super' following the Greek practice with ὑπέρ (as Od. 6.107 πασσών δ' ὑπέρ) cf. Lucr. 6.1256, 1258; VG. 3.260; A. 7.803; Valerius 3.109; 6.88, 525; KS 1 586 (referring to Lucr., Virgil, Ovid, Sil., Tac., Calpurn.). Heinsius' 'rupe super' is an easy change but far less vivid.

velamina: the sailors see the temple itself, the altars before it, and the hangings of the temple which indicate that a festival is in progress. 'Velamina' in this sense is unique to Valerius but its meaning easy to infer from VA. 2.248f. 'nos delubra deum festa velamus fronde per urbem'; Ov. Am. 3.13.12 'it per velatas annua pompa vias'. Temples were decorated with branches, and fillets of wool (Valerius 2.188f; VA. 4.459; Ov. M. 8.264f.; St. S. 4.8.1f.; Sil. 12.640f. etc). 'Velamina' suggests hangings as well which would be more clearly visible from a distance.

627-664. The Argonauts reach Cyzicus where they are kindly received by the king.

627f. As the boat emerges from the narrow Hellespont into the wider Propontis, the land on either side recedes until it vanishes, and the sailors can see nothing but the sea and sky. Valerius has made use of a motif that can be traced back to Homer, cf. Od. 12.403f. ἀλλ' ὅτε δὴ τὴν νῆσον ἐλείπομεν, οὐδὲ τις ἄλλη φαίνεται γαίῳ, ἀλλ' οὐρανὸς ἦδ' ὁδίασσα ; also 14.301f.; and reappears in Hellenistic poetry e.g. ARh. 2.608f.; Moschus' Europa 131-4 (Bühler p.174); and later, Lucr. 4.434; VA. 5.8f. 'ut pelagus tenuere rates nec iam amplius ulla occurrit tellus, maria undique et undique caelum', which Valerius has in mind, as the verbal echoes make clear; cf. VA. 3.193.

rarior: Valerius means that the sight of land becomes more infrequent (VA. 5.8f. above). When used with a singular noun, 'rarus' means 'sparsely occurring' (OLD sv. 'rarus' 2 d), or 'few and far between', as Ov. F. 5.94 'casa rara'; Luc. 1.27 'rarus ... habitator'. Compare VA. 3.411 'angusti rarescent claustra Pelori', 'thins out'. 'Ingens' is slightly tautologous with 'undique', perhaps 'infinite', 'boundless'. 'Rursus' is emphatically placed, and must refer back to 584, before the boat entered the narrow straits. Compare Mela 1.97 'tum rursus fit apertius mare Propontis'.

628. aliu[m] prospectus in orbem: the view over the Propontis like VA. 1.181 'prospectum late pelago petit'. 'Prospectus' usually takes a defining genitive, but 'prospicere' can take 'in' with the accusative, a construction which Valerius has extended to the noun here. 'Alium' here means 'of a different kind', 'strange', almost 'foreign', as Man. 5.44 'alios menses', 'foreign climes'; Prop. 2.16.10 'dic alias iterum naviget Illyrias'. 'Alium orbem' is appropriate for a voyage of discovery away from the familiar world of the Mediterranean; compare 'thalamos alieni concupis orbis?' (Medea) Ov. M. 7.22; 'orbe satus alio' Valerius 7.35; also Ovid writing from exile 'diversum ... in orbem' (ExP. 1.5.67).

629. terra: the peninsula that projects northwards into the Propontis from the Phrygian shore. Valerius implies that it is a peninsula (cf. 632-3) and not an island (ARh. 1.936), though for the most part he follows Apollonius closely, omitting his aetiological details. The

belief that the place was once an island perhaps arose from the fact that the sea formerly washed over the isthmus. Alexander joined it permanently to the mainland with causeways (Plin. NH. 5.142); see Hasluck 157ff; Delage 94ff. The town was a wealthy commercial centre from the seventh century, and was still prosperous at Valerius' time. The campaign of Mithradates in the area (c.74 B.C.; Plut. Lucull. 9; App. Mith. 72; Strabo 12. p.575f) rendered it famous, and its imperial privileges were often renewed. Vespasian may have built a palace here (Hasluck p.185 n.9).

The origin of the episode lies in local legend, though Valerius uses Apollonius' account only. The scholiast on Apollonius attributes many details to Deiochus, a local chronicler (RE sv. Deiochus, p.1398), and mentions Neanthes of Cyzicus (RE sv. Neanthes pp.2108ff.). The Cyzicenes were obviously proud of the local tradition that linked their town with the Argonauts' voyage, and thus emphasized its antiquity, though in fact the episode must postdate the Milesian foundation of the city in the seventh century B.C.

sinu medio ... iacet: not 'a land lies in the midst of a gulf between Pontus and Helle', for this would require 'media', but 'a land lies in the gulf midway between Pontus and Helle', for 'medio' is picked up by 'inter', a prose construction (OLD sv. 'medius'). 'Terra' is emphatically placed next to 'sinu'. The number of words referring to the sea suggests that the appearance of land here is unexpected, and that it trespasses on the sphere of the sea. For 'sinus' of a curving coastline cf. Cat. 4.9 etc; Valerius 2.451f. 'litora ... sinuosa'. For 'iacet', 'is situated', cf. VA. 3.692f. 'Sicanio praetenta sinu iacet insula contra Plemyrion undosum'; TLL 7.1.20.75ff. cites instances from Livy, Pliny and Tacitus. The proximity of 'Pontum' makes 'Hellespontum' easily intelligible from 'Hellen'.

630. fundo prolata maris: 'as if brought up from the bottom of the sea'. 'Prolata' means 'fished up', pulled up from the top; cf. St. S. 2.1.179 'prolatus ab aequore'. 'Namque' explains the analogy. For islands cast up from the ocean bed cf. Pind. 01.7.70 βλάστε μὲν ἔξ ἁλὸς ὑγρᾶς νῦσος (Rhodes); Sen. Ph. 1020f. 'Veterem ... Phrygiam' (632f) suggests that the land is newer than the mainland. For 'fundo', the sea-bed, cf. VA. 2.419 'imo ... fundo' etc.

improba ... arva: the island infringes on the sea's territory (cf. 629); the fields are 'audacious'. Compare 1.510f. 'non improba ... divitis arva plagae'. 'Intulit' picks up 'prolata', once 'emerged' (passive) from the sea, the island 'extends its shore' (active) into the hidden shallows. The land slopes to the sea cf. ARh. 1.938f. εἰς ἄλλα κεκλιμένη, ὅσων τ' ἐπιμβρεται ἰσθμὸς χέρσῳ ἐπικερηνῆς καταειμένος.

With 'caeca' meaning 'hidden' cf. VA. 1.536 'in vada caeca tulit'; 3.706 'vada dura lego saxis Lilybeia caecis'; the word is less graphic than 'tacitae' (100).

631f. longoque ... agit: 'and drives its shores in a long ridge through the waves'. The peninsula forms a ridge that resembles the backbone of an animal, 'dorsum' (cf. χοιρᾶς Pind. P. 10.52; Aes. Pers. 421); cf. Liv. 36.15.6 'Appennini dorso Italia dividitur'; VA. 1.109f. 'saxa vocant Itali mediis quae in fluctibus Aras, dorsum immane mari summo'. 'Agit', like 'intulit', a verb implying motion, is very vivid when used of an immobile landmass. The phraseology is found in Mela 1.81 'qua dorsum agit' (Taurus); 3.46 'insula ... ripam agit'. Both 'per' (S) and 'sub' (L) are likely to be conjectures (see above p.xxix) and the correct reading must be judged on grounds of sense. Valerius' description of Cyzicus is loosely based on ARh. 1.936ff.; and 630-1 refers to the island (arva) that slopes down to the sea εἰς ἄλλα κεκλιμένη (938). 'Longoque ... agit' refers to the isthmus by which the island is joined on to the mainland. The isthmus does not lie underwater (contra O.A.W. Dilke in Acta Class. 8 (1968) p.108) though the waves do at times wash over it (ἐπιμβρεται ἰσθμός ARh. 1.938). 'Per' seems more in place than 'sub', which, as Dilke realised, suggests an underground ridge. It also makes good sense with 'agit'.

632. tenet: the peninsula adjoins the mainland; perhaps 'holds on'. Or 'tenet' is used for 'continet' as Cic. Ver. 4.117 '(insula) mari disiuncta angusto ponte rursus adiungitur et continetur' (Syracuse) but this is less likely as there is no ablative. 'Tenet' has the additional notion of 'maintaining a position'; the place is immovable. confinibus oris: 'Oris' refers to the 'common boundary' it shares with Phrygia (not 'whose shores meet it', Mozley). Valerius may have in mind Ov. M. 15.291f. 'donec confinia pontus abstulit', the common boundary between Sicily and Italy; echoed in Luc. 2.435.

633. pars ... montis: the larger part is occupied by Mt. Dindymon or Didymus (Plin. NH. 5.142), its slopes covered with pine trees ('iuga pinea'). 'Discreti' suggests 'bicipitis' (thus TLL 5.1.1306.29), like Parnassus (Ov. M. 2.221; Sen. Oed. 281; Pers. pro. 2); compare Ov. F. 2.194 'ubi discretas insula rumpit aquas'; the isthmus keeps the two seas separate. The scholiast on ARh. 1.985 derives 'Dindymon' from διδύμους μαστοῦς, its two peaks, though Strabo 12.575 describes the mountain as μονοφύες. Valerius may have in mind ARh. 1.939f. ἐν δὲ οἱ ἀπταλ ἀμφιδυμοὶ (of the isthmus). The twin peaks of Dindymon are not a topic as are those of Parnassus and the point here may rather be that the mountain is separate from the city and the mainland (cf. Mozley's 'a mountain ... apart'); so 'discreti' contrasts with 'tenet' and 'confinibus'.

634. ad tenuis ... confinia ponti: 'near the borders of the shallow sea' (Mozley). 'Confinia' here is substantive, though 'confinibus' is used adjectivally in 632. The city is situated on the neck of the peninsula. 'Tenuis' is unusual in meaning 'shallow' i.e. narrow from top to bottom, rather than from side to side, though cf. Ov. F. 2.250 'tenuem ... aquam' (Bömer); Liv. 1.4.6; Prop. 1.11.11; TLL 2.357.37f. It would be more appropriate of the peninsula's narrow neck; perhaps 'ponti' should be emended to 'pontis', the bridge referred to in Strabo 12. p.575. Or 'tenuis' could be emended to 'gemini', recalling phrases used of the isthmus of Corinth, Sen. Thy. 628; Ag. 563; etc. For 'surgit', the city appearing to rise as the boat approaches, cf. 'crescit' (431). It contrasts with 'demissa' (635).

635. placidis demissa iugis: 'descending from the peaceful heights'. Mozley's 'slopes' is implied in 'demissa'. The city was built on the plain and rose up the slopes of the hill cf. Strabo 12. p.575 τῆς δὲ πόλεως, τὸ μὲν ἔστιν ἐν ἐκίπιδω, τὸ δὲ πρὸς ὄρει. 'Placidis' is charged with irony in view of the coming battle. Like its inhabitants, the country gives the strangers a peaceable welcome. 'Placidis' with 'divitis agri' suggests the city's wealth and prosperity.

636. Cyzicus: the eponymous king. Valerius follows ARh. in making him the son of Aeneus (cf. 3.4. 'Aenidae'; ARh. 1.948ff). His wife is

Cleite daughter of Merops from Percote (3.10f; ARh. 1.975f). Her name appears in Euphorion fr. 7 (Coll. Alex.), though Cyzicus himself is known only from this incident. His head appears on coins of Cyzicus in the Imperial period (B.V. Head Historia Numorum (Oxford 1911) pp.522ff). His people were the Doliones (5.7 cf. ARh. 1.947ff), Thessalian colonists according to Schol. ARh. 1.936-49 a; 961-3.

Haemoniae ... nova signa carinae: 'nova' suggests unfamiliarity; the 'signa' are those of strangers. 'Signa' however implies a means of identification (emblems), and Haemoniae shows that the identification has been made correctly. Cyzicus is assumed to know who his visitors are. 'Haemoniae' is placed emphatically next to 'Cyzicus'. 'Signa' may refer to the emblems on the shields displayed along the side of the ship (cf. 312 from VA. 8.92f). Mozley's 'strange portent' is unlikely; 'signum' means a portent only where thunder or a comet is explicitly mentioned, or where the meaning is clear (e.g. Ov. M. 10.452).

637. ultro: Valerius contradicts Apollonius' version, where Cyzicus had been warned to receive all strangers kindly (1.969ff). Here, the king's welcome is naturally courteous. Compare that of Lycus, ARh. 2.752ff; Valerius 4.737ff.

638. dextram ... amplexus et haerens: Valerius echoes VA. 8.124 'excepit ... manu dextramque amplexus inhaesit' (Pallas welcomes Aeneas); 558f. 'dextram complexus euntis haeret' (Evander bids farewell to Pallas). 'Cyzicus clasps their hands and clings to them'. The gesture was felt to be particularly warm and welcoming, and emphasized the bond of hospitality. The clasping of hands could be a gesture also of peace (VA. 7.266; Valerius 3.269; 7.652); help (VA. 6.370; Valerius 6.12) or a pledge (VA. 3.610; ARh. 4.99f). See C. Sittl Die Gebärden der Griechen und Römer (Leipzig 1890) p.135, n.7.

639. nunc primum cognita: 'cognita' contrasts with 'fama', previously they were only 'known' through rumour. Cyzicus addresses his visitors by name (640) as does Evander (VA. 7.195ff), for 'fama' has preceded them.

640. Emathiae manus: 'men from Emathia'. 'Emathia' was originally the name of a district of Macedonia, or an early name for the whole (Il.

14.226; Hy. Ap. 217; Strabo 7. p.329 fr. 11; Plin.^{NH.}_κ4.3 etc) until the Roman poets from Catullus onwards (64.324) used it for Thessaly. In particular it refers to the area around Pharsalia (VG. 1.492; Ov. M. 15.824; Luc. 9.271 etc). 'Emathiae' also suggests Alexander ('ducis Emathiae' Ov. Tr. 3.5.39) who was traditionally connected with Cyzicus (Plin. NH. 5.142). The Roman province of 'Macedonia' included Thessaly.

fama mihi maior imago: the sight of the Argonauts far excels the mental picture he had constructed from what rumour reported. The meaning is clear, but 'imago' is difficult, for it has to fulfil the double function of meaning both the appearance of the men, 'the sight of you' (Mozley), and Cyzicus' 'image' of them. Compare VA. 2.560f. 'subiit cari genitoris imago ut regem vidi', and 773 'nota maior imago' (Creusa), a phrase that Valerius clearly has in mind. Ehlers is right to put a comma after 'imago', for 639f. belong closely with 641ff.

641. haec ... tellus: i.e. Cyzicus itself. 'Adeo' goes closely with 'semota' and 'ardua'. 'Semota' is not very different in meaning from 'remota', 'remote', cf. Caes. BC. 1.84.1 'semoto loco'; Lucr. 4.813 'semotum ... longaeque remotum'. 'Ardua' must mean 'difficult of approach' or access (TLL 2.494.66ff.) by virtue of being lofty, though it is less easy with 'semota' and 'impervia', for the direction is vertical and not horizontal. Baehrens' 'abditā' is ingenious but has the wrong sense.

642. This line balances 641 and enlarges the meaning. -que has negative force after 'non' in 641. ω reads 'longaeque iam populis impervia lucis eoae', and, unless 'impervia' is used substantively, the subject is apparently 'tellus' (641), though the phrase should not be dependent on 641. 'Impervia' is undoubtedly right; it fits well with the theme of discovery (cf. 1.1), and makes an excellent pair with 'semota'. Ehlers is right to dagger 'longaeque' for the subject of 'impervia' must be concealed in it; perhaps Thilo's 'regnaque' or Burman's 'nec loca'. 'The places (kingdoms) of the east are no longer inaccessible to men'. The hyperbaton and unusual position of the noun in first place emphasise the great remoteness of the eastern lands. In 'populis' Cyzicus speaks as an explorer rather than an inhabitant. Ehlers' interpretation is more satisfactory than retaining 'longaeque'

(i.e. 'longinquaue' cf. 562) and emending 'impervia' e.g. Madvig's 'inter via' where 'inter' is short for 'interest' or Courtney's 'via pervia', for the emphasis is on places (tellus) not paths.

lucis eoae: i.e. 'the lands of the sunrise'; the idea is familiar in the form 'terras ... Eous' VG. 1.288; 'eoo ... ab orbe' Ov. F. 3.466; 'Eois ... partibus' HC. 1.35.31; but Valerius has made it more vivid by admitting 'lucis'.

643. intrasse: looking back to 'impervia', the verb goes better with 'tellus' and 'loca' than 'via'; cf. VA. 3.500f. 'si quando Thybrim vicinaue Thybridis arva intraro'. Mozley's 'set foot upon them' is weaker than the literal 'enter'.

duces, robora: both are commonly used of the Argonauts. They are all 'duces', from the upper stratum of warrior society, those upon whose individual exploits all attention is concentrated in the Iliad. ARh. refers to them as οἱ ἄριστοι (1.640, 911; 1082); cf. Theoc. 13.16ff; Apld. 1.9.16; cf. 'Dardaniae ... duces' VA. 8.120. 'Robora', a metaphor from the hard wood of the oak tree, means 'solid core', 'backbone', cf. Cic. Clu. 153 'illa robora populi Romani'; Cat. 64.4 'lecti invenes, Argivae robora pubis'; VA. 8.518 'robora pubis lecta'. Here it is used without a defining genitive of the Argonauts, cf. Valerius 4.591 'lecto comitum de robore'; 5.569. The plural is collective and slightly odd with 'tot'.

644. tellus alat: the motif of the earth as nurse is familiar; Rhet. Her. 4.55 'aluit haec (patria) me'; Ov. H. 10.85 'fulvos tellus alat ista leones'. Here the phrase is additionally pointed; the 'saevae gentes' are Apollonius' Ἰππενέες, based on the Laestrygones of Od. 10.80ff, who inhabit the island behind the city (1.942f). 'Tellus alat' is a rendering of 'terrigenas'. Valerius omits the battle between these men and the Argonauts (ARh. 1.989ff), concentrating on his expanded version of the battle with the Cyzicenes (3.95ff). The land is a fitting nurse for such creatures; 'horrida' is literally 'rugged'; En. Ann. 310 'Africa horrida terra'; Cat. 4.8 etc. The adjective also suggests thick woods: '(terra) silvis horrida' Tac. Germ. 5.1.

hinc: 'On this side'. There is no word to balance it in 645, and Shackleton Bailey proposed 'inde' for 'meque', for TLL 6.3.2805f. has

no other instance of 'hinc' without 'inde' or another equivalent word following. 'Circumfluat' then goes with 'tellurem' supplied from 644. However 'meque' is emphatic, and necessary; Cyzicus shares the name of his city, and means 'me and my city', and this is too good to alter. 'Circum' must balance 'hinc'; on this side, and all around.

645. fremens ... Propontis: Mozley's 'thundering' ignores the metaphor. The sea is 'roaring', cf. 6.329 'tumida fremit Hister aqua'; St. Th. 4.816 etc, and 'tumido ore' makes clear the comparison with a lion, which 'fremit ore cruento' VA. 9.341. The sea is as savage as the land and its inhabitants. 'Ore' is chosen for the metaphor, for Cyzicus is not close to the mouth of the Propontis. Notice the verbal patterning; a 'Silver' line, cf. p.vii.

646. A tripartite line, with word breaks after the first syllable of the second and fourth feet, and after the trochee in the third (after-que). The arrangement is familiar from Virgil (e.g. E. 10.54; A. 2.136) but its recurrence is unusual (also 647, 649, 650, 651, 652, cf. 179-81, 188-91), and is an example of Valerius' tendency to spoil a potentially effective device by over-using it.

vestra fides: 'good faith like yours'; the 'fides' that encourages honourable behaviour to a stranger, a distinctly Roman quality. Cyzicus will not murder his guests as the Bebrycians or Scythians would. There is a touch of irony here in view of the forthcoming battle.

ritus... pares: 'the form and manner of religious observance' as VA. 12.836. 'Pares' means 'similes', as VA. 6.184 'paribus ... accingitur armis'. Cyzicus' customs are civilised and do not involve human sacrifice.

mitia cultu ... corda: 'hearts made gentle by civilisation'; contrast VA. 5.730f. 'gens dura atque aspera cultu debellanda tibi Latio est'. Compare the merciless practices of the Scythians (648). 'Mitia' contrasts with 'saevas' (644); 'corda' refers to the seat of the emotions: VA. 1.303f. 'ponunt ... ferocia Poeni corda'; Ov. ex. P. 3.2.100 'nomen amicitiae barbara corda movet'. Lycus too is 'mitis' (4.591, 740). 'Mihi' is a possessive dative, for Cyzicus represents the city, so means 'me and my people' (cf. 'meque' 645).

647f. effera virtus Bebrycis: Amycus, King of the Bebryces, killed strangers by hurling the weakest into the sea and challenging the stronger to a boxing match (4.99ff.). Pollux' defeat of Amycus forms a major episode in book 4. Amycus was truly 'efferus': cf. 4.318 'effera servantem Ponti loca'; cf. 5.501f. 'Virtus' 'manly virtue' (ἀρετή) is paradoxical with 'effera' though cf. St. Th. 11.1. 'furias virtutis iniquae' (Capaneus); Sil. 1.58 'improba virtus' (Hannibal). *Dymas* echoes Cyzicus' words at 4.145ff. The Bebryces inhabit the region round the eastern part of the Bosphorus, so 'procul' geographically speaking is an exaggeration in comparison to Scythia.

648. Scythici ... inclementia sacri: the Scythians at Taurus sacrificed strangers to Diana (cf. 301); they were the epitome of uncivilised barbarity. 'Inclementia' picks up 'mitia cultu', and 'sacri', 'ritus pares'. 'Inclementia' is a Virgilian coinage (G. 3.68; A. 2.602), always occurring in this position in the line; Tacitus introduces it into prose (A. 4.42.3). The word is emphatic and forms the climax to Cyzicus' speech.

649. sic memorat: the language recalls VA. 1.631f. 'sic memorat; simul Aenean in regia ducit tecta, simul divum templis indicit honorem' (Dido's reception of Aeneas), though the situation is closer to ARh. 1.979. The scene is full of dramatic irony and foreboding, for Jason will cause great harm and damage to the Cyzicenes, as Aeneas did to Carthage; both are responsible for the deaths of their hosts, and the disruption of a flourishing community. The fact that Valerius has already used extensive echoes from Aeneid I in the Lemnos episode (340ff) does not prevent their re-use here.

laetos ... rapit: The Argonauts rejoice at the warmth of their welcome. Heinsius' 'laetusque' cannot be right, for 'rapit' needs an object. For 'rapit', i.e. 'raptim ducit', cf. on 255.

hospita pandi tecta: the houses are to be opened up as a sign of welcome. Closed doors are a sign of hostility. Cf. VA. 2.27 'panduntur portae', after the apparent departure of the Greeks. Hospita, like ξένιος can mean both 'affording hospitality', as here, and refer to 'foreigners', as 5.385, 'nos hospita pubes', or 'guests' (3.272). It is an important word in the following episode, cf. 2.662; 3.272, 288, 293, 304, for the Argonauts slaughter their hosts: cf. ARh.

1.1018. 'Simul' is to be taken with both 'iubet' and 'largitur' as the Virgilian parallel above makes clear, cf. 518. 'Tecta' and 'templa', the secular and sacred buildings of a city, are a regular pair (Cic. Sest. 53 etc).

650. sacros largitur honores: 'he makes abundant offerings'; the idea of generosity is predominant in 'largior', cf. VA. 10.494 'quisquis honos tumuli ... largior' (Pallas' funeral). It corresponds to Virgil's 'indicit', 'appoint', and is more formal and colourful. 'Honores' are both concrete offerings and less solid 'prayers', all of which are intended to honour the god. Cf. VA. 1.632 (above) 'ceremony'; 3.118 'meritos aris mactavit honores' 'sacrifice'; TLL 6.3.2924.61ff.

651. stant: both 'stand' with 'tori', 'mensaeque' and 'ministri' and also 'consist in' (cf. 598f.) with 'tori', or perhaps for 'exstant' stand out with gold and jewels. With 'mensae' the sense is 'stand ready' (with 'paratu'). 'Stant' introduces the sentence like 'est' in an ekphrasis.

gemmis auroque ... regifico: signs of Cyzicus' wealth and kingship. Both are Virgilian; cf. A. 1.728f. 'gemmis auroque'; and for 'regifico', 'regal', A. 6.604f. 'epulae ... ante ora paratae regifico luxu', of which this is an adaptation. 'Regifice' occurs in Ennius (sc. 96), cf. Jocelyn p.250; also Sil. 11.271. Adjectives terminating in '-ficus' are rare in classical poetry. Valerius has 'lustrificos' (3.448) a hapax; 'monstrificae' (6.153; cf. Plin. NH. 5.4); 'luctificum' (3.292 etc. cf. Cic. Tusc. 2.25 poet); 'horrificus' (see on 97). See further F. Skutsch Glotta 2 (1910) p.160.

652f. centum ... corpora: 'a hundred servants alike in looks and youthful years'. The 'hundred servants' are from VA. 1.705: 'centum aliae (famulae), totidemque pares aetate ministri'; 'centum' is not used literally but means 'very many' (VA. 7.170, Latinus' palace has a hundred columns). Virgil has improved upon the number of Alcinous' serving women (Od. 7.103). 'Pares aetate' is conventional in such descriptions (Austin on A. 1.705; Sen. Ep. 95.24); 'pares ... primaeva corpora' is a less conventional way of saying the same thing, and including the notion of beauty; cf. A. 10.345 'fidens primaevo corpore

Clausus'. 'Corpora' could be accusative of respect, as if 'pares' were an ordinary adjective, or it is in apposition with 'ministri', in an attractively interlaced phrase.

653. pars ... gestant: 'pars ... pars' is ugly after 'paratu', 'pares'. For 'pars' with a plural verb cf. 221 'pars ut erant'; 7.554 'pars ... subeunt'. Valerius echoes VG. 4.378f. 'pars epulis onerant mensas et plena reponunt pocula'.

654. pocula ... casus expressa: 'pocula' indicates a drinking vessel ('potare') of any sort without referring to a specific shape (W. Hilgers Lateinische Gefäßnamen (Düsseldorf 1969) pp. 74; 255ff.). The designs on the cups are pressed out in relief; 'casus', accusative, is used for the ablative as at 1.398f. 'casus ... tuos expressa ... arma geris'; Tac. Hist 3.74 'aram ..., posuit casus suos in marmore expressam'. 'Caelare' can be used similarly; 1.402 'caelata metus alios gerit arma Eribotes'; 6.53f; St. Th. 1.543; Ach. 1.853. Mythological events were generally preferred to recent or contemporary events, though Hannibal's shield includes a scene of himself swearing lifelong enmity to Rome, and the siege of Saguntum (Sil. 2.406ff.). bellorum ... recentum: the Cyzicenes have recently won a victory over their enemies, the Pelasgi. We are reminded of the Lemnian men's victory that immediately preceded their own massacre; the two episodes mirror each other.

655. carchesia: a drinking vessel shaped something like a tea-cup with a pair of handles stretching from rim to base (Hilgers op. cit. pp.48, 104f). It is primarily Greek, found in Latin poetry only in the epic poets and Martial (Macrob. 5.21.2). This scene is based on VA. 1.728ff. where Dido demands 'gravem gemmis auroque ... pateram' after the banquet, used first for libations, and then passed round. Cyzicus offers the cup to Jason not merely as an artistic curiosity but also as a sign of hospitality. Compare Adrastus' 'patera' (St. Th. 1.541ff). Cyzicus' cup is new, unlike Dido's, which has been handed down for generations (1.729f). It depicts the recent victory over the Pelasgi in four maritime scenes: the harbour, a night attack, the flight of the enemy and the firing of their ships. Each is introduced by 'hic, has, haec, hic', recalling the 'tour of the front' in VA. 2.29ff. There are

two changes of person; 'the enemy' is the subject of 'territat' and 'refert'; in the third scene the viewer takes over ('vides'); in the fourth 'meus ignis' (est) the speaker himself becomes involved. The variation adds reality to the description as does the fact that it occurs in a speech and not as a separate ekphrasis. The relief would be continuous, like that on Trajan's column.

The description of a cup is a common motif from Theocritus (1.29ff.) onwards. Cyzicus' cup foreshadows the coming battle with the Argonauts by informing the reader of the Pelasgic threat that caused the fatal error (3.45, 126; ARh. 1.1024). See Croisille p.330; E. Frank RIL 108 (1974) p.839.

porgens: a contracted or alternative form of 'porrigens'. The word order ('porgens carchesia Graio') is vivid, as the cup passes from Cyzicus' hand to Jason's. 'Prima' is used for 'primum'; 'he gave this cup first to the Grecian prince'.

656. hic ... hostis: 'here the enemy is harrying my harbours'. 'Territat' is frequentative, this is one occasion of many on which the enemy struck terror into the citizens cf. VA. 4.187 (Fama) 'magnas territat urbes'. 'Mihi' emphasizes Cyzicus' involvement (himself and the city), cf. 'meus ignis' (658). 'Portus' anticipates 3.45 'hostis habet portus' (of the Argonauts). For Cyzicus' harbours cf. ARh. 1.954; 987; 1110.

hostis: Valerius follows Apollonius in calling the enemy 'the Pelasgi'. They arrive by raft (658) and threaten the harbours (656) and must be a local people, perhaps resenting the arrival of new settlers. Two cities on the coast a little to the east of Cyzicus were 'Pelasgorum coloniae', Placie and Scylace (Hdt. 1.57.2; Mela 1.98; Plin. NH 5.142 cf. Valerius 3.36), and Apollonius if not Valerius must have had the inhabitants of these places in mind. Apollonius calls them 'Pelasgian Macrians' (1.1024), and reveals that they are a neighbouring tribe (1112-3). Their confusion with the Argonauts is ironic in view of the fact that Valerius, like Virgil, refers to the Greeks, and Argonauts, as Pelasgi (VA. 8.600 Fordyce; cf. Valerius 5.682; Ov. M. 7.133; ARh. 1.580).

657. acies ... refert: like 'iterare pugnam' (Langen), i.e. 'renew the battle'; cf. VA. 12.185f. 'nec post arma ulla rebelles Aeneadae

referent', etc. 'Acies' is unusually applied to a naval battle line; cf. Caes. BC. 1.58 'producta longius acie'. The battle takes place 'under the cover of night', as VA. 6.268 'sub nocte'; OLD sv. 'sub' 9. The Argonauts return (3.42 'portu ... refertur amico') by night (3.32 'nox erat'); Cyzicus unconsciously prefigures this in his speech.

versa ... terga: military terminology for 'flight'; Caes. BG. 1.53 etc. Again the scene is naval; 'terga' refers to the ships rather than the enemy themselves. Compare 3.254, 268f. 'dant terga'; the Cyzicenes themselves flee.

658. meus ... ignis: 'mine is the fire that devours the rafts here'. 'Pascitur' is a familiar metaphor (cf. on 450), though the passive construction is less common. The flames feed on the ships. They would be graphically depicted on the relief.

ratibus: 'rafts' like those described at 108f. ('rates' 111). Apollonius does not mention the form of transport (cf. 1.1024), but Valerius is generally consistent in making the Argo the first ship. The flimsy nature of these boats is further evidence for the proximity of the Pelasgi.

659-662. Jason's brief and seemingly courteous reply is unusually heavy with irony and ominous foreboding. The Argonauts are later mistaken for the Pelasgi, for whose return Jason here wishes; and 'soliti rediere Pelasgi' (3.45) echoes 660. 'Arma videbis hospita' is fulfilled; Cyzicus indeed sees Jason's weapons (3.80ff.) and that night's battle is the last that Cyzicus will see (662), for he is killed by Jason (3.239ff.).

659. subicit Aesonides: more formal than 'inquit'. 'Subicere' means 'to interpose a remark', i.e. 'he rejoins', 'replies'; and is generally followed by direct speech (Varro; Sall.; Liv.; St.; Sil.) though Virgil has only 'vix pauca furenti subicio' (A. 3.313f.).

ira: 'o that anger would bring them here now and induce them to attack with their customary stratagems' (Mozley's 'and that they would try' is inaccurate). 'Ira' refers to the enemy's anger at their recent defeat. Baehrens' 'aura' is far less colourful.

660. solitis ... furtis: the enemy tends to attack in secret and at night (657); Ov. M. 13.104 'furtis incautum decipit hostem' (Odysseus and the Doloneia); Sil. 17.90 'furtum armorum tutantibus umbris' (a night attack). The confusion of the Argonauts with the Pelasgi is caused by their night arrival (3.43ff). 'Temptet' here means 'urge' or 'induce'. 'Concurrere' is particularly striking when used of an attack from the sea.

661. se ratibus fundat: the reflexive use of the verb, meaning 'to rush out from'. See VA. 12.122 'agmina se fundunt portis', Valerius 1.610f. videbis: in the apodosis of a sentence with 'utinam' and the optative subjunctive, a present subjunctive might normally be expected though the future indicative is also found (HSz. pp.331f.). Valerius uses the future intentionally here, for Cyzicus will indeed see the weapons of his guest, directed against himself.

662. post hanc ... noctem: the battle takes place three days later (3.1). 'Hanc noctem' means 'tonight', the night of the hypothetical attack, though it could also mean 'this night', when the battle will take place.

663f. has ... inter ... vices: 'among these interchanges', with 'sermonum' understood from 'variis ... dictis'; cf. VA. 6.535 'hac vice sermonum'; Ov. ex P. 2.10.35 'saepe brevis nobis vicibus via visa loquendi'. At ARh. 1.980 Cyzicus asks his guests about their voyage and Pelias' commands, and the Argonauts inquire about the route to the Bosphorus.

variis ... dictis: ablative with 'rapta': the night 'was sped (Mozley) with varied discourses' like VA. 1.748 'vario noctem sermone trahebat'; Tac. Ann. 2.34 'sermonibus variis tempus atque iter ducens'. For 'rapta' compare Sil. 4.485 'iamque dies rapti cursu navoque labore'. The convoluted word order suggests the variety of topics covered.

nox plurima: 'the greater part of the night', like Sall. BJ. 51.2 'multum diei', but unlike 'multo die' (in broad daylight); 'multa nocte' (a late time of night, Cic. Sest. 46).

664. lux postera: cf. Hor. Sat. 1.5.39. The light imagery is picked up at 3.1f.; compare 556 'crastina lux'. 'Lux' is a frequent synonym for

'dies' (Ov. M. 7.85 etc). The double negative ('nec non') makes an emphatic affirmative; 'and the next day too'; cf. VG. 2.53; A. 8.461. simili ... tractu: Valerius is thinking of 'trahere', of prolonging a night in conversation, as VA. 1.748 (above); or with a meal 'tracta ... in multam noctem laetitia per epulas et vinolentiam', Tac. Ann. 2.65. The next day went the same way as the night, in prolonged discourse. 'Rapta' and 'tractu' are contrasted (the day was short, but the talk was long), and there is an additional notion of 'delay' (cf. VA. 10.888).

Book Two ends with a scene of peace and calm as Cyzicus entertains Jason with feasting and conversation. It forms an effective contrast to the violence of the battle in Book Three. Valerius ends the book here for its dramatic effect; similar is the end of Book Three where Hercules is left searching for Hylas and the Argonauts sail away. Valerius reveals that he is not bound by convention to complete an episode before he ends the book. In this respect his practice is closer to that of Statius and Silius than Virgil.

The Development of the Story of Hesione in Art and Literature

Surviving representations of Hercules' rescue of Hesione are rare¹. Those that remain are scattered through many centuries and reveal a developing tradition in the form of the myth that is paralleled by the similarly few surviving written accounts of the story.

The earliest surviving illustration is found on an Attic black-figure cup from Tarentum (pl. 1)². Hercules stands in the gaping jaws of the sea-monster, about to cut out its tongue with the sickle he holds in his hand. This weapon is unusual and does not recur, but the picture seems to pre-date any representations of Perseus, whose distinctive weapon it is. The sea-monster resembles a giant fish, with scales and a curling tail. It dwarfs the diminutive figure of Hercules. Behind the hero sits Hesione, clothed and unbound, a terrified onlooker.

This mid sixth century representation concurs fully with what appears to be the earliest form of the myth as found in Hellanicus (Schol. *Il.* 20.146); Lycophron *Alexandra* 33ff; 476ff. (c. 320 B.C.), and perhaps alluded to at *Il.* 20.146. Homer knows of Hercules' fight with a monster near Troy, and the scholiast refers to Hellanicus' *Troica*, where Hercules enters the creature's body and hacks it to pieces from the inside: εἰσδὺς διὰ τοῦ στόματος εἰς τὴν κοιλίαν τοῦ κήτους, αὐτοῦ τὰς λαγόνας διέφθειρεν (fr. 26, Jacoby). Lycophron alludes to the same version. (At Lyc. *Alex.* 838 Perseus too is consumed by the monster.) This version ceases to be current in literature after Lycophron, and appears in art only in the early period. A column krater from Volaterra of the third or second century B.C. (Beazley *EVP* 124.1) shows Hercules standing just inside the open jaws of a shark-like creature. On the reverse are Hercules and Hesione, a picture that appears to ignore the tradition that Hesione was given to Telamon in marriage.

This early tradition is replaced in art by a more sophisticated version, perhaps influenced by the story of Perseus' rescue of Andromeda which became popular in the fifth century B.C. Hercules' method of slaying the monster becomes less crude, and he generally uses the bow, his club, or even stones. A late sixth century amphora from Italy (Boston 63.420) shows Hercules and Hesione combining to frighten

off the dragon with arrows and rocks³. Hesione often adopts the fettered pose of Andromeda. Valerius was clearly struck by the similarity of the two stories, borrowing extensively from Ovid's version, and this may well be indicative of an earlier trend. Unfortunately it is hard to tell how the story developed in literature as there exists no extended account of the battle until Valerius but such accounts probably followed the tradition revealed in art. A close study of these may help to fill the gap left by our scanty knowledge of the literary tradition.

The surviving illustrations from the Greek and Hellenistic periods, however, add little of interest. The fifth century Pronomos Vase (pl. 2) depicts the principals and chorus of a satyr play that may be a 'Hesione'⁴. Next to the two central figures, Dionysus and Ariadne, stand two actors, one dressed as an oriental king and the other as a princess. Next to the princess is the easily identifiable figure of Hercules. Hesione was a popular subject in comedy, though Alexis' Hesione is of a slightly later date than the vase⁵. Comic dramas about Hesione seem to have preceded the more serious versions. There was no 'Hesione' or 'Laomedon' written by the fifth century tragedians (Nauck p.963).

Of dubious relevance are the figures on an Etruscan mirror from Perugia of the fourth century B.C. (pl.3)⁶. A male figure leads a girl by her right hand; his left arm lies around her shoulders. The figure is not easily identifiable as Hercules unless the curious pattern at his feet is intended to represent his club. The girl is unclothed, with a cloak draped over her back, and jewellery indicating her royal rank. On the left rim is the monster's head with long sharp teeth. It is too small to have consumed Hercules.

During the Hellenistic period, the story increases in popularity in both art and literature. Lycophron's allusive references suggest that the story must have been familiar. Callimachus' Aetia included at least a brief reference to Laomedon's double perjury (fr. 698 Pf. = Schol. VG. 1.502; on fr. 537 Τρωάδες Ἰππους cf. H. Lloyd-Jones in ZPE 13 (1974) 209ff.). Dionysius Skytobrachion included it in his Argonautica, and Cleon of Curium probably mentioned it (cf. n.451-578). Later in the third century it reached Italy where Naevius wrote his 'Aesione'⁷ and an unknown author a Laomedon⁸. In art, two paintings are referred to by Pliny, Artemon's series of pictures about Laomedon

(NH. 35.139) and Antiphilus' 'Hesione nobilis' (id. 35.114), of outstanding merit (c. 310-280 B.C.). Philostratus (Im. 12. c. 300 A.D.) describes a Hellenistic painting that may be that of Antiphilus, for it seems to have formed the model for many subsequent representations, particularly those at Pompeii, together with Nicias' Andromeda (Plin. NH. 35.132). Hercules stands naked, facing the monster, about to attack it with bow and arrow. The creature is of large size and frightful appearance, with huge glaring eyes, a snout and three rows of teeth (cf. Valerius 2.500). Its back, like that of a serpent, stretches through the sea. Hesione is fastened to the rock, her beauty withering in fear and agony. Behind, Laomedon is visible in the city, whose battlements are crowded with men raising their hands in prayer to the sky.

Here are several new elements. Hesione is now fettered to the rock; Hercules the bowman is shown at the moment of attack; the monster itself is no longer capable of swallowing Hercules, and has become more of a serpent than a fish; the city in the background allows for the appearance of Laomedon. Hesione's pose is typical of that of Andromeda in many representations (cf. Valerius 2.469), though Nicias' picture showed not this scene but the victorious Hercules releasing Andromeda from her fetters or handing her down from the rocks.

The only surviving Hellenistic illustration of the scene appears on the fragment of a Campanian krater (pl. 4)⁹. Hercules confronts the dragon-like sea-monster, which has already been wounded in the eye with an arrow. Hesione does not appear. Both the dragon and Hercules the bowman fit in with the development of the story we are assuming.

Of particular relevance to Valerius' version are the Pompeian frescoes¹⁰ which must all predate the poem (before 79 A.D.) but which reveal the state of the story as Valerius could have known it (pl. 5, 6, 7, 8). Most are of the third style, i.e. the first half of the first century A.D. The four main representations (Helbig 1129, 1131, 1132, 1184) reveal great freedom in the treatment of details. They are scenes of action, in some cases of continuous narrative, showing different moments in the story. Hesione is bound, or being freed, or standing unfettered; the battle is in progress; the monster is wounded or lying dead in the moment of Hercules' victory. Contemporary interest is revealed in the landscapes and details of the buildings. The inclusion of other figures adds variety to the picture. The number

of varied representations shows a certain familiarity with the story and is an indication of its popularity (slightly less than that of Andromeda), which was not confined to the upper classes, nor to those well-versed in the intricacies of the story. Valerius may well have been influenced by similar representations of the Hesione story, and a close comparison between the Pompeian frescoes and Valerius' version of the story will prove rewarding.

i). The presence of Telamon. Telamon's first appearance is in H 1132, where he is shown releasing Hesione from her fetters with a hammer. His presence is easily explained by his forthcoming marriage to Hesione (Soph. Aj. 1299ff. etc), but Valerius' is the only extant account which links him with Hercules in the episode (but cf. note on Kleon of Kurion 11.451-578 above). Possibly Valerius was moved to do so by his appearance in pictures. In Valerius he does no more than observe the battle, and announce the victory to the Argonauts. Hercules frees Hesione (as in H 1131, where the figure is clearly holding a club).

ii). Hercules' weapon. Until Valerius' Argonautica there survives no extended account of the fight, so Hercules' use of bow and arrows can only be inferred from the appearance of the scene in art. In Valerius, when Hercules' attempt to use the bow fails (521ff. from Theoc. 25.229ff), he seizes a fragment of the nearby cliff and strikes the rearing head of the monster (533-4), raining blows upon it with his club (534ff). All three weapons are shown in the frescoes; the bow (H 1132); the rock (H 1129, 1130 probably Hercules not Telamon); the club (H 1184). In this last scene, Hercules is standing 'mediis ... aquis' but not 'elatus' (532).

iii). The figure of Hesione. Twice she appears fettered to the rock (H 1131, 1184), with her arms fully outstretched, the pose typical of Andromeda (Evanthes' Andromeda, Ach. Tat. 3.7. τὰς δὲ χεῖρας εἰς τὴν πέτρην ἐξεπέτασεν ; compare Antiphrilos' Hesione; Philostratus Im. 12 above). Elsewhere she appears fettered in a sitting position, as is frequently the case with Andromeda, or in the process of being freed (H 1132, like Nicias' Andromeda), or as an unbound observer of the scene (H 1129), as in the earlier pictures. She is naked (H 1129), clad in diaphanous drapery (H 1131), in a bluish mantle and sandals (H 1132), or white robes (H 1184). There is no suggestion of a marriage (as Ach. Tat.) or the last rites (Valerius 471-2) though the jewel box that appears on H 1132 (as on the cameo and

Villa Albani mosaic below) may suggest offerings, or perhaps reveal her royalty (cf. her gold ring in H 1132, and her necklace on the Etruscan mirror).

iv). The sea-monster. This resembles a serpent with coils (H 1129, 1184) as in Antiphilus, rather than a monstrous fish. Often the head alone is clearly visible (H 1129, 1132). Valerius' monster has been influenced by the snakes in VA. 2.203ff.; it moves like a snake (cf. n. on 'cauda redit' 502), and it does not spout water like the 'whale' in Man. 5.582, 603; cf. Ov. M. 4.728f. For its coils cf. 502, 514.

v). The background. The city of Troy is often shown battlemented or colonnaded, with Mt. Ida (H 1129), and citizens emerging through the gates (H 1131, 1129). Antiphilus' picture showed Laomedon in the city (above). The appearance of Troy in the background may not be significant, as the inclusion of extensive details of landscape was a regular feature of Campanian (and indeed Hellenistic) pictures, but we are reminded of the final scene in Valerius' account which takes place in front of the city walls (550ff.).

In conclusion then, the scenes that can be examined in detail are closely related to the version of the story found in Valerius, with the addition of Telamon as the most exciting development.

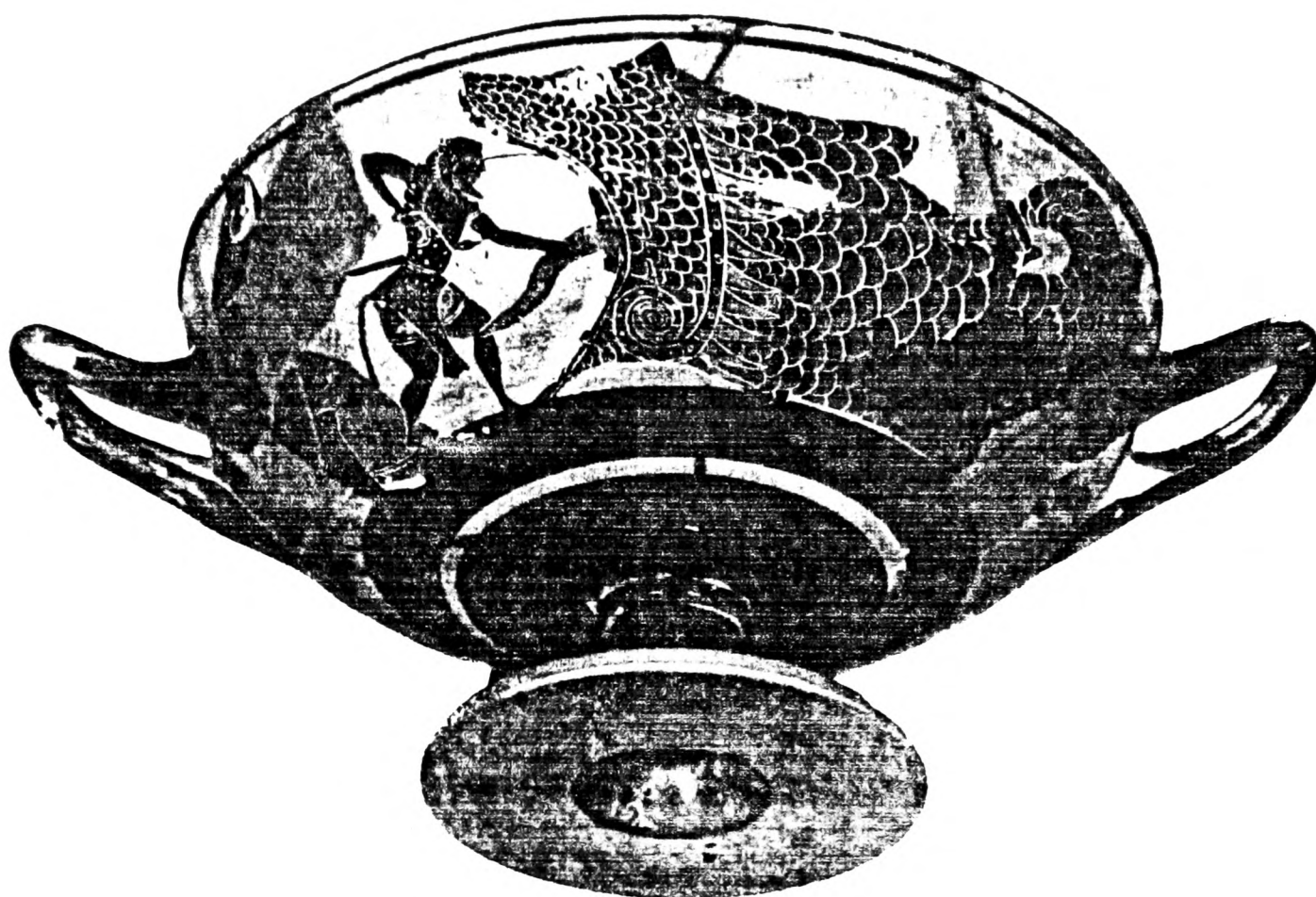
Slightly later than the Pompeian frescoes are three representations from the Claudian era. The stucco relief on the ceiling of the nave of the subterranean Pythagorean Basilica of Rome's Porta Maggiore¹¹ is of conventional type with Hercules aiming his bow at the tiny dolphin-like monster with enormous head and gaping mouth that rises to the left. To the right is Hesione, bound to the rock with outstretched arms. There was perhaps a jewel box at her feet. The scene, which is now very fragmentary, was included for its allegorical significance, the liberation of the soul after death. This interpretation accounts for the increasing popularity of the scene in the next centuries above that of Perseus and Andromeda, where the love-interest precludes such a significance.

Secondly, a cameo of uncertain date¹², now partially destroyed, depicts Hercules facing the spectator, drawing his bow at the monster which rears its head in the centre of the gem, with one arrow already in its jaw. Its head is like that on the Campanian krater, and its body coiled like a snake's. Hesione is behind, partly draped and unbound, seated on a jewel case (pl. 9). Finally, a terra-cotta relief

in the Campana collection¹³ illustrates a different scene. Hesione, bound to the rocks at the right of the scene, looks over her shoulders at Telamon with a short spear advancing against the monster in front of Hercules who has his bow and arrows at the ready. The monster, already pierced by one spear, is a composite creature, with the head and neck of a dragon, two front legs like a lion, snake-like coils and a fish tail. Telamon plays a large and otherwise unparalleled part.

Later than Valerius are three mosaics¹⁴, two showing the influence of Nicias' Andromeda (pl. 10,11) and a number of stone funerary reliefs¹⁵ depicting Hesione chained to the rock with Hercules about to kill the monster, or Hesione on her own (pl. 12, 13). The scenes by now are static; the details have become conventional. The stone reliefs in particular suggest the existence of 'copy-book' designs. They are of little relevance to this study, and show no signs of the influence of Valerius' version.

1. F. Brommer Vasenlisten zur griechischen Heldensage (Marburg 1956) p.40; id. Denkmälerlisten zur griechischen Heldensage (Marburg 1971) 1. p.55-8; C. Caprino EAA 3. sv. Esione 441ff; A. Lesky Herakles und das Ketos AAWW 104 (1967) 1ff; J.M. Croisille pp.142ff.
2. F. Brommer Die Königstochter und das Ungeheuer (Marburger Wincklemann-Programm 1955) pl. 3.
3. E. Vermeule Aspects of Death in Early Greek Art and Poetry (California U.P. 1979) fig. 16. Compare the sixth century black figure amphora (Berlin 1652) on which Perseus pelts the monster with stones handed to him by Andromeda.
4. ARV² 1336.1 = Naples 3240. M. Bieber The History of the Greek and Roman Theatre (Princeton 1961) pp. 10-11; fig. 31-3.
5. c. 375-275 B.C.; cf. Kock 2.324 fig. 85-6; also Archippos Ichthues (after 403 B.C.); Athen. 8.343 c; Eustath. Il. 20.146. The Pronomos Vase names the poet (holding the scroll) as Demetrios, possibly the poet of Old Comedy mentioned by Diog. Laert. 5.85; PW 74; Kock 1.795-6 (c. 400 B.C.).
6. E. Gerhard Etruskische Spiegel (Berlin 1867) 4. p.84 pl. 341.1 (Paralip. 265).
7. O. Ribbeck Tragicorum Romanorum Fragmenta (Leipzig 1871) p.9; Gell. 10.25.3; Varro LL 7.107; F. Buecheler RhM 27 (1872) p.475.
8. Ribbeck op. cit. p.233; Schol. Veron. VA. 2.81.
9. F. Brommer (1955) pl. 4; M.J. Milne AJA 60 (1956) 300ff.
10. Croisille pp.142-148; C.M. Dawson Romano-Campanian Mythological Landscape Painting YCS 9 (1944); W. Helbig Wandgemälde der vom Vesuv verschütteten Städte Campaniens (Leipzig 1868); V. Spinazzola Pompei (Rome 1953) pp.389, 975. Particularly Helbig 1129-32, 1184; Dawson 61 pl. 24; Spinazzola p.975.
11. J. Carcopino La Basilica pythagoricienne de la Porte Majeure (Paris 1927) pp.327-9; E. Strong and N. Jolliffe The Stuccoes of the Underground Basilica near the Porta Maggiore JHS (1924) pp.78ff.
12. E. Gerhard Gemmenbilder Arch. Ztg. 7 (1849) pp.55-6, pl. 6.4. F. Brommer (1955) p.7; Croisille p.144 dates to Claudian era.
13. G.P. Campana Antiche Opere in Plastica (Rome 1842-52) pl. 21; pp.94-7.
14. The Villa Albani mosaic; Croisille pl. 65.2; Avignon; Croisille pl. 65.1. Piazza Armerina; G.V. Gentili La villa imperiale di Piazza Armerina (Itinerari N 87) (Rome 1956) pl. 31; p.49. All second or third century A.D.
15. J.M.C. Toynbee Greek Myth in Roman Stone Latomus 36 (1977) pp.381-4. Second or third century A.D.



1. Sixth century Black Figure cup from Tarentum
(Brommer (1955) pl. 3).



2. Detail from the fifth century Pronomos Vase
 (M. Bieber The History of the Greek and Roman Theatre (Princeton 1961) pl. 32).



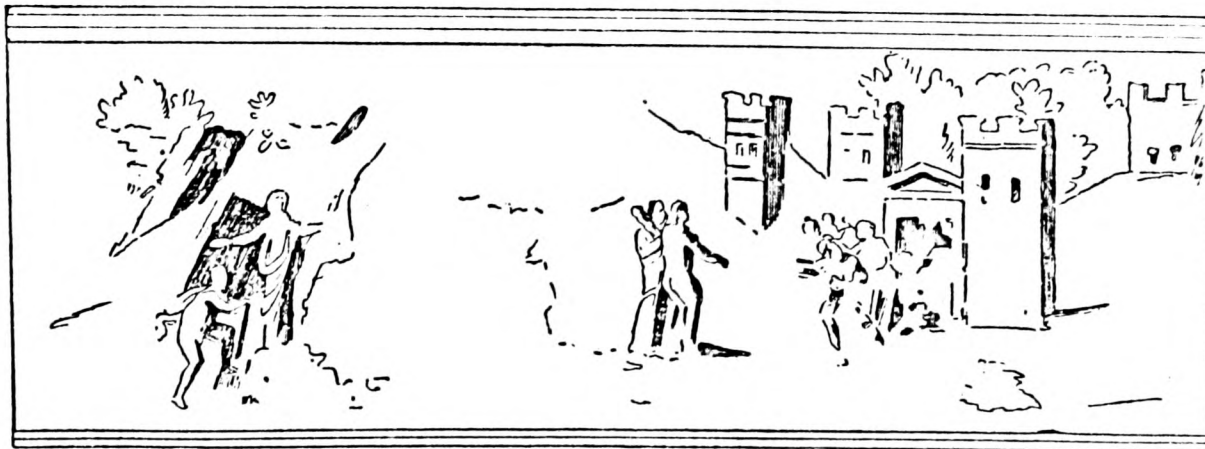
3. Fourth century Etruscan mirror
(Brommer (1955) p.5, Abb. 1).



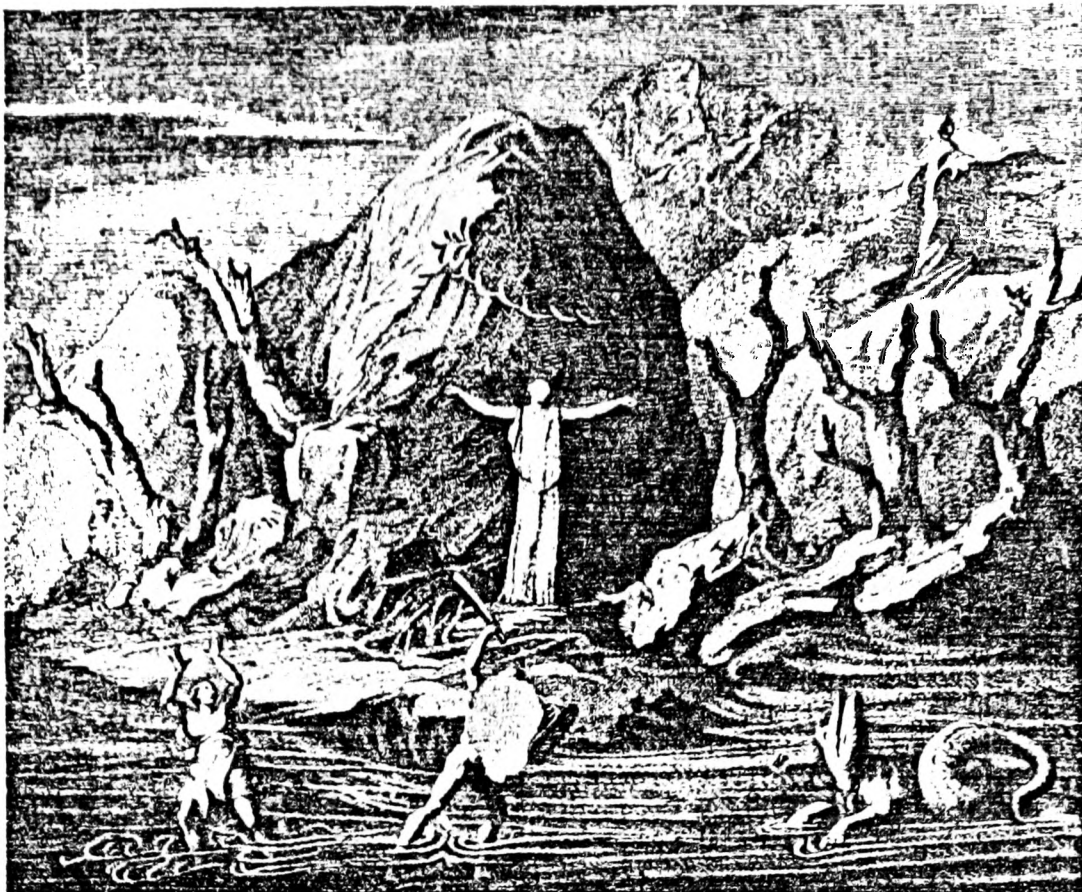
4. Fragment of a Campanian krater
(Brommer (9155) pl. 4).



5. Fresco H 1129 from Pompeii
(Dawson pl. 21, m.56).



6. Sketch of the lost fresco H 1131 from Pompeii
(Dawson pl. 19, n.57).



7. Fresco H 1184 from Pompeii
(Dawson pl. 20, n.54).



8. Sketch of fresco H 1132 from Pompeii
(S. Reinach Repertoire de Peintures Grecques et Romains
(Paris 1922) p.190, n.7).



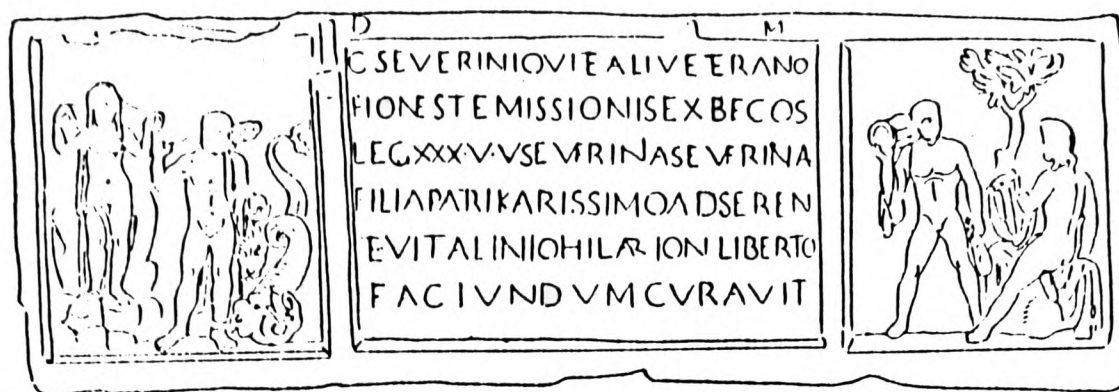
9. Detail from cameo of Claudian era
(Brommer (1955) p.7).



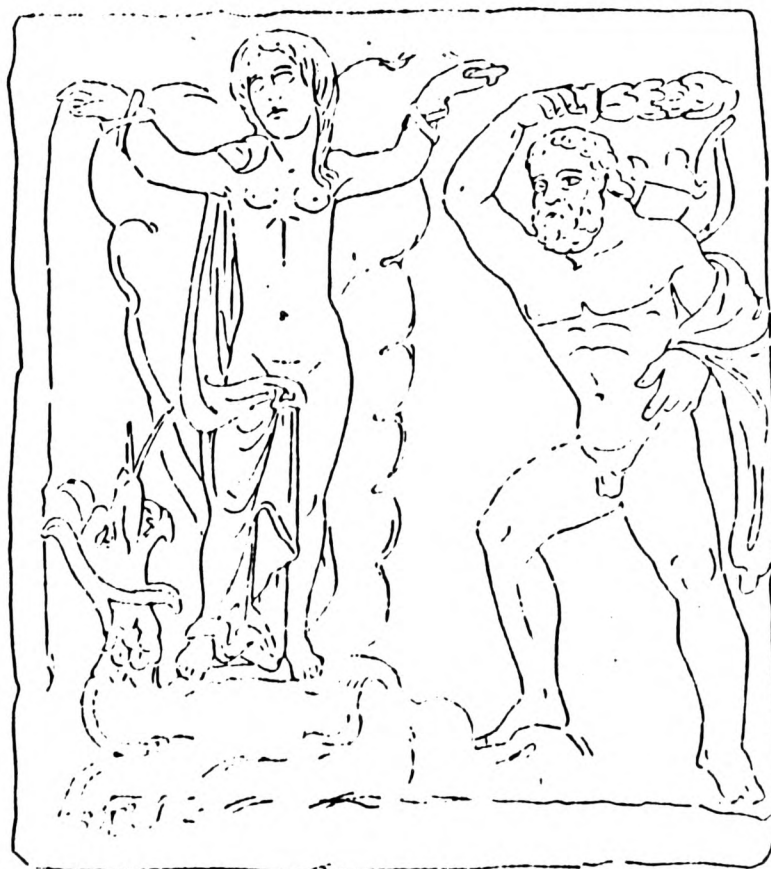
10. Sketch of the Villa Albani mosaic
(Reinach op. cit. p.190, n.3).



11. Sketch of the Avignon mosaic
(Reinach op. cit. p.190, n.2).



12. Detail from the sarcophagus of Severinus Vitealis from Cologne
 (S. Reinach Repertoire de Reliefs Grecques et Romains 2
 (Paris 1912) p.58, pl. 1).



13. Funerary relief from Intercisa
 (Reinach op. cit. p.116, pl.1).

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