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H. C. A. Asquith

Silver Epic Catalogues

A thesis presented for examination for the MA in Classics

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Silver Epic Catalogues

Thesis for the MA in Classics

Abstract

This thesis aims to examine the detailed contents of epic catalogues from the *Iliad* through to the Silver epics, although it will concentrate upon the developments displayed in the latter period. The background picture built up by the lists of towns will be considered in addition to that created by the descriptions of the leaders: the basic *topoi* and the techniques employed in the background picture will be identified, and the motivation for their inclusion will be discussed. These elements will be used to gain a greater understanding of the nature of the catalogues' contents, and will be applied in close analyses of some of the Silver catalogues.

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Introduction

Epic catalogue prologues have two main elements: an indication of their content, and a request for aid in recounting it. The first of these usually takes the form of a mention of leaders and of the regions from which they drew their troops; the second provides some claim to authenticity by indicating the poet's effort of recall and, through this reference to memory, by claiming some traditional basis for the information included.

> *Pandete nunc Helicona, deae, cantusque movete,*
> *qui bello exciti reges, quae quemque secutae*
> *complerint campos acies, quibus Itala iam tum*
> *floruerit terra alma viris, quibus arserit armis:*
> *et meministis enim, divae, et memorare potestis;*
> *ad nos vix tenuis famae perlabitur aura.* (*Aen.* 7. 641 - 6)

The catalogues that follow, however, are not simple lists of leaders and towns. On the one hand they include a wealth of personal details about the heroes, and on the other, information about the landscape of their domains.

The appeal for aid in accuracy is a feature inherited from a time when traditional information was an important part of the audience's heritage. Indeed, the presence of such catalogues at all can only be explained by the fact that the information they contain was once considered important: they may be justified in poetic terms in a number of ways, and increasingly throughout the history of epic they are employed poetically in various fashions; nonetheless, similar effects could have been attained without employing a catalogue. This cultural significance persists to a

greater extent in the gazettes of towns[1] than it does in the personal details elaborating the leaders. Towns necessarily carry with them their traditions and histories. The leaders are at first given descriptions in catalogues in order to distinguish them from each other, as part of the task of enumeration. Often, however, in the post-Homeric epics, the heroes either play a sufficiently substantial part in the epics not to require especially detailed characterisation in the catalogue, or they are so insignificant that it hardly seems necessary that they should be singled out at all. The personal details are therefore diverted to create a number of effects, most usually to achieve the emotional involvement of the audience.

This thesis will examine, for both the gazettes and the leaders, the developments in the nature, significance and technique of the background picture that the Silver Latin poets inherited, and their individual treatments of this material. For each category this examination of the evolution of the catalogue material will be followed by a close analysis of one or more of the Silver catalogues in order to demonstrate the poetic use that was made of this inheritance. Owing in part to the limited space available, Statius gains most attention in this thesis and Silius the least. Statius' gazettes have a direct predecessor in the Catalogue of Ships, and so they can be used the most conveniently to display the changes in attitude and technique. While Silius may have written a little after Statius,[2] it is Statius who made the most innovative use of the material and who thus displays the fullest consequences of its evolution. This is the case in particular with the detail that he provides on his leaders, which is integrated with the rest of the epic to an unprecedented degree.

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[1] Throughout this thesis "catalogue" will mean specifically a substantial set piece muster of epic figures; "gazette" will mean a list of places with a limited amount of description or elaboration, normally within a catalogue, "contingent" will mean a unit within a catalogue comprising a hero and his troops, often containing a gazette.

[2] Cf. Ahl, Davis & Pomeroy (1986) 2693; Wilson (1993) 233.

I: Background in the Catalogues: The Lists of Towns and Their Impression of Landscape

A: Technique and Significance in the Gazettes

The gazettes are one of the most notable features of the Homeric Catalogue of Ships and are present in all martial epic catalogues. They nonetheless appear the most dispensable feature in any epic, adding nothing to characterisation or plot, or even setting the scene for the action, as they concern areas that the heroes are moving from, and that thus will not usually appear again in the epic. This chapter will attempt to explain the purpose of the gazettes within the epics and, more importantly, their significance for their readers. Without the latter quality, they could not have survived as a feature of epic: nonetheless, it altered and evolved over time, and this chapter will trace the stages by which it reached its Silver Latin development. It is the gazettes that give the picture of the world the heroes came from and provide the Catalogue with a geographic substructure. Homeric scholarship has devoted a great deal of attention to this picture in the Catalogue of Ships: so did the poets of the various gazettes. As I will discuss, the content of the gazettes evolves from a Homeric emphasis on the commemoration of the places involved to later more scenic portraiture of the regions. The significance for the audience underlies each stage, beginning with local pride and ending with the emotional appeal of patriotism and nostalgia. The technique within the gazettes, by which this background picture of the landscape was created, will also be discussed, and the final result of its evolution as shown by the style of the entries of Statius and Silius will be explored. In order to consider the actual content of the

gazettes - the choice of towns as well as the style in which they are presented - Statius' Athenian catalogue will be examined as an example of these processes in operation.

1: The Significance of the Gazettes

Geographers could not ignore the Catalogue on account of the status these lists held in antiquity and even today try to understand their information (modern accounts of ancient geography still mention Homer).[3] Eratosthenes denied that Homeric geography was based on reality, but this was not well received, and Crates and other authors trusted in Homer.[4] Later authors too must have responded to it in some way: either by accepting that Homer's Catalogue is an accurate description of Heroic Greece, and attempting similar accuracy in their own gazettes, or by attempting to reduplicate the patriotic impact of a list of evocative names, or by creating an ethnographical and geographical picture of Africa, Gaul, Spain or the North East in the tradition of "Homer the first geographer".[5] The geography of the Catalogue was assumed to be accurate, while the Megarian claim that Athens had interpolated the lines on Salamis suggest that it was even viewed as having a certain authority.[6] There are also instances of towns trying to appropriate sites mentioned in the catalogue but lost during the Dark Ages: Pausanias, for instance, says that Arne was an old name for Chaeronea (9. 40. 5 - 6).[7] Homeric geography, therefore, while being respected, was also the subject of later confusion. Strabo began his geography with an assertion of

[3] E.g. Thomson (1945) 20 - 21.
[4] Cf. Pfeiffer (1968) 166 - 7; French (1994) 118.
[5] Strabo 1. 1. 2.
[6] Arist. *Rhet.* A 15. 1375 b 30, cf. Kirk (1985) 208, Willcock (1996) 208.
[7] Refuted by Strabo; see Hope Simpson & Lazenby (1970) 31.

Homer's geographical knowledge, and in his books on Greece (8 & 9) he makes constant reference to Homer and especially to the Catalogue of Ships, even discussing places mentioned there that were totally lost, dead or disputed by his time, such as Arne and Mideia,[8] Mycenae[9] and the Arcadian towns,[10] and Pylos.[11] Accuracy in the later catalogues was nonetheless not a prerequisite. Herodotus' impressive catalogue of Persian forces (7. 61 - 58) conflicts with the regional ethnographical details that have become known, although for a long time it contrived to be viewed as authoritative.[12] Vergil's Latin Catalogue shuffles rulers and places, most notably in the instance of Messapus,[13] while Silius catalogued men who were famous, not in connection with the Punic Wars, but with later civil wars.[14]

Although a few manuscripts omit it,[15] the Catalogue of Ships was not rejected by any of the grammarians. Aristarchus accepted and praised it, although he was critical of the part of the *Iliad* that use lists as a basis of composition.[16] Substantial commentaries were produced by Apollodorus on the Greek Catalogue, and Demetrius of Scepsis on the Trojan one.[17] Modern views of Homer's catalogue show of course a wide range of variations, but may be grouped broadly. Some authors believe that the Catalogue of Ships reflects approximately the political geography of the 700s and may be a late addition;[18] others argue, often from archaeology, that the catalogue is a fairly

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[8] 9. 2. 35.
[9] 8. 6. 19.
[10] 8. 8. 2.
[11] 8. 3. 2, 7, 16, 26ff.
[12] Armayor (1978) provides an account of the conflicts between Herodotus' catalogue and the evidence of epigraphy and archaeology.
[13] Basson (1975) 136, 147; Holland (1935) 202.
[14] McGuire (1995).
[15] Kirk (1985) 196 has the details.
[16] Pfeiffer (1968) 220; Kirk (1985) 196.
[17] Allen (1910) 292; Pfeiffer (1968) 249.
[18] Carpenter (1946) 178; Dickinson (1986); Leaf (1915); Nisse (1873) cit. Allen (1910) 292.

accurate Mycenaean register.[19] This latter opinion can be subdivided into those who think the catalogue is an original Mycenaean composition, or at least a piece older than the *Iliad* and included with adaptations by Homer in his epic,[20] and those who think it could have been composed by Homer using the data handed down by the oral traditions.[21] There is a similar dispute over whether the Trojan Catalogue is another old traditional piece,[22] or whether it was composed by Homer to complement the Catalogue of Ships.[23] Other disputed areas are whether, if the catalogue was once a separate piece, it could have stood alone as a poem,[24] and whether the catalogue in its original form described a muster of ships at Aulis.[25]

Of more importance for the present consideration of how later poets viewed the catalogue are the varied opinions of its poetic qualities. Carpenter[26] considered it to be "pitilessly prosaic", but most authors who comment on it as literature rather than as a historio-geographic problem praise it for the way that its evocative names would have appealed to patriotism.[27] In addition, they consider the way that it presents a picture of Greek life, placing the epic in human, geographical, cultural and temporal perspective.[28]

Later catalogues can be viewed as reworkings of the poetic qualities of the Catalogue of Ships, but it is in that area that the influence of Homer becomes overlaid by that of later authors. Hesiod and other genealogical poets had made use of the

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[19] Allen (1910); Bowra (1930) 71; Edwards (1987) 188; Hope Simpson & Lazenby (1970); Luce (1975) 88; Willcock (1996) 205.
[20] Bowra (1930) 71; Edwards (1987) 163; Hope Simpson & Lazenby (1970); Luce (1975) 88; Minton (1962); Schein (1984) 19; Whitman (1958) 42; Willcock (1996) 205.
[21] Powell (1978) 255, and perhaps and with reservations, Kirk (1985) 169, 238 - 240.
[22] Allen (1910), Leaf (1915).
[23] Kirk (1985) 263.
[24] See esp. Kirk (1985) 169.
[25] Beye (1961) argues against this. The majority of other scholars produce various arguments in favour.
[26] Carpenter (1946) 26.
[27] E.g. Whitman (1958) 16, 262.
[28] Vivante (1970), Nagy (1979) Stanley (1993) Kirk (1985).

form, so that it was possible for epicists to become influenced by their overtones, since the Catalogue of Ships in part records the genealogy of those who fought against Troy. Herodotus and even Thucydides had made use of lists and catalogues of forces, so that the historical overtones of Homeric catalogues were reinforced, since they could be read as records of a historical muster. Tragedies too introduced catalogues, such as Aeschylus' Persian catalogue (*Persae* 16 - 60), and the sequence of attackers in the *Seven against Thebes* (375 - 653); Euripides' *Iphigenia at Aulis* has a lyric reworking of the Catalogue of Ships (164 - 302). We do not know whether epicists between Homer and Apollonius included catalogues, but it is likely that they did.[29] By the time of Apollonius, at least, the contents and use of catalogues had grown far more complex than their Homeric beginnings, while at the same time being considered an original Homeric feature.

The gazettes required a considerable amount of attention from the poet.[30] Epithets had to be selected and towns grouped into a meaningful pattern. Mythological and historical material also had to be chosen and catered for. In spite of this, the catalogues are not only retained as a feature of epic, but increase in number, and gazettes of towns likewise continue as a feature. Vergil has a substantial Latin catalogue and a smaller Etruscan one. Lucan has a number of gazette-like lists.[31] Statius has a full sized catalogue (*Theb.* 4. 37 - 308), a substantial *teichoskopia* that includes gazettes (*Theb.* 7. 247 - 373) and a briefer Athenian catalogue which is solely a gazette, while of Silius' three catalogues the Italian one (*Pun.* 8. 356 - 616) is dominated by gazettes of towns, and the Sicilian one in book 14 (192 - 278) contains almost nothing else. These must therefore have had some kind of structural

[29] There seems, for instance, to have been some kind of catalogue in the *Cypria*: cf. Allen (1910) 313.
[30] Minchin (2001) 73 - 99 examines the amount and nature of memorisation catalogues require.
[31] E.g. 1. 419 - 462, 2. 462 - 477, 3. 169 - 297, 4. 677 - 687.

significance within the epics or personal or emotional significance for their readers to be included at all.

The most obvious purpose of the gazettes is to present ideas of magnitude, and often of all-inclusiveness as well.[32] The presence of all post-Homeric catalogues is also a signal that the poet is accepting traditional features of the epic genre.[33] In this they authenticate the importance of whatever event is to be described, making it appear worthy of epic.[34] As a result the presence of a military catalogue is a forewarning of the presence of substantial battle scenes, and the gazettes serve to justify the length of such scenes: fighting involving so many cannot be dismissed in a summary fashion.[35] The catalogues introduce to the reader the range of characters involved, presenting a background of unimportant figures in addition to the famous leaders. The depiction of the heroes is broadened by the details of their physical appearance and equipment, but also by the fact that they are given a geographical background, rather than appearing totally detached from reality and existing solely in the sphere of epic.

At the root of the genre was probably the need to record all those who took part in an event, as once the multitude of figures and towns would have been important in their own right.[36] The expectations of those claiming descent from the heroes and those still dwelling in the towns would influence the retention of the catalogues. A reflection of this earlier significance persists in the Latin catalogues, as

[32] The preludes to the catalogues often call attention to the magnitude of the army e.g. *Il.* 2. 459 - 473, 486 - 490; V.F. *Arg.* 6. 33.
[33] The catalogues also mirror the fact that epic is an all-inclusive genre: cf. Hardie (1993) 1ff.
[34] Cf. Carspeken (1952) 39; Minchin (2001) 97.
[35] Cf. Bowra (1930) 72.
[36] Minton (1962) 169ff. discusses the link between the invocations and the need for accurate commemoration; cf Nagy (1979) 16f.

a common topos within them concerns leaders and towns not being absent or omitted by the poet:[37]

Nec Praenestinae fundator defuit urbis (*Aen.* 7. 678)

Statius even plays on this theme by having the speaker of his *teichoskopia* apologise for omitting certain contingents:

sed dum labor iners, quanti - nunc ecce reviso -

transabiere duces: Clonin atque in terga comantis

non ego Abantiadas, non te, saxosa Caryste,

non humiles Aegas altumque Capharea dixi. (*Theb.* 7. 368ff.)

While the Latin catalogues are fictitious, they present themselves as history. They make use, therefore, of ideas that will give the impression of a search for veracity and thus become a mirror for the original status of such compositions.

Catalogues had originally the dual function of recording genealogy and through that recording territory. It can be poetically justified by the need to display the raw material of warfare, to show that the Achaeans could still put forward a good fighting force after the withdrawal of Achilles,[38] and to provide a moment of pause after the tension of the quarrel and the assembly and before the start of the fighting.[39] All these points are valid and exploited by the poet, but could have been achieved without using a catalogue. The significance of its contents for the audience must be the primary cause of its inclusion.[40]

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[37] E.g. also *Aen* 7. 733f. *Nec tu carminibus nostris indictus abibis // Oebale; Pun.* 8. 542 *nec parvis aberat Calatia muris.*

[38] Bowra (1930) 111, Beye (1961) 370. At the same time it also emphasises his absence, as his are the only troops not about to fight.

[39] This is paralleled by the pause provided by the making of Achilles' shield in Book 18.

[40] Hainsworth (1991) 15 - 17 believes the bard to have been forced to please by his precarious status, but he is likely to have included popular elements even if he were a privileged figure like the *Odyssey's* Demodokos. Indeed, Demodokos, although privileged, responds to Odysseus request to sing of the wooden horse (*Od.* 8. 492ff.).

Latin epicists could not have been unaware of the significance of the genealogies. Plato records interest in them in this own time (*Hipp. Mai.* 285 d - e) and Polybius mentions interest in genealogy as one reason why people read history (9. 1. 1.). Pausanias, much later, begins his account of Arcadia with a legendary genealogy of the Arcadian kings,[41] concluding by saying that this had been told to him by the inhabitants.

τὰ μὲν δὴ ἐς τοὺς βασιλεῖς πολυπραγμονήσαντί μοι κατὰ ταῦτα ἐγενεαλόγησαν οἱ Ἀρκάδες. (8. 6. 1)

The importance of genealogies thus persisted long after archaic times. Literary authors and audiences, however, would not feel the same sense of personal relevance as a hypothetical audience of Homer. The myths involved were for them more useful for their thematic significance. Genealogical elements became replaced by more pictorial information. Although Apollonius still does include genealogical material (e.g. *Arg.* 1. 133 - 8), this must be through antiquarianism rather than any living significance. Cataloguing and ordering information was one of the concerns of the Alexandrian age,[42] but in addition Apollonius was paying stylistic homage to Homer, employing those elements of the Catalogue of Ships that were appropriate to his Argonautic Catalogue. In Vergil's hands, the catalogue turns from compressed and ordered information about leaders and their power into a pageant, giving his characters emotional appeal rather than ancestral prestige.[43] While details of parentage and ancestry still occur, those elements are greatly reduced. This trend, to a greater or lesser extent, is followed by Valerius, Statius and Silius. Lucan reduces attention on

[41] Paus. 8. 3 - 5.
[42] Cf. Beye (1982) 101.
[43] As however some of the figures are toponyms they are also given the innovative function of including in the catalogue some areas of Italy that are not otherwise mentioned. See Holland (1935).

the leaders so that on the whole they pass from view. Even when the heroes are imaginary, the catalogues are nonetheless concerned with their prestige. Control over land would be equated with ideas of dominance and the gazettes thus create an impression of the importance firstly of the heroes, but also of the epic. Silius however had real people to deal with and his Italian catalogue provides a contrast to the original significance I described. He does not seek to enumerate faithfully the men whom history records took part at Cannae. Instead, some of the men he includes were notable later in Roman history, during the various civil wars. In doing so he may be intending to subvert his epic,[44] but he is also providing a portrait of Italy through its famous men to match the geographical depiction of the nation. The prestige of the entire Roman people, in other words, is bolstered as if it were a rich patron, by allusions to its famous ancestors. What can be read as allusions to the civil wars can also be read as the triumphs of famous individuals.

The Catalogue of Ships gained attention in later centuries for its role in territorial disputes. It may not have been composed with any especial territorial propaganda in mind, although catalogue poetry could be twisted to such an end.[45] It must, however, by the time of the later catalogues have gained propagandist overtones due to the famous abuses of it, such as the dispute over Salamis.[46] By the time of the Latin epics, the importance of preserving territorial information could no longer be a factor in the inclusion of gazettes. Lists of places are nonetheless potentially far more evocative for any audience than memories of abstruse ancestors, and the significance of the gazettes thus evolves from territorial into patriotic expression. This process of

[44] McGuire (1995) 112, 118.
[45] West (1985) 10 mentions for example two competing versions of Sicyon's descent with differing territorial implications.
[46] Plut. *Solon* 10.1 West (1985) 10 - 11 has other examples. Bowra (1930) 71 "Even in post-Homeric society the *Catalogue* was the "golden book", and appeals to it were made over disputed territories."

adjustment from territorial to patriotic appeal need not have been a conscious one. Classical authors would have looked in Homer for qualities admired in their own times and responded to what they found, in this case the elements of landscape. If Homer did inherit the Catalogue from earlier times, it is possible that he himself adapted it to aim at what Whitman eulogises as "a ringing invocation to the mountains, valleys, and islands of Greece."[47]

The Latin gazettes, wherever they happen to describe, create the a portrait of a region, accomplished both by the proper nouns and their underlying geography, and by the brief glimpses of landscape accompanying them. Such portraits would have been invested in considerable patriotic significance where Italy was their subject, and nostalgic appeal where the subject was the homeland of their poetry, and especially of epic, Greece. Although on occasion this is disputed,[48] Vergil's catalogues can certainly be read in this way. The *Aeneid* was a national epic and the catalogues attempt to appeal to all Italy[49] and since the importance of Italy to the foundation of Rome was a feature of the epic,[50] the gazettes are integral to this, rather than flattering and emotive ornaments. Although the descriptions of the countryside are muted the names themselves would be sufficiently evocative and the ethnographical elements certainly seem intended to appeal to local pride.[51] Some of the details may have been rather arcane even for a Roman reader, but it was probably accepted that poetry would display such learning and that a picture of Italy before the foundation of Rome would very appropriately be antiquarian. The response to an unfamiliar detail is perhaps more likely to be "That's interesting, I never knew that," rather than Horsfall's

[47] Whitman (1958) 16. In 262 he comments on the Catalogue's patriotic appeal.
[48] E.g. Horsfall (1999) 421.
[49] Cf. Fraenkel (1945) 8.
[50] Williams (1961) 147.
[51] As some of the heroes are toponyms they are also given the innovative function of including in the catalogue some areas of Italy that are not otherwise mentioned. See Holland (1935).

"The Catalogue does not offer an unambiguous evaluation or a pretty postcard; much of it is difficult and bits are positively dry."[52]

Although the troops are on the wrong side, the fact that the places are nonetheless mentioned would be better received than neglect of most of Italy would be. The tone of the Latin Catalogue is tragic rather than condemnatory.[53]

In catalogues of barbarian places, such as those of Xerxes' troops in Herodotus (7. 61-99) and Aeschylus' *Persians* (16-58) and the ethnographical catalogues of Lucan (*B.C.* 1. 419-469), Valerius (*Arg.* 6. 42-170) and Silius (*Pun.* 3. 231-405), the patriotic significance is more oblique, but is present nonetheless. The Greeks are said to have seen in barbarian cultures the antithesis of their own way of life and used this as a process of self-definition.[54] The pictures which ethnographical catalogues create, therefore, of hordes of alien customs gathered against the "civilised" world, would be of almost as much significance in defining why the war was being fought as a catalogue of defending forces, with its picture of what they were fighting for.[55]

Such attitudes to the countryside provide the motivation for increasingly specific descriptions of the landscape within the gazettes as the Silver Latin poets sought to increase the relevance of the landscape of their gazettes to patriotism or nostalgia. The gazettes of towns have two principal components, names and descriptions, with a third more infrequent element of anecdotes elaborating places. In describing places, given the limited number of characteristics by which a place could be typified (rivers, mountains, the coast, springs, rocks, fields &c.), one of the poet's main challenges must be to avoid the gazettes' appearing monotonous and

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[52] Horsfall (1999) 421.
[53] E.g. 7. 652-654: pity for Lausus. Cf. Otis (1968) 328f.
[54] See esp. Hall (1989).
[55] The Trojan catalogue was composed before such a trend seems to have become current. Hall (1989) 1, 7.

stereotyped. Homer's catalogue has been accused of this. By limiting the number of places mentioned and described, Vergil avoids the danger without resorting to an explosion of different characteristics and descriptions. Statius creates variety by employing antitheses between stock epithets, and by including some larger, more specific descriptions; Silius uses these more specific descriptions far more than he does any other mode of describing a place.

2: Descriptive Technique in the Gazettes

Discounting the more expanded descriptions, in the Catalogue of Ships there are sixty-four places elaborated by an epithet. These instances are not distributed evenly: twenty-nine occur in the first third of the catalogue, twenty-two in the second, and only thirteen in the final third, where the number of longer descriptions also tails off. As might be expected, the number of new epithets introduced falls away as the catalogue progresses.[56] If the sixty-four instances are divided for convenience into three approximately equal parts, in the second part there are more repeated epithets (15) than there were new epithets in the first part (13), seeming to indicate that the stock of descriptions is almost exhausted and those already used are being recycled. The pattern however changes in the final part of the catalogue, as the poet introduces variations to avoid monotony and retain interest. The number of newly introduced epithets rises slightly and the number of repetitions falls. Synonyms are employed

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	Catalogue			Epithets			
	1st third	2nd third	3rd third	Total	1st third	2nd third	3rd third
1st instance in catalogue	16	7	5	28	13	6	9
Repetition	11	13	5	29	6	15	8
Synonym	2	2	3	7	2	0	5
Total	29	22	13	64	21	21	22

instead to give a greater variety of expression. Ἀγχίαλον (640, 697), for example, replaces ἔφαλον (538, 584) and λεχεποίην (697) is substituted for ποιήενθ' (503). Kirk[57] has examined the metrical function of the epithets and concluded that their distribution is arbitrary, and it is their very general meaning that saves them from contradiction with the listener's knowledge of Greece. This does not however rule out a conscious attempt at variety on the bard's part. In fact, as some of the epithets introduced late into the catalogue, for example καλλιγύναικα (683) and κλωμακόεσσαν (729), are metrical equivalents of those found earlier and repeated: πετρήεσσαν (496, 519, 640), τειχιόεσσαν (559, 646),[58] the bard was not therefore forced by the metre to include a greater variety of epithets. Certain metrical equivalents could even be interchanged to describe a place in a similar fashion, as εἰνοσίφυλλον (632) and ἀκριτόφυλλον (868).[59]

The limit to the number of epithets and types of description means that the places have to be fitted into a relatively small number of categories. While this prevents a widely varied picture of Greece, it makes the landscape comprehensible. The audience, or later on a reader, would recognise the type of landscape even if it were not familiar, because it had been fitted into universally recognisable categories which would be applicable also to the local countryside. Homer's gazettes would thus become significant to his audience as they could relate the unfamiliar places they were hearing of to places within their own experience. Literary epics assume the reader's familiarity with the stock countryside of literature: *loci amoeni*, harsh mountains, sacred groves, sometimes idealised beyond what the reader could actually ever have experienced directly, but accepted as familiar because they held a customary place in

[57] Kirk (1985) 173 - 177.
[58] Page (1959) 159 - 160 cit. Kirk (1985) 196.
[59] Page (1959) 160. Page thought the epithets carefully chosen.

literature. Silver epic catalogues take this one step further. Assuming the comprehensibility of stock types of place, they try not to describe a place so that it could be recognised as a generic vineyard or river, but to adjust a standard vineyard or river so that it would appear to be a unique location.

In literary epic, there can of course be a far greater variety of expression and far more conscious planning. Ways of designating a feature also change. In Vergil's Latin Catalogue the name of a place is often given as an adjective describing a landmark that would have been referred to by an epithet in Homer. *Tiburtia moenia* (*Aen.* 7. 670) and *Tyrrhenis . . ab oris* (*Aen.* 7. 647) could be seen as inversions of phrases like Τίρυνθα . . . τειχιοεσσαν (*Il.* 2. 559) and ἀγχίαλον Ἀντρῶνα (*Il.* 2. 697). The Homeric epithet is however still used, in some cases paralleling Homer's constructions (*altum Praeneste* (*Aen.* 7. 682), αἰπεινὴν Γονόεσσαν (*Il.* 2. 573)).

Excluding the material in similes and anecdotes, Vergil's Latin Catalogue has approximately fifty epithets and phrases that would in Homer probably have been expressed by an epithet.[60] Among the first third of the epithets there is only one repetition, and no use of synonyms; as in Homer, the number of newly introduced epithets falls off in the mid section of the catalogue, but in this catalogue that number does not rise again. Unlike in the *Iliad*, the number of phrases re-expressed by a synonym is almost equal to the number of direct repetitions. In terms however of categories of description, Vergil does not differ greatly from Homer, and any more

60

	Epithets			
	1st third	2nd third	3rd third	Total
1st instance in catalogue	15	7	5	27
Repetition	1	5	6	12
Synonym	0	5	6	11
Total	16	17	17	50

developed descriptions are strictly limited. A great display of different epithets and scenes could be inappropriate for such a small geographical area, and comparison with later catalogues shows that excessive variety may lead to confusion.

One notable feature of Vergil's Latin Catalogue is the fact that the landscape presented appears not to be an accurate reflection of the countryside that the poet must have known, something that perhaps mirrors the displacement of the heroes from their natural territories. Although McKay, who describes most of the places mentioned by Vergil,[61] makes no reference to this aspect of the catalogue, Horsfall draws attention to the inaccuracies. Vergil gives an elaborate description of the Ufens, almost the only occasion in which he gives a place any more elaboration than a feature coupled with an epithet:

gelidusque per imas

quaerit iter vallis atque in mare conditur Ufens. (*Aen.* 7. 801f.)

Horsfall[62] objects vigorously to this picture:

"But the 'deep valleys' well enough suited to the volcanic soil of the Roman Campana . . . are decidedly less appropriate to oxbows in the unreclaimed marshland through which the Ufens once wound, and point rather to an armchair poet, unconcerned with topological exactitude."

Nor is he pleased by the occasions on which Vergil contents himself with simple descriptions, complaining that the invented names, and the epithets, are unimaginative.[63] Nonetheless, the usually positive response to the catalogue as a

[61] McKay (1971) 90f., 159 - 176, 225 - 239.

[62] Horsfall (1999) 519.

[63] Horsfall (1999) 421 "with disquieting frequency, V. does come up with markedly unevocative toponyms." cf. his comments on *gelidumque Anienem* 445 "V.'s choice of adj. is altogether conventional," and on the leader Ufens 485 "V. selects a minor river-name . . . and that suggests . . . a certain - dare one say it? - lack of enthusiasm or excitement in his inventivity."

whole suggests that a reader's reaction is that the *overall* effect is both colourful and evocative.[64] Warde Fowler's comparison of Vergil's Latin catalogue with Silius' Italian catalogue serves to highlight the benefits of simplicity:

"The conscientious verse maker, modelling his work on Homer's catalogue rather than on Virgil's pageant, overdoes his detail, bewilders and wearies his reader, . . . We cannot see the wood for the trees: towns, rivers, mountains, gods and temples, soldiers and their armour, pass before us without making us the least enthusiastic."[65]

Later attempts to avoid "altogether conventional" descriptions lead to crowded catalogues, with in Silius' case, little variety of emphasis. Vergil's simple descriptions are an acknowledgement of the tradition established by Homer. Although Homer's formulaic regularity needed to be abandoned by literary epic, and Vergil has been praised for this,[66] a sense of some manner of discipline and order was necessary, at least in the gazettes of towns. The conventional nature of the depictions is an acknowledgement of Homer's way of depicting Greece within the scope of a limited range of types of description. Kirk has shown how the majority of Homer's epithets can be grouped under a few headings: "well built town," "rocky, steep, high," "fertile, broad, by sea/river," "lovely, holy, rich." [67] In places Kirk's arrangement looks rather forced, but it is nonetheless evident that a limited range of types of description is in use. Vergil in his catalogue takes over many of these headings, with slight alteration.[68] Instead of places being termed "holy" the idea is expressed by a mention of groves or

[64] E.g. Brotherton (1931) 196, Williams (1961) 147, Basson (1975) 124.
[65] Warde Fowler (1918) 31.
[66] Basson (1975) 126 "In short, while Homer wearies his readers with frequently repeated formulae, Vergil appeals to the imagination of his readers by his richly varied pictures."
[67] Kirk (1985) 174.
[68] Apollonius, although he uses a considerably different vocabulary, goes beyond the range of descriptions to be found in both Homer's catalogues only in his term πoπλυλήιoι (51), and even that is used elsewhere in Homer.

sanctuaries;[69] mountains are added to Homer's rocks. The innovations include marshes, valleys, forests and cold climates, and also an apparent updating and Romanisation of agriculture. References to fields, although these are probably synonymous with territory, are frequent,[70] and apples[71] and olives[72] are also introduced into the landscape to be added to the Homeric vines. In comparison with the later catalogues, this is a relatively slight number of additions, restricted on the whole to features that could be fitted into the existing categories of Homeric description. By expanding far more upon the appearance of the troops now that they have left their home-towns, Vergil is perhaps acknowledging that they are more likely to show their origin through their equipment and marching songs than through recollections of their native countryside. The landscape of the gazettes is perhaps thus deliberately muted so that the reader's attention falls more upon the visible aspects of the parade.

One final innovation is the reference made to the antiquity of two places: *priscique Quirites* (*Aen.* 7. 710), *veteresque Sicani* (*Aen.* 7. 795). While references to the future events which concern the figures in a catalogue are a feature from Homer onwards, Vergil is innovating both here and in his reference to the Allia (*Aen.* 7. 717) by including a temporal perspective that includes not only the events of legend but also the future of the country in which the epic is set. This fits well with Vergil's presentation of the Aeneas legend as the beginning of the process by which Rome was founded and Augustus came to power.[73] It serves, however, an additional purpose in that it reminds the reader that time has passed and affected the landscape Vergil

[69] E.g. *nemus Angitiae* (*Aen.* 7. 759).
[70] E.g. *arva Gabinae* (*Aen.* 7. 682) *Flaviniaque arva* (*Aen.* 7. 696) *arva Celemnae* (*Aen.* 7. 739).
[71] *maliferae . . . Abellae* (*Aen.* 7. 740).
[72] *oliviferaeque Mutuscae* (*Aen.* 7. 711).
[73] To some extent there is a link between parades or catalogues and the representation of history; exemplified in reality by Roman triumphs and in literature by Vergil's *neukia* in *Aen.* 6.

describes. This is a possible way of reading the inaccuracies. Vergil was drawing a picture of a less suburbanised past, in which the Italians are not tame and under Roman domination,[74] and his landscape reflects this. He must have been well aware that the Ufens was not as he had described it: it was crossed by one of the main roads from Rome to Naples, the *via Appia*, and even an "armchair poet" would surely have been familiar with it.[75] There was an awareness in ancient times that landscapes could change, especially those with rivers flowing through them.[76] Even if he were not wholly convinced that this had occurred in the case of the Ufens, Vergil could have believed such a change sufficiently plausible, so that the long-term effect of history could be exemplified by the fact that the sluggish river his readers knew had once been the vigorous stream described as a climax to the geographical references of the catalogue.[77] Consciousness of the mythical environment that had once formed the scenery of modern sites is especially evident in the description of Evander's Rome (*Aen.* 8. 337ff.).

In later Latin epics the catalogue epithets and descriptions show a far greater desire to particularise each place mentioned. In Statius' Argive catalogue and Silius' Italian catalogue, and in the few mentions of places in Valerius' Argonautic catalogue, the distinction between epithet and description becomes blurred: more noticeably, the number of expanded descriptions increases to the point that they have to be taken into consideration when studying repetitions and the use of synonymous phrases.

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[74] Horsfall (1999) 421 "V. dwells with blunt emphasis on the Italians as violent and lawless."
[75] Vergil is said to have lived in Naples, so he must have travelled that way quite frequently.
[76] It is of course also possible that Ennius or some other author had written something on the Ufens to which Vergil is responding.
[77] Its vigour could be compared to the rough strength of the Italian troops. Such a climax is comparable to shield *ekphraseis* which commonly end with rivers: that at the end of the shield of Aeneas is as vigorous as this (*Aen.* 8. 728), but it is a sign of continuing resistance, not of nature fated to become defeated over time.

Statius has next to no repetition of the epithets in his catalogues. His more elaborate descriptions tend to be used in connection with rivers and coasts (e.g. *Theb.* 4. 45, 4. 61 - 2); there was less precedent for such features, and when they occur in Homer and Vergil they stand in the place of description, being counted as important features of a place rather than locations to be described in their own right. Outside of this, Statius' descriptions on the whole tend to fall into the same general categories as those of Homer, but create a totally different effect for two main reasons. The first of these is that where he renders a Homeric phrase, he often does it as a deliberate allusion, which creates a difference in emphasis and reader's response to that of a straightforward description. *ultima tractu // Anthedon* (*Theb.* 4. 345-5), for instance, gains more attention than such a phrase would otherwise do because the reader recognises it as Ἀνθηδόνα τ' ἐσχατόωσαν (*Il.* 2. 508). Fairly conventional epithets are also given a revitalised impact by being contrasted, either explicitly, where variations within a category[78] or obvious opposites[79] are set against each other, or more implicitly, where the form of a verse sets up an artificial antithesis between two different landscapes.[80]

Because of its length, Silius' Italian Catalogue contains a good deal of repetition of adjectives and of features, but lavish use of synonyms as well.[81] No especial novelties are however retained to give the catalogue a fresh burst of energy at the end. The number of new introductions falls away and the number of repetitions

[78] E.g. *Theb.* 4. 45 *aptior armentis Midea pecorosaque Phlius.*
[79] E.g. *Theb.* 7. 371 *non humilis Aegas altumque Capharea dixi.*
[80] E.g. *Theb.* 4. 50 - 1 *qui Drepani scopulos et oliviferae Sicyonis culta serunt*
[81]

	Descriptions			
	1st third	2nd third	3rd third	Total
1st instance in catalogue	36	15	13	64
Repetition	2	18	23	43
Synonym	12	16	14	42
Total	50	49	50	149

increases, while the use of synonyms, or, frequently, different phrases to describe the same phenomenon, remains at a fairly constant level throughout the catalogue. Homer's Catalogue is only five lines longer than Silius', yet their impact is very different. In part this is due to the different numbers of contingents: the Catalogue of Ships may be divided into twenty-nine contingents, with a considerable variety in the amount of space devoted to them; Silius' Italian catalogue divides into only twelve, perhaps due to the limits to which Roman generals could be invented and the structure of a Roman army distorted. While most of these units are a reasonable length, those past the centre of the catalogue seem to assume monstrous proportions: fifty-five lines for Galba and his Etruscans (*Pun.* 8. 468 - 523), thirty-seven for Scipio and his Campanians (*Pun.* 8. 524 - 561). In these places, in Galba's contingent especially, the stream of places seems out of control and disorderly as a consequence of the amount of description. Slightly more of Homer's towns lack any form of elaboration than those that are qualified in some way. Roughly two-thirds of Silius' towns, on the other hand, are to some extent elaborated (he mentions about ten more places than Homer). Such a mass of uninterrupted information becomes bewildering, and the great variety of descriptions, before it finally turns stale, gives the impression of an absence of order, especially a lack of the sense of collated and categorised information that Homer's limited stock of epithets gave. Although these lacked particularity and risked monotony, they did at least impart the sense of a universal and recognisable pattern. Silius, therefore, while he may have been trying to recast Vergil's landscape in Homeric extent and detail, achieves what amounts to a paradigm of the "mannered style".

The search for variety in phrasing is characteristic of both Silius and Statius, and an examination of the phrases they use in connection with viticulture may be used to demonstrate both this and the particularisation and expansion of their catalogue descriptions. Homer's catalogue has two expressions for it: πολυστάφυλον (*Il.* 2. 507) and ἀμπελόεντα (*Il.* 2. 561). The first of these refers to the quantity of grapes, the second to the vines. Both would however give the audience an impression of the nature of the landscape. Vergil's one reference looks at two aspects related to vine growing: wine and its god Bacchus, and the actual labour of cultivation: *vertunt felicia Baccho // Massica qui rastris* (*Aen.* 7. 725 - 6). Massic wine was of course very famous, and it is singled out for praise by Vergil in the *laudes Italiae* of the *Georgics*, perhaps implying that he considered it to be the most praiseworthy of all Italian wines.[82] *felicia* implies both the fertility of the district and the quality of the wine, fame and fertility both being stock catalogue characteristics, left implicit by Vergil within this single word.

Statius' references contrast viticulture with other sorts of agriculture:

et qui rura domant Epidauria (dexter Iaccho
collis at Henneae Cereri negat) (*Theb.* 4. 123f.)

Both wheat and wine are here linked to their respective cults, and both are used to clarify the picture given by the more stock expression *rura domant*. The contrast recalls lines in Vergil's *Georgics* describing the suitability of different types of soil to different kinds of crops.

rara sit an supra morem si densa requires
(altera frumentis quoniam favet, altera Baccho,
densa magis Cereri, rarissima quaeque Lyaeo) (*Georg.* 2. 227ff.)

[82] *Georg.* 2. 143: *sed gravidae fruges et Bacchi Massicus umor.*

This passage is more definitely alluded to in another reference, which sets up a very similar contrast, but this time arable farming is the feature elaborating another town, rather than just a potential kind of land use.

hi deseruisse feruntur

exilem Glisanta Coroniamque, feracem

messe Coroniam, Baccho Glisanta colentes. (*Theb.* 7. 306ff.)

Reference to the great poem on Roman agriculture serves an authenticating purpose. Statius is claiming in effect that he has considered the question with the aid of a known authority, and so is making this comment about the towns advisedly. The characterisation of Coronia by reference to her fertility is part of the stock tradition, but it is made specific to that place in particular and also given a kind of authenticity by the reference to its harvest: the poet is pointing out just why Coronia should be called *ferax*. The reference to Glisas' light soil,[83] on the contrary, is no part of the normal range of descriptions but gives the impression of having been chosen deliberately and in accordance with Vergil's prescription that such soil is better for vines. Such an apparently careful differentiation between the two towns creates the impression of great attention to detail in the creation of the gazette. The differentiation is given greater point by the fact that Domitian had tried to ban the planting of more vines in Italy and to order the destruction of vines in the provinces in order to improve the corn supply.[84] The question of the relative merits of wine and wheat would therefore have been of active concern to Statius' original audience.

In the Athenian catalogue the contrast is of vines and olives:

Parnesque benignus

[83] *exilem*: for this interpretation of its meaning see Smolenaars (1994) 147.
[84] Levik (1982) 67ff.; Silvae 3. 4. 11; Suet. Dom. 7.2.

vitibus et pingui melior Lycabessos olivae. (*Theb.* 12. 620f.)

Here again the comparative *melior* makes the contrast in crops appear considered, while *benignus*, which almost personifies the place, works to allied effect. *Pingui* is an indirect allusion to fertility: the quality of the crop is clearly high.

In the *Punica* most of the catalogue references to viticulture are concerned with the competing qualities of the various vines. One, however, differs from this by creating an almost pictorial effect:

largoque virens Entella Lyaeo (*Pun.* 14. 204)

virens, a very common expression of fertility, is more specifically used of being green with vegetation. This is supplemented, firstly by *largo*, creating the impression of a spread of greenery, and then by *Lyaeo*, which gives the nature of the greenery and presumably, to those familiar with the sight of vineyards, a clear picture of the landscape.

The references elsewhere, as in Statius, give the impression of carefully considered distinctions being made. In the Catalogue of Carthaginian forces Tarraco's wine is compared to that of Latium

dat Tarraco pubem

vitifera et Latio tantum cessura Lyaeo. (*Pun.* 3. 369f.)

vitifera could have stood as sufficient elaboration and in Homer or Vergil would have been left on its own, but, as was the case with Statius, Silius wanted to expand it further and make it specific to the place he was describing. The comparison with wine from Latium suggests the contest between nations, while characterising Tarraco through the relative quality of its wine. The line is an echo of an epigram of Martial:

Tarraco, Campano tantum cessura Lyaeo

haec genuit Tuscis aemula vina cadis. (13. 118)

This is one of a whole series of epigrams on wines, many of which compare their different qualities, and the allusion increases the idea that Tarraco is being given a description that could be applied to no other town. Numerous places could be termed *vitifera*, but only one can occupy that particular place in the rankings of wines. Spaltenstein suggests,[85] albeit tentatively, that Silius could intend a correction of Martial by replacing Campana with Latium in the comparison. If this were the case, then Silius would be attempting to particularise further his description by increasing its accuracy and implying that he held his own opinions about wine.[86]

The wines he mentions in his Italian catalogue are also mentioned by Martial (13. 112, 116), although Silius does not appear to be recalling those epigrams:

At, quos ipsius mensis seposta Lyaei

Setia, . . .

quos, spumans immiti Signia musto, (8. 376 - 378)

Attention is devoted to the contrasting types of wine: Setian was of high quality, Signian was astringent, and Martial recommends it to cure diarrhoea, presumably implying that it had little else to recommend it. Silius' lines seem to have moved totally away from depicting towns, instead describing connected features. It is possible, however, that there is a play on one of the town's epithets, and that *seposta* alludes to Setia as well as its wine. Martial's epigram gives the impression of a landscape in which the town would indeed be "set apart", looking down from some high point on the Pomptine marshes:

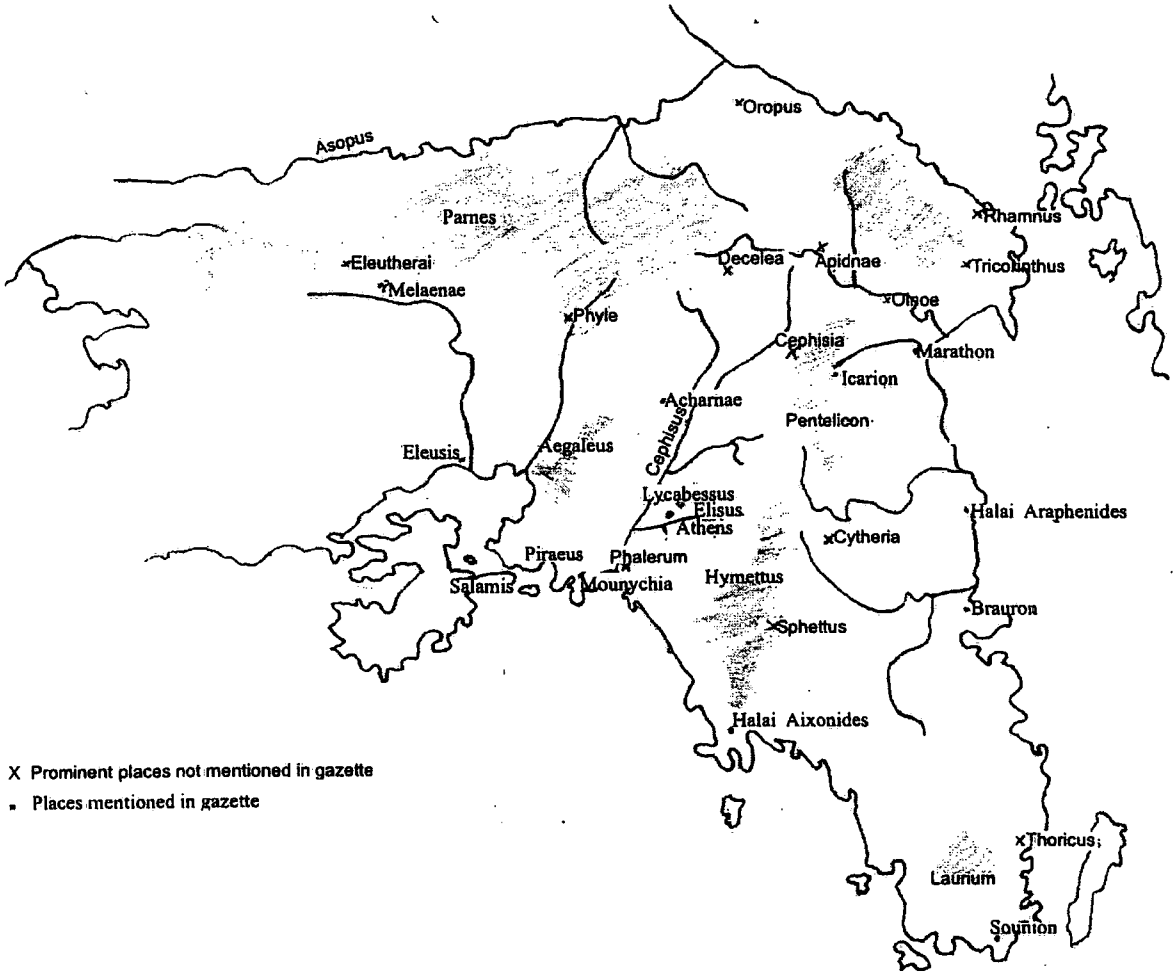
pendula Pomptinos quae spectat Setia campos. (13. 112. 1)

[85] Spaltenstein (1986) 1. 224.
[86] Pomeroy (1990) 130 believes that Silius was interested in viticulture.

This shift from describing places to describing their associated features is another noticeable Silver trait, part of the specialisation of descriptions, and leading to their becoming still more particularised.

The catalogue descriptions, then, moved from the general epithets to expressions of increasing particularisation. The Silver epicists characteristically avoided repeating expressions, perhaps as this would make them appear less specific to the places described. Topics such as viticulture in this example are not allowed to remain general classifications of the landscape, since, as the descriptions are made specific to the places they describe, the sense of each place fitting into some kind of pattern of land use is lost. This trend in catalogue description is in effect the traditional concern for accuracy, taken to extremes.

Attica


Oropus
Asopus
Parnes
Rhamnus
Eleutherai
Melaenae
Decelea
Apidnae
Tricorythus
Oinoe
Phyle
Cephisia
Marathon
Icarion
Acharnae
Pentelicon
Cephisus
Eleusis
Aegaleus
Lycabessus
Elisus
Athens
Halai Araphenides
Cytheria
Piraeus
Phalerum
Munychia
Salamis
Hymettus
Brauron
Sphettus
Halai Aixonides
Thoricus
Laurium
Sounion
X Prominent places not mentioned in gazette
▪ Places mentioned in gazette
5 miles

3: Selection within the gazettes: Statius' Athenian Catalogue

Although description may be analysed as unnecessary to narration, it is nonetheless important to a sense of the reality of whatever the narration concerns.[37] By presenting a variety of aspects of the countryside each gazette draws away from being a simple prose list such as is found in the geographers, and into being a recognisable landscape.[38] The elements chosen form some kind of record of the key elements of the world with which man interacts: seafaring, religion, agriculture, warfare, climate and the countryside in which he lives in all its different forms. The extent to which this is obvious, however, depends upon the attitude of the author towards the landscape and man's role in it in general.

When post-Homeric epicists came to write their catalogues, they had to choose a geographical method to follow. The geography that Homer presents is that of the period of his narrative, so far as it can be determined, rather than that of his own time. Thebes, for example, had been destroyed by the epigonoi, a number of the sites mentioned had been abandoned at the end of the Mycenaean period[39] but were not edited out as obscure or irrelevant (precisely, no doubt, because they were still relevant to folk memory). The Greek colonisation of Asia Minor, although it is possibly alluded to by the mention of the Cayster in the swans simile prefacing the Catalogue of Ships (*Il.* 2. 461), is not mentioned in either of the catalogues.[40] Much of this may be due to the traditional nature of the catalogue. Post-Homeric poets however were faced with a greater need for conscious selection of their sites, and just as with

[37] Cf. Fowler (1991) 26.
[38] Compare for instance Pliny *NH* 4. 7. 12 with *Iliad* 2. 496 - 508 and Statius 7. 260 - 275, all concerned with Boeotia.
[39] E.g. Eutresis (2. 502) see Hope Simpson & Lazenby (1970) 27.
[40] Edwards (1987) 163, Willcock (1996) 213. In general the similes reflect conditions at the time of composition rather than the time of the events narrated.

the need for selection of epithets and positioning of proper nouns, they reacted to this need in characteristically different ways.

In order to examine the process of selection behind the gazettes I will now consider Statius' Athenian catalogue. It is composed of a single gazette, and can be compared to the entries for individual contingents in larger catalogues. Attica was probably the only part of Greece for which there was no existing catalogue that a Silver epicist would have to keep in mind. Prior to Statius' treatment of the area, the Catalogue of Ships had mentioned Salamis and Athens,[41] but no other Attic town, while the Argonautic catalogues refer only to Phalerum, Hymettus and Salamis.[42] Lucan in his catalogue of Pompey's forces mentions Athens and Salamis.[43] Statius therefore had a free choice of which towns to include and which to omit. Unless there was some lost catalogue of which we have no knowledge, there was no traditional "Attic catalogue" that he would have to bear in mind.

What there were, however, were various other lists of prominent sites,[44] and the canon of the oldest Athenian towns. Strabo (9. 1. 20) lists the twelve towns forced into synoecism by Theseus: Cecropia, the Tetrapolis,[45] Epacria, Deceleia, Eleusis, Aphidna, Thoricos, Brauron, Cytherus, Sphettus, Cephisia and Phalerus. Omitting mountains and Athenian sites, there are twelve towns in Statius' catalogue, and if Statius had added another famous town such as Sounium, Phyle or Eleutherae to make up for Cecropia, he would have had a ready made, impressively archaic and reasonably evocative gazette. It is possible that he considered some of the sites to be overly obscure: others at least were better known. Epacria, Cytherus and Cephisia

[41] *Il.* 2. 546 - 559.
[42] A.R. *Arg.* 1. 93 - 104; V.F. *Arg.* 1. 394 - 399.
[43] *B.C.* 3. 181 - 3.
[44] E.g. Pliny *N.H.* 4. 7 *Periegeseis* were a popular genre and also must have covered the area.
[45] The Tetrapolis was composed of Marathon, Oinoe, Probalinthos & Trikorinthos.

could conceivably have troubled a Roman audience, but Epacria and Cephisia survived as names of Trittyes in the north east of Attica,[46] and the other omissions, if not well known, were no less so than "Alaeus" or Icarium.

Another source that Statius might have used is the geographical lists in Book 4 of Pliny's *Natural History*. Pliny lists[47] Eleusis, Piraeus, Athens and her springs Cephisia, Larine and Callirroe Enneacrunos, the mountains Brilessus, Aegialeus, Icarius, Hymettus and Lycabettus, a place called Ilisus, Sunium, Thoricos, Potamos, Steira, Brauron, Rhamnus, Marathon, the Thriasian Plain, Melita and Oropus. Twenty-three places, only four more than Statius' nineteen and therefore a list of suitable length had he wished to make use of it. Although they were bound to mention many of the same sites, Statius mentions in addition Melaenae, Mt. Parnes, "Alaeus" and the river Elisos and the town Icarion in place of the town and mountain of the same name in Pliny.

From a first reading of the gazette, Statius appears to have picked deliberately some less well-known sites to balance the most well known Attic towns and mixed these with a selection of geographical features. Brauron, Eleusis and Acharnae would probably be the places that sprang to mind when towns outside of Athens were required, the first two because of their cults, the third because of its size. In mixing famous and less well known, Statius may be trying to reproduce the effect of the Catalogue of Ships on a Roman reader: some of the towns there would give the reader no trouble as they were still inhabited or extremely famous through mythology; others would require a moment's consideration, others would be totally unknown. The object of the gazettes in almost all catalogues, however, goes beyond a desire to mention a

[46] Cf. Eliot (1962) 139.
[47] *N.H.* 4. 7. 24.

few well-known towns, balance them by a few obscure towns, and then move on. The aim is to give the gazette some significance, or it would not be worth including. The purpose of the Catalogue of Ships was to commemorate the people and places that took part at Troy; the purpose of later catalogues, where gazettes are included, is to create a portrait of a region, for the sake of patriotism, colour, or nostalgia. In order to create such a portrait all the essential features need to be included: not just the large and small towns, but physical landmarks such as mountains and rivers, the principal crops, headlands and harbours were also necessary, as were cultural landmarks such as religious sites and battle grounds. Without such elements, a gazette could not truly evoke all of the aspects of a region.

For example, a gazette of England could just include London, Manchester, Newcastle, Leeds, Bristol and Dover. It would seem a little more all-inclusive if Oxford and Cambridge were added, and a little more so if Milton Keynes, Northampton, Solihull or other large but dull places were incorporated. The picture provided would however be considerably wider if cathedral cities such as Canterbury, Salisbury and York were mentioned, in addition to Lake Windermere, Dartmoor, High Force, the Scilly Isles, Settle and Thirsk, Ludlow, Bath, the Thames, the Severn, the Trent and the Ouse, the Isle of Ely, Penzance and Weymouth. But an impression of still greater depth would be created by names such as Hastings, Bosworth, Nazeby and Monmouth, Stonehenge, Maiden Castle, Vindolanda, Rievaulx Abbey. Places with such historical resonance would give the impression that more aspects of the nation were being included than just those that are shown on a road atlas. Obviously, there are very many more places that might claim a right to be included: Birmingham and Liverpool, Durham, Coventry, Lincoln and Winchester, Skiddaw and the Tyne,

Glastonbury and St Albans. Those that have been included, however, are the highly prominent examples of the general categories into which the towns that are omitted could fit, and thus to some extent stand for all such towns: Vindolanda, for example represents Hadrian's Wall, and reminds one of the rest of Roman Britain as well. In addition to this, it must be noted that many places, while being famous for one particular landmark, could also represent others: Canterbury has historical significance as well as being a fine cathedral city, Hastings is a resort on the south coast as well as being famous for 1066, Windermere has connotations of Wordsworth in addition to representing the Lake District and even Northampton played a some part in both the Wars of the Roses and the Civil War. An additional question is therefore how these places might be described within the gazette. York, for instance, could be termed a "historic city," reminding the reader of its occupants from the Romans and Vikings onwards, and including such figures as Richard the Third, with his associated events. It could be described as a cathedral city, or a university city, or even a railway city: each carries its own set of connotations. Alternatively, all such associations could be left unstated, reliant on the reader's knowledge, and a phrase such as "washed by the Ouse" could be used to give an impression of the local landscape, and also as a reminder of the city's tendency to dramatic flooding.

There is also a further twist, in that while appearing representative, the picture created is nonetheless rather selective: Sellafield, semi-derelict mining villages, or even more positive landmarks such as the connotations which Stockton and Darlington being paired would produce are not included. To a certain extent, what each reader expected to find in such a gazette would depend upon their own view of the country. Some might want a greater emphasis on historic towns or industrial areas,

or even on towns with premiership football clubs. The associations the towns had for each would depend in part upon their particular interests. Again, some might like to find their home town in the gazette; others, depending, of course, on where they came from, would be puzzled to find, for instance, a run down shoe-town-turned-1960s-new-town in amongst places of more general significance. Knowledge of the area is also important; Bosworth and Naseby are meaningless without some association with its historical connotations. To ensure comprehension an author might want to elaborate them by some allusion to the battles that took place there, or to their causes or consequences. The inclusion of such material could pave the way for references to other aspects of English culture: the battle of Bosworth, for instance, is described at the end of *Richard III*,[48] and so an allusion to the battle might be worded in such a way as to include Shakespeare in the gazette.

Rather than being ordered geographically, the Athenian gazette is structured at first by cultural landmarks, references to important parts of Attic life rather than Attic scenery. In its first three lines, Statius names a cult, ports and a battle:

> *qui gelidum Braurona viri, qui rura lacessunt*
>
> *Monychia et trepidis stabilem Piraeea nautis*
>
> *et nondum Eoo clarum Marathonia triumpho.* (*Theb.* 12. 615 - 7)

Although there is no specific allusion to the cult of Artemis at Brauron here, the name alone would be a sufficient reminder for the reader, and the inclusion of the town serves as a signpost for the inclusion of other religious sites. The next places mentioned, Monychia and Piraea are landmarks in a more physical sense, as places that many travellers would encounter, but they are also markers of Athens' maritime past, and especially of her imperial glory, since the Monychia was the harbour used by

[48] Act 5, scenes 3 - 5.

warships. At the same time, the phrase *rura lacessunt* helps to anchor the gazette in the Heroic age: the harbours are significant for what the reader knows they will become, not for what they are at the time of the gazette. The wording indicates that man is already at work on the landscape: *lacessunt* has slightly pejorative connotations, implying disruption. The area did also have a certain amount of religious significance: Pausanias says that θέας δὲ ἄξιον τῶν ἐν Πειραιεῖ μάλιστα Ἀθηνᾶς ἐστι καὶ Διὸς τέμενος.[49] After this early inclusion of Athens' seafaring history Statius returns to the east coast to mention Marathon. The defeat of Persia was arguably the greatest landmark in Greek history, and certainly that which they wished to be most remembered. Athens' pride in her victory there was great enough for the battle to need an early mention as one of the important elements of her culture, while the antagonism with Persia led in some ways to the defining of ideas of what it meant to be Greek.[50] Marathon also had an eponymous cult: three features of Greek religion are therefore present, although left implicit and reliant on the reader's knowledge: festivals, temples, and hero cults. Religion was used as a positive unifying force in Greek culture, complementing the negative force of xenophobia.[51] Cults were also manipulated and expanded to reinforce internal territorial divisions.[52] Historical and religious landmarks, therefore, were (probably subconsciously by Statius' time) boundary markers defining the area's identity. Statius' reference to the battle of Marathon is also however important in that it clarifies the temporal perspective of the gazette. *nondum* is a signal that Statius is maintaining a consciousness that a later landscape is being imposed upon Theseus'

[49] Paus. 1. 1. 3.
[50] Hall (1989) 1, 9.
[51] Morgan (1991) 149.
[52] Morgan(1991) 142.

Athens. The significance of these features for a Roman audience would depend upon their knowledge of Greece: Athens was a common tourist destination, and study there was considered part of a high-class education. The level of response to the gazette would depend upon a reader's interest in the region and empathy with its inhabitants.

The first three lines have presented three different landmarks: cult, seafaring and history. Now that the cornerstones (apart from Athens herself) have been mentioned, the catalogue returns to cults, before mentioning the physical geography in terms of mountains.

mittit in arma manus gentilibus hospita divis

Icarii Celeique domus viridesque Melaenae (*Theb.* 12. 618 - 9)

Icarion was a moderately sized deme[53] not very far from Marathon, so that the gazette has a moment of geographical coherence. It was known through myth as the place where Dionysus had been received by Icarius, the event alluded to by Statius. The consequences: the first production of wine, Icarius' murder and his daughter's suicide are left to the reader's knowledge. Festivals of Dionysus formed however a significant part of Athenian religion, and could be said to be a prerequisite in a picture of Athenian life.

The "house of Celeus" is a reference to Eleusis, an allusion is to Celeus' reception of Demeter. She tried to make his son Demophon immortal, failed, and gave Triptolemus special powers in compensation. A festival in her honour was established with Celeus as its first priest. Eleusis will be referred to again later in the gazette (627), but here, as in the passages on viticulture that have been discussed, wine and wheat are being compared. In spite of Domtitian's legislation, the implication is, the patron deities concerned once received an equal welcome.

[53] Deme size inferred from number of *bouleutai* allotted it: Traill (1975) 67, Whitehead (1986) 370.

Melaenae was connected with the festival of Apaturia, associated with Dionysus, but serving the important civic function of phratry enrolments.[54] The festival was another landmark in cultural identity. Herodotus defines the Ionians as those who celebrated it (1. 147), and it is viewed in this way because it is a sign of their Athenian origin. It also had its origin in a border dispute:[55] it is thus also a definition of the boundaries of Attica remembered through the cultural landmark. As with his mention of Brauron, Statius does not refer to the festival, but it could be the only reason for his inclusion of the town, which otherwise was not large or important enough even to merit deme status.[56] Statius' failure to mention the most notable associations of certain sites has the effect of creating an undercurrent of key Attic features beneath the culture that is openly presented. While the glaring anachronisms that open references would produce are avoided, Statius nonetheless includes reminders of the essential aspects of Athens.

He then turns from the cults and religious features of Attica to physical landmarks and staple features of the countryside.

dives et Aegaleos nemorum Parnesque benignus

vitibus et pinguis melior Lycabessos olivae. (Theb. 12. 620 - 1)

His aim, as elsewhere, is apparently at a selection rather than at all-inclusiveness: the Laurium and Pentelicon ranges are notable for their absence, even though the former's silver mines had played an important part in Athenian history, and the latter's marble quarries were famous. Idealisation of Theseus' kingdom could play a part in this omission. Memorials of famous and unambiguously "good" victories such as Marathon are permissible impositions on the Heroic age landscape, but silver and

[54] Bekker (1965) 416.
[55] Cf. Vidal-Naquet (1986) 99, 109.
[56] Traill (1975) 91.

marble could be seen as symbols of the decadent lifestyles deplored by later philosophers.[57] The silver mines had been long worked out by Statius' time, but Pausanias[58] and Strabo[59] both refer to their former importance.

The careful contrast of the crops of Parnes and Lycabessus has already been discussed. Each of the mountains is distinguished by its different growth, and thus they present varying aspects of the landscape. The Parnes range forms part of the northern border of Attica itself, while Aegaleos[60] forms the eastern boundary of the Thriasian plain; Lycabessus has been described as "the most striking feature in the environs of the city".[61] All three therefore were important in shaping the physical landscape of the region.

At this point in the gazette Statius begins to introduce greater topological variety, returning to the diversity of the first three lines. As with the allusive reference to Celeus, he also returns to obscurity at this point.

venit atrox Alaeus et olentis arator Hymetti,

quaeque rudes thyrsos hederis vestistis, Acharnae. (*Theb.* 12. 622 - 3)

The only mythological character called Alaeus was a Tegean king. What Statius was referring to was an Athenian town, Halai, possibly Halai Aixionides on the Zoster peninsula, or alternatively Halai Araphenides on the east coast.[62] There seems to be little connection with Alaeus, as "Halai" probably derives from salt production in the area.[63] Statius is therefore creating an artificial colour for the area by associating it with its homophone. He almost certainly did have the Tegean in mind: *atrox* is highly

[57] Cf. Hor. *Od.* 2. 2. 1 - 4; 2. 15. 14ff., Sen. *Epist.* 5. 6.
[58] Paus. 1. 1. 1.
[59] Stabo 9. 1. 23.
[60] Sometimes called Corydallus e.g. Strabo 9. 1. 14.
[61] Smith (1854) vol.1.255a.
[62] Assuming that the identification in the *index nominum* of Klotz/Klinnert (1973) 487 s.v. is correct.
[63] Eliot (1962) 26.

suitable to the stories of the harsh father who put his daughter (and in some versions her new-born baby) to sea in a chest.[64] Halai Aixonides was not large[65] and neighbouring Aixone was far more prominent,[66] but it appears to have been a very old site, and to have controlled the routes from Anagyrous and Zoster to Athens,[67] so that perhaps it had regional significance. It could be seen as a representative of the obscure demes of Attica and of the south west coast line in general, named so that no category of place would go totally unmentioned.

Hymettus was one of the most widely known areas of Attica, famous for the quality of its honey: relying on its fame, Statius compresses his reference to the honey into a single word, *olentis*. Such compression is perhaps a hallmark of gazette style: vast areas have to be compressed into a brief list of names, a whole range of landscapes have to be summed up in a few descriptions, epithets and allusions. All this requires the reader to take almost every phrase as synedoche and to comprehend a totality that the author leaves implicit. Even in the Catalogue of Ships, phrases such as ποιήενθ' Ἁλίαρτον (*Il.* 2. 503) and ἀφνειόν τε Κόρινθον (*Il.* 2. 570) call on the reader to supply the facts that at Haliartos there were lush water-meadows by the river, and that Corinth was wealthy because of her trade, a fact which involves additional information about her position at the neck of the isthmus, her ports, and thus the general shape of the coast line.

Acharnai too was important to an impression of completeness, as it was by far the largest of the demes and was prominent in addition through its connection with the cult of Dionysus. The reference to the Dionysia, an important part of Attic culture,

[64] Cf. Paus. 8.4.9. The allusion harmonises with the themes of domestic brutality in the other catalogues.
[65] Assuming that Statius is thinking of the town in the Hymettus area, he may be relying on their geographical proximity for "Alaeus" to be comprehensible.
[66] Traill (1975) 67.
[67] Eliot (1962) 33 - 4.

expands upon the brief allusion of the Icarion entry by introducing one of the basic props, the *thyrsos* covered in the ivy for which the place was known. Open reference to the dramatic contests also connected with the cult would have been anachronistic, and yet those were a memorable part of Athenian culture. The name Acharnai alone however might remind the reader of Aristophanes' play and thus of the cult.

Up to this point nowhere has had over a verse devoted to it, but now, before its compression becomes monotonous, the gazette is varied by the insertion of a three-line section on Sounium.

linquitur Eois longe spectabile proris
Sunion, unde vagi casurum in nomina ponti
Cressia decepit falso ratis Aegea velo. (*Theb.* 12. 624ff.)

Sounium was an essential landmark in any description of the physical description of Attica. Statius refers to it first of all in such a context, as an unmistakable sign to any one travelling by sea that Athens was being left or approached: *longe spectabile proris*. His next comments link it with Theseus' past,[68] and this explains why it should be Sounium in particular that is singled out for expanded treatment. Emphasis falls upon Aegeus' death, but there is also allusion to the story of the Minotaur, in particular through *Cressica . . . falso ratis . . . velo*. *Cressica* implies the entire Cretan episode, especially as the ship was presumably the one that had also taken Theseus from Athens, and was thus not actually a Cretan ship; the word however reinforces the idea contained in *falso*, as Crete was proverbial for deceit. It is implied that the myth left lasting traces on the landscape; the sea took Aegeus' name, and so the physical

[68] For the potential undercutting of Theseus' presentation in the *Thebaid*, of which this is part, see Ahl (1986) 2895; Dominik (1990) 89.

landscape becomes bound up in the cultural landscape, this time as it concerns Athens' legendary history.

The amount of space devoted to this feature is a precursor of the longer descriptions in the remainder of the catalogue. Now that the key features, except Athens, have all been mentioned, the pace with which names are introduced slackens, and time is taken to fill out a picture that is for the most part already in place.

hos Salamin populos, illos Cerealis Eleusin

horrida suspensis ad proelia misit aratris. (*Theb.* 12. 627 - 8)

Salamis is unique in the gazette in that it receives no elaboration. Such a Laconic entry could suggest that everyone knows what Salamis is famous for. It could also mimic the tiny Salamis entry in the Catalogue of Ships (*Il.* 2. 557): two, or perhaps only one line after the expanded description of the cult of Erectheus at Athens.[69] The Eleusinian cult, like the Dionysia, now gets a second reference, this time unobscured and considerably expanded. The hung-up ploughs are a reminder of the cult and the importance of agriculture to Attic life, but at the same time they invoke the topos of instruments of peace being exchanged for those of war. The combination of mentions of war and of ploughs seems to invite the reader to imagine a picture of rural tranquillity to contrast with *horrida proelia.*

The remainder of the catalogue concerns the environs of Athens, but there is no sense of a new beginning or even a syntactical break. The city is thus verbally unified with the rest of Attica.

et quos Callirhoe noviens errantibus undis

implicat, et raptae qui conscius Orithyiae

[69] Homer's mention of this cult could provide a very basic precedent for the use of cult as cultural markers.

celavit ripis Geticos Elisos amores.

ipse quoque in pugnas vacuatur collis, ubi ingens

lis superum, dubiis donec nova surgeretur arbor

rupibus et longa refugum mare frangeret umbra. (*Theb.* 12. 629 - 34)

The time of the epic is long before the erection of any of Athens' famous temples or civic buildings, and so Statius had to find features that would typify the city while if possible reminding the reader of the Athens that they knew. Thucydides (2. 16) mentions a time when Callirhoë was the important water source for Athens. By his own time it had been piped and remained the Enneacrunos. Statius is thus consciously archaising and idealising the landscape to restore it to its pristine Heroic age picturesqueness in his picture of wandering brooks surrounding the local people. A good water supply was of importance to any city, and a spring would have especial significance in a place where water was scarce.[70] Water was needed for religious purposes as well as for drinking, cooking, washing, all aspects of daily life. Thucydides mentions that the spring was used for bridal purification. Statius leaves all this unsaid, the water flowing with just the potential for being used. His next entry contrasts with this deliberate tranquillity, describing the rape of Orithyia. It is noticeable here that the gazette is purely mentioning landmarks rather than places sending troops. *quos* in the Callirhoë entry had referred to soldiers, *qui* in the Elisos entry, which might be expected to introduce a similar clause, refers instead to the river. The river is a landmark in the myth, but the myth had no especial significance in terms of the major Attic cults. The place is also however the setting of one of Plato's dialogues, the *Phaedrus*, which mentions the surroundings of the river just after

[70] Smith (1854) 292 claims that the Callirhoë was the only good drinking water in the city.

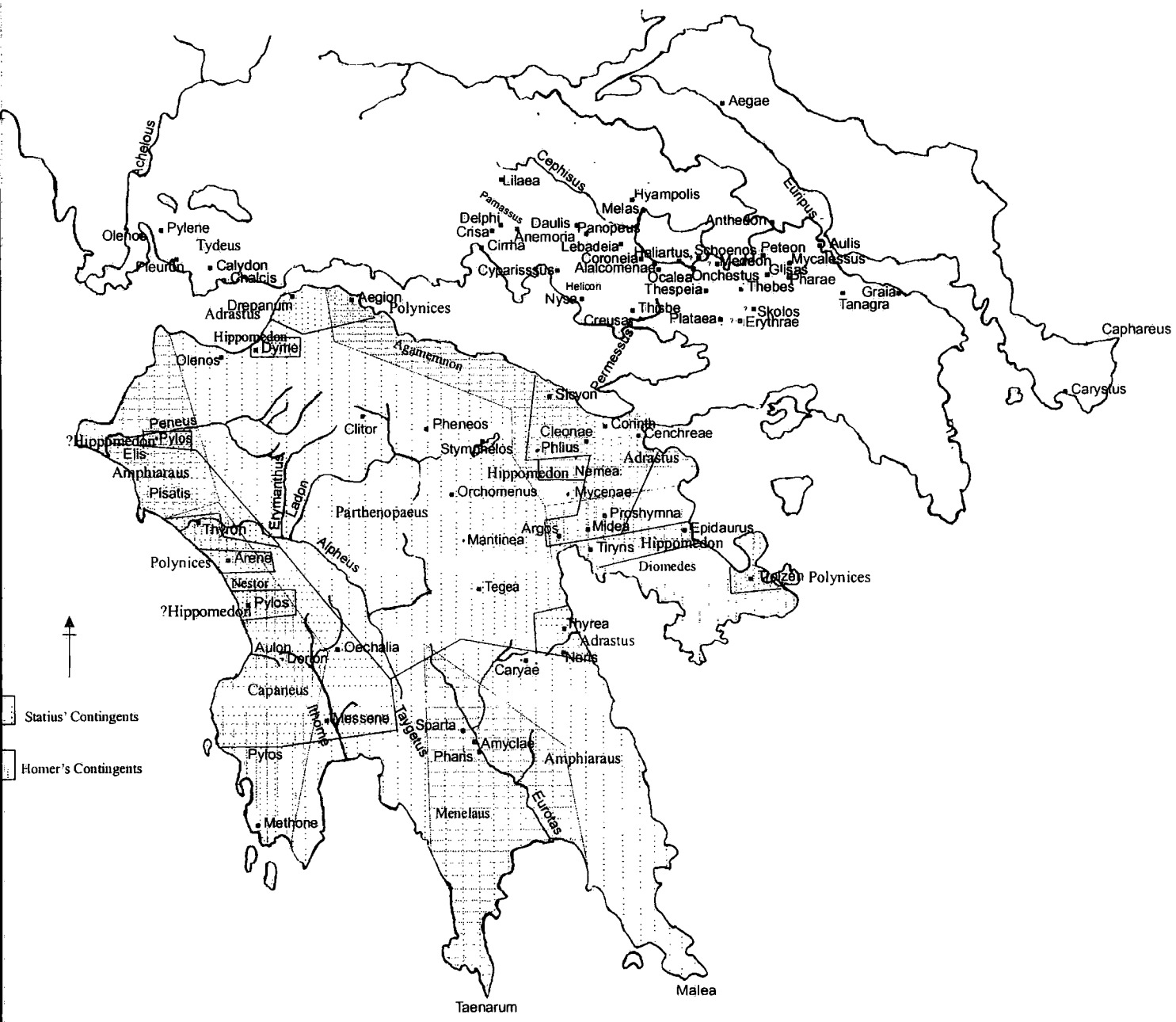
discussing the myth:[71] it is possible that Statius is hoping to remind his readers of the philosopher. As with the tragedies, this could not be done openly, but a well-read reader might still make the connection. Athens was known in Statius' time for her philosophical schools and the places where they met were among the city's notable sights. If the link is intentional, a penultimate landmark in Athenian culture is located here.

The catalogue ends on the acropolis, the city's heart, with a widening of the perspective to take in the gods. By going back to the very beginning of the city, Statius broadens the scope of the gazette to include features of Athens from the city's earliest days. The introduction of the olive was as influential for the landscape, the culture and the economy of Attica as the introduction of wheat or of vines, while Athena's patronage was held to be far more important than that of Ceres or Dionysus. The city's patron goddess had not yet been mentioned in the catalogue: with her and the Acropolis, all the elemental features of Attica have finally been mentioned. To end the piece with two aspects that must have been anticipated by the reader means that it finishes with a sense that finally everything is present and that the picture is complete.

The impression of completeness is of course, just an illusion. Nonetheless, the sites that I mentioned as being omitted: Phalerum, Aphidna, Thoricos, for the most part are not missed by the reader, because more famous towns such as Piraeus, Marathon and Brauron are included to represent all such notable sites. The major landmarks that Statius does include: the Persian Wars, ports, Sounium and Hymettus, the Dionysia and the Eleusinian mysteries, the phratries and the larger and smaller demes, seem to sum up all the important aspects of Attica, from the viewpoint of

[71] *Phaedrus* 229 - 230.

Statius'. The twelve oldest cities would carry far less meaning, for they hold fewer connotations.


Aegae
Achelous
Cephisus
Lilaea
Hyampolis
Pamassus
Melas
Euripus
Delphi
Daulis
Panopeus
Anthedon
Olenos
Pylene
Crisa
Anemonia
Tydeus
Cirrha
Lebadeia
Haliartus
Schoenos
Peteon
Aulis
Pleuron
Calydon
Coroneia
Mycalessus
Chalcis
Cyparisssus
Alalcomenae
Medeon
Glisas
Ocalea
Onchestus
Pharae
Helicon
Thespeia
Thebes
Graia
Drepanum
Aegion
Nysa
Tanagra
Adrastus
Polynices
Thisbe
Skolos
Creusa
Plataea
Erythrae
Caphareus
Hippomedon
Dyme
Agamemnon
Olenos
Permessus
Carystus
Sicyon
Peneus
Clitor
Pheneos
Corinth
?Hippomedon
Pylos
Cleonae
Cenchreae
Elis
Stymphelos
Phlius
Adrastus
Amphiaraus
Hippomedon
Nemea
Pisatis
Erymanthus
Ladon
Orchomenus
Mycenae
Parthenopaeus
Proshymna
Thyron
Argos
Midea
Epidaurus
Mantinea
Tiryns
Hippomedon
Polynices
Arene
Alpheus
Diomedes
Nestor
Tegea
Polynices
?Hippomedon
Pylos
Thyrea
Adrastus
Aulon
Oechalia
Dorion
Neris
Caryae
Capaneus
Statius' Contingents
Ithome
Messene
Taygetus
Sparta
Homer's Contingents
Amyclae
Pylos
Pharis
Amphiaraus
Eurotas
Menelaus
Methone
Malea
Taenarum

B: The Poetic Employment of the Background: Statius' Picture of Homeric Greece

When considering the gazettes of Statius' Argive catalogue, there are three main areas that need to be addressed. Firstly, why did he bother to include these places? Secondly, what kind of picture of Greece is he creating through these places? Thirdly, what use, poetic and practical, is he making of the precedent he had in the Catalogue of Ships? The first of these questions was addressed in general terms in the initial section of this essay, but Statius does not simply rely upon the standard reasons that justify the inclusion of a catalogue. Instead, where the occasion allows, the gazettes are used to foreshadow later events in the narrative, so that the catalogue is made to interact with the epic, rather than appearing divorced and dispensable. The picture of Greece is one that attempts to represent all the principle features known to the readers, yet at the same time to acknowledge what might be expected of the Heroic age. The Catalogue of Ships gains prominence in areas that did not otherwise feature greatly in myth and were depopulated or lacking famous sites. Thus the Aetolian and Messenian gazettes of Statius and Homer are similar but Statius' Argive gazette, concerning an area well known and relatively rich in myth, is far freer from the original source. In practical terms, Homer provided an indisputable geography, one that would locate Statius' heroes in an authentic Heroic Age environment. Where, however, the Catalogue of Ships did not include towns that might be expected, these are often introduced. The Catalogue of Ships also however creates certain expectations, so that it at least gives opportunities for clever renditions of Homeric

epithets and for extra point to be given to descriptions while divergence attracts additional attention that can at times create its own significance.

1: Aetolia

If the text of the *Thebaid* were fragmentary and all we had of the Argive catalogue were the Aetolian gazette, we would assume that Statius' use of Homer was extremely derivative, a straight rendition of the Homeric passage in the Silver style. It varies from the model only to include mythological anecdotes, and a "mannered" description of the Achelous. The order in which the towns are mentioned is different, but of course this is unavoidable as a result of the metre.

Αἰτωλῶν δ' ἡγεῖτο Θόας Ἀνδραίμονος υἱός,
οἳ Πλευρῶν' ἐνέμοντο καὶ Ὤλενον ἠδὲ Πυλήνην
Χαλκίδα τ' ἀγχίαλον Καλυδῶνά τε πετρήεσσαν·
οὐ γὰρ ἔτ' Οἰνῆος μεγαλήτορος υἱέες ἦσαν,
οὐδ' ἄρ' ἔτ' αὐτὸς ἔην, θάνε δὲ ξανθὸς Μελέαγρος·
τῷ δ' ἅμα τεσσαράκοντα μέλαιναι νῆες ἕποντο. (*Il.* 2. 638 - 644)

huic quoque praesentes Aetolis urbibus adfert
belli fama viros: sensit scopulosa Pylene
fletaque cognatis avibus Meleagria Pleuron
et praeceps Calydon, et quae Iove provocat Iden
Olenos, Ioniis et fluctibus hospita portu
Chalcis et Herculea turpatus gymnade vultus

amnis; adhuc imis vix truncam adtolere frontem
ausus aquis glaucoque caput submersus in antro
maeret, anhelantes agrescunt pulvere ripae. (*Theb.* 4. 101 - 109)

The impression would of course be entirely misleading, as the passage contrasts strongly with the preceding and following gazettes. In his catalogue Statius not only creates variety by different descriptions, myths, landscapes and the differing degrees of fame of his towns, but also by the extent and nature of his use of Homer. Tydeus' gazette creates a vastly different impression to that of Adrastus' (44 - 62), but it also serves as an introduction to what could be done with a passage of Homer, so that Statius' innovations elsewhere will be more obvious.

The places Statius mentions would be part of the Heroic age landscape familiar from poetry rather than the contemporary topography. By Strabo's time Pylene had been moved and its name changed,[72] Pleuron and Calydon were both in a reduced condition but remembered for their former importance,[73] Olenos had been destroyed.[74] Thucydides' account of operations in the Aetolian area demonstrates that the region was semi-barbarian after the Dark Ages.[75] Its principal importance for Roman readers was surely its mythological associations.

The differing motivations of the authors in the creation of their gazettes are displayed by their different emphases. In the Catalogue of Ships Thoas happened to be leader: it would have been important for the author to avoid appearing to have neglected the traditional and more famous rulers of the Aetolians, yet at the same time ignoring the leader connected in myth to the Trojan War would also have been an

[72] Strabo 10. 2. 6.
[73] Strabo 10. 2. 3.
[74] Strabo 10. 2. 6, 22.
[75] 1. 5. 2 - 3; 3. 94. 4 – 5.

error. The gazette is therefore followed (*Il.* 2. 641 - 2) by an explanation that Oeneus' sons, and Meleager in particular, were dead, before the contingent is concluded by the number of ships. It was clearly important to the poet to include this information. Statius, on the other hand, did not need to explain Meleager's absence, as only Tydeus was required by the narrative, and moreover the Calydonian hunt had already been the subject of a number of allusions.[76] He nonetheless chooses to refer to it, not for the sake of accuracy, but in order to gain the thematic advantage of another incident of intra-familial murder.

The inclusion of such embellishments is a feature of Silver style rather than that of Homer or even Vergil. While appearing to rely on the Catalogue of Ships, Statius has mediated it through the style of his own time. None of the descriptions of towns is exactly identical to those used by Homer, but some are of the same general tenor. *scopulosa Pylene* and *praeceps Calydon* reproduce the same general topographical impression of Καλυδῶνά τε πετρήεσσαν. *Ioniis et fluctibus hospita portu // Chalcis* is an expansion of the idea to be found in Χαλκίδα τ' ἀγχίαλον. Apart from those two epithets, Homer includes no other elaborations in his gazette. If Statius had imitated him in this his gazette would have looked extremely stark, and so it was natural that he should introduce elaborations of his own.

He therefore, rather than retaining the Homeric style of description as Vergil had, includes far fuller expansions, typical of his own style. The verse on Pleuron has already been mentioned. The comment on Olenos, while adding variety to the range of descriptions is slightly obscure. There were two towns called Olenos, separated by the strait into the Gulf of Corinth. The Peloponnesian Olenos was not far from Aegion,

[76] E.g. *Theb.* 1. 489; 2. 469.

where Strabo records a tradition that Jupiter had been suckled there by a goat.[77] The scholiast also mentions this to explain the reference to rivalry with Ida (*quae Iove provocat Iden*), but he assumes that Statius is referring to the Peloponnesian Olenos: *Arcadiae civitas, in qua Iovem Amalthea capra dicitur nutriisse, quae in cultu[m] Iovis Idem provocat, montem Cretae in quo Iuppiter colitur.*[78] In spite of this, it is almost impossible that Statius refers to the Peloponnesian town. While the Aetolian Olenos had been razed, it was still known to have been near Pleuron,[79] and Tydeus is regularly called *Olenius*.[80] As on other occasions Statius is transferring a myth belonging elsewhere for the sake of variety and colour. He relies here upon the expectations established by the close reference to the Homeric passage to prevent the reader from becoming confused about the geography. It is possible too that the idea of Olenos challenging traditions is intended to make Tydeus appear slightly presumptuous and upstart, an exile boasting of the prestige he had at home.

2: Achaea and the Argolid

The fact that Homeric age Aetolia was a fairly integrated region probably lessened the opportunities for change and choice in Statius' creation of his gazette. When he diverges to include the Achelous, he is doing so to include an important landmark, a mythologically important river, one of the longest in Greece, whose tributaries drained the entire district. Ovid's version of the fight with Hercules, which comes a little way after the narrative of the Calydonian hunt, does not include any

[77] Strabo 8. 7. 5.
[78] Lact. Plac 4. 271 – 275.
[79] Strabo 10. 2. 22 His location is disputed by Hope Simpson & Lazenby (1970) 107f. but it is nonetheless clear that the identification of Homer's town had not drifted across the strait and into the Peloponnese.
[80] E.g. *Theb.* 1. 402 - 3 *Calydona relinquens // Olenius Tydeus.*

suggestion of a drought (*Met.* 9. 1 - 88). Statius' inclusion of this feature is intended to foreshadow the drought of Book 4 (684 - 739).

Both Adrastus' and Hippomedon's gazettes contain a number of rivers, none of them present in the Catalogue of Ships. As with the divergent emphases on the leaders, this too displays the difference in motivation between Homer and Statius. In the Catalogue of Ships the towns are important for their own sake: their presence was a matter of tradition and local pride. Statius, however, was looking for a way to express the region the troops had come from by describing its salient features, countryside as well as settlements. Homer on the whole mentions only the largest rivers: the Cephisus (*Il.* 2. 523), the Boagrius (533), the Alpheus (592), the Asterion (735), the Titaresius (751) and the Peneus (752). All are sparingly distributed throughout the gazettes and principally included as the defining feature of a particular settlement; the last example is used to define a region in which towns were perhaps scarce. Of the rivers Statius mentions within Adrastus' gazette, only the first is used to elaborate a town.

> *quaeque pavet longa spumantem valle Charadron*
>
> *Neris.* (*Theb.* 4. 46 - 7)

The river and the town are hard to locate with certainty, but may have been near Thyrea. *Charadron* simply means a torrent, a swift flowing mountain stream cutting itself a valley;[81] there are a number of rivers of that name.[82] The depiction fits the etymology and is composed of stock features: rivers are often *spumantes*, they tend to run in *valles*, which, for the river to be of sufficiently impressive size, might well be *longae*. The conventional nature of the description is however varied by the play on

[81] Liddell and Scott s.v. χαράδρα.

[82] One in Attica, one flowing past Argos and into the Inachus, another a tributary of the Pamisus in Messene, another west of Drepanum.

Neris: while referring to a town in this instance, the word is similar to that for a sea goddess, and the characterisation suggests the deity being startled by the strength of the current at the river's mouth.

The river in 51 is variously given in the manuscripts as *Langia* or *Strangilla*: whatever its name is given a description that doubly emphasises its quiet nature:

quos pigra vado Strangilla tacenti

lambit et anfractu riparum incurvus Elisson. (*Theb.* 4. 51 - 2)

The entire idea contained in the description could almost have been compressed into one epithet, such as *tacens*, but the extended description balances that of the Elisson and makes the contrast between the two more effective. This latter river is similarly hard to pin-point. The scholiast comments: *flumen Achaicae regionis. hunc Graeci ita vocant, tractum nomen a flexibus.*[83] Given the tendency to explain place names etymologically, this comment need not stem from any knowledge of the river, especially as Statius' description refers to its curves. In each case what is described is a stereotype of a river, etymologically reinforced: a fierce river in a gorge, a quiet river, and a meandering river. Each would place its own peculiar shape on the landscape, being responsible for the appearance of the countryside, and so by their inclusion Statius has created a whole range of possible scenery.

In Hippomedon's gazette the inclusion of the rivers is in part thematically motivated, looking forward to his death fighting the Ismenus.[84] None of them occurs in the Catalogue of Ships, but all are mentioned in the drought narrative.

qui ripas, Lyrcie, tuas, tua litora multo

vomere suspendunt, fluviorum ductor Achivum,

[83] Lact. Plac. 4. 161ff.
[84] *Theb.* 9. 492 - 536; cf. Vessey (1973) 198.

Inache (Persea neque enim violentior exit
amnis humo, cum Taurum aut Pliadas hausit aquosas
spumans et genero tumit Iove), quos celer ambit
Asterion Dryopumque trahens Erasinus aristas (*Theb.* 4. 117 - 122)

The importance of these rivers to the population is maintained, albeit loosely: the Lyrcius is supposedly mentioned for those who farm around it, the Asterion is mentioned for the people it surrounds, and the Erasinus is again mentioned in connection with agriculture. They were important landmarks in any depiction of the countryside because it was their water that made settlement and farming possible. There is, however, a shift away from their original function in gazettes, which was to distinguish places: the Inachus is mentioned without reference to the population. Statius uses rivers to describe areas, rather than to commemorate individual towns.

The lists of rivers function within the epic as a whole through their interaction with the drought narrative. Each is mentioned again there, and their importance as it is suggested here authenticates the idea of the impact caused by their ceasing to flow.

aret Lerna nocens, aret Lyrcius et ingens
Inachus advolvensque natantia saxa Charadrus
et numquam in ripis audax Erasinus et aequus
fluctibus Asterion: ille alta per avia notus
audiri et longe pastorum rumpere somnos.
una tamen tacitas sed iussu numinis undas
haec quoque secreta nutrit Langia sub umbra.
nondum illi raptus dederat lacrimabile nomen
Archemorus, nec fama deae. (*Theb.* 4. 711 - 718)

In the catalogue the Achelous was dry while the others were flowing; here one river flows while others are supposedly dry. It is noticeable however that the rivers are typified by the characteristics that they would have normally. The Charadrus still appears to be a powerful mountain stream,[85] the Erasinus and the Asterion, while their descriptions are further from those of the catalogue, are described as they would be at their most vigorous. This apparent contradiction is perhaps intended to cause pathos: Statius describes what the rivers ought to be, and the reader is supposed to imagine what they look like as a result of the drought. The importance given to the Langia makes it at least probable that it was the stream named in Adrastus' gazette at vv. 51 - 2. It was of course dramatically important that the spring should be obscure, as the army had to be led to it by Hypsipyle rather than finding it themselves.

The gazettes of Adrastus and Hippomedon are striking for their lack of relation to the Catalogue of Ships. Statius splits Diomedes' gazette (*Il.* 2. 559 - 568) between Adrastus, Polynices and Hippomedon, and draws upon Agamemnon's gazette (*Il.* 2. 569 - 575) in addition for Adrastus and Polynices. Hippomedon's territory, when seen on the map, seems to consist of isolated towns scattered within Adrastus' domain and throughout the Peloponnese. Many of Adrastus' towns are not included in the Catalogue of Ships and are relatively obscure,[86] while much of Agamemnon's gazette is omitted.[87] In this way, a sense of close identity of Adrastus with either Agamemnon or Diomedes is avoided, since there is no link through their kingdoms. This lack of correspondence is aided by the fact that since much Adrastus' gazette is not drawn from the Catalogue of Ships, the boundaries may be redefined more unobtrusively

[85] The context and the different form of the name make it possible that a different river is mentioned here to that in the catalogue, but the similarity of the picture and the name would call the catalogue Charadron to mind.
[86] E.g. Prosymna, Midea, Neris, Thyrea, Drepanum & Cenchreae.
[87] Orneiae, Hyperesie, Gonoessa, Pellene & Helike.

than they could have been if Statius had solely mixed Diomedes and Agamemnon's towns. Perhaps also to avoid overlap, Statius uses Phlius rather than the Homeric Araethyrea: the towns were identified with each other,[88] and Phlieas was a hero from Araethyrea.[89]

In spite of these differences from Homer, the actual style of the gazette - the epithets and the descriptions - appears to acknowledge that of the Catalogue of Ships.

huic cesla Prosymna,

aptior armentis Midea pecorosaque Phlius, (*Theb.* 4. 44 - 45)

celsa renders common Homeric epithets such as αἰπὺς[90] αἰπεινή;[91] *pecorosa* renders πολύμηλος,[92] μήτηρ μήλων,[93] *aptior armentis* has no direct counterpart in the Catalogue of Ships, but does not diverge from the general pattern of Homeric descriptions. The brevity of the elaboration is in itself Homeric, unlike the more expanded descriptions of the Langia and the Elisson, and the contrast of herds and sheep reinvigorates the style that Statius inherited, by giving point to the epithets and creating the impression of considered choice.

The Catalogue of Ships' epithets typified the places which they elaborated by singling out and categorising the most notable feature. Statius follows this in describing Cleonae as *ingenti turritae mole* (47), a description that approximates to εὐκτιμένας τε Κλεωνάς(*Il.* 2. 570). Strabo comments:

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[88] Strabo (8. 6. 24), Pliny (*N.H.* 4. 5. 6) & Pausanias (2. 12. 5); cf. Hope Simpson & Lazenby (1970) 67: "Although the traditions about Araithyrea may represent no more than the claims of the people of Phlious, they are at least consistent."

[89] Φλείας δ' αὖτ' ἐπὶ τοῖσιν Ἀραιθυρέηθεν ἵκανεν
ἔμθ' ἀφνειὸς ἔναιε, Διωνύσοιο ἔκητι
πατρὸς ἑοῦ, πηγῇσιν ἐφέστιος Ἀσωποῖο. (*Arg.* 1. 115 - 117)

[90] E.g. *Il.* 2. 538, 603.

[91] E.g. *Il.* 2. 573.

[92] E.g. *Il.* 2. 605.

[93] E.g. *Il.* 2. 696.

Κλεωναὶ δ' εἰσὶ πόλισμα ἐπὶ τῇ ὁδῷ κείνον τῇ ἐξ Ἄργους εἰς Κόρινθον ἐπὶ λόφου περιοικουμένον πανταχόθεν καὶ τετειχισμένον καλῶς, ὥστ' οἰκείως εἰρῆσθαί μοι δοκεῖ τὸ "ἐϋκτιμένας Κλεωνάς". (8. 6. 19)

In the same way, *Drepani scopulos* (50) is an obvious yet descriptive phrase. Drepanum was the northern most promontory of the Peloponnese and formed one side of the narrow straight into the Gulf of Corinth. In keeping with the apparent Homeric practice, Statius has typified it by its most memorable feature. *scopulos* could render a number of Catalogue epithets, such as πετρήεσσα[94] or τρηχεῖα.[95]

In the Catalogue of Ships Sicyon was elaborated as ὅθ' ἄρ' Ἄδρηστος πρῶτ' ἐμβασίλευεν. (*Il.* 2. 572). The town is thus very naturally part of Adrastus' realm, even though Statius suppresses the full story of his exile from Argos. *memores transmissi ab origine regis* (49) is a discreet allusion to this part of the story, and also perhaps an attempt to render Homer's detached remark in a fashion more immediate to the narrative. It presence, however, like the bull simile[96] undercuts a little the idea of Adrastus as a just ruler by reminding the reader that his past had contained feuds and exile. The explanatory comment clearly applies to Drepanum as well as to Sicyon, perhaps explaining how a place so far from the main area of Adrastus' control should be included in the gazette by the fact that his centre of power had once been elsewhere. The scholiast[97] cites Vergil's *Georgics* to illustrate the epithet *oliviferae*: *teritur Sicyonia baca trapetis* (*Georg.* 2. 519). It seems, therefore, that Statius here was typifying the place by a characteristic that would be well known to a Roman

[94] E.g. *Il.* 2. 496 (used of a coastal site), 519, 640.
[95] E.g. *Il.* 2. 633, 717.
[96] *Theb.* 4. 69ff.: this will be dealt with later.
[97] Lact. Plac. 4.151.

audience, rather than by features that would require greater knowledge of the area, such as those Strabo mentions: the fact that it was built on a strong eminence sacred to Ceres, and its former importance as a naval arsenal (8. 6. 25). The catalogue in a number of ways includes such components of the massed traditions concerning Greece rather than any more concrete reality.

Thyrea and Drepanum,[98] next to each other in the gazette, are the furthest apart in geographical terms of all Adrastus' towns, in effect marking out two corners of his territory. A third corner is provided at the end of the gazette by the Isthmus. Thyrea was an insignificant town but site of a famous battle between picked forces of Laconians and Argives (48). Homer did not mention it, but Strabo's attitude implies that the town was considered to be old enough to have merited a mention (8. 6. 17). It seems however to have been known in Roman times for precious little apart from the legendary battle. As with his reference to the battle of Marathon, Statius is choosing landmarks that apply to his readers' picture of Greece but nonetheless acknowledging the temporal perspective of the time of his narrative: *lectura* refers to the future and is explained by Lactantius by a cheerful little anecdote about the dying Spartan leader writing on a trophy with his own blood (4. 140ff.). More generally, however, it looks forward to the various things that will be written of it over time. Since the battle took place there because it lay on the border between Spartan and Argive territory, its presence in the gazette serves as a geographical signpost marking the furthest limit of Adrastus' territory.

Corinth, Cenchreae and the Isthmus provide a similar boundary, marking a third corner of Adrastus' kingdom. Of the three only Corinth is mentioned by Homer (*Il.* 2. 570): ἀφνειόν τε Κόρινθον. Statius substitutes for Corinth's fertility, with its

[98] *Theb.* 4. 48ff.

implicit allusion to her ports and fertile land, a mythological allusion, a combination of legend and geography, and a geographical description. The first of these expansions follows on very naturally from the anecdotal material attached to the Elisson (53 - 58). There the examples of places where the Furies might be active serve to unite the catalogue to the concerns of the rest of the epic: the evil prevalent among mankind and its divine inspiration.[99]

Thracum vertere domos, seu tecta Mycenes

impia Cadmeumve larem; (*Theb.* 4. 56 - 7)

The Thracian palace is presumably a reference to Tereus, Philomena, Procne and the butchering and consumption of Itys. Mycenae was the scene for Thyestes' similar atrocity. Thebes appears at first the odd one out: in most of the evil occurrences the victims were adults[100] - Oedipus' children grow up to cause destruction on their own account before they die rather than suffering at their relatives' hands. The elaboration attached to Corinth, however, presents a tragedy concerning the Theban house in which children were affected, the story of Ino and her murder of Learchus and Melicertes.

it comes Inoas Ephyre solata querellas (*Theb.* 4. 59)

Ephyre appears frequently as a poetic variant for Corinth and could be read as such: it could otherwise be a deliberate archaising, going back to a name in use before the Trojan War and the "Corinth" recorded in the Catalogue of Ships.

Cenchreae, the port giving Corinth access to the Aegean and eastern trade,[101] had a spring where Bellephoron had first captured Pegasus, Peirene;[102] Pausanias says

[99] Cf. Dominik (1994a) 1.
[100] For instance Pentheus, Actaeon & Semele.
[101] Strabo 8. 6. 22.
[102] Strabo 8. 6. 21, Paus. 2. 3.3.

that Peirene was turned into a spring by weeping for the death of her son Cenchrias. Statius, however, ignores this extremely conventional *aetion* to borrow that of the Boeotian Hippocrene.

Cenchreaeque manus, vatum qua conscius amnis
Gorgoneo percussus equo quaque obiacet alto
Isthmos et a terris maria inclinata repellit (*Theb.* 4. 60 - 2)

Such borrowings mark another difference between his practice and that of his predecessors. As he was creating a picture of "traditional" rather than actual Greece, he can avoid predictability by introducing such alterations; the picture is broadened to present aspects that did not fall within the geographical boundaries of the catalogue.

The depiction of the Isthmus is more typical of normal gazettes, but longer than most descriptions. It specifies the nature of the landscape: *obiacet alto* gives the sense that it serves as a greater limit to the sea than a normal coast line, appropriately, since without the Isthmus the gulf of Corinth and the Saronic gulf would be able to meet. *terris maria inclinata repellit* elaborates the same idea while giving it greater pictorial force.

Adrastus' and Tydeus' gazettes show two ways of using the Catalogue of Ships, with gradations in between: using Homer's towns with fresh descriptions, and using Homeric descriptions with new towns. Polynices' towns show a third way of drawing on the Catalogue of Ships, the use of a line with a highly Homeric shape.

dederat nec non socer ipse regendas
Aegion Arenenque et quas Theseia Troezen
addit opes. (*Theb.* 4. 80 - 2)

Here two proper nouns are given in the first half of the line and an epithet and town in the second, a form comparable to many verses in the Catalogue of Ships, such as:

Σχοῖνόν τε Σκῶλόν τε πολύκνημόν τ' Ἐτεωνόν

Θέσπειαν Γραῖαν τε καὶ εὐρύχορον Μυκαλησσόν(*Il.* 2.497-8)

Ῥίπην τε Στρατίην τε καὶ ἠνεμόεσσαν Ἐνίσπην (*Il.* 2.606)

Λύκτον Μίλητόν τε καὶ ἀγρινόεντα Λύκαστον (*Il.* 2.647)

The epithet in this case however diverges from the normal Homeric categorisation, containing instead a very compressed mythological reference. The line is also remarkable for its eclectic geography. Aegion and Troezen are both more or less in Adrastus' territory, but Arene is on the west coast, in what might be Capaneus' territory, or might be Amphiaraus'. One might wonder whether it were included as a result of the seductive power of alliteration. All three, however, occur in the Catalogue of Ships, and this, combined with the conventional form of the line, creates an impression of normality so that the oddity could almost escape the reader's notice.

The location of the rivers in Hippomedon's gazette almost suggests that his territory is a subdivision of that of Adrastus, and his insignia (the Danaids) also implies a close link with Argos. This is all however apparently belied by the introduction to the gazette, which suggests a fresh beginning (*novis*) and a separate race.

maior at inde novis it Doricus ordo sub armis, (*Theb.* 4. 116)

The Dorians had not traditionally entered the Peloponnese at this time, and neither the towns mentioned nor their descriptions do appear to have any especially Doric overtones that would justify their being characterised in this way.

The towns mentioned in his first gazette present a broad geographical range.

et qui rura domant Epidauria - dexter Iaccho

collis, at Hennaeae Cereri negat -; avia Dyme

mittit opem densasque Pylos Neleia turmas; (*Theb.* 4.123-125)

Statius bases his description of Epidaurus around Homer's epithet ἀμπελόεντ'(*Il.* 2. 561), giving it greater force by contrasting the wine growing to the lack of wheat. He thus avoids any anachronistic reference to the cult, but the name itself would surely be evocative enough: its inclusion could even be said to be necessary to a complete picture of Greece. Dyme lay on the western extremity of the Peloponnese, and it is puzzling that it should be placed together with what has up to this point been a gazette concerned with Argive territory. *avia* probably refers to the fact that it lacked a harbour and to its westerly location, perhaps reflected in its name, which was derived from "sunset":[103] the epithet is thus Homeric in its typification of the site.

The archaeological site of Pylos is even further afield, in the south-west. There were however three places contending to be Nestor's Pylos in Messene, Triphylia and Elis. It is possible that even Homer was not totally certain of the city's precise location - its association elsewhere in the *Iliad* with the Alpheus might suggest this.[104] By Statius' time sons of Neleus had been included in three catalogues:

οἳ δὲ Πύλον τ' ἐνέμοντο (*Il.* 2.591)

σὺν δὲ Περικλύμενος Νηλήιος ὦρτο νέεσθαι

πρεσβύτατος παίδων ὅσσοι Πύλῳ ἐξεγένετο (A. R. *Arg.* 1. 156 - 7)

Nelidesque Periclymenus, quem parva Methone

felixque Elis equis et fluctibus obvius Aulon

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[103] Strabo 8.7.5: Ἐφεξῆς δ' ἐστὶν ἡ Δύμη, πόλις ἁλίμενος, πασῶν δυσμικωτάτη, ἀφ' οὗ καὶ τοὔνομα·

[104] By the 800s, when the *Iliad* was most probably composed, its exact location, like that of Rhipe, Stratie & Enipse, had passed from knowledge, and yet it remained in memory as an important and traditional feature. Cf. Hope Simpson & Lazenby (1970) 82.

caestibus adversos viderunt frangere vultus. (V. F. *Arg.* 1. 388 - 400)

The first two give no indication of Pylos' setting or location. The last is fascinating for the way in which Valerius appears to suspend judgement: he names three places, all of which were in the approximate vicinity of a site claiming to be Nestor's Pylos - Methone was down the coast from the Navarino Pylos, another Pylos lay not very far from Elis, a third was in the general area of the Aulon valley. Popular tradition persisted in favouring the Messenian site.[105] The sites mentioned along with Pylos in the Catalogue of Ships were for the most part lost,[106] but those identifiable were in the Messenian area (*Il.* 2. 591 - 594). Statius does indeed include a gazette of Messenian towns in Capaneus' contingent, modelled closely on that of Homer (178 - 182), but Nestor's Pylos has been separated from this by its removal to Hippomedon's gazette. A second Pylos also occurs among Amphiaraus' towns (224)

Unless it is separated geographically from the rest of its gazette, this second Pylos must surely be the southernmost, that at Navarino. It would not however be the first time a town had been included from a totally different area, and Amphiaraus does have a brief second gazette (237 - 240) concerned with the region around Elis, home to another Pylos. Judging nonetheless from the fact that Statius has clearly separated Nestor's Pylos from the Messenian gazette, and from the probability that Amphiaraus' Pylos is the southernmost, the traditional identification of Homer's Pylos, and thus also the Catalogue of Ships, are being challenged. Statius' Nestor's Pylos must either be that in Elis or that in Triphylia. The area around Classical Messenian Pylos does not appear to have been particularly inspiring or impressive. Allen, writing before the

[105] Allen (1910) 297 discusses this "vulgate tradition."
[106] Hope Simpson & Lazenby (1970) 82.

discovery of the Ano Englianos palace, is rather scathing of the place's claim.[107] The question was no doubt much disputed in antiquity, and after a discussion that took into consideration the Homeric references and the local traditions Strabo came to the conclusion that the Triphylian Pylos was Nestor's city.[108] It is noticeable that none of the other post-Homeric writers actually describes the landscape of Pylos; neither of Statius' Pyloses are typified beyond a reference to the wealth of Nestor's town and the number of troops it provided, both things that could be easily deduced from the *Iliad.* Probably, the author did not like to commit himself too far about the surroundings of the town.

The question remains of how the inclusion of Dyme and Pylos should be read and how *Doricus* should be understood. The towns mentioned after the description of Hippomedon return to the Argolid.

dat Nemea comites, et quas in proelia vires

sacra Cleonaei cogunt vineta Molorchi. (*Theb.* 4. 159 - 160)

Their inclusion is clearly thematically triggered by the references to Hercules in the preceding lines, but the presence of a piece of Cleonaean territory raises questions nonetheless, for Cleonae was listed among Adrastus' towns. Statius could easily have omitted one of the references to Cleonae, and must not be requiring his readers to think geographically at all, but rather thematically. Although Hercules was originally an Ionian hero, the Dorians laid claim to him in order to legitimise their rule:[109] the Dorian migration was referred to as the return of the Heracleidae. Although some

[107] Allen (1910) 297f. " No more striking example of the endurance and indestructibility of canonical tradition has ever been afforded than by this section. . . . The lonely bay of Navarino, unknown had not Pothos or Phthonos or some other of Mr. Cornford's demons impelled Demosthenes to land there . . . was assigned to Nestor for his capital and Hermes (in the hymn) to store his cows."
[108] Strabo 8. 3. 7, 14, 26 – 7.
[109] OCD³ (686) sv. *Heracleidae.*

accounts placed Hercules' birth in Thebes,[110] others placed it in Tiryns.[111] It is possible that Statius calls Hippomedon's lands Dorian by a rather syllogistic process of association: the Heracleidae were Dorian, Hercules was born in Tiryns, therefore the Argolid could be called Dorian. Although they do have this in common with a large proportion of the town of the Peloponnese, Nestor's Pylos and Dyme both had connections with Hercules. He attacked Pylos and killed all Neleus' sons except Nestor, a fairly well known legend,[112] while at Dyme local tradition showed the tomb of one of his comrades, Polystratos.[113]

Hippomedon has these far-flung towns in common with Polynices, and to a lesser extent with Amphiaraus. In each case the suggestion is that the leader is drawing his troops from all over the Peloponnese. One function of the catalogue was to express the scale of the conflict through the extent of land involved: what the catalogue does most simply is to express the idea that "the whole Peloponnese went to war." These towns serve to enclose large sectors of land, so that the leaders have the impression of a broader basis of support than the details of the gazette, when seen on a map, would appear to warrant. The removal of Amphiaraus from his natural area is part of this. The land in Sparta and Elis, both made appropriate thematically but far from the seer's traditional roots, fills gaps in the Peloponnese, so that no area can be truly said to have been left unrepresented. Maps were not especially widely available in the ancient world,[114] although itineraries and *periploi* provided sequences of places and the distances between them. Statius' readers, and still less his audience if the piece were produced at a *recitatio*, are not likely to have been able to turn away and

[110] Apollod. 2. 4. 6; *Aspis* 48ff.
[111] Diod. Sic. 4. 10. 2.
[112] E.g. *Il.* 11. 690ff.; Ov. *Met.* 12. 549ff.
[113] Paus. 7. 17. 4.
[114] For their existence (which has been disputed) see Clarke (1999) 9.

pick an atlas off the shelf to check the geography. Minor incongruities like the isolation of Troezen and the breadth spanned by the Pylos and Malea of Amphiaraus' contingent might not have troubled them. Of the furthest flung erratics, Dyme and Aegion were at least both in Achaia, the district next door to the Argolid, and so might have been accepted as "somewhere or other in that province." Pylos and Arene are harder to explain. I have already mentioned how Arene might have escaped notice; if Pylos is to be justified at all geographically, it must be the Eleian city that Statius refers to: this was at least in northern Peloponnese, not too far from Dyme. Confusion over its identity might even have lessened a sense that it was definitely out of place. Incongruous on the map, and absurd when compared to Homer's compact groupings, it might conceivably have escaped notice by an audience for whom it was "somewhere or other about there."[115]

3: Messenia

The remaining gazettes, while they continue to show the same technique in terms of description and selection of places, each display the peculiarities generated by producing a geographical account of a long gone period. Capaneus' Messenia and Parthenopaeus' Arcadia by the time that Statius was writing bore no relation to the representations of those districts preserved in myth. Amphiaraus' Sparta had fared a little better, but because the seer was not a local hero Statius was faced with the fresh problem of how to make the gazette relevant.

[115] It is also perhaps possible that Statius was responding to material in a lost source, such as Antimachus.

Statius is unlikely to have been certain of the location of a number of the Messenian towns that he lists (178 - 182): Strabo was unsure of Dorion's location,[116] it is unclear whether he knew the site of Amphigenia,[117] and Thyron is identified through etymologising and guess work.[118] Aepy was lost to such an extent that some writers asked whether it was an epithet or a town;[119] Helos was similarly unidentifiable.[120] About Pteleon he says δρυμῶδες χωρίον ἀοίκητον, Πτελεάσι[μ]ον καλούμενον, (8.3.25) an identification that Hope Simpson and Lazenby think very little of.[121] Statius, therefore, would appear to be describing a landscape that bore no relation to the Greece of his own time, relevant or comprehensible to his readers only because the reference to Homer authenticated it as the true topography of the area at the time of the narrative.

In fact, the situation is a little more complicated. Pliny's list for the area reads:

ad meridiem autem Cyparissius sinus cum urbe Cyparisso LXXV circuitu, oppida Pylos, Mothone, locus Helos, promunturium Acritas, sinus Asinaeus ab oppido Asine, Coronaeus a Corone. finiuntur Taenaro promunturio. ibi regio Messenia duodeviginti montium, amnis Pamisus, intus autem ipsa Messene, Ithome, Oechalia, Arene, Pteleon, Thyron, Dorion, Zancle, variis quaeque clara temporibus.

(*N.H.* 4. 5. 7)

Comparison with Strabo's account makes it clear that Pliny cannot have been describing Greece as it actually was. The towns of Roman times, such as Epitalium, Hypsoeis and Margalae are omitted. What apparently comes out of a reading of both

[116] 8. 3. 25.
[117] 8. 3. 25.
[118] 8. 3. 24.
[119] 8. 3. 24.
[120] 8. 3. 25.
Ἕλος δ' οἱ μὲν περὶ τὸν Ἀλφειὸν χώραν τινά φασιν, οἱ δὲ καὶ πόλιν ὡς τὴν Λακωνικὴν . . . οἱ δὲ <τὸ> περὶ [τὸ] Ἀλώριον Ἕλος.
[121] (1970) 85.

Strabo and Pliny is that their readers were not expected to be interested in a collection of extant but unevocative villages, but in the location of places made famous in legend, even if no one could tell exactly where they were. Strabo mentions the contemporary towns on the whole only as reference points for his discussion of the Homeric sites.

Statius was not quite, then, describing a landscape that bore no relation to that known to his readers; rather, he was describing what his readers thought ought to be the topography of Greece, even if history had rendered this no longer the case. It could therefore be said that his attitude towards the topography of the Catalogue of Ships is one of acceptance rather than of homage. The adjustments that he makes: the redistribution of Pylos and Arene, the introduction of Messene and Ithome, suggest either a slightly more critical attitude (adjusting picture to suit different time of narrative) or a more creative use of the gazettes. The towns he includes are ones that "should" have been there, and the fact that there was dispute concerning them probably meant that they sprang to mind when the area was mentioned. Messene was important as a historical landmark, and Ithome, involved in the same series of wars, was an important physical landmark in its own right.[122] Their inclusion rectifies a gap in the picture of the area, so that the picture of Messenia can give the appearance of completeness: ignoring the most prominent site in the district would have jarred, even if it happened to be chronologically faithful.

quos fertilis Amphigenia

planaque Messene montosaque nutrit Ithome,

quos Thyron et summis ingestum montibus Aepy,

[122] Pausanias claims that there was no city of Messene until after Leuctra, but he may being writing to correct entrenched opinion (4. 1. 2).

quos Helos et Pteleon, Getico quos flebile vati

Dorion. (*Theb.* 4. 178 - 182)

The gazette gives a remarkably close rendition of the Catalogue of Ships, in terms of structure and of the sparsity of its elaboration: three of the eight places are left without so much as an epithet. The result of this economy is an appearance of still closer adherence to the Catalogue of Ships.

οἳ δὲ Πύλον τ' ἐνέμοντο καὶ Ἀρήνην ἐρατεινὴν

καὶ Θρύον Ἀλφειοῖο πόρον καὶ εὐτικτον Αἰπύ,

καὶ Κυπαρισσήεντα καὶ Ἀμφιγένειαν ἔναιον

καὶ Πτελεὸν καὶ Ἕλος καὶ Δώριον, (*Il.* 2. 591 - 594)

Because Arene and Pylos occur at the beginning and in the same verse, they could be docked unobtrusively. The omission of the Alpheus is a little more surprising, as it was famous in myth. In spite of this, Statius follows his source in placing Thyron and Aepy in the same line, while the rendition of εὐτικτον by *summis ingestum montibus* seems to be intended almost to gloss the Homeric epithet as well as expounding the etymology of the place's name. The two towns are joined in the same manner as in the model, using *et* for καί. The structure of the rest of the gazette also follows that of the Catalogue of Ships as closely as possible. While Amphigenia occurs early, it occurs in the middle of a verse, and Helos and Pteleon are transposed on account of the metre but retain their Homeric position in the gazette and the verse. The second half of their line, as in the *Iliad*, is taken up with the beginning of the Thamyris anecdote, although Statius delays *Dorion* to the start of the next verse for emphasis.

Pteleon and Helos follow the absence of Homeric epithets, Thyron is docked of the elaboration that it did have, and *fertilis*, elaborating Amphigenia, is extremely

vague, in contrast to Statius' usual precision when referring to agriculture. Especially when compared with the expansion and innovation of the preceding gazette, the impact of this is one of a deliberate renunciation of description. This could be intended to create an illusion of trustworthiness, implying that Statius is not going to invent a fictitious picture of Greece by inventing a landscape for lost towns, but Messene and Ithome, about which Statius did have information, are nonetheless only elaborated by a single epithet for each. Such sparsity also gives an impression of harshness. Those places that are described, with the exception of fertile Amphigenia and flat Messene, appear inhospitable, and those positive elaborations merely serve to emphasise this. The absence of the Alpheus with its colourful background is in keeping with such a picture. It occurs later, in Amphiaraus's gazette (239), and in far less taciturn surroundings. Statius has thus made the landscape thematically relevant, reflecting the harsh character of Capaneus.

4: Sparta and Elis

Amphiaraus' gazette begins with a town often used synonymously for Sparta and ends with landscape used metonymically for Sparta herself. Amyclae, Pylos, Pharis, and Messe all occur in the Catalogue of Ships, but Malea and Caryae are less traditional. Bryseiae, Augeiae, Helos, Laas and Oitylos from the Lacedaemonian gazette have all been omitted (*Il.* 2. 581 - 585).[123]

huius Apollineae currum comitantur Amyclae

quos Pylos et dubiis Malea vitata carinis

[123] Of these only Bryseiae had been deserted (Paus. 3. 20. 3), while Laas was famous for its destruction by the Dioscuri.

plaudentique habiles Caryae resonare Dianae,

quos Pharis volucrumque parens Cythereia Messe,

Taygeti phalanx et oloriferi Eurotae

dura manus. (*Theb.* 4. 223- 8)

Statius has been selective: rather than including a number of moderately well known but Homeric sites, he has chosen to form his gazette of the famous places, relying on v.226 to maintain a link with the Catalogue of Ships.

Φᾶρίν τε Σπάρτην τε πολυτρήρωνά τε Μέσσην, (*Il.* 2. 582)

quos Pharis volucrumque parens Cythereia Messe,

Although Sparta is removed, the two remaining towns occupy roughly their Homeric positions in the verse and *volucrumque parens Cythereia* is a typical expansion of πολυτρήρωνα. Both places were relatively obscure[124] balancing the better known places in the rest of the catalogue. The other towns in the gazette either delineate famous aspects of Sparta or mark out Amphiaraus' territory. Amyclae was in the Catalogue of Ships and was highly appropriate to the priest of Apollo's contingent because, as the epithet *Apollineae* indicates, it had a prominent temple of Apollo. Pausanias comments upon its important position within Sparta: they sent to Croesus to obtain gold for a colossal statue of Apollo (3.10.8),[125] which had an elaborate throne.[126]

While the most obvious association of Malea is its function as a geographical landmark, Lactantius draws attention to its cult of Apollo, and even comments on the

[124] Strabo (8. 5. 3) was unsure of the identification of Messe and does not mention Pharis, Pausanias mentions the site of Pharis between Amyclae and the sea, (3. 20. 3) and Hope Simpson & Lazenby ((1970) 76f.) believe his "Messa" to be Messe.

[125] Λακεδαιμονίοις γὰρ ἐπιφανέστερά ἐστι τὰ ἐς τὸν Ἀμυκλαῖον, ὥστε καὶ τὸν χρυσόν, ὃν Κροῖσος ὁ Λυδὸς τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι ἔπεμψε τῷ Πυθαεῖ. τούτῳ ἐς κόσμον τοῦ ἐν Ἀμύκλαις κατεχρήσαντο ἀγάλματος.

[126] Caryae too had an important Laconian cult, and annual festival celebrated by girls (Paus. 3. 8. 7).

appropriateness of this: *bene Statius haec dicit auxilia vatem habuisse, quia hi populi deum praecipue venerantur Apollinem.*[127] Such a significance would help it to bring thematic unity to a gazette that lacks a Homeric basis. Malea was best known as an obstacle that had to be passed by anyone trying to sail from the east to ports in the west or vice versa[128] and Statius, by including it in the same verse as Pylos, is contrasting the two extremes of the region he assigns to Amphiaraus. The early inclusion of opposite ends of the area perhaps results from the fact that Amphiaraus' district was a new creation, ignoring the boundaries of Menelaus' kingdom, and thus in need of definition.

Sparta itself is delayed until the end of the gazette, yet the fact that Amyclae was so closely linked to the city gives the impression that the gazette is returning to the point at which it began.

Taygeti phalanx et oloriferi Eurotae
dura manus. (*Theb.* 4. 227 - 8)

Valerius mentioned both these features to denote the Spartan origin of Castor and Pollux in his Argonautic Catalogue, including them in an ekphrasis of the twins' cloaks that also included their mother's swan.

bis Taygeton silvasque comantes
struxerat, Eurotan molli bis fuderat auro;
quemque suus sonipes niveo de stamine portat
et volat amborum partium de pectore cycnus. (*Arg.* 1. 429 - 432)

The mountain and the river were Sparta's most striking physical landmarks, and frequently in literature they are used metonymically for Sparta. Swans, however, are

[127] 4. 548.
[128] Cf. Strabo 8. 6. 20.

not usually the Eurotas' chief characteristic. It is true that, on account of Jupiter's little escapade and Leda's consequent egg, Sparta had a connection with *a* swan, but the most common Greek stock epithet for the Eurotas is "reedy"[129] and when the poets link swans to a river they tend to choose the Maeander,[130] or Caÿster.[131] The exception to this appears to be Martial, who in two places gives swans the epithet "Spartan" or "Amyclaean".[132] In both cases, however, references could be alluding to Leda's swan. By removing swans from the specific myth there is freedom for their musical connotations are left free to be activated, and thus too their connection with Apollo.[133] Such an association gives the Eurotas specific relevance to Amphiaraus' gazette and looks forward to the swan feathers in the troops' helmets (575).

By ending his gazette with the two most famous features of Spartan territory Statius brings it to a kind of climax, and the long digression about Spartan morbidity makes the shorter Elean entry slightly less jarring as they are not in close conjunction. Amphiaraus' original country was probably neither Sparta nor Elis but Argos. His association with Sparta was justified and made to seem less incongruous by the frequent references to Apollo; his connection with Elis is similarly oblique, but probably to be explained by the chariots with which the contingent ends.

curribus innumeris late putria arva lacessunt
et bellis armenta domant: ea gloria genti
infando de more et fractis durat ab usque
axibus Oenomai; strident spumantia morsu

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[129] E.g. Eurip. *Helen* 27, 350, 494.
[130] E.g. Ov. *Heroides* 7. 2.
[131] E.g. Hom. *Il.* 2. 460.
[132] 8. 28. 13 *Spartanus tibi cedet olor Paphiaeque columbae.*
14. 161 - 2 *Lassus Amyclaea poteris requiescere pluma*
interior cycni quam tibi lana dedit.
[133] Cf. Plat. *Phaed.* 85b, Aristoph. *Birds* 769.

vincula, et effossas niveus rigat imber harenas. (*Theb.* 4. 241 - 245)

Amphiaraus was famous for his chariot trip into Hades, while Elis was famous for Oenomaus' chariot race and Pelops' victory.

This gazette is even further from Homer than its predecessor.

auget resupina maniplos

Elis, depressae populus subit incola Pisae,

qui te, flave, natant terris, Alphee, Sicanis

advena, tam longo non umquam infecte profundo. (*Theb.* 4. 237 - 240)

The Catalogue of Ships makes no reference to Pisa, while the Alpheus, as I have mentioned, is dislodged from its place in Nestor's gazette. The lines do however echo Lucan's catalogue of Pompey's forces

Pisaeaeque manus populisque per aequora mittens

Sicaniis Alpheos aquas. (*B.C.* 3. 176 - 7)

As Lucan was compressing Greece into a smaller gazette, he necessarily only includes the most important landmarks, and Statius has apparently followed him in this. He makes no reference to the five towns listed apart from Elis in the Catalogue of Ships gazette (615 - 619). Dispensing with any collection of smaller landmarks - ports, cults or springs - he has disposed of a fairly substantial area simply by naming it and passing on. The epithets attached to Elis and Pisa make them appear to be similar kinds of places: *resupina*, *depressae*, so that the only contrast is that of the river with dry land. Such a broad and featureless view does however serve to provide both variety, contrasting as it does with the style of all the other gazettes in this catalogue, and an unlimited background capable of supplying almost unlimited numbers of chariots. The change of source also provides variety; more than that, it perhaps

implies that Statius is deliberately employing more than one method of describing Greece, in order to achieve methodological as well as topographical completeness.

5: Arcadia

The Arcadian gazette contains all but one of the towns mentioned in the Catalogue of Ships, but these are supplemented by many others.[134] None of the places stray outside of Arcadia, but Statius is unlikely to have followed, or been able to follow, a geographical pattern within the region. In so far as there is an arrangement, he begins with the most famous sites: Maenala, Parthenium, Tegea, Cyllene and the temple of Alean Athena, set off by the most infamous of Homer's lost sites, Rhipe, Stratie and Enispe. Three lost towns are thus contrasted with three famous sites. Three rivers follow, along with a mountain sacred to Pan, one of the most typically Arcadian deities. The elaborations attached to the second half of the gazette seem on the whole to fill out the details of the picture: Azan for instance is associated with a local rather than a major cult and Orchomenus and Cynosura are linked to human activities, shepherding and hunting, opposed in a fashion characteristic of Statius' technique in the gazettes.

Arcadia was in some respects a poets' fantasy playground. Its involvement in history had been slight until the creation of Megalopolis, which drained the old settlements,[135] so that these had little historical connotations of their own. By the time of the Latin poets it was virtually deserted.[136] It was therefore colonised by Vergil's

[134] *Il.* 2. 603 - 8 Mantinea omitted; Maenalus, the temple of Alean Athena, Clitor, Ladon, Lampia, Azan, Nonacria, Cynosura, Psophis and Erymanthos added.
[135] Paus. 8. 27. 1 – 7.
[136] Strabo 8. 8. 1 – 2.

shepherds,[137] nymphs and other rustic beings, to be followed by Ovid's tree-births and various incidents in which gods conduct affairs that rarely have consequences impinging on the larger myths.[138] The gazette is full of variety. It is the longest in the catalogue and also by far the most colourful.

It is noticeable that the culture in question is not so much that of any survivng Arcadians as of the Arcadians of poetry: Tegea, one of the few historically prominent towns, is no more than mentioned, and the sites are on the whole commemorated for their mythological associations rather than their impact on their inhabitants' lives. There is a greater density of allusion in the gazette, and its texture is unlike many of the others. In the Athenian gazette (*Theb.* 12. 629ff.), the Elisson was linked to the rape of Orithyia, but the four mountains listed were all associated with their landscape and man's use of it; the most important associations of Brauron were left implicit. Read one after another, the two gazettes are strikingly different in their tone, and the other gazettes of the Argive Catalogue have more in common with the Athenian catalogue than the Arcadian.

The gazette in the Catalogue of Ships, partly because it was composed long before Arcadian legends were popularised and partly because Homer, except on a few notable occasions, tends to typify sites by tangible features, is almost completely lacking in the mythological connotations of Statius' rendition.

οἳ δ' ἔχον Ἀρκαδίην ὑπὸ Κυλλήνης ὄρος αἰπύ,
Αἰπύτιον παρα' τύμβον, ἵν' ἀνέρες ἀγχιμαχηταί
οἳ Φενεόν τ' ἐνέμοντο καὶ Ὀρχομενὸν πολύμηλον
Ῥίπην τε Στρατίην τε καὶ ἠνεμόεσσαν Ἐνίσπην

[137] Vergil's own picture is discussed by Jenkyns (1989).
[138] E.g. Daphne, Syrinx, Callisto & Auge.

καὶ Τεγέην εἶχον καὶ Μαντινέην ἐρατεινὴν

Στύμφηλόν τ' εἶχον καὶ Παρρασίην ἐνέμοντο, (*Il.* 2. 603 - 608)

Statius retains 606 and the beginning of the next verse unaltered, but this is a special case, atypical of this particular gazette.

Rhipeque et Stratie ventosaque donat Enispe.

non Tegea, (*Theb.* 4. 286 - 287)

One reason for its retention is the memorable sound of the verse, with the *i*'s and the long *e*'s at the end of each name; another was perhaps that the towns were so thoroughly lost as to be infamous: their mention roots the gazette in the depths of antiquity.

On the whole Statius' technique elsewhere in the gazette indicates a reliance upon the ability of evocative place names to work alone, and a desire to activate the connotations of places that might otherwise fail to trigger such associations. The Parthenium mountain, for instance, is elaborated by *nemus* (285), suggesting some religious significance: Pausanias records a sanctuary of Pan, and that the mountain's tortoises were held sacred.[139] Maenalus, however, which is merely elaborated by *altum* (285), had the far greater association with Pan[140] and one might have expected Maenalus' elaboration to be *nemus* and Parthenium's *altum*. Maenalus also had Vergilian associations, and some allusion to those might also have been expected. Even alone, however, it is evocative of Arcadian musicians and the landscapes of Vergil's *Eclogues*: [141] its presence at the beginning of the gazette, while it could signpost the kind of landscape to be described, more certainly is intended to indicate

[139] Paus. 8. 54. 7.

[140] Paus. 8. 36. 8: τὸ δὲ ὄρος τὸ Μαινάλιον ἱερὸν μάλιστα εἶναι Πανὸς νομίζουσιν, ὥστε οἱ περὶ αὐτὸ καὶ ἐπακροᾶσθαι συρίζοντος τοῦ Πανὸς λέγουσι.

[141] It reminds one especially of *Ecl.* 8, but by extension the rest of the book as well.

to the reader, without need of further description, the kinds of landscape they are to imagine. Similarly, Cyllene, foremost a physical landmark and elaborated in such a way by Homer (ὄρος αἰπυ), is connected instead to Hermes, an important Arcadian deity (287-8).

The normal pattern of epithets and towns is employed for Erymanthon and Stymphalon, but the epithets themselves are unconventional.

vastat et Herculeo vulgatos robore montis

monstriferumque Erymanthon et aerisonum Stymphalon. (*Theb.* 4. 298)

Normally, the epithets in such a context would concern land use or crops: by association, Erymanthon has borne a crop of monsters. The unusual emphasis of the gazette on mythology has influenced the way that the landscape is perceived here. Almost always, gazette epithets refer to permanent aspects of the landscape, features that would endure so long as the site remained. These epithets, however, allude to events that have ended. The landmarks they refer to are literary, describing the places as the reader would recall them, rather than according to their physical reality.

Cynosura is a similar literary imposition on the landscape.

dives et Orchomenus pecorum et Cynosura ferarum (*Theb.* 4. 295)

Orchomenus and its sheep render Homer's epithet and Town, and as Arcadia was known for both its flocks and its hunting two key aspects of the area appear to be included. Cynosura, however, does not appear as a Homeric town; indeed, apart from in the grammarians, who mention a Laconian fort of that name,[142] it does not appear elsewhere as a town at all. The scholiast explains it as: *locus Arcadiae, unde et Minor Ursa "Cynosura" dicitur.*[143] The first part of this looks like a deduction from the

[142] Aelius Herodianus 3. 2. 290. 1.
[143] Lact. Plac. 4. 765.

context rather than outside knowledge. The idea that the star Cynosura was named for a town, while not impossible, is unlikely: traditionally the star was named after Jupiter's nurse.[144] The connection between the Little Bear[145] and Arcadia is of course valid nonetheless, as the constellation was named after Callisto's son, Arcas, but it is far more likely that Statius was inventing a town and naming it for the star than that the star was named after an otherwise unknown town. Cynosura, in fact, although it is read as a town due to the expectations created by a verse of that type, stands for the wilder parts of Arcadia, the sort of area where Artemis used to hunt along with the troop of virgins that had included Callisto.

The gazette retains, in spite of this, elements that assert physical reality, such as the conventional *rapidus Clitor* (289), and *Psophidaque celsam* (296). *templum Aleae nemorale Minervae* (288) similarly is conventional in that it records an important cult, noteworthy for its antiquity.[146] The detail given about the Pheneos is less normal, but nonetheless describes a famous local feature:

et Pheneos nigro Styga mittere credita Diti. (*Theb.* 4. 291)

Pausanias comments upon such a stream in that general area, a high water-fall whose water was capable of dissolving stone.[147] The inclusion of this feature in the catalogue might be influenced by the fact that Homer includes a memorable description of an off-stream of the Styx in the Catalogue of Ships (*Il.* 2. 752 - 755).

Lampia is given a striking pictorial impact, enhanced by an etymological play.

candensque iugis Lampia nivosis (*Theb.* 4. 290)

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[144] Smith 1. 911.
[145] Cynosura, the Pole Star, occurs in the tail of the constellation.
[146] Pausanias claim it was founded by the legendary Arcas (8. 8. 2), and Hope Simpson & Lazenby (190) 92 record the possibility of continuity of cult from Mycnaean times.
[147] 8. 17. 6 - 18. 5

Lampia is connected by Lactantius,[148] probably correctly, with λαμπρόν "shining bright", which could be translated as *candens*. The mention of snow is evocative of the settings for hunting in Arcadia,[149] but the picture is one of beauty rather than harshness. Apollonius hints at the countryside of Lampia and Erymanthus in his mention of the Erymanthan boar.

ζωὸν φέρε κάπριον ὅς ῥ' ἐνὶ βήσσῃς

φέρβετο Λαμπείης Ἐρυμάνθιον ἀμ μέγα τῖφος, (*Arg.* 1. 126 - 7)

This representation of the mountain's natural terrain, wooded valleys above a lake, with the detail of the boar feeding perhaps indicating a huntsman's view of the area, eyeing the creature from the cover of the bushes, brings out by contrast Statius' more generalised way of representing the landscape, concerned with a series of impressions accumulating throughout the gazette rather than detailed realism.

Azan's entry is typical of the gazette's almost alien richness:

venit et Idaeis ululatibus aemulus Azan (*Theb.* 4. 292)

It is almost odd-man-out home to worship of a goddess not normally associated with Arcadia. Pausanias says that Azan was a son of Arcas, and that the Phrygian town was colonised from the Arcadian one,[150] but he does not mention worship of Cybele in Arcadia and nor does Strabo, who discusses the Phrygian rites at some length.[151] As elsewhere, the transference of a detail from its rightful place brings variety, varying the traditional wildness of the Arcadian countryside with the human wildness of foreign insanity. In addition, it is another instance of the literary impositions upon the landscape, moulding its connotations according to a fund of external knowledge.

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[148] 4. 748.
[149] Cf. Verg. *Ecl.* 10. 55ff.
[150] 8. 4. 3.
[151] 10. 3. 9.

The other mythological references are less obscure; the verses contain devices aimed at achieving a humorous effect, one of the features that enrich the gazette.

et qui tibi, Pythie, Ladon

paene socer, (*Theb.* 4. 289 - 290)

According to some traditions the river deity Ladon was Daphne's father,[152] although according to Ovid her father was the Peneus.[153] The high style of the apostrophe in conjunction with the coyly allusive *paene socer* create comic effect so that the allusion appears lively rather than drily learned.

et quae risisti, Amores,

grata pharetrato Nonacria rura Tonanti, (*Theb.* 4. 293 - 4)

Here the apostrophe indicates the response expected of the reader as well as of the Amores, but the reference to the quiver requires the reader to remember that Jupiter wore it while cross-dressing in order to seduce Callisto. The place where this actually occurred, Nonacria, almost falls away into the background: it has become the vehicle for the inclusion of legends connected with Arcadia rather than a town mentioned in its own right.

The wide range of treatments of the landscape and of the Catalogue of Ships in this gazette give it an unusual degree of variety. Its picturesque impression, with its lack of realism and its myths, perhaps makes it suitable to Parthenopaeus: colourful, but trusting in attitudes that have little to do with the world he has entered in going to war, lacking in realism. This is the playground that brought him up with romantic

[152] Paus 8. 20. 1; Lact. Plac. 4. 740.
[153] *Met.* 1. 452ff.

expectations of heroic warfare. In some ways, too, the allusions take the gazette from epic to elegiac or pastoral: the proper sphere for such a character.

Statius' treatment of Homer was two-fold: he took over a topography in terms of the towns, and he appropriated a landscape for his own thematic and stylistic ends. The Catalogue of Ships provided a background geography that could not be disputed as anachronistic and also a standard form for gazettes which could be appealed to for authenticity: some of Statius' least Homeric verses in terms of actual content nonetheless have extremely Homeric forms. Homer's elaborations described the *individual* characteristic of each place, whatever would help the reader to recognise what kind of place it was. Statius' gazettes were conceived of as units, not as lists of individuals: different features were picked out to include a variety of different aspects of an area. Important sites such as Tegea could go unelaborated because the reader should be aware of their latent significance, while obscure rivers such as the Charadron could receive relatively lengthy treatment to make them valuable to the overall picture. The towns from the Catalogue of Ships acknowledge the inspiration for the gazettes and the antiquity of the region. While the Homeric descriptions were retained for this purpose, they were often also made more specific to the places they describe so that they contributed their own particular viewpoint to the over-all picture of the area. In places too, close adherence to the Homeric gazettes was used for thematic effect, as with the starkness of Capaneus' gazette. It is noticeable that the most general of Homer's typifications: rich, lovely, holy are not employed: they would add little to an overview or to the details of an area.

Statius' omission of various sites has two main motives: in places it was necessary to prevent the reader identifying a gazette too closely with Catalogue of Ships where the boundaries are to be substantially altered, but often it increased his freedom to include important landmarks: mountains, rivers and cults, without this resulting in a gazette the length of the Arcadian one. There, due to the restraint exercised elsewhere, the inclusion of both Homer's sites and physical and mythical landmarks makes for an impression of exuberant comprehensiveness. Statius' attitude towards the chronology of the landscape is also twofold. His treatment of the lost towns and claimant sites shows a desire not to erode the landscape that Homer hands down, while his addition of references to later features superimposes a landscape with which his readers could relate. Examples and anecdotes, such as Thyrea, refer to what his readers would know, not what would be part of the landscape of the Heroic age itself.

II: THE LEADERS' BACKGROUND

A: The Significance and Development of the Leaders' Descriptions

In addition to the function of the gazettes in connecting the troops to a setting that the audience would recognise, the Catalogue of Ships supplies many of the leaders with little fragments of life history. Although these often play no part in the plot, or, as the figures are frequently insignificant elsewhere in the poem, in characterisation, they nonetheless serve to increase this impression of reality. They thus serve a similar function to the material of the similes[154] and the references to the lives of the minor characters before the Trojan War,[155] which evoke pictures of a mainly pastoral background life.[156] The existence of this well-developed picture lends depth to the epic: the brief period of warfare that is described is given a wider context and the characters appear to have lives and histories of their own, rather than to exist solely within the action narrated. Such an impression of realism probably enhanced the sense for many people that the events were historical.

The motivation for the inclusion of these details is thus clearer than it was for the gazettes. Nonetheless, changes in their significance and employment can be traced through time. This chapter will examine the categories of personal detail included in the catalogues and how their emphasis became adjusted by successive authors to suit their times. As with the gazettes, in Homer the motivation lies in the demands of local

[154] E.g. *Il.* 3. 23, 4. 433, 6. 194, 17. 61, 19. 495.
[155] E.g. the description of Simioesius' pastoral upbringing (4. 474 ff.), Melanippus' former occupation (15. 547 ff.).
[156] Cf. Schein (1984) 140.

tradition and the need to give the heroes prestige, while by the time of the Silver poets an approach with greater appeal to the audience's empathetic emotions was required.

The details given about catalogue heroes may be categorised into groupings that are employed in almost every post-Homeric catalogue, although each author gives his own slant to them. Their weapons and equipment are often described, their particular skills, especially prowess in battle, their age and personal appearance, their character or attitudes, their activities during the time of the catalogue, their illustrious or divine parentage or (where a number of ancestors are included) lineage, birth and childhood, former exploits, and future (especially if they are to die in the course of the epic) and their parents' exploits; similes and mythological anecdotes may also be included.

1: Homer

A few of these categories have only traces present in the Catalogue of Ships. There are for instance no similes within it, although it is preceded by several,[157] and where armour or equipment is mentioned it is not described in detail, or made a vehicle for symbolism or ekphrastic description, later established as catalogue features. While parentage receives a good detail of attention, birth and childhood do not and the heroes are not linked to myths. Much of this results from the nature of the catalogue. Homer uses the elaborative information as distinguishing features to single out his heroes and to give them prestige - as with the gazettes, the basic function of the material is commemorative. Prestige is important within the epic, part of the attitudes of Iliadic society: the entire epic is motivated by the insult to Achilles'

[157] *Il.* 2. 455ff.

τιμή[158] At the same time the heroes had local cultural significance, originally ancestral, then, probably after Homer's time, developing into hero-cults.[159] The first of these factors meant that status became bound up with the concept of an epic hero, the second, combined with the lasting attention paid to genealogies,[160] meant that exactitude about heroes' identities was a concern that persisted even if only as a display of learning, into literate epic. The most dominant display of heroes' status within the Catalogue of Ships appears to be the attention paid to their ancestry, but in fact this type of elaboration is often used for characters who characters who do not appear elsewhere, or are relatively insignificant. For example, the divine parentage of Askalaphos and Iamenos is described (512 - 6), but elsewhere in the *Iliad* Ialmenos is only mentioned at 9. 82, along with his brother, who has just two other appearances at 13. 478 and 13. 526, when he is killed. The ancestry of the four Eleian leaders is included (621 - 4), but two are not mentioned again, and the other two recur only to be killed (*Il.* 4. 519, 13. 185). Genealogy was important as part of a hero's identity,[161] and as these figures appear because of the demands of tradition, but for no other reason, perhaps identification is all they need. Figures who will be important elsewhere can receive less elaboration, perhaps because it is not so essential that their background should be recorded at this point, as there will be opportunities later on. Ajax,[162] Diomedes and Nestor, for instance, are given no personal details in the Catalogue of Ships; Eurypylos, a secondary, but still fairly prominent character, is unelaborated in the Catalogue (736), but receives at his first appearance a quantity of personal detail of the sort that could have been included (*Il.* 5. 76ff.). Homer thus in

[158] Cf. Nagy (1979) 72f.
[159] Hack (1929) 59; Antonaccio (1994) 391, 397.
[160] Cf. Broadbent (1968) 1; Higbie (1995) 6.
[161] Cf. Higbie (1995) 6.
[162] His entry is of course disputed, but it is worth noting that he is not unique among the major heroes in that no personal information about him is included in the catalogue.

part employs the Catalogue of Ships to include material that his audience may have liked to be commemorated, but which was superfluous to the main epic.

Less standard elaborations are used for the more important leaders. Details that may be broadly typified as referring to skills are used to elaborate Menestheus (Marshalling troops (553 - 555), Odysseus (Διὶ μῆτιν ἀτάλαντος, 636), Idomeneus (δορικλυτὸς, 650) Meriones (ἀτάλαντος Ἐνναλίῳ ἀνδρειφόντῃ, 651) and Machaon and Podaleiros (medicine, 732). Such comments, like those on genealogy, are used to give the heroes prestige, but as they are specific to particular abilities, rather than a generalised high -status background, they go further to increase the heroes' importance. Of the heroes elaborated in this way, only Podaleiros is of no especial prominence, and his catalogue status results from the fact that he is listed along with his brother. Where more developed information is supplied, most noticeably for Meges (627ff.) and Tlepolemos (653ff.), the heroes in question are not quite so powerful, but nonetheless still have some importance. The additional catalogue information may compensate them for the lack of attention the receive elsewhere, or it may be intended to supplement the audience's knowledge of them, so that when they do occur in the main text, the audience knows more of them than the information accompanying their appearances could provide.[163]

That birth, childhood and mythological anecdotes do not figure in the Catalogue results from the way in which the heroes are conceived: their importance is for the deeds that they do, not for elements that would appeal to the audience's emotions: those are not required for successful warriors. Elsewhere in the *Iliad*,

[163] Cf. Minchin (2001) 84 n. 28 "Because most of the heroes of the Catalogue are destined to play major roles in the story, Homer is not inclined to single them out at this point. The stories of the catalogue concern a few minor heroes (Askalaphos and Ialmenos, Polypoites and Tlepolemos) and those heroes who cannot appear later in the narrative: Protesilaos, Philoctetes."

however, where young men appear only to die, they are exploited for the sake of pathos.[164] The exception to this within the Catalogue is Protesilaos' entry, which contains detail clearly intended to arouse emotion.

τῶν αὖ Πρωτεσίλαος ἀρήιος ἡγεμόνευεν
ζωὸς ἐών· τότε δ' ἤδη ἔχεν κάτα γαῖα μέλαινα.
τοῦ δὲ καὶ ἀμφιδρυφὴς ἄλοχος Φυλάκῃ ἐλέλειπτο
καὶ δόμος ἡμιτελής· τὸν δ' ἔκτανε Δάρδανος ἀνὴρ
νηὸς ἀποθρώσκοντα πολὺ πρώτιστον Ἀχαιῶν. (*Il.* 2. 698 - 702)

This, however, is a special instance, as Protesilaos is already dead, and thus a fitting object of pity. His inclusion, sometimes cited[165] as a example of how the Catalogue of Ships has been adjusted to fit its context, is an example of the basic function of the piece: such a famous character needed commemoration, and his omission would have been felt, but he could not have been inserted easily into the body of the epic.[166]

The only passage of the Catalogue of Ships that approaches a mythological anecdote is the story of Thamyris: elsewhere there is no consciousness that the material in hand is mythology: divine parentage, for example, is narrated in the same manner as human parentage.[167] Nothing is stated allusively: events are recalled openly, or not at all and where they are included the tone is not that of an explanation. The Thamyris passage, however, begins:

καὶ Δώριον, ἔνθα τε μοῦσαι

[164] E.g. Simoesius (*Il.* 4. 474), Satnius (*Il.* 14. 443).
[165] E.g. Page (1959) 149, Schein (1984) 19f., Edwards (1987) 188.
[166] Cf. Kirk (1989) 231 "Protesilaos were well-known figures, their substitutes Podaakres and Medon were not; they were remembered to have no part in the developed fighting before Troy, but yet to have been members of the expedition when it first left Greece. It is rhetorically effective, therefore, to name them as leaders."
[167] Cf. Schein (1984) 14 "He sometimes first mentions a character . . . merely by his patronymic, that is, by calling him 'son of X' and assuming in the listeners sufficient familiarity with the traditional figures to know who X is, who his son is, and why he should be doing what he is said to be doing."

ἀντόμεναι Θάμυριν τὸν Θρήικα παῦσαν ἀοιδῆς,
στεῦτο γὰρ εὐχόμενος νικησέμεν. εἴ περ ἂν αὐταὶ
μοῦσαι ἀείδοιεν, κοῦραι Διὸς αἰγιόχοιο· (*Il.* 2. 594 - 598)

The incident is mainly ornamental and has been read as an expression of pride in the bard's craft.[168] The explanatory γὰρ signals that there is an element at least of explanation in what follows: it is assumed that the audience is not familiar with the story.

Only armour that departs from the norm in some way merits a mention, such as Oileus' Aias' linen corslet (529) and Agamemnon's gleaming breastplate (578). In the Trojan Catalogue similarly Pandaros' bow receives attention (827), because it will be of importance later in the epic. Homer's references to what lies in store for his characters are confined in the Catalogue of Ships to his parallel mentions of Achilles and Philoctetes, both of whom are described as being soon about to be involved in some action.[169]

τῆς ὅ γε κεῖτ' ἀχέων, τάχα δ' ἀνστήσεσθαι ἔμελλεν. (*Il.* 2. 694)
ἔνθ' ὅ γε κεῖτ' ἀχέων, τάχα δὲ μνήσεσθαι ἔμελλον. (*Il.* 2. 724)

In the Trojan Catalogue there are a greater number of such references, and indeed events later in the poem are prefigured in a way that does not occur again until the Silver epics. Apart from the epithet referring to Hector's helmet (κορυθαίολος; 816), which for anyone hearing the poem for a second time might recall his farewell to Andromache (*Il.* 6. 370ff.),[170] the mention of Aeneas' mother Aphrodite (820 - 1) prefigures his rescue by her (*Il.* 5. 312ff.), and Pandaros' bow (827) looks forward to

[168] Kirk (1985) 216.
[169] Kirk (1985) 233.
[170] Cf. Schein (1984) 7.

his wounding of Menelaus (*Il.* 4. 134). In addition there are three open references to events in the rest of the epic:

> Μυσῶν δὲ Χρόμις ἦρχε καὶ Ἔννομος οἰωνιστής·
> ἀλλ' οὐκ οἰωνοῖσιν ἐρύσσατο κῆρα μέλαιναν,
> ἀλλ' ἐδάμη ὑπὸ χερσὶ ποδώκεος Αἰακιδαο
> ἐν ποταμῷ, ὅθι περ Τρῶας κεράιζε καὶ ἄλλους. (*Il.* 2. 858 - 861)

Where seers are concerned the scope for dramatic allusions to the future is greater, as they have more provocation and can be included without the obtrusive impact of an authorial comment. Earlier in this catalogue the death of the sons of a seer is also predicted (831ff.). This prediction is also made unusually specific in that it mentions the manner of Chromis' death, so that a major incident in the epic gains early notice. The reference to the fight by the river is repeated by the final forward glance, commenting on Nastes' folly in wearing gold jewellery (872).

Homer's elaborations, therefore, are used to link the catalogues to the events of the mythological background, within and outside of the *Iliad*, but far more predominantly to increase a sense of the character's identity.

2: Non-epic Catalogues

In between Homer and the next surviving epic, that of Apollonius, other works employed and refined the catalogue form, providing a source for the features undeveloped in the *Iliad*. In his fourth *Pythian Ode* Pindar includes the first extant catalogue of Argonauts. As his style is deliberately conservative he uses little in the way of innovation: each of the heroes mentioned there is singled out by some mark of

prestige, as the purpose of the list is to show the glory of the expedition and the illustrious names that Jason could attract. The support of the gods and Heroic age status of the characters is stressed by the fact that they are arranged according to their divine parentage and patronage: first the sons of Zeus, Heracles and the Dioscuri, then two sons of Poseidon, Euphemus and Periclymenus; Orpheus comes with Apollo's encouragement, then Hermes sends Echion and Eurytus, and Boreas equips Zetes and Calais (171 - 183). The tendency of Homer's catalogues to provide details that increase the heroes' repute is exploited for encomium of Euphemus, and thus of Arcesilaus, the poem's dedicatee.[171] Home-towns, physical appearance and skill in music are mentioned to elaborate the various heroes. One feature that will become a more prominent motif of Apollonius' catalogue is the statement that Hermes *sent* his sons (178). The phrase is Iliadic, although it does not occur in the Catalogue of Ships.[172] By bringing the father into the foreground it of course makes him something more than an illustrious name: this enhances the status of the heroes in Pindar, while Apollonius adjusts it so that it has greater emotional appeal.

Herodotus in Book 7 of his *Histories* includes a catalogue of Persian forces in three parts: infantry, cavalry and navy, with a slight break after each. There is more focus than in Homer upon equipment, rather than details of personalities or size, and in fact Herodotus began with a disclaimer that it would be impossible accurately to give the size of individual contingents[173]. Nonetheless the care taken to name and distinguish each place from which the troops were drawn gives an impression of

[171] Braswell (1988) 27 "The principle of selection is clear: only sons of gods are named and these are listed in the order of their father's dignity (Zeus, Poseidon, Apollo, Hermes, and Boreas). Clearly the selection was made with the intention of suggesting that Euphemus, the ancestor of Arcesilaus, can as the son of Poseidon take his place among the elite of what is itself an elite."
[172] Cf. *Il.* 6. 207, 9. 253, 11. 766: Braswell (1988) 258.
[173] Hdt. 7. 60.1.

magnitude[174] to support his figure of 1,700,000. The bulk of the information given is on the equipment of the various troops, and can be seen as either the forerunner or the inspiration of the similar, antiquarian, type of detail given in Latin catalogues.[175] In addition, Herodotus includes comments about the origins of cities' names[176] that are reminiscent of the mythological and aetiological background material included in epic catalogues.

Aeschylus' *Persians* is structured by three catalogues,[177] their forms adapted to the author's dramatic purposes. It is clear from his use of these, and of the first especially, that he interpreted catalogues as first and foremost a way of conveying the idea of massive force. That in the parodos is also a demonstration of, and a model for, the use of catalogues thematically. The specific complaint that the strength of Asia has gone is followed by lists of names, and it does not take many of these in lyric to sound an impressive register; these are linked to mentions of places that have been drained of men, and are followed at the end of the actual catalogue, in a kind of framing effect,[178] by the complaint that the flower of Asia has gone, creating a cumulative and impressive effect. At the same time other thematic details are given in the comments on the background to the expedition, such as the desire to enslave Greece, expressed by the 'yoke' metaphor central to the imagery of the play. What were to become standard epic catalogue features also appear, such as notice of weapons, the skills of the generals in battle, their attitudes, and also occasional notes of characteristic features of the countries of origin.

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[174] Cf. Saylor (1974) 252.
[175] Cf. Courtney (1988) 5.
[176] E.g. 7. 61, 62, 73.
[177] 12 - 60, 302 - 330, 954 - 100.
[178] Within the parodos the catalogue itself runs roughly from line 12 to line 60:

πᾶσα γὰρ ἰσχὺς Ἀσιατογενὴς // οἴχωκε
τοιόνδ' ἄνθος Περσίδος αἴας // οἴκεται ἀνδρῶν

Tragedies concerning the Seven against Thebes make use of forms similar to catalogues: in Aeschylus' *Septem*[179] attackers and defenders are described in sequence, in Euripides' *Phoenissae* there is a *teichoskopia* (114 - 181) followed later by a catalogue in the mouth of a messenger (1104 - 1140) and in his *Supplices* Adrastus mentions each of those killed in a funeral eulogy (857 - 908). The most striking innovations in these are the increased emphasis on the character of the heroes and the extensive use of *ekphrases*, which are sometimes also used to display character. They tend to lack information on background elements such as parentage, partly because of the nature of the scenes: what is mentioned is often what plausibly could be seen. The use of *ekphrasis* was perpetuated the most by epicists,[180] it gives opportunities for colour and variety, but is also greatly adaptable, capable of being used for inset narrative as well as symbolism. Similes were also introduced by the tragedians: Tydeus, for example, is compared by Aeschylus to both a war horse and a snake shrieking at noon (*Sept.* 381; 393). This additional method of drawing out a hero's character or physical impact was followed especially by Latin epicists in their catalogues. Apollonius did not follow this precedent or that provided by the *ekphrases*, perhaps because of his close allegiance to Homer.

[179] 377 - 652.
[180] Cf. Courtney (1988) 5.

3: Apollonius

Apollonius' principle innovation was to humanise his background figures and information: in his Argonautic Catalogue (*Arg.* 1. 18 - 227) parents are not merely mentioned to lend prestige to the heroes, but instead they become individuals.[181]

τρίτατός γε μὲν ἕσπετ' ἰοῦσιν
Ἀγκαῖος· τὸν μέν ῥα πατὴρ Λυκόυργος ἔπεμπε,
τῶν ἄμφω γνωτὸς προγενέστερος, ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν ἤδη
γηράσκοντ' Ἀλεὸν λίπετ' ἂμ πόλιν ὄφρα κομίζοι,
παῖδα δ' ἐὸν σφετέροισι κασιγνήτοισιν ὄπασσε·
βῆ δ' ὄγε Μαιναλίης ἄρκτου δέρος ἀμφίτομόν τε
δεξιτερῇ πάλλων πέλεκυν μέγαν· ἔντεα γάρ οἱ
πατροπάτωρ Ἀλεὸς μυχάτῃ ἐνέκρυψε καλιῇ,
αἴ κέν πως ἔτι καὶ τὸν ἐρητύσειε νέεσθαι. (*Arg.* 1. 163 - 171)

A number of categories of description are joined together in a vignette: Ancaeus' relationship to Amphidamas and Cepheus, the identity of his father and grandfather, his unusual equipment, and his age. The idea of a father sending his son on an expedition helps to create variety: it provides another way of introducing or elaborating the heroes, and the parent's attitude and his relationship with his son can also be adjusted. Canthus, for example, is said to be sent by his father, but very eager to go himself (77), Leda sends Castor and Polydeuces in spite of her love for them (146ff.) and Alcon allows Phaleron to go in spite of his old age and lack of other sons,

[181] Cf. Carspecken (1952) 53 "There is an important difference between the two catalogues in that Apollonius makes a more consistent attempt to characterize his heroes completely upon their first introduction, relying less on conventional epithets and more on specific attribution of distinctive or unusual qualities," Cf. also Beye (1982) 79.

and so that Phaleron can make a reputation for himself. (95ff.): again, the extent of detail builds up a vignette that appeals to the reader's emotions, while providing information on the hero's parentage and importance as an heir.

Awareness of reputation is another feature of the catalogue, perhaps translating the original significance of catalogues into more concrete terms. Where it occurs in later authors it is usually an attitude attributed to rather immature characters, such as Statius' Parthenopaeus[182] and Silius' Sychaeus.[183] In the later instance reputation depends once again on familial prestige. Apollonius also makes reference to the influence of reputation on others: for example, he introduces Heracles by remarking that no one could hear that he ignored Jason, implying that if he had, it would have incurred adverse comment (122 - 3); Idmon is said to have joined the expedition in the knowledge that he would die, because he feared for his reputation at home (139 - 141).

Prestigious lineages are still described, most noticeably in the case of Nauplius (133 - 138). As several names recur[184] patronymics are important for distinguishing the heroes. Care is also taken to distinguish real and supposed parentage:

σὺν δὲ Παλαιμόνιος Λέρνου πάις Ὠλενίοιο -

Λέρνου ἐπίκλησιν, γενεὴν γε μὲν Ἡφαίστοιο· (*Arg.* 1. 202 - 3)

Such concern for accuracy was an Alexandrian trait: by Apollonius' time the presence of genealogical elements within poetry would have been a matter of tradition rather than communal significance. The closer relationship of gods and mortals was a feature of the Heroic Age, and references to divine parentage had been established by Homer

[182] *Theb.* 4. 247 *a rudis armorum, tantum nova gloria suadet*

[183] *Pun.* 3. 245ff. *sed dux in sese coverterat ora Sychaeus,*
Hasdrubalis proles, cui vano corda tumore
maternum implebat genus, et resonare superbo
Hannibal haud umquam cessabat avunculus ore.

[184] E.g. Iphiclus 45 & 201, Iphitus 86 & 207, Ancaeus *Arg.* 1. 163 & 188.

as a characteristic of catalogues. Apollonius varies the theme a little in his judgement on Leda's worthiness of Jupiter's love (149 - 150). He also makes far freer use of the theme of a hero's parent's exploits. For Talaus, Areius and Leodocus the focus is upon their mother rather than their father (118), while in Coronus' entry the motif is expanded into a mythological anecdote about the Centauromachy (57ff.).

The catalogue begins the inclusion of the features less concerned with status and more with evoking the reader's emotions. Increased anecdotal material is part of this, as it develops the picture provided by an entry and requires greater engagement from the reader than a barely stated piece of information would do. The changes to the parentage motif are one result, but more noticeable signs of the shift in attitude are details such as the description of Asterion's birth (35ff.). Awareness of prestige is nonetheless still present among a number of comments that are designed to be emotionally appealing, such as Meleager's entry, which calls attention to his youth, but also to his potential for prowess:

> ὧδ' ἔτι κουρίζων περιθαρσέα δῦνεν ὅμιλον
> ἡρώων· τοῦ δ' οὔ τιν' ὑπέρτερον ἄλλον ὀίω
> νόσφιν γ' Ἡρακλῆος ἐπελθέμεν. εἴ κ' ἔτι μοῦνον
> αὖθι μένων λυκάβαντα μετετράφη Αἰτωλοῖσιν· (*Arg.* 1. 195 - 8)

Because Apollonius was not writing martial epic, there is very little emphasis upon equipment, and references to skills that would enhance a hero's reputation usually are concerned with seamanship.[185] More unconventional remarks are also included, however, such as Lynceus' eyesight (153 - 5) and Euphemus' ability to run

[185] E.g. Erginus and Ancaeus (188f.).

on the surface of the sea (183ff.).[186] Such features were avoided by Homer[187] and gain little attention in other catalogues, perhaps because authors preferred to distinguish heroes by characteristics that could be not only admired but truly believed in.

4: Vergil

Vergil followed Apollonius in using vignettes, and the fact that fewer heroes had to be described allowed these to become the norm instead of an occasional feature. In each case a limited number of categories of description are employed and expanded, rather than a wider range that attempts all-inclusiveness. In Turnus' case, for instance, only his equipment is mentioned (*Aen.* 7. 785 - 792). This is in part due to the fact that the reader has already been introduced to Turnus, so that information on his parentage and temperament would be superfluous. In the Catalogue of Ships, familiar figures are given less elaboration, but in the *Aeneid* all the heroes are unfamiliar to some extent, as not part of the established mythical stock. Vergil does not try to fabricate a background for each, but does include a number of features that would suggest to the readers that these heroes, although unknown to them, nonetheless have some importance within the world he is creating. The centaur simile, for example, suggests Catillus' and Coras' physical might (674ff.), and it is accompanied by manifestations of their eagerness for war:

et primam ante aciem densa inter tela feruntur. (*Aen.* 7. 673)

Ufens' entry implies high prowess and reputation:

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[186] Carspecken (1952) 53 calls attention to fact that these were traditional features that had no opportunity for inclusion within the main story. If this is so, their inclusion mirrors that of Homer's inclusion of Philoctetes and Protesilaos.
[187] Cf. Griffin (1977) 40ff.

insignem fama et felicibus armis (*Aen.* 7. 745).

Aventinus is given the widest range of description: his divine parentage, which is expanded into a mythological anecdote, his birth, his personal appearance and his equipment are described:

Post hos insignem palma per gramina currum
victoresque ostentat equos satus Hercule pulchro
pulcher Aventinus, clipeoque insigne paternum
centum anguis cinctamque gerit serpentibus Hydram;
collis Aventini silva quem Rhea sacerdos
furtivum partu sub luminis edidit oras,
mixta deo mulier, postquam Laurentia victor
Geryone exstincto Tirynthius attigit arva,
Tyrrhenoque boves in flumine lavit Hiberas.
pila manu saevosque gerunt in bella dolones,
et tereti pugnant mucrone veruque Sabello.
ipse pedes, tegimen torquens immane leonis
terrbili impexum saeta cum dentibus albis
indutus capiti, sic regia tecta subibat,
horridus Herculeoque umeros innexus amictu. (*Aen.* 7. 655 - 669)

The presentation of these details is in its way characteristic of Vergil's technique in the catalogue with an emphasis upon colour and picturesque detail. Throughout the catalogue, for instance, attention is paid to the heroes' beauty. Setting aside the description of Camilla, Lausus is described as:

quo pulchrior alter

non fuit excepto Laurentis corpore Turni; (*Aen.* 7. 649f.)

Virbius is *pulcherrima* (761), while Turnus is *praestanti corpore* (783). In the *Iliad*, while actual ugliness is despised,[188] beauty is often mentioned when there seems to be little else praiseworthy to remark upon. Nireus, for example, is described as:

Νιρεύς, ὃς κάλλιστος ἀνὴρ ὑπὸ Ἴλιον ἦλθεν
τῶν ἄλλων Δαναῶν μετ' ἀμύμονα Πηλέωνα. (*Il*. 2. 673 - 4)

These lines could perhaps be the inspiration for those on Lausus, but in the Catalogue of Ships Homer does not remark on Achilles' beauty as Vergil does on that of Turnus, but comments instead upon Achilles' previous exploits (*Il.* 2. 690 - 693). Nireus' is beauty in fact is almost ironic, as it is followed by the disparaging remark:

ἀλλ' ἀλαπαδνὸς ἦην, παῦρος δέ οἱ εἵπετο λαός (*Il.* 2. 675)

No-one else in the Catalogue of Ships has their personal appearance commented upon in this manner: the only comparable remark is that on Agamemnon, but this concentrates more upon his armour, which is included as a symbol of his great status among the Greeks.

τῶν ἑκατὸν νηῶν ἦρχε κρείων Ἀγαμέμνων
Ἀτρεΐδης. ἅμα τῷ γε πολὺ πλεῖστοι καὶ ἄριστοι
λαοὶ ἕποντ'· ἐν δ' αὐτὸς ἐδύσετο νώροπα χαλκὸν
κυδιόων, πᾶσιν δὲ μετέπρεπεν ἡρώεσσαν,
οὕνεκ' ἄριστος ἦην, πολὺ δὲ πλείστος ἄγε λαούς. (*Il.* 2. 576 - 580)

These lines in fact epitomise the significance of much of the material in the Catalogue of Ships: Agamemnon is important because he has an impressive lineage, he is an excellent warrior and provided by far the largest number of troops: a substantial gazette has just been provided in proof of this. Each piece of background

[188] E.g. Thersites in particular (*Il.* 2. 216 - 219).

information has been included to accumulate proofs of his worthiness to command the expedition. The armour is mentioned not as a distinguishing characteristic, but as a marker of his importance. Comparison of this entry with that of Nastes in the Trojan Catalogue demonstrates this last point still further:

> ὃς καὶ χρυσὸν ἔχων πόλεμόνδ' ἴεν ἠΰτε κούρη,
> νήπιος, οὐδέ τί οἱ τό γ' ἐπήρκεσε λυγρὸν ὄλεθρον,
> ἀλλ' ἐδάμη ὑπὸ χερσὶ ποδώκεος Αἰακίδαο
> ἐν ποταμῷ, χρυσὸν δ' Ἀχιλεὺς ἐκόμισσε δαΐφρων. (*Il.* 2. 872 - 875)

Here the golden equipment is the character's distinguishing feature, mentioned in default of any more worthy characteristic, and scornfully in consequence. For Homer, and no doubt for his audience, marks of prestige unbacked by genuine status were pretentious and pathetic. Such status symbols were the rightful possession of figures like Achilles alone.

By Vergil's time, a change of attitude had occurred. While opinions concerning the *novus homo* show that ancestral prestige was still held to be important, centuries of historical and military change meant that skill in battle, while still laudable (if rightfully employed), was not the foremost, or even the most obvious, mark of worth. They would, therefore, have been appreciated if they were referred to, but to a Roman audience may not have seemed the overwhelmingly most important characteristic. Too much stress on military prestige, moreover, would be inappropriate in a catalogue of troops that were to be defeated. There was little precedent for the emphasis on beauty in any of Vergil's catalogue predecessors, but the readiness with which later epicists followed his lead perhaps suggests that it was something that

appealed to a Roman audience.[189] The increasing fondness for beautiful doomed young warriors[190] may also have influenced the practice in catalogues.

Aventinus' equipment is described for visual appeal rather than prestige: attention is drawn to the arrangement of the snakes encircling the shield design, and to the texture of the lion skin (*terribili . . . saeta*) and its white teeth. Ekphrastic descriptions of equipment are another feature of the Latin Catalogue, influenced by their use in tragedy. Vergil thus applies a secondary layer of detail to his catalogue: features that were details in themselves in previous catalogues have by virtue of the expanded description their own most noticeable features picked out and amplified. The *ekphraseis* themselves: Aventinus' Hydra and Turnus' equipment, demonstrate two ways of borrowing from the shield devices of the various treatments of the *Seven against Thebes*. The Hydra is drawn from Euripides' *Phoenissae* (1135ff.) but its symbolism is not transferred and instead it is employed as a reference to a standard type of detail, Aventinus' parent's exploits. Turnus' equipment, on the other hand, owes little to any especial design in the tragedians, but their employment of symbolic *ekphraseis* underlies the use here. The inclusion of both descriptions in the catalogue is highly suitable to an epic that makes careful and extensive use of *ekphrasis*.

Elsewhere in the catalogue reference to parent's exploits is limited to the allusion to Hippolytus in Virbius' entry (*Aen.* 7. 761 - 773). In part this restriction perhaps results from the fact that inventing intricate ancestral histories for newly created figures could have seemed specious to Vergil. In Virbius' case the reference shows how far Vergil has diverged from the original significance of such references: the anecdote provides variety, it appeals to the reader's emotions and it allows for an

[189] Cf. S.I. *Pun.* 8. 559ff. Scaurus' youth is stressed at *Pun.* 8. 370; Stat. *Theb.* 7. 300f.
[190] Beginning with Nisus and Euryalus, expanded by Statius to included Menoeceus, Parthenopaeus, Itys, Hopleus and Dymas &c.

aetion to elaborate the geography implied through the description of the grove, but while it gives Virbius picturesque charm it does not enhance his prestige in the manner that, for example Apollonius' description of Caeneus' death (*Arg.* 1. 59 - 64) or Homer's mention of Polypoetes' parentage (*Il.* 2. 742 - 744) do. In Aventinus' entry the references to Hercules create a vast variety of tone, from the "stock catalogue" style of the *ekphrasis* to the high style of sub *luminis edidit oras*, to the pastoral touch of *Tyrrhenoque boves in flumine lavit Hiberas*. Vergil's aim was to complement the Italians rather than to commemorate obscure figures, and emotional and artistic appeal were means with which to do this.

Two other types of detail that further the creation of a pan-Italic catalogue are the ethnographic material and the foundation legends. Aventinus' entry has an element of the first of these in the description of his troops' equipment. Similar descriptions throughout the catalogue all work to the same effect, for example those of Caeculus' troops (685 - 690) Halaesus' (730 - 732) and Oebalus' (741 - 743). The foundations myths have a more subtle but more important function: Vergil exploits the appeal of gazettes by diverting elaborations that would normally be attached to towns and using them instead to give some sort of roots for what are otherwise partially fictitious characters. Both towns and leaders thus remain significant for the reader. These myths also give occasion for details that are unique in terms of catalogue descriptions, such as the discovery of the foundling Caeculus (679ff.) rather than a more conventional depiction of his birth. For Oebalus the *aetion* of the connection of the Teleboans with Campania[191] also serves as a description of the hero's previous exploits:

patriis sed non et filius arvis

contentus late iam tum dicione premebat

[191] Cf. Horsfall (1999) 480.

Sarrastis populos et quae rigat aequora Sarnus, (*Aen.* 7. 736 - 8)

Vergil's situation was unique in that he dealt with heroes who had no known past but the developments he introduced: the vignettes and the focus upon personal appearance, which supplement and to some extent supplant traditional marks of prestige, were retained by his successors.

5: Lucan

None of Lucan's catalogues include individual leaders, which might appear odd in an epic concerned with the activities of powerful figures. For the Gallic (*B.C.* 1. 392 - 4656) and African Catalogues (*B.C.* 4. 606 - 689) this is in keeping with Lucan's general attitude. Although in places he distorts the historical actions of various characters[192] his epic at least purported to be factual: "divine machinery" is not employed. *Ad hoc* creation of barbarian leaders to command sub-divisions within his catalogues could well therefore have appeared something to be avoided for fear of making the passages appear specious. In the case of Pompey's Catalogue (*B.C.* 3. 169 - 297), however, Caesar's[193] and Appian's[194] accounts show that at least some of the minor leaders were known. Caesar names, for instance, Deïotarus as commander of Gallic troops (Gallacians in Appian), Ariobarzanes of the Cappadocians (Ariathus in Appian), Sadala son of Cotys of the Thracians, Rhascypolis of the Macedonians and Antiochus of the Syrians; Appian adds Taxilles and Megabates as leaders of the Armenians. Had Lucan wished to, he could have created a conventional catalogue. The very absence of minor leaders perhaps serves to increase the sense of a gulf

[192] E.g. Cicero's unhistorical presence before Pharsalus (*B.C.* 7. 63ff.)
[193] *Civil Wars* 3. 3 - 5.
[194] *Civil Wars* 2. 71.

between the great men struggling over affairs for their own ends and the unknowns their politics affect. As the catalogue is subdivided only by the insertion of various digressions, the overall impression is that of a mass of tribes converging from all over Asia rather than a number of ordered contingents on the march. The lack of any enumeration of the troops adds to this effect: in Homer and Herodotus the number of men from each place had been a feature, and while it is less prevalent in later catalogues, the numbers were known had Lucan wished to include them. Taken together with the impression of magnitude, the absence of any figures makes the number of troops appear unlimited.[195]

6: Valerius

Valerius' Argonautic Catalogue is in dialogue with that of Apollonius, but also with the Trojan War muster of Achaeans - not so much the Catalogue of Ships itself as those troops tradition knew should be there. Remarks on parents' exploits are rather rare, but there is a repeated, and in terms of catalogues unusual, emphasis on the heroes' children. To a certain extent, Valerius could even be said to be writing a catalogue of the Trojan War, expressed through the relevant parents and weapons. Little attention is paid to previous events, but there is a considerable focus on the future, not only foreshadowing the heroes' deaths, as in previous catalogues, but also looking forward to the future in more general terms. These factors combine to give a breadth of perspective that is enhanced by other innovations and variations on stock

[195] Cf. Wijsman's (2000) 34 comment on a similar situation in V. F.'s Scythian catalogue: "In the course of the catalogue the simple list of a king together with his tribe becomes more and more diffuse, more and more tribes being mentioned without their leader, with finally a weird wizard. This creates an atmosphere of an incredible and unlimited number, symbolized in a cluster of similes (163- 170) to give an idea of such exotic armies."

catalogue elements. *Ekphraseis* are used to describe landscape, or, in Phalerus' case, an incident from his childhood (398). The unusual skills of the Boreads, Orpheus and Lynceus are described for their contribution towards the running of the ship rather than merely as distinguishing features glorifying their possessors alone. The form of the catalogue itself is innovative, presenting the seating plan of the ship; the piece thus provides variety from the general run of epic catalogues, as well as containing variety in its content.

The catalogue does contain several of the usual marks of prestige: attention is called to divine favour (Admetus 444ff.) and to wealth (Butes 394ff.), skills such as boxing and seamanship are remarked upon. Valerius differs from Apollonius in making fairly substantial reference to equipment. This is in part the result of the different content of the rest of the epic: Valerius' *Argonautica* includes substantial battle scenes and mentions of weapons and skill in warfare were features of martial epic catalogues, supplying the heroes with status markers of a kind especially relevant to the action.[196]

Meleager's description lays emphasis upon his imposing physical fitness:

at tibi collectas solvit iam fibula vestes

ostenditque umeros fortes spatiumque superbi

pectoris Herculeis aequum, Meleagre, lacertis. (*Arg.* 1. 435 - 5)

The description challenges Apollonius' entry: Valerius is giving his opinion that Meleager is already old and strong enough, and he demonstrates this by calling attention to the physical manifestations of his superiority. Following Vergil's use of visual aspects, Valerius includes numerous descriptions of both the heroes' physical

[196] Hershkowitz (1998) 41 "Less attention is paid to the heroes' national and familial origins, but more attention is paid to their physical attributes, skills, and general attitude, to the qualities each man possesses which might be of use (or of harm) to his fellow crew members during the imminent voyage."

appearance at the time of the catalogue and of the various scenes in the past and future. The variety and interest these create helps to retain the reader's interest in spite of the number of heroes that have to be recorded.

Within the catalogue sections of elaboration tend to alternate with periods of briefly dismissed names; occasionally details are linked to form vignettes but the length of the piece prohibits these becoming a regular feature. Types of elaboration also tend to be grouped: Phlias (411f.), Ancaeus (413) and Erginus (414), for example, are all elaborated by their divine parentage, Phalerus (398ff.), Eribotes (402) and Peleus (403ff.) all have their equipment mentioned. Such clustering prevents a sense of the same features recurring over and over again: the only dispersed references that run right through the catalogue are remarks on the future.

As with Apollonius and Vergil, Valerius provides a number of humanising touches, but it is noticeable that he rarely describes the attitude of mind of the heroes themselves. Only in the case of Idmon (360) does he address a comment on the hero's behaviour or mentality to the reader. Vergil had included a number of such comments, which made direct judgement on the character of his heroes as well as drawing out their personality.[197] Details of the interplay between parents and sons, for example those displayed in Eurytion's entry (378f.) and Polyphemus' (457ff.) are employed to appeal to the reader's emotions. Both those instances adapt standard catalogue themes, calling attention to Eurytion's youth, and Polyphemus' father and town of origin, as well as his future:

nec tibi Palladia pinu, Polypheme, revecto

ante urbem ardentes restat deprendere patris

[197] E.g. *Aen.* 7. 653f. *dignus qui laetior esset*
imperiis et cui pater haud Mezentius esset.

relliquias, multum famulis pia iusta moratis,

si venias. (*Arg.* 1. 457 - 460)

si venias, isolated at the beginning of the next verse, increases the pathos, while the use of apostrophe is another of the devices Valerius uses to heighten the emotion of a passage. The use of apostrophe in this context was inherited on the whole from Vergil (*Aen.* 7. 733, 744). It represents, along with the increasingly emotive style, an attempt to increase the reader's involvement with the heroes. As the catalogue form had long lost any genealogical significance (none of the Latin catalogues devote much space to the details of a heroes' lineage unless it is important to characterisation or the epic's themes) some other mode of appeal was essential. For Vergil's pageant, with its few figures and substantial elaborations, this was a relatively easy task, but it would be more difficult where longer lists were involved.

7: Silius

Silius returns to a more conventional style, while at the same time he adapts the traditional material to suit a Roman context. Owing to the fact that the epic at least asserted that it told of historical events, he could not simply invent wholesale divine or even merely illustrious parentage as Vergil did for his figures but there was for him no tradition about his heroes' parents, upbringing or previous exploits. In addition to this, many of the figures are in fact fictional:[198] Silius included leaders whose names were part of Rome's cultural stock, and, as the remarks on Tullius' name demonstrate,

[198] McGuire (1995) 112 "Of the names in the catalogue Scaurus, Sulla, Tullius, Curio, Cethegus and Brutus have no connection with the second Punic War."

were potentially emotive. The parentage motif, therefore, is converted into remarks about ancestors and descendants.

Tullius aeratas raptabat in agmina turmas,
regia progenies et Tullo sanguis ab alto.
indole pro quanta iuvenis quantumque daturus
Ausoniae populis ventura in saecula civem!
ille, super Gangen, super exauditus et Indos,
implebit terras voce et furialia bella
fulmine compescet linguae nec deinde relinquet
par decus eloquio cuiquam sperare nepotum. (*Pun.* 8. 404 - 411)

Silius gives his fictional character prestigious links to his past and future, while connecting him to the literary concerns of his own time by invoking the topos of the inferiority of his age.[199]

Silius also employs devices developed in other catalogues, and the epic tradition more generally, to introduce his allusions to Roman history. Mucius Scaevola is introduced through his supposed descendant's shield device (384 - 389). The *ekphrasis* is prefaced by a remark on Silius' Scaevola's own worth:

ducit avis pollens nec dextra indignus avorum. (*Pun.* 8. 384)

Such a comment intensifies the dignity that the reference to Mucius gives him, combining the ideas of the prestige gained by a hero's ancestors and that gained by his personal prowess. A number of the figures in the catalogue are elaborated by their skills: only in the instance of Sulla, Galba and Tullius, in fact, does Silius not give some comment that effectively justifies the leader's presence in the catalogue on his own merits. He refers to Scaurus' future potential (370f.), Clausus is *non imitabilis*

[199] Cf. Hinds (1998) 91ff.

ausis (413), Curio is *pars quam magna belli* (426), Piso has intelligence in spite of his youth (464f.) and Cethegus's skill in horsemanship is displayed, while he is also described inspecting his men's weapons (852 - 587). Scipio and Brutus are each given approval that is made to appear far less a mater of convention and far more genuine by the fact that it is placed in the mouths of their contemporaries:

laetos rectoris formabat Scipio bello (*Pun.* 8. 546)

maxima tot populis rector fiducia Brutus (*Pun.* 8. 607)

The interaction of Cethegus, Scipio and Brutus with their troops is an innovation on Silius' part, one that adds to a sense of the reality of the figures which in part compensates for the scantiness of the detail provided about them. As there are no references to their parents or even to their own previous history, to some extent they seem to exist within the catalogue in a vacuum. The only characters that are given visual appeal are Piso and Scipio, for where Scaevola's shield and Cethegus' attire are mentioned, the emphasis is more upon their Roman elements than their colour or texture.

The visual impression made by Piso is, however, described, and Scipio is depicted in a range of heroic activities, rounded off by a mention of his flowing hair. In effect this separates the beautiful young warriors of Vergil's Latin Catalogue from their colourful surroundings and retains the link between youth and beauty as if it were an established *topos*. As the picture created in the descriptions of the leaders is one of patriotic idealisation, Silius could hardly describe anything less than perfection. Scipio may also have seemed especially worthy of attention as of all the leaders in the catalogue he is the only one at all prominent in the rest of the epic. Scaurus, Sulla, Clausus and Cethegus do not occur again, while none of the others features more than

two or three times. It is noteworthy that the consuls are not included in the catalogue in the way that Homer includes major figures with whom the audience is already acquainted, such as Agamemnon and Achilles. This omission helps to detach the catalogue from its surroundings and increase the impression that Silius is providing a portrait of Italy rather than a factual muster.

8: Statius

Statius' Argive Catalogue has far greater thematic integration with the rest of the epic than any other catalogue. There are parallels between the descriptions of some of the heroes and the scenes in which they are killed, the catalogue in places merges with the narrative, and certain of the similes used are part of image-chains that run throughout the poem.[200] Influenced by the tragic catalogues, far more use is made of *ekphraseis* and similes than in other epic catalogues: a result, too, of tragedies is the fact that, while they are certainly open to symbolic interpretation, the shield charges are emblematic, rather than depicting landscape and incidents from the heroes' lives as those in Valerius' catalogue did.

Each hero is elaborated by a vignette, and in these far more categories of description than usual are employed: Parthenopaeus, for instance, has included his age, his lack of skill, his personal appearance, his attitude, his equipment, and, through the arrival of his mother, his parentage (246 - 317). The appearance of Atalanta expands the parentage motif so that it passes beyond a normal catalogue entry and causes the passage to rejoin the rest of the epic. At the same time, it also inverts, through her reluctance, the *topos* elsewhere of a parent sending his or her son

[200] All this will be discussed in detail later.

to join an expedition. A lack of skill was something that had not appeared since Homer, so that here it has the force of contravening what would be expected. The contrast of a hero's usual skills and Parthenopaeus' lack of experience creates pathos rather than Homeric contempt: it is a sign of innocence rather than the usurping of prestige.

Adrastus' entry similarly contravenes the original *topoi*: while his prestige is asserted by the bull simile (69 - 73), he is not described in a way that asserts his power and authority.

rex tristis et aeger
pondere curarum propiorque abeuntibus annis
inter adhortantes vix sponte incedit Adrastus, (*Theb.* 4. 38 - 40)

While for Amphiaraus the traditional material about seers who go on expeditions is invoked, it is used as the introduction to an inset narrative about Harmonia's necklace.

iamque et fatidici mens expugnata fatiscit
auguris; ille quidem casus et dira videbat
signa, sed ipsa manu cunctanti iniecerat arma
Atropos obrueratque deum, nec coniugis absunt
insidiae, vetitoque domus iam fulgurat auro. (*Theb.* 4. 187 - 191)

The traditional material is still present, but the process by which the seer came to go with the expedition is described to a far greater extent. As there is far more space for expansion in a catalogue of only seven heroes, the level of detail can of course go far deeper and be employed far more to draw out personalities: it is however an oddity of this catalogue nonetheless that the character who gains the most attention in the first half of Amphiaraus' entry is not the seer but his wife and that of Polynices.

All the descriptions, in fact, represent the final stage in the move from displaying the prestige of heroes, which thus authenticates their presence in a catalogue, to using the catalogue to create personalities, humanising all the details, so that the descriptions are concerned with personality, good or bad.

The personal background in catalogues, therefore, contained a range of standard types of detail, from which a few were selected to elaborate each hero. The epicists usually sought to combine the provision of status for the characters with the arousal of the reader's feelings for them. The balance changed over time, but only in the broad outlines: each of the Silver poets had clear ideas about how they wanted the catalogue to present their heroes. Lucan removed the presence of individuals from the mass of troops; Valerius remained closest to Vergil, creating background along traditional lines, but appealing to the reader's emotions. Silius moved away from the inclusion of engaging but technically irrelevant features to concentrate almost solely upon Roman and martial elements. Statius, writing epic on the abuse of power, twisted the normal marks of prestige and other *topoi* to fit his picture of corruption.

B: The Poetic employment of the Personal background: Valerius' Catalogue of Argonauts and its use of Apollonius

Closer study of Valerius' Argonautic Catalogue demonstrates the humanisation of the traditional *topoi* and the Silver poet's response to the presence of existing treatments. Valerius had at least two predecessors - Pindar and Apollonius - when he came to compose his Argonautic Catalogue. Braswell[201] discusses the evidence for earlier treatments of the Argonautic myth: it appears to have been a fairly common subject, and so it is possible that the later versions were influenced by lost sources.[202] As the most famous, and thus the most obtainable prior treatment, Apollonius' *Argonautica* must have been Valerius' principle source, but the catalogue is mediated by Vergil's style,[203] and thus the tragedians' techniques, such as *ekphraseis*, which Vergil employed and Apollonius on the whole did not, are employed by Valerius. It has been pointed out that the memorialising function of epic catalogues is especially appropriate to a catalogue of Argonauts because of the many different versions of just which heroes took part.[204] The presentation of the group of heroes thus gains additional point, as it would be by no means certain for the reader whom would be included and which qualities would be important.

Although the two texts engage on occasion, as with their entries on Meleager, Valerius usually avoids clashes with Apollonius, describing different aspects of the heroes to those mentioned by his predecessor. He nonetheless frequently displays attitudes that diverge from those of Apollonius, and the different approach of later

[201] (1988) 7 - 19.
[202] Pheredyces' version almost certainly contained a catalogue: Braswell (1988) 18.
[203] Malamud & McGuire (1993) 192 "he stands in relation to Apollonius as Apollonius to the Homeric poems, but by consistently reading Apollonius through a Virgilian lens, he claims Virgil as a model as well."
[204] Hunter (1993) 127.

authors is evident throughout. The most obvious alteration Valerius makes is his presentation of the catalogue as the *Argo*'s seating plan, abandoning Apollonius' geographical arrangement, itself probably inspired by that if the Catalogue of Ships.[205] This method of presentation takes the catalogue far closer than normal to conventional *ekphrasis*, in that what is described purports to be a single detailed scene. While the extent of the detail about matters that could not be known simply by looking at the ship and its crew means that the passage diverges from even the freest *ekphrasis*, there is nonetheless a great deal of attention paid to things that could be seen. Such an emphasis is no doubt influenced by Vergil's Latin Catalogue, in which visual aspects are far more in evidence than in the earlier epic catalogues. This is especially in evidence for the first two (*Aen.* 7. 647 - 669)[206] and the last two contingents (783 - 817), but the centaur simile (674ff.) and the descriptions of equipment also seem to require visualisation of the scene.

1: Landscape

Valerius' landscape did not gain a great deal of attention when the gazettes were being considered because, as Argonautic catalogues deal with individuals and not troops, such lists of towns do not occur. In Apollonius' catalogue the references to landscape are on the whole Homeric, stock epithets elaborating towns, varied a little by the inclusion of towns' major landmarks such as mountains and rivers. There are, however, two more substantial vignettes, describing the lair of the Erymanthian boar (126 - 129) and the rape of Orythia (212 - 218). Apollonius differs from Homer in that

[205] Carspecken (1952) 45; Levin (1971) 69.

[206] E.g. *ipse inter primos praestanti corpore Turnus*
vertitur arma tenens et toto vertice supra est (783f.)

he shows his heroes in this landscape. As at the time of the catalogue the heroes are already travelling to Iolcos, this is achieved by including the scenery within the remarks upon their past: their birth and their previous exploits. Valerius' Argonautic Catalogue is similarly full of references to the landscape, but at the same time very few towns are listed and then elaborated in the normal fashion. He follows Apollonius in displaying his figures located in the landscape, but expands the range of ways in which the scenery is introduced. It occurs not only in connection with home-towns and the heroes' life there, but also with equipment and mythological anecdotes.

Valerius includes only two blocks of epithet-based descriptions, each concerned with three places.

qui tenet undisonam Psamathen semperque patentem
Taenaron Euphemus, mollique a litore Pellae
Deucalion certus iaculis (V.F. 1. 364 - 6)

Apollonius mentioned that Euphemus came from Taenarum, but did not elaborate this (179). Pindar[207] however did supply a description, not in the catalogue itself, but shortly before it:

εἰ γὰρ οἱ-
κοι νιν βάλε πὰρ χθόνιον
Ἅιδα στόμα, Ταίναρον εἰς ἱερὰν Εὔφαμος ἐλθών, (*Pyth.* 4. 43 - 4)

Taenarum was a well-known gateway to hell, and in Apollonius' catalogue Theseus is excused from the journey as he has been imprisoned in the underworld beneath. The place is often described in literature in terms of jaws.[208] Valerius, in applying the epithet *patentem*, 'yawning' has retained something of this image but as well as

[207] *Pyth* 4. 79.
[208] Cf. *Georg.* 4. 467; Sen. *Herc. Fur.* 663ff..

meaning 'standing open' when applied to openings, it can also mean 'not shut in or confined' when applied to places,[209] and in this meaning it is well suited to the place's relatively exposed position on a promontory, and complements *undisonam Psamathen*: Psamathen was on the opposite side of the same headland. *mollique a litore Pellae* would seem to contrast a calm beach with the exposed a wave-beaten coastline. While not employing the direct contrasts of Statius, Valerius has given revitalised purpose to the use of epithets and very brief descriptions to create what begins to turn from three isolated descriptions of places into a picture of a stretch of coast. The actual location of Pella has been debated: there is no such place in Greece itself. Apollonius' entry, with 'Asterion' for 'Deucalion' located the brothers in Pellene:

> Ἀστέριος δὲ καὶ Ἀμφίων Ὑπερασίου υἷες
> Πελλήνης ἀφ' ἵκανον Ἀχαιίδος, ἣν ποτε Πέλλης
> πατροπάτωρ ἐπόλισσεν ἐπ' ὀφρύσιν Αἰγιαλοῖο. (A.R. 1. 176 - 8)

The names here of the heroes' father and grandfather may be read as an etymological explanation of two place names in the Catalogue of Ships, Hyperesie and Pellene (*Il.* 2. 573 - 4).[210] Apollonius' Pellene, however, which lies ten miles from the coast, on a mountain,[211] and thus cannot be the town described by Valerius. Either Αἰγιαλοῖο was mistranslated as "coast", or Valerius is challenging Apollonius' in his location of the brothers as well as in their names, and thinking of another town, perhaps τὰ Πέλλανα mentioned by Strabo (8. 4. 5; 8. 7. 5) on the Messenian coast, where the landscape is suitable.[212] Such a deliberate alteration of Apollonius list of Argonauts,

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[209] *OLD* s.v. *pateo.*
[210] Clauss (1993) 27n.
[211] Kleywegt *Mnem.* (1988) 359 - 360.
[212] In addition Taenarum was on the headland at the east side of the Messenian bay, grouping all three in the same area.

in company with decisions such as that to concentrate upon Euphemus' home territory rather than his parentage, would assert Valerius' independence of the previous treatments.

In Valerius' second triad of epithets and towns the descriptions are more conventional:

Nelidesque Periclymenus, quem parva Methone
felixque Elis equis et fluctibus obvius Aulon
caestibus adversos viderunt frangere vultus. (V.F. 1. 388 - 390)

The places are at opposite ends of the West coast of the Peloponnese and are probably chosen to delineate the limits of Neleus' territory, but possibly also allude to the various sites contending to be Nestor's Pylos. *fluctibus obvius Aulon,* however, does attract some attention, as another potentially polyvalent description: either 'coming to meet with the waves' or 'lying exposed to the waves' or, if a river valley is meant, perhaps both.[213]

In addition to these epithet-and-town descriptions Valerius includes two more substantial vignettes. In each case the scenery is notable for idyllic charm, suitable to a world at the beginning of the heroic age, and the emphasis is on the figures within the landscape. The first of Valerius' more expanded passages concentrates in fact not directly upon the landscape, but upon its inhabitants:

proximus hinc Butes Actaeis dives ab oris;
innumeras nam claudit apes longaque superbus
fuscat nube diem, dum plenas nectare cellas
pandit et in dulcem reges dimittit Hymetton. (V.F. 1. 394 - 397)

[213] The identity of the place is again disputed (Langen (1896) 73): it is the name of a town in Elis in Pliny (4. 14), but the name of a river valley in Strabo (8. 3. 25), which would make better sense here.

The scenery is implicit throughout, as the almost hyperbolic description of Butes' bees clouding the sky would almost certainly remind the reader of the idyllic descriptions of the landscapes suitable for bees[214] within the *Fourth Georgic*: *reges* in particular might recall Vergil's descriptions of bees' society.[215] The bees themselves appear to be a Valerian invention: Apollonius mentions Butes with almost no elaboration (95). The vignette is unexpected in an epic catalogue and thus provides rather picturesque variety; as it comes after Philoctetes' entry, which looks forward to events in the rest of the poem and later in the hero's life, the description represents a step back into tranquillity from awareness of wars to come.

In a similar fashion, the vignette of Apollo and Artemis reinforces the impression of a pastoral background, while providing some pretty and gratuitous pathos in contrast to the more poignant verses that precede it, predicting and mourning Iphis' death[216]

> *te quoque dant campi tanto pastore Pheraei*
>
> *felices, Admete; tuis nam pendit in arvis*
>
> ***Delius**, ingrato Steropen quod fuderat arcu.*
>
> ***a quotiens** famulo notis **soror** obvia silvis*
>
> *flevit, ubi Ossaeae captaret frigora quercus*
>
> *perderet et pingui miseros Boebeide **crines!*** (V.F. 1. 444 - 449)

It appears to have been inspired by a vignette in Tibullus,[217] perhaps brought to mind by the fact that there are lines complaining of the evils of seafaring, a theme of the *Argonautica*, in the same poem[218]

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[214] *Georg.* 4. 28; 158, 181.
[215] E.g. 4. 210 - 218. Memory of *Georgics 4* would also bring Orpheus to mind: Readers would be anticipating mention of him at some point in the catalogue.
[216] (441 - 443).
[217] Langen (1896) 80.
[218] *ferrea non venerem sed praedam saecula laudant:*

***o quotiens** illo vitulum gestante per agros*

*dicitur occurrens erubuisse **soror***

. . .

saepe horrere sacros doluit Latona capillos,

quos admirata est ipsa noverca prius.

*quisquis inornatumque caput **crines**que solutos*

aspiceret, Phoebi quaereret ille comam.

***Delos** ubi nunc, Phoebe, tua est, ubi Delphica Pytho?* (Tib. 2. 3. 17f.; 23 - 27)

In Tibullus' rendition Apollo is a slave out of love, a Hellenistic version[219] not followed by Valerius. Artemis is kept with the exclamation *a/o quotiens* and the idea of their meeting is also retained *occurrens / obvia*, although the location is changed from the fields to the woods. Latona is removed and her emotion transferred to Artemis, compressing the picture while retaining its essential features. Similarly, there is less focus on Apollo's hair, but nonetheless a greater reason for the dismay about it, as there is a suggestion that it had been washed in muddy water.[220] Tibullus includes less of a sense of place than Valerius, which makes it easier for the later author to include the chilly woods around Mount Ossa and the lake Boebe. Apollonius had included some suggestion of the landscape in his entry for Admetus:

οὐδὲ Φεραῖς Ἄδμητος ἐυρρήεσσιν ἀνάσσων

μίμνεν ὑπὸ σκοπιὴν ὄρεος Χαλκωδονίοιο· (A.R. 1. 49 - 50)

Homer located Admetus' son Eumelus "by Lake Boibe" (*Il.* 2. 711) and in general he is referred to as inhabiting Pherae.[221] While neither mountain is especially close to the

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. . .

praeda vago iussit geminare pericula ponto,

bellica cum dubiis rostra dedit ratibus. (Tib. 2. 3. 35; 39f.)

[219] Bright (1978) 195.

[220] Langen (1896) 80.

[221] E.g. Eurip. *Alcest.* 476; Ov. *Ars.* 2. 239.

city, Apollonius' Chalcodon is rather nearer than Valerius' Ossa: by choosing the more remoter, and also more prominent landmark, Valerius is marking out the extent of Admetus' realm.

Neither Butes nor Admetus appears again in Valerius' *Argonautica*; in Apollonius Butes' sole other appearance is his enticement by the sirens (A.R. 4. 914) and Admetus does not appear outside the catalogue. Both are nonetheless made vehicles for passages that add considerably to the interest and variety of the catalogue. Both elaborations stress their wide dominion and fortunate way of life, so that, like the obscure figures in the Catalogue of Ships who were elaborated by prestigious lineages, their status is upheld. In part this even explains why they in particular should have such appealing vignettes in their entries: they will not have the chance to be distinguished elsewhere, but moreover as their presentation will not affect or be affected by that elsewhere in the epic, the author is free to use the opportunity for ornament.

Places are also described within entries that are principally concerned with other features: family background and equipment. The confluence of two rivers is described as the setting of Asterion's birth:

> *celer Asterion, quem matre cadentem*
> *Piresius gemino fovit pater amne Cometes,*
> *segnior Apidani vires ubi sentit Enipeus.* (V.F. 1. 354 - 6)

The enclosure of *Apidani vires* by *Enipeus* and its adjective perhaps suggests the mingling of the waters, and the idea of a sluggish river feeling the greater force of another invites the reader to imagine the turbulent result. This entry is one of the few places at which Valerius chooses to describe the same feature as Apollonius, and

comparison of the descriptions demonstrates the preference in Silver Latin epic for striking phrases above anything approaching conventionality.

ἦλυθε δ' Ἀστερίων αὐτοσχεδόν, ὃν ῥα Κομήτης
γείνατο, δινήεντος ἐφ' ὕδασιν Ἀπιδανοῖο
Πειρεασιὰς ὄρεος Φυλληίου ἀγχόθι ναίων,
ἔνθα μέν Ἀπιδανός τε μέγας καὶ δῖος Ἐνιπεύς
ἄμφω συμπορέονται, ἀπόπροθεν εἰς ἓν ἰόντες. (A.R. 1. 35 - 9)

Lucan too had described this confluence in his description of the tributaries of the Peneus.

it gurgite rapto
Apidanus numquamque celer, nisi mixtus, Enipeus. (*B.C.* 6. 372 - 3)

This description retains the eddies - *gurgite* -from Apollonius, but seeks greater impact by creating an explicit contrast between the two rivers: the proper nouns are placed at opposite ends of the verse, and *numquamque celer* is designed to contrast *gurgite rapto*. The actual confluence is left undescribed, but that it will occur is implied by *nisi mixtus*. Valerius evidently chose to return to Apollonius' placing of the proper nouns, and to make implicit the eddies rather than the confluence itself.

One function of the inclusion of the scenery is to place the heroes within a landscape that the reader could recognise, either from their own experience or from accepted literary tradition. It is not allowed to predominate, but usually serves as a background for other themes. The focus of Valerius' Asterion entry, for instance, is upon the birth and the parents.

2: Family

Both poets pay attention to the heroes' parents, although Valerius tends to avoid doing this for a character already elaborated in such a way by his source. His mention of Ancaeus, for instance, is so brief as to only be comprehensible if his predecessor's version is kept in mind, and perhaps the need for the reader to remember Apollonius is intended to make him recall his emotional detail too.

et Amphidamas (at frater lenior annis

maluit Ancaeo vellus contingere Phrixi) (V.F. 1. 376f.)

Apollonius had explained in detail how Lycurgus had to stay to look after his elderly father but sent his son in his stead, and how the young man's grandfather hid his weapons in an attempt to prevent his departure. Valerius follows this family with a moving little comment about Eurytion, which while it describes his physical appearance, a common category of detail, manages to suggest the hero's youth and the way in which his father will await his return. In Apollonius Eurytion was elaborated by an unemotional mention of his father designed to clarify his identity (71 - 4).

tectus et Eurytion servato colla capillo,

quem pater Aonias reducem tondebit ad aras. (V.F. 1. 378f.)

In the case of Deucalion and Amphion (365 - 368) Valerius has, rather than merely looking at a different feature to Apollonius, adjusted the name of one brother, Deucalion (Asterios in A.R. 1. 176) and their home. The new name is certainly appropriate to a seafaring context. The naming of Amphion's mother may well be intended as clarification, informing the reader that the Argonaut in question is a different character to the lyre-playing son of Dirce of the same name and thus

fulfilling one of the original roles of a catalogue, that of identifying the characters. The emphasis of the piece, however, is more on their relationship with their mother and the fact that they are twins, than on who they are.

Deucalion certus iaculis et comminus ense
nobilis Amphion, pariter quos edidit Hypso
nec potuit similes voluitve ediscere vultus. (V.F. 1. 366 - 8)

They are distinguished by their different skills in fighting, but by no other feature. Twins are a fairly common feature in ancient literature, often appearing in tales of divine parentage,[222] and foundation legends[223] and are an expression of fertility, to be greeted with pleasure.[224] They also however feature to enhance the pathos of deaths in battle scenes,[225] due to the waste or reversal of their parents good fortune in their birth: Vergil describes a pair of Italian twins killed on such an occasion by Pallas, and describes how their parents had difficulty telling them apart.[226]

vos etiam, gemini, Rutulis cecidistis in arvis,
Daucia, Lauride Thymberque, simillima proles,
indiscreta suis gratusque parentibus error. (*Aen.* 10. 390)

Valerius' version attempts to recreate the charm of this, omitting the companions (*suis*) and trying to give a picture of the process of *gratus . . . error* by showing Hypso concentrating upon their faces - *vultus*.

[222] E.g. Zetes and Calais, Castor and Pollux and also Pelias and Neleus.
[223] Warde Fowler (1918) 52 - 4; Hardie (1993) 10 discusses the political angle that can be involved.
[224] Cf. Tac. *Ann.* 2. 84.
[225] Homer uses pairs of brothers to the same effect; e.g. *Il.* 5. 144, 152; 11. 329ff. Fenik (1968) 11has a list of instances.
[226] Summers (1920) 40f. describes the different Silver Latin replicas of this scene.

3: Equipment

Equipment may simply be mentioned as an indication of a character's prowess in a particular area, as with Deucalion and Amphion.

Deucalion certus iaculis et comminus ense

nobilis Amphion (V.F. 1. 366f.)

Weapons, however, had further uses and connotations: in Herodotus and Vergil they are used ethnographically, but Vergil also, following the tragedians, used them decoratively, for symbolism, but also for colour, calling the reader's attention to various intricacies of detail and thus drawing them into closer engagement with what is described. While it is not part of a catalogue, the *ekphrasis* of the shield of Aeneas (*Aen.* 8. 626 - 728) is so memorable that all future descriptions of shields must have seemed to require, albeit on a smaller scale, similar care in description.

Valerius' description of Canthus' shield mentions three landmarks: the Euripus, Chalcis and Geraestus, so that the design is utilised to locate Canthus' home in southern Euboea. His father, Abas, is also introduced in connection with the shield, giving the impression of ancestral prominence,[227] especially as Abas, while a rather shadowy character was a founder figure connected with the Euboea.[228] The *ekphrasis* demonstrates the same use of concision and careful double meanings as Valerius' triads of towns, but it is set among other details that draw attention to its more generalised visual impact, and also to its bearer's future:

insurgit transtris et remo Nerea versat

Canthus, in Aeaeo volvet quem barbara cuspis

[227] Cf. the authority attributed (perhaps ironically, in view of what happens next) to Agamemnon in citing the previous owners of his sceptre (*Il.* 2. 100 - 108).
[228] Cf. *Il.* 2. 536.

pulvere; at interea clari decus adiacet orbis,

quem genitor gestabat Abas; ***secat aurea fluctu***

tegmina Chalcidicas fugiens Euripus harenas,

celsaque semiferum contorquens frena luporum

surgis ab ostrifero medius, Neputune, Geraesto. (V.F. 1. 450 - 456)

Secat can be used of a river running across an area,[229] but in conjunction with *fugiens* it is given extra pictorial purpose, creating an image of the water cutting a channel through the sands to escape. Kleywegt[230] suggested that phrases in Vergil's shield *ekphrasis* were the inspiration for Valerius' language here:

aequora verrebant caudis aestumque ***secabant*** . . .

fervere Leucaten ***auroque effulgere fluctus.*** (*Aen.* 8. 674, 677)

Vergil used the combination of the imperfect verbs, suggesting the lifelike depictions of ongoing motion, and the mentions of the metal on the shield, calling attention to the fact that it was 'only a picture' to express the excellence of Vulcan's work. Valerius, however, uses the mention of gold for a different purpose, to express the richness of the artefact, but also to suggest the colour of the 'Chalcidican sands.' The engagement of his vocabulary with that of Vergil could perhaps deliberately invite comparison and contrast of the two, perhaps to allude to the claim that the invention of seafaring brought about shipwrecks and naval battles,[231] such as that described by Vergil, or perhaps, contrastingly, as a deliberate rejection of complex emblematic devices in favour of depictions of a peaceful worlds, like a tiny sample of a scene from Achilles' shield. But it also has the function of suggesting the impressiveness of Canthus' shield

[229] And in fact Vergil uses it in this sense in his catalogue:
quosque secans infaustum interluit Allia nomen. (*Aen.* 7. 717)
[230] (1988) 363.
[231] This element will be returned to later.

by referring to the more famous *ekphrasis*. The apostrophe to Neptune, who is retained till last for impact, and envisaged as the centrepiece (*medius*) of the design, has a similar effect in raising the stylistic tone of the passage.

The shield is therefore built up as a magnificent artefact, and the prestige its possession would bestow is suggested by *clari decus*. It is thus a suitable distinguishing feature for a catalogue hero. The verses that precede the *ekphrasis*, however, give it far greater point, taking the description beyond a merely decorative function. The reader already knows from Apollonius' account that Canthus was to die in the course of the expedition: this was something he had turned to philosophical effect in his catalogue (78 - 85). Valerius' epic has a different version of his death, and this divergence is foreshadowed by the catalogue entry, which specifies that he will die *in Aeaeo . . . pulvere*, rather than in Libya. The mention of dust and a spear also suggest a death in battle, differing from Apollonius' Canthus' death at the hands of a shepherd (4. 1485ff.). Rather than employing the rather philosophical approach of his source, Valerius focuses far more closely on the actual moment of Canthus' death, and expresses its pathos by the contrast of the dust and the shining shield.[232]

Consciousness of the visual impact of the equipment is present elsewhere in the catalogue, and this awareness itself requires the reader to engage with the catalogue as a spectacle rather a merely informative list. The original interest of the catalogue has thus been changed from its factual contents to its presentation. The part of Vergil's Latin Catalogue that makes the greatest use of visual aspects is the vignette of Camilla (*Aen.* 7. 803 - 817), which concentrates on her purple cloak and gold clasp, but more importantly describes the population of Latium coming out to see her:

[232] Conversely, where Apollonius does seek to create pathos, Valerius does not follow him. This creates variety for the reader - Valerius' catalogue does not become a mere rephrasing of its predecessor.

illam omnis tectis agrisque effusa iuventus

turbaque miratur matrum et prospectat euntem. (*Aen.* 7. 812f.)

The inclusion of spectators within the catalogue reinforces the idea that the entire muster is to be viewed by the reader as a spectacle.[233] Valerius following this precedent ends his catalogue with a striking figure:

Ecce per obliqui rapidum compendia montis

ductor ovans laetusque dolis agnoscit Acastum

horrentem in iaculis et parmae luce coruscum. (V.F. 1. 484 - 6)

Acastus is introduced by what amounts to a shout of recognition - *Ecce* - a command to both the reader and the crew. His equipment is mentioned for the effect it has on what is to be seen: the spear-heads create an impression of bristles, and the light flashes off his shield. Noticeably, what the reader is called upon to envisage only comes into view in the last word of the second verse, after his gaze has covered the paths and Jason's reaction.

The description of Castor and Pollux has a strong emphasis upon visual impact:

taurea vulnifico portat caelataque plumbo

terga Lacon, saltem in vacuos ut brachia ventos

spargat et Oebalium Pagaseia puppis alumnum

spectet securo celebrantem litora ludo;

oraque Thessalico melior contundere freno

vectorem pavidae Castor dum quaereret Helles,

passus Amyclaea pinguescere Cyllaron herba.

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[233] Brotherton (1931) 196; Heinze trans. Harvey & Robertson (1993) 314. Cf. the impact of mentioning within an epic the spectator of an *ekphrasis*: Leach (1988) 312ff.; Putnam (1998) 2f.

illis Taenario pariter tremit ignea fuco
purpura, quod gemina mater spectabile tela
duxit opus; bis Taygeton silvasque comantes
struxerat, Eurotan molli bis ***fuderat*** *auro;*
quemque suus sonipes niveo de stamine portat
et volat amborum patrius de pectore cycnus. (V.F. 1. 420 - 432)

The fact that Pollux is displayed in an unusual action - the other Argonauts are busy rowing - attracts attention, but the presence of spectators, as in the *Aeneid*, calls on the reader to envisage the scene. Behind the description are basic catalogue *topoi*: the heroes' special skills (boxing), horses, home-towns (represented by *Lacon, Amyclaea, Taygeton, Eurotan*), personal appearance and ancestry (*Oebalium, patrius . . . cycnus*). All, however, are merged into a vignette, and the especial relevance of the areas that receive the most attention - Pollux' boxing and Castor's horse - to the heroes, coupled with the unusual amount of detail makes the passage appear anything but standard.

The scenery of their home-towns and their parentage are alluded to through the medium of the designs on their cloaks. As in the *ekphrasis* of Canthus' shield, there is a reminiscence of Vergil's Latin Catalogue, and this time of an *ekphrasis* there:

caelataque amnem ***fundens*** *pater Inachus urna.* (*Aen.* 7. 792)[234]

Valerius does not attempt to replicate Vergil's allegorical use of the image, but concentrates upon the pictorial effect, and plays with the meanings of *fundo*; 'send forth in a stream', appropriate both to the natural action of the river and to the visual effect of Leda's well-designed embroidery. The picture of the landscape is the most complete in the catalogue: it includes and elaborates the two main physical landmarks - the river and the mountain - while also it represents the heroes who inhabit it. The

[234] Turnus' equipment. See Small (1959) and Gale (1997) for its symbolism.

phrasing *Taygeton silvasque comantes* draws attention to the key features of the scene, while *struxerat* has overtones of the building of mountains in creation stories, as well as being expressive of the effect of Leda's embroidery.[235] Similarly, the adjective attached to *auro*, *molli*, transfers its meaning to *Eurotan* both by their juxtaposition and by Leda's intent in the design: she made the river appear gentle by creating a soft effect in the needle work. This effect is repeated, with a slightly different aspect added in:

quemque suus sonipes niveo de stamine portat.

The horses appear to carry their riders out of the embroidery (*de stamine*) as a result of their vivid depiction.[236] Placing figures in the landscape enlivens it, but placing the heroes themselves within the designs of their own cloaks repeats the doubling effect already achieved by the fact that the twins are identically dressed. In the *Thebaid* Statius, drawing upon this passage, represents Theseus bearing a shield depicting himself (12. 665 - 671), and the reaction of observers in that instance shows the design to be emblematic of his prowess in the past and present.[237] In the case of the Dioscuri, the cloaks in depicting their departure from home mirror their situation at the time of the catalogue, when the ship is about to sail.

In contrast to this complexity, the shield of Phalerus bears a simple device, a single, dramatic moment in his past designed to appeal through engagement with his father's emotions.

insequeris casusque tuos expressa, Phalere,

arma geris; patula nam lapsus ab arbore parvum

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[235] Cf. Langen (1896) 77.

[236] Langen (1896) 78.

[237] *terror habet populos, cum saeptus imagine torva*
ingreditur pugnas: bis Thesea bisque cruentas
caede videre manus; (*Theb.* 12. 672 - 674)

ter quarter ardenti tergo circumvenit anguis,

stat procul intendens dubium pater anxius arcum. (V.F. 1. 398 - 401)

The father's concern is reinforced by its attribution to his bow as well as himself, while *parvum*, increasing the idea of Phalerus' infant helplessness, adds an extra touch of pathos. The incident is an invention, as Phalerus is a virtual nonentity,[238] probably invented by Apollonius as an eponymous founder for Phalerum. Apollonius expressed the relationship between father and son in a totally different way, laying emphasis upon the father as an unselfish old man letting Phalerus go on the expedition at risk of his own bereavement:

Ἄλκων μιν προέηκε ἑός· οὐ μὲν ἔτ' ἄλλους

γήραος υἷας ἔχεν βιότοιό τε κηδεμονῆας,

ἀλλὰ ἑ τηλύγετόν περ ὁμῶς καὶ μοῦνον ἐόντα

πέμπεν, ἵνα θρασέεσθαι μεταπρέποι ἡρώεσσι. (A.R. 1. 97 - 100)

Comparison of the passages demonstrates two points already touched upon: Valerius' avoidance of competition with Apollonius, and the increasing move within catalogue entries from tokens of prestige to emotional appeal. Both passages begin with the fact that Alcon cared about Phalerus. Apollonius' version combined ideas of prestige with this - ἵνα θρασέεσθαι μεταπρέποι ἡρώεσσι - and while this is not in itself a mark of status such as commemoration of parentage originally was, it retains and brings such an idea to the reader's attention. Valerius could not have added to Apollonius' version as it stood without engaging in some attempt to outdo him in emotivity, thus falling into a kind of competitive sentimentality. He chooses rather to create a wholly new picture, combining the standard topics of childhood and

[238] He appears only twice elsewhere in the epic (4. 654, 6. 217), and only very briefly on each of those occasions.

equipment into a new and interesting little vignette. The idea of prestige has almost totally disappeared, and the shield design becomes if anything more of a distinguishing characteristic than some more famous feature, because it is so closely bound up with Phalerus' background.

Descriptions of equipment may also be bound up with the heroes' future: implements of war look forward in general to further battles, as happened in Canthus' case, and allusions to events later in the epic are a standard catalogue feature. In this catalogue they are also used to allude to the Trojan War, which overshadows much of the piece. Many of the heroes are more famous for their sons than for being Argonauts, and their names alone call the Trojan War to mind.

> *tu quoque Phrixeos remo, Poeantie, Colchos*
> *bis Lemnon visure petis, nunc cuspide patris*
> *inclitus, Herculeas olim moture sagittas.* (V.F. 1. 391 - 393)

Philoctetes does not appear in Apollonius' catalogue and in fact he is perhaps anachronistic here: by rights he belongs to the next generation.[239] This distortion, however, allows for the prediction of a whole range of events integrated in the experiences of one man, beginning with the Argonauts' stay on Lemnos, and looking forward to the fall of Troy, which required Hercules' bow to be possible. The change in weapons, coupled with the contrast *nunc . . . olim*, emphasises the passage of time.

4: The Future

Valerius, as it was noted earlier, replaces the more normal motif of parent's exploits with comments on the heroes' children's deeds. In Apollonius awareness of the Trojan

[239] Apollodorus includes his father Poeas as one of the Argonauts. (1. 9. 16).

War was implicit only. The only engagement with the *Iliad* that can readily be traced is the description of Oileus, which has been claimed to resemble that of his son.[240]

πλείστους δ' Αἴας εἷλεν, Ὀιλῆος ταχὺς υἱός·
οὐ γάρ οἵ τις ὁμοῖος ἐπισπεσέσθαι ποσὶν ἦεν
ἀνδρῶν τρεσσάντων, ὅτε τε Ζεὺς ἐν φόβον ὄρσῃ. (*Il.* 14. 520 -2)

Ὀιλεύς,
ἔξοχος ἠνορέην καὶ ἐπαΐξαι μετόπισθεν
εὖ δεδαὼς δῄοισιν, ὅτε κλίνειε φάλαγγας. (A.R. 1. 74 - 6)

The reference is rather oblique and assumes the reader's familiarity with Aias' characteristics in the *Iliad*.[241] Valerius' too assumes knowledge of the relevant mythology on the part of the reader, but chooses nonetheless to include references to it. As a result the temporal scope of the catalogue is broadened, in a manner that reflects that of the epic.[242] The voyage of the *Argo* is presented by Valerius, as in other authors, as a landmark in the sequence of decline plotted by the myth of ages[243] and moreover the beginning of the process that will lead to the Trojan War:

via facta per undas
perque hiemes, Bellona, tibi. nec vellera tantum
indignanda manent propiorque ex virgine rapta
ille dolor, sed (nulla magis sententia menti

[240] Barnes (1981) 365; Hershkowitz (1998) 4.
[241] Levin (1971) 31 claims that the absence of explicit allusions to the Trojan War is a deliberate refusal to state what the reader should already know: "Yet the Catalogue looks not only back to earlier generations, but ahead to the next as well. Named as Argonauts are the fathers of many a participant in Agamemnon's expedition against Troy. Since these relationships have already been made explicit for the most part in the *Iliad*, there is no need for Apollonius to reiterate that Iphitus II . . . is also himself a parent of Schedius and Epistrophus . . . The poet can assume that his readers have already examined *Iliad* B 517 - 526."
[242] Cf. Herskowitz (1998) 43.
[243] Cf. Davis (1990) 47, discussing the prologue and its inter-textual relations, and the theme of the *Argo* as the "primal fault."

fixa meae) veniet Phrygia iam pastor ab Ida,

qui gemitus irasque pares et mutua Grais

dona ferat. quae classe dehinc effusa procorum

bella! quot ad Troiam flentes hiberna Mycenas!

quot proceres natosque deum, quae robora cernes

oppetere et magnis Asiam concedere fatis! (V.F. 1. 545 - 554)[244]

The focus upon the Trojan War thus reveals one result of the voyage, the consequences for their children. The focus of the relevant entries is nonetheless upon pathos and emotional involvement rather than polemic, or, as in Apollonius, scholarship.

In Apollonius' catalogue Menoetius and Peleus did not appear together,[245] and they were elaborated by references to their past, connected to the Trojan War only by virtue of their names. As Menoetius came from Opus, moreover, and was sent by his father, the implication is that he is a younger man than Valerius' character. Valerius' Menoetius is already in Thessaly at the opening of the epic, and thus is old enough to have a son who has killed one of his playmates, causing their exile form Opus.[246] The attention in this version is upon Achilles and Patroclus, and the description of the start of their military training brings the Trojan War to the foreground:

nec Peleus fretus soceris et coniuge diva

defuit, ac prora splendet tua cuspis ab alta,

Aeacide; tantum haec aliis excelsior hastis

quantum Peliacas in vertice vicerat ornos.

---

[244] This recalls Herodotus (1. 1 - 4), in which Medea's departure from Colchis is part of a process leading to not only the Trojan War but also eventually the Persian Wars. In Jupiter's speech about changing the site of his kingdom (*Arg.* 1. 558 - 560) Valerius the implies that the process will have still further-reaching implications.

[245] Menoitius *Arg.* 1. 69; Peleus *Arg.* 1. 90ff.

[246] Cf. *Il.* 23. 85ff.

linquit et Actorides natum Chironis in antro,

ut socius caro pariter meditetur Achilli

fila lyrae pariterque leves puer incitet hastas

discat eques placidi conscendere terga magistri. (V.F. 1. 404 - 410)

The *leves . . . hastas* contrast with Peleus' great spear, and yet at the same time remind the reader of what is to come. The attention paid to Peleus' weapon, moreover, which is given an expanded description typical of catalogue mentions of equipment, looks forward to its role in the *Iliad* as a spear that only Achilles could use.[247] The verses describing it, coupled with the reference to Thetis, serve to recall the opening of Catullus' epyllion,[248] a poem that in addition to telling of the *Argo*'s voyage and the later degeneration, also included a considerable prophecy concerning Achilles' role in the Trojan War.

Valerius' reference to Nestor is simple, but also vivid and expressive of the size of the Greek fleet, perhaps even validating the frequent reference to the Trojan War by stating the magnitude of the event. The fact that ships (rather, for instance, than a camp) are mentioned, along with a number, although vague, of commanders, serves to recall the Catalogue of Ships itself and thus to place this muster of Argonauts as a precursor to Homer's catalogue.

te quoque Thessalicae, Nestor, rapit in freta puppis

fama, Mycenaeis olim qui candida velis

aequora et instantes mirabere mille magistros (V.F. 1. 380 - 2)

The other references to the Trojan War refer to sailing:

et face saeva

[247] *Il.* 16. 140; 19. 387; 21. 174. C.f. Barnes (1981) 365.
[248] 64. 1 *Peliaco quondam prognatur vertice pinus*

in tua mox Danaos acturus saxa, Caphereu,

Nauplius, et tortum non a Iove fulmen Oileus

qui gemet, Euboicas nato stridente per undas, (V.F. 1. 370 - 373)

In his mention of Nauplius, Apollonius made no mention of his destruction of the Greek fleet. In both instances here Valerius has chosen the most famous fact about Nauplius and Aias, true to the catalogue tradition of inserting material that would make identification easiest.[249] In neither case was the incident the fault primarily of seafaring, but nonetheless both led to substantial shipwrecks. The catalogue thus includes examples of what Neptune will foretell:

"miseris tu gentibus, Argo,

fata paras, nec iam merito tibi, Tiphy, quietum

ulla pares volet Elysium manesque piorum." (V.F. 1. 648 - 650)

The reader knows that this particular curse has already been fulfilled: complaints against seafaring and its inventor were a common literary *topos*.[250]

More conventionally, the future within the Argonautic myth is also remarked upon. Canthus' entry has already been discussed, and Iphis, Polyphemus, and Idmon are all elaborated by predictions of their future; unusually, no such comment is attached to Mopsus, something that conflicts with Apollonius. Iphis is Valerius' own invention: the only other time he appears in the epic is when Jason complains to Medea of his death (V.F. 7. 423). The reference to his death inserts further pathos into the catalogue through the personification of the ship and her grief. It also introduces to the reader the idea that there would be battles in the epic involving Eastern races, the

[249] The description of Oileus' death draws on Homer (*Od.* 4. 499ff.) and Vergil (*Aen.* 1. 41ff.): Kleywegt (1984) 361.
[250] Cf. Prop. 17. 13ff., Hor. *Odes* 1. 3. 9ff. Ov. *Am.* 2. 11. 1; Nisbet & Hubbard (1975) 49.

author's own innovation, Canthus' entry repeats this foreshadowing shortly afterwards.

sed non, Iphi, tuis Argo reditura lacertis

heu cinerem Scythia te maesta relinquet harena

cessantemque tuo lugebit in ordine remum. (V.F. 1. 441 - 3)

Polyphemus' entry is also the hero's only appearance in the epic (457 - 460) and it is left ambiguous whether Valerius is referring to Apollonius' version, in which Polyphemus was left behind along with Hercules and made his way home late, only after founding a city, or to some different account, in which Polyphemus does not leave the ship, but the voyage is long enough for his father to die and be cremated while he is away.[251] In Apollonius' version Polyphemus is an old man (A.R. 1. 40 - 44) which Valerius' hero does not appear to be. The purpose of the remark is above all to express the emotion aroused by the ship dividing son from father.

Valerius' comment on Idmon's death is both brief and lacking in pathos, perhaps because he had to some extent been anticipated by his precursor, and wished to avoid overlap.

hinc quoque missus adest quamvis arcentibus Idmon

alitibus, sed turpe viro timuisse futura (V.F. 1. 360f.)

The emphasis here is slightly different to that in Apollonius' similar entry, presenting a more abstract version of morality, less concerned with individual prestige.

Ἴδμων δ' ὑστάτιος μετεκίαθεν ὅσσοι ἔναιον

Ἄργος, ἐπεὶ δεδαὼς τὸν ἑὸν μόρον οἰωνοῖσιν

ἤιε, μή οἱ δῆμος ἐυκλείης ἀγάσαιτο· (A.R. 1. 139 - 141)

[251] Cf. Langen (1896) 81.

As Idmon's death is the first to be mentioned in the catalogue, the comment could be programmatic, proclaiming which of the moral / heroic codes will be followed in the epic. It possibly also serves as a precursor of the values and attitudes underlying the account of the suicide of Aeson and Alcimede (784 - 851).[252]

Men going on expeditions knowing that they were fated to die were a traditional epic feature, from Achilles[253] onwards. In the Trojan Catalogue, the two sons of Merops go to war although their soothsayer father forbids it, and, as the converse of the theme, Ennomos' augury does not ward off his death. Vergil, although he has no seer in his catalogue, strikes a similar note when he says that Umbro's skill with snakes couldn't save him from a spear wound. In Apollonius' catalogue, Mopsus as well Idmon as has his future death mentioned. Valerius breaks with this in failing to describe Mopsus' death, something that must in the context surprise the reader. Uncertainty about whether his epic is almost complete, or whether further books were planned, makes the intention here hard to gauge. At the end of the text as we have it, Mopsus is certainly still alive and if Valerius planned him to survive the entire epic the catalogue entry foreshadows this in its failure to refer to the theme:

> *hic vates Phoebique fides non vana parentis,*
> *Mopsus, puniceo cui circumfusa cothurno*
> *palla imos ferit alba pedes vittataque fronte*
> *cassis et in summo laurus Peneia cono.* (V.F. 1. 383 - 6)

[252] Cf. McGuire (1990) 25ff.
[253] *Il.* 9. 410ff.

5: Divine Parentage & Heroic Skills

Both Mopsus' appearance and his skill are used to authenticate his claim to divine parentage, something left ambiguous in Pindar (*Pyth* 4. 191) and Apollonius (1. 65). Divine parentage was the main feature of Pindar's catalogue, clearly included to give the heroes prestige. In Apollonius' the theme is turned to a variety of effects: with Orpheus and the Boreads, who flank the catalogue (23ff.; 211), it is expanded into mythological anecdotes. For Phleias (115ff.) and Augeias (172f.) it is made a sign of prestige, linked to affluence, while for Erginus and Ancaeus skill in seamanship is linked to the fact that Poseidon is their father (185ff.), and Palaemonius' lameness is connected to that of his father Hephaestus (202ff.). The theme is also used to characterise Eurytus and Echion - they are said to have inherited Hermes' cunning (51ff.). Valerius retains the link between Erginus' seamanship and Poseidon (415ff.), while Phleias' appearance is linked to that of his father Bacchus (411ff.) in the way that Palaemonius' was to Hephaestus. Echion (his brother is not mentioned) is given prestige through his father, not merely from the fact that he is son of a god, but through the skill that results from this:

> *nec patrio Minyis ignobilis usu,*
>
> *nuntia verba ducis populis qui reddit, Echion.* (V.F. 1. 439f.)

Such a detail departs from Apollonius' presentation, but perhaps looks back to Pindar, who mentioned Hermes golden herald's staff (*Pyth.* 4. 178).

Apollonius had given Euphemus unusual skills in connection with his parentage:

> Ταίναρον αὖτ' ἐπὶ τοῖσι λιπὼν Εὔφημος ἵκανε
>
> τόν ῥα Ποσειδάωνι ποδωκηέστατον ἄλλων

Εὐρώπη Τιτυοῖο μεγασθενέος τέκε κούρη·
κεῖνος ἀνὴρ καὶ πόντου ἐπὶ γλαυκοῖο θέεσκεν
οἴδματος, οὐδὲ θοοὺς βάπτεν πόδας, ἀλλ' ὅσον ἄκροις
ἴχνεσι τεγγόμενος διερῇ πεφόρητο κελεύθῳ·(A.R. 1. 179 - 184)

Valerius does not follow him in this: with Euphemus and with Ancaeus, he stresses the fact that they are embarking on their father's sea - their relationship with their parents rather than the results of such a background. With Euphemus the voyage is almost made to appear an attack on his father, in keeping with the presentation of the *Argo*'s voyage elsewhere:

hic patrium frangit Neptunius aequor (V.F. 1. 364)

The idea of him breaking the water is perhaps intended to contrast Apollonius' picture of the hero skimming over the top of the waves. In the case of Ancaeus, however, divine parentage seems to make the hero confident of favour, something perhaps justified by the next entry, which comments upon Erginus' skill:

nec timet Ancaeum genetrix committere ponto,
plena tulit quem rege maris. securus in aequor
haut minus Erginus, proles Neptunia, fertur,
qui maris insidias, clarae qui sidera noctis
norit et e clausis quem destinet Aeolus antris,
non metuat cui regna ratis, cui tradere caelum
adsidua Tiphys vultum lassatus ab Arcto. (V.F. 1. 413 - 419)

As has been mentioned already, Mopsus' skill and parentage are also linked. Orpheus and the Boreads, on the other hand, do not have their fathers mentioned at all, nor are their most distinguishing features commented upon to any great extent.

quin et Cecropiae proles vacat Orithyiae,

temperet ut tremulos Zetes fraterque ceruchos.

nec vero Odrysius transtris impeditur Orpheus

aut pontum remo subigit, sed carmine tonsas

ire docet, summo passim ne gurgite pugnent. (V.F. 1. 468 - 472)

The last portion of the catalogue concerns those members of the crew with special duties. Skills that in Apollonius were mentioned dispersed throughout the poem and were paid attention as remarkable characteristics are grouped together by Valerius and made relevant to the needs of the ship. Lynceus' eyesight, for instance, is mentioned as useful for navigation on cloudy nights in addition to his ability to see into the underworld (462 - 7); in Apollonius' only his ability to see underground was mentioned (1. 153ff.). That the Boreads and Orpheus are elaborated by their function rather than their famous and fantastic characteristics is in keeping with this. Periclymenus' mysterious ability to change shape (A.R. 1. 156ff.)[254] is similarly ignored and he is made a boxer instead (398ff.).

Valerius' catalogue is notable for the emotional potential of many of its entries, its visual effects, and its great variety. All would engage the reader's attention. Valerius in effect responded to the need to make the various categories of personal detail significant by diverting them from their original function. Family background and divine parentage readily provided opportunities for pathos and for the depiction of affection within families that would humanise heroes for the readers. Equipment has been made a vehicle for most of the other catalogue *topoi*: the landscape, the future,

[254] Ovid (*Met* 12. 556) also gave him these attributes.

and the heroes' families. The future itself, a pervasive and two pronged theme, helps subtly to connect the catalogue to the rest of the poem while providing the heroes with histories and thus giving a temporal dimension to their characterisation. A number of the details have also been so presented that an unobtrusive theme of the consequences of seafaring occurs, effectively encoding the result of the voyage at its beginning.

C: The Poetic Employment of the Personal Background: The Thematic and Dramatic Integration of Statius' Argive Catalogue

While Valerius' thematic integration of his catalogue was implicit and occasional, Statius' is all-pervasive. Statius' Argive catalogue has no overt references to future events, but a substantial proportion of its remarks prefigure the action of the epic and the similes are part of image chains that run throughout the poem. Statius also uses his catalogue to develop the characterisation of his leaders to a greater extent than any previous epic catalogue. In many places the normal *topoi* are reversed, in keeping with the violations of order perpetrated by many of his characters. Some of these developments may be traced to the tragedians' versions. In none of the tragedies: Aeschylus' *Septem*, Euripides' *Phoenissae* and *Supplices*, and Seneca's uncompleted *Phoenissae* do any of the Seven apart from Polynices appear or speak, so that any characterisation had to be developed through the reports of other figures. Aeschylus' messenger characterises each in turn and as an aid in this he uses brief *ekphraseis* of the shield devices (which were to become another traditional feature). In Euripides' *Phoenissae* the Seven are described twice, first through a *teichoskopia* (103 - 192), then in a messenger speech (1104 - 1140). On the first occasion, any characterisation depends upon responses to their physical appearance. In the second solely the descriptions of the shield devices are used to characterise the Seven, when the messenger describes each in turn, although the narration of their actions once the attack had begun adds further detail. The tragedies also provide a precedent for the foreshadowing: Aeschylus' Eteocles, for instance, predicts in his reply to the messenger that Zeus will kill Capaneus with a thunderbolt (*Sept.* 444ff.).

1: Adrastus

Statius' catalogue begins with Adrastus, as befits the nominal commander-in-chief. He is mentioned twice, at the beginning and end of his contingent (38ff.; 68ff.), and this itself is unusual in comparison with the majority of catalogues. Normal attitudes and details for a commander would be enthusiasm, prowess in warfare and eye-catching physical fitness or armour, features that would justify his leadership. Adrastus is instead presented as an elderly, apparently weak man, both physically and in terms of his personality.[255]

> *rex tristis et aeger*
> *pondere curarum propiorque abeuntibus annis*
> *inter adhortantes vix sponte incedit Adrastus.* (*Theb.* 4. 38ff.)

Such a presentation ensures that the expedition has an ill-omened start.[256] *Rex* is tucked away in the middle of the line (38),[257] while *aeger*, a stronger term than *tristis*, takes the emphatic final word position. No other catalogue begins in the middle of a verse and Adrastus' entry is thus given a distinctly un-prestigious beginning. *Pondere* begins the next line, emphasising the extent of the troubles, while the heavy sounding long syllables of *curarum* seem to bear out the claim that Adrastus' cares are weighty. The way in which his name is delayed until the end of the third line seems to bear witness to his unwillingness (*vix sponte*). The motifs of armour and equestrian skills are similarly overturned. *Contentus ferro cingere*, whether it means "content to be girt

[255] The only one of the tragedies to provide him with any characterisation is Euripides' *Supplices*, in which he appears as a sorrowful and defeated man, but that is after the destruction of the expedition.
[256] Within the gazette of troops, too, there is an ominous reference to the Furies (54).
[257] This is no doubt influenced by the position of *rex* in Vergil's introduction of Latinus (*Aen.* 7. 45), but in this context it is nonetheless noteworthy.

by a sword" or "content to be surrounded by a bodyguard",[258] shows the reverse of a leader distinguished by his equipment from the men around him.[259] Arion's struggles (43), which elsewhere would be a sign of the creature's high spirit, here perhaps reminds the reader rather of the struggles of cattle at ill-omened sacrifices.

In spite of this, the bull image performs the expected function of a simile of a catalogue, giving the hero prestige. It explains in effect why the troops that have just been enumerated through the gazette should follow such a character. Adrastus is compared to a bull that although old is still capable of inspiring its subject herd with physical fear through the signs of its former prowess.

> *ipse annis sceptrisque subit venerabilis aeque:*
> *ut possessa diu taurus meat arduus inter*
> *pascua iam laxa cervice et inanibus armis,*
> *dux tamen: haud illum bello adtemptare iuvencis*
> *sunt animi; nam trunca vident de vulnere multo*
> *cornua et ingentes plagarum in pectore nodos.* (*Theb.* 4. 68)

The bull-image occurs throughout the poem, and appears to have been inspired by Vergil's image used of Turnus and Aeneas (*Aen.* 12. 715 - 722),[260] but it may also look to the description of an angry bull in the *Georgics* (3. 209 - 241).[261] The image had already been used of fraternal strife by Ennius,[262] and Lucan used it in the context of civil war.[263] The closest parallel to these sources in the *Thebaid* is the Bacchante's prophecy (4. 397 - 400), but Statius uses it at least eleven times throughout the epic.[264]

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[258] For the debate see Howard (1959) 126; Håkanson (1975) 20.
[259] Contrast Turnus (*Aen.* 7. 738f.).
[260] Hardie (1993) 23, Hershkowitz (1993) 273.
[261] Ahl (1886) 2871n., Hershkowitz (1993) 273.
[262] Hardie (1993) 23.
[263] *B.C.* 2. 601 - 7: Ahl (1986) 2871n.
[264] Hardie (1993) 23.

It first occurs at 1. 1331 - 8, comparing the brothers to bullocks refusing to cooperate together under the yoke; in the next book Polynices' obsessive behaviour is likened to that of an ousted bull (2. 323ff.). Tydeus (3. 330ff.) is compared to a bull coming home after killing its rival and again in the funeral games he and Agylleus are compared to fighting bulls (6. 864 - 867). Eteocles is likened to a bull hearing its rival's challenge (11. 251 - 6), and Theseus to one hearing a challenger while recuperating from a previous fight (12. 601 - 5). Violence is a feature of all these similes, motivated by sexual lust, but also by lust for domination, many have some verbal links with Vergil's bulls. Two of the similes are, however, a little more sympathetic: Hippomedon is likened to a bull leading its herd across a river (7. 436 - 440) and Polynices, after Tydeus' death, is compared to a bull mourning for its lost yoke-mate (9. 82 - 5). The presentation of Adrastus' bull, however, clearly aligns him with the violent group of similes. Like Theseus, his seemingly just character has a background of savagery.[265] The implication that he has fought to establish himself naturally calls upon the reader to recall what mythology said of his background. In stating his admiration of the king Tydeus had said:

> *cui cedat Adrastus*
> *imperiis? quis te solio Sicyonis avitae*
> *excitum infrenos componere legibus Argos*
> *nesciat?* (*Theb.* 2. 178ff.)

This gives Adrastus a very worthy background, and one that does imply that Polynices has similar options available to him. It is however not a particularly violent past: other versions existed in which Adrastus originally came from Argos and only moved to

[265] For the "undercutting" of Theseus' presentation Ahl (1986) 2895; Dominik (1990) 89.

Sicyon after a feud with Amphiaraus' family.[266] Tydeus is therefore presenting a flattering version of events, and the simile is implying the truth.

The presentation of two sides to Adrastus' character - elderly man and bull-ruler - continues and develops the characterisation already begun in the epic. The build up to war in Book 3 has clear parallels with *Aeneid* 7,[267] and the reader, recognising this, expects Adrastus to behave in a similar fashion to Latinus. Their parallelism is established from Adrastus' first introduction: both are elderly, reigning in peace, claiming divine ancestry, lacking a male heir and troubled by oracles about the marriage of their daughter or daughters (*Aen.* 7. 45ff.; *Theb.* 1. 390ff.). Each recognises the predestined husband or husbands, and when the frenzy for war begins, both have their palace surrounded by the clamouring population (*Aen.* 7. 583ff.; *Theb.* 3. 592 f.). When Adrastus appears in the catalogue, therefore, we seem almost to see how Latinus might have looked had Vergil followed earlier versions in which he did fight against the Trojans.[268]

In addition to the expectations created by this intertextual parallel, Adrastus is frequently portrayed as sleepless, suffering from troubled nights. This is the case at his first appearance (1. 433) and after the arrival of his prospective sons in law (2. 145ff.). Again, he rises at dawn after Argia visits him:

dicentem talia nascens

lux monet ingentesque iubent adsurgere curae. (*Theb.* 3. 720f.)

Simultaneously, however, he is presented as a skilled ruler, in command of the situation when there is a call for war after Tydeus reports the ambush:

sed altus

[266] Pindar *Nem.* 9. 11ff.; Paus 2. 6. 3.
[267] Gossage (1969) 87; Vessey (1973) 71, 94f.
[268] Fordyce (1977) xiv; Heinze trans. Harvey & Robertson (1993) 142f.

consiliis pater imperiique haud flectere molem

inscius (*Theb.* 3. 386ff.)

He weighs up alternative policies (3. 445f.) and later in the epic too he acts decisively to prevent fighting between Lycurgus and some of the Seven (5. 710ff.) and to stop the boxing match and prevent the armed combat at the games (6. 807ff.; 914ff.). The verse at the end of Argia's visit thus resolve the potential inconsistency of debility and power that exists within the catalogue entry. Adrastus suffers from troubled nights, a source of weakness, because he is trying to rule wisely.[269] The wording of the bull image provides a contrast to the feebleness of his initial catalogue description. *dux tamen* - a two word clause at the beginning of a line (4. 72) - emphatically asserts his status.

2: Polynices

Polynices in the catalogue looks both back and forward, contemplating what he stands to gains on the one hand, and the wife he is leaving on the other. Neither attitude is typical of a catalogue hero. The more normal ambition for personal glory has been perverted into a desire for domination over others. His delay is also atypical. Heroes are frequently shown parting from their family, but within catalogues they rarely display any reluctance: the occasions where such hesitation occurs tend to involve seers.

iam regnum matrisque sinus fidasque sorores

spe votisque tenet, tamen et de turre suprema

[269] Hypsipyle makes such a point explicit when describing her father king Thoas (5. 241f.): *quis magna tuenti // somnus?*

attonitam totoque exstantem corpore longe

respicit Argian; haec mentem oculosque reducit

coniugis et dulces avertit pectore Thebas. (*Theb.* 4. 88ff.)

The picture Statius gives is subtler than in other catalogues: rather than identifying or distinguishing the hero, it analyses his state of mind. The sympathy it generates also comes as something of a surprise. While they came second to his kingdom itself, his mother and sister nonetheless figured highly in his thoughts, and revenge on his brother is not mentioned at all. Elsewhere in the epic, although not monochromatically evil, he appears grossly flawed, condemned from the beginning, equally to his brother, for his conduct towards his father (1. 75ff.), and equal to Eteocles in ambition (1. 125ff, 139, 156ff.). He is obsessive about the kingship, occupied with it even when he is asleep (2. 334ff.), and Statius makes it plain that his concern is not for justice, but to see his brother abased:

tenet una dies noctesque recursans

cura virum, si quando humilem decedere regno

germanum et semet Thebis opibusque potitum

cerneret. (*Theb.* 1. 316ff)

Even his reaction when his friend returns wounded from the embassy is given an ulterior motive:

sic variis pertemptat pectora dictis

obliquatque preces. (*Theb.* 3. 381f.)

That such a negative picture should be overturned at the moment of departure lends some amount of pathos to the piece.[270]

[270] Cf. Vessey (1973) 198 "The lines well exemplify the conflict of ambition and affection in the heart of the prince".

The entry also mentions the reasons why Theban troops are supporting him, and their catalogue presentation also appears to place Polynices in a favourable light.

huic et patria de sede volentes
advenere viri, seu quos movet exsul et haesit
tristibus aucta fides, seu quis mutare potentes
praecipuum, multi, melior quos causa querenti
conciliat. (*Theb.* 4. 76ff.)

Earlier in the epic, however, Statius had said that the mass naturally favours the ruler that is to come, rather than, the implication is, making a rational assessment about the prospective ruler's character:

iam murmura serpunt
plebis Echioniae, tacitumque a principe vulgus
dissidet, et, qui mos populis, venturus amatur. (*Theb.* 1. 168ff.)

The second group of Polynices' supporters - *seu quis mutare potentes // praecipuum* - recall this attitude and are thus hardly a great sign of the Theban people's love of Polynices: scarcely anyone would not want Eteocles to lose his throne. The flanking groups are superficially more positive: men loyal to Polynices in spite of his exile, and others, the majority, who are attracted by the better cause. When these groups are related to the action of the rest of the epic, however, they too appear more dubious. When his character before his exile and his close friendship with someone like Tydeus are considered, what sort of men are the friends who have remained loyal in spite of his exile likely to be? That many were won over by the better cause ignores the fact that Polynices is morally little better than Eteocles. The beginning of the entry on Polynices, therefore, could be read as emblematic of the confusion of morality and

motivation, and of the duplicity, surrounding the beginning of the expedition. That such motivation is provided for the troops is rare in itself. Any characterisation of the contents of the gazettes that normally takes place merely expresses the troops' patriotism and keenness for action.

Polynices' equipment is in keeping with the catalogue tradition, and especially with accounts of the Seven; *ekphraseis* of the leader's shield devices were a common feature. Its symbolism is impossible to interpret favourably.

> *idem habitus, eadem arma viro, quae debitus hospes*
> *hiberna sub nocte tulit: Teumesius implet*
> *terga leo et gemino lucent hastilia ferro,*
> *aspera volnifico subter latus ense riget Sphinx.* (*Theb.* 4. 84 - 7)

As in other catalogues the emblems link the hero to his past and to his familial background, but on this occasion such topics are far more relevant than usual to the plot. The features are taken over from the tragedians, but Statius has adapted them for his own ends. The lion-skin is a reflection of his at times savage and bestial nature, and its significance is made explicit by the reference to the night of his arrival at Argos (4. 85). In recalling that occasion, the reader is reminded of his obsessive behaviour immediately before his arrival (1. 312ff.) and of his brawl with Tydeus (1. 408) and the oracle of the boar and the lion (1. 494ff.). The latter is taken from Euripides' *Supplices*, where its implications for Polynices' character are obvious.

> ΑΔ κάπρῳ με δοῦναι καὶ λέοντι παῖδ' ἐμώ.
>
> . . .
>
> ΑΔ Τυδεὺς μάχην ξυνῆψε Πολυνείκης θ' ἅμα.
> ΘΗ ἦ τοῖσδ' ἔδωκας θηρσὶν ὡς κόρας σέθεν

ΑΔ μάχην γε δισσοῖν κνωδάλοιν ἀπεικάσας. (140; 144 - 146)

The significance of the sphinx on Polynices' sword hilt may, as with other catalogue emblems, be read as other than its bearer intends.[271] The sphinx was a monster hostile to Thebes, and by using it Polynices threatens destruction for his opponents. This threat is part of an established tradition in treatments of the Seven: in Aeschylus' *Septem*, Parthenopaeus' sphinx, in the act of eating a man, is clearly intended to act as a provocation:

Σφίγγ' ὠμόσιτον, προσμεμηχανένην
γόμφοις, ἐνώμα, λαμπρὸν ἔκκρουστον δέμας.
φέρει δ' ὑφ' αὑτῇ φῶτα, Καδμείων ἕνα,
ὡς πλεῖστ' ἐπ' ἀνδρὶ τῷδ' ἰάπτεσθαι βέλη. (541ff.)

In the *Phoenissae*, similarly, Adrastus has a Hydra eating Thebans

ὕδρας ἔχων λαιοῖσιν ἐν βραχίοισιν
Ἀργεῖον αὔχημ'· ἐκ δὲ τειχέων μέσων
δράκοντες ἔφερον τέκνα καδμείων γνάθοις. (1136ff.)

For an Arcadian, the sphinx could have no personal significance, but the creature was connected directly with Polynices' heritage. The fact that he chooses a symbol of a threat to his fellow countrymen is a reminder of his dubious morality, but as a Theban himself it must be a threat to him as well.[272] He could claim supremacy as his father killed the sphinx, but his brother could make exactly the same claim. Identifying himself with the sphinx, in fact, only makes him vulnerable to Eteocles. Statius and his readers would, of course, be aware of the creature's connection with the riddles

[271] E.g. Turnus' equipment. Gale (1997) 189 "Turnus' shield . . . refers on the one level to his noble ancestry, and on another to his own character and fate."
[272] Cf. Ahl (1986) 2880.

and duplicity, and this serves as a reminder that Polynices' emblem can have more than one meaning.

3: Tydeus

The presentation of Tydeus, unlike that of his predecessors, is far more conventional, remarking upon his high spirits and physical fitness.

Ecce inter medios patriae ciet agmina gentis
fulmineus Tydeus,iam laetus et integer artus,
. . .
undique magnanimum pubes delecta coronant
Oeniden, hilarem bello notisque decorum
vulneribus; non ille minis Polynicis et ira
inferior, dubiumque adeo, cui bella gerantur. (*Theb.* 4. 93f.; 112 - 5)

These are nonetheless adjusted slightly to suit Statius' aims. It is unusual for their to be much comparison of the figures within a catalogue. Contingents as a rule are mustered without interaction, and the only sense of connection between them is often phrases such as "these were followed by . . .". Tydeus' keenness for war is in keeping with the hostility to conciliation that he will display later (7. 538ff.); when the army seems to be yielding to Jocasta's rebuke, it is not Polynices, the person most concerned in the expedition, who insists on action.

The gazette of Tydeus' troops, towns far from Argos, is a reminder that he is an exile, and that he has excelled Polynices here as well, in having already killed his

brother rather than merely intending such an act. It also contains another example of intra-familial carnage, keeping the purpose of the expedition in the reader's mind.

fletaque cognatis avibus Meleagria Pleuron (*Theb.* 4. 103)

Aeschylus' Tydeus, like Statius' is extremely eager for battle, compared to a war-horse (*Sept.* 343), and to a shrieking snake:

Τυδεὺς δὲ μαργῶν καὶ μάχης λελιμμένος

μεσημβριναῖς κλαγγαῖσιν ὡς δράκων βοᾷ, (*Sept.* 380f.)

This simile can be read as being not so much a reference to the sound of an angry snake as to the terror that one inspires.[273]

ceu lubricus alta

anguis humo verni blanda ad spiramina solis

erigitur liber senio et squalentibus annis

exutus laetisque minax interviret herbis:

a miser! agrestum si quis per gramen hianti

obvius et primo fraudaverit ora veneno. (*Theb.* 4. 95ff.)

Statius' simile, however, expresses character as well as terror, and joins with the themes of the epic so that the source is made more relevant to the text. It is prompted initially by Tydeus' eagerness for battle, and thus has a point of contact too with Aeschylus' war-horse comparison.[274] It outdoes the potential for terror expressed in Aeschylus' snake image by making explicit his potential for harm. The language has overtones of the natural world being corrupted: the soft air of spring (*verni blanda spiramina*) makes the snake more dangerous; *laetis . . . herbis* is a phrase usually

[273] Hutchinson (1985) 108 ad loc. "The poet makes the comparison, not because the cry of Tydeus especially resembles the hiss of a snake, but because the snake is a terrifying thing."

[274] Aeschylus' section on Tydeus, like that of Statius (which begins and ends with a picture of Tydeus), has an element of ring composition, beginning and ending with Tydeus shouting and a simile. As Statius' Tydeus is pleased by the trumpet (*Theb.* 4. 95), Aeschylus' war-horse is mad in expectation of the trumpet (394).

occurring in the pleasanter side of pastoral, but here the grass conceals the snake. Above its innate effectiveness, however, Statius selects this simile rather than that of a horse for two other reasons. It increases the impression of malevolence as it alludes to Pyrrhus at the time he killed Priam and Polites, a scene of impiety and carnage intended to arouse great pity for the victims, and it establishes a connection between Tydeus and Eteocles, by suggesting that they are equals in evil.

> *qualis ubi in lucem coluber mala gramina pastus*
> *frigida sub terra tumidum quem bruma tegebat,*
> *nunc positis novus exuviis nitidusque iuventa*
> *lubrica convolvit sublato pectore terga,*
> *arduus ad solem, et linguis micat ore trisulcis.* (*Aen.* 2. 471ff.)

Pyrrhus is presented through the simile as being a renewed Achilles[275] and he appears in the passage as a whole as a character who has prowess alone, divorced from the heroic virtues that should accompany it.[276] The connection established through the simile between Tydeus and Pyrrhus reinforces the former's existing presentation, the parallel almost making Tydeus' share in Pyrrhus' viciousness.

The snake is also part of a larger image chain. Snakes feature in the myth of Linus and Coroebus and in Archemorus' death; Eteocles is twice compared to a snake (2. 411ff.; 11. 310ff.), on both occasions one that is about to strike. The potential evil of both snakes is clear. By using a similar image of Tydeus to one that had already been used of Eteocles' reaction to Tydeus, Statius is implying the lack of moral difference between the two sides, a major theme of the epic.

[275] Kenney (1979) 105 – 108 discusses Vergil's own sources for the simile.
[276] Kenney (1979) 109.

4: Hippomedon

Hippomedon had not appeared in the epic before the catalogue, and at this first appearance he receives little characterisation. This is perhaps unexpected, as on the whole catalogues tend to include greater characterisation for the less familiar figures, and up to this point Statius has included details of his heroes' personalities. In spite of this the bulk of the details are conventional. The reader is given an impression of his physical massiveness and his equestrian skills, and there is an *ekphrasis* of his equipment. The simile used of him had already been employed in Vergil's Latin Catalogue. These standard features, however, are employed to foreshadow events in the rest of the epic to a far greater extent than anything in the catalogue so far.

The Danaid *ekphrasis* has a similar thematic relevance to the *exempla* of the Furies' activities in Adrastus' gazette (56f.) and the references to Tydeus' background. Both sides in the incident are morally dubious once the killing starts,[277] and this mirrors the situation of Polynices and Eteocles.

umeros ac pectora late
flammeus orbis habet, perfectaque vivit in auro
nox Danai: sontes Furiarum lampade nigra
quinquaginta ardent thalami; pater ipse cruentis
in foribus laudatque nefas atque inspicit enses. (*Theb.* 4. 131ff.)

The emblem does not occur anywhere among the tragedians' shield charges, but instead recalls the design on Pallas' sword belt in the *Aeneid*:

rapiens immania pondera baltei
impressumque nefas: una sub nocte iugali

[277] The Danaids often occur as an exemplum of evil: e.g. Horace *Odes* 3.11.

caesa manus iuvenum foede thalamique cruenti,

quae Clonus Eurytides multo caelaverit auro. (10. 496ff.)

Vergil's reference to the craftsman is intended as a reminder that the scene is only a decoration, and by implication that it is so lifelike as to need such a reminder, a characteristic *topos* of *ekphraseis*. Statius expresses a similar vividness by *perfectaque vivit in auro*. Both descriptions express the wickedness of the exploit and both omit Hypermestra so that the scene remains unrelievedly evil.[278] In Vergil's version the principal focus is on the young men who were killed: the death of "warrior youths" is something of a theme in the *Aeneid* (Nisus, Eurylaus, Pallas, Lausus), recognised and exploited by Statius (Euaenus, Atys, Menoecceus, Dymas, Hopleus, Crenaeus, Parthenopaeus).[279] The subject of the sword belt thus echoed a pathetic theme of its epic, while also being symbolic of the fate of its owner, in the sense that he, like the sons of Aegyptus, meets an early death. The principal emphasis of Statius' *ekphrasis*, however, is not upon the sons of Aegyptus but on Danaus, the figure commanding the slaughter: if Pallas is to be identified with the principal figures of his design, Hippomedon is to be likened to the almost monstrous figure of his. While still prefiguring the deaths of warriors youths, it thus also reflects on the barbarity of their killers, and thus of the Seven in general.

The scene described in the *ekphrasis* has parallels in descriptions of the Lemnian massacre, a similar story,[280] and thus looks forward to Hypsipyle's narrative.[281] In Valerius' account (*Arg.* 2. 194-241) Venus presides over the slaughter like a fury and the marriage chambers are set on fire, both points that have equivalents

[278] Cf. Putnam (1998) 197 "Nor does Virgil make any mention of Hypermestra, Lynceus, and the possibilities of *clementia* which serve as moral compensating factors to the myth's central horror."
[279] Vessey (1973) 285; Dominik (1994) 124f.
[280] Although in the Danaid story it is brides rather than wives and various female relatives that carry out the killing, in both stories one woman refuses to share in the slaughter.
[281] *Theb.* 5. 195 – 334.

within the *ekphrasis*. In Statius' own account the Fates and Eryines attend, although they are not embodied. Danaus in the *ekphrasis* thus serves the same purpose, and Hippomedon could thus gain connotations of superhuman malice. Both versions have a mention of swords being forced upon the women, creating a similar picture to that of *inspicit enses*.[282] The phrase, however, has a more exact counterpart in Lucan's *Bellum Civile*, in the description of Caesar going the rounds of his troops during the battle of Pharsalus:

> *Hic Caesar, rabies populi stimulusque furorum,*
>
> . . .
>
> ***inspicit et gladios**, qui toti sanguine manent,*
>
> *qui niteant primo tantum mucrone cruenti*
>
> *quae presso tremat ense manus, quis languida tela.* (*B.C.* 7. 557; 560ff.)

Caesar is compared a few lines further on to Bellona, so that Lucan's scene has its Fury too (*B.C.* 7. 567f.). Statius' brief *inspicit enses* must rely upon the reader remembering this passage for its full meaning to be comprehensible: disassociated from Lucan the phrase would be bathetic, suggesting, at the climax of the description, that Danaus merely decided to check that his daughters were correctly equipped. The parallel established by the *ekphrasis*, therefore, joins the catalogue to the important theme of bloodshed within families.[283] The allusion to Lucan creates a link to Statius'

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[282] V.F. 2. 215 *in thalalmos agit et cunctantibus **ingerit enses**.*
Stat. *Theb.* 5. 229 *cum saeva parens iam coniuge fuso*
*adstitit impellitque minis atque **ingerit ensem**.*

[283] Cf. also the murder of relatives in Lucan:
quis pectora fratris
caedat et, ut notum possit spoilare cadaver,
abscisum longe mittat caput, ora parentis
quis laceret nimiaque probat spectantibus ira,
quem iugulat, non esse patrem. (*B.C.* 7. 626ff.)
Putnam (1998) 192 regards Vergil's *ekphrasis* as "verging on an allegory of civil war."

concerns about his contemporary situation and historical instances of civil war, which he chose to express through an epic on domestic bloodshed.[284]

The *ekphrasis* is followed by a brief description of Hippomedon on horseback:

illum Palladia sonipes Nemeaeus ab arce
devehit arma pavens umbraque immane volanti
implet agros longoque attollit pulvere campum. (*Theb.* 4. 136 – 138)

Mounted leaders are a common feature of catalogues, equestrian skills being a feature of an epic hero: here the emphasis has been altered to express Hippomedon's gigantic and awesome nature rather than any feature that might arouse positive admiration. The description leads into the centaur simile.

non aliter silvas umeris et utroque refringens
pectore montano duplex Hylaeus ab antro
praecipitat: pavet Ossa vias, pecudesque feraeque
procubere metu; non ipsis fratribus horror
afuit, ingenti donec Peneia saltu
stagna subit magnumque obiectus detinet amnem. (*Theb.* 4. 139ff.)

Euripides in the *Phoenissae* compared Hippomedon to a primeval giant (129f.)[285] and elsewhere in the epic Statius does imply Hippomedon's gigantic stature.[286] The simile here implies his size and savagery. It has an obvious precedent in Vergil's Latin Catalogue:

ceu duo nubigenae cum vertice montis ab alto

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[284] Boyle (1993) 4 "The effect of his [Vergil's] transformation of the genre was to bequeath to the politically repressed years which followed an epic language and mode in which contemporary political, social and moral concerns could be articulated and explored." Dominik (1994) 134 - 5, 140 - 148 explores the relevance of the *Thebaid* to Statius' time.

[285] ἔ ἔ ὡς ταῦρος, ὡς φοβερὸς εἰσιδεῖν,
γίγαντι γηγενέτᾳ προσόμοιος

[286] E.g. *Theb.* 9. 538.

descendunt Centauri Homolen Othrymque nivalem

linquentes cursu rapido; dat euntibus ingens

silva locum et magno cedunt virgulta fragore. (*Aen.* 7. 674ff.)

Statius has taken each part and added additional detail: Vergil's woods giving way to the centaurs are shown by Statius to be thrust aside by their shoulders; rather than merely leaving noisily and rapidly, Hylaeus casts himself headlong down the mountain from his cave. Homolen and Othrym, both parts of Mount Ossa,[287] are replaced by the entire mountain. Statius' largest additions to his Vergilian precedent are the great fear the centaur inspires and the blocked river.[288] Both are reflections of Hippomedon's ambitions in Book 9, where his *aristeia* is begun by a shorter but similar expression comparison, which is almost just a précis to remind the reader of the earlier simile.

semifer aeria talis Centaurus ab Ossa

desilit in valles, ipsum nemora alta tremiscunt,

campus equum. (*Theb.* 9. 220ff.)

At first during the *aristeia* Hippomedon does create the kind of terror that the Centaur inspired in wild animals (9. 236ff.) and he attempts to block the river when Ismenus attacks.

venientesque obvius undas

intrat et obiecta dispellit flumina parma. (*Theb.* 9. 471f.)

Neither effect is permanent: he is overcome by the river, and the Thebans attack him from the banks. In an adaptation, therefore, of the way that Adrastus and Tydeus were

[287] Horsfall (1999) 441.

[288] He also introduces an etymological play on the centaurs name *Hylaeus* / ὑλαῖος referring to the woods that the creature comes from.

linked to the themes and ideas of the rest of the epic by similes, the simile here is used to foreshadow future events.

Unusually, Hippomedon's gazette is also linked to the themes of the epic. All the towns mentioned after his description are connected in some way to Hercules, and he is described as listening from Oeta (4. 158). The catalogue contains Herculean allusions elsewhere, too: the Achelous is mentioned hiding the damage inflicted by him (106ff.), Capaneus has the Hydra on his shield (167ff.) and the Stymphalian birds are mentioned in the references to Arcadia (297f.). The fact that Statius included references to him in three different contingents is an indication that logic suggested that Hercules should support the Argives. In spite of this, Hercules does not support them in battle; he rather sides with Haemon until he is warned off by Minerva (8. 500ff.). Their confident but useless employment of his symbols perhaps mirrors the failure of their confident hopes, or, interpreting differently, perhaps suggests that in the way that Adrastus' basically good characteristics are of no use in a morally dubious campaign, invoking an exemplar with Stoic associations[289] will be equally unavailing.

5: Capaneus

Capaneus' description, like that of Hippomedon employs conventional *topoi* but gives the features a monstrous turn. Like other catalogue heroes, he is pre-eminent among the men of his contingent: his equipment also sets him apart from the other figures.

at pedes et toto despectans vertice bellum

[289] Cf. Harrison (1992) 248.

. . .

at laterum tractus spatiosaque pectora servat
nexilis innumero Chalybum subtemine thorax,
horrendum, non matris, opus; galeaeque corusca
prominet arce gigans; atque uni missilis illi
cuspide praefixa stat frondibus orba cupressus. (*Theb.* 4. 165; 173 - 7)

The spear links him to Achilles, as he alone can throw it, but it is a rudely trimmed tree, barely more sophisticated than the Centaurs' weapons, and thus an indication of his brutish nature. He is claiming pre-eminence, but in force alone not in any other qualities. His chain mail's grim description as *horrendum, non matris, opus* reverses the normal topos of the clothing woven or embroidered by a mother for her son.[290] Such passages were opportunities for pathos and the allusion here presents Capaneus as the killer of such sympathetic characters.

Echoing his stature and nature,[291] he has a giant on his helmet (176). Like the giants who tried to overthrow Zeus, he scorns the gods, and like them he will be struck down by lightning.[292] Just before his death this is made explicit

Stygias rupisse catenas
Iapetum aut vinctam supera ad convexa levari
Inarimen Aetnamve putes. (*Theb.* 10. 915ff.)

As a "scorner of the gods" he has been linked to the Mezentius *contemptor divum* of Vergil's catalogue (*Aen.* 7. 648).[293] Unlike Mezentius, however, who does grieve for

[290] E.g. V.F. 1. 427ff.; Stat. *Theb.* 8. 564ff.; 9. 690ff.
[291] Cf. Harrison (1992) 248.
[292] Cf. Dominik (1994a) 32; Vessey (1973) 200.
[293] Gossage (1969) 87; Vessey (1973) 71.

Lausus (*Aen.* 10. 843), he never seems to show a pleasant characteristic. He is even callous about Menoeceus' death

> *"hac" ait, "in Thebas, hac me iubet ardua virtus*
>
> *ire, Menoeceo qua lubrica sanguine turris."* (*Theb.* 10. 845f.)

The rest of the Argives, according to Statius, had withdrawn in respect to allow his body to be retrieved (10. 784f.).

Aeschylus characterises him as a man prepared to commit acts of defiance against the gods, to the extent that he is shouting threats against Zeus

> Γίγας ὅδ' ἄλλος, τοῦ πάρος λελεγμένου
>
> μείζων, ὁ κόμπος δ' οὐ κατ' ἄνθρωπον φρονεῖ
>
> . . .
>
> θεοῦ τε γὰρ θέλοντος ἐκπέρσειν πόλιν
>
> καὶ μὴ θέλοντος φησιν, οὐδὲ τὴν Διὸς
>
> ἔριν πέδοι σκήψασαν ἐμποδὼν σχεθεῖν. (*Sept.* 424f; 427ff.)

The shield devices the tragedians give him are open declarations of his ambitions: in Aeschylus it is a torch-bearer, in Euripides it is a giant carrying away the city it has levered up (*Phoen.* 1130ff.).[294] In the way that he transfers shield devices between the characters elsewhere, Statius gives him the Hydra, which has sources in the snaky Typhon borne by Aeschylus' Hippomedon (493ff),[295] the Hydra eating Cadmeans on Euripides' Adrastus' shield (*Phoen.* 1135ff.),[296] and the Hydra shield carried by

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[294] For the symbolism of the tragedians' shields see Harrison (1992) 247f.

[295] Τυφῶν' ἰέντα πύρπνοον διὰ στόμα
λιγνὺν μέλαιναν, αἰόλην πυρὸς κάσιν·
ὄφεων δὲ πλεκτάναισι περίδρομον κύτος
προσηδάφισται κοιλογάστορος κύκλου.

[296] ἑκατὸν ἐχίδναις ἀσπίδ' ἐκπλῆρῶν γραφῇ
ὕδρας ἔχων λαιοῖσιν ἐν βραχίοισιν
Ἀργεῖον αὔχημ'· ἐκ δὲ τειχέων μέσων
δράκοντες ἔφερον τέκνα Καδμείων γναθοις·

Aventinus in the *Aeneid* (7. 657ff.)[297] Rather than following the threatening live monsters of the tragedians, Statius, like Vergil, connects the Hydra closely with Hercules' achievement in killing it:

> *squalet triplici ramosa corona*
> *Hydra recens obitu: pars anguibus aspera vivis*
> *argento caelata micat, pars arte reperta*
> *conditur et fulvo moriens nigrescit in auro;*
> *circum amnis torpens et ferro caerula Lerna.* (*Theb.* 4. 168ff.)

The design is far more carefully conceived than its predecessors, intended as a virtuoso *ekphrasis*. The idea in Aeschylus and Vergil that the snakes form a circular border (*cinctam serpentibus* / περίδρομον . . . κύκλου) is retained and expressed by *ramosa corona*, but an outer rim decoration of the Lerna is added. As a termination this is perhaps inspired by the river of Ocean flowing around the rim of Achilles' shield, which served as the inspiration for a number of ekphrastic shield rims.[298] Statius also outdoes the earlier descriptions in the care he takes to include the colour and texture of the device, drawing on the techniques used in larger epic *ekphraseis*. He begins by taking notice of the texture the scales created on the metal surface (*squalet*). The background for the entire shield is bronze (*aenae*), and then individual features are distinguished by different materials: the living snakes are embossed in shining silver (*argento caelata micat*), contrasting with the darker dead ones where the metal is apparently less prominent and less highly polished, as it seems to disappear (*conditur*) and grow dark (*nigrescit*) against its gold background (*in auro*). To contrast with the bright precious metals, the Lerna is made of dark steel.

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[297] *clipeoque insigne paternum*
centum anguis cinctamque gerit serpentibus Hydram.

[298] E.g. [Hes.] *Scut.* 313ff.; Silius *Pun.* 2. 449ff.

Aeschylus also made use of colour effects, singling out for particular notice the dark smoke from the Typhon's mouth, depicted with varying colours, as almost becoming fire (λιγνὺν μέλαιναν, αἰόλην πυρὸς κάσιν). The messenger praises the craftsman's skill in accomplishing the entire design (493f.). Statius, while making no overt reference to the craftsman, reminds the reader of his activities by the references to metals and the process of its construction (*caelata*). The ambiguous phrase *arte reperta* could also refer to the skilful use of contrasting shades of silver.[299] It may conversely be read, however, as an interjection looking at Hercules' method of killing the monster: "when a trick had been found". Only after he had learnt to cauterise the necks could the Hydra be described as growing dark and dying.[300]

Capaneus attempts Herculean serpent-killing himself in despatching the snake that unwittingly killed Opheltes. That snake, however, was sacred to Jupiter, and died at his shrine, causing considerable offence to the god (5. 584).[301] As with Hippomedon's centaur simile, Capaneus' shield design looks forward to the rest of the epic but expresses his ambitions rather than the true course of events. Capaneus only follows Hercules in deeds, not in morality. Statius wanted every part of his equipment to point to his monstrous inner nature rather than to his conscious boasts. The Hydra was a monster, and that it was destroyed by fire makes it particularly suitable, serving as another allusion to the future.

The short gazette of towns in Capaneus' contingent ends with a reference to Thamyris, a figure alluded to in Homer's catalogue (*Il.* 2. 595), which is made to

[299] Cf. the LOEB translation (although its author believes the text is defective) "By a cunning device."
[300] For this interpretation, arguing against the assumption that the phrase is corrupt, see Housman (1933) 2; Håkanson (1975) 22; Harrison (1992) 249.
[301] Dominik (1994a) 32 "Capaneus challenges the gods in his slaying of the serpent sacred to Juppiter, but it cannot rightly be deemed a *heroic* act any more than his challenge to the authority of Juppiter." Cf. Harrison (1992) 249.

include a mention of Marsyas too (182-186). These are ostensibly added as incidental ornament, such as is common in catalogues, but their significance is plain:

quis obvia numina temnat? (*Theb.* 4. 184)

For Thamyris and for Marsyas, drastic punishment was inflicted for their impiety.[302] Statius also points out that Thamyris had been given no prior warning

qui non certamina Phoebi

nosset et inlustres Satyro pendente Celaenas. (*Theb.* 4. 185f.)

Capaneus' offence is calculated and he has no such excuse.

6: Amphiaraus

The last two contingents (4. 187 - 245; 264ff.) mingle the catalogue with the narrative, breaking the normal function of a catalogue as a moment of pause before the start of action. The previous entries had in fact gradually built up to this: Adrastus', Polynices' and Tydeus' by continuing to develop characterisation already begun in the epic and joining in its imagery, Hippomedon's and Capaneus' by foreshadowing their deaths. Amphiaraus' and Parthenopaeus' entries also prefigure their fate, but the seer's in addition looks back at the events of the epic so far and includes an inset passage to explain a new development. Parthenopaeus' entry finishes with a substantial scene between the youth and his mother which ends the normal suspension in the action caused by a catalogue, but after that scene the troops are shown moving off, the more normal termination. While previous catalogues had included references to the past and future, these were not integrated with the plot and

[302] Cf. Vessey (1973) 200.

action, but were instead anecdotal embellishments, harmonising with the themes rather than being essential to them.

In the earlier books Amphiaraus had already foreseen disaster, and yet knew that he would go with the army and die:

"sed quid vana cano, quid fixos arceo casus?
ibimus-" hic presso gemuit semel ore sacerdos. (*Theb.* 3. 646f.)

The catalogue entry is employed to explain the process by which he came to go with the expedition:

iamque et fatidici mens expugnata fatiscit
auguris; ille quidem casus et dira videbat
signa, sed ipsa manu cunctanti iniecerit arma
Atropos obrueratque deum, nec coniugis absunt
insidiae, vetitoque domus iam fulgurat auro. (*Theb.* 4. 187ff.)

Atropos' action is not unprecedented even within the epic so far: Maeon had foreseen the slaughter of the fifty sent against Tydeus, but the fates prevented the omens from being believed (2. 692f.). A seer's doomed participation in an expedition is of course a traditional catalogue feature, motivated either by *virtus*[303] or by fate.[304] The *virtus* element would be out of place in a catalogue mustering for an extremely unvirtuous and impious war: the seers who went knowingly to their deaths usually had justice on their sides. In terms of tradition rather than rational explanation, the most important reason for Amphiaraus' participation was the story of Eriphyle and the necklace. The first instalment of the story in the *Thebaid* occurred at the same time as the first portents of war, at the weddings of Argia and Deipyle (2. 265ff.). Rather than being an

[303] E.g. Idmon A.R. 1. 139ff.; V.F. 1. 360ff.
[304] E.g. Ennomos *Il.* 2. 858f.; Mopsus A.R. 1. 80ff.

allusion to an earlier point in the text, the catalogue passage is a continuation of that episode. Although she frequently occurs as an *exemplum*,[305] no extensive treatment of Eriphyle's story seems to exist. Traditionally, because Adrastus and Amphiaraus had quarrelled in the past, when the seer married Adrastus' sister Eriphyle she made it a condition that he would have to abide by her decision on any question over which he and Adrastus disagreed. When Amphiaraus objected to the expedition against Thebes, Polynices bribed Eriphyle with the necklace to take Adrastus' side.[306] As with the earlier reworking of Adrastus' history, Statius has slightly altered this account, so that while nothing in the text excludes the traditional version, the main thing to drive Amphiaraus to join the expedition once his wife has the necklace was the evil fate attached to it.

hoc aurum vati fata exitiale monebant
Argolico (*Theb.* 4. 192f.)

The results of wearing the necklace had been fully described at the time of Argia's wedding (2. 269-296). Statius shows Tisiphone, in keeping with her activities in the rest of the epic, rejoicing at what will happen now that Eriphyle has it, but she appears to be looking forward not so much to Amphiaraus' death as to the larger crime of the fratricides.

sic Eriphylaeos aurum fatale penates
inrupit scelerumque ingentia semina movit,
et grave Tisiphone risit gavisa futuris. (*Theb.* 4. 211ff.)

[305] E.g. Cic. *Ver.* 2. 4. 18. 39; Ovid *Ars* 3. 13; Prop. 2. 16. 29.
[306] Smith (1844) 148; Hom. *Od.* 11. 326ff.; 15.247ff.; Paus. 5. 17.4; Apoll. 3. 6. 2.

Argia and Eripyle have their characters drawn out and contrasted throughout the passage, an *exemplum* of evil ignoring the piety of an *exemplum* of loyalty. Argia's last words invite the reader to consider this contrast:

> *"dabit aptior ista*
> *fors deus, Argolicasque habitu praestabo maritas,*
> *cum regis coniunx, cum te mihi sospite templa*
> *votivis implenda choris; nunc induat illa,*
> *quae petit et bellante potest gaudere marito."* (*Theb.* 4. 206ff.)

The passage is thus in keeping with the epic's thematic concerns, but it is far removed from the expected contents of a catalogue. Extended focus upon subsidiary figures and direct speech do not occur elsewhere but here, in the way that the *ekphrasis* in Catullus 64 moves into an inner narrative,[307] the catalogue is made the starting point for an inset story reflecting the larger epic of family treachery. The standard detail of a hero's past and motivation have been expanded and diverted beyond recognition.

In spite of this, Amphiaraus' presentation after the inset is highly traditional, including characteristics such as his skill in handling horses and his stern aspect, apparently normal indicators that he was a leader worthy of respect. The reference to horses is a fairly common catalogue theme: Homer includes a passage on notable horses after the Catalogue of Ships (*Il.* 2. 761ff.), and Vergil draws attention to Aventinus' horses and chariot (*Aen.* 7. 65f.). In the tragedies, Aeschylus' messenger is impressed by Eteoclus' horses (*Sept.* 460ff.) and in the *Phoenissae* Antigone wonders at how gently Amphiaraus drives his mares (177f.). Here they look forward to the chariot race in Book 6, but also, along with the chariots in the Eleian gazette (241ff.), to his descent into Hades (7. 749 - 824).

[307] Cf. Laird (1993) 19ff. on obedient and disobedient *ekphrasis*.

The description of his priestly costume participates in the same tradition as Vergil's description of Umbro in the Latin Catalogue[308] and Valerius' of Mopsus in his Argonautic Catalogue:[309]

vatem cultu Parnassia monstrant
vellera: frondenti crinitur cassis oliva
albaque puniceas interplicat infula cristas. (*Theb.* 4. 216ff.)

The tragedians had described no such costume, but mentioned instead that he had no shield device. This in that context characterised him as lacking arrogance, giving him a dignity that his priestly insignia in Statius' version is perhaps intended to replicate. In the *Thebaid* not all the Seven have their shields described, and none of the emblems mentioned by Statius are deliberately or unambiguously offensive to the Theban side. The impact of a blank shield would thus have been reduced, and Statius chooses to diverge from his sources to give Amphiaraus the python as an emblem. It serves as homage to Apollo, referring to the god's victory and distinguishing the seer by an additional reminder that he is Apollo's priest. In company with the focus on the number of his spears,[310] it looks forward looks forward to his divinely assisted aristeia just before his descent into Hades (7. 690 - 693). The unusual emphasis on weapons for a priest fits the unusual *aristeia* and the surprise expressed at it. The function of weaponry in a catalogue to look forward to battle is thus retained and given additional point.

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[308] *Aen.* 7. 750ff. *quin et Marruvia venit de gente sacerdos*
fronde super galeam et felici comptus oliva
Archippi regis missu, fortissimus Umbro

[309] *Arg.* 1. 383ff. *hic vates Phoebique fides non vana parentis*
Mopsus, puniceo cui circumfusa cothurno
palla imos ferit alba pedes vittataque fronte
cassis et in summo laurus Peneia cono.

[310] 220ff. *ferrea curru*
silva tremit; procul ipse gravi metuendus in hasta
eminet.

hicne hominum casus lenire et demere Fatis

iura frequens? quantum subito diversus ab illo,

qui tripodas laurusque sequi, qui doctus in omni

nube salutato volucrem cognoscere Phoebo!

innumeram ferro plebem, ceu letifer annus

aut iubar adversi grave sideris, immolat umbris

ipse suis: iaculo Phlegyan iaculoque superbum

Phylea, falcato Clonin et Chremetaona curru

comminus hunc stantem metit, hunc poplite sectum . . . (*Theb.* 7. 705f - 713)

The gazettes, complementing the contrast of Argia and Eriphyle, contain *exempla* of treachery and virtue. The reference to Oenomaus treachery (242ff.) provides another point of contact between the catalogue and the epic's gloomy world-view, while it also reminds the reader of the house of Pelops which had frequent instances of domestic bloodshed and evil to match those of Thebes. The courage of the Spartan troops is also described. Their attitude is not so much a reflection of Amphiaraus' attitude[311] as participation in a largely ethnographic theme of Silver catalogues, races that actively seek death.[312] The *topos* has obvious benefits as an *exemplum* of bravery and scorn of death, suitable for catalogues. While Amphiaraus himself is not the best example of such attitudes, some of the epic's "warrior youth" come nearer to the ideal, and Dymas and Hopleus actually commit suicide. In keeping, however, with Statius' pessimistic picture of the betrayal of ideals, Menoeceus' father Creon tries to make him ignore the oracle ordering his *devotio* (10. 696ff.) and his

[311] His response to the augury is hardly one of keenness for death (*Theb.* 3. 546f.): contrast Vessey (1973) 200.

[312] E.g. Lucan's Indians (*B.C.* 3. 246ff.), Valerius' Iazyges (*Arg.* 6. 123ff.) and Silius' Cantabrians (*Pun.* 3. 328ff.).

mother reproaches him for his love of death (10. 803). The Spartans, then, look forward not to a specific incident concerning Amphiaraus, but display instead an unfulfilled moral ideal behind the epic.

7: Parthenopaeus

Parthenopaeus, as the last figure in the catalogue, is in the position of Camilla in Vergil's Latin Catalogue, and this leads to expectations of similarities to her.[313] There was to a certain extent, although not all authors followed it, a tradition that epic catalogues ended with a woman: the pictures on Dido's temple end with a woman, Penthesilea (*Aen.* 1. 491ff.), just as Vergil's catalogue ends with a woman: there has been speculation that the precedent came from the *Aethiopis*, but there is no firm evidence on this point.[314] Herodotus' catalogue of Xerxes' forces has Artemisia as the final figure of the naval section, the last part of the entire catalogue (7. 99). After Vergil, Ovid concludes his catalogue of Calydonian hunters with Atalanta (*Met.* 7. 317), and Valerius ends the sequence of Colchian leaders of whom Jason enquires at a banquet with the Amazon Euryale (*Arg.* 5. 610ff.). The Argive Catalogue ends with Atalanta's reaction to Parthenopaeus joining the expedition. In closing the catalogue in this way, Statius could be attempting as close an alignment as possible with the tradition. Similarly, he ends his Athenian catalogue with Hippolyte being persuaded not to join the expedition (12. 635ff.).

[313] E.g. Gossage (1969) 87; Vessey (1973) 71.
[314] Courtney (1988) 3, Boyd (1992), cf. Brotherton (1931) 193 "Camilla, a woman, he [Macrobius] considers a wise conclusion to the catalogue since she parallels the Amazons, who, according to historical record, were the last to join the ranks of the Trojans in the defense of Ilium."

The tradition also leads to Parthenopaeus being read as a womanish figure. Etymological word play on his name is at least as old as Aeschylus:

ὁ δ' ὠμόν, οὔτι παρθένων ἐπώνυμον

φρόνημα . . . ἔχων (*Sept.* 536f.)

He is already, therefore, associated with being either a "maiden - boy" or "maiden - faced". The association is also supported by the fact that he is dressed and equipped in a similar fashion to Camilla, wearing purple and armed with a bow.[315]

In the tragedians Parthenopaeus was a young man, but there was no suggestion that he was inexperienced (*Sept.* 533ff., 545; *Phoen.* 146ff.). Statius however comments throughout the entry on his beauty, and indicates immediately that it will be misplaced in the surroundings to which he is travelling.

pulchrior haud ulli triste ad discrimen ituro

vultus et egregiae tanta indulgentia formae; (*Theb.* 4. 251f.)

The effect on Diana and the nymphs, his fair hair and blushing cheek all gain attention (274ff.). As in other catalogues, the presence of spectators invites the reader to envisage the scene more closely. Vessey writes "His beauty and his innocence are lauded at length, in terms that are little short of erotic."[316] In elegiac poetry the idea of *militia amoris* was common,[317] a metaphor of war applied to a lover's relationship, often used organically throughout a poem. Parthenopaeus' description reverses the theme, and the vocabulary of erotic poetry is used of his attitude to warfare.

prosilit audaci Martis ***percussus amore,***

arma, tubas audire ***calens*** *et pulvere belli*

flaventem *sordere* ***comam*** *captoque referri*

[315] Cf. Vessey (1973) 71; Hardie (1990) 11, (1993) 48.
[316] Vessey (1973) 201.
[317] Cf. Murgatroyd (1975).

hostis equo: taedet nemorum, titulumque nocentem

sanguinis humani ***pudor*** *est nescire* ***sagittas.*** (*Theb.* 4. 260ff.)

Such language implies that Parthenopaeus is more suited at his age to *militia amoris* than to genuine battles. In Atalanta's opinion, he is scarcely even old enough for that:

magnis conatibus instas,

vix Dryadum thalamis Erymanthiadumque furori

Nypharum mature puer. (*Theb.* 4. 328ff)

Statius retains the shield blazon Euripides gave him, the Calydonian boar (*Phoen.* 1107ff.). In his source this bestowed reflected prestige on Parthenopaeus through his parent's exploits. Statius gives this a more negative force: the shield is "unwarlike", it can only be decorated with his mother's achievements, because he has none of his own.[318]

imbelli parma pictus Calydonia matris

proelia (*Theb.* 4. 267f.)

The emblem looks forward too to another measure of his immaturity: Atalanta reveals that he still cannot tackle boars without her help:

nuper te pallida vidi

dum premis obnixo venabula comminus apro,

poplite succiduo resupinum ac paene ruentem

et ni curvato torsissem spicula cornu,

nunc ubi bella tibi? (*Theb.* 4. 322ff.)

Hunting was often seen as preparation for war for young men.[319] Parthenopaeus' lack of achievement there indicates that he is certainly ill trained for war. The exclamation

[318] Vessey (1973) 201; cf. *Aen.* 9. 548 *ense levis nudo parmaque inglorius alba*
[319] Cf. Xen. *Cynegeticos* 1; 12. 1 - 4.

at the beginning of the passage - *a rudis armorum* - suggests too that he has had no military training and may not even know how to handle his weapons. Again, Atalanta's speech bears this out.

tu bellis aptare viros, tu pondere ferre

Martis et ensiferas inter potes ire catervas? (*Theb.* 4. 320f.)

The tragedians' picture is of someone slightly older, such as Parthenopaeus has the potential to grow into. The idea of such potential, with all its associated pathos, is brought out by the line

nec desunt animi, ***venerat modo fortior aetas.*** (Theb. 4. 253)

The comment has a forerunner in Apollonius' Argonautic Catalogue, describing Meleager.

τοῦ δ' οὔ τιν' ὑπέρτερον ἄλλον ὀίω

νόσφιν γ' Ἡρακλῆος ἐπελθέμεν. εἴ κ' ἔτι μοῦνον

αὖθι μένων λυκάβαντα μετετράφη Αἰτωλοῖσιν· (*Arg.* 1. 196ff.)

Nothing bad, however, happens to Meleager on that expedition, and the comment is merely part of an assessment of the various strengths, weaknesses and backgrounds of the Argonauts. In Statius' catalogue the comment has far more pathos, as the reader knows that time is not going to have the chance to make Parthenopaeus' spirit stronger.

As was the case with Hippomedon, Capaneus and Amphiaraus, Parthenopaeus' entry looks forward to his *aristeia* and death. The relevant section of Book 9 begins and ends with a focus on Atalanta, as the catalogue entry did. Nightmares make Atalanta pray to Diana for intercession, complaining that her son was too bold in going to war (9. 623), a comment corresponding to her earlier speech

(4. 317). The omen of dedicated spoils falling occurs in both speeches (4. 332f.; 9. 576f.). Both in his dying speech[320] and just before he is mortally wounded[321] Parthenopaeus acknowledges what had been made clear to the reader in the catalogue, that he is only a boy. His admission too that he should have been persuaded by his mother looks back to her *suasoria.*

The aristeia is preceded by a description of his dress that elaborates on that of the catalogue (9. 685 - 706).[322] The entry only describes his bow and arrows, neglecting any other weapons (4. 268ff.); they were a gift from Diana:

> *ipsam, Maenalia puerum cum vidit in umbra,*
> *Dianam, tenero signantem gramina passu,*
> *ignovisse ferunt comiti, Dictaeaque tela*
> *ipsam et Amyclaeas umeris aptasse pharetras.* (*Theb.* 4. 256ff.)

The emphasis of *ipsam . . . Dianam . . . ipsam* creates a sense of awe, and perhaps surprise that a notoriously unforgiving[323] goddess should show favour to the son of her former virgin follower. The incident is partially replayed Book 9: again, Diana sees him (9. 712ff.), now in the dust of battle rather than the shade of the forest, and again she gives him arrows (9. 728ff.). This time, however, they are not merely the best of humanly manufactured arrows but divine ones:

> *primumque leves furata sagittas*
> *audacis tergo pueri caelestibus implet*
> *coryton telis, quorum sine sanguine nullum*

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[320] 9. 892f. *arma puer rapui, nec te retinente quievi*
nec tibi sollicitae tandem inter bella peperci.

[321] 9. 855f. *iam minus atque minus fert arma puerque videtur // et sibi*

[322] A mention of purple and gold (*auro micat, igneus ostro* 4. 265) becomes a full blown description of his purple cloak and gold tunic. He wears a boars tusk necklace (9. 688f.), a reminder of his shield, and of the boar his mother rescued him from. There is also a focus upon his pink cheeks.

[323] E.g. her treatment of Callisto, Actaeon & Niobe.

decidit.

The gift is a cure for the shame expressed in the catalogue that his arrows have not yet known human blood.

The catalogue entry, then, in the description of Parthenopaeus, his equipment and the scene with his mother, foreshadows in the most important particulars his most important appearance elsewhere in the epic, and perhaps even provides a framework for it.

The Arcadian gazette is packed with mythological associations, but it also includes a longer passage on the antiquity of the Arcadians.

sublimis agebat,

dulce rubens viridique genas spectabilis aevo.

Arcades huic veteres astris lunaque priores . . . (*Theb.* 4. 273ff.)

The passage contrasts Parthenopaeus with the oldest people on earth, but it also creates a picture of innocent primitivism coming into contact with a new world order, something that in some respects parallels the rustically educated Parthenopaeus coming into contact with the "civilised" world.[324] The mention of darkness where light is expected also however looks forward to the dark noon at the time of Atreus' feast, mentioned at the end of the contingent. Mycenae, soon to be the scene of another act of impiety and domestic bloodshed, is placed last in the catalogue proper, and rounds it off by restoring the principal theme of the epic.

The catalogue, therefore, employs the traditional types of detail to a wholly new effect. Signs of debility and malevolence replace marks of dignity and prowess,

[324] Vessey (1973) 201 "This version of the sudden entry of primitive man into the existent world matches Parthenopaeus' own initiation into manhood, his passage from dream to actuality."

and the content of the similes and *ekphraseis* is likewise pejorative. At the same time, this is combined with wholly conventional comments, reminders of how things should be that increase by contrast the sense of disruption created through the overturning of the conventional categories. Because this picture results from the adjustment of generic material to suit the particular heroes, it is used for characterisation to a far greater extent. This characterisation is extended into foreshadowing of their fates, and into greater unity with the themes of the epic. The gazettes contain comments that complement the presentation of the leaders.

CONCLUSION

The contents of the background picture in the Silver catalogues display a desire for vividness and detail, an aim to capture the audience's attention in spite of the formidable size of the passages concerned. Catalogues can in several respects be compared to *ekphraseis* of heroes' equipment. Both are set pieces, included by post-Homeric authors as defining features of epic; both often provide a moment of pause in the epic's action, both are a detailed display of material not indisputably essential to the main narrative, and finally both create a picture of a world outside the sphere of the epic's action. The gazettes in the catalogues were synedochic, presenting a world in miniature and appealing to cultural landmarks in a fashion similar, for example, to that of Vergil's Shield of Aeneas (*Aen.* 8. 626 - 728). The technique of the Silver poets, especially the particularisation of the descriptions, displays a desire to create the illusion of a faithful depiction of the countryside. Two elements were involved: on the one hand selection of a representative range of places, on the other, expansion of the small proportion of places that are included out of the total number of potential landmarks, in such a fashion that they at one and the same time appear to have been specially described as individual places, and yet still stand for all the similar locations. The attention paid to the landscape increased in Silver times from the level displayed in Vergil's Latin catalogue. Valerius and Statius in particular employ it so that it becomes a background that relates to their heroes' identity. Rather than atrophying as no longer necessary or relevant, it in fact gains new life.

Like *ekphraseis* too, the catalogues can be used as an aid in the characterisation of the leaders. When creating a background picture of their pre-

expeditionary existence, they similarly did not ignore the original function of such material to give the hero prestige, but exploited it. Statius in particular plays upon the expectations created by what was normal for catalogues and exploits these for his own ends but Valerius and Silius both found new ways of using the information, especially by making it of relevance to generations beyond those of the catalogue: the Trojan War generation in Valerius' case, contemporary Rome in Silius' case. Both the gazettes and the details concerning the leaders were originally included to give prestige to the heroes and to the towns concerned. The Silver Latin catalogues contain far more open emotivity, colour and variety. Nonetheless, they are still concerned with ideas of identity, and of pre-eminence.

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