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Demodocus and the song of Orpheus

Ap. Rhod. Arg. 1, 496–511

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Ἤειδεν δ' ὡς γαῖα καὶ οὐρανὸς ἠδὲ θάλασσα,
τὸ πρὶν ἐπ' ἀλλήλοισι μιῇ συναρηρότα μορφῇ,
νείκεος ἐξ ὁλοοῖο διέκριθεν ἀμφὶς ἕκαστα·
ἠδ' ὡς ἔμπεδον αἰὲν ἐν αἰθέρι τέκμαρ ἔχουσιν
ἄστρα σεληναίης τε καὶ ἠελίοιο κέλευθοι·
οὔρεά θ' ὡς ἀνέτειλε, καὶ ὡς ποταμοὶ κελάδοντες
αὐτῇσιν Νύμφῃσι καὶ ἑρπετὰ πάντ' ἐγένοντο.
Ἤειδεν δ' ὡς πρῶτον Ὀφίων Εὐρυνόμη τε
Ὠκεανὶς νιφόεντος ἔχον κράτος Οὐλύμποιο·
ὥς τε βίῃ καὶ χερσὶν ὁ μὲν Κρόνῳ εἴκαθε τιμῆς,
ἡ δὲ Ῥέῃ, ἔπεσον δ' ἐνὶ κύμασιν Ὠκεανοῖο·
οἱ δὲ τέως μακάρεσσι θεοῖς Τιτῆσιν ἄνασσον,
ὄφρα Ζεὺς ἔτι κοῦρος, ἔτι φρεσὶ νήπια εἰδώς,
Δικταῖον ναίεσκεν ὑπὸ σπέος, οἱ δέ μιν οὔ πω
γηγενέες Κύκλωπες ἐκαρτύναντο κεραυνῷ
βροντῇ τε στεροπῇ τε· τὰ γὰρ Διὶ κῦδος ὀπάζει.

Orpheus' cosmogony *cum* theogony, while coming perfectly naturally from the mouth of the famous singer[1], at first sight seems largely irrelevant to the concerns of the Argonauts, gathered on the evening before the beginning of the voyage in search of the Golden Fleece. Two approaches to the passage may help shed some light on the meaning and function of Orpheus' performance. Firstly, the content of the song must be seen in the context of the narrative in which it is set and, secondly, that whole section of narrative (Argon. 1, 317–518)[2] must be compared with its hitherto unrecognised Homeric model. It has

* I would like to thank A. M. Wilson, D. Feeney, J. Moles, D. O'Brien and the journal's anonymous reader for helpful advice. The faults which remain in this article are entirely my own responsibility.

1 See M. Dickie, *Talos bewitched: Magic, Atomic Theory and Paradoxography in Apollonius Argonautica 4. 1638–88*, Papers of the Leeds Latin Seminar 6 (1990) 278–279.

2 On some further aspects of this section of the poem see D. P. Nelis, *Iphias: Apollonius Rhodius, Argonautica 1. 311–316*, Class. Qu. 41 (1991) 96–105.

not, to my knowledge, been noticed that in describing the preliminaries to the voyage of the Argonauts Apollonius has in mind Homer's description of the events which precede the transportation of Odysseus from Scheria to Ithaca by the Phaeacians. It is in terms of Apollonius' imitation of Odyssey 8 that the full significance of the song of Orpheus and its relation to the Argonautica as a whole can be best approached.

At Argonautica 1, 306 Jason leaves home and makes his way to the harbour of Pagasae. Near the ship (παρὰ νηΐ, 1, 319) the Argonauts assemble to meet him (οἱ δ' ἀντίοι ἠγερέθοντο, 1, 320). He organises a meeting (ἀγορήνδε, 1, 328) of the crew and makes a speech, τοῖσιν δ' Αἴσονος υἱὸς ἐυφρονέων μετέειπεν (1, 331). Odyssey 8 opens at dawn. Alcinous leads the way to the place of assembly (ἀγορήνδ', 8, 5)[3] which is near the ships (παρὰ νηυσὶ, 8, 5). When the leaders of the Phaeacians have assembled (αὐτὰρ ἐπεί ῥ' ἤγερθεν ὁμηγερέες τ' ἐγένοντο, 8, 24) Alcinous makes a speech, τοῖσιν δ' Ἀλκίνοος ἀγορήσατο καὶ μετέειπε (8, 25)[4], in which he orders a ship to be launched (8, 26–45), saying, ἀλλ' ἄγε νῆα μέλαιναν ἐρύσσομεν εἰς ἅλα δῖαν / πρωτόπλοον, ... (8, 34–35a) and, δησάμενοι δ' εὖ πάντες ἐπὶ κληῖσιν ἐρετμὰ / ἔκβητ'· ... (8, 37–38a).

Soon after his first speech Jason makes a second (Argon. 1, 351– 362) in which he also orders the launching of a ship, saying, τόφρα κε νῆ' ἐρύσαιμεν ἔσω ἁλὸς, ὅπλα τε πάντα / ἐνθέμενοι πεπάλαχθε κατὰ κληῖδας ἐρετμά (1, 357–358). Both he and Alcinous also mention the meal which is to follow (δαῖτα, Od. 8, 38 and δαῖτ', Argon. 1, 354). The Phaeacian crew sets to work at once and puts the ship into the water (Od. 8, 50–54)[5]:

> αὐτὰρ ἐπεί ῥ' ἐπὶ νῆα κατήλυθον ἠδὲ θάλασσαν,
> νῆα μὲν οἵ γε μέλαιναν ἁλὸς βένθοσδε ἔρυσσαν,
> ἐν δ' ἱστόν τ' ἐτίθεντο καὶ ἱστία νηΐ μελαίνῃ,
> ἠρτύναντο δ' ἐρετμὰ τροποῖς ἐν δερματίνοισι,
> πάντα κατὰ μοῖραν· ἀνὰ δ' ἱστία λευκὰ πέτασσαν.

The Argonauts, although the event is described in much more detail (Argon. 1, 363–401)[6], do likewise (1, 390–393):

3 Note that Apollonius uses the word to mean *meeting* rather than *meeting-place,* its meaning in the corresponding Homeric line.

4 In imitating this formulaic line of speech introduction at *Argon.* 1, 331 Apollonius refers also to a similarly formulaic line, *Il.* 1, 253 etc. Cf. M. Campbell, *Echoes and Imitations of Early Epic in Apollonius Rhodius*, Mnemosyne Suppl. 72 (Leiden 1981) 6; M. Fantuzzi, *Ricerche su Apollonio Rodio: Diacronie della dizione epica*, Filologia e Critica 58 (Rome 1988) 72–74.

5 On this passage as a typical scene in epic see W. Arend, *Die typischen Szenen bei Homer*, Problemata 7 (Berlin 1933) 81–85 and 128 where Apollonius' place in the tradition is noted but without particular reference to *Odyssey* 8.

6 On this passage see most recently F. Chamoux, *Le lancement du navire Argo*, Bull. Soc. Ant. Fr. (1985) 45–49.

Κατόλισθε δ' ἔσω ἁλός· οἱ δέ μιν αὖθι
ἂψ ἀνασειράζοντες ἔχον προτέρωσε κιοῦσαν.
σκαλμοῖς δ' ἀμφὶς ἐρετμὰ κατήρτυον, ἐν δέ οἱ ἱστὸν
λαίφεά τ' εὐποίητα καὶ ἁρμαλιὴν ἐβάλοντο.

In neither case, however, does the departure take place at once. The members of the Phaeacian crew go to the palace of Alcinous where a sacrifice is made. The animals killed include δύο ... βοῦς (Od. 8, 60). After launching their ship the Argonauts sacrifice δύο βόε (Argon. 1, 407)[7]. This offering is followed by a feast (Argon. 1, 450–459) just as the Phaeacians' sacrifices are followed by a banquet in the palace of Alcinous (Od. 8, 61–72)[8].

Jason takes no part in the festivities of the crew but sits apart brooding over the dangers which lie ahead on the long voyage. As a result of this apparent weakness, he is insulted by Idas (Argon. 1, 460–462):

ἔνθ' αὖτ' Αἰσονίδης μὲν ἀμήχανος εἰν ἑοῖ αὐτῷ
πορφύρεσκεν ἕκαστα, κατηφιόωντι ἐοικώς·
τὸν δ' ἄρ' ὑποφρασθεὶς μεγάλῃ ὀπὶ νείκεσεν Ἴδας·

After the meal the Phaeacian bard Demodocus sings a song about the Trojan war and Odysseus weeps on hearing it (Od. 8, 83–86):

Ταῦτ' ἄρ' ἀοιδὸς ἄειδε περικλυτός· αὐτὰρ Ὀδυσσεὺς
πορφύρεον[9] μέγα φᾶρος ἑλὼν χερσὶ στιβαρῇσι
κὰκ κεφαλῆς εἴρυσσε, κάλυψε δὲ καλὰ πρόσωπα·
αἴδετο γὰρ Φαίηκας ὑπ' ὀφρύσι δάκρυα λείβων.

Next, Alcinous orders athletic contests to be organised (Od. 8, 94–130). Odysseus refuses to take part in these games (8, 131–157) and as a result he is insulted by Euryalus: Τὸν δ' αὖτ' Εὐρύαλος ἀπαμείβετο νείκεσέ τ' ἄντην (8, 158). Like Jason, the emotional state of Odysseus sets him apart from the assembled company and its amusements and this exclusion leads to his being insulted. Apollonius refers to Odyssey 8, 158, in describing the insult hurled by Idas at Argonautica 1, 462.

Odysseus reacts to Euryalus' words by making a vigorous reply and show-

7 Compare also *Argon.* 1, 432–433 and *Od.* 8, 61 for the descriptions of the cutting up of the meat. Apollonius here also imitates other Homeric descriptions of this action. See F. Vian/E. Delage, *Apollonios de Rhodes, Argonautiques* (Paris 1976) vol. 1, 70 n. 1.

8 Apollonius here provides his only example of one of the most common typical scenes in Homer. See W. Arend, op. cit. (n. 5) 64–78. 127–128; and on the technique of imitation see R. Hunter, *Apollonius of Rhodes, Argonautica Book 3* (Cambridge 1989) 25.

9 This word describes the colour of Odysseus' cloak and means something like our "purple". Apollonius refers to the adjective πορφύρεον in the cognate word πορφύρεσκεν (1, 461), also at the start of the hexameter, meaning "troubled" or "brooding". This usage is also Homeric. See W. Leaf, *The Iliad* (London 1900–1902) ad *Il.* 1, 103 and 14, 16; P. Chantraine, *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue grecque* (Paris 1968) 930.

ing his heroic strength by participating in the games and hurling the discus much further than any of the other competitors (Od. 8, 186–198). Later, the dispute settled (Od. 8, 199–255), Demodocus returns to sing a second song, this time concerning the adulterous affair between Ares and Aphrodite (Od. 8, 266–369). Jason's reaction to Idas' verbal attack is not described, other than in the phrase οἱ δ' ὁμάδησαν / πάντες ὁμῶς (Argon. 1, 474–475). It is Idmon who replies, speaking up on Jason's behalf (Argon. 1, 487–491)[10]. Idas, undaunted, threatens Idmon and only the intervention of some of the other Argonauts ends the dispute. Finally, Orpheus takes up his lyre to sing about the creation of the universe and the generations of the gods and goddesses who rule it (Argon. 1, 494–511).

This whole pattern of reference to Homer highlights the sophistication of the poet's exploitation of his model. Many of the typically Hellenistic techniques associated with subtle, learned *imitatio cum variatione*[11] are here in evidence. Precise verbal reference is accompanied and in fact underpins large-scale similarity of action. Variation and inversion similarly occur on both the verbal and structural levels. Apollonius, for example, repeats Homer's use of the word ἀγορήνδε but with a different meaning. Again, the reference to πορφύρεον in the use of πορφύρεσκεν is extremely precise, as is the fusion of two different Homeric formulae of speech introduction at Argonautica 1, 331. On a larger structural scale, the narrative pattern involving ship-launching, sacrifices and feasting is common to both texts but Apollonius greatly expands the short Homeric description of the launching of the Phaeacian ship into a full-scale highly technical account of the launching of the Argo. Throughout, Apollonius' imitation of Homer is learned, complex and creative. And what is perhaps the most subtle adaptation of the model has yet to come.

The whole series of links between Argonautica 1, 317–518 and Odyssey 8 suggests that the song of Orpheus and Demodocus' song about Ares and Aphrodite are comparable in terms of their placing in the narrative. The correspondance between the two performances extends, however, beyond this structural parallel to the actual content of the two songs. It is, at first sight, difficult to see what a song about adultery on Olympus might have to do with a song about the creation of the world and the first generations of divinities,

10 This is an interesting example of how Jason differs from the more straightforwardly heroic Odysseus. See in general R. Hunter, *"Short on heroics": Jason in the Argonautica*, Class. Qu. 38 (1988) 436–453. In Idmon's reply to Idas the words σὺ δ' ἀτάσθαλα πάμπαν ἔειπας (*Argon.* 1, 480) refer to the words of Odysseus in his reply to Euryalus, ξεῖν', οὐ καλὸν ἔειπας· ἀτασθάλῳ ἀνδρὶ ἔοικας (*Od.* 8, 166). This imitation is noted by M. Campbell, op. cit. (n. 4) 9. Cf. also *Argon.* 1, 481–484, the *exemplum* concerning Apollo and the punishment of the sons of Aloeus, and *Od.* 8, 224–228 where Odysseus mentions the killing of Eurytus by Apollo.

11 See e.g. G. Giangrande, *Aspects of Apollonius Rhodius' Language*, Papers of the Liverpool Latin Seminar 1 (1976) 271–291, and the works by the same author there cited in the select bibliography; see now also R. Hunter, op. cit (n. 8) passim for excellent demonstration of Apollonius' creative use of Homer.

apart from the obvious fact that both performers sing of gods and goddesses. The two songs are, nevertheless, closely linked.

The song about Ares and Aphrodite was much criticized in antiquity because of its scandalous nature, a tale of adulterous love among the gods[12]. In Homer's defence, one way of explaining away the problem was to show that this passage should be read allegorically and that beneath the surface of the love story Homer was really dealing with much more serious and edifying themes. The best surviving source for this approach to Demodocus' song is the Homeric Allegories by one Heraclitus, a text probably to be dated to the first century A.D.[13]. This work, however, stands in a long tradition of allegorical exegesis of Homer going back to the sixth century B.C.[14]. The infamous nature of the story of Ares and Aphrodite suggests that an allegorical reading was applied to it at a relatively early date and this approach to the passage certainly pre-dates Apollonius Rhodius since Plato is clearly aware of the practice of finding deeper significance beneath apparently frivolous passages of Homer[15]. This is what Heraclitus has to say (Homeric Allegories 69, 7–8): Νομίζω δ' ἔγωγε καίπερ ἐν Φαίαξιν, ἀνθρώποις ἡδονῇ δεδουλωμένοις, ᾀδόμενα ταῦτα φιλοσόφου τινὸς ἐπιστήμης ἔχεσθαι· τὰ γὰρ Σικελικὰ δόγματα καὶ τὴν Ἐμπεδόκλειον γνώμην ἔοικεν ἀπὸ τούτων βεβαιοῦν, Ἄρην μὲν ὀνομάσας τὸ νεῖκος, τὴν δὲ Ἀφροδίτην φιλίαν.

Ares and Aphrodite were thus seen to represent the Empedoclean forces of Strife and Love[16]. The song of Orpheus begins with the separation of earth, sky and sea through the action of cosmic Strife, νείκεος ἐξ' ὀλοοῖο (Argon. 1, 498). Both an ancient scholiast[17] and modern commentators[18] note that Apollonius

12 See W. Burkert, *Das Lied von Ares und Aphrodite: zum Verhältnis von Odyssee und Ilias*, Rhein. Mus. 103 (1960) 137 n. 16.

13 See F. Buffière, *Allégories homériques* (Paris 1962) introd. 9–10.

14 Theagenes of Rhegium is the name of the Homeric scholar to whom the origin of this tradition is usually traced. See J. Tate, *The Beginnings of Greek Allegory*, Class. Rev. 41 (1927) 214–215; F. Wehrli, *Zur Geschichte der allegorischen Deutung Homers im Altertum* (Leipzig 1928) 88–91; F. Buffière, *Les mythes d'Homère et la pensée grecque* (Paris 1956) 2; J. Pépin, *Mythe et allégorie: les origines grecques et les contestations judéo-chrétiennes* (Paris 1958) 97–98; R. Lamberton, *Homer the Theologian: Neoplatonist Allegorical Reading and the Growth of the Epic Tradition* (Berkeley 1986) 31–43.

15 See *Rep.* 2, 378d and F. Wehrli, op. cit. (n. 14) 89. See *Rep.* 3, 390c for his attack on the song about Ares and Aphrodite.

16 See F. Buffière, op. cit. (n. 14) 168–172.

17 The text of the scholion as printed by C. Wendel, *Scholia in Apollonium Rhodium Vetera* (Berlin 1934) ad *Argon.* 1, 496–498b begins, "Empedocles says that ...", continues with a brief account of his cosmogony and adds, ᾧ ἕπεται, ὡς εἰκός, καὶ Ἀπολλώνιος. H. Fränkel, *Noten zu den Argonautika des Apollonios Rhodios* (Munich 1968) 76–77 would prefer to read rather καὶ μὴ ἀπολωλέναι here. Even if he is right it is still clear that the scholiast assumed that Apollonius was referring to Empedoclean theory.

18 See, e.g., G. W. Mooney, *The Argonautica of Apollonius Rhodius*, Edited with Introduction and Commentary (Dublin 1912), ad *Argon.* 1, 496ff.; H. Herter, *Hellenistische Dichtung seit dem Jahre 1921*, II. Teil: *Apollonius von Rhodos, Jahresber. über die Fortschr. der Klass. Alt.*

is here drawing on Empedocles, as he also does elsewhere in the Argonautica[19]. In doing so, he imitates the song of Demodocus by removing the allegorical figures of Ares and Aphrodite and revealing the true significance of the Phaeacian bard's words[20].

The other famous passage of the Homeric epics to be read as a veiled account of Empedoclean cosmogonical theory was the Shield of Achilles in Iliad 18[21]. Heraclitus devotes much space to the ecphrasis and at one point writes (Homeric Allegories 49, 2): Μεταβέβηκεν οὖν ἀλληγορικῶς ἐπὶ τὰς δύο πόλεις, τὴν μὲν εἰρήνης, τὴν δὲ πολέμου παρεισάγων, ἵνα μηδ' Ἐμπεδοκλῆς ὁ Ἀκραγαντῖνος ἀπ' ἄλλου τινὸς ἢ παρ' Ὁμήρου τὴν Σικελικὴν ἀρύσεται δόξαν. It is no accident, therefore, that the song of Orpheus also refers to the description of the shield. Orpheus sings of γαῖα καὶ οὐρανὸς ἠδὲ θάλασσα (Argon. 1, 496). This line recalls Il. 18, 483, Ἐν μὲν γαῖαν ἔτευξ', ἐν δ' οὐρανόν, ἐν δὲ θάλασσαν. He sings also of the stars, moon and sun, all of which appear on the shield (Il. 18, 484–489)[22]. Finally, just as Orpheus sings of Strife, so a νεῖκος was represented on the shield of Achilles (Il. 18, 497). Apollonius thus refers to both the Homeric passages which were read as allegories of Empedocles' theory of Love and Strife[23], a fusion of two related Homeric models which testifies to the learned precision of Apollonius' imitation of both Iliad and Odyssey. The link between the song of Orpheus and the song of Demodocus about Ares and Aphrodite thus becomes clear. Apollonius is imitating Homer by lifting the veil of the allegory and presenting the true meaning of the model.

The Homeric bard in fact sings three songs in all in Odyssey 8 and Apol-

285 (1944–1955) 343; A. Ardizzoni, *Le Argonautiche, Libro I* (Rome 1967), ad *Argon.* 1, 496; M. Dickie, loc. cit. (n. 1).

19 See M. Campbell, *Studies in the Third Book of Apollonius Rhodius' Argonautica*, Altertumswissenschaftliche Texte und Studien 9 (Hildesheim 1983) 129, although not all of the suggested similarities are equally convincing. See also E. Livrea, *Apollonii Rhodii Argonauticon Liber IV*, Biblioteca di Studi Superiori 60 (Florence 1973) ad *Argon.* 4, 672.

20 Working independently D. Feeney has arrived at exactly the same conclusion; see D. Feeney, *The Gods in Epic* (Oxford 1991) 67 n. 12. I would like to thank Prof. Feeney for allowing me to see some pages of his book in advance of publication. For this kind of imitation based on allegorical interpretation in later epic poetry see, e.g., M. Murrin, *The Allegorical Epic: Essays in its Rise and Decline* (Chicago 1980); P. Hardie, *Cosmological and Ideological Aspects of the Shield of Achilles*, Journ. Hell. Stud. 105 (1985) 15–17; M. Lausberg, *Lucan und Homer*, Auf. Nied. Röm. Welt II 32, 3 (1985) 1605–1611; A. Wlosok, *Gemina Doctrina: On Allegorical Interpretation*, Papers of the Liverpool Latin Seminar 5 (1986) 75–84; F. Vian, *La théomachie de Nonnos et ses antécédents*, Rev. Et. Gr. 101 (1988) 275–292.

21 See most recently P. Hardie, op. cit. (n. 20) 15.

22 See F. Vian, op. cit. (n. 7) 73 n. 2; M. Campbell, op. cit. (n. 5) 9. With the ποταμοὶ κελάδοντες (*Argon.* 1, 501) compare ποταμὸν κελάδοντα at *Il.* 18, 576.

23 Apollonius' knowledge of the allegory of the shield provides a *terminus ante quem* for this approach to one of the most famous passages of the *Iliad*. For discussion which sheds light on the dating of allegorical readings see N. J. Richardson, *Homeric Professors in the Age of the Sophists*, Proc. Camb. Phil. Soc. 201 = N.S. 21 (1975) 65–81 and M. L. West, *The Orphic Poems* (Oxford 1983) 78–80.

lonius fuses different aspects of all three in Orpheus' single performance. The subject of the first song of Demodocus is a quarrel between Odysseus and Achilles at Troy, νεῖκος Ὀδυσσῆος καὶ Πηλεΐδεω Ἀχιλῆος (Od. 8, 75). This quarrel (νεῖκος) is later recalled in the narrative by the quarrel between Odysseus and Euryalus (νείκεσε, Od. 8, 158)[24]. The content of the song is thus closely related to the narrative context in which it is set. The same is true of Orpheus' song. The quarrel involving Idas, Jason and Idmon (νείκεσεν, Argon. 1, 462; νεῖκος 1, 492) is mirrored by the cosmic strife (νείκεος) which helps create the universe[25]. The imitation of the third song of the Homeric singer takes the form of a verbal allusion. The last song of Demodocus tells of Troy and the wooden horse (Od. 8, 499–520). Part of it is introduced with the words Ἤειδεν δ' ὡς at the start of the hexameter (Od. 8, 514). Apollonius opens Orpheus' song with Ἤειδεν δ' ὡς (1, 496) and continues the second part of it also with Ἤειδεν δ' ὡς (1, 503), each time at the start of the hexameter[26].

In this way the song of Orpheus refers in different ways to all three of the songs of Demodocus. It is necessary, however, to look in greater detail at the way in which the song of Orpheus relates to the narrative in which it is set in order to understand the full extent of its relationship to the Homeric models, its exact function in the immediate narrative context and its relevance to the poem as a whole. First of all, the content of the song demands careful attention. Orpheus begins by singing of the creation of the world, the separation of earth, sea and sky by the force of Strife, the orbits of the sun, moon and stars, the elevation of mountains, the first flowing of rivers and the birth of animals. The initial creative force is Empedoclean Strife. The subsequent development, however, is towards order[27]. The stars and planets are allotted fixed paths in the heavens (499–500) and the initial separation of the elements gives way to a process of creativity which will eventually lead to the development of the world[28]. After these first seven lines the song goes off in another direction as

24 See B. K. Braswell, *The Song of Ares and Aphrodite: Theme and Relevance to Odyssey 8*, Hermes 110 (1982) 30 n. 5.

25 See A. Hurst, *Apollonios de Rhodes, manière et cohérence: Contribution à l'étude de l'esthétique alexandrine*, Bibliotheca Helvetica Romana 8 (Rome 1967) 56; H. Fränkel, op. cit. (n. 17) 77; M. Fusillo, *Il Tempo delle Argonautiche*, Filologia e Critica 49 (Rome 1985) 62.

26 A. Ardizzoni, op. cit. (n. 18) ad loc., F. Vian, op. cit. (n. 7) 73 n. 2, M. Campbell, op. cit. (n. 4) 9 all note the imitation. The phrase is, perhaps rather surprisingly, very rare, and occurs only on these three occasions in Homer and Apollonius.

27 See the ancient scholia ad *Argon.* 1, 496–498a and F. Vian, op. cit. (n. 7) 16.

28 It is tempting to try to reconstruct Apollonius' picture of the Empedoclean cosmic cycle but it would be foolish to do so: "Everything to do with Empedocles' cosmology is now controversial". J. Barnes, *The Presocratic Philosophers* (London 1979) vol. 2, 6. It is worth noting, however, that in one theory of how the Empedoclean cosmogonical cycle worked initial Strife gives way to the growing force of Love and it is under her power that the world as we know it is created. See F. Vian, op. cit. (n. 7) 252 Notes Complémentaires (= N.C.) ad 502. G. S. Kirk/J. E. Raven/M. Schofield, *The Presocratic Philosophers* (Cambridge 1983) 297, attribute the cosmogony to the action of Strife but the succeeding zoogony to the force of Love. See,

Orpheus describes the first generations of gods and goddesses. Ophion and Eurynome rule Olympus but are defeated by Kronos and Rhea. While they rule Zeus is still a child in the Cretan cave, not yet armed with the weapons provided by the Cyclopes. This picture of the baby Zeus, which closes the song, cannot fail to foreshadow the defeat of Kronos at his son's hands. Ophion and Eurynome must give way to the might (βίῃ καὶ χερσὶν, 505) of Kronos and Rhea but they in turn will be replaced by Zeus and Hera. The power of Zeus is in fact celebrated immediately after the song when the Argonauts pour libations to the supreme deity (516–517)[29]. Once more, therefore, the song moves from discord and violence, the defeat of Ophion through the physical might of Kronos, to order, suggested by the forthcoming rule of Zeus[30].

The ancient scholia[31] point out that the content of this song mirrors the development of the action in the surrounding narrative. That action is as follows. Idas insults Jason and an argument begins. It requires the intervention of several comrades to bring to an end the quarrel involving Idas, Jason and Idmon. Then Orpheus sings and the beauty of his performance captivates the crew who sit spell-bound when he has finished. Harmonious sacrifices to Zeus follow. Thus the dispute has given place to a quiet calm among the Argonauts thanks to Orpheus' music[32]. This movement from discord to concord parallels the developments sung by Orpheus when cosmic strife gives way to order and creation and the struggles of earlier generations of deities will be brought to an end with the rule of Zeus. The scholiast is correct, therefore, in seeing the song

however, M. R. Wright, *Empedocles: The Extant Fragments* (New Haven 1981) 46–48 for the view which puts the creation of our world in a period controlled by Strife. The alternative is that this creative process occurs twice over, both under increasing Love and also under increasing Strife; see D. O'Brien, *Pour interpréter Empédocle* (Leiden 1981) 34–35. It is thus possible, but by no means certain, that when Apollonius describes the creation of the world after the initial separation of the elements he has in mind the growing force of Love and the waning of the influence of the initial Strife. In this case there would be an implicit movement from Strife to Love in the first lines of the song. It would also be attractive to go a step further and to argue that Apollonius saw this process of initial Strife followed by creation under the force of Love as leading eventually to a cosmic harmony. This view would reinforce the idea that Orpheus' song is suggestive of order growing out of discord. Again, however, it would be dangerous to apply such a hypothetical reconstruction of Apollonius' understanding of the Empedoclean cosmic cycle to the reading of the *Argonautica*. What is more important here is the fact that the allegorists (*All. Hom.* 69, 10) said that the child Harmonia was born from the love-making of Ares and Aphrodite and saw cosmic significance in this fact.

29 See A. Hurst, op. cit. (n. 25) 56 and F. Vian, op. cit. (n. 7) 16 respectively on Orpheus' song as a hymn in praise of Zeus.

30 The commentators, e.g. M. Campbell, op. cit. (n. 8) 9, note that the mention of Kronos' violent overthrow of Ophion contains a reference to Hesiod, *Th.* 490–491. It is ironic, and Apollonius surely intended the reader to be aware of the irony, that these Hesiodic lines describe the victory of Zeus over Kronos; cf. D. Feeney, op. cit. (n. 20) 67 n. 14.

31 Ad *Argon.* 1, 496–498a.

32 Contrast especially, *Argon.* 1, 474f. and 514, neatly enclosing the initial argument and the final calm, and see H. Fränkel, op. cit. (n. 17) 77–78; R. Hunter, *Apollo and the Argonauts: Two Notes on Ap. Rhod. 2, 669–719*, Mus. Helv. 43 (1986) 54; M. Dickie, loc. cit. (n. 1).

as being relevant to the surrounding narrative. But it is possible to go further in linking the song of Orpheus to the quarrel caused by Idas by paying particular attention to the role of Zeus in both passages.

When Idas challenges Jason he swears by his spear which, he says, brings him κῦδος (Argon. 1, 467) and which is more important to him than Zeus himself. The impiety of the warrior is rebuked by Idmon who uses the example of the killing of the sons of Aloeus by Apollo to warn Idas against blasphemy (481–484). This warning is reinforced by Orpheus. He mentions the rule of Kronos over the Titans (507) and immediately after continues with a description of Zeus as a child, not yet armed by the powerful weapons made by the Cyclopes (Argon. 1, 508–511), weapons which confer κῦδος (511) on the supreme deity. The picture of Zeus and his powerful weapons and the repetition of the word κῦδος recall Idas' vain boast about the power of his weapons only some fifty lines earlier in the poem[33]. The image of the divine thunderbolt which blasts the Titans belittles Idas' confidence in the power of his spear. Furthermore, looking beyond the text of the Argonautica, many readers of the poem will have known the fate of Idas as described by Pindar, Nemean 10, 71–72 (cf. Theocritus, Id. 22, 210–211), where he is indeed killed by the thunderbolt of Zeus[34]. Idmon's warning is thus very much to the point, if only Idas cares to heed it. Apollo killed Otus and Ephialtes much as Zeus blasted the Titans and later killed Idas. The song of Orpheus, both in its content and its relation to the preceeding narrative is thus much concerned with the theme of strife and violence and their correct use. When he sees Jason brooding and apparently in despair just before setting out on a great heroic adventure, Idas' reaction is to claim to be a protector whose faith in the power of his spear exceeds his belief in the might of Zeus himself. But both Idmon's warning and Orpheus' song suggest that this approach to the problems which worry Jason is problematic, improper and short-sighted[35]. The song clearly underlines the power of Zeus and draws attention to the impiety of Idas when it closes with the image of the thunderbolt and hints at the punishment of the *contemptor divum* for his blasphemous confidence in his own spear. But as well as alluding to the power of Zeus' thunderbolt Apollonius also refers to another aspect of the power of the supreme deity.

When Zeus is introduced into the song after the mention of Kronos and the Titans Apollonius says that he is *still* a child, *still* with foolish, childish thoughts in his mind (ἔτι is used twice in the same line). The effect is to draw

33 See H. Fränkel, op. cit. (n. 17) 77.

34 See H. Fränkel, op. cit. (n. 17) 78; F. Vian, op. cit. (n. 7) 72 n. 2.

35 See H. Fränkel, *Ein Don Quijote unter den Argonauten des Apollonios*, Mus. Helv. 17 (1960) 1–20; G. Lawall, *Apollonius' Argonautica: Jason as Anti-Hero*, YCS (1966) 141–143; H. Lloyd-Jones, *A Hellenistic Miscellany*, Stud. It. Fil. Cl. 77 (1984) 70–71 = *Greek Comedy, Hellenistic Literature, Greek Religion, and Miscellanea: The Academic Papers of Sir Hugh Lloyd-Jones* (Oxford 1990) 248, offers useful precisions to Fränkel's paper.

attention to the fact that this baby will one day grow up and become ruler of the world. Furthermore, when Zeus is described as a child, ἔτι φρεσὶ νήπια εἰδώς (Argon. 1, 508) there is an implicit reference to the fact that the mature god will be a figure of supreme intelligence. The phrase νήπια εἰδώς at the end of the hexameter is in fact a delicate variation on the formulaic phrase μήδεα εἰδώς (always placed at the end of the hexameter)[36] applied to Zeus by Homer and Hesiod to refer to the massive intelligence of the supreme deity. Even as he describes the simple mind of the baby Zeus Apollonius refers to the fact that the mature god will enjoy supreme mental powers. In defeating Kronos Zeus will be able to rely on his intelligence and craft as well as the physical strength represented by the thunderbolt[37]. Kronos came to power βίῃ καὶ χερσὶν (Argon. 1, 505) but even as he enjoys sway a child is being reared who will have the power of formidable intelligence as well as the might of armed strength and who will eventually rule over all gods and men. Apollonius thus refers in line 508 to the tradition by which Zeus achieved his victory over his father by cunning, either allied to brute force[38] or to the exclusion of force[39]. The song of Orpheus, therefore, by the way in which it refers to the struggle between Zeus and Kronos and so relates to the quarrel between Idas, Jason and Idmon, comments on the value of Idas' approach to the situation in which the Argonauts find themselves. Going yet further than this, it is possible to say that the singer's words are in fact relevant to the problem of armed force and violence as a solution to the tasks facing Jason in the wider context of the poem as a whole.

During the voyage to Colchis the Argonauts receive their most important advice about the tasks which lie ahead of them in Aea from the blind prophet Phineus. At Argonautica 2, 423–424 Phineus says[40]:

> Ἀλλά, φίλοι φράζεσθε θεᾶς δολόεσσαν ἀρωγὴν
> Κύπριδος· ἐν γὰρ τῇ κλυτὰ πείρατα κεῖται ἀέθλων.

36 Homer, *Il.* 24, 88: Hesiod, *Th.* 545. 550. 559. 561; *Op.* 54; fr. 141, 26; 234, 2; *h. Ven.* 43. Cf. also *Il.* 17, 325 where the line ending is φίλα φρεσὶ μήδεα εἰδώς.

37 See Hesiod, *Th.* 496 and M. L. West, *Hesiod, Theogony* (Oxford 1966) ad loc.; cf. *Th.* 159f. for a trick on Gaia's part which helps Zeus to overthrow Kronos; see also Aeschylus? *P.V.* 212f. and M. L. West, op. cit. (n. 23) 133–136. For the Greeks, Zeus represented the "union of power and wisdom". W. Burkert, *Greek Religion*, trans. J. Raffan (Cambridge, Mass. 1985) 129 = *Griechische Religion der archaischen und klassischen Epoche* (Stuttgart 1977) 205. On the μῆτις of Zeus see M. Détienne/J.-P. Vernant, *Les ruses de l'intelligence: La Mètis des Grecs* (Paris 1974) 61–103.

38 As at Hesiod, *Th.* 496.

39 As at Aeschylus? *P.V.* 212f. Once guile becomes necessary the efficacity of physical might is compromised and so even when cunning and force are used in unison the very presence of the former tends to overshadow the role of the latter. Strength alone no longer suffices. It is thus important to make the distinction between the two although it is admittedly a difficult process at times and they are not automatically incompatible.

40 On the importance of these words see G. Zanker, *The Love Theme in Apollonius' Argonautica*, Wien. Stud. 13 (1979) 57.

Unexpectedly, in heroic terms, the Argonauts will have to rely on the help of the goddess of love, help that will take the form of δόλος. This is a most important point. The help of Aphrodite, referring of course to the aid provided by Medea because of her love for Jason, implies the use of cunning as a means to success. The role of Medea is thus inseparable from the motif of δόλος in the remainder of the poem and Medea herself will in fact be described as δολόεσσα by Hera (Argon. 3, 89)[41]. The prophet's words do not please every member of the crew, as becomes apparent later. At Argonautica 3, 492–501 Jason describes to his comrades the seemingly impossible tasks he must perform in order to win the Golden Fleece. Peleus reacts by arguing that they will have to rely on κάρτεϊ χειρῶν (507). Argos, however, counsels prudence and mentions Medea, whose magical powers may prove more effective (523–539). At this point an omen occurs which lends weight to his words. A dove escapes from a hawk and Mopsus explains that the escape from death of the bird of Aphrodite should decide the course of action to be taken (540–554). He explicitely recalls the words of Phineus concerning the goddess of love and ends by saying (553–554):

> Ἀλλά, φίλοι, Κυθέρειαν ἐπικλείοντες ἀμύνειν,
> ἤδη νῦν Ἄργοιο παραιφασίῃσι πίθεσθε.

Idas alone reacts (556–563), violently criticizing his comrades for calling on Aphrodite for help rather than Ares. Predictably, he prefers to rely on physical strength rather than resort to the power of the goddess of Love. His words set out the tension between two different approaches to the problem facing Jason at this crucial stage in the story[42]. Should he adopt the approach of armed strength in battle or should he rather rely on Medea, who because of her love is ready to provide the help which will ensure success[43]? In the end, the Golden Fleece will be won through the cunning help of Cytherea rather than βίῃ καὶ χερσὶν.

The opposition between Ares and Aphrodite, war and love, violence and cunning intelligence which is central to the winning of the Golden Fleece, is in fact a recurrent theme in the poem as a whole[44]. The catalogue of the Argonauts, for example, contains many references to the martial prowess of the

41 See G. Zanker, op. cit. (n. 40) 74 n. 77a; G. Hutchinson, *Hellenistic Poetry* (Oxford 1988) 117–121.

42 See G. Zanker, op. cit. (n. 40) 59–60; F. Vian/E. Delage, *Apollonios de Rhodes, Argonautiques*, vol. 2 (Paris 1980) 13.

43 See M. Campbell, op. cit. (n. 19) 34–37 on this omen.

44 This theme has been well treated by several scholars, especially G. Lawall, op. cit. (n. 35) 136. 154–158; C. R. Beye, *Jason as Love-Hero in Apollonius' Argonautica*, Gr. Rom. Byz. Stud. 10 (1969) 31–55; G. Zanker, op. cit. (n. 40); M. Campbell, op. cit. (n. 19) 34–37; A. Rose, *Clothing Imagery in Apollonius' Argonautika*, Quad. Urb. Cult. Class. n.s. 21 (1985) 29–44; G. Hutchinson, op. cit. (n. 41) 117–127; R. Hunter, op. cit. (n. 8) 31; B. Pavlock, *Eros, Imitation and the Epic Tradition* (Ithaca 1990) 19–68.

crew (e.g. Argon. 1, 43–44. 74–75. 156–160. 188–189 etc.) and Jason himself prepares his ἀρήια τεύχε' (Argon. 1, 266) before departure. When he is finally chosen as leader of the expedition he is described as ἀρήιος (Argon. 1, 349). Yet events will show that the success of the Argonauts will not depend on capacities of this kind. On Lemnos, the love of the men for Thracian women leads to them being killed by their wives who must then assume the role of warriors and rush in arms to protect their island when a strange ship approaches (Argon. 1, 633–639). This initial violent opposition between the Lemnian women and the Argonauts gives way to love-making until Heracles' remonstrations and call to arms (Argon. 1, 865–874) remind Jason of his task. These tensions are represented on the beautiful cloak which Jason wears during his visit to Hypsipyle's palace[45], a cloak on which is depicted Aphrodite holding the shield of Ares (Argon. 1, 742–746)[46]. It must be remembered that Jason's garment is modelled on the shield of Achilles, a weapon of war being replaced by a piece of clothing which enhances the beauty of Jason[47]. Cyzicus and Cleite are recently married, but the young husband leaves his marital bed to greet the Jason who will later kill him in battle as a result of a terrible mistake[48]. The figure of Heracles in the first book is full of contradictions[49], one of them being that he is at once warrior and lover[50]. At all times, however, his approach is marked by a faith in the force of arms and violence which strongly contrasts him with Jason[51]. At the end of their long voyage to Colchis, when the Argonauts finally arrive in the River Phasis, the words of Ancaeus at the end of the second book prepare the dilemma which will face Jason in book three (Argon. 2, 1278–1280). He states that now is the time to decide whether to approach Aeetes with gentle words or by some other means. Will success be achieved by diplomacy (μειλιχίῃ) or by another way? The same choice must be made by the divine powers who aid the crew, and at Argonautica 3, 84–86 Hera makes her position clear, saying that this is no time for the use of armed might and instead relying on δόλος (3, 12. 20) and asking Aphrodite to send Eros to enflame Medea (who is δολόεσσα) with love for Jason. At Argonautica 3, 171–193 Jason himself decides to try to convince Aeetes by words before resorting to force or some other means[52]. The diplomatic approach will have

45 See C. R. Beye, op. cit. (n. 44) 44; B. Pavlock, op. cit. (n. 44) 28.

46 See G. Lawall, op. cit. (n. 35) 155; B. Pavlock, op. cit. (n. 44) 36–39.

47 See G. Lawall, op. cit. (n. 35) 158; G. Zanker, op. cit. (n. 40) 54.

48 See G. Lawall, op. cit. (n. 35) 151–152; G. Zanker, op. cit. (n. 40) 55 n. 9.

49 See D. Feeney, *Following after Hercules, in Virgil and Apollonius*, Proc. Virg. Soc. 18 (1986) 47–85.

50 See G. Zanker, op. cit. (n. 40) 55–56; B. Pavlock, op. cit. (n. 44) 64.

51 At several points in the poem Heraclean violence is placed in stark contrast to Jason's more thoughtful, diplomatic approach; see A. Rose, op. cit. (n. 44), D. Feeney, op. cit. (n. 49). The contrast is nowhere more apparent than when the nymph Aegle (*Argon.* 4, 1432–1449) recounts how Heracles brutally took the Golden Apples from the garden of the Hesperides. Jason's approach to winning the Golden Fleece is very different.

52 See F. Vian/E. Delage, op. cit. (n. 42) 117 N.C. ad 171.

no effect on Aeetes (Argon. 3, 371–381. 401–421). In the end he will speak to Medea with flattering words (Argon. 3, 974. 1008) and with her help he will succeed in winning the Fleece. During the return voyage cunning is required in order to keep possession of the hard-won prize and throughout the fourth book, right from the first lines (1–5) when the narrator asks whether Medea fled out of her passion for Jason or her fear of her father, love and cunning intelligence become increasingly problematic concepts[53]. On the Brygean Isle the use of δόλος takes on a ghastly aspect when Apsyrtus is tricked and murdered (Argon. 4, 395–481). On the island of the Phaeacians direct confrontation in battle with the pursuing Colchians is avoided by the swift arrangement of a wedding between Jason and Medea (Argon. 4, 1068–1169) as once again the power of Aphrodite proves more effective than that of Ares. This wedding in the Phaeacian cave in a sense marks the culmination of the love motif in the story as a whole. It is the natural outcome of events in Colchis and fulfills Jason's promises to marry Medea in return for her help in winning the Fleece. Apollonius makes it clear, however, that this so-called marriage is in fact in no way a resolution to the story. Every reader of the Argonautica brings to it a knowledge of the Medea of Euripides and the terrible events which take place when Jason finally brings Medea back to Greece[54]. The narrator ends his description of the wedding with a deeply pessimistic commentary on the frailty of human happiness (Argon. 4, 1161–1169) which bodes ill for the future of the apparently happy couple. And the narrator brings his poem to an end at a pregnant moment just when they set foot back in Greece. On one level, love has achieved success in assuring the safe return of the Fleece but the reader must surely inevitably think of the terrible strife which lies ahead for Jason and Medea[55].

The song of Orpheus acts as a programmatic opening to this opposition of the forces of love, cunning intelligence and strife in the poem and even beyond it[56]. Apollonius does not mention explicitly the power of love in Orpheus' song but the clear allusion to Empedoclean theory in the naming of "terrible Strife" inevitably brings to mind its counterpart[57]. In addition, the fact that the mention of Strife is an allusion to Homer's song about Ares and Aphrodite indi-

53 See G. Hutchinson, op. cit. (n. 41) 125–128; see also A. Rose, op. cit. (n. 44) 38–44, although I think she goes too far in seeing a complete breakdown in the distinction between violent methods and the diplomatic approach as early as the boxing match between Amycus and Polydeuces at the start of book 2.

54 See most recently V. Knight, *Apollonius, Argonautica 4. 167–70 and Euripides' Medea*, Class. Qu. 41 (1991) 248–250.

55 On the abrupt ending of the *Argonautica* see S. Goldhill, *The Poet's Voice: Essays on Poetics and Greek Literature* (Cambridge 1991) 294–297.

56 See C. R. Beye, op. cit. (n. 44) 53: "... the theme of the song grows out of the quarrel and furthermore seems to elaborate a motif which runs through the entire epic, the conflict of love and hate (or destruction)".

57 See M. Dickie, loc. cit. (n. 1).

cates clearly the implicit presence of Love and foreshadows the important role of the opposition between love and war in the rest of the poem. The Argonautica is a poem in which love is to play such an essential role that Apollonius felt able to hint at it in a highly subtle and allusive manner in Orpheus' song.

There is further evidence available to support this argument that Orpheus' song is to be seen as related thematically to the remainder of the poem. Firstly, the position of the song of Orpheus in the narrative of events in the opening scenes of the poem suggests that it is indeed susceptible of such a programmatic interpretation. Orpheus sings when all the preliminary arrangements for the voyage have been completed and immediately before the account of the departure of the Argonauts (Argon. 1, 519ff.). His performance thus occurs at a significant moment. The hours before departure on such a venture see Jason worried about what lies ahead and when Idas challenges both the leader and the gods the moment is ripe for an overall view which will help to right the situation. Orpheus' song brings to a close the opening section of the poem and prepares for the beginning of the great adventure. He tells of the beginning of the cosmos just before the description of the beginning of the voyage. The feats of the Argonauts are thus placed in a cosmic setting and given their place in the whole panorama of history since the creation of the world. The song acts as a kind of cosmic overture to the poem and as such is of far-reaching relevance[58].

Secondly, the end of the song with its mention of the Cyclopes and the weapons of Zeus links it closely to the start of the description of the cloak of Jason on which are figured the Cyclopes in the act of finishing a thunderbolt (Argon. 1, 730–734). The fact that deep thematic significance has been convincingly traced in the description of the cloak[59], and the fact that, as shown above, many of the concerns of that particular passage are perfectly compatible with the reading of the song being proposed here, tends to support the view that the words put into the mouth of Orpheus may also have far-reaching significance. Furthermore, the resemblance between the end of Orpheus' song and the end of the poem as a whole also suggests that the bard's performance has exemplary status in the poem. Just as Orpheus ends abruptly and leaves untold the story of Zeus' defeat of Kronos, what would be the logical continuation of his song, so the narrator brings the poem to a sudden halt and does not describe events after the return of Jason and Medea to Greece[60]. This correspondance favours a reading which sees the song as providing a commentary on the rest of the narrative.

58 See P. Hardie, *Cosmos and Imperium* (Oxford 1986) 52–66, on the songs of Demodocus and Orpheus and that of Iopas in *Aeneid* 1. The pattern of imitation outlined in this article is clearly relevant to the understanding of Iopas' song in *Aeneid* 1 as it is to the Silenus' song in *Eclogue* 6 and the status of Orpheus' performance as some kind of ideal, Hellenistic poetic composition (see H. Fränkel, op. cit. [n. 17] 623–624). I will discuss these matters elsewhere.

59 See especially G. Lawall, op. cit. (n. 35).

60 See H. Fränkel, op. cit. (n. 58).

Finally, and most importantly, connections between the song of Orpheus and the scenes at the start of book 3 which see Aphrodite and Eros enter the narrative convincingly suggest that the bard's song foreshadows the love motif in the whole work. When asked by Hera to send Eros to enflame Medea with love for Jason so that he may win the Fleece Aphrodite's immediate reaction is that her unruly, disobedient son may not co-operate (Argon. 3, 91–99). In order to win him over, the goddess resorts to bribery and offers him a marvellous toy in return for his help. This toy takes the form of a wonderful golden ball (Argon. 3, 131–142). This scene, with the additional description of Eros and Ganymede playing knucklebones (Argon. 3, 112–127), has long delighted readers of the poem by its charm and humour. But more serious undertones have also been traced and the ball promised to Eros has been seen as a cosmic icon, a symbol of the tremendous power of the god of love over the whole world[61]. The apparent childish simplicity of the scene thus hides deeper, darker realities. This passage also recalls details of the song of Orpheus. The ball offered to Eros by Aphrodite is described as having been the toy of Zeus, given to him by Adrasteia when he was still a child in the Cretan cave on Mt. Ida, ἄντρῳ ἐν Ἰδαίῳ ἔτι νήπια κουρίζοντι (Argon. 3, 134). This line alludes back to Argonautica 1, 508–509[62] where Orpheus sings of Zeus as a child in the Dictaean cave, ὄφρα Ζεὺς ἔτι κοῦρος, ἔτι φρεσὶ νήπια εἰδώς, / Δικταῖον ναίεσκεν ὑπὸ σπέος. The two mentions of the baby Zeus in Cretan caves and the repetition of ἔτι νήπια show that the allusion is certain and that Apollonius expects the reader to note the link between the golden ball and the song of Orpheus. The presentation of love as a great cosmic force through the mention of the ball thus looks back to the song of Orpheus where cosmic Love is present in all but name and helps the reader to appreciate the relevance of the song to what is about to take place when Eros flies down to Colchis to earn his toy[63].

The fact that the Aphrodite–Eros scene and the song of Orpheus both contain significant imitation of the same passage of Homer adds extra weight to the argument that the two scenes are connected. It has been demonstrated in detail[64] that Apollonius' Olympus scene owes a great deal to Homer's description of events surrounding the making of the shield of Achilles. Hera's attempt to provide help and protection for Jason by visiting Aphrodite, whose husband Hephaestus has just risen early to go to his forge (Argon. 3, 41–43), is modelled

61 See, for example, R. Hunter, op. cit. (n. 8) ad 135; A. Stückelberger, *Sterngloben und Sternkarten: Zur wissenschaftlichen Bedeutung des Leidener Aratus*, Mus. Helv. 47 (1990) 72. On the possible ritual significance of knucklebones and a ball in an Orphic context see M. L. West, op. cit. (n. 23) 158.

62 See R. Hunter, op. cit. (n. 8) on 134.

63 Empedoclean influence may also be common to both passages since it was a part of his theory that the cosmos was spherical when dominated by the power of Love; see R. Hunter, op. cit. (n. 8) on 135.

64 See P. G. Lennox, *Apollonius Rhodius 3. 1ff. and Homer*, Hermes 108 (1981) 45–73.

in part on Thetis' visit to Charis and Hephaestus[65] in order to secure protection, in the form of divine armour manufactured in the forge of Hephaestus, for Achilles. Thus the love created on Jason's behalf corresponds to the shield made for Achilles as once again Apollonius presents his Homeric model without its allegorical veil, imitating the shield which was read as an allegory of Love and Strife by describing the divine machinations which lead to Medea's love for Jason. This being the case, it is difficult not to link Eros' ball, which plays such an important part in the divine intervention, and the shield of Achilles, since both represent the cosmos[66]. Thus both the cosmic song of Orpheus and the cosmic ball of Eros reflect Apollonius' awareness of the allegorical interpretation of the shield of Achilles and this fact shows that the song in the first book and the Olympus scene of Argonautica 3 are to be connected.

The close relationship established between Orpheus' song and both its immediate narrative setting and the poem as a whole will have been suggested to Apollonius through his careful reading of Homer. First, the songs of Demodocus precede the tale of Odysseus in books 9–12, a performance which is in a sense a continuation of the Phaeacian bard's two songs about the Trojan war. Odysseus' narrative of his voyage from Troy thus follows on the account of Demodocus' songs in the eighth book just as the narrator's account of the voyage of the Argonauts follows the song of Orpheus in the first book of the Argonautica. This structural similarity is in no way accidental. Throughout the account of the voyage from Pagasae to Colchis in the first two books of the poem Apollonius models the voyage of Jason on that of Odysseus as described in Odyssey 9–12. It is proof of Apollonius' imaginative imitation of Homer, therefore, that the scenes which precede this narrative of an epic voyage are modelled on the scenes which come just before the account of the voyage of Odysseus. As well as this attention to the narrative structure of the Odyssey Apollonius also shows himself, through his imitation, to have been aware of more complex patterns of cohesion in the model text.

The three songs of Demodocus in Odyssey 8 are carefully integrated into the Phaeacian narrative as well as being relevant to the concerns of the Odyssey in general. The song of Ares and Aphrodite reflects on the differences between brute strength and cunning intelligence as the victory of the lame but resourceful Hephaestus over powerful Ares is to be compared with the superiority of Odysseus over the Phaeacian Euryalus who insults him for his refusal to take part in the games[67]. This opposition is also relevant to the poem as a

65 P. G. Lennox, op. cit. (n. 64) 49–50 (cf. B. Pavlock, op. cit. [n. 44] 41–42) notes that Apollonius plays wittily on the varying traditions concerning the identity of the wife of Hephaestus, Charis in *Iliad* 18, Aphrodite in *Odyssey* 8. This learned game gains in intricacy with the realisation of the links between the Olympus scene and the song of Orpheus, an imitation of Demodocus' song about Ares' and Aphrodite's adulterous affair.

66 See P. Hardie, op. cit. (n. 20) 15–17 on the allegorical reading of the shield as the cosmos.

67 See B. K. Braswell, op. cit. (n. 24).

whole and to the relationship between the Odyssey and the Iliad and the problem of the differing types of heroism employed by Odysseus and Achilles, a more rational, wily intelligence in comparison with faith in straightforward, physical might[68]. Similarly, both the song about the quarrel between Achilles and Odysseus and that about the Wooden Horse, i.e. Demodocus' first and third songs, have also been seen as commenting on the opposition between βίη and μῆτις in Homeric epic. An ancient scholiast already sees the argument between Achilles and Odysseus as turning on the best way to take Troy, either by force (ἀνδρεία) or by mental power (σύνεσις), and it has been argued that Homer here draws on a well known epic theme[69]. It is more likely to be true that the subject of the song is an invention of the poet[70] created for this specific context in order to relate to the quarrels between Euryalus and Odysseus and Hephaestus and Ares, a comparison which would suggest that the clash between the two heroes does indeed centre on the opposition between βίη and μῆτις. As for the Wooden Horse, Odysseus explicitly describes it as a δόλος (8, 494) and the subject of Demodocus' song obviously represents the success of Odyssean guile and intelligence in the taking of Troy[71]. Apollonius' imitation of Demodocus' three tales in the single song of Orpheus shows that he certainly read the Phaeacian bard's songs as dealing with the opposition between physical and mental power as solutions to the difficulties facing epic heroes.

As far as the Odyssey as a whole is concerned, the story of adultery involving Ares, Aphrodite and Hephaestus is relevant to the situation involving Odysseus, Penelope and the suitors after the hero's return to Ithaca[72]. Here again, Hephaestus' victory is related to that of Odysseus, this time in the second half of the poem. In addition, the way in which Ares, Aphrodite and Hephaestus relate to the suitors, Penelope and Odysseus can be seen as providing the model for the way in which the Apollonian Strife (= Ares) and, implicitly but certainly evoked, Love (= Aphrodite) in the song of Orpheus look forward to the role played by the love affair of Jason and Medea in the third and fourth books of the poem. In the Odyssey adultery on Olympus gives way to human fidelity between Odysseus and Penelope on Odysseus' return and the re-establishment of their marriage leading to a harmonious ending to the

68 See A. Heubeck/S. West/J. B. Hainsworth, *A Commentary on Homer's Odyssey*, vol. 1, Books 1–8 (Oxford 1988) ad *Od.* 8, 75 (comm. by JBH).

69 See G. Nagy, *The Best of the Achaeans: Concepts of the Hero in Archaic Greek Poetry* (Baltimore 1979) 42–58; U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorf, *Hephaistos*, Nachr. der Kgl. Gesell. der Wissen. zu Götting. Phil.-hist. Kl. (1895) 224–225 = Kleine Schriften (Berlin 1937) vol. 5, 2, 12–14, sees the Homeric Hymn to Hephaestus as a model for the Odyssey poet.

70 See W. Marg, *Das erste Lied des Demodokos*, Navicula Chiloniensis, Studia Philologa Felici Jacoby Professori Chiloniensi Emerito Octogenario Oblata (Leiden 1956) 16–29.

71 See J. Strauss Clay, *The Wrath of Athena: Gods and Men in the Odyssey* (Princeton 1983) 96–112 and A. T. Edwards, *Achilles in the Odyssey*, Beiträge zur klassischen Philologie 171 (Meisenheim 1985) 38–41.

72 See R. M. Newton, *Odysseus and Hephaestus in the Odyssey*, Class. Journ. 83 (1987) 12–20.

poem. In the Argonautica the poem seems on one level to end with a comparable success, the wedding of Jason and Medea on Phaeacia and their safe return to Greece, but Apollonius makes it clear that the future reserves only suffering for Jason and Medea and that their love will in fact end in terrible strife.

The song of Orpheus provides excellent evidence for the profundity of Apollonius' interpretation of Homer and of his complex, creative use of the model in the writing of the Argonautica. The whole pattern of imitation outlined in this study does not exhaust the poet's Homeric reference in Argonautica 1, 317–518, not to mention the use of the many other sources which are also imitated[73]. But enough has been said here to demonstrate the sophistication of Apollonius' handling of his Homeric models. The question of the status of the Argonautica vis-à-vis Callimachus' famous attack in the Aetia on long-winded epic poetry has been much discussed[74]. Given the nature of Apollonius' use of Homer as demonstrated above it is surely impossible to consider his epic as the work of a reactionary figure opposed to the kind of literary production favoured by Callimachus. Apollonius' poem must be dissociated from the many humdrum historical and mythological epic narratives which were being churned out in the Hellenistic period and against which Callimachus wages battle. Further detailed study of the ways in which Apollonius adapts his poetic heritage will lead to a fuller understanding of the originality of the Argonautica and its place in the literary history of the Hellenistic period. The time is ripe for M. Campbell's collection of comparative material to be put to good use in the study of the influential techniques of imitation employed by Apollonius Rhodius in adapting his numerous models, most especially the Odyssey and the Iliad, and in creating a highly innovative kind of epic poem which was to breath life into a genre in danger of withering in the shadow cast by inimitable Homer[75].

73 See M. Campbell, op. cit. (n. 4) 6–10. This song, for example, also includes imitation of Hesiod, Pherecydes of Syros and Orphic poetry, as well as Homer. See H. Herter, op. cit. (n. 18) 343; F. Vian, op. cit. (n. 7) 253 N.C. ad 511.

74 See, most recently, N. Hopkinson, *A Hellenistic Miscellany* (Cambridge 1988) 181–182; R. Hunter, op. cit. (n. 8) 32–38; M. Heath, *Unity in Greek Poetics* (Oxford 1989) 65–67.

75 H. Lloyd-Jones' call, op. cit. (n. 35) 70 = 248, for a Knauer-like study of the relationship between Apollonius and Homer has still not been fulfilled.