

Notes on Apollonius Rhodius *Arg.* 4.183-293

183 “The typically Hellenistic restriction of the time-indication to less a than full verse (contrast, e.g., *Il.* 8.1, 19.1-2, 24.695) perhaps indicates also the speed of their arrival back at the ship. The coming of dawn shows that the ‘hunters’ have successfully caught their prey, cf. 109- 13n. ὄμιλον: often used of the crew of Argonauts without a defining genitive, cf. 346, 1.48, 1207 etc.” (Hunter 2015)

184 “The Argonauts’ θαῦμα enhances the sense of the Fleece as a marvellous work of art, cf., e.g., *Il.* 18.377, 549 (the shield of Achilles), Theocr....; so too does their desire to touch it, cf. 181, 428-9, 1145-8...” (Hunter 2015)

185 στεροπῇ ἵκελον: “the hiatus (cf. 1.1027 etc.) imitates archaic practice in which the initial digamma of ἵκελος was still sometimes felt. In Homer such a gleam usually comes from armour and causes fear, cf. *Il.* 10.153- 4, 13.339- 44, 20.44-6, and the transference from such situations to the erotic and pleasurable gleam of the Fleece is a ‘not quite sublime’ effect characteristic of Ap.; Hunter 2009: 149-54...” (Hunter 2015)

187 τῷ δ’: “‘over the Fleece’; the preposition follows in ‘anastrophe’ as frequently in poetry. κάββαλε: i.e. κατέβαλε (a form impossible in hexameters) with omission (‘apocope’) of the second syllable of the prefix (cf. ἀνθέμενος immediately below) and subsequent assimilation of consonants; this is a familiar feature of poetic language, cf. 1.1239, 3.1308, K- B i 176 8.” (Hunter 2015)

188 νηγάτεον: “almost certainly to be understood as ‘new’ (cf. 1.775), though sense and etymology in Homer, where it is only used of textiles (*Il.* 2.43, 14.185, *HHAp.* 122 (a φᾶρος)), are uncertain.” (Hunter 2015)

188 ἐνεείσατο: “‘placed upon’, probably an aorist middle of ἐνίζω, or perhaps of transitive ἐνέζω, cf. 3.1186, *Od.* 14.295.” (Hunter 2015)

189 ἀνθέμενος: “lifting [her] on board” (Hunter 2015)

190 ῥάξεσθε: “in *Il.* this verb is standardly used of withdrawing or slinking away from the fighting: Jason thus begins (and then continues) as if exhorting his men to combat, rather than to a ‘hasty getaway’; the unparalleled use of ῥάξεσθαι with an infinitive is a syntactic marker of the paradoxical surprise of πάτρηνδε νέεσθαι, which may make us think of speeches such as Agamemnon’s deception-speech urging retreat (*Il.* 2.137-41). Ap. and his readers almost certainly knew versions in which the Colchians and the Argonauts did indeed engage in armed fighting before the Greeks made their getaway, cf. Dionys. Scyt. *FgrHist* 32 F10.” (Hunter 2015)

191 χρειώ: “object, purpose” (Hunter 2015)

191 ἀλεγεινήν: “difficult’ which has involved ἄλγη” (Hunter 2015)

192 μοχθίζοντες: “the spondaic ending imitates the Argonauts’ labourings, cf. 1652, Hunter on Theocr. 1.38...” (Hunter 2015)

193 “A second successive spondeiazon.” (Hunter 2015)

193 εὐπαλέως “‘successfully’ cf. 2.617-18; the adverb is in pointed contrast to the ‘laboured’ conclusion of the preceding verse.” (Hunter 2015)

193 δήνεσι: “cf. 1n., 3.661n. κεκράανται: 3rd sing. perf. pass. from κραίνω ‘accomplish’; the lengthening from ανται to -άνται is borrowed from Homer (*Od.* 4.132, 616).” (Hunter 2015)

194 Jason’s declaration is echoed, with (for us) a savage irony, by Medea at 1021 (see 1021-2n.). The Homeric model is *Od.* 3.272 (Aegisthus and Clytemnestra), τὴν δ’ ἐθέλων ἐθέλουσαν ἀνήγαγεν ὄνδε δόμονδε- not a good omen under which to travel. In a lawful and ‘ordinary’ Greek marriage, the bride’s ‘will’ would be largely irrelevant, as the marriage would be arranged by her father or other male κύριος, but this is hardly the case here, cf. 87-91n. Moreover, we are invited (long before 1021) to wonder whether Medea could really be described as ‘willing’, any more than Ariadne had been cf. 15, 32-3, 3.997 1004n., Hunter

1987. Whether a woman acting under the power of ἔρως is really responsible for her actions was one of the questions raised by Gorgias in his *Encomium of Helen*. At *Pyth.* 4.250 Pindar says that Jason ‘stole’ Medea σὺν αὐτᾷ, which the scholia (ii 158 Drachmann) gloss as ἐκοῦσαν.” (Hunter 2015)

195 “Just as Medea is the benefactor of ‘all Achaea’, so soon Jason will declare the fate of ‘Hellas’ to hang upon the successful completion of their expedition (2045n., Introduction p. 4).” (Hunter 2015)

195 οἷά τε: “in as much as [she is the benefactor....].” (Hunter 2015)

197 ἢ γάρ που μάλ’: “For, no doubt” (Hunter 2015)

198 ὁμάδωι ‘with a throng of men’. The basic sense of the noun is ‘din, loud inarticulate noise’ (cf. 2.1077), and thus it prepares for the comparison of the Colchians to Homer’s noisy Trojan masses, cf. 238–40 n. Such a suggestion is very appropriate to Jason’s patriotic appeal to shared Greek identity.

“Through the length of the ship half of you each alternate man- sit and row with your oars, and the other half protect our return by holding out your ox-hide shields as a ready barrier against enemy missiles.’ The syntax seems broken (‘anacoluthon’), but the sense is clear”; possible allusion to *Il.* 3.211 (Hunter 2015)

199 ἀμοιβαδὶς ἀνέρος ἀνὴρ: “‘man alternating with man’. Jason’s stirring polyptoton, ἀνέρος ἀνὴρ, again evokes Iliadic combat, cf. *Il.* 13.131 = 16.215.” (Hunter 2015)

199–200 ἀλλ’ οἱ μὲν διὰ νηός, ἀμοιβαδὶς ἀνέρος ἀνὴρ / ἐζόμενος, πηδοῖσιν ἐρέσσετε ‘Therefore every other man through the length of the ship should stay on his bench and ply the oars.’ (Hulse 2015)

200 πηδοῖσιν “‘oar blades’, a choice alternative for ἐρετμόν, used only here in *Arg.* and twice in Homer (*Od.* 7.328, 13.78).” (Hunter 2015)

200–2 τοὶ δὲ βοείας / ἀσπίδας ἡμίσεες, δῆων θοὸν ἔχμα βολάων, / προσχόμενοι νόστῳ ἐπαμύνετε. ‘And the other half protect our return by holding out their oxhide shields as a swift-moving protection against enemy missiles.’ Cf. *Od.* 3.157–9 ἡμίσεες δ’ ἀναβάντες ἐλαύνομεν· αἱ δὲ μάλ’ ὄκα / ἔπλεον, *Arg.* 2.1061–2 ἡμίσεες μὲν ἐρέσσετ’ ἀμοιβαδὶς, ἡμίσεες δὲ / δούρασί τε ξυστοῖσι καὶ ἀσπίσιν ἄρσετε νῆα. Compared with Odysseus’ narrative, Jason’s instructions are more elaborate as befits an exhortation to his men.... δῆων θοὸν ἔχμα βολάων suits a speech in which Jason adopts the role of valiant but verbose leader after the dangerous work has been done by Medea; cf. the simpler phrase at 1.743 θοὸν σάκος.... With ἐπαμύνετε, A. ironically recalls Hector’s words at *Il.* 12.243 εἷς οἰωνὸς ἄριστος ἀμύνεσθαι περὶ πάτρης and military exhortations such as *Thuc.* 3.14 ἐπαμύνατε Μυτιληναῖοις ξύμμαχοι γενόμενοι, 4.92 πατριὸν τε ὑμῖν στρατὸν ἀλλόφυλον ἐπελθόντα καὶ ἐν τῇ οἰκείᾳ καὶ ἐν τῇ τῶν πέλας ὁμοίως ἀμύνεσθαι, *Isoc.* *Panegy.* 4.184.9, *Plut.* 9.5.8.” (Hulse 2015)

201 δῆϊων: “probably to be understood as the epic trisyllabic form, but scanned as two long syllables through synzesis of –ων.” (Hunter 2015)

201 θοόν: “perhaps ‘easy to handle, mobile’” (Hunter 2015)

202–4: “Jason continues the emotive rhetoric (195–7n.); cf. *Il.* 15.497–8 (Hector, exhorting the Trojans, links defending πάτρη, ἄλοχος, παῖδες, οἶκος and κλῆρος), *Il.* 15.662–3 (Nestor) ἐπὶ δὲ μνήσασθε ἕκαστος / παίδων ἢ δ’ ἄλόχων καὶ κτήσιος ἢ δὲ τοκῆων, 15.496–7 οὐ οἱ ἀεικέες ἀμυνομένῳ περὶ πάτρης / τεθνάμεν· ἀλλ’ ἄλοχός τε σὺν καὶ παῖδες, 22.338. The ascending tricolon with ‘love of country’ embedded between ‘love for children and parents’ adds to the emotion of the appeal. However, as elsewhere in the poem, the theme of a warrior arming or preparations for combat never leads to an actual confrontation; see Vian (1981) 154, Fränkel (1968) 468–72.... Transmitted δ’ was rightly deleted by Brunck.” (Hulse 2015)

202–5: “Jason’s appeal to a shared ‘Hellenic’ identity is anachronistic (see, e.g., Thalmann 2011: 122–3), but has been prepared by 195, and contributes to the assimilation of the

Argonautic expedition both to the Greeks' campaign at Troy (cf. Hdt. 1.1.2–3) and to the historical struggles of Greeks against 'barbarians', notably Persians, for which the Trojan War had been subsequently shaped as the paradigmatic model (Introduction, p. 4). As Medea (or her son) had, in some traditions, given their name to the Medes (Hdt. 7.62.1, Diod. Sic. 4.55.5–7) and both Perse (Circe's mother) and Perses (Aietes' brother, Diod. Sic. 4.56.1) were prominent names in her family, the assimilation of the Argonauts' escape with Medea to the struggle between Greece and Persia is at least tonally complex; see further Clauss 2000: 27–8. The verses have several Homeric analogues (cf. Il. 15.661–4), but are particularly reminiscent of the report of the Greek cry at Salamis in Aeschylus' *Persians*, ὦ παῖδες Ἑλλήνων, ἴτε, ἐλευθεροῦτε πατρίδ', ἐλευθεροῦτε δέ | παῖδας γυναῖκας θεῶν τε πατρώων ἔδη | θήκας τε προγόνων· νῦν ὑπὲρ πάντων ἀγών (Pers. 402–5). That passage is also one argument in favour of Brunck's deletion of δ' in 202, thus producing a vivid asyndeton. ἐνὶ χερσὶ carries more than one resonance. The fate of Greece is 'in their hands', i.e. depends upon them, but also literally 'leans upon' (ἐπερείδεται) the strength of their arms; in other contexts the phrase can imply 'by martial valour', LSJ s.v. χεῖρ ii 6f. We might also remember that what Jason has just had 'in his hands' is the Fleece, and this has become a talisman for their success and the future of their country..." (Hunter 2015)

203 εὐός: "our"; elsewhere this form is used for both first pers. singular (1.226) and second pers. plural (2.332, 3.267) possessive pronouns, cf. 3.186n." (Hunter 2015)

203 γεραρός: "aged", cf. 1.683. ἐφορμῇ 'success of our> raid, expedition', cf., e.g., Thucyd. 6.90.3 for this military sense, and probably already 148; again, Jason's language suggests preparation for an attack, not for escape, cf. 207–8n., Fränkel 1968: 468–9." (Hunter 2015)

204–5 ἡμετέρῃ δ' ἐπερείδεται Ἑλλὰς ἐφορμῇ, / ἥ ἐ κατηφείην, ἥ καὶ μέγα κῦδος ἀρέσθαι. "Hellas depends upon our enterprise, as to whether it will achieve despair or great glory." Jason's emotive appeal (189–205n.) to Hellas may also contain a contemporary historical reference. The decree proposed by Chremonides during the Chremonidean War (268–61 BC) reminded the Greeks that together 'they had fought many glorious battles against those who wished to enslave the cities' and urged them to ally themselves with Ptolemy, the defender of the 'common freedom of the Greeks'; see Chaniotis (2005) 230." (Hulse 2015)

205 κατηφείην "dejection", in a military context usually implying the shame of defeat, cf. Il. 16.498, 17.556." (Hunter 2015); Hulse 2015 suggests in keeping with Jason's character "as a sometime sufferer of ἀμηχανία."

205 ἥ καὶ μέγα κῦδος ἀρέσθαι: "καὶ gives emphasis to the second alternative as the desired outcome (Denniston 306), as does the fact that ἀρέσθαι (aor. inf. ἄρνημαι) is a much more natural verb with κῦδος than with κατηφείην (a 'zeugma')." (Hunter 2015)

206–8 ὣς φάτο, δῶν δὲ τεύχε' ἀρήια· τοὶ δ' ἰάχησαν / θεσπέσιον μεμαῶτες. ὁ δὲ ξίφος ἐκ κολεοῖο / σπασσάμενος πρυμναῖα νεὼς ἀπὸ πείσματος ἔκοψεν. "With these words, he put on his warlike armour. The Argonauts gave a great shout of eagerness and Jason, having drawn his sword from its sheath, cut the ropes at the ship's stern.' As often, a loud roar greets the encouragement to gave a great shout of eagerness and Jason, having drawn his sword from its sheath, battle... Just like the Colchians, the Laestrygonians have been holding an ἀγορή (Od. ship's rope would have been in the ancient world (Casson (1971) 231), Jason's action in drawing the sword and cutting the ropes could be seen as empty heroic gesture, emphasising his attempt to reassert himself after the secondary role he has played in the encounter with the serpent. In the case of Odysseus and the Laestrygonians, the gesture is motivated. They are intent on pursuit (118–19) and armed (121–2). The action in A. moves at a slower pace and gives time for the elaborate simile about the vast number of Colchians (214–17) and the description of Aietes." (Hulse 2015)

207 θεσπέσιον μεμαῶτες: "filled with extraordinary enthusiasm" (Hunter 2015)

208 note tmesis of ἀποκόπτω.

207–8 “The cutting of the cables closely recalls the escape of Odysseus’ ship from the Laistrygonians (Od. 10.126–30). Odysseus there reports that he urged his men to row powerfully ‘in order that we might escape disaster’; Jason had spoken more inspiringly of ‘winning great glory’, but the Homeric model casts a shadow over his rhetoric. In both cases escape involves reaching the open sea (225, Od. 10.131).” (Hunter 2015)

208 νεός: Attic form (genitive); epic νηός doesn’t fit metre.

208 ἀπὸ πείσματος ἔκονεν: “this phrase is moved from its initial position in the Homeric verse (Od.10.127); Ap. may have felt that the separation (‘tmesis’) of the prefix from the verb was particularly appropriate to the action described.” (Hunter 2015)

209–210: “There is a memory of the dramatic close of *Odyssey* 21 when, just after Odysseus has successfully completed the test of the bow, Telemachus ἄγχι δ’ ἄρ’ αὐτοῦ | παρ’ θρόνον ἐστήκει κεκορυθμένος αἶθοπι χαλκῶι (21.433–4).” (Hunter 2015)

209 παρθενικῆς: “Medea’s virginity is important to her status as Jason’s ‘bride’ (194–5).” (Hunter 2015).

209–10 ἄγχι δὲ παρθενικῆς κεκορυθμένος ἰθύντηρι / Ἀγκαίῳ παρέβασκεν. “‘Armed, he took his place, near to the maiden, next to the steersman Ancaeus.’ The imagery is both that of charioteer and steersman, even though Jason and Medea are in the prow of the ship... . Framed between is the simile of the leaves and the elaborate description of Aietes in full armour. The focus of the narrative switches between Colchians and Argonauts in almost cinematic fashion (225–7n.).” (Hulse 2015)

210 νηός: “is scanned as a single syllable (‘synizesis’), cf. 226.” (Hunter 2015)

212–13 “The adjectives περίπυστος and ὑπερήνωρ emphasise the split between father and daughter, the former marking Medea’s now notorious reputation ... and the latter alluding to Aietes’ character and used of Pelias, also an overbearing tyrant, at Hes. Th. 995.” (Hulse 2015)

212–35” We are probably to understand that the Colchian discovery and his threats of revenge were the starting point for Callimachus’ account of the rite at Anaphe in the Aitia, cf. fr.7.19–34, Introduction p. 22. There is clearly a relationship between the poets here (see nn. on 213, 229, 231–5); that Ap. is the ‘borrower’ is perhaps suggested by the fact that Callimachus’ narrative also seems to be echoed in Book 3 (3.581–2n.).” (Hunter 2015)

213 ἔργος καὶ ἔργ’: “almost a hendiadys, ‘the deeds caused by Medea’s love’. The hiatus of καὶ ἔργ’ imitates archaic epic in which the initial digamma of ἔργον is often felt. Callimachus’ narrative is here very similar: ὁ δ’ [sc. Αἰήτης] ὥς ἶδεν ἔργα θυγατρός, fr. 7.27. 214–19 A double simile shows the poet struggling to find the right way to convey the numberlessness of the Colchians (for which cf. 2.1205, 3.212 etc)... In 214–18 there is only one spondee (making the emphatic spondeiazon of 217); the dactylic rhythm indicates speed and number. The heavy (and unmusical) spondaic opening of 219, κλαγγῇ μαϊμώνοντες, thus comes with special force.” (Hunter 2015)

214 “ἐνὶ τεύχεσιν only occurs here. It was unusual to attend an agora under arms;.. for laws against carrying arms in the agora, see Sealey (1994) 27. Used here, the phrase suggests that the time for discussion or persuasion is over: only fighting can sort things out now.” (Hulse 2015)

214: “The first half of the verse, the figura etymologica ἐς δ’ ἀγορὴν ἀγέροντ’, repeats *Il.* 18.245 of the Trojans, thus preparing for the comparison of the two armies (nn. on 219, 238–40).” (Hunter 2015)

214–15 ὅσσα δὲ πόντου / κύματα χειμερίοιο κορύσσεται ἐξ ἀνέμοιο: effect of simile? “‘As many as the waves of the sea raised into a crest by a stormy wind.’ The emphasis on the great size of the Colchian horde reminds the reader of the historical parallel of Xerxes and the Persians versus small bands of Greeks; cf. Thuc. 4.126.3 ... The model for the first part of

A.'s simile is *Il.* 4.422–4 ὥς δ' ὅτ' ἐν αἰγιαλῷ πολυηχεῖ κῦμα θαλάσσης / ὄρνυτ' ἐπ' αὐτὸν Ζεφύρου ὑποκινήσαντος / πόντῳ μὲν τε πρῶτα κορύσσεται; cf. Catull. 64.269–75, Virg. *G.* 2.105, Gow on Theocr. 16.60. The rowing Argonauts might be compared to the Greeks at Salamis, showing agility and fast movement against overwhelming numbers. The waves of the sea represent the Colchians or Persians, a powerful force, ultimately frustrated in its aims... The switch to a simile is sudden and unexpected. The language is elaborately structured, with alliteration and assonance..." (Hulse 2015)

215 "Assemblies are compared to countless waves at *Il.* 2.144–6 (part, as here, of a double simile), and the advance of the Greek army is compared to massed waves at *Il.* 4.422–6. κορύσσεται 'rise to a peak',..." (Hunter 2015)

216–17: what does the simile contribute? Ominous for the Colchians? "Leaves are a traditional marker of great numbers, cf. *Il.* 2.468, 800, 6.146–8 (note χαμάδις in 147), ... with which Theseus was celebrated; Ap. may have borrowed from Callimachus here, but in any case there is a thick literary texture behind the simile. τεκμήραιτο 'reckon, make an estimate of the number'. The parenthetic question, and the spondaic rhythm (214–19n.), draw sudden attention to the narrator within a multiple simile, which is very often a marked site of authorial self-consciousness (Hunter 1993: 129–38, 2006: ch. 3), and where the sense of earlier texts is palpable (previous n.)." (Hunter 2015)

216–7 ἢ ὅσα φύλλα χαμάζε περικλαδέος πέσεν ὕλης / φυλλοχόῳ ἐνὶ μηνί (τίς ἂν τάδε τεκμήραιτο;): "Or as many as the leaves that fall to the ground in a dense wood in the leaf-shedding month – who could count them?" The accumulated similes enable A. to explore the scene described from every angle. The Colchians are like the waves, but are also compared to falling leaves, numberless but signalling death and futility." (Hulse 2015)

218 ἀπειρέσιοι: "the vast numbers of the Colchians is a recurrent motif, cf. 2.1205, 3.1239." (Hunter 2015)

219 κλαγγῇ μαϊμώντες: "lit. 'raging with a din', i.e. 'shouting and raging'. At *Il.* 3.2–5 the noise of the massed Trojans is compared to that of cranes, and κλαγγή appears three times in four verses; here too the barbarians are opposed to the outnumbered Greeks who silently slip away. See further 238–40n." (Hunter 2015)

219–25: "The description of Aietes picks up and varies that at 3.1225–45, where he drives out to watch Jason's struggle with the bulls and the sown warriors. The concern for linguistic and thematic variation between the passages distinguishes the Hellenistic epic from its Homeric models." (Hunter 2015)

219 εὐτύκῳ ἐνὶ δίφρῳ "varies εὐπηγέα δίφρον at 3.1235. 220–1 Horses were Helios' most famous attribute, and Aietes' possession of some of these reinforces the sense of the king as 'Helios on earth'. The gift of the horses varies the motif of 3.1226–7, Ares' gift to Aietes of a breastplate." (Hunter 2015)

219–21 ὁ δ' εὐτύκῳ ἐνὶ δίφρῳ / Αἰήτης ἵπποισι μετέπρεπεν, οὓς οἱ ὄπασσεν / Ἥλιος πνοιῇσιν ἐξειδομένους ἀνέμοιο. 'In his finely-wrought chariot Aietes was resplendent with the horses that the Sun had given as swift as the wind.' As the early dawn (110–11) fades and the sun raises, so does Aietes, the son of Helios. His son, Apsyrtus, is sometimes known as Phaethon (3.245, 1235, 4.598). The present description of Aietes – spear in one hand, torch in the other, a companion in the chariot, – refers to his ancestry; cf. Letta (1988) 606. He is conspicuous (μετέπρεπεν) and so his name comes early in the sentence, while ἐξειδομένους, used of his horses, suggests physical similarity with gusts of wind..." (Hulse 2015)

222 δινωτόν: "probably 'decorated', 'carefully worked' (Hunter 2015)

223–4 "Aietes represents the same 'monstrous' threat as the dragon, cf. 127 ~ 223–4, 129 (πελώριον) ~ 224."

223 πεύκη: "at an earlier Colchian assembly, Aietes had threatened to burn the Argo and its crew, once the bulls had killed Jason, 3.581–2." (Hunter 2015)

τετάνυστο “‘lay stretched out’, the pluperfect passive of τανύω, varying τείνεται of the dragon in 127.” (Hunter 2015)

πελώριον: “at 3.1232 the spear was δεινὸν ἀμαιμάκετον.” (Hunter 2015)

222–4 σκαίῃ μὲν ῥ’ ἐνὶ χειρὶ σάκος δινωτὸν αἰείρων, / τῇ δ’ ἑτέρῃ πεύκην περιμήκεα· πὰρ δέ οἱ ἔγχος / ἀντικρὺ τετάνυστο πελώριον. ‘in his left hand, raising his circular shield and in the other a huge torch, and beside him lay his mighty spear, close at hand.’ The Homeric warrior brandishes his spear but uses his shield for protection; cf. Il. 8.424 ἄντα πελώριον ἔγχος αἰεῖραι, 20.373 ἔγχε’ αἰείραν. At the moment Aietes is more concerned to light the morning gloom with his torch and burn the Argo than fling his spear after a fleeing Jason. The massive spear reminds us of his prowess as a fighter (cf. the more elaborate description at 3.1225–45), but the torch conveys the imminent threat and its blaze suits the son of the Sun.... Alliteration of π (216–17n.) reinforces the threat that Aietes’ torch presents for the retreating Argo, with a reference to Hector’s attempt to burn the Greek ships in Iliad 15, or to the device on Capaneus’ shield at Aesch. Sept. 432–4.... For the relationship between 3.582 αὐτανδρὸν φλέξιν δόρυ νήιον, Call. Aet. fr. 7.32–3 Harder σοῦ[σθε νήιο]ν ὃ σφε φέρει / αὐταν[δρὸν] Ἥλιος ἴστω and the present passage, see Harder (2012) II 155–6, 159, who argues that it is difficult to decide on priority when comparing similar passages in the Aetia and Argonautica. The motif of Aietes’ wanting to burn the Argo had occurred already in the Naupactica (EGF 7a). Callimachus alludes to the story in passing in a different context (fr. 7.19–21: The return of the Argonauts and the rite at Anaphe). A. fully develops the story at a later date, in response to Callimachus’ more episodic approach.” (Hulse 2015)

225 “In the parallel passage in Book 3, Apsyrtos is called by his nickname Phaethon (3.1236), thus accentuating the connection between his father and Helios (cf. 3.242–6n.). In a further variation, Aietes himself took the reins in Book 3” (Hunter 2015)

γέντο “‘grasped’, i.e. ἔλαβε, a standard meaning for this athematic aorist in Homer; see 3.1321–2n., Hopkinson on Call. ... h.6.43. The current passage evokes scenes such as Il. 8.42–3 = 13.25–6, Zeus and Poseidon grasp (γέντο) a golden, well-fashioned (εὐτυκτον) whip to Poseidon. ὑπεκπρό: the force of the compound seems to be ‘away from and in front [of them]’.” (Hunter 2015)

224–5 ἦνία δ’ ἵππων / γέντο χεροῖν Ἄψυρτος. ‘And Apsyrtus seized in his hands the reins of the steeds.’ (Hulse 2015)

225–7 ὑπεκπρὸ δὲ πόντον ἔταμνεν / νηὺς ἤδη κρατεροῖσιν ἐπειγομένη ἐρέτησιν, / καὶ μεγάλου ποταμοῖο καταβλώσκοντι ῥέεθρῳ. ‘But already the ship was beginning to cut through the sea, urged on by its strong oarsmen, and the stream of the mighty river rushing down.’ The scene reverts back to the Argo (210–11n.). This disruption of linear narrative is a feature of the literature of the third century... The prominent position of νηὺς makes the Argo into a character in its own right.” (Hulse 2015)

227 καταβλώσκοντι: “the river flows ‘down’ into the Black Sea.” (Hunter 2015)

228–30 αὐτὰρ ἄναξ ἄτη πολυπήμονι χεῖρας αἰείρας / Ἥελιον καὶ Ζῆνα κακῶν ἐπιμάρτυρας ἔργων / κέκλετο, δεινὰ δὲ παντὶ παρασχεδὸν ἤπνε λαῶ. ‘But the king in grievous anguish lifted his hands, calling on Helios and Zeus to bear witness to their evil deeds; and, from close at hand, uttered terrible threats against all his people.’ (Hulse 2015)

228 ἄτη πολυπήμονι: “Aietes’ ‘grievous disaster’ is the loss of the Fleece and his daughter at the hands of those to whom he had offered hospitality.” (Hunter 2015)

229 “If we are to think of a particular title for Zeus in this context, it may be ἐπόπιος, cf. 2.1123, 1133, 1179, Call. fr. 85.14–15 with Harder 2012: 2.709. Callimachus’ king calls upon Helios and the Phasis (fr. 7.33–4).” (Hunter 2015)

229 ἐπιμάρτυρας: “this third declension compound noun is post- Homeric (though Zenodotus read μάρτυρες for μάρτυροι in Homer), and so some editors read ἐπὶ μάρτυρας here, with the prefix in tmesis with κέκλετο, as is perhaps implied in the scholiastic gloss, μάρτυρας τῶν

πεπραγμένων ἐπεκαλεῖτο; see, however, Campbell 1971: 418–19, Harder 2012: 2.629–30.” (Hunter 2015)

230ff: what impression does this give of Aietes?

231–5: “Aietes’ threats to his people, reported in indirect speech, contrast with Jason’s pre-battle rhetoric (6–9n.). There is a direct connection with his address to the Colchian assembly at 3.579–608, (particularly 3.606 καὶ ῥ’ ὁ μὲν ἄσχετα ἔργα πιφάσκειτο δημοτέροισιν). The speech’s violence is intensified by the jerky syntax and word order, the forced antithesis between ‘land and sea’ at 231, the awkward word order at 232 and the violent change of subject from ἄξουσιν to ἐνιπλήσει; see Hunter (1993b) 147–8. The speech characterises a barbarian tyrant uttering imprecations against a band of Greeks; see Williams (1996) 463–4, Mori (2008) 163. Another possible model (228–30n.) may be Thoas at Eur. IT 1422–30 (cf. 1428–9 ὡς ἐκ θαλάσσης ἔκ τε γῆς ἱππεύμασι / λαβόντες with Arg. 4.231–2 and the continuation of Thoas’ speech 1431–3 ὑμᾶς δὲ τὰς τῶνδ’ ἱστορας βουλευμάτων, / γυναῖκες, αὖθις . . . / ποινασόμεσθα with 4.9–10. There is a tradition of battlefield rhetoric being reported in indirect speech” (Hulse 2015)

231–5: “‘If they did not bring him his daughter, capturing her with all speed, having found her either on land or the boat still on the swell of the navigable sea, and he did not satisfy his anger in his yearning to take revenge for all these things, they would learn at the cost of their lives the full weight of his anger and of the disaster which had befallen him, when they took these upon themselves.’ Aietes’ barely coherent but explosive threats (Campbell 1971: 419) are expressed through striking changes of syntax and in the indirect speech which marks the bluster and deviousness of the tyrant, cf. 3.579–605n., Hunter 1993: 147–8. In Callimachus, Aietes is given a direct speech (fr. 7.29–34).” (Hunter 2015). Where else have we seen Aietes’ temper (e.g. 2.1202)?

231–3 “εἰ μὴ οἱ κούρην αὐτάγρετον, ἢ ἀνὰ γαῖαν, / ἢ πλωτῆς εὐρόντες ἔτ’ εἰν ἄλὸς οἶδατι νῆα, / ἄξουσιν ‘that unless they immediately captured his daughter, through their own efforts and brought her to him, whether they found her on land or found the ship, on the swell of the navigable sea.’ Here αὐτάγρετος means ‘immediate capture by one’s own hands or efforts.’..” (Hulse 2015)

231 “Three opening spondees and a hiatus in the fifth foot introduce the harsh unmusicality of Aietes’ threats.” (Hunter 2015)

231 αὐτάγρετον: “one gloss for this Homeric hapax at Od. 16.148 is παραπὰ ἄγρευόμενα, and ‘caught immediately’ would be appropriate here (tyrants want their orders carried out on the spot, cf. 236–8). At 2.326 the meaning must be ‘brought on by oneself’, and such semantic variety is a familiar feature of Ap.’s deployment of Homeric glosses (Rengakos 1994: 61–2). 232 The harsh change of object from ‘her’ (Medea) to ‘the boat’ and the forced word order are marks of Aietes’ emotion.” (Hunter 2015)

232 πλωτῆς “‘navigable’ of the sea seems to lack point, and Campbell’s πλωτήν ‘floating’ of the ship deserves consideration.” (Hunter 2015 who prints πλωτῆς)

233: “is marked by a harsh change of subject from ‘the Colchians’ to ‘Aietes’. The verbs, like δαήσονται in 234, are vivid futures.” (Hunter 2015)

233–5 καὶ θυμὸν ἐνιπλήσει μενεαίνων / τίσασθαι τάδε πάντα, δαήσονται κεφαλῇσιν / πάντα χόλον καὶ πᾶσαν ἔην ὑποδέγμενοι ἄτην. ‘and he will fulfil his angry rage, eager to avenge everything that had happened, they will learn with their heads all his anger and experience the fullest of his misfortune.’ Aietes rages like Achilles seeking revenge at Il. 22.312–3 μένους δ’ ἐμπλήσατο θυμὸν / ἀγρίου.... ; it is the kind of language associated with tyrants such as Dareios, Aietes and Antigonos (228–30n.).... There is no need to alter ἄτην to ἀρήν after the suggestion of West (1963) 12. ἄτη means ‘misfortune’ (nn. 228–30, 411–3). By their suffering the Colchians will learn what the king is suffering in losing his daughter and the Fleece.” (Hulse 2015)

234–5: “Sense and construction are difficult. The translation above takes χόλον and ἄτην as objects of δαήσονται, but the nouns may also be taken with ὑποδέγμενοι, ‘taking on themselves the full weight of his anger’, with δαήσονται used absolutely, ‘they would learn a lesson’.” (Hunter 2015)

234 κεφαλῆισιν “‘with their lives’, LSJ s.v. i 3, OLD s.v. caput 4.” (Hunter 2015)

235 “ἄτην closes a ring around the description of Aietes’ threats (cf. 228) and the repetition perhaps suggests (again) the bullying tyrant.” (Hunter 2015)

236–8 ὥς ἔφατ’ Αἰήτης. αὐτῷ δ’ ἐνὶ ἡματι Κόλχοι / νῆάς τ’ εἰρύσαντο, καὶ ἄρμενα νηυσὶ βάλοντο, / αὐτῷ δ’ ἡματι πόντον ἀνήιον· “‘Aietes spoke in this way. On that same day the Colchians drew down their ships, and placed their equipment on board, and on that same day put to sea.’ ὥς ἔφατ’ acts as the trigger to the next part of the action; as soon as he finishes speaking his men put to sea. The repetition of αὐτῷ δ’ ἡματι stresses the immediacy of the action in the same way as 4.103n. ἐνθ’ ἔπος ἦδὲ καὶ ἔργον and adds to the vigour of the transition.” (Hulse 2015)

236–8 “The repeated ‘on that very day’ marks the speed with which the Colchians obey, cf. 231n.” (Hunter 2015)

237 “νηυσὶ is scanned as two syllables with synizesis. The repetition after νῆας seems inelegant and Fränkel thought the verse corrupt; similar repetitions occur in Homer (Campbell 1971: 420), but Ap. has imitated and varied the language of Hes. WD 808 (ταμεῖν) νηῖά τε ξύλα πολλά, τά τ’ ἄρμενα νηυσὶ πέλονται.” (Hunter 2015)

238 ἀνήιον: “‘were proceeding (on the open sea)’; the use of ἄνειμι in this sense is hard to parallel.” (Hunter 2015)

238–40 οὐδέ κε φαίης / τόσσον νηίτην στόλον ἔμμεναι, ἀλλ’ οἰωνῶν / ἱλαδὸν ἄσπετον ἔθνος ἐπιβρομέειν πελάγεσσιν: “‘You would not say that it was so great a naval expedition, but a vast family of birds clamouring over the seas in flocks.’” (Hunter 2015); “‘You would not have said that such a great number made up a naval expedition but a great family of birds screaming over the seas.’ These lines seem to be a shorthand version of a traditional epic simile. ‘You would say’ this, if you were an epic poet; cf. *Il.* 4.429–30. In Homer the Greeks are silent, while the Trojans are noisy and likened to bleating sheep (*Il.* 4.433–6). A. is imitating this contrast but uses an object of comparison from another simile: *Il.* 3.2–3 Τρῶες μὲν κλαγγῇ τ’ ἐνοπῇ τ’ ἴσαν ὄρνιθες ὥς / ἥντε περ κλαγγῇ γεράνων πέλει οὐρανόθι πρό. Greek order and discipline – the Argonauts go on board in orderly fashion at 4.199–201 – develops into a topos, especially with the Persian War when the noisy East encounters the self-controlled West.. It is tempting to read ἐπιβρομέειν;” (Hulse 2015)

238 “οὐδέ κε φαίης is a Homeric form (cf. *Il.* 3.392–4, 17.366–9), but again Ap. places a marker of literary self-consciousness within a quasi-simile, cf. 216–17n., Byre 1991: 221–2, Hunter 1993: 132–3. The specific models are *Il.* 4.429–31 (the silent advance of the Greeks), οὐδέ κε φαίης | τόσσον λαὸν ἔπεσθαι κτλ., although the noise (ἐπιβρομέειν) makes us rather think of the Trojans (compared to bleating sheep immediately after, *Il.* 4.433–8), and *Il.* 2.459–65, the massed Greek army compared to ὀρνίθων πετεηνῶν ἔθνεα πολλά...” (Hunter 2015)

239 νηίτην στόλον: “a prosaic phrase to highlight the poetic flavour of the quasi-simile which follows: the sight was so impressive that it would make you speak like a poet.” (Hunter 2015)

240 ἱλαδόν: “in Homer only at *Il.* 2.93 as the ἔθνεα πολλά of the Greeks rush to assembly like swarms of bees; the echo of that passage allows the poet to activate the memory of a second simile to describe numberless and noisy Colchians (*Il.* 2.96–8, cf. ἐπιβρομέειν).” (Hunter 2015)

241 λαιψηρά: “adverbial, a variation of the Homeric λιγέων ἀνέμων λαιψηρὰ κέλευθα (*Il.* 14.17, 15.620).” (Hunter 2015)

241–3 οἱ δ' ἀνέμου λαιμηρὰ θεᾶς βουλῆσιν ἀέντος / Ἥρης, ὄφρ' ὄκιστα κακὸν Πελῖαο δόμοισιν / Αἰαίη Μήδεια Πελασγίδα γαῖαν ἵκηται: “‘Swiftly the wind blew, as the goddess Hera planned, so that most quickly Aeaeon Medea might reach the Pelasgian land, an evil to the house of Pelias.’ Hera is the directing deity of the Argonautica and so her name is placed in emphatic first position with immediately following pause. In raising a wind, she is carrying out a duty usually fulfilled by her husband... ὄφρ' ὄκιστα, a variation on the more common ὄφρα τάχιστα, stresses the speed with which Hera’s plan will be accomplished. It is foreshadowed at 3.1134–6 ὥς γὰρ τόδε μῆδετο Ἥρη, / ὄφρα κακὸν Πελὶν ἱερὴν ἐς Ἰωλκὸν ἵκοιτο / Αἰαίη Μήδεια. The juxtaposition of adjectives, Αἰαίη ~ Πελασγίδα, underlines the theme of barbarian and Greek; cf. Eur. Med. 255–8 483–4, 3.1105–17, 4.360–1, Hunter (1991) 81–99.... Πελασγίς is an allusion to the prehistory of Greece and reminds us that the Argonauts’ story takes place before the Trojan War; see Stephens (2003) 190, 270.” (Hulse 2015)

242–3 Hera wants house of Pelias destroyed (includes Jason). Lines 242–3 “are a careful variation of 3.1134–6, ὥς γὰρ τόδε μῆδετο Ἥρη, | ὄφρα κακὸν Πελὶν ἱερὴν ἐς Ἰωλκὸν ἵκηται | Αἰαίη Μήδεια, λιποῦσ' ἀπο πατρίδα γαῖαν. Both passages have a striking resemblance to a phrase in Pherecydes’ summary of the story (FGrHist 3 F105) ‘Hera put these things into Jason’s mind, so that Medea might come as an evil for Pelias (ὥς ἔλθοι ἡ Μήδεια τῷ Πελῖα κακόν)’.” (Hunter 2015). Issue of lost texts.

243 Αἰαίη: “Ap. may wish to evoke a connection with the exclamation αἰαῖ, cf. 3.1133–6n.” (Hunter 2015)

243 Πελασγίδα: “i.e. Thessalian, from an eponymous Pelasgos, king of Thessaly, cf. 1.14, 906, 3.1323. 244–5 The Halys (mod. Kızıl Irmak) flows into the Black Sea east of Sinope, cf. 2.946–61, Delage 1930: 168–9; Strabo 12.3.12 says that the river takes its name from the salt-works (ἀλαί) alongside it. The direct distance across open sea from the mouth of the Phasis is some 300 miles, and on the outward voyage this had taken some five days; Hera makes the Argo travel very quickly, if not in fact supernaturally so (Casson 1971: 281–8).” (Hunter 2015)

244–5 ἡοῖ ἐνὶ τριτάτῃ πρυμνήσια νηὸς ἔδησαν / Παφλαγόνων ἀκτῆσι, πάροιθ' Ἄλλυος ποταμοῖο: “‘On the third morning, they tied their stern cables to the Paphlagonian shore at the mouth of the river Halys.’ A. shortens the formulae that Homer uses to describe landings...” (Hulse 2015)

244 τρίτον ἦμαρ εὐπλόκαμος τέλεσ' Ἡώς: “The chief emphasis of the passage is to be the mysteries of Hecate and the poet’s silence about them.” (Hulse 2015)

245 “ἡ γάρ: “Medea, as Σ feel compelled to explain. Platt suggested τῇ ‘there’, but the verb requires a subject.” (Hunter 2015)

246 ἀρέσσασθαι: “‘to appease, conciliate’ (aor. mid. inf. of ἀρέσκομαι); Hecate must be thanked for her help.” (Hunter 2015)

246–50 ἡ γάρ σφ' ἐξαποβάντας ἀρέσσασθαι θυέεσσιν / ἠνώγει Ἑκάτην. καὶ δὴ τὰ μὲν, ὅσσα θυγλὴν / κούρη πορσανέουσα τιτύσκετο, (μῆτε τις ἴστωρ / εἴη, μήτ' ἐμὲ θυμὸς ἐποτρύνειεν ἀεΐδειν) ἄζομαι αὐδῆσαι: “‘For Medea had ordered them to disembark and to propitiate Hecate with sacrifices. I am in awe to speak of all that the maiden did in preparing these sacrifices (no one must know nor must I let myself be tempted to sing of it).’ One might have expected them to pray to Apollo the god of disembarkation (cf. 1.966 Ἐκβασίῳ βωμὸν θέσαν Ἀπόλλωνι, Malkin (2011) 103, and, for Apollo as a presiding deity of the Argonautica, Albis (1996) 46). However, assistance from Hecate has ensured the success of the mission (4.147–8). This makes her the subject of the first aetiological stop of the Argonauts’ return and, with typical Hellenistic irony, the subject of the aition will remain undescribed because the poet rather than the Muses is taking responsibility for the content of his poem...he steps back from full disclosure by reversing an echo of Alcinoos’ description of Demodocus (Od. 8.44–5 τῷ

γάρ ῥα θεὸς πέρι δῶκεν ἀοιδὴν / τέρπειν, ὅππῃ θυμὸς ἐποτρύνῃσιν ἀείδειν). Mystery rites, such as those of Eleusis and Hecate, were kept secret; cf. Hdt. 2.171, Hom. Hym. 2.478–9, Cuypers (2004) 49 and Fantuzzi (2008) 296–7 who highlights the use of ἄζομαι as signalling a pious act of religious silence (εὐφημία)... A.’s interjection (μήτε . . . ἀείδειν) shows him adopting the role of priest or seer as does Callimachus at the beginning of the Hymn to Apollo...” (Hulse 2015); note presence of personal voice (unlike Homer).

247ff.: Morrison (UCL 2002 dissertation “The Narrator’s Voice: Hellenistic Poetry and Archaic Narrative”) at 308f suggests emphasise narratorial loss of control, that control of thumos is beyond narrator.

247 ἡνώγει Ἑκάτην: “the hiatus imitates archaic epic; Ἑκάτη very likely began originally with a digamma.” (Hunter 2015)

247–8: “‘All that the maiden accomplished to prepare the sacrifice . . .’. The better attested θυηλῆι would yield ‘ . . . to prepare for the sacrifice’.” (Hunter 2015)

248 πορσανέουσα: “probably to be understood as a future implying purpose, cf. 3.1124, 1129, Il. 3.411. In a similar context at 2.719 πορσαίνοντες is ‘honouring’.” (Hunter 2015)

248–50 “For the poet’s ‘pious’ refusal to reveal cultic secrets cf. 1.921 (rites on Samothrace), HHDem. 478–9. Particularly close to the present passage is Call. fr. 75.4–7, Ἥρην γάρ κοτέ φασι – κύον, κύον, ἴσχεο, λαιδρέ | θυμέ, σὺ γ’ ἀείσει καὶ τὰ περ οὐχ ὁσίη· | ὄναο κάρτ’ ἔνεκ’ οὐ τι θεῆς ἰδες ἱερὰ φρικτῆς, | ἐξ ἂν ἐπεὶ καὶ τῶν ἥρυγες ἱστορίην. In both passages the poet amusingly divorces himself from his θυμός, dread rites are involved (and φρικτή might well make one think of Hecate rather than Demeter), and ἴστωρ and ἱστορίη are obviously very close; the two passages may well be related (Hunter 2008b: 119–21).” (Hunter 2015)

248 ἴστωρ: “lit. ‘a knower’, though Callimachus (above) makes it tempting to hear also ‘a researcher, enquirer’.” (Hunter 2015)

249 θυμὸς ἐποτρύνειεν: “cf. *Od.* 8.45 (god allowed Demodocus to give pleasure) ὅππῃ θυμὸς ἐποτρύνῃσιν ἀείδειν; that the choice of song is a matter of the θυμός is a very traditional idea...” (Hunter 2015)

250–3 τό γε μὴν ἔδος ἐξέτι κείνου, / ὃ ῥα θεῶ ἥρωες ἐπὶ ῥηγμῖσιν ἔδειμαν, / ἀνδράσιν ὀψιγόνοισι μένει καὶ τῆμος ιδέσθαι. ‘From that time, however, the shrine which the heroes raised on the beach to the goddess remains till now, a sight for men of a later day... γε μὴν is adversative ... Denniston 348) and stresses that although nothing can be said about the ritual in honour of Hecate, the Argonauts physically mark the site with some kind of shrine not an altar (pace Livrea: ‘all’ altare che gli eroi eressero’); for Hecate on the Black Sea, see Manoledakis (2012) 300 who specifically mentions this passage in connection with a gem (2nd century AD), possibly showing her with Apollo and Artemis, from the southern Black Sea region. καὶ τῆμος must mean ‘even now’ or ‘even today’ and this usage is difficult to explain...” (Hulse 2015 who gives other aitia). Interest in aetia = Hellenistic and of especial interest to AR; unlike Homer.

250 ἄζομαι αὐδήσαι: “cf. Pind. *Nem.* 5.14 αἰδέομαι μέγα εἰπεῖν ἐν δίκαι τε μὴ κεκινδευμένον (the murder of Phokos by Peleus and Telamon), Morrison 2007: 283, 302.” (Hunter 2015)

250–2: “The aetiology of a visible monument takes the place of divulging what must not be divulged and ‘proves’ the correctness of the poet’s narrative...” (Hunter 2015)

250 ἔδος: “it is unclear whether we are to think of a temple or just a marked sanctuary; the scholia report that Nymphis of Heraclea, probably an older contemporary of Ap. and an important source for *Arg.*, also reported that Medea founded a ἱερόν of Hecate in Paphlagonia (FGrHist 432 F8).” (Hunter 2015)

253–293: Argus announces sea-route for return to Iolcus (different); good omen (294–7).

253–6 αὐτίκα δ’ Αἰσονίδης ἐμνήσατο, σὺν δὲ καὶ ὄλλοι / ἥρωες, Φινῆος, ὃ δὴ πλόον ἄλλον ἔειπεν / ἐξ Αἴης ἔσσεσθαι· ἀνώιστος δ’ ἐτέτυκτο / πᾶσιν ὁμῶς. Ἄργος δὲ λιλαιομένοις ἀγόρευσεν· ‘Straightaway Aeson’s son together with the other heroes recalled Phineus how

he had said that their voyage from Aea would be different. However it was unknown to all. Argos addressed them in their eagerness.’ (Hulse 2015)

253 αὐτίκα: “we might see here the workings of Hecate in response to the honour they have paid her, but as often in Arg. the exact reference of this temporal adverb is rather vague, cf. 580.” (Hunter 2015)

253 ὄλλοι: an Ionic form.

254: “Cf. 2.421–2 (Phineus speaks) δαίμων ἕτερον πλόον ἡγεμονεύσει | ἐξ Αἴης. On the Argonauts’ return itinerary see Introduction, pp. 7–14.” (Hunter 2015)

255 ἀνώιστος: ‘unknown, unable to be grasped’. Elsewhere in Arg. the sense is ‘unexpected’, cf. 1.680, 3.770, Rengakos 1994: 52–3. 257–93 Argos’ speech forms a counterpart and contrast to Phineus’ instructions for the outward voyage in Book 2 (Fantuzzi–Hunter 2004: 124–5). Whereas the prophet Phineus spoke (paradoxically) about geographical realities in the dry factual language of a periploous, Argos speaks in a mystical, almost inspired, manner about distant times, a world which has long been superseded, and offers the Argonauts a route founded as much in imagination as in topographical reality, cf. further Pearson 1938: 455–7. Moreover, Argos’ speech distinguishes itself for its stylistic elaboration, which includes some seven spondeiazontes, nearly 20%, against 8% for Arg. overall. An important source for elements of this speech was all reign of Ptolemy Soter, see notes on 262–3, 272–6, Murray 1970, Fraser 1972: i 496–505, Stephens 2003: 32–6; much of our knowledge of Hecataeus comes from Diodorus Siculus 1, for which Hecataeus was the principal source...” (Hunter 2015)

257–93 “Argos’ first words remind us of another μάντις νημερτής, Teiresias, speaking to Odysseus: *Od.* 11.100–1 νόστον δίζηαι μελιηδέα / τὸν δέ τοι ἀργαλέον θήσει θεός.... At 4.272–5 Argos alludes to the story of a mysterious, all-conquering Egyptian King... The anonymous conqueror mentioned by Argos is usually taken to be the mythical pharaoh Sesostris. However, in a Ptolemaic context these lines would doubtless be read as a reference to the Ptolemies themselves.... Overall, Argos’ speech is rhetorical and grandiloquent. After Jason, Medea and Phineus he has the most lines of direct speech (J. = 382; M. = 263; Ph. = 172; Arg. = 162). Noteworthy features are the evocation of prehistory 261 οὐπώ τείρεα . . . and 282 ἔστι δέ τις ποταμός, the epanalepsis 263–4 Ἀρκάδες . . . / Ἀρκάδες, the high-flown language of 276 πούλῳ γὰρ ἄδην ἐπενήνοθεν αἰὼν, the balancing of Αἶά . . . Αἰάν in 277–8 and the archaic ring of 279 οἱ δὲ τοι γραπτῷ πατέρων ἔθεν εἰρύονται.” (Hulse 2015)

257 νεύμεθ’ ἐς Ὀρχομενόν, τὴν ἔχραεν ὑμῖν περῆσαι / νημερτὴς ὅδε μάντις, ὅτω ξυνέβητε πάροιθεν.: Race (loeb) prints νεύμεθ but Hunter reads νισόμεθ’ and translates “‘We were travelling to Orchomenos, along the route which that truth-telling prophet whom you met not long ago prophesied to you’. The text is uncertain, but the necessary sense seems clear. The Argonauts need another route, and Argos knows of one from having lived in Colchis; this was the route (so we are to understand) by which Sesostris (272–6n.), using sacred Egyptian knowledge, reached the Black Sea and which Argos and his brothers were taking in order to reach Greece, when they were persuaded to join the Argonauts (note γάρ in 259). The verb in 257 must therefore be imperfect, and imperfect νισόσσετο occurs at 1.741, 785, 2.824. Argos’ opening words vary his explanation at 2.1153, νεύμεθ’ ἐς Ὀρχομενόν κτλ., ‘we are travelling to Orchomenos . . .’. The opening is however rather abrupt, and as Σ gloss his words with ‘Travel in fact by the most inland route, by which we too were travelling to Orchomenos’, Fränkel suggested that a verse was lost before 257.” (Hunter 2015)

257 Ὀρχομενόν: “the accusative of motion towards without a preposition is common in poetry. Ap. seems to have in mind *Il.* 9.381–2 (Achilles rejecting gifts) οὐδ’ ὅς ἐς Ὀρχομενόν ποτινίσεται, οὐδ’ ὅσα Θήβας | Αἰγυπτίας, cf. 260 below.” (Hunter 2015)

257 τήν: “sc. ὁδόν. 259–60 Egypt, and particularly Egyptian priests, had long been regarded as preservers of the most ancient traditions, cf. *Hdt.* 2, Pl. *Tim.* 21e–5d (the Nile protects

Egypt from the periodic destructions of the world by fire or flood), Dio 11.37–8 (a parody of the motif), Vasunia 2001; Hecataeus of Abdera, like Herodotus before him (2.3, 54, 143), certainly used Theban priests among his sources. The scholia on these verses adduce many writers who claimed that life began in Egypt (cf. Diod. Sic. 1.9–10) and that Thebes was the first city; the antiquity of Egypt must have particularly impressed itself on the Greek inhabitants of the very new city of Alexandria.” (Hunter 2015)

258 ξυνέβητε: read by Race (loeb). Hulse argues “ξύμβλησθε should be read for the transmitted ξυνέβητε, as συμβαίνω only rarely means ‘meet’; cf. LSJ9 s.v. I 3.” (Hulse 2015) 259–69: see Stephens 2003: 190 (Egyptians civilising whilst Greeks pre-civilised). “But if both Thessaly and Egypt are called by the same name [Ἡερίη πολυλήϊος] ... and implicit in this is the practice of one cultural group renaming, hence dominating, another, this passage hints at an earlier trajectory of conquest that moved from Egypt to Greece, thus setting the scene for the Greco-Egyptian world of the Ptolemies. Or is the ambivalence about the priority of these names that Apollonius’s text creates a deliberate reflection of what we saw in earlier Greek writers, where the cultural trajectory from Greece to Egypt or from Egypt to Greece did not represent historical realities and could be reversed in service of specific philosophical and political agendas?”

259–60 ἔστιν γὰρ πλόος ἄλλος, ὃν ἀθανάτων ἱερεῖες / πέφραδον, οἱ Θήβης Τριτωνίδος ἐκγεγάασιν. “‘For there is another route, which the priests of the immortals who spring from Tritonian Thebes, told of.’ ἔστιν γὰρ πλόος ἄλλος (cf. Hes. Op. 678 ἄλλος . . . πέλεται πλόος) is a variation for the formula ἔστι δὲ τίς (282–3n.), marking a change in A.’s approach to the geography of the voyage. Phineus had described the tribes and peoples that the Argonauts would encounter; Argos gives directions based on his knowledge of an ancient map. Ethnography has given place to cartography; see further Meyer (2001) 233 n. 83.” (Hulse 2015); Hulse sees Thebe as designating city. Stephens 2003 p189 n43. “Vian (1981, 157 n. 260) points out that ἐκγεγάα indicates parentage, not origin; hence the meaning is “from Thebe, the daughter of Triton.” If so, it will be a metonymy for Thebes. The sense must be priests from the city, not priests who trace their descent from the nymph. Unlike Greeks, in Egypt only the king could have divine ancestors.”

260 Θήβης Τριτωνίδος: “‘Thebe, daughter of Triton’, the eponymous heroine nymph of Egyptian Thebes; for Triton as a name for the Nile cf. 269. Why Greeks called the Egyptian city Thebes remains a puzzle (Lloyd 1976: 12–13, S. West on Od. 4.125–7), but the bT-scholia on Il. 9.383c also derive the name from ‘a daughter of the Nile or Asopus or Proteus’. From a Greek perspective the inhabitants of Thebes are all ‘descendants of Thebe’.” (Hunter 2015)

261: “ἦν or some such verb must be understood; τὰ τ’ introduces a relative clause, as regularly in Homer. An echo of Il. 18.485 (the Shield of Achilles), ἐν δὲ τὰ τεῖρεα πάντα, τὰ τ’ οὐρανὸς ἐστεφάνωται, reinforces the point that we are before the completion of the cosmos, of which Achilles’ shield was taken as an image (Hardie 1985). We are of course also a very long time before Homer and his world.” (Hunter 2015)

Τεῖρεα: ‘constellations’ (Hunter 2015).

261 οὐπω τεῖρεα πάντα τὰ τ’ οὐρανῷ εἰλίσσονται. “‘Not yet did all the constellations whirl around the heavens.’ This and the following lines are an attempt to link the prehistory of Greece with that of ancient Egypt, which begins in 2 67.” (Hulse 2015 who sees the scholarly Apollonius as contributing to debate on a Homeric line)

262–3 οὐδέ τί πω Δαναῶν ἱερὸν γένος ἦεν ἀκοῦσαι / πευθομένοις: “nor was it possible for enquirers to learn of the sacred race of the Danaans.” (Hulse 2015).

262–3: “‘The sacred race of the Danaans’ evokes the legend of the eponymous Danaos’ move from Egypt to Argos: civilization moved outwards from Egypt to fill the rest of the world, and this was clearly a key tenet of Hecataeus of Abdera’s *Aigyptiaka*.” (Hunter 2015)

263 Πευθομένοις: “suggests, somewhat anachronistically, the spirit of Herodotean or Hellenistic enquiry.” (Hunter 2015)

263–5 οἱοι δ’ ἔσαν Ἀρκάδες Ἀπιδανῆες, / Ἀρκάδες, οἱ καὶ πρόσθε σεληναῖς ὑδέονται / ζῶειν, φηγὸν ἔδοντες ἐν οὐρεσιν.: “Only the Apidanean Arcadians existed, Arcadians, who are said to have lived before the moon, eating acorns in the mountains.” (Hulse 2015)

263–4: “The repetition (‘epanalepsis’) of Ἀρκάδες suggests an emotional evocation of a legendary people. It may be relevant that the historian Douris (FGrHist 76 F9) recorded a tradition of one Arkas, son of Orchomenos, who must be the eponymous hero of the Arcadian city of that name; that Argos comes from Boeotian Orchomenos perhaps suggests that he is being given some special connection to Arcadians, through a mythological play with names. Ap. is fond of such repetitions of names across verse-divisions, in imitation of a few famous Homeric examples.... Dion. Perieg. 415 borrows Ἀρκάδες Ἀπιδανῆες from this passage and combines it with a reworking of Call. *h.* 1.14–27 (Zeus’s birth and the rivers of Arcadia); he may, perhaps rightly, have seen a connection between the two passages – the Arcadians are Ἀπιδανῆες in line 14 of the Callimachean hymn and we are again dealing with prehistory (οὐπω, 18). In view of the possibility of a play with ‘Orchomenos’, it is curious that one of Callimachus’ Arcadian rivers is the otherwise unattested Melas (line 23), which is also the name of one of Argos’ brothers (2.1156).” (Hunter 2015)

263 Ἀπιδανῆες: “Ἀπία or Ἀπίς (cf. 1564n.) was believed to be an ancient name for the Peloponnese” (Hunter 2015)

264 πρόσθε σεληναῖς: “that the autochthonous Arcadians lived ‘before the moon’ is a tradition found from the fourth century (Eudoxus fr. 315 Lasserre, Arist. fr. 608 Gigon, Pfeiffer on Call. fr. 191.56) and perhaps earlier (Ar. *Clouds* 398, fr. 878K–A).” (Hunter 2015)
ὑδέονται: “‘are reported’, a favourite verb in such contexts with Hellenistic poets, cf. 2.528 (another passage with close links to Callimachus), Arat. *Phain.* 257, Call. fr. 371–2 etc. If Ap. has a particular source in mind, and the epanalepsis makes that not unlikely, then ὑδέονται will be an ‘Alexandrian footnote’ of the type discussed by Hinds 1998: 1–5, cf. 272, Harder 2012: 2.586.” (Hunter 2015)

265 φηγόν: “acorns, traditionally primitive fare, were often associated with the life of the ‘prelunar’ Arcadians, cf. Hdt. 1.66.2, Aelian, *VH* 3.39.” (Hunter 2015)

Πελασγίς: Hunter 2015 says i.e. Thessalian. Hulse 2015 says here used as general term for the ancient time before the Hellenes.

265–8 οὐδὲ Πελασγίς / χθὼν τότε κυδαλίμοισιν ἀνάσσετο Δευκαλίδησιν, / ἥμος ὅτ’ Ἡερίη πολυλήιος ἐκλήιστο / μήτηρ Αἴγυπτος προτερηγενέων αἰζηῶν: “‘nor at that time was the Pelasgian land ruled by the glorious sons of Deucalion, in the days when Egypt, mother of men of an older time, was called fertile Eerie.’ A. uses a number of geographical markers belonging both to Greece and Egypt. A name and defining characteristic of Egypt here, Ἡερίη is given a Greek context at 1.580–1 Ἡερίη πολυλήιος αἶα Πελασγῶν / δύετο, ‘soon the rich grainlands of the Pelasgians disappeared in the mist.’ ‘Such doublets are a feature of aetiological writing, the Greek marking of a foreign place with familiar Greek names’ (Stephens (2003) 190).” (Hulse 2015)

266: “Deucalion was the great founder who re-established civilization after the flood (3.1087–9n.). Jason had described him to Medea as ‘he who first made cities and built temples to the immortals and who first ruled over men’ (3.1088–9), but however economical with the truth Jason is in that speech, his eye is very firmly on Greek civilization and there is no conflict with the primacy of Egypt asserted here; the primitive Arcadians in any case had no cities or temples.” (Hunter 2015)

267–70: ‘at the time when Egypt, mother of men born in earlier time, was called Eerie, rich in crops, and the broad-flowing river by which the whole of Eerie is watered Triton’. Successive

spondeiazontes in 267–8 add a modern style to Argos’ memory of a time very long ago.” (Hunter 2015)

267 Ἡερίη: “probably ‘land of mists’ (with reference to the Nile valley) rather than ‘land of the morning’, cf. Aesch. Suppl. 75. Argos moves from Thessaly to Egypt and at 1.580 Thessaly had been called Ἡερίη πολυλήιος αἶα Πελασγῶν; in describing the new-old land of Egypt, Greeks ‘naturally’ reapplied names and descriptions from their own homelands (see further Stephens 2003: 206–8).” (Hunter 2015)

267 πολυλήιος: “the fertility of Egypt due to the Nile flood was very familiar to Greeks (Hunter 2003b: 156–7).” (Hunter 2015)

267 ἐκλήιστο: “‘was celebrated as’, a pluperfect passive of κληίζω. The verb must also be understood in 269.” (Hunter 2015)

268 Αἴγυπτος: “in Homer this was the name of both country and river (*Od.* 4.477, 581, 14.258), and so here we are dealing with a time ‘two names before’ Νεῖλος. The juxtaposition to Τρίτων calls attention to the play with names... As a name for the Nile, Triton also occurs at Lyc. *Alex.* 119, Hermippos of Smyrna fr. 103 Wehrli, Plin. *HN* 5.54; see Priestley 2014: 126–7. Rivers and name-changes were two of Callimachus’ interests – known titles include ‘Foundations of islands and cities and their changes of name’, ‘On the rivers of Europe’, and ‘On the name-changes of fish’ – and this is another sign of a thick literary texture here.” (Hunter 2015)

268: “A. writes αἰζηῶν, rather than ἀνθρώπων, for its sound and for its elevated tone” (Hulse 2015)

269 εὐρύρροος: “Meineke’s emendation mends the metre and produces both an attractive variation on εὐρρείτην of Egypt at *Od.* 14.257–8, where Αἴγυπτος is used in successive verses of the country and then the river, and another connection between the Nile and the ‘broad’ Istros (cf. 284n.).” (Hunter 2015)

269–78: “Scraps of the beginnings of these verses are preserved in a fragment of an early seventh-century codex (Π7).” (Hunter 2015)

269–71 καὶ ποταμὸς Τρίτων εὐρύρροος, ᾧ ὕπο πᾶσα / ἄρδεται Ἡερίη, Διόθεν δέ μιν οὐποτε δεύει / ὄμβρος· ἄλις προχοῇσιν ἀνασταχύουσιν ἄρουραι.: “and the river wide-flowing Triton, by which all Eerie is watered, and never does the rain from Zeus moisten the earth; but from the flooding of the river abundant crops spring up.” (Hulse 2015)

270–1: “The rainlessness of Egypt was another very familiar fact about the country” (Hunter 2015)

271 ἄλις: “‘in great quantities’. Σ notes that this could be taken with either what precedes (as in the parenthesis adopted here) or what follows. Writers about Egypt differed as to whether it received no rain at all (Hdt. 2.22.3) or just very little or some in the north but none in the south (Diod. Sic. 1.10.4). If ἄλις is taken with what follows (cf. *Il.* 14.122 ἄλις . . . ἄρουραι | πυροφόροι), it will be best then to read προχοῇσιν [δ’] in a vivid asyndeton, as δέ can hardly stand in third position in its clause in such a style.” (Hunter 2015)

271 προχοῇσι: “‘because of [the river’s] streams’, cf. 132n. A possible alternative is ‘in its channels’, i.e. what were the river’s channels during the flood become fields of grain, thanks to the fertile river mud.” (Hunter 2015)

271 ἀνασταχύουσιν ἄρουραι: “‘the fields sprout up with grain’, a grammatical variation of ἀνασταχύεσκον ἄρουραν of the Earthborn at 3.1354..” (Hunter 2015)

272–6: “Argos knows by report (φασί, another ‘Alexandrian footnote’, 263–4n.) of a great world-conqueror from Egypt; that he does not know the name adds to the sense of memories from the mists of time. As the scholiast already realized, this is Sesoosis or Sesostriis or Sesonchosis whose deeds are reported at length by Hdt. 2.102–10 (on the explicit authority of Egyptian priests), and cf. also Diod. Sic. 1.53–8, following Hecataeus of Abdera. The legends of this pharaoh combined memories of more than one king of the XIIth dynasty (c. 1991–

1786 bc) with later conquerors, notably Ramesses II, and were elaborated both to fashion a picture of the ideal ruler and as a weapon for nationalist propaganda against (particularly) the Persians; see Murray 1970: 162–4, Lloyd 1976: 16–18, Ivantchik 1999, Stephens 2003: 34–6. As a world conqueror and civilizer, Sesostris looks back to the model of Osiris/Dionysus (cf. Diod. Sic. 1.17–20) and forwards to Alexander and then the Ptolemies; he thus straddles the human and the divine, as was becoming increasingly common in the image of Hellenistic kings.” (Hunter 2015); on 272-5 see Stephens 2003: 189 (undermining authority of Greek presence by suggesting earlier Egyptian one); see Stephens 2003 p176-8 on Sesostris.

272: “At 2.103.1 Herodotus traces Sesostris’ passage ‘from Asia into Europe’ (cf. Diod. Sic. 1.55.6). The might of Sesostris’ army is stressed also in Diodorus’ account (from Hecataeus), cf. 1.54. 4: ‘He chose men who were outstanding in strength and he put together an army which was worthy of the greatness of his undertaking. He enlisted 600,000 footsoldiers, 24,000 cavalry and 27,000 war-chariots.’” (Hunter 2015)

272–4 ἔνθεν δὴ τινὰ φασὶ περίξ διὰ πᾶσαν ὁδεῦσαι / Εὐρώπην Ἀσίην τε βίη καὶ κάρτει λαῶν / σφωιτέρων θάρσει τε πεποιθότα· ‘From this land, it is said, a king made his way all round through the whole of Europe and Asia, trusting in the might and strength and courage of his people.’ (Hulse 2015)

274–5: “Herodotus and Diodorus stress Sesostris’ role as a builder and lawgiver in Egypt (Hdt. 2.108, Diod. Sic. 1.56–7, cf. Dicaearchus fr. 57 Wehrli, Arist. Pol. 7.1329b2), but as a founder of cities all over the world Sesostris is following both the specific pattern of Isis (e.g. Totti 4.13) and Osiris (Diod. Sic. 1.27.5) and a more general tradition of Egypt as a colonizing power (Diod. Sic. 1.28, ‘the Egyptians say . . . that very many colonies were spread out from Egypt over the inhabited world’). He also foreshadows the greatest founder of cities the Greek world had ever known, Alexander; Plutarch credits Alexander with the foundation of more than seventy cities (Mor. 328e), Bosworth 1988: 245–50.” (Hunter 2015)

274 ἄστυ: “elsewhere Ap. uses ἄστυα, but the contracted form is useful at verse-end. At Diod. Sic. 1.28.4 (from Hecataeus?) the Athenian use of ἄστυ is for the Egyptians a proof that the Athenians were colonists from Egypt, where there was a city called Astu. Ap.’s choice of word in 274 may therefore be a significant one.” (Hunter 2015)

275 “νάσσαι” ‘he founded’, aor. mid. of ναίω.” (Hunter 2015)

275 ναιετάουσιν: “‘are inhabited’, a standard meaning of the verb in Homer; νάσσαι . . . ναιετάουσιν form an etymological and assonantal frame around the verse.” (Hunter 2015)

276: “These verses will have had particular point and wit for those reading them in Alexander’s most famous (new) foundation, Alexandria. Herodotus had noted that most of Sesostris’ monuments are no longer to be seen (2.106.1, cf. 279–81n.), but Argos adduces the passage of time as a confirmation of his account: he has no accurate knowledge (how could he?), and the disappearance of cities is no counter-argument.” (Hunter 2015)

276 ἄδην: “an adverbial intensifier with πούλως, ‘very much’. Σ report that Dicaearchus (fr. 58 Wehrli) dated Sesostris some 2,500 years before the sack of Troy, whereas Herodotus places him two kings before that war; for Aristotle he was ‘far earlier in time’ than Minos (Pol. 7.1329b24), see Ivantchik 1999.” (Hunter 2015)

276 ἐπενήνοθεν: “a pluperfect which the scholia on *Il.* 2.219 connect with θέω, ‘run’. The use of such a rare gloss (only here in Arg., and clearly a puzzle to ancient grammarians) reinforces the sense of the passing of unfathomable time: the verb is as ‘distant’ as the time of which Argos speaks. See further Ardizzoni on 1.664.” (Hunter 2015). Hulse 2015 prints παρενήνοθεν.

277–8: “The ring of Αἶα . . . Αἶαν emphasizes the enduring nature of that land.” (Hunter 2015)

277–8 Αἶα γε μὴν ἔτι νῦν μένει ἔμπεδον, υἱωνοὶ τε / τῶνδ’ ἀνδρῶν οὐς ὧς γε καθίσσατο ναιέμεν Αἶαν. ‘On the other hand, Aia remains unshaken even now and the sons of those men

whom that king thus settled to dwell in Aia.’ (Hulse 2015 who prints οὓς ὥς instead of the MS. †ὄγε).

278-81: discussed by Stephens 2003 p226 (ancestors Egyptians so writings must be hieroglyphics).

278: Hunter prints † ὄγε and says “correction to ὄς γε would be very easy, but that combination does not appear in either Homer or Arg.”

278 καθίσσατο ναίμεν Αἴαν “‘settled [aor. mid. καθίζω] to dwell in Aia’. That the Colchians were descended from members of Sesostri’s army whom he settled there was generally accepted since Herodotus’ account at 2.103–5 (cf. Diod. Sic. 1.55.4–5, Pfeiffer on Call. fr. 672). 279–81 The Colchians preserve from Sesostri’s time engraved tablets showing routes around the world. It is often thought that this fancy derives from Herodotus’ account of how Sesostri set up stêlai all over the world declaring his victories (2.102, cf. Diod. Sic. 1.55.7–8). Egypt was standardly identified as the birthplace of writing (e.g. Pl. Phdr. 274c5–5b2), and a written, inscribed record is fundamental both to the legends of Sesostri and to the Greek perception of Egyptian culture.” (Hunter 2015)

279–81 οἱ δὴ τοι γραπτὸς πατέρων ἔθεν εἰρύνονται / κύρβιας, οἷς ἐνὶ πᾶσαι ὁδοὶ καὶ πείρατ’ ἔασιν / ὑγρῆς τε τραφερῆς τε πέριξ ἐπινισσομένοισιν. ‘They who preserve the writings of their fathers, engraved on pillars, upon which are marked all the ways and the limits of sea and land for those who journey on all sides round.’ (Hulse 2015)

279 γραπτὸς: “at the word’s only appearance in Homer, γραπτὸς are ‘scratches (from thorns)’ against which the aged Laertes guards (*Od.* 24.229), and ‘the scratches of their fathers’ might precisely evoke the famous scene of Odysseus and his father; the maps or ‘writings’ to which Argos refers may well have been ‘scratched’ on metal. This rare form was also used by Eratosthenes in the *Hermes* (SH 397.11.2), and it may be that Hellenistic poets liked a form which defamiliarized something now as everyday as writing.” (Hunter 2015)

279 ἔθεν: “this poetic and dialectal genitive (here plural) of the third-person pronoun is another archaizing touch in Argos’ speech. κύρβιας is in apposition to γραπτὸς. At Athens κύρβεις were tablets erected in pyramids (ἄξονες) on which laws were inscribed, and this is another lexical rarity in Argos’ speech. It is natural for us to think of the γῆς περίοδος engraved on a πίναξ of Herodotus’ famous story of Aristagoras (5.49.5). πείρατ’ are probably ‘conditions, circumstances of/rules for a journey’, rather than ‘boundaries’, cf. 1201, 1.413 (Apollo showed Jason ἄνυσιν καὶ πείραθ’ ὁδοῖο), 2.310; cf. perhaps the similar use of μέτρα (West on Hes. *WD* 648). If this is correct, then the tablets presumably contained writing (? hieroglyphics) as well as maps. The verse recalls the Hesiodic πάντων πηγαὶ καὶ πείρατ’ ἔασιν (*Theog.* 738, 809), see Clare 2002: 130–1. ὑγρῆς τε τραφερῆς τε πέριξ: a variation on the Homeric ἐπὶ τραφερὴν τε καὶ ὑγρὴν [sc. γῆν], cf. *Il.* 14.308 (with Janko’s note).” (Hunter 2015)

282–3 ἔστι δέ τις ποταμός, ὕπατον κέρας Ὠκεανοῖο, / εὐρύς τε προβαθὴς τε καὶ ὀλκάδι νηὶ περῆσαι. ‘There is a river, the uppermost horn of Ocean, broad and exceeding deep, crossable in a merchant ship.’ (Hulse 2015)

282–93: “Argos describes a route along the imagined path of the Istros (Danube)... . The notion that the Istros/ Danube flowed not west-east (as Herodotus correctly believed), but north-south before splitting into parts, one of which emptied (as the Danube does) into the Black Sea and the other into the Adriatic (see Map), was familiar in the fourth century (cf., e.g., Arist. *HA* 7.598b17, Berger 1880: 347–50, Delage 1930: 202–3, Z’ mudzin’ski 1999) and perhaps earlier (cf. Aesch. fr. 197R). Strabo 1.2.39 explicitly dismisses the idea in connection with the Argonauts.” (Hunter 2015)

282 ἔστι δέ τις: “a standard opening in geographical descriptions, cf. 3.927–31n., *Il.* 2.811, 11.711 etc. Here the first half of the verse picks up Nestor’s speech at *Il.* 11.721 ἔστι δέ τις ποταμός κτλ. ὕπατον κέρας Ὠκεανοῖο ‘most northerly branch of Ocean’, or perhaps just

‘most remote branch of Ocean’. All rivers are to some extent ‘branches of Ocean’ (cf. *Il.* 21.195–7), and so there is no real contradiction with 286–7 or need to imagine, as some commentators have done, a system of underground channels connecting the Istros to Ocean; the phrase adds to the mystery and remoteness of the journey. We may, however, momentarily be misled into thinking that Argos will propose a return for the Argonauts via Ocean, as indeed was the case in some versions (Introduction, p. 8). 283 lit. ‘broad and very deep for crossing even for a trading vessel’. The river will accommodate even a laden cargo-ship, as we know the eastern reaches of the Danube actually did. 284 ‘They [i.e. Sesostri’s army ?] have traced [its course] to a great distance, giving it the name Istros’. Herodotus (2.33.2, 4.50.1) explicitly compares the Nile and the Istros, which he calls ‘the greatest of all rivers of which we know’ (4.48.1), and its interest for Sesostri arose precisely because it was ‘the Nile of the north’.” (Hunter 2015)

285 ὅς δ’ ἦτοι τείως μὲν ἀπείρονα τέμνει ἄρουραν: note Hulse 2015 reads τέμνει (with Fränkel ad loc.) rather than the transmitted τέμνει’.

285–7: “Argos places the source of the Istros in the very far north, in the land of the ‘Hyperboreans’ (Hdt. 4.13, 32–6), where Apollo was believed to pass the winter, 614n. Herodotus had placed the source of the Istros to the west, ‘in the land of the Celts’ (2.33.3, 4.49.3); the Danube in fact rises in the Black Forest (cf. Strabo 1.3.15, 4.6.9).” (Hunter 2015)

285 ἀπείρονα . . . ἄρουραν: “cf. Hdt. 5.9.1 ‘the land beyond the Istros is deserted and boundless (ἄπειρος)’.” (Hunter 2015)

287 Ῥιπαίοις ἐν ὄρεσιν: “these ‘Blast (ῥιπή) Mountains’ are associated with the Hyperboreans also by Callimachus (fr. 186.8–9), and cf. already Hellanicus, FGrHist 4 F187, Arist. *Meteor.* 1.350b7–10, Bolton 1962: 39–44, Harder 2012: 2.996. Strabo 7.3.1 gives the Rhiphaean Mountains and the Hyperboreans as two examples of ‘mythical geography’ arising from ignorance: the name evokes unimaginable northern distances.” (Hunter 2015)

287 “μορμύρουσιν, ‘roar’, forms an expressive spondeiazon.” (Hunter 2015)

288 ἐπιβήσεται οὐρούς “‘enters the boundaries of . . . ’; although the ἐπι– compound is poorly attested, it seems perfectly appropriate for the action of a river.” (Hunter 2015)

289–91 ἔνθα διχῇ, τὸ μὲν ἔνθα μετ’ ἡοίην ἄλα βάλλει / τῇ δ’ ὕδωρ, τὸ δ’ ὀπισθε βαθὺν διὰ κόλπον ἵησιν / σχιζόμενος πόντου Τρινακρίου εἰσανέχοντα: “‘there splitting in two, it empties part of its water here into the eastern sea, and sends the part behind that through the deep gulf which rises from the Trinacrian sea’. Text and detailed interpretation are difficult, though the broad sense seems clear. The remarkable word order, with διχῇ picked up by σχιζόμενος two verses later, perhaps imitates the separation of the river, but is also part of the conjuring up of a geography very far from ordinary experience.” (Hunter 2015)

289 τὸ μὲν ἔνθα . . . τὸ δ’ ὀπισθε ‘the one part . . . the part behind [i.e. further away]’; the description is spoken from a Colchian perspective, which is also the perspective from where the Argonauts currently find themselves. For τὸ μὲν ἔνθα cf. ἔνθα καὶ ἔνθα ‘this way and that’ in 325.

289 ἡοίην ἄλα: “the ‘eastern sea’ must be the Black Sea, seen from a Greek perspective, cf. 2.744–5 (with Matteo’s n.), Hdt. 4.100.1, Delage 1930: 200. The text cannot, however, be considered entirely certain, although the transmitted ‘Ionian’ seems impossible. Wilamowitz’s ἡμετέραν (1924: 2.186) is an attractive alternative, which would be picked up by ὑμετέρας in 293; it would be perfectly natural for Argos to call the Black Sea ‘our’, for this is what he knows, just as, for a Greek, ‘our sea’ was the Mediterranean. βάλλει, like ἵησι, is here apparently transitive, though both verbs can also be used intransitively of rivers emptying at their mouths (cf. ἐξανήσιν in 293).” (Hunter 2015)

290 βαθὺν διὰ κόλπον: “the Adriatic is here considered a ‘gulf’ of the Ionian sea, because it is closed at one end, cf. 308, and 1.1360–1 for a similar conception. Argos implies that the Istros empties into the Adriatic and then continues flowing through the sea before reaching

‘the Trinacrian sea’; such a conception of the continuance of rivers through the sea was not uncommon, cf. Strabo 6.2.4. πόντου Τρινακρίου: i.e. the Ionian sea off the east coast of Sicily, for which Τρινακρία (‘Island of three headlands’) was thought to be an old name (cf. Thucyd. 6.2.2); at 994 this is called Θρινακίης ἄλς. Callimachus mentioned the ‘Trinacrian sea’ in Book 1 of the Aitia (the book in which the Argonautic narrative occurred), but the context is not known, fr. 40, Harder 2012: 2.295. Cf. further 309–11n., 964–5n.” (Hunter 2015)

292–3: “Argos’ knowledge of the geography of Greece is limited to what he has seen on the Colchian maps, where – so we are to understand – the Achelous, Greece’s largest river, was marked, as also had been the Istros. The Achelous rises in the Pindus mountains and flows into the Ionian sea in southern Acarnania, by the entrance to the Gulf of Corinth.” (Hunter 2015)