

THE FEMALE VOICE IN VALERIUS FLACCUS' *ARGONAUTICA*

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Abstract

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This thesis adopts a mixed-method approach of quantitative and qualitative analysis to discuss the role of women, especially female speakers and addressees, in Valerius Flaccus' *Argonautica*. In addition to the traditional individual mortal and divine speech roles, discourse categories such as the influence of the Muses, the presentation of female personifications, female collectives, frame and inserted speakers, and goddesses in disguise are also taken into consideration.

The study shows that, despite the shared subject matter and greatly overlapping ensemble of speakers, Valerius makes significant changes in nearly all categories of female speech representation. Valerius entirely omits some of Apollonius' female speech acts, reduces speeches from *oratio recta* to mere speech summaries, replaces Greek goddesses with similar, but not equivalent Roman speakers, assigns new speech roles to previously silent female characters, adds important new episodes with female speakers that do not occur in Apollonius' epic, changes the speech contexts, the conversational behaviour and the overall characterization of speakers – in isolated individual instances as well as in more complex character portrayals. Valerius even modifies or transfers entire discourse patterns such as conversational deceit in speech and silence, or divine disguise, from one speaker group to another, usually of the opposite sex.

Valerius transforms the Apollonian arrangement of a male-dominated, 'epic' first half following the invocation of Apollo and a second female, 'elegiac' half with many female speech acts and epiphanies, after a revision of the narrator's relationship with the Muses, into a more traditional portrayal of the Muses and a much more balanced occurrence and continued influence of female speakers.

The different female voices of the *Argonautica*, especially Juno, can continuously be heard in the Flavian epic and provide the reader with an alternative perspective on the events. Even the less prominent female speakers are part of a well-balanced and refined structural arrangement and show influences of several pre-texts, which they sometimes self-consciously address and use to their advantage. There can be no doubt that, like Apollonius, Valerius does not merely use female speech acts to characterize the male protagonists, but follows a clear structuring principle.

Whereas Apollonius in accordance with his revised invocation of the Muses concentrates the female speech acts in the second half of his epic, especially the final book, Valerius links episodes and individual characterizations through same-sex and opposite-sex speaker doublets and triplets that can be ascribed to and explained by Jupiter's declaration of the *Fata*. From Juno's unofficial opening monologue to Medea's emotional closing argument, the female voice accompanies and guides the reader through the epic. The female perspective is not the dominant view, but rather one of many perspectives (divine, mortal, female, male, old, young, servant, ruler, *et al.*) that complement the primary viewpoint of the poet and the male, mortal protagonists and offer an alternative interpretation.

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I. ABBREVIATIONS

Periodicals are abbreviated according to the system of *L'Année philologique*. Citations from Valerius' *Argonautica* follow Ehlers' edition (1980), unless otherwise indicated.

The following abbreviations are used for frequently cited works by ancient authors:

VF.	Valerius Flaccus, <i>Argonautica</i>
ARh.	Apollonius Rhodius, <i>Argonautica</i>
Il.	Homer, <i>Iliad</i>
Od.	Homer, <i>Odyssey</i>
Aen.	Virgil, <i>Aeneid</i>
Met.	Ovid, <i>Metamorphoses</i>
Luc.	Lucan, <i>Bellum Civile</i>
Theb.	Statius, <i>Thebaid</i>
Ach.	Statius, <i>Achilleid</i>
Pun.	Silius, <i>Punica</i> .
Sen. Med.	Seneca, <i>Medea</i>
Eur. Med.	Euripides, <i>Medea</i>
Pyth.	Pindar, <i>Fourth Pythian Ode</i>

II. INTRODUCTION

A significant revival of scholarly interest in Valerius Flaccus' *Argonautica* in the last few decades has put us in the fortunate position that, in addition to the long established comprehensive studies by Mehmel (1934), Lüthje (1971), Shelton (1971), Adamietz (1976), and modern commentaries on the whole work by Liberman (1997 and 2002), Soubiran (2002), Spaltenstein (2002, 2004a, 2005) and Dräger (2003), Flavian scholarship has now also produced many excellent commentaries on all the individual books of the *Argonautica*, most recently filling the gap for Book 8 of the epic with the new commentaries by Lazzarini (2012) on Medea's farewell from Colchis (VF. 8.1-287) and with Pellucchi (2012) and the forthcoming commentary by Castelletti on the entire eighth book.

Whereas the scope of Apollonius' influence on Valerius' *Argonautica* regarding its subject matter, character portrayal, book composition and narrative technique has been scrutinized in many fruitful studies, the use of direct speech, a key feature of Greco-Roman epic poetry (Elderkin 1906, Lipscomb 1907, Offermann 1968, Sangmeister 1978, Helzle 1996, Dominik 2002), has not been comprehensively examined yet. Ibscher's *Gestalt der Szene und Form der Rede in den Argonautika des Apollonios Rhodios* (1939) provides a detailed survey of the speech scenes and individual speech acts of the Hellenistic *Argonautica*. There are also wide-ranging analyses of direct speech representation for Valerius' Roman predecessors Virgil (Heinze 1915, Hight 1972, Erdmann 2000), Ovid (Avery 1937, Auhagen 1999), Lucan (Faust 1908, Heslop 1962, Tasler 1972, Rolim de Moura 2008) and his Flavian contemporaries Statius (Frings 1991, Dominik 1994) and, to a lesser extent, also Silius (Rebischke 1913, Lundström 1971, Helzle 1995). It is only for Valerius' *Argonautica* that no comprehensive study has been undertaken. Eigler's *Monologische Redeformen bei Valerius Flaccus* from 1988 still remains the most extensive discussion of direct discourse in Valerius' poem.

Similarly, in the wake of an increased interest in the study of gender dynamics, the role of women in the ostensibly androcentric epic genre has been widely re-evaluated with seminal systematic studies establishing recurring female character types, relationships, and narrative patterns such as Keith's *Engendering Rome* (2000) or Foley's *Women in Ancient Epic* (2005), and, more closely related to the scope of this thesis, La Penna's (1981) *Tipi e modelli femminili nella poesia dell'epoca dei Flavi*. However, due to the comprehensive subject matter studies on women in Roman epic poetry tend either to focus on strong female protagonists such as Dido and Medea, a few outstanding female characters like Hypsipyle, the Sibyl, or Erictho, or to comprise a qualitative analysis of specific aspects

of the role of women in Roman epic in general, like motherhood and other family bonds, lament, hospitality, mantic abilities, madness, or various non-verbal gestures. The same holds true for the *Argonautica*. There is a multitude of studies on the epic's female protagonist Medea (Wetzel 1957, Hull 1975, Eigler 1991, Tschiedel 1991, Bessone 1998, Ferenczi 1998, Stover 2003, Auhagen 2004) and to a lesser extent also on the Olympian goddesses Juno (Schubert 1991, Delarue 2004, Monaghan 2005), Venus (Elm von der Osten 1998, 2004, 2007) and Minerva (Toohey 1993, Schenk 1998), individual episodes that prominently feature women, most notably the Lemnian episode (Bahrenfuss 1951, Bornmann 1970, Aricò 1991, Dominik 1997, Schimann 1997, Clare 2004), the farewell scene and the suicide of Jason's parents (Fuà 1986, Franchet d'Espèrey 1988, Dräger 1995, Manuwald 2000), or episodes that are not contained in Apollonius' *Argonautica*, such as the embedded Io narrative (von Albrecht 1977 and 1979, Murgatroyd 2006) or the Hesione episode (Burck 1976, Vessey 1985, Manuwald 2004). Until today, however, there is no comprehensive discussion of the women in Valerius' Flavian *Argonautica* to the extent of Natzel's *κλέα γυναικῶν* (1992) for Apollonius' women.

My own study aims to address both vacancies with a mixed-method approach of qualitative and quantitative analysis of the complex female relationships and portrayals in Valerius' *Argonautica* with a special focus on female speech acts. The material provided here to meet the word limit set by the University of Oxford is regrettably only a small excerpt of the project. The first part of the thesis briefly discusses important terms and concepts of narratology and discourse analysis that are employed in this study. The second section contains a close reading of the first and longest book of the *Argonautica*, which has been chosen to represent the work conducted as part of the qualitative analysis due to the opening book's immense intertextual importance both for the epic as a whole and for the characterisation of women in the *Argonautica* in particular. The third part of the thesis offers samples of the conducted analyses of recurring speech patterns and so-called character doublets, although in Valerius' case the term 'speaker triplets' would be a much more accurate description in acknowledgement of the three triple types of mortal female speakers. The Lemnian council scene of Book 2 and Medea's conversation with her elderly nurse Henioche and an anonymous servant in Book 5 of the *Argonautica* and the category of mortal female helpers have been chosen as examples, since the speeches of Polyxo, Henioche, and the anonymous *famula* have neither individually nor as a group received great scholarly attention. This group of female speakers is moreover particularly interesting, as it is the least obvious of the three categories because of the respective speech types as well as the

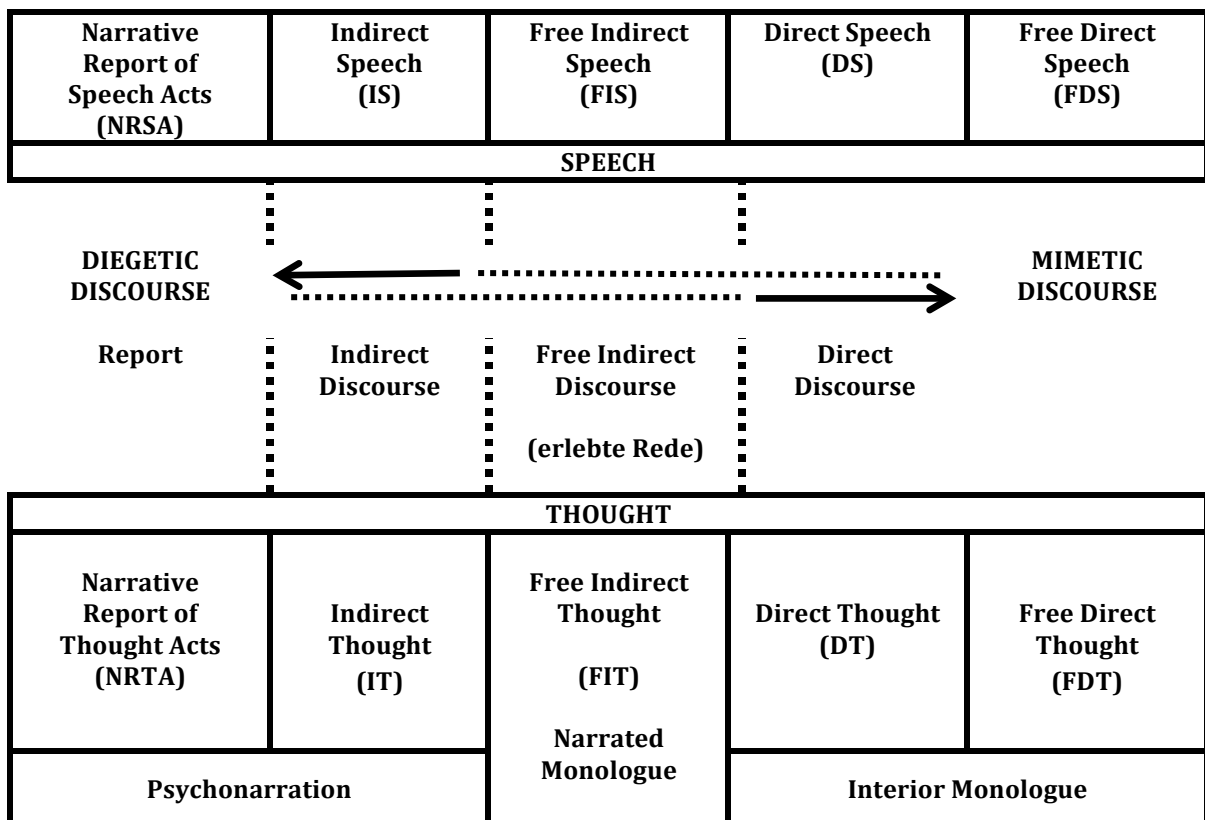
speakers' different professions as priestess, nurse, and servant. Furthermore, none of these three speakers are exact representations of Apollonian speech acts and therefore conclusive about Valerius' adaptation of the Apollonian model with regard to cases where he chooses to change the role of a speaker or introduces a speaker who does not feature in the Hellenistic *Argonautica*. The fourth part of the thesis provides a small representative selection of summaries for individual speakers, speaker categories, and speech types that have been designed in view of a potential double use of the present study. The comprehensive appendix that accompanies the qualitative analysis provides detailed statistical information and overviews of all Valerian and Apollonian speech acts so that the complete monograph can also be used as a reference handbook for research on individual characters or specific characters groups.

The first part of the appendix contains tables and graphs that provide basic statistical speech data for the main works of Valerius' Roman predecessors Virgil's *Aeneid*, Lucan's *Civil War*, and of his Flavian contemporaries Statius' *Thebaid* and Silius' *Punica*. The calculations for Ovid's *Metamorphoses* have been excluded from the comparative overview in favour of a clearer layout due to the poet's strikingly different narrative technique. The *Metamorphoses'* much greater speech proportion and Ovid's predilection for quaternary-narration focalisation and the use of internal narrators would have required a separate comparison. All data provided in the appendix stem from my own more comprehensive calculations of the different epics under discussion.

III. DEFINITIONS AND PRELIMINARY REMARKS

1. Speech

A 'speech' is defined as "the words actually spoken, imagined or recounted on one occasion without the intervention of another speaker."¹ Speeches and thoughts can be expressed in a variety of different narrative techniques, as summarised in Nünning's representation model (1994, 294):²



The present study focuses on the presentation of direct speech acts in Valerius' *Argonautica* and their relationship to Apollonius' corresponding speech representation. Other techniques of speech and thought representation as well as conversational silence will also be taken into consideration as part of the analysis.

¹ Dominik (1994) 6. See also Hightet (1972) 15.

² For an excellent analysis of Valerius' use of free indirect discourse, see Auhagen (1998).

2. Speech Representation

In Greco-Roman epic poetry a distinction is traditionally made between four levels of speech representation:³

L1 Narrator Speech = The Epic Narrative (Primary Narration - Focalisation): NF1

↑

L2 Character Speech

a) Character Speech in *oratio recta* (Secondary Narration - Focalisation): NF1 [NF2Cx]

b) Character Speech in *oratio obliqua* (Secondary Focalisation): NF1 [F2Cx]

↑

L3 Inserted Speech

a) Embedded Direct Speech (Tertiary Narration - Focalisation): NF1 [NF2Cx (NF3Cx or Cy)]

b) Embedded Indirect Speech (Tertiary Focalisation): NF1 [NF2Cx (F3Cx or Cy)]

↑

L4 Speech Inserted in Embedded Speech

a) Directly Reported Speech in Speech Inserted in Embedded Speech:

(Quaternary Narration - Focalisation): NF1 [NF2Cx (NF3Cx or Cy {NF4Cx, y or z})]

b) Indirectly Reported Speech in Speech Inserted in Embedded Speech:

(Quaternary Focalisation) NF1 [NF2Cx (NF3Cx or Cy {F4 Cx, y, or z})]

3. Inserted Speeches

By analogy with the definition of the term 'speech' employed in this study an 'inserted speech' is defined as an uninterrupted⁴ direct speech representation of words spoken, thought, or unspoken by a character through another or the same character of the epic, which is clearly formally distinguished from the speech in which it is embedded.⁵ The relationship between the two speeches is that of "a framing utterance and an inserted (framed) utterance".⁶ These speeches are consequently referred to as 'frame speech' and 'inserted speech'.⁷ The speech situation and thus the focalisation of the speaker of the inserted speech are different from the frame speech, just as the frame speech

³ This figure is a modification of De Jong's speech representation model: see De Jong (1989) 168.

⁴ *I.e.* uninterrupted by another character, not the narrator or frame speakers themselves.

⁵ Cf. McHale (2009) 434f.: "(T)he transition from frame to inset is clearly visible, typically signalled typographically and/or by an introductory verb of speech or thought".

⁶ McHale (2009) 435.

⁷ De Jong (1989) distinguishes "character-text speeches" (149) and "embedded speech" (168).

(secondary focalisation) differs from the narrator's speech. By reporting another character's words in direct speech the frame speakers employ their own focalisation of other characters and thus become tertiary focalisers.⁸ Analogously to the narrator (L1 focalisation) and the character-speech (L2 focalisation) relationship, the inserted speech is also dominated and controlled by the hierarchically higher level of the frame speech (= character speech).⁹

In accordance with these definitions, Valerius employs 188 character speeches (L2), hereinafter simply referred to as 'speeches', and five inserted speeches in *oratio recta* (L3). There is no example of quaternary narration-focalization, which is regularly employed in Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, but otherwise rarely used with only one example in each of Virgil's extensive Aeneas-narrative (Aen. 2.3-3.715) and Statius' long Hypsipyle-narrative in the *Thebaid* (Theb. 5.49-498):

Statius: Venus' Speech (Theb. 5.136b-8): Narrator [Hypsipyle (Polyxo {Venus})]

Virgil: Apollo's Speech (Aen. 2.116-9a): Narrator [Aeneas (Sinon {Eurypylos: Apollo})]

4. Representative and Collective Speeches

Valerius does not employ *tandem* speeches, where two clearly identified individuals deliver a speech together by either speaking at the same time or in alternation,¹⁰ but he uses seven collective and representative speeches, which are of great structural importance for the epic poem as a whole. For the purposes of this study, a collective speech act is defined as:

The coordinated effort of more than one individual in forming utterances in the same rule-governed form of behavior as the speech acts of individuals. The group speech act differs from the individual's monologic utterance only (or at least characteristically) in that its meaning and intention originate in multiple persons.¹¹

The same definition and speech purpose applies to representative speakers, but instead of a collective of speakers one individual speaker verbally represents the group's common position.

5. Conversational Silence

The concept of 'conversational silence' is understood as "the absence of talk (or of particular kinds of talk) where talk might relevantly occur"¹².

⁸ Cf. De Jong (1989) 169.

⁹ See also McHale (2009) 434 and De Jong (1989) 179.

¹⁰ Cf. Dominik (1994) 14f.

¹¹ Hughes (1984) 379.

¹² Bilmes (1994) 79. On the different functions of conversational silence, cf. Ephratt (2008) 1909-38. On silence in Apollonius' *Argonautica*, see Nishimura-Jensen (1998) 456-69 and on Valerius, see Anzinger (2007) 156-232.

6. Taxonomy of the Speeches

A comparison of the different categorisation schemata for speeches as proposed by Fingerle (1939), Ibscher (1939), Hight (1972) and Dominik (1994) reveals how difficult it is to classify speech types accurately. It shows that every attempt to group a speech, especially lengthy ones, into exclusive speech categories has to be arbitrary to a certain extent. To complicate things, Valerius often uses hybrid speeches in which he combines different speech types in the same speech, or he suddenly changes the tone and purpose of a speech with a change of the addressee or as the result of a brief speech pause in which the speaker re-evaluates the situation, or when new events suddenly occur. Therefore, this study attributes a speech, if appropriate, to several dominant speech types at once in an attempt to reflect the variable nature of Valerius' speeches as accurately as possible.¹³

7. Speech Clusters

All speeches are examined in terms of their coherence and, except for soliloquies and monologues with no reply, are divided into speech clusters and listed numerically.

7.1. Soliloquies (S)

Soliloquies are *secum* speeches either of groups or of individuals with themselves. Although the internal monologue is the central element of these speeches, they can also contain apostrophes of absent addressees.

7.2. Monologues (M)

Monologues are defined as speeches that are incomplete representations of dialogues or group conversations, of which only the opening speech or the reply are reported, but never the full speech exchange.

¹³ For a comprehensive list of speech types, cf. Appendix 1.2.

7.3. DIALOGUES (D)

A dialogue is a conversation between two characters in which at least two consecutive speeches, one from each speaker, are reported in *oratio recta*. The opening speech is marked as D1, the reply as D2, and the subsequent speeches accordingly (D3, D4, etc.).

7.4. GENERAL INTERLOCUTIONS (G)

A conversation between three or more characters is classified as a general interlocution. In some instances, a general interlocution only includes direct speeches by two characters. The conversation is nonetheless classified as G (G1, G2, G3, etc.), if a third speaker is at least acknowledged in an apostrophe as an active participant in the conversation.

8. MEASUREMENT

The measurement of the speeches in this study follows Highet's and Dominik's calculation system of speeches in metrical half feet for its greater precision in comparison to whole line or word counting. If speeches are interrupted by *verba dicendi* or longer stage directions these are omitted from the calculations.¹⁴

¹⁴ Cf. Highet (1972) 18f. and Dominik (1994) 6. No distinction is made between a trochaic word and a monosyllabic word of one-half foot.

IV. QUALITATIVE ANALYSIS: VALERIUS FLACCUS, *ARGONAUTICA* BK. 1

THE PROEM (VF. 1.1-21)¹⁵

Praepositio (VF. 1.1-4) – Male Protagonists and the Argo

The proems of Valerius' most important epic predecessors (Il. 1.1f. Μῆνιν ἄειδε θεὰ Πηληϊάδεω Ἀχιλῆος / οὐλομένην, Od. 1.1. Ἴνδρα μοι ἔννεπε, Μοῦσα, πολύτροπον, ARh. 1.1f. Ἀρχόμενος σέο Φοῖβε παλαιγενέων κλέα φωτῶν / μνήσομαι, Aen. 1.1. *arma virumque cano*) leave no doubt as to the traditionally male-dominated world view of the genre, focusing on the heroic deeds of a male individual or a collective of heroes. Whereas Apollonius' proem (ARh. 1.1-22) is linked to the catalogue of heroes (ARh. 1.23-228) that shall be celebrated (ARh. 1.1. κλέα φωτῶν), Valerius, in a Virgilian echo, praises the achievements (VF. 1.11f. *veneranda canenti / facta virum*),¹⁶ but makes not the Argonautic heroes (VF. 1.1. *deum ... natis*) nor the two protagonists Medea and Jason, but the voyage and adventures of Argo (VF. 1.1f. *freta ... / -que ratem*) and its adventures at sea (VF. 1.3. *ausa sequi*) the object and central subject matter of the epic.¹⁷

Valerius' claim that Argo is the first ship to have sailed the seas (VF. 1.1 *prima*) is not found in Apollonius, but is prominently attested in Latin literature since Catullus (Cat. 64.11 *illa rudem cursu prima imbuit Amphitriten*).¹⁸ Even though Valerius is not consistent in his depiction of Argo's pioneering role, the negative implications of the novel enterprise feature prominently in the epic.¹⁹ This divergence from Apollonius results in substantial changes with regard to the presentation of the relationship between the heroes and the gods and is particularly evident in the Argonauts' prayers and soliloquies as well as the deities' complaints in Book 1.

¹⁵ On Valerius' proem, one of the most prominently discussed passages of the poem, cf. Getty (1940) 259-73, Lefèvre (1971) 11-6, Lüthje (1971) 1-3, Strand (1972) 7-38, Davis (1990) 46-58, Hershkowitz (1998) 35-7, Río Torres-Murciano (2005) 79-100, and Penwill (2013) 32-7.

¹⁶ Neither Medea, Jason, nor the Golden Fleece is mentioned in Valerius' proem, cf. ARh. 1.5-16. See also Brioso Sánchez (1997) 41-3 and Kleywegt (2005) 5.

¹⁷ Cf. Shelton (1971) 1 and Río Torres-Murciano (2005) 81. See also Davis (1990) 48: "As a ship she also is the symbol of the poet's creative process of composition and its result, the poem itself".

¹⁸ See also Sen. Med 301f. *audax nimium qui freta primus / rate tam fragili perfida rupit*. On Catullus' and Ovid's influence, see Lefèvre (1971) 13 and Zissos (2008) 71f. with further references. On the use of *prima* as the first word of the epic, see Shelton (1971) 1.

¹⁹ Cf. VF. 2.110-1, VF. 2.285-302, VF. 2.655-62, VF. 7.261-2, VF. 8.5 and VF. 8.261. For a discussion of this inconsistency, see Getty (1940) 261 n.7, Vessey (1985) 338, Otte (1992) 66 n.35, Guinee (1999) 118-20, and Manuwald (1999) 132f.

Invocation of Apollo (VF. 1.5-7a) – The Cumaean Sibyl

The first woman in Valerius' *Argonautica* is mentioned in the second part of the proem (VF. 1.5-7a), the poet's invocation of Phoebus Apollo (VF. 1.5 *Phoebe*) for inspiration, a clear echo of Apollonius' proem (ARh. 1.1 Φοῖβε).²⁰ It is, however, not the epic's female protagonist Medea or an invocation of the Muses, as in the Apollonian model (see below), but a reference to a character who is strikingly absent from the epic and does not occur *in propria persona* – the famous Cumaean Sibyl.

This section, like the third section, contains both traditional poetic *topoi* as well as historical references. The invocation of Apollo, in addition to his function as god of the arts and embarkation, is justified by Valerius' own role as *quindecemvir sacris faciundis* and guardian of the Sibylline Books (VF. 1.5-7a *Phoebe, mone, si Cumaeae mihi conscia vatis / stat casta cortina domo, si laurea digna / fronte viret*), which from 28 BC onwards were located in the new temple of Apollo on the Palatine.²¹

Laudes Vespasiani (VF. 1.7b-21)²²

The third and final section, which contains the panegyric praise of the apostrophized Vespasian (VF. 1.7 *tu* and VF. 1.11 *sancte pater*) and his sons Titus and Domitian, is by far the longest (VF. 1.7b-21).²³ The *laudatio principis* is a traditional element of proems since the *Georgics*²⁴ and here replaces the Apollonian (ARh. 1.22b Μοῦσαι δ' ὑποφήτορες εἶεν ἀοιδῆς) and Virgilian invocation of the Muse (Aen. 1.8 *Musa, mihi causas memora*). Again, Valerius justifies his poetic choice with historical events when he compares Vespasian's achievements (VF. 1.17f. *maior ... / fama*) in expanding geographical knowledge and opening sea routes for trade to that of the Argonauts, and the emperor's triumphant catasterism to Argo's (VF. 1.15-21).²⁵ The Valerian proem therefore not only contains four prominent *topoi* of the first book – seafaring, religious devotion, strife for glory, and father-son relationships – but also introduces Valerius' digression from Apollonius' depiction of the role of the Muses as well as his different narrative approach to the portrayal of the epic's female protagonist.

²⁰ On Phoebus Apollo's different roles as god of poetry and prophecy, as sun god, and as god of embarkation, see Galli (2007) 36 and Zissos (2008) 79f.

²¹ Cf. Lefèvre (1971) 49, Río Torres-Murciano (2005) 94, Kleywegt (2005) 11f. and Manuwald (2013) 35 n.9 for further references.

²² See Galli (2013) 57-60 and Gibson (2013) 67-86 for a more detailed analysis.

²³ Cf. Lefèvre (1971) 12 and Zissos (2008) 71. On the dating of Valerius' proem, see Brugnoli (1964) 169f.

²⁴ Cf. Lefèvre (1971) 16, Strand (1972) 30, Galli (2007) 37f., Zissos (2008) 82, and Penwill (2013) 33.

²⁵ Cf. Shelton (1971) 2, Kleywegt (2005) 19f., Galli (2007) 46f., Zissos (2008) 89f., and Penwill (2013) 35.

Apollonius' Proem (ARh. 1.1-21) – Hera and Athene²⁶

Women play a greater role in Apollonius' proem with the traditional invocation of the Muses, but, more importantly, with the poet's explanation of Hera's and Athene's investment in the Argonauts' journey. In Apollonius' proem the oracle ambivalently warns Pelias of a one-sandalled man (ARh. 1.5-7). The tyrant subsequently identifies this man as his nephew when Jason appears at Pelias' banquet in honour of the gods having lost a sandal during the crossing of the Anaurus (ARh. 1.8-11). As a consequence of this interpretation, Pelias sends Jason on a deadly mission (ARh. 1.12-4). While this short scene does not explicitly mention Hera's role in the crossing and her subsequent alliance with Jason – a story Hera uses repeatedly to persuade other goddesses such as Venus and Thetis to assist her in her support for the Argonauts – Hera's hatred for Pelias is described as the result of the king's lack of worship, as evident from the banquet, which is dedicated to Poseidon and the rest of the gods except Hera (ARh. 1.14b Ἥρας δὲ Πελασγίδος οὐκ ἀλέγιζεν).

Apollonius' proem also establishes a connection between Athene and the Argonautic mission. The Hellenistic poet recounts the tradition sung by former bards according to which Argos built the ship with instructions from Athene (ARh. 1.19 Ἀθηναίης ... ὑποθημοσύνησιν). While the involvement of Hera and Athene is reported in close proximity in the proem, Apollonius does not present them as collaborators in favour of their Argonautic protégés at this stage in the epic. Their joined introduction may, however, have inspired the Valerian alliance of the two goddesses, which is also first introduced shortly after the proem (VF. 1.73b-90). From their first appearance *in propria persona* (VF. 1.91-126) onwards they consistently collaborate and emerge as a pair, with one exception (VF. 3.492b-505), until Book 5 of the Roman *Argonautica*, from which point onwards Juno replaces Pallas with Venus as her main source of support due to a change of direction in her plans (VF. 5.291).

²⁶ On Apollonius's proem, see Clauss (1993) 14-25 and Brioso Sánchez (1997) 29-47.

THE EVENTS IN THESSALY (I)

Pelias' Assignment of the Mission (VF. 1.22-36)

As already discussed, Apollonius briefly describes Pelias' orders in the proem (ARh. 1.15-7) and presents it as his immediate reaction to an oracular warning (ARh. 1.5-7), but does not evaluate Pelias' motives until ARh. 1.242-6 and ARh. 1.251-9 when the imminent departure causes a collective of Thessalian men and women to discuss and question Pelias' reasons for sending his nephew on a deadly mission in a *secum* speech. While Apollonius thus directly links his proem to the catalogue of Argonauts (ARh. 1.23-228), Valerius instantly goes into greater detail with regard to the circumstances that incite Pelias to give his orders and Jason's acceptance thereof.

In contrast to Apollonius who has a third party of observers discuss the tyrant's motives in direct discourse (DS), Valerius chooses to reveal the actorial motivation through a deceitful direct speech by the antagonist himself (DS) and the subsequent narrative report of the protagonist's thought act (NRTA) – thus by the two parties directly involved. The partisan mortal female perspective, represented by the Thessalian women (ARh. 1.251-9), is here replaced by the likewise partisan divine female approval by Juno and Pallas (VF. 1.91 *acceperere deae*), before Jason's mother Alcimedea and the Thessalian women (VF. 1.315-35a) voice their disapproval in the corresponding farewell scene. The discussion of Pelias' motives follows directly and it is closely linked to the omniscient narrator's explicit characterisation of Pelias²⁷ and the economic and political situation in Thessaly (VF. 1.22-5), which starts the narrative proper and contains the first mention of the fraternal rivalry between Pelias and Aeson (VF. 1.26f. *fratris ... / progeniem* and VF. 1.32 *iuvenem ... / Aesonium*), whose son the tyrant is targeting. From the very beginning Aeson is therefore much more present and influential in Valerius' than in Apollonius' epic.²⁸

The NRTA reveals that Pelias' reason for the mission is a combination of oracular predictions (VF. 1.28 *vates ... canunt* and VF. 1.29 *terrifici monitus iterant*) that name Jason as his nemesis (VF. 1.26-9)²⁹ and disclose the tyrant's concern over his nephew's growing renown (VF. 1.30 *ingens / ... fama viri virtusque* and VF. 1.26 *non ulla quies animo ... paventi*), which plays only a minor role in the

²⁷ On models for Pelias, cf. Galli (2005) 366-71.

²⁸ Only shortly afterwards Jason reveals that his father has the support of the Thessalian people against the tyrant Pelias (VF. 1.71b-3a) who has created a climate of fear among his subjects (VF. 1.23 *iam gravis et longus populis metus*). On the genealogy, see Kleywegt (2005) 32.

²⁹ The phrasing (VF. 1.29 *terrifici monitus iterant*), which is inspired by Aen. 4.464f. *multaque praeterea vatum praedicta priorum / terribili monitu horrificant*, suggests that, unlike at ARh. 1.5, it is not a specific, isolated oracular warning. See also Kleywegt (2005) 33.

Apollonian version.³⁰ At great length the narrator describes Pelias' thought process (VF. 1.32 *letique vias ac tempora versat*)³¹ that leads him to conclude that his best chance of eliminating Jason is to invent a pretext and to send him on a deadly sea voyage due to a lack of other more traditional, but similarly fatal tasks (VF. 1.31-7).³²

Pelias' Opening Speech (VF. 1.37-63) – Helle and Nephele

It is highly significant that Valerius chooses Pelias and not Juno, whose soliloquy is the first divine and third direct speech of the epic, to be the first actorial speaker.³³ This goddess speaks the opening soliloquy in both the *Aeneid*, upon which her Valerian soliloquy is modelled, and the *Punica*. In both Ovid's *Metamorphoses* (Jupiter) and even Lucan's *Civil War* (*Patria*) it is also a deity who delivers the first speech of the narrative.

Epic	Speaker	Lines	Length (vv.)	Addressee(s)	Speech Type ³⁴	Speech Cluster
Il.	Chryses	1.17-21	5	Agamemnon, Menelaus	Req	D1
	Agamemnon	1.26-32	7	Chryses	Res, Tau	D2
	Chryses	1.37-42	6	Apollo	Pra	M
Od.	Zeus	1.32-43	12	Council of Gods	Lam	D1
	Athene	1.45-62	18	Zeus	Per, Req	D2
	Zeus	1.64-79	16	Athene	Res	D3
	Athene	1.81-95	15	Zeus	Per, Inf	D4
ARh.	οἱ ἄνδρες	1.242-6	5	<i>Secum</i>	Del	S
	αἱ γυναῖκες	1.251-9	9	<i>Secum</i>	Lam	S
Aen.	Juno	1.37b-49	12 3/4	<i>Secum</i>	Lam, Exh	S
Met.	Jupiter	1.182-98	17	Council of Gods	Lam, Thr	M
Luc.	<i>Patria</i>	1.190b-2a	2	Caesar	Lam,	D1
	Caesar	1.195b-203	8 5/6	<i>Patria</i>	Thr, Vit	D2
VF.	Pelias	1.40-57	18	Jason	Per, Req	M
	Jason	1.81-90	9 5/6	Juno and Minerva	Pra	M
	Juno	1.113-9	7	<i>Secum</i>	Lam, Des	S
Theb.	Oedipus	1.56-87	32	Underworld Gods	Pra	M
Pun.	Juno	1.42-54	12 5/6	Hannibal	Ora	S

³⁰ On the lack of record for Jason's splendid reputation before the expedition, cf. Kleywegt (2005) 34.

³¹ Cf. the verbal echo in Pelias' second scheming (VF. 1.725 *rerumque asperrima versat*). See also Kleywegt (2005) 33 for further parallels.

³² On the selection of Herculean Labours mentioned in this passage, which are analogous to Jason's own tasks in Colchis, cf. Gärtner (1994) 66f., Taylor (1994) 225f., Hershkowitz (1998) 118f., and Zissos (2008) 101f.

³³ Cf. VF. 1.64f. *mox taciti patuere doli ... / esse viro* (of Pelias' deceit) and Aen. 1.130 *nec latuere doli fratrem Iunonis et irae* (of Juno's intrigue).

³⁴ For these abbreviations, cf. Appendix 1.2.

Valerius and Statius, by contrast, both choose a hostile male mortal, who wishes death upon the protagonist(s) in a deadly fraternal rivalry, but who is not directly involved in the epic's main narrative and the ensuing fights.³⁵ While Oedipus' speech in Statius is addressed to Tisiphone and the gods of the underworld, whom he invokes to curse his sons,³⁶ Pelias' speech is the only one that is entirely removed from the divine sphere.³⁷ Valerius' opening address serves multiple purposes. It starts the narrative proper; it gives an implicit actorial characterisation of the initiator of the mission; it is part of a juxtaposition of the antagonist's and protagonist's initial thoughts and perception of the mission; it reveals that the assignment stems from a psychological condition, not direct divine orders; it introduces important major themes such as father-son relationships, fraternal rivalry, glory, verbal deception in general and tyrannical deception in particular, and, most importantly, it serves as the basis for the entire narrative. Pelias' speech is thus comparable in its importance only with Jupiter's declaration of the *Fata* (VF. 1.531b-67).

The first direct speech of the *Argonautica* contains the traditional lament (for Phrixus' death), hatred (against Aeetes), and vengefulness (to reclaim the Fleece in retaliation for Phrixus' murder)³⁸ typical of opening speeches,³⁹ but it differs greatly in one important aspect. While the opening speeches of Valerius' prominent predecessors comprise honest and frank accounts of the speakers' thoughts, Pelias' speech is the first of many deceptive character speeches and elaborate verbal intrigues by both deities and humans in the Flavian *Argonautica*.

The narrator goes to great lengths to highlight the ill-meaning deception in words, countenance (VF. 1.38f. *tum iuvenem tranquilla tuens nec fronte timendus / occupat et fictis dat vultum et pondera dictis*), and silence (VF. 1.59 *conticuit*, VF. 1.60 *silet*, and VF. 1.64 *taciti ... doli*). The context of the audience remains vague, but the king's deceptive speech is a common pattern which links the scene at

³⁵ Oedipus is more remote from the narrative than Pelias, who features prominently in the suicide episode of Jason's parents. Interestingly, both Pelias (VF. 1.741-51: Cretheus) and Oedipus (Theb. 4.626-44a: Laius) are the object of the invoked ghosts' hatred.

³⁶ Cf. Dominik (1994) 102-4.

³⁷ For a mortal opening speaker of the narrative proper, see Il. 1.20-5. As priest of Apollo, Chryses, however, presents himself as representative of the god's wishes, whereas Pelias' speech reveals that he is in fact *not* acting on direct divine orders.

³⁸ The missing outline of the epic plot is given in the subsequent description of Pelias' expressive silence, which contains a list of omitted dangers (VF. 1.60-3).

³⁹ In the *Iliad*, Chryses pleads with Agamemnon to free his daughter and angrily asks Apollo to curse him when his request is denied; in the *Odyssey*, Zeus voices his disapproval of the mortals' moral as a result of Aegisthus' affair with Clytemnestra and their killing of Agamemnon despite the gods' warning; similarly, in the *Metamorphoses*, Jupiter vows to destroy mankind following Lycaon's effrontery towards him; in Apollonius' *Argonautica*, the common people lament Pelias' decision to send the Argonauts on a cruel, impossible revenge mission; in Lucan's *Civil War*, the vision of the personified *Patria* appears before Caesar to prevent him from crossing the Rubicon and reproachfully reminds him of his civil duties; and finally in the *Aeneid* and the *Punica*, Juno is enraged by Aeneas' progression, respectively Rome's success over her protégé Carthage, and vows revenge.

hand with the audience episodes in Books 2 and 5 of the epic, when Laomedon (VF. 2.555 *torva tuens atque acri lubricus astu*) and Aeetes (VF. 5.533 *fingit placidis fera pectora dictis*) also try to deceive Jason with very different results.⁴⁰

Pelias opens his speech with a brief revelation of its purpose: an appeal to Jason to grant his “as-yet-unspecified request”⁴¹ which, so Pelias promises, will bring Jason more glory than any heroic deeds of the past (VF. 1.40-1a).⁴² Thus enticing the hero and assuring his interest, the tyrant tries to win Jason’s trust by stressing their kinship (VF. 1.41f. *nostri de sanguine Phrixus / Cretheos*) while appealing to Jason’s sense of patriotic and familial duty towards Phrixus.⁴³ In a strong alteration of past events, Pelias recalls Phrixus’ flight and successful escape from being sacrificed at his father’s altar (VF. 1.41b-2)⁴⁴ and his unsuspecting death and merciless slaughter at the hands of Aeetes. To manipulate Jason against the Colchian king, Pelias describes Aeetes as a cruel tyrant (VF. 1.43 *ferus Aeetes*)⁴⁵ and renders his actions even more despicable and shameful for Aeetes’ divine father Sol (VF. 1.44 *heu magni Solis pudor!*) by placing them during a banquet (VF. 1.44f. *hospita vina / inter et attonitae mactat sollemnia mensae*) and making Phrixus’ murder a crime against hospitality (VF. 1.43-6a). Pelias’ claim is later revealed as untrue through flashbacks of Phrixus’ kind reception and generous treatment by Aeetes in Colchis (VF. 1.520b-4 and VF. 5.222-40). In addition to functioning as a narratological device to villainise Pelias, this version of events may also be one of many Valerian allusions to a variant tradition.⁴⁶

To persuade Jason of the truthfulness of his report, Pelias claims to have certain knowledge of this event not only from hearsay (VF. 1.46b-7a *nuntia tantum / fama refert*), but also from personal

⁴⁰ Cf. McGuire (1997) 157-9, Kleywegt (2005) 40, and Zissos (2008) 106.

⁴¹ Kleywegt (2005) 41.

⁴² This is the epic’s first mention of generational rivalry for glory, a prominent theme in Book 1 of Valerius’ *Argonautica*.

⁴³ The frequent use of personal and possessive pronouns (VF. 1.40 *mihi*, VF. 1.48 *ego*, VF. 1.53 *mea*, VF. 1.55 *tu*, VF. 1.57 *temet*) serve the same purpose. On the traditional genealogy, which differs from Pelias’ representation, cf. Kleywegt (2005) 42f. and Zissos (2008) 109. The shade of Cretheus distances himself forcefully from Pelias and only refers to him as *turbidus ... / rex* (VF. 1.747f.) while addressing his son Aeson with familial *pietas* (VF. 1.750 *meus es*).

⁴⁴ The circumstances of Phrixus’ and Helle’s flight before their father and their here unnamed stepmother Ino are discussed in more detail and with reference to a variant version in Orpheus’ song (VF. 1.277-93), Sol’s complaint (VF. 1.520b-4), and especially by Helle (VF. 2.592-607) and Phrixus (VF. 5.233b-40) themselves at a later stage in the epic.

⁴⁵ Ironically, Pelias characterizes Jason as *ferus* (VF. 1.716), too, when he discovers Acastus’ departure. While Pelias’ account as such is false, his characterisation of Aeetes in fact comes true when the Colchian king meets the Argonauts in person. The modified verbal echo and the fact that Jason is easily duped by Aeetes and instructs Castor to inform the rest of the comrades that – *sc.* unlike *Pelias’* claims – he has found the Colchian ruler to be benevolent (VF. 5.553 *nec ferus Aeetes, ut fama*), could indicate that Jason’s suspicion of Pelias is conducive to his gullibility towards Aeetes.

⁴⁶ Cf. Kleywegt (2005) 44.

experience (VF. 1.47b-9a *ipsum iuvenem ... / ipsum ego ... / aspicio*). He invents dream visions of Helle and Phrixus, who allegedly keep him restless at night (VF. 1.47b-50) with their laments and requests to avenge their deaths.⁴⁷ Pelias' dream is the only speech dream indirectly reported by a character in Valerius' *Argonautica* and, like Pelias' account of Phrixus' hostile reception, is subsequently shown to be untruthful by the speeches of the deceased Cretheus (VF. 1.741-51), Helle (VF. 2.592-607), and the late Phrixus himself (VF. 5.233b-40), who vigorously refute Pelias' version.⁴⁸

The greater part of Pelias' purported dream vision focuses on Phrixus' pitiful appearance (VF. 1.49 *lacera ... umbra*), groans (VF. 1.47 *iuvenem tam saeva gementem*), and repeated complaints (VF. 1.49f. *adsiduis ... questibus*), whereas the information about Helle is limited to her transformation into a sea goddess (VF. 1.50b *et magni numen maris excitat Helle*).⁴⁹ Helle only seems to be mentioned for completion of the legend, as an afterthought of the tyrant in an attempt to make his lie more believable and add weight to his persuasion.⁵⁰

Having established the need to appease Phrixus, Pelias in his next step makes sure to exclude himself and his son from the dangerous voyage.⁵¹ Hypocritically he feigns great disappointment that bad health and old age prevent him (VF. 1.51-3a) and lack of maturity his son from partaking in the prestigious expedition (VF. 1.53b-4).⁵² The reference to Acastus is important for several reasons. It serves as the basis for Jason's soliloquy, his vengeful recruitment of Acastus, and for Pelias' retaliation with the murder of Jason's parents and his younger brother.⁵³ It also further develops the parallel between Aeson and Pelias on the one and Pelias and Aeetes on the other hand, as well as the father-son motif in general, which is so prominent in the first book of the *Argonautica*.⁵⁴

⁴⁷ The dream could be inspired by a dream in Pindar's fourth *Pythian Ode* (Pyth. 4.159-63), where Phrixus asks Pelias to recover the Fleece and to bring his spirit home. Cf. Kleywegt (2005) 46 and Zissos (2008) 111. On Pindar's dream, see also Messer (1922) 129-31.

⁴⁸ On Valerius' allusion to different versions of the myth, cf. Ehlers (1970) 49f., Shelton (1971) 18, Baier (1998) 322, Lefèvre (1998) 224, Spaltenstein (2002) 43, Groß (2003) 11, and Manuwald (2008) 999.

⁴⁹ Orpheus only reports Helle's death (VF. 1.286-93), but she appears *in propria persona* as a sea goddess before the Argonauts to tell her story in Book 2 (VF. 2.601-7). On the establishment of Helle as goddess and namesake of the Hellespont, cf. Jupiter's geographical reference at VF. 1.537 *virginis aequor ad Helles*.

⁵⁰ Structurally, the mention of Helle at this point prepares her epiphany in Book 2.

⁵¹ Jason's persuasion of Acastus contains a similar disclaimer (VF. 1.164f.). At the same time Pelias points out how easily Aeetes can be beaten (VF. 1.51b-2) especially by someone as healthy and strong as Jason (VF. 1.55).

⁵² In the farewell scene of the first book, Aeson utters the same disappointment, albeit honestly, about not being able to join the Argonauts' mission (VF. 1.336b-40). On Acastus' age and suitability for battle, see also Kleywegt (2005) 49.

⁵³ Cf. Kleywegt (2005) 48f. and Zissos (2008) 114.

⁵⁴ For example: Cretheus and Aeson, Aeson and Jason, Pelias and Acastus, Sol and Aeetes, Peleus and Achilles, Athamas and Phrixus, and of course the Argonauts as formidable sons of gods.

Pelias then finally reveals the objective of the mission: revenge for Phrixus and “repatriation of a ‘national’ treasure” (VF. 1.55-7).⁵⁵ Interestingly, Pelias adds yet another family member to Phrixus’ plight, Phrixus’ and Helle’s mother Nephele (VF. 1.56 *pecoris Nephelaei vellera*), so that his appeal to Jason’s sense of familial and patriotic duty forms a frame around Pelias’ speech.⁵⁶ His final appeal in which he exhorts Jason to embark on the voyage, return the Fleece, and show himself worthy of the task (VF. 1.56f. *et pecoris Nephelaei vellera Graio / redde tholo ac tantis temet dignare periclis!*), is particularly emphatic and rich in poetic stylistic devices.⁵⁷ Most strikingly, it contains a famous Virgilian exhortation: VF. 1.56 *i, decus*. The original encouragement (Aen 6.546 *i decus, i, nostrum; melioribus utere fatis*) is spoken by the shade Deiphobus in the underworld episode of the *Aeneid*.⁵⁸ Contrasting his own fate to Aeneas’, Deiphobus praises the hero for choosing the collective good over his personal happiness and leaving behind his foreign consort Dido unlike Deiphobus who claims to have lost his life and fame because of Helen (Aen. 6.523f.).⁵⁹ He encourages Aeneas and wishes a better fate upon the hero than his own (Aen. 6.546). This intertextual allusion to the underworld scene is very fitting and could have influenced Valerius’ decision to have Pelias invent a dream vision of a wounded shade (VF. 1.49 *lacera ... umbra*; Aen. 6.495 *Deiphobum ... lacerum crudeliter ora*). The parallels are manifold. Both Deiphobus’ and Pelias’ speeches are spoken at a crucial moment in the epic plot and result either in the continuation or the beginning of the hero’s dangerous mission and sea voyage (Aen. 6.897-901). Both speakers stress the hero’s responsibility towards the deceased who died a cruel, unsuspecting death through ignominious treachery (Aen. 6.509b-34). They emphasize that the collective hope rests on the addressee who is destined to have a glorious future while the speaker has to stay behind (Aen. 6.545f.).

More important than these similarities is the modification of the Virgilian formula. Pelias strikingly omits Virgil’s possessive pronoun (*i decus* instead of *i decus, i nostrum*), which is highlighted by his prior reference to Acastus as *mea proles* (VF. 1.53). It is only a small modification, but the omission

⁵⁵ Zissos (2008) 114. See also Manuwald (2008) 987.

⁵⁶ Jason uses a very similar phrasing in his persuasion of Acastus, suggesting that he is re-appropriating Pelias’ words for his own deceit: VF. 1.167 *puer mihi vellere dignior Helles*. See also the Argonautic catalogue: VF. 1.425 *vectorem pavidae ... Helles*. On the rare and exquisite phrase, see Zissos (2008) 114.

⁵⁷ Cf. Kleywegt (2005) 50 and Zissos (2008) 114. For *dignari periclis*, see also VF. 8.430 *nullis ego digna periclis?* (of Medea).

⁵⁸ Cf. Kleywegt (2005) 49f. and Zissos (2008) 115.

⁵⁹ For Aeneas’ and Deiphobus’ contradictory portraits of Helen in Aen. 2.567-87 and 6.523f., see Suzuki (1989) 103. For Deiphobus’ guilt, as expressed in Aen. 6.500-8, as a reflection of Troy’s collective guilt, see Bleisch (1999) 191. Pelias does not warn Jason of a dangerous foreign consort, but the narrator reveals that the king has knowledge of Medea’s existence and destructive magic (VF. 1.60b-63), even if Medea will threaten Jason’s life in a different way from what Pelias assumes.

clearly reveals Pelias' dishonesty and his unwillingness or inability to declare Jason his own and the nation's pride.⁶⁰ A comparable passage in the *Punica* makes the difference even more apparent. When Hannibal pays his last respects to his late Roman archenemy Paulus and acknowledges his military prowess, he addresses him as pride of Italy (Pun. 1.572 *i decus Ausoniae*), and encourages him to go to the underworld and to exult in his glorious deeds and the fame he secured for himself on the battlefield (Pun. 10.572-5). The fact that Rome's greatest enemy is able to acknowledge his opponent's role as pride of his nation reveals just how excessive Pelias' hatred is for his nephew, because he cannot even bear to say these words in his attempt to dupe Jason and send him to his certain death.

While technically speaking, Pelias' speech is one of persuasion and gives the impression that Jason has the choice either to accept or refuse the proposed mission (VF. 1.41 *adnue daque animum*), the concluding speech formula leaves no doubt as to Jason's social obligation to accept Pelias' request and interpret it as a direct order (VF. 1.58 *talibus hortatur iuvenem propiorque iubenti*).⁶¹

Pelias' Silence (VF. 1.61b-3) – First Mention of Medea⁶²

The epic's female protagonist is finally mentioned, albeit without being named (VF. 1.61 *regis ... filia*) in Pelias' thoughts, as presented by the omniscient narrator in NRTA. It is not surprising that the programmatic first speech of the epic is accompanied by the speaker's deceptive silence. Throughout the *Argonautica* Valerius combines the direct speeches' high level of intra- and intertextual complexity with a poignant use of epic silence, a stock element in the deceits of tyrants in Flavian epic poetry.⁶³

The narrator enumerates three main obstacles the Argonauts have to face in order to obtain the Fleece, all of which Pelias deliberately fails to disclose in his account: the Symplegades (VF. 1.59-60a), the dragon that guards the Fleece (VF. 1.60b-1a), and the king's daughter and mistress of the dragon, Medea, who possesses powerful magic skills (VF. 1.61b-3).⁶⁴ Medea is described as treating the dragon

⁶⁰ Cf. Courtney (1965) 152, Koster (1973) 91f., Kleywegt (2005) 49f., and Zissos (2008) 115. On Valerius' Virgilian echoes, see Hudson-Williams (1973) 23-8. It is also important to compare the appearance of the first shade in Valerius' necromancy: Cretheus, to whom Pelias refers as a common ancestor, is invoked by Aeson and Alcimedea and urges them to commit suicide in an attempt to escape the tyrant's cruel revenge with a similar exhortation: VF. 1.750f. *i, meus es, iam te in lucos pia turba silentum / secretisque ciet volitans pater Aeolus arvis.*

⁶¹ Cf. VF. 1.65 *cogi* and VF. 1.66 *iussos ... Colchos.*

⁶² See also Barich (1982) 72f.

⁶³ On "the importance of concealed emotions and silences in the tyrannical persona" in Flavian epic, see McGuire (1997) 150.

⁶⁴ Cf. VF. 7.550 *tuum ... draconem.* On the tradition of the sleepless dragon, see Zissos (2008) 117; on Medea's magic abilities and early introduction in the narrative, cf. Hull (1975) 1 and Fucecchi (1996) 128.

as a pet, feeding it with honey cakes and controlling it with charms (VF. 1.61b-3 *multifidas regis quem filia linguas / vibrantem ex adytis cantu dapibusque vocabat / et dabat externo liventia mella veneno*). In her first mention she is thus portrayed as both playful and highly dangerous, but more importantly as alien with regard to her social relationships.⁶⁵ The narrator here anticipates the events at the beginning of Book 8 when Medea puts the dragon to sleep, so that Jason can steal the Fleece. The parallel scene characterizes the dragon as a replacement for Medea's father, to whom Medea cannot bid farewell. Whereas she lovingly embraces the dragon before her departure and spends all her affection on the animal, she entirely ignores her mother and sister, when she leaves Colchis. The only person she wishes she could bid farewell to and ask for forgiveness is her tyrannical father, who, by analogy with the dragon, is described in truly monstrous terms.

Jason's Reaction to Pelias' Orders (VF. 1.64-76a)⁶⁶

Pelias' deceit does not remain undiscovered for long (VF. 1.64 *mox taciti patuere doli*), as Jason soon realizes the tyrant's true intentions behind the dangerous mission (VF. 1.64-6a). His quick discovery is an addition to the traditional version of the myth in Pindar and Apollonius, which does not address Jason's knowledge of Pelias' motives.⁶⁷ Valerius does not specify how Jason unravels the king's lies, but emphasizes that the leader of the Argonauts is under no false impressions as to the true nature of his expedition from the very beginning. Unlike in the Hellenistic epic, the hero does not consider his endeavour as divinely ordained, but simply to be the order of a tyrant (VF. 1.64f. *nec vellera curae ... , sed ... odiis*). This divergence explains the change of deities invoked by Valerius' Jason prior to his departure and the tone in which the hero addresses the respective gods (see below).

Having established Jason's knowledge of the deceit, the narrator's report of the hero's thoughts (NRTA) in a smooth transition merges into one of the rare free indirect thought representations (FIT) of the epic.⁶⁸ While the antagonists' position is only treated in NRTA and DS, the FIT serves to increase the readers' identification with the protagonist early in the narrative. Jason's deliberations are absent

⁶⁵ Cf. Barich (1982) 72f., Kleywegt (2005) 54, and Zissos (2008) 117. On Medea's domestication of the dragon, cf. VF. 8.95-7 and Perutelli (1997) *ad* VF. 7.550 "un effetto complessivamente grottesco".

⁶⁶ Cf. Lüthje (1971) 5-8, Adamietz (1976) 6-8, Barich (1982) 34-7, Scaffai (1986a) 242-5, Schubert (1991) 123-7, Auhagen (1998) 51-65, and Ripoll (1998) 201-6.

⁶⁷ For the Argonauts' knowledge of the Symplegades, cf. VF. 1.630f. and VF. 3.617-21. See also Zissos (2008) 118. Having been positively biased against the king, Jason is much more gullible in the parallel audience with Aeetes (VF. 5.542-6a).

⁶⁸ Cf. Auhagen (1998) 51-65, esp. 59f.

from Apollonius and one of the many examples in which Valerius goes to great length to examine the psychological condition of his protagonists.

Jason evaluates his options (VF. 1.66b-76a) and the dangers, but does not yet come to a conclusion about his line of action: VF. 1.66b-7a *qua iussos sectatur quaerere Colchos / arte queat*. Just like the collective of men in Apollonius (ARh. 1.242-6) Jason does not worry about overcoming Aeetes, but he considers the sea as the only obstacle between him and a successful completion of the enterprise (VF. 1.74b-5). The novelty of the imminent voyage (VF. 1.66f. *qua ... / arte*) lets Jason's thoughts turn to other means of extraordinary transportation and he wishes that he could escape from the tyrants' deadly trap by travelling on winged sandals like Perseus (VF. 1.67b-8a)⁶⁹ or a chariot of dragons like Triptolemus (VF. 1.68b-70).⁷⁰

The second half of Jason's FIT commences with a Virgilian formula (VF. 1.71a *heu quid agat?*) that traditionally introduces a hero's deliberation over two potential choices of action (correlative *ne – an*).⁷¹ Jason's only options are either to trust in mortals and start a rebellion against Pelias (VF. 1.71b-3a) or to trust in the help of the goddesses Juno and Pallas and embark on the dangerous mission (VF. 1.73b-6a).⁷² The revolt evokes Pelias' initial introduction as tyrant and suppressor of his people (VF. 1.23a). The old men's sympathy for and political alliance with Aeson (VF. 1.72b *olim miserantes Aesona patres*) is a new aspect and corresponds to Apollonius' collective opening speeches (ARh. 1.251-9), which express the people's sympathy for Jason's sick, old father.⁷³

Jason's hope for the assistance of the divine pair elegantly continues the parallel between Jason and the aforementioned aviators, who, too, receive divine assistance, Perseus from the Olympian deities Mercury and Minerva and Triptolemus from Ceres.⁷⁴ Jason's trust in Juno and Pallas is elaborated upon more fully in his prayer to the goddesses (see below) and anticipates the function in

⁶⁹ The winged sandals (VF. 1.67b-8a) recall the Apollonian oracle of Jason as one-sandalled man. On the analogies between Jason and Perseus, cf. Shelton (1971) 4-6, Gärtner (1994) 68-70, and Zissos (2008) 120f.

⁷⁰ Triptolemus' chariot of dragons (VF. 1.68b-70) anticipates Medea's escape on her grandfather's sun-chariot, one of the topics of Mopsus' prophecy (VF. 1.224b-5a).

⁷¹ Cf. Auhagen (1998) 60.

⁷² On Jason's dilemma, cf. Schubert (1991) 123f. Penwill (2013) 37 n.28 notes that Valerius' Jason here rejects Lucan's *bella ... plus quam civilia* (Luc. 1.1) and thus the start of "a civil war against his uncle in favour of a Virgilian pursuit of glory". See also Zissos (2008) 126 and the discussion of *Gloria's* vision below.

⁷³ Jason here just as in his soliloquy (VF. 1.150b-2b) solely focuses on his father.

⁷⁴ Cf. VF. 1.69f. *ignaras Cereris qui vomere terras / imbuat*. See also Gantz (1993) 69f. and Zissos (2008) 120f. for further references.

which he invokes them: Juno as former companion and ally (VF. 1.73 *socia Iunone*)⁷⁵ and Minerva as goddess of war (VF. 1.73f. *Pallade fretus / armisona speret*).⁷⁶ Jason's deliberation also reveals that his desire to obtain glory (VF. 1.75f. *siqua ... / fama queat*) is the principal driving force, which he hopes to accomplish with the goddesses' help.⁷⁷

The Narrator's Apostrophe of *Gloria* (VF. 1.76-8)⁷⁸

While the Apollonian depiction of glory is consistently positive, the Valerian narrator reveals the downside to heroic strife. Reproachfully he blames the personified *Gloria* for inducing Jason to accept Pelias' impossible request and being his sole motivation for summoning the young heroes to join his mission (VF. 1.76b-7a *tu sola animos mentemque peruris, / Gloria*).⁷⁹ *Gloria's* importance is highlighted by the fact that she is the first personification to appear *in propria persona* in the Valerian *Argonautica*, even before Argo (VF. 1.302b-7).⁸⁰

Jason's vision of and enticing call (NRSA) from *Gloria* (VF. 1.77b-8 *te viridem videt immunemque senectae / Phasidis in ripa stantem iuvenesque vocantem*) at the shore of Phasis⁸¹ at this position in the epic are most likely a combination and contrastive imitation of Caesar's vision of the tearful *Patria* who in DD entreats him not to cross the Rubicon and become Rome's *hostis* as well as Jason's brief encounter with the silent, prohibitive attempt by Iphias in Apollonius (see farewell scene below).⁸²

Jason's FIT and the narratorial interlude leave no doubt that not the Apollonian *religio* towards Phoebus' instructions or the Virgilian *pietas* is Jason's prime motivation, but a Homeric desire for

⁷⁵ Since Homer Hera has been cast in the role of Jason's protectress, cf. Od. 12.72. See also Pyth. 4.184-7. On the rare epithet *socia*, cf. Schubert (1991) 125 n.16, Auhagen (1998) 60, and Delarue (2004) 83. On Juno's responsibility for the crew and Pallas' for the ship, cf. VF. 1.92-102.

⁷⁶ Valerius here considers the Iliadic portrayal of the goddess, whose role is restricted to her tutelary function in Apollonius. Cf. Schenk (1998) 233. Especially before the background of the winged sandals and the chariot as divine gifts for the respective protégés, Pallas' role, albeit not referenced here, too, comprises the furnishing of a hero's vehicle (referred to as *Palladia pinu* in VF. 1.457) and the provision of navigatory instructions.

⁷⁷ Cf. Auhagen (1998) 60, Schubert (1991) 124, and Galli (2007) 85f.

⁷⁸ On these lines, cf. Ripoll (1998) 201-6.

⁷⁹ On the negative portrayal of glory, see Lüthje (1971) 6, Lefèvre (1991) 178-80, Gärtner (1996) 295, Auhagen (1998) 60, Groß (2003) 12-9, Galli (2007) 87, and Manuwald (2013) 42.

⁸⁰ On the importance of *Gloria* in the *Argonautica*, cf. Gärtner (1998) 72 n.23 with comprehensive references. The most prominent and extensive portrayal of a personified goddess is assigned to Fama in the Lemnian episode.

⁸¹ On the personification of glory, cf. VF. 1.326f. and VF. 1.794-7. See also Zissos (2008) 125. Personifications of abstract concepts are not as common in Valerius as in his Flavian contemporaries, cf. Eigler (1988) 164, Gärtner (1996) 270f., Gärtner (1998) 67-85, Schenk (1999) 147, and Kleywegt (2005) 174. On personifications in Greco-Roman epic, see Feeney (1991) 241 with further references.

⁸² Cf. Lüthje (1971) 6 n.1 and Zissos (2008) 125.

personal fame and recognition (VF. 1.76 *fama* and VF. 1.77 *Gloria*).⁸³ His trust in the goddesses' support is the means by which he is enabled to overcome his fear (VF. 1.79f. *tandem animi incertum confusaque pectora firmat / religio*) and achieve his aim, but it is not his driving force.⁸⁴

Jason's Prayer to Juno and Pallas (VF. 1.79-90)

Jason's prayer to Juno and Pallas (VF. 1.81-90) forms the climax of the opening passage. For the first time the hero's decision to accept the impossible task is confirmed. Jason's prayer corresponds to the hero's prayer to Apollo Embasius and Aktios for a safe voyage in Apollonius, where Jason invokes the god in the departure sacrifice at the beginning (ARh. 1.411-24) and at the end of the epic before the homeward journey (ARh. 4.1701b-5).⁸⁵

Jason's prayer to Juno and Pallas is the first of two prayers he speaks prior to the heroes' departure.⁸⁶ It follows the traditional structure with a formal invocation, a lengthy justification for the request, the brief request itself, and the offering of plentiful sacrifices in return for the invoked deities' help.⁸⁷ Jason appeals to the two goddesses separately before addressing them together at the end of his speech. The first address to Juno and the use of the reverent apostrophe *omnipotens regina* (VF. 1.81) not only establishes Juno's dominance over Minerva, but also places her on the same level as the father of the gods who is generally the primary addressee of this epithet.⁸⁸

In analogy with the Apollonian example in which Jason stresses Apollo's responsibility for causing the mission through his oracles (ARh. 1.411-4) and in which he reminds the god of his earlier promise of a successful completion of the journey,⁸⁹ Valerius' Jason in an external analepsis reminds Juno of

⁸³ Cf. Lüthje (1971) 33f., Strand (1972) 50-2, Hull (1979) 381-3, Nagy (1979) 16-8, Pollini (1984) 52f., Ripoll (1998) 256-75, and Zissos (2008) 125f.

⁸⁴ On the frequent double motivation of human actions in the *Argonautica*, cf. Manuwald (2013) 42-5. See also Lüthje (1971) 6: "der Rangfolge nach steht die *Gloria* im Vordergrund und macht das Motiv der Fahrt aus, während die *religio* ihn zu diesem Vorhaben sekundär ermutigt".

⁸⁵ On Apollo's cult title 'Embasius', cf. Albis (1995) 105; on Apollo Aktios, cf. O'Hara (1991) 373.

⁸⁶ While the first prayer bears a greater resemblance to Jason's Apolline prayer in the Hellenistic epic, it is the second prayer that Valerius combines with a sacrificial interpretation by the Argonauts' seers Mopsus and Idmon in accordance with Apollonius, thereby linking both prayers to the Hellenistic model.

⁸⁷ Cf. Norden (1913) 150-76, Kleywegt (2005) 64, and Zissos (2008) 128.

⁸⁸ Cf. Schubert (1991) 126f. The epithet is only used three more times in Valerius: twice of Jupiter (VF. 1.592 and VF. 3.249 *pater omnipotens*) in his interventions as powerful mediator, and once by Medea for Somnus (VF. 8.70). On the use of *omnipotens* in Latin literature, cf. Schubert (1984a) 369-78.

⁸⁹ See also Hunter (1993) 123 and Albis (1995) 106f.

their old alliance (cf. VF. 1.73 *socia Iunone*).⁹⁰ He relates how he carried Juno, disguised as an old woman, through the Enipeus torrent and how he witnessed her epiphany afterwards (VF. 1.81-6).⁹¹

The crossing of the river (VF: Enipeus, ARh: Anausis) is an Apollonian invention⁹² and reported in similar detail twice by Hera at a later stage in the Hellenistic epic. Hera's version differs in two important aspects from Jason's account in Valerius. She presents the events as a test of Jason's righteousness (ARh. 3.66-73) and does not mention her epiphany or Jupiter's involvement, which, in Jason's version, resulted in his discovery of Juno's true identity (VF. 1.85f.).⁹³ Hera's detailed report could explain the ambivalently succinct account in Valerius, which leaves open whether Juno's disguise is a test of Jason's *humanitas* and Jupiter's thundering a sign for Juno to return, or if Juno disguises herself to hide from Jupiter after another unsuccessful rebellion against him and her epiphany is a reaction to her husband's threatening, angry thunder.⁹⁴ Both scenarios can be lexically justified and they plausibly explain Juno's fondness for Jason. While secretive plotting and fear of Jupiter would be more in line with Juno's character portrayal as a whole in the Flavian *Argonautica*,⁹⁵ in the first book of the epic Valerius goes to great lengths to emphasize Juno's unique accordance with Jupiter's plans, for which a negative interpretation of her disguise and epiphany would be counterproductive. Zissos' proposal to assume "an erroneous interpretation" and hence a false report of the events by Jason as an "early instance of the fallibility of human understanding of divine purpose"⁹⁶ resolves this problem and reconciles both positions. Irrespective of the choice of interpretation, Jason's knowledge of Juno's alliance is a prerequisite for his confidence in divine help as well as for Valerius' replacement of Apollo with Juno as invoked deity.⁹⁷

Jason's account differs in another important aspect from Hera's speech in Apollonius. In an attempt to persuade Aphrodite to aid her, Hera confesses that she would help Jason even with the

⁹⁰ Cf. Delarue (2004) 83 and Schubert (1991) 126, who suggests that Jason could also mention Juno's disguise in the hope that she may use these skills (which she does twice against Medea) when supporting the Argonauts during their enterprise.

⁹¹ Even without the mention of his lost sandal, the story is easily recognizable as an allusion to the famous Apolline oracle in Apollonius' proem (ARh. 1.5-17), substituted by Valerius for a concrete warning of Jason's prowess and growing reputation (VF. 1.26-30).

⁹² Cf. Zissos (2008) 128.

⁹³ On this important difference, see Hershkowitz (1998) 166f., Delarue (2004) 84, and Zissos (2008) 128 with further literature.

⁹⁴ On the two positions, "Apollonian theodicy vs. Olympian strife", cf. Zissos (2008) 128f.

⁹⁵ Cf. VF. 4.3 *Iunonem ... trepidam* and especially VF. 4.414-6 *nec Iovis interea cessat manus: intonat alto / insurgens caelo genitor curamque fatetur, / atque ipsa imperium Iuno pavet*.

⁹⁶ Zissos (2008) 129.

⁹⁷ Unlike in Apollonius, where Idas taunts his comrades by suggesting that they invoke Aphrodite for help instead of Enyalios as if they were women (ARh. 3.558b-60a), invoking the help of women, whether mortal or divine, is not sarcastically rejected in Valerius' epic.

most outrageous task such as freeing Ixion, the very man who tried to rape her, from his wheel in Hades (ARh. 3.60-3) to ensure that Pelias would receive his due punishment for his failure to worship her (ARh. 3.74f. τῷ νύ μοι ἄλληκτον περιτίεται: οὐδέ κε λῶβην / τίσειεν Πελίδης, εἰ μή σύ γε νόστον ὀπάσσεις).⁹⁸ Hera's deep investment in the Argonauts' mission is thus explained by a double motivation – love for Jason and hatred of Pelias. Valerius, in accordance with Jason's high perceptiveness, transfers Hera's animosity against Pelias from Juno onto Jason. This allows Valerius to focus Juno's resentment on Hercules, which would have lost much of its force had Juno been presented as holding a personal grudge against Pelias, too.⁹⁹ Hercules' participation in the mission is also the reason for Juno's lack of personal devotion and enthusiasm for the mission in comparison to Hera. This impression is corroborated by the circumstance that Valerius changes the internal narrator and has Jason remind the goddess of their alliance and her duty towards him.¹⁰⁰ While Hera acts on her own initiative and mentions the reasons for her protection of Jason and her resentment of Pelias repeatedly to her female helpers Aphrodite (ARh. 3.59b-74a) and Thetis (ARh. 4.784-8), Juno never discusses her alliance with Jason and her hatred for Hercules with her divine female helpers Pallas, Venus, and Dryope, but diligently hides her true intentions from them. Jason's invocation of Juno as primary tutelary deity and protectress during the Argonauts' voyage likens her not to the Virgilian Juno, but in this function to Venus.¹⁰¹

Jason's actual request is summarised very poignantly. Just as Apollonius' hero prays to Apollo for a safe journey (ARh. 1.415f.), in Valerius he asks Juno to allow him to reach Colchis safely (VF. 1.87) before directing his words to Pallas in a much shorter appeal for protection (VF. 1.88 *eripe me*). After Pallas has already been introduced as war goddess (VF. 1.73f.), a function Apollonius does not assign to her in his epic,¹⁰² Jason here in contrast to Juno invokes her as virgin goddess (VF. 1.87 *tuque, innuba Pallas*). While this is an aspect Athene emphasizes about herself in the Hellenistic epic, too, (ARh. 3.32-5), Apollonius does not go to the same lengths to portray Pallas in this role as Valerius does,

⁹⁸ Cf. also ARh. 1.12-4 and ARh. 3.64f.

⁹⁹ If the reported story alludes to Jupiter's and Juno's rivalry, the scene at hand constitutes the basis for three personal rivalries on three different spheres: 1. human sphere: Jason and Pelias; 2. human and divine rivalry: Juno and Hercules (Hercules is replaced in his role as mortal target of the goddess by Medea from Book 5 onwards); 3. divine sphere: Jupiter and Juno.

¹⁰⁰ On Jason's businesslike appeal and the goddess' mechanical response, cf. Steinkühler (1989) 309f. and Schubert (1991) 127.

¹⁰¹ Cf. Juno's intervention and her plea to Neptune to stop the sea storm at VF. 1.641f. See also Kozák (2013) 250.

¹⁰² Apollonius, by contrast, mentions Athene in three highly specialized accounts: at ARh. 1.629 as patroness of domestic duties for the Lemnian women; at ARh. 3.1183f. she provides Aeetes and Cadmus with the serpent's teeth, and at ARh. 4.1309-11 Athene is said to have been cared for by the nymphs of Lake Triton after her birth.

who gradually merges the epics' mortal and immortal *virgines* Medea and Pallas until at the end of the epic they nearly become one (VF. 8.461f. *interque ingentia Graium / nomina Palladia virgo stet altera prora*).¹⁰³ Like Apollonius' Jason who promises Apollo plentiful offerings as *quid pro quo* (ARh. 1.415-9 and ARh. 4.1704b-5), Jason offers the two goddesses sacrifices for their help and promises to place the Fleece in their temples (VF. 1.88b-9a *vestris egomet tunc vellera templis / illa dabo*).¹⁰⁴ From the beginning of the epic Valerius thus aligns Juno's and Pallas' interests and replaces Apollo with them as primary tutelary deities.¹⁰⁵

Juno's and Pallas' Collaboration (VF. 1.91-129a)

Just as Apollo swiftly accepts responsibility in Apollonius' epic and even appears before the heroes in Book 4, Jason's first prayer in Valerius is immediately met with divine approval and affirmative action (VF. 1.91-2a *Accepere deae celerique per aethera lapsu / diversas petiere vias*).¹⁰⁶ It is typical of the *Argonautica* that the goddesses do not reply to Jason, but only show their support in their actions. The communication between gods and humans with the exception of the three disguise scenes (VF. 2.115-241, VF. 6.427-506, and VF. 7.153-322) is one-sided. Prayers and sacrifices by mortals are generally only accepted through portents and the gods communicate their messages either through prophecies or dreams, but, with the exception of Helle (VF. 2.592-607)¹⁰⁷ and the disguised goddesses, do not communicate directly with humans.¹⁰⁸

After Juno and Pallas have been introduced together in Jason's FIT and the subsequent prayer they now appear for the first time as a pair *in propria persona*. In analogy with Jason's prayer, the two goddesses collaborate, but they act independently with their own areas of responsibility. Pallas supervises the construction of Argo (VF. 1.92b-5), while Juno starts with the recruitment of heroes for Jason's mission (VF. 1.96-106). Their collaboration is a Valerian invention and at this early stage

¹⁰³ Just as he is here asking Pallas for protection, Jason entreats Medea for her help and protection at VF. 7.413-30. On the lack of specification and justification in Jason's invocation of Pallas, see Schubert (1991) 126. The same technique is employed when Pallas helps Jason in her role as war goddess during the fights in Book 6.

¹⁰⁴ On the problem of the plural *templis* and the potential double dedication, cf. Schubert (1991) 127 n.21.

¹⁰⁵ Cf. Toohey (1993) 192. On Jupiter's role, cf. the discussion of the *concilium deorum* below.

¹⁰⁶ Cf. Clauss (1993) 74-9 and Zissos (2008) 133. Note also Venus' reaction at VF. 2.115f.

¹⁰⁷ Helle in fact only addresses Jason because she wants him to deliver a message to her brother Phrixus (VF. 2.601-12).

¹⁰⁸ Cf. Manuwald (2009) and (2013) for a detailed discussion of divine and human communication in the *Argonautica*.

shows the much more active involvement of the two goddesses in the first half of the epic in comparison to Apollonius.¹⁰⁹

Pallas and Argus (VF. 1.92b-5)

In reverse order to Jason's prayer, the narrator first focuses on Minerva's task. While Pallas is one of the few deities besides Juno who has more than one role in the epic, her principal function is clearly that of Argo's tutelary deity. She builds the Argo, selects the Dodonian oak that gives the ship supernatural powers and makes it indestructible (VF. 2.53b-4), teaches both its constructor (VF. 1.92b-5) and helmsman, for whom she sometimes guides the ship herself (VF. 2.48-50), and is, through a golden statue on the ship (VF. 8.203), inextricably connected with Argo.¹¹⁰ Accordingly, in her first appearance *in propria persona* Valerius focuses on the building process of Argo and her instruction of Argus. While Apollonius only very briefly mentions Athene's help in the construction of the ship (ARh. 1.18f.), Valerius goes into much greater detail.¹¹¹ He describes how Pallas flies to Thespieae to tell Argus how to build the ship and fell timber with his axe, before she accompanies him to Pelion's forests to procure the oak (VF. 1.92b-5).¹¹² Valerius thus combines the specialised tradition of Pallas as instructor in building skills and Pallas as builder herself. The combination of Thespieae, usually associated with the helmsman Tiphys (VF. 1.481-3), with the carpenter Argus also suggests that Valerius is here alluding to the divergent traditions that featured only one or the other or both as Argo's original constructors.¹¹³ This conflation of the Argonauts' two technological experts may be indebted to Apollonius' joined introduction of the two heroes in his catalogue.¹¹⁴

¹⁰⁹ Cf. Adamietz (1976) 9, Eigler (1988) 33, and Zissos (2008) 136. Cf. VF. 1.73f., VF. 1.87f., VF. 1.530, VF. 1.642-4, VF. 3.88, VF. 3.489, VF. 4.542f., VF. 4.554f., VF. 4.667-710, VF. 5.183, and VF. 5.280-95. Hera, by comparison, only appears *in propria persona* for the first time at ARh. 2.865. Gods in general feature much less frequently in Apollonius' first book: ARh. 1.14, ARh. 1.18f., ARh. 1.551, ARh. 1.615, ARh. 1.996f., ARh. 1.985, ARh. 1.1070f., ARh. 1.1232, and ARh. 1.1315.

¹¹⁰ For Pallas as constructor of the Argo, cf. VF. 1.92-5, VF. 1.126, VF. 1.457, VF. 4.542-3, VF. 5.206, VF. 5.294f., and VF. 8.292. She is mentioned as the ship's tutelary deity at VF. 1.215, VF. 2.49-54a, and VF. 8.203.

¹¹¹ Apollonius is ambivalent in his portrayal of Athene's influence: at ARh. 1.18f. she oversees the construction, at ARh. 1.226 Argus is introduced as ὑποεργός Ἀθήνης; at ARh. 1.111f., ARh. 1.721-4, and ARh. 2.1187-9 Athene's role is ambivalent, and at ARh. 3.340 she is credited with the complete construction of the Argo. Cf. Zissos (2008) 134f. for the different traditions.

¹¹² On Pelion as the original source for Argo's timber, see also VF. 3.353 and VF. 8.417. The Dodonian oak is personified at VF. 1.302b-10a and VF. 5.65f. See also Zissos (2008) 136 for further references.

¹¹³ Cf. Hunter (1993) 125 and Zissos (2008) 134f. for further references.

¹¹⁴ Cf. Zissos (2008) 134f.

Juno's Recruitment of the Argonauts (VF. 1.96-9)

While Pallas' role in the construction of Argo is an established tradition, Juno's recruitment of the heroes is a Valerian innovation (VF. 1.96-9). Juno's active involvement is an early example of her increased prominence in the epic as well as her greater complexity in comparison to the other gods of Valerius' *Argonautica*.¹¹⁵ The mission may have been inspired by Pindar, who has Hera imbue the heroes with courage and eagerness (Pyth. 4.184-7), so that they enthusiastically respond to Jason's recruitment calls, as he sends heralds to spread the news of the expedition in Hellas (Pyth. 4.169-71).¹¹⁶ Valerius, too, makes Jason's renown one of the mission's attractions for the heroes in addition to the promise of certain glory.¹¹⁷

Public Response to the Argonauts' Mission (VF. 1.103-6)

Juno's call is highly successful, as not only inexperienced brave young men arrive to join the heroic mission and make a name for themselves (VF. 1.101b-2), but also established captains and warriors (VF. 1.100-1a).¹¹⁸ After the arrival of the epic heroes has been reported in elevated language suitable to the genre, Valerius in an idyllic, bucolic scene describes the reaction of the people in the countryside, who are either unable or unwilling to join the Argonautic mission (VF. 1.103-6).¹¹⁹ They, too, are instilled with great enthusiasm for the enterprise by the rural gods. Fauns, wood nymphs, and river gods celebrate the awe-inspiring Argo (VF. 1.104-6).¹²⁰ With the juxtaposition of these epic and bucolic sections Valerius emphasizes that, in contrast to the Apollonian *Argonautica*, where the reaction of the townspeople is reported (ARh. 1.238-41), there is great interest, enthusiasm, and admiration for the Argonauts' undertaking not only in Thessaly, but in all of Greece.¹²¹ The joyous bucolic interlude moreover heightens the contrast between the harmonious construction of Argo and the blissful

¹¹⁵ Cf. Delarue (2004) 83.

¹¹⁶ Cf. Zissos (2008) 136. It is also noteworthy that the description of the warriors' response to Juno's call echoes *Gloria's* exhortation of Jason.

¹¹⁷ Cf. Hershkowitz (1998) 112 and Zissos (2008) 137.

¹¹⁸ On the common *topos* of the assembling of elect warriors and the division of heroes into experienced and inexperienced participants, cf. Kleywegt (2005) 75f. and Zissos (2008) 138f.

¹¹⁹ Cf. Strand (1972) 53f., Otte (1992) 55, Dräger (2003) 325, Kleywegt (2005) 76f., and Zissos (2008) 140.

¹²⁰ Apollonius' nymph-spectators at Argo's launch (ARh. 1.549b-52) may have inspired this scene. For the association of woodland nymphs and river gods, cf. VF. 7.390f. See also Kleywegt (1986b) 335f. with further references.

¹²¹ Cf. Kleywegt (2005) 76 and Zissos (2008) 138.

celebrations of the mission and Juno's extreme change in mood from her excited recruitment of the heroes to complete repugnance due to the sudden arrival of her archenemy Hercules.¹²²

Hercules' and Hylas' Arrival (VF. 1.107-12)

Hercules' introduction immediately reveals that he is unwanted by Juno and participates on his own initiative (VF. 1.107 *ultra*).¹²³ His speed indicates his excitement and eagerness to join the adventure (VF. 1.107 *protinus* and VF. 1.108 *advolat*). While in Apollonius Herakles' participation is problematic in so far as he breaks divine law by interrupting Eurystheus' Labours without permission to join the Argonautic enterprise (ARh. 1.128f.), Valerius transfers the problem to a personal rivalry between Hercules and his stepmother.¹²⁴ Herakles (ARh. 1.122-32) is also introduced together with Hylas (ARh. 1.130-2), but they are simply announced together with the other heroes in the catalogue of Argonauts (ARh. 1.23-227).¹²⁵ Apollonius' Herakles therefore does not receive as much attention at this early stage in the epic as his Valerian counterpart. The joined introduction of the renowned warrior Hercules together with his weak young companion Hylas (VF. 1.107-11a)¹²⁶ corresponds to the general introduction of Argonautic heroes (VF. 1.100f.), but it more importantly lays the basis for Juno's intrigue in Book 3 of the epic, where she uses Hercules' beloved friend as a decoy to separate her stepson from the Argonauts (VF. 3.509-740).¹²⁷ The heroes' friendship and their harmony are moreover in stark contrast to the indifferent, loose alliance between Juno and Pallas. Despite their continued collaboration Juno and Pallas both have their own areas of expertise and immediately separate to fulfil their respective tasks, whereas Hercules and Hylas can only be separated by force and appear much more intimate. Juno, who without a doubt is the dominant partner in the divine relationship, does not trust her collaborator or any of her other female helpers. She hides her true intentions from all of them as much as possible, which is also why she only voices her resentment of Hercules while Pallas is occupied elsewhere with construction work.¹²⁸

¹²² Zissos (2008) 138 speaks of "momentarily overlapping 'poetic universes'". See also Kleywegt (2005) 76f.

¹²³ Juno wishes that the Argonautic mission were one of Eurystheus' Labours at VF. 1.114f. Cf. Eigler (1988) 38.

¹²⁴ Cf. Happle (1957) 135, Adamietz (1970) 29, Adamietz (1976) 9, and Eigler (1988) 38.

¹²⁵ See also Happle (1957) 135 and Eigler (1988) 34.

¹²⁶ Cf. Eigler (1988) 34.

¹²⁷ Cf. Happle (1957) 135f. and Eigler (1988) 34.

¹²⁸ Cf. Eigler (1988) 36 and Delarue (2004) 83f.

Juno's Soliloquy (VF. 1.113-9)¹²⁹

Juno's speech is the first divine and the first female speech of the *Argonautica*. After the goddess has initially been introduced as counterpart to Virgil's Venus, her vindictiveness and the speech introduction to Juno's soliloquy (VF. 1.112 *solitosque novat Saturnia questus*) place her in the tradition of Virgil's Juno in general¹³⁰ and her soliloquy (VF. 1.113-9) in relation to the famous Virgilian opening monologue (Aen. 1.37b-49) in particular.¹³¹

In the *Aeneid* Juno angrily declares her opposition to the fates (Aen. 1.39 *quippe veteor fatis*). She contrasts her own humiliation by Aeneas to Minerva's vengeance against Ajax for his rape of Cassandra in her temple (Aen. 1.37-45).¹³² Just like Pallas who sets the Greek fleet on fire with Jupiter's thunderbolts and sinks it in a storm (Aen. 1.39f. and 1.42-5),¹³³ Juno is determined not to let herself become the laughing stock of the humans and to be deprived of worship despite her royal position as sister and wife of Jupiter (Aen. 1.46-9). She angrily consults Aeolus and instructs him to destroy Aeneas and his men in a sea storm against Jupiter's will (Aen. 1.50-80) and causes dissent among the gods. Her opening monologue is the overture to her constant rebellion against Jupiter and her fierce persecution of the epic's protagonist. Feeney succinctly characterizes Juno's role and importance in the *Aeneid* as "the principal embodiment of anarchy which threatens the progress of the poem and empire".¹³⁴

The context of Juno's opening soliloquy in the *Argonautica* is very similar. The goddess feels provoked by her mortal archenemy, albeit here not the protagonist, but only an important participant in the mission, and voices her anger in a soliloquy.¹³⁵ Valerius only adopts the first half of Juno's speech (Aen. 1.37-45) in his opening monologue and reserves the second half, which focuses on Juno's concern for her reputation (Aen. 1.46-9), for the goddess' second monologue (VF. 3.510-20).

¹²⁹ Cf. Eigler (1988) 32-9 and Zissos (2002) 76-9.

¹³⁰ On Juno's double role, see Eigler (1988) 33, Schubert (1991) 129, and Hershkowitz (1998) 159-72. For a more detailed discussion of Thetis' double role in the *Achilleid*, cf. Heslin (2005) 108f. and Kozák (2013). On Juno's Venusian role as protectress and Jupiter's Junonian role as destroyer in the *Thebaid*, cf. Feeney (1991) 343 and 354.

¹³¹ Cf. the polysemic Ovidian *in nova fata* (VF. 1.113). See also Aen. 1.36 *aeternum ... vulnus*. All of the Flavian epics' opening monologues are indebted to Juno's soliloquy in the *Aeneid*: Silius' Juno aims her revenge against the very realm Virgil's Juno failed to impede (Pun. 1.42-54); in the *Thebaid* (Theb. 1.285-7) Jupiter anticipates Juno's traditional opposition; and in the *Achilleid* Thetis explicitly acknowledges her own succession in her opening monologue (Ach. 1.48f. *secundi / ... lovis*). For a more detailed discussion, cf. Eigler (1988) 33f., Ramaglia (1953) 35-43, Delz (1969) 88-100, Williams (1996) 163, Heslin (2005) 109, Parkes (2009) 291-7, and Kozák (2013) 247f.

¹³² Cf. Aen. 2.403f. and Aen. 6.840. For further references, see also Williams (1996) 163.

¹³³ Cf. Williams (1996) 163 for the Euripidean and Homeric models of the scene.

¹³⁴ Feeney (1991) 150. See also Schubert (1991) 129 and Delarue (2004) 84.

¹³⁵ Offermann (1968) 80 and Mehmél (1934) 11 are too harsh in their judgment that the only reason and value of the soliloquy lies in the imitation of the Virgilian model. Cf. also Lüthje (1971) 11 and Eigler (1988) 38.

Even though Valerius follows the Virgilian structure and narrative technique, the aforementioned omission and a few modifications change the mood of the speech significantly.¹³⁶ Whereas Virgil's goddess more and more talks herself into frenzy and cannot contain her rage any longer, but immediately puts her destructive plan into action after her speech, the Valerian Juno gradually manages to contain her anger and resignedly tries to distract her attention from Hercules at the end of her speech.¹³⁷ She both literally and figuratively looks away (VF. 1.120f.).¹³⁸ She gives up her intense fixation on Hercules (VF. 1.112 *insequitur*) and instead focuses her attention on Pallas' construction work (VF. 1.121-9a).¹³⁹ Juno therefore does not become the traditional source of opposition at the beginning of Valerius' epic; this role – at least with regard to the first book – is assigned to Aeolus, Sol, and Mars, whose independent, egotistical rebellion serves to highlight Juno's socially responsible and *fata-conform* behaviour at the beginning of the Valerian *Argonautica*.¹⁴⁰

Juno's speech, like that of her Virgilian *alter ego*, starts with two angry and regretful wishes.¹⁴¹ She voices her frustration that all of Greece's best men are participating in Jason's mission instead of it simply being one of Eurystheus' Labours for Hercules (VF. 1.113-5a).¹⁴² Juno's statement is ironic in so far as it was the goddess herself who widely advertised Jason's mission.¹⁴³ Fuming about herself, Juno imagines what she could have done to Hercules if only he had come alone. Juno's declaration of her destructive intention primarily serves as a self-reassurance of her power. She declares that she would not have hesitated to unleash storm and fire on her archenemy (VF. 1.115f. *imbrem et tenebras saevumque tridentem / iam iam ego et inviti torsissem coniugis ignem*),¹⁴⁴ had her responsibility for the Argonauts and her debt to Jason in particular not held her back. While Juno's assertion evidently echoes the wish of her Virgilian predecessor (Aen. 1.42), there is an important difference between the two versions. Valerius' Juno claims that she herself could destroy the ship, which is exactly the independent action and power the Virgilian goddess envies in Pallas. Valerius thus portrays Juno as

¹³⁶ Cf. Eigler (1988) 33 and Kleywegt (2005) 71.

¹³⁷ Cf. Offermann (1968) 79 n.3 and Eigler (1988) 38.

¹³⁸ The long despondent gaze into the distance is a common conclusion to Valerius' soliloquies, cf. especially Neptune's soliloquy at VF. 4.131f.

¹³⁹ Cf. Eigler (1988) 36 and Kleywegt (2005) 85.

¹⁴⁰ Cf. Delarue (2004) 84.

¹⁴¹ Offermann (1968) 80 condemns Juno's soliloquy as "affektische Äußerung, die sich in Wünschen und irrealen Aussagen erschöpft".

¹⁴² Cf. Adamietz (1970) 30 and Eigler (1988) 34. This is of course a clear reference to Apollonius, where Herakles in fact leaves behind his Labours and joins the enterprise without Eurystheus' permission (ARh. 1.130).

¹⁴³ Cf. Eigler (1988) 35.

¹⁴⁴ This is the emotional climax of her speech emphasized by threatening hissing sounds (- ss), cf. Offermann (1968) 80, Eigler (1988) 35, and Zissos (2008) 146.

more powerful than her Virgilian predecessor, indicating that her restraint at his point is merely tactical.¹⁴⁵

Statius' portrayal of Thetis in the *Achilleid* underlines the demonstration of might by Juno in the *Argonautica*. Like her, Thetis takes on the Virgilian double role as mother and protectress of Achilles (Venus) and vindictive force against Paris' fleet (Juno).¹⁴⁶ She is faced with a similar dilemma, because like Juno she did not take the right precautions and regrets not having destroyed Paris' fleet to prevent the war in the first place. Faced by a similar impasse that does not leave the goddesses a real choice, they react very differently to their problem. Whereas Juno despite her superior power remains patient and waits for a better opportunity to separate Hercules from the crowd (VF. 1.117f. *nunc quoque nec ... / velim*), Thetis in her anger and despair has not learned anything from Juno's futile attempt in the *Aeneid* and nonetheless asks Neptune to *create* a sea storm (Ach. 1.47f. *nunc quoque – sed tardum, iam ... / ibo tamen*). Thetis' request also suggests that she is confusing the roles of her Virgilian predecessors. Virgil's Juno asks Aeolus to create a storm in Book 1 of the *Aeneid*, while Thetis asks Neptune to *prevent* a storm at the end of Book 5. Valerius' Juno by contrast is able flexibly to adopt the correct roles of her Virgilian predecessor as needed and has even improved upon them.¹⁴⁷ In Book 1 of the *Argonautica* she asks Neptune to soothe the storm and in Book 8 she independently unleashes a storm and successfully destroys Styros' fleet by herself.¹⁴⁸ Both times her actions ensure that the Argonauts are saved from a hostile attack and do not suffer a single loss.

Similarly, at this early stage in the plot, Juno through grinding teeth accepts that she cannot yet attack Hercules because this would harm the Argonauts, too. She, however, leaves no doubt that she does not approve of Hercules' participation or under any circumstance would be willing to rely on his help for the successful completion of the mission and thus become indebted to a mortal as arrogant as Hercules, irrespective of how useful his physical strength might be for the Argonauts' voyage (VF. 1.117-9).¹⁴⁹ The phrasing of Juno's declaration of her continued hatred for the hero is interesting in several respects. Her soliloquy confirms the alliance between her and the Argonauts and reveals

¹⁴⁵ Cf. Hardie (1989) 17 as well as Zissos (2002) 77 and (2008) 147f. for further references. As Juno has been introduced together with Pallas as tutelary collaborators in protection of the Argonauts, she omits her literary predecessor's reference to Minerva in her speech.

¹⁴⁶ Cf. Kozák (2013) 250f.

¹⁴⁷ Cf. Kozák (2013) 251: "Valerius' Juno ... plays these roles tactically enough. Yet this is what Thetis in the *Achilleid* seems not to be capable of".

¹⁴⁸ Heslin (2005) 109 also concludes that Valerius' goddess knows that "if you want to create a storm you act like Juno; if you want to prevent one, you act like Venus." See also Kozák (2013) 251f.

¹⁴⁹ Cf. Eigler (1988) 36, Feeney (1991) 336, Schubert (1991) 128, and Hershkowitz (1998) 160.

that, just as Jason (VF. 1.73 *socia lunone*), Juno thinks of herself as a companion of the Argonauts and of the mission as a common endeavour (VF. 1.117 *nec socium nostrae columenve carinae* and VF. 1.119 *comiti*). The use of the present jussive subjunctive (VF. 1.118 *velim ... sit*) in combination with *nunc quoque* (VF. 1.117) already points towards the future and anticipates the goddess' bitter retaliation for Hercules' disrespect towards her.¹⁵⁰ Juno's characterisation of the hero as *comiti ... superbo* (VF. 1.119b) only very generally explains her hatred for Hercules. The circumstances, albeit still not the specific reason, for the longstanding enmity are discussed in more detail during Juno's second soliloquy (VF. 3.510-20), which links the two speeches and clearly marks her second monologue as a continuation of her internal debate.¹⁵¹ Juno's remark that she could never be in Hercules' debt (VF. 1.119b) indirectly also introduces a comparison between Hercules and Jason, who has just before justified his request for Juno's support with her debt to him (VF. 1.81-7a).¹⁵² Also presented in hyperbaton and just as succinct as Juno's reference to Hercules' arrogance is her indication of Jupiter's hostility (VF. 1.116 *inviti ... coniugis*) to any actions she might take against her mortal enemy.¹⁵³ Juno's speech therefore establishes her rivalry with both Hercules and Jupiter and anticipates her intrigue against Hercules and his young companion Hylas (VF. 3.487-740) as well as Jupiter's intervention and chastisement of his wife (VF. 4.4-14).¹⁵⁴ Even though Juno's soliloquy remains without direct impact on the action, it raises suspense through anticipation.

Argus' Painting (VF. 1.129b-48)¹⁵⁵

While Juno is venting her anger, Pallas' construction work is still in full progress and her helper Argus skilfully decorates the ship (VF. 1.121-9a). Argus' painting is the first of two main ekphrastic digressions in the *Argonautica*. Both ekphraseis are without precedent in the Argonautic tradition.¹⁵⁶ Whereas the first only depicts past events that anticipate Medea's and Jason's fate, Hephaestus' embossed bronze doors at Aetes' palace (VF. 5.409-54), which open the second half of the epic with

¹⁵⁰ Cf. Zissos (2008) 148f. on the Senecan structure.

¹⁵¹ Cf. Eigler (1988) 34 and Zissos (2008) 145f.

¹⁵² Note the parallel and the verbal echoes: VF. 1.81b-2 *turbidus atro / aethere caeruleum quateret cum Iuppiter imbrem* and VF. 1.85f. *quam te tonitru nutuque reposci / coniugis*.

¹⁵³ Cf. Pallas' opposition to Medea's wedding: VF. 8.224 *invitae ... Pallados*. See also Valerius' characterisation of Juno as *saeva noverca* at VF. 3.580. Cf. Zissos (2008) 145.

¹⁵⁴ Cf. Kleywegt (2005) 81 and Zissos (2008) 145f. for further references.

¹⁵⁵ On the ekphrasis, see Köstlin (1889) 652f., Strand (1972) 54-7, Frank (1974) 837f., Adamietz (1976) 10f., Barnes (1981) 364, Davis (1990) 65-8, Otte (1992) 51-3, Schmitzer (1999) 143-60, Río Torres-Murciano (2006) 145-56, Zissos (2008) 152-66, and Harrison (2013) 217-9.

¹⁵⁶ Cf. Zissos (2008) 152.

the Argonauts' adventures in Colchis, also depict future events involving Medea and Jason directly.¹⁵⁷ In the first book the ekphrasis is one of three digressions that bring the narrative proper to a halt and discuss additional information relevant to the Argonautic journey.¹⁵⁸ Argus' painting portrays two main stories of similar length, Thetis' marriage with Peleus (VF. 1.130-9) and Hippodamia's wedding with Pirithous, which results in the battle between the Lapiths and Centaurs (VF. 1.140-8).

Thetis, Panope, Doto, and Galatea (VF. 1.130-9)

The first series of images depict or are related to the wedding of Thetis and Peleus.¹⁵⁹ A crying Thetis is being carried on the back of a dolphin to her wedding with Peleus in a cave.¹⁶⁰ She covers her eyes with her veil while crying over her son Achilles' misfortune, who according to Themis' oracle is destined to be greater than his father, which is why Jupiter's own desire for Thetis has to remain unfulfilled and Thetis is being married to Jupiter's mortal grandson Peleus (VF. 1.130-3).¹⁶¹ Galatea, one of the sisters (VF. 1.130-6) who accompany Thetis on her way to the wedding (Panope, Doto, Galatea)¹⁶² is then indirectly referenced with her own unhappy love story in another image depicting the love-stricken Polyphemus calling out for Galatea, whose true love Acis the rejected Cyclops has murdered (VF. 1.136b).¹⁶³

These gloomy images are juxtaposed by a cheerful banquet scene in which sea deities surround the married couple, and Chiron, the future teacher and guardian of Achilles, plays the lyre (VF. 1.137-9).¹⁶⁴ Thetis' sad portrayal on the way to her wedding and the ensuing celebration suggest that Valerius may have combined the two traditions of Thetis' unwilling (Il. 18.433f.) and willing marriage (Cat. 64.19-21) to Peleus, while focussing on the latter.¹⁶⁵

¹⁵⁷ Cf. Harrison (2013) 218f. for further references.

¹⁵⁸ Orpheus' song (VF. 1.277-93) sheds light on Phrixus' and Helle's escape and the catalogue of heroes (VF. 1.350-483) introduces the Argonauts and their families in more detail.

¹⁵⁹ On the exact placement and division of images, cf. Schmitzer (1999) 147 and Baier (2004) 18f.

¹⁶⁰ This image echoes ARh. 4.933-6. See also the description of the *vates* Polyxo (VF. 2.317-21).

¹⁶¹ The account is primarily based on Met. 11.221-65. Cf. Baier (2004) 18 n.33.

¹⁶² In Apollonius' *Argonautica*, Thetis' sisters help her direct Argo away from the Wandering Rocks (ARh. 4.844).

¹⁶³ The love triangle may be an allusion to Styruus, Medea's fiancé, who only gives up his claim to the Colchian princess, when he dies in a storm in pursuit of Medea and Jason (VF. 8.328-68). On Styruus, cf. Baier (2001) 83f. Even Polyphemus' story is taken up again in the Valerian Bebrycia episode, in which Amycus' ruthless slaying of foreigners is likened to Polyphemus' savage killing (VF. 4.99-109a).

¹⁶⁴ Peleus and Chiron appear together *in propria persona* at VF. 1.265b-70.

¹⁶⁵ Cf. Zissos (2008) 154 with further references.

The sisters' unhappy loves, the oracle's warning to take precautions against an emerging young hero's greatness as well as the marriage ceremony mirror and anticipate Jason's and Medea's story.¹⁶⁶ While the painting does not occur in the Hellenistic *Argonautica*, Apollonius portrays Peleus and Thetis as a model relationship for Jason and Medea.¹⁶⁷ Valerius also follows Apollonius in placing the relationship prior to the expedition in contrast to the accounts of Catullus (Cat. 64.25-46) and Ovid (Met. 11.221-65), which he otherwise follows closely in the ekphrasis.¹⁶⁸ Whereas Apollonius focuses on Thetis' physical aid to the Argonauts during their return journey (ARh. 4.834-84), Valerius stylizes her marriage to Peleus as a symbol of hope for the Argonauts and repeatedly mentions it prior to the launch, while at the same time drastically reducing her (and Peleus') role.¹⁶⁹ He even omits Thetis' direct speech acts in the Argonauts' rescue from the sea storm (see below) in favour of Juno's depiction as initially conformist, tutelary deity.

It is striking that Valerius discusses neither the nature of Thetis' relationship with Zeus nor her problematic marriage to Peleus. Apollonius, by contrast, sheds light on both relationships in great detail as part of the longest female speech of the epic – Hera's request to Thetis to save Medea and the Argonauts from the Wandering Rocks¹⁷⁰ at ARh. 4.757-69.¹⁷¹ Hera's persuasion is, as Herter (1959) 53 fittingly concludes, "ein Meisterstück an diplomatischer Politesse". She begins the speech by emphasizing the goddesses' relationship and mutual respect. She flatters Thetis explaining that since she raised her from a young age, Thetis has always been her favourite sea goddess, because she alone avoided Zeus' amorous advances out of respect and fear for Hera (ARh. 4.790b-6a).¹⁷² The amicable relationship between the two goddesses and Hera's praise of Thetis as the most faithful of all, stands in

¹⁶⁶ Cf. VF. 8.204 *deiecta residens in lumina palla* (of Medea as a sad bride). On the cave wedding, see also VF. 8.255f. Cf. Adamietz (1976) 11, Fuhrer (1998) 17, Schmitzer (1999) 148, Baier (2004) 19, Zissos (2008) 153, and Harrison (2013) 218.

¹⁶⁷ Cf. Clauss (1993) 97-9 and Zissos (2008) 153.

¹⁶⁸ Cf. Otte (1992) 43 and Zissos (2008) 154f.

¹⁶⁹ After the goddess is mentioned four times in the first book as part of Argus' painting (VF. 1.130-9), the catalogue (VF. 1.403-4a), the farewell sacrifice (VF. 1.190), and the rescue operation during the sea storm (VF. 1.658), Thetis only briefly reoccurs in connection with another sacrifice to her and Glaucus by Hypsipyle (VF. 2.286) and during Helle's epiphany (VF. 2.590).

¹⁷⁰ On Hera's false claim in the Apollonian *Argonautica* (ARh. 4.786f.) and the problematic geography, cf. Herter (1959) 40-7, Delage (1930) 132, Fränkel (1968) 534f., Livrea (1973) 234-6, and Natzel (1992) 154f.

¹⁷¹ For a more detailed analysis of the Apollonian scene, cf. Ibscher (1939) 87-9 and Natzel (1992) 153-8. Valerius does not establish a direct connection between Juno and Thetis, except for a brief indirect collaboration during the sea storm scene, which is based on the Apollonian rescue scene (VF. 1.642f. and VF. 1.657f.). On the Homeric imitation, cf. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff (1924) 182, Klein (1931) 33, Ibscher (1939) 89, and Herter (1959) 53.

¹⁷² Hera's omission of the nymph Sinope, who also wittily evades Zeus' amorous advances by asking him for eternal virginity (ARh. 2.946-54), is probably strategic. See also Natzel (1992) 155 n.61. Juno only once stoops in a similar way to persuade one of her divine female helpers, when she lies to Venus declaring that she needs her love girdle to overcome Jupiter's angry ignorance of her (VF. 6.475f.), thereby trying to hide her true intention to manipulate Medea on Jason's behalf.

stark contrast to Homer's vivid account of Hera's argument with Zeus over his relationship with Thetis in the *Iliad*, which can only be settled by Hephaestus' energetic soothing of his mother (Il. 1.536-611).¹⁷³

The Apollonian Hera does not stop at declaring her preference for Thetis, but also emphasizes that it was she who remedied the destructive consequences of Zeus' vengeful oath that doomed Thetis to an inferior marriage.¹⁷⁴ Hera presents her jealousy as sympathy in her version of events¹⁷⁵ and claims to have married Thetis to the best mortal man, to have personally invited the gods to the wedding feast, and even to have carried Thetis' wedding torch (ARh. 4.805-9) out of gratitude for her loyalty.¹⁷⁶ Valerius omits these details probably on account of the negative, adulterous portrayal of Jupiter, which is nearly entirely excluded from the Roman *Argonautica* with the exception of Orpheus' embedded Io-narrative (VF. 4.351b-421).

The same holds true for Peleus' mistreatment of Thetis, which Valerius omits in order not to diminish the encouraging effect of the hero's relationship to the sea goddess, whereas Apollonius discusses the problematic bond at great length as part of Hera's speech and the subsequent epiphany of Thetis. Well aware of Thetis' resentment towards her husband, Hera asks the sea goddess to save the Argonauts for Medea, the future wife of Achilles and thus Thetis' future daughter-in-law, first and foremost (ARh. 4.810-5), and only secondly for Peleus (ARh. 4.815b-6a σὸ δ' ἄρηγε νυφῆ ἐκυρή περ ἔοῦσα, / ἠδ' αὐτῆ Πηληϊ.).¹⁷⁷ She uses the evil mother-in-law motif to manipulate Thetis¹⁷⁸ and pleads with her to let go of her resentment towards Peleus (ARh. 4.816b).

Thetis obediently agrees to help the Argonauts, swiftly leaves, and appears before Peleus to share Hera's plan with him (ARh. 4.854-64). She concludes her speech with the request not to inform the other Argonauts of her presence during the rescue and warns her husband not to make her resent him even more than after his first inconsiderate error (ARh. 4.862-4). Their relationship is thus clearly

¹⁷³ Cf. Hephaestus' role in the Apollonian rescue mission prior to (ARh. 4.775-7a) and during the conversation (ARh. 4.818-22a). Hera's speech is misleading and most likely a deliberate allusion to the Homeric scene. See also Natzel (1992) 154.

¹⁷⁴ On Themis' oracle, cf. Livrea (1973) 238 with further references.

¹⁷⁵ For Hera's jealousy, cf. Fränkel (1968) 536 and Natzel (1992) 156. For Apollonius' invention of Hera's role as bridal attendant, cf. Herter (1959) 48 n.1 with further literature.

¹⁷⁶ Hera strategically praises Peleus very briefly at the beginning of her speech to prepare the discussion of Thetis' marital problems in her conclusion (ARh. 4.815b-6) in an attempt to soothe the goddess' anger towards him. See also Herter (1959) 48.

¹⁷⁷ On the literary tradition, see Herter (1959) 49f. The reference to Achilles' relationship with Medea has commonly been rejected as far-fetched and out of place, especially in view of Peleus' farewell from the infant Achilles at VF. 1.255-70. Cf. Faerber (1932) 90, Herter (1959) 50, and Natzel (1992) 155.

¹⁷⁸ See also Natzel (1992) 155 n.63 and Herter (1959) 52f. On Thetis' anger, cf. Livrea (1973) 242f. with further references.

presented as irreconcilable at this point.¹⁷⁹ The vague allusions to Peleus' mistake raise suspense until the nature of his *nefas* is finally revealed in NRTA. By presenting the events from Peleus' viewpoint the pathos of the episode is increased and sympathy for the insulted goddess is raised. Peleus is full of regret for his ignorant, destructive actions and reveals that he has not seen his wife since he screamed at her after finding her singeing Achilles' flesh in an attempt to make their son immortal, upon which Thetis angrily left for the sea and never returned (ARh. 4.866-80a). Valerius does not include this scene, but shows the consequence thereof with Achilles' education and care by Chiron (VF. 1.557f.).

Hippodamia, Peleus, Nestor, and Aeson (VF. 1.140-9)

The first image of the second composition series, the wedding of Hippodamia with king Pirithous of the Lapiths is closely linked to the first by the shared presence of Peleus and the wedding banquet motif. Valerius inverts the change of mood in the second composition: whereas Thetis' sadness turns into a happy marriage celebration, Hippodamia's wedding results in a fatal battle.¹⁸⁰ The inebriated Centaurs Pholoe and Rhoetus try to abduct Hippodamia, and in the following fight the future Argonauts Peleus and Nestor, together with Jason's father Aeson, are shown as slaying and driving off the Centaurs. While Nestor's (Il. 1.266-70 and Met. 12.210-535) and Peleus' participation in the fight (Met. 12.366-92) are attested prior to the *Argonautica*, Aeson's involvement seems to be a Valerian invention in line with the poet's "strategy of augmenting Aeson's heroic stature".¹⁸¹ The omission of Theseus, who is not part of the Argonautic mission, in Valerius' portrayal of the battle serves to focus the reader's attention on the heroism of the future Argonauts Nestor and Peleus.¹⁸² The inclusion of Nessus follows Ovid's account (Met. 12.308f.) and combines the attempted rape of Hippodamia with that of Deianeira and indirectly celebrates another Argonaut as heroic saviour of women in need – Hercules. The latter serves to prepare the hero's liberation of Hesione at VF. 2.451-549. The victory over the Centaurs indirectly characterises the current Argonauts and the descendants of heroic warriors and designated "bringer(s) of civilization",¹⁸³ a topic discussed in more detail in Jupiter's

¹⁷⁹ Cf. Natzel (1992) 156.

¹⁸⁰ Cf. Schmitzer (1999) 149 "das komplementäre Gegenstück zum Thetis-Motiv".

¹⁸¹ Zissos (2008) 161. See also Adamietz (1976) 26-8.

¹⁸² Cf. Zissos (2008) 161: "(i)t thus serves to connect heroic generations, establishing a relative mythological chronology".

¹⁸³ Zissos (2008) 161. See also Köstlin (1889) 653, Frank (1974) 838, Davis (1980) 92, and Newman (1986) 223.

declaration of the *Fata* and especially in the Amycus episode, which is here anticipated by Polyphemus' story.¹⁸⁴

The disturbed wedding and abduction of Hippodamia serves as a mirror story for Medea's flight with Jason and their wedding ceremony which is overshadowed by the pursuit of Medea's brother Absyrtus, who assumes that Medea has been kidnapped and is in danger of being raped (VF. 8.217-60). Hippodamia's wedding, which already is a negative escalation of Thetis' nuptials, is surpassed by Medea's wedding ceremony and thus emphasizes its destructive consequences.¹⁸⁵

The two compositions reflect a pessimistic view on love and show women as both victims – they are targeted by rapists, their true love is denied, their beloved killed, and their nuptials disturbed – and as causes for deadly conflict on both human and divine level. These roles reoccur in the Argonautic catalogue and are discussed in more detail by Jupiter, who declares Medea's rape as “a vital catalyst in the unfolding of human history (VF. 1.545b-54)”. From the viewpoint of the Argonauts, however, both series of paintings are very positive *omina* promising that Peleus' marriage to Thetis ensures their support by the sea goddess and other marine deities and that, like their heroic forefathers and fellow Argonauts in one of the most famous battles in antiquity, they can overcome all enemies, human and divine.¹⁸⁶

Jason and Acastus (VF. 1.149-83)¹⁸⁷

The Acastus episode consists of two preliminary scenes (Jason's soliloquy and a bird omen), which prepare the main scene (Jason's persuasion of Pelias' son Acastus) and contain a total of three speeches all of which focus on the psychological state of the speakers. This episode is closely intertwined with the opening and the final episodes of the epic and is particularly noteworthy for the male relationships and rivalries portrayed here. The scene moreover serves to establish a parallel between Acastus' and Medea's character and their relationship to Jason.

¹⁸⁴ Valerius revisits the battle against the Centaurs as part of the Cyzicus episode where he gives due credit to the previously omitted Hercules and Theseus for beating the Centaurs Rhoetus and Pholoe (VF. 3.65-7a). On the pairing of these two Argonautic heroes, see also VF. 4.699-701. The battle of the Lapiths and Centaurs is, just like the previous painting, revisited again later in the Valerian epic, when Pallas uses a reference to the Lapiths to mock and provoke Mars at VF. 5.651f.

¹⁸⁵ Schmitzer (1999) 149 considers Medea's wedding ceremony simply as a negative addition. See also Zissos (2008) 153f. For Thetis' rape by Peleus, cf. Met. 11.221-65.

¹⁸⁶ Cf. Otte (1992) 51 and Zissos (2008) 153.

¹⁸⁷ See also Lüthje (1971) 13-5, Adamietz (1976) 11f., Pollini (1984) 52-4, Scaffai (1986a) 245-52, Ripoll (1998) 198-201, and Guinee (1999) 59-61.

Jason's Soliloquy (VF. 1.150b-5)

While his men inspect Argus' creation in awe, Jason responds with fear.¹⁸⁸ He is deep in thought and reflects upon Pelias' cunning assignment and its impact on his own and the other Argonauts' families in a soliloquy (VF. 1.149-50a).¹⁸⁹ Jason's first of only three soliloquies in the Valerian epic highlights the importance of his ruse against Acastus, the dramatic consequence of which – the suicide of Jason's parents Aeson and Alcimedea – is discussed at the end of the first book. Unlike Valerius, Apollonius does not assign a soliloquy to Jason in this situation, as Acastus' participation is voluntary and a counter-deceit against Pelias is absent from the Hellenistic epic.¹⁹⁰

This deliberation follows the Homeric tradition of deliberative soliloquies contemplating two different options and their consequences.¹⁹¹ It is one of Jason's most emotional speeches and prepares the pathos-laden farewell episode. Yet again, it is striking that Jason focuses on the impact on male relatives, when he expresses his sympathy for the Argonauts who are forced to leave sons or fathers (VF. 1.150b *heu miseros nostrum natosque patresque!*) behind.¹⁹² He compares his own father's torment over his dangerous mission with Pelias' security and peace of mind due to Acastus' safety at home (VF. 1.150b-2b). By presenting his father as victim of the waves (VF. 1.152b *in solum nunc saeviet Aesona pontus?*) Jason implies that his fate is inextricably interwoven with that of his father, while he does not acknowledge his mother's worries.¹⁹³ The hero contemplates whether he should undo this imbalance by secretly taking Acastus with him (VF. 1.153-4a), so that the tyrant's son will face the same dangers at sea as his brother's son (VF. 1.153 *casus eadem ... pericula*)¹⁹⁴ and Pelias, as a consequence, will be forced to suffer the same uncertainty as Aeson and not just pretend to wish for a successful outcome of the Argonautic mission.¹⁹⁵

¹⁸⁸ Cf. Aeneas' reaction at Aen. 1.459-63. See also Hershkowitz (1998) 129f., Schmitzer (1999) 150, and Baier (2004) 21f. On the importance of the *patronymicon* (VF. 1.149 *Aesone natus*), cf. Harrison (2013) 219: "the reader will learn later in this same book that Aeson too is an accurate prophet of coming catastrophe, in his dying prophecy of the tyrant Pelias' death (1.806-11)".

¹⁸⁹ For a detailed discussion of Jason's soliloquy, cf. Eigler (1988) 9-19.

¹⁹⁰ Cf. Dräger (2003) 328 and Zissos (2008) 167.

¹⁹¹ Cf. Fenik (1978) 68-90 and Zissos (2008) 168.

¹⁹² Cf. VF. 1.739 *natumque nurumque*. Spoken from Jason's perspective *natosque patresque* (VF. 1.150) most likely refers to the Argonauts themselves who, like Jason, are sons of elderly parents or, like Peleus, fathers of young sons (cf. VF. 1.265b-70). See also Kleywegt (2005) 103 and Zissos (2008) 169.

¹⁹³ This imbalance is already introduced with the speech introduction: VF. 1.149f. *Aesone natus, et secum*. See also Zissos (2008) 169: "VF's heroes manifest a characteristically Virgilian preoccupation with the male lines, and sons in particular".

¹⁹⁴ Cf. VF. 1.53b-4 *ne dum mea proles / imperio et belli rebus matura marique*. See also Zissos (2008) 169.

¹⁹⁵ Pelias' hypocritical stance is captured in Jason's paradoxon: VF. 1.154b-5a *invisae Pelias freta tuta carinae / optet*.

This juxtaposition and double antithesis between Pelias and his brother Aeson on the one hand and their sons on the other could explain why Jason does not reflect upon his mother's situation in the same way. Similarly, Jason's wish for Pelias to join the group of anxious, tearful mothers in their prayers for favourable, calm seas at the beach (VF. 1.155 *et exoret nostris cum matribus undas*) primarily serves to characterize Pelias and Jason. The evoked image, which indirectly also includes Jason's own mother, indicates just how much anguish Jason wants Pelias to suffer and at the same time it is further evidence of the clear role division between the sexes. Collective lament is viewed by Jason as a woman's task, a natural female response to farewell situations, which is why the thought of forcing the ruthless tyrant into effeminate behaviour gives Jason pleasure.¹⁹⁶

The image of the praying mothers on the shore is of course also commonplace in epic poetry and here employed to set the mood for the subsequent public and private farewell scenes (VF. 1.315-49), in which the same image reoccurs (VF. 1.315f). Jason's visualisation of Pelias' future lament is taken up again, albeit from Acastus' perspective, by Pelias himself at the very moment when he discovers Acastus' departure at VF. 1.712f. *maesti ... genitoris imago, / ... et luctus ... suspiria nostri*. The combination of Pelias' sorrow with Jason's wish highlights the parallel between Pelias' pain at his son's secret departure and Medea's mother's pathos-laden lament over Medea's flight in Book 8 of the Valerian *Argonautica* (VF. 8.140-74).

Jupiter's Omen (VF. 1.156-60)¹⁹⁷

Jason's soliloquy has commonly been considered as proof of his cynical, cruel, and vindictive nature,¹⁹⁸ which emphasizes at this stage in the epic plot that Valerius' Jason, similar to Lucan's Pompey, is a dynamic hero, a *proficiens*, who is growing with the task and will come to realize his mistake after his first endurance test at sea (VF. 1.693-9).¹⁹⁹ While some scholars have interpreted Jupiter's bird omen as sanctioning Jason's plan and as an absolution of his guilt towards both Acastus and his parents, the unusual lack of interpretation of the omen,²⁰⁰ the tragic death of Jason's parents, and Acastus'

¹⁹⁶ On the role of female lament in epic poetry, cf. Voigt (2004).

¹⁹⁷ On Homeric and Virgilian models of the eagle omen, cf. Kleywegt (2005) 106.

¹⁹⁸ On Jason's dishonest claims and calculating speeches in Book 1, cf. Davis (1990) 56 and Lefèvre (1991) 177-80.
¹⁹⁹ Cf. Shey (1968) 34, Lüthje (1971) 48f., Venini (1971b) 611, Adamietz (1976) 12, Barich (1982) 40, Kleywegt (2005) 101f., and Zissos (2008) 167: "Jason emerges as something of an *Aeneas manqué*".

²⁰⁰ The Valerian bird omen is modelled on ARh. 3.540-4. By contrast, the Apollonian omen is attributed to Aphrodite, the goddess commonly associated with doves (ARh. 3.548b-51a). The comparison highlights the

insignificance with regard to Jupiter's world plan make it more likely that Jason mistakes Jupiter's approval of the enterprise in general as a specific encouragement for his vengeful recruitment of Acastus.²⁰¹ Irrespective of the omen's exact function, it is noteworthy that Jason's first two speeches are met with immediate, positive responses from Juno and her female divine helper Pallas, and Jupiter, assuring Jason of his divine support.²⁰² This early intervention is representative of these gods' principal status in Valerius in general, in contrast to Apollonius, where the three prevailing gods are Zeus, Apollo, and Aphrodite, and Juno and Jupiter as the main divine agents who control the events from the very beginning.²⁰³

Jason's Speech of Persuasion (VF. 1.164b-73)

Jason's speech of persuasion to his young cousin Acastus is the second male deception scene of the first book. The speech contains several verbal echoes and re-appropriated elements from Pelias' persuasion of Jason himself,²⁰⁴ but his approach is much more natural, direct, and simple.²⁰⁵ He appeals to Acastus' curiosity, pride, and desire for glory. Jason flatters the youth by comparing him to some of his greatest warriors (VF. 1.166b-7) and, like Pelias in the epic's opening speech to Jason himself, thereby appeals to his addressee's sense of duty (VF. 1.41b-6a and VF. 1.165f.) before he too entices him with the novelty of the adventure and the prospect of unprecedented glory (VF. 1.40 and VF. 1.168f.).²⁰⁶ In contrast to Pelias' gloomy and terrifying dream vision (VF. 1.46b-50), Jason chooses an encouraging, glorious image to illustrate and corroborate his argument - the Argonauts' future successful return - in an attempt to inspire jealousy and shame in Acastus (VF. 1.170-3).

greater direct involvement of Valerius' Jupiter as well as the omission of the interpretation in the Roman *Argonautica*. In Apollonius' epic the omen is explicitly interpreted by Mopsus as a confirmation of their decision to ask Medea to help recover the Fleece (ARh. 3.545-54).

²⁰¹ Cf. Adamietz (1976), Barich (1982) 40, Kleywegt (2005) 108, and Zissos (2008) 167.

²⁰² This and the omen at VF. 1.568-73 are the only two instances in which Jupiter directly interferes with an omen, both times with encouraging portents for the Argonauts. See also Schubert (1984b) 117 and Kleywegt (2005) 108.

²⁰³ Cf. Lawall (1966) 157 and Toohey (1993) 192.

²⁰⁴ Cf. VF. 1.56 *pecoris Nephelaei vellera* ≈ VF. 1.167 *vellere ... Helles*; VF. 1.57 *ac tantis temet dignare periculis* ≈ VF. 1.166f. *neque enim Telamon aut Canthus et Idas / Tyndareus puer mihi vellere dignior Helles*; VF. 1.54 *et belli rebus matura marique* ≈ VF. 1.170a *nunc forsane grave reris opus*; VF. 1.41 *adnue daque animum* ≈ VF. 1.165f. *socium te iungere coeptis / est animus*.

²⁰⁵ On the structure, cf. Kleywegt (2005) 109.

²⁰⁶ Thetis' request to Neptune to destroy the ship that carries Paris and the kidnapped Helen (Ach. 1.61-5) in the *Achilleid* seems to allude directly to and criticise Jason's positive evaluation at VF. 1.168f. as well as the consequences of the Argonauts' pioneering role as sailors. See also Zissos (2008) 174f. and Kleywegt (2005) 111. On Jason's progressive evaluation of navigation as part of his strategy and on the debate over his inconsistent position in the first book in general, cf. Venini (1972) 11f., Barich (1982) 94-6, Pollini (1984) 54-61, Tschiedel (1998) 297, Manuwald (1999) 173 n.72, and Zissos (2006) 79-95.

Acastus' Reply (VF. 1.174b-81)

While Jason's reply to Pelias is omitted, Acastus' naivety and youth are stressed by his overzealous reply, which contrasts greatly with Jason's silence towards Pelias' request. Acastus is so enthusiastic that he cannot wait for Jason to finish his speech, but interrupts the hero to vow his support (VF. 1.173a). The many verbal echoes of Jason's speech highlight the close relationship between the two speakers.²⁰⁷ Acastus happily seizes his opportunity to prove himself in his first heroic enterprise. His reply not only shows that his main motivation is strife for glory and familial loyalty, but also that he is fully aware that his participation is against his father's wishes (VF. 1.175-8). He himself devises a plan to deceive his unsuspecting father and decides secretly to join Jason shortly before the launch, which makes this a triple deceit (VF. 1.179-81).

Jason, too, betrays a younger relative and endangers his safety, but Acastus' enthusiasm for the enterprise, his awareness of the dangers and his father's disapproval, and Jason's own participation and the circumstance that he does not mean to harm Acastus, but only recruits him in retaliation of and as insurance against Pelias' ruthless actions, make his deceit less despicable than Pelias'.²⁰⁸

Omitted Episode: The Argonauts' Council Meeting (ARh. 1.317-62)

It is no coincidence that Jason is for the first time referred to as *ductor* (VF. 1.164) in his conversation with Acastus and is shortly afterwards shown to give the Argonauts final instructions for the launch (VF. 1.184f. *ducis imperiis ... monituque*).²⁰⁹ In response to Jason's orders, the heroes promptly start to row and shout out aloud collectively (VF. 1.186f. *clamor ... / nauticus*) to the rhythm of Orpheus' lyre (VF. 1.186b-7).²¹⁰

In Apollonius the late arrival of Acastus establishes a transition to the council scene in which Jason is elected to lead the Argonautic mission. Valerius alludes to the scene here, which has been omitted, because the Roman poet has given Jason an unprecedented heroic reputation that precedes the

²⁰⁷ For further similarities between the two scenes see below. On the echoes between Jason's and Acastus' speech, cf. Kleywegt (2005) 113.

²⁰⁸ Cf. Kleywegt (2005) 109.

²⁰⁹ Together with Jason's first instructions as the leader of the Argonauts the term 'Minyae' is used for the first time prior to Argo's launch to highlight the moment when Jason unites the brave independent heroes and leaders (VF. 1.100f. *spectataque fama turba ducum*) into the collective of Argonauts. The Valerian narrator does not explain the origin of the term, but presumes the readers' familiarity with the name and the Apollonian farewell scene (ARh. 1.229-33), where the term and its appropriate application to Alkimedē's family are discussed in great detail.

²¹⁰ Apollonius' corresponding description (ARh. 1.363-93) is much more technical and does not mention Orpheus' musical accompaniment.

expedition, and Jason's and his father's renown serve in fact as additional incentive for the heroes to follow Juno's call and join the dangerous mission (VF. 1.96-9). Jason's leadership is thus established and divinely supported from the very beginning of the enterprise. His position is therefore much stronger than in Apollonius, where in a long council meeting, convened by Jason (ARh. 1.332-40) to settle the question of leadership, Jason is only elected as the Argonauts' second choice after Herakles declines the position (ARh. 1.341-4) and personally seconds the young hero (ARh. 1.345-7).²¹¹

Final Launch Preparations, Sacrifice, and Banquet (VF. 1.184-293)²¹²

In both Apollonius (ARh. 1.363-517) and Valerius (VF. 1.184-293) the final preparations can be divided into a threefold episode consisting of a) a prayer and sacrifice to the Argonauts' tutelary deity for protection, b) the interpretation of the offered sacrifice, and c) the farewell banquet.²¹³

As already discussed, the sacrifice corresponds to ARh. 1.402-31, where the Argonauts worship Apollo (AR 1.403f.) in a traditional embarkation sacrifice. In Apollonius, Jason's prayer (ARh. 1.411-24) is directly connected to the preceding council scene in which Jason instructs the Argonauts to prepare the departure sacrifice (ARh. 1.359-62). As a result of the pioneering status of the voyage not only the tone of Jason's prayer, but also the invoked deity change in Valerius' episode. The god Neptune, as *rector aquarum* (VF. 1.194b-5), is the main addressee of the prayer,²¹⁴ but the number and nature of gods who are invoked along with him are highly indicative of the Argonauts' apprehensions and concerns about their voyage.²¹⁵ They build altars and pour libations for the marine deities Neptune, Glaucus, and Thetis (VF. 1.187-91a), as well as the west winds (VF. 1.190 *Zephyris*) to assure calm seas and a steady wind for their voyage.²¹⁶ In compliance with Roman traditions, the gifts are divided according to the recipients' gender: the gods receive an ox (VF. 1.190 *bovem*), whereas the goddess is

²¹¹ Accordingly, in Apollonius other Argonauts take charge before the launch: Argus gives the first orders (ARh. 1.367) and Tiphys subsequently exhorts his comrades and sets an example (ARh. 1.381-3). See also Hull (1979) 383, Hershkowitz (1998) 112-4, Kleywegt (2005) 119f., and Zissos (2008) 173.

²¹² Cf. Lüthje (1971) 15-7, Pollini (1984) 54-8, and Lefèvre (1991) 173-80.

²¹³ Cf. Kleywegt (2005) 123f. on the structure.

²¹⁴ On Jason's likening of Neptune to Jupiter, cf. Zissos (2008) 183. On Thetis' contrastive imitation, cf. Ach. 1.61-5.

²¹⁵ See also Aen. 3.118-20 with Anchises' sacrifices to Neptune, Apollo, Hiems, and the Zephyri. The verdicts on Valerius' changes vary from Zissos' (2008, 180) "a logical adaptation" to Venini's (1971a, 590) "banalizzazione".

²¹⁶ The same gods will receive another prayer and libation after Neptune's termination of the storm at VF. 1.667-80. Glaucus, whose role is drastically reduced in Valerius' *Argonautica*, and Thetis are paired in another sacrifice by Hypsipyle at VF. 2.285-7, and Glaucus and the Nereid Cymothoe are praised for rescuing Helle from drowning at VF. 2.604f. For further parallels, cf. Lefèvre (1991) 177 and Zissos (2008) 179-81.

offered a heifer (VF. 1.190 *iuvencam*).²¹⁷ While in Apollonius, Hercules and Ancaeus are in charge of the slaughter, in the Roman *Argonautica*, in line with the strengthening of Jason's leadership, Jason himself slaughters the animals (VF. 1.191b-2), pours three libations for Neptune, and speaks his second prayer (VF. 1.193-4a).²¹⁸

Jason's Prayer to Neptune (VF. 1.194b-203)

Jason's speech shows great awareness of the sea gods' aversion towards the ethically questionable first voyage on the one hand and, on the other hand, especially in view of his earlier prayer to and confidence in Juno's and Pallas' support, it also reveals his calculating, dishonest side.²¹⁹ His prayer is apologetic, cautious, and anticipatory. Jason goes to great lengths to explain the reasons for his mission. He admits to committing a sacrilege and breaking the laws of the sea (VF. 1.197 *inlicitas temptare vias*),²²⁰ but assures Neptune that he is not acting with "hubristic intent",²²¹ but that the voyage has been forced upon him (VF. 1.198 *sed non sponte feror*). In an attempt to transfer the blame and Neptune's anticipated anger (VF. 1.202 *indignantibus undis*) onto Pelias, he presents the tyrant as the instigator of the undertaking and thus the main perpetrator (VF. 1.200b-1a *ille aspera iussa / repperit*) and himself as a victim.²²² Hoping to evoke sympathy in the sea god, he declares that Pelias created the mission for the sole purpose of destroying Jason and bringing sorrow to his family (VF. 1.201f. *et Colchos in me luctumque meorum. / illum ego ...*).²²³ Jason concludes his speech with an urgent plea (VF. 1.196a *da veniam*) to Neptune to protect him against Pelias' evil wishes (VF. 1.200a *ne Peliae te vota trahant*)²²⁴ and to receive him and his men with benevolent waters (VF. 1.202f.).

²¹⁷ Cf. Zissos (2008) 181: "it was standard Roman practice to match the sex of the victim with that of the divine recipient".

²¹⁸ Lefèvre (1991) 177 stresses that Valerius' reversal of the order of prayer and sacrifice puts greater emphasis on Jason's speech. On the traditional "threefold repetition", cf. Zissos (2008) 182.

²¹⁹ Cf. Venini (1972) 11f., Barich (1982) 94-6, Lefèvre (1991) 179, and Zissos (2008) 183.

²²⁰ Cf. Davis (1990) 62, Lefèvre (1991) 177, and Zissos (2008) 183 for intertextual references.

²²¹ Zissos (2008) 183. See also Lefèvre (1991) 179.

²²² *Aspera iussa* (VF. 1.200) presents Pelias' actions as harsh to both Jason and Neptune alike.

²²³ On the problematic verse, cf. Kleywegt (1986b) 348f.

²²⁴ Cf. Pelias at VF. 1.37 *ira maris vastique placent discrimina ponti* and Jason at VF. 1.154f. *invisae Pelias freta tuta carinae / optet*. Just as Pelias assumes the worst of Jason at VF. 1.712-24a, Jason here expects the worst of the tyrant even during his absence. The scene moreover anticipates Jason's fear at VF. 1.693-9.

Divergent Sacrifice Interpretations (VF. 1.205-54)²²⁵

The seer is a stock character in Greco-Roman epic. The scene at hand contains the first of as many as six prophecies in the first book alone, which underlines the importance of the first book for the understanding of the entire epic.²²⁶ The combination and direct juxtaposition of prophecies is, however, very rare and only occurs once in the *Argonautica*. Valerius extends Apollonius' sacrifice scene (ARh 1.432-49), which consists of a single prophecy of medium length by Idmon (ARh. 1.440-7), by adding two more speeches. He keeps the tone and to a great extent also the content of Idmon's prophecy (VF. 1.234b-8a), but frames it with another, darker prophecy by Mopsus (VF. 1.211-26), the principal seer of the Argonauts in Valerius' epic, and an exhortative speech by Jason (VF. 1.241b-51), who repeatedly takes charge of the Argonauts' sacrifices and here interprets Jupiter's bird omen by himself (VF. 1.156-60). The transferal of the *vates* role, which Mopsus and Orpheus share in Apollonius' *Argonautica*, to Jason further emphasizes Jason's stronger leadership in Valerius' version.

The combination of these three speeches may be inspired by Lucan's triad of different prophetic methods in the *Civil War* (Luc. 1.631b-7a: Arruns, Luc. 1.642-72: Figulus, Luc. 1.678-94: *matrona*). These prophecies, too, occur at an early, but a crucial stage in the epic plot.²²⁷ While Lucan's prophecies of the consequences of the Roman civil war between Pompey and Caesar are arranged climactically concluding with the darkest and most blunt prediction by the highly entranced anonymous *matrona* (Luc. 1.678-94),²²⁸ Valerius reverses the order and thus the impact of the prophecies on the addressees. In the Flavian *Argonautica*, the most devastating prophecy is spoken first, then Idmon's second prophecy remedies the terror invoked by Mopsus' speech and calms the Argonauts down, before finally Jason's address entirely converts the slight optimism Idmon was able to inspire into great courage and enthusiastic celebrations.

²²⁵ See also Lüthje (1971) 17-9, Strand (1972) 57-64, Adamietz (1976) 13f., Lefèvre (1991) 174f., and Baldriga (1994) 35-74.

²²⁶ These six prophecies are delivered by Idmon (VF. 1.234-8), Argo (VF. 1.302-8), Jupiter (VF. 1.531-67), Neptune (VF. 1.642-50), and Cretheus (VF. 1.741-51). The first book contains more prophecies than the remaining books combined: Polyxo (VF. 2.322-5), Helle (VF. 2.592-607), Mopsus (VF. 3.377-416), Phineus (VF. 4.553-624), and Phrixus (VF. 5.233-40).

²²⁷ For the Lucanian prophecies, see also Fratantuono (2012) 38-46. For another threefold comparison of divination techniques that in fact all occur in the first book of the epic, cf. Jupiter's speech (VF. 1.544: the shrine of Dodona – *meae quercus*, VF. 1.544: the Delphic oracle – *tripodes*; and VF. 1.544: the shades of ancestors – *animae ... parentum*). See also Zissos (2008) 317.

²²⁸ Another important function of the threefold prophecy in Lucan's epic poem is to contrast male and female positions and reactions to the outbreak of the civil war in an attempt to highlight the less rational, pathos-driven response and *infirmitas animi* of the female sex. Cf. also Lucan's anticlimactic triad: Luc. 2.38-42a (*matrona* 2), Luc. 2.45-63a (*viri*), and Luc. 2.68-232 (*aliquis*).

The combination of Idmon's and Mopsus' prophecies, which may have been encouraged by Apollonius' new inclusion of the two seers and especially their joined death, is representative of Valerius' treatment of the seers throughout the epic.²²⁹ He greatly extends their importance in comparison to Apollonius and frequently combines their efforts.²³⁰

Mopsus, Juno, Pallas, and Medea (VF. 1.211-26)

Mopsus is the most prominent and important seer of the Argonauts and accordingly also the first seer to announce a prophecy.²³¹ His bacchic state and the effect on his comrades are described in great detail prior to his speech: Mopsus' trance (VF. 1.205-9a), his terrible appearance (VF. 1.208 *immanis visu*), and horrific voice (VF. 1.210 *vox horrenda*)²³² inspire fear in the Argonauts (VF. 1.228 *terrificat*) and even the seer himself (VF. 1.211a *heu quanam aspicio!*).²³³

The first and only positive vision Mopsus describes fills a gap in the narrative proper.²³⁴ The event the *vates* sees before his eyes is an assembly of marine deities whom Neptune gathers together to discuss the consequences of the Argonauts' voyage (VF. 1.211b-3a). Witnessing how all the gods urge Neptune to punish the Argonauts for their sacrilege (VF. 1.213f. *legem defendere cuncti / hortantur*),²³⁵ Mopsus, in his trance, invokes Juno and Pallas as tutelary deities (VF. 1.81-99) and asks Juno to embrace her brother and Pallas not to forsake the ship, but to deflect Neptune's anger (VF. 1.215b).²³⁶ The two goddesses prevail and in concession to their request the other gods accept the voyage (VF. 1.216b-7a *cessere ratemque / accepere mari*). The scene Mopsus describes is not reported by the narrator, but it is alluded to and verified in Neptune's soliloquy in the sea storm episode of the first book, when Neptune grimly declares that he only agreed to soothe the storm in response to Juno's and Pallas' tearful pleading (VF. 1.642-50). The council scene may have been included at this stage and in this detail for several reasons. On the one hand the scene corroborates and continues the presentation of Pallas and Juno as dominant divine forces; Jason's prayer to them and Mopsus' report frame the Argonauts' sacrifice to the sea deities, which emphasizes the dominance of Juno's and Pallas' will over

²²⁹ Cf. Matthews (1977) 197, Lefèvre (1991) 177, Kleywegt (2005) 134, and Zissos (2008) 187.

²³⁰ Valerius increases Mopsus' number of appearances in Apollonius' version from 5 to 10 (cf. Dräger, 2004, 27 n.16 and 31 n.43) and Idmon's from 3 to 7 appearances (cf. Dräger, 2004, 28 n.22 and 31 n.45).

²³¹ Cf. Kleywegt (1991) 230 and Dräger (2004) 27.

²³² On the use of *vox* in prophetic speeches, see Lefèvre (1991) 175.

²³³ On the myriad of stylistic devices employed in this "highly theatrical sequence", cf. Lovatt (2013a) 54.

²³⁴ On the overall structure of Mopsus' speech, cf. Zissos (2008) 190f.

²³⁵ On the problematic text, cf. Strand (1972) 58f.

²³⁶ The division of tasks corresponds to the goddesses' introduction as tutelary deities at VF. 1.81-99.

the interest of the sea gods. The scene moreover establishes a parallel to the main *concilium deorum* (VF. 1.498-573) in which Pallas and Juno only play a marginal role, but which prepares their subsequent intervention. A combination of both council scenes or an addition of the main *concilium* with a discussion between Neptune and the two goddesses would have diminished the impact of Jupiter's declaration and would have disturbed the balance between the two council scenes in Books 1 and 5.

In the second part of his speech Mopsus predicts a change of luck (VF. 1.217b-8a *per quot discrimina rerum / expeditior!*) and briefly describes events that are in fact reported in the narrative proper: Hylas' kidnapping in Mysia (VF. 218b-9a), Pollux' wounds in the Bebrycian boxing match (VF. 1.220b), the contest against the flaming bulls (VF. 1.221) and the earthborn men (VF. 1.222-3a), and finally the fight against Aeetes and the Colchians for the Fleece (VF. 1.223b-4a *quem circum vellera Martem / aspicio*).²³⁷ The importance of the final phrasing for the anticipation of Mars' isolated opposition throughout the epic and in the two divine council scenes has been recognized and discussed in great detail by Fucecchi (2004).²³⁸ An aspect Fucecchi's excellent study does not include, but which is important for this analysis is the correspondence between Valerius' Mars and Apollonius' Idas, which will be discussed in more detail below.

Drawing on the Euripidean Medea, Mopsus' concluding vision anticipates events that are not contained in the current version of the epic, namely Medea's flight in the winged serpent chariot (VF. 1.224b-5a), her murder of Jason's children (VF. 1.225b-6a) and the fire she sets to the chamber of Jason's new bride (VF. 1.226b-7).²³⁹ While Mopsus' predictions read like a table of contents for Valerius' epic, the second and third section of his prophecy are inconclusive, in their ambivalence terrifying, and in their cruelty disheartening for the Argonauts (VF. 1.227-8a *lamdudum Minyas < ... > vates ambage ducemque / terrificat*).²⁴⁰ Mopsus' prophecies similarly play an important role at the end of the epic, when the seer examines Jason's and Medea's wedding sacrifice, foresees the brevity of their happy union, and the subsequent infanticide (VF. 8.247-51). Mopsus' predictions are also crucial for the Argonauts' decision to oppose Jason and request Medea's extradition from Absyrtus (VF. 8.393b-400).

²³⁷ On the metaliterary importance of Mopsus' prophecy, cf. Hershkowitz (1998) 26f. and Zissos (1999) 293f.

²³⁸ See also Strand (1972) 59-64, Kleywegt (1987) 110-3, and Zissos (2008) 195f.

²³⁹ Mopsus' superior knowledge is the reason for his hostile position towards Medea's alliance with the Argonauts at VF. 8.247-51 and VF. 8.379-99. Cf. Zissos (2008) 196 for more details.

²⁴⁰ Cf. Lefèvre (1991) 175 and Zissos (2008) 187.

Idmon's Speech (VF. 1.234b-8a)

Valerius goes to even greater extremes in his juxtaposition of divination methods by having Idmon energetically interrupt Mopsus' prophecy.²⁴¹ Unlike Mopsus, Idmon is not in a trance, but he is calm, collected, and aware of his surroundings through Phoebus' influence (VF. 1.228-30).²⁴² His appearance and prophetic ability is introduced at great length prior to his speech, and he employs Apolline pyromancy examining the flames and entrails of the sacrifice (VF. 1.234b-5a). After Mopsus' long and disheartening prophecy, Idmon's response is short and encouraging (VF. 1.235b-6a).²⁴³ "(B)y defining the scope more narrowly, Idmon provides a kind of optimistic reformulation (VF. 1.236 *ratis omnia vincet*) and partial suppression of Mopsus' grim vision."²⁴⁴ He assures his fellow Argonauts that the ship will overcome all obstacles and exhorts them to be courageous in face of the danger (VF. 1.237a *ingentes durate animae*).²⁴⁵ Unlike his Apollonian counterpart Idmon does not discuss the prospect of glory, which, as initially discussed, in Valerius has an ambivalent role, nor share his certain death with his comrades (VF. 1.239).²⁴⁶ The omission is logical, as the announcement of Idmon's death would have been counterproductive to his efforts to restore calm and courage in the Argonauts after Mopsus' terrifying prediction.²⁴⁷ At the same time, it is evident that Idmon personally does not take his death as lightly (VF. 1.238 *lacrimae cecidere canenti*) as Apollonius' seer (ARh. 1.440-7), who seems to brush it off as a natural, unavoidable occurrence, and a necessary sacrifice (ARh. 1.445-9).²⁴⁸

Idmon's positive reinterpretation prepares the subsequent, idyllic and overall optimistic farewell scene, which the seer commences by encouraging his comrades to embrace their parents and say their goodbyes (VF. 1.237b-8a *dulcesque parentum / tendite ad amplexus*).

²⁴¹ For a discussion of the two different prophetic methods and terminology, cf. Kleywegt (2005) 199 and Zissos (2008) 187f. See also Lovatt (2013a) 54: "the contrast between the stagey prophecy of Mopsus and the matter-of-fact intervention of Idmon is equally pointed, both between the characterization of the two figures and between the two different types of prophecy, the dramatic and the persuasive".

²⁴² All of Valerius' mortal seers are inspired by or associated with Apollo: Idmon and Mopsus (VF. 1.228, VF. 1.383f., and VF. 3.372), Polyxo (VF. 2.316), and Phineus (VF. 4.445f.). Cf. Manuwald (2013) 38-41 for a more detailed discussion.

²⁴³ On Valerius' verbal and structural echoes of Virgil's two-fold Sibylline philosophy (Aen. 6.83-97), cf. Zissos (2008) 188.

²⁴⁴ Zissos (2008) 188. See also Davis (1980) 80, Feeney (1991), and Zissos (2004a) 322.

²⁴⁵ Cf. Aen. 1.207 *durate et vosmet rebus servate secundis*. Valerius makes the exhortation more specific and puts greater emphasis on the addressees' courage. See also Kleywegt (2005) 145.

²⁴⁶ Cf. Lefèvre (1991) 176 and Kleywegt (2005) 201f.

²⁴⁷ Cf. Davis (1980) 69 and Zissos (2008) 202.

²⁴⁸ Lefèvre (1991) 176 concludes that Apollonius' Idmon takes his imminent death "in altepischer Selbstverständlichkeit" and the Valerian counterpart "in 'modernerem' Denken".

Jason's Second Speech (VF. 1.241b-51)²⁴⁹

After Mopsus' devastating prophecy and Idmon's more balanced and hopeful prediction, Jason tries to inspire the Argonauts with confidence and focuses their attention on the positive aspects of the mission (VF. 1.244f.). He asks them to be optimistic and brave, irrespective of what the future may hold for them (VF. 1.248 *dubiis ... rebus*), and he exhorts his men to strive for glory²⁵⁰ and to make their descendants proud and inspire great deeds in them (VF. 1.249 *quae meminisse iuuet nostrisque nepotibus instent*).²⁵¹ While Jason's reference to future generations is meant as an appeal to the Argonauts' sense of duty, his words are full of dramatic irony, especially shortly after Mopsus foresees the death of Jason's children at Medea's hands (VF. 1.225b-6a).²⁵²

While the incentives Jason mentions in the first part of his exhortation echo the arguments he presents to Acastus, like the two seers, Jason also justifies his exhortation with divine authority and not just any god, but the highest divine authority.²⁵³ Inspired by Jupiter's bird omen, Jason declares that it is not the ill-meaning Pelias who is the instigator of their mission, but Jupiter himself (VF. 1.245b-7 *deus haec, deus omine dextro / imperat ... Iuppiter*).²⁵⁴ Jason's statement of divine orders is very different from his earlier declaration at VF. 1.200f. *ne Peliae te vota trahant! ille aspera iussa / repperit et Colchos in me luctumque meorum*) and is part of the poet's strategy to transfer "the epic's central concern from the personal, the antagonism of Pelias towards Jason, to the public, the divine mission of Jason".²⁵⁵

Having thus reassured his men of the legitimacy of their mission Jason tries to raise their spirit by announcing banquet celebrations (VF. 1.250f.).²⁵⁶ The ensuing festivities form the background for Peleus' leave-taking from his son, as well as Orpheus' song, both of which prepare Valerius' long farewell episode.²⁵⁷

²⁴⁹ Jason's speech has no equivalent in Apollonius, but may be indebted to Aeneas' exhortation at Aen. 1.198-207. Cf. Adamietz (1976) 14f., Pollini (1984) 58f., Lefèvre (1991) 177, Ripoll (1998), 270f., and Kleywegt (2005) 146.

²⁵⁰ Cf. Jason's arguments in his speech to his mother Alkimede at ARh. 1.295-305.

²⁵¹ For Jason's fixation on glory, see also Aeneas' corresponding thought at Aen. 1.203 *forsan et haec olim meminisse iuvabit*. Cf. Lefèvre (1991) 178f., Williams (1996) 176, and Zissos (2008) 205: "*nostrisque nepotibus instent* adds to the initial Virgilian tag the notion of rivalry in *virtus* between heroic generations".

²⁵² Cf. Zissos (2008) 205.

²⁵³ On this traditional rhetorical strategy, see also Zissos (2008) 204.

²⁵⁴ On the discussion of Jason's own conviction, cf. Lüthje (1971) 19-23, Adamietz (1976) 14f., Pollini (1984) 58f., Davis (1990) 63f., Wacht (1991b) 104f., Zissos (2008) 203f., and Lovatt (2013a) 54.

²⁵⁵ Hershkowitz (1998) 109 n.18. See also Adamietz (1976) 14f. and Cecchin (1984) 279-91.

²⁵⁶ Cf. Hershkowitz (1998) 94f. and Ripoll (1998) 64-6.

²⁵⁷ For the macro-structure, cf. Tschiedel (2004) 176.

The Peleus Interlude (VF. 1.255-73)²⁵⁸

In Apollonius' *Argonautica* Peleus is one of the most prominent Argonauts. He speaks five times as an important advisor and initiator of discussions (ARh. 2.880-4, ARh. 2.1219-25, ARh. 3.506-14, ARh. 4.495-502, and ARh. 4.1370-9) and plays a central role during the Argonauts' passing of the Wandering Rocks because of his relationship with their saviour, Thetis, and her epiphany before him (ARh. 4.856-64).²⁵⁹ Valerius redefines Peleus' role and reduces his importance decisively. The hero appears prominently in Book 1 with one speech act (VF. 1.265b-70), but only plays a minor role afterwards. His function is limited to that of a model of optimism and courage for the voyage through his own behaviour and his marriage with Thetis.²⁶⁰

Peleus' leave-taking from his son Achilles continues the narrative presented on Argus' painting (VF. 1.130-9) and carries out Idmon's request (VF. 1.237f. *dulcesque parentum / tendite ad amplexus*), albeit with inverted roles.²⁶¹ Valerius' scene "contributes to the strategy of 'Iliadic prolepsis'"²⁶² and combines the Homeric farewell between Hector and Astyanax at Il. 6.474-81, a scene that also serves as a model for the larger farewell episode between Jason and his parents in Apollonius (see discussion below)²⁶³ with the Apollonian farewell between Peleus and Achilles (ARh. 1.553-8).²⁶⁴ Valerius' scene is embedded earlier, during the banquet celebrations on the evening of the departure, while in Apollonius' version it occurs at the shore the next morning during the launch. In accordance with the Homeric farewell scene and in line with his emphasis on father-son relationships, Valerius omits Chiron's wife Chariclo from the scene, who is holding Achilles on her arm in Apollonius' epic, while Chiron comes running down the mountain and excitedly waves at the heroes (ARh. 1.557f.).

In comparison to the Hellenistic epic, where Peleus and Achilles remain separate and the young boy can only watch his father and the heroes sail away into the distance, Valerius increases the pathos of the scene by uniting Peleus with his son one last time before his departure. When Peleus emotionally stretches out his arms for Achilles, the young boy runs towards his father, embraces him,

²⁵⁸ Cf. Kleywegt (1991) 228f., Dräger (2004) 39-44, and Tschiedel (2004) 165-76.

²⁵⁹ Cf. Dräger (2004) 26 n.7. With ten appearances overall Peleus is the fourth most frequently appearing Argonaut in Apollonius' epic poem.

²⁶⁰ Cf. Kleywegt (1991) 228. On Peleus' perpetual optimism and active encouragement of his comrades in Apollonius, cf. Fränkel (1968) 174 and Dräger (2004) 39f. For a list of Peleus' seven appearances in Valerius' *Argonautica*, cf. Dräger (2004) 31 n.46.

²⁶¹ Cf. Tschiedel (2004) 168 and 176.

²⁶² Zissos (2008) 207.

²⁶³ The father, too, embraces (VF. 1.258 and Il. 6.466) and kisses his infant son (VF. 1.264 and Il. 6.474) before praying to the gods for his son's safety and future military success (VF. 1.265-267 and Il. 6.474).

²⁶⁴ For further models, see also Tschiedel (2004) 175. On Valerius' imitation of Anchises' and Aeneas' father-son relationship, cf. Tschiedel (1987) 141-67.

and firmly holds onto his neck (VF. 1.257-9).²⁶⁵ Unlike Astyanax, Achilles is not frightened, but he is fascinated by the heroes, especially by Hercules' lion-skin, which he decides to inspect more closely (VF. 1.260-3). Peleus prays to the gods for protection of his son during his own absence (VF. 1.265b-7a)²⁶⁶ and entreats Chiron, who was also depicted as bard and lyre player in Argus' painting during Peleus' wedding, to take care of everything else (VF. 1.267b-8a *tu cetera, Chiron, / da mihi*), and, in particular, to instruct and inspire Achilles in matters of warfare (VF. 1.267b-70). Peleus' prayer and instructions reveal that he firmly believes in their return and his optimistic words inspire the Argonauts with passion and courage (VF. 1.271-2a) and they in turn vow to complete their mission and successfully recover the Fleece (VF. 1.272b-3).²⁶⁷

Omitted Scene: Idas' Argument (ARh. 1.450-518)²⁶⁸

In both epics the sacrifice (ARh. 1.363-517) ends with a banquet (ARh. 1.450-518) in honour of the Argonauts' departure and a song by Orpheus. The middle sections, however, do not correspond. Valerius replaces the heated argument between Idas and Idmon (ARh. 1.462-92) with a harmonious and optimistic farewell scene between Peleus and his son Achilles in preparation of the long farewell episode.

The Apollonian Idas character is already introduced in the catalogue as an arrogant provocateur and *advocatus diaboli* (ARh. 1.151-5). It is his repeated, isolated opposition to the common opinion that makes the heroes' plenum discussion livelier.²⁶⁹ In comparison to Idas' old heroism and misogynistic stance, the Argonauts' ethical superiority and democratic unity as a collective are emphasized.²⁷⁰ Even in the most heated discussions the Argonauts collectively disagree and quickly find their common ground, as soon as Idas voices his criticism (ARh. 3.556-66, ARh. 3.1169f., and

²⁶⁵ Peleus is depicted in another emotional farewell at VF. 2.425-7, when he, like Jason, Orpheus, and the Dioscuri lingers in the embrace of his Lemnian partner, to whom the narrator euphemistically refers to as *coniunx* (VF. 2.427). See also Tschiedel (2004) 166 n.18 and Zissos (2008) 207.

²⁶⁶ Peleus' plea (VF. 1.267 *hoc, superi, servate caput*) corresponds to the Argonauts' collective prayer for Tiphys (VF. 5.18 *hoc, pater, hoc nobis refove caput*), a scene in which the relationship between Tiphys and the Argonauts is presented as that of father and sons.

²⁶⁷ Cf. Dräger (2004) 39.

²⁶⁸ Cf. Clauss (1993) 79-83 as well as Pietsch (1999a) 140f. and 150f.

²⁶⁹ For a complete list of Idas' appearances in Apollonius' *Argonautica*, cf. Dräger (2004) 27 n.13. For Idas' portrayal as a brave, loyal, and socially minded comrade in Valerius' epic, see *ibid.* 32 n.49.

²⁷⁰ Cf. Fränkel (1968) 173f. See also Fränkel (1960) 6: "ein Ärgernis und eine Plage, nämlich als ein prahlender Störenfried, ein dreister Lästler, ein erfolgloser Obstruktionist und ein störrischer Groller".

ARh. 3.1252-4).²⁷¹ While arguments and discussions among the Argonauts are one of Apollonius' favourite type scenes, Valerius almost entirely omits their group discussions, with two noteworthy exceptions – the argument about Hercules' loss at Mysia (VF 3.598-725) and the possible surrender of Medea to Absyrtus (VF. 8.385-407). Otherwise, the reduction of Idas' importance results in the lack of an opposing voice. Jason makes the decisions for the collective on his own and the heroes for the most part agree with unanimous mumbling or silence, except at the very end of their journey when, also following a sacrifice, they take on the role of the Apollonian Idas and challenge Jason by collectively demanding Medea's return to the Colchians (VF. 8.385-99).²⁷²

In the scene at hand the inebriated, hot-headed Idas (ARh. 1.472-4a) attacks Jason for his silent pensiveness and seeming lack of confidence during the banquet (ARh. 1.460f.).²⁷³ He commits blasphemy by declaring that he himself will ensure their victory through his personal military prowess even against Zeus' will (ARh. 1.463-71). Idmon, expressing the Argonauts' common irritation at Idas' harsh criticism of Jason and blasphemy against Zeus (ARh. 1.474f.), criticises him for his discouraging disparagement of Jason and warns him of a divine punishment for his *hybris* similar to that Otus and Ephialtes received (ARh. 1.476-84), who in an attempt to rape Artemis and Hera and to overthrow Jupiter, piled up Mt. Olympus, Ossa, and Pelion on top of each other only to be punished and killed by Idmon's father Apollo.²⁷⁴ Idas is unfazed by Idmon's words, mocks him for his comparison with the rebellious giants, taunts Idas, and even threatens to kill him over his idle prophecies (ARh. 1.487-91). At this point, Jason and the rest of the Argonauts intervene and restrain the opponents (ARh. 1.492-4a) to prevent any further altercations.²⁷⁵

Idas' comparison to the Aloids by his opponent Idmon is of great significance as this simile highlights Valerius' transferal of the mortal Idas' role as defiant, isolated provocateur onto the god Mars. Thus, in the second divine council scene Pallas opens her speech with a humiliation of Mars by declaring that he should rethink his rebellious, aggressive accusation, as he lacks the strength of the likes of the Aloidae (VF. 5.651 *non tibi Aloidae quibus haec fera murmura iactes*) to back up his

²⁷¹ Fränkel (1960) 5 calls Idas "(d)ie Foliengestalt in den *Argonautika*".

²⁷² Cf. Finkmann (2014) 90-2 for a more detailed discussion.

²⁷³ On Jason's scepticism and *amechania*, cf. Hunter (1993) 15-25, cf. ARh. 1.460, ARh. 2.578, ARh. 3.126, ARh. 3.951, ARh. 3.1157, and ARh. 4.107.

²⁷⁴ On the different traditions, cf. Wijsman (1996) 289f.

²⁷⁵ See also Pietsch (1999a) 140 n.159 and Clauss (1993) 80f. on Homeric models for the quarrel. Note Jason's comparison to Apollo in the preceding farewell episode at ARh. 1.306-9.

laughable complaint and attempt at opposition.²⁷⁶ Valerius has therefore reversed and transformed the divine harmony and mortal disagreements among the Argonauts into divine disagreement and mortal harmony.

Orpheus' Song - Helle, Phrixus, and Ino (VF. 1.274-93)²⁷⁷

Orpheus' song corresponds to ARh. 1.496-511 where the bard tries to diffuse the argument between Idas and Idmon in order to restore the banquet festivities (ARh. 1.462-95).²⁷⁸ Valerius omits the Apollonian quarrel in favour of more idyllic farewell celebrations (VF. 1.274 *Minyis laetantibus*) and consequently also changes the function and subject matter of Orpheus' song. Whereas Apollonius' bard sings about the cosmos and laws of nature and thus a topic of general scientific importance,²⁷⁹ the Valerian singer chooses a theme that is of immediate relevance for the Argonauts and a spontaneous response to their vow to return Phrixus' Fleece (VF. 1.272f. *Phixi promittitur absens / vellus*).²⁸⁰ His song of Helle and Phrixus – “a crucial mythic prehistory, accounting for the presence of the golden fleece in Colchis” – “contextualizes the Argonauts' journey within a series of events reaching back to earlier generations.”²⁸¹

Jason's fate is linked to that of Phrixus by common ancestry, their escape from a hostile ruler and their novel means of voyage from Thessaly to Colchis, during which they lose a beloved companion on the way.²⁸² The comparison underlines that Phrixus' misfortune was much more devastating than Jason's, which is the encouraging message of Orpheus' song. Phrixus loses everything he holds dear: his own father is manipulated by his stepmother Ino into sacrificing Phrixus, who is forced to leave in a great hurry (VF. 1.280 *fugerit ... linguens* and VF. 1.287 *erepta*) without the option of ever returning home and during the flight he loses his last loyal family member, his sister Helle. By contrast, Jason's departure is very harmonious and an *exemplum* of familial affection. He is determined and optimistic

²⁷⁶ On Zeus' rage against the Aloids, cf. ARh. 2.1194f. and ARh. 3.336b-9. See also Dräger (2001) 305-23.

²⁷⁷ Cf. Adamietz (1976) 16f., Schubert (1998) 269-84, Zissos (2004b) 73-85, and Manuwald (2008) 987-1010. On Orpheus in Apollonius' *Argonautica*, see also Karanika (2010) 392 n.5 with further references.

²⁷⁸ Cf. Zissos (2004b) 73 and Kleywegt (2005) 162.

²⁷⁹ For a more detailed discussion of Orpheus' song in Apollonius' epic, cf. Pietsch (1999b) 521-40.

²⁸⁰ On the aesthetic choice indicative of “a characteristically Flavian fondness for miniaturization, fairy-tale subject-matter, and emphatic pathos”, cf. Zissos (2004b) 73. Orpheus' song is indebted to Iopas' song at Aen. 1.742-6. See also Segal (1971) 337, Aricò (1998) 287, Dräger (1998) 211, Hershkowitz (1998) 199, Schubert (1998) 273, and Kleywegt (2005) 162.

²⁸¹ Zissos (2004b) 73. See also Adamietz (1976) 16f., Hershkowitz (1998) 199, Spaltenstein (2002) 127, Kleywegt (2005) 162, Manuwald (2008) 992, Davis (2009) 10, and Heerink (2013) 274f.

²⁸² For a more detailed discussion of the analogies, cf. Shelton (1971) 107, Adamietz (1976) 41, Caviglia (1999) 274f., Groß (2003) 159f., and Manuwald (2008) 1993. On the theme of exile in Latin epic, see Harrison (2007) 129-54.

of returning home after successfully completing the mission, and even though Hercules, Hylas, Idmon, and Tiphys are important crewmembers, they are after all replaceable.²⁸³

Both epicists repeatedly refer to Phrixus' story, as the main prehistory and mirror story of the Argonautic voyage, in flashbacks reported by the narrator or various characters, but they do so with a very different focus.²⁸⁴ With a change in the genealogy, Valerius also drastically reduces the importance of Phrixus' sons and wife, who play a crucial role in the Medea intrigue and recovery of the Fleece in Apollonius.²⁸⁵ Instead, the poet has Helle (VF. 2.584-626) and Phrixus (VF. 5.231-8) appear in an epiphany or a dream vision in the narrative proper and report their own personal stories.²⁸⁶ Phrixus' sons are of minor importance and do not relate Phrixus' fate, but the heroic deeds of the absent Hercules, another victim of a vengeful stepmother (VF. 3.580 *saevae ... novercae*).

Whereas in the Apollonian *Argonautica* Phrixus' fate is only fully revealed towards the end of the epic, in Valerius it is reported in three coherent segments at crucial moments in the epic plot. Orpheus' present song is only "the first instalment of a scattered, tripartite narrative".²⁸⁷ The bard relates the events from the attempted sacrifice of Phrixus and the siblings' flight until Helle's dramatic drowning (VF. 1.274-93). Helle herself then reveals her transformation into a sea goddess and continues the narration until the point of her separation from Phrixus (VF. 2.601-7), and Phrixus finally concludes the tale with the report of his successful flight to Colchis, his friendly reception by Aeetes, the marriage to Chalciopé and his peaceful, natural death (VF. 5.194-201). The three accounts are meticulously linked, with the preceding account preparing or directly alluding to the following segment. Helle's and Phrixus' emotional reports could also explain why Orpheus' less dramatic third-person account is not met with the same enthusiasm as the song of his Apollonian counterpart, and indirectly puts the Argonautic bard in comparison with Valerius' own choices as a poet.²⁸⁸

²⁸³ See also Shelton (1971) 107, Adamietz (1976) 41, Hershkowitz (1998) 191, Caviglia (1999) 274f., Groß (2003) 159f., Tschiedel (2004) 168, and Manuwald (2008) 993.

²⁸⁴ Cf. Fränkel (1968) 25-38 and Manuwald (2008) 989 for an overview of relevant passages. See also Lüthje (1971) 197, Dräger (1993) 236 n.111, Soubiran (2002) 30, and Spaltenstein (2004a) 508f.

²⁸⁵ Cf. Adamietz (1976) 41, Hershkowitz (1998) 191, Caviglia (1999) 274f., and Groß (2003) 159f.

²⁸⁶ See also Manuwald (2008) 992f.: "The elimination of the influential role of Phrixus' sons is compensated by the greater importance of Phrixus and his sister Helle". On the Virgilian influence, cf. *ibid.* 993f.

²⁸⁷ Zissos (2008) 216. See also Adamietz (1976) 16f., Spaltenstein (2002) 470, and Manuwald (2008) 994f.

²⁸⁸ For Orpheus as *alter ego* of the narrator, cf. Zissos (2004b) 75, Asper (2008) 177-9, Stover (2012) 151-80, and Heerink (2013) 274-6.

THE FAREWELL EPISODES (ARh. 1.234-316 and VF. 1.315-49)

APOLLONIUS RHODIUS

The Public Response (ARh. 1.242-6 and ARh. 1.251-9)

When the Argonauts prepare for their departure from Iolkos (ARh. 1.234-558), a crowd of common people (ARh. 1.238f. λαῶν / πληθὺς) gathers to see off the heroes.²⁸⁹ Apollonius first presents a rational evaluation of the Argonauts' mission from the collective male perspective (ARh. 1.240f. ὃδε δ' ἕκαστος / ἔννεπεν and ARh. 1.247 ὧς φάσαν ἔνθα καὶ ἔνθα κατὰ πτόλιν) before offering the more emotional female view (ARh. 1.251-9).²⁹⁰

The Thessalian Men (ARh. 1.242-6)

The Thessalian men question Pelias' intentions in sending their best men on a highly dangerous quest and wonder what plan Zeus has devised for Jason (ARh. 1.242f.).²⁹¹ The men do not *per se* condemn the heroic mission and are confident that the Argonauts can defeat Aeetes, but they are very pessimistic about the feasibility of the sea voyage (ARh. 1.242-6).²⁹² Nevertheless, they accept the journey as an order that cannot be avoided (ARh. 1.246 ἀλλ' οὐ φυκτὰ κέλευθα, πόνος δ' ἄπρηκτος ἰοῦσιν).²⁹³ The group of men is only retrospectively identified as a homogeneous group by the brief transition to the speech of the collective of Thessalian women whose speech is explicitly introduced as the female counter-position (ARh. 1.247 αἱ δὲ γυναῖκες).

The Thessalian Women (ARh. 1.251-9)

The introduction to the speech already indicates the greater emotional agitation of the women, who repeatedly (ARh. 1.247 ἔνθα καὶ ἔνθα) raise their hands skywards to pray for a safe return (ARh. 1.247-9). To them the voyage is not a matter of glory and success, but a matter of safety, dear to

²⁸⁹ On the different models for Apollonius' farewell scene, see Ibscher (1939) 1-6, Clauss (1993) 37-56, and Dräger (1995) 472-6. On the two similes that form a frame around the episode (the Argonauts are compared to stars at ARh. 1.239a and Jason is likened to Apollo at 1.307f.) and their links, cf. Stoessl (1941) 62, Levin (1971) 38-40, and Clauss (1993) 38.

²⁹⁰ Cf. Beye (1982) 81: "the agora mentality of the men" and "the thalamus mentality of the women". See also Fränkel (1968) 57.

²⁹¹ On Zeus as the god of fugitives, see ARh. 2.1141.

²⁹² Their thoughts match Pelias' scheming at the beginning of Valerius' *Argonautica* (VF. 1.33-7).

²⁹³ Cf. Clauss (1993) 38 n.4.

their hearts (ARh. 1.249b νόστοιο τέλος θυμηδὲς ὀπάσσαι). In contrast to the men who analyse the reason for the Argonauts' journey and their chances of survival, the women condemn the mission altogether and lament the emotional strain (ARh. 1.258f. ἀνίας / ... ἄλγεα μυρία, ARh. 1.251 κακὸν, ARh. 1.255 κακῶν ... ἀέθλων, and ARh. 1.258 κακὸν τέρας) the expedition causes for Jason's esteemed mother Alkimedē (ARh. 1.251 δειλὴ Ἀλκιμέδη and ARh. 1.259 Ἀλκιμέδη) and his weakened elderly father Aeson (ARh. 1.251-9) so late in their lives.²⁹⁴ While the men accept the mission as a necessity and focus on its future implications, the women dwell on the past. In hindsight, they wish a merciful, timelier death could have spared Jason's father the tormenting knowledge of his son's dangerous undertaking (ARh. 1.253b-5 ἦ τέ οἱ ἦεν / βέλτερον, εἰ τὸ πάροιθεν ἐνὶ κτερέεσσιν ἔλυσθεις / νεϊόθι γαίης κεῖτο, κακῶν ἔτι νῆις ἀέθλων). They retrospectively curse Phrixus and the ram (ARh. 1.256-9) and wish these two could have drowned at sea just like Helle (ARh. 1.256-7a ὡς ὄφελεν καὶ Φρίξον, ὅτ' ὄλετο παρθένος Ἑλλη, / κῶμα μέλαν κριῶ ἄμ' ἐπικλύσαι).²⁹⁵ The two counterfactual wishes highlight the women's despair and leave no doubt that like the men they do not believe in a successful outcome of the mission. They blame the ram for Alkimedē's sorrows (ARh. 1.257b-9) implying that Phrixus would never have reached Colchis and offered the Fleece to Aetes had the ram not saved him from drowning, consoled him over his sister's death, advised its own sacrifice to Zeus, and instructed Phrixus to give the Fleece to the Colchian king.²⁹⁶ The Thessalian women have therefore, unlike the men, not noticed Pelias' true intentions, nor do they reflect on the divine will behind these events.

The two collective speeches in the fashion of traditional tragic choruses provide a commentary on the events from a protagonist-friendly position prior to the Argonauts' departure, which in Valerius is provided by and corresponds to Pelias' NRTA (reasons for the mission) and Jason's FIT (reasons for accepting the mission) and subsequent soliloquy (impact on family), thus from the perspective of the antagonist and protagonist respectively. The postponed speeches by the common people and especially the women's pathos and sympathy for Alkimedē primarily set the tone for Valerius' private farewell between Jason and his parents that takes place indoors.

²⁹⁴ In Valerius' version Jason himself contemplates the emotional effect of the enterprise on the Argonauts' families and in particular his own father (VF. 1.149-52).

²⁹⁵ Cf. Hurst (1967) 51 with his classifications of "futur, assurance" and "passé-causalité, malheur". These categories apply to both the collective and the individual pair (Thessalian men and women – Jason and Alkimedē).

²⁹⁶ The most detailed account of Phrixus' story is given by his son Argus at ARh. 2.1141-54. For more parallels, see Dräger (1995) 473.

Jason's Private Farewell (ARh. 1.260-305)

Like the crowd of common people on the shore, servants and maids gather inside the house (ARh. 1.261 δμῶές ... δμωαί) and are paired with Jason and Alkimedē accordingly. The greatly distressed female servants cry together with Alkimedē (ARh. 1.262b-3a ὁξὺ δ' ἐκάστην / δύνεν ἄχος), while the downcast, but silent male servants carry out Jason's instructions and take his provisions to the ship (ARh. 1.266b-7 δμώεσσι δ' ἀρήια τεύχε' αἰρῖν / πέφραδεν: οἱ δέ τε σῖγα κατηφέες ἠείροντο). Apollonius thus again establishes a clear separation between the sexes with the men representing the quiet, strong, and practical component, and the women the emotional, weak, and pessimistic position.²⁹⁷ The contrastive arrangement is taken even further when the individual sorrow of Jason's parents is compared to the lamentations of the women.²⁹⁸ Whereas the groans and the quiet suffering of the sick, immobile Aeson can hardly be heard (ARh. 1.263b-4 σὺν δέ σφι πατὴρ ὀλοῶ ὑπὸ γήραι / ἐντυπὰς ἐν λεχέεσσι καλυψάμενος γοάσκειν),²⁹⁹ his wife Alkimedē laments more excessively and loudly than all the female servants (ARh. 1.269 ὧς ἔχετο κλαίουσ' ἀδινώτερον and ARh. 1.276 ὧς ἀδινὸν κλαίεσκεν ἐὸν παῖδ' ἀγκὰς ἔχουσα).

The parents' and entire household's grief over Jason's departure strikingly resemble the sorrow and loud lament in Priam's household over Hector's death (Il. 24.160-8).³⁰⁰ This allusion on the one hand stresses the disproportion of the Apollonian sorrow, and on the other hand it highlights the fact that everyone considers Jason's mission as a fatal endeavour from which he will not return.

Alkimedē's Lament (ARh. 1.278-91)

The excessiveness of the mourning is emphasized by a paradoxical comparison of Jason's aged mother to an orphaned girl who sobbingly clings onto her trusted grey-haired nurse after she has been verbally abused by an evil stepmother. The simile inverts the present conditions. The *tertium comparationis* is the bereavement of a protective relative, which results in complete social isolation. The comparison anticipates Aeson's near death (≈ dead parents), which leaves Alkimedē (≈ young girl)

²⁹⁷ Cf. Clauss (1993) 41 n.9.

²⁹⁸ See also Dräger (1995) 474: "Aison stellt sich durch sein Jammern zur Weiblichkeit". Cf. Jason's wish for Pelias at VF. 1.154b-5.

²⁹⁹ For different interpretations of Aeson's portrayal, cf. Herter (1944-55) 341, Hurst (1967) 50, Fränkel (1968) 61, Lüthe (1971) 30f., and Clauss (1993) 54. Dräger (1995) 474 n.10 describes Aeson as a "Priamos-Parodie".

³⁰⁰ As Jason is Aeson's and Alkimedē's only son, the servants are cast in the role of Hector's siblings. Cf. Clauss (1993) 42f. The Homeric allusion also anticipates and is referenced in the suicide of Jason's parents at VF. 1.752-851, in which Jason's brother plays an important role.

without a male protector from the hateful, powerful tyrant (\approx stepmother) after Jason's departure (\approx nurse).³⁰¹ The image mirrors Phrixus' and Helle's situation, and it also anticipates Medea's isolation and final escape from her home and family.³⁰² It on the one hand emphasizes the dependence of women on their male protectors and the safety they provide, and on the other hand the dependence of the weak (both the elderly and the very young) on the strong.³⁰³ This gender and generation conflict is central to the Apollonian farewell episode and is further discussed in exaggeration by Alkimedē's speech and by Jason's meeting with the elderly priestess Iphias.

Alkimedē's farewell speech echoes the lament of the female collective (ARh. 1.284-9),³⁰⁴ but it is even longer and more emotional, as suggested by the earlier juxtaposition. In fact, her complaint is the most emotional farewell lament of Apollonius' epic. Hypsipyle, by comparison, remains rather rational and realistic during Jason's leave-taking (ARh. 1.888-98), and Medea only hypothetically bids farewell to her family in a soliloquy (ARh. 4.30-3) and even her complaints and concerns over the temporary separation from Jason after their first private meeting (ARh. 3.1105-17) are comparably calm and subdued. Alkimedē's crying is so extreme that she cannot voice all the groans and sobs that are building up inside her (ARh. 1.274f. τῆ δέ τ' ὀδυρομένη δέδεται κέαρ ἔνδοθεν ἄτη, / οὐδ' ἔχει ἐκφλύξει τόσσον γόνον, ὅσσον ὀρεχθεῖ). While the women's concern for Alkimedē is a sign of sympathy and collective spirit, Alkimedē's speech is egotistical. Instead of pitying Jason she entirely focuses on the disadvantages his departure will bring for her (ARh. 1.290 ὃ μοι ἐμῆς ἄτης).

Alkimedē dramatically opens her speech with a death wish. Like the Thessalian women (ARh. 1.253b-5), she considers death prior to Pelias' announcement of the mission and her knowledge of Jason's labours at sea as a preferable, more merciful condition (ARh. 1.278-83), because it would have spared her a long state of anxiety as a result of the separation. The longing for suicide is a common *topos* in the description of deserted heroines and (soon-to-be) widows, and it is often combined with a triptych of preferred methods.³⁰⁵ Alkimedē's vow to die from her broken heart is by comparison rather vague and renders her claim hysterical and hollow³⁰⁶ – a sentiment Jason criticizes harshly in his reply. Moreover, Alkimedē's request for a private burial by Jason reveals that she does

³⁰¹ Cf. Clauss (1993) 40f. and Dräger (1995) 473.

³⁰² See also Clauss (1993) 40.

³⁰³ On the situation of the Lemnian women, cf. ARh. 1.809b-17. See also Natzel (1992) 167f. and Clauss (1993) 43.

³⁰⁴ Cf. Clauss (1993) 54 and Dräger (1995) 474 for a more detailed comparison.

³⁰⁵ It has commonly been shown that farewell speeches, exile laments, and complaints of deserted heroines share many structural and contextual similarities with *verba morituri* and *laudationes funebres*. See also Fraenkel (1932) 470-3 and Grajew (1934).

³⁰⁶ Cf. Garson (1972) 5f., Beye (1982) 81f., Natzel (1992) 167, and Clauss (1993) 55 for further references.

not expect him to return safely from the journey,³⁰⁷ even though she emphasizes her pride in Jason. She is well aware that she owes all her splendour (ARh. 1.286f. πολλήν / ἀγλαΐην) and reputation (ARh. 1.287 κῦδος) to her son.³⁰⁸ Having previously enjoyed the admiration of the Greek women, Alkimedede claims that her current high social status will lead to her fall from graces and therefore make her imminent isolation even harder on her (ARh. 1.284-9). Other factors she puts forward as aggravating her situation are the fact that Aeson is on the brink of death and that Jason is the only child the goddess of childbirth Eileithyia bestowed on her.³⁰⁹ Stirring herself into frenzy, Alkimedede exaggerates tremendously when she compares her own situation to the social isolation and humiliation of a slave (ARh. 1.285 δμῶς ὄπως).³¹⁰ While the fears of Apollonius' Alkimedede are unfounded and vastly overstated, the concerns of Homer's Andromache about verbal abuse and actual enslavement of herself and her son Astyanax after Hector's death are serious and much more realistic (Il. 22.496-500a and Il. 24.725-34a).³¹¹

Like the female collective Alkimedede ends her speech with a reference to Phrixus in order to illustrate that she is entirely unprepared for this tragedy and never expected his flight would bring her so much pain (ARh. 1.290f.), before her female servants and confidantes eventually join her individual lamentations again.³¹²

Jason's Reply (ARh. 1.295-305)

Jason's orders, irrespective of his mother's persistent hold on his neck (ARh. 1.262a and 1.276f.),³¹³ and his first attempt at consoling his parents with soothing words (NRSA: ARh. 1.265-6a αὐτὰρ ὁ τῶν μὲν ἔπειτα κατεπρήσυνεν ἀνίας / θαρσύνων) already indicate that he is determined not to be delayed by her sorrow and they prepare his harsh speech to Alkimedede.³¹⁴ Analogously to the male collective, Jason now responds to his emotional mother in a calm and rational, but rather cold manner

³⁰⁷ Cf. Dräger (1995) 474.

³⁰⁸ Cf. Natzel (1992) 167. Alkimedede's pride in Jason's reputation could have inspired Valerius' version of Jason's great reputation prior to the journey, which is not part of the traditional legend.

³⁰⁹ On the literary tradition, see also Clauss (1993) 41 and Dräger (1995) 474f. In Valerius' *Argonautica*, Jason's brother plays an important role in the suicide scene of his parents at VF. 1.771-4 and VF. 1.819-26.

³¹⁰ Medea is also compared to a captive slave at ARh. 4.35-40. For further references, cf. Houghton (1987) 176f. and Dräger (1995) 474.

³¹¹ Cf. Clauss (1993) 43 and 54 for further references.

³¹² On the reference to Phrixus, cf. Alkimedede's similar lament at VF. 1.327f. See also Dräger (1995) 474.

³¹³ Alkimedede's strong hold is in great contrast to Aeson's physical weakness: he cannot leave the bed or even lift his eyes (ARh. 1.263b-4). Cf. Dräger (1995) 473f.

³¹⁴ See also Fränkel (1968) 62, Clauss (1993) 55, and Tschiedel (2004) 170.

(ARh. 1.295-305).³¹⁵ This behaviour is typical of Jason in Apollonius' farewell episodes. He behaves in a similarly clinical and unappreciative way when he bids farewell to Hypsipyle (ARh. 1.900-9) and he is only half-hearted and appears uninvolved in his protection of Medea during the homeward journeys (ARh. 4.66-97, ARh. 4.338-410, ARh. 4.1031-67, and ARh. 4.1161-9) and in his response to Medea's plea not to desert her (ARh. 4.368f.).³¹⁶

Jason is even more disrespectful towards his mother, whom he asks to compose herself pointing out that her tears cannot make the orders undone, but they will only add to her grief (ARh. 1.295-7). He reminds Alkimedede that humans need to endure whatever fate the gods have devised for them and that she, too, has to bear this burden, even if it is painful (ARh. 1.298-300a). Jason's advice manifestly echoes Achilles' consolation of Priam's futile, excessive grief over his late son in the *Iliad* (Il. 24.518-56).³¹⁷

After chastising her Jason tries to console Alkimedede and to give her hope by revealing his threefold support through the tutelary deities Athene and Apollo, as well as the crew of the most outstanding Greek heroes (ARh. 1.300b-2). Without bidding farewell or even acknowledging his sick father,³¹⁸ Jason starts to make his way to the launching place (ARh. 1.306-19) while referring Alkimedede to her own sources of support, her maidservants.³¹⁹ Jason even asks his mother to stay at home and not to accompany him to the shore, so that her inauspicious lament will not turn her into a bad omen for the journey (ARh. 1.303f.).³²⁰ Jason's harsh dismissal of his mother recalls both Hector's referral of Andromache to her servants (Il. 6.486-93) and Priam's response to Hecuba's attempt to stop him from recovering Hector's body from Achilles (Il. 24.218f.).³²¹ The continued comparison of Jason's departure with Hector's death makes Alkimedede's reaction appear even more extreme and her lament highly excessive. At the same time, Jason's lack of patience, warm words and loving gestures in the farewell to his parents contrast greatly with Hector's affectionate leave-taking from Andromache and Astyanax in the *Iliad* (Il. 6.450-81), which highlights Jason's self-absorption and lack of compassion for his elderly parents.

³¹⁵ Cf. Clauss (1993) 55.

³¹⁶ See also Clauss (1993) 55 for further details.

³¹⁷ Telemachus' condescending treatment of Penelope in the *Odyssey* (Od. 1.356-9a and Od. 21.350-3a) is another example of a young hero's harsh treatment of his mother. Cf. Clauss (1993) 49 for further references.

³¹⁸ Cf. Fuà (1986) 269, Clauss (1993) 54, and Dräger (1995) 476.

³¹⁹ Cf. Hector's dismissal of Andromache (Il. 6.486-93). See also Clauss (1993) 51 n.21 with further references.

³²⁰ The scholiast *ad* ARh. 1.304 already points to Il. 24.160-8 as the final Homeric reference of the farewell scene. Cf. Fränkel (1968) 62. Clauss (1993) 52f. also notices the ring composition with a back reference to ARh. 1.261-4.

³²¹ Cf. Clauss (1993) 52: "In short, Jason's speech recalls expressions of consolation or impatience uttered by Achilles, Hector, and Priam in response to Hector's death both before and after the fact".

All in all, the three principal characters in Apollonius' farewell episode suffer in comparison with their Homeric models.³²² While Priam overcomes his lethargy over Hector's death to recover his son's body, Aeson remains motion- and wordless during the farewell, either because of actual physical inability or simply out of self-pity. Aeson's extreme fatigue is contrasted by Alkimedē's excessive noise, speech, and mourning, and her unwarranted fear of social isolation, which appears ridiculous in comparison to Andromache's serious, appropriate concerns about her enslavement. Jason, too, lacks his counterpart's piety and reverent demeanour. Homer's Achilles shows greater respect for the grieving father of his enemy than Jason does for his own father in the *Argonautica*, and, unlike Hector's considerate leave-taking from Andromache and Astyanax, the Apollonian hero lacks the patience and sensitivity to console his mother with loving words. All three Apollonian family members therefore show an extraordinarily high degree of egotism or, as Clauss (1993) 56 fittingly summarises the farewell episode, "Hector and the members of his family provide the measure against which we are to view Jason and his family, and the latter prove to be a weak, shallow, and self-absorbed group, totally unheroic in stature".

Omitted Scene: Jason and Iphias (ARh. 1.306-16)³²³

The farewell scene is concluded with an Apollonian invention.³²⁴ During Jason's march to the launching place through the cheering crowd suddenly an aged priestess appears and kisses his hand, but she fails to talk to Jason before he reaches the ship. While some scholars have tried to explain Iphias' silence as an inability to speak due to excessive agitation or stunned awe at Jason's god-like beauty,³²⁵ the context of the farewell scene suggests that Iphias is unable to address Jason because he is being rushed on by the excited crowd (ARh. 1.313b-6).³²⁶ Apollonius' text itself does not reveal whether Iphias' words would have contained a positive encouragement or an apprehensive warning, but her striking silence emphasizes Jason's missed opportunity for helpful prophecy and advice, which

³²² On the combination of Iliadic and Odyssean references, cf. Clauss (1993) 55.

³²³ For a detailed analysis, see Nelis (1991) 96-105.

³²⁴ Cf. Händel (1954) 46, Fusillo (1985) 270, Nelis (1991) 96, and Dräger (1995) 474.

³²⁵ Cf. Herter (1944-55) 342 and Fusillo (1985) 270.

³²⁶ See also Nelis (1991) 96-8.

renders the meeting rather ominous and clouds the cheerful procession.³²⁷ Moreover, the underlying Homeric model (Il. 14.27-63, esp. Il. 14.39f.), which stresses the Homeric heroes' respect towards the old counsellor Nestor, and Jason's cold ignorance towards his elderly father, as well as his harsh chastisement of his mother suggest that Jason's disregard of Iphias could be due to the Apollonian hero's overly confident self-centredness and lack of respect.³²⁸

His likening to Apollo, the god of prophecy, in a scene in which he fails to obtain advice from an aged authority figure of wisdom moreover strongly suggests that Jason is satisfied with and entirely reliant on Apollo's oracles.³²⁹ The comparison to Apollo, in addition to his beauty, also stresses Jason's youth in contrast to the elderly Iphias and thus yet again emphasizes the dichotomy between the wishes of the old and the young, as well as between male optimism and female pessimism.³³⁰ It is also no coincidence that while Jason is compared to Apollo, Iphias is the priestess of Apollo's sister Artemis, whose concerns as the city's protectress (ARh. 1.312) are diametrically opposed to Apollo's interests as the main tutelary deity of the Argonautic journey.³³¹

Iphias' failed attempt to stop Jason concludes the farewell episode on a slightly melancholic note and becomes representative of the deserted elderly population's unsuccessful urging of Jason to stay for the sake of their and the city's protection.³³² Unlike Hector, however, Jason is not cast in the role of the defender of the city, but is to become the leader of the Argonautic mission.

³²⁷ Cf. Beye (1969) 41f., Zanker (1987) 71, and Nelis (1991) 98. Another meeting with an elderly woman (Hera in disguise) is much more profitable for Jason: ARh. 3.66-75. On Apollonius' ambivalent representation of Jason, cf. Hunter (1988) 443f. and Nelis (1991) 98. Note that Valerius, too, employs an ambivalent, uninterpreted (bird) omen prior to the Argonauts' launch (VF. 1.156-60).

³²⁸ See also Clauss (1993) 55.

³²⁹ Cf. the wise elderly advisors: Polyxo (ARh. 1.668-9) and Phineus (ARh. 2.178-425). See also Hübscher (1940) 69f. and Nelis (1991) 97. Iphias is not the only prophet who is treated disrespectfully: cf. Idas' taunting (ARh. 1.485-91) of Idmon following the prophet's ambivalent prophecy (ARh. 1.440-2).

³³⁰ Cf. Clauss (1993) 53.

³³¹ On the connection between Iphias, priestess of Artemis, and Medea's likening to Artemis (ARh. 3.876-84) and the Colchian's priesthood of Hecate (ARh. 3.737-79), cf. Nelis (1991) 102-4. See also Orpheus' hymn to Artemis at ARh. 1.569-79.

³³² Cf. the Thessalian men's opening statement at ARh. 1.242f.

VALERIUS FLACCUS (VF. 1.294-349)

Jason's Double Farewell (VF. 1.294-349)

Valerius' farewell episode is modelled on Apollonius' account of the heroes' departure (ARh. 1.234-316) and occurs at a similar position in the epic, not, however, as the opening of the Iolcus episode, but its conclusion (VF. 1.294-349).³³³ Valerius goes to greater lengths than Apollonius to prepare his primary farewell episode at the heart of the first book. The episode is connected with all previous episodes from the starting point of the mission at Pelias' instigation, through Jason's deliberation over the voyage's impact on his parents, his vision of glory and their crying mothers at the shore, Idmon's exhortation to embrace the parents, Peleus' farewell from his son, and finally Orpheus' song of the cold, hectic departure of Phrixus and Helle from Thessaly as a negative foil for Jason's own leave-taking.³³⁴

Valerius transforms Apollonius' separate public and private leave-taking into a double farewell between Jason and his parents.³³⁵ The first farewell is only a brief summary without direct discourse (VF. 1.294-9), but the second scene corresponds to the Apollonian speech pairs.³³⁶ The order of the speeches representing the male and female perspective is reversed in Valerius' farewell scene: Alcimedede speaks first (VF. 1.320b-34), then Aeson (VF. 1.336b-47).³³⁷ The greatest addition to Apollonius' farewell episode is a positive dream appearance of Argo (VF. 1.300-8), which replaces Iphias' ominous appearance and together with a description of the final preparations (VF. 1.309-14) separates the two farewell episodes.

³³³ On the different models of the Valerian farewell, most prominently Evander's farewell to Pallas in the *Aeneid* (Aen. 8.558-84) and of course the Apollonian leave-taking, see Dräger (1995) 486 with further references.

³³⁴ Cf. the structural overview in Tschiedel (2004) 176.

³³⁵ The farewell situation is different: in Apollonius' version, Jason and his parents bid farewell away from the common people inside the house, whereas in Valerius' farewell episode the conversation takes place at the ship. See also Dräger (1995) 476.

³³⁶ The order of Alcimedede's and Aeson's speeches corresponds to that of the grieving parents, whose lament is only indirectly summarised (VF. 1.315-9). Cf. Dräger (1995) 476.

³³⁷ On the modelling of Alcimedede's (VF. 1.320b-34) and Aeson's speech (VF. 1.336b-47) as an inverted presentation of the two halves of Evander's farewell speech (Aen. 8.560-83), cf. Mehmel (1934) 62, Fuà (1986) 271, and Dräger (1995) 476-8. The same pairing of speeches reoccurs prior to the joint suicide of Jason's parents at the end of Book 1.

First Farewell Scene (VF. 1.294-9)

Orpheus' song concludes the Valerian banquet celebrations and everyone merrily falls asleep (VF. 1.294-5a) except for Jason (VF. 1.295b-6a *solus quibus ordine fuis / impatiens somni ductor manet*) and his parents who have a private moment discussing the impending departure as a family (VF. 1.296b-9).³³⁸ The context does not reveal if Aeson and Alcimede meet Jason at the shore and join in the banquet celebrations, or if he finds them still awake at home.³³⁹ His lugubrious elderly parents struggle to come to terms with Jason's mission and refuse to let go of their son, both literally and figuratively (VF. 1.296b-8a *hunc gravis Aeson / et pariter vigil Alcimede spectantque tenentque / pleni oculos*).³⁴⁰ Only after Jason addresses their worries and consoles them with gentle words (VF. 1.298 *placidi sermonis*) is their mind put to rest and they are calm enough to sleep. This brief summary of Jason's considerate soothing of his parents is a clear reference to the first part of the Apollonian farewell episode, where Jason ignores Aeson's sobbing and Alcimede's embrace, but simply proceeds with the necessary instructions to his servants.³⁴¹ Jason's warm consideration and care for his parents correspond to his earlier concern over the mission's impact on his parents' well-being.³⁴² Likewise, Valerius presents Jason's parents with much greater dignity in their lament over their son's imminent departure. From their first appearance *in propria persona* onwards they are portrayed as a unity. The ἀπὸ κοινοῦ construction stresses their synchronous reaction (VF. 1.297 *pariter*) to the news and prepares the topic of their respective subsequent speeches: Aeson is discussing the impact of his age (VF. 1.296 *gravis Aeson*) and Alcimede anticipates her certain struggle with sleeplessness during Jason's absence (VF. 1.297 *vigil Alcimede*).

³³⁸ Cf. Grillone (1967) 108f., Lüthje (1971) 25-8, Adamietz (1976) 17f., and Zissos (2008) 221.

³³⁹ Cf. Adamietz (1976) 18, Dräger (1995) 476, Kleywegt (2005) 172, and Zissos (2008) 228.

³⁴⁰ On the problematic phrasing, see also Dräger (1995) 476, Kleywegt (2005) 173, and Zissos (2008) 222f.

³⁴¹ Cf. Dräger (1995) 476.

³⁴² Jason's behaviour is modelled on Aeneas' filial *pietas*. Cf. Hull (1979) 387, Hershkowitz (1998) 110, and Zissos (2008) 222 for further references.

Added Episode: Argo's Speech (VF. 1.300-8)³⁴³

When Jason too eventually falls asleep, Argo appears in a dream vision to him (VF. 1.301f.). The scene does not have a model in Apollonius' *Argonautica*, where the farewell scene simply concludes in Iphias' ominous silence. Argo's speech ability (VF. 1.2 *fatidicam ... ratem*) as well as her catasterism (VF. 1.15-21) are already prominently introduced in the proem of Valerius' *Argonautica* and echoed in the present scene.³⁴⁴ The speaking timber motif has been a traditional part of the Argonautic myth since Homer (Od. 14.327f.). Apollonius, however, seems deliberately to minimise any references to the topic.³⁴⁵ He only alludes to the speaking oak of Dodona very briefly thrice and avoids representing Argo's words in direct speech or assigning personal character traits to the ship.³⁴⁶ Having established the fastening of the prophetic oak beam in Argo's keel by Athene (ARh. 1.111-4), Apollonius portrays Argo's exhortation of the crew during the launch (ARh. 1.518-23) as an echo of the noise in the harbour of Pagasae (ARh. 1.524-7).³⁴⁷ In the second passage (ARh. 4.580b-91), the prophetic timber is evidently speaking with a human voice (ARh. 4.581 ἴαχεν ἀνδρομέη ἐνοπιῆ). The ship informs the Argonauts of Zeus' anger and declares (ARh. 4.586 ἐννεπεν) that they will not be able to escape the dangers of the sea, unless Kirke purges them from their crime against Medea's brother. Argo also directly instructs (ARh. 4.589 ἦνωγε) Polydeukes and Kastor to pray to the gods for a safe voyage to Kirke. Again, the statement is not depicted in *oratio recta*, but only indirectly reported. In a similar episode in the same book Apollonius has not Argo herself speak to Jason, but three Libyan goddesses (ARh. 4.1318-29).³⁴⁸ The three Λιβύης τιμήσοροι appear before the hero in the desert at a moment when the Argonauts have already accepted their imminent death from dehydration after they have become shipwrecked on the desert shore. The goddesses introduce themselves as guardian spirits of Libya (ARh. 4.1322f.) and urge Jason to stop his idle lament before they speak an enigmatic prophecy (ARh. 4.1318-29). In their prediction they compare the relationship between Argo and the Argonauts to that of a mother who has carried her children in her womb for a long time and is so exhausted that she now needs their support (ARh. 4.1325-9). Peleus correctly interprets the omen as advice to carry

³⁴³ See also Lüthje (1971) 27f., Schubert (1984b) 182f., Gärtner (1996) 292-6, Walde (1998) 87-106, Groß (2003) 130-8. On Argo's portrayal in Apollonius' *Argonautica*, cf. Gaunt (1972) 117-26. For an overview of the dreams in Valerius, see Grillone (1967) 162.

³⁴⁴ Cf. Gärtner (1996) 292f., Walde (1998) 96f., and Soubiran (2002) 210.

³⁴⁵ Cf. Gaunt (1972) 118: "Apollonius may in fact have consciously shunned the motif".

³⁴⁶ See also Gaunt (1972) 120.

³⁴⁷ Cf. Gaunt (1972) 117.

³⁴⁸ Cf. Finkmann (2014) 82-4 for a more detailed discussion.

the ship on their shoulders through the desert to Lake Triton (ARh. 4.1370-9). In addition to these three passages Argo only features in episodes that discuss dangerous routes such as the passage through the Symplegades (ARh. 2.538-647), the Sirens, Scylla and Charybdis, and the Wandering Islands (ARh. 4.735-981), but the ship is not portrayed as a personified deity and only features as the Argonauts' means of transportation.³⁴⁹

Valerius, by contrast, is much more accepting of this idea. He assigns a direct speech act to the prophetic timber; however, he too is careful to present it not as an epiphany, but only a dream vision.³⁵⁰ There is no doubt that Argo's ability to speak is located in and due to the Dodonian oak having been fashioned and inserted by the goddess Athene (VF. 1.91-5), but the context of the dream vision and the introduction of the speaker are so brief and ambivalent that the exact form of the speaker is obscured. The narrator refers to the vision as the shining, tutelary deity of the garlanded ship (VF. 1.301 *coronatae fulgens tutela carinae*), while the speaker introduces herself as Dodonian oak (VF. 1.302 *Dodonida quercum*) and loyal maidservant of Jupiter (VF. 1.308 *famulam Iovis*).³⁵¹ The context therefore does not clarify if the speaker is to be envisioned as a ship's ornament such as the golden statue of Minerva (VF. 8.203 *auratae ... Minervae*), Argo's protectress and creator, as the prophetic oak beam, or the personified ship as a whole.³⁵² Divergent models of the dream, most prominently Aeneas' dream of the *Penates* in the *Aeneid* (Aen. 3.147-71) and Caesar's vision of the crowned *Patria* at the beginning of Lucan's *Civil War* (Luc. 1.185-94), also do not provide clarity in this matter. However, unlike his predecessor Apollonius, Valerius includes several other passages in which he personifies Argo and presents her with human characteristics. Argo intervenes to solve the Argonauts' problem of succession after Tiphys' death by giving divine authorisation to Erginus and appointing him the new helmsman (VF. 5.65 *Erginum fato vocat ipsa monenti quercus*).³⁵³ In the same book Argo again acts independently when she changes directions by herself and, through this omen, instils the Argonauts with optimism and hope of a safe homeward journey (VF. 5.210b-2a *atque illi dextra sine versa magistri / protinus in proram rediit ratis omine certo / fluminis os pontumque*

³⁴⁹ See also Gaunt (1972) 120.

³⁵⁰ Cf. Ferner (1937) 48, Feeney (1991) 318, Dräger (2003) 357, Zissos (2008) 217, and Manuwald (2013) 37.

³⁵¹ Cf. Walde (1998) 96f.

³⁵² On this "pleonastic self-identification", cf. Zissos (2008) 225. See also Adamietz (1976) 17, Gärtner (1996) 294, and Groß (2003) 137. On the incomplete representation of Valerius' dreams, with the exception of Hercules' dream of Hylas, see Walde (1998) 98.

³⁵³ Cf. Manuwald (2013) 36. In Apollonius' *Argonautica*, by contrast, the new helmsman is chosen democratically after Hera has imbued Ankaïos with enough courage to start the selection process (ARh. 2.864-6a).

tuens).³⁵⁴ Valerius even goes so far as to assign feelings to the ship.³⁵⁵ When Canthus dies in the battle against the Scythians, Argo bemoans him (VF. 6.317f. *te quoque, Canthe, tui non inscia funeris Argo / flevit*) and similarly, when the Argonauts have successfully completed Aeetes' mission and recovered the Fleece, Argo rejoices (VF. 8.129f. *se quoque gaudens / promovet ad primas iuveni ratis obvia ripas*). In the light of these examples, the speaker will be categorised as a personified, abstract female deity for the purposes of our analysis, even though the ability to speak as such is restricted to the ship's Dodonian oak keel.

Argo's direct speech act is even more striking in comparison to Valerius' general practice. Unlike his Flavian contemporaries Statius and Silius, Valerius does not attribute numerous speeches to personified abstract goddesses such as Virtus, Voluptas, Pietas, or Fides, but only includes long-established personified deities like Fama, Venus, Mars, and Sol among the speakers of his epic.³⁵⁶ Argo is the only speaker who is a personified, lifeless object. In fact, besides Helle's epiphany and her similar (VF. 2.596b *ne defice coeptis*), but more specific exhortative instructions to Jason as tutelary deity of the Hellespont (VF. 2.592-6), and the speeches Fama, Venus, and Juno deliver in disguise, Argo's dream speech is the only occasion on which a deity directly communicates with a mortal in Valerius' *Argonautica*.³⁵⁷

Argo's speech is the first of three dream speeches (χρηματισμός or *oraculum*) in the epic.³⁵⁸ While all three dreams occur to prominent male characters, quite extraordinarily only the first dream is assigned to the epic's male protagonist.³⁵⁹ Walde convincingly shows that Jason's dream compresses and combines Aeneas' dreams of Hector (Aen. 2.268-97), the Penates (Aen. 3.147-78), Mercury (Aen. 4.554-79), and Anchises (Aen. 5.721-45) in the *Aeneid*.³⁶⁰ Just as Aeneas' dreams are directly connected with his voyage and urge the hero to continue his mission, Jason too is exhorted by Argo to stop the delay and leave immediately. Just as Aeneas receives several divine reminders, Argo's speech

³⁵⁴ Cf. Manuwald (2013) 37.

³⁵⁵ Cf. Soubiran (2002) 210, Spaltenstein (2004a) 441, and Manuwald (2009) 594: "Argo appears to be a supernatural being with an individual personality, working to the advantage of its master".

³⁵⁶ Cf. Eigler (1988) 164, Gärtner (1996) 270f., Schenk (1999) 147, and Kleywegt (2005) 174.

³⁵⁷ Cf. Manuwald (2009) 594.

³⁵⁸ On the different dream classification categories, cf. Kessels (1969) and Walde (2001) 16-8.

³⁵⁹ The other two are Hylas' dream speech to Hercules (VF. 4.22-43) and Phrixus' speech to Aeetes (VF. 5.231-45). Pelias' dream, by contrast, is fictitious and therefore only summarised by the tyrant himself (VF. 1.47-50). The female protagonist, Medea, too is characterised by two dreams. Her nightmares are, however, ὄραμα dreams without direct speech representation (VF. 5.329-42 and VF. 7.141-6).

³⁶⁰ Cf. Walde (1998) 97: "sowohl was das Traumbild als auch die Funktion angeht eine Art Kondensation verschiedener Träume des Aeneas". See also Soubiran (2002) 210, Groß (2003) 137f., Galli (2007) 178f., and Manuwald (2013) 38.

is not Jason's sole divine encouragement either. The gods, however, do not speak to Jason in dreams, but the hero's future has only been indirectly communicated through Argus' proleptic paintings, Jupiter's bird omen, and Jason's sacrifice.³⁶¹ While the signs appear to be generally positive, they are open to interpretation as Mopsus' and Idmon's divergent prophecies most strikingly show. Argo's dream is thus the first direct divine promise of protection. As *famula Iovis* it is not surprising that Argo's speech remains rather unspecific, too, in its predictions.³⁶² She does not *per se* promise Jason success, but only asks him to trust and rely on her and the gods to protect him during their mission (VF. 1.308b *fidens superisque mihi que*) and to abandon his fear (VF. 1.308a *iam nunc mitte metus*). Jupiter's role in the dream vision has been debated.³⁶³ In view of Argo's self-pronounced servanthood to the father of the gods, Jupiter's own confirmation thereof (VF. 1.544f. *inde meae quercus tripodisque animaeque parentum / hanc pelago misere manum*), the dream's congruence with Jupiter's world plan, and Argo's subtle echo of his directive (VF. 1.557 *spes et metus omnibus esto / arbiter*), it is difficult not to assume Jupiter's creation of the dream vision.³⁶⁴

To give her promise greater authority Argo assures Jason of Juno's alliance and emphasizes her own interest in and optimism for the operation's success as well as supernatural powers (VF. 1.303 *fatidicis ... silvis*). Argo thus claims that she would not have let Juno tear her from the woods, had she not been promised catastrophe in return for her pains (VF. 1.304f.).³⁶⁵ As already suggested by Lüthje (1971) 28, Juno's fastening of the prophetic oak, contrary to the tradition which assigns this task to Minerva, does not necessarily contradict Valerius' account at VF. 1.91-5, but it could simply be part of the goddesses' internal arrangement.³⁶⁶ Juno's involvement recalls their divine alliance and even extends the group of the Argonauts' main supporters to the Capitoline triad. Minerva's replacement could also be motivated by yet another intertextual comparison, especially with regard to Argo's reference to Jason's fear of facing bad weather conditions (VF. 1.306b-8a). While Minerva's alliance as tutelary deity and as principal builder of the ship are practically innate and not in doubt, Juno's desire for vengeance and her fickleness are traditionally feared. Argo's statement underlines the fundamental change of Juno's characterisation in Book 1 of the *Argonautica*. In contrast to Virgil's Juno who cannot

³⁶¹ Cf. Manuwald (2009) 587 n.3. for examples beyond this point in the narrative.

³⁶² See also Schubert (1984b) 183, Groß (2003) 133, Manuwald (2009) 587, and Manuwald (2013) 37.

³⁶³ Cf. Gärtner (1994) 295, Walde (1998) 97f., Groß (2003) 133, and Zissos (2008) 225.

³⁶⁴ Cf. Groß (2003) 133, Zissos (2008) 225, and Manuwald (2013) 37.

³⁶⁵ See also Groß (2003) 133 and Zissos (2008) 224.

³⁶⁶ Cf. Lüthje (1971) 28 and Kleywegt (2005) 177.

wait to destroy the ship in a storm, Valerius' goddess is not only *not* intent on destroying the ship, but she even performs the very task that gives Argo supernatural, protective powers (VF. 1.236 *ratis omnia vincet*).

Argo's speech is by far the most optimistic dream prediction in the Valerian epic;³⁶⁷ however, whereas in the other two dream speeches the information revealed to Hercules and Aetes is yet unknown to the addressee and greatly affects their mind-sets and course of action, Jason has already made all necessary arrangements for the Argonauts' departure on the following morning, when Argo suddenly speaks to him in a dream.³⁶⁸ Through the preceding portents Jason has been provided with plentiful affirmative signs for a successful and divinely approved voyage. Argo's appearance only officially announces the completion of all necessary preparations for the launch and confirms the uniqueness and supernatural powers of the first ship. It would nonetheless be wrong to assume that Argo's prediction is only a reflection of Jason's hopes and wishes, or to consider the sole purpose of her speech to be the confirmation of the gods' divine approval of Jason's decision and the final fixture of the Argonauts' launch (VF. 1.310b-4). The conclusion and overall placement of Argo's dream vision are highly significant in this respect. As already discussed, Jason's dream in the Valerian *Argonautica* just like Aeneas' dreams in the *Aeneid* is a call for the hero's departure. Because Aeneas is much more reluctant to leave, the dream speeches he receives are not only necessary to initiate his departure, but they are also much more forceful with regard to their implementation.³⁶⁹ The dreams and especially Mercury's epiphany (Aen. 4.265b-76a) not only urge and criticise Aeneas, but also deny him a prolonged heartfelt farewell, which ultimately leads to Dido's death.³⁷⁰ Argo's speech, by contrast, is already embedded in the middle of an extensive double-farewell between Jason and his parents, the longer half of which is still to come. Attentively, Jason takes the time to say goodbye to his parents and console them for a second time.³⁷¹ His departure too eventually results in the suicide of his parents, but it is not the pain of Jason's parting that takes Aeson's and Alcimedé's lives, but a long chain of hapless deceits. In fact, the harmonious farewell and Jason's final filial gestures provide his parents with closure and thus make death easier for them to embrace when they are forced to commit suicide.

³⁶⁷ Jason's fearful response to the dream (VF. 1.309f. *ille pavens laeto quamquam omine divum / prosiluit stratis*) is a reaction to the epiphany, not to the delivered prophecy. Cf. Zissos (2008) 227: "(t)repidation is the prescribed 'Virgilian' response to divine epiphanies". See also Walde (1998) 96.

³⁶⁸ Cf. Gärtner (1996) 292, Walde (1998) 96f., and Groß (2003) 137f.

³⁶⁹ See also Steiner (1952) 34.

³⁷⁰ Cf. Aeneas' reaction at Aen. 4.279-95. See also Steiner (1952) 53 and Williams (1996) 356 *ad loc.*

³⁷¹ This also explains the untypical omission of the traditionally futile embrace of the empty dream vision in favour of the subsequent farewell embrace between Jason and his parents.

Second Farewell Scene (VF. 1.315-49)

Valerius makes significant changes to the Apollonian farewell scene and only loosely adopts the gender opposition as well as Alcimedè's direct speech. It has widely been recognized that while a vast number of farewell scenes have influenced Valerius' account such as Aeneas' farewell to Creusa in the *Aeneid* (Aen. 2.789-94), or Pompey's and Cornelia's parting in Lucan's *Civil War* (Luc. 5.722-815), Valerius' leave-taking is primarily indebted to Evander's farewell to Pallas (Aen. 8.558-83a).³⁷² Valerius has reproduced Evander's farewell speech in reverse order and reworked its second pessimistic half (Aen. 8.572-83a) and subsequent swooning (Aen. 8.583b-4) into Alcimedè's speech (VF. 1.320b-34) and fainting (VF. 1.348b-9a), and the first proud, optimistic half into Aeson's speech (VF. 1.336b-47) according to the traditional Roman gender roles.³⁷³ By splitting Evander's speech Valerius not only maintains Apollonius' juxtaposition of the optimism of the male and the pessimism of the female viewpoint, but also underlines Aeson's and Alcimedè's composure and character strength in comparison to the well-respected king.

Collective Lament (VF. 1.315-6)

With the launch preparations in full swing, the lamentations of the Argonauts' mothers grow louder (VF. 1.315f. *increscunt matrum gemitus*) and even the brave fathers start to quail at the thought of the imminent departure (VF. 1.315f. *et fortia languent / corda patrum*). Thus crying they cling to each other in lingering embrace (VF. 1.316 *longis flentes amplexibus haerent*).³⁷⁴

Alcimedè's Speech (VF. 1.320b-34)

Alcimedè's first speech is one of the longest speeches by a female speaker in the Valerian *Argonautica*. Her lament over Jason's imminent departure has a parallel in Clite's mourning of her late husband Cyzicus (VF. 3.316b-29), but more closely in Eidyia's lamentation over Medea's departure (VF. 8.144-70). The grief of all three women is compared to the reaction of other men and women in a similar situation of departure or bereavement. Clite, as the king's widow, asks her fellow Cyzican women to join her lament (VF. 3.314b-5 *Clite laceras super ora mariti / fusa comas misera in planctus vocat*

³⁷² Cf. Zissos (2008) 229f. for a comprehensive list of Valerius' models.

³⁷³ Cf. Gossage (1969) 92f., Adamietz (1976) 19, Fuà (1986) 272, and Zissos (2008) 229.

³⁷⁴ Cf. the final image of the farewell episode (1.348f.).

agmina matrum). She thus orchestrates the collective mourning for the deceased Cyzicans and emphasizes her complete isolation as child- and parentless widow (VF. 3.316a-25). Similarly, Medea's mother suffers the most from Medea's shameful secretive departure and surpasses Chalciope and Medea's other confidantes with her excessive, desperate lamentations (VF. 8.143 *exstat sola parens impletque ululatibus auras*). Alcimede's voice too drowns out the mourning of the other mothers (VF. 1.317-9 **vox tamen Alcimedea planctus supereminet omnis: / femineis tantum illa furens ululatibus obstat / obruat Idaeam quantum tuba Martia buxum).³⁷⁵ Unlike Apollonius' Alkimede (ARh. 1.271, ARh. 1.274, and ARh. 1.292) and her Valerian counterparts, Alcimede, however, does not exceed the other mothers through excessive lament, but merely because of her strong, firm voice, which is so loud that it is compared to a martial trumpet that drowns out the musical sound of the Idaean pipe (VF. 1.317-20).³⁷⁶ Just as it is the trumpet signal that will ultimately separate the Argonauts from the embrace of their parents at the end of the farewell episode (VF. 1.348f.), it is here Alcimede's trumpet-like voice that puts a stop to the futile lament and openly declares the Argonauts' voyage to be unjust, but nonetheless inevitable (VF. 1.320f. *nate indignos aditure labores, / dividimur*).³⁷⁷ In contrast to her fellow Thessalian mothers, (VF. 1.315 *increscunt matrum gemitus*, VF. 1.316 *flentes*, VF. 1.317 *planctus*, and VF. 1.318 *ululatibus*), Alcimede is given a manly reaction to Jason's departure despite her great concerns for his life (VF. 1.322 *timebam*, VF. 1.325 *timorem*, and VF. 1.328 *timuissem*).**

After she has established the necessity of Jason's departure, Alcimede, like her Apollonian *alter ego*, expresses her surprise at Jason's sudden deployment (VF. 1.320f.). Instead of using it as an excuse to lament her own future suffering, she blames herself for having prayed to the wrong gods, because she only expected dangerous missions and wars on land (VF. 1.322 *bella tibi terrasque timebam*), while she should have prayed to the maritime gods instead (VF. 1.323 *vota aliis facienda deis* and VF. 1.324 *si trepidis placabile matribus aequor*). In contrast to Alkimede, she does not egotistically wish to die immediately, so she would be spared mental torment and social humiliation (ARh. 1.278-82a), but in analogy to Virgil's Evander (Aen. 8.572-7) Valerius' Alcimede declares that she could endure fear and restlessness (VF. 1.325 *possum equidem ... pati*) as long as Jason would eventually be restored to her

³⁷⁵ Clite's and Alcimede's speech start identically: VF. 3.316a and VF. 1.320a *fatur et haec*.

³⁷⁶ The simile is even more striking in comparison with Alkimede who is likened to an orphan girl in the Apollonian farewell episode (ARh. 1.268-75). Interestingly, a similar analogy is employed by Valerius' Cyzicus who tries to shame his men into action by contrasting their lazy response to the war trumpets with their quick, eager response to the Phrygian flutes (VF. 3.231 *barbara buxus*) when they call them to the orgiastic worship of Cybele (VF. 3.232 *ululantia Dindyma*). Cf. also the warning of the Virgilian Tarchon (Aen. 11.732-40) and Numanus' comparison at Aen. 9.617-20. See also Dräger (2003) 413 and Manuwald (1999) 75.

³⁷⁷ Alcimede's position in Valerius' farewell episode corresponds to that of the Thessalian men at ARh. 1.245.

safely at the end of his mission (VF. 1.323f. *si fata reducunt / te mihi*).³⁷⁸ She also follows Evander's model (Aen. 8.578-82) in her request for an imminent, merciful death together with Aeetes for the case that the fates have already decreed that her son will not return to her (VF. 1.326f.). Alcimedē's death wish is of great importance, as it prepares her second and final speech at the end of this book, when she proposes a joint suicide to Aeson in an attempt to escape a cruel death at Pelias' hands (VF. 1.763-6) who is seeking revenge for Jason's abduction of Acastus.

Evander (Aen. 8.572-83a)

*at vos, o superi, et divum tu maxime rector
Iuppiter, Arcadii, quaeso, miserescite regis
et patrias audite preces. **si numina** vestra
incolumem Pallanta mihi, **si fata reservant,** 575
si visurus eum vivo et venturus in unum,
vitam oro, **patior** quemvis **durare** laborem.
sin aliquem infandum casum, **Fortuna**, minaris,
nunc, nunc **o** liceat **crudelem** abrumpere **vitam**,
dum curae ambiguae, dum spes incerta futuri, 580
dum te, care puer, mea sola et sera voluptas,
complexu teneo, gravior neu nuntius **auris**
vulneret.*

Alcimedē (VF. 1.320b-34)

*nate **indignos aditure labores,** 320
dividimur nec ad hos animum componere casus
ante datum, sed bella tibi terrasque timebam.
vota aliis facienda deis. **si fata reducunt**
te mihi, **si** trepidis placabile matribus aequor,
possim equidem lucemque **pati** longumque timorem. 325
sin aliud fortuna parat, **miserere** parentum,
Mors bona, **dum** metus est nec adhuc dolor. **ei** mihi, Colchos
unde ego et avecti timuissem vellera Phrixi?
quos iam mente dies, **quam saeva insomnia curis**
prospicio! **quotiens** raucos ad litoris ictus 330
deficiam Scythicum metuens pontumque polumque
nec de te credam nostris ingrata serenisi!
da, precor, **amplexus** haesuraque verba relinque
auribus et dulci iam nunc preme lumina dextra!*

Creusa (Aen. 2.675-8)

***si periturus abis**, et nos rape in omnia tecum;
sin aliquam expertus sumptis spem ponis in armis,
hanc primum tutare domum. cui parvus Iulus,
cui pater et coniunx quondam tua dicta relinquitur?*

While Alcimedē's argumentation so far has been primarily modelled on the second part of Evander's speech, her *oratio recta*, like Evander's whole speech, contains a rapid loss of self-control and climaxes in an eventual collapse (VF. 1.348f.).³⁷⁹ After she has shown great restraint during the first part of her speech, the second part is much more emotional, filled with affective interjections (VF. 1.327 *ei mihi* and VF. 1.331 *a*), exclamations, and ellipses. This pessimistic, increasingly agitated passage is

³⁷⁸ Note the emphatic enjambement and expressive juxtaposition mimicking their close embrace. Cf. Fuà (1986) 269, Dräger (1995) 479, and Kleywegt (2005) 183.

³⁷⁹ Cf. Fuà (1986) 269, Dräger (1995) 479, and Zissos (2008) 229.

introduced by an echo (VF. 1.328) of her earlier statement of complete surprise and lack of mental preparation (VF. 1.321f. *nec ad hos animum componere casus / ante datum, sed bella tibi terrasque timebam*). The reference to Phrixus, in addition to its separating both speech parts, also serves as a clear allusion to Alkimedē's hysterical speech at ARh. 1.290f. ὃ μοι ἐμῆς ἄτης: τὸ μὲν οὐδ' ὄσον, οὐδ' ἐν ὄνειρῳ / ὠισάμην, εἰ Φρίξος ἐμοὶ κακὸν ἔσσειτ' ἀλύξας. It is the thought of Jason's death that at last destroys Alcimedē's composure and triggers terrifying visions (VF. 1.329-33).

In contrast to the echoes of Creusa's first speech (Aen. 2.675-8) and the correspondence with the overall exhortative effect of Creusa's consoling, second speech in the *Aeneid* (Aen. 2.776-89), which have been widely acknowledged, the influence of Lucan's Cornelia on Valerius' portrayal of Alcimedē, both in the farewell episode and in the suicide scene, have been either neglected or minimized in previous scholarship. There can, however, be no doubt that the final part of Alcimedē's speech and especially Alcimedē's vision of her repeated swooning (VF. 1.330b-1)³⁸⁰ are indebted to Cornelia's farewell speeches and her overall mental constitution in Lucan's *Civil War*.³⁸¹ Valerius has reversed both the length and the order of the couple's speeches and the development of the wives' emotions in the course of their speeches.³⁸²

Lucan's Pompeius Magnus speaks first and more briefly than his wife Cornelia and he is also the more emotional, tearful speaker of the dialogue (Luc. 5.738 *flentem ... Magnum*, Luc. 5.739 *ille gemens*, Luc. 5.753 *Pompeium ... tristem*, and Luc. 5.792 *maesti ... Magni*). Pompey informs his wife that they have to separate for her own safety, as well as to protect his reputation among his followers, and to enable him to focus all his attention and energy on the civil war (Luc. 5.739b-59a). Cornelia is subsequently overcome by emotion and collapses (Luc. 5.759b-60) before launching into a hysterical farewell speech (Luc. 5.761-90a); she, however, quickly regains her dignity thereafter. The first part of her speech resembles Alkimedē's theatrical speech in Apollonius (ARh. 1.278-91). Like Alkimedē, Cornelia bemoans her complete isolation and the detrimental impact she expects her separation from Pompey to have on her own reputation. She moreover complains that this is the lot of common people, which should not be sprung on her, the daughter of a noble family (Luc. 5.764f. *sed sorte frequenti /*

³⁸⁰ No woman swoons more often in Roman epic than Cornelia: Luc. 5.790-2, Luc. 5.799-801, Luc. 8.86f., Luc. 8.105-7, Luc. 8.581f., Luc. 8.589-92, and Luc. 8.661f.

³⁸¹ On Cornelia, cf. Sannicandro (2008) 31-70. Alcimedē's second speech is also modelled on a speech by Cornelia, see discussion below.

³⁸² It is technically Cornelia who is departing, as she is being sent away to seek asylum on Lesbos, cf. Luc. 5.804f. *Fida comes Magni vadit duce sola relicto / Pompeiumque fugit*.

plebeiaque nimis careo dimissa marito). Just as Alkimedede indulges in her lament, Cornelia, full of pathos, declares that all she has left is to complain (Luc. 5.762 *nil mihi ... relictum est, / Magne, queri*).

In the course of her speech, just as Valerius' Alcimedede more and more loses her self-control, Lucan's Cornelia gradually composes herself and uses her anger over Pompey's one-sided decision (Luc. 5.762-7a) to prove herself as the stronger and more determined partner of the couple. She does what Pompey cannot bring himself to do (Luc. 5.731f. *mentem iam verba paratam / destituunt* and Luc. 5.732f. *blandaue ... / ... morae*), namely to end the conversation and thereby not delay the departure any longer (Luc. 5.791f. *tormentaue nulla / vult differre mora*).³⁸³ Alcimedede and Cornelia thus stir their beloved on to leave and immediately start upon their respective mission. Both women do so even though they envision many sleepless nights for themselves (VF. 1.329f. *quos iam mente dies, quam saeva insomnia curis / prospicio*; Luc. 5. 805b-6a *quae nox tibi proxima venit / insomnia*).³⁸⁴ They foresee themselves restlessly monitoring the sea for signs of their loved ones' fate during the dangerous tasks they have to complete far away from them. Just as Cornelia is aware that, even if she spots a ship in the distance, she cannot be sure if it will bring her good or bad news, Pompey himself, or even the murderous Caesar (Luc. 5.780-4a), Alcimedede is in despair because not only will stormy weather increase her fear for Jason, but she will always be afraid in good weather too as she cannot know which weather conditions Jason is in fact facing on his way to Colchis (VF. 1.329-32). It is this uncertainty and helpless fear that causes both women grief. They are pessimistic and do not expect their men to return. Alcimedede even ominously asks Jason to pay her his final respects (VF. 1.333f. *da, precor, amplexus haesuraue verba relinque / auribus et dulci iam nunc preme lumina dextra!*). She is thus demanding the last rites³⁸⁵ Alcimedede complains to have been deprived of (ARh. 1.280f.) and the final embrace Pompey has already given to Cornelia.³⁸⁶

³⁸³ Despite Cornelia's mental strength in the *Civil War*, just as Valerius' Alcimedede is physically weaker than Aeson, Lucan's Pompey shows greater physical control when compared to Cornelia's swooning before and after her speech: Luc. 5.759b-61 *vix tantum infirma dolorem / cepit, et attonito cesserunt pectore sensus* and Luc. 5.799 *Labitur infelix*.

³⁸⁴ Their presentiments are confirmed later in the epic, cf. VF. 1.730-4, Luc. 5.807 *atque insueta quies uni, and Luc. 8.42-5a maestior in mediis quam si, Cornelia, campis Emathiae staret. / tristis praesagia curas / exagitant, trepida quatitur formidine somnus, / Thessaliam nox omnis habet*. On forebodings as a natural form of prophecy of which women in ancient epic are often capable, see Schotes (1969) 163 and Foley (2005a) 109 for further references.

³⁸⁵ Cornelia too concludes her speech with a final request to Pompey (Luc. 5.787 *hoc precor extremum*). She asks Pompey not to put his life at risk by reuniting with her, should he have to retreat and flee before Caesar (Luc. 5.787-90a).

³⁸⁶ Cf. Luc. 5.794 *extremusque perit tam longi fructus amoris*, Luc. 5.735f. *fovet amplexu ... / pectus*, and Luc. 5.793 *amplexu dulci*. See also Luc. 5.807b-8a *nudumque marito / non haerente latus*. On the association of separation with death, see Luc. 5.796f. *vitamque per omnem / nulla fuit tam maesta dies*, Luc. 5.806 *viduo ... lecto*, and

They both feel that the separation is forced upon them (VF. 1.321 *dividimur* and Luc. 5.765 *nimis careo dimissa marito*) and that the reasons for this are highly unjust and either against divine decree or at least against their own personal prayers (VF. 1.320 *nate indignos aditure labores*, VF. 1.323 *vota aliis facienda deis*, and Luc. 5.762 *nil ... de fatis ... superisque*). Despite their fear and physical weakness, in comparison to their husbands both Alcimedede and Cornelia initiate the final departure process with their respective speeches (VF. 1.317-21a and Luc. 5.791f.) and bravely declare their determination to stay alive and to endure the pain of separation, as long as the fates return their loved ones to them:³⁸⁷ VF. 1.325 *possum equidem lucemque pati longumque timorem* and Luc. 5.778 *posse pati timeo*. The tone and effect of their declarations are very different. Valerius' Alcimedede feels sympathy for her son's needless and potentially fatal mission (VF. 1.320 *indignos ... labores*) and she is entirely consumed by fear for his life, whereas Lucan's Cornelia speaks as an aggrieved wife in grim defiance of her husband's lack of trust in her strength of endurance, which drives her to accuse him of cruelty (Luc. 5.770 *saeve* and Luc. 5.777 *crudelis*) and to hurt him with the claim that she is fully capable of staying alive and bearing her husband's pain (Luc. 5.777 *ignosce fatenti* and Luc. 5.776-8a). Just like Alcimedede (VF. 1.327f.), Cornelia is, however, terrified of receiving news of her loved one's death (Luc. 5.779b) and, just like her, she contemplates a more merciful death together with her husband (VF. 1.327 *miserere parentum, / mors bona, dum metus est nec adhuc dolor* and Luc. 5.773-5a *ut nolim servire malis sed morte parata / te sequar ad manes, feriat dum maesta remotas / fama procul terras*).

Both Alcimedede's and Cornelia's leave-taking, the one from her son, the other from her husband, stand out due to the tenderness and mutual affection displayed in comparison with the epics' other families and couples.³⁸⁸ Similarly, Alcimedede and Cornelia surpass the other women by far in their extraordinary bravery and their willingness to die together with their husbands. While they both temporarily show signs of physical and emotional weakness, they are brave in the face of danger and will surpass the determination displayed in the farewell episodes when they suddenly face the murder of their spouses. Both the Lucanian and Valerian farewell scenes represent the women's first test of

Luc. 5.813b-5 *caruisse timebat / Pompeio; sed non superi tam laeta parabant: / instabat miserae, Magnum quae redderet, hora*. Cf. moreover Evander's farewell embrace at Aen. 8.568f. *non ego nunc dulci amplexu divellerer usquam, / nate, tuo*.

³⁸⁷ Cf. VF. 1.323b-6 *vota aliis facienda deis. si fata ... / si ... / ... sin aliud Fortuna parat*, Luc. 5.778f. *quod si sunt vota, deisque / audior*, and Luc. 5.781 *fata ... laeta*.

³⁸⁸ Cf. Ahl (1976) 306 and Tschiedel (2004) 170.

endurance, which they pass with flying colours, before death is not just a metaphor for separation anymore, but becomes a reality for them.

Aeson's Speech (VF. 1.336b-47)

The introduction to Aeson's speech immediately reveals that, while his wife has gradually talked herself into frenzy in a display of her *infirmitas animi*, Aeson remains strong and suppresses a similar outbreak of emotions (VF. 1.335 *sed fortior Aeson*). In contrast to Aeson's silence in Apollonius, which reflects his physical weakness and complete despondency, his Valerian counterpart is primarily modelled on Virgil's Evander and despite his old age is still presented as a strong, courageous hero who conducts himself with the dignity suitable for a *vir Romanus* and *pater familias*.³⁸⁹ Like Virgil's Evander (Aen. 8.560-9), Aeson laments his old age and physical weakness and claims that in his prime he would have been the first to embark on this dangerous voyage (VF. 1.336b-40).³⁹⁰ Aeson's self-portrayal as a hindered or retired hero corroborates the preceding depiction of him. On the one hand, he is pitied and supported by his compatriots (VF. 1.72f. *olim miserantes Aesona patres / aduocet?*), on the other hand his heroic victory over the centaurs, which he cites as an example of his heroic past here (VF. 1.337f.), is imprinted on Argus' painting (VF. 1.140-8). Aeson happily declares that the gods have answered his prayers (VF. 1.341-2a and VF. 1.344b) because he is now able to see Jason follow in his footsteps as the leader of these outstanding heroes (VF. 1.336b-40).³⁹¹ Optimistically, Aeson concludes his speech with a prayer to Jupiter to grant him the opportunity to see the day that his son returns from his successful endeavour and surpasses his own glorious deeds.³⁹² With his confidence and enthusiasm for the mission Aeson manages to raise everyone's spirits (VF. 1.335b-6a) and the family comes together for a final embrace (VF. 1.348b-9) before the trumpet gives the signal for Argo's launch (VF. 1.350f.).³⁹³ While Alcimede is finally overwhelmed by her feelings and collapses into Jason's arms (VF. 1.348f. *ille suo conlapsam pectore matrem / sustinuit*) just as Virgil's Evander falls into the arms of his servants (Aen. 8.584 *famuli conlapsum in tecta ferebant*), Valerius' Aeson

³⁸⁹ See Adamietz (1976) 19, Fuà (1986) 273, Claus (1993) 40f., Green (1997) 20, and Hershkowitz (1998) 131f.

³⁹⁰ Cf. the description of Polyphemus (ARh. 1.44) and of course Pelias (VF.1.51-3a) and Aeetes (VF. 8.137f. and VF. 8.280). On the old warrior *topos*, see also Garson (1969) 362-6, Hershkowitz (1998a) 131, Kleywegt (2005) 193f., and Zissos (2008) 235 with further references.

³⁹¹ Alcimede, by contrast, laments her futile prayers (VF. 1.323a). Aeson's speech not only emphasizes his own heroism, but also Jason's role as *dux*. Cf. Adamietz (1976) 26, Perutelli (1982) 127, and Fuà (1986) 271.

³⁹² Cf. Fuà (1986) 271 and Hershkowitz (1998a) 131. See also Evander's prayer to Jupiter at Aen. 8.572-4a.

³⁹³ Cf. Adamietz (1976) 19, Fuà (1986) 271f., and Dräger (1995) 476.

maintains his self-control and strength until the end of the leave-taking and manages to stay upright (VF. 1.349 *magnaue senem cervice recepit*) with the support of his son.³⁹⁴

All three family members “behave with exemplary Roman nobility”³⁹⁵ in their traditional gender and family roles and thereby surpass their Apollonian and Virgilian counterparts in their display of strength of character. By inverting the Virgilian speech order and omitting both Jason’s harsh rebuke of Alkimedee and his ominous meeting with Iphias in the Hellenistic *Argonautica*, Valerius transforms Apollonius’ gloomy and pessimistic farewell episode into a hopeful leave-taking and an *exemplum* of familial piety.³⁹⁶ Especially before the background of the cold Apollonian farewell with Jason’s self-absorption and ignorance of both his family and community members, as well as Medea’s secretive departure, which leaves her mother heartbroken, and her alienating barbaric display of affection for her pet dragon, Jason’s farewell in Valerius’ epic, as Tschiedel (2004) 175 fittingly concludes, becomes “Ausdruck kultivierter Menschlichkeit” and the leave-taking of the Argonauts in general “Ausdruck ihrer bleibenden Einbindung in eine auf Sittlichkeit gegründete Zivilisation”.

³⁹⁴ Cf. Fuà (1986) 271 and Hershkowitz (1998a) 131. Swooning is a common element of farewell episodes (Aen. 3.308f., Luc. 5.759f., Theb. 9.40f., and Pun. 6.408f.) to illustrate the female *infirmis animi* in comparison to the men’s greater emotional strength and composure, here assigned to Alcimedee’s husband (VF. 1.335 *fortior Aeson*). Cf. also Aen. 2.707 *ergo age, care pater, cervici imponere nostrae*.

³⁹⁵ Hershkowitz (1998a) 131.

³⁹⁶ Cf. Mehmel (1934) 66, Lüthje (1971) 22, Dräger (1995) 475, Hershkowitz (1998) 110, and Zissos (2008) 222. On the differences between Valerius’ and Apollonius’ version, see also Tschiedel (2004) 173: “immer sprechen daraus innige Ergriffenheit und Teilnahme, wie sie in solcher Intensität bei Apollonius nirgends zu spüren sind”.

THE CATALOGUES OF ARGONAUTS (VF. 1.350-483 and ARh. 1.23-228)

Apollonius' Catalogue (ARh. 1.23-228)³⁹⁷

The catalogue of heroes in both epics is combined with the farewell scene between Jason and his parents. Apollonius links the catalogue (ARh. 1.23-227) to the invocation of the Muses in his proem (ARh. 1.21f.)³⁹⁸ and he uses the explanation of the term Minyans (ARh. 1.228-33) to establish a connection to Alkimedē, the daughter of Clymene, Minyas' daughter (ARh. 1.232b-3), and the farewell scene, which focuses on Jason's leave-taking from his mother. While Apollonius gradually narrows the focus from a general discussion of the heroes' genealogy to Jason's familial situation in particular, Valerius inverts the order and inserts the catalogue after the private farewell and immediately before the launch (VF. 1.350-483).

Apollonius' catalogue (205 verses) is much longer than Valerius' (134 verses) and mentions women more frequently and in greater detail than the Flavian poet. Apollonius never restricts the information to the mere role of motherhood, but even in the shortest introductions of the Muse **Calliope** (ARh. 1.23-5: she bore Orpheus to Oeagrus near the top of Pimpleia), **Amydone** (ARh. 1.136a-8: Danaus' daughter and mother of Nauplius with Poseidon), and **Europa** (ARh. 1.180f.: daughter of Tityus and mother of Euphemus with Poseidon) either adds the birthplace of the woman, her father, or her husband.³⁹⁹ Three women are mentioned to underline the brotherhood of Argonauts, who stem from the same fathers, but different mothers: Laocoon is the brother of Oeneus from the same father, but a different mother; he is borne by an otherwise unspecified **serving woman**, while Oeneus is the son of Euryte, who is not mentioned here (ARh. 1.190-3a). The three sons of Hermes are borne by two different mothers – Athalides by **Eupolemeia**, daughter of Myrmidon (ARh. 1.54b-5) near the river Amphyrsus; Erytus and Echion by **Antianeira**, daughter of Menetes (ARh. 1.56).

Leda and Alkimedē by comparison receive greater attention. **Leda**, the mother of Polydeukes and Kastor, is described as foil for Alkimedē. Leda does not oppose her sons' departure, but as Zeus'

³⁹⁷ For a more detailed discussion, cf. Kühlmann (1973) 158-79, Roth (2004) 43-54, and Scherer (2006).

³⁹⁸ On the role of the Muses in the Argonautic catalogue, cf. Mangano (1988) 147-9 and Clauss (1991) 484. On the use of sound in the Valerian catalogues (VF. 1.351f. and VF. 6.92-4), see Reitz (2013) 242f.

³⁹⁹ The matronymic Λητοΐδης is employed twice for Apollo (ARh. 1.66 and ARh. 1.144) in the catalogue, but it is used *passim* in the Apollonian epic and not with a specific function or reference to Leto in the catalogue.

consort confidently and gladly sends her beloved sons away on the enterprise (ARh. 1.146-50),⁴⁰⁰ while Alkimedea in the following farewell scene laments excessively and desperately clings to her son's neck (ARh. 1.262-91). **Alkimedea** herself is not only mentioned in the bridge passage to the aforementioned farewell scene at the end of the catalogue, but she is also the first mortal woman to be mentioned in the catalogue itself.⁴⁰¹ She is introduced as the daughter of Phylacus and wife of Aeson, but Alkimedea is primarily mentioned to highlight that Iphiclus' participation is due to his kinship with her (ARh. 1.45-8).

Similarly extensive are the stories of Pero (ARh. 1.118-21: mother of Talaus, Areius, and Leodocus) and Oreithyia (ARh. 1.211-8: daughter of Erechtheus and mother of Zetes and Calais), who Apollonius discusses as negative examples of excessive desire for a woman that results in grief, pain, and violence. Melampus endures one year of imprisonment in the stalls of Neleus in order to win his daughter **Pero** for his brother Bias⁴⁰², and **Oreithyia** is kidnapped in Attica while she is dancing near the river Ilissus and carried off to the Sarpedonian Rock by Boreas who wraps her in a cloud and rapes her.⁴⁰³

Finally, both Hera and Athene are mentioned as tutelary deities. Just as in the Apollonian proem, they are introduced separately and not yet as collaborators. The worship of **Hera** as Hera Parthena by seamen on the island of Samos is reported in connection with Erginus' and Ancaeus' introduction as skilful steersmen (ARh. 1.185-9) and **Athene** is introduced as Tritonian Athene, tutelary goddess of Argo and instructor of both Tiphys and Argus. She herself selects Tiphys and sends him to join the heroes, who are in need of his nautical expertise (ARh. 1.109-10f.). Athene is actively involved in the building process of Argo and teaches her assistant Argus (ARh. 1.226 Ἄργος τε θεῆς ὑποεργὸς Ἀθήνης) the necessary skills (ARh. 1.111f.). Her role in the construction is the reason for Argo's outstanding qualities (ARh. 1.113f.) and so important that Apollonius mentions it twice in the catalogue.

⁴⁰⁰ Tyndareus is also mentioned in allusion to the variant traditions of fatherhood (ARh. 1.148). See also Scherer (2006) 77.

⁴⁰¹ The Muse Calliope opens the catalogue of mothers and thus establishes a smooth transition to the previous invocation of the Muse.

⁴⁰² On Pero, cf. Callimachus' *Victoria Berenices* (SH 260A.5). For further references, see Clauss (1993) 31 n.19.

⁴⁰³ On Oreithyia and the significance of the location, cf. Clauss (1991) 484-8.

Valerius' Catalogue (VF. 1.350-483)⁴⁰⁴

Surprisingly, there are only two correspondences between the list of Apollonian and Valerian women:⁴⁰⁵ **Leda**, the famous mother of the Dioscuri, and **Pallas** who, just like in Apollonius, is mentioned twice as tutelary deity of Argo (VF. 1.457 *Palladia pinu*) and as instructor of Argus (VF. 1.477-80).⁴⁰⁶

Valerius mentions neither Alcimedea, who plays the most prominent role in the Apollonian catalogue, nor Juno. He includes fewer genealogical references to women overall and his descriptions are much shorter; sometimes he does not even refer to the respective women by name.⁴⁰⁷ Predominantly, Valerius tends to add one brief anecdote to the introduction: **Hypso** cannot tell her twin sons Deucalion and Amphion apart (VF. 1.365-8), Peleus trusts in the support of his divine wife **Thetis** and her parents (VF. 1.403-4a), **Astypalaea** is not afraid to let Ancaeus join the voyage, as he is Poseidon's son (VF. 1.413-4a), and **Leda** weaves and stitches a cloak for Pollux and Castor depicting their heroic deeds as a farewell gift (VF. 1.424-6).

No additional information is given on **Antigone** (VF. 1.355b-7) and **Arena** other than their motherhood (VF. 1.460b-1); **Helle** features as an ornate modification to the Fleece (VF. 1.425 *vectorem pavidae ... Helles*), and the narrator briefly apostrophizes **Argo** when he announces that Iphis will not return from the voyage (VF. 1.441-3).⁴⁰⁸

The only woman who receives a slightly more detailed introduction is **Diana** (VF. 1.447 *soror*) who, like the Apollonian Pero, appears in a brief narrative in which servitude, in this case the service of Diana's brother Apollo to Admetus after his shooting of Jupiter's Cyclops Steropes, is assigned as punishment (VF. 1.444-9). Valerius' chosen story is of course much better known than the Apollonian example.⁴⁰⁹ Unlike Pero, Diana is neither a love object nor the reason for the punishment, but she is simply shown to grieve over Apollo's humiliation when she meets him in the woods during his

⁴⁰⁴ Cf. Shey (1968) 36-9, Venini (1971a) 585-8, Shreeves (1978) 144-54, Mangano (1988) 147-63, Hershkowitz (1998) 39-43, and Reitz (2013) 231f. for a more detailed discussion.

⁴⁰⁵ Argo is not portrayed as a goddess in Apollonius' catalogue, but is of course mentioned as the Argonautic ship.

⁴⁰⁶ The description of the skills Pallas imparts to Argus, specifically the reference to Thespia (VF. 1.477f. *te moenia doctum / Thespia Palladio dant munere*), echoes the conflation of Argus and Tiphys at VF. 1.93, which in turn probably results from their joint introduction in Apollonius' catalogue.

⁴⁰⁷ While, unlike Apollonius, Valerius does not include an anonymous woman in his catalogue of Argonauts, Asterion's mother Antigone, Ancaeus' mother Astypalaea, and even Thetis, Leda, and Diana are introduced not by name, but only as mothers of heroes or as sisters of a god.

⁴⁰⁸ On the anticipation of death in catalogues, cf. Zissos (2008) 247f. with further references.

⁴⁰⁹ See also Kleywegt (2005) 258f. and Zissos (2008) 283 for further details.

enslavement (VF. 1.447-9).⁴¹⁰ Diana's sympathy over her brother's suffering and especially the setting of the meeting in the woods bear a certain similarity to Hecate's lament over the loss of her loyal priestess as a result of Medea's lovesickness when the Colchian maid approaches the city wall (VF. 6.497-502).⁴¹¹

The catalogues reflect the overall tendency of the two epicists. Apollonius much more often includes brief anecdotes, especially of nymphs, in his epic. The lower number of women mentioned in Valerius' catalogue corresponds to the focus on father and son relationships in the first book. The majority of women in both catalogues, as is common for this type-scene, are mothers who are mentioned to highlight the familial connections between the Argonauts and to shed light on their genealogies. The cases, in which more information is revealed about the conception of the heroes, are examples of the psychological and physical dangers of excessive desire for the wooing men and especially for the pursued women. Their stories anticipate Medea's and Jason's destructive relationship. The longest descriptions are given to women who appear in the narrative proper (Alkimedee, Hera / Juno, and Athene / Pallas) or those whose fate is comparable to a character of the main story-line (Leda ≈ Alkimedee and Diana ≈ Hecate).

⁴¹⁰ Valerius modifies and combines two Tibullan passages: Tib. 2.3.17f. *o quotiens illo vitulum gestante per agros / dicitur occurrens erubuisse soror!* and Tib. 2.3.23 *saepe horrere sacros doluit Latona capillos*. See also Zissos (2008) 284f. and Kleywegt (2005) 259: "a picturesque vignette of Diana which is charming in itself but not very original".

⁴¹¹ Diana's depiction may thus not be "relevant to the expedition", as Kleywegt (2005) 259 concludes, but it is, albeit loosely, connected to Medea's characterisation.

THE EVENTS IN THESSALY (II)

Extended Episode: Acastus' Boarding (VF. 1.484-96)

Just as both catalogues are combined with the farewell scene, they are followed by a brief interlude discussing the late joining of Acastus. While in Apollonius' version the participation of Acastus, who is accompanied by Argus, has not been previously discussed or been actively enticed by Jason, Valerius has created a separate scene to highlight the significance of Acastus' boarding.⁴¹² The Apollonian leader becomes guilty, too, because despite his assumption that Acastus is joining against his father's wishes, Jason deliberately refrains from inquiring into the circumstances of his participation and allows Acastus to join the Argonautic mission. In contrast to Valerius' hero his guilt is, however, a passive *nefas* and does not result from a bitter counter-deceit (VF. 1.327-8a) nor does it lead to cruel gloating at the cost of Jason's innocent cousin (VF. 1.485 *ductor ovans laetusque dolis*).

The Acastus interlude is concluded by a hunting simile (VF. 1.484-93).⁴¹³ His hasty joining without Pelias' knowledge is compared to the escape of a hunter from a tigress after he has tried to steal her cubs.⁴¹⁴ The likening of Pelias to a raging tigress on the one hand prepares the tyrant's vengeful fury at the end of the first book (VF. 1.712-24a) and on the other hand the simile establishes a smooth transition to the images of the collective of crying mothers who anxiously gaze upon the departing ship (VF. 1.494-7).⁴¹⁵

The characterisation of Acastus' secretive, hasty boarding has a parallel in Book 8 of the Valerian epic where Medea's hasty flight is compared to that of the terror-stricken Ino, who is stirred forth by the Furies (VF. 8.20-3). Both Acastus and Medea are moreover connected to a dove and hawk simile. Jupiter's hawk omen corroborates Jason's decision to abduct the vulnerable Acastus, and Medea's escape from her father into Jason's arms is directly compared to the flight of a terrified dove from a hawk (VF. 8.32-5a). The two similes are, however, not the only symbols of the character doublet. Acastus' first appearance is composed in parallel to Medea's first occurrence *in propria persona*

⁴¹² Whereas in the Flavian *Argonautica* Acastus' previously announced late appearance concludes the farewell episode before the focus shifts to the Olympian episode, his Apollonian counterpart is the last hero of the catalogue to join the mission and his late arrival takes away attention from Jason. See also Beye (1982) 24 and Clauss (1993) 57.

⁴¹³ For a detailed analysis, cf. Gärtner (1994) 70-4.

⁴¹⁴ On the varying interpretations, cf. Gärtner (1994) 71.

⁴¹⁵ To a certain extent this comparison also fulfils Jason's wish that Pelias may cry on the beach together with the other Argonauts' mothers (VF. 1.154b-5) when he finds out about his own son's departure. On the different functions of female gaze in epic poetry, cf. Lovatt (2013b) 205-61.

in Books 5 and 8. Acastus and Medea are both portrayed as naïve young people, who are too brave for their own good and who believe Jason when he flatters them by declaring that he puts all his hope for a successful completion of his mission in them (VF. 1.165-7, VF. 5.378-84, and VF. 5.390b). As a result, Medea and Acastus betray their fathers in full awareness of the familial *nefas*. Their actions are diametrically opposed to the plans and wishes their fathers have for them after the tyrants are warned against Jason, the one through an oracle (VF. 1.26-9a), the other through a dream vision (VF. 5.233b-40) that precedes their children's meetings with him. Whereas both fathers take precautions against the predicted events,⁴¹⁶ they cannot prevent the inevitable. Their children leave with Jason and all their parents, in this case Pelias (VF. 1.712-24a) and Medea's mother (VF. 8.144-70), can do is to lament their departure and curse Jason and their own inattentiveness in hindsight.

THE OLYMPIAN COUNCIL SCENE (VF. 1.498-573)

The short interlude before the Olympian council scene corresponds to Apollonius' depiction of different spectator groups who watch Argo's departure. The Apollonian scene is much shorter (ARh. 1.547-58) and arranged according to the decreasing distance and influence of the spectators (first gods, then minor deities, and finally humans) and the increasing excitement starting with the traditional view from Olympus (ARh. 1.547-9a)⁴¹⁷ to the stunned Nymphs of Pelion (ARh. 1.549-52) and concluding with Chiron's and Achilles' animated farewell waving to Peleus and the Argonauts (ARh. 1.557-8).⁴¹⁸

Valerius shortens the transition and inverts the order of those watching. From the gaze of the heroes' mothers on earth the focus shifts to the Olympian gods who favourably acknowledge the Argonauts' departure.⁴¹⁹ In particular, the Parcae (VF. 1.501f.)⁴²⁰ and Jupiter, who unlike his father

⁴¹⁶ Pelias explicitly tries to persuade Jason to exclude Acastus from the dangerous trip on the grounds of his young age (VF. 1.53b-4) and Aeetes attempts to marry off Medea to Styruus so that Phrixus' dream prediction cannot come true (VF. 5.256-8).

⁴¹⁷ Cf. Zissos (2008) 302: "(d)ivine pleasure at witnessing heroic undertakings is an epic topos reaching back to Il. 7.443-4".

⁴¹⁸ As in the *Aeneid* here, too, the storm scene is combined with a *concilium deorum*, however, in reversed order. Cf. Tschiedel (2004) 166 and Kleywegt (2005) 290.

⁴¹⁹ Cf. Schubert (1984b), 22-5, Feeney (1991) 318f., and Wacht (1991a) 4-7.

⁴²⁰ On the role of the Parcae, see also Zissos (2008) 304f. for further references.

Saturn, prefers adventures and conflicts to a peaceful, tranquil reign (VF. 1.498-500),⁴²¹ rejoice at the dangerous enterprise. Sol alone harbours concerns due to his personal investment as father of the Colchian king, Aetes, (VF. 1.503-4), which he expresses in no uncertain terms in his complaints to Jupiter (VF. 1.503-27).⁴²²

While the Apollonian account may have been Valerius' initial inspiration to insert a divine council scene at this particular position, Virgil's Olympian episode (Aen. 1.223-96) is without a doubt the main model.⁴²³ Just as in the *Aeneid*, where Venus' appeal on Aeneas' behalf prompts Jupiter to reveal the *Fata* (Aen. 1.223-96), Sol of his own accord approaches the father of the gods in order to protest against the great danger his son currently faces.⁴²⁴ Sol of course does not speak on behalf of the epic's protagonist, but for the hero's antagonist, which underlines Valerius' decision not to assign such an appeal to the goddess Juno, who, with one exception in Book 4, successfully avoids any direct verbal confrontation with Jupiter.

Sol's Complaint (VF. 1.505-27) – Ino, Chalciope, Heliades

The Sun god addresses Jupiter in an extensive *captatio benevolentiae* and recalls his own previous loyal services to the father of the gods in a justification of his entitlement to voice his objections (VF. 1.505-8). He announces the purpose of his speech – a change of the mission's itinerary away from Colchis –⁴²⁵ and presents three arguments to support his protest. Firstly, Sol documents the lengths to which he personally has gone to protect his son and he indirectly accuses Jupiter of favouritism, when he contrasts Aetes' rule over the remote, dry Colchian land (VF. 1.514-6)⁴²⁶ with that of Jupiter's sons who reign over much more prosperous, cultivated, and hospitable regions (VF. 1.511b-2).⁴²⁷ Secondly, Sol stresses that Aetes himself has not harmed the Greeks in any way or obtained the Fleece violently

⁴²¹ On "Jupiter's enthusiasm for foreign war", cf. Zissos (2008) 318. Criado (2013) 195 observes that Ovid is the first Roman author who discusses Jupiter's intention to destroy mankind altogether as a punishment for Lycaon's blasphemy (Met. 1.187f, Met. 1.240-5, and Met. 1.260f.). See also Feldherr (2010) 137-49.

⁴²² Cf. Lüthje (1971) 36-41, Adamietz (1976) 21-4, Schubert (1984b) 25-44, Wacht (1991a) 8-16, and Otte (1992) 55-8.

⁴²³ On Valerius' tendency to combine Virgilian and Apollonian elements, cf. Zissos (2008) § III d.

⁴²⁴ See also Kleywegt (2005) 289.

⁴²⁵ Sol is right to assume that Jupiter is not interested in the recovery of the Fleece so much as in the enforcement of his new world order and the bringing of civilization. Cf. Zissos (2008) 311.

⁴²⁶ The metonymy *barbarus ... / Phasis* (VF. 1.517f.) for Colchis anticipates Jupiter's declaration of his world civilisation plans. See also Zissos (2008) 309f.

⁴²⁷ On the division of the world in five *zoniae*, cf. Zissos (2008) 307f. Sol's claim is echoed by Neptune at VF. 4.127. Jupiter refutes it in his direct reply and through his actions in Book 5 when he lets his own son Colaxes die too.

(VF. 1.517f.),⁴²⁸ but that he, on the contrary, generously welcomed Phrixus when he was fleeing from the altars of his stepmother (VF. 1.521 *Inoas ... aras*)⁴²⁹ and even married his daughter Chalciope to him (VF. 1.519-24).⁴³⁰ Finally, in an attempt to evoke sympathy, Sol concludes his speech with an appeal to Jupiter not to cause him any more grief,⁴³¹ since Jupiter's thunderbolt in punishment of Phaethon's hybris has taken one son from him and has thus already caused endless sorrow to Sol himself and his daughters, the Heliades (VF. 1.525-7).⁴³² While Sol primarily mentions his son's death as an example of previous bereavement through Jupiter, the underlying concept and the reason for Jupiter's intervention are the same – Jupiter causes personal loss for Sol in order to prevent a *Weltenbrand*.⁴³³

Mars, Pallas, and Juno (VF. 1.528-30)

The Olympian scene is restricted to Jupiter and Sol as speakers, but Sol's complaint evokes strong reactions from three other gods (VF. 1.528-30). It is striking that both approval and dissent are voiced by noise and gesture, but not in direct speech. This reaction occurs three times in the first book after a divine counselling scene. First, in Mopsus' council the sea gods make a lot of noise in approval of Neptune's anger and collectively urge him to act (VF. 1.213 *fremere et ... hortantur*).⁴³⁴ In the sea storm scene the winds are similarly indignant and support Boreas' suggestion to punish the Argonauts for their boldness (VF. 1.608f. *at cuncti fremere intus et aequora venti / poscere*). Mars' loud grumbling and angry headshaking here too second Sol's complaint (VF. 1.528 *adfremit his quassatque caput*).⁴³⁵ Mars' reasons for his opposition, like Sol's, are due to a personal disadvantage from the Argonauts' mission and thus egocentric in nature.⁴³⁶ The god of war (VF. 1.529 *bellipotens*) opposes on the

⁴²⁸ On the veracity of Sol's declaration of his son Aetes' pro-Greek attitude, cf. Manuwald (2008) 999f.

⁴²⁹ Just as Valerius varies the modifiers of the Fleece, he here does the same with the altar references. See also Zissos (2008) 311.

⁴³⁰ On Sol's claim that Aetes prevented the outbreak of a civil war in Thessaly with his kind reception of Phrixus, cf. Zissos (2008) 311: "an ingenious twist".

⁴³¹ On parents' emotional wounds, cf. Jason's deliberation at VF. 1.152b. See also Zissos (2008) 311. Just like Sol, Neptune here refers to previous paternal sorrow to strengthen his argument for the injustice of his son's misfortune (VF. 4.121b-3).

⁴³² Their story is taken up with similar brevity at VF. 5.429-32. See also ARh. 4.620-6. On the Ovidian metamorphosis of the ceaselessly grieving Heliades into poplars, cf. Galli (2007) 280 and Zissos (2008) 312 with further references.

⁴³³ See also Feeney (1991) 332 and Zissos (2008) 312.

⁴³⁴ On the use of *fremere* for angry utterances by mortal and divine collectives, cf. Adamietz (1976) 21 as well as Zissos (2008) 192 and 311 with further references.

⁴³⁵ On *adfremere* as Valerian coinage, cf. Galli (2007) 281 and Zissos (2008) 311. On Ares' / Mars' traditionally loud voice, cf. Il. 13.521 and VF. 6.28-32.

⁴³⁶ Cf. VF. 5.643 *est amor et rerum cunctis tutela suarum*. See also Wacht (1991a) 7.

grounds of a potential removal of the Fleece, the *signa* of his honour, from his grove (VF. 1.528b-9a).⁴³⁷ Mars' direct involvement in the discussion and his opposing stance may explain why Jupiter addresses Bellona and not Mars as personified war when the father of the gods excitedly announces the imminent outbreak of foreign wars that will result from the first voyage to both his own and the war goddess' pleasure (VF. 1.546).⁴³⁸

Mars' approval is juxtaposed by Pallas' and Juno's calm, but irritated and condescending sigh of disapproval at Mars' and Sol's opposition (VF. 1.529f. *contra / Pallas et amborum gemuit Saturnia questus*).⁴³⁹ The ἀπὸ κοινοῦ construction (VF. 1.530 *Pallas et ... gemuit Saturnia*) underlines their collaboration and univocal reaction, and the enjambement stresses the silent opposition and then direct response to Mars' reaction. The word order reflects the council situation and juxtaposes the two female and male deities on opposing sides while at the same time hinting at Mars' and Pallas' traditional antagonism (Il. 5.835-98 and Il. 21.391-414) through the parallel arrangement of Pallas' name and Mars' epithet. The two deities are also the main opponents in the second Olympian council at VF. 5.618-95.⁴⁴⁰

More important is, however, the conclusion of this brief interlude. The juxtaposition of *Saturnia questus* (VF. 1.530) establishes a *verbatim* repetition in the same metrical position as Juno's opening lament (VF. 1.112 *solitosque novat Saturnia questus*), in which she persuades herself to refrain from any actions against Hercules in order not to endanger the Argonautic mission.⁴⁴¹ The patronymic moreover indirectly links her to Jupiter, whose rulership is compared to that of his father Saturn at the beginning of the episode (VF. 1.500), and stresses Juno's conformist stance at this point in the epic plot.⁴⁴² Atypically, she is *not* the instigator of this divine rebellion against Jupiter.⁴⁴³ The Valerian Juno does not renew her laments, but she here in fact takes the same position as her husband – or so it is implied at this stage – a state the Virgilian Juno only achieves at the end of the *Aeneid*, after Jupiter has

⁴³⁷ Just like Juno's and Pallas' involvement in the sea storm, Mars' position and motivation are indirectly revealed in Mopsus' prediction: VF. 1.223b-4a *quem circum vellera Martem / aspicio?*. On Phrixus' dedication of the golden fleece to Mars, see VF. 5.228-30 and VF. 5.250f. At ARh. 2.1446f. and ARh. 4.118-20 it is dedicated to Zeus, but located in Ares' sanctuary, cf. Galli (2007) 281 and Zissos (2008) 313.

⁴³⁸ On Bellona as personification of war, cf. VF. 2.228 and VF. 3.60-3. See also Fishwick (1967) 155f. and Zissos (2008) 318.

⁴³⁹ On the use and meaning of *temptata* (with *vellera* or *Pallas*), cf. Kleywegt (2005) 311f. and Zissos (2008) 313.

⁴⁴⁰ On the structural and verbal parallels, cf. Zissos (2008) 312f.

⁴⁴¹ Unlike for Mars, the reasons for the goddesses' disapproval are not specified, as their role and alliance have already been established at great length prior to this scene.

⁴⁴² Cf. also Argo's speech at VF. 1.303f. *nec fatidicis avellere silvis / me nisi promisso potuit Saturnia caelo*.

⁴⁴³ Cf. Feeney (1991) 150, Schubert (1991) 129, and Delarue (2004) 84.

successfully instructed her as his sister and *Saturni ... altera proles* (Aen. 12.830) to discard her anger and vengefulness once and for all (Aen. 12.830-42).

It is Mars, who in Valerius' *Argonautica* is singled out as the grim, isolated rebel who on his own opposes Jupiter's will, while Juno makes sure to assert her intrigues within the boundaries of Jupiter's will. She never works alone, but always recruits a divine female helper to assist her in her endeavours. Just as Apollonius' Idas serves as a negative foil to underline the unity and democratic sentiment of the Argonauts, Valerius uses Mars to highlight Pallas' and Juno's compliance with Jupiter's wishes and the harmony among the gods at this early stage in the epic plot.

Jupiter's Revelation of the *Fata* (VF. 1.531-73)⁴⁴⁴

Sol's opposition to the Argonauts' mission, in analogy to its Virgilian model (Aen. 1.257-96), serves as an opportunity and justification for the Flavian poet to include Jupiter's revelation of the *Fata*, "thereby investing the narrative with a global significance not found in ARh".⁴⁴⁵ The importance of this declaration for the entire epic is reflected in the length of both Sol's (23 lines) and in particular Jupiter's speech (35 lines), which is the longest in Book 1. The father of the gods discusses the universal implications of the journey and explains to Sol that the greater good and worldwide importance of the Argonauts' mission outweigh his personal interests.⁴⁴⁶ He moreover refutes Sol's accusation of unfair partisanship (VF. 1.511f.) by clarifying that, when the basis for the world plan was laid, the different zones were not yet ruled by the sons of gods (VF. 1.533b-4a). Jupiter's providential plan combines "the Hesiodic notion of a succession of human ages with contemporary theories of universal history".⁴⁴⁷ He announces that the successful mission and the inauguration of navigation will lead to a new age of global warfare in competition for world domination, which will culminate in the fall of Troy and ultimately bring about a change of the world order with a transfer of power from Asia

⁴⁴⁴ See also Schubert (1984b), Wacht (1991a), Lefèvre (1998) 223-32, Manuwald (1999) 130-76, Río Torres-Murciano (2010) 131-63. On "an essential equivalence between Jovian decree and fate", cf. Zissos (2008) 315 and Schönberger (1965) 125.

⁴⁴⁵ Zissos (2008) 314. See also VF. 3.620 and VF. 4.708f. Cf. moreover Adamietz (1976) 23, Barich (1982) 125f., and Kleywegt (2005) 289.

⁴⁴⁶ On Stoic elements in Jupiter's speech, cf. Billerbeck (1986) 3129-30.

⁴⁴⁷ Zissos (2008) 314. Unlike in Virgil's *Aeneid*, Valerius' Jupiter does not promise an empire *sine fine* (Aen. 1.278), but only *longissima ... / regna* (VF. 1.559f., and VF. 2.245) similar to Ovid's concept (Met. 15.421-52). See also Adamietz (1976) 23, Schubert (1984b) 103, and Criado (2013) 196.

to Rome (VF. 1.554 *magnis Asiam concedere fatis* and VF. 1.555f. *gentesque fovebo / mox alias*).⁴⁴⁸ “Indeed, the *Kriegsthema* is so important to Valerius’ new *Argonautica* that one telos of the epic is war in itself”.⁴⁴⁹ Jupiter reveals that not only will the Argonauts’ intended repatriation of the Fleece lead to military confrontation, but the kidnapping of Medea (VF. 1.548f. *propiorque ex virgine rapta / ille dolor*),⁴⁵⁰ here still not referred to by name, will lead to Absyrtus’ murder and more importantly, in a “‘Herodotean’ causality” (Hdt. 1.2f.) of events, to the abduction of Helen as revenge for Medea’s capture. Jupiter thus presents the Argonautic mission as a catalyst for the Trojan War.⁴⁵¹

Stage directions briefly interrupt Jupiter’s speech (VF. 1.561-2) and establish a transition from his reply to Sol to an exhortation of his absent sons Hercules, Pollux, and Castor to strive for the stars and make themselves immortal with this mission (VF. 1.563a *tendite in astra, viri*).⁴⁵² This personal apostrophe of his sons underlines that Jupiter, unlike Juno, does not have a special, personal bond with Jason.⁴⁵³ More importantly, after Pelias has given the Argonauts a concrete task with the recovery of the Fleece, Jupiter not only reveals the global significance of this assignment, but also reminds his sons that, just as he himself proved his prowess in the usurpation of the highest throne in the battles against the Titan Iapetus and the Giants at Phlegra (VF. 1.563b-5)⁴⁵⁴ and as his other sons Apollo and Bacchus did before them (VF. 1.566b-7), now they have the same chance to overcome the adversity Jupiter has devised for them as a challenge (VF. 1.565b-6a *durum vobis iter et grave caeli / institui*), so his sons can prove themselves worthy of catastrophe.⁴⁵⁵

Jupiter confirms his words with a positive omen (VF. 1.568-573),⁴⁵⁶ but, unlike in the epics of Valerius’ predecessors (Od. 5.28-42 and Aen. 1.297-304), he does not send a messenger to the mortals to declare his will and to give mankind further instructions.⁴⁵⁷ Just like Jupiter’s first bird omen, the second positive portent remains without interpretation and the ensuing collective speech and

⁴⁴⁸ On the power shift, cf. VF. 2.570-3 and VF. 8.395-9. See also Barich (1982) 135, Wacht (1991a) 118, Zissos (2008) 314, Río Torres-Murciano (2010) 138 f., and Criado (2013) 197.

⁴⁴⁹ Buckley (2010) 432. See also VF. 1.545f. *via facta per undas / perque hiemes, Bellona, tibi*.

⁴⁵⁰ On Jason’s parallelism with Paris, cf. VF. 8.395-9 and Apollonius’ allusion to the Paris judgement at ARh. 3.52-4. See also Wacht (1991a) 10 and Manuwald (1999) 141.

⁴⁵¹ Zissos (2008) 318. See also Zissos (2002) 85-7.

⁴⁵² Cf. Schubert (1984b) 18-44 and Kleywegt (2005) 330 for further references. For the stage directions, cf. Neptune’s soliloquy at VF. 4.115 *extremum nati prospexit in oras*.

⁴⁵³ Cf. Delarue (2004) 84 n.10.

⁴⁵⁴ See also Fucecchi (2013) 121: “Jupiter’s ancient labor provides an ideal background to the enterprise of Jason and his crew, who have to deal with various sorts of ‘Giants’ throughout their adventures”. On the programmatic role of the “Gigantomachy theme” and its strategic placement in the epic, cf. Fucecchi (2013) 108f. and *passim*.

⁴⁵⁵ Cf. Manuwald (1999) 150 and Kleywegt (2005) 331f. for further references.

⁴⁵⁶ On Valerius’ combination of two Virgilian portents, cf. Kleywegt (2005) 333f.

⁴⁵⁷ Cf. Kleywegt (2005) 290 for further references.

subsequent prayer by Jason in the storm scene leave no doubt as to the heroes' continued ignorance. In fact, "the Argonauts never learn of the wider purpose of their journey according to Jupiter's plan for the development of the world history".⁴⁵⁸

THE SEA STORM EPISODE (VF. 1.574-692)⁴⁵⁹

Virgil's storm scene (Aen. 1.50-156) has widely been recognized as the main model for Valerius' first storm,⁴⁶⁰ and its similarities and differences to Homer's (Od. 5.282-450), Ovid's (Met. 11.474-572), Lucan's (Luc. 5.560-677), Statius' (Theb. 5.361-421), and Silius' account (Pun. 17.236-91) have been discussed in great detail.⁴⁶¹ Valerius mainly keeps the Virgilian elements and overall structure in his storm episode. Following the description of Aeolus' island and Jupiter's imprisonment of the winds, a hostile deity persuades Aeolus to unleash the destructive winds, then a wild storm attacks the human target, and, after a desperate speech by the heroes in distress, Neptune finally soothes the storm.⁴⁶² Despite this correspondence, the changes Valerius makes especially with regard to the role of the different divine agents are much more significant.

Boreas, Aeolus, and Juno (VF. 1.598-607)

In the *Aeneid*, Juno's rage monologue is followed by her immediate actions against her hated enemies (Aen. 1.67 *gens inimica mihi*). She approaches Aeolus reminding him that he received his power from Jupiter at her recommendation (Aen. 1.65f.) and bribes him with the promise of the most beautiful nymph Deiopea (Aen. 1.71-5) in return for destroying Aeneas and his men at sea (Aen. 1.65-75). Juno's demands are specific, violent, and ruthless (Aen. 1.69f. *incute vim ventis submersasque obrue puppis, /*

⁴⁵⁸ Manuwald (2013) 33.

⁴⁵⁹ Cf. Mehmel (1934) 81-4, Lüthje (1971) 41-8, Shelton (1974) 14-22, Adamietz (1976) 24-6, Burck (1978) 9-14, and Zissos (2006) 79-95.

⁴⁶⁰ The first and second sea storm (VF. 8.318-84) establish a ring composition similar to the role of the Argonauts' prayers to Apollo before the launch (ARh. 1.411-24) and before their final homeward journey (ARh. 4.1714b-30) in Apollonius' *Argonautica*.

⁴⁶¹ See also Kleywegt (2005) 340-2 and Zissos (2008) 328 for an overview.

⁴⁶² On the structure of the Valerian storm scene in comparison to its models, cf. Kleywegt (2005) 340-2.

aut age diversos et dissice corpora ponto). In his response, Aeolus thanks Juno for her previous kindness towards him and submissively accepts the order without hesitation (Aen. 1.76b-80).⁴⁶³

The Valerian council scene has already indicated that Juno does not yet oppose Jupiter, but that her interests are aligned with her husband's (VF. 1.529b-30), and Mopsus' prophecy has anticipated Juno's and Pallas' joint intervention on behalf of the Argonauts (VF. 1.214b-7). As Juno is not causing the storm here, but in fact stopping it, Valerius is the first epicist to make a minor deity the instigator of the storm.⁴⁶⁴ Boreas, enraged by the Argonauts' impious first voyage (VF. 1.598 *nefas* and VF. 1.599 *novam ... molem*), reports the sacrilege (VF. 1.598 *nefas*) to the king of the winds Aeolus (VF. 1.588-607).⁴⁶⁵ Boreas complains about his own restrictions claiming that his weakened state has contributed to the Argonauts' boldness (VF. 1.601-4a). Like the Virgilian Juno, Boreas asks Aeolus to destroy the sailors, but he makes it very clear that he does not have a personal vendetta (VF. 1.604b-5a) nor is he seeking favouritism for his sons (VF. 1.605b *nil me mea pignora tangunt*).⁴⁶⁶ He is determined to prevent their audacity from setting a bad example for other mortals, which is why he urges Aeolus to destroy them close to the Thessalian shore, so that the news of their attempt at sailing does not reach and entice any other peoples (VF. 1.606-7).

All the other winds loudly approve of Boreas' speech (VF. 1.608-9a), Aeolus sets them free, and the winds immediately attack the ship (VF. 1.609b-21b).

⁴⁶³ For a more detailed structural survey, cf. Kleywegt (2005) 340f.

⁴⁶⁴ Valerius gives much greater importance to minor deities (such as Sol, Somnus, and Fama) than his predecessor. See also Feeney (1982) 407 and Zissos (2008) 329.

⁴⁶⁵ The lengthy introduction of the divine alliance and Boreas' messenger role (VF. 1.597 *nuntius*) bears a certain resemblance, albeit in reverted roles, to Venus' and Fama's independent revenge mission against Lemnos, also provoked by a sacrilege, namely the Lemnians' lack of worship (VF. 1.115-241). Cf. also ARh. 4.753-6a, where Iris alerts Hera to the Argonauts' departure, so that Hera can protect them from the imminent dangers.

⁴⁶⁶ Like all divine speakers in Book 1, Boreas too indirectly discusses the topic of divine favouritism. Unlike Sol, Jupiter, and Neptune, Boreas does not wish for a better fate for his own sons, Calais and Zetes, who participate in the Argonautic mission (VF. 1.605b *nil me mea pignora tangunt*). His indifference is, however, most likely tactical in support of his request, as his sons in fact have the ability to fly (Vf. 4.501f.) and could easily save themselves should the Argonauts be shipwrecked. See also Kleywegt (2005) 362 and Zissos (2006) 87f. In contrast to Boreas' "ironic appeal to a higher moral imperative" (Zissos, 2008, 338), Jupiter in fact deliberately challenges his own sons (VF. 1.531b-67) and he is willing to sacrifice another, Colaxes (VF. 6.624-9a), for the successful implementation of his *Fata*.

Collective Lament (VF. 1.627-32)

While Virgil's influence has been discussed in great detail, Apollonius' influence on the Valerian storm scene has either been neglected or entirely denied.⁴⁶⁷ Similarities to the Hellenistic model are especially evident in the Argonauts' collective speech during the storm.

Whereas in Apollonius' version, the storm constitutes the heroes' final trial at the end of their voyage (ARh. 4.1251-8), in Valerius' *Argonautica* it is their first test of endurance as a collective, which establishes them as pioneers of navigation.⁴⁶⁸ The Apollonian model explains why Valerius' sea storm, unlike that of his Roman predecessors and contemporaries, features a speech by a collective and not the epic's (individual) protagonist.⁴⁶⁹ In both scenes the Argonauts are entrapped by hostile winds (ARh. 4.1250: on a sandbank; VF. 1.598-607: at sea), fear for their lives (ARh. 4.1250 and ARh. 4.1259: by dehydration; VF. 1.621, VF. 1.626, and VF. 1.632: by drowning), and they are finally saved through divine benevolence (ARh. 4.1318-29: by the prophecy of the Libyan goddesses; VF. 1.641-58: by Neptune's settling of the sea).⁴⁷⁰ In both cases the heroes' fear and frustration with themselves stem from their ignorance and fear of dying a dishonourable death at sea (ARh. 4.1250-6 and VF. 1.632).⁴⁷¹ Apollonius' Argonauts are unaware that the clashing rocks have become immobile after they first passed them, they falsely believe they could have altered their course against Zeus' plans (ARh. 4.1275f.), and their lack of knowledge about Libya increases their fear (ARh. 4.1250-6).⁴⁷² Similarly, the Roman Argonauts are ignorant (VF. 1.625f.) both of Jupiter's approbation of their voyage (VF. 1.531-67) as well as of Boreas' and Aeolus' (VF. 1.598-607) collaboration in causing the storm. They consider it nature's reaction to their disturbing the previously un-navigated, sacred sea (VF. 1.625-32).⁴⁷³ Yet again, the relationship to their heroic forefathers serves as a point of comparison for the Argonauts' own adventure (VF. 1.627-8a *hoc erat inlicitas temerare rudentibus undas / quod nostri timuere patres*). Their despair and the severity of their situation is reflected in the loud collective

⁴⁶⁷ Cf. Shelton (1974) 22 and Hutchinson (1993) 89 n.23: "there is nothing to correspond to in Apollonius". Polleichtner (2005) 60-83 discusses Apollonius' influence on Virgil's storm scene.

⁴⁶⁸ See also Shelton (1974) 16f. and 21 as well as Burck (1978) 9.

⁴⁶⁹ For a more detailed analysis of the collective speeches, see Finkmann (2014). Cf. Polleichtner (2005) 64: "(i)n the *Aeneid* as well as in the *Odyssey* these storms are weather catastrophes for the main hero". On the speech, cf. Eigler (1988) 19-23, Kleywegt (2005), Galli (2007), and Zissos (2008) *ad loc.*

⁴⁷⁰ Just like in Apollonius' *Argonautica* (ARh. 4.1318-29), it is a female collective (Pallas and Juno) that is ultimately responsible for saving the Argonauts by persuading Neptune (VF. 1.642b-4a).

⁴⁷¹ Shelton (1974) 15 identifies *ignari* (VF. 1.626) as "the key word" of Valerius' episode. Hardie (2013) 132 also points out the aftershock as evident in "the sublime terror of an anti-storm" at VF. 2.41f. *ipsa quies rerum mundique silentia terrent / astraque et effusis stellatus crinibus aether.*

⁴⁷² Cf. Polleichtner (2005) 64.

⁴⁷³ On the religious terminology, see Shelton (1974) 17 and Kleywegt (2005) 374.

lament and the contrasting helpless silence of their bravest and most experienced warrior Hercules (VF. 1.634 *magnanimus*),⁴⁷⁴ who has to realise that his physical strength is of no avail against the sea (VF. 1.634 *inutile robur*).

Neptune, Juno, and Pallas (VF. 1.642b-50)

After the Argonauts' collective dependence on divine benevolence has thus been established, Neptune appears and soothes the storm.⁴⁷⁵ While the Virgilian Neptune intervenes because he feels provoked by the unruly winds and wants to demonstrate his dominance (Aen. 1.124-43), the Valerian soliloquy (VF. 1.642b-50) reveals that Neptune is just as opposed to the Argonautic journey as the wind gods.⁴⁷⁶ Just as his Virgilian predecessor during the second storm of the *Aeneid* at the end of Book 5 is persuaded by Venus (Aen. 5.781-98) to protect Aeneas and to take only Palinurus' life as a sacrifice for the safe passage of the rest of the crew (Aen. 5.800-15), Valerius' Neptune is eventually swayed by Juno's and Pallas' tearful pleas to save the Argonauts (VF. 1.642b-4a *hanc mihi Pallas / et soror hanc, inquit, mulcens mea pectora fletu / abstulerint*).⁴⁷⁷ Again, the Valerian deities emerge as more powerful than their Virgilian predecessors, because Neptune does not request the helmsman's or another Argonaut's lives in return for his help. However, he bitterly curses Tiphys (VF. 1.649b-50) and expresses his disapproval of the outrageous, unlawful first voyage announcing that the Argonauts' enterprise will ultimately cause countless deaths in the future in compensation for their crime (VF. 1.644b-6).⁴⁷⁸ Neptune is particularly eager to point out that Argo as the first ship and Tiphys as the first steersman are the main perpetrators and need to be held responsible for future sea storms,⁴⁷⁹ not his offspring, Orion and the Pleiades.

⁴⁷⁴ On Hercules' isolation (VF. 1.635b-7a and VF. 1.636 *alii*) and the importance of collective speeches for the definition of the relationship between the Tyrrhian hero and the other Argonauts, cf. Finkmann (2014) 82-93.

⁴⁷⁵ Cf. Kleywegt (2005) 376 with further references.

⁴⁷⁶ On Neptune's "status as reluctant saviour", cf. Zissos (2008) 349. Juno too is characterised in her first soliloquy as a reluctant tutelary deity because of her hatred of Hercules (VF. 1.113-9).

⁴⁷⁷ The phrase *mulcens mea pectora* is symbolic for the reversal of the Virgilian model. While Valerius' Juno successfully calms down the angry Neptune, Virgil's sea god is compared to a statesman (Aen. 1.148-53) reacting to a rebellious crowd (Aen. 1.153 *pectora mulcet*). Neptune's awareness of Juno's intrigue in the *Aeneid* (Aen. 1.130 *nec latuere doli fratrem lunonis et irae*) may moreover have inspired the reference to Juno as *soror* in this passage. See also Hardie (1986) 204f. and Zissos (2008) 349f.

⁴⁷⁸ Cf. Zissos (2008) 349 and Kozák (2013) 252. See also the Parcae's gleeful expectation of numerous deaths at VF. 1.501f.

⁴⁷⁹ Neptune's posthumous apostrophe and cursing of Tiphys, who in his opinion does not deserve to be cried for nor to find peace in Elysium (VF. 1.649b-50 *nec iam merito tibi, Tiphy, quietum / ulla parens volet Elysium manesque piorum*), has a parallel in Aeson's wishes for a severe punishment of Pelias both in life and death

Omitted Episode: Thetis, Hera, and the Nereids (ARh. 4.753-981)

When Neptune drives away the winds and calms down the waves, Thetis and Nereus support the ship with their arms and safely carry it forth (VF. 1.657f. *iam placidis ratis exstat aquis, quam gurgite ab imo / et Thetis et magnis Nereus socer erigit ulnis*). Just as Neptune's soothing of the winds at Juno's and Pallas' request has been prepared by Mopsus' prediction (VF. 1.214-7), Thetis' and Nereus' protective intervention is anticipated in Jason's sacrifice to Thetis (VF. 1.190) before the launch and especially the Argonautic catalogue: the introduction of Nereus as father-in-law (VF. 1.658 *socer*) serves as an implicit explanation for both Thetis' and Nereus' help and as a signpost to the narrator's prolepsis (VF. 1.403-4a *nec Peleus fretus soceris et coniuge diva / defuit*).⁴⁸⁰

Thetis' role and the divine collaboration during the Argonauts' rescue correspond to an episode during the Apollonian return journey. There, too, Juno's *alter ego* Hera is the initiator of the intervention.⁴⁸¹ She sends her messenger Iris to instruct three different deities to ensure the Argonauts' safe passage through the wandering islands (ARh. 4.757-69). Whereas the delivery of the message to Hephaestus, who is asked to stop hammering until Argo has passed (ARh. 4.760b-4a and ARh. 4.775-7a), and to Aeolus, who is put in charge of favourable winds (ARh. 4.764b-9 and ARh. 4.777b-8a), are only briefly summarised, Hera has Iris summon Thetis (ARh. 4.757-60a and ARh. 4.773f.) before she personally charms the sea goddess in the longest female speech of the epic to persuade her to save the Argonauts, Medea, and Peleus from Charybdis and Scylla (ARh. 4.780-832) together with her sisters (ARh. 4.824).

Thetis formally accepts Hera's request in a brief reply (ARh. 4.834-41) before she immediately sets out to gather her sisters and share Hera's orders with them (ARh. 4.842-5a) as well as with her husband, Peleus, to whom she appears in an epiphany so that the Argonauts are aware of their destined direction and guaranteed protection (ARh. 4.845b-84).⁴⁸² Subsequently, the Argonauts successfully pass the female dangers lurking at sea, first the enchanting Sirens (ARh. 4.885-919), then horrific Scylla and Charybdis (ARh. 4.920-3) and finally the Wandering Rocks (ARh. 4.924-81) with their female divine helpers.

(VF. 1.802b-11 and VF. 1.848f.). On Valerius' reinterpretation of the Virgilian *unum-pro-multis-caput* formula for the helmsman (Aen. 5.814f.), cf. VF. 5.17. See also Brenk (1999) 34-59.

⁴⁸⁰ For Thetis' company of Nereus and her Nereid sisters, cf. ARh. 4.780. Thetis' role in the rescue of the Argonauts is an Apollonian invention. See also Herter (1959) 47.

⁴⁸¹ Hera is presented as anxiously holding onto Athene at ARh. 4.956-60, an image that corresponds to Pallas' and Juno's tearful plea at VF. 1.642b-4a.

⁴⁸² Unlike Valerius' Argonauts, the Apollonian heroes are fully aware that Hera is responsible for their protection.

The Apollonian version, which compares the Nereids' lifting of the ship to a ball game in the round (ARh. 4.948-55) is much more light-hearted, vivid, and playful, and even has a certain erotic appeal (ARh. 4.940f.) in comparison to Valerius' very succinct and clinical account of Thetis' carrying of the Argonauts together with her father Nereus (VF. 1.657f.).⁴⁸³

Jason's Third Prayer (VF. 1.667-80)

The Argonauts celebrate the end of the storm with libations (VF. 1.659-92) and Jason speaks a prayer out of gratitude for the gods' protection (VF. 1.667-80) before they finally continue their voyage under Tiphys' confident instructions (VF. 1.686-9). Jason notably does not address the prayer to Juno and Pallas, the initiators of their rescue, but the sea and wind gods in general (VF. 1.667f.) and Neptune in particular (VF. 1.669 *tuque ... pater*). This prayer strongly echoes his first prayer to Neptune in its apologetic tone (VF. 1.672b-4a), the request for a safe (continuation of the) journey (VF. 1.674b-6) and the promise of plentiful libations (VF. 1.677-80). Jason's deliberative speech reveals that he is just as ignorant of the true machinations behind the sea storm as his comrades.⁴⁸⁴ His third prayer in the first book conclusively establishes him as the Argonauts' "habitual spokesman before the gods" (1.681b-2a *oritur clamor dextraeque sequentum / verba ducis*).⁴⁸⁵

⁴⁸³ The ball game recalls that of Nausicaa's maids at Od. 6.100 and the Nereids lift up their skirts for better movement, just as Medea's maids do at ARh. 3.874f. See also Fränkel (1968) 548 and Natzel (1992) 157. On the Dolphin association, cf. VF 1.131f.

⁴⁸⁴ Cf. Kleywegt (2005) 392f.

⁴⁸⁵ Zissos (2008) 183. See also Frank (1967) 38 for the parallel to Jason's prayer at VF. 5.194-213a.

THE EVENTS IN THESSALY (III)

ADDED EPISODE: VALERIUS' NECROMANCY AND SUICIDE (VF. 1.693-851)

Jason's Fear for His Family (VF. 1.693-9)

At the end of the first book in a ring composition the narration returns to Thessaly.⁴⁸⁶ The transition between the Argonauts' adventures at sea and the events at home is established through a bridge passage in which Jason is suddenly seized by fear for his parents' safety as a result of his recruitment of Acastus (VF. 1.693-9). While Jason's soliloquy (VF. 1.150b-5) and his glee over his successful persuasion of Acastus (VF. 1.164b-73) depicted the leader of the Argonauts as cruel and vindictive before the launch, the narrator now describes Jason's change of heart. This onset of concern is abrupt (VF. 1.693 *at subitus*) and without a discernible external trigger.⁴⁸⁷ Jason suddenly realises that his hostile recruitment of Acastus (VF. 1.694b-5 *quod regis adortus / progeniem raptoque dolis crudelis Acasto*) could endanger his family whom he left behind without any protection against the vengeful tyrant (VF. 1.696f. *cetera nuda neci medioque in crimine patrem / liquerit ac nullis inopem vallaverit armis*).⁴⁸⁸ Yet again, the father and son relationship is emphasized (VF. 1.694f. *regis ... / progeniem* and VF. 1.696 *patrem*) over Jason's relationship to his mother and his younger brother, who are only in passing referred to as *cetera* (VF. 1.697).⁴⁸⁹

Jason's fear for the welfare of his family is shown to be greater than his concern for his own life (VF. 1.693f. *At subitus curaque ducem metus acrior omni / mensque mali praesaga quatit*).⁴⁹⁰ In contrast to his soliloquy Jason's concern is that he has physically endangered his parents (VF. 1.698f. *ipse procul nunc tuta tenens; ruat omnis in illos / quippe furor*).⁴⁹¹ The bridge passage ends with an ominous, anticipatory remark by the omniscient narrator who confirms that Jason's worries are in fact justified (VF. 1.699b *nec vana pavet trepidatque futuris*).

⁴⁸⁶ On the structure of the final episode, cf. Kleywegt (2005) 404f.

⁴⁸⁷ Cf. Venini (1971b) 610f., Adamietz (1976) 27f., Barich (1982) 46, and Kleywegt (2005) 405f.

⁴⁸⁸ The phrasing is indebted to Aen. 7.577 *Turnus adest medioque in crimine caedis et igni*. For further analogies, see Kleywegt (2005) 406f.

⁴⁸⁹ Jason's instructions to Hypsipyle in Apollonius' *Argonautica* suggest that he expects his parents to die a natural death (ARh. 1.904-9).

⁴⁹⁰ Jason's concern echoes a Virgilian phrasing: Aen. 10.843 *praesaga mali mens* (of Mezentius for his son). For further details, see Scaffai (1986a) 257 and Kleywegt (2005) 405f.

⁴⁹¹ This concern is mutual, as indicated by his parents' fear for Jason at VF. 1.730-4.

Pelias' Soliloquy, Eidyia, and Medea (VF. 1.712-24a)⁴⁹²

Pelias' rage and renewed plotting (VF. 1.724f.) echo his restlessness (VF. 1.26 *non ulla quies animo*) at the beginning of Valerius' epic and establish a ring composition.⁴⁹³ His fear for his son is sincere and understandable, as Pelias devised the mission as a fatal enterprise for Jason.⁴⁹⁴ The tyrant's care for his son and his helplessness because he lacks the same novel means of transportation are emphasized in a simile comparing Pelias' situation with both the instigator of novel travel and a worried father himself, Daedalus, and the ruthless tyrant and reason for Daedalus' voyage, Minos (VF. 1.704-8).⁴⁹⁵

Pelias' soliloquy is one of the most agitated speeches of the first book with the harsh-sounding alliterations of *t*, *r*, and *s*, and several reproachful apostrophes both to the absent Acastus (VF. 1.713 *nate*, VF. 1.715 *infelix*, and VF. 1.718 *puer*) and Jason (VF. 1.723 *praedo*).⁴⁹⁶ The speech can be divided into two sections of unequal length: first, Pelias laments his son's departure, criticises his naiveté, and analyses the reasons for his son's participation (VF. 1.712-21); then, in the second part, which is separated by the traditional pause at the end of a soliloquy that highlights a shift of focus and emotion, Pelias turns his thoughts to Jason and declares his intention to take revenge on Jason's helpless parents (VF. 1.723f.).⁴⁹⁷ Pelias' murderous revenge on his own brother's family becomes the most despicable act of the tyrant and dramatically concludes the first book of the Valerian *Argonautica*.

Again, Pelias' plan is, however, undermined by the superior knowledge of his victims, who are able to evade his wrath by committing suicide. Pelias' rage after his failed deceit is a typical character trait of tyrants and is mirrored by Aetes in Books 5 and 7. The Colchian king too first tries to dupe Jason (Pelias: VF. 1.38 *tranquilla tuens nec fronte timendus* ≈ Aetes: VF. 5.520 *furiis ignescit opertis*) and, when he fails to eliminate the younger opponent, he rages frantically (Pelias: VF. 1.700 *saevit atrox Pelias* ≈ Aetes: VF. 7.34 *effunditur ira* and VF. 7.78 *trucis ... tyranni*).⁴⁹⁸ Valerius also creates a parallel through the departure of the tyrants' children: like Medea (VF. 8.32), Acastus suddenly joins the Argonauts (VF. 1.484); his secretive departure from Thessaly is similar to Medea's escape from

⁴⁹² On this episode, see Garson (1964) 276f., Ricci (1977) 169-75, Scaffai (1986a) 254-9, Eigler (1988) 23-32, and Gärtner (1994) 240f.

⁴⁹³ Cf. Adamietz (1976) 28 and Kleywegt (2005) 408.

⁴⁹⁴ See also Garson (1964) 276 and Manuwald (2000) 326: "(d)as Element, durch das er Iason vernichten will, hemmt ihn nun".

⁴⁹⁵ Cf. Ricci (1977) 162-4 and Gärtner (1994) 77-9.

⁴⁹⁶ Cf. Fucecchi (1970) 186.

⁴⁹⁷ On the similarities to Dido's vengeful curse (Aen. 4.590-629), cf. Barich (1982) 14f. and Eigler (1988) 27f. On echoes of Evander's lament over Pallas' death (Aen. 11.152-81), cf. Scaffai (1986a) 257.

⁴⁹⁸ See also Adamietz (1976) 28 and Kleywegt (2005) 408.

Colchis⁴⁹⁹ with Jason cutting the rope both times (VF. 1.488f. and VF. 8.133); and Pelias (VF. 1.700-8) and Aetes (VF. 8.134-9) are powerless against the deceit and stay behind at the shore.⁵⁰⁰ Before this parallel background it is even more striking that Pelias' soliloquy is not matched by a similar speech of Aetes, but instead paired with a farewell lament of the collective of Colchian women (VF. 8.140-74) and the soliloquy of Medea's mother Eidyia in particular (VF. 8.144-170).⁵⁰¹

Eidyia directly refers to Pelias in her speech, when she angrily criticises the absent Jason for his seduction and abduction of Medea, declaring that Pelias did not instruct Jason to fulfil his task through an ignoble deceit and to rob the Colchians of their daughters (VF. 8.155f.) when he sent him to recover the Fleece. The speeches also share several structural elements. Both Pelias and Eidyia reflect upon the reasons for their children's secretive departure and come to realise that they have not been kidnapped but have in fact betrayed their trust by willingly following Jason: Acastus in his vain pursuit of glory (VF. 1.717 *falsae ... captum laudis amore*) and Medea in a false hope for love (VF. 8.159 *ipsa fugit tantoque (nefas) ipsa ardet amore*). Whereas Medea's mother does not approve of Medea's flight, but nonetheless declares that she would have accepted her daughter's choice and supported her wishes (VF. 8.165-70) had she only informed her,⁵⁰² Pelias angrily condemns his son's decision as ignorant and gullible, clarifying that he would have been the first to send Acastus on a heroic mission had he in fact considered the sea to be navigable (VF. 1.717-9).⁵⁰³ Following this reasoning, while both show true concern for the safety of their children (VF. 1.717 and VF. 8.160 *infelix*), Eidyia's soliloquy is dominated by sorrow, whereas Pelias' prevailing emotion is anger. Even though they both accept that they cannot change the *fata*,⁵⁰⁴ this realization has very different effects on their mental state. Pelias' rage continually grows throughout his speech and culminates in the decision to commit murder, while Eidyia's initial irritation is replaced by sorrow and her growing hopelessness eventually results in complete resignation, the most common conclusion of Valerian soliloquies.⁵⁰⁵ Pelias' pairing with Eidyia in this scene indirectly fulfils Jason's initial wish to inflict so much pain on Pelias with his

⁴⁹⁹ See also Adamietz (1976) 20.

⁵⁰⁰ Cf. Eigler (1988) 124.

⁵⁰¹ Cf. Eigler (1988) 126. Apollonius discusses Aetes' shock, disappointment, and rage in much greater detail at ARh. 4.212-40.

⁵⁰² Cf. Eigler (1988) 124.

⁵⁰³ Pelias' soliloquy again highlights the ambivalent role of glory. Cf. Hull (1979) 381f., Ripoll (1998) 201, and Kleywegt (2005) 408.

⁵⁰⁴ See also VF. 4.127 *vincunt fata Iovis*. On the structural similarities to Neptune's soliloquy in general, cf. Eigler (1988) 122.

⁵⁰⁵ Cf. Eigler (1988) 122.

abduction of Acastus that he will become just as anxious and tearful as the Argonauts' mothers (VF. 1.155 *exoret nostris cum matribus undas*).

Pelias' soliloquy and his rage are reflected and confirmed by a simile. Just as Acastus' secretive flight from his father is compared to a hunter's lucky escape from a tigress, the Thessalian tyrant's *furor* is likened to Lycurgus' raging madness (VF. 1.726-9).⁵⁰⁶ Gärtner (1994) convincingly argues that the Daedalus comparison at the beginning of the episode (VF. 1.704f.) stresses the growing anger in Pelias and his desperation over the impossibility of interference, whereas the Lycurgus comparison recalling the previous tiger simile (VF. 1.489b-93) serves to underline that Pelias' rage has reached its climax and he will soon lose all control over his actions and humanity.⁵⁰⁷ This comparison is one of the more difficult similes of the Valerian epic for several reasons.⁵⁰⁸ The comparison between Lycurgus and Pelias is inverted: as Pelias rages here, so did Lycurgus rage according to the myth, when he persecuted and killed his wife and son(s) after Bacchus had driven him to madness.⁵⁰⁹ Just as Lycurgus is punished by Zeus for his *hybris* towards Bacchus (Il. 6.130-40), Pelias is the antagonist to Jason and Jupiter's world plan in so far as he sent Jason on the mission in the hope he would perish at sea.⁵¹⁰ Pelias is, however, not the victim of a divine intrigue, but has fallen prey to his own trap and Jason's counter-deceit. The Thessalian king of course does not murder his own family in blind delusion, but he in full awareness drives his brother Aeson and his sister-in-law Alcimedea to suicide and has their youngest son killed in front of them.⁵¹¹ The comparison highlights Pelias' ruthlessness and anticipates the introduction of Jason's younger brother, who has not been previously mentioned, but who plays an important role during his parents' suicide in accordance with the *topos* of male family lines and the strife of generations.

⁵⁰⁶ On this simile, see also Ricci (1977) 169-75 and Gärtner (1994) 240f.

⁵⁰⁷ Cf. Gärtner (1994) 241.

⁵⁰⁸ Ricci (1977) 173 explains the forced word order and incoherent syntax as a reflection of Lycurgus' madness. See also Shelton (1971) 46f., Scaffai (1986a) 259, Gärtner (1994) 240f., Dräger (2003) 366, and Zissos (2008) 378f.

⁵⁰⁹ On account of the tradition, which usually depicts Lycurgus with one son, and the comparison to the murder of Jason's brother, it is highly probable that *nati* (VF. 1.729) is a poetic plural. See also Ricci (1977) 175. For variant traditions, cf. Ricci (1977) 170-2 and Gärtner (1994) 241 n.7.

⁵¹⁰ Cf. Zissos (2008) 377.

⁵¹¹ See also Kleywegt (2005) 422 and Zissos (2008) 378.

THE NECROMANCY (VF. 1.730-51)⁵¹²

Pelias' rage is not immediately exacted, but delayed through a brief necromantic episode, which increases the tension and bridges the time between Pelias' decision and his murderous arrival. This scene on the one hand serves to underline the synchronicity between Jason and his parents, who simultaneously suffer under the torment not to know about the others' well-being; on the other hand the Thessalian setting gives Valerius an opportunity to include the necromancy, one of the most popular type scenes in Greco-Roman epic, which "flourished in the morbid atmosphere of imperial Latin poetry".⁵¹³

Valerius' necromancy occurs remarkably early in the epic (VF. 1.730-51), so that the outline of the future events, similar to Mopsus' prophecy (VF. 1.211-26), basically serves as a table of contents for the epic plot.⁵¹⁴ The Valerian account is by far the most concise necromantic episode: it is reduced to the three essential elements – the pacifying blood sacrifice, the invocation of a selected shade, and the final ghost prophecy in *oratio recta* – as well as the three obligatory participants – the consulter who requests the necromancy, the necromancer who is in charge of the sacrifice and the invocation, and the ghost who is asked to deliver a prophecy.⁵¹⁵ Valerius is the only epicist who does not report the invocation of the deceased in a direct speech act. This omission and the overall brevity result in ambivalence with regard to the identity and number both of the Valerian necromancers and their consulters. At the beginning of the episode, the necromancer is merely introduced as *grandaeva ... / Thessalis* (VF. 1.736f.) and then again simply referred to as *Thessalis* (VF. 1.780) before, at the end of the necromancy, the *sacerdos* abandons the sacrifices and flees the scene in terror of Pelias' arrival (VF. 1.755f. *flagrantes aras vestemque nemusque sacerdos / praecipitat*).

It has been widely recognized that Lucan's necromancy had an enormous impact on the Flavian epicists' treatment of their underworld scenes. All episodes can be shown to respond to Lucan's account. Silius indirectly criticises the barbarous desecration of dead bodies (Pun. 13.468b-87) and

⁵¹² On *nekylia* episodes in Roman epic, cf. Baertschi (2013). On Valerius' necromancy, see Mehmel (1934) 78-81, Venini (1971b) 610f., Vessey (1973) 245-8, Adamietz (1976) 26-9, Perutelli (1982), Franchet d'Espèrey (1988) 193-7, McGuire (1990) 2-28, Hutchinson (1993) 294-300, Hershkovitz (1998) 132-6, Ripoll (1998) 376-82, Manuwald (2000), and Baertschi (2013) 173-6.

⁵¹³ Ogden (2001) p. xxviii. See also Reitz (1982) p. iv, Korenjak (1996) 46, and Zissos (2008) 381. For a definition of νεκυομαντεία, cf. Ogden (2001) p. xviii and Collard (1949) 11-4. On the problem of distinguishing the concepts of 'necromancy' and 'katabasis', see Reitz (1982) 1 n.1 and Ogden (2001) p. xxi.

⁵¹⁴ Cf. Aen. Book 6, Luc. 6.589-830, VF. 1.730-51, Theb. 4.406-645, and Pun. 13.404-893.

⁵¹⁵ See also Ogden (2001) 233.

rejects the Lucanian necromancy model entirely by returning to the classic Virgilian *katabasis*.⁵¹⁶ Statius' case is more difficult. He adapts the Lucanian mood, structure, and necromantic principle as well as the harsh criticism of the cowardly consulter for requesting to know his future, just to have the seer Tiresias then harshly condemn Erictho's infernal magic.⁵¹⁷ Statius' account is, however, particularly interesting for our analysis as he too employs the term *Thessalis* without further elaboration in two of his underworld scenes. In Tiresias' second appeal to the gods and ghosts to favour his evocation (Theb. 4.503-11), which has commonly been recognised as a parallel to Erictho's second speech in Lucan's *Civil War*, the Statian seer rejects both Erictho's and Medea's unscrupulous infernal witchcraft,⁵¹⁸ but warns the ghost that he, too, could become savage (Theb. 4.513 *et nobis saevire facultas*), if they did not respond to his invocation: Theb. 4.503-6:

*iam nequeo tolerare moram. cassusne sacerdos
audior? an, rabido iubeat si Thessala cantu,
ibitis? et, Scythicis quotiens medicata venenis
Colchis aget, trepido pallebunt Tartara motu.*

In this scene the nominalised adjectives are employed as metaliterary references to Erictho (Theb. 4.504 *Thessala*) and Medea (Theb. 4.506 *Colchis*) specifically. In the first underworld scene *Thessalis* could also be a general reference to Thessalian witches. When an anonymous, jealous ghost notices that Hermes is escorting Laius to the upper world, he immediately concludes that a Thessalian witch must have called him forth from the dead: Theb. 2.20-2:

*seu Iovis imperio, seu maior adegit Erinys
ire diem contra, seu te furiata sacerdos
Thessalis arcano iubet emigrare sepulcro.*

In Valerius' brief necromancy, it seems most likely that, even though the vague and ominous introduction as *Thessalis* is a clear allusion to Lucan's Erictho,⁵¹⁹ the role of the necromancer is embodied by Alcimedea herself.⁵²⁰ At least according to Medea, a sorceress herself, Thessalian women are generally capable of witchcraft (VF. 7.198f. *si tibi Thessalicis, nunc si tua forte venenis / mater et*

⁵¹⁶ Cf. Reitz (1982) 37 n.2 and Korenjak (1996) 47.

⁵¹⁷ On Statius' mixture of critical distance and admiration for Lucan, cf. Korenjak (1996) 47.

⁵¹⁸ Cf. Vessey (1973) 255 and Korenjak (1996) 47.

⁵¹⁹ For a detailed characterisation of Lucan's Erictho, see Hömke (1998) 119-37 and Finiello (2005) 155-85.

⁵²⁰ On the discussion, cf. Courtney (1970) 24, Strand (1972) 73f., Perutelli (1982) 126 n.7, Scaffai (1986b) 2395, Franchet d'Espèrey (1988) 194, Kleywegt (1991) 141f., Liberman (1997) 172, Spaltenstein (2002) 281, Dräger (2003) 367, and Kleywegt (2005) 439. See also Dräger (1995) 483f. for a complete list of different character combinations that are suggested for the role of the *Thessalis* and *sacerdos*, and their respective supporters.

heu siqua est posset succurrere coniunx!). The beginning of the necromancy strongly corroborates this impression.

Like the necromancers of Valerius' predecessors, Alcimedede leads her husband to the cave (VF. 1.734 *ducit ... Aesona coniunx*) where she sacrifices to Pluto and the Stygian ghosts (VF. 1.730-2) with the aim of receiving information about her son's future through necromancy (VF. 1.731b-2a *Alcimedede tanto super anxia nato, / siquid ab excitis melius praenosceret umbris*).⁵²¹ While especially lines 1.735-40 could be construed as the introduction of a new necromancer, Valerius extremely rarely includes anonymous individual female speakers in his epic. The description would also be unusually short given the detailed introduction of Valerius' other prophets and priests such as Idmon, Mopsus, Polyxo, and Phineus. It would moreover be a great coincidence that Alcimedede prominently discusses her own old age (VF. 1.763-6) in the same episode in which an elderly necromancer suddenly appears out of nowhere (VF. 1.736 *saevoque vocat grandaeva tumultu / Thessalis*).⁵²² An analysis of the epithet reveals that Valerius also employs the term for another sorceress, Circe, but that in this reference (VF. 7.347-9a) just as in the other examples (VF. 1.796f. *grandaeva Furorum / Poena parens*, VF. 2.36 *Tethys grandaeva*, and VF. 5.356f. *virginei custos grandaeva pudoris / Henioche*) the described female is presented as a mother or at least a figure of motherly protection. Most strikingly Alcimedede's counterpart Eidyia also discusses her advanced age during her farewell soliloquy (VF. 8.150 *hunc petii grandaeva diem?*).

The description of the necromancer's voice as loud and fierce is not a convincing argument against Alcimedede (VF. 1.736 *saevoque vocat ... tumultu*), as necromancers typically adjust their voices to the murmuring sound ghosts make in addition to their sacrificial *carmina* (VF. 1.738) in order to facilitate the conversation.⁵²³ That Alcimedede is capable of very loud noises has moreover been proved by her previous appearance in the farewell scene, where her voice was likened to the sound of a war trumpet (VF. 1.318f.). Alcimedede's role as necromancer also prevents an unprecedented double staffing of the consulter character, as Alcimedede's guidance makes Aeson the sole or at least the principal consulter, which would also explain why Cretheus is exclusively addressing his words to Aeson (VF. 1.741 *mitte*,

⁵²¹ Alcimedede's fear for Jason and desire to end her state of uncertainty verify her early visions at VF. 1.329-32.

⁵²² Cf. also Pun. 16.124 *at grandaeva deum praenosces omnia mater* (of Masinissa's mother).

⁵²³ Cf. Baldini Moscadi (1976) 254-6 and Galimberti Biffino (2008) 217.

VF. 1.749 *rapis ... et ... effugis*, and VF. 1.750 *i, meus es*).⁵²⁴ Furthermore, a powerful Thessalian witch or priest would have no reason to flee before Pelias, whereas Jason's parents, as the tyrant's clear targets, have every reason to be scared and hurriedly flee the scene.⁵²⁵ For Alcimedede such a reaction would not only match her initial anxiety at the beginning of the sacrifice, but it would also explain why the necromancer is taking off the sacrificial robe in a hasty flight.⁵²⁶ Finally, her fearful response to the news of Pelias' arrival in comparison to Aeson's more rational and composed reaction also echoes the beginning of the sacrifice and the parallel arrangement of the farewell episode.

Another strong argument for Alcimedede as sorceress is that the necromantic episode in this form establishes yet another parallel to Book 8 of the *Argonautica*, in which Jason follows Medea to the Hades-like cave of her dragon and personally witnesses her magical chants (VF. 8.54-133). Despite her previous display of infernal power, Medea reacts just as anxiously as the elderly Alcimedede does upon the old tyrant Pelias' arrival to kill her and her husband Aeson. Medea too rashly hides when the young Absyrtus arrives to attack her and her new spouse Jason (VF. 8.315). With Jason's frightened mother in the role of the Valerian pseudo-Erictho the parody of Lucan's *arch-witch* would be even more effective.⁵²⁷ Without Erictho's despicable magic rituals and unsettling chants, Alcimedede as a mere mortal and anxious mother achieves a much better result with her Virgilian rites and traditional invocation than the most powerful of all witches. Cretheus' prophecy is more concrete and benevolent than what Erictho's reluctant, revived cadaver is able to produce (Luc. 6.777-820a) despite her long preparation procedure and maltreatment of the corpse (Luc. 6.727 *verberat inmotum vivo serpente cadaver*). In sum, through the vague description and the intertextual marker *Thessalis* Valerius deliberately recalls his predecessor's outrageous necromancer only to turn Alcimedede into a caricature of the Thessalian witch and hysterically have her abandon the necromancy.⁵²⁸

⁵²⁴ It is also noteworthy that Cretheus only sees his son and daughter-in-law, but no third person (VF. 1.739 *tuens natumque nurumque*).

⁵²⁵ For a convincing refutation of Aeson's role as *sacerdos*, cf. Manuwald (2000) 328 n.9.

⁵²⁶ See also Jason's priestly attire (VF. 1.659 *ergo umeros ductor sacro velatur amictu*) and demeanour (VF. 1.685 *sacerdos*) after the sea storm.

⁵²⁷ Korenjak (1996) 48f. calls Valerius' *sacerdos* an "Erictho-Imitat". Valerius puts a twist on Lucan's necromancer in the same way "Erictho is Lucan's crazy, grotesque version of Virgil's Sibyl", as Bartsch (2005) 495 phrases it. See also Mehmel (1934) 78-81, Vessey (1973) 242, and Zissos (2008) 381f.

⁵²⁸ Cf. Korenjak (1996) 48.

Cretheus' Prophecy (VF. 1.741-6)

In the *Aeneid* the blood sacrifice opens the way to the underworld for Aeneas (Aen. 6.236-63), in Lucan's *Civil War* it is an integral part of the reanimation process (Luc. 6.554-6), and Valerius, like all Flavian epicists, follows Homer in making the blood consummation a precondition for speech of an invoked ghost.⁵²⁹ Whereas Virgil and Silius employ a multitude of different ghosts among whom only the final speaker has prophetic abilities (Anchises, superior Sibyl), Lucan, Statius, and Valerius limit their speech acts to one ghost (*cadaver*, Cretheus, Laius). Valerius adopts the Virgilian father and son model (Cretheus and Aeson) and thus a positive and specific prophecy in his choice of the invoked ghost and his consulter. Cretheus' speech is already the fifth prophecy of the first book and especially echoes the prophecies by Mopsus and Idmon.⁵³⁰ In a twofold prediction, Cretheus envisages Jason's successful mission (VF. 1.741-6) and his glorious return (VF. 1.745f. *mox Scythiae spoliis nuribusque superbus / adveniet*).⁵³¹ The term *nuribus* is polysemic here; for Jason's parents, the term simply announces that Jason will return with captive Scythian slave women and the other common spoils of a victor, while the learned reader may interpret *nuribus* as a hint at Jason's subsequent marriage with Medea.⁵³²

After Cretheus has thus answered the question at the heart of the invocation, he reveals even more details out of love for his son Aeson. In contrast to Pelias' deceitful claim (VF. 1.40f.), Cretheus leaves no doubt as to his hatred for the king. He is so disgusted by Pelias' intended fratricide that he cannot even speak his name (VF. 1.748 *rex*) when he warns Aeson of his brother's murderous plans and the imminent danger to his family (VF. 1.747-51). Cretheus also presents his son with a solution and recommends suicide as the most honourable escape and an opportunity to reunite with his grandfather Aeolus, who is expecting him in the underworld. With Cretheus' exhortation, Valerius combines the pessimistic Lucanian rush-to-your-death formula (Luc. 6.807 *properate mori*) with the optimistic Virgilian embrace-life-and-a-better-future exhortation (Aen. 6.546 *i decus, i, nostrum: melioribus utere*

⁵²⁹ Cf. VF.1.740 *talia libato pandebat sanguine Cretheus*, Theb. 4.607b-9a *non ille aut sanguinis haustus, / cetera ceu plebes, aliumue accedit ad imbrem, / inmortale odium spirans*, and Theb. 4.624f. *mulcetur honoris / muneribus tinguuntque genas, dein talia reddit*.

⁵³⁰ See also Shelton (1971) 47f. and Manuwald (2000) 334 n.28.

⁵³¹ Cf. the Lemnian men's announcement upon their return home (VF. 2.113f.) and the fear of the Colchians (VF. 5.259-62).

⁵³² Cf. Strand (1972) 80 and Manuwald (2000) 327.

fatis).⁵³³ Inverting the traditional invocation of the dead to a call from the shades into the underworld (VF. 1.750f. *i, meus es, iam te in lucos pia turba silentum / secretisque ciet volitans pater Aeolus arvis*), Cretheus advises Aeson to embrace death and commit suicide to protect himself from a more ignoble death at the tyrant's hands.

ALCIMEDE'S AND AESON'S SUICIDE (VF. 1.752-851)⁵³⁴

Valerius very effectively links the reaction of Aeson's household to the news of Pelias' arrival (VF. 1.752-4) with the necromancy, as the reader is at first tempted to mistake the finite verb *horruit* (VF. 1.752) for Aeson's direct response to Cretheus' prediction. The lament of the entire household following the tyrant's arrival (VF. 1.753 *maesta domus*) recalls Valerius' farewell episode. It is reminiscent of collective mourning for the dead (VF. 1.752 *clamore supremo*), which is characteristic of both Valerius' and especially Apollonius' farewell scenes. The group panic in the house, just like the farewell lament before, is compared to Aeson's and Alcimede's individual reaction. Alcimede in terror stops the necromancy and abandons the grove and the sacrifices on the altar.⁵³⁵ Aeson too is seized by fear, but he suppresses his anxiety, just as he does at the beginning of the necromancy (VF. 1.733f. *ipsum etiam curisque parem talesque prementem / corde metus ducit*), to keep his composure and to assess the situation (VF. 1.756b-61). His bravery in the face of danger is emphasized through a simile comparing Aeson's shrewd deliberation to the calculating hesitation of a dangerous, encircled lion (VF. 1.756b-9a), "a conventional emblem of epic heroism".⁵³⁶ The combination of fear and bravery matches Aeson's earlier portrayal in the farewell episode, where he bemoans his son's departure, but also shows dignity, great character strength, and optimism. Manuwald convincingly argues that while in Valerius' farewell scene the reason for Aeson's trepidation is the uncertainty of his son's novel, potentially fatal journey, here the acceleration of events is the cause of his concern, because Pelias' sudden attack finds him unprepared. Like Jason (VF. 1.71-6a), Aeson briefly considers fighting

⁵³³ Cretheus' speech, like that of the Lucanian *cadaver*, becomes a self-fulfilling prophecy, in so far as it encourages the consulter's death (VF. 1.749 *quin rapis hinc animam et famulos citus effugis artus?*). Cf. Perutelli (1982) 124 and Hershkowitz (1998b) 132.

⁵³⁴ See also Perutelli (1982) 123-40, Franchet d'Espèrey (1988) 193-7, McGuire (1990) 23-8, Dräger (1995) 470-89, and Manuwald (2000).

⁵³⁵ Cf. Courtney (1970) 24, Strand (1972) 73f., Perutelli (1982) 126, Kleywegt (1991) 141f., Liberman (1997) 172, and Manuwald (2000) 328.

⁵³⁶ Hershkowitz (1998b) 129. See also Shelton (1971) 48f., Perutelli (1982) 126f., and Zissos (2008) 392.

Pelias and initiating a rebellion, but rejects both options on account of his own feeble age and the fickleness of the people (VF. 1.759b-61).⁵³⁷

The similar response to Pelias' hostility underlines the likeness of father and son as born leaders. Aeson's thoughts are primarily modelled on Priam's considerations in the *Aeneid* (Aen. 2.509-11) and serve to highlight the fathers' divergent reactions and consequently different forms of deaths.⁵³⁸ While Aeson himself realistically concludes that he is too weak to fight and "avoids appearing in a pathetic light because of his awareness of his limitation",⁵³⁹ Priam arms for battle and is determined to fight until his protective wife Hecuba brings him to his senses by forcefully persuading Priam to join her and the other women at the altar for protection (Aen. 2.519-25). From the safety of the altar Priam is then forced to watch the cruel murder of one of his sons (Aen. 2.526-32) before he himself becomes the victim of Pyrrhus and is murdered in front of his family (Aen. 2.533-58).

Just as Aeson is realistic enough to decide against fighting, Valerius' Alcimedede is bolder than Virgil's Hecuba and does not advise a cowardly flight to safety, but instead encourages Aeson to take his own life and thereby escape Pelias' wrath.⁵⁴⁰ Both Aeson and Alcimedede are thus clearly unwilling to make the same mistakes their Virgilian predecessors made. Again, Alcimedede is the one to start the discussion. She acts as the driving force and the main source of support for her husband, having already initiated both the final farewell (VF. 1.320b-34) and the fear-provoking necromancy (VF. 1.734 *ducit ... Aesona coniunx*).⁵⁴¹ Aeson's encouragement by Alcimedede in a moment of hesitation recalls Jason's exhortation by Argo (VF. 1.305 *tempus adest: age rumpe moras* and VF. 1.307 *iam nunc mitte metus fidens superisque mihique*). Alcimedede's company and reassurance (VF. 1.762-7a) instil Aeson with the necessary courage to embrace the danger and make his ancestors (VF. 1.788-90) and his offspring proud through his dignified, heroic death (VF. 1.767b-9a *et iam circumspicit Aeson, / praeveniat quo fine minas, quae fata capessat / digna satis*).

⁵³⁷ Manuwald (2000) 328.

⁵³⁸ Cf. Perutelli (1982) 127, Dräger (1995) 484f., Hershkowitz (1998b) 128, and Manuwald (2000) 332.

⁵³⁹ Hershkowitz (1998) 129. See also Perutelli (1982) 126f.

⁵⁴⁰ On Alcimedede's etymology, cf. Dräger (1995) 487 with further references.

⁵⁴¹ It is also her who saved the bull for the blood sacrifice by which the parents will commit suicide (VF. 1.779f.).

Alcimedede's Appeal (VF. 1.763-6)

In her second and final speech in the Valerian *Argonautica* Alcimedede entreats Aeson to make her an equal partner and let her bear the same burden,⁵⁴² irrespective of what choice he makes for their future (VF. 1.763-4a).⁵⁴³ Emotionally, she reassures her husband that she does not desire to prolong her life and to outlive him or to see her son return if that means she has to live without Aeson (VF. 1.764b-5a).⁵⁴⁴ Her agitation is reflected in the dominant disyllabic word lengths, and staccato-rhythm, as well as the emphatic alliteration of harsh plosive *p-*, *qu-/c-*, and *t-* sounds (VF. 1.764f.), and, more explicitly, in the speech formulae which show her clinging to her husband's chest, agitatedly reaching out her hands (VF. 1.762), and speaking through tears (VF. 1.767 *talia per lacrimas*).⁵⁴⁵ Despite her agony Alcimedede is nonetheless noticeably calmer than her Valerian counterparts Clite (VF. 3.316b-29) and Eidyia (VF. 8.144-70), who speak for much longer and with greater pathos, even though Alcimedede herself is facing imminent danger. The remarkable brevity of her speech can be explained with the urgency of the situation as well as the poet's concern not to interrupt the action by two long speeches and thus risk diminishing the tension.

Whereas scholars generally consider Creusa's attempt to prevent Aeneas from leaving Troy (Aen. 2.673-8) as the main model for Alcimedede's speech,⁵⁴⁶ which does not have an equivalent in Apollonius' *Argonautica*, the similarities are rather limited.⁵⁴⁷ Creusa primarily tries to persuade Aeneas to fight and defend his household and the city like the Homeric Hector, which is why she asks him to consider the safety and the fate of his family first and foremost. Aeson's and Alcimedede's situation is much closer to that of Virgil's elderly couple Hecuba (Aen. 2.519-25) and Priam (Aen. 2.526-58). In particular, Aeson's curse of Pelias and the presentation of their son's murder as a spectacle bear striking similarities to Priam's speech and murder in the *Aeneid*. This, however, does not apply to Alcimedede's portrayal whose bold speech could only be considered as a contrastive imitation of Hecuba's cowardly advice. Again, Alcimedede's principal model cannot be found in Virgil's *Aeneid*, but in Lucan's *Civil War*. Both Aeson's and especially Alcimedede's speech contain echoes of the

⁵⁴² Alcimedede seems to be alluding to the literal meaning of *coniunx* (VF. 1.762) and the definition of *coniugium*.

⁵⁴³ In the *Aeneid* Creusa's two speeches are also restricted to one book and focus specifically on her husband. Her direct discourse serves to characterize Aeneas as a family man at the beginning of his undertaking (Aen. 2.675-8 and Aen. 2.776-89). On Alcimedede's greater resolution and the elderly couple's superior composure, cf. Nordera (1969) 55.

⁵⁴⁴ Alcimedede's statement echoes that of Evander at Aen. 8.578-80. For further references, cf. Zissos (2008) 232.

⁵⁴⁵ For echoes of Ovid's *Heroides*, see also Kleywegt (2005) 446 and Zissos (2008) 394.

⁵⁴⁶ Cf. Nordera (1969) 55, Perutelli (1982) 128f., Dräger (1995) 485, and Zissos (2008) 393.

⁵⁴⁷ See also the comparison in Manuwald (2000) 332.

thoughts and the agitated speech exchange of Pompey and Cornelia prior to his murder in Egypt (Luc. 8.618-36).⁵⁴⁸

When Pompey is facing his imminent death at the hand of the traitorous Pharaoh's *satelles*, Cornelia is the only one who foresees his death (Luc. 8.571). In the face of danger, just like Alcimedede, she stretches out her hands for her husband (Luc. 8.582b-3 *sed surda vetanti / tendebat geminas amens Cornelia palmas*) in an attempt to follow him.⁵⁴⁹ Cornelia ignores Pompey's harsh criticism (Luc. 8.579 *temeraria coniunx*) and his strict orders to her to stay behind with his son (Luc. 8.579b-82a).⁵⁵⁰ She agitatedly asks her husband to let her accompany him (Luc. 8.589 *comes* and Luc. 8.584-9a). Yet again, in her despair Cornelia becomes insulting and tries to shame Pompey into taking her with him and reminds him that all their previous partings have been bad omens (Luc. 8.584-6a).⁵⁵¹ She is eventually forced to witness her husband's murder. Unable to watch what she would have rather endured herself (Luc. 8.637f. *At non tam **patiens** Cornelia cernere saevum / quam **perferre** nefas*), Cornelia voices her anger in a soliloquy. She accuses Pompey of ingratitude and stresses her previous readiness to be the only woman to accompany her husband to the battlefield and to have stayed with Pompey in defeat, something that even kings did not dare to do in their fear of Caesar (Luc. 8.635-50). Cornelia does not appreciate Pompey's protection of her and his son, but bemoans that he does not consider her worthy to be his companion in death (Luc. 8.651-3a). Forced to live and watch on as Pompey is being murdered, she in vain entreats the crewmembers of her ship to murder her or at least allow her to kill herself (Luc. 8.653b-6).⁵⁵² In a final attempt, Cornelia even goes so far as to beg Pompey's murderer to reverse the situation by taking her life first, thus forcing Pompey to watch his wife die (Luc. 8.642b-7). When all her wishes are denied, Cornelia is determined to die from grief (Luc. 9.112 *amat pro coniuge luctum*). While she lacks Alcimedede's composure and exhibits an *amor nimius* during Pompey's murder, Lucan's Cornelia shares Alcimedede's fearlessness of death and her willingness to follow her husband, which she can base on an even longer list of prior accomplishments and acts of bravery on behalf of her husband. Especially in comparison to their fellow wives and

⁵⁴⁸ Hershkowitz (1998) 133f. identifies this parallel, but primarily focuses on the similarity between Aeson and Pompey except for Cornelia's and Alcimedede's resolution to die with their husbands.

⁵⁴⁹ See also (of Creusa) Aen. 2.673f. *complexa pedes in limine coniunx / haerebat*.

⁵⁵⁰ Cf. Jason's instructions at ARh. 1.295-305. On the similarities between the two characters, see Ahl (1976) 155.

⁵⁵¹ Both Pompey's harsh vituperation and Cornelia's pathos-laden response in Lucan's *Civil War* echo Jason's (ARh. 1.295-305) and Alcimedede's (ARh. 1.278-91) farewell speeches in Apollonius' *Argonautica*. See also Jason's warning to Alcimedede not to become an ominous portent for their departure at ARh. 1.304.

⁵⁵² On the traditional triptych of suicide methods, cf. Fraenkel (1932) with further references.

mothers in the respective epics, both Cornelia and Alcimedede are stylised as *exempla* of *severitas*, *fides*, and *pietas*, “(t)he most loyal wife ... who shares her husband's fate in all situations, even in death”.⁵⁵³

In addition to the similarities to Pompey's murder, Alcimedede's second speech, as previously discussed, echoes the first part of Cornelia's farewell speech and her characterisation in Lucan's farewell episode in Book 5 of the *Civil War* even more closely. Just as Cornelia stresses that a married couple should continue to share the same fate (Luc. 5.769 *non olim casu pendemus ab uno?* and Luc. 5.804 *fida comes Magni*) in life and in death (Luc. 5.773f. *sed morte parata / te sequar ad manes*) and tries to convince her husband that she is strong enough to cope with any pain (Luc. 5.776-8 *adde quod adsuescis fatis tantumque dolorem, / crudelis, me ferre doces. ignosce fatenti, / posse pati timeo*), Alcimedede asks Aeson to make her his companion in death (Luc. 1.763f. *me quoque ... casus comitem quicumque propinquat / accipies*). Referring to her brave demeanour during the farewell, Alcimedede too declares that she has proved her mental strength and that she had already lived long enough when she accepted Jason's departure and its emotional strain on her (VF. 1.765 *sat caeli patiens* and VF. 1.766 *potui quae tantum ferre dolorem*).⁵⁵⁴ It is certainly no coincidence that her speech concludes very programmatically with the key word *dolorem* (VF. 1.766). The term summarises Alcimedede's emotional state since Jason's departure (VF. 1.731 *Alcimedede tanto super anxia nato*) and recalls the premise she establishes in her farewell speech that death is a viable solution (VF. 1.327 *mors bona*) before pain becomes inevitable but has not yet been administered (VF. 1.327 *dum metus est nec adhuc dolor*).⁵⁵⁵ With their death at Pelias' hands having become a certainty and only a matter of time, this point has arrived.

Despite the striking parallels to the likewise outstanding Cornelia in Lucan's *Civil War*, Alcimedede is by far the most calm and collected wife in the epics under discussion and the only one who is indeed allowed to die with her husband. The successful double suicide sets her apart from other loving wives such as Virgil's Hecuba and Creusa, Lucan's Cornelia, but also Valerius' Clite and, most importantly, Apollonius' Alkimede. The character of Jason's mother has indeed undergone a drastic transition from the anxious Greek mother in Apollonius' epic to the brave Roman heroine in Valerius' *Argonautica*.⁵⁵⁶

⁵⁵³ Vidén (1993) 106. Her Stoic dedication and demeanour also resembles that of Lucan's Stoic couple Cato and Marcia (VF. 2.343-7). See also Hershkowitz (1998) 134f.

⁵⁵⁴ The phrase moreover echoes two Virgilian passages that anticipate the suicide: (of Dido) Aen. 4.419f. *hunc ego si potui tantum sperare dolorem / et perferre, soror, potero*, and (of Nisus) Aen. 9.425f. *nec ... / ... tantum potuit perferre dolorem*. Cf. Nordera (1969) 56, Kleywegt (2005) 445, and Zissos (2008) 393f.

⁵⁵⁵ Cf. Luc. 2.27 *nequid est ille dolor nec iam metus*.

⁵⁵⁶ This development is analysed in great detail by Dräger (1995).

The joint Stoic suicide with her husband even places her over such iconically brave and devoted historical Roman matrons as Seneca's wife, Paulina (Tac. ann. 15.61-4), and the wife of Thrasea Paetus, Arria (Tac. ann. 16.33-5).⁵⁵⁷

Aeson's Sacrifice and Curse of Pelias (VF. 1.774-811)

While Pompey harshly denies Cornelia's request, Aeson's reply is omitted in favour of a quicker continuation of the action and greater suspense. Inspired by Alcimede's courage, he focuses his thoughts on his son and is determined to leave him with a glorious memory of his father. This wish gives Aeson the necessary motivation and bravery to commit suicide and die a dignified death (VF. 1.767b-74a). He uses the bull Alcimede has reserved for the fatal blood sacrifice and thus completes her work (VF. 1.774b-83).⁵⁵⁸

Aeson's curse of Pelias is modelled on Dido's curse of Aeneas (Aen. 4.607-29) and primarily on Priam's curse of his son's and his own murderer Pyrrhus in the *Aeneid* (Aen. 2.535-43).⁵⁵⁹ Whereas Dido's and Priam's curses are in direct response to a crime that has already been committed or that is still in progress, Aeson condemns Pelias in anticipation of his impious fratricide. Aeson prays to his deceased ancestors for a friendly reception into Elysium (VF. 1.788-94a), as promised by Cretheus (VF. 1.750f.).⁵⁶⁰ This prayer is of great importance because it justifies the entrance of Aeson and his wife into Elysium, which is denied to those who die by suicide in Virgil's *Aeneid*.⁵⁶¹ Aeson specifically implores the abstract infernal goddesses of vengeance and justice (VF. 1.794-8 *Iustitia / Astraea*,

⁵⁵⁷ On the historical echoes and political implications, cf. Preiswerk (1934) 439f., Adamietz (1976) 28f., Perutelli (1982) 137, Franchet d'Espèrey (1988) 197, McGuire (1990) 23-8, Taylor (1994) 233-5, Dräger (1995) 488-90, McGuire (1997) 185-97, Hershkowitz (1998) 134f., and Manuwald (2000) 338.

⁵⁵⁸ On the problematic sacrifice passage (VF. 1.774-87), cf. Mehmel (1934) 80f., Franchet d'Espèrey (1988) 194-7, Kleywegt (1991) 2475, Dräger (1995) 498f., Manuwald (2000) 329-32, and Liberman (1997) 173-75.

⁵⁵⁹ For a more detailed comparison of Dido's curse, cf. Zissos (2008) 403. See also Lühje (1971) 52, Shelton (1971) 50-2, Adamietz (1976) 28, Perutelli (1982) 133f., and Hutchinson (1993) 298: "Aeson's curse conveys a more pointed and elaborate meditation on the plot, and dialectic on death". Aeson also follows Jason in his determination to take revenge on Pelias: Jason too first speaks a prayer for a successful mission and then reacts with countermeasures (such as the abduction of Acastus) to take revenge and torment his hostile relative.

⁵⁶⁰ See also the late Julia's wish for a reunion with her husband Pompey in Elysium (Luc. 3.30b-4a).

⁵⁶¹ Cf. Hutchinson (1993) 300, Ripoll (1998) 393f., and Zissos (2008) 412: "this treatment affirms the moral value of the suicide, and speaks more broadly to the greater esteem afforded to suicide as a legitimate moral and political act in post-Augustan Rome".

Furies, Fas, Poena) for Pelias' prolonged punishment during his life, a shameful death of unprecedented cruelty (VF. 1.805b-6a), and eternal punishment in the underworld (VF. 1.794b-9a).⁵⁶²

Aeson noticeably lingers and indulges in the idea of Pelias' mental torment and constant fear, a punishment he considers worse than death itself, which is why he explicitly demands a *mors sera* for his enemy (VF. 1.803).⁵⁶³ About to escape Pelias' wrath through suicide, Aeson already gleefully imagines himself watching triumphantly over Pelias while he suffers (VF. 1.806f. *stabo insultans et ovantia contra / ora manusque feram*). Aeson's wish that his own brother be mutilated and left unburied by his offspring (VF. 1.808b-10a) of course dramatically recalls the famous Euripidean dismemberment of Pelias by his daughters at Medea's deceitful directions, a storyline not contained in the Valerian version.⁵⁶⁴ Aeson concludes his speech with the reminder that Pelias deserves all this torment in retribution for deceiving and endangering his own kin, Aeson's son and Pelias' nephew Jason (VF. 1.810b-1).

Murder and *Katabasis* (VF. 1.816-50)⁵⁶⁵

After his speech Aeson appeases Hecate and the underworld gods with a blood sacrifice and reverses the invocation spell (VF. 1.812-5).⁵⁶⁶ In confirmation of Aeson's prayer and as representative of all invoked underworld gods, the Fury renders the blood potion deadly and guides Aeson's hand when he and his wife drink the bull's blood together (VF. 1.816-8).⁵⁶⁷ While Valerius' couple certainly do not exhibit the same excessive *amor mortis* as the characters in Lucan's *Civil War*, for them too the only escape from the evil relative and the nation's tyrant that preserves their dignity and maintains their freedom of action is suicide.⁵⁶⁸ There are different versions of the parents' death, but it is only logical that Valerius chooses the same suicide method and place of death for Jason's parents, transferring

⁵⁶² On the frequent use of personifications in underworld episodes and the extensive inclusion of underworld deities in prayers, cf. Baertschi (2013) 81 and Zissos (2008) 403f. On the different functions of the invoked goddesses, see also Shelton (1971) 50, Perutelli (1982) 133, Scaffai (1986b) 2392, Franchet d'Espèrey (1988) 196, Hutchinson (1993) 298, and Manuwald (2000) 328.

⁵⁶³ Aeson's *mors sera* (VF. 1.803) of course inverts Alcimedé's *mors bona* (VF. 1.327) and Dido's *cadat ante diem* (Aen. 4.620).

⁵⁶⁴ This is the first of a sequence of three prolepses of Pelias' death, see also VF. 1.847f. and VF. 2.1-5. For further references, cf. Lüthje (1971) 50, Hershkowitz (1998) 11-3, and Zissos (2008) 406.

⁵⁶⁵ Cf. Preiswerk (1934) 439f., Lüthje (1971) 49, Shelton (1971) 55, Adamietz (1976) 28f., Perutelli (1982) 128f., Franchet d'Espèrey (1988) 197, McGuire (1990) 24f., Taylor (1994) 233f., Dräger (1995) 486, McGuire (1997) 185-97, and Manuwald (2000) 331.

⁵⁶⁶ Cf. Dräger (1995) 487: "Was den Toten zu (zeitweiligem) Leben verhilft (VF. 1.740), bringt die Lebenden zu Tode." See also Vessey (1973) 247.

⁵⁶⁷ For a discussion of the Fury's role, cf. McGuire (1990) 26f., Ripoll (1998) 381, and Zissos (2008) 408f.

⁵⁶⁸ On Lucan, see also Burck (1970) 157: "die einzige Handlungsfreiheit, die in dem Epos Lucans dem Menschen gegenüber dem Rasen des Schicksals und Caesars bleibt".

the suicide by blood poison often associated with Aeson to Alcimede, after all their actions have been synchronized and after Alcimede has explicitly requested to be an equal partner in death, too (VF. 1.763f.).⁵⁶⁹

Pelias' men arrive shortly afterwards and, when they find Alcimede and Aeson on the brink of death, they direct their violence against the couple's son to torment Aeson by making him watch his son's cruel murder as a substitute sacrifice during his final breaths (VF. 1.818-26).⁵⁷⁰ The murder of Aeson's and Alcimede's younger son Promachus, who was only briefly mentioned in passing once by Jason prior to this scene (VF. 1.696f.), is evidently modelled on the theatrical arrangement of Pompey's death in Lucan's *Civil War* and of Priam and his son Polites in the *Aeneid*.⁵⁷¹ Again, Valerius seems to combine two accounts of his predecessors. Like Lucan's Pompey (Luc. 8.622-35a), Aeson is determined to die a heroic, dignified death in order to set an example for his son (VF. 1.771-3),⁵⁷² and his death like Pompey's is reported both from the perspective of his son and wife (Luc. 8.635b-67a) and the dying father himself (Luc. 8.613b-35a). Whereas in the *Civil War*, Pompey himself is of course brutally murdered in front of his wife and son, in Valerius' *Argonautica* the focus is reversed. After Promachus is briefly stated to be shocked and to grow pale at the sight of his dying parents (VF. 1.824b-5a), it is Aeson (VF. 1.825b-6) who like Virgil's Priam helplessly has to watch the cruel slaying of his youngest son Polites (Aen. 2.526-32) before he himself dies in front of his wife (Aen. 2.533-58).⁵⁷³ In contrast to both his predecessors Aeson has, however, freely selected his own method of death and, having advised suicide instead of an effeminate asylum at the altar, Alcimede is spared from having to witness both her son and husband murdered in front of her. Moreover, the fact that both parents are dying while their son is being murdered renders the cruel slaying less despicable despite its brutality, as the family is reunited in death (VF. 1.824f. *te, puer, et visa pallentem morte parentum / diripiunt adduntque tuis*).⁵⁷⁴

Whereas the suicide at the end of the first book of the Valerian *Argonautica* is modelled on Dido's death in *Aeneid* 4, Valerius here modifies and combines the Lucanian necromancy (Luc. 6.589-830)

⁵⁶⁹ On the variant death accounts, see also McGuire (1990) 26, Dräger (1995) 487f., McGuire (1997) 192, Manuwald (2000) 329, and Zissos (2008) 408.

⁵⁷⁰ Cf. Hershkovitz (1998) 135: "(t)his disruption of the death scene is in accordance with many stories of emperor-sanctioned suicides". See also McGuire (1990) 25-8 and Dräger (1995) 486 for further references.

⁵⁷¹ Cf. Leigh (1997) 246, Hershkovitz (1998) 133f., and Hutchinson (1993) 321.

⁵⁷² On the echo of Aeneas' final battle instructions to Ascanius (Aen. 12.435-40), cf. Hershkovitz (1998) 133 and Zissos (2008) 395 with further references.

⁵⁷³ Cf. Perutelli (1982) 134f. and Zissos (2008) 410.

⁵⁷⁴ On Promachus' death, see also Nordera (1969) 40f., Perutelli (1982) 134f., Kleywegt (1991) 147f., Hutchinson (1993) 299, and Zissos (2008) 410f.

with the Virgilian *katabasis* (*Aeneid*, Book 6) into one episode by reversing the invocation of the dead to become a call from the dead into the underworld.⁵⁷⁵ Instead of the epic's protagonist in the company of a Sibyl, it is the invoked ghost Cretheus himself who leads his dead son and daughter-in-law into the nether world (VF. 1.846f. *has pater in sedes aeternaque moenia natum / inducitque nurum*). Valerius again strongly compresses the account of his predecessor by focusing on the entry of Jason's parents into Elysium (VF. 1.827-50) where they are rewarded for their virtuous life (VF. 1.850f.) just like other heroic warriors, priests, and righteous people (VF. 1.832-9). As desired, Pelias' future torments in the underworld are pointed out to Aeson (VF. 1.848b-9), so that the first book despite the suicide of Jason's parents and the murder of his brother ends on a tranquil, happy note.⁵⁷⁶

⁵⁷⁵ See Lüthje (1971) 53, Vessey (1973) 247, Perutelli (1982) 136, Dräger (1995) 480f., and Liberman (1997) 177.

⁵⁷⁶ Cf. Perutelli (1982) 133, Franchet d'Espèrey (1988) 197, Manuwald (2000) 330, and Zissos (2008) 412.

V. RECURRENT SPEECH PATTERNS

The group of mortal women in Valerius Flaccus' *Argonautica* can be divided into three categories of different types of speakers, which each contain three mortal female speakers ('character triplets'):

1. Princesses (Medea, Hypsipyle⁵⁷⁷, Hesione) – Mixture of Speech Types
2. Mothers and Wives (Alcimedea, Clite, Eidyia) – Laments and Farewell Speeches
3. Helpers (Henioche, Polyxo, *Famula*) – Informative and Persuasive Speeches

The category of the 'mortal female helpers' has been chosen as an example of the more comprehensive analyses of recurrent speech patterns and character doublets in the Valerian *Argonautica* conducted for the complete monograph for pragmatic reasons. These characters only speak once and their speech acts are restricted to two parallel episodes, the Lemnian council scene of Book 2 and Jason's first meeting with Medea in Colchis in Book 5 of the epic, which allows for an in-depth discussion even within the limited framework of a doctoral thesis. This group of female speakers is moreover particularly interesting, as the speeches of Polyxo (VF. 2.322-5), Henioche (VF. 5.359-62), and the anonymous Scythian *Famula* (5.403b-6) have neither individually nor as a group received much scholarly attention, and because the parallels between their roles are not as obvious as with the other two categories of mortal female speakers due to the women's different professions (priestess, nurse, and servant) as well as their varying speech types (informative and persuasive speeches). Furthermore, none of these three speakers are exact representations of their Apollonian counterparts, which is why they are highly conclusive about Valerius' adaptation of the Apollonian model in cases where he chooses to change the role of a speaker (as in Polyxo's case) or even introduces a speaker who does not previously feature in the Hellenistic *Argonautica* (such as Henioche and *famula*).

⁵⁷⁷ Hypsipyle is elected the new Lemnian queen at VF. 2.306-10, but from the beginning of the Lemnian episode onwards she is presented as the daughter of King Thoas, who technically does not die or officially abdicate his throne, which is why she is here referred to as Princess and not as Queen.

VI. THE MORTAL FEMALE SPEAKERS IN ROMAN EPIC

Mortal women are the second largest group of speakers in the Flavian *Argonautica* with a share of 17.97% of all speech acts.⁵⁷⁸ Valerius' epic therefore has the second highest concentration of speeches by mortal women in Roman epic poetry from Virgil's *Aeneid* to Silius Italicus' *Punica*, after Statius' *Thebaid* (29.32%). This high percentage for mortal female speakers in contrast to the slightly lower, but still comparably high percentages for the goddesses in both Apollonius' (Mortal Women: 24.87%; Goddesses: 12.91%) and Valerius' *Argonautica* (Mortal Women: 17.97%; Goddesses: 12.85%)⁵⁷⁹ are not surprising, given the epics' subject matter and the focus of the narration on Medea's relationship to Jason as well as the goddesses' frequent scheming and resourceful manipulation of the Colchian princess in the second half of the *Argonautica*.⁵⁸⁰

With 23 speeches in Valerius' and 17 speeches in Apollonius' epic Medea speaks more often than any other woman, both mortal and divine, of the control group.⁵⁸¹ This tendency of the mortal women's delivering the greatest number of speeches (Silius: Sibyl – 12 speeches; Lucan: Cornelia and Erictho – 5 speeches each; and Statius: Hypsipyle – 4 speeches)⁵⁸² is evident in all epics under discussion, except Virgil's *Aeneid* where Juno (13 speeches) speaks as often as Deiphobe (13 speeches).

While Medea is only the second most frequent speaker after Jason both in Apollonius (Jason: 31 speeches – 19.27%; Medea: 17 speeches – 14.85%) and Valerius (Jason: 37 speeches – 17.26%; Medea: 23 speeches – 11.20%), Statius' Hypsipyle is in fact the primary speaker of the *Thebaid* even though she only speaks in one episode and delivers just four direct speeches (1. Hypsipyle: 4 speeches – 14.40%; 2. Adrastus: 21 speeches – 7.97%) because of her long narrative in Book 5 of the *Thebaid* (Theb. 5.49-498), which is also the second longest narrative speech in Roman epic overall after Aeneas' extensive narration (Aen. 2.3-3.715). Similarly, it comes as a surprise that neither Medea (ARh.: 39.31% and VF.: 36.34%) nor Hypsipyle (Theb.: 40.81%) emerges as the most outstanding speaker of their respective female speech communities, but Cornelia with a share of 42.70% of all

⁵⁷⁸ Cf. Appendix 2.7.2.

⁵⁷⁹ In Virgil's *Aeneid* (Mortal Women: 14.85%; Goddesses: 15.93%) and in Silius' *Punica* (Mortal Women: 10.50%; Goddesses: 11.52%) the speech percentages are reversed and lie closer together.

⁵⁸⁰ The plotting prevails in Apollonius' *Argonautica* (ARh. 3.6-153), whereas Valerius employs divine disguise much more frequently and exclusively for goddesses (cf. Appendix 2.10.3.).

⁵⁸¹ Cf. Appendix 2.8.1.

⁵⁸² Cf. Appendix 2.8.2.

female speech acts in Lucan's *Civil War*.⁵⁸³ This focus on Cornelia is not solely due to the historical subject matter, as the speech distribution in Silius' *Punica* (Sibyl: 26.55%) indicates, but to Lucan's extreme reduction of speeches overall (118), and especially female speech acts (18) in combination with a much higher average speech length of the individual speakers (Ø 21.36 overall and Ø 16.63 for all women, as opposed to Valerius' Ø 9.84 overall and Ø 9.20 for women).⁵⁸⁴

In accordance with what is by far the greatest number of female divine speech acts (41) and the highest involvement and speech percentage of a goddess in the epics under discussion (15.93%), the *Aeneid* is also the only epic with a goddess as the prevailing female speaker (1. Venus: 19.10% and 2. Dido: 16.69%).⁵⁸⁵

It is not just the most prominent mortal women who speak frequently, but mortal women in general speak more often per person (*p.p.*) than their divine counterparts. The 9 mortal women of Valerius' *Argonautica* deliver a total of 38 speeches (4.22 *p.p.*) while the 7 Valerian goddesses together only speak 24 times (3.43 *p.p.*).⁵⁸⁶ In fact, Valerius' mortal women even have the highest frequency-ratio in Roman epic poetry, except for Virgil's goddesses (5.13 *p.p.*) and mortal men (4.5 *p.p.*).⁵⁸⁷ It is noteworthy that, despite this higher frequency rate, female mortal speakers often only appear *in propria persona* once and tend to speak in only one single or, at most, two episodes, whereas goddesses and male mortal protagonists speak much more consistently throughout the respective epics.⁵⁸⁸

Similarly, even though mortal women tend to speak longer on average than goddesses in Roman epic poetry,⁵⁸⁹ it is a goddess who delivers the longest female speech act both in Apollonius' and Valerius' *Argonautica*. In an elaborate speech of persuasion with narrative elements (ARh. 4.783-832: 50 verses) Hera gradually dispels Thetis' reservations and successfully urges her to help the Argonauts – if only for Hera's sake in recognition of her past support and care for Thetis as well as on behalf of her future daughter-in-law Medea.

⁵⁸³ Cf. Appendix 2.8.2.

⁵⁸⁴ Cf. Appendix 2.2., 2.3., and 2.4.

⁵⁸⁵ Cf. Appendix 2.2. and 2.7.2.

⁵⁸⁶ The frequency ratio for Apollonius' epic is slightly lower with 31 speeches by 8 mortal women (3.88 *p.p.*) and 22 speeches by 9 goddesses (2.44 *p.p.*), cf. Appendix 2.2. and 2.3.

⁵⁸⁷ Apollonius' ratio for mortal and divine female speakers is only a little lower with 3.88 and 2.44 speeches per person. Cf. Appendix 2.2.

⁵⁸⁸ Cf. Appendix 2.8.2.

⁵⁸⁹ Valerius' *Argonautica* constitutes the only exception: here mortal women on average deliver slightly shorter speeches than all the other speaker groups (Ø 8.75). On Valerius' average speech length, cf. Appendix 2.4. and the discussion below.

Venus' speech in disguise as Medea's aunt Circe (Pseudo-Circe: VF. 7.257b-83 – 33 3/4 verses) likewise consists of a combination of elements from a narrative speech as well as a speech of persuasion. The goddess goes even further in her efforts to deceive her addressee when she includes a fictitious message in *oratio recta*, which Jason supposedly dictated to her to pass on to Medea (VF. 7.266-87a) in order to convince the young maiden of the stranger's love and entice her to help him.

This mixture of different speech types is common in both Argonautic epics. The fact that the longest speeches are delivered by goddesses is, however, neither conclusive nor representative of the epics' general speech characteristics. The second longest speeches are for instance both delivered by mortal female speakers: in Apollonius, Hypsipyle's deceptive speech of persuasion in which she tries to protect the Lemnian women's reputation by concealing the true reason for the absence of the Lemnian men (ARh. 1.793-810: 41 verses), so that Jason and his men are not discouraged from entering into an intimate union with them. Similarly, the epic's female protagonist, Medea, delivers the second longest female speech of the Valerian *Argonautica* (30 7/12 lines) in her final appeal to Jason not to abandon her at the end of the *Argonautica* (VF. 8.415-44a).⁵⁹⁰ This shows that not the speakers' mortal or immortal status or the gender of the addressees are decisive, but the respective speech types. Narrative speeches and speeches of persuasion, especially when embedded speeches are involved, are traditionally the longest speech categories in Roman epic.⁵⁹¹

The prevalence of the speech type over the speaker's identity is moreover corroborated by Valerius' average speech length, which is not only the shortest, but also the most consistent of all epics. It is therefore not surprising that there is hardly any variation in Valerius' *Argonautica* between the average speech length of mortal female speakers (Ø 8.75) and goddesses (Ø 9.91), even though these two categories generally contain the greatest discrepancy in other epic poems, as most noticeable in Statius' *Thebaid* with an average speech length of Ø 24.68 verses for mortal women and Ø 10.86 verses for goddesses.

⁵⁹⁰ The speech constitutes the clear climax of Medea's long chain of direct speech acts in Books 7 and 8 of Valerius' *Argonautica*, cf. Appendix 4.10.1.4.

⁵⁹¹ On the traditional length of narrative and persuasive frame speeches, cf. Appendix 2.5.

VII. MORTAL FEMALE SPEAKERS IN APOLLONIUS' AND VALERIUS' *ARGONAUTICA*

	Apollonius Rhodius				Valerius Flaccus			
No.	Speaker	Speeches Book	Length (Verses)	Women %	Speaker	Speeches Book	Length (Verses)	Women %
	8	31	422	65.83 %	9	38	332 1/2	58.31 %
1	Medeia	17 (B 3,4)	252	39.31 %	Medea	23 (B 5,6,7,8)	207 1/4	36.34 %
2	Hypsipyle	5 (B1)	69	10.76 %	Hypsipyle	7 (B 2)	32 11/12	5.77 %
3	Chalkiope	4 (B3)	28	4.37 %	Eidyia	1 (B 8)	26 11/12	4.72 %
4	Arete	1 (B4)	23	3.59 %	Hesione	1 (B 2)	21 5/6	3.83 %
5	Polyxo	1 (B1)	22	3.43 %	Alcimedede	2 (B 1)	18 4/7	3.26 %
6	Alkimede	1 (B1)	14	2.18 %	Clite	1 (B 3)	13 3/4	2.41 %
7	αἱ γυναῖκες	1 (B1)	9	1.40 %	Henioche	1 (B 5)	3 11/12	0.69 %
8	Iphinoe	1 (B1)	5	0.78 %	Polyxo	1 (B2)	3 5/6	0.67 %
9	-	-	-	-	<i>Famula</i>	1 (B5)	3 1/2	0.61 %

Out of Valerius' nine female mortal speakers only four have at least one corresponding direct speech in the Apollonian model (Medea, Hypsipyle, Alcimedede, and Polyxo). Just as in the Hellenistic *Argonautica* (17 speeches: 252 verses), the epic's female protagonist Medea is by far the most dominant female speaker not only because of the overall length (207 1/4 verses) and frequency of her speeches (23), but also because she is the only mortal woman, who speaks not only in more than one episode within the same book such as Apollonius' Chalkiope (ARh. 3.260-7, ARh. 3.674-80, ARh. 3.697-704, and ARh. 3.719-23)⁵⁹² and Valerius' Alcimedede (VF. 1.320b-34 and VF. 1.763-822), but also throughout the second half of the epic (ARh. Books 3 and 4; VF. Books 5-8).⁵⁹³

Alkimede too addresses her son Jason in a direct speech in Apollonius' epic (ARh. 1.278-91), but unlike her Valerian counterpart she only appears during the farewell episode at the beginning of the Hellenistic *Argonautica*, as the occasion for her second speech, the joint suicide of Jason's parents, is a Valerian addition to Apollonius' account.

The final female speaker with one corresponding direct speech act in Apollonius' *Argonautica* is Valerius' Polyxo (VF. 2.322-5) who like her Apollonian model (ARh. 1.675-96) only speaks once;

⁵⁹² Cf. Appendix 5.9.4.1.

⁵⁹³ Cf. Appendix 4.10.1.4 and 5.8.2.

however, in a much shorter appeal to the Lemnian women (VF. 3 5/6 verses; ARh. 22 verses) and of course in a different role (VF.: Priestess; ARh.: Nurse).

Even though Valerius employs a similar number of mortal female speakers (9) to that of his Apollonian predecessor (8), he does not hesitate to make significant changes to the Apollonian portrayal of these female mortal speakers. Whereas in Polyxo's case Valerius only shortens her speech and alters her profession, he has the cunning goddesses Juno (VF. 6.482-7 and VF. 6.592-9) and Venus (VF. 7.223b-6 and VF. 7.257b-83) take on the voice and appearance of Medea's sister Chalciopé and her aunt Circe, thereby completely depriving Medea of her mortal, familial confidantes in Apollonius' version.

Another significant difference between the two Argonautic versions is Valerius' omission of two of the most debated Apollonian speeches – Arete's astute persuasion of her husband Alkinoos in the final book of the *Argonautica* (ARh. 4.1073-95) as well as the only Apollonian reference to a discourse in Medea's native Colchian tongue with her aunt Kirke (ARh. 4.739-48). Both the exclusion of Arete's and Kirke's speeches and the inclusion of Eidyia's tearful soliloquy (VF. 8.144-70) further emphasize Medea's isolation from and lack of female support and her complete dependence on Jason and the Argonauts. Instead, the Valerian narrator entirely focuses on Medea's relationship to the men in her life besides Jason (*passim*), her father (Medea: VF. 8.10-5), her brother Absyrtus (VF. 8.264b-84), and her very persistent former fiancé Styros (VF. 8.337-55).

Along with the omission of all individual female speeches, except Medea's, at the end of the final book, Valerius also excludes the speeches by Apollonius' divine collective speakers, which dominate the last book of the Hellenistic *Argonautica*. Similarly, Valerius' replaces the collective speech of the Thessalian women with a more detailed discussion of and focus on Alcimedé's individual lament. As a result, Alcimedé's grief emerges much more clearly as a character triplet to Clite's sorrow in Book 3 (VF. 3.316b-29) and Eidyia's farewell soliloquy (VF. 8.144-70) in Book 8 of the Flavian epic.

Valerius moreover transforms Iphinoe's message at ARh. 1.712-6 from *oratio recta* into *oratio obliqua* (VF. 2. 326-8) and introduces not only a new speaker with Hesione (VF. 2.471-92), but also a completely new episode into his Argonautic plot (VF. 2.428-578). He even assigns a direct speech to an otherwise unknown anonymous Scythian maid (*Famula*: VF. 5.403b-6) and gives Medea's tragic nurse a name and much greater importance in compensation for his reworking of Chalciopé's role as Medea's main mortal confidante in the Apollonian *Argonautica* (Henioche: VF. 5.359-62).

VIII. THE FEMALE MORTAL HELPERS (HENIOCHE, POLYXO, *FAMULA*)

While the majority of Valerius' nine mortal female speakers are of high social standing as queens (Eidyia and Clite), princesses (Hypsipyle, Hesione, and Medea), or members of the ruling family (Alcimedea), only three mortal women of lesser rank are given a voice in the Valerian *Argonautica*: the Lemnian Polyxo (VF. 2.322-5), the Colchian Henioche (VF. 5.359-62), and an anonymous Scythian servant of Medea (VF. 5.403b-6).

This speaker group is the most homogeneous of all sub-categories in terms of the women's speech characteristics and the speech context. All three of them appear *in propria persona* only once in the *Argonautica* to fulfil a very specific speech purpose. This is also why they only receive a brief introduction, which highlights their respective profession and speech role – Polyxo is the priestess of Phoebus Apollo (VF. 2.316-21), Henioche appears in her role as Medea's old, trusted nurse (VF. 5.356f.) – or, as in the case of the *famula*, she is not even given a proper introduction at all, but is entirely reduced to her role as Medea's servant (VF. 5.395a) and Jason's temporary local guide (VF. 5.399). Once these mortal female helpers have fulfilled their task, they disappear as suddenly as they have entered the scene.

Given their minor roles, it is not surprising that these women's speeches are by comparison shorter than those of the other mortal female speakers ranging on average from 3 1/2 to 3 11/12 verses. Their speeches are fast-paced, elliptical, and concise due to the urgency of the request directed at them. The female helpers only (dare to) speak after the explicit instruction of a female superior – Henioche and the *famula* speak at Medea's direction (VF. 5.353-5 and VF. 5.395a) and Polyxo at Hypsipyle's invitation (VF. 2.313a). They all provide their superior addressees (Medea, Hypsipyle, and Jason) with expert information stemming from the speaker's life experience (Henioche), divine inspiration (Polyxo), or their native origin (*famula*).

These are in fact the only speech scenes in the Flavian *Argonautica* that contain real all-female conversations among mortal speakers.⁵⁹⁴ Despite the female characters' inferior social standing in comparison to their respective addressees, their instructions have an immediate impact on their advisees: Henioche's words prevent Medea from fleeing the scene and enable her first meeting with

⁵⁹⁴ The Lemnian wives Neaera, who warns her friend Eurynome of her husband's unfaithfulness (VF. 2.142b-60a), and Dryope, who bemoans her own husband's adultery (VF. 2.176b-84a), are not counted among the mortal speakers as Fama and Venus assume their identities as part of Venus' intrigue against the Lemnians. Likewise Medea's discussions with Circe (VF. 7.223b-6 and VF. 7.257b-83) and Chalciope (VF. 6.482-7 and VF. 6.592-9) are *de facto* not proper female counselling scenes due to the circumstance that the goddesses' speak in disguise.

Jason and thus the couple's subsequent union and Medea's assistance of the Argonauts; Polyxo convinces the inexperienced Hypsipyle that the Lemnian women cannot survive without male support and new male offspring and, like Henioche's speech, thus lays the basis for Jason's sexual union with the female protagonist; finally, the anonymous *famula* does not seem to try and manipulate her addressees consciously either, but her positively biased characterization of the Colchian king indirectly makes Jason more gullible and receptive to Aetes' ensuing deceit. Thus, irrespective of their brevity and the single occurrence of their speech acts, all three mortal female helpers have a significant, direct impact on the action.

Their speeches are, however, not successful on their own, but they are in fact supported by and draw attention to the intervention of a goddess on behalf of the male protagonists.⁵⁹⁵ The only mortal female council scenes of the Valerian *Argonautica* are therefore not only preceded by and thus indirectly compared to the scenes of divine female plotting (VF. 2.142b-60a, VF. 2.176b-84a, and VF. 2.213b-4a), but they are also aided by the scheming goddesses.

⁵⁹⁵ Henioche: Juno's first intervention at VF. 5.363b-5; *Famula*: Juno's second intervention at VF. 5.399-401; Polyxo: Venus' twofold intervention at VF. 2.313b-5 and VF. 2.327b-8.

X. THE FEMALE COUNCIL SCENES (LEMNOS AND COLCHIS)

1. THE LEMNIAN COUNCIL SCENE

Apollonius Rhodius

The Lemnian episode contains the Argonauts' first important landfall. The Lemnian council is one of the few scenes in which the Apollonian model consists of more direct speeches than Valerius' version due to the omission of Apollonius' traditionally long council scenes with their frequent general interlocutions.⁵⁹⁶ In Apollonius' Lemnian episode, all nine direct speeches occur after the slaughter of the Lemnian men, and five of these speeches are part of Hypsipyle's assembly and the Argonauts' subsequent notification.⁵⁹⁷ The scene is arranged in a ring composition with two messenger scenes framing the council scene and an opening and a closing address by Hypsipyle encompassing Polyxo's speech in the centre of the episode.⁵⁹⁸

This composition highlights the great importance of Polyxo's words, but also the contrastive arrangement of male and female perspectives in this episode: the male herald Aethalides is paired with the female messenger Iphinoe; the words of the elderly, female counsellor Polyxo with the experienced Hercules' criticism of his men; the Lemnian queen Hypsipyle with the Argonauts' leader Jason; and the collectively approving Lemnian women with the enthusiastic collective of Argonauts. This gender pairing and the "ongoing dialogue between the sexes"⁵⁹⁹ is accompanied by a reversal of the gender roles in these passages, which allude to famous Homeric council scenes and highlight that the topics of love and the battle of the sexes are at the heart of this episode.

Hypsipyle and Polyxo (ARh. 1.653-701)

When the Argonauts arrive on Lemnos (ARh. 1.601-8), the poet recalls the ruthless slaughter of the Lemnian men (ARh. 1.609-26). Left to their own devices the Lemnian women struggle (ARh. 1.627-30) and they are terrified of a potential sea attack after first noticing the Argonauts (ARh. 1.630b-9). They are ignorant of the strangers' identity, arm for battle, and rush to the harbour to defend themselves

⁵⁹⁶ Cf. Appendix 3.1.

⁵⁹⁷ Cf. Bahrenfuss (1951) 7 and Poortvliet (1991b) 67 on the basic structure of the Lemnian episode. On the strong Homeric influence in this passage, see Knight (1995) 162-9.

⁵⁹⁸ Cf. Clauss (1993) 109.

⁵⁹⁹ Nishimura-Jensen (1998) 466 n.60. See also Pavlock (1990) 45-51.

and their home.⁶⁰⁰ The Lemnian women's intense frenzy and panic in response to the heroes' arrival is contrasted with the calmness of the Argonauts, who agree on a diplomatic approach.⁶⁰¹ They send their herald Aethalides to the Lemnians to ask for their permission to lie at anchor in the harbour (ARh. 1.640-52).

Aethalides is one of the three sons of Hermes who have joined the Argonautic mission.⁶⁰² Like the traditional Homeric messengers he is a herald by birth and a swift messenger (ARh. 1.641 κήρυκα θοόν) with unfailing memory (ARh. 1.643b-4a μνήστιν ... πάντων / ἄφθιτον and ARh. 1.644b-7a).⁶⁰³ However, instead of the common Homeric *verbatim* repetition, Apollonius omits both the message of command as well as the messenger speech itself and summarises the entire message delivery in a single word indicating the result of the embassy – Aethalides' successful persuasion of Hypsipyle: ARh. 1.650 μελιξάτο.⁶⁰⁴ The reference to the herald's imperishable memory could suggest that the message is reliably delivered word for word;⁶⁰⁵ however, the original speech is not reported in *oratio recta* and neither is Hypsipyle's temporary permission for the Argonauts to anchor overnight (ARh. 1.650f).⁶⁰⁶ This speech compression and the highly poetic and allusive choice of words are fitting both for a herald of Jason⁶⁰⁷ and of Hellenistic poetry in general.⁶⁰⁸ The suppression of three speech acts in addition to the narrator's own self-censoring is even more remarkable in comparison to the highly repetitive messenger scene of Iphinoe, to whose words the focus eventually shifts.⁶⁰⁹

When the Argonauts cannot leave the harbour due to unfavourable winds on the following day (ARh. 1.651b-2 οὐδὲ μὲν ἦοῖ / πείσματα νηὸς ἔλυσαν ἐπὶ πνοῇ βορέαο),⁶¹⁰ Hypsipyle is highly concerned that the heroes might discover their horrific crime, which is why she summons the Lemnian

⁶⁰⁰ The Lemnian women here sway from a hostile to a friendly reception, whereas the Cyzicans who first welcome the Argonauts as friends, simply mistake them for enemies when they return at night. Cf. Rose (1985) 129 and Nishimura-Jensen (1998) 468.

⁶⁰¹ See also George (1972) 54 n.1.

⁶⁰² Cf. Nishimura-Jensen (1998) 456-69 for a detailed discussion of the Apollonian herald and his significant silence in this scene. Unlike Iphinoe, Aethalides is introduced prior to this episode (ARh. 1.51-5). His introduction is conventional with regard to his familial lineage and common epithets, but Aethalides' name is not a speaking name like that of the Homeric heralds, or even Iphinoe. Cf. Nishimura-Jensen (1998) 458 n.7.

⁶⁰³ On the Aethalides digression and Apollonius' conflation of two Homeric models (Teiresias at Od. 10.491-5 and the Dioscuri at Od. 11.302-4) to strengthen Aethalides' authority as the Argonauts' principal messenger, see also Clauss (1993) 114 n.12. and Nishimura-Jensen (1998) 459 n.15.

⁶⁰⁴ For the pattern of repetitive messenger scenes in Homer, cf. De Jong (1987) 180.

⁶⁰⁵ Cf. Clauss (1993) 114f.

⁶⁰⁶ On the narrator's self-censorship in this messenger scene, cf. Nishimura-Jensen (1998) 463.

⁶⁰⁷ Cf. Levin (1971) 63. See also ARh. 3.985, ARh. 3.1102, and ARh. 4.394.

⁶⁰⁸ Cf. Nishimura-Jensen (1998) 463: "Aethalides appears the perfect Hellenistic herald: he avoids the tedium of repeating a long speech while couching his words in the honeyed manner preferred by Hellenistic poetics". See also *eadem* 468: "For a herald ... this silence is a peculiar but logical result of Apollonius' decidedly Hellenistic spin on the heroic world".

⁶⁰⁹ For a comparison of Aethalides and Iphinoe, cf. Ardizzoni (1965) 257f., Hurst (1967) 61, and George (1972) 54.

⁶¹⁰ On divinely ordained weather manipulation, cf. Fränkel (1968) 90 and Poortvliet (1991b) 187.

women to an emergency assembly (ARh. 1.653f. Λημνιάδες δὲ γυναῖκες ἀνὰ πτόλιν ἴζον ἰοῦσαι / εἰς ἀγορὴν: αὐτὴ γὰρ ἐπέφραδεν Ὑψιπύλεια).⁶¹¹

As is the tradition in Homeric council scenes, the queen as convenor of the meeting speaks first. She is the dominant speaker during the council meeting with three speeches. Hypsipyle gives the opening and closing address, and she personally instructs the herald after the meeting. She proposes to send the Argonauts food, wine, and daily necessities in an attempt to keep them away from the city and thereby maintain the Lemnians' good reputation (ARh. 1.657-64).⁶¹² Hypsipyle's proposal is neither fully developed nor presented in a convincing manner and so the queen "concludes bashfully and almost apologetically"⁶¹³ by inviting the women to voice better proposals (ARh. 1.665f. ὁμέων δ' εἴ τις ἄρειον ἔπος μητίσεται ἄλλη, / ἐγρέσθω: τοῦ γάρ τε καὶ εἵνεκα δεῦρ' ἐκάλεσσα).

Hypsipyle's invitation for an open discussion is modelled on a council scene in the *Iliad* (Il. 14.42-132),⁶¹⁴ in which Agamemnon upon facing defeat against Hector similarly requests old and young to contribute better ideas to the discussion (Il. 14.107f. νῦν δ' εἴη ὅς τῆσδέ γ' ἀμείνονα μῆτιν ἐνίσποι / ἦ νέος ἢ παλαιός: ἐμοὶ δέ κεν ἀσμένῳ εἴη).⁶¹⁵ Unlike in the Iliadic council, where the young Diomedes forcefully advises a more aggressive line and immediate attack on the Trojans (Il. 14.110-27), in the *Argonautica* it is an elderly female counsellor who is eager to soothe the collective rage and who recommends not only a diplomatic approach,⁶¹⁶ but the voluntary surrender of homes, kingship, and bodies. Clauss (1993) 117 succinctly summarises the effect of this contrastive allusion:

Not only does Hypsipyle's elderly nurse contrast with Diomedes in gender and age, but ... (t)he change of advice from an immediate attack on the battlefield to immediate submission in bed is as striking as it is suggestive of the importance that love will play in the present episode and in the epic in general.

The queen's nurse Polyxo is very eager to voice her opinion (ARh. 1.668b αὐτὰρ ἔπειτα φίλη τροφὸς ὄρωτο Πολυξώ and ARh. 1.671b περὶ δὲ μενέαιν' ἀγορευῶσαι). She is introduced at great length prior to her speech (ARh. 1.668b-74), as it is the first time she is mentioned in the poem. Polyxo is described as

⁶¹¹ Cf. Haymes (1974) 53f. for a summary of the events. In the *Odyssey* (Od. 22.431f.) Odysseus instructs his nurse Eurykleia to summon another collective of guilty women to an assembly – the maids who betrayed Penelope in his absence.

⁶¹² Ibscher (1939) 15 draws attention to Hypsipyle's repetition of some of the key words in the Lemnian mariticide episode.

⁶¹³ George (1972) 55. See *ibidem*: "less than aggressive or powerful ... the queen is vague and uncertain".

⁶¹⁴ For the speech distribution, cf. Lohmann (1970) 138f. and Janko (1994) 155.

⁶¹⁵ See also the scholiast *ad* ARh. 1.665 and Clauss (1993) 116 for more parallels and sound allusions.

⁶¹⁶ The elderly mentor Nestor had earlier advised the assembly not to enter into battle (Il. 14.52-63) and had also asked for their opinion (Il. 14.61).

elderly, dear nurse of Hypsipyle (ARh. 1.668b)⁶¹⁷ bowing over a staff because of her feeble age (ARh. 1.669b-70a **γήραϊ δὴ** ῥικνοῖσιν ἐπισκάζουσα πόδεσσιν, / βάκτρῳ ἐρειδομένη) and struggling to raise her head to speak (ARh. 1.673f. στῆ δ' ἄρ' ἐνὶ μέσση ἀγορῇ, ἀνὰ δ' ἔσχεθε δειρῆν / ἦκα μόλις **κυφοῖο** μεταφρένου, ὧδέ τ' ἔειπεν).⁶¹⁸

After the initial inversion of the Iliadic council scene Apollonius seems to allude to an Odyssean assembly (Od. 2.14-22) with Polyxo's description.⁶¹⁹ During this meeting another old advisor, the aged Aegyptius, speaks first (Od. 2.15f. τοῖσι δ' ἔπειθ' ἥρωσ Αἰγύπτιος ἦρχ' ἀγορεύειν, / **ὄς δὴ γήραϊ κυφὸς** ἔην καὶ μυρία ἦδη), even before the convenor of the assembly, Odysseus' son. Just like Telemachus (Od. 2.9-14 and Od. 2.36-9), Hypsipyle takes her father's throne in his absence and convenes and addresses an assembly for the first time (ARh. 1.653-6 and ARh. 1.667f).⁶²⁰ Both elderly advisors please the young rulers with their speeches (Od. 2.35 ὡς φάτο, χαῖρε δὲ φήμη Ὀδυσσεύος φίλος υἱός; ARh. 1.697-8a) and make the overall situation of the council meeting and their own subsequent speeches easier for them.

Polyxo is described as being accompanied by four white-haired virgins (ARh. 1.671f),⁶²¹ which evokes Aegyptius' role as father of four sons (Od. 2.17-23). The speech context is also similarly urgent. Polyxo, just like Aegyptius (Od. 2.25-34), speaks with the impending threat of an attack in mind (Od. 2.30 ἡέ τιν' ἀγγελίην στρατοῦ ἐκλυεν ἐρχομένοιο; ARh. 1.680 ὡς καὶ νῦν ὄδ' ὄμιλος ἀνωίστως ἐφικάνει).

Another theme both debates have in common is the prospect of remarriage: while for the Lemnian women a union with the Argonauts is the solution to all their problems (VF. 2.322-5), in Ithaca Penelope's determination to protect her marriage to the absent Odysseus establishes the main problem from the viewpoint of their threatened son Telemachus and especially the suitors, who desire a union with Penelope for themselves (Od. 19.159-61, Od. 19.530-4, and Od. 20.339-44). In both cases,

⁶¹⁷ Cf. Roscher (1897-1909) 2747 s.v. 'Polyxo' (no.7).

⁶¹⁸ On the reduction of the nurse's introduction to her age and her profession, see Nelis (1991) 99. For a comparison of the description of old age in Polyxo, Iphias, and Phineus, see Huber (1926) 72f. as well as Zanker (1987) 71 and 208. On Aegyptius' role in the discussion, cf. Barker (2009) 95-9.

⁶¹⁹ See the scholiast *ad* ARh. 1.669 and Clauss (1993) 118.

⁶²⁰ Cf. Clauss (1993) 118f., De Jong (2001) 47, and Barker (2009) 95f.

⁶²¹ For a discussion of the virgins' white hair and old age, see Prescott (1909) 320, Ardizzoni (1967) 280 *ad* ARh. 1.672, George (1972) 55 n.3, and Giangrande (1977) 98f. The juxtaposition of generations is a common theme in the Apollonian *Argonautica*, such as in the comparison of the elderly Alkimedē embracing her son Jason to a young girl hugging her dear aged nurse (ARh. 1.269-75). See also Levin (1971) 42f. and Nelis (1991) 100.

it is not the sexual consummation of the marriage that is in the foreground of the discussion, but the economic aspect of the respective unions.⁶²²

While the Odyssean counsellor asks many a question and his speech primarily serves to establish a connection between past and present (Od. 2.25-34) and to set the ground for Telemachus' speech (Od. 2.40-79), Polyxo provides Hypsipyle with a solution to the current problem and thus even exceeds Aegyptius' influence.

Polyxo's Speech (ARh. 1.675-96)

With a length of 22 lines Polyxo's speech (ARh. 1.675-96) is exactly as long as the four speeches of all the other female speakers combined in this scene and her proposal decisively sways the women's course of action.⁶²³ The old nurse⁶²⁴ first reverently agrees with her queen's suggestion that gifts should duly be sent to the strangers (ARh. 1.675f. δῶρα μὲν, ὡς αὐτῇ περ ἐφρανδάνει Ὑψιπυλείη, / πέμπωμεν ξείνοισιν, ἐπεὶ καὶ ἄρειον ὀπάσσαι); then, however, Polyxo addresses a very different matter – the Lemnians' dismal future prospects. While it is Hypsipyle's main concern to hide their crime in an attempt to keep up appearances, Polyxo raises long-term concerns and is very pragmatic in her analysis of the Lemnian women's situation and the consequences resulting from their murder.⁶²⁵

Speaking from experience she addresses the likelihood of attacks by the Thracians and other enemies (ARh. 1.677-9) and forcefully supports her argument about the vulnerability of an all-female community to violent attacks by referring to the current, unsuspected arrival of the Argonauts (ARh. 1.680).⁶²⁶ Thus starting from the greatest and most immediate threat to their lives, Polyxo takes the discussion to long-term problems for an ageing community (ARh. 1.681f. εἰ δὲ τὸ μὲν μακάρων τις ἀποτρέποι, ἄλλα δ' ὀπίσσω / μυρία δηιοτῆτος ὑπέρτερα πῆματα μίμνει).⁶²⁷ The old nurse vividly paints a pessimistic picture (ARh. 1.685 πῶς τῆμος βώσεσθε δυσάμμοροι) of the future hardship the

⁶²² Cf. George (1972) 57 and Clauss (1993) 119.

⁶²³ Cf. George (1972) 55f. for an overview and speech division.

⁶²⁴ Cf. Karydas (1998) 2: "A *trophos* is, as a rule, an older woman, implicitly or explicitly a slave or servant in the household".

⁶²⁵ Cf. George (1972) 56: "The development of her argument is slow, careful, and pedagogically sound. She moves consistently from compliment to Socratic inquiry, and from visible example to foreseeable conclusion".

⁶²⁶ Polyxo's concern is certainly not without foundation: when they arm for a potential battle against the Argonauts and hasten to the shore, the women are hesitant and well aware of their hopelessness against a hostile attack (ARh. 1.633-9). Cf. Nishimura-Jensen (1998) 466.

⁶²⁷ Cf. George (1972) 56: "Old age is her most consistent theme".

Lemnian women can expect without new generations taking over the labours of agriculture and the trials of providing for themselves without male support (ARh. 1.683-8).⁶²⁸

Polyxo leaves no doubt that she is not worried for her own sake. She emphasizes that her merciful, timely death is near and will occur before their community will have reached a worrisome state (ARh. 1.689-92), but she strongly advises especially the younger women to take the fortunate arrival of the Argonauts as an opportunity (ARh. 1.694 ἐπήβολός ἐστ' ἄλεωρή) to escape the depicted hardship by inviting the friendly strangers into their homes and lives and by permanently offering their land and rulership to them (ARh. 1.693-6). Despite her physical weakness Polyxo's demeanour and speech is much more determined, analytical, and practical than that of her nursling.⁶²⁹ The connection between old age and wisdom is a commonplace of ancient philosophy and in her pragmatic analysis of their situation Polyxo follows in the tradition of shrewd nurses and pragmatic advisors, as firmly established by Odysseus' nurse Eurykleia.⁶³⁰

Furthermore, Polyxo's description and her entourage of four white-haired virgins (ARh. 1.671f.)⁶³¹ of course evoke associations with the traditional roles of nurses as keepers of their alumna's *pudor* and as symbols of loyalty and *pietas* in both tragedy and epic poetry.⁶³² This is also reflected in Polyxo's speech, which is highly evasive and modest.⁶³³ "(S)he proceeds to her point through the most careful steps, avoiding completely any direct reference to sexual desire".⁶³⁴ That a sexual union is indeed at the heart of her speech becomes clearer through the narrator's subsequent report of the women's joy over the union with the Argonauts and their renewed desire (ARh. 1.843b-52) as well as through Herakles' speech (ARh. 1.865-74), which echoes Polyxo's words and counteracts her efforts.⁶³⁵

⁶²⁸ On the irony of Thoas' fatherhood, see George (1972) 53.

⁶²⁹ Cf. George (1972) 55: "The principal difference portrayed between Hypsipyle and Polyxo ... is that Polyxo's arguments are rooted in longer experience, deeper perception of the realities, and hence less distraction with βᾶξις".

⁶³⁰ Cf. George (1972) 56 and Clauss (1993) 137. See also Karydas (1998) 3: "(f)or women, especially, age conferred authority and power." For Eurykleia as shrewd advisor, cf. Od. 1.438 and Od. 2.346. See also Karydas (1998) 13, 16, 24f., and 60-3 for a list of epithets. For a comparison of Apollonius' elderly advisors Polyxo, Phineus, and Iphias, cf. Hübscher (1940) 69f. and Nelis (1991) 97.

⁶³¹ For a discussion of the virgins' white hair and old age, see also Prescott (1909) 320, Ardizzoni (1967) 280 *ad* ARh. 1.672, George (1972) 55 n.3, Giangrande (1977) 98f., and Nelis (1991) 100.

⁶³² Cf. Maniotti (2012) 62f. On echoes of Aristophanes' *Ecclesiazusae*, cf. Nishimura-Jensen (1998) 465.

⁶³³ See also George (1972) 57 n.2: "(t)he poet's famed delicacy and the women's shyness in expressing and discussing the real problem complement each other".

⁶³⁴ George (1972) 57f.

⁶³⁵ Cf. Polyxo's respective speeches in Valerius' *Argonautica* and Statius' *Thebaid* (see below).

Just as Polyxo points out that the land will not cultivate itself and that they need male support to survive (ARh. 1.685b-8 ἦε βαθείαις / **αὐτόματοι** βόες ὕμμιν ἐνιζευχθέντες ἀρούραις / γειστόμον νειοῖο διειρύσσουσιν ἄροτρον, / καὶ πρόκα τελλομένου ἔτεος στάχυν ἀμήσονται), Herakles openly condemns the sexual alliance with the foreign women and asks the heroes if they want to waste their time harvesting the rich Lemnian land, naively hoping that the fleece would just fall into their hands by itself or through divine benevolence: ARh. 1.867b-71:

αὐθι δ' ἔαδεν
 ναίοντας λιπαρὴν ἄροσιν Λήμνοιο ταμέσθαι;
 οὐ μὲν εὐκλειεῖς γε σὺν ὀθνεΐησι γυναιξίν
 ἐσσόμεθ' ὧδ' ἐπὶ δηρὸν ἐελμένοι: οὐδέ τι κῶας
αὐτόματον δώσει τις ἐλὼν θεὸς εὐξαμένοισιν.

While Polyxo is subtle and delicate in her correction of her leader's proposal, Herakles does not hide his anger and discontent with Jason's decision. At the same time Herakles, as the only innocent figure addressing a guilty crowd, is mirroring Hypsipyle and her concern for the Lemnians' reputation (ARh. 1.661f. κακὴ δ' ἐπὶ πολλὸν ἴκηται / βάξις) when he sarcastically points out that Jason's amorous dalliance is not bound to bring him glory (ARh. 1.874b μεγάλη τέ ἐ βάξις ἴκηται).⁶³⁶ Similarly, Polyxo argues that the Lemnian women are lost without men and cannot successfully take over all typically male roles, while Herakles criticizes the Argonauts for being too effeminate and having lost sight of their role and mission as virtuous heroes; in other words, both strongly argue against a reversal of the traditional gender roles. Herakles' speech is of course full of dramatic irony, as Jason will be successful and gain glory exactly because of his love affair with a foreign woman, but despite this misjudgement Herakles' words just like Polyxo's are accepted without any objections by the addressed collective. Yet, the speech of the experienced Tirynthian warrior has a greater impact than that of the old Lemnian nurse in so far as it reverses the effect of Polyxo's speech. Humbled and ashamed by Herakles' words, the Argonauts react immediately and prepare to leave Lemnos, thus undermining Polyxo's plan for them. At this point, however, the Lemnian women are already pregnant, so that the continuation of the Lemnian society is guaranteed and Polyxo's remedy is not entirely nullified by Herakles' intervention.

⁶³⁶ Cf. Clauss (1993) 137.

Hypsipyle and Iphinoe (ARh. 1.702-92)

After Apollonius briefly summarises the council's noisy approval of Polyxo's advice (ARh. 1.697-8a ὧς ἔφατ': ἐν δ' ἀγορῇ πλήτο θρόου. εὔαδε γάρ σφιν / μῦθος),⁶³⁷ Hypsipyle, befitting her rank, shortly addresses the women again to announce her own approval and intention of sending a messenger to the Argonauts, should everyone be pleased with Polyxo's proposal (ARh. 1.698b-701). She then, without further ado⁶³⁸ formulates a message (ARh. 1.703-7) for Iphinoe to deliver to the waiting Argonauts and finally dismisses the assembly (ARh. 1.708 ἦ, καὶ ἔλυσ' ἀγορῆν, μετὰ δ' εἰς ἐὸν ὄρωτο νέεσθαι).⁶³⁹ Believing in the natural death of Thoas and Hypsipyle's legitimate succession the Argonauts gratefully accept the queen's invitation (ARh. 1.717b-20).

As already mentioned, just as Polyxo's speech to the Lemnian women is compared with that of Herakles to the Argonauts, Iphinoe's⁶⁴⁰ speech is in stark contrast to the omitted message of the male herald Aethalides. While Aethalides is a traditional Homeric herald from a lineage of heralds, Iphinoe is not further qualified as an experienced messenger and in fact even seems to be a chance choice.⁶⁴¹ Unlike Aethalides' briefing and his delivery of the Argonauts' message to Hypsipyle, both the instruction of the female Lemnian messenger and her delivery of the queen's message to the Argonauts are described in *oratio recta*.⁶⁴²

Hypsipyle's Message Command (ARh. 1.703-7)

ὄρσο μοι, Ἴφινόη, τοῦδ' ἀνέρος ἀντιόωσα,
ἡμέτερόνδε μολεῖν, ὅστις στόλου ἡγεμονεύει,
ὄφρα τί οἱ δήμοιο ἔπος θυμῆρες ἐνίσπω:
καὶ δ' αὐτοὺς γαίης τε καὶ ἄστεος, αἴ κ' ἐθέλωσιν,
κέκλειο **θαρσαλέως** ἐπιβαινέμεν εὐμενέοντας.

Iphinoe's Message Delivery (ARh. 1.712-6)

κούρη τοί μ' ἐφέηκε Θεαντιάς ἐνθάδ' ἰοῦσαν,
Ἵψιπύλη, καλέειν νηὸς πρόμον, ὅστις ὄρωρεν,
ὄφρα τί οἱ δήμοιο ἔπος θυμῆρες ἐνίσπη:
καὶ δ' αὐτοὺς γαίης τε καὶ ἄστεος, αἴ κ' ἐθέλητε,
κέκλεται **αὐτίκα νῦν** ἐπιβαινέμεν εὐμενέοντας.

Iphinoe truthfully and in only mildly modified terms reports Hypsipyle's message (ARh. 1.712-6) asking Jason to attend an audience with Hypsipyle and inviting all the Argonauts immediately to enter

⁶³⁷ The full extent of the Lemnians' approval is only revealed much later at ARh. 1.865-74.

⁶³⁸ Apollonius omits the harmonious approval of the Lemnian women (suppressed speech act).

⁶³⁹ Valerius compresses the speech scene and only indirectly summarises the council's approval and the message instruction.

⁶⁴⁰ On Iphinoe's name and description, cf. Clauss (1993) 116 and Knight (1995) 165.

⁶⁴¹ Cf. Nishimura-Jensen (1998) 469.

⁶⁴² Their request to hear the message is only indirectly summarised: ARh. 1.709b-11 οἱ δ' ἐρέεινον, / χρεῖος ὃ τι φρονέουσα μετήλυθεν. ὧκα δὲ τούσγε / πασσυδίη μύθοισι προσένεπεν ἐξερέοντας.

their land and city. Iphinoe's message is not only one of the few repetitions, but also "the most exact repetition of its kind in the *Argonautica*"⁶⁴³ and a rare instance of the *verbatim* narrative technique employed in Homer's messenger scenes. This striking change in Apollonius' delivery practice could be a stylistic marker drawing attention to the Homeric passage alluded to in Iphinoe's invitation. Her offer to enter their country and city (ARh. 1.706f. and ARh. 1.715f. γαίης τε καὶ ἄστεος, ... / ἐπιβαινόμεν) echoes a repetition within the *Odyssey*. The same verb is used both in Circe's invitation to Odysseus to put away his sword and enter her bed instead (Od. 10.333f. ἀλλ' ἄγε δὴ κολεῶ μὲν ἄορ θεό, νῶϊ δ' ἔπειτα / εὐνῆς ἡμετέρης ἐπιβείομεν) as well as in Odysseus' acceptance of her proposal (Od. 10.347 καὶ τότ' ἐγὼ Κίρκης ἐπέβην περικαλλέος εὐνῆς).⁶⁴⁴ This allusion highlights the shyness of the Lemnian women, but also Apollonius' delicate description of the invitation. Whereas in Homer's dialogue Odysseus at first briefly declines Circe's offer with another double repetition,⁶⁴⁵ Apollonius' Argonauts are immediately delighted by it.⁶⁴⁶

Heralds traditionally act swiftly,⁶⁴⁷ but the brief pause of only six lines and the proximity between Hypsipyle's message command and the (almost) *verbatim* repetition are highly unusual for Apollonius' *Argonautica* and draw attention to the editorial changes in Iphinoe's message.⁶⁴⁸ While minor editing such as changes in personal endings is typical of good Homeric messengers and needed to retain the sense,⁶⁴⁹ Iphinoe's alteration of the adverb from θαρσαλέως (ARh. 1.707) to αὐτίκα νῦν (ARh. 1.716) is not necessary and "reveals her personal view".⁶⁵⁰ The reason for this change has been debated, as the poet does not explicitly comment on the circumstances that lead to this modification.⁶⁵¹ Whether Iphinoe is sensitive to her addressees' feelings and only trying to encourage them, as Nishimura-Jensen (1998) 464 argues, or if she is acting on account of the Lemnian women's and possible also her

⁶⁴³ Nishimura-Jensen (1998) 457 n.32. See also Elderkin (1913) 198-210, Vian (1973) 98f., and Clauss (1993) 115 n.13.

⁶⁴⁴ Like the original advocate of the Lemnian invitation in Apollonius' epic, Polyxo, Homer's Circe is accompanied by an entourage of four women, her female servants: Od. 10.348f. ἀμφίπολοι δ' ἄρα τέως μὲν ἐνὶ μεγάροισι πένοντο / τέσσαρες, αἳ οἱ δῶμα κάτα δρήστειραι ἔασι.

⁶⁴⁵ Cf. Od. 10.339-40 αὐτὸν δ' ἐνθάδ' ἔχουσα δολοφρονέουσα κελεύεις / ἐς θάλαμόν τ' ἵεναι καὶ σῆς ἐπιβήμεναι εὐνῆς and Od. 10.342 οὐδ' ἂν ἐγὼ γ' ἐθέλομι τεῆς ἐπιβήμεναι εὐνῆς.

⁶⁴⁶ The Argonauts' reaction (ARh. 1.717b πάντεσσι δ' ἐναΐσιμος ἦνδανε μῦθος) echoes that of the Lemnian women to Polyxo's proposal (ARh. 1.697b-8a ἐν δ' ἀγορῇ πλῆτο θρόου. εὐαδε γάρ σφιν / μῦθος). See also Hypsipyle's announcement at ARh. 1.700f. εἰ μὲν δὴ πάσῃσιν ἐφρανδάνει ἦδε μενοιμή, / ἦδη κεν μετὰ νῆα καὶ ἄγγελον ὀτρύναμι. Cf. Minchin (2007) 62, 65 n.2, and 52-73 for more accepted and declined offers of hospitality in Homer.

⁶⁴⁷ For a comparison of Iphinoe's to Iris' swiftness, see Nishimura-Jensen (1998) 464f.

⁶⁴⁸ Cf. Nishimura-Jensen (1998) 464f. See De Jong (1987) 241f. for separation ranges of repeated messages in the *Iliad*: average – 203 lines; shortest proximity – 3 lines: Il. 4.65-7 = 4.70-3; second shortest proximity – 6 lines: Il. 12.343-50 = Il. 12.356-63. DeForest (1994) 86-90 assumes an attempt to ridicule Homer's style.

⁶⁴⁹ Cf. De Jong (1987) 185: "messengers are (secondary) focalizers and as such they often select, add to and interpret the information they have to convey". See also Nishimura-Jensen (1998) 465.

⁶⁵⁰ Nishimura-Jensen (1998) 457.

⁶⁵¹ For a summary of different interpretations, see Nishimura-Jensen (1998) 464 n.34.

own strong desire and therefore tries to shorten the period of waiting, as Hunter (1993) *ad loc.* suggests, if her inexperience as a messenger or her embarrassment at the delicate content causes her to confuse the message during her rushed delivery, as George (1972) 56f. supposes, or if she deliberately tries to hurry the Argonauts so that not she herself, but the queen can explain the reason for the lack of men on Lemnos, cannot be determined with certainty.⁶⁵²

The impact of her message, however, is evidently threefold: firstly, the editing conveys a greater urgency to the message and results in the Argonauts' hastily sending Jason on his way to meet the queen (ARh. 1.719f.),⁶⁵³ whom they suppose has naturally succeeded her late father as rightful heiress to the throne (ARh. 1.718-9a), and getting ready to shortly join their captain (ARh. 1.719b-20 ὧκα δὲ τόνγε / πέμπον ἴμεν, καὶ δ' αὐτοὶ ἐπεντύνοντο νέεσθαι); secondly, it transforms what seems to be a courageous act into an encouragingly easy task for the Argonauts; and thirdly, because of everyone's hurry, it is Hypsipyle who is shown to exercise concealment and thus to be independent and responsible for the decision to withhold the true reason for the absence of the Lemnian men from Jason and the Argonauts.⁶⁵⁴

Iphinoe as Messenger and Guide (ARh. 1.700-92)

At this point, Apollonius inserts a detailed ekphrasis of Jason's purple cloak, a present from Athene (ARh. 1.730-68) featuring many mythical images and a spear (ARh. 1.769-73), a gift of the deserted Atalanta, before describing Jason's footmarch to the Lemnian palace.⁶⁵⁵ After this long digression, the narrator reports how Jason is safely escorted to Hypsipyle by Iphinoe who now acts as a guide (ARh. 1.781 τῷ ἵκελος προπόλοιο κατὰ στίβον ἦμεν ἥρωος and ARh. 1.788-90a), under the longing eyes of the excited Lemnian women who admire the radiant Jason and his beautiful cloak (ARh. 1.774-91a).⁶⁵⁶ Hypsipyle addresses Jason in a long friendly, but deceptive speech explaining their situation, welcoming him to Lemnos and offering the hero her father's throne (ARh. 1.790b-831) before asking him to return to his men and spread the good news (ARh. 1.832-5a). Jason delightedly accepts the

⁶⁵² Fränkel (1968) *ad* ARh. 1.709-20 argues that the repetition is part of Hypsipyle's deceit. For more deceptive messenger speeches, cf. ARh. 4.417 and ARh. 4.435f. where Medea succeeds to lure Absyrtus into her trap through messengers. See also Nishimura-Jensen (1998) 469 n.49.

⁶⁵³ For the common transferal of a messenger's epithet to the recipient, cf. Nishimura-Jensen (1998) 465.

⁶⁵⁴ Cf. Clauss (1993) 116 n.14 and Nishimura-Jensen (1998) 469.

⁶⁵⁵ On Jason's cloak, see Shapiro (1980) 263-86 and Rose (1985) 29-44.

⁶⁵⁶ Cf. George (1972) 59 and Rose (1985) 29: "Jason's reliance on manly charm is effectively symbolized by the splendid cloak".

queen's invitation to stay, but rejects her offer of kingship on account of his mission (ARh. 1.835b-41), and finally returns to his men.

Jason as Messenger (ARh. 1.832-60)

The depiction of heraldic action in the *Argonautica* is therefore not limited to Aethalides and Iphinoe, but Jason too appears in the role of a messenger on Lemnos.⁶⁵⁷ Hypsipyle's instructions to Jason (ARh. 1.832f. ἀλλ' ἄγε νῦν ἐπὶ νῆα κίων ἐτάροισιν ἐνίσπες / μύθους ἡμετέρους, μηδ' ἔκτοθι μίμνε πόληος) recall her instructions to Iphinoe earlier in the same episode (ARh. 1.703-7).⁶⁵⁸ After formally accepting the queen's offer, Jason, as inexperienced herald, assures Hypsipyle that he will return to her after duly reporting her invitation to his men (ARh. 1.838f. εἴμι δ' ὑπότροπος αὐτίς ἀνὰ πτόλιν, εὔτ' ἂν ἕκαστα / ἐξείπω κατὰ κόσμον). His reliable message delivery is briefly summarised at ARh. 1.847f. μῦθον ὅτ' ἤδη πάντα διηνεκέως ἀγόρευσεν, / τόν ῥα καλεσσαμένη διεπέφραδεν Ὑψιπύλεια⁶⁵⁹ when the narrator describes the Lemnian women's hospitality and excitement over the proposed union in more detail.

The Lemnian episode therefore contains a total of three different messenger scenes: Aethalides' silence, or, respectively, double omission; Iphinoe's almost perfect *verbatim* repetition; and Hypsipyle's instruction to Jason and the summary of the delivered message – a striking example of Hellenistic *variatio*. It moreover compares the three heralds of this messenger scene, only one of whom is a professional herald, and links Jason's message (ARh. 1.847 μῦθον ὅτ' ἤδη πάντα διηνεκέως ἀγόρευσεν) to the narrator's initial self-censoring over Aethalides (ARh. 1.648f. ἀλλὰ τί μύθους / Αἰθαλίδεω χρειώ με διηνεκέως ἀγορεύειν) with the adverb διηνεκέως in the same metrical position, highlighting the ring composition of this episode.⁶⁶⁰

⁶⁵⁷ See also Nishimura-Jensen (1998) 467 n.41: "(t)he ability to repeat messages *verbatim* was not limited to professional heralds in the Homeric epics". For the memory and language of heroes, cf. Martin (1989) 77-88.

⁶⁵⁸ Cf. Nishimura-Jensen (1998) 466. DeForest (1994) 89 interprets the repetition as another failure of Jason's qualities as hero and leader and George (1972) 60 takes Jason's role as herald and his assurance of a duly delivery as a parody of the traditional heraldic messenger pattern (ARh. 1.848 πάντα διηνεκέως).

⁶⁵⁹ Cf. Stoessl (1941) 44 and Nishimura-Jensen (1998) 467 n.41.

⁶⁶⁰ See also Nishimura-Jensen (1998) 467f.

Valerius Flaccus (VF. 2.306-69a)

Valerius dramatises the events by having the newly elected Lemnian queen Hypsipyle summon an emergency meeting (VF. 2.313 *concilium ... vocat*) immediately upon discovering the ship with armed foreigners in the distance (VF. 2.311-2a *ecce procul validis Lemnon tendentia remis / arma notant*).⁶⁶¹ The Argonauts' arrival is of course reminiscent of the women's first gathering discussing their relationship and the return of the Lemnian men.⁶⁶² Whereas they should exult at their men's return, they greet them with a massacre under the destructive influence of Venus and Fama. This clear parallel serves to create greater suspense, especially as the Lemnian women's rage has not yet ceased and they still fear a life-threatening attack. Valerius leaves no doubt that the women's madness (VF. 2.314 *nec ... derat furor improbus*) would have stirred them on to attack the Argonauts too, had Vulcan not intervened and soothed Venus' anger (VF. 2.315 *saevas ... iras*) and accordingly the Lemnian women's ruthless passion (VF. 2.313b-5).⁶⁶³

While in Apollonius' version (ARh. 1.601-914) all nine direct speeches occur after the slaughter of the Lemnian men, Valerius equally distributes the direct speeches of the Lemnian episode over three parts (pre-, during, and post-murder) and reduces Apollonius' extensive council and messenger scene to a single direct speech (VF. 2.322-5).⁶⁶⁴ This striking speech reduction is rather striking, as the urgency of the meeting in Valerius' Lemnian episode is much greater, because the identity and intentions of the Argonauts are still unknown, and entirely focuses the reader's attention on Polyxo's speech, the sole remainder of Apollonius' direct discourse.⁶⁶⁵ After Hypsipyle's reaction – she is alarmed and shaken by the sudden arrival and subsequent uproar among the Lemnian women (VF. 2.312b *rapitur subito regina tumultu*) – is described in greater detail,⁶⁶⁶ contrary to the reader's expectation, it is not the queen who speaks first and leads the discussion, but the priestess Polyxo

⁶⁶¹ The Olympian council scene at a similar position in Book 1 with the divine approval of the Argonauts' voyage – a crucial element of Polyxo's speech – is introduced in similar terms: cf. VF. 1.212f. *aequoreos vocat ecce deos Neptunus et ingens / concilium*. The narrator's report at first suggests that the Argonauts' arrival is already being noticed during the Lemnian election meeting (VF. 2.306-12); however, the phrasing *concilium ... vocat* (VF. 2.313) leaves no doubt that a second meeting is convened. See also Theb. 5.335-7a *ecce autem aerata dispellens aequora prora / Pelias intacti late subit hospita ponti / pinus; agunt Minyae*. For more parallels, see Poortvliet (1991b) 180f.

⁶⁶² Note the reversal: the Lemnian women greet their own men with slaughter, but invite foreigners into their homes and beds.

⁶⁶³ While Valerius explicitly links the women's change of attitude to divine interference, the exact circumstances under which their rage and aggression abate in Apollonius' episode remain in the dark (ARh. 1.634-8). See also Poortvliet (1991b) 182 and Theb. 5.376-97.

⁶⁶⁴ The council of Lemnian women and their discussion with regard to the reception of the Argonauts is compressed even more in Statius' long Hypsipyle narrative (Theb. 5.48-498) and it is not among the embedded direct speeches of her report either.

⁶⁶⁵ The divine intervention is the first step towards a friendly reception of the Argonauts; the second step (VF. 2.316 *tunc etiam*) is Polyxo's prophetic speech (VF. 2.322-5).

⁶⁶⁶ Cf. Theb. 5.347f. *nos, Thracia visu / bella ratae, vario tecta incursare tumultu*. See also Poortvliet (1991b) 181.

takes charge and controls the women's reaction to the Argonauts' arrival, while Hypsipyle entirely vanishes into the background.⁶⁶⁷

Polyxo's Speech (VF. 2.322-5)

Quantitatively, Polyxo's is the least important speech of a named speaker in the *Argonautica* following a reduction of her long speech (22 verses) in Apollonius' model episode to only 3 5/6 verses in Valerius' version; however, the circumstance that Polyxo is the only female speaker who has a direct equivalent in Valerius' epic, but whose role is changed by the Roman poet, already indicates that her speech is of much greater importance than its brevity at first suggests.

Valerius transforms Hypsipyle's elderly nurse into a priestess of Phoebus Apollo (VF. 2.316 *vates Phoebo dilecta Polyxo*), which is why Polyxo receives a particularly long and mysterious description.⁶⁶⁸ Neither Polyxo's native country nor her parentage are known to the Valerian narrator (VF. 2.317 *non patriam, non certa genus*), and she herself claims to have arrived at Lemnos because the shape-shifting sea god Proteus (VF. 2.318 *Proteaque ambiguum*) steered her course there from the Egyptian caves in a chariot that was drawn over the waters by a team of seals (VF. 2.317-9).⁶⁶⁹

Through the reference to Proteus, Valerius establishes a connection between Polyxo and the Homeric model – the prophetic sea nymph and daughter of Proteus, Eidothea.⁶⁷⁰ In the *Odyssey*, the nymph betrays her father in order to help Menelaus return home when he has been driven off-course and lands on the island of Pharos near Egypt (Od. 4.351-592). The Eidothea allusion, containing themes such as divine punishment for neglected worship and a daughter's betrayal of her father in order to help a stranger return home, not only complements the Lemnian episode and the story of Hypsipyle's fatherly *pietas*, but is of course well-suited for the *Argonautica's* Medea narrative and the Colchian's betrayal of her father. While the description of Polyxo and the general arrival situation resemble that of Eidothea, her conversation with Menelaus and the immediate speech context and

⁶⁶⁷ Cf. Groß (2003) 143.

⁶⁶⁸ Ambivalent descriptions are common for this profession and prophetic scenes in general, and the portrayal of everything mystical and supernatural in Valerius' *Argonautica* in particular. See also Burkert (2005) 36.

⁶⁶⁹ For a discussion of the *mss.* variations, see Poortvliet (1991b) 184.

⁶⁷⁰ Cf. Vessey (1973) 173. Another model could be the tradition in which Polyxo is a Naiad and the daughter of the river god Nilus, who became the wife of Danaus and bore him the twelve Danaides, who later murdered their husbands in a massacre similar to that of the Lemnian women (Apollod. 2.1.5). Statius' Polyxo seems to evoke this tradition when she mentions Procne and Danaus as examples and encouragement for justified mariticide (see discussion below).

content are entirely different and by no means a model for Polyxo's speech. The main purpose of the allusion to the prophetic sea nymph prior to Polyxo's speech is to legitimize Polyxo's unknown prophetic powers and to give her words the necessary divine authority.

It can only be speculated whether Apollonius' demure description of the wise, old nurse Polyxo and her entourage of four virgins (ARh. 1.671f. τῆ καὶ παρθενικαὶ πίσυρες σχεδὸν ἐδριόωντο / ἀδμήτες λευκῆσιν ἐπιχνοαούση ἐθείραις) may have evoked associations to the Roman Vestal cult that inspired Valerius' transformation of Polyxo into a priestess and prophetess.⁶⁷¹ It is important, however, to note in this respect that, even though priestesses play an important part in Virgil's *Aeneid* (Sibyl), Lucan's *Civil War* (Erichtho, Deiphobe), Statius' *Thebaid* (Manto), and Silius' *Punica* (Sibyl, Autonoe), the current speech is the only one delivered by a priestess in both Argonautic epics, which could be the result of the entirely omitted (ARh.) or extremely brief (VF.) necromantic episode⁶⁷² as well as Medea's and Circe's own *sacerdos*-like status.⁶⁷³

Polyxo's prophetic ritual prior to her speech, similar to Proteus' prophecies, consists in the priestess' dipping under water for consultation⁶⁷⁴ and her reporting the words she hears beneath the water surface. Polyxo's speech is the only one, besides that of the ghost Cretheus who is raised from the underworld, that requires a specific speech preparation. While lines 2.317-21 serve as a brief digression describing the general prophetic procedure of the priestess,⁶⁷⁵ they indirectly also introduce her speech.⁶⁷⁶ Given that Polyxo's oracular abilities are a Valerian invention, it is not surprising that the Flavian epicist introduces and legitimises her as a credible Lemnian seer in great detail prior to her speech.⁶⁷⁷ How careful Valerius is in his attempt to present Polyxo as a messenger of divine instructions and thus as authoritative, divine mouthpiece is shown by the tautology *ut auditas referens in gurgite voces* (VF. 2.321), which highlights the priestess' reproduction of the divine voice.⁶⁷⁸

⁶⁷¹ Cf. Garson (1964) 275.

⁶⁷² The *sacerdos* in Valerius' *Argonautica* does not speak in *oratio recta* and flees the scene immediately upon Pelias' arrival.

⁶⁷³ Significantly, Apollonius' elderly priestess Iphias, whom Jason meets just before Argo's launch, remains silent.

⁶⁷⁴ Cf. Od. 4.425 ὡς εἰποῦσ' ὑπὸ πόντον ἐδύσετο κυμαίνοντα and Met. 11.255 *dixerat haec Proteus et condidit aequore vultum*. See also Poortvliet (1991b) 185.

⁶⁷⁵ On *mss.* variations, cf. Poortvliet (1991b) 186.

⁶⁷⁶ Strictly speaking line 2.316 serves as speech introduction and the interjected *ait* (VF. 2.322) is the main *verbum dicendi* of the introductory speech formula.

⁶⁷⁷ Cf. Harper Smith (1987) 144 and Groß (2003) 143f.

⁶⁷⁸ Cf. Beard (2012) 20-39 and esp. section III. See also Hecate's prophecy in VF. 6.496b *et has imo referebat pectore voces* and the introduction to Jupiter's prediction (VF. 4.581-4) embedded in *oratio recta* in Phineus' prophecy (VF. 4.580 *vox haec simul excidit auris*). Cf. Poortvliet (1991b) 185 for further references.

Valerius thus transforms the Apollonian nurse who speaks with the wisdom and life experience of an elderly woman and appeals solely to practical reason into a priestess who claims divine inspiration and justifies all her arguments with divine will.

Not only is Valerius' entire council scene much shorter than Apollonius', but so is also Polyxo's speech itself. Like all speeches by functional, mortal female speakers in Valerius' *Argonautica*, Polyxo's speech is brief and descriptive and conveys her superior knowledge. The speech is highly un-rhythmical due to its hyperbatic word order, frequent ellipses, and brevity, which emphasizes the importance of nearly every single word the priestess reports. The first half of the speech focuses on the appropriate reaction to and the identity of the strangers (VF. 2.322-4a), while the second half lays out the divinely-ordained consequences for the Lemnian women themselves (VF. 2.324b-5). This division already highlights the common denominator and the quintessence of Polyxo's speech: the Argonauts' arrival is part of Jupiter's world plan, and both the timing and the Lemnian women's reaction are therefore the result of divine manipulation.

The speech of the Valerian priestess starts in a similar fashion to that of Apollonius' Polyxo (ARh. 1.675 δῶρα μὲν) with an immediate instruction. Whereas in Apollonius' Lemnian episode the permission to anchor at the harbour has already been given to the Argonauts following their messenger's request, and the reception into the city and the subsequent revelation of the crime are the main topics of discussion, Valerius' Lemnian women are not concerned for their reputation,⁶⁷⁹ but are still debating how to react to the strangers' arrival in the first place and whether to let them enter the harbour, as Polyxo finally demands: VF. 2.322 *portum demus*.⁶⁸⁰ The parenthetical and elliptical (*sc. mihi*) *credite* (VF. 2.322)⁶⁸¹ simplifies the syntax and gives the account the impression of greater immediacy and a more truthful representation than an accusative with infinitive structure would (VF. 2.322f. *haec, credite, puppis / advenit*).⁶⁸² The spotting of and the reference to the arriving ship plays a great role in Apollonius' *Argonautica* (ARh. 1.680 ὡς καὶ νῦν ὄδ' ὄμιλος ἀνωίστως ἐφικάνει) where Polyxo uses the arrival as proof of continuous danger from sea attacks. Here, the priestess stresses that the Argonauts have been driven off-course to Lemnos at divine direction (VF. 2.323 *deus*

⁶⁷⁹ They only re-evaluate their crimes after the Argonauts' departure (VF. 2.396-9). Cf. Landry (2005) 55.

⁶⁸⁰ The interposed *ait* (VF. 2.322) not only serves as speech introduction, but also emphasizes the first request, which is succinctly summarized in only two words.

⁶⁸¹ Cf. Polyxo's speech in Theb. 5.139f. *hoc ferrum stratis, hoc, credite, ferrum / imposuit*. See also Poortvliet (1991b) 186.

⁶⁸² Cf. Jason's declaration to Medea at VF. 5.385f. *nos hospita pubes / advehimur*. See also Poortvliet (1991b) 186.

... *flexit*).⁶⁸³ The combination of *deus* with the name of the deity and the demonstrative pronoun *ipsa* recalls Jason's speech during his sacrifice before Argo's departure (VF. 1.245-7) where *deus* is modified by Jupiter's name presenting the father of the gods as instigator of all events in order to implement his plan.⁶⁸⁴ He is assisted in his endeavour by different deities of lesser standing, here Venus.⁶⁸⁵ Polyxo therefore justifies her proposal to give permission to the Argonauts to enter the harbour with divine will.

Polyxo's statement recalls the speech of Argo's mortal steersman, Tiphys, during the Argonauts' nightly journey from Pallene to Lemnos (VF. 2.48b-65) when for the first time they have to rely on the stars. In his reassuring speech, Tiphys comforts the heroes, who are still shaken by the recent sea storm experience (VF. 1.608-54), by declaring that he has not only been thoroughly instructed in navigation skills by Pallas, but that the goddess even deigns to steer the ship herself (VF. 2.47b-50).⁶⁸⁶ As proof of his claims, Tiphys reminds the Argonauts that they have personally been able to experience her helpful intervention during the sea storm (VF. 2.51f. *an non experti, subitus cum luce fugata / horruit imbre dies?*).⁶⁸⁷ After Tiphys' display of his personal knowledge and his reassurance of divine support (VF. 2.66-8), the narrator reports how the Argonauts finally fall asleep leaving the course of their ship in the power of the stars (VF. 2.71 *mox somno cessere, regunt sua sidera puppem*). Just as Tiphys first very generally speaks of divine power, only to then assign the steering and instruction to Pallas Athene, Polyxo first generally states that the divine attitude towards Lemnos has become more merciful (VF. 2.323 *levior Lemno deus*) before discussing Venus' will more specifically.⁶⁸⁸

Similarly, Hercules in his criticism of Jason's and the Argonauts' joy over their stay on Lemnos, makes it very clear that it is not love that attracted him to partake in the sea voyage, but the love of

⁶⁸³ The transition from dramatic present to resultative present perfect stresses the logical connection and presents the Argonauts' arrival as a consequence of divine will. For the framing of a line by two verbs (VF. 2.323 *advenit ... flexit*), see Poortvliet (1991) 113 *ad* VF. 2.161.

⁶⁸⁴ See also Groß (2003) 142. In Apollonius' episode the winds keep the Argonauts in the Lemnian harbour (ARh. 1.651b-2). Cf. Fränkel (1968) 90 and Poortvliet (1991b) 187.

⁶⁸⁵ In the Cyzicus episode, it is the goddess Cybele who redirects the Argo (VF. 3.32-42) and Pan who spreads panic and confusion (VF. 3.46-57). Cf. Harper Smith (1987) 146, Poortvliet (1991b) 186, and Groß (2003) 142. See also Manuwald (2009) 596 n.26: "(t)his agrees with a more general pattern in Valerius Flaccus: the Argonauts acting as saviours announced or determined by gods or fate (cf. Lemnos: 2.311-28; Hesione: 2.445-6, 2.485-6; Amycus: 4.114-32, 4.317-9; Mariandyni: 4.737-54)".

⁶⁸⁶ Pallas thus not only helps to build the Argo, but also teaches Tiphys how to steer. On the phrasing, cf. Theb. 3.104f. (of Maeon) *non te caelestia frustra / edocuit, lauroque sua dignatus Apollo est*. See also Poortvliet (1991b) 53 for further references.

⁶⁸⁷ Pallas and Juno saved Argo with their tears at VF. 1.642b-4a.

⁶⁸⁸ Through Polyxo's speech Tiphys' earlier utterance, which seemed to be isolated in a transitional passage devised to slow down the narrative before the dramatic events on Lemnos, is shown to be more than a learned variation on Homer's and Virgil's famous helmsman scenes emphasizing Tiphys' greater importance in comparison to his role in the Apollonian *Argonautica*. This intertextual reference links Tiphys' speech and his reliance on divine direction closer to the Lemnian episode.

heroic deeds (VF. 2.380b-1a *me tecum solus in aequor / rerum traxit amor*). He stayed with Jason as long as he could still hope for glorious assignments (VF. 2.381 *dum spes*). Like Polyxo, Hercules thus underlines how crucial time is and how short-lived their opportunity to improve their situation when he announces his intention to continue their mission with Telamon alone, should Jason decide to stay on Lemnos any longer (VF. 2.381b-4a).

The arrival of the Argonauts at Lemnos and Polyxo's speech are thus framed by two speeches with similar messages by speakers of authority. Like Polyxo, Tiphys and Hercules receive universal approval for their persuasive speeches and lead the collective and their official leader through hardship. Their individual authority stems from their professional experience, but both heroes are ultimately successful because their arguments comply with Jupiter's world plan.

Polyxo elaborates her promise of a better fate for Lemnos as a result of a more lenient divine disposition towards the island (VF. 2.323 *levior Lemno deus*)⁶⁸⁹ when she claims that Venus herself willingly grants them the opportunity to save themselves by uniting with the Argonauts (VF. 2.324 *Venus ipsa volens dat tempore iungi*) to repopulate the island.⁶⁹⁰ Polyxo proves her superior knowledge by correctly identifying the foreigners as *Minyas* (VF. 2.324), and Venus' subsequent diffusion of the situation by either removing, disguising, or belittling the traces of the women's cruelty so as not to disconcert the Argonauts (VF. 2.327f. *nec ... sceleris ... recentis / signa movent ... timorem*) seems to verify the priestess' argument.⁶⁹¹

It is striking that while maintaining appearances is the main concern for Apollonius' Hypsipyle (ARh. 1.657-66 and ARh. 1.793-833) and the reason why she lies about the circumstances that have led to the extinction of the Lemnian men, this aspect is entirely ignored by Polyxo. Moreover, unlike Apollonius' Polyxo who is primarily concerned for the Lemnian women's safety (ARh. 1.677-80) and long-term livelihood (ARh. 1.683-8 and ARh. 1.693-6), Valerius' Polyxo focuses on a sexual union – an aspect of course implied by the union of lives, homes, and properties in Apollonius' Lemnian episode too, but not directly addressed by the virgin nurse, who avoids any mention of intercourse and marital unions. In other words, Apollonius' Polyxo seems to be appealing to the women's practical sense, while

⁶⁸⁹ Cf. Adamietz (1976) 35. For a discussion of the *mss.* variations, Ehlers' *lacuna*, and Summers' conjecture *fatis* in VF. 2.322, see Poortvliet (1991b) 186 with further references.

⁶⁹⁰ The medio-passive *iungi* is commonly used for sexual encounters in Ovid, cf. Poortvliet (1991b) 187. On the *mss.* discussion (*tempora* or *tempore*), see also Strand (1972) 82f. and Poortvliet (1991b) *ad loc.*

⁶⁹¹ Valerius' Polyxo does not mention Vulcan's role in soothing Venus' hatred (VF. 2.315), most likely because this differentiation would have been repetitive and counterproductive to her intention to encourage the frightened women. Cf. Poortvliet (1991b) 188f. and Groß (2003) 142.

the Valerian priestess focuses on a divinely approved appeal to the Lemnian women's emotional desire for marital unions.⁶⁹² Both speakers use the time limitations to their fertility and to the brief opportunity presented by the Argonauts' arrival as their main argument (ARh. 1.695 ἐπήβολός ἐστ' ἄλωρή, ARh. 1.681-5, ARh. 1.694-6, and VF. 2.324f. *dat tempore iungi / dum vires utero maternaque sufficit aetas*) and thus effectively point to the same measures to ensure their future well-being.⁶⁹³

The concluding speech formula and the crowd's approving reaction to Polyxo's speech are combined and succinctly summarised by Valerius' narrator in two words: *dicta placent* (VF. 2.326). The expression is polysemic. On the one hand *placere* is commonly used for the approval of proposals and especially for the acceptance of oracles;⁶⁹⁴ on the other hand, the word choice could also stress how pleasing Polyxo's suggestion and, by extension, the Argonauts' dalliance is to the Lemnian women. The phrasing itself seems to be a shortened and mildly modified translation of Apollonius' closing formula to Polyxo's speech: ARh. 1.697f. ὧς ἔφατ': ἐν δ' ἀγορῇ πλῆτο θρόου. εὔαδε γάρ σφιν / μῦθος. Whereas in Apollonius' version the Lemnian women simply follow the advice of their oldest and wisest counsellor and independently arrive at their decision (ARh. 1.850b-2), the prominent and continuous divine intervention in Valerius' episode leaves no doubt that Venus manipulates the Lemnian women into delaying the Argonauts on Lemnos as part of Jupiter's world plan.⁶⁹⁵

Hypsipyle's submission to Polyxo and the collective approval mirror Jason's and the Argonauts' reaction to Hercules' criticism shortly afterwards (VF. 2.378-84a). Polyxo's speech is the reason for the Argonauts' stay on Lemnos; Hercules' counter-speech is the reason for their departure.⁶⁹⁶ While Apollonius' antithesis between the old nurse Polyxo and the young new queen Hypsipyle, and the experienced warrior Herakles and the inexperienced leader Jason, highlights the generation conflict discussed in this episode, in Valerius' Lemnian episode Polyxo and Hercules act as divine mouthpieces and, despite their pulling the Argonauts in opposite directions, it becomes clear that both interfere with and manipulate the Argonauts' voyage in compliance with Jupiter's world plan.⁶⁹⁷

⁶⁹² Cf. Groß (2003) 143 n.453.

⁶⁹³ Cf. Poortvliet (1991b) 182 and Groß (2003) 144.

⁶⁹⁴ Cf. Happle (1957) 42.

⁶⁹⁵ Apollonius' Venus only interferes after the Lemnian women have already reached their decision (ARh. 1.614f. and ARh. 1.802f.).

⁶⁹⁶ Just like in Apollonius' epic (ARh. 1.865-74), her speech is contrasted to that of Hercules, who, however, does not address the Argonauts collectively, but specifically criticizes Jason's leadership qualities.

⁶⁹⁷ Cf. Manuwald (1999) 179f. and Groß (2003) 141. See also Bahrenfuss (1951) 131, Hurst (1967) 60, Shelton (1971) 90-4, La Penna (1981) 248-50, Harper Smith (1987) 45f., and Poortvliet (1991b) 68f.

EXCURSUS: POLYXO'S SPEECH IN STATIUS' *THEBAID*

In Statius' *Thebaid*, Polyxo's speech is part of the Lemnos digression in Book 5 of the epic.⁶⁹⁸ The narrator does not directly report her speech, but it is embedded together with four other inserted speeches in the longest first person narrative of the *Thebaid* (Theb. 5.49-498).⁶⁹⁹

When the Argives reach Nemea, Hypsipyle, once queen of Lemnos and now a nurse and a slave of prince Opheltes, is asked by Adrastus to inform them of the Lemnian mariticide and its aftermath (Theb. 5.20-7). After initial hesitation Hypsipyle briefly sums up her own fate (Theb. 5.29b-47) and finally reports the events on Lemnos. In her speech Polyxo appears much earlier and in a different context and function than she does in Apollonius' and Valerius' *Argonautica*. Hypsipyle reports how the old, well-respected Lemnian wife and mother Polyxo suddenly falls into a state of frenzy (Theb. 5.90-2a *cum subito horrendas aevi matura Polyxo / tollitur in furias thalamisque insueta relictis / evolat*) and Bacchic trance (Theb. 5.92b-8a)⁷⁰⁰ and calls the Lemnian women to an assembly in Pallas' citadel (Theb. 5.95-102a) where she draws her sword and forcefully demands silence (Theb. 5.164-9). Polyxo is, however, not involved in the discussion, nor does she play a leading role in the same way Apollonius' and Valerius' Hypsipyle do.

The dramatic speech introduction of Polyxo as a wrathful armed fury and the ominous mention of her children (Theb. 5.98f. *infelix comitatus eunti / haerebant nati*) leave no doubt as to her destructive intentions (Theb. 5.103 *hortatrix scelerum*).⁷⁰¹ Unlike Apollonius' very demure portrayal of Polyxo as an elderly nurse who entirely shuns the mention of sexual desire, intercourse, or reproduction, and Valerius' priestess who more directly, but abstractly and in decent terms, addresses the importance of childbearing to save their community, Statius' Polyxo openly and at great length voices her sexual frustration and unhappiness about the abstinence and barrenness forced upon the Lemnian women through the absence of their men (Theb. 5.104-17a).⁷⁰²

Her role and behaviour is very similar to that of Valerius' goddesses Venus and Fama, who in the guise of the Lemnian wives Neaera and Dryope (VF. 2.107-241), poison the Lemnian women against their men. Like them (VF. 2.142b-60a), Polyxo insinuates that the Lemnian men have been unfaithful

⁶⁹⁸ Cf. Vessey (1970) 44-54 and Vessey (1973) 171-9.

⁶⁹⁹ Hypsipyle directly reports five different speeches: Polyxo's two successive speech acts (VF. 5.104-29a and VF. 5.132b-42), an individual speech each by Hypsipyle herself (VF. 5.245b-7a) and Bacchus (VF. 5.271b-84a) as well as the collective speech of the Lemnian women (VF. 5.491f.).

⁷⁰⁰ Cf. Vessey (1973) 175.

⁷⁰¹ See also Augoustakis (2010) 58 on frenzied women in Roman epic.

⁷⁰² Cf. Vessey (1973) 180: "her words seethe with sensuality".

to their wives (Theb. 5.142 *Bistonides veniunt fortasse maritae*), she infects the Lemnian women with her cruel passion (Theb. 5.148 *furor omnibus idem*), and finally urges the allegedly betrayed women to take revenge on their men.⁷⁰³ She uses the example of Danaus and his daughters to encourage the Lemnians to dare the horrific deed (Theb. 5.117b-20a) and the geographically even closer example of Procne, wife of the Thracian king Tereus (Theb. 5.121 *Rhodopeia coniunx*), and her ruthless, cannibalistic infanticide (Theb. 5.121f.) as punishment of her husband's raping and mutilating her sister Philomela to incite the Lemnian women even more.⁷⁰⁴

Presenting herself as an example of courage at the end of her speech, Polyxo points at her children (Theb. 5.124 *en cernite*) and vows to kill her four sons (Theb. 5.123-8a), the pride of their father (Theb. 5.125 *decus et solacia patris*), before murdering her husband Charopeus in revenge for his adultery (Theb. 5.128b). While she is thus exhorting the women, the Lemnian fleet suddenly appears in the distance, just as the Argonauts' arrival forms the basis for the Lemnian *concilium* in both Apollonius and Valerius. Statius highlights this parallel through one of the longest stage direction in Roman epic: Theb. 5.129b-32a.⁷⁰⁵

agebat
pluribus; adverso nituerunt vela profundo:
Lemnia classis erat. rapuit gavisia Polyxo
fortunam atque iterat.

Hypsipyle reports how Polyxo pauses in her speech and eagerly takes the men's arrival as an opportunity to support her argument. Continuing with her speech, Polyxo declares the timely arrival to be a sign of divine approval of her suggestions (Theb. 5.132b-42).⁷⁰⁶ The reference to the Lemnian fleet contains quite a few allusions to Valerius' version. Just as Valerius' Polyxo points at the arriving fleet and emphatically tries to convince the women that this is proof of a divinely-ordained arrival of the approaching, strong men (VF. 2.322f. *<fatis> haec, credite, puppis / advenit; Theb. 5.141b-2 en ualidis spumant euersa lacertis / aequora Bistonides ueniunt fortasse maritae*), Statius' Polyxo is similarly direct and forceful when addressing the Lemnian women (Theb. 5.139f. *dixit, et hoc ferrum*

⁷⁰³ Cf. Vessey (1973) 172f. and Poortvliet (1991b) 182.

⁷⁰⁴ Sears (2013) 144 calls Tereus a "Thracian character of stereotypical brutality". Statius here indirectly alludes to the tradition in which Polyxo is the mother of Danaus whose daughters murder their husbands (Apollod. 2.1.5.)

⁷⁰⁵ Cf. Lipscombe (1909) 116.

⁷⁰⁶ See also Vessey (1973) 175.

stratis, hoc, credite, ferrum / imposuit) and she is eager to point out that it is high time to act (Theb.

5.140 *dum tempus agi rem*) and that the gods approve of their actions: Theb. 5.132b-4a:

*superisne vocantibus ultro
desumus? ecce rates! deus hos, deus ultor in iras
apportat coeptisque favet.*

Polyxo moreover claims to have had a dream vision of Venus (Theb. 5.134b-6)⁷⁰⁷ and even reports the alleged speech in *oratio recta*.⁷⁰⁸ In this embedded speech Venus promises the Lemnian women better unions (Theb. 5.138 *meliora ... foedera*), should they be prepared to murder their husbands (Theb. 5.136b-8),⁷⁰⁹ and then leaves a sword for Polyxo to begin the women's murderous task (Theb. 5.139-40a).

The invented epiphany stirs up hope among the fellow Lemnian women (Theb. 5.139-42). Just like Polyxo in both Apollonius' and Valerius' *Argonautica*, Statius' Polyxo insists that the female collective needs to act while they still can and seize the opportunity, in this case the chance to take revenge on their cheating husbands (Theb. 5.140b-1a) and the Thracian concubines (Theb. 5.142b). Polyxo's speech is reported directly because it is the decisive stimulus that incites the Lemnian women to murder their husbands and male offspring. It thus marks the key moment that leads to the outbreak of chaos and frenzy (Theb. 5.143f. *hinc stimuli ingentes, magnusque advoluitur astris / clamor* and Theb. 5.144 *tumultu*). Just like in Valerius' and Apollonius' epics, there is a combination and cooperation of Polyxo's persuasive powers and Venus' divine strength in the *Thebaid* when Polyxo gives both divine (Theb. 5.157b-8 *sed fallit ubique / mixta Venus, Venus arma tenet, Venus admovet iras*) and human proof (Theb. 5.159b-63) to a receptive audience (Theb. 5.57f. *dis visum turbare domos, nec pectora culpa / nostra vacant*) stirred on by Venus.⁷¹⁰

In sum, despite the very different accounts of the Lemnian massacre in Apollonius, Valerius, and Statius, Polyxo occurs in all three versions; however, with strikingly different roles and functions.

⁷⁰⁷ Cf. Vessey (1973) 181: "it is obvious that Venus, whom Polyxo claims to have seen in a dream is nothing other than a personification of her own frustrated lusts".

⁷⁰⁸ This is the epic's only reported speech in a reported speech (L3 narration). Besides Ovid's *Metamorphoses* where quaternary narration-focalization is a common device, there is only one more occurrence of reported speech within an inserted speech in a direct character speech in Roman epic, in Virgil's long Aeneas narrative (Aen. 2.116-9a).

⁷⁰⁹ Cf. Theb. 5.136b-8 *'quid perditis aevum?' / inquit, 'age aversis thalamos purgate maritis. / ipsa faces alias melioraque foedera iungam.'* and VF. 2.324b-5 *Venus ipsa volens dat tempore iungi, / dum vires utero maternaque sufficit aetas.*

⁷¹⁰ Cf. Poorvliet (1991) 69 and Vessey (1973) 174: "Lemnos ... is to become the victim of divine anger and human madness".

There are three main similarities and also verbal echoes that link the three accounts: a) Polyxo justifies her proposal to the Lemnian women with divine authority and she presents herself as mouthpiece of divine will, b) Venus supports Polyxo in her endeavour, and c) Polyxo successfully persuades the Lemnian women that the sudden arrival of a ship at the horizon is a sign of divine approval and thus manages to sway their opinion.

While both Apollonius' old nurse and Valerius' priestess manage to calm down the already existing chaos and tumult and prevent them from fighting the Argonauts, Statius entirely transforms Polyxo into a cunning tool of Venus' and Fama's intrigue in the *Thebaid* and makes her the instigator of the Lemnian massacre. The comparison of these Polyxo characters highlights that while in Apollonius' epic the Lemnian women act independently and unanimously follow the suggestion of their oldest and wisest community member, in both Valerius and Statius Polyxo acts at Venus' direction to opposite ends. In the *Thebaid* she brings destruction upon the Lemnian men and in the Valerian *Argonautica* she rescues the Lemnian women through the bond with the Argonauts in compliance with Jupiter's world plan.

Iphinoe as Messenger (VF. 2.326-8)

Valerius drastically compresses the messenger scenes of the Lemnian episode. He completely omits Apollonius' first herald scene with Aethalides in favour of greater suspense due to the yet unknown identity of the armed strangers who arrive from the sea. Valerius keeps the second messenger scene with the striking *verbatim* repetition, but drastically reduces it to a brief summary. This compression is not surprising, as the Flavian epicists generally tend to avoid repetitions in messenger scenes, so that only the message instruction or its delivery is portrayed. The complete omission of the *oratio recta* is, however, rare. It could be explained by an attempt entirely to focus the reader's attention on Polyxo's words and her revelation that the Argonauts' arrival and stay at Lemnos is divinely ordained. This focus would also account for the exclusion of the council's dismissal, the instruction of the messenger Iphinoe, and, by extension, also another mention of the potential instructor – the Lemnian queen Hypsipyle.⁷¹¹

⁷¹¹ Note the sudden change of the subject at VF. 2.325f. By giving the herald a name (Iphinoe) and emphatically placing her in front position, Valerius is here of course deliberately signposting to Iphinoe's role in Apollonius'

Why Iphinoe is mentioned at all at this point in Valerius' account and not simply excluded from the narration as in Statius' *Thebaid*, especially in view of Hypsipyle's subsequent role as Jason's tour guide (see discussion below), which makes Apollonius' herald and guide expendable, becomes evident if we compare the Lemnian council to Medea's counselling by her old nurse prior to her first meeting with Jason in Book 5 of the Flavian *Argonautica* and the role of the anonymous female servant in that scene.

Immediately after Polyxo's speech Iphinoe is sent to the Argonauts to inform them of the Lemnian women's decision. The striking phrasing of the message delivery (VF. 2.325f. *portatque preces ad litora Graias / Iphinoe*)⁷¹² underlines the Lemnian women's dire need of the Argonauts' help (VF. 2.325 *preces*) to re-establish the male community on Lemnos.⁷¹³ The women's actions make Polyxo's prophecy that the Argonauts are their saviours come true and therefore render her prediction into a self-fulfilling prophecy.⁷¹⁴

The fact that Iphinoe is previously mentioned among other Lemnian women, to whom Fama spreads the news of the Lemnian men's cheating (VF. 2.162f. *transit ad Iphinoen isdemque Amythaonis implet / Oleniique domum furiis*), and Apollonius' account, in which Iphinoe seems to be addressed and entrusted with the message delivery simply because she happens to stand nearby (ARh. 1.702 ἦ ῥα, καὶ Ἰφινόην μετεφώνεεν ἄσσον ἐοῦσαν), suggests that she is chosen from the female crowd in the assembly for the same reason. This impression is further corroborated by the description of her counterpart, the anonymous maid in Book 5, who is also stated to have been chosen by Medea because she happens to stand close to her (VF. 5.395 *hac adeo duce ferte gradus*).

Unlike in Apollonius' version, Iphinoe's role in the Valerian *Argonautica* is restricted to the delivery of the message. The Lemnian does not reappear in the epic afterwards. The conclusion of the speech focuses on the Argonauts' reaction towards her speech. They accept the queen's invitation (VF. 2.326 *a dicta placent*) and Venus takes away the terror from the Lemnian women's horrific crime

Lemnian episode. Building on the reader's knowledge of the Apollonian context, Valerius is able to keep his own messenger scene extremely short.

⁷¹² The threefold alliteration *placent portatque preces* (VF. 2.325) draws attention to the rare and remarkable use of *portare* in this context. Cf. Aen. 9.312 *multa patri mandata dabat portanda* and Met. 2.743f. *qui iussa per auras / verba patris porto*. See also Aen. 1.633f. (Dido's reception of Aeneas) *sociis ad litora mittit / viginti tauros*. Cf. Poortvliet (1991b) 188 for further references.

⁷¹³ The initial discussion in both Apollonius and Valerius is about how to receive the Argonauts and whether or not to grant them permission to stay in the Lemnian harbour and to enter the city (cf. ARh. 1.640-52, ARh. 1.657-66, and ARh. 1.675f., and Polyxo's speech opening at VF. 2.322 *portum demus*).

⁷¹⁴ Cf. Manuwald (2009) 587. One could consider this as a double role reversal from the Argonauts as suppliants and of course an inversion of the situation in Book 5 of the *Argonautica* where Jason approaches Medea as suppliant (VF. 5.387 *precor*).

(VF. 2.327b-8 *nec turba nocens scelerisque recentis / signa movent tollitque loci Cytherea timorem*).⁷¹⁵ Venus' intervention explains why the Argonauts are not horrified by the Lemnians' recent murders and why, unlike in Apollonius' Lemnian episode where Hypsipyle in a long welcome speech to Jason (ARh. 1.793-841) desperately tries to cover up the bloodbath and lies about the reason for the absence of the Lemnian men, so as not to ruin their good reputation forever,⁷¹⁶ Valerius not only leaves out the queen's deceptive speech, but also compresses the events and very swiftly moves along in the narration. He almost entirely omits Jason's march to the Lemnian palace with the famous detailed ekphrasis of Jason's cloak (ARh. 1.721-67) and the star simile (ARh. 1.774-81) as well as Jason's return to his men to report Hypsipyle's generous offer of rulership and her invitation for the Argonauts to stay on Lemnos (ARh. 1.842-56).⁷¹⁷

Valerius' version of events has given rise to a discussion of the primary text as a result of its incoherence and abrupt subject changes. After Venus has removed the signs of the Lemnian massacre, her altars are worshipped again for the first time – a detail that forms a frame around the narrative of the Lemnian carnage:⁷¹⁸ VF. 2.329-31:

*Protinus ingentem procerum sub nomine taurum
deicit, insuetis et iam pia munera templis
reddit et hac prima Veneris calet ara iuvenca*

The text presented in the *mss.* is ambivalent, as it is unclear who is conducting the sacrifice immediately after Venus' intervention. The last-mentioned subject is Venus herself (VF. 2.328 *Cytherea*) who, against Köstlin's conviction (1889, 657), has widely been rejected as highly implausible agent. Whereas earlier editions of the *Argonautica* have suggested a *lacuna* between VF. 2.328 and VF. 2.329 (Thilo, Bährens, Langen, Giarratano, Kramer, and Mozley), Courtney (1970) and Ehlers (1980) follow Pierson's conjecture (Veris. libr. 2.6.201) *dux* instead of *sub* in ω.⁷¹⁹ Given the Virgilian and Apollonian model, there can be no doubt that Hypsipyle conducts the sacrifice (VF. 2.329f.) and re-

⁷¹⁵ Ehlers' edition (1980) has *loco* here, which is a misprint. On the discussion whether Venus simply takes away the Argonauts' fear or if she indeed removes the actual traces of the bloodbath, cf. Poortvliet (1991b) 188f.

⁷¹⁶ Cf. Happle (1957) 52. Statius offers a third approach in the *Thebaid* with the Lemnian women openly confessing their guilt to the Argonauts: Theb. 5.452 *nec superum sine mente, reor, placuere fatentes*.

⁷¹⁷ Cf. Poortvliet (1991b) 189f.

⁷¹⁸ Cf. VF. 2.98f. *Veneris stat frigida semper / ara loco*. See also ARh. 1.857-60 *αὐτίκα δ' ἄστῳ χοροῖσι καὶ εἰλαπίνῃσι γεγῆθει / καπνῶ κνισήεντι περίπλεον: ἔξοχα δ' ἄλλων / ἀθανάτων Ἥρης υἱά κλυτὸν ἠδὲ καὶ αὐτὴν / Κύπριν αἰοδῆσιν θυέεσσι τε μειλίσσοντο*, Aen. 6.32b-46a, and Theb. 5.449f. *tunc primus in aris / ignis*. On the vocabulary employed in the sacrificial context, see Poortvliet (1991b) 190.

⁷¹⁹ For a detailed discussion of the text, see Poortvliet (1991b) 189f. and Dräger (2003) 387; for a more comprehensive evaluation of the *Argonautica's mss.* tradition, see Hurka (2003).

establishes Venus' cult, even though the queen is only introduced by her title in line 2.334.⁷²⁰ Despite the parallel in Book 5 of the *Argonautica*, in which Medea is also referred to as *dux* and *regina* in close proximity (see discussion below), Pierson's emendation does not seem as convincing as the assumption of Schenkl (1873) that the incoherence of the passage at hand is due to it being only a first draft.⁷²¹ Schenkl's hypothesis would also explain the abrupt change of perspective and scenery from line 2.331 to 2.332 when all of a sudden the readers find themselves in the middle of a tour of the island lead by Hypsipyle herself and not, as in Apollonius, by her messenger Iphinoe (ARh. 1.709f. ὤς δὲ καὶ Ἰφινόη Μινύας ἵκεθ': οἱ δ' ἐρέεινον, / χρεῖος ὅ τι φρονέουσα μετήλυθεν.).

This tour of the island is a Valerian invention,⁷²² which, despite the omission of the famous mantle ekphrasis, ensures that Valerius' Lemnian episode just like that of Apollonius' *Argonautica* ends with the combination of a march through the island, an ekphrasis, and an audience with the queen.⁷²³ Valerius thus reduces Iphinoe's Apollonian double role as messenger and guide to one, that of the Lemnian women's herald, and re-allocates the role of the Lemnian guide and local expert to Queen Hypsipyle herself.⁷²⁴

Hypsipyle as Guide and *Sacerdos* (VF. 2.329-69a)

The impersonal *ventum erat* (VF. 2.332) introduces a break in the guided tour. The company consisting of Hypsipyle and the Argonauts⁷²⁵ comes to a halt near the cliff at Vulcan's forge.⁷²⁶ The black smoke and hot vapour that arise from the grotto and the general phrasing of the passage are modelled on two Virgilian passages, Virgil's own description of Vulcan's forge on the island of Hiera: Aen. 8.416-22:⁷²⁷

⁷²⁰ Cf. Poortvliet (1991b) 189: "Jason is surely not the right person to make sacrifices ... let alone to restore the worship of Venus". The Virgilian model supports this view: Aen. 1.631b-2 (Dido) *simul Aenean in regia ducit / tecta, simul divum templis indicit honorem*. See also Aen. 4.57-64 and ARh. 1.857-60.

⁷²¹ Cf. Poortvliet (1991b) 189f. and Poortvliet (1991a) 35-43.

⁷²² See also Poortvliet (1991b) 189 and Dräger (2003) 387. The Valerian account is modelled on two Virgilian episodes: Dido's tour of Carthage (Aen. 4.74-6) and Evander's local tour for Aeneas (Aen. 8.306-68).

⁷²³ The banquet is also a Valerian invention, cf. Bettenworth (2004) 35 n.67 and 541.

⁷²⁴ Valerius also omits the second messenger scene in which Jason after accepting Hypsipyle' official invitation, a repetitive and thus expandable element after the first invitation by Iphinoe, reports the queen's words to his men. The pairing of two female attendants of different importance already occurs in the *Odyssey*. On Eurykleia's and Eurynome's roles, cf. Karydas (1998) 50-2.

⁷²⁵ Cf. Poortvliet (1991b) 191 and Wijsman (1996) 197.

⁷²⁶ Cf. Poortvliet (1991b) 191 on the geographical details.

⁷²⁷ See Poortvliet (1991b) 191 for a more detailed discussion.

*insula Sicanium iuxta latus Aeoliamque
erigitur Liparen **fumantibus** ardua **saxis**,
quam subter specus et Cyclopum exesa caminis
antra Aetnaea tonant, ualidique incudibus ictus
auditi referunt gemitus, striduntque cauernis 420
stricturae Chalybum et **fornacibus ignis anhelat**,
Volcani domus et Volcania nomine tellus.*

as well as the Sibyl's guided tour for Aeneas to the Cumaean Cave: Aen. 6.42-6a:

*Excisum Euboicae latus **ingens rupis in antrum**,
quo lati ducunt aditus centum, ostia centum,
unde ruunt totidem uoces, responsa Sibyllae.
uentum erat ad limen, cum uirgo 'poscere fata 45
tempus' **ait**; 'deus ecce deus!'*

By opting for an ekphrasis which highlights the Lemnians' special relationship to Vulcan instead of simply delivering a description of the palace, as is common in banquet scenes,⁷²⁸ Valerius establishes a connection to the beginning of the episode and the discussion of Vulcan's worship on Lemnos. On the other hand, Valerius turns the Lemnian queen into another Sibyl and, after the very concise necromantic episode at the end of Book 1, thus creates another opportunity to include the popular underworld motif absent from Apollonius' *Argonautica*.

Like Virgil's Deiphobe, who returns to Aeneas together with his messenger Achates and immediately proceeds to request a sacrifice (Aen. 6.33b-41), the Lemnian queen Hypsipyle asks Jason when he has come to a stop (VF. 2.334a *substitit Aesonides*) to offer a *supplicatio* at Vulcan's forge (VF. 2.334b-5a *atque hic regina precari / hortatur causasque docens*). She too describes and explains the forge to the hero, thereby conveying her local, native knowledge and justifying her request for a sacrifice.⁷²⁹ This is Hypsipyle's first speech to Jason (VF. 2.335b-9) and, as is typical of Valerian ekphrastic speeches delivered by non-Greek speakers, one of her shortest speeches (4 1/3 verses).⁷³⁰

As already mentioned, the speech context and especially the noteworthy impersonal expression *uentum erat* (VF. 2.332) is echoed in Medea's first meeting with Jason when the Colchian princess instructs one of her female attendants to guide Jason to Aeetes' palace. While Medea herself continues on her way to conduct her own cleansing sacrifice, the anonymous servant swiftly leads Jason to

⁷²⁸ Cf. Bettenworth (2004) 541.

⁷²⁹ Cf. Aen. 6.51f. '*cessas in vota precesque, / Tros' ait 'Aenea? cessas?'*'. See also Jason's request to Medea in VF. 5.385-8 *sed fer opem, regina, uiris! nos hospita pubes / aduehimur, Graium proceres tua tecta petentes. / duc, precor, ad vestri quicumque est ora tyranni, / ac tu prima doce fandi tempusque modumque.*

⁷³⁰ Cf. especially Cyzicus' ekphrastic speech at VF. 2.656b-8 (2 2/3 verses) and the speech of the Colchian *Famula* at VF. 5.403b-6 (3 1/2 verses). On Hypsipyle's seven speech acts in Valerius' *Argonautica*, cf. Appendix 4.8.2.

Aeetes' palace and upon the group's arrival describes the palace, its religious heritage, and Aeetes' common juridical rites in a brief ekphrastic speech, which introduces Aeetes' audience and the subsequent banquet scene: VF. 5.399-407a:

<i>Ille autem inceptum famula duce protinus urget</i>	
<i>aere saeptus iter, patitur nec regia cerni</i>	400
<i>Iuno virum, prior Aeetae ne nuntius adsit.</i>	
<i>iamque inerat populo mediaeque incognitus urbi</i>	
<i>cum comes orsa loqui: 'Phoebi genitoris ad aras</i>	
<i>ventum. ait 'huc adytis iam se de more paternis</i>	
<i>rex feret, hic proceres⁷³¹ audit populosque precantes</i>	405
<i>adloquiis facilis: praesens pater admonet aequi.'</i>	
<i>Dixerat. ast illi propere monstrata capessunt</i>	426
<i>limina.</i>	

Hypsipyle's speech, just like that of the Colchian servant and the majority of descriptive speeches in Valerius' *Argonautica*, starts within the verse and is interrupted in the following line by a neutral, single verb of speech (VF. 2.336 *ait*). The introductory formula consists of as many as two finite *verba dicendi* (VF. 2.335 *hortatur* and VF. 2.336 *ait*) linked by a connector (VF. 2.335 *-que*) and a present participle (VF. 2.335 *docens*). This combination of *verba dicendi* is reflected in the speech, which contains exhortative, descriptive, instructive, and prophetic elements. Having informed the Argonauts that it is nobody else's but Vulcan's forge and home they see before them (descriptive: VF. 2.335b-6a '*haec antra videtis / Vulcanique*' *ait* '*ecce domos*'),⁷³² Hypsipyle then proceeds to request the due supplication in worship of the island's god from Jason (exhortative: VF. 2.336b *date vina precesque*).⁷³³ She justifies her request by elaborating that a lightning bolt for Jupiter may be finished and lying in that very grotto, as they speak (informative: VF. 2.337 *forsitan hoc factum taceat iam fulmen in antro*).⁷³⁴ For this Hypsipyle promises Jason proof during the following night (prognostic: VF. 2.338a *nox dabit ipsa fidem*) when he will be in awe of the flames frizzling in the furnace (VF. 2.338b *clausae cum murmura flammae*) and the sound of the metal mass being hammered into form (VF. 2.339b

⁷³¹ Note the Argonauts, as in Hypsipyle's speech (cf. also Poorvliet, 1991b, 190 and Dräger, 2003, 387), but with reference to the Colchian population.

⁷³² The dedicee Vulcan is emphasized by the apposition and ἀπὸ κοινοῦ construction *haec antra videtis ... ecce domos* (VF. 2.335b-6a), the front position, and the spondaic first foot. Cf. Poortvliet (1991b) 192: "look, here you see Vulcan's cave, his home". On *Vulcani ... domos* (VF. 2.336), cf. Aen. 8.422 *Volcani domus*. See also Bettenworth (2004) 466.

⁷³³ Cf. the similar line conclusion to the Sibyl's speech in the *Aeneid* (Aen. 6.51f. '*cessas in vota precesque, / Tros' ait 'Aenea? cessas?*') as well Evander's request to his guests (Aen. 8.275 *communemque vocate deum et date vina volentes*).

⁷³⁴ Note the sound play with *f*-, *c*-, and *-t* assonances and the echo of *haec antra* (VF. 2.335) in *hoc ... in antro* (VF. 2.337). On the word order, cf. Poorvliet (1991b) 192: "*forsitan fulmen iam fecit, quod nunc in hoc antro tacet*".

et incussae sonitum mirabere massae).⁷³⁵ Hypsipyle's play with light (VF. 2.338 *flammae*) and darkness (VF. 2.338 *nox*) as well as with the corresponding concepts of silence (VF. 2.337 *taceat*)⁷³⁶ and noise (VF. 2.338 *murmura* and VF. 2.339 *sonitum*)⁷³⁷ – impressions that figuratively surround the astounded guest (VF. 2.339 *hospes*)⁷³⁸ – creates a mysterious, intense, and awe-inspiring atmosphere (VF. 2.339 *mirabere*) suitable for the god's cave.⁷³⁹

Hypsipyle changes the subject as well as the addressee of her speech from a second person plural directed at the Argonauts to what is presumably not a collective singular,⁷⁴⁰ but a more personal appeal to Jason.⁷⁴¹ The apostrophe of Jason as *hospes* (VF. 2.339) on the one hand establishes a connection to Dido's reception of Aeneas (Aen. 1.753 *hospes*), on the other hand it supports the understanding of the compressed reception scene indicating that Jason has meanwhile been received and welcomed as a guest in an audience with the Lemnian queen.⁷⁴²

The speech is not concluded by a speech formula, but it is continued as an indirect speech, which summarizes how Hypsipyle proudly (VF. 2.341 *iactat*)⁷⁴³ shows Jason the city walls, the stronghold of the Lemnian island, and the wealth of her ancestors (VF. 2.340f. *moenia tum viresque loci veteresque parentum / iactat opes*).⁷⁴⁴ This mood and depiction is of course in great contrast to the *loci ... timorem* (VF. 2.328) of the Lemnian massacre as well as to the shame the very defensive Apollonian Hypsipyle feels when hiding these crimes from Jason in her first speech (ARh. 1.793-833). Valerius' queen, by contrast, is much more forthcoming, pious, and confident.

⁷³⁵ The use of *incussae* (VF. 2.339), the perfect participle of *incutere*, in the sense of *percutere* is most likely a word play on *incus*. On the different working steps, cf. Aen. 8.443b-53 and Aen. 8.421 *fornacibus ignis anhelat*. For further references, see Poortvliet (1991b) 193.

⁷³⁶ Vulcan rests during the day, but at night Jason will be able to observe the forge work in full swing. Cf. Poortvliet (1991b) 192f. with further references. For the importance of *taceat* (VF. 2.337) for the atmosphere of this scene, see Poortvliet (1991b) 192: "the notion 'silence' is indispensable". The personification of objects (such as VF. 2.337 *fulmen* and VF. 2.338 *nox*) and the frequent change of the subject in this scene are typical of Valerius' ekphrastic speeches.

⁷³⁷ The play with assonances (*f*-, *c*-, *t*-, and *s*- assonances, see above) and paronomasia (VF. 2.338f. *clausae ... / ... incussae*) in this passage is striking. Poortvliet (1991b) 193 even calls the parallel construction and rhyming lines 2.338f. a "jingle". Valerius' careful speech composition is also evident in the postposition of the temporal conjunction *cum* (VF. 2.338).

⁷³⁸ Note the emphatic front position of both *Vulcani* (VF. 2.336) and *hospes* (VF. 2.339).

⁷³⁹ Cf. the only other occurrence of *forsitan* in the Flavian *Argonautica* during Phineus' prophecy (VF. 4.553b-624a) to Jason at VF. 4.567f. *di tibi progresso propius, di forsitan ipsi / auxilium mentemque dabunt*.

⁷⁴⁰ Cf. the vocative *hospes* and the syncopated finite verb *mirabere* in VF. 2.339.

⁷⁴¹ See also Jason's introduction of their small embassy to Medea (VF. 5.385f. *nos hospita pubes / advehimur, Graium proceres tua tecta petentes*) and a similar change in Medea's first speech to Jason from *quem petis* (VF. 5.393) – *si ... possis* (VF. 5.394) is rather a generalizing subjunctive present – to the plural *ferre gradus* (VF. 5.395).

⁷⁴² Cf. Poortvliet (1991b) 193.

⁷⁴³ Cf. Poortvliet (1991b) 194 with further references.

⁷⁴⁴ For a detailed semantic discussion of the individual elements and further parallels, see Poortvliet (1991b) 193f. who also draws attention to Valerius' refined composition with the continually increasing number of objects in VF. 2.340f.: 1. *moenia*, 2. *vires ... loci*, 3. *veteres ... parentum opes*.

2. THE COLCHIAN COUNCIL SCENE

Medea's first speech in the Valerian *Argonautica* is highly significant, as it not only leads to her first conversation with Jason, but also because it is her first and only conversation in *oratio recta* with a (real) mortal woman, her old nurse Henioche. It is no coincidence that this important first meeting between the epic's two protagonists occurs in the middle of Book 5, shortly after the narrator's renewed invocation of the muses, which serves as a second proem (VF. 5.217-3).⁷⁴⁵

It has widely been recognised that Nausicaa's first meeting and conversation with Odysseus in the *Odyssey* as well as Aeneas' first meeting with his disguised mother Venus (Aen. 1.314-417) and Dido's first meeting with Aeneas (Aen. 1.418-656) in the *Aeneid* serve as models for this scene, especially for its setting and Jason's speech.⁷⁴⁶ Medea's first meeting in Valerius' *Argonautica* moreover shows many structural similarities with Apollonius' depiction of the protagonists' first encounter. As in Apollonius, a scene depicting the divine plotting against Medea precedes the protagonists' first meeting (ARh. 3.1-166; VF. 5.278-96). These scenes both start with a speech of encouragement from Jason who selects a small embassy to explore Colchis in order to appeal to Aeetes in an audience with the Colchian king (ARh. 3.171-93; VF. 5.313b-24). The Argonauts start on a foot march to the palace (ARh. 3.167-209; VF. 5.325-8), receive divine protection in the form of a cloud (ARh. 3.210-4; VF. 5.399-401), and meet Medea for the first time (ARh. 3.248b-53a; VF. 5.325-98) before reaching the Colchian palace and finally meeting Aeetes (ARh. 3.301-439a; VF. 5.465-546a). The embassy of heroes is shown around the palace (ARh. 3.215-48; VF. 5.399-464) and invited to a banquet in their honour at one point of their visit (prior to the audience: ARh. 3.299-300; after the audience: VF. 5.567-617) before the rest of the Argonauts are informed of the king's reaction to their appeal (ARh. 3.472-575; VF. 5.546b-66).

As in Apollonius' episode where Hera detains Medea inside the palace to ensure her meeting with Jason (ARh. 3.250), it is also a female speaker in Valerius' version, Medea's old nurse, who convinces Medea to stay and thus makes the dialogue with Jason possible. Medea's first *oratio recta* in Apollonius' *Argonautica* (ARh. 3.464-70), however, does not occur during her first meeting with the Argonauts (ARh. 3.253a *καὶ σφραγὶς ὡς ἴδεν ἄσσοι, ἀνιάχεν*), but as in Euripides' and Seneca's tragedies, appears in the form of a soliloquy (ARh. 3.464-70) revealing Medea's emotional turmoil.⁷⁴⁷ The first

⁷⁴⁵ Cf. Wijsman (1996) 177.

⁷⁴⁶ See also Wijsman (1996) 182 and Dräger (2003) 462f.

⁷⁴⁷ Neither Euripides' nor Seneca's play contain an account of Jason's and Medea's first meeting because they take up the narrative much later. Medea's first speech in Euripides is a soliloquy contemplating suicide (Eur. Med. 96f.;

conversation between Jason and Medea only occurs much later after Aeetes has assigned the impossible trial to the Argonauts and after the goddesses have already instilled Medea with affection for Jason (ARh. 3.275-98 and ARh. 3.444-7).⁷⁴⁸ Valerius here seems to be combining certain aspects of both Apollonian scenes.⁷⁴⁹

The second meeting between Jason and Medea in Apollonius' version is prearranged by Medea's sister Chalkiope (ARh. 3.740-1a) after Medea has already discussed the Argonauts' and Chalkiope's own sons' hopeless situation with her sister and agreed to aid them with her magic potion (ARh. 3.727-39). Jason is thus already aware of Medea's benevolent intentions (ARh. 3.825-7) and the protagonists can focus on the terms of Medea's help in their dialogue encompassing a total of five speeches.⁷⁵⁰

In addition to Chalkiope, Medea also informs her handmaidens of her intentions and tries to justify her decision to help Jason and her sister's sons in front of them (ARh. 3.795-7a). In this playful interaction with the maidservants, Medea's manipulative and deceptive nature becomes apparent, but also her growing infatuation with Jason.

The Apollonian meeting, just as the protagonists' first meeting in Valerius, is preceded by dream images (ARh. 3.741-69) and takes place outdoors early in the morning (ARh. 3.919-1145). A goddess, a motherly confidante, and an anonymous female servant, play a great part in establishing the meeting in both epics; however, in very different roles. In Apollonius' account, an unnamed maid who finds Medea crying in her chamber (ARh. 3.654b-64a)⁷⁵¹ informs Chalkiope of her sister's sorrows (ARh. 3.667b-8) and thus unites the sisters (ARh. 3.669-73) who at this point have both individually contemplated helping the Argonauts (ARh. 3.636-44 and ARh. 3.902-6), but did not dare to act on their own.

The most important influence is, however, exerted by Hera, most noticeably, when she prevents Medea from committing suicide in her despair (ARh. 3.797b-824) shortly before the arranged meeting.

see also ARh. 3.797b-811a), while Seneca's *Medea* opens with the Colchian's lament and her determination to stir herself on to take revenge by committing deadly crimes (Sen. Med. 1-55).

⁷⁴⁸ Both Ovid's *Medea* episodes in the *Metamorphoses* (Met. 7.1-158) and in the *Heroides* (Ov. epist. 12.29-32) follow Apollonius' version in which Medea at the time of the first conversation with Jason has already fallen for him. Ovid's meetings too take place inside Aeetes' palace after an audience with the king and his assignment.

⁷⁴⁹ Valerius also adopts several elements from Jason's first encounter with Hypsipyle (cf. discussion of Lemnian council scene above).

⁷⁵⁰ Cf. *Medea* (ARh. 3.1026-62, ARh. 3.1069-76, and ARh. 3.1105-17) and *Jason* (ARh. 3.1079-1101 and ARh. 3.1120-30).

⁷⁵¹ Shame holds Medea back from leaving her room three times in Apollonius' scene (ARh. 3.654b-64a), whereas it is Henioche and thus the guardian of her purity (VF. 5.356 *virginei custos grandaeva pudoris*) who encourages her to meet Jason in Valerius' *Argonautica*.

In Valerius' account it is not Hera, but the old nurse Henioche who assures that Medea stays behind to meet the Argonauts. Her influence on Medea is at the same time much more restricted and subtle than that of Medea's sister Chalkiope in Apollonius. Juno's main impact on the meeting lies in her beautification of Jason (VF. 5.363b-5) and unlike the unnamed Apollonian maid, Valerius' anonymous *Famula* is ordered by Medea herself to act as a local guide for the Argonauts (VF. 5.403b-6) and does not serve as an intermediary between the sisters.

To sum up, the protagonists' first conversation occurs much later and is therefore much more complex than Valerius' first conversation. While the importance and huge impact of Valerius' encounter are only implied, Apollonius' second meeting leaves no doubt as to the significance of this highly anticipated meeting. Valerius' combination of Apollonius' first and second meeting with Homeric and Virgilian influences can also be explained as an attempt to adapt Medea's first meeting with Jason as much as possible to Jason's meeting with Hypsipyle in a similar context and book position. Just as Hypsipyle follows Polyxo's advice and sends Iphinoe to the Argonauts, Medea turns to her elderly nurse Henioche when she is terrified by the Argonauts' arrival. She eventually convinces her of the Argonauts' good intentions, so that the princess decides to instruct a female servant to guide the strangers to the palace. Through their speeches both the elderly priestess and the nurse exert great influence over their protégées as a result of their superior knowledge and they indirectly trigger the princesses' loss of virginity, which is in stark contrast to what their respective professions would require.

Valerius Flaccus

Speech Context

Rattled by the disturbing portents of her nightmare (VF. 5.329 *terrata*, VF. 5.332 *horrendas ... noctes*, and VF. 5.341 *his turbata minis*), Medea leaves the palace early the following morning in the company of a group of young Scythian maids in order to cleanse herself in the Phasis from the horrors of the previous night (VF. 5.329-42).⁷⁵² The ominous images of Medea's nightmare and her gloomy future are in great contrast to the sacrificial context and a simile⁷⁵³ (VF. 5.348f. *talis ... / Colchis*) compares the

⁷⁵² On the process of cleansing from nightmares, see Wijsman (1996) 167 with further examples.

⁷⁵³ On the simile, see Fitch (1976) 122, Bessone (1991) 81-7, and Dräger (2003) 462. This image recalls similes from the *Odyssey* (*Od.* 6.102-9) and Apollonius' *Argonautica* (ARh. 3.876-86) that compare Nausicaa to Artemis,

young Colchian princess to Proserpina in beauty, grace (VF. 5.347 *decor*), and innocence (VF. 5.347 *palluit* and VF. 5.348 *in vittis*).⁷⁵⁴ Just as Proserpina's idyllic dance and carefree flower picking⁷⁵⁵ with Diana and Pallas are destroyed from one moment to the other by her kidnapping, Medea's future marriage (VF. 5.348 *taedae*) and flight with Jason will destroy her happiness forever.⁷⁵⁶ In comparison with Proserpina, Medea's fate will be even worse, as she willingly follows Jason and therefore deeply hurts her parents for a husband who will soon leave her.⁷⁵⁷

The scene serves to increase suspense and to highlight the extreme transformation Medea undergoes in the course of the epic plot, here anticipated in the juxtaposition of the terrifying dream images that foreshadow her cruel actions and her own innocent carefreeness and fear, as exemplified by the simile.⁷⁵⁸ The Proserpina simile moreover establishes a close connection to the lily simile and the *teichoscopia* in Book 6 of the Valerian *Argonautica*.⁷⁵⁹ As here, Medea is portrayed as an innocent, hesitant, and fearful maiden (VF. 6.480 *pavor* and VF. 6.481 *horror*) who is unaware of her imminent demise and entrusts her fate to a female authority figure, her (false) sister Chalciopé (VF. 6.490-4). Just as Henioche is responsible for Medea's decision to stay and talk to Jason, Juno-Chalciopé takes Medea by the hand and leads her to the wall, so she can admire Jason's divinely enhanced beauty (VF. 6.488f.), thus sealing Medea's misfortune.⁷⁶⁰

Medea's description by the narrator is echoed in Jason's speech (VF. 5.378-81, see below), which links both protagonists. Like Medea whose fear renders her pale and strips her of her beauty

as well as the description of Dido prior to her first meeting with Aeneas in the *Aeneid* (Aen. 1.498-504, see especially Aen. 1.498f. *qualis ... per iuga ... / exercet Diana choros* and Aen. 1.503 *talis erat Dido, talem se laeta ferebat*). On the idyllic *locus amoenus* as a common background setting for sexual pursuit and violence in Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, see Parry (1964) and Richlin (1992). For a comparison of Jason's and Medea's relationship to rape, cf. Stover (2003) 127 n.17.

⁷⁵⁴ For this characterisation of Medea, cf. VF. 8.459 *non barbaricae decor ille iuventae*. See Wijsman (1996) 177: "Colchis may characterize her as a barbarian, with whom Jason should never have had anything to do, to the benefit of both". Cf. also VF. 8.6 *ultima virgineis tunc flens dedit oscula vittis*. The fillets have a threefold function; they link her to Diana (VF. 1.839 *venit in vittis ... sacerdos*), stress her status as a virgin, and highlight the ominous sacrificial context of the scene. See also Wijsman (1996) 175f.

⁷⁵⁵ Cf. Lovatt (2013b) 295: "The lily image evokes her virginal purity and its imminent destruction". On further similarities with Diana and Pallas, see Wijsman (1996) 174-7.

⁷⁵⁶ The torches of Hecate primarily belong to the intended purification ritual, but could also be interpreted as a hint at the future marriage. Cf. Shelton (1971) 292 and Wijsman (1996) 174.

⁷⁵⁷ Cf. Adamietz (1967) 73 and Wijsman (1996) 174 on the 'Death and the Maiden motif'. See also Phrixus' dream speech and description of Medea (VF. 5.238-40 *praeterea infernae quae nunc sacrata Dianae / fert castos Medea choros, quemcumque procorum / pacta petat, maneat regnis ne virgo paternis*).

⁷⁵⁸ This extreme contrast at a crucial moment in the narrative plot is captured in a similar way in Hecate's soliloquy (VF. 6.497-502); both scenes stress the tragedy of Medea's transformation at divine hands.

⁷⁵⁹ On Proserpina's plucking lilies, see Met. 5.391b-2 *quo dum Proserpina luco / ludit et aut violas aut candida lilia carpit*. For further references, cf. Lovatt (2013b) 294f.

⁷⁶⁰ Cf. the dialogue between Medea (VF. 6.588-90a) and pseudo-Chalciopé (VF. 6.592-9) to that between Medea (VF. 5.353-5) and Henioche (VF. 5.359-62).

(VF. 5.347 *palluit et ... pulsus decor omnis*),⁷⁶¹ Jason too is pale and deprived of his usual splendour by anxiety and the hardship experienced during the Argonauts' journey (VF. 5.363b-5 *at Iuno, pulchrum longissima quando / robur cura ducis magnique edere labores, / mole nova et roseae perfudit luce iuventae*) when he finally meets her; and, like Medea, he is characterised in a simile of comparable length and similarly ominous meaning (VF. 5.368-72).⁷⁶²

Medea's First Speech

When Medea sees the group of unknown men approach her secretly (VF. 5.351 *tacito ... passu*)⁷⁶³ and with great pace, she calls for her nurse (VF. 5.350-5). Medea's fear characterises her as a pious and shy young woman, who in her despair turns to her old nurse and the guardian of her virginity Henioche for help. Medea's fear is modelled upon the Argonauts' arrival at Aetes' palace in Apollonius where she is also the first to spot the strangers (VF. 5.350f. *ut ... / prima ... vidit*) and screams in terror (ARh. 3.253a *καί σφραεας ὡς ἴδεν ἄσσον, ἀνίαχεν*). Her cries alert her sister Chalkiope (ARh. 3.253b-4a *ὄξυ δ' ἄκουσεν / Χαλκιοπίη*) who lets go of her spindles and upon recognising the intruders as her sons, and embraces and addresses them in a vituperative speech (ARh. 3.260-7). Valerius replaces Medea's sister with her nurse and entirely replaces Chalkiope's reunion with her sons in the Apollonian version by a conversation between Medea and her nurse and a first dialogue between Jason and Medea.⁷⁶⁴

Medea's first two speeches in Valerius' *Argonautica* are two of her shortest speeches as a result of the urgency of the respective utterances. Medea's warning outcry is introduced by the rare, elevated composite verb *adfata*, which is only employed here in the Valerian epic to introduce a direct speech.⁷⁶⁵ Like the rare nominalised use⁷⁶⁶ at VF. 1.298f. *illis placidi sermonis Iason / suggerit adfatus turbataque pectora mulcet*, where Jason so addresses his parents in a caring attempt to console them about his imminent departure, Medea's relationship to her nurse is indirectly compared to that

⁷⁶¹ Cf. Lavinia's blush (Aen. 12.64-71) and Lovatt (2013b) 295: "Valerius strikingly ... removes the blush, emphasising that his Medea is not in love; instead her pallor suggests vulnerability and imminent suffering as well as innocence".

⁷⁶² Cf. Fitch (1976) 122 and Wijsman (1996) 167. On the balanced composition, see Wetzel (1957) 65f., Adamietz (1967) 72f., Shey (1968) 145f., Shelton (1971) 288-93, and Lüthje (1971) 213f.

⁷⁶³ Cf. Anzinger (2007) 199 n.656 and Wijsman (1996) 178 for implied hostile intentions and further references.

⁷⁶⁴ The conversation between Chalkiope and her sons (ARh. 3.260-7) and later between her and Medea (ARh. 3.636-739) is not the model for this scene, but for subsequent scenes between Medea and the disguised goddesses Venus and Juno in Valerius' *Argonautica*.

⁷⁶⁵ Cf. Wijsman (1996) 178: "a word of high epic style". It appears one more time to describe Perses' intention of sending an embassy to the Argonauts in order to inform them of Aetes' fraudulent intentions (VF. 6.16 *edocet, adfari Minyas fraudemque tyranni / ut moneant*).

⁷⁶⁶ Cf. Juno's instigation of Venus at VF. 6.473 *adfatusque mali*.

between a child and a parent. She addresses Henioche as *mater* (VF. 5.353), which is a common term of endearment in nurse–nursling relationships as the bond between nurse and *alumna* is often depicted as a substitute or an addition to the relationships between mothers and daughters, sisters, or aunts and nieces.⁷⁶⁷

The portrayal of Henioche resembles that of Medea’s false sister Chalciopé (Juno) and her false aunt Circe (Venus). The three women share the role as Medea’s confidante and advisor: Henioche takes up this role in Book 5 of the Flavian *Argonautica*, pseudo-Chalciopé in Book 6, and pseudo-Circe in Book 7. Like Henioche, they too are referred to by incorrect family-relationships.⁷⁶⁸ In Book 6 of the Valerian epic Medea and Juno (as Chalciopé) address each other with the appropriate familial term *soror* (VF. 6.483, VF. 6.592, and VF. 6.676),⁷⁶⁹ but the relationship is not real, and in Book 7 Medea and Venus (as Circe) both predominantly employ terms that would be suitable for a mother–daughter relationship, but not that of aunt and niece.⁷⁷⁰ At the same time Medea is not portrayed in a direct dialogue with any of her family members, so that her discussions with the two deceitful goddesses are her only confidential conversations. In fact, the only real mortal speaker Medea talks to beside Jason is her nurse in the present scene and she too lets Medea down with her advice which leads to Medea’s associations with the Argonauts and thus ultimately her demise. The incorrect use of terms denoting familial relationships could therefore highlight the important role Medea’s dysfunctional family relationships play in the epic’s tragic developments.

It is the very female rapports with her nurse and her (pseudo-) sister and aunt that should protect Medea, which in fact corrupt and further endanger her. Symbolically, when Medea’s mother finally speaks in Book 8 of the *Argonautica*, it is only to lament and curse her daughter, revealing just how little she was involved in Medea’s thoughts (VF. 8.144-70). This outstanding lack of female relationships becomes even more apparent in comparison with Apollonius’ *Argonautica* where Medea has a much more solid female support network, with her maids keeping her secrets (ARh. 3.887-9 and

⁷⁶⁷ Antigone too calls her old servant Phorbás *pater* (Theb. 7.248) during the Státián *teichoscopia*. It has been convincingly argued that the Euripidean nurses have served as the model for the Virgilian sister portrayals and that similarly Virgil’s characterisation of sisters may have in turn influenced Seneca’s nurse portrayals. Cf. Pease (1935) 50, Fenik (1960) 156, Fantham (1975) 2, and Farron (1993) 107. Armstrong (2006) 150 discusses the correspondence between Hypsipyle’s relationship to her nurse Polyxo in Apollonius’ *Argonautica* and that of Virgil’s Dido to Anna.

⁷⁶⁸ Cf. Wijsman (1996) 178f. and Maniotti (2012) 201. See also VF. 2.143 where Fama (in disguise as the Lemnian Neaera) addresses Eurynome as *soror* (VF. 2.143).

⁷⁶⁹ *Soror* can also be employed for “unrelated female companions” (OLD s.v.). Cf. Maniotti (2012) 33 n.82.

⁷⁷⁰ Valerius’ Venus calls Medea *nata* (VF. 7.229) and Medea too addresses the goddess as *mater* twice in the *Argonautica* (VF. 7.242 and VF. 7.248).

ARh. 3.891-911) and her real sister Chalkiope sharing her plans and supporting her (ARh. 3.636-739) and where Medea is even mercifully helped and pleaded for by a female stranger, Queen Arete of Scheria (ARh. 4.1073-4a).

In the scene at hand, Medea's choice of *mater* (VF. 5.353) adds towards her portrayal as a young, naïve girl in need of protection. Medea's own defencelessness and insecurity are contrasted by her characterisation of the approaching men as an armed dangerous band (VF. 5.353 *manus ... agmine* and VF. 5.354 *armis*) and her description of them as determined and aggressively target-oriented (VF. 5.353f. *certo ... agmine ... / advenit* and VF. 5.353 *ceu me petat*).⁷⁷¹ This echo evoking the snakes of the Virgilian Laocoon scene (Aen. 2.212f. *illi agmine certo / Laocoonta petunt*)⁷⁷² heightens suspense and indicates that Medea's fear is not unfounded, but that it is not in fact Medea's safety that is endangered by the heroes' arrival, but her life in Colchis and her familial *pietas* and patriotism.⁷⁷³

Medea's anxiety is reflected in the syntactical *brevitas*, the affective *geminatio* (VF. 5.354 *haud ... haud*), the imperatives *quaere ... et ... circumspice* (VF. 5.355), the stutter-like assonance of the aspirated plosives (stop consonants) *c-*, *p-*, *qu-*, and *t-* and voiced stop *g-* sounds, as well as the predominant use of disyllabic words. Medea's dramatic outcry builds up to a climax with her shortest and final sentence, a warning to her nurse to flee and look for a safe hiding place (VF. 5.353-5).

While Jason's speech in Valerius' meeting closely echoes Odysseus' appeal to Nausicaa in the *Odyssey*, only the second part of Nausicaa's speech is comparable to Medea's. It is in fact a contrastive comparison, which highlights Medea's initial fear of talking to Jason, as her Homeric counterpart Nausicaa does not hesitate to speak to the stranger on her own, but is the one who criticizes her servants for their headless flight and declares the rugged, half-naked Odysseus not a danger, but simply a poor foreigner struck by misfortune and in dire need of their help (Od. 6.187-97).⁷⁷⁴

Medea's anxiety and her advice to Henioche to flee reverse the conversation between the Colchian princess and her unnamed nurse in both Euripides' and Seneca's *Medea*. In the Greek play, Medea is repeatedly urged by several characters such as her nurse, Jason, and the anonymous messenger not to

⁷⁷¹ Cf. Wijsman (1996) 178 and Dräger (2003) 462.

⁷⁷² On the "sinister context of the snakes", see Wijsman (1996) 178. The snake reference moreover establishes a connection to Medea's dialogue with Venus (as Circe) in Book 7 of the Valerian *Argonautica* where she twice addresses her pseudo-aunt as *mater* (VF. 7.242 and VF. 7.248) and in anticipation of her future crimes sees snakes in the goddesses' hair (VF. 7.250 *vipereos ... crines*). Snakes of course also play an important part in Medea's terrifying magic procedures: see also Sen. Med. 670-704 and Eur. Med. 1321f. where Medea disappears from the scene of crime in the dragon-drawn chariot of her grandfather Helios.

⁷⁷³ Apollonius' Medea voices a similar concern in her first speech to Jason when she correctly fears the Greeks will bring great harm (ARh. 3.637-8a) to her virginity and her loyalty towards her land and family (ARh. 3.638b-40).

⁷⁷⁴ Nausicaa of course is freed from her fear by Athene prior to the meeting with Odysseus (Od. 6.139-41).

voice any more threats, but to leave instead.⁷⁷⁵ Creon even banishes Medea out of fear for his daughter's and his own life (Eur. Med. 282-91), but Medea successfully persuades him to withdraw his edict (Eur. Med. 281 τίνος μ' ἔκατι γῆς ἀποστέλλεις, Κρέον;) claiming that she has nowhere to go. In Seneca's tragedy too the positions are reversed and the nurse asks Medea if she is not afraid of her enemies' arms and strongly recommends her to flee as soon as possible. The context is of course very different because the Senecan nurse tries to convince Medea to stop threatening the ones who betrayed her (Sen. Med. 36-48 and Sen. Med. 98-114) and she is afraid Creon may enforce his orders and punish Medea's disobedience with violence (Sen. Med. 169-75).

As is common in dramatic scenes, Medea's first speech in the *Argonautica* is not concluded by a traditional speech formula. Instead, the reaction of the addressee immediately follows. Her old nurse hears Medea cry (VF. 5.365 *audit*) and quickly replies to her questions. The reversed word order with a postposition of the nurse's name and the choice of finite verb (VF. 5.365 *audit*) are reminiscent of the invocations made to a protective deity in dire straits, as so commonly found in Virgil's *Aeneid* and especially Ovid's *Metamorphoses*.⁷⁷⁶

Henioche and Medea

The inclusion of the famous Euripidean and Senecan nurse in Valerius' *Argonautica* is even more noteworthy, as Apollonius does not include Medea's elderly confidante, but instead has Medea confide in her sister and aunt.⁷⁷⁷ The description of Medea's nurse (VF. 5.352 *nutricem*), just as that of Hypsipyle's nurse Polyxo in Apollonius' epic, is limited to her age and professional role as nurse (VF. 5.357 *cultus primi cui creditus aevi*) and elderly guardian of her nursling's maidenhood (VF. 5.356 *virginei custos grandaeva pudoris*).⁷⁷⁸ Just as in the Apollonian *Argonautica* Medea's main confidantes are her sister Chalciopé and her aunt Circe; however, in Valerius' version Venus and Juno have assumed their identities in order to manipulate Medea.

⁷⁷⁵ Cf. Eur. Med. 1122f. (Messenger): Μήδεια, φεῦγε φεῦγε, μήτε ναῖαν / λιποῦσ' ἀπήνην μήτ' ὄχον πεδοστιβῆ. See also Eur. Med. 502-8.

⁷⁷⁶ Cf. Wijsman (1996) 179 for further references.

⁷⁷⁷ Cf. Karydas (1998) 93.

⁷⁷⁸ Cf. ARh. 3.785 ἑρρέτω αἰδῶς and ARh. 3.681f. δὴν δέ μιν αἰδῶς / παρθενίη κατέρυκεν ἀμείψασθαι μεμαῦταν. See also Theb. 1.530f. *fidissima custos / lecta sacrum iustae Veneri occultare pudorem* (of Argia's and Deipyle's nurse Acaste) and Theb. 12.205 *olim hic uirginei custos monitorque pudoris* (of their tutor Menoetes). See also Wijsman (1996) 178 for further references.

In both tragedians Medea's old nurse speaks several times, often in philosophical soliloquies.⁷⁷⁹ When she engages in a conversation with her nursling she reveals sympathy and intimate knowledge of her *alumna* (Eur. Med. 39 ἐγῶδα τήνδε),⁷⁸⁰ but also bemoans and criticises her harshly for her cruel revenge plans.⁷⁸¹ Despite her authority by age and their close relationship, Medea's nurse fails to sway the young Colchian from her cruel intentions and does not manage to soothe her hatred against Jason.⁷⁸² Valerius' nurse, by contrast, only speaks and appears once *in propria persona*. She occurs much earlier, at a point when Medea is still an innocent and carefree young woman. The episode does not reveal anything about their relationship other than Medea's great trust in her nurse and Henioche's long-term care for the Colchian princess, which is why Medea, even though she is surrounded by an entourage of women (VF. 5.376 *tot ignoti socias gregis*), calls on her nurse for help and nobody else when she feels threatened by the arrival of the foreigners.

Medea's nurse would have been dispensable in the scene at hand, as is evident from Apollonius' account. Her inclusion in Valerius' epic poem is, however, important for structural and symbolic reasons. By pairing Medea with her old nurse Valerius links the episode under discussion to the Lemnian council scene (VF. 2.306-73a) and Hypsipyle's first meeting with Jason (VF. 2.332-69b) as well as to Medea's *teichoscopia* (VF. 6.427-760), her relationship to her false sister Chalciope (VF. 6.482-7, VF. 6.588-90a, and VF. 6.592-9), and to Medea's false aunt's report of and message from (VF. 7.266-87a) a fictitious meeting with the hero (VF. 7.257-83). By including Medea's nurse so briefly Valerius seems to employ her as "Tragödienrequisit, das anzeigt, daß von hier an das Unheil seinen Lauf nimmt".⁷⁸³ Henioche's appearance itself becomes a bad omen for Medea's future and it is the nurse herself in this scene who unknowingly and despite best intentions gives Medea the wrong advice and contributes to her misfortune by persuading her to stay and meet Jason.⁷⁸⁴

Valerius is also the first to give Medea's nurse a name.⁷⁸⁵ It has been suggested that Henioche is named after an old Scythian tribe, the Heniochi (VF. 6.43), who inhabited the northwest shores of

⁷⁷⁹ In Euripides' *Medea* one of the outstanding dramatic choices is the nurse's soliloquy, which she delivers alone on stage. Cf. Halleran (1985) 6f. and Karydas (1998) 98.

⁷⁸⁰ Unlike in Euripides' drama (Eur. Med. 820-3) Medea's trust is not specifically said to be based on the "common bond of womanhood" (Karydas, 1998, 111 n.150). On the sympathy of Medea's nurse, see Pucci (1980) 41f.

⁷⁸¹ Cf. Karydas (1998) 104. It is striking that the dream scene (VF. 5.329-40) prior to the nurse's first appearance in Valerius' *Argonautica* features all those elements the Euripidean and Senecan nurses bemoan.

⁷⁸² On the poetic language of authority, cf. Nagy (1989) 8-11 and Karydas (1998) 3.

⁷⁸³ Anzinger (2007) 200f.

⁷⁸⁴ On unknowingly destructive nurses cf. Maniotti (2012) 37 and 41n.118.

⁷⁸⁵ The nurse's name is postponed and emphasized by its front position in the verse.

Colchis in the 5th century BC.⁷⁸⁶ It is, however, striking that both in the Homeric (Od. 6.68-70, Od. 6. 255-6a, and Od. 6.258-61) and the Apollonian model (ARh. 3.838-42, ARh. 3.869-72, and ARh. 3.873-84)⁷⁸⁷ the driving and steering of a chariot by the strong and determined female protagonist is discussed at length and serves to characterise Nausicaa and Medea as confident leaders of their respective female entourage who are in complete control of the situation.

In Valerius' episode, by contrast, the shy and helpless Medea, even though Jason identifies her as leader of the group on account of her outward appearance and demeanour, is on her way to the river on foot and accompanied by a nurse who has the final say and decision about Medea's meeting with Jason and thus, as her name suggests, seems to take up the reins in place of the princess. Henioche's interference can moreover be compared to Hera's intervention in Apollonius (ARh. 3.797b-824), which decisively influences Medea to the extent that she eventually agrees to meet and help Jason. The name Henioche and the respectful, godlike invocation of the old nurse by Medea may have therefore been inspired by Hera's worship as Hera Henioke.⁷⁸⁸

Henioche's Speech

Henioche starts her speech by emphatically assuring her frightened nursling (VF. 5.358 *trepidam ... alumnam*)⁷⁸⁹ that the strangers do not pose a physical threat (VF. 5.359 *non ... minae*) to her and that she therefore does not need to be afraid of them (VF. 5.359f. *non tibi ab hoste minae nec vis ait ulla propinquat / nec [te] metus.*)⁷⁹⁰ The imitation of Medea's diction (VF. 5.354f. *haud ... haud umquam* and VF. 5.359f. *non ... nec ... ulla ... nec*), speech rhythm, and especially the strategic placement of the negation next to the personal pronoun (VF. 5.359 *non tibi*) have a reassuring effect on the addressee and reveal Henioche's intimate knowledge of and concern for her nursling.⁷⁹¹ The nurse's claim is full

⁷⁸⁶ On the etymology of Henioche's name ('charioteer'), see Wijsman (1996) 180 with further references.

⁷⁸⁷ At ARh. 3.1259-61 Jason is characterised in a horse simile that highlights his newly gained, invincible physical strength after using Medea's magic potion.

⁷⁸⁸ Cf. Paus. 9.395 and Hera as charioteer in the *Iliad* (Il. 8.392).

⁷⁸⁹ The nurse's reassuring effect is stressed by the tautology *trepidam dictis firmans hortatur alumnam* (VF. 5.358). Cf. another authority figure's reassurance of the Argonauts: (of Tiphys) VF. 2.47f. *sed pectora firmans / Hagniades ... inquit*. The term *alumna* is quite frequent in Seneca's tragedies, cf. Wijsman (1996) 180 for further references.

⁷⁹⁰ In Euripidean and Senecan tragedy it is Medea who poses the threat to everyone around her and renders her nurse anxious. Cf. Pucci (1980) 38-40 and Karydas (1998) 106f. for a more detailed analysis.

⁷⁹¹ Medea's nurse in Euripides also imitates Medea's language to express her sympathy, cf. Pucci (1980) 38-40.

of dramatic irony because her speech foreshadows Medea's personal ruin as a result of the Argonauts' mission, of which Henioche cannot have any knowledge at this stage.⁷⁹²

After first reassuring Medea the nurse goes on to explain her conclusion in more detail. Giving a brief description of the Argonauts' clothes and attire (VF. 5.360b-1 *externo iam flammae murice cerno / tegmina, iam vittas frondemque imbellis olivae*) she confirms Medea's suspicion and concludes that the purple-coloured clothing reveals the approaching men to be foreigners (VF. 5.360 *externo ... murice*). The experienced nurse, however, does not lose her composure and points out that the strangers come with peaceful intentions, as is evident from their carrying traditional peace symbols such as olive branches and fillets (VF. 5.361 *iam vittas frondemque imbellis olivae*).⁷⁹³ Henioche concludes her speech with a specification of her analysis and declares the foreigners to be Greeks due to their attire closely resembling that of the late Phrixus (VF. 5.362 *Graius adest, Graio sic cuncta simillima Phrixo*).⁷⁹⁴

The fact that Henioche does not elaborate her point further indicates that no additional words are needed, since Medea is familiar with the story of her late brother-in-law⁷⁹⁵ who not only became a guest of her father's, but even her sister's husband (VF. 5.233b-5 and VF. 6.479). The mention of Medea's brother-in-law in combination with the ominous repetition of the generic singular *Graius* (VF. 5.362) gives Henioche's statement a prophetic meaning and anticipates Medea's own fate in compliance with Phrixus' earlier warning (VF. 5.233b-40) and the divine snake omen (VF. 5.253-5).⁷⁹⁶ It is highly ironic that it is the mention of Phrixus, who in his own dream speech to Aeetes urges the Colchian king to prevent a union between Medea and a suitor of her choice and to ensure her immediate departure from the realm (VF. 5.238-40), which reassures Medea and forms the basis for her eventual union with Jason.⁷⁹⁷

Just as Medea's old nurse is the only one to recognize Jason as a Greek hero, an elderly nurse's

⁷⁹² Cf. Garson (1965) 109 and Dräger (2003) 462.

⁷⁹³ Cf. Wijsman (1996) 181 and Dräger (2003) 462 for further references. The Argonauts' fillets mirror Medea's own appearance (VF. 5.348f. *talis et in vittis geminae cum lumine taedae / Colchis erat nondum miseris exosa parentes*).

⁷⁹⁴ On recognition from a stranger's clothes, cf. Aen. 7.167f. *nuntius ... ignota in veste reportat / advenisse viros*. See also Wijsman (1996) 179. In the Apollonian episode, Phrixus' sons accompany Jason to Aeetes' palace. Chalkiope recognizes them immediately and attacks her sons for following their father's orders to leave for Hellas and for having left their mother to her own devices (VF. 3.262-4a *δειλή ἐγώ, οἶον πόθον Ἑλλάδος ἔκποθεν ἄτης / λευγαλῆς Φρίξιοιο ἐφημοσύνησιν ἔλεσθε / πατρός*).

⁷⁹⁵ Cf. Wijsman (1996) 180f. and Dräger (2003) 462 for a discussion of the importance of the nurse's age.

⁷⁹⁶ Cf. Shelton (1971) 293 and Dräger (2003) 462. See also Wijsman (1996) 181 on Valerius' use of *Graecus* / *Graius* and Iphinoe's message to the Argonauts after their arrival at Lemnos: VF. 2.325b *portat ... preces ad litora Graiis*.

⁷⁹⁷ Note that Henioche duly answers all of Medea's questions, but she ignores her instructions to flee and find a safe hiding place (VF. 5.355) because she concludes that the men are Greeks just like Phrixus and do not need to be feared.

superior recognition skills feature prominently in the *Odyssey* where Eurykleia is the only one who is able to identify Odysseus by an old scar (Od. 19.386-93) without his help.⁷⁹⁸ Just as Odysseus follows Eurykleia's suggestions, Medea trusts her nurse's judgement and engages in a conversation with the stranger. A cloak also plays an important part in the Homeric recognition process (Od. 23.115f.), for Odysseus' dirty clothes prevent his discovery until another nurse, Eurynome, washes his clothes, anoints him with oil, and puts the hero into a fair cloak and tunic (Od. 23.154f.) and Athene beautifies him (Od. 23.156-63).

Similarly, in the Nausicaa episode, Odysseus is finally recognized and his beauty is admired by Nausicaa, after she has personally provided the dirty and naked hero with new clothes (Od. 6.191-4) and after Athene has given Odysseus back his former splendour (Od. 6.224-35). Clothing imagery characterising Jason and, to a lesser extent, also Medea plays an important role in Apollonius' *Argonautica*.⁷⁹⁹ Jason's purple cloak is one of three red garments mentioned in the Hellenistic epic and is discussed most prominently in another model, the long ekphrasis of Apollonius' Lemnian episode (ARh. 1.729-74), in which the Lemnian women collectively admire Jason's attire and divinely enhanced beauty.⁸⁰⁰

While Jason's red mantle in Valerius' meeting is primarily employed as a means to identify him as a foreigner (VF. 5.360 *externo ... murice*), it carries a myriad of connotations relevant for this scene. The colour red can symbolise the blushing of a virgin, the erotic appeal of a rosy complexion, or the blushing of lovers.⁸⁰¹ The red cloak could moreover, in allusion to the Roman wedding veil (*flammeum*), be understood as a prolepsis of Medea's wedding with Jason.⁸⁰² At the same time it could be a symbol for blood and guilt foreshadowing Medea's despair over the murder of her brother, which is the result of her doomed love.⁸⁰³

Just as in the other scenes Jason's natural beauty that has been worn down by the hardship of his journey is increased through divine intervention, as revealed in the speech conclusion (VF. 5.363-5 *Sic ait. at luno, pulchrum longissima quando / robur cura ducis magnique edere labores, / mole nova et*

⁷⁹⁸ Cf. Karydas (1998) 5.24f. and 42.

⁷⁹⁹ On Jason's cloak, see Lawall (1966) 154-8, Levin (1970) 17-36, Shapiro (1980) 263-86, and Rose (1985) 29-44.

⁸⁰⁰ Cf. Rose (1985) 29f.

⁸⁰¹ Cf. Rose (1985) 35. The red glow in Jason's face, just like the red colour of his mantle, symbolises his beauty and erotic appeal (VF. 5.365 *roseae ... iuventae*) in contrast to Medea's fear-induced pallor (VF. 5.347). Medea's anxiety is overwhelming, which is why, unlike Apollonius' Medea (ARh. 3.298, ARh. 3.681, and ARh. 3.963) and Hypsipyle (ARh. 1.791), she does not blush upon seeing Jason for the first time.

⁸⁰² On *flammeum* as red wedding veil, see Kleywegt (1986) 2481 and Dräger (2003) 462. Cf. (of Hylas) VF. 4.23.

⁸⁰³ Cf. Rose (1985) 40f. See also ARh. 4.44f.

roseae perfudit luce iuventae).⁸⁰⁴ The divine interference is primarily based on Hera's beautification of Jason prior to his first conversation with Medea in Apollonius' *Argonautica* (ARh. 3.918-26) and recalls that of Aeneas (Aen. 1.588-93) prior to the moment of his revelation to Dido in the *Aeneid*.⁸⁰⁵ Juno beautifies Jason and makes him appear comelier than his companions (VF. 5.366f. *iam Talaum iamque Ampyciden astroque comantes / Tyndaridas ipse egregio supereminet ore*) thus mirroring Medea's outstanding splendour (VF. 5.346a *altior ac nulla comitum certante*). In contrast to Apollonius' beautification of the hero (ARh. 3.919-926)⁸⁰⁶ and contrary to expectation, Medea does not fall in love with Jason despite his stunning beauty,⁸⁰⁷ which is why the procedure is eventually repeated during the *teichoscopia* when Juno disguised as Circe ensures that Medea finally becomes enchanted by Jason (VF. 6.602f.).⁸⁰⁸ The beautification of Jason prior to the protagonists' first conversation is, however, not futile either, as it links both episodes, highlights the divine interference and manipulation of Medea, and assures that Medea's fascination with Jason's splendour prevents her from fleeing.⁸⁰⁹

Just as Medea's dismal fate is anticipated in the Proserpina simile, Jason's beauty is ominously compared to the Dog Star (VF. 5.368-72).⁸¹⁰ Apollonius twice uses the star imagery to characterise the Greek hero: firstly, during his march to Hypsipyle's palace when Jason is compared to the star enamoured maidens watch in their dreams (ARh. 1.774-80);⁸¹¹ secondly, during his first meeting with Medea (ARh. 3.961) when the approaching hero appears as beautiful to her as Sirius and as a consequence makes Medea lovesick and brings her suffering (ARh. 3.956-65a). While the first scene highlights Jason's erotic appeal, the second comparison combines his attraction with his potentially destructive impact on Medea.⁸¹²

Valerius employs the Sirius comparison twice in similar fashion. Jason is first likened to the Dog star in his first encounter with Medea when the focus is on Jason's physical appeal,⁸¹³ whereas in

⁸⁰⁴ The simple speech conclusion echoes the conclusion of Chalkiope's speech to her sons following Medea's scream in Apollonius (ARh. 3.268 ὡς ἔφατ') before the focus of the narration moves on to another character; in Apollonius' epic this character is King Aetes (ARh. 3.268 Αἰήτης δέ), in Valerius' version it is Juno (VF. 5.363 *at Iuno*).

⁸⁰⁵ Cf. Wijsman (1996) 182 and Dräger (2003) 463 for further references.

⁸⁰⁶ In Apollonius' *Argonautica* Medea immediately falls in love with Jason after she is hit by Eros' arrow (ARh. 3.275-98).

⁸⁰⁷ Cf. Stover (2003) 130.

⁸⁰⁸ See also Stover (2003) 129 and Anzinger (2007) 198.

⁸⁰⁹ On the relationship between divine influence and Medea's psyche, cf. Adamietz (1976) 97, Eigler (1988) 83, Schenk (1999) 368, Manuwald (1999) 201f., and Anzinger (2007) 203 n.67.

⁸¹⁰ Cf. Bessone (1991) 84-7, Smolenaars (1991) 67, Gärtner (1994) 146f., and Lovatt (2013b) 332.

⁸¹¹ On Apollonius' use of this simile, cf. Hutchinson (1988) 112 and Hunter (1993) 48.

⁸¹² On Jason's characterisation in negative, ominous similes, cf. Manuwald (2002) 50 and Anzinger (2007) 199.

⁸¹³ On Sirius' erotic power and occurrence in amatory contexts, see Stover (2003) 135-41 with further references.

the second occurrence during the *teichoscopia* Jason's physical might and martial excellence on the battlefield (VF. 6.575-760) are compared to Sirius' destructive power (VF. 6.607f.). The star comparison therefore presents Jason as "simultaneously an (elegiac) lover and an (epic) warrior".⁸¹⁴ It is his beauty that makes him so appealing and so dangerous for Medea at the same time and which thus plays a major part both in his successful seduction of her and his victory over Aeetes.⁸¹⁵ This success recalls and contradicts Hercules' criticism in the Lemnian episode, when the Tirynthian hero reproachfully reminds Jason that battles are won on the battlefield and not in bed (VF. 2.378-84a and ARh. 1.865-74).

It is certainly no coincidence that Jason's comparison to Sirius, the brightest star of the *Canis Maior* constellation, which "draws forth, as if guiding it, the constellation of the Argo",⁸¹⁶ is framed by a comparison that stresses Jason's superiority and claim to leadership over his comrades (VF. 5.366f.)⁸¹⁷ and a characterization of Medea as *dux* and *domina* (VF. 5.377). The scene at hand marks the beginning of the transition of leadership from Jason to Medea.⁸¹⁸ Not only does Jason ask Medea for directions and guidance to the palace, but his success in Colchis will also heavily rely on Medea's help and leadership in winning the Golden Fleece. Unlike in Apollonius' epic, this transfer of leadership does not take place immediately after their first meeting, but only after the second Sirius simile when the protagonists meet for a second time and the goddesses have freed Medea from her scruples.⁸¹⁹ The second simile thus also draws attention to the fact that despite Jason's attraction, Medea does not fall in love with the hero and does not decide to help him until the *teichoscopia*.

Just as in the model episodes an admiring, speechless, female gaze follows the divine beautification of the male hero. Medea falls silent and, full of fear and awe, cannot help but fixate on Jason (VF. 5.373-5a *regina, attonito quamquam pavor ore silentem / exanimet, mirata tamen paulumque reductis /*

⁸¹⁴ Stover (2003) 139.

⁸¹⁵ Cf. the characterisation of the splendid warriors in the *Iliad* (such as Diomedes in Il. 5.4-8 and Achilles in Il. 22.25-32) and in the *Aeneid* (Aeneas: Aen. 10.270-5). For a more detailed discussion, see Hershkowitz (1998) 124, Stover (2003) 143-5, Anzinger (2007) 199, and Lovatt (2013b) 337.

⁸¹⁶ Stover (2003) 134. See also Arat. 603f. and Cic. Arat. 388f.

⁸¹⁷ Cf. Stover (2003) 134: "The simile also enhances the grandeur of his status as the unquestioned leader of his men ... to stress the lofty heights he has attained in achieving this position".

⁸¹⁸ Note how shortly before the Argonauts' arrival at Colchis Tiphys is characterised as the heroes' only hope prior to his imminent death: VF. 5.18-20 *hoc, pater, hoc nobis refove caput, ulla laboris / si nostri te cura movet, qui cardine summo / vertitur atque omnis manibus nunc pendet ab unis!*. During the sea voyage Jason and the Argonauts relied on the expertise of their steersman; during the adventures in Colchis they put their hope in Medea's magic powers.

⁸¹⁹ Cf. Stover (2003) 133f.

passibus in solo stupuit duce).⁸²⁰ The theme of heroic gaze with Jason as the object of Medea's erotic gaze recurs in the *teichoscopia* (VF. 6.575-86 and VF. 6.657f.)⁸²¹ where, just as during her first meeting with Jason, Medea is also at first unable to respond to Juno's speech (VF. 6.488 *illa nihil contra*) and, when she finally speaks (VF. 6.588-90), she tries to hide her true feelings.

While the concepts of epic gaze and silence are usually one-sided, Valerius follows Apollonius in transforming the common motifs into a mutual fascination, which leads to a moment of shared silence (ARh. 3.967-72; VF. 5.375 *stupuit* and VF. 5.376 *haeret*).⁸²² Jason too is enchanted by Medea's natural beauty and her equal superiority (VF. 5.377 *ducem dominamque* and VF. 5.395 *duce*)⁸²³ and he is unable to take his eyes off Medea when he sees her for the first time: *haeret in una / defixus* (VF. 5.376f.).⁸²⁴

Jason's Speech

It has widely been recognised that Jason's speech (VF. 5.378-90) is closely modelled on Odysseus' speech to Nausikaa (Od. 6.149-85) and Athene's words spoken in disguise as a young virgin (Od. 7.22-6) in the *Odyssey*, Aeneas' speech to his (disguised mother) Venus in the *Aeneid* (Aen. 1.326-34), Salmacis' words to Hermaphroditus in Ovid's *Metamorphoses* (Met. 4.317-328) and of course Jason's first speech to Medea in Apollonius' *Argonautica* (ARh. 3.975-1007).⁸²⁵

In Apollonius' version, Jason has already been made aware of Medea's friendly disposition and divinely induced cooperation (ARh. 3.913-47 and ARh. 3.973f.). Like Medea's nurse in the Roman *Argonautica*, Apollonius has Jason comfort Medea and emphasize that she does not have to be afraid of him (ARh. 3.975-8a). The hero encourages her to speak openly (ARh. 3.978b-82a) as long as she will

⁸²⁰ On female gaze in epic poetry, see Lovatt (2013b) 264-328. On Medea's extraordinary gaze, cf. Lovatt (2013b) 391: "Medea is the granddaughter of the sun and she has in her gaze something of the sun's fire and power". Cf. ARh. 4.727-9. In Apollonius' prearranged meeting Medea is already expecting Jason and gazes into the distance hoping for him to arrive shortly (ARh. 3.951-3). See also the longing looks of the Lemnian women at ARh. 1.782-6.

⁸²¹ Cf. Lovatt (2013b) 337.

⁸²² See also Anzinger (2007) 199.

⁸²³ Cf. Anzinger (2007) 200: "Jason reagiert weniger auf ihre Schönheit ... als auf die Ausstrahlung der Ebenbürtigkeit".

⁸²⁴ The striking alliteration *defixus ... ducem ... dominam* and the rare speech rhythm of line 5.377 (*s s d d*) highlight Jason's amazement. The phrasing also recalls Aeneas' and Dido's reaction to their first meeting: Aeneas is fascinated by the temple's images of the Trojan war (Aen. 1.495-7 *dum stupet obtutuque haeret defixus in uno / regina ad templum, forma pulcherrima Dido, / incessit magna iuvenum stipante caterva*) and Dido is stunned when the beautified Aeneas suddenly emerges from Venus' cloud (Aen. 1.613 *obstupuit primo aspectu Sidonia Dido*). See also Wijsman (1996) 189 and Dräger (2003) 462f. for further references.

⁸²⁵ Cf. Wijsman (1996) 196, Dräger (2003) 462f., and Stover (2003) 128f.

keep the promise to her sister (ARh. 3.984). As suppliant and guest he implores her by Hecate, her parents, and Zeus (ARh. 3.985-8a) before promising Medea in turn to reward her by making her famous (ARh. 3.988b-96). Comparing her future fate to that of Ariadne (ARh. 3.997-1004), Apollonius' Jason also assures Medea that the gods will generously reward her for supporting the Argonauts' heroic endeavour (ARh. 3.1005-7).

Jason's speech in Valerius, despite its different context, shares many similarities and is likewise ominous. The speech can be divided into two sections: firstly, in a lengthy *captatio benevolentiae* Jason praises Medea's divine beauty and grace (VF. 5.378-81 *si dea, si magni decus huc ades, inquit, Olympi, / has ego credo faces, haec virginis ora Dianae, / teque renodatam pharetris ac pace fruentem / ad sua Caucaseae producunt flumina nymphae*)⁸²⁶ before he also sings her parents' praises and expresses jealousy of her lucky future husband (VF. 5.382-4 *si domus in terris atque hinc tibi gentis origo, / felix prole parens olimque beatior ille, / qui tulerit longis et te sibi iunxerit annis*);⁸²⁷ secondly, he appeals to Medea for her help and guidance (VF. 5.385-90).

The portentous phrasing of the first section, as mentioned earlier, recalls Medea's introductory description by both her late brother-in-law Phrixus and the narrator and is full of dramatic irony.⁸²⁸ Little does Jason know that he himself will become Medea's future husband and that this relationship is meant neither to last for many years nor to bring him happiness.⁸²⁹ He will come to despise Medea for the murder of their children, just as Medea's parents will condemn her for the murder of her own brother and their son Absyrtus.

The transition between the first and the second part of Jason's speech is clearly marked off by a short sentence introducing his request for help (VF. 5.385a *sed fer opem, regina, viris!*).⁸³⁰ In an attempt to take away Medea's fear, he identifies himself and his men as Greek noblemen (VF. 5.386 *Graium proceres*) and assures her that they have come with good intentions (VF. 5.385f. *nos hospita*

⁸²⁶ Cf. Wijsman (1996) 190: "comparing mortal beauties to goddesses is a device ever since Od. 6.149-85". See *ibidem* and Dräger (2003) 463f. for further references.

⁸²⁷ For the numerous verbal echoes to the Homeric and Virgilian models, see Wijsman (1996) 191f.

⁸²⁸ Cf. Garson (1969) 363 and Stover (2003) 129. The allusion to a funeral procession (VF. 5.381 *producunt*) foreshadows Medea's imminent misfortune and the death of her brother and her children. Cf. Theb. 2.313f. *una soror producere tristis / exsulis ausa vias*. See Wijsman (1996) 191 for further references.

⁸²⁹ Contra Lüthje (1971) 216 who suggests that Jason has himself in mind here.

⁸³⁰ Cf. Od. 6.175 *ἀλλά, ἄνασσ', ἐλέαυρε* and Tibull. 1.1.75-7 *hic ego dux milesque bonus: vos, signa tubaeque / ite procul, cupidis vulnera ferte viris, / ferte et opes*. See also Stover (2003) 139.

pubes / advehimur).⁸³¹ The Argonauts' leader pretends to be unfamiliar with their surroundings (VF. 5.389 *ignaro ... locorum*) and asks Medea for directions (VF. 5.386 *tua tecta petentes*) and guidance to the palace. He moreover requests an instruction in the appropriate manner of address and customs (VF. 5.388 *tu prima doce fandi tempusque modumque*),⁸³² so he can respectfully face the king, whom he claims not to know by name (VF. 5.387 *duc, precor, ad vestri quicumque est ora tyranni*), in an audience. Jason concludes his speech with a forceful appeal to Medea declaring her to be a god-sent salvation in their despair (VF. 5.389f. *nam mihi sollicito deus ignaroque locorum / te dedit*) and their only hope (VF. 5.390b *in te animos atque omnia nostra repono*).⁸³³

Jason seems to be presenting the Argonauts' situation as much more hopeless and unknowing than is true in order to evoke sympathy in Medea for their hardship.⁸³⁴ Jason already knows Aetes' name from Pelias (VF. 1.43 and VF. 5.317), and the introduction to his speech (VF. 5.377 *ducem dominamque catervae*) and the speech itself moreover reveal that he is well aware that Medea is the leader of the group of maidens and the daughter of King Aetes (VF. 5.383 *regina* and VF. 5.386 *tecta tua*).⁸³⁵ His approach and the ease with which Valerius' Jason praises and bows to Medea is in great contrast to the demeanour of the Apollonian hero and his Argonauts, who are ashamed to ask a woman for help, discuss the matter at length, and only approve it as their last resort (ARh. 3.523-75).

The conclusion to Jason's speech (VF. 5.391a *dixit et opperiens trepidam stetit*) suggests a brief silence before the frightened virgin gathers her courage to reply to the foreigner, who silently stands opposite Medea waiting for her to speak.⁸³⁶ The speech formula recalls Medea's behaviour when she asks Henioche for advice (VF. 5.352 *substitit ac maesto nutricem adfata timore est*) and reveals that Medea's fear has not ceased despite her nurse's encouraging words (VF. 5.358 *tum trepidam dictis firmans hortatur alumnam*). In fact, the nominalised adjective evokes the impression that anxiety has

⁸³¹ Cf. VF. 3.272 *sumus hospita turba!*. Odysseus does not reveal his name either, while Aeneas introduces himself to Venus as *pious Aeneas* (Aen. 1.378). VF. 5.386 *Graium proceres* echoes Aen. 6.489 *Danaum proceres*. See also Wijsman (1996) 193: "the Trojan heroes of whom Medea now see the fathers".

⁸³² In Apollonius' *Argonautica* Jason concludes his speech by complimenting Medea's gentle civility (ARh. 3.1006b-7).

⁸³³ For the Homeric and Virgilian echoes, see Wijsman (1996) 193f.

⁸³⁴ Cf. Wetzel (1957) 71 and Wijsman (1996) 193.

⁸³⁵ Cf. VF. 5.342 *comitante caterva*. For the use of *caterva* and *grex*, see Wijsman (1996) 189. The narrator also refers to Medea as *regina* (VF. 5.373).

⁸³⁶ Cf. Anzinger (2007) 199f. For the influence of the ekphrasis of the Virgilian temple reliefs in the *Aeneid* (Aen. 1.454-93, esp. Aen. 1.454 *reginam opperiens*) on Jason's speech prior to the palace ekphrasis in Valerius' account, see Wijsman (1996) 196: "In the *Aeneid* the word is functional because one is waiting for the queen; in Valerius the word is much less appropriate because Jason is only waiting for Medea to begin to speak".

entirely consumed Medea and has even become her main character trait in this scene.⁸³⁷ Nonetheless, she stays and is therefore from her very first speech onwards shown to be easily swayed. Medea is ultimately led into her ruin a little further by every single character she converses with. This character trait is exclusive to her in Valerius' *Argonautica*; in Apollonius' version, by contrast, Medea too manipulates others, such as her sister Chalkiope (ARh. 3.636-9) and her handmaids (ARh. 3.902-6) when pursuing her own intentions, and in both Euripides' and Seneca's tragedies Medea is continually resistant to advice.⁸³⁸

Medea's Second Speech

When Medea finally dares to reply, her speech is short, but polite and clear. The speech introduction is elliptical (VF. 5.392 *sic orsa – sc. est*) and sets the tone for the fast-paced, staccato-like speech, which reflects Medea's alertness to the urgency of Jason's request⁸³⁹ and further underlines the young maiden's enormous trepidation and timidity (VF. 5.391b-2 *illa parumper / virgineo cunctata metu sic orsa vicissim*).⁸⁴⁰

The model of Medea's second speech is the speech of Athene in the *Odyssey* (Od. 7.28-36, esp. 7.28-30), who disguises herself as a young virgin and hides Odysseus in a cloud of mist to keep him safe on his way to the Phaeacian palace after his meeting with Nausicaa – the model for Medea's first speech.⁸⁴¹

This speech consists of three sentences with two enjambements containing four main pieces of information: 1. Medea reveals herself to be the daughter of king Aeetes (VF. 5.393a); 2. she reassures Jason that the palace is close⁸⁴² and easily accessible via natural paths (VF. 5.393b-4); 3. she offers one of her female servants to the Argonauts for guidance (VF. 5.395f.), and 4. Medea informs them that the

⁸³⁷ On Medea's fear, cf. Adamietz (1976) 74f. and Anzinger (2007) 200. Jason again falls silent in horror when he faces Medea's pet dragon for the first time at VF. 8.67 *ille silet, tantus subiit tum virginis horror*.

⁸³⁸ In Euripides' tragedy, Medea's nurse compares her to a lioness and a bull to highlight her resistance to advice (Eur. Med. 187-9), cf. Blaiklock (1952) 24f., Pucci (1980) 42, and Karydas (1998) 110 n.147.

⁸³⁹ For the introductory speech formula, cf. Aen. 7.435 *sic orsa vicissim / ore refert* and Aen. 11.123 *sic ore vicissim / orsa refert*. See also Wijsman (1996) 195 for further references.

⁸⁴⁰ On Medea's fear, see VF. 5.427a *virgineo turbata metu* (Phasis pursuing the nymph Aea). Cf. also Wijsman (1996) 195.

⁸⁴¹ Cf. Od. 7.18-20 *ἀλλ' ὅτε δὴ ἄρ' ἔμελλε πόλιν δύσεσθαι ἐραννήν, / ἔνθα οἱ ἀντεβόλησε θεά, γλαυκῶπις Ἀθήνη, / παρθενικῆ ἔκυθα νεήνιδι, κάλπιν ἔχουση*.

⁸⁴² The word choice *moenia* (VF. 5.394) establishes a connection to the subsequent *teichoscopia* (VF. 6.681f.) and their next meeting. On the chiasmic arrangement and the connection of *genitor* and *moenia* with *iuxta* (VF. 5.393f.), see Wijsman (1996) 195.

city is under siege from an internal enemy. The speech is well balanced and constructed in such a manner that Medea first makes an informative geographical or genealogical statement before elaborating on a problem connected to that matter. Her speech is closely linked to Jason's by a relative sentence connector (VF. 5.393 *quem petis*), which recalls Jason's periphrastic and seemingly uncertain phrasing (VF. 5.387 *duc, precor, ad vestri quicumque est ora tyranni* and VF. 5.386 *Graium proceres tua tecta petentes*) and reveals her father's position and name which Jason pretends not to know.⁸⁴³ At the same time, just like Jason, Medea does not give her own name, but only reveals her high (mortal) status and thereby indirectly replies to Jason's complimentary question about her identity (VF. 5.378-84).⁸⁴⁴ She goes on to elaborate that the city walls (VF. 5.393f. *ipsa ... iuxta / moenia* and VF. 5.386 *tua tecta*)⁸⁴⁵ and the palace are close, but then modifies this assessment by pointing out that it is only close, if one is indeed familiar with the natural track (VF. 5.394b *si vivos possis discernere calles*), thus acknowledging Jason's claim of ignorance with regard to his present location (VF. 5.389 *ignaro ... locorum*).⁸⁴⁶

Medea therefore answers all of his questions, but changes the order in which she replies to them. The only request Medea does not comply with is Jason's appeal to instruct him in the correct moment and manner of speech (VF. 5.388 *ac tu prima doce fandi tempusque modumque*). Medea seems to ignore Jason's very specific declaration that they are putting all their hope and trust in her and her alone,⁸⁴⁷ when she delegates the task to a common, otherwise unknown maid who addresses this matter shortly afterwards (see below).

Medea concludes her speech by urging the Argonauts to hurry to the palace with the help of the female guide she assigns them (VF. 5.395 *hac adeo duce ferte gradus!*) and warns the strangers of a

⁸⁴³ On the phrasing cf. Od. 7.28-9a (Athene speaking) *τοιγὰρ ἐγὼ τοι, ξεῖνε πάτερ, δόμον, ὃν με κελεύεις, / δείξω.*

⁸⁴⁴ She does not ask any questions in return because Jason explains his request and already reveals his own identity in his greeting. Cf. Jason's own introduction of himself and his men as Greek heroes and princes at VF. 5.385b-6 *nos hospita pubes / advehimur, Graium proceres tua tecta petentes.*

⁸⁴⁵ Athene (disguised as a maiden) claims that her father lives close to King Alkinoos and offers to lead the hero there personally at Od. 7.29b-30 *ἐπεὶ μοι πατρὸς ἀμύμονος ἐγγύθι ναίει. / ἀλλ' ἴθι σιγῇ τοῖον, ἐγὼ δ' ὁδὸν ἡγεμονεύσω.*

⁸⁴⁶ Similarly, Athene urges Odysseus not to make contact with any of the natives and warns him of their xenophobia at Od. 7.31-5. Cf. Wijsman (1996) 195 with further parallels.

⁸⁴⁷ Note the use of personal pronouns in Jason's final appeal: VF. 5.389f. *deus ignaroque locorum / te dedit, in te animos atque omnia nostra repono.* It is noteworthy that Medea changes in her address between singular (of Jason: VF. 5.393 *petis*) and plural (of the entire embassy: VF. 5.395 *ferte*), just as Jason does in his speech (VF. 5.385 *fer*, 5.385 *nos*, VF. 5.386 *tua*, 5.387 *duc ... vestri*, VF. 5.388 *tu*, and VF. 5.390 *te ... te ... nostra*).

dangerous internal enemy (VF. 5.396 *impius ... hostis*) who is occupying their main roads.⁸⁴⁸ The last remark primarily serves as an explanation why the Argonauts should take the natural path and need the guidance of a native to reach the palace safely, but Medea's subjective depiction of Perses as aggressive internal enemy also contributes to Jason falling for Aeetes' deceit (VF. 6.14-26a).

Medea's speech is energetically concluded by a speech + action formula appropriate for the urgent request (VF. 5.397f. *dixerat haec patrium<que> viam detorquet ad amnem / sacraque terrificae supplex movet inrita Nocti*). Medea immediately continues on her way to the river where she intends to sacrifice. The narration thus returns to the episode's starting point in which Medea is shown to wake from her terrifying nightmares (VF. 5.398 *terrificae ... Nocti*). The episode reveals that Medea's intentions are not only prevented, but also entirely reversed, as it is Medea's determination to cleanse herself from the violent visions that leads to her meeting with Jason and thus eventually makes them come true and render her sacrifice naught (VF. 5.398 *sacra ... supplex movet inrita*).⁸⁴⁹

As a result of the fast pace and brevity of the scene, Medea's dismissal of her female servant is not reported in direct speech because her request would have only echoed Jason's earlier request to the Colchian princess. It can only be deduced from Medea's reply to Jason (VF. 5.395 *hac adeo duce ferte gradus*) and the narrator's information that Jason and his men are being led to Aeetes' palace by a maid (VF. 5.399).

The Colchian Maid (*Famula*)

The instruction of the anonymous Colchian servant (VF. 5.399 *famula* and VF. 5.403 *comes*) serves as an interlude (VF. 5.399-407a) between two important dialogue scenes: Jason's first meeting with Medea (VF. 5.363b-98) and his first audience with Aeetes (VF. 5.455-547). The maid's speech introduces the main ekphrasis of the palace, as presented by the L1 narrator (VF. 5.407-54), which will temporarily slow down the narration after the hectic speech exchange.⁸⁵⁰

⁸⁴⁸ The striking alliteration *alios aditus atque* (VF. 5.396) and the emphatic positioning of *castra* and *hostis* (VF. 5.396) hammer home the danger of the siege at the end of Medea's speech and could indicate a hendiadys ("the enemy camp"). Cf. Wijsman (1996) 195.

⁸⁴⁹ See Wijsman (1996) 196 with further references.

⁸⁵⁰ Cf. Wijsman (1996) 196: "(t)he interval heightens the tension of the story, and offers the chance to represent a fine piece of literature". For models of the long ekphrasis, cf. *ibidem* and Dräger (2003) 464.

No explicit reason is given for Medea's choice of this servant, but the demonstrative pronoun *hac* (VF. 5.395) suggests that the maid is selected simply because she stands nearby during Medea's and Jason's conversation.⁸⁵¹ This reference to her proximity echoes the instruction of Apollonius' Lemnian messenger and guide Iphinoe. In Apollonius too Iphinoe in her role as Jason's guide is not referred to by name, but only by her profession (ARh. 1.781 τῷ ἴκελος προπόλοιο κατὰ στίβον ἦεν ἥρωος). The main model for the Colchian maid is, however, the Homeric goddess Athene who appears before Odysseus in the guise of a young Phaeacian virgin in Book 7 of the *Odyssey* and complies with his request for help and guidance to Alkinoos' palace.⁸⁵² Like Athene and both Apollonius' and Valerius' Iphinoe, the anonymous maid safely guides Jason to the palace.⁸⁵³ While in the Homeric model it is of course Athene herself who casts a cloud of protection over Odysseus (Od. 7.14f. and Od. 7.41f.), Valerius' Colchian maid is aided in her endeavour to keep the Argonauts undetected by Juno's protective mist (VF. 5.400f.).⁸⁵⁴

Whereas neither the Argonauts' journey to Aetes' palace (ARh. 3.196-214) nor Medea's first meeting with Jason in Apollonius' *Argonautica* (ARh. 3.248b-53) contain a direct speech by a female servant, an unnamed Colchian maid is given a crucial role as an intermediary after Medea's first encounter with Jason. When Medea is crying in her room, having been prevented from leaving it by shame for her feelings for Jason three times (ARh. 3.616-63), it is an otherwise unknown female servant who notices her state of mind (ARh. 3.664b-6 τὴν δέ τις ἄφνω / μυρομένην μεσσηγὺς ἐπιπρομολοῦσ' ἐνόησεν / δμῶων, ἣ οἱ ἐπέτις πέλε κουρίζουσα). She informs Chalkiope and thus initiates the conversation between the sisters (ARh. 3.667-73), which leads to Medea's promise to help the Argonauts (ARh. 3.727-39) and to meet Jason in private (ARh. 3.740f. and ARh. 3.948-1136).⁸⁵⁵

⁸⁵¹ In Apollonius' Lemnian episode Iphinoe seems to be chosen as a guide because she stands nearby (ARh. 1.702).

⁸⁵² This model could be the reason why the maid is the only speaker who remains unnamed in Valerius' *Argonautica*. It could moreover explain why Valerius does not include Apollonius' conversation between Arete and Alkinoos, as their dialogue may have made the implicit reference in the first Colchian episode less apparent.

⁸⁵³ Cf. Od. 7.37f. ὣς ἄρα φωνήσασ' ἠγήσατο Παλλὰς Ἀθήνη / καρπαλίμως; ὁ δ' ἔπειτα μετ' ἔχνια βαῖνε θεοῖο.

⁸⁵⁴ Hera protects the Argonauts by a cloud of mist much earlier in Apollonius' *Argonautica* (ARh. 3.210-4) where the heroes do not require the help of a native because Phrixus' sons are part of the Argonautic embassy. For further models, cf. Wijsman (1996) 196f. and Dräger (2003) 464.

⁸⁵⁵ This speech exchange is only summarised and not reported in *oratio recta*.

Famula's Speech

This short speech scene is particularly fast-paced with many ellipses and dactyls.⁸⁵⁶ The group is in such a rush that the maid only starts speaking once they have arrived at their destination (VF. 5.402f. *iamque inerat populo mediaeque incognitus urbi, / cum comes orsa loqui*).⁸⁵⁷ The speech starts mid-verse after an elliptic speech formula and is interrupted by the interposed *verbum dicendi* (VF. 5.404 *ait*), which further highlights the dramatic hurry of the speaker and her companions.

The *famula's* speech is a monologue with no reply addressed to Jason. The speech directly results from Jason's request for guidance (VF. 5.387f. *duc, precor, ad vestri quicumque est ora tyranni, / ac tu prima doce fandi tempusque modumque*) and Medea's granting thereof (VF. 5.395a *hac adeo duce ferte gradus*). Just as Medea's second speech contains striking echoes of the disguised Athene's conversation with Odysseus in Book 7 of the *Odyssey* (Od. 7.28-36), the *famula's* speech recalls Athene's second speech (Od. 7.48-77). The speech consists of an introduction to and benevolent description of the native ruler (in Homer predominantly his wife Arete: Od. 7.54-74) and his customs, which soothes the hero's fear and establishes a transition to the narrator's ekphrasis of the palace (VF. 5.407-54).

The rare impersonal phrasing *ad aras / ventum* (VF. 5.403f.) also recalls Hypsipyle's ekphrastic speech in Valerius' Lemnian episode (VF. 2.332 *ventum erat ad rupem*), in which the queen herself has taken over the local tour for the Argonauts from her messenger Iphinoe (VF. 2.335b-9).

The sentence structure is typical of ekphrastic and descriptive speeches:⁸⁵⁸ the syntax is clear, parallel, mainly asyndetic (except VF. 5.405 *-que*), and simple with no subordinate sentences and verbs centrally supporting the fourfold structure, while at the same time the speech is full of variation, word- and sound play.⁸⁵⁹ In four short phrases the servant announces that 1. the group has reached its destination, the altar of Aeetes' father Phoebus,⁸⁶⁰ 2. King Aeetes will soon arrive at the shrine where he 3. patiently receives his chieftains and his people for audiences, and 4. in the presence of this father, the god Sol, Aeetes judges them justly. While the maid speaks truthfully in so far as Aeetes arrives

⁸⁵⁶ Cf. Wijsman (1996) 197 *ad* VF. 5.399: "the *s s d d* metrical pattern perhaps depicts Jason starting cautiously, then taking courage and speeding up".

⁸⁵⁷ The *famula*, like Athene, only starts to speak once they have arrived at the palace: Od. 7.46f. ἀλλ' ὅτε δὴ βασιλῆος ἀγκαλυτὰ δώμαθ' ἵκοντο, / τοῖσι δὲ μύθων ἦρχε θεά, γλαυκῶπις Ἀθήνη.

⁸⁵⁸ Note also the typical use of the present tense (except: VF. 5.404 *feret* to announce the king's imminent arrival), here to describe Aeetes' habits (VF. 5.405 *audit* and VF. 5.406 *admonet*), and the demonstrative pronouns (VF. 5.404 *huc* and VF. 5.405 *hic*).

⁸⁵⁹ Note the frequent *a-* and *p-* alliterations and assonances: VF. 5.403f. *ad aras / ... ait ... adytis*, VF. 5.405f. *audit ... / adloquii ... admonet aequi*, VF. 5.404 *paternis*, VF. 5.405f. *proceres ... populosque precantes / ... praesens pater*.

⁸⁶⁰ The disguised Athene similarly starts her speech by declaring that they have arrived at Alkinoos' palace and by announcing the rulers: Od. 7.48-50a οὗτος δὴ τοι, ξείνε πάτερ, δόμος, ὃν με κελεύεις / πεφραδέμεν: δῆεις δὲ διοτρεφέας βασιλῆας / δαίτην δαιτυμένους.

shortly afterwards (VF. 5.455f.), just as predicted, her account is nonetheless subjective.⁸⁶¹ She characterises Aeetes as a just and powerful ruler. The servant's loyal reverence and devotion are signalled by the first word of her speech (VF. 5.403 *Phoebi*) and expressed by numerous references to paternal and legal authority (VF. 5.403 *Phoebi genitoris*, VF. 5.404 *adytis ... paternis*, VF. 5.406 *pater*, as well as VF. 5.405 *rex*) that present Aeetes in a threefold role as judge, king, and divine offspring.⁸⁶² This positive portrayal, especially the description of Aeetes as *adloquiis facilis* (VF. 5.406), contrasts greatly with Aeetes' bad reputation (VF. 1.43), the narrator's preceding characterisation of the Colchian king (VF. 5.264 *nec vulgi cura tyranno*), and of course also differs from the following account, in which Aeetes is not at all receptive to Jason's request.⁸⁶³ The Argonauts nonetheless trust the *famula's* assessment, and curiously, without any hesitation start to explore the palace (VF. 5.407b-8a *ast illi propere monstrata capessunt / limina*).⁸⁶⁴ The speech's conclusion (VF. 5.426 *dixerat*) is just as brief and impersonal as the speaker's introduction with one single *verbum dicendi*.⁸⁶⁵ The pluperfect gives the speech even greater closure, and after the anonymous maid has fulfilled her task, the narrator does not mention her again, not even to announce her departure. Thus, once she has spoken, we forget all about her.

⁸⁶¹ The speech lacks personal and possessive pronouns and in fact any explicit reference to the addressee or the relationship between the speaker and the addressee (there is no apostrophe, no use of the second person, and a potential use of the first person plural is substituted by the impersonal *ventum* (VF. 5.404 *sc. est*), which is not surprising for the speech of a young maid to an unknown man and foreigner.

⁸⁶² Cf. Stadler (1993) 108 and Wijsman (1996) 198 for further references.

⁸⁶³ Cf. Lüthje (1971) 220, Shelton (1971) 300, and Wijsman (1996) 198.

⁸⁶⁴ The hectic pace does not even stop after they have arrived at the palace. *Propere* is rarely employed in epic poetry, cf. Poortvliet (1991b) 146 and Wijsman (1996) 198 with further references.

⁸⁶⁵ On the transposition of line 5.426, cf. Wijsman (1996) 198 and Dräger (2003) 464.

3. Overview: Female Council Scenes (Lemnos and Colchis)

	Lemnos (VF. 2.72-373a)	Colchis (VF. 5.177-8.617)
Divine scheming and collaboration	Venus (Direct speech: 2.127-34) Fama (Direct speech: 2.142b-60a)	Minerva (Direct speech: 5.282b-5) Juno (Direct speech: 5.286b-91) Minerva (Direct speech: 5.292-5)
Crime and emotional turmoil	Collective murder of Lemnian men (Mariticide: 2.216-41)	Medea's nightmare visions of her future crimes (Infanticide: 5.329-40)
Arrival of the Argonauts	Argo in harbour (2.311-2a)	Embassy on foot march (5.325-8)
Terrified female collective	Lemnian women (2.306-11a)	Entourage of female servants (5.342-6)
All-female counselling	Hypsipyle summons Lemnian women (Indirect speech: 2.312b-3a)	Medea asks her nurse for her advice (Direct speech: 5.353-5)
Experienced female counsellor	Polyxo (Direct speech: 2.322-5)	Henioche (Direct speech: 5.359-62)
Divine interference	Venus: 1) 2.313b-5: appeases the Lemnian women	Juno: 1) 5.363b-5: beautifies Jason
	2) 2.327b-8: removes all signs of their crimes to protect the Lemnians' reputation	2) 5.399-401: hides Argonauts in a cloud to protect them from the natives
First meeting and conversation with Jason	Hypsipyle (Direct speech: 2.335b-9)	Jason (Direct speech: 5.378-90) and Medea (Direct speech: 5.393-6)
Guidance for Argonauts	Hypsipyle sends her messenger Iphinoe to invite the Argonauts to the palace (Indirect speech: 2.326-7a)	Medea asks an anonymous <i>famula</i> to guide the Argonauts' to Aeetes' palace (Indirect speech: 5.395a)
Ekphrasis	Hypsipyle shows and explains Vulcan's forge and his typical work there to the Argonauts (Direct speech: 2.335b-9)	<i>Famula</i> shows the Argonauts Aeetes' palace and describes a typical audience (Direct speech: 5.403b-6)
Sacrifice	Hypsipyle (2.329-31)	Medea (5.397f.)
Audience and banquet	Hypsipyle – Jason (2.340-73a)	Aeetes – Jason (5.455-617)

4. SUMMARY: RECURRENT SPEAKER ROLES AND NARRATIVE PATTERNS

Divine Scheming and Collaboration

Both episodes begin with the secretive scheming of two goddesses who collaborate in an intrigue that will cost many lives and ruin the reputation of their previously upstanding main female targets. Venus and Fama agree on a method how to manipulate the Lemnian women into murdering their men (VF. 2.127-34 and VF. 2.142b-60a) and Juno (VF. 5.286b-91) and Minerva (VF. 5.282b-5 and VF. 5.292-5) discuss which side to take in the Colchian civil war in support of the Argonauts.

Whereas Fama's and Venus' plan is immediately put into action and leads to the gruesome massacre of all Lemnian men except Thoas (VF. 2.216-41), the intrigue against Medea, for which Juno will collaborate with Venus, is only alluded to in Juno's remarks to Pallas and the two goddesses are also pondering options other than military intervention. Unlike in the Lemnian episode, Medea's crimes, most prominently her future infanticide, are here only anticipated in her nightmare visions (VF. 5.329-40).

The gruesome images of the Lemnian women's recent mariticide and Medea's future child murder set the ominous backdrop of the council scene and explain the women's fearful response to the news of the Argonauts' arrival in both Valerian episodes (VF. 2.311-2a and VF. 5.325-8): when Hypsipyle's emergency meeting to which she has summoned all Lemnian women is suddenly interrupted (VF. 2.306-11a), and Medea and her female entourage anxiously notice strangers quickly approach them on their way to the river (VF. 5.342-6) where Medea intends to cleanse herself from the dire portents, the terrified young female protagonists consult their female confidantes (Polyxo: VF. 2.312b-3a and Henioche: VF. 5.353-5) on how to respond to the arrival of the yet unknown Greek heroes.

Female Collectives

The female collectives highlight Hypsipyle's and Medea's higher rank, but more importantly they emphasize the protagonists' innocence and need for guidance while also stressing that fear is the natural response of an all-female group without protection to the potentially hostile arrival of unknown men. Hypsipyle is presented as the only woman who has not participated in the gruesome

slaughter of the Lemnian men (VF. 2.241-305) and the collective approval of Polyxo's advice (VF. 2.326a) discloses that the young virgin Hypsipyle does not have any personal reasons for the union with the Argonauts, let alone a strong sexual desire for Jason. Medea's devastation at the visions of her cruel future crimes likewise shows her pure intentions at this stage in the narrative (VF. 5.329-40) and the presence of her maids moreover draws attention to Medea's outstanding beauty (VF. 5.343-9).

Henioche (Nurse) and Polyxo (Priestess)

In the young leader's dire straits a more experienced female advisor argues for a friendly reception of the Argonauts (Polyxo: VF. 2.322-5, Henioche: 5.359-62) and successfully soothes the princess' fear with the active help and interference of a goddess who follows her own personal interests with this two-fold intervention (Venus: VF. 2.313b-5 and VF. 2.327b-8; Juno: VF. 5.363b-5 and VF. 5.399-401). The female protagonist is swayed and subsequently arranges a guided tour for the Argonauts from the harbour to the palace (Hypsipyle: VF. 2.326-7a and Medea: VF. 5.395a) and conducts a sacrifice (Hypsipyle: VF. 2.329-31 and Medea: VF. 5.397f.) prior to the first official audience and banquet with the ruler (Hypsipyle: VF. 2.340-73a and Aeetes: VF. 5.455-617).

Despite their different professions, there are numerous parallels between the two women, which is not surprising in view of Apollonius' portrayal of Polyxo as Hypsipyle's old nurse. Both Henioche and Polyxo decisively influence the action of the princess Medea, or respectively the newly elected queen Hypsipyle, in Valerius' *Argonautica*. They take away her fear and ensure a friendly reception of the Argonauts. Both experienced counsellors argue that they possess superior knowledge, Henioche through her old age and life experience, Polyxo through divine inspiration. They are both not solely successful because of their professional authority and persuasive skills, but they are aided by the actions of a goddess. Henioche's and Polyxo's influence over the socially higher-ranked female leaders makes the young women appear helpless and to a certain extent also naïve. Moreover, their recommendations ultimately lead to a union between their advisees and Jason, and thus have a contrary effect to what their profession would require of them: the priestess advises a sexual union shortly after the Lemnian women have murdered their husbands, and the nurse and guardian of

Medea's *pudor* does not protect Medea's virginity, but through her advice in fact lays the basis for her future marriage to Jason.

Finally and, most importantly, both speakers influence the action in accordance with Jupiter's world plan. Whereas Polyxo explicitly refers to divine will as one of her main arguments (VF. 3.322 *fatis* and VF. 2.324 *Venus ipsa volens*), Henioche does not directly mention the gods' influence, but her speech is paralleled to Juno's (VF. 6.482-7 and VF. 6.592-9) and Venus' (VF. 7.223b-6 and VF. 7. 257b-83) manipulation of Medea in Books 6 and 7 of the *Argonautica*; like the disguised goddesses, she creates the opportunity for a meeting with the Greek hero.

Iphinoe (Messenger and Guide) and *Famula* (Guide)

After the influential female counsellors recommend and thus initiate the action, the two female protagonists instruct a female servant to converse with and guide the Argonauts. Hypsipyle sends her herald Iphinoe to the Argonauts to deliver their invitation to an audience with the Lemnian queen and Medea's anonymous maid is instructed to guide the heroes to Aeetes for an audience with the Colchian king. The two female characters therefore have merely functional roles and serve as intermediaries between the female and the male protagonist.

The identification of Hypsipyle's servant as Iphinoe facilitates her comparison to the much more prominent Apollonian messenger and guide. It is probably also a result of this intertextual allusion that Valerius' Iphinoe is only very briefly mentioned and not given a direct speech. Similarly, it may be the allusion to the Homeric model and the guise of Athene as an unnamed native virgin that led Valerius, for the only time in this epic, to withhold the name of Medea's servant. The omission of the servant's name in turn requires the report of her speech in *oratio recta* to clarify the allusion. The speech is paralleled by Hypsipyle's *ekphrasis* in the Lemnian episode and thus closes the circle.

Divine Intervention: Juno and Venus

Both Juno and Venus interfere twice during the council scene. The beneficiaries of all interventions are the Argonauts. Venus first soothes the women's wrath, which calms them down enough to put away their weapons and agree on a peaceful reception of the Argonauts, and then shields the heroes from

the terror of the recently committed crimes. Juno, on the other hand, first beautifies Jason to increase his erotic appeal to Medea, which in turn decreases her fear enough to engage in a conversation with the hero. The goddess then shrouds the Argonauts and their female guide in a cloud of mist to prevent their dangerous premature detection by the Colchians before they reach Aetes' palace. The two goddesses, who at this stage collaborate with other helpers (Venus-Fama; Juno-Pallas), eventually join their forces against Medea when they assume the appearance of Medea's relatives Chalciopé and Circe to corroborate and gradually increase Juno's earlier efforts in the present scene and persuade her to assist Jason.

Hypsipyle (Princess/Queen) – Medea (Princess)

Both Valerian princesses are generally isolated from their female confidantes. Polyxo's advice to Hypsipyle (VF. 2.322-5) and her indirect command to Iphinoé (VF. 2.326-7a) are the only instances in which Hypsipyle speaks to other female characters. Both Hypsipyle and Medea trust their experienced female advisors despite their initial fear of the Argonauts and will both lose their virginity and innocence to the same man as a result of their trust. The union with Jason, which is initiated by this conversation, is only temporary and ultimately leaves them in complete isolation.

All of Hypsipyle's other speeches are addressed to men (VF. 2.249b-53a, VF. 2.256-7a, VF. 2.274b-6, VF. 2.290-9, VF. 2.335b-9, VF. 2.403-8a, and VF. 2.419-24) and she does not participate in the all-female dialogue prior to the Lemnian council because Hypsipyle does not take part in the collective murder (VF. 2.216-41), but hides her father from the other women (VF. 2.242-305). During the council scene Hypsipyle is not given a direct speech (VF. 2.306-28) and is therefore never shown to be actively representing the interests of the female collective and acting as their direct spokesperson during that scene.

For Medea too her conversation with Henioché (VF. 5.353-5 and VF. 5.359-62) is her only conversation in *oratio recta* with another (real) mortal woman in the entire epic. She predominantly either speaks to herself (5 times), or converses with Jason (11 times), or the disguised goddesses Juno (twice) and Venus (3 times),⁸⁶⁶ thus characters who manipulate and ultimately corrupt her. No direct speeches to her father, mother, brother, or real aunt and sister are delivered in *oratio recta*, which

⁸⁶⁶ Cf. Appendix 4.12.7 and 4.10.1.4.

highlights Medea's isolation and lack of familial or same-sex support. The fact that her warmest and most emotional speech (VF. 8.10-5) prior to her departure in Book 8 of the Valerian *Argonautica* is addressed to her pet dragon makes the extent of her social isolation evident, while at the same time highlighting Medea's double nature and transition from a playful, innocent young girl to a strong, relentless sorceress and involuntary traitress and the fact that, despite retaining a conscience, she is powerless against the goddesses' joint efforts.

X. SELECT CHAPTER SUMMARIES

This chapter provides a small selection of summaries for some of the more comprehensive chapters on individual speakers, speaker categories, and speech types that are very important for the understanding of speech representation and especially female speech acts in Valerius' *Argonautica*, but could not be included in this thesis excerpt due to the University's restrictions of the scope of doctoral theses. Rare speakers and outstanding speech types have been chosen over frequent speech categories as well as the epic's most prominent female speakers such as Medea, Hypsipyle, Venus, Juno, and Minerva, for all of whom secondary literature abounds.

The first two summaries provide a detailed overview of the two most significant speaker groups with regard to their structural importance for the epic narrative. These groups, which are in fact closely related, are the Muses as well as mortal and divine collective speakers. The results of the more comprehensive analysis of the narrators' various types of invocations at different stages of the epic plot and their dynamic relationship with the Muses will be summarised here, and the role of the representative and collective speech acts, the difference between them, the collective's relationship to the Argonauts, most significantly Jason and Hercules, will be recapitulated and briefly compared.

The last four summaries are briefer discussions of individual speakers that represent a specific speaker type: first, Argo as the only abstract female speaker; then, the *famula* as the only anonymous female speaker; and finally two speakers with no equivalent direct speech act in the corresponding episodes – Helle, who only speaks in direct discourse in Valerius' *Argonautica* during an epiphany as a frame speaker and messenger of one of the most interesting embedded messenger speeches; and Thetis, who even speaks twice in Apollonius' epic and serves as an important divine helper to Hera, but whose importance is drastically reduced on behalf of Helle's portrayal and Juno's and Pallas' more intensive and prolonged collaboration in Valerius' *Argonautica*.

1. THE NARRATOR AND THE MUSES

The Muses are without a doubt the most influential female speakers in epic poetry as the primary sources of inspiration for the poet. While the Muses never speak in *oratio recta*, Apollonius and Valerius both invoke them repeatedly in the course of their epics. Some of the invocations serve as *proemia* to new sections of an episode or, most famously, the second half of the epic, whereas others, in which the poet invokes the Muses for their assistance with the narration of particularly awful or complicated events, are without structuring function. Despite these general similarities, the relationship between the Muses and the poet as well as their impact on the narrative is highly divergent in both epics.

Apollonius Rhodius

Apollonius' digression from the traditional Homeric portrayal of the Muses is already apparent in the first proem of his epic. Unlike the *Iliad* (Il. 1.1f.) and the *Odyssey* (Od. 1.1), the Hellenistic poet does not invoke the Muses as sources of poetic inspiration at the beginning of his *Argonautica*, but instead addresses Apollo first (ARh. 1.1 Φοῖβε) and postpones his request to the Muses to the end of the proem (ARh. 1.22b). In this Callimachean double invocation of the god of poetry and the Muses, the poet extraordinarily reverses the traditional roles and boldly declares the Muses to be not the inspiration for, but merely the interpreters of his song (ARh. 1.22b Μοῦσαι δ' ὑποφῆτορες εἶεν ἀοιδῆς).

Subsequently, the first half of Apollonius' epic, including the Argonauts' stay at Lemnos which Herakles ends by criticising Jason's effeminate attitude (ARh. 1.865-74), is dominated by Iliadic martial adventures with the Argonauts' fights against the Earthborn men (ARh. 1.985-1011) and Cyzicus (ARh. 1.1012-152), Polydeukes' boxing match against Amykos in Bebrykia (ARh. 2.1-163) and their crossing of the Symplegades (ARh. 2.537-647).

The only mortal female speakers who occur in the first half of the epic are either Thessalian (Alkimede and the Thessalian collective) or Lemnian women (Hypsipyle, Polyxo, and Iphinoe) and they are portrayed as entirely dependent on their male protectors, the Argonauts.

The Argonautic heroes also receive help from many mortal male helper figures such as the kings Cyzicus (ARh. 1.910-1152) and Lycus (ARh. 2.720-898), and especially the *vates* figures Mopsus

(ARh. 1.1092-102, ARh. 3.545-54, and ARh. 3.940-6), Orpheus (ARh. 2.686-93 and ARh. 4.1411-21), and Phineus (ARh. 2.164-536), who are all strongly associated with Apollo and serve as a mouthpiece of the god as well as the poet. The Argonauts, however, at this point still participate actively in the tasks and show determination as well as physical strength.

In addition to Apollo and the male mortal helpers, the two sole divine speakers of the first half of the Apollonian *Argonautica* – Glaukos (ARh. 1.1315-25) and Iris (ARh. 2.288-90) address the heroes at Zeus' direction (ARh. 1.1315f. and ARh. 2.288f.). The only exception to this pattern in the first half of the Apollonian *Argonautica*, albeit as a silent character, is the goddess Athene. To a certain extent, she also fits the pattern, as she is the most androgynous of all goddesses and in her independent intervention she does not use female qualities, but manly power to give the Argonauts the final push to pass the Symplegades (ARh. 2.598-606).

However, just as the seer Phineus realizes that he has to revise his demeanour towards Zeus and accordingly changes his prophetic strategy (ARh. 2.311-6), the Apollonian narrator appears to struggle with the different traditions and the understanding of Zeus' plan more and more. After Apollo's departure to Hyberborea at the end of Book 2, he finally succumbs to the Muses' influence (ARh. 2.844b-50). The narrator officially revises his position to the Muses in the proem to Book 3 (ARh. 3.1-5), which establishes a transition from Phoebus as inspirator of the bellicose first half (ARh. 1.1) to the eponymous Muse Erato (ARh. 3.1), who, as confidante of Aphrodite, is a more suitable guide for the second half dominated by matters of the heart (ARh. 3.3-5a). In this second proem Apollonius in fact seems to declare a Theocritean joint, equal responsibility for the narration between the Muses and the narrator to report the events of the second half side by side.

With the second proem the nature of the narrative changes dramatically. Women, both mortal and divine, become the driving force and the dominant speaking and silent agents. The Argonauts, who have previously mastered all tasks by means of their physical strength, have become passive bystanders and disputants. Instead of male helpers, the tutelary goddesses Hera (ARh. 3.11-6, ARh. 3.25-9, ARh. 3.56-75, ARh. 3.84-9, and ARh. 3.108-10), Athene (ARh. 3.18-21 and ARh. 3.32-5), and Aphrodite (ARh. 3.52-4, ARh. 3.79-82, ARh. 3.91-9, ARh. 3.102-5, ARh. 3.129-44, and ARh. 3.151-3) have the Argonauts' fate in their hands and the heroes, in a reversal of the portrayal of mortal women in Book 1, become entirely dependent on Medea's help – a tendency Idas, unlike the highly respected Herakles in the first half (ARh. 1.865-74), cannot impede (ARh. 3.556-66).

Phineus (ARh. 2.209-39, ARh. 2.256-61, ARh. 2.311-407, ARh. 2.420-5, ARh. 2.444-7, and ARh. 2.468-89) and Mopsos (ARh. 1.1092-102, ARh. 3.545-54, and ARh. 3.940-6), the seers and former mouthpieces of the narrator, are both ridiculed for their incorrect predictions by a speaking crow that at Hera's instigation corrects the seers' assumption that their divine helper is Aphrodite (ARh. 3.936f.).

After the Muses have already occasionally appeared as characters in the narrative proper such as Calliope as Orpheus' mother (ARh. 1.23-5), or as instigators of Aristaeus' marriage to Autonoe and instructors of healing powers and prophecies (ARh. 2.512-5), the principal female characters echo the invocation of the Muses in the second half. Aphrodite, in particular, starts to resemble the narrator. Just as he is afraid that Erato may not adhere to his request (ARh. 3.1), Aphrodite expects Eros to disobey her instructions (ARh. 3.91-9), and her speech to Eros (ARh. 3.131) recalls the narrator's invocation of Erato (ARh. 3.1-5).

The Apollonian narrator's helplessness and Alexandrian self-consciousness finds its expression in yet another revision of his earlier invocation of the Muses in the proem of the final book of the *Argonautica*, in which he eventually accepts and assumes the traditional subordinate role to the Muses (ARh. 4.1-5). In a speechless stupor over Medea's actions and her motives, he yields all control over the narration and its interpretation to the unnamed Muse (ARh. 4.1. θεά), and entreats her to explain Medea's distress and to report the remaining events by herself (ARh. 4.1. αὐτῇ νῦν).

With the responsibility for the narration lying with the Muses, the plot becomes much more fantastical and the female characters such as Kirke (ARh. 4.739-48), Arete (ARh. 4.1073-95), Hera, Thetis, and the Nereids (ARh. 4.753-865 and ARh. 4.920-82), the Sirens (ARh. 4.895-6a), the Libyan nymphs (ARh. 4.1318-29) and the Hesperides (ARh. 4.1432-49) dominate the narration. It is striking that all speaking or singing divine female collectives, but also Hera (ARh. 4.643 θεῆς ὑπο) and Thetis (ARh. 4.838-41 and ARh. 4.938) as guides and chorus leaders, are either addressed, indirectly characterised, or associated with the Muses.

The Argonauts' crossing of the Wandering Rocks (ARh. 4.753-981), which is created in a ring composition to their passing of the Cyanean Rocks (ARh. 2.537-647), is representative of the significant change in the tone of the narrative and in the characterisation of the Argonauts. While they managed to pass the Symplegades through a combination of their own strength and Tiphys' skill as their helmsman (ARh. 2.556b-9a), as well as Phineus' earlier instructions (ARh. 2.555-6a) and just a

final push from Athene (ARh. 2.598-606), now the passing is entirely accomplished by the Nereids, whose playful tossing of the ship is compared to a joyous, girlish ball game (ARh. 4.948-50). Just as the Argonauts leave their naval course in the Nereids' hands and just as Ankaios, when stranded on the Libyan island, abdicates his role as steersman (ARh. 4.1261-76), the poet relies on the Muses for the return voyage. He leaves it to them to choose between different traditions of the myth, from which he ironically distances himself (ARh. 4.552-6), to justify the narration (ARh. 4.984b-5a) and to verify even the most spectacular accounts, for which he, so the argument of the Apollonian narrator, only serves as an accurate mouthpiece (ARh. 4.1381-7a).

There is thus a clear development between the first, second, and third proems with a steady decrease in the narrator's control over the narration and a simultaneous increase in female speech acts, divine interventions, and incredulous accounts. It is only towards the end of the epic poem that Apollo and the Argonauts' protector and defender of traditional heroism, Herakles, are reintroduced into the epic plot, one with the recollection of his encouraging epiphany (ARh. 4.1704b-14a), the other with the information of the completion of his Labours and his catasterism (ARh. 4.1450-84 and ARh. 1.1315-20). The epic thus concludes, as it began, with an appeal to Apollo, the god of both poetry and embarkation (ARh. 4.1689-1730).

Valerius Flaccus

Valerius goes even further than Apollonius and completely removes the Muses from the proem of the *Argonautica*. Instead, in accordance with Flavian tendencies, he addresses Apollo (VF. 1.5 *Phoebe*) and the emperor Vespasian (VF. 1.7b-21) in a mythological and historical double invocation. With the exception of the *proemium* (VF. 1.1-21) Valerius, unlike his Hellenistic predecessor, follows the classical portrayal of the Muses with a strong narrator figure. He omits Apollonius' Alexandrian, ironic distancing from the tradition, which greatly influenced Ovid's narrator, and returns to a more classical Virgilian style of narration. Valerius does not portray Muses as characters of the narrative proper, but only apostrophizes them in five short invocations (VF. 3.14-8, VF. 3.212-9, VF. 5.217-23, VF. 6.33-41, and VF. 6.515f.).

The invocation in Book 5 of the Flavian *Argonautica* stands not only in the centre of the Muse invocations, but even of the entire book. It follows the Apollonian (ARh. 3.1-5) and especially the Virgilian model (Aen. 7.37-45) and serves as a slightly postponed proem to the second half of the epic.

Whereas Apollonius' *proemium secundum* (ARh. 3.1-5) introduces the Medea narrative and leads to a drastic change in the narrative mode towards a more elegiac tone, Virgil's proem opens the Iliadic half of the *Aeneid* with a focus on warfare. The fact that Valerius' proem anticipates the events of the second half in a succinct, rising tricolon (VF. 5.219b-20 *ventum ad furias infandaque natae / foedera et horrenda trepidam sub virgine puppem*), which summarises Medea's fate, suggests that Valerius is following his Hellenistic predecessor.

The Flavian poet, however, only plays with the expectations of his reader when, like Apollonius (ARh. 3.6-35), he starts the Medea narrative with the secret plotting of Juno (VF. 5.286b-91) and Minerva (VF. 5.282b-5 and VF. 5.292-5) and even begins to report Jason's and Medea's first meeting (VF. 5.329-98). Yet, the Valerian goddesses do not yet think about Medea's future role in their intrigue and the first meeting between Jason and Medea, though important for the protagonists' characterisation as well as for structural reasons, is thematically nothing, but a brief, appealing Homeric interlude that explains how Jason and his embassy without Phrixus' sons as their guides safely reach Aeetes' palace (VF. 5.399-406). Both episodes from Apollonius' Medea plot are reworked to introduce a civil war into the narrative, a popular topic in Flavian epic poetry. In other words, Valerius pretends to follow Apollonius' model, only to abandon the Medea subplot again very quickly in order to, in a Virgilian manner, narrate the by far longest military conflict of the epic covering all of Book 6 in the *Argonautica*.

While the third invocation of the Muses (VF. 5.217-23) is without a doubt the most important one, both structurally and with regard to its intra- and intertextual importance, the remaining four invocations are also strategically placed and serve to highlight the parallel composition of the war-dominated Books 3 and 6. Both the Cyzican *nyktomachia* and the Colchian war are framed by invocations of the Muses to mark the beginning (VF. 3.14-8 and VF. 6.33-41) and the climax of the fights (VF. 3.212-9 and VF. 6.515f.). In typically Iliadic and Virgilian fashion, in Book 6 the poet asks for the Muses' assistance in reporting the vast catalogue of Perses' Scythian troops (VF. 6.33-41) as well as in recounting the individual heroic deeds with greater accuracy (VF. 6.515f.).

The invocation at the beginning of Book 3 serves as an internal dividing line and bridge passage between the Argonauts' first friendly reception and peaceful stay on Cyzicus (VF 2.636-3.13) and their forced return at Cybele's instigation, which leads to a *nyktomachia* and almost to the extinction of the Cyzican people (VF 3.14-272). Valerius' invocation of Clio (VF. 3.15) echoes the conventional Virgilian

invocations, in which the narrator asks the Muses to help him report unspeakably horrific events (VF. 3.14 *infandaque proelia*, Aen. 7.37-45a, Aen. 9.525-8, and Aen. 12.500-3a). However, Valerius is primarily interested in the divine motivation behind these events and asks the Muse to share her knowledge and to justify the gods' cruel intervention. Valerius' narrator often employs comprehensive introductions and narratorial comments at decisive moments in the epic plot to explain or question the impending events and the divine intervention or lack thereof. Here, the narrator specifically criticises Jupiter (VF. 3.16b-8a) for not preventing the *nyktomachia* between guest and host. He attacks Jupiter much more openly than the Virgilian narrator who only indirectly questions the father of the gods (Aen. 12.503b-4).

As a result of Lucan's and Ovid's influence, Valerius also moves away from Apollonius' and Virgil's only mildly subjective and distant narration. Valerius' narrator is much closer to the characters. He openly reflects upon the reported events in numerous authorial comments (e.g. VF. 2.216-9, VF. 2.396b-8a, VF. 3.30, VF. 3.95, VF. 3.250-3, VF. 5.143, VF. 6.559-562, and VF. 8.259f.), he expresses his sympathy for suffering characters such as Hesione, Hylas, Helle, or, most extensively, for Medea, whom in allusion to Virgil's Dido, he calls *infelix* and *misera* (VF. 6.490, VF. 6.586, VF. 6.669, VF. 7.107, VF. 7.371, VF. 8.4, and VF. 8.9) or his disapproval for instance of Juno (VF. 3.580 *saevae ... novercae* and VF. 6.590 *aspera Iuno*) and Venus (VF. 7.216 *saevae ... divae* and VF. 7.251 *iniquae / ... Veneris*) and of course Medea as the *improba virgo* (VF. 6.681) through attributes, affective parenthetical interjections (e.g. *heu* at VF. 3.592 and VF. 5.523, or *nefas* at VF. 3.186, VF. 3.258, and VF. 4.692), emotional questions (e.g. VF. 3.355b-6a and VF. 8.290) and exclamations (e.g. VF. 1.76b-7a and VF. 7.336-7a). The Valerian narrator tries to put himself in the characters' position (e.g. VF. 1.291-3, VF. 1.621b-4, VF. 3.177b-81, VF. 6.449-54, and VF. 8.312-5a) in order to understand their point of view, and he uses his omniscience to reveal their underlying motives and attempted deceptions, such as, most notably, in the cases of Pelias (VF. 1.40-57), Laomedon (VF. 2.557-66), and Aeetes (VF. 5.334b-41a).

The closer standpoint of the Valerian narrator is also reflected in the poet's use of free indirect discourse and soliloquies. In a plot that seems predestined for Ovid's long decision-making soliloquies, Valerius returns to Virgil's shorter and very select use of soliloquies, while at the same time expanding the use of free indirect discourse. In a manner that seems much more fluent and less artificial than Ovid's stylised soliloquies, Valerius efficiently combines and merges brief passages of FID, NRTA, and

NRSA with short, but powerful soliloquies that are similar in their average length to Apollonius' (ARh.: ø 8.5; VF.: ø 8.22) and often form the climax of a characterisation.

Valerius predominantly uses FID in L1 narrations at crucial moments in the narrative plot: Jason finds himself without a real choice when he faces Pelias' orders (VF. 1.66-76); Hercules decides to put an end to the Argonauts' laziness (VF. 2.777b) and vents his anger, which prompts their immediate departure from Lemnos; in his final moments Cyzicus realizes that his death is in fact a divine punishment (VF. 3.241b-2); the Argonauts are seized by fear and paralysis, but also by fascination when they come closer to the greatest obstacle of their voyage, the Symplegades (VF. 4.638b-9a), which they have anticipated and dreaded for such a long time; in the middle of the Colchian battles, Juno suddenly realises that Medea is the key to her success and changes her strategy (VF. 6.454); Medea, like Jason (VF. 1.71 and VF. 7.309 *heu quid agat?*), is confronted with an impossible decision when she has to choose between her love for Jason and her father; and finally Absyrtus' determination to attack the Argonauts is impeded by Juno's sea storm that leaves him with no option, but to turn away (VF. 8.370-2a). Whereas these situations are very serious and the characters' eventual decisions have an immense impact on the narrative plot, the only free indirect discourse in a character speech can be found in Orpheus' humorous Io narrative (VF. 4.351b-421), in which Juno and Jupiter try to outwit each other. When Juno has caught up with Jupiter's lies and demands the transformed Io as a pet, Jupiter eagerly looks for an excuse that can get him out of this dilemma (VF. 4.364b-5).

2. REPRESENTATIVE AND COLLECTIVE SPEECHES

Apollonius assigns three speeches to the epic's principal collective, the Argonauts (ARh. 2.145-53, ARh. 4.1251-8, and ARh. 4.1458-60) and four speeches to a secondary representative or collective (ARh. 1.242-6, ARh. 1.251-9, ARh. 4.1318-29, and ARh. 4.1432-49). Valerius' *Argonautica* includes four primary (VF. 1.627-32, VF. 4.327-9, VF. 5.17-20, and VF. 5.550-2) and three secondary collective speeches (VF. 2.113f, VF. 3.45, and VF. 6.29). In comparison, both Apollonius and Valerius employ collective speeches very selectively. The Flavian poet, however, does not employ more than one collective speech in the same episode, whereas Apollonius' Libyan episode contains as many as four group speeches.

These speeches are consistently short speeches, ranging between three and twelve lines in Apollonius' *Argonautica* and, even shorter, between only two thirds to six lines in Valerius' epic poem. It is noteworthy that Valerius follows Apollonius in the conflation of literary models in his collective speeches. The most striking example is probably the Argonauts' speech in Bebrycia (VF. 4.327-9) where Valerius employs a reduplication (VF. 4.327 *salve, vera Iovis, vera o Iovis ... proles*) of a collective Virgilian praise of Hercules (Aen. 8.301 *salve, vera Iovis proles*) to draw attention to his amalgamation of Apollonius' summarised collective hymn to Polydeukes (ARh. 2.159-63) and the Argonauts' praise of the Tirynthian hero (ARh. 2.145-53) suggesting that Pollux, the object of Valerius' collective commendation, has not only surpassed his opponent Amycus, but also Hercules through his victory.

There are many direct equivalents for Apollonius' individual speeches. However, no single collective speech receives an exact representation in Valerius' *Argonautica*. For two of Apollonius' collective speeches a Valerian variation exists as a collective speech with a shared speech topic (ARh. 4.1458-60 ~ VF. 5.17-20: loss of an important crewmember) or shared speech context (ARh. 4.1251-8 ~ VF. 1.627-32: storm scene) in a different episode. When the collective speeches occur at a similar position in the same episode, the collective speech is directly reported in the one, but only summarized in the other epic (farewell from Iolkos: OR: ARh. 1.242-6 and ARh. 1.251-9, OO: VF. 1.315f; victory over Amycus: OR: VF. 4.327-9, OO: ARh. 2.159-63; audience with Aeetes: OR: VF. 5.550-2, OO: ARh. 3.489-90). This change of speech representation sometimes is due to a shift in focus to different speakers (male and female collective speakers: ARh. 1.242-6 and ARh. 1.251-9; female and male individual speakers Alcimedea and Aeson: VF. 1.320-34 and VF. 1.336-47) or

addressees (from the Apollonian Argonauts' praise of Herakles at ARh. 2.145-53 to their collective praise of Pollux in the Valerian Argonautica at VF. 4.327-9).

Valerius' three secondary collectives (VF. 2.113f, VF. 3.45, and VF. 6.29), however, do not have a model in Apollonius' *Argonautica* because these speeches serve as intertextual markers that emphasize a deviation from the Hellenistic version with regard to the Lemnian men's adultery (ARh. 1.611-4), the cause of the Cyzican *nyktomachia* (ARh. 1.1015-18 and ARh. 1.1021-4), as well as Valerius' inclusion of a Colchian civil war between Perses and Aetes, which is absent from the Apollonian epic.

The Argonauts (Primary Collective)

The collective that speaks most frequently in both epics is naturally the collective of the male protagonists, the Argonauts, but even the direct speeches by secondary collectives serve to characterize a specific individual Argonaut or the Argonauts as a group. The individual that is most often characterized in a collective speech is Hercules/Herakles, but with different means and effect. In Apollonius' *Argonautica*, Herakles' importance for the quest is stressed and his absence is lamented directly by the Argonauts throughout their journey. The Argonauts' final speech reveals Herakles' successful completion of all his Labours (ARh. 4.1458-60), for which he is rewarded with the promised deification at the end of epic (ARh. 1.1315-20). Valerius' collective of Argonauts, by contrast, only indirectly discuss their relationship with Hercules, but instead emphasize the strength of their homogeneous group when they praise other outstanding Argonautic heroes such as the Dioscuri, Pollux (VF. 4.327-9) and Castor (VF. 5.550-2). The only crewmember Valerius' Argonauts consider irreplaceable is not Hercules, but their helmsman Tiphys (VF. 5.17-20), which is why Argo herself has to elect his successor (VF. 5.65b-6a).

While there is no corresponding pattern of speech distribution, the speeches of both epics are all inserted at moments in the narrative plot that are crucial for the continuation of the Argonauts' journey, constitute great danger to the heroes' lives, or delay their journey. The speeches are therefore not only of great significance for the characterization of the Argonauts, but also for the narrative plot. This is especially evident in Valerius' epic poem: the protagonists' first speech (VF. 1.627-32) officially transforms them into pioneer navigators; their second speech (VF. 4.327-9) occurs during their first

trial after Hercules' loss; the third concludes the Odyssean half with the death of the Argonauts' helmsman (VF. 5.17-20); and the fourth and final collective speech (VF. 5.550-2) results in the abandonment of Argo and opens the Iliadic half of the Valerian *Argonautica*.

SECONDARY COLLECTIVE SPEAKERS

Apollonius Rhodius

All but one of Apollonius' secondary collective speeches (ARh. 1.242-6) are assigned to a female group or representative. The only male speech is part of a two-fold juxtaposition of male (Thessalian men: ARh. 1.242-6 and Jason: ARh. 1.295-305) and female (Thessalian women: ARh. 1.251-9 and Alkimedea: ARh. 1.278-91) speech acts and viewpoints in response to the same event – Pelias' orders for the Argonautic voyage (ARh. 1.15-7). Just as the speech of the Thessalian men is combined with the speech of the Thessalian women, the speeches by two female divine collectives, the Libyan goddesses (ARh. 4.1318-29) and the Hesperides (represented by Aigle: ARh. 4.1432-49), correspond to each other. While the first juxtaposition serves to emphasize gender stereotypes, the divine speeches are directly inspired by and compared to the Muses.

The divine speeches are significantly longer with 18 verses (Aigle: ARh. 4.1432-49) and 12 verses (Λιβύης τιμήοροι: ARh. 4.1318-29), while the speech of the mortal women, and especially the men, remains rather succinct with a total of 9 (αἱ γυναῖκες: ARh. 1.251-9) and 5 verses (οἱ ἄνδρες: ARh. 1.242-6). The length of the collective speeches is in reverse to the overall tendency of the epic where humans on average ($\bar{\emptyset}$ 12.48) speak longer than deities ($\bar{\emptyset}$ 10.04) and goddesses ($\bar{\emptyset}$ 9.95) speak much shorter than both mortal women ($\bar{\emptyset}$ 13.61) and mortal men ($\bar{\emptyset}$ 12.06). The speech length for the mortal collectives, however, resembles the average speech length of the Argonauts more closely ($\bar{\emptyset}$ 6.67, between 3 and 9 verses). Yet, this study group is of course too small to deduce more than a tendency for shorter mortal collective speech acts in Apollonius' representation of collective speeches from these data.

The Thessalian Men and Women (ARh. 1.242-6 and ARh. 1.251-9)

With the two collective speeches by the crowd of the Thessalian men and women, Apollonius, unlike Valerius, gives a voice to the common people. Following the reinterpretation of the proem with a postponement and degradation of the Muses, the Hellenistic poet continues with yet another novelty, when he attributes the programmatic opening speech of the epic to a mortal collective. This decision is of course an imitation of the dramatic tradition and especially the opening chorus of Euripides' *Medea*. The two juxtaposed speeches fulfil multiple functions. They summarise the previous events and introduce the protagonist and his family, but they also set the tone for the farewell episode with their explicit comments on Pelias' mission and its impact for both the Argonauts and their families.

The collective speech of the Thessalian men (ARh. 1.242-6) represents the rational, male viewpoint, which accepts the present, focuses on the future, and critically questions Pelias' motives as well as Zeus' plan behind it. The direct juxtaposition of the men's analytical well-structured argument emphasizes the women's *infirmitas animi* with their excessive, irrational and unstructured lament (ARh. 1.251-9), their focus on the personal misfortune of a mother (Alkimedea) rather than the wider implications of the journey or the divine will, and stresses their inability to let go of the past and to embrace the present challenge.

These gender stereotypes are taken to even greater extremes in the subsequent conversation between Alkimedea (ARh. 1.278-91) and Jason (ARh. 1.295-305), in which the swooning Alkimedea vehemently proclaims her complete dependence on Jason and desperately clings onto her son, who harshly criticises her for her egotism and irrationality and even forbids her to accompany him to the ship (ARh. 1.306-19).

Valerius transforms the direct speeches of the Thessalian men and women into NRSAs, which merely serve as the background for Jason's double farewell from his parents, in which the Flavian poet stylizes both Alkimedea (VF. 1.320-34) and especially Aeson (VF. 1.336-47), through comparison with the farewell speech and the demeanour of Virgil's Evander in the *Aeneid* (Aen. 8.558-83a), into models of Roman dignity, virtue, and familial *pietas*. By a simple reversal of the speech order Valerius effectively changes the ominous, pessimistic conclusion of Apollonius' farewell, so that Aeson's proud, optimistic speech concludes and thus sets the tone for the entire farewell episode (VF. 1.335f.).

The Libyan Goddesses (ARh. 4.1318-29)

The prophecy of the Libyan goddesses is the longest collective speech in Apollonius' *Argonautica* and the first of the three collective speeches in the Libyan episode of the final book. When the Argonauts are stranded at the shores of Libya and disperse to die in private, the three Λιβύης τιμήσοροι suddenly appear before Jason and address the terrified leader (ARh. 4.1318-29). They introduce themselves as guardian spirits of Libya, reveal their knowledge of the Argonauts' successful recovery of the Fleece and past trials, and urge Jason to stop his idle lament. The prophecy is enigmatic and Jason is unable to interpret it and consults his crew for advice. In a fantastical turn of events – defended by the narrator with the authority of the Muses for the narration – the predicted omen appears as a giant horse with a golden mane emerging from the sea. Peleus instructs the Argonauts to follow the horse's path and carry Argo through the desert (ARh. 4.1370-80).

The epiphany in a deserted area, the poet's invocation of the Muses (ARh. 4.1381-92), the tone and content of the goddesses' speech, as well as Jason's prayer (ARh. 4.1333-5) echo both Hesiod's meeting with the Muses on Mt. Helicon (Theog. 22-34) and Odysseus' perception of the Sirens in the *Odyssey* (Od. 12.189f.), whom the Apollonian Argonauts have just successfully left behind prior to this episode. In addition to the symbolic abdication of the poet and the helmsman, Jason's veiling and the goddesses' unveiling of his face (ARh. 4.1313f.) are a metaphor for the composition of epic poetry. Just as Jason is unable to comprehend the goddesses' prophecy and is only the intermediary of the goddesses' knowledge, the Apollonian narrator can only repeat the goddesses' account to his own audience without interpreting it.

Although this collective female speech does not have a direct equivalent, it has inspired Argo's exhortative prophecy in Valerius' *Argonautica* (VF. 1.302b-7) and, more importantly, Helle's epiphany and message dictation (VF. 2.592-7). Whereas Apollonius' Jason immediately reports the goddesses' words in great detail and his speech contains several repeated word clusters (ARh. 4.1336-60), Valerius postpones Jason's delivery of Helle's message to Phrixus for a long time and only alludes to it without in fact reproducing her message, when the hero finally prays at her brother's grave (VF. 5.194-213).

Even though Helle's message is not directly associated with the Muses, it nonetheless has a considerable structuring impact on the narrative beyond her speech scene in so far as Helle (and later

also her brother: VF. 5.233b-40) continues Orpheus' song of her and Phrixus' flight from Thessaly (VF. 1.277-93). Like the Valerian bard, she thus becomes one of the epic's *vates* in her own right.

The Hesperides (ARh. 4.1458-60)

The three Libyan nymphs have widely been recognized as a foil for the Hesperides, whom the Argonauts encounter shortly afterwards at Lake Triton (ARh. 4.1380-4). The roles are, however, reversed: instead of a female, divine collective (Λιβύης τιμήοροι) and an individual male mortal addressee (Jason), a goddess (Aigle) speaks to the mortal male collective (Argonauts). Unlike the Λιβύης τιμήοροι (ARh. 4.1318-29), the Hesperides only reluctantly help the Argonauts, after Orpheus, another character who appears as the poet's *alter ego*, pleads with them (ARh. 4.1411-21).

Aigle finally reveals that Herakles recently came to their garden as part of his Labours, slew the serpent guarding the golden apples, and miraculously created a water source from a rock in order to quench his thirst (ARh. 4.1432-49). As a narrative speech her report is marginally longer (18 vv.) than the epiphany speeches of the other nature deities (Glaukos: ARh. 1.1315-25: 11vv.; Libyan goddesses: ARh. 4.1318-29: 12vv.; Triton: ARh. 1554-61: 8vv. and ARh. 1573-85: 13vv.). The Hesperides, despite their negative experience with Herakles, eventually save the Argonauts' lives by pointing them into the direction of the new water source.

More importantly, the episode serves to refresh the Argonauts' and the reader's memory of Herakles and his parallel endeavours at the end of the Argonauts' mission. Upon hearing that it was Herakles who created the spring water that now saves them from an excruciating death, one of the Argonauts (ARh. 4.1457) representatively expresses their gratitude to the absent hero and their hope to be reunited with him on the homeward journey (ARh. 4.1458-60). It becomes very clear that Herakles is still just as important for the Argonauts, as he was at the beginning of their mission, and they immediately start searching for the lost hero (ARh. 4.1461-4). After they imagine how Herakles would have prevented the boxing match against Amykos with his mere presence at their first trial without him (ARh. 2.145-53), now, in their final trial, Herakles in fact saves the Argonauts' lives despite his separation from them. He is thus honourably acknowledged one last time before their journey and thus the Argonautic epic comes to a close.

Aigle's speech does not have a direct equivalent in Valerius' *Argonautica*. Its closest correspondence can be found in the narrative speech of the otherwise unknown Dymas, who reports

the death of his beloved friend Otreus and warns the Argonauts against the cruel king Amycus (VF. 4.161-73). The Argonauts' collective reply to Aigle's information is, however, more closely echoed in another Valerian episode in Book 5 of the *Argonautica*, by the Argonauts' lament for a different indispensable crewmember, Tiphys (VF. 5.37-59).

Valerius Flaccus

Whereas all of the Argonauts' speeches have a direct or indirect equivalent, the speeches of Apollonius' mortal secondary collectives are only indirectly represented in Valerius' *Argonautica* through NRSAs. Unlike in Apollonius' account, where female collectives, especially goddesses, dominate this speaker category (Thessalian women: ARh. 1.251-9, Libyan goddesses: ARh. 4.1318-29, Hesperides: ARh. 4.1432-49) as a result of their special relationship with the Muses, Valerius does not assign direct speeches to female or divine collectives, but always individualizes female and divine declarations. This omission is, however, not necessarily due to the collective groups themselves, but it is part of Valerius' narrative strategy in Book 8 of the *Argonautica*, which entirely focuses the reader's attention on Medea, her suffering, her choices, and her relationships.

All three Valerian secondary representative speeches (VF. 2.113f., VF. 3.45, and VF. 6.29) are thus delivered by male speakers. They are on average shorter (ranging only from 2/3 to 2 verses: \emptyset 1.22 verses) than the protagonists' collective speeches (ranging from 1 5/12 to 6 verses: \emptyset 3.5 verses) and are either employed in divine intrigues against humans or in divine power struggles: on Lemnos between Venus and Vulcan (VF. 2.72-427), on Cyzicus between Cybele and Jupiter (VF. 2.627-3.458), and in Colchis, most noticeably, in a heated argument between Pallas (VF. 5.651-69) and Mars (VF. 5.624-48).

These agitated collective exclamations are the first of many speeches in the three major fighting scenes of the *Argonautica*: the Lemnian homicide (VF. 2.107-42), the Cyzican *nyktomachia* (VF. 3.18-261), and the Argonauts' confrontation with Perses' troops in Colchis (VF. 6.1-426). The shared speech context – the arrival of an alien(ated) male collective from the sea – is conceptual and a prerequisite for the deceit: the Lemnian men return home to their wives after successfully fighting the Thracians on the mainland (VF. 2.107-213); the Argonauts accidentally return to their Cyzican hosts after Cybele

redirects their unpiloted ship (VF. 3.32-42); and Perses wants to form an alliance with the Argonauts, whom he has not yet met since they first arrived in Colchis (VF. 5.177-216 and VF. 6.8-17).

The underlying conditions are ideal for a friendly (re)union: the Lemnian men bring home plentiful gifts for their wives (VF. 2.113f.), the Cyzicans are generous hosts (VF. 2.627-3.13), and Perses is expelled by Aeetes because he is willing to hand over the Fleece to Jason (VF. 5.624-48). Despite these existing or intended bonds and their friendly demeanour, the Lemnian men (VF. 2.72-305), the Cyzicans (VF 3.14-272), and Perses' troops (VF. 6.14-760) become erroneously subjected to gruesome slaughter that nearly leads to their complete eradication.

It is a vengeful deity, whose hatred these groups recently incurred through a committed or intended sacrilegious deed, who initiates this unwarranted tragic bloodshed: Venus is angry because the Lemnians leave her altars unattended after Vulcan's revelation of her affair with Mars (VF. 2.98-102); when hunting Cyzicus slays and provocatively hangs Cybele's lion from his doorpost (VF. 3.20-6); and Perses wants to help the Argonauts remove the Fleece from Mars' shrine (VF. 5.624-48 and VF. 6.18-20).

Although all three speeches are directed at a collective and given from a collective viewpoint, only the speech of the Lemnian men is a collective speech in the narrow sense. Pan's and Mars' speeches are nonetheless counted among the collective speeches, because they succeed in imitating a collective speaker so well that the addressees in fact believe the speaker to be a trustworthy representative of their in-group, and the speech thus has the same effect as if it were indeed spoken by a collective.

While the gods' revenge is premeditated (VF. 2.101-6, VF. 3.27-31, and VF. 6.1-7), their actual crime is opportunistic and based on information that is revealed in the speech acts of their targets (see below). After finding this helpful information, the deities then use it to their advantage and reproduce it in diametrically opposed statements. The Lemnians' speech forms the first step (the direct speech that inspires the revenge plan), whereas Pan's and Mars' speeches are step two (the verbal misrepresentation of the assumed speakers' opinion).

Venus, like her male counterparts, in her second step assumes mortal identity and misrepresents the Lemnian men's intention. She sees her opportunity (VF. 2.107) when the Lemnian men announce their return with Thracian maids as presents for their anxiously waiting wives (VF. 2.113f.). Venus enlists Fama's help to convince the Lemnian women that the supposed maids are in fact Thracian

concubines (VF. 2.131f.). In addition to the verbal echoes of both Venus' speech and Fama's delivery (VF. 3.142-60), their speeches close with ironic self-references (VF. 2.158-60 and VF. 2.184).

Cybele uses the Cyzicans' constant fear of a Pelasgian night-attack (VF. 2.656-62) during the banquet scene as the key to her plan's success. She makes Pan spread panic among the Cyzicans by falsely declaring the Argonauts' arrival to be another Pelasgian attack (VF. 3.45). Pan's highly referential exclamation contains numerous echoes, wordplays, and *verbatim* repetitions of both Cyzicus' and Jason's speeches which reveal that Jason's wish to make the next battle the Cyzicans' last fight is tragically fulfilled. Valerius plays on Pan's misidentification when he too reinterprets the term "Pelasgians" (Cyzicus' enemies: VF. 2.657, VF. 2.659, VF. 3.45, VF. 3.126, and VF. 3.221) and subsequently employs it for the Argonauts as original inhabitants of Greece (VF. 4.352, VF. 5.116, VF. 5.474, and VF. 5.682).

Mars' restlessness leads him back to the camp at night (VF. 6.13), which allows him to intervene just in time to prevent Perses from sending an embassy to the Argonauts to disclose Aeetes' true intentions and to form an alliance with them. Perses' thoughts, which are reported in *oratio recta*, highlight the dramatic irony of the situation. Perses cannot believe that his brother has tricked Jason into fighting the one person who supports his request. As a result of the inherent irony in Perses' words and the diametrically opposed message Mars distributes, his speech does not contain any echoes or repeated word clusters.

The three secondary collective speeches have a great impact on the narrative plot. The divine interference leads to a significant set-back in the Argonauts' quest for the Golden Fleece. The heroes linger on Lemnos to help the women repopulate the island (VF. 2.369-73); after the murder of their dear host Cyzicus they are in complete shock and can only continue their journey after a purification ritual (VF. 3.362-461); and in Colchis they fight the one person who intended to give them the Fleece voluntarily (VF. 6.18-20).

A comparison between Valerius' secondary collective speeches and Apollonius' account shows that the three short and seemingly insignificant direct speeches in fact serve to mark and draw attention to Valerius' deviation from his Hellenistic model. In the Lemnian speech Valerius highlights that his version does not presume adulterous intentions on the part of the Lemnian men (ARh. 1.611-4) and makes the murder of the innocent husbands more tragic. Unlike the Hellenistic *nyktomachia* Valerius' fight does not have a natural cause (ARh. 1.1015-18: changing winds) and the misidentifi-

cation is not the result of an honest human mistake (ARh 1.1021-4). Instead, Valerius invents a divine intrigue that only claims Cyzican lives and leads to a trauma-like lethargy among the Argonauts. Finally, the opportunity for an alliance with Perses and therefore an easy way to recover the Golden Fleece does not exist in Apollonius.

3. ARGO (TYPE: ABSTRACT SPEAKER)

Valerius Flaccus (VF. 1.302b-7)

Unlike his Flavian contemporaries Statius and Silius, Valerius does not attribute numerous speeches to personified abstract deities such as Virtus, Voluptas, Pietas, or Fides, but only includes long established personified deities like Fama, Venus, Mars, and Sol among the speakers of his epics. It is not surprising that the only exception is made for the epic's protagonist, Argo.

Argo is one of 37 characters and 9 deities who only speak once in the Flavian *Argonautica* (VF. 1.302b-7). The ship of course features prominently in a non-verbal role during the Argonauts' voyage from Books 1 to 5 and again in Book 8 of the epic. As a result of the detailed analysis of Argo's speech scene, the personification has been classified as an abstract, female deity.

Argo is the only inanimate speaker of the Valerian *Argonautica*. Her ambiguous nature is comparable to Apollonius' sole dream-speech (ἡ γυνή: ARh. 4.1741-5, 5 verses), delivered by a clod of earth Euphemus receives from the disguised god Triton, which gradually changes into the form of a woman and eventually into the island of Calliste, as well as to the taunting speech of Hera's crow to the seer Mopsus (ἡ κορώνη: ARh. 3.932-7, 6 verses). All three speeches serve to convey divine messages, emphasize human ignorance, and are exhortative in nature.

With 6 5/12 verses Argo's speech is below the average for Valerius' divine speakers (∅ 10.33) and goddesses (∅ 9.91) in general, especially in the context of the first book with many lengthy divine speeches (∅ 14.88). Argo's speech length also greatly differs from the other two personified Valerian goddesses Fama (18 1/6 verses) and Helle (16 verses), as well as the Apollonian personified nature deities, Aigle (18 verses) and especially the Libyan goddesses (12 verses), to whom Valerius' speech is greatly indebted. Argo's speech is also the shortest of three dream speeches that average a length of 9.06 verses. The shorter length can be explained by the lack of a common history between the speaker

and her addressee Jason and the absence of a concrete prophecy in accordance with Jupiter's prophetic preferences.

Argo's speech is divided into an informative first half (VF. 1.302b-5) and a persuasive, exhortative second half (VF. 1.306-8). The lengthy introduction is typical for epiphany scenes, in which deities occur with whom the addressees are unfamiliar, such as Valerius' Helle (16 verses) and Apollonius' divine female collective speakers (the Hesperides with 18 verses and the Libyan goddesses with 12 verses). Argo's introduction is naturally of special importance, as the ship not only introduces herself to Jason as his new companion-vehicle, but also to the reader as the epic's protagonist.

Argo's speech ability (VF. 1.4 *fatidicam ... ratem*) and future catasterism (VF. 1.15-21) are already prominently established in the proem of Valerius' epic before she first appears *in propria persona* as the second divine speaker after Juno's soliloquy (VF. 1.113-9). Her speech is the first and most complex of only three dream speeches as a conglomeration of several Virgilian dreams, most importantly the *Penates* dream (Aen. 3.147-71), and Lucan's *Patria* vision (Luc. 1.185-94).

Although the speech itself does not shed any light on the specific form of the speaker, Argo time and time again emerges as a divine authority capable of human feelings like sadness (VF. 6.317f.) and joy (VF. 8.129f.). Argo is characterised in a consistently positive light. Unlike the ominous appearance of Apollonius' silent character, Iphias (ARh. 1.313b-6), the ship's dream appearance confirms the mission's divine approval and her own investment in their success endows Jason with courage.

Unlike the Virgilian dream visions and especially Mercury's epiphany (Aen. 4.265b-76a), Argo does allow Jason to bid farewell to and console his parents. The ship also solves the Argonauts' technical crisis of succession after the death of the first helmsman, Tiphys, by appointing his successor (VF. 5.65). In a structural parallel to her first speech prior to the Argonauts' departure, Argo turns around on her own imbuing the crew with hope for a successful return to Thessaly (VF. 5.210b-2a).

While Argo seems to be acting independently in her remaining personified appearances, she introduces herself as a loyal servant of Jupiter (VF. 1.303 *famulam Iovis*) and attributes her speech ability to Juno. This latter variation from the general tradition and Valerius' own previous and subsequent reports, in which Pallas is reported to have built the ship and to have inserted the prophetic Dodonian oak (VF. 1.301 *Dodonida quercum* and VF. 1.304 *fatidicis ... silvis*), serve to highlight Juno's conformist role at this early stage in the epic plot and the collaboration between Juno and

Pallas as the two Valerian tutelary deities who accompany the Argonauts' journey from the beginning to the end.

In accordance with Jupiter's own portents, Argo, unlike the other dream speeches, does not reveal any specific or new information, but merely serves as a reinforcement of Jason's decision to set sail. The dream vision is, however, predominantly aimed at characterizing Argo and establishing the ship as a personified deity, thus confirming the narrator's declaration of Argo's uniqueness and the supernatural powers of the first ship.

Apollonius Rhodius (ARh. 4.580b-91)

In comparison to Valerius' account, Apollonius greatly reduces the importance of Argo as a personified speaker and agent. Apollonius is, however, more consistent in his crediting of Athene with Argo's ability to speak (ARh. 1.111-4 and ARh. 4.580b-3) than Valerius, where Argo claims that Juno has also had her share in the selection of the Dodonian oak. The Apollonian Hera is also shown to bestow a human voice on a non-human speaker when she has a group of crows taunt the seer Mopsus and correct his false assessment of the nature of the divine involvement during the Medea intrigue (ARh. 3.927-37).

The Hellenistic poet only mentions the speaking timber motif three times and avoids reporting Argo's words in direct speech. Just as in the Roman *Argonautica*, Argo is assigned two speech acts, one that is only summarised as a verbal intervention and a second direct speech that is portrayed in more detail. Apollonius' order is, however, reversed, because he assigns greater importance and clarity to the second speech act, which occurs much later during the homeward journey.

Whereas Argo's exhortation of the heroes during the launch is drastically reduced to an echo-like noise in the harbour (ARh. 1.524-7), her second Apollonian intervention is of great significance and clearly attributed a human voice (ARh. 4.580b-91). Argo's summarised speech act at the end of the epic is only one of many divine speeches and epiphanies in Book 4 of the Apollonian *Argonautica*, which the author justifies by transferring the responsibility for the truthfulness of the reported events to the Muses. Argo's speech is embedded in a context where the narrator twice distances himself from the reported events and invokes the Muses to explain the situation for him (ARh. 4.552-6 and

ARh. 4.618). Nevertheless, Apollonius does not go as far as Valerius in reporting the miraculous speech of an inanimate object in *oratio recta*.

Argo's speech in Valerius' *Argonautica* is indirectly revealed to be given at Jupiter's direction (VF. 1.303 *famulam Iovis*) and confirms the approval of the Olympian gods for the voyage and the launch, which has already been ordered by Jason for the next day. Apollonius' speech act, by contrast, is the result of Zeus' anger over the Argonauts' ruthless murder of Absyrtus and is indispensable for the continuation of their journey. While Argo's speech in Valerius is rather vague and simply aimed at a swift launch, her Apollonian counterpart dictates concrete conditions that the Argonauts must fulfil to be permitted to continue and successfully complete their voyage. Argo's instructions to undergo a purification ritual with Kirke's help closely link the ship's speech to the goddesses' conversation with Jason and Medea later in the same book (ARh. 4.739-48).

Structurally, Argo's announcement shares more similarities with the speeches of Glaukos (ARh. 1.1315-25) and Iris (ARh. 2.288-90) who are also sent to reveal Zeus' orders to the Argonauts. The three speeches are indicative of Apollonius' predilection for stylistic variation. Glaukos' role as Jupiter's messenger, similar to that of Valerius' Argo, is merely established through his speech, with which he soothes an internal dispute over Herakles' loss, which the Boreads have already brought under their control. Iris, by contrast, is explicitly presented as Jupiter's messenger, but exclusively addresses the Boreads to instruct them to save the Harpies' lives. Her intervention is thus of much greater urgency, but at the same time not directly aimed at the continuation of the Argonauts' journey. Finally, Argo's NRSA is a mixture of both speeches in so far as her verbal confirmation of the Apollonian narrator's preceding report of Zeus' anger (ARh. 4.557-61) establishes her indirectly as his messenger, but her speech is not as abrupt as Glaukos' announcement. Argo addresses both the Argonauts as a group and then Kastor and Polydeukes separately (ARh. 4.584-92a), and provides them with Zeus' solution to a danger the father of the gods has caused himself to punish the Argonauts.

While Glaukos and Iris act on their own, Argo is assisted in the enforcement of Jupiter's will by Hera, the very goddess, who in the Apollonian version also plays a crucial role in the election of the Argonauts' new helmsman. In contrast to the Flavian epic, which emphasizes Argo's role as the first ship and portrays Tiphys' death as a succession crisis that endangers both the continuation of seafaring and the epic narrative, in Apollonius' *Argonautica* Ankaïos is democratically chosen, though

only after Hera imbues him with enough courage to start the selection process among the crew members (ARh. 2.864-6a), for which several Argonauts volunteer (ARh. 2.895b-8).

Unlike Valerius' Argo, the Apollonian ship does not indicate Hera's support in the chastisement of the Argonauts after Apsyrtus' murder, but her speech (ARh. 4.576b-80a) is enforced by the goddess' creation of a terrifying storm (ARh. 4.557-61a). After the Argonauts follow the ship's instructions and Polydeukes and Kastor have prayed to the gods for a safe passage, it is also Hera who in compliance with Zeus' instructions guides them to Kirke (ARh. 4.592b-658). Argo's speech therefore marks the moment in Apollonius' epic, in which Zeus' and Hera's previously separate efforts finally align.

4. VALERIUS' FAMULA (VF. 5.403b-6)

(TYPE: ANONYMOUS SPEAKER)

Valerius' *famula* (VF. 5.403b-6) is the only anonymous character with a direct speech act in the Flavian *Argonautica*. In this narrative choice, Valerius departs from the predilection of his Roman predecessors, most notably Lucan's long and very important anonymous speech acts in representation of the common people's voice. Valerius here seems to follow Apollonius who does not feature any anonymous individual speakers or voices. Valerius' Hesione (VF. 2.471-92) and Eidyia (VF. 8.144-70), characters who do not appear as speakers in the Hellenistic *Argonautica*, are not referred to by name in their respective episodes either, but they are clearly identified as Princess of Troy and daughter of Laomedon, or as Queen of Colchis and mother of Medea. Hesione's name is moreover added in a back-reference two books later (VF. 4.164).

Famula belongs to the group of three mortal female helpers, of whom she, as a handmaiden, is the least influential. As a Scythian slave she is a type character ('the knowledgeable native') who appears with a specific speech purpose, namely to provide information that would otherwise not have been available to the visiting protagonist (VF. 5.395a), and is not mentioned again after she has fulfilled this purpose (VF. 5.403b-6).

The comparison to Hypsipyle's speech as a tour guide for Jason (VF. 2.335b-9) reveals that Valerius does not differentiate between a queen's *ekphrasis* and informative speech and that of a servant. The speech type therefore prevails over the social status with regard to its influence on the speech's characteristics.

In Valerius' *Argonautica*, the *famula's* descriptive speech and her role as tour guide most resemble that of the castaway Dymas, whose name is in fact mentioned, but it is postponed until the very end of his speech scene. Dymas warns the Argonauts of Amycus' cruelty and leads them to the *locus horrificus* to verify his words (VF. 4.132-87). *Famula's* speech serves as a negative foil to that of Dymas. Both speeches are useful for the Argonauts at the time of their delivery and are truthful in the eyes of the speaker, but the speech of Medea's servant is subjective in its positive portrayal of the Colchian king to the extent that it is misleading. While Dymas' warning gives the Argonauts time to prepare themselves mentally for the imminent boxing match with Amycus, the *famula's* information especially in combination with Medea's likewise biased account of the military *status quo* (VF. 5.395b-6), contributes to Aeetes' success in deceiving Jason and leads to the Argonauts' supporting the 'wrong' side in the Colchian civil war.

This effect is even more apparent in comparison to Apollonius' account. The inclusion of the anonymous servant is necessary for Valerius as a result of his reinterpretation and reduction of the role of Phrixus' sons and the invention of the Argonauts' participation in the Colchian civil war between Aeetes and his brother Perses, which is most likely indebted to Argos' suggestion that the Argonauts will support Aeetes in military combat at ARh. 3.350-3. The Apollonian heroes do not need to ask for the help of a native guide, as, with the king's grandsons, they are already in the company of natives. The *famula's* speech reads as a falsification or interpretation *ad bonam partem* of Argos' characterisation of Aeetes as a ruthless, power-hungry tyrant who will not take kindly to Jason's request in the Apollonian *Argonautica* (ARh. 2.1200-15). Argos' speech warns and prepares the Argonauts for the king's outburst of rage, whereas the speech of Valerius' *famula*, in combination with Medea's confirmation of her account (VF. 5.393-6), achieves the exact opposite and makes them more susceptible to Aeetes' guile.

5. VALERIUS' HELLE (VF. 2.592-600)

(TYPE: FRAME SPEAKER)

Helle's speech during the Argonauts' crossing of the Hellespont in Valerius' *Argonautica* (VF. 1.934f.) does not have a direct equivalent in Apollonius' epic, where Helle drowns in the sea after she falls from the flying ram (ARh. 1.256-7a). She only occurs in references to the *Argonautica*'s pre-story. In the Flavian *Argonautica*, by contrast, Helle is one of four goddesses (Argo, Fama, Hecate) who speak only once, but are repeatedly mentioned by the narrator or other characters throughout the epic.

With 16 verses Helle's speech is the fourth longest speech of a goddess and the eighth longest of all deities in Valerius' *Argonautica*. To the same extent to which the Roman poet has reduced Thetis' importance he has increased Helle's. She is the only goddess to appear in an epiphany proper and thus the only remainder of Apollonius' many epiphanies of minor nature deities. Like Argo's dream vision, Helle's speech is predominantly addressed to Jason whom she informs of her sympathy for his mission and her personal interest in the Argonauts' safe journey to Colchis. Just as Argo's encouraging words to Jason form a positive foil to *Patria*'s criticism of Caesar at the beginning of Lucan's *Civil War* (Luc. 1.190b-2a), Helle's determination to end her late brother's restlessness in the underworld is a positive modification of the epiphany of Lucan's vengeful ghost Julia, who declares that she will ceaselessly unsettle Pompey until they are finally reunited in Elysium (Luc. 3.12-34). Helle's description and the timing of her occurrence after Valerius' Trojan episode (VF. 2.445-583) are echoed in Statius' portrayal of Helle in the *Achilleid* (Ach. 1.24).

The first part of Helle's speech (VF. 2.592-600) and her golden sceptre suggest a conflation of Thetis' epiphany and the exhortative prophecy of the Libyan deities in Book 4 of Apollonius' epic. Helle is directly associated with Thetis by the Valerian narrator (VF. 2.587-90a) and the context of her epiphany and the familial relationship to the recipient of her embedded message are reminiscent of Thetis' delivery of Hera's message to her husband Peleus in the Apollonian *Argonautica* (ARh. 4.842-84). Helle's speech and especially her introduction as divine embodiment of the homonymous Hellespont, her sympathy for the Argonauts' trials, and her directions for a successful continuation of their journey (VF. 2.587-600) correspond to the exhortative instructions of the guardian spirits of Libya in Apollonius. While the three chthonic goddesses help the Argonauts during their final endurance test in Libya at the end of the Apollonian *Argonautica* (ARh. 4.1318-29), in Valerius' version

Helle's encouraging prophecy inversely takes place at the beginning of their quest before their first collective fight against Cyzicus (VF. 2.596).

Helle's speech forms the second part of a methodically linked tripartite narrative that reports the pre-story to the Argonauts' adventure and explains the Thessalians' claim to the Golden Fleece. After Orpheus narrates the beginning of the saga with Helle's and Phrixus' flight from their stepmother Ino (VF. 1.277-93), Helle corrects or disambiguates Orpheus' report of her drowning (VF. 2.601-7) before Phrixus also reports his own fate from his friendly reception in Colchis until his peaceful death (VF. 5.233b-40). Helle's speech thus also establishes an explicit parallel between Jason's fate and her own. The three speeches replace the report of Phrixus' fate by his four sons in Apollonius' *Argonautica* (ARh. 2.1141-56), whose role and importance have been drastically reduced by Valerius in favour of a greater responsibility and independence for Medea and a more intensive divine interference. As a result, Jason is never warned of Aetes' cruelty by any natives and gullibly believes Aetes' dishonest promises despite his bad reputation.

Helle's speech also stands out as the shortest of only five frame speeches in Valerius' epic and the fifth shortest of all frame speeches in Roman epic from Virgil to Silius. Helle's speech is also one of only seven speeches in the Roman epic poems under discussion, in which an inserted speech is used to convey a message to an absent addressee, and one of only two speeches besides Parthenopaeus' farewell message to Dorceus for his mother Atalanta in Statius' *Thebaid* (Theb. 9.885-907), in which a message is dictated *verbatim* as an emotional *ad hoc* invention in the first person and directed at the intended recipient, not the actual addressee (VF. 2.601-12).

While Helle's epitaph-like message to Phrixus and her request to Jason to pay tribute to her late brother's grave are postponed for an unusually long period of time and only fulfilled several books later (VF. 5.194-213), the comparison with the other six message dictations and especially the first person messages from Parthenopaeus in the *Thebaid* and Pompey's testament for his sons, as reported by his wife Cornelia in Lucan's *Civil War* (Luc. 9.87-97), reveals that Valerius is the only epicist to report both the dictation and the message delivery. Jason's libation to Phrixus and his declaration that Helle's grave is empty indicate that Valerius did not simply forget to report Helle's message, as is often argued, but that the episode is a typical example of Valerius' preference for a syncopated narration in messenger scenes.

6. THETIS (TYPE: DIVINE HELPER)

Apollonius Rhodius

Thetis is one of three Apollonian deities and one of two goddesses who speak twice in the epic. With regard to her impact on the narrative plot and her appearance in two different speech scenes, Thetis has to be ranked as the third most important divine speaker after Hera (7 speeches) and Aphrodite (6 speeches). Structurally, despite her fewer speech acts, Thetis' role most resembles that of Aphrodite. Like her, Thetis is targeted by Hera as a useful helper and is addressed by her in a lengthy persuasive speech (ARh. 3.56-75). Just as Aphrodite assists Hera in her intrigue against Medea, Thetis decisively contributes to the progress of Hera's plan during the Argonauts' homeward journey. Hera goes to great lengths to flatter the two goddesses with humble speeches (Hera to Aphrodite: ARh. 3.56-75; Hera to Thetis: ARh. 4.783-832) because of their apprehension towards the task she requests. Aphrodite is concerned that the uncontrollable Eros will not obey her instructions and Thetis is unwilling to face her estranged husband, whom she blames for Achilles' mortality and inferior status. Both goddesses, however, comply with Hera's wishes and immediately become active by passing on her requests to the respective male addressees (Iris in O.O. at ARh. 4.770-81; Thetis in O.R. at ARh. 4.856-64). As Aphrodite is in need of Eros' assistance, her criticism of Eros is rather gentle (ARh. 3.129-44 and ARh. 3.151-3), whereas Thetis does not hide her continued anger with Peleus in her harsh, impatient speech (ARh. 4.862-4).

Hera's request for Aphrodite's help is traditional and anticipated in Phineus' prophecy (ARh. 2.423f.), her request to Thetis, a former object of Jupiter's desire, is extraordinary. After the narrator has repeatedly shed light on Zeus' extramarital affairs, Hera, who is not shown in direct discourse with her husband, at length discusses her woes with Thetis and praises her for having virtuously rejected Zeus. She thus uses her own, personal grief with her husband (ARh. 4.790b-6a) to ease Thetis' anger at Peleus. Hera moreover appeals to Thetis as a mother. Predicting Achilles' marriage to Medea, she asks Thetis to save the Argonauts primarily for the sake of her future daughter-in-law (ARh. 4.810-5) and only secondarily for Peleus (ARh. 4.815b-6a), and thereby succeeds in persuading her to guide the Argonauts through the Wandering Rocks with the help of her sisters (ARh. 4.757-967). Thetis is thus not only characterized as sea goddess, a love-rival and *alumna* to Hera as well as a messenger and wife to Peleus, but also together with her Nereid sisters as a foil for the Muses.

Hera's speech (ARh. 4.783-407), which is the longest female speech act (50 verses) of the Apollonian epic and the second longest overall, after Phineus' speech at ARh. 2.311-407 (99 verses), is contrasted with the complete omission of Jupiter's dismissal of Glaukos at the beginning of the epic. Just as Glaukos passes on Jupiter's instructions and ensures a swift continuation of the journey, Thetis serves as Hera's quick, obedient messenger and soon afterwards rises from the depths of the sea (ARh. 4.856-64). Both these speeches are of average length (Thetis: 9 verses; Glaukos: 11 verses) and contain vituperative and exhortative elements. After passing on their instructions, the speakers disappear as abruptly as they have appeared (ARh. 4.866-80a). Thetis' speech is, however, much more emotional and personal in tone on account of her previous relationship with Peleus, whereas Glaukos neutrally passes on Zeus' criticism of the Argonauts' interference with his plan and reports a problem of a greater scale and consequence.

Valerius Flaccus

Thetis' speech in Apollonius' epic has influenced Argo's dream speech (VF. 1.302b-7), Valerius' characterisation of Polyxo as sea-born priestess (VF. 2.322-5), and, most importantly, the only speaker who appears in an epiphany proper in the Valerian *Argonautica*, the newly transformed sea goddess, Helle (VF. 2.592-607). In line with the Valerius' omission of divine speech acts and a complete focus of all speeches on Medea's suffering and uncertain future, and the significant changes and restructuring in the final book of his epic, Thetis' two Apollonian speeches have been excluded from the narration. The marital dispute between Thetis and Peleus would have distracted from Medea's relationship with her father, brother, mother, former fiancé, the Argonauts, but most significantly from Medea's wedding with Jason (VF. 8. 217-58). Just as in the case of Thetis' husband Peleus, the Roman poet reduces the goddesses' role to that of a silent tutelary deity and a mere symbol of encouragement.

Valerius follows Apollonius in dating this relationship prior to the Argonautic expedition in contrast to the versions of Catullus (Cat. 64.25-46) and Ovid (Met. 11.221-65), which are the main model for the Valerian ekphrasis (VF. 1.130-9). Whereas the sea goddess plays an important role during the homeward journey of the Argonauts in Apollonius' epic when she helps to direct the ship through the dangerous Planktai, Valerius prominently discusses Thetis' support of the Argonautic

journey in the first two books of his epic, but especially prior to the launch. Thetis is mentioned four times in Book 1. Her wedding ceremony is portrayed on Argus' painting (VF. 1.130-9), she is mentioned as Peleus' wife and the Argonauts' tutelary deity in the catalogue of heroes (VF. 1.403-4a) and is worshipped and invoked together with other important sea deities during the farewell sacrifice (VF. 1.190). Thetis' relationship with Peleus imbues the Argonauts with courage and hope for a successful outcome of the journey.

The aforementioned references are predominantly harmonious and only indirectly allude to the couple's argument and separation over the fate of their son, Achilles, which constitutes the focus of Thetis' conversation with Hera in Apollonius' epic. While the Apollonian Thetis has to be persuaded at great length by Hera to help Peleus, in Valerius' account she does so willingly in cooperation with the other sea gods (VF. 1.658). Thetis is mentioned twice more after the Argonauts' departure, once again together with Glaucus as the addressee of a prayer by Hypsipyle for the safe flight of her father Thoas (VF. 2.286) and in the context of Helle's transformation into and appearance as a sea goddess (VF. 2.590).

Helle's speech, which is indebted to Thetis' epiphany to Peleus, reveals that Valerius could have easily included Thetis' speeches. Yet, the omission is not surprising. Her delicate conversation with Hera about Zeus' unfaithfulness and Thetis' own marital problems is incompatible with Valerius' portrayal of Jupiter. With very few exceptions, most notably Orpheus' Ovidian song in Book 4 of the *Argonautica* (VF. 4.351b-421) and brief aetiological digressions, Valerius has removed the amorous adventures of the serious, epic god who is much more interested in establishing a new Iron Age of competition for world domination and warfare than in elegiac affairs.

At the same time Valerius' Juno is much less willing to admit to any weaknesses or to speak as privately as Hera does in the context of their respective collaborations with other goddesses. Through the omission of Thetis' speeches and her intervention at Hera's request Valerius also maintains the clear division between Pallas, as Juno's helper in warfare, and Venus, as her helper in matters of love. This juxtaposition is emphasized for the last time in Book 8 of the Valerian *Argonautica* in the goddesses' diametrically opposed reactions to Medea's wedding.

XI. CONCLUSION

This study shows that despite the shared subject matter and greatly overlapping ensemble of speakers Valerius makes significant changes to his Apollonian model in nearly all categories of female speech representation. Valerius entirely omits some of Apollonius' female speech acts such as all of his divine and female collectives or Arete's and Thetis' dialogues with their husbands; he reduces some speeches from *oratio recta* to a summarized speech act, as in the case of Hypsipyle's messenger Iphinoe; he replaces the Hellenistic speaker with a similar, but not equivalent Roman speaker (Mene becomes Hecate, not Luna); he assigns new speech roles to previously silent female characters, such as Medea's mother Eidyia or Cyzicus' wife Clite, and adds new episodes to his epic plot with female speakers who do not occur in Apollonius' *Argonautica* like the Trojan episode with Hesione or, to a lesser extent, also the speech of Medea's anonymous *famula*.

Valerius also changes the speech context, conversational behavior, and the overall characterization of speakers – in isolated individual instances, such as Polyxo's transformation from an elderly adviser into a priestess of Apollo, as well as in more complex character portrayals like Circe's and Chalciope's, or, even more comprehensively, he changes complete narrative patterns.

Most notably, the Flavian poet almost entirely abandons one of Apollonius' most frequent and extensive speech scenes, the Argonauts' internal group discussions, in favour of a reintroduction of Olympian council scenes omitted by Apollonius. In accordance with Flavian predilections, Valerius reduces the length of general interlocutions, which on average do not exceed more than three speeches. He splits up and redistributes long speech scenes, such as Hera's, Athene's, and Aphrodite's secret plotting. In doing so, Valerius plays with the readers' knowledge and expectations of the Apollonian version when he begins one of Apollonius' long speech scenes only to quickly abandon it and take the narration into a completely different direction.

As a result, Valerius transforms Apollonius' arrangement of a male-dominated, 'epic' first half following the invocation of Apollo and a second female, 'elegiac' half with many female speech acts and epiphanies of divine female speakers into a more traditional portrayal of the Muses and a much more balanced occurrence and continued influence of female speakers.

The different female voices of the *Argonautica*, especially Juno, can continuously be heard in the Flavian epic and provide the reader with an alternative perspective on the events. Even the less prominent female speakers are part of a well-balanced and refined structural arrangement and show

influences of several pre-texts, which they sometimes self-consciously address or even use to their advantage.

There can be no doubt that, like Apollonius, Valerius does not merely use female speech acts to characterize the male protagonists, but follows a clear structuring principle. Whereas Apollonius in accordance with his revised invocation of the Muses concentrates the female speech acts in the second half of his Argonautic epic, especially the final book, Valerius' links multiple episodes and individual characterizations through same-gender and opposite-gender speaker pairs, or doublets in the case of divine female speakers and character triplets for mortal female speakers.

The importance of the first book of the *Argonautica* with Pelias' programmatic opening speech – both of the epic and the Argonautic journey – and especially Jupiter's declaration of the *Fata*, have been scrutinized in great detail. All further actions and declarations of intent, especially of divine speakers, are measured against Jupiter's world plan, to the extent that Juno abandons the famous rage monologue of her Virgilian predecessor to adopt a more conformist stance and even Jupiter does not dare to make an exception for himself during the Colchian civil war to save his son from a sure death on the battlefield, after Sol, Mars, and Neptune have already accused the father of the gods of narcissistic and highly biased judgments.

It is no coincidence that Valerius' first book is the longest book of the *Argonautica* with the greatest number of independent episodes, speech clusters, and speaker types. Valerius here already introduces all four speech clusters (soliloquies, monologues with no replies, dialogues and even general interlocutions) into the epic. These speech clusters are constantly referred to and mirrored at a later stage in the epic plot through multifold back-references as well as character doublets that establish important intratextual parallels and connections to the other books of the *Argonautica*, most noticeably the final book in a ring composition. Just as the thoughts of Jason and the Argonauts repeatedly return to Thessaly and their families, and just as they are destined to return to the starting point of their journey, the reader is always brought back to Book 1 and the beginning of the epic for further reference. From Juno's unofficial opening soliloquy to Medea' emotional closing argument the female voice accompanies and guides the reader through the Valerian *Argonautica*. The female perspective is not the dominant view, but rather one of many perspectives (divine, mortal, female, male, old, young, servant, ruler, *et al.*) that complement the primary viewpoint of the narrator and the male, mortal protagonists, and offer an alternative interpretation.

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STATISTICAL APPENDIX

for

THE FEMALE VOICE IN VALERIUS FLACCUS' *ARGONAUTICA*

A thesis submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in the Faculty of Classics,

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I. ABBREVIATIONS

1.1. AUTHORS

VI	Virgil's <i>Aeneid</i>
LU	Lucan's <i>Civil War</i>
VF	Valerius' <i>Argonautica</i>
ST	Statius' <i>Thebaid</i>
SI	Silius' <i>Punica</i>
AR	Apollonius' <i>Argonautica</i>

1.2. SPEECH TYPES

Cha	Challenge
Com	Command
Con	Consolation
Del	Deliberation
Des	Desire and Wish
Exh	Exhortation and Self-Exhortation
Far	Farewell Speech
Gre	Greeting and Reception
Inf	Information and Description
Inv	Invitation
Ins	Instruction
Lam	Lament
Lau	Praise and Laudation
Mes	Message
Nar	Narration
Ora	Prophecy, Oracular Speech, and Interpretation
Per	Persuasion
Pra	Prayer
Que	Question
Req	Request
Res	Reply to Question
Tau	Taunt
Thr	Threat
Vit	Vituperation
Vow	Promise and Oath
War	Warning

1.3. SPEECH CLUSTERS

S	Soliloquies
M	Monologues (only reply or with no reply)
D	Dialogues
G	General Interlocutions

1.4. GENERAL ABBREVIATIONS

Vv.	Verses
OR.	<i>Oratio recta</i>
Av.	Average
No.	Number
Inter.	Speech interruption
Begins Mid.	Speech starts in the middle of the verse
Ends Mid.	Speech ends in the middle of the verse
F / f	Goddess disguised as woman
F / m	Goddess disguised as man
M / m	God disguised as man
F / F / f	Goddess disguised as woman speaks to female addressee(s)
F / F / m	Goddess disguised as woman speaks to male addressee(s)
F / M / m	Goddess disguised as man speaks to male addressee(s)
M / M / m	God disguised as man speaks to male addressee(s)
Dei.	Deities
*	Speech contains inserted speech

II. VALERIUS AND HIS EPIC PREDECESSORS

2.1. GENERAL SPEECH STATISTICS

	No. of Speeches	Different Speakers	Speakers who speak once	Speakers > 10 Speeches	Av. Speech Length (vv.)	Total of Speeches in OR. (vv.)	OR. in %
Virgil	333 (268) ¹	84	42	8	11.02 (12.83)	3670 5/12	37.09 %
Lucan	118	50	33	2	21.36	2520 1/6	31.27 %
Valerius	188	63	37	2	9.84	1850 3/4	33.10 %
Statius	237	78	39	5	13.17	3450 1/4	35.40 %
Silius	300	100	66	5	12.19	3657 7/30	29.97 %
AR	142	44	22	2	11.95	1697	29.08 %

2.2. SPEECHES (VV.) AND DIFFERENT SPEAKERS (NO.)

	Total Speeches - Different Speakers	Human	Deities	Men	Women	Mortal Men	Mortal Women	Gods	Goddesses
VI	333/84	258/65	65/19	258/63	75/21	234/52	34/13	24/11	41/8
LU	118/50	117/49	1/1	100/41	18/9	100/42	17/8	0/0	1/1
VF	188/63	149/48	39/15	126/47	62/16	111/39	38/9	15/8	24/7
ST	262/78	219/62	43/16	202/55	60/23	179/49	41/13	24/6	19/10
SI	300/100	249/82	51/18	244/80	56/20	225/72	24/8	19/6	32/12
AR	142/44	115/31	25/11	87/25	53/17	84/23	31/8	3/2	22/9

¹ The numbers in brackets count the long Aeneas narrative as one speech act, while the numbers without brackets count the inserted speeches as character speeches by the L1 narrator.

2.3. FREQUENCY RATIO: SPEECHES PER SPEAKER (AV.)

	Human	Deities	Men	Women	Mortal Men	Mortal Women	Gods	Goddesses
VI	3.97	3.42	4.10	3.57	4.5	2.6	2.18	5.13
LU	2.39	1	2.44	2	2.38	2.13	0	1
VF	3.10	2.60	2.68	3.88	2.85	4.22	1.88	3.43
ST	3.53	2.69	3.67	2.61	3.65	3.08	4	1.9
SI	3.04	2.80	3.05	2.8	3.13	3	3.17	2.67
AR	3.71	2.27	3.48	3,12	3.65	3.88	1.50	2.44

2.4. AVERAGE SPEECH LENGTH (VV.)

	Humans	Deities	Men	Women	Mortal Men	Mortal Women	Gods	Goddesses
V	10.52 (12.75)	13.08 (13.10)	9.85	15.06	9.72 (11.49)	16.03 (17.52)	11.07 (11.40)	14.26 (14.02)
L	21.52	2.17	22.11	16.63	22.11	17.49	0	2.17
VF	9.72	10.33	10.16	9.20	10.05	8.75	11.02	9.91
ST	13.16	13.22	15.50	20.29	10.26	24.68	15.09	10.86
SI	14.61	12.96	11.77	13.59	11.59	15.99	13.17	12.60
AR	12.48	10.04	12.01	12.09	12.06	13.61	10.67	9.95

2.5. SPEECHES WITH EMBEDDED SPEECHES

2.5.1. VIRGIL'S *AENEID*

No.	Speaker(s) of Inserted Speech	Addressee(s) of Inserted Speech	Book / Lines	Verses	Speech Type	Frame Speaker	Addressee(s)	Book / Lines	Lines of Verse	Speech Type
1	Laocoon	Trojans	2.42b-9	7 5/6	Per	Aeneas	Dido and Carthaginians	2.3-3.715	1516	Nar
2	Sinon	<i>Secum</i>	2.69-72	3 5/6	Lam	Aeneas	Dido and Carthaginians	2.3-3.715	1516	Nar
3	Sinon	Trojans	2.77-104	27 5/6	Nar	Aeneas	Dido and Carthaginians	2.3-3.715	1516	Nar
4	Sinon	Trojans	2.108-44	37	Nar	Aeneas	Dido and Carthaginians	2.3-3.715	1516	Nar
5	Priam	Sinon	2.148-51	4	Que	Aeneas	Dido and Carthaginians	2.3-3.715	1516	Nar
6	Sinon	Priam and Trojans	2.154-94	40 5/6	Nar	Aeneas	Dido and Carthaginians	2.3-3.715	1516	Nar
7	Aeneas	Hector	2.281-6	6	Que	Aeneas	Dido and Carthaginians	2.3-3.715	1516	Nar
8	Hector	Aeneas	2.289-95	6 11/12	Com	Aeneas	Dido and Carthaginians	2.3-3.715	1516	Nar
9	Aeneas	Panthus	2.322	1	Que	Aeneas	Dido and Carthaginians	2.3-3.715	1516	Nar
10	Panthus	Aeneas	2.324-35	12	Nar	Aeneas	Dido and Carthaginians	2.3-3.715	1516	Nar
11	Aeneas	Trojans	2.348-54	6 7/12	Per	Aeneas	Dido and Carthaginians	2.3-3.715	1516	Nar
12	Androgeos	Trojans as Greeks	2.373-5	3	Com	Aeneas	Dido and Carthaginians	2.3-3.715	1516	Nar
13	Coroebus	Trojans	2.387-91a	4 1/4	Per	Aeneas	Dido and Carthaginians	2.3-3.715	1516	Nar
14	Hecuba	Priam	2.519b-24a	5	Per	Aeneas	Dido and Carthaginians	2.3-3.715	1516	Nar
15	Priam	Pyrrhus	2.535-43	8 3/4	Tau	Aeneas	Dido and Carthaginians	2.3-3.715	1516	Nar
16	Pyrrhus	Priam	2.547b-50a	2 11/12	Tau	Aeneas	Dido and Carthaginians	2.3-3.715	1516	Nar
17	Aeneas	<i>Secum</i>	2.577-87	11	Del	Aeneas	Dido and Carthaginians	2.3-3.715	1516	Nar
18	Venus	Aeneas	2.594-620	27	Nar	Aeneas	Dido and Carthaginians	2.3-3.715	1516	Nar
19	Anchises	Aeneas and Family	2.638b-49	11 5/12	Com	Aeneas	Dido and Carthaginians	2.3-3.715	1516	Nar
20	Aeneas	Anchises	2.657-70	14	Res	Aeneas	Dido and Carthaginians	2.3-3.715	1516	Nar
21	Creusa	Aeneas	2.675-8	4	Per	Aeneas	Dido and Carthaginians	2.3-3.715	1516	Nar
22	Anchises	Jupiter	2.689-91	3	Pra	Aeneas	Dido and Carthaginians	2.3-3.715	1516	Nar
23	Anchises	Gods	2.701-4	1 1/2	Pra	Aeneas	Dido and Carthaginians	2.3-3.715	1516	Nar
24	Aeneas	Anchises and Family	2.707-20	14	Com	Aeneas	Dido and Carthaginians	2.3-3.715	1516	Nar
25	Anchises	Aeneas	2.733b-4	1 1/2	Com	Aeneas	Dido and Carthaginians	2.3-3.715	1516	Nar

26	Creusa	Aeneas	2.776-89	14	Ora	Aeneas	Dido and Carthaginians	2.3-3.715	1516	Nar
27	Polydorus	Aeneas	3.41-6	6	Com	Aeneas	Dido and Carthaginians	2.3-3.715	1516	Nar
28	Aeneas	Apollo	3.85-9	5	Pra	Aeneas	Dido and Carthaginians	2.3-3.715	1516	Nar
29	Apollo	Aeneas and the Trojans	3.94-8	5	Ora	Aeneas	Dido and Carthaginians	2.3-3.715	1516	Nar
30	Anchises	Trojans	3.103-17	14 11/12	Ora	Aeneas	Dido and Carthaginians	2.3-3.715	1516	Nar
31	Penates	Trojans	3.154-71	18	Ora	Aeneas	Dido and Carthaginians	2.3-3.715	1516	Nar
32	Anchises	Aeneas and the Trojans	3.182b-8	6 3/4	Com	Aeneas	Dido and Carthaginians	2.3-3.715	1516	Nar
33	Celaeno	Trojans	3.247-57	11	Ora	Aeneas	Dido and Carthaginians	2.3-3.715	1516	Nar
34	Anchises	Gods	3.265-6a	1 7/12	Pra	Aeneas	Dido and Carthaginians	2.3-3.715	1516	Nar
35	Andromache	Aeneas	3.310-2a	2 1/4	Que	Aeneas	Dido and Carthaginians	2.3-3.715	1516	Nar
36	Aeneas	Andromache	3.315-9	5	Que	Aeneas	Dido and Carthaginians	2.3-3.715	1516	Nar
37	Andromache	Aeneas	3.321-43	23	Nar	Aeneas	Dido and Carthaginians	2.3-3.715	1516	Nar
38	Aeneas	Helenus	3.359-68	10	Que	Aeneas	Dido and Carthaginians	2.3-3.715	1516	Nar
39	Helenus	Aeneas	3.374-462	89	Ora	Aeneas	Dido and Carthaginians	2.3-3.715	1516	Nar
40	Helenus	Anchises	3.475-81	6 5/6	Far	Aeneas	Dido and Carthaginians	2.3-3.715	1516	Nar
41	Andromache	Ascanius	3.486-91	6	Far	Aeneas	Dido and Carthaginians	2.3-3.715	1516	Nar
42	Aeneas	Helenus	3.493-505	13	Far	Aeneas	Dido and Carthaginians	2.3-3.715	1516	Nar
43	Anchises	Gods	3.528-9	2	Pra	Aeneas	Dido and Carthaginians	2.3-3.715	1516	Nar
44	Anchises	Trojans	3.539b-43a	3 3/4	Ora	Aeneas	Dido and Carthaginians	2.3-3.715	1516	Nar
45	Anchises	Trojans	3.558b-60	2 7/12	Com	Aeneas	Dido and Carthaginians	2.3-3.715	1516	Nar
46	Achaemenides	Trojans	3.599b-606	7 5/12	Nar	Aeneas	Dido and Carthaginians	2.3-3.715	1516	Nar
47	Achaemenides	Trojans	3.613-54	42	Nar	Aeneas	Dido and Carthaginians	2.3-3.715	1516	Nar
48	Jupiter	Mercury	4.271-6a	4 1/4	Mes	Mercury	Aeneas	4.265-76	9 5/6	Mes
49	Cassandra	"Beroe"	5.637b-8a	5/6	Ora	Iris -Beroe	Trojan women	5.623-40	17 5/6	Per
50	Phlegyas	All	6.620	1	Com	Deiphobe	Aeneas	6.562b-627	65 5/12	Nar
51	Anchises	Aeneas	7.124-7	4	Ora	Aeneas	Trojans	7.120b-34	14 2/3	Ora
52	<i>Haruspex Etruscorum</i>	Etruscans	8.499b-503a	4 1/3	Ora	Evander	Aeneas	8.470-519	50	Nar
53	Diomede	Latin mission	11.252-93	42	Per	Venulus	Latinus	11.243-95	53	Mes
54	Amasenus	Diana	11.557-60	4	Pra	Diana	Opis	11.535b-94	59 3/4	Nar

2.5.2. LUCAN'S CIVIL WAR

No.	Speaker(s) of Inserted Speech	Addressee(s) of Inserted Speech	Book / Lines	Verses	Speech Type	Frame Speaker	Addressee(s)	Book / Lines	Lines of Verse	Speech Type
1	<i>Di scelerum</i>	Marius	2.81b-3	2 7/12	Ora	<i>Aliquis</i>	<i>Secum</i>	2.68-232	164 5/12	Nar, Lam
2	Heracles	Antaeus	4.646b-9a	2 11/12	Tau	<i>Rudis incola</i>	Curio	4.593-660	68	Nar
3	Pompey	Arsaces XIII	8.218b-38a	19 5/6	Com	Pompey	Deiotarus	8.211-38a	27 1/3	Mes
4	Crassus	Pompeius	8.433b-5a	2 1/6	Que	Lentulus	Pompey and Roman Senators	8.331-453a	122 7/12	Per
5	Pompey	Sextus and Gnaeus Pompeius	9.87-97	11	Mes, Lam	Cornelia	<i>Secum</i> and Sextus Pompeius	9.55-108	53 5/6	Mes, Lam

2.5.3. STATIUS' THEBAID

No.	Speaker(s) of Inserted Speech	Addressee(s) of Inserted Speech	Book / Lines	Verses	Speech Type	Frame Speaker	Addressee(s)	Book / Lines	Lines of Verse	Speech Type
1	Coroebus	Apollo	1.643-61a	18 7/12	Pra	Adrastus	Polynices and Tydeus	1.557-672	115 5/6	Nar
2	Polyxo	Lemnian women	5.104-29a 5.132b-42	25 3/4 10 7/12	Per	Hypsipyle	Adrastus and Argive Warriors	5.49-498	449 11/12	Nar
3	Hypsipyle	Thoas	5.245b-7a	2 1/6	Per	Hypsipyle	Adrastus and Argive Warriors	5.49-498	449 11/12	Nar
4	Bacchus	Thoas and Hypsipyle	5.271b-84a	13 1/6	Com	Hypsipyle	Adrastus and Argive Warriors	5.49-498	449 11/12	Nar
5	Lemnian crowd	<i>Secum</i>	5.491-2	2	Tau	Hypsipyle	Adrastus and Argive Warriors	5.49-498	449 11/12	Nar
6	Parthenopaeus	Atalanta	9.891b-907	16 1/3	Con	Parthen.	Dorceus	9.885-907	22 5/12	Mes
7	Amphiaraus' shade	Thiodamas	10.206b-11a	4 7/12	Per	Thiodamas	Achaean Leaders	10.188-218	31	Per
8	Argia	<i>Secum</i>	12.333b-5	2 3/4	Per	Argia	"Polynices"	12.322-48	27	Nar, Lam

2.5.4. VALERIUS' ARGONAUTICA

No.	Speaker(s) of Inserted Speech	Addressee(s) of Inserted Speech	Book / Lines	Verses	Speech Type	Frame Speaker	Addressee(s)	Book / Lines	Lines of Verse	Speech Type
1	Helle	Phrixus	2.601-7	7	Inf	Helle	Jason	2.592-607	16	Mes
2	Juno	Jupiter	4.360b-4a	4 1/6	Que	Orpheus	Argonauts	4.351b-421	70 5/12	Nar
3	Mercury	Argus	4.387	11/12	Com	Orpheus	Argonauts	4.351b-421	70 5/12	Nar
4	Vox (Jupiter)	Phineus	4.581-4	4	Ora	Phineus	Jason	4.553b-624a	71 1/6	Ora
5	Jason	"Circe"	7.266-87a	13 1/6	Pra	Venus as Circe	Medea	7.257b-83	33 3/4	Per

2.5.5. SILIUS' PUNICA

No.	Speaker(s) of Inserted Speech	Addressee(s) of Inserted Speech	Book / Lines	Verses	Speech Type	Frame Speaker	Addressee(s)	Book / Lines	Lines of Verse	Speech Type
1	Fabius	Carthaginian senators	2.368b-71	3 1/3	Per	Gestar	Hanno and Carthaginian Senators	2.330-74a	44 5/12	Per
2	Murrus (in dream)	"Tiburna"	2.564-7	4	Per	Tisiphone as Tiburna	Saguntinian Crowd	2.560b-79	19 1/4	Per
3	Arisbas	Bostar	3.675-91	17	Nar	Bostar	Hannibal	3.650-712	63	Mes, Nar
4	Vox (oracle)	Bostar	3.700-12	13	Ora	Bostar	Hannibal	3.650-712	63	Mes, Nar
5	Anonymous Soldiers	Secum	5.154b-6	2 5/12	Lam	Flaminius	Soldiers	5.151-64	14	Per
6	Regulus	Soldiers	6.242b-7a	4 2/3	Per	Marus	Serranus	6.118b-293	175 7/12	Nar
7	Marcia	Regulus	6.437b-49	12 3/4	Lam	Marus	Serranus	6.432-550	118 5/6	Nar
8	Regulus	Senators	6.467-89	22 5/6	Lam	Marus	Serranus	6.432-550	118 5/6	Nar
9	Marcia	Regulus	6.500-11 6.516-9	12 3	Far	Marus	Serranus	6.432-550	118 5/6	Nar
10	Venus	3 Cupids	7.449b-57	8 7/12	Ora	Proteus	Nymphs	7.437-93	57	Nar, Ora
11	Dido	Secum	8.140-7	7 1/12	Lam	Anna Perenna	Aeneas	8.116-59	45	Nar
12	Soldiers	Mother Carthage	13.15-6a	1 5/12	Per	Hannibal	Soldiers	13.8b-18	10 5/12	Per
13	Minerva	Diomede	13.58-62	5	Com	Dasius	Hannibal and Soldiers	13.36-81	45 5/6	Nar, Per
14	Diomede	Aeneas	13.71-7a	6 7/12	Per	Dasius	Hannibal and Soldiers	13.36-81	45 5/6	Nar, Per

2.6. SPEECH LENGTH AND FREQUENCY

	Most Frequent Speaker	Second Most Frequent Speaker	Longest Speech	Speakers > 10 Speeches	Speakers > 5 Speeches	Speakers who speak once
VI	61 Aeneas 463 3/4 12.63 %	29 Turnus 234 1/4 6.38 %	2.3-3.715 Aeneas 1516 41.29 %	8	14	42 / 84
LU	22 Caesar 381 1/4 15.13 %	18 Pompey 343 1/2 13.63 %	2.68-232 <i>aliquis</i> 164 5/12 6.52 %	2	5	33 / 50
VF	37 Jason 319 1/2 17.26 %	23 Medea 207 1/4 11.20 %	4.553b-624a Phineus 71 1/2 3.86 %	2	7	37 / 63
ST	22 Tydeus 182 3/4 5.30 %	21 Adrastus 274 5/6 7.97 %	5.49-498 Hypsipyle 496 11/12 14.40 %	5	13	39 / 78
SI	61 Hannibal 483 3/5 13.22 %	17 Scipio 172 1/2 4.72 %	6.432-550 Marus 118 5/6 3.25 %	5	11	66 / 100
AR	31 Jason 327 19.27 %	17 Medeia 252 14.85 %	2.311-407 Phineus 99 5.83 %	2	7	22 / 44

2.7. SPEECH DISTRIBUTION

2.7.1. SPEAKER CATEGORIES

	Men	Women	Mortals	Deities
Virgil	69.22 %	30.78 %	76.83 %	23.17 %
Lucan	88.12 %	11.88 %	99.92 %	0.08 %
Valerius	68.48 %	30.44 %	78.23 %	21.77 %
Statius	64.70 %	35.29 %	83.52 %	16.48 %
Silius	77.87 %	21.18 %	81.93 %	18.07 %
Apollonius²	61.58 %	37.77 %	84.56 %	14.79 %

² 0.65 % of Apollonius' speeches are given by two speakers that are classified as abstract speakers.

2.7.2 SUB-CATEGORIES

	Mortal Men	Mortal Women	Gods	Goddesses
Virgil	61.98 %	14.85 %	7.24 %	15.93 %
Lucan	88.12 %	11.80 %	0 %	0.08 %
Valerius	60.26 %	17.97 %	8.93 %	12.85 %
Statius	54.12 %	29.32 %	10.50 %	5.98 %
Silius	71.32 %	10.50 %	6.55 %	11.52 %
Apollonius	59.69 %	24.87 %	1.89 %	12.91 %

2.8. PROMINENT SPEAKERS

2.8.1. ALL CATEGORIES

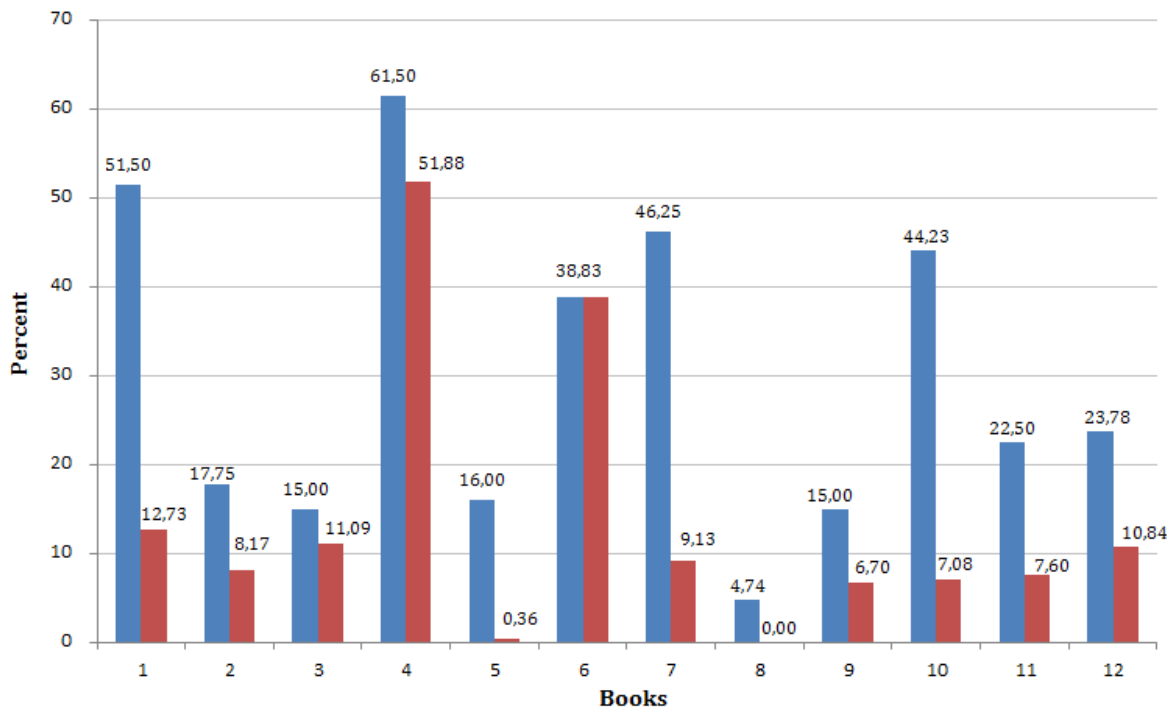
Virgil	61	Aeneas	463 3/4	12.63 %	Apollonius Rhodius	31	Jason	327	19.27 %
	8	Evander	248 7/12	6.77 %		17	Medea	252	14.85 %
	29	Turnus	234 1/4	6.38 %		6	Phineus	168	9.90 %
	16	Anchises	231 1/4	6.30 %		7	Argos	154	9.07 %
	11	Venus	215 5/6	5.88 %		7	Hera	103	6.07 %
Lucan	22	Caesar	381 1/4	15.13 %	Valerius	37	Jason	319 1/2	17.26 %
	16	Pompey	343 1/2	13.63 %		23	Medea	207 1/4	11.20 %
	1	<i>aliquis</i>	164 5/12	6.52 %		4	Phineus	117 1/6	6.33 %
	3	Lentulus	152 5/6	6.06 %		7	Aeetes	90	4.86 %
	7	Cato	147 13/84	5.84 %		7	Venus	81 1/4	4.39 %
Statius	4	Hypsipyle	496 11/12	14.40 %	Silius	61	Hannibal	483 3/5	13.22 %
	21	Adrastus	274 5/6	7.97 %		4	Marus	418 7/12	11.45 %
	7	Jupiter	242 1/6	7.02 %		8	Sibyl	205 2/3	5.62 %
	22	Tydeus	182 3/4	5.30 %		17	Scipio	172 1/2	4.72 %
	11	Argia	128 2/3	3.73 %		7	Fabius	151 1/2	4.14 %

2.8.2 GENDER GROUPS

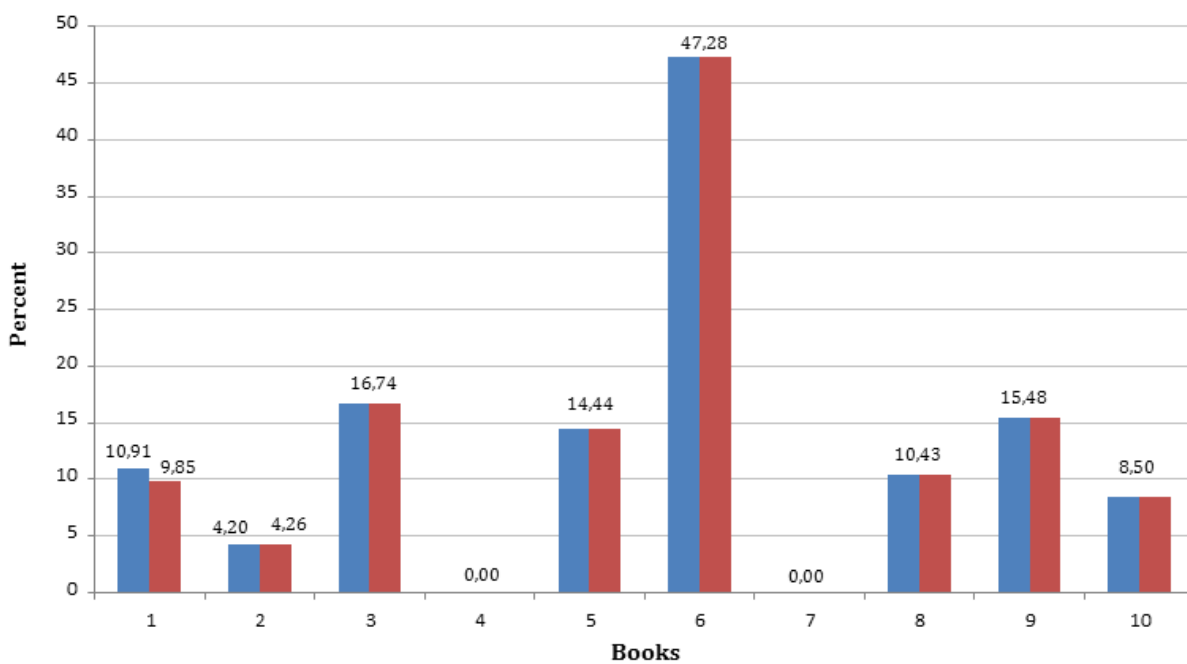
The 5 Most Prominent Female Speakers					The 5 Most Prominent Male Speakers			
VI	11	Venus	215 5/6	19.10 %	61	Aeneas	463 3/4	18.25 %
	10	Dido	188 7/12	16.69 %	8	Evander	248 7/12	9.78 %
	13	Juno	178 7/12	15.81 %	29	Turnus	234 1/4	9.22 %
	13	Deiphobe	156 1/3	13.84 %	16	Anchises	231 1/4	9.10 %
	1	Diana	59 3/4	5.29 %	4	Sinon	109 1/2	4.31 %
LU	5	Cornelia	128 1/2	42.70 %	22	Caesar	381 1/4	17.17 %
	5	Erictho	82 4/7	27.44 %	16	Pompey	343 1/2	15.47 %
	1	Julia	22 5/12	7.45 %	1	<i>aliquis</i>	164 5/12	7.40 %
	1	Cleopatra	18 7/12	6.17 %	3	Lentulus	152 5/6	6.88 %
	1	<i>matrona</i>	17	5.65 %	7	Cato	147 13/84	6.63 %
VF	23	Medea	207 1/4	36.34 %	37	Jason	319 1/2	24.95 %
	7	Venus	81 1/4	14.25 %	4	Phineus	117 1/6	9.15 %
	9	Juno	80	14.03 %	7	Aeetes	90	7.03 %
	7	Hypsipyle	32 11/12	5.77 %	1	Orpheus	70 5/12	5.50 %
	4	Minerva	29 11/12	5.25 %	5	Jupiter	69 5/6	5.45 %
ST	4	Hypsipyle	496 11/12	40.81 %	21	Adrastus	274 5/6	12.31 %
	11	Argia	128 2/3	10.57 %	7	Jupiter	242 1/6	10.85 %
	7	Jocasta	94	7.72 %	22	Tydeus	182 3/4	8.19 %
	9	Antigone	73 5/12	6.08 %	3	Phorbas	111 7/12	5.00 %
	3	Tisiphone	54 3/4	4.50 %	8	Eteocles	106 7/12	4.77 %
SI	12	Sibyl	205 2/3	26.55 %	61	Hannibal	483 3/5	16.98 %
	4	Juno	110 1/6	14.22 %	4	Marus	418 7/12	14.70 %
	1	Anna	85 5/6	11.08 %	17	Scipio	172 1/2	6.06 %
	2	<i>Virtus</i>	51 7/12	6.66 %	7	Fabius	151 1/2	5.32 %
	2	Himilce	42 11/12	5.54 %	18	Jupiter	131 2/3	4.57 %
AR	17	Medeia	252	39.31 %	31	Jason	327	31.29 %
	7	Hera	103	16.07 %	6	Phineus	168	16.08 %
	5	Hypsipyle	69	10.76 %	7	Argos	154	14.74 %
	6	Kypris	39	6.08 %	4	Aietes	49	4.69 %
	4	Chalkiope	28	4.37 %	5	Peleus	39	3.73 %

2.9. SPEECH DISTRIBUTION (ALL WOMEN AND MORTAL WOMEN)

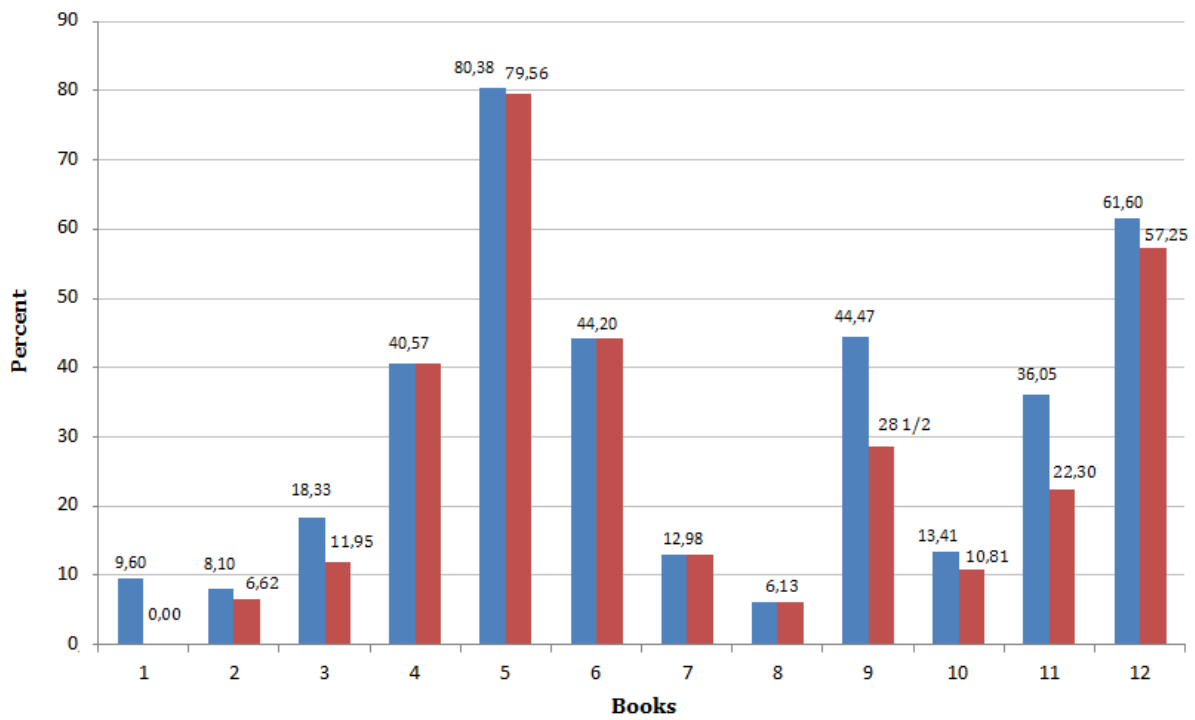
2.9.1. VIRGIL'S *AENEID*



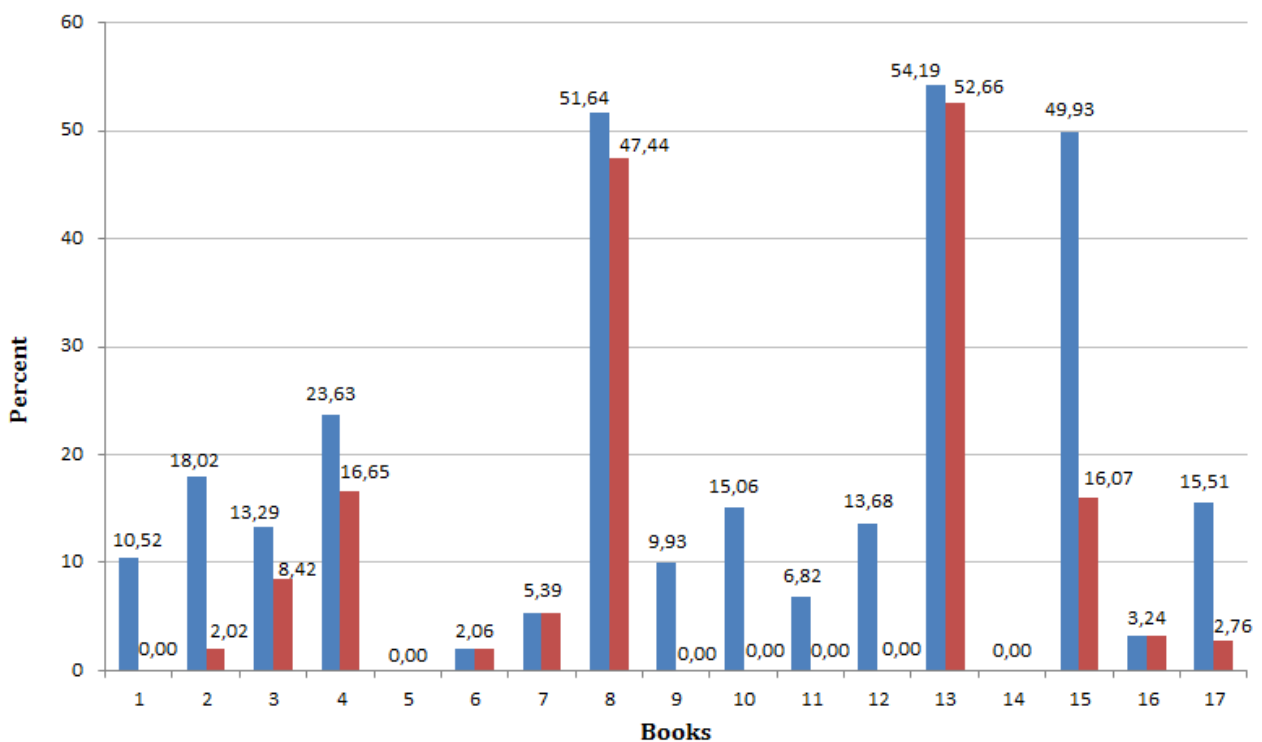
2.9.2. LUCAN'S *CIVIL WAR*



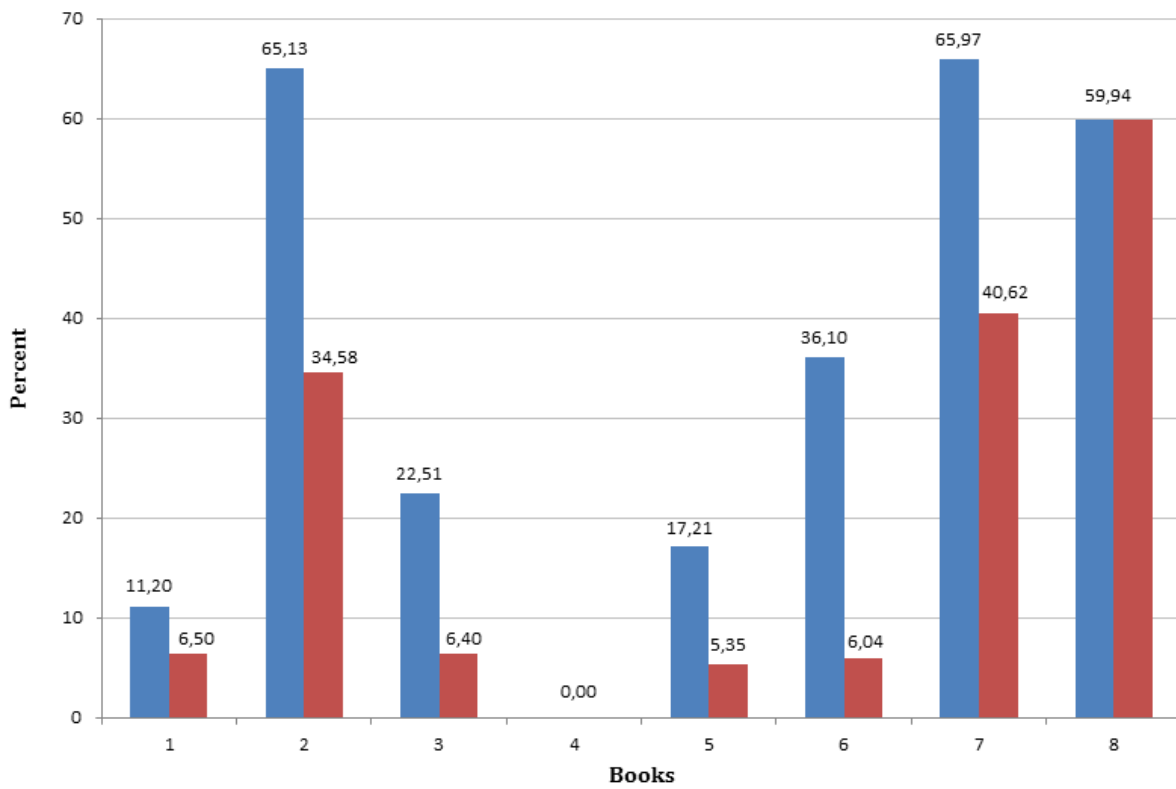
2.9.3. STATIUS' THEBAID



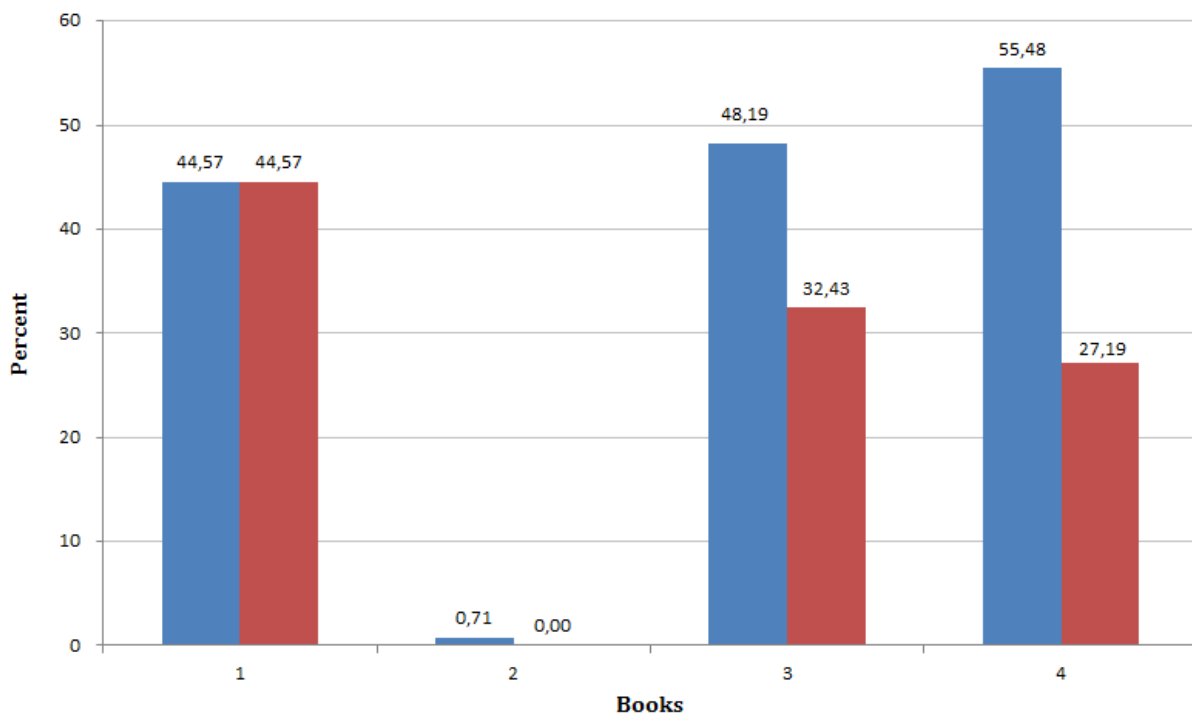
2.9.4. SILIUS' PUNICA



2.9.5. VALERIUS FLACCUS' ARGONAUTICA



2.9.6. APOLLONIUS RHODIUS' ARGONAUTICA



2.10. DIVINE SPEAKERS IN DISGUISE

2.10.1. OVERVIEW

	No.	% OR. (All)	% OR. (Dei.)	Sum	Av.	F / f	F / m	M / m	F / f (Av.)	F / m (Av.)	M / m (Av.)
V	9	2.94	12.67	107 3/4	11.97	5 85 3/4 79.58 %	2 14 5/12 13.38 %	2 7 7/12 7.04 %	17.15	7.21	3.79
L	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
VF	6	4.73	21.67	87 2/3	14.61	6 87 2/3 100 %	0	0	14.61	0	0
ST	6	1.3	7.90	44 11/12	7.49	1 10 37.15 %	4 16 11/12 37.66 %	1 18 40.07 %	10	4.23	18
SI	6	1.39	7.68	50 3/4	8.46	2 29 1/4 57.64 %	3 19 2/3 38.75 %	1 1 5/6 3.61 %	14.63	6.56	1.83
AR	2	1.24	8.37	21	10.5	0	0	2 21 100 %	0	0	10.5

2.10.2. DISGUISE CONSTELLATIONS

SPEAKER-DISGUISE-ADDRESSEE(S): F - F - M (9)

Speaker (Virgil)	Disguise	Lines	Speech Length	Addressee(s)
Venus	Carthaginian Maiden	1.321b-4	3 2/3	Aeneas
Venus	Carthaginian Maiden	1.335b-70a	35 1/4	Aeneas
Venus	Carthaginian Maiden	1.387-401	15	Aeneas
Allecto	Calybe	7.421-34	14	Turnus

Speaker (Statius)	Disguise	Lines	Speech Length	Addressee(s)
<i>Virtus</i>	Manto	10.662-71	10	Menoecus

Speaker (Silius)	Disguise	Lines	Speech Length	Addressee(s)
Tisiphone	Tiburna	2.560b-79	19 1/4	Saguntines
Juno	Trasimene	4.729-38	10	Hannibal
Juno	L. Caecilius Metellus	10.48-58	10 5/6	Paulus
Juno	Gelesta	10.87-90	3 5/6	Hannibal
Juno	A shepherd	17.570-4	5	Hannibal

SPEAKER-DISGUISE-ADDRESSEE(S): F - M - M (8)

Speaker (Virgil)	Disguise	Lines	Speech Length	Addressee(s)
Juturna	Camers	12.229-37	9	Rutuli
Juturna	Metiscus	12.625-30	5 5/12	Turnus

Speaker (Statius)	Disguise	Lines	Speech Length	Addressee(s)
Tisiphone	Halys	9.157b-68	9 7/12	Hippomedon
Diana	Dorceus	9.812-4a	2 7/12	Parthenopaeus
Megaera	Phereclus	11.201b-2a	1 1/3	Polynices
<i>Pietas</i>	A male warrior	11.478-81	3 5/12	Argive and Theban Warriors

Speaker (Silius)	Disguise	Lines	Speech Length	Addressee(s)
Juno	Trasimene	4.729-38	10	Hannibal
Juno	L. Caecilius Metellus	10.48-58	10 5/6	Paulus
Juno	Gelesta	10.87-90	3 5/6	Hannibal
Juno	A shepherd	17.570-4	5	Hannibal

SPEAKER-DISGUISE-ADDRESSEE(S): F - F - F (7)

Speaker (Virgil)	Disguise	Lines	Length	Addressee(s)
Iris*	Beroe + (Cassandra)	5.623-40	17 5/6	<i>Dardanidum Matres</i>

Speaker (Valerius)	Disguise	Lines	Speech Length	Addressee(s)
Fama	Neaera	2.142b-60a	18 1/6	Eurynome
Venus	Dryope	2.176b-84a	8 5/12	Lemnian Women
Juno	Chalciope	6.482-7	5 5/6	Medea
Juno	Chalciope	6.592-9	7 11/12	Medea
Venus	Circe	7.223b-36	13 7/12	Medea
Venus*	Circe (with inserted Speech: Jason)	7.257b-83	33 3/4	Medea

SPEAKER-DISGUISE-ADDRESSEE(S): M - M - M (6)

Speaker (AR)	Disguise	Lines	Speech Length	Addressee(s)
Triton	Young man	4.1554-61	8	Argonauts
Triton	Triton (as young man)	4.1573-85	13	Euphemus

Speaker (Virgil)	Disguise	Lines	Speech Length	Addressee(s)
Somnus	Phorbas	5.843-6	4	Palinurus
Apollo	Butes	9.641-4	3 7/12	Ascanius

Speaker (Stattus)	Disguise	Lines	Speech Length	Addressee(s)
Ghost of Laius	Tiresias	2.102-19	18	Eteocles

2.10.3. SPEECH SCENES WITH DIVINE DISGUISE

VALERIUS FLACCUS' *ARGONAUTICA* (6 SPEECHES IN DISGUISE)

Speaker	Disguise	Lines	Speech Length	Addressee(s)
Fama	Neaera	2.142b-60a	18 1/6	Eurynome
Venus	Dryope	2.176b-84a	8 5/12	Lemnian Women
Juno	Chalciope	6.482-7	5 5/6	Medea
Medea		6.588-90a	2 7/12	Juno as Chalciope
Juno	Chalciope	6.592-9	7 11/12	Medea
Medea		6.675b-9a	3 11/12	Juno as Chalciope
Medea		7.217b-22a	5 5/12	Venus as Circe
Venus	Circe	7.223b-36	13 7/12	Medea
Medea		7.238-50	12 5/6	Venus as Circe
Venus*	Circe (with inserted speech: Jason)	7.257b-83	33 3/4	Medea

VIRGIL'S AENEID (9 SPEECHES IN DISGUISE)

Speaker	Disguise	Lines	Length	Addresse(s)
Venus	Carthaginian Maiden	1.321b-4	3 2/3	Aeneas
Aeneas		1.326-34	9	Venus as Carthaginian Maiden
Venus	Carthaginian Maiden	1.335b-70a	35 1/4	Aeneas
Aeneas		1.372-85a	13 7/12	Venus as Carthaginian Maiden
Venus	Carthaginian Maiden	1.387-401	15	Aeneas
Aeneas		1.407-9	3	Venus
Iris*	Beroe + (Cassandra)	5.623-40	17 5/6	<i>Dardanidum Matres</i>
Pyrgo		5.646-52	7	<i>Dardanidum Matres</i>
Somnus	Phorbas	5.843-6	4	Palinurus
Palinurus		5.848-51	4	Somnus as Phorbas
Allecto	Calybe	7.421-34	14	Turnus
Turnus		7.436b-44	8 3/4	Allecto as Calybe
Allecto		7.452-5	4	Turnus
Apollo	Butes	9.641-4	3 7/12	Ascanius
Juturna	Camers	12.229-37	9	Rutuli
Juturna	Metiscus	12.625-30	5 5/12	Turnus
Turnus		12.632-49	18	Juturna (recognised)

STATIUS' THEBAID (6 SPEECHES IN DISGUISE)

Speaker	Disguise	Lines	Speech Length	Addressee(s)
Ghost of Laius	Tiresias	2.102-19	18	Eteocles
Tisiphone	Halys	9.157b-68	9 7/12	Hippomedon
Diana	Dorceus	9.812-4a	2 7/12	Parthenopaeus
Parthenopaeus		9.815-9	5	Diana as Dorceus
<i>Virtus</i>	Manto	10.662-71	10	Menoceus
Menoceus		10.680b-1a	1 1/6	<i>Virtus</i> as Manto
Megaera	Phereclus	11.201b-2a	1 1/3	Polynices
<i>Pietas</i>	A male warrior	11.478-81	3 5/12	Argive and Theban Warriors

SILIUS ITALICUS' PUNICA (5 SPEECHES IN DISGUISE)

Speaker	Disguise	Lines	Speech Length	Addressee(s)
Tisiphone	Tiburna	2.560b-79	19 1/4	Saguntines
Juno	Trasimene	4.729-38	10	Hannibal
Juno	L. Caecilius Metellus	10.48-58	10 5/6	Paulus
Paulus		10.59b-71	12 7/12	Juno as Metellus
Juno	Gelesta	10.87-90	3 5/6	Hannibal
Juno	A shepherd	17.570-4	5	Hannibal

APOLLONIUS RHODIUS' ARGONAUTICA (2 SPEECHES IN DISGUISE)

Speaker	Disguise	Lines	Speech Length	Addressee(s)
Triton	Young man	4.1554-61	8	Argonauts
Euphemus		4.1564-70	7	Triton (as young man)
Triton	Triton (as young man)	4.1573-85	13	Euphemus
Jason		4.1597-600	4	Triton

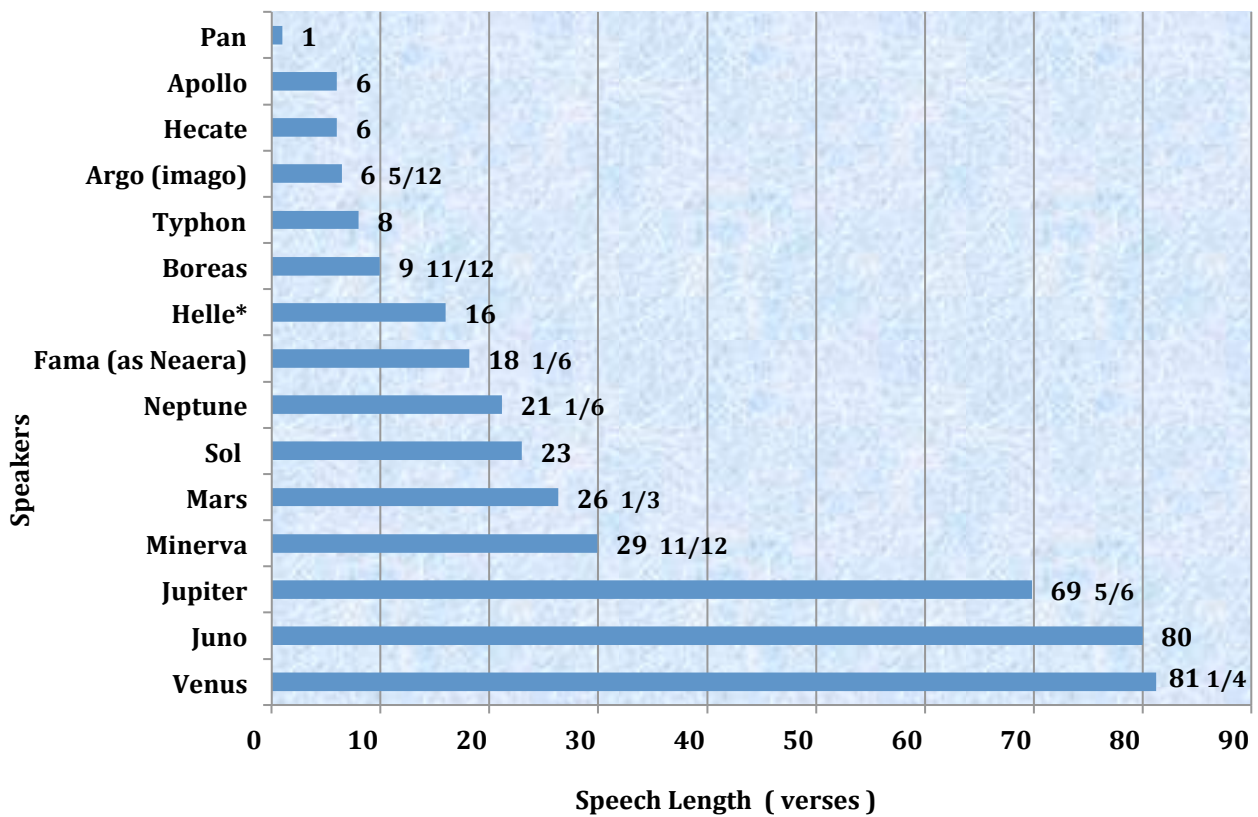
III. VALERIUS AND APOLLONIUS

3.1. SPEECH DISTRIBUTION PER EPISODE (*ARGONAUTICA*)

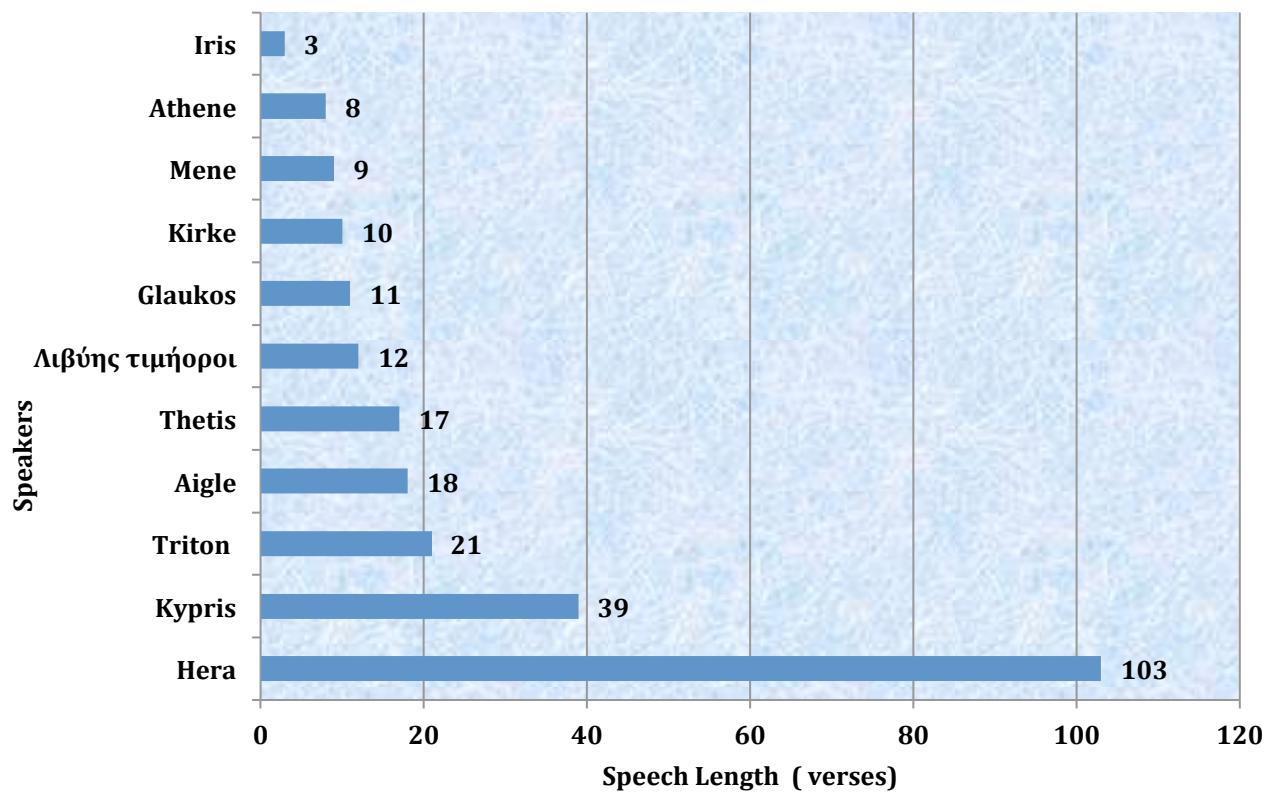
Episode	Apollonius					Valerius				
	Lines	Vv.	Sp. (no.)	Sp. (vv.)	Sp. - %	Lines	Vv.	Sp. (no.)	Sp. (vv.)	Sp. - %
Thessaly and Launch	1.1-558	558	12	108	19.35 %	1.1-851	851	24	285 5/6	33.59 %
Voyage: from Pagasae to Lemnos						2.1-71	71	1	17 7/12	24.77 %
Lemnos	1.559-909	351	9	116	33.05 %	2.72-427	356	14	81 1/12	22.78 %
Samothrake and Troy						2.428-578	151	4	36 2/3	24.28 %
Voyage: Hellespont						2.579-626	47	2	18	38.30 %
Cyzicus	1.910-1152	243	1	11	4.53 %	2.627-3.458	496	17	126 1/4	25.45 %
Mysia	1.1153-362	210	5	32	15.24 %	3.459-4.81	363	12	138 2/3	38.20 %
Bebrycia	2.1-163	163	4	25	15.34 %	4.91-343	253	12	72	28.46 %
Voyage: from Amycus to Phineus						4.344-421	78	1	70 5/12	90.28 %
Phineus	2.164-536	373	10	194	52.01 %	4.422-636	215	7	140 5/12	65.31 %
Cyanean Rocks	2.537-647	111	3	31	27.93 %	4.637-732	96	3	8 1/4	8.59 %
Thynias: Apollo Epiphany	2.648-719	72	1	8	11.11 %					
Lycus	2.720-898	179	4	59	32.96 %	4.733-5.72	102	4	41 11/12	41.09 %
Voyage: from Lycus to Colchis	2.1030-285	256	9	105	41.02 %	5.73-176	104	1	2 1/3	2.24 %
Colchis	3.1-4.252	1659	54	594	35.80 %	5.177-8.174	2106	80	720 1/3	34.20 %
Flight	4.253-1781	1529	30	414	27.08 %	8.175-467	293	6	91	31.06 %

3.2. DIVINE SPEAKERS

3.2.1. VALERIUS FLACCUS

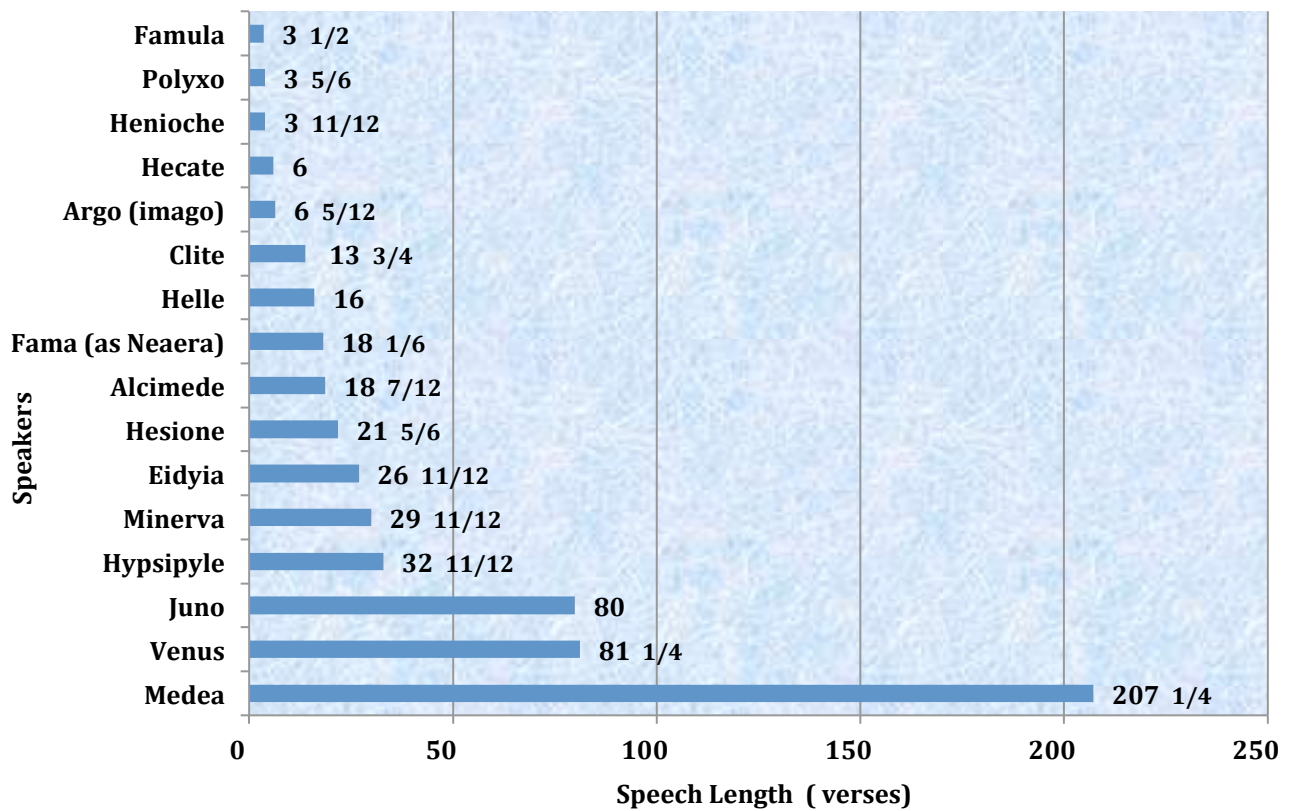


3.2.2. APOLLONIUS RHODIUS

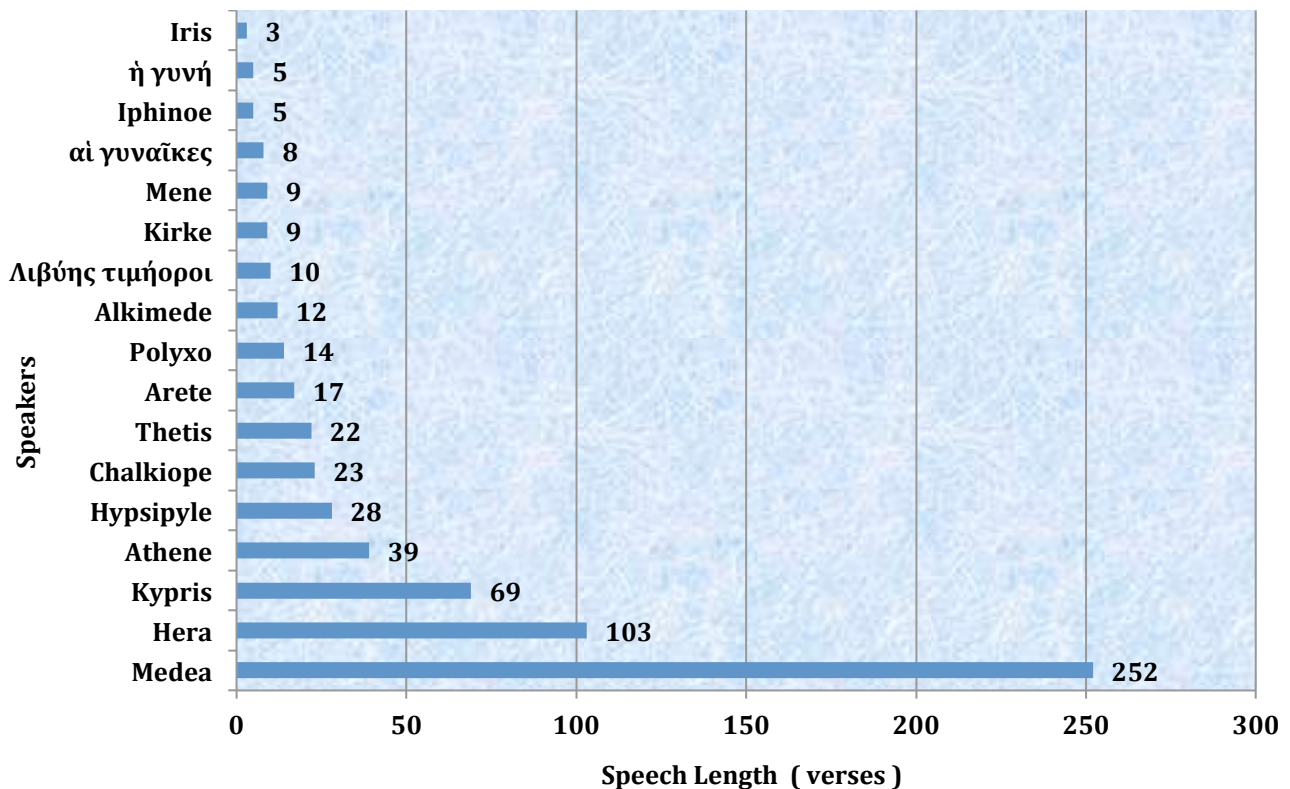


3.3. FEMALE SPEAKERS

3.3.1. VALERIUS FLACCUS



3.3.2 APOLLONIUS RHODIUS



IV. APPENDIX FOR VALERIUS FLACCUS' ARGONAUTICA

4.1. OVERVIEW

Book	No. of Speakers	Verses (Length)	Verses (%)	Av. Speech Length	M	D	S	G
1	24	285 5/6	15.44 %	11.91	10	4	5	5
2	24	169 5/12	9.15 %	7.06	16	8	0	0
3	21	214 3/4	11.60 %	10.23	14	2	2	3
4	30	342	18.48 %	11.4	15	7	2	6
5	29	269 1/4	14.55 %	9.28	7	17	1	4
6	23	107 7/12	5.81 %	4.68	13	6	4	0
7	22	290 11/12	15.72 %	13.22	3	15	4	0
8	15	171	9.24 %	11.4	4	8	3	0
Total	188	1850 3/4	100.00 %	Ø = 9.84	82	67	21	18

4.2. SPEECH DISTRIBUTION (NO. OF SPEECHES)

Book	Humans	Deities	Men	Women	Mortal Men	Mortal Women	Gods	Goddesses	Total
1	18	6	20	4	16	2	4	2	24
2	19	5	10	14	10	9	0	5	24
3	17	4	17	4	16	1	1	3	21
4	25	5	30	0	25	0	5	0	30
5	22	7	21	8	18	4	3	4	29
6	15	8	15	8	13	2	2	6	23
7	18	4	6	16	6	12	0	4	22
8	15	0	7	8	7	8	0	0	15
Total	149	39	126	62	111	38	15	24	188

4.3. DIFFERENT SPEAKERS

Book	Humans	Deities	Men	Women	Mortal Men	Mortal Women	Gods	Goddesses	Total
1	10	6	13	3	9	1	4	2	16
2	9	3	6	6	6	3	0	3	12
3	10	2	10	2	9	1	1	1	12
4	12	4	16	0	12	0	4	0	16
5	8	4	7	5	5	3	2	2	12
6	9	6	10	5	8	1	2	4	15
7	3	2	2	3	2	1	0	2	5
8	6	0	4	2	4	2	0	0	6
Total	48	15	47	16	39	9	8	7	63

4.4. SPEECHES LENGTH (VV.)

Book	Humans	Deities	Men	Women	Mortal Men	Mortal Women	Gods	Goddesses	Total
1	196 7/12	89 1/4	253 5/6	32	178	18 7/12	75 5/6	13 5/12	285 5/6
2	117 2/3	51 3/4	59 1/12	110 1/3	59 1/12	58 7/12	0	51 3/4	169 5/12
3	179 1/6	35 7/12	166 5/12	48 1/3	165 5/12	13 3/4	1	34 7/12	214 3/4
4	302 1/12	39 11/12	342	0	302 1/12	0	39 11/12	0	342
5	194 2/3	74 7/12	222 11/12	46 1/3	180 1/4	14 5/12	42 2/3	31 11/12	269 1/4
6	69 5/12	38 1/6	68 3/4	38 5/6	62 11/12	6 1/2	5 5/6	32 1/3	107 7/12
7	217 1/6	73 3/4	99	191 11/12	99	118 1/6	0	73 3/4	290 11/12
8	171	0	68 1/2	102 1/2	68 1/2	102 1/2	0	0	171
Total	1447 3/4	403	1280 1/2	570 1/4	1115 1/4	332 1/2	165 1/4	237 3/4	1850 3/4

4.5. SPEECH PERCENTAGES (%)

Book	Humans	Deities	Men	Women	Mortal Men	Mortal Women	Gods	Goddesses	Total
1	68.78 %	31.22 %	88.80 %	11.20 %	62.27 %	6.50 %	26.53 %	4.69 %	15.44 %
2	69.45 %	30.55 %	34.87 %	65.13 %	34.87 %	34.58 %	0.00 %	30.55 %	9.15 %
3	83.43 %	16.57 %	77.49 %	22.51 %	77.03 %	6.40 %	0.47 %	16.10 %	11.60 %
4	88.33 %	11.67 %	100.00 %	0.00 %	88.33 %	0.00 %	11.67 %	0.00 %	18.48 %
5	72.30 %	27.70 %	82.79 %	17.21 %	66.95 %	5.35 %	15.85 %	11.85 %	14.55 %
6	64.52 %	35.48 %	63.90 %	36.10 %	58.48 %	6.04 %	5.42 %	30.05 %	5.81 %
7	74.65 %	25.35 %	34.03 %	65.97 %	34.03 %	40.62 %	0.00 %	25.35 %	15.72 %
8	100 %	0.00 %	40.06 %	59.94 %	40.06 %	59.94 %	0.00 %	0.00 %	9.24 %
Total	78.23 %	21.77 %	69.19 %	30.81 %	60.26 %	17.97 %	8.93 %	12.85 %	100.00 %

4.6. AVERAGE SPEECH LENGTH (VV.)

Book	Humans	Deities	Men	Women	Mortal Men	Mortal Women	Gods	Goddesses	Total
1	10.92	14.88	12.69	8	11.13	9.29	18.96	6.71	11.91
2	6.19	10.35	5.91	7.88	5.91	6.51	0	10.35	7.06
3	10.54	8.90	10.40	12.08	10.34	13.75	1	11.53	10.23
4	12.08	7.98	11.40	0	12.08	0	7.98	0	11.40
5	8.85	10.65	10.62	5.15	10.01	3.60	14.22	7.98	9.28
6	4.63	4.77	4.58	4.85	4.84	3.25	2.92	5.39	4.68
7	12.06	18.44	16.50	11.99	16.50	9.85	0	18.44	13.22
8	11.40	0	9.79	12.81	9.79	12.81	0	0	11.40
Total	Ø 9.72	Ø 10.33	Ø 10.16	Ø 9.20	Ø 10.05	Ø 8.75	Ø 11.02	Ø 9.91	Ø 9.84

4.7. SPEECH CLUSTERS

4.7.1. MONOLOGUES

Book	Humans	Deities	Men	Women	Mortal Men	Mortal Women	Gods	Goddesses	Total
1	8	2	8	2	7	1	1	1	10
2	12	4	4	12	4	8	0	4	16
3	11	3	11	3	10	1	1	2	14
4	11	4	15	0	11	0	4	0	15
5	7	0	6	1	6	1	0	0	7
6	11	2	11	2	10	1	1	1	13
7	3	0	1	2	1	2	0	0	3
8	4	0	2	2	2	2	0	0	4
Total	67	15	58	24	51	16	7	8	82

4.7.2. DIALOGUES

Book	Humans	Deities	Men	Women	Mortal Men	Mortal Women	Gods	Goddesses	Total
1	2	2	4	0	2	0	2	0	4
2	7	1	6	2	6	1	0	1	8
3	2	0	2	0	2	0	0	0	2
4	7	0	7	0	7	0	0	0	7
5	14	3	11	6	11	3	0	3	17
6	3	3	2	4	2	1	0	3	6
7	11	4	5	10	5	6	0	4	15
8	8	0	5	3	5	3	0	0	8
Total	54	13	42	25	40	14	2	11	67

4.7.3. SOLILOQUIES

Book	Humans	Deities	Men	Women	Mortal Men	Mortal Women	Gods	Goddesses	Total
1	3	2	4	1	3	0	1	1	5
2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
3	1	1	1	1	1	0	0	1	2
4	1	1	2	0	1	0	1	0	2
5	1	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	1
6	3	3	2	4	2	1	0	3	6
7	4	0	0	4	0	4	0	0	4
8	3	0	0	3	0	3	0	0	3
Total	16	7	10	13	8	8	2	5	23

4.7.4. GENERAL INTERLOCUTIONS

Book	Humans	Deities	Men	Women	Mortal Men	Mortal Women	Gods	Goddesses	Total
1	5	0	4	1	4	1	0	0	5
2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
3	3	0	3	0	3	0	0	0	3
4	6	0	6	0	6	0	0	0	6
5	0	4	3	1	0	0	3	1	4
6	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
7	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
8	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total	14	4	16	2	13	1	3	1	18

4.7.5. FREE INDIRECT DISCOURSE

Book	Humans	Deities	Men	Women	Mortal Men	Mortal Women	Gods	Goddesses	Total
1	1	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	1
2	1	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	1
3	1	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	1
4	1	1	2	0	1	0	1	0	2
5	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
6	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0
7	1	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	0
8	1	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0
Total	6	2	6	2	5	1	1	1	8

4.7.6. INSERTED SPEECHES

Book	Humans	Deities	Men	Women	Mortal Men	Mortal Women	Gods	Goddesses	Total
1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
2	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	1	1
3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
4	2	0	2	0	2	0	0	0	2
5	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
6	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
7	1	1	0	2	0	1	0	1	2
8	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total	3	2	2	3	2	1	0	2	5

4.8. SPEECHES BY BOOKS

4.8.1. VALERIUS' ARGONAUTICA, BK. 1

No.	Speaker	Book Lines	Length (Verses)	Addressee(s)	Speech Type	Speech Cluster	Begins Mid.	Ends Mid.	Inter.
1	Pelias	1.40-57	18	Jason	Req	M	n	n	n
2	Jason	1.81-90	9 5/6	Juno, Minerva	Pra	M	n	n	y
3	Juno	1.113-9	7		Lam, Des	S	n	n	n
4	Jason	1.150b-5	5 5/6		Del	S	y	n	n
5	Jason	1.164b-73	9 3/4	Acastus	Per, Req	D1	y	n	n
6	Acastus	1.174b-81	7 1/3	Jason	Res	D2	y	n	y
7	Jason	1.194b-203	9 7/12	Neptune	Pra	M	y	n	n
8	Mopsus	1.211-26	16	Argonauts	Ora	G1	n	n	n
9	Idmon	1.234b-8a	3 5/6	Mopsus, Argonauts	Ora	G2	y	y	n
10	Jason	1.241b-51	10 3/4	Mopsus, Idmon, Argonauts	Res, Req	G3	y	n	n
11	Peleus	1.265b-70	5 5/12	<i>superi</i> , Chiron	Pra, Req	M	y	n	y
12	Argo (<i>imago</i>)	1.302b-7	6 5/12	Jason	Per, Exh	M	y	n	n
13	Alcimedede	1.320b-34	14 3/4	Jason	Far, Lam	G1	y	n	n
14	Aeson	1.336b-47	11 5/12	Jason	Far, Exh	G2	y	n	n
15	Sol	1.505-27	23	Jupiter	Per, Req	D1	n	n	n
16	Jupiter	1.531b-67	34 3/4	Sol, Minerva, Juno	Res, Ora	D2	y	n	n
17	Boreas	1.598-607	9 11/12	Aeolus	Lam, Req	M	n	n	y
18	Argonauts	1.627-32	6		Lam	S	n	n	n
19	Neptune	1.642b-50	8 1/6		Lam, Thr	S	y	n	y
20	Jason	1.667-80	14	<i>superi</i> , Neptune	Pra	M	n	n	n
21	Pelias	1.712-24a	11 1/4		Del, Thr	S	n	y	y
22	Cretheus (shade)	1.741-51	11	Aeson, Alcimedede	Ora, Exh	M	n	n	n
23	Alcimedede	1.763-822	3 5/6	Aeson	Lam, Req	M	n	n	y
24	Aeson	1.788-822	28	Cretheus (shade), ancestors, Astrea, Furies, <i>Fas</i> , <i>Poena</i>	Pra	M	n	n	n

4.8.2. VALERIUS' ARGONAUTICA, BK. 2

No.	Speaker	Book Lines	Length (Verses)	Addressee(s)	Speech Type	Speech Cluster	Begins Mid.	Ends Mid.	Inter.
1	Tiphys	2.48b-65	17 7/12	Argonauts	Inf, Exh	M	y	n	y
2	Lemnian Men	2.113-4	2	<i>coniunx, patria</i>	Inf, Per	M	n	n	n
3	Venus	2.127-34	8	Fama	Req, Mes	M	n	n	n
4	Fama (as Neaera)	2.142b-60a	18 1/6	Eurynome	Mes, Lam	M	y	y	y
5	Venus (as Dryope)	2.176b-84a	8 5/12	Lemnian Women	Lam, Del	M	y	y	n
6	Venus (as Dryope)	2.213b-4a	1 1/6	Lemnian Women	Inf, Exh	M	y	y	n
7	Hypsipyle	2.249b-53a	3 5/6	Thoas	Per, Req	M	y	y	y
8	Hypsipyle	2.256-7a	1 1/12	Bacchus	Pra	M	n	y	n
9	Hypsipyle	2.274b-6	2 7/12	Bacchus	Pra	M	y	n	n
10	Hypsipyle	2.290-9	10	Thoas, Luna	Lam, Del, Pra	M	n	n	n
11	Polyxo	2.322-5	3 5/6	Lemnian Women	Per, Ora	M	n	n	y
12	Hypsipyle	2.335b-9	4 1/3	Jason	Inf	M	y	n	y
13	Hercules	2.378-84a	6 7/12	Jason, Argonauts	Vit, Lam	M	n	y	y
14	Hypsipyle	2.403-8a	5 1/4	Jason	Vit, Lam	M	n	y	n
15	Hypsipyle	2.419-24	5 5/6	Jason	Far	M	n	n	y
16	Hercules	2.468b-9	1 3/4	Hesione	Que	D1	y	n	n
17	Hesione	2.471-92	21 5/6	Hercules	Que	D2	n	n	y
18	Laomedon	2.557-66	11	Hercules	Gre, Tau, Inv	D1	n	n	n
19	Hercules	2.574-6a	2 1/12	Laomedon	Inv	D2	n	y	y
20	Helle*	2.592-607*	16	Jason	Ora, Mes	D1	n	n	y
21	Jason	2.611-2	2	Helle	Pra	D2	n	n	n
22	Cyzicus	2.639b-48	9 5/6	Argonauts	Gre, Acc	M	y	n	n
23	Cyzicus	2.656b-8	2 2/3	Jason	Inf	D1	y	n	y
24	Jason	2.659b-62	3 7/12	Cyzicus	Vow	D2	y	n	n

4.8.3. VALERIUS' ARGONAUTICA, BK. 3

No.	Speaker	Book Lines	Length (Verses)	Addressee(s)	Speech Type	Speech Cluster	Begins Mid.	Ends Mid.	Inter.
1	Pan	3.45	1	Cyzicans	Exh	M	n	n	n
2	Jason	3.81b-2	1 3/4	(absent / dead) Aeson, Argonauts	Pra, Exh	M	y	n	n
3	Tydeus	3.103b-5a	2 1/6	Corythus	Thr	M	y	y	y
4	Nestor	3.143-5a	1 11/12	Argonauts	Vit, Exh	M	n	y	y
5	Hercules	3.169b-70	1 2/3	Admon	Thr	M	y	n	y
6	Telamon	3.201-3a	2 1/4	<i>Superi</i>	Pra	M	n	y	n
7	Cyzicus	3.230b-4	4 3/4	Cyzicans	Vit, Exh	M	y	n	n
8	Tiphys	3.259-61	2 1/6	Gods of the Sea	Lam	M	n	n	y
9	Jason	3.270-2	3	Cyzicans	Per	M	n	n	n
10	Jason	3.290-313	25	(dead) Cyzicus, Argonauts	Lam, Req	M	n	n	n
11	Clite	3.316b-29	13 3/4	(dead) Cyzicus	Lam	M	y	n	n
12	Jason	3.373-6	3 11/12	Mopsus	Que	D1	n	n	y
13	Mopsus	3.377-416	39 1/2	Jason	Que	D2	n	n	y
14	Mopsus	3.448b-55	7 1/3	Shades of the murdered Cyzicans	Pra	M	y	n	n
15	Hercules	3.475b	3/4		Del	S	y	n	n
16	Juno	3.492b-505	13 7/12	Minerva	Per, Req	M	y	n	n
17	Juno	3.510-20	11		Del, Exh	S	n	n	n
18	Juno	3.535-44	10	Dryope (Nymph)	Inf, Per	M	n	n	n
19	Jason	3.617-27	11	Argonauts	Per, Req	G1	n	n	n
20	Meleager	3.649-89	40 1/2	Jason, Argonauts	Vit, Per	G2	n	n	y
21	Telamon	3.697-714	17 3/4	Jason, Argonauts	Lam, Vit, Per	G3	n	n	y

4.8.4. VALERIUS' ARGONAUTICA, BK. 4

No.	Speaker	Book Lines	Length (Verses)	Addressee(s)	Speech Type	Speech Cluster	Begins Mid.	Ends Mid.	Inter.
1	Jupiter	4.4-14	11	Juno	Vit	M	n	n	n
2	Hylas (<i>imago</i>)	4.25-37	13	Hercules	Nar, Ora, Far	D1	n	n	n
3	Hercules	4.51b-3	2 1/6	Hylas	Que	D2	y	n	y
4	Apollo	4.62-7	6	Jupiter	Per, Req	M	n	n	n
5	Jupiter	4.78-9	1 11/12	Iris	Req, Mes, Ins	M	n	n	y
6	Neptune	4.118-30	13		Lam	S	n	n	n
7	Dymas	4.140-1a	1	Echion	War, Per	M	n	y	y
8	Dymas	4.145b-56	11 1/2	Argonauts	Inf, Per	D1	y	n	y
9	Jason	4.157b-60	3 3/4	Dymas	Que	D2	y	n	n
10	Dymas	4.161-73	12 5/6	Jason	Res, Req	D3	n	n	y
11	Pollux	4.191-2	1 5/6	Argonauts, (absent) Amycus	Vow, Thr	M	n	n	y
12	Amycus	4.206-21	16	Argonauts	Cha, Thr	M	n	n	n
13	Amycus	4.240-4a	3 7/12	Pollux	Tau, Thr	M	n	y	n
14	Amycus	4.250-1	2	Pollux	Cha, Tau	M	n	n	n
15	Pollux	4.312b-4	2 5/12	Amycus	Tau	M	y	n	y
16	Argonauts	4.327-9	2 7/12	Pollux	Lau	M	n	n	y
17	Castor	4.335b-6	1 1/2	Argo	Pra	M	y	n	y
18	Orpheus*	4.351b-21	70 5/12	Argonauts	Nar	M	y	n	y
19	Phineus	4.436b-64	28 1/3	Argonauts	Gre, Req	G1	y	n	y
20	Zetes	4.466b-72	6 1/4	Phineus	Res	G2	y	n	y
21	Phineus	4.474-84	10 11/12	Argonauts, Jupiter	Nar, Pra	G3	n	n	y
22	Typhon	4.519-26	8	Calais, Zetes	Vit	M	n	n	n
23	Jason	4.538-46	9	Phineus	Req	G1	n	n	n
24	Phineus*	4.553b-624a	71 1/2	Jason	Nar, Ora	G2	y	y	y
25	Phineus	4.629b-35	6 5/12	Calais, Zetes	Lau, Req	G3	y	n	y
26	Jason	4.649b-53a	4 1/4	Argonauts	Exh	M	y	y	n
27	Jason	4.674b-5a	11/12	Minerva	Pra	M	y	y	y
28	Jason	4.704b-7a	3 1/12		Lam, Del	S	y	y	y
29	Lycus	4.741-54	14	Argonauts	Gre, Nar	D1	n	n	n
30	Jason	4.755b-8	2 5/6	Lycus	Que, Inf, Com	D2	y	n	y

4.8.5. VALERIUS' ARGONAUTICA, BK. 5

No.	Speaker	Book Lines	Length (Verses)	Addressee(s)	Speech Type	Speech Cluster	Begins Mid.	Ends Mid.	Inter.
1	Argonauts	5.17-20	4	Apollo	Pra	M	n	n	n
2	Jason	5.37b-59	21 1/12		Lam, Des	S	y	n	y
3	Jason	5.129-31a	2 1/3	Autolycus, Phlogius, Deileon	Req	M	n	y	y
4	Jason	5.194-213a	16 5/6	(dead) Phrixus, Helle, <i>Silvae</i> , Phasis	Pra	M	n	y	y
5	Phrixus (<i>imago</i>)	5.233b-40	7 3/4	Aeetes	Ora	M	y	n	n
6	Aeetes	5.246-52	7	Sol, Mars	Pra	M	n	n	n
7	Minerva	5.282b-5	3 7/12	Juno	Que	D1	y	n	y
8	Juno	5.286b-91	5 3/4	Minerva	Res	D2	y	n	n
9	Minerva	5.292-5	3 3/4	Juno	Res	D3	n	n	y
10	Jason	5.313b-24	11 5/12	Argonauts	Per, Exh	M	y	n	y
11	Medea	5.353-5	3	Henioche	Que, Req	D1	n	n	n
12	Henioche	5.359-62	3 11/12	Medea	Res	D2	n	n	y
13	Jason	5.378-90	12 11/12	Medea	Gre, Req	D1	n	n	y
14	Medea	5.393-6	4	Jason	Res	D2	n	n	n
15	<i>Famula</i>	5.403b-6	3 1/2	Argonauts	Inf	M	y	n	y
16	Jason	5.471-518	48	Aeetes	Gre, Inf, Req	D1	n	n	n
17	Aeetes	5.534b-41a	7 1/3	Jason, Argonauts	Res	D2	n	y	y
18	Jason	5.542-6a	4 1/6	Aeetes	Res	D3	n	y	y
19	Argonauts	5.550b-2a	1 5/12	Castor	Req	D1	y	y	n
20	Castor	5.553-7	5	Argonauts	Mes, Req	D2	n	n	n
21	Jason	5.578-80	3	Aeetes	Que	D1	n	n	n
22	Aeetes	5.582-3	1 5/6	Jason	Res	D2	n	n	y
23	Jason	5.587-8	1 2/3	Aeetes	Req	D3	n	n	y
24	Aeetes	5.590-5	6	Jason	Res	D4	n	n	n
25	Aeetes	5.599b-614	18 1/2	Jason	Inf	D5	y	n	y
26	Mars	5.624-48	25	Jupiter	Lam, Per	G1	n	n	n
27	Minerva	5.651-69	18 5/6	Mars, Jupiter	Tau, Per, Req	G2	n	n	y
28	Mars	5.670a	2/3	Minerva, Jupiter	Tau	G3	n	y	n
29	Jupiter	5.673-89	17	Mars, Minerva, Juno	Vit, Ora	G4	n	n	n

4.8.6. VALERIUS' ARGONAUTICA, BK. 6

No.	Speaker	Book Lines	Length (Verses)	Addressee(s)	Speech Type	Speech Cluster	Begins Mid.	Ends Mid.	Inter.
1	Mars	6.29	2/3	Colchians, Scythians	Exh	M	n	n	y
2	Medores	6.213-6	4	<i>superi</i>	Pra	M	n	n	n
3	Anausis	6.267b-9	2 3/4	Styrus	Tau	M	y	n	y
4	Anausis	6.274-6	2 5/6	Styrus	Tau	M	n	n	y
5	Gesander	6.282-6	5	Iazygians	Vit, Exh	M	n	n	n
6	Gesander	6.288-91	4	Shade of Voraptus	Pra	M	n	n	n
7	Aquites	6.305-7a	2 1/12	Gesander	Req	D1	n	y	y
8	Gesander	6.308b-14	6 3/4	Aquites	Res	D2	y	n	n
9	Gesander	6.323b-39	16 3/4	Canthus	Inf, Thr	M	y	n	n
10	Gesander	6.373b-4a	5/6		Del	S	y	y	y
11	Juno	6.460-6	6 11/12	Venus	Req	D1	n	n	y
12	Venus	6.475-6	1 11/12	Juno	Res	D2	n	n	y
13	Juno (as Chalcioppe)	6.482-7	5 5/6	Medea	Per	M	n	n	y
14	Hecate	6.497-502	6		Lam	S	n	n	n
15	Aron	6.536b-9	3 7/12	Armes	Vit, Cha	M	y	n	y
16	Jason	6.547-9	2 11/12	Phrixus' Sons, esp. Argus	Acc	M	n	n	y
17	Medea	6.588-90a	2 7/12	Juno (as Chalcioppe)	Que	D1	n	y	n
18	Juno (as Chalcioppe)	6.592-9	7 11/12	Medea	Res	D2	n	n	y
19	Jupiter	6.624-9a	5 1/6		Lam	S	n	y	n
20	Colaxes	6.647-8a	1 5/12	Jason	Tau, Cha	M	n	y	n
21	Medea	6.675b-9a	3 11/12	Juno (as Chalcioppe)	Que	M	y	y	n
22	Perses	6.727-36	10	<i>Superi</i> , esp. Jupiter	Lam, Pra	M	n	n	n
23	Minerva	6.741b-4	3 3/4		Del	S	y	n	n

4.8.7. VALERIUS' ARGONAUTICA, BK. 7

No.	Speaker	Book Lines	Length (Verses)	Addressee(s)	Speech Type	Speech Cluster	Begins Mid.	Ends Mid.	Inter.
1	Medea	7.9-20	12		Lam, Del	S	n	n	n
2	Aeetes	7.35-77	43	(dead) Phrixus, Jason, Argonauts	Vit, Cha	D1	n	n	n
3	Jason	7.89-100	11 11/12	Aeetes	Res, Vit, Req	D2	n	n	y
4	Medea	7.128-40	12 5/6		Lam, Des	S	n	n	y
5	Juno	7.159-70	12	Venus	Per, Req	D1	n	n	n
6	Venus	7.172-86a	14 5/12	Juno	Res, Per, Req	D2	n	y	n
7	Medea	7.198-209	13	Jason	Del	S	n	n	n
8	Medea	7.217b-22a	5 5/12	Venus (as Circe)	Gre, Que	D1	y	y	n
9	Venus (as Circe)	7.223b-36	13 7/12	Medea	Res, Per	D2	y	n	n
10	Medea	7.238-50	12 5/6	Venus (as Circe)	Inf, Req	D3	n	n	y
11	Venus (as Circe)*	7.257b-83	33 3/4	Medea	Res, Nar, Mes	D4	y	n	y
12	Medea	7.331-49a	13 1/2		Lam, Del	S	n	y	y
13	Medea	7.385-7	3	Venus (as Circe)	Que	M	n	n	n
14	Jason	7.413-30	17 5/6	Medea	Per	D1	n	n	y
15	Medea	7.437-55	16 7/12	Jason	Del, Per	D2	n	n	y
16	Medea	7.467-72a	5 5/12	Jason	Inf, Req	M	n	y	y
17	Medea	7.477-87	11	Jason	Lam, Req	D1	n	n	n
18	Jason	7.490-509	18 11/12	Medea	Vow	D2	n	n	y
19	Medea	7.516-21b	+ 7 +	Jason	Inf	D3	n	n	y
20	Jason	7.529	1	Medea	Que	D4	n	n	n
21	Medea	7.532-7a	5 7/12	Jason	Res, Des	D5	n	y	n
22	Aeetes	7.546b-52	6 1/3	<i>Tauri</i> , Medea	Des, Req	M	y	n	y

4.8.8. VALERIUS' ARGONAUTICA, BK. 8

No.	Speaker	Book Lines	Length (Verses)	Addressee(s)	Speech Type	Speech Cluster	Begins Mid.	Ends Mid.	Inter.
1	Medea	8.10-5	6		Far, Des	S	n	n	n
2	Jason	8.37-43	7	Medea	Acc, Req	D1	n	n	n
3	Medea	8.46-53	8	Jason, <i>Superi</i>	Res, Vow, Req	D2	n	n	n
4	Jason	8.58-9a	1 1/12	Medea	Que	D3	n	y	n
5	Medea	8.60-6	7	Jason	Res, Que	D4	n	n	n
6	Medea	8.70b-8	8 3/4	Somnus	Req	M	y	n	n
7	Medea	8.95-108	14		Lam, Req	S	n	n	n
8	Medea	8.110b-1	1 1/4	Jason	Inf	M	y	n	y
9	Eidyia	8.144-70	26 11/12		Lam, Des, Del	S	n	n	y
10	Erginus	8.178-94	16 11/12	Jason, Argonauts	Per, Req	D1	n	n	y
11	Jason	8.197b-9	2 7/12	Erginus	Res	D2	y	n	n
12	Absyrtus	8.264b-84	20 11/12	Medea, Colchians	Exh, Vit	M	y	n	n
13	Styrus	8.337-55	19	Colchians	Exh	M	n	n	n
14	Medea	8.415-44a	30 7/12	Jason	Vit, Que	D1	n	y	n
15	Jason +	8.467 +	+ 1 +	Medea	Res, Per	D2	n	n	n

4.9. DIFFERENT SPEAKERS

4.9.1. SUMMARY

No.	Speaker	No. of Speeches	Book	Length (Verses)	%	Speech Cluster	Begins Mid.	Ends Mid.	Inter.
1	Jason	37	8 B (1-8)	319 1/2	17.26 %	12M, 19D, 3S, 3G	14y, 23n	7y, 30n	16y, 21n
2	Medea	23	4 B (5,6,7,8)	207 1/4	11.20 %	5M, 12D, 6S	4y, 19n	7y, 16n	7y, 16n
3	Phineus	4	1 B (4)	117 1/6	6.33 %	4G	3y, 1n	1y, 3n	4y
4	Aeetes	7	2 B (5,7)	90	4.86 %	2M, 5D	2y, 5n	1y, 6n	4y, 3n
5	Venus	7	3 B (2,6,7)	81 1/4	4.39 %	3M, 4D	4y, 3n	3y, 4n	2y, 5n
6	Juno	9	5 B (1,3,5,6,7)	80	4.32 %	3M, 4D, 2S	2y, 7n	9n	3y, 6n
7	Orpheus*	1	1 B (4)	70 5/12	3.80 %	1M	1y	1n	1y
8	Jupiter	5	4 B (1,4,5,6)	69 5/6	3.77 %	2M, 1D, 1S, 1G	1y, 4n	1y, 4n	1y, 4n
9	Mopsus	3	2 B (1,3)	62 5/6	3.40 %	1M, 1D, 1G	1y, 2n	3n	1y, 2n
10	Meleager	1	1 B (3)	40 1/2	2.19 %	1G	1n	1n	1y
11	Aeson	2	1 B (2)	39 5/12	2.13 %	1M, 1G	1y, 1n	2n	2n
12	Gesander	5	1 B (6)	33 1/3	1.80 %	3M, 1D, 1S	3y, 2n	1y, 4n	1y, 4n
13	Hypsipyle	7	1 B (2)	32 11/12	1.78 %	7M	3y, 4n	3y, 4n	3y, 4n
14	Minerva	4	2 B (5,6)	29 11/12	1.62 %	2D, 1S, 1G	2y, 2n	4n	3y, 1n
15	Pelias	2	1 B (1)	29 1/4	1.58 %	1M, 1S	2n	1y, 1n	1y, 1n
16	Eidyia	1	1 B (8)	26 11/12	1.45 %	1S	1n	1n	1y
17	Mars	3	2 B (5,6)	26 1/3	1.42 %	1M, 2G	3n	1y, 2n	1y, 2n
18	Dymas	3	1 B (4)	25 1/3	1.37 %	1M, 2D	1y, 2n	1y, 2n	3y
19	Sol	1	1 B (1)	23	1.24 %	1D	1n	1n	1n
20	Hesione	1	1 B (2)	21 5/6	1.18 %	1D	1n	1n	1y
21	Amycus	3	1 B (4)	21 7/12	1.17 %	3M	3n	1y, 2n	3n
22	Neptune	2	2 B (1,4)	21 1/6	1.14 %	2S	1y, 1n	2n	1y, 1n
23	Absyrtus	1	1 B (8)	20 11/12	1.13 %	1M	1y	1n	1n
24	Telamon	2	1 B (3)	20	1.08 %	1M, 1G	2n	1y, 1n	1y, 1n
25	Tiphys	2	2 B (2,3)	19 3/4	1.07 %	2M	1y, 1n	2n	2y
26	Styrus	1	1 B (8)	19	1.03 %	1M	1n	1n	1n
27	Alcimedea	2	1 B (1)	18 7/12	1.00 %	1M, 1G	1y,	2n	1y, 1n
28	Fama (as Neaera)	1	1 B (2)	18 1/6	0.98 %	1M	1y	1y	1y
29	Cyzicus	3	2 B (2,3)	17 1/4	0.93 %	2M, 1D	3y	3n	1y, 2n

30	Erginus	1	1 B (8)	16 11/12	0.91 %	1D	1n	1n	1y
31	Helle*	1	1 B (2)	16	0.86 %	1D	1n	1n	1y
32	Hercules	6	3 B (2,3,4)	15	0.81 %	1M, 3D, 1 S	4y, 2n	2y, 4n	4y, 2n
33	Argonauts	4	3 B (1,4,5)	14	0.76 %	2M, 1D, 1S	1y, 3n	1y, 3n	1y, 3n
34	Lycus	1	1 B (4)	14	0.76 %	1D	1n	1n	1n
35	Clite	1	1 B (3)	13 3/4	0.74 %	1M	1y	1n	1n
36	Hylas (<i>imago</i>)	1	1 B (4)	13	0.70 %	1D	1n	1n	1n
37	Laomedon	1	1 B (2)	11	0.59 %	1D	1n	1n	1n
38	Shade of Cretheus	1	1 B (1)	11	0.59 %	1M	1n	1n	1n
39	Perses	1	1 B (6)	10	0.54 %	1M	1n	1n	1n
40	Boreas	1	1 B (1)	9 11/12	0.54 %	1M	1n	1n	1y
41	Typhon	1	1 B (4)	8	0.43 %	1M	1n	1n	1n
42	Phrixus (<i>imago</i>)	1	1 B (5)	7 3/4	0.42 %	1M	1y	1n	1n
43	Acastus	1	1 B (1)	7 1/3	0.40 %	1D	1y	1n	1y
44	Castor	2	2 B (4,5)	6 1/2	0.35 %	1M, 1D	1y, 1n	2n	1y, 1n
45	Argo (<i>imago</i>)	1	1 B (1)	6 5/12	0.35 %	1M	1y	1n	1n
46	Zetes	1	1 B (4)	6 1/4	0.34 %	1G	1y	1n	1y
47	Apollo	1	1 B (4)	6	0.32 %	1M	1n	1n	1n
48	Hecate	1	1 B (6)	6	0.32 %	1S	1n	1n	1n
49	Anausis	2	1 B (6)	5 7/12	0.30 %	2M	1y, 1n	2n	2y
50	Peleus	1	1 B (1)	5 5/12	0.29 %	1M	1y	1n	1y
51	Pollux	2	1 B (4)	4 1/4	0.23 %	2M	1y, 1n	2n	2y
52	Medores	1	1 B (6)	4	0.22 %	1M	1n	1n	1n
53	Henioche	1	1 B (5)	3 11/12	0.21 %	1D	1n	1n	1y
54	Idmon	1	1 B (1)	3 5/6	0.21 %	1G	1y	1y	1n
55	Polyxo	1	1 B (2)	3 5/6	0.21 %	1M	1n	1n	1y
56	Aron	1	1 B (6)	3 7/12	0.19 %	1M	1y	1n	1y
57	<i>Famula</i>	1	1 B (5)	3 1/2	0.19 %	1M	1y	1n	1y
58	Tydeus	1	1 B (3)	2 1/6	0.12 %	1M	1y	1y	1y
59	Aquites	1	1 B (6)	2 1/12	0.11 %	1D	1n	1y	1y
60	Lemnian Men	1	1 B (2)	2	0.11 %	1M	1n	1n	1n
61	Nestor	1	1 B (3)	1 11/12	0.10 %	1M	1n	1y	1y
62	Colaxes	1	1 B (6)	1 5/12	0.08 %	1M	1n	1y	1n
63	Pan	1	1 B (3)	1	0.05 %	1M	1n	1n	1n
	Total	188		1850 3/4	100 %	81M, 67D, 21S, 19G	68y, 119n	38y, 150n	82y, 106n

4.9.2. FULL DETAILS

No.	Speaker	No. of Speeches	Book Lines	Length (Verses)	Speech Cluster	Begins Mid.	Ends Mid.	Inter.
1	Jason		1.81-90	9 5/6	M	n	n	y
	Jason		1.150b-5	5 5/6	S	y	n	n
	Jason		1.164b-73	9 3/4	D1	y	n	n
	Jason		1.194b-203	9 7/12	M	y	n	n
	Jason		1.241b-51	10 3/4	G3	y	n	n
	Jason		1.667-80	14	M	n	n	n
	Jason		2.611-2	2	D2	n	n	n
	Jason		2.659b-62	3 7/12	D2	y	n	n
	Jason		3.81b-2	1 3/4	M	y	n	n
	Jason		3.270-2	3	M	n	n	n
	Jason		3.290-313	25	M	n	n	n
	Jason		3.373-6	3 11/12	D1	n	n	y
	Jason		3.617-27	11	G1	n	n	n
	Jason		4.157b-60	3 3/4	D2	y	n	n
	Jason		4.538-46	9	G1	n	n	n
	Jason		4.649b-53a	4 1/4	M	y	y	n
	Jason		4.674b-5a	11/12	M	y	y	y
	Jason		4.704b-7a	3 1/12	S	y	y	y
	Jason		4.755b-8	2 5/6	D2	y	n	y
	Jason		5.37b-59	21 1/12	S	y	n	y
	Jason		5.129-31a	2 1/3	M	n	y	y
	Jason		5.194-213a	16 5/6	M	n	y	y
	Jason		5.313b-24	11 5/12	M	y	n	y
	Jason		5.378-90	12 11/12	D1	n	n	y
	Jason		5.471-518	48	D1	n	n	n
	Jason		5.542-6a	4 1/6	D3	n	y	y
	Jason		5.578-80	3	D1	n	n	n
	Jason		5.587-8	1 2/3	D3	n	n	y
	Jason		6.547-9	2 11/12	M	n	n	y
	Jason		7.89-100	11 11/12	D2	n	n	y
	Jason		7.413-30	17 5/6	D1	n	n	y
	Jason		7.490-509	18 11/12	D2	n	n	y
	Jason		7.529	1	D4	n	n	n
	Jason		8.37-43	7	D1	n	n	n
	Jason		8.58-9a	1 1/12	D3	n	y	n
	Jason		8.197b-9	2 7/12	D2	y	n	n
	Jason+		8.467+	1	D2	n	n	n
	Jason	(37)	8B (1-8)	319 1/2	12M, 19D, 3S, 3G	14y, 23n	7y, 30n	16y, 21n

No.	Speaker	No. of Speeches	Book Lines	Length (Verses)	Speech Cluster	Begins Mid.	Ends Mid.	Inter.
2	Medea		5.353-5	3	D1	n	n	n
	Medea		5.393-6	4	D2	n	n	n
	Medea		6.588-90a	2 7/12	D1	n	y	n
	Medea		6.675b-9a	3 11/12	M	y	y	n
	Medea		7.9-20	12	S	n	n	n
	Medea		7.128-40	12 5/6	S	n	n	y
	Medea		7.198-209	13	S	n	n	n
	Medea		7.217b-22a	5 5/12	D1	y	y	n
	Medea		7.238-50	12 5/6	D3	n	n	y
	Medea		7.331-49a	13 1/2	S	n	y	y
	Medea		7.385-7	3	M	n	n	n
	Medea		7.437-55	16 7/12	D2	n	n	y
	Medea		7.467-72a	5 5/12	M	n	y	y
	Medea		7.477-87	11	D1	n	n	n
	Medea		7.516-21b	7	D3	n	n	y
	Medea		7.532-7a	5 7/12	D5	n	y	n
	Medea		8.10-5	6	S	n	n	n
	Medea		8.46-53	8	D2	n	n	n
	Medea		8.60-6	7	D4	n	n	n
	Medea		8.70b-8	8 3/4	M	y	n	n
	Medea		8.95-108	14	S	n	n	n
	Medea		8.110b-1	1 1/4	M	y	n	y
	Medea		8.415-44a	30 7/12	D1	n	y	n
	Medea	(23)	4B (5,6,7,8)	207 1/4	5M, 12D, 6S	4y, 19n	7y, 16n	7y, 16n
3	Phineus		4.436b-64	28 1/3	G1	y	n	y
	Phineus		4.474-84	10 11/12	G3	n	n	y
	Phineus*		4.553b-624a	71 1/2	G2	y	y	y
	Phineus		4.629b-35	6 5/12	G3	y	n	y
	Phineus	(4)	1B (4)	117 1/6	4G	3y, 1n	1y, 3n	4y
4	Aeetes		5.246-52	7	M	n	n	n
	Aeetes		5.534b-41a	7 1/3	D2	n	y	y
	Aeetes		5.582-3	1 5/6	D2	n	n	y
	Aeetes		5.590-5	6	D4	n	n	n
	Aeetes		5.599b-614	18 1/2	D5	y	n	y
	Aeetes		7.35-77	43	D1	n	n	n
	Aeetes		7.546b-52	6 1/3	M	y	n	y
	Aeetes	(7)	2B (5,7)	90	2M, 5D	2y, 5n	1y, 6n	4y, 3n

No.	Speaker	No. of Speeches	Book Lines	Length (Verses)	Speech Cluster	Begins Mid.	Ends Mid.	Inter.
5	Venus		2.127-34	8	M	n	n	n
	Venus (as Dryope)		2.176b-84a	8 5/12	M	y	y	n
	Venus (as Dryope)		2.213b-4a	1 1/6	M	y	y	n
	Venus		6.475-6	1 11/12	D2	n	n	y
	Venus		7.172-86a	14 5/12	D2	n	y	n
	Venus (as Circe)		7.223b-36	13 7/12	D2	y	n	n
	Venus (as Circe)*		7.257b-83	33 3/4	D4	y	n	y
	Venus	(7)	3B (2,6,7)	81 1/4	3M, 4D	4y, 3n	3y, 4n	2y, 5n
6	Juno		1.113-9	7	S	n	n	n
	Juno		3.492b-505	13 7/12	M	y	n	n
	Juno		3.510-20	11	S	n	n	n
	Juno		3.535-44	10	M	n	n	n
	Juno		5.286b-91	5 3/4	D2	y	n	n
	Juno		6.460-6	6 11/12	D1	n	n	y
	Juno (as Chalcioppe)		6.482-7	5 5/6	M	n	n	y
	Juno (as Chalcioppe)		6.592-9	7 11/12	D2	n	n	y
	Juno		7.159-70	12	D1	n	n	n
	Juno	(9)	5B (1,3,5,6,7)	80	3M, 4D, 2S	2y, 7n	9n	3y, 6n
7	Orpheus*	(1)	4.351b-421	70 5/12	1M	1y	1n	1y
8	Jupiter		1.531b-67	34 3/4	D2	y	n	n
	Jupiter		4.4-14	11	M	n	n	n
	Jupiter		4.78-9	1 11/12	M	n	n	y
	Jupiter		5.673-89	17	G4	n	n	n
	Jupiter		6.624-9a	5 1/6	S	n	y	n
	Jupiter	(5)	4B (1,4,5,6)	69 5/6	2M, 1D, 1S, 1G	1y, 4n	1y, 4n	1y, 4n
9	Mopsus		1.211-26	16	G1	n	n	n
	Mopsus		3.377-416	39 1/2	D2	n	n	y
	Mopsus		3.448b-55	7 1/3	M	y	n	n
	Mopsus	(3)	2B (1,3)	62 5/6	1M, 1D, 1G	1y, 2n	3n	1y, 2n
10	Meleager	(1)	3.649-89	40 1/2	1G	1n	1n	1y
11	Aeson		1.336b-47	11 5/12	G2	y	n	n
	Aeson		1.788-822	28	M	n	n	n
	Aeson	(2)	1B (1)	39 5/12	1M, 1G	1y, 1n	2n	2n

No.	Speaker	No. of Speeches	Book Lines	Length (Verses)	Speech Cluster	Begins Mid.	Ends Mid.	Inter.
12	Gesander		6.282-6	5	M	n	n	n
	Gesander		6.288-91	4	M	n	n	n
	Gesander		6.308b-14	6 3/4	D2	y	n	n
	Gesander		6.323b-39	16 3/4	M	y	n	n
	Gesander		6.373b-4a	5/6	S	y	y	y
	Gesander	(5)	1B (6)	33 1/3	3M, 1D, 1S	3y, 2n	1y, 4n	1y, 4n
13	Hypsipyle		2.249b-53a	3 5/6	M	y	y	y
	Hypsipyle		2.256-7a	1 1/12	M	n	y	n
	Hypsipyle		2.274b-6	2 7/12	M	y	n	n
	Hypsipyle		2.290-9	10	M	n	n	n
	Hypsipyle		2.335b-9	4 1/3	M	y	n	y
	Hypsipyle		2.403-8a	5 1/4	M	n	y	n
	Hypsipyle		2.419-24	5 5/6	M	n	n	y
	Hypsipyle	(7)	1B (2)	32 11/12	7M	3y, 4n	3y, 4n	3y, 4n
14	Minerva		5.282b-5	3 7/12	D1	y	n	y
	Minerva		5.292-5	3 3/4	D3	n	n	y
	Minerva		5.651-69	18 5/6	G2	n	n	y
	Minerva		6.741b-4	3 3/4	S	y	n	n
	Minerva	(4)	2B (5,6)	29 11/12	2D, 1S, 1G	2y, 2n	4n	3y, 1n
15	Pelias		1.40-57	18	M	n	n	n
	Pelias		1.712-24a	11 1/4	S	n	y	y
	Pelias	(2)	1B (1)	29 1/4	1M, 1S	2n	1y, 1n	1y, 1n
16	Eidyia	(1)	8.144-70	26 11/12	1S	1n	1n	1y
17	Mars		5.624-48	25	G1	n	n	n
	Mars		5.670a	2/3	G3	n	y	n
	Mars		6.29	2/3	M	n	n	y
	Mars	(3)	2B (5,6)	26 1/3	1M, 2G	3n	1y, 2n	1y, 2n
18	Dymas		4.140-1a	1	M	n	y	y
	Dymas		4.145b-56	11 1/2	D1	y	n	y
	Dymas		4.161-73	12 5/6	D3	n	n	y
	Dymas	(3)	1B (4)	25 1/3	1M, 2D	1y, 2n	1y, 2n	3y
19	Sol	(1)	1.505-27	23	1D	1n	1n	1n
20	Hesione	(1)	2.471-92	21 5/6	1D	1n	1n	1y

No.	Speaker	No. of Speeches	Book Lines	Length (Verses)	Speech Cluster	Begins Mid.	Ends Mid.	Inter.
21	Amycus		4.206-21	16	M	n	n	n
	Amycus		4.240-4a	3 7/12	M	n	y	n
	Amycus		4.250-1	2	M	n	n	n
	Amycus	(3)	1B (4)	21 7/12	3M	3n	1y, 2n	3n
22	Neptune		1.642b-50	8 1/6	S	y	n	y
	Neptune		4.118-30	13	S	n	n	n
	Neptune	(2)	2B (1,4)	21 1/6	2S	1y, 1n	2n	1y, 1n
23	Absyrtus	(1)	8.264b-84	20 11/12	1M	1y	1n	1n
24	Telamon		3.201-3a	2 1/4	M	n	y	n
	Telamon		3.697-714	17 3/4	G3	n	n	y
	Telamon	(2)	1B (3)	20	1M, 1G	2n	1y, 1n	1y, 1n
25	Tiphys		2.48b-65	17 7/12	M	y	n	y
	Tiphys		3.259-61	2 1/6	M	n	n	y
	Tiphys	(2)	2B (2,3)	19 3/4	2M	1y, 1n	2n	2y
26	Styrus	(1)	8.337-55	19	1M	1n	1n	1n
27	Alcimedede		1.320b-34	14 3/4	G1	y	n	n
	Alcimedede		1.763-6	3 5/6	M	n	n	y
	Alcimedede	(2)	1B (1)	18 7/12	1M, 1G	1y, 1n	2n	1y, 1n
28	Fama (as Neaera)	(1)	2.142b-60a	18 1/6	1M	1y	1y	1y
29	Cyzicus		2.639b-48	9 5/6	M	y	n	n
	Cyzicus		2.656b-8	2 2/3	D1	y	n	y
	Cyzicus		3.230b-4	4 3/4	M	y	n	n
	Cyzicus	(3)	2B (2,3)	17 1/4	2M, 1D	3y	3n	1y, 2n
30	Erginus	(1)	8.178-94	16 11/12	1D	1n	1n	1y
31	Helle*	(1)	2.592-607*	16	1D	1n	1n	1y
32	Hercules		2.378-84a	6 7/12	M	n	y	y
	Hercules		2.468b-9	1 3/4	D1	y	n	n
	Hercules		2.574-6a	2 1/12	D2	n	y	y
	Hercules		3.169b-70	1 2/3	M	y	n	y
	Hercules		3.475b	3/4	S	y	n	n
	Hercules		4.51b-3	2 1/6	D2	y	n	y
	Hercules	(6)	3B (2,3,4)	15	1M, 3D, 1 S	4y, 2n	2y, 4n	4y, 2n

No.	Speaker	No. of Speeches	Book Lines	Length (Verses)	Speech Cluster	Begins Mid.	Ends Mid.	Inter.
33	Argonauts		1.627-32	6	S	n	n	n
	Argonauts		4.327-9	2 7/12	M	n	n	y
	Argonauts		5.17-20	4	M	n	n	n
	Argonauts		5.550b-2a	1 5/12	D1	y	y	n
	Argonauts	(4)	3B (1,4,5)	14	2M, 1D, 1S	1y, 3n	1y, 3n	1y, 3n
34	Lycus	(1)	4.741-54	14	1D	1n	1n	1n
35	Clite	(1)	3.316b-29	13 3/4	1M	1y	1n	1n
36	Hylas (<i>imago</i>)	(1)	4.25-37	13	1D	1n	1n	1n
37	Laomedon	(1)	2.557-66	11	1D	1n	1n	1n
38	Shade of Cretheus	(1)	1.741-51	11	1M	1n	1n	1n
39	Perses	(1)	6.727-36	10	1M	1n	1n	1n
40	Boreas	(1)	1.598-607	9 11/12	1M	1n	1n	1y
41	Typhon	(1)	4.519-26	8	1M	1n	1n	1n
42	Phrixus (<i>imago</i>)	(1)	5.233b-40	7 3/4	1M	1y	1n	1n
43	Acastus	(1)	1.174b-81	7 1/3	1D	1y	1n	1y
44	Castor		4.335b-6	1 1/2	M	y	n	y
	Castor		5.553-7	5	D2	n	n	n
	Castor	(2)	2B (4,5)	6 1/2	1M, 1D	1y, 1n	2n	1y, 1n
45	Argo (<i>imago</i>)	(1)	1.302b-7	6 5/12	1M	1y	1n	1n
46	Zetes	(1)	4.466b-72	6 1/4	1G	1y	1n	1y
47	Apollo	(1)	4.62-7	6	1M	1n	1n	1n
48	Hecate	(1)	6.497-502	6	1S	1n	1n	1n

No.	Speaker	No. of Speeches	Book Lines	Length (Verses)	Speech Cluster	Begins Mid.	Ends Mid.	Inter.
49	Anausis		6.267b-9	2 3/4	M	y	n	y
	Anausis		6.274-6	2 5/6	M	n	n	y
	Anausis	(2)	1B (6)	5 7/12	2M	1y, 1n	2n	2y
50	Peleus	(1)	1.265b-70	5 5/12	1M	1y	1n	1y
51	Pollux		4.191-2	1 5/6	M	n	n	y
	Pollux		4.312b-4	2 5/12	M	y	n	y
	Pollux	(2)	1B (4)	4 1/4	2M	1y, 1n	2n	2y
52	Medores	(1)	6.213-6	4	1M	1n	1n	1n
53	Henioche	(1)	5.359-62	3 11/12	1D	1n	1n	1y
54	Idmon	(1)	1.234b-8a	3 5/6	1G	1y	1y	1n
55	Polyxo	(1)	2.322-5	3 5/6	1M	1n	1n	1y
56	Aron	(1)	6.536b-9	3 7/12	1M	1y	1n	1y
57	<i>Famula</i>	(1)	5.403b-6	3 1/2	1M	1y	1n	1y
58	Tydeus	(1)	3.103b-5a	2 1/6	1M	1y	1y	1y
59	Aquites	(1)	6.305-7a	2 1/12	1D	1n	1y	1y
60	Lemnian Men	(1)	2.113-4	2	1M	1n	1n	1n
61	Nestor	(1)	3.143-5a	1 11/12	1M	1n	1y	1y
62	Colaxes	(1)	6.647-8a	1 5/12	1M	1n	1y	1n
63	Pan	(1)	3.45	1	1M	1n	1n	1n

4.10. SPEECHES BY CHARACTERS

4.10.1. HUMANS

4.10.1.1. CHARACTERS WHO SPEAK ONCE

No.	Speaker	No. of Speeches	Book Lines	Length (Verses)	Speech Cluster	Begins Mid.	Ends Mid.	Inter.
1	Absyrtus	(1)	8.264b-84	20 11/12	M	y	n	n
2	Acastus	(1)	1.174b-81	7 1/3	D2	y	n	y
3	Aquites	(1)	6.305-7a	2 1/12	D1	n	y	y
4	Aron	(1)	6.536b-9	3 7/12	M	y	n	y
5	Clite	(1)	3.316b-29	13 3/4	M	y	n	n
6	Colaxes	(1)	6.647-8a	1 5/12	M	n	y	n
7	Eidyia	(1)	8.144-70	26 11/12	S	n	n	y
8	Erginus	(1)	8.178-94	16 11/12	D1	n	n	y
9	<i>Famula</i>	(1)	5.403b-6	3 1/2	M	y	n	y
10	Henioche	(1)	5.359-62	3 11/12	D2	n	n	y
11	Hesione	(1)	2.471-92	21 5/6	D2	n	n	y
12	Hylas (<i>imago</i>)	(1)	4.25-37	13	D1	n	n	n
13	Idmon	(1)	1.234b-8a	3 5/6	G2	y	y	n
14	Laomedon	(1)	2.557-66	11	D1	n	n	n
15	Lemnian Men	(1)	2.113-4	2	M	n	n	n
16	Lycus	(1)	4.741-54	14	D1	n	n	n
17	Medores	(1)	6.213-6	4	M	n	n	n
18	Meleager	(1)	3.649-89	40 1/2	G2	n	n	y
19	Nestor	(1)	3.143-5a	1 11/12	M	n	y	y
20	Orpheus*	(1)	4.351b-421	70 5/12	M	y	n	y
21	Peleus	(1)	1.265b-70	5 5/12	M	y	n	y
22	Perses	(1)	6.727-36	10	M	n	n	n
23	Phrixus (<i>imago</i>)	(1)	5.233b-40	7 3/4	M	y	n	n
24	Polyxo	(1)	2.322-5	3 5/6	M	n	n	y
25	Shade of Cretheus	(1)	1.741-51	11	M	n	n	n
26	Styrus	(1)	8.337-55	19	M	n	n	n
27	Tydeus	(1)	3.103b-5a	2 1/6	M	y	y	y
28	Zetes	(1)	4.466b-72	6 1/4	G2	y	n	y

4.10.1.2. CHARACTERS WHO SPEAK TWICE

No.	Speaker	No. of Speeches	Book Lines	Length (Verses)	Speech Cluster	Begins Mid.	Ends Mid.	Inter.
1	Aeson		1.336b-47	11 5/12	G2	y	n	n
	Aeson		1.788-822	28	M	n	n	n
	Aeson	(2)	1B (1)	39 5/12	1M, 1G	1y, 1n	2n	2n
2	Alcimedede		1.320b-34	14 3/4	G1	y	n	n
	Alcimedede		1.763-6	3 5/6	M	n	n	y
	Alcimedede	(2)	1B (1)	18 7/12	1M, 1G	1y	2n	1y, 1n
3	Anausis		6.267b-9	2 3/4	M	y	n	y
	Anausis		6.274-6	2 5/6	M	n	n	y
	Anausis	(2)	1B (6)	5 7/12	2M	1y, 1n	2n	2y
4	Castor		4.335b-6	1 1/2	M	y	n	y
	Castor		5.553-7	5	D2	n	n	n
	Castor	(2)	2B (4,5)	6 1/2	1M, 1D	1y, 1n	2n	1y, 1n
5	Pelias		1.40-57	18	M	n	n	n
	Pelias		1.712-24a	11 1/4	S	n	y	y
	Pelias	(2)	1 B (1)	29 1/4	1M, 1S	2n	1y, 1n	1y, 1n
6	Pollux		4.191-2	1 5/6	M	n	n	y
	Pollux		4.312b-4	2 5/12	M	y	n	y
	Pollux	(2)	1 B (4)	4 1/4	2M	1y, 1n	2n	2y
7	Telamon		3.201-3a	2 1/4	M	n	y	n
	Telamon		3.697-714	17 3/4	G3	n	n	y
	Telamon	(2)	1 B (3)	20	1M, 1G	2n	1y, 1n	1y, 1n
8	Tiphys		2.48b-65	17 7/12	M	y	n	y
	Tiphys		3.259-61	2 1/6	M	n	n	y
	Tiphys	(2)	2 B (2,3)	19 3/4	2M	1y, 1n	2n	2y

4.10.1.3. CHARACTERS WHO SPEAK MULTIPLE TIMES

No.	Speaker	No. of Speeches	Book Lines	Length (Verses)	Speech Cluster	Begins Mid.	Ends Mid.	Inter.
1	Amycus		4.206-21	16	M	n	n	n
	Amycus		4.240-4a	3 7/12	M	n	y	n
	Amycus		4.250-1	2	M	n	n	n
	Amycus	(3)	1 B (4)	21 7/12	3M	3n	1y, 2n	3n
2	Mopsus		1.211-26	16	G1	n	n	n
	Mopsus		3.377-416	39 1/2	D2	n	n	y
	Mopsus		3.448b-55	7 1/3	M	y	n	n
	Mopsus	(3)	2 B (1,3)	62 5/6	1M, 1D, 1G	1y, 2n	3n	1y, 2n
3	Cyzicus		2.639b-48	9 5/6	M	y	n	n
	Cyzicus		2.656b-8	2 2/3	D1	y	n	y
	Cyzicus		3.230b-4	4 3/4	M	y	n	n
	Cyzicus	(3)	2 B (2,3)	17 1/4	2M, 1D	3y	3n	1y, 2n
4	Dymas		4.140-1a	1	M	n	y	y
	Dymas		4.145b-56	11 1/2	D1	y	n	y
	Dymas		4.161-73	12 5/6	D3	n	n	y
	Dymas	(3)	1 B (4)	25 1/3	1M, 2D	1y, 2n	1y, 2n	3y
5	Argonauts		1.627-32	6	S	n	n	n
	Argonauts		4.327-9	2 7/12	M	n	n	y
	Argonauts		5.17-20	4	M	n	n	n
	Argonauts		5.550b-2a	1 5/12	D1	y	y	n
	Argonauts	(4)	3 B (1,4,5)	14	2M, 1D, 1S	1y, 3n	1y, 3n	1y, 3n
6	Phineus		4.436b-64	28 1/3	G1	y	n	y
	Phineus		4.474-84	10 11/12	G3	n	n	y
	Phineus*		4.553b-624a	71 1/2	G2	y	y	y
	Phineus		4.629b-35	6 5/12	G3	y	n	y
	Phineus	(4)	1 B (4)	117 1/6	4G	3y, 1n	1y, 3n	4y

No.	Speaker	No. of Speeches	Book Lines	Length (Verses)	Speech Cluster	Begins Mid.	Ends Mid.	Inter.
7	Gesander		6.282-6	5	M	n	n	n
	Gesander		6.288-91	4	M	n	n	n
	Gesander		6.308b-14	6 3/4	D2	y	n	n
	Gesander		6.323b-39	16 3/4	M	y	n	n
	Gesander		6.373b-4a	5/6	S	y	y	y
	Gesander	(5)	1 B (6)	33 1/3	3M, 1D, 1S	3y, 2n	1y, 4n	1y, 4n
8	Hercules		2.378-84a	6 7/12	M	n	y	y
	Hercules		2.468b-9	1 3/4	D1	y	n	n
	Hercules		2.574-6a	2 1/12	D2	n	y	y
	Hercules		3.169b-70	1 2/3	M	y	n	y
	Hercules		3.475b	3/4	S	y	n	n
	Hercules		4.51b-3	2 1/6	D2	y	n	y
	Hercules	(6)	3 B (2,3,4)	15	1M, 3D, 1 S	4y, 2n	2y, 4n	4y, 2n
9	Hypsipyle		2.249b-53a	3 5/6	M	y	y	y
	Hypsipyle		2.256-7a	1 1/12	M	n	y	n
	Hypsipyle		2.274b-6	2 7/12	M	y	n	n
	Hypsipyle		2.290-9	10	M	n	n	n
	Hypsipyle		2.335b-9	4 1/3	M	y	n	y
	Hypsipyle		2.403-8a	5 1/4	M	n	y	n
	Hypsipyle		2.419-24	5 5/6	M	n	n	y
	Hypsipyle	(7)	1 B (2)	32 11/12	7M	3y, 4n	3y, 4n	3y, 4n
10	Aeetes		5.246-52	7	M	n	n	n
	Aeetes		5.534b-41a	7 1/3	D2	n	y	y
	Aeetes		5.582-3	1 5/6	D2	n	n	y
	Aeetes		5.590-5	6	D4	n	n	n
	Aeetes		5.599b-614	18 1/2	D5	y	n	y
	Aeetes		7.35-77	43	D1	n	n	n
	Aeetes		7.546b-52	6 1/3	M	y	n	y
	Aeetes	(7)	2 B (5,7)	90	2M, 5D	2y, 5n	1y, 6n	4y, 3n

4.10.1.4. MEDEA

No.	Speaker	No. of Speeches	Book Lines	Length (Verses)	Speech Cluster	Begins Mid.	Ends Mid.	Inter.
11	Medea		5.353-5	3	D1	n	n	n
	Medea		5.393-6	4	D2	n	n	n
	Medea		6.588-90a	2 7/12	D1	n	y	n
	Medea		6.675b-9a	3 11/12	M	y	y	n
	Medea		7.9-20	12	S	n	n	n
	Medea		7.128-40	12 5/6	S	n	n	y
	Medea		7.198-209	13	S	n	n	n
	Medea		7.217b-22a	5 5/12	D1	y	y	n
	Medea		7.238-50	12 5/6	D3	n	n	y
	Medea		7.331-49a	13 1/2	S	n	y	y
	Medea		7.385-7	3	M	n	n	n
	Medea		7.437-55	16 7/12	D2	n	n	y
	Medea		7.467-72a	5 5/12	M	n	y	y
	Medea		7.477-87	11	D1	n	n	n
	Medea		7.516-21b	7	D3	n	n	y
	Medea		7.532-7a	5 7/12	D5	n	y	n
	Medea		8.10-5	6	S	n	n	n
	Medea		8.46-53	8	D2	n	n	n
	Medea		8.60-6	7	D4	n	n	n
	Medea		8.70b-8	8 3/4	M	y	n	n
	Medea		8.95-108	14	S	n	n	n
	Medea		8.110b-1	1 1/4	M	y	n	y
	Medea		8.415-44a	30 7/12	D1	n	y	n
	Medea	23	4 B (5,6,7,8)	207 1/4	5M, 12D, 6S	4y, 19n	7y, 16n	7y, 16n

4.10.1.5. JASON

No.	Speaker	No. of Speeches	Book Lines	Length (Verses)	Speech Cluster	Begins Mid.	Ends Mid.	Inter.
12	Jason		1.81-90	9 5/6	M	n	n	y
	Jason		1.150b-5	5 5/6	S	y	n	n
	Jason		1.164b-3	9 3/4	D1	y	n	n
	Jason		1.194b-203	9 7/12	M	y	n	n
	Jason		1.241b-51	10 3/4	G3	y	n	n
	Jason		1.667-80	14	M	n	n	n
	Jason		2.611-2	2	D2	n	n	n
	Jason		2.659b-62	3 7/12	D2	y	n	n
	Jason		3.81b-2	1 3/4	M	y	n	n
	Jason		3.270-2	3	M	n	n	n
	Jason		3.290-313	25	M	n	n	n
	Jason		3.373-6	3 11/12	D1	n	n	y
	Jason		3.617-27	11	G1	n	n	n
	Jason		4.157b-60	3 3/4	D2	y	n	n
	Jason		4.538-46	9	G1	n	n	n
	Jason		4.649b-53a	4 1/4	M	y	y	n
	Jason		4.674b-5a	11/12	M	y	y	y
	Jason		4.704b-7a	3 1/12	S	y	y	y
	Jason		4.755b-8	2 5/6	D2	y	n	y
	Jason		5.37b-59	21 1/12	S	y	n	y
	Jason		5.129-31a	2 1/3	M	n	y	y
	Jason		5.194-213a	16 5/6	M	n	y	y
	Jason		5.313b-24	11 5/12	M	y	n	y
	Jason		5.378-90	12 11/12	D1	n	n	y
	Jason		5.471-518	48	D1	n	n	n
	Jason		5.542-6a	4 1/6	D3	n	y	y
	Jason		5.578-80	3	D1	n	n	n
	Jason		5.587-8	1 2/3	D3	n	n	y
	Jason		6.547-9	2 11/12	M	n	n	y
	Jason		7.89-100	11 11/12	D2	n	n	y
	Jason		7.413-30	17 5/6	D1	n	n	y
	Jason		7.490-509	18 11/12	D2	n	n	y
	Jason		7.529	1	D4	n	n	n
	Jason		8.37-43	7	D1	n	n	n
	Jason		8.58-9a	1 1/12	D3	n	y	n
	Jason		8.197b-9	2 7/12	D2	y	n	n
	Jason+		8.467+	1	D2	n	n	n
	Jason	(37)	8 B (1-8)	319 1/2	12M, 19D, 3S, 3G	14y, 23n	7y, 30n	16y, 21n

4.10.2. DEITIES

4.10.2.1. CHARACTERS WHO SPEAK ONCE

No.	Speaker	No. of Speeches	Book Lines	Length (Verses)	Speech Cluster	Begins Mid.	Ends Mid.	Inter.
1	Apollo	(1)	4.62-7	6	M	n	n	n
2	Argo (<i>imago</i>)	(1)	1.302b-7	6 5/12	M	y	n	n
3	Boreas	(1)	1.598-607	9 11/12	M	n	n	y
4	Fama (as Neaera)	(1)	2.142b-60a	18 1/6	M	y	y	y
5	Hecate	(1)	6.497-502	6	S	n	n	n
6	Helle*	(1)	2.592-607*	16	D1	n	n	y
7	Pan	(1)	3.45	1	M	n	n	n
8	Sol	(1)	1.505-27	23	D1	n	n	n
9	Typhon	(1)	4.519-26	8	M	n	n	n

4.10.2.2. CHARACTERS WHO SPEAK TWICE

No.	Speaker	No. of Speeches	Book Lines	Length (Verses)	Speech Cluster	Begins Mid.	Ends Mid.	Inter.
1	Neptune		1.642b-50	8 1/6	S	y	n	y
	Neptune		4.118-30	13	S	n	n	n
	Neptune	(2)	2 B (1,4)	21 1/6	2S	1y, 1n	2n	1y, 1n

4.10.2.3. CHARACTERS WHO SPEAK MULTIPLE TIMES

No.	Speaker	No. of Speeches	Book Lines	Length (Verses)	Speech Cluster	Begins Mid.	Ends Mid.	Inter.
1	Mars		5.624-48	25	G1	n	n	n
	Mars		5.670a	2/3	G3	n	y	n
	Mars		6.29	2/3	M	n	n	y
	Mars	(3)	2 B (5,6)	26 1/3	1M, 2G	3n	1y, 2n	1y, 2n
2	Minerva		5.282b-5	3 7/12	D1	y	n	y
	Minerva		5.292-5	3 3/4	D3	n	n	y
	Minerva		5.651-69	18 5/6	G2	n	n	y
	Minerva		6.741b-4	3 3/4	S	y	n	n
	Minerva	(4)	2 B (5,6)	29 11/12	2D, 1S, 1G	2y, 2n	4n	3y, 1n

No.	Speaker	No. of Speeches	Book Lines	Length (Verses)	Speech Cluster	Begins Mid.	Ends Mid.	Inter.
3	Jupiter		1.531b-67	34 3/4	D2	y	n	n
	Jupiter		4.4-14	11	M	n	n	n
	Jupiter		4.78-9	1 11/12	M	n	n	y
	Jupiter		5.673-89	17	G4	n	n	n
	Jupiter		6.624-9a	5 1/6	S	n	y	n
	Jupiter	(5)	4 B (1,4,5,6)	69 5/6	2M, 1D, 1S, 1G	1y, 4n	1y, 4n	1y, 4n
4	Venus		2.127-34	8	M	n	n	n
	Venus (as Dryope)		2.176b-84a	8 5/12	M	y	y	n
	Venus (as Dryope)		2.213b-4a	1 1/6	M	y	y	n
	Venus		6.475-6	1 11/12	D2	n	n	y
	Venus		7.172-86a	14 5/12	D2	n	y	n
	Venus (as Circe)		7.223b-36	13 7/12	D2	y	n	n
	Venus (as Circe)*		7.257b-83	33 3/4	D4	y	n	y
	Venus	(7)	3 B (2,6,7)	81 1/4	3M, 4D	4y, 3n	3y, 4n	2y, 5n
	5	Juno		1.113-9	7	S	n	n
Juno			3.492b-505	13 7/12	M	y	n	n
Juno			3.510-20	11	S	n	n	n
Juno			3.535-44	10	M	n	n	n
Juno			5.286b-91	5 3/4	D2	y	n	n
Juno			6.460-6	6 11/12	D1	n	n	y
Juno (as Chalciope)			6.482-7	5 5/6	M	n	n	y
Juno (as Chalciope)			6.592-9	7 11/12	D2	n	n	y
Juno			7.159-70	12	D1	n	n	n
Juno		(9)	5 B (1,3,5,6,7)	80	3M, 4D, 2S	2y, 7n	9n	3y, 6n

4.10.3. SPEAKERS IN DISGUISE

4.10.3.1. CHARACTERS WHO SPEAK ONCE

No.	Speaker	No. of Speeches	Book Lines	Length (Verses)	Speech Cluster	Begins Mid.	Ends Mid.	Inter.
1	Fama (as Neaera)	(1)	2.142b-60a	18 1/6	M	y	y	y

4.10.3.2. CHARACTERS WHO SPEAK TWICE

No.	Speaker	No. of Speeches	Book Lines	Length (Verses)	Speech Cluster	Begins Mid.	Ends Mid.	Inter.
1	Juno (as Chalcioppe)		6.482-7	5 5/6	M	n	n	y
	Juno (as Chalcioppe)		6.592-9	7 11/12	D2	n	n	y
	Juno (as Chalcioppe)	(2)	1B (6)	13 3/4	1M, 1D	2n	2n	2y

4.10.3.3. CHARACTERS WHO SPEAK MULTIPLE TIMES

No.	Speaker	No. of Speeches	Book Lines	Length (Verses)	Speech Cluster	Begins Mid.	Ends Mid.	Inter.
1	Venus (as Dryope)		2.176b-84a	8 5/12	M	y	y	n
	Venus (as Dryope)		2.213b-4a	1 1/6	M	y	y	n
	Venus (as Circe)		7.223b-36	13 7/12	D2	y	n	n
	Venus (as Circe)*		7.257b-83	33 3/4	D4	y	n	y
	Venus	(4)	2B (2,7)	56 11/12	2M, 2D	4y	2y, 2n	1y, 3n

4.10.4. DEAD AND IMAGINED SPEAKERS

No.	Speaker	No. of Speeches	Book Lines	Length (Verses)	Speech Cluster	Begins Mid.	Ends Mid.	Inter.
1	Argo (<i>imago</i>)	(1)	1.302b-7	6 5/12	M	y	n	n
2	Hylas (<i>imago</i>)	(1)	4.25-37	13	D1	n	n	n
3	Phrixus (<i>imago</i>)	(1)	5.233b-40	7 3/4	M	y	n	n
4	Shade of Cretheus	(1)	1.741-51	11	M	n	n	n

4.10.5. COLLECTIVE AND REPRESENTATIVE SPEAKERS

4.10.5.1. SPEAKERS WHO SPEAKE ONCE

No.	Speaker	No. of Speeches	Book Lines	Length (Verses)	Speech Cluster	Begins Mid.	Ends Mid.	Inter.
1	Lemnian men	(1)	2.113-4	2	M	n	n	n
2	Pan	(1)	3.45	1	M	n	n	n
3	Mars	(1)	6.29	2/3	M	n	n	y

4.10.5.2. SPEAKERS WHO SPEAK MULTIPLE TIMES

No.	Speaker	No. of Speeches	Book Lines	Length (Verses)	Speech Cluster	Begins Mid.	Ends Mid.	Inter.
2	Argonauts		1.627-32	6	S	n	n	n
	Argonauts		4.327-9	2 7/12	M	n	n	y
	Argonauts		5.17-20	4	M	n	n	n
	Argonauts		5.550b-2a	1 5/12	D1	y	y	n
	Argonauts	(4)	3B (1,4,5)	14	2M, 1D, 1S	1y, 3n	1y, 3n	1y, 3n

4.10.6. FRAME SPEECHES AND INSERTED SPEECHES

No.	Speaker(s) of Inserted Speech	Addressee(s) of Inserted Speech	Book Lines	Verses	Speech Type	Frame Speaker	Addressee(s)	Book Lines	Lines of Verse	Speech Type
1	Helle	Phrixus	2.601-7	7	Inf	Helle	Jason	2.592-607	16	Mes
2	Juno	Jupiter	4.360b-4a	4 1/6	Que	Orpheus	Argonauts	4.351b-421	70 5/12	Nar
3	Mercury	Argus	4.387	11/12	Com	Orpheus	Argonauts	4.351b-421	70 5/12	Nar
4	Vox (Jupiter)	Phineus	4.581-4	4	Ora	Phineus	Jason	4.553b-624a	71 1/6	Ora
5	Jason	"Circe"	7.266-87a	13 1/6	Pra	Venus as Circe	Medea	7.257b-83	33 3/4	Per

4.10.7. SPEECHES IN FREE INDIRECT DISCOURSE

No.	Speaker	No. of Speeches	Book Lines	Length	Narrator	Begins Mid.	Ends Mid.	Inter.
1	Jason	(1)	1.66b-76a	10 1/2	L1 Narrator	y	y	n
2	Hercules	(1)	2.777b	3/4	L1 Narrator	y	n	n
3	Cyzicus	(1)	3.241b-2	1 7/12	L1 Narrator	y	n	n
4	Jupiter	(1)	4.364b-5	1 5/12	Orpheus (4.351b-421)	y	n	n
5	Argonauts	(1)	4.638b-9a	3/4	L1 Narrator	y	y	n
6	Juno	(1)	6.454	1	L1 Narrator	n	n	n
7	Medea	(1)	7.309a	1/4	L1 Narrator	y	n	n
8	Absyrtus	(1)	8.370-2a	2 7/12	L1 Narrator	n	y	n

4.11. SPEECH PERCENTAGE

4.11.1. WOMEN

No.	Speaker	Length (Verses)	Mortal Women %	Women %	Humans %	OR. %
			332 1/2	570 1/4	1447 3/4	1850 3/4
1	Medea	207 1/4	62.33 %	36.34 %	14.32 %	11.20 %
2	Hypsipyle	32 11/12	9.90 %	5.77 %	2.27 %	1.78 %
3	Eidyia	26 11/12	8.10 %	4.72 %	1.86 %	1.45 %
4	Hesione	21 5/6	6.57 %	3.83 %	1.51 %	1.18 %
5	Alcimedede	18 4/7	5.59 %	3.26 %	1.28 %	1.00 %
6	Clite	13 3/4	4.14 %	2.41 %	0.95 %	0.74 %
7	Henioche	3 11/12	1.18 %	0.69 %	0.27 %	0.21 %
8	Polyxo	3 5/6	1.15 %	0.67 %	0.21 %	0.26 %
9	<i>Famula</i>	3 1/2	1.05 %	0.61 %	0.24 %	0.19 %

4.11.2. GODDESSES

No.	Speaker	Length (Verses)	Goddesses %	Women %	Deities %	OR. %
			237 3/4	570 1/4	403	1850 3/4
1	Venus	81 1/4	34.17 %	14.25 %	20.16 %	4.39 %
2	Juno	80	33.65 %	14.03 %	19.85 %	4.32 %
3	Minerva	29 11/12	12.58 %	5.25 %	7.42 %	1.62 %
4	Fama (as Neaera)	18 1/6	7.64 %	3.19 %	4.51 %	0.98 %
5	Helle*	16	6.73 %	2.81 %	3.97 %	0.86 %
6	Argo (<i>imago</i>)	6 5/12	2.70 %	1.13 %	1.59 %	0.35 %
7	Hecate	6	2.52 %	1.05 %	1.49 %	0.32 %

4.11.3. GODS

No.	Speaker	Length (Verses)	Gods %	Men %	Deities %	OR. %
			165 1/4	1280 1/2	403	1850 3/4
1	Jupiter	69 5/6	42.26 %	5.45 %	17.33 %	3.77 %
2	Mars	26 1/3	15.94 %	2.06 %	6.53 %	1.42 %
3	Sol	23	13.92 %	1.80 %	5.71 %	1.24 %
4	Neptune	21 1/6	12.81 %	1.65 %	5.25 %	1.14 %
5	Boreas	9 11/12	6.00 %	0.77 %	2.46 %	0.54 %
6	Typhon	8	4.84 %	0.62 %	1.99 %	0.43 %
7	Apollo	6	3.63 %	0.47 %	1.49 %	0.32 %
8	Pan	1	0.61 %	0.08 %	0.25 %	0.05 %

4.11.4. MEN

No.	Speaker	Length (Verses)	Mortal Men %	Men %	Humans %	OR. (%)
			1115 1/4	1280 1/2	1447 3/4	1850 3/4
1	Jason +	319 1/2	28.65 %	24.95 %	22.07 %	17.26 %
2	Phineus	117 1/6	10.51 %	9.15 %	8.09 %	6.33 %
3	Aeetes	90	8.07 %	7.03 %	6.22 %	4.86 %
4	Orpheus*	70 5/12	6.31 %	5.50 %	4.86 %	3.80 %
5	Mopsus	62 5/6	5.63 %	4.91 %	4.34 %	3.40 %
6	Meleager	40 1/2	3.63 %	3.16 %	2.80 %	2.19 %
7	Aeson	39 5/12	3.53 %	3.08 %	2.72 %	2.13 %
8	Gesander	33 1/3	2.99 %	2.60 %	2.30 %	1.80 %
9	Pelias	29 1/4	2.62 %	2.28 %	2.02 %	1.58 %
10	Dymas	25 1/3	2.27 %	1.98 %	1.75 %	1.37 %
11	Amycus	21 7/12	1.94 %	1.69 %	1.49 %	1.17 %
12	Absyrtus	20 11/12	1.88 %	1.63 %	1.44 %	1.13 %
13	Telamon	20	1.79 %	1.56 %	1.38 %	1.08 %
14	Tiphys	19 3/4	1.77 %	1.54 %	1.36 %	1.07 %
15	Styrus	19	1.70 %	1.48 %	1.31 %	1.03 %
16	Cyzicus	17 1/4	1.55 %	1.35 %	1.19 %	0.93 %
17	Erginus	16 11/12	1.52 %	1.32 %	1.17 %	0.91 %
18	Hercules	15	1.34 %	1.17 %	1.04 %	0.81 %
19	Lycus	14	1.26 %	1.09 %	0.97 %	0.76 %
20	Argonauts	14	1.26 %	1.09 %	0.97 %	0.76 %
21	Hylas (<i>imago</i>)	13	1.17 %	1.02 %	0.90 %	0.70 %
22	Laomedon	11	0.99 %	0.86 %	0.76 %	0.59 %
23	Shade of Cretheus	11	0.99 %	0.86 %	0.76 %	0.59 %
24	Perses	10	0.90 %	0.78 %	0.69 %	0.54 %
25	Phrixus (<i>imago</i>)	7 3/4	0.69 %	0.61 %	0.54 %	0.42 %
26	Acastus	7 1/3	0.66 %	0.57 %	0.51 %	0.40 %
27	Castor	6 1/2	0.58 %	0.51 %	0.45 %	0.35 %
28	Zetes	6 1/4	0.56 %	0.49 %	0.43 %	0.34 %
29	Anausis	5 7/12	0.50 %	0.44 %	0.39 %	0.30 %
30	Peleus	5 5/12	0.49 %	0.42 %	0.37 %	0.29 %
31	Pollux	4 1/4	0.38 %	0.33 %	0.29 %	0.23 %
32	Medores	4	0.36 %	0.31 %	0.28 %	0.22 %
33	Idmon	3 5/6	0.34 %	0.30 %	0.26 %	0.21 %
34	Aron	3 7/12	0.32 %	0.28 %	0.25 %	0.19 %
35	Tydeus	2 1/6	0.19 %	0.17 %	0.15 %	0.12 %
36	Aquites	2 1/12	0.19 %	0.16 %	0.14 %	0.11 %
37	Lemnian Men	2	0.18 %	0.16 %	0.14 %	0.11 %
38	Nestor	1 11/12	0.17 %	0.15 %	0.13 %	0.10 %
39	Colaxes	1 5/12	0.13 %	0.11 %	0.10 %	0.08 %

4.12. SPEECH BY LENGTH (LONGEST TO SHORTEST)

4.12.1. ALL SPEECHES

No.	Speaker	Book Lines	Length (Verses)	Addressee(s)	Speech Type	Speech Cluster	Begins Mid.	Ends Mid.	Inter.
1	Phineus*	4.553b-624a	71 1/2	Jason	Nar, Ora	G2	y	y	y
2	Orpheus*	4.351b-421	70 5/12	Argonauts	Nar	M	y	n	y
3	Jason	5.471-518	48	Aeetes	Gre, Inf, Req	D1	n	n	n
4	Aeetes	7.35-77	43	(dead) Phrixus, Argonauts, Jason	Vit, Cha	D1	n	n	n
5	Meleager	3.649-89	40 1/2	Argonauts, Jason	Vit, Per	G2	n	n	y
6	Mopsus	3.377-416	39 1/2	Jason	Res	D2	n	n	y
7	Jupiter	1.531b-67	34 3/4	Sol, Mars, Juno, Minerva	Res, Ora	D2	y	n	n
8	Venus (as Circe)*	7.257b-83	33 3/4	Medea	Res, Nar, Mes	D4	y	n	y
9	Medea	8.415-44a	30 7/12	Jason	Vit, Que	D1	n	y	n
10	Phineus	4.436b-64	28 1/3	Argonauts	Gre, Req	G1	y	n	y
11	Aeson	1.788-822	28	(dead) Cretheus and Ancestors, Astraea, Furies, Fas, Poena	Pra	M	n	n	n
12	Eidyia	8.144-70	26 11/12		Lam, Des, Del	S	n	n	y
13	Jason	3.290-313	25	Argonauts, (dead) Cyzicus	Lam, Req	M	n	n	n
14	Mars	5.624-48	25	Jupiter	Lam, Per	G1	n	n	n
15	Sol	1.505-27	23	Jupiter	Lam, Per, Req	D1	n	n	n
16	Hesione	2.471-92	21 5/6	Hercules	Res	D2	n	n	y
17	Jason	5.37b-59	21 1/12		Lam, Des	S	y	n	y
18	Absyrtus	8.264b-84	20 11/12	Medea, Colchians	Exh, Vit	M	y	n	n
19	Styrus	8.337-55	19	Colchians	Exh	M	n	n	n
20	Jason	7.490-509	18 11/12	Medea	Vow	D2	n	n	y
21	Minerva	5.651-69	18 5/6	Mars, Jupiter	Tau, Per, Req	G2	n	n	y
22	Aeetes	5.599b-614	18 1/2	Jason	Inf	D5	y	n	y
23	Fama (as Neaera)	2.142b-60a	18 1/6	Eurynome	Mes, Lam	M	y	y	y
24	Pelias	1.40-57	18	Jason	Req	M	n	n	n
25	Jason	7.413-30	17 5/6	Medea	Per	D1	n	n	y
26	Telamon	3.697-714	17 3/4	Argonauts, Jason	Lam, Vit, Per	G3	n	n	y
27	Tiphys	2.48b-65	17 7/12	Argonauts	Inf, Exh	M	y	n	y

28	Jupiter	5.673-89	17	Mars, Juno, Minerva	Vit, Ora	G4	n	n	n
29	Erginus	8.178-94	16 11/12	Argonauts, Jason	Per, Req	D1	n	n	y
30	Jason	5.194-213a	16 5/6	(dead) Phrixus, Helle, <i>Silvae</i> , Phasis	Pra	M	n	y	y
31	Gesander	6.323b-39	16 3/4	Canthus	Inf, Thr	M	y	n	n
32	Medea	7.437-55	16 7/12	Jason	Del, Per	D2	n	n	y
33	Amycus	4.206-21	16	Argonauts	Cha, Thr	M	n	n	n
34	Mopsus	1.211-26	16	Argonauts	Ora	G1	n	n	n
35	Helle*	2.592-607*	16	Jason	Ora, Mes	D1	n	n	y
36	Alcimedede	1.320b-34	14 3/4	Jason	Far, Lam, Req	G1	y	n	n
37	Venus	7.172-86a	14 5/12	Juno	Res, Per, Req	D2	n	y	n
38	Lycus	4.741-54	14	Argonauts	Gre, Nar	D1	n	n	n
39	Jason	1.667-80	14	<i>Superi</i> , Neptune	Pra	M	n	n	n
40	Medea	8.95-108	14		Lam, Req	S	n	n	n
41	Clite	3.316b-29	13 3/4	(dead) Cyzicus	Lam	M	y	n	n
42	Venus (as Circe)	7.223b-36	13 7/12	Medea	Res, Per	D2	y	n	n
43	Juno	3.492b-505	13 7/12	Minerva	Per, Req	M	y	n	n
44	Medea	7.331-49a	13 1/2		Lam, Del	S	n	y	y
45	Hylas (<i>imago</i>)	4.25-37	13	Hercules	Nar, Ora, Far	D1	n	n	n
46	Medea	7.198-209	13	Jason	Del	S	n	n	n
47	Neptune	4.118-30	13		Lam	S	n	n	n
48	Jason	5.378-90	12 11/12	Medea	Gre, Req	D1	n	n	y
49	Dymas	4.161-73	12 5/6	Jason	Res, Req	D3	n	n	y
50	Medea	7.128-40	12 5/6		Lam, Des	S	n	n	y
51	Medea	7.238-50	12 5/6	Venus (as Circe)	Inf, Req	D3	n	n	y
52	Medea	7.9-20	12		Lam, Del	S	n	n	n
53	Juno	7.159-70	12	Venus	Per, Req	D1	n	n	n
54	Jason	7.89-100	11 11/12	Aeetes	Res, Vit, Req	D2	n	n	y
55	Dymas	4.145b-56	11 1/2	Argonauts	Inf, Per	D1	y	n	y
56	Aeson	1.336b-47	11 5/12	Jason	Far, Des	G2	y	n	n
57	Jason	5.313b-24	11 5/12	Argonauts	Per, Exh	M	y	n	y
58	Pelias	1.712-24a	11 1/4		Lam, Del, Thr	S	n	y	y
59	Shade of Cretheus	1.741-51	11	Aeson, Alcimedede	Ora, Per	M	n	n	n

60	Laomedon	2.557-66	11	Hercules	Gre, Tau, Inv	D1	n	n	n
61	Jason	3.617-27	11	Argonauts	Per, Req	G1	n	n	n
62	Medea	7.477-87	11	Jason	Lam, Req	D1	n	n	n
63	Jupiter	4.4-14	11	Juno	Vit	M	n	n	n
64	Juno	3.510-20	11		Del, Exh	S	n	n	n
65	Phineus	4.474-84	10 11/12	Argonauts, Jupiter	Nar, Pra	G3	n	n	y
66	Jason	1.241b-51	10 3/4	Argonauts Mopsus, Idmon	Res, Req	G3	y	n	n
67	Perses	6.727-36	10	<i>Superi</i> , esp. Jupiter	Lam, Pra	M	n	n	n
68	Hypsipyle	2.290-9	10	Thoas, Luna	Lam, Del, Pra	M	n	n	n
69	Juno	3.535-44	10	Dryope (Nymph)	Inf, Per	M	n	n	n
70	Boreas	1.598-607	9 11/12	Aeolus	Lam, Req	M	n	n	y
71	Cyzicus	2.639b-48	9 5/6	Argonauts	Gre, Acc	M	y	n	n
72	Jason	1.81-90	9 5/6	Juno, Minerva	Pra	M	n	n	y
73	Jason	1.164b-73	9 3/4	Acastus	Per, Req	D1	y	n	n
74	Jason	1.194b-203	9 7/12	Neptune	Pra	M	y	n	n
75	Jason	4.538-46	9	Phineus	Req	G1	n	n	n
76	Medea	8.70b-8	8 3/4	Somnus	Req	M	y	n	n
77	Venus (as Dryope)	2.176b-84a	8 5/12	Lemnian Women	Lam, Del	M	y	y	n
78	Neptune	1.642b-50	8 1/6		Lam, Des, Thr	S	y	n	y
79	Medea	8.46-53	8	Jason, <i>Superi</i>	Res, Vow, Req	D2	n	n	n
80	Typhon	4.519-26	8	Calais, Zetes	Vit	M	n	n	n
81	Venus	2.127-34	8	Fama	Req, Mes	M	n	n	n
82	Juno (as Chalcioppe)	6.592-9	7 11/12	Medea	Res	D2	n	n	y
83	Phrixus (<i>imago</i>)	5.233b-40	7 3/4	Aeetes	Ora	M	y	n	n
84	Mopsus	3.448b-55	7 1/3	Shades of the murdered Cyzicans	Pra	M	y	n	n
85	Aeetes	5.534b-41a	7 1/3	Argonauts, Jason	Res	D2	n	y	y
86	Acastus	1.174b-81	7 1/3	Jason	Res	D2	y	n	y
87	Jason	8.37-43	7	Medea	Lau, Req	D1	n	n	n
88	Aeetes	5.246-52	7	Sol, Mars	Pra	M	n	n	n
89	Medea	8.60-6	7	Jason	Res, Que	D4	n	n	n
90	Medea	7.516-21b	7	Jason	Inf	D3	n	n	y

91	Juno	1.113-9	7		Lam, Des	S	n	n	n
92	Juno	6.460-6	6 11/12	Venus	Req	D1	n	n	y
93	Gesander	6.308b-14	6 3/4	Aquites	Res	D2	y	n	n
94	Hercules	2.378-84a	6 7/12	Argonauts, Jason	Vit, Lam	M	n	y	y
95	Phineus	4.629b-35	6 5/12	Calais, Zetes	Lau, Req	G3	y	n	y
96	Argo (<i>imago</i>)	1.302b-7	6 5/12	Jason	Per, Exh	M	y	n	n
97	Aeetes	7.546b-52	6 1/3	<i>Tauri</i> , Medea	Des, Req	M	y	n	y
98	Zetes	4.466b-72	6 1/4	Phineus	Res	G2	y	n	y
99	Aeetes	5.590-5	6	Jason	Res	D4	n	n	n
100	Argonauts	1.627-32	6		Lam	S	n	n	n
101	Medea	8.10-5	6		Far, Des	S	n	n	n
102	Apollo	4.62-7	6	Jupiter	Per, Req	M	n	n	n
103	Hecate	6.497-502	6		Lam	S	n	n	n
104	Jason	1.150b-5	5 5/6		Del	S	y	n	n
105	Hypsipyle	2.419-24	5 5/6	Jason	Far	M	n	n	y
106	Juno (as Chalciope)	6.482-7	5 5/6	Medea	Per	M	n	n	y
107	Juno	5.286b-91	5 3/4	Minerva	Res	D2	y	n	n
108	Medea	7.532-7a	5 7/12	Jason	Res, Des	D5	n	y	n
109	Peleus	1.265b-70	5 5/12	<i>Superi</i> , Chiron	Pra, Req	M	y	n	y
110	Medea	7.217b-22a	5 5/12	Venus (as Circe)	Gre, Que	D1	y	y	n
111	Medea	7.467-72a	5 5/12	Jason	Inf, Req	M	n	y	y
112	Hypsipyle	2.403-8a	5 1/4	Jason	Vit, Lam	M	n	y	n
113	Jupiter	6.624-9a	5 1/6		Lam	S	n	y	n
114	Gesander	6.282-6	5	lazygians	Vit, Exh	M	n	n	n
115	Castor	5.553-7	5	Argonauts	Mes, Req	D2	n	n	n
116	Cyzicus	3.230b-4	4 3/4	Cyzicans	Vit, Exh	M	y	n	n
117	Hypsipyle	2.335b-9	4 1/3	Jason	Inf	M	y	n	y
118	Jason	4.649b-53a	4 1/4	Argonauts	Exh	M	y	y	n
119	Jason	5.542-6a	4 1/6	Aeetes	Res, Lam, Thr	D3	n	y	y
120	Argonauts	5.17-20	4	Apollo	Pra	M	n	n	n
121	Medores	6.213-6	4	<i>Superi</i>	Pra	M	n	n	n
122	Gesander	6.288-91	4	Shade of Voraptus	Pra	M	n	n	n
123	Medea	5.393-6	4	Jason	Res	D2	n	n	n

124	Jason	3.373-6	3 11/12	Mopsus	Que	D1	n	n	y
125	Henioche	5.359-62	3 11/12	Medea	Res	D2	n	n	y
126	Medea	6.675b-9a	3 11/12	Juno (as Chalciopé)	Que	M	y	y	n
127	Idmon	1.234b-8a	3 5/6	Mopsus, Argonauts	Ora	G2	y	y	n
128	Hypsipyle	2.249b-53a	3 5/6	Thoas	Per, Req	M	y	y	y
129	Alcimedé	1.763-6	3 5/6	Aeson	Lam, Req, Vow	M	n	n	y
130	Polyxo	2.322-5	3 5/6	Lemnian Women	Per, Ora	M	n	n	y
131	Jason	4.157b-60	3 3/4	Dymas	Que	D2	y	n	n
132	Minerva	6.741b-4	3 3/4		Del	S	y	n	n
133	Minerva	5.292-5	3 3/4	Juno	Res	D3	n	n	y
134	Aron	6.536b-9	3 7/12	Armes	Vit, Cha	M	y	n	y
135	Amycus	4.240-4a	3 7/12	Pollux	Tau, Thr	M	n	y	n
136	Jason	2.659b-62	3 7/12	Cyzicus	Vow	D2	y	n	n
137	Minerva	5.282b-5	3 7/12	Juno	Que	D1	y	n	y
138	<i>Famula</i>	5.403b-6	3 1/2	Argonauts	Inf	M	y	n	y
139	Jason	4.704b-7a	3 1/12		Lam, Del	S	y	y	y
140	Jason	3.270-2	3	Cyzicans	Per	M	n	n	n
141	Jason	5.578-80	3	Aeetes	Que	D1	n	n	n
142	Medea	5.353-5	3	Henioche	Que, Req	D1	n	n	n
143	Medea	7.385-7	3	Venus (as Circe)	Que	M	n	n	n
144	Jason	6.547-9	2 11/12	Phrixus' sons, esp. Argus	Lau	M	n	n	y
145	Jason	4.755b-8	2 5/6	Lycus	Que, Inf, Com	D2	y	n	y
146	Anausis	6.274-6	2 5/6	Styrus	Tau	M	n	n	y
147	Anausis	6.267b-9	2 3/4	Styrus	Tau	M	y	n	y
148	Cyzicus	2.656b-8	2 2/3	Jason	Inf	D1	y	n	y
149	Argonauts	4.327-9	2 7/12	Pollux	Lau	M	n	n	y
150	Jason	8.197b-9	2 7/12	Erginus	Res	D2	y	n	n
151	Hypsipyle	2.274b-6	2 7/12	Bacchus	Pra	M	y	n	n
152	Medea	6.588-90a	2 7/12	Juno (as Chalciopé)	Que	D1	n	y	n
153	Pollux	4.312b-4	2 5/12	Amycus	Tau	M	y	n	y
154	Jason	5.129-31a	2 1/3	Autolycus, Phlogius, Deileon	Req	M	n	y	y
155	Telamon	3.201-3a	2 1/4	<i>Superi</i>	Pra	M	n	y	n

156	Hercules	4.51b-3	2 1/6	Hylas	Que	D2	y	n	y
157	Tydeus	3.103b-5a	2 1/6	Corythus	Thr	M	y	y	y
158	Tiphys	3.259-61	2 1/6	Gods of the Sea	Lam	M	n	n	y
159	Aquites	6.305-7a	2 1/12	Gesander	Req	D1	n	y	y
160	Hercules	2.574-6a	2 1/12	Laomedon	Res	D2	n	y	y
161	Amycus	4.250-1	2	Pollux	Cha, Tau	M	n	n	n
162	Lemnian men	2.113-4	2	<i>Coniunx, Patria</i>	Inf, Per	M	n	n	n
163	Jason	2.611-2	2	Helle	Pra	D2	n	n	n
164	Nestor	3.143-5a	1 11/12	Argonauts	Vit, Exh	M	n	y	y
165	Jupiter	4.78-9	1 11/12	Iris	Req, Mes	M	n	n	y
166	Venus	6.475-6	1 11/12	Juno	Res	D2	n	n	y
167	Pollux	4.191-2	1 5/6	Argonauts, (absent) Amycus	Vow, Thr	M	n	n	y
168	Aeetes	5.582-3	1 5/6	Jason	Res	D2	n	n	y
169	Hercules	2.468b-9	1 3/4	Hesione	Que	D1	y	n	n
170	Jason	3.81b-2	1 3/4	Argonauts, (absent) Aeson	Pra, Exh	M	y	n	n
171	Jason	5.587-8	1 2/3	Aeetes	Req	D3	n	n	y
172	Hercules	3.169b-70	1 2/3	Admon	Thr	M	y	n	y
173	Castor	4.335b-6	1 1/2	Argo	Pra	M	y	n	y
174	Argonauts	5.550b-2a	1 5/12	Castor	Req	D1	y	y	n
175	Colaxes	6.647-8a	1 5/12	Jason	Tau, Cha	M	n	y	n
176	Medea	8.110b-1	1 1/4	Jason	Inf	M	y	n	y
177	Venus (as Dryope)	2.213b-4a	1 1/6	Lemnian Women	Inf, Exh	M	y	y	n
178	Jason	8.58-9a	1 1/12	Medea	Que	D3	n	y	n
179	Hypsipyle	2.256-7a	1 1/12	Bacchus	Pra	M	n	y	n
180	Dymas	4.140-1a	1	Echion	War, Per	M	n	y	y
181	Jason	7.529	1	Medea	Que	D4	n	n	n
182	Jason +	8.467 +	1	Medea	Res, Per	D2	n	n	n
183	Pan	3.45	1	Cyzicans	Exh	M	n	n	n
184	Jason	4.674b-5a	11/12	Minerva	Pra	M	y	y	y
185	Gesander	6.373b-4a	5/6		Del	S	y	y	y
186	Hercules	3.475b	3/4		Del	S	y	n	n
187	Mars	6.29	2/3	Colchians, Scythians	Exh	M	n	n	y
188	Mars	5.670a	2/3	Minerva, Jupiter	Tau	G3	n	y	n

4.12.2. HUMANS (LONGEST TO SHORTEST)

No.	Speaker	Book Lines	Length (Verses)	Addressee(s)	Speech Type	Speech Cluster	Begins Mid.	Ends Mid.	Inter.
1	Phineus*	4.553b-624a	71 1/2	Jason	Nar, Ora	G2	y	y	y
2	Orpheus*	4.351b-421	70 5/12	Argonauts	Nar	M	y	n	y
3	Jason	5.471-518	48	Aeetes	Gre, Inf, Req	D1	n	n	n
4	Aeetes	7.35-77	43	(dead) Phrixus, Argonauts, Jason	Vit, Cha	D1	n	n	n
5	Meleager	3.649-89	40 1/2	Argonauts, Jason	Vit, Per	G2	n	n	y
6	Mopsus	3.377-416	39 1/2	Jason	Res	D2	n	n	y
7	Medea	8.415-44a	30 7/12	Jason	Vit, Que	D1	n	y	n
8	Phineus	4.436b-64	28 1/3	Argonauts	Gre, Req	G1	y	n	y
9	Aeson	1.788-822	28	(dead) Cretheus and Ancestors, Furies, Astraea, <i>Fas</i> , <i>Poena</i>	Pra	M	n	n	n
10	Eidyia	8.144-70	26 11/12		Lam, Des, Del	S	n	n	y
11	Jason	3.290-313	25	Argonauts, (dead) Cyzicus	Lam, Req	M	n	n	n
12	Hesione	2.471-92	21 5/6	Hercules	Res	D2	n	n	y
13	Jason	5.37b-59	21 1/12		Lam, Des	S	y	n	y
14	Absyrtus	8.264b-84	20 11/12	Medea, Colchians	Exh, Vit	M	y	n	n
15	Styrus	8.337-55	19	Colchians	Exh	M	n	n	n
16	Jason	7.490-509	18 11/12	Medea	Vow	D2	n	n	y
17	Aeetes	5.599b-614	18 1/2	Jason	Inf	D5	y	n	y
18	Pelias	1.40-57	18	Jason	Req	M	n	n	n
19	Jason	7.413-30	17 5/6	Medea	Per	D1	n	n	y
20	Telamon	3.697-714	17 3/4	Argonauts, Jason	Lam, Vit, Per	G3	n	n	y
21	Tiphys	2.48b-65	17 7/12	Argonauts	Inf, Exh	M	y	n	y
22	Erginus	8.178-94	16 11/12	Argonauts, Jason	Per, Req	D1	n	n	y
23	Jason	5.194-213a	16 5/6	(dead) Phrixus, Helle, <i>Silvae</i> , Phasis	Pra	M	n	y	y
24	Gesander	6.323b-39	16 3/4	Canthus	Inf, Thr	M	y	n	n
25	Medea	7.437-55	16 7/12	Jason	Del, Per	D2	n	n	y
26	Amycus	4.206-21	16	Argonauts	Cha, Thr	M	n	n	n
27	Mopsus	1.211-26	16	Argonauts	Ora	G1	n	n	n
28	Alcimedede	1.320b-34	14 3/4	Jason	Far, Lam, Req	G1	y	n	n
29	Lycus	4.741-54	14	Argonauts	Gre, Nar	D1	n	n	n

30	Jason	1.667-80	14	<i>Superi</i> , Neptune	Pra	M	n	n	n
31	Medea	8.95-108	14		Lam, Req	S	n	n	n
32	Clite	3.316b-29	13 3/4	(dead) Cyzicus	Lam	M	y	n	n
33	Medea	7.331-49a	13 1/2		Lam, Del	S	n	y	y
34	Hylas (<i>imago</i>)	4.25-37	13	Hercules	Nar, Ora, Far	D1	n	n	n
35	Medea	7.198-209	13	Jason	Del	S	n	n	n
36	Jason	5.378-90	12 11/12	Medea	Gre, Req	D1	n	n	y
37	Dymas	4.161-73	12 5/6	Jason	Res, Req	D3	n	n	y
38	Medea	7.128-40	12 5/6		Lam, Des	S	n	n	y
39	Medea	7.238-50	12 5/6	Venus (as Circe)	Inf, Req	D3	n	n	y
40	Medea	7.9-20	12		Lam, Del	S	n	n	n
41	Jason	7.89-100	11 11/12	Aeetes	Res, Vit, Req	D2	n	n	y
42	Dymas	4.145b-56	11 1/2	Argonauts	Inf, Per	D1	y	n	y
43	Aeson	1.336b-47	11 5/12	Jason	Far, Des	G2	y	n	n
44	Jason	5.313b-24	11 5/12	Argonauts	Per, Exh	M	y	n	y
45	Pelias	1.712-24a	11 1/4		Lam, Del, Thr	S	n	y	y
46	Shade of Cretheus	1.741-51	11	Aeson, Alcimede	Ora, Per	M	n	n	n
47	Laomedon	2.557-66	11	Hercules	Gre, Tau, Inv	D1	n	n	n
48	Jason	3.617-27	11	Argonauts	Per, Req	G1	n	n	n
49	Medea	7.477-87	11	Jason	Lam, Req	D1	n	n	n
50	Phineus	4.474-84	10 11/12	Argonauts, Jupiter	Nar, Pra	G3	n	n	y
51	Jason	1.241b-51	10 3/4	Argonauts Idmon, Mopsus	Res, Req	G3	y	n	n
52	Perses	6.727-36	10	<i>Superi</i> , esp. Jupiter	Lam, Pra	M	n	n	n
53	Hypsipyle	2.290-9	10	Luna, Thoas	Lam, Del, Pra	M	n	n	n
54	Cyzicus	2.639b-48	9 5/6	Argonauts	Gre, Lau	M	y	n	n
55	Jason	1.81-90	9 5/6	Juno, Minerva	Pra	M	n	n	y
56	Jason	1.164b-73	9 3/4	Acastus	Per, Req	D1	y	n	n
57	Jason	1.194b-203	9 7/12	Neptune	Pra	M	y	n	n
58	Jason	4.538-46	9	Phineus	Req	G1	n	n	n
59	Medea	8.70b-8	8 3/4	Somnus	Req	M	y	n	n
60	Medea	8.46-53	8	Jason, <i>Superi</i>	Res, Vow, Req	D2	n	n	n
61	Phrixus (<i>imago</i>)	5.233b-40	7 3/4	Aeetes	Ora	M	y	n	n
62	Mopsus	3.448b-55	7 1/3	Shades of the murdered Cyzicans	Pra	M	y	n	n

63	Aeetes	5.534b-41a	7 1/3	Argonauts, Jason	Res	D2	n	y	y
64	Acastus	1.174b-81	7 1/3	Jason	Res	D2	y	n	y
65	Jason	8.37-43	7	Medea	Lau, Req	D1	n	n	n
66	Aeetes	5.246-52	7	Sol, Mars	Pra	M	n	n	n
67	Medea	8.60-6	7	Jason	Res, Que	D4	n	n	n
68	Medea	7.516-21b	7	Jason	Inf	D3	n	n	y
69	Gesander	6.308b-14	6 3/4	Aquites	Res	D2	y	n	n
70	Hercules	2.378-84a	6 7/12	Argonauts, Jason	Vit, Lam	M	n	y	y
71	Phineus	4.629b-35	6 5/12	Calais, Zetes	Lau, Req	G3	y	n	y
72	Aeetes	7.546b-52	6 1/3	<i>Tauri</i> , Medea	Des, Req	M	y	n	y
73	Zetes	4.466b-72	6 1/4	Phineus	Res	G2	y	n	y
74	Aeetes	5.590-5	6	Jason	Res	D4	n	n	n
75	Argonauts	1.627-32	6		Lam	S	n	n	n
76	Medea	8.10-5	6		Far, Des	S	n	n	n
77	Jason	1.150b-5	5 5/6		Del	S	y	n	n
78	Hypsipyle	2.419-24	5 5/6	Jason	Far	M	n	n	y
79	Medea	7.532-7a	5 7/12	Jason	Res, Des	D5	n	y	n
80	Peleus	1.265b-70	5 5/12	<i>Superi</i> , Chiron	Pra, Req	M	y	n	y
81	Medea	7.217b-22a	5 5/12	Venus (as Circe)	Gre, Que	D1	y	y	n
82	Medea	7.467-72a	5 5/12	Jason	Inf, Req	M	n	y	y
83	Hypsipyle	2.403-8a	5 1/4	Jason	Vit, Lam	M	n	y	n
84	Gesander	6.282-6	5	Iazygians	Vit, Exh	M	n	n	n
85	Castor	5.553-7	5	Argonauts	Mes, Req	D2	n	n	n
86	Cyzicus	3.230b-4	4 3/4	Cyzicans	Vit, Exh	M	y	n	n
87	Hypsipyle	2.335b-9	4 1/3	Jason	Inf	M	y	n	y
88	Jason	4.649b-53a	4 1/4	Argonauts	Exh	M	y	y	n
89	Jason	5.542-6a	4 1/6	Aeetes	Res, Lam, Thr	D3	n	y	y
90	Argonauts	5.17-20	4	Apollo	Pra	M	n	n	n
91	Medores	6.213-6	4	<i>Superi</i>	Pra	M	n	n	n
92	Gesander	6.288-91	4	Shade of Voraptus	Pra	M	n	n	n
93	Medea	5.393-6	4	Jason	Res	D2	n	n	n
94	Jason	3.373-6	3 11/12	Mopsus	Que	D1	n	n	y
95	Henioche	5.359-62	3 11/12	Medea	Res	D2	n	n	y

96	Medea	6.675b-9a	3 11/12	Juno (as Chalcioppe)	Que	M	y	y	n
97	Idmon	1.234b-8a	3 5/6	Mopsus, Argonauts	Ora	G2	y	y	n
98	Hypsipyle	2.249b-53a	3 5/6	Thoas	Per, Req	M	y	y	y
99	Alcimedede	1.763-6	3 5/6	Aeson	Lam, Req, Vow	M	n	n	y
100	Polyxo	2.322-5	3 5/6	Lemnian Women	Per, Ora	M	n	n	y
101	Jason	4.157b-60	3 3/4	Dymas	Que	D2	y	n	n
102	Aron	6.536b-9	3 7/12	Armes	Vit, Cha	M	y	n	y
103	Amycus	4.240-4a	3 7/12	Pollux	Tau, Thr	M	n	y	n
104	Jason	2.659b-62	3 7/12	Cyzicus	Vow	D2	y	n	n
105	<i>Famula</i>	5.403b-6	3 1/2	Argonauts	Inf	M	y	n	y
106	Jason	4.704b-7a	3 1/12		Lam, Del	S	y	y	y
107	Jason	3.270-2	3	Cyzicans	Per	M	n	n	n
108	Jason	5.578-80	3	Aeetes	Que	D1	n	n	n
109	Medea	5.353-5	3	Henioche	Que, Req	D1	n	n	n
110	Medea	7.385-7	3	Venus (as Circe)	Que	M	n	n	n
111	Jason	6.547-9	2 11/12	Phrixus' Sons, esp. Argus	Lau	M	n	n	y
112	Jason	4.755b-8	2 5/6	Lycus	Que, Inf, Com	D2	y	n	y
113	Anausis	6.274-6	2 5/6	Styrus	Tau	M	n	n	y
114	Anausis	6.267b-9	2 3/4	Styrus	Tau	M	y	n	y
115	Cyzicus	2.656b-8	2 2/3	Jason	Inf	D1	y	n	y
116	Argonauts	4.327-9	2 7/12	Pollux	Lau	M	n	n	y
117	Jason	8.197b-9	2 7/12	Erginus	Res	D2	y	n	n
118	Hypsipyle	2.274b-6	2 7/12	Bacchus	Pra	M	y	n	n
119	Medea	6.588-90a	2 7/12	Juno (as Chalcioppe)	Que	D1	n	y	n
120	Pollux	4.312b-4	2 5/12	Amycus	Tau	M	y	n	y
121	Jason	5.129-31a	2 1/3	Autolycus, Phlogius, Deileon	Req	M	n	y	y
122	Telamon	3.201-3a	2 1/4	<i>Superi</i>	Pra	M	n	y	n
123	Hercules	4.51b-3	2 1/6	Hylas	Que	D2	y	n	y
124	Tydeus	3.103b-5a	2 1/6	Corythus	Thr	M	y	y	y
125	Tiphys	3.259-61	2 1/6	Gods of the Sea	Lam	M	n	n	y
126	Aquites	6.305-7a	2 1/12	Gesander	Req	D1	n	y	y
127	Hercules	2.574-6a	2 1/12	Laomedon	Res	D2	n	y	y
128	Amycus	4.250-1	2	Pollux	Cha, Tau	M	n	n	n

129	Lemnian men	2.113-4	2	<i>Coniunx, Patria</i>	Inf, Per	M	n	n	n
130	Jason	2.611-2	2	Helle	Pra	D2	n	n	n
131	Nestor	3.143-5a	1 11/12	Argonauts	Vit, Exh	M	n	y	y
132	Pollux	4.191-2	1 5/6	Argonauts, (absent) Amycus	Vow, Thr	M	n	n	y
133	Aeetes	5.582-3	1 5/6	Jason	Res	D2	n	n	y
134	Hercules	2.468b-9	1 3/4	Hesione	Que	D1	y	n	n
135	Jason	3.81b-2	1 3/4	Argonauts, (absent) Aeson	Pra, Exh	M	y	n	n
136	Jason	5.587-8	1 2/3	Aeetes	Req	D3	n	n	y
137	Hercules	3.169b-70	1 2/3	Admon	Thr	M	y	n	y
138	Castor	4.335b-6	1 1/2	Argo	Pra	M	y	n	y
139	Argonauts	5.550b-2a	1 5/12	Castor	Req	D1	y	y	n
140	Colaxes	6.647-8a	1 5/12	Jason	Tau, Cha	M	n	y	n
141	Medea	8.110b-1	1 1/4	Jason	Inf	M	y	n	y
142	Jason	8.58-9a	1 1/12	Medea	Que	D3	n	y	n
143	Hypsipyle	2.256-7a	1 1/12	Bacchus	Pra	M	n	y	n
144	Dymas	4.140-1a	1	Echion	War, Per	M	n	y	y
145	Jason	7.529	1	Medea	Que	D4	n	n	n
146	Jason +	8.467 +	1	Medea	Res, Per	D2	n	n	n
147	Jason	4.674b-5a	11/12	Minerva	Pra	M	y	y	y
148	Gesander	6.373b-4a	5/6		Del	S	y	y	y
149	Hercules	3.475b	3/4		Del	S	y	n	n

4.12.3. DEITIES (LONGEST TO SHORTEST)

No.	Speaker	Book Lines	Length (Verses)	Addressee(s)	Speech Type	Speech Cluster	Begins Mid.	Ends Mid.	Inter.
1	Jupiter	1.531b-67	34 3/4	Sol, Mars, Juno, Minerva	Res, Ora	D2	y	n	n
2	Venus (as Circe)*	7.257b-83	33 3/4	Medea	Res, Nar, Mes	D4	y	n	y
3	Mars	5.624-48	25	Jupiter	Lam, Per	G1	n	n	n
4	Sol	1.505-27	23	Jupiter	Lam, Per, Req	D1	n	n	n
5	Minerva	5.651-69	18 5/6	Mars, Jupiter	Tau, Per, Req	G2	n	n	y
6	Fama (as Neaera)	2.142b-60a	18 1/6	Eurynome	Mes, Lam	M	y	y	y
7	Jupiter	5.673-89	17	Mars, Juno, Minerva	Vit, Ora	G4	n	n	n

8	Helle*	2.592-607*	16	Jason	Ora, Mes	D1	n	n	y
9	Venus	7.172-86a	14 5/12	Juno	Res, Per, Req	D2	n	y	n
10	Venus (as Circe)	7.223b-36	13 7/12	Medea	Res, Per	D2	y	n	n
11	Juno	3.492b-505	13 7/12	Minerva	Per, Req	M	y	n	n
12	Neptune	4.118-30	13		Lam	S	n	n	n
13	Juno	7.159-70	12	Venus	Per, Req	D1	n	n	n
14	Jupiter	4.4-14	11	Juno	Vit	M	n	n	n
15	Juno	3.510-20	11		Del, Exh	S	n	n	n
32	Minerva	5.292-5	3 3/4	Juno	Res	D3	n	n	y
16	Juno	3.535-44	10	Dryope (Nymph)	Inf, Per	M	n	n	n
17	Boreas	1.598-607	9 11/12	Aeolus	Lam, Req	M	n	n	y
18	Venus (as Dryope)	2.176b-84a	8 5/12	Lemnian Women	Lam, Del	M	y	y	n
19	Neptune	1.642b-50	8 1/6		Lam, Des, Thr	S	y	n	y
20	Typhon	4.519-26	8	Calais, Zetes	Vit	M	n	n	n
21	Venus	2.127-34	8	Fama	Req, Mes	M	n	n	n
22	Juno (as Chalcioppe)	6.592-9	7 11/12	Medea	Res	D2	n	n	y
23	Juno	1.113-9	7		Lam, Des	S	n	n	n
24	Juno	6.460-6	6 11/12	Venus	Req	D1	n	n	y
25	Argo (<i>imago</i>)	1.302b-7	6 5/12	Jason	Per, Exh	M	y	n	n
26	Apollo	4.62-7	6	Jupiter	Per, Req	M	n	n	n
27	Hecate	6.497-502	6		Lam	S	n	n	n
28	Juno (as Chalcioppe)	6.482-7	5 5/6	Medea	Per	M	n	n	y
29	Juno	5.286b-91	5 3/4	Minerva	Res	D2	y	n	n
30	Jupiter	6.624-9a	5 1/6		Lam	S	n	y	n
31	Minerva	6.741b-4	3 3/4		Del	S	y	n	n
32	Minerva	5.292-5	3 3/4	Juno	Res	D3	n	n	y
33	Minerva	5.282b-5	3 7/12	Juno	Que	D1	y	n	y
34	Jupiter	4.78-9	1 11/12	Iris	Req, Mes	M	n	n	y
35	Venus	6.475-6	1 11/12	Juno	Res	D2	n	n	y
36	Venus (as Dryope)	2.213b-4a	1 1/6	Lemnian Women	Inf, Exh	M	y	y	n
37	Pan	3.45	1	Cyzicans	Exh	M	n	n	n
38	Mars	6.29	2/3	Colchians, Scythians	Exh	M	n	n	y
39	Mars	5.670a	2/3	Minerva, Jupiter	Tau	G3	n	y	n

4.12.4. MEN (LONGEST TO SHORTEST)

No.	Speaker	Book Lines	Length (Verses)	Addressee(s)	Speech Type	Speech Cluster	Begins Mid.	Ends Mid.	Inter.
1	Phineus*	4.553b-624a	71 1/2	Jason	Nar, Ora	G2	y	y	y
2	Orpheus*	4.351b-421	70 5/12	Argonauts	Nar	M	y	n	y
3	Jason	5.471-518	48	Aeetes	Gre, Inf, Req	D1	n	n	n
4	Aeetes	7.35-77	43	(dead) Phrixus, Jason, Argonauts	Vit, Cha	D1	n	n	n
5	Meleager	3.649-89	40 1/2	Jason, Argonauts	Vit, Per	G2	n	n	y
6	Mopsus	3.377-416	39 1/2	Jason	Res	D2	n	n	y
7	Jupiter	1.531b-67	34 3/4	Sol, Mars, Juno, Minerva	Res, Ora	D2	y	n	n
8	Phineus	4.436b-64	28 1/3	Argonauts	Gre, Req	G1	y	n	y
9	Aeson	1.788-822	28	(dead) Cretheus and Ancestors, Astraea, Furies, <i>Fas, Poena</i>	Pra	M	n	n	n
10	Jason	3.290-313	25	(dead) Cyzicus, Argonauts	Lam, Req	M	n	n	n
11	Mars	5.624-48	25	Jupiter	Lam, Per	G1	n	n	n
12	Sol	1.505-27	23	Jupiter	Lam, Per, Req	D1	n	n	n
13	Jason	5.37b-59	21 1/12		Lam, Des	S	y	n	y
14	Absyrtus	8.264b-84	20 11/12	Medea, Colchians	Exh, Vit	M	y	n	n
15	Styrus	8.337-55	19	Colchians	Exh	M	n	n	n
16	Jason	7.490-509	18 11/12	Medea	Vow	D2	n	n	y
17	Aeetes	5.599b-614	18 1/2	Jason	Inf	D5	y	n	y
18	Pelias	1.40-57	18	Jason	Req	M	n	n	n
19	Jason	7.413-30	17 5/6	Medea	Per	D1	n	n	y
20	Telamon	3.697-714	17 3/4	Jason, Argonauts	Lam, Vit, Per	G3	n	n	y
21	Tiphys	2.48b-65	17 7/12	Argonauts	Inf, Exh	M	y	n	y
22	Jupiter	5.673-89	17	Mars, Juno, Minerva	Vit, Ora	G4	n	n	n
23	Erginus	8.178-94	16 11/12	Argonauts, Jason	Per, Req	D1	n	n	y
24	Jason	5.194-213a	16 5/6	(dead) Phrixus, Helle, <i>Silvae</i> , Phasis	Pra	M	n	y	y
25	Gesander	6.323b-39	16 3/4	Canthus	Inf, Thr	M	y	n	n
26	Amycus	4.206-21	16	Argonauts	Cha, Thr	M	n	n	n
27	Mopsus	1.211-26	16	Argonauts	Ora	G1	n	n	n
28	Lycus	4.741-54	14	Argonauts	Gre, Nar	D1	n	n	n

29	Jason	1.667-80	14	<i>Superi</i> , Neptune	Pra	M	n	n	n
30	Hylas (<i>imago</i>)	4.25-37	13	Hercules	Nar, Ora, Far	D1	n	n	n
31	Neptune	4.118-30	13		Lam	S	n	n	n
32	Jason	5.378-90	12 11/12	Medea	Gre, Req	D1	n	n	y
33	Dymas	4.161-73	12 5/6	Jason	Res, Req	D3	n	n	y
34	Jason	7.89-100	11 11/12	Aeetes	Res, Vit, Req	D2	n	n	y
35	Dymas	4.145b-56	11 1/2	Argonauts	Inf, Per	D1	y	n	y
36	Aeson	1.336b-47	11 5/12	Jason	Far, Des	G2	y	n	n
37	Jason	5.313b-24	11 5/12	Argonauts	Per, Exh	M	y	n	y
38	Pelias	1.712-24a	11 1/4		Lam, Del, Thr	S	n	y	y
39	Shade of Cretheus	1.741-51	11	Aeson, Alcimede	Ora, Per	M	n	n	n
40	Laomedon	2.557-66	11	Hercules	Gre, Tau, Inv	D1	n	n	n
41	Jason	3.617-27	11	Argonauts	Per, Req	G1	n	n	n
42	Jupiter	4.4-14	11	Juno	Vit	M	n	n	n
43	Phineus	4.474-84	10 11/12	Argonauts, Jupiter	Nar, Pra	G3	n	n	y
44	Jason	1.241b-51	10 3/4	Argonauts, Mopsus, Idmon	Res, Req	G3	y	n	n
45	Perses	6.727-36	10	<i>Superi</i> , esp. Jupiter	Lam, Pra	M	n	n	n
46	Boreas	1.598-607	9 11/12	Aeolus	Lam, Req	M	n	n	y
47	Cyzicus	2.639b-48	9 5/6	Argonauts	Gre, Lau	M	y	n	n
48	Jason	1.81-90	9 5/6	Juno, Minerva	Pra	M	n	n	y
49	Jason	1.164b-73	9 3/4	Acastus	Per, Req	D1	y	n	n
50	Jason	1.194b-203	9 7/12	Neptune	Pra	M	y	n	n
51	Jason	4.538-46	9	Phineus	Req	G1	n	n	n
52	Neptune	1.642b-50	8 1/6		Lam, Des, Thr	S	y	n	y
53	Typhon	4.519-26	8	Calais, Zetes	Vit	M	n	n	n
54	Phrixus (<i>imago</i>)	5.233b-40	7 3/4	Aeetes	Ora	M	y	n	n
55	Mopsus	3.448b-55	7 1/3	Shades of the murdered Cyzicans	Pra	M	y	n	n
56	Aeetes	5.534b-41a	7 1/3	Argonauts, Jason	Res	D2	n	y	y
57	Acastus	1.174b-81	7 1/3	Jason	Res	D2	y	n	y
58	Jason	8.37-43	7	Medea	Lau, Req	D1	n	n	n
59	Aeetes	5.246-52	7	Sol, Mars	Pra	M	n	n	n
60	Gesander	6.308b-14	6 3/4	Aquites	Res	D2	y	n	n

61	Hercules	2.378-84a	6 7/12	Argonauts, Jason	Vit, Lam	M	n	y	y
62	Phineus	4.629b-35	6 5/12	Calais, Zetes	Lau, Req	G3	y	n	y
63	Aeetes	7.546b-52	6 1/3	<i>Tauri</i> , Medea	Des, Req	M	y	n	y
64	Zetes	4.466b-72	6 1/4	Phineus	Res	G2	y	n	y
65	Aeetes	5.590-5	6	Jason	Res	D4	n	n	n
66	Argonauts	1.627-32	6		Lam	S	n	n	n
67	Apollo	4.62-7	6	Jupiter	Per, Req	M	n	n	n
68	Jason	1.150b-5	5 5/6		Del	S	y	n	n
69	Peleus	1.265b-70	5 5/12	<i>Superi</i> , Chiron	Pra, Req	M	y	n	y
70	Jupiter	6.624-9a	5 1/6		Lam	S	n	y	n
71	Gesander	6.282-6	5	Iazygians	Vit, Exh	M	n	n	n
72	Castor	5.553-7	5	Argonauts	Mes, Req	D2	n	n	n
73	Cyzicus	3.230b-4	4 3/4	Cyzicans	Vit, Exh	M	y	n	n
74	Jason	4.649b-53a	4 1/4	Argonauts	Exh	M	y	y	n
75	Jason	5.542-6a	4 1/6	Aeetes	Res, Lam, Thr	D3	n	y	y
76	Argonauts	5.17-20	4	Apollo	Pra	M	n	n	n
77	Medores	6.213-6	4	<i>Superi</i>	Pra	M	n	n	n
78	Gesander	6.288-91	4	Shade of Voraptus	Pra	M	n	n	n
79	Jason	3.373-6	3 11/12	Mopsus	Que	D1	n	n	y
80	Idmon	1.234b-8a	3 5/6	Mopsus, Argonauts	Ora	G2	y	y	n
81	Jason	4.157b-60	3 3/4	Dymas	Que	D2	y	n	n
82	Aron	6.536b-9	3 7/12	Armes	Vit, Cha	M	y	n	y
83	Amycus	4.240-4a	3 7/12	Pollux	Tau, Thr	M	n	y	n
84	Jason	2.659b-62	3 7/12	Cyzicus	Vow	D2	y	n	n
85	Jason	4.704b-7a	3 1/12		Lam, Del	S	y	y	y
86	Jason	3.270-2	3	Cyzicans	Per	M	n	n	n
87	Jason	5.578-80	3	Aeetes	Que	D1	n	n	n
88	Jason	6.547-9	2 11/12	Phrixus' Sons, esp. Argus	Lau	M	n	n	y
89	Jason	4.755b-8	2 5/6	Lycus	Que, Inf, Com	D2	y	n	y
90	Anausis	6.274-6	2 5/6	Styrus	Tau	M	n	n	y
91	Anausis	6.267b-9	2 3/4	Styrus	Tau	M	y	n	y
92	Cyzicus	2.656b-8	2 2/3	Jason	Inf	D1	y	n	y
93	Argonauts	4.327-9	2 7/12	Pollux	Lau	M	n	n	y

94	Jason	8.197b-9	2 7/12	Erginus	Res	D2	y	n	n
95	Pollux	4.312b-4	2 5/12	Amycus	Tau	M	y	n	y
96	Jason	5.129-31a	2 1/3	Autolycus, Phlogius, Deileon	Req	M	n	y	y
97	Telamon	3.201-3a	2 1/4	<i>Superi</i>	Pra	M	n	y	n
98	Hercules	4.51b-3	2 1/6	Hylas	Que	D2	y	n	y
99	Tydeus	3.103b-5a	2 1/6	Corythus	Thr	M	y	y	y
100	Tiphys	3.259-61	2 1/6	Gods of the Sea	Lam	M	n	n	y
101	Aquites	6.305-7a	2 1/12	Gesander	Req	D1	n	y	y
102	Hercules	2.574-6a	2 1/12	Laomedon	Res	D2	n	y	y
103	Amycus	4.250-1	2	Pollux	Cha, Tau	M	n	n	n
104	Lemnian Men	2.113-4	2	<i>Coniunx, Patria</i>	Inf, Per	M	n	n	n
105	Jason	2.611-2	2	Helle	Pra	D2	n	n	n
106	Nestor	3.143-5a	1 11/12	Argonauts	Vit, Exh	M	n	y	y
107	Jupiter	4.78-9	1 11/12	Iris	Req, Mes	M	n	n	y
108	Pollux	4.191-2	1 5/6	Argonauts, (absent) Amycus	Vow, Thr	M	n	n	y
109	Aeetes	5.582-3	1 5/6	Jason	Res	D2	n	n	y
110	Hercules	2.468b-9	1 3/4	Hesione	Que	D1	y	n	n
111	Jason	3.81b-2	1 3/4	Argonauts, (absent) Aeson	Pra, Exh	M	y	n	n
112	Jason	5.587-8	1 2/3	Aeetes	Req	D3	n	n	y
113	Hercules	3.169b-70	1 2/3	Admon	Thr	M	y	n	y
114	Castor	4.335b-6	1 1/2	Argo	Pra	M	y	n	y
115	Argonauts	5.550b-2a	1 5/12	Castor	Req	D1	y	y	n
116	Colaxes	6.647-8a	1 5/12	Jason	Tau, Cha	M	n	y	n
117	Jason	8.58-9a	1 1/12	Medea	Que	D3	n	y	n
118	Dymas	4.140-1a	1	Echion	War, Per	M	n	y	y
119	Jason	7.529	1	Medea	Que	D4	n	n	n
120	Jason +	8.467 +	1	Medea	Res, Per	D2	n	n	n
121	Pan	3.45	1	Cyzicans	Exh	M	n	n	n
122	Jason	4.674b-5a	11/12	Minerva	Pra	M	y	y	y
123	Gesander	6.373b-4a	5/6		Del	S	y	y	y
124	Hercules	3.475b	3/4		Del	S	y	n	n
125	Mars	6.29	2/3	Colchians, Scythians	Exh	M	n	n	y
126	Mars	5.670a	2/3	Minerva, Jupiter	Tau	G3	n	y	n

4.12.5. WOMEN (LONGEST TO SHORTEST)

No.	Speaker	Book Lines	Length (Verses)	Addressee(s)	Speech Type	Speech Cluster	Begins Mid.	Ends Mid.	Inter.
1	Venus (as Circe)*	7.257b-83	33 3/4	Medea	Res, Nar, Mes	D4	y	n	y
2	Medea	8.415-44a	30 7/12	Jason	Vit, Que	D1	n	y	n
3	Eidyia	8.144-70	26 11/12		Lam, Des, Del	S	n	n	y
4	Hesione	2.471-92	21 5/6	Hercules	Res	D2	n	n	y
5	Minerva	5.651-69	18 5/6	Mars, Jupiter	Tau, Per, Req	G2	n	n	y
6	Fama (as Neaera)	2.142b-60a	18 1/6	Eurynome	Mes, Lam	M	y	y	y
7	Medea	7.437-55	16 7/12	Jason	Del, Per	D2	n	n	y
8	Helle*	2.592-607*	16	Jason	Ora, Mes	D1	n	n	y
9	Alcimedede	1.320b-34	14 3/4	Jason	Far, Lam, Req	G1	y	n	n
10	Venus	7.172-86a	14 5/12	Juno	Res, Per, Req	D2	n	y	n
11	Medea	8.95-108	14		Lam, Req	S	n	n	n
12	Clite	3.316b-29	13 3/4	(dead) Cyzicus	Lam	M	y	n	n
13	Venus (as Circe)	7.223b-36	13 7/12	Medea	Res, Per	D2	y	n	n
14	Juno	3.492b-505	13 7/12	Minerva	Per, Req	M	y	n	n
15	Medea	7.331-49a	13 1/2		Lam, Del	S	n	y	y
16	Medea	7.198-209	13	Jason	Del	S	n	n	n
17	Medea	7.128-40	12 5/6		Lam, Des	S	n	n	y
18	Medea	7.238-50	12 5/6	Venus (as Circe)	Inf, Req	D3	n	n	y
19	Medea	7.9-20	12		Lam, Del	S	n	n	n
20	Juno	7.159-70	12	Venus	Per, Req	D1	n	n	n
21	Medea	7.477-87	11	Jason	Lam, Req	D1	n	n	n
22	Juno	3.510-20	11		Del, Exh	S	n	n	n
23	Hypsipyle	2.290-9	10	Thoas, Luna	Lam, Del, Pra	M	n	n	n
24	Juno	3.535-44	10	Dryope (Nymph)	Inf, Per	M	n	n	n
25	Medea	8.70b-8	8 3/4	Somnus	Req	M	y	n	n
26	Venus (as Dryope)	2.176b-84a	8 5/12	Lemnian Women	Lam, Del	M	y	y	n
27	Medea	8.46-53	8	Jason, <i>Superi</i>	Res, Vow, Req	D2	n	n	n
28	Venus	2.127-34	8	Fama	Req, Mes	M	n	n	n
29	Juno (as Chalciope)	6.592-9	7 11/12	Medea	Res	D2	n	n	y
30	Juno	1.113-9	7		Lam, Des	S	n	n	n

31	Medea	8.60-6	7	Jason	Res, Que	D4	n	n	n
32	Medea	7.516-21b	7	Jason	Inf	D3	n	n	y
33	Juno	6.460-6	6 11/12	Venus	Req	D1	n	n	y
34	Argo (<i>imago</i>)	1.302b-7	6 5/12	Jason	Per, Exh	M	y	n	n
35	Medea	8.10-5	6		Far, Des	S	n	n	n
36	Hecate	6.497-502	6		Lam	S	n	n	n
37	Hypsipyle	2.419-24	5 5/6	Jason	Far	M	n	n	y
38	Juno (as Chalcioppe)	6.482-7	5 5/6	Medea	Per	M	n	n	y
39	Juno	5.286b-91	5 3/4	Minerva	Res	D2	y	n	n
40	Medea	7.532-7a	5 7/12	Jason	Res, Des	D5	n	y	n
41	Medea	7.217b-22a	5 5/12	Venus (as Circe)	Gre, Que	D1	y	y	n
42	Medea	7.467-72a	5 5/12	Jason	Inf, Req	M	n	y	y
43	Hypsipyle	2.403-8a	5 1/4	Jason	Vit, Lam	M	n	y	n
44	Hypsipyle	2.335b-9	4 1/3	Jason	Inf	M	y	n	y
45	Medea	5.393-6	4	Jason	Res	D2	n	n	n
46	Henioche	5.359-62	3 11/12	Medea	Res	D2	n	n	y
47	Medea	6.675b-9a	3 11/12	Juno (as Chalcioppe)	Que	M	y	y	n
48	Hypsipyle	2.249b-53a	3 5/6	Thoas	Per, Req	M	y	y	y
49	Alcimedede	1.763-6	3 5/6	Aeson	Lam, Req, Vow	M	n	n	y
50	Polyxo	2.322-5	3 5/6	Lemnian Women	Per, Ora	M	n	n	y
51	Minerva	6.741b-4	3 3/4		Del	S	y	n	n
52	Minerva	5.292-5	3 3/4	Juno	Res	D3	n	n	y
53	Minerva	5.282b-5	3 7/12	Juno	Que	D1	y	n	y
54	<i>Famula</i>	5.403b-6	3 1/2	Argonauts	Inf	M	y	n	y
55	Medea	5.353-5	3	Henioche	Que, Req	D1	n	n	n
56	Medea	7.385-7	3	Venus (as Circe)	Que	M	n	n	n
57	Hypsipyle	2.274b-6	2 7/12	Bacchus	Pra	M	y	n	n
58	Medea	6.588-90a	2 7/12	Juno (as Chalcioppe)	Que	D1	n	y	n
59	Venus	6.475-6	1 11/12	Juno	Res	D2	n	n	y
60	Medea	8.110b-1	1 1/4	Jason	Inf	M	y	n	y
61	Venus (as Dryope)	2.213b-4a	1 1/6	Lemnian Women	Inf, Exh	M	y	y	n
62	Hypsipyle	2.256-7a	1 1/12	Bacchus	Pra	M	n	y	n

4.12.6. MORTAL MEN (LONGEST TO SHORTEST)

No.	Speaker	Book Lines	Length (Verses)	Addressee(s)	Speech Type	Speech Cluster	Begins Mid.	Ends Mid.	Inter.
1	Phineus*	4.553b-624a	71 1/2	Jason	Nar, Ora	G2	y	y	y
2	Orpheus*	4.351b-421	70 5/12	Argonauts	Nar	M	y	n	y
3	Jason	5.471-518	48	Aeetes	Gre, Inf, Req	D1	n	n	n
4	Aeetes	7.35-77	43	(dead) Phrixus, Jason, Argonauts	Vit, Cha	D1	n	n	n
5	Meleager	3.649-89	40 1/2	Jason, Argonauts	Vit, Per	G2	n	n	y
6	Mopsus	3.377-416	39 1/2	Jason	Res	D2	n	n	y
7	Phineus	4.436b-64	28 1/3	Argonauts	Gre, Req	G1	y	n	y
8	Aeson	1.788-822	28	(dead) Cretheus and ancestors, Astraea, Furies, <i>Fas, Poena</i>	Pra	M	n	n	n
9	Jason	3.290-313	25	(dead) Cyzicus, Argonauts	Lam, Req	M	n	n	n
10	Jason	5.37b-59	21 1/12		Lam, Des	S	y	n	y
11	Absyrtus	8.264b-84	20 11/12	Medea, Colchians	Exh, Vit	M	y	n	n
12	Styrus	8.337-55	19	Colchians	Exh	M	n	n	n
13	Jason	7.490-509	18 11/12	Medea	Vow	D2	n	n	y
14	Aeetes	5.599b-614	18 1/2	Jason	Inf	D5	y	n	y
15	Pelias	1.40-57	18	Jason	Req	M	n	n	n
16	Jason	7.413-30	17 5/6	Medea	Per	D1	n	n	y
17	Telamon	3.697-714	17 3/4	Jason, Argonauts	Lam, Vit, Per	G3	n	n	y
18	Tiphys	2.48b-65	17 7/12	Argonauts	Inf, Exh	M	y	n	y
19	Erginus	8.178-94	16 11/12	Argonauts, Jason	Per, Req	D1	n	n	y
20	Jason	5.194-213a	16 5/6	(dead) Phrixus, Helle, <i>Silvae</i> , Phasis	Pra	M	n	y	y
21	Gesander	6.323b-39	16 3/4	Canthus	Inf, Thr	M	y	n	n
22	Amycus	4.206-21	16	Argonauts	Cha, Thr	M	n	n	n
23	Mopsus	1.211-26	16	Argonauts	Ora	G1	n	n	n
24	Lycus	4.741-54	14	Argonauts	Gre, Nar	D1	n	n	n
25	Jason	1.667-80	14	<i>Superi</i> , Neptune	Pra	M	n	n	n
26	Hylas (<i>imago</i>)	4.25-37	13	Hercules	Nar, Ora, Far	D1	n	n	n
27	Jason	5.378-90	12 11/12	Medea	Gre, Req	D1	n	n	y
28	Dymas	4.161-73	12 5/6	Jason	Res, Req	D3	n	n	y
29	Jason	7.89-100	11 11/12	Aeetes	Res, Vit, Req	D2	n	n	y

30	Dymas	4.145b-56	11 1/2	Argonauts	Inf, Per	D1	y	n	y
31	Aeson	1.336b-47	11 5/12	Jason	Far, Des	G2	y	n	n
32	Jason	5.313b-24	11 5/12	Argonauts	Per, Exh	M	y	n	y
33	Pelias	1.712-24a	11 1/4		Lam, Del, Thr	S	n	y	y
34	Shade of Cretheus	1.741-51	11	Aeson, Alcimede	Ora, Per	M	n	n	n
35	Laomedon	2.557-66	11	Hercules	Gre, Tau, Inv	D1	n	n	n
36	Jason	3.617-27	11	Argonauts	Per, Req	G1	n	n	n
37	Phineus	4.474-84	10 11/12	Argonauts, Jupiter	Nar, Pra	G3	n	n	y
38	Jason	1.241b-51	10 3/4	Argonauts, Mopsus, Idmon	Res, Req	G3	y	n	n
39	Perses	6.727-36	10	<i>Superi</i> , esp. Jupiter	Lam, Pra	M	n	n	n
40	Cyzicus	2.639b-48	9 5/6	Argonauts	Gre, Lau	M	y	n	n
41	Jason	1.81-90	9 5/6	Juno, Minerva	Pra	M	n	n	y
42	Jason	1.164b-73	9 3/4	Acastus	Per, Req	D1	y	n	n
43	Jason	1.194b-203	9 7/12	Neptune	Pra	M	y	n	n
44	Jason	4.538-46	9	Phineus	Req	G1	n	n	n
45	Phrixus (<i>imago</i>)	5.233b-40	7 3/4	Aeetes	Ora	M	y	n	n
46	Mopsus	3.448b-55	7 1/3	Shades of the murdered Cyzicans	Pra	M	y	n	n
47	Aeetes	5.534b-41a	7 1/3	Argonauts, Jason	Res	D2	n	y	y
48	Acastus	1.174b-81	7 1/3	Jason	Res	D2	y	n	y
49	Jason	8.37-43	7	Medea	Lau, Req	D1	n	n	n
50	Aeetes	5.246-52	7	Sol, Mars	Pra	M	n	n	n
51	Gesander	6.308b-14	6 3/4	Aquites	Res	D2	y	n	n
52	Hercules	2.378-84a	6 7/12	Argonauts, Jason	Vit, Lam	M	n	y	y
53	Phineus	4.629b-35	6 5/12	Calais, Zetes	Lau, Req	G3	y	n	y
54	Aeetes	7.546b-52	6 1/3	<i>Tauri</i> , Medea	Des, Req	M	y	n	y
55	Zetes	4.466b-72	6 1/4	Phineus	Res	G2	y	n	y
56	Aeetes	5.590-5	6	Jason	Res	D4	n	n	n
57	Argonauts	1.627-32	6		Lam	S	n	n	n
58	Jason	1.150b-5	5 5/6		Del	S	y	n	n
59	Peleus	1.265b-70	5 5/12	<i>Superi</i> , Chiron	Pra, Req	M	y	n	y
60	Gesander	6.282-6	5	Iazygians	Vit, Exh	M	n	n	n
61	Castor	5.553-7	5	Argonauts	Mes, Req	D2	n	n	n

62	Cyzicus	3.230b-4	4 3/4	Cyzicans	Vit, Exh	M	y	n	n
63	Jason	4.649b-53a	4 1/4	Argonauts	Exh	M	y	y	n
64	Jason	5.542-6a	4 1/6	Aeetes	Res, Lam, Thr	D3	n	y	y
65	Argonauts	5.17-20	4	Apollo	Pra	M	n	n	n
66	Medores	6.213-6	4	<i>Superi</i>	Pra	M	n	n	n
67	Gesander	6.288-91	4	Shade of Voraptus	Pra	M	n	n	n
68	Jason	3.373-6	3 11/12	Mopsus	Que	D1	n	n	y
69	Idmon	1.234b-8a	3 5/6	Mopsus, Argonauts	Ora	G2	y	y	n
70	Jason	4.157b-60	3 3/4	Dymas	Que	D2	y	n	n
71	Aron	6.536b-9	3 7/12	Armes	Vit, Cha	M	y	n	y
72	Amycus	4.240-4a	3 7/12	Pollux	Tau, Thr	M	n	y	n
73	Jason	2.659b-62	3 7/12	Cyzicus	Vow	D2	y	n	n
74	Jason	4.704b-7a	3 1/12		Lam, Del	S	y	y	y
75	Jason	3.270-2	3	Cyzicans	Per	M	n	n	n
76	Jason	5.578-80	3	Aeetes	Que	D1	n	n	n
77	Jason	6.547-9	2 11/12	Phrixus' Sons, esp. Argus	Lau	M	n	n	y
78	Jason	4.755b-8	2 5/6	Lycus	Que, Inf, Com	D2	y	n	y
79	Anausis	6.274-6	2 5/6	Styrus	Tau	M	n	n	y
80	Anausis	6.267b-9	2 3/4	Styrus	Tau	M	y	n	y
81	Cyzicus	2.656b-8	2 2/3	Jason	Inf	D1	y	n	y
82	Argonauts	4.327-9	2 7/12	Pollux	Lau	M	n	n	y
83	Jason	8.197b-9	2 7/12	Erginus	Res	D2	y	n	n
84	Pollux	4.312b-4	2 5/12	Amycus	Tau	M	y	n	y
85	Jason	5.129-31a	2 1/3	Autolycus, Phlogius, Deileon	Req	M	n	y	y
86	Telamon	3.201-3a	2 1/4	<i>Superi</i>	Pra	M	n	y	n
87	Hercules	4.51b-3	2 1/6	Hylas	Que	D2	y	n	y
88	Tydeus	3.103b-5a	2 1/6	Corythus	Thr	M	y	y	y
89	Tiphys	3.259-61	2 1/6	Gods of the Sea	Lam	M	n	n	y
90	Aquites	6.305-7a	2 1/12	Gesander	Req	D1	n	y	y
91	Hercules	2.574-6a	2 1/12	Laomedon	Res	D2	n	y	y
92	Amycus	4.250-1	2	Pollux	Cha, Tau	M	n	n	n
93	Lemnian Men	2.113-4	2	<i>Coniunx, Patria</i>	Inf, Per	M	n	n	n
94	Jason	2.611-2	2	Helle	Pra	D2	n	n	n

95	Nestor	3.143-5a	1 11/12	Argonauts	Vit, Exh	M	n	y	y
96	Pollux	4.191-2	1 5/6	Argonauts, (absent) Amycus	Vow, Thr	M	n	n	y
97	Aeetes	5.582-3	1 5/6	Jason	Res	D2	n	n	y
98	Hercules	2.468b-9	1 3/4	Hesione	Que	D1	y	n	n
99	Jason	3.81b-2	1 3/4	Argonauts, (absent) Aeson	Pra, Exh	M	y	n	n
100	Jason	5.587-8	1 2/3	Aeetes	Req	D3	n	n	y
101	Hercules	3.169b-70	1 2/3	Admon	Thr	M	y	n	y
102	Castor	4.335b-6	1 1/2	Argo	Pra	M	y	n	y
103	Argonauts	5.550b-2a	1 5/12	Castor	Req	D1	y	y	n
104	Colaxes	6.647-8a	1 5/12	Jason	Tau, Cha	M	n	y	n
105	Jason	8.58-9a	1 1/12	Medea	Que	D3	n	y	n
106	Dymas	4.140-1a	1	Echion	War, Per	M	n	y	y
107	Jason	7.529	1	Medea	Que	D4	n	n	n
108	Jason +	8.467 +	1	Medea	Res, Per	D2	n	n	n
109	Jason	4.674b-5a	11/12	Minerva	Pra	M	y	y	y
110	Gesander	6.373b-4a	5/6		Del	S	y	y	y
111	Hercules	3.475b	3/4		Del	S	y	n	n

4.12.7. MORTAL WOMEN (LONGEST TO SHORTEST)

No.	Speaker	Book Lines	Length (Verses)	Addressee(s)	Speech Type	Speech Cluster	Begins Mid.	Ends Mid.	Inter.
1	Medea	8.415-44a	30 7/12	Jason	Vit, Que	D1	n	y	n
2	Eidyia	8.144-70	26 11/12		Lam, Des, Del	S	n	n	y
3	Hesione	2.471-92	21 5/6	Hercules	Res	D2	n	n	y
4	Medea	7.437-55	16 7/12	Jason	Del, Per	D2	n	n	y
5	Alcimedede	1.320b-34	14 3/4	Jason	Far, Lam, Req	G1	y	n	n
6	Medea	8.95-108	14		Lam, Req	S	n	n	n
7	Clite	3.316b-29	13 3/4	(dead) Cyzicus	Lam	M	y	n	n
8	Medea	7.331-49a	13 1/2		Lam, Del	S	n	y	y
9	Medea	7.198-209	13	Jason	Del	S	n	n	n
10	Medea	7.128-40	12 5/6		Lam, Des	S	n	n	y
11	Medea	7.238-50	12 5/6	Venus (as Circe)	Inf, Req	D3	n	n	y
12	Medea	7.9-20	12		Lam, Del	S	n	n	n

13	Medea	7.477-87	11	Jason	Lam, Req	D1	n	n	n
14	Hypsipyle	2.290-9	10	Thoas, Luna	Lam, Del, Pra	M	n	n	n
15	Medea	8.70b-8	8 3/4	Somnus	Req	M	y	n	n
16	Medea	8.46-53	8	Jason, <i>Superi</i>	Res, Vow, Req	D2	n	n	n
17	Medea	8.60-6	7	Jason	Res, Que	D4	n	n	n
18	Medea	7.516-21b	7	Jason	Inf	D3	n	n	y
19	Medea	8.10-5	6		Far, Des	S	n	n	n
20	Hypsipyle	2.419-24	5 5/6	Jason	Far	M	n	n	y
21	Medea	7.532-7a	5 7/12	Jason	Res, Des	D5	n	y	n
22	Medea	7.217b-22a	5 5/12	Venus (as Circe)	Gre, Que	D1	y	y	n
23	Medea	7.467-72a	5 5/12	Jason	Inf, Req	M	n	y	y
24	Hypsipyle	2.403-8a	5 1/4	Jason	Vit, Lam	M	n	y	n
25	Hypsipyle	2.335b-9	4 1/3	Jason	Inf	M	y	n	y
26	Medea	5.393-6	4	Jason	Res	D2	n	n	n
27	Henioche	5.359-62	3 11/12	Medea	Res	D2	n	n	y
28	Medea	6.675b-9a	3 11/12	Juno (as Chalciope)	Que	M	y	y	n
29	Hypsipyle	2.249b-53a	3 5/6	Thoas	Per, Req	M	y	y	y
30	Alcimedede	1.763-6	3 5/6	Aeson	Lam, Req, Vow	M	n	n	y
31	Polyxo	2.322-5	3 5/6	Lemnian Women	Per, Ora	M	n	n	y
32	<i>Famula</i>	5.403b-6	3 1/2	Argonauts	Inf	M	y	n	y
33	Medea	5.353-5	3	Henioche	Que, Req	D1	n	n	n
34	Medea	7.385-7	3	Venus (as Circe)	Que	M	n	n	n
35	Hypsipyle	2.274b-6	2 7/12	Bacchus	Pra	M	y	n	n
36	Medea	6.588-90a	2 7/12	Juno (as Chalciope)	Que	D1	n	y	n
37	Medea	8.110b-1	1 1/4	Jason	Inf	M	y	n	y
38	Hypsipyle	2.256-7a	1 1/12	Bacchus	Pra	M	n	y	n

4.12.8. GODS (LONGEST TO SHORTEST)

No.	Speaker	Book Lines	Length (Verses)	Addressee(s)	Speech Type	Speech Cluster	Begins Mid.	Ends Mid.	Inter.
1	Jupiter	1.531b-67	34 3/4	Sol, Mars, Juno, Minerva	Res, Ora	D2	y	n	n
2	Mars	5.624-48	25	Jupiter	Lam, Per	G1	n	n	n
3	Sol	1.505-27	23	Jupiter	Lam, Per, Req	D1	n	n	n
4	Jupiter	5.673-89	17	Minerva, Mars, Juno	Vit, Ora	G4	n	n	n
5	Neptune	4.118-30	13		Lam	S	n	n	n
6	Jupiter	4.4-14	11	Juno	Vit	M	n	n	n
7	Boreas	1.598-607	9 11/12	Aeolus	Lam, Req	M	n	n	y
8	Neptune	1.642b-50	8 1/6		Lam, Des, Thr	S	y	n	y
9	Typhon	4.519-26	8	Calais, Zetes	Vit	M	n	n	n
10	Apollo	4.62-7	6	Jupiter	Per, Req	M	n	n	n
11	Jupiter	6.624-9a	5 1/6		Lam	S	n	y	n
12	Jupiter	4.78-9	1 11/12	Iris	Req, Mes	M	n	n	y
13	Pan	3.45	1	Cyzicans	Exh	M	n	n	n
14	Mars	6.29	2/3	Colchians, Scythians	Exh	M	n	n	y
15	Mars	5.670a	2/3	Minerva, Jupiter	Tau	G3	n	y	n

4.12.9. GODDESSES (LONGEST TO SHORTEST)

No.	Speaker	Book Lines	Length (Verses)	Addressee(s)	Speech Type	Speech Cluster	Begins Mid.	Ends Mid.	Inter.
1	Venus (as Circe)*	7.257b-83	33 3/4	Medea	Res, Nar, Mes	D4	y	n	y
2	Minerva	5.651-69	18 5/6	Mars, Jupiter	Tau, Per, Req	G2	n	n	y
3	Fama (as Neaera)	2.142b-60a	18 1/6	Eurynome	Mes, Lam	M	y	y	y
4	Helle*	2.592-607*	16	Jason	Ora, Mes	D1	n	n	y
5	Venus	7.172-86a	14 5/12	Juno	Res, Per, Req	D2	n	y	n
6	Venus (as Circe)	7.223b-36	13 7/12	Medea	Res, Per	D2	y	n	n
7	Juno	3.492b-505	13 7/12	Minerva	Per, Req	M	y	n	n
8	Juno	7.159-70	12	Venus	Per, Req	D1	n	n	n
9	Juno	3.510-20	11		Del, Exh	S	n	n	n
10	Juno	3.535-44	10	Dryope (Nymph)	Inf, Per	M	n	n	n
11	Venus (as Dryope)	2.176b-84a	8 5/12	Lemnian Women	Lam, Del	M	y	y	n
12	Venus	2.127-34	8	Fama	Req, Mes	M	n	n	n
13	Juno (as Chalcioppe)	6.592-9	7 11/12	Medea	Res	D2	n	n	y
14	Juno	1.113-9	7		Lam, Des	S	n	n	n
15	Juno	6.460-6	6 11/12	Venus	Req	D1	n	n	y
16	Argo (<i>imago</i>)	1.302b-7	6 5/12	Jason	Per, Exh	M	y	n	n
17	Hecate	6.497-502	6		Lam	S	n	n	n
18	Juno (as Chalcioppe)	6.482-7	5 5/6	Medea	Per	M	n	n	y
19	Juno	5.286b-91	5 3/4	Minerva	Res	D2	y	n	n
20	Minerva	6.741b-4	3 3/4		Del	S	y	n	n
21	Minerva	5.292-5	3 3/4	Juno	Res	D3	n	n	y
22	Minerva	5.282b-5	3 7/12	Juno	Que	D1	y	n	y
23	Venus	6.475-6	1 11/12	Juno	Res	D2	n	n	y
24	Venus (as Dryope)	2.213b-4a	1 1/6	Lemnian Women	Inf, Exh	M	y	y	n

4.13. SPEECH FORMULAE

4.13.1. VALERIUS' ARGONAUTICA, BK. 1

4.13.1.1. INTRODUCTORY SPEECH FORMULAE

1.39	<i>occupat et fictis dat vultum et pondera dictis</i> (0)
1.111f.	<i>talibus ... / insequitur solitosque novat ... questus</i> (-1 - 0)
1.150	<i>at secum</i> (1)
1.164	<i>ductor ait</i> (1)
1.174	<i>Nec passus ... plura</i> (1)
1.194	<i>sic ait Aesonides</i> (1)
1.210	<i>tum facta silentia vati</i> (0)
1.234	<i>sic ... canit</i> (1)
1.240f.	<i>iungit cum talia ductor / Aesonius</i> (0 - 1)
1.302	<i>vocibus his instare duci</i> (1)
1.320	<i>fatur et haec</i> (1)
1.336	<i>attolens dictis animos</i> (1)
1.504	<i>tales fundit ... pectore voces</i> (0)
1.531	<i>Tum genitor</i> (1)
1.626	<i>tum murmure maesto</i> (0)
1.666	<i>et talibus infit</i> (0)
1.740	<i>talia libato pandebat sanguine ...</i> (0)
1.762	<i>contra ... coniunx</i> (0)
1.786	<i>supremaque fatur / ipse ...</i> (-1 - 0)

4.13.1.2. INTERPOSED SPEECH FORMULAE

1.81	<i>inquit</i> (1)
1.175	<i>ait</i> (2)
1.266	<i>ait</i> (2)
1.598	<i>ait</i> (1)
1.643	<i>inquit</i> (2)
1.713	<i>ait</i> (2)
1.763	<i>ait</i> (1)

4.13.1.3. CONCLUDING SPEECH FORMULAE

1.58f.	<i>talibus hortatur ..., propiorque iubenti / conticuit</i> (+1- 2)
1.91	<i>Accepere ... que</i> (+1)
1.120	<i>dixit et</i> (+1)
1.156	<i>Talia conanti</i> (+1)
1.182	<i>dixerat.</i> (+1)
1.204	<i>sic fatus</i> (+1)
1.227	<i>Iamdudum ... ambage ... / terrificat;</i> (+1- 2)
1.238	<i>... canenti</i> (0) / ... / <i>Vix ea fatus erat, cum</i> (2)
1.252	<i>paretur.</i> (+1)
1.309	<i>dixerat.</i> (+1)
1.335	<i>talibus ... maeret</i> (+1)
1.348	<i>sic ait.</i> (+1)
1.528	<i>adfremit his ... -que</i> (+1)
1.568	<i>dixit et</i> (+1)
1.608	<i>Dixerat, at</i> (+1)
1.633	<i>haec iterant</i> (+1)
1.651	<i>haec ait et</i> (+1)
1.681	<i>dixerat haec.</i> (+1)
1.724f.	<i>simul ... / ... fremens</i> (0 - 1)
1.767	<i>talia per lacrimas.</i> (+1)

4.13.2. VALERIUS' ARGONAUTICA, BK. 2

4.13.2.1. INTRODUCTORY SPEECH FORMULAE

2.47f.	<i>sed pectora firmans / Hagniades</i> (0 - 1)
2.112	<i>sonat aequare clamor</i> (0)
2.126	<i>atque his vocibus implet</i> (0)
2.175f.	<i>et saevis ardens dea planctibus instat / primaque</i> (0 - 1)
2.210	<i>... gemitus fingit vocesque ...</i> (-2)
2.274	<i>talia voce canens</i> (1)
2.289	<i>et sic maesta profatur:</i> (0)
(2.321	<i>... ut auditas referens in gurgite voces)</i> (0)
2.334f.	<i>atque ... precari / hortatur causasque docens</i> (0 - 1)
2.402	<i>ingemit et tali compellat ... questu</i> (0)
2.468	<i>ductor ait:</i> (1)
2.556	<i>et ... fatur ...</i> (0)
2.591	<i>et placidis compellat ... dictis</i> (0)
2.610	<i>talibus infit</i> (0)
2.639	<i>incipit</i> (1)

4.13.2.2. INTERPOSED SPEECH FORMULAE

2.48	<i>inquit</i> (1)
2.143	<i>inquit</i> (2)
2.250	<i>ait</i> (2)
2.322	<i>ait</i> (1)
2.336	<i>ait</i> (2)
2.380	<i>ait</i> (3)
2.419	<i>ait</i> (1)
2.471	<i>inquit</i> (1)
2.574	<i>ait ... Tirynthius</i> (1)
2.656	<i>inquit</i> (1)
2.659	<i>subicit Aesonides</i> (1)

4.13.2.3. CONCLUDING SPEECH FORMULAE

2.66	<i>sic ait et ... memorat</i> (+1)
2.160	<i>sic fata querellas / abscidit et</i> (0 – 1)
2.257	<i>ait.</i> (0)
2.300	<i>dixerat.</i> (+1)
2.326	<i>dicta placent ... que</i> (+1)
2.384f.	<i>haec ubi dicta</i> (0)
2.408	<i>dixit lacrimans ... que</i> (0)
2.425	<i>sic ait</i> (+1)
2.493	<i>auxerat haec locus et</i> (+1)
2.567	<i>dixerat haec ... que</i> (+1)
2.576	<i>tum vero plura ... / adnuit</i> (0 – 1)
2.608	<i>dixerat et</i> (+1)
2.649	<i>sic memorat ... que</i> (+1)
2.663f.	<i>sic ait hasque inter variis nox plurima dictis / rapta vices nec non simili lux postera tractu</i> (+1– 2)

4.13.3. VALERIUS' ARGONAUTICA, BK. 3

4.13.3.1. INTRODUCTORY SPEECH FORMULAE

3.44	<i>vox et mediis emissa tenebris</i> (0)
3.81	<i>vociferans</i> (1)
3.103	<i>at Tydeus</i> (1)
3.200	<i>laetusque profatur</i> (0)
3.229f.	<i>saevit acerba fremens ... que ... / increpitat</i> (0 – 1)
3.269	<i>proclamat Iason</i> (0)
3.289	<i>ingemit atque fatur ...</i> (0)
3.316	<i>fatur et haec</i> (1)
3.448	<i>atque ita lustrifico cantu vocat</i> (1)
3.474f.	<i>laetus et ipse / Alcides</i> (0 – 1)
3.492	<i>tum sic adloquitur</i> (1)
3.509	<i>Ingemuit Iuno tandemque silentia rumpit</i> (0)
3.534	<i>Iuno vocat ... que ... sic blanda profatur</i> (0)
3.616	<i>simul sic fatur ad omnes</i> (0)
3.696	<i>non tamen et gemitus et inanes desinit iras / fundere</i> (0 – 1)

4.13.3.2. INTERPOSED SPEECH FORMULAE

3.103	<i>inquit</i> (1)
3.143f.	<i>Nestor / ... ait</i> (1 – 2)
3.169	<i>et ... ait</i> (1)
3.259	<i>attonito conclamat ab agmine Tiphys</i> (1)
3.373	<i>ait</i> (1)
3.377f.	<i>ait ... / Mopsus et astra tuens</i> (1 – 2)
3.649	<i>inquit</i> (1)
3.697	<i>inquit</i> (1)

4.13.3.3. CONCLUDING SPEECH FORMULAE

3.46	<i>rupta quies, (+1)</i>
3.235	<i>talibus insultans iamdudum (+1)</i>
3.262	<i>illi autem neque adhuc gemitus (+1)</i>
3.456	<i>dixerat et (+1)</i>
3.476	<i>dixit et (+1)</i>
3.521	<i>haec ait et (+1)</i>
3.545	<i>sic ait et (+1)</i>
3.628	<i>Dixerat. (+1)</i>
3.690	<i>Talibus ... urget, (+1)</i>
3.715	<i>Talibus ... terroribus urgens / inlacrimat (+1 – 2)</i>

4.13.4. VALERIUS' ARGONAUTICA, BK. 4

4.13.4.1. INTRODUCTORY SPEECH FORMULAE

4.3	<i>increpat ira</i> (0)
4.24	<i>talis ... edere voces</i> (0)
4.61	<i>et ... sic fatur</i> (0)
4.117	<i>ingemit ac tales evolvit pectore questus</i> (0)
4.157	<i>ductor ad haec</i> (1)
4.205	<i>sed tali protonat ira</i> (0)
4.239	<i>sic adeo insequitur rabidoque ita murmure terret</i> (0)
4.249	<i>at ... fatur tunc talia</i> (0)
4.351	<i>canit</i> (1)
4.466	<i>-que prior</i> (1)
4.518	<i>et mediis vox exaudita tenebris</i> (0)
4.537	<i>talibus appellat ... -que ita fatur</i> (0)
4.553	<i>tum canit</i> (1)
4.649	<i>nomine quemque premens</i> (1)
4.740	<i>et ... effatur talia</i> (Grais) (0)
4.755	<i>excipit Aesonides</i> (0)

14.13.4.2. INTERPOSED SPEECH FORMULAE

4.51	<i>inquit</i> (1)
4.79	<i>ait</i> (2)
4.140	<i>ait</i> (1)
4.145	<i>ait</i> (1)
4.161	<i>ait</i> (1)
4.191	<i>ait</i> (1)
4.327f.	<i>undique</i> (1) ... / <i>ingemant</i> (2)
4.335	<i>ait</i> (1)
4.437	<i>ait</i> (2)
4.466	<i>inquit</i> (1)
4.474	<i>-que ait</i> (1)
4.629	<i>dixit</i> (1)
4.675	<i>Aesonides</i> (2)
4.706	<i>inquit</i> (3)
4.757f.	<i>fatur et ostentans prolem Iovis ... / ... ait</i> (1- 2)

4.13.4.3. CONCLUDING SPEECH FORMULAE

4.15	<i>dixit et (+1)</i>
4.38	<i>talibus orantem dictis ...que (+1)</i>
4.54	<i>haec fatus ... que (+1)</i>
4.68	<i>dixit ubi, (+1)</i>
4.174	<i>Haec ubi ... / accipiunt (+1)</i>
4.222	<i>Talia dicta dabat, cum (+1)</i>
4.243	<i>nec plura moratus (0)</i>
4.252	<i>Dixit et (+1)</i>
4.330	<i>dumque ea dicta ferunt, (+1)</i>
4.337	<i>dixerat. (+1)</i>
4.422	<i>Dixerat et (+1)</i>
4.485	<i>sic ait et (+1)</i>
4.547	<i>(ille ducem) nec ferre preces nec dicere passus / amplius (+1 - 2)</i>
4.624b-625	<i>atque ita facto / fine dedit tacitis iterum responsa tenebris. (0 - 1)</i>
4.635	<i>dixerat. (+1)</i>
4.653f.	<i>haec ubi fatus / ... que (+1 - 2)</i>
4.675	<i>ait ... que (0)</i>
4.707b	<i>talia fundit / ... que (0-1)</i>

4.13.5. VALERIUS' ARGONAUTICA, BK. 5

4.13.5.1. INTRODUCTORY SPEECH FORMULAE

5.15f.	<i>cunctique pavore / attoniti fundunt maestas ad sidera voces (-1- 0)</i>
5.36f.	<i>sed pectore ductor ab imo talia voce gemit (0 - 1)</i>
5.193	<i>vocat et sic fatur ... (0)</i>
5.232f.	<i>exterruit ... / prodita vox (0 - 1)</i>
5.282	<i>virgo prior (1)</i>
5.286	<i>cui Iuno (1)</i>
5.352	<i>ac maesto ... adfata timore est (0)</i>
3.358	<i>tum ... dictis ... hortatur (0)</i>
5.392	<i>sic orsa vicissim (0)</i>
5.403	<i>cum comes loqui (1)</i>
5.470	<i>talia ... orsa ... (0)</i>
5.533f.	<i>fingit placidis fera pectora dictis / reddit et haec (0 - 1)</i>
5.541	<i>contra inscius astus (0)</i>
5.550	<i>crebrior incussit mentem pavor (1)</i>
5.552	<i>sic orsus ... (0)</i>
5.577	<i>expetit Aesonides ... (0)</i>
5.581	<i>contra ... (0)</i>
5.599	<i>contra autem Aeetes (1)</i>
5.623	<i>questuque ... testatur acerbo (0)</i>
5.649f.	<i>quin longa silentia ... / rumperet inridens strepitumque minasque ... (-1 - 0)</i>
5.672	<i>excipit hinc contra ... et sic voce coerces (0)</i>

4.13.5.2. INTERPOSED SPEECH FORMULAE

5.57	<i>ait</i> (18 and 21)
5.129	<i>ait</i> (1)
5.283	<i>ait</i> (2)
5.293	<i>Pallas ait</i> (2)
5.314	<i>ait</i> (2)
5.359	<i>ait</i> (1)
5.378	<i>inquit</i> (1)
5.404	<i>ait</i> (2)
5.543	<i>excipit Aesonides</i> (2)
5.582	<i>ait</i> (1)
5.587	<i>ait Aesonides</i> (1)
5.589	<i>atque hunc quoque nomine reddit</i> (0)
5.600	<i>ait</i> (2)
5.652	<i>ait</i> (2)

4.13.5.3. CONCLUDING SPEECH FORMULAE

5.21	<i>dicta dabant</i> (+1)
5.60	<i>haud mora</i> (+1)
5.131	<i>sic fatus et</i> (0)
5.210	<i>dixerat atque</i> (+1)
5.213	<i>ait</i> (0)
5.241	<i>dixit et</i> (+1)
5.253	<i>vix ea</i> (+1)
5.296	<i>talia tunc ... pro laude movebant</i> (+1)
5.325	<i>dixerat et</i> (+1)
5.356	<i>audit</i> (+1)
5.363	<i>Sic ait</i> (+1)
5.391	<i>Dixit et</i> (+1)
5.397	<i>dixerat haec ... que</i> (+1)
5.426	<i>Dixerat</i> (+1)
5.519	<i>Talibus orantem</i> (+1)
5.552	<i>omnes</i> (0)
5.558	<i>Haud mora</i> (+1)
5.596	<i>hic et ... dictis stupet ... acerbis</i> (+1)
5.615	<i>fatur et</i> (+1)
5.649	<i>Non tulit haec</i> (+1)
5.670f.	<i>cooperat ... / hic iterum alternis... insurgere dictis</i> (0 - 1)
5.690	<i>Dixerat</i> (+1)

4.13.6. VALERIUS' ARGONAUTICA, BK. 6

4.13.6.1. INTRODUCTORY SPEECH FORMULAE

6.212	<i>et superos sic voce precatur</i> (0)
6.267	<i>et prior</i> (1)
6.281	<i>increpat et ... sic urget ...</i> (0)
6.287	<i>et coeptis ... advocat (umbras)</i> (0)
6.307f.	<i>contra sic ... / ... refert</i> (0 – 1)
6.323	<i>territat his</i> (1)
6.458f.	<i>ac prior ... dictis / adgreditur ...</i> (-1 – 0)
6.496	<i>et has imo referebat pectore voces</i> (0)
6.587	<i>tunc his ... adgreditur ... dictis</i> (0)
6.590f.	<i>contra aspera luno / reddit agens stimulis ac diris fraudibus urget</i> (-1 – 0)
6.623	<i>talibus aegra movens nequiquam pectora curis</i> (0)
6.646	<i>saeva sic fatus voce Colaxes</i> (0)
6.675	<i>ac prior his</i> (1)
6.726	<i>his caelum questibus implet</i> (0)
6.741	<i>et secum</i> (1)

4.13.6.2. INTERPOSED SPEECH FORMULAE

6.29	<i>conclamat equis</i> (1)
6.269	<i>ait</i> (3)
6.274	<i>inquit</i> (1)
6.305	<i>-que ... inquit</i> (1)
6.373	<i>inquit</i> (1)
6.461	<i>ait</i> (2)
6.475	<i>ait</i> (1)
6.482	<i>inquit</i> (1)
6.536	<i>inquit</i> (1)
6.547	<i>ait</i> (1)
6.592	<i>ait</i> (1)

4.13.6.3. CONCLUDING SPEECH FORMULAE

6.217	<i>dixerat, ... sed</i> (+1)
6.277	<i>dixerat, ... cum</i> (+1)
6.292	<i>haec ait auditusque ...</i> (+1)
6.307	<i>dixit</i> (0)
6.315	<i>dixerat</i> (+1)
6.340	<i>dixit et</i> (+1)
6.488	<i>illa nihil contra. nec enim dea passa ... que</i> (+1)
6.503	<i>dixerat.</i> (+1)
6.540	<i>sic ait ... que</i> (+1)
6.550	<i>dixit et</i> (+1)
6.600	<i>tantum effata ... suadet</i> (+1)
6.629	<i>... sic fatus ...</i> (0)
6.648	<i>ait ... que</i> (0)
6.679	<i>haec fantem medio in sermone reliquit</i> (0)
6.736	<i>dixerat haec ... que</i> (+1)
6.745	<i>haec dicens ...</i> (+1)

4.13.7. VALERIUS' ARGONAUTICA, BK. 7

4.13.7.1. INTRODUCTORY SPEECH SPEECH FORMULAE

7.7f.	<i>fateri / ausa sibi ... medio sic fata dolore est</i> (0)
7.34	<i>taliq̄ue effunditur ira</i> (0)
7.127	<i>semet sic increpat ira</i> (0)
7.171	<i>sic fatur</i> (0)
7.197	<i>maeret et ... talia fatur</i> (0)
7.217	<i>ac prior</i> (1)
7.237	<i>contra iamdudum sp̄nere voces</i> (0)
7.256f.	<i>variis ... vocibus ambit / inque alio sermone tenet</i> (0 – 1)
7.384	<i>his vocibus haesit</i> (0)
7.412	<i>has tandem voces dedit et solatus ...</i> (0)
7.436	<i>fatur</i> (0)
7.476	<i>profatur</i> (0)
7.514	<i>et mora dictis / redditur ac rursus conterret ...</i> (-1 – 0)
7.531	<i>ait</i> (0)

4.13.7.2. INTERPOSED SPEECH FORMULAE

7.89	<i>ait</i> (1)
7.128	<i>ait</i> (1)
7.238	<i>inquit</i> (1)
7.257	<i>ait</i> (1)
7.266	<i>ait</i> (1)
7.331	<i>ait</i> (1)
7.339	<i>ait</i> (2)
7.413	<i>ait</i> (1)
7.467	<i>inquit</i> (1)
7.490	<i>ait</i> (1)
7.546	<i>dixit ... que</i> (1)

4.13.7.3. CONCLUDING SPEECH FORMULAE

7.78	<i>... vocem mirata</i> (+1)
7.101	<i>Talibus attonitos dictis</i> (+1)
7.141	<i>dixerat haec ... que</i> (+1)
7.210	<i>Dixerat.</i> (+1)
7.237	<i>... voces</i> (+1)
7.251	<i>talia verba dabat ... que</i> (+1)
7.333	<i>haec dicens</i> (0)
7.349	<i>haec ubi fata</i> (0)
7.388	<i>illa nihil contra vocesque abrumpit inanes.</i> (+1)
7.431	<i>Haec ait.</i> (+1)
7.456	<i>dixerat.</i> (+1)
7.472	<i>sic deinde locuta</i> (0)
7.488f.	<i>protinus ... ad haec</i> (+1)
7.509	<i>audiit atque</i> (+1)
7.522	<i>dixerat utque ... doceat</i> (+1)
7.530	<i>exclamat</i> (+1)
7.537	<i>sic fata</i> (0)
7.553	<i>fatur et</i> (+1)

4.13.8. VALERIUS' ARGONAUTICA, BK. 8

4.13.8.1. INTRODUCTORY SPEECH FORMULAE

8.9	<i>atque haec ... gemuit ...</i> (0)
8.36	<i>blandoque prior sic ore locutus</i> (0)
8.45	<i>Contra ... novis iterum singultibus orsa est</i> (0)
8.59	<i>reddit ... talia ...</i> (0)
8.69	<i>carmina ... fundens ... ciebat</i> (0)
8.94	<i>flevit ...</i> (0)
8.143	<i>impletque ululatibus auras</i> (0)
8.177	<i>sic fatur ...</i> (0)
8.197	<i>reddidit Aesonides</i> (1)
8.263f.	<i>premens clamore ... / atque</i> (0 – 1)
8.336	<i>hortatur ...</i> (0)
8.414	<i>mox talibus infit</i> (0)
8.466	<i>gemens et ... dictis</i> (0)

4.13.8.2. INTERPOSED SPEECH FORMULAE

8.111	<i>ait</i> (2)
8.145	<i>clamat</i> (2)
8.178	<i>ait</i> (1)

4.13.8.3. CONCLUDING SPEECH FORMULAE

8.16	<i>dixit et</i> (+1)
8.44	<i>sic ait et</i> (+1)
8.54	<i>Haec ait atque</i> (+1)
8.59	<i>ait,</i> (0)
8.67	<i>ille silet,</i> (+1)
8.112	<i>nec mora fit</i> (+1)
8.171	<i>sic ... similique implet ... omnia questu / exululans</i> (+1– 2)
8.195	<i>haec ait</i> (+1)
8.285	<i>Dixerat atque orans iterum</i> (+1)
8.356	<i>dixit et</i> (+1)
8.444	<i>sic fata</i> (0)

V. APPENDIX: APPOLLONIUS RHODIUS' ARGONAUTICA

5.1. OVERVIEW

Book	No. of Speakers	Length (Verses)	OR. (%)	Different Speakers	Av. Speech Length	M	D	S	G
1	27	267	15.73 %	14	9.89	10	6	2	9
2	31	422	24.87 %	14	13.61	8	19	1	3
3	49	552	32.53 %	12	11.27	7	19	3	20
4	35	456	26.87 %	18	13.03	12	15	4	4
Total	142	1697	100 %	44	Ø 11.95	37	59	10	36

5.2. SPEECH DISTRIBUTION (NO. OF SPEECHES)

Book	Humans	Deities	Men	Women	Mortal Men	Mortal Women	Gods	Goddesses	Abstract	Total
1	26	1	18	9	17	9	1	0	0	27
2	30	1	30	1	30	0	0	1	0	31
3	35	13	21	27	21	14	0	13	1	49
4	24	10	18	16	16	8	2	8	1	35
Total	115	25	87	53	84	31	3	22	2	142

5.3. DIFFERENT SPEAKERS

Book	Humans	Deities	Men	Women	Mortal Men	Mortal Women	Gods	Goddesses	Abstract	Total
1	13	1	9	5	8	5	1	0	0	14
2	13	1	13	1	13	0	0	1	0	14
3	8	3	6	5	6	2	0	3	1	12
4	10	7	9	8	8	2	1	6	1	18
Total	31	11	25	17	23	8	2	9	2	44

5.4. SPEECHES LENGTH (VV.)

Book	Humans	Deities	Men	Women	Mortal Men	Mortal Women	Gods	Goddesses	Abstract	Total
1	256	11	148	119	137	119	11	0	0	267
2	419	3	419	3	419	0	0	3	0	422
3	459	87	280	266	280	179	0	87	6	552
4	301	150	198	253	177	124	21	129	5	456
Total	1435	251	1045	641	1013	422	32	219	11	1697

5.5. SPEECH PERCENTAGES (%)

Book	Humans	Deities	Men	Women	Mortal Men	Mortal Women	Gods	Goddesses	Abstract	Total
1	95.88 %	4.12 %	55.43 %	44.57 %	51.31 %	44.57 %	4.12 %	0.00 %	0.00 %	15.73%
2	99.29 %	0.71 %	99.29 %	0.71 %	99.29 %	0.00 %	0.00 %	0.71 %	0.00 %	24.87%
3	83.15 %	15.76 %	50.72 %	48.19 %	50.72 %	32.43 %	0.00 %	15.76 %	1.09 %	32.53%
4	66.01 %	32.89 %	43.42 %	55.48 %	38.82 %	27.19 %	4.61 %	28.29 %	1.10 %	26.87%
Total	84.56%	14.79%	61.58%	37.77%	59.69%	24.87%	1.89%	12.91%	0.65%	100.00%

5.6. AVERAGE SPEECH LENGTH (VV.)

Book	Humans	Deities	Men	Women	Mortal Men	Mortal Women	Gods	Goddesses	Abstract	Total
1	9.85	11	8.22	13.22	8.06	13.22	11	0	0	9.89
2	13.97	3	13.97	3	13.97	0	0	3	0	13.61
3	13.11	6.69	13.33	9.85	13.33	12.79	0	6.69	6	11.27
4	12.54	15	11	15.81	11.06	15.50	10.50	16.13	6	13.03
Total	Ø 12.48	Ø 10.04	Ø 12.01	Ø 12.09	Ø 12.06	Ø 13.61	Ø 10.67	Ø 9.95	Ø 5.50	Ø 11.95

5.7. SPEECH CLUSTERS

5.7.1. MONOLOGUES

Book	Humans	Deities	Men	Women	Mortal Men	Mortal Women	Gods	Goddesses	Abstract	Total
1	9	1	7	3	6	3	1	0	0	10
2	7	1	7	1	7	0	0	1	0	8
3	4	2	2	4	2	2	0	2	1	7
4	8	3	5	6	5	3	0	3	1	12
Total	28	7	21	14	20	8	1	6	2	37

5.7.2. DIALOGUES

Book	Humans	Deities	Men	Women	Mortal Men	Mortal Women	Gods	Goddesses	Abstract	Total
1	6	0	4	2	4	2	0	0	0	6
2	19	0	19	0	19	0	0	0	0	19
3	15	4	6	13	6	9	0	4	0	19
4	9	6	8	7	6	3	2	4	0	15
Total	49	10	37	22	35	14	2	8	0	59

5.7.3. SOLILOQUIES

Book	Humans	Deities	Men	Women	Mortal Men	Mortal Women	Gods	Goddesses	Abstract	Total
1	2	0	1	1	1	1	0	0	0	2
2	1	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	1
3	3	0	0	3	0	3	0	0	0	3
4	3	1	2	2	2	1	0	1	0	4
Total	9	1	4	6	4	5	0	1	0	10

5.7.4. GENERAL INTERLOCUTIONS

Book	Humans	Deities	Men	Women	Mortal Men	Mortal Women	Gods	Goddesses	Abstract	Total
1	9	0	6	3	6	3	0	0	0	9
2	3	0	3	0	3	0	0	0	0	3
3	13	7	13	7	13	0	0	7	0	20
4	4	0	3	1	3	1	0	0	0	4
Total	29	7	25	11	25	4	0	7	0	36

5.8. SPEECHES BY BOOKS

5.8.1. APOLLONIUS RHODIUS' ARGONAUTICA, BK.1

No.	Speaker	Book Lines	Length (Verses)	Addressee(s)	Speech Type	Speech Cluster
1	οἱ ἄνδρες	1.242-6	5		Del	S
2	αἱ γυναῖκες	1.251-9	9		Lam	S
3	Alkimedede	1.278-91	14	Jason	Far, Lam	D1
4	Jason	1.295-305	11	Alkimedede	Far, Con	D2
5	Jason	1.332-40	9	Argonauts	Per	G1
6	Herakles	1.345-7	3	Argonauts	Per	G2
7	Jason	1.351-62	12	Argonauts	Inf, Mes, Req	G3
8	Jason	1.411-24	14	Apollo	Pra	M
9	Idmon	1.440-7	8	Argonauts	Ora	M
10	Idas	1.463-71	9	Jason	Vit, Thr	G1
11	Idmon	1.476-84	9	Idas	Vit, Thr	G2
12	Idas	1.487-91	5	Idmon	Vit, Thr	G3
13	Hypsipyle	1.657-66	10	Lemnian women	Per, Req	G1
14	Polyxo	1.675-96	22	Lemnian women	Per	G2
15	Hypsipyle	1.700-1	2	Lemnian women	Inf, Per	G3
16	Hypsipyle	1.703-7	5	Iphinoe	Req, Mes	M
17	Iphinoe	1.712-6	5	Argonauts	Mes	M
18	Hypsipyle	1.793-833	41	Jason	Nar, Per, Inv	M
19	Herakles	1.865-74	10	Argonauts	Vit, Exh	M
20	Hypsipyle	1.888-98	11	Jason	Far, Req	D1
21	Jason	1.900-9	10	Hypsipyle	Far, Vow, Req	D2
22	Mopsos	1.1092-102	11	Jason	Ora	M
23	Polyphemos	1.1257-60	4	Herakles	Nar, Inf	M
24	Telamon	1.1290-5	6	Jason	Vit	M
25	Glaukos	1.1315-25	11	Argonauts	Ora	M
26	Telamon	1.1332-5	4	Jason	Per, Req	D1
27	Jason	1.1337-43	7	Telamon	Res, Des	D2

5.8.2. APOLLONIUS RHODIUS' ARGONAUTICA, BK.2

No.	Speaker	Book Lines	Length (Verses)	Addressee(s)	Speech Type	Speech Cluster
1	Amykos	2.11-8	8	Argonauts	Cha, Thr	D1
2	Polydeukes	2.22-4	3	Amykos	Res	D2
3	Amykos	2.55-9	5	Polydeukes	Cha, Tau	M
4	Argonauts	2.145-53	9		Del, Lam	S
5	Phineus	2.209-39	31	Argonauts	Lam, Req, Ora	D1
6	Zetes	2.244-53	10	Phineus	Res	D2
7	Phineus	2.256-61	6	Zetes	Per, Vow	D3
8	Iris	2.288-90	3	Zetes, Calais	Vit, Vow	M
9	Phineus	2.311-407	99	Argonauts	Ora	M
10	Jason	2.411-8	8	Phineus	Que	D1
11	Phineus	2.420-5	6	Jason	Ora, Req	D2
12	Jason	2.438-42	5	Phineus	Per, Des	D3
13	Phineus	2.444-7	4	Jason	Lam, Des	D4
14	Phineus	2.468-89	22	Argonauts	Nar	M
15	Tiphys	2.611-8	8	Jason, Argonauts	Exh	D1
16	Jason	2.622-37	16	Tiphys	Lam	D2
17	Jason	2.641-7	7	Argonauts	Lau, Vow	D3
18	Orpheus	2.686-93	8	Argonauts	Per, Des	M
19	Lykos	2.774-810	37	Argonauts	Nar	M
20	Ankaios	2.869-77	9	Peleus	Per	G1
21	Peleus	2.880-4	5	Argonauts	Per, Exh	G2
22	Jason	2.886-93	8	Peleus	Lam	G3
23	Amphidamas	2.1047-67	21	Argonauts	Per, Exh	M
24	Argos	2.1123-33	11	Argonauts	Gre, Req	D1
25	Jason	2.1136-9	4	Argos	Res	D2
26	Argos	2.1141-56	17	Jason	Res	D3
27	Jason	2.1160-7	8	Argos	Inf	D4
28	Jason	2.1179-95	17	Phrixos' Sons	Per, Req	D5
29	Argos	2.1200-15	16	Argonauts	Res	D6
30	Peleus	2.1219-25	7	Argos	Exh	D7
31	Ankaios	2.1277-80	4	Argonauts	Exh, Que	M

5.8.3. APOLLONIUS RHODIUS' ARGONAUTICA, BK.3

No.	Speaker	Book Lines	Length (Verses)	Addressee(s)	Speech Type	Speech Cluster
1	Hera	3.11-6	6	Athene	Per, Que	D1
2	Athene	3.18-21	4	Hera	Res	D2
3	Hera	3.25-9	5	Athene	Per, Exh	D3
4	Athene	3.32-5	4	Hera	Res	D4
5	Kypris	3.52-4	3	Hera, Athene	Que	G1
6	Hera	3.56-75	20	Kypris	Res	G2
7	Kypris	3.79-82	4	Hera	Res	G3
8	Hera	3.84-9	6	Kypris	Per, Req	G4
9	Kypris	3.91-9	9	Hera, Athene	Lam, Nar	G5
10	Kypris	3.102-5	4	Hera, Athene	Lam, Vow	G6
11	Hera	3.108-10	3	Kypris	Exh, Req	G7
12	Kypris	3.129-44	16	Eros	Req, Vow	M
13	Kypris	3.151-3	3	Eros	Vow	M
14	Jason	3.171-93	23	Argonauts	Per, Req	M
15	Chalkiope	3.260-7	8	Phrixos' Sons	Lam	M
16	Aietes	3.304-16	13	Phrixos' Sons	Req	G1
17	Argos	3.320-66	47	Aietes	Nar	G2
18	Aietes	3.372-81	10	Phrixos' Sons	Vit, Thr	G3
19	Jason	3.386-95	10	Aietes	Per, Req	G4
20	Aietes	3.401-21	21	Jason	Cha, Vow	G5
21	Jason	3.427-31	5	Aietes	Res	G6
22	Aietes	3.434-8	5	Jason	Req, Tau	G7
23	Medeia	3.464-70	7		Lam, Des	S
24	Argos	3.475-83	9	Jason	Per	D1
25	Jason	3.485-8	4	Argos	Lam, Req	D2
26	Jason	3.492-501	10	Argonauts	Inf	G1
27	Peleus	3.506-14	9	Jason, Argonauts	Per	G2
28	Argos	3.523-39	17	Argonauts	Per	G3
29	Mopsos	3.545-54	10	Argonauts	Ora	G4
30	Idas	3.558-63	6	Argonauts	Vit	G5

31	Jason	3.568-71	4	Argonauts	Per, Req	G6
32	Medeia	3.636-44	9		Del	S
33	Chalkiope	3.674-80	7	Medeia	Lam, Que	D1
34	Medeia	3.688-92	5	Chalkiope	Lam, Des	D2
35	Chalkiope	3.697-704	8	Medeia	Req	D3
36	Medeia	3.711-7	7	Chalkiope	Res	D4
37	Chalkiope	3.719-23	5	Medeia	Per, Req	D5
38	Medeia	3.727-39	13	Chalkiope	Res	D6
39	Medeia	3.771-801	31		Lam, Del	S
40	Medeia	3.891-911	21	αἱ δμῶαι	Per, Req	M
41	ἡ κορώνη	3.932-7	6	Mopsus	Vit, Tau	M
42	Mopsos	3.940-6	7	Jason, Argos	Ora	M
43	Jason	3.975-1007	33	Medeia	Per	D1
44	Medeia	3.1026-62	37	Jason	Inf, Req	D2
45	Medeia	3.1069-76	8	Jason	Req, Que	D3
46	Jason	3.1079-101	23	Medeia	Inf, Vow	D4
47	Medeia	3.1105-17	13	Jason	Lam, Req	D5
48	Jason	3.1120-30	11	Medeia	Vow	D6
49	Jason	3.1143-5	3	Medeia	Far	D7

5.8.4. APOLLONIUS RHODIUS' ARGONAUTICA, BK.4

No.	Speaker	Book Lines	Length (Verses)	Addressee(s)	Speech Type	Speech Cluster
1	Medeia	4.30-3	4		Far, Lam	S
2	Mene	4.57-65	9		Del, Tau	S
3	Medeia	4.83-91	9	Phrontis, Argos	Per	G1
4	Jason	4.95-8	4	Medeia	Vow	G2
5	Jason	4.190-205	16	Argonauts	Per, Exh	M
6	Argos	4.257-93	37	Argonauts	Nar, Inf	M
7	Medeia	4.355-90	36	Jason	Vit, Lam	D1
8	Jason	4.395-409	15	Medeia	Per	D2
9	Medeia	4.411-20	10	Jason	Per, Req	D3
10	Peleus	4.495-502	8	Argonauts	Per	M
11	Kirke	4.739-48	10	Medeia	Vit, Per	M
12	Hera	4.757-69	13	Iris	Req, Mes	M
13	Hera	4.783-832	50	Thetis	Nar, Req	D1
14	Thetis	4.834-41	8	Hera	Res	D2
15	Thetis	4.856-64	9	Peleus	Exh, Req	M
16	Medeia	4.1014-28	15	Arete	Req	M
17	Medeia	4.1031-52	22	Argonauts	Req	M
18	Arete	4.1073-95	23	Alkinoos	Per, Req	D1
19	Alkinoos	4.1098-109	12	Arete	Res	D2
20	Argonauts	4.1251-8	8		Lam, Del	S
21	Ankaios	4.1261-76	16	Argonauts	Lam	M
22	Λιβύης τιμήσοι	4.1318-29	12	Jason	Exh, Ora	D1
23	Jason	4.1333-6	4	Λιβύης τιμήσοι	Pra, Inf	D2
24	Jason	4.1347-62	16	Argonauts	Nar, Mes	G1
25	Peleus	4.1370-9	10	Argonauts	Ora, Inf	G2
26	Orpheus	4.1411-21	11	Ἑσπερίδες	Pra	D1
27	Aigle	4.1432-49	18	Argonauts	Nar, Inf	D2
28	Argonauts	4.1458-60	3		Lau, Des	S
29	Triton (as young man)	4.1554-61	8	Argonauts	Gre, Vow	D1
30	Euphemus	4.1564-70	7	Triton (as young man)	Req, Que	D2
31	Triton (as young man)	4.1573-85	13	Euphemus	Inf, Exh	D3
32	Jason	4.1597-600	4	Triton	Pra	D4
33	Medeia	4.1654-8	5	Argonauts	Per, Req	M
34	ἡ γυνή	4.1741-5	5	Euphemus	Ora, Req	M
35	Jason	4.1749-54	6	Euphemus	Res	M

5.9. DIFFERENT SPEAKERS

5.9.1 SUMMARY

No.	Speaker	No. of Speeches	Book	Length (Verses)	%	Speech Cluster
1	Jason	31	4B (1,2,3,4)	327	19.27 %	4M, 18D, 9G
2	Medeia	17	2B (3,4)	252	14.85 %	4M, 8D, 4S, 1G
3	Phineus	6	1B (2)	168	9.90 %	2M, 4D
4	Argos	7	3B (2,3,4)	154	9.07 %	1M, 4D, 2G
5	Hera	7	2B (3,4)	103	6.07 %	1M, 3D, 3G
6	Hypsipyle	5	1B (1)	69	4.07 %	2M, 1D, 2G
7	Aietes	4	1B (3)	49	2.89 %	4G
8	Kypris	6	1B (3)	39	2.30 %	2M, 4G
9	Peleus	5	3B (2,3,4)	39	2.30 %	1M, 1D, 3G
10	Lykos	1	1B (2)	37	2.18 %	M
11	Ankaios	3	2B (2,4)	29	1.71 %	2M, 1G
12	Chalkiope	4	1B (3)	28	1.65 %	1M, 3D
13	Mopsos	3	2B (1,3)	28	1.65 %	2M, 1G
14	Arete	1	1B (4)	23	1.36 %	D1
15	Polyxo	1	1B (1)	22	1.30 %	G2
16	Amphidamas	1	1B (2)	21	1.24 %	M
17	Triton (as young man)	2	1B (4)	21	1.24 %	2D
18	Argonauts	3	2B (2,4)	20	1.18 %	3S
19	Idas	3	2B (1,3)	20	1.18 %	3G
20	Orpheus	2	2B (2,4)	19	1.12 %	1M, 1D
21	Aigle	1	1B (4)	18	1.06 %	D2
22	Idmon	2	1B (1)	17	1.00 %	1M, 1G
23	Thetis	2	1B (4)	17	1.00 %	1M, 1D
24	Alkimedea	1	1B (1)	14	0.82 %	D1
25	Amykos	2	1B (2)	13	0.77 %	1M, 1D

26	Herakles	2	1B (1)	13	0.77 %	1M, 1G
27	Alkinoos	1	1B (4)	12	0.71 %	D2
28	Λιβύης τιμήφοροι	1	1B (4)	12	0.71 %	D1
29	Glaukos	1	1B (1)	11	0.65 %	M
30	Kirke	1	1B (4)	10	0.59 %	M
31	Telamon	2	1B (1)	10	0.59 %	1M, 1D
32	Zetes	1	1B (2)	10	0.59 %	D2
33	Mene	1	1B (4)	9	0.53 %	S
34	αί γυναίκες	1	1B (1)	9	0.53 %	S
35	Athene	2	1B (3)	8	0.47 %	2D
36	Tiphys	1	1B (2)	8	0.47 %	D1
37	Euphemus	1	1B (4)	7	0.41 %	D2
38	ή κορώνη	1	1B (3)	6	0.35 %	M
39	Iphinoe	1	1B (1)	5	0.29 %	M
40	ή γυνή	1	1B (4)	5	0.29 %	M
41	οί άνδρες	1	1B (1)	5	0.29 %	S
42	Polyphemos	1	1B (1)	4	0.24 %	M
43	Iris	1	1B (2)	3	0.18 %	M
44	Polydeukes	1	1B (2)	3	0.18 %	D2

5.9.2. FULL DETAILS

No.	Speaker	No. of Speeches	Book Lines	Length (Verses)	Speech Cluster
1	Jason		3.975-1007	33	D1
	Jason		3.171-93	23	M
	Jason		3.1079-101	23	D4
	Jason		2.1179-95	17	D5
	Jason		2.622-37	16	D2
	Jason		4.190-205	16	M
	Jason		4.1347-62	16	G1
	Jason		4.395-409	15	D2
	Jason		1.411-24	14	M
	Jason		1.351-62	12	G3
	Jason		1.295-305	11	D2
	Jason		3.1120-30	11	D6
	Jason		1.900-9	10	D2
	Jason		3.386-95	10	G4
	Jason		3.492-501	10	G1
	Jason		1.332-40	9	G1
	Jason		2.411-8	8	D1
	Jason		2.886-93	8	G3
	Jason		2.1160-7	8	D4
	Jason		1.1337-43	7	D2
	Jason		2.641-7	7	D3
	Jason		4.1749-54	6	M
	Jason		2.438-42	5	D3
	Jason		3.427-31	5	G6
	Jason		2.1136-9	4	D2
	Jason		3.485-8	4	D2
	Jason		3.568-71	4	G6
	Jason		4.95-8	4	G2
	Jason		4.1333-6	4	D2
	Jason		4.1597-600	4	D4
	Jason		3.1143-5	3	D7
	Jason	(31)	4B (1,2,3,4)	327	4M, 18D, 9G

No.	Speaker	No. of Speeches	Book Lines	Length (Verses)	Speech Cluster
2	Medeia		3.1026-62	37	D2
	Medeia		4.355-90	36	D1
	Medeia		3.771-801	31	S
	Medeia		4.1031-52	22	M
	Medeia		3.891-911	21	M
	Medeia		4.1014-28	15	M
	Medeia		3.727-39	13	D6
	Medeia		3.1105-17	13	D5
	Medeia		4.411-20	10	D3
	Medeia		3.636-44	9	S
	Medeia		4.83-91	9	G1
	Medeia		3.1069-76	8	D3
	Medeia		3.464-70	7	S
	Medeia		3.711-7	7	D4
	Medeia		3.688-92	5	D2
	Medeia		4.1654-8	5	M
	Medeia		4.30-3	4	S
	Medeia	(17)	2B (3,4)	252	4M, 8D, 4S, 1G
3	Phineus		2.311-407	99	M
	Phineus		2.209-39	31	D1
	Phineus		2.468-89	22	M
	Phineus		2.256-61	6	D3
	Phineus		2.420-5	6	D2
	Phineus		2.444-7	4	D4
	Phineus	(6)	1B (2)	168	2M, 4D
4	Argos		3.320-66	47	G2
	Argos		4.257-93	37	M
	Argos		2.1141-56	17	D3
	Argos		3.523-39	17	G3
	Argos		2.1200-15	16	D6
	Argos		2.1123-33	11	D1
	Argos		3.475-83	9	D1
	Argos	(7)	3B (2,3,4)	154	1M, 4D, 2G

No.	Speaker	No. of Speeches	Book Lines	Length (Verses)	Speech Cluster
5	Hera		4.783-832	50	D1
	Hera		3.56-75	20	G2
	Hera		4.757-69	13	M
	Hera		3.11-6	6	D1
	Hera		3.84-9	6	G4
	Hera		3.25-9	5	D3
	Hera		3.108-10	3	G7
	Hera	(7)	2B (3,4)	103	1M, 3D, 3G
6	Hypsipyle		1.793-833	41	M
	Hypsipyle		1.888-98	11	D1
	Hypsipyle		1.657-66	10	G1
	Hypsipyle		1.703-7	5	M
	Hypsipyle		1.700-1	2	G3
	Hypsipyle	(5)	1B (1)	69	2M, 1D, 2G
7	Aietes		3.401-21	21	G5
	Aietes		3.304-16	13	G1
	Aietes		3.372-81	10	G3
	Aietes		3.434-8	5	G7
	Aietes	(4)	1B (3)	49	4G
8	Kypris		3.129-44	16	M
	Kypris		3.91-9	9	G5
	Kypris		3.79-82	4	G3
	Kypris		3.102-5	4	G6
	Kypris		3.52-4	3	G1
	Kypris		3.151-3	3	M
	Kypris	(6)	1B (3)	39	2M, 4G
9	Peleus		4.1370-9	10	G2
	Peleus		3.506-14	9	G2
	Peleus		4.495-502	8	M
	Peleus		2.1219-25	7	D7
	Peleus		2.880-4	5	G2
	Peleus	(5)	3B (2,3,4)	39	1M, 1D, 3G

No.	Speaker	No. of Speeches	Book Lines	Length (Verses)	Speech Cluster
10	Lykos	(1)	2.774-810	37	M
11	Ankaios		4.1261-76	16	M
	Ankaios		2.869-77	9	G1
	Ankaios		2.1277-80	4	M
	Ankaios	(3)	2B (2,4)	29	2M, 1G
12	Chalkiope		3.260-7	8	M
	Chalkiope		3.697-704	8	D3
	Chalkiope		3.674-80	7	D1
	Chalkiope		3.719-23	5	D5
	Chalkiope	(4)	1B (3)	28	1M, 3D
13	Mopsos		1.1092-102	11	M
	Mopsos		3.545-54	10	G4
	Mopsos		3.940-6	7	M
	Mopsos	(3)	2B (1,3)	28	2M, 1G
14	Arete	(1)	4.1073-95	23	D1
16	Amphidamas	(1)	2.1047-67	21	M
17	Triton (as young man)		4.1573-85	13	D3
	Triton (as young man)		4.1554-61	8	D1
	Triton (as young man)	(2)	1B (4)	21	2D
18	Argonauts		2.145-53	9	S
	Argonauts		4.1251-8	8	S
	Argonauts		4.1458-60	3	S
	Argonauts	(3)	2B (2,4)	20	3S
19	Idas		1.463-71	9	G1
	Idas		3.558-63	6	G5
	Idas		1.487-91	5	G3
	Idas	(3)	2B (1,3)	20	3G

No.	Speaker	No. of Speeches	Book Lines	Length (Verses)	Speech Cluster
20	Orpheus		4.1411-21	11	D1
	Orpheus		2.686-93	8	M
	Orpheus	(2)	2B (2,4)	19	1M, 1D
21	Aigle	(1)	4.1432-49	18	D2
22	Idmon		1.476-84	9	G2
	Idmon		1.440-7	8	M
	Idmon	(2)	1B (1)	17	1M, 1G
23	Thetis		4.856-64	9	M
	Thetis		4.834-41	8	D2
	Thetis	(2)	1B (4)	17	1M, 1D
24	Alkimedede	(1)	1.278-91	14	D1
25	Amykos		2.11-8	8	D1
	Amykos		2.55-9	5	M
	Amykos	(2)	1B (2)	13	1M, 1D
26	Herakles		1.865-74	10	M
	Herakles		1.345-7	3	G2
	Herakles	(2)	1B (1)	13	1M, 1G
27	Alkinoos	(1)	4.1098-109	12	D2
28	Λιβύης τιμήγοροι	(1)	4.1318-29	12	D1
29	Glaukos	(1)	1.1315-25	11	M
30	Kirke	(1)	4.739-48	10	M
31	Telamon		1.1290-5	6	M
	Telamon		1.1332-5	4	D1
	Telamon	(2)	1B (1)	10	1M, 1D

No.	Speaker	No. of Speeches	Book Lines	Length (Verses)	Speech Cluster
32	Zetes	(1)	2.244-53	10	D2
33	Mene	(1)	4.57-65	9	S
34	αἱ γυναῖκες	(1)	1.251-9	9	S
35	Athene		3.18-21	4	D2
	Athene		3.32-5	4	D4
	Athene	(2)	1B (3)	8	2D
36	Tiphys	(1)	2.611-8	8	D1
37	Euphemus	(1)	4.1564-70	7	D2
38	ἡ κορώνη	(1)	3.932-7	6	M
39	Iphinoe	(1)	1.712-6	5	M
40	ἡ γυνή	(1)	4.1741-5	5	M
41	οἱ ἄνδρες	(1)	1.242-6	5	S
42	Polyphemus	(1)	1.1257-60	4	M
43	Iris	(1)	2.288-90	3	M
44	Polydeukes	(1)	2.22-4	3	D2

5.10. SPEECHES BY CHARACTERS

5.10.1. HUMANS

5.10.1.1. CHARACTERS WHO SPEAK ONCE

No.	Speaker	No. of Speeches	Book Lines	Length (Verses)	Speech Cluster
1	Alkimedede	(1)	1.278-91	14	D1
2	Alkinoos	(1)	4.1098-109	12	D2
3	Amphidamas	(1)	2.1047-67	21	M
4	Arete	(1)	4.1073-95	23	D1
5	Euphemus	(1)	4.1564-70	7	D2
6	Iphinoe	(1)	1.712-6	5	M
7	Lykos	(1)	2.774-810	37	M
8	Polydeukes	(1)	2.22-4	3	D2
9	Polyphemus	(1)	1.1257-60	4	M
10	Polyxo	(1)	1.675-96	22	G2
11	Tiphys	(1)	2.611-8	8	D1
12	Zetes	(1)	2.244-53	10	D2
13	αἱ γυναῖκες	(1)	1.251-9	9	S
14	οἱ ἄνδρες	(1)	1.242-6	5	S

5.10.1.2. CHARACTERS WHO SPEAK TWICE

No.	Speaker	No. of Speeches	Book Lines	Length (Verses)	Speech Cluster
1	Amykos		2.11-8	8	D1
	Amykos		2.55-9	5	M
	Amykos	(2)	1B (2)	13	1M, 1D
2	Herakles		1.345-7	3	G2
	Herakles		1.865-74	10	M
	Herakles	(2)	1B (1)	13	1M, 1G
3	Idmon		1.440-7	8	M
	Idmon		1.476-84	9	G2
	Idmon	(2)	1B (1)	17	1M, 1G
4	Orpheus		2.686-93	8	M
	Orpheus		4.1411-21	11	D1
	Orpheus	(2)	2B (2,4)	19	1M, 1D
5	Telamon		1.1290-5	6	M
	Telamon		1.1332-5	4	D1
	Telamon	(2)	1B (1)	10	1M, 1D

5.10.1.3. CHARACTERS WHO SPEAK MULTIPLE TIMES

No.	Speaker	No. of Speeches	Book Lines	Length (Verses)	Speech Cluster
1	Ankaios		2.869-77	9	G1
	Ankaios		2.1277-80	4	M
	Ankaios		4.1261-76	16	M
	Ankaios	(3)	2B (2,4)	29	2M, 1G
2	Argonauts		2.145-53	9	S
	Argonauts		4.1251-8	8	S
	Argonauts		4.1458-60	3	S
	Argonauts	(3)	2B (2,4)	20	3S
3	Idas		1.463-71	9	G1
	Idas		1.487-91	5	G3
	Idas		3.558-63	6	G5
	Idas	(3)	2B (1,3)	20	3G
4	Mopsos		1.1092-102	11	M
	Mopsos		3.545-54	10	G4
	Mopsos		3.940-6	7	M
	Mopsos	(3)	2B (1,3)	28	2M, 1G
5	Aietes		3.304-16	13	G1
	Aietes		3.372-81	10	G3
	Aietes		3.401-21	21	G5
	Aietes		3.434-8	5	G7
	Aietes	(4)	1B (3)	49	4G
6	Chalkiope		3.260-7	8	M
	Chalkiope		3.674-80	7	D1
	Chalkiope		3.697-704	8	D3
	Chalkiope		3.719-23	5	D5
	Chalkiope	(4)	1B (3)	28	1M, 3D
7	Hypsipyle		1.657-66	10	G1
	Hypsipyle		1.700-1	2	G3
	Hypsipyle		1.703-7	5	M
	Hypsipyle		1.793-833	41	M
	Hypsipyle		1.888-98	11	D1
	Hypsipyle	(5)	1B (1)	69	2M, 1D, 2G

No.	Speaker	No. of Speeches	Book Lines	Length (Verses)	Speech Cluster
8	Peleus		2.880-4	5	G2
	Peleus		2.1219-25	7	D7
	Peleus		3.506-14	9	G2
	Peleus		4.495-502	8	M
	Peleus		4.1370-9	10	G2
	Peleus	(5)	3B (2,3,4)	39	1M, 1D, 3G
9	Phineus		2.209-39	31	D1
	Phineus		2.256-61	6	D3
	Phineus		2.311-407	99	M
	Phineus		2.420-5	6	D2
	Phineus		2.444-7	4	D4
	Phineus		2.468-89	22	M
	Phineus	(6)	1B (2)	168	2M, 4D
10	Argos		2.1123-33	11	D1
	Argos		2.1141-56	17	D3
	Argos		2.1200-15	16	D6
	Argos		3.320-66	47	G2
	Argos		3.475-83	9	D1
	Argos		3.523-39	17	G3
	Argos		4.257-93	37	M
	Argos	(7)		154	1M, 4D, 2G
11	Medeia		3.464-70	7	S
	Medeia		3.636-44	9	S
	Medeia		3.688-92	5	D2
	Medeia		3.711-7	7	D4
	Medeia		3.727-39	13	D6
	Medeia		3.771-801	31	S
	Medeia		3.891-911	21	M
	Medeia		3.1026-62	37	D2
	Medeia		3.1069-76	8	D3
	Medeia		3.1105-17	13	D5
	Medeia		4.30-3	4	S
	Medeia		4.83-91	9	G1
	Medeia		4.355-90	36	D1
	Medeia		4.411-20	10	D3
	Medeia		4.1014-28	15	M
	Medeia		4.1031-52	22	M
	Medeia		4.1654-8	5	M
	Medeia	(17)		252	4M, 8D, 4S, 1G

No.	Speaker	No. of Speeches	Book Lines	Length (Verses)	Speech Cluster
12	Jason		1.295-305	11	D2
	Jason		1.332-40	9	G1
	Jason		1.351-62	12	G3
	Jason		1.411-24	14	M
	Jason		1.900-9	10	D2
	Jason		1.1337-43	7	D2
	Jason		2.411-8	8	D1
	Jason		2.438-42	5	D3
	Jason		2.622-37	16	D2
	Jason		2.641-7	7	D3
	Jason		2.886-93	8	G3
	Jason		2.1136-9	4	D2
	Jason		2.1160-7	8	D4
	Jason		2.1179-95	17	D5
	Jason		3.171-93	23	M
	Jason		3.386-95	10	G4
	Jason		3.427-31	5	G6
	Jason		3.485-8	4	D2
	Jason		3.492-501	10	G1
	Jason		3.568-71	4	G6
	Jason		3.975-1007	33	D1
	Jason		3.1079-101	23	D4
	Jason		3.1120-30	11	D6
	Jason		3.1143-5	3	D7
	Jason		4.95-8	4	G2
	Jason		4.190-205	16	M
	Jason		4.395-409	15	D2
	Jason		4.1333-6	4	D2
	Jason		4.1347-62	16	G1
	Jason		4.1597-600	4	D4
	Jason		4.1749-54	6	M
	Jason	(31)	4B (1,2,3,4)	327	4M, 18D, 9G

5.10.2. DEITIES

5.10.2.1. CHARACTERS WHO SPEAK ONCE

No.	Speaker	No. of Speeches	Book Lines	Length (Verses)	Speech Cluster
1	Aigle	(1)	4.1432-49	18	D2
2	Glaukos	(1)	1.1315-25	11	M
3	Iris	(1)	2.288-90	3	M
4	Kirke	(1)	4.739-48	10	M
5	Mene	(1)	4.57-65	9	S
6	Λιβύης τιμήφοροι	(1)	4.1318-29	12	D1

5.10.2.2. CHARACTERS WHO SPEAK TWICE

No.	Speaker	No. of Speeches	Book Lines	Length (Verses)	Speech Cluster
1	Athene		3.18-21	4	D2
	Athene		3.32-5	4	D4
	Athene	(2)	1B (3)	8	2D
2	Thetis		4.834-41	8	D2
	Thetis		4.856-64	9	M
	Thetis	(2)	1B (4)	17	1M, 1D
3	Triton (as young man)		4.1554-61	8	D1
	Triton (as young man)		4.1573-85	13	D3
	Triton (as young man)	(2)	1B (4)	21	2D

5.10.2.3. CHARACTERS WHO SPEAK MULTIPLE TIMES

No.	Speaker	No. of Speeches	Book Lines	Length (Verses)	Speech Cluster
1	Kypris		3.52-4	3	G1
	Kypris		3.79-82	4	G3
	Kypris		3.91-9	9	G5
	Kypris		3.102-5	4	G6
	Kypris		3.129-44	16	M
	Kypris		3.151-3	3	M
	Kypris	(6)	1B (3)	39	2M, 4G

No.	Speaker	No. of Speeches	Book Lines	Length (Verses)	Speech Cluster
2	Hera		3.11-6	6	D1
	Hera		3.25-9	5	D3
	Hera		3.56-75	20	G2
	Hera		3.84-9	6	G4
	Hera		3.108-10	3	G7
	Hera		4.757-69	13	M
	Hera		4.783-832	50	D1
	Hera	(7)	2B (3,4)	103	1M, 3D, 3G

5.10.3. MEN

5.10.3.1. CHARACTERS WHO SPEAK ONCE

No.	Speaker	No. of Speeches	Book Lines	Length (Verses)	Speech Cluster
1	Alkinoos	(1)	4.1098-109	12	D2
2	Amphidamas	(1)	2.1047-67	21	M
3	Euphemus	(1)	4.1564-70	7	D2
4	Glaukos	(1)	1.1315-25	11	M
5	Lykos	(1)	2.774-810	37	M
6	Polydeukes	(1)	2.22-4	3	D2
7	Polyphemus	(1)	1.1257-60	4	M
8	Tiphys	(1)	2.611-8	8	D1
9	Zetes	(1)	2.244-53	10	D2
10	οἱ ἄνδρες	(1)	1.242-6	5	S

5.10.3.2. CHARACTERS WHO SPEAK TWICE

No.	Speaker	No. of Speeches	Book Lines	Length (Verses)	Speech Cluster
1	Amykos		2.11-8	8	D1
	Amykos		2.55-9	5	M
	Amykos	(2)	1B (2)	13	1M, 1D
2	Herakles		1.345-7	3	G2
	Herakles		1.865-74	10	M
	Herakles	(2)	1B (1)	13	1M, 1G

No.	Speaker	No. of Speeches	Book Lines	Length (Verses)	Speech Cluster
3	Idmon		1.440-7	8	M
	Idmon		1.476-84	9	G2
	Idmon	(2)	1B (1)	17	1M, 1G
4	Orpheus		2.686-93	8	M
	Orpheus		4.1411-21	11	D1
	Orpheus	(2)	2B (2,4)	19	1M, 1D
5	Telamon		1.1290-5	6	M
	Telamon		1.1332-5	4	D1
	Telamon	(2)	1B (1)		1M, 1D
6	Triton (as young man)		4.1554-61	8	D1
	Triton (as young man)		4.1573-85	13	D3
	Triton (as young man)	(2)	1B (4)	21	2D

5.10.3.3. CHARACTERS WHO SPEAK MULTIPLE TIMES

No.	Speaker	No. of Speeches	Book Lines	Length (Verses)	Speech Cluster
1	Ankaios		2.869-77	9	G1
	Ankaios		2.1277-80	4	M
	Ankaios		4.1261-76	16	M
	Ankaios	(3)	2B (2,4)	29	2M, 1G
2	Argonauts		2.145-53	9	S
	Argonauts		4.1458-60	3	S
	Argonauts		4.1251-8	8	S
	Argonauts	(3)	2B (2,4)	20	3S
3	Idas		1.463-71	9	G1
	Idas		1.487-91	5	G3
	Idas		3.558-63	6	G5
	Idas	(3)	2B (1,3)	20	3G
4	Mopsos		1.1092-102	11	M
	Mopsos		3.545-54	10	G4
	Mopsos		3.940-6	7	M
	Mopsos	(3)	2B (1,3)	28	2M, 1G

No.	Speaker	No. of Speeches	Book Lines	Length (Verses)	Speech Cluster
5	Aietes		3.304-16	13	G1
	Aietes		3.372-81	10	G3
	Aietes		3.401-21	21	G5
	Aietes		3.434-8	5	G7
	Aietes	(4)	1B (3)	49	4G
6	Peleus		2.880-4	5	G2
	Peleus		2.1219-25	7	D7
	Peleus		3.506-14	9	G2
	Peleus		4.1370-9	10	G2
	Peleus		4.495-502	8	M
	Peleus	(5)	3B (2,3,4)	39	1M, 1D, 3G
7	Phineus		2.209-39	31	D1
	Phineus		2.256-61	6	D3
	Phineus		2.311-407	99	M
	Phineus		2.420-25	6	D2
	Phineus		2.444-47	4	D4
	Phineus		2.468-89	22	M
	Phineus	(6)	1B (2)	168	2M, 4D
8	Argos		2.1123-33	11	D1
	Argos		2.1141-56	17	D3
	Argos		2.1200-15	16	D6
	Argos		3.320-66	47	G2
	Argos		3.475-83	9	D1
	Argos		3.523-39	17	G3
	Argos		4.257-93	37	M
	Argos	(7)	3B (2,3,4)	154	1M, 4D, 2G

5.10.3.4. JASON

No.	Speaker	No. of Speeches	Book Lines	Length (Verses)	Speech Cluster
9	Jason		1.295-305	11	D2
	Jason		1.332-40	9	G1
	Jason		1.351-62	12	G3
	Jason		1.411-24	14	M
	Jason		1.900-9	10	D2
	Jason		1.1337-43	7	D2
	Jason		2.411-8	8	D1
	Jason		2.438-42	5	D3
	Jason		2.622-37	16	D2
	Jason		2.641-7	7	D3
	Jason		2.886-93	8	G3
	Jason		2.1136-9	4	D2
	Jason		2.1160-7	8	D4
	Jason		2.1179-95	17	D5
	Jason		3.171-93	23	M
	Jason		3.386-95	10	G4
	Jason		3.427-31	5	G6
	Jason		3.485-8	4	D2
	Jason		3.492-501	10	G1
	Jason		3.568-71	4	G6
	Jason		3.975-1007	33	D1
	Jason		3.1079-101	23	D4
	Jason		3.1120-30	11	D6
	Jason		3.1143-5	3	D7
	Jason		4.1333-6	4	D2
	Jason		4.1347-62	16	G1
	Jason		4.1597-600	4	D4
	Jason		4.1749-54	6	M
	Jason		4.95-8	4	G2
	Jason		4.190-205	16	M
	Jason		4.395-409	15	D2
	Jason	(31)	4B (1,2,3,4)	327	4M, 18D, 9G

5.10.4. WOMEN

5.10.4.1. CHARACTERS WHO SPEAK ONCE

No.	Speaker	No. of Speeches	Book Lines	Length (Verses)	Speech Cluster
1	Aigle	(1)	4.1432-49	18	D2
2	Alkimedede	(1)	1.278-91	14	D1
3	Arete	(1)	4.1073-95	23	D1
4	Iphinoe	(1)	1.712-6	5	M
5	Iris	(1)	2.288-90	3	M
6	Kirke	(1)	4.739-48	10	M
7	Mene	(1)	4.57-65	9	S
8	Polyxo	(1)	1.675-96	22	G2
9	αἱ γυναῖκες	(1)	1.251-9	9	S
10	Λιβύης τιμητοροῖ	(1)	4.1318-29	12	D1

5.10.4.2. CHARACTERS WHO SPEAK TWICE

No.	Speaker	No. of Speeches	Book Lines	Length (Verses)	Speech Cluster
1	Athene		3.18-21	4	D2
	Athene		3.32-5	4	D4
	Athene	(2)	1B (3)	8	2D
2	Thetis		4.834-41	8	D2
	Thetis		4.856-64	9	M
	Thetis	(2)	1B (4)	17	1M, 1D

5.10.4.3. CHARACTERS WHO SPEAK MULTIPLE TIMES

No.	Speaker	No. of Speeches	Book Lines	Length (Verses)	Speech Cluster
1	Chalkiope		3.260-7	8	M
	Chalkiope		3.674-80	7	D1
	Chalkiope		3.697-704	8	D3
	Chalkiope		3.719-23	5	D5
	Chalkiope	(4)	1B (3)	28	1M, 3D
2	Hypsipyle		1.657-66	10	G1
	Hypsipyle		1.700-1	2	G3
	Hypsipyle		1.703-7	5	M
	Hypsipyle		1.793-833	41	M
	Hypsipyle		1.888-98	11	D1
	Hypsipyle	(5)	1B (1)	69	2M, 1D, 2G

No.	Speaker	No. of Speeches	Book Lines	Length (Verses)	Speech Cluster
3	Kypris		3.52-4	3	G1
	Kypris		3.79-82	4	G3
	Kypris		3.91-9	9	G5
	Kypris		3.102-5	4	G6
	Kypris		3.129-44	16	M
	Kypris		3.151-3	3	M
	Kypris	(6)	1B (3)	39	2M, 4G
4	Hera		3.11-6	6	D1
	Hera		3.25-9	5	D3
	Hera		3.56-75	20	G2
	Hera		3.84-9	6	G4
	Hera		3.108-10	3	G7
	Hera		4.757-69	13	M
	Hera		4.783-832	50	D1
	Hera	(7)	2B (3,4)	103	1M, 3D, 3G
5	Medeia		3.464-70	7	S
	Medeia		3.636-44	9	S
	Medeia		3.688-92	5	D2
	Medeia		3.711-7	7	D4
	Medeia		3.727-39	13	D6
	Medeia		3.771-801	31	S
	Medeia		3.891-911	21	M
	Medeia		3.1026-62	37	D2
	Medeia		3.1069-76	8	D3
	Medeia		3.1105-17	13	D5
	Medeia		4.30-3	4	S
	Medeia		4.83-91	9	G1
	Medeia		4.355-90	36	D1
	Medeia		4.411-20	10	D3
	Medeia		4.1014-28	15	M
	Medeia		4.1031-52	22	M
	Medeia		4.1654-8	5	M
	Medeia	(17)	2B (3,4)	252	4M, 8D, 4S, 1G

5.10.5. MORTAL MEN

5.10.5.1. CHARACTERS WHO SPEAK ONCE

No.	Speaker	No. of Speeches	Book Lines	Length (Verses)	Speech Cluster
1	Alkinoos	(1)	4.1098-109	12	D2
2	Amphidamas	(1)	2.1047-67	21	M
3	Euphemus	(1)	4.1564-70	7	D2
4	Lykos	(1)	2.774-810	37	M
5	Polydeukes	(1)	2.22-4	3	D2
6	Polyphemus	(1)	1.1257-60	4	M
7	Tiphys	(1)	2.611-8	8	D1
8	Zetes	(1)	2.244-53	10	D2
9	οι ἄνδρες	(1)	1.242-6	5	S

5.10.5.2. CHARACTERS WHO SPEAK TWICE

No.	Speaker	No. of Speeches	Book Lines	Length (Verses)	Speech Cluster
1	Amykos		2.11-8	8	D1
	Amykos		2.55-9	5	M
	Amykos	(2)	1B (2)	13	1M, 1D
2	Herakles		1.345-7	3	G2
	Herakles		1.865-74	10	M
	Herakles	(2)	1B (1)	13	1M, 1G
3	Idmon		1.440-7	8	M
	Idmon		1.476-84	9	G2
	Idmon	(2)	1B (1)	17	1M, 1G
4	Orpheus		2.686-93	8	M
	Orpheus		4.1411-21	11	D1
	Orpheus	(2)	2B (2,4)	19	1M, 1D
5	Telamon		1.1290-5	6	M
	Telamon		1.1332-5	4	D1
	Telamon	(2)	1B (1)		1M, 1D

5.10.5.3. CHARACTERS WHO SPEAK MULTIPLE TIMES

No.	Speaker	No. of Speeches	Book Lines	Length (Verses)	Speech Cluster
1	Ankaios		2.869-77	9	G1
	Ankaios		2.1277-80	4	M
	Ankaios		4.1261-76	16	M
	Ankaios	(3)	2B (2,4)	29	2M, 1G
2	Argonauts		2.145-53	9	S
	Argonauts		4.1458-60	3	S
	Argonauts		4.1251-8	8	S
	Argonauts	(3)	2B (2,4)	20	3S
3	Idas		1.463-71	9	G1
	Idas		1.487-91	5	G3
	Idas		3.558-63	6	G5
	Idas	(3)	2B (1,3)	20	3G
4	Mopsos		1.1092-102	11	M
	Mopsos		3.545-54	10	G4
	Mopsos		3.940-6	7	M
	Mopsos	(3)	2B (1,3)	28	2M, 1G
5	Aietes		3.304-16	13	G1
	Aietes		3.372-81	10	G3
	Aietes		3.401-21	21	G5
	Aietes		3.434-8	5	G7
	Aietes	(4)	1B (3)	49	4G
6	Peleus		2.880-4	5	G2
	Peleus		2.1219-25	7	D7
	Peleus		3.506-14	9	G2
	Peleus		4.1370-9	10	G2
	Peleus		4.495-502	8	M
	Peleus	(5)	3B (2,3,4)	39	1M, 1D, 3G
7	Phineus		2.209-39	31	D1
	Phineus		2.256-61	6	D3
	Phineus		2.311-407	99	M
	Phineus		2.420-5	6	D2
	Phineus		2.444-7	4	D4
	Phineus		2.468-89	22	M
	Phineus	(6)	1B (2)	168	2M, 4D

No.	Speaker	No. of Speeches	Book Lines	Length (Verses)	Speech Cluster
8	Argos		2.1123-33	11	D1
	Argos		2.1141-56	17	D3
	Argos		2.1200-15	16	D6
	Argos		3.320-66	47	G2
	Argos		3.475-83	9	D1
	Argos		3.523-39	17	G3
	Argos		4.257-93	37	M
	Argos	(7)	3B (2,3,4)	154	1M, 4D, 2G
9	Jason		1.295-305	11	D2
	Jason		1.332-40	9	G1
	Jason		1.351-62	12	G3
	Jason		1.411-24	14	M
	Jason		1.900-9	10	D2
	Jason		1.1337-43	7	D2
	Jason		2.411-8	8	D1
	Jason		2.438-42	5	D3
	Jason		2.622-37	16	D2
	Jason		2.641-7	7	D3
	Jason		2.886-93	8	G3
	Jason		2.1136-9	4	D2
	Jason		2.1160-7	8	D4
	Jason		2.1179-95	17	D5
	Jason		3.171-93	23	M
	Jason		3.386-95	10	G4
	Jason		3.427-31	5	G6
	Jason		3.485-8	4	D2
	Jason		3.492-501	10	G1
	Jason		3.568-71	4	G6
	Jason		3.975-1007	33	D1
	Jason		3.1079-101	23	D4
	Jason		3.1120-30	11	D6
	Jason		3.1143-5	3	D7
	Jason		4.1333-6	4	D2
	Jason		4.1347-62	16	G1
	Jason		4.1597-600	4	D4
	Jason		4.1749-54	6	M
	Jason		4.95-8	4	G2
	Jason		4.190-205	16	M
	Jason		4.395-409	15	D2
	Jason	(31)	4B (1,2,3,4)	327	4M, 18D, 9G

5.10.6. MORTAL WOMEN

5.10.6.1. CHARACTERS WHO SPEAK ONCE

No.	Speaker	No. of Speeches	Book Lines	Length (Verses)	Speech Cluster
1	Alkimedē	(1)	1.278-91	14	D1
2	Arete	(1)	4.1073-95	23	D1
3	Iphinoe	(1)	1.712-6	5	M
4	Polyxo	(1)	1.675-96	22	G2
5	αἱ γυναῖκες	(1)	1.251-9	9	S

5.10.6.2. CHARACTERS WHO SPEAK MULTIPLE TIMES

No.	Speaker	No. of Speeches	Book Lines	Length (Verses)	Speech Cluster
1	Chalkiope		3.260-7	8	M
	Chalkiope		3.674-80	7	D1
	Chalkiope		3.697-704	8	D3
	Chalkiope		3.719-23	5	D5
	Chalkiope	(4)	1B (3)	28	1M, 3D
2	Hypsipyle		1.657-66	10	G1
	Hypsipyle		1.700-1	2	G3
	Hypsipyle		1.703-7	5	M
	Hypsipyle		1.793-833	41	M
	Hypsipyle		1.888-98	11	D1
	Hypsipyle	(5)	1B (1)	69	2M, 1D, 2G
3	Medeia		3.464-70	7	S
	Medeia		3.636-44	9	S
	Medeia		3.688-92	5	D2
	Medeia		3.711-7	7	D4
	Medeia		3.727-39	13	D6
	Medeia		3.771-801	31	S
	Medeia		3.891-911	21	M
	Medeia		3.1026-62	37	D2
	Medeia		3.1069-76	8	D3
	Medeia		3.1105-17	13	D5
	Medeia		4.30-3	4	S
	Medeia		4.83-91	9	G1
	Medeia		4.355-90	36	D1
	Medeia		4.411-20	10	D3
	Medeia		4.1014-28	15	M
	Medeia		4.1031-52	22	M
	Medeia		4.1654-8	5	M
	Medeia	(17)	2B (3,4)	252	4M, 8D, 4S, 1G

5.10.7. GODS

5.10.7.1. CHARACTERS WHO SPEAK ONCE

No.	Speaker	No. of Speeches	Book Lines	Length (Verses)	Speech Cluster
1	Glaukos	(1)	1.1315-25	11	M

5.10.7.2. CHARACTERS WHO SPEAK TWICE

No.	Speaker	No. of Speeches	Book Lines	Length (Verses)	Speech Cluster
1	Triton (as young man)		4.1554-61	8	D1
	Triton (as young man)		4.1573-85	13	D3
	Triton (as young man)	(2)	1B (4)	21	2D

5.10.8. GODDESSES

5.10.8.1. CHARACTERS WHO SPEAK ONCE

No.	Speaker	No. of Speeches	Book Lines	Length (Verses)	Speech Cluster
1	Aigle	(1)	4.1432-49	18	D2
2	Iris	(1)	2.288-90	3	M
3	Kirke	(1)	4.739-48	10	M
4	Mene	(1)	4.57-65	9	S
5	Λιβύης τιμήοροι	(1)	4.1318-29	12	D1

5.10.8.2. CHARACTERS WHO SPEAK TWICE

No.	Speaker	No. of Speeches	Book Lines	Length (Verses)	Speech Cluster
1	Athene		3.18-21	4	D2
	Athene		3.32-5	4	D4
	Athene	(2)	1B (3)	8	2D
2	Thetis		4.834-41	8	D2
	Thetis		4.856-64	9	M
	Thetis	(2)	1B (4)	17	1M, 1D

5.10.8.3. CHARACTERS WHO SPEAK MULTIPLE TIMES

No.	Speaker	No. of Speeches	Book Lines	Length (Verses)	Speech Cluster
1	Kypris		3.52-4	3	G1
	Kypris		3.79-82	4	G3
	Kypris		3.91-9	9	G5
	Kypris		3.102-5	4	G6
	Kypris		3.129-44	16	M
	Kypris		3.151-3	3	M
	Kypris	(6)	1B (3)	39	2M, 4G
2	Hera		3.11-6	6	D1
	Hera		3.25-9	5	D3
	Hera		3.56-75	20	G2
	Hera		3.84-9	6	G4
	Hera		3.108-10	3	G7
	Hera		4.757-69	13	M
	Hera		4.783-832	50	D1
	Hera	(7)	2B (3,4)	103	1M, 3D, 3G

5.10.9. SPEAKERS IN DISGUISE

No.	Speaker	No. of Speeches	Book Lines	Length (Verses)	Speech Cluster
1	Triton (as young man)		4.1554-61	8	D1
	Triton (as young man)		4.1573-85	13	D3
	Triton (as young man)	(2)	1B (4)	21	2D

5.10.10. COLLECTIVE AND REPRESENTATIVE SPEAKERS

5.10.10.1 DEITIES

No.	Speaker	No. of Speeches	Book Lines	Length (Verses)	Speech Cluster
1	Aigle	(1)	4.1432-49	18	D2
2	Λιβύης τιμήφοροι	(1)	4.1318-29	12	D1

5.10.10.2. HUMANS

No.	Speaker	No. of Speeches	Book Lines	Length (Verses)	Speech Cluster
1	οἱ ἄνδρες	(1)	1.242-6	5	S
2	αἱ γυναῖκες	(1)	1.251-9	9	S
3	Argonauts		2.145-53	9	S
	Argonauts		4.1458-60	3	S
	Argonauts		4.1251-8	8	S
	Argonauts	(3)	2B (2,4)	20	3S

5.10.10.3. ABSTRACT SPEAKERS

No.	Speaker	No. of Speeches	Book Lines	Length (Verses)	Speech Cluster
1	ἡ κορώνη	(1)	3.932-7	6	M
2	ἡ γυνή	(1)	4.1741-5	5	M

5.11. SPEECH PERCENTAGE

5.11.1. WOMEN

No.	Speaker	Length (Verses)	Mortal Women %	Women %	Humans %	OR. %
			422	641	1435	1697
1	Medeia	252	59.72 %	39.31 %	17.56 %	14.85 %
2	Hypsipyle	69	16.35 %	10.76 %	4.81 %	4.07 %
3	Chalkiope	28	6.64 %	4.37 %	1.95 %	1.65 %
4	Arete	23	5.45 %	3.59 %	1.60 %	1.36 %
5	Polyxo	22	5.21 %	3.43 %	1.53 %	1.30 %
6	Alkimedea	14	3.32 %	2.18 %	0.98 %	0.82 %
7	αὶ γυναῖκες	9	2.13 %	1.40 %	0.63 %	0.53 %
8	Iphinoe	5	1.18 %	0.78 %	0.35 %	0.29 %

5.11.2. GODDESSES

No.	Speaker	Length (Verses)	Goddesses %	Women %	Deities %	OR. %
			219	641	251	1697
1	Hera	103	47.03 %	16.07 %	41.04 %	6.07 %
2	Kypris	39	17.81 %	6.08 %	15.54 %	2.30 %
3	Aigle	18	8.22 %	2.81 %	7.17 %	1.06 %
4	Thetis	17	7.76 %	2.65 %	6.77 %	1.00 %
5	Λιβύης τμήφοροι	12	5.48 %	1.87 %	4.78 %	0.71 %
6	Kirke	10	4.57 %	1.56 %	3.98 %	0.59 %
7	Mene	9	4.11 %	1.40 %	3.59 %	0.53 %
8	Athene	8	3.65 %	1.25 %	3.19 %	0.47 %
9	Iris	3	1.37 %	0.47 %	1.20 %	0.18 %

5.11.3. GODS

No.	Speaker	Length (Verses)	Gods %	Men %	Deities %	OR. %
			32	1045	251	1697
1	Triton (as young man)	21	65.63 %	2.01 %	8.37 %	1.24 %
2	Glaukos	11	34.38 %	1.05 %	4.38 %	0.65 %

5.11.4. MEN

No.	Speaker	Length (Verses)	Mortal Men %	Men %	Humans %	OR. %
			1013	1045	1435	1697
1	Jason	327	32.28 %	31.29 %	22.79 %	19.27 %
2	Phineus	168	16.58 %	16.08 %	11.71 %	9.90 %
3	Argos	154	15.20 %	14.74 %	10.73 %	9.07 %
4	Aietes	49	4.84 %	4.69 %	3.41 %	2.89 %
5	Peleus	39	3.85 %	3.73 %	2.72 %	2.30 %
6	Lykos	37	3.65 %	3.54 %	2.58 %	2.18 %
7	Ankaios	29	2.86 %	2.78 %	2.02 %	1.71 %
8	Mopsos	28	2.76 %	2.68 %	1.95 %	1.65 %
9	Amphidamas	21	2.07 %	2.01 %	1.46 %	1.24 %
10	Argonauts	20	1.97 %	1.91 %	1.39 %	1.18 %
11	Idas	20	1.97 %	1.91 %	1.39 %	1.18 %
12	Orpheus	19	1.88 %	1.82 %	1.32 %	1.12 %
13	Idmon	17	1.68 %	1.63 %	1.18 %	1.00 %
14	Amykos	13	1.28 %	1.24 %	0.91 %	0.77 %
15	Herakles	13	1.28 %	1.24 %	0.91 %	0.77 %
16	Alkinoos	12	1.18 %	1.15 %	0.84 %	0.71 %
17	Zetes	10	0.99 %	0.96 %	0.70 %	0.59 %
18	Telamon	10	0.99 %	0.96 %	0.70 %	0.59 %
19	Tiphys	8	0.79 %	0.77 %	0.56 %	0.47 %
20	Euphemus	7	0.69 %	0.67 %	0.49 %	0.41 %
21	οἱ ἄνδρες	5	0.49 %	0.48 %	0.35 %	0.29 %
22	Polyphemus	4	0.39 %	0.38 %	0.28 %	0.24 %
23	Polydeukes	3	0.30 %	0.29 %	0.21 %	0.18 %

5.12. SPEECH BY LENGTH (LONGEST TO SHORTEST)

5.12.1. ALL SPEECHES

No.	Speaker	Book Lines	Length (Verses)	Addressee(s)	Speech Type	Speech Cluster
1	Phineus	2.311-407	99	Argonauts	Ora	M
2	Hera	4.783-832	50	Thetis	Nar, Req	D1
3	Argos	3.320-66	47	Aietes	Nar	G2
4	Hypsipyle	1.793-833	41	Jason	Nar, Per, Inv	M
5	Lykos	2.774-810	37	Argonauts	Nar	M
6	Medeia	3.1026-62	37	Jason	Inf, Req	D2
7	Argos	4.257-93	37	Argonauts	Nar, Inf	M
8	Medeia	4.355-90	36	Jason	Vit, Lam	D1
9	Jason	3.975-1007	33	Medeia	Per	D1
10	Phineus	2.209-39	31	Argonauts	Lam, Req, Ora	D1
11	Medeia	3.771-801	31		Lam, Del	S
12	Jason	3.171-93	23	Argonauts	Per, Req	M
13	Jason	3.1079-101	23	Medeia	Inf, Vow	D4
14	Arete	4.1073-95	23	Alkinoos	Per, Req	D1
15	Polyxo	1.675-96	22	Lemnian women	Per	G2
16	Phineus	2.468-89	22	Argonauts	Nar	M
17	Medeia	4.1031-52	22	Argonauts	Req	M
18	Amphidamas	2.1047-67	21	Argonauts	Per, Exh	M
19	Aietes	3.401-21	21	Jason	Cha, Vow	G5
20	Medeia	3.891-911	21	αἰ δμῶαἰ	Per, Req	M
21	Hera	3.56-75	20	Kypris	Res	G2
22	Aigle	4.1432-49	18	Argonauts	Nar, Inf	D2
23	Argos	2.1141-56	17	Jason	Res	D3
24	Jason	2.1179-95	17	Phrixos' sons	Per, Req	D5
25	Argos	3.523-39	17	Argonauts	Per	G3
26	Jason	2.622-37	16	Tiphys	Lam	D2
27	Argos	2.1200-15	16	Argonauts	Res	D6
28	Kypris	3.129-44	16	Eros	Req, Vow	M
29	Jason	4.190-205	16	Argonauts	Per, Exh	M
30	Ankaios	4.1261-76	16	Argonauts	Lam	M
31	Jason	4.1347-62	16	Argonauts	Nar, Mes	G1
32	Jason	4.395-409	15	Medeia	Per	D2
33	Medeia	4.1014-28	15	Arete	Req	M
34	Alkimedede	1.278-91	14	Jason	Far, Lam	D1

35	Jason	1.411-24	14	Apollo	Pra	M
36	Aietes	3.304-16	13	Phrixos' Sons	Req	G1
37	Medeia	3.727-39	13	Chalkiope	Res	D6
38	Medeia	3.1105-17	13	Jason	Lam, Req	D5
39	Hera	4.757-69	13	Iris	Req, Mes	M
40	Triton (as young man)	4.1573-85	13	Euphemus	Inf, Exh	D3
41	Jason	1.351-62	12	Argonauts	Inf, Mes, Req	G3
42	Alkinoos	4.1098-109	12	Arete	Res	D2
43	Λιβύης τιμήφοροι	4.1318-29	12	Jason	Exh, Ora	D1
44	Jason	1.295-305	11	Alkimede	Far, Con	D2
45	Hypsipyle	1.888-98	11	Jason	Far, Req	D1
46	Mopsos	1.1092-102	11	Jason	Ora	M
47	Glaukos	1.1315-25	11	Argonauts	Ora	M
48	Argos	2.1123-33	11	Argonauts	Gre, Req	D1
49	Jason	3.1120-30	11	Medeia	Vow	D6
50	Orpheus	4.1411-21	11	Ἑσπερίδες	Pra	D1
51	Hypsipyle	1.657-66	10	Lemnian Women	Per, Req	G1
52	Herakles	1.865-74	10	Argonauts	Vit, Exh	M
53	Jason	1.900-9	10	Hypsipyle	Far, Vow, Req	D2
54	Zetes	2.244-53	10	Phineus	Res	D2
55	Aietes	3.372-81	10	Phrixos' Sons	Vit, Thr	G3
56	Jason	3.386-95	10	Aietes	Per, Req	G4
57	Jason	3.492-501	10	Argonauts	Inf	G1
58	Mopsos	3.545-54	10	Argonauts	Ora	G4
59	Medeia	4.411-20	10	Jason	Per, Req	D3
60	Kirke	4.739-48	10	Medeia	Vit, Per	M
61	Peleus	4.1370-9	10	Argonauts	Ora, Inf	G2
62	αὐ γυναῖκες	1.251-9	9		Lam	S
63	Jason	1.332-40	9	Argonauts	Per	G1
64	Idas	1.463-71	9	Jason	Vit, Thr	G1
65	Idmon	1.476-84	9	Idas	Vit, Thr	G2
66	Argonauts	2.145-53	9		Del, Lam	S
67	Ankaios	2.869-77	9	Peleus	Per	G1
68	Kypris	3.91-9	9	Hera, Athene	Lam, Nar	G5
69	Argos	3.475-83	9	Jason	Per	D1
70	Peleus	3.506-14	9	Argonauts, Jason	Per	G2

71	Medeia	3.636-44	9		Del	S
72	Mene	4.57-65	9		Del, Tau	S
73	Medeia	4.83-91	9	Argos, Phrontis	Per	G1
74	Thetis	4.856-64	9	Peleus	Exh, Req	M
75	Idmon	1.440-7	8	Argonauts	Ora	M
76	Amykos	2.11-8	8	Argonauts	Cha, Thr	D1
77	Jason	2.411-8	8	Phineus	Que	D1
78	Tiphys	2.611-8	8	Argonauts, Jason	Exh	D1
79	Orpheus	2.686-93	8	Argonauts	Per, Des	M
80	Jason	2.886-93	8	Peleus	Lam	G3
81	Jason	2.1160-7	8	Argos	Inf	D4
82	Chalkiope	3.260-7	8	Phrixos' Sons	Lam	M
83	Chalkiope	3.697-704	8	Medeia	Req	D3
84	Medeia	3.1069-76	8	Jason	Req, Que	D3
85	Peleus	4.495-502	8	Argonauts	Per	M
86	Thetis	4.834-41	8	Hera	Res	D2
87	Argonauts	4.1251-8	8		Lam, Del	S
88	Triton (as young man)	4.1554-61	8	Argonauts	Gre, Vow	D1
89	Jason	1.1337-43	7	Telamon	Res, Des	D2
90	Jason	2.641-7	7	Argonauts	Lau, Vow	D3
91	Peleus	2.1219-25	7	Argos	Exh	D7
92	Medeia	3.464-70	7		Lam, Des	S
93	Chalkiope	3.674-80	7	Medeia	Lam, Que	D1
94	Medeia	3.711-7	7	Chalkiope	Res	D4
95	Mopsos	3.940-6	7	Jason, Argos	Ora	M
96	Euphemus	4.1564-70	7	Triton (as young man)	Req, Que	D2
97	Telamon	1.1290-5	6	Jason	Vit	M
98	Phineus	2.256-61	6	Zetes	Per, Vow	D3
99	Phineus	2.420-5	6	Jason	Ora, Req	D2
100	Hera	3.11-6	6	Athene	Per, Que	D1
101	Hera	3.84-9	6	Kypris	Per, Req	G4
102	Idas	3.558-63	6	Argonauts	Vit	G5
103	ἡ κορώνη	3.932-7	6	Mopsus	Vit, Tau	M
104	Jason	4.1749-54	6	Euphemus	Res	M
105	οἱ ἄνδρες	1.242-6	5		Del	S

106	Idas	1.487-91	5	Idmon	Vit, Thr	G3
107	Hypsipyle	1.703-7	5	Iphinoe	Req, Mes	M
108	Iphinoe	1.712-6	5	Argonauts	Mes	M
109	Amykos	2.55-9	5	Polydeukes	Cha, Tau	M
110	Jason	2.438-42	5	Phineus	Per, Des	D3
111	Peleus	2.880-4	5	Argonauts	Per, Exh	G2
112	Hera	3.25-9	5	Athene	Per, Exh	D3
113	Jason	3.427-31	5	Aietes	Res	G6
114	Aietes	3.434-8	5	Jason	Req, Tau	G7
115	Medeia	3.688-92	5	Chalkiope	Lam, Des	D2
116	Chalkiope	3.719-23	5	Medeia	Per, Req	D5
117	Medeia	4.1654-8	5	Argonauts	Per, Req	M
118	ἡ γυνή	4.1741-5	5	Euphemus	Ora, Req	M
119	Polyphemos	1.1257-60	4	Herakles	Nar, Inf	M
120	Telamon	1.1332-5	4	Jason	Per, Req	D1
121	Phineus	2.444-7	4	Jason	Lam, Des	D4
122	Jason	2.1136-9	4	Argos	Res	D2
123	Ankaios	2.1277-80	4	Argonauts	Exh, Que	M
124	Athene	3.18-21	4	Hera	Res	D2
125	Athene	3.32-5	4	Hera	Res	D4
126	Kypris	3.79-82	4	Hera	Res	G3
127	Kypris	3.102-5	4	Hera, Athene	Lam, Vow	G6
128	Jason	3.485-8	4	Argos	Lam, Req	D2
129	Jason	3.568-71	4	Argonauts	Per, Req	G6
130	Medeia	4.30-3	4		Far, Lam	S
131	Jason	4.95-8	4	Medeia	Vow	G2
132	Jason	4.1333-6	4	Λιβύης τμήσοι	Pra, Inf	D2
133	Jason	4.1597-1600	4	Triton	Pra	D4
134	Herakles	1.345-7	3	Argonauts	Per	G2
135	Polydeukes	2.22-4	3	Amykos	Res	D2
136	Iris	2.288-90	3	Zetes, Calais	Vit, Vow	M
137	Kypris	3.52-4	3	Hera, Athene	Que	G1
138	Hera	3.108-10	3	Kypris	Exh, Req	G7
139	Kypris	3.151-3	3	Eros	Vow	M
140	Jason	3.1143-5	3	Medeia	Far	D7
141	Argonauts	4.1458-60	3		Lau, Des	S
142	Hypsipyle	1.700-1	2	Lemnian Women	Inf, Per	G3

5.12.2. HUMANS (LONGEST TO SHORTEST)

No.	Speaker	Book Lines	Length (Verses)	Addressee(s)	Speech Type	Speech Cluster
1	Phineus	2.311-407	99	Argonauts	Ora	M
2	Argos	3.320-66	47	Aietes	Nar	G2
3	Hypsipyle	1.793-833	41	Jason	Nar, Per, Inv	M
4	Lykos	2.774-810	37	Argonauts	Nar	M
5	Argos	4.257-93	37	Argonauts	Nar, Inf	M
6	Medeia	3.1026-62	37	Jason	Inf, Req	D2
7	Medeia	4.355-90	36	Jason	Vit, Lam	D1
8	Jason	3.975-1007	33	Medeia	Per	D1
9	Phineus	2.209-39	31	Argonauts	Lam, Req, Ora	D1
10	Medeia	3.771-801	31		Lam, Del	S
11	Jason	3.171-93	23	Argonauts	Per, Req	M
12	Jason	3.1079-101	23	Medeia	Inf, Vow	D4
13	Arete	4.1073-95	23	Alkinoos	Per, Req	D1
14	Phineus	2.468-89	22	Argonauts	Nar	M
15	Medeia	4.1031-52	22	Argonauts	Req	M
16	Polyxo	1.675-96	22	Lemnian Women	Per	G2
17	Amphidamas	2.1047-67	21	Argonauts	Per, Exh	M
18	Aietes	3.401-21	21	Jason	Cha, Vow	G5
19	Medeia	3.891-911	21	αἱ δῆμοι	Per, Req	M
20	Argos	2.1141-56	17	Jason	Res	D3
21	Jason	2.1179-95	17	Phrixos' Sons	Per, Req	D5
22	Argos	3.523-39	17	Argonauts	Per	G3
23	Jason	2.622-37	16	Tiphys	Lam	D2
24	Argos	2.1200-15	16	Argonauts	Res	D6
25	Jason	4.1347-62	16	Argonauts	Nar, Mes	G1
26	Jason	4.190-205	16	Argonauts	Per, Exh	M
27	Ankaios	4.1261-76	16	Argonauts	Lam	M
28	Jason	4.395-409	15	Medeia	Per	D2
29	Medeia	4.1014-28	15	Arete	Req	M
30	Jason	1.411-24	14	Apollo	Pra	M
31	Alkimedea	1.278-91	14	Jason	Far, Lam	D1
32	Aietes	3.304-16	13	Phrixos' Sons	Req	G1
33	Medeia	3.727-39	13	Chalkiope	Res	D6
34	Medeia	3.1105-17	13	Jason	Lam, Req	D5
35	Jason	1.351-62	12	Argonauts	Inf, Mes, Req	G3
36	Alkinoos	4.1098-109	12	Arete	Res	D2

37	Jason	1.295-305	11	Alkimedea	Far, Con	D2
38	Mopsos	1.1092-102	11	Jason	Ora	M
39	Argos	2.1123-33	11	Argonauts	Gre, Req	D1
40	Jason	3.1120-30	11	Medeia	Vow	D6
41	Orpheus	4.1411-21	11	Ἑσπερίδες	Pra	D1
42	Hypsipyle	1.888-98	11	Jason	Far, Req	D1
43	Herakles	1.865-74	10	Argonauts	Vit, Exh	M
44	Jason	1.900-9	10	Hypsipyle	Far, Vow, Req	D2
45	Zetes	2.244-53	10	Phineus	Res	D2
46	Aietes	3.372-81	10	Phrixos' Sons	Vit, Thr	G3
47	Jason	3.386-95	10	Aietes	Per, Req	G4
48	Jason	3.492-501	10	Argonauts	Inf	G1
49	Mopsos	3.545-54	10	Argonauts	Ora	G4
50	Peleus	4.1370-9	10	Argonauts	Ora, Inf	G2
51	Hypsipyle	1.657-66	10	Lemnian Women	Per, Req	G1
52	Medeia	4.411-20	10	Jason	Per, Req	D3
53	Jason	1.332-40	9	Argonauts	Per	G1
54	Idas	1.463-71	9	Jason	Vit, Thr	G1
55	Idmon	1.476-84	9	Idas	Vit, Thr	G2
56	Argonauts	2.145-53	9		Del, Lam	S
57	Ankaios	2.869-77	9	Peleus	Per	G1
58	Argos	3.475-83	9	Jason	Per	D1
59	Peleus	3.506-14	9	Jason, Argonauts	Per	G2
60	Medeia	3.636-44	9		Del	S
61	Medeia	4.83-91	9	Phrontis, Argos	Per	G1
62	αἱ γυναῖκες	1.251-9	9		Lam	S
63	Idmon	1.440-7	8	Argonauts	Ora	M
64	Amykos	2.11-8	8	Argonauts	Cha, Thr	D1
65	Jason	2.411-8	8	Phineus	Que	D1
66	Tiphys	2.611-8	8	Jason, Argonauts	Exh	D1
67	Orpheus	2.686-93	8	Argonauts	Per, Des	M
68	Jason	2.886-93	8	Peleus	Lam	G3
69	Jason	2.1160-67	8	Argos	Inf	D4
70	Peleus	4.495-502	8	Argonauts	Per	M
71	Argonauts	4.1251-8	8		Lam, Del	S
72	Chalkiope	3.260-7	8	Phrixos' Sons	Lam	M
73	Chalkiope	3.697-704	8	Medeia	Req	D3
74	Medeia	3.1069-76	8	Jason	Req, Que	D3
75	Jason	1.1337-43	7	Telamon	Res, Des	D2

76	Jason	2.641-7	7	Argonauts	Lau, Vow	D3
77	Peleus	2.1219-25	7	Argos	Exh	D7
78	Mopsos	3.940-6	7	Jason, Argos	Ora	M
79	Euphemus	4.1564-70	7	Triton (as young man)	Req, Que	D2
80	Medeia	3.464-70	7		Lam, Des	S
81	Chalkiope	3.674-80	7	Medeia	Lam, Que	D1
82	Medeia	3.711-7	7	Chalkiope	Res	D4
83	Telamon	1.1290-5	6	Jason	Vit	M
84	Phineus	2.256-61	6	Zetes	Per, Vow	D3
85	Phineus	2.420-5	6	Jason	Ora, Req	D2
86	Idas	3.558-63	6	Argonauts	Vit	G5
87	Jason	4.1749-54	6	Euphemus	Res	M
88	οἱ ἄνδρες	1.242-6	5		Del	S
89	Idas	1.487-91	5	Idmon	Vit, Thr	G3
90	Amykos	2.55-9	5	Polydeukes	Cha, Tau	M
91	Jason	2.438-42	5	Phineus	Per, Des	D3
92	Peleus	2.880-4	5	Argonauts	Per, Exh	G2
93	Jason	3.427-31	5	Aietes	Res	G6
94	Aietes	3.434-8	5	Jason	Req, Tau	G7
95	Medeia	3.688-92	5	Chalkiope	Lam, Des	D2
96	Chalkiope	3.719-23	5	Medeia	Per, Req	D5
97	Medeia	4.1654-8	5	Argonauts	Per, Req	M
98	Hypsipyle	1.703-7	5	Iphinoe	Req, Mes	M
99	Iphinoe	1.712-6	5	Argonauts	Mes	M
100	Polyphemus	1.1257-60	4	Herakles	Nar, Inf	M
101	Telamon	1.1332-5	4	Jason	Per, Req	D1
102	Phineus	2.444-7	4	Jason	Lam, Des	D4
103	Jason	2.1136-9	4	Argos	Res	D2
104	Ankaios	2.1277-80	4	Argonauts	Exh, Que	M
105	Jason	3.485-8	4	Argos	Lam, Req	D2
106	Jason	3.568-71	4	Argonauts	Per, Req	G6
107	Jason	4.95-8	4	Medeia	Vow	G2
108	Jason	4.1333-6	4	Λιβύης τιμήσοι	Pra, Inf	D2
109	Jason	4.1597-600	4	Triton	Pra	D4
110	Medeia	4.30-3	4		Far, Lam	S
111	Herakles	1.345-7	3	Argonauts	Per	G2
112	Polydeukes	2.22-4	3	Amykos	Res	D2
113	Jason	3.1143-5	3	Medeia	Far	D7
114	Argonauts	4.1458-60	3		Lau, Des	S
115	Hypsipyle	1.700-1	2	Lemnian Women	Inf, Per	G3

5.12.3. DEITIES (LONGEST TO SHORTEST)

No.	Speaker	Book Lines	Length (Verses)	Addressee(s)	Speech Type	Speech Cluster
1	Hera	4.783-832	50	Thetis	Nar, Req	D1
2	Hera	3.56-75	20	Kypris	Res	G2
3	Aigle	4.1432-49	18	Argonauts	Nar, Inf	D2
4	Kypris	3.129-44	16	Eros	Req, Vow	M
5	Hera	4.757-69	13	Iris	Req, Mes	M
6	Triton (as young man)	4.1573-85	13	Euphemus	Inf, Exh	D3
7	Λιβύης τιμήσοι	4.1318-29	12	Jason	Exh, Ora	D1
8	Glaukos	1.1315-25	11	Argonauts	Ora	M
9	Kirke	4.739-48	10	Medeia	Vit, Per	M
10	Kypris	3.91-9	9	Hera, Athene	Lam, Nar	G5
11	Mene	4.57-5	9		Del, Tau	S
12	Thetis	4.856-64	9	Peleus	Exh, Req	M
13	Thetis	4.834-41	8	Hera	Res	D2
14	Triton (as young man)	4.1554-61	8	Argonauts	Gre, Vow	D1
15	Hera	3.11-6	6	Athene	Per, Que	D1
16	Hera	3.84-9	6	Kypris	Per, Req	G4
17	Hera	3.25-9	5	Athene	Per, Exh	D3
18	Athene	3.18-21	4	Hera	Res	D2
19	Athene	3.32-5	4	Hera	Res	D4
20	Kypris	3.79-82	4	Hera	Res	G3
21	Kypris	3.102-5	4	Hera, Athene	Lam, Vow	G6
22	Iris	2.288-90	3	Zetes, Calais	Vit, Vow	M
23	Hera	3.108-10	3	Kypris	Exh, Req	G7
24	Kypris	3.151-3	3	Eros	Vow	M
25	Kypris	3.52-4	3	Hera, Athene	Que	G1

5.12.4. MEN (LONGEST TO SHORTEST)

No.	Speaker	Book Lines	Length (Verses)	Addressee(s)	Speech Type	Speech Cluster
1	Phineus	2.311-407	99	Argonauts	Ora	M
2	Argos	3.320-66	47	Aietes	Nar	G2
3	Lykos	2.774-810	37	Argonauts	Nar	M
4	Argos	4.257-93	37	Argonauts	Nar, Inf	M
5	Jason	3.975-1007	33	Medeia	Per	D1
6	Phineus	2.209-39	31	Argonauts	Lam, Req, Ora	D1
7	Jason	3.171-93	23	Argonauts	Per, Req	M
8	Jason	3.1079-101	23	Medeia	Inf, Vow	D4
9	Phineus	2.468-89	22	Argonauts	Nar	M
10	Amphidamas	2.1047-67	21	Argonauts	Per, Exh	M
11	Aietes	3.401-21	21	Jason	Cha, Vow	G5
12	Argos	2.1141-56	17	Jason	Res	D3
13	Jason	2.1179-95	17	Phrixos' sons	Per, Req	D5
14	Argos	3.523-39	17	Argonauts	Per	G3
15	Jason	2.622-37	16	Tiphys	Lam	D2
16	Argos	2.1200-15	16	Argonauts	Res	D6
17	Jason	4.1347-62	16	Argonauts	Nar, Mes	G1
18	Jason	4.190-205	16	Argonauts	Per, Exh	M
19	Ankaios	4.1261-76	16	Argonauts	Lam	M
20	Jason	4.395-409	15	Medeia	Per	D2
21	Jason	1.411-24	14	Apollo	Pra	M
22	Aietes	3.304-16	13	Phrixos' Sons	Req	G1
23	Triton (as young man)	4.1573-85	13	Euphemus	Inf, Exh	D3
24	Jason	1.351-62	12	Argonauts	Inf, Mes, Req	G3
25	Alkinoos	4.1098-109	12	Arete	Res	D2
26	Glaukos	1.1315-25	11	Argonauts	Ora	M
27	Jason	1.295-305	11	Alkimede	Far, Con	D2
28	Mopsos	1.1092-102	11	Jason	Ora	M

29	Argos	2.1123-33	11	Argonauts	Gre, Req	D1
30	Jason	3.1120-30	11	Medeia	Vow	D6
31	Orpheus	4.1411-21	11	Ἑσπερίδες	Pra	D1
32	Herakles	1.865-74	10	Argonauts	Vit, Exh	M
33	Jason	1.900-9	10	Hypsipyle	Far, Vow, Req	D2
34	Zetes	2.244-53	10	Phineus	Res	D2
35	Aietes	3.372-81	10	Phrixos' Sons	Vit, Thr	G3
36	Jason	3.386-95	10	Aietes	Per, Req	G4
37	Jason	3.492-501	10	Argonauts	Inf	G1
38	Mopsos	3.545-54	10	Argonauts	Ora	G4
39	Peleus	4.1370-9	10	Argonauts	Ora, Inf	G2
40	Jason	1.332-40	9	Argonauts	Per	G1
41	Idas	1.463-71	9	Jason	Vit, Thr	G1
42	Idmon	1.476-84	9	Idas	Vit, Thr	G2
43	Argonauts	2.145-53	9		Del, Lam	S
44	Ankaios	2.869-77	9	Peleus	Per	G1
45	Argos	3.475-83	9	Jason	Per	D1
46	Peleus	3.506-14	9	Jason, Argonauts	Per	G2
47	Idmon	1.440-7	8	Argonauts	Ora	M
48	Amykos	2.11-8	8	Argonauts	Cha, Thr	D1
49	Jason	2.411-8	8	Phineus	Que	D1
50	Tiphys	2.611-8	8	Jason, Argonauts	Exh	D1
51	Orpheus	2.686-93	8	Argonauts	Per, Des	M
52	Jason	2.886-93	8	Peleus	Lam	G3
53	Jason	2.1160-7	8	Argos	Inf	D4
54	Peleus	4.495-502	8	Argonauts	Per	M
55	Argonauts	4.1251-8	8		Lam, Del	S
56	Triton (as young man)	4.1554-61	8	Argonauts	Gre, Vow	D1
57	Jason	1.1337-43	7	Telamon	Res, Des	D2
58	Jason	2.641-7	7	Argonauts	Lau, Vow	D3
59	Peleus	2.1219-25	7	Argos	Exh	D7

60	Mopsos	3.940-6	7	Jason, Argos	Ora	M
61	Euphemus	4.1564-70	7	Triton (as young man)	Req, Que	D2
62	Telamon	1.1290-5	6	Jason	Vit	M
63	Phineus	2.256-61	6	Zetes	Per, Vow	D3
64	Phineus	2.420-5	6	Jason	Ora, Req	D2
65	Idas	3.558-63	6	Argonauts	Vit	G5
66	Jason	4.1749-54	6	Euphemus	Res	M
67	οἱ ἄνδρες	1.242-6	5		Del	S
68	Idas	1.487-91	5	Idmon	Vit, Thr	G3
69	Amykos	2.55-9	5	Polydeukes	Cha, Tau	M
70	Jason	2.438-42	5	Phineus	Per, Des	D3
71	Peleus	2.880-4	5	Argonauts	Per, Exh	G2
72	Jason	3.427-31	5	Aietes	Res	G6
73	Aietes	3.434-8	5	Jason	Req, Tau	G7
74	Polyphemos	1.1257-60	4	Herakles	Nar, Inf	M
75	Telamon	1.1332-5	4	Jason	Per, Req	D1
76	Phineus	2.444-7	4	Jason	Lam, Des	D4
77	Jason	2.1136-9	4	Argos	Res	D2
78	Ankaios	2.1277-80	4	Argonauts	Exh, Que	M
79	Jason	3.485-8	4	Argos	Lam, Req	D2
80	Jason	3.568-71	4	Argonauts	Per, Req	G6
81	Jason	4.95-8	4	Medeia	Vow	G2
82	Jason	4.1333-6	4	Λιβύης τμήσοι	Pra, Inf	D2
83	Jason	4.1597-600	4	Triton	Pra	D4
84	Herakles	1.345-7	3	Argonauts	Per	G2
85	Polydeukes	2.22-4	3	Amykos	Res	D2
86	Jason	3.1143-5	3	Medeia	Far	D7
87	Argonauts	4.1458-60	3		Lau, Des	S

5.12.5 WOMEN (LONGEST TO SHORTEST)

No.	Speaker	Book Lines	Length (Verses)	Addressee(s)	Speech Type	Speech Cluster
1	Hera	4.783-832	50	Thetis	Nar, Req	D1
2	Hypsipyle	1.793-833	41	Jason	Nar, Per, Inv	M
3	Medeia	3.1026-62	37	Jason	Inf, Req	D2
4	Medeia	4.355-90	36	Jason	Vit, Lam	D1
5	Medeia	3.771-801	31		Lam, Del	S
6	Arete	4.1073-95	23	Alkinoos	Per, Req	D1
7	Medeia	4.1031-52	22	Argonauts	Req	M
8	Polyxo	1.675-96	22	Lemnian Women	Per	G2
9	Medeia	3.891-911	21	αἱ δμῶαί	Per, Req	M
10	Hera	3.56-75	20	Kypris	Res	G2
11	Aigle	4.1432-49	18	Argonauts	Nar, Inf	D2
12	Kypris	3.129-44	16	Eros	Req, Vow	M
13	Medeia	4.1014-28	15	Arete	Req	M
14	Alkimedea	1.278-91	14	Jason	Far, Lam	D1
15	Medeia	3.727-39	13	Chalkiope	Res	D6
16	Medeia	3.1105-17	13	Jason	Lam, Req	D5
17	Hera	4.757-69	13	Iris	Req, Mes	M
18	Λιβύης τιμήφοροι	4.1318-29	12	Jason	Exh, Ora	D1
19	Hypsipyle	1.888-98	11	Jason	Far, Req	D1
20	Hypsipyle	1.657-66	10	Lemnian Women	Per, Req	G1
21	Medeia	4.411-20	10	Jason	Per, Req	D3
22	Kirke	4.739-48	10	Medeia	Vit, Per	M
23	Kypris	3.91-9	9	Hera, Athene	Lam, Nar	G5
24	Mene	4.57-65	9		Del, Tau	S
25	Thetis	4.856-64	9	Peleus	Exh, Req	M
26	Medeia	3.636-44	9		Del	S
27	Medeia	4.83-91	9	Phrontis, Argos	Per	G1
28	αἱ γυναῖκες	1.251-9	9		Lam	S
29	Chalkiope	3.260-7	8	Phrixos' Sons	Lam	M
30	Chalkiope	3.697-704	8	Medeia	Req	D3

31	Medeia	3.1069-76	8	Jason	Req, Que	D3
32	Thetis	4.834-41	8	Hera	Res	D2
33	Medeia	3.464-70	7		Lam, Des	S
34	Chalkiope	3.674-80	7	Medeia	Lam, Que	D1
35	Medeia	3.711-7	7	Chalkiope	Res	D4
36	Hera	3.11-6	6	Athene	Per, Que	D1
37	Hera	3.84-9	6	Kypris	Per, Req	G4
38	Hera	3.25-9	5	Athene	Per, Exh	D3
39	Medeia	3.688-92	5	Chalkiope	Lam, Des	D2
40	Chalkiope	3.719-23	5	Medeia	Per, Req	D5
41	Medeia	4.1654-8	5	Argonauts	Per, Req	M
42	Hypsipyle	1.703-7	5	Iphinoe	Req, Mes	M
43	Iphinoe	1.712-6	5	Argonauts	Mes	M
44	Medeia	4.30-3	4		Far, Lam	S
45	Athene	3.18-21	4	Hera	Res	D2
46	Athene	3.32-5	4	Hera	Res	D4
47	Kypris	3.79-82	4	Hera	Res	G3
48	Kypris	3.102-5	4	Hera, Athene	Lam, Vow	G6
49	Iris	2.288-90	3	Zetes, Calais	Vit, Vow	M
50	Hera	3.108-10	3	Kypris	Exh, Req	G7
51	Kypris	3.151-3	3	Eros	Vow	M
51	Kypris	3.52-4	3	Hera, Athene	Que	G1
53	Hypsipyle	1.700-1	2	Lemnian Women	Inf, Per	G3

5.12.6 MORTAL MEN (LONGEST TO SHORTEST)

No.	Speaker	Book Lines	Length (Verses)	Addressee(s)	Speech Type	Speech Cluster
1	Phineus	2.311-407	99	Argonauts	Ora	M
2	Argos	3.320-66	47	Aietes	Nar	G2
3	Lykos	2.774-810	37	Argonauts	Nar	M
4	Argos	4.257-93	37	Argonauts	Nar, Inf	M
5	Jason	3.975-1007	33	Medeia	Per	D1

6	Phineus	2.209-39	31	Argonauts	Lam, Req, Ora	D1
7	Jason	3.171-93	23	Argonauts	Per, Req	M
8	Jason	3.1079-101	23	Medeia	Inf, Vow	D4
9	Phineus	2.468-89	22	Argonauts	Nar	M
10	Amphidamas	2.1047-67	21	Argonauts	Per, Exh	M
11	Aietes	3.401-21	21	Jason	Cha, Vow	G5
12	Argos	2.1141-56	17	Jason	Res	D3
13	Jason	2.1179-95	17	Phrixos' Sons	Per, Req	D5
14	Argos	3.523-39	17	Argonauts	Per	G3
15	Jason	2.622-37	16	Tiphys	Lam	D2
16	Argos	2.1200-15	16	Argonauts	Res	D6
17	Jason	4.1347-62	16	Argonauts	Nar, Mes	G1
18	Jason	4.190-205	16	Argonauts	Per, Exh	M
19	Ankaios	4.1261-76	16	Argonauts	Lam	M
20	Jason	4.395-409	15	Medeia	Per	D2
21	Jason	1.411-24	14	Apollo	Pra	M
22	Aietes	3.304-16	13	Phrixos' Sons	Req	G1
23	Jason	1.351-62	12	Argonauts	Inf, Mes, Req	G3
24	Alkinoos	4.1098-109	12	Arete	Res	D2
25	Jason	1.295-305	11	Alkimedea	Far, Con	D2
26	Mopsos	1.1092-102	11	Jason	Ora	M
27	Argos	2.1123-33	11	Argonauts	Gre, Req	D1
28	Jason	3.1120-1130	11	Medeia	Vow	D6
29	Orpheus	4.1411-21	11	Ἑσπερίδες	Pra	D1
30	Herakles	1.865-74	10	Argonauts	Vit, Exh	M
31	Jason	1.900-9	10	Hypsipyle	Far, Vow, Req	D2
32	Zetes	2.244-53	10	Phineus	Res	D2
33	Aietes	3.372-81	10	Phrixos' Sons	Vit, Thr	G3
34	Jason	3.386-95	10	Aietes	Per, Req	G4
35	Jason	3.492-501	10	Argonauts	Inf	G1

36	Mopsos	3.545-54	10	Argonauts	Ora	G4
37	Peleus	4.1370-9	10	Argonauts	Ora, Inf	G2
38	Jason	1.332-40	9	Argonauts	Per	G1
39	Idas	1.463-71	9	Jason	Vit, Thr	G1
40	Idmon	1.476-84	9	Idas	Vit, Thr	G2
41	Argonauts	2.145-53	9		Del, Lam	S
42	Ankaios	2.869-77	9	Peleus	Per	G1
43	Argos	3.475-83	9	Jason	Per	D1
44	Peleus	3.506-14	9	Jason, Argonauts	Per	G2
45	Idmon	1.440-7	8	Argonauts	Ora	M
46	Amykos	2.11-8	8	Argonauts	Cha, Thr	D1
47	Jason	2.411-8	8	Phineus	Que	D1
48	Tiphys	2.611-8	8	Jason, Argonauts	Exh	D1
49	Orpheus	2.686-93	8	Argonauts	Per, Des	M
50	Jason	2.886-93	8	Peleus	Lam	G3
51	Jason	2.1160-7	8	Argos	Inf	D4
52	Peleus	4.495-502	8	Argonauts	Per	M
53	Argonauts	4.1251-8	8		Lam, Del	S
54	Jason	1.1337-43	7	Telamon	Res, Des	D2
55	Jason	2.641-7	7	Argonauts	Lau, Vow	D3
56	Peleus	2.1219-25	7	Argos	Exh	D7
57	Mopsos	3.940-6	7	Jason, Argos	Ora	M
58	Euphemus	4.1564-70	7	Triton (as young man)	Req, Que	D2
59	Telamon	1.1290-5	6	Jason	Vit	M
60	Phineus	2.256-61	6	Zetes	Per, Vow	D3
61	Phineus	2.420-5	6	Jason	Ora, Req	D2
62	Idas	3.558-63	6	Argonauts	Vit	G5
63	Jason	4.1749-54	6	Euphemus	Res	M
64	οἱ ἄνδρες	1.242-6	5		Del	S
65	Idas	1.487-91	5	Idmon	Vit, Thr	G3
66	Amykos	2.55-9	5	Polydeukes	Cha, Tau	M

67	Jason	2.438-42	5	Phineus	Per, Des	D3
68	Peleus	2.880-4	5	Argonauts	Per, Exh	G2
69	Jason	3.427-31	5	Aietes	Res	G6
70	Aietes	3.434-8	5	Jason	Req, Tau	G7
71	Polyphemus	1.1257-60	4	Herakles	Nar, Inf	M
72	Telamon	1.1332-5	4	Jason	Per, Req	D1
73	Phineus	2.444-7	4	Jason	Lam, Des	D4
74	Jason	2.1136-9	4	Argos	Res	D2
75	Ankaios	2.1277-80	4	Argonauts	Exh, Que	M
76	Jason	3.485-8	4	Argos	Lam, Req	D2
77	Jason	3.568-71	4	Argonauts	Per, Req	G6
78	Jason	4.95-8	4	Medeia	Vow	G2
79	Jason	4.1333-6	4	Λιβύης τιμήσοι	Pra, Inf	D2
80	Jason	4.1597-600	4	Triton	Pra	D4
81	Herakles	1.345-7	3	Argonauts	Per	G2
82	Polydeukes	2.22-4	3	Amykos	Res	D2
83	Jason	3.1143-5	3	Medeia	Far	D7
84	Argonauts	4.1458-60	3		Lau, Des	S

5.12.7. MORTAL WOMEN (LONGEST TO SHORTEST)

No.	Speaker	Book Lines	Length (Verses)	Addressee(s)	Speech Type	Speech Cluster
1	Hypsipyle	1.793-833	41	Jason	Nar, Per, Inv	M
2	Medeia	3.1026-62	37	Jason	Inf, Req	D2
3	Medeia	4.355-90	36	Jason	Vit, Lam	D1
4	Medeia	3.771-801	31		Lam, Del	S
5	Arete	4.1073-95	23	Alkinoos	Per, Req	D1
6	Medeia	4.1031-52	22	Argonauts	Req	M
7	Polyxo	1.675-96	22	Lemnian Women	Per	G2
8	Medeia	3.891-911	21	αἱ δμῶαί	Per, Req	M
9	Medeia	4.1014-28	15	Arete	Req	M

10	Alkimedea	1.278-91	14	Jason	Far, Lam	D1
11	Medeia	3.727-39	13	Chalkiope	Res	D6
12	Medeia	3.1105-17	13	Jason	Lam, Req	D5
13	Hypsipyle	1.888-98	11	Jason	Far, Req	D1
14	Hypsipyle	1.657-66	10	Lemnian women	Per, Req	G1
15	Medeia	4.411-20	10	Jason	Per, Req	D3
16	Medeia	3.636-44	9		Del	S
17	Medeia	4.83-91	9	Phrontis, Argos	Per	G1
18	αἱ γυναῖκες	1.251-9	9		Lam	S
19	Chalkiope	3.260-7	8	Phrixos' Sons	Lam	M
20	Chalkiope	3.697-704	8	Medeia	Req	D3
21	Medeia	3.1069-76	8	Jason	Req, Que	D3
22	Medeia	3.464-70	7		Lam, Des	S
23	Chalkiope	3.674-80	7	Medeia	Lam, Que	D1
24	Medeia	3.711-7	7	Chalkiope	Res	D4
25	Medeia	3.688-92	5	Chalkiope	Lam, Des	D2
26	Chalkiope	3.719-23	5	Medeia	Per, Req	D5
27	Medeia	4.1654-8	5	Argonauts	Per, Req	M
28	Hypsipyle	1.703-7	5	Iphinoe	Req, Mes	M
29	Iphinoe	1.712-6	5	Argonauts	Mes	M
30	Medeia	4.30-3	4		Far, Lam	S
31	Hypsipyle	1.700-1	2	Lemnian Women	Inf, Per	G3

5.12.8. GODS (LONGEST TO SHORTEST)

No.	Speaker	Book Lines	Length (Verses)	Addressee(s)	Speech Type	Speech Cluster
1	Triton (as young man)	4.1573-85	13	Euphemus	Inf, Exh	D3
2	Glaukos	1.1315-25	11	Argonauts	Ora	M
3	Triton (as young man)	4.1554-61	8	Argonauts	Gre, Vow	D1

5.12.9. GODDESSES (LONGEST TO SHORTEST)

No.	Speaker	Book Lines	Length (Verses)	Addressee(s)	Speech Type	Speech Cluster
1	Hera	4.783-832	50	Thetis	Nar, Req	D1
2	Hera	3.56-75	20	Kypris	Res	G2
3	Aigle	4.1432-49	18	Argonauts	Nar, Inf	D2
4	Kypris	3.129-44	16	Eros	Req, Vow	M
5	Hera	4.757-69	13	Iris	Req, Mes	M
6	Λιβύης τιμήοροι	4.1318-29	12	Jason	Exh, Ora	D1
7	Kirke	4.739-48	10	Medeia	Vit, Per	M
8	Kypris	3.91-9	9	Hera, Athene	Lam, Nar	G5
9	Mene	4.57-65	9		Del, Tau	S
10	Thetis	4.856-64	9	Peleus	Exh, Req	M
11	Thetis	4.834-41	8	Hera	Res	D2
12	Hera	3.11-6	6	Athene	Per, Que	D1
13	Hera	3.84-9	6	Kypris	Per, Req	G4
14	Hera	3.25-9	5	Athene	Per, Exh	D3
15	Athene	3.18-21	4	Hera	Res	D2
16	Athene	3.32-5	4	Hera	Res	D4
17	Kypris	3.79-82	4	Hera	Res	G3
18	Kypris	3.102-5	4	Hera, Athene	Lam, Vow	G6
19	Iris	2.288-90	3	Zetes, Calais	Vit, Vow	M
20	Hera	3.108-10	3	Kypris	Exh, Req	G7
21	Kypris	3.151-3	3	Eros	Vow	M
22	Kypris	3.52-4	3	Hera, Athene	Que	G1