ingenuously that clothes are an appropriate present for women to give, ¹² as they later become Medea's chosen present for Creon's daughter. The allusion is pointed by the near-repetition of a word only attested at *Medea* 804, $v\epsilon\delta\zeta v\gamma os$ (a passage where Medea announces her intention to kill Jason's new bride). In Apollonius this appears as $v\epsilon\delta\zeta v\xi$ (4.1191), a word only attested elsewhere at Euripides fr. 821. The golden objects, though unspecified, parallel the golden crown (*Medea* 786). Thus the gifts women bestow at Medea's own wedding foreshadow in their nature and in the vocabulary used to describe them the deadlier ones she herself will give another bride in Euripides' play.

The makeshift nature of the wedding and the poet's comment on the destructive power of Eros clearly suggest that the course of Jason's and Medea's marriage will not be happy. These hints are reinforced by the allusions to *Medea*, ¹³ which hint at later events in a more direct way than Homeric allusion could achieve.

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- ¹² On women and weaving in wedding ritual, J. Redfield, 'Notes on the Greek Wedding', *Arethusa* 15 (1982), 181–201, 194–5.
 - ¹³ I would like to thank Dr R. L. Hunter for commenting on an earlier draft of this note.

APOLLONIUS RHODIUS, ARGONAUTICA 4.121

At Argonautica 4.12–13, Medea, frightened and on the point of fleeing her home,² is compared to a young deer:

τρέσσεν δ' ήύτε τις κούφη κεμας ήν τε βαθείης τάρφεσιν εν ξυλόχοιο κυνών εφόβησαν όμοκλή.

The word $\tau \rho \epsilon' \sigma \sigma \epsilon \nu$ here has generally been rendered as 'trembled' by translators,³ a highly appropriate detail in the description of a fawn.⁴ This interpretation was challenged by F. Vian who adopted in his edition of the poem⁵ E. Delage's translation, 'la jeune fille prit la fuite'.⁶ The most recent editors of the *Argonautica*, however, have once again translated the word to mean 'trembled' and it is the return to the orthodox interpretation which has prompted this note.

The meaning of the verb $\tau\rho\epsilon\omega$ caused difficulty already in antiquity. Aristonicus, preserving the traces of discussion among Hellenistic scholars about the word's meaning, records Aristarchus' judgement⁸ that in the Homeric poems the verb is equivalent to $\phi\epsilon\dot{\nu}\gamma\epsilon\nu$ or as Lehrs defines it, $\tau\rho\epsilon\hat{\iota}$ ille qui periculo percepto vel vero vel

- ¹ I would like to thank A. M. Wilson and M. Campbell for helpful advice. The faults which remain are my own responsibility.
- ² The motif of flight dominates the opening scenes of the fourth book. Although no actual movement takes place in the first thirty-four lines, Medea's $\phi \circ \beta$ os (= 'panic flight', LSJ s.v.) is the centre of attention. See Arg. 4.5, 11, 13, 22.
- ³ See, for example, R. C. Seaton, Apollonius Rhodius, The Argonautica (Cambridge, MA and London, 1912); E. V. Rieu, Apollonius of Rhodes, The Voyage of Argo (Harmondsworth, 1959; 1971); E. Livrea, Apollonii Rhodii Argonauticon Liber IV (Florence, 1973).
 - ⁴ Cf. Horace, Odes 1.23.8; Silius Italicus, Punica 5.280-1.
 - ⁵ Apollonios de Rhodes, Argonautiques (Paris, 1974–81).
- ⁶ R. Hunter, *CQ* 37 (1987), 136, implicitly agrees with this interpretation when he compares to this Apollonian simile three Homeric similes which describe fleeing, hunted animals (*Il.* 10.360–2; 11.473–81; 22, 189–93).
 - ⁷ G. Paduano and M. Fusillo, Apollonio Rodio, le Argonautiche (Milan, 1986).
 - ⁸ See K. Lehrs, De Aristarchi Studiis Homericis³ (Leipzig, 1882), pp. 78-82.
 - 9 Op. cit., p. 78. Cf. L. Doederlein, Homerisches Glossarium (Stuttgart, 1850-8), ii.156.

ficto celeri corporis motu retractat'. The tragic poets use the word to mean 'fear' 10 but it is the usage of Homeric epic that is of prime importance for Apollonius. 11 Iliad 11.546^{12} and 17.603 are particularly important in this respect as Homer here begins the hexameter (cf. Arg. 4.12) with the word $\tau \rho \epsilon \sigma \sigma \epsilon$ and on both occasions the correct meaning is 'fled' or something equivalent. 13 At Argonautica 4.1522, the only other occasion on which Apollonius uses the verb, $\epsilon \tau \rho \epsilon \sigma a \nu$ (once more placed at the start of the hexameter) certainly means 'fled'. 14 This evidence has not seemed strong enough, however, to prevent almost all translators of Apollonius from imagining a trembling fawn at 4.12.

The correct meaning of the verb $\tau \rho \epsilon \sigma \sigma \epsilon \nu$ at 4.12 can be decided by further evidence provided by another epic poet, one of the Latin *poetae docti*. Vergil imitates this Apollonian simile at *Aeneid* 4.69–73¹⁵ where Dido, so closely modelled on Medea throughout the episode in Carthage, is also compared to a deer: ¹⁶

qualis coniecta cerva sagitta, quam procul incautam nemora inter Cresia fixit pastor agens telis liquitque volatile ferrum nescius: illa fuga silvas saltusque peragrat Dictaeos; haeret lateri letalis harundo.

There can be no doubt that Vergil's use of fuga here shows that he understood Apollonius' simile to describe a fleeing deer. This imitation thus lends strong support to the interpretation of Vian and Delage and to Lehrs' warning, Antequam finem huic disputationi imponam hoc monendum, ut ne in posterum in vocabulo $\tau \rho \epsilon \hat{\iota} v$ vel Latino tremere vel nostro 'zittern' utamur. Nullo id tempore et nullo loco significat.

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- ¹⁰ See H. Friis-Johansen and E. W. Whittle, Aeschylus, The Suppliants (Copenhagen, 1980), ad 711. Hesychius s.v. glosses the word with $\phi o \beta \epsilon i \sigma \theta a\iota$ and $\phi \epsilon i \gamma \epsilon \iota \nu$. LSJ give as the principle meanings, 'flee from fear, flee away' and 'fear, dread, be afraid of'. On the closely related notions of 'fear' and 'flight' in Greek thought see Lehrs, op. cit., pp. 75–7 and P. Chantraine, Dictionnaire Etymologique de la Langue Grecque (Paris, 1968–80), s.v. $\phi \epsilon \beta o \mu a\iota$. The word is, however, rather often taken to mean 'tremble'; see, for example, A. Bailly, Dictionnaire Grec-Français (1963, 26th ed.), s.v. $\tau \rho \epsilon \omega$.
- ¹¹ For the Homeric parallels to Arg. 4.12–13 see M. Campbell, Echoes and Imitations of Early Epic in Apollonius Rhodius, Mnemosyne Suppl. 72 (Leiden, 1981), p. 65.
- 12 Campbell, op. cit., p. 99 and Hunter, loc. cit., correctly cite *Il.* 11.544–7 as a source for this Apollonian passage. Cf. *Arg.* 4.11 and *Il.* 11.544. Campbell also appositely compares *Il.* 11. 172–3.
- ¹³ pace, for example, P. Mazon, *Homère, Iliade* (Paris, 1937–8), who translates 'il frissonne'. See W. Leaf, *The Iliad* (London, 1900–2), ad 11.546 who notes that the word 'as usual implies the actual movement of flight'. See Lehrs' definition quoted above.
- ¹⁴ See Vian, op. cit., iii.147 who notes in addition that the verb $\dot{v}ποτρϵω$, on the three occasions on which it is employed by Apollonius, also has this sense. Cf. also Callimachus, Hecale, fr, 69.2 Hollis (= fr. 260 Pfeiffer, 288 Suppl. Hell.) where this same verb clearly describes a movement of flight.
- ¹⁵ On this imitation see W. W. Briggs, 'Virgil and the Hellenistic Epic', *ANRW* ii.31.2, pp. 964–6. See also B. Otis, *Virgil*, *A Study in Civilized Poetry* (Oxford, 1964), pp. 73–4.
- ¹⁶ G. N. Knauer, *Die Aeneis und Homer* (Göttingen, 1964), cites *Il*. 11.473–81, where Odysseus is compared to a hunted stag in flight, as a model for this simile. The epic simile is certainly in Vergil's mind here but the dominant model is Apollonius' imitation of this same Homeric simile (see Briggs, op. cit., p. 964; Hunter, loc. cit.) in an erotic context. Dido is compared to a deer because Medea is compared to a deer, not because Odysseus is compared to a stag.