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The Influence of Art on Description  
in the Poetry

OF

P. Papinius Statius

BY

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CONTENTS

	PAGE
INTRODUCTION - - - - -	5
CHAPTER I.—General Examples from the <i>Thebaid</i> -	13
CHAPTER II.—Some Passages cited by Legras - -	74
CHAPTER III.—Stattus' Similes - - - -	81
CHAPTER IV.—Examples from the <i>Achilleid</i> - -	89
BIBLIOGRAPHY - - - - -	101
VITA - - - - -	104



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## INTRODUCTION

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Much has been written on the relation of poetry to the plastic arts. The text of the discussion has been stated usually in the form in which it appears in the opening sentence of Lessing's *Laocoön*:—'Painting is poetry in silence, poetry is painting in speech' (Phillimore's translation). The various critics have been concerned with showing the limitations of the comparison, with emphasising the fact, in one way or another, that the two arts have different spheres, and the canons of the one cannot be strictly applied to the other.

The text goes back to Simonides of Ceos. So we are told incidentally by Plutarch (*Quaest. Conviv.* 9, 15, 2 f. 748 A.): *καὶ ὅλως ἔφη μεταθήσειν τὸ Σιμωνίδειον ἀπὸ τῆς ζωγραφίας ἐπὶ τὴν ὄρχησιν· ποίησιν γὰρ εἶναι τὴν ὄρχησιν σιωπῶσαν, καὶ φθειρομένην ὄρχησιν πάλιν τὴν ποίησιν.* (Cf. Plut. *de aud. poet.* 17 f., and see also the introduction to the *Laocoön*, p. xvii). The definition passed over into Hellenistic discussion on poetry and was repeated often. Note, for example, the reference in the *Auct. ad Herenn.* 4, 28, 39, where it is cited as a familiar definition, being used by the orator as an example of the figure 'commutatio'; 'item, poema loquens pictura, pictura tacitum poema debet esse'; and Cicero, *Tusc.*, 5, 114; 'Traditum est etiam Homerum caecum fuisse: at eius picturam, non poesin videmus': with Horace's well-known phrase (*A. P.* 361), 'ut pictura poesis. (See Christ, *Griechische Literaturgeschichte*, I, p. 219.) A full treatment of the discussions on the subject is given by W. G. Howard, 'Publications of the Modern Language Association of America,' vol. 24 (1909), pp. 40-123.

Homer had inspired the sculptors. The story was told that when Phidias was asked by his collaborator Panaenus in what type he would embody his conception of Zeus, he quoted the famous lines from Homer:

ἡ καὶ κτανέησιν ἐπ' ὀφρύσι νεῦσε Κρονίων  
 ἀμβρόσιαι δ' ἄρα χαίται ἐπερρώσαντο ἄνακτος  
 κρατὸς ἀπ' ἀθανάτοιο, μέγαν δ' ἔλελιξεν Ὀλυμπον.

Macrobius (*Saturn.* 5, 14) gives his version of the story: 'Phidias, cum Iovem Olympium fingeret, interrogatus de quo exemplo divinam imitaretur effigiem, respondit archetypum Iovis in his se tribus Homeri versibus invenisse: nam de superciliis et crinibus totum se Iovis vultum collegisse.' (Cf. Val. Max., 3, 7. Strab., 8, 354). This relation of sculpture to poetry is expressed thus by Spence (*Polymetis*, p. 3): 'When you look on the old pictures or sculptures you look on the works of men who thought much in the same train with the old poets': and again (p. 45), 'the stories told in marbles may sometimes help one to find out the meaning of a passage in the ancient poets; and the poetical stories may sometimes explain the old marbles.'

And not only was the parallel between poetry and sculpture drawn early, but a kinship between the various arts was affirmed. This is expressed by Cicero in the opening section of the *Pro Archia* and taken by Spence as one of the mottoes for his *Polymetis*: 'omnes artes, quae ad humanitatem pertinent, habent quoddam commune vinculum, et quasi cognatione quadam inter se continentur.' Again, Dryden, in his notes on the *De arte graphica* of Du Fresnoy, apropos of this relation says; 'Painting and Poesy are two sisters which are so like in all things that they mutually lend to each other both their name and their office: one is called dumb poesy, and the other a speaking picture': and he cites Tertullian (*de Idolatria*, 8 f. 110), translating as follows, 'There is no art which is not either the father (*sic*) or the near relation of another' (nulla ars non alterius artis aut mater aut propinqua est). The passage in Tertullian appears in a discussion of the idea that the general principles of one art underlie another, that one art engenders another.

But Lessing raises a protest against assuming too close a connection between poetry and the plastic arts. He warns us (*Laocoön*, pp. 85, 86) against the assumption that poets bor-

row every description from works of art. On this score he finds great fault with Spence for proceeding on the hypothesis that the poet imitated the painter in every case. 'I lament,' says he, 'that so useful a book as the *Polymetis* otherwise would have been, should, through the tasteless whim of substituting for the natural fancy of the old poets one derived from another art, have become so repulsive and so much more injurious to classical authors than the watery commentaries of the most insipid etymologist could ever have been.' Lessing's study, of course, was proceeding on the assumption that the *Laocoön* was the work of a sculptor later than Vergil, and that the poet was the source of inspiration for the artist: hence his rather harsh criticism. In the light of subsequent discovery his criticism does not seem to rest on so sure a foundation. However, he continues (p. 94), 'Of the mutual resemblance which subsists between poetry and painting, Spence has the most extraordinary notions. He thinks that both arts in the opinion of the ancients were so closely bound together that they went hand in hand, and the poet never lost sight of the painter nor the painter of the poet.' The truer theory, in his judgment, was that poet and sculptor and painter drew their themes from a common source, and presented them differently, each according to the limitations of his art, and according to the mind with which he saw the material. 'The gods and spiritual beings,' he says, 'as represented by the artist, are not entirely the same as those which the poet makes use of. To the artist they are personified abstracta which must always maintain the same characteristics if they are to be recognized. To the poet, on the other hand, they are real acting creatures which, in addition to their general character, have other qualities and affections which, as circumstances afford the opportunity, predominate.' The difference is expressed admirably by Boissier (*Promenades Archéologiques: 'Pompéi et Rome,'* p. 353), 'Quand Horace dit que la poésie est comme la peinture il n'entend pas exprimer une vérité absolue et qui ne souffre pas d'exception. Il savait bien, ce fin

critique, que, si leur but est semblable, elles suivent des routes différentes pour y arriver. La peinture, qui travaille directement pour les yeux, est bien forcée de donner aux personnages de belles attitudes. Elle ne peut rien présenter au regard qui le choque, car l'image ne s'effaçant pas, l'impression durerait et deviendrait plus fâcheuse par sa durée même. Le poète au contraire, qui s'adresse à l'imagination et peint d'un trait, peut se permettre des fantaisies, qu'on ne pardonnerait pas au peintre.'

If, however, the kinship between poetry and the plastic arts was recognized early, the assertion of the difference between them is also of early date. Lessing might have gone back to Pindar for a text for his protest against the confusion of the two. Pindar opens the fifth Nemean by asserting that he is no sculptor, that the product and method of his art is far different: and Mezger (after Schelling; see Mezger, *Pindars Siegeslieder*, p. 335) remarks on the appropriateness of the reference to statuary, inasmuch, as at the time when the ode was written, sculpture flourished in Aegina.<sup>1</sup>

The poet and the artist, then, must not be judged by the same standard. The excellence of a poet is not to be judged by his ability to draw pictures, or afford material for a picture. On this score, Lessing runs counter to Count Caylus who makes this, as it were, the touch-stone of the poet: 'cette réflexion m'avait conduit à penser que le calcul des différens tableaux, qu'offrent les poèmes, pouvait servir à comparer le mérite respectif des poèmes et des poètes. Le nombre et le genre des tableaux que présentent ces grands ouvrages auraient été une espèce de pierre de touche du mérite de ces poèmes et du génie de leurs auteurs.' Much harm is done, in his judgment, by the failure to observe the difference between the function of poetry and that of plastic art. To this failure he attributes the mania, in poetry, for descriptive painting, and in painting, for allegory.

And this mania for descriptive painting in poetry was char-

<sup>1</sup>This note was suggested by Professor Gildersleeve. See *Pind.* N. 5, 1-3.

acteristic of the Alexandrian age. In respect of this 'pictorial' tendency in poetry, Lang (Introduction to the Translation of *Theocritus, Bion and Moschus*, p. 31 ff.) draws a comparison between the epic fragments of Theocritus and the poems of Homer. This leads him to the observation that the art of the Alexandrian age was elaborately pictorial. 'Poetry,' he says, 'seems to have sought inspiration from painting, while painting inclined to genre, to luxurious representations of the amours of the gods or the adventures of heroes, with backgrounds of natural landscape.' Standards of taste had changed. The sculptors of the 'severer' style had been inspired by Homer. The author cited continues: 'When a new order of subject became fashionable, and when every rich Alexandrian had pictures or frescoes on his walls, it appears that the painters took the lead, that the initiative in art was theirs.' Evidence of this is found in the fact that so many Pompeian wall-paintings treat the subjects that are handled by the Roman poets who presumably borrowed from the Alexandrians.

Yet in the treatment of a given subject it is difficult to say which was the imitator, the painter or the poet. Boissier (*op. cit.*, p. 345), discusses the problem, relative to the Pompeian wall-paintings: 'Les uns et les autres (poet and painter) aiment à exprimer les mêmes sentiments; ils cherchent les mêmes qualités et n'évitent pas les mêmes défauts. Faut-il en conclure que les peintres se sont inspirés des poètes et qu'ils ont pris dans leurs ouvrages le sujet de leurs tableaux? . . . il est aisé de démontrer qu'ils sont demeurés presque entièrement étrangers à la littérature de Rome. Doit-on croire au contraire que ce sont les poètes qui ont imités les peintres? Cette supposition ne serait pas beaucoup plus vraisemblable, et dans tous les cas il est inutile . . . s'ils se ressemblent, c'est qu'ils puisaient à la même source: peintres et poètes travaillent sur les mêmes modèles, ils étaient les élèves des maîtres d'Alexandrie, et voilà comment ils pouvaient arriver à se rencontrer, même sans se connaître.'

The tendency, then, towards elaborate description among

Roman poets of the Augustan Age was due to the influence of the Alexandrian masters. In the time of the Empire it became still more the fashion. Statius, imitating Vergil closely as he did, and striving to outdo Ovid, carried to extreme this tendency towards picture drawing. It is the object of this thesis, however, to show that with him it took a turn that was quite unique.

Critics have given Statius credit for very little originality, at least in his *Thebaid*. His principal sources are given as Homer (see Schol. ad Theb. 3. 407: but Wilamowitz, *Lese-früchte*, Hermes 34, p. 602, thinks the scholium refers only to this passage), and Antimachus (see Helm, *De P. Pap. Statii Thebaide*, p. 6). Not even in the treatment of individual incidents is he conceded any independence. For instance, the embassy of Tydeus to Eteocles, king of Thebes, treated in Theb. 2, 363 ff., is compared with the version of the same incident in Homer (Il. 4, 370 ff., id. 5, 300 ff., id. 10, 285 ff.). R. Werner (*Zur Sage vom Zuge der Sieben gegen Theben*—'Comment. Philol. für O. Ribbeck.' Leipzig, 1888, p. 514) notes the difference in the message that Tydeus delivers and in the events that followed. Statius' version is found in Diod. 4, 65. The source, argues Werner, is Antimachus, who followed another earlier version of the story. Other scholars have attempted to show his indebtedness to Euripides. F. Mörner (*De P. Pap. Statii Thebaide quaestiones criticae, grammaticae, metricae*, Königsberg, 1890, I. II.) claims that the poet owes something to the prologue of the *Phoenissae* (op. cit. p. 2), but most to Antimachus (id. p. 6).

Eissfeldt (*Ueber Quellen und Vorbilder des P. Pap. Statius*. Progr. Helmstedt, 1900) relates the *Thebaid* of Statius to the *Cyclic Epic Thebais*. The same writer, in 'Philologus,' 63, p. 421 ff., attributes the poet's lack of originality to the fact that under his father he studied the ancient poets almost exclusively from the point of view of style. (Cf., too, Plessis, *La poésie latine*, p. 598.) He waxes sarcastic in commenting on the closing lines of the *Thebaid*, 'durabisne procul etc.'

‘Zwölf Jahre,’ he exclaims, ‘hat er daran gearbeitet! Wir wollen ihm das gern glauben. Es muss eine gewaltige Arbeit gewesen sein, alle die epischen Dichtungen der Vorgänger daraufhin durchzuarbeiten, was er wohl für seine Zwecke verwenden konnte, und wie mühsam mag er gewesen sein, alles in den Rahmen der Thebanischen Sage hinein zuzwängen, dass ein leidlich abgerundetes Ganze herauskam! Und wie schwer mag ihm manches Mal die Wahl geworden sein, welcher von den ihm zu Gebote stehenden Perlen er den Vorzug geben sollte. Es ist daher sehr begreiflich, dass alles das manche schlaflose Nacht gekostet hat.’ The writer speaks as if he had worked long on the poet and had his temper soured. In his judgment, Statius was a mere slavish imitator, who did not even trouble himself at times to vary his originals; and he quotes the lines from Sophocles’ *Antigone* (365 ff.) merely to observe that ‘in the Thebaid the poet inclines to the bad for the most part.’

Admitting, as we must, that in invention Statius showed no originality—that the subject of his Epic was worn threadbare, and that for the most part he chose the materials that lay ready to his hand—one may still attempt to show that in method of treatment he added something that was quite his own, something that after him became the fashion. And, as noted above, it is in the direction of the tendency towards picture drawing that we must look for what we consider peculiar to him. Like his predecessors he draws elaborate pictures, which in themselves suggest the influence of the Alexandrians. But as if this were not enough—as if a description, with the object in mind, were not sufficient—he turns from the particular thing he is describing and places before the reader a conventional picture, which he seems to consider the embodiment of the object before him: so that the reader turns from the poet’s description, not with the object before his eyes, but the picture or statue which the poet has suggested. We are not concerned here with those passages where, evidently, the poet was describing a well-known work of art (see Gaymann, *Kunst-*

*archäologische Studien.* Würzburg, 1898), but with those which can be traced to no definite painting or statue, but inevitably suggest a work of art.

Somewhat the same phenomenon Lessing observes in Lucian. He says: 'Lucian can give us no other idea of the beauty of Panthea, than by referring us to the most beautiful female statues of the ancient artists. But what is this but to confess that language for this purpose is powerless; that poetry stammers and eloquence is dumb unless art in some measure assist them as an interpreter?' (See Lucian, *Imagines*, Vol. II, p. 461 Reitz.) He cites, further, as a parallel Scott's description of the Lady of the Lake at her first appearance (Canto I. 17, 18). Of Scott's description he says that it happily blends the ideas of the poet and sculptor.

With Statius, however, this tendency becomes a habit. Art intrudes even where the poet's description would be more forcible if it were kept out. This raises a question which the poet's biographers have not dealt with—whether his interest in the plastic arts was deeper than we have heretofore supposed, or whether the phenomenon was merely the result of his mania for exaggeration. For we are not prepared to attribute the same tendency to the other poets of his age: an examination of the *Argonautica* shows that while Valerius Flaccus draws pictures as did Apollonius and Vergil he does not to any great extent exhibit this tendency which we are ascribing to Statius. One or two illustrations of this tendency, however, may be discovered.

In the *Silvae* the poet does not show this tendency. The nature of the poems, however, in a measure precludes it.



CHAPTER I.

GENERAL EXAMPLES FROM THE THEBAID.

*Theb.* 1. 121.

The stylistic tendency that we are assigning to Statius is illustrated by *Theb.* 1. 121:

*ipsa suum genetrix curvo delphine vagantem  
 abripuit frenis gremioque Palæmona pressit.*

*When her own hand his mother snatched Palæmon from the curvo  
 took it up  
 dolphin steed  
 pressed him to her*

As it happens, the passage has a long tradition behind it, and an opportunity is thus given to compare the original treatment of the motif with that of Statius.

Commentators trace it back through Apollonius of Rhodes to Euripides, though in this thesis the attempt is made to show that Homer supplies the original motif. In a chorus of Euripides' *Troades* (542 ff.) the poet makes the leaders of the chorus describe the events of the evening preceding the fall of Troy, when the wooden horse had been brought within the wall to propitiate, as they thought, the virgin Athena;

1. 542.            ἐν δὲ πόνῳ καὶ χαρᾷ  
 νύχιον ἐπὶ κνέφας παρῆν,

· · · · ·

1. 555.            φοινία δ' ἀνὰ  
 πτόλιν βοὰ κατείχε Περ—  
 γάμων ἔδρας · βρέφη δὲ φιλι—  
 α περιπέπλους ἔβαλλε μα—  
 τρὶ χεῖρας ἐπτοημένας.

The poet here is concerned with creating an atmosphere for the description of the horrors that attended the capture of the city. Black night had fallen on a scene of brilliant merry-making which Euripides describes with sure touch, so that one can

feel the atmosphere of light-heartedness. The only suggestion of anything sinister is in the descent of night, which covers all with its black wings—and even this is at first taken as a means to heighten the splendor and festivities of the occasion. But just when the situation is created—a situation of abandoned mirth and happiness—a fierce shriek interrupts the merry-making. With one stroke Euripides brings on the whole dreadful calamity. The horror of the cry strikes the hearts that were but now so light and spells doom for all.

The shout was heard in all Pergamus' homes. Euripides is here not concerned mainly with the extent of the sound, but with its horror—with the suggestion of calamity it conveyed. Those who heard it—even the children—had an instinctive foreboding that death was near. This is what the poet wishes to impress on his hearers in order to prepare them for the tale of butchery that was to follow. And in as much as in tragedy emotional setting is all-important, to accomplish the *κάθαρσις* of the soul of the hearer, it is the pathos of the situation in this instance that appeals most to Euripides, and it is this he is most anxious to present. Here, then, was real ground for fear, in the fate of the house of Priam, in that of the little boy Astyanax particularly, and the poet prepares the hearer for the imminent calamity by portraying the consternation of the moments before the sad tragedy began. Nothing could be more natural than Euripides' treatment of this theme—his picture of the frightened children fleeing to their mothers, and clinging to their skirts, doomed, no doubt, to be snatched away at once to a violent death. A moment later Andromache enters riding in a mule-car, and bearing in her arms the body of her murdered son: and a dialogue follows between her and Hekabe, in which the tale of their sorrows is told, the death of Hector and Astyanax, and the fall of their wretched city.

But it seems to me that we can trace further back the suggestion of this motif at least. Forbiger (on Aen. 7. 518, *et trepidae matres pressere ad pectora natos*) says that undoubtedly the lines in the Epit. Iliad.:

parvumque ad pectora natum  
Astyanacta tenet . . . (vid. infra)

go back to Virgil: yet one naturally turns to the passage in the Iliad which deals with the same incident. Here, one may venture to say, we find the original of this natural touch, though it may not be easy to see that the whole conception originates with Homer. An examination of the passage (Il. 6. 466 ff.) will bring out the points of resemblance:

ὡς εἰπὼν οὐ παιδὸς ὀρέξατο φαίδιμος Ἔκτωρ·  
ἄψ δ' ὁ παῖς πρὸς κόλπον εὐζώνοιο τιθήνης  
ἐκκλίθη ἰάχῳ, πατρὸς φίλου ὄψιν ἀτυχθεῖς,  
ταρβήσας χαλκὸν τε ἰδὲ λόφον ἵππιοχαίτην  
δεινὸν ἀπ' ἀκροτάτης κόρυθος νεύοντα νοήσας.

What could be more beautiful and pathetic than this scene? Yet a discussion of the picture is scarcely in place here: we are concerned more with its possible relation to the other passages under consideration. True, in this incident the immediate cause of the child's fear is not the same as in the Euripides passage and the others that are to be cited. The little Astyanax naturally cries aloud with fright at the strange gear upon his father's head, and nothing could be more simple or more true to life than the instinctive clinging of the child to his mother. But with this observation Homer's picture is not exhausted: we feel the weight of the doom that is hanging over Priam's house. The whole atmosphere is charged with fright and terror. Outside the city walls the fight rages, and the shouts and clang of arms are carried up to the people. This forms the background for the picture of natural affection drawn in Homer's lines: and this scene, we venture to say, was present to the mind of Euripides. As in the Euripides passage the pathos of the situation is heightened by the fate of Astyanax.

Coming down to Theocritus we see the theme suggested again in the account of the infant Heracles strangling the two serpents sent upon him by Hera. The story is told in Idyll. 24, 11-60:

1. 11. ἄμος δὲ στρέφεται μεσονύκτιον ἐς δύσιν ἄρκτος  
 Ὀρίωνα κατ' αὐτόν, ὃδ' ἀμφαίνει μέγαν ὤμον  
 . . . . .
1. 60. Ἄλκμηνα μὲν ἔπειτα ποτὶ σφέτερον βάλε κόλπον  
 ξηρὸν ὑπαὶ δείουσ ἀκράχολον Ἴφικλῆα :

In the Theocritus passage the situation is different, though it contains quite similar elements. The story of Heracles and the serpents is a familiar one. Pliny (N. H. 35, 63) tells of a painting on this subject by Zeuxis—*magnificus est et Iuppiter eius in throno adstantibus deis et Hercules infans dracones strangulans Alcmena matre coram parente et Amphitryone*. Representations are seen also on the coins (1) of Thebes: (2) of the alliance of Samos, Ephesus, Rhodes, Cnidus, etc.; (3) of Croton and the South Italian League (Vid. Daremberg et Saglio s. v. Heracles). Another representation, perhaps the best known, is a fresco of Pompeii. On the right is Zeus; behind him is Alcmena, terror-stricken; on the left stands a slave; Heracles is a well-grown child and is represented not in his cradle but as kneeling on one knee in the centre and strangling the serpent (J. H. S. 16. p. 143 ff.). Pausanias (1. 24. 2) speaks of a statue representing this subject on the Acropolis at Athens. For further illustrations see Roscher II. p. 2222.

The version of the story given in Theocritus is the same as that in Pindar Nem. 1.35-61, except that Pindar has nothing to do with this motif of the mother's alarm. The cause of Alcmena's alarm and the infant Iphicles' fright, is not a cry—though Iphicles had roused her from her bed with his crying. As seen in the representations on the coins and in the fresco her fear is not for Heracles, who seems to be performing his task with the utmost capacity and composure, but for Iphicles. Perhaps it was due as much to the general confusion of the household as to the danger the young Heracles seemed to be in, and Iphicles threatened with. At any rate, we have here the elements of the tradition—the cry and confusion (though in the nature of the case it cannot be the same as in the Euripides

passage), and the mother in fear clasping her terror-stricken child to her breast.

The feature of special interest, however, in both the *Iliad* and the Theocritus passage, is not the cause of alarm but the simple and natural treatment of this motif of motherly affection and apprehension. Both passages serve the purpose of contrasting the treatment given it by authors who were not so completely under the influence of rhetoric and art with that of later and more conventional writers.

Going back we next trace this passage down from Euripides to Apollonius of Rhodes (*Arg.* 4, 123 ff.). The Argonaut heroes had landed Jason and Medea at a grassy spot near which Phrixus had built an altar to Zeus when he came with the ram of the golden fleece. Straightway the pair set out for the oak-tree on which the golden fleece hung:

1. 123. τὰ δὲ δι' ἀτραπίτιοιο μεθ' ἱερὸν ἄλσος ἵκοντο  
 φηγὸν ἀπειρεσίην διζήμενω, ἧ ἔπι κῶας  
 βέβλητο, νεφέλη ἐναλίγκιον . . . . .  
 . . . . .
1. 127. αὐτὰρ ὁ ἀντικρὺ περιμήκεα τείνετο δειρὴν  
 ὄξυς ἀύπνοισιν προῖδων ὄφιν ὀφθαλμοῖσιν  
 νισσομένους, ρόιζει δὲ πελώριον . . . . .  
 . . . . .
1. 136. δείματι δ' ἐξέγροντο λεχωίδες, ἀμφὶ δὲ παισὶν  
 νηπιάχοις, οἳ τέ σφιν ὑπ' ἀγκαλίδεσσιν ἴανον,  
 ρόιζω παλλομένοις χεῖρας βάλον ἀσχαλόσσαι.

Here the natural touch is as beautiful as in Euripides, but the setting is not dramatic.

Immediately after the description of the hissing of the serpent, Apollonius passes to a description of the relaxing of the huge serpent's coils. 'As when above smouldering wood countless sooty eddies of smoke whirl and, one upon another, rise ever upward from below, hovering aloft in wreathes: so then that monster writhed his endless coils covered with dry scales.' Then the poet tells how Medea called on Sleep to aid her in the

subduing of the dragon and the protection of Jason: how she called on Hecate to give fair issue to their venture; and how the monster at once relaxed his huge coils under the goddess' spell.

Apollonius has given to the motif a different setting from that in which it appears in Euripides. With him it is more or less artificial. In contrast with the situation in the Troades, here there is no occasion for fear on the part of the mothers: no harm can come to them or their new-born infants. The poet in this situation is not preparing the hearer, as was Euripides, for the recital of disaster that followed: as we have seen, he goes on to describe the actions of the dragon in more minute details. He is concerned with description chiefly. Into his description three motifs enter: (1) to represent the far-reaching power of the sound; (2) to show the danger (to Jason and Medea) in the situation; (3) to give an idea of the awful nature of the sound. The first leads him to geographical description, of which Apollonius and the Alexandrians generally were fond: the last two give occasion to describe the natural fear of the mother for her babe, and her instinctive clutching of it to her breast.

Apollonius sets the form in which the theme was imitated by later authors, Virgil, Valerius Flaccus and Statius. With all of them the first feature is made as important as the others. Apollonius calculates the distance that the sound radiates, making Colchis his centre. The sound waves extend to the R. Titanus on the north; R. Lykus on the south and west; the Phasis to the south; to Araxes on the south and east; to the Caucasian Sea at the far east. Here the poet bounds the sound area by streams or bodies of water in every instance.

As in Euripides, the time is still night: rather the time when night begins to pass into day (l. 109 ff.).

Jason's companions have landed him with Medea to secure the fleece and to be off before Aeetes discovers with approaching day that the theft has taken place. The time adds to the terror of the situation: the mother, awakened from sleep by the wild cry, is terrified all the more and instinctively clasps her child.

While the deep pathos of the situation in the Euripides passage is absent, still there is the same simple beauty in the Apollonius passage. The poet here creates an artificial setting for the motif, but the plain homely touch is preserved.

Before passing to Virgil's treatment of this bit of traditional material, it will be instructive to turn to Kallimachus and see how he has handled the motif. In the Hymn to Delos (l. 133 ff.) is a passage that deals with one side of it. Leto, pursued by Hera, is prohibited from taking refuge in any land, because she had presumed to think that she would bear a son to Zeus, who would be dearer to him than Ares (Hym. Del. 55-58). The River Peneus, disregarding the anger of the goddess, offers Leto shelter and rouses the anger of Ares:

ἀλλὰ οἱ Ἄρης

Παγγαίου προθέλυμνα κάρηατα μέλλεν αἰείρας  
 ἐμβαλέειν δίνησιν, ἀποκρύψαι δὲ ῥέεθρα·  
 ὑψόθε δ' ἐσμαράγησε καὶ ἀσπίδα τύψεν ἀκωκῆ  
 δούρατος . . . . .

Here the area and the frightful nature of the sound is given, but not the natural touch. All Ares' outcry was for nothing. Peneus went on his course undisturbed. The effect of the sound is seen here only in Leto's anxiety for the safety of Peneus, the friend who had been compassionate to her in her distress when all the world was refusing her an asylum. (Cf. Nonn. Dion. 2, 38 ff.).

Most commentators maintain that the passage in Virgil (Aen. 7. 511 ff.) is modelled on the passage cited from Apollonius. The Fury, Allecto, comes up from the Stygian regions to inspire the Rutuli against the Trojans, and at the opportune moment, when the Rutuli have gathered at Silvia's call for help on the wounding of her pet stag, utters a frightful cry. On this passage Wagner in his note says (comparing it with the passage in Apollonius); non tam ornate sed meliore iudicio: nam a Furia inflatam buccinam tam horrendum sonitum edidisse,

probabilius est dictum quam draconis sibilum tam longe esse auditum:

l. 511. at saeva e speculis tempus dea nacta nocendi  
ardua tecta petit stabuli, et de culmine summo  
pastorale canit signum, cornuque recurvo  
Tartaream intendit vocem. . . . .

l. 518. et trepidæ matres pressere ad pectora natos.

But it seems rather that the Virgil passage is a combination of the Apollonius passage, cited above, and another (Argon. 4, 640 ff.). The Argonauts are on the point of being carried out to the Ocean by an off-shoot of the Rhodanus (vid. ll. 638-9) when Hera, to warn them, 'sped forth from heaven and shouted from the Hercynian rock: and one and all did quake with fear at her shout, for terribly rumbled the wide firmament.'

Like Apollonius Virgil had two objects in his description—to represent the frightful nature of the sound, and its extent. Virgil's geography, however, is more local than that of Apollonius, though, as the note (cited above) observes, the cry of the Fury was more likely to be far-reaching than the hiss of the dragon. But, generally speaking, Virgil's love of geographical description springs from a different impulse than that of Apollonius, who employs it for the sake of the opportunity it affords for the display of learning.

In the Virgil passage the sound spreads from some high place of outlook near the gates of Rome (vid. ll. 477, 511.) on which the Fury had taken her stand. It extends to 'lacus Triviæ'—a lake near the precinct of Diana at Aricia, southeast of Rome: northward to the R. Nar in Umbria: to the east to the Fontes Velini, in the Sabine territory; the westerly direction would carry Virgil to lands beyond Italy, and with these the poet was not concerned. He is concerned primarily with the horror of the sound, 'whereat the grove all shuddered instantly, and forest-depths re-echoed, and trembling mothers pressed to their breasts their frightened children.'



The situation is to be compared with that in Euripides rather than that in Apollonius. As a preparation for the battle that is to follow the description is all the more striking, while, as we noticed in the Apollonius episode, nothing follows that would show there had been any cause for fear. That is to say, the beauty of the natural touch in Virgil is heightened by the picture of strife and bloodshed that follows.

This passage was taken as a stock example of description in the later rhetoricians. It was cited by Quintilian (*Inst. Orat.* 8, 3, 70) and Iulius Victor (*Rhet. Lat. Min.* p. 437 ff.), a commentary on Cicero *Verr.* 5, 86. Commenting on bald statement as compared with detailed and vivid description, in which all the various phases of a disaster are put before the mind's eye, and on the essential features of a good description, Quintilian says: *consequemur autem, ut manifesta sint, si fuerint veri similia: et licebit etiam falso effingere quidquid fieri solet. continget eadem claritas etiam ex accidentibus: . . . .*

*trepidæ matres pressere ad pectora natos.*

And finally he says: *naturam intueamur: hanc sequamur.* That is, if comparisons are used, they must be such as give no violent shock to one's conception of what comes within the range of experience. To the same effect writes Iulius Victor, quoting at length from Quintilian and employing the same examples.

But if Virgil improved on Apollonius in keeping his description within the bounds of greatest probability, one can hardly say that he had himself to thank for the improvement. The motif of the cry of the Fury he got from Homer (*Il.* 2. 3-11). So the note in the Heyne-Wagner edition. But as we have seen, perhaps, here, too, the source is Apollonius.

Virgil had many imitators in this motif. Among others, Emmensius cites (*Virg. Elzv. ed.*) a passage in the first book of Lucan: '*et pavidæ natos pressere ad pectora matris.*' This, however, is so much like the Virgil line that it arouses suspicion, and, in fact, no such line can be found in Lucan. It is, however, found in the poem of Hosidius Geta (?), *Anth. Lat.* i. 178, 384 (*Burm.*).

This poem in the Anth. Lat. is a tragedy—Medea. In the passage cited the messenger enters and describes to Creon what he has seen Medea doing: she has kindled the altars at night and is burning on them cedar, squill, hellebore and sulphur, all the while calling upon Hecate. Then she waits, while fire flashes from her eyes. Soon great clouds obscure the sky, the earth quakes, lightning flashes: then are heard strange voices and loud wailing, the sound of tramping feet and snapping scourges. Amid all this and the wild clamor of dogs, in the black darkness of night Hecate approaches—and at her approach “backward flows the stream in terror, and fearful mothers press their children to their hearts.”

The poem of Hosidius Geta is but an adaptation of Virgil's Aeneid to a different theme (Vid. Teuffel 370. 5 Eng. Trans.). Teuffel quotes Tertull. de praescript. haeret. 39—*vides hodie ex Virgilio fabulam in totum aliam componi, materia secundum versus, versibus secundum materiam concinnatis, denique Hosidius Geta Medeam Tragœdiam ex Virgilio plenissime exsuxit.* It cannot be called an original work in any sense: and its value in this connection lies in the fact that it reproduces closely the tradition of the Virgil passage. The cry of the Fury, and all the weird noises that accompany her approach are calculated to inspire terror. The episode fits into the Medea story admirably; and contrasted with Medea's unnatural action in the slaying of her children, the pathos of the natural touch (*et pavidæ matres pressere ad pectora natos*) is greatly heightened. It will be noted that the only change from the Virgilian line is the substitution of '*pavidæ*' for '*trepidæ*.'

As observed above, the commentators refer the passage in the Epit. Iliad. (509) to the passage in Virgil cited (but see the discussion in this paper on Iliad 6. 466 ff.) The incident in the Epit. Iliad. is the meeting of Andromache and Hector:

“Meanwhile Ares with mighty strength slays Akamas: and Menelaus takes captive great Adrastus.”

Then follows the battle between the Danai and the Trojan warriors. Hector, seeing that the gods have turned their faces

from the Trojans, bids the women go pray and sacrifice. Mean-  
time Glaucus and Diomedes engage in noisy combat, and then  
exchange gifts and swear eternal friendship.

“And Hector’s faithful wife Andromache seeks converse  
with him, and holds the little Astyanax to her breast.”

As in the Iliad the touch of natural affection is beautiful.  
The noise of battle in the distance makes the mother apprehen-  
sive of the fate that may befall her child, and with a mother’s  
instinct she grasps him and presses him to her breast. In the  
Iliad, of which this is merely a summary, the cause of fear is  
the same, but Andromache’s conversation with Hector is drawn  
out at greater length. The *direct* occasion of her grief is the  
sad picture that Hector draws of what may be her lot when the  
Achaeans capture the city (and this seems a certainty, since the  
gods are fighting for the Greeks) when she is dragged away to  
slavery, to weave at the bidding of some strange woman. But  
as a background for the picture, in the far distance the battle  
rages, and the noise of clashing shields is borne on the wind to  
her ears.

One naturally looks for an imitation of Apollonius in Valer-  
ius Flaccus, and at the same time has to reckon on the influence  
of Virgil. The episode of the dragon comes up in Valerius  
(Bk. 7.) The treatment is different from that of Apollonius,  
for reasons that we shall see:

l. 516. accipe, perdomitis quæ deinde pericula tauris  
et quis in Aeolio maneat te vellere custos:

. . . . .

‘quis fragor hic? quænam tantæ, dic virgo, ruinæ?  
exclamat stricto Aesonides stans frigidus ense.  
illa trahit ridens tandemque ait angue represso.

Valerius has preserved few traces of the motif as it is seen  
in Apollonius. There is still the hissing of the dragon, but it  
almost seems as if Valerius were not taking that seriously, even  
though he makes Medea warn Jason of the dangers that await  
him by the oak tree on which the fleece hangs. That he is

thinking of the Apollonius passage can be seen from lines 529, 530, when Jason takes fright at the awful sound of the hissing. But he turns aside and represents Medea as almost indulging in mirth at Jason's expense.

The chief reason, however, for the difference in treatment is the fact that the poet had employed this motif in the episode of the Lemnian women (Arg. 2. 196-203). Here he was influenced by Virgil (Aen. 7. 518). From Virgil he borrowed the cry of the Fury to replace the hissing of the dragon:

1. 200. inde novam pavidas vocem furibunda per auras  
congeminat, qua pulsus Athos et pontus et ingens  
Thracia pavet, pariterque toris exhorruit omnis  
mater et adstricto riguerunt ubere nati.

The motive for the introduction of the description is the same here as in the Euripides passage—to prepare the way for the description of the horrors that were to follow. On that night the Lemniades unnaturally murdered their newly returned husbands in their beds, all with the exception of Hypsipyle. But there is a second motive. As in Apollonius, the poet is intent on describing not only the horror but the extent of the sound also. This gives him the opportunity for geographical description. The centre from which the sound radiates is Lemnos: it extends to the Bistonian mere on the north and west: to the Acroceraunian headland away to the far west: to Colchis at the extreme east: southward its waves would spread in a direct course down the Aegean Sea to Crete, though nothing is said of this. Without discussing the reasons for the choice of these particular places, beyond the fact that they represent great distance in each direction, one might suggest that the reference to the Colchian deep may be intentional, owing to the part that the Argonauts, whose destination was Colchis, played in the story of the Lemnian women.

Valerius does not make so much of geographical description as does Apollonius. He has a real tragedy to prepare for; Apollonius has not, but has merely a sound to describe in its two as-

pects—its immensity and extent, and its wild horror. In Valerius the setting lends greater pathos. But in instituting a comparison one must bear in mind what the latter poet owed to Virgil. What is important to observe, however, is that with Valerius Flaccus the beauty of the natural touch is still preserved:

pariterque toris exhorruit omnis  
mater et adstricto riguerunt ubere nati,

and that it is adapted from Apollonius rather than Vergil, as can be seen by a comparison of the last two lines of the Apollonius passage:

δείματι δ' ἐξέγροντο λεχωίδες, ἀμφὶ δὲ παισὶν  
νηπιάχοις, οἳ τέ σφιν ὑπ' ἀγκαλίδεσσιν ἴανον.

A late imitation of the motif is seen in Ariosto (*Orlando Fur.* 27, stanza 100, 101). King Agramante listens to Sobrino's advice to refrain from strife with Marfisa, who had offered him an affront by dragging away his squire and challenging any knight to rescue him by deed of arms:

*Stanza 101.*

Tremò Parigi e turbidossi Senna  
All' alta voce, a quello orribil grido.  
Rimbombò il suon fin alla selva Ardena  
Sì, che lasciâr tutte le fiere il nido.  
Udiron l'Alpi e il monte di Gebenna  
Di Blaia e d'Arli e di Roano il lido:  
Rodano e Sonna udì, Garonna e il Reno:  
Si strinsero le madri i figli al seno:

Here are all the elements of the traditional passage, following the Homeric tradition in making the sound the cry of Discord (see *Il.* 11, 3-11). One detail is added: the beasts themselves in the depths of the Ardenne forest flee with fright at the sound. There is more geographical detail than in the traditional passage; but the homely touch of natural affection is the same:

Si strinsero le madri i figli al seno.

A consideration of the passage in Statius (*Theb.* 1, 114 ff.) in which this motif occurs, and an examination of his method of treatment, will serve to illustrate the peculiar character of his genius. Here the sound is the hissing of the snakes in the hair of the Fury, Tisiphone, as she comes up from the lower world to enflame the hearts of the brothers Eteocles and Poly-nices. It looks like a combination of the Apollonius and Vergil passages, though no doubt Vergil was followed mainly. There is the same element of improbability as was noted by the commentator on the Apollonius passage, namely, that the hissing of the snakes in the locks of the Fury could be heard at such great distance or inspire such great terror. But this element of the supernatural appealed to Statius as it did to the Alexandrians:

- l. 114. ut stetit abrupta qua plurimus arce Cithaeron  
occurrit caelo, fera sibila crine virenti  
congeminat, signum terris. . . .
- l. 121. ipsa suum genetrix curvo delphine vagantem  
abripuit frenis gremioque Palaemona pressit.

The setting is much the same as in Euripides and Vergil. The horrible sound, with the fear that it inspires, is a preliminary to the unnatural struggle of the two brothers. The poet's purpose again is to create an atmosphere in the reader's mind for the recital of the horrors of war that is to follow. To give an adequate impression of the sound he describes it from two points of view—its extent and its horror.

The Fury stands on Cithaeron, on the southern border of Boeotia, and the sound waves radiate from that point. The poet first makes the general statement that all the shore of the Achaean sea and the kingdoms of Pelops re-echo it. On the north and west, it strikes Parnassus, in Phocis, and Oeta in Aetolia; on the south, it strikes the Isthmus and the Eurotas in Laconia.

But at present we are concerned principally with his treatment of the simple natural touch that we observed in the passages already treated. With him Vergil's line—'et trepidae matres pressere ad pectora natos'—becomes:

ipsa suum genetrix curvo delphine vagantem  
abripuit frenis gremioque Palaemona pressit.

The mother and child still survive, but they have become mythological persons. 'Leucothoe and Palaemon are the mother and child par excellence of antiquity,' as is evidenced by the many references to them in Latin literature.<sup>1</sup>

But there is no longer free scope for the imagination: the goddess and her child are there as if painted in a picture. Real beauty there is indeed in the picture—the little Palaemon is seen riding about on the back of his dolphin guiding him by the reins. As he is playing about in this fashion the hissing of the snakes on the Fury's head is heard, and the mother, still human enough for a mother's love, grasps her child up and presses him to her heart. The picture is charming still, but its former simple beauty is vanished, and in its place we have two pictures, such as might have come from a coin or painting or statue. Such representations we have: a Corinthian coin showing Palaemon on his dolphin, another showing Leucothoe with the young Palaemon in her arms ready to cast him into the sea, and the dolphin there waiting to receive him. (*vid.* Daremberg et Saglio, *s. v.* 'Melicertes.')

Evidently this passage was a subject of discussion among later rhetoricians, as we have seen the Vergil passage was (*Aen.* 7. 518). Lactantius discusses it at some length, seemingly, as Dr. K. F. Smith suggests, in reply to adverse criticism. What this criticism may have been, or to what extent the passage was discussed, we have been unable to trace. On the words

<sup>1</sup> Verg. *Aen.* 5, 823; *Georg.* 1, 437; *Ov. M.* 4, 542; *Cic. N. D.* 3, 15, 59; *Claudian.* 10, 154-156 (*Epithal. Honor.*). Cf. *Apul. Met.* 4, 31; *Stat. Theb.* 9, 330.

'ipsa suum genetrix, etc.' Lactantius says—Leucothoen dicit: et bene ipsam eligit hoc loco ponere quia iam malum didicerat furiarum, et iocunde dictum *pressit*. et a Thebanis numinibus non recessit quae, veluti praescia, magis metuunt patriae quam furiarum sonitus perhorrescunt; et mire dicendo 'pressit' affectionem maternam explicuit.

Lactantius is arguing for the appropriateness of the picture. Three points he finds in its favour—first, that Leucothoe had already experienced the horrors that the Fury could bring about: again, that Leucothoe and Palaemon were the protecting deities of Thebes, and as such were more fearful for the land of Thebes than for themselves; and again, that the picture admirably represents motherly love. In Statius' picture, however, Palaemon is but a child still, driving his dolphin with reins of roses (Claudian, l. c.) and Leucothoe is the typical mother. We must see then that in Statius we have an entirely different version of the traditional motif: all the elements are still present, but present in a form greatly influenced by plastic art.

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*Theb.* 1. 197. The 'Concilium Deorum.'

In Statius' handling of a theme that is common in epic poetry—namely, the 'concilium deorum'—can be seen his stylistic tendency. By adopting such a theme, following the traditional treatment and expanding it, a poet has an opportunity for the grouping of figures and for picture drawing. This opportunity Statius availed himself of to the full. The value of this example, again, lies in the fact that it has behind it a long epic tradition, and a comparison can easily be drawn between the treatment of it in earlier poets and that given by our poet, and at the same time an opportunity is given of showing how Statius set the fashion, and how, after him, the treatment of such themes became more and more conventional.

From Homer down the 'concilium deorum' was very common epic material. In Latin literature it appears early. Conington (on *Aen.* 10, 1 ff.) notes "a line of Naevius (*Osann*



conj. 'Laevius') 'Panditur interea domus altitonantis Olympi.' This is quoted by Apuleius (*de orthographia* 15)." Baehrens, however (*Poet. Lat. Min.* vol. 6) cites this passage neither with the fragments of Naevius nor with Laevius. Hence any conjecture as to the treatment of the motif in this early poet (whoever he was) is useless.

It appears next in Ennius. Fragments 53, 54, 55, *Ann.* 1 (Müll.) refer to a 'concilium deorum.' Frag. 53,

considunt tectis bipatientibus,

which Servius (on *Aen.* 10, 5) says Vergil gets from Ennius, refers to a description of the building in which the 'concilium' was held. Frag. 54,

unus erit, quem tu tolles in caerula caeli  
templa,

is Jupiter's promise to Mars, as we see from Ovid (*Fast.* 2, 363). In another place (*Met.* 14, 812) Ovid tells us that this promise was made to Mars at a council of the gods. Frag. 55,

O genitor noster Saturnie, maxime divum,

is likely Mars' address to Jupiter.

Lucilius also employed this material (vid. *Lucilii Carmina*, ed. Marx): Frag. 1,

aetheris et terrae genitabile quaerere tempus,

Frag. 2,

irritata canes quam homo quam planius dicit,

Frag. 4,

consilium summis hominum de rebus habebant.

Between the last two fragments a part is lost in which a council of the gods is called; and they begin to deliberate on the death of one Lupus, a wicked judge, and to declare their opinions.

Frag. 9,

O curas hominum! O quantum est in rebus inane!

may refer to the reflections of one of the gods. So too Frag. 18,

haec ubi dicta, dedit pausam ore loquendi,

refers to the close of Jupiter's speech, and Frag. 19,

ut

nemo sit nostrum quin aut pater optimus divum  
aut Neptunus pater, Liber Saturnus pater, Mars  
Ianus, Quirinus pater siet ac dicatur ad unum.

This last fragment is cited in Lactantius (Inst. 4, 3, 12), where he says, 'quod Lucilius in deorum concilio inridet.'

Dealing with fragments only, we cannot form any sure conclusion as to Lucilius' treatment. It is likely, however, that he followed the Homeric tradition and described it in the simple manner characteristic of the Homeric epic and the early Roman epic.

Seneca scoffs at the idea of gods being called to council with Jupiter—'advocatos ad suum concilium a Iove deos quasi in ipso parum consilii sit imperitum est' (N. Q. 2, 42, 1) but he himself in the Apocolocyntosis (De Morte Claudii ss. 7, 8, 9 ff.) introduces the device. On the arrival of Claudius in heaven the gods are called in council to determine what shall be done with the strange arrival. Diespiter speaks first, then the deified Augustus; and so on down the list.

In the first book of the Thebaid (l. 197) Statius describes a 'concilium deorum.' Jove has called the gods from the various regions of earth and heaven to deliberate on the punishment of the hostile cities Argos and Thebes (geminas punire domos l. 224). The poet describes the council in his usual rhetorical manner, dwelling at length on the artistic features of the spacious halls in which they assemble, and introducing deities that are new to the tradition:

At Jovis imperiis rapidi super atria caeli  
lectus concilio divum convenerat ordo  
interiore polo, spatiis hinc omnia iuxta

primaque occiduaeque domus et fusa sub omni  
 terra atque unda die; mediis sese arduus infert  
 ipse deis, placido quatiens tamen omnia vultu  
 stellantique locat solio; nec protinus ausi  
 caelicolae, veniam donec pater ipse sedendi  
 tranquilla iubet esse manu, mox turba vagorum  
 semideum et summis cognati nubibus Amnes  
 aurea tecta replent. mixta convexa deorum  
 maiestate tremunt, radiunt maiore sereno  
 culmina et arcano florentes lumine postes.  
 postquam iussa quies siluitque exterritus orbis  
 incipit ex alto (grave et immutabile sanctis  
 pondus adest verbis, et vocem Fata sequuntur).

With this compare Vergil's treatment of the motif. In the tenth book of the *Aeneid* (l. 1 ff.) Jupiter calls a council of the gods and goddesses to urge those who are interested in the Trojans and Itali to unanimity in regard to the issue of the war. Vergil's treatment of the theme is comparatively simple:

panditur interea domus omnipotentis Olympi,  
 conciliumque vocat divum pater atque hominum rex  
 sideream in sedem: terras unde arduus omnes,  
 castraque Dardanidum aspectat, populosque Latinos.  
 considunt tectis bipatientibus. incipit ipse.

As in other descriptions of the home of the gods the place of assembly is represented as a temple, in this case, commanding a view of all lands, the camp of the Dardanidae and the peoples of Latium. The description is simple. The council is held in a starry dwelling—'sedes siderea'—whose structure is that of a Greek temple, amphiprostyle (tectis bipatientibus)<sup>1</sup> At Jupiter's summons all the gods appear, file into the building and take their seats ready for the discussion. Nothing is said

<sup>1</sup>Some interpreters of Virgil maintain, however, that this means 'with doors opening back both ways.' See Conington's note, which refers to Vitruvius, III, 1, 10 (III, 2, 8).

as to the order in which they sit down. From the apparent calm and order of the situation one would judge that they were accustomed to such councils, and each knew his place. Very similar in this respect is the description (*Aen.* 6, 433) of the council in the lower world held by Minos to enquire into the records of the souls that have come within his jurisdiction, and to assign penalties to them:

ille silentum  
 conciliumque vocat vitasque et crimina discit.  
 proxima deinde tenent maesti loca, qui sibi letum  
 insontes peperere manu, lucemque perosi  
 proicere animas: quam vellent aethere in alto  
 nunc et pauperiem et duros perferre labores!

One naturally turns to Homer for the sources of the Vergil passage. In the fourth book of the *Iliad* (l. 1 ff.) the theme appears. Zeus and Hera are holding a heated debate before the assembled gods over the Trojans and Achaeans:

οἱ δὲ θεοὶ παρ Ζηνὶ καθήμενοι ἡγορόωντο  
 χρυσέῳ ἐν δαπέδῳ, μετὰ δὲ σφισι πότνια Ἥβη  
 νέκταρ ἐφνοχόει · τοὶ δὲ χρυσεῖς δεπάεσσιν  
 δειδέχατ' ἀλλήλοις, Τρώων πόλιν εἰσορόωντες.

Here the assembly takes the form of a feast. As befitted a feast of the gods it was marked by splendor. The floor of Olympus' home was of gold: Hebe poured nectar for the assembled throng: and they pledged each other in cups of gold. But these details are given in a very few words. Homer does not dwell on detail with elaborate description. These are 'lines,' says Lessing (*Laocoön*, p. 138, Phillimore's Trans.) 'in which lies the material for a picture, but which are no picture in themselves.' And in his criticism of them he continues: 'An Apollonius, or even a yet inferior poet, could not have written more poorly: and here Homer remains far below the painter.' The same absence of elaborate description is to be noted in the account of the assembly in *Iliad* 8. 1 ff.:

Ἦὼς μὲν κροκόπεπλος ἐκίδνατο πᾶσαν ἐπ' αἶαν,  
 Ζεὺς δὲ θεῶν ἀγορὴν ποιήσατο τερπικέραunos  
 ἀκροτάτῃ κορυφῇ πολυδειράδος Οὐλύμπιοι  
 αὐτὸς δὲ σφ' ἀγόρευε, θεοὶ δ' ὑπὸ πάντες ἄκουον.

Zeus here convenes the gods 'on the uppermost peak of myriad-crested Olympus.' That is as far as the description goes, beyond the detail that Eos 'in her mantle of saffron was flooding the world with her glory.' A reference to this setting, and to Jupiter's speech following, is seen in Valerius Flaccus (Arg. 2, 82-86):

tempore quo primum fremitus insurgere opertos  
 caelicolum et regni sensit novitate tumentes  
 Iuppiter aetheriae nec stare silentia pacis  
 Iunonem volucris primam suspendit Olympo  
 horrendum chaos ostendens poenasque barathri.

Valerius, after the rhetorical manner, gives a detailed statement of the threats made by Zeus in the *Iliad* (8, 1 ff.), in case any of the gods should venture to match himself against him. This rhetorical expansion of the theme is part of the same tendency as is seen in Statius.

Somewhat more detailed is the description of the 'concilium' in *Iliad* 20, 4. The unusual features have indeed given rise to discussion, and some commentators have been inclined to look upon the passage as spurious on their account. 'The scholia assign various reasons,' says Leaf, 'for the absence of Okeanus, but Heyne justly remarks that this is less strange than the presence of Nymphs and Rivers in a council of the gods. He thinks that 7-9 may have been interpolated to account for the presence of the River Skamandros in the Theomachy as one of the gods. It has been suggested that as Hestia, the personification of the fixed dwelling, alone stays away from the solemn procession of the gods in the *Phædrus* (247 A) so Okeanus is absent, because he is the bond that holds the world together.'

Here the council meets on the 'crest of ribbed Olympus,'

summoned by Themis. All the gods are present: the Nymphs and the Rivers, all except Okeanus. They sit down in the colonnades that stretch along after one another, built for Zeus by Hephæstus. Poseidon is the spokesman. These are the special features of the description. It will be seen that here there is considerably more detail given than in the other passages. It does seem strange that Rivers and Nymphs should appear: hence some have considered the passage spurious, added by a much later hand. But even admitting its genuineness, one can see that there is not the same love for description of the artistic as in the Statius passage: and here one feels that the divinity of the Nymphs and Rivers is more or less indistinct and shadowy.

With the Homer passage already cited compare *Od.* 5, 1 ff.—the description of an assembly at which Athena pleads the cause of Odysseus, who is detained on Calypso's island. Here, too, there is an avoidance of detailed description:

Ἦὼς δ' ἐκ λεχέων παρ' ἀγανοῦ Τιθωνοῖο  
 ὄρνυθ' ἴν' ἀθανάτοισι φῶος φέροι ἠδὲ βροτοῖσιν  
 οἱ δὲ θεοὶ θωκόνδε καθίζανον, ἐν δ' ἄρα τοῖσιν  
 Ζεὺς ὑψιβρεμέτης, οὐ τε κράτος ἐστὶ μέγιστον.

With the Roman poets the tendency is toward minuteness of description, as in Ovid (*Met.* 1, 167 ff.). In this passage Jove calls a council of the gods to put a stop to the bloody struggle of the Gigantes, fearing that there should be no remnant of the race left upon the earth:

Ingentes animo et dignas Jove concipit iras  
 conciliumque vocat. tenuit nulla mora vocatos.  
 est via sublimis, cælo manifesta sereno;  
 lactea nomen habet, candore notabilis ipso.  
 hac iter est superis ad magni tecta Tonantis  
 regalemque domum. dextra lævaque deorum  
 atria nobilium valvis celebrantur apertis;  
 plebs habitat diversa locis; a fronte potentes  
 cælicolæ clarique suos posuere Penates.

hic locus est quem, si verbis audacia detur,  
 haud timeam magni dixisse Palatia cæli.  
 ergo ubi marmoreo superi sedere recessu.  
 celsior ipse loco sceptroque innixus eburno  
 terrificam capitis concussit terque quaterque  
 cæsariem, cum qua terram mare sidera movit.

Ovid's description of the place of assembly is very much in terms of the Palatia, the house of Augustus on the Palatine: with an apology for his boldness he suggests that he would call it the Palatia of great heaven. He describes it in detail. The gods come up by the 'milky way' to the home of the great thunderer, where the assembly takes place. To the right and left of the inner mansion occupied by Jove are the halls of the noble gods who crowd in the open doors: the common gods have their abodes apart from these. In front of Jove's palace the powerful among the inhabitants of heaven have reared their abode. The summoned gods sit down within a marble retreat and Jove, who seems to have restrained his anger as long as he can, shakes his great locks in token of his wrath and proceeds to the discussion. He is described as towering above all the others and leaning on an ivory sceptre.

The purpose of Ovid's description seems to be, not to dwell on the splendor of the royal abode, but to fix it before the mind of the reader in the most vivid manner. It is in keeping with his incomparable genius for story-telling that with a few strokes he places before one the whole scene in a form that is thoroughly familiar. Beyond this his description does not go: it is subsidiary to his narrative merely, and he gives enough for his purpose.

With Statius the case is different. He cannot resist the instinct to describe in detail all the splendor of the palace in which the assembly convenes. The reflexion from vaulted ceiling, the brilliancy of golden doors, with the majesty of assembled gods, are dwelt on at length. In *Theb.* 1, 197, as noted

above, the 'concilium deorum' is held for the purpose of deliberating on the fate of Argos and Thebes. Jove is in sore straits what course to pursue in as much as he is interested in both cities as their founder. In answer to his summons the gods assemble:

at Iovis imperiis rapidi super atria cæli  
 lectus concilio divum convenerat ordo  
 interiore polo. . . . .

Statius places the assembly in the centre of heaven (interiore polo—see Lactant. on l. 199.): East and West of this point lie the homes of all the other gods. He describes Jove's appearance as he entered the assembly, and gives his position among the gods—the great god sits down on his starry throne. Next he enumerates some of the gods as they file in to their places in the assembly-hall: not only are the regular gods present, but a crowd of demi-gods, Winds and Streams. Then he passes to the description of the dwellings of the gods, which are of gold: their ceilings reflect the glare and majesty of the gods: the roof and doors also shine with their radiance.

Statius' description is not without its beauty. The passage, studied closely in point of versification and sentence structure—the balancing of substantive and epithet, subject and verb—is perfect. In content, too, it is beautiful—Jove's appearance, 'placido quatiens tamen omnia vultu'; the starry throne; the Streams 'near kin to the highest clouds,' and the Winds 'that suppress their murmurs from fear': then the golden dwellings which reflect the radiance of the gods. It is, however, the beauty of magnificence, not of simplicity, the beauty of an elaborately finished building in which every detail is added that will give the effect of splendor.

In his introduction of Streams and Rivers into the 'concilium' he has authority, as we have seen, in Homer's Rivers and Nymphs. The 'Winds' are mentioned first by him, and there is no representation of them in art as taking their place in the councils of the gods: though representations of them as gods



were common. But in Statius they get more attention. They are described more minutely, and their divinity is less shadowy than in the other passages. One cannot say, however, that Statius has set his description into the form of a picture any more than previous poets did. From the nature of the subject a picture is always easily suggested; in Homer where the gods are reclining at a feast, and Ovid where they meet in a spacious dwelling of marble. What he has done is to introduce more of art than any of the others; to conventionalise the motif, and make it an occasion for elaborate description. He stops to impress on us the effects of ceiling and roof of gold—shining pillars and reflected radiance of the gods. One feels that with him the description is what is of prime importance, whereas in previous poets it was merely a setting for the narrative.

And Statius set the fashion for succeeding poets. What they did with this bit of epic material can be seen from passages in Sidonius Apollinaris and Claudianus. The passion for detailed analysis and description is indulged to a still greater degree: indeed, the incident is taken as the occasion for the introduction of all the poet's learning concerning the gods, their habits and attributes. It will suffice to cite the passages with very little comment, to show what has taken place. Sidonius introduces the motif in his *Panegyricus Avit.* Aug. 1. 20 ff.:

iamque ut convenient superi, Tegeaticus ales  
nunc plantis, nunc fronte volat: vix contigit arva:  
et toto descendit avo. mare, terra vel aër  
indigenas misere deos. germane Tonantis  
prime venis, viridi qui Dorida findere curru  
suetus in attonita spargis cito terga serenum:  
umentes Nymphas Forcus comitatur ibique  
glaucus, Glauce, venis, vatum et certissime Proteu,  
certus eras. longo veniunt post ordine divi:  
pampineus Liber, Mars trux, Tirynthius hirtus  
nuda Venus, fecunda Ceres, pharetrata Diana,  
Iuno gravis, prudens Pallas, turrita Cybele,

Saturnus profugus, vaga Cynthia, Phœbus ephebus  
 Pan pavidus, Fauni rigidi, Satyri petulantes.  
 convenere etiam cælum virtute tenentes:  
 Castor equo, Pollux cæstu, tum Perseus harpe,  
 fulmine Vulcanus, Tiphys rate, gente Quirinus.  
 quis canat hic aulam cæli, rutilantia cuius  
 ipsa pavementum sunt sidera? iam pater aureo  
 tranquillussese solio locat, inde priores  
 consedere dei (fluviis quoque contigit illo,  
 sed senibus, residere loco, tibi, maxime fluctu  
 Eridane et flavis in pocula fracte Sygambris,  
 Rhene tumens, Scythiæque vagis equitate catervis  
 Hister et ignotum plus notus, Nile, per ortum).

In this description Mercury, as is natural, is the herald who summons the gods to council. Not any one is left out who by any possible means can prove his claim to deity. As they come up the poet addresses each one and describes him, giving at least the conventional attributes by which he is known. Even in his description of Mercury the poet has to show that he was acquainted with representations of the god in which he appeared, now with wings on his head, now with wings on his feet. But to cite the passage is sufficient.

Less artificial but with the same tendency is the description of the 'concilium' in Claudianus, *De Rapt. Pros.* III (36), 1 ff. Jove has here called a council of the gods to revive agriculture and to put an end to the life of idleness that has followed the loss of Proserpina:

Iuppiter interea cinctam Thaumantida nimbis  
 ire iubet totoque deos arcessere mundo.  
 illa colorato Zephyros inlapsa volatu  
 numina conclamat pelagi Nymphasque morantes  
 increpat et Fluvios umentibus evocat antris.  
 ancipites trepidique ruunt, quæ causa quietos  
 excierit, tanto quæ res agitanda tumultu.  
 ut patuit stellata domus, considerare iussi,

nec confusus honor: caelestibus ordine sedes  
 prima datur: tractum proceres tenuere secundum  
 æquorei, placidus Nereus reverendaque Phorci  
 canities: Glaucum series extrema biformem  
 accipit et certo mansurum Protea vultu.  
 nec non et senibus Fluviis concessa sedendi  
 gloria: plebeio stat cetera more iuventus.  
 mille Amnes. liquidis incumbunt patribus udæ  
 Naides et taciti mirantur sidera Fauni.

In Claudianus as well as Sidonius the description is thoroughly conventionalised. All the various deities are called up for the purpose of making a picture. They are arranged and grouped almost, as it were, for the photographer, the gods sitting in the order of rank: nymphs reclined on their father's laps and lesser gods standing as common folk should. In the description all the poet attempts to add is a conventional detail which the others may have omitted.<sup>1</sup>

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*Theb.* 3. 409.

To create a setting for the description of a night of unrest for King Adrastus—a night in which the war-god, attended

<sup>1</sup> Further references to the 'concilium deorum' are Valerius Flaccus (1, 210 ff.) and Statius (*Ach.* 2, 56 ff.). In the Valerius passage the seagods gather to resent the violence being done them by the launching of a ship; but after each god speaks his mind they determine to receive the ship upon their waters:

heu quemnam aspicio! nostris modo concitus ausis  
 æquoreos vocat ecce deos Neptunus et ingens  
 concilium. fremere et legem defendere cuncti  
 hortantur.

And Stat. *Ach.* 2. 56. Here the gods have assembled to see the issue of the contest for the prize of beauty among the goddesses;

atque adeo lis illa tuis exorta sub antris  
 concilio superum.

Cf. *Silv.* III, 2, 4.

by his horrible retinue, Furor, Ira, Pavor, and preceded by ever-wakeful Fama, goes forth to breathe his spirit into the hearts of the Argives, Statius describes Sol as he sinks to his ocean-bed after his long day's toil (*Theb.* 3. 409). About him crowd the Nereids and the Horae, his female squires, so to speak, to release his worn-out steeds from the car, and lead them away to their pasture. The fancy is beautiful, not original with Statius by any means, though not borrowed wholly. An examination will serve to show Statius' stylistic tendency:

Solverat Hesperii devexo margine ponti  
 fragrantis Sol pronus equos rutilamque lavabat  
 Oceani sub fonte comam, cui turba profundi  
 Nereos et rapidis accurrunt passibus Horae,  
 frenaque et auratae textum sublime coronae  
 deripiunt, laxant calidis umentia loris  
 pectora; pars meritos vertunt ad molle iugalis  
 gramen et erecto currum temone supinant.

As early as Homer the Horae were represented as attendants on some god or other. Their function was not always conceived of as the same, as will be seen from the following citations from Homer; and sometimes other gods performed for their superiors such a service as they here perform for Sol. If a source need be found for Statius, probably it is the passage in the eighth book of the *Iliad*—where the Horae attend Hera on her return to Olympus from the Trojan plain, and put away her steeds:

ὣς ἄρα φωνήσασα πάλιν τρέπέ μώνυχας ἵππους  
 τῆσιν δ' ὦραι μὲν λῦσαν καλλίτριχας ἵππους,  
 καὶ τοὺς μὲν κατέδησαν ἐπ' ἀμβροσίησι κάρησιν  
 ἄρματα δ' ἔκλιναν πρὸς ἐνώπια παμφανόοντα.

(*Il.* 8, 432.)

In like manner Zeus was attended by Poseidon on his return to Olympus from Ida:

Ζεὺς δὲ πατὴρ Ἴδηθεν εὐτροχὸν ἄρμα καὶ ἵππους  
 Οὐλυμπόνδε δῖωκε, θεῶν δ' ἐξίκετο θώκους.  
 τῷ δὲ καὶ ἵππους μὲν λῦσε κλυτὸς ἐννοσίγαιος,  
 ἄρματα δ' ἄμ βωμοῖσι τίθει, κατὰ λίτα πετάσσας·

(*Id.* 438.)

And so too Iris tends Aphrodite's steeds (*Il.* 5, 365).

Ovid in his version of the duties of the Horae adds nothing new except that they lead forth the steeds from their stalls in the morning, hitch them to Titan's car and prepare them for the day's journey. On that memorable day when Phaëthon essayed to drive Sol's steeds, the Horae brought them forth at Sol's command, and made them ready for the youth:

dumque ea magnanimus Phaëthon miratur opusque  
 perspicit, ecce vigil rutilo patefecit ab ortu  
 purpureas Aurora fores et plena rosarum  
 atria, diffugiunt stellae, quarum agmina cogit  
 Lucifer, et caeli statione novissimus exit.  
 quem petere ut terras mundumque rubescere vidit  
 cornuaque extremae velut evanescere lunae,  
 iungere equos Titan velocibus imperat Horis,  
 iussa deae celeres peragunt, ignemque vomentes  
 ambrosiae suco saturos praesepibus altis  
 quadrupedes ducunt adduntque sonantia frena.

*Met.* 2, 111.

Before proceeding to the comparison of Statius' version it will be interesting to see how Nonnus, the fifth century poet, has maintained the tradition of the Ovid passage. Here the Horae perform the same office for Sol, bringing the steeds out from their stall at dawn to yoke them for Phaëthon. As in Ovid their service is merely mentioned. In contrast with the Statius passage no time is spent by the poet in lingering over the details of their work:

ὡς εἰπὼν Φαέθοντος ἐπεστήριξε καρήνῳ  
 χρυσεῖην τρυφάλειαν, ἐφ' δέ μιν ἔστεφε πυρσῶ

ἑπτατόνους ἀκτίνας ἐπὶ πλοκάμοισιν ἐλίξας  
 κυκλώσας στεφανηδὸν ἐπ' ἰξυί λευκάδα μίτρην  
 καὶ μιν ἀνεχλαίνωσεν ἐῶ πυρόεντι χιτῶνι  
 καὶ πόδα φοιῖσσοντι διεσφήκωσε πεδίλῳ.  
 παιδὶ δὲ δίφρον ἔδωκε · καὶ ἤφης ἀπὸ φάτνης  
 ἵππους Ἡελίοιο πυρώδεας ἤγαγον ὦραι  
 καὶ θρασὺς εἰς ζυγὸν ἦλθεν Ἐωσφόρος, ἀμφὶ δὲ φαιδρῶ  
 ἵππιον αὐχένα δούλον ἐπεκλήσσε λεπάδνῳ.

(Nonn. *Dion.* 38, 291 ff.)

As hinted above Statius lingers over his description of the Horae, and this produces a peculiar effect. Besides the Horae, Nereids too come up to render their services to Sol. These goddesses divide themselves into groups, one group busying itself with the removal of the steeds' harness and adornment, another spreading out food for them, another still, taking the car aside and laying it back with pole erect. This grouping suggests a painting. The ancient commentators noted this. Lactantius (on l. 410) says—'accurrunt Horae' quasi Solis Horae sint comites. praeterea descriptionis istius consideranda pictura, quemadmodum diversae diversis fungantur officiis. This effect he has secured, not intentionally but inevitably, by his expansion of the traditional passage. To Homer's group of attendants he has added the Nereids, he has separated the Horae into a greater number of groups, has dwelt more on the trappings of the horses to give occasion for more work about them and, hence, for more groups of figures.

This characteristic of the poet and his age is seen in his Propempticon to M. Maecius Celer on the eve of his departure for Syria (*Silvae* 3, 2). The poet addresses a prayer to the Nereids (l. 13 ff.) beseeching them for safe conduct for his friend, and the description of the escort he entreats is elaborated at great length and in minute detail. An examination of this poem and the discussion of its relation to the canon laid down for the Propempticon of an earlier time will serve to illustrate the subject under consideration in this thesis:

v. 25. huius utrumque latus molli praecingite gyro,  
 partitae vices vos stuppea tendite mali  
 vincula, vos summis adnectite sipara velis,  
 vos Zephyris aperite sinus: pars transtra reponat,  
 pars demittat aquis curvae moderamina puppis;  
 sint quibus exploret \* primas gravis artemo barcas \*

etc.

Vollmer has an interesting note on this poem. Of it he remarks 'Zwar ist uns auch von einem Römer vor Statius kein durchgeführtes Propempticon erhalten' and he cites the various poems that can in a loose way be subsumed under this name. He notes, however, that Statius followed Horace (*Od.* 1, 3) in this poem, and Dr. Shorey in his edition of Horace cites *Silvae* 3, 2 as 'a diffuse imitation' of the former. Dr. Shorey also without hesitation calls Horace's poem a Propempticon. (Cf. Kiessling, Horace, l. c.) And Vollmer really qualifies his own statement when he suggests that the difference between Horace's treatment of such a poem, and that of Statius gives an insight into the difference in the natures of the two poets and in the genius of their times. He observes the influence of poetry in determining rhetorical standards, and on the other hand the canons laid down by rhetoric as to what such and such a poetic form should contain, citing Menander, the rhetorician of the third or fourth century, for the standard by which the writer of a Propempticon should shape his work. He says—Statius hat dabei nicht nur seine dichterischen Vorgänger (hier besonders Horaz *Car.* 1. 3) verwertet, sondern fasst deutlich auf den natürlich mit Benutzung der Dichter geschaffenen rhetorischen Vorschriften der Schule, die uns Menander (*Rh. Gr.* ed. Sp. 3, 399) wenigstens andeutend kennen lehrt: ἐὰν δὲ διὰ θαλάττης ἀνάγηται, ἐκεῖ σοι μνήμη θαλαττίων ἔσται δαιμόνων, Αἰγυπτίου Πρωτέως, Ἀνθηδουλοῦ Γλαύκου, Νηρέως, προπεμπόντων καὶ συνθεόντων τῇ νηϊ, καὶ συνηδομένων δελφίνων τε ἄμα καὶ κητῶν τῶν μὲν σαιόντων, τῶν δὲ ὑποφευγόντων ὡς Ποσειδῶνος αὐτοῦ τὴν ναῦν προπέμποντος· ἡ δὲ ναὺς θείτω θεοῖς ἐναλίγκιον ἄνδρα φέρουσα, ἕως ἂν προσαγάγῃς αὐτὸν τοῖς λιμέσι

τῷ λόγῳ, καταστρέφεις δὲ εἰς εὐχὴν τὸν λόγον αἰτῶν αὐτῷ παρὰ τῶν θεῶν τὰ κάλλιστα.

And the note continues—‘Es ist wohl sicher, dass ein vollständiger Schulschema auch schon zu Horaz’ Zeiten bestanden hat; so gewährt der Vergleich beider Gedichte einen bezeichnenden Einblick in die Verschiedenheit der Natur beider wie ihrer Zeit. Horaz schlägt den Ton des Schema nun an und lässt dann von einem Gedanken, der ihn besonders ergreift, fort-reissen, so dass er den Anfang gar nicht wieder aufnimmt: Statius führt nicht ohne Kunst und Selbständigkeit in einzelnen gewissenhaft den vorgeschriebenen Plan aus.’ And for this difference which the two poets show in their treatment of this poetic form, Vollmer cites the fact that Horace’s poem is addressed to the poet Vergil, whereas Statius’ Propempticon is addressed to a high official of his time whose standard of taste was fixed by the canons of the School. Evidently he is assuming that this canon existed before Statius’ time, though there is nothing to show it. Indeed, the point to be made from the comparison with Horace’s Propempticon is that since his time the treatment of such a theme as was handled in this poem became more and more artificial, and Menander the Rhetorician has merely formulated the rules which had come to be recognised by the rhetoricians from such tendencies in the poets as we see in Statius. At the outset Vollmer himself recognises the influence that poetic standards exerted on Rhetoric.

The difference then between Horace’s and Statius’ handling of the Propempticon indicates the difference in the genius of the poets and of the age in which they worked: Statius’ multiplication of details, his introduction of numerous attendant deities, separated into groups each having its own function to perform: his picture-drawing with reference to all the supernatural beings introduced, for instance, his description of Glaucus, Triton, Nereus, and Palaemon (the ever-recurring Palae-mon), all these give to his treatment the effect of a fresco in which goddesses, Nereids and demi-gods are grouped. Even



the rhetorician would say that the poet's love for plastic art had carried him beyond the artificial canon of the school, if we are to assume that his work was constructed according to their methods.

A picture somewhat similar to that observed in *Silv.* 3, 2, 25 ff. is given in *Ach.* 1, 52 ff. The poet is describing Neptune as he comes up from a feast of good cheer with Oceanus, his face suffused with joy from the nectar of the sea. Again the description takes a form such as might easily have appeared on a fresco. The god glides through the water, driving his team of seals, and about him as he goes play the dolphins whom Dionysus had once transformed from human shape, monsters large as great crags, and the Tritons who carry his arms and blow their horns:

Oceano veniebat ab hospite, mensis  
laetus et aequoreo diffusus nectare vultus,  
unde hiemes ventique silent cantuque quieto  
armigeri Tritones eunt scopulosaque cete  
Tyrrenique greges circumque infraque rotantur  
rege salutato; placidis ipse arduus undis  
eminet, et triplici telo iubet ire iugales:  
illi spumiferos glomerant a pectore cursus,  
pone natant delentque pedum vestigia cauda.

The picture has become thoroughly conventional. Whether any painting with such grouping as this actually existed or not cannot be stated positively, but the effect of a painting is given: and enough examples have been cited to show the interworking of art upon poetry, and poetry upon art.

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*Theb.* 5. 664.

In the fifth book of the *Thebaid* is a passage which illustrates the sculpture effect given by some of Statius' descriptions. It concerns the death of the boy Opheltes, and the events that grew out of it. Hypsipyle had been entrusted by Lyncurgus with

the care of his infant son Opheltes. In her absence from him the child had been attacked by a serpent and slain. His cries had attracted the careless nurse and the whole Argive army, but their arrival was too late to be of any avail. News of the child's death reached the ears of Lycurgus, and he, distraught and frenzied, sought out Hypsipyle to put her to death. But Tydeus and others of the Argive warriors intervened to defend the woman and check the fury of the maddened father. The picture that Statius draws of the warriors stepping forward to defend the woman is suggestive, as some scholars have noted, of the group of Harmodius and Aristogeiton by Kritios and Nesiotes:

acerque reducto  
adfuit Hippomedon rectoque Erymanthius ense.

Gaymann (*Kunstarchäologische Studien*, pp. 27-28) conjectures that the poet had in mind the above-mentioned group. He says—Eher dürfte man eine derartige Nachbildung vermuten in einer anderen Stelle der Thebais wo es heisst (and he cites the passage in question). Diese eigenartige Stellung der beiden Helden stimmt unverkennbar überein mit jener der Tyrannenmörder des Kritios und Nesiotes. Die erhaltenen Kopien dieser Gruppe beweisen uns dass letztere in Rom bekannt war; Statius erwähnt nun freilich die beiden Künstler nirgends; aber wenn er auch die Künstler nicht kannte, so ist es doch möglich, dass er dieses Werk sah und in Erinnerung daran die genannten Verse dichtete.

Legras (*Étude sur la Thébaïde de Stace*, pp. 269, 270) cites this passage from Gaymann's dissertation, and is inclined to agree with Gaymann—indeed, there is no proof for or against. He says: Ainsi peut-être connaissait-il le groupe des tyrannicides, comme le conjecture Gaymann: en tout cas il reproduit bien les gestes, mais il les attribue à Hippomédon et à Parthénope s'élançant contre le dragon qui a tué Opheltès. And further, he goes on to say—and his remark here is in line with the thesis we are trying to establish—il est remarquable qu'ici le

poète ne prétend pas décrire une œuvre d'art, il raconte un combat. But Legras does not connect this with the phenomenon he noticed (op. cit. pp. 263, 264)—viz., that the style of Statius is 'naturellement plastique,' and that his descriptions often give the effect of a statue or fresco. Statius may or may not have had this particular group in mind, but certainly the effect of a sculpture group is given, and—as Legras notes—as in fact, other examples deduced in this thesis show—the phenomenon appears when it is unexpected.

With the attitudes of the warriors represented in this description compare the representation of Harmodius and Aristogeiton on a Panathenaic vase—a fragment of an *cenochœ* in the Boston Museum. The foremost of the two is a youthful warrior with right hand upraised prepared to strike (*rectoque . . . ense*): behind him is the older man, a bearded warrior with his cloak thrown over his left arm for a shield, and right arm drawn back holding a sword (*ense reducto*) in the attitude of thrusting.

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*Theb.* 7. 2.

A familiar motif of Epic also is that which is echoed in Tennyson's *Princess*, 5, 134: 'the lifting of whose eyelash is my lord,' and Spenser's *Mutability*, 6, 22:

'His black eye-brows whose doomful dreaded beck  
Is wont to wield the world unto his vow,'

or the speech of Jupiter in Marlowe's *Dido, Queen of Carthage*, Act. 1, sc. 1:

'By Saturn's soul and this earth-threatening hair  
That, shaken thrice, makes nature's buildings quake.'

Statius employs it at the opening of the seventh book of the *Thebaid*. Jove is out of patience with the slowness of the Argives and Thebans about coming to conflict, and as a sign of

his disapproval shakes his great locks at whose movement earth, heaven and sea tremble.

Again Statius is indebted to Vergil, who in turn draws from Homer as his source. But the motif is common; and hence will be traced in a few of the most familiar authors, and their treatment will be taken as a basis for the comparison of Statius' adaptation of it. In the *Aeneid* there are two passages, practically the same (*Aen.* 10, 113 ff. and *Aen.* 9, 104 ff.). The former relates to the 'concilium deorum.' Juno pleads for Jove's aid to the Itali in their struggle with the Teuceri, and the king of heaven, in answer, gives his word that he will favour neither side in the contest:

Stygii per flumina fratris,  
per pice torrentes atraque voragine ripas  
annuit, et totum nutu tremefecit Olympum.

In the second passage Cybele, the mother of the gods, is interceding with her son Jove in behalf of the Trojan ships which were made by Aeneas from the trees of the forest given him by her. She is asking for them freedom from the ordinary fate of ships—destruction by wind and tide: and Jove while not being able to grant them immortality effects a compromise with his mother:

Dixerat: idque ratum Stygii per flumina fratris,  
per pice torrentes atraque voragine ripas  
annuit, et totum nutu tremefecit Olympum.

This is the version in its traditional simple form. In this form it appears in *Iliad* 1, 526 ff.:

ἦ καὶ κυανέῃσιν ἐπ' ὄφρῦσι νεῦσε Κρονίων  
ἀμβρόσιαι δ' ἄρα χαίται ἐπερρώσαντο ἄνακτος  
κρατὸς ἀπ' ἀθανάτοιο · μέγαν δ' ἐλελιξεν Ὀλυμπον.

It will be noted that in this original version of the passage the commotion is caused by the movement of Zeus' eye-brows:

in later versions the movement is more violent, *e. g.*, annuit, caput concussit, etc. It was from this original passage that Pheidias was inspired to make his famous statue of Zeus—as Dio Chrysostom, a contemporary of Statius, observes (12, 383 R.) ὅσα ἐστὶν ἐπὶ γῆς ἀγάλματα (statues that ancestors of the Greeks dedicated) κάλλιστον καὶ θεοφιλέστατον, πρὸς τὴν Ὀμηρικὴν ποιήσιν, ὡς φασιν, Φειδίου παραβαλλομένου, τοῦ δινῆσαντος ὀλίγῳ νεύματι τῶν ὀφρῦων τὸν σύμπαντα Ὀλυμπον, ὡς ἐκεῖνος μάλιστα ἐναργῶς καὶ πεποιθότως ἐν τοῖς ἔπεσιν εἴρηκεν (Cf. Val. Max. 3, 7). A second feature is that the area affected by the motion is confined to Olympus: this in later versions is extended to include heaven, earth, the sea, and the stars.

Catullus' version is given in 64, 202 ff. The occasion is the prayer of Ariadne to Zeus on her desertion by Theseus:

Has postquam maesto profudit pectore voces  
 supplicium saevis exposcens anxia factis,  
 annuit invicto caelestum numine rector.  
 quo motu tellus atque horrida contremuere  
 aequora concussitque micantia sidera mundus.

Here Jove's nod causes an upheaval on the land, the wild sea, and among the flickering stars. The area affected extends beyond Olympus: and this is the usual version in later poets. This, however, is the only new feature introduced.

Horace merely refers to the tradition, in *Od.* 3, 1, 7-8: but by this time the reference is thoroughly familiar:

Regum timendorum in proprios greges,  
 reges in ipsos imperiumst Iovis,  
 clari Giganteo triumpho  
 cuncta supercilio moventis.

Ovid's treatment of the motif is seen in *Met.* 1, 180 ff. The gods are seated in council to discuss the fate of the Gigantes; and Jove by way of expressing his anger, and as a prelude to his address, shakes his fear-inspiring locks:

celsior ipse loco sceptroque innixus eburno  
 terrificam capitis concussit terque quaterque  
 caesariem, cum qua terram mare sidera movit.

Here is a new situation. Jove is angry. In the Homer passage Zeus only moves his eye-brows to give assent, and all Olympus trembles. Here the motion is much more violent, and it is quite natural that the area affected by it should be much more extensive, especially as the motion is repeated 'terque quaterque.'

References to Jove's nod occur also in later poets. In a chorus of the *Agamemnon* of Seneca (l. 400) it appears. The chorus of maidens of Mycenae addressing Zeus entreat him as follows:

tuque ante omnes, pater ac rector  
 fulmine pollens,  
 cuius nutu simul extremi  
 tremuere poli.

This is practically the Homeric version. Again in Claudian, *De raptu Pros.* 3, 65:

Dixit et horrendo concussit sidera motu.

Jupiter has just finished his address to the assembled gods, in which he laid down his program for the world. He had become impatient with the luxury and ease of the time of Saturn; and now wished to impose upon the nations the necessity of toil in order that by their struggle with hardship their high possibilities might appear. In this, as usual, Claudian follows Vergil closely.

What is probably a development of the same idea appears in Quintus Smyrnaeus (12, 196 ff.). No mention is made of Zeus' nod, but at his coming to Olympus a great upheaval is started. A connecting link between this passage and the later versions of the Homer passage is the fact that he is represented as angry (*χολούμενος*): and while the details are different,

and the upheaval is much more violent, it is evident that the poet has the same tradition in mind:

ἴκετο δ' Οὐλύμποιο ρίον μέγα · σὺν δ' ἐτίναξεν  
 ἡέρα πᾶσαν ὑπερθε χολούμενος · ἄλλοθε δ' ἄλλαι  
 βρονταὶ ὁμῶς στεροπῆσι μέγ' ἔκτυπον · ἐκ δε κεραυνοὶ  
 ταρφέες ἐξεχέοντο ποτὶ χθόνα · καίετο δ' ἀήρ  
 ἄσπετον · ἀθανάτοισι δ' ὑπὸ φρένας ἔμπεσε δαίμα ·  
 πάντων δ' ἔτρεμε γυῖα καὶ ἀθανάτων περ ἐόντων.

As the gods come down from Olympus and take part in the battle of the Greeks and Trojans, some on one side and some on the other, Zeus goes up to the wide heaven borne on the winds, Eurus Boreas, Zephyrus and Notus, and at his coming all heaven and earth tremble.

Assuming that the cause of the upheaval here is the same as in earlier poets, we may note the additions that are made to the conception. Thunder rolls and lightning flashes. The commotion strikes terror into the hearts of the immortals. But this feature we see too in Ovid (*Met.* 14, 816). Jove has been addressing Mars and at the close of the speech nods to give weight to his words:

Adnuit omnipotens, et nubibus aëra caecis  
 occuluit tonitruque et fulgure terruit orbem.

Having traced the motif from Homer down, and noted the accretions it has taken on with various authors, it remains for us to see what Statius has added, that is peculiarly characteristic of his manner. To be sure not much that is original can be claimed for his treatment ("Stace a peu d'invention"<sup>1</sup>). But one stroke is made which indicates sufficiently the bent of the poet's genius:

Atque ea cunctantis Tyrii primordia belli  
 Iuppiter haud aequo respexit corde Pelasgos,

<sup>1</sup> Legras: *Etude sur la Thebaïde de Stace*, p. 253.

concuſſitque caput, motu quo celsa laborant  
sidera proclamatque adici cervicibus Atlas.

The note of the Lemaire ed. of Vergil (on *Aen.* 10, 115) says—iam compara tumorem Statii VII *Theb.* 3, 4. de Iove indignante. From this and other notes of the earlier scholiasts it is evident that very early comparisons were made between Statius and Vergil in which the former suffered greatly: and some modern commentators see in Statius' tendency to exaggeration and the seeking of strange effects in description only a determination to rival and surpass Ovid.

In his treatment of this motif the details of the earlier version are present, but to further amplify the conception the poet represents Atlas as crying out with the weight that has been added to his shoulders by the commotion in heaven. And this idea of the weight of the gods as pressing heavily on Atlas is not new in itself: several references are found to it, mostly however in Ovid and Statius. Vid. *Theb.* 5, 429; *Silv.* 1, 1, 56; *Ov. Met.* 9, 273.

But in this connection it is new. Two tendencies on the part of the poet can be seen in this—(1) his aptitude for enlarging on material that he finds in other poets, material which is usually the common stock of epic poetry, (2) the peculiar nature of his faculty for description, which places before the mind's eye, as if in a picture or work of sculpture, the object or scene under consideration.<sup>1</sup> Statius seizes a striking moment in the scene and fixes it before one, thus giving one, as it were, a photographic view. This is what he has done in the present instance: Atlas is caught crying out, just as the heavens seem to be slipping from his shoulders; and we get the picture of the upturned face remonstrating against the added weight.

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<sup>1</sup> See Legras, *op. cit.*, p. 273.



*Theb.* 8. 429.

In the description of the battle that rages outside the gates of Thebes (*Theb.* 8, 428 ff.) occurs a passage which is interesting in this connection. Menalcaas, a leader in the Argive army, is slain. Statius gives a description of his valiant conduct—a picture that is exaggerated and rhetorical. At the close are two beautiful lines that recount the images that pass before the eyes of the warrior in his last moments:

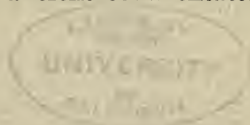
dilecta genis morientis oberrant  
Taygeta et pugnae laudataque pectora matri.

These lines, according to the Lemaire ed. of Vergil and all the later commentators, are an imitation of *Aen.* 10, 782. The Lemaire note is—'quidquid enim in vita carissimum habuimus, redire nobis solet in mentem quum morimur.' It will be instructive to examine the Vergil passage, and see what Statius owes to it as well as what he has added that is characteristic of his own genius:

illa volans clipeo est excussa proculque  
egregium Antoren latus inter et ilia figit,  
Herculis Antoren comitem, qui missus ab Argis  
haeserat Euandro, atque Itala considerat urbe.  
sternitur infelix alieno vulnere, caelumque  
aspicit, et dulces moriens reminiscitur Argos.

After Turnus, through Juno's device, is forced to voyage to Ardea, Mezentius assumes command of the forces of the Rutuli, and slaughters many of the Teuceri. Antores falls from a shaft hurled by the hand of Mezentius. The passage cited is a description of the manner of his death.

Here then is seen the original of the beautiful touch in Statius. In Vergil's description the dying warrior looks up to heaven as if loth to leave the light; and then before his mind passes his beloved Argos the home of his childhood. But this passage was discussed by ancient commentators, and



its meaning does not seem to have been unanimously agreed upon. A discussion of it will bear directly on our subject.

Servius' note on line 781, 'caelumque aspicit,' is as follows: 'ut (4, 691) alto quaesivit caelo lucem item (10, 899) hausit caelum mentemque recepit: *naturaliter enim morientes cupiunt satiari extremo lucis aspectu.*' But Wagner expresses a doubt as to Servius' interpretation in 'Naturaliter enim . . . aspectu.' He continues—'ego nescio an ob ea, quae subiiciuntur a poeta, illud "caelumque adspicit" rectius ita accipias ut Antores caeli fatorumque crudelitatem tacite incusare significetur; *Ecl.* 5, 23, atque deos atque astra vocat crudelia mater.' In line with this latter interpretation Forbiger adds 'Constat enim quam miserum veteribus visum sit in aliena terra mori.' And one might add that force is given to Wagner's suggestion by the picture of his native Argos that immediately comes up before the mind of the dying man: though Servius' explanation is less subtle and hence under the circumstances to be preferred; and is besides paralleled in the passages cited.

The parallels suggested by Servius are—*Aen.* 4, 691, on the death of Dido: and *Aen.* 10, 899, on the death of Mezentius.

As further illustrations of the phenomenon Cerda, the commentator on Vergil, cites Ennius *Ann.* (18, 15 M.) 'Semi-animisque micant oculi, lucemque requirunt'—and Euripides *Heracles* (563):

οὐ ῥίψεθ' Ἀΐδου τάσδε περιβολὰς κόμης  
καὶ φῶς ἀναβλέψεσθε τοῦ κάτω σκότου.

But we are concerned more especially with the other part of the description (*dulces moriens reminiscitur Argos*) in making a comparison with the Statius passage. Here Servius' note is—'inter physica signa moriturorum etiam hoc legitur, patriae aspectum desiderare perituros, ut (4, 468) et Tyrios deserta quaerere. an ex facti poenitentia? qui ad patriam redire contempserat.' I do not agree with Servius as to the cause. The note in the Lemaire ed. (*vid. sup.*) is more to the point.

Compare with this the Statius passage mentioned above:

Principium pugnae turmas Asopius Hypseus  
 Oebalias (namque hae magnum et gentile tumentes  
 Euboicum duris rumpunt umbonibus agmen)  
 reppulit erepto cunei ductore Menalca.  
 hic et mente Lacon, crudi torrentis alumnus  
 (nec turpavit avos) hastam ultra pectus euntem,  
 ne pudor in tergo, per et ossa et viscera retro  
 extrahit atque hosti dextra labente remittit  
 sanguineam: dilecta genis morientis oberrant  
 Taygeta et pugnae laudataque pectora matri.

The reading 'pectora' in l. 437 is difficult: and until one is acquainted with Statius' style he would be inclined to say that it is too obscure. On account of this difficulty the text seems to have been tampered with. The Oxford text gives 'pectora' which I follow: the others give 'verbera.' Lactantius followed this latter, and explained the reading thus: 'laudataque verbera matri,' Taurica quam Orestes de Scythia transtulit: consueverat enim humano cruore placari. cuius cum simulacrum in Laconiam delatum fuisset, ne quod piaculum nasceretur intermissione solemnis sacrificii neve crudelitati Graeciae populus oboediret, inventum est ut inter se impuberes pueri de sustinendis verberibus contenderent ac se in hanc patientiam provocarent, et super aram Dianae impositi flagellis verberabantur tam diu, donec ex humano corpore sanguis flueret, qui instar esset sacrificii. hi autem pueri appellabantur *βωμονίκαί*. So much for the explanation of the reading and the account of the ceremony.

But why adopt the reading 'pectora'? In accordance with his view of the mss., Garrod follows P. He says—'suspicio igitur nos in ea recensione quam P offert *δευτέρας φροντίδας* Statii habere: quas ille fortasse vivus non divulgavit sed in *αὐτογράφους* reliquit' (Praefatio to the Oxford edition, p. 4).

Without discussing this theory of the ms. and the relation of P to the others one may say that, when the reference in the

passage is understood, 'laudataque pectora matri' seems a better reading than 'laudataque verbera matri.' It is more in keeping with the context, 'ne pudor in tergo' etc.: Statius dwells particularly on the discipline in endurance that the Spartan youths submitted to and which became second nature to them. The reading 'verbera' probably crept in as an explanation of 'pectora.'

Hence Vergil's description of the image that comes up before the dying man is much more simple than that in the Statius passage. In the former, it is the thought of home and loneliness only—a universal feeling: in Statius, however, associated with the thought of home is all that home suggests—the contests by the Eurotas that hardened the spirit of the youthful Spartan (see Lactantius, note on l. 432) and the rites of Diana performed in the presence of parents, and intended as a demonstration of physical courage. These details Statius cannot leave out. His excessive love for description and the picturesque makes him analyse the images that pass before the dying warrior's eyes—and there they are presented to us as if on canvas. To Vergil the pathos of the situation appealed: Statius saw in it also an opportunity for picture drawing.

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*Theb.* 8. 745.

An intensely dramatic description of the death of Tydeus is given in the eighth book of the *Thebaid*. Tydeus falls mortally wounded by a shaft from the hand of Melanippus: and as he falls he summons his failing strength and with a last effort hurls a javelin at Melanippus. The weapon hits the mark. As a last request the dying Tydeus craves the body of the man who has caused his death that he may sate his hunger for revenge by a last look upon it. Capaneus volunteers to gratify his wish:

moti omnes, sed primus abit primusque repertum  
Astaciden medio Capaneus e pulvere tollit  
spirantem laevaue super cervice reportat,

terga cruentantem concussi vulneris unda:  
qualis ab Arcadio rediit Tirynthius antro  
captivumque suem clamantibus intulit Argis.

A vivid and gruesome picture, surpassed in gruesomeness only by the succeeding description of Tydeus' conduct, is given of Capaneus returning to Tydeus with his enemy's body. As he bears on his left shoulder the body of Melanippus still showing signs of life, the blood from the wound gushes forth and pours down his back. Without pursuing the description further, the poet turns and gives as a comparison the picture of Heracles returning to Argos with the lifeless body of the Erymanthian boar thrown over his shoulder. At once one is reminded of the numerous representations of that scene. Even the horror of the situation does not prevent Statius from reproducing pictures—in fact the description of Capaneus carrying the body serves only as a suggestion for the conventional motif that was represented on so many paintings and vases. Again the poet leaves the reader with the impression of a familiar picture, and not with that of his own description.

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*Theb.* 9, 319.

In Book 9 there is a delightful picture of the Theban youth Crenaeus in his native element, the river Ismenus. Crenaeus was the son of the nymph Ismenis and Faunus, and the grandson of the river Ismenus. Craving a conflict with the Argive warrior Hippomedon the lad seeks his native element in which to encounter him, and in which he believes himself immortal. The description runs as follows:

Gaudebat Fauno nymphaque Ismenide natus  
maternis bellare tener Crenaeus in undis,  
Crenaeus, cui prima dies in gurgite fido  
et natale vadum et virides cunabula ripae.  
ergo ratus nihil Elysias ibi posse sorores  
laetus adulantem nunc hoc nunc margine ab illo

transit avum, levat unda gradus, seu defluus ille,  
 sive obliquus eat; nec cum subit obvius, ulla  
 stagna dedere moras pariterque revertitur amnis.  
 non Anthedonii tegit hospitis inguina pontus  
 blandior, aestivo nec se magis aequore Triton  
 exserit, aut carae festinus ad oscula matris  
 cum remeat tardumque ferit delphina Palaemon.  
 arma decent umeros, clipeusque insignis et auro  
 lucidus Aoniae caelatur origine gentis.

The original of this conception of Crenaeus, entrusting himself to the stream in time of danger was undoubtedly Vergil (*Aen.* 9. 815). Turnus after his fight with the followers of Ascanius before the Trojan encampment leaps into the Tiber to remove the marks of the long-continued encounter. Vergil thus describes him:

Tum demum praeceps saltu sese omnibus armis  
 in fluvium dedit: ille suo cum gurgite flavo  
 accepit venientem ac mollibus extulit undis  
 et laetum sociis abluta caede remisit.

Statius' description opens with a picture of the boy as he was wont to play in the stream and sleep on its banks (ll. 321, 322). And now as Crenaeus plunges in to engage Hippomedon in battle, the water plays about him, lapping his body lovingly (note the strange use of 'adulantem') and he is borne up by it, whether he swims across current or goes down with the stream. Indeed, if he turns to swim upstream, the river turns its course and goes with him. The poet now introduces comparisons—first, with Glaucus, the fisherman who had been transformed into a creature half man, half fish: next, with Triton, as he rises from the summer sea: and then, with Palaemon, whose native element too is the water; who rides about on his dolphin, coming to the shore repeatedly to receive his fond mother's caresses, and whipping his slow-moving dolphin.

The poet thus has passed from the natural description of

the object before his eyes, and drawn a succession of conventional pictures, all beautiful in themselves, but conventional and stereotyped nevertheless. Immediately their types in art are suggested — particularly that of Palaemon and his mother, which has been treated elsewhere in this thesis. Nothing, it seems to me, could show more clearly the tendency of Statius towards the 'plastic' in his style. But he goes still further. After giving this series of pictures to arrest the eye in successive moments, he passes to a detailed description of Crenaeus as he swam in the river, and makes of him a 'work of art,' noting the fit of the armour on his shoulders, and recounting the scenes embossed on his shield of gold. His treatment of these scenes upon the shield does not concern us here: our task at present is to show the influence of art on his description, particularly where it may be unconscious in the poet: to show that the 'plastic' style was natural to him, and reflected a tendency of the age in which he worked.

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*Theb.* 9. 399.

The treatment of Ismenis sorrowing for the death of her son Crenaeus affords another opportunity of observing the quality of the poet's genius. The youth trusting too much to the power of the river-god, his grandsire, had drawn Hippomedon to a conflict in the river, and had perished in spite of all the god could do on his side. In words of bitter reproach against her father Ismenis gives vent to her sorrow,—that a mere mortal should destroy the life of one who had a god and goddess for his parents. Then she breaks out into wild lamentation, beating her breast all the while; and the river nymphs re-echo her wailing:

his miscet planctus multumque indigna cruentat  
pectora, caeruleae referunt lamenta sorores:  
qualiter Isthmiaco nondum Nereida portu  
Leucothean planxisse ferunt, dum pectore anhelu  
frigidus in matrem saevum mare respuit infans.

Several parallels to the lamentation of Ismenis suggest themselves, but the parallel that strikes one first, as he reads the story of Crenaeus, is the story of Hylas, and Heracles' grief for him, given in Ap. Rh. 1. 1205-1360,<sup>1</sup> Theocritus 13, Propertius 1, 20, and Valerius Flaccus 3, 593 ff. Another parallel is the Orpheus myth in *Georg.* 4, 453-527. These may be made use of as a standard of comparison for Statius' treatment of a story that presents possibilities of similar treatment.

What Statius has added may be seen best by putting beside the passage cited the versions of the story as given by the poets mentioned above. In the Theocritus version Heracles is represented as starting out to search for the boy, thinking that because he is tardy about returning to the ship some evil must have befallen him. In a few words Theocritus tells of the hero's grief and his attempts to find the missing boy:

τρίς μὲν Ἔλαν ἄυσεν, ὅσον βαρὺς ἤρηνγε λαιμός ·  
 τρίς δ' ἄρ' ὁ παῖς ὑπάκουσεν · ἀραιὰ δ' ἵκετο φωνὰ  
 ἐξ ὕδατος · παρεὼν δὲ μάλα σχεδὸν εἶδετο πόρρω.

Here appears the motif of the answer to his cry, coming in this case from the youth as he lay in the lap of the fountain nymph at the bottom of the spring. In the later versions this sorrowing cry is re-echoed by the river-banks or nymphs.

Compare with this a similar passage in Vergil (*Georg.* 4, 523), the Orpheus myth. Orpheus' body is dismembered by the Thracian Bacchantes and his head is carried down the Hebrus:

Tum quoque marmorea caput a cervice revulsum  
 gurgite quum medio portans Oeagrius Hebrus  
 volveret, 'Eurydicen' vox ipsa et frigida lingua,  
 'ah miseram Eurydicen!' anima fugiente vocabat;  
 'Eurydicen' toto referebant flumine ripae.

<sup>1</sup>The version of Apollonius is slightly different from the later adaptations. The more sentimental form of Theocritus and Propertius is followed by Valerius Flaccus and Statius.



Here the river-banks re-echo Orpheus' cry of grief. In the Propertius passage Hercules replies to the frightened cry of Hylas as he is snatched into the fountain's depths by the nymphs:

prolapsum leviter facili traxere liquore:  
tum sonitum raptο corpore fecit Hylas.  
cui procul Alcides iterat responsa: sed illi  
nomen ab extremis fontibus aura refert.

(Prop. 1, 20, 47).

Valerius Flaccus following Apollonius of Rhodes gives a somewhat lengthy account of the loss of Hylas and Hercules' vain search for him. He picks up the motif of Vergil's 'Orpheus' passage, and represents the woods as answering his sorrowful lament. He goes further yet, and personifies the echo (*certat imago*) and makes it answer the hero from all directions (*vaga*):

volat ordine nullo  
cuncta petens; nunc ad ripas deiectaque saxis  
flumina, nunc totas nemorum procurrit ad umbras.  
rursus Hylan et rursus Hylan per longa reclamat  
avia: responsant silvae et vaga certat imago.

(Arg. 3. 593).

Let us see then what our poet has done with a similar situation. After pouring out the anger of her soul against her father Ismenus, the nymph Ismenis stands by the bank of the stream wildly beating her breast and uttering loud lamentations over the loss of her son. Her wailing is re-echoed by the nymphs of the river. Thus far Statius keeps within the traditional manner of presenting this situation, and his treatment is as natural as that of the others. But again his subject takes a statue-form. Ismenis, as she stands on the bank of the Ismenus, is like another, a traditional, grief-stricken mother, sorrowing for her child. Hence his description changes over to the conventional picture of Leucothoe as she stood by the Gulf

of Corinth, in wild grief for her son whom she had thrown into the sea. The touch of real feeling is gone, and the description has become stereotyped. Our mind is taken from Ismenis and our eye directed to a statue.

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*Theb.* 9. 678.

A further illustration of this peculiarity of Statius' style is seen in the incident recorded in Bk. 9, 678 ff. The rival Argive and Theban armies are drawn up in the plain before Thebes. The leaders on both sides have been slain, but the opposing armies are all the more thirsty for each other's blood. At this point Diana appears, gliding down through the air, and takes up her position on Mt. Cithaeron. At her approach the hills recognize her and the woods tremble before her as one whom they had occasion to fear of old:

cum lapsa per auras  
 vertice Dircaei velox Latonia montis  
 astitit; agnoscunt colles notamque tremescit  
 silva deam, saevis ubi quondam exserta sagittis  
 fecundam lasso Nioben consumpserat arcu.

Two features of this description strike the student of Statius. The first is the extension of the motif that is common enough in Latin and Greek poetry, namely, that of the response in inanimate nature to the feeling of the presence of a god, whether this response is indicated by the emotion of fear or its opposite<sup>1</sup>—the emotion of awe or whatever it may be: the second is his manner of dealing with the description of Diana, as she stands on Mt. Cithaeron, surveying the field of battle.

The motif referred to may be illustrated by a passage from Vergil (*Aen.* 6, 256 ff.). Here the approach of Hecate as she comes up from the under world is signalled by a sympathetic movement on the part of nature:

<sup>1</sup> *Aen.*, 1, 155.

ecce autem, primi sub lumina solis et ortus,  
sub pedibus mugire solum, et iuga cœpta moveri  
silvarum, visaeque canes ululare per umbram,  
adventante dea.

The early commentators on Vergil note that this representation of a commotion in nature at the advent of a god or demigod or fury was the product of the Alexandrian writers: and the Elzv. ed. gives a note of Taubmann to *Aen.* 3. 90: 'Haec deum praesentem esse indicio erant: et tum vera reddebantur oracula, sicut, eo absente, falsa.' And as an illustration, on the negative side, the commentator cites Lucan *Phars.* 5, 152, which refers to Phoebas, the priestess of Apollo:

non rupta trementi  
verba sono nec vox antri complere capacis  
sufficiens spatium nulloque horrore comarum  
excussae laurus immotaque limina templi  
securumque nemus veritam se credere Phoebō  
prodiderant . . . .

This passage, says the commentator, has for its source Callimachus, Hymn to Apollo, 5. 1 ff.:

οἶον ὁ τῶπόλλωνος ἐσεΐσατο δάφνινος ὄρηξ  
οἶα δ' ὄλον τὸ μέλαθρον . . .

With the Vergil passage cited above compare also *Eclogue* 4, 50, 51:

aspice convexo nutantem pondere mundum  
terrasque tractusque maris caelumque profundum.

On this passage C. S. Jerram says—'All nature is moved and trembles at the advent of the deity. Compare Ps. 68, 8 and 114. 7: also *Aen.* 3. 90, etc., where the temple and its environs shake at Apollo's coming.'

With Jerram's note compare that of Deuticke referring to the same *Eclogue* (50. 51)—'Wie A. 3, 90 und 6, 256 beim

Erscheinen einer Gottheit die Erde bebt, so lässt V. hier die ganze Welt vor dem erwarteten Erstling erschauern. Vgl. Sib. 3, 675: γαῖα δὲ παγγενέτειρα σαλεύσεται ἡμασι κείνοις χειρὸς ὑπ' ἀθανάτοιο . . . καὶ πᾶσα θάλασσα φρίξει ὑπ' ἀθανάτοιο προσώπου καὶ φόβος ἔσται.'

A better example, however, is furnished by Ap. Rh. (*Arg.* 3, 1212 ff.) where Jason calls upon Hecate to come up from Hades and attend his sacrifice. The goddess approaches, attended by all the horrors that surround her in the world below, and Apollonius thus describes her:

ἡ δ' αἰούσα  
 κευθμῶν ἐξ ὑπάτων δεινὴ θεὸς ἀντεβόλησεν  
 ἱοῖς Αἴσονίδαο · περίξ δέ μιν ἔστεφάνωντο  
 σμερδαλέοι δρυῖνοισι μετὰ πτόρθοισι δράκοντες.  
 στράπτε δ' ἀπειρέσιον δαΐδων σέλας · ἀμφὶ δὲ τήνγε  
 ὄξειν ὑλακῆν χθόνιοι κύνες ἐφθέγγοντο .  
 πίσσα δ' ἔτρεμε πάντα κατὰ στίβον · αἱ δ' ὀλόλυξαν  
 νύμφαι ἐλειονόμοι ποταμηίδες, αἱ περὶ κείνην  
 Φάσιδος εἰαμενὴν Ἀμαραντίου εἰλίσσονται.

As the Fury passes over the earth all the meadows tremble along her pathway (κατὰ στίβον) and the nymphs of the streams cry out. Compare *Aen.* 4, 490, where Anna is explaining to Dido the portents by which she will recognise the approach of the Fury:

mugire videbis  
 sub pedibus terram, et descendere montibus ornos.

Ovid (*Met.* 4, 486 ff.), describing Tisiphone as she comes up from Hades to enflame Athamas, introduces the motif:

postes tremuisse feruntur  
 Aeolii, pallorque fores infecit Avernus  
 Solque locum fugit . . .

and Ruperti in a note on *Sil. Ital.* 2, 543 gives it as his opinion that his poet must have had the Ovid passage in mind while describing his Fury as she attacked Carthage:

sic voce instimulans dextra Dea concita saevam  
Eumenida incussit muris, tremuitque repente  
mons circum et gravior sonuit per litora fluctus.

However, it seems more natural when we consider the great extent to which Silius was a borrower from Vergil, and note the similarity in phrase, to say rather that he had in mind *Aen.* 3, 90:

vix ea fatus eram: tremere omnia visa repente,  
liminaque laurusque dei; totusque moveri  
mons circum, et mugire adytis cortina reclusis.

To be sure, the occasion is similar to that in the Ovid passage, but the description is Vergilian.

Statius again (*Theb.* 1, 88) has a passage that is parallel to these, yet varied after his usual manner. Tisiphone comes up from Tartarus on her fell mission to the brothers Eteocles and Polynices: and as she approaches horror seizes upon nature:

sensit adesse dies, piceo nox obvia nimbo  
lucentes turbavit equos: procul arduus Atlas  
horruit et dubia caelum cervice remisit.

This then, I take it, is the origin of the motif in the Diana passage (cited above). It came into Greek literature comparatively late, as we have seen. Of all the many visits that Iris makes to earth in the *Iliad*, none are attended by any show of fear or sympathy on the part of inanimate nature. Nor, indeed, are any of the other gods greeted with these tokens of fear. Sometimes the hills shake and the forests wave beneath them, but it is from the motion of their feet as they pass over. In Euripides (*Herc. Fur.* 822 ff.) Lyssa is sent by Juno upon Heracles, and a great commotion ensues upon her approach but it is a commotion among the attendants.

Let us see then in what respect Statius alters this bit of traditional epic material. As Diana comes down through the air and settles on Mt. Cithaeron, the hills recognize her and trem-

ble, presumably from fear of what she may do. In the Apollonius passage (cited above) the meadows and nymphs tremble also, undoubtedly, there, because of the horrors by which the Fury was accompanied. Here, however, Statius makes the hills and woods remember the goddess and the cruel deeds she had once performed on that very spot. This gives him his opportunity to introduce an allusion to Niobe and the slaughter of her children, and to draw a picture of the goddess as she stood there on the mountain-top.

This device of endowing nature with more or less reasoning power is new, and represents a peculiar characteristic of Statius. Much the same phenomenon is seen in Valerius Flaccus (*Arg.* 3, 584). Here Hercules, realising that Hylas is lost, starts up through the forests to search for him, and nature catching the spirit of sorrow and anger in the hero, and feeling somehow a share of guilt (*conscia*<sup>1</sup>) for the loss of the boy, is terrified as to what outrages he may commit:

pavet omnis conscia late  
silva, pavent montes, luctu succensus acerbo  
quid struat Alcides, tantaque quid apparet ira.

But it is the second feature of Statius' description that claims particular attention:

saevis ubi quondam exserta sagittis  
fecundam lasso Nioben consumpserat arcu.

The hills and woods tremble when they behold the goddess as they once beheld her after she had wearied herself with the slaughter of Niobe's children. It appears as if Statius had in mind a passage of Ovid (*Met.* 6, 216) which describes Apollo and Diana coming down to Cithæron to avenge themselves on

<sup>1</sup> Burmann favors this interpretation of 'conscia.' His note on 'conscia silva' is as follows—'Raptus scilicet Hylae. Male Pius, quasi refugium se esse et auctorem tabanorum sciret, vel consciam, pallidam ab eventu explicat.

Niobe for her presumption. The phrase 'per aëra lapsu' would suggest that at least:

dixit idem Phoebe, celerique per aëra lapsu  
contigerant tecti Cadmeïda nubibus arcem.

At any rate Statius has reproduced, in the form of a statue as it were, the image of Diana as she appeared to the hills and woods when that memorable event took place. His description seems to have passed naturally into the description of a draped female statue, and the introduction of the allusion seems to have been made for the sole purpose of giving this effect. Details of pose and costume are given—the bow hangs by her side, wearied with slaughter, the robe is thrown back from the breast (exserta), as it had been arranged to allow free use of the bow.

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*Theb.* 10. 84.

In his description of the Palace of Sleep (*Theb.* 10. 84 ff.) may be seen a further illustration of this tendency of Statius to the 'plastic' in description. Ovid is for the most part his source, though some features he gets from Vergil, and some from Lucan, while he himself adds a few new details. A comparison with Ovid, however, will show outstanding differences of style. Of course, if the influence of art were apparent anywhere in a poet's description it would be seen here, in the manner in which he enters into details of architecture and construction, in the tendency to overdo minute description of ornament, statuary, etc.

l. 84. Stat super occiduae nebulosa cubilia noctis

.....

l. 106.        hae species: ipse autem umentia subter  
                 antra soporifero stipatos flore tapetas  
                 incubat: exhalant vestes et corpore pigro  
                 strata calent, supraque torum niger efflat anhelos  
                 ore vapor; manus haec fusos a tempore laevo

sustentat crines, haec cornu oblita remisit.  
 adsunt innumero circum vaga Somnia vultu,  
 vera simul falsis permixtaque \*flumina flammis\*  
 noctis opaca cohors, trabibusque aut postibus haerent,  
 aut tellure iacent. tenuis qua circuit aulam  
 invalidusque nitor, primosque hortantia somnos  
 languida succiduis expirant lumina flammis.

For the sake of brevity and that at the conclusion of the treatment of this example results may be more easily summarised, let us note the outstanding features in Statius' description. The palace of the god is situated above the cloudy beds of western night (note that in the various authors different places are assigned as the abode of sleep; for an explanation of Lemnos as the home of sleep see Leaf's note on *Iliad* 14, 225). Here in a cave that extends far back beneath a mountain the god has established his Penates. On the threshold of the Palace, Quiet and Forgetfulness in statue-like form keep watch in company with sleepy-faced Sloth: in the vestibule sit Idleness and Silences with pinions pressed close to their side: they drive the winds away, and keep them from stirring the branches, and hush the note of birds. Around this palace, though the waves beat against the shore, there is no sound from the sea, no noise in the air. The river lies quiet within its rocky bed. Black herds of cattle roam all about; and as they lie down the grass beneath them withers.

Within the palace are numerous representations of Sleep in relief work.<sup>1</sup> First, he is shown lying down with Pleasure by his side—in another quarter Toil reclines with him—and in another Bacchus or Love shares his couch—or again his companion is Death, his gloomy visage seen by no one. Farther within the palace the god himself reclines on carpets steeped in the juice of sleep-producing flowers. Warm steam rises from his body, and black vapor issues from his puffing nostrils. Over the left hand falls the hair that hangs from his left

<sup>1</sup> See Spence, *Polymetis*, p. 265.



temple—from the right hand he has let slip his horn in forgetfulness. All about him are wandering Dreams of diverse features. These lean up against the pillars or recline upon the ground. A thin rare light pervades the place, a light whose very dimness invites sleep.

As noted above Statius' description is modelled after that of Ovid (*Met.* 11, 592 ff.):

592 Est prope Cimmerios longo spelunca recessu,  
mons cavus, ignavi domus et penetralia Somni,  
quo numquam radiis oriens, mediusve, cadensve  
Phoebus adire potest. . . .

610 at medio torus est ebene sublimis in antro,  
plumeus, atricolor, pullo velamine tectus,  
quo cubat ipse deus membris languore solutis.  
hunc circa passim varias imitantia formas  
Somnia vana iacent totidem, quot messis aristas,  
silva gerit frondes, eiectas litus harenas.  
quo simul intravit manibusque obstantia virgo  
Somnia dimovit, vestis fulgore reluxit  
sacra domus, tarda que deus gravitate iacentes  
vix oculos tollens iterumque iterumque relabens  
summaque percutiens nutanti pectora mento  
excussit tandem sibi se cubitoque levatus,  
quid veniat (cognovit enim), seitatur.

In many of its features the description of the palace of Sleep is original with Ovid, though the source of the fancy is Alexandrian. Here the locality is different from that in which Statius places it. The absence of noise is again a characteristic—the wakeful cock does not call up dawn with his crowing: the howl of the dog and the cry of the goose are still. (In contrast note that in Lucian's description, *Ver. Hist.* 2, 32, 40 ff., the cock is one of the deities worshipped in the realm of Sleep: at one of the gates of the city is a temple to Ἀλεκτρυών) And besides, no sound is heard from the animals, no noise from trees rustling in the wind, no sound of human voice. From

the foot of the rock rises the river Lethe, the whisper of whose waters as they pass over the stones induces soft sleep. Before the doors of the palace grow the poppy and numerous grasses from whose juices Night distills sleeping-drugs, and scatters them over the earth. No doors has the dwelling—to rouse with their creaking the sleeping god.

In the centre of the palace is a couch of soft feathers, with black covering. On this the god reclines, his limbs relaxed with weariness. About him lie dreams, that present various shapes, as many in number as the sands of the sea, the ears of the harvest, or the leaves of the wood.

The other passage to which Statius was indebted is Vergil, *Aen.* 6. 268 ff.—a description of the palace of Dis:

l. 274. vestibulum ante ipsum primisque in faucibus Orci  
 Luctus et ultrices posuere cubilia Curae,  
 pallentesque habitant Morbi, tristisque Senectus  
 et Metus, et malesuada Fames, ac turpis Egestas,  
 terribiles visu formae, Letumque Labosque;  
 tum consanguineus Leti Sopor, et mala mentis  
 Gaudia, mortiferumque adverso in limine Bellum,  
 ferreique Eumenidum thalami et Discordia demens  
 vipereum crinem vittis innexa cruentis.

In medio ramos annosaque bracchia pandit  
 ulmus opaca, ingens, quam sedem Somnia vulgo  
 vana tenere ferunt, foliisque sub omnibus haerent.  
 multaue praeterea variarum monstra ferarum.  
 Centauri in foribus stabulant, Scyllaeque bifformes  
 et centumgeminus Briareus, ac belua Lernae  
 horrendum stridens, flammisque armata Chimaera,  
 Gorgones, Harpyiaequae, et forma Tricorporis umbrae.

The inhabitants of Dis are arranged into three groups in Vergil's account. At the threshold at the front of the palace, and grouped about it, Grief and Avenging Cares have their beds. Here, too, are pale Disease, sad Old Age, Fear, Hunger, Indigence, Death, Toil. At the threshold to the rear stand

Sleep, Death's kinsman, Evil Joys of the mind, fatal War, the brazen chambers of the Avenging Sisters, mad Discord with snake-locks. In the centre is a dark, shady elm with wide-spreading branches—the abode of Dreams. These lurk beneath all the leaves. Besides these groups, within the front threshold are stalled Centaurs, Scylla, Briareus, the Lernaean Hydra, the Chimaera, Gorgons, Harpies and the triple-bodied Geryon.

A brief comparison with Ovid's treatment of the motif will bring out the peculiarities of Statius' style. The feature of quietness that characterises the place Ovid expresses simply—no wakeful cock is there to summon Dawn with his crowing: no sound from barking dogs or screeching geese: no noise from animals that roam about, or from the trees amid whose branches the wind passes: only the river Lethe with its whispering waters lulls to sleep those who dwell there.

Statius' treatment is much more artificial. To express the same feature of quietness he places at the entrance of the palace demi-gods who stand there like statues—Quies, Oblivio, Ignavia, Otia, Silentia. The river Lethe lies still within its bed: there is no sign of movement anywhere. And, not content with making these beings statue-like, he goes on to place within the palace numerous real figures of the Sleep-god, which Vulcan had curiously wrought. Here is a group of Sleep and Pleasure reclining: here Sleep and Toil sinking down with exhaustion: in another place he occupies a couch with Bacchus, in another with Love; or again with Death, farther within the palace. So much for groups of ornamental sculpture.

In the description of the god himself characteristic differences are noted. Statius enters much more into detail and the god as he describes him is much more statue-like. Ovid dismisses the god with one line—*Quo cubat ipse deus membris languore solutis*: Statius dwells on the picture presented by the god as he lay there—the pose, arrangement of hair, position of arms, etc., are given. The left hand supports the hair that hangs from the left temple: his horn has fallen from his right

hand and lies with it by his side unheeded. With his Dreams too Statius gets an ornamental effect, representing them as clinging to the beams or pillars or lying on the ground, while Ovid pictures them only as lying on the ground. In this Statius is borrowing from Vergil (l. c.) who makes them cling to the elm tree in the abode of Pluto.

With this comparison at hand one does not need to dogmatise on his thesis; all that seems necessary is an examination of the passages. But to strengthen the case a comparison with the Vergil passage would not be superfluous—indeed, might seem necessary. Vergil in his description of the abode of Dis fills the palace with demi-gods, or at least with beings not of human mould. In his description these are given their conventional epithets: in Statius the epithets define more closely and give more the impression of a description of a statue. Note these in Vergil—ultrices Curae, pallentes Morbi, tristis Senectus, turpis Egestas. True, Discordia is described as the conventional fury with snake-locks. Compare in Statius, vigili torpens Ignavia vultu, pressis Silentia pinnis, in requiem vergens Labor, redimita Voluptas. And then there is nothing in the Vergil passage that gives the statue-like pose of the sleeping god.

With the Statius passage under consideration compare the description of the Abode of Mars (*Theb.* 7, 47 ff.):

l. 56.                       occultisque ensibus astant  
           Insidiae geminumque tenens Discordia ferrum.  
           innumeris strepit aula Minis, tristissima Virtus  
           stat medio, laetusque Furor vultuque cruento  
           Mors armata sedet. . . . .

An effect somewhat similar to that produced by Statius' description (loc. cit., ll. 106 ff.) is given by Vergil, *Eclog.* 6, 13 ff.:

                                Chromis et Mnasylos in antro  
       Silenum pueri somno videre iacentem,  
       inflatum hesterno venas, ut semper, Iaccho;  
       serta procul, tantum capiti delapsa, iacebant  
       et gravis attrita pendebat cantharus ansa.

Undoubtedly we have here a picture: Silenus is lying down, bloated from his revels of the preceding day. At some little distance from him lie the garlands that adorned him in his revels; and his hand still clutches the tankard with worn handle. Perhaps Statius may have had this passage in mind: or some picture that gave the suggestion.

## CHAPTER II.

## SOME PASSAGES CITED BY LEGRAS.

It would seem that Legras saw this characteristic of Statius' style (see Legras, *Étude sur la Thebaïde de Stace*, 1905). But he has barely touched on it—indeed the example he cites would scarcely convince one that he really saw the tendency fully. Here is what he says—‘Stace dans ses descriptions comme dans ses épisodes, étend ses modèles et montre avec plus de détails ce qu'ils ne font qu'indiquer; cela lui est facile, car il a le style naturellement plastique, et il rend aussi bien, semble-t-il, les groupes vivants que les statues et les tableaux. On en a déjà donné la preuve en étudiant l'attitude de ses lutteurs et ses discoboles (p. 263, op. cit.); en voici un nouvel exemple, plus décisif encore:

inter adhortantes vix sponte incedit Adrastus,  
 contentus ferro cingi latus: arma manipuli  
 pone ferunt, volucres portis auriga sub ipsis  
 comit equos, et iam inde iugo luctatur Arion.

(4, 40 ff.).

Rien de mieux composé, ni de plus vivant, et pourtant la scène ne peut guère avoir été figurée par un artiste; Stace a dû s'inspirer, pour l'essentiel, de ce qu'il a vu au cirque dans les courses des chars.' And further in a note he continues—‘Dans la peinture même des animaux, Stace a dû se rappeler aussi, comme tant de peintres de Pompéi (cf. Helbig, *Untersuch. üb. d. Campan. Wandmaler. 1873*, 92 sq.) les combats du cirque, d'animaux contre belluaires, ou d'animaux contre animaux.'

Now, at the outset, one may remark that aside from this Adrastus passage all those cited by Legras refer to forms of athletes or to athletic contests. It would be difficult indeed

for a poet, describing a boxing match or wrestling bout or chariot-race or foot-race, to prevent his description from drawing forms of statues, so to speak, inasmuch as sculpture had for its subjects the forms of athletes, or the representations of certain moments in an athletic contest or display of skill. To be convinced of this one need only examine the treatment of similar themes in other poets, and note that they too seem to place before one's eyes a sculpture or painting in their description of an athletic event.

But before passing to an examination of the other passages suggested by Legras, a word about this description of Adrastus. The occasion is the preparation for the departure of the Argive army for Thebes. Adrastus has given his consent to the war against Eteocles, and the hosts begin to assemble. The aged king Adrastus, as he prepares to mount his chariot is attended by his squires. Here can be seen grouping as in a fresco: but the occasion is much like that of a chariot-race, and hence the tendency towards the plastic is here not so remarkable. But in his description of Sol as he sinks with his weary steeds beneath the western horizon (*Theb.* 3, 409), an occasion where the familiar preparation for athletic contests should not exert any influence: but which in other respects is similar, Statius has grouped his figures with even more detail.

Barth points out that the passage cited by Legras is taken from Vergil (*Aen.* 12, 82 ff.).

Here Turnus prepares to go out and engage Aeneas in hand to hand conflict, and about him his comrades throng to prepare him for the encounter. The effect of a fresco is given here just as much as in the Statius passage: on one side Turnus arms himself—on the other a group of squires prepare his horses, some patting their flanks and others combing out their manes. The only difference is that the groups are not so numerous.

*The Chariot-race.* One of the other passages suggested by Legras is the chariot-race, *Theb.* 6, 416 ff., where the vividness of the description puts the scene before the reader's eyes as if

it were being enacted in the circus. One cannot say that the description is suggested by a work of art rather than by observation of the event in the circus, but whichever way we interpret it, the same tendency is shown:

nunc avidi prono iuga pectore tangunt  
 nunc pugnante genu et pressis duplicantur habenis.  
 colla toris crinita tument, stantisque repectit  
 aura iubas, bibit albens humus avida nimbos.

That Statius was indebted to Homer for such vividness of description Legras does not admit. He says (p. 263) 'n'eût-il pas eu Homère sous les yeux qu'ici il eût été aussi énergique et aussi précis'; but as suggested above, the subject lends itself to such treatment. Manilius (5, 71 ff.) has a similar passage. He is describing the rising of the constellation Heniochus, the Wagoner, and his swift flight across the sky; and Breiter in his note draws attention to the fact that his description recalls the tricks of the circus:

Ille dabit proprium studium caeloque retentas,  
 quas prius in terris agitator amaverat, artes:  
 stare levi curru moderantem quattuor ora  
 spumigeris frenata lupis et flectere equorum  
 praevalidas vires ac torto stringere gyro.  
 sed cum laxato fugerunt cardine claustra,  
 exagitare feros pronumque anteire volantis  
 vixque rotis levibus summum contingere campum  
 vincentem pedibus ventos. . . .

Statius' description is more powerful and vivid, but Manilius has nevertheless all the details. Compare the passage cited by Barth from Sidonius Apollinaris (see Barth's notes to Statius, l. c.). The passage refers to the chariot-race in the games held on Jan. 1:

Instant verberibus simul regentes  
 iamque et pectora prona de covino  
 extensi rapiuntur, et iugales



trans armos feriunt, vacante tergo,  
nec cernas cito, cernuos magistros  
temones mage sufferant, an axes.

(Sid. Apoll. 23, 350).

As a proof that this vividness of description was not due to borrowing from Homer, Legras cites *Theb.* 6, 590—where the pose of the youthful athletes preparing for a start in a foot-race is described. For this, he says, there is no Homeric background:

poplite nunc sidunt flexo, nunc lubrica forti  
pectora conlidunt plausu, nunc ignea tollunt  
crura, brevemque fugam necopino fine reponunt.

Statius' description of Phlegyas throwing the discus (*Theb.* 6, 678 ff.) is also taken as a proof that the poet was no mere imitator of Homer. This is the passage which some interpreters of Statius maintained owed its inspiration to Myron's 'Diskobolos' (Vid. K. Fr. Hermann, *Über den Kunstsinn der Römer*, p. 30 ff.), but which Gaymann (*Kunstarchäologische Studien*, p. 27) contends need not be referred to that work of art. Legras agrees with the latter that the description is original with Statius, that he is merely drawing a word picture of a scene he had beheld often in the circus,—'Stace ne paraît devoir qu' à lui-même ces peintures, et elles sont vivantes.'

But what is original with Statius is not so easy to determine. As Legras himself remarks he watches Ovid very closely. Anyhow, even where he is not altogether original he can be counted on for additional details. This has been seen already and can be further illustrated by an examination of his description of the wrestling bout between Tydeus and Agylleus (*Theb.* 6, 835 ff.) and a comparison of his treatment of the themes with that of poets that preceded him:

levat ardua contra  
membra Cleonaeae stirpis iactator Agylleus,  
Herculea nec mole minor, sic grandibus alte  
insurgens humeris hominem super improbus exit.

The passage is too long to be cited in full, so I shall resort to a summary to make the comparison with Ovid.

The motif goes back to Apollonius of Rhodes (2, 30 ff.) the fight of Polydeukes and Amykos: with him, however, the description is not so detailed as in the later poets. (1) The combatants strip for the contest:

ἔνθ' ἀπὸ Τυνδαριδῆς μὲν ἑύστιπτον θέτο φᾶρος  
 λεπταλέον, τό ῥά οἱ τις ἐὼν ξεινήιον εἶναι  
 ᾧπασε Λημνιάδων · ὁ δ' ἑρεμνὴν δίπτυχα λώπην  
 κάββαλε, τὴν φορέεσκεν, ὀριτρεφέος κοτίνοιο.

(2) The description of the fighters: here he does not go into such detail as do Vergil and Ovid: there is not so much posing as in the later accounts. (3) The picture of the bystanders—the sympathisers with each side.

The fight of Entellus and Dares in *Aen.* 5, 421 ff. is an adaptation of this motif. The description is more elaborate than in Apollonius. (1) The contestants strip and put on the caestus:

haec fatus duplicem ex humeris reiecit amictum,  
 et magnos membrorum artus, magna ossa lacertosque  
 exuit, atque ingens media consistit harena.  
 tum satus Anchisa caestus pater extulit aequos  
 et paribus palmas amborum innexuit armis.

(2) They pose and get set for the attack:

constitit in digitos extemplo arrectus uterque,  
 bracchiaque ad superos interritus extulit auras.

(3) The combat—they spar for openings in each other's defense. (4) Near the fighters are the prizes—a bull and a wreath:

dixit et adversi contra stetit ora iuveni  
 qui donum adstabat pugnae.

The parallel passage in Ovid is the description given by the river-god Achelöus of the struggle in which Hercules vanquished him (*Met.* 9, 31 ff.). The several steps in the description are as follows: the preparation—stripping for the bout (l. 32): sprinkling of the opponents with sand (35, 36): sparring for holds (37-43): the struggles (44, 45): their struggle compared to a fight between two bulls: a beautiful heifer, the prize of victory stands by, and all the herd watch the furious encounter (46-49): struggling and breaking of holds (51-53): Hercules falls on Achelöus (54-61): the river-god employs his arts of transformation, but is vanquished (62-84): picture of the vanquished god (84).

The resemblance of Statius' treatment to that of Ovid is striking—though with him details are dwelt on at much greater length. The pose, and stripping for the contest (835): description of combatants (837-846): preliminaries—oiling their bodies and sprinkling them with sand (847-850): the start—playing for holds: Agylleus towering over Tydeus is compared to a tree bent down to the ground (851-859): trying for holds and breaking them (860-3): simile of the fight between two bulls—the white heifer, the cause of the dispute, stands by and watches the combat: simile of the fighting boars: simile of the bear (864-9): effect of the strain on the contestants: Tydeus beneath his opponent: simile of the buried miner: Tydeus' hold: he raises his opponent: throws him to earth and falls upon him: picture of the vanquished hero:

tandem pectus humi pronumque extensus in alvum  
sternitur, ac longo maestus post tempore surgit.

That the resemblance of Statius' description to that of Ovid is not accidental, one is tempted to conclude. They come especially near in their description of the actual struggle. Ovid compares the fight to that of two bulls, with the beautiful heifer, and the rest of the herd standing by:

non aliter vidi fortes concurrere tauros  
cum pretium pugnae toto nitidissima saltu

expetituri coniunx: spectant armenta paventque  
nescia, quem maneat tanti victoria regni.

(l. 46 ff.)

Statius employs the same simile—but gives more the effect of a picture. The heifer in his description is white, and stands by—no mention being made of the rest of the herd.<sup>1</sup> And as usual Statius is not content with what he borrows, but must add details; following this picture with a series of others:

non sic ductores gemini gregis horrida tauri  
bella movent; medio coniunx stat candida prato  
victorem expectans, rumpunt obnixa furentes  
pectora, subdit amor stimulos ac vulnera sanat:  
fulmineo sic dente sues, sic hispida turpes  
proelia villosis ineunt complexibus ursi.

(*Theb.* 6, 864.)

However, Statius' description does not suffer in comparison with that of Ovid. It is full of life and vigor. One sees the wrestlers before him as if they were actually engaged in the contest. This is what gives the effect of sculpture or painting. But, as we remarked above, themes like these are not the best for the purposes of illustration, inasmuch as it is impossible for a poet in dealing with them to create any other impression.

<sup>1</sup> This feature also he has borrowed from Ovid (*Am.* 2, 12, 25):

vidi ego pro nivea pugnantem coniuge tauros  
spectatrix animos ipsa iuvenca debat.

## CHAPTER III.

## SIMILES OF STATIUS.

*Theb.* 11, 530.

This stylistic tendency in Statius can be illustrated by an examination of his similes, some of which he borrows from one author, some from two or more, while some are original with him. Scarcely ever does he reproduce a simile in the exact form in which it appears in the author to whom he is indebted. He takes sometimes an element from one author and another element from another. Naturally then his similes are more elaborate, and it is this fact at times that leads him off into picture drawing. An illustration of this is seen in a simile in the eleventh book of the *Thebaid*, where he compares the struggle of the brothers Eteocles and Polynices to the fight of two wild boars. The original of the simile is Euripides, *Phoen.* 1379—a description of the duel between Eteocles and Polynices:

ἦξαν δράμημα δεινὸν ἀλλήλοις ἔπι ·  
κάπροι δ' ὄπως θήγοντες ἀγρίαν γένυν  
ξυνῆψαν, ἀφρῶ διάβροχοι γενειάδας.

Statius takes over the simile, and after the rhetorical manner adds descriptive epithets. In the Euripides passage the boars are represented as coming together 'whetting their cruel tusks—with foam scattered over their jaws.' With Statius, the conventional epithet 'fulmineos' is used. Their bristles are said to stand up on their backs, and fire to flash from their eyes; their jaws are called 'lunata':

fulmineos veluti praeceps cum comminus egit  
ira sues strictisque erexit tergora saetis:  
igne tremunt oculi, lunataque dentibus uncis  
ora sonant; spectat pugnas de rupe propinqua  
venator pallens canibusque silentia suadet.

(*Theb.* 11, 530.)

But besides making his description more elaborate and rhetorical, Statius makes a more significant addition. To express more vividly the horror inspired by the fighting of the wild brutes he introduces the picture of a huntsman standing on a crag above the valley where the fight takes place, with frightened look watching the struggle, and trying to silence his dogs. The simile has not lost anything in force, but its very picturesqueness draws the mind away from the real object—the fight between the two brothers. It becomes a picture for its own sake.

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*Theb.* 8, 124.

Commentators have noted that Statius seeks to surpass Ovid in description—that he had his eye upon him constantly. One simile that he has borrowed from Ovid comes from *Theb.* 8, 124 ff. The basis of comparison taken is the lion with its prey. The source is *Trist.* 3, 5, 33:

corpora magnanimo satis est prostrasse leoni,  
pugna suum finem, cum iacet hostis, habet.

This simple characterization Statius amplifies; and at the end of his version tacks on a picture in his usual manner:

ut leo, Massyli cum lux stetit obvia ferri  
tunc iras, tunc arma citat; si decidit hostis,  
ire supra satis est vitamque relinquere victo.

In contrast with Ovid's 'pugna suum finem habet' note the pose of the beast in the line of Statius 'ire supra satis est vitamque relinquere victo.' One sees the lion standing astride his fallen foe.

Statius has developed the simile in different fashion in *Theb.* 7, 529 ff. Here there is not the same pose. The lion is represented as refusing to satisfy his hunger over his fallen prey:

quales ubi tela virosque  
pectoris impulsu rapidi stravere leones,  
protinus ira minor, gaudentque in corpore capto  
securam differre famem.

Compare also the adaptations of the simile in Claudianus (C. M. 22, 27):

emollit rabiem praedae mortisque facultas.  
praetereunt subiecta ferae, torvique leones,  
quae stravisse calent, ea mox prostrata relinquunt.

Here again the same details are given, but the effect of a pose is wanting. In the passages to be compared Statius alone secures this effect—and we must assume that it is not without significance.

For the details of the first part of the comparison no doubt he drew on Vergil (*Aen.* 12, 6 ff.):

Poenorum qualis in arvis  
saucius ille gravi venantum vulnere pectus  
tum demum movet arma leo gaudetque comantis  
excutiens cervice toros fixumque latronis  
impavidus frangit telum et fremit ore cruento.

The same comparison is employed by Priscian—(*De laud: Anastas.*, 67 ff.). It is a simile on the manner in which Anastasius subdued his enemies: the second part however is lacking:

ut leo, qui regnans silva dominatur in alta  
per Libyae saltus, nisi nobilis ira lacessat,  
non movet arma, suas stimulat nec verbere vires;  
at si commoveat clamor, si turba coronae,  
infremit horrendum simul et distendit hiatus  
sanguineis torquens ardentia lumina flammis  
et ruit in medium, prosternens arma virosque.

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*Theb.* 4, 363.

Sometimes however Statius merely changes a picture given in the simile from which he draws. In that case, his picture is more elaborate than that in the source-passage. A case in point is the simile of the wolf in the fourth book—a comparison that is drawn to describe the feeling and manner of the Argive host as it gathered together and set out for Thebes. The source is Vergil (*Aen.* 11, 809)—a comparison of Arruns, the slayer of Camilla, to a wolf that has committed some fearful depredation on the sheepfold:

ac velut ille, priusquam tela inimica sequantur,  
 continuo in montes sese avius abdidit altos,  
 occiso pastore, lupus, magnove iuvenco  
 conscius audacis facti, *caudamque remulcens*  
*subiecit pavitantem utero, silvasque petivit.*

Here Vergil has picked up the phrase, 'consciis audacis facti' and developed a life-like picture from it. Statius describes this in almost the same phrase, but does not pursue the motif and draw his most vivid picture from that side. Rather, he expands the picture of the wolf as he leaves the fold, his hair matted with blood, and stuck with bits of wool:

ille velut pecoris lupus expugnator opimi  
 pectora tabenti sanie gravis hirtaque saetis  
 ora cruentata deformis hiantia lana,  
 decedit stabulis huc illuc turbida versans  
 lumina, si duri comperta clade sequantur  
 pastores, magnique fugit non inscius ausi.

(*Theb.* 4, 363.)

To balance the picture in the last two lines of the Vergil passage Statius has, 'decedit stabulis huc illuc turbida versans'—not as striking a picture, to be sure. In addition he describes the appearance of the wolf as he leaves the fold with the marks of carnage on him. Certainly he has outdone Vergil in detailed picture-drawing.



In strong contrast is the simplicity of the Homer passage (*Il.* 15, 586) which was the source of Vergil's comparison. It describes Antilochus fleeing before Hector:

ἀλλ' ὄγ' ἄρ' ἔτρεσε θηρὶ κακὸν ῥέξαντι εὐκίως  
ὄς τε κύνα κτείνας ἢ βουκόλον ἀμφι βόεσσιν  
φεύγει, πρὶν περ ὄμιλον ἀολλισθήμεναι ἀνδρῶν.

*Theb.* 9, 242.

The expansion of the simile of the dolphin and the fish produces an effect like that of a picture—such a picture as might easily be represented on a vase or fresco. Statius again borrows from Homer (*Il.* 21, 22):

ὡς δ' ὑπὸ δελφίνος μεγακίτεος ἰχθυες ἄλλοι  
φεύγοντες πιμπλᾶσι μυχοῦς λιμένος ἐνόρμου  
δειδιότες · μάλα γάρ τε κατεσθίει ὄν κε λάβησιν.

Here the details of the comparison are simple. The fish catch sight of the dolphin, and in fear dive down to the bottom and hide in the dark places there, underneath stones or in weeds—though this detail is supplied by Statius, Homer leaves that to the reader to understand. Statius' description is more elaborate, and runs off into a fancy that might easily have been represented in plastic art:

qualis caeruleis tumido sub gurgite terror  
piscibus, arcani quotiens devexa profundi  
scrutantem delphina vident; fugit omnis in imos  
turba lacus viridisque metu stipantur in algas:  
nec prius emersi, quam summa per aequora flexus  
emicet, et visis malit certare carinis.

The scene of dolphins playing about a ship was common. See for instance the representation, on a cylix by Execias, of Dionysus crossing the sea in his ship about which dolphins play. (*Furt. and Reich.* 1, Pl. 42.) Cf. *Il.* 27, where the

dolphins play about Neptune. Cf. too the picture in Moschus, 2, 125 ff., of the dolphins playing about the bull as he passes over the water with Europa on his back.

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Occasionally Statius' adaptation of a simile is much more beautiful than the original, as, for example, in his comparison of the swell upon the sea after the fury of the wind has abated. In this instance he draws from Lucan (*Phars.* 5, 217):

sed ut tumidus Boreae post flamina pontus  
rauca gemit, sic muta levant suspiria vatem,

and Seneca (*Herc. Fur.* 1089):

ut ingenti vexata noto  
servat longos unda tumultus  
et iam vento cessante tumet.

Compare with these the passage in Statius:

ut si quando ruit debellatasque relinquit  
Eurus aquas, *pax ipsa tumet* pontumque iacentem  
exanimis iam volvit hiems! nondum arma carinis  
omnia, nec toto respirant pectore nautae.

(*Theb.* 7, 86.)

The expression 'pax ipsa tumet' is rhetorical but forceful and vivid. Barth notes—'elegantissima haec sunt, et pretium poetae manifestant'—and he cites a parallel from Claudian (*in Rufin.* 1, 70 ff.). Compare too 'exanimis iam volvit hiems.' Statius has undoubtedly surpassed his sources. But again he has added something too much—which is due to his love of picture-drawing—in representing the tackle gone from the ships, and the sailors still holding their breath from fear.

Claudianus (*loc. cit.*) has imitated this passage closely, but here he has fallen short of Statius:

ceu murmurat alti  
implacata quies pelagi, cum flamine fracto  
durat adhuc saevitque tumor dubiumque per aestum  
lassa recedentes fluitant vestigia venti.

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*Theb.* 10, 646.

When the Thebans were being hard pressed by the besieging Argive army, their leaders approached Teiresias to enquire from him what way their safety could be secured. He declared to them that hard conditions were attached to their safety—that the Dragon of Mars demanded that the youngest scion of the race sprung from him should be sacrificed for their city: in no other way could Thebes be saved. This prophecy was aimed at Menœceus:

Statius goes on to describe how Menœceus was inspired to sacrifice his life to save his city. The goddess Virtus comes down from heaven and, assuming the likeness of the prophetess Manto, approaches the youth to inspire him to give up his life. The poet describes the various details of the goddess' disguise, which was not perfect enough to hide the beauty and dignity of the goddess beneath:

sed placuit mutare genas, fit provida Manto  
(responsis ut plana fides) et fraude priores  
exuitur vultus, abiit horrorque vigorque  
ex oculis, paulum decoris permansit honosque  
mollior, et posito vatium gestamina ferro  
subdita; descendunt vestes, torvisque ligatur  
vitta comis (nam laurus erat); tamen aspera produnt  
ora deam nimisque gradus.

To give a picture of the goddess attempting to conceal her divine form beneath human garb, Statius recalls the picture of Herakles at the home of Omphale in Lydia, wearing the dress of Omphale's maidens and engaging in women's tasks and women's religious rites:

sic Lydia coniunx

Amphitryoniaden exutum horrentia terga  
perdere Sidonios umeris ridebat amictus  
et turbare colos et tympana rumpere dextra.

(*Theb.* 10. 646.)

This comparison, original with Statius, is not a very happy one. Barth notes this, commenting on the passage: ‘parum apposita comparatio meretriculae Heroem irridentis, ad Virtutem Menœceo liberandam sanguine suo patriam persuasuram.’ The introduction of this semi-comic allusion to Herakles into a tragic situation is harsh: but that feature of the description is not our chief concern here. The remainder of Barth’s note is more to our purpose—“Omphalen dicit . . . Pictura huius fabellae longe elegantissima conspicitur in arce Regia Torgensi ad Albim, Alberti Dureri famigeratissimi artificis manus.”

The subject was a favorite one in Roman wall painting, but whether Statius is describing any definite work of art is uncertain: indeed it is unlikely. But undoubtedly his description is influenced by some such painting: and it is the influence of plastic art that turns him from the description of the object before him to picture-drawing, as in this illustration.

For representations of this theme see O. Jahn, “Berichte d. sächs. Gesells.” 1855, p. 215 f. Taf. vi. and Helbig, *Wandgemälde* nos. 1133 f. Perhaps the representation that comes nearest to the description in this passage is Helbig no. 1136.

## CHAPTER IV.

*The Achilleid.**Ach.* 1, 159.

*Achilleid* 1, 159 is a clear illustration of this stylistic tendency in the poet. It is a description of Achilles as he appeared to Thetis when she visited him at his home with Cheiron on Mt. Pelion. The hero has just returned from the hunt, and the poet stops to describe his beauty as he approaches his mother, dirty with the dust and sweat of the chase, yet beautiful to look upon. The poet dwells upon the ruddy glow in the youth's face, the beauty of his golden locks—the light of youth in his eye and the complete resemblance to his mother; and as he thinks of the two sides of the training given the hero by Cheiron—hunting and music—he turns and places before the reader the conventional hunter and musician Apollo:

ille aderat multo sudore et pulvere maior  
 et tamen arma inter festinatosque labores  
 dulcis adhuc visu: niveo natat ignis in ore  
 purpureus fulvoque nitet coma gratior auro  
 necdum prima nova lanugine vertitur aetas,  
 tranquillaeque faces oculis et plurima vultu  
 mater inest: qualis Lycia venator Apollo  
 cum redit et saevis permutat plectra pharetris.

This motif—the comparison of a hero or heroine to a god or goddess is common in epic poetry. The passage under consideration is an imitation from Vergil, *Aen.* 4, 143. So says Lemaire in the note to the Statius passage. But Vergil in turn was indebted to Apollonius of Rhodes (see Forbiger on *Aen.* 4, 143 ff.), who cites Henry for the comparison. Heyne's note is—'Aeneas comparatur cum Apolline festo die prodeunte ad choros ducendos, ut supra 1, 489, Dido cum Diana etc. . . .'

Thus we see that Statius had a good deal of tradition for his comparison, and an examination of his treatment of the motif side by side with that of his predecessors and with that which seemed later to be modelled upon him will serve to show what was peculiar to him.

First, the Apollonius passage—where Jason, setting forth from the house after a farewell talk with his mother, is compared with Apollo leaving his shrine and passing through his native haunts, sacred Delos, or Klaros, or Pytho, or Lycia's broad expanse, by Zanthus' streams:

ἦ καὶ ὁ μὲν προτέρωσε δόμων ἐξῶρτο νέεσθαι.  
 οἷος δ' ἐκ νηοῖο θυώδεος εἰσιν Ἀπόλλων  
 Δῆλον ἀν' ἠγαθέην ἢ Κλάρον ἢ ὅ γε Πυθῶ  
 ἢ Λυκίην εὐρείαν ἐπὶ Ξάνθοιο ῥοῆσιν  
 τοῖος ἀνὰ πληθὺν δήμου κίεν . . . .

Here two motives are at work, desire for the mythological allusion which with the Alexandrians had become conventional, and love of geographical description as a display of erudition, a characteristic which Apollonius, as we have seen, exhibits in a remarkable degree. The poet makes much of the places that the god frequents, carrying the reader with him from Delos to Klaros, etc. In fact one forgets the comparison in the names of places with their conventional epithets.

Naturally, Vergil has not taken the simile out of Apollonius bodily, but has changed it and made several additions. He compares Aeneas, as he prepares his men for the hunting excursion proposed by Queen Dido, to Apollo as he sets up the dance on his maternal Delos:

ipse ante alios pulcherrimus omnes  
 infert se socium Aeneas, atque agmina iungit,  
 qualis ubi hibernam Lyciam Xanthique fluenta  
 deserit, ac Delum maternam invisit Apollo,  
 instauratque choros, mixtique altaria circum

Cretesque Dryopesque fremunt pictique Agathyrsi:  
 ipse iugis Cynthi graditur, mollique fluentem  
 fronde premit crinem fingens, atque implicat auro;  
 tela sonant umeris: haud illo signior ibat  
 Aeneas; tantum egregio decus enitet ore.

(*Aen.* 4, 143 ff.)

Undoubtedly Apollonius was the source; for, while there is divergence in treatment, in the development of the simile, for instance, still there are striking resemblances in phraseology. And even when an epithet is changed another is substituted to preserve the balance in phraseology. Cf. *Δῆλον ἡγαθέην*: Delum maternam—*Λυκίην εὐρείαν*: hibernam Lyciam—*Ξάνθοιο ῥοῆσιν*: Xanthi fluenta.

The variation in the epithets gives one the key to Vergil's different treatment of the comparison. Apollonius, as we have seen, was carried away by his love of geographical description: Vergil too is not insensible of the effect to be gained by a good use of geography. But he keeps closer to his comparison. Apollonius had the picture of Apollo and Jason—Vergil keeps the setting and faithfully draws the comparison of Aeneas among his men with Apollo among his devotees. These devotees, says Vergil—and here is an opportunity for more geography—assemble in Delos from Crete, Thessaly and Sarmatia, and as they sing about his altars Apollo walks with stately tread (*graditur*) among them. In like manner moves Aeneas among his men. The extension of the cult of Apollo is what Vergil has dwelt on, and hence the change in the epithets applied to Lycia and Delos: Lycia was the winter home of Apollo and Delos his summer home.

With this passage is to be compared *Aen.* 1, 498, a description of Queen Dido among her women. Here she is compared to Diana in the midst of the dance on the banks of the Eurotas. The motif is the same as in the passages cited above and has, as its source, *Od.* 6, 102—a description of Nausicaa among her maidens:

οἷη δ' Ἄρτεμις εἶσι κατ' οὔρεα ἰοχέαιρα  
 ἢ κατὰ Τηθύγετον περιμήκετον ἢ Ἐρύμανθον,  
 τερπομένη κάπροισι καὶ ὠκείης ἐλάφοισιν ·  
 τῇ δέ θ' ἅμα νύμφαι κούραι Διὸς αἰγιόχοιο  
 ἀγρουόμοι παίζουσι · γέγηθε δέ τε φρένα Λητώ ·  
 πασάων δ' ὑπὲρ ἧ γε κάρη ἔχει ἠδὲ μέτωπα,  
 ρεῖά τ' ἀριγνώτη πέλεται, καλαὶ δέ τε πᾶσαι.  
 ὥς ἢ γ' ἀμφιπόλοισι μετέπρεπε παρθένος ἀδμῆς.

The Homeric simile follows the comparison closely. Nausicaa among her maidens is compared with Artemis the huntress as she pursues the wild boar or swift stag, followed by the mountain nymphs. Artemis herself towers head and shoulders above the nymphs—Zeus' daughters,—distinguished for beauty amid a crowd of beauties. Such was Nausicaa too among her maidens.

So too Vergil, in his imitation of this passage, the comparison of Dido among her women with Diana among the Oreads, draws the comparison closely, and varies the treatment only by the omission of the beautiful line,

ρεῖά τ' ἀριγνώτη πέλεται, καλαὶ δέ τε πᾶσαι :

and by indicating her connection with the band in—

*illa pharetram fert humero.*

Cf. *Aen.* 1. 498:

regina ad templum, forma pulcherrima Dido,  
 incessit magna iuvenum stipante caterva.  
 Qualis in Eurotae ripis aut per iuga Cynthi  
 exercet Diana choros, quam mille secutae  
 hinc atque hinc glomerantur Oreades; illa pharetram  
 fert humero gradiensque deas supereminet omnes:  
 Latonae tacitum pertemptant gaudia pectus:  
 talis erat Dido, talem se laeta ferebat  
 per medios.



But the purpose of the simile is different in the two poets. This is indicated by the application of it in the last lines of each passage. In Homer the beauty of Nausicaa is thrown into strong relief:

ὥς ἢ γ' ἀμφιπόλοισι μετέπρεπε παρθένος ἀδμής ·

in Vergil the joyousness of Dido is emphasised:

talis erat Dido, talem se laeta ferebat  
per medios,

in order to bring out by contrast the tragedy of her subsequent fate. The pathos of Dido's situation is never absent from Vergil, hence the intrusion of the sentimental touch, which is not found in the Homeric simile.

Further comparison of heroic women—Helen and Penelope—to Artemis are to be seen in *Od.* 4, 122; 17, 37; 19, 54: but enough of this traditional material has been dealt with to enable one to set up a comparison with the Statius passage.

In all of the passages cited the god or goddess with whom the hero or heroine is compared is described at length, whatever the motive for the description may be—whether it be to display erudition or represent the pathos of a situation or extol the beauty of a princess. The motif is traditional, but the treatment is individual and full of freshness and life. But with Statius it has become conventional. He does not stop to describe Apollo—from the preceding description of Achilles the typical Apollo is easily recognisable; and so with the lines:

qualis Lycia venator Apollo  
cum redit et saevis permutat plectra pharetris,

the statues of Apollo the hunter, on the one hand, and on the other Apollo the musician stand before the reader. The poet's shifting of the description from the god to Achilles has given this effect—an effect which seems to be inevitable with Statius in much of his description. That is, his own description of

the hero recalls to his mind the statues of Apollo, and for the traditional description of the god in his native haunts he substitutes the statues. Representations of the god as hunter and musician were so familiar that it needed only a passing mention of the type: hence Statius is content to give a stroke or two where his predecessors amplified in detail.

With Statius the comparison had become conventional: after him it became still more so. As an illustration of the esteem in which Statius was held by later poets and the extent to which he was made a model, it may be noted that after him poets made every hero such as his Achilles and Apollo—a man of the sword as well as a master in the finer arts. An instance in point is Ausonius, *Epigramm.* I. 4. (Schenk.), 26 (Peiper) *de Gratiano*, when the Emperor is depicted as equally powerful in the sterner craft of Mars and the gentler art of the Muses:

bellandi fandique potens Augustus honorem  
bis meret ut geminet titulos, qui proelia Musis  
temperat et Geticum moderatur Apolline Martem.  
arma inter Chunosque truces furtoque nocentes  
Sauromatas quantum cessat de tempore belli,  
indulget Clariis tantum inter castra Camenis.  
vix posuit volucres stridentia tela sagittas:  
Musarum ad calamos fertur manus, otia nescit  
et commutata meditatur arundine carmen.

So too the description of the god in Calpurnius 7, 83 ff.:

nisi me decepit visus, in uno  
et Martis vultus et Apollinis esse notavi.

And Sidonius Apollin. *Epist.* 17. of book 4, paying a tribute to Arbogastes, 'Par ducibus antiquis lingua manuque, sed quorum dextra solebat non minus stilum tractare quam gladium.'

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*Ach.* 1. 339.

The tendency that we noted in the Palaemon passage (*Theb.* 1, 121 ff.), the tendency that Statius manifests towards taking a simple phenomenon and illustrating it by the conventional type is the inevitable result of this element of the 'plastic' in his description. *Ach.* 1, 339 is a good illustration. Here Thetis, by means of her dolphin team, has conveyed Achilles to the island of Scyros, to the court of Lycomedes, and on the pretence that the youth is a maiden, got from the king his permission to allow Achilles to live among his daughters that no rumor of the movement of the Greeks against Troy may reach his ears, and his innate warlike spirit may not be aroused. Achilles at first strongly objects, declaring that he is in no way fitted to play the rôle of a woman, but at the sight of the lovely Deidamia he is won over. His mother at once proceeds to show him how he can successfully imitate feminine ways:

blanda Thetis: 'sic ergo gradum, sic ora manusque  
nate, feres comitesque modis imitabere fietis,  
ne te suspectum molli non misceat aulae  
rector et incepti pereant mendacia furti.'  
dicit et admoto non distat comere tactu.  
sic ubi virgineis Hecate lassata Therapnis  
ad patrem fratremque redit, comes haeret eunti  
mater et ipsa umeros exsertaque bracchia velat;  
ipsa arcum pharetrasque locat vestemque latentem  
deducit sparsosque tumet componere crines.

Statius presents Thetis exhorting Achilles to be careful to assume the gait, look and gesture of a young maiden, and all the while arranging his dress and stroking his hair. The picture calls up that of Hecate (Diana) returning from the hunt attended by her mother—and the poet passes from the description of the simple unconventional display of motherly affection to that of the conventional mother and daughter Latona and Diana. Diana returns from the hunt to Mt. Olympus—to the home of her father and brother—and as she returns weary

with the chase she is met and waited on by her mother. Latona arranges her daughter's robe about her shoulders, covers the arms that had been exposed in the hunt, arranges her dress to make her presentable to the gods on Olympus and proudly combs out her dishevelled locks. The picture of the two goddesses is beautiful, but it is conventional. Not that Statius is the first poet to follow this manner of description: but with him it came to be a fixed tendency.

And for his picture of Latona and Hecate he seems to have turned aside from the early tradition. At different times this duty of attending Diana as she returned from the hunt was assigned to different gods—now to Apollo and again to Heracles. Diana supported the gods on Olympus with the spoils of the hunt; hence the fact that she was attended so dutifully, on her arrival home. Callimachus (*Hymn to Artemis*, 141 ff.) assigns to Hermes the task of taking care of her weapons, and to Apollo the unloading of the spoils:

ὅτ' ἐς Διὸς οἶκον ἐλαύνεις  
 ἔνθα τοι ἀντιόωντες ἐνὶ προμολῆσι δέχονται  
 ὄπλα μὲν Ἑρμείης ἀκακήσιος, αὐτὰρ Ἀπόλλων  
 θηρίον ὅττι φέρησθα . . . .

But Statius in order to secure the picture of the mother and daughter to balance the description of Thetis and her supposed daughter assigns this care to Latona.

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*Ach.* 1, 482.

The same phenomenon is observed in the series of conventional pictures drawn by the poet to illustrate how the Greeks, assembled at Aulis, refused the claims of all the other heroes to the captaincy of the host and demanded Achilles—how the aspiring leaders themselves drew back before him in acknowledgment of his superior power. The Greek host is delayed at Aulis by a calm. The pause in the expedition gives opportunity for the selection of a captain, and there is no lack of

heroes to assert their claims to the distinction. First are the Atridae, the rightful leaders; for to them the quarrel belongs. Diomedes and Sthenelus also press their claims, seeking to emulate their father's glory. The youthful Antilochus, and the crafty Ulysses contend for the highest honour. Yet all fear to entrust the fortunes of the expedition to any of these, and long for Achilles as the only one fit to match himself against Hector and destined to be the destruction of Troy. To him all the heroes yield the palm.

From this the poet passes to the description of the assembling of the gods on the plains of Phlegra to do battle with the Titans: and their deliberation over the choice of a leader. First Mars rises and leaning on his Thracian spear submits himself for approval: next Tritonia, with her dreaded aegis: then Apollo, bending his massive bow. But all in fear refuse these and look to Jove the wielder of the lightning shaft:

haec Graiae castris iterant traduntque cohortes.  
cedit turba ducum vincique haud maesta fatetur.  
sic cum pallentes Phlegraea in castra coirent  
caelicolae iamque Odrysiam Gradivus in hastam  
surgeret et Libycos Tritonia tolleret anguis,  
ingentemque manu curvaret Delius arcum,  
stabat anhela metu solum Natura Tonantem  
respicens: quando ille hiemes tonitrusque vocaret  
nubibus, igniferamque ad fulmina posceret Aetnæ.

The introduction of the mythological allusion and the characterisation of each god as he rises to submit his claims to leadership in the fight with the Titans gives the effect of a picture, or rather a series of pictures, such for instance as the assembling of the gods on Mt. Olympus, when each rises in turn to declare his mind on some important issue. Again no definite picture may have been in the mind of the poet, but such was the influence of plastic art on him that his descriptions naturally took that turn.

*Ach.* 1, 609.

Again in the description of Achilles, as he celebrated along with the daughters of Lycomedes the rites of Dionysus, a comparison is instituted between Achilles and the wine-god himself:

ut vero e tereti demisit nebrida collo  
 errantisque sinus hedera collegit et alte  
 cinxit purpureis flaventia tempora vittis  
 vibravitque gravi redimitum missile dextra,  
 attonito stat turba metu sacrisque relictis  
 illum ambire libet pronosque attollere vultus,  
 talis, ubi ad Thebas vultumque animumque remisit  
 Euhius et patrio satiavit pectora luxu,  
 sarta comis mitramque levat thyrsumque virentem  
 armat et hostilis invisit fortior Indos.

The allusion is to the celebration of the *Trieterica*—rites that were instituted in Bœotia and other parts of Greece as well as Thrace in commemoration of the expedition of Dionysus from Bœotia to India and his triumphal return thence after a period of three years. To these rites women from all parts of Greece assembled and worshipped the god with sacrifices and hymns in orgiastic frenzy. The daughters of Lycomedes here celebrate the rite and Achilles accompanies them to the revel.

Achilles becomes the center of attraction. Over his shoulders is thrown a fawn skin, the flowing ends of which are caught up with ribbons of ivy. On his head he wears purple fillets—and in his strong right arm he brandishes a spear. The poet with this description prepares us for the picture. His comrades in the orgies gaze upon Achilles in fear, believing they see the god before them. To complete his description the poet gives the picture of the real Dionysus in his two phases—first, as the god of the revel adorned with garlands and the mitra; second, the god when he has put these off and donned warlike gear for an attack on the people of India.

Here again the description has become conventionalised. The reader leaves it, not with Achilles in mind but with representations of the god Dionysus, of which there were countless numbers.

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*Ach.* 1, 755.

The description of the banquet at the palace of Lycomedes is worthy of notice. Ulysses and Diomedes, out on their mission of finding the lost Achilles and trying to induce him to join the Greek host that was on its way to Ilium, were the privileged guests at the festival. The poet describes how the palace was all astir with expectation of the arrival of the distinguished Pelasgian guests, how Ulysses in his turn could scarce suppress his joy at the prospect of detecting Achilles and being able to persuade him to leave his life of simple enjoyment, by the sight of warlike weapons. Then he turns to the picture of the banquet that is spread—the male guests reclining and waiting for the appearance of Lycomedes' daughters. He describes the situation as follows:

iamque atria fervent  
regali strepitu et picto discumbitur ostro,  
cum pater ire iubet natas comitesque pudicas  
natarum. subeunt, quales Mæotide ripa,  
cum Scythicas rapuere domos et capta Getarum  
mœnia, sepositis epulantur Amazones armis.

At the word from Lycomedes the daughters appear attended by their maidens. One expects from the poet a description of the beautiful women in the conventional fashion: instead he is given a picture of the Amazons in their Thracian home, reclined at the feast with arms laid aside after their ravages of the surrounding country. This is so different from what one expects in such a situation that he is forced to conclude that Statius had before his mind some work of art and that his description of the daughters of Lycomedes turned to that. Especially

does this seem the case, when one reflects that a description of the women would have been better here. Vergil and Apollonius would have made this the occasion for elaborate description; would have given the reader a powerful impression of the beauty of the women: which would have produced the effect of allowing Ulysses to scan them thoroughly in order to detect Achilles. All that the poet secures here—and all he leaves with the reader is a picture of warlike women reclined at a feast: while in reality, from the details previously given regarding them (vid. ll. 287-292), the only resemblance these women bore to the Amazons was that they were women, and about to sit down to a banquet, as the Amazons had been known to do on some memorable occasion. What, for instance, had the daughters of Lycomedes to do with arms? The note in the Lemaire edition of Statius sees that the comparison holds in only a small detail. It says—[*subeunt quales*] *eo, inquit, ordine se habebant puellae regiae in accubatione, quo Amazones quum epulantur. Haec comparatio in hoc est ut puellarum discumbentium ostendat numerum et ordinem decorum.* The important point for us here is that Statius has done this by means of a picture rather than by description.

With this may be compared the treatment of the same motif in Claudianus (*De Rapt. Pros. 2, 62*). The latter, as Barth observed, is an imitation of the Statius passage:

qualis Amazonidum peltis exsultat aduncis <sup>1</sup>  
 pulchra cohors: quotiens Arcton populata virago  
 Hippolyte, niveas ducit post proelia turmas,  
 seu flavos stravere Getas, seu forte regentem  
 Thermodontiaca Tanaim fregere securi.

<sup>1</sup>This is Koch's reading: Barth reads 'ademptis': Scaliger changed the text completely and read:

positis agit agmina peltis  
 cum gelidam sociis Arcton populata virago.



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## V I T A

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